

Université Paris-8

Département des Sciences du Langage

ACTES DU PREMIER COLLOQUE

**LANGUES &
GRAMMAIRE**

Paris-8, juin 1994

édités par Léa Nash & Georges Tsoulas

Syntactic (de)composition of Yorùbá ‘be’ and ‘have’*

Victor Manfredi
Boston University

à A. Bámgbósé et N. Ruwet

1. Introduction

Natural language distinguishes two kinds of copulas, I(nfl)-based and C(omp)-based. Diagnostically, a C-based copula manifests Ruwet’s “inverse” copular construction (with pre-copular Focus) but not the “canonical” one (with pre-copular Topic). An I-based copula takes both constructions, but has a restriction of its own: in the inverse type, the pre-copular element must be definite (**A hero is John*) and the postcopular one can’t be (**There is the man in the garden*). C-based copulas lack this pair of definiteness effects.

I-based copulas are familiar in Indo-European languages. A C-based copula (*ni*) is the sole option in Yorùbá (§2). Languages with both types include Àkán and (probably) Thai. This limited crosslinguistic freedom is consistent with a theory of UG that keeps parametric diversity to the set of ‘functional’ (closed-class) categories (Fukui 1986). As a corollary, copulas are never members of the lexical category V, i.e. they assign no θ -roles, they have no semantics of their own. Two lexical verbs do occur expletively in Yorùbá in an equational sense: *jé* ‘amount to’ and *ṣe* ‘do, make’. Perhaps they spell out the head of the copular small clause *à la Moro*, but they are inflected. The same two expletives occur in Yorùbá *yes-no* questions and in factive pseudoclefts.

Turning to ‘have’ (§3), the relevant Yorùbá form (*ní*) is not obviously a lexical item, as it is made of closed-class materials: *ni* (the C of the C-based copula) plus a prosodically-determined strong H-tone (notable as ${}_s$ H). The purely phonosyntactic origin of the H-tone of *ní* ‘have/own’ is shown by the fact that it is suppressed under several, prosodically appropriate circumstances (§4). No lexically specified H-tone in the language ever disappears in these contexts.

If all its overt components are closed-class (C, ${}_s$ H), why is Yorùbá *ní* ‘have/own’ a verb? Kayne 1993B decomposes French *a-voir* into a locative predicate *à*, but French *à* is itself ambiguous between this locative P and a functional element K which has no intrinsic semantics. In Yorùbá, too, it happens that locative P is homophonous with the phonetic spellout of null K. By hypothesis (Bittner and Hale 1994), K is the “nominal counterpart” of C, so [${}_K$ *ni* + ${}_s$ H] is expected: the ECP requires an ungoverned null K to be pronounced, and all ungoverned, null F-heads (whether C, T, K or D) in Yorùbá are prosodically strong. In this way, echoes of *ní*’s journey from the functional world to the lexical world—from C/K to P/V—are audible in Yorùbá as the homophony of overt ‘ACCusative’ with both ‘at/in’ and ‘have/own’.

*Mo fécé kí àwọn tí ó ràn mí ní owó gidi A. Akinlabí, ’Y. Awóyalé, M. Bittner, R.-M. Déchaine, M. DeGraff, J. Guéron, K. Hale, K. Kinyalolo, I. Laka, Y. Laniran, L. Nash, ’N. Oḷá, ’S. Oyéláran, J. Rooryck, A. Rouveret, A. Sanfilippo, G. Saccon, G. Tsoulas, A. Zribi-Hertz àti A. Zucchi. *Ìbà ni m o júbà fun Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek tí ó b̀un mi ní owó.*

2. **No copulas in l-syntax**

Across languages, copulas are irregular as compared to other predicators. They display morphologically unique agreement as well as lexical suppletion in different tenses (in Indo-European languages); functional suppletion (in Àkàn and Thai, cf. Ellis and Boadi 1969, Kuno and Wongkhomthong 1981); and non-pronunciation (in Semitic ‘nominal sentences’, Fassi-Fehri 1982, Doron 1983, Mouchaweh 1986). Yorùbá provides another instance of this general phenomenon, which I will argue to be categorial in origin.

There are four relevant primary observations about copular sentences in Yorùbá. The Yorùbá item normally translated ‘be’ lacks the unique morphological property of a verb: H tone subject agreement (§2.1). A related property, also missing for the putative Yorùbá copula, is H-tone nominalization (§2.2). A third idiosyncrasy is semantic or pragmatic in nature: Yorùbá has no well-formed copular constructions with a post-copular Focus (§2.3). Fourth, the ‘copula’ negates suppletively (§2.4) — the only other Yorùbá item which does so being the locative predicate of existence (§3.2).

These four observations are consistent with a scenario in which there is no copular element present at some level of representation which is crucial for licensing all of these phenomena. I assume that this level is the “lexical structure” of Hale and Keyser 1993, otherwise known as “lexical syntax” or l-syntax. (L-syntax in this sense is that representation which accounts for the properties which LGB-type frameworks account for in terms of θ -grids.) Conversely, if copulas existed in l-syntax, all four of the anomalies under consideration would be truly surprising.

