

## EDITORIAL NOTE

We are happy to present as our first supplement and companion to volume 1 Edward M. Fresco's Topics in Yoruba Dialect Phonology. Aside from its obvious interest for the study of Yoruba and West African Linguistics, we feel Mr. Fresco's work is also of great interest for students of Dialectology and comparative studies in Phonology. With the publication of this first supplement to the Journal, we hope to initiate a custom that will be continued in the following volumes.

The Editors





STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

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Topics in Yoruba Dialect Phonology

by

Edward Max Fresco

For John and Sophie  
and the six million who did not survive

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people--too many to properly acknowledge here. Most especially I want to thank my informants, without whom this non-native speaker would still be a babbling infant; Professor William Welmers, who introduced me to the study of African languages and to the discipline of field work, and who allowed me to find my academic stride without losing patience; and Professor Vicki Fromkin, who gave so much of her time and interest to see this work through from its beginning to its final form.

To the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ibadan and its Director, Professor Robert Armstrong, my sincere thanks for their hospitality and for extending Associate Membership in the Institute to me during the 1967-68 academic year. This year in the field was made possible in part by an NDEA fellowship from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Additional support for this research was provided by the National Science Foundation.

E. M. F.

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## Introduction

0.0 Yorùbá is one of the three major languages of Nigeria. The Yorùbá-speaking people live in southwestern Nigeria, in the area roughly coextensive with the Western and Lagos States, in southern Dahomey, and in enclaves in Togo. Their overall population is unknown. <sup>1</sup> Within Nigeria, the Yorùbá community numbers approximately 10 million. The language is a member of the Kwa branch of Greenberg's Niger-Kordofanian family (1963, Chapt. VII).

0.1 This is a study of selected topics in Yorùbá dialectology, using observations from eight dialects, seven of which are spoken in Nigeria and one on both sides of the Nigeria-Dahomey border.

The theoretical point of departure is that the synchronic analysis of a dialect must be motivated by dialect-internal considerations. Evidence from other dialects can be used in two limited functions: it can serve a heuristic function, that is, it can guide the search for internal evidence relevant to deciding some issue. And it can be used to decide among alternative analyses that have been reached on the basis of dialect-internal considerations, but which appear to be equal in complexity. This is a fairly traditional stand. To a greater or lesser extent it has been the implicit theoretical and methodological assumption in grammars that follow the transformational-generative model; Becker (1967) explicitly argues for this approach in his study of three German dialects.

The alternative approach, that of admitting dialect-comparative evidence into the analysis of any single dialect, or, more usually, of considering that the optimal grammar is one which achieves pan-dialect validity, has been a subject of recent discussion, particularly with respect to phonology. C-J. Bailey (1968) has given this view its most explicit formulation. Among the postulates which he considers as axiomatic for descriptive linguistics are

3) During ten to fifteen years of language acquisition a child normally gains some knowledge of a large number of dialects--viz. the multiple of the age, regional, ethnic and other class idioms that he has to deal with--including those on the communication media.

4) Rather than supposing that the child formulates separate grammars for the separate idioms just mentioned, it is to be assumed that the child constantly revises a single mental representation of the underlying reality...in question.

5) The resulting communicational competence and one's speaking competence constitute but a single competence. (1)

He goes on to note that the resulting grammar constructed by the child could scarcely be different from the comparativist's grammar based on internal reconstruction using the same dialectal information available to the child.

Chomsky and Halle (1968), although they do not seem to take the position that pan-dialect validity for the grammar is a theoretical necessity, do appear to find merit in this position. One finds a number of statements throughout The Sound Pattern of English in which their assumptions with respect to dialect variation are given:

...it seems to us very likely that the underlying lexical (or phonological) representations must be common to all English dialects, with rare exceptions, and that much of the basic framework of rules must be common as well. (x)

...very different dialects may have the same or a very similar system of underlying representations. (49)

There has...been little change in lexical representation since Middle English, and, consequently, we would expect (though we have not verified this in any detail) that lexical representation would differ very little from dialect to dialect in Modern English. (54)

Dialects, in their view, differ mainly in rule ordering and low-level rules which spell out phonetic detail.

