

A GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF EKPEYE

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Abstract

This thesis describes the grammatical structure of Ekpeye, an unwritten language of Eastern Nigeria. In the first chapter, there is an introduction to the Ekpeye language and people, and to the linguistic theory underlying this description, together with an outline of the analysis. Chapter 2 provides details of the transcription used in the thesis, and other phonological points.

Chapters 3 to 13 contain the main body of the grammatical description, with units described in descending order of rank. The Sentence is outlined in chapter 3, and the Clause with its four classes and five types, in chapter 4. Chapters 5 to 7 deal with Phrase rank, a separate Phrase class being considered in each chapter. Chapter 5 contains the Nominal Phrase class with its five types, chapter 6 the Verbal Phrase class with its five types, and chapter 7 the Adverbial Phrase class with its single type. Chapters 8 to 11 describe Word rank in terms of four hyperclasses: Chapter 8 handles the Nominal hyperclass with its nine classes, and chapter 9 the Verbal hyperclass with its three classes and the three types found within one of the classes. Chapter 10 treats the Adverbial hyperclass with its three classes, and chapter 11 the Particle hyperclass with its eight classes. Stem rank is described in chapter 12, and Morpheme rank, with its two hyperclasses, in chapter 13.

Chapter 14 contains an Ekpeye text fully analysed in accordance with the preceding description, and the thesis closes with a short bibliography.

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Abbreviations

A	Auxiliary	HT	High Tone
AB	Ante-Base	I	Instrumental
Ac	Action	Id	Identifier
Adv	Adverb	Imp	Impersonal
AP	Adverbial Phrase	In	Initiator
AV	Additional Vowel	Ind	Independent
B	Benefactive	Inj	Interjection
Bs	Base	IO	Indirect Object
C	Circumstantial	Itg	Interrogator
Cl	Clause	Itr	Introducer
Cnj	Conjunction	Itv	Interrogative
Cp	Complement	L	Locational
Cr	Core	LT	Low Tone
Cs	Causal	M	Modal
CT	Clause Type	Md	Modifier
Cum	Cumulative	Mg	Marginal
Cx	Complex	MS	Minor Sentence
D	Directional	N	Noun
Dem	Demonstrative	Nb	Number
Dep	Dependent	Neg	Negator
DO	Direct Object	NP	Nominal Phrase
E	Emphatic	NPT	Nominal Phrase Type
Em	Emphasiser	Num	Numeral
ES	Elliptical Sentence	NV	Negative Vowel
Ex	Extension	Ob	Obviative
Exg	Exegetic	P	Predicate
Gn	Genitive	PB	Post-Base
H	Hearer	Pf	Prefix
Hc	Hyperclass	Pn	Pronoun
Hd	Head	Pr	Preposition

Prx	Proximate
Ps	Person
Q	Quotational
Qf	Qualifier
Qt	Quantifier
R	Referent
Red	Reduplicative
Rel	Relative
Rep	Repetitive
Rlg	Relegator
RS	Rank-shifted
Rt	Root
S	Subject
Sen	Sentence
Sf	Suffix
SG	Speaker's Group
SM	Syntactic Marker
Sp	Speaker
Spc	Specifier
St	Stem
Sub	Subsidiary
T	Temporal
Tm	Terminal
V	Vocative
Vb	Verb
VP	Verbal Phrase
VPT	Verbal Phrase Type
VT	Verb Type

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

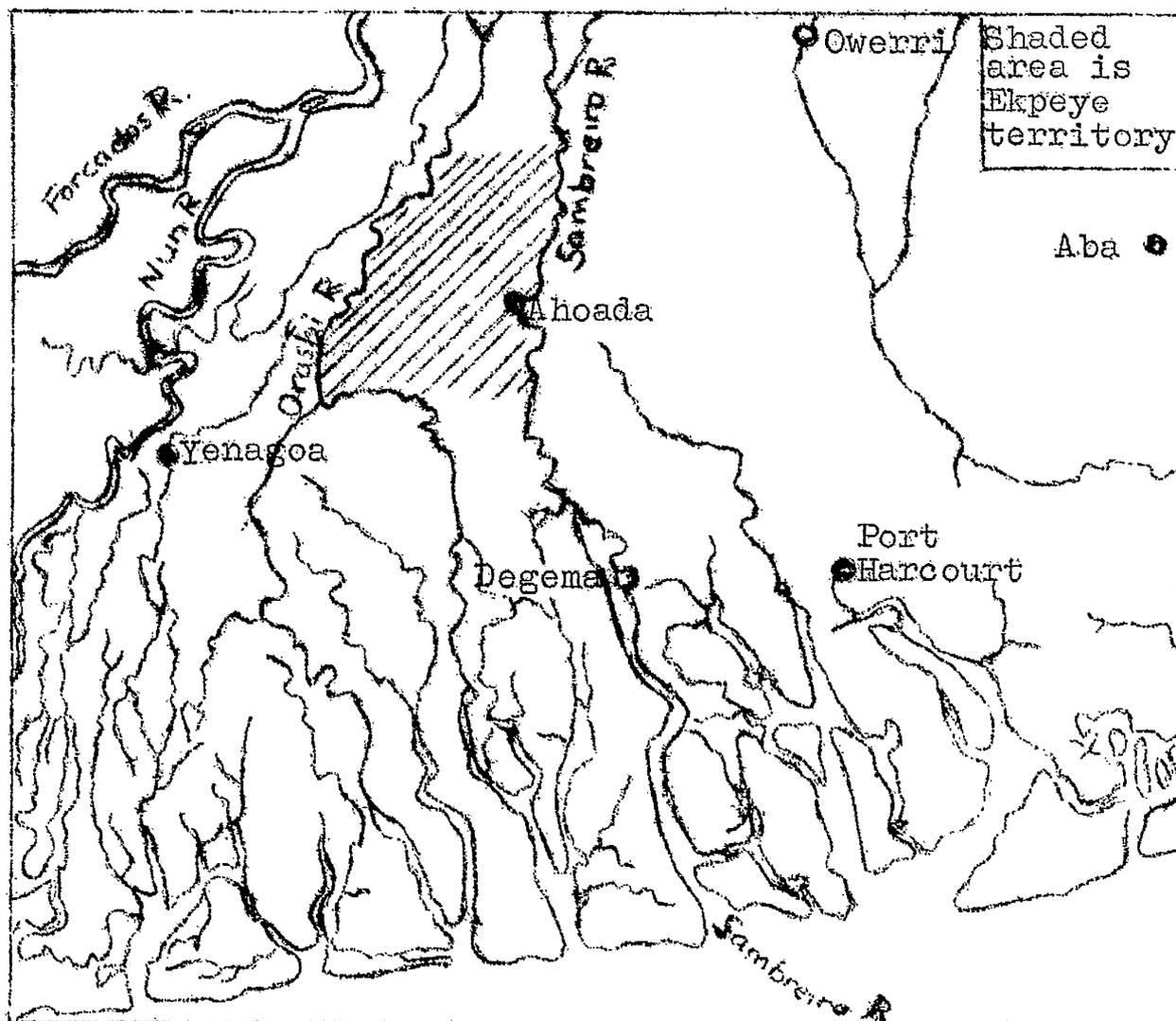
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The Ekpeye Language and People

The Ekpeye language is spoken by a group inhabiting part of the Niger Delta area of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria. Their territory is bounded on the west by the Orashi River and on the east by the Sambreiro River. Their main centre, the town of Ahoada, is situated on the west bank of the Sambreiro. For the position of the area in relation to larger towns, see the accompanying sketch map.



1 inch = 16 miles approx.

So far as is known, no previous record or study of the Ekpeye language has ever been made. It has not been recognised as a separate linguistic entity, and has never been written down. The only published information which has been traced is in The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria by Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones (Oxford, 1950). On pp. 49 - 51, the various groups that comprise the Riverain Ibo are described, and among them is a tribe called the "Ekpeya (Ekpaffia)". The passages which relate to them are sufficiently short to be quoted in full.

"Ekpeya - A tribe with its own peculiar dialect and customs, consisting of four subtribes, Akoli, Ube, Orupata and Igbuduya, and seventy-two villages and small settlements, including Ahoada." (p. 51)

"The Oba and Ekpeya appear to be very distinct from one another and from other groups." (p. 51)

"In the Ekpeya group, the men do no farming, but rely on the production of palm oil and on hunting and fishing for their livelihood. Apart from clearing the bush, they leave the rest of the farming to the women. This group has a distinctive style of wrestling in which leg holds are barred." (p. 51)

The population is estimated at approximately 6,800 active adult males for the period 1935 - 40.

Various comments on the above statements are called for. Firstly, the spelling Ekpeye used in this thesis is the one in current use in the area for administrative

purposes, and corresponds quite well with the pronunciation (phonemically /èkpèyè/). The neighbouring Abua tribe call the Ekpeye "Ekpabya", and it may be some variation of this which has given rise to the form "Ekpaffia" recorded by Forde and Jones.

Linguistically, Ekpeye cannot be considered merely a divergent dialect of Igbo (spelt "Ibo" by Forde and Jones). Though undoubtedly closely related, it is not mutually intelligible with Igbo, and must be recognised as a separate language. Internally, the Ekpeye themselves acknowledge four dialects, corresponding to social divisions, and called Ako, Ubye, Upata and Igbuduya. The Ako dialect is that of the administrative centre of Ahoada, Ubye men have certain privileges such as setting the dates of festivals, and the Upata dialect is reckoned to have the largest number of speakers, including the paramount chief. This division of prestige has meant that no single dialect has established itself as a standard form. All four dialects are readily mutually intelligible, and are apparently distinguished only by a few minor points of phonology and vocabulary. (See for instance, the comments in sections 6.6.2. and 13.3.1.2.)

Languages contiguous with Ekpeye include two others also related to Igbo. These are Ogba to the north and Ikwere to the east (the 'Oba' and 'Ikwerrri' of Forde and Jones). It seems probable that Ekpeye differs more widely than either Ogba or Ikwere from the Umuahia form of Igbo which has been most closely studied. Other contiguous languages are Engenni, an Edo language, to the west, and to the south, Abua, a "class" language, and Obogolo, a language spoken in only three villages, and reckoned to be related to Abua.

The number of Ekpeye villages is variously reported as seventy-two and seventy. Many are sizeable, and fifty thousand is probably not an excessive estimate of the total Ekpeye population for 1965 - 66. The tragic events of the subsequent civil war, however, must have brought about some reduction in this figure. In addition to the Ekpeye resident in the home territory, there is also a group of unknown size living in Lagos. Many of the Ekpeye have a knowledge of Igbo adequate for trading and general purposes, but relatively few, especially among the women, have a good knowledge of English.

The remaining economic and social observations of Forde and Jones appear to be accurate at least up to 1966.

1.2. The Present Study

This thesis is the result of field work carried out between September 1965 and September 1966, when the writer lived with his wife and eldest daughter in the village of Orupata (phonemically /əlápàtà/), about two miles west of Ahoada. Nearly ninety texts were recorded during this time, from a variety of informants. Three of these played a major part in supplying the texts, and in discussing points arising from their analysis. They were the Rev. H.M. Ikiriko, a man of about 35, Mr. B.A. Ene and Mr. O.D. William, both aged about 16. Rev. Ikiriko is a native of Obolobolo village, and an Igbuduya speaker. Mr. Ene is a native of Ekpena village, and an Ako speaker. Mr. William is a native of Orupata, and an Upata speaker. Three of the four dialects of Ekpeye are thus well represented in the material on which this analysis is based.

1.2.1. The Corpus

The body of data on which this analysis rests consists of seventy texts from the three informants named above. Of these, thirty-nine come from Mr. Ene, twenty-six from Mr. William, and five from Rev. Ikiriko. In addition, there are eighteen texts from a total of eight different speakers. The quality of the recordings in some of these is not as good as could be wished, and they have been used only where extra material is needed to amplify a particular point.

The seventy main texts fall into two distinct genres, the folk-tale, and the narrative of actual events. There are fifty-five folk-tales, and fifteen narratives. The analysis is therefore subject to any limitations which may be imposed by the selection of this type of data. The following observations relate to two aspects of these texts, formal features on the one hand and subject matter on the other.