2.1 **No subject agreement (& related properties)**

Every finite verb in Yorùbá, and every AUX which displays 3S subject *pro*-drop except the NEG auxiliary, requires H-tone AGREEMENT on a lexical subject, cf. (1). Also, every finite verb or AUX takes a clitic subject, cf. (2).¹ The element *ni*, on the other hand, takes neither subject AGR nor any AUXes, and it disallows a clitic subject, cf. (3-4).²

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1)a. Àgbè (*é) lọ
farmer AGR go
‘A/the farmer went’</p> <p>b. Àgbè (*é) yóò lọ.
farmer AGR PROX go
‘A/the farmer will go’</p> <p>c. Àgbè (*é) kò lọ.
farmer AGR NEG go
‘A/the farmer didn’t go’</p> | <p>(3)a. Àgbè (*é) ni.
farmer AGR ni
‘S/he’s a farmer’
(predicational, D-linked)
‘It’s a farmer’
(presentational, not D-linked)</p> <p>b. *Àgbè (é) yóò ni.
farmer AGR PROX ni</p> <p>c. *Àgbè (é) kò ni
farmer AGR NEG ni</p> |
| <p>(2)a. Mo lọ.
1S.CL go
‘I went’</p> <p>b. *Èmi lọ.
1S.NONCL go</p> | <p>(4)a. *Mo ni.
1S.CL ni</p> <p>b. Èmi ni.
1S ni
‘It’s me’/‘I’m the one’</p> |

¹On the paradigms in (1-2), cf. *inter alia* Oyèlárǎn 1970; Adéwólé 1989; Déchaine 1992, 1993B.

²The exclusion of AGR before *ni* is stated by Abraham (1958: 435).

2.2 No H-tone nominalization

Abraham (1958: xvii) describes a reduplication process which nominalizes a verb into a gerund. The reduplicating prefix comprises the verb's initial consonant plus the default vowel (=i) plus phonosyntactic ₃H.³ This process of syntactic affixation (Fabb 1986) creates either the head of a relative clause (CP), cf. (5a), or else the head of an ordinary DP, cf. (5b). This type of nominalization is productive for all verbs in the language (Kújọré 1972, Awóyalé 1974); it is not, however, possible with the element *ni*, cf. (6).

- (5)a. lí-lọ tí [àgbè é lọ] (6)a. *ní-ni tí [àgbè ni]
 Ci.₃H-go REL farmer AGR go Ci.₃H-ni REL farmer
 'the going that the farmer went' ['her/his being a farmer']
- b. lí-lọ ọ àgbè b. *ní-ni i àgbè
 Ci.₃H-go GEN farmer Ci.₃H-ni GEN farmer
 'a/the farmer's going' ['her/his being a farmer']

2.3 No canonical copular construction

Abraham 1958 implies that the predicational and presentational readings of (7) can be distinguished with reference to the more explicit paraphrases in (8), both of which lack the presentational reading. Bámgbóşé (1967: 40) calls (7) an "elliptical form" of (8a).

- (7) Aya à mi ni. (8)a. [Aya à mi]_i; ni ó {jé/şe} [t_i].
 partner.f GEN 1S ni partner.f GEN 1S ni 3S.CL equal/do
 'She's my partner' 'What she is/functions as is *my partner*'
 (predicational, D-linked) [italicized material in focus]
 'It's my partner' b. Ó {jé/şe} aya à mi.
 (presentational, not D-linked) 3S.CL equal/do partner.f GEN 1S
 'She is/functions as my partner'
 [= non-focused version of (8a)]

(8a), a cleft, partially matches the word order of (7), which is a linear substring of (8a) but not of (8b). (8a) is distinguished from (8b) in containing an explicit focus, which also ought to be present in (7). Some evidence supporting this expectation is discussed by Davison (1986: 108*f.*). Consider (9a) and (10a), and their assumed sources.

- (9)a. Ọlọpǎ ni Jímọ. (10)a. Jímọ ni ọlọpǎ.
 club.holder ni ni club.holder
 'What Jímọ is is a cop' 'The cop in question is Jímọ'
 (cf. *Jímọ c'est un flic.*) 'The cop is playing the role of "Jímọ"'
- b. Jímọ ọ jé ọlọpǎ. b. *Ọlọpǎ jé Jímọ.
 AGR equal club.holder club.holder.AGR equal
 'Jímọ is a cop' 'A/the cop messed Jímọ up'
 (cf. *Jímọ est un flic.*)
- c. Jímọ ọ şe ọlọpǎ. c. Ọlọpǎ şe Jímọ.
 AGR do/work club.holder club.holder.AGR do
 'Jímọ messed up a/the cop' 'A/the cop messed Jímọ up'
 'Jímọ works as a/the cop' 'The cop is playing the role of "Jímọ"'

If (10b) underlies (10a), they should be equally as bad, but (10a) is saved by the fact that *ọlọpǎ* can be read non-predicatively, i.e. as part of the Topic, as D-linked. To save Abraham's conjecture, this reading of (10a) must have some other source than (10b).

³On (5), cf. also Awóbùlúyì 1978B; Awóyalé 1985; Manfredi 1992B, 1993A.

A plausible alternative source for (10a) is supplied by Bámgbóṣé (1967: 40). Consider (11), which has two readings, the second of which is the counterpart of (10a). Both readings are expected from the parallel existence of the two alternatives in (12).

- (11) Ọlórǔn ni ọba.
 sky.holder ni king
 ‘A king is effectively God’ (≈12a)
 ‘It’s only God that rules’ (≈12b)
- (12)a. Ọlórǔn_i ni ọbá jẹ [t_i].
 sky.holder ni king.AGR equal
 ‘God is what a/the king amounts to’
- b. Ọlórǔn_i ni ó_i jẹ ọba.
 sky.holder ni AGR equal king
 ‘It’s God that rules/is king’

The bare noun *ọba* is ambiguously [\pm definite] in (12a), but *ọba* in (12b) can only be indefinite, since it is predicative. The silent object trace in (12a) is licit, but the subject trace in (12b) which fails the ECP is pronounced with default (3S) \emptyset -features (Koopman 1983: 37; Pulleyblank 1986; Manfredi 1987; Déchaine 1993).

