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VOWEL ASSIMILATION IN ÈKÌTÌ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ LANGUAGE¹

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Abstract – Vowel assimilation is a common phonological process in Yorùbá language and its numerous dialects. However, the occurrence of this process differs in the language and its dialects. It is against this backdrop that this study investigates vowel assimilation in Èkìti dialects of Yorùbá. The paper, which is basically descriptive, makes a careful comparison of the phonological process in the dialects and Standard Yorùbá language. The paper shows that unlike Standard Yorùbá, vowel assimilation is confined to certain constructions in Èkìtì dialects. The paper also posits that unlike Standard Yorùbá which employs two assimilation rules, Èkìtì dialects employ one assimilation rule. The rule is however, blocked when there need to maintain contrast.

Keywords: Èkìtì; Dialects; Yorùbá; Vowel; Assimilation.

1. Introduction

The inadequate attention paid to the study of Yorùbá dialects probably informs Awóbùlúyì's (1992, 1998) appeal to Yorùbá linguists to research more into these dialects. He believes such dialects deserve to be studied in their own right and thereby be preserved in written record for posterity. In addition to this, the linguist is of the opinion that the study of these dialects will provide some grammatical expositions that may teach us new things that would help to clarify some linguistic issues that are likely to remain hidden in Yorùbá language. Ever since the appeal, there have been a number of scholarly works on different Yorùbá dialects. This present study is also a response to Awóbùlúyì's call. The study which is basically descriptive affords us the opportunity to describe vowel assimilation as it were in Èkìtì dialects of Yorùbá language without being unduly hampered by the dictates of any phonological theories. We assume this would shed light on what is permitted and or disallowed in the dialects.

Èkìtì dialect is one of the dialects of the Central Yorùbá (CY) dialect group. According to Awóbùlúyì (1998:2), other dialects in the group are Ìjèṣà, Ìfè and Mòbà. Èkìtì dialect is spoken mainly in Èkìtì State as well as in some parts of Ondo State of Nigeria. In Ekiti State, Èkìtì dialect is spoken in fourteen local government areas of the sixteen local government areas in the State. These local governments are: Adó, Ìdó/Òsì, Gbọnyìn, Ìjerò, Oyé, Ìkòlé, Ìsè-Òrún, Èfòn-Alààyè, Emùré, Ìkéré, Ìrépòdùn/Ìfélódùn, Èkìtì West, Èkìtì East and Èkìtì South West. Each town or village in these local governments speaks a variant of the dialect. Aggregation of these variants is regarded as Èkìtì dialects.

¹ This paper is a revised version of the earlier one (Vowel Assimilation in Èkìtì) presented at the conference of the West African Language Congress (WALC) University of Ibadan, July 31-August 2, 2013.

2. Assimilation

Crystal (2008, p. 39) says "assimilation occurs when there is influence of one distinct sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become alike or identical" physically or intrinsically. Assimilation may be partial or total. It is partial when a sound segment acquires some of the phonological features of the segment that precedes or follows it. Consider (1) below:

1. iN-balance \rightarrow imbalance iN-possible \rightarrow impossible

/N/ becomes [m] before bilabial consonants due to the effects of place of articulation of the consonants. In total assimilation, the two segments have identical features as in

Where vowel /i/ now becomes identical with vowel /e/ which influenced it.

Assimilation can also be classified in terms of direction in which it works. It can be regressive, that is, the changing or conditioned segment is modified due to the influence of the conditioning segment following it. This is right to left assimilation where $v_{1+}v_{2} \rightarrow v_{2+}v_{2}$ in a word boundary. For Example:

where o v_1 takes all the features of o v_2 .

where $v_1(\acute{u})$ takes all the segmental features of $v_2(\grave{a})$ but retains its prosodic feature, in this case, the tone.

Assimilation can also be progressive, that is, left to right type, where $v_1 + v_2 \rightarrow v_1 + v_1$ in a word boundary. In this case, the conditioning vowel comes before the conditioned vowel such that there is forward movement between the assimilating and the assimilated vowel as in (4).

Oyèbádé (1998:58-62) identifies four major domains of assimilation. These are vowel-vowel assimilation; consonant-consonant assimilation, consonant-vowel assimilation and vowel-



consonant assimilation. Majorly, standard Yorùbá and its dialects operate vowel-vowel assimilation.

