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64. Sir Charles Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, (London: Frank Cass, 1965), p.82
65. For details see W.E.F. Ward 'The Colonial Phase " in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie, *British West African History* (Hongkong: Thomas Nelson, 1984), p.385.
66. J.U.J. Asiegbu, *Nigeria and its British Invaders 1851-1920*, (Enugu: Nok Publishers International, 1984), P. 161.
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68. Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, p.82.
69. Sa'ad Abubakar, 'The Northern Province Under Colonial Rule 1900 - 1959' in Obaro Ikime (ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1984), p. 449
70. Like Toyin Falola, Michael Crowder, 'Deji Ogunremi, 'Siyan Oyeweso and Olasoji Oshin among others.
71. Nigeria – The Colonial Economy, 1860 – 1960, posted to the web: 3/5/2005, 10:17:41 a.m. p. 2.
72. See Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, p. 116.
73. Falola, 'Trade with the Europeans in the 19th Century', p. 103.
74. Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*, p. 128.
75. *Ibid.*, p.130.

## A Syntactic Analysis of Yorùbá Anaphora System

Johnson F. Ilòrí

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Linguists working on anaphoric reference over the last three decades have been concerned mostly to formulate rules that exhaustively account for the phenomenon. While transformationalists like Lee and Klime (1963), McCawley (1976), among others, posited transformational substitution and deletion at some superficial level of derivation to account for it, interpretivists such as Dougherty (1969) and Jackendoff (1972) for their part developed an interpretive theory of coreferentiality for it. Later works such as Higginbotham (1980), Chomsky (1980 & 1981) and Napoli (1996), among others, however, have shown these two approaches to be inadequate, as the interpretation required entails more than mere coreferentiality and substitution.

Specifically in regard to African languages, Awoyale (1983) argues that transformation alone is inadequate to explain the anaphoric relations of reflexives in Kwa languages. To him, semantic factors play indispensable roles in such relations. Olówòkéré (1987), drawing largely on earlier transformationalist postulations, gives a descriptive account of 'Anaphoric Devices in Yoruba'. Adéwolé (1992) mentions and tried to set the feature specifications of Yoruba anaphors, from which he separates pronominals and personal pronouns. We differ with him on that and would show in the present paper that all items carrying (+PRON) feature, including even those that he set apart, are anaphoric in Standard Yoruba. More than that, we would also like to test the ability of UG (Universal Grammar) to satisfactorily clarify and establish the characteristic forms of Yoruba anaphors and their referential capabilities, distribution, and interpretation.

### 2. THEORETICAL MODEL

The GB (Government and Binding) theoretical framework of Chomsky (1981) will be used for this analysis. It is a theory characterized

by a modular approach to language analysis. It has sub-components which are independent but interrelated in their operations. It analyses structures at two independent levels of syntactic representation, i.e. the D-structure and S-structure, with the latter bifurcating to yield the PF (Phonetic Form) and LF (Logical Form). These structures are interconnected by various sub-theories which include both syntactic and semantic modules. Some of the components of GB framework which are vital to our analysis are briefly highlighted below:

1a. Binding Rule:

A binds B iff:

A C-commands B

A and B are co-indexed<sup>1</sup>

b. Binding Principles:

A. An anaphor must be bound in its governing category<sup>2</sup> (GC henceforth)

B. A pronoun must be free in its governing category

C. An R-expression must be free everywhere  
(Haegeman (1991: 198, 216))

c. C-command:

$\alpha$  C-commands  $\beta$  iff  $\alpha$  does not dominate  $\beta$   
and every Y that dominates  $\alpha$  also dominates  $\beta$

(Chomsky (1986:8))

### 3. ANAPHORA AND RELATED TERMS

The word, *anaphora*, according to Matthews (1981:43), is from the Greek *aná*: a prefix meaning 'up', 'back' or 'again'. This is adjoined to the verb, *pherein*, meaning 'to carry', to generate *anapherein* (i.e. 'to carry back, refer'), from which anaphora evolved.

In syntax, anaphora is a term used for the system or process whereby a linguistic unit refers back to a previously expressed unit or meaning. In generative syntax, anaphor is a type of NP that lacks independent reference but refers to one or some other constituents in a sentence. The unit to which it refers is called its antecedent. For instance,

*ara-rè*, in (2a) below, is an anaphor that refers back to the nominative NP, *Bólá*.

2a. Bólá, fẹ ọràn *ara-rè*<sub>i</sub>  
love matter body-her 'Bólá loves herself'

b. \*Bólá gbá *ara-mi*<sub>i</sub> ní etí  
slap body-mine at ear '\*Bólá slapped myself'

Anaphora contrasts with two other related terms - *cataphora* and *exophora*. In the former, the corresponding referent comes after the referring unit, while in the latter, the item refers directly to the extra-linguistic situation (Crystal 1992:17).

