



A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF RELATIVIZATION IN SELECTED CENTRAL YORUBA SUB-DIALECTS: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF ÛSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ AND ÌKEJÌ-ARÁKEJÌ ÌJÈŞÀ

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Abstract

The main thrust of this work is to examine the syntactic process of relativization in two sub-dialects of the central Yoruba dialect cluster. This research aims to examine and analyse the areas of convergence and divergence in these two speech forms. The theory adopted for this research is the Principles and Parameters theory, propounded by (Chomsky 1981) in his Book titled: Lectures on Government and Binding Theory and the model adopted under this theory is the move alpha rule, which maps the deep structure to the surface structure and unifies all transformation rules. Many basic and derived sentences (relativised sentences) were drawn from the two speech forms: Ûsì-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjèşà sub-dialects of Yorùbá Language. Some of the researchers' findings show that while the process of relativization of constituents in Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjèşà dialect and Ûsì-Èkìtì involve the movement of the relativized NP from the Spec of the IP to the Spec of the RelP, it was discovered that while Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjèşà dialect makes use of an overt resumptive pronoun in Subject NP relativization, the resumptive pronoun is covert in Ûsì-Èkìtì sub-dialect. This is because the resumptive pronoun is embedded in the relative marker *kó* through the phonological processes of vowel elision and contraction. It was also discovered that both sub-dialects have two distinct relative markers which are used to relativized different constituents. For example, while in Ûsì-Èkìtì, *kó* is used for subject NP relativization and *kìi* is used to relativize Object NP and a nominalised verb that is a verbal noun. In Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjèşà sub-dialect, the relative marker *yèé* is used to relativize the subject NP and the object NP, while the relative marker *kìi* is used to relativise the nominalised verb in the sub-dialect. In conclusion, it was discovered that analysing the internal structures of Yoruba dialects and sub-dialects will promote the documentation of lesser-known Yoruba dialects and sub-dialects, which will help open new frontiers of knowledge and protect these speech forms for posterity.

Keywords: Relativization, X-bar, Movement theory, Ìkeji-Arákeji, Ûsì-Èkìtì



Introduction

Research works abound on standard Yoruba and most of its dialects. It has been observed that some of the controversies in standard Yoruba can be resolved through evidence from dialects of the language, which some scholars believe are close to the Yoruba proto-language. Awóbùlúyì (1992, p. 71) gives credence to this assertion when he opines that:

Such dialects deserve to be studied and thereby preserved in written record for posterity. And when, in addition to being what they are, they have the further potential to help clarify issues or points that are likely otherwise to remain obscure in the standard-form variety of the language. It would be a dereliction of duty for us not to work on them as preliminary to carrying out an analysis of the point or issues of interest in the standard language.

The purpose of this work is to carry out an analysis of the process of relativization of subject noun phrase, object noun phrase and the process of relativizing nominalized verb in Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkejì-Arákejì Ìjẹ̀ṣà sub-dialects of Yorùbá Language, which both belong to the Central Yoruba dialects group according to the classification of Awobuluyi (1998), Adeniyi (2008), etc.

Relativization is a transformational process within the scope of Government and Binding theory. Research works abound on the study of relativization in the Yoruba language and some of its dialects. Relativization is the process of forming or deriving a relative clause through the process of transformation, which involves the movement of the relativized NP to the SPEC of the relative marker, which is *tí* 'that' in the Yoruba language. Some of the earliest researchers on relativization in the Yoruba language include Awobuluyi (1978 and 2021), Bamgbose (1990), Ajiboye (2006), Ilori (2010), Sanusi (2013 and 2018), and Akintoye (2015), to mention just a few. We observed that to the best of researchers' knowledge none of the scholars so far has examined the relativization process Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkejì-Arákejì Ìjẹ̀ṣà sub-dialects, which belong to the central Yoruba dialects. This research aims to examine and analyse the syntactic processes involved in the derivation of relative clauses in these two dialects within the scope of the Government and Binding theory. Awobuluyi (1978, p. 94) sees the relative clause in the Yoruba language as an introducer. He explains that:

The introducer *tí* marks sentences that are used as (relative clause) qualifiers. As is expected of most introducers, *tí* always appears at the beginning of such sentences. The nouns qualified by such sentences are always identical with nouns or verbs within the sentences themselves.

