

A Minimalist Description of Aika Pronouns

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Abstract

In Aika, there are two types of information package-able constituents based on their relevance to information structuring such as focusing, topicalization, etc. Constituents sensitive to information packaging are moveable into discourse information categories. But, those constituents that are not discourse sensitive are not relevant for information structuring, i.e. they are not frontable. Pronouns represent a cross to the division. There are pronouns moveable in focusing and the immovable ones for the same syntactic derivation. Thus this paper investigates the pronoun types, properties and internal configuration of Aika pronouns to ascertain the distinguishing feature(s) for classifying the two types of pronoun. This study adopts feature driven Minimalist Program as the theoretical framework. The framework is based on the duo operations – operations select and merge. Data were collected from both the primary sources from the five Aika speaking communities through structured and unstructured interviews. Existing works on the language serve as the secondary sources of data collection. Three types of pronouns were identified based on their syntactic and information structural properties. The emphatic pronouns are six in numbers identified through the basic [person, number, gender] features and [+emphasis]. The unemphatic pronouns were identified through the basic features and [-emphasis]. The third type is the genitive pronoun. We observe that no one pronoun type can be derived from the other. Also, emphatic pronoun parallels other moveable DPs where fronting can be licensed while unemphatic pronouns are not. In Aika language, no constituent can be preposed to information structural layers unless it bears [+emphasis].

Keyword: *emphatic and unemphatic pronouns, genitive pronouns, discourse sensitive property, MP.*

Introduction

This paper examines the pronouns in Aika language within the Minimalist Program with a view to determining the types and their properties which exist in the language. The class of pronouns studied here are the types often referred to as personal pronouns. Apart from this, the study also examines the pronouns internal structure based on Abney (1987) DP hypothesis with the aim of providing a good description of the pronouns and also proffer answers to why some pronouns can be preposed and while others cannot in Aika.

The Aika people and their language

The people are peasant farmers and they also grow other crops like Cashew which form the main stream of the people's economy. The language Aika refers to both the people and the language. The name "Aika" is derived from the initial letters of the names of the communities where Aika language is spoken. The communities and the dialects spoken include the following: Ayánrán (inú and òde) speaks ìyínnó/ìjínó dialect, Àuga speaks ìgáú dialect, Ìṣẹ̀ speaks ìṣẹ̀ù/Àyègbè dialect, Ìkákùmò (Èdó) speaks ùkaan/ikaan dialect, and Ìkákùmò (Ondó) speaks ùkaan/ikaan dialect

Ayánrán, Àuga, and Ìṣẹ̀ are mutually intelligible. Ìkákùmò is demographically divided into two groups by the state boundary. It should be noted Ìkákùmò is the only distant dialect but still mutually intelligible with the others. The language communities are located in Akoko-Edo local government of Edo state and Akoko North local government area of Ondo state. Aika language has been variously classified (Elugbe, 2001; Arohunmolase et al 2006; Bankale, 2008 among others), yet the classification is still unresolved. Before proposing Aika as the name of the language, some scholars have used the name "ùkaan/ikaan" to represent the language. But, the people have rejected this as well since it only refers to the dialect spoken by the two Ìkákùmò communities. Aika is a multilingual speech community. Apart from Aika which is used as medium of instruction at home, other languages spoken in the communities include Yoruba which serves as the main lingua franca of the communities both in formal and informal situations. Yoruba is taught in schools and used as means of communication in major events like masquerade festivals and in worship centers (Abimbola and Adekunle, 2014). English language is also taught in schools and used as medium of instruction in schools while Aika is not taught in school.

Statement of the Problem

In studies involving fronting of information sensitive items to discourse positions, research is still ongoing towards establishing the nature of the type of constituents permitted in that domain. The features that determine the constituent that can be preposed as opposed to those that cannot vary from one language to

another. In packaging information in Aika language, there are some constituents that can be typed as *discourse new* and *given* whereas some constituents cannot participate in such typing. Specifically, there is a feature which determines the type of constituents in a clause that can be fronted into Spec-FocP/TopP/InterP. The feature divides Aika pronouns into two types. The existing literatures in Aika have no way of explaining the distribution.

Research questions

Discourse information items preposed into the specifiers of functional heads in the Force domain are of different types. It is observed in Aika language that some DPs can be moved into this domain while others cannot as specified by some features. On the basis of the above, this paper investigates the following questions on pronouns in Aika language.

How many types of pronouns are there in Aika? Are the pronouns derived from one another? Which feature licenses fronting of a DP as opposed to immovable DPs? To what extent are they involved in the information structure of the domain? How much can the study in this domain further our understanding DP?

Research hypothesis

Based on the number of research questions posed above, the following are the working hypotheses for our study.

