

THE TONE AS A NEGATIVE MARKER IN ÌJÈSÀ SENTENCES

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ABSTRACT

Three level tones are distinguished in standard Yorùbá of which Ìjèsà is a dialect. These are Low, Mid and High tones. These tones, which also float, apart from their normal uses in Yorùbá also distinguish between positive and negative constructions of Ìjèsà. In conjunction with the vowel /e/ and /ɛ/, the tones are thus markers of negativity. These floating tones are not limited to Ìjèsà. They also occur in other Yorùbá dialects like Ifè, Ìpèsi and Èkìtì where they also mark negative constructions.

1. Introduction

Ìjèsà is a dialect of Yorùbá language, which is classified under the Kwa subgroup of Benue-Congo language family. Ìjèsà is spoken in Òsun State in the South-Western part of Nigeria. As a dialect of Yorùbá, it shares specific features with the standard dialect. These are in the form of word order, alphabetical symbols and tones, among others. Generally, a dialect has certain language specific features, which do not occur in the standard form. Specifically, the realization of negative constructions in Ìjèsà is partially different from what obtains in the standard dialect. This difference is our focus in this paper and the data used for analysis were generated from Ilesa, the political capital of Ìjèsàland.

Negative constructions in Ìjèsà bifurcate into two forms: the grammatical and the phonological. Under grammar, negative markers in standard Yorùbá are three. These are *kò*, *kì*, and *má* (Bamgbose 1967; Oke 1982). While *kò* and *kì* occur in ordinary declarative statements, *má* occurs in imperative sentences. In Ìjèsà, the imperative form *mó* which is a variant of *má* in standard Yorùbá is widely used, but *kò* and *kì* are never used (except in code-mixing involving standard Yorùbá). Instead of these, Ìjèsà uses the three tones to mark out negative constructions from positive ones. This is without prejudice to the original functions of the three level tones recognized in standard Yorùbá. In many cases, the Low and the High tone negative markers are floating tones but the Mid tone substitutes a pre-existing High tone.

In the following sections, I discuss the concept of floating tones in autosegmental phonology (section 2) and distinguish between negative marking in standard Yorùbá and Ìjèsà before I explore the occurrences of floating tones in different structures in section 3. In section 4, I compare data from Ifè, Ìpèsì and Èkitì dialects with data from Ìjèsà. Finally, some dialects are grouped according to the use of floating tones.

2. Theoretical framework

Tones have become increasingly important in current scholarly works on contour tones especially within autosegmental phonology. Autosegmental phonology has charted a new course, which differs from the traditional generative approach to phonological rules. According to Kaye (1989), the SPE Model was discarded because of its inadequacies in dealing with tonal phenomena. First, tones maintain relatively the same frequency during production in which case we have level tones. Second, contour tones do not have such stable frequency of level tones because the pitch shifts frequently during production. Since the SPE is ineffective in capturing the foregoing phenomena adequately, it might be difficult to use the same instrument to discuss floating tones which characteristically do not have segments which can be subjected to feature specifications.

Floating tones are usually products of vowel or consonant deletion, which leaves the associated tone without a segmental tier. In other words, it is a morpheme that is underlyingly only tonal. In autosegmental phonology, a tone can associate with another vowel in what is called the association convention:

When unassociated vowels and tones appear on the same side of an association line, they will be automatically associated in a one-to-one fashion radiating outward from the association line.

(Goldsmith 1990: 14)

It follows, then, that a tone will associate with a syllable. However, when a tone is unassociated, it is floating. This implies that the vowel is not phonetically realized. In this case, the floating tone associates with another adjacent vowel. This means that two or more tones can be associated with a syllable.

Conversely, there may be more vowels than tones such that after association, some vowels do not have tones associated with them on the segmental tier. In this case, the last tone on the tonal tier spreads over the rest of the vowels, which have no tone. In this paper we shall explore the phenomenon of floating tones which serve as markers of negative constructions in Ìjèsà dialect of Yorùbá.

3. Tone distinctions in standard Yorùbá and Ìjèsà dialect

Following Bamgbose (1967), there are three level tones in standard Yorùbá. These are High (´), Low (`) and Mid (unmarked) tones. These mark out each syllable and disambiguate otherwise ambiguous words like those in (1).