However, they do not deny that some forms may receive different underlying phonological representation. For instance they state that in some varieties of British English the noun corollary should have the base form /kɔrɔl+Ar + y/, rather than the American English /kɔrVl + Ar + y/. (137) And

it seems that they also do not rule out the possibility of different dialects requiring different (though clearly not radically different) feature-sets. This is my interpretation of the statement that 'for any particular dialect, **the** feature specifications and the appropriate phonetic rules [for the phonetic realization of [ə] ] can be established.' (110)

Thus it is unlikely that Chomsky and Halle would subscribe in whole, perhaps or even in large part, to Bailey's position that the competence of the native speaker is a **pan-dialect** competence, and that the grammar, as a theory of competence, must capture this tacit knowledge. To the extent that the positions converge with respect to the role of dialect information in the formulation of a grammar, however, they are open to criticism on a number of fundamental issues. One needs to ask of the resulting grammar such questions as: How does the native speaker arrive at underlying representations and rules? Where does the grammar stand with respect to claims reflecting competence? Can it claim, post hoc, that it characterizes competence in the usual sense on the assumption that, in order for the speaker to have arrived at the posited underlying form or P-rule, he must have been exposed to the dialect(s) which contain the proper clue? If only a geographically distant dialect furnishes such a clue, is this assumption weakened? Some languages contain dialects which are mutually unintelligible, but the gradation from one dialect to another is such that all contiguous areas can communicate effectively with each other (e.g. the gradation from De to Tchien, with the intervening dialects of Bassa, Kru, and Krahn, is such a case in the complex linguistic situation of Liberia). How are these matters to be incorporated into a single pan-dialect description?

These and many others are issues to which the approach which I have rejected must address itself, and which the approach taken in this study largely, but not entirely, avoids (not, for example, in the case of possible counterexamples to some posited regularity, where an explanation in terms of unassimilated borrowing from another dialect may seem reasonable). Concomitantly, no attempt is made to formulate pan-dialect rules, nor to arrive at underlying representations that are shared by all dialects, for this, as Bailey points out, would not be different from doing a comparative reconstruction of Proto-Yorùbá.

0.2 The first three chapters are devoted to a number of issues in Yorùbá phonology that have received attention in recent literature, both published and unpublished. It is shown that the independent analysis of various dialects sheds light on hitherto unclear problems of general interest. Often, previous analyses are called into question and other solutions proposed, which are hopefully better motivated.

Chapter 1 discusses vowel harmony in a number of dialects and analyzes this phenomenon in terms of the feature [± Tense]. Previous work on this problem, beyond simply stating the limitations on vowel cooccurrences, includes Ladefoged (1964), Awobuluyi (1967a), and Courtenay (1968). It is Ladefoged who, to my knowledge, was the first to give the label tense-lax to the vowel harmony system of Yorùbá (1964, 37-8). Awobuluyi briefly discusses how vowel harmony can be seen to operate in derived nouns, the nominalizing prefixal elements obeying the same constraints on cooccurrence between prefix and stem vowels which characterize the harmony system within lexical nouns. Courtenay contains a brief analysis of the vowel harmony which operates over the first two vowels of nouns. The feature [Tense] is used in the description of constraints on vowel sequences, but, it is suggested here the motivation for this feature is inadequate. Chapter 1 attempts to present a well-motivated analysis of the surface structures over which this phenomenon operates and of the features which are used to characterize it.

A number of linguists have concerned themselves recently with the general question of vowel harmony. Kiparsky (1968a) has dealt with this phenomenon in relation to the abstractness of lexical representation, with particular reference to 'neutral' vowels. Others who have published their views on the subject in recent years are Zimmer (1967), Aoki, (1968), and Schachter and Fromkin (1968).