Example (13), cited by Williams (1993: 43f) from Higgins 1972, is comparable in information structure to (10a), but presumably it doesn’t have a source like (12b). Rather, it is licit because *Olivier* is both a Focus and inherently definite if not D-linked.

- (13) Hamlet will be Olivier. (e.g. in announcing a list of *dramatis personæ*)
 | |
 predicate Focus

The lack of a parallel *ni*-sentence in Yorùbá suggests that *ni* is not a predicator at any level of representation, whereas English *be* is a V at least at the superficial level accessed by pragmatics. Call this level s-structure or f(unctional)-syntax (where the latter label is an intentional pun between closed-class phrasal categories and pragmatic structure).

2.4 Suppletive negation (& related properties)

Negation of a *ni*-sentence is fully suppletive if the topic is null, cf. (14) vs. (15).

- (14)a. Ọótọ́ ni.
 truth ni
 ‘It’s true’
- b. Èmi ni.
 1S ni
 ‘It’s me’
- (15)a. Ọótọ́ kọ́ (*ni).
 truth NOT
 ‘It isn’t true’
- b. Èmi kọ́ (*ni).
 1S NOT
 ‘It’s not me’

Even if the topic is non-null, the negator of a *ni clause* (= *kọ́*) is distinct from the negator of a verb phrase (= *kò*, phonetically reducible to *ò* unless the subject is null):

- (16)a. Ọótọ́ ni ìyẹ̀n.
 truth ni that
 OR: Ọótọ́ ni ìyẹ̀n jẹ́.
 truth ni that.AGR equal
 ‘That’s a fact’
 (Bámgbóṣé 1967: 40)
- b. Èmi ni ó lọ.
 1S ni 3S go
 ‘It’s me that went’
- (17)a. Ọótọ́ kọ́ ni ìyẹ̀n.
 truth NOT ni that
 OR: Ọótọ́ kọ́ ni ìyẹ̀n jẹ́.
 truth NOT ni that.AGR equal
 ‘That’s not a fact’
- b. Èmi kọ́ ni *pro* yóò lọ.
 truth NOT ni PROS go
 ‘I’m not the one who’s about to go’
- (18) Jímọ́ ọ́ lọ.
 AGR go
 ‘Jímọ́ went’
- (19) Jímọ́ (k)ò lọ.
 NEG go
 ‘Jímọ́ didn’t go’

In (23), control of the clefted internal argument (ϕ) suffices to reconstruct all material in the scope of that argument, namely the entire event in S, so that all such material can appear overtly above the CP. This makes (20a) and (23) homologous, the main difference being that in the former the verb is expletive, so reconstruction is trivial. In both examples, the linear integrity of the material above CP is responsible for the apparent optionality of *ni*; in reality, *ni* is obligatory and the clefting of the internal argument is the optional part. Optional *ni* is usually described as an ‘emphatic’ discourse-particle, but the assumption in (23’) is that it always has the syntax of C^0 .⁵

If we can go this far, two further steps are possible. (24) can be assimilated to the structure in (23’), with one difference: all the lexical content is downstairs while the (pronounced) \emptyset_V is upstairs. And, both of the ordinary yes/no questions in (25) can be treated as isomorphic to (24), with the sole difference that C^0 is null, spelled out ${}_sH$, in (25a), while C^0 contains overt irrealis features in (25b). This parallelism entails that the sentence-initial ‘question marker’ Ṣé in (23a) is composed syntactically of two pieces: ṣe , the toneless (M-tone bearing) expletive verb, plus ${}_sH$ spelling out null C^0 .

- (24) $\text{Ṣe ni } [{}_S \text{ wón } \acute{n} \text{ sòrò}]$. (25)a. $\text{Ṣé } [{}_S \text{ wón } \acute{n} \text{ sòrò}]?$
do ni 3P.AGR PROG talk do.C 3P.AGR PROG talk
‘The fact is that they are talking’ ‘Are they talking?’
(Bámgbóṣé 1967: 38) ‘Is it the case that they are talking?’
- b. $\text{Ṣe bí } [{}_S \text{ wón } \acute{n} \text{ sòrò}]?$
do if 3P.AGR PROG talk
‘Is it the case that they are talking?’

The other expletive verb, jé , forms a yes/no question with the same structure, (26b). The corresponding factive (26a) is not exactly parallel to (24): it lacks the null expletive subject and its complementizer is not *ni* but pé , the conflation of V^0 pé ‘say’ with null C^0 (Déchaine 1993C). Nevertheless, the association of both of the expletive verbs (jé and ṣe) with C^0 *ni* in copular sentences and also in factive pseudoclefts makes it plausible to derive Ñjé in the yes/no question (23b) from C^0 *ni* plus jé .

- (26)a. $\text{Ó jé pé } [{}_S \text{ wón } \acute{n} \text{ sòrò}]$. b. $\text{Ñ-jé } [{}_S \text{ wón } \acute{n} \text{ sòrò}]?$
3S equal say 3P.AGR PROG talk ni-equal 3P.AGR PROG talk
‘It is the case that they are talking’ ‘Is it the case that they are talking?’
(cf. Abraham 1958: 341) (cf. Awóyalé 1987)

There is supporting evidence from tonal prosody. Bámgbóṣé 1967 says that an alternate pronunciation of Ṣebí (MH) in (25b) is Ṣèbí (LH). It is tempting to compare this LH variant of underlying MH to the LH outcome Ñjé in (26b) which I would derive from a sequence of *ni* (M) plus jé (H). This tone change is expected if any cliticized, weak element which begins this sentence type has to occupy a strong position, since on purely phonetic grounds I have claimed (1993B) that only L can be the initial member of branching (i.e. tonally complex) *s* position in Yorùbá. Even apart

⁵As already alluded to, an alternative approach along the lines of Collins 1994 would treat the material in (23) to the left of *ni* as a factive nominalization of the embedded S. That view would be more compelling but for two difficulties: (i) the nominalization at issue would be completely abstract, and otherwise unattested in Yorùbá; and (ii) in other contexts e.g. clefts, the supposedly ‘factive’ meaning of the abstract nominalizer never occurs independent of an eventive or a manner reading or from ordinary object scope, so it may be entirely parasitic on one or more of these independently motivated effects, cf. Bámgbóṣé 1992, Manfredi 1993A, Wold 1994.