There are three types of pronouns in Aika. Emphatic, unemphatic, and genitive pronouns. One pronoun type cannot be derived from the other. Only the emphatic pronoun and other parallel DPs (in feature specification) can be preposed for discourse properties. [+emphasis] feature determines the type of constituent that can be preposed in Aika. Information structure informed/determines the nature of constituents sensitive to discourse information.

Scope and limitations of the study

This study is based on the DP construction type- Pronouns as one of the moveable constituents in Discourse Categories within Chomsky's Minimalism Program. There are three types of pronouns basically in Aika. One of them is movement sensitive for discourse articulation of focalisation and topicality marking. Thus this paper examines the pronoun types with the view of ascertaining the properties separating them and the one licensing fronting. It will take into account the feature specifications determining where the pronoun enter the derivation and how the features are valued. This work does not examine other types of DP structures.

Research Method

Data for the study were gathered in all the five Aika speaking communities. The data collection was based on interviews structured in Yoruba language, while the responses were given in Aika i.e. in various forms after the speech forms of the respondents. This is because Yoruba is more or less the people's lingua franca. The same structured data were used to elicit data in all the communities. Apart from this we also analysed unstructured data recorded during our fieldtrips. We considered this process as the primary sources. As for the secondary sources, data were gathered from existing literatures and from recorded audio clips downloaded from www.elar.soas.ac.uk.

Literature review

A lot of scholarly works have been done by various researchers interested on the language concerned. Some scholars are interested in the orthography of the language. Arohunmolase et al (2006a,b&c) proposed different orthographies for all the dialects. But Abimbola (2008) have argued that the language only needs one writing system.

Arohunmolase et al (2006a, b & c) were based on the primers, orthography and historical traditions of the people. Voeglin and Voeglin (1977:13) cited by Salfner (2010:43) discusses the classification of the language. The work classifies the language with the Akpes under Central Akoko in the Kwa language family based on a manuscript credited to Williamson (1972). Akinkugbe (1978:265) cited by Abiodun (1999:2) classifies the language as a member of the Akoko Cluster under the Benue Congo language family. Bankale (2008) also classifies the language based on shared innovations. Elugbe (2012) classifies Aika on empirical ground under Akekoid in west Benue-Congo and based his considerations on the behavior of the vowel stems and other phonological features. Salfner (2010) is based on one of the dialects. But that work examines the use of tone in the lexicon and grammar of the language. Abimbola (2014) examines the clause structure on

one of the dialects. He proposed that a functional head TAg⁰ heads the clause. Abimbola and Adekunle (2014) examine the socio linguistics profile of Aika. They submit that Aika is highly endangered. Abimbola and Taiwo (2014) examine the serial verbal construction and proposed as unified analysis for the derivation of SVC within the minimalist framework. Abimbola and Olaogun (2016) examine the nature of interrogative construction in Aika. The paper argues against the popular opinion that content word question and Yes-No question are derivationally different. All these studies are different from the present study. This work aims at looking at the pronoun system within the DP system in relation to information packaging.

Pronoun is one of the functional categories in Aika whose behaviour in syntactic structures cannot all be equated with the nouns. Pronouns have been variously defined. Ilori (2010:308) define pronouns using feature specification as, “Pronouns are [+Functional,+ Referential, +Nominal]”. This means that they are closed class and they do not permit adding new words to the class and they do not have semantic content of their own rather they refer to some other elements within or outside the discourse.

There are various classification based on semantic and or syllabic (phonological) properties to distinguish them from one another. For instance, there Awobuluyi (1978) classifies Yoruba pronouns into polymorphic nouns i.e. the short pronouns on the one hand motivated on the ground of the morphological forms assumed at different syntactic positions. On the other hand are the long pronouns which behave more like the undisputable nouns.

Bamgbose (1967) use the term “pronominal” for the so-called long pronouns in Yoruba. According to him, a pronominal is a noun which resembles a pronoun by having a system of number and of person (Bamgbose, 1967:11). However, the term pronominal is a cover term for both the so-called short pronouns, long pronouns (in Yoruba), and other nominal items behaving in similar manner in modern linguistics. Ilori (2010:308) refers to the two groups as personal pronouns and he further classified them into short pronouns and emphatic/long pronouns, where the long forms are derived from the short through prefixation⁴, this is similar to Awobuluyi’s (2013) classification i.e. the short pronoun on the one hand and the long pronoun on the other hand.