Yusuf (1990), in Oladimeji and Owoyele (2023, p. 68), explains the syntactic structure within the context of principles and parameters theory. He opines that:

Relative construction involves the insertion of a relative clause in front of its NP antecedent in a matrix clause; a clause is relative when an NP within it is identical (and is therefore changed to a relative pronoun) with the antecedent of the thematic clause. Such relative pronouns are moved from their original position to the composition of the relative clause. This movement leaves a trace which is co-indexed with the moved element.

This research observed that while there are several works on Ìkejì-Arákejì and Ùsì-Èkìtì dialects as well as on relativization in standard Yorùbá and many of its dialects, there are limited accounts of research on these two dialects, most especially on the comparison of the syntactic process of relativisation. This is the void this research aims to fill with this work.



Literature Review

Relativization is a well-pronounced syntactic process whose derivation has been studied in different Yoruba dialects as a response to the call to service echoed by Bamgbose (1986) and Awobuluyi (1992) that scholars should endeavour to examine different aspects of linguistics in Yoruba dialects. A few of the research works on Yoruba dialects, most especially on the topic of relativization include Arokoyo (2013), who examines the syntactic process of relativization in the Owé dialect of the Yoruba language. She asserts that the relative marker for the relativization of all constituents in the dialect is *ghìn*. She gave the following examples to buttress her claim:

- 1a. Baba ghìn ó ra ilé yèn ti de
father that she buy house the has come
'the man that bought the house has arrived'
- b. Olókpa ti mú olè ghìn ó kó ilé gha
police has take the thief that he pack house our
'policemen have arrested the thief that robbed our house'

Arokoyo (2013, p.78)

Oladimeji and Owoyele (2023), who adopted the Government and Binding theory to examine relativization process in two Akokoid dialects of Yoruba, that is, the Uro and Arigidi dialects. Through their research, they opine that the two dialects operate a similar relativization process where the relative marker is covert in Subject NP relativization but overt with the relative marker "i" in object NP relativization in the two dialects.

Awobuluyi (2021) also re-examined the status of verb relativization in the Yoruba language. Through a descriptive approach, he asserts that verb relativization rather than being sentential nominalization is moved to the SPEC of the Rel. P in order to head the relativized nominalized verb. He asserts that "the markers *ni* and *tí*, like all other specifiers in the language, must everywhere be in construction with nouns/nominalization occurring to their immediate left". Oladeji (2018), in his own work, examines the syntactic process of relativization in Mòóyẹ, a sub-dialect of Ìgbómìnà. He asserts that the relative marker *ní* is used in relativizing different arguments, such as Subject NP, Object NP and Verbal noun in the sub-dialect. He gave the following examples to buttress his claim:

Subject Noun Phrase Relativization

- 2a. Adé iní ti ra iwé tirè
Adé. Rel. buy book perf go
'Ade who bought the book has gone'

Object Noun Relativization

- b. Ìwéilòmọtiratiya
book Rel. child bought has torn
'the book that the child bought has torn'

Nominalized Verb Relativization

- c. Ríràilómọjèiwésihàn
act of buying Rel. child buy book good
'the act of buying a book that the child embarked on is good'
- Oladeji (2018, p. 27-28)

Akintoye (2015) carried out a comparative analysis on relativization in three Yoruba dialects, which are Mòpà, Òndò and Òmùò dialects. According to Akintoye (2015) relativization is carried out in these three dialects through the movement of the relativized NP from the Spec of IP to the Spec of the RelP. The relative markers used in these dialects are *yíí* and *di* in Ondo dialect, "*ghìn* and *n* in Mòpà dialect and *kí* in Omuo dialect. It was observed through the research work of Oladimeji and



Owoyele (2023) on relativization in Uro and Arigidi dialects and Ajiboye's (2006) research on relativization in Moba that while standard Yorùbá operates overt marking relativization on all constituents, dialects of the Yoruba language, such as Mòbà, Ùrò and Arigidi, operate both overt and covert marking of relativization.