### 4. YORUBÁ ANAPHORS

#### 4.1 Reflexives and Reciprocals

The structural form of Yoruba reflexives and reciprocals is as complex as their meanings. This observation can be illustrated by examining the anaphor *ara mi* in (3a & b).

3a. Mo, fi ọbẹ gẹ *ara mi*<sub>i</sub> ní ọwọ  
I use knife cut body-mine at hand  
'I cut myself on the hand with a knife'

b. *Ara mi* kò yá  
Body mine neg well 'I'm ill'

The expression has the same structure:

4. [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N</sub> ara [<sub>Spec/NP</sub> [<sub>PRON</sub> Gen ] ] ] ]

but different meanings in both places. In (3a) the meaning is idiomatic (which will henceforth be indicated by using hyphenation), while in (3b), it is literal. It appears that, as a rule, reflexives/reciprocals are idiomatic expressions, while their non-reflexive/non-reciprocal counterparts are literal expressions. On the basis of this semantic criterion, the forms in (5) & (6) below are reflexives and reciprocals, respectively.

- 5a. ara-mi 'myself' [+AN, REFL, PER 1, +NMB SG, -HON]  
 b. ara-re 'yourself' [+AN, REFL, PER 2, +NMB SG, -HON]  
 c. ara-rè 'him/herself' [+AN, REFL, PER 3, +NMB SG, -HON]  
 d. ara-un 'him/herself' [+AN, REFL, PER 3, +NMB SG, -HON, +REP]  
 e. ara-wa 'ourselves' [+AN, +PER 1, +NMB PL, -HON]  
 f. ara-yín 'yourselves/self' [+AN, +PER 2, +NMB PL-HON/SG+HON]  
 g. ara-won 'themselves/himself' etc. [+AN, +PER 3, +NMB PL-HON/SG+HON]  
 6a. ara-wa 'each other/one another' [+AN, +REC, +PER 1, +NMB PL, -HON]  
 b. ara-yín 'each other/one another' [+AN, +REC, +PER 2, +NMB PL, -HON]  
 c. ara-won 'each other/one another' [+AN, +REC, +PER 2, +NMB PL, -HON]\*

The feature specifications supplied in both cases imply a kind of concord condition that must be fulfilled in their would-be antecedents. In addition to [+PER, +NMB], the second and third person plural reflexives have an alternative [\*/Hon] feature: whenever the number is [+SG], it will carry [+HON] but if [+PL], it will have [-HON]. This, we believe, is a general rule in the Yorùbá pronoun system<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.2 Pronominals

There are two major sets of pronouns in Yoruba, namely, the monosyllabic pronouns, which are often called dependent pronouns, and the polysyllabic pronouns called independent pronouns.

##### 4.2.1 Monosyllabic/Dependent Pronouns

- 7a. mo 'I' [+PRON, +PER 1, NMB SG, +CASE NOM, +AN]  
 b. o/o 'You' [+PRON, +PER 2, NMB SG, +CASE NOM, +AN]  
 c. un<sup>5</sup> 'He/She/It' [+PRON, +PER 3, NMB SG, +CASE NOM, +AN]  
 d. a 'we' [+PRON, +PER 1, NMB PL, +CASE NOM, +AN]  
 e. e 'you' [+PRON, +PER 2, NMB PL, +CASE NOM, +AN]  
 f. won 'they' [+PRON, +PER 3, NMB PL, +CASE NOM, +AN]

\*AN= Anaphor, REFL= Reflexive, REC= Reciprocal, PER= Person, NMB= Number, HON= Honorific, SG= Singular, PL= Plural, PRON= Pronoun, REP= Reportive, ACC= Accusative, GEN/ Gen= Genitive, NOM= Nominative, Spec= Specifier.

- g. mi 'me' [+PRON, +PER 1, NMB SG, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 h. o/e 'you' [+PRON, +PER 2, NMB SG, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 i. un<sup>6</sup> 'him/her/it' [+PRON, +PER 3, NMB SG, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 j. wa 'us' [+PRON, +PER 1, NMB PL, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 k. yín 'you' [+PRON, +PER 2, NMB PL/SG +HON, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 l. won 'them' [+PRON, +PER 3, NMB PL/SG +HON, +CASE ACC, +AN]  
 m. (i)mi 'mine' [+PRON, +PER 1, NMB SG+HON, +CASE GEN, +AN]  
 n. (i)rè 'yours' [+PRON, +PER 2, NMB SG+HON, +CASE GEN, +AN]  
 o. (i)rè 'his/hers/its' [+PRON, +PER 3, NMB SG +HON, +CASE GEN, +AN]  
 p. (i)wa 'ours' [+PRON, +PER 1, +NMB PL, +CASE GEN, +AN]  
 q. (i)yín 'yours' [+PRON, +PER 2, +NMB PL / SG +HON, +CASE GEN, +AN]  
 q. (i)won 'theirs' [+PRON, +PER 3, +NMB PL / SG +HON, +CASE GEN, +AN]

