``COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN STANDARD YORÙBÁ AND ẸGBÁ DIALECT

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Abstract
This paper compares negative constructions in Standard Yorùbá (SY) and Ègbá dialect (ẸD) using the Principles and Parameters theory as a theoretical framework. A major finding of this study is that while '**má**' is attested as a negative marker in SY, it is attested as a progressive marker in ẸD. It is also found that, the negative marker '**kò**' is the only negative marker in SY that has variants '**kò**' and '**ò**'; but all negative markers in ẸD except '**àì**' and '**tì**' have variants. In terms of behaviour and features of these negative markers in different syntactic positions, a lot of differences exist between those that are attested in SY and ẸD, bringing about differences in their negative constructions. The paper concluded that, despite the fact that Ègbá dialect is a dialect of Yorùbá, a lot of differences were seen in their negative constructions as a result of the differences in the syntactic positions and features of the negative markers attested in the two speech forms.

Keywords: Negative Constructions, Standard Yorùbá, Ègbá Dialect.

1.0   Introduction

Yorùbá language is one of the major languages spoken in Nigeria. It is widely spoken in the following seven states: Lagos, Ògùn, Òndó, Òyó, Òsun, Èkìtì and kwara. It is also spoken in Delta, Edo and the western part of Kogi State, though the population of Yorùbá speakers in these three states is less than those in the seven states mentioned earlier.

According to Center for Word Languages/Language Materials Project, University of California, Los Angeles (www.imp.ucla.edu) (Accessed on December 6th, 2011) and Oyètádé (2011:1-2), Yorùbá is spoken by around thirty million (30,000,000) people in Nigeria as a first language. The number rises to thirty-two million (32,000,000) if we include the population of Yorùbá as a second language in Nigeria.

Different researches like Fáfúnwá (2008:1), Adétùgbò (1982:207-211), Adéyínká (2000:136-154), and Oyètádé (2011:12) have shown that Yorùbá language is equally spoken in some West African countries like, Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana and Cote d' Voire. Other places include, Cuba, Brazil, Haiti and Trinidad in the Southern part of America.

According to Adéyínká (2000:142), the wide spread of the language has brought about variants in the way the language is spoken in all the areas mentioned above, and it has led to the increase in number of its dialects of which Ègbá is one. Despite the numerous dialects of the language, Yoruba has a variant that is accorded more social status than the other dialects. It is referred to as the Standard Yorùbá (SY).

1.1   Ẹ̀gbá Dialect (ED) and Its Speakers

Ẹ̀gbá speaking areas are located in the eastern part of Ogun state in Nigeria. It is bordered in the North by the Àwórì people, while it has its boundary to the South of Yewa in Ẹ̀gbádò. It shares boarder with Ìjẹ̀bú in the Eastern and South-eastern parts of Ogun State. It occupies an area of about one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine (1, 869) square kilometers, with an estimated population of about one million, six hundred and six people (1.66 million) as at the year 2009. Ẹ̀gbá speaking areas consist mainly of four geographical locations namely: Ẹ̀gbá Aláké, Ẹ̀gbá Òkè-ọnà, Ẹ̀gbá Gbágùrá and Ẹ̀gbá Òwu. Six out of the twenty Local Governments Areas in Ogun State fall within the geographical area of Ẹ̀gbáland.

Scholars like Adétúgbọ̀ (1973:183-185,1982), Akínkùgbé (1976, 1978), Oyèláràn (1976:621), Awóbùlúyì (1998:10) and Adéníyì (2005:23-54) have worked on Yorùbá dialect classifications. They classified about thirty-two different dialects of the language into different categories. In their different classifications, Ẹ̀gbá dialect was classified under the North-West Yorùbá.

This paper compares the negative constructions in Standard Yorùbá and Ẹ̀gbá díalect by taking a look at the different negative markers in the two speech forms, as well as the different syntactic positions in which such markers can occur.

1.2   Theoretical Framework

Government and Binding (GB) Theory is the theory chosen for our analysis in this study. It is otherwise known as Principles and Parameters Theory. It is a theory of Universal Grammar.

Chomsky (198b:7) sees Universal Grammar "as some systems of principles, common to the species and available to each individual prior to experience". According to Haegeman (1991:13) "Universal Grammar is a system of all the principles that are common to all human languages". It is the basis for acquiring language; it is seen as underlying all human languages. It is a study of the conditions that must be satisfied by the grammar of all human languages. There is an embedding principle that holds for all languages and this is regarded as Universal Principles. This embedding principle, according to Haegeman (1991:12) tries to render explicit part of the tacit knowledge of the native speaker.

According to Cook and Newson (2007:3,11), "UG Theory holds that speaker knows a set of principles that apply to all languages, and parameters that vary within clearly defined mits from one language to another". It is a system of components and sub-theories, which are also referred to as modules of grammar, form an interlocking network that interacts with each other. These modules include;

Case Theory: which is concerned with the distribution of NPs within grammatical sentences.
Theta Theory: deals with the assignment of semantic roles to participants in a sentence.
Binding Theory: is concerned with the relationships of NP participants in the sentence.
Government Theory: refers to a particular relationship of high abstraction.
X̄-Bar Theory: deals with the relationship between the head of a phrase and its complement.
Control Theory: specifies the referential possibility of the abstract pronominal elements in infinitive clauses.
Bounding Theory: imposes restrictions on the movement of constituents within a sentence.

GB-Theory has two levels of syntactic structures, the D-structure and the S-structure. At the D-structure, all element are in their original syntactic positions, while at the S-structure, the operation Move-α has restructured the elements.

1.1 Move Alpha

According to Cook and Newson (2007:121), Move-α maps the D-structure onto the S-structure. Its work has to do with transformation whereby it changes the form of one linguistic structure to another. Transformation performs four major functions on a linguistic structure; it can delete formatives which had earlier occurred at the D-structure of a sentence, it can involve substitutions, it can insert new elements into a structure, it can move elements from one position to another in a sentence.

