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PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE ÌLÀJẸ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ

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Abstract

Previous studies on Yorùbá pronouns have not been able to describe the structural hierarchical composition of the features that inform their syntactic distribution. This paper, therefore, provided an account of such composition in the personal pronoun of Ìlàjẹ, a south-eastern Yorùbá dialect, with a view to describing how the lexicon employs these feature complexes in matching each form of the pronoun with its functions in syntax. Within the Harley's Feature Geometry Framework, data collected from the native speakers of Ìlàjẹ purposively selected from Ìgbọ́kọ̀dá, Ugbò, Ayétòrò, Ùlóghó, and Ìkórígho in Ìlàjẹ local government area were analysed to reveal the syntactic and morphological functions of the personal pronouns in the dialect. The paper identifies four main features in the pronoun: person, number, case and saliency. These features were further analysed to be specified as follows: person as [±participant, ±speaker]; number as [±count, ±singular]; case as [±nominative, ±accusative]; and saliency as [±definiteness, ±logophoric].The paper established that the dependent and independent personal pronouns are distinct sub groups of the pronoun in the lexicon having their syntactic distributions driven by different saliency feature specifications.

Keywords: long pronouns, short pronouns, participant feature, logophoric pronoun, Ìlàjẹ Yorùbá

1. Introduction

This paper provides an account of pronouns in Ìlàjẹ, a south-eastern Yorùbá dialect spoken in Ìlàjẹ Local Government of Ondo State. There have been various studies that can be linked to different aspects of the pronoun such as its reference and logophoricity (Adéwọlé, 1992; Manfredi, 1995; Adésọlá, 2005); its tonal specification and cliticization (Akinlabí, 1985; Akinlabí & Liberman, 2000) and its forms and morphology (Stahlke, 1974; Awóbùlúyì, 2001a;2001b; 2004; 2008; 2013; Bámgbóṣé, 1967; Ilori, 2004; Adétùgbọ, 1971; Táíwò, 2007; Adésuyan, 2008; Japhet, 2012; Awóbùlúyì, 1992).

In the popular pedagogical typology, Yorùbá pronouns are classified into the long (independent) or short (dependent) forms (Awóbùlúyì, 2013; Yusuf, 1998). Parallel to this classification into dependent and independent forms, there exists another classification where the long forms are not considered pronouns but are called *pronominals* because they are taken to be grammatical nouns instead of being basic pronouns (Bámgbóṣé, 1967, 1990).

The broad classification of Yorùbá pronouns into the long and short forms (Awóbùlúyì, 2001a; 2001b, 2008, 2013) is structurally informed; long pronouns have two syllables (hence the adjective 'long' used in its description), while short pronouns are monosyllabic. This prosody-based typology produces two subclasses: the pronoun and the clitics. Here the long forms are called pronouns while their short counterparts are referred to as *pronominal clitics* (Stahlke, 1974; Akinlabí, 1985; Manfredi, 1995; Akinlabí & Liberman, 2000). Akinlabí's (1985) pronominal clitics analysis specifically proves that the high-toned third person plural affirmative subject, *wọ́n*, demonstrates the basic form of the clitic. Other pronominal clitics having the mid tone are considered to have undergone tonal underspecification, where the supposed high tone is underspecified as mid tone, the default tone meant for toneless syllable. While tonal change in Yorùbá pronouns is acknowledged by other scholars, the claim that it leads to cliticization has been challenged. Awóbùlúyì (2008) has shown that the minimum morphemic unit that

defines a pronoun is evident in the short pronoun which should be thus considered as a full pronoun rather than a clitic. Following Awóbùlúyì (1992)[1], Japhet (2012) also shows that the high tone is not the basic tone of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ. Japhet (2012) proves further that the pronouns undergo phonological processes in Ìlàjẹ instead of cliticization, a syntactic process proposed by Akinlabi (1985).

The question on the forms of the pronoun goes beyond mere lexical typology; it extends to the morphological properties as conceived in the following perspectives. First, there is a derivational view where the short form is derived from its long counterpart through the phonological reduction (Awóbùlúyì, 1992). We shall refer to this view as *Reduction Proposal*. The second view claims, in the contrary, that the long forms are derived from their short counterparts through affixation (Awóbùlúyì, 2008; 2013). This is a direct opposite of the Reduction Proposal, it will be referred to in this paper as *Affixation Proposal*. Third view maintains a non-derivational hypothesis where each pronoun (either long or short form) is considered basic in the lexicon (Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀, 2005; Táíwò, 2007). We shall call this view the *Lexicalist Proposal*.

In order to extend the various proposals held by scholars on Yorùbá pronouns to Ìlàjẹ, there are some issues that have to be addressed. First, what are the feature specifications of the various forms of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ? Second, what is the major feature distinguishing the independent pronouns from their dependent counterparts? How do we distinguish the logophor from other third person singular forms of the pronoun? These questions indicate an obvious gap which we shall try to fill in the present paper using data from Ìlàjẹ dialect.

To properly address the three issues stated in the last paragraph, the present paper broadly focuses on the morphosyntactic features of the personal pronouns and establishes how these features contribute to their syntactic derivation of each pronoun. Specifically, the paper seeks to achieve the following goals. First, it identifies the major morphosyntactic difference between the dependent and the independent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. Second, it reveals the difference between the third person singular logophoric pronoun, *òghun*, and any other form of the third person singular pronoun. Third, itemises the lexical entries on which the intuition of the syntactic computation of the pronoun is based in Ìlàjẹ. Researching into the lexical entries of Ìlàjẹ pronoun is a remarkable contribution of the paper to the major debates on Yorùbá pronouns.

2. Theoretical Frameworks

The paper adopts the Feature Geometry Framework (Harley 1994; Harley and Ritter, 2002a, b) to ensure proper interpretation at the syntactic and phonological levels and thereby satisfying the phonological as well as the syntactic interface of the morphology of pronouns. This approach has two major benefits. First, it ensures the study provides relevant information on the peculiar distributions of the pronoun in the clause system (syntactic output domain) as well as its phonological output (as evident in the various forms, such as: the long, short, affirmative and negative forms). Second, it ensures that the analysis at each domain (phonology or syntax) employs an approach suitable to the domain being described.

In order to explore the morphosyntactic features that generate the syntactic distribution of each pronoun, Feature Geometry Framework analyses the hierarchical morpheme-internal structure of the pronoun. Feature Geometry has the following benefits in pronoun analysis. First, it provides a far more detailed lexicon-based analysis than the

[1] In Awóbùlúyì (1992), the high-toned syllable segment, *ó*, is distinguished from the covert third person singular pronoun.

one expected from the leading syntax-driven linguistic theories: Distributed Morphology[2] and Minimalist Program[3] where little attention is given to the internal structure of the items in the lexicon. Second, Feature Geometry provides a discourse-based analysis of the person feature stating features like [speaker/ author] and [hearer/addressee] which are often overlooked in other feature-based morphosyntactic frameworks. Third, contrary to the basic assumption held in Generative Phonology (Chomsky and Halle, 1968) and Generative Syntax (Chomsky, 1995)) that features are generally unordered, Feature Geometry accounts for the morpheme-internal hierarchy of the morphosyntactic features.