It is hoped that this detailed description of the vowel harmony systems found in a number of dialects of Yorùbá will contribute in some measure to an area which is currently of great interest because of its potential for contributing to the advancement of phonological theory.

Chapter 2 analyzes the so-called subject pronouns in the light of evidence for their derivation on dialect-internal grounds in several dialects. Included is a reevaluation of the problem as first presented by Stahlke (1969). Stahlke attempts to show that these pronouns are derived, bimorphemic

elements, and that in their underlying form they are directly relatable to the corresponding independent pronoun set. While agreeing with Stahlke on the derived nature of these pronouns, I indicate in this chapter that the claim of direct relatability cannot be motivated.

Chapter 3 takes up four further issues in Yorùbá phonology: secondary nasalization of vowels; the analysis of consonant-initial nouns; the permissibility of various vowel sequences in nouns at the level of lexical representation; and the analysis of nasal consonants and the nasalized vowels which follow them. Each of these issues has received some attention in the literature. Each problem is now examined in the light of the analysis it requires independently within dialects. An attempt is made to see how some of the problems raised help to shed light on matters of general concern in the theory of phonology, such as constraints on underlying forms, the 'naturalness condition', and the role of morpheme structure conditions within a theory of the lexicon.

Chapter 4 focuses on a number of points in the phonological structure of individual dialects. The issues discussed are of interest in that they involve phenomena unique to a single dialect or shared by a small number of dialects, but not by the majority. As in the earlier chapters, problems are raised which have not received satisfactory resolution in generative phonological theory, and some attempt is made to arrive at possible solutions.

Appendix 1 is a wordlist of approximately 1,000 forms -- nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and particles -- in the eight dialects covered in this study. The number beside the gloss of an item when it is cited in the text refers to the number of that item in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 contains lists of nouns whose sequences of vowels constitute violations of tenseness agreement. Appendix 3 is a speculative excursus on why Yorùbá contains no nasalized vowel prefixes.

0.3 As implied above, the theoretical position taken in this study is that diachronic considerations ought not to influence the synchronic analysis. But the reverse procedure, of drawing historical inferences from the contemporary analysis, is, I believe, legitimate and viable. Throughout this study such inferences will be made. One result of this procedure is a new insight into the effects

which historical changes may have on the subsequent grammar, namely, that the deletion of rules, the deletion of segments by a rule, or the simplification of a rule, at an earlier stage in the grammar, leave behind their effect in the form of morpheme structure constraints that must be formalized as conditions on morpheme structure in the synchronic grammar. (see sec. 0.4.2 below). Thus, for example, the effect of a tenseness assimilation rule which has been dropped from a number of Yorùbá dialects is retained in the form of a constraint on tenseness in sequences of vowels in the lexical representation of nouns. This is a way of viewing the relation between historical rule-change and synchronic description which, to my knowledge, has not received attention before.

0.4.1 The model which I follow is that of generative phonology, in particular the recent reconsiderations and revisions of phonological theory by Stanley (1967), Chomsky and Halle (1968), Postal (1968), and Kiparsky (1968a, 1968b). According to these recent formulations of the theory, phonological *matrices* (i.e., lexical representations), in their most abstract form, are given largely in the form of M(arked) and U(nmarked) feature values. A set of Universal Markedness Conventions (UMCs) then converts M-U specifications into plus-minus values. After all Ms and Us have been so converted, **dictionary entries** are fully specified in their phonological matrices. A partially ordered set of phonological rules (P-rules) operates on these binary-valued abstract matrices and, in principle, converts them into phonetically specifiable matrices, in which at least some features appear in terms of scalar values.