##### 4.2.2 Polysyllabic/Independent Pronouns

- 8a. èmi 'I' [+PRON, +PER 1, +NMB SG, +AN]  
 b. iwò 'You' [+PRON, +PER 2, +NMB SG, +AN]  
 c. òun 'He/she/it' [+PRON, +PER 3, +NMB SG, +AN]  
 d. àwa 'We' [+PRON, +PER 1, +NMB PL, +AN]  
 e. èyin 'You' [+PRON, +PER 2, +NMB PL / SG +HON, +AN]  
 f. àwon 'They' [+PRON, +PER 3, +NMB PL / SG +HON, +AN]

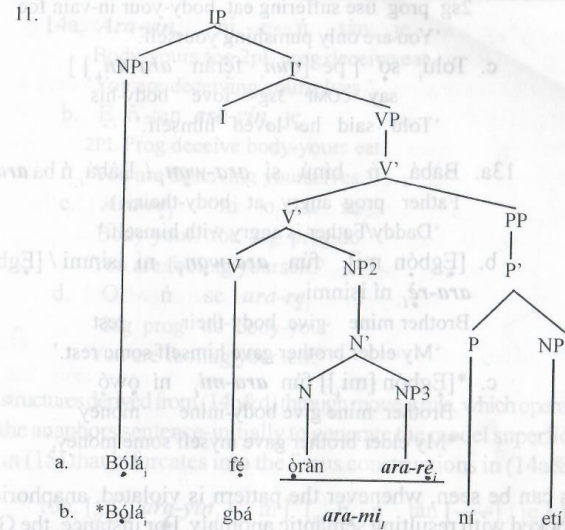
All [+PRON] items in the language function anaphorically in one structure or another. For instance, all [+NOM] pronouns function as anaphors at the syntactic position where there are bold-printed items in (9). Even the

9a. Àwà<sub>1</sub> [ tí [ a<sub>1</sub> jé akoni ] ] jé méje  
We COMP we be brave-one be seven  
'We who are brave are seven (in number).'

- 10a Mo<sub>i</sub> ti sɔ [ pé [  $\begin{Bmatrix} mi_i \\ \text{è}mi_i \end{Bmatrix}$  ] ò ní í tɛ ibɛ ] ]  
I perf say COMP I neg have 1ITS step there

- b. E<sub>i</sub> gbà [pé [  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e_i \\ \grave{e}yin \end{array} \right\}$  gbòdò lo ] ]  
You take COMP you must go  
'Agree that you must go.'

According to principle A in (1b), reflexives and reciprocals must be bound by a c-commanding NP within their GC. Beginning with (2), repeated below in (11a-b) for ease of reference, why is (2a) adjudged grammatical and (2b) bizarre? The P-M in (11) provides useful answers.



12a. Mo<sub>1</sub> fi oḃẹ́ gẹ́ *ara-mi<sub>i</sub>* ní ọwọ́  
I use knife cut body-mine at hand  
'I cut myself on the hand with a knife.'

- b. O<sub>i</sub> n fī òya jẹ́ *ara-re<sub>i</sub>* lásán ni

- 2sg prog use suffering eat body-your in-vain foc  
'You are only punishing yourself.'  
c. Tolú, sọ [ pé [òun, fẹràn *ara-un* ] ]  
say COMP 3sg love body-his  
'Tolú said he loved himself.'

- 13a. Bàbá, n bínú sí *ara-won* / Bàbá, n bá *ara-won*, bínu  
Father prog angry at body-their  
'Daddy/Father is angry with himself.'  
b. [Egbón mi], fún *ara-won*, ní isinmi / [Egbón mi], fún  
*ara-rẹ*, ní isinmi  
Brother mine give body-their rest  
'My elder brother gave himself some rest.'  
c. \* [Egbón [mi]], fún *ara-mi*, ní ọwọ  
Brother mine give body-mine money  
'\*My elder brother gave myself some money.'

As can be seen, whenever the pattern is violated, anaphoric relation is blocked with resulting semantic anomaly. For instance, the GC condition is violated in (13c). There is a case of a GC (NP) within another GC (IP). The antecedent *mi* is a specifier within the nominative NP-GC while the anaphor is within the IP-GC as an accusative NP. Since there is no FS matching item that c-commands *ara-mi* exclusively within the IP, the anaphor is left orphaned without any antecedent, hence the mismatch of the co-indexation.

