A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGENNI LANGUAGE

Thesis submitted
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of London

by

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1969
ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a systematic description of the grammar of the Engenni language.

The first chapter gives a general introduction to the Engenni people and language and describes the linguistic model which is used for the analysis. The phonology of the language including the main features of the tonal system, and the transcription used in the thesis are outlined in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three describes the features of the largest unit in the grammar, the discourse. Chapter Four is an account of the sentence, and Chapters Five and Six an account of the clause.

Chapters Seven to Nine describe the three phrase classes. Chapter Seven is an account of the verbal phrase; Chapter Eight an account of the nominal phrase; and Chapter Nine an account of the adverbial phrase.

The major word classes are described in Chapter Ten, and the minor word classes in Chapter Eleven. Chapter Twelve contains an analysed text.

The thesis ends with a list of abbreviations, a bibliography and an index.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people for help with this thesis. I wish to express my thanks to the following especially:

To the staff of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and in particular to my supervisor, Mr. J. Carnochan for his patient guidance and helpful advice.

To my colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics from whom I received my initial training in linguistics and much subsequent help, and in particular to Dr. J. Bendor-Samuel, the Director of the British School and of the West Africa Branch of S.I.L.

To my colleague, Miss J. Clevenger, with whom I worked in Nigeria, who made valuable contributions to the early stages of the analysis.

To my Engenni friends, especially to Rev. R. Oku and to Mr. Mosaic Urugba, my language helpers in Nigeria, and to Mr. and Mrs. B. Nduka, who have helped with the later stages of the analysis in London.

To Miss E.K. Atherton, who typed the thesis.

To Almighty God for insight and perseverance without which the task would not have been completed.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Each of the chapters 1-11 is preceded by a more detailed table of contents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0. The Engenni People and Language</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Material for the Thesis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td><strong>The Phonological Analysis and Transcription</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0. Introduction</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Consonants</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Vowels</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Tone and Intonation</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Word Juncture</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Relation between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6. Other symbols</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td><strong>Beyond the Sentence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0. Introduction</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Types of Discourse</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Sentence Groupings</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Quotations in Speech Material</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>The Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.</td>
<td>Function of the Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.</td>
<td>Structure of the Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.</td>
<td>The Simple Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.</td>
<td>The Complex Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.</td>
<td>Question Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.</td>
<td>Rankshifted Sentences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 5</th>
<th>The Clause i. The Verbal Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.0.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.</td>
<td>Function of the Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.</td>
<td>Basic Structure of the Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.</td>
<td>The Verbal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.</td>
<td>The Verbal Clause, Type 1 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.</td>
<td>The Verbal Clause, Type 2 Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.</td>
<td>The Verbal Clause, Type 3 Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7.</td>
<td>Secondary Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8.</td>
<td>Relationship between Elements of the Verbal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9.</td>
<td>The Verbal Clause String</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 6</th>
<th>The Clause ii. The Nominal Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. The Marginal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 1 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 2 Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.</td>
<td>The Marginal Clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7  The Verbal Phrase  
7.0. Phrase Classes  128  
7.1. Function of the Verbal Phrase  129  
7.2. Structure of the Verbal Phrase  129  
7.3. The Simple Verbal Phrase  130  
7.4. The Compound Verbal Phrase  133  
7.5. The Verbal Phrase Margin  137  

Chapter 8  The Nominal Phrase  
8.0. Function of the Nominal Phrase  139  
8.1. Structure of the Nominal Phrase  140  
8.2. The Simple Nominal Phrase  140  
8.3. The Extended Nominal Phrase  162  

Chapter 9  The Adverbial Phrase  
9.0. Introduction  167  
9.1. Function of the Adverbial Phrase  168  
9.2. Structure of the Adverbial Phrase  168  

Chapter 10  The Word i. Major Words  
10.0. Introduction  175  
10.1. The Verb  176  
10.2. The Noun  176  
10.3. The Pronoun  176  
10.4. The Numeral  176  
10.5. The Demonstrative  176  
10.6. The Interrogative  176  
10.7. The Adverb  176  
10.8. The Preposition  176
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.0. The Engenni People and Language</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. The Material for the Thesis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles in Engenni</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. The Engenni People and Language

The Engenni people live in the Ahoadia division of the Rivers State of Nigeria. They number approximately 10,000 (1963 census). They live in villages along the west bank of the Orashi river. The most northern village is Odau, one of a group of four villages known as Joinkrama; the most southern village is Opuogbogolo. The distance between the two villages is about 33 miles. To the south of the Engenni people live the Kalibari; to the south-west the Odual and Ogbia; to the north-west the Ijaw; to the north the Oba; and to the east the Ekpeye.

The name Engenni (formerly Ngam) was first given to the clan by the Kalibari, but the meaning of the name is not known. It is now used as the name for the local administration area. Within the clan there are three subgroups. The northern group call themselves Inedua; the middle group Ogua; and the southern group Ediro. Each subgroup has its own dialect. The differences between the Inedua and Ogua dialects are very slight. The Ediro dialect differs from the other two dialects in a number of lexical items, but the grammar and phonology are almost identical.

Today the Engenni people believe that their ancestors migrated from Benin in the fifteenth century. According to Talbot (1926)1 they are a branch of the Sobo subtribe of Edo. A section of the clan moved away and settled in what is now Degema town. The Degema language2, though having a high number of cognates with Engenni, is no longer intelligible to the Engenni people.

1. For details of this and all other articles etc. referred to in this and the following chapter see Bibliography page 255.
2. Reference is made to the Degema language on page 105.
Engenni is regarded by Westcott (1962) as being a member of the Edo branch of the Kwa language group. Together with Epie and Degema it forms the subgroup Delta Edo.

The only work so far published on the Engenni language is a word list in 'Wordlists of Delta Edo' by K. Williamson and the author of this thesis. The present work is therefore, as far as is known, the first description of the Engenni language.

1.1. The Material for the Present Thesis

The dialect used for this thesis is Inedua. The principal informants were Mr. Mosaic Urugba and Rev. Reuben E. Oku, both residents of Isua, Joinkrama.

The material was gathered by the author and her colleague, Miss J. Clevenger, from June 1964 - March 1967 while they were living in Joinkrama. The work was carried out under the auspices of the West Africa Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, in co-operation with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The analysis is based on a quantity of tape-recorded text material from a variety of speakers. The tapes were transcribed, resulting in about 3,500 lines of written text. The texts include a large number of folk stories and also general narratives, descriptions, etc. The texts were then processed by a computer under the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which produced a complete alphabetised concordance of the whole corpus.

The concordance has proved very useful in the later stages of the analysis. Almost all the examples in the thesis are taken from the concordance and are labelled according to text (designated by letter).


4. This project is sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation of the USA.
and sentence number (designated by numeral). In a very few instances
the text material did not provide a sufficient number of examples of a
certain item, and data was elicited to supplement. Elicited examples
are used in the thesis solely to provide further illustrations. They
are designated by the letter E.

1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis

This analysis of Engenni is based largely on the methods and
terminology used first by J.T. Bendor-Samuel in 'A Structure-function
Description of Terena Phrases' and developed further in later articles.5
The model has been used for a full grammatical description of a language
by R. Stanford in his Ph.D. thesis 'The Bekwarra Language of Nigeria -
A Grammatical Description'.

The grammar is analysed as a series of units arranged in a
hierarchy of ranks. The hierarchy for Engenni is as follows:

discourse
sentence
clause
phrase
word
morpheme

Each unit is described in terms of its function and its
structure. The primary function of a unit is as an element of a unit
in the rank above. Units are divided into classes, and if necessary
subclasses, according to similarities of function in the rank above.

The structure of a unit is described in terms of
a. Its elements. These are units of the rank below.
b. Its syntagmatic features. These can be divided into two kinds
with different functions, though certain features (e.g. clause-
introducers) may combine both functions.

5. For details see Bibliography.
i. Features marking the relationship between units. These are termed relational features. In this description of Engenni the following are analysed as relational features:

- order of elements
- obligatory or optional status of elements
- special features at the juncture of elements
- linking elements or features
- concord between elements
- vowel harmony between elements

ii. Features marking the unit as distinct from other units, which cannot conveniently be handled as elements of the unit since they may be relevant to the whole unit or extend over more than one element of the unit. These are termed demarcative features. In the present description the following are analysed as demarcative features:

- tone patterns marking polarity, mood or tense
- particles marking question, aspect etc.
- intonation patterns marking polarity, question/statement
- special sequence of features of a lower rank, e.g. sequence of tenses
- occurrence of a certain class of unit from a rank lower than the rank immediately below, e.g. speech verb in a certain sentence type
- reduplication of certain elements in the unit, e.g. clause final phrase

The demarcative features are frequently arranged in mutually exclusive sets, e.g. there are four tone patterns marking different tenses. Where a unit has a number of demarcative features, e.g. the clause, the features form an interrelated system.

Units are divided into types, and if necessary into subtypes, according to similarities in structure. At some ranks a complex of units may function as a single unit. Such a complex is termed an extended unit (e.g. extended nominal phrase, section 8.3) or a unit string (e.g. verbal clause string, section 5.9) depending on the relationship between the units.
A unit may have a secondary function as an element of a unit at a lower rank. The unit is then termed rankshifted. The unit may function as an element of a unit at its own rank as part of the structure of its own class of units, e.g. a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of an extended nominal phrase. Or the unit may function as part of the structure of a different class of unit, e.g. a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of one type of adverbial phrase. The unit may also function as an element of a unit at a lower rank than its own, e.g. a rankshifted clause functions as an attributive element of the nominal phrase.

Any rankshifted unit may theoretically be recursive and an infinite number of degrees of recursion are theoretically possible. In practice, recursion is not widespread. Where it occurs, it will be noted and also the number of degrees of recursion.

When units are rankshifted there may be special markers or restrictions. These will be described.

An element which is a rankshifted unit may be termed a construct, e.g. the relative construct in the nominal phrase is a rankshifted clause or sentence. The term 'construct' is used when it is useful to indicate the function of the rankshifted unit.

1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles in Engenni

A characteristic feature of the Engenni language is that some particles have a wide distribution, functioning at more than one rank. The particles and their functions are summarised below.

The sequential particle ka functions at three ranks. It links the following units:

- sentences in the discourse (section 3.2.1)
- clauses in the sentence (section 4.4.1 and 4.4.2)
- phrases in the clause (nominal clause 6.1.2 and 6.2.2
  verbal clause 5.4.3)
The speech particle *ga* marks speech material at three ranks:

- discourse (section 3.2)
- sentence (section 4.2.3)
- clause (nominal clause 6.2.2)

Another feature of the particle class is that there is frequent homophony between particles and also between particles and other minor words. The particles are analysed as different morphemes because they have different syntactic functions.

*ga*
1. clause-introducer in complex sentence type 7
2. speech particle marks direct or indirect speech or reported thought at three ranks (see above)

*nà*
1. incompletive particle marks the incompletive aspect
2. negative particle marks negation in imperative and subjunctive clauses
3. reinforcer (section 11.6) functions as attributive element of the nominal and verbal phrases

*na*
1. clause-introducer in complex sentence types 8 and 9
2. construct marker marks rankshifted clause or sentence functioning as relative construct

*nì*
1. completive particle marks the completive aspect
2. definitive particle marks emphasis

*sa*
1. clause-introducer in complex sentence type 10
2. negative particle marks negation in nominal clauses
1.4. **A Note on the Translation of Examples**

For each example a literal and a free translation are provided. In the literal translation only the meaning of the verb root is given, since the English tense depends largely on the context. Similarly with nouns, the singular form is given in the literal translation since the number depends on the context except in the case of a very few nouns which have separate plural forms (section 10.2.2). In the free translation the tense of the verb and the number of the noun are given.

A hyphen between words in the literal translation indicates that the words are the translation of one Engenni word. The use of brackets in the free translation indicates that the word is required in the English translation, but is not present in the Engenni examples.

The abbreviations below are used in the literal translation because of the limitation of space. Other abbreviations used in the thesis will be explained as they are introduced, and a complete list of abbreviations is given at the end of chapter 12.

- **cpl** completive aspect
- **def** definitive particle
- **emp** emphatic particle
- **inc** incompletive aspect
- **neg** negative
- **pl** plural
- **qu** question
- **seq** sequential particle
- **sp** speech particle
## Chapter Two

### The Phonological Analysis and Transcription

#### Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.0. Introduction</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Consonants</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1. Labialisation and Palatalisation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2. Nasalisation</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Vowels</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1. Vowel Harmony System</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2. Vowel Sequences</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3. Nasalisation of Vowels</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Tone and Intonation</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1. Basic Tone System</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2. Intonation</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Word Juncture</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1. Juncture of Major Words</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2. Juncture of Particles with Major Words</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Relation between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6. Other Symbols</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.0. **Introduction**

This chapter gives an outline of the analysis of Engenni phonology, and explains the transcription used in the examples. The transcription is similar to the alphabet which has now been adopted by the Engenni people. The approach to the analysis is basically phonemic, though, as will be seen, there is some departure from orthodox phonemic theory in that some phonetic features are analysed as features of the syllable or of some larger phonological unit rather than as features of individual phonemes. The reasons for this analysis will be given later. The aim of this chapter is not to present the phonological analysis in detail, but to describe all the features of the phonology which are relevant to the grammar.

2.1. **Consonants**

The consonant phonemes are set out in tabular form below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egressive v1.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>k</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vibrant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-vowels</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Consonants

a. Labio-velars kp and gb have double articulation.
b. The symbols bh and dh indicate implosives made with ingressive glottalic air-stream.
c. The vibrant r is made with a single alveolar tap.
d. A voiceless glottal fricative h occurs in a few exclamations. It is regarded as extra-systemic as its distribution is so limited.

2.1.1. Labialisation and Palatalisation

The following consonants may occur with lip-rounding (i.e. labialisation):

- Labials: p b bh
- Labio-dentals: f v
- Alveolars: t d s
- Velars: k g

The following consonants may occur with raising of the tongue to the close front position (i.e. palatalisation):

- Labials: p b bh m
- Labio-dentals: f v
- Alveolars: t d dh s z
- Velars: k g

Labialisation and palatalisation are analysed phonologically as features of the syllable. Alternative analyses would be: i) to establish 23 extra consonant phonemes, or ii) to analyse labialisation and palatalisation as separate consonant phonemes. Neither analysis is satisfactory. The former is uneconomical in the number of phonemes, and the latter would lead to setting up consonant clusters which do not otherwise occur in the CV structure of the language¹.

¹ For a fuller discussion of this problem see P.M. Bendor-Samuel 'Phonemic Interpretation Problems in Some West African Languages'.

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1. For a fuller discussion of this problem see P.M. Bendor-Samuel 'Phonemic Interpretation Problems in Some West African Languages'.

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For ease in reading, the feature of labialisation is transcribed by a 'w' following the consonant, and the feature of palatalisation by a 'y' following the consonant. The phoneme 'w' and the feature of labialisation are thus transcribed in the same way, also the phoneme 'y' and the feature of palatalisation. 'y/w' is to be interpreted as a feature of the syllable following a consonant and as a phoneme elsewhere.

Note: The lip-rounding with back vowels and the raising of the tongue with front vowels are not analysed as a feature of the syllable but as part of the articulation of the vowel.

2.1.2. Nasalisation

The semi-vowels 'w' and 'y' occur both with and without velic closure. The position of the velum remains the same for the following vowel. Two analyses are possible: i) two extra consonant phonemes may be set up: ̃w and ̃y, or ii) the nasalisation may be analysed as a feature of the syllable. The latter analysis is adopted as it is more economical in the number of phonemes required, and parallels the features of palatalisation and labialisation of the syllable. It also reflects the phonetic data more closely since the nasalisation extends to the following vowel, i.e. throughout the syllable. The nasalisation feature is transcribed by a 'n' preceding the 'w' or 'y', e.g. nwei, nyou, to avoid the use of diacritics.

2. It is recognised that labialisation, palatalisation, nasalisation and the vowel system which is described on the following page, could also be analysed prosodically. See for example, J. Carnochan 'Igbo'.
2.2. Vowels

The vowels are set out below in tabular form according to their phonetic quality. (For the definition of 'raised' and 'lowered' see below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>Raised</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowered</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-close</td>
<td>Raised</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowered</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the southern dialect Ediro the distinction between [ɔ] and [a] has been lost.

2.2.1. Vowel Harmony System

Vowels divide into two sets:

a. Those with the tongue more raised, resulting in a closer quality (shown in the chart as 'raised');

b. Those with the tongue more lowered and slightly further back, resulting in a more open quality (shown in the chart as 'lowered').

The 'b' set predominate in the language. There is a system of vowel harmony between the two sets which extends throughout the phonological group (section 2.5). The vowels are analysed as five phonemes with the raising or lowering of the tongue position as a feature of the phonological group.

In the transcription the five phonemes are represented as 'i', 'e', 'a', 'o', 'u'. The lowered tongue feature is shown by a dot under the initial vowel of the word; the raised tongue feature by the absence of a dot. The only exception to this procedure is in words where the only vowel is [a]. This is not marked with a dot, since there is almost no possibility of confusion with [ɔ], as only one occurrence of the latter as the sole vowel in a word has been found. As [a] is very much more frequent than [ɔ], the non-marking of [a] in this special circumstance reduces very considerably the number of times the diacritic dot is needed.
In compound words (sections 10.1.1.2. and 10.2.2) the two parts are hyphenated and the vowel feature of each part is marked separately, e.g. amini-bhwoni 'soup', ony-avuramu 'woman'.

2.2.2. Vowel Sequences

Sequences of two similar or diverse vowels occur in morpheme final position. In diverse sequences either the first or second member is a close vowel. The sequences are analysed as a sequence of two vowels, as they frequently bear distinctive tones. They are transcribed as two vowels.

**Examples** (The system of transcribing tone is explained below.):

- úvil 'paddle (noun)'
- gbwë 'kill'
- ððhià 'sin (noun)'
- bhue 'keep'
- gbòu 'plant (verb)'
- pè 'very full'
- dłu 'go out'
- bhò 'lukewarm'

2.2.3. Nasalisation of Vowels

Close back vowels following a nasal consonant are nasalised. These vowels are analysed as allophones of the corresponding oral vowels, and are not marked in the transcription. Vowels are also nasalised when the syllable has a feature of nasalisation (section 2.1.2). As has already been stated, the feature of nasalisation is marked by 'n' preceding the consonant, so the vowel does not require marking.

2.3. Tone and Intonation

In this thesis the term 'tone' is used to classify the pitch on individual syllables. The pitches are arranged in certain patterns termed 'tone patterns'. The term 'intonation' is used for modifications of an entire tone pattern, e.g. raising the general pitch level while the relation of the individual tones to each other remains constant.
2.3.1. **Basic Tone System**

There are three phonetic ranges of pitch, and there are restrictions on the distribution of the top and middle ranges. Two top pitches do not occur in sequence, and a middle pitch does not occur between two low pitches within a phonological clause (section 2.5*).

The system is analysed as having two contrasting tonemes: low tone and high tone plus a feature of upstep which gives rise to the top pitch. The upstep feature is of two types: automatic upstep and the upstep toneme which are described below. The upstepped high tone arising from automatic upstep is phonologically predictable and is therefore analysed as an allotone of high tone. The upstepped high tone arising from the occurrence of the upstep toneme is not phonologically predictable.

In the examples, for ease in reading, tone is marked as follows: low tone `, high tone is unmarked, and upstepped high tone of either type *. In subsequent chapters when referring to the tone system, the term 'upstepped high tone' (abbreviated 'h') is used only for the upstep toneme, since the upstepped high tone resulting from automatic upstep is an allotone. The other two tones are abbreviated thus: low tone 'L', and high tone 'H'.

**Automatic Upstep**

A H tone is upstepped before a L tone within the phonological clause but not across phonological clause boundaries (examples i-iii). A H tone is also upstepped before a following L tone syllable which is elided (examples iv-v). (Details of the elision of vowels at word junctures will be given in section 2.4*).

**Examples:**

1. \( \text{\textdaglilama nu} \) \hspace{1cm} 'As for snail'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\cdot \\
\cdot \\
\cdot
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\cdot \\
\cdot \\
\cdot
\end{array}
\]
ii.  ómù dhemu ya sàmù  'Is the house big?'

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
\bullet & - & - & \bullet
\end{array}
\]

Compare with example iii.

iii.  ómù dhemu ya  'The house is big'

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
\bullet & - & - & \bullet
\end{array}
\]

In the following examples the absence of a pitch mark under a syllable means that the vowel of that syllable is elided.

iv.  unwónì olilo  'mouth of a bottle'

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
- & - & - & \\
\bullet & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

v.  ógbò opilopo  'back of a pig'

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
- & - & - & -
\end{array}
\]

Upstep Toneme

At certain points in the grammatical system a h tone occurs not preceding a L tone. Therefore it is necessary to introduce into the system an upstep toneme which is phonologically not predictable.

Example: The noun igbo 'net' has the tone pattern HH in isolation.
In a verbal clause string the final syllable of the nominal phrase object is upstepped before the next verb (section 5.9).

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
\bullet & - & - & \bullet
\end{array}
\]

I weave net enlarge

'mi do igbó dhemesè'  'I wove the net bigger'

The genitive construct is marked initially by a h tone (section 8.2.1.3)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\bullet & & & \\
\bullet & - & - & \\
\end{array}
\]

'nets'

(lit. plurality of nets)
Other places in the grammatical system where an upstep toneme occurs are:

a. Future tense (section 5.4.1.2)
b. Phrase junctures (section 5.8.2)
c. Juncture of nouns and some adjectives (section 8.2.1.1)
d. Juncture of nouns and some reinforcers (section 8.2.1.1)
e. The auxiliary verb na (section 11.1)
f. The preverbal i (section 11.2)

An upstepped high tone of either type has the following effect on successive tones within the phonological clause:

1. Another H tone cannot be upstepped until an actual L tone (not an elided L tone) has interposed.

Example: Compare the initial tone of ifufomu in the following:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ífufomù} \quad \text{'sandfly'} \\
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ógbò ifufomù} \quad \text{'back of a sandfly'} \\
\end{array}
\]

2. Word final L tone or tones perturb to H tone before a following H tone, except at the boundary of the nominal phrase subject and the verbal phrase where there is a special low juncture (section 5.8.2).

Examples: Compare the tone of ómu and of enuma in the following pairs:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ó kumu ómù sàmù} \\
\text{he build house qu}
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ó kumu ómu n' aklè} \\
\text{he build house in town}
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ó tou énùmà} \\
\text{he take money}
\end{array}
\quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ó tou énuna tou du ínùmù} \\
\text{he take money to buy something}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{'Did he build a house?'}\]

\[\text{'He built a house in the town'}\]

\[\text{'He took money'}\]

\[\text{'He took money to buy something'}\]
Tone Glides

Rising and falling glides occur on single syllables. A syllable with a tone glide is of the same length as a syllable with a level tone. The glides are analysed as a sequence of two tones as they result either from a juncture feature or from the compression of a tone pattern (see following page). The rising glide usually rises from L to H, unless followed by a L tone when it rises from L to h due to the operation of automatic upstep. The rising glide is marked thus *: The falling glide usually falls from h to L, unless it is preceded by a h tone when it falls from H to L, due to rule 1 as described on the previous page. The falling glide is marked thus ^: A ligature between two tones indicates that the tones form a glide e.g. HJ, HJ.

Word final falling glides occur only at the end of a phonological clause before a pause, or at the end of the nominal phrase subject when there is a low juncture with the verbal phrase (section 5.8.2). Clause medially there is a single h tone.

Examples: Compare the tone of ukwo and of kpe in the following:

mí ta úkwó
'I went to farm'
I go farm

mí ta úkwó nà 'I went to the farm'
mí ta úkwó n' udhè 'I went to farm yesterday'

mí sî kpê 'I will pay'
I will pay

mí sî kpê wò 'I will pay you'
mí sî kpê n' inyà 'I will pay today'
2.3.2. **Intonation**

In certain grammatical categories there is a rise in the overall pitch level of part or the whole of the clause, but the tone pattern (i.e. the relation between individual pitches) of the words is not altered. This change of pitch is analysed as a different intonation pattern. The start of the rise in pitch is marked in the transcription by an arrow thus ː. For the intonation pattern marking question sentences see section 4.5. and marking interrogative clauses see 5.6.

The feature of negation has a special intonation pattern in which the relation between the pitches is narrower than in the positive. This is fully described in section 5.4.1.1. It is not marked in the transcription.

2.4. **Word Juncture**

As all nouns begin and end with a vowel and all other words end with a vowel, two vowels frequently come together at word boundaries and this results in the elision of the first vowel.

2.4.1. **Juncture of Major Words**

a. **Close vowel in word final position followed by VC-**

In final syllables of minimal nouns (VCV) and verbs (CV), the vowel elides and the tone is lost, but the closeness and frontness of a front vowel is maintained in the palatalisation of the syllable. Similarly, the closeness and backness of a back vowel is maintained in the labialisation of the syllable.

**Examples:**

- धि अनामु [dhyānām] 'eat meat'
- अविः अमू [āvyām] 'a child's leg'
- दु अस्वा [dwaswa] 'buy a hoe'
- ऑ क्विः अ्यु [ōmwāh] 'a doctor's house'
With non-minimal nouns (VCV+) and verbs (CV+) the close vowel of the final syllable elides together with the tone and there is no palatalisation or labialisation of the syllable, except in the cases noted below.

Examples:

ikèni ânò [ikènånò] 'this ivory'

ùtùmù ânâmù [ùtùmánâmù] 'an animal's tail'

fòli åbhii [fòlåbhii] 'peel kola'

fùnú ådhi [fùnådhi] 'climb a palm-tree'

doì åsêni [dësëni] 'sell fish'

yôù åmîni [yòåmîni] 'bale out water'

The syllable does have a feature of palatalisation or labialisation in the following cases:

i) When the root has reduplicated syllables:

Examples:

mîmî åkànî [mîmyåkànì] 'squeeze the cloth'

ovúvu ânò [ovúvwånò] 'this light'

ii) When the syllable ri or ri is preceded by an identical vowel:

Examples:

ikîrî ånò [ikîryånò] 'this grasscutter'

åbhîrî ånò [åbhîryånò] 'this fish trap'

iii) When the syllable ru or ru is not preceded by an identical vowel.

Examples:

esâru ånò [êsârwånò] 'this mosquito'

ôgbâru ånò [ôgbårwånò] 'this fish' (one particular species)
When there is a sequence of two similar vowels in word final position the final vowel elides together with the tone.

**Examples:**

- ùvíl ìndò [ùvǐánò] 'this paddle'
- útuu ìndò [útuánò] 'this hat'
- ò rii áklè [òriákłè] 'he passed the town'
- ò duu ámînî [òduámînî] 'he bathed'
  (lit. he went out to water)

b. **Non-close vowel in word final position followed by VC-**

With all nouns and verbs the non-close vowel elides together with the tone.

**Examples:**

- òkò ẹdèl [òkèdèl] 'a man's canoe'
- diré èsèni [dirèsèni] 'cook fish'
- ò kie ámò [òkiámpò] 'she refused the child'
- zùo ámînî [zùámînî] 'draw water'

When there is a sequence of two similar vowels in word final position, both vowels elide and there is compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word. The tone of the first of the two vowels is retained.

**Examples:**

- ìmòsylì nàà ñìvùràmù [ímòsylì ñìfvùràmù] 'men and women'
- òkàa edèl [òkèedèl] 'old man'
c. Additional elision in fast speech

Usually no elision takes place before a single V morpheme, but in fast speech elision may occur with compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word. The tone of the elided vowel is retained.

Example:

\[\text{mí nà gbé o [mínàgbóo]}\] 'I am going home'

Similarly in fast speech both vowels of a vowel sequence may elide. There is compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word and the tone of the first vowel of the sequence is retained.

Examples:

\[\text{ó dèi ákà [ódàakà]}\] 'she sells corn'
\[\text{ó tòu énùmà [ótèénùmà]}\] 'she takes money'

2.4.2. Juncture of particles with major words

The vowel of the particles ga, ka, na, sa (all with H tone) elides before a V syllable but the tone is retained, giving rise to a HL glide if the following word normally begins with a L tone.

Examples:

\[\text{ó wei gá o somu ya [bweigósomuya]}\] 'He said it was all right'
\[\text{ádhé wìa ká o gbe [ádhéwìlìakògbe]}\] 'When day dawned he went home'
\[\text{èsènì ívà ná o ya [èsènìvànòya]}\] 'There are two fish'
\[\text{sá òki [sòki]}\] 'It's not him'
2.5. **Relation between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies**

The six units set up for the analysis of Engenni phonology are the following: phoneme, syllable, phonological word, phonological group, phonological clause and pause group. All the units except the phoneme and the syllable have some correlation with units in the grammatical hierarchy.

**The Phoneme**

The phoneme is the lowest unit in the hierarchy and therefore has no structure.

**The Syllable**

The syllable has the structure V or CV (except in loan words) and bears one or two tones.

**The Phonological Word**

This is the unit bearing the tone pattern. It normally correlates with the grammatical word, but it may be larger, e.g. the preverbal and head or heads of the verbal phrase are one phonological word (sections 7.4.1. and 11.2).

**The Phonological Group**

This is the span of the operation of vowel harmony. Various groupings within the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.1.) and also the nominal phrase subject or object with a pronoun head and the verbal phrase (section 5.8.1) constitute phonological groups.

**The Phonological Clause**

This is the unit within which there is elision and automatic upstep. It is bounded by potential pause. It usually correlates with the grammatical clause, but may be smaller, e.g. when there is a pause before an adverbial phrase in a long clause.
The Pause Group

This is the largest unit of phonological significance. It is characterized by a final intonation with lessening of voice intensity, lowering of the pitch of the final tone and a final pause. It correlates with the grammatical sentence (section 4.0).

2.6. Other Symbols used in the Transcription

Where it is relevant to the description the following additional symbols are used in the examples:

/ phrase boundary
// or , clause boundary
/// or . sentence boundary
[ ] rankshifted unit
CHAPTER THREE

BEYOND THE SENTENCE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

3.0. Introduction 33
3.1. Types of Discourse 33
3.2. Sentence Groupings 34
  3.2.1. Linking of Sentences by Particles 34
  3.2.2. Linking of Sentences by Repetition 35
3.3. Quotations in Speech Material 37
  3.3.1. Different Types of Quotation 37
  3.3.2. Occurrence of Different Types of Quotation 40
CHAPTER THREE
BEYOND THE SENTENCE

3.0. Introduction

It has been found that there are certain features of the language which are relevant to a unit larger than the sentence. These features are the grouping of sentences and the occurrence of different pronouns in speech material. Therefore a rank above the sentence has been set up. This is termed discourse. It is probable that an intermediate rank between discourse and sentence may later be needed, but at present there is insufficient evidence to support this.

3.1. Types of Discourse

In the corpus of material which has been studied there are two types of discourse: folk story and general narrative. The folk story is marked initially and finally by one of the following forms:

**Initial Forms**

Note: The symbol ~ indicates nasalisation; the symbol : indicates a lengthened vowel.

- Narrator: o: ì: (A call to gain people's attention)
- Audience: ò: (The response)

or

- Narrator: gba isyi ākà 'I am going to tell a story'
- Audience: wùrådha 'Go right ahead'

**Final forms**

- Narrator: ākà i gba isyi 'So the story has been told'
- Audience: wùrådha nwàse 'It has indeed'

The general narrative is distinguished by the absence of any of the above forms.
3.2. **Sentence Groupings**

Within the discourse sentences may be linked by a particle or by repetition of part of the sentence. Both these means are analysed as relational features of the discourse.

3.2.1. **Linking of Sentences by Particles**

There are two particles which link a sentence to the previous sentence: *ka* sequential particle, and *ga* speech particle.

a. *ka* occurs sentence initially.

**Examples:**

1. /// i na gbe /// ka anamù ná ení dú ...  
   they inc go-home seq meat which we buy  
   'They were on their way home. And the meat we bought ...'

   AC037

2. /// onyɔswá wei akáu tu yi /// ka akáu i tu yi ///  
   name say tree should- come seq tree so bend come bend  
   'Onyoswa told the cotton-tree to bend over. And the cotton-tree bent over.'

   DE051

**Note:** The end of a sentence is determined by the intonation,  
(section 4.0), not by the occurrence of a following *ka*.

b. *ga* occurs sentence initially and marks the continuation of speech material.

**Example:**

3. /// alibó ná ko òbhúenètì ga adégi /// òbhúenètì me ///  
   tortoise go-to call lion sp name lion answer  
   *ga* mi yia, mí yì i ko wò, bhù na nyoni kù me òbhó ///  
   sp I come I come to call you, you go-to put give me hand  
   'Tortoise went to call lion (shouting) "Adégi". Lion answered.  
   (Tortoise continued) "Here I am, I have come to call you to help me".'

   CZ017
3.2.2. **Linking of Sentences by Repetition**

The final clause of the previous sentence is re-echoed as the initial clause of the next sentence. The 'echo' clause has the following characteristics:

a. The verbal phrase is the same (i.e. has the same head element(s)) as in the preceding clause;

b. The tense is restricted to either the descriptive or the referential (see section 5.4.1.2 for details of tenses);

c. The subject is either the same as in the preceding clause or is a pronoun;

d. The object is either the same as in the preceding clause or is a pronoun.

In the examples given below the characteristics of each 'echo' clause are given following the example.