3. Syntactic composition of *ní*

So far, the discussion has done little more than restate diverse insights of the West African linguistic literature in more formal terms. Henceforth, things get controversial. The claim throughout this section is that certain instances of (H-tone) *ní* contain the C^o (toneless or M-tone) *ni* as an ultimate—if not an immediate—constituent. The items in question are: (i) *ní* the accusative marker; (ii) *ní* the Preposition ‘in/at’; and (iii) *ní* the verb meaning ‘have’ or ‘own’. First, a brief digression.

3.1 *Ni* → *ní* without category change

Abraham (1958: 436) cites an example where an undisputed instance of C^o *ni* acquires H-tone from local phonetic context, namely from the resumptive third person AGR *ó* which we saw spelling out a subject *wh*-trace in (12b) above. If the H-tone is realized on *ni*, the default \emptyset -features of the resumptive trace (= *o*) fail to surface.

- (32) Ta ní ó lọ? [phonetically: talólọ OR tanílọ]
 who C AGR go
 ‘Who went?’

The default character of the third person AGR in (32) is also shown by the fact that its antecedent can be either singular or plural. This alternation is a trivial example of *ni* being pronounced *ní* without changing category. The remaining cases are different.

3.2 *Ni* → *ní* with category change

Oyèlárán 1981 lists five semantically distinct tokens of *ní* (with H-tone). All but the first one in (33e) undergo the *n~l* alternation (which occurs before vowels other than *i*).

- (33)a. Mo ní owó. [phonetically: molówó]
 1S V money
 ‘I have (some) money’
- b. Mo ní Olú dé ilé. [phonetically: molólúdélé]
 1S V arrive house
 ‘I said that Olú got home’
- c. Mo fún Olú ní owó. [phonetically: mofúnolúlówó]
 1S give K money
 ‘I gave Olú (some) money’
- d. Mo bá Olú ní oko. [phonetically: mobáolúlókó]
 1S meet P farm
 ‘I encountered Olú at the farm’
- e. Mo ní Olú ní ọwọ. [phonetically: monólúlówó]
 1S V K hand
 ‘I assist(ed) Olú’

Schematically, in a string [...X^o YP (Z^o WP)...], either X or Z can be *ní*, or both (33e). Semantically, all the various tokens in (33) are not so different. The *ní* in (33a) is translatable as ‘have’; *ní* in (33d) heads a locative PP; two more *nís*—in (33c) and the first token in (33e)—have something to do with possession. I claim that all these tokens of *ní* are related syntactically. Specifically, starting from the result of §2 that toneless (i.e. phonetically M-tone) *ni* is categorially C^o, all the instances of *ní* in (33) are arguably derived through a sequence of syntactic compositions:

- (34)a. [C^o ni +_sH] → [K^o ní] by spellout and prosodic government cf. (33b, c, e)
 b. [p^o ∅ + K^o] → [p^o ní] by conflation cf. (33d)
 c. [v^o ∅ + P^o] → [v^o ní] by conflation cf. (33a, e)

The required concepts of spellout and conflation are adopted from configurational Case theory (Bittner and Hale 1994) and from the theory of lexical syntax (Hale and Keyser 1993). Prosodic government (cf. Rizzi and Savoia 1992) is a type of metrical licensing which holds in phonosyntax—arguably the same representation where spellout phenomena occur: s-structure or f-syntax. Conflation, by contrast, is a type of head-movement which occurs at or before the “d-structure” representation, i.e. in l-syntax. All three operations instantiate subtypes of government, which is presumably the only core grammatical principle involved. Details of these operations follow.

3.2.1 *mí* as K°

(34a) claims that C° *ni* becomes K° *mí*, Oyèlárǎn’s (1993) “antifocus” particle, a marker of inherent Case or abstract incorporation *à la* Baker. This is not a category change so much as an appeal to an equivalence asserted by Bittner and Hale 1994, who describe K as the “nominal counterpart” of C . This equivalence may be expressible in a theory of functional elements such as Fukui 1986; see also Déchaine (1993: 71–75).

According to Bittner and Hale, UG makes KP available for marked structural Cases. Yorùbá not having overt agreement on arguments⁷, KP is called only for the direct structural cases ERG and ACC (the marked cases).⁸ NOM, a direct structural Case, is universally unmarked, hence it does not involve KP. A K° spelled out as either ERG or ACC is underlyingly null, and is therefore licensed by the ECP.⁹ By hypothesis, the antecedent government requirement of the ECP is satisfied by a “Case-binder” head (either I° or V°). The realization of ACC additionally depends on a “Case-competitor”, which is a K -less argument (a bare DP or NP) also in the local domain of the Case-binder. The spellout of null K° is ACC if the Case-binder is V° and the Case-competitor is D° . Spellout is relevant to the Case Filter which, as stated by Bittner and Hale, requires a DP or its trace to be governed by either C° or K° . The idea is that C° and K° are each other’s “counterparts” in the verbal and nominal domains respectively: as far as the Case Filter cares, one is as good as the other. The attraction of this idea for Yorùbá is that C° *ni* and K° *mí* are near homophones, the only difference being the privative presence in the latter of a H-tone—there being no substantive M-tone present in the former.¹⁰ Therefore, consider the H-tone.

