RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ỌHỌ̀RÍ YORÙBÁ

Akinwande Ọlaide
akinwaolaide@gmail.com
08103217426
University of Lagos
Ilọri Fọlọrunṣọ
jfilori@gmail.com
07062399363
University of Lagos
Ajiboye Ọladiipo
oajiboye@unilag.edu.ng
08126932123
University of Lagos

DOI : ***https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17932501***

Abstract
Ever since Bamgbose (1986) and Awobuluyi (1992, 1998) called for scholarly research attention on the study of Yorùbá dialects to increase the body of knowledge and understanding of the workings of the internal structures of Yorùbá language grammar, especially the standard form which has mounting unresolved issues, no serious work has been carried out on Ọhọ̀rí grammar, most especially on its relative clause constructions. The paper employed relevant data samples elicited from 12 adult native speakers of Ọhọ̀rí in Kétu, Ègùwá and Asá communities in Yewa North, Ogun State. It relies on Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995, 1998, 2002) and Split-CP hypothisis (Rizzi 1997, 2003) as theoretical guides to analyse the data. The study discusses the structural derivations of relative clause constructions and shows that the four typology of relative clause constructions of Mark (2002) and Lehmann (1984) are employed in Ọhọ̀rí. It also demonstrates that a number of lexical items such as N, V, adverbs, etc. can be relativized in Ọhọ̀rí. Also, in contrast to what obtains in Standard Yorùbá where the relative clause introducer tí is optionally dropped in rare expressions (Awobuluyi,1978:36), the introducer ìyé is overtly obligatory in Ọhọ̀rí relative clauses. The study, therefore, proposes that the relative clause introducer ìyé is the functional head that projects relative clause constructions in Ọhọ̀rí.
Keywords*: Relativization, Relative clause, Typology, Ọhọ̀rí, Yoruba*

INTRODUCTION

Relativization is a universal syntactic process cross-linguistically. As such, the syntactic construction is not unique to Ọhọ̀rí, not to talk of Yorùbá. However, different descriptions and definitions have been offered on relativization based on some parameters: syntactic and semantic parameters. For syntactic parameter, different scholars have proposed different definitions for relativization. Among them are Ilọri (2010:251) who sees relativization as;

> a syntactic process of forming a relative clause construction. A relative clause is a subordinate clause in a complex IP projection that contains a constituent which has a kind of anaphoric link with another constituent serving as its antecedent in the main clause, such that the meaning of the complex clause involves two occurrences of a variable.

Relative clauses in Standard Yoruba typically begin with the introducer *tí* (Awobuluyi, 1978:35; Bamgboṣe, 1990:209) whereas in Mọ̀bà Yorùbá, relativization requires the presence of focus marker *ni* alongside a mid-toned relative clause marker (Ajiboye, 2006), as illustrated in (1) below. This is in contrast to the high tone that the marker carries in Standard Yorùbá**.**

1a. Ìwé tí Kúnlé rà… Standard Yorùbá
Book COMP buy
'The book that Kunle bought…'

b. Ìwé ti ni Ikúnlé rà… Mọ̀bà
Book COMP FOC buy
'The book that Kunle bought…' (Ajiboye, 2006:14)

However, following Hastings (2004:54-60), Mureili (2008:104) and Andreea (2010:7), we define relativization as an attribute which qualifies the head of a nominal item. For Downing (1978:378) and Mark (2002:14), in relativization, a relative clause is subordinated. From the definitions above, one can deduce that syntactically, relativization reduces the strength of a complete or full sentence (though not all relative clauses) to relative clause structure, as shown in example (2) in English.

2a. John plays football.
b. John that ~~<John>~~ plays football
c. Football that John plays ~~<football>~~

The examples in (2b-c) are no longer full sentences but relative clauses. However, from the semantic end, Givón (1984:651) explains that;

> there is a constraint in relativization which entails a great reduction in the expressive power of language and no language has attempted to impose the constraint, so far.

The constraint according to the scholar is a language dependent constraint that deals with the possibility of recovering the function of the relative gap or trace, as demonstrated in (2b&c). For Downing (1978:378), relativization is a connected constituent to surrounding material by a pivot. To Downing, *pivot* is a constituent semantically shared by the matrix clause and the relative clause. Downing claims that if the *pivot* (usually a noun phrase) resides in matrix clause, the structure in (3) emerges. The Yorùbá example in (4) illustrates Downing's structure in (3).

3. [matrix... [N RC]...]

4. Ọmọ òlẹ [tí mo sọ] ti dé.
Child lazy REL 1SG say PERF arrive
'The lazy child that I mentioned/spoke of has arrived.'

This implies that the relative clause contains a gap, which may be filled by a relative pronoun. But if the *pivot* is spelled out inside the relative clause, the construction becomes head-internal, as shown in (5), which is illustrated with the Yorùbá example in (6).

5. [matrix... [RC ... NP...]...]

6. Baba [tí [ó ra asọ dúdú]] nìyí
Father REL 1SG.HTS buy cloth black FOC-DEM
'This is the mother/woman who bought the black cloth.'

The structure in (5) indicates that the matrix contains a gap, which is filled by the whole relative construction, as shown in (6). While rounding off this section, we claim that all the definitions provided under each parameter employed above can be contextualized in Ọ̀họ̀rí.