0.4.2 Postal (1968, 177-179) accepts as given that, with the notion of markedness incorporated into the lexicon, and the attendant requirement of full phonological specification, there is no longer any need for a formal statement of morpheme structure constraints. The function of these constraints in the earlier form of the theory was to capture the notion 'possible morpheme in the lexicon'. He suggests that this notion is now to be viewed as inherent in M-U markings, the class of possible morphemes now being defined as 'that class of M-U matrices which can be fully specified as +, - matrices without making use of any universal interpretation rule for M values which is not used in interpreting the M-U matrices of [language L]'. (178) And thus, 'the impossible phonological matrices are necessarily those which involve M specifications for features in positions where all actual morphemes contain only U specifications'. (179) But,

he notes, not only must all M and U values be taken into account, but also 'the full set of language particular phonological rules' (178n), since these rules can permute, delete, add to, and otherwise distort underlying segments and sequences. Note that, under Postal's interpretation, if we wish to ascribe any psychological reality to the notion of possible/impossible morpheme, as I think we must,<sup>2</sup> we must take this claim not only for all underlying matrices, but correspondingly for all UMCs and for each language-specific P-rule we posit. Although this may be one of our ultimate aims, given the present state of our knowledge of the range of possible phonological systems and processes, I feel we need to be more circumspect in the claims we make for our linguistic descriptions. Furthermore, it is not necessary to rely on the present rudimentary knowledge of markedness in this matter. It is my suggestion, to which I shall adhere in the present study, that morpheme structure constraints can still be explicitly stated in the grammar by incorporating into the lexicon a set of Morpheme Structure Conditions (MS Conditions. Cf. Stanley (1967)). These conditions are in the form of partially specified phonological matrices which give a formal characterization of permissible segments and sequences of segments at the level of lexical representation. The present study employs (1) Positive MS Conditions (PCs), and (2) If-Then MS Conditions. Both types may be either segment or sequence structure conditions. These four sorts of MS conditions may be schematically presented as follows, each X, Y, and Z representing a partially specified systematic phonemic matrix, and w representing a feature or set of features:

Positive Segment Structure Condition

PC [ [X]  
C

The initial segment of syntactic category C consists of the partially specified phonological matrix [X]. In the lexical structure of Yorùbá, this schema can be illustrated by the following condition :

All dialects: Positive Segment Structure Condition

PC [ [+Voc]  
[-Cons]  
[-Nasal]  
N

The initial segment of a noun is a non-nasalized vowel.

Positive Sequence Structure Condition

PC      [C [X] [Y] [Z]

The initial three segments of syntactic category C consist of the partially specified phonological matrices [X], [Y], and [Z]. For Yorùbá, this schema is exemplified by:

Oùdó: Positive Sequence Structure Condition

PC      [N [V(C)V(C)V] ]<sub>N</sub>

In the dialect of Oùdó, nouns may consist of any of the following sequences: VCVCV, VCVV, VVCV, and VVV.

If-Then Segment Structure Condition

If      [C [X]  
          ↓  
Then     [w]

If the initial segment of syntactic category C consists of the partially specified phonological matrix [X], then [X] receives the further feature(s) [w]. To illustrate with Yorùbá:

Common Yorùbá, Kétu: If-Then Segment Structure Condition

If      [ N [ +Voc  
          -Cons  
          +High ]  
          ↓  
Then     [-Back]

In the dialects of Common Yorùbá and Kétu, if the initial vowel of a noun is [+High] (i.e., i or u), then it will be [-Back] (i.e., i). This is the way in which it is predicted in these two dialects that there are no nouns in their lexicons which begin with /u/.

If-Then Sequence Structure Condition

If      [C [X] [Y]  
          ↓  
Then     [w]

If the initial two segments of syntactic category C consist of the partially specified phonological matrices [X] and [Y], then matrix [Y] receives the further feature(s) [w].

Oñdó: If-Then Sequence Structure Condition

If	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Voc} \\ -\text{Cons} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Voc} \\ +\text{Cons} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Voc} \\ -\text{Cons} \end{bmatrix}$
	$\Downarrow$		
Then	$[+\text{Anter}]$		

In the dialect of Oñdó, if a liquid (  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Voc} \\ +\text{Cons} \end{bmatrix}$  ) occurs in intervocalic position, then it will be /l/ ([+Anter]), not /r/ ([-Anter]).

