# Resumption in Yorùbá as partial Copy Deletion*

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## 1. Introduction

- Resumption: *movement* dependencies vs. *pronominal* dependencies?
  - An important issue since early generative grammar (e.g., Perlmutter 1972, Koopman 1983, Engdahl 1985, McCloskey 1990; cf. Hewett 2023 for an overview)
  - Reviving interests with **non-agreeing resumptive pronouns (NRPs)** which mismatch with their antecedents in phi-features, found widely in African languages:
    - Akan (Korsah 2016, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023)
    - Cameroon Pidgin English (Fongang 2025)
    - Dinka (van Urk 2018)
    - Igala (Martinović 2024)
    - Igbo (Georgi & Amaechi 2023)
    - Swahili (Scott 2021; cf. Liu 2024)
    - (For other languages, see Boeckx 2003, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023, Yip & Yuan 2024, Ershova 2024, among others)

- Yorùbá has been long recognized to have an NRP *ó* (3SG), at least descriptively (Pulleyblank 1986)
  - Phi-mismatches in A'-movement of subjects (e.g., *ni*-focus movement)
  - Often called High Tone Syllable (HTS) (due to Awobuluyi 1964, 1975)

(1) a. àwọn ni **ó** lọ. (number mismatch) *cf.* b. àwọn ni **wọ́n** lọ.
3PL FOC 3SG go 3PL FOC 3PL go
'It's they who went.' 'It's they who went.' (Pulleyblank 1986: 52)

- But its grammatical status has been subject to debate for years![1]
  - Non-future tense (Awobuluyi 1964, 1975; Bode 2000; Ilori 2010, Ajiboye 2024)
  - Agreement marker of INFL (Pulleyblank 1986) or Tense (Dechaine 1993)
  - Expletive (for EPP requirements) (Adesola 2005, 2010)
  - "Marker" of subject-predicate relationship (Bisang & Sonaiya 1999)

- Today's goals
  - We argue that ***ó*** should be analyzed as **movement-derived resumption** (with phi-mismatches), drawing on two novel data patterns in Yorùbá:
    - **Honorific** antecedents disallow subject NRPs
    - **Prepositional objects** (P-objects) allow NRPs and show the same honorific restrictions
  - We propose chain resolution is cyclic spell-out domain-based (van Urk 2018)
    - Leading to a **partial Copy Deletion** analysis of NRPs (cf. van Urk 2018, Scott 2021, Georgi & Amaechi 2023, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023, Jarvis 2026, i.a.)
    - With emphasis on what features are predicted to be **always matching (Case and Hon)** and to allow **mismatches (phi-features)**, which is novel to our knowledge
  - NB: Data based on Standard Yorùbá with 5 additional consultants (besides the collaborator)

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[1] We only focus on *ó* in extraction contexts. The literature has also discussed HTS in non-extraction contexts, which either docks on the final vowel of the subject or a geminated/lengthened rhyme. We set aside this use in this study (but see Appendix).

(i) Akín jẹun. (ii) Akin ín jẹun.
Akin.HTS eat. Akin HTS eat.
'Akin ate.' 'Akin ate.'

## 2. The pronominal inventories in Yorùbá

- Yorùbá pronouns have different series by their structural positions (Pulleyblank 1986)
- We will focus on the following three series today:
  - **Nominative** forms: subjects
  - **Oblique** forms ("Qualifiers"): P-objects and possessors
    - Object forms: the same as oblique form, except for 3SG, which is a lengthened vowel
  - **Strong** forms: focus positions, coordination, relative clause head noun …[2]

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | mo | a |
| 2 | o | ẹ |
| 3 | **ó** | wọ́n |

Table 1: Nominative pronouns

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | mi | wa |
| 2 | rẹ̀[3] | yín |
| 3 | **rẹ̀** | wọn |

Table 2: Oblique pronouns

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | èmi | àwa |
| 2 | ìwọ | ẹ̀yin |
| 3 | **òun** | àwọn |

Table 3: Strong pronouns

- The 3SG forms in non-extraction contexts:

(2) **ó** lọ.
3SG go
'S/he went.'

(3) Adé wà [ní ẹ̀yìn **rẹ̀**].
Ade be at back 3SG
'Ade is behind him/her.'