In implementing the Feature Geometry, this paper employs the bivalent [±feature] approach, which is more liberal than Harley's (1994) monovalent approach where the participant status on the third person feature of the pronoun is undermined (just as in Benveniste (1971)[4], Bloomfield (1933)[5] and Forchheimer (1953)).[6]In this paper, we follow the analysis of Perlmutter (1971), Ingram (1978),[7] Noyer (1992), Farkas (1990) and Nevin (2007) where the participant feature is specified for the third person pronoun. According to Nevin (2007:274), the [±Participant] accounts for [+part] feature of the first and second person pronouns and the [-part] non-participant feature of the third person pronoun. Case features are specified as follows: nominative is [+Nom, -Acc]; the accusative is [-Nom, +Acc]; the possessive is [-Nom, -Acc].

1. A geometric tree of bivalent-valued morphosyntactic features of the pronoun[8]

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[2] There is no Lexicon in Distributed Morphology (DM) in the sense familiar from generative grammar of the 1970s and 1980s. In other words DM unequivocally rejects the Lexicalist Hypothesis. The jobs assigned to the Lexicon component in earlier theories are distributed through various other components. For linguists committed to the Lexicalist Hypothesis, this aspect of DM may be the most difficult to understand or to accept, but it is nevertheless a central tenet of the theory.
Because there is no Lexicon in DM, the term lexical item has no significance in the theory, nor can anything be said to 'happen in the Lexicon', nor can anything be said to be 'lexical' or 'lexicalized.' Because of the great many tasks which the Lexicon was supposed to perform, the terms 'lexical' and 'lexicalized' are in fact ambiguous (Aronoff 1992). Noyer (nd) www.ling.upenn.edu

[3] Inclusiveness Condition

> The interface levels consist of nothing more than arrangements of lexical features.
> (Chomsky, 1995: 225)

This condition, which holds in Chomsky (1995), prevents syntax from directly accessing the internal structure of the pronoun. Syntax simply interprets the morphosyntactic features with the assumption that an item is considered fully inflected from the lexicon. The inflection process being morphological is not the primary concern of the syntactic component. Yet, the same syntax which seems to have little to do with morphology due to its strong lexicalist hypothesis cannot do without the morphosyntactic features stored in the less-studied lexicon.

[4] Benvéniste (1971:217) writes:
It is not enough to distinguish them (the personal pronouns) from the other pronouns by a denomination that separates them. It must be seen that the ordinary definition of the personal pronouns as containing the three terms, I, you and he, simply destroys the notion of "person." "Person" belongs only to I/you and is lacking in he. (The expression enclosed in parentheses is added to this excerpt for emphasis.

[5] "1st & 2nd persons are personal, 3rd person is definite" Bloomfield (1933:225).

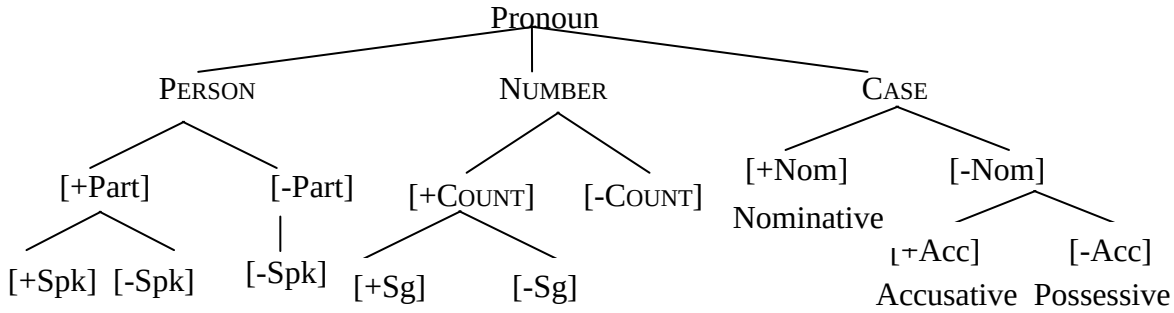
[6] "Whoever does not act a role in the conversation either as speaker or as addressed remains in the great pool of the impersonal, referred to as 'third person.'" Forchheimer (1953:5).

[7]On the bivalent [±Participant] feature specification of the third person pronoun, Ingram (1978) uses [±speaker] and [±hearer] features.

[8] Using instances from Standard Yorùbá, a reviewer has requested what becomes of a possessive pronoun with its feature [-Nom, -Acc] it occur in such syntactic constructions below where the NP occurs as subject and object in (a) and (b) respectively?

a. Ìwé è rẹ kò dára 'Your paper is not good'
b. Mo rí ọmọ ọ̀n rẹ 'I saw your child?'

Our response is shows that the [-Nom, -Acc] feature applies only to the pronoun which remains possessive regardless of the syntactic position of the entire NP. The NP containing the possessive pronoun can be Nominative or Accusative. The possessive pronoun is a modifier within the NP.



3. Morphophonemic composition of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ

In Ìlàjẹ syntax, the distribution of the independent pronoun differs from that of its dependent counterpart. An independent (long) pronoun cannot function as a subject or an object of a verb except the pronoun occurs as a complex nominal. In this way, it has to be structurally complex occurring as a noun phrase. It is either the pronoun is modified by a modifier, or it is conjoined to another pronoun.

2 **ùwọ òghun-ún gbà**
2sg 1sg-SHTS[9] agree
'He and you agreed'

3 **ùwọ èyí mà-á gbà**
2sg who know-SHTS agree
'You, who were aware, accepted the term'

4 ***ùwọ-ọ́ gbà**
2sg-SHTS agree
(intended meaning: 'You agreed')

5 ***òghun-ún gbà**
3sg-SHTS agree
(intended meaning: 'He agreed.')

The same rule also applies when a long pronoun functions as an object of a verb. The long pronoun is disallowed in (9) and (10) because it is not licensed in that position.

6 **Ìgè-é rí èmi ìrẹ**
Ìgè see 1sg 2sg
'Ige saw you and me'

7 **Ọlójà-á rí èmi[10] Ìgè**
Ọlọ́jà-SHTS see 1sg Ige

[9]A floating subject-marking *subject high tone syllable* (SHTS) usually occurs immediately after the long subject pronouns. The occurrence of a floating high tone on the last syllable of the NP or a long pronoun that functions as a subject in a clause is a syntactic norm in Yoruba. This may result in the lengthening of the last vowel of that subject.

[10] A reviewer took this as an emphatic use of the pronoun, a process that is common in Standard Yoruba. However, this is not the case in Ìlàjẹ. The pronoun is not a deliberate emphatic use but resulting from conjoining a pronouns with a noun. This conjoining is also possible in Standard Yorùbá where the overt conjunction 'ati' is used.

Ọlójà-á rí èmi àti Ìgè
Ọlọ́jà-SHTS see 1sg conj. Ige
'Ọlọ́jà saw me and Ìgè.'

Where Standard Yorùbá uses the overt conjunction 'ati', Ìlàjẹ uses a covert conjunction. See note 40 in Japhet (2012: 43) for more details.

'Ọlọ́jà saw me and Ìgè.'

8 **Ọlọ́jà-á rí èmi èyí lọ**
Ọlọ́jà-SHTS see 2sg which go
Ọlọ́jà saw me, who went (there).'