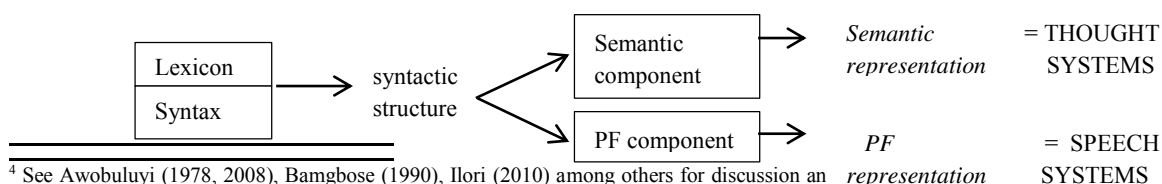
Abney (1987) opined that pronouns are instantiating D⁰ just like quantifiers, definite articles, and some other D-like elements. However a check into the properties of pronouns in Aika shows that there are three kinds of pronouns and not all the pronoun types in Aika can be D⁰. Thus, this section quickly examines the pronouns in Aika. We identified and classified the types into their classes and also provide their properties. We also examine the pronouns within the Abey’s DP architecture in order to ascertain if all pronoun forms in Aika instantiate D⁰? Abimbola (2008) classifies Aika pronouns into two groups which are: pronouns and pronominals. He asserts that the pronouns cannot be derived from one another.

Theoretical framework: The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program (hence, MP) as developed in Chomsky’s (1995) is motivated not only by the search for explanatory adequacy but also for a certain level of formal simplicity and elegance (Carnie, 2007:355). MP views the human cognitive system as a computational system similar to that of a computer which uses a limited set of mechanism and constraints to provide adequate explanation to language structures. Basing its assumptions on economic principles, MP reduces the complexity of grammar than what is implied by previous Generative models. The C_{HL} takes the selected LIs arranges them in a pair wise fashion. When LIs are selected into the Numeration to form a pair (π , λ) the pair (π a PF object and λ a LF object) is subjected to an Economy condition: the principle of Full Interpretation which requires that all the feature of a pair be legible at the relevant interfaces. If π and λ satisfy Full Interpretation, then they are legitimate object, the derivation then Converges at PF and LF. But if they are not legitimate object i.e. if they fail to satisfy Full Interpretation, the derivation will Crash at the interfaces. There are two basic operations in the C_{HL}; Operations Merge and Operations Move. They are discussed below under mechanisms in MP.

The C_{HL} in MP is organized as represented by Radford (2009:14) shown below in (1). The Computation is regulated by a principle called Inclusiveness Condition.

1.



⁴ See Awobuluyi (1978, 2008), Bamgbose (1990), Ilori (2010) among others for discussion on pronouns.

In (1), the lexicon feeds the narrow syntax which yields the syntactic structure and that leads to the interface levels, i.e., the semantic component and the PF component. The interface levels relate to the thought systems and the speech systems. Following Kayne's (1994) analysis, we assume that Specifier precedes the Head, and the Head precedes the Complement as specified by Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA).

Types of Pronouns in Aika

Aika has three kinds of pronouns but this is not based on the number of syllable found in the forms of the pronouns. We have classified them following Abimbola (2008:49) classification of Aika pronouns⁵. A departure point from his classification is the fact that we have renamed the two classes as unemphatic pronouns and emphatic pronouns in Aika in place of pronouns and pronominals respectively. The two kinds discussed here are actually pronouns but differentiated by the feature -emphasis, and other pronoun and nominal features. The term pronominal attributes more of nominal features than the features of pronoun to items we have classified as emphatic pronouns. Using the term "short" and "long" as it is also a tradition in some grammars, Yoruba for instance would be inappropriate because there are some of the unemphatic pronouns which are of the same length in terms of syllable structures with the emphatic pronouns.

Unemphatic Pronouns

This is a class of pronoun which is in all respects different from nouns in this language. This class so-called unemphatic because that is the major feature/property distinguishing them from their counterpart called emphatic pronouns. The tables below illustrate them based on their positions in the clause.

Table 1: Subject Pronouns (Unemphatic)

Person	Number		Plural	
	Singular			
1 st per	jò	I	Bà	We
2 nd per	Ho	You	À	You
3 rd per	- ⁶	He/she/it	-	They

Table 2: Object Pronouns (Unemphatic)

Person	Number		Plural	
	Singular			
1 st per	wiṣ(i) ⁷	Me	ùbọ	Us
2 nd per	wó	You	ùmọn	you
3 rd per	Wí	Him/her	Ūman	They

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| (2a) | Jò dí wá
1sg perf come "I have come" | (2b) | Hò dí wá
2 pl perf come "You have come" |
| (2c) | ò dí wá
TAgr ⁰ perf come "(He/she/it) have come" | (2d) | Bà dí wá
1pl perf come "We have come" |
| (2e) | À dí wá
2nd perf come "You have come" | (2f) | à dí wá
TAgr ⁰ perf come "(They) have come" |
| (2g) | ò ré wiṣi
TAgr ⁰ see-NF me "(He/she/it saw me)" | (3a) | Jìò ré wó
1sg see-NF 2sg "I saw you" |
| (3b) | Jìò ré wí
1sg see-NF 3sg "I saw him" | (3c) | Ò ré ùbọ
TAgr ⁰ see-NF 1pl "He/she/it saw us" |

⁵ His analysis is based on ìyínnò dialect of Aika. We shall distinguish the emphatic pronouns from the short counterpart using italicized boldface for the long pronoun forms.

