

Tense and Aspect in Ọ̀họ̀rí

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Abstract

Reports in the linguistic literature indicate that inflection (Infl) is the layer that freezes elements like tense, aspect, agreement, modal, and negator and they are capable of projecting independent X^0 (Ilqri 2010). This article examines some functional categories such as tense [+TNS] and aspect [+ASP] in Ọ̀họ̀rí Yorùbá. Ọ̀họ̀rí is a dialect of Yorùbá which is spoken in Kétu and its environs in West Yorùbá (Oyelaran 1976; Adeniyi 2000), precisely in Yewa North Local Government Area of Ogun State, Nigeria. The data used in this study were elicited from eight adult native speakers of Ọ̀họ̀rí in Kétu, Ègùwà, and Asá in Yewa North Local Government Area of Ogun State, Nigeria via interviews using digital device. The analysis was done within the minimalist program of Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, and 2002) with Split Infl-hypothesis of Pollock (1989). The study shows that future tense and aspect are syntactically marked in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The paper further reveals that Ọ̀họ̀rí has a single element that marks both habitual and progressive aspects. The article proposes structures for the projection of TP and AspP in Ọ̀họ̀rí. The paper conclusively affirms that future tense markers can co-occur with perfective aspect marker in Ọ̀họ̀rí.

Keywords: Aspect, Infl, Minimalist Program, Tense, Ọ̀họ̀rí

1. Introduction

Word categories in natural language are divided into two: lexical and functional (Chomsky 1981, 1995). Lexical items are said to have idiosyncratic property, i.e., word items that have inherent semantic denotation. Functional or grammatical items on the other hand lack idiosyncratic and intrinsic features. However, tense and aspect, which this article discusses in Ọ̀họ̀rí have been grouped under functional categories (Chomsky 1981, 1995). Tense [+TNS] and Aspect [+ASP] are items frozen under inflection (Infl). Infl is a layer that hosts elements like tense, aspect, agreement, modal, and negator (Ilqri, 2010:226). Infl are auxiliaries in

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layman term. Native speakers explore linguistic elements, such as auxiliaries, to express either future or present thoughts (Adekola, 2024:351). However, diverse scholars like Adétúgbò (1967), Akíńkúgbé (1976), Oyèláràn (1976), Olúmúyìwá (1994), Awóbùlúyì (1998), Adéníyì (2000) have done extensive work on the classifications of the Yorùbá dialects. Among these scholars, only Oyèláràn (1976) and Adéníyì (2000) captured Ọ̀hòrí in their classifications. For instance, Adétúgbò (1967:14) classified Yorùbá dialects into three areas: (i) Northwest Yorùbá (NWY) which consists of Ọ̀yọ́, Ìbàdàn, Ọ̀ṣun; (ii) Southeast Yorùbá (SEY) comprising Rẹ̀mọ́, Òndó, Ìkálẹ̀; (iii) Central Yorùbá (CY) consists of Ifẹ̀, Ìj, Ìj'ẹ̀à and Èkìtì. Oyèláràn (1976:628) divided Yorùbá dialects into four groups: (i) West Yorùbá (WY) which consists of Ọ̀yń1, Ìbàdàn, ẹ̀gbá, Ọ̀hńń-í-í-ńń; Upper Ògùn-bakí, Ijío, Kétu, Sáb'1, Benin and Togo-If' (Togo), Idáìsà, Mánìgrì; (ii) Southeast Yorùbá (SEY) comprising Òùdó, Ọ̀wń, Ìj'ẹ̀bú, Ìkál' and Ìláj'; (iii) Central Yorùbá (CY) comprising Ilé-If', Ìj'ẹ̀à and Èkìtì; (iv) Northwest Yorùbá (NWY) comprising Ìgbómìnà, Kákándá, Ìgbńń1, Jùmú, Bùnú, Ọ̀wń1rń, Owé and ẹ̀gb'. Adéníyì (2000:44) grouped Yorùbá dialects into seven major areas: (i) North-Southwest Yorùbá (NSWY) which consists of Ọ̀yń1, Òùkò, Ọ̀ṣun, Ìbńń1, Ìgbómìnà; (ii) Northeast Yorùbá (NEY) consists of Ìyàgbà, Bùnú, Jùmú, Owé, Gb'd', Àyèé; (iii) West Yorùbá (WY) which has Ànàgó, Kétu, If' (Togo), Ọ̀hńń-í, Tsab'; (iv) Central Yorùbá (CY) has If', Ìj'ẹ̀à, Àkúr'1, Èkìtì, Mńńbà; (v) East Yorùbá (EY) has Ùkàr'1 dialects, Ọ̀bà, Ìdó-Àní; (vi) Southwest Yorùbá (SWY) comprising ẹ̀gbá, Àwóri, Èkó, Yewa; (vii) Southeast Yorùbá (SEY) which has Ìj'ẹ̀bú, Òùdó, Ìkál', Ìláj', Ọ̀wń, Ijo (Apor).

