A Comparative Analysis of Focus Construction in Yorùbá and Èbirà Languages

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ABSTRACT

Many research works have been carried out on focus construction in Yoruba and its dialects. These works include the comparison between the focus construction in Yoruba language and the dialects of Yoruba, a comparison between the focus construction in one dialect of Yoruba and the others. But no attention is paid to the comparison between the focus construction in Yorùbá and Èbirà languages. Findings reveal that despite the fact that Yorùbá and Èbirà languages belong to two different language families, there are some similarities between their focus constructions. However, the similarities between the two languages are noticed in the dialect of Yorùbá such as Oñdó dialect. This forms the basis of the discussion in this paper. The data collection relies on the informants who are the native speakers of Õkené (a sub-dialect of Èbirà language) and Oñdó dialect (a sub-dialect of Yorùbá language). The informants are between ages 65-70 and have spent their lifetime in their dialect communities. Descriptive approach is adopted for the data analysis.

Keywords: Èbirà dialect, Oñdó dialect, Comparison, Constructions, Yorùbá, Language family
1. INTRODUCTION

According to Bolinger (1965), “Focus construction is a Prosodic stress that marks the point of the sentence where there is a greatest concentration of information which the hearer would be least likely to infer without being told.” Aarts (2001) also defines focus construction as “a special construction which enables a language user to highlight a particular string in a sentences”. A good study of the above definitions reveals that giving a special attention or prominence to a particular item in a sentence is very paramount in focus construction.

Research works on focus construction in Yoruba language and its dialects have attracted the interest of the Yoruba scholars such as Awobuluyi (1978a,b, 1985, 1992), Owolabi (1981), Bamgbosé (1990), Yusuf (1989, 1995), Awoyale (1985), Ajiboye (2006), Akintoye (2006), Akintoye and Owoyele (2018). These scholars accept that two types of focus construction exist in Yoruba language; constituent and sentence focusing. Constituent focusing is generated by moving a lexical item or a phrase to the initial position after which such a lexical item or a phrase will be accompanied by a focus marker ni as exemplified below.

1. Olu je iyán Òjó
   Olu eat pounded yam Ojo
   Olu ate Ojo’s pounded yam.

Focus Construction

a. Olú ni ó je iyán Òjó
   Olú FOC RES eat pounded yam Ojo
   It was Olu that ate Ojo’s pounded yam

b. Òjó ni Olú je iyán  rè
   Ojo FOC Olu eat pounded yam RES
   It was Ojo’s pounded yam that Olu ate

c. Iyán Òjó ni Olú je
   Pounded yam Ojo FOC Olu eat
   It was Ojo’s pounded yam that Olu ate.

d. Jiże ni Olú je iyán Òjó
   Eating FOC Olu eat pounded Òjó
   The fact was that Olu ate Ojo’s pounded yam

Examples 1(a and b) above show that when NPs in subject and genitival positions are moved, the extraction positions are fill with resumptive pronouns. If a subject NP is moved, the extraction position will be filled with a subject resumptive pronoun ó as shown in 1(a). But if a genitival NP is moved, the position will be filled with genitival resumptive pronoun rè as shown in 1 (b). The reason for filling the position where Subject and genitival NPs are moved is because Yoruba language does not permit these position to be vacant so as to avoid ungrammaticality. There are lots of issues on the subject resumptive pronoun ó among
Yoruba scholars such as There are enough arguments on the status of the high tone syllable ó among the Yoruba scholars; Sonaiya (1988), Awobuluyi (1992, 2006), Oladeji (2003), Adesuyan (2006), Akanbi (2004), Olumuyiwa (2005), Oluseye (2005, 2009), Akintoye (2015). The current paper will not delve into this issue. We will treat the high tone syllable ó as a resumptive pronoun following Radford (1988) who explains that a sentence without a subject is incorrect. He bases his position on Extended Projection Principle (EPP) which does not allow the generation of a sentence without a subject.

Sentence focusing is realized when a complete sentence is given prominence by attaching a focus marker to it at the final position as demonstrated below.