Negation is a form of movement transformation involving insertion of a new element at the S-structure of an affirmative sentence. Negation in SY and ẸD is effected by inserting a negative marker in an affirmative sentence. This marker transforms the affirmative sentence to a negative one. This means, once there is negation movement transformation has also taken place.

2.0 Defining Negation

The concept of 'Negation' has been a subject matter that has continued to attract interest from scholars in linguistics. According to Jackson (2007:43), negation is the expression of the denial or reverse of a state of affairs. Lyons (1977:771), also defines negation as denial of a positive proposition, or a predication that a proposition is untrue.

Jesperson (1933:296-300) defines it as a contradiction of an affirmative proposition. According to him, "a sentence may be either negative or positive or else expresses a doubt on the part of the speaker which the hearer is asked to resolve, that is, it may contain a question". The reason for this, according to him, is that negation is a stronger expression of feelings than affirmative.

Givon (1978:109), clearly differentiates negatives from affirmatives. According to him, negatives constitute a different speech act from affirmatives, whereas affirmatives are used to convey new information on the presumption of the hearer's ignorance, negatives are used to correct misguided belief on the assumption of the hearer's error.

In the view of Crystal (2008:323), negation is "a process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning. In English grammar, negation is expressed by the presence of the negative particle **not** or **n't** (the contracted negative).

Looking critically at these definitions, it could be said that the primary function of negation is to change affirmative sentences from positive to negative sentences. Negation is universally attested in many human languages. However, the process of its realization varies from language to language. Some languages express negation phonologically, through the use of tone, as we find in Igbo language. On the other hand, a language like Yorùbá expresses negation morphologically through the use of negative morphemes. It can also be expressed both phonosyntactically and morphosyntactically as in the case of Echie, a dialect of Igbo (Ndimele 1995:110).

It is widely believed that there are two types of negation in natural languages, negation of the entire sentence and negation of a constituent in the sentence (Quirk and Greenbaum 1988:183-190). Negation has its scope. This scope is the stretch of language over which the negative meaning operates. That is, the scope of negation ranges from the place where the negative morpheme is positioned to the end of the sentence. In other words, every constituent that occurs after the negative morpheme is within the domain of negation and therefore is influenced by the negative reading. This domain is technically referred to in the literature as 'scope'.

Crystal's (2008:323) definition of Negation is adopted in this work. According to his definition, English Language makes use of morphemes like **'*not*'** or **'*n't*'** (the contracted negative), prefixes such as ***un-***, ***non-***, as its negative markers. This is also the case in Standard Yorùbá and Ẹ̀gbá dialect.

3.0 Negative Markers in Standard Yorùbá

Yorùbá language, like any other natural language, has a way of negating a constituent or the whole sentence with the use of some negative markers. A lot of research has been carried out by scholars like Awóbùlúyì (1978), Bámgbóṣé (1990), Ògúnbọ̀wálé (1970), Adéwọlé (1992, 2000), Fábùnmi (2004), Abóḍẹrìn (2005) and others on what negation is in Standard Yorùbá and in some of its dialects. For example, Abóḍẹrìn (2005) examined the structural analysis of negation in Àwórì dialect and compared it with what obtains in Standard Yorùbá. Her research revealed that the pronouns affect the shape of the variety of **kò** in Àwórì dialect and that the number of negators and their variants are more in Àwórì dialect than Standard Yorùbá.

Earlier researches have shown that there are several kinds of negative sentences in Standard Yorùbá and that every such sentence contains at least one negative morpheme that is referred to as the negative marker. The negative markers that are used in Standard Yorùbá, as shown in earlier works, include: **kò/ò**, **kó**, **kìí**, **má**, **tì**, and **àì**. They can be exemplified as in (1) below.

(1) a. Adé **kò/ò** sùn
      Adé NEG sleep
      'Adé did not sleep.'

      b. Ṣàngó **kì í** jẹ obì
      Ṣàngó NEG eat kola nut
      'Ṣàngó doesn't eat kola nut'

      c. Ẹ **má** pa èkúté
      2PL NEG kill rat
      'Don't kill rat.'

      d. Adé **kó** ni ó ni bàtà
      Adéᵢ NEG FM eᵢ owns shoe
      'It is not Adé that owns the shoe.'

      e. Èkó bàjẹ́ **tì**
      Lagos spoil NEG
      'Lagos did not spoil.'

      f. **Àì**-fi àkàrà mu ẹ̀kọ
      1PL NEG use bean cake take pap
      'We don't take pap with bean cake.'

As seen in these examples, the negative marker '**kì**' which the habitual tense marker **'í'** do occur with [**kì** í] is used in negating sentences denoting habitual tense, as shown in data (2).

(2) a. Adé a máa sùn : Adé **kì** í sùn.
      'Adé always sleeps.'   Adé NEG always sleep
                            'Adé don't always sleep.'

      b. Ta ni ó máa ń wá : Ta ni **kì** í wá.
      Who is always come   Who NEG came
      'Who always come.'   'Who doesn't always come.'

It is this same negative marker that is used in negating verb-phrase that has been nominalized and brought forward for focusing in focus construction, as seen in (3) below:

(3) a. Títà ni aṣọ : **Kì** í ṣe títà ni aṣọ
      Sale is cloth   NEG sale FM cloth
      'The cloth is for sale.'   'The cloth is not for sale.'