(4) a. **{òun/ *ó}** nikan lọ.
3SG 3SG only go
'Only s/he went.'

b. [**{òun/ *ó}** ati Adé] lọ.
3SG 3SG and Ade go
'S/he and Ade went.'

## 3. Subject resumption

- Subject pronouns are required in extraction contexts: gaps are not allowed in subject position.
  - E.g., focus movement with *ni* (cf. Awóbùlúyì 1978, Aremu 2024)[4]

(5) a. òun ni **ó** lọ.
3SG FOC 3SG go
'It's him/her who went.'

b. * òun ni _ lọ. (focus movement)
3SG FOC go
Int.: 'It's him/her who went.'

- The resumed subject pronouns may have **phi-features mismatch** with their antecedents (Pulleyblank 1986, Adesola 2005, 2010, among many others)
  - **Number** mismatch

(6) a. àwọn ni **ó** lọ. (NRP)
3PL FOC 3SG go
'It's they who went.'

*cf.* b. àwọn ni **wọ́n** lọ. (Agreeing RP=ARP)
3PL FOC 3PL go
'It's they who went.' (Pulleyblank 1986: 52)

  - **Person** mismatch

(7) a. ìwọ ni **ó** lọ.
2SG FOC 3SG go
'It is you$_{SG}$ who went.'

b. ìwọ ni **o** lọ.
2SG FOC 2SG go
'It is you$_{SG}$ who went.'

(8) a. èmi ni **ó** lọ.
1SG FOC 3SG go
'It is I who went.'

b. èmi ni **mo** lọ.
1SG FOC 1SG go
'It is I who went.'

[2] When the coordinated structure is a P-object, both strong forms and (most) oblique forms may be used.
[3] Pulleyblank reported a tonal difference: ˋrẹ̄ for 2SG and ¯rẹ̀ for 3SG, which is not found for our consultants.
[4] *ó* may be fused with focus marker *ni* as *ló*, which we do not represent here.

- Mismatch in **both number and person** features[5]

(9) Ẹ̀yin ni { **ó**/ **ẹ**} lọ.
2PL FOC 3SG 2PL go
'It is you$_{PL}$ who left.'

(10) Àwa ni Adé rò [pé {**ó**/ **a**} lọ].
1PL FOC Ade think COMP 3SG/ 1PL go
'It is us who Ade thinks left.'

➢ NRPs are found in other A'-movement dependencies: ***wh*-movement** and **relativization**[6]
- NB: lexical NP antecedents pattern with pronominal antecedents
(i.e., unlike Igbo and Atchan, *cf.* Georgi & Amaechi 2023, Jarvis 2026)

(11) àwọn wo ni **ó** rí Adé? (*wh*-movement)
3PL which FOC 3SG see Ade
'Which persons saw Ade?'

(12) àwọn akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ [ti **ó** ra ìwé] (relativization)[7]
3PL student REL 3SG buy book
'The students who bought the book'

➢ NRPs display **movement** properties
- **Long-distance** dependency is possible (see also (10))
  - For both NRP and Agreeing RP (ARP)

(13) àwọn ni Adé rò [ pé { **ó**/ **wọ́n**} lọ].
3PL FOC Ade think COMP 3SG 3PL go
'It's they who Ade thinks went.'

- **Island effects** (e.g., complex NP islands)
  - NRP is sensitive to islands, unlike ARP

(14) Àwọn akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ ni mo rí [ìwé [tí {***ó**/ **wọ́n**} rà ní ilé-ìtajà-ìwé]]. (CNPI)
PL student FOC 1SG see book REL 3SG 3PL buy at house-of-sell-book
'It is the students who I saw the books which they bought at the bookstore.'

- **Reconstruction for binding**
  - Possible with NRP, less natural with ARP

(15) a. [Akin ati Adé]$_k$ rò pé [àwọn ìwé arawọn$_k$] dára (baseline)
Akin and Ade think COMP PL book each.other good.
'Akin and Ade think each other's books are good.'
(i.e., Akin thinks Ade's books are good, and Ade thinks Akin's books are good.)

b. [àwọn ìwé arawọn$_k$] ni [Akin ati Adé]$_k$ rò pé {**ó**/ ʔ**wọ́n**} dára (focus mvt.)
PL book each.other FOC Akin and Ade think COMP 3SG 3PL good.
'It is each other's books that Akin and Ade think are good.'