1. Typology of Relative Clause in Ọ̀họ̀rí

This section discusses the typology of relative clause in Ọ̀họ̀rí. Syntactically, we assume following Lehmann (1984:149) and Mark (2002:30) that the typology of relative clause constructions are four: prenominal relatives, postnominal relatives, circumnominal relatives, and correlatives relatives.

1.1. Prenominal Relatives

This type of relative clause occurs in matrix and embedded clauses. The embedded clause is inserted inside the matrix clause, as evident in Ọ̀họ̀rí and Standard Yorùbá (SY) in (7) and (8).

Ọ̀họ̀rí

7. Obìì [ìyé [à tà]] wuyì
Kolanut REL 1PL.HTS sell fine
'The kolanut that we sold is fine.'

SY

8. Abà [tí [wọ́n kọ́]] dára.
Barn REL 3PL.HTS build good
'The barn that they built is good/beautiful.'

The structure of the prenominal relatives is given in (9).

9. [matrix... [RC ... N]...]

The examples provided in (7&8) match the structure of the relative clause type given in (9). The matrix clause subsumes the relative clause there.

1.2. Postnominal Relatives

This relative clause type occurs in matrix and embedded clauses. Unlike prenominal relatives that reside inside matrix clause, postnominal clause stands separately. The Ọ̀họ̀rí and Standard Yorùbá examples of this relative clause type are given in (10) and (11).

Ọ̀họ̀rí

10. Báyọ̀ rhí Ṣọlá [ìyé ọ́ ń kàwé.]
Bayọ see Ṣọlá REL 3SG.HTS PROG read-book
'Bayọ saw Sola who is /was reading.'

SY

11. Táyọ̀ na Olú [tí ó ń pariwo.]
Tayọ beat Olu REL 3SG.HTS PROG kill-noise

'Tayọ beats Olu who is making noise.'

The nominal word, which relative clause modifies in (10&11) resides outside the internal structure of the relative clause. The structure of the examples in (10 &11) is configured in (12).

12. [s-matrix... [N RC]...]

The configurational structure in (12) equally aligns with the data provided in (10) & (11).

1.3. Circumnominal Relatives

This relative clause construction combines the head noun and the relative clause in a higher nominal expression. It is an internally headed relative clause. This is evident in (13) and (14) accompanied with the structure in (15).

Ọ̀họ̀rí

13. Owó [ìyé Ìyábọ̀ fi rha ata] kpọ̀.
Money REL Iyabo use buy pepper much
'The money that Iyabo used to buy pepper is much.'

SY

14. Àdá [tí Ṣọlá fi pa eku] mú.
Cutlass REL Ṣọlá use kill rat sharp
'The cutlass that Sola used to kill the rat is sharp.'

15. [s-matrix ... [DP [CP-rel... DP]…]]

A close examination of the data in (13) and (14) shows that the examples are compatible with the structure in (15).

2.4. Correlatives

Correlative is a relative clause type that modifies the head noun. The relative clause contains a pronoun which is a referent to the modified relative head noun. It is an internally headed relative clause. Correlatives are bare clauses (Keenan, 1985:164), i.e., they are not full sentences. This is exemplified in (16) and (17).

Ọ̀họ̀rí

16. Ọmọ ọlẹ̀ [ìyé ọ́ ʃìʃɛ lọ̀ní]
Child lazy REL 3SG.HTS do-work LOC-today
'The lazy child who worked today'

SY

17. Ẹ̀gbọ́n Ṣọlá [tí ó sọ̀rọ̀ lánàá]
Elderly Ṣọlá REL 3SG.HTS talk LOC-yesterday
'Sola's elderly brother who talked yesterday'

The structure of the correlative relative illustrated in (16) and (17) is schematized in (18) according to Mark (2002:30).

18. [N (…) [RC …]] [s-matrix... (Dem)...]

However, in the spirit of information structure (Halliday 1967, Erteschik-Shir 2007), as will be contextualized in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá shortly, we modify the structure of (Mark, 2002:30) in (18) by removing the second part. Hence, what remains is the structure in (19).

19. [N (…) [RC…]]

Evidently, the description of correlative type of relative clause and the examples presented in both Ọ̀họ̀rí and Standard Yorùbá align with the structure provided. The phonetic representation of ʃiʃɛ 'to work' in (16) is motivated by the pronunciation of the speakers of Ọ̀họ̀rí. Before the close of this section, we will like to mention some of the properties of relative clause according to (Mark 2002:30) and use the properties to draw the table of the relative clauses, described so far. Thus, the properties of relative clauses include: nominalization of relative clause (RC). RC is a satellite to noun relative (Nrel) or sentence matrix (Smatrix), Nrel is present in RC. RC is open or closed and gap/quasi-anaphor in RC represents Nrel, or anaphor in Smatrix represents Nrel + RC. The table of the four relative clause types explained so far is shown below according to (Mark, 2002:30).

