

A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGENNI LANGUAGE

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

by

ELAINE THOMAS

Department of Phonetics and Linguistics,
School of Oriental and African Studies

1969



ProQuest Number: 10672910

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10672910

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

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.

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
Chapter 1 <u>Introduction</u>	8
1.0. The Engenni People and Language	9
1.1. Material for the Thesis	10
1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis	11
1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles	13
1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples	15
Chapter 2 <u>The Phonological Analysis and Transcription</u>	16
2.0. Introduction	17
2.1. Consonants	17
2.2. Vowels	20
2.3. Tone and Intonation	21
2.4. Word Juncture	26
2.5. Relation between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies	30
2.6. Other symbols	31
Chapter 3 <u>Beyond the Sentence</u>	32
3.0. Introduction	33
3.1. Types of Discourse	33
3.2. Sentence Groupings	34
3.3. Quotations in Speech Material	37

Chapter 4	<u>The Sentence</u>	43
4.0.	Introduction	44
4.1.	Function of the Sentence	45
4.2.	Structure of the Sentence	46
4.3.	The Simple Sentence	47
4.4.	The Complex Sentence	48
4.5.	Question Sentences	68
4.6	Rankshifted Sentences	71
Chapter 5	<u>The Clause i. The Verbal Clause</u>	75
5.0.	Introduction	76
5.1.	Function of the Clause	76
5.2.	Basic Structure of the Clause	77
5.3.	The Verbal Clause	78
5.4.	The Verbal Clause, Type 1 Declarative	80
5.5.	The Verbal Clause, Type 2 Imperative	92
5.6	The Verbal Clause, Type 3 Interrogative	94
5.7.	Secondary Aspect	98
5.8.	Relationship between Elements of the Verbal Clause	103
5.9.	The Verbal Clause String	109
Chapter 6	<u>The Clause ii. The Nominal Clause</u> <u>iii. The Marginal Clause</u>	119
6.0.	The Nominal Clause	120
6.1.	The Nominal Clause, Type 1 Declarative	120
6.2.	The Nominal Clause, Type 2 Interrogative	124
6.3.	The Marginal Clause	126

Chapter 7	<u>The Verbal Phrase</u>	128
7.0.	Phrase Classes	129
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	<u>The Nominal Phrase</u>	139
8.0.	Function of the Nominal Phrase	140
8.1.	Structure of the Nominal Phrase	140
8.2.	The Simple Nominal Phrase	140
8.3.	The Extended Nominal Phrase	162
Chapter 9	<u>The Adverbial Phrase</u>	167
9.0.	Introduction	168
9.1.	Function of the Adverbial Phrase	168
9.2.	Structure of the Adverbial Phrase	168
Chapter 10	<u>The Word i. Major Words</u>	175
10.0.	Introduction	176
10.1.	The Verb	176
10.2.	The Noun	189
10.3.	The Pronoun	202
10.4.	The Numeral	209
10.5.	The Demonstrative	212
10.6.	The Interrogative	214
10.7.	The Adverb	215
10.8.	The Preposition	219

Chapter 11	<u>The Word ii. Minor Words</u>	221
11.0.	Introduction	221
11.1.	The Auxiliary Verb	221
11.2.	The Preverbal	223
11.3.	The Postverbal	226
11.4.	The Adjective	229
11.5.	The Interrogative Modifier	231
11.6.	The Reinforcer	231
11.7.	Particles	232
11.8.	Exclamations	233
Chapter 12	<u>Analysed Text</u>	234
Abbreviations		253
Bibliography		255
Index		256

CHAPTER ONEINTRODUCTIONTABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1.0. The Engenni People and Language	9
1.1. The Material for the Thesis	10
1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis	11
1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles in Engenni	13
1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples	15

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. The Engenni People and Language

The Engenni people live in the Ahoada 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 Engena) 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 group³. 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 corpus⁴. 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)

3. Engenni is not mentioned by D. Westermann and M.A. Bryan in Handbook of African Languages, or by J.H. Greenberg in 'The Languages of Africa' (International Journal of American Linguistics 1963).

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 articles⁵. 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 as 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)
- na
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
- ni
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 TWOTHE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSCRIPTIONTABLE OF CONTENTS

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

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSCRIPTION

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.

	Labio- velar	Labial	Labio- dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives						
egressive vl.		p		t		k
vd.		b		d		g
ingressive vl.	kp					
vd.	gb	bh		dh		
Fricatives						
vl.			f	s		
vd.			v	z		
Nasals		m		n		
Lateral				l		
Vibrant				r		
Semi-vowels		w			y	

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'.

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: \tilde{w} and \tilde{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 syllable². 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.)

		Front	Central	Back
Close	Raised	i		u
	Lowered	ɪ		ʊ
Non-close	Raised	e	ə	o
	Lowered	ɛ	a	ɔ

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.):

úvíl	'paddle (noun)'	gbèi	'kill'
òdhíà	'sin (noun)'	bhùe	'keep'
gbòu	'plant (verb)'	pèè	'very full'
dùu	'go out'	bhòò	'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:

- i. ìkpílàma nu 'As for snail'
- [- - -]
- [- - -]

- ii. ómù dhemu yá sàmù 'Is the house big?'
- [- - - -]

Compare with example iii.

- iii. ómù dhemu ya 'The house is big'
- [- - - -]

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'
- [- - - -]

- v. ógbò opilopo 'back of a pig'
- [- - - -]

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 ígbo '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).

- mì do ígbó dhemesè 'I wove the net bigger'
- [- - - -]
- I weave net enlarge

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

- ègwè ígbo 'nets'
- [- -]
- (lit. plurality of nets)

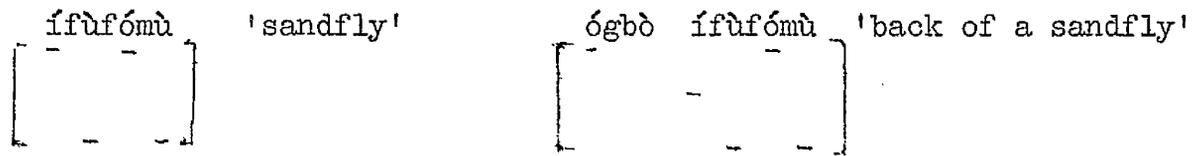
Other places in the grammatical system where an upstep toneme occurs are:

- 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:



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 omu and of enuma in the following pairs:

ò kunu <u>ómù</u> sàmù he build house qu	'Did he build a house?'
---	-------------------------

ò kunu <u>ómu</u> n' akìè he build house in town	'He built a house in the town'
---	--------------------------------

ò tou <u>énùmà</u> he take money	'He took money'
-------------------------------------	-----------------

ò tou <u>énuma</u> tou ò ìnùmù he take money take buy thing	'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. HL, LH.

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:

mì ta <u>úkwô</u>	'I went to farm'
I go farm	
mì ta <u>úkwó</u> nà	'I went to the farm'
mì ta <u>úkwó</u> n' udhè	'I went to farm yesterday'
mí sị <u>kpé</u>	'I will pay'
I will pay	
mí sị <u>kpé</u> wò	'I will pay you'
mí sị <u>kpé</u> n' ínyà	'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 $\hat{\cdot}$. 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:

dhi	ânàmù	[dhyânàmù]	'eat meat'
àvì	ámò	[àvyámò]	'a child's leg'
dú	àswâ	[dwàswâ]	'buy a hoe'
ómu	âbhù	[ómwâbhù]	'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	[ikènáno]	'this ivory'
ùtùmù	ânàmù	[ùtùmânàmù]	'an animal's tail'
fòlí	àbhii	[fòlàbhii]	'peel kola'
fùnù	èdhi	[fùnèdhi]	'climb a palm-tree'
dèí	èsèni	[dèèsèni]	'sell fish'
yòú	àmìni	[yòàmìni]	'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:

mímí	àkàni	[mímíyàkàni]	'squeeze the cloth'
ovúvu	ânò	[ovúvwânò]	'this light'

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

Examples:

ikiri	ânò	[ikiryânò]	'this grasscutter'
ábhiri	ânò	[ábhiryânò]	'this fish trap'

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

Examples:

ésaru	ânò	[ésarwânò]	'this mosquito'
ògbáru	ânò	[ògbárwânò]	'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:

ùvîî ânò	[ùvîầnò]	'this paddle'
útuu ânò	[útuầnò]	'this hat'
ò rîî ákîè	[òrîá̀kîè]	'he passed the town'
ò duu ầmîni	[òduầmîni]	'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 édèi	[òkédèi]	'a man's canoe'
dîré èsèni	[dîrèsèni]	'cook fish'
ò kie á̀mò	[òkiá̀mò]	'she refused the child'
zùó à̀mîni	[zùámîni]	'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:

ímòsyì nàà ívùrà̀mù	[ímòsyì nìí́vùrà̀mù]	'men and women'
ókaa edèi	[ókeedèi]	'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:

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:

ó dèi ákà [ódàákà] 'she sells corn'

ó tòu énúmà [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:

ò wei gá ò somu ya [òweigôsomuya] 'He said it was all right'

àdhé wìl̩a ká ò gbe [àdhéwìlakôgbe] 'When day dawned he went home'

èsèni ív̩à ná ò ya [èsènívànôya] 'There are two fish'

sá òki [sôki] '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 preverbals 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 characterised 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 THREEBEYOND THE SENTENCETABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
3.0. Introduction	33
3.1. <u>Types of Discourse</u>	33
3.2. <u>Sentence Groupings</u>	34
3.2.1. Linking of Sentences by Particles	34
3.2.2. Linking of Sentences by Repetition	35
3.3. <u>Quotations in Speech Material</u>	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: ɔ: i: (A call to gain people's attention)

Audience: ǎ: (The response)

or

Narrator: gba isyi ékàà 'I am going to tell a story'

Audience: wùràdha 'Go right ahead'

Final forms

Narrator: ékàà í gba ísyì 'So the story has been told'

Audience: wùràdhá 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. /// í nà gbe /// ká ànàmù ná èní òú ...
 they inc go-home seq meat which we buy

'They were on their way home. And the meat we bought ...'

ACO37

2. /// ónyôswâ wei àkajú tu yì /// ká àkajú í tu yì ///
 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.'

DEO51

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. /// àlìbò ná ko òbhúenêti ga adégi /// òbhúenêti me ///
 tortoise go-to call lion sp name lion answer

ga mi yia, mí yì í ko wò, bhú na nyoni ku me òbhô ///
 sp I come I come to call you, you go-to put give me hand

'Tortoise went to call lion (shouting) "Adegi". 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. /// èsyià ká èsyì na onu-amo ná wuru dhe êdhyómu na
 there seq place that mother the make finish food the
 tou bho kye ì /// ó wùrù dhe êdhyómu na tou
 take keep give her she make finish food the take
 bho kye ì // ká èguá nà pa // í nà bìdha ///
 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.' FBO32/33

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

5. /// mí nì dhé ònwí // ká mì sàli dhe utomu ///
 I wipe finish body seq I comb finish head
 mí sàli dhe ùtòmù // ká mì tọ 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 // àlìbò ná
 woman the agree woman the agree tortoise go-to
 wa dhou êdhyómu 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. /// àlìbò kóni kóni kpúrùkpúrù tọ // ká ànì àlìbò
 tortoise fight fight struggling till seq wife of-tortoise
 sye dhe áki na sisè /// ó syè sise //
 remove finish pot the put-down she remove put-down
 ká àlìbò wu dhé nì ///
 seq tortoise die finish opl

'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.' DFO27/8

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

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.

Type of quotation	Referent		
	Speaker	Addressee	Other Person
Indirect	3r	3	3
Semi-indirect	3r	2	3
Direct	1	2	3

The following chart gives the actual forms which occur.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1st	mi	me	eni	eni
2nd	bhu	wo	bha	bha
3rd reflex	oki	ei	bha	bha
3rd non-reflex	o	ei	i / egua	egua

Indirect second degree quotation

15. ò bhue-eníá wo kye omini el ga ... ó sɪ túkpa
 he then say give child his sp he will scold
 (tortoise) (pig)

kye ì. ó sɪ wéià ga ó wùrú ìyo
 give him he will say sp it does what
 (tort.) (pig)

ná òkí kpe ì 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.'

CA010/11

3.3.2. Occurrence of Different Types of Quotation¹

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 Selected African Languages (1966), pp. 84-92.

Example from an early section of the discourse - indirect quotations

16. ànàmú nà ga ... àlíbbò ká ànyá ì ... èsyì ná òkí
 animal the sp tortoise seq horse his place that he
 sī tá ká àlíbbò kpó nì eì tá nì tá nì
 will go seq tortoise carry cpl him go cpl 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. àlíbbò í ko anamu nà. ò me. gá bhù tou me
 tortoise so call animal the he reply sp you take me
 bhile bhué ni ilô, ga bhú wèia, ga mé ka ànyá wò
 tell keep cpl lie sp you say sp I seq horse your
 gá ùtòmù êkòmù à.
 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 ò í weì édèì ná bhù ya n'âzyí nà, ò zá nì
 seq she so way man who you are in bush the it stay cpl
 na bhù nyine yi, mí ì gúru wo ísyòni.
 that you not-appear come, I so will-cast you spell
 ká ònyôswá nà í weì gá ò nò gùrà
 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. ànàmú nà í bhine amo nà, gá ènô bhù yì í wa iyo.
 animal the so ask child the sp now you come to look-for what
 ga òkí yì í wa owutumu eí.
 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 adégì na ó dei dhyani n'uvomu ewai nà.
 sp you see name who he fell enter in inside pond the
 ò me gá òkì moni adégì.
 he reply sp he see name

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

CJ032

CHAPTER FOURTHE SENTENCETABLE OF CONTENTS

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

Examples:

21. /// ègwè ony-óko nà a le ta. /// ká à tou
 [- - - - - - - - -]
 pl messenger the also again go seq they take
 ávuramu na tou du ta obl. ///
 woman the take lead go name-of-hut

'The messengers also went again. Then the girl was taken to the
 'obi'.' AM017

22. /// ò vuma // ká ò vye. ///
 [- - - - -]
 he vex seq he cry

'He got angry and cried.'