Central Yoruba Dialects

There is a consensus among dialectologists on the classification of dialects under the central Yoruba dialect group or cluster. Among such scholars are Adetugbo (1967), Oyelaran (1977), Akinkugbe (1978), Awobuluyi (1998), Adeniyi (2005), Akinlabi and Adeniyi (2017), who all classified Ekiti, Ife, Ijesa, Akure and Moba dialects under the central Yoruba dialects. This researcher observed that while there are various works on these dialects, there has been little or no research on some of the sub-dialects of these primary dialects, most especially on the syntactic transformation process of relativization in Ùsì-Ekìtì and Ìkèjì-Aràkèjì, two sub-dialects of Ekiti and Ijesa dialects of the central Yoruba dialect cluster, to the best of this researcher's knowledge. Ìkèjì-Aràkèjì is a sub-dialect of the Ijèṣà dialect spoken in Oriade Local Government Area of Osun state, while Ùsì-Èkìtì is spoken in Ìdó-Òsì Local Government Area of Ekiti state.

Theoretical Framework

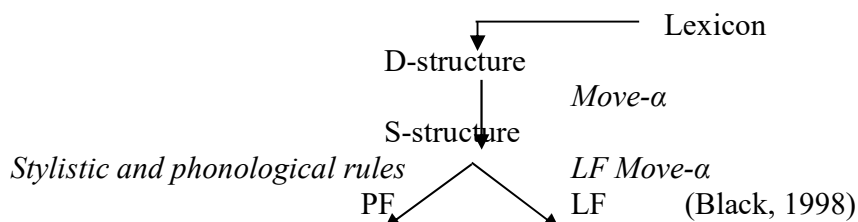
The theory adopted for this work is the Principles and Parameters Theory, which is also known as the Government and Binding Theory. It was propounded by Chomsky (1981) in his Book titled; *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Trask (1993, p.13), in Sanusi (2001, p. 43), explains what Government and Binding theory entails when he says "Government and binding theory can be defined as a modular deductive theory of grammar which posits multiple levels of representations (i.e. multiple strata levels) related by the transformation rule move alpha. The application of move alpha is constrained by the interaction of various principles which act as conditions of possible interactions".

Chomsky (1986, p.7) sees universal grammar as some system of principles, common to the species and available to each individual prior to experience. Haegeman (1991, p. 13) in Baiyere (2004, p. 28) buttresses Chomsky's point when she says that "Universal grammar is a system of all the principles that are common to all languages". An example of the universality of natural language is the occurrence of focusing at the left periphery of a focused sentence.

Sanusi (2017), in Sanusi and Oyewole (2019, p. 82), explains that GB theory greatly eliminates the proliferation of transformation rules like passive, affix hopping, verb number agreement, and question formation. According to Black (1998, p.2), GB assumes a derivational model consisting of four levels of representation as shown in the diagram below. The lexicon lists the idiosyncratic properties of lexical items, which constitute the atomic units of syntax. These properties include what arguments the item subcategorizes for, etc. Lexical items are combined at D-structure (underlying structure). D-structure is mapped into S-structure, which is the syntactic representation that most closely reflects the surface order of the sentence. S-structure is not directly interpreted, but is factored into Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). PF is the interface with the phonology where shapes, sounds, and groupings of items are directly represented. LF is the interface with the Semantics. Predication relationship and the scope of quantifiers and operators of various kinds are explicitly represented in the phrase structure at LF.



Chart 1: Model of GB



These levels are related to one another by rules (noted in italics in the diagram above). Move- α map the D-structure and the S-structure, and a similar rule maps S-structure into LF. Move- α is stated as a simple rule, basically allowing anything to move anywhere, since the system of constraints is responsible for correctly restricting this movement. This aspect of the movement rule will be adopted in this work.

Akanbi (2015, p.3) explains further that one important innovation brought into grammatical analysis through X's syntax is the binary branching. Binary branching replaces and is an improvement over the earlier ternary branching. In this paper, our effort will be to examine and analyse data gathered on relativization from the two speech forms, i.e. Ûsì-Èkìtì and Ikeji-Arakeji sub-dialects of the central Yoruba dialect group using Chomsky's Principles and Parameters Theory. The twin model of X-bar Theory and movement rule (Move α) will serve as the theory through which our gathered data will be examined and analysed syntactically using X-bar syntactic projections. The X-bar theory according to Baiyere (2004, p.31) is part of the grammar that regulates and brings out what is common in the structure of phrases. This theory discusses the relationship existing between the head constituent and its subordinates. The head is significant in a phrase. Other constituents of the head word in a phrase may either surface or not in X-bar syntax.