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[5] For reasons unclear to us, some speakers only accept NRPs for first person plural pronoun *àwa* in long-distance extraction contexts. *ó* is unacceptable for them in (i), but acceptable for other speakers (see also Adesola 2010:75).
(i) àwa ni {%ó/ a} wá. (unacceptable to some speakers)
1PL FOC 3SG 1PL come
'It is us who came.'

[6] In A-movement dependencies like raising constructions with *dàbí* 'seem', NRPs are not allowed.
(i) Akin ati Adé dàbí pé {*ó/ wọ́n} máa jẹun
Akin and Ade seem COMP 3SG 3PL FUT eat
'Akin and Ade seem like (as if) they will eat.'

[7] Like the case of *ni*-focus movement, *ó* may be fused relative marker *tí* as *tó*.

- The use of NRPs is sensitive to **honorificity**!
  - (Standard) Yorùbá may use plural forms for a singular referent for politeness; apply to all the pronoun series (Oyetade 1995, cf. Abiọdun 1992 for the dialects of Yorùbá that allow it)

(16) *Addressing your teacher (only one)*
**ẹ** lọ.
2PL go
'You$_{HON}$ went'

(17) *Talking about your principal (only one)*
**wọ́n** lọ.
3PL go
'S/he$_{HON}$ went.'

- When the antecedent pronouns are honorific (formally plural),
  → no NRP is allowed, and ARP must be used.
  - Not reported in the Yorùbá literature and the resumption literature in general

(18) a. *Addressing your fellow classmates (multiple)*
Èyin ni **{ ó/ ẹ}** lọ.
2PL FOC 3SG 2PL go
'It is you$_{PL}$ who left.'

b. *Addressing your teacher (only one)*
Èyin ni **{ *ó/ ẹ}** lọ.
2PL FOC 3SG 2PL go
'It is you$_{HON}$ who left.'

(19) a. *Talking about your students (multiple)*
àwọn ni **{ ó/ wọ́n}** wá.
3PL FOC 3SG 3PL come
'It is them who came.'

b. *Talking about your principal (only one)*
àwọn ni **{ *ó/ wọ́n}** wá.
3PL FOC 3SG 3PL come
'It is them$_{HON}$ who came.'

## 4. P-object resumption

- Prepositions in Yorùbá are classified into two groups: (Adesola 2005)
  - The **simple** group (e.g. *sí* 'to'): takes object pronouns
    - Allows P-stranding; resumptive not allowed
  - The **complex** group (e.g., *nípa* 'about', *lẹ́yìn* 'behind'): takes oblique pronouns
    - Does not allow P-stranding; **resumptive obligatory**
    - Complex because they are bimorphemic: *ní* 'at' + N (e.g., *ipa* 'path', *ẹ̀yìn* 'back')

(20) Kí ni Olú da omi sí (***i**)?
what FOC Olu pour water to 3SG
'What did Olu pour water into?'
(Adesola 2005:90)

(21) Adé ni a sọ̀rọ̀ nípa *(**rẹ̀**).
Ade FOC we talk about 3SG
'Ade was the person who we talked about.'
(Adesola 2005:92)

- P-objects allow **NRP *rẹ̀* '3SG'**– not reported before for Yorùbá to our knowledge
  - **Number** mismatch & **Person** mismatch (see for (29) both)

(22) {àwọn/ ìwọ/ èmi} ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn **rẹ̀**]. (NRP)
3PL 2SG 1SG FOC Ade be behind 3SG
'It is {them/you$_{SG}$/me} who Ade is behind.'

(23) {a. àwọn/b. ìwọ/c. èmi} ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn {a. **wọn**/ b. **rẹ̀**/ c. **mi**}]. (ARP)
3PL 2SG 1SG FOC Ade be behind 3PL 2SG 1SG
'It is {them/you$_{SG}$/me} who Ade is behind.'

- *Rẹ̀* may also be an NRP for **possessors** (Pulleyblank 1986)
  - Consistent with the view that complex prepositions are *ní* 'at' + N

(24) Èmi ni Ṣẹ́gún rí [ìwé {**rẹ̀**/ **mi**}].
1SG FOC Segun see book 3SG/ 1SG
'It is me that Segun saw my book.' (Pulleyblank 1986:52)

➢ Also found in other movement dependencies: ***wh*-movement** and **relativization**[8]

(25) àwọn wo ni Adé wà lẹ́yìn **{rẹ̀/ wọn}**]? (*wh*-movement)
3PL which FOC Ade be behind 3SG 3PL
'Which persons are behind Ade?'