AA045

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.

<u>Polarity / Mood</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Primary Aspect</u>
Positive indicative	Descriptive	Completive
Negative indicative	Aorist	Incompletive
Positive subjunctive	Referential	Neutral
Negative subjunctive	Future	

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.

4.4. 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. /// ògà ésou eì // àbùrá nà nyìne ///
 NomCl (location) VbCl
 edge of-ear his blood inc appear
 'On the tip of his ear blood was appearing.' AT089
29. /// ìnyá nà nu // ká àvú sì té me ôbhò ///
 NomCl (time) VbCl
 today the very seq one will reach me hand
 'This very day I will get one.' AT125
30. /// imólo ùtòmù ésaá ànó nà // èdhyómu êguà í dhì fìdho ///
 NomCl (theme) VbCl
 friends head three this the food their they eat unite
 'These three friends, they eat their food together.' CG002
31. /// éwai nà nu // ìnyà ká àdhè na á sì wáí ewai 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. /// ìkàà édèi // ùkpòrì àgbá nwènè za n' ôtò ///
 NomCl (theme) VbCl
 old people hair of-cheek flow stay on ground
 'The old men, their beards flowed to the ground.' EGO07

33. /// ègúá ùtòmù ésaá nà // ó ma solí dhou edèi
 NomCl (theme) VbCl
 they head three the she yet not-choose take man
 na ó sī dhúmò ///
 VbCl (cont.)
 who she will marry

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

CG093

34. /// égilè na 'afé sī tá omu álibo nà //
 NomCl (time)
 time that fish will go house of-tortoise the
 ká ùgbúswei ivà ná ò 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)

CHO08

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 incomplete 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	cpl : completive aspect
des : descriptive tense	fut : future tense
imp : imperative	inc : incomplete aspect
ind : indicative	neg : negative
pos : positive	subj: subjunctive
ref : referential tense	

Examples:

a. Specific time sequence

35. /// ó fùnù dhyàna // ó nùa kpoukpou // amó-mosyi nà
 VbCl:des VbCl: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.'

36. /// àní àlibó dìrè pàdhe èdhyá nà // ò tòu
 VbCl:ref
 wife of-tortoise cook finish yam the she take
 okikí na sisè ///
 VbCl:aor
 pot the put-down

'When tortoise's wife had cooked the yam, she put the pot down.'
 DF024

37. /// ó fùnù dhyàni n' êkùnù // ka ó gèni 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.'
 DAO21

38. /// bhú nà kòni èsyíóbhò // nà nwásè ///
 VbCl:des VbCl:neg imp
 you inc fight wrestling do-not fear

'When you are wrestling, do not be afraid.'
 ARO03

39. /// o nó te // o za tũ // ègìlè gbé rìia //
 VbCl:des VbCl:des VbCl:des
 he go-to reach it stay till time small pass
 ká òkò èsyíá nà // ká èkòri bô èkòri bô ná 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.'
 DJ023

b. Future time sequence

40. /// ò té ni udhè // ka mí nà yla ///
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:des inc
 it reach cpl tomorrow seq I inc come
 'When tomorrow arrives, I will come.' CA006
41. /// opilopô yi í te nì // ka ó i moni moni eì ///
 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.' CA012
42. /// bhù ná te ni êsyíá nà // ká wùrù kàrèsè
 VbCl:aor cpl
 you go-to reach cpl place the seq do strengthen
 bhùe íkpébi wò ///
 VbCl:pos imp
 keep heart your
 'When you reach the place, keep confident.' ARO04
43. /// ò zá ni êníà // gwá bídha ///
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:pos imp
 it stay cpl thus right! walk
 'If so, come on, get going!' DA037
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?' AA006

45. /// bhú wuru êníà èníà // edeí sí gbéí wò ///
 VbCl:neg ind VbCl:fut
 you not-do thus thus man will kill you

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

46. /// bhú nyoni onwi n' ênó nà // àswèi wọ ná te àkiè ///
 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 ni okpa nà // ò tọ imémini ei
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor
 they go-to dance cpl dance the he take children his

bhue n' àkpà ///
 keep in bag

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

EC015

48. /// àdhè wíí nì // ká à ko egwe ímorobhà ///
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor
 day dawn cpl seq they call pl bridesmaids

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

AM027

49. /// ávuramu nà wọri dhé ni odo nà // ò dhí nì //
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor cpl
 woman the scrape finish cpl mortar the she eat cpl

ó te ì ///

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 wùràse òbhó nà // á gèni dhe // òbhò zá ni
 VbCl: des VbCl:des VbCl:aor cpl
 he open hand the they look finish hand stay cpl
 kyakya // ka édei òkí sì dhí êdhyómu 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.'
 DGO31

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 tuu '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. /// èni dire tuu // ò dhesyi // ká èdhí 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 ò bìdha ṭu // ká ò ta ná moni ânì ádè ///
 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. /// èkòmù fou egwe ísósyi // ká èkòmù kunu egwe ékwesù ///
 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. /// ọ́ dhesyi // ka ekpúkpe nà vu dhòu ókùbó nà ///
 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. /// òkí ṣì wúru ívo ṭu // ká òkó nà yi í te edà ///
 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. /// ṭou êsèni ânó nà // ká bhù ṭou 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 yí o // ká bhà í dhuu êni kpori íviè ///
 VbCl:pos imp VbCl:aor
 you-pl come indeed seq you come-to follow us sing song
 'Do come and sing with us.' DL120

58. /// wa tuu // bhù. moni ///

VbCl:pos imp VbCl:aor
look till you see

'Look until you find it.'

E

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. /// àlíbò tyi // òkí wú nù ///
 tortoise shout he die cpl

'Tortoise shouted that he was ruined.' (lit. 'he had died')
 CA027

60. /// à í wei //
 they so say

gá ò zǎ ní êníà // ga á ta na ko ɔtwàl ///
 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. /// mí wei // má èní gbei ikpolì êsèni ///
 I say sp we not-kill many fish

'I said that we did not kill many fish.' AA040

62. /// àlíbò // gá òkí dhi dhu ãvù àvù a ///
 tortoise sp he not-eat never one one even

'Tortoise (said) that he would never eat a single one.' CK026

63. /// ámo nà // ga sá èníà ///
 NomCl
 child the sp not thus

'The child said that was not right.' EHL26

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.' EJ029

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

/// ò syiene // ga ó nò yla ///

he hear sp it inc come

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

/// ò syiene // na ó nò yla ///

'He heard it coming.' E

Examples:

68. /// ó nomu // gá àkà nà ká ìnùmù ágbùrà ///

NomCl

he not-know sp that the seq thing fairy

'He did not know that that was a fairy.' CBO08

69. /// ènì í bhue-enia geni moni //

we so then look see

ga onísò nyoni kyé ni êni òbhó bô ///

VbCl

sp God put give cpl us hand big

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

70. /// mí tòù ko // gá bhù nomu me bhué nì ///

VbCl

I take call sp you know me keep cpl

'I thought you knew me.' CHO13

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. /// opilopô í pà // ó nò gbe ///
 pig so leave he inc go-home

'So pig left and set off home.'

CA008

77. /// ègúà giri // í nà gìdhé àlìbo ta ///
 they turn they inc go-forward tortoise go

'They turned and started towards tortoise.'

DL038

78. /// ò le fyani yi í bhari n'oku êdhyómu nà //
 he again fly come to land on dish of-food the
 ó nò zà kòrí àlìbò ///
 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. /// zà gèni èpìlè òkòní eì // kana bhú sí moni ní
 stay look tricks of-fight his so-that you will be-able cpl
 eì koní nì ///
 him fight cpl

'Keep watching his wrestling tricks so that you will be able to
 wrestle with him.' ARO10

80. /// ká ò bídha ta // kaná òkí dhemine na turu
 VbCl VbCl
 seq he walk go so-that he speed to meet
 èdhyómu nà ///
 food the

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

81. /// ìkpílàma ka édèl na ó shimu òkò àlibó nà //
 VbCl
 snail seq person who he push canoe of-tortoise the
kana ónu àlibó wuà ///
 VbCl
 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. /// í gbaìà // ga bha kóu dhòu etài ///
VbCl:fut

they branch so-that they will- take fire
collect

'They branched off to collect some embers.'

CE033

83. /// ègwè ákie êní ìsúà kwa // ga bhá sì dúu yìà ///
VbCl:fut

people of-town our name prepare that they will out come

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

AC017

84. /// ká mì tọu íbi tọu kye ì // ó 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. /// úgbò nwune dhe ya // na ó nò su akpúkuro nà ///
 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.' ED023

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. /// àfèni geni moni // ná ògbànàmú nà gidhé i tà ///
 hen look see that fox inc toward him go

'Hen caught sight of fox coming towards him.' CZ041

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 dhùú àkà yia	'therefore'	(lit. 'it follows that comes')
ó wùrú ìvo	'why?'	(lit. 'it does what')
ò kó nì ògbé	'almost'	(lit. 'it remained a little')
ò té nì	'it is time'	(lit. 'it has reached')
ò ya	'it is'	(e.g. it is hard ...)
ò zá nì	'if'	(lit. 'it has stayed')

Note: ò zá nì 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. /// ò zá nì // na bha gbé // ká bhà gbé 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. /// ó dhùú àkà yia // na òkí yinìgbè ///
 it follow that come that he not-come-home

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

FBO27

89. /// ó wùrú ìvo // na bhá nà zà dha ùdhí nà òfùrómù //
 it do how that you inc stay drink wine the empty

na bhá tou abhii dhiese ///
 that you not-take kola eat-with-it

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

DK050

90. /// ò kó ni ògbé // na ó nò dèi wùá bhùà ///
 it stay cpl little that he inc fall die indeed

'He almost fainted, fancy that!'

CB018

91. /// ò té nì // na á sì wúru èdhyómu ànwùmù ///
 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 í 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 nà).

Negative : The negative particle na occurs before the verb.

Examples:

92. /// ásu mè í wo ku mè // sa mí nà ta ///
 father my so say give me I inc go

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

93. ///ò í zà // ga bhu mé lô // sa mí nà wò kú 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.' DL070

Note: See section 4.4.3.2 for details of the construction ò í zà.

94. /// asu 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. /// ásu mè í 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. sàmù 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. e 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. /// bhú nà sylèné à ///
you inc hear qu

'Are you listening?'

CZ027

97. /// mí wo ku wo // gá bhò ká ànyá 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 bhà à // òdùmúnàbhuagu ká ànyá mè à //
I not-say give you qu wolf seq horse my qu

na bhá ṭou avuramu ṭou 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. /// ólo i ná nà i yíá sàmù ///
 friend her the inc again come qu

'Is her friend coming again or not?'

FB061

100. /// ọ tóu kpai ânàmù sàmù // ọ tóu kpai áfèni à ///
 he will-take feed animals qu he will-take feed birds qu

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

DC029

Note: The final a is optional in alternative questions.

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

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

EJ014

102. /// ilô na ó za enià á tóu édei bhile bhilè e ///
 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 bhù wei // ga bhú gídhe ónu êní ta n'úkwô úkwô e ///
 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 ómini eí // ga bhu dhúmò ///
 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. /// bhù tá ní àkìè // bhù | tóu gbà ///
 you go cpl town you will-take tell

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

DE017

106. /// bhù | moni éì ///

'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 ekpukpé yi í te //
 it stay till seq hawk come to reach

ká ò tou owítumu na kye ì // ga ó 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.' CE039

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

108. /// bhù duu tá nì // ná à moni wó nì //
 you go-out go cpl so-that they see you cpl

ka bhù deí ni orou íbè ///
 seq you fall cpl law ?

'If you go out and they see you, you have broken the 'ibe' law
 (an old tribal law).' BMO38

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

109. /// mí moni me // ga ó gbe ôfùrómu // 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.' DHO06

Analysis: rs sentence type 8A as final element of type 3A.

110. /// ò ya // na bhú ì nómu ikpoli êpilè //
 it is that you will know many tricks
 kana bhú si móni esylobho koní nì ///
 so-that you will be-able wrestling fight cpl

'(The secret) is knowing many tricks so that you will be able to wrestle.'
 ARO02

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

111. /// ò dhi dhé nì // ká ò pa // ò nò gbe ///
 he eat finish cpl seq he start he inc go-home

'Whenever he had eaten he would set off for home.'
 DE019

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

112. /// ì dhyaní nì ipwa nà // ka ákie ini nà //
 they enter cpl room the seq town four the
 á nu inumu // á dhei odhei bô 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.'
 BMO77

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

113. /// ka o te údhè // opilopó tà ná te //
 seq it reach tomorrow pig go to reach
 ká àlibò vye // ga atyé ì wú nù ///
 seq tortoise cry sp brother his die cpl

'When next day came and pig arrived, tortoise cried that his brother had died.'
 CA005

Analysis: rs sentence type 1 as initial element in type 3A.