⁶ This language does not have a morphological shape for the 3rd person singular/plural pronoun.

⁷ It is interesting to notes that *wiṣ* is used often while the form *wiṣi* is uncommon in sentence structures. Abimbola (2008) reports that the language has a rule that delete the last vowel segment in sentence final position.

- (3d) ò ré ùmòn
TAgr⁰ see-NF 2pl “He/she/it saw you”
- (3e) Íṣégun ò ré ùman
Segun TAgr⁰ see-NF 3pl “Segun saw them”
- (4a) Bà dí wá
1pl have come “We have come”
- (4b) Olú ó gí yíwàkì wó
Olu TAgr⁰ cont. greet 2sg “Olu isgreeting YOU”
- (4c) Olú ò ré wís
Olu TAgr⁰ see-NF me “Olu saw me”

Properties of Aika Unemphatic Pronouns

The following are distinguishing properties of Aika unemphatic pronouns. They are unemphatic and cannot be used emphatically. This is why they cannot be fronted in this language. They don’t participate in focusing i.e. unemphatic pronouns cannot be focused. Only items which can be emphasized in Aika can undergo focusing.

- (5a) Jò dí wá
1sg perf come “I have come”
- (5b) *Jò ìní dí wá
1sg foc⁰ perf come “I have come”

No word can be derived from any member of this class i.e. they are close ended class because they cannot be used derivationally. And they cannot be derived from any other word or class. Any attempt to do so i.e. to use them derivationally would result into a non-existent word. For example, the table below illustrate the output of an attempt to showing how the unemphatic pronouns are derived from the emphatic pronouns.

Table 3: A derivational processes of singular and plural unemphatic pronouns from the emphatic pronouns in Aika

Persons	Singular	Output	Actual lexical items
1 st	Jìò/Jíó → jòò/jiò	Jò	jò
2 nd	Ínyón → N/A	-	Ho
3 rd	Ínun → íò/ ø nun	í/nun	no overt lexical item
	Plural	Output	
1 st	Bába → øba/ báø	ba/ bá	Bà
2 nd	Máma → N/A	-	À
3 rd	Ídán → íò/ ødán	í/ dán	no overt lexical item

This does not have any directionality i.e. It does not state which of the syllable one must delete. Apart from theoretical assumption which makes it impossible for one to say that an element is derived from the other, the result of the derivation above shows that some may seemingly appear to have been derived while the result of the output does not tally with the actual items.

Items in this group are morphologically polymorphic in nature i.e. their form/shape are morphologically determined relatives to position of occurrences. Unemphatic pronouns are morphologically conditioned to their environment, thus informing inflectional forms. For example, see tables 1 and 2 above.

It cannot be modified by adjectives, quantifiers, nouns or numeral items. Unlike the real nouns of this language, unemphatic pronouns cannot be pre or post modified with any class of word because they are D-like elements which are generally intransitive Ds.

- (6a) i-ṣìgè hòò
CM-house all “all (the) houses”
- (6b) à-bàsà à-bò á-wà à-gùnmán à-tíntín
CM-cutlass CM-our CM-two CM-big CM-black
“Our two big black cutlasses”

- (7a) *Jò ṣìi gùnmán tíntín dí wá
1sg one big black perf come
- (7b) *Hò hòò dí wá
2nd all perf come

It cannot be conjoined together with a conjunction or connective word/morpheme like *mínà* “and” or *báé* “and”. Every item bearing determiner or nominal feature in Aika that is either emphatic pronouns or real nouns/DPs/NPs in this language can be conjoined together using the nominal conjunction.

- (8a) Òjó mínà Àiná
Ojo conj Aina “Ojo and Aina”
- (8b) ùkùbá mínà áwà
twenty conj two “twenty two”
- (8c) *Jò mínà íbimbólá
1st conj Bimbola *“I and bimbola”

- (12c) Olú ó gí yíwáki bába (12d) Olú ó gí yíwáki hínhan
 Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet 1sg “Olu is greeting US” Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet 2sg “Olu is greeting YOU”
- (13a) bába da? (13b) māmá da?
 1pl QV “where is ours?” 2pl QV “where is yours?”