(26) àwọn akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ [tí Adé wà lẹ́yìn **{rẹ̀/ wọn}**]. (relativization)
3PL student REL Ade be behind 3SG 3PL
'The students who Ade is behind'

➢ The use of NRP *rẹ̀* also exhibits movement properties
- **Long-distance** mvt. possible

(27) àwọn ni Akín rò [pé Adé wà [lẹ́yìn **rẹ̀**]].
3PL FOC Akin think COMP Ade be behind 3SG
'It is they who Akin thinks that Ade is behind.'

- **Island effects**: NRP *rẹ̀* is banned whereas ARP is possible

(28) Àwọn akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ ni mo rí [ìwé [tí ó wà lẹ́yìn **{*rẹ̀/ wọn}**]]. (CNPI)
PL student FOC 1SG see book REL 3SG be behind 3SG 3PL
'It is the students who I saw the books that are behind them.'

➢ Importantly, we found the same restrictions as subject resumption:
**Honorific uses** of 2PL and 3PL antecedents **resist** NRP *rẹ̀*

(29) a. *Addressing your fellow classmates (multi.)*
Ẹ̀yin ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn {**rẹ̀/ yín**}].
2PL FOC Ade be behind 3SG 2PL
'It is you$_{PL}$ who Ade is behind.'

b. *Addressing your teacher (only one)*
Ẹ̀yin ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn {***rẹ̀/ yín**}].
2PL FOC Ade be behind 3SG 2PL
'It is you$_{HON}$ who Ade is behind.'

(30) a. *Talking about your students (multiple)*
Àwọn ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn {**rẹ̀/ wọn**}].
3PL FOC Ade be behind 3SG 3PL
'It is them who Ade is behind.'

b. *Talking about your principal (only one)*
Àwọn ni Adé wà [lẹ́yìn {***rẹ̀/ wọn**}].
3PL FOC Ade be behind 3SG 3PL
'It is them$_{HON}$ who Ade is behind.'

➢ Interim summary

| **Properties** | | **Subject resumption** | | **P-object resumption** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | NRP *ó* | ARP | NRP *rẹ̀* | ARP |
| Movement types | A'-mvt. (FOC, WH, REL) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | A-mvt. (*dàbí* 'seem') | ✗ | ✓ | N/A | |
| Locality | Long-distance | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | Across islands | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| Antecedent | Persons: 1, 2, 3<br>Number: SG, PL | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| | Honorific 2PL/3PL | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |

Table 4: Syntactic properties of subject and P-object resumption

[8] Some speakers (2 out of 5) preferred using the ARP, but they still reported NRP *rẹ̀* to be grammatical. We set aside the issue of individual variation and potential differences from subject NRP *ó*, where such (dis)preference is not found.

## 5. Proposal: Partial Copy Deletion

➢ Movement-derived resumption, not HTS

- We argue that the 3SG NRPs *ó* and *rẹ̀* are **resumptive pronouns** derived by **movement,**
  Rather than other possibilities proposed in the literature for HTS (tense, AGR, expletives, etc.)

- Argument #1: **Honorific** restrictions
  - *ó* and *rẹ̀* are sensitive to the information carried by the antecedents
  - ➔ **Not expletives** due to EPP requirements (*pace* Adesola 2005, 2010)
    EPP is just a structural/positional constraint, **not** tied to a **dependency**
  - ➔ **Not "marker of predication"** (*pace* Bisang & Sonaiya 1999)
    Same predicative relationship in honorific and non-honorific cases

- Argument #2: **Parallel** patterns for subjects and P-objects
  - *ó* and *rẹ̀* should receive a uniform treatment
  - ➔ **Not non-future tense** markers (*pace* Awobuluyi 1964, 1975; Bode 2000; Ilori 2010, Ajiboye 2024)
    No tense interpretation for P-objects (see also Appendix for *ó* + FUT)
  - ➔ **Not agreement markers** at Tense (*pace* Dechaine 1993)
    No INFL/T in preposition/ possessive phrases, also no honorific agreement in Yorùbá
  - ➔ **Not agreement markers** at INFL and/or Poss (*pace* Pulleyblank 1986)
    While *ó* carries a high tone like HTS (obligatory in most environments), *rẹ̀* carries a low tone, different from the possessive morpheme/ "Mid-Tone Syllable" (MTS, Ajiboye 2005, 2024)