CHAPTER FIVETHE CLAUSE i. THE VERBAL CLAUSETABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
5.0. Introduction	76
5.1. <u>Function of the Clause</u>	76
5.2. <u>Basic Structure of the Clause</u>	77
5.3. <u>The Verbal Clause</u>	78
5.4. <u>The Verbal Clause, Type 1, Declarative</u>	80
5.4.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 1A	80
5.4.1.1. Polarity and Mood	80
5.4.1.2. Tense	83
5.4.1.3. Primary Aspect	87
5.4.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 1B	89
5.4.3. Emphasis in the Declarative Clause	89
5.5. <u>The Verbal Clause, Type 2, Imperative</u>	92
5.6. <u>The Verbal Clause, Type 3, Interrogative</u>	94
5.6.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 3A	95
5.6.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 3B	97
5.7. <u>Secondary Aspect</u>	98
5.8. <u>Relationship between Elements of the Verbal Clause</u>	103
5.8.1. Vowel Harmony	103
5.8.2. Juncture Features	104
5.9. <u>The Verbal Clause String</u>	109

CHAPTER FIVETHE CLAUSE i. THE VERBAL CLAUSE5.0. 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:

<u>verbal</u>	: declarative, imperative, interrogative
<u>nominal</u>	: declarative, interrogative
<u>marginal</u>	: 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:

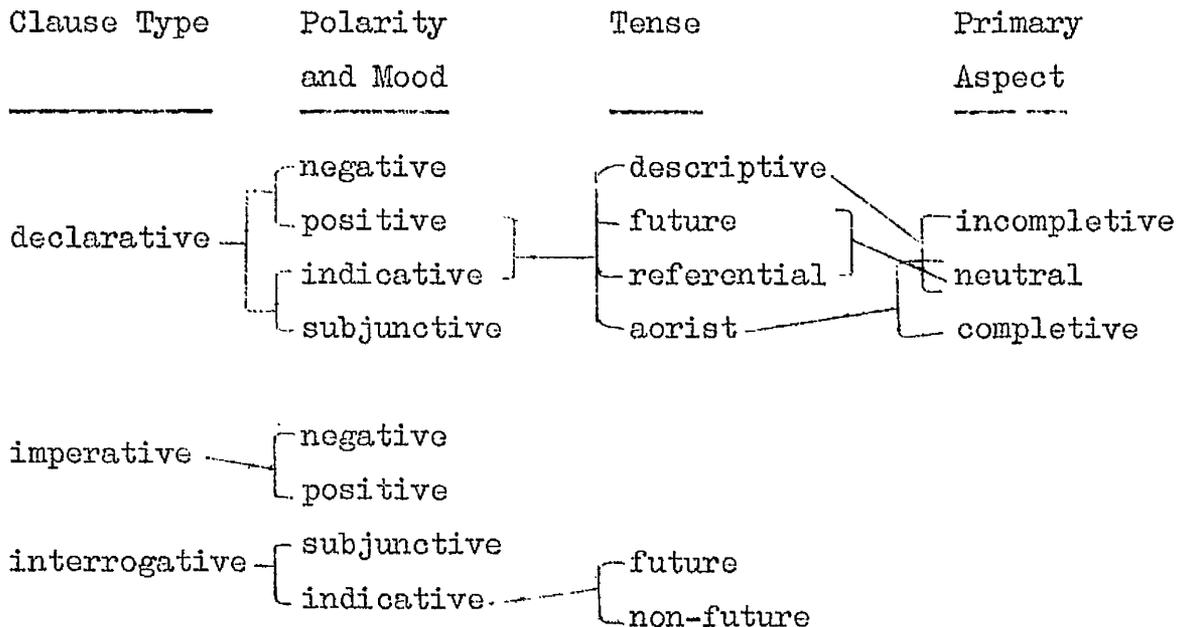
+NPs	+VP	+NP x 2	+AP x 2
nucleus		periphery	

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.

NPs	VP	NPo ¹	NPo ²	AP ¹	AP ²	Example
	+					163
	+	+				159
	+	+	+			162
	+			+		161
+	+					117
+	+	+				125
+	+	+	+			123
+	+	+	+	+		135
+	+			+		118
+	+			+	+	131
+	+	+		+		154

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



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 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:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HLL	HL	<u>HL</u>

Examples:

121. // ò / nò / tã //
 he neg should-not-go

'He should not go '

CB005

122. // ò / nò bhúnè //
 it neg should-not-break

'May it not break!'

DK016

123. // à / nà zyó / ì / énú //
 NPs VP NPo NPo
 one neg should- him wound
 not-cut

'He is not to be wounded '

CY010

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

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

Examples:

124. // bhú / tà //
 you should-go

'You should go'

EJ054

125. // onyênýé / bidhà / ùgbúswei eì //
 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:

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		
	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
a. Future	hHL	HL	HL
b. Aorist	HHH	HH	H
c. Descriptive	LLH	LH	H
d. Referential	HHL	HL	HL

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 sì or ì 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 / syíenè //
I will-hear

'I will hear'

FA118

127. // avuramu ná / sì núú / ònwí //
woman the will shake body

'The woman will tremble'

FA040

128. // àlibó / ì kpé me / ọsa mè //
tortoise will pay me due my

'Tortoise will pay me what he owes me'

CA018

b. The aurist 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 / ọbho //
tortoise open hand

'Tortoise opened his hand'

DG043

130. // mī / ná kidhe / irityadi / ipenī //
I got-to remove Richard penny

'I went to get a penny from Richard'

AT047

131. // ò / nu / n' útomu okwei nà / 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'

EHO66

For examples of the aurist 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 / ì / ógbùrà //
 they call him name

'He is called Ogbura'

BC034

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

133. /// ùkpè ókì // ka mi / za / n' ámò gbèrì-kónyì ///
 year that seq I stay in child small very

'In that year I was a very young child'

BC056

134. // á / dhyàni / n' ébhùrà //
 they enter in age-group

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

EC002

135. . /// mí / dila / ésoù / ásyàí nà / kùkwe // 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.'

AT024

136. // ó / wèla ga...

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

137. /// mí / tǒu / énuma / tǒu kye / ì // ka ó / tǒu sù tǔvàla ///
I take money take give him seq he take throw away

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

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 NP_o or the AP contains a numerical expression (examples 139, 140). There is often a short pause before the numerical expression.

Examples:

138. /// ó / tuuà // ì / gbei / eseni ///
it empty very kill fish

'As it (the pond) emptied, they caught the fish.' EGO28

139. // àchidhe ná / tou bhuè / ígbèi nàà ívuramu ísyòni //
rich-man the take keep 10 and women 5

'The rich man had fifteen wives' EHO02

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

140. // èní / zâ / tuu iwiki àvù //
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: nì 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 nì 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 nì has two allomorphs: nù occurs following the vowel u; nì occurs elsewhere. The allomorphs harmonise with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).

Examples:

141. /// mī / me // ga onísò / wurú nù ///
 I agree sp God do cpl

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

AT031

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

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

143. /// ó / nomu // ga onísò / kyé ni / eì / ámbò ///
 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. /// àdhé / nà bhía // ka ... ì / bhue-eníá ko / ì ///
 day inc be-black seq they then call her

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

145. /// òtà [na í nà tá nà] // onyényé / nà ma / ikpébi /
 time that they inc go the each-one inc think heart
 inùmù [na ó sì dúà dúà] ///
 thing that he will buy buy

'As they were going along each person was thinking of what he would buy.' CG022

Note: The square brackets indicate a rankshifted verbal clause which is functioning as part of a NP (section 8.2.1.2).

146. /// ò / té ni / udhè // ka mí / nà yla ///
 it reach cpl tomorrow seq I inc come

'Tomorrow I will come.' (lit. when it reaches tomorrow ...) CA028

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. // èsèni / yá / bhèè //
 fish are indeed

'There is plenty of fish' EGO26

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

'Tortoise was no longer in the pond' CJ042

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 interrogative¹, 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 ì or sì initially in the VP (example 150).

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

d. The definitive particle nì 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. /// èní / sísè dhe / ékpau nà // mí / za ní / n'utumú ôkò ///
 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. // òkí / sí kilo nì //
 he will rule def

'He will be the one to rule'
 BJ009

151. // sa mí / gbei nì //
 not I kill def

'I was not the one who killed it'
 EE096

156. // mí / ma dhi / inumu / nù dhíà //

I yet not-eat thing indeed eat

'I have not eaten anything at all' E

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. // inùmù ávù á / í / moni //

NPo NPs VP

thing one even they not-see

'They did not see anything at all' CKO34

158. // ávuramu nà / ka á / ì gbéià //

NPo NPs VP

woman the seq they will kill

'It is the woman that they will kill' DHO36

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. // vìlèsé / òbho //
 VP NPo
 open hand

'Open your hand'

DG042

160. // bhá / kpè me / èdhyá mè //
 pl pay me yams my

'Pay (pl.) me for my yams'

DK028

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. // zá / dányì //
 VP AP
 stay quiet

'Be quiet'

EJ055

162. // nyòni / éì / ègbilà̀m̀ //
 VP NPo NPo
 put him lock

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

AR016

163. // gwá t̀̀̀̀ //
 VP
 come-on take

'Come on, take it'

DK011

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:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HLL	HL	<u>HL</u>

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 wùrà //
neg do

'Don't do it'

EE094

165. // bhà / nà bhíne / álibò //
you neg ask tortoise

'Do not (pl.) ask tortoise'

DL092

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.

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

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. // òyó / bhuene ni / akie nà //

who have def town the

'Who owns the town?'

CF027

167. // iyó / si nyine ni / ânô //

what will cause def this

'How will this happen?'

FDO38

168. // òyó / za ni / edèi [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. /// iyó / wuru nù // na bhú / gba ni à ///

what do def that you tell cpl qu

'What happened to make you tell?'

DE049

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 i or si.

<u>Mood / Tense</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		
	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
subjunctive	HHL	HL	L
non-future	LLH	LH	H
future	hHL	HL	<u>HL</u>

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. // mí / dhu / êdhó à //

VP:A subj

I should-go where qu

'Where should I go?'

CEO20

171. // bhú / kù me / ínùm / n'òtà vo //

VP:A nfut

you give me thing at time what

'When did you give me anything?'

FD014

172. // á / dḥì / ókie ínwèl / n'âdhè à //

VP:A nfut

one eat time how-many in day qu

'How many times a day does one eat?'

AA044

173. // bḥú / ì pá / òvó a //

VP:A fut

you will choose which qu

'Which will you choose?'

CY009

174. // ò / ya / n'êdho //

VP:B

he is at where

'Where is he?'

CY039

175. /// àlibó / lè wùrú / ìvo / tuu ///

VP:A nfut

tortoise again do how until

ka ó / na le gbei ni / edèl à ///

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.

178. // ò za-nye n' êsyià èsyià //

AP
AP

he be-startled in there there

'He was transfixed at that very place'

CB018

179. // adógbò òdàú syina ni adhu su nù sù nù //

VP
VP

wreath of-name pass cpl eye float cpl float cpl

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

BM069

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

180. // ó tà êdhô èdhô //

NPo
NPo

he go where where

'Where does he usually go?'

E

181. // ò zá nì // na ó sù móni sise dhe

it stay cpl that he will be-able put finish

NPo
NPo

money the money the

'If he can really put down all the money'

AM007

Repetitive aspect

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

Examples:

182. // ò wa wa úgyo nà //

VP
VP

he look look stone the

'He looked and looked for the stone'

CA034

1831 // í wàì èwáí nà wàì èwáí nà //

VP NPo VP NPo

they bail pond the bail pond the

'They went on bailing and bailing out the pond'

CJ038

184. // à í dyii êgwe ímo n' ôbhò dyií êgwe ímo n' ôbhò //

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. /// opilopó yì í te nì // ka ó moni moni eì ///

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 onyenyê¹ '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. // ògwè ògwè za ta êtyì 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. onyenyê is not the regular reduplicated form of onye which would be *onyonye.

187. // onyênyê ná duu dhe âminî âminî //

NPs NPo NPo

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

'Everybody went to take a good bath'

FB074

188. // onyênyê pa dhò útwò útwò //

NPs NPo NPo

each-person lift take basket Basket

'Each person picked up a basket'

FB009

189. // onyênyé dù iyó iyó //

NPs NPo NPo

each-person buy what what

'What did each one buy?'

E

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

190. // onyênyê pa // ò ò dhyàní dhyàna ///

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. /// ákiè ákiè kou dhe // í nà kpòri íviè gbe gbe ///

NPs NPs VP 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 Clause5.8.1. 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.	mí mɔ̀ni me	'I cannot agree'	E
194.	bhù yi	'you come'	CZ009
195.	bhù dhi	'you eat'	FA012
196.	ò dire eseni	'she cooked a fish'	DG023
197.	ò du akani	'she bought cloth'	CC017
198.	i gbe	'they go home'	EG033
199.	í bɪdha	'they walk'	FDO34

b. When the head of the NPo 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.	ò dose í	'he begged him'	EB021
201.	ò tou kye í	'he gave it to him'	DK068
202.	ò kori éi	'he waited for him'	FBO60
203.	ò kali éi	'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 NPo 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:

<u>Clause Type and Features</u>	<u>Juncture</u>
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1A</u>	
Positive indicative aorist	L
descriptive	H
future	H
referential	h
Negative indicative	h
Positive subjunctive	h
Negative subjunctive	L
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1B</u>	
Positive	L
Negative	h
<u>Imperative Clause</u>	
Positive	H
Negative	L
<u>Interrogative Clause</u>	
Subjunctive	h
Non-future	H
Future	H

Note: 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 // ómo yò / ò-der / esen //
 NPs VP NPo
 child the he-cook fish 'The child cooked fish'

Engenni // ámo ná / ò-der / eseni // (L juncture)

Degema // ómo yò / ó-der / esen // 'The child did not cook fish'

Engenni // ámo ná / ò-der / eseni // (h juncture)

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

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

L juncture (LJ) aorist àlíbò LJ me > àlíbò me

H juncture (HJ) descriptive àlíbò HJ me > àlibo me

h juncture (hJ) neg. indic. àlíbò hJ me > àlibó me

ìkpílàma 'snail' (final H tone)

L juncture aorist ìkpílàma LJ me > ìkpílàmâ me

H juncture descriptive ìkpílàma HJ me > ìkpílàma me

h juncture neg. indic. ìkpílàma hJ me > ìkpílàmá me

b. NPs consisting of pronoun only: o 'he'

L juncture aorist ò me

H juncture descriptive o me

h juncture neg. indic. ó me

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

édèl [na ó kari ôkó nà] 'the man who carved the canoe'

Noun Relative construct

L juncture aorist édèl na ó kari ôkó nà me

H juncture descriptive édèl na ó kari ôko na me

h juncture neg. indic. édèl na ó kari ôko ná me

Note: The second syllable of àlìbò 'tortoise' and of ôkó 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.