Also, there are cases where the reflexive *ara-won* is singular in number, i.e. possessing the FS [+NMB SG+HON]. In such structures, the FS matching condition is still respected along with the other requirements of principle A. This is the case with *ara-won* in (13a&b), which refers back to the NPs, *Bàbá* and *Egbón mi*. The two nominals carry [+HON] reference in Standard Yoruba. Therefore, the co-indexation in (13a&b) is in no way ill-formed. The same principle could be seen at work even in derived structures such as those in (14), where it correctly predicts the anaphoric relations between the anaphors and antecedents involved.

- 14a. *Ara-yín* ni *ẹ*, n tòn jẹ  
Body-yours foc 2pl prog deceive eat  
'You are deceiving yourselves.'

- b. *Ẹ*, n tòn *ara-yín* jẹ  
2PL Prog deceive body-yours eat  
'You are deceiving yourselves.'

- c. *Ara-rẹ* ni *o*, n se  
Body-your foc 2sg prog do  
'You are fooling yourself.'

- d. *O*, n se *ara-rẹ*  
2sg prog do body-your  
'You are fooling yourself.'

(14a&c) are structures derived from (14b&d) through move-a rule, which operated and moved the anaphors sentence-initially to generate the model superficial S-structure in (15) that bifurcates into the focus constructions in (14a&c).

- 15a. [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> *ara-yín* ] ni [ [<sub>IP</sub> *Ẹ*, n tòn [----] jẹ ] ] ]  
b. *ara-yín* ni [<sub>IP</sub> *Ẹ*, n tòn [<sub>NP</sub> *t* ] jẹ ]  
↑ move-a

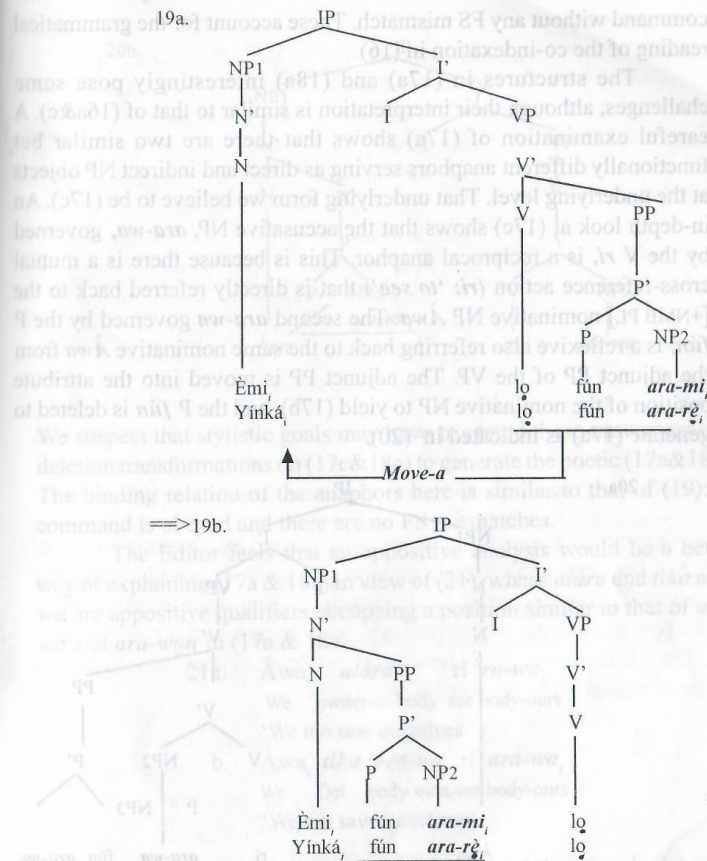
(15) shows that the anaphors in (14a&c) are underlyingly accusative NP arguments governed and assigned the internal  $\theta$ -role of *experiencer* by the splitting V *tòn...jẹ* in (14a) and the V *se* in (14c). Their anaphoric relation is established before and after the movement transformation: *E* binds *ara-yín* directly in (15a), and indirectly in (15b) via its trace. The same explanation goes for the binding relation of *O* and *ara-rẹ* in (14c&d).

Another interesting structure type that needs some clarification is the one illustrated in (16), (17) & (18):

- 16a. Èmi, fún *ara-mi*, lq / b. Èmi lq fún *ara-mi*,  
Isg give body-mine go 'I went by myself.'  
c. Yínká, fún *ara-rẹ*, (fún *ara-rẹ*) lq / d. Yínká, lq fún *ara-rẹ*,  
give body-his go : 'Yínká himself went / Yínká  
went by himself.'