3. Vowel assimilation in Yorùbá

Vowel assimilation is a phonological process that has been well studied by many scholars of the language. Some of these scholars include Awóbùlúyì (1964, pp. 72-79, 1982; 1992); Bámgbóṣé (1965, pp. 160; 1990, pp. 47-50), (Oyèláràn (1971), Awóyalé (1985) and Oyèbádé (2007, pp. 227-233). Vowel assimilation is seen as the transformation of a distinct vowel to become similar to another vowel. There are two principal types of vowel assimilation that are known to occur at word boundary in Yorùbá. According to Awóbùlúyì (1982:1), they are schematized by the following two assimilation rules:

Assimilation Rule 1

$$\begin{array}{ccc} V1 + V2 & \longrightarrow & V1 + V1 \\ Assimilation Rule 2 & & & \\ V1 + V2 & \longrightarrow & V2 + V2 \end{array}$$

Assimilation Rule 1, which holds for vowel /i/ only under normal circumstances, is preservative (progressive) because it shows that the second of the two juxtaposed vowel assume the form of the first vowel. In other words, the feature of V1 perseveres until it shows up on the following segment as witnessed in (5).

```
5.
         Yorùbá
i.
         Işé
                   ìlú
                                       işéèlú
         v1
                   v2
                                         v1 v1
                                       'community work'
         work
                   town
ii.
         ęrù
                   igi
                                       erùugi
                                       'load of firewood'
         load
                   sticks
```

Assimilation rule 2 which is anticipatory (regressive) requires the first of two abutting vowels to take the form of the vowel occurring immediately to its right if the vowel stands for any oral vowel other than /i/ as shown in (6) below:

```
6.
        Yorùbá
i.
        ìyá
                                 ìyé egbé
                                  v2 v2
        mother
                union
                                 'female leader'
ii.
        ará oko
                                 aróoko
          v1 v2
                                  v2 v2
        fellow farm
                                 'a rustic fellow'
                                 owéèjè
        owó èjè
iii.
           v1 v2
                                    v2v2
        money blood
                                 'blood money'
```

4. Vowel assimilation in Ekiti dialects

In this section, we shall examine the environments typical for occurrence of vowel assimilation in Èkìtì dialects. These environments can be classified into two: (a) contiguous segment assimilation and (b) non-contiguous assimilation:

a. Contiguous Segment Assimilation

As in standard Yorùbá, this type of vowel assimilation occurs across word boundary. Èkìtì contiguous vowel assimilation typically occurs in the following environments:

- i. Grammatical elements and subject noun
- ii. Grammatical elements and subject pronoun
- iii. The greeting verb **kú** and vowel initial noun
- iv. Subject NP and negation markers
- b. Non-Contiguous Assimilation
- i. Poly-morphemic words
- ii. Numerals

4.1 Contiguous segment assimilation

4.1.1. Grammatical elements and subject noun

In Èkitì dialects, the grammatical elements **kí** 'if' and **sé** 'question marker' have their final vowels assimilated to that of the following vowel initial noun as exemplified below.

```
7.
         Ìkéré
Κí
         kí úlé wó
i.
                                     kú ulé wó
                                     'if the house collapse'
         if house collapse
ii.
         kí adé á
                                     ká adé á
         if Adé come
                                     'if Adé comes'
iii.
         kí eléde jé
                                     ké elédè jé
                                     if pig eats it
            pig eat
Sé
i.
         Sé olè ni
                                     Só olè ni?
             thief foc
                                     'is he a thief?'
ii.
                                     Şó òbo lo pè á
         Sé òbo lo pè á \rightarrow
                                      'Do you think we are fools?'
         ? monkey foc call us
iii.
         Sé adé lo
                                     Sá adé lo
         ? Adé go
                                     'Did Adé go?
```

Assimilation rule 2: $(V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2 + V_2)$ accounts for vowel assimilation in (7).

4.1.2. Grammatical elements and subject pronoun

Similar to what obtains in standard Yorùbá, the grammatical elements: **bí** 'if' and **ṅję́, ṣé** (question markers) in Èkìtì dialects have their final vowel assimilated to that of the following pronouns in (8)

```
Ìdó – a dialect in Èkìtì
8.
Βí
         bí o gbe
                                       bó o gbe
i.
         if you carry
                                       'if you carry it'
ii.
         bí a lo
                                       bá a lo
         if we go
                                       'if we go'
         bí on lo
iii.
                                       bón on lo
                                       'if they go'
         if they go
```



Like (7) above, the vowel assimilation rule in (8) is assimilation rule 2.