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:

syínùmù 'very much' // ò / vye / syínùmù //

(initial H tone) VP AP

'He cried very much'

bhèè 'really' // ò / vyé / bhèè //

VP AP

'He really cried'

kpúdùmù 'splash' // ò / dei vai / n' àmìnì / kpúdùmù //

(initial H tone) AP AP

'He fell into the water splash'

wùrùmù 'plop' // ò / dei vai / n' àmìnì / wùrùmù //

(initial L tone) AP AP

'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:

ògbê 'a little' // ò / vye / ògbê //

(initial L tone) VP AP

'He cried a little'

ògbê 'a little' // ò / nwene / n' úgbuswei / ògbê //
 (initial L tone) AP AP

'It split on the path a little'

òfùrómu 'empty' // ò / dhi / edhya / òfùrómu //
 (initial L tone) NPo AP

'He ate yam by itself'

obô 'a lot' // ò / dhesyi / obô //
 (initial H tone) VP AP

'It was a long time' (lit. it lasted a lot)

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.

<u>Clause</u>	Syllables	<u>String Medially</u>			<u>String Finally</u>		
		3	2	1	3	2	1
Descriptive		HHH	HH	H	HHH	HH	H
Pos. Imperative	}	HHH	HH	H	LLL	LL	L
Pos. Subjunctive							
Neg. Indicative							
All other clauses		HHH	HH	H	HHL	HL	HL

Examples:

The following frame is used:

//	o	/	tòu	/	inya		dire	/	n'eki	//
	NP _s		VP		NP _o		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	inya	dire	n' êki		'she cooks rice at the market'

				HH			
pos. imperative		tòu	inya	dire	n'êki		'cook rice at the market'

				HH			
future	o	tòu	inya	dire	n'êki		'she will cook at the market'

				HH			

String finally

descriptive	ó	tòu	inya	dire		'she cooks rice'

				HH		
pos. imperative		tòu	inya	dirè		'cook rice'

				LL		
future	o	tòu	inya	dirè		'she will cook rice'

				HL		

g. There are different junctures between clauses in a string depending on whether the auxiliary verb ná occurs in the following clause or not.

Juncture of two clauses without the auxiliary verb ná

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 do ɪgbó dhemèsè	'I wove the net bigger'
	I weave net enlarge	
òki (LH)	mì du ôkí dirè	'I bought fish and cooked it'
	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:

ákà (HL)	mì to áka dhi dhè	'I roasted the corn and ate it all'
	I roast corn eat finish	

Juncture of two clauses with the auxiliary verb ná

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:

àzyì (LL)	o ta âzyi ná sa gbei ânàmù	'He goes to bush to hunt'
	he go bush to shoot kill animal	
igu (HH)	o ta igu ná sa gbei ânàmù	'He goes to the hill to hunt'

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'

EHO20

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

209. /// ávuramu nà / í pà // ó / nò tòu / eí |
 NPs VP NPo
 woman the so start she go-to take him
 ta / adhu udhyomu ávù ///
 VP NPo
 gp eye of-juju one

'So the woman set off to take him to see a juju'

EB029

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

210. // èni / tou / igiré na | deì / déì //
 NPs VP NPo VP VP
 we take crocodile the sell sell

'We took the crocodile (meat) and kept selling it'

AT103

Note: The string is in the repetitive secondary aspect.

211. // adhógbo ôdàú / syina ni / adhu | su nù / sú nù //
 NPs VP NPo VP VP
 wreath of-name pass cpl eye float cpl float cpl

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

BM069

Note: The string is in the habitual secondary aspect. Both clauses are marked for the completive aspect.

212. // onyênyé / du / ínùmù [ná ò dhyomu éi 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' CG015

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

213. // àdhíde íkpílámá / ríi ní / isyisya òkó 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)' DL136

Note: The final VP is of class B.

214. // òkó nà / fyé ní / bha | ya //
 NPs VP NPo | VP:B
 canoe the exceed cpl them is

'The canoe is too big for them' DL019

215. // ì / kòu dhe / òko | ná bhari / n' êbhùmù : |
 NPs VP NPo | VP AP
 they steer finish canoe to land on sand-bank
 duu dhe / àmìni //
 VP NPo
 go-out finish water

'They steered the canoe and landed on the sand bank and had a good bath'

BM030

Note: The auxiliary verb ná occurs initially in the second clause of the string.

216. // ò / bidha dhyani ni / n'unwoni aki |
 NPs VP AP
 he walk enter cpl in mouth of-pot
 kpina kime dhe le yi í duu nu / n' otò
 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'

EKO45

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

217. // ò / í bhue-enia | kunu / amo na | nyoni n'uvomu omù: |
 NPs VP AP | VP NPo | VP AP
 he so then held child the put in inside house
 tou / úgyo | tou firi bhue / amo ná: | tou / ede |
 VP NPo | VP NPo | VP NPo |
 take stone take press keep child the take rope
 fari lei padhe / enúswèi //
 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'

FB084

Imperative clause strings

218. // za / ápidhémù | zà //
 VP NPo | VP
 stay seat stay
 'Remain seated'
219. // bùrèbùre / onísò | tòu kù mè //
 VP NPo | VP
 pray God take give me

'Pray to God for me'

BD028

220. // nà tóu / okpo inumu | tou wuru / edei ebhura 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. // òyó / za tóu ni / udhi me | tóu dha dhe ni / n'âzyì //

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?'

AGO08

222. // ívùràmu / móni / íyó | wurà //

NPs VP NPo | VP

women will-be-able what do

'What will the women be able to do?'

FBI26

223. // mí / tóu / adhya na | tou wuru / iyo //

NPs VP NPo | VP NPo

I should-take snake the take do what

'What should I do with the snake?'

CEO09

CHAPTER SIX

THE CLAUSE ii. THE NOMINAL CLAUSE iii. THE MARGINAL CLAUSE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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

225. /// ùkwò nà // á i kunu atòdhyà ///
 farm the they will grow cocoyam
 'In the farm they will grow cocoyam.' CZ018
226. /// omíni ádhimù ///
 child orphan
 '(He was) an orphan.' F0002
227. /// inùmù íbirimàni ///
 thing of-wonder
 '(It is) a wonderful thing!' DC032
228. /// ótà [na á tou 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. /// okó bo [na ó karà] ///
 canoe big that he carve
 'It was a big canoe that he carved.' DL006
230. /// èbhùrù [na ó kari enià] ///
 famine that it be-strong thus
 'There was a severe famine.' FA004
231. /// sa ókì ///
 neg he
 'It's not him.' EE094

232. /// sá ànàmù ///
neg animal

'It's not an animal.'

DA021

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 ka (example 235). If the clause is part of a complex sentence type 3 (Report) ka may be replaced by the speech particle ga (example 236).

The two phrases are analysed as one clause and not as two since there is frequently 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. /// ègìlè ókì nà / ègìlè íbhwè /// í / nà yia ...

NP	NP	NPs	VP
time	that the	time of-flood	they inc come

'That time was the flood season. They were approaching...'

AC007

234. /// mé / àdhídhè /// mí / sí kpé ...

NP	NP	NPs	VP
I	rich-man	I	will pay

'I am a rich man. I will pay ...'

CA023

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 ẹsyióbhò] //
 fight wrestling

'You are a person (to be reckoned with) on the wrestling ground'
 ARO35

Note: The final NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

236. /// à / í gba kye / ì // ga ávuramu nà /
 NP NP
 they so tell give him sp woman the
 ga ànì álibò ///
 NP
 sp wife of-tortoise

'They told him that the woman was the wife of tortoise.' CC021

237. /// édei nà / sa ákumédei ///
 NP NP
 person the neg human

'The person is not a human being.' DH016

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. // èkòrì nà / vá ìgíni ávù //
 maggot the emp kind one

'The maggots are really the same'

DJ040

239. // ìbà ádhe nà / vá èníà //
 every day the emp thus

'Every day was just like that'

CF017

240. // vá ìgíni ùkwó ávú nà o //
 emp kind of-farm one the indeed

'It was still in the same farm, you know'

CZ019

241. // vá àv̀arivìè //
 emp ?

'Just as I said!'

AG011

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 à 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. /// ↑ ùkwó òyo ///
 farm of-whom

'Whose farm is it?'

CZ012

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. /// tènè àlìbò /// 'Where is tortoise?' CA008
 [- - -]
248. // tènè úgyo nà /// 'Where is the stone?' CA025
 [- - -]
249. /// tènè 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. /// adhógbò è /// 'Elephant!' EE126

252. /// ikiri í kò // gá àlibò ///
 grasscutter so call sp tortoise

'So grasscutter called out "Tortoise!"'

FA080

253. /// ònyímósyì // ga ání mè ///

'The man said, "My wife!"'

EDO40

6.3.2. The Marginal Clause, Type 2 Exclamatory

This type consists of a single element, an exclamation. The following are the most common:

áyê	'expression of amusement'
e:	'expression of pleasure'
èhényì	'I thought so!'
enyi	'yes'
enyíènyì	'no'
gwa	'come on! that's done!'
ohónyì	'you wait - something is going to happen'
taa	'too bad!' 'oh dear!'

Note: gwa also functions as an optional demarcative feature of the positive imperative clause (section 5.5).

Example:

254. /// ànàmù // ga taa /// àlibó wùrú ìvo ...
 animal sp too-bad tortoise do what

'The animal (said) "Too bad! Why has tortoise ..."

CC022

CHAPTER SEVENTHE VERBAL PHRASETABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
7.0. <u>Phrase Classes</u>	129
7.1. <u>Function of the Verbal Phrase</u>	129
7.2. <u>Structure of the Verbal Phrase</u>	129
7.3. <u>The Simple Verbal Phrase</u>	130
7.3.1. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class A	130
7.3.2. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class B	131
7.4. <u>The Compound Verbal Phrase</u>	133
7.4.1. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class A	133
7.4.2. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class B	136
7.5. <u>The Verbal Phrase Margin</u>	137

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 preverbals:

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 postverbals:

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 postverbals 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 esyì na ...

PreVb Aux Vb:A

he yet go-to not-reach place which

'He had not yet reached the place where ...

CB007

256. ì í na ke âkàù

PreVb Aux Vb:A

they so go-to chop-down cotton-tree

'So they went to chop down a cotton-tree'

BJ040

preceded by the auxiliary verb or by one preverbal, or followed by one postverbal.

Examples:

262. èni ná ya n'omu isùkùlù
Aux Vb:B

we go-to are in house of-school

'We had gone to the school building (and were still there)'

AT099

263. édei nà ma ya n'êbhà êsyimù
PreVb Vb:B

man the still is at part of-back

'The man is still at the back'

EE082

264. inùmù ná ò ya me n'ìkpêbi
Vb:B PostVb

thing which it is me in heart

'thing which is in my heart'

CG016

mo 'is not', 'does not exist' may occur with one preverbal or one postverbal.

Examples:

265. esóú ma mo i
PreVb Vb:B

ear yet is-not him

'He could not yet hear' (because the speaker was too far away)

FAL25

266. àswèi èí i mo
PreVb Vb:B

life his again is-not

'He did not live any longer'

BM089

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 yì í pa kye eni iviè lóú
 Vb Aux Vb Vb NPo NPo rf
 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
 Vb Vb Vb NPo rf
 I inc stay cast net for-long

'I went on casting the net for ages'

AT077

286. òkò ná nà và bìdhá bhòò
 Vb Vb Vb Vb rf
 canoe the inc emp move for-long

'The canoe really went on moving a long way'

DL136

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE NOMINAL PHRASETABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
8.0	<u>Function of the Nominal Phrase</u> 140
8.1.	<u>Structure of the Nominal Phrase</u> 140
8.2.	<u>The Simple Nominal Phrase</u> 140
8.2.1.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 1 140
8.2.1.1.	Modifiers 141
8.2.1.2.	Modifying Constructs 146
8.2.1.3.	Complex Head 149
8.2.2.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 2 153
8.2.3.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 3 157
8.2.4.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 4 158
8.2.5.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 5 159
8.2.6.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 6 159
8.2.7.	The Simple Nominal Phrase, Type 7 161
8.3.	<u>The Extended Nominal Phrase</u> 162
8.3.1.	The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 1 162
8.3.2.	The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 2 164
8.3.3.	The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 3 164
8.3.4.	The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 4 165
8.3.5.	The Extended Nominal Phrase, Type 5 166

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.

292. ámò gbèrì ávù
 Nn Adj Num
 child small one

'one small child'

ED021

293. àní wò áká nà
 Nn Poss Dem rf
 wife your that the

'that wife of yours'

DA066

294. ìpàmù ésaa wò
 Nn Num Poss
 pound three your

'your three pounds'

BMO37

295. akpákìdhó loù a
 Nn rf rf
 type-of-snail only even

'even just a non-edible snail'

FB016

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.