The negative marker '**kọ́**' is used in SY to negate noun-phrase and also in focus construction, as shown in (4) below:

(4)   a. Ọmọ pupa lọ   :   Ọmọ pupa **kọ́** ni ó lọ
            Child red go   Child red NEG FM go
            'Fair complexioned child went.'   'It is not the fair complexioned child that went.'

          b.   Mo fẹ́ Bọ́lá   :   Bọ́lá **kọ́** ni mo fẹ́
             I marry Bọ́lá   Bọ́lá NEG FM i marry
             'I married Bọ́lá.'   'It is not Bọ́lá that I married.'

Also in SY, '**má**' is used in negating imperative sentences, as shown in (5):

(5)   a. Lọ   :   **Má** lọ
          'go!   NEG go
                        'Don't go.'

         b. jáde   :   **Má** jáde
          'go out!'   NEG go out
                        'Don't go out.'

'**kò/ò**' negates simple and interrogative sentences, as seen in (6) :

(6):   a. Olú jó   :   Olú **kò** jó. /Olú **ò** jó
           Olú dance   Olú NEG dance
           'Olú danced'   'Olú did not dance'

        b. Ta ni ó wá   :   Ta ni **kò**   wá. / Ta ni **ò** wá
           Who is PRO. come   Who NEG came
           'Who came?'   'Who did not come?'

        c. Owó wà ní Ègbá   :   **Kò**   sí   owó ní Ègbá
           Money PRESENT in Ègbá   NEG PRESENT money in Ègbá
           'There is money in Ègbá.'   'There is no money in Ègbá.'

As shown in (6), the negative marker has two variants; '**kò**' and '**ò**'. The variant '**kò**' can occur at both initial and medial positions in negative constructions, while '**ò**' can only occur at medial position.

      Another negative marker in the language is '**tì**'. The negative marker is used in sentential negation. It negates the whole sentence as shown in (7).

(7)   a. Èkó bàjẹ́   :   Èkó bàjẹ́ **tì**
           Lagos spoil   Lagos spoil NEG
           'Lagos is spoilt.'   :   'Lagos did not spoil.'

        b. Adé wa   mọ́tò :   Adé wa   mọ́tò   **tì**
          Adé drive a car/vehicle   Adé drive   a car/vehicle NEG
          'Ade drove a car/vehicle'.   'Adé could not drive a car/vehicle'.

To negate a verb-phrase in SY, the negator '**àì**' is used, as seen in example (8).

(8) a. Gbá bọ́ọ̀lù   :   **Àì**gbábọ́ọ̀lù
        Play ball   NEG play ball
        'Play ball.' :   Not playing ball.'

     b. þe iýë   :   **Aì**ýiýë
        do work   NEG do work
        'To do a work'.   'The act of not working'.

4.   Negative Markers in Ẹ̀gbá Dialect

Compared with the amount of literature on negation in general linguistics and in Standard Yorùbá, little or nothing has been done on negation in Ẹ̀gbá dialect, but much has been done on Àwórì, a sister dialect also spoken in Ogun state and part of Lagos state. Data collected for this research revealed that Ẹ̀gbá dialect, like the Standard Yorùbá, exhibits two types of negation; sentential and constituent negations with the use of the following negative markers: **kò/éè**, **kò ń/éè ń**, **kọ́/éèí**, **àì** and **tì**. Their syntactic distribution can be shown as in (9):

'Kò/éè'

(9) i.   a.   Dede wa **kò** gbà yẹ̀n
                    All of us   NEG accept that
                    'All of us did not accept that.'

           b.   Adé **éè** r'Ólú
                    Adé NEG see Olú
                    'Adé did not see Olú.'

           c.   **Éè** s'ówó lí Ẹ̀gbá
                    NEG money in Ẹ̀gbá
                    'There is no money in Ẹ̀gbá.'

'Kọ́/éèí'

    ii.   a.   Adé **kọ́**   re mo pè
                    Adé NEG FM I call
                    'It is not Adé that i called.'

           b.   **Éèí** ṣe 'rẹ, Bọ́lá wà
                    NEG you   Bọ́lá FM
                    'It is not you, it is Bọ́la.'

'kò ń/éè ń'

    iii.   a.   Ọmọ **kò ń** bọ́ lí ọwọ́ Akẹdun
                    Child NEG drop be hand monkey
                    'Child does not drop from monkey's hand.'

b.   Leè **kò ń** wẹ̀
          who NEG bath
          'Who does not bath.'

c.   **Éè ń** ṣèmi rò   má ṣè yẹ̀n
          NEG be me FM will do that
           'It is not me that will do that.'

d.   Adé **éè ń** sùn
          Adé NEG Sleep
          'Adé does not sleep.'

'tì'

iv.   a.   Wọ́n ṣ'àṣe**tì**
          They did NEG
          'They could not finish.'

b.   Èkó bàjẹ́ **tì**
          Lagos NEG spoil
          'Lagos did not spoil.'

'àì'

v.   a.   **Àì**-fi ilá jẹ láfún
          NEG use okra eat cassava flour
          'We don't eat okra with cassava flour.'

Going by the data in (9) above, it is seen that most of the negative markers attested in Ẹ̀gbá dialect have variants. For example, the negative marker **'kò/éè'** which the habitual tense marker in the dialect **'ń'** do occur with has two variants; '**kò ń**' and '**éè ń**'. This negative marker is used in negating sentences denoting habitual tense, as shown in (10):

(10) a.   Adé a má sùn   :   Adé **éè ń** sùn
          'Adé always sleeps.'   Adé NEG always sleep
                                                    'Adé don't always sleep.'

b.   Ṣàngó a má jobì   :   Ṣàngó **kò ń** jobì
          'Ṣàngó always eat kola nut..'   Ṣàngó NEG always eat kola nut
                                                    'Ṣàngó don't always eat kola nut.'

The same negative marker negates verb-phrase that has been nominalized and fronted for focusing in ẸD, as seen in (11) below:

(11)   Títà re aṣọ   :   **Éè ń** ṣe títà re aṣọ
             Sale is cloth   NEG sale FM cloth
             'The cloth is for sale.'   'The cloth is not for sale.'