For a list of languages traditionally called ‘tonal’ (including Yorùbá), Bamba 1992 has argued for the activity of metrical structure *à la* Liberman and Prince. His idea is that tones are not randomly distributed in autosegmental tiers, but group into feet with all the properties of metrical structure (headedness, binarity, recursiveness). In a series of papers¹¹, I apply Bamba’s theory to a ubiquitous phenomenon in Niger–Congo: the occurrence of a lexically unexpected H-tone in grammatical contexts which implicate a null f-head (C , K , T , D). To generalize across all these cases, assume that a null f-head

⁷Yorùbá H-tone AGR, realized phonetically on subjects, is generated not in a KP, but rather in some functional head in the extended projection of V , i.e. in a member of the post-Pollock “exploded Infl family” such as T_0 (Déchaine 1992, 1993A). The H-tone spellout of T_0 is thus regulated, not by Case theory, but by prosodic government as defined below.

⁸Bittner and Hale’s NOM covers both traditional labels “nominative” and “absolute”.

⁹In the theory, the availability of ERG and ACC in a given language depends on phrase structure (in f-syntax). I assume that ERG is not relevant to the examples in (33).

¹⁰That Yorùbá M-tone is just the pronunciation of tonelessness is argued by Akinlabí (1985).

¹¹Manfredi (1992 A,B,C; 1993B). See also Déchaine (1993A), Déchaine and Manfredi (1995), Hounguès (1994), Kimenyi (1994) and Twahirwa (1994).

not licensed by the ECP (i.e. which is not itself governed) is not a good syntactic governor, but it can become one if it has some phonetic content. The question is why, across the Niger-Congo languages, the necessary phonetic content is just a H tone.

Suppose that H-tone has a property which uniquely qualifies it to rehabilitate an unfit syntactic governor. Recall that, in all the examples, the type of syntax is f-syntax. Bamba proposes that H-tone is the head of a metrical foot; in the KLV framework (Kaye *et al.* 1990), it is a metrical governor. Apparently, grammar is willing to accept a metrical governor as an f-syntactic governor. In other words, the government relation in at least some part of syntax (f-syntax, or s-structure) is equivalent to the government relation in at least a sub-part of phonology (metrical structure, or prosody).

These claims of the preceding paragraph are summarized in (35).

- (35)a. *Prosodic government*
Null X^0 , X closed-class, is strong if X is both ungoverned and governing.
- b. *Principles*
A metrical governor is stronger than its governee (H>L>M).
[s] immediately dominates a metrical governor.
[w] is strictly adjacent to a metrical governor.
Tonal government iff [s].
- c. *Parameters*
The set of tonal governors is: {H}, {L}, {H, L}.
- d. *Yorùbá*
The set of tonal governors is: {H, L}. (This implies the existence of a M tone.)

To account for the phenomena described in (34a), it remains to point out that two of the instances (34c), (34e) involve double object constructions where the notional Theme, marked with *ní*, is non-adjacent to the verb, hence it is both ungoverned and governing, so both spellout and prosodic government are invoked. The third instance, (34b) has an indirect discourse complement but no verb of speaking. If there is an overt verb, C^0 can stay null, but since there is no overt verb in (34b), C^0 is spelled out *ni*, and *ni* gets its H-tone because it is both ungoverned and governing. It is traditional, in Yorùbá grammar, to refer to this *ní* as a verb meaning ‘say’ (Oyèlárán 1982).

3.2.2 *ní* as [p o Ø+K⁰]

Another token of *ní* translates English *at/to*, cf. (33d) repeated here as (36a). Oyèlárán 1993 shows that this is a true lexical P: it can pied-pipe when its object is clefted (36b), unlike a K in a double object construction like (37).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(36)a. Mo bá Olú ní oko.
IS meet P farm
‘I met Olú at the farm’</p> <p>b. (Ní) oko ni Olú bá mi.
P farm C meet IS
‘(At) the farm is where Olú met me’</p> | <p>(37)a. Olú rán mi ní {iṣẹ́/obì}.
send IS K job/kola
‘Olú sent me on an errand/for kola’</p> <p>b. (*Ní) {iṣẹ́/obì} ni Olú rán mi.
K job/kola C send IS
‘An errand is what Olú sent me on’
‘Some kola is what Olú sent me for’</p> |
|--|--|

A third possibility is intermediate between lexical P and pure (null) K. *Sí* in (38) is a Case marker, since like *ní* it cannot pied-pipe (38b), but unlike *ní* it can strand (38c). In Bittner and Hale’s framework, *sí* has the behavior of non-accusative K, i.e. an inherent or underlying (non-null) Case, just like the English item *to* which appears with *send*.

- (38)a. Olú rán mi {ní/sí} oko. c. Oko ni Olú rán mi *(sí).
 send 1S K farm farm C send K
 ‘Olú sent me to the farm’ ‘The farm is where Olú sent me to’
- b. *{Ní/sí} oko ni Olú rán mi.
 K farm C send 1S

Other evidence that *sí* is inherent Case comes from existential constructions. In the negative and positive versions of (39), *sí* is in a suppletive relationship with the verb *wà* ‘exist’. Only in child Yorùbá and in some dialects (such as Èkìtù), does *sí* have the status of a verb, cf. (40a) where subject AGR is audible before *sí*.