Compare	àtyé mè viè	'my dear brother'
	Nn Poss Adj	(atye Noun, class A)
with	ólò vié mè	'my dear friend'
	Nn Adj Poss	(olo Noun, not class A)
Compare	ónu me bô	'my grandmother'
	Nn Poss Adj	(lit. 'my big mother')
		(onu Noun, class A)
with	ùkwó bo mè	'my big farm'
	Nn Adj Poss	(ukwo Noun, not class A)

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

òdò	ânò	'this rope'	ódo	ânò	'this mortar'
òdò	âyò	'another rope'	ódo	âyò	'another mortar'

Singular Possessives

òdó	mè	'my rope'	ódo	mè	'my mortar'		
òdó	ì	'his rope'	ódo	ì	'his mortar'		
àwò	fàí	wò	'your new shirt'	àwó	dho	wò	'your old shirt'

Numeral 'avu'

òdò	âvù	'one rope'	ódo	âvù	'one mortar'		
èdhyà	gbèrì	âvù	'one small yam'	èdhyá	bô	âvù	'one big yam'

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:

<u>Numerals</u>	àvù	'one'	ìsyòní	'five'
	èdhyà àvù	'one yam'	èdhyà ìsyòní	'five yams'
	ìgbo àvù	'one net'	ìgbo ìsyòní	'five nets'

Disyllabic Possessives

	èní	'our'	ègúà	'their'
	èdhyà èní	'our yam'	èdhyà ègúà	'their yam'
	ìgbo èní	'our net'	ìgbo ègúà	'their net'

<u>Demonstratives</u>	ànò	'this'	àkà	'that'
	èdhyà ànò	'this yam'	èdhyà àkà	'that yam'
	ìgbo ànò	'this net'	ìgbo àkà	'that 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.

<u>Examples:</u>	èdhyà	'yam'	ìgbo	'net'
------------------	-------	-------	------	-------

Adjectives

	èdhyá bô	'big yam'	ìgbó bô	'big net'
	èdhyá doramù	'long yam'	ìgbó doramù	'long net'

Monosyllabic Possessives

èdhyá m̀è	'my yam'	ìgbó m̀è	'my net'
edhyá ẁò	'your yam'	ìgbó ẁò	'your net'
edhyá ì	'his yam'	ìgbó ì	'his net'
edhyá bhà	'your (pl) yam'	ìgbó bhà	'your (pl) net'

Reinforcers

èdhyá nà	'the yam'	ìgbó nà	'the net'
èdhyá o	'yam indeed'	ìgbó o	'a net indeed'

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

èdhyà gbê	'a little yam'	ìgbô gbê	'a few nets'
-----------	----------------	----------	--------------

Reinforcer

èdhyà a	'yam too'	ìgbô a	'a net too'
---------	-----------	--------	-------------

c. Neutral Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture remains unchanged.

Examples:Adjectives

èdhyà viè	'good yam'	*ìgbó viè	'a good net'
èdhyà gbèrì	'small yam'	*ìgbó gbèrì	'big net'

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 lóù	'only yam'	ìgbo lóù	'only a net'
èdhyà nu	'this very yam'	ìgbo 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 ânò	'this child'	ímo ínà	'these children'
okílo mu àkà	'that chief'	ikílo mu íkà	'those chiefs'

Otherwise there is no concord between the noun and the demonstrative.

Example:

ùdhyómu àkà	'that juju'	ùdhyómu íkà	'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.)

299. ávùrànmù [na ó weìà gá òkí ko odhoni eì ìníì]
 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' BM082

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. ávuramu ávù [nàà ódhoni eì] í bhye bhue imo ivà
 Nn Num AddCon
 woman one and husband her so bear keep children two
 'A woman and her husband had had two children' EPO01
301. onu-ámò [nàà okílóló] nà yia
 Nn AddCon
 mother and cutlass inc come
 'The mother was coming with a cutlass' FB125
302. á kye ì ùkpóu ísyóvà [nàà etíte ákàní]
 Nn Num AddCon
 they should- him 6d 7 and scrap of-cloth
 give
[nàà ágbìdh-úbhwòní]
 AddCon
 and sherd
 'They should give him 3/6d and a rag and a sherd' EEO41
303. ìkpílámá á [nàà ivie ná] nà yia
 Nn rf AddCon
 snail also and song the inc come
 'The snail too came singing' EKO35

For numerals above 11 a NP with an additive construct is used.

Example:

304. ígbèlì [nàà lsyíleni 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. árùsù [n' ùvòmù 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 áno nà
 Nn GenCon Dem rf
 looking of-eye this the
 'this mirror'

CG026

309. ɔ̀ nò t̀òu eí ta adhu [udhyomu ávù]

Nn
Num
GenCon
Nn
NP

he inc take him go face of-juju one

'He was taking him to see one juju'

EBO29

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).

310. ànò ká èdhívie ádhíà [na mí vye] nà

Nn
GenCon
RelCon
rf
NP

this seq lament of-that-day that I cry the

'This is the lament I made on that day'

DHO45

Note: 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.

311. á ta na wa omu edei ânó [na ó yi ôfai ôfai]

Nn
Dem
RelCon
GenCon
Nn
NP

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'

DBO34

Note: 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. ànì éì ávuramu akie êsyíà [na ó nyeni za] nà
 Nn GenCon RelCon rf
 Nn GenCon
 NP

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. ènù êkì ôgèni ádhú nà
 Nn GenCon
 Nn GenCon
 Nn GenCon rf
 NP

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 'cemetery'; and in example 315 akie vuumu (literally 'town being made clear') is the name of a ceremony at New Year.

Examples:

316. mí sá ì 'I shot it' AT128
 I shoot it

317. ì bisyi ênì 'They pushed us' AC025
 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.

	1st	2nd	3rd
singular	mè	bhò	òkì
plural	ênì	bhà	èguà

Examples:

318. mè [na mí nà gba êgberigbá nà]
 Pr RelCon
 I who I inc tell story the
 'I who am telling the story' CG094

319. ênì [ná ênì ya n'ênâ] [ná ênì gèni 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

325. òkì [nàà èsèní nà] bìdha
 Pr AddCon
 he and fish the walk

'He went with the fish'

DK031

326. édèì ná bhù [nàà eí] nà kòná nà
 Pr AddCon
 man who you and him inc fight the

'The man who is wrestling with you'

AR019

8.2.3. The Simple NP, Type 3 Numeral 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. ávù lòù kò ya
 Num rf
 one only remain is

'Only one is left'

E

328. ínà [na mí dù] nà somu ya
 Dem RelCon rf
 these which I buy the be-good are

'These that I bought are good'

E

329. ávu [n'uvomu bhà]
 Num LocCon
 one in inside them

'one of them'

AG016

337. òki zá kori âna [evúmù ya]
 RelCon
 he will-stay wait the-one fat is
 'He will wait for the one with some fat' CK006
338. ó dhuu àna [bhú mamine bhue] yia
 RelCon
 it follow the-one you not-learn keep come
 'Because you did not learn properly' AR037
339. àkâ ka ídhiàna [í za wurà] tuu ...
 RelCon
 that seq how they stay do until
 'That is how they were acting until ...' EH009
340. avuramu ná nomu idhiàna [o wúrà]
 RelCon
 woman the not-know how she will-do
 'The woman did not know what to do' DBO44
341. ídhiàná [ùté nè tou somu ya ôsyì] nu sá inùmú
 RelCon rf
 how mat the take be-good is beauty this not thing
 gbamù
 telling
 'How really beautiful this mat is cannot be described' CG039

348. (èni) (ùtòmù esaa ná) funu dhyani n'èkùnù ùté nà
 NPs

we head three the should- enter on top of-mat the
 climb

'We three should get onto the mat'

CG065

349. (òki nàà ègwè íkpòkpò) (ó) nò tà bhùe
 he and pl load he inc go keep

'He went on walking with his loads'

FAl23

350. ògwè ávù ka (ògwè) (àna ímorobha nà)
 NP

portion one seq portion the-one of-bridesmaids the

'One portion was the one allocated to the bridesmaids'

AM033

351. ó nò syìl ta (éìlè ánwùmù) (ídhiàna á nà gbe)
 NPo

it inc move go time of-evening like one inc go-home

n'ùkwó nà ùkwó nà)

from farm the farm the

'It was getting towards evening time when one used to go home
 from the farm'

CZ048

Note: The second NP contains a rankshifted clause functioning
 as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

352. (odhóni wò) (ávùrù) wo ku wó nì
 NPs

husband your himself say give you cpl

'Your husband himself has told you'

EA025

358. (úbhwò a) (ótà á) ò dheì dhe
NPO
bone too flesh too he swallow finish
'He swallowed all the bones and the flesh' CZ061
359. (inùmù ávù) (inùmù ávù á) i mo me
NPs
thing one thing one even again is-not to-me
'I have nothing more at all!' DL100
360. (ímosyi nà a) (ívuramu nà á) yi
NPs
men the too women the too not-come
'Neither the men nor the women came' E
361. (àsú o) (òtaná o)
NP
night indeed day indeed
'Night and day' CY005

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 vióviè) (ómù vióviè) nyine dhe
NPs
house fine house fine appear finish
'Fine houses appeared' CE104

363. ègwè étai nà ka (akúm-edel) (akúm-edel)
 NP

pl tree the seq human human

'The trees were human beings'

EJ018

364. (àdhíà) (àdhía bhòò) // òkì kpomu ya .
 NP

this-day this-day even he be-sick is

'On this very day he is ill'

CC037

365. òkò êsyía nà // (èkòrí bô) (èkòrí bô ná ò ya).
 NP

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 nó tou (edada nà) (àkà)
 NPo

he go-to take spear the that

'He went to take that spear'

EE104

367. ò yi í te (êsyí nà)(étyì)
 NPo

she come to reach place the of-name

'She came and reached Etyi's place'

DC023

CHAPTER NINETHE ADVERBIAL PHRASETABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
9.0. Introduction	168
9.1. <u>Function of the Adverbial Phrase</u>	168
9.2. <u>Structure of the Adverbial Phrase</u>	168
9.2.1. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1	168
9.2.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2	170
9.2.3. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 3	171
9.2.4. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 4	172
9.2.5. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 5	173

CHAPTER NINE

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

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 NP_o 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.

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.

<u>AP Type</u>				<u>Example</u>
1	2	3	5	
+		+		382-384
+			+	388
	+	+		385

CHAPTER TENTHE WORD i. MAJOR WORDSTABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
10.0. Introduction	176
10.1. <u>The Verb</u>	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 'bhue' 'kye' 'təu' 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. <u>The Noun</u>	189
10.2.1. Classes of Noun	189
10.2.2. Types of Noun	194
10.2.3. Tone of Nouns	199
10.3. <u>The Pronoun</u>	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. <u>The Numeral</u>	209
10.5. <u>The Demonstrative</u>	212
10.6. <u>The Interrogative</u>	214
10.7. <u>The Adverb</u>	215
10.7.1. Function and Structure of the Adverb	215
10.7.2. Tone of the Adverbs	217
10.7.3. The Adverb 'tuu'	218
10.8. <u>The Preposition</u>	219

CHAPTER TENTHE WORD i. MAJOR WORDS10.0. 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 A10.1.1.1. 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.

<u>Examples:</u>	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. // ì / fina / n' òkò èni //
 NPs VP AP
 they enter in canoe our

'They got into our canoe'

BC078

392. // ó / dhesyi //
 NPs VP
 it not-last

'It was not long'

BC021

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:

bidha	'walk'	bhine	'ask'	dei	'fall'
ko	'call'	nwase	'fear'	te	'reach'

Examples from texts:

393. /// ò / í kò // ómini mè ...
 NPs VP

'He called, "My child ... "'

EE009

394. // ávuramu nà / kó / ì //
 NPs VP NPo

'The woman called him'

EE080

395. // òko ná / bidha //
 NPs VP
 canoe the not-walk

'The canoe did not move'

DL068

396. // àlìbò / bidha / ávuramu nà //
 NPs VP NPo
 tortoise walk woman the

'Tortoise married the woman'

CC012

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. // òkòni / í del //
 NPs VP
 fight so fall

'A fight broke out'

BJ004

398. // mí / ì déi / agbùrá //
 NPs VP NPo
 I will fall fairy

'I will turn into a fairy'

DD019

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'		

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).

<u>Examples:</u>	kidhe	'remove'	kpe	'pay'
	kye	'give'	pa	'lift up'
	sise	'put down'	syie	'send'

Examples from texts:

410.	//	òkì	á	/	ì	kpe	/	opilopo	/	osa	ì	//
		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.	//	mì	/	ná	kidhe	/	irityadi	/	ìpéni	//
		NPs		VP		NPo		NPo		
		I	go-to	remove	Richard	penny				

'I went to get a penny from Richard' ATO47

412.	//	onyênyé	/	nà	ma	/	ikpébi	/	inùmù	[na	ó	sì	dùà	dùà]	//
		NPs		VP		NPo		NPo							
		everyone	inc	arrange	heart	thing	that	he	will	buy	buy				

'Everyone was thinking of the thing that he would buy' CEO40

413.	//	mì	/	pa	/	ávuramu	nà	/	útwò	//
		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.

g _˙ gyo	'lever'	g _˙ gya	'rebuke'
gugwo	'heap together'	suswe	'go south'

Type 2B reduplication of one syllable

Examples:

CVCV	bhabha	'wander'	lele	'deceive'
	mimi	'squeeze'	pipi	'suck'
CVCVCV	bhunene	'be on good terms'	dhunene	'meet'
	funene	'doubt'	gbunono	'heal'
	kinono	'resemble'		

Type 2C reduplication of both syllables

<u>Examples:</u>	bholibholi	'rush to save'	burebure	'pray'
	kilekile	'roll'	kpurokpuro	'gather'
	syinesyine	'hide'	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:

k _i e	'split open' (tr.)	k _i e-ne	'split open by itself' (intr.)
kue	'open' (tr.)	kue-ne	'open by itself' (intr.)
ke	'burn' (intr.)	ke-se	'set light to' (tr.)
y _i la	'stand' (intr.)	y _i la-se	'raise to upright position' (tr.)

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.