1.2.1.1. Formal Features of the Texts

Without exception, the thirty-four folk-tales from Mr. Ene and the seventeen folk-tales from Mr. William exhibit a formal opening and ending. (Rev. Ikiriko, subject through his wider education to more external influences, deliberately omitted these.) The opening consists of a cry of è ê from the story-teller, and a response of iyâ from the audience. Then follows ùdùmâ ùúbè - "Once upon a time" (Literally "It reached a time.") Then comes the content of the story, which has not been

found to show any formal division into paragraphs or other units. Whatever the length of the text, which may vary considerably, there is no other conventional feature until the end, when the *é é* and the *iyã* response are repeated. A number of texts have after this closing exchange the one-word sentence *ɔgwálálé* - "It has finished". This does not always occur, however, and is probably best regarded as information for the investigator, not part of the convention of story-telling.

The narratives give little cause for comment since as units they show no obligatory formal features. Six of them do indeed have the formal opening characteristic of the folk-tale, but these are all concerned with events in which the narrator himself was not involved. This detachment is sufficient to evoke the resemblance to the folk-tale convention. The formal opening is not a necessary feature, and was probably occasioned in these specific texts merely by the semi-conventional context of the recording session.

1.2.1.2. The Subject Matter of the Texts

The narratives are concerned with current events, and their content is therefore determined by non-linguistic factors, and needs no comment. In style, the narratives show no marked difference from the folk-tales, except that in cases where the narrator participated in the events related, notionally "first person" forms are frequent.

The subject matter of the folk-tales is largely either the activities of the bush-animals, or the (usually hostile) encounters between human beings and the spirits of the dead.

The "hero" of most of the animal stories is Tortoise, who personifies low cunning. Other prominent characters are Leopard (brute force and ignorance), Gecko (the witch-doctor of the animal world), Grasscutter, Goat and Sheep. Less frequent appearances are made by beetles, birds, deer, dogs, elephants, fish, flies, frogs, gorillas, iguanas, monkeys, porcupines, rats, snails and snakes.

Though the events of the stories are very varied, certain motifs keep recurring. Death and retribution are outstanding, each figuring in about thirty of the stories. Sometimes they are intertwined, since retribution may involve the death of the antagonist. Other common themes include marriage, childbirth, orphanhood and famine. It is not hard to see the relevance of all these topics to the daily lives of the Ekpeye people. About ten of the texts have an aetiology appended at the end, offering an alleged cause for some fact, custom or belief. In most cases, these have only a very loose connection with the main part of the story.

A number of the folk-tales contain songs, but these have been omitted from the linguistic analysis, since there is evidence that they are both lexically and grammatically subject to external influences, and therefore may distort the picture of Ekpeye structure. Some of the songs are partially or wholly in Igbo, which is taken to be an indication of their origin.

Notwithstanding the preceding observations on the folk-tale conventions, no attempt is made in this thesis to describe grammatically any segment of speech larger than the sentence.

1.2.2. The Theoretical Framework

The theory underlying this description of Ekpeye grammar is derived principally from the 'Structure-Function' model outlined by J.T.Bendor-Samuel in 'A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases'.¹ There is additional influence from the 'Scale and Category' model described by M.A.K.Halliday in 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar'.¹ The basic assumption is that some features of language are readily relatable to each other in terms of a hierarchy, while others are not. In any language, certain recurrent patterns are observable. The stretches of speech which carry these patterns are called Units. Many units are hierarchically related to each other in a series of Ranks. This relationship is normally one of inclusion, in that larger, or higher ranking units are made up of smaller, or lower ranking ones. Other units, typically a small number of frequently occurring units, are not easily accommodated in a hierarchy, and are best handled separately. Within the hierarchy, there is at each rank only one unit, which gives its name to that rank. For the analysis of Ekpeye six units are established; in descending order of rank, they are labelled Sentence, Clause, Phrase, Word, Stem and Morpheme.

At any rank, units may be grouped together in two ways. In terms of the patterns they carry, their internal Structure, they may be grouped into Types. In terms of their distribution in the structure of other units, their external Function, they may be grouped into Classes. The groups set up according to structure and those set up

1. For details of these articles, see the bibliography.

according to function constitute a cross-classification. There is frequently, though not necessarily, a high degree of congruence between them. Where necessary, more detailed groupings into subclasses and/or subtypes may be made. In this description of Ekpeye, the grouping according to external function is given precedence over that according to internal structure; classes take priority over types. In stating the function of any unit, a distinction is made between its distribution in the structure of the unit of the rank next above, and its distribution in the structure of another unit of its own rank or of a lower rank. In keeping with a hierarchical approach, the former is regarded as normal, and is termed Primary Function; the latter is termed Secondary Function. Class groupings are generally made on the basis of primary function, but where this does not afford sufficient distinctions, secondary function is also taken into account. Units in a secondary function are said to be downward rank-shifted. In Ekpeye, for instance, a sentence may have a secondary function in the structure of a clause, a clause may have a secondary function in the structure of another clause, or of a phrase, and a phrase may have a secondary function in the structure of another phrase. Less commonly, units may have an upward rank-shifted function. In Ekpeye, this is almost entirely limited to certain affixes which may manifest a place in clause or phrase structure. However, since these must also have a primary function in word structure, their upward rank-shifted function is of marginal significance for grouping into classes. For the only other instance of a unit with upward rank-shifted function, see section 8.5.

On the basis of internal structure, units are grouped

into types. Each type is said to consist of a number of Places, which may or may not all co-occur. Each place is manifested by one or more classes of units, normally, but not necessarily, of the rank next below. The analysis of structure into places rather than into manifesting items, or elements, constitutes the major departure from the established practice of the Structure-Function model. In Ekpeye, this is a more economical approach, in that unit structure, particularly at clause rank, is referable to a smaller number of types than would otherwise be necessary. (The term "place" is thus used in a sense very similar to that of "element" in the Scale and Category model.)

In addition to the basic units listed in the first paragraph of this section, Supplementary Units are set up to handle linear recursion. A supplementary unit is established where two or more units of the same rank are in paratactic relationship to each other, and together manifest only one place in the structure of another unit. These supplementary units are termed Complexes, and for Ekpeye, the Clause Complex, the Nominal Phrase Complex, the Adverbial Phrase Complex and the Stem Complex are necessary. Since the relationship of the parts to the whole in supplementary units is different from that in basic units, the concept of places in structure is reserved for the description of basic units. Supplementary units are analysed in terms of Elements. A unit may function as an element in a supplementary unit only at its own rank, and at phrase rank only within its own class. The supplementary unit itself may have both primary and secondary functions, but supplementary units are not grouped into classes since this would to a large extent duplicate the class groupings of the

basic units. Grouping into types on the basis of internal structure is necessary only in the case of the Nominal Phrase Complex.

Since classes are in principle established on the basis of function in the structure of the unit of the rank next above, it follows that for the highest ranking unit, the sentence, there can be no class groupings. This does not imply that a hierarchical description of Ekpeye cannot usefully be carried beyond that rank, but rather that within the limits of time and material available, it is not practicable to do so. However, it is implicit in the analysis (and sometimes explicit, as in sections 3.3.1., 11.2. and 11.4.) that the sentence must find its function in some higher ranking unit. It is an open question how far a grammatical hierarchy can be extended without venturing onto ground traditionally covered by some other discipline such as literary criticism or cultural anthropology.

At the lower end of the hierarchy, it follows that since types are established on the basis of internal structure, for the lowest ranking unit, the morpheme, there can be no type groupings. In Ekpeye, morpheme rank is required only for the description of three word rank classes, the Noun class, the Relative class and the Verb class. (Stem rank is required only for the Verb class.) No other word classes show any further grammatical structure. They are all of closed membership, and are simply listed, as are the closed morpheme classes. Abstractions representing phonological structure are made only for the two morpheme classes which are of open membership, the Noun Root class and the Verb Root class.

So much for those features of language which are conveniently handled hierarchically. There remain other items which are not conveniently analysed as part of the structure of any other unit. Rather do they mark the function of one unit at some particular place in the structure of another unit. These are termed Syntactic Markers, and correspond fairly closely to the overt, or morphemically marked syntagmatic features of the Structure-Function model. Syntactic markers are usually themselves units at word or morpheme rank, but may also include tonal changes, or a more abstract category like tense, whose significance and manifestation in Ekpeye are not easily tied to one particular rank. All the syntactic markers which are themselves units at word rank are grouped together as the Particle Hyperclass, and described in chapter 11. Where a morpheme has a function as a syntactic marker, this is not used as a class criterion, since every morpheme must also manifest some place in word structure. As with morphemes with upward rank-shifted function, distribution within the word is the primary function, and hence the basis for classification. Since syntactic markers indicate the function of a unit, they are essentially markers of classes, but since when units themselves, they must come somewhere in the stream of speech, they are in this thesis described in relation to the types to which the classes and/or subclasses correspond.

In chapters 3 - 13 below, the theory outlined above is applied to Ekpeye grammar. In each chapter, the following arrangement is observed. For each unit, groupings into classes are shown first. At all ranks, each class is designated by an upper case letter, and subclasses, where

these are set up, are designated by a bracketed lower case letter. For each class or subclass, the full range of occurrence in both primary and secondary functions is shown. Sub-subclasses, where needed, are designated by a roman numeral bracketed with the subclass letter. Thus

A = Class
A(a) = Subclass
A(aⁱⁱⁱ) = Sub-subclass

At word and morpheme ranks only, hyperclasses are set up. The term "hyperclass" does not represent any new theoretical category. It is simply a label of convenience which enables the term "class" to be used at word rank in something like its common usage in linguistics, and which also helps to avoid the notational complexity of the excessive subclassification which would otherwise arise in the description of verbal forms. Hyperclasses are referred to by name rather than by a designation symbol.

At each rank, there is some correspondence between the functional classes or subclasses, and the structural types. When the classes have been described, the correspondences are listed, and then the various types are described. At all ranks, each type is designated by an arabic numeral, and subtypes, where these are set up, are designated by a bracketed roman numeral. Thus

3 = Type
3(ii) = Subtype

It so happens that at no rank are both sub-subclasses and subtypes set up, so that the use of roman numerals is never ambiguous. For further details, see the outline analysis in the following section.

In describing each type, the constituent places are listed, and details of their relationships are given, such as obligatory versus optional occurrence, sequence, and co-occurrence restrictions. Then the classes of units which may manifest each place are listed, and any syntactic markers of specific functions are indicated, together with any other relevant descriptive details. Copious examples are supplied to illustrate different realisations of each type. For ease of reference, examples are numbered in an independent series for each chapter, as follows.

Chapter 3	Examples 1ff.
Chapter 4	Examples 10lff.
Chapter 5	Examples 20lff.
Chapter 6	Examples 30lff.
Chapter 7	Examples 35lff.
Chapter 8	Examples 40lff.
Chapter 9	Examples 50lff.
Chapter 12	Examples 55lff.
Chapter 13	Examples 60lff.

In addition to the groupings into classes and types employed throughout the thesis, certain Verb affixes are also grouped into Orders. An order is a grouping made within a class or subclass on the basis of co-occurrence potential. Its aim is to display the sequence in which the members may co-occur, and the restrictions on co-occurrence. A grouping of this kind is of maximum value in handling (sub)classes with closed, but fairly large membership. With such classes, the co-occurrence possibilities are finite, but by no means obvious, and are most economically displayed by means of a diagram of orders. In the analysis of Ekpeye, the concept of ordering is most

valuable in the description of the Verb Suffix class in chapter 13. The orders and the subclasses set up within this class constitute a cross-classification, though they are mutually reinforcing and to some extent mutually dependent. For further discussion, see section 13.3.5.2.

1.2.3. Outline of the Analysis

This section shows all the class and type groupings and subgroupings set up for the analysis of Ekpeye grammar, together with their correspondences. The units are dealt with in descending order of rank.

Sentence

No classes are set up for the sentence. All sentences are described in terms of one type. The categories of Minor Sentence and Elliptical Sentence are set up to handle certain hierarchically anomalous items of relatively infrequent occurrence. (Sections 3.5. and 3.6.)

Clause

Four classes of clause are set up, one being divided into two subclasses. Five types are set up, which correspond to the (sub)classes as follows:-

Class	A(a)	A(b)	B	C	D
Type	1	2	3	4	5

In each of types 1, 3 and 5, three subtypes are set up on the basis of transitivity. A Clause Complex is also set up.

Phrase

Three classes of phrase are set up, labelled the Nominal, Verbal and Adverbial classes respectively, and

normally referred to by their labels rather than their class letters.

In the Nominal Phrase class (class A), five subclasses are set up, to each of which a structural type corresponds, as follows:-

Subclass	A(a)	A(b)	A(c)	A(d)	A(e)
Type	1	2	3	4	5

In the Verbal Phrase class (class B), five subclasses are again set up, to each of which a structural type corresponds, as follows:-

Subclass	B(a)	B(b)	B(c)	B(d)	B(e)
Type	1	2	3	4	5

In the Adverbial Phrase class (class C), two subclasses are set up, both corresponding to one structural type.

