

A GPSG APPRAISAL OF SEQUENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF AUXILIARY VERBS IN ÌJESÀ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ

FELIX ABÍDÈMÍ FÁBÙNMI

Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

The structural distribution of the auxiliary verbs in Ìjesà dialect of Yorùbá is highlighted in this paper. The description is carried out within the framework of Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) as promulgated by Gazdar et al. (1985). The analysis of the sequential co-occurrence of the auxiliary verbs demonstrated in this study does not fail to take into cognizance the structural relevance of the variants of these auxiliary verbs. The paper further discusses a comparative study of the markers of the auxiliary verbs in Ìjesà and Standard Yorùbá.

Keywords: auxiliary verbs, GPSG, languages, Yoruba

INTRODUCTION

The verb constitutes the core of the syntax; and most especially the Yorùbá syntax, and subsequently its numerous varieties. There are however subclasses of the verb, Auxiliary is one of them. It can occur as the first verb in a VP. We can make a formal distinction between auxiliary verbs and main verbs, following the transformational rule, that auxiliary verbs have the value [+ AUX] and main verbs the value [- AUX]. Nevertheless, we shall give an analysis in this paper, which will enumerate the distribution of the auxiliary verbs in Ìjà; and also compare the markers of the auxiliary verb with that of the Standard Yorùbá (SY henceforth). The analysis will be carried out within the framework of Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG henceforth).

Ìjesà is one of the dialects of the Yorùbá language. Délànò (1958), Adétúgbò (1967), Oyèláràn (1976) and Awóbùlúyì (1998), all classified Ìjesà within the Central Yorùbá (CY) dialect subgroup. Ìjesà dialect speakers have a fairly wide geographical spread spanning over a radius of about 65 kilometres within the State of Nigeria. No dialect is completely homogeneous, so there are a lot of sub-dialects (variants) within the dialect itself: Ilésà, Esà-Òkè, Ìbòkun, Ìpetu-Ìjesà, Ifewàrà and Erin-Ìjesà. The followings in (1) testify to this. As a result of the scope of this study however, we will be using the data collected at Erin-Ìjesà.

- (1) **SY**
: Mo fe lo sùn.
I want go sleep
"I want to go and sleep".

- Ìjesà**
(i) Ìlésà : Mo mí laa sùn
(ii) Esà-Òkè : Me é ri a sùn
(iii) Ìbòkun : Mà a yaa sùn
(iv) Ìpetu- jesà : Me é yaa sùn
(v) Ifewàrà : Mo pa mi la sùn
(vi) Erin-Ìjesà : Mo mí ya sùn
I want go sleep
"I want to go and sleep"

The auxiliary verbs we are going to discuss in this analysis are as follows:

- (2) (a) NEG
(b) gboodo 'must' and its variants
(c) á 'will' and its variants
(d) mí 'PROG' and its variants
(e) í 'HAB'
(f) tI 'has'
(g) yé 'can'

Attempts have always been made by the Yorùbá grammarians to account for the distribution of the auxiliary verbs in the language. This is noticed in works like Bámgbósé (1966), Awóbùlúyì (1967), Oke (1972), Oyèláràn (1982) and Adéwolé (1989). Some of the elements classified in these works did not take cognizance of dialectal inputs. In this paper however, we shall be examining the order of the Yorùbá auxiliary verbs from a dialectological perspective, and see what new things this may teach us about the syntax of the language.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

GPSG, the theoretical framework within which this paper is being analysed, is promulgated by Gazdar et al. (1985). The grammar is monostratal, it posits only one level of syntactic representation in the surface structure. GPSG does not deal with transformation, and syntactic analyses are generally allied to explicit semantic analyses. At the heart of GPSG is the idea of **formal features**. The relevant details of the features and rules, as they are needed in this study, can be summarised fairly briefly:

(3) are sets of Feature Co-occurrence Restrictions (FCRs) while (4) highlights other sets of features that will be used in this analysis.