- (39)a. Ọkọ̀ ọ̀ wà (ní ilẹ̀). (40)a. Ọkọ̀ ọ̀ sí (ní ilẹ̀).
 vehicle AGR exist K ground vehicle AGR V K ground
 ‘There is a car/cars (somewhere)’ ‘There is a car or cars (somewhere)’
 ‘A car or cars is/are available’ ‘A car or cars is/are available’
- b. Ọkọ̀ kò sí (ní ilẹ̀). b. Kò sí ọkọ̀ (ní ilẹ̀).
 vehicle NEG K K ground Neg P vehicle K ground
 ‘There is/are no car(s)’ ‘There is/are no car(s)’

3.2.3 *ní* as [V o Ø+P⁰]

Finally, there is the ‘have/own’ token of *ní*, exemplified in (33a) above and in (41).

- (41) Jímò ọ̀ ní ajá. [phonetically: jímòólájá]
 AGR V dog
 ‘Jímò has/owns a/the dog’

The subject AGR in (41) shows that *ní* is categorially V. But other evidence, reviewed in §4, shows that it is not an unanalyzable item, from a phonosyntactic standpoint.

4 Suppression of phonosyntactic tone

Ní may be a verb, but it is an unstable molecule, not a lexicalist’s ‘syntactic atom’ (§4.1). Phonosyntactic tone effects also occur in other, independent empirical domains (§4.2).

4.1 *Ní* ‘have’ → *ní*

Ní ‘have’ undergoes obligatory loss of its _sH in an appropriate prosodic context.

4.1.1 Phrasal context

The minimal pair in (42)¹² shows suppression of _sH in between the default, 3S subject resumptive element *ọ̀*—seen in (12b) and (32) above—and a definite, bare object.

- (42)a. Ta ni ó ní [KP Ø [DP Ø ajá]]? b. Ta ni ó ni [KP Ø [DP [Dajá_i] t_i]]?
 who C 3S V dog who C 3S V dog
 ‘Who has/owns a dog?’ ‘Who has/owns the dog in question?’
 [talólájá] = M H H H [talólájá] = M H M H

Null D being an option in Yorùbá, this effect is attributable to prosodic government. In (42a), null K assigns accusative to *ajá* ‘dog’. K is not spelled out because it is antecedent governed by V, and, if existential quantification of the object comes from a null D (Longobardi 1994), then null K governs a null D. In (42b), the object is referential, which Longobardi ascribes to its substitution in null D, so null K minimally governs lexical material in D, and there is one less null f-head. Thus, the V in (42b) resides between two f-heads, each of which minimally governs lexical content. But this context removes the original need for *ní* to be a prosodic governor, so the _sH drops.

¹²Adapted from Abraham (1958: 438) and kindly confirmed for me by three Yorùbá-speakers.

4.1.2 In a synthetic compound

Abraham (1958: 438) describes H-tone loss in synthetic compounds of *ní* ‘have’ where the logical object has all L-tone (43a), vs. elsewhere (44) where the H-tone stays.

(43)a.	alàgbà ‘respected person’	<	o-ní-àgbà er-have-seniority
b.	alààyè ‘living creature’	<	o-ní-àyè er-have-space
c.	olòṣì ‘poor person’	<	o-ní-òṣì er-have-destitution
(44)a.	aláṣọ ‘cloth owner/seller’	<	o-ní-aṣọ er-have-cloth
b.	ẹlẹ̀ẹ̀rì ‘witness’	<	o-ní-ẹ̀rì er-have-evidence
c.	aládùn ‘candy’	<	o-ní-adùn er-have-sweetness

Assuming that an MHL sequence is insufficient to project two prosodic feet, nevertheless by hypothesis both L and H are tonal governors in Yorùbá (cf. 35d), so the L in (43) can ‘take over’ the prosodic government requirement which motivated H on *ní* to begin with. This is only possible, however, if the domain of this L goes to the end of the word, since the metrical governor (H) must be adjacent to the governee (35b).

4.2 Related (de)composition effects of H

Two other phenomena (briefly) show that the manipulation of phonosyntactic tone in Yorùbá is not limited to the verb *ní* ‘have’.

4.2.1 $\text{K} + \text{H} = \text{C}$

There is probably a relationship between relative Comp *tí* in (45) and the inherent Casemarker *tí* in (46).

(45)	ìwé tí mo rà. book C 1S buy ‘the book I bought’	(46)a.	ìwé tí èmi book K 1S ‘a/the book of mine’
		b.	Leiden ni mo ti ra ìwé. C 1S K buy book ‘Leiden is where I bought a/the book(s)’

4.2.2 Contraction of V + K

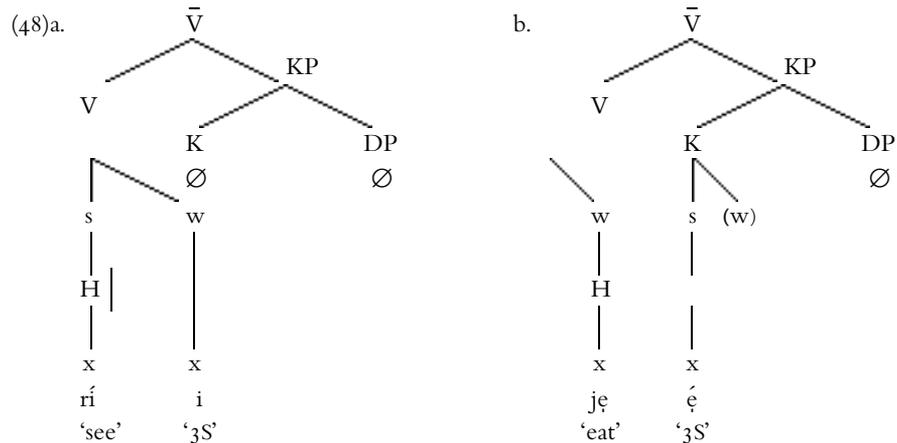
Ward 1952, Bámgbóṣé 1965, Oyèlárǎn 1970 and others have observed a regular contraction involving the 3S object clitic after an underlying high tone verb (47a); the converse effect occurs with a toneless (lexical ‘mid’ tone) verb (47b):¹³