Subject NP Relativisation in Ûsì-Èkìtì and Ikeji-Arakeji Sub-dialects

Subject noun phrase is the noun phrase that occupies the subject position at the deep structure level of a sentence before transformation. Sanusi (2013, p. 86), in Sanusi (2018, p. 86), asserts that the subject-NP is the most relativized noun phrase in standard Yoruba. He opined that "categories of NPs can be relativized in standard Yoruba. However, in terms of accessibility hierarchy, the subject-NPs are more accessible than any other category in the language". In this section, the researcher will examine and analyse Subject NP relativization in Ûsì-Èkìtì and Ikeji-Arakeji, two sub-dialects under the central Yoruba dialect cluster.

3.

SN	Ûsì-Èkìtì		Ikeji-Arakeji	
	Basic Sentence	Derived Sentence	Basic Sentence	Derived Sentence
i	Bólá mumi Bólá drink water 'Bólá drinks water'	Bólá kó mumi Bólá Rel.P drink water 'the Bola that drinks water'	Bólá mumi Bólá drink water 'Bola drinks water'	Bólá yèè ó mu omi Bólá Rel.Presump.Pron. drink water 'the Bola that drank water'
ii	Adé òun Olú juşu Ade Conj. Olu eat yam 'Ade and Olu ate	Adé òun Olú káan juşu Adé Conj. Olú Rel.P eat yam 'Ade and Olu	Adé òun Olú juşu Ade Conj. Olu eat yam	Adé òun Olú yèè ó juşu Ade Conj. Olú Rel.P eat yam 'Ade and Olu that ate



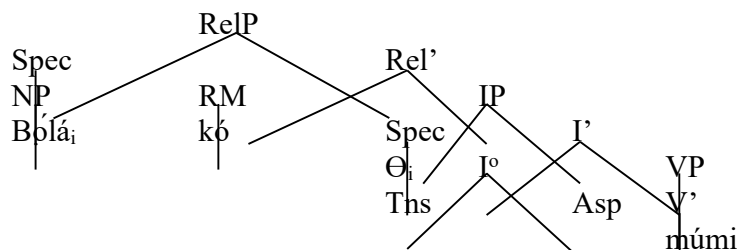
	yam'	that ate yam'	'Ade and Olu ate yam'	yam'
iii	Àbá àgbà pa òkété father old kill giant rat 'The old man killed a giant rat'	Àbá àgbà kó pa òkété ' father old Rel.P kill giant rat 'The old man that killed the giant rat'	Àbá àgbà pa òkété father old kill giant rat 'The old man killed a giant rat'	Àbá àgbà yèé ó pa òkété father old Rel.Presump. Pron. kill giant rat 'The old man killed a giant rat'
iv	Bólú jẹ ìbẹpẹ Bólú eat pawpaw 'Bolu eats pawpaw'	Bólú kó jẹbẹpẹ Bólú Rel.P eat pawpaw 'Bólú that ate pawpaw'	Bólú jẹ ìbẹpẹ Bólú eat pawpaw 'Bolu eats pawpaw'	Bólú yèé ó jẹbẹpẹ BólúRel.Presump.Pron. eat pawpaw 'Bólú that ate pawpaw'
v	Ùyábò jẹ ògèdè dúdú Ùyábò eat banana black 'Uyabo ate unripe plantain'	Ùyábò kó jẹ ògèdè dúdú Ùyábò Rel.P eat banana black 'the Uyabo that ate unripe plantain'	Ùyábò jẹ ògèdè dúdú Ùyábò eat banana black 'Uyabo ate unripe plantain'	Ùyábò yèé ó jẹ ògèdè dúdú Ùyábò Rel.Presump.Pron. eat banana black 'the Uyabo that ate unripe plantain'
vi	Tóbi ju òkò Tóbi throw stone 'Tobi threw a stone'	Tóbikó ju òkò 'the Tóbi Rel. P throw stone 'Tobi that threw a stone'	Tóbi ju òkò Tóbi throw stone 'Tobi threw a stone'	Tóbi yèé ó ju òkò TóbiRel.Presump.Pron. 'the Tobi that threw a stone'
vii	Ùjòyè tuntun gba ùlẹkẹ chief new collect bead 'the new chief is install'	Ùjòyè tuntun kó gba ùlẹkẹ chief new Rel.P collect bead 'the new chief that got installed'	Ùjòyè tuntun gba ùlẹkẹ chief new collect bead 'the new chief is installed'	Ùjòyè tuntun yèé ó gba ùlẹkẹ chief new Rel.Presump.Pron collect bead 'the new chief that got installed'
viii	Àdùnní f'Ólú Àdùnní marry Olú 'Adunni got married to Olú'	Àdùnní kó f'Ólú Àdùnní Rel.P marry Olú 'the Adunni that got married to Olú'	Àdùnní f'Ólú 'Adunni marry Olu' 'Adunni got married to Olú'	Àdùnní yèé ó f'Ólú Àdùnní Rel.Presump.Pron marry Olú 'Adunni that got married to Olu'
ix	Àláo gbé Àdùkẹ lúyàwó Àláo carry Àdùkẹ in bride 'Alao got married to Aduke'	Alao kógbé Àdùkẹ lúyàwó Àláo Rel.P carry Àdùkẹ in bride 'Alao that got married to'	Àláo gbé Àdùkẹ lúyàwó Àláo carry Àdùkẹ in bride 'Alao got married to'	Àláo yèé ó gbé Àdùkẹ lúyàwó Àláo Rel.Presump.Pron carry Àdùkẹ in bride 'Alao that got married to Aduke'