- (3)
- | | | | | |
|-------|---|----------|---|----------------------|
| FCR 1 | : | [+ NEG] | ⊃ | [+ AUX] ¹ |
| FCR 2 | : | [+ PROG] | ⊃ | [+ ASP] |
| RCR 3 | : | [+ PERF] | ⊃ | [+ ASP] |
| FRC 4 | : | [+ OBL] | ⊃ | [+ M] |
| FRC 5 | : | [+ POT] | ⊃ | [+ M] |
| FRC 6 | : | [+ ASS] | ⊃ | [+ M] |
| FRC 7 | : | [+ ASP] | ⊃ | [+ AUX] |
| FRC 8 | : | [+ M] | ⊃ | [+ AUX] |
| FRC 9 | : | [+ HAB] | ⊃ | [+ ASP] |

- (4)
- | | |
|----------|---------------|
| [+ NEG] | (Negative) |
| [+ HAB] | (Habitual) |
| [+ ASS] | (Assumptive) |
| [+ OBL] | (Obligative) |
| [+ ALT] | (Alternant) |
| [+ BSE] | (Base-Form) |
| [+ PROG] | (Progressive) |
| [+ POT] | (Potential) |
| [+ PERF] | (Perfect) |
| [+ ASP] | (Aspect) |
| [+ M] | (Modal) |
| [+ AUX] | (Auxiliary) |

Immediate Dominance Rule (ID-Rule) and Linear Precedence Rule (LP-Rule) which respectively define possible co-occurrence restrictions specify on a tree, and the left to right ordering of words within a phase, are necessary rules in (5) and (6) that will facilitate our analysis.

- (5) LRP 1: [+ AUX, + ∞] ✕✕ [+ AUX, + ∞, + /- ALT]

- (6) LPR 2: V ✕ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ NEG] \\ [+ NEG, + ALT 2] \\ [+ NEG, + ALT 3] \end{array} \right\}$

In (5) and (6) above, the LP-Rules to be used in the analysis of the order of the Ìjà auxiliary verbs, are specified. There are some inferences to be observed from those category-valued features specified above; (7) highlights them:

¹ Familiarity with GPSG as proposed in Gazdar et al. (1985) is assumed in this paper.

- (7) (i) No [+ AUX] can immediately precede either itself or its variants.
 (ii) All markers of the auxiliary verbs are subclasses of [+ AUX].
 (iii) All negative verbs except [+ NEG, ALT 1] cannot be preceded by any other verb in the VP.
 (iv) The symbol "/" connotes "or" while "<<" means immediate precedence.

The LP-rule in (5) allows us to generalise that two negative markers are expressible within the same sentence. This generalisation is even specific to the Ìjesà dialect constructions as demonstrated in (8).

- (8) (a) E éègboodo mo be á
 he NEG OBL NEG beg us
 "He cannot but apologise to us".
 (b) Án àn yé mo kunin
 they NEG POT NEG sing-song
 "They cannot but sing the song".

In (3), (5) and (6) above, the necessary FCRs, LPRs and ID/LP format are expressed. However, it is equally pertinent to state the VPs in which the heads have the features in (4) above.