9 ***Ige-é rí èmi**
Ige-SHTS see 1sg
intended meaning: 'Ige saw me'

10 ***Ige-é rí ùwọ**
Ige-SHTS see 2sg
(intended meaning: 'Ige saw you')

The form of a dependent subject pronoun depends on the structure of the preverb it occurs with. Where the subject combines with the preverbal element *ó* alone, the subject is considered affirmative in polarity. A parallel negative construction occurs where the negator is added, thus having the preverbal *ó* and the preverbal negator *è* (derived from *kè*) combined to form *éè* (Sàláwù, 2001; Olúmùyíwá, 2006: 34; 2008: 40). Therefore, there are various forms of the singular subject pronouns in affirmative and negative clauses as shown in (11) below.

11(a)**Mo gbà**
1sg agreed
'I agreed'

(b)**Méè**[11] **gbà**
1sg-not agreed
'I did not agree'

(c)**wo gbà**
2sg agreed
'you agreed'

(d)**wéè gbà**
2sg-not agreed
'You did not agree'

(e)**ó gbà**
3sg agreed
'he agreed'

(f) **éè gbà**
3sg-not agreed
'He did not agree'

(g) **a gbà**
1pl agreed
'We agreed'

(h) **áà gbà**
1pl-neg agreed
'We did not agree'

(i) **an-án gbà**
3pl agreed
'They agreed'

(j) **án-àn gbà**

[11] There is no dialect-specific evidence in Ìlàjẹ that *éè* is derived from that *kéè* where there can be a proposal for consonant deletion. The authors are aware of such development in Ekiti dialect. But that cannot be substantiated in Ìlàjẹ within the scope of the present paper.

they-neg agreed
'They did not agree'

In the object position, the dependent pronoun[12] usually displays tone polarity with the verb depending on the tone on the last syllable of the verb selecting such pronoun. A high-toned object pronoun co-occurs with a verb that ends with a low-toned syllable or mid-toned as in (12) and (13). On the other hand, a mid-toned object pronoun co-occurs with a verb ending in a high-toned syllable as in (14).

12(a)**Adé ghò mí**
Ade look-at 1sg
'Ade looked at me'

(b) **Adé ghò wá**
Ade look-at 1pl
'Ade looked at us'

(c) **Adé ghò rẹ́**
Ade look-at 2sg
'Ade looked at you'

(d) **Adé ghò ghán**
Ade look-at 3pl
'Ade looked at them'

13(a)**èyí yẹ mí**
this fit 1sg
'This fits me'

(b) **èyí yẹ wá**
this fit 1pl
'This fits us'

(c) **èyí yẹ rẹ́**
this fit 2sg
'This fits you'

(d)**èyí yẹ ghán**
this fit 3pl
'This fits them'

14(a)**Olú rí mi**
Olu see 1sg
'Olu saw me'

(b) **Olú rí wa**
Olu see 1pl
'Olu saw us'

(c) **Olú rí rẹ**
Olu see 2sg
'Olu saw you'

(d) **Olú rí ghan**
Olu see 3pl
'Olu saw them'

This polarity in object tone has also been noted in Standard Yorùbá (Bámgbóṣé, 1966; Akinlabí, 1985; Akinlabí and Liberman, 2000; Awóbùlúyì, 2008; 2013). Specifically, Akinlabí (1985) has argued that the high tone on the short object pronoun is a basic tone. From the point of tonal underspecification, Akinlabí (1985) claims that the mid-toned counterpart is an underspecified high tone. Following from Akinlabí's view, the current analysis affirms that the high tone exists in the lexicon. However, this high

[12]The long pronoun does not demonstrate this tonal characteristic.

tone is identified as a grammatical tone with an object-marking function instead of being the actual lexical tone of the object. It is conceived as an existing underlying tone which only surfaces when forming tonal polarity with the tone on the last syllable of the verb. The selection of a high-toned object pronoun or its mid-toned alternative is a proof to show that the tone of the object pronoun is strictly determined by the verb selecting it[13].

For the possessive forms of the pronoun, Ìlàjẹ́ differs from Standard Yorùbá in the use of the mid tone syllable, henceforth (MTS), as a genitive case marker (Awóbùlúyì, 2013: 241-260). However, in the derivation of the first and second person singular possessive pronouns *mi* and *rẹ́,* Ìlàjẹ́ and Standard Yorùbá have a uniform process. These two possessive pronouns, *mi* and *rẹ́,* go with a floating low tone henceforth called the low-toned syllable (LTS) instead of the MTS cited above.

15(a)**uná-à**[14] **mi**
fire-LTS 1sg
'my fire'

(b) **uná-à** **rẹ́**
fire-LTS 2sg
'your fire'

The form of the pronoun reflects its syntactic environment as evident in the way it occurs with the preverbal high-toned element *ó* as well as the sentence negation marker, *è*. The high-toned preverbal element *ó* is the segmental realisation of the subject high-toned syllable morphemically represented as inflection, [infl][15] in Awóyalé (1995). In the current analysis, this inflection denotes the default morphemic feature for the Ìlàjẹ́ affirmative clause thus represented as [+Sbj][16]. The addition of the preverbal negator, *è,* creates another form which combines [+Sbj] with [+ Neg] in such a way that the negative subject has to be specified as [+Sbj, +Neg] while its affirmative counterpart with polarized [+Neg] feature, is specified as [+Sbj, -Neg].

4. Morphophonemic-conditioned feature specifications in Ìlàjẹ́ pronouns

The fact that independent pronouns are usually disyllabic while their dependent counterparts are usually monosyllabic has been identified by Manfredi (1995:93) as an important cross-Kwa noun-hood prosodic structure[17]. Based on the analysis in this section, the morphophonemic distribution of Ìlàjẹ́ pronoun has three major forms, namely: subject, object and possessive forms. Feature geometry tree analysis of each of these pronoun forms is associated with the nearest syntactic head that determines its morphophonemic form. The subject depends on the high-toned element, *ó*. A dependent object pronoun is either high-toned or mid-toned, depending on the tone on the last syllable of its verb. The possessive form is marked with a low toned syllable or without any tone depending on whether the low tone of the deleted first syllable of the possessor is retained or not.

The dependent object with the verb tonal polarity is conceived to be specifying the verbal tone feature showing that it is an object to the verb selecting it. Using feature polarity, the object feature is marked as [-Sbj] contrasting with the [+Sbj] feature of the subject. To indicate the verb-object tonal configuration of the selecting verb, the [-Sbj]

[13]This object-marking tone does not apply to the long pronoun, the nouns and noun phrases.
[14] We cannot justify the evidence of a particle here. However, we cannot claim that is not plausible, but it will take a more vigorous morphological analysis beyond the scope of the paper.
[15]Awóyalé's (1995) analysis of inflection has the feature complex of [±Tense, ±Agreement] following Chomsky's Principle and Parameter framework.
[16]Bamgbose (1980) analyses this as concord.
[17]Manfredi (1995:93) remarks thus: '… Yoruba clitics are monosyllabic while nonclitics are disyllabic. Clitics lack a prefix, a reliable cross-Kwa diagnostic of noun-hood…. Kwa nouns are minimally bisyllabic….'

object feature has to specify further the [+L] (low) for low toned verbs and [-L] (non-low) for mid-toned verbs and high-toned verbs. Therefore, a high-toned object and its mid-toned counterpart will have the following specifications: [-Sbj, +H] and [-Sbj, -H] respectively.

