The Structure of Relative Clause in Mọ̀ọ́yẹ A Sub Dialect of Ìgbómìnà

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Abstract
*Previous studies show that Ìgbómìnà dialects are divided into two: Mosàn and Mọ̀ọ́yẹ. Works on the dialects are predominantly on the classification and few unpublished long essays without a detail structural analysis unlike what obtains on Standard Yorùbá. This study focuses on the structural description of relative clause in Mọ̀ọ́ye a sub-dialect of Ìgbómìnà. The research is desirable in the sense that no detail study of this aspect of Mọ̀ọ́yẹ dialect is available in the literature. Findings in this present study show that Mọ̀ọ́ye dialects emphasises **ní** as relative marker. It is also established that subject noun relativization does not leaveresumptive pronoun (RP) at the extraction site.*

Key words: relative clause, dialect, Mọ̀ọ́yẹ, Ìgbómìnà.

Introduction
Ìgbómìnà dialect is spoken in Kwara State and some parts of Ọ̀ṣun State. In Kwara State, the dialect is divided into two Mosàn and Mọ̀ọ́yẹ. The two sub-dialects have their

speakers in Ìgbómìnà South and Ìgbómìnà North respectively. The Ìgbómìnà Mosan dialect is spoken in communities like Òmù Àrán, Àrándùn, Àjàṣẹ́, Ìgbàjà, Òró, Sàárẹ́, Òmùpo, Ìdọ̀fiàn, Ìlá-Ọ̀ràngún, Ọ̀ra-Ìgbómìnà, Òkè-Ìlá Ọ̀ràngún, Omido, Àgbámú, Agbọndà, Ìjan, Àrán-Òrin, Ẹ̀sìẹ́, Ìlúdùn, Àjáṣẹ́-Ìpo, Òkèyá-Ìpo, Yaàrú, etc. Mọ̀ọ́yẹ, on the other hand, is spoken in communities which are mainly in Kwara State. They are: Òkè-Ọdẹ, Òrò-Àgọ́, Òkè-Ọlà, Sàgbẹ̀, Bàbáńlà, Òréké, Òkèòyàn, Ọwá-Kájọlà, Ọwá Onírè, Òkè-Dábà, Òmùgo, Ọ̀là, Òkò, Agbélé, Ìdọ̀fin, Omídá and so on. The Igbomina dialects (Mosàn and Mọ̀ọ́yẹ) are structurally similar but one cannot rule out variations which may not hinder intelligibility. Oyelaran (1976) groups Ìgbómìnà dialect under the North East Yorùbá along Iyagba, Ijumu, Owé and Kakanda. Apart from work which was basically on classification; to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there are no published works on Mọ̀ọ́yẹ syntax. This study therefore is an effort to fill this gap. It provides a descriptive analysis of the relative clause of the dialect with the hope of documenting an aspect of syntax of the dialect for reference.

Relativisation

Relativisation is the process of forming a relative clause. Stockwell, et al (1973: 241) defines a relative clause as:

> A sentence embedded (in surface structure) as modifiers of an NP, the embedded

sentence having within it a Wh-pronominal replacement for a deep structure NP which is in some sense identical with the head NP, is a relative clause.

Consider the English example below :

    1 (a) [The book$_i$ [which Kunle bought] is missing.]

One can see that the relative clause in (a) is made up of two sentences as shown in (c&d)below:

    (c) The book is missing

    (d) Kunle bought the book

The book which is subject of the sentence in (c) and object of the verb *bought* in (d) becomes a relative pronoun (*which)*and it is moved into initial position of embedded clause, there is an anaphoric link between the (which) and the subject NP (the book) of the matrix clause. Stockwell (1977:59) divides relative clauses into two restrictive relative clause and appositive (non- restrictive) relative clause. Restrictive relative clausegives information mainly about the constituent that is relativized. It is not always separated by a comma. See the examples below:

    2 (a) The boy who bought my clothes is around.

    (b) This is the book which I liked very much.