2. Adé na ajá Òjó
   Ade beat dog Ojo
   Ade beat Ojo’s dog

Focus Constructions

i. Adé na ajá Òjó ni
   Ade beat dog Ojo FOC
   The fact is that Ade beat Ojo’s dog

b. Olú jí iyán je
   Olu steal pounded yam eat
   Olu stole pounded yam and ate it

i. Olú jí iyán je ni
   Olu stole pounded yam eat FOC
   The fact is that Olu stole pounded yam and ate it

Apart from researching on the focus construction in Yoruba language, research works on focus construction have gone far on its comparative analysis in Yoruba language and its dialects, comparison between the focus construction in one dialect of Yoruba and the others. However, findings show that attention has not been paid to the comparison between the focus construction in Yorúbá and Êbirà languages to discover that there are some similarities between their focus constructions despite the fact that Yorúbá and Êbirà languages belong to two different language families. For instance, both languages employ the focus marker ni for both constituent and sentence focusing. Although, focus marker in Yoruba language occupies the median position in constituent focusing while it always occupies sentence final position in both constituent and sentence focusing in Êbirà language, the operation of focus construction in Êbirà language is identical to what operates in Òndó dialect. Hence, Òndó dialect will be selected to represent Yoruba language and Ókené dialect will represent Êbirà language for our data presentation. It is believed that the two selected dialects will be the good representatives of these languages because they subsume in them. This paper compares the focus construction in Yorúbá and Êbirà languages and explains their similarities.

Data collection for this paper relies the informants who are the native speakers of Ókené (a sub-dialect of Êbirà language) and Òndó (a sub-dialect of Yorúbá language). The informants are between ages 65-70 and have spent their lifetime in the selected dialect
communities. The informants were selected because it is assumed that their speech forms have not been corrupted by English language. Descriptive approach is adopted for data analysis.

This paper is divided into four parts. Section one is the introduction. Section two contains the focus construction in Yorùbá language. Section three discusses focus construction in Èbirà language. Section four consists of the similarities between focus construction in Yorùbá and Èbirà languages.

2. FOCUS CONSTRUCTION IN YORÙBÁ LANGUAGE

Yorùbá language is grouped under Yoruboid language in Benue-Congo language family. Yorùbá native speakers are located in the Southwest of Nigeria. Yoruba speakers occupy Lagos, Èkiti, Òṣun, Ôyó, Ondo and Ògùn States. They can also be found in Kogi and Kwara States (Awobuluyi 1998). Yorùbá language is categorized into different dialectical groups by Yoruba scholars such as Adetugbo (1967), Akinkugbe (1976), Oyelaran (1977), Fresco (1970) and Awobuluyi (1998). Yorùbá language is mutually intelligible in spite of the variants in the dialectical speech forms.

As earlier noted, Yorùbá and Èbirà languages belong to two different language families but their focus constructions are similar. For instance, both languages employ the focus marker ni for both constituent and sentence focusing. Although, focus marker in Yoruba language occupies the median position in constituent focusing and sentence finally in the sentence focusing while it always occupies sentence final position in both constituent and sentence focusing in Èbirà language, the operation of focus construction in Èbirà language is identical to what operates in Ondo dialect. Hence, Ondo dialect which relevant to this paper will be selected to represent Yoruba language for our data presentation and analysis.

According to Adetugbo (1967), Akinkugbe (1976), Oyelaran (1977), Fresco (1970), Ondo dialect is grouped under Southeast Yoruba. This dialect is spoken in three sub-dialects such as Ondo, Iadanre and Ile-olujii. Ondo sub-dialects are mutually intelligible like the sub-dialects of Ekiti. For this reason, Ondo sub-dialect is selected for this paper. It is believed that this dialect will be a good representative of the other two sub-dialects.

Focus construction in Ondo is generated by movement transformation as observed in the standard dialect. The focus marker takes two forms; i and in in Ondo dialect, and both occur at the sentence final position as demonstrated below.