**Examples:**

4. /// èsyña kà èsay na onu-amò nà wuru dhe èdhyòmu na
   tou bho kye i /// ò wurù dhe èdhyòmu na tou
   take keep give her she make finish food the
take keep give her she make finish food the take
   bho kye i /// kà èguà nà pa /// i nà bidha ///
   keep give her seq they inc start they inc travel

'So the mother prepared some food and kept it for her. When she had prepared the food and kept it for her, they set off.' FB032/33

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. descriptive tense
   c. pronoun subject d. same object
5. /// mí nil dhé ñnwí // ká mí sali dhé utomu ///
I wipe finish body seq I comb finish head
mí sall dhe ñtômè // ká mí tou awo nyoni ///
I comb finish head seq I take shirt put-on
'I dried myself and combed my hair. When I had combed my hair
I put my shirt on.' AA004/5

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. descriptive tense
c. same subject d. same object

6. /// ávuramu nà me /// ávuramu na me /// álìbò ná
woman the agree woman the agree tortoise go-to
wa dhou ëdhýómu n'azyi yì ///
search take food in bush come
'The woman agreed. When the woman agreed, tortoise went to get
food in the bush and came back.' FA013/4

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. referential tense
c. same subject

7. /// álìbò koni koni kpûrûkpûrû tuu // ká ànlí álìbò
tortoise fight fight struggling till seq wife of-tortoise
sye dhe áki na sisè /// ó syè sisè //
remove finish pot the put-down she remove put-down
ká álìbò wu dhé nì ///
seq tortoise die finish cpl
'Tortoise struggled and struggled and squirmed till his wife took
the pot right off (the fire) and put it down. When she took it
off and put it down, tortoise was dead.' DF027/8

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. descriptive tense
c. pronoun subject d. zero form of object

Note: For the occurrence of the zero allomorph of the object pronoun
see section 10.3.2.
3.3. Quotations in Speech Material

3.3.1. Different types of Quotation

Within speech material there are three types of quotation which are termed a) indirect, b) semi-direct, c) direct. The difference between the types lies in the person of the pronoun used when referring to the speaker and the addressee.

a. In indirect quotations only 3rd person pronouns are used, the reflexive form being used when the speaker is the subject or object, and the non-reflexive form when the addressee is the subject or object, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit that he (tortoise) saw him (rabbit), or that he (rabbit) saw him (tortoise). (See section 10.3.2. for a fuller treatment of reflexive pronouns.)

b. In semi-direct quotations 3rd person pronouns are used for the speaker, but 2nd person for the addressee, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit that he (tortoise) saw you, or that you saw him (tortoise).

c. In direct quotations 1st and 2nd person pronouns are used for both the speaker and the addressee, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit, "I saw you" or "You saw me".

The pronouns used are summarised in the chart below.

Note: r = reflexive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of quotation</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Other Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>3r</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-indirect</td>
<td>3r</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chart gives the actual forms which occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>bhu</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd reflex</td>
<td>oki</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd non-reflex</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>i / egua</td>
<td>egua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The type of quotation is also characterised by the occurrence of imperative or subjunctive clauses. Imperative clauses occur only in direct quotations (example 12). In semi-indirect and indirect quotations commands are in the subjunctive mood (examples 8 and 11). For details of imperative and subjunctive clauses see sections 5.5. and 5.4.1.a.

Examples of different types of quotation

a. Indirect quotations

8. ̀̃l̓ifì̀bò ̀ȋ wȏ kye omini el ̓ ga ̀ţ̓ yilà
   3rd
   tortoise so say give child his sp he should-stand
   'Tortoise told his child to stand up.'  BC035

9. édei ̀ákà wei ga ̀ḅkȋ ma moni el
   3rd-r 3rd
   man that say sp he yet not-see him
   'That man said that he had not seen him yet.'  CG050

b. Semi-indirect quotations

10. ̀ọ̄  wȇȋ ga ... ̀ ḅhú tou el ka ̀ḅkȋ nàà ̀iwọ́ wụ zà
    2nd 3rd 3rd-r 2nd
    he say sp you should- him seq he and you should- stay
take
    die
    'He said, "Look after me and I will die with you."

or 'He said that she should look after him and he would die with her.'  FD031

Note: For the occurrence of iwo in this construction see section 8.2.2, page 156.

11. ... ̀ g̣á̀ ̀ḅkȋ wȏ kȗ wȏ ga ̀ḅhụ́ nà ̀ gbá̀ ̀ à
    3rd-r 2nd 2nd
    sp he not-say give you that you neg tell qu
    '(He said) "Did I not tell you that you weren't to tell anyone?"

or '(He said) hadn't he told him that he wasn't to tell anyone.'  DE048
c. Direct quotations

12. i wo kyé i gá zà kòri èni n'ènì

they say give him sp stay wait-for us at here

'They said to him, "Wait for us here".' CG018

13. áviramu nà i wei gá mi moni wó nì

woman the so say sp I see you cpl

'Then the woman said, "I have seen you".' EA034

Degrees of Quotation

Two degrees of quotation are distinguished: first degree quotation follows a speech verb (see section 4.4.3.1), e.g. he said that he would go; second degree quotation is a quotation within a quotation, e.g. he answered that his friend said that he would go. First degree quotations may be direct, indirect or semi-indirect. Second degree quotations are either direct or indirect. No example has yet occurred of a semi-indirect second degree quotation. There is no difference in the use of pronouns in first or second degree quotations. Pronouns thus refer to the original speaker and not to the speaker just mentioned. For examples of first degree quotations see nos. 8-13 above. Examples of second degree quotations are given below.

Direct second degree quotation

14. ò wei gá èhényì ga bhú wèlà ga mí kpe wò à

she say sp aha sp you say sp I should- you qu pay

'She said, "Aha, you say that I should pay you, do you?".' DK009
Indirect second degree quotation

15. ₂ bhue-enía wo kye omi ni el ga ... ₂ sì tûkpa
   he then say give child his sp he will scold
   (tortoise)
kye ₁. ₂ sì wëli ga ₂ wûrù iyo
  give him he will say sp it does what
  (tort.) (pig)

   ná ìkì kpe i osà
   that he not-pay him due

'He (tortoise) then said to his child that he (pig) would scold him
and would ask why he (tortoise) did not pay the money he owed.'

3.3.2. Occurrence of Different Types of Quotation

If the speaker is 1st or 2nd person all quotations are direct.
If the speaker is 3rd person all three types of quotation occur. The
majority are indirect. In the opening section of a discourse when, as
it were, the stage is being set, all quotations are indirect. Then as
the story moves towards the climax there is usually a change to semi-
indirect quotations. Direct quotations are used as follows:

a. At the climax of a story there is a change to direct quotations.
For example, in the text 'The Marriage of Tortoise' the quotations in
the first half of the story are all indirect. Then at the first climax
when tortoise accuses the wolf of telling lies about him, the quotations
are direct. As the story proceeds, the quotations revert to being
indirect. Then at the end of the story when the tortoise proves his
point, his speech is all in direct quotation.

1. See K.L. Pike: Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics applied to
Example from an early section of the discourse - indirect quotations

16. ̀ànàmù nà ̣ ga ... ̀lì̀bò ká ̀̀ànyá ̣ ̀ ... ̀èsyìl ́ nós ḅ́kì ́
animal the sp tortoise seq horse his place that he
si tà ká ̀lìbò kpó ni él tà nì tà nì
will go seq tortoise carry cpl him go cpi go cpl

'The animal said ... that tortoise was his horse ... that wherever he wanted to go tortoise would carry him on his back.' CC025

Example from the climax of the discourse - direct quotations

17. ̀lì̀bò ́i ko ̀ànàmù nà. ́born ́me. ́gá ̀bhù ́tou ́me
 tortoise so call animal the he reply sp you take me
ḅ́hile ḅ́hué ni ilò, ́gá ḅ́hù wè shortly, ́gá mé ka ̀̀ànyá wò
tell keep cpl lie sp you say sp I seq horse your
́gá ́ùtò̀nù ́òkòmù ́á.
sp head word qu

'So tortoise called the animal. He answered. (Tortoise went on) "Is it true that you have told a lie about me and said that I am your horse?".'

b. When the speech material is a dialogue, the speeches of one character are usually direct quotations and those of the other character are indirect. The character using direct quotations can be said to be in focus, and the other character out of focus. An example occurs in the text 'A Man is Saved by His Dogs' where in the conversation between a wicked fairy and a farmer called Onyoswa, the wicked fairy is in focus and her speeches are usually direct quotations, whereas the farmer is out of focus and his speeches are indirect.
Example (Direct quotations are underlined)

18. ká ó í weí édël ná bhù ya n'ázyí nà, ó zá ni seq she so way man who you are in bush the it stay cpl
na bhù nyine yi, mí i gúru wo ḫyôni.
that you not-appear come, I so will-cast you spell

ká ónyôswá ná í weí gá ó nò gúrâ seq name the so say sp she neg cast

'So she (the fairy) said, "You who are in the bush, if you do not come out I will cast a spell on you". Onyoswa replied that she should not cast a spell.'

DE009

c. Questions are usually direct quotations and the reply is indirect.

Examples

19. ènàmú ná í bhine amo nà, gá ènô bhù yi í wa iyo.
animal the so ask child the sp now you come to look-for what
gà ìkí yi í wa owutumu ëí.
sp she come to look-for rat her

'So the animal asked the child, "What have you come to look for now?" (The child replied) that she had come to look for her rat.'

EE027

20. gá bhù moni adégi na ó dei ñyâni n'uvomu swai nà.
sp you see name who he fell enter in inside pond the
ò me gá ìkí moni adégi.
he reply sp he see name

'(He said), "Have you seen Adegí who fell into the pond?" He replied that he had seen Adegí.'

CJ032
# CHAPTER FOUR

## THE SENTENCE

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.0. Introduction</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Function of the Sentence</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Structure of the Sentence</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. The Simple Sentence</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4. The Complex Sentence</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.1. Type 1, Sequential</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.2. Type 2, Co-ordinate</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.3. Type 3, Report</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.3.1. Type 3A, Speech Verb in Initial Clause</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.3.2. Type 3B, Non-speech Verb in Initial Clause</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.4. Type 4, Cumulative</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.5. Type 5, Immediate Action</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.6. Type 6, Anterior</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.7. Type 7, Purpose</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.8. Type 8, Result</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.8.1. Type 8A, No Restriction on Initial Clause</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.8.2. Type 8B, Restriction on Initial Clause</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.9. Type 9, Impersonal Construction</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.10. Type 10, Unfulfilled Condition</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5. Question Sentences</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6. Rankshifted Sentences</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FOUR
THE SENTENCE

4.0. Introduction

The sentence consists of one clause or a group of clauses which are syntactically related. Except when it is functioning as a rank-shifted unit, it has a final intonation which is characterised by a lessening of voice intensity and a drop in the pitch of the final syllable whether this is a H or a L tone syllable. A final H tone is lower than previous H tones but still higher than previous L tones. A final L tone is lower than previous L tones.

Examples: (Note: The absence of a pitch mark under a syllable means the vowel of that syllable is elided.)

àlíbò ta ómu opilopo 'Tortoise went to pig's house'

ènì nó te edà 'We went and reached the river'

The final intonation is analysed as a demarcative feature which distinguishes the sentence from other units. In the following two examples it is the occurrence of the final intonation, marked by a full stop, that distinguishes two sentences linked by the particle ka (section 3.2.1) from two clauses linked by ka forming one sentence (complex sentence type 2, section 4.4.2). In example 21 the pitch of the sentence final H tone syllable ta is lower than that of the previous syllable le , whereas in example 22 the pitch of the clause final H tone syllable -ma is the same as that of the previous syllable vu-.
Examples:

21. /// ògwe ony-ško nà a le ta. /// ká à tou

pl messenger the also again go seq they take

óvuramu na tou òu ta obl. ///

woman the take lead go name-of-hut

'The messengers also went again. Then the girl was taken to the 'obi'."

22. /// ò vuma // ká ò vye. ///

he vex seq he cry

'He got angry and cried.'

4.1. Function of the Sentence

The primary function of the sentence is as an element of the discourse. Because no intermediate rank between the sentence and the discourse has been set up sentences are not divided into classes.

Some sentences also have a secondary function as a rankshifted unit as follows:

a. as a single clause (section 4.6);

b. as a complete nominal phrase (section 8.2.7);

c. as an attributive element to the head of the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.2).

Such sentences are limited to those composed of declarative clauses only. If an intermediate rank between the discourse and the sentence were set up, such sentences would probably form a separate class in contrast to imperative and question sentences.
4.2. **Structure of the Sentence**

A sentence may be simple, consisting of one clause, or complex consisting of two or more clauses in certain relationships to each other. These relationships are marked by syntagmatic features, i.e. by certain particles or clause-introducers, or by a certain sequence of polarity/mood/tense/aspect features of the clause. Polarity, mood, tense and aspect are analysed as features of the clause but the sequence of the features is a demarcative feature of some sentence types. (In other sentence types the sequence of features is not restricted.) Each set of clause features is summarised here and will be described in detail in chapter 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polarity / Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Primary Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive indicative</td>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>Compleitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative indicative</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>Incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive subjunctive</td>
<td>Referential</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative subjunctive</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different types of complex sentences are set up according to the different relationships between the clauses and the way in which the relationship is marked. Usually the relationship is between two individual clauses, but in types 1 and 9 it is between a group of clauses and an individual clause. In some multi-clause sentences there are a number of different relationships between the component clauses. This complexity is handled by means of rankshifting (or embedding) of sentences within sentences (section 4.6). This method of analysis has the advantage of making clear the layering of the relationships.

Question sentences (i.e. those requiring a yes/no answer) are analysed as being derived from non-question sentences and are described in section 4.5.
4.3. The Simple Sentence

A simple sentence consists of a single clause of any type: verbal, nominal or marginal. In verbal clauses there is no restriction on the polarity, mood, tense or aspect of the clause.

Examples:

23. /// ðdwèl bhue-enía kunu ei ///
   fear then hold him
   'Then he was afraid.'
   (verbal declarative clause)

24. /// lè wei ///
   again say
   'Say it again.'
   (verbal imperative clause)

25. /// bsyísyl ká ìnil ãfènì ///
   kougal seq name of-bird
   'The name of the bird is a kougal.'
   (nominal declarative clause)

26. /// ìnò ka ídhii ínùmù wò ì ///
   this seq kind of-thing which qu
   'What sort of thing is this?'
   (nominal interrogative clause)

27. /// dyèl ///
   'Fancy that!'
   (marginal clause)
4.4. **The Complex Sentence**

A complex sentence consists of two or more clauses in a certain relationship to each other. Ten types are distinguished according to differences in relationship and the way in which the relationship is marked. In types 1-5 the clauses are in a co-ordinate relationship; in types 6-10 the second clause is subordinate to the first. The subordinate or dependent clause is marked by a clause-introducer. Clauses in a co-ordinate relationship do not have a clause-introducer. The sequential particle *ka* in types 1 and 2 and the speech particle *ga* in type 3 are not analysed as clause-introducers since they may also occur initially in an independent sentence (section 3.2.1) or medially in a nominal clause (section 6.1.2) where in both cases they link elements in a co-ordinate relationship.

4.4.1. **The Complex Sentence, Type 1 Sequential**

This is the favourite type of complex sentence and consists of two or more nominal clauses (abbreviated 'NomCl') or verbal clauses (abbreviated 'VbCl') optionally linked by the sequential particle *ka*. The maximum number of clauses which have so far occurred is five. Nominal and verbal clauses stand to each other in a number of different relationships.

In the case of a nominal clause the relationship is determined by its position in the sentence, whether it is sentence initial, medial or final. An **initial** nominal clause indicates the time or the location of the action of the final clause (examples 28, 29), or gives the theme of the sentence. The theme may be the same as the nominal phrase subject in a following clause (example 30), or as the nominal phrase object (example 31), or may be independent of either (examples 32, 33). A **medial** nominal clause gives the time or the location of the action of the final clause. Both sentence initial and sentence medial nominal clauses are of type 1A (declarative, simple, section 6.1.1). A **final** nominal clause has a predicative function and may be of any type (examples, 31, 34, 37, 39).
Examples:

28. /// ñgà ëscou eî // ìbùrà nà nyine ///
   NomCl (location)  VbCl
   edge of-ear his    blood inc appear

   'On the tip of his ear blood was appearing.' AT089

29. /// inyà nà nù // kà àví sì ñ té me ìbhò ///
   NomCl (time)       VbCl
   today the very seq one will reach me hand

   'This very day I will get one.' AT125

30. /// imólo ùtòmà ësaa ìnò nà // ìdhyómu ëgùn ì dhl fidho ///
    NomCl (theme)     VbCl
    friends head three this the food their they eat unite

    'These three friends, they eat their food together.' CG002

31. /// ìwài nà nù /// inyà kà ìdhè na ì sì wài ìwài nà ///
    NomCl (theme)   NomCl (predicative)
    pond the very today seq day that they will bail pond the

    'This very pond, today is the day that they will bail it.' EGO17

32. /// ikàì ëdàì /// ìkpòrí ìgbá nwènè za n' ìtò ///
    NomCl (theme)     VbCl
    old people        hair of-cheek flow stay on ground

    'The old men, their beards flowed to the ground.' EGO07
33. // èglà utódmù ēsaa nà // ó ma sóli dhòu edèi
   NomCl (theme)     VbCl
   they head three the she yet not-choose take man

na ó si dhùmò ///
   VbCl (cont.)
   who she will marry

'Regarding the three of them, she has not yet chosen the man she will marry.'

34. // èglìì na 'afé sì tá omu ìlìbo nà //
   NomCl (time)
   time that fish will go house of-tortoise the

ká ùgbúswèi ivà ná ó ya ///
   NomCl (predicative)
   seq road two which it is

'When fish goes to tortoise's house, he comes to crossroads.'
   (lit. there are two roads)

In the case of verbal clauses the relationship between them is determined partly by the position in the sentence whether final or non-final, and partly by the sequence of polarity/mood/tense/aspect features between the non-final and the final clauses. Different sequences indicate varying semantic meanings of the non-final clause as follows:

a. **Specific time sequence** ('if/when' referring to non-future time)

   Non-final clauses are in the descriptive or referential tense.

   The final clause is in the aorist tense, negative indicative, or imperative. Examples 35-39.
b. **Future time sequence** ('if/when' referring to future time)

Non-final clauses are in the aorist tense with the completive aspect.

The final clause is in the future tense, negative indicative, imperative, or descriptive tense with the incompletive aspect. Examples 40-46.

c. **General time sequence** ('whenever')

Non-final clauses are in the aorist tense with the completive aspect.

The final clause is in the aorist tense or negative indicative. Examples 47-49.

Two of the above sequences may occur in one sentence. See example 50. In the examples below the following abbreviations are used:

- **aor**: aorist tense
- **des**: descriptive tense
- **imp**: imperative
- **ind**: indicative
- **pos**: positive
- **ref**: referential tense
- **cpl**: completive aspect
- **fut**: future tense
- **inc**: incompletive aspect
- **neg**: negative
- **subj**: subjunctive

**Examples:**

a. **Specific time sequence**

35. /// ọ fùnù ᵒMari // ọ nùa kpoukpou // amó-mosyi nà

VbCls:des VbCls:des

he climb enter he knock tap-tap boy the

le yi í nyinè ///

VbCl:aor

again come to appear

'When he climbed up and knocked tap-tap, the boy reappeared.'

EH080
36. /// àni álîbô dire padhe èdhyá nà // ò tou

VbCl:ref
wife of-tortoise cook finish yam the she take

okikì na sisè ///
VbCl:aor
pot the put-down

'When tortoise's wife had cooked the yam, she put the pot down.'

37. /// ò funù dhyâni n' èkùnù // ka ò gènì ta //

VbCl:des VbCl:des
he climb enter on top seq he look go

ka sá ànàmù ///
NomCl (predicative)
seq not animal

'When he came to the surface and had a look (he saw that) it was not an animal.'

38. /// bhú nà kòni èsylobhò // nà mwàsi //

VbCl:des VbCl:neg
you inc fight wrestling do-not fear

'When you are wrestling, do not be afraid.'

39. /// o nó te // o za tíu // ègllè gbé rlià //

VbCl:des VbCl:des VbCl:des
he go-to reach it stay till time small pass

ká òkò èsyía nà // ká ôkóri bô ôkóri bô nà ò ya ///
NomCl (locative) NomCl (predicative)
seq pit there the seq maggot big maggot big that it is

'When he arrived, after a little time there were big maggots in the pit.'
Future time sequence

40. /// ọ té ni udhè // ka mí nà yia ///
   VbCl:aor cpl VbCl: des inc
   it reach cpl tomorrow seq I inc come

'When tomorrow arrives, I will come.'

41. /// opilopó yi ọ i te ni // ka ọ i moni moni el ///
   VbCl:aor cpl VbCl: neg ind
   pig come to reach cpl seq he again not-see not-see him

'When pig came he would not see him.'

42. /// bhù ná te ni ësýià nà // ká wùrù kàrèse
   VbCl:aor cpl
   you go-to reach cpl place the seq do strengthen
   bhùe ikpèbi wò ///
   VbCl:pos imp
   keep heart your

'When you reach the place, keep confident.'

43. /// ọ zá ni ënìà // gwá bidha ///
   VbCl:aor cpl VbCl: pos imp
   it stay cpl thus right! walk

'If so, come on, get going!'

44. /// mí ta // ka mi wúru iyo n' omù à ///
   VbCl: neg ind VbCl: fut
   I not-go seq I will-do what in house qu

'If I don't go, what shall I do in the house?'
45. /// bhú wuru ènìà ènìà // edeí sì gbéi wò ///
   VbCl:.neg ind          VbCl:fit
   you not-do thus thus man will kill you

   'If you do not keep doing this, you will be killed.'  DH046

46. /// bhú nyoni ọnwi n' ènò nà // ăswèi wó ná te akiè ///
   VbCl:neg ind          VbCl:neg ind
   you not-put body at now the life your the not-reach town

   'If you do not try now, you will not reach the town alive.'  DB043

   c. General time sequence

47. /// à ná bhine nì okpa nà // ọ tou imémini ei
   VbCl:aor cpl          VbCl:aor
   they go-to dance cpl dance the he take children his
   bhue n' èkpà ///
   keep in bag

   'Whenever there was a dance, he kept his children in a bag.'  ECO15

48. /// àdhè wií ní // ká à ko egwe ímoróbá ///
   VbCl:aor cpl          VbCl:aor
   day dawn cpl seq they call pl bridesmaids

   'At day break the bridesmaids are called.'  AM027
   (description of events at weddings)

49. /// ìvùramu nà worí dhé nì odo nà // ọ dhí ní ///
   VbCl:aor cpl          VbCl:aor cpl
   woman the scrape finish cpl mortar the she eat cpl
   ó te i ///
   VbCl:neg ind
   it not-reach her

   'Whenever the woman scraped the mortar clean and ate (the scraps)
   she was not satisfied.'  FA037
Specific and future time sequence combined

50. /// ó wărâse ôbhô nà // á gùni dhe // ôbhô zá ni
   VbCl:des VbCl:des VbCl:aor cpl
he open hand the they look finish hand stay cpl
kyakya // ka édei õki si dhí õdhhyómu nà ///
   VbCl:fut
clean seq man that will eat food the

'When he opens his hand and it is inspected, if the hand is clean, that man can eat the food.'

4.4.2. The Complex Sentence, Type 2 Co-ordinate

This type consists of two or more verbal clauses. The demarcative feature is the sequential particle ka occurring between the clauses, and/or the adverb tuo 'until' occurring finally in any clause except the last one. There are the following restrictions on the component clauses:

a. If the clauses are positive indicative, only the aorist or the future tense occurs.

b. Not more than one clause may be negative. Two negative clauses in a co-ordinate relationship occur as a type 4 (cumulative) sentence.

c. Two positive imperative clauses do not occur. When the first clause is imperative, the second clause is in the aorist tense with a 2nd person pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. Examples 56 and 57.

Examples:

51. /// ênì dire tuo // ô dhesyi // ká êdhí nà bhie ///
   VbCl:aor VbCl:aor VbCl:aor
we cook till it last seq palm- the get-soft fruit

'We cooked (the palm fruit) until after some time it got soft.'

AS007
52. // ká ṣ bidha tuu // ká ṣ ta ná moni àni ādá //
VbCl:aor VbCl:aor
seq he walk until seq he go to see wife of-name

'He walked on until he went to see Ade's wife.' DK005

53. // ḍkómù fou egwe ìsósyi // ká ḍkómù kunu egwe èkwesù //
VbCl:aor VbCl:aor
word free people of-church seq word hold people of-devil

'The church people were acquitted but the heathen people were found guilty.' BC085

54. // ó dhesyi // ka ekpúkpe ná vu dhóu ókùbó ná //
VbCl:neg ind VbCl:aor
it not-last seq hawk the seize take box the

'It was not long before the hawk snatched away the box.' CE045

55. // ṥkí slí wúru ívo tuu // ká ṣkó ná yi í te edá //
VbCl:fut VbCl:aor
he will do how till seq canoe the come to reach river

'What can he do to get the canoe to the river?' DL041

56. // tou ìsènì ànó ná // ká bùtou dhí bhèè //
VbCl:pos imp VbCl:aor
take fish this the seq you take eat indeed

'Do take this fish and eat it.' DK032

57. // bha yi o // ká bùhà í dhóu èni kpóri ívíè //
VbCl:pos imp VbCl:aor
you-pl come indeed seq you come-to follow us sing song

'Do come and sing with us.' DL120
4.4.3. The Complex Sentence, Type 3 Report

The demarcative features of this type are the occurrence in the initial clause of one of a special group of verbs introducing speech or thought, and the speech particle ga which occurs between the clauses. This type is divided into two subtypes according to whether the verb in the initial clause is a speech verb or not.

4.4.3.1. Type 3A, Speech Verb in Initial Clause

The head of the verbal phrase in the initial clause is one of the following verbs:

bhine 'ask' do 'argue' *gu 'promise'
*gba 'tell' kali 'rebuke' ko 'call'
*ma 'teach' me 'agree' tyi 'shout'
*wei, wo 'say' vye 'cry'

Note: * indicates that these verbs occur in a compound verbal phrase (section 7.4) preceding the verb kye lit. 'give' if a nominal phrase object is present in the clause (example 65).

In this subtype the speech particle is optional (examples 59, 66). It may occur preceding every clause in the speech material (example 60). Following a 1st person singular pronoun as subject of the speech verb the speech particle is ma (example 61). In narrative with frequent conversation the speech verb may be omitted (examples 62, 63). In this case the speech particle is then obligatory. Following the speech verb and/or speech particle there may be a clause or a rankshifted sentence of any type (example 60, 63-67).
Examples:

59. /// álõbõ tyì // ṃkì wú nù ///
   tortoise shout he die cpl
   'Tortoise shouted that he was ruined.' (lit. 'he had died')

60. /// à í wei ///
   they so say
   gá ò žá ni ènìá // ga á ta na ko otwàl ///
   rankshifted sentence
   sp it stay cpl thus sp they should-go to call antelope
   'They said that if so, they should go and call antelope.' DL066

61. /// mì wei // má ènìá gbei ikpolì èsènì ///
   I say sp we not-kill many fish
   'I said that we did not kill many fish.'

62. /// álõbõ // gá òkí dhi dhu ávà ávà a ///
   tortoise sp he not-eat never one one even
   'Tortoise (said) that he would never eat a single one.'

63. /// ámo nà // ga sá ènìá ///
   NomCl
   child the sp not thus
   'The child said that was not right.'

64. /// ká ò wei // gá ò somu ya ///
   VbCl:declarative
   seq he may sp it be-good is
   'He said that it was all right.'
65. /// ì wo kyé i // gá bà kòri ènì n' ènà ///

VbCl: imperative

they say give him sp stay wait-for us at here

'They said to him, "Wait for us here".'

CG018

66. /// ámo nà í wel // ðìkì sì wúru ìvo ///

VbCl: interrogative

child the so say he still do how

'So the child said what was he to do?'

EJ017

67. /// ð ko ámo nà // gá inyà a // bhù yi ìkwò nà ///

rankshifted question sentence

she call child the sp today even you come farm the

'She called the child (and asked), "How about today, are you coming to the farm?!"

FB053

Note: The rankshifted sentence has the question intonation, (section 4.5).

4.4.3.2. Type 3B. Non-speech Verb in Initial Clause

The head of the verbal phrase in the initial clause is one of the following verbs or pairs of verbs:

moni 'see' nomu 'know'

syiene 'hear' tou ko 'think' (lit. take call)

geni moni 'realise' ma moni 'perceive' (lit. show see)

(lit. look see)

The clause following the speech particle may be nominal or verbal. If it is verbal, it must be declarative in contrast to type 3A where the following clause may be of any type.

The first element in this type of sentence may also be the following clause: ð í ì 'if it is'. The sentence then occurs only as a rankshifted sentence as an element of sentence type 10 (section 4.4.10) and not as an independent sentence. See example 93 (page 68).
Note: Following the verb *syiene* 'hear' the particle *ga* indicates that the report is secondhand, in contrast to the clause-introducer *na* (see sentence type 8, section 4.4.8) which indicates that the report is firsthand.

Compare

/// ọ syiene // *ga* ọ nò yìla ///

he hear sp it inc come

'He heard that it was coming.' (i.e. somebody told him) FB120 with

/// ọ syiene // *na* ọ nò yìla ///

'He heard it coming.'

Examples:

68. /// ọ *nomu* // gá ọká ná ká ínìmù ìgbùrà ///

he not-know sp that the seq thing fairy

'He did not know that that was a fairy.' CB008

69. /// ènì í bhue-enia geni móní ///

we so then look see

*ga onísè nyonì kye ni ènì òbhó bọ ///

sp God put give cpl us hand big

'So we then realised that God had helped us very much.' ABO13

70. /// mí tôù ko // gá bhà nomu me bhùè ní ///

I take call sp you know me keep cpl

'I thought you knew me.' CH013
71.  /// ḗ i ma moni /// gá o somu ya ///  
VbCl  
he so show see that it be-good is  
'So he perceived a way to do it.' (lit. 'that it is good')  
DH052

4.4.4. **The Complex Sentence, Type 4 Cumulative**

This type consists of two verbal clauses with the same polarity. Positive clauses are of the declarative type; negative clauses may be either declarative or imperative. The demarcative feature is the reinforcer a 'also' which occurs in one or both clauses.

**Examples:**

72.  /// onú bhà a bidha ñhé ní ///  
mother their too walk finish cpl  
àsúnu bhà a bidha ñhé ní ///  
father their too walk finish cpl  
'Both their mother and father had left.'  
EC016

73.  /// ñbhò á mo wo /// ñvî á mo wo ///  
arm too is-not you leg too is-not you  
'Neither your arms nor your legs are strong.'  
EK004

74.  /// bhà nà gbái n' omù a /// bhà nà bhíne álbbò a ///  
you-pl not turn at house too you not ask tortoise too  
'Do not call at the house or ask tortoise.'  
DL092

75.  /// ó moni inumu avà a /// ó syienè a ///  
he not-see thing one too he not-hear too  
'He did not see or hear anything.'  
E

See also example 112 (page 73).
4.4.5. **The Complex Sentence, Type 5 Immediate Action**

This type consists of two verbal clauses. The second clause is in the incompletive aspect which is marked by the particle nà or nò (section 5.4.3.3) and has a pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. This pronoun is in concord with respect to number and person with the head of the nominal phrase subject of the first clause. The action of the second clause follows immediately upon that of the first clause.

**Examples:**

76. /// opilopò ʃ pà /// ó nò gbe ///
    pig  so leave  he inc go-home
    'So pig left and set off home.'  CA008

77. /// ègùà giri /// i nà gidhé ålìbo ta ///
    they  turn  they inc go-forward tortoise go
    'They turned and started towards tortoise.'  DL038

78. /// ó le fyaní yi i bhari n'oku èdyómù nà ///
    he again  fly  come to  land on dish of-food the
    ó nò zà kòrí ålìbo ///
    he inc stay wait tortoise
    'He flew again and came and landed on the dish of food and stayed waiting for tortoise.'  DG037

See also example 111 (page 73).

4.4.6. **The Complex Sentence, Type 6 Anterior**

This type consists of two verbal clauses. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer kana 'before' 'so that' which occurs initially in the second clause. The action of the first clause has preceded or will precede the action of the second clause.
Examples:

79. // zài gènì ēplè ēkòmì ēl // kana bhú si moni ni stay look tricks of-fight his so-that you will be-able cpl ēl koni ni /// him fight cpl

'Keep watching his wrestling tricks so that you will be able to wrestle with him.'  
AR010

80. // ká ó bidha ta // kaná ìkwí ìhòmìne na turu seq he walk go so-that he speed to meet ëdhyómu nà /// food the

'And he walked on so as to get the food quickly.'  
DG060

81. // ikpíláma ka édèl na ó shimu ìkò ìlìbo nà // snail seq person who he push canoe of-tortoise the kana ónu ìlìbo wuà /// before mother of-tortoise die

'Snail is the one who pushed tortoise's canoe before his mother died.'  
DL146

Note: The Anterior sentence, which is underlined, is rankshifted and functions as an element of the nominal phrase as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

See also example no. 110 (page 73).
4.4.7. **The Complex Sentence, Type 7 Purpose**

This type consists of two verbal declarative clauses of which the second one is in the subjunctive mood or in the future tense. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer *ga* 'so that' which occurs initially in the second clause. The clause-introducer may be omitted when the clause is subjunctive (example 84).