(31) a. Igo **o** Dúdú
bottle MTS Dudu
'Dudu's bottle' (Ajiboye 2024:307)

b. ìwé **e** Délé
book MTS Dele
'Dele's book' (Ajiboye 2024:303)

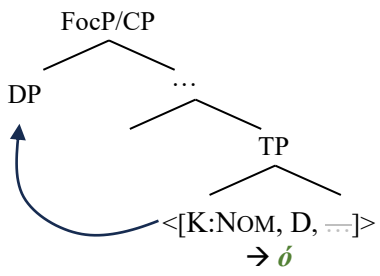
- Argument #3: Sensitivity to islands
  - ➔ **Not base-generated pronominal dependencies** (in contrast to ARP)

➢ Analytically: reduced copies of a movement chain

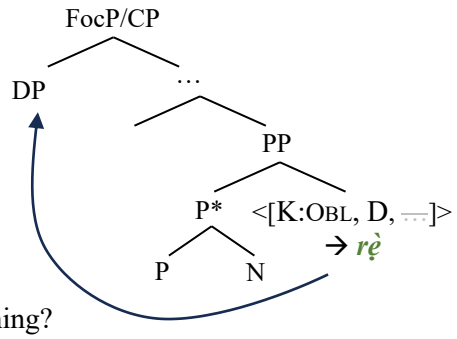
- Ingredient #1: Partial Copy Deletion on lower copies (Nunes 1995, 2004, Bošković 2001, Lee & Yip 2025, *i.a.*)
  - <AB> … <A~~B~~>
- Ingredient #2: Late Insertion of Vocabulary Items (Halle and Marantz 1993, *et seq.*)
  - 3SG as the lack of phi-features (default form)
  - [K:NOM, D, φ] ↔ other subject pronouns
    [K:NOM, D] ↔ ***ó***
  - [K:OBL, D, φ] ↔ other oblique pronouns
    [K:OBL, D] ↔ ***rẹ̀***

→ (Non-agreeing) resumption (van Urk 2018, Scott 2021, Georgi & Amaechi 2023, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023, Yip & Yuan 2024, Martinović 2024, Jarvis 2026; but see Hewett 2023 for critical reviews)

(32) Subject NRP




(33) P-object NRP




- But (i) why *partial* deletion --- and why is case matching?
  (ii) why does honorificity enforce full matching (including *phi*) resumption?

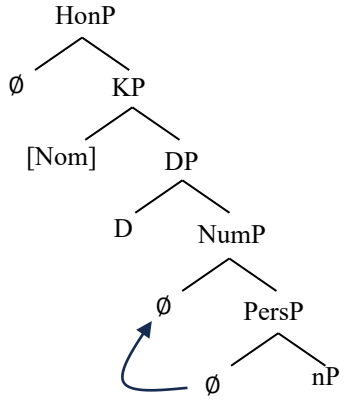
➢ Chain resolution at PF

- We adopt the view that chain resolution may be "compromised" due to **PF factors** to yield **multiple copy pronunciation** (Nunes 1995, 2004, Bošković 2001, Fanselow 2001, Bošković and Nunes 2007, Landau 2006, van Urk 2018, Lee & Yip 2025, among many others)
- #1: Phonological requirements on SpecTP and Comp of P*
- #2: An ECONOMY pressure (36)to delete copies (Landau 2006, van Urk 2018, Lee & Yip 2025)[9]

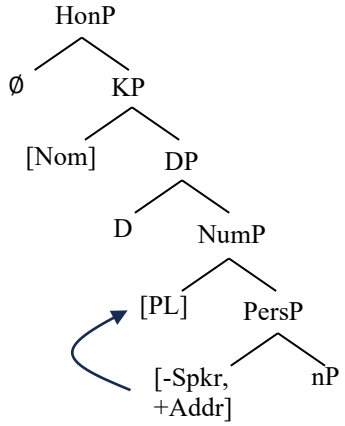
(34) SPECTP: SpecTP must be filled. (35) P*-COMP: Comp of P* must be filled.
(36) CHAIN ECONOMY: Delete as much part of the copies in a chain as possible (*cf.* Landau's P-recoverability)