		Aduke'	Aduke'	
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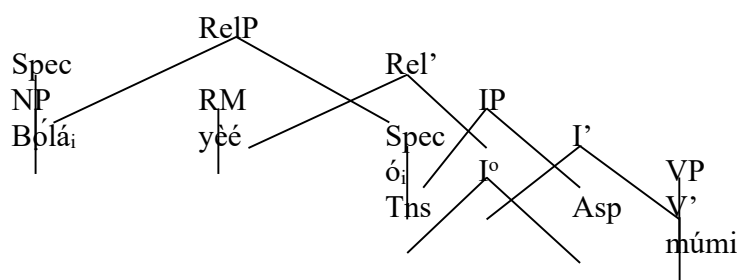
A Tree Diagram Analysis of Subject NP relativization in Ûsi-Èkìtì

Bólá kó múmì



A Tree Diagram Analysis of Subject NP relativization in Ìkeji-Aràkeji Ìjẹ̀ṣà

Bólá yèé ó múmì



It was discovered by this researcher that subject NP relativization in both Ûsi-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-Aràkeji Ìjẹ̀ṣà dialects involve movement of the relativized subject noun phrase from the IP to the Spec of RelP and the insertion of the relative marker which is “kó” in Ûsi-Èkìtì and “yèé” in Ìkeji-Aràkeji Ìjẹ̀ṣà. Further-more, it was also established that while there is an overt presence of the third person singular resumptive pronoun “ó” to replace the moved relativized subject NP in Ìkeji-Aràkeji sub-dialect of Ìjẹ̀ṣà, there is no overt presence of the resumptive pronoun in Ûsi-Èkìtì dialect. In addition, it was observed that evidence from the syntactic process of relativization in Ìkeji-Aràkeji and Ûsi-Èkìtì dialects shows that the presence of the resumptive pronoun is not universal in Yorùbá dialects.

Direct Object Noun Phrase Relativization in Ûsi-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-Aràkeji Dialects

Object NPs are arguments that occupy the object position to the verb and preposition in a sentence. The object of the verb is referred to as a direct object, while the object of the preposition is referred to as an indirect object. The direct object noun phrase is the object of a transitive verb in a sentence. It is the noun phrase that is assigned the accusative case under the case theory of the Government and Binding theory adopted for this research. In this section, this researcher will examine and analyse direct object NP relativization in Ûsi-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-Aràkeji sub-dialects.