A Nominal Phrase Complex and an Adverbial Phrase Complex are also set up, in the former of which three structural types are recognised.

Word

Four word hyperclasses are set up, labelled the Nominal, Verbal, Adverbial and Particle hyperclasses. Each is further divided into a number of classes.

In the Nominal hyperclass, nine classes are recognised, four being further subdivided, as shown below.

Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Subclasses		(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)				
		(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)				
		(c)		(c)					
				(d)					

Classes A and G are further described in terms of one structural type. The Proximate^{class} is also included in the Nominal hyperclass, for reasons discussed in section 8.3.

In the Verbal hyperclass, three classes are recognised, one being further subdivided extensively, as shown below.

Class	A	B	C
Subclasses			(a)
			(b)
			(c)

Subclass	C(a)	C(b)	C(c)
Sub-subclasses	(ai)	(bi)	
	(a _{ii})	(b _{ii})	
	(a _{iii})		
	(a _{iv})		

In the Adverbial hyperclass, three classes are recognised, all being further subdivided, as shown below.

Class	A	B	C
Subclasses	(a)	(a)	(a)
	(b)	(b)	(b)
			(c)
			(d)
			(e)
			(f)

In the Particle hyperclass, eight classes are recognised, labelled A to H respectively. None is further subdivided.

At word rank, only Verbal class C shows more than one structural type. Within this class, three types are set up, each corresponding to a subclass, as shown below.

Subclass	C(a)	C(b)	C(c)
Type	1	2	3

Stem

All stems are referable to one class and one type. A Stem Complex is also set up.

Morpheme

Two morpheme hyperclasses are set up, labelled the Substantive and Predicative hyperclasses. Each is further divided into a number of classes.

In the Substantive hyperclass, three classes (A, B, C) are recognised, none being further subdivided.

In the Predicative hyperclass, three classes are recognised, two being further subdivided, as shown below.

Class	A	B	C
Subclasses	(a)		(a)
	(b)		(b)
	(c)		(c)
	(d)		(d)

Subclass	A(b)
Sub-subclasses	(bi)
	(bii)

CHAPTER 2

The Transcription

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Chapter 2

The Transcription

2.1. General

Each symbol used in this transcription represents a contrastive sound unit. The transcription is therefore phonemic. There are twenty-nine consonant symbols, nine vowel symbols and four tone marks. Most of the symbols have values close to those given in the I.P.A. chart, but in five cases, the values of consonant symbols have been modified. With the symbols c, j and ny, this was done to conform with common practice in West Africa, and with the digraphs hw and nw, to give a clearer picture of the phonetic value of the symbol. Of the vowel symbols, i and u have been adopted for typographical convenience, and do not represent central close vowels as in the I.P.A. convention.

2.2. Tables of Symbols

2.2.1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
	ɨ		ɥ
Half-close	e		o
			ɔ
Half-open	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

2.2.2. Consonants

Stops	L-V	Bil	Alv	P-A	Pal	Vel
Plain	kp gb	p b	t d			k g
Implosive		ɓ	ɗ			
Palatalised		py by	ɗy			
Labialised						kw gw
Fricatives			s z	ʃ ʒ		
Affricates				c ɟ		
Nasals		m	n		ny	ŋw
Laterals			l			
Semi-vowels	w				y	hw

2.3. The Values of the Symbols

2.3.1. Vowels

- i is a close front spread vowel
- ɨ is a front spread vowel between close and half-close
- e is a half-close front spread vowel
- ɛ is a half-open front spread vowel
- a is an open central vowel
- o is a half-open back rounded vowel
- ɔ is a half-close back rounded vowel
- ʊ is a back rounded vowel between close and half-close
- u is a close back rounded vowel

2.3.2. Consonants

b	voiced bilabial stop
by	voiced palatalised bilabial stop
b̥	voiced implosive bilabial stop
c	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
d	voiced alveolar stop
d̥	voiced implosive alveolar stop
dy	voiced palatalised implosive alveolar stop
g	voiced velar stop
gb	voiced labio-velar (double) stop
gw	voiced labialised velar stop
hw	voiceless labialised velar semi-vowel
j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
k	voiceless velar stop
kp	voiceless labio-velar (double) stop
kw	voiceless labialised velar stop
l	voiced alveolar lateral
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced alveolar nasal
ny	voiced palatal nasal
ɲw	voiced labialised velar nasal
p	voiceless bilabial stop
py	voiceless palatalised bilabial stop
s	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative
t	voiceless alveolar stop
w	voiced labio-velar semi-vowel
y	voiced palatal semi-vowel
z	voiced alveolar grooved fricative
ʒ	voiced palato-alveolar grooved fricative

Only three of the consonant phonemes show any allo-
phonic variation. The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ is in
free fluctuation with a voiced alveolar flap in some words
in the speech of some speakers. The extent of this pheno-
menon varies considerably from speaker to speaker, but
there are some words in which all speakers consistently
use the lateral. A labio-velar allophone of the voiced
bilabial nasal /m/ occurs before the labio-velar phonemes
/kp/, /gb/ and /w/, and an (unlabialised) velar allophone
of the voiced alveolar nasal /n/ occurs before the velar
phonemes /k/, /g/, /kw/, /gw/, /ŋw/ and /hw/.

2.4. Tone

The tone-bearing unit is the syllable, which is of the
pattern V, CV, or rarely N. There are five units of tone,
three of level pitch, and two of gliding pitch. The three
level tones are termed High, Low and Downstep. High is
symbolised by an acute accent, Low by a grave accent, and
Downstep is unmarked. "Downstep" is used as a label rather
than "Mid" since this tone occurs only after a high. After
a Low, the contrast between High and Downstep is neutralised.
What would otherwise be a Downstep is realised in this
environment as a High. Downstep is of relatively infrequent
occurrence.

The two gliding tones both show a fall in pitch, one
from High to Low, the other from High to Downstep. The
first is symbolised by a circumflex, and the second by an
acute accent followed by a vertical stroke. The High-to-
Low fall is relatively uncommon, and the High-to-Downstep
fall is limited to the Pronoun class (section 8.2.6.).

Very few tonal minimal pairs have been found. Thus, lexically tone carries a low functional load, and it is not possible to illustrate all the contrastive tones in identical environment. However, in the examples below, High, Downstep, Low and High-to-Low fall contrast in reasonably analogous environment in the second syllables of dissyllabic nouns whose first syllables are all High tone, and High, Low and High-to-Low fall contrast in the second syllables of dissyllabic nouns whose first syllables are all Low. Because of its limited distribution, the High-to-Downstep fall can be contrasted only with a High tone in a monosyllable.

Examples

ékpé - inheritance	èhwó - day-name
ébe - beetle	
ébè - padlock	ègbè - rat-trap
égbê - kite	èhwê - ape
yá - thus	
yá' - he, she, it, self	

In a sentence, a High tone following a Low tone is never quite so high in pitch as an initial High tone, or a High tone preceding the Low. Thus, in any sentence containing (as almost all sentences do) a combination of High and Low tones, the progressive lowering of the pitch of the voice is a prominent feature. This phenomenon, termed "downdrift", is usually accompanied by a narrowing of the pitch range. So not only are High and Low tones phonetically closer together at the end of a sentence

than at the beginning, but a High tone near the end of a sentence may be phonetically lower in pitch than a Low tone near the beginning of the sentence. In a sentence of more than one clause, the first High tone in each new clause will be higher than the last High tone in the previous clause, but never as high as the first High tone at the beginning of the sentence. Thus although the downdrift may be interrupted at clause boundaries, its effect extends over the whole sentence.

Syntactically conditioned tonal changes in nouns are described in section 8.4.2.3.

2.5. The Phonological Relationships of the Phonemes

2.5.1. Vowels

At word rank in Ekpeye, phonological and grammatical criteria have a high degree of congruence, manifested in vowel harmony. There are various systems of harmony operative in the Verb, as detailed in section 9.2.2.1., and a more general system operative in other word classes. On this basis, the nine vowels may be divided into two harmonic sets, as follows.

Set 1	Set 2
i u	ɪ ʊ
e o	ɛ ɔ
(a)	(a)

For the sake of consistency, the two sets are referred to as having a distinction of tongue height between the

corresponding members of each set. It is possible, however, that detailed instrumental investigation would show that the distinction lies in the position of the root of the tongue, as has been found in other West African languages.

Each set has four basic members. The ninth vowel /a/ occurs freely with both sets, though probably rather more with the more open set, set 2, than with the closer set, set 1. Within the word (other than Verbs) the vowels are almost always drawn from only one of the two sets. In words of up to three syllables, a change from one harmonic set to the other is very rare, though in polysyllabic nouns such a change is rather more common. In these cases, it may be an indication that the word was originally a compound, even though the constituent parts can no longer be identified. For further details, see section 8.4.2.2. The following words illustrate the general vowel harmony system.

Examples

Set 1		Set 2	
izù	- day-name	ídè	- pain
ìgógò	- bull-frog	ídólá	- fish-trap
ímèlècì	- liver	íyólónwá	- graveyard
éyó	- wisdom	ésá	- thigh
éwúdè	- water-tortoise	èkpédò	- frog
ényicélè	- charcoal	èkpélání	- eye
óbí	- porcupine	òhwá	- palm-fruit
òyúkwè	- morning	òpápanyényè	- firefly
ùbè	- avocado pear	ùbò	- claw
ùgbòjì	- boy	ùgbèdè	- girl

ùkólóyí - yam-skewer	émélescé - smoke
àlù - type of cloth	ákò - whiskers
ányíbo - banana	ákéle - last year, next year
ágélézi - goat	àlàsá - rice

The following words are among the few which break the general vowel harmony system.

díbyò - witch-doctor	òkpálúgwè - python
ífané - bedroom	ùkpúlécé - firebrand
ífúfò - gecko	égbánúkó - toe
òkwúdé - coconut	ákákwufí - stick

2.5.2. Consonants

Phonologically, the consonants fall into three groups. One consists of the semi-vowels and the lateral; this small group stands rather apart from the rest, and is dealt with below. The remaining consonants may be divided into two according to their distribution before close vowels. One group shows a marked statistical preference for the close back vowels /u/ and /u/, and in Verb Roots, the prohibition of occurrence before the close front vowels /i/ and /i/; while the other group shows a marked statistical preference for the close front vowels, and in Verb Roots, the prohibition of occurrence before close back vowels. The twenty-five consonants in these two groups may be displayed contrastively in terms of four points of articulation and four manners of articulation, as in the chart on the next page. When displayed in this way, they reveal an almost hierarchical arrangement, in that, with the exception of the labio-velar double stops, only those members of the

first group which have alveolarity or plosion among their characteristics, have corresponding members of the second group. In the following chart, the consonants with the preference for back vowels are labelled group 1, and those with the preference for front vowels, group 2.

		Alveolar	Bilabial	Velar	Labio-velar
Stops	1	t d	p b	kw gw	kp gb
	2	c j	py by	k g	
Nasals	1	n	m	ŋw	
	2	ny			
Implosives	1	ɗ	ɓ		
	2	ɗy			
Fricatives	1	s z			
	2	ʃ ʒ			

Of the four consonants in the third group, /w/ and /hw/ share the preference for close back vowels, while /l/ and /y/ occur commonly before both front and back close vowels. These four consonants show a tendency to be elided between like vowels in rapid speech, so that for instance /ɔkwá:kwɔ/ would be realised as [ɔkwá:kwɔ].

2.6. Elision

Since a large number of words both begin and end with a vowel, elision at word junctions is of very frequent occurrence. Elision normally takes place between the words in any one clause, but not between clauses, nor between the initial and final words of a rank-shifted clause and the other units at the rank at which it is functioning.

Elision is phonologically determined, and takes place irrespective of the grammatical status of the words involved. For this reason, it cannot be given detailed treatment in a thesis whose emphasis is grammatical. The general principle, however, is that the final vowel of the first word and the initial tone of the second word are lost, leaving the initial vowel of the second word bearing the final tone of the first word. This can be summarised in the formula

$$\begin{array}{rcl} T1 & + & T2 = T1 \\ V1 & & V2 = V2 \end{array}$$

where T1 and T2 represent the final and initial tones respectively, and V1 and V2 the final and initial vowels respectively. Where the elided vowel is a close front vowel (/i/ or /ɨ/), the preceding consonant may be slightly palatalised. Where the elided vowel is a close back vowel (/u/ or /ɯ/), the preceding consonant may be slightly labialised. Other elided vowels leave no phonetic residue.