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Yorùbá (WY) which has Ànàgó, Kétu, Ife (Togo), hñrí, Tsab¹; (iv) Central Yorùbá (CY) has Ife, Ìj'è, Àkúrì, Èkìtì, Mñbà; (v) East Yorùbá (EY) has Ùkàrì dialects, bà, Ìdó-Àní; (vi) Southwest Yorùbá (SWY) comprising, gba, Àwòrì, Èkó, Yewa; (vii) Southeast Yorùbá (SEY) which has Ìj'è, Òùdó, Ìkál', Ìláj', wñ, Ijo (Apor).

However, the thrust of this study is not only to pinpoint the elements that mark tense and aspect in hñrí, but to propose structures for the projection of tense and aspect in hñrí, which in turn, serves as means of documenting tense and aspect information in hñrí for future reference. The paper is grouped into six sections. Section two discusses tenses in hñrí; section three concentrates on aspect in hñrí; section four examines co-occurrence of tense and aspectual markers in hñrí; section five focuses on the projections of the tense phrase (TP) and aspect phrase (AspP) in hñrí, and section six concludes the paper.

2. Tense in hñrí

Tense is the specification of event to the time of speaking about it. Tense is a functional category that relates the time of an event to the moment of utterance. Tense shows relation between the events. Lyons (1968:305) sees tense as the element that relates the time of an action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance. Comrie (1985) opines that tense is a grammaticalised expression of location in time. Tense can also be a means through which native speakers use linguistic basis to transmit their present thought (Ogbeide-Ihama, 2015:93). However, Ilíri (2010:227) reports that tense in Yorùbá polarises future and non-future. He submits that non-future covers both past and present tenses while the future covers only the future tense.

¹Tense and Aspect have been a controversial issue among the Yorùbá scholars.

²Awóyalé (1986:3) postulates that tense does not exist in Yorùbá. According to him, the language does not have any systematic mechanism exclusively reserved for varying the structure of the sentence with reference to the time of speaking.

³Oyèlárán (1982:36) opines that tense is not a grammatical category in Yorùbá but aspect is grammatical in the language and it is a sub-category of AUX.

⁴Bámgbócé (1990:67) establishes that tense and aspect are inseparable in Yorùbá.

In the case of non-future, the only phonetically visible item is *ó* generally referred to as high tone syllable (HTS) in the literature. Like other dialects of Yorùbá, tense in hñrí is marked. The items that mark tense in hñrí include *áà*, *mñññ*, *yñññ*. *Yñññ* and *mñññ* have other variants, which are *'I'* and *ñce* respectively. A careful look at these tense markers, they are polymorphemic elements, which show the future of an event, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. Olú yñññ j'ùn lí ñné
Olu FUT eat-something LOC house

- ‘Olu will eat at home.’
- b. Ààr¹ yŃIŃI fŃ□hŃ□n
President FUT to-talk
‘The president will talk.’
- c. BáýŃ□ mŃIŃ sù sínné
BáýŃ□ FUT sleep LOC-house
‘Bayo will sleep at home.’
- d. ,□ihin mŃIŃ kpariwo
2pl FUT make-noise
‘You will make noise.’
- e. OlùkŃ1 áà kŃ1 ak¹1nkŃ□Ń1
Teacher FUT teach students
‘The teacher will teach the students.’
- f. Aiyé áà kpa Ń□niàn sáyé
People FUT kill people LOC-earth
‘Evil people will render one useless.’

All the examples in (1a-f) show the future action of an event. In other words, all the examples in (1) indicate actions that will take place after the utterance. The other variants of *yŃIŃI* and *mŃIŃ* are ‘I’ and *ńce* respectively. This is shown in (2).

- (2) a. badé ‘I’ fícíí ‘¹□
badé FUT wash-cloth 3SG-Gen
‘Sade will wash her cloth.’
- b. ìb¹□ yèé ‘I’ dŃ□n
Soup DEM FUT sweet
‘This soup will be sweet.’