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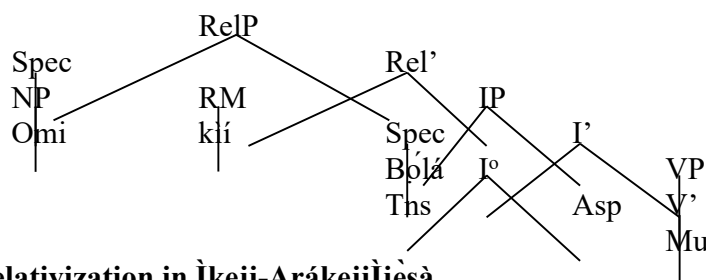
SN	Ûsi-Èkìtì	Ìkeji-Aràkeji
	Object NP Relativization	Object NP Relativization
i	Omi kii Bólá mu water Rel.PBólá drink ‘the water that Bola drinks’	Omi yèé Bólá mu water Rel.PBólá drink ‘the water that Bola drink’
ii	Uşukòó Adé òunOlú je	Uşuyèé Adé òunOlú je



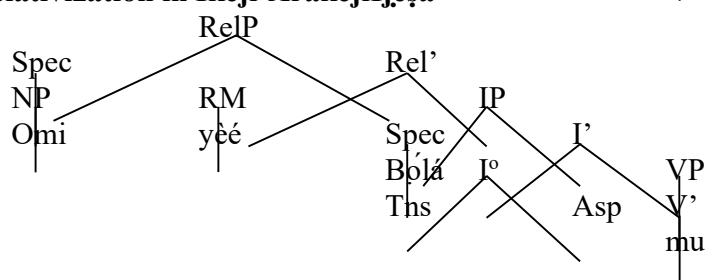
	yam Rel.P Adé Conj. Olú eat 'the yam that Ade and Olu ate'	yam Rel.P Adé Conj. Olú eat 'the yam that Ade and Olu ate'
iii	Òkété kíì àbá àgbà pa giant rat Rel.P father old kill 'the giant rat that the old man killed'	Òkété yèé àbá àgbà pa giant rat Rel.P father old kill 'the giant rat that the old man killed'
iv	Ìbẹ̀pẹ̀ kíì Bólú jẹ pawpaw Rel.PBólú eat 'the pawpaw that Bolu ate'	Ìbẹ̀pẹ̀ yèé Bólú jẹ pawpaw Rel.PBólú eat 'the pawpaw that Bolu ate'
v	Ògèdè dúdú kíì Ùyábò jẹ banana black Rel.PÙyábò eat 'the unripe plantain that Uyabo ate'	Ògèdè dúdú yèé Ùyábò jẹ banana black Rel.PÙyábò eat 'the unripe plantain that Uyabo ate'
vi	Òkò kíì Tóbìjù stone Rel.PTóbi throw 'the stone that Tobi threw'	Òkò yèé Tóbi jù stone Rel.PTóbi throw 'the stone that Tobi threw'
vii	Ùlẹ̀kẹ̀ kíì Ùjòyè tuntun gbà bead Rel.P chief new collect 'the bead that the new chief received'	Ùlẹ̀kẹ̀ yèé Ùjòyè tuntun gbà bead Rel.P chief new collect 'the bead that the new chief received'
viii	Uşu àti ùgbàdò kíì mo jẹ yam Conj. maize Rel.P Pron. eat 'the yam and corn that I ate'	Uşu àti ùgbàdò yèé mo jẹ yam Conj. maize Rel.P Pron. eat 'the yam and corn that I ate'

Direct Object NP Relativization in Ùsì-Èkìtì

Omi kíì Bólá mu



Direct Object NP Relativization in Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀sà



It was observed that while relativization of the object of the verb is overt in both Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjẹ̀sà and Ùsì-Èkìtì dialects, the way it is realized in the two dialects differs. While Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjẹ̀sà uses the “yèé” relative marker, Ùsì-Èkìtì dialect makes use of the “kíì” relative marker. Also, relativization of the object of verb in both dialects involves the movement of the object NP from its extraction site which is the object position to the SPEC of the Rel.P and the insertion of the relative marker “kíì” in Ùsì-Èkìtì and “yèé” in Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀sà in front of the moved NP



Verbal Noun Relativization in Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀sà Dialect

Nominalized verb or verbal nouns are nouns derived through different morphological processes. Nominalized verb are derived in standard Yorùbá through the morpho-phonological processes of partial reduplication of the base consonant and the insertion of the high front vowel /i/ with a high tone to break the consonant cluster. Examples of nominalized verb in Yorùbá language include:

- | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------------|
| 5. i. rà ‘buy’ | ríra | ‘the act of buying’ |
| ii. tà ‘sell’ | títa | ‘the act of selling’ |
| iii. jẹ ‘eat’ | jíjẹ | ‘the act of eating’ |
| iv. kọ ‘teach’ | kíkọ | ‘the act of teaching’ |