While all possessive forms are marked with [+Poss] feature, the contrast created by the floating low toned syllable (LTS) is explored to be specified as [+L] tonal feature for the first and second singular forms which contrasts with the [-L] specification of other possessive forms which lack the floating low-toned syllable. The phenomenon known as tone polarity has been widely attested in the literature (Cahill, 2004; Trommer, 2005, 2007, 2008; Stirtz, 2012 and de Lacy, 2012). For Cahill (2004), tone polarity occurs due to a surface constraint requiring specific suffixes to have the opposite tone from preceding stems. Yip (2002) shows that tone polarity can come from a dissimilation involving underlying High or Low tone. Similarly, Trommer (2005) reports in Kanuri a tone polarity that develops from dissimilation involving underlying contour tones. In the current study, the pronoun derivational affiliation with the verb tonal feature shows its strict dependence on the verb.

From a syntactic point of view, structural case function of tone is not new in the literature. Schadeberg (1986) attests tone as a case marker on objects in Umbundu. In Yorùbá, the tonal analysis of structural nominative case is already implied in Awóyalé (1995)[18]. Similarly, Japhet's (2012)[19] follows a similar structural perspective in analysing the tonal behaviour of the dependent object pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. The high tone is interpreted as a grammatical tone having its entry in the lexicon as a transformational item evident in the pronoun. What seems to operate between the verb and its dependent pronoun object is the polarity of the tone on the last syllable of the verb with the tone of the pronoun. Therefore, high-toned objects are derived through tone polarity with the verb. In the present study, the tonal change[20] is structurally linked to the verb which requires tonal marking for accusative case relation. Since the low tone is never used for the dependent object, each verb can only choose between a mid-toned object output and a high-toned alternative depending on which forms tonal polarity with the verb. For instance, a mid-toned verb can only establish tonal polarity with the high-toned dependent object pronoun. A high-toned verb will establish tonal polarity with a mid-toned dependent object pronoun. This object-marking tone, represented in the analysis as [Obj], relates the verbal tone to the object to portray a tonal contrast pattern ([mid] and [high]) with the verb indicating a tonal phenomenon displayed by the dependent object pronoun as a verb-dependent tonal condition. It is expected that the object marking tone encodes the relevant features[21] of the verb through which the verb-object agreement is established.

The Feature geometric tree of the morphophonemic features analysis is given in (16) below. The [+Sbj, ±Neg] specifies the subject forms; the [-Sbj, ±H] specifies the object forms; the [+Poss, ±L] specifies the possessive forms.

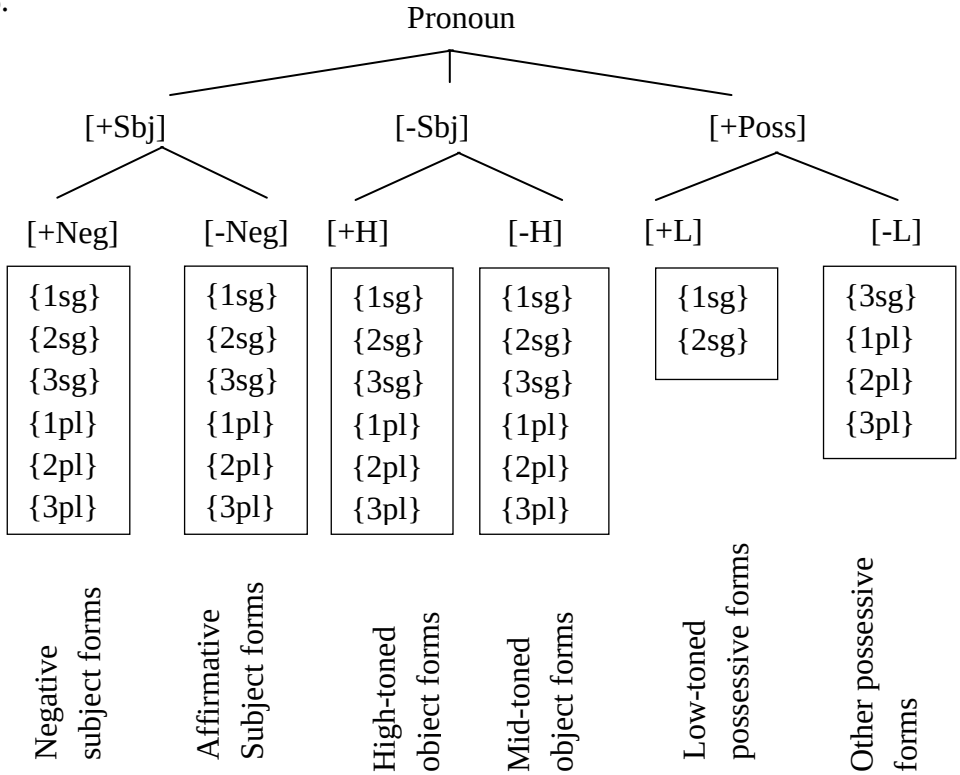
[18]Awóyalé's (1995) Yoruba IP analysis identifies the subject high tone (a floating tone) as the inflection head which assigns nominative case in Government Binding framework.

[19]Japhet's (2012) proposal shows that the *object high tone* (OHT) is an object-marking floating tone, which occurs between the verb and its short object pronoun. See also Japhet's (2009:283-285) view in G.S.K. Adika, F.A. Fábùnmi, and A.S. Sàláwù. Eds. *Current Perspectives in Phono Syntax and Dialectology*. Dept. of Gur-Gonja, University of Education, Winneba, Ghana. 257-209pp.There the tone is proposed to be the object agreement marker within an AgrOP analysis. While Japhet (2012) does not claim the projection of any Agreement phrase (AgrP) as he did in Japhet (2009), it does however show that (OHT) is a prelinked underlying object-juncture tone, which only surfaces in the language before a short object pronoun.

[20]This view differs from Akinlabí's (1985) view. In his view, the tone change depends on the pronoun which only takes a default mid tone when it becomes toneless.

[21](such as: [+Obj] <[ghò] -high-toned verb; *to look*>)

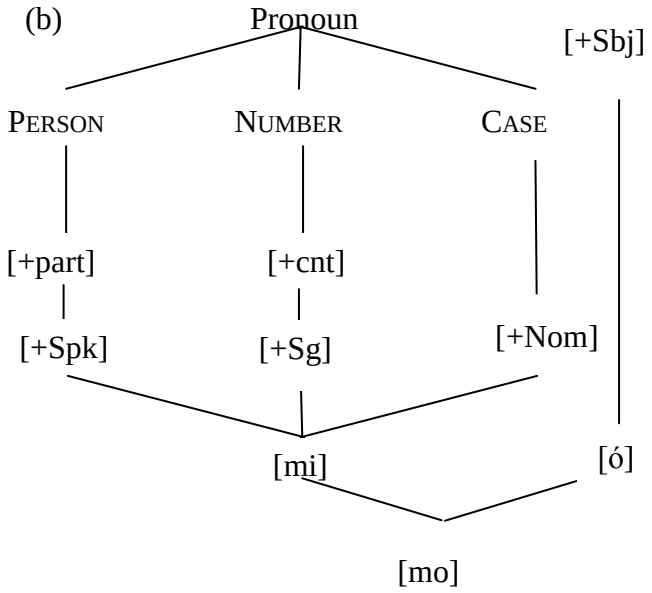
16.