2.7. The Punctuation of Examples

In the examples cited in this thesis, the top line shows the **structure** of the unit exemplified, in terms of its places. The second line gives the Ekpeye text, and the third line a literal translation. If the text and literal translation take up more than one line, their continuation lines are indented. The last line gives an idiomatic translation, with continuation lines again indented. This line also shows the reference to the position of the example in the corpus. The reference consists of an upper case letter followed by two numbers separated by a full stop. The letter indicates the informant, the first number the

specific text, and the second number the sentence within that text. Thus S2.7 means sentence 7 of text 2 of informant S. S in fact denotes Mr. William, and his second text is the analysed text of chapter 14. Of the other two main informants, Mr. Ene is denoted by the key letter B and Rev. Ikiriko by the key letter R.

The grammatical analysis of the Ekpeye is indicated by the following punctuation conventions.

A full stop .	indicates sentence boundaries
a comma ,	separates sentence rank places
a slash /	" clause " "
a space	" phrase " "
a plus sign +	" stem " "
a hyphen -	" word " "

The above symbols relate to the basic units of the analysis. Supplementary units are shown as follows.

A semi-colon ;	indicates the limits of a clause complex
a double slash //	" " " " " phrase complex
an equals sign =	links the elements in a stem complex

All words and morphemes functioning as syntactic markers are underlined, and all downward rank-shifted units are enclosed in parentheses. Morphemes with an upward rank-shifted function at clause rank are indicated both by the hyphen relevant to their primary function in the word and by the slash relevant to their function in the clause. Thus a clause with two places manifested by morphemes with upward rank-shifted function would appear as ú/kwù-ní/á - "He told him". Morphemes with an upward rank-shifted function at phrase rank are indicated by the symbol ÷.

Thus for example $\hat{a}+\hat{a}\hat{d}\hat{i}$ - "A place". This additional symbol has to be introduced since it is not possible to combine the space relevant to phrase rank places with any other symbol. Places manifested by discontinuous units have the parts of the discontinuous unit linked by dotted underlining. Thus $\hat{n}\hat{d}\hat{e}\hat{k}\hat{e}/\hat{\delta}\hat{w}\hat{e}\hat{l}\hat{e}/\hat{\delta}-\hat{l}\hat{\delta}-\hat{o}$ - "There would
certainly not be a palaver".

CHAPTER 3

The Sentence

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Chapter 3

The Sentence

3.1. Sentence Rank

The Sentence is the highest ranking grammatical unit described in this thesis. Its definitive feature is that it may stand alone as a complete utterance. Since the sentence is the highest ranking unit of the grammatical hierarchy, no primary function is attributed to it. The assumption is always there, however, that further study would eventually provide criteria for the establishment of some higher rank of unit, such as the paragraph, narrative or conversation. (Cf. section 3.3.1. below.) Since the sentence has no primary function within the limits of this thesis, no attempt can be made to group sentences into classes. The sentence may function as a rank-shifted unit at the Quotational place (Q) in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause. This secondary function, however, offers no grounds for the establishment of sentence classes, since there are no observed restrictions on the sentences occurring in this function.

3.2. Sentence Structure

Apart from the Minor Sentences and Elliptical Sentences described in sections 3.5. and 3.6. below, it is necessary to recognise only one sentence type. In this type, three places are established, labelled the Dependent (Dep), Independent (Ind), and Exegetic (Exg) places respectively. They occur only in this sequence, the Ind place being

obligatory, and the other two places optional. The Dep and Exg places occasionally co-occur, so that the theoretical maximum form is attested. The Dep place is manifested by clauses of class A, the Ind place by clauses of classes A, B or C, and the Exg place by clauses of classes A or B. The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Dep</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Exg</u>
C1A	C1A	C1A
	C1B	C1B
	C1C	

3.3. Syntactic Markers

3.3.1. In Primary Function

The sentence may be marked by the Initiator (In) class of Particles, preceding the Ind, or if present, the Dep place. This class consists of the single formal item ñgwá, as described in section 11.2. This item is for several reasons regarded as a syntactic marker (SM) rather than as a constituent of sentence structure. It does not have the internal structure of a clause, and is not substitutable by any unit which does. In distribution, it occurs most frequently, though by no means exclusively, with sentences which are semantically commands. So although there are no sentence classes whose function at some place in a unit of higher rank the In Particle could be said to mark, yet because of its functional and structural parallelism with units functioning as SMs at other ranks, it is analysed as a SM. In a larger body of data, its occurrence might well prove significant as a contrastive or demarcative feature

of some higher ranking unit.¹ In meaning, the In Particle ñgwá is either hortatory ("Come on then...") or resumptive ("Well then..." or "So then...").

The In Particle may also occur with sentences which are in a secondary function. Since two or more consecutive sentences may occur in a secondary function, this may lend support to the view that ñgwá would ultimately prove to be related to some unit higher than the sentence. For examples of its occurrence, see nos. 3 and 11.

3.3.2. In Secondary Function

In its secondary function at the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause, the sentence is preceded by a Particle of the Introducer (Itr) class. This class consists of two formal items, méní and bú (see section 11.3.). Their selection is dependent on the category of Person at the Subject place in the clause (sections 4.2.1.4. and 13.3.1.1.). If the exponent of the Person category is Speaker (Sp) or Speaker's Group (SG), méní occurs, and if the exponent of Person is Hearer (H) or Referent (R), bú occurs. See examples 5 - 11 below. bú may be repeated several times within the rank-shifted sentence, as in examples 5 and 6. These repetitions normally occur at clause and/or phrase boundaries, but are sometimes found even within a phrase, as in example 10. The Itr Particle may be omitted if the Sp Person occurs at the Subject place in the first clause of the rank-shifted sentence, as in

1. Occasionally the English word 'so' is found where ñgwá would be expected, but occurrences of this kind are regarded as extra-systemic rather than as exemplifying another member of the In class of Particles.

nos. 8 and 179. It may also be omitted if the rank-shifted sentence happens to begin with the Negator *ndéke* (section 9.1.1.), as in example 114¹. If the In and Itr Particles both occur in a rank-shifted sentence, either may precede the other (example 11).

As stated in the previous section, two or more consecutive sentences may occur in this secondary function. Each must be preceded by the appropriate Itr Particle, but the other places in the clause of which the Q place is part need not be repeated. In notional terms, this means that the introductory verb, usually a verb of speaking, is "understood". This can happen even when there is a change of speaker, so that conversation can be reported without the constant repetition of a verb of speaking. For examples in context, see sentences 14, 14a, 14b, 20, 20a, 20b and 23 - 25b in the analysed text of chapter 14.

A further SM of the secondary function of the sentence occurs where the exponent of the category of Person at the Subject place in the introductory clause is E or R, and the rank-shifted sentence is reflexive. In these circumstances the reflexive subject in the rank-shifted sentence must be manifested by the reflexive pronoun *yá'* (examples 5 and 6).

3.4. The Category of Assertion

The Ind place in sentence structure is the point of operation of the category of Assertion. This category is manifested by a two-term system whose terms are labelled

1. For the inclusion of *bá* before *ndéke*, see no. 234.

Declarative and Interrogative. Declarative sentences form a large majority of those recorded, and are unmarked. Interrogative sentences are marked by a Particle of the Interrogator class (Itg). This class consists of the single formal item lâ or lâbô (section 11.4.), which occurs after the final word of the clause manifesting the Ind place in the sentence.¹ The Exg place is not attested in any Interrogative sentence, though this is probably due to the relatively infrequent occurrence of both the Exg place and Interrogative sentences; there is no reason to suppose that it represents a structural restriction. Interrogative sentences, like the In Particle, might well prove to be relatable to some unit of higher rank than the sentence, especially in conversation. The Itg is therefore, like the In, included in the Particle Hyperclass in chapter 11.

Examples

1. Ind place only

mâ â/kpo+gá+fâ-ê / òkwálákwo/lâ imé (âdò).
 then he-thrust-inside Tortoise in inside-of house
 Then he made Tortoise a prisoner. S2.26

2. Dep and Ind places

â/bâ-dú+má / âdâ ya, è/wé+jâ-lê / ídá (a)/
 she-when-reached place that, she-has-seen father-of her
lâ òkpùgà.
 in bush-hut

When she reached there, she saw her father in a bush-hut.

S3.24

1. Interrogative sentences are not the only sentences which are semantically questions. At this point the formal and the semantic are out of step. Questions may be formed with question words, with or without reinforcement by the Itg Particle.

3. Ind and Exg places, with In Particle

ngwá m̄/ḍḍ=k̄+lá-j̄--n̄/(óm / bà / (kpé // èmènè / díbyò //
 well I-shall-tell-also this is how people witch-doctor
 m̄-dí-l̄-ḍḍ), éyédòṅṅé ɛ́dà (m̄)/bà / nyé
 act because father-of me is person-who
 (gbà / éwá) ɛ́h̄wá.
 gives oracle likewise

Well then, I shall tell how witch-doctors act, because my father is indeed a soothsayer. B39.1

4. Dep, Ind and Exg places (a maximum form):

kpóm/ipikilipi/m̄-hwátò/tòkwú, òkwálákwo/ò-hwá-l̄/
 thus Ipikilipi made-when tokwu Tortoise has-shouted
 (bá ɛ́/d-á-gó=gbó-dí/yónṅé), éyédòṅṅé
 that he-is-curse-killing-you-people, because
 //ényí / l̄ ɔ́bó // ɛ́wé-b̄ / ɛ́t̄-é.
 elephant and iguana have-not ears-NV

So when Ipikilipi (a mythical creature) said "Tokwu" (a magic word), Tortoise shouted out "He's putting a death-curse on you both", because Elephant and Iguana were deaf. S7.81

5. Ind and Exg places, in a Sen RS to Q

... má ɛ́z̄í (yà)/kwú-ní/yá/(bá yá / zù-ò-má-a,
 ...then husband-of her told-her that self steal-not-NV
 bá éyédòṅṅé nyé (zù / ɛ́gbà)/bá ɛ́-má+j̄-é/
 that because person-who steals theft that knows-not
 ɛ́d̄ (ò/ɛ́wá+l̄-a).

... place he-will-die-NV

...then her husband told her that he would never steal, because a thief never knows where he will die. S13.28

6. Dep and Ind places, in a Sen RS to Q
...(bé yá' / bá-já-hwò, bé ákpálámá bé è-dí-mé-lé).
...that self when-came-at-last that sheep that has-eaten
...that when he finally returned, Sheep had eaten it. S9.9
7. Ind place only, in a Sen RS to Q
mò/kwù-ní/à / kpóm / (méni ákpálámá/zè/lá imé (òṅwò)).
I-told-him thus that lamb is in inside-of well
I told him that there was a lamb in the well. B32.14
8. Ind place only, in a Sen RS to Q, with Itr omitted
mé ú/hwú-ò / (má/ká-já è-já).
then she-called I-please-come coming
Then she called me that I should come. B32.9
9. Ind place only, in a Sen RS to Q, with Itg
...(bé íyélá / gwà-dè-jé-né / óbu wé lábó).
...that what is-singing song that question
..."Whatever is singing that song?" B35.19
10. Dep and Ind places, in a Sen RS to Q, with Itg
mé ú/te-tú-ò...(bé ú/mé-lé-bè/yó / íyè / tám,
then he-asked...that if-they-do-to-you thing today
bé è/má+jé bé bà / lé élé úbóhwà lá).
that you-will-know that emphatic on which day question
Then he asked..."If they do something to trick you today,
when will you realise it?" B28.16
11. Ind place only, with In Particle, in a Sen RS to Q
mé ú/kwu-ní / éwú / (bé ṅgwá bé ;í/gá-lágá / íbé n,
then he-told Grasscutter that so that you-go-past side this
bé mé yá' / ga-lágá-jé-né / íbé émá;).
that then self go-past-also side this
Then he told Grasscutter "Well, you go this way, and
I'll go that way". S2.10

3.5. Minor Sentences

In addition to the major sentence type described in sections 3.2. - 3.4., it is necessary to set up a minor sentence type. This consists of a single place, labelled the Vocative place (V), which is manifested by a Nominal Phrase of subclass (a), or by an Interjection (Inj). The minor sentence is treated as a separate unit from the major sentence to which it is usually preposed, despite a phonological link in that it is normally spoken within the same breath-group, and a semantic link in that the person addressed in the minor sentence is often the notional subject of the next verb. This separate treatment is because the minor sentence fulfils the criterion laid down in section 3.1. for a sentence, that it may stand alone as a complete utterance. Furthermore, the minor sentence does not enter into syntactic relations with any unit up to sentence rank. As with the In and Itg Particles, further study of a larger corpus might reveal a syntactic link between minor sentences and some unit of higher rank. The semantic role of the minor sentence is fairly indicated by the label Vocative given to its single place.