Properties of Aika Emphatic Pronouns

The following are distinguishing properties of Aika emphatic pronouns. They carry emphatic feature. Simply put they can be licensed at Spec-EmpP. Unlike unemphatic pronouns which cannot be focused, Emphatic pronouns can be focused i.e. emphatic pronouns can be focused just like real nouns of this language. As we have noted earlier, only items which can be emphasized in Aika can undergo focusing irrespective of the category. Emphatic pronouns are carriers of [+emphasis] feature. For example;

- (14a) Olú ó gí yíwáki bába (14b) bába nu Olú ó gí yíwáki
 Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet 1sg “Olu is greeting US” Olu foc⁰ TAg⁰ cont. greet 1sg “Olu is greeting US”
- (14c) Olú ó gí yíwáki hínhan (14d) hínhan nu Olú ó gí yíwáki
 Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet 2sg “Olu is greeting YOU” 2sg foc⁰ Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet “Olu is greeting YOU”

Words cannot be derived from items in this class. This is just like what is observed with the unemphatic pronouns. They constitute a close class. Lexical items of this class cannot participate in morphological derivations either to derive another or for other words to be derived through them.

Table 5. Table showing inability of emphatic pronouns to be used derivationally

Persons	Singular	Output
1 st	Jìò/Jíó → jòò/jiø	Jò/ji
2 nd	Ínyón → N/A	*-
3 rd	Ínun → íø/ ø nun	*í/nun
	Plural	Output
1 st	Bába → øba/ báø	*ba/ bá
2 nd	Máma → N/A	*-
3 rd	Ídán → íø/ ødán	*í/ dán

* Wrong output.

Items in this class do not change in form/shape i.e. they are not morphologically determined in relation to their position of occurrences. For instance, the same form they have at subject position is equally the same form they will assume in object position and even at Specifier positions of any functional head in the left periphery.

- (15a) Jíó báé idán (15b) Ínyón mini jíó bà dí wá (15c) Mámá gí yáwág-Ólú
 1sg conj 3pl “I and them” 2sg conj. 1sg? have come “You and I have come” 2pl cont greet Olu “YOU are greeting Olu”

It cannot be modified by adjectives, quantifiers, nouns or numbers. Just like every other pronouns i.e. unemphatic and qualifier pronouns in this language, this group of pronoun cannot take any modification as shown in the ill-formed structures below.

- (16a) à-bàsà à-bò à-wà à-gùnmán à-tíntín (16b) *Ínyón à-gùnmán à-tíntín
 CM-cutlass CM-our CM-two CM-big CM-black “Our two big black cutlasses” 2sg CM-big CM-black

Items in this class can be conjoined together with a conjunctive morpheme or connective word like *mínà* or *báé*.

- (17a) Á- rúlà a- sòn mínà á- pènsù à- máín (17b) Jíó báé idán
 CM- ruler CM-five conj CM-pencil CM-four “five rulers and four pencils” 1sg conj 3pl “They and I”
- (17c) àwésí à dí wá (17d) ínyón mini Jíó bà dí wá
 CM-man TAg⁰ perf come “Men have come” 2pl conj 1sg TAg⁰ perf come “You and I have come”

They can be used with interrogative verbs just like every other nouns in the language unlike the unemphatic pronouns.

- (18a) *ibólá ò ré?*
bola TAg⁰ QV “where is Bola?”
- (18b) *Àmán nò*
Theirs QV “Where is theirs?”

They cannot be class marked with class markers. This is because they are not nouns and should not be viewed as one. As for the classification or grouping of all nouns in Aika, all nouns must be classified using the class markers before the nouns to denote where that particular noun belongs. Lexical items functioning as subject, object or object of preposition have syntactic agreement between the noun and the modifiers in the phrase but this kind of agreement is unmarked on the emphatic pronouns and on pronouns generally. Any attempt to force noun classification on the pronouns will result into non-existent derivation.

The same form which occurs as the subject can occur as the object. This is unlike the unemphatic forms which are polymorphic in nature. They have one specific form in all their syntactic positions. This shows that they are more like nouns in this respect. Due to the systematic syntactic agreement formed by class marker on nouns and its modifiers in the nominal domains, nouns may be viewed as having a systematic singular and plural form just like this group of pronouns.

- (19a) *bába gi yáwág-Olú*
Ipl cont. greet-FT-Olu “WE are greeting Olu”
- (19b) *Olú ó gí yíwáki bába*
Olu TAg⁰ cont. greet Isg “Olu is greeting US”

On the basis of argument licensing emphatic pronouns are transitive DPs. This explains why they can co-occur with other elements in the DP. From the foregoing, one can conclude that they are transitive pronouns since they select internal argument.

We propose that a transitive pronoun such as the unemphatic pronoun will have a projection similar to (19a) while the intransitive pronouns i.e. unemphatic pronouns and qualifier pronouns in Aika would have their structural architectures as (20b) below.