4.1.3 The greeting verb kú and vowel initial noun

Also, like Yorùbá, vowel assimilation occurs between the greeting verb $\mathbf{k}\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ and the initial vowel of following noun in Èkìtì dialects. The vowel of the verb is assimilated to the initial vowel of the nominal as shown in (9)

```
9.
         Qyé
i.
         kú eyé
                                      kéeye
         ? harmattan
                                       'Greeting during harmattan'
ii.
         kú òsín
                                      kóòsín
           ? afternoon
                                       'good afternooon'
iii.
         kú òúrò
                                      kóòúrò
         ? morning
                                       'good morning'
iv
         kú oriire
                                      kóoriire
          ? luck
                                      congratulations
v.
         kú ulé
                                      kúulé
         ? house
                                       greetings for somebody met at home.
```

Vowel assimilation does not occur in (9v) above for obvious reason. The vowel of the greeting verb and the initial vowel of the nominal are similar. Again, vowel assimilation rule 2 is applicable here.

4.1.4 Subject NP and negative marker

Olúmúyìwá (2006, p. 28; 2010, p. 3) says 'the negation markers in Èkìtì are **kè; i, rì; móò/móò**'. Two of these four negation markers: **kè** and **i** are relevant to our discussion on vowel assimilation in the dialects. Like in standard Yorùbá, the subject NP in Èkìtì may be a noun or pronoun.

4.1.5 The negation marker kè 'not'

When the consonant of the negativizing morpheme $\mathbf{k}\hat{\mathbf{o}}$ 'not' gets deleted in Yorùbá, its standard vowel $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$ is assimilated to the vowel of the pronoun as shown in 10.

10.	Pronoun	Negative Maker	Verb		
	n	ò	lọ	→ n 'n lọ	'I didn't go'
	mi	ò	lọ	→ mi ì lọ	'I didn't go'
	ę	ò	lọ	→ ẹ è lọ	'You didn't go'
	a	ò	lọ	→ a à lọ	'We didn't go'
	wọn	ò	lọ	→ wọn òn lọ	'They didn't go'

Assimilation rule 2 would normally have been expected in (10) above but assimilation rule 1 is applied. Any attempt to make assimilation rule 2 apply willingly in (10) would end up creating an ambiguous output string of this form:

11. O ò lo - you did not go for (10) above which is diametrically opposed to the intended meaning.

This is why the application of vowel assimilation rule 2 is blocked to the advantage of Rule 1 for semantic reasons in order to avoid or at least minimize homonymy (Awóbùluyì 1992, p. 9).

Èkìtì dialects also obligatorily delete the negator's consonant, thereby enabling its stranded vowel to assimilate to the last vowel of any preceding item as shown in 12 (a-c).

As Olúmúyìwá (2006, p. 38) says, 'Sàlàwú (1998, 2001) believes the tonal change in the last syllable of the subject NP in step III of 12(a-b) occurs because a verb phrase immediately follows it'. On the contrary, Olúmúyìwá (2010, p. 4) is also of the opinion that the tone in question is the high tone syllable (the HTS) $\acute{\mathbf{o}}$ which regularly occurs before the negation $\acute{\mathbf{k}}$ in $\grave{\mathbf{E}}$ it dialects. This is shown more clearly in (13).



Sànyá à sùn Sànyà NEG sleep 'Sànyà did not sleep' **Vowel Assimilation**

Á à sùn We NEG sleep 'We did not sleep'

Vowel assimilation does not occur in the type of construction in 12a in Yorùbá. There is no utterance like 14.

14. Sànyà ò sùn → *Sànyà à sùn/Sànyò ò sùn

However, like Standard Yorùbá, if vowel assimilation rule 2 is not blocked to the advantage of rule 1 that occurs in 12(a-b) in Èkìtì dialects, we shall have an ambiguous output string of this form.

15. Sànyé è sùn \rightarrow *é è sùn.

Just as it did in (10), the rule is actually appearing to serve the purpose of maintaining contrast by obviating homophony in the dialects.

As contained in Olúmúyìwá (2010, p. 4), \emptyset in 12(c) indicates a phonetically null third person pronoun, which shows that the subject pronoun's position is vacant. As the pronoun never shows up in its position in this utterance type in Èkìtì dialects, the HTS necessarily retains its vowel there. Only the consonant of the negator that gets deleted, and that deletion paved the way for the vowel of the HTS to assimilate to the vowel of the negator as in the derivation in (16) below.

In [NP Ø] of kè sùn Base form

| NP Ø] of è sùn Deletion

| NP Ø] of è sùn Deletion

| NP Ø] of è sùn Assimilation

| HTS NEG sleep | S'He did not sleep'

Just as we have in examples (7-9) above, vowel assimilation rule 2 accounts for assimilation in (16).