⁵Fábùnmi (1998:35-38; 2006:92-105) reports Omamor (1982:17) that “the idea that all languages with no morphological indication of the position present-past are tenseless appears to be rather difficult to accept.”

⁶Adéwílé (1988:55-56) argues for perfective aspect instead of HTS that some scholars canvassed for.

- c. AyŃŃ□ *ńce* kŃ1-kpa Ń□niàn
Joy FUT kill person
‘Overjoyous will kill person.’

- di. Àwàa *ńce* khá-j'ùn
1PL FUT to-eat
'We will eat.'
- ii. Olú *ńce* kÑ1-kÍrin
Olu FUT to-sing-song
'Olu will sing.'
- iii. Àwàa *ńce* khá-bÑ□ IÑ1sÑ□n-Ñ1n
1PL FUT to-come LOC-afternoon
'We will come at noon.'

While 'I' is used alternatively with *yÑIÑI* in □□hÑ□rí, *ńce* is substituted with *mÑIÑI*. The two variants do not change the semantic interpretation of the expressions as future actions. An observation is quickly noted in (2c-2diii). □□hÑ□rí regularly attach a morpheme, *khá/kÑI* to the verb that follows it wherever *ńce* is used as future tense marker. The morpheme *khá/kÑI* constantly starts with the voiceless velar plosive consonant /k/ and it is high tone. The vowel of the morpheme can either be oral unrounded central low /a/ or oral rounded back mid-low vowel /ɔ/. Either of the morphemes in question is attached to the beginning of a verb; if the morpheme is detached where *ńce* is used as future action marker, the sentence would be ill-formed in □□hÑ□rí.

3. Aspectual Expressions in □□hÑ□rí

Omamor (1982:104-105) describes aspect as an internal temporal contour of a situation. It shows the temporal relationship between the point of initiation of utterance and the internal temporal structure of a specific background situation described by one element and the totality of the situation referred to by another. Comrie (1976:3) conceives aspect as element that specifies the way internal constituency of a situation is viewed. Aspect states whether the action of a verb is completive or continuative. Completive means that the action is perfected, while the continuative means the action is still ongoing. Cross-linguistically, aspect can further be divided into two: perfective and imperfective. Imperfective can on the other hand be divided into habitual and progressive. These are expatiated in the following sub-sections.

⁷Adéwílé (1988:55-56) cites Bisang and Sonaiya (1999) that "the HTS has nothing to do with tense, as it only marks an action already completed by the subject.

⁸Awóbùlúyì (1978) claimed that two types of verbs play key roles when it comes to tense: stative and action verbs. While stative verbs are unmarked for tenses, action verbs are marked for tenses.

3.1. Perfective Aspect in ỌỌhńỌrí

Comrie (1976:16) defines perfective aspect as a situation of a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation. Perfective aspect often marks the completion of an event, distinguishing it from ongoing or habitual actions (Bybee, Joan, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 1994:124). In ỌỌhńỌrí for instance, perfective aspect [+PERF] is marked by *tin*. This item *tin* is similar to *ti* [+PERF] in Standard Yorùbá (SY). The only difference there is the nasal vowel in that of ỌỌhńỌrí, while the SY has oral vowel. This is exemplified in (3).

- (3) a. Adé *tin* nń́ ńné
Ade PERF go house
'Ade has gone home.'
- b. Adé *tin* kha ìwé ń
Ade PERF read book 3SG-Gen
'Ade has read his book.'
- c. Ìbń́ kń́ dń́n.
Soup NEG sweet
'The soup is not sweet.'
- d. Ìbń́ kń́ lèè dń́n.
Soup NEG FUT sweet.
'The soup will not be sweet.'
- e. Ìbń́ kń́ *tin* dń́n
Soup NEG PERF sweet
'The soup is not sweet yet.'

The expressions in (3a-b) are affirmatives, which indicate that the actions of the verbs are perfective. (3c-d) are negative constructions, with the (3d) indicating future situation. (3e) is a perfective situation within a negative construction. All the expressions in (3a,b&e) reflect that the actions have been completed already. (3d) shows the future marker *lèè* that is used in ỌỌhńỌrí negative expressions.

3.2. Imperfective Aspect in ỌỌhńỌrí

Imperfective aspect concerns with viewing a situation from within. Dahl (1985:68) remarks that imperfective aspect covers both progressive and habitual meanings, depending on context and language-specific distinctions. Smith (1991:112) submits that imperfective aspect allows the speaker to highlight part of an event, rather than treating it as a whole. Imperfective Aspect can be divided into - habitual and progressive aspects. We explain and illustrate the habitual and progressive aspects in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1. Habitual Aspect in ɔ̀ɔ̀hŋ̀ɔ̀rí

This aspectual type expresses actions or states occurring regularly or repeatedly (Comrie, 1986:27). The marker that indicates habitual aspect in ɔ̀ɔ̀hŋ̀ɔ̀rí is *ń* [+HAB]. This is the same with the standard variety, as shown below in (4).