Property	Correlative	CircumN	PostN	PreN
Nominalization of RC (yes/no)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
RC is satellite to Nrel or Smatrix	N	-	N	N
Nrel is present in RC (yes/no)	Yes	Yes	No	No
RC is open or closed	Closed	Closed	Open	Open
Gap/quasi-anaphor in RC represents Nrel, or anaphor in Smatrix represents Nrel + RC	Anaphor	-	Gap	Gap

Table 1: The table of relative clauses in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá

2. Relativized Constituents in Ọ̀họ̀rí

A number of constituents can be relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The relative marker in Ọ̀họ̀rí as mentioned above is *ìyé*. The process of relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí is via dislocation, i.e. raising of the targeted constituent to the specifier position of the relative clause. The relative clause marker immediately and directly follows the raised constituent in the dialect. Relativization can be expressed in small and complex clauses in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The constituents that can relativized in the dialect are taken one after the other in the following sub-sections.

3.1. Relativized Constituents in Small Clauses

This section exclusively discusses the categorial items that could be relativized within the basic clauses in Ọ̀họ̀rí.

3.1.1. Subject Argument

One of the constituents that can be relativized is subject argument. The process of expressing it is achieved by raising the item to the leftward of the construction. There is overt relative operator (Ajiboye 2004, Adesola 2005, Ilọri 2017) that followed the raised NP immediately. There is presence of pro-form in the extraction site, which links the raised NP together, as expressed in (20) and (21).

20a. Ìgè jẹ ẹba lí ìjẹkújẹ̀ lí òdè.
Ige eat ẹba of badly LOC function
'Ige ate ẹba badly at the function/event.'

b. [Ìgè] [ìyọ́ jẹ ẹba lí ìjẹkújẹ̀ lí òdè]
Ige REL-3SG.HTS eat ẹba of badly LOC function
'Ige who ate ẹba badly at a/the function/event'

21a. Baba lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnàkunà.
Father beat 3PL students of badly
'The father beats the students badly/anyhow.'

b. [Baba] [ìyọ́ lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnàkunà]
Father REL-3SG.HTS beat 3PL students of badly
'The father who beats the students badly/anyhow'

From the examples above, (20a) and (21a) are basic structures from which (20b) and (21b) are derived. We noticed that the pro-form which is a referent of the relativized item is *ọ́*. There are phonological constraints between the last vowel of the relative operator and the pro-form. The constraint is that for subject argument of relative clause construction to be well-formed in Ọ̀họ̀rí, the last vowel of the relative operator must get deleted, while contraction occurs immediately between the remnant of the relative operator and the pro-form. Invariably, there are two phonological processes occurring there: deletion and contraction, as shown below.

Base	**Pro-form**	**Deletion**	**Contraction**	**Output**
ìyé	ọ́ (HTS)	ìyɛ́	ìy-ọ́	ìyọ́

This is the case that happens between the relative morpheme and the pro-form in (20b) and (21b) which is glossed as 'REL-3SG.HTS'. Subject-argument relative, as expressed in (20b) and (21b) reduces the strength of clause constructions in (20a) and (21a) to simple clause constructions. The data in (20b&21b) align with the *correlative relative* as a typology of relative clause construction explained above.

3.1.2. Object Argument

Object argument also passes the test of constituents that can be relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí. When object (direct object) is relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí, the object is displaced from the extraction site to the leftward. There is an overt relative operator that follows the displaced object immediately, as demonstrated below in (22) and (23).

22a. Àhọn ọlọpaa mu àhọ̀n olè lí ńné-itura
3PL police arrest 3PL thieves LOC hotel
'The police arrested the thieves in an/the hotel.'

b. [Àhọn olè] [ìyé àhọ̀n ọlọpaa mú <àhọ̀n olè> lí ńné-itura]
3PL thieves REL 3PL police arrest LOC hotel
'The thieves whom the police arrested in an/the hotel'

23a. Àlàní rhí Àyìndé lọ́nọ̀ọ́ lọ́jáà
Alani see Ayinde LOC-yesterday LOC-market
'Alani saw Ayinde in the market yesterday.'

b. [Àyìndé] [ìyé Àlàní rhí <Àyìndé> lọ́nọ̀ọ́ lọ́jáà]

Ayinde REL Alani see LOC-yesterday LOC-market
'Ayinde whom Alani saw in the market yesterday'

The data presented in (22) and (23) indicate that (22a) and (23a) are basic structures, while (22b) and (23b) are derived structures [+REL CON]. The relative clause constructions in (22b) and (23b) equally weakens the potency of the full sentence structure in (22a) and (23a) to relative clause which is a modifier to the nominal head in (22b) and (23b). The examples in (22b&23b) match the *correlative relative* explained above.

3.1.3. Object of Preposition

The objective complement of a preposition (indirect object) can be relativized gallantly in Ọ̀họ̀rí. This follows the same process, i.e., dislocation of the objective item to the specifier position, which is followed by the overt relative operator, as exemplified in (24b) & (25b).

24a. Àmọ̀kẹ́ gbé ọwọ́ sí òkè.
Àmọ̀kẹ́ carry hand LOC mountain
'Àmọ̀kẹ́ lifted hands.'

b. [Òkè] [ìyé Àmọ̀kẹ́ gbé ọwọ́ sí <òkè>]
Mountain REL Àmọ̀kẹ́ carry hand LOC
'The lifting that Àmọ̀kẹ́ lifts hands'

25a. Mò ó rha ilé sí Èkó.
1Sg HTS buy house LOC Lagos
'I bought a/the house in Lagos.'

b. [Èkó] [ìyé mọ̀ ọ́ rha ilé sí <Èkó>]
Lagos REL 1SG HTS buy house LOC
'The Lagos that I bought a/the house'

(24a&25a) are basic clauses, while (24b&25b) are relative clauses. The relativized items in (24b&25b) are displaced from the neutral domain to the discourse position for relativization. This is also a *correlative* type of relative clause.