- (1) Ọkọ MM 'husband'
 Ọ̀kọ LL 'spear'
 Ọkọ MH 'hoe'
 Ọ̀kọ ML 'vehicle'

Tones in Ìjèsà also disambiguate ambiguous expressions but they have additional function, which is grammatical. This marks a meeting point or overlap between grammar and phonology.

In Ìjèsà, the functions of *kò* and *kì* are performed by either /ɛ/ or /e/ which have Mid or High tone. These are itemised and discussed as follows:

(A) *é* as negative marker

The vowel *é* serves as the third person singular pronoun subject in Ìjèsà negative sentences. In standard Yorùbá, this is expressed as *kò*. Compare these examples:

- | (2) | Standard Yorùbá | Ìjèsà Dialect |
|---------|--|--|
| (a) (i) | Kò lọ.
3sg:Neg. go
'S/he didn't go.' | (ii) É lọ.
3sg:Neg. go
'S/he didn't go.' |
| (b) (i) | Kò sùn
3sg:Neg. sleep
'S/he didn't sleep.' | (ii) É sùn
3sg:Neg. sleep
'S/he didn't sleep.' |

In the Ìjèsà examples, the vowel *é* serves both as the subject and negative marker. In addition, the tone on the vowel is High with an additional mild low tone after the High tone. So while the negative marker is *kò* in standard Yorùbá, it is *é* in Ìjèsà.

(B) *é* as negative marker

As in (A), *é* also serves as the third person singular subject in Ìjèsà. Consider (3):

- | (3) | Standard Yorùbá | Ìjèsà Dialect |
|---------|---|--|
| (a) (i) | Kò le.
3sg:Neg. tough
'S/he is not tough.' | (ii) É le.
3sg:Neg. tough
'S/he is not tough.' |
| (b) (i) | Kò pé.
It:Neg. complete
'It is not complete.' | (ii) É pé.
It:Neg. complete
'It's not complete.' |

In (3) *é* is the negative marker in Ìjèsà dialect. In addition in both (2) and (3), there is an additional low tone, which is, however, attached before the final tone in the sentence.

For the treatment of the habitual negative constructions, Ìjèsà uses *e/é* in place of the standard Yorùbá *ki*.

(C) *e* as negative marker

In Ìjèsà, apart from functioning as the subject of a negative construction, the vowel *e* assimilates progressively to the habitual marker. However, while the subject has a high tone, the habitual negative marker is on a mid tone. Consider these examples:

(4)	Yorùbá		Ìjèsà Dialect
(a)	(i) <i>Kì í kàwé.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. read 'S/he does not read.'	(ii)	<i>É é kàwé.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. read 'S/he does not read.'
(b)	(i) <i>Kì í jà.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. fight 'S/he does not fight.'	(ii)	<i>É é jà.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. fight 'S/he does not fight.'

The mid tone on the habitual tense marker in Ìjèsà dialect is a marker of negative construction. It substitutes the initial high tone, which occurs in the positive version of sentences as follows:

(5)	(i) <i>É é kàwé</i>	'He reads.'
	(ii) <i>É é jà</i>	'He fights.'

(D) *e* as negative marker al construction

Just like what obtains in (C) *e* also serves as negative marker for some Ìjèsà habitus. Consider (6):

(6)	Yorùbá		Ìjèsà Dialect
(a)	(i) <i>Kì í seré.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. play 'S/he does not play.'	(ii)	<i>É e siré.</i> 3sg.Neg.hab. play 'S/he does not play.'
(b)	(i) <i>Kì í so.</i> It:Neg.hab. bear fruits 'It doesn't bear fruits.'	(ii)	<i>É e so.</i> It:Neg.hab. bear fruits 'It doesn't bear fruits.'

As in (C), the vowels of the subjects in the sentences assimilate to the vowel of the habitual tense markers. The Mid tone on the habitual tense marker also marks negative.