**Ondo Dialect**

3. Olú ógbé óma iye
   Olu HTS carry child mother
   Olu carried mother’s child

**Focus Constructions**

a. Olú ógbé óma iye í
   Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
   It was Olu that carried mother’s child

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a. Iyè Olú ó gbé ọma è í
   Mother Olu HTS carry child RSP FOC
   It was mother whose child Olu carried

b. Ọma iyè Olú ó gbé í
   Child mother Olu HTS carry FOC
   It was mother’s child that Olu carried

c. Gbigbè Olú ó gbé ọma iyè í
   Carrying Olu HTS carry child mother FOC
   The fact was that Olu carried mother’s child

4. Àìná ó dén ãn
   Aina HTS fry meat
   Aina fried meat

Focus Constructions

a. Àìná ó dén ãn ín
   Àìná HTS fry meat FOC
   It was Aina that fried meat

b. Èan Àìnà ó dén ín
   Meat Aina HTS fry FOC
   It was meat that Aina fried

c. Déndéjn Àìná ó dén ãn ín
   Frying Aina HTS fry meat FOC
   The fact was that Aina fried meat

Examples (3 and 4) above show that the focus marker í and ín are allomorphs; they occur in complementary environments. For instance, the focus marker í co-occurs with oral vowels as indicated in examples (3) above while ín co-occurs with nasal vowels as demonstrated in examples (4). Research shows that the focus marker ín is the underlying form. A close study of Yoruba language and some of the dialects of Yoruba like Ìkálè and Ìlàjè reveals that focus markers have nasal feature; ni in Yoruba language and ín in Ìkálè and Ìlàjè dialects (Sada 1988). There is evidence in Yoruba language that ni changes to li when it co-occurs with oral vowels (Owolabi 1989). One can also say that ín changes to í by assimilating the oral feature of the vowels adjacent to it as reflected in examples (3).

As noted in Yoruba language and its dialects, constituent and sentence focusing are also possible in Òhodó dialect. Constituent focus is derived by moving the lexical item which may be subject, object and genitival NP, nominal verbs and adverbials to the initial position as shown in examples (3, 4). As earlier noted in standard Yoruba dialect, when the NPs in subject and genitival positions are moved to the initial position in Òhodó dialect, their extraction positions are filled with resumptive pronouns; high tone syllable ò and è respectively as shown in examples (3a, b and 4a).
A close look at examples (3 and 4) shows that the high tone syllable ó is present in all of them. There is a difference between ó in examples (3a, 4a) and other examples. While ó in examples (3b, c, d, 4b, c) functions as a preverb (PRV) because it appears in between the subjects and the verbs Awobuluyi (1993, 2003), ó in examples (3a, 4a) functions as a subject resumptive pronoun. The reason is because when a subject NP is moved the extraction cite will be filled with a subject resumptive pronoun (Sonaiya 1988), Oluseye (2005, 2009) and Oladeji (2003). Akintoye (2015) as earlier noted is of the opinion that ó in examples (3a, 4a) is generated by merger; a fusion of the preverb ó and the resumptive ó. According to him, Yoruba language does not permit generating a sentence with a subject. When a subject NP is moved, the extraction position is filled with the subject resumptive pronoun as earlier noted. It is assumed that both ó as a preverb (PRV) and as a subject resumptive pronoun are in their right positions. But both of them are merged because they have the same form as demonstrated below.

5. Olú ó gbé òma iye
   Olu PRV carry child mother
   Olu carried mother’s child

**Focus Construction**

a. Olú ó ó gbé òma iye í → Olú ó gbé òma iye í
   Olu RSP PREV carry child mother FOC → Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
   It was Olu that carried my mother’s child

6. Àiná ó dén čan
   Aina PRV fry meat
   Aina fried meat

   b. Àiná ó ó dén čan ín → Àiná ó dén čan ín
      Àiná RSP PRV fry meat FOC → Àiná RSP fry meat FOC
      It was Aina that fried meat

3. SENTENCE FOCUSING IN OÌDÓ DIALECT

Sentence focusing involves giving prominence to a whole sentence by attaching the focus marker at the sentence final position as exemplified below.

6a. Ojú é ti ọ
   Eye Prog push 2sg
   You are shy

**Focus Construction**

i. Ojú é ti ọ in
   Eye Prog push 2sg FOC
The fact is that you are shy

b. Olú tètè wá
   Olu ADVP come
   Olu came quickly

**Focus Construction**

ii. Olú tètè wá in
   Olu ADVP come FOC
   The fact is that Olu came quickly.

A sentence focus marker in Ònàdó dialect takes *in* form. Apart from that, there is no movement transformation noticed in generating sentence focusing. This means that sentence focusing in Ònàdó dialect is also generated by adjunction.