5. Morphosyntactic features specification in Ìlàjẹ pronouns

In addition to the three morphosyntactic features (person, number and case) given earlier in (1), it shall be established in this section that the root node of the pronoun also include saliency feature. However, the feature geometry analysis in the section will begin with the earlier-mentioned three features instantiated in the first person singular pronoun as shown in (17) – (20), where the pronoun is first presented in (a) as being used in a sentence followed by its feature geometry in (b).

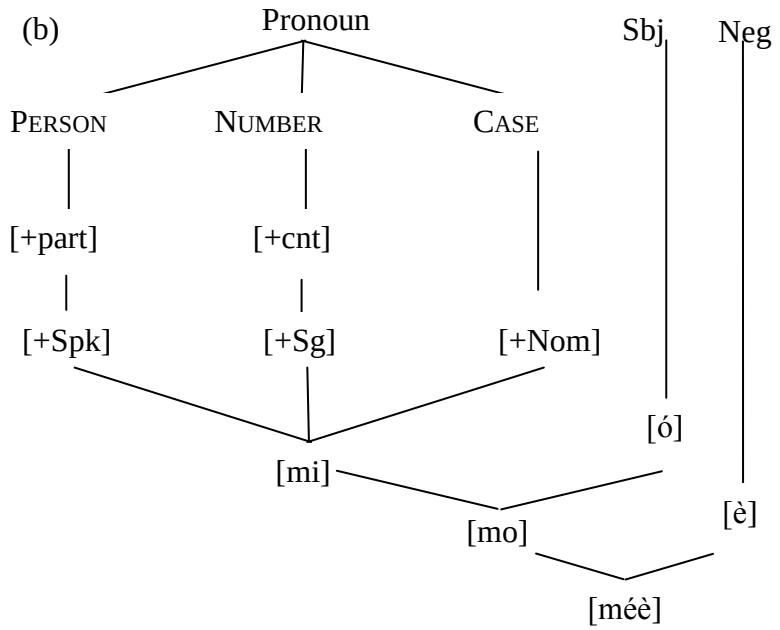
17(a)**mo** **mà**
1sg-SHTS know
'I know'



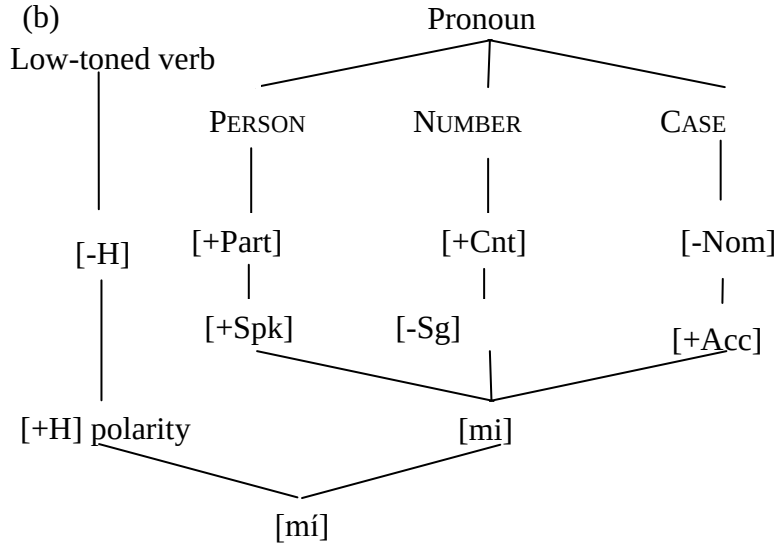
The sentence negation marker *è* is also associated with the pronoun. The incorporated negator adds semantic polarity to the Ìlàjẹ pronoun system. In Ìlàjẹ, the pronoun usually gets fused[22] with the negator in the derivation of the dependent forms of the pronoun.

18(a)**méè** **mà**
1sg SHTS-neg know
'I don't know'

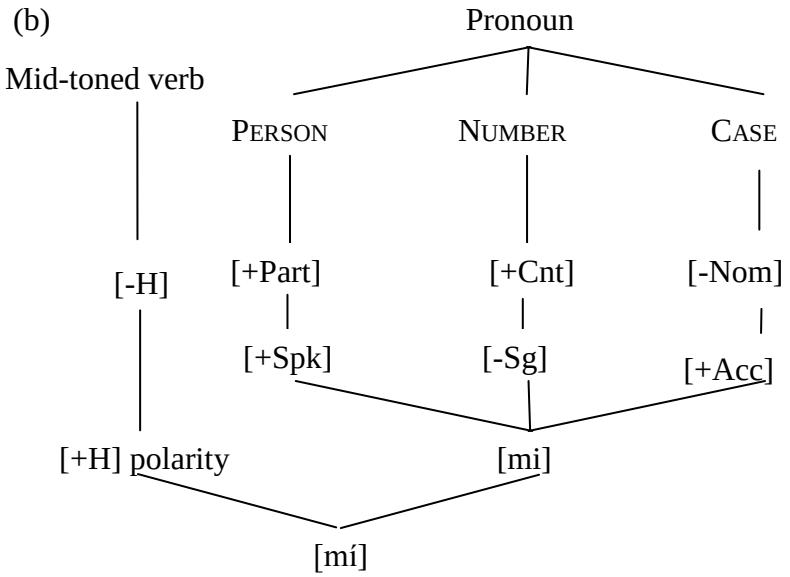
[22] As suggested by one of the reviewers, the termed "fused" as used here is possible output of phonological processes such as deletion and assimilation especially where the negator in other dialects had shown "kè" as a possible underlying form for "éè". However, there is no dialect-internal evidence for such in Ìlàjẹ which share the same negative morpheme with many other South-eastern dialects as well as with Isekiri, a distant sister of modern Yorùbá (Akinkugbe, 1978; Omamor, 1977; Salawu 2001).



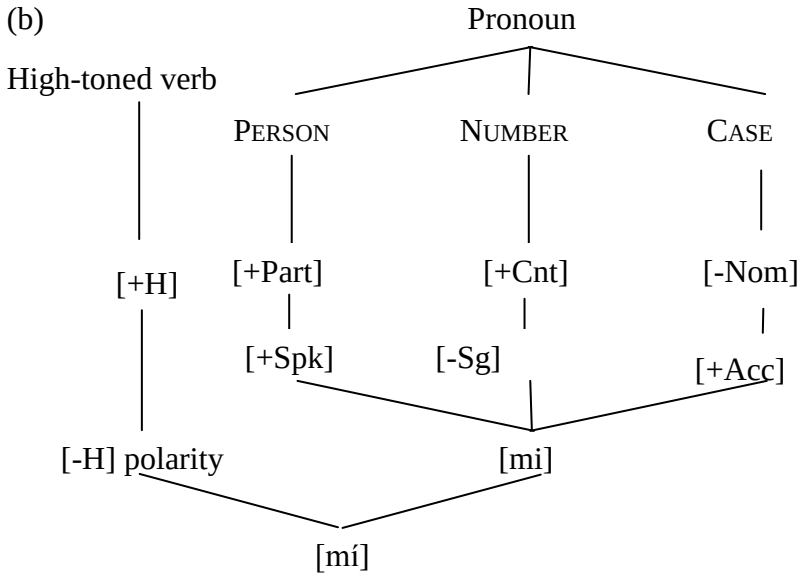
19 (a)**Adé ghò mí**
Ade look-at me
'Ade looked at me'



20(a)**bòbá yẹ mí**
blouse fit me
'I look attractive in a blouse outfit'



21(a)**Wo fẹ́ mi**
You want me
'You wanted me'



The complementary distribution of the independent pronouns and their dependent counterparts has been given earlier in this paper in (2) – (7). In this section, it is necessary to substantiate the morphosyntactic background which informs such syntactic distribution.