Appositive relative clause on the other hand, is a parenthetical comment or after thought set off to separate intonation group from the rest of the sentence. Appositive relative clause is marked by comma, hyphen or bracket as shown in the examples below:

(c) My mother, I have great love and respect for, loves me much.

(d) Mother Theresa, who is reputed as a great social worker, received Nobel prize for

her service to the sick and the needy.

Ilori (2010: 251) claims that "relativization is a syntactic process of forming a relative 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...".

From the definitions above, one can deduce that a relative clause has two sub-clauses which are the matrix clause and embedded clause. It is important to note that only restrictive relative clause is attested in Ìgbómìnà dialect and Standard Yoruba. See the examples below:

1a. **[Adé [tí   ó   ra aṣọ]   ti   sá lọ]**
Subj. rel. marker pro. Verb Noun perf.marker   run go

1b. **Adé   ti   sá lọ [matrix clause]**
Subj. Perf.marker run go

1c. **tí óra   aṣọ   [embedded clause]**
Rel. pro Verb   Obj.

Relativised clause can serve as a subject noun phrase by taking a predicate.

2a. **Adé tí ó ra aṣọ ti lo**
Subj. rel marker pro. Verb Noun perf. Marker Verb

2b. **Aṣọ tí Adé rà ti gbó.**
Subj. rel marker Noun Verb perf. Marker Verb

A number of scholars have worked on relative clauses in Yorùbá language and its dialects. These range from Awobuluyi (1978), Bamgbose (1990), Ajiboye (2006), Ilori (2010) to Akintoye (2015); among others. These scholars in their various works have identified *tí* as the relative marker in Standard Yorùbá. However, Ajiboye's (2006) research on Mọ̀bà dialect shows that a few numder of Mọ̀bà dialect use "***ti ni***" as relative marker as in example 3a:

3a. **Ìwé ti ni mìí rà**
Book Comp Foc. 1sg buy
The book that I bought

The work goes further to show that the relative marker may also be null as in

3b. **Ìwé – mì í rà**
Book Ø I HTS buy

Akintoye's (2015) research centred on comparative analysis of relative clauses in Mọ̀pà, Oǹdó and Òmùò dialects. The scholar claims that Oǹdó dialect uses "***yìí***´ and ***di***" as its relative markers, while Mọ̀pà employs ***ghin*** and ***n*** and Òmùò dialect attests ***kì.*** See the following examples:

Oǹdó dialect

4a.   **Adéᵢ yìí   oᵢ gbé   ẹ̀ù**
A.   Rel. Rsp carry load
'Adé that carried the load'

4b.   **Ulí ᵢ yìí mo kọ *tᵢ* di mo mú oghókọ́**
H.   Rel. 1sg build Rel. 1sg take money build
'The house that I built that I spent money to build'

Òmùò dialect

5a. **Ọmọᵢ kì oᵢ   jẹ uṣu ìye Òjó**
Child Rel. Rsp eat yam mother Ojo
'The child that ate the yam of Ojo's mother'

5b.   **Ulí ᵢ kì mi kọ *tᵢ* kì   mimú   eókọ́**
H.   Rel. 1sg build Rel. 1sg take money build
'The house that I built that I spent money to build'

Mọ̀pà dialect

6a.   **Ọmọᵢ n óᵢ jẹ iṣu mọmọọ Òjó**
Child Rel. Rsp eat yam mother Ojo
'The child that ate the yam of Ojo's mother'

6b.   **Isu mọmọọ Òjó ᵢ ghin ọmọ jẹ *tᵢ***
yam mother Ojo   Rel. Child eat
'The yam of Ojo's   mother that the child ate'

(cf. Akintoye 2015: 71-85)

From the examples above, it is observed that relativised
Nouns are linearly (and immediately) followed by the

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relative clause marker. In case of subject Noun, a resumptive pronoun is dropped at the extraction site while the object Nouns and nominalised verbs leave trace at their extraction sites. It must be noted that the following constituents (subject Noun, object Noun or nominalised verb) can be relativised in SY. The next section will be dedicated to the strategy used in Mòọ́yẹ dialect to derive relative clauses.