The units manifesting the V place in the minor sentence are listed above as Nominal Phrases of subclass (a) (NP(a)), or Interjections. NPs in this function are so called because units of similar or identical structure are abundantly exemplified in other functions, and it would be uneconomical to establish a new class for those items occurring in this (relatively uncommon) function. The items labelled Interjections, however, are a different matter. They do not function at any other place in Ekpeye structure, and since in their function in minor sentences,

they do not enter into syntactic relations with any units up to sentence rank, there would be some ground for referring to them as classless items. But since they constitute a clearly delimited set, they are for the sake of convenience and ready comprehension given the class label of Interjections. As a class, however, they are not allotted to any specific rank in the grammatical hierarchy. This is because the minor sentence in which alone they operate is itself extra-hierarchical in as much as it is never manifested by a unit of the next lower rank, a clause.

In addition to any primary function in some unit of higher rank, minor sentences may have a secondary function at the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause. In this function, which accounts for most of the available examples, they are preceded by an Itr Particle, just as described for major sentences in section 3.3.2.

Phonologically, minor sentences tend to be spoken with a higher pitch range than major ones. This is not invariable, however, and its occurrence depends on psychological rather than linguistic factors. The Injs also show other features which are marginal to the phonological patterns of Ekpeye, such as long vowels, long consonants, and a rising tone.

Twelve Injs have been recorded, and all are cited in the examples below (nos. 12 - 23). No further reference will be made to them at any other rank. Most of the NPs functioning in minor sentences are of minimal structure, consisting only of a Head place. Typical examples of these are given, together with the five available examples of longer structures (nos. 24 - 31).

Examples in this and the following section only, depart from the standard layout of examples in this thesis. Since minor sentences cannot consist of more than one place (and elliptical sentences have no formal structure), no indication of the structure is given. Also, in numbers 12 - 26 and 30 - 34, a single line of translation is given instead of the literal and free translations given elsewhere.

Examples

12. bá éhém éhém
Formula preceding an oath B3.8
13. bá máwèlè máwèlè
Formula preceding a decree B17.17
14. bá sókwa sókwa
Formula preceding an urgent request B28.62
15. bá áya
Cry of pain B28.42
16. bá cò
Cry of excitement B17.13
17. bá éè
Cry of amazement B25.17
18. bá kúí
Cry of irritation S22.33
19. mǎká
Cry of appreciation B39.28

20. mákáñí
Cry of appreciation B3.10
21. ññ
Cry of refusal S17.66
22. bá ó
Cry of surprise B27.8
23. bá tà
Cry of irritation B24.11
24. bá àdúnwò
"Eldest daughter!" B17.10
25. bá ònólékà
"Leopard!" B28.51
26. bá ólò
"Antelope!" B18.6
27. bá àlá (yè)
that village-of us
"Our village!" B5.10
28. bá ádá (nwe / ádo (bè))
that father-who has house-of them
"Sir!" G1.2
29. bá éyè ñ (zè-ò / lé ólúbékwudò)
that thing the which-is on roof
"The thing on the roof!" S7.70

30. bá // ásálá / ṅwáná //
"Bushbuck, brother!" B27.8

31. bá // ṅwáná / éwú //
"Brother Grasscutter!" G1.8

3.6. Elliptical Sentences

There are a few examples of what can only be called structural fragments. These all occur at the Q place in clause structure, and are analysed as elliptical sentences rather than units of any other rank because they are all preceded by the In Particle, which occurs elsewhere only as a marker of the sentence. The fragments are either NPs of subclass (a) or Marginals of subclasses (a) or (d) ^(section 10.4) ~~or (e)~~. Examples are sufficiently few to be listed exhaustively.

Examples

32. bá ṅwá lá
"Come on then!" S2.9

33. bá ṅwá gédé hwò lá
"Let's get started then!" S17.23

34. bá ṅwá fká
"To the farm then!" S3.16

35. bá ṅwá hwò òkpùgá (bè)
that well then to-bush-hut-of them
"To our bush-hut then!" B13.5

CHAPTER 4

The Clause

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Chapter 4

The Clause

4.1. Clause Rank

4.1.1. Clause Classes

The Clause is the unit ranking next below the sentence. The clause has a primary function at some place in sentence structure, and also has secondary functions at certain places in the structure of other clauses, or of Nominal or Adverbial phrases. On the basis of function, clauses are divided into four classes. Clauses of class A may operate at any place in sentence structure, in addition to secondary functions. These secondary functions lead to the subdivision of the class into two subclasses, A(a) and A(b). Clauses of class B may operate only at the Ind and Exg places in sentence structure, in addition to secondary functions. Clauses of class C may operate only at the Ind place in sentence structure, and have no secondary functions. Clauses of class D may operate only in secondary functions, in the structure of another clause, or of a Nominal phrase.

4.1.2. Summary of Clause Structure

On the basis of structure, five clause types (CTs) are set up. They correspond to the (sub)classes as follows

Class	A(a)	A(b)	B	C	D
Type	1	2	3	4	5

A summary description of the five CTs may conveniently be made by dividing their constituent places into nuclear

and peripheral. The nuclear places are so called because they are crucial to the establishment of the five types as separate structural entities. It is on the basis of their distribution that subtypes are established within types 1, 3 and 5 (see sections 4.2.1.1., 4.3.1. and 4.5.1.). They may be shown in diagram form as follows.

Nuclear Places

Type 1		S	P	IO	DO	
2		S	P	B	Cp	
3	S1	A	S2	P	IO	DO
4		S			Cp	
5			P	IO	DO	

Full details of these places and their manifesting classes will be found in the sections cited above, and in sections 4.2.2.1. and 4.4.1.

The peripheral places are those which occur in several CTs, and whose occurrence, though not diagnostic of any clause type, shows restrictions which vary from type to type. On the basis of their preferred sequence of occurrence, the peripheral places are divided into pre-nuclear and post-nuclear, and within the post-nuclear, three layers are recognised, labelled inner, medial and outer. The pre-nuclear periphery consists only of the Circumstantial place (C), which is found only in CT1 and CT3. The inner post-nuclear periphery consists of the Directional (D) and Instrumental (I) places, which occur (and co-occur) in CTs 1, 3 and 5. The medial post-nuclear periphery consists of the Locational (L), Modal (M) and Temporal (T) places. This layer occurs in CTs 1, 2, 3 and 5, with the restriction

that in CT2 and CT5, any one, but not more than one, medial place may occur. The outer post-nuclear periphery consists only of the Quotational place (Q), which may occur in CTs 1, 2 and 3. CT4 is distinguished by the absence of any peripheral places. In the diagram of peripheral places below, the superscript numerals indicate the number of places within any one layer which may co-occur.

	Pre-nuc (C)	Nucleus	Post-nuclear		
			Inner (D,I)	Medial (L,M,T)	Outer (Q)
Type 1	x		x ²	x ³	x
2				x ¹	x
3	x		x ²	x ³	x
4					
5			x ²	x ¹	

The complete range of manifesting classes for each place is found only in CT1. Full details of the manifesting classes attested at each place in each type will be found in the relevant sections of this chapter, as cited above.

4.2. Clause Class A

Clause class A is defined as those clauses which may function at any of the three places in sentence structure. On the basis of secondary function, the class is divided into two subclasses, A(a) and A(b). Clauses of subclass A(a) occur in secondary function at the following places:-

DO in CT1

Cp in CT2 and CT4

Md1 in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP

Md1 in the AP

This subclass corresponds exactly to the structural type labelled type 1. Clauses of subclass A(b) occur in secondary function at the following places:-

IO, DO, D, L and T in CT1

Mdl in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP

Mdl in the AP

This subclass corresponds exactly to the structural type labelled type 2. The types to which subclasses A(a) and A(b) correspond will now be described in detail.

4.2.1. Clause Type 1

4.2.1.1. Structure

Clause type 1 is the type to which a majority of all the clauses recorded belong. In this type eleven places are recognised, four nuclear and seven peripheral. In the preferred sequence of occurrence, the places are labelled Circumstantial (C), Subject (S), Predicate (P), Indirect Object (IO), Direct Object (DO), Directional (D), Instrumental (I), Locational (L), Modal (M), Temporal (T) and Quotational (Q). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

C by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d), or an AP.

S by a NP of subclasses (a), (b), (c) or (d), or a Proximate (Prx), or a Verb Prefix of subclass (a)

P by a VP of subclasses (a), (c) or (e)

IO by a NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or a Verb Suffix of subclass (d), or a downward rank-shifted clause of subclass A(b)

DO by a NP of subclasses (a), (c) or (d), or a Verb Suffix of subclass (d), or a downward RS clause of classes A or D

- D by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d), or a downward RS clause of classes A(b) or D
- I by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d)
- L by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d), or a downward RS clause of classes A(b) or D
- M by an AP of subclass (a)
- T by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d), or an AP of subclass (b), or a downward RS clause of class A(b)
- Q by a NP of subclasses (a) or (b), or by one or more downward RS sentences, or by a MS, or by a ES
- The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

C	S	P	IO	DO	D	I	L	M	T	Q
NP(a)	NP(a)	VP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)	AP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)
NP(d)	NP(b)	VP(c)	NP(c)	NP(c)	NP(d)	NP(d)	NP(d)		NP(d)	NP(b)
AP	NP(c)	VP(e)	Sf(d)	NP(d)	ClA(b)		ClA(b)		AP(b)	Sen
	NP(d)		ClA(b)	Sf(d)	ClD		ClD		ClA(b)	MS
	Prx			ClA						ES
	Pf(a)			ClD						

Of the nuclear places, S and P are obligatory, while according to the distribution of IO and DO, three subtypes are recognised, labelled 1(i), 1(ii) and 1(iii). In subtype 1(i), the IO place is obligatory and the DO place optional; this subtype may be characterised as ditransitive. In subtype 1(ii), the DO place is obligatory and the IO place excluded; this subtype may be characterised as transitive. In subtype 1(iii), both the IO and DO places are excluded; this subtype may be characterised as intransitive. In diagram form the distribution is shown below, with the symbol + indicating an obligatory place, and the symbol ± an optional place.

Subtype 1(i)	+S	+P	+IO	<u>+DO</u>
1(ii)	+S	+P		+DO
1(iii)	+S	+P		

In subtype (i), the DO place is never manifested by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d).

The peripheral places are all optional, and each may occur in any of the three subtypes. In each subtype, three is the maximum number of peripheral places attested in any one example (examples 106, ¹¹²114, 118 - 120), but within this limit there seems to be no other restriction on their co-occurrence potential. The occurrence of the outer post-nuclear peripheral place Q tends to be associated with the occurrence of certain lexical items at the P place, particularly the verbs *kâ* - say, and *kwú* - tell. The maximum number of places found in any one example is six for clauses of subtypes (i) and (ii), and five for subtype (iii), as in the instances cited above.

4.2.1.2. Variations in the Sequence of Places

Three kinds of variation from the preferred sequence of places have been observed. The first of these involves the front-shifting of a place for the stylistic purpose of bringing it into special focus. In ten examples, the DO place occurs in clause-initial position, and in five examples, the IO place. As twelve of these fifteen cases are in the texts of one informant (Mr. William), it seems that a preference for this device is something of an idiolectal feature. See examples 103 and 111.

The second group of examples are linked with the occurrence of the Emphatic place (E) in the structure of the VP manifesting the P place in the clause. The preferred sequence of clause places is not usually disturbed, but in a few cases the E place of the VP together with the clause place under emphasis, occur at the end of the clause. The following structures are attested:-

S P DO IO
S P IO L DO
S P D DO
S P I DO
S P T M

In chapter 6, where the VP is described in detail, the examples are quoted in full, as nos. 315 - 319.

The third group of examples are associated with the occurrence of a particular lexical item, the Adverb *báka* - much, too much. When this word is manifesting the M place in the clause, that place precedes the L place if the two co-occur, as in example 117.