- (20a) [DP Pron [NP]] b) [DP Pron]

The schema in (20a-b) shows the internal structure of the DP phrase for pronouns. But in (20a) above, the phrase shows the internal structure of the DPs having a noun phrase as the argument complement from where the item derives its nominal properties. While the structure in (20b) has only a pronoun as its internal constituent instantiating the DP just like other D-items.

Feature Specification of Aika Pronouns

Aika DPs are not gender sensitive i.e. they don't indicate gender grammatically. In the same manner, emphatic and unemphatic pronouns are not gender sensitive. In essence, the gender feature as part of the phi-features rendered them phi-incomplete. All nominal elements except personal names don't have [gender] specification, this is because there are some names which are peculiar to male and some others to female in similar. There are some which cannot even select either of male or female. However, since other nominal may have gender connotations (apart from some personal names), we propose that [gender] feature should be part of the phi-features for Aika pronouns as indicated below. The following is the ϕ -feature specification of pronoun in Aika:

- (21) ϕ -features specification [+person, +number, +gender]

Speaking only of the unemphatic pronoun now as a lexical item instantiating the D⁰, its referential specification is just like other D-like items. Following Abney's (1987) that the D⁰ is the locus of referential property, we assume that unemphatic pronouns are inherently referential. These elements unlike every other D-like item don't take specifiers as it shows in the manner in which pronouns cannot be pre- or post- modified in the determiner phrases. We assume that these features are not saturated on a single head. Since NumP encodes [number] feature, it is the locust of this property relevant for the value specified by pronouns. Following Carstens (2000), we distinguish between two gender often identified in syntactic analyses, i.e. the grammatical gender and the gender feature. Apart from this, unemphatic pronouns cannot take complement. From the claim laid out so far, these features specification is indicated below;

- (22) [+referential] [-specifier] [-complement]¹⁰

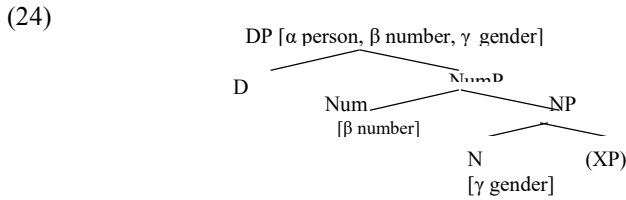
We claim here that [person] and [number] features are interpretable. This is because the references in mind which may either be singular or plural are specific of the item denoted or being talked about by the N⁰ as

¹⁰ Cf. Abney (1987).

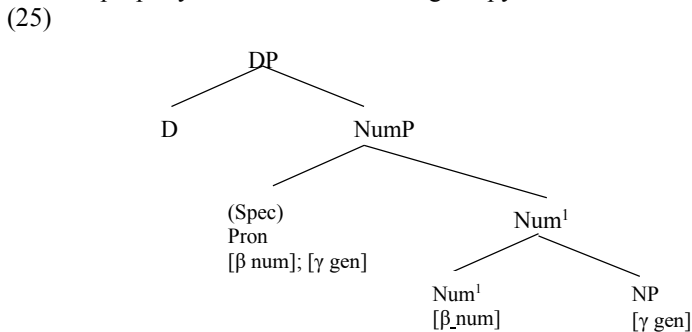
entity in a specific location ultimately identified by the proximal value are features of demonstratives. It has a particular person in mind as definite reference in discourse. Not forgetting the fact that pronouns also have nominal property [+N], we claim here that pronouns are lexically wired with the [N] feature but this feature is un-interpretable on the unemphatic pronouns why they are interpretable on emphatic pronouns. This is why pronoun are compositionally like (23) below.

- (23) unemphatic pronoun [+N]; [+pron]; [+case]; [- emphasis];
 emphatic pronoun [+N]; [+pron]; [+case]; [+emphasis]

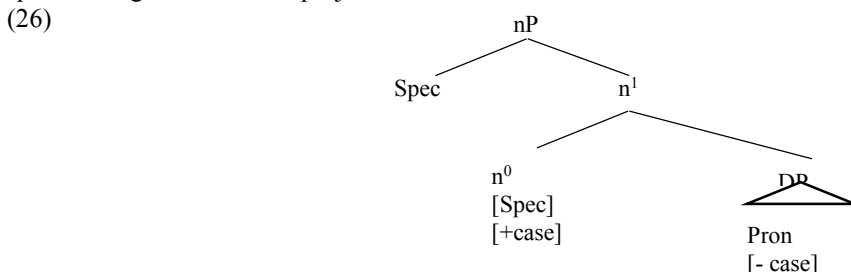
As for the emphatic pronoun, it has both nominal and pronominal feature. Going back to the feature specification in (22) above and following Carstens (2000), I assume that person feature is a property of D^0 . And since the functional number projection is headed by Num^0 , I also take it as the encoder of [number] feature. The [gender] feature is considered as the property of NP. This structured as shown below illustrates structural location of these features on their heads;



Notice that all the features specified above for the heads are interpretable features relevant for the convergence of D^0 domain. From the tree schema above, all Aika pronouns are based generated in Spec-NumP thus, values the head features simultaneously on the head Num^0 and NP. They require no modification but the +N-feature is a requirement for all pronouns i.e. both the emphatic and unemphatic pronouns display nominal property wired into them through copy movement valuation DP-internally as shown below.