This type is distinguished from the type 3 Report sentence (section 4.4.3) since the verb in the initial clause is not restricted. The clause-introducer *ga* is distinguished from the speech particle *ga* since the former occurs only in a Purpose sentence whereas the latter has a wider distribution (section 4.4).

**Examples:**

82. /// i  gbaià // ga  bha  kòu  dhou  étài ///  
    **VbCl:fut**
    they branch so-that they will- take fire  
    collect

    'They branched off to collect some embers.'

     CE033

83. /// ìgwè  ìkie  ènl  Isùàh  kwa // ga  bhá  sì  düù  yià ///  
    **VbCl:fut**
    people of-town our name prepare that they will out come

    'The people of our town Isua got ready to come out.'

     AO017

84. /// kà  mì  tou  ìbi  tou  kye  i  // ò  tou  dhiesè ///  
    **VbCl:subj**
    seq I take nut take give him he should- eat-with-something take

    'Then I gave him some kernels to eat with (the wine).'  

     DK014

See also example 107 (page 72).
4.4.8. The Complex Sentence, Type 8 Result

This type consists of two verbal declarative clauses. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer na occurring initially in the second clause. There are two subtypes according to whether the verb occurring as head of the verbal phrase in the first clause is one of a restricted class or not.

4.4.8.1. Type 8A, No Restriction on Verb in Initial Clause

There is no restriction on the verb occurring as head of the verbal phrase in the first clause. Semantically, the second clause is the result of the first.

Example:

85. /// ñgbà nwunye dhe ya // na ọ nọ su akpùkuro na /// chewing- change finish is that it inc pound cassava the stick

'The chewing-stick had completely changed with the result that it was pounding the cassava.'

For further examples see 108, 109 (page 72).

4.4.8.2. Type 8B, Restriction on Verb in Initial Clause

In this subtype there is no nominal phrase object in the initial clause, and the verb or verbs occurring as head of the verbal phrase belong to the following class:

geni 'look' moni 'see' syiene 'hear'

Example:

86. /// ãfèni geni moni // nà ñgbàmùmù nà gídhe i tà /// hen look see that fox inc toward him go

'Hen caught sight of fox coming towards him.'

See also example 116 (page 74).
4.4.9. **The Complex Sentence, Type 9 Impersonal Construction**

This type consists of two or more verbal declarative clauses. The initial clause is one of a limited number of constructions, all of which have an impersonal subject, i.e. the nominal phrase subject is the 3rd singular pronoun which does not have any antecedent in a previous clause. The following are the most common impersonal constructions:

- *ó dhùû àká yia* 'therefore' (lit. 'it follows that comes')
- *ó wùrù lvo* 'why?' (lit. 'it does what')
- *ó kó ni ògbè* 'almost' (lit. 'it remained a little')
- *ó té ni* 'it is time' (lit. 'it has reached')
- *ó ya* 'it is' (e.g. it is hard ...)
- *ó zá ni* 'if' (lit. 'it has stayed')

**Note:** *ó zá ni* with a following clause occurs only as a rankshifted sentence as an element of sentence type 1 (section 4.4.1) and not as an independent sentence (example 87).

The occurrence of the special introductory clause is one demarcative feature of this sentence type. A second feature is the clause-introducer *na* which occurs initially in all clauses except the first one.

**Examples:**

```
87. /// ó zá ni // na bha gbè // ká bhà gbè o ///

rankshifted sentence

it stay cpl that you will-go-home seq you go-home indeed

'If you are going home, then go!' FB016```
88. // o dhu'uk aká yia // ná ñkí yinigbe ///
   it follow that come that he not-come-home

   'Because of that, he did not come home.'  FB027

89. // o wúru ivo // na bhá ná ña a dha ñdhí na ñfurúmù ///
   it do how that you inc stay drink wine the empty

   na bhá tou añhii dhisee ///
   that you not-take kola eat-with-it

   'Why are you drinking the wine by itself and not eating kola with it?'  DK050

90. // o kó ni ñgbé // na ñ nó dòi wú a bhéa ///
   it stay cpl little that he inc fall die indeed

   'He almost fainted, fancy that!'  CB018

91. // o té ni // na ñi si wúru ñdhýómu ñnuwùmù ///
   it reach cpl that they will make food of-evening

   'It is time to cook supper.'  AA043

4.4.10. The Complex Sentence, Type 10 Unfulfilled Condition

This type consists of two verbal declarative clauses. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer sa which occurs initially in the second clause. The clauses have special characteristics according to whether they are positive or negative.

First clause

Positive: The preverbal 1 occurs before the verb.
Negative: The negative particle na occurs before the verb.

Second clause

Positive: The clause is in the incompletive aspect (marked by na).
Negative: The negative particle na occurs before the verb.
Examples:

92. /// āsu mè i wo ku mè // sa mí nà ta ///
father my oo say give me I inc go

'If my father had told me, I would have gone.' E

93. /// d i zà // ga bhu mé lô // sa mí nà wò ku wò ///
rankshifted sentence
it so stay sp you agree only I inc say give you

'If only you had agreed, I would have told you.' DLo70

Note: See section 4.4.3.2 for details of the construction d i zà.

94. /// āsu mé na wo ku me // sa mí nà ta ///
father my neg say give me I inc go

'If my father had not told me, I would have gone.' E

95. /// āsu mè i wo ku mè // sa mí na ta ///
father my so say give me I neg go

'If my father had told me I would not have gone.' E

4.5. **Question Sentences**

A question sentence is any simple or complex sentence composed only of declarative clauses with one or both of the following demarcative features:

a. a question terminal

b. question intonation
Question Terminals

i. à occurs in general questions. It usually occurs sentence finally, but for emphasis it may occur finally in every clause in the sentence (example 98).

ii. sàmà occurs in alternative questions. It occurs finally in the first clause. If there is only one clause, it indicates a negative alternative (i.e. 'or not') (example 99).

iii. ø occurs sentence finally and indicates doubt or disbelief. The vowel harmonises with the quality of the final vowel of the sentence (examples 101-103).

Question Intonation

Starting with the verbal phrase of the clause that is semantically a question, the pitch of the remainder of the sentence is raised. This is shown in the examples by an arrow ↑. Examples 104-106.

Examples:

96. /// bhã nà sylené à ///
you inc hear qu

'Are you listening?' CZ027

97. /// mí wo ku wo // gã bhò kà ãnyá mè à ///
I not-say give you sp you seq horse my qu

'Didn't I tell you that you are my horse?' CC048

98. /// mí wo kye bhã ã // ðãmûnhhuagu kà ãnyá mè à ///
I not-say give you qu wolf seq horse my qu

na bhã tou avuramu tou kyê à ///
that you take woman take give qu

'Didn't I tell you that the wolf to whom you gave the woman is my horse?' CC053
99. /// 6lo i ná na i yiá sàmù ///
friend her the inc again come qu

'Is her friend coming again or not?' FB061

100. /// o tóu kpai ñamà sàmù // o tóu kpai ñfèni à ///
he will-take feed animals qu he will-take feed birds qu

'Will he use it to feed the animals or the birds?' DCO29

Note: The final a is optional in alternative questions.

101. /// ga bhu fyé mè o ///
sp you exceed me qu

'(He said) you thought you had beaten me, did you? (you haven't!)' EJO14

102. /// ilé na ó za enìà ã tóu édei while bhile è ///
lie that it is thus they take man tell tell

'Can it be that such a lie as this has been told about someone?' CY050

Note: The object of the clause is frontshifted (section 5.4.3).

103. /// ká bhu wei // ga bhú gidhe ónu ënì ta n'úkwò úkwò o ///
seq you say sp you toward mother our go at farm farm qu

'You said that you used to go to meet our mother at the farm, did you?' FB091

104. /// édei nà bhine ñmini el // ga bhu ð dhùmò ///
man the ask daughter his sp you will-marry

'The man asked his daughter, 'Will you marry (him)?'' DH004

Note: The question sentence (underlined) is rankshifted and forms part of a report sentence, type 3A (section 4.4.3.1).
105. /// bbaru ná akidi /// bhu tóo gbá ///
you go cpl town you will-take tell

'If you go to the town, will you tell (anyone)?' DE017

106. /// bbaru mënti éi ///
'Did you see him?' CJ033

4.6. Rankshifted Sentences

Sentences whose structure is more complex than that already described have as one or more of their elements rankshifted sentences which function as single clauses. Clauses in a rankshifted sentence are more closely related (i.e. have a greater degree of mutual dependence) to each other than to other clauses in the sentence. There is a ranking scale of closeness of relationship between the clauses as follows:

Clauses in a main/subordinate relationship (types 6-10) are more closely knit than those in a co-ordinate relationship (types 1-5).

When all clauses are co-ordinate, there are three degrees of closeness of relationship as described below: a) being the closest relationship and c) the least close.

a. Elements of one or both clauses are restricted in some degree (types 4 and 5);

b. There is a fixed sequence of features between clauses (type 1);

c. Clauses are linked only by the particle ka or ga (types 2 and 3).

A rankshifted sentence may occur as the non-final element of any sentence type except types 4 and 9, and as the final element of any type except types 4, 5, 9 and 10. Sentences of any type except types 2 and 3 may be rankshifted, provided all the component clauses are declarative (section 4.1). In the examples which follow, the rankshifted sentence (abbreviated 'rs sentence') is underlined, and the analysis of the whole sentence is given after the free translation.
Examples:

107. /// o za tuu // ka ekpukpè yi ì te ///
    it stay till seq hawk come to reach
    ká ò tou owítumun na kye ì // ga ò tou ei tà ///
    seq he take rat the give him that he should- him go take

'When after some time the hawk arrived he gave him the rat to take there.'

Analysis: rs sentence type 7 as final element of type 1.

108. /// bhù òmìi tá nì // ná à moni wò nì ///
    you go-out go cpl so-that they see you cpl
    ka bhù òmìi ni orou ìbè ///
    seq you fall cpl law ?

'If you go out and they see you, you have broken the 'ibe' law (an old tribal law).'

Analysis: rs sentence type 8A as initial element of type 1

109. /// mi moni me // ga ó gbe òfùnì òmù // na ó bidha
    I not-able agree that he should- empty that he not-marry go-home
    omini mè ///
    child my

'I cannot agree that he should go home without marrying my daughter.'

Analysis: rs sentence type 8A as final element of type 3A.
110. /// ð ya // na bhú l nómu ikpoli épilè ///
   it is that you will know many tricks

   kana bhú sì móni esylobho koní ní ///
   so-that you will be able wrestling fight cpl

   '(The secret) is knowing many tricks so that you will be able to wrestle.'

   Analysis: rs sentence type 9 as initial element of type 6.

111. /// ð ðhi dhé ní // ká ð pa // ð nò gbe ///
   ho eat finish cpl seq he start he inc go-home

   'Whenever he had eaten he would set off for home.'

   Analysis: re sentence type 5 as final element of type 1.

112. /// l ðhyaní ni ipwa nà // ka ákie inii nà //
   they enter cpl room the seq town four the

   á nu inunu // á dheí odheí bò á dhu ///
   one not-hit thing one not-noise big also never sound

   'When they had gone into the 'ipwa' room nothing was beaten and no big noise was made throughout the four villages.'

   Analysis: rs sentence type 4 as final element in type 1.

113. /// ka o te ñdhè // opilopó tà nà te ///
   seq it reach tomorrow pig go to reach

   ká álibbè vye // ga atyè 1 wù nà ///
   seq tortoise cry sp brother his die cpl

   'When next day came and pig arrived, tortoise cried that his brother had died.'

   Analysis: rs sentence type 1 as initial element in type 3A.
114. /// mí yì ì te // kà mì tou esení na nyoni n'aki ìrè tuù //
I come to reach seq I take fish the put in pot cook till
mì ìrè pàdhe // kà mì nà ko asù mè n' èmu èl //
I cook finish seq I go-to call father my in house his

'When I arrived I put the fish in a pot and cooked it until when I had finished cooking it, I went to call father in his house.'

Analysis: two rs sentences type 1 as initial and final element of type 2.

115. /// ò zà nì // na bhù kùnu ìl // nà ìdùì okì nà mò wo
it stay cpl that you hold him that fear that the is-not you
n' ikpeèi // kà ì gbòrì ya // na bhù sì dèìà //
in heart seq it hard is that you will faill

'If you hold him without being afraid you will not easily fall.'

Analysis: a b c d e
rs Sen:9 rs Sen:9
Sentence: 1

116. /// amo nà bidhà tuù // kà o syiene //
child the walk till seq he hear
nà ìbhùnètì nà kpo // kà ì bhìnhè i //
that lion inc roar seq he ask it

'When the child walked on he heard a lion roaring and he enquired from the box (what to do).'
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.0. Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. Function of the Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. Basic Structure of the Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3. The Verbal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4. The Verbal Clause, Type 1, Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1.1. Polarity and Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1.2. Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1.3. Primary Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 1B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.3. Emphasis in the Declarative Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5. The Verbal Clause, Type 2, Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6. The Verbal Clause, Type 3, Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 3A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 3B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7. Secondary Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8. Relationship between Elements of the Verbal Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8.1. Vowel Harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8.2. Juncture Features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9. The Verbal Clause String</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FIVE

THE CLAUSE  i. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

5.0. Introduction

The clause is one phrase or a group of phrases which are syntactically related. It is delimited on phonological criteria: it is bounded by potential pause; no elision occurs across clause boundaries, however short the pause.

5.1. Function of the Clause

The primary function of the clause is as an element of the sentence. Clauses are classed as independent or dependent according to whether or not they can occur as a single, i.e. complete sentence. An independent clause may occur as a complete sentence or as one element of a complex sentence. A dependent clause functions only as one element of a complex sentence.

Dependent clauses are marked by a clause-introducer (sections 4.4 and 11.8): independent clauses are distinguished by the absence of any clause-introducer.

Some clauses also have a secondary function as rankshifted units at phrase rank where they may function as a complete nominal phrase (section 8.2.7) or as an attributive element to the head of the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.2). In a very few cases a clause functions at word rank as a noun of type 6 (section 10.2.2). Only clauses of the verbal declarative type (section 5.4) have this secondary function as a rankshifted unit.

The inter-relation between independent and dependent clause classes and between the different clause types will be described under each clause type (sections 5.2, 6.0, 6.3).
5.2. Basic Structure of the Clause

Clauses are described according to their elements which are phrases, and their syntagmatic features, both relational and demarcative. The demarcative features have the following forms: particles, intonation patterns, reduplication of certain elements, or tone patterns of the verbal phrase. Since there are no verb tone classes, the different tone patterns marking tense etc. remain constant in every clause.

The demarcative features are analysed as part of the clause structure and not of the phrase structure since they may be spread over more than one element in the clause or over the whole clause, and since they cause different types of juncture between the elements of the clause.

The demarcative features are arranged in mutually exclusive i.e. closed sets. Each set is assigned a label in accordance with the category that the features mark, e.g. tense, mood etc.

Clauses do not have any special features marking person and number, with the exception of imperative clauses as described below. Number is marked either by the noun egwe 'people' 'plurality' preceding the noun in question, or in a few cases by a prefix to the noun (section 10.2.2), or by the pronoun and demonstrative classes which have a singular/plural system (section 10.3, 10.5). Where the number is not marked, reference to one or to more than one is clear from the context. At clause rank number is shown by the head of the nominal phrase subject, except in imperative clauses where it is shown by the presence or absence of the nominal phrase subject (section 5.5).

The category of person is marked by the pronoun class which has a three term system (section 10.2). As has already been noted, the person of the pronoun used distinguishes different types of speech quotation (section 3.3).
On the basis of differences in internal structure three main types of clause are distinguished: verbal, nominal and marginal. Within each main type further subtypes are set up as follows:

- **Verbal**: declarative, imperative, interrogative
- **Nominal**: declarative, interrogative
- **Marginal**: vocative, exclamatory

The verbal clause will be described in this chapter, and the nominal and marginal clauses in chapter 6.

The verbal clause may be independent or dependent. When it is independent it functions as a simple sentence or as any element of a complex sentence, types 1-5. When it is dependent, it functions only as the final element of a complex sentence, types 6-10.

The verbal clause may be simple or compound in structure. When compound it is termed a clause string. The simple clause is described in sections 5.3-5.8 and the clause string in section 5.9.

5.3. **The Verbal Clause**

The verbal clause is composed of nominal, verbal and adverbial phrases (abbreviated 'NP', 'VP', 'AP' respectively in the singular and 'NP's' etc. in the plural). The NP preceding the VP functions as subject. The one or two NP's following the VP function as object. (The NP functioning as subject is abbreviated 'NPs' and the NP functioning as object 'NPo'.) Up to two AP's occur clause finally. It is useful to distinguish between nuclear and peripheral elements since the difference between the types of verbal clause concerns mainly the nuclear elements. The NPs and the following VP form the nucleus of the clause except in one case, viz. when the clause is imperative and the subject is singular there is no NPs (section 5.5). The other phrases in the clause are all optional peripheral elements. The number of NPo's that occur is determined by the class of verbs functioning as head of the VP (section 10.1.1.1). Where there are two NPo's, the first frequently but not invariably, corresponds to the English indirect object (examples 130, 135, 162).
The theoretical maximum structure of the clause may be diagrammed as follows:

| +NPs | +VP | NP | AP
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nucleus</td>
<td>periphery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No example of the maximum expansion of the clause has occurred in the corpus. Examples of different expansions of the clause are given in the following sections, and their structure is summarised in the chart below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPs</th>
<th>VP</th>
<th>NPo</th>
<th>NPo</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>154.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal clauses are divided into three types on the basis of differences in internal structure: declarative, imperative and interrogative. Each clause type has different demarcative features which are interrelated. The interrelation of the features of polarity, mood, tense and primary aspect is diagrammed on the following page. The interrelation between these features and secondary aspect is described in section 5.7.
Interrelation of Clause Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Polarity and Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Primary Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>declarative</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>descriptive</td>
<td>incompletive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>positive</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>referential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>aorist</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>positive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>non-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4. The Verbal Clause, Type 1 Declarative

The nuclear elements of the declarative clause are a NP functioning as subject followed by a VP. Two subtypes of the declarative clause are distinguished on the basis of the different class of VP and different demarcative features.

5.4.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 1A

In the declarative clause, type 1A the VP is of class A (section 7.3.1) and the clause has features which mark polarity and mood. Positive indicative clauses have features marking tense and primary aspect. Negative and subjunctive clauses are not marked for tense or primary aspect (see the chart at the top of the page).

5.4.1.1. Polarity and Mood

There are two intonation patterns which mark polarity. In the negative pattern the range between the pitches is narrowed so that the high tones are lower and the low tones are higher than the corresponding pitches in positive clauses. The negative intonation pattern extends from the VP to the end of the clause.
The particle *dhu* 'never' may occur following the VP or clause finally in addition to the negative intonation pattern. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the vowel quality (section 2.2.1) of the preceding word, e.g. *dhu* in example 119, *dhu* in example 120.

Tone patterns of the VP further mark both the mood and polarity of the clause. (In the examples which follow, the verb root is underlined, and the structure is given of those clauses which are included in the chart on page 79.)

The negative indicative is marked by the following tone pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>HH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

117. // mí / ta //

NPs VP

I not-go

'I'm not going' BD012

118. // ìvuramu akie ëní / mise / n' ìsì ìadhì //

NPs VP AP

women of-town our not-sleep on night of-that-day

'The women of our town did not sleep the night before that day' AC004

119. // ó / ku me dhu //

he not-give me never

'He never gives me any' EA009

120. // á / ko / ëníì dhu //

one not-call thus never

'It is never said like that' DG012
The **negative subjunctive** is marked by the negative particle *nà* occurring initially in the VP and by the tone pattern below. The particle has two allomorphs: *nò* following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the NPs; *nà* elsewhere. The vowel of *no* harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1). The tone pattern is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone pattern</td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

121. // d / nò / tê //

he neg should-not-go

'He should not go'

122. // d / nò bhûnê //

it neg should-not-break

'May it not break!'

123. // â / nà zyû / i / ēnû //

NPs VP NPo NPc

one neg should-not-cut him wound

'He is not to be wounded'

The **positive subjunctive** is marked by the positive intonation and the following tone pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone pattern</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples:

124. // bhú / tà //
       you should-go

'You should go'  

EJ054

125. // onyenyé / bidhà / ügbúswei el //
       NPs       VP       NPo
   everyone should-walk road his

'Let everyone go his own way'

CZ082

Positive indicative clauses are marked by the positive intonation. They do not have a tone pattern marking polarity and mood since they are marked for the further categories of tense and primary aspect.

5.4.1.2. Tense

The only clauses which are marked for tense are positive indicative clauses. The tense category is a four-term system: future, aorist, descriptive, referential, marked by a set of four tone patterns as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Future</td>
<td>hHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Aorist</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>HH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Descriptive</td>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>LH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Referential</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: When the tone patterns is the same for two tenses or moods, differences in juncture features between the NPs and the VP resolve the ambiguity (section 5.8.2).

a. The future tense is used for action in future time except for the immediate future. The future particle sî or î occurs optionally at the beginning of the VP. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).
Examples:

126. // mi / syienè //
    I will hear

'I will hear'

127. // avuramu ná / si núu / 6nwfi //
    woman the will shake body

'The woman will tremble'

128. // Àlibó / kpé me / osa mè //
    tortoise will pay me due my

'Tortoise will pay me what he owes me'

b. The aorist tense denotes a single non-future punctiliar action, which may be past or present according to the context. It is the usual tense for the main actions in a narrative.

Examples:

129. // àlibò / vilese / 6bho //
    tortoise open hand

'Tortoise opened his hand'

130. // mì / ná kidhe / irityadi / ipeni //
    I got-to remove Richard penny

'I went to get a penny from Richard'

131. // ò / nu / n'útomu okwei ná / kpoukpou //
    NPs VP AP AP
    he hit at top of palm-tree the tap-tap

'He knocked at the top of the palm tree tap tap'

For examples of the aorist tense denoting non-past action see nos. 48 (page 54), 56-58 (pages 56, 57).
c. The descriptive tense denotes either a non-future state or incomplete action (examples 132-134). The reference may be to past or present time according to the context. The descriptive tense denotes a single complete action only in the following circumstances:

i. In a non-final clause of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential). Examples 135 (below) and 37-39 (page 52).

ii. In the context of present time. Example 136.

iii. As an expression of disgust when it is used instead of the aorist tense in the final clause of a complex sentence type 1. Example 137.

Examples:

132. // a / kó / i / ọgbüra //

they call him name

'He is called Ogbura' B0034

Note: The tone of the verb is automatically upstepped before the following İ tone.

133. /// ukpe oki // ka mì / za / n' ọmọ ọgbọrọ-kọnyi ///

year that seq I stay in child small very

'In that year I was a very young child' B0056

134. // a / dhyāni / n' ẹgbụrọ //

they enter in age-group

-One becomes a member of the club for one's own age-group'- B0052

135. /// mì / dília / ọsọh / ọsọh nà / ọgbubù // mì / giri dhe ///

NPs VP NPo NPo AP

I stretch ear fish the popping I turn finish

'When I heard the fish making a popping noise, I turned right back.' A024
136. // 6 / wëla ga...

'He says ...' i.e. repeating what a person in the room has just said.

137. /// mì / tōu / ūnuma / tōu kye / i // ka 6 / tōu sù thvāla ///

I take money take give him seq he take throw away

'When I gave him some money he threw it away.'

Note: In the final clause the VP is compound and the tone pattern is manifested over all the verbs (section 7.4.1).

d. The referential tense occurs mainly when the clause functions as a non-final element of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential) (examples 138 below and 36 on page 52), or as a rankshifted unit (section 8.2.1.2). It also occurs in independent clauses when the NPo or the AP contains a numerical expression (examples 139, 140). There is often a short pause before the numerical expression.

Examples:

138. /// 6 / tuuà /// i / gbei / eseni ///

it empty very kill fish

'As it (the pond) emptied, they caught the fish.'  EG028

139. // ḡidhe na / tōu bhuè / igbei nàa īvuremu īsyòni //

rich-man the take keep 10 and women 5

'The rich man had fifteen wives'  EH002

Note: The VP is compound and the tone pattern is manifested over both verbs (section 7.4.1).

140. // ènì / zà / tuu iriki ëvà ///

we stay till week one

'We stayed for a week'  AP017
5.4.1.3. **Primary Aspect**

Certain particles may occur with certain tenses. The particles are analysed as demarcative features marking different primary aspects: *nî* marking the completive aspect, and *nà* the incompletive aspect. Clauses which have neither particle are analysed as having neutral aspect.

The reasons for analysing the particles as features of the clause and not as elements of the VP are as follows:

a. They are relevant at sentence rank being obligatory in certain sentence types (i.e. types 1, 5 and 10), whereas other attributive elements of the VP are relevant only at phrase rank;

b. Other attributive elements of the VP occur with all tenses whereas the above particles occur only with certain tenses. As tense is a feature of the clause it is more convenient to analyse the particles as forming part of the interrelated system of clause features.

With the aorist tense there is a two term system of primary aspect: completive / neutral. With the descriptive tense there is also a two term system: incompletive / neutral. With the future and referential tenses only the neutral aspect occurs.

The **completive aspect** is marked by the particle *nî* which occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2. for definition of 'core'). The completive aspect denotes that the action has been or will be completed before the next action begins. The particle *nî* has two allomorphs: *nù* occurs following the vowel *u*; *nî* occurs elsewhere. The allomorphs harmonise with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).

**Examples:**

141. /// mî / me // ga onîsô / wurú nù ///

'I agreed, (saying) God had done it.'  

AT031
88

142. /// á / gbè /// ądhè / bhí ni o ///
one let-go-home dry be-black cpl in-fact

'Let's go home! It has got dark, you know.'  FB015

143. /// ó / nomu // ga onísò / kyé ni / ei / ądè ///
she not-know sp God give cpl her child

'She did not know that God had given her a child.'  DC030

For use of the completive aspect in the complex sentence type i see section 4.4.1.

The incompletive aspect is marked by the particle nà occurring initially in the VP. It denotes that the action is happening at the same time as the previous action (examples 144, 145) or will start in the immediate future. The particle nà has two allomorphs:

nò occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the NPs;

nà occurs elsewhere. The vowel of nò harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).

Examples:

144. /// ądhè / nà bhìa // ka ... i / bhue-enfä ko / i ///

day inc be-black seq they then call her

'It was getting dark and (so) they then called her.'  FB014

145. /// ọtà [na i nà tá nà] // onyényé / nà ma / ikpóbl /
time that they inc go the each-one inc think heart

inìmù [na ó si dùà dùà] ///

thing that he will buy buy

'As they were going along each person was thinking of what he would buy.'  OG022

Note: The square brackets indicate a rankshifted verbal clause which is functioning as part of a NP (section 8.2.1.2).
For use of the incompletive aspect in complex sentence type 5 see section 4.4.5 and in type 10 see section 4.4.10.

5.4.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 1B

In the declarative clause type 1B the VP is of class B (section 7.3.2) and the clause has only one demarcative feature. This is the intonation pattern marking polarity. The clause has either the positive or the negative intonation (section 5.4.1.1).

Examples:

147. // èsènì / yá / bhêè //
    fish are indeed

'There is plenty of fish'

148. // àlibó / i mo / n' èwai nà //
    tortoise again is-not in pond the

'Tortoise was no longer in the pond'

5.4.3. Emphasis in the Declarative Clause

In some declarative clauses special syntagmatic features have occurred which give emphasis to one of the phrases. As these features have occurred only in declarative clauses and not in imperative or interrogative, a system of emphatic / non-emphatic clauses in general has not been set up. Instead the features are analysed as modifications to the basic declarative clause structure. Only declarative clauses of type 1A occur with these special features.

The syntagmatic features differ according to which phrase in the clause, whether the NPs, VP, or NPo, is made emphatic.

---

1. In imperative and interrogative clauses emphasis is expressed by elements (e.g. adverbs) which are analysable in terms of the regular clause structure.
Emphasis on the NPs

A clause with emphasis on the NPs has the following special characteristics:

a. The VP has a tone pattern which is the same as that of the subjunctive, i.e.

   verb root 3 syllables 2 syllables 1 syllable
   tone pattern HHL HL L

b. Future time is shown by the occurrence of the future particle \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{sì} \) initially in the VP (example 150).

c. Negative clauses have the negative intonation pattern and the negative particle \( \text{sa} \) clause initially, preceding the NPs (example 151).

d. The definitive particle \( \text{ni} \) occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2 for the definition of 'core'). The particle has the same allomorphs as the completive particle (see page 87). It is distinguished from the completive particle since it may occur with the future particle and function in negative clauses, whereas the completive particle does not occur in either of these environments.

Examples:

149. // ènì / sìsè ìkhe / ẹkpau nà // mì / za ni / n'utumì ñkò //
   we set finish hooks the I stay def at tail of-canoe
   'When we set all the hooks, I was the one at the back of the canoe.' AP013

150. // ñkì / si kilo ni //
   he will rule def
   'He will be the one to rule' BJ009

151. // sa mì / gbei ni //
   not I kill def
   'I was not the one who killed it' EE096
Emphasis on the VP

The VP in a positive clause may be emphasised in one of two ways:

a. By the use of the completive instead of the neutral aspect (example 152);

b. By the occurrence of the emphatic particle va either initially in the VP or following the incompletive particle, if present (examples 153-154).

The VP in a negative clause is emphasised by repeating the verb following the reinforcer nu clause finally (examples 155, 156). The repetition of the verb is analysed as an element of the VP margin (section 7.5).

Examples:

152. // ọ / móni ni / ọgbènàmù //
    he see cpl fox

'He actually saw fox' CZ036

153. // bhu / sì vá deià //
    you will emp fall

'You will surely fall'

154. // áni álibó / nà vá nù gbèi / ìfe-odużyí / bhòò //
    NPs VP NPo AP
    wife of-tortoise inc emp hit kill fish all-the-same

'Tortoise's wife went on beating the fish to death all the same.' CH015

155. // ọko ná / yi nù ylà //
    canoe the not-come indeed come

'The canoe did not move at all' DL037
156. // mí / ma dhi / inumu / nà dhià //
I yet not-eat thing indeed eat

'I have not eaten anything at all'

Note: For the addition of the final -a to the verb root in examples 155, 156, see section 10.1.1.3.

Emphasis on the NPo

To emphasise the object, the NPo is frontshifted and precedes the NPs. It may be followed by the sequential particle ka, or by the speech particle ga in speech material.

Examples:

157. // innumù ñvù á / i / moni //
NPC NPs VP
thing one even they not-see

'They did not see anything at all'

158. // ávuramu nà / ka á / i gbéìà //
NPC NPs VP
woman the seq they will kill

'It is the woman that they will kill'

5.5. The Verbal Clause, Type 2 Imperative

When the subject person is singular the clause has only one nuclear element. This is a VP of class A (section 7.3.1). When the subject person is plural the VP is preceded by a NP functioning as subject and consisting of the pronoun bha.

The positive imperative clause has three demarcative features, two obligatory and one optional. The obligatory features are the positive intonation (section 5.4.1.1) and the following tone pattern:

verb root 3 syllables 2 syllables 1 syllable
tone pattern LLH LH H

When the pronoun bha occurs as subject there is ambiguity between the positive imperative and the descriptive tense. This ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 160).
The optional demarcative feature is the exclamation gwa 'right!' 'come on!' which may occur clause initially in positive clauses (examples 163 and also 43, page 53).

Examples:

159. // vilèse // bbho //
   VP       NPo
   open     hand

'Open your hand'            DGO42

160. // bhà / kpè me / èdhyà mè //
    pl      pay       yams     my

'Pay (pl.) me for my yams'    DKO28

Note: The same clause in a different context could mean
'You pay me for my yams (i.e. but others do not)'.
For the reasons for analysing me as part of the VP see section 11.3.

161. // zà / dànyà //
   VP       AP
   stay     quiet

'Be quiet'                   EJO55

162. // nyòni / ėl / ègbilàmù //
    VP      NPo   NPo
    put     him    lock

'Lock (your leg) around his' (a wrestling expression)    ARO16

163. // gwa tòu //
   VP
   come-on take

'Come on, take it'           DKO11
The **negative imperative** has three demarcative features, all obligatory: the negative particle *nà* occurring initially in the VP, the negative intonation (section 5.4.1.1) and the following tone pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the pronoun *bha* occurs as subject there is no distinction between the negative imperative and the negative subjunctive. The ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 165).

**Examples:**

164. // *nà wàrà* //
neg do

'Don't do it'  

165. // *bha / nà bhíne / àlìbò* //
you neg ask tortoise

'Do not (pl.) ask tortoise'

**Note:** The same clause in another context could mean

'you should not ask tortoise.'

5.6. **The Verbal Clause, Type 3 Interrogative**

The structure of the interrogative clause is the same as that of the declarative clause (section 5.4) except that either one of the NP's is of type 4 (interrogative, section 8.2.4) or one of the AP's is of type 1B (interrogative, section 9.2.1).

The interrogative clause has obligatory demarcative features marking mood and tense. It has no features marking polarity. Only clauses which are semantically positive occur. (As has already been described, question sentences which are differentiated from interrogative clauses may be positive or negative, section 4.5).
The interrogative clause also has two optional demarcative features: the interrogative intonation in which the pitch of the whole clause is raised, and the question particle à which may occur sentence finally. The analysis of the question particle as a feature of the clause even though its occurrence is finally in the sentence, admittedly means that at times the demarcative feature of the unit is not adjacent to or within the unit itself. However, this presents only a practical and not a theoretical problem. The alternative analysis would be to set up interrogative sentences in contrast to declarative sentences. This would lead to a lot of reduplication of description since the relationships between clauses in the two types of complex sentence are to a very large extent parallel.

There are differences in structure and in obligatory demarcative features according to which phrase is interrogative, so on this basis two subtypes are distinguished.

5.6.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 3A. Interrogative NPs

The VP is of class A (section 7.3.1) and has a tone pattern which is the same as for the subjunctive, i.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clause is further marked according to tense. The tense category here has two terms: non-future is unmarked and future is marked by the future particle si.

The definitive particle ni occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2 for the definition of 'core').
Examples:

166. // ọyọ / bhuene ni / akie nà //
who have def town the

'Who owns the town?'

167. // iyọ / si nyine ni / ọnd //
what will cause def this

'How will this happen?'

168. // ọyọ / za ni / ọdài [na ó yi] //
who stay def man who he not-come

'Who did not come?' (lit. Who is the man who did not come?)

Note: The rankshifted clause (enclosed in brackets)
functioning as an element of the NP is marked
for negative, not the main VP of the clause.

169. // iyọ / wuru nù // na bhù / gba ni à //
what do def that you tell cpl qu

'What happened to make you tell?'

Note: The interrogative clause is the first element
of a complex sentence type 8A.
5.6.2. **The Verbal Clause, Type 3B Interrogative NPo or AP**

The VP may be of class A or B. When the VP is of class A the clause is marked for mood. The subjunctive clause is marked by the tone pattern given below. The indicative clause does not have a tone pattern marking mood since it is marked for the further category of tense. The tense category has two terms: non-future is marked by a tone pattern which is the same as that marking the descriptive tense in declarative clauses; future is marked by the tone pattern below and the optional occurrence of the future particle *l* or *s1*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood / Tense</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-future</td>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>LH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>hHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>Hl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Tone patterns for the subjunctive mood and the future tense in these clauses are the same as for the declarative clause.

**Examples:**

(Non-future is abbreviated 'nfut')

170. // mf / dhuu / ëdho à //
    VP:A subj
    I should-go where qu

    'Where should I go?' CE020

171. // bhú / kà mé / fnûmû / n'ótà vo //
    VP:A nfut
    you give me thing at time what

    'When did you give me anything?' FD014
172. // á / dhĩ / ɶkĩs ɩnwãl / n'âdhẽ a //
     VP:A nfut
     one eat time how-many in day qu

'How many times a day does one eat?'  AA044

173. // bhnĩ / i pã / ðɔvɔ a //
     VP:A fut
     you will choose which qu

'Which will you choose?'  CY009

174. // ɔ / ya / n'âdho //
     VP:B
     he is at where

'Where is he?'  CY039

175. /// ɬaibó / lè wùrũ / ivo / tuu //
     VP:A nfut
     tortoise again do how until
     ka ɔ / na le gbei ni / edẽl ñ //
     seq he go-to again kill cpl man qu

'How has tortoise managed to kill another man?'  EK031

Note: The interrogative clause is the first element of a complex sentence type 2.

5.7. Secondary Aspect

One or more phrases in a clause may be reduplicated. This reduplication has been analysed as a demarcative feature marking secondary aspect. Three different aspects are distinguished according to which phrases are reduplicated: habitual/intensive, repetitive, and distributive. Clauses without any reduplication are analysed as having the fourth aspect: neutral.
The category of secondary aspect is distinguished from that of primary aspect as it may occur together with each of the primary aspects: with the incompletive (examples 176, 177); with the completive (example 179); with the neutral (examples 180, 181).

There are restrictions on which clauses may have the different aspects as shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Habitual/Intensive</th>
<th>Repetitive</th>
<th>Distributive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Habitual / Intensive Aspect**

The final phrase of the clause is repeated. The context determines whether the meaning is habitual or intensive.

**Examples:**

176. // ḍbhọ infeld ná ègwünsche nà wùra wùra ...

hand of-thing that people heathen inc do do

'customs that the heathen used to practise ...'  BC059

177. // ó nò sylí ta églë infeld ídhlaná á nà gbe

it inc move go time of-evening how they inc go-home

n' úkwọ nà  úkwọ nà //

from farm the farm the

'It was getting on towards evening time when people used to go home from the farm'  CZ048

**Note:** The preposition in the AP is not repeated.
178. // ọ za-nye n' èsyifà èsyifà //
   \[\text{AP} \quad \text{AP}\]
   he be-startled in there there

   'He was transfixed at that very place'

179. // adógbo òdàà syina ni adhu su nù su nù //
   \[\text{VP} \quad \text{VP}\]
   wreath of-name pass cpl eye float cpl float cpl

   'It was Odau's wreath that used to float down first'

   Note: This is a verbal clause string (section 5.9).

180. // ọ tà èdhô èdhô //
   \[\text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo}\]
   he go where where

   'Where does he usually go?'

181. // ọ zá ní // na ọ sì móni sise dhe
   it stay cpl that he will be-able put finish

   \[\text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo}\]
   money the money the

   'If he can really put down all the money'

Repetitive aspect

Either the VP alone or the VP and NPo (and AP if present) are repeated.

Examples:

182. // ọ wa wa úgyo nà //
   \[\text{VP} \quad \text{VP}\]
   he look look stone the

   'He looked and looked for the stone'
1831 // i wài áwài nà wài áwài nà //  
VP  NPo  VP  NPo  
they bail pond the bail pond the  
'They went on bailing and bailing out the pond'  
CJ038

184. // à i dyii ègwe ímo n' òbhò dyif ègwe ímo n' òbhò //  
VP  NPo  AP  VP  NPo  AP  
they so tie pl children in hand tie pl children in hand  
'So they kept on giving the children gifts'  
EF020  
Note: 'To tie somebody's hand' is an idiom for 'to give a gift.'

185. // opilopo yì i te nì // ka ó moni moni el //  
VP  VP  
pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him  
'When pig came he would not see him at all'  
CA012

Distributive Aspect

The NPs, unless the head of it is the distributive noun onyênyê, 'each person', and the final phrase of the clause are repeated. The VP is also repeated if the NPo has a pronoun head (example 186).

Examples:

186.//ègwe ègwe za ta étì na ó dhyomu bhà dhyomú bhà //  
NPs  NPs  VP  NPo  VP  NPo  
group group stay go place that it please them please them  
'Each group went to the place they liked'  
BJ007

1. onyênyê is not the regular reduplicated form of onye which would be *onyonye.
187. // onyënyë ná duu dhe àmini àmini //
\[\text{NPs} \quad \text{NPs} \quad \text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo}\]

each-person go-to go-out finish water water

'Everybody went to take a good bath'

FB074

188. // onyënyë pa dhou útwò útwò //
\[\text{NPs} \quad \text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo}\]

each-person lift take basket Basket

'Each person picked up a basket'

FB009

189. // onyënyë dh iyó iyó //
\[\text{NPs} \quad \text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo}\]

each-person buy what what

'What did each one buy?'

In complex sentence type 5 (Immediate Action) the reduplication is spread over both clauses.

190. // onyënyë pa // ò nò dhyàmi dhyàna //</>
\[\text{NPs} \quad \text{NPo} \quad \text{NPo} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{VP}\]

each-person start he inc enter enter

'Everybody began to go to bed'

FB006

**Note:** For change in the form of the verb see section 10.1.1.3.

191. /// ákíñe ákíñe kou dhe // i nà kpòri iviè gbe gbe //</>
\[\text{NPs} \quad \text{NPs} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{VP}\]
town town steer finish they inc sing song go-home go-home

'Each town got their boat into place and went home singing'

BM009
5.8. Relationships between Elements of the Verbal Clause

5.8.1. Vowel Harmony

There is vowel harmony between the NP and the VP in the following circumstances:

a. When the head of the NPs is a monosyllabic pronoun, the vowel of the pronouns has one of two forms, either a closer or a more open quality (section 2.2.1), harmonising with the vowel quality of the following verb.

Examples:

192. mi me 'I agree' DL140
193. mì moni me 'I cannot agree' E
194. bhà yi 'you come' CZ009
195. bhà dhi 'you eat' FA012
196. ṣ dire eseni 'she cooked a fish' DG023
197. ṣ du akani 'she bought cloth' CC017
198. i gbe 'they go home' EG033
199. i bidha 'they walk' FD034

b. When the head of the NPs is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it has one of two forms, with either a closer or a more open vowel quality, harmonising with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

Examples:

200. ṣ dose ũ 'he begged him' EBO21
201. ṣ tou kye ũ 'he gave it to him' DK068
202. ṣ kori él 'he waited for him' FB060
203. ṣ kali él 'he rebuked him' FA129
5.8.2. Juncture Features

The juncture between phrases in the clause is marked by tone on one of the syllables at the boundary. When the juncture involves the VP there are different types of juncture according to the type of clause and its polarity, mood and tense. The juncture not involving the VP (e.g. between NPs and AP) remains constant.

Juncture of NPs and VP

The juncture between the NPs and the VP is marked in terms of the tone of the final syllable of the NPs. There are three types of juncture: upstepped high (h), high (H) and low (L).

- **h juncture**: The final tone of the NPs is a h tone.
- **H juncture**: The final tone of the NPs is a H tone.
- **L juncture**: The final tone of the NPs is a L tone when the NPs ends in a L tone, and a HL glide when the NPs normally ends in a H tone.

Clauses have the following types of juncture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type and Features</th>
<th>Juncture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declarative Clause, Type 1A</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive indicative</td>
<td>aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>descriptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative indicative</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive subjunctive</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative subjunctive</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declarative Clause, Type 1B</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrogative Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-future</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The hypothesis is here put forward that the tone of a former pronominal prefix to the verb transferred to the previous syllable (the final syllable of the NPs) when the prefix was lost. Some evidence for this hypothesis can be seen from Degema, a closely related language (section 1.0), where all verbs still have the pronominal prefix.

Degema  // ọmo yọ / ọ-der / esen //
          / / / NPs    VP    NPo
            child the he-cook    fish 'The child cooked fish'

Engenni // ọmo ná / dire / eseni // (L juncture)

Degema  // ọmo yọ / ọ-der / esen // 'The child did not cook fish'

Engenni // ọmo ná / dire / eseni // (h juncture)

Examples of juncture of NPs and VP (using VP me 'agree')

a. NPs consisting of noun only: ọlìbò 'tortoise' (final L tone)

    L juncture (LJ) aorist ọlìbò LJ me > ọlìbò me
    H juncture (HJ) descriptive ọlìbò HJ me > ọlìbò me
    h juncture (hJ) neg. indic. ọlìbò hj me > ọlìbò me

    ikpìlàmọ 'snail' (final H tone)

    L juncture aorist ikpìlàmọ LJ me > ikpìlàmọ me
    H juncture descriptive ikpìlàmọ HJ me > ikpìlàmọ me
    h juncture neg. indic. ikpìlàmọ hj me > ikpìlàmọ me
b. NPs consisting of pronoun only: ə 'he'

L juncture aorist ə me
H juncture descriptive ə me
h juncture neg. indic. ō me

c. NPs consisting of noun followed by a relative construct:

édəl [na ə kari əkó nà ] 'the man who carved the canoe'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Relative construct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L juncture aorist</td>
<td>édəl na ə kari əkó nà me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H juncture descriptive</td>
<td>édəl na ə kari əko na me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h juncture neg. indic.</td>
<td>édəl na ə kari əko ná me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The second syllable of álībò 'tortoise' and of əkó nà 'the canoe' is upstepped only before a following L tone (section 2.3.1).

Juncture of VP and NPo

The juncture between the VP and the NPo is marked in terms of the tone of the initial syllable of the NPo. There are two types of juncture: high and neutral. All verbal clauses have high juncture except the positive imperative and the descriptive which have neutral.

High juncture: The initial syllable of the NPo is a H tone when the NPo starts with a H tone, and a HL glide when the NPo normally starts with a L tone, except in the case of monosyllabic pronouns when the syllable preceding the pronoun has a H tone. Nouns of tone class B in aorist clauses are an exception (section 10.2.3).

Neutral juncture: The tone of the NPo is unaffected. Therefore when the NPo begins with a H tone, the neutral juncture cannot be distinguished from the high juncture. The mood and tense of the clause determine the type of juncture.
Examples of juncture of VP and NPo (using VP geni 'look at')

a. NPo consisting of noun only: igbo 'fish net' (initial H tone)

H juncture future  o  geni  HJ  igbo  >  o  geni  igbo
N juncture pos. imp.  geni  NJ  igbo  >  geni  igbo

ụkwọ 'farm' (initial L tone)

H juncture future  o  geni  HJ  ụkwọ  >  o  geni  ụkwọ
N juncture pos. imp.  geni  NJ  ụkwọ  >  geni  ụkwọ

b. NPo consisting of pronoun: ẹgùà 'they' (disyllabic)

H juncture future  o  geni  HJ  ẹgùà  >  o  geni  ẹgùà
N juncture pos. imp.  geni  NJ  ẹgùà  >  geni  ẹgùà

bhà 'you pl.' (monosyllabic)

H juncture future  o  geni  HJ  bhà  >  o  geni  bhà
N juncture pos. imp.  geni  NJ  bhà  >  geni  bhà

Note: The second tone of the verb in the positive imperative is upstepped high before the following L tone due to automatic upstep, and in the future is H tone before a following H or HL glide (see rule 1, page 24).

Juncture of other phrases

The juncture between two NPo's is neutral, i.e. the tone of both phrases is unaffected.

Examples:

àswá 'hoe' // kyé / i / àswá // 'Give him a hoe'

úlè 'banana' // kyé / i / úlè // 'Give him a banana'

igbo 'net' // kyé / i / igbo // 'Give him a net'
The juncture between the VP or the NPo with the AP, or between two AP's differs according to whether or not elision takes place.

Where there is no elision (i.e. with AP types 1, 3, and 4 which have an initial consonant) the juncture is neutral.

**Examples:**

syinumu 'very much' // 伟大复兴 / syinumu //

(initial H tone)

'He cried very much'

bhèè 'really' // 伟大复兴 / bhèè //

'He really cried'

kpudumu 'splash' // 伟大复兴 / kpudumu //

(initial H tone)

'He fell into the water splash'

wurumu 'plop' // 伟大复兴 / wurumu //

(initial L tone)

'He fell into the water plop'

**Note:** The initial tone of syinumu and of kpudumu and also the tone of vye are upstepped before the following L tone.

When there is elision between the phrases (i.e. with AP type 2 which has an initial vowel) the juncture is high: the initial syllable of the AP has a H tone when the AP starts with a H tone, and a HL glide when the AP normally starts with a L tone.

**Examples:**

ògbè 'a little' // 伟大复兴 / ògbè //

(initial L tone)

'He cried a little'
Note: For examples of junctures from text material see chapter 9.

5.9. The Verbal Clause String

The verbal clause string consists of two to six clauses, which share the same subject, and which have the same function as a single clause. Each clause has at least one peripheral element (NPo or AP), apart from the final clause of the string which may but need not be followed by a peripheral element. A series of verbs not followed by either a NPo or AP, is not analysed as a clause string, but as a compound VP. The reasons for this analysis are given in section 7.4.

The clause string is analysed as a single unit rather than as a sequence of clauses forming a complex sentence for the following reasons:

a. The string has only one NPs which occurs in the first clause.

b. The string is marked once only for polarity, mood, tense and secondary aspect, and the markers occur in the first clause, whereas in a complex sentence each clause is marked separately.

c. The string differs in function from a complex sentence since it may function in certain sentence types where a rankshifted sentence would not occur (section 4.6), e.g. as the final element in sentence type 5 (Immediate Action) see example 209.
The verbal clause string has the following special characteristics in addition to those already described:

a. All clauses in any one string are of the same type.

b. The maximum number of peripheral elements in any one of the clauses is two (examples 206, 207).

c. Where the string is in either the neutral or the completive primary aspect all its clauses are marked (examples 207, 208). Where the string is in the incompletive primary aspect only the first clause is marked (example 209). Where the string is in a secondary aspect other than neutral the reduplication is spread over the whole string (examples 210-212).

d. A VP of class B occurs only in the final clause of the string (examples 213, 214).

e. The auxiliary verb may occur in the VP of any clause (example 215). The only preverbal which has occurred in a non-initial VP is le 'again' (example 216). Postverbals may occur in the VP of any clause (example 206).

f. The tone of the VP in non-initial clauses varies according to whether the VP occurs in the middle of the clause string or as the final element.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>String Medially</th>
<th>String Finally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syllables</td>
<td>3 2 1</td>
<td>3 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>HHH HH H</td>
<td>HHH HH H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos. Imperative</td>
<td>HHH HH H</td>
<td>LLL LL L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos. Subjunctive</td>
<td>HHH HH H</td>
<td>LHH HL HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg. Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other clauses</td>
<td>HHH HH H</td>
<td>HHH HL HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples:

The following frame is used:

```
//  o  /  tòu  /  inya  |  dire  /  n'èki  //
NPf  VP  NPo  |  VP  AP

she   take   rice   cook   at market
```

Note: This string comprises two clauses, the boundary of the first clause being indicated by the vertical line.

**String medially**

descriptive  ó  tòu  ínya  dire  n'èki  'she cooks rice
HH
at the market'
pos. imperative  tòu  ínya  dire  n'èki  'cook rice at
HH
the market'
future  o  tòu  ínya  dire  n'èki  'she will cook
HH
at the market'

**String finally**

descriptive  ó  tòu  ínya  dire  'she cooks rice'
HH
pos. imperative  tòu  ínya  dirè  'cook rice'
LL
future  o  tòu  ínya  dirè  'she will cook
HL
rice'
g. There are different junctures between clauses in a string depending on whether the auxiliary verb na occurs in the following clause or not.

**Juncture of two clauses without the auxiliary verb na**

The juncture is marked by a h tone on the final syllable of the first clause. In the following examples the end of the first clause is shown by a vertical line.

**Examples:**

*igbo (HH) mì dò ịgbọ | dhẹmosè*
  I weave net enlarge

*ěkọ (LH) mì du ěkị | dìrè*
  I buy fish cook

**Note:** For juncture involving nouns of tone class B (LL) see 10.2.3.

When a h tone occurs preceding the juncture, the final syllable of the first clause is H and is not upstepped because of the phonological rule that two h tones do not occur in sequence (section 2.3.1).

**Example:**

*àkà (HL) mì to àkà | ìdí ìdíè*
  I roast corn eat finish

**Juncture of two clauses with the auxiliary verb na**

The juncture is marked by a H tone on the final syllable of the first clause, unless the final syllable has a h tone, in which case the tone remains h.

**Examples:**

*àzyi (LL) o ta àzyi | ná sa gbeị ànàmù*
  He goes to bush to
to shoot kill animal

*igu (HH) o ta igu | ná sa gbeị ànàmù*
  He goes to the hill to hunt*
113

Notes: 1) For the reason for the change from a final tone glide to a single tone in ụkwọ see section 2.3, tone glides page 25.

ii) The H tone of na is not upstepped in the last two examples because of the phonological rule that following a h tone a H tone is not upstepped until a L tone has interposed.

If the clause string is long and there is a pause at the end of one of the clauses, the juncture there is neutral (i.e. the final tone of the first clause is unaffected). Compare the final tone of each clause in example 217.

h. The maximum number of clauses which have occurred in a clause string is six (example 217). The usual number is two to four. Imperative clause strings are rare (examples 218-220). A series of commands normally occurs as a complex sentence type 2 if positive and type 4 if negative (sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.4). Imperative and interrogative clause strings have a maximum of two clauses in the corpus analysed (examples 218-223).

j. The sequence bhue 'keep' followed by ēnìà 'thus' is in process of fusing. The construction never occurs as the sole VP in a clause, and there has been a change in the semantic meaning. The construction is best translated as 'then'. It is still analysed as VP plus AP as the verb is marked for polarity, mood and tense in the same way as any initial verb in a clause string. It is written with a hyphen: bhue-enìa.
Examples:

204. aorist tense
èdhí nà bhue-enía bhìë
palm-fruit the them get-soft

'Then the palm-fruit got soft'

205. descriptive ó bhùè-ònía dose èdhìdhë nà ...
tense
she then beg rich-man the

'When she then begged the rich man ...'

Examples of verbal clause strings

Note: The boundary of non-final clauses in the string is shown by a vertical line, and a slight pause between the clauses by a colon.

Declarative clause strings

206. // à / kpoi dhë / i / onwl: dina dhe / i / elë:
NPs VP NPo NPo VP NPo NPo
they wash finish him body rub finish him pomade
tou / awo / nyoni dhë / i //
VP NPo VP NPo
take shirt put finish him

'They washed his body, rubbed him with pomade and dressed him in a shirt'

Note: The postverbal dhe in both initial and non-initial clauses.

207. // ènl / swai dhou / oko / n' évuu
NPs VP NPo AP
we carry take canoe on shoulder
swai lai na dhyani / n'ewù //
VP AP
carry turn to enter in inlet

'We carried the canoe on our shoulders and turned to enter the inlet'
208. // à / ná tou ni / utunu owuo na / yi i sue ni //
NPs VP NPo VP
they go-to take cpl bunch of-palm the come to appear cpl
'They had gone to get the bunch of palm and had come back'

Note: Both classes are marked by ni for the completive aspect.

209. // ávuramu nà / i pà // ó / nò tou / eì
NPs VP NPo VP
woman the so start she go-to take him

gp eye of-juju one
'So the woman set off to take him to see a juju'

Note: The clause string is the final element in a complex sentence type 5 (Immediate Action).

210. // ènl / tou / igiró na / del / dél //
NPs VP NPo VP VP
we take crocodile the sell sell
'We took the crocodile (meat) and kept selling it'

Note: The string is in the repetitive secondary aspect.

211. // adhógbo òdàù / syina ni / adhu / su nù / sù nù //
NPs VP NPo VP VP
wreath of-name pass cpl eye float cpl float cpl float cpl
'It was Odau's wreath that used to float down first'

Note: The string is in the habitual secondary aspect. Both clauses are marked for the completive aspect.
212. // onyenye / dũ / īnùmù [nà ò dhyomu ëì ya] yì / yì //
NPs VP NPo VP VP
each should-buy thing that it please him is come come
'Each person should buy something he likes and come'

Note: The string is in the distributive secondary aspect. The NPo contains a rankshifted clause string functionins as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

213. // ìdhìde ìkipìlàmà / ṕì i ni / isyisya ëkó na ya //
NPs VP NPo VP:B
king of-snail pass cpl middle of-canoe the is
'The leader of the snails had moved to the middle of the canoe (and was still there)'

Note: The final VP is of class B.

214. // ëkó nà / fyé ni / bha ya //
NPs VP NPo VP:B
canoe the exceed cpl them is
'The canoe is too big for them'

215. // i / kou dhe / oko nà bhari / n ëbhùmù : i
NPs VP NPo VP AP
they steer finish canoe to land on sand-bank
duu dhe / ãmini //
VP NPo
go-out finish water
'They steered the canoe and landed on the sand bank and had a good bath'

Note: The auxiliary verb nà occurs initially in the second clause of the string.
216. // b / bidha dhyani ni / n'unwoni aki //
NP VP AP
he walk enter cpl in mouth of-pot
kpina kime dhe le yi i duu nu / n' oto
VP AP
tread circle finish again come to go cpl on ground

'It walked onto the rim of the pot, trod right round and came again to the ground'

Note: The preverbal le occurs in a non-initial VP.

217. // b / i bhu-ne-ini // kunu / amo na / n'yoni n'uvomu omu //
NP VP AP VP NPo VP AP
he so then held child the put in inside house
tou / ugyo / tou firi bhue / amo na; tou / ede
VP NPo VP NPo VP NPo
take stone take press keep child the take rope
fari lei padhe / enuswel //
VP NPo
tie close finish entrance

'Then he took hold of the child and put him inside the house and put a stone on top of him and took a rope and tied the door'

Imperative clause strings

218. // za / apdhemi // za //
VP NPo VP
stay seat stay

'Remain seated'

219. // burerure / onisdo / toth kum //
VP NPo VP
pray God take give me

'Pray to God for me'
220. // nà tóu / okpo inumu | tou wuru / edēi əbhura wò //
  VP    NPo  |    VP    NPo
neg take bad thing take do person of-same-age your
'Do not do evil to your neighbour' (lit. your contemporary)
  DJ053

Interrogative clause strings

221. // ḍyó / za tóu ni / udhi me | tou dhá dhe ní / n’äzyí //
  NPs  VP    NPo  |    VP    AP
who stay take cpl wine my take drink finish cpl in bush
'Who has been taking my wine and drinking it all in the bush?'
  AG008

222. // ívùræmù / móni / ḍyó | wurà //
  NPs   VP    NPo  |    VP
women will-be-able what do
'What will the women be able to do?'
  FB126

223. // mí / tóu / ãdhya na | tou wuru / iyo //
  NPs  VP    NPo  |    VP    NPo
I should-take snake the take do what
'What should I do with the snake?'
  CE009
### CHAPTER SIX

**THE CLAUSE**

1. **THE NOMINAL CLAUSE**
2. **THE MARGINAL CLAUSE**

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.0.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 1, Declarative</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 1A Simple</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 1B Appositional</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.3.</td>
<td>Emphasis in the Declarative Clause</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 2, Interrogative</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 2A Simple</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 2B Appositional</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3.</td>
<td>The Nominal Clause, Type 2C Locative</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.</td>
<td>The Marginal Clause</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1.</td>
<td>The Marginal Clause, Type 1 Vocative</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2.</td>
<td>The Marginal Clause, Type 2 Exclamatory</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.0. The Nominal Clause

The nominal clause is always independent. It may occur as a simple sentence or as an element of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential) or as the final element of a complex sentence type 3A (Report).

The nominal clause is composed of one or two nominal phrases as nuclear elements and an adverbial phrase as the optional peripheral element of some types. On the basis of differences in internal structure two main types of nominal clause are distinguished: type 1 declarative and type 2 interrogative. Each type is further divided into subtypes as follows:

- **declarative**: simple, appositional
- **interrogative**: simple, appositional, locative

6.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 1 Declarative

The declarative clause has features which mark polarity. Positive clauses have the positive intonation. Negative clauses have the negative intonation and the negative particle *sa* preceding the final NP. (See section 5.4.1.1 for positive and negative intonation patterns.) Declarative clauses are divided into two types: type 1A simple and type 1B appositional.

6.1.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 1A Simple

This type consists of a single NP of any type except type 4 (interrogative).

Examples:

224. /// adhê ṣevlê /// ò ta ...  
    day another he go

'Another day he went ...'
225. // ūkwò nà // ā l kunu ətòdhya ///</farm the they will grow cocoyam

'In the farm they will grow cocoyam.' CZ018

226. /// omìni àdhimù ///</child orphan

'(He was) an orphan.' FD002

227. /// inàmù ìblirimàni ///</thing of-wonder

'(It is) a wonderful thing!' DC032

228. /// òtò [na á tòu ana avi nyoni padhe] nà ///</time that they take one of-leg put-on finish the

'At the time that the stirrups had been put on ...' When) CC047

Note: The NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2). See also examples 229-230 below.

229. /// òkójô bo [na ó karà] ///</canoe big that he carve

'It was a big canoe that he carved.' DL006

230. /// èbhùrù [na ó kari emià] ///</famine that it be-strong thus

'There was a severe famine.' FA004

231. /// sa òkì ///</neg he

'It's not him.' EE094
232. \(\text{̃a ânâmù} \) \(\text{̃a} \) \(\text{animal} \)
'It's not an animal.'

6.1.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 1B Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition followed optionally by one AP. The juncture between the phrases is neutral (i.e. there are no tone changes). When the clause is positive the two phrases may be linked by the sequential particle \(\text{ka} \) (example 235). If the clause is part of a complex sentence type 3 (Report) \(\text{ka} \) may be replaced by the speech particle \(\text{ga} \) (example 236).

The two phrases are analysed as one clause and not as two since there is infrequently elision at the juncture of the phrases, whereas there is no elision at a clause boundary (section 5.0). The two phrases differ from two NP's constituting an extended NP type 1 (section 8.3.1) in function, since they are followed by a AP or a new clause and not by a VP, and in structure since the sequential particle does not occur in an extended NP.

Examples:

233. \(\text{ègillè ̃oki nà} / \text{ègillè íbhwe} // ̃i / nà yia ...\)
\(\text{NP} / \text{NP} / \text{NPs} / \text{VP} \)
'time that the time of-flood they inc come

'That time was the flood season. They were approaching...'

234. \(\text{mé} / \text{àdhídè} // \text{mí} / \text{si kpé} ...\)
\(\text{NP} / \text{NP} / \text{NPs} / \text{VP} \)
'I rich-man I will pay

'I am a rich man. I will pay ...'
235. // bhù a / ka édei avu n'uvomu esyi ['na á nà
     NP      NP
you too  seq  man  one  in  inside  place  that  they  inc
     kòni  èsylóbhò ] //
     fight wrestling

'You are a person (to be reckoned with) on the wrestling ground.'

Note: The final NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a
relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

236. // à / í gba kye / í // ga ávuramu nà / //
     NP
they  so  tell  give  him  sp  woman  the
     ga  àni  ìlìbò  // //
     NP
sp  wife  of-tortoise

'They told him that the woman was the wife of tortoise.'

237. // édei nà / sa  ákumédel // //
     NP      NP
person  the  neg  human

'The person is not a human being.'

6.1.3. **Emphasis in the Declarative Clause**

The declarative clause may occur with a special syntagmatic
feature which makes the clause emphatic. The feature is the emphatic
particle *va* which occurs before the final NP of the clause. (This
particle may also occur in the verbal declarative clause when the VP is
emphatic, section 5.4.3.) This feature is analysed as a modification
of the basic clause structure, as it is parallel to the special
emphasising features which may occur in the verbal declarative clause
(section 5.4.3).
Examples:

238. // ่งกรีน่า / แวยี่นิติ่ณ่า //

maggot the emp kind one

'The maggots are really the same'

239. // ใบริ่ดเน่ / แวยี่นิต //

every day the emp thus

'Every day was just like that'

240. // แวยี่นิติ่ณ่า แวย่ีน่า //

emp kind of-farm one the indeed

'It was still in the same farm, you know'

241. // แวย่ีนิติ่ณ่า //

emp ?

'Just as I said!'

6.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2 Interrogative

The interrogative clause has two optional demarcative features: the interrogative intonation in which the pitch of the whole clause is raised (example 242); and the question particle แวย่ which occurs clause finally (example 246). Like the verbal interrogative clause, the nominal interrogative clause has no features marking polarity. Only clauses which are semantically positive occur. Three types of interrogative clause are distinguished: type 2A simple, type 2B appositional, type 2C locative.

6.2.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 2A Simple

This type consists of a single NP of type 4 (interrogative).

Examples:

242. /// แวย่ีนิติ่ณ่า //

farm of-whom

'Whose farm is it?'
243. /// abhwè /// gà iyo ///
   dog      sp what
'The dog (said), "What?"' FB159

Note: The interrogative clause is the final element in a
complex sentence type 3A (Report).

6.2.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2B Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition of which one is of
type 4 (interrogative). The phrases may be linked by the sequential
particle ka.

Examples:

244. /// ènê / ènàmù vo ///
   NP       NP:4
this animal which
'What animal is this?' E

245. /// dyê / ka édèl [ na bhì sì dhúmo
   NP:4      NP
who seq man who you will marry
  n' uvomu egua utomu esaa nà ] ///
  in inside them head three the
'Who of the three men will you marry?' CG090

Note: The NPo includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a
relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

246. /// mi i bhinè /// àkà / kà iniwàrà vo à ///
   NP         NP:4
I so ask that seq work which qu
'So I asked, "What job is that?"' AA017

Note: The interrogative clause is the final element in a
complex sentence type 3A (Report).
6.2.3.  The Nominal Clause, Type 2C Locative

This type consists of a NP of type 1. There are two demarcative features: the question introducer tene 'where is?' which precedes the NP; and the raised pitch of the final tone of the clause.

Examples:
247. /// tène àlíbò /// 'Where is tortoise?' CA008
248. // tène úgyo nà /// 'Where is the stone?' CA025
249. /// tène olilo /// 'Where is a bottle?' E

6.3.  The Marginal Clause

The marginal clause is always independent. It usually occurs as a simple sentence. It occasionally occurs as the final element of a complex sentence type 3A (Report). The marginal clause is distinguished from the nominal clause as it does not have any feature marking polarity. There are two types of marginal clause: type 1 vocative, and type 2 exclamatory.

6.3.1.  The Marginal Clause, Type 1 Vocative

This type consists of a NP type 1 followed optionally by the vocative particle è which is analysed as a demarcative feature of this type.

Examples:
250. /// ólò è /// 'Friend!' CJ028
251. /// adhógò è /// 'Elephant!' EE126
252. gá álibò /// grasscutter so call sp tortoise
'So grasscutter called out "Tortoise!"'

253. onyiìsìyì /// ga éni mè /// 'The man said, "My wife!"

6.3.2. The Marginal Clause, Type 2 Exclamatory

This type consists of a single element, an exclamation. The following are the most common:

- áyé 'expression of amusement'
- e: 'expression of pleasure'
- ìhénìyì 'I thought so!'
- enyi 'yes'
- enyìènyì 'no'
- gwa 'come on! that's done!' 'oh dear!'
- ohónyì 'you wait - something is going to happen'
- taa 'too bad!'

Note: gwa also functions as an optional demarcative feature of the positive imperative clause (section 5.5).

Example:

254. ìnmì /// ga taa /// álibò wùrù ivo ...
animal sp too-bad tortoise do what
'The animal (said) "Too bad! Why has tortoise ..."'
# CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE VERBAL PHRASE

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.0.</td>
<td>Phrase Classes</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.</td>
<td>Function of the Verbal Phrase</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.</td>
<td>Structure of the Verbal Phrase</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.</td>
<td>The Simple Verbal Phrase</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1.</td>
<td>The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class A</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.</td>
<td>The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class B</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.</td>
<td>The Compound Verbal Phrase</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.1.</td>
<td>The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class A</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.2.</td>
<td>The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class B</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5.</td>
<td>The Verbal Phrase Margin</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE VERBAL PHRASE

7.0. Phrase Classes

On the basis of their function in the clause three classes of phrase are distinguished: verbal phrase, nominal phrase and adverbial phrase. The verbal phrase will be described in this chapter, the nominal phrase in chapter 8, and the adverbial phrase in chapter 9.

7.1. Function of the Verbal Phrase

The VP functions as a nuclear element of the verbal clause. There are two classes of VP which have different classes of verb functioning as the head and which have different functions. The two classes are: Class A with a class A verb as head, and Class B with a class B verb as head. Class A functions in any verbal clause. Class B functions only in declarative clauses and in interrogative clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP. Differences of structure of the VP parallel the differences in class, so there is no need to set up different types of VP.

7.2. Structure of the Verbal Phrase

Each class of VP may be either of simple or compound structure. The simple VP has one verb functioning as head; the compound VP has two or more verbs functioning as head. The head is optionally preceded by preverbals and/or the auxiliary verb, and is optionally followed by postverbals and/or reinforcers. The latter may be separated from the rest of the phrase by an NPo or AP, thus making the phrase discontinuous. It is useful to refer to the head and the pre- and postverbals as the core of the phrase and the reinforcers as the margin, since the margin is the same for all classes and types. The core of the VP is described in sections 7.3 and 7.4 and the margin in 7.5.
7.3. **The Simple Verbal Phrase**

This consists of a single verb functioning as head which is optionally preceded by the auxiliary verb *ná* and/or one of the following preverbs:

- *í* 'as a result' 'then' 'so'
- *i* 'again'
- *le* 'again'
- *ma* 'still' 'yet'

The head is optionally followed by one or two of the following postverbs:

- *dhe* 'finished, thoroughly'
- *me* '1st person singular object'
- *wo* '2nd person singular object'

The reasons for analysing *me* and *wo* as elements of the VP and not as pronouns are given in section 11.3.

The pre- and postverbs harmonise with the vowel quality (see section 2.2.1) of the following or preceding verb respectively, and together with the auxiliary verb will be described in detail in sections 11.1-11.3. The auxiliary verb usually follows the preverbal (examples 225, 256), but may precede *le* 'again' (example 257).

7.3.1. **The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class A**

A class A verb (see section 10.1.1) functions as head which may be preceded and followed by attributive elements as described above.

**Examples:** (The VP is underlined.)

255. *ó ma na te eayl na ...*

he yet go-to not-reach place which

'He had not yet reached the place where ...'  

256. *l ñ na ke ƙaƙaƙa*

they so go-to chop-down cotton-tree

'So they went to chop down a cotton-tree'
The hen went and perched again on the roof of another house.

'Go again'

'Go (pl.) and stop (it)'

'They all gave me gifts'

'She again became exactly like ...

For further examples see sections 11.1 - 11.3.

7.3.2. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class B

This consists of one of the two class B verbs: ya 'is' and mo 'is not', functioning as head, together with a restricted number of optional attributive elements as described below. For a full description of the class B verbs see section 10.1.2. ya 'is' 'exists' may be
preceded by the auxiliary verb or by one preverbal, or followed by one postverbal.

Examples:

262. ëni ná ya n'omu isùkùlù
    \underline{\text{Aux Vb:B}}
    
    we go-to are in house of-school

    'We had gone to the school building (and were still there)'

263. édei nà ma ya n'èbhà ìsùyìnù
    \underline{\text{PreVb Vb:B}}
    
    man the still is at part of-back

    'The man is still at the back'

264. inùmù ná ìò ya me n'ìkpèbi
    \underline{\text{Vb:B PostVb}}
    
    thing which it is mo in heart

    'thing which is in my heart'

mo 'is not', 'does not exist' may occur with one preverbal or one postverbal.

Examples:

265. èsou ma mo i
    \underline{\text{PreVb Vb:B}}
    
    ear yet is-not him

    'He could not yet hear' (because the speaker was too far away)

266. àswèì ìfì i mo
    \underline{\text{PreVb Vb:B}}
    
    life his again is-not

    'He did not live any longer'
fear that the is-not you in inside of-heart

'No fear like that is in your heart'

7.4. The Compound Verbal Phrase

Two to four verbs function as head of the phrase and these may be preceded and/or followed by optional attributive elements. The verbs are analysed as constituting one compound head rather than as heads of separate VP's in a clause string (section 5.9) for the following reasons:

a. The tone pattern marking polarity, mood and tense, is manifested over the entire phrase.

b. The completive aspect particle ná occurs following the final verb only. Examples 270, 273.

c. The class of the final verb of the head determines the number of NPo's that can occur, except in the stative compound VP which is described below (page 135).

d. Preverbals usually occur only preceding the initial verb. Examples 268, 269. One example has occurred of the preverbal le 'again' before a non-initial verb (example 216, page 117).

The compound head may be interrupted by the auxiliary verb ná (examples 272, 273) or by one or two postverbals (examples 274, 275).

7.4.1. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class A

All the verbs functioning as head are class A verbs.

Examples:

268. lè kəri sylì funù yi

again do-well move climb come

'Come and move up again really close'
269. ḍ ma nyane yila
PreVb Vb:A Vb:A
he yet not-arise stand

'He had not yet got up'  

270. ̀akpidhà áyèl nwune rìi ni amò
Vb:A Vb:A
change pass cpl child

'The shrimp had become a child'

271. ḍ za sa gbei anamu
Vb:A Vb:A Vb:A
he stay shoot kill animal

'He went on shooting animals'

272. ḍ la ná dhyani n'uwoni aki nà
Vb:A Aux Vb:A
it crawl to enter in mouth of-pot the

'It crawled into the mouth of the pot'

273. ḍ ta ná te ni akiè
Vb:A Aux Vb:A
he go to reach cpl town

'He had reached the town'

274. bhù syè dhe sise
Vb:A PostVb Vb:A
you remove finish put-down

'You take it right off (the fire) and put it down'
275. ó i kúnu me dhia
   Vb:Á PostVb Vb:Á
   he will catch me eat

'He will catch me and eat me'

The Stative Compound Verbal Phrase

When the final verb in the phrase is one of the following: za 'remain', fye 'exceed', bhue 'keep', the number of NPo's which may occur is determined by the class of the verb occurring penultimately in the phrase.

Examples:

(Abbreviations: IntrVb = intransitive verb; TrVb = transitive verb
StrVb = semitransitive verb (section 10.1.1.1))

276. ébhürü yi za ákie im-alibò
   StrVb IntrVb
   famine come stay town of-those-like-tortoise

'Famine had come to tortoise's town'

277. onu álibó nà kpömù bhue
   IntrVb TrVb
   mother of-tort. inc be-ill keep

'Tortoise's mother kept on getting more ill'

278. ùnómú ínnumu eí bhù fye
   IntrVb TrVb
   knowing of-thing his be-much exceed

'He was too clever'
7.4.2. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class B

The class B verbs *ya* 'is' and *mo* 'is not' may occur with class A verbs in a compound VP. The class B verbs follow all class A verbs except *kye* 'give' (examples 281, 283).

Examples:

279. *idhlànà ènì* tou *geni* *nyenì* *ya* *n'enè*  

\[ \text{Vb:A Vb:A Vb:A Vb:B} \]  

how we take look live are at now  

'how we are living now'  

BJ065

280. *idhlànà ò* tou *gbo* *ya* *nà*  

\[ \text{Vb:A Vb:A Vb:B} \]  

how he take be-rich is the  

'how rich he is'  

DH006

281. *idhlànà ò* *ya* *kye* *ikpòli* *ògwè*  

\[ \text{Vb:B Vb:A} \]  

how it is give many people  

'how it is for many people'  

AR023

282. *ò* *dhemu* *mo*  

\[ \text{Vb:A Vb:B} \]  

it be-big is-not  

'It isn't big'  

AP023

283. *ò* *gbori* *mo* *kye* *ènl*  

\[ \text{Vb:A Vb:B Vb:A} \]  

it be-hard is-not give us  

'It isn't hard for us'  

E
7.5. **The Verbal Phrase Margin**

One or two reinforcers (see section 11.6) may occur following the core of the VP. If the VP is followed by a NPo or AP the reinforcers occur clause finally and the VP is discontinuous. When the reinforcers occur following a NPo they may form part of the NPo or part of the VP. The analysis is clear from the context. When the VP is negative and emphatic, the margin consists of the reinforcer nu followed by a repetition of the verb (section 5.4.3, examples 155, 156).

The reinforcers are analysed as attributive elements of the VP and not as constituting separate AP's since they can never be expanded and since they function as attributive elements also of the NP (section 8.2.1.1). For this latter reason they are also not analysed as features of the whole clause.

**Examples:**

284. bhá yi í pa kye eni ivié lóú
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{llllll}
    \text{Vb} & \text{Aux} & \text{Vb} & \text{Vb} & \text{NPO} & \text{NPO} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    
    you come to raise give us song just

    'Just come (pl.) and start the song for us'

    DL120

285. mí nà zà swèi igbó bhòò
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{llll}
    \text{Vb} & \text{Vb} & \text{NPO} & \text{rf} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    
    I inc stay cast net for-long

    'I went on casting the net for ages'

    AT077

286. ṣkò nà nà và bidhá bhòò
    
    \[
    \begin{array}{ll}
    \text{Vb} & \text{rf} \\
    \end{array}
    \]
    
    canoe the inc emp move for-long

    'The canoe really went on moving a long way'

    DL136
287. ɗdhedhyɔri sì vâ tâ nu

spider will emp go indeed

'Spider will really in fact go'  

288. ɗrhùsù wɔ ná tyi nwe n'ʃtɔ nâ nu

rice your the not-boil spill on ground the indeed

'(if) in fact your rice doesn't boil over onto the ground'  

289. ɗ yi i te akie nà ә o ...

she come to reach town the also indeed

'Even (when) she reached the town ...'  

### CHAPTER EIGHT

**THE NOMINAL PHRASE**

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>Function of the Nominal Phrase</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Structure of the Nominal Phrase</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 1</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1.1</td>
<td>Modifiers</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1.2</td>
<td>Modifying Constructs</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1.3</td>
<td>Complex Head</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.2</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 2</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.3</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 3</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.4</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 4</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.5</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 5</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.6</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 6</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.7</td>
<td>The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 7</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 1</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.2</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 2</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.3</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 3</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.4</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 4</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.5</td>
<td>The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 5</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

8.0. Function of the Nominal Phrase

The primary function of the NP is as an element of the clause as follows:

a. as subject preceding the VP and as object following the VP in verbal clauses;

b. as the sole element or either of two elements of the nominal clause.

The NP also has a secondary function as a rankshifted unit at phrase rank as follows:

a. as part of the complex head of a simple NP when it is termed a genitive construct (section 8.2.1.3);

b. as either of two elements of an extended NP (section 8.3);

c. as a complete AP type 2 (section 9.2.2);

d. as an element of AP types 1 and 4 (sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.4).

8.1. Structure of the Nominal Phrase

The NP may be either simple or extended. The simple NP has one element functioning as head. The extended NP consists of two or more simple NP's functioning as a single phrase (section 8.3).

8.2. The Simple Nominal Phrase

Simple NP's are divided into seven types according to the element that functions as head of the phrase.

8.2.1. The Simple NP, Type 1 Noun as Head

This type may have either a simple head, consisting of a single noun (abbreviated 'Nn'), or a complex head, consisting of a noun followed by a genitive construct. The complex head will be described in section 8.2.1.3.
The head is optionally followed by up to three of the following attributive elements in the order given: adjective ('Adj'); numeral ('Num'); possessive ('Poss'); demonstrative ('Dem'); modifying construct; reinforcer ('rf'). The term 'modifier' is used to cover all the attributive elements which are not constructs, since these all have similar juncture features with the head of the phrase. The modifiers will be described first in section 8.2.1.1, and then the modifying constructs in section 8.2.1.2.

8.2.1.1. Modifiers

The order of occurrence of the modifiers will be described first, followed by an account of the vowel harmony, juncture features and concord operating within the NP. All these are relational features of the NP type 1.

a. Order of Occurrence

The order of occurrence of the modifiers in the NP is as follows:
- adjective (section 11.3)
- numeral (section 10.4)
- pronoun functioning as possessive (section 10.3)
- demonstrative (section 10.5)
- reinforcer (section 11.6)

Two reinforcers may occur together (examples 291, 295).

Examples:

290. ो नो को अतमु एवा अयो

he go-to call head two other

'He went to call the other two people' CG046

291. धो नी ए धुम नु एहम्ना अ जा ना यि नि

friend her the also follow cpl part that he stay the come cpl

'Her friend too came from the place where he had been' FB096
There is one exception to the order given above. Nouns of class A, denoting relationship (section 10.2.1) are obligatorily possessed, and the possessive immediately follows the noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compare</th>
<th>âtyé mè vlè</th>
<th>'my dear brother'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nn Poss Adj</td>
<td>(âtye Noun, class A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with</td>
<td>òlò vlé mè</td>
<td>'my dear friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nn Adj Poss</td>
<td>(olo Noun, not class A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compare</td>
<td>ónu me bò</td>
<td>'my grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nn Poss Adj</td>
<td>(lit. 'my big mother')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(onu Noun, class A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with</td>
<td>ùkwó bo mè</td>
<td>'my big farm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nn Adj Poss</td>
<td>(ukwo Noun, not class A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Vowel Harmony

The following modifiers harmonise with the vowel quality of the preceding word in the NP: demonstrative, singular pronouns (all monosyllabic) functioning as possessives, and the numeral *avu* 'one'. (See section 2.2.1 for the vowel harmony system.)

Examples:

**Demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðdô</td>
<td>'this rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô</td>
<td>'this mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô</td>
<td>'another rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô</td>
<td>'another mortar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Singular Possessives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðdô mè</td>
<td>'my rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðdô l</td>
<td>'his rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðdô bë</td>
<td>'your new shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðdô dho wò</td>
<td>'your old shirt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Numeral 'avu'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðdô</td>
<td>'one rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô</td>
<td>'one mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô</td>
<td>'one small yam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðòdô bô</td>
<td>'one big yam'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. Juncture Features**

The juncture between a modifier and the previous word in the NP, whether this is the head or another modifier, is marked by tone on one of the syllables at the boundary.

When a modifier begins with a vowel, (unless it is a single vocalic morpheme), the normal rules of elision operate, i.e. the first vowel at the juncture is elided together with its tone (section 2.4). In addition there is a high juncture. The initial tone of the modifier which is normally L is a HL glide. The following modifiers begin with a vowel: numerals, demonstratives and disyllabic possessives.
Examples:

**Numerals**
- èdhyà àvù 'one yam'
- ìgyì àvù 'one net'
- ìsyòni 'five'
- ìsyòni 'five yams'
- ìsyòni 'five nets'

**Disyllabic Possessives**
- àni 'our yam'
- àni 'our net'
- ìgyì 'our'
- ìgyì 'our net'

**Demonstratives**
- èdhyà ènò 'this yam'
- èdhyà ènò 'this net'
- ìgyì ènò 'this'
- ìgyì ènò 'this net'

When a modifier begins with a consonant or is a single vocalic morpheme there is no elision. The juncture with the previous word is of three types: unstepped high, low or neutral. The following modifiers begin with a consonant or consist of a single vowel: adjectives, monosyllabic possessives, reinforcers. The type of juncture operating with the adjectives and reinforcers is morphologically conditioned and cannot be predicted from the phonology (sections 11.4.3 and 11.6).

a. **Upstepped high juncture**

The final tone of the first word at the juncture is h tone.

**Examples:**
- èdhyà 'yam'
- ìgyì 'net'

**Adjectives**
- èdhyà bò 'big yam'
- ìgyì bò 'big net'
- èdhyà doramù 'long yam'
- ìgyì doramù 'long net'
Monosyllabic Possessives

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èdhyá mè} & \quad 'my yam' & \text{igbó mè} & \quad 'my net' \\
\text{èdhyá wò} & \quad 'your yam' & \text{igbó wò} & \quad 'your net' \\
\text{èdhyá ī} & \quad 'his yam' & \text{igbó ī} & \quad 'his net' \\
\text{èdhyá bhà} & \quad 'your (pl) yam' & \text{igbó bhà} & \quad 'your (pl) net'
\end{align*}
\]

Reinforcers

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èdhyá nà} & \quad 'the yam' & \text{igbó nà} & \quad 'the net' \\
\text{èdhyá o} & \quad 'yam indeed' & \text{igbó o} & \quad 'a net indeed'
\end{align*}
\]

b. Low Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture, if normally L, remains L, and if normally H is a HL glide.

Examples:

Adjective

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èdhyá gbè} & \quad 'a little yam' & \text{igbó gbè} & \quad 'a few nets'
\end{align*}
\]

Reinforcer

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èdhyá a} & \quad 'yam too' & \text{igbó a} & \quad 'a net too'
\end{align*}
\]

c. Neutral Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture remains unchanged.

Examples:

Adjectives

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èdhyá viè} & \quad 'good yam' & \text{*igbó viè} & \quad 'a good net' \\
\text{èdhyá gbèrl} & \quad 'small yam' & \text{*igbó gbèrl} & \quad 'big net'
\end{align*}
\]

Note: * The second tone of igbo is upstepped to h tone before the following L tone. This is automatic upstep (section 2.3.1).
Reinforcers

èdhyà lòù 'only yam' igbo lòù 'only a net'
èdhyà nu 'this very yam' igbo nu 'this very net'

d. Concord

The only modifier which concords with the head of the NP is the demonstrative, since this is the only modifier which has singular and plural forms (section 10.5). There is concord with respect to number between the noun head and the demonstrative when the noun is marked morphologically for number (i.e. is of type 3, 4A or 5C, see section 10.2.2).

Examples:

ámo ìnà 'this child' ímo ìnà 'these children'
okílomù ìkà 'that chief' ikílomù ìkà 'those chiefs'

Otherwise there is no concord between the noun and the demonstrative.

Example:

ùdhyómu ìkà 'that juju' ùdhyómu ìkà 'those jujus'

8.2.1.2. Modifying Constructs

A rankshifted AP, clause or sentence may function as an attributive element of the NP. This is termed a modifying construct. The construct usually occurs preceding the reinforcer (i.e. following all the other modifiers) but it may occur following the reinforcer (example 296). There are three types of modifying construct: a) relative; b) additive; c) locative. (In the examples on the following pages the construct is enclosed in square brackets.)
a. Relative Construct