4.2.1.3. Syntactic Markers

4.2.1.3.1. In Primary Function

The subclass of clause to which CT1 corresponds, subclass A(a), may function at any of the three places in the sentence. At the Dep place, the essential SM is that only tenses 1 or 8 may occur. (Details of their form are given at the rank at which they are manifested, word rank, in section 9.2.2.2.) If tense 1 occurs, then there is a further SM in the obligatory occurrence of one of the

following Verb affixes:-
 bá- (Verb Prefix subclass (b))
 -hwátò (Vb Suffix subclass (c))
 -lè (Vb Suffix subclass (d))

The combination bá- -lè is also attested. See examples 101, 108 and 113, as well as nos. 2, 4, 6 and 10. Tenses 1 and 8 are not limited in their distribution to the Dep place in the sentence; tense 1 may occur at the Ind place, and both tenses may occur in clauses in secondary functions.

At the Ind place in the sentence, tense 8 may not occur, whereas any other tense may. The Verb Prefix bá- and the Verb Suffix -lè may not occur. The clause may be optionally marked by the Conjunction (Cnj) class of Particles. This class consists of two formal items, má and áá (section 11.5.). If either occurs, tense 3 must also occur; if áá occurs, the Referent object suffix, if present, must be -á (Verb Suffix subclass (d) and order 15) and not -lá (Verb Suffix subclass (d) and order 18). See example 106, and section 13.3.5.1.4. A Cnj normally occurs clause-initially, but may occasionally be preceded by the C place (nos. 114, 120) or by a front-shifted Object place (no. 103)

At the Exg place in the sentence, the clause is obligatorily preceded by the Causal (Cs) class of Particles. This class consists of the single formal item éyéòò or éyéòònè (section 11.6.). Tenses 2, 4, 5 and 10 are attested in clauses at the Exg place, but as it is of relatively infrequent occurrence, further data might well reveal other tenses. For examples, see nos. 104, 110 and 114, as well as nos. 3, 4 and 5.

4.2.1.3.2. In Secondary Function

Clauses of the subclass to which type 1 corresponds also have the secondary functions listed in section 4.2. If the clause has a secondary function at a place in another clause, it is obligatorily marked by the Relegator (Rlg) class of Particles, which consists of the single formal item $kp\bar{e}$ (section 11.7.). The Rlg is obligatorily followed by tense 1, together with the Verb Suffix $-l\bar{e}$ (subclass (d)). The Rlg normally occurs clause-initially (as in example 111), but may be optionally preceded by the S place (example 116), where this is not manifested by a Verb Prefix.

If the clause has a secondary function at a place in a phrase, that is, at the Mdl place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP or at the Mdl place in the AP, then there is no overt SM, but there is the possibility of change from the preferred sequence of places. This arises because the word manifesting the Head place in the NP or AP has what is termed syntactic ambivalence. That is, it stands both in a phrase rank relationship with the units manifesting other places in the phrase, and also in a clause rank relationship with the other units in the RS clause manifesting the Mdl place. Thus the same unit simultaneously manifests the Hd place in the phrase and one of the places in the RS clause. The syntactically ambivalent Hd word ^{in a NP} is attested to manifest the C, S, IO, DQ, D, L, I, T or Q place in a RS clause of type 1. The syntactically ambivalent Hd word in a AP is attested to manifest the M or T place in the RS clause of type 1. Since the phrase rank relationships determine the sequence,

the syntactically ambivalent Hd word always precedes the RS clause, so unless it is manifesting the C or S places in the RS clause, a departure from the preferred sequence of clause rank places results. In clauses of type 1 in secondary function in a phrase, tenses 1, 2, 4, 5, 8 and 10 are attested.

Syntactic ambivalence as it affects other CTs is described in sections 4.2.2.3.2., and 4.6.2.2., and as it affects each phrase type involved, in sections 5.3.3., 5.4.3, 5.5.3., 5.6.3., 5.8.1.3., 5.8.2.3. 5.8.3.3. and 7.2.2. Where the syntactically ambivalent word manifests (part of) the Q place in the RS clause, the position is more complicated than in other cases, and is discussed in section 5.3.3. Examples 106, 107, 114, 119 and 120 show clauses of type 1 in this secondary function, as do about thirty examples in chapter 5, and others in chapter 7.

4.2.1.4. The Categories of Person and Tense

The S place, like the IO and DO places, may be manifested either by a NP (of various subclasses) or a Verb affix. The S place is unique, however, in that sometimes both an NP and a Verb Prefix of subclass (a) occur. In such circumstances, the NP is analysed as manifesting the S place, while the Pf(a) has only its primary function at word rank. The members of Pf subclass (a) are organised in a four-term system which manifests the category of Person, the four terms being labelled Speaker (Sp), Speaker's Group (SG), Hearer (H) and Referent (R). When the NP and the Pf(a) both occur, there is said to be concord between the units manifesting the S and P places

with respect to Person. NPs of subclasses (a), (c) and (d) concord only with the R term in the Person system, but with NPs of subclass (b), the full four-term range of concord possibilities is found. For details, see the description of the Pronoun class in section 8.2.6., and for the form of the Prefixes manifesting the Person system, see section 13.3.1.1.

The P place is the point of operation of the category of Tense, which is manifested by a ten-term system. As the uses of the tenses differ so widely from the uses familiar in European languages, the tenses are numbered rather than given notional labels which must inevitably be misleading. They are manifested structurally within the Verb, and details of their form will be found in section 9.2.2.2. Tense is relevant at clause rank as a SM of the various functions. It is of particular importance in indicating the primary function of the clause at the Dep place in the sentence, but the range of tenses attested in each of the functions of the clause has been shown above in section 4.2.1.3.

The following examples of CT1 are grouped under subtypes rather than under the headings of other features described.

Examples (101 - 107 subtype 1(i), 108 - 112 subtype 1(ii),
113 - 120 subtype 1(iii))

Subtype 1(i)

101. S, P, IO and DO places, with Dep SMs

ú/lù=wó+fí-ní-hwátò / òkwálúkwò / íbé (bídí)

he-threw-at-when Tortoise pieces-of food

When he threw the pieces of yam at Tortoise S17.11

102. S, P, IO and DO places, with Ind SMS

âú ú/be-tè-ní-jí-bè-nê /

then they-keep-for-also

èmèné (âdo (ímé (áná (a))))/úbótù

people-of house-of inside-of mother-of him some

Then they also reserve a portion for his mother's family S20.7

103. IO, S, P and DO places, with Ind SMS

èmèné ì (ngwù-ô-bè / údú ya) / âú ú/gbu-ní-bè

people the they-dug hole that then they-kill-for

bà / à:ánù

emphatic a-hen

As for the people who dug the grave, a hen is killed for them S20.14

The IO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii), of structure (S) P DO. In stating the structure of this and subsequent clauses RS to manifest a place in a phrase, the clause place manifested by the syntactically ambivalent word will be bracketed, as (S) here.

104. S, P, IO and DO places, with Exg SMS, in a RS Sen

... bá áyédò bá ú/tù-ní / kpòkòní / ótògwù

...that because that he-fears-for empty-tins terror.

...because he has a great fear of empty tins B29.19

105. S, P, IO, DO and D places, at Ind in a RS Sen

bá ú/hwá-dí-bè/yá / ókwátà yá / úgwò

that they-pay-self palmfruit that as-debt

That they should recompense him for the palmfruit B5.6

106. C, S, P, IO, M and T places (a maximum form) at Ind
in a RS Sen

má údúké m/kwú-ní/à /(bá ngwá bá kpóm (à/zì-nà-é/yò/
then man the told-him that well that thus it-was-for-you
éké m (í/jà / ádé m / lé ànázà))/bá
time the you-came place this at first that
à/zì-nà-déhw/é / kpéye/lé á (é/ló+fí-lé /
it-is-likewise-for-you so in that you-depart
lé ádé m)).
from place this

Then the man told him, "Well, as your condition was
when you first came here, so it will be when you
leave here." S5.46

The C place is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is
manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (M) S P IO T;
the T place in this RS Cl is in turn manifested by a NP1
whose Mdl place is manifested by a further RS Cl of type
1(iii) of structure (T) S P D L (a maximum form). The T
place in the original clause is manifested by a NP4 whose
Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of
structure (C) S P L.

107. (IO), S, P and DO places, RS to Mdl in NP1

únúnwé m (ù/zù-tù-ní-é / ádèná m)...

woman the she-stole-from plantain the...

The woman from whom she stole the plantain... S11.11

Subtype 1(ii)

108. S, P, DO and I places, with Dep SMs

á/bá-gbú=fí+fí-dí-hwò / ódá m / íké

he-when-blew-at-last horn the with-strength

When he eventually blew the horn loudly S12.23

109. S, P, DO and L places, at Ind
òkwéíákwò / à-dá-bèté-má-jé-lé-né / ñgàjé (yà) /
Tortoise had-dropped-also spoon-of him
lé àdè m̄ (ù/dí-é-bè / éfù)
in place the they-ate maggots
Tortoise had dropped his spoon in the place where
they ate the maggots. S17.102
110. S, P, DO and L places, with Exg SMs
éyédòné à/bé-é / ùkwá (yà)/lé ádò-ó
because she-laid-not eggs-of her in house-NV
Because she didn't lay her eggs in the house. B22.19
111. DO, S and P places, at DO in OT1(ii), with Rlg Particle
má/má+jé-é-m̄ / (kpá èméné (àsá) / éyé ya /
I-know-not how people-of whiteness things those
má/fé-lé-bè-é)
attract-NV
I don't know how white people are attracted by those
things. B38.30
112. C, DO, S, P, L and T places (a maximum form) at Ind
in a RS Sen
bé tó (ámó)/bé éyé (zè / kpóm)/bé yá /
that ever time that thing which-is thus that self
ká-ná+jé-é-má/lé àdè òm / bé tó (//ídá (yà)/
heard-not in place thus that since father-of self
lé íná (yà) // bé à-sà-gilí-hwò-bè / éká/
and mother-of self that washed-often-at-last hands
lé àdè òmóm/lé ùkáné-é)
in place thus in old-time-NV

"Such a thing as this I have never heard of here,
though my father and mother have been washing
their hands here since time immemorial." B33.18

The T place is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (C) S P DO L F, another maximum form.

Subtype 1(iii)

113. S, P and D places, with Dep SMS (cf. no. 179 for context)

m/bá-zè-lè / ádólá ya
I-when-go-if trap that
Whenever I go fishing S4.5

114. C, S, P, M and Q places (a maximum form), with Ind SMS

éké m (ù/mè) yá / má áhwábá / ká-bè / kpóm /
time the it-did thus then Ihwaba said thus
(ádéke/á/gbá-dé / ètá m-m, bá áyédò mini /
not they-hold wrestling the-NV, that because rain
bá è-dè=kpó+má-má-lè).
that had-fallen

At this point, the Ihwaba team said they would not hold the wrestling match after all, because it had rained. S15.17

The C place is manifested by a NPl whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (T) S P. The Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure Ind Exg; the Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 1(ii) of structure S P DO (with a discontinuous unit at P), and the Exg place is manifested by a clause of type 1(iii) of structure S P, with Exg SMS. For the omission of initial Itr Particle in RS Sen, see section 3.3.2.

115. S, P, D and I places, with Ind SMS
má á/gba=zé / ádò //ésó / ésó //
then he-ran-went house run run
Then he ran all the way home. S2.16
116. S and P places, at DO in CT1(ii), with Rlg Particle
bá á/wé+jé-lé / (ábà (èwòlò (yà))/kpé á-zígi-dí-lé)
that he-saw-if feather-of tail-of self how it-is-waving
That if he saw his tail-feather waving B3.4
117. S, P, M and L places, at Ind in a RS Sen
bá à/dí-é / báka/lé igbú ya
that we-ate much on side that
That we had plenty to eat over there S3.42.
118. S, P, L, M and T places (a maximum form) at Ind (with
a discontinuous unit at P)
á/já / lé àbòlì / bá / kpéys / tátá
she-came on day-after-tomorrow emphatic thus long-time
She came two days later, and so on for a long time. B17.8
119. (M), S, P, D and Q places (a maximum form) at Mdl in AP
kpóm (á/zé-bé/igbú ya/(bá á/lá-má+jé-tá/igbú ya))
as they-went side that that they-go-know side that
When they went there in order to see the area B22.2
The Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure Ind;
this Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 1(ii), of
structure S P DO.

120. C, S, P, L and T places (a maximum form), with Ind SMS
kpóm (~~á~~/kpá=1ð+f~~í~~/àságá ñ) / ~~à~~ ~~á~~/názi-d~~é~~ /
as she-fed-went outside the then she-stayed

l~~í~~ àságá / tátá
in outside long-time

When she went outside to feed, then she stayed outside
a long time. B22.33

The C place is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is
manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (M) S P D.