4. **FOCUS CONSTRUCTION IN ÒBÌRÀ LANGUAGE**

Óbìrà language is spoken by the tribe that occupies the Northeast part of Kogi-State, Middle belt of Nigeria. Òbìrà speakers consist of three Local Government Areas in Kogi-State; Òkene Local Government Area with the headquarters in Òkene, Adavi Local Government Area having its headquarters in Ògàmùnà, and Òkèhí Local Government Area with the headquarters in Òbàngède (Abutu 2003, Ayibiowu 2010). Although, there are many sub-dialects with slight differences under Òbìrà language, Òbìrà language is mutually intelligible in spite of the observed differences. Òkènè dialect is selected for the data presentation and analysis in this paper because sub-dialects of Òbìrà are many and it is not possible to capture all of them in a work of this nature.

As noticed in Yorùbá language, there are two types of focus construction in Òbìrà language; constituent and sentence focusing. Focus construction in Òbìrà language is generated by adjunction and movement transformation. For instance, constituent focusing is generated by moving a lexical item or phrase to the initial position and having the focus marker *nì* attached in the sentence final position as demonstrated below.

**Ókènè Dialect**

7. Olú o si øzi øyìnì
   Olu HTS carry child mother
   Olu carried mother’s child

**Focus Constructions**

a. Olú o si øzi øyìnì nì
   Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
   It was Olu that carried the mother’s child
b. Òyinmi Olú ó si òzi ni ni
   Mother Olu HTS carry child RSP FOC
   It was mother whose child Olu carried

c. Òzi òyinmi Olú ó si ni
   Child mother Olu HTS carry FOC
   It was mother’s child that Olu carried

d. Òyisi Olú ó si òzi òyinmi ni
   Carrying Olu HTS carry child mother FOC
   The fact was that Olu carried mother’s child

Like Yoruba Language, all focused items in Èbirà language possess nominal features as revealed in the examples above. A non-nominal item like a verb is nominalized by affixing additional morpheme to the verb as shown in example 7(d). If subject and genitival NPs are moved from to the initial position, the extraction positions are filled with the resumptive pronouns. For instance, when the subject NP Olú and genitival NP Òyinmi are moved in examples 1(a, b), their extraction positions are filled with the subject resumptive pronoun ó and the genitival resumptive pronoun ni respectively.

A close study of examples (7) shows that the high tone syllable ó is present in all of them. There is a difference between ó in examples (7, b, c, d) and other example (7a). While ó in examples (7, b, c, d) is a preverb (PRV) because it appears in between the subjects and the verbs Awobuluyi (1993, 2003), ó in examples (7a) functions as a subject resumptive pronoun. The reason is because when a subject NP is moved, the extraction cite will be filled with a subject resumptive pronoun (Sonaiya 1988), Oluseye (2005, 2009) and Oladeji (2003).

Akintoye (2015) as earlier noted is of the opinion that ó in examples (7a) is generated by merger; a fusion of the preverb ó and the resumptive ó. According to him, Yoruba language does not permit generating a sentence with a subject. When a subject NP is moved, the extraction position is filled with the subject resumptive pronoun as earlier noted. Since the subject resumptive pronoun ó in Òndó dialect and Èbirà language operates the same thing, it is assumed that the explanation given to the high tone syllable ó in Òndó dialect will also be suitable for that in Èbirà language. It is assumed that both ó as a preverb (PRV) and as a subject resumptive pronoun are in their right positions. But both of them are merged because they have the same form as demonstrated below.

Èkénè Dialect

8. Olú ó si òzi òyinmi
   Olu PRV carry child mother 1sg
   Olu carried mother’s child

Focus Construction

a. Olú ó ó si òzi òyinmi ni → Olú ó si òzi òyinmi ni
   Olu RSP PREV carry child mother FOC → Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
   It was Olu that carried my mother’s child
5. SENTENCE FOCUSING IN ÈBÌRÀ LANGUAGE

Sentence focusing involves giving prominence to a whole sentence by attaching the focus marker at the sentence final position as exemplified below.