22(a)**èmi ùwọ-ọ́ gbà**
1sg 2sg-SHTS agree
'He and you agreed'

(b)**a gbà**
1pl agree
'We agreed'

23(a)**ùwọ òghun-ún gbà**
2sg 3sg-SHTS agree
'He and you agreed'
(b)**an-án gbà**
3pl-SHTS agree
'You (plu) agreed'
24(a)**àwa ùwọ-ọ́ gbà**
1pl 2sg-SHTS agree
'We and you agreed'
(b) **a gbà**
3pl agree
'We agreed'

The data in (22) – (24) show the use of independent and dependent forms of the pronoun. While the choice of independent pronouns seeks to provide individual peculiarities of the participants, featuring number and person features, the dependent pronouns is chosen whenever the grammar wants only the highest ranking features of the participants to be specified. In the dependent pronoun, the low ranking features have to be underspecified except the number feature which simply changes from singular to plural, as logically expected. What occurs in the independent pronoun forms as first and second person singular pronouns (showing two person features) is realised in the dependent form as first person plural (indicating only one person feature without specifying any other person). The first thing to note here is that the independent pronoun occurs where more content specification is required.

It is important to note that the content specification is not restricted to the person feature, but it can also specify saliency feature which will later be discussed in the analysis of the third person singular pronoun which can take the normal covert dependent form as well as *òghun*, the independent form in positions where other pronouns are to be in their dependent forms. This is the only place where the dependent and the independent forms have to overlap in Ìlàjẹ. Following from Awóbùlúyì (1992; 2008 and 2013), the third person singular pronoun is covert in its dependent form. Whatever name[23] given to the covert dependent form, it is clear that it carries null phonological matrix. In Standard Yorùbá, the third-person dependent singular pronoun is obviously covert in the subject position of a negative clause as shown in (25) below.

25(a)**Adé kò lọ**
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'
(b)**òun kò lọ**
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'
(c) ***ó kò lọ**
3sgneg go
'He/she/it did not go'
(d)**Ø kò lọ**
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'

While this third person covert analysis has also been established in Ìlàjẹ dialect (Japhet, 2012), it forms a complementary distribution with *òghun*, the third person

[23]Awobuluyi (2013) argues that *un*, the short form of *òghun* (the third-person singular pronoun in Ìlàjẹ), does not occur as overt pronoun in Yoruba and many of her dialects.

singular logophoric[24] pronoun, the only independent form of the pronoun which behaves like dependent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ[25] syntax. Where Ìlàjẹ usually observes a strict complementary distribution in the syntax of the independent and dependent forms of other pronouns, Ìlàjẹ does not do that for the third person singular logophoric form which has only the independent form in syntactic positions where the dependent form is obligatorily required for other pronouns.

In Ìlàjẹ, the covert third person singular pronoun and the logophoric third person singular pronoun do not refer to the same antecedent[26]. While the logophor will usually refer to the third person singular antecedent functioning as the subject of a reporting verb in the matrix clause, the covert form is meant to refer to any other third person singular antecedent (Bámgbóṣé, 1986). This phonemic difference between the two forms of the third person singular pronoun exhibits a language internal strategy to ensure any of the pronouns selects an appropriate antecedent.

26. **Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀ pé òghun$_x$ -ún ri Ø$_y$**
Ìgè say that 3sgLOG-SHTS see 3sg
'Ìgè said he (Ige) saw him (another person).'

27. **Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀ pé Ø$_y$-ó rí òghun$_x$**
Ìgè say that 3sg-Sbj see 3sgLOG
'Ìgè said he (someone else) saw him (Ige).'

28. **Ìgè$_x$ jí Ø$_y$-ó rí Ø$_z$**
Ìgè say 3sg Sbj see 3sg
'Ìgè said he (someone) saw him (another person).'

Beyond the morphophonemic distinction demonstrated between the third person singular covert form and the overt logophor, the literature has also established another difference based on the presence of saliency feature as a morphosyntactic marker. While the previous application of saliency in Yorùbá syntax is restricted to *nàà*, the definite article in Standard Yorùbá (Ajíbóyè, 2005), the present study following from Wier (2006)[27], extends the analysis to the pronoun. Following von Heusinger (2013), Saliency can also be specified in pronouns as definiteness feature. Thus this study specifies the pronouns with saliency as [+Definiteness] as shown in the structure of the first person singular pronoun in (29) below. While the structure in 29(a) indicates that the independent form has [+Definiteness] feature, the one in 29(b) shows that the dependent counterpart has [-Definiteness] feature. To be generalised, the [±Def] saliency

[24] Of relevance here is Curnow's (2002:1) description: 'the term 'logophoric' was introduced by Hagège (1974) to refer to special pronominal forms found in West African languages which show that an argument of a subordinate verb is co-referential with the speaker or 'source' argument of a superordinate verb of speech or thought.'

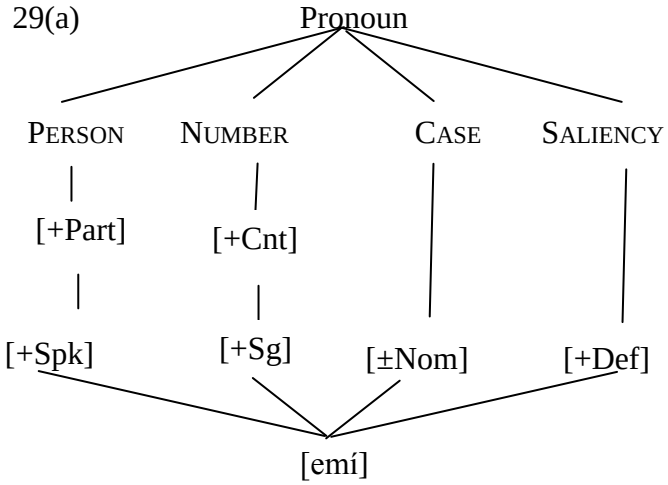
[25]While the logophor has been mentioned in Yoruba syntax (Manfredi, 1995; Adesola, 2005; Lawal, 2006), its morphological composition has not been fully discussed. The one provided in Japhet (2012:104-106) is very brief and perhaps speculative. Japhet's (2012) proposal in tracing Ìlàjẹ logophoricity to the presence of the emphatic feature, [+E] does not explain why the logophoricity is restricted to the third-person pronoun. The current study revisits the logophor as having a morphosyntactic feature distinct from that of a non-logophoric third person singular counterpart also known as antilogophor (Manfredi, 1995:92).

[26] Generally, it is possible to encounter ambiguity if a third person singular pronoun has more than one possible antecedent in a discourse. The first person and second person pronouns do not have such ambiguity problem due to the respective speaker and addressee participant roles associated with them. They are thus considered local pronouns to the discourse as noted in Martin (2017).
Local, 1st and 2nd person, pronouns appear to retrieve their antecedents from the more immediate discourse context (speaker and addressee), while 3rd person pronouns are naturally more ambiguous in their reference and must invoke some other function to select an appropriate antecedent (Martins, 2017:4).