A rankshifted verbal clause, type 1 (declarative) or a sentence composed solely of declarative clauses may function as a relative construct (abbreviated 'RelCon'). The construct has the following special characteristics:

i. It is preceded by the construct marker na (with H tone);

ii. When the action of the verb is punctiliar, the referential tense occurs, and not the aorist tense as in non-rankshifted clauses.

Up to two relative constructs may occur in one NP.

Examples:

296. mí sì dū ku wo ñinùmù [na ó dhyomu wo] lòu

Nn RelCon rf

'I will buy give you thing that it is-sweet to-you any

'I will buy you anything you like'  DB011

297. ìdhìa bhìdë [na mí nà zà wa mi tòu avuramu ]

Nn rf RelCon

that- long- that I inc stay want I will-take woman
day ago

'That day long ago when I was wanting to marry a woman'  DA039

298. èdhyomu ìndë [na ínà í kyé ni ënì bhue ni ]

Nn Dem RelCon

food this which mother- his give opl us keep opl
in-law

[na bhà ñòmù eva tòu dhia ] nà

RelCon

which they head two will-take eat the

'This food which his mother-in-law had given them and which they both were going to eat'  DG005
299. ávràmù [nà ó weì ë gá ñòrí ko òhòni eì ìníi ]

Nn  
RelCon  (rankshifted sentence)

woman who she say that she not-call husband her name

'the woman who says that she will not call the name of her husband'

b. Additive Construct

One or two rankshifted AP's type 4 (see section 9.2.4) may function as additive constructs (abbreviated 'AddCon'). This type of construct is common.

Examples:

300. ávràmu ëvù [nàà ódhoni eì] ìhùye bhùe ímo ivà

Nn  Num  AddCon

woman one and husband her so bear keep children two

'A woman and her husband had had two children'

301 onu-ámò [nàà okìló] nà yìa

Nn  AddCon

mother and cutlass inc come

'The mother was coming with a cutlass'

302. á kye i ìkùòu ísìyòvà [nàà etììte ìkàñì]

Nn  Num  AddCon

ey should- him 6d 7 and scrap of-cloth give

[nàà ágbìdù-ìbìwòì]

AddCon

and sherd

'They should give him 3/6d and a rag and a sherd'

303. íkùlììmù á [nàà ivìe ná] nà yìa

Nn  rf  AddCon

snail also and song the inc come

'The snail too came singing'
For numerals above 11 a NP with an additive construct is used.

Example:

304.  ígbèl [nàà isyíleni enyisà]

- Nn AddCon
- ten and shilling six

'sixteen shillings'

AT105

For further examples see section 10.4.

c. Locative Construct

One rankshifted AP type 1A (section 9.2.1) may function as a locative construct (abbreviated 'LocCon'). This type of construct is rare.

Example:

305.  árùsú [n' úvòmà áki esaa] ná sì ríi ...

- Nn LocCon rf
- rice in inside pot three the will pass

'The rice in the three pots will pass ...'

DH047

8.2.1.3. Complex Head

The noun head may be followed by another noun with or without its own attributive elements, i.e. by a rankshifted NP. This rankshifted NP is termed a genitive construct (abbreviated 'GenCon'). The noun head and the genitive construct function as a single unit, being followed by the same attributive elements as a single noun. The noun and the genitive construct are therefore analysed as constituting a complex head.

Examples: (The complex head is underlined.)

306.  ògèni ádhù áñò nà

- Nn GenCon Dom rf
- looking of-eye this the

'this mirror'

CG026
he see wife of-name who she inc stay eat cassava

'He saw Ade's wife who was eating cassava'

The genitive construct is marked by an initial h tone. When the construct normally begins with a h tone the marker of the construct is not distinguishable. When the construct normally begins with a L tone this is replaced by a hL glide.

Examples:

ómü 'house'
óga ómü 'side of the house'

Nn GenCon

èkwé 'farm'
óga èkwé 'edge of the farm'

Nn GenCon

The genitive construct may consist of a head element only, as in the examples given so far, or of a head followed by one or two attributive elements. It is frequently not easy to tell whether an attributive element is attributive to the head of the construct or to the complex head. In some cases the attributive element collocates only with one of the two heads and not with both and thus clarifies the analysis (examples 308-311). In the majority of cases it is the context alone which determines the analysis.

308. ì pa àhoun oko àbhid àvú kye ì

'they lift take canoe of-kola-nut one give him'

'They took a canoe of kola nuts and gave it to him'

Notes: The semantics preclude the analysis of the numeral as attributive to the head of the construct, i.e. 'the canoe of one kola nut'.

The hL glide on the numeral is a juncture feature (section 8.2.1.1) not a construct marker.
He inc take him go face of-juju one

'He was taking him to see one juju'

Notes: In this context the numeral does not collocate with adhu and is therefore analysed as attributive to the head of the construct.

The initial tone of udhyomu is H not h since no L tone has interposed following the previous h tone (section 2.3.1).

This seq lament of-that-day that I cry the

'This is the lament I made on that day'

Notes: Since the verb vye 'cry' frequently co-occurs with the noun edhivie 'lament', it is preferable to analyse the relative construct as attributive to the complex head.

one go to look-for house of-man this who he come new new

'Let's go and look for the house of the man who very recently arrived'

Notes: The verb yi 'come' does not collocate with omu 'house' therefore the relative construct is analysed as attributive to the head of the construct.
One of the attributive elements of a genitive construct may itself be a genitive construct, and further degrees of recursion are possible. The highest number of degrees of recursion which have occurred in the corpus is three (example 313).

Examples:

312. əndi əl əvuramu akie əsyiə [na ə nyeni za] nà

wife his woman of-town of-that-place that she live stay the

'His wife was a native of the town where he lived' DB009

313. əndi əkə əgənə ədənì nà

mouth of-market of-looking of-eye the

'the price of the mirror' CG025

The genitive construct usually occurs immediately following the noun head, preceding all the attributive elements. Two examples have been found of an adjective occurring between the noun head and the genitive construct. This happens if the collocation of the noun and the adjective is very frequent, e.g. in example 314 azyi dhia (literally 'bush bad') is the term for 'cemetry'; and in example 315 akie vuamu (literally 'town being made clear') is the name of a ceremony at New Year.
There are no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of attributive elements in the NP. But owing to semantic restrictions no more than three different elements co-occur in any one phrase. See example 293.

8.2.2. The Simple BP9 Type 2 Pronoun as Head

This type consists of a pronoun (abbreviated 'Pr') functioning as head. 3rd singular and all plural pronouns occur both as the NPs and the NPo. 1st and 2nd singular pronouns occur only as the NPs. When they are semantically the object of the verb, they are analysed as elements of the VP. The reasons for this analysis are given in section 11.3. The impersonal pronoun occurs only as the NPs. For full details of pronouns see section 10.3.
Examples:

316. mi sá i 'I shot it' AT126
    I shoot it

317. i bisyi ènì 'They pushed us' A0025
    they push us

Certain pronouns may occur with an attributive element as follows:

Pronoun with Relative Construct

The following pronouns may occur with one or two relative constructs.

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<tr>
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<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>mè</td>
<td>bhó</td>
<td>ókì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ènì</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ègùà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

318. mè [na mi nà gba ègberìgbà nà ]
    Pr RelCon
    I who I inc tell story the
    'I who am telling the story' CG094

319. ènì [nà ènì ya n'ènà ] [ nà ènì geni tá nì ]
    Pr RelCon RelCon
    we who we are at here who we look go cpl
    'We who are here and who have looked at it' DA062
**Pronoun with Reinforcer**

The same pronouns as listed on the previous page may occur with a reinforcer. Preceding a 'also', however, the forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular are mì and bhà.

**Examples:**

320. \[ \text{mè nú gbei onu mè} \]

\[ \frac{\text{Pr}}{\text{rf}} \]

'I instead should- mother my kill

'I instead should kill my mother'  EJ067

321. \[ \text{ènl loú sì tā} \]

\[ \frac{\text{Pr}}{\text{rf}} \]

'Only we will go'

322. \[ \text{bhà a me} \]

\[ \frac{\text{Pr}}{\text{rf}} \]

'You too agreed'

**Pronoun with Additive Construct**

A pronoun may occur with an additive construct. The construction has the following restrictions:

a. The head of the NP must be one of the following subject pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ìkl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ènl</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ègìà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. The head of the construct may be either a noun or a pronoun. If it is a pronoun it must be one of the following 2nd or 3rd person object pronouns. (The tone of the pronouns depends on the polarity, mood and tense of the clause and therefore is not given.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>iwo</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ibha</td>
<td>egua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. There is a ranking order in the occurrence of the different persons. 1st person pronouns occur only as the head of the NP. When 2nd and 3rd person pronouns occur together, the 2nd person pronoun occurs as the head of the NP and the 3rd person as the head of the construct.

Examples:

323. igó ká inùmà na o si gbéi mè mì [nàà ásu mè ]
      Pr              AddCon
      poverty seq thing that it will kill me I and father my
      [nàà ëgùwè òmu èní ]
      AddCon
      and people of-house our

'Poverty is the thing that will kill my father, my family and me'

Note: The NPo is an extended NP, type 1, section 8.3.1.

324. mì [nàà iwo ] si ta nì
      Pr              AddCon
      I and you will go cpl

'You and I will be the ones to go'

Note: Emphatic NPs, see section 5.4.3.
325. ḫk₁ [nà̀̀ da ësétní ná] bidha
   Pr  AddCon
   he and fish the walk

   'He went with the fish'

326. ẹ̀dè̀ l ná b̀hû [nà̀̀ éi] ná kàmá ná
   Pr  AddCon
   man who you and him inc fight the

   'The man who is wrestling with you'

8.2.3. The Simple NP, Type 3 Numerical or Demonstrative as Head

This type consists of a numeral or a demonstrative functioning as head which may optionally be followed by a relative or locative construct, and/or by a reinforcer. In certain cases a numeral may be followed by an additive construct (section 10.4).

Examples:

327. ávw̯ lò̂ ha ko ya
   Num  rf
   one only remain is

   'Only one is left'

328. íǹ̀ nà [nà mi du] nà somù ya
   Dem  RelCon  rf
   these which I buy the be-good are

   'These that I bought are good'

329. ávw̯ n[̀̀ n'uvomo h̀hà]
   Num  LocCon
   one in inside them

   'one of them'
8.2.4. **The Simple NP, Type 4 Interrogative as Head**

This type has an interrogative (abbreviated 'Int') or the interrogative modifier (abbreviated 'IntMod') vo as one of its elements. The interrogative may function as head (examples 330, 331) or as the genitive construct (example 332). The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element following the head (example 333). The interrogative modifier has a low juncture with the preceding noun, i.e. the final tone of the noun, if normally H is a HL glide.

**Examples:**
- *èdhyà 'yam'*
- *igbo 'net'*
- *èdhyà vo 'which yam?'
- *igbè vo 'which net?'

**Examples from Texts:**

330. *bhú tà èdho*

you go where 'Where did you go?' FA109

331. *iyó wuru nà à*

what do def qu

'What has caused it?' FB026

332. *àvuramu ãndè kà ànlì óyo*

woman this seq wife of-whom

'Whose wife is this woman?' CC020

333. *ànê ka ìdhiì ìkòmù vo*

this seq kind of-affair what

'What kind of affair is this?' EA014
8.2.5. **The Simple NP, Type 5, Gerundive Construct as Head**

The sole element of this type is a gerundive construct, which is formed from a transitive declarative clause with a verbal adjective (abbreviated 'VbAdj') type 2 (section 11.4.2) occurring as the VP.

**Examples:**

334. ɓi ɗa ko ɗgwé bhuramu abhant

\[ \text{Nn VbAdj Nn} \]

he so go-to call people fishing lake

'So he went and called (some) fishermen'

335. ɓhùe ɗāhè ṣàvù ɗàhè duamu ènù

\[ \text{Nn VbAdj Nn} \]

they fix day one day settling price

'A day for settling the (bride) price was fixed'

8.2.6. **The Simple NP, Type 6, ña or idhìna as Head.**

This type consists of ña 'the one' or idhìna 'how' or 'the way in which' functioning as head followed by a rankshifted verbal declarative clause as a relative construct. In this type the relative construct does not have the marker na\(^1\). The only attributive element which may occur is a reinforcer.

**Examples:**

336. ña [mí wo ku wo] nà // wùrù ènlè

\[ \text{RelCon rf} \]

the-one I say give you the do thus

'Do what I tell you'

---

1. ña and idhìna are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker na (page 191).
337. ḏki zá kori ḏna [evûmû yâ]  
[stress]  
RelCon  
he will-stay wait the-one fat  is  
'He will wait for the one with some fat'  
CK006

338. ḏ dhuu ḏna [bhû mâmîne bhue] yîa  
[stress]  
RelCon  
it follow the-one you not-learn keep come  
'Because you did not learn properly'  
AR037

339. âkâ ka îdhi àna [î za wûrâ] tuu ...  
[stress]  
RelCon  
that seq how they stay do until  
'That is how they were acting until ...'  
EH009

340. avuramu ná nomu îdhi àna [o wûrâ]  
[stress]  
RelCon  
woman the not-know how she will-do  
'The woman did not know what to do'  
DB044

341. îdhi àna [îtê ná tou somu ya ësyl] nu sá înûmû  
[stress]  
RelCon  
rf  
how mat the take be-good is beauty this not thing  
gbamû  
telling  
'How really beautiful this mat is cannot be described'  
CG039
8.2.7. The Simple NP, Type 7: Rankshifted Clause as Head

The sole element of this type is a rankshifted verbal clause. This type functions only as the NPo. The clause is analysed as a rankshifted element of the clause, and not as an element of a complex sentence, since it is parallel in function to a noun acting as the object of a transitive or semi-transitive verb.

Examples:

342. ègrè iðusàni / gènì / lnìmu nà moni somu
   NPs              VP               NPo
   people of-name  look       thing the not-able be-good

'The people of Ibusani realised that things could not go well'

343. mì / nà zà wa / mì tòu avùràìnà
   NPs        VP               NPo
   I           stay        want          I will-take woman

'I was wanting to marry a woman'

344. ò / té nì / bhá ì gbè
   NPs        VP               NPo
   it          reach        cpl       you will go-home

'The time has come for you to go home'

345. ò / zà nì / mí bhye amò
   NPs        VP               NPo
   it          stay        cpl       I bear child

'If I bear a child'
8.3. The Extended Nominal Phrase

The extended NP consists of two simple NP's of types 1-3 functioning as a single phrase. The extended NP differs from the simple NP with a complex head (section 8.2.1.3) in the following respects:

a. The second NP is not marked by a h tone on the first syllable;

b. Attributive elements may precede the second NP.

When the second NP has an initial h tone, the extended NP often cannot be distinguished formally from the simple NP with a complex head, but the analysis is clear from the context.

Extended NP's are divided into five types. In the following examples each of the phrases comprising the extended phrase is enclosed in round brackets.

8.3.1. The Extended NP, Type 1. Appositional

The two NP's are in appositional relationship. This type differs from the appositional nominal clause both in function and in structure as has already been described in section 6.1.2. It also differs from two separate NPo's as it may occur following transitive verbs.

Examples:

346. ³hýé (i) (ódei igó)

they bear him man of-poverty

"He was born a poor man"  

347. ³kó ni (álífò) (ólo i ná)

he call cpl tortoise friend his the

"He called his friend tortoise"
(en1) (etoru esa a na) funu dhyani n'okunu ute na
we head three the should- enter on top of- mat the climb
'We three should get onto the mat'

We three should get onto the mat'

349. (ok n'ara ogwe ikpokpo) (o) no ta bhue
he and pl load he inc go keep
'He went on walking with his loads'

350. ogwe avu ka (ogwe) (ana imoroba na)
portion one seq portion the-one of- bridesmaids the
'One portion was the one allocated to the bridesmaids'

351. o no syl ta (agille anwum) (idhlana a na gbe
it inc move go time of- evening like one inc go- home
n'ukwo na ukwo na)
from farm the farm the
'It was getting towards evening time when one used to go home
from the farm'

Note: The second NP contains a rankshifted clause functioning
as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

352. (odhoni woc) (avuru) wo ku woc ni
husband your himself say give you cpl
'Your husband himself has told you'
8.3.2.  The Extended NP, Type 2 Partitive

One of the elements of the second NP is a numeral or a noun denoting quantity.

Examples:

353.  âmîni yi yi tai dhôu (*âwô nà) (*ôgà *ôbhà avù)

NPo

water come to cover take trap the side of-part one

'Water came and reached one side of the trap'  CK019

354.  (*imô nà) (avù) nâ wâru ǐnîwûrà ...

NPs

children the one inc do work

'One of the children is working ...'  AA035

355.  (àrûsâ) (âkôpù ìvù lôu á) mo

NPs

rice cup one only even is-not

'There was not even one cup of rice'  DH044

356.  (àsènî nà) (ôgbe á) ko mo à

NPs

fish the a-little any remain is-not qu

'Isn't there just a little of the fish left?'  AA038

8.3.3.  The Extended NP, Type 3 Cumulative

Either both or only the second NP has the reinforcer a or o finally.

Examples:

357.  (îvùràmù) (imôsyl a)

NP

women men too  'men and women'  AB011
358. (úbhwa a) (ótə á) ð dhei dhe

bone too flesh too he swallow finish

'He swallowed all the bones and the flesh'

359. (inùmù åvá) (inùmù åvá á) i mo me

thing one thing one even again is-not to-me

'I have nothing more at all'

360. (ímosyi nà a) (ívuramu nà á) yi

men the too women the too not-come

'Neither the men nor the women came'

361. (àsú o) (òtana o)

night indeed day indeed

'Night and day'

8.3.4. The Extended NP, Type 4 Reduplicative

The second phrase is a partial or complete reduplication of the first phrase. The reduplication has the semantic meaning of intensity or plurality. This type functions only as the NPs or in a nominal clause. This reduplication affects only one phrase in the clause and thus differs from the reduplication analysed as distributive aspect (section 5.7) which affects more than one phrase.

Examples:

362. (ómù vlóvlə) (ómù vlóvlə) nyine dhe

house fine house fine appear finish

'Fine houses appeared'
363. ëgwë étai nà (akûm-edel) (akûm-edel)
pl tree the seq human human

'The trees were human beings'  EJ018

364. (àdhìà) (àdhìà bhòò) // ìkl kporu yà.

this-day this-day even he be-sick is

'On this very day he is ill'  CC037

365. ìkò ësýià nà // (èkôrí bò) (èkôrí bò nà ò yà).
pit there the maggot big maggot big which it is

'There in the pit there were big maggots'  DJ023

8.3.5.  The Extended NP, Type 5 Emphatic

A demonstrative or genitive construct which normally occurs following the head of a simple phrase, may occur as the head of a second NP for greater emphasis.

Examples:

366. ò nò tou (ëdada nà) (àkà)
he go-to take spear the that

'He went to take that spear'  EE104

367. ò yi ì te (ësýi nà)(ëtyì)
she come to reach place the of-name

'She came and reached Etyi's place'  DC023
## CHAPTER NINE

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Function of the Adverbial Phrase</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Structure of the Adverbial Phrase</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.1</td>
<td>The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.2</td>
<td>The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.3</td>
<td>The Adverbial Phrase, Type 3</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.4</td>
<td>The Adverbial Phrase, Type 4</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.5</td>
<td>The Adverbial Phrase, Type 5</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.0. **Introduction**

The adverbial phrase class is set up on the basis of its function in the clause. The AP may be similar or identical in structure with the NP, but it is analysed as an AP because it functions as an attributive element and not as the subject or object of the clause. See also section 9.2.2.

9.1. **Function of the Adverbial Phrase**

The primary function of the AP is as a peripheral element of the clause. It occurs in the verbal clause following the VP, or NPo if present, and in the nominal clause following the final NP.

The AP has also a secondary function as a rankshifted unit functioning as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1.2). Only certain types of AP have this secondary function. Details are given below.

9.2. **Structure of the Adverbial Phrase**

There are five types of AP.

9.2.1. **The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1**

This type consists of a rankshifted NP (abbreviated 'rsNP') preceded by the preposition (abbreviated 'Prep') n 'in' 'at', or tu 'until'. As all nouns begin with a vowel the preposition n' never has a CV structure. But since the language has no C syllables, the preposition is written as n' indicating the elision of the V element. There is always a high juncture between either preposition and the NP, i.e. the initial tone of the NP, if normally L, is a HL glide.

There are two subtypes. In type 1A the NP is of type 1 (noun as head). This subtype may function as a locative construct in the NP type 1 (page 149). In type 1B the NP is of type 4 (interrogative). This subtype functions only in the interrogative clause.
Examples of Type IA:

368. ð nyine n’ [Isyisya edà]
Prep rsNP:1
she appear in middle of river
'She appeared in the middle of the river'

369. ikidhè ná ko álîbo n’ [âdhè âvà]
Prep rsNP:1
snail go to call tortoise on day one
'One day snail went to call tortoise'

370. ð bidha ta tuu [etyi úsuodha bhòd]
Prep rsNP:1
he walk go till place of distance far off
'He walked to a far distant place'

371. à dhí ni udhyori nà tuu [âdhè èsyòndì]
Prep rsNP:1
one eat pl feast the till day five
'The feast lasted for five days'

Examples of Type IB

372. à yi n’ [èglìè vo]
Prep rsNP:4
they should at time what
'When should they come?'

373. bhú mòni n’ [èdhì]
Prep rsNP:4
you see at where
'Where did you see it?'
9.2.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2

This type consists of a NP type 1 of which the head is a noun of class B (adverbial noun, section 10.2.1), e.g. ogbe 'a little'; enia 'thus'; eno 'now'. Such a construction is analysed as an AP rather than as a NPo because it may occur following an intransitive verb, a transitive verb with a NPo, or a distransitive verb with two NPo's. (See section 10.1.1.1 for verb clauses.)

Examples:

374. ... nhá / na dha / ãdi na / Ḟeřóma
       NPo        AP
       you inc stay drink wine the emptiness

'(Why) are you drinking the wine by itself (i.e. without eating as well)?'

Note: dha is a transitive verb.

375. ô / dhesyi / obó
       VP       AP
       it last much

'It lasted a long time'

Note: dhesyi is an intransitive verb.

376. ì / va wu / eniá
       VP       AP
       they emp die thus

'They still died in this way'

Note: wu is an intransitive verb.
377. ṣ / yì i te / ekunu / idhii ọnọ
   NPo AP
   he come to reach top way this
   'He came up to the surface like this'

   Note: te is a semi-transitive verb.

378. ṣ / ke / étai na / ḍbhọ ọsọ
   NPo AP
   he cut tree the hand three
   'He cut the tree three times'

   Note: ke is a transitive verb.

9.2.3. **The Adverbial Phrase, Type 3**

   The sole element of this type is an adverb (section 10.7).

   Examples:

379. alagba nà dèla kpáù
   gun the fall bang
   'The gun went off bang'

380. ákìè zá ni bùràmì
   town stay opl quietly
   'The town was really quiet'

381. sylré bhèè
   run indeed
   'Do run!'
382. \( \text{do} / \text{wurr} / \text{nu} / \text{n' azyi} / \text{wurr} \text{mu} \text{wurr} \text{mu} \)  \\
AP:1 \( \text{it} \) do cpl in bush boom-boom  \\
BM045

"There had been a sound boom-boom in the bush."

383. \( \text{do} / \text{ga} / \text{me} / \text{n' obhò / bhùa} \)  \\
AP:1 \( \text{it} \) prick me in hand surprise  \\
AT038

"Fancy it biting my hand."

384. \( \text{do} / \text{nu} / \text{n' ātómù okwei nà / kpoukpoukpou} \)  \\
AP:1 \( \text{he} \) tap at top of-palm the knock-knock  \\
EH066

"He tapped knock-knock at the top of the palm-tree."

385. \( \text{do / wuru dhe bhue / evuu / idhli ēnìa / tirèdè} \)  \\
AP:2 \( \text{it} \) do finish keep wing way thus whish  \\
DG034

"It spread its wings right out whish like this."

9.2.4. **The Adverbial Phrase, Type 4**

This type consists of one or more rankshifted NP's of type 1, each preceded by the preposition \( \text{nàà} \) 'and', 'accompanied by'. This type of AP occurs most frequently as an additive construct in the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1.2).

Examples:

386. \( \text{eda nà nà yi bhue nàa ópàmù nàa ávòu} \)  \\
Prep rsNP Prep rsNP \( \text{river the inc come keep with waves with wind} \)  \\
DH069

"The river kept rising and there were wind and waves."
387. èfài nà wùrù él nàà ñkàbàâímù nàà ñgbòmâmü

stomach inc do to-her with paining with biting

'She had griping pains in her stomach' E

9.2.5. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 5

This type consists of a reduplicated noun or numeral. It is analysed as an AP rather than a NPo because it may occur following an AP or a transitive verb with a NPo. It denotes distribution. It differs from the distributive aspect of the clause (section 5.7) in that only one element of the clause is reduplicated. It is therefore analysed as an AP and not as a feature of the clause.

Examples:

388. èbhùtìmù nà / zá nwene / n' ugbuswei nà / ìgbè ìgbè

ash the will-stay spill on road the little little

'The ash will drop onto the road little by little' CD009

389. bông / tōu / uvi ọdхì nà / òvù ọvù / tōu kye / anamu òvù

you take mould of-palm the one one take give animal one

'You take the palm moulds one by one and give them to an animal' DJ011

390. è / nò ìdì / ụlè / ípēnì ípēnì

she ino sell banana penny penny

'She is selling bananas a penny each' E
Co-occurrence of Adverbial Phrase Types

Usually only one AP occurs in a clause, but a few examples of clauses with two AP's have been recorded. Type 4 has not occurred with any other type. There are no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of other types. The order of the AP's is in the sequence that the types have been numbered, starting with the locative/temporal type 1. The table below gives the co-occurrence of AP's which have been recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AP Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>382-384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ +</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER TEN

THE WORD i. MAJOR WORDS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

10.0. Introduction 176
10.1. The Verb 176
10.1.1. The Verb, Class A 176
10.1.1.1. Subclasses of Class A Verbs 176
10.1.1.2. Structure of Class A Verbs 182
10.1.1.3. The Verbs 'bhué' 'kye' 'tou' and 'wei' 185
10.1.1.4. Class A verbs ending in a Close Vowel 186
10.1.2. The Verb, Class B 188
10.2. The Noun 189
10.2.1. Classes of Noun 189
10.2.2. Types of Noun 194
10.2.3. Tone of Nouns 199
10.3. The Pronoun 202
10.3.1. Function of the Pronoun 202
10.3.2. Category of Person 204
10.3.3. Category of Number 206
10.4. The Numeral 209
10.5. The Demonstrative 212
10.6. The Interrogative 214
10.7. The Adverb 215
10.7.1. Function and Structure of the Adverb 215
10.7.2. Tone of the Adverbs 217
10.7.3. The Adverb 'tuú' 218
10.8. The Preposition 219
CHAPTER TEN
THE WORD i. MAJOR WORDS

10.0. Introduction

Words are divided into two main classes: major words which may function as head of a phrase and minor words which never function as head of a phrase. The classes of major words will be described in this chapter and the classes of minor words in chapter 11.

10.1. The Verb

The verb is divided into two classes, class A and class B, on the basis of its function in different VP classes. Class A comprises all the verbs in the corpus except two. Within class A four types of verbs with different structures are distinguished. As there are no verb tone classes, and as the tone of a verb depends on the polarity, mood and tense of the clause, the tone is not marked on verb roots in isolation.

10.1.1. The Verb, Class A

10.1.1.1. Subclasses of Class A Verbs

Class A verbs function as the head of VP class A (section 7.4.1). They are further divided according to their degree of transitivity, i.e. their occurrence with NPo's in simple sentences. This analysis is preferred to dividing clauses into transitive, intransitive, etc., since the object required by a verb need not be present in the clause but implied from a previous clause.

Class A1 Intransitive

The VP of which this class functions as head cannot be followed by a NPo.

Examples:
- dhemu 'be big'
- dhesyi 'last a long time'
- duu 'go out'
- fina 'enter' (a canoe)
- funu 'go up'
- wii 'dawn' 'get light'
Examples from Texts:

391. // i / fina / n’ ḍkò ẹnl //
     NPs     VP     AP
     they enter in canoe our

'They got into our canoe'

392. // ṣ / dhésyi //
     NPs     VP
     it   not-last

'It was not long'

Class A2 Semitransitive

The VP of which this class functions as head may optionally be followed by a NPo. A further subdivision is required since there is a restriction on the type of NPo which may follow certain verbs.

Class A2i

The NPo following the VP may be of any type.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPs</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidha</td>
<td>'walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhine</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwase</td>
<td>'fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>'reach'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples from texts:

393. // i j ko // òmini mè ...
     NPs  VP

'He called, "My child ... '"

394. // jvuramu nà / kò / i //
     NPs  VP     NPo

'The woman called him'
395. // ɗko nà / bidha //
   NPs           VP
   canoe the not-walk

'The canoe did not move'

396. // ɗlìbò / bidha / ìvuramu nà //
   NPs   VP   NPo
   tortoise walk woman the

'Tortoise married the woman'

Note: bidha avuramu (lit. walk a woman) is the usual term for 'marry' when the subject is a man. Compare also bidha akie (lit. walk a town) which is the term for 'commit adultery'.

397. // ìkòni / ì del //
   NPs   VP
   fight so fall

'A fight broke out'

398. // mí / ì déi / agbùrà //
   NPs   VP   NPo
   I will fall fairy

'I will turn into a fairy'

Class A2ii

The NPo following the VP must be of type 1 with a noun denoting place as head. The membership of this class is limited to the following:

gbe 'go home'  ta 'go'
yi 'come'
masquerader another came

'Another masquerader came'  

famine then come town of-animals

'Then famine came to the animals' town'

'He did not go'

'He went to another town'

Class A3 Transitive

The VP of which this class functions as head must be followed by a NPo. If the NPo is not specified the noun *inumu* 'thing' is required.

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dei</td>
<td>'sell'</td>
<td>dhi 'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>'beat'</td>
<td>tou 'take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>wuru 'do'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples from Texts:

'She bought cloth'
404. // ëni / dhi / fnumu //  
NPs VP NPo  
we let-eat thing  

'Let's eat!'  

405. // a / dâl dhe / ìgiùe nà //  
NPs VP NPo  
one sell finish crocodile the  

'The crocodile (meat) was sold out'  

406. // ñkùiè inii nà // a / nu / fnumu //  
NPs VP NPo  
town four the one not-beat thing  

'In the four towns no drum was beaten'  

407. // a / nu / ìgiùe nà //  
NPs VP NPo  
one should-beat drum the  

'The drum should be beaten'  

408. // ñdhë ëviùè bòd [na mì / nà wùru / fnumu] //  
NPs VP NPo  
day other long-ago that I inc do thing  

'Another day a while ago when I was busy' (lit. doing thing)  

409. // i / nà wùru / swo / n' ìgyi //  
NPs VP NPo AP  
they go-to make trap in bush  

'They went and made a trap in the bush'
Class A4  Di-transitive

The VP of which this class functions as head must be followed by one NPo and may be followed by two NPo's. In the latter case the first NPo is frequently but not invariably an animate noun (example 412).

Examples:  kidhe 'remove'  kpe 'pay'
            kye 'give'    pa 'lift up'
            sise 'put down' syie 'send'

Examples from texts:

410.  // ēkiá / i kpe / opilopo / osa i //
       NPs   VP   NPo   NPo
       he also again not-pay pig due his

'Neither would he any longer pay pig what he owed him'  CA039

411.  // ml / ná kidhe / irityadi / ipení //
       NPs   VP   NPo   NPo
       I go-to remove Richard penny

'I went to get a penny from Richard'  AT047

412.  // onyēnyé / nà ma / ikpěbi / lnêmù [na sì dú à dúì] //
       NPs   VP   NPo   NPo
       everyone inc arrange heart thing that he will buy buy

'Everyone was thinking of the thing that he would buy'  CE040

413.  // ml / pa / ávuramu nà / útwó //
       NPs   VP   NPo   Npo
       I lift woman the basket

'I lifted the basket up onto the woman's (head)'  E
10.1.1.2. **Structure of Class A Verbs**

Four types of class A verbs are distinguished.

**Type 1 Simple Root**

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: CV, CVV, CVCV, CVCVCV.

*Examples:* ta 'go', dei 'fall', dire 'cook', kofilo 'cough'

**Type 2 Root with Reduplication**

Some verbs of two or more syllables have reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form of the verb does not occur. The reduplication of syllables as part of the verb root differs from the reduplication of the secondary aspect (section 5.7) where the complete verb is reduplicated.

**Type 2A reduplication of part of a syllable**

This type is rare. Only the following have occurred.

- gigyo 'lever'
- gigya 'rebuke'
- gugwo 'heap together'
- suswe 'go south'

**Type 2B reduplication of one syllable**

*Examples:*

- CVCV: bhabha 'wander', lele 'deceive'
- mimi 'squeeze', pipi 'suck'

- CVVCVCV: bhunene 'be on good terms', dhnene 'meet'
- funene 'doubt', gbunono 'heal'
- kinono 'resemble'

**Type 2C reduplication of both syllables**

*Examples:*

- bholibholi 'rush to save'
- kilekile 'roll'
- syinesyine 'hide'
- burebure 'pray'
- kpurokpuro 'gather'
- vinivini 'tangle'
Type 3 Derived Verb

This type consists of a root followed by a derivational suffix which harmonises with the vowel quality of the root (section 2.2.1). There are two classes of derivational suffix.

Class A changes the subclass of the verb and has two members:

- **-ne** 'of its own accord' 'by itself' changes verbs from class A3 (transitive) to class A1 (intransitive).

- **-se** 'causative' changes verbs from class A1 (intransitive) to class A3 (transitive).

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Neoplatonic Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kie</td>
<td>'split open'</td>
<td>kie-ne 'split open by itself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kue</td>
<td>'open'</td>
<td>kue-ne 'open by itself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
<td>ke-se 'set light to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yila</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td>yila-se 'raise to upright position'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a CVV root in which the first V is a non-close vowel and the second V is a close vowel, the second V is dropped before the suffix.

Examples: bhou 'uproot' bho-ne 'uproot by itself'

bhou 'be wet' bho-se 'make wet'

dei 'sell' de-se 'sell to a person'

Allomorphs of -ne and -se

- **-ne** and **-se** have phonologically conditioned allomorphs **-ene** and **-ese** respectively which occur in the environments given below. (Compare the allomorphs of the suffix **-mu** of the verbal adjective, page 230. In both cases roots ending in a close vowel are followed by the VCV allomorph.)

a. Following CV root ending in a close vowel.

Example: fu 'be white' fu-ese 'make white'

bhi 'be black' bhi-ese 'make black'
b. Following CVV root where both vowels are close, and CVCV root ending in a close vowel. The final vowel is dropped before the suffix.

**Examples:**

- nuu 'shake'  nu-ene 'shake by itself'
- dhyomu 'be sweet'  dhyom-ese 'make sweet'
- kari 'be strong'  kar-ese 'strengthen'
- mii 'be cool'  mi-ese 'make cool'

**Class B** maintains the subclass of the verb and has only one member:

- -ru 'more than once'

**Examples:**

- do 'pull'  do-ru 'pull to pieces'
- fya 'slice'  fya-ru 'shred'
- sa 'shoot'  sa-ru 'shoot more than once'

With a CVV root ending in a close vowel the final vowel is dropped before the suffix.

**Example:**

- bhou 'uproot'  bho-ru 'uproot many plants'

**Note:** The above are analysed as suffixes and not as postverbals because their distribution is restricted to certain verbs, and this restriction is not dependent upon lexis. For the same reason, the suffixes are not analysed as marking aspect.

**Type 4 Compound Verb**

This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only two examples have occurred:

- tuvai 'get rid of' (vai 'lose' tu ?? )
- yinigbe 'return home'. This is a fusion of yi 'come', ni the completive particle, and gbe 'go home'. Proof of the fusion is the occurrence of ni medially, whereas in a compound VP it occurs finally (section 7.4).
10.1.1.3. The Verbs 'bhue', 'kye', 'tou' and 'wei'

Four verbs have allomorphs:

*bhue* 'keep' has two allomorphs: *bho* occurs preceding *kye* 'give' (this is the only verb that may follow *bho*); *bhue* occurs elsewhere (i.e. preceding NP or AP or clause finally).

Examples:

- *ð wuru édhyomu bho kye ȟ*  
  she make food keep give him  
  'She prepared some food and kept it for him'

- *ð gbei anamu bho kye ọlo ȟ*  
  he kill animal keep give friend his  
  'He shot an animal and kept it for his friend'

Compare

- *ð tou édhyomu bhue n' àtlh*  
  he take food keep on shelf-above-fire  
  'He kept the food on the shelf above the fire'

*kye* 'give' has two allomorphs: *ku* occurs preceding the pronominal postverbals *me* and *wo* '1st and 2nd person singular object' respectively; *kye* occurs elsewhere. The vowel of the allomorphs harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

Examples:

- *kà me*  
  'Give me'

- *ð tou ku wo*  
  'He gave it to you' (lit. he took gave you)

- *ð wuru ku wo*  
  'He did it for you' (lit. he did gave you)

Compare

- *kyé ȟ*  
  'Give it to him'

- *ð wuru kye édei nà*  
  'He did it for the man'
tou 'take' has two allomorphs: dhou occurs following another verb in a compound VP except za 'stay'; tou occurs elsewhere. The vowels of tou harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dhòu</th>
<th>'Pick it up' (lit. lift take)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhu o kunu</td>
<td>'he caught hold of it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(lit. he held took)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tou dhi</th>
<th>'He took it and ate it'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tou dire</td>
<td>'He took it and cooked it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za tou udhi nà</td>
<td>'He kept taking the wine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wei 'say' has two allomorphs: wo occurs preceding kye 'give' wei occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wo kye</th>
<th>'He said to him' (lit. he said gave him)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>énl wo kye edei nà</td>
<td>'We said to the man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wei énìà</th>
<th>'He spoke thus'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10.1.1.4 Class A Verbs ending in a Close Vowel