3.1.4. Possessor's Relative

The next element can be relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí is possessor of a head noun. When this is done, the possessor is raised to the SPEC domain of the relative clause and straightforwardly takes overt relative operator in the language. For the transformative construction [+REL] to be well converged, the displaced possessor replaces itself with a pro-form that functions syntactically as possessor in the higher construction, as exemplified in (26b&27b).

26a. Eijò kpa ajá ọdẹ̀.
Snake kill dog hunter
'The snake killed the hunter's dog.'

b. [Ọdẹ̀$_i$] [ìyé eijò kpa ajá ẹ̀$_i$]
Hunter REL snake kill dog POSS
'The hunter whom the snake killed his dog'

27a. Tádé jẹ ẹ̀ìbà Ṣọlá
Tádé eat ẹ̀bà Ṣọlá
'Tádé ate Ṣọla's ẹ̀bà.'

b. [Ṣọláᵢ] [ìyé Tádé jẹ ẹ̀ìbà ẹ̀ᵢ]
Ṣọlá REL Tádé eat ẹ̀bà POSS
'Ṣọla whom Tádé ate his ẹ̀bà'

The transformative constructions in (26b&27b) appear that the raised possessors leave a resumptive pronoun in the neutral position. This is another *correlative relative*.

3.1.5. Adverbial Relative

When adverbs are relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí, it is also displaced to the extraposition and immediately takes overt relative operator in the proposition. This is illustrated in (28b&29b).

28a. Àjíún ń sọ̀rhọ̀ díẹ̀díẹ̀.
Àjíún PROG say-word small-small
'Àjíún is talking slowly.'

b. [Díẹ̀díẹ̀] [ìyé Àjíún ń sọ̀rhọ̀ <díẹ̀díẹ̀>]
Small-small REL Àjíún PROG say-word
'Slowly that Àjíún is talking'

29a. Àmọ̀kẹ́ lọ kíákíá.
Àmọ̀kẹ́ go quickly
'Àmọ̀kẹ́ went quickly.'

b. [Kíákíá] [ìyé Àmọ̀kẹ́ lọ <kíákíá>]
Quickly REL Àmọ̀kẹ́ go
'Quickly that Àmọ̀kẹ́ went'

3.1.6. Verb Relative

The next constituent that fails not to pass the test of relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí is verb (V). The approach is done via morphological process called gerund [+NOM], after which the nominalized verb is dislocated to the discourse position, depositing a copy of the verb in-situ. This is exemplified in (30) and (31).

30a. Ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lónìí
Child lazy NEG do work LOC-today
'The lazy child did not work today.'

b. [ʃíʃe] [ìyé ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lónìí]
NOM-work REL child lazy NEG do work LOC-today
'The act of working that the lazy child did not work today'

31a. Ṣọlá jẹ ẹ̀ìbà lí ìjẹ́kújẹ́ lóde
Ṣọla eat ẹ̀ba of badly LOC-function/event
'Ṣọla ate ẹ̀ba badly/anyhow at the function/event.'

b. [Jíjẹ] [ìyé Ṣọlá jẹ ẹ̀bà lí ìjẹ́kújẹ lóde]
Nom-eat REL Ṣọla eat ẹba of badly LOC-function/event
'The act of eating that Ṣọla ate ẹba badly/anyhow at the function/event'

The data above show that (30a) and (31a) are basic clauses, from which (30b) and (31b) are derived. The verbs in (30a) and (31a) are nominalized via gerund and a copy of them remains in canonical position. This idea is common in most of Yorùbá dialects.

3.1.7. Verb Phrase Relative

Apart from the relativization of V, the data collected equally show that verb phrase (VP) can also be relativized in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The relativization of VP here is V plus its object. Just as explained in the V relative, the V in VP also goes through nominalization via gerund and dislocates the nominalized V with its object to the discourse position. Meanwhile, the full copy of the VP still remains in-situ, as demonstrated below.

32a. Ìjọ̀bà yọ́ọ́/á kpèsè ọmi sẹẹrin ọjáà
Government FUT provide water LOC-middle market
'The government will provide water in the market.'

b. [Kpíkpésè ọmi] [ìyé ìjọ̀bà yọ́ọ́/á kpèsè ọmi sẹẹrin ọjáà]
Nom-provide water REL government FUT provide water LOC-middle market
'The act of providing water that government will provide water in the market'

33a. Ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lọ́nìí
Child lazy NEG do work LOC-today
'The lazy child did not work today.'

b. [ʃĩʃe itʃɛ] [ìyé ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lọ́nìí]
NOM-work REL child lazy NEG do work LOC-today
'The act of working that the lazy child did not work today'

The examples given in (32b) and (33b) appear similar with its counterparts in (30b) and (31b). The slight difference is the fact that the object of the V in (32b) & (33b) is successfully dislocated with the V to the extra-linguistic position, resulting to VP relative.

3.1.8. Adjunct Relative

From the data obtained, adjunct also passes the test of relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí. Adjuncts are parts of a sentence which can be cut off without rendering the sentence meaningless. By adjunct, we mean prepositional phrase (PP), as shown in (34) and (35).