- 17a. Àwà<sub>i</sub> *ara-wa<sub>i</sub>* ríra-wa<sub>i</sub> (Olónginní ròmqò òkùn)<sup>a</sup>  
 We body-ours see body-ours  
 'We've seen one another'/'We ourselves have seen one another.'
- b. Àwà<sub>i</sub> fún *ara-wa<sub>i</sub>* rí *ara-wa<sub>i</sub>*  
 We by body-ours see body-ours  
 'We've seen one another (by ourselves).'
- c. Àwà<sub>i</sub> rí *ara-wa<sub>i</sub>* fúnra-wa<sub>i</sub>  
 We see body-ours by body-ours  
 'We, by ourselves, have seen ourselves.'
- 18a. Àwòñ<sub>i</sub> *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>* wòñ<sub>i</sub> kò s(e)àì-bá *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>* já  
 They body-theirs they neg do neg-accomp. body-theirs fight  
 'They themselves do fight one another.'
- b. Àwòñ<sub>i</sub> fún *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>* wòñ<sub>i</sub> kò se àì-bá *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>* já  
 They by body-theirs they Neg do Neg-accomp. body-theirs fight  
 'They themselves do fight one another'
- c. Àwòñ<sub>i</sub> wòñ<sub>i</sub> kò se àì-bá *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>* já fún *ara-wòñ<sub>i</sub>*  
 They they neg do neg-accomp. body-their fight by body-theirs  
 'They do fight one another (by themselves).'

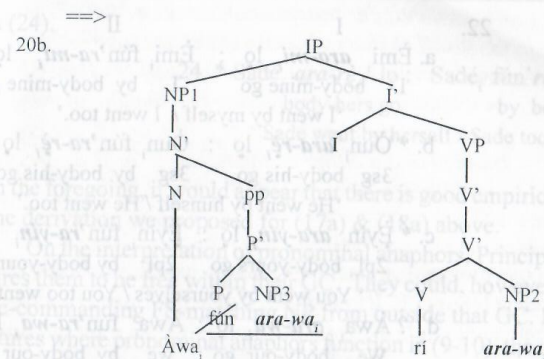
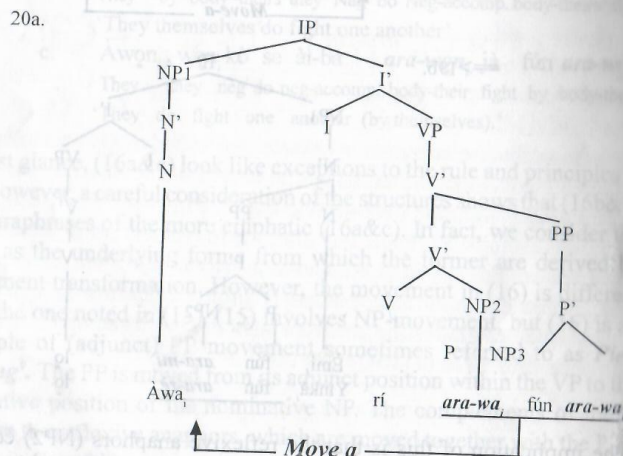
At first glance, (16a&c) look like exceptions to the rule and principles in (1). However, a careful consideration of the structures shows that (16b&d) are paraphrases of the more emphatic (16a&c). In fact, we consider the latter as the underlying forms from which the former are derived by movement transformation. However, the movement in (16) is different from the one noted in (15). (15) involves NP-movement, but (16) is an example of (adjunct) PP movement sometimes referred to as *Pied Pipping*<sup>9</sup>. The PP is moved from its adjunct position within the VP to the attributive position of the nominative NP. The complements of the P, *fún*, are the reflexive anaphors, which are moved together with the P, as shown in (19a &b).



The implication of this is that the reflexive anaphors (NP2) could be interpreted as being bound by NP1 within the IP-GC or by the head N of NP1 within the NP-GC. In the two GCs, the anaphoric relations obey c-

command without any FS mismatch. These account for the grammatical reading of the co-indexation in (16).

The structures in (17a) and (18a) interestingly pose some challenges, although their interpretation is similar to that of (16a&c). A careful examination of (17a) shows that there are two similar but functionally different anaphors serving as direct and indirect NP objects at the underlying level. That underlying form we believe to be (17c). An in-depth look at (17c) shows that the accusative NP, *ara-wa*, governed by the V *rí*, is a reciprocal anaphor. This is because there is a mutual cross-reference action (*rí*: 'to see') that is directly referred back to the [+NMB PL] nominative NP *Áwa*. The second *ara-wa* governed by the P *fún*, is a reflexive also referring back to the same nominative *Áwa* from the adjunct PP of the VP. The adjunct PP is moved into the attribute position of the nominative NP to yield (17b), and the P *fún* is deleted to generate (17a) as indicated in (20).



We suspect that stylistic goals may have triggered these movement and deletion transformations on (17c&18c) to generate the poetic (17a&18a). The binding relation of the anaphors here is similar to that of (19): c-command is obeyed and there are no FS mismatches.