(E) Treatment of the final tone in subjects (nouns)

When nouns occur as subjects of negative sentences, they are followed by *kò* or *ki* in Yorùbá but by a Low or Mid tone in constructions involving habitual tense in Ìjèsà dialect. Consider (7) and (8):

(7)	Yorùbá		Ìjèsà Dialect
(a)	(i) <i>Şèyí kò mò.</i> Şeyi:Neg. know 'Şeyi didn't know.'	(ii)	<i>Şèyí mò.</i> Şeyi:Neg. know 'Şeyi didn't know.'
(b)	(i) <i>Bólá kò pé dé.</i> Bólá:Neg. be: late come 'Bólá didn't come late.'	(ii)	<i>Bólá pé dé.</i> Bólá:Neg. late come 'Bólá didn't come late.'
(8)	(a)	(i) <i>Dàda kì í şişé.</i> Dàda:Neg.hab. work 'Dàda doesn't work.'	(ii) <i>Dàda a şuşé.</i> Dàda:Neg.hab. work 'Dàda doesn't work.'
	(b)	(i) <i>Tolú kì í puró.</i> Tolú:Neg.hab. tell lies 'Tolú doesn't tell lies.'	(ii) <i>Tolú u puró.</i> Tolú:Neg.hab. tell lies 'Tolú doesn't tell lies.'

Sentences in (7) contain examples of negative declarative sentences. For standard Yorùbá the negative marker is *kò*. However, for Ìjèsà, there is a floating low tone which is either adjoined to the final vowel of the subject as in (7a(ii)) or inserted before the first verb – the verb nearest to the subject. The situation is different in sentences with habitual tense marker. In Ìjèsà dialect, the tense marker assimilates to the form of the final vowel of the noun subject. Thus in (8a & b) the habitual tense marker is *a* and *u* respectively. These vowels also double as negative markers since they have mid tones. Finally, when negative constructions with or without habitual tense markers are compared in Ìjèsà dialect we realize that *é* and *é* with an additional mild low tone are used in declarative sentences. These vowels are a fusion of subject and negative aspects of sentences. In constructions with habitual tense, the (final) vowel of the subject assimilates progressively to the habitual tense marker. In addition, the new vowel produced is on a mid tone and is a fusion of both the habitual tense marker and the negative marker. This is the major distinction between declarative and habitual negative constructions.

(F) *mó* as negative marker

Perhaps the only areas of similarity between standard Yorùbá and Ìjèsà negative constructions is in imperative sentences. While Yorùbá has *má*, Ìjèsà has *mó* and both have identical tone. Consider (8c & d):

(8)

- (c) (i) *Má lọ.* (ii) *Mó lọ.* 'Don't go.'
 (d) (i) *Má jàkó.* (ii) *Mó jàkó.* 'Don't sit down.'

In both examples, the only difference is the vowel. It is /a/ in Yorùbá but /ɔ/ in Ìjèsà.

4. Rules on negative marking in Ìjèsà

In this section we shall be dealing with two types of negative marking. In the first, there is a vowel change. The vowel carries a high tone, and a floating low tone, which is a negative marker, is inserted. In the second, the floating Low tone negative marker is inserted after the final vowel of the subject or before the first syllable of the verb. Let us discuss them one after the other.

(A) High Tone Vowel Change + Floating Low Tone.

The vowels of the first and the third person singular pronouns are usually changed to /ɛ/ or /e/ with a high tone. This is followed by a Low tone, which is unassociated at the segmental tier. This Low tone marks the negative and is hereby referred to as the Low Tone Negative Marker (LTNM). This tone is isolated because it is the only marker of difference between positive and negative sentences in Ìjèsà.

Consider the following data from Ìjèsà:

- (9)
- | | Positive | | | Negative | | |
|-----|----------|-----|---------------|----------|-----|-------------------|
| (a) | Mọ | gba | 'I agree.' | Me | gba | 'I don't agree.' |
| | | | | ^ | | |
| | M | L | | H L | L | |
| (b) | O | ga. | 'It is tall.' | É | ga. | 'It is not tall.' |
| | | | | ^ | | |
| | H | M | | H L | M | |

- (10)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|--------------------|
| (a) | Mo | mi | sere. | 'I'm playing.' | Me | sere. | 'I'm not playing.' |
| | | | | | ^ | | |
| | M | H | M H | | H L | M H | |

- (b)
- | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|-----|--------------|-----|----|-----|--------------------|
| O | re | mi. | 'I like it.' | E | re | mi. | 'I don't like it.' |
| | | | | ^ | | | |
| H | L | H | | H L | L | H | |

In these examples, the vowel of the subject in each positive sentence is realized as *é* or *e* in the respective negative sentence. In addition, the Mid tone on such subjects is changed to a high tone as in (9a) and (10a). However, the high tone of the positive sentences is retained in the negative ones. In all cases of the negative sentences, the LTNM is floating and therefore associates with the final vowel of the subject. It follows too that the LTNM must be preceded by a high tone and may be followed by any tone.