With data (10) and (11), it is clear that '**kò ń**' occur only at medial position of a negative construction in ẸD while '**éè ń**' can occur at both initial and medial positions. It occurs at the initial position when it is negating the verb-phrase that has been nominalized and brought forward for focusing in focus construction, as seen in (11). In a situation like this, it will be followed by the auxiliary '**ṣe**'. But when it occurs at the medial position, the NP that precedes it must end with vowel '**é**', with a rising tone. As shown in (10a) .

'**kọ́**' is the negative marker employed in negating noun-phrase, and focus construction in ẸD, it also has two variants; '**kọ́**' and '**éèí**' as the examples in data (12) below as shown:

(12)   a. Ọmọ pupa lọ   :   **Éèí** ṣe ọmọ pupa rò lọ
            Child red go   NEG is child red FM go
            'Fair complexioned child went.'   'It is not the fair complexioned child that went.'

        b. Mo fẹ́ Bọ́lá   :   **Éèí** ṣe Bọ́lá re mo fẹ́/ Bọ́lá **kọ́** re mo fẹ́
            I marry Bọ́lá   NEG is Bọ́lá FM i marry/ Bọ́lá NEG FM i marry
            'I married Bọ́lá.'   'It is not Bọ́lá that i married.'

The variant '**kọ́**' occurs in the medial position of a negative construction in ẸD while it changes form to '**éèí**' whenever it occurs at the initial position. If we compare what we have in (3a) with (12) it shows clearly that '**éèí**' behaves exactly like the negative marker '**kì í**' in SY when it appears at the initial position. The reason for this behaviour is not far from the fact that, just as the negative markers '**kì í**' and '**kọ́**' negate focus construction in SY so do the negative markers '**kọ́**' and the variant '**éèí**' in ẸD.

In negating interrogative and simple sentences in ẸD, the negative marker '**kò**' is employed. Like other negative markers in the dialect, '**kò**' also have '**kò**' and '**éè**' as variants. Unlike its behaviour and distribution in SY, that '**kò**' can feature at both the initial and medial positions, '**kò**' in ẸD will only occur at the medial position of a negative construction while '**éè**' has the opportunity of occurring at both the medial and initial positions. Whenever it occurs at the medial position, the last vowel of the NP that precedes it must be vowel '**é**' with a rising tone, just as it is for the negative marker '**éè ń**', the variant of '**kò ń**' as seen in (9c.iv and 10a.) above. With this observation, we can then conclude that, it is the variants that call for the types of NPs that will precede them. Data (13) below illustrate our explanation:

(13)
        a. Owó wà lí Ẹ̀gbá   :   **Éè** s'ówó lí Ẹ̀gbá
            Money PRE. in Ẹ̀gbá   NEG money in Ẹ̀gbá
            'There is money in Ẹ̀gbá.'   'There is no money in Ẹ̀gbá.'

        b. Adé r'Ólú   :   Adé **éè** r'Ólú
            Adé see Olú   Adé NEG see Olú
            'Adé saw Olú.'   'Adé did not see Olú.'

        c. Ẹni ìyí mọ̀kọ̀n   :   Ẹni ìyí **kò**   mọ̀kọ̀n
            One who understand   One who NEG understand
            'One who understands.'   'One who does not understands.'

With data (1a, 6a-b,&10) it is clearly shown that the syntactic position and behaviour of the variant '**éè**' in ẸD is quite different from that of '**ò**' which is also a variant of the negative marker '**kò**' in SY. Where the difference lies is that, while it is possible for the variant '**éè**' in ẸD to occur at both the initial and medial position of Ẹ̀gbá negative constructions, it is not so for the variant '**ò**' in SY. This negative marker can only occur at the medial position, and whenever it occurs, it occurs with any type of noun, unlike what obtains for the negative markers '**éè**' and '**éè ń**' to feature at the medial positions in ẸD negative constructions.

As it is in SY, ẸD also makes use of the negative marker **'tì'**. This marker is used in sentential negations, as seen in (14) below:

(14) a. Èkó bàjẹ́ : Èkó bàjẹ́ **tì**
         Lagos spoil Lagos NEG spoil
         'Lagos is spoilt.' 'Lagos did not spoil.'
      b. Olú ṣe iṣẹ́ : Olú ṣe iṣẹ́ **tì**
         Olú did work Olú did work NEG
         'Olú worked.' 'Olú did not work.'

In negating verb-phrase in ẸD, the negative marker '**àì**' is employed as shown in (15):

(15) a. **Àì**láya ló mú wọn tòṣì b. **Àì**bímọ ró dùn mí
         NEG wife is make 3PLR wretched NEG give birth is pain me
      'Not having wife makes them wretched.' 'Not giving birth pains me.'

With respect to all the data in (4.1) and (5.1) it is further clear that both SY and ẸD exhibit sentential and constituent negations with the use of negative morphemes referred to as negative markers. However, it has been noted prior to our analysis that the syntactic positions and behaviours of some negative markers in ẸD and SY differ.

5.   Comparing Negative Constructions in Standard Yorùbá and Ẹ̀gbá Dialect

There are various kinds of sentences among which are: simple, compound and complex sentences. By Dawl's (1973:183) definition of negation, "negation means converting S1 to S2 such that S2 is false while S1 is true". It then means that through transformation, all sentences can be negated. This section compares the negative constructions in SY with that of ẸD so as to know the area of similarities and differences. We will not be able to compare all sentences in this work, for this reason, we will limit our comparison to simple sentence, imperative sentence and focus construction.