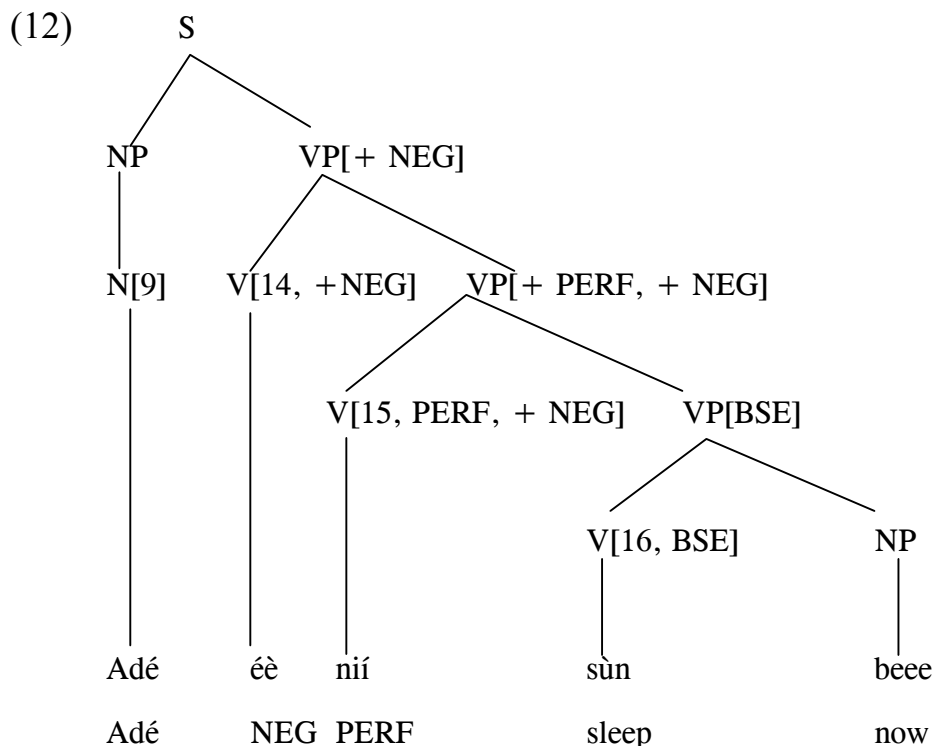
- (9) (a) + BSE : the head verb of the VP is a main verb: eg., je 'eat' in *je ùgbín* 'eat/ate snail'.
 (b) + OBL : the head verb of the VP is an obligative: e.g. gboodoo/gbúdo 'must' in *gboodoo/gbúdo we* 'must take his/her bath'.
 (c) + PROG : the head verb of the VP is a progressive: e.g. mí 'PROG', in *mí roko* 'is cultivating'.
 (d) + NEG : the head verb of the VP is a negative verb: e.g. 'not' in *Eegboodofo* 'He mustn't talk'.
 (e) + POT : the head verb of the VP is a potential: e.g. yé 'can/may' in *oító ni an yé pá*. 'It is true that they can kill him.'
 (f) + PERF : the head verb of the VP as a perfect aspect: eg. tI² 'have/has/had' in *tI suse* 'have/has/had worked'.
 (g) + ASS : the head of the VP is an assumptive: e.g. á 'will' in *Dúpe á jean* 'Dúpe will eat the meat'.
 (h) + HAB : the head verb of the VP is an habitual: e.g. í 'HAB' in *E í á* 'He often comes here'.
 (i) + ALT : the head verb of the VP is an alternant: e.g. [+ NEG, + ALT 3] is u in *Yejú ù níí pàteo* 'Yejú doesn't often clap'.

² Ìjesà has nine monothong vowels while SY has seven : /a, e, , i, I, o, , u, v/. Also note that the preposition ti is different from the perfect marker tI.

As a way of introducing the alternates, GPSG expresses a number of significant generalizations, as shown in (10), to classify the variants of the auxiliary verbs. This implicitly implies that for every categorised primary marker of an auxiliary verb, the variants are also classified using the specified feature nodes. (10) is thereby used while distinguishing the primary markers from the variants. Similarly, to illustrate a category and the variable matching, (11) are the [+ ALT] features that do co-occur. (11f) has the structure in (12).

$$(10) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{ALT } n] \\ n \in \{1, 2, 3\} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (11) (a) [+ OBL, + ALT 1] = gbudo 'OBL' in *Me e gbùpe*. 'I will not accept his plead'.
- (b) [+ PERF, + ALT 1] = tîì 'has/have/had' in *Adé èè tîì sùn* 'Adé has not slept'.
- (c) [+ NEG, ALT 1] = mo 'not' in *Mo on kánjú* 'Don't be too hurry'.
- (d) [+ NEG, ALT 2] = ee 'not' in *Ee soni je* 'nobody ate it'.
- (e) [+ NEG, ALT 3] = i 'not' in *Igí i rejà* 'Tree does not go to the market'.
- (f) [+ ASS, ALT 1] = níí 'will' *Adé èè níí sùn beee* 'Adé will not sleep now'.
- (g) [+ ASS, ALT 2] = a 'will' *Àrìní a doo oke re la a bora*. 'He who lacks will only cover his body with nothing'.