- (4) a. ɔ̀ɔ̀mi kpín omin
1SG fetch water
'I fetched water.'
- b. ɔ̀ɔ̀mi kŋ̀ɔ̀ kpín omin
1SG NEG fetch water
'I did not fetch water.'
- c. ɔ̀ɔ̀mi ń kpín omin
1SG PROG fetch water
'I am fetching water.'
- d. ɔ̀ɔ̀mi kŋ̀ɔ̀ ń kpín omin
1SG NEG PROG fetch water
'I am not fetching water.'

Evidently in (4a-b) are affirmative and negative constructions of actions already completed but (4c-d) indicate habitual situations within affirmative and negative constructions respectively.

3.2.2. Progressive Aspect in ɔ̀ɔ̀hŋ̀ɔ̀rí

This indicates an action that is taking place or ongoing. It is traditionally referred to as continuous action. The element that marks progressive aspect in ɔ̀ɔ̀hŋ̀ɔ̀rí is also *ń*, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. ̀̀d¹ ń kpa ¹iran
Hunter PROG kill animal
'The hunter is killing animals.'
- b. Hŋ̀ɔ̀n ń nÍ ńné.
3SG PROG go house
'S/he is going home.'
- c. bÍlá kŋ̀ɔ̀ ń fŋ̀ɔ̀hŋ̀ɔ̀n.
bÍla NEG PROG to-talk
'Sola is not talking.'
- d. Hŋ̀ɔ̀n kŋ̀ɔ̀ ń nÍ ńné.
3SG NEG PROG go house
'S/he is not going home.'

As shown in (5a-b) are affirmative sentences indicating that the action is ongoing. Example (5c-d) are negative constructions in an ongoing action. However, as evident in (4) and (5), the same marker *ń* is used to mark habitual and progressive aspects [+HAB-PROG]. The implication of this is that ỌỌhńỌrí is a dialect that does not distinguish between habitual and progressive actions, unlike other dialects of Yorùbá that have separate elements that mark habitual and progressive aspect. Probably this is what motivated Ìduntan (2000:136-140) to agree that *máa ń* (habitual marker in standard variety) is a combination of the durative aspect *máa* and the progressive aspect *ń* in Standard Yorùbá. Hence, he suggested progressive and durative (in place of habitual) aspects for Standard Yorùbá.

3.3. Co-occurrence of Aspectual Markers in ỌỌhńỌrí

Another interesting discovery is that perfective item *tin* and imperfective habitual and progressive elements can co-occur in ỌỌhńỌrí, as shown in (6).

- (6) a. Olùkń1 *tin* *ń* pe ni.
Teacher PERF HAB-PROG call 1PL
'The teacher has been calling us.'
- b. ÌmÍ (i)ni *tin* *ń* fńỌhńỌn.
Child 1PL-Gen PERF HAB-PROG to-talk
'Our child has been talking.'
- c. BáýńỌ *tin* *ń* j'ùn.
Bayo PERF HAB-PROG eat-something
'Bayo has been eating.'

Evidently in (6), the perfective marker *tin* combines together with the habitual and progressive marker *ń* gallantly. The expressions in (6a-c) indicate that the actions have started already and are still ongoing. Observe that we regularly used 'HAB-PROG' for the glossing of *ń* in (6a-c). This shows that the actions there cover both habitual and progressive situations.

4. Co-occurrence of Tense and Aspectual Markers in ỌỌhńỌrí

In a related development, we observed that the future tense markers identified in (1), e.g., *mńńń*, *áà*, *yńńń* can co-occur with the perfective aspect marker *tin* in ỌỌhńỌrí, as exemplified in (7).

- (7) a. Olú *áà* *tin* ní nné.
Olu FUT PERF go house
'Olu would have gone home.'
- b. badé *yńńń* *tin* fńẹńńń 1.
bade FUT PERF wash-cloth 3SG-Gen
'Sade would have washed her clothes.'

- c. OlùkÑ1 *mÑINÑ* tin pe ni.
 Teacher FUT PERF call 1PL-Gen
 ‘The teacher would have called us.’