**Ôkené Dialect**

8. Olú ó rè iyá
   Olú PREV eat pounded yam
   Olu ate pounded yam

**Focus Construction**

a. Olú ó rè iyá nii
   Olú PREV eat pounded yam FOC
   The fact was that Olu ate pounded yam

9. Tádé ó si àga Òjó
   Tade PREV carry chair Ojo
   Tade carried Ojo’s chair.

   a. Tádé ó si àga Òjó nii
      Tade PREV carry chair Ojo FOC
      The fact was that Tade carried Ojo’s chair

10. Ayò ó rì òzì Adé
    Ayò PREV see child Ade
    Ayo saw Ade’s child

   a. Ayò ó rì òzì Adé nii
      Ayò PREV see child Ade FOC
      The fact was that Ayo saw Ade’s child

A sentence focus marker in Èbírà language takes *nii* form with double vowels. We can suggest that the sentence focus marker *nii* is generated by vowel lengthening. While *nì* is the focus marker, the second vowel *i* functions as an emphatic marker. This type of emphatic marker is also attested in Yoruba language but functioned as topicalization (TOP) (Bamgbose 1990). It is employed when an addressee is responding to a question from his/her speaker as demonstrated below.

11. **Question**  
    **Response**

   a. Ta ni Olú rì?
      CQW FOC Olu see
      Who did Olu see?
      Òjó nii
      Ojo TOP
      It was Ojo
b. Èwọ ní Adé yàn?
   CQW FOC Adé choose
   Which one did Ade choose?
   Òyèn nì
   DET TOP
   That one

c. Èlọ ní Ayọ san?
   CQW FOC Ayọ pay
   How much did Ayo paid?
   Ṣìlè mèji nì
   Shilling two TOP
   It was two shillings

6. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN FOCUS CONSTRUCTION IN YORÛBÁ AND ÈBÌRÀ LANGUAGES

   There are many similarities observed between the focus constructions in Òndó dialect and Èbirà language. For instance, focus markers occupy the sentence final position in the constituent and sentence focusing in Òndó dialect and Èbirà language as shown in examples (3a-d, 4a ,b, 6ai. bi, 7a-d, 8a, 9a repeated below as:

   **Òndó Dialect**

12. Olú ó gbé ọma iye
   Olu HTS carry child mother
   Olu carried mother’s child

   **Focus Constructions**

   a. Olú ó gbé ọma iye ́
      Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
      It was Olu that carried mother’s child

   b. Iyè Olú ó gbé ọma ́ ́
      Mother Olu HTS carry child RSP FOC
      It was mother whose child Olu carried

   c. Ọma iyè Olú ó gbé ́
      Child mother Olu HTS carry FOC
      It was mother’s child that Olu carried

   d. Gbigbè Olú ó gbé ọma iyè ́
      Carrying Olu HTS carry child mother FOC
      The fact was that Olu carried mother’s child

13. Àiná ó dén ẹ̀ṣan
    Aina HTS fry meat
    Aina fried meat
Focus Constructions

a. Àína ó dén čan in
    Aíná HTS fry meat FOC
    It was Aina that fried meat

b. Èan Àíìná ó dén in
    Meat Aina HTS fry FOC
    It was meat that Aina fried

14a. Ojú é tì ò
    Eye Prog push 2sg
    You are shy

Focus Construction

i. Ojú é tì ò in
   Eye Prog push 2sg FOC
   The fact is that you are shy

b. Olu têtè wá
   Olu ADVP come
   Olu came quickly

Focus Construction

i. Olu têtè wá in
   Olu ADVP come FOC
   The fact is that Olu came quickly.

Ọkẹnẹ Dialect

15. Olu ó si ozi òyinmi
    Olu HTS carry child mother
    Olu carried mother’s child

Focus Constructions

a. Olu ó si ozi òyinmi ni
   Olu RSP carry child mother FOC
   It was Olu that carried the mother’s child

b. Òyinmi Olu ó si ozi ni ni
   Mother Olu HTS carry child RSP FOC
   It was mother whose child Olu carried
c. Ozi ọyinmi Olú ọ si ni
   Child mother Olu HTS carry FOC
   It was mother’s child that Olu carried

d. Òyisi Olú ọ si ozi ọyinmi ni
   Carrying Olu HTS carry child mother FOC
   The fact was that Olu carried mother’s child

16. Olú ọ rè iyá
   Olú PREV eat pounded yam
   Olu ate pounded yam

Focus Construction

a. Olú ọ rè iyá nii
   Olú PREV eat pounded yam FOC
   The fact was that Olu ate pounded yam