34a. Olùkọ́ lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnákúná
Teacher beat 3PL student of severely
'The teacher beats the students severely.'

b. [Lí ìnákúná] [ìyé olùkọ́ lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ <lí ìnákúná>]
Of severely REL teacher beat 3PL student
'The manner that the teacher beats the students severely'

35a. Táyé kọ̀ mọ ọtí lí ìmọkímọ
Taye NEG drink wine of anyhow
'Taye did not drink the wine badly/anyhow.'

b. [Lí ìmọkímọ] [ìyé Táyé kọ̀ mọ ọtí <lí ìmọkímọ>]
Of anyhow REL Taye NEG drink wine
'The manner that Taye did not drink the wine badly'

The process of PP relative follows the pattern of object (direct object), object of preposition (indirect object) and adverbial relatives. Following the foregoing, we claim that Ọ̀họ̀rí operates correlative relative more than other typologies of relative clauses explained above.

3.2. Relativization in Complex Clauses in Ọ̀họ̀rí

However, relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí is not restricted to categorial constituents within the basic structures. It is also possible to relativize complex structures in Ọ̀họ̀rí. Complex structures are structures that contain matrix and embedded clauses. We show the example in (36b).

36a. Olú fọ̀ fú Ìdòwú fọ̀lí kí ọ́ wá
Olu say for Idowu COMP COMP 3SG come
'Olu told Idowu that he should come.'

b. [Fọ̀lí kí ọ́ wá], Olú fọ̀ fú Ìdòwú <Fọ̀lí kí ọ́ wá> [Clausal Relativization]
COMP COM 3SG come Olu say for Idowu
'That he should come, Olu told Idowu.'

Evidently, the data in (36b) show that relativization is feasible in complex structures in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The embedded clause (36b) equally goes through relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí with covert relative operator. Instead of overt relative marker following the relativized clause, there is presence of a comma which links the structures together as a single entity.

3. Dropping Introducer *tí*

Following Awobuluyi (1978:36), relative marker/introducer *tí* can optionally be dropped from relative clause qualifying *ẹni* (person), *ohun* (thing), *títí* (while, period) and several other nouns. Among the examples Awobuluyi cited are given in (37).

37a. Ẹni mo rí mo bá lọ
Person 1SG see 1SG follow go
'I went with the person I saw.'

b. Ohun mo mú bọ̀
Thing 1SG take back
'What I brought back' (Awobuluyi, 1978:36)

The perception in (37a-b) is that the relative clause marker *tí* has been dropped immediately after *ẹni* 'person' (37a) and *ohun* 'thing' (37b). However, our observation is that there are instances, most especially in Ọ̀họ̀rí, where the relative clause marker cannot be dropped or muted. In such

event, the relative clause marker survives, but the qualifying nominal word is dropped. Examples of such events are given in SY and Ọ̀họ̀rí in (38) and (39) respectively.

SY

38a. Èyí (tí) mo fẹ́ nìyẹn
DEM 1SG want FOC-DEM
'That is the one I like/want.'

b. Ilé èyí (tí) mo kọ́ sí Èkó dára ju ilé èyí (tí) mo kọ́ sí Ìbàdàn lọ
House DEM 1SG build LOC Lagos fine better house DEM 1SG build LOC Ibadan go
'The house I built in Lagos is better than the house I built in Ibadan.'

Ọ̀họ̀rí

39a. Ìyé mọ̀ fẹ́ lìyẹ̀n/ìhùn
REL 1SG want FOC-DEM
'That is the one I like/want.'

b. Nné ìyé mọ̀ kọ́ sí Èkó dáa ju nné ìyé mọ̀ kọ́ sí Ìbàdàn lọ̀
House REL 1SG build LOC Lagos fine better house REL 1SG build LOC Ibadan go
'The house that I built in Lagos is better than the house that I built in Ibadan.'

The parallel examples in (38) and (39) show that relative clause marker *tí* is optionally dropped in Standard Yorùbá examples in (38) by putting it in bracket but the relative clause marker *ìyé* survives in Ọ̀họ̀rí examples in (39). We notice that a syntactic operation occurs in (39) which aids the survival of the relative clause marker in Ọ̀họ̀rí. However, the first thing to be sorted out is that the relative clause marker *ìyé* in Ọ̀họ̀rí should not be mistakenly taken for the demonstrative pronoun *èyí* 'this' in Standard Yorùbá. Ọ̀họ̀rí has distinct item for *èyí* 'this' and that is *ìyéìí* 'this', as exemplified in Standard Yorùbá and Ọ̀họ̀rí in (40) and (41).

SY

40a. Mú èyí fún Ọ̀láewé
Take DEM to Ọ̀laewe
'Give this to Ọ̀laewe.'

b. Táyọ̀ ti ra èyí
Tayọ̀ PERF buy DEM
'Tayọ̀ has bought this.'

Ọ̀họ̀rí

41a. Mé ìyéìí fỌ̀láewé
Take DEM to-Ọ̀laewe
'Give this to Ọ̀laewe.'

b. Táyọ̀ tin rha ìyéìí
Tayọ PERF buy DEM
'Tayọ has bought this.'