- We assume that Copy Deletion must target spell-out domains, following van Urk (2018) (*pace* unrestricted deletion in Scott 2021, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023; Dynamic Deletion Domains in Georgi & Amaechi 2023)
  - What is spelt out is not the phase itself, but **phase complements** (Chomsky 2001; *pace* van Urk)
- We assume that: phi-projections PersonP and NumP are **below** D (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Kalin 2019) Case/KP (Bittner & Hale 1996) and HonP are **above** D (Alok 2020)
  - For reasons to be made clear below, we stipulate Pers-to-Num head movement (Martinović 2024) (An alternative: PersP and NumP are bundled as PhiP in Yorùbá)

(37) 3SG nominative *ó* (non-honorific)




(38) 2PL nominative *ẹ́* (non-honorific)



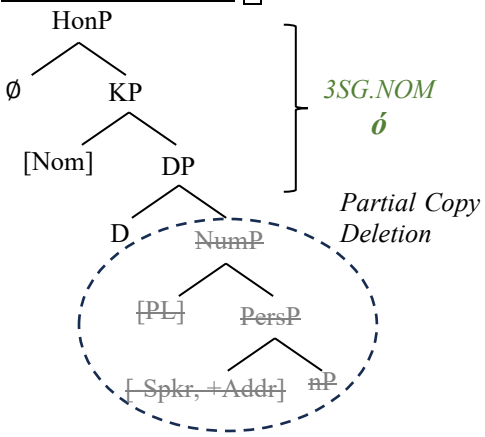

- **Case matching** NRPs
  - Full CD cannot apply as SpecTP must be filled
  - Partial CD applies to NumP, the complement of the DP phase → **full phi-mismatching**
  - KP is higher than the spell out domain and not deleted → **case matching**

(39) *Addressing your fellow classmates (multiple)*
Èyin ni { **ó**/ **ẹ́**} lọ.
2PL FOC 3SG 2PL go
'It is you$_{PL}$ who left.'

- [K:α, D, 2, PL, FOC] ↔ ***èyin***
  [K:NOM, D, 2, PL] ↔ ***ẹ́***
  [K:NOM, D] ↔ ***ó***

(α =any value)
(2: shorthand for [-Spkr, +Addr])

(40) Nominative NRPs *ó*




[9] We also need a constraint to make sure at least one copy is pronounced (cf. Lee & Yip's CHAIN-FAITHFULNESS).

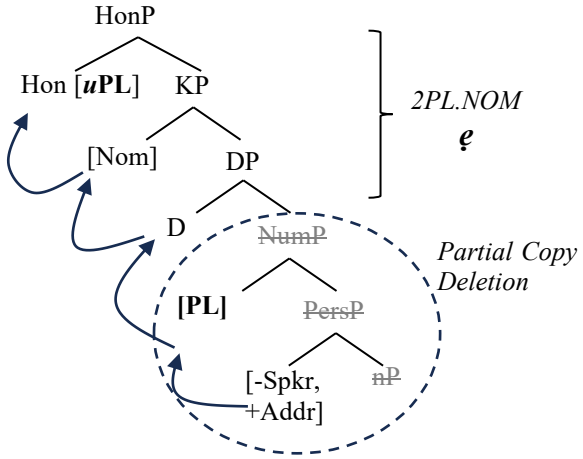
- **Honorific matching** RPs
  - To capture the fact that honorificity is marked by phi-morphology, we propose **head movement of phi-features** to HonP
  - Hon has a [*u*PL] feature → (i) attracts [PL] → **Hon-matching**, marked by PL
    (ii) singular interpretation
  - Pers independently moves up to Num, and gets "dragged" along with [PL] to above DP
    → the honorific RPs must also **match in person features**!

(41) *Addressing your teacher (only one)*
Ẹ̀yin ni { ***ó**/ **ẹ**} lọ.
2PL FOC 3SG 2PL go
'It is you$_{HON}$ who left.'