5.1   Simple Sentence Negation

Tallerman (2005:68-69), describes a simple sentence as a sentence containing a single predication. It is made up of one noun phrase subject and a predicate traditionally regarded as a single verb. Simple sentences usually expresses one main idea. It has one subject and one finite verb. Below are examples of simple sentence in SY and ẸD:

(16)   **SY**
      Affirmative   **Negative**

a.   Olú jó : Olú **kò/ò** jó.
      Olú dance Olú NEG dance
      'Olú danced.' 'Olú did not dance.'

b.   Owó wà ní Ẹ̀gbá : **Kò** sí owó ní Ẹ̀gbá
      Money PRESENT in Ẹ̀gbá NEG PRESENT in Ẹ̀gbá
      'There is money in Ẹ̀gbá.' 'There is no money in Ẹ̀gbá.'

8

c.

```
                          NEGP
                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                  Spec            NEG'
                   │          ┌─────┴─────┐
                   NP        NEG          IP
                   │          │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                   │          │    Spec          I'
                   │          │                ┌──┴──┐
                   │          │                I     VP
                   │          │                │     │
                   │          │               Tns    V
                   │          │                │     │
                  Olú        kò          [+PAST]    jó
                  Olú        ò                      jó
                    'Olú did not dance.'
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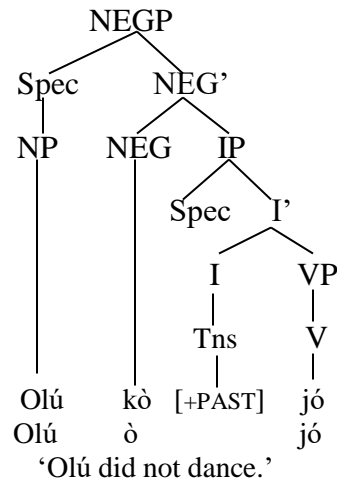

(17)   ẸD

        Affirmative   **Negative**

a.   Adé sùn   :   Adé **kò**/**éè** sùn
          Adé sleep   Adé NEG sleep
          'Adé slept..'   'Adé did not sleep.'

b.   Owó wà lí Ègbá   :   **Éè** s'ówó lí Ègbá
          Money PRE. in Ègbá   NEG money in Ègbá
          'There is money in Ègbá.'   'There is no money in Ègbá.'

c.

```
                          NEGP
                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                  Spec            NEG'
                   │          ┌─────┴─────┐
                   NP        NEG          IP
                   │          │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                   │          │    Spec          I'
                   │          │                ┌──┴──┐
                   │          │                I     VP
                   │          │                │     │
                   │          │               Tns    V
                   │          │                │     │
                  Adé        kò         [+PAST]     sùn
                  Adé        éè                     sùn
                    'Adé did not sleep.'
```

9
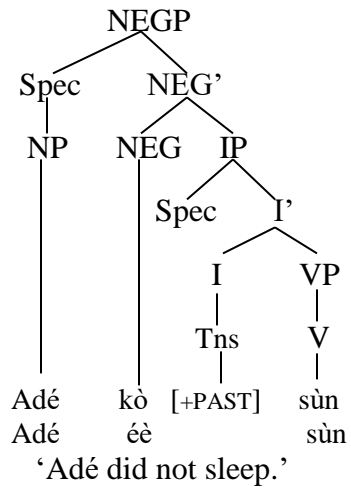
Going by what we have in data (16 a, b, c) and (17a, b, c) above, **'kò'** is the negative marker employed by the speech forms in negating simple sentences. The syntactic position of the marker in the two languages is the same and it is usually being preceded by a third person as its subject. However, the behaviour and distribution of the marker is not the same in these two speech forms.

In terms of behaviour, this negative marker as **'kò'** and **'ò'** has variants in SY. The variant **'ò'** is morphologically conditioned to occur at the medial position and before any type of noun phrase of a negative construction, while **'kò'** has a wider distribution of occurrence by featuring in the medial and initial positions.

The case is not so in ẸD. It is the variant **'éè'** that has a wider occurrence than **'kò'** in the dialect. **'Éè'** can occur at both initial and medial positions, while **'kò'** can only feature at the medial position irrespective of the type of NP subject that precedes it. The occurrence of the variant **'éè'** in the medial position is also morphologica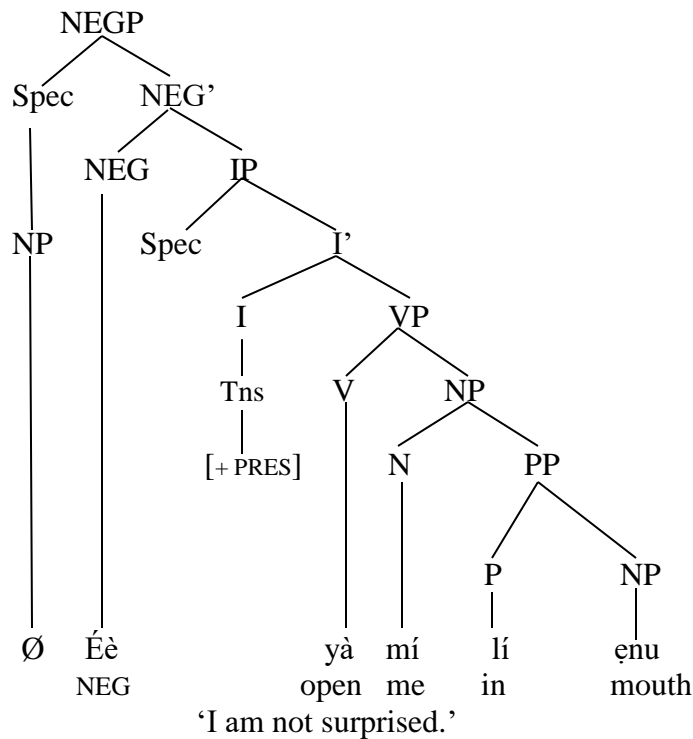lly conditioned because it can only feature after a noun phrase ending with a high tone vowel **'é'** unlike **'ò'** that can occur after any type of NP subject in SY.

In terms of features, the negative marker **'kò'** in ẸD becomes **'éè'** at the initial position when the NP subject is silent or got deleted. What we observed here is being referred to in the field of Linguistics as replacive. This morphological or syntactic process is described by Crystal, (2008:413) as a term sometimes used in morphology to refer to a morph postulated to account for such problematic internal alternations. According to his examples, man ~ men, take ~ took, etc. The 'replacive morph' here would be stated as *a*➔ *e*, *a* ➔ *o*. The same morphological rule that has changed **'a'** to **'e'** and **'a'** to **'o'** in man/men and take/took has changed the negative marker **'kò'** in ẸD to **'éè'** when it occurs at the initial position or after a NP ending with a high tone vowel **'é'** in the medial position of a negative constructions, as seen in (17) above and (19) below:

(19)