A cursory look at the examples (2) and (9) in contrast with (3) and (10) show that the rule of vowel harmony is observed in the choice of *é* or *e* as Negative marker. When the vowel of the subject pronoun in negative construction is /ɛ/ the vowel of the verb must be /a/, /ɛ/, or /ɔ/ as in (11).

- (11)
- | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) | Mé ra bàtà. | 'I didn't buy shoes.' |
| (b) | Mé pa ediye. | 'I didn't kill (a) fowl.' |
| (c) | É fẹ. | 'S/he doesn't want (it).' |
| (d) | É jẹun. | 'S/he didn't eat.' |
| (e) | Mé fọṣọ. | 'I didn't wash clothes.' |
| (f) | Mé wọlé. | 'I didn't enter (the house).' |

In these examples, the vowel /ɛ/ of the subject is in harmony with the (initial) syllable of the verbs: /a/ in (11a & b), /ɛ/ in (11c & d) and /ɔ/ in (11e & f).

The second rule is that when the vowel of initial subject pronoun in a negative construction is /e/ the initial vowel of the verb must be /e/, /i/ or /ɔ/. Here are examples:

- (12)
- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) | É wé gèlè. | 'She didn't tie a headgear.' |
| (b) | É se dáadáa. | 'S/he didn't perform well.' |
| (c) | Mé ri. | 'I didn't see it/him/her.' |
| (d) | É kí mi. | 'S/he didn't greet me.' |
| (e) | É wo'jú mi. | 'S/he didn't look at my face.' |
| (f) | Mé lo asọ rẹ. | 'I didn't use his/her dress.' |

The initial vowel in the sentence is /e/ and it is in harmony with /e/ in (12a & b), /i/ in (12c & d) and /o/ in (12e & f).

The last vowel is /u/ and it co-occurs with either /ɛ/ or /e/ as (13) shows.

- (13)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|
| (a) | É puró. | 'S/he didn't tell lies.' |
| (b) | Mé bu. | 'I didn't abuse him.' |
| (c) | Mé lú'lú. | 'I didn't beat drums.' |

We should note, however, that /e/ and /u/ co-occur more regularly than /ɛ/ and /ʊ/ do. Note further that these rules do not affect vowels of nouns that function as subjects of negative sentences.

(B) Low Tone Negative Marker (LTNM) Insertion

The Low Tone Negative Marker is inserted either after the High tone vowel of the subject or before the initial vowel of the verb. In both cases, the product is a negative construction. The following are the environments in which the LTNM occurs.

(i) LTNM Insertion after the final vowel of noun subject

Nouns with Low-High tonal pattern which is followed by a Low tone monosyllabic verb have the LTNM associated with the final High tone of the noun. Here are examples:

- (14)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| (a) | Ojo ku. 'The sky rumbled.' | Ojo ku. 'The sky did not rumble.' |
| | | / ^ |
| | L H L | L H L L |
| (b) | Êfọ ra. 'The vegetables decayed.' | Êfọ ra. 'The vegetables didn't decay.' |
| | | / ^ |
| | L H L | L H L L |

The previously unassociated LTNM in (14) has to attach to the final High tone vowel of the nouns. The same process obtains when the tone on the noun changes. When nouns of Mid-High tonal pattern occur before a verb with Low tone, the LTNM is attached to the final High tone of the noun. Consider the examples in (15).

- (15)
- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (a) | Ata hu. 'The pepper (seed) germinated.' | Ata hu. 'The pepper didn't germinate.' |
| | | / ^ |
| | M H L | M H L L |
| (b) | Asọ ya. 'The cloth got torn.' | Asọ ya. 'The cloth was not torn.' |
| | | / ^ |
| | M H M | M H L M |

From these data therefore, we can conclude that the LTNM is adjoined to the final High tone vowel of the noun in subject position. We can formalize this as rule 1.