2. SEQUENTIAL CO-OCCURRENCE OF IJESA AUXILIARY VERBS:

The auxiliary verbs in Ijesà dialect can be stacked, having more than one auxiliary verb in a structure. We shall, in this section, instantiate a thorough analysis of how the various formatives of the auxiliary verbs in the dialect co-occur. The Immediate Dominance (ID-rule) and Linear Precedence (LP-rule) that introduce the auxiliary verbs are in (13). Following Adéwolé (1989: 4), the finite rule schema that we will use to set the various auxiliary verbs in the right order is patterned in (14).

- (13) a. VP[+ AUX] → H[n], (PP[tI]), NP[- INF]
 b. [SUBCAT] < [~SUBCAT]

- (14) VP[+ X, + AUX] → H[n] (PP [tI]), VP[y, - INF]
 where the values of n, x and y are given in (17).

It is worthy of note that [AUX] is regarded as part of VP in GPSG; if [AUX] is preceding any sentence, it must be specified as in (15). Again, the structure in (13b) above inhibits a number of constructions like (16).

- (15) VP[+ AUX] → H[n], VP[- AUX, +BSE]

- (16) a. * isu pupa rà.
 yam red buy
 b. * orin dúndùn ko
 song sweet sing

(17)	n	:	x	:	y	:	H[n]	membership
1.			+ NEG		{ + PERF, + ALT 1 } { + POT, + ALT 1 }		mo	'not'
2.			+ NEG		{ + PERF, + ALT 1 } { + POT, + ALT 1 }		i	'not'
3.			+ NEG		{ + POT + OBL + PERF, + ALT 1 } { + ASS, + ALT 1 }		ee	'not'

+ ASS, + ALT 2

4.	+ ASP	[- AUX]	mí	PROG
5.	+ ASP	[- AUX]	í	HAB
6.	+ ASP	$\left. \begin{array}{l} + \text{ PROG} \\ + \text{ POT} \\ + \text{ NEG, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ OBL} \end{array} \right\}$	tí	'has'
7.	+ M	$\left. \begin{array}{l} + \text{ PERF} \\ + \text{ POT} \\ + \text{ PROG, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ PERF, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ POT, + ALT 1} \end{array} \right\}$	gboodo/	'must'
			gbúdo	
8.	+ M	$\left. \begin{array}{l} + \text{ HAB, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ NEG, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ PERF, + ALT 1} \\ + \text{ PROG, + ALT 2} \end{array} \right\}$	yé	'can/may'
9.	+ M	[+ PERF, + ALT 1]	nií	'will'

In (17) above, the first rule instantiation states that the value of *n* is 1 while that of *x* is [+ASP] and *y* is a set of options such as [+ PERF, ALT 1] or [+ POT, + ALT1]. The rule further adds that a VP [+ NEG, + AUX] node may dominate a lexical head [SUBCAT 1] followed by an optional PP (cf. 14) and a VP [- AUX, - INF] node. The type of lexical head that appears in a VP admitted by rule 1 may dominate the terminal symbol *mo* 'not' which is [+ NEG]. Thus, (18a & b) are grammatical while (18c & d) are ruled out in Ìjesà sentences.

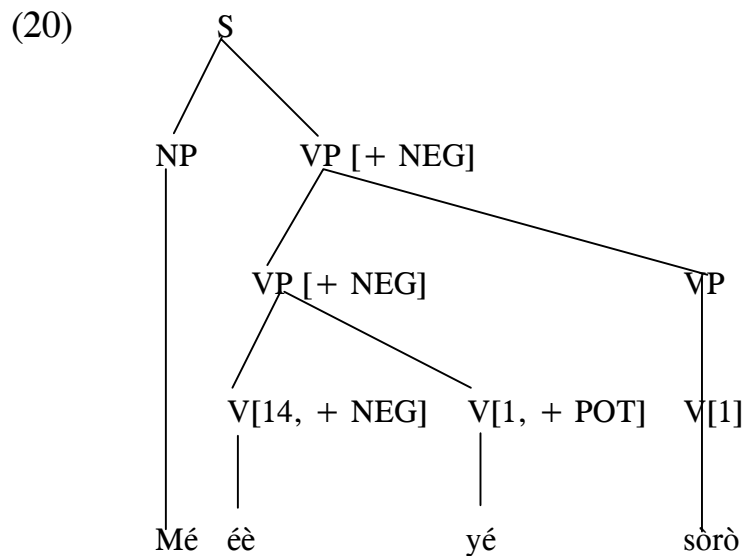
- (18) a. Mo kowé sí an.
 NEG write-book to them
 'Do not write to them'.
- b. E ee gboodo mo gbèbùn.
 3sg NEG OBL NEG take-prize
 'He/she mustn't but receive a prize'.
- c. *mo gboodo gbèbùn
 NEG OBL take-prize