17. Tádé ọ si àga Ójó
   Tade PREV carry chair Ojo
   Tade carried Ojo’s chair.

a. Tádé ọ si àga Ójó nii
   Tade PREV carry chair Ojo FOC
   The fact was that Tade carried Ojo’s chair

As noted in the examples above, focus markers in Òndó dialect and Òṣirà language take two forms. For instance, focus markers in Òndó dialect are í and ín; the focus marker í co-occurs with oral vowels as shown in examples 12(a-d). The focus marker ín has a wider spread because it co-occurs with nasal vowels in a constituent focusing and is also employed in the sentence focusing as exemplified in 13-14. Focus markers ní and níi are attested in Òṣirà language; ní occurs in sentence final position of the constituent focusing examples 15 (a-d) while the focus marker níi occurs in the sentence focusing examples 16-17.

Another thing is that high tone syllable ó occupies is present in Òndó and Òṣirà language; it occurs in between the subject and the object as indicated in examples (12a-d, 13a, b, 15a-d, 16a, 17a). As earlier explained, the function of the high tone syllable ó in examples 12 and 13, 15, 16 and 17 is different from how it functions in the other examples. For instance, the high tone syllable ó in examples 12 and 13, 15, 16 and 17 functions as preverb while it functions as a resumptive pronoun in 13(a) and 15 (a)

As noted in this paper, verb is nominalized in Òndó dialect by partial reduplication while verbs are nominalized in Òṣirà language by prefixation as demonstrated below.

Òndó Dialect

18. Olú ọ gbé qoma iye
   Olu HTS carry child mother
   Olu carried the mother’s child
a. Gbigbé Olú ó gbé ómà i
Carrying Olu HTS carry child mother FOC
The fact was that Olu carried the mother’s child

b. Déndéni Àiná ó dén ën
Frying Aina HTS fry meat FOC
The fact was that Aina fried meat

Ọkené Dialect

19a. Olú ó rè iyá
Olu HTS eat pounded yam
Olu ate pounded yam

i. Qiire Olú ó rè iyá ni
Eating Olu HTS eat pounded yam FOC
The fact was that Olu ate pounded yam.

b. Tadé ó si ìgà Òjó
Tade HTS carry chair Ojo
Tade carried Ojo’s chair

i. Qyisi Tadé ó si ìgà Òjó ni
Carrying Tade HTS carry chair Ojo FOC
The fact was that Tade carried Ojo’s chair

19c. Ayò ó ri ozi Adé
Ayo HTS see child Ade
Ayo saw Ade’s child

i. Qyiri Ayò ó ri ozi Adé ni
Seeing Ayò HTS see child Adé FOC
The fact was that Ayo saw Ade’s child

According to examples 19 (a-c) above, the prefix ori is affixed to the verb re ‘eat’ to derive orire ‘eating’ in 19a (i), oyi is affixed to the verb si ‘carry’ to derive oyiisi ‘carrying’ in 19b (i) and oyi is affixed to ri ‘see’ to generate oyiri ‘seeing’ in 19c (i).

7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper examines a comparative analysis of focus construction in Yorùbá and Èbirà languages. Although Yorùbá and Èbirà languages belong to two different language families, research shows that their focus constructions have many things in common. For instance, their constituent focusing is generated by movement transformation and the focus markers in both languages take ni form. It is also explained in this paper that although, focus marker in Èbirà
language occurs in sentence final position in both constituent and sentence focusing, this operation is similar to what operates in Ondo dialect (a dialect of Yoruba). It is also glaring that their sentence focusing is generated by adjunction; no movement transformation is discovered, but the focus markers are added in the sentence final position in two languages. In addition, high tone syllable ọ in between the subject and verb is attested in Ondo dialect and Okene dialect and it functions the same thing. This paper also explains that while nominal verb is generated by partial reduplication in Yoruba language, it is generated by prefix in Ebirà language. With a critical study of the focus constructions in Ondo dialect and Okene dialect, one can suggest that Yoruba and Ebirà languages share the similarities through the influence that Yoruba language had over Ebirà due to religious and social interaction between the two languages (Adevi 1989). The reason is that the two languages belong to two different language families as earlier noted; Yoruba belongs to Yoruboid under Benue-Congo while Ebirà belongs to Nupoid under Niger-Congo (Blench 2013).

References