Obviously in (7a-d), the future tense elements freely co-occurred with the perfective aspect. The reading of the expressions there indicates that the actions have started and have been completed, which may be tagged as “past-perfect”. These future tense items cannot co-occur with the habitual-progressive marker *n* in □□hÑ□rí, lest it yields ill-formed constructions, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. *Olú áà *n* ní òné.
 Olu FUT HAB-PROG go house
 b. *badé yÑINÑ *n* fÑçÑÑ□¹□.
 bade FUT HAB-PROG wash-cloth 3SG-Gen
 c. *OlùkÑ1 *mÑINÑ* *n* pe ni.
 Teacher FUT HAB-PROG call 1PL-Gen

All the examples in (8) are ill-formed; that is why they are being starred there. With this, we conclude explanations on tense and aspect. We shall now navigate to the projections of tense and aspect in □□hÑ□rí.

5. Tense and Aspect Projections in □□hÑ□rí

Following the Split-Infl-Hypothesis (Pollock 1989), MP assumes that each Infl element possesses the capability to project maximally as independent X⁰ functional categories. Consequently, tense phrase (TP), aspect phrase (AspP), etc., now replaced the unified IP of earlier versions of Government Binding and Principles and Parameters Theory as maximal projections of the Split-Infl. In line with the above assumption, we propose that tense and aspect, which are core elements of Infl in □□hÑ□rí are functional heads, which select VP adjunct as complement to project maximally. We discuss tense and aspect projections in the following sub-sections.

5.1. Tense Projections in □□hÑ□rí

Going by the insights given in (1)-(3) above, where future tense occurs in affirmative constructions (1&2) and in negative constructions (3), we propose the structural representation

⁹Akinwande (2022) claims that □□hÑ□rí regularly elide consonant /r/ in genitive pronoun *r*’□ as shown in (2a), (3b) & (7b) above.
 of such constructions in figure (1a & b).

Figure 1a

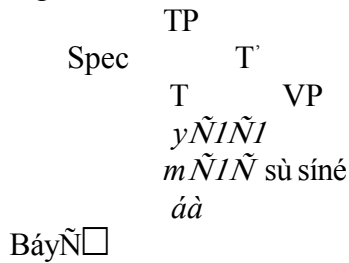
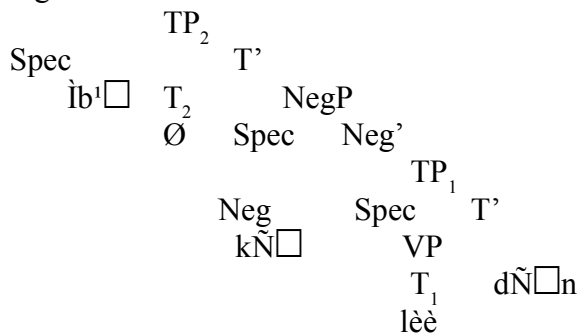


Figure 1b



Apparently, figure 1a captured affirmative constructions, where there are future tense markers and in that order, the T *yŋŋŋŋ/mŋŋŋŋ/áà*, which is the probe of the construction selects the goal, VP *sù síné* as complement to project T' and T' projects into TP *yŋŋŋŋ/mŋŋŋŋ/áà sù síné*. The TP thereafter attracts the subject DP to Spec-TP to derive *Báyŋ yŋŋŋŋ/mŋŋŋŋ/áà sù síné*. Figure 1b captured negative constructions, where future tense marker occurred as T₁. In this kind of word order, the T₁ *lèè* is selected from the lexicon and merged with the VP *dŋŋh* as complement to project T' and T' projects into TP₁ *lèè dŋŋh*. The NEG head automatically becomes a potential probe; the NEG *kŋŋ* quickly selects and merges with the TP₁ as complement to project Neg' and Neg' projects into NegP *kŋŋlèè dŋŋh*. The T₂, which has null spell-out, selects and merges with the NegP to project into TP₂ $\emptyset kŋŋlèè dŋŋh$. The TP₂ attracts the subject DP to Spec-TP₂ in order to satisfy Extended Projection Principle (EPP) which derives *Ìb' $\emptyset kŋŋlèè dŋŋh$* .

5.2. Aspect Projections in *ŋŋŋŋŋŋrí*

The following configurations captured the data given in (4)-(6). Figure 2a accounts for the perfective and habitual-progressive aspects in (3)-(5) while figure 2b accounts for the co-occurrence of the perfective and habitual-progressive aspects in (6).