```
                    NEGP
              _____|_____
            Spec            NEG'
             |          _____|_____
            NP        NEG           IP
             |         |        _____|_____
             |         |      Spec         I'
             |         |       |       _____|_____
             |         |       |      I          VP
             |         |       |      |       ____|____
             |         |       |     Tns      V       NP
             |         |       |      |       |    ____|____
             |         |       |  [+ PRES]    |   N       PP
             |         |       |      |       |   |     ___|___
             |         |       |      |       |   |    P      NP
             |         |       |      |       |   |    |       |
             Ø        Éè                     yà  mí   lí      ẹnu
                      NEG                    open me   in     mouth
                        'I am not surprised.'
```
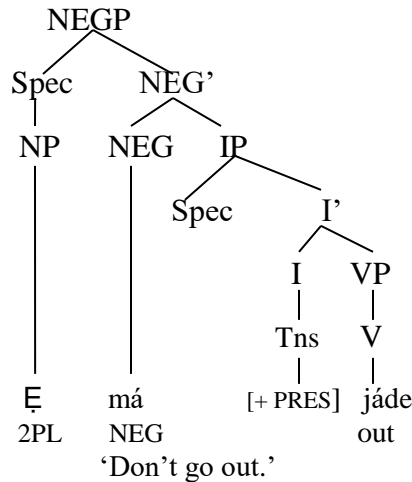
10

5.2   Imperative sentence negation.

In our everyday language use, we express commands. The command sentences (of the simple type) could be mild, or harsh. Commands are also called imperative sentence. The subject of this sentence is always a second person. If the subject is singular, it becomes deleted at the surface level, but if the subject is plural, it must surface and take is position at the surface level of the sentence. For example:

(20)

SY

Affirmative		**Negative**
a.	Jáde (SG. subject) go out.'	:	**Má** jáde 'Don't go out.'
b.	Jókòó (SG. subject) 'sit down.'	:	**Má** jókòó 'Don't sit down.'
c.	Ẹ jáde (PL subject) 2PL go out 'go out.'	:	Ẹ **má** jáde 2PL NEG go out 'Don't go out.'
d.	Ẹ dijú yín 2PL close eye your 'close your eyes.'	:	Ẹ **má** dijú yín 2PL NEG close eye your 'Don't close your eyes.'

e.


```
                        NEGP
                       /    \
                   Spec     NEG'
                    |      /    \
                    NP   NEG     IP
                              /     \
                           Spec      I'
                                    /  \
                                   I    VP
                                   |    |
                                  Tns   V
                                   |    |
                    Ẹ     má    [+ PRES] jáde
                   2PL    NEG            out
                        'Don't go out.'
```

The negative marker **'má'** negates imperative sentence in SY, as seen in (20a-e). It is mandatory for the subject of this sentence to appear at the surface level if the subject is plural. It is at the back of this subject that the negative marker will occur. This means that the negative marker here is occurring at the medial position of the sentence. But once the subject is singular and got deleted, the negative marker will occur at the initial position, as seen in (10a-b).

Data collected for this work revealed that **'má'** is not attested as a negative marker in ẸD but rather, as a progressive marker. Whenever the marker **'má'** is used in ẸD, the meaning is usually that of positive, meaning that the addressee should start or continue with the action he is about to initiate or that he has just

initiated unlike its negative meaning in SY, that will compel the addressee to stop or deny the action that we are talking about. For example, (21) below shows the use of the marker **'má'** in ẸD sentences.

(21) a. Má lọ.   'Be going'
    b. Má sun orun rẹ .   'Be sleeping /Continue your sleeping'
    c. Má lọ sójà lí kíá.   'Be going to the market'

By what we have in data (21), the marker is an auxiliary that act exactly like the primary auxiliary verb **'be'** in English Language. In Yorùbá Language, auxiliaries can either occur before or after the main lexical verb. Those that can occur before the main verb are further classified into four groups; those acting as negators, modal auxiliaries, and tense and aspect markers. **'má'** in SY comes under negators because of its negative meaning in the language while it comes under tense marker in ẸD because of its meaning as a progressive marker. **'má'** in ẸD has been discovered in this work to have the same meaning and features with **'máa'** which is also a progressive marker, when it occurs and stands alone in a sentence without any other marker in SY. Compare (22) and (23) below to have further insight to our explanations.

(22) a. Túnjí má bọ̀ líbí.   'Túnjí be coming here.'
    b. Olú má faṣọ rẹ lí kíá.   'Olú be washing your cloth now.'
    c. Má lọ.   'Be going.'
    d. Má lọ sójà lí kíá.   'Be going to the market now.'

(23) a. Túnjí máa bọ̀ níbí.   'Túnjí be coming here'
    b. Olú máa foṣọ rẹ ní kíá.   'Olú be washing your cloth now.'
    c.   Máa lọ.   'Be going.'
    d. Máa lọ sójà ní kíá.   'Be going to the market now.'

In negating an imperative sentence in ẸD, the dialect makes use of the negative marker **'kò'** followed by the modal auxiliary **'gbudọ̀'** which normally indicates necessity in terms of mood in the dialect. Unlike in SY where the subject of the sentence will be deleted at the surface structure of the affirmative and the negated construction of an imperative sentence if it is a second person singular, the case is not always so in ẸD. Whether the subject is singular or plural, it must take its position at the surface structure of the negative construction. The constructions in (24) below shows the negated form of an imperative sentence in ẸD

(24)

<div align="center">

ẸD

</div>

	Affirmative		**Negative**
a.	Jáde (SG. subject) go out.'	:	O **kò** gbudọ̀ jáde 2SG NEG MOD go out 'You must not go out.'
b.	Jókòó (SG. subject) 'sit down.'	:	O **kò** gbudọ̀ jókòó 2SG NEG MODA sit 'You must not sit down.'

c.   Ẹ jáde (PL subject)   :   Ẹ   **kò** gbudọ̀   jáde
              2PL go out   2PL NEG MODA go out
              'go out.'   'You must not go out.'

d.   Ẹ dijú yín   :   Ẹ   **kò**   gbudọ̀ dijú yín
              2PL close eye your   2PL NEG MODA close eye
              'close your eyes.'   'You must not close your eyes.'

e.