Verb roots ending in a close vowel add the suffix -a in the following clauses:

- positive: descriptive, subjunctive, referential, future;
- negative: imperative, subjunctive, indicative if the VP is emphatic (section 5.4.3);

in the following positions:

- clause finally (examples 414, 415)
- preceding a single vocalic morpheme (example 416)
- preceding a consonant (example 417) except the preposition n' (example 418), or when the verb is reduplicated (example 190, page 102).
Following CVCV roots ending in a close vowel the final vowel is dropped before the suffix.

**Examples:**
- wuru 'do' nà wür-à 'do not do (it)' (negative imperative)
- kiri 'cut' ó si kír-à 'he will cut' (future)

**Examples from Texts:**

414. // i nà zà gbèì-a //
    they inc stay laugh
    'They kept laughing'
    (descriptive tense)

415. // nà yì-à //
    neg come
    'Do not come!'
    (negative imperative)

416. // ènì nà yì-á o //
    we inc come indeed
    'Oh yes, we are coming!'
    (descriptive tense)

417. // alagba nà dei-a kpsù //
    gun the fall bang
    'The gun went off bang!'
    (referential tense)

418. // inùmù [ na i sì dhì n' akiè ] nà za //
    thing that they will eat in town the was-not
    'There was nothing for them to eat in the town'

**Note:** dhì is in the future tense, but does not have the suffix -a because it precedes the preposition n'.
10.1.2. The Verb, Class B

Class B verbs function as the head of VP class B (section 7.4.2). The class has only two members: ya 'is' 'exists' and mo 'is not' 'does not exist'. They are analysed as verbs because they occur as the head of a VP, and have the same juncture features with the NPs as class A verbs (section 5.8.2). They are distinguished from class A verbs because of their limited distribution: they occur only in declarative clauses and clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP; and because they occur only in certain positions in a compound VP (section 7.4.2).

Ya functions only in positive clauses. It always has H tone. It may occur with one NPo (example 421) but this is rare.

Examples:

419. // alágbà / ya / n'ámini òkè //
   NPs VP AP
   gun is in water of-canoee
   'The gun is in the water in the canoe'  AT063

420. // ẹnùmà [ná ìkì tóú bidha avuramu nà] / ya //
    NPs VP
    money that he will-take marry woman the is
    'He has the money to marry the woman'  CC005

421. // ọ / yá / i / n' otèrù //
    NPs VP NPo AP
    it is her in throat
    'It's in her throat'  EJ083

Note: The tone of ya is upstepped preceding the following L tone. This is automatic upstep (section 2.3.1).
mo functions only in negative clauses. It always has a H tone. It may be followed by one NPo (example 423) but this is rare.

Examples:

422. // ेविे / mo //
   NPs VP
   other is-not

'There is no other'

423. // े / mo / awদ //
   NPs VP NPo
   he is-not state-of-being-alive

'He is not alive'

424. // onu ेगुा / mo / n' েমা //
   NPs VP AP
   mother their is-not in house

'Their mother is not at home'

10.2. The Noun

Nouns are divided into two classes on the basis of their function in phrases and into six types according to differences in their structure.

10.2.1. Classes of Noun

Class A General Nouns

This class functions as the head of the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1).

Examples:

édèl 'person'  édè 'river'  èsènì 'fish'

édò 'mortar'  ètòmà 'head'  èkwò 'farm'
A small group of nouns of this class denoting relationship are obligatorily possessed and occur with either a pronoun functioning as possessive, or with a genitive construct.

**Examples:**
- asùnù 'father'
- átyè  'relation'
- ómìnl 'own child'
- imémìnl 'own children'
- ónù  'mother'

**Notes:** Following asunu 'father', atye 'relation' and onu 'mother' if the possessor is not specified, the noun amo 'child' occurs (examples 426, 428).

**Examples from texts:**

425. mì nà̀̀ atyè me ìwù dhnene
   I and relation my one meet
   'I met one of my relations'

426. mì bhuene bhue atye amo avu enà a
   I not-have keep relation of-child one at-all even
   'I do not have any relations at all'

427. onù èì nà̀̀ asùnù èì a ìgò̀ èìgò̀
   mother his and father his also people of-poverty
   'His father and mother were poor people'

428. asùnù amo nà̀̀ alagbá nà̀̀ yììa
   father-of child the and gun inc come
   'The father was coming with a gun'
429. asúnu ñdyłyfí nà ànu el ñhyni n' àzyl

father of-snake and mother his enter in bush

'The snake's mother and father went to the bush'

The nouns ana 'the one' and åkhiana 'how' 'like' are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker naN. The nouns never occur as the sole element of a NP. They are followed either by a relative construct (section 8.2.6) or by a genitive construct (section 8.2.1.3). ana may also be followed by a possessive. ana has two allomorphs: anu occurs before a consonant; ana occurs before a vowel.

Examples:

430. ó dhuu åná [ágí kilo ni ogwe åmàmù] á nà

it follow the-one he rule cpl pl animal too the

'Because he rules over the animals ...'

431. ó kue dhe åná [ñwuramu] nà

he open finish the-one of-woman the

'(When) he opened up the woman's ...'

432. ó nó vyamu gbei amo åná [ókàzà] nà

he go-to flog kill child the-one of-age the

'He went and flogged the eldest child to death'

433. åná ñ ékí sì zá fou akibhi

the-one his he will stay smoke pipe

'As for him, he will go on smoking his pipe'
434. dhemu idhìana [anù wò ]

GenCon

it not-big like the-one your

'It is not big like yours'

DJ038

435. àkù idhìana [éswei nà] ka idhìana [aku ávuramu nà ya ]

GenCon RelCon

teeth like axe the seq how teeth of-woman the is

'The woman's teeth were as sharp as an axe'

EJ006

(lit. teeth like an axe is how the woman's teeth were)

Class B Adverbial Nouns

This class functions as head of AP type 2 (section 9.2.2) and of
the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1).

Examples: ènì̀a 'thus' ènò 'now'
obò 'a lot' òfùrómu 'worthlessness'
ògbè 'a little' óklè 'occasion'

Examples from Texts:

436. // bhà / wei / òfùrómu òkòmù //

NPs VP NP

you speak worthlessness of-word

'You are talking rubbish'

DL077

437. ...// bhà / nà zà dhá / òdhí nà / òfùrómu //

NPs VP NPo AP

you inc stay drink wine the emptily

'(Why) are you drinking the wine by itself (i.e. without
eating as well),'

DK050
As they arrived thus, they pulled ...

Note: The NP is functioning as a nominal clause (section 6.1.1).

'They held a procession thus'  

'The big one is the best'  

'It lasted a long time'  

Note: obo is analysed as an AP since the verb is intransitive.
10.2.2. Types of Noun

The CV structure of the six different types of nouns will be described first followed by details of their tone patterns.

**Type 1 Simple Root**

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures:

VCV, VCVV, VCVCV, VCVVCV

**Examples:**

òkò 'canoe'  àkál 'thatch'  ènùmà 'money'

ápìdhéhmù 'seat'

Nouns of more than four syllables involve reduplication of one or more syllables or are compounds.

**Type 2 Root with Reduplication**

Some three and four syllable nouns and nouns of more than four syllables other than compounds have reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form of the noun does not occur.

**Type 2A reduplication of part of a syllable**

ápìpyà 'hornbill'  èdìdhyè 'four days'

(former week)

**Type 2B reduplication of one syllable**

VCVCV  òdýldýì 'snake'  òdùhûdhu 'unripe palm fruit'

òvùwà 'light'  úsùsù 'south'

VCVCVCV  àdùbbhaha 'alligator'  íkùlélè 'iron'

òkílôlò 'cutlass'  òkùlulu 'spring of water'

ègàdígà 'fish trap'  ègbùlùgbù 'sandfly'

ègùlégù 'rainbow'  èkùrikpo 'shrub'
Type 2C: Reduplication of one syllable with a change from a front to a back or central vowel.

- ègbèrìgbà 'story'
- ègbìnàgbà 'bell'
- ofílofò 'skull'
- opilo po 'pig'

Type 2D: Reduplication of two syllables

- èmùràmùrà 'act'
- òflìrlìrlì 'darkness'
- òkànikàni 'broom'
- ovólívólì 'fresh air'

Type 3: Prefixed Root

In this type there is a change in the initial vowel between the singular and the plural. The noun is therefore analysed as consisting of a prefix followed by a root. The singular prefix is a- / o- and the plural prefix is i- . Nouns of this type are few. Only the following have occurred in this corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amèmùrè</td>
<td>imèmùrè</td>
<td>young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómò</td>
<td>îmò</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amòdhyòmbù</td>
<td>imòdhyòmbù</td>
<td>young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àvùràmù</td>
<td>ávùràmù</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òkàà</td>
<td>îkàà</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ozyì</td>
<td>izìyì</td>
<td>thief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A vowel prefix always harmonises with the vowel quality of the following root.

Type 4: Derived Noun

Some nouns are derived from verb or adjective roots.
Type 4A

This type consists of a vowel prefix o- singular or i- plural and a verbal adjective type 2 (section 11.4.2). This is a regular formation: nouns may be derived from all verbal adjectives. Due to semantic restrictions, some nouns do not have a plural form.

Examples: | Verbal Adjective | Noun |
---|---|---|
bhuenémù 'having' | òbhuenémù 'owner' |
ibhuenémù |
dhiamù 'eating' | òdhiamù 'eating' |
gwémù 'obeying' | ògwémù 'obedience' |
kilómù 'ruling' | òkilómù 'chief' |

Type 4B

This consists of a vowel prefix o- / i- and an adjective type 1 (section 11.4.2). The o- prefix is more common.

Examples: | Adjective Type 1 | Noun |
---|---|---|
bô 'big' | obô 'bigness' |
dhìà 'evil' | òdhìà 'evil' |
dhó 'old' | òdhó 'old condition' |
fài 'new' | òfài 'newness' |
furtomù 'worthless' | òfurtomù 'worthlessness' |
'emty' | 'in vain' |
gbé 'a few' | ògbé 'a few' |
rgbèrî 'small' | òrgbèrî 'small size' |
rgbígbo 'thick' | òrgbígbo 'thickness' |
karikiri 'all' | òkarikiri 'all' |
vile 'good' | òvile 'goodness' |
Type 4C

This type consists of a vowel prefix and a verb root. There is no regular correspondence between the prefix and the root.

Examples:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swei 'live'</td>
<td>àswèl 'life'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbou 'advise'</td>
<td>ègbòù 'advice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpomu 'be ill'</td>
<td>ìkpòmù 'illness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koni 'fight'</td>
<td>òkònì 'fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari 'be strong'</td>
<td>úkùrì 'power'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 5 Compound Noun

This type consists of two roots which have fused. The form is analysed as a compound and not as a succession of two nouns because, as will be shown, it does not follow the regular rules of elision or tone at word juncture.

Type 5A

Both roots are still identifiable. In the fusion the initial vowel of the second word is elided. Normally the final vowel of the first word is elided at word juncture (section 2.4).

Examples:  

| Idhíi-fal 'intestines' | Ìdhi 'vine' Òfàl 'stomach' |
| Ìmíni-bhwònl 'soup' | Ìmínì 'water' Òbhòwl 'salt' |

Type 5B

Only one of the roots is still identifiable.

Examples:  

| Òkùm-édèl 'human being' | (édèl 'person') |
| Òny-ókò 'messenger' | (ókò 'messenger') |
| Òny-àvùràmù 'woman' | (àvùràmù 'woman') |
| Òny-ìmòsyl 'man' | (ìmòsyl 'male') |
| Òw-àwìè 'next morning' | (àwìè 'morning') |
**Type 5C.**

Some nouns are formed from the root ámò 'child' or ímò 'children' being prefixed to another root. Such nouns are analysed as compounds since the tone pattern differs from that of two separate nouns in a NP as follows:

\[ \text{noun} + \text{noun} \quad \text{omù} + \text{áfènì} > [\text{ómwáfènì}] \quad '\text{hen house}' \]

\[ \text{ámò} + \text{noun} \quad \text{omù} + \text{áfènì} > [\text{ámáfènì}] \quad '\text{bird}' \]

Nouns with the prefix amo are diminutives. Nouns with the prefix ímo are mainly plurals. The prefix ím~ also means 'belonging to the same group or species as ...' e.g.

\[ \text{okòrì} \quad '\text{name of a man}' \quad \text{im-ókòrì} \quad '\text{Okori's people}' \]

**Examples:**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{am-áki} & \quad '\text{small pot}' \\
\text{im-ánì} & \quad '\text{wives}' \\
\text{im-ákiresàdhù} & \quad '\text{buffaloes}' \\
\text{am-ókùbò} & \quad '\text{small box}' \\
\text{im-ébhùrà} & \quad '\text{contemporaries}' \\
\text{im-óldò} & \quad '\text{friends}'
\end{align*} \]

**Note:** In amómù-vùràmù 'girl' the first root is probably an older form of ámò.

**Type 5D**

Neither of the roots is identifiable. The occurrence of a medial tone glide points to the fusion of two former roots as tone glides do not occur medially in monomorphemic nouns.

**Examples:**

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{élèlì} & \quad '\text{sign}' \\
\text{ófòrò} & \quad '\text{frog}' \\
\text{otòrù} & \quad '\text{throat}' \\
\text{òkwòdyì} & \quad '\text{coconut}'
\end{align*} \]
Type 6  **Clause-based Compounds**

A few names of birds and animals and insects are derived from a verbal declarative clause. The clause without any marker functions as a single noun.

**Examples:**

ékari ókó yài ókpi 'woodpecker'

carver of-canoe pulls unfinished-canoe

ìnìgò dùu afini 'sandfly'

poor-man not-go outside (lit. a poor man does not go outside)

**Example from text:**

442. // ékari ókó yài ókpi / i na ke sise / akàù //

NPs  VP  NPo

woodpecker  so go-to chop fell cotton-tree

'So the woodpecker went and felled a cotton-tree'  DL003

10.2.3.  **Tone of Nouns**

There are nine main tone classes with tone patterns which are manifested with nouns of four, three and two syllables. L tone is the less stable of the two tones and so is the first to drop out when a tone pattern is compressed. The tone classes are given on the following page. The gaps in the pattern in classes E and G occur because the tone pattern for VCV(V) would be the same as for classes D and F respectively. The gaps in the pattern in classes H and I occur because no nouns of the pattern LHH (class H) and HLLH (class I) have occurred. Classes A and B have the largest membership; classes H and I have the smallest membership.

For tones of nouns when functioning as the head of the NPs or NPo see section 5.8.2.
## Noun Tone Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>VCVVCVC</th>
<th>VCVCV</th>
<th>VCV(V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>HLLL</td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avuramu 'woman'</td>
<td>esaru 'mosquito'</td>
<td>omu 'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>LLLL</td>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ebhufumu 'ash'</td>
<td>obila 'pitcher'</td>
<td>eki 'market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>HHHH</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>HH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opilopo 'pig'</td>
<td>olilo 'bottle'</td>
<td>igbo 'fish-net'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>HHLL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akpukuro 'cassava'</td>
<td>avuvo 'bat'</td>
<td>ilo 'lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apidhemu 'seat'</td>
<td>okubo 'box'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>LLHL</td>
<td>LLHL</td>
<td>LHL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eqadiga 'fish-trap'</td>
<td>ekasyi 'chair'</td>
<td>ume 'faith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>LHLL</td>
<td>LHL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>orisyoni 'snake'</td>
<td>abina 'plantain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>LHLL</td>
<td></td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikpilama 'snail'</td>
<td>oki 'type of fish'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>HLH</td>
<td></td>
<td>HLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ogele 'procession'</td>
<td>ekpau 'fish-hook'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun Tone Class B

When a noun of this tone class functions as the head of the NPo, its tone is determined by the type of clause in which it occurs and the polarity, mood and tense of the clause as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neg. indic. }</td>
<td>♦ geni akpurata 'he does not look at the mat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist )</td>
<td>♦ geni akpurata 'he looked at the mat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos. imp. LLLH</td>
<td>♦ NPS VP NPo VP he weave mat make-bigger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLLL ♦ gêni âkpûràta 'look at the mat'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other verbal clauses</td>
<td>♦ HLLLL ♦ gêni âkpûràta 'he looks at the mat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-verbal LLLL</td>
<td>♦ NPS VP NPo VP he weave mat make-bigger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLLL ̃ànò ká ̃àkpûràta 'this (is) a mat'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a noun of this tone class functions as head of the NPo in an aorist or negative clause string, the string has the following special tonal characteristics:

a. the final tone of the NPo is not upstepped;

b. non-initial verbs have H tone on each syllable.

Examples:

Aorist string

// ♦ do akpurata dhemese //
NPS VP NPo VP
he weave mat make-bigger

'He wove the mat bigger'

Compare:

igbo (HH) // ♦ do igbọ dhemesè //

'He wove the net bigger'
10.3. **The Pronoun**

10.3.1. **Function of the Pronoun**

The primary function of the pronoun is as head of the simple NP type 2 (section 8.2.2) when this is either subject or object of the clause. Certain pronouns also function as attributive elements of the simple NP type 1 as possessive or demonstrative (see below and section 8.2.1.1).

The pronoun is analysed as constituting the head of a separate phrase rather than as an element of the VP since it is parallel to the noun in the following respects:

a. There are the same types of juncture between the NPs and the VP, and between the VP and the NPo as when the noun is head of the NP (section 5.8.2).

b. The pronoun may be followed by some of the same attributive elements as the noun, i.e. by a modifying construct or a reinforcer (section 8.2.2). It may not, however, be followed by all the attributive elements which may follow the noun, and thus is distinguished from the noun.

**Pronoun Paradigms**

Full paradigms of the pronouns according to their main functions are given below. The categories of person and number will be discussed in sections 10.3.2 and 10.3.3. Disjunctive pronouns occur in isolation and in the NP preceding a reinforcer or a relative construct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As Head of the NPs</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>m1</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>bni</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>l / ëgua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As Head of the NPo</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>êî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>bni</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>bhà / ëgua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Head of the NP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disjunctive</td>
<td>mè, ëmè</td>
<td>bhè, ëbhè</td>
<td>ëkl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>èni</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ëguà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Attributive of the NP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>mè</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>èl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>èni</td>
<td>bhà</td>
<td>ëguà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. The 3rd person singular pronoun ël has two allomorphs: ël occurs following a word ending in a non-close vowel; ël occurs following a word ending in a close vowel.

Examples:

- mi kò ël  'I call him'
- mi dhuu ël  'I follow him'
- ëlo ël  'his friend'
- utomu ël  'his head'

b. The 3rd person singular pronoun òkí also functions as a demonstrative.

Examples:

443. òdei òkí nà  'this man'  CG016
     man this the

444. òtà òkí  '(at) this time'  CFO21
     time this

c. For examples of the different functions of the pronouns see the following sections:

- As head of the NPs and NPs: section 8.2.2.
- As possessive: section 8.2.1.1.
d. There is also an impersonal pronoun a which occurs only as the head of the NPs. It may be translated by 'one', 'they', 'people' or by a passive construction.

Examples:

445. a kó i őbi
   one call him name
   'He is called Obi'
   DJ001

446. a f mè
   one so agree
   'So it was agreed'
   DD020

447. a dhyani isosyi nà
   one enter church the
   'People joined the church'
   BC018

10.3.2. Category of Person

Within the pronoun class there is a three term system of person. The person used distinguishes the different types of quotations in speech material (section 3.3) and is relevant to the system of concord between the pronoun and its referent (section 10.3.3).

There is no 1st or 2nd person singular object pronoun. A pronominal postverbal occurs instead (section 11.3).

The 3rd person object pronouns have zero allomorphs when the referent is an inanimate noun.

Examples:

i. àsáwà mè vai ya. bhù monì à. (zero pronoun)
   hoe my lose is you see qu
   'My hoe is missing. Have you seen it?'

ii. ómini mè vai ya. bhù monì ël à.
   'My child is missing. Have you seen him?'
iii. ọ gbei eseni ọsàà ká ọ i tou ta omù (zero pronoun)
he kill fish three seq he so take go house

'He caught three fish and took them home'

iv. ọ mọnị imémini ei n'ọga edà ká ọ i tou ọgụta ta omù
he see children his at edge of-river seq he so take them go house

'He saw his children near the river and took them home.

In the 3rd person pronouns there is a further two term system
which is termed reflexive/non-reflexive. The reflexive pronoun occurs
if the referent is the subject of the previous clause and the non-
reflexive if the referent is not the subject. When the pronoun is the
subject the singular forms are: reflexive ọkị; non-reflexive ọ; and
the plural forms are: reflexive bha; and non-reflexive i or egua.
When the pronoun is the object the distinction is neutralised in the
singular, both forms being ọ; in the plural the distinction is
maintained: reflexive bha; non-reflexive egua. This sub-system
has a limited distribution, occurring only after the particle ga in
sentence types 3 (Report) and 7 (Purpose).

Examples:

i. ọmo na wei ga ọkị gbei ọsènị na
reflex
child the say sp he kill fish the

'The child said that he (the child) caught the fish'

ii. ọmo na wei ga ọ gbei ọsènị na
non-reflex

'The child said that he (another person) caught the fish'

iii. ọzo na wei ga adé si tóu e i ta
child the say sp name will take him go

'The child said that Ade would take him there'

Note: The pronoun ei could refer either to the child or to another
person already mentioned. The semantic meaning is determined by
the context.
iv. ìmo nà wei gá bòe gbe ìsènì nà
   reflex
   'The children said that they (the children) caught the fish'

v. ìmo nà wei gá ìgúà gbe ìsènì nà
   non-reflex
   'The children said that they (other people) caught the fish'

vi. ìmo nà wei ga adé si tóù bha tà
   reflex
   'The children said that Ade would take them (the children) there'

vii. ìmo nà wei ga adé si tóù ìgúà tà
   non-reflex
   'The children said that Ade would take them (other people) there'

10.3.3. **Category of Number**

Within the pronoun class there is a two term system of number: singular and plural. The singular non-disjunctive pronouns (all monosyllabic) harmonise with the vowel quality of the head of the VP or NP as follows:

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPs with the following verb (section 5.8.1);

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPo with the preceding verb (section 5.8.1);

Pronoun functioning as possessive with the preceding noun (section 8.2.1.1).

There is concord with respect to number and person between a pronoun and its referent either within a sentence or across sentence boundaries as follows:
a. If the referent is a noun which is marked for number morphologically or is preceded by "egwe 'plurality', the pronoun is 3rd person and singular or plural according to the number of the noun.

Example: Singular referent: omini 'child'. Singular pronoun: o.

448. // omini Àlibò me /// kà ò tou étai na wai tu-val ///

child of-tortoise agree seq he take fire the throw lose

'Tortoise's child agreed. So he took the coals and threw them away.'


449. /// Àlibò nà dhi òbhuèn-eti nà /// imemini Àlibò ya ///

 tortoise inc eat lion the children of-tortoise are

/// ì gení ni Àlibò /// Àlibò toru dhou bhá ìdhù ///

they look cpl tortoise tortoise blink take them eye

'As tortoise was eating the lion, his children were there. Whenever they looked at tortoise, he snubbed them.'

b. If the referent is a noun which is not marked for number, i.e. is common, the pronoun is 3rd person and singular or plural according to the semantic meaning.

Example: Common referent: ikpilama 'snail'. Singular pronoun: o.

450. /// ikpìlàmá yila za /// ò tyì nì ///

snail stand stay he shout cpl

'Snail stopped. He shouted.'


451. /// ò wèla gà ikpìlàmá syimu nù o /// ì nyoni bhuè nì ///

one say sp snail push cpl indeed they put keep cpl

'They said that it was the snails who had pushed it. They kept at it.'
c. If the referent is a pronoun and a noun, the following pronoun is plural and of the same person as the preceding pronoun.

**Examples:**

452. /// mì nàà ògídhì ënì yàà // ...  
    1st sg. 1st pl.  
    I and name we paddle  
    '(When) Ogidi and I paddled (the canoe) ...'  AT114

453. /// bhà nàà ënì wò bhà yi òmu mè ///  
    2nd sg. 2nd pl.  
    you and wife your you come house my  
    'You and your wife came to my house'  E

454. /// òkì nàà ávuramu nà kwa // i nà òidhà ta ///  
    3rd sg. 3rd pl.  
    he and woman the start they inc walk go  
    'He and the woman set off'  DAQ32

d. If the referent is two pronouns, the following pronoun is plural and the person is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Including 1st person</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including 2nd but not 1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person only</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

455. /// mì nàà íbhà ënì sì dì ënù ///  
    1st sg. 2nd sg. 1st pl.  
    I and you we will buy price  
    'You and I will bargain over the price'  E
'You and he go'  E

'He set off with him'  DE043

Note: The occurrence of a pronoun immediately following a 'double' subject is not obligatory (examples 454, 457).

10.4.  The Numeral

The numeral functions as head of the simple NP type 3 (section 8.2.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (section 8.2.1.1). The numeral is distinguished from the noun since it may occur following the adjective in the NP, whereas apart from the special case described on page 152, the noun does not. Also when the numeral is functioning as head of the NP it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (section 8.2.3).

The class comprises the following:

- évù  'one'
- ésàla  'three'
- ísyònl  'five'
- ísyóvà  'seven'
- àvúmò  'nine'
- ívù  'a number of'

- ívà  'two'
- ínil  'four'
- ënyísà  'six'
- ënùmàni  'eight'
- ìgbèl  'ten'

- 'some'

Examples:

- èsènl ívà  'two fish'
- ìmo ësyóvà  'seven children'
Following ụtômụ 'person' and ădhè 'day' numerals with initial i- have an allomorph with initial e-.

Examples:

ụtômụ ęvà 'two people'  ụtômụ ęsyọni 'five people'
ădhè ęvà 'some days'  ădhè ęgbeị 'ten days'

Numbers above ten involve nouns as well as numerals. They are described here for the sake of convenience.

Numbers above ten

These are derived from units of 20, 200 or 400 together with numerals by either addition, or multiplication, or a combination of both, or subtraction. The units of 20, 200 and 400 are nouns and precede the noun in question. (The two nouns together function as a complex head of the NP - section 8.2.1.3.)

Examples:

íyei ęsẹnị '20 fish'  ụgbẹị imọ '200 children'

The full list of units used as the base for higher numbers is given below, followed by a description of how the intermediate numbers are formed.

íyẹl '20'  ọvụa '40'
ọsàà '60'  ụnîl '80'
ụsyọni '100'  ọsumasè '120'
ụsyọvà '140'  ọnumaị '160'
ụgbẹị '200'  ạsyl '400'

Where a number involves addition an additive construct (section 8.2.1.2) is used.

Example:  íyẹl [ nàà ęsàà] '23'

Mn  AddCon
20 and 3
Where a number involves subtraction it has the structure of a clause: NPs VP AP, but it functions as a noun, i.e. as subject or object of a clause, and thus is analysed as a compound noun type 6 (clause-based compound - page 199).

Example: / èntùnàni / mo / n'ugbèl / '192'  
NPs VP AP  
8 is-not in 200

Numbers 11-19. These are formed by addition using ìgbèl '10' as the base and adding numerals 1-9.

Examples: ìgbèl nàà iva  
10 and 2  
ìgbèl nàà ìsìyìlenì iniì  
10 and shilling 4

Numbers 20-179. These are formed by addition using units of twenty and adding numbers 1-19.

Examples: ìsìyòvà nàà iva  
140 and 2  
óshà nàà ìgbèl nàà èdhyà èntùnàni  
60 and 10 and yam 8

Numbers 180-199. These are formed by subtraction from ùgbèl '200'.

Example: iyeì mo n'ugbèl  
180 is-not in 200

Numbers 200-799. These are formed by addition using ìgbèl '200' or ìsìli '400' as the base.

Example: ìsìli nàà ìsìyòni nàà iva  
400 and 100 and 2
Numbers from 300 onwards. These numbers are formed by multiplication in units of 400 and then addition.

Example: ñyi 걀à 걀à 걀è 걀è edèl
         400 x 2 and 200 person

Ordinal numbers

Except for 'first', ordinal numbers require the noun ðùnèmù (or ðùnèseму) 'order' 'occasion' as either the first or second element of a complex head together with the appropriate numeral.

Examples: áki ðùnèseму inìl
          pot order 4

          ðùnèmu ðùtmù 걀à
          order head 2

The first ordinal requires the nouns ðsyínà 'appearing' and ñdhù 'front' which together constitute the second element of a complex head.

Examples: ámo ðsyínà ñdhù
          child of-appearing of-front

          ðkò ðsyínà ñdhù
          'first canoe'

Distributive Numbers

These employ an AP type 5 (section 9.5).

10.5. The Demonstrative

The demonstrative functions as the head of the simple NP type 3 (section 8.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (section 8.2.1.1). It is distinguished from the noun since it may follow the numeral in the NP, whereas the noun does not. Also when the demonstrative is functioning as the head of the NP it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (section 8.2.3).
The class comprises the members listed below. Some of the
demonstratives have plural forms. For vowel harmony and concord
between the demonstrative and the noun see section 8.2.1.1, pages 143, 146.

\[(\text{sg.}) \; \text{ànò} \quad (\text{pl.}) \; \text{ìnà} \quad \text{'this'}\]
\[(\text{sg.}) \; \text{àkà} \quad (\text{pl.}) \; \text{ikà} \quad \text{'that'}\]
\[(\text{sg.}) \; \text{àyò} \quad (\text{pl.}) \; \text{iyò (iyà')} \quad \text{'other near at hand'}\]
\[\text{èvìè} \quad \text{'other out of sight'}\]
\[\text{ènò}, \; \text{ènà} \quad \text{'this kind' (attributive only)}\]
\[\text{èvù} \quad \text{'certain' (attributive only)}\]

**Note:** The demonstrative àvò is distinguished from the numeral ávò
'one' since it may occur following a numeral (example 459).

**Tone Patterns of Demonstratives**

Some demonstratives have different tone patterns depending on
their function. When functioning as head, they have the tone pattern
given above. When functioning as an attributive, the following have
the tone pattern LL:

\[\text{ño} \; \text{'this'} \quad \text{ina} \; \text{'these'}; \quad \text{aka} \; \text{'that'} \quad \text{ika} \; \text{'those'}\]
\[\text{àyò (sg.)} \quad \text{iyò (pl.)} \; \text{'other'}\]

Because there is a high juncture between the demonstrative and
the previous word (page 143), the initial tone of the demonstrative is
a HL glide.

**Examples:**

458. \text{ànàmà̀ ìèòò yi í te nì}
\[\text{Nn Dem animal another came to reach cpl}\]

'Another animal arrived'
459. i moni ìmo akie ìnì ivà ìnì
  Nn GenCon Num Dem
they see boys of-town our two certain
'They saw a certain couple of boys from our town'

460. ò nò le ko ìvìè
  Dem
he go-to again call another
'He went to call another (doctor)'

461. akie ìnì ìnì nà
  Nn Poss Dem Rf
town our this the
'This town of ours'

462. inùmù ávu ìnò a [na ì mi tòu kyè bhà] i mo
  Nn Num Dem Rf RelCon
thing one this even which I will-take give you again is-not
'There is nothing at all that I can give you'

See also examples 290, 293, 328.

10.6. The Interrogative

The interrogative functions as head of the simple NP type 4 (section 8.2.4). It is distinguished from the noun since it does not occur with any attributive elements, and also since it occurs only in interrogative clauses. The class comprises the following members:

èdho 'where?' (not NPs)
ìnwèì 'how many?'
ivo 'how?' (NP's only)
iyo 'what?' ìvo 'which?' ìyo 'who?'
**Examples:**

463. bhú si dhumo əyo
      you will marry whom

'Whom will you marry?'  CG012

464. bhu té ḍdhó à
      you will-go where qu

'Where will you go?'  FA082

465. iyó nyíne ni n'akíè à
      what happen cpl in town qu

'What has happened in the town?'  ED043

466. èni wúru iyó à
      we will-do what qu

'What shall we do?'  DK047

For further examples see 166-170, 172-175, 330-333.

10.7. The Adverb

10.7.1 Function and Structure of the Adverb

The adverb functions as the sole element of AP type 3 (section 9.2.3). The class is very numerous. Adverbs\(^1\) are descriptive of "sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity"\(^2\).

---

1. Similar items are frequently termed 'ideophones' by other linguists.
The adverb has a demarcative feature marking intensity. The intense form is marked by reduplication once or frequently twice, or by a lengthening of the final vowel beyond the length of a normal double vowel. The non-intense form is characterised by an absence of lengthening or reduplication.

The lengthening or reduplication is analysed as a demarcative feature of the word since it distinguishes adverbs from other words. (A verb may be reduplicated once when the clause is in the secondary aspect - section 5.7 - but not twice.) The feature is not analysed as part of the system of emphasis since the latter is restricted to declarative clauses (section 5.4.3) whereas the intense form of the adverb occurs in all types of clauses. The feature is analysed as demarcative of the adverb word and not of the AP since in one type (2B) only part and not the whole of the word is repeated. For this reason also, the feature is not analysed as part of the secondary aspect (section 5.7) where a complete phrase is repeated.

Type 1 Simple Root

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: CVV, CVCV, CVCVCV.

CVV
do'o 'quietly'
gàâ 'very bright' (of sun)
yìì 'sound of something heavy falling'

CVCV
kpèrà 'bulging'
kpùku 'of short stature'
wàsà 'splash!' (sound of something falling in water)

CVCVCV
bilomu 'pointed in shape'
gbùrodo 'clearly visible'
wùrùmù 'sound of something heavy falling'
Type 2 Root with reduplicated syllable(s)

This type has reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form does not occur.

**Type 2A** reduplication of one syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVCV</th>
<th>tètè</th>
<th>'in a tottering manner'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vùvù</td>
<td>'in a hurried manner'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCVCV</td>
<td>bàmumu</td>
<td>'in a ruffled state'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kìllò̀lò</td>
<td>'dripping wet'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type 2B** reduplication of two syllables. In the intense form the two syllables are further repeated, e.g.

Non-intense form: kpékèkpékè    'in an unsteady manner'

Intense form: kpékèkpékèkpékè

- kpànèkpànė 'in a furtive manner'
- likiliki 'of tall and slim stature'
- kwemúkwèmù 'in a lively manner'
- mènimèni 'being very sweet in taste'
- wòlwoló 'hurriedly'
- zyèrìzyèrì 'torn to shreds'

For examples of adverbs see section 9.2.3.

10.7.2. **Tone of Adverbs**

There are three main tone classes with patterns which are manifested with adverbs of four, three or two syllables. In the chart on the following page all the examples used have occurred on the previous two pages. The gloss is not repeated for reasons of space.
Adverb Tone Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>CVCVCVCV</th>
<th>CVCVCV</th>
<th>CV(C)V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>LLLLL</td>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zyerizyeri</td>
<td>wurumu</td>
<td>yii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>HHHHH</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>HH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>likiliki</td>
<td>bilomu</td>
<td>doo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>LLHHH</td>
<td>LHH</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wolowolo</td>
<td>bhuunumu</td>
<td>kpuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.7.3. The Adverb 'tuu'

The adverb 'tuu' 'until' 'for a long time' has a more restricted distribution than other adverbs. It does not occur sentence finally, and within the clause it is always the final phrase. It is analysed as an adverb rather than as a clause introducer in a complex sentence for the following reasons:

a. It may be followed by the sequential particle ka whereas the other clause introducers may not;

b. It is frequently followed by a pause: clause introducers are followed by a pause only when the speaker hesitates;

c. It may be lengthened or reduplicated for intensity: clause introducers do not have any intense form.
Examples:

467. /// i ta tuu // ká l ná te eda bò ///
they go till seq they go-to reach river big
'They went on for a long time until they reached a big river' DB022

468. /// i wuru tuu // i wuru dhe ///
they do till they do finish
'They worked until they finished it' BM072

469. /// à tó o bho ke dhóu nyoni n'inìmà tuu //
one take hand skim take put in thing till
ka o vure dhe ///
seq it end finish
'It was skimmed off by hand and put into a tin until it was all gone' AS014

470. /// àlíbo konikoni kpúrùkpúrùkpúrù tuu // àní àlíbò ...
tortoise fight fight struggling till wife of-tortoise
'Tortoise struggled and struggled until his wife ...' DF027

10.8. The Preposition

The preposition functions as an obligatory element of AP type 1 or 4. This class has only three members:

n' 'at' 'in'; tuu 'as far as' 'until' which function in AP type 1 (section 9.2.1, examples 368-373).

nàa 'and' 'with' which functions in AP type 4 (section 9.2.4 examples 386, 387).
### CHAPTER ELEVEN

#### THE WORD ii. MINOR WORDS

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>The Auxiliary Verb 'na'</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>The Preverbal</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>The Postverbal</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>The Adjective</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.1</td>
<td>The Adjective as a Separate Word Class</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.2</td>
<td>Function and Structure of the Adjective</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4.3</td>
<td>Juncture between Noun and Adjective</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>The Interrogative Modifier</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>The Reinforcer</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>Particles</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>Exclamations</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE WORD 11. MINOR WORDS

11.0. Introduction

Minor words never function as the head of a phrase. They comprise words which function as attributive elements of the NP or of the VP, particles which function as syntagmatic features of a unit, and exclamations which function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2.

11.1. The Auxiliary Verb 'ná'