(47)a.	Mo rí i. [contracted to: Mo ri.]	b.	Mo jẹ ẹ. [contracted to: Mo jẹ.]
	1S see 3S		1S eat 3S
	‘I saw her/him/it’		‘I ate it’

Note that this apparent ‘tone change’ is restricted to contexts where the underlying tones involved are not independent of each other. Thus, Stahlke (1974: 140) draws attention to the complementarity of the object clitic tone: H after M and L verbs, vs. M after H verbs. Pulleyblank 1983 and Akinlabí 1985 restate this observation in a non-metrical framework with a phonological rule which deletes a H-tone just if it is linked

¹³Ward (1952: 38) identifies this contraction as specific to “Lagos speakers”, but this may not be dialectal, if the speech of that city simply presents the freest use of contraction.

to an object clitic and follows another H-tone. In a metrical framework, all three stipulations can be dropped. There is no tone ‘deletion’ if what occurs is simply the failure to spell out a null *f*-head as strong in a predictable context, namely where it is locally governed, cf. (35a) and (48). There is no need to mention object clitics, since the *f*-syntax gives the context, nor to mention a preceding H-tone, since by hypothesis a preceding L or M-tone would not count as the head of a strong position. Thus the uncontracted forms in (47) are given directly by phonosyntax, as in (48).



Whatever phonetic process is responsible for the contracted forms, the relevant point is that the items in (47) which contract are distinguished from those in (49) which don’t directly by their phonosyntactic properties. Only with an L-tone verb are both V and K inherently strong and can both of them occupy a single branching *s* (cf. §4.2.1).

- (49) Mo rà á. n.b. *Mo rà./*Mo rá. (not contractable)
 1S buy 3S
 ‘I bought it’

5. Conclusion.

Yorùbá ‘be’ and ‘have’ suggest that the (de)compositional properties of lexical as well as functional items—the objects of *l-syntax* and *f-syntax*—are both richer and more constrained than one currently imagines. The initial idea about Yorùbá ‘be’ as C^0 was inspired by Ruwet’s classic work on French. The method of study was to demonstrate “proliferating consequences” of this idea across many constructions of Yorùbá and several modules of grammar. This exercise was feasible only with the help of Abraham’s Yorùbá dictionary—a philological monument as yet unequalled in the Niger-Congo family—and with the acute insights of the formally oriented, Yorùbá speaker-linguist tradition which Bámgbòsé led throughout the 1960’s and ’70’s. Finally, if my claims about Yorùbá ‘have’ are not entirely mistaken, then the crucial role of tonal prosody in the *f*-syntactic composition of Yorùbá words points to a much closer relationship between phonology and syntax than has been standardly assumed.

African Studies Center
 Boston University
 270 Bay State RD
 Boston MA 02215 USA

References

- Abímǒlǎ, 'W. (ed.) 1975. *Yorùbá Oral Tradition*. Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ifè, Ilè-Ifè. (Ifè Languages and Literatures Series, 1.)
- Abraham, R. C. 1958. *Dictionary of Modern Yorùbá*. University of London Press.
- Adéwólé, L. O. 1989. Sequence and co-occurrence of Yorùbá auxiliary verbs. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 34, 1-17.
- Akinlabí, A. M. 1985. *Tonal underspecification and Yorùbá tone*. Dissertation, University of Ìbàdàn.
- Awóbúluyì, Ọ. 1978A. *Essentials of Yorùbá Grammar*. Oxford University Press, Ìbàdàn.
- _____. 1978B. Focus constructions as noun phrases. *Linguistic Analysis* 4, 93-114.
- Awóyalé, 'Y. 1974. *Studies in the syntax and semantics of Yorùbá nominalizations*. Dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- _____. 1985. Focus as an unbounded movement rule in Yorùbá. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria* 3, 75-84.
- _____. 1987. The place of sentence-boundary elements in grammar. Presented at 18e Colloque de Linguistique Africaniste, UQuébec à Montréal, 26 April.
- Bamba, M. 1990. On downstep in the tonal system of Ojene Jula. *Current Approaches to African Linguistics* 7. Foris, Dordrecht. Pp. 1-14.
- _____. 1992. *Sur l'interaction entre ton et accent*. Dissertation, UQuébec à Montréal.
- Bámǒbósé, A. 1965. *Yorùbá Orthography*. Ìbàdàn University Press.
- _____. 1967. *A Short Yorùbá Grammar*. Heinemann, Ìbàdàn.
- _____. 1972. What is a verb in Yorùbá? In Bámǒbósé (ed.) 1972: 17-60.
- _____. 1992. Relativization or nominalization: a case of structure vs. meaning. *Research in Yorùbá Language & Literature* 3: 87-109.
- Bámǒbósé, A. (ed.) 1972. *The Yorùbá Verb Phrase*. Ìbàdàn University Press.
- Bittner, M. and K. Hale 1994. The structural determination of Case. Ms. Rutgers University and MIT.
- Bittner, M. and K. Hale TO APPEAR. Remarks on definiteness in Warlpiri. In E. Bach *et al.* (eds.) *Quantification in Natural Language*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Chrístaller, J. G. 1875. *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language*. Missionsbuchhandlung, Basel.
- Collins, C. 1994. The factive construction in Kwa. Presented at Afrikaanse Taalkunde/Algemene Taalwetenschap seminar, RU Leiden, June.
- Davison, R. 1986. The pragmatic morpheme *ni* in Yorùbá. *CLS* 22, 105-14.
- Déchainé, R.-M. 1992. Inflection in Ìgbo and Yorùbá *MITWPL* 17, 95-119.
- _____. 1993A. *Predicates across categories; towards a category-neutral syntax*. Dissertation, UMass, Amherst.
- _____. 1993B. Negation in Ìgbo and Yorùbá. Presented. at the 6th Niger-Congo Syntax & Semantics Workshop, Boston University, 23 April.
- _____. 1993C. The complementizer position in Yorùbá. Presented at 23rd Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 31 August.
- Déchainé, R.-M. and V. Manfredi 1995. The case of Ìgbo bare nouns. Ms., University of British Columbia and Boston University.
- Doron, E. 1983. *Verbless predicates in Hebrew*. Dissertation, UTexas, Austin.
- Ellis, J. and L. O. Boadi. 1969. 'To be' in Twi. In J. W. M. Verhaar (ed.) *The Verb 'Be' and its Synonyms* 4 (= *Foundations of Language Supplement* 9), 1-71.
- Fabb, N. 1984. *Syntactic affixation*. Dissertation, MIT.
- Fassi-Fehri, A. 1982 *Linguistique arabe: forme et interprétation*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Rabat.
- _____. 1992. *Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and Words*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Fukui, N. 1986. *A theory of category-projection and its application*. Dissertation, MIT.
- Hale, K. and S. J. Keyser 1993. On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In *The View from Building 20*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. Pp. 53-109.
- Higgins, F. R. 1973. *The pseudo-left construction in English*. Dissertation, MIT.