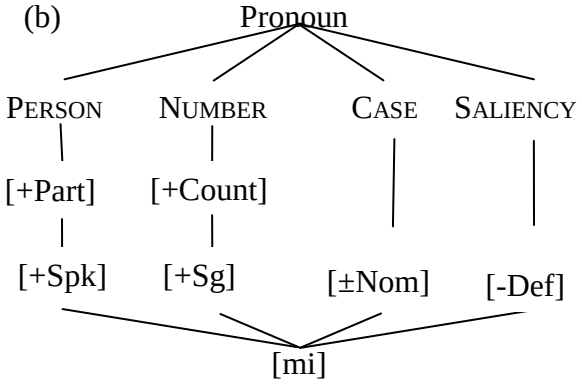
[27]Wier (2006) incorporates Saliency features into Harley &Ritter's model to ensure proximal arguments are distinguished from the obviate ones. While the proximal participant is considered salient, the obviate one is to be considered non-salient. Along this line, saliency has been able to display strong deictic functions that characterize the use of demonstratives and pronouns in discourse (Frigerio, 2017).

specification can be extended to both dependent and independent forms of the pronoun as shown in the third person singular pronoun in (30) below.

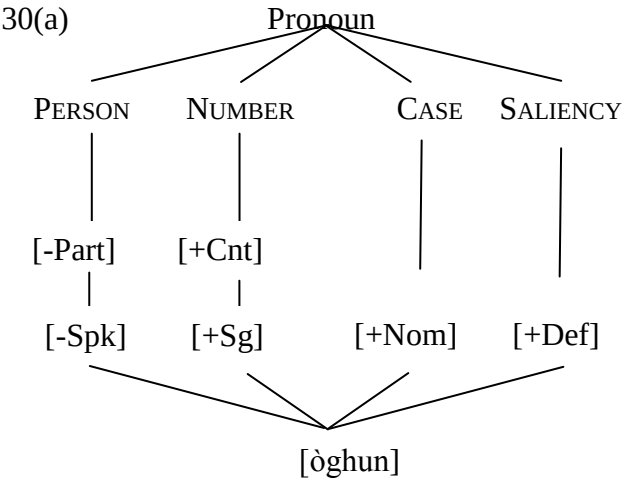
29(a)



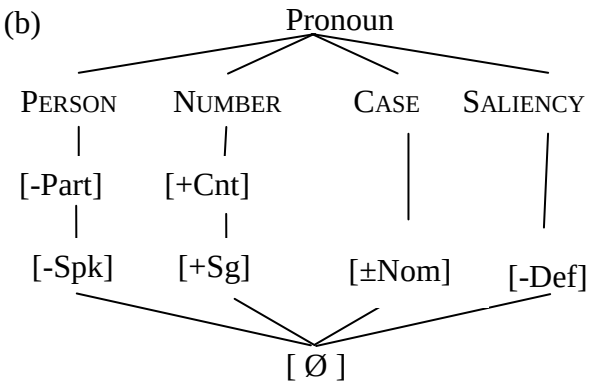
(b)



30(a)

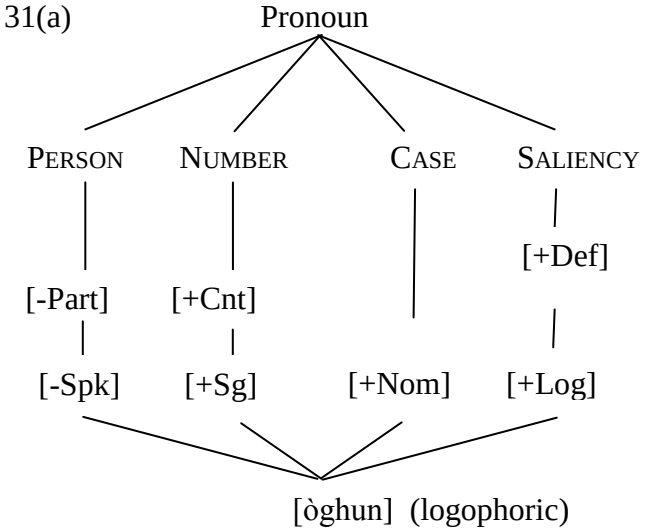


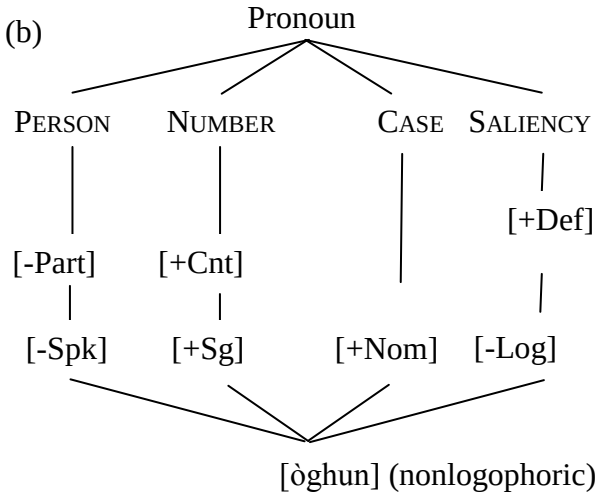
(b)



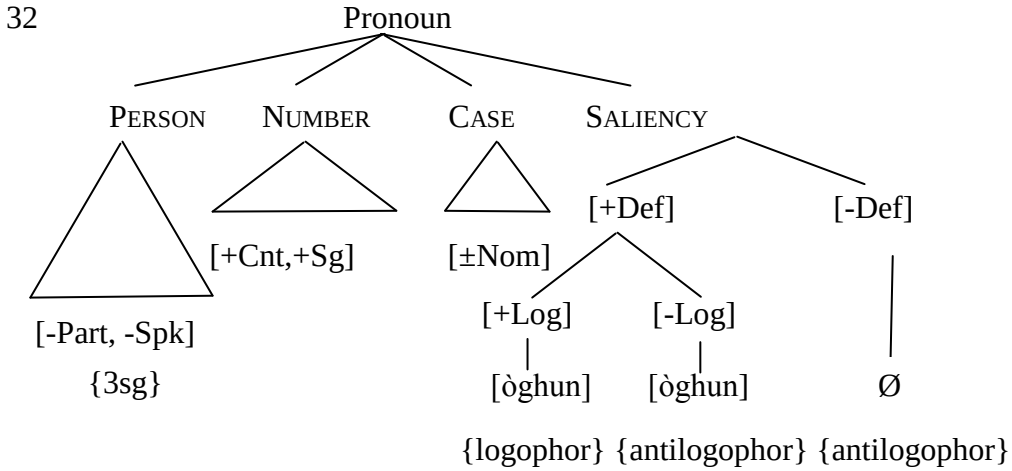
Generally, our analysis so far takes independent pronouns to be [+Def]. The third person singular independent pronoun, *òghun*, is therefore marked [+Def] (as indicated in 30(a)).Identical to this form is the logophor, *òghun*, which only differs from the typical third person singular independent pronoun in its syntactic distribution. First, the logophor (as used in (26) and (27)) is used in a syntactic position meant for dependent pronouns. The logophor is a special third person singular pronoun bound to a reported antecedent (the author, thinker, initiator or speaker) in the matrix clause. In this way, the logophor is a special third person singular independent pronoun which can thus be distinguished from the covert [-Def] third person singular pronoun but should also be distinguished from the other *òghun* which is nonlogophoric though having [+Def] and third person singular features. To ensure this logophoric distinction is marked, the logophor has to bear the [+Log] logophoric feature in addition to its [+Def] saliency feature using feature geometry analysis, *òghun* as a logophor is distinguished from the non logophoric *òghun* in (31).