- [K:α, D, 2, PL, FOC] ↔ ***ẹ̀yin***
  [K:NOM, D, 2, PL] ↔ ***ẹ***
  [K:NOM, D] ↔ ***ó***

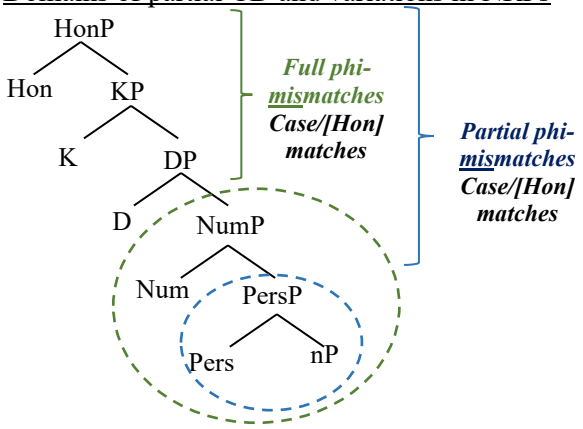
(α =any value)
(2: shorthand for [-Spkr, +Addr])

(42) Honorific agreeing RPs ***ẹ***




➢ A typological prediction[10]
- Assuming: DP is always a phase, and phi-projections have variable phasal status (van Urk 2018)
- NumP > PersP: partial CD may target PersP alone
  → Deriving partial matching RPs **in Num but not Pers**
  → Attested in Dinka (van Urk 2018) and Swahili (Scott 2021)
- HonP/KP > DP: NRPs must **not** mismatch in **case and honoricifity**
  - **Case-matching + phi-mismatching** NRPs are attested in Yorùbá
  - If honoricifity is marked by phi-morphology → **head movement** of phi-features above DP
    → **Hon-matching + phi-matching** NRPs, as in Yorùbá
  - Prediction: if honoricifity is not marked by phi-morphology but a separate form, there should be **Hon-matching + phi-mismatching** NRPs *(to be examined)*

(43) Domains of partial CD and variations in NRPs




[10] We thank Craig Sailor for inspiring us to pursue in this direction.

## 6. Conclusion

- Summary of the talk
  - We argued that ***ó*** should be analyzed as **movement-derived resumption** (with phi-mismatches), drawing on two novel data patterns in Yorùbá:
    - **Honorific** antecedents disallow subject NRPs
    - **Prepositional objects** (P-objects) allow NRPs and show the same honorific restrictions
  - We proposed chain resolution is cyclic spell-out domain-based (van Urk 2018)
    - Leading to a **partial Copy Deletion** analysis of NRPs (cf. van Urk 2018, Scott 2021, Georgi & Amaechi 2023, Yip & Ahenkorah 2023, Jarvis 2026, i.a.)
    - With emphasis on what features are predicted to be **always matching (Case and Hon)** and to allow **mismatches (phi-features)**, which is novel to our knowledge

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## Appendix: The pronominal status of *ó*

- Awobuluyi (1964, 1975): HTS is non-future tense (also Bode 2000; Ilori 2010)
  - Cannot co-occur with future tense markers *yóò* and *máa*

(44) a. Ayab**a** yóò/máa fọ ife (ní ọ̀la).
queen FUT wash cup (at tomorrow)
'The queen will wash the cup (tomorrow).'

b. Ayab**á** (*yóò/*máa) fọ ife.
queen FUT wash cup
'The queen washed the cup.'

- However, *ó* **can** co-occur with [+FUT] morphemes

(45) Akin ín dàbí pé **ó** **máa** jẹun
Akin HTS seem COMP 3SG FUT eat
'Akin seems like (as if) he will eat.'

- Moreover, *ó* **cannot** co-occur with subject pronouns in non-extraction contexts

(46) a. Mo (*ó) lọ
1SG 3SG go
'I went.'

b. Mo ni mo (*ó) lọ
1SG FOC 1SG 3SG go
'It is I who went.'

c. Mo ni *(ó) lọ
1SG FOC 3SG go
'It is I who went.'

- Complementary distribution between HTS and subject pronouns
  - In environments where HTS is expected (i.e., without negation *kò* and/or future *yóò*)
    → All subject pronouns resist HTS (see also Bisang & Sonaiya 1999)
    → All strong pronouns require HTS

(47) { mo / a / ; o / ẹ / ; ó / wọ́n } + (*HTS) + Verb

(48) { èmi / àwa/ ; ìwọ / ẹ̀yin/ ; òun / àwọn } + *(HTS) + Verb