- Hounguès, D. 1994. Some aspects of nominalization in Míà morphology. *Ms.*, Boston University African Studies Center.
- Kaye, J. D., J. Lowenstamm and J.-R. Vergnaud. 1990. Constituent structure and government in phonology. *Phonological Yearbook* 7, 193-231.
- Kayne, R. S. 1989. Notes on English agreement. *CIEFL Bulletin* 1, 41-67.
- 1993. Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Studia Linguistica* 47, 3-31.
- Kimenyi, A. 1994. U-turn phenomena in Kinyarwanda tone rhythm rules. Presented at 25th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Rutgers University, 27 March.
- Koopman, H. 1983. *The Syntax of Verbs*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Kújorè, Q. 1972. A touchstone for the verb in Yorùbá. In Bámgbóṣé (ed.) 1972: 61-71.
- Kuno, S. and P. Wongkhomthong 1981. Characterizational and identificational sentences in Thai. *Studies in Language* 5, 65-109.
- Liberman, M. and A. Prince 1977. On stress and linguistic rhythm. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, 249-336.
- Longobardi, G. 1994. Reference and proper names. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25, 609-65.
- Lowenstamm, J. 1987. Prosodic government. In J. Kaye et al. (eds.) *Projet de linguistique africaine: études phonologiques et syntaxiques; rapport de l'année 1986-87*. UQuébec à Montréal. Pp. 248-51.
- Manfredi, V. 1987. Anti-logophoricity as domain extension in Ìgbo and Yorùbá. *Niger-Congo Syntax & Semantics* 1 (Boston University), 97-113.
- 1992A. Spreading and downstep: prosodic government in tone languages. In H. van der Hulst and K. Snider (eds.) *The Phonology of Tone; the Representation of Tonal Register*. Berlin: Mouton/de Gruyter. Pp. 133-84.
- 1992B. A typology of Yorùbá nominalizations. *MITWPL* 17, 205-17.
- 1992C. The limits of downstep in Ágbò sentence-prosody. *IRCSReport* 92-37, 103-15. UPenn, Philadelphia.
- 1993A. Verb focus in the typology of Kwa/Kru and Haitian. In F. Byrne and D. Winford (eds.) *Focus and Grammatical Relations in Creole Languages*. Benjamins, Amsterdam. Pp. 3-51.
- 1993B. Tonally branching *s* in Yorùbá is [LH]. Presented at 6th Niger-Congo Syntax and Semantics Workshop, parasession, MIT, 1 May.
- Moro, A. 1993. *I predicati nominali e la struttura della frase*. Rivista di Grammatica Generativa Monograph 7, Unipress, Padova.
- Mouchaweh, L. 1986. *De la syntaxe des petites propositions*. Dissertation, UParis-8.
- Oyèlárán, Q. O. 1970. *Yorùbá Phonology*. Dissertation, Stanford University.
- 1981. [untitled handout on the *n-l* alternation in Yorùbá]. Dept. of Linguistics, Harvard U.
- 1982. On the scope of the serial verb construction in Yorùbá. *Studies in African Linguistics* 13, 109-46.
- 1993. Anti-focus in Yorùbá; some implications for creoles. In F. Byrne and D. Winford (eds.) *Focus and Grammatical Relations in Creole Languages*. Benjamins, Amsterdam. Pp. 163-86.
- Pulleyblank, D. 1986. Clitics in Yorùbá. *Syntax & Semantics* 19, 43-64.
- Rizzi, L. and L. M. Savoia 1992. Conditions on /u/ propagation in southern Italian dialects; a locality parameter for phonosyntactic processes. In A. Belletti (ed.) *Syn-tactic Theory and the Dialects of Italy*. Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino. Pp. 252-318.
- Ruwet, N. 1975. Phrases copulatives. *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 3, 143-91.
- Stahlke, H. 1974. The development of the three-way tonal contrast in Yorùbá. In E. Voeltz (ed.) *Third Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Pp. 57-149.
- Twahirwa, A. 1994. Le translatif relatif et les relatives en Kinyarwanda. Presented at the 25th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Rutgers University, 27 March.
- Ward, I. C. 1952. *An Introduction to the Yorùbá Language*. Heffer, Cambridge.
- Williams, E. S. 1993 *Thematic Structure in Syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Wold, D. E. 1994. Focus projection in Ìgbo cleft constructions. *Ms.*, MIT.