The Editor feels that an appositive analysis would be a better way of explaining (17a & 18a) in view of (21), where *alára* and *tika ara-wa* are appositive qualifiers occupying a position similar to that of *ara-wa* and *ara-won* in (17a & 18a).

- 21a. *Áwa<sub>i</sub> alára rí 'ra-wa<sub>i</sub>*  
 We owner-of-body see body-ours  
 'We too saw ourselves.'
- b. *Áwa<sub>i</sub> tika ara-wa<sub>i</sub> rí ara-wa<sub>i</sub>*  
 We Det body-ours see body-ours  
 'We too saw ourselves.'

Although this other view involves no deletion and therefore looks more economical, it does not seem in our view to capture the behaviour of other reflexives/reciprocals in that particular syntactic position. Witness the contrast in (22).

22.

- a. Èmí, *ara-mí*<sub>i</sub> ló : Èmí, fún'*ra-mí*<sub>i</sub> ló  
I body-mine go I by body-mine go  
'I went by myself / I went too.'
- b. \* Òun, *ara-rẹ*<sub>i</sub> ló : Òun, fún'*ra-rẹ*<sub>i</sub> ló  
3sg body-his go 3sg by body-his go  
'He went by himself / He went too.'
- c. \* Èyin, *ara-yín*<sub>i</sub> ló : Èyin, fún'*ra-yín*<sub>i</sub> ló  
2pl body-yours go 2pl by body-yours go  
'You went by yourselves / You too went.'
- d. ? Àwá, *ara-wa*<sub>i</sub> ló : Àwá, fún'*ra-wa*<sub>i</sub> ló  
We body-our go we by body-our go  
'We went by ourselves / We too went.'
- e. ? Àwọ̀n, *ara-wọ̀n*<sub>i</sub> ló : Àwọ̀n, fún'*ra-wọ̀n*<sub>i</sub> ló  
They body-their go They by body-their go  
'They (by) themselves went / They went too.'

In the examples above, (221a-c) are aberrant and the grammaticality of (221d-e) is questionable simply because the P, *fún*, is lacking before the anaphors. It does appear as a rule that the P, *fún*, must govern Yoruba reflexives/reciprocals whenever they occur as part of the complements of N in NP. However, the N head must not be an epithet, which appears to be an exception to the rule. Witness (23).

- 23a. Olùyà, *ara-(r)ẹ*<sub>i</sub> ti dé  
owner-of-suffering body-his Perf come  
'That stupid person has come.'
- b. Oníjibìtì, *ara-(r)ẹ*<sub>i</sub> ni èyí  
owner-of-fraud body-his be this  
'This is him, the fraudulent one.'

In (23), *ara-(r)ẹ* is able to function as an appositive qualifier to *Olùyà* and *Oníjibìtì* simply because the latter are epithets. Apposition would have been blocked if they were pronominals (cf. (221b)) or proper names,

as in (24).

24. \* Sadé, *ara-rẹ*<sub>i</sub> ló : Sadé, fún'*ra-rẹ*<sub>i</sub> ló  
body-hers go by body-hers go  
'Sade went by herself / Sade too went.'

From the foregoing, it would appear that there is good empirical evidence for the derivation we proposed for (17a) & (18a) above.

On the interpretation of pronominal anaphors, Principle B in (1b) requires them to be free within their GC. They could, however, be bound by a c-commanding FS-matching NP from outside that GC. In all of the structures where pronominal anaphors function in (9-10), the c-command relation is obeyed and there is no FS mismatch. The GC constraint is also obeyed as the pronouns in the embedded clauses are bound from the matrix, and where this is violated, the structure is read as anomalous. This is the case with the bizarre co-indexation noted in (12c). Interestingly, too, the antecedents in (9a) and (10a-b) are also potential anaphors that refer to some NPs in previous clauses not stated in the structures.

At this point, it is necessary to touch on some structures that need proper clarification regarding the anaphoric reference of pronouns in Yoruba. First, structures in which the generalization that antecedents must c-command the anaphoric pronouns referring to them is violated. For instance, in (25a-b):

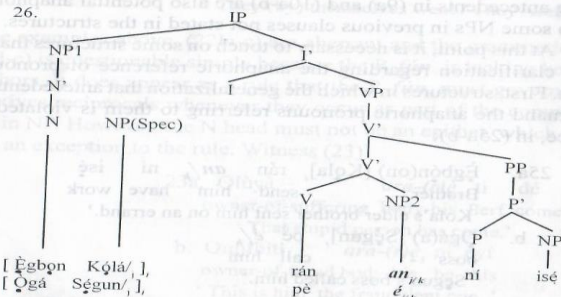
- 25a. Ègbón(on) [Kòlá], rán *an*<sub>i/k</sub> ní isé  
Brother send him have work  
'Kola's elder brother sent him on an errand.'
- b. Qág(a) [Ségún], pè *é*<sub>i/k</sub>  
boss call him  
'Seggun's boss called him.'