In Cardinaletti's (1993) view, pronouns are primarily distinguished from Nouns through case property which most nouns do not overtly have. Specifically, case is the only strong feature which can distinguish pronouns from nouns. Pronouns are morphologically conditioned at various points in the sentence structure based on case morphological property inflectionally marked and realized as Nominative, objective, etc. within sentence structure at various points. In Aika, case is licensed structurally and not morphologically on nominal items. As we have claimed above, Number feature is another distinguishing property of pronouns from nominal items. The case feature is an inherent property of pronouns and the head. We propose that case is valued at Spec nP position where nominal items acquire case features and not the case that pronouns have a special designation for that projection in the DP architecture of Aika as shown below;



Genitive Pronouns

Genitive pronouns are a kind of pronouns which shows possession. This pronoun often comes after the nouns which they possess. Aika genitive pronouns are given in Table 6 below. Two types of genitive pronouns have been identified in syntactic analyses (Abney, 1986, Ajiboye, 2005, among others). There is the *of*-genitive, 's-genitive on the one hand and the one which often occur in genitive construction called possessive pronoun as shown below in English on the other hand. (27a) illustrates the 's-genitive while *of*-genitive is illustrated in (27b). The data in (27c) shows the possessive pronouns.

- (27a) John 's book (27b) The book *of John* (27c) The book is *mine*

The type of genitive pronouns found in Aika is illustrated below in table 6.

Table 6: The Aika genitive pronouns

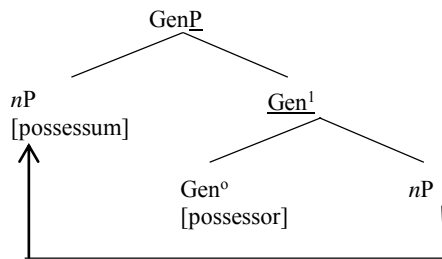
Person	Number		Plural	
	Singular			
1 st per	Jì	My	àbó	Our
2 nd per	mírò/rò	Your	mámón	your
3 rd per	mii/yín	His/her/it	Mámán	their

Items in this group can also be referred to as possessive pronouns. They are another kind of D-elements (Longobardi, 2001:580). Items in this class primarily show possession or ownership towards the nominal items located on the left hand of these items in DP structures. They cannot be used in the context where the unemphatic and the emphatic pronouns can be used. In essence, these pronouns must be preceded by a nominal element in the DP. They can only be used in this type of construction. They cannot even be used in the form of *of*-genitive construction similar to the one involving these items. They are illustrated below:

- (28a) Àhwéà jì (28b) ìşò mírò (28c) ùfán rò
 Money 1sg-gen "My money" head-sg 2sg-gen "Your head" book-sg 2sg-gen "Your book"
- (28d) ìşò mii (28e) àhwé mii (28f) òyòn yín
 head-sg 3sg-gen "his/her head" money-sg 3sg-gen "His/her money" child-sg 3sg-gen "his/her child"
- (29a) àyàn (à-)bó (29b) àhwè àbó
 child-pl 1pl-gen "Our children" money-pl 1sg-gen "Our money"
- (29c) àşò mámón (29d) àşò mámán 29e) àyàn (à-)mán
 head-pl 2pl-gen "Your heads" head-pl 3pl-gen "their heads" child-pl 3pl-gen "their children"

In (28a) and (29c)¹¹, noticed that there is no tonal morpheme that appears between the genitive pronoun and the nominal item preceding it. As opposed to the tone morph which is noticeable in the *of*-genitive types. The genitive pronoun is assumed as the head of the projection which enters the derivation as the head of the phrase and the nominal element as its complement but raised to Spec-GenP to value it features as indicated below in (30). We propose that there is only one argument position in this DP originated at complement of genitive head.

(30)



The speaker in this context represented by the genitive pronoun is the possessor for whom the nominal element on the left of the phrase belongs. The NP on the left is the possessum with relational reference to the genitive pronoun. The possessum NP had to move to derive the surface word order in conformity with the Minimalist's Linear Correspondence Axiom.