```
                              NEGP
                         ┌──────┴──────┐
                       Spec          NEG'
                        │         ┌────┴────┐
                        NP      NEG         IP
                        │        │      ┌───┴───┐
                        │        │    Spec      I'
                        │        │           ┌──┴──┐
                        │        │           I     VP
                        │        │           │     │
                        │        │           │     V
                        │        │           │     │
                        O        kò        gbudọ̀  jáde
                       2SG      NEG        MODA   go out
                          'You must not go out.'
```

        The examples and the tree diagrams in (20), (21), (22), (23) and (24) clearly show that the marker **'má'** is not attested as a negative marker in ẸD as it is in SY but rather a progressive marker. While **'má'** negates an imperative sentence in SY, the negative marker **'kò'** is employed in ẸD.

        If we compare the negative construction of the two languages here, it is observed that the negative markers **'má'** in SY and **'kò'** in ẸD are what the languages use in negating imperative sentence. In terms of syntactic position, these negative markers occur in the same syntactic position in the two languages. Where the differences lie is that in SY, the negator will occur at the initial position, if the subject is a second person singular (the subject must be deleted) but in ẸD, whether the subject is singular or plural, it must occur before the negative marker, so the negative marker occurs after the subject.

        It is also noted that it is possible to delete the singular subject in ẸD as seen in (25). If the construction takes this format, the negative marker **'kò'** will feature as **'éè'** and still be followed by the modal auxiliary **'gbudọ̀'**. The reason for the sudden change of **'kò'** to **'éè'** is that **'kò'** cannot occur at the initial position of a negative construction in the dialect.

        In terms of behaviour, the negative marker **'kò'** and its variant **'éè'** in ẸD cannot occur in these negative constructions without the support of the modal auxiliary **'gbudọ̀'** which further shows the relationship of the negative marker and the lexical verb that is negating unlike in SY where the negative marker will occur directly before the NP.

(25)   jáde (SG subject)   :   **Éè** gbudọ̀ jáde
           2SG go out   NEG MODA go out
           'go out.'   'You must not go out.'

5.3   Negation and Focus Construction

Jackendoff (1972:230) observes that focus denotes the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer. Baker (1995) defines focus as 'a construction that is specifically designed to serve an identificational function'. Focusing is a way of rendering a constituent of a sentence emphatic. When a constituent is focused, it is moved from its original position to the sentence initial position. This sentence initial position is what we refer to as the spec of FP.

When the Subject NP is focused, i.e. when the Subject NP is moved to the Spec of FP, it leaves behind a resumptive pronoun which heads the cleft of sentence, but when the Object NP of the Verb Phrase or Prepositional Phrase is focused, it leaves behind an empty category (i.e., a trace). The verb is focused through a nominalization process and leave a copy of the verb at the original position. The focus marker in SY is **'ni'**, while **'re'** is the focus marker in ẸD.

Example of focus construction in SY and ẸD can be shown as in (26).

(26a)   Adé jẹ àgbàdo (SY) (d- structure)   Adé jẹ ọkà (ẸD) (d- structure)

   i.   Adé$_i$ ni ó$_i$ jẹ àgbàdo ní Èkó   i.   Adé$_i$ ro$_i$ jẹ ọkà lí Èkó
      Adé FM PRO eat corn in Lagos   Adé FM PRO eat corn in Lagos
      'It is Adé that ate corn in Lagos.'   'It is Adé that ate corn in Lagos.'

   ii.   Jíjẹ$_i$ ni   Adé jẹ$_i$ àgbàdo ní Èkó   ii.   Jíjẹ$_i$ re Adé jẹ$_i$ ọkà lí Èkó
     Eating FM Adé eat corn in Lagos   Eating FM Adé eat corn in Lagos
 'It was eating that Adé ate corn in Lagos.' 'It was eating that Adé ate corn in Lagos

   iii. Àgbàdo$_i$ ni Adé jẹ t$_i$ ní Èkó   iii. Ọkà$_i$ re Adé jẹ t$_i$ lí Èkó
     Corn FM Adé eat corn in Lagos   Corn   FM Adé corn in Lagos
'It is corn that Adé ate in Lagos.'   'It is corn that Adé ate in Lagos.'

   iv. Èkó$_i$ ni   Adé ti jẹ àgbàdo t$_i$ iv. Èkó$_i$ re   Adé ti jẹ ọkà t$_i$
     Lagos FM is Adé   eats corn   Lagos FM is Adé eats corn
      'It is in Lagos that Adé ate corn.'   'It is in Lagos that Adé ate corn.'

Each of these constituents that has been focused can be negated as seen in (27).
(27)
   i.   Adé$_i$ **kọ́** ni ó$_i$ jẹ àgbàdo   i.   Adé$_i$ **kọ́** ro$_i$ e_i jẹ ọkà