Relative Clauses in Mòọ́nyẹ

Relativisation in Mòọ́nyẹ involves moving the relativised items (which could be subject Noun, object Noun or nominalised verb) from the embedded clause to the subject position of the matrix clause which is then immediately followed by the relative marker ***ní.*** Consider the examples

Subject Noun relativisation

7a. **Adé$_i$ ní $t_i$ra ìwéti rè**
    A. Rel. buy book perf go
    'Ade that bought the book has gone.'

b. **Ọmọ$_i$ ní t_i jẹ iṣu ghà nihìn-ín.**
    O. Rel. eat yam be prep here
    'The child that ate the yam is here.'

c. **Ṣé Adé $_i$ ní $t_i$ghá è mọ́ sọ?**
    Qm A. Rel. come 2sg prog. talk
    'Was it Ade that came you were discussing?'

Object Noun relativization

8a. **Ìwé *i* lọ́mọ   *t*i ra   ti   ya**
book Rel.-child buy perf tear
'The book that the child bought has torn.'

b. **Aṣọ*i* lólú   fọ̀*t*i ti   gbẹ**
cloth Rel. O. washperf   dry
'The cloth that Olu washed is dry.'

c. **Bata*i* ní mọ   ra *t*i ti   ya**
shoes Rel. 1sg buy perf tear
'The shoes that I bought has torn.'

Nominalised   Verb   (i.e.   verbal   Noun)   –   Noun relativisation

9a. **Rírà *i* lọ́mọ   ra*i* ìwé sihàn**
act of buying   Rel. child   buy   book good
'The act of buying a book that the child embarked on is good.'

b. **Jíje *i* lọ́mọ   jẹ*i* isu è sihàn**
act of eating Rel. child   eat yam Neg.   good
'The act of eating yam that the child embarked on is not good.'

From the data presented in (8), it is observed that the subject Noun is relativised and it is moved from the subject

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position of the embedded clause to subject position of the matrix clause and it is accompanied by the relative marker *ní*. A careful observation of the data will show that the position of the moved subject Noun from the embedded clause is empty unlike SY and other Yorùbá dialects where resumptive pronoun normally fills the vacant position. In (9), it is observed that when the object Noun of the verb is relativised and it is moved to the initial position of the matrix clause. It is observed that the relative marker undergoes denasalisation process when it is followed by a Noun that is vowel initial. However, in Ìdọ̀fin sub-dialect of Mọ̀ọ́nyẹ the 3sg pronoun takes **ún**shape after the relative marker.

Consider these examples in Ìdọ̀fin:

10a. **Bàtà** **nùn** **ún** **rà** **ti** **ya**
Shoe Rel 3sg buy pst tear
'The shoe that he bought has torn.'

b. **Ilé** **nùn** **ún** **kọ́** **dára**
House Rel 3sg built good
'The house which I bought is good.'

As evident in (10), one may tentatively assume that **ún** is the third person (3sg) singular pronoun in Ìdọ̀fin and that (i) the front high vowel assimilates the feature of the pronoun. However, the issue of the high tone lowering of the focus marker may not be unconnected with the fact that

the dialect forbids the contiguous occurrence of two high tones, this may probably have triggered the lowering of the tone of the relative marker to create some kind of tone polarity. In (9) the verb is relativised and moved to the initial position of the matrix clause but before then the verb has undergone a nominalisation through partial reduplication before it is moved.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined relative clause constructions in Mọ̀ọ́nyẹ dialect of Ìgbómìnà. We established that **ní** is the relative marker in the dialect. We also show that this relative clause marker undergoes denasalisation when the constituent that occurs immediately after it is vowel initial while it remains, in the environment of consonant initial Noun. We have demonstrated that the moved subject Noun does not drop Reflective Pronoun at its extraction site unlike what obtains in other Yorùbá dialects.

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