4.2.2. Clause Type 2

4.2.2.1. Structure

Six places are recognised in this clause type, four
nuclear and two peripheral. In the preferred sequence of
occurrence, they are labelled Subject, Predicate, Benefactive
(B), Complement (Cp), X and Quotational. X is merely a cover
symbol for the medial post-nuclear periphery, indicating that
any one, but not more than one, of the L, M and T places may
occur, as stated in section 4.1.2. The manifesting classes
are as follows:-

S by a NP of subclasses (a), (b) (c) or (d), or a Prx,
or a Verb Prefix of subclass (a)

P by a VP of subclass (b)

B by a NP of subclass (a), or a Verb Suffix of
subclass (d)

Cp by a NP of subclasses (a), (b), (c) or (d), or a
downward RS clause of classes A(a) or D

L by a NP of subclass (a)

M by an AP of subclass (a)

T by a NP of subclass (a)

Q by a downward RS sentence

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

				X			
S	P	B	Cp	<u>L</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>T</u>	Q
NP(a)	VP(b)	NP(a)	NP(a)	NP(a)	AP(a)	NP(a)	Sen
NP(b)		Sf(d)	NP(b)				
NP(c)			NP(c)				
NP(d)			NP(d)				
Ppx			ClA(a)				
Pf(a)			ClD				

The S and P places are obligatory, and all the others optional. Subtypes are not set up. The maximum number of places attested in any one example is five (no. 127). The B place does not occur unless the Cp place also occurs (nos. 122, 127). VP subclass (b) is a single member subclass, based on the verb "to be (predicative)"; CT2 could therefore be appropriately labelled the copula clause type.

4.2.2.2. Variations in the Sequence of Places

In two examples, the X place occurs clause-initially, as in no. 127, but no other departures have been observed from the preferred sequence as stated in the preceding section.

4.2.2.3. Syntactic Markers

4.2.2.3.1. In Primary Function

The subclass of clause to which CT2 corresponds, subclass A(b), may function at any of the three places in

the sentence. At the Dep place, the essential SM is that only tenses 1 or 8 may occur. If tense 1 occurs, then there is a further SM in the obligatory occurrence of the subclass (d) Verb Suffix -lĕ, as in no. 121. With this CT, neither of these tenses is attested at any other place in the sentence, though tense 1 may occur in clauses in secondary functions. Tense 8 is exemplified in no. 129.

At the Ind place, only tenses 2, 4 and 10 are attested. The Cnj class of Particles does not occur with CT2.

At the Exg place, the clause is obligatorily preceded by the Cs class of Particles. In the sole example of a type 2 clause manifesting the Exg place, the Cs Particle has the longer form ĕyĕdōnĕ, and the tense is tense 2. (Example 123.) However, on the basis of such slim evidence, no sound generalisation about tense potential can be made.

4.2.2.3.2. In Secondary Function

Clauses of the subclass to which type 2 corresponds also have the secondary functions listed in section 4.2. If the CT2 clause has a secondary function at a place in another clause, in contrast with CT1, neither the Rlg Particle, nor tense 1 is found. In these conditions, only tense 2 is attested, as in nos. 130 and 131.

If the clause has a secondary function at a place in a phrase, that is, at Mdl in a NP or an AP, only tenses 1 and 2 are attested. In a NP the syntactically ambivalent Head word is attested to manifest only the S place in the RS clause, and in an AP, only the M place, so there arise no place sequences unattested in primary function. (Nos. 132-3.)

4.2.2.4. The Categories of Person and Tense

The category of Person is relevant to CT2 in the same way as that described for CT1 in section 4.2.1.4.

The category of Tense is operative at the P place, and is primarily relevant as a SM of the function of the clause, as described for CT1 in section 4.2.1.4. In contrast with CT1, however, only five of the ten terms in the Tense system are attested in CT2. Since these correspond in form with five of the ten terms of the overall system, rather than recognise a separate five-term system, the overall system is regarded as being in only restricted operation in CT2. The specific tenses attested in CT2 are tenses 1, 2, 4, 8 and 10.

Examples (121 - 133 all CT2)

121. S, P, M and Q places, with Dep SMs

á/bà-lé / kpóm / (bá á/bà / ákpáná (//nyé / éze //)m)

it-is-if thus that you-are son-of person chief the

If so be that you are the chief's son B36.9

The Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure Ind; this Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 2, of structure S P Cp.

122. S, P, B and Cp places, at Ind

á/bà-dí-hwò/à / ikpílí

it-was-for-her anklet

It served as an anklet for her. S11.22

123. S, P and Cp places, with Exg SMS (cf. no. 3 for context)
íyédònré ídá (mè)/bà / nyé (gbà / éwá) dáhwá
because father-of me is person-who gives oracle likewise
Because my father is indeed a soothsayer B39.1

124. S, P and Q places, at Ind
ésó m / bà / (bé nyé / dú+má-lé / ádá ya,
race the was that person reached-if place that,
bé ú/hwé+fi / áká)
that he-propose matter

The contest was that if anyone reached there, he
should propose a motion. B19.2

The Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure
Dep Ind; the Dep place is manifested by a clause of type
1(ii) of structure S P DO, and the Ind place is manifested
by a clause of type 1(ii) of structure S P DO.

125. S, P, Cp and T places, at Ind in a RS Sen.
bé í/bá-d-dé-né / únúnwé (yá) / lé ámó m-m
that you-are-not-even wife-of self at time this-NV
"You are not my wife any more" S24.70

126. S, P, Cp and L places, at Ind in a RS Sen
bé ò/bá-tá-hwá / ákpáná (yá)/lé эгэдэ
that it-will-be-perhaps son-of him in truth
"Perhaps it really will be his son." B36.44

127. M, S, P, B and Cp places (a maximum form) at Ind
ngwá kpéys / éyó / bá-bá-gbò-hwátò-né /
so. thus wisdom would-have-been-only-for
òkwálákwò nétén / (à-bá-má+jé-gbó)
Tortoise alone to-come-to-know-completely

Otherwise, Tortoise would have had exclusive knowledge
of wisdom. B25.21

The Cp place is manifested by a RS clause of type 5 (iii)
of structure P.

128. S, P and Cp places, at Ind

éyê (à/mé / lé àmó m om) / bà / (ù-gwú+fi=zé/
thing we-shall-do at time this thus is to-dig-continue
éwá m)
ponds the

What we shall do now is go on digging the ponds. R5.22

The S place is manifested by a NPL whose Mdl place is
manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P T.
The Cp place is manifested by a RS clause of type 5(ii) of
structure P DO.

129. S, P and M places, with Dep SMS, in a RS Sen

bá ó/bà-jé-è-né / kpéye-é
that if-it-is-not thus-NV
But that if it is not so B3.24

130. S, P and Cp places, at DO in CT1(ii)

mò/dó=kà+lá / (óm/bà/kpá //nyé / díbyò //
I-shall-tell this is how person witch-doctor
gbá-lé / éwá))
gives oracle

I shall tell just how witch-doctors give oracles. B3Q.1

The Cp place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of
structure S P DO.

131. S, P and L places, at L in CT1(i)
 ù/gbù+fi-ni-hwò/à / (òh / bà/lá òdà (yà))
 he-blew-at-last-to-him this is on horn-of him
 It was on his horn that he finally blew a signal
 to him. S12.20

132. (S) and P places, at Mdl in NP4
 (á (á-bà-hwétò)) / bá yá / nwè
 that -which is-at-all that self owns
 That he was the owner of whatever it was. B20.2

133. (M), S, P and Cp places, at Mdl in AP
 kpóm (á/bà-já-é-nê / nyé (gbá / étá / báka))
 as he-was-also person-who does wrestling much
 As he too was a keen wrestler H1.4
 The Cp place is manifested by a NP₃ whose Mdl place
 is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure
 (S) P DO M.

4.3. Clause Class B

Clause class B is defined as those clauses which may function at the Ind and Exg places in sentence structure. Clauses of this class also occur in secondary function at the Cp place in CT4. This class corresponds exactly to the structural type labelled type 3, which will now be described in detail.

4.3.1. Clause Type 3 - Structure

Thirteen places are recognised in this clause type, six nuclear and seven peripheral. They are labelled

Circumstantial, Subject 1 (S1), Auxiliary, (A), Subject 2 (S2), Predicate, Indirect Object, Direct Object, Directional, Instrumental, Locational, Modal, Temporal and Quotational. As the labels suggest, CT3 is essentially an expanded form of CT1, and it would be possible to state the relationship between them in transformational terms. The manifesting classes for CT3 are similar to those at the corresponding places in CT1, though somewhat more restricted. They are as follows:-

- C by an AP of subclass (a)
- S1 by a NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or Verb Prefix of subclass (a)
- A by VP of subclass (c)
- S2 by a Verb Prefix of subclass (a)
- P by a VP of subclass (a)
- IO by a NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)
- DO by a NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)
- D by a NP of subclass (a)
- I by a NP of subclass (a)
- L by a NP of subclass (a)
- M by an AP of subclass (a)
- T by a NP of subclass (a), or an AP of subclass (b)
- Q by a NP of subclass (a), or by one or more downward RS sentences

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

C	S1	A	S2	P	IO	DO	D	I	L	M	T	Q
AR(a)	NR(a)	VR(c)	Pf(a)	VR(a)	NR(a)	NR(a)	NR(a)	NR(a)	NR(a)	AR(a)	NR(a)	NR(a)
	NR(c)				NR(c)	NR(c)					AR(b)	Sen
	Pf(a)				Sf(d)	Sf(d)						

Of the nuclear places, S1, A, S2 and P are obligatory, while according to the distribution of IO and DO, three subtypes are recognised, exactly as in CT1 (section 4.2.1.1.). For convenience, a summary diagram of the place distribution in the three subtypes, parallel to that in the section cited, is given below. Again, the symbol + denotes an obligatory place, and the symbol ± an optional place.

Subtype 3(i)	+S1	+A	+S2	+P	+IO	±DO
3(ii)	+S1	+A	+S2	+P		+DO
3(iii)	+S1	+A	+S2	+P		

As with subtype 1(i), in subtype 3(i), the DO place is never manifested by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d).

The peripheral places are all optional, and each may occur in any of the three subtypes. In any one example, three is the maximum number of peripheral places attested (nos. 141, 143). It happens that the maximum number of three peripheral places is attested only in clauses of subtype 3(ii); in subtype 3(iii), two is the maximum, and in subtype 3(i), one. This can confidently be regarded as a statistical accident of the kind inherent in any limited sample of language data, and not a structural restriction. However, it has the effect of reducing the maximum number of places found in any one example of subtype 3(i) to seven (nos. 134, 135 and 138), while that in subtype 3(ii) is eight, and that in subtype 3(iii) is six (nos. 147 and 148). Because of the importance of variation in the sequence of places in this type, as described in the following section, subtype 3(iii) clauses which lack the places most involved, are relatively uncommon.

4.3.2. Variations in the Sequence of Places

The optional mobility of certain places is such a distinctive feature of CT3 that it would be unrealistic to use the term "preferred sequence" for the sequence in which the places were listed in the preceding section. The details vary from one subtype to another, and are described accordingly.

In subtype (i), either the IO place (as in no. 136), or more commonly the DO place (nos. 134 - 5, 137 - 8), may occur immediately after the A place. In subtype (ii), either the DO (nos. 140 - 2), or less commonly the I (nos. 139, 143, 145) may occur immediately after the A place. In subtype (iii), either the D (no. 150) or the I (no. 148) may occur immediately after the A place. The DO place is the one most frequently found immediately following the A place. A majority of the examples of CT3 show one or other of the possible changes of sequence, but where no such change occurs, the sequence is as listed in the previous section. In one example only (no. 146), both the DO and T places are found between the A and S2 places, but this is regarded as extra-systemic rather than as constituting a further regular possibility.

The A place may be regarded as the cause of this prominent sequence variation, since neither it, nor the variations associated with it, occur in any other clause type. The VP subclass (c) which manifests the A place is a single member subclass, based on the verb "to take". If desired, CT3 could be given some appropriately derived label.

4.3.3. Syntactic Markers

4.3.3.1. In Primary Function

The class of clause to which CT3 corresponds, class B, may function at the Ind or Exg places in the sentence. At the Ind place, tenses 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 are attested. As with CT1, the clause may be optionally marked by the Cnj class of Particles, and if it is, only tense 3 may occur. The Cnj normally occurs clause-initially (nos. 136 - 138), though it may occasionally be preceded by the C place (nos. 135, 144). In this CT, the Cnj is repeated before the S2 place. Either $\acute{m}\acute{a}$ or $\acute{a}\acute{a}$ may occur, but there may not be a change from one to the other within one clause. In the absence of a Cnj, the tenses at A and P are not bound to be the same, though in practice they usually are. (For a difference, see no. 145, where the Cnj occurs only before the S2 place.) If the Cnj is $\acute{a}\acute{a}$, The Referent object suffix must be $-a$, and not $-la$, just as in CT1.