the only likely antecedents, *Kòlá* and *Ségún*, are specifiers that do not c-command the available anaphors, as shown in (26). How do we account for this kind of anaphoric binding relation? Reinhart (1983) introduced the notion of *Specifier Binding* to account for it as follows:

the semantic (or processing), correlate for this property of specifier determines, in effect, the interpretation of the constituent of which it is a specifier. Hence it must be available when processing the domain of the given NP... A node  $\alpha$  binds a node  $\beta$  iff  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are co-indexed and  $\alpha$  either c-commands  $\beta$  or is a specifier of a node which c-commands  $\beta$ .

(Reinhart 1983:10).

Under the above proposal, a specifier is interpreted as an operator binding two independent NPs at LF. It is assigned two indices, namely, a specifier-index (indicated with a slash (/) to distinguish it from referential-index) and the referential-index of the head or the constituent of which it is a specifier. The specifier then has all the indices of its NP, and the operator-index indicates which variables it binds. The proposal would appear to solve the binding problem raised by (25a-b), as can be seen in (26).



he NP, *Kólá*, is now the specifier of a node (NP1) that c-commands and binds the anaphoric (NP2), through its operator index (/j). The minimal P1 in which *Kólá* functions as spec. is a GC domain within the IP that

is the domain of the pronoun anaphor. Since there is no FS mismatch, the co-indexation is adjudged grammatical. However, the anaphoric items in NP2 could also be referring to other NPs that are not mentioned in the sentences.

## 6. SOME APPARENT EXCEPTIONS

The binding theory has fully captured the syntactic relation and interpretation of anaphors in Yorùbá presented so far. There are, however, some forms of reflexives in the language which do not pattern along the lines set by the rules and principles. Thus consider the structures below in (27-28).

- 27a. *Ara mi kò yá*  
Body mine Neg well 'I'm ill.'
- b. *Mo rí i ní ara rẹ*  
I see it on body his  
'I saw it on his body.'
- c. *Tádé nàà wà ní ara wọn*  
the be in body their  
'Tádé too is / was among them.'
- d. *[Ègbón mí] fún lára wọn (ní ara wọn) lówó ní ànà*  
Elder brother mine give in-part of them have-money  
at yesterday  
'My elder brother gave some of them some money yesterday.'

- 28a. *Mo n fí [NP ẹjọ́] [ara-rẹ́] sùn ẹ́ / o,*  
I prog lodge complaint of body-your to you  
'I'm warning you.'
- b. *Mo n fí [NP ẹjọ́] [rẹ́] sùn ẹ́ / o,*  
I prog lodge complaint your to you  
'I'm warning you.'
- c. *Àwọn ọlọpáá fí [NP fótò] [ara-rẹ́] hàn àn,*  
They police take picture body-his show him

'The police showed him *his own picture*.'

- d. Àwọn ọlọpáá fí [ fótò [rè<sub>ik</sub>] ] hàn án  
 They police take picture his show him  
 'The police showed him *his picture*.'

In (27), the bold-printed items have the forms of reflexives but do not share the functions and distribution of the latter. For instance, *ara rè* has no antecedent in (27b). The examples in (28a&c) illustrate reflexives functioning as specifiers in accusative NPs within sentences where there are no antecedents that bind them. All of the examples are well-formed and, therefore, grammatical utterances in Standard Yoruba.

A close look at the reading of the highlighted items in (27a-d) makes one suspect that they are actually not reflexives in Yoruba. They differ semantically from reflexives, as they do not actually refer to any NP antecedent, whether within or outside their sentences of occurrence. For instance, *ara rè* in (27b) does not mean 'himself' but rather 'his body'. Secondly, reflexives do not normally show up in sentence-initial position in the syntax of Standard Yoruba, except when focused as in (14a&c). Thus, consider (29).

- 29a. \**Ara-mi*<sub>i</sub> fẹ̀ lọ  
 Body mine want go : '\*myself want to go.'  
 b. *Ara mi* n gbòn  
 Body mine Prog shake : 'My body is shaking / I'm shivering.'

(29a) is ill formed because it has a reflexive functioning as a nominative NP. In fact, it is completely aberrant as the non-reflexive reading 'my body wants to go' is nonsensical. (27b) by contrast is grammatical because the highlighted item is not a reflexive. It is just an NP having a similar head N, *ara*, that means 'body' and not 'self' as in reflexives. In fact, they are no different in function from the accusative NPs ([ìwé rè] and [owó yín]) in (30).