- d. *mo á gbèbùn
 NEG ASS take-prize

Another negative verb is introduced in Rule 2: í 'not'. It stipulates that either perfect [+ PERF, + ALT 1] tì 'has' or the potential [+ POT, + ALT 1] yé 'can/may', can follow it. LP-Rule 2 will not allow it to be preceded by any verb as stated in (6) previously. Hence, (19a & b) are grammatical.

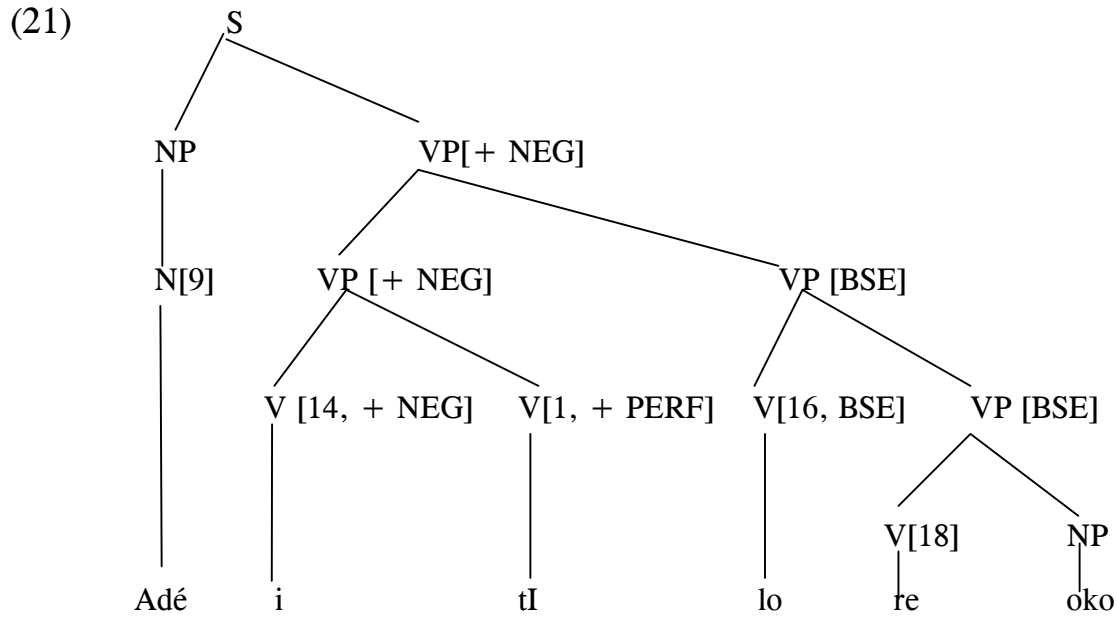
- (19) a. Mí ì yé soro³
 I NEG POT say-word
 'I cannot but often express myself'.
 b. Adé ì tì lo roko
 Ade NEG PERF go hoe-farm
 'Ade would not have gone to farm'.

The LP-Rule in (6) allows the generation of the expressions in (19a & b) and licence the structures in (20) and (21).



³ The underlying structure in this construction is:

Mé èè yé sòrò
 I NEG POT say-word
 'I cannot but often express myself'.