     Adé NEG FM PRO eat corn   Adé NEG FM PRO eat corn
     'It is not Adé that ate corn.'   'It is not Adé that ate corn.'

   ii. Jíjẹ$_i$ **kọ́** ni Adé jẹ$_i$ àgbàdo   ii. Jíjẹ   **kọ́** re Adé jẹ ọkà
     Eating NEG FM Adé eat corn   Eating NEG FM Adé eat corn
     'It was not eating that Adé ate corn.' 'It was eating that Adé ate corn.'

 iii. Àgbàdo$_i$ **kọ́** ni Adé jẹ t$_i$ ní Èkó   iii. Ọkà$_i$ **kọ́** ni Adé   jẹ t$_i$ ní Èkó
     Corn   NEG FM Adé eat in Lagos   Corn NEG FM Adé   eat in Lagos
     'It is not corn that Adé ate in Lagos.' 'It is not corn that Adé ate in Lagos.'

iv. Èkó_i **kọ́** ni Adé ti jẹ àgbàdo t_i   iv. Èkó_i **kọ́** re Adé ti jẹ ọkà t_i
   Lagos NEG FM is Adé eat corn   Lagos NEG FM is Adé eat corn
   'It is not in Lagos that Adé ate corn.'   'It is not in Lagos that Adé ate corn.'

In SY and ẸD, the negative marker **'kọ́'** is used in negating NP constituents. The NP can either be at the subject or object position. But in a situation whereby the NP is a pronoun, the NP will be replaced by a pronominal when focusing. When negating in this type of construction, the negative marker **'kò'** is also employed in the two speech forms and it comes in the same syntactic position, as seen in (28)

(28) i. Èmi_i **kọ́** ni mo_i mu ẹmu/ Èmi_i **kọ́** ni ó_i mu ẹmu (SY)
      1sg NEG FM i drink palmwine
      'I am not the one who drank palm wine.'

  ii. Èmi_i **kọ́** ro *e_i* mu ẹmu (ẸD)
      1sg NEG FM i drink palmwine
      'I am not the one who drank palm wine.'

  ii. Àwa_i **kọ́** ni a_i jẹ àgbàdo (SY)
      3pl NEG FM eat corn
      'We are not the one that ate the corn.'

  iii. Àwa_i **kọ́** ro *e_i* jẹ ọkà (ẸD)
      3pl NEG FM eat corn
      'We are not the one that ate the corn.'

'Kì í' is another negative marker used as a negator in negating NP constituent in SY. Unlike **'kò'** that will come after the NP, **'kì í'** usually occur before the NP, and must be followed by the auxiliary **'ṣe'** before the surface of the NP that is negating. In this type of negative construction in ẸD, the negative marker **'éèí'** which is a variant of **'kọ́'** in the dialect as discussed in (12) is used, also followed by the auxiliary **'ṣe'**, as illustrated in (29)

(29) i. **Kì** í ṣe Adé ni ó jẹ àgbàdo   i. **Éèí** ṣe Adé ro jẹ kà
       NEG is Adé FM PRO eat corn   NEG is Adé FM PRO eat corn
       'Is not Adé that ate corn.'   'Is not Adé that ate corn.'

  ii. **Kì** í ṣe àgbàdo ni Adé jẹ   ii. **Éèí** ṣe ọkà re Adé jẹ
       NEG is corn FM Adé eat   NEG is corn FM Adé eat
       'It was not corn that Adé ate.'   'It was not corn that Adé ate.'

  iii. **Kì** í ṣe jíjẹ ni Adé jẹ àgbàdo   iii. **Éèí** ṣe jíjẹ re Adé jẹ ọkà
       NEG is eating FM Adé eat corn   NEG is eating FM Adé eat corn
    'It was not eating that Adé ate corn. '   'It was not eating that Adé ate corn.'

From data (26), (27), (28) and (29) it can be observed that **'kọ́'** and **'kì í'** are the two major types of negative markers employed in negating NP constituents in focus constructions in SY while ẸD makes use of **'kọ́'** and its variant **'éèí'**. Looking at the behaviour of these negative markers in the two languages, **'kọ́'** will occur after the NP that is negating in both languages. Whenever the negative marker is to come before the NP to be negated, **'kì í'** is the negative marker to occur in this type of negative construction in SY, while **'éèí'** the variant of **'kọ́'** in ẸD will occur in this same type of negative construction in ẸD. The reason for the

occurrence of **'éèì'** here is that **'ḱọ'** which **'éèí'** is its variant cannot occur at word initial but at word medial in the language just as **'ḱọ'** cannot also occur as word initial in SY.

As observed, **'éèí'** is not restricted to a specific type of NP that can come before it in a negative construction. This makes its behaviour different from that of **'éè'** and **'éè ń'** which are the variants of **'kò'** and **'kò ń'** in ẸD negative constructions.

Conclusion

This paper has compared the negative constructions in SY and ẸD. The paper revealed that while the marker **'má'** is attested as a negative marker in SY, it is attested as a progressive marker in ẸD. It was also revealed that the negative marker **'kò'** is the only negative marker in SY that has variants **'kò'** and **'ò'**; but all negative markers in ẸD except **'àì'** and **'tì'** have variants. The paper finally concluded that, despite the fact that Ẹgbá dialect is a dialect of Yorùbá, a lot of differences were seen in their negative constructions as a result of the differences in the syntactic positions and features of the negative markers attested in the two speech forms.

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