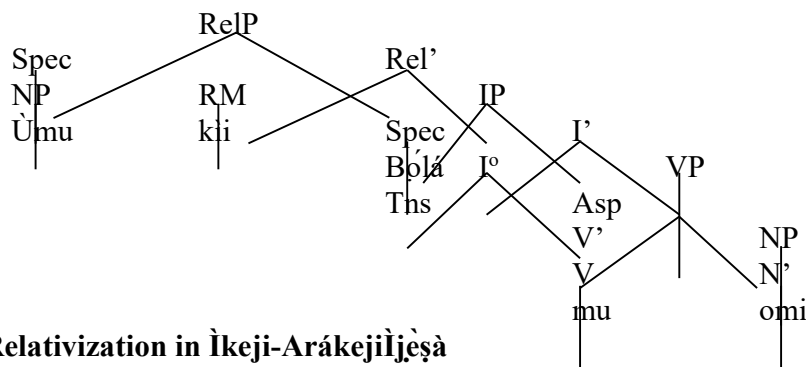
In this section, nominalized verb relativization will be examine and analyse in Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀sà sub-dialects.

SN	Ùsì-Èkìtì	Ìkeji-Arákeji
	Derive Sentence	Derive Sentence
i	Ùmukíí Bólá mu omi drinking Rel.P Bólá drink water ‘the act of drinking that Bola drinks water’	Mímukíí Bólá mu omi drinking Rel.P Bólá drink water ‘the act of drinking that Bola drinks water’
ii	Újẹ kíí Adé òunOlú juṣu eating Rel.P Adé Conj. Olú eat yam ‘the act of eating that Ade and Olu ate yam’	Jíjẹ kíí Adé òunOlú juṣu eating Rel.P Adé Conj. Olú eat yam ‘the act of eating that Ade and Olu ate yam’
iii	Úpa kíí àbà àgbà pa òkété killing Rel.P father old kill giant rat ‘the act of killing that the old man killed the giant rat’	Pípa kíí àbà àgbà pa òkété killing Rel.P father old kill giant rat ‘the act of killing that the old man killed the giant rat’
iv	Újẹ kíí Bólú jẹbẹpẹ eating Rel.PBólí eat pawpaw ‘the act of eating that Bola ate pawpaw’	Jíjẹ kíí Bólú jẹbẹpẹ eating Rel.PBólí eat pawpaw ‘the act of eating that Bola ate pawpaw’
v	Újẹ kíí ùyábò jẹ ògèdè dúdú eating Rel.PÚyábò eat banana black ‘the act of eating that Uyabo ate unripe plantain	Jíjẹ kíí Ùyábò jẹ ògèdè dúdú eating Rel.PÚyábò eat banana black ‘the act of eating that Uyabo ate unripe plantain
vi	Újù kíí Tóbi ju òkò throwing Rel.PTóbi throw stone the act of throwing that Tobi threw the stone’	Jíjù kíí Tóbi ju òkò throwing Rel.PTóbi throw stone ‘the act of throwing that Tobi threw the stone’
vii	Úgbà kíí ùjòyè gba ùlẹkẹ Collecting Rel.P chief collect bead ‘the act of taking that the chief took the chieftaincy bead’	Úgbà kíí ùjòyè gba ùlẹkẹ Collecting Rel.P chief collect bead ‘the act of taking that the chief took the chieftaincy bead’
viii	Úrà kíí Olú òun Bòdé ra àgbàdo buying Rel.P Olú Conj. Bòdé buy maize ‘the cat of buying that Olu and Bode bought corn’	Ríra kíí Olú òun Bòdé ra àgbàdo buying Rel.POlú Conj. Bòdé buy maize ‘the act of buying that Olu and Bode bought corn’
Ix	Úfẹ Kíí Àdùnní fẹ Olú loving Rel.PÀdùnní love Olú ‘the act of loving that Aduuni loves Olu’	Fífẹ kíí Àdùnní fẹ Olú loving Rel.PÀdùnní love Olú ‘the act of loving that Aduuni loves Olu’