Rule 3 introduces the negative verb /*éè/án-àn/úù/* 'not' and requires it to be followed only by either the perfect [+ PERF, +ALT 1] *tI* 'has', the assumptive [+ ASS, + ALT 1 & 2] *ní/ní* 'will', the potential [+ POT] *yé* 'can/may', or the obligative [+ OBL] *gboodo/gbudo* 'must'. The type of lexical head that appears in a VP admitted by rule 3, may dominate the terminal symbol which is also [+ NEG]. Hence, (22 a, b, c, d & e) are grammatically correct while (22f & g) are not.

- (22) a. E ee gboodo fo
 3sg NEG OBL talk
 'He mustn't talk'.
- b. Adé éè yé sùn
 Ade NEG POT sleep
 'Ade cannot be able to sleep'.
- c. Án án-àn yé gbé lérí omi
 they NEG POT live on water
 'They might not be able to live on water'.
- d. Olú úù ní lota
 Olu NEG ASS grind-pepper.
 'Olú will not grind the pepper'.
- e. Ayò óò tI jeun
 Ay NEG PERF eat-food
 'Ay has not eat the food'.

f. *E ee yé gboodo jusu
 3sg NEG POT OBL eat-yam

g. *Án án-àn nì tì yé lo
 they NEG ASS PERF POT go.

Rule 4 introduces the progressive mí 'PROG' and it states that it must not be followed immediately by an item that has the feature [+ AUX]. It simply ensures that it must be followed by a base-form verb. The rule instantiation further says that a VP [+ ASP, + AUX] node may dominate a lexical head [SUBCAT 4] followed by an optional PP (see (14), and a VP [- AUX, - INF] node. (23a) will, therefore, be grammatical while (32b) will not because it violates the rule.

- (23) a. Bólá mí tùwé.
 Bla PROG sell-book
 'Bólá is selling books'
- b. *Bólá mí yé tùwé.
 Bola PROG POT sell-book
 'Bólá can selling book'.

Rule 5 introduces the habitual í and also states that it must not be followed immediately by an item that has the feature [+ AUX]. This is why (24b & c) are ruled out in Ìjesà sentences.

- (24) a. E í á.
 3sg HAB come
 'He always comes here'
- b. *E í gboodo á
 3sg HAB OBL come
- c. *E í yé á
 3sg HAB POT come

Rule 6 introduces the perfect tì 'has' [+ PERF, - ALT] and requires it to be immediately followed by either the progressive mí, the obligative gboodo/gbudo 'must', the assumptive a 'will' or the potential yé 'can/may'. The rule does not permit the NEG 'not' to follow the perfect tì, as seen in (25e).

- (25) a. Mo tì mí lo
 I PERF PROG go
 'I have started going'.

- b. Mo tI a lo
I PERF ASS go
'I would have gone'.
- c. O tI gbúdo tà á
3sg PERF OBL sell it
'He must have sold it'.
- d. An tI yé sùn
they PERF POT sleep
'They might have slept'.
- e. *Olú tI ee jeun
Olu PERF NEG eat.

Rule 7 introduces the obligative gboodo/gbúdo [+ OBL, + ALT 1]. It states that it can be followed immediately by the perfect tI [+ PERF, - ALT] 'has', the potential yé [+ POT, - ALT]. The rule forbids the assumptive a 'will' and the NEG 'not' to follow the obligative gboodo/gbúdo 'must' as witnessed in (26c & d).

- (26) a. Akin gbúdo yé lota
Akin OBL POT grind-pepper
'Akin must be able to grind the pepper'.
- b. Yejú gboodo tI lo.
Yaju OBL PERF go.
'Yejú must have gone'.
- c. *An gbúdo a beá
they OBL will beg us.
- d. *Bídèmí gboodo ee ní lo.
Bidemi OBL NEG ASS go.

Rule 8 introduces the potential modal yé 'can/may'. The instantiation rule ensures that it is either followed by the perfect tI or the progressive máa 'PROG' [+ PROG, + ALT 2]. It does not permit either the progressive mí [+ PROG, - ALT] or the obligative gbúdo 'must' to follow the potential yé 'can/may'. Thus, (27a & b) are grammatical while (27c & d) are not.