No Negative MS Conditions (cf. Stanley (1967, 427-428)) are employed.

0.5.1 The Universal Markedness Conventions mentioned in sec. 0.41 are intended to reflect what is 'more natural', 'more to be expected' in phonological systems and processes in human language. Thus in many languages it has been noted that vowels which are [+Low] function as [+Back] segments with respect to phonological processes. For example, in several dialects of Yorùbá there is a process which converts /ā/ to [ǎ] in a given context. If the [+Low] vowel ā were [-Back] in its underlying lexical representation, the P-rule converting /ā/ to [ǎ] would be more complex to state, since it would need to state not only the change from [+Low] to [-Low], but also the change from [-Back] to [+Back]. It is in this sense that [+Low] vowel segments are more naturally seen as [+Back] than as [-Back] segments. And it is observations such as this which the UMCs attempt to capture.

The notion of markedness is directly relevant to the linguistic concept of complexity of the grammar. Systems and processes which are more natural, in the sense of the paragraph above, ought to make the overall description of any particular language less complex, less 'costly'. It is for this reason that lexical matrices, in their most abstract form, are specified to the greatest extent possible in terms of Marked and Unmarked configurations. Each U value appearing in a lexical matrix is without cost in terms of the complexity of the lexicon. Only M values and + and - values

add to the complexity. The UMCs have the interpretive function of taking the M and U values in the lexicon as input, and interpreting them as plus and minus specifications. These +, - values then form the input to the phonological component of the grammar.

It should be pointed out that the UMCs, as they are presently viewed within **the theory** of grammar, are really nothing more than descriptive devices, formalizations of and generalizations from observed phenomena in language. They are not in any clear sense explanations of these phenomena.

0.5.2 The following UMCs for vowels are used in this study (Conventions 1-6 are **Chomsky and Halle's** Conventions (VI)-(XI) (1968, 405)):

1.	(VI)	[ULow]	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Low] / \left[ \begin{array}{l} UBack \\ URound \end{array} \right] \\ [-Low] \end{array} \right\}$
2.	(VII)	[+Low]	→	[-High]
3.	(VIII)	[UHigh]	→	[+High]
4.	(IX)	[+High]	→	[-Low]
5.	(X)	[UBack]	→	[+Back]/[+Low]
6.	(XI)	[URound]	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Round] / \left[ \begin{array}{l} +Back \\ -Low \end{array} \right] \\ [-Round] / [+Low] \end{array} \right\}$
7.		[UTense]	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-Tense] / [+Low] \\ [+Tense] \end{array} \right\}$
8.		[UNasal]	→	[-Nasal]

Conventions for liquids, glides, and consonants will be referred to in the text as they are used.