<u>Examples:</u>	bhou	'uproot'	bho-ne	'uproot by itself'
	b _h ou	'be wet'	b _h o-se	'make wet'
	de _i	'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.

<u>Example:</u>	f _u	'be white'	f _u -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.

<u>Examples:</u>	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'

<u>Examples:</u>	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.

<u>Example:</u>	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 ??)

vinigbe '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 NPo or AP or clause finally).

Examples:

ò wuru édhyomu bho kye ì
she make food keep give him

'She prepared some food and kept it for him'

ò gbei anamu bho kye ólo ì
he kill animal keep give friend his

'He shot an animal and kept it for his friend'

Compare

ò tou édhyomu bhue n' àtìlà
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:

kù me 'Give me'

ò tou ku wo 'He gave it to you' (lit. he took gave you)

ò wuru ku wo 'He did it for you' (lit. he did gave you)

Compare

kyé ì 'Give it to him'

ò 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:

pà dhòu 'Pick it up' (lit. lift take)

ò kunu dhòu 'he caught hold of it'
(lit. he held took)

Compare

ò tou dhi 'He took it and ate it'

ò tou dire 'He took it and cooked it'

ò za tou ûdhí nà 'He kept taking the wine'

wei 'say' has two allomorphs: wo occurs preceding kye 'give' wei occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

ò wo kyé ì 'He said to him' (lit. he said gave him)

èni wo kye édei nà 'We said to the man'

Compare

ò wei êniâ 'He spoke thus'

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).

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'âminì òkò //

NPs VP AP

gun is in water of-canoe

'The gun is in the water in the canoe'

AT063

420. // é̀nùmà [ná òki tóu bídha avuramu nà] / ya //

NPs VP

money that he will-take marry woman the is

'He has the money to marry the woman'

CC005

421. // ò / yá / ì / n' otồrù //

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. // èvié / mo //
 NPs VP
 other is-not

'There is no other'

ATI42

423. // ó / mo / awò //
 NPs VP NPo
 he is-not state-of-being-alive

'He is not alive'

FC028

424. // onu êguá / mo / n' omù //
 NPs VP AP
 mother their is-not in house

'Their mother is not at home'

EC033

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:

édèi	'person'	édà	'river'	èsèni	'fish'
ódb	'mortar'	ùtòmù	'head'	ùkwô	'farm'

429. asúnu ôdyidyí nàà ónu el dhyani n' âzyi
 Nn GenCon Nn Poss
 father of-snake and mother his enter in bush

'The snake's mother and father went to the bush' CE016

The nouns ana 'the one' and idhiana 'how' 'like' are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker na. 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 âná [òkí kilo ni egwe anàmù] á nà
 RelCon rf rf
 it follow the-one he rule cpl pl animal too the

'Because he rules over the animals ...' DL008

431. ó kue dhe âna [ávuramu] nà
 GenCon rf
 he open finish the-one of-woman the

'(When) he opened up the woman's ...' DHO48

432. ò nó vyamu gbei amo àna [ókaa] nà
 GenCon rf
 he go-to flog kill child the-one of-age the

'He went and flogged the eldest child to death' DJ040

433. àná i òkí sì zá fou akibhi
 Poss
 the-one his he will stay smoke pipe

'As for him, he will go on smoking his pipe' CF009

438. // èníà [na í ta na te] nà // ká ì í kpu dhòu ...
 Nn:B RelCon rf

 NP

thus that they go to reach the seq they so pull take

'As they arrived thus, they pulled ...'

Note: The NP is functioning as a nominal clause (section 6.1.1).

439. // ì / gba / ógèlé / èníà //
 NPs VP NPo AP
 they make procession thus

'They held a procession thus'

BJ039

440. // obó nà / somu fyé nì //
 Nn:B rf

 NPs VP

big the is-good exceed cpl

'The big one is the best'

E

441. // ò / dhesyi / ôbô //
 NPs VP AP
 it last a-lot

'It lasted a long time'

DB007

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, VCVCVCV

Examples:

òkò	'canoe'	àkái	'thatch'	énùmà	'money'
		ápìdhémù	'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'	èdídhye	'four days' (former week)
--------	------------	---------	------------------------------

Type 2B reduplication of one syllable

VCVCV	òdyídyí	'snake'	òdhùdhu	'unripe palm fruit'
	òvùvù	'light'	úsùsù	'south'
VCVCVCV	àdùbhabha	'alligator'	íkùlélé	'iron'
	òkílòlò	'cutlass'	òkùlulu	'spring of water'
	ègàdígà	'fish trap'	ègbùlùgbù	'sandfly'
	égùlégù	'rainbow'	èkpòrikpo	'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'	opilopo	'pig'

Type 2D reduplication of two syllables

èmùrààmùrà	'act'	òfìrìfìrì	'darkness'
òkànikàni	'broom'	ovóllivóli	'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.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
amémùrè	imémùrè	young girl
ámò	ímò	child
amódhyòmù	imódhyòmù	young man
ávùrààmù	ívùrààmù	woman
ókàà	íkàà	old man
ozyi	izyi	thief

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.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verbal Adjective</u>		<u>Noun</u>
	bhuenémù 'having'	òbhuenémù	'owner'
		ìbhuenémù	'owners'
	dhiámù 'eating'	òdhiámù	'eating'
	gwémù 'obeying'	ògwémù	'obedience'
	kilómù 'ruling'	òkilómù	'chief'
		ìkilómù	'chiefs'

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.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Adjective Type 1</u>		<u>Noun</u>
	bô 'big'	obô	'bigness'
	dhià 'evil'	òdhià	'evil'
	dhô 'old'	òdhô	'old condition'
	fàì 'new'	òfàì	'newness'
	fùrómu 'worthless' 'empty'	òfùrómu	'worthlessness' 'in vain'
	gbê 'a few'	ògbê	'a few'
	gbèrì 'small'	ògbèrì	'small size'
	gbúgbò 'thick'	ìgbúgbò	'thickness'
	kiríkiri 'all'	ìkiríkiri	'all'
	viè 'good'	òviè	'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.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		<u>Noun</u>
swei	'live'	àswèi	'life'
gbou	'advise'	ègbòù	'advice'
kpomu	'be ill'	ìkpòmù	'illness'
koni	'fight'	òkòni	'fight'
kari	'be strong'	úkàrì	'power'

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).

<u>Examples:</u>	ìdhíi-fàì	'intestines'	
		(ìdhìi 'vine'	èfàì 'stomach')
	àmìní-bhwòni	'soup'	
		(àmìni 'water'	ùbhwòni 'salt')

Type 5B Only one of the roots is still identifiable.

<u>Examples:</u>	àkúm-edèi	'human being'	(édèi 'person')
	òny-ókò	'messenger'	(ókò 'messenger')
	òny-ávùrààmù	'woman'	(ávùrààmù 'woman')
	òny-ìmòsyì	'man'	(mòsyì 'male')
	ów-àwíè	'next morning'	(àwíè '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:

noun + noun ómù + àfèní > [ómwáfèní] 'hen house'
house of-hen

ámò + noun ámò + àfèní > [amáfèní] 'bird'

Nouns with the prefix amo are diminutives. Nouns with the prefix imo are mainly plurals. The prefix im- also means 'belonging to the same group or species as ...' e.g.

okóri 'name of a man' im-Ókóri 'Okori's people'

Examples:

am-áki	'small pot'	am-ókùbô	'small box'
im-áni	'wives'	im-ébhùrà	'contemporaries'
im-ákiresàdhù	'buffaloes'	im-ólò	'friends'

Note: In amómu-vùràmu '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:

élěli	'sign'	òfôrò	'frog'
otôrù	'throat'	ùkwôdyi	'coconut'

Noun Tone Classes

Class	VCVCVCV		VCVCV		VCV(V)
A	HLLL		HLL		HL
	avuramu 'woman'		esaru 'mosquito'		omu 'house'
B	LLLL		LLL		LL
	ebhufumu 'ash'		obila 'pitcher'		eki 'market'
C	HHHH		HHH		HH
	opilopo 'pig'		olilo 'bottle'		igbo 'fish-net'
D	HHLL		HHL		HHL
	akpukuro 'cassava'		avuvo 'bat'		ilo 'lie'
E	HLHL		HLHL		
	apidhemu 'seat'		okubo 'box'		
F	LLHL		LLHL		LHL
	egadiga 'fish-trap'		ekasyi 'chair'		ume 'faith'
G	LHLL		LHL		
	orisyoni 'snake'		abina 'plantain'		
H	LHLH				LH
	ikpilama 'snail'				oki 'type of fish'
I			HLH		HLH
			ogele 'procession'		ekpau 'fish-hook'

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:

<u>Clause</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>Example</u>
Neg. indic.)	HHHH	ó gèni akpurata 'he does not look at the mat'
Aorist)		ò gèni akpurata 'he looked at the mat'
Pos. imp.	LLLH	gèní àkpùràtà 'look at the mat'
All other verbal clauses	HLLLL	ó gèni àkpùràtà 'he looks at the mat'
Non-verbal clauses	LLLL	ànô ká àkpùràtà 'this (is) a mat'

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:

- the final tone of the NPo is not upstepped;
- non-initial verbs have H tone on each syllable.

Examples:Aorist string

//	ò	/	do	/	akpurata		dhemese	//
	NPs		VP		NPo		VP	
	he		weave		mat		make-bigger	

'He wove the mat bigger'

Compare:

igbo (HH)	//	ò	/	do	/	igbó		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.

<u>As Head of the NPs</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
singular	mì	bhù	ò
plural	ènì	bhà	ì / ègùà
<u>As Head of the NPo</u>			
singular	-	-	éì
plural	ènì	bhà	bhà / ègùà

As Head of the NP	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
<u>Disjunctive</u>			
singular	mè, òmè	bhò, èbhò	òki
plural	èni	bhà	èguà
As Attributive of the NP			
<u>Possessive</u>			
singular	mè	wò	éi
plural	èni	bhà	èguà

Notes:

a. The 3rd person singular pronoun ei has two allomorphs: i occurs following a word ending in a non-close vowel; ei occurs following a word ending in a close vowel.

<u>Examples:</u>	mi kó <u>i</u>	'I call him'
	mi dhuu <u>éi</u>	'I follow him'
	ólo <u>i</u>	'his friend'
	utomu <u>éi</u>	'his head'

b. The 3rd person singular pronoun oki also functions as a demonstrative.

Examples:

443.	édei <u>ókí</u> nà	'this man'	CG016
	man <u>this</u> the		
444.	òtà <u>òki</u>	'(at) this time'	CF021
	time <u>this</u>		

c. For examples of the different functions of the pronouns see the following sections:

As head of the NPs and NPo: section 8.2.2.

As possessive : section 8.2.1.1.

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. /// omíni âlíbò me /// ká ò tou étai na wai tu-vaì ///
child of-tortoise agree seq he take fire the throw lose

'Tortoise's child agreed. So he took the coals and threw them away.'
DJ027

Plural referent: imemini 'children'. Plural pronoun: i .

449. /// àlibó nà dhi ôbhúen-eti nà // imémini âlíbò ya ///
tortoise inc eat lion the children of-tortoise are
/// ì gení ni âlíbò // àlíbò toru dhou bhá àdhù ///
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.'
CZ077

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. /// ikpílâmâ yila za /// ò tyí nì ///
snail stand stay he shout cpl

'Snail stopped. He shouted.'
EK036

Common referent: ikpilama 'snail'. Plural pronoun: i .

451. /// á wèla gá ikpílámá syimu nù o /// ì nyoni bhué 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.'
DL130

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. /// mi nàà ògidhí èní yàia // ...
1st sg. 1st pl.

I and name we paddle

'(When) Ogidi and I paddled (the canoe) ...'

AT114

453. /// bhù nàà àní wò bhà yi ómu 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 // í nà bídà ta ///
3rd sg. 3rd pl.

he and woman the start they inc walk go

'He and the woman set off'

DA032

d. If the referent is two pronouns, the following pronoun is plural and the person is as follows:

<u>Referent</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Example</u>
Including 1st person	1st	455
Including 2nd but not 1st	2nd	456
3rd person only	3rd	457

Examples:

455. /// mi nàà íbhà èní s_i dú ènù //
1st sg. 2nd sg. 1st pl.

I and you we will buy price

'You and I will bargain over the price'

E

456. // bhù nàà éì bha ta //
 2nd sg. 3rd sg. 2nd pl.
 you and him you go

'You and he go'

E

457. //// òkì nàà éì kwa // í nà ta ////
 3rd sg. 3rd sg. 3rd pl.
 he and him start they inc go

'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:

ávù	'one'	ívà	'two'
ésàà	'three'	ínìl	'four'
ísyòní	'five'	ènyísà	'six'
ìsyóvà	'seven'	ènumàni	'eight'
àvúmò	'nine'	ígbèl	'ten'
ìvù	'a number of'		
	'some'		

Examples:

èsèní ívà 'two fish'
 2

ímo ìsyóvà 'seven children'
 7

Following ùtòmù 'person' and àdhè 'day' numerals with initial i- have an allomorph with initial e- .

Examples:

ùtòmù	évà	'two people'	ùtòmù	ésyòní	'five people'
àdhè	évù	'some days'	àdhè	égbèì	'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:

<u>íyei</u>	ésèní	'20 fish'	<u>úgbei</u>	imò	'200 children'
20			200		

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.

íyèì	'20'	óvùà	'40'
ósàà	'60'	únìì	'80'
úsyonì	'100'	ósumasè	'120'
ùsyóvà	'140'	ònùmàni	'160'
úgbèì	'200'	àsyì	'400'

Where a number involves addition an additive construct (section 8.2.1.2) is used.

Example:

íyèì	[nàà	ésàà]	'23'
Nn		AddCon		
20		and	3	

Numbers from 800 onwards. These numbers are formed by multiplication in units of 400 and then addition.