- (27) a. An yé máa wá mi a ká.
they POT PROG search at about
'They may be searching for me'.

- b. *Á i mo mo yé tɪ lo.*
 Its NEG know I POT PERF go.
 'I might have gone'.
- c. **O yé mí sé.*
 3sg POT PROG do.
- d. **Túndé yé gbúdo kunin*
 Tunde POT OBL sing-song.

The last instantiation rule in (17) i.e. rule 9 introduces the assumptive modal *ní* 'will' and requires it to be followed only by the perfect *tɪ* 'has' [+ PERF, + ALT 1]. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (28b and c).

- (28) a. *Adé èè ní tɪ sùn beee*
 Ade NEG ASS PERF sleep now
 'Adé would not have slept by now'
- b. **Adé èè ní gboodo sùn beee.*
 Ade NEG ASS POT sleep now.
- c. *Adé èè ní yé sùn beee.*
 Ade NEG ASS POT sleep now.

While illustrating the feature instantiation principles that will determine string or tree admissibility, Gazdar et al. (1985: 98) does not specify both [+ INF] and [+ BSE] as VFORM values i.e. [VFORM FIN]. As a result, the distribution of features in trees will not be correctly matched. Following Adewole's (1989: 11–12) proposal, we can concatenate some of the rules in (17) and generate the sentence in (32). [VFORM FIN] will specify (29) as our S-expansion rule, (30) as Serial Verb expansion, while [VFORM BSE] specification will match (31) as the VP expansion rule. (32) will, consequently, admit and licence the structure in (33).

(29) $S \rightarrow NP, H[- SUBJ]$

(30) $VP[+ BSE] \rightarrow V[16], ([XP]) VP$
 where $XP = [\sim V, BAR 2]$

(31) $VP [+ BSE] \rightarrow H [1]$

- (32) *Sopé èè tɪ gboodo yé suse beee.*
 sopé NEG PERF OBL POT do-word now
 'Sopé could not have started working'.

3. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

It shall be appropriate here to do a stumpy comparative study of the auxiliary verbs in Ìjesà dialect and SY. Phonologically, the markers are not similar. The markers are presented in (34).

(34)	Features	SY	Ìjà
	Negative [+ NEG]	kò/ò, má, ko, kíí/kì	éè/ee, i, mo
	Perfect [+ PERF]	ti, tî	tí
	Potential [+ POT]	lè/le/leè	yé
	Obligative [+ OBL]	gbodo/gbodo	gboodo/gbúdo
	Habitual [+ HAB]	máa n,	í
	Progressive [+ PROG]	n, máa	mí
	Assumptive [+ ASS]	yòò/ó/óò/á, nìí	á/a, níí

The previous section contains some highlights on the co-occurrence restrictions among the markers in Ìjà. Now, we shall present some sentences to reflect the function of the auxiliary verbs in SY⁴.

- (35) **Negative**
- a. Olú ò lo
 Olu NEG go
 'Olú doesn't go'.
- b. Olú kíí lo.
 Olu NEG go
 'Olu doesn't go'.
- c. (Olú) má lo.
 NEG go.
 'Don't go'.

- (36) **Perfect**
- a. Olú ti jeun
 Olu PERF eat
 'Olu has eaten'.

⁴ A thorough analysis on how these markers co-occur in SY could be found in Adéwolé (1989:6-12).

- b. Olú ò tî jeun
Olu NEG PERF eat
'Olu has not eaten'.
- (37) **Potential**
Olú lè/le/leè si
Olu POT do-work
'Olu may/can work'.
- (38) **Obligative**
Olú gbodo/gbodo wálé
Olu OBL come-home
'Olu must come home'.
- (39) **Habitual**
a. Olú máa n korin
Olu HAB sing-song
'Olu always sing'.
b. Olú n lo ilé-ìwé lójoojúmó
Olu HAB go school everyday
'Olu goes to school everyday'.
- (40) **Progressive**
a. Olú n sùn
Olu PROG sleep
'Olu is sleeping'.
b. (Olú) máa jeun
PROG eat
'Be eating'.
- (41) **Assumptive**
a. Olú yòd/òd/ó lo
Olu ASS go
'Olu will go'.
b. Olú kò ní wá.
Olu NEG ASS come
'Olu will not come'.