4.1.6 The negative marker i 'not'

Like **kè**, the HTS occurs regularly before the negation marker **i** in Èkìtì dialects. Witness its occurrence in (17).

17. Ìgèdè – a dialect in Èkìtì
 i. Ayò ó i sùn →
Ayò HTS NEG sleep

Ayộ ′ i sùn → Ayộ i sùn Ayộ did not sleep

ii. Sògo ó i sùn → Sogo HTS NEG sleep

Şògo ′ i sùn → Şògó i sùn 'Sògo did not sleep'

iii. [NP Ø] ó i sùn hts neg sleep [NP Ø] ó i sùn \rightarrow

[NP ø] é i sùn 'He did not sleep'

iv. [NP Ø] ó i șe olè
HTS NEG be thief

[NP \emptyset] ó i şe olè \rightarrow

[NPØ] é i șe olè 'He is not a thief'

As shown in 17 (i-ii) above, Olúmúyìwá (2010, p. 6) reports that the vowel of the HTS gets deleted with its tone subsequently transferred to the last syllable of the subject NP. However, in 17 (iii-iv) where the subject NP in the form of the third person singular subject pronoun fails to show up, the HTS retains it form. There is partial assimilation between the HTS and the negator **i**. This is shown more clearly in (18) below:

18.
$$6+i \rightarrow ei$$

This type of assimilation is known to operate extensively in Yorùbá dialects, especially the Òyó dialect, (Abímbólá and Oyèláràn 1975: 44-45) as shown in (19).

4.2 Non-contiguous assimilation

Non-Contiguous assimilation occurs in some poly-morphemic words in Èkìtì dialects. These words are words with nominalizing prefix **oní** and some numerals.

4.2.1 Nominalization with agentive morpheme Oní

In Standard Yorùbá as well in Èkìtì dialects, the vowel **o** in **oní** is assimilated to the initial oral vowel of the following noun if the initial oral vowels in question are not **i** or **u**. Hence in both Standard Yorùbá and Èkìtì dialects, we have:

20.	Yorùbá			Èkìtì (Ayédùn)			
	A	В	C	A	В	C	
	Base	Deletion	Assimilation	Base	Deletion	Assimilation	
i.	oní igi	onígi		oní igi	onígi		'owner/seller of plank'
ii.	oní ișu	oníșu		oní ușu	oníșu		'owner/seller of yam'
iii.	oní owó	olówo	olówo	oní eó	oleo	eléo	'rich person'
iv.	oní eja	oléja	ęléja	oní eja	oléja	ęléja	'owner/seller of fish'
v.	oní okò	olókò	olókò	oní okò	olókò	olókò	'driver'
vi.	oní așọ	oláșọ	aláșọ	oní așọ	oláșọ	aláșọ	'owner/seller of cloth'

In Yorùbá and many of its dialects, Èkìtì inclusive, the popular view holds that \mathbf{l} and \mathbf{n} are allophones of the same phoneme, with the former occurring before oral vowels only and the later before nasal vowels. As noticed in 20 (i-ii), the rule by which the \mathbf{o} gets assimilated to the oral vowel of the noun does not operate when the oral vowels in question are \mathbf{i} or \mathbf{u} . However, in 20 (iii-vi), the rule of vowel assimilation that often accompanies $\mathbf{l} \sim \mathbf{n}$ alternation is applied. Vowel assimilation rule 2 accounts for assimilation in 20 (iii-vi).

4.2.2 The numerals

The derivation of some numerals in Èkìtì dialects involves vowel assimilation. Consider (21):



21.							
i.	I òkan lé èwá one plus ten	\rightarrow	II òkàn l ['] èwá	\rightarrow	III òkànléwá	\rightarrow	IV òkànlówá _{eleven}
ii.	èjì lé èwà two plus ten	\rightarrow	èjì l´ èwá	\rightarrow	èjìléwá	\rightarrow	èjìlówá twelve
iii.	èta lé èwá three plus ten	\rightarrow	ệta l ['] ệwá	\rightarrow	ètàléwá	\rightarrow	ètàlówá thirteen
iv.	èrìn lé èwá four plus ten	\rightarrow	ệrùn l ['] ệwá	\rightarrow	èrìnléwá	\rightarrow	èrìnlówá fourteen

As the derivation of these four numeral shows in (21), **e** in **èwá** acquires (+ back) feature in **a** (cf. Yusuf 2007:45) to become **o**. However, in Èkìtì dialects spoken in Arámoko and Èrìò, the assimilation is full. Vowel **e** is assimilated to **a** as witnessed in (22) below.