Rule 1: $\emptyset \rightarrow L / H _ \#$

(ii) LTNM Insertion before the Verb

Nouns that end with a final High tone vowel and which co-occur with a monosyllabic verb on a High Tone may have the LTNM insertion before the vowel of the verb. The initial High tone will then be changed to Low-High with the Low tone floating before the syllable and finally associated with the vowel. Consider the examples in (16).

- (16)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Positive | Negative |
| (a) | Koko pọ n. 'Cocoa is ripe.' | Koko pọ n. 'Cocoa is not ripe.' |
| | | ^ |
| | L H H | L H L H |
| (b) | Ojo wa. 'Ojo came.' | Ojo wa. 'Ojo did not come.' |
| | | ^ |
| | L H H | L H L H |

The LTNM may also be inserted before the monosyllabic verb on a High tone even when the subject noun has Mid High tone. This is exemplified in (17).

- (17)
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) | Ule wo. 'The house collapsed.' | Ule wo. 'The house didn't collapse.' |
| | | ^ |
| | M H H | M H L H |
| (b) | Aja ku. 'The dog died.' | Aja ku. 'The dog didn't die.' |
| | | ^ |
| | M H H | M H L H |

In both (16) and (17) the LTNM is inserted before the High tone of the verb and both are associated with the vowel of the verb. Furthermore, when subject Nouns of High-High tone pattern co-occur with a monosyllabic verb on a high tone, the LTNM is inserted before the High tone of the verb. As in (16) & (17) above, the Low tone is also attached to the High tone vowel of the verb as in (18).

- (18)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) | Peju ku. 'Peju died.' | Peju ku. 'Peju didn't die.' |
| | | ^ |
| | H H H | H H L H |

- (b) Kan-un tan. 'Potash is exhausted.' Kan-un tan. 'Potash is not exhausted.'
- | | |
|-------|--------|
| | ^ |
| H H H | H H LH |

From the examples (16), (17) and (18) we can have a general rule that the LTNM is inserted before the (first) high tone vowel of the verb. This is formalized as follows:

$$\text{Rule 2: } \emptyset \rightarrow L / \begin{cases} H \\ -CV \end{cases}$$

(iii) The LTNM in disyllabic/polysyllabic noun/pronouns

The LTNM can also occur in environments where the noun or verb or both have more than one or two syllables. In structures where the noun and the verb are disyllabic, the LTNM attaches to the vowel which has a High tone. If there is none, any adjacent Mid tone will be changed to a High tone and this will provide room for the LTNM to operate. Consider the following examples:

- (19)
- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) Aja jeun. 'The dog ate.' | Aja jeun. 'The dog didn't eat.' |
| \ | / ^ \ |
| M H M M | M H L M M |
- (b) Wọle sanra. 'Wole is fat.' Wọle sanra. 'Wole is not fat.'
- | | |
|---------|-----------|
| | / ^ |
| M H M M | M H L M M |
- (20)
- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) Ade kere. 'Ade is young.' | Ade kere. 'Ade is not young.' |
| | / ^ |
| M H H H | M H L H H |
- (b) Owu dudu. 'The thread is black.'
- | | |
|---------|-----------|
| | / ^ |
| L H H H | L H L H H |
- (21)
- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) Oḡeḡe gbo. 'The banana is mature.' | Oḡeḡe gbo. 'The banana is not mature.' |
| | ^ |
| L L H H | L L H L H |
- (b) Oṭita fọ. 'The wooden box split.'
- | | |
|---------|-----------|
| | ^ |
| L L H H | L L H L H |

- (22)
- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) Abula dun. 'Mixed soup is delicious.' | Abula dun. 'Mixed soup is not delicious.' |
| | / ^ |
| L L H L | L L H L L |
- (b) Agutan sun. 'The sheep slept.'
- | | |
|---------|-----------|
| | / ^ |
| L L H L | L L H L L |

The data above follow either of the two rules stated above. In (20) and (21) Rule 2 is followed while (19) and (22) follow Rule 1. In all cases, the LTNM associates with the vowel on a High tone.