From the examples given in (40) and (41), it is clearly shown that Ọ̀họ̀rí has distinct equivalent item for the demonstrative pronoun èyí 'this'. Now, the question that may likely ring in one's mind is that, how come the relative clause marker survives and the qualifying demonstrative pronoun in Ọ̀họ̀rí examples (39) is dropped? The answer is not far fetch. The syntactic operation in (39) appears that if any relative clause construction where qualifying nominal item is èyí 'this' is to be rendered in Ọ̀họ̀rí, the demonstrative (qualifying) nominal word ìyéìí 'this' is dropped for the relative clause marker *ìyé* in Ọ̀họ̀rí. In such utterances, the relative clause marker *ìyé* in Ọ̀họ̀rí performs dual syntactic functions – as qualifying head noun of relative clause and as relative clause marker. This is unlike Standard Yorùbá examples in (38), where the relative clause marker is dropped and the qualifying head noun èyí 'this' survives. Another simple way presenting this syntactic manifestation in the two varieties is to claim that the demonstrative pronoun ìyéìí 'this' in Ọ̀họ̀rí cannot co-occur side-by-side with the Ọ̀họ̀rí relative clause marker *ìyé.* If in any occasion such utterances arise in Ọ̀họ̀rí, the demonstrative pronoun ìyéìí 'this' as a matter of fact bows or mutes for the relative clause marker *ìyé* to take charge. This syntactic abomination in Ọ̀họ̀rí is against what happens in Standard Yorùbá, where the relative clause marker *tí* can optionally be dropped for the qualifying demonstrative head noun èyí 'this' in relative clause construction and at the same time, the two items, i.e., èyí and *tí*, can co-exist together. We are not surprised with this revelation in Ọ̀họ̀rí because (Awobuluyi, 1978:36) equally submitted that dropping the introducer *tí* is actually rare in Standard Yorùbá, though not in some of its dialects. Thus, Ọ̀họ̀rí is one the Yorùbá dialects which its relative clause marker is rarely dropped. In other words, Ọ̀họ̀rí relative clause marker regularly and overtly presents.

Another interesting discovery is that, in conditional clauses where the relative clause marker *tí* (though it is a conditional marker there) shows up in Standard Yorùbá, Ọ̀họ̀rí has unique marker, which is equivalent to *tí* in this context and that is *njí*. The conditional clause marker *njí* is never dropped in Ọ̀họ̀rí conditional clauses but survived. Let us consider the Standard Yorùbá and Ọ̀họ̀rí examples in (42) and (43).

SY

42a. Tí mo bá lówó mà á kọ́lé
COND 1SG if LOC-money 1SG FUT build-house
'If I have money, I will build a house.'

b. Mà á kọ́lé tí mo bá lówó
1SG FUT build-house COND 1SG if LOC-money
'I will build a house, if I have money.'

Ọ̀họ̀rí

43a. Njí ǹ bà nówó ma à kọ́né
COND 1SG if LOC-money 1SG FUT build-house
'If I have money, I will build a house.'

b. Ma à kọ́né njí ǹ bà nówó
1SG FUT build-house COND 1SG if LOC-money

'I will build a house, If I have money.'

The assumed Ọ̀họ̀rí relative clause marker in (43) overtly shows up. Even in Standard Yorùbá, the assumed relative marker in (42) is obligatorily present, otherwise, the expressions in (42) will result to ill-formed utterances. In a nutshell, while the relative clause marker is optionally dropped in rare utterances in Standard Yorùbá, Ọ̀họ̀rí relative clause marker overtly and regularly presents in its relative clause constructions. We navigate to the derivation of the relativized constituents discussed so far.

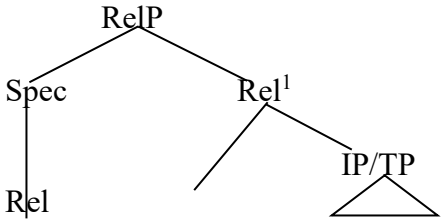
5. Derivation of the Relative Constructions in Ọ̀họ̀rí

The goal of this section is to discuss the projection process of relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí. Based on the data obtained and the number of constituents that passed the test of relativization in Ọ̀họ̀rí, we are going to discuss four structural projection types of relative clause in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The first structure accounts for the constituents that leave a pro-form in the canonical position after dislocation to the discourse position for relativization, such as subject argument and N possessor. The second structure captures the constituents that leave no phonetic item in the extraction sites after dislocation to the leftward for relativization, such as object argument, object of preposition, adverb, and propositional phrase. The third structure accounts for the constituents that drop a copy of its property in-situ after raising to the specifier position for relativization, which include verb and verb phrase. The fourth structure caters for the complex structure (clausal projection), which is similar to the object argument projection and its counterparts but has zero nucleus in its projection. However, following Rizzi (1997, 2003) which states that complementizer phrase (CP) analysis should be split into different function projections that made it up, namely Force Phrase (ForceP), Focus Phrase (FocP), Interrogative Phrase (InterP), Topic Phrase (TopP), and Relative Phrase (RelP) simply because each of them is separable from one to the other in discourse. Thus, we adopt Relative Phrase (RelP) in our projection analysis. Consequently, we propose in this paper that relative clause construction in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá is headed by the Rel^0 head which is morphologically realized as *ìyé,* merges with IP/TP as complement to derive its syntactic projection. The projections fall under the sketch [RelP... [Rel... [IP/TP...]]].