The auxiliary verb functions as an attributive element of the VP, both of the simple VP and of the compound VP where it may precede any of the verbs. It is analysed as an auxiliary and not as a full verb because it never occurs as the head of a VP. It is distinguished from the preverbals on the basis of function, since the latter do not occur medially in a compound VP (section 7.4), or in a non-initial VP in a clause string (section 5.9).

The auxiliary verb has three allomorphs: ı occurs following the verb yi 'come'; nö occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun functioning as head of the NPs; nö occurs elsewhere. The vowel of nö and ı harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb (examples 475, 476).

The auxiliary verb denotes movement with a certain purpose. Together with the following verb it is similar to the English infinitive construction. Its occurrence is obligatory when ta 'go' or yi 'come' is followed by another verb either in a compound VP (examples 473, 475) or in a clause string (examples 474, 476).

The verb following the auxiliary verb has special tonal characteristics (see page 224).
Examples:

471. // bhú / ma na moni à //
   NPs  VP
   you  yet go-to not-see qu

   'Have you not yet gone to see?'  DB053

472. // ò / nó  bisyà //
   NPs  VP
   he  go-to push

   'He went to push (it)'

473. // á / ta  na  bhinè //
   NPs  compound VP
   one  let-go to ask

   'Let us go and ask'

474. // ódhoni ci  nà / ta / òmu / na wa / òdhyómà //
   NPs  VP  NPo  VP  NPo
   husband  her  the  go  house to look-for food

   'Her husband went home to look for some food'

   Note: This is a clause string.

475 // i / yi  i  kpolà //
   NPs  compound VP
   they come to gather

   'They come and gather'

476. // ò / tou  yi / ògídha  òkai / i  bhari  bhuè //
   NPs  VP  NPo  VP
   he  take  some  waterside  of-name  to  land  keep

   'He brought them to the water-side at Okaki and landed there'

   Note: This is a clause string.
11.2. The Preverbal

The preverbal functions as an attributive element of the VP (section 7.2). From the point of view of its tone (see below) it functions as a verbal prefix, but it is analysed as a free form and not as a prefix since its position is not fixed either in relation to other preverbals or to the auxiliary verb.

The preverbal class comprises the following members:

- 'again'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- 'as a result', 'then'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- 'still', 'yet'. This does not occur in imperative clauses.

The first three of the above preverbals harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb. Compare examples 477 and 478, 479 and 480.

Tone of Preverbals

a. Preverbals 'again', 'again', 'still'

These preverbals bear the initial tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (sections 5.4 - 5.6).

Example: The future tense tone pattern is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>hHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb only: (o) mé</td>
<td>'he will agree'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) dürè</td>
<td>'he will cook'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) kófilò</td>
<td>'he will cough'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preverbal and verb: (o) lé mé</td>
<td>'he will agree again'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) lé dürè</td>
<td>'he will cook again'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The descriptive tense tone pattern is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>LH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb only</td>
<td>(o) me</td>
<td>'he agrees'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ό) dire</td>
<td>'he cooks'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ό) kòfilo</td>
<td>'he coughs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preverbal and verb</td>
<td>(ό) lè me</td>
<td>'he agrees again'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ό) lè dire</td>
<td>'he cooks again'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The preverbal 'then' has h tone and the following verb has special tone characteristics as described below.

Tone of the verb following auxiliary verb 'ná' and preverbal 'í'

These two morphemes both have h tone and the tone of the verb which succeeds them is as follows:

a. In all clauses except those in the descriptive tense the final tone of the verb is L.

Examples:

Aorist tense: verb only (mí) kiresè (HHH) 'I answered'
aux. verb and verb (mí) ná kiresè 'I went to answer'
preverbal and verb (mí) í kiresè 'then I answered'
compound VP (ta 'go') (mí) ta ná kiresè 'I went to answer'

Positive imperative:

verb only kîrèse (LLH) 'answer!'
aux. verb and verb ná kîrèse 'go and answer!'
b. In clauses in the descriptive tense the non-final tones(s) of the verb which are normally L, are H.

Descriptive tense: verb only (mi) kirèse (LLH) 'I answer'
   aux. verb and verb (mi) nà kirese 'I go to answer'
   preverbal and verb (mi) i kirese 'then I answer'
   compound VP (ta 'go') (mi) ta nà kirese 'I go to answer'

Examples of preverbs

477. // ɗ / le ñèse / ádhù //
   VP
   he again peep eye
   '(When) he again had a peep'

478. // ɗ / le ke //
   VP
   he again cut 'He cut again'

479. // ɗ / i nusu / úswéi nà //
   VP
   he again smell road the
   'He again sniffed the road'

480. // ɗ / i swei //
   VP
   she again not-live
   'She did not live any longer'

481. // ðkì / nà mà fòu / akìbhi //
   VP
   he inc still smoke pipe
   'He was still smoking his pipe'

For further examples see section 7.2, examples 255-258.
11.3. The Postverbal

The postverbal functions as an attributive element of the VP (section 7.2). The postverbal class comprises the following members:

- dhe (padhe) 'finished' 'completely' 'thoroughly'
- me '1st person singular object'
- wo '2nd person singular object'

me and wo are naturally mutually exclusive. They may precede or follow dhe (compare examples 482 and 486), but they follow the longer form padhe (example 487).

The postverbals are analysed as elements of the VP and not as pronouns or adverbs for the following reasons:

a. They may be followed by the completive aspect particle ni, whereas this particle precedes pronouns and adverbs.

Compare:

- ṭ kpeī dhe mó ni 'He has thoroughly washed me'
  PostVb
- ṭ kpeī dhé ni eĩ 'He has thoroughly washed him'
  Pr
- ṭ kpeī dhé ni vióvĩl 'He has washed it very thoroughly'
  Adv

b. The tone of the postverbal frequently depends on the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (see next page), whereas the tone of the other monosyllabic object pronouns and of adverbs remains constant in all clauses.

dhe (padhe) is analysed as a postverbal and not as a verb since it never occurs as the head of a VP. The vowel of dhe, me and wo harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

Example:

- ṭ kpeī dhe me 'He finished washing me'
- ṭ kpeī dhe me 'He finished paying me'
Tone of Postverbals

They bear the final tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (sections 5.4 - 5.6), except in descriptive clauses where me and wo have L tone.

Examples:

The future tense tone pattern is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>hHL</td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb only</td>
<td>(o) mè</td>
<td>'he will agree'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) dírè</td>
<td>'he will cook'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) kófilè</td>
<td>'he will cough'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb and postverbal</td>
<td>(o) mè dè</td>
<td>'he will completely agree'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) díre dè</td>
<td>'he will cook it thoroughly'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) díre padè</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) kpè mè</td>
<td>'he will pay me'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(o) géní wò</td>
<td>'he will look at you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The positive imperative and descriptive tense tone pattern is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>3 syllables</th>
<th>2 syllables</th>
<th>1 syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tone pattern</td>
<td>LLH</td>
<td>LH</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive imperative</td>
<td>mè dè</td>
<td>'agree to everything!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dírè pàdè</td>
<td>'cook it well!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kpè mè</td>
<td>'pay me!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive tense

| verb and postverbal | (ó) mè dè | 'he agrees completely' |
| | (ó) dírè pàdè | 'he cooks it well' |
| | (ó) kpè mè (L) | 'he pays me' |
| | (ó) géní wò (L) | 'he looks at you' |
Examples of postverbals:

482. // à / zyi dhe mé ní //
   VP
   they bury finish me cpl
   '(When) they have finished burying me'

483. // ní / moni wó ní //
   VP
   I see you cpl
   'I have seen you'

484. // à / ná te dhe / omù //
   VP
   they go-to reach all house
   'They all arrived at the house'

485. // ni / álîbò / dire padhe / ákí //
   VP
   wife of-tortoise cook finish pot
   'Tortoise's wife finished cooking'

486. // mf / sì tóu / enuma / tóu ku wo dhè //
   VP
   I will take money take give you all
   'I will give you all the money'

487. // ñmini / te padhe mé ní //
   VP
   water reach finish me cpl
   'The water came right up to me'

For further examples see section 7.2, examples 260, 261.
11.4. The Adjective

11.4.1. The Adjective as a Separate Word Class

Adjectives all have a corresponding noun formed by the addition of the prefix o- / i- (see noun types 4A and 4B page 196). It would therefore be possible to consider the noun form as the basic form. This would eliminate the need for a separate adjective word class, but there would be two serious disadvantages:

a. The nouns would not have a tone on the initial syllable as other nouns have when functioning as a genitive construct (section 8.2.1.3).

b. Elision rules would not be the same as for other nouns. Normally when two vowels come together at a word boundary the first vowel elides, e.g.

\[ \text{mat} \text{ of-child my} \]

But in the case of these nouns it would be the second vowel that elides, e.g.

\[ \text{mat bigness} \]

For these reasons therefore, adjectives are distinguished as a separate word class.

11.4.2. Function and Structure of the Adjective

The adjective functions as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1.1). There are three types:

Type 1 Simple Root

This type consists of a simple unaffixed root.

Examples:

- bọ 'big'
- dhọ 'old' (of condition)
- gbẹ 'few' 'a little'
- vlẹ 'good'
- dhìà 'evil'
- fàì 'new'
- gbèrì 'small'
Type 2 Verbal Adjective

This type consists of a class A verb root with the suffix -mb. The suffix has two allomorphs: -ämüh occurs following roots ending in a close vowel (in CVCC and CVCCVC roots the final vowel drops before the suffix); -mb occurs following roots ending in a non-close vowel. The suffix harmonises with the vowel quality of the verb root.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dire</td>
<td>dirémüh</td>
<td>'cooked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dori</td>
<td>dorámüh</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>fuámüh</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karese</td>
<td>karesémüh</td>
<td>'strengthened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunu</td>
<td>tunámüh</td>
<td>'sacrificed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wei</td>
<td>weiámüh</td>
<td>'spoken'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 3 Compound Adjective

This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only three examples have occurred:

- gbëri-konyi 'very small' (gbëri 'small')
- kí-kàri 'very strong' (kàri 'be strong')
- viè-viè 'very good' (viè 'good')

Juncture between Noun and Adjective

The juncture between a noun and the following adjective is of three types: upstepped high (h), low (L) or neutral (N). For details see section 8.2.1.1.

h juncture: bè 'big', dhè 'old', dhò 'evil',
            all type 2 adjectives

L juncture: gbè 'few'

N juncture: fàì 'new', gbëri 'small', viè 'good'
11.5. **The Interrogative Modifier**

The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element of the simple NP type 4 (section 8.2.4). The class has only one member: vo 'which'. For full details and examples see section 8.2.4.

11.6. **The Reinforcer**

The reinforcer functions as an attributive element of the simple NP types 1-3 (sections 8.2.1 - 8.2.3) and of the VP (section 7.5). The class comprises the following members:

- a 'also' 'any'
- bhôô 'for a long time' 'a long while ago'
- lôù (lôùkpo, lôùkpo 'only' 'any' 'whatever'
  lôùlele)
- nà 'the one already mentioned'
- nû 'in particular'
- o 'indeed'

As stated in the description of the NP (section 8.2.1.1) two reinforcers may occur in one phrase. nà has occurred preceding all the other members of the class. The only other examples of co-occurrence of reinforcers are: lôù a (example 490) and â o (example 491) which both have the semantic meaning 'even'.

The juncture between reinforcers and the previous word in the NP is of three types: upstepped high, low or neutral. For details see section 8.2.1.1.

- h juncture: bhôô 'for long'; nà 'the'; o 'indeed'
- L juncture: a 'also'
- N juncture: lôù 'only'; nù 'in particular'
Examples:

488. òtà [ na á sl yí me ] nà nu
     Nn RelCon rf rf
     time that they will bury me the special
     'the very time that I will be buried'

489. owútumu nà á i mo
     Nn rf rf
     rat the even again is-not
     'Even the rat was no longer there'

490. akpákláho lèò a á moni
     Nn rf rf
     snail only even she not-see
     'She did not see even just a non-edible snail'

491. àdhè ókiè á o
     Nn GenCon rf rf
     day of-match even indeed
     'even on the very day of the match'

For further examples see NP section 8.2.1.1 nos, 291, 293, 295, 296; and VP nos. 284-289.

11.7. **Particles**

Particles function as syntagmatic features of a unit and not as elements of a phrase. They have already been described in the course of the analysis. For the sake of completeness they are listed here with appropriate cross-references.

Aspect particles *nà*, *nì*: see verbal clause (5.4.1.3)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause-introducers</th>
<th>: see complex sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construct marker</td>
<td>: see NP (8.2.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitive particle</td>
<td>: see verbal clause (5.4.3; 5.6.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic particle</td>
<td>: see verbal clause (5.4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal clause (6.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future particles</td>
<td>: see verbal clause (5.4.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative particles</td>
<td>: see nominal clause, subjunctive (5.4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imperative (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>: see nominal clause (6.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question introducer</td>
<td>: see nominal clause, type 2C (6.2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question terminals</td>
<td>: see question sentence (4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verbal clause, type 3 (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal clause, type 2 (6.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential particle</td>
<td>: see discourse (3.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complex sentence types 1 and 2 (4.4.1; 4.4.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal clause (6.1.2; 6.2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech particle</td>
<td>: see discourse (3.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complex sentence type 3 (4.4.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal clause (6.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative particle</td>
<td>: see marginal clause, type 1 (6.3.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.8. **Exclamations**

Exclamations function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2. See section 6.3.2 for details and examples.
CHAPTER TWELVE

ANALYSED TEXT

This chapter presents an analysis of one of the Engenni texts which forms part of the corpus of material on which the foregoing analysis has been based. The text is a traditional folk-tale. It has been chosen because it illustrates a wide variety of different constructions, despite quite a lot of repetition which is characteristic of a folk-tale.

There is a high proportion of speech material in the text. Most of the quotations are indirect. Direct quotations occur as follows:

Sentences 11-12. In a dialogue between pig and tortoise, pig's speech is direct and tortoise's speech is indirect (see section 3.3.2, page 41).

Sentences 31-48. Almost all quotations are direct as this is the climax of the story (see page 40).

The text does not have the customary introduction or conclusion of a folk-tale (section 3.1) since there was no audience present at the time that it was recorded.

The first half of the text is analysed at all ranks; the second half (starting with sentence 26) at clause and sentence rank only. In the first half the text is set out as follows:

line 1 The text with phrase and clause boundaries. Phrase boundaries are shown by a single line //, clause boundaries by a double line ///. Clause boundaries are marked only within the sentence. Elsewhere clause and sentence boundaries coincide.

line 2 A word-for-word English translation.

line 3 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each word.

*line 4 Details of any rankshifted units functioning at phrase rank. (Two lines if necessary.)

line 5 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each phrase. Phrase and clause boundaries are repeated on this line.
Analysis of the clause giving its type and also the demarcative features as these are frequently relevant to the analysis of the sentence.

Details of any rankshifted sentences functioning at clause rank.

Details of the type and, where relevant, the subtype of the sentence.

Lines 4 and 7 are omitted when not relevant. Underlining is used to show the extent of rankshifted units. Capital letters are used for line 8.

In the second half of the text lines 3-5 are omitted. Rankshifted clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

To save congestion in the analysis, the favourite class/type of each unit is not described in full. Therefore unless otherwise stated: Nouns are of class A (General) and type 1 (Simple); Verbs are of class A; The NP is simple and of type 1 (noun as Head); The VP is of class A; The nominal clause is of type 1 (Declarative); The verbal clause or verbal clause string is of type 1 (Declarative), positive, indicative, in the aorist tense, and with neutral primary and secondary aspect.

The chapter ends with a free translation of the text followed by a full list of abbreviations used in the analysis together with others used in earlier chapters. When a sequence of abbreviations is used they are to be understood as follows:

Adj:2 Adjective of type 2
NPs:2 Nominal phrase of type 2 functioning as subject
NomCl:2C Nominal clause of type 2 subtype C

Single capital letters e.g. A, B, refer to the class of the unit, and numerals e.g. 1, 2, to the type of the unit. A capital letter following a numeral e.g. 2C, refers to the subtype of the unit.
1. ṛlībọ / ana ọyà.
   tortoise one of-laziness
   Nn  Nn  Nn
   GenCon

   NP / NP
   NomCl:2
   SIMPLE SENTENCE

2. opilopo / ka ọdei kunamu ụkwọ.
   pig seq person making farm
   Nn:2c part Nn  Adj:2  Nn
   GerunCon

   NP / NP
   NomCl:2
   SIMPLE SENTENCE

3. ká ọ / i kunu ḅhue / ụkwọ ákà nàà ọdhyà.
   seq he so make keep farm of-corn and yam
   part Pr PreVb TrVb TrVb Nn  Nn  Prep Nn
   Nn  AddCon
   GenCon

   NPs:2 / VPcomp / NPo
   VbCl
   SIMPLE SENTENCE

4. ká ďbhrù / i yi / ake ọnàmù.
   seq famine then come town of-animal
   part Nn  PreVb STrVb Nn  Nn
   GenCon

   NPs / VP NPo
   VbCl
   SIMPLE SENTENCE
5. kä inúmò àvù a na àlìbò nàà imémini ìì sì ìhìà
seq thing one even which tor. and children his will eat
Part Nn Num rf part Nn Prep Nn:3 Pr part TrVb
RelCon

NP ext: cont. on next line
ó / mo
it is-not
Pr Vb:B
NP or VP:B
VbCl:neg
SIMPLE SENTENCE

6. kä àlìbò / i vio / omni ei / tà //
seq tortoise so send child his go
Part Nn PreVb TrVb Nn Pr STvB
NP or VP or NPs: VP / NP: / VP //
VbCl: string
gá opilopó / kye / i / ìkà gbè nàà ẹdhyà gbè //
so-that pig should-give him corn little and yam little
Part Nn:2 DitrusVb Pr Nn Adj:1 Prep Nn Adj:1
NP or VP or NPs: VP / NP:1 / NP:2
VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 2 cont. on next line
ká ọkì / sì kpó / n' udhè.
seq he will pay on next-day
Part Pr part DitrusVb Prep Nn
NP:2 / VP / AP:1
VbCl:fut

rs Sentence cont. from line above
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Purpose)
Note: Occurrence of the reflexive form 'oki' as the 3rd person singular pronoun shows that the final clause is dependent upon the particle ga (section 10.3.2).
7. ka opilopo / i bhue-enia / kye / i / akā nā̀a ḗdhya nā̀.
seq pig so then give him corn and yam the
part Nn:2 PreVb TrVb-Nn:B DitrVb Pr Nn Prep Nn rf
NPs / VP / AP:2 / VP / NPo^1 / NPo^2

VbC1 string

SIMPLE SENTENCE

8. ka o / te / údhé //
seq it reach next-day
part Pr STRVb Nn
NPs:2 / VP / NPo //
VbC1:des

ka opilopo / i tà // gá àlibó / kpe / i / énuma i
seq pig so go that tortoise should- him money his pay
part Nn:2 PreVb STRVb part Nn DitrVb Pr Nn Pr
NPs / VP // NPs / VP / NPo^1 / NPo^2

VbCl
VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7 (Purpose)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)
9. ka ṣe tā ná te // ká hàlibò / i gu kye / l //
seq he go to reach seq tortoise so promise give him
part Pr StrVb Aux StrVb part Nn PreVb StrVb DitrVb Pr
NPs:2 / VPcomp // NPs / VPcomp / NPo //

VbCls:des --------------------------- VbCls

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

gá ṣe tē ni udhè // ga ṣe le tā.
sp it reach cpl next-day sp he again should-go
part Pr StrVb part Nn part Pr PreVb StrVb
NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP

VbCls:cpl ---------------------------------- VbCls:subj

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

10. ka o / tē / udhè // opilopó / tā ná te //
seq it reach next-day pig go to reach
part Pr StrVb Nn Nn StrVb Aux StrVb
NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //

VbCls:des --------------------------- VbCls:des

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

ká hàlibò / vye // ga aché l / wú nù.
seq tortoise cry sp relative his die cpl
part Nn IntrVb part Nn Pr IntrVb part
NPs / VP // NPs / VP

VbCls ---------------------------------- VbCls:cpl

rs Sentence cont.

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)
   seq pig so say give him sp sorry do-not cry
   part Nn:2 PreVb IntrVb DitrVb Pr part excl part IntrVb
   NPs / VPcomp / NPo // - // VP
   VbCl MarCl VbCl:neg imp

   **COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)**

   **Note:** Change to direct quotation in the speech material is shown by the occurrence of the imperative clause.

12. ò / té ni / udhè // ka mí / nà yia //
   it reach cpl next-day seq I inc come
   Pr StrVb part Nn part Pr part StrVb
   NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP //
   ______VbCl:cpl _______ VbCl:des inc

   **rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)**

   *ka bhù / kpe me / osá nà ò .*
   seq you pay me due the indeed
   part Pr DitrVb PostVb Nn rf rf
   NPs:2 / VP / NPo
   VbCl

   **COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)**

   **Note:** Continuation of direct quotation is shown by the occurrence of the 1st person pronoun.

13. *àlíbb / me .*
   tortoise agree
   Nn IntrVb
   NPs / VP
   VbCl

   **SIMPLE SENTENCE**
14. ka o / te / ow-áwlè // opiló / tà nà te //
seq it reach next-morning pig go to reach
part Pr StrVb Nn:5 Nn:2 StrVb Aux StrVb
NPs:2 / VP / NPo / / NPs / VPcomp / / VbCl:des VbCl:des

kà àlíbò / bidhá ni .
seq tortoise travel cpl
part Nn StrVb part
NPs / VP VbCl:cpl
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

15. kà ò / ì bhinè // gá tènè àlíbò .
seq he so ask sp where-is tortoise
part Pr PreVb StrVb part QuInt Nn
NPs:2 / VP / / NP VbCl NomCl:2C
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

16. ka imémíni àlíbò / wei // gá àlíbò / nà bidha .
seq children of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel
part Nn:3 Nn IntrVb part Nn part StrVb GenCon
NPs / VP / / NPs / VP VbCl VbCl:des inc
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

17. àlíbò / ta ni / ekya / ya .
tortoise go cpl foreign-place is
Nn StrVb part Nn Vb:B
NPs / VP / NPo / VP VbCl string
SIMPLE SENTENCE
18. ka opilopo / ì pà // ó / nò gbe.
seq pig so leave he inc go-home
part Nn:2 PreVb IntrVb Pr part STvB
NPs / VP //NPs:2/ VP
VbCl VbCl;des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

19. o / te / òw-àwì // kà àlibó / gbì dhuu / ëkyá na / yìa //
it reach next-morning seq tor. return follow foreign the come
place
Pr STvB Nn:5 part Nn IntrVb STvB Nn rf STvB
NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp / NPo / VP //

VbCl;des VbCl string;des

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential) cont. on next line

kà ò / ì bhue-enia / wo kye / ominì ìèl //
seq he so then seq give child his
part Pr PreVb STvB-Nn:B IntrVb DitvB Nn:3 Pr
NPs / VP / AP / VPcomp / NPo //

VbCl string

rs Sentence cont. from line above

ga opilopo / yì ni / n' udhè // ga ó / sì vỳé / syìnumù.
sp pig come cpl on next-day sp he will cry very-much
part Nn STvB part Prep Nn part Pr part IntrVb Adv:1
NPs / VP / AP:1 // NPs:2 / VP / AP:3
VbCl:cpl VbCl:fut

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

Note: This complex sentence consists of two rankshifted sentences, the first of which has three clauses and the second two clauses.
20. ó / sì tûkpa kye / i.
he will scold give him
Pr part IntrVb DitrVb Pr
NPs:2/ VPcomp / NPs:2
VbCl:fut
SIMPLE SENTENCE

21. ó / sì wêlià // ga ó / wûrû / ivo //
he will say sp it do how
Pr part IntrVb part Pr TrVb Int
NPs:2 / VP // NPs:2 / VP / NPs //
VbCl:fut VbCl:des

nâ ùkî / kpe / i / osà .
that he not-pay him debt
part Pr DitrVb Pr Na
NPs:2 / VP / NPs1/ NPs2
VbCl:nerg
rs Sentence: 9
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

22. ó / sì vûma karesè .
he will vex make-strong
Pr part IntrVb STRVb
NPs:2/ VPcomp
VbCl:fut
SIMPLE SENTENCE
23. ka ṃ / rìl nì / ìnìà // ka omini ẹf / kirese / i / lal//
    seq it pass cpl thus seq child his should- turn
    him turn
    Part Pr TrVb part Nn:2 part Nn:3 Pr STRVb Pr TrVb
    NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VP NPo:2/ VP//
    VbCl:cp1 VbCl string: subj

rs Sentence: 1

ka ọ / tọu / aka / nṣonì //
seq he should-take corn put
part Pr TrVb Nn TrVb
NPs:2 / VP / NPo / VP //
VbCl string: subj

ka ọ / za gbe / n'əgllè na opilopó si yia nà.
seq he stay grind at time that pig will come the
part Pr STRVb TrVb Prep Nn part Nn:2 part STRVb
    rf RelCon
NPs:2 / VPcomp / AP
    VbCl:subj
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

24. ka opilopó / yì i te nì // ka ọ / moni moni / ẹ.
    seq pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him
    part Nn:2 STRVb Aux STRVb part part Pr TrVb TrVb Pr
    NPs / VPcomp / NPs:2/ VP / NPo:2
    VbCl:cp1 VbCl:NEG rep
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

25. ka omini ẹf / wel // gá ọkì / bidha ya .
    seq child his should-say sp he travel is
    part Nn:3 Pr IntrVb part Pr STRVb Vb:B
    NPs / VP / NPs:2 / VPcomp:B
    VbCl:subj VbCl
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)
26. ãdhé bhùe-enía kirese wìl //
   day then repeat dawn

VbCl:des

ka opilopó ì kwà // ò nò ta .
seq pig so start he inc go

VbCl VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 5
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

27. opilopó tà ná te //
    pig go to reach

VbCl:des

ka omíni álìbò wurú nu idhiàná [álìbò wo kye i] nà .
seq child of-tortoise do cpl how tortoise say give him the

VbCl:copl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

28. ò tou ni aka tou sise nyoni bhue ni n'ogbo álìbò //
    he take cpl corn take place put keep cpl on back of-tor .

VbCl string:copl

ka ò nò za ìbe .
seq he inc stay grind

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

29. ka opilopó i bhìnè // gá téñè álìbò .
    seq pig so ask sp where tortoise

VbCl NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)
30. omíni álìbò wei // gá álìbò nà bidha.
child of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel
VbCl VbCl:des inc
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

31. ká ó i bhue-enia bhò // álìbò nne òyà.
seq he so then scold tortoise one of -laziness
VbCl NomCl:LB
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

32. inùmù èvù a ó moni wuru.
thing one any he not-able do
VbCl: neg (NPo is frontshifted)
SIMPLE SENTENCE

33. álìbò i kpé me oṣa mè.
tortoise will pay me due my
VbCl: fut
SIMPLE SENTENCE

Note: Change to direct quotation in speech material shown by the occurrence of 1st person forms.

34. ó ta èdho n'ínyà.
he go where on today
VbCl: inter nfut
SIMPLE SENTENCE

35. ká ó nò bà enìa nà // ká ó i bhue-enia swai ñòhù ugyò
seq he inc scolà: thus the seq he so then carry take stone
VbCl: des inc VbCl String (cont. on next line)
[na omíni álìbo ná tòọ gbé áka] ná tòọ su tuvá.
which child of-tor. inc take grind corn the take throw lose
(NPo includes RelCon)
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)
36. ká ̀líbò bhue-enía bhaa dhuu esyimu yi seq tortoise then return follow back come VbCl (cont. on next line)

[na á tuvai dhe i nà]. which they lose finish him the

(ReCon attributive to esyimu. The ReCon usually immediately follows its antecedent.)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

37. ó yi í te // ká ò i bhue-enía wei // he come to reach seq he so then say VbCl:des VbCl

mí sl kpé wo osa wo n'inya. I will pay you due you on today VbCl:fut

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

38. enyi

yes MarCl:2

SIMPLE SENTENCE

39. mé ìdhídhè
I richman NomCl:1B

SIMPLE SENTENCE

40. mì tou ni ènuma me tou dyi bhue ni n'ùvomu ugyò. I take cpl money my take store keep cpl in inside stone VbCl String:cpl

SIMPLE SENTENCE
41. ᵃ bhuu-eñña bhuine omni el // gá tēnē úgyo ǹ.  
he then ask child his sp where stone the

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

42. ᵃ jí weł // ga opilopó nà vùma.  
he so say sp pig inc vex

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

43. ᵃ nò tůkpà kú wò.  
he inc upbraid give you

SIMPLE SENTENCE

44. ká ᵃ jí pa dhou ugyo na tóú sù tuvai.  
seq he then lift take stone the take throw lose

SIMPLE SENTENCE

45. ñlibò tyį // ᵃkï wá nù.  
tortoise shout he die cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

46. opilopo.  
pig

SIMPLE SENTENCE

47. gwa ná wa syie me ugyo m̀.  
right! go-to search bring me stone the

SIMPLE SENTENCE
48. ęsyfá ká ęsyi [na mì dyì bhué ni ęnuma mè].
place seq place which I store keep cpl money my
NomCl:LB (RelCon as attributive of 2nd NP)
SIMPLE SENTENCE

49. ka opilopó ñ kwà // ñ nò tâ nà wà.
seq pig so start he inc go to search
VbCl VbCl:des inc
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 10 (Immediate Action)

50. ọ wa úgyo nà.
he search stone the
VbCl
SIMPLE SENTENCE

51. ọ ọ i moní.
he again not-see
VbCl:neg
SIMPLE SENTENCE

52. ọ wa wa úgyo nà
he search search stone the
VbCl:rep
SIMPLE SENTENCE

53. ọ ọ i moni.
he again not-see
VbCl:neg
SIMPLE SENTENCE
54. opilopo kwa // ọ nọ ta ná ko egwe ọmu el // pig start he inc go to call people of-house his

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

iyi i dhuu ei wà.
they should- to follow him search

VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

55. i nà wá nà //
they inc search the

VbCl:des inc

ká álìbò nàà ọmini el ya n'ësylù // i nà zà gbèla.
seq tortoise and child his are at back they inc stay laugh

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 5
COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

56. i nà zà gbèi opilopo.
they inc stay laugh pig

VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

57. atye édèi gùní édèi // i nà gbèi bhùe.
each person look person they inc laugh keep

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate action)

58. ká ìtọ ìlìbo nà nà opilopó nà i dhuu esyia rìl.
seq debt of-tor. the and pig the so follow there pass

VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE
Free Translation

The numbers of the corresponding sentences in the text are given in parentheses at the beginning of each sentence.

(1) Tortoise was a lazy person: (2) pig was a farmer. (3) Pig had made a farm of corn and yam. (4) Then famine came to the animals' town. (5) There was nothing for tortoise and his children to eat. (6) So tortoise sent his child in order that pig should give him a little corn and a little yam and he would pay the next day. (7) Pig then gave him the corn and yam. (8) When the next day came, pig went with the intention that tortoise should pay him his money. (9) When he arrived, tortoise persuaded him to come again the following day. (10) The next day when pig arrived, tortoise cried that a relative of his had died. (11) So pig said to him, "I'm sorry, don't cry. (12) I will come tomorrow and you can pay me your debt". (13) Tortoise agreed. (14) The next morning when pig arrived, tortoise had travelled. (15) So pig asked where tortoise was. (16) Tortoise's children said that tortoise was travelling. (17) He was away in foreign parts. (18) So pig set off for home.
(19) The next morning when tortoise returned from foreign parts, he told his child that when pig came the next day, he would create a big scene. (20) He would scold him. (21) He would ask why he (tortoise) wouldn't pay him what was owing. (22) He would rant a lot. (23) Because of this, his child should turn him over and put corn on him and should be grinding at the time that pig would come. (24) When pig came he would not see him at all. (25) His child should say that he (tortoise) was travelling.

(26) When day dawned pig set off. (27) When he arrived, tortoise's child had done what tortoise told him. (28) He had taken some corn and put it on tortoise's back and was grinding. (29) Then pig asked where tortoise was. (30) Tortoise's child said that tortoise was travelling. (31) Pig then scolded, saying, "Tortoise is a lazybones. (32) There is nothing he can do. (33) Tortoise will pay me what he owes me. (34) Where did he go today?" (35) As he was scolding like this, he picked up the stone on which tortoise's child was grinding the corn and threw it away.

(36) Tortoise came back from behind where he had been thrown away. (37) When he came he said, "I will pay you what I owe today. (38) Yes, I will. (39) I'm a rich man. (40) I have taken my money and kept it inside a stone." (41) Then he asked his child where the stone was. (42) The child said, "Pig was angry. (43) He was scolding you. (44) Then he picked up the stone and threw it away." (45) Tortoise shouted that he was ruined. (46) "P{?} (47) Now then, go and look for my stone and bring it to me. (48) That is where I have kept my money."

(49) So pig set off to go and look. (50) He looked for the stone, (51) but he didn't find it again. (52) He looked and looked for the stone, (53) but he didn't find it again. (54) Pig set off to go and call his family to come and search with him. (55) As they were searching, tortoise and his child were in the background laughing. (56) They were laughing at pig. (57) They looked at each other and kept laughing. (58) So pig's and tortoise's debts were equalised. (59) Tortoise said that pig had thrown away his money. (60) Therefore he wouldn't any more pay pig what he owed him.
ABBREVIATIONS

The following list includes all the abbreviations used in the analysis of the preceding text together with others used in earlier chapters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AddCon</td>
<td>Additive construct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
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<tr>
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<td>aor</td>
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<td>AP</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ditransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPcomp</td>
<td>Compound verbal phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography lists the books and articles to which reference has been made in the course of the thesis.


BENDOR-SAMUEL, J.T. 'Problems in the Analysis of Sentences and Clauses in Bimoba', Word, Vol.21, no.3.


INDEX

This index does not claim to be exhaustive but to give references to the principal occurrences of each item.

Adjective, 141, 144, 152, 229-230.
Adverbial noun, 170, 192-3.
Adverbial phrase, 168-74.
Aorist tense, 50, 51, 55, 84, 87.
Aspect, see Primary aspect, Secondary aspect.
Automatic upstep, see Upstep.
Auxiliary verb, 110, 112, 130, 133, 221-2.
Clause, 76-127.
Clause string, 109-18.
Complettive aspect, 51, 87, 91, 110, 133.
Complex head of NP, 149-53.
Complex sentence, 48-68.
Compound adjective, 230.
Compound noun, 197.
Compound verb, 184.
Compound verbal phrase, 133-6.
Concord, 146.
between noun and demonstrative, 206-9.
between noun and pronoun, 13.
Construct, 
Declarative clause, 120-4.
Nominal 78-108.
Verbal
Declarative clause string, 114-5.
Demarcative features, 12, 77.
Demonstrative, 141, 143, 146, 157, 166, 212-4.
Dependent clause, 76, 78.
Derivational suffix, 183-4.
Descriptive tense, 35, 50, 51, 85, 136.
Direct speech quotation, 37-42.
Discourse, 33.
Distributive aspect, 101.
Ditransitive verb, 181.
Elision, 26-9, 76, 122.
Emphasis, 89-92, 123.
Exclamation, 127, 233.
Extended NP, 162-6.
Frontshifting of object, 92.
Future tense, 51, 55, 64, 83, 87, 186.
Genitive construct, 149-153, 166.
Gerundive construct, 159.
Habitual aspect, 99.
Imperative clause, 92-4.
Imperative clause string, 113, 117.
Impersonal construction, 66.
Incomplete aspect, 51, 62, 87, 110.
Independent clause, 76, 78, 120, 126.
Indirect speech quotation, 37-42.
Interrogative 158, 214-5.
Intensive aspect, 99.
Interrogative clause, 124-7.
Nominal 94-8.
Verbal
Interrogative clause string, 113, 118.
Interrogative NP, 158.
Intonation, 21, 26.
Final, 44.
Interrogative, 95.
Negative, 80.
Question, 69.
Intransitive verb,
Juncture,
of clauses in the string,
of elements in the AP,
of elements in the NP,
of phrases in the clause,
of words in general,
Locative construct,
Major word,
Marginal clause,
Minor word,
Modifier,
Mood,
Negative,
Negative imperative,
Negative indicative,
Negative subjunctive,
Neutral primary aspect,
Neutral secondary aspect,
Nominal clause,
Nominal phrase,
Noun,
Number,
Numeral,
Particle,
Person,
Phrase,
Polarity,
Positive imperative,
Positive indicative,
Positive subjunctive,
Positive intonation,
Possessive,
Postverbal,

176.
112.
168.
143-6.
104-9, 122.
26-9.
149.
176.
126.
221.
141.
80, 109.
80, 90, 91, 120.
94, 186.
50, 51, 81.
82, 186.
87, 110.
98.
48-50, 120-7.
140-66.
189-201.
77, 206.
141, 143, 157, 164, 209-12.
37-40, 77, 204-6.
129-174.
80, 109.
92.
83.
82, 186.
80.
141-5, 203.
130, 132, 133, 226-8.
Preverbal, 110, 130, 132, 133, 223-5.
Primary aspect, 87.
Pronoun, 37, 153-7, 202-9.
Question sentence, 68-71.
Rankshifting, 12-3.
   rankshifted clause, 76, 147, 161.
   rankshifted NP, 149, 168, 172.
   rankshifted sentence, 45, 71-4, 147.
Reduplication, 98, 165, 173.
Referential tense, 35, 50, 86, 87, 147, 186.
Reinforcer, 137, 141, 145, 146, 155, 164, 231-2.
Relational features, 12.
Relative construct, 147, 154, 159.
Repetitive aspect, 100.
Secondary aspect, 98, 109, 110.
Semi-indirect speech quotation, 37-42.
Semi-transitive verb, 177.
Sentence, 34-6, 44-74.
Speech verb, 39, 57.
Stative compound VP, 135.
Subjunctive, 38, 64, see also positive, negative.
Syntagmatic features, see demarcative and relational features.
Tense, 83, 109.
Tone, 21-5.
Transitive verb, 179.
Upstep, 22-3.
Verb, 176-89.
Verb, 196, 230.
Verb, 78-109.
Verbal clause, 129-38.
Verbal clause string, 126.
Verbal phrase, 20, 103, 143, 206, 233, 226.
Vocative, 137, 141, 145, 146, 155, 164, 231-2.
Vowel harmony,