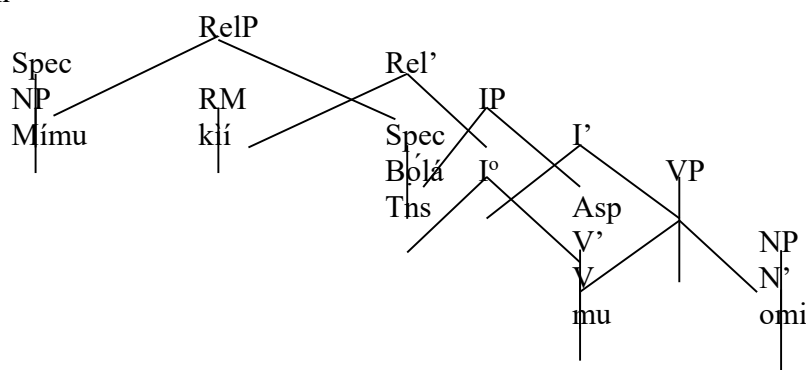
X	Ùgbé kii Àlàó gbé Àdùké lúyàwó marryingRel.PÀlàó carry Àdùké Prep. bride ‘the act of marrying that Alao got married to Aduke’	Gbígbe kiiÀlàó gbé Àdùké lúyàwó Marrying Rel.P Àlàó carry Àdùké Prep. bride ‘the act of marrying that Alao married Aduke’
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Nominalized Verb Relativization in Ùsì-Èkìtì



Nominalized Verb Relativization in Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀ṣà

Mímukii Bóla mu omi



It was observed that while nominalization of the relativized verb is carried out through the morphological process of partial reduplication which involves reduplicating the consonant of the verb and the insertion of the high front vowel with a high tone /i/ in Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjẹ̀ṣà dialect examples of such include “rírà” ‘buying’, “gbígbe” ‘carrying’ etc. while nominalization of the relativized verb in Ùsì-Èkìtì is carried out through the morphological process of prefixation where the high back rounded vowel with a low tone /ù/ is added to the base word which is the verb, examples of such include “ùrà” ‘buying’, “ùgbé” ‘carrying etc. It was also discovered that while the relative marker for nominalized verb is “kii” that is with low and high tones in Ùsì-Èkìtì it is “kíí” with low and mid tones in Ìkeji-Arákeji Ìjẹ̀ṣà dialect.

Findings

It was established through this research that while the process of relativization of constituents in Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀ṣà dialect and Ùsì-Èkìtì involve the movement of the relativized NP from the Spec of the IP to the Spec of the RelP, it was discovered that while Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹ̀ṣà dialect makes use of an overt resumptive pronoun in Subject NP relativization, the resumptive pronoun is covert in Ùsì-Èkìtì dialect. This is because the resumptive pronoun is embedded in the relative marker “kó” through the phonological processes of vowel elision and contraction. It was also discovered that both dialects have two distinct relative markers which are used to relativized different constituents in the respective sub-dialects. For example, while in Ùsì-Èkìtì, kó is used for subject NP relativization and kii is used to relativize Object NP and a nominalized verb



that is a verbal noun. In Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹṣà sub-dialect, the relative marker yèè is used to relativize the subject NP and the object NP, while the relative marker kii is used to relativize the nominalized verb in the sub-dialect. In addition, verbs are nominalized for relativization in Ùsì-Èkìtì through the morphological process of partial reduplication and the insertion of the high front vowel /i/ with high tone just like in standard Yorùbá but verbs are nominalized to be relativized in Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹṣà sub-dialect through the morphological process of prefixation of the back rounded vowel /ù/ with a low tone attached to the base verb form as prefix.

It was also observed that while some dialects in the central Yoruba dialect group, such as Ifẹ̀, operate overt and covert NP relativization processes where the relative marker kí occurrence overtly in a relativized sentence is optional, Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹṣà sub-dialects operate only overt realisation of relativization. Olanrewaju (2024, p. 104) gives credence to this assertion when he opines that "the dialect uses kí as the relative marker in the place of the tí that the standard dialect (Yoruba) uses. Ifẹ̀ optionally drops the relative marker".

Conclusion

In conclusion, it was discovered that despite the fact that Ùsì-Èkìtì and Ìkeji-ArákejiÌjẹṣà sub-dialects belong to the same Yoruba dialect group, which is the Central Yoruba dialect. The morpho-syntactic process of relativization differs in the two dialects. These researchers recommend further studies in other syntactic areas in the two dialects. In addition to this, the researchers also recommend that other linguistics areas should be explored in the two dialects.

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