22.							
i.	òkàn lé èwá one plus ten	\rightarrow	òkan l´ éwá	\rightarrow	òkànléwá	\rightarrow	òkànláwá eleven
ii.	èjì lé èwá two plus ten	\rightarrow	èjì l ['] èwá	\rightarrow	èjìléwá	\rightarrow	èjìláwá twelve
iii.	ệtà lé èwá three plus ten	\rightarrow	ệtà l ['] ệwá	\rightarrow	ètàléwá	\rightarrow	ètàláwá thirteen
iv.	ệrìn lé ệwá four plus ten	\rightarrow	ệrìn l´ ệwá	\rightarrow	èrìnléwá	\rightarrow	èrìnláwá fourteen

Notice that vowel assimilation rule 2 also account for assimilation in (22).

5. Other environments of assimilation

There are other environments in Yorùbá where vowel assimilation occurs but not in Èkìtì dialects. These environments are: nominal + nominal junction and in mono-morphemic words.

5.1 Nominal + Nominal

Notice that we have shown in examples (4-6) above that vowel assimilation occurs in nominal + nominal junction in Yorùbá. For example:

```
23.
                                    ilé èwé
i.
        ìlé ìwé
         house book
                                    'school'
ii.
         ètù ìbon
                                    etuùbon
         powder gun
                                    'gunpowder'
         owó èjè
                                    owéèjè
iii.
         money blood
                                    blood money
iv.
         erú owó
                                    eróowó
         slave money
                                    'subservient of money/a slavish-yes man to money'
```

Ògúnşakin (1984, p. 12-13) is of the opinion that this type of vowel assimilation occurs in Èkìtì dialect spoken in Ìkòlé as in:

24.	i.	ulé ìwé house book	\rightarrow	uléèwé 'school'
	ii.	emu ìkòlé palmwine ìkòlé	\rightarrow	emuukòlé Ìkòle's palmwine

However, new findings as contained in Olúmúyìwá (1990:72) show that vowel assimilation does not occur in nominal junction in Èkìtì dialects. More so, Ìkòlé and most Èkìtì dialects exhibit the occurrence of /u/ word-initial (cf. Olúmúyìwá 2006:107). As such, the type of vowel assimilation described in (24) is not attestable in the dialects.

There is no utterance like:

25.	i.	ulé uwe house book	\rightarrow	*uléèwé/ulúùwé
	ii.	emu ùkòlé	\rightarrow	*emuukolé
	iii.	irá òrun people heaven	\rightarrow	*iróòrun masquerade
	iv.	ùlé ejó house case	\rightarrow	*uléejó 'counrt'

5.2 Mono-Morphemic words

In some mono-morpheme words in Yorùbá, vowel assimilation may occur, as witness in (26) below.

26.	Base		Deletion		Vowel Assimilation	
	agogo	\rightarrow	aogo	\rightarrow	aago	'clock'
	orirun	\rightarrow	oirun	\rightarrow	oòrùn	'sun'
	efífiín	\rightarrow	eífín	\rightarrow	èéfín	'smoke'

The type of assimilation described (26) above is not attested in Ekiti dialects. What we have in such words in the dialects is consonant deletion. This is exemplified below:

27.	Emùré – a dialect in Èkìtì							
	Base	Deletion		Vowel Assimilation				
	agogo →	aogo	\rightarrow	*aago	'clock'			
	orìrùn →	oirùn	\rightarrow	*oorun	'sun'			
	àkíké →	àíke	\rightarrow	*àáké	'axe'			
	efífí →	èífí	\rightarrow	*èéfí	'smoke'			

6. CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this study to examine vowel assimilation in Èkìtì dialects. The paper explained the concept of assimilation and vowel assimilation in Yorùbá. It was able to show that Yorùbá employ two rules to account for vowel assimilation. Also, the paper shows the environments in which vowel assimilation occurs in Èkìtì dialects. As observed in the



study, these environments are classified into two: Contiguous segment assimilation and non-contiguous assimilation. Unlike standard Yorùbá, vowel assimilation does not occur in nominal + nominal junction and in mono-morphemic words in Èkìtì dialects. The conclusion to be drawn from the occurrence of vowel assimilation in the Èkìtì dialects shows that, unlike Standard Yorùbá which employs two vowel assimilation rules, Èkìtì dialects employ one assimilation rule: $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2 + V_2$. However, the rule is blocked whenever there is need to maintain contrast by obviating homophony in the dialects. In addition, the finding of this study have provided a baseline input for more linguistic data coming from Èkìtì dialects of Yorùbá for dialectal and dialectological studies.

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