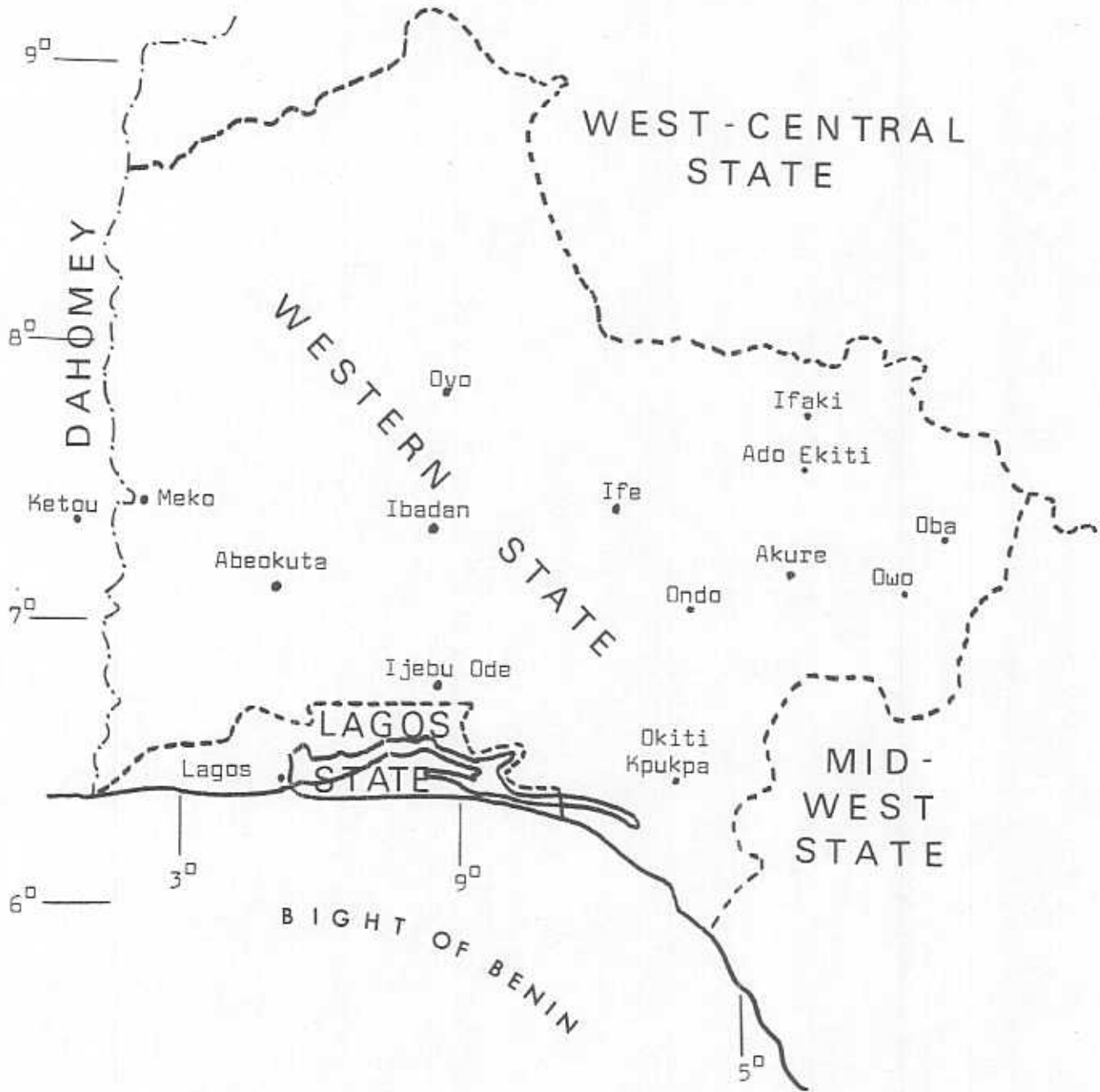
0.6.1 The following are the dialects on which this study is based (for the values of the tone symbols, see below):

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>Abbreviation used in text</u>
Common Yorùbá	CY
Kétu	K
Oṅdó	Oṅ
Ifàkì	If
Okítì Kpukpa	Òk
Àkúré	Àk
ḵwò	ḵ <sup>w</sup>
ḵbà	ḵ <sup>b</sup>

0.6.2 Some comment is in order concerning the choice of names. For Oṅ, If, Òk, Àk, ḵw, and ḵb, I have simply used the name of the home town of the informant. Each of these towns contains the largest concentration of speakers of that linguistic area. The dialect spoken in Oṅdó is known locally as Ekímògún [ekímògù]. Speakers of Yorùbá living in and around the town of Okítì Kpukpa consider their dialect to be a separate language and call it Ìkálẹ̀ [ìkálẹ̀].