Other marked differences between the auxiliary verbs in Ìjèsà and SY are the alternant analysis. As shown in (34), SY has four alternants for assumptive: [+ ASS, + ALT 1] níí, [+ ASS, + ALT 2] ó, [+ ASS, + ALT 3] ódò, [+ ASS, + ALT 4] á; while Ìjèsà dialect has two i.e. [+ ASS, + ALT 1] níí and [+ ASS, + ALT 2]

á/a. For the negative markers, SY has three alternants, i.e. [+ NEG, + ALT 1] má, [+ NEG, + ALT 2] kì/kíí and [+ NEG, + ALT 3] ko, while Ìjèsà has two i.e. [+ NEG, + ALT 1] mo, [+ NEG, + ALT 3] i. Therefore, the sequential distributions of the [+ NEG, + AUX] in SY and Ìjèsà will not be similar. The Linear Precedence Rule (LP-R) that will account for the distribution of AUX in SY is stated in (42); while that of Ìjèsà is already stated in (6) above repeated here as (43).

$$(42) \text{ LPR 1 : } V \nrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ NEG}] \\ [+ \text{ NEG, + ALT 2}] \end{array} \right\}$$

$$(43) \text{ LPR 2 : } V \nrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ NEG}] \\ [+ \text{ NEG, + ALT 2}] \\ [+ \text{ NEG, + ALT 3}] \end{array} \right\}$$

(42) states that all negative verbs except má [+ NEG, + ALT 1] and [K + NEG, + ALT 3] cannot be preceded by any other verb.

4. CONCLUSION

We have examined the sequence and co-occurrence of auxiliary verbs in Ìjèsà dialect of Yorùbá. There are some restrictions in the occurrence of these verbs, and this determine their LP-Rules. We have also look at the areas of differences between the auxiliary verbs in Ìjèsà and SY; both in terms of phonological contrast and structural distribution the markers are quite not similar.

REFERENCES

- Adétúgbò, A. 1967.
The Yorùbá Language in Western Nigeria: Its Major Dialect Areas.
 Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University.
- Adéwolé, L. O. 1989.
Sequence and Co-occurrence of Yorùbá Auxiliary Verbs. **Canadian Journal of Linguistics**, 34(1): 1–17. (Ottawa, Canada)
- Awóbùlúyì, O. 1967.
Studies in the Syntax of the Standard Yorùbá Verb. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.
- Awóbùlúyì, O. 1998.
Àwǹ ká-Èdè Yorùbá. Paper presented at the Conference of the Yorùbá Studies Association of Nigeria, Pastoral Institute, Ibadan, November 24–26.

- Bámgbósé, A. 1966.
A Grammar of Yorùbá. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Délànò, I. O. 1958.
A Modern Yorùbá Grammar. London: Thomas Nelson.
- Fábùnmi, F. A. 2001.
Tense/Aspect and Negation in Ìjèsà Dialect of Yorùbá. **YORÙBÁ: A Journal of the Yorùbá Studies Association of Nigeria**, 2(1): 45–54.
- Gazdar Gerald, Geoffery Pullum, Ewan Klein and Ivang Sag. 1985.
Generalised Phrase Structure Grammar. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Oke, D. O. 1972.
On the Construction and Semantic Interpretation of Auxiliary Cluster in Yorùbá. In: Ay Bámgbósé (ed.), *Yorùbá Verb Phrase*. Ìbàdàn: University Press.
- Oyèláràn, O. O. 1976.
Linguistic Speculations on Yorùbá History'. In: O. Oyèláràn (ed.), *Department of African Languages and Literatures Seminar Series I*. If: DALL.
- Oyèláràn, O. O. 1982.
The Category AUX in the Yorùbá Phrase Structure. Paper presented at the 15th West African Language Conference, University of Port-Harcourt, Nigeria, April 4 – 11.