Example: àsyì ívà nàà úgbei edèi '1,000 people'
400 x 2 and 200 person

Ordinal numbers

Except for 'first', ordinal numbers require the noun òdùnémù (or òdùnèsémù) 'order' 'occasion' as either the first or second element of a complex head together with the appropriate numeral.

Examples: áki òdùnèsému inlì 'fourth pot'
pot order 4

òdùnému ùtòmù évà 'second person'
order head 2

The first ordinal requires the nouns òsyíà 'appearing' and ádhù 'front' which together constitute the second element of a complex head.

Examples: ámo òsyíà ádhù 'first child'
child of-appearing of-front

òkò òsyíà ádhù '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.

(sg.)	à [˙] nô	(pl.)	ì [˙] nâ	'this'
(sg.)	à [˙] kâ	(pl.)	ì [˙] kâ	'that'
(sg.)	à [˙] yô	(pl.)	ì [˙] yô (ì [˙] yâ)	'other near at hand'
	è [˙] víè			'other out of sight'
	ènô, ènâ			'this kind' (attributive only)
	á [˙] vù			'certain' (attributive only)

Note: The demonstrative á[˙]vù is distinguished from the numeral á[˙]vù '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:

ano	'this'	ina	'these';	aka	'that'	ika	'those'
ayo (sg.)		iyô (pl.)					
			'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. à[˙]nàmù à[˙]yò yi í te nì
 Nn Dem
 animal another came to reach cpl

'Another animal arrived'

EE089

459. ì moni ímo akíe êní iva avù
 Nn GenCon Num Dem
 they see boys of-town our two certain
 'They saw a certain couple of boys from our town' AC012
460. ò nó le ko êvíè
 Dem
 he go-to again call another
 'He went to call another (doctor)' CG075
461. ákíe êní êná nà
 Nn Poss Dem Rf
 town our this the
 'This town of ours' DA062
462. ínùmù ávu ênó a [na mi tóu kyè bhá] 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' DL102

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?'	ínwèl	'how many?'	ivo	'how?'
	(not NPs)				(NPs only)
iyó	'what?'	òvo	'which?'	òyo	'who?'

Examples:

463. bhú sí dhúmo ôyo
 you will marry whom

'Whom will you marry?'

CG012

464. bhu tá êdhó à
 you will-go where qu

'Where will you go?'

FA082

465. iyó nyine ní n' akiè à
 what happen cpl in town qu

'What has happened in the town?'

EDO43

466. èni wúru ívó à
 we will-do what qu

'What shall we do?'

DKO47

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. Adverbs¹ are descriptive of "sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity"².

1. Similar items are frequently termed 'ideophones' by other linguists.

2. Cole, D.T., An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, (Capetown 1955), p. 370.

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	doo	'quietly'
	gàà	'very bright' (of sun)
	yìì	'sound of something heavy falling'
CVCV	kpèrù	'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

CVCV	tètè	'in a tottering manner'
	vùvù	'in a hurried manner'
CVCVCV	bhùnunu	'in a ruffled state'
	kìlòlò	'dripping wet'

Type 2B reduplication of two syllables. In the intense form the two syllables are further repeated, e.g.

Non-intense form: kpékèkpèkè 'in an unsteady manner'

Intense form: kpékèkpèkèkpékè

kpánèkpàne	'in a furtive manner'
likiliki	'of tall and slim stature'
kwemúkwèmù	'in a lively manner'
mènìmènì	'being very sweet in taste'
wòlòwolo	'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

Class	CVCVCVCV	CVCVCV	CV(C)V
A	LLLL zyerizyeri	LLL wurumu	LL yii
B	HHHH likiliki	HHH bilomu	HH doo
C	LLHH wolowolo	LHH bhununu	LH kpuku

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. /// ì ta tuu // ká ì ná te eda bô ///
 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. /// ì wuru tuu // ì wuru dhe ///
 they do till they do finish

'They worked until they finished it'

BMO72

469. /// à tɔ̀ ɔ̀bho kɛ dɔ̀ nyoni n'ínùmù tuu //
 one take hand skim take put in thing till

ka ò vure dhe ///

seq it end finish

'It was skimmed off by hand and put into a tin until it was all gone'

AS014

470. /// àlìbo kɔ̀nikoni kpúrùkpúrùkpúrù tuu // ànì àlìbò ...
 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).

naa 'and' 'with' which functions in AP type 4 (section 9.2.4 examples 386, 387).

CHAPTER ELEVENTHE WORD ii. MINOR WORDSTABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
11.0. Introduction	221
11.1. <u>The Auxiliary Verb 'na'</u>	221
11.2. <u>The Preverbal</u>	223
11.3. <u>The Postverbal</u>	226
11.4 <u>The Adjective</u>	229
11.4.1. The Adjective as a Separate Word Class	229
11.4.2. Function and Structure of the Adjective	229
11.4.3. Juncture between Noun and Adjective	230
11.5. <u>The Interrogative Modifier</u>	231
11.6. <u>The Reinforcer</u>	231
11.7. <u>Particles</u>	232
11.8. <u>Exclamations</u>	233

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE WORD ii. 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: í occurs following the verb yi 'come'; nó occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun functioning as head of the NPs; ná occurs elsewhere. The vowel of nó and í 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).

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:

- i 'again'
- í 'as a result' 'then'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- le 'again'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- ma '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 i 'again', le 'again', ma '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

	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
verb root			
tone pattern	hHL	HL	HL
verb only	(o) mē	'he will agree'	
	(o) dířè	'he will cook'	
	(o) kófilò	'he will cough'	
preverbal and verb	(o) lé mē	'he will agree again'	
	(o) lé dířè	'he will cook again'	

The descriptive tense tone pattern is

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	LLH	LH	H
verb only	(o) me	'he agrees'	
	(ó) ðire	'he cooks'	
	(ó) kòfílo	'he coughs'	
preverbal and verb	(ó) lè me	'he agrees again'	
	(ó) lè ðire	'he cooks again'	

b. The preverbal i '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:

<u>Aorist tense:</u> verb only	(mí) kirese (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 (<u>ta</u> 'go')	(mí) ta ná kiresè	'I went to answer'

Positive imperative:

verb only	kìrèsè (LLH)	'answer!'
aux. verb and verb	ná kìrèsè	'go and answer!'

b. In clauses in the descriptive tense the non-final tones(s) of the verb which are normally L, are H.

<u>Descriptive tense:</u> verb only	(mí)	kirèse (LLH)	'I answer'
aux. verb and verb	(mi)	ná kirese	'I go to answer'
preverbal and verb	(mi)	í kirese	'then I answer'
compound VP (<u>ta</u> 'go')	(mi)	ta ná kirese	'I go to answer'

Examples of preverbals

477. // ó / lè fìèse / ádhù //
 VP
 he again peep eye
 '(When) he again had a peep' CB010
478. // ò / le ke //
 VP
 he again cut 'He cut again' CB022
479. // ò / i nusu / úswei nà //
 VP
 he again smell road the
 'He again sniffed the road' EJ033
480. // ó / i swei //
 VP
 she again not-live
 'She did not live any longer' CB031
481. // òkí / nà mà fòu / akíbhì //
 VP
 he inc still smoke pipe
 'He was still smoking his pipe' CF009

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:

ò kpei dhe mé ní* 'He has thoroughly washed me'

PostVb

ò kpei dhé ni eì 'He has thoroughly washed him'

Pr

ò kpei dhé nĩ vióviè '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: ò kpei dhe me 'He finished washing me'

 ò kpe 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

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	<u>HL</u>
verb only	(o) mē	'he will agree'	
	(o) dīrè	'he will cook'	
	(o) kófilò	'he will cough'	
verb and postverbal	(o) mé dhè	'he will completely agree'	
	(o) dīre dhè	} 'he will cook it thoroughly	
	(o) dīre padhè		
	(o) kpé mè	'he will pay me'	
	(o) gèní wò	'he will look at you'	

The positive imperative and descriptive tense tone pattern is

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

Positive imperative

verb and postverbal	mè dhe	'agree to everything!'
	dīrè pādhe	'cook it well!'
	kpè me	'pay me!'

Descriptive tense

verb and postverbal	(ó) mè dhe	'he agrees completely'
	(ó) dīrè pādhe	'he cooks it well'
	(o) kpé mè (L)	'he pays me'
	(ó) gèní wò (L)	'he looks at you'

Examples of postverbals:482. // à / zyi dhe mé nì //

VP

they bury finish me cpl

'(When) they have finished burying me'

DD018

483. // mī / moni wó nī //

VP

I see you cpl

'I have seen you'

EA034

484. // à / ná te dhe / omù //

VP

they go-to reach all house

'They all arrived at the house'

EE015

485. // ànì âlibò / dire padhe / ákì //

VP

wife of-tortoise cook finish pot

'Tortoise's wife finished cooking'

DF020

486. // mī / sī tóu / enuma / tóu kù wo dhè //

VP

I will take money take give you all

'I will give you all the money'

DB014

487. // àmīnī / te padhe mé nī //

VP

water reach finish me cpl

'The water came right up to me'

AT025

For further examples see section 7.2, examples 260, 261.

Type 2 Verbal Adjective

This type consists of a class A verb root with the suffix -mù. The suffix has two allomorphs: -ámù occurs following roots ending in a close vowel (in CVCV and CVCVCV roots the final vowel drops before the suffix); -mù occurs following roots ending in a non-close vowel. The suffix harmonises with the vowel quality of the verb root.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	dire	dirémù	'cooked'
	dori	dorámù	'long'
	fu	fuámù	'white'
	karese	karesémù	'strengthened'
	tunu	tunámù	'sacrificed'
	wei	weiámù	'spoken'

Type 3 Compound Adjective

This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only three examples have occurred:

gbèrì-konyi	'very small'	(gbèrì 'small')
kí-kàrì	'very strong'	(kàrì 'be strong')
vió-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: bô 'big', dhô 'old', dhíà 'evil',
all type 2 adjectives

L juncture: gbê 'few'

N juncture: fài 'new', gbèrì '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'
bhòò	'for a long time' 'a long while ago'
lòù (lòùkpo, lòùkpokpo lòùlele)	'only' 'any' 'whatever'
nà	'the one already mentioned'
nù	'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: lòù a (example 490) and á 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:	<u>bhòò</u> 'for long'; <u>nà</u> 'the'; <u>o</u> 'indeed'
L juncture:	<u>a</u> 'also'
N juncture:	<u>lòù</u> 'only'; <u>nu</u> 'in particular'

Clause-introducers		:	see complex sentence
	<u>kana</u>	:	type 6, Anterior (4.4.6)
	<u>ga</u>	:	type 7, Purpose (4.4.7)
	<u>na</u>	:	type 8, Result (4.4.8)
			type 9, Impersonal (4.4.9)
	<u>sa</u>	:	type 10, Unfulfilled Condition (4.4.10)
Construct marker	<u>na</u>	:	see NP (8.2.1.3)
Definitive particle	<u>ni</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.3; 5.6.1)
Emphatic particle	<u>va</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.5)
			nominal clause (6.1.3)
Future particles	<u>i</u> , <u>si</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.1.2)
Negative particles	<u>dhù</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.1.1)
	<u>na</u>	:	see verbal clause, subjunctive (5.4.1.1)
			imperative (5.5)
	<u>sa</u>	:	see nominal clause (6.1)
Question introducer	<u>tène</u>	:	see nominal clause, type 2C (6.2.3)
Question terminals	<u>à</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>sàmù</u>	:	see question sentence (4.5)
			verbal clause, type 3 (5.6)
			nominal clause, type 2 (6.2)
Sequential particle	<u>ka</u>	:	see discourse (3.2.1)
			complex sentence types 1 and 2 (4.4.1; 4.4.2)
			nominal clause (6.1.2; 6.2.2)
Speech particle	<u>ga</u>	:	see discourse (3.2.1)
			complex sentence type 3 (4.4.3)
			nominal clause (6.1.2)
Vocative particle	<u>è</u>	:	see marginal clause, type 1 (6.3.1)

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 TWELVEANALYSED 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.

- line 6 Analysis of the clause giving its type and also the demarcative features as these are frequently relevant to the analysis of the sentence.
- *line 7 Details of any rankshifted sentences functioning at clause rank.
- line 8 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. àlíbò / ana óyà.
 tortoise one of-laziness
 Nn Nn Nn
 GenCon
 NP / NP
 NomCl:2
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
2. opilopo / ka édei kunamu úkwô.
 pig seq person making farm
 Nn:2c part Nn Adj:2 Nn
 GerunCon
 NP / NP:5
 NomCl:2
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
3. ká ò / í kunu bhue / úkwô ákà nàà èdhya.
 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 èbhùrù / í yi / akie anàmù.
 seq famine then come town of-animal
 part Nn PreVb STrVb Nn Nn
 GenCon
 NPs / VP NPo
 VbCl
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

5. ká inùmù ávù a na àlìbò nàà imémini èí sì dhíà
 seq thing one even which tor. and children his will eat
 part Nn Num rf part Nn Prep Nn:3 Pr part TrVb

RelCon

NPs ext:1 cont. on next line

ó / mo .

it is-not

Pr Vb:B

NPs / VP:B

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

6. ká àlìbò / í vio / omini ei / tà //
 seq tortoise so send child his go
 part Nn PreVb TrVb Nn Pr STrVb

NPs / VP / NPo / VP //

VbCl string

ga opilopó / kye / ì / ákà gbé nàà èdhyà gbé //

so-that pig should-give him corn little and yam little

part Nn:2 Ditr:Vb Pr Nn Adj:1 Prep Nn Adj:1

NPs / VP / NPo¹ / NPo²

VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 2 cont. on next line

ká òkí / sì kpé / n' udhè.

seq he will pay on next-day

part Pr part DitrVb Prep Nn

NPs: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 / í bhue-enia / kye / í / ákà nàà èdhyá nà.
 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 / NPo¹ / NPo²
 VbCl string

SIMPLE SENTENCE

8. ka o / te / údhè //
 seq it reach next-day
 part Pr STrVb Nn
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo //
 VbCl:des

- ka opilopo / í tà // gá àlibó / kpe / ì / énuma ì
 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 / NPo¹ / NPo²
 VbCl VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7 (Purpose)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

9. ka ó / tà ná te // ká àlíbò / í gu kye / ì //
 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 //

VbCl:des

VbCl

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

- gá ò / té ni / udhè // ga ó / le tà.
 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

VbCl:cpl

VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

10. ka o / te / údhè // opilopó / tà 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 //

VbCl:des

VbCl:des

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

- ká àlíbò / vye // ga áché ì / wú nù.
 seq tortoise cry sp relative his die cpl
 part Nn IntrVb part Nn Pr IntrVb part
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP

VbCl

VbCl:cpl

rs Sentence cont.