The center of the Kétu-speaking community is more diffuse, being divided between the towns of Mèkọ [mèkọ] <sup>3</sup> in the Western State of Nigeria, and Ketou <sup>4</sup>, in Dahomey, some 25 miles by trail from Mèkọ. Kétu is the generally recognized name for the dialect in both towns. On the Nigerian side of the border, this dialect is also spoken in the villages of Ìjàkà, Iwoyè, Ìlárà, and Ìdọpà. <sup>5</sup>

The dialect I am calling Common Yorùbá is usually referred to as Standard Yorùbá. No study has been undertaken of this dialect with a view to determining its homogeneity, its areal spread, and the sociolinguistic factors affecting its use and acceptance. It is often said that CY is based on the dialect of Òyó, a town 33 miles north of Ìbàdàn. (cf., e.g. Armstrong (1965, 52), Courtenay (1968, 1)). On the other hand, the lack of standardization of CY has been noted by a number of linguists (Stevick, (1963,x), Bangboṣe (1966, 8), Adetugbo (1967, 9), and Courtenay (1968, 1)). This dialect is partially reflected in the orthography, spelling, and syntax of Yorùbá school texts. But it is obvious that complete standardization has not been agreed upon. <sup>6</sup> CY is also the form in which the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (WNBC) broadcasts its Yorùbá language programs.



Radio is a means by which CY receives wide dissemination, particularly through Rediffusion 7 [rɛdɪfyuwʒn], which reaches a great number of villages which would otherwise not receive much exposure to CY. Since the WNBS has its studios in Ibadán, this city may in some sense be said to be the focus and center of CY.

Chapter 4, sec. 4.3, discusses a phonological issue which clearly indicates that CY consists not of a single, homogeneous dialect, but rather of a set of sub-dialects. These things considered, perhaps some agreement may still be found among linguists and other interested investigators on the use of the term *koiné* for this variety of Yorúbá.<sup>8</sup> The term 'standard' seems at present to be somewhat premature, and 'common' is therefore suggested as more descriptive of the current state of knowledge.<sup>9</sup>

0.7 There is a fair amount of dialect mixing in my raw data. That is, the informant, having understood that the investigator wished information about his own dialect, would unconsciously use a lexical item, alone or in a construction, which was not from his dialect. Sometimes he would catch the slip immediately; sometimes on re-elicitation the dialectal form would be given. At times the investigator was able to call attention to the fact that the form in question was identical in shape in one or more other dialects, with the same or a related meaning. Such observation could serve to call forth the alternate form proper to the dialect. Generally the items for which the parallel form in the informants own dialect would later emerge would be from the dialect of intercommunication, CY. Some instances of this dialect mixing:

K	šùgbó	'but' ('CY)	later changed to	K	ámó
Oñ	ákùko	248 cock ('CY)	"	Oñ	ákiko
ǰb	erū	60 mouth(?ǰw, Ak)	"	ǰb	aū

In a few instances two forms exist side by side, one form having been borrowed or partially borrowed from another dialect, the other belonging to the dialect proper. For example, the Òk informant gave both méèsá and mééhá as the numeral '9', with the explanation that mééhá is the 'older' form.

Øk has [h] wherever other dialects have [s], whereas Øk [s] occurs where most other dialects have [š]. I thus take méesá to be a form which indicates the substitution of [s] for [h] through borrowing. Whether the source dialect is CY cannot be determined.

The observation that borrowing seems to be largely in the direction of the dialect of intercommunication receives support from Gumperz' study of the sociolinguistic structure of the northern Norwegian town of Hemnes (Gumperz (1966)). He states:

...it would seem that dialectal variation and intergroup differences...indicate two different but simultaneous on-going processes within the same community. Dialectal variation reflects a long-term gradual adaptation in speech habits. The trends observed in Hemnes lead us to predict a gradual reduction of phonetic differences between the dialect and the standard, accompanied by gradual assimilation of dialect grammatical forms to the standard. Specific symbols of separateness may be maintained, but the total language distance appears to be decreasing. (38)