5.1. Subject Argument and Possessor's Projection

The structure here accounts for the subject argument and possessor's projection. Before the start of projection, the relativized constituent *olùkọ́* scopes to the Spec-RelP. Thus, the projection process is that the head of RelP, Rel which is morphologically represented with *ìyọ́* [+Rel-Pro-form] internally merges with the complement, IP/TP *lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnàkunà* to project Rel-bar and Rel-bar projects into RelP *ìyọ́ lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnàkunà*. There is extended projection principle (EPP) in the structure. Hence, the SPEC, *olùkọ́* attracts RelP to project maximally. This derivation equally accounts for the possessor's projection, which leaves a pro-form in the canonical domain. The derivation is illustrated below in (44).

44.

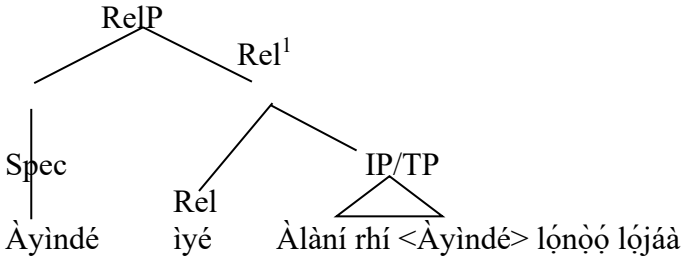


Olùkọ́ ìyọ́[+REL-PRO-FORM] <olùkọ́> lu àhọ̀n akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ lí ìnàkunà

5.2. Object Argument, Object of Preposition, Adverb and Prepositional Phrase Projection

The next structural projection caters for the object argument, object of preposition, adverb and prepositional phrase projection. As schemed out in (45) below, the relativized element, *Àyìndé* is firstly dislocated to the Spec-RelP. Thus, the locus of the RelP, Rel^{o}, morphologically represented as *ìyé* internally merges with IP/TP as complement, *Àlàní rhí lọ́nọ̀ọ lọ́jáà* which projects Rel-bar and later projects into RelP, *ìyé Àlàní rhí lọ́nọ̀ọ́ lọ́jáà*. To satisfy the EPP, the SPEC, *Àyìndé* attracts the RelP, which now projects maximally. This derivation also captures object of preposition, adverb, and prepositional phrase. The structural representation is presented below in (45).

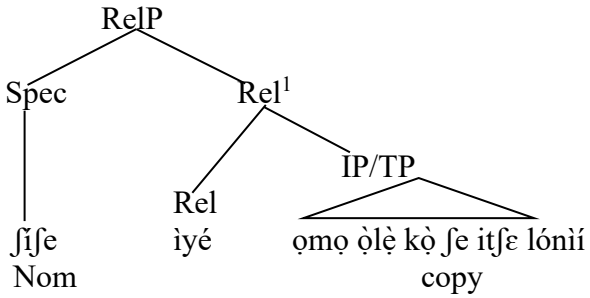
45.



5.3. Verb and Verb Phrase Projection

The third structure accounts for the projection of verb and verb phrase. The projection type indicates that the verb to be relativized, *ʃe* has been copied, nominalized and displaced to the specifier position before the projection kicks off. Therefore, the head of the RelP, Rel^{o} represented by *ìyé* internally merges with the IP/TP, *ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lọ́ní*, which projects Rel-bar and the Rel-bar later projects RelP, *ìyé ọmọ ọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ ʃe itʃɛ lọ́ní*. The projection also has EPP. Thus, the SPEC, *ʃĩʃe* attracts the RelP for maximal convergence. The derivation (Chomsky, 1995) equally accounts for the verb phrase projection, where the verb is copied, nominalized and dislocated with its object to the specifier domain. The V and VP projection is a pre-syntactic derivation type because the nominalized V, though valued, it is copied and raised to the Spec-RelP outside the scope of the relative structure but not deleted. If the nominalized and valued V is deleted in the extraction site, the derivation will crash. The configurational derivation is illustrated below in (46).

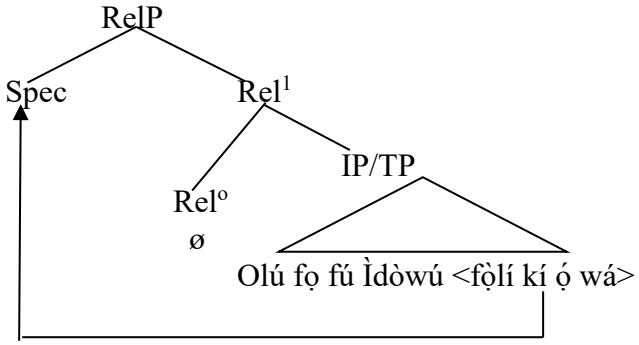
46.



5.4. Clausal Projection

The last projection in this section is the derivation of the complex structure which is labelled as Clausal projection here. The relativized constituent in (47) below, *fọ̀lí kí ó wá,* firstly pipe pied to the discourse position. The Rel^{o}, which has zero representation internally merges with the IP/TP, *Olú fọ fú Ìdòwú* which projects Rel-bar and the Rel-bar projects into RelP. Thus, the SPEC, *fọ̀lí kí ó wá* attracts the RelP for maximal derivation. The structural diagram is schematized beneath in (47).

47.