Figure 2a

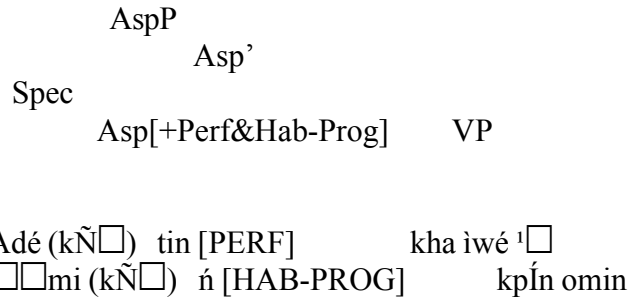
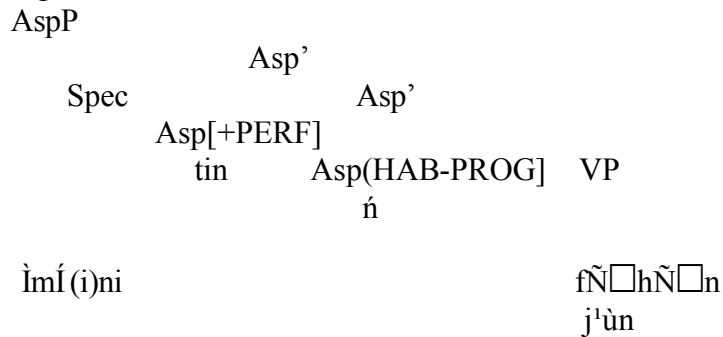
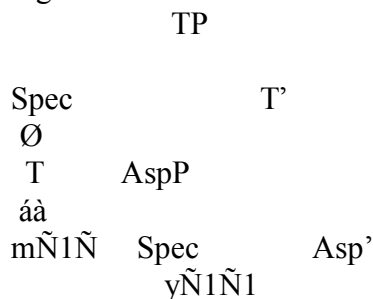


Figure 2b



In figure 2a, the ASP *tin* [+PERF], *ń* [+HAB-PROG] selects and merges with the VP, *kha ìwé '□/kpÍn omin* as complement to project Asp' and Asp' projects into AspP *tin/ń kha ìwé '□/kpÍn omin*. The AspP attracts the subject DP to Spec-AspP to satisfy EPP which derives *Ń□mi tin/ń kha ìwé '□/kpÍn omin*. In figure 2b, ASP *ń* [+HAB-PROG] first selects and merges with the VP, *fŃ□hŃ□n/j'ùn*, as complement. This makes ASP *tin* [+PERF] becomes a potential probe and straightforwardly attracts and merges with ASP *ń* *fŃ□hŃ□n/j'ùn* to project Asp' and Asp' projects into AspP *tin ń fŃ□hŃ□n/j'ùn*. Consequently, the AspP attracts the subject DP to Spec-AspP to derive *ÍmÍ tin ń fŃ□hŃ□n/j'ùn*. To account for the co-occurrence of future tense and aspectual elements in (7), we propose the structure below.

Figure 3



Asp VP
tin nÍ nné
fÑǵÑÑ□ 1□

In this type of linear occurrence, the ASP, *tin* is selected from the lexicon and merged with the VP *ní nné/fN̄eN̄N̄□'□*, as complement to project Asp' and Asp' projects into AspP *tin ní nné/fN̄eN̄N̄□'□*. Thereafter, the T head *àà/mN̄1N̄yN̄1N̄1* selects and merges with the AspP to project into the TP *àà/mN̄1N̄yN̄1N̄1 tin ní nné/fN̄eN̄N̄□'□* (recall we stated in (8) that habitual-progressive *n̄* cannot co-occur with the future tense in *□□hN̄□rí*, lest it yields ungrammatical constructions; that is why *n̄* [+HAB-PROG] is not included in figure 3.

6. Conclusion

This article has examined tense and aspect in $\square\square h\tilde{N}\square r\acute{i}$. It established that just as non-future tense is unmarked in Standard Yorubá, $\square\square h\tilde{N}\square r\acute{i}$ does not mark non-future tense as well. The paper further showed that the future tense markers, as well as aspectual elements can collocate together gallantly in $\square\square h\tilde{N}\square r\acute{i}$. The article discovered that $\square\square h\tilde{N}\square r\acute{i}$ employs a single marker *ní* to express both habitual and progressive aspects. The study equally showed the co-occurrence of tense and aspect markers in $\square\square h\tilde{N}\square r\acute{i}$. Thereafter, it proposed structures for the projections of the TP and AspP in the dialect.

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