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

11. ka opilopo / í wo kye / ì // ga kád // nà vyê.
 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. àlìbò / me .
 tortoise agree
 Nn IntrVb
 NPs / VP
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

14. ka o / te / ow-áwìlè // opilopó / tà ná 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

ká àlìbò / bìdhá ñì .
 seq tortoise travel cpl
 part Nn STrVb part
 NPs / VP
 VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

15. ká ò / í bhinè // gá tènè àlìbò .
 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 imémini àlìbò / wei // gá àlibó / nà bìdha.
 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. àlìbò / ta ñì / 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 / í pà // ó / nò gbe.
 seq pig so leave he inc go-home
 part Nn:2 PreVb IntrVb Pr part STrVb
 NPs / VP //NPs:2/ VP
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

19. o / te / ow-áwìè // ká àlibó / gírì dhuu / ékyá na / yia //
 it reach next-morning seq tor. return follow foreign the come
 place
 Pr STrVb Nn:5 part Nn IntrVb STrVb Nn rf STrVb
 NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp / NPo / VP //
 VbCl:des VbCl string:des

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential) cont. on next line

ká ò / í bhue-enia / wo kye / omini èl //
 seq he so then say give child his
 part Pr PreVb STrVb-Nn:B IntrVb DitrVb Nn:3 Pr
 NPs / VP / AP / VPcomp / NPo //
 VbCl string

rs Sentence cont. from line above

ga opilopô / yí ni / n' udhè // ga ó / sì vyé / syinùmù.
 sp pig come cpl on next-day sp he will cry very-much
 part Nn STrVb 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 túkpa kye / i .
 he will scold give him
 Pr part IntrVb DitrVb Pr
 NPs:2/ VPcomp / NPo:2
 VbCl:fut

SIMPLE SENTENCE

21. ó / sì wéià // ga ó / wùrú / ìvo //
 he will say sp it do how
 Pr part IntrVb part Pr TrVb Int
 NPs:2/ VP // NPs:2 / VP / NPo //

VbCl:fut

VbCl:des

ná òkí / kpe / i / osà .
 that he not-pay him debt
 part Pr DitrVb Pr Nn

NPs:2 / VP / NPo¹ / NPo²

VbCl:neg

rs Sentence: 9

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

22. ó / sì vúma karesè .
 he will vex make-strong
 Pr part IntrVb STrVb
 NPs:2/ VPcomp
 VbCl:fut

SIMPLE SENTENCE

23. ká ò / rií ni / êníà // ka omini eí / kirese / i / laí //
 seq it pass cpl thus seq child his should- turn him turn-
 over
 Part Pr TrVb part Nn:B part Nn:3 Pr STrVb Pr TrVb
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VP NPo:2/ VP//
 VbCl:cpl VbCl string: subj

rs Sentence: 1

ka ó / tou / aka / nyoni //
 seq he should-take corn put
 part Pr TrVb Nn TrVb
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo / VP //
 VbCl string:subj

ka ó / za gbe / n'êgilè na opilopó sí yía 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 / yi í te ni // ka ó / moni moni / eí .
 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:cpl VbCl:neg rep

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

25. ka omini eí / weí // gá òki / 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. àd·hé bhùe-ení·a kirese wi·i //
 day then repeat dawn

VbCl:des

ka opilopô í kwà // ó 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 àlibò wurú nu idhiáná [àlibó wo kye i] ná.
 seq child of-tortoise do cpl how tortoise say give him the

VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

28. ò toú ni aka tou sise nyoni bhue ni n'ogbo àlibò //
 he take cpl corn take place put keep cpl on back of-tor.

VbCl string:cpl

ka ó nò zà gbe.
 seq he inc stay grind

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

29. ka opilopô í bhinë // gá tènè àlibò .
 seq pig so ask sp where tortoise

VbCl

NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

30. omíni àlibò wei // gá àlibó nà bídha .
 child of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

31. ká ò í bhue-enia bhò // àlibò àna óyà.
 seq he so then scold tortoise one of -laziness
 VbCl NomCl:1B

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

32. inùmù àvù a ó moni wuru .
 thing one any he not-able do
 VbCl:neg (NPo is frontshifted)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

33. àlibó ì kpé mē ọsa mē.
 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'ínyá.
 he go where on today
 VbCl:inter nfut

SIMPLE SENTENCE

35. ka ó nò bó ènía nà // ká ò í bhue-enia swai dhòu ugyò
 seq he inc scold: thus the seq he so then carry take stone
 VbCl:des inc VbCl String (cont. on next line)

[na omíni àlibó nà tòu gbè áka] nà tòu sù tuvái.
 which child of-tor. inc take grind corn the take throw lose
 (NPo includes RelCon)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

36. ká àlìbò bhue-eníá bhaa dhuu esyimu yì
 seq tortoise then return follow back come
 VbCl (cont. on next line)

[na á tuvai dhe i nà].

which they lose finish him the

(RelCon attributive to esyimu. The RelCon usually immediately follows its antecedent.)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

37. ó yì í te // ká ò í bhue-enia wei //
 he come to reach seq he so then say
 VbCl:des VbCl

rs Sentence:l

mí sì kpé wọ ọsa wọ n'inyá.
 I will pay you due you on today

VbCl:fut

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

38. enyi

yes

MarCl:2

SIMPLE SENTENCE

39. mé àdhídhè

I richman

NomCl:lB

SIMPLE SENTENCE

40. mì tou ni énuma me tou dyi bhue ni n'úvomu ugyò.
 I take cpl money my take store keep cpl in inside stone

VbCl String:cpl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

41. ò bhue-enfa bhine omini eì // gá tènè úgyo nà.
 he then ask child his sp where stone the

VbCl

NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

42. ò í wei // ga opilopó nà vùma .
 he so say sp pig inc vex

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

43. ó nò tùkpà kú wò.
 he inc upbraid give you

VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

44. ká ò í pa dhò ugyo na tou su tuvai.
 seq he then lift take stone the take throw lose

VbCl String

SIMPLE SENTENCE

45. àlibò tyí // òkì wú nù.
 tortoise shout he die cpl

VbCl

VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

46. opilopo.

pig

MarCl:1

SIMPLE SENTENCE

47. gwa ná wa syie me ugyo mè.
 right! go-to search bring me stone the

VbCl string: imp

SIMPLE SENTENCE

48. èsyíà ká èsyì [na mì dyi bhué ni ɛnuma mè].
 place seq place which I store keep cpl money my

NomCl:LB (RelCon as attributive of 2nd NP)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

49. ka opilopô í kwà // ó nò tà ná wà.
 seq pig so start he inc go to search

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 10 (Immediate Action)

50. ò wa úgyo ná.
 he search stone the

VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

51. ó i moni.
 he again not-see

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

52. ò wa wa úgyo ná
 he search search stone the

VbCl:rep

SIMPLE SENTENCE

53. ó i moni.
 he again not-see

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

54. opilopô kwa // ó nò ta ná ko egwe omu ei //
 pig start he inc go to call people of-house his
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

í yi i dhuu ei wà.
 they should- to follow him search
 come
 VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

55. í nà wá nà //
 they inc search the
 VbCl:des inc

ká àlibò nàà ómini ei ya n' êsyimù // í 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. í nà zà gbèi opilopo.
 they inc stay laugh pig
 VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

57. atye édèi geni édèi // í nà gbèi bhùe.
 each person look person they inc laugh keep
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate action)

58. ká òsà àlibo nà nàà opilopó nà í dhuu esyia riì.
 seq debt of-tor. the and pig the so follow there pass
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

59. ká àlìbò í wèl // ga opilopô tu-vaí ni enuma ì.
 seq tortoise so say that pig lose cpl money his
 VbCl VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Speech)

60. ó dhuu enia yia // òkì á ì kpe opilopo osa ì.
 it follow thus come he too so not-pay pig due his
 VbCl:ref VbCl:neg

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

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) "Pig! (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.

AddCon	Additive construct
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
aor	Aorist tense
AP	Adverbial phrase
Aux	Auxiliary verb
cpl	Completive aspect
decl	Declarative
def	Definitive particle
Dem	Demonstrative
des	Descriptive tense
DitrVb	Ditransitive verb
emp	Emphatic particle
excl	Exclamation
fut	Future tense
GenCon	Genitive construct
GerunCon	Gerundive construct
imp	Imperative
inc	Incompletive aspect
ind	Indicative
Int	Interrogative
inter	Interrogative clause
IntMod	Interrogative modifier
inten	Intensive secondary aspect
IntrVb	Intransitive verb
LocCon	Locative construct
MarCl	Marginal clause
neg	Negative

nfut	Non-future
NomCl	Nominal clause
Nn	Noun
NP	Nominal phrase
NPext	Extended nominal phrase
NPo	Nominal phrase object
Num	Numeral
part	Particle
pos	Positive
Poss	Possessive
PostVb	Postverbal
Pr	Pronoun
Prep	Preposition
PreVb	Preverbal
QuInt	Question introducer
QuTer	Question terminal
ref	Referential tense
rep	Repetitive secondary aspect
rf	Reinforcer
RelCon	Relative construct
rs	Rankshifted
subj	Subjunctive
Sen	Sentence
STrVb	Semi-transitive verb
TrVb	Transitive verb
Vb	Verb
VbAdj	Verbal adjective
VbCl	Verbal clause
VP	Verbal phrase
VPcomp	Compound verbal phrase

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography lists the books and articles to which reference has been made in the course of the thesis.

- BENDOR-SAMUEL, J.T. 'A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases'. Canadian Journal of Linguistics, Vol.8, no.2, 1963.
- BENDOR-SAMUEL, J.T. 'Problems in the Analysis of Sentences and Clauses in Bimoba', Word, Vol.21, no.3.
- BENDOR-SAMUEL, J.T. 'Syntagmatic Features or Grammatical Prosodies' Unpublished paper presented at the Tenth International Congress of Linguists, Buchararest, 1967.
- BENDOR-SAMUEL, P.M. 'Phonemic Interpretation Problems in Some West African Languages', Sierra Leone Language Review, Vol.4, 1965.
- CARNOCHAN, J. 'Igbo', Lingua, Vol.17, no.1/2, 1966.
- PIKE, K.L. 'Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics applied to Selected African Languages, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966.
- STANFORD, R. The Bekwarra Language of Nigeria, A Grammatical Description, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1967.
- TALBOT, P.A. The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, Vol.4: Linguistics and Statistics, O.U.P., 1926.
- WESTCOTT, R.W. A Bini Grammar, Part 1: Phonology, Michigan State University, 1962.

INDEX

This index does not claim to be exhaustive but to give references to the principal occurrences of each item.

Additive construct,	148-9, 155, 210.
Adjective,	141, 144, 152, 229-230.
Adverb,	171, 215-9.
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.
Completive 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,	
between noun and demonstrative,	146.
between noun and pronoun,	206-9.
Construct,	13.
Declarative clause,	
Nominal	120-4.
Verbal	78-108.
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, 186.
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.
Incompletive 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,	
Nominal	124-7.
Verbal	94-8.
Interrogative clause string,	113, 118.
Interrogative NP,	158.
Intonation,	21, 26.
Final,	44.
Interrogative,	95.
Negative,	80.
Question,	69.

Intransitive verb,	176.
Juncture,	
of clauses in the string,	112.
of elements in the AP,	168.
of elements in the NP,	143-6.
of phrases in the clause,	104-9, 122.
of words in general,	26-9.
Locative construct,	149.
Major word,	176.
Marginal clause,	126.
Minor word,	221.
Modifier,	141.
Mood,	80, 109.
Negative,	80, 90, 91, 120.
Negative imperative,	94, 186.
Negative indicative,	50, 51, 81.
Negative subjunctive,	82, 186.
Neutral primary aspect,	87, 110.
Neutral secondary aspect,	98.
Nominal clause,	48-50, 120-7.
Nominal phrase,	140-66.
Noun,	189-201.
Number,	77, 206.
Numeral,	141, 143, 157, 164, 209-12.
Particle,	13-4, 29, 232-3.
Person,	37-40, 77, 204-6.
Phrase,	129-174.
Polarity,	80, 109.
Positive imperative,	92.
Positive indicative,	83.
Positive subjunctive,	82, 186.
Positive intonation,	80.
Possessive,	141-5, 203.
Postverbal,	130, 132, 133, 226-8.

Preposition,	168, 172, 219.
Preverbal,	110, 130, 132, 133, 223-5.
Primary aspect,	87.
Pronoun,	37, 153-7, 202-9.
Question sentence,	68-71.
Rankshifting,	12-3.
rankshifted AP,	148-9.
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.
Verbal adjective,	196, 230.
Verbal clause,	78-109.
Verbal clause string,	109-18.
Verbal phrase,	129-38.
Vocative,	126.
Vowel harmony,	20, 103, 143, 206, 233, 226.