- 30a. Ọmọ́tọ́lá, tí gba [NP ìwé [rè<sub>ik</sub>]]  
 perf receive book her

'Ọmọ́tọ́lá has received her book.'

- b. È<sub>i</sub> yara gba [NP Owó [yín<sub>i</sub>]] lẹ́wọ̀ mí<sub>k</sub>  
 2pl fast-body take money your at-hand mine  
 'Quickly take your money from me.'

The truth of this claim is made manifest in the ambiguous (31).

31. A rí *ara yín* ní ibẹ̀  
 We see body yours at there  
 (a) We saw some of you there.  
 (b) \*We saw yourselves there.  
 (c) We saw your body there.'

When the highlighted item is seen as a reflexive (*ara-yín* 'yourselves') the sentence would have the ungrammatical reading in (31b), because the reflexive is not bound in its GC. The sentence is, however, adjudged grammatical in (31a&c), where the item is not seen as a reflexive. We, therefore, submit that the highlighted items in (27a-d) are not reflexives; rather, they are homophonous with the reflexives but with meanings that are distinct from theirs. However, as we have said earlier, the context of use determines which of the two meanings is intended. We also suggest the convention of hyphenation for differentiating reflexives/reciprocals from their non-reflexive/non-reciprocal counterparts.

On the other hand, (28a-d) pose an intriguing problem which GB would appear to be unable to explain. What look most likely to be the referents of the reflexives in (28a&c) appear in structural positions that follow rather than precede those reflexives. No movement is involved, as the structures are not transformationally derived. Should we then say they are instances of cataphoric reference in Yoruba language? Although this is not impossible, we suspect that the genitive pronouns that form part of the reflexive compounds in (28) could and, sometimes do, function alone in that same syntactic position without any semantic change in the reading of the structures (see (28b)). The only exception is in (28c) where the reflexive *ara-rè* points to a single referent in contrast to the possessive *rè* in (28d) that points to two likely referents.

The implication of (28) is that, in addition to possessive pronominal anaphors, Yorùbá features cases of possessive reflexives, i.e. reflexives functioning as specifiers in accusative NPs. Two different cases of such are highlighted in (28). A comparison of (28) with (32):

32a. [<sub>NP</sub> Ègbón Akin]<sub>i</sub> fi [èjò [ara-rè<sub>i</sub>]] sùn ún  
Elder brother lodge complaint body-his  
'Akin's elder brother reported himself.'

b. [Ègbón [Akin]<sub>j</sub>]<sub>k</sub> fi [èjò [ara-rè<sub>ik</sub>]] sùn ún,  
Elder brother lodge complaint body-his to  
him

(i) 'Akin's elder brother reported *him to himself*.'

(ii) 'Akin's brother reported *himself to him*.'

shows that there are eligible antecedents for the reflexives in (32) which are explainable within the theory of binding, but there are none in (28). The latter look like an idiosyncratic feature of Yorùbá, as English and many other Indo-European languages lack such possibilities within their anaphoric system. For instance, (33) is bizarre in Standard English, whereas (28) and (32) are grammatical in Standard Yorùbá.

33. \*Hannah<sub>i</sub> waits for [*herself's<sub>i</sub>* brother]<sub>j</sub>

As hinted earlier, GB does not appear able to account for the grammaticality of the Yorùbá anaphoric structures in (28a&c).

## 7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have examined the Yorùbá anaphoric system in the context of the binding theory. We have been able to show that although GB captures the referential interpretation of most Yorùbá anaphors, it is not omnipotent, as the case of possessive reflexives in the language lacks an answer within the theory. We have also shown that Yorùbá reflexives have homophonous forms that are not really reflexives as they always have non-reflexive readings. Hence, we suggest hyphenating Yorùbá reflexives and reciprocals to formally or structurally differentiate them from similar-looking non-reflexives and non-reciprocals.

## NOTES

1. If two NPs are co-indexed, they must match in features involving e.g. number, gender, person, etc.
2. A GC for  $\beta$  is the smallest NP or S containing  $\beta$  and the governor of  $\beta$ . (Yusuf 1998:153).
3. We follow Adéwólé (1992) in the way we indicate features here.
4. See Abiódún (1993).
5. Awobùlúyí (2001) has argued that *ó* popularly thought to be the 3sg pronoun in Yorùbá is actually a pre-verbal element. The 3sg pronoun actually takes the form of *un* but does not show up overtly in subject position in Standard Yoruba.
6. *un* is believed to be the real pronoun here. It assimilates obligatorily to the final vowel of preceding verbs and prepositions (Awobuluyi 2004:355).
7.  $\emptyset$  here represents the covertly present *un*.
8. (17a) and (18a) are poetic.
9. In this example, the meaning of *fún* suggests that it is a preposition, as it does not mean 'to give' but 'by'. See Yusuf (1998: 101).

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