As a result of the requirement that a High tone must be present before the LTNM can associate with a vowel, the pronouns which ordinarily were on Mid tones have them changed to High tones when the LTNM associates with them in negative constructions. Here are some examples.

- | | Positive | | Negative |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| (23) (a) A rule. 'We went home.' | | A rule. 'We didn't go home.' | ^ |
| | M M H | | H L M H |
| (b) In subu. 'You (plural) fell.' | | In subu. 'You didn't fall.' | ^ |
| | M M H | | H L M H |
| (c) An pao. 'They earned money.' | | An pao. 'They didn't earn money.' | ^ |
| | M M H | | H L M H |

Note that in the positive constructions, there is no verb initial or noun final High tone. So one of the Mid tones on the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the verb has to be changed to a High tone. In these environments the vowel of the pronoun is changed to the High tone which makes it possible for the LTNM to associate with the vowel in the negative constructions.

5. Negative tone in other dialects of Yorùbá

Some other dialects of Yorùbá share the use of tones to mark negativity in sentences. Such dialects include Ìpèsì, Èkìtì, and Ifè. In the following sentences, are samples of these constructions which are compared with what obtains in Ìjèsà dialect.

(i) Ìpèsì Dialect (Ondo State)

(24)

(a) Mi ya. 'I'm coming.'	Mi ya. 'I'm not coming.'
	^
M M	H L H
(b) Mo zẹrun. 'I ate.'	Mi zerun. 'I didn't eat.'
	^
M M M	H L M M

In these examples, the LTNM associates with the vowel of the pronoun. Note that the initial Mid tone has been changed to High tone and this makes it possible for LTNM to associate with it as in (24). In addition the Mid tone on the verb has been changed to a High tone even though the Low tone is not attached to it. This, however, does not seem to be general as (24b) shows.

(ii) Èkìtì Dialect (Èkìtì State)

(25)

(a) Ọ i şuşẹ. 'You work.'	Ọ i şuşẹ. 'You don't work.'
L M M H	H M M H
(b) Ọ i jere. 'You will prosper.'	Ọ i jere. 'You won't prosper.'
L M L L	H M L L

This is also similar to Ìjèsà because its initial Low tone syllable is changed from Mid to a High tone in the negative structures. It differs, however, because no Low tone is attached to the High tone vowel. Rather the sentence initial High tone marks negativity in sentences.

(iii) Ifẹ Dialect (Ọsun State)

(26)

(a) Mo mu ko ọ. 'I give you.'	Me mu ko ọ. 'I didn't give you.'
	^
M H L H	H L H L H
(b) Baba wa. 'Father came.'	Baba wa. 'Father didn't come.'
	^ ^
L H H	L M L L M

The application of the Low tone in Ifẹ dialect is more complex than in other dialects discussed above. In (26a) the LTNM is attached before the verb as in Ìjèsà. How-

ever, in (26b) the final High tone of the subject noun is changed to a mid tone and the LTNM is attached to it. This violates the rule for Ìjèsà since LTNM operates with High tone. The second part of the LTNM application in the sentences is the verb. The Low tone occurs before the High tone in conformity with Rule 2 above.

All these data show that Yorùbá dialects like Ìjèsà, Ifẹ, Èkìtì and Ìpèsì, use floating tones (among other features) to mark negative structures from positive ones. This is opposed to dialects of Ìbádàn, Ọyò and Lagos, which do not use tones for such purposes. These dialects use varieties of *kò*, *kì* and *mà* as negative markers. We can thus group the dialects into two. Those that use floating tones for negative marking and the others, which do not use tones for negative marking.

6. Conclusion

Generally, therefore, the three level tones are the major means of changing positive sentences to negative ones. In addition, vowels may be changed in some cases. In conclusion, we can collapse the two rules above into one – Rule 3:

Rule 3: $\emptyset \rightarrow L/ (\) H (\)$

This rule means that the LTNM is inserted after or before a high tone. This then is the final rule for insertion of LTNM, which is the most widely used in Ìjèsà dialect. By extension these floating tones also occur in other Yorùbá dialects, which distinguish between dialects that use tones for marking negatives and those that use grammatical words to mark negatives.

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