0.8 All dialects studied have three systematic phonemic tones (pitch levels): high, mid, and low. As part of the universal phonetic alphabet of features, they are designated

as [+HIGH],  $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{HIGH} \\ -\text{LOW} \end{bmatrix}$ , and [+LOW], respectively. These features are not to be confused with those indicating vowel height, which are given in lower case letters. The representing symbols for these tones, marked over all vowels and syllabic nasal consonants, are :  $\acute{V}$  (acute accent) = [+HIGH] tone;  $\grave{V}$  (grave accent) = [+LOW] tone;  $\check{V}$  (unmarked over vowels) and  $\check{N}$  (macron over syllabic nasal consonants) =  $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{HIGH} \\ -\text{LOW} \end{bmatrix}$  tone.

Phonetically, an extreme tone (i.e. [+HIGH] or [+LOW] tone) is a gliding tone after the opposite extreme tone. Thus, [+HIGH] after [+LOW] is a glide from low to high, and [+LOW] after [+HIGH] is a glide from high to low. Due to various deletion rules, a tone may also be a gliding tone, phonetically, when these conditioning factors are absent. Where necessary for exposition of phonetic detail, these gliding tones will be indicated by  $\check{\acute{V}}$  (glide from low to high), and  $\check{\grave{V}}$  (glide from high to low). Other matters of phonetic detail with

respect to tone are discussed as they arise in the text.

These tones may be illustrated in forms of the sequence vowel- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{consonant} \\ \text{glide} \\ \text{liquid} \end{array} \right\}$ -vowel (citations are from Common Yorùbá):

high + high	ó mú	he carried (452 carry mú)
high + mid	ó mū	he drank (426 drink mū)
high + low	ó gbà	(phonetically, ó gbà) he obtained (543 obtain gbà)
mid + high	awó	249 guinea fowl
mid + mid	awo	secret
mid + low	awò	eyeglasses (<nominalizing prefix a- + S.335 look at wò)
low + high	ílú	(phonetically, ilǔ) town, city
low + mid	ílu	awl (<nominalizing prefix í- + S.413 pierce lu)
low + low	ìlù	295 drum (<nominalizing prefix í- + 447 beat lù)

0.9 Citations throughout this work are given in broad phonetic transcription, unless otherwise noted. Systematic phonemic notation is enclosed in slant lines.

0.10 Field work for this study was carried out in Nigeria during the 1967-1968 academic year, while I was an Associate Member of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. Information on the principal informants with whom I worked is contained in Appendix 4.

Footnotes

1. Westermann and Bryan (1952, 84) cite Parrinder (1947) as estimating the Yorùbá-speaking population of Dahomey at 100,000.
2. Even if not in terms of the dichotomous possible/impossible opposition, but along a gradient from one to the other.
3. This is the name used by younger persons. Its traditional name, and the one still used by elderly people in the area, is Ìmèkò [ìmèèkò].
4. The French spelling has been retained for most place-names in the post-independence period.
5. The spellings o and e represent [ɔ] and [ɛ], respectively, in Yorùbá orthography. Nasalized vowels are indicated by a following n. Fresco (1968b) contains grammar notes and an interlinear translation of a short story in the Kétu dialect.
6. There have been several recent efforts at standardizing the orthography. Perhaps the most comprehensive proposals are those made by Bamgboṣe in his pamphlet Yoruba Orthography (1965a).
7. A commercial scheme whereby one rents, at a nominal monthly charge, a speaker which is installed in one's house. This speaker is wired to receive only the national broadcasting network, of which WNBC is an affiliate. It has only an on-off-volume control.
8. Adetugbo (1967) was the first to apply this term to CY.
9. Armstrong (1965) refers to it as Central Yorùbá, whereas Adetugbo (1967) uses Central to designate the geographic area of a group of Yorùbá dialects. The inherent geographical connotation of 'central' renders it a less useful designation for CY.