31(a)





On the forms of the third person singular pronoun, three types have been identified: the covert dependent form (in 30(b)), the logophoric form (in 31(a)) and the nonlogophoric independent form (in 31(b)). If we employ the [±Def, ±Log] feature complex, to describe these three kinds of third person singular pronoun, here is the summary. The covert third person singular pronoun has [-Def, -Log] feature complex as a dependent pronoun which lacks the saliency feature. *Òghun* as a long pronoun has [+Def, -Log] because it is a non-logophoric salient pronoun. For the other occurrence of *òghun* (as a logophor), it is a salient pronoun with logophoric reference in the discourse; it therefore has [+Def, +Log] feature complex. The structure (32), showing the feature geometry of the various forms of the third person singular pronoun, indicate variation only in their saliency feature specification.



6. Lexical entries of the feature specifications of the pronouns in Ìlàjẹ lexicon

The tables below (in figures (1) to (10)) have 51 forms of the pronoun. Each form carries specific morphosyntactic and morphophonemic features constituting a unique lexical entry with which it can be distinguished from another form of the pronoun. Despite the fact that there exist homophonic forms, the interaction between the

morphosyntactic and morphophonemic features ensures ambiguity is minimised among the overlapping phonological forms in the lexicon. This complex feature composition is a formal account of the Feature Geometry Framework representing the native speakers' intuition that guides their choice of the pronoun forms. In an attempt to be exhaustive, the analysis involves some details a natural brain would have considered redundant due to the context of use in actual communication. Where such context can be established, the complexity of the specification will be reduced.

Figure 1Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ dependent singular subject pronouns

Form	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
mo 1sg Aff	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
méè 1sg neg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
wo 2sg Aff	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
wéè 2sg neg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
ó 3sg Aff	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
éè 3sg neg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]

Figure 2Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ dependent plural subject pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
a 1pl Aff	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
áà 1pl neg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
an-án[28] 2pl Aff	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
án-àn 2pl neg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
an-án 3pl Aff	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
án-àn 3pl neg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]

[28] Ìlàjẹ does not have the honorific pronoun use of the second person plural for a second person singular referent. So the forms discussed in this paper do not involve such use even though this honorific use occurs often in Standard Yoruba.

Figure 3Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ dependent singular object pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
mi mid-toned 1sg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
mí H-toned 1sg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,+H]
rẹ mid-toned 2sg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
rẹ́ H-toned 2sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +H]
Ø mid-toned 3sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
Ø high-toned 3sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +H]

Figure 4Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ dependent plural object pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
wa MT 1pl	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
wá HT 1pl	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +H]
ghan MT 2pl	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
ghán HT 2pl	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +H]
ghan MT 3pl	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-H]
ghán HT 3pl	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +H]

Figure 5 Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ possessive pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
mi 1sg Poss	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,+L]
rẹ 2sg Poss	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,+L]
rẹ̀ 3sg Poss	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,-L]
wa 1pl Poss	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,-L]
ghan 2pl Poss	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,-L]
ghan 3pl Poss	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,-L]

Figure 6 Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ independent singular subject pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
èmi 1sg Aff	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
èmi 1sg neg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
ùwọ-ọ́ 2sg Aff	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
ùwọ́-ọ̀ 2sg neg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
òghun-ún 3sg Aff	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
òghun-ún-ùn 3sg neg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]

Figure 7 Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ independent plural subject pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
awa-á 1pl Aff	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
awa-áà 1pl neg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
àghan-án 2pl Aff	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
àghan-án-àn 2pl neg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
àghan-án 3pl Aff	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
àghan-án-àn 3pl neg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]

Figure 8 Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ independent object pronouns

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-Phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
awa 1pl	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,±H]
ìrẹ 2pl	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,±H]
àghan 3pl	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,-Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[-Sbj,±H]

Figure 9Feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ third person singular logophoric pronoun

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-Phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
òghun-ún Aff	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,+Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
òghun-ún-ùn neg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,+Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
òghun obj	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,+Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[-Sbj,±H]
òghun Poss	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Cnt,+Sg]	[+Def,+Log]	[-Nom,-Acc]	[+Poss,-LTS]

7. Conclusion

From the analysis in this paper, a number of conclusions can be made. First, each form of the pronoun, whether it is realised as long or dependent, is unique in the lexicon having its specific lexical entry. Therefore, a particular form of the pronoun does not have to be a derivative of the other. The geometric organisation of the morphosyntactic features produces a vivid description of the lexical entry of each of the pronoun.

Second, Ìlàjẹ pronouns are not basically high-toned and thus could not have been clitics contrary to Akinlabí's tone underspecification analysis of Yorùbá pronouns. The high tones considered basic in Akinlabí's pronominal clitics (as claimed in *wọ́n* (3pl)), can be attributed to the subject high-toned syllable (SHTS) because Ìlàjẹ renders the same pronoun as *an-án* (3pl) where the mid tone co-occurs with the floating HTS high-toned syllable showing that the high tone is actually the SHTS instead of being the basic tone of the pronoun.

Third, dependent and independent pronouns are different forms of the pronoun having in common person, number and case features that are essentially expected in pronouns; this confirms the long and short pronoun analysis in Yorùbá which recognises both forms in the Yorùbá pronoun system.

Fourth, dependent and independent forms are not merely different in their forms and syntax, but they are also different in the lexicon having different feature specifications. The independent pronouns are specified for saliency which makes them behave like nouns confirming Bámgbóṣé's ideas on pronoun-pronominal classification of Yorùbá pronouns. This saliency expressed is not a morphological value affixed to a dependent pronoun to derive the independent form, but it is an inherent part of the independent pronoun which makes the pronoun more noun-like than its dependent counterpart.

Fifth, the third person logophoric pronoun is an independent pronoun with discourse-driven logophoric saliency. The *òghun* logophor is in complementary distribution with two other third person singular pronouns: the non logophoric independent form and the non-logophoric covert form. Each of these has its distribution. For this reason, the logophor does not occur where its non-logophoric counterparts are required.

List of Conventions

μ	morpheme symbol
Ø	covert/null phonemic representation
±	bivalent feature specification
+	positive specification of features
-	negative specification of features
α	underspecified feature representation
1, 2, 3	first, second and third person features (used in syntactic data gloss)
Acc	accusative case feature
Aff	affirmative
Cnt	countable feature
Def	definiteness feature
Emph	emphasis feature
Foc	focus functor/ focus feature
H	high tone
HT	high-toned
L	low tone
Log	logophor/ logophoric feature
LTS	low-toned syllable
M	mid tone

MT	mid-toned
MTS	mid-toned syllable
Neg	negative, negation marker, negation feature
Nom	nominative case feature
Part	participant feature
Poss	possessive case marker/ feature
Sg	singular
Spk	speaker feature
Sbj	subject
SHTS	subject high-toned syllable
[ ]	enclosure for features

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