¹¹ These examples here are the ones we have come across so far. This may be peculiar to the speech patterns of our informant. Salfner (2007) also made the observation that there are speakers' variation just as we have also observed during the field trip, noticed that there is speaker inter-communal variation. However, it is a good source for comparison. In his classification for Yoruba genitives, Owolabi (1976) has marked and unmarked genitive for the nominal/*of*-genitive but not for the genitive pronouns.

Marked Genitive Construction

This class is also called nominal genitive construction because two nouns are involved. Nouns in this category show possession or ownership by relation i.e. relating the nominal item on the left of the tone morph i.e. Low Tone Morpheme (LTM) to the nominal element on the right. Two nouns are paired together within the DP; the one on the left is the owned/possessum why the one on the right is the possessor¹². The low tone morph noticeable between the two nouns/nominal items is the genitive marker which relates the two nominal elements together. The item takes its form from the initial vowel of the second noun/nominal item.

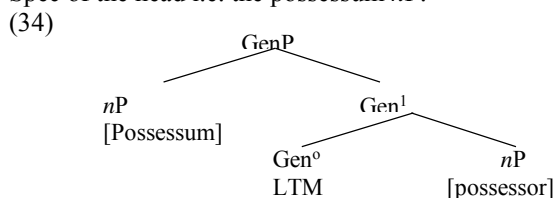
- (31a) òyìn ò Olú (31b) àhwé è è̀sigé
 child gen-M Olu “Olu’s child” moneygen-M house “house’s money /rent”
- (31c) iwin i idàdà (31d) ímòtò ò Olú
 young brother/sister gen-M Dada “Dada’s younger brother/sister” car gen-M Olu “Olu’s car”
- (31e) Ìkàjìè è Adélabú (31f) wúnnó ì idàdà
 house gen-M Adelabu “Adelabu’s house” wife gen-M Dada “Dada’s wife”

Notice that this type of genitive construction is always marked with the genitive marker, LTM. We speculate here that the genitive marker is the head as it patterns like the genitive head in Yoruba and in English, illustrated below;

32. a) John ’s book b) Family ’s vacation day [English]

- 33) iwé e Olú [Yoruba]
 book MTS Olu “Olu’s book”

The architecture is given below as (34). In this phrase however, the linear order still upheld the LCA assumption. The two arguments occur one as complement of the head i.e. the possessor and the other as the Spec of the head i.e. the possessum *nP*.



Conclusion

This paper examines pronouns in Aika and finds out that there are three types of pronouns that are grouped into: Emphatic, Unemphatic and Genitive pronouns in the language. Apart from the classification, it also describes the properties of each of the classes. The emphatic pronouns are six in numbers identified through the basic [+person], [+number] and [+gender] features. In addition to the basic features, [+emphasis] marks the difference between emphatic and unemphatic pronouns. Also, [+emphasis] determines the constituent that can be preposed as opposed to the one that cannot. We observe that [+emphasis] licenses emphatic pronoun as package-able information in the discourse category. The unemphatic pronoun specifies [-emphasis] feature, hence they cannot be preposed. The third type is the genitive pronoun. We note that there are two types of genitive structures- the Genitive Pronoun and Marked Genitive construction. The genitive pronoun heads the GenP and attracts its complement DP to Spec-GenP as its possessum. As for the marked genitive construction, GenP is headed by a Low Tone Marker (LTM). The LTM takes two internal arguments: one is in the Spec position as the possessum while the other is in the Complement position as the possessor. Finally, we observe that irrespective of the number of syllable structure a category of pronoun may have, they cannot be derived one from the other.

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¹² We borrow this term from Ajiboye (2005).

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List of Abbreviations

*- ungrammatical; [+N]- Noun feature; +emphasis: emphatic feature; 1st per: first person; 2nd per- second person; 3rd per- third person; CHL- Computational System; CM- Class Marker; Conj- Conjunction; Cont: Continuative; D⁰- Head of DP; DP- Determiner Phrase; EmpP- Emphasis Phrase; Foc⁰- Head of FocP; FocP- Focus Phrase; Gen-M- Genitive Marker; GenP-Genitive Phrase; InterP: Interrogative Phrase; LCA- Linear Correspondence Axiom; LTM- Low Tone Marker; MP- Minimalist Program; N/A- Not application; NF: Non-future; nP- light 'Noun Phrase'; NP: Noun Phrase; Num⁰: Head of NumP; NumP- Number Phrase; Perf- Perfective Aspect; PF- Phonetic Form; pl- plural; Pron- pronoun QV- Question Verb; sg- singular; Spec- Specifier; SVC- Serial Verbal Construction; TAg⁰- Head of TAgP- TAgP- Tense-Agreement Phrase; TopP- Topicalisation Phrase; vP- Light Verb Phrase; XP- Maximal Phrase; α,β,γ,π, λ- variables