6. Conclusion

This paper has critically examined relative clause constructions in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá. It discussed four relative clause types in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá, as contained in (Mark 2002) and Lehmann (1984). It emphasized that out of the four relative clause constructions, Ọ̀họ̀rí operates correlative relative above other types, as demonstrated in the data presented under relativized constituents. The article also contended that Ọ̀họ̀rí relative clause operator is rarely dropped across its relative clause constructions. Even, if the relative clause operator *ìyé* features side by side with demonstrative pronoun *ìyéìí* 'this' (èyí 'this' in Standard Yorùbá), the demonstrative item *ìyéìí* 'this' is muted for the relative clause operator *ìyé.* The article rounded off its discourse by showing and discussing the structural derivations of the constituents that passed relativization test in Ọ̀họ̀rí.

References

Adeniyi, H. R. (2000). *Ilò-Èdè àti Ẹ̀ka-Èdè Yorùbá: Apá Kìíní.* Lagos, Harade Publisher.

Adesola, O. (2005). Pronouns and Null Operators – A-bar Dependencies and Relations in Yorùbá. PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA.

Ajiboye, O. (2004). Genitive Constructions in Yorùbá. Paper read at the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Harvard University, Cambridge. April 2-4.

Ajiboye, O. (2005). Topics on Yorùbá Nominal Expressions. PhD Thesis, UBC.

Ajiboye, O. (2006). A Morpho-syntactic Account of *ni* in Mọ̀bà Yorùbá. *Journal of West African Languages,* XIII 2.

Akinkugbe, O. O. (1978). A Comparative Phonology of Yorùbá Dialects: Ìṣẹ́kìrí and Igálà. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Ibadan.

Akintoye, O. S. (2017). Relative and Conditional Clause Constructions in Ìyàgbà Dialect. *Journal of Languages and Education,* 3(2), 15-28.

Andreea, S. C. (2010). Clefting and Extraposition in English. *ICAMA Journal*, 32, 7-37.

Awobuluyi, O. (1978). *Essentials of Yoruba Grammar.* Oxford University Press, Ibadan.
Awobuluyi, O. (1988). Aspect of Contemporary Standard Yorùbá in Dialectological Perspective. J.F. Ọdunjọ Memorial Lectures Organizing Committee, Lagos.
Awobuluyi, O. (1992). Aspects of Contemporary Standard Yorùbá in Dialectological Perspective. *New Findings in Yorùbá Studies,*1-79.
Awobuluyi, O. (1998). *Àwọn Ẹ̀ka-Èdè Yorùbá. Àpérò Ẹ̀gbẹ́ Èdè Yorùbá.* Bodija. Ibadan, Pastoral Institute Publisher.
Bamgbọṣe, A. (1986). *Yorùbá*: *A Language in Transition.* Ibadan, University Press.
Bamgbọṣe, A. (1990). *Fọnọ́lọ́jì àti Gírámà Yorùbá*. University Press Limited, Ibadan.
Chomsky, N. (1993). A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. In Hale and Keyser (Eds.), *View from Building,* 20(5), 1-52.
Chomsky, N. (1995). *Minimalist Program.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Chomsky, N. (1998). The Minimalist Enquiries: The Framework. MIT. *Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, 15, 30-75.
Chomsky, N. (2002). *On Nature and Language.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Downing, B. (1978). Some Universals of Relative Clause Structure. In: J. Greenberg (ed). *Universals of Human Languages*, 4, 375-418.
Erteschik-Shir, N. (2007). *Information Structure: The Syntax-Discourse Interface*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Givon, T. (1984). *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Approach*. John Benjamins Publisher, Amsterdam.
Halliday, M. A. (1967). Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics,* 3, 199-244.
Hastings, R. (2004). The Syntax and Semantics of Relativization and Quantification: The Case of Ouechua. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, Cornell.
Ilọri, J. F. (2010). Nominal Constructions in Igálà and Yorùbá. PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, Adekunle Ajasin University.
Ilọri, J. F. (2017). Interrogative Projections in Yoruboid Languages. *Journal of West African Languages*, 44(1), 1-17.
Keenan, E. (1985). Relative Clause. In: T. Shopen (ed). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description,* 2, 141-170.
Lehmann, C. (1984). Der Relativsatz. *Gunter Narrverlag, Tubingen*, 3, 15-32.
Mark, V. (2002). *The Syntax of Relativization*. Academisch Proefchrift, LOT Trans Publisher, 103512 JK Utrecht, Netherlands.
Mureili, A. (2008). Relative Constructions in European Languages: A Close Look at Non-standard Varieties. *MEL-Kompaktvoirlesung*, 1, 1-13.
Rizzi, L. (1997). The Fine Structure of Left Periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (Ed.), *Element of Grammar*, Dordrecht, Kluwer, 89-110.
Rizzi, L. (2003). Locality and Left Periphery. In Belletti (Ed.), *Structures and Beyond: the Cartography of Syntactic.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

End Notes

[1]Just like when subject is focused in Standard Yorùbá, there is a pro-form *ó* showing up in the canonical position of the focused subject. This syntactic event equally occurs in subject relative in Ọ̀họ̀rí. Different submissions have been reported on the pro-form *ó* in the literature. Awobuluyi

(1988) sees the pro-form *ó* as preverbal modifier. Ajiboye (2005:104-105) analyzes the pro-form *ó* as inflectional element that instantiates Specifier-Head agreement in IP.