At the Exg place, the clause is obligatorily preceded by the Cs class of Particles. In the sole example of a type 3 clause manifesting the Exg place, the Cs Particle has the shorter form $\acute{y}\acute{e}\acute{d}\acute{a}$, with tense 2 at the A place. The Cnj $\acute{m}\acute{a}$ occurs before the S2 place, with tense 3 at P. (Example 139.) However, as with CT2, on the basis of such slim evidence, no sound generalisation about tense potential can be made.

4.3.3.2. In Secondary Function

Clauses of the class to which type 3 corresponds also have a secondary function at the Cp place in CT4. In this

function, the clause is obligatorily preceded by the Rlg class of Particles, with tense 1 and the Verb Suffix -lê at A. The Cnj m̄ occurs before the S2 place, with tense 3 at P. Once again, no sound generalisation about tense potential can be made on the basis of a single example. In order to supply its context, this example is included with other examples of CT 4, as no. 160.

4.3.4. The Categories of Person and Tense

As with the S place in CT1, the S1 place in CT3 may be manifested either by a NP or by a Verb Prefix of subclass (a). Where both occur, as in nos. 134 and 145, the NP is said to manifest S1, while the Pf(a) has only its primary function at word rank. In these circumstances, there is said to be concord between the units manifesting the S1 and A places with respect to Person. Since the S2 place is manifested only by a Pf(a), there is also concord between an NP manifesting the S1 place, and the prefix manifesting the S2 place with respect to Person. NPs of subclasses (a) and (c), the only subclasses attested at the S1 place, concord only with the R term in the Person system, so that where an NP is present, the concord is limited. Where the S1 place is manifested by a Pf(a), any term in the Person system may occur, the only restriction being that the same term must occur at both the S1 and S2 places. (The S term occurs in no. 147, ^{the SG term in no. 140,} and the H term in no. 141.) For the form of the Prefixes manifesting the Person system, see section 13.3.1.1.

The category of Tense is operative at both the A and P places in CT3. As with CT2, however, the overall ten-term system is in only restricted operation. At the A

place, tenses 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 are attested, and at the P place, tenses 1, 2, 3 and 5 only.

The following examples of CT3 are grouped together under subtypes.

Examples (134 - 138 subtype 3(i), 139 - 146 subtype 3(ii),
147 - 150 subtype 3(iii))

Subtype 3(i)

134. S1, A, DO, S2, P, IO and L places (a maximum form),
at Ind

éṅwó ò / ò-gò+nú-má-jé-lé-nê / éwécé /
child the has-taken-finish-also ashes
ò/kpó+fi-ní-má-lê / édá (a) / lé èkpà.
has-put-in-for father-of her in bag
The child has taken the ashes and put them in her
father's bag. S3.22

135. C, S1, A, DO, S2, P and IO places (a maximum form),
with Ind SMs

kpóm (ùgbúlú ya / è-j-ò) / áá ú/gó+nú / éwá /
as juju that came then he-took oracle
áá é/gba-ná / nyé ya.
than he-gave person that

When the juju came, he (i.e. the witch-doctor)
delivered the oracle to that person. B30.17

The C place is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is
manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii), of structure (M) S P.

(Examples 136 and 137 show sentences with almost identical
wording, differing only in place sequence.)

136. S1, A, IO, S2, P and DO places, with Ind SMS

àé ú/gó+nù / ákátá / àé ú/né / émí

then she-took dog then she-gave nose

Then she gave her nose to the dog. S24.16

137. S1, A, DO, S2, P and IO places, with Ind SMS

àé ú/gó+nù / émí / àé ú/né-ji / ákátá ñ

then she-took nose then she-gave-again dog the

Then she gave her nose to the dog again. S24.29

138. S1, A, DO, S2, P, IO and D places (a maximum form),
with Ind S1s

má ú/gó+nù-ò / ùkólóyí / má ú/wu=wá+má-kpò/yá /

then he-took yam-skewer then he-thrust-finish-himself

émí ébó ñ

nose two the

Then he got the yam-skewer and scraped out both his
nostrils. S7.99

Subtype 3(ii)

139. S1, A, I, S2, P and DO places, with Exg SMS

éyédò ú/gò+nù-hwò / ówáyé ñ (ú/bù-ni/à /

because he-took-at-last money the he-carried-for-her

(bé yá / bi-ni/à / àkáná) / má ú/hwu-wé-hwò /

that self buy-for-her cloth then he-paid-with-at-last

égwó (àkwá (énnà)) yá

debt-of egg-of hen that

Because in the end he paid the cost of the eggs with
the money he had brought to buy her a cloth with.

S14.19 The I place is manifested by a NP of type 1
whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of
structure (DO) S P IO Q; this Q place is manifested by a

RS Sen of structure Ind; this Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 1(i) of structure S P IO DO.

140. S1, A, DO, S2, P and D places, with Ind SMs

àé á/gó-tù-kpò / àkpàlámá ya /
then we-took-finish lamb that

àé á/dò=bú=zé-wé-kpó / ólu
then we-pull-raise-go-finish up

Then we got a firm grip on the lamb and gradually pulled it right up. B32.25

141. S1, A, DO, S2, P, L, M and T places (a maximum form) at Ind in a RS Sen

òé í/gò+nú / àkwá (ánà) / òé é/cá=kpó / lè écákpà
that you-take egg-of hen that you-crack-break on path
// //kpéye/kpéye // //kpéye/kpéye // // àbàlè énnò
thus thus thus thus nights four

"You go and break an egg on the path like that for four consecutive nights." B30.12

142. S1, A, DO, S2, P and I places, at Ind

ù/gò+nù / òkilí ì / à/kwá+fá-tà-kè-kpò / édi
he-took wether the he-tied-up-finish with-rope
He tied the wether up with a rope. S7.21

143. S1, A, I, S2, P, DO, D and L places (a maximum form) with Ind SMs

má òkwálákwò/gó-tù-ò // b élé b élé ényicélè (zè/lè údò) //
then Tortoise took all charcoal-which is in house
lè éwécé // má á/ya=kó-wè-kpò/ya / élé / lè ògbò
and ashes then he-rubbed-with-self body in whole
Then Tortoise got all the charcoal and ashes in the house and rubbed them all over his body. G1.5

The I place is manifested by a NPCx of type 1 whose first element is a NP of type 1 whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P L.

144. C, S1, A, S2, P, DO and Q places, with Ind SMs
kpóm (úúké ñ / hw-ò) / àá ú/gó+nù / àá ú/hwú /
as man the agreed then he-took then he-called
àdúnwo / bá àdúnwo
daughter that "daughter"

When the man agreed, he went and gave his daughter
a shout. B17.9

The C place is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (M) S P.

145. S1, A, I, S2, P, DO and L places, with one Cnj, in a
RS Sen

bá ólò / ó-gò+nù-ò bà / ùpé (yà) /
that antelope would-certainly-take emphatic horns-of him
bá àá ú/kpò-bètè/yá / lè élè
that then he-thrust-down-self on ground
That Antelope would surely pin him to the ground with
his horns. R3.3

146. S1, A, DO, T, S2, P and L places, with Ind SMs

má ú/gó+nù-ò-bè / òkwálúkwò / lè àbàlá / má
then they-took Tortoise in night then
ú/lé-fi+fi-é-bè / lè ádo (àgbèdèná)
they-went-put in house-of mosquitoes
Then they took Tortoise and put him in a mosquito-
ridden house for the night. B36.18

Subtype 3(iii)

147. S1, A, S2, P, I and L places (a maximum form), at Ind
 mɔ̄/gɔ̄+nù / mɔ̄/kɔ̄ / êkâ / lɛ únɔ̄búɔ̄

I-took I-beat hand on doorway

I gave a bang on the door with my hand. B38.49

148. S1, A, I, S2, P and L places (a maximum form), with
 Ind SMs

àá únúnwé ñ / gɔ̄+nù // ìgbóló ñ / á (yà) //

then woman the took walking-stick the that-of her

àá ú/kò / lɛ íbé ñ

then she-beat on side this

Then the woman went and whacked on this side with that
 walking-stick of hers. B24.31

149. S1, A, S2, P and D places, with Ind SMs

àá òkwéìkwò / gɔ̄+nù / àá ú/lɔ̄+fɛ / éɔ̄

then Tortoise took then he-went home

Then Tortoise went off home. B24.17

150. S1, A, D, S2 and P places, with Ind SMs

má ú/gɔ̄+nù-ò-bè / éɔ̄ / má ú/lɔ̄+fɛ-ò-bè

then they-took home then they-went

Then they went off home. B2.22

4.3.5. Expanded Clauses of Type 3

There are five examples of clauses which in general structure are similar to other clauses of type 3, but which are "expanded" in the sense that the DO place that follows the A place stands in a direct syntactic relationship not only with the S2 and P places, but also with a third S place and a second P place. These additional

places are formally sufficient to establish an additional and separate clause type within clause class B. However, as a generalised description of such an extra clause type would both be precariously based and would inevitably duplicate much of sections 4.3.1. to 4.3.4., the five examples are simply listed. The additional place-label abbreviations S3, P2, I2 and L2 are used with meanings which are self-explanatory. Their manifesting classes fall within the range of possibilities shown for the corresponding places in section 4.3.1., with the proviso that S3 is as S2, and not as S1. In addition to the one example of subtype (i) and the four examples of subtype (ii), there is one further example (no. 156) which can be analysed as an expanded clause of subtype (iii). In this case, however, there is no peripheral place following the A place to force the analysis, so that the alternative analysis of a (simple) clause of type 3(iii), followed by a clause of type 1(iii), is always possible. All the available examples of "expanded" type 3 clauses function at the Ind place in the sentence, and are marked by Cnj Particles followed by tense 3.

Examples (151 subtype (i), 152 - 155 subtype (ii)
156 subtype (iii))

Subtype (i)

151. S1, A, DO, S2, P1, L, S3, P2 and IO places, with Ind SMs
má cínékè / gó+nù / éyó / má é/hwa+fá-kpó /
 then God took wisdom then he-put-finish
lá ògbàné / má ú/né / òkwálákwo
 in basket then he-gave Tortoise
 Then God put wisdom in a basket and gave it to
 Tortoise. B25.3

Subtype (ii)

152. S1, A, DO, S2, P1, I1, S3, P2 and I2 places, with
Ind SMS (cf. no, 182 for context)

àé ú/gó+nù / éṅwó ñ / àé ú/hwuyá-ké-kpó / mini /
then he-took child the then he-washed-finish water

àé é/ya+fá-ké-kpó / éḍò

then he-rubbed-finish powder

Then he gave the child a good bath and rubbed it all
over with powder. B21.6

153. S1, A, DO, S2, P1, S3 and P2 places, with Ind SMS

àé ú/gó+nù / éṅà / àé é/bó+má-ké-kpó /
then she-took hen then she-butchered-finish

àé ú/me-ké-kpó

then she-prepared-finish

Then she drew the hen and got it all ready. B24.33

154. S1, A, DO, S2, P1, L1, S3, P2 and L2 places, with
Ind SMS

má ónóléká / gó+nù / égbónégbó / má é/kwá+fá-é /
then Leopard took bell then he-tied

lé òkpù / má é/kwá+fá-é / lé í/í (ézábàlé)

on ribs then he-tied on head-of fox

Then Leopard got a bell and tied it round himself at
one end, and to Fox's head at the other end. S8.30

155. S1, A, DO, S2, P1, L1, S3, P2 and L2 places, with
Ind SMS in a RS Sen

bé àé ú/gó+nù // bélébelé éyè (zè-nà/à /
that then she-take all things-which are-to-her

lé éḍò / éyè (é/ká / (bé yá' / bú / lé é/ká) //

in house things she-said that self carry to farm

bé àé ú/hwa+fé-kpó / lé ògbàní / bé àé ú/be /
 that then she-put-finish in basket that then she-keep
lé élézi
 in compound

"Then she should take everything she had in the house
 (that is, the things she said she would carry to
 the farm) and put it in a basket, and keep it in
 the compound." G2.10

The DO place is manifested by a NPCx of type 3; its
 first element is a NP of type 1 whose Mdl place is mani-
 fested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (S) P IO L;
 its second element is a NP of type 1 whose Mdl place is
 manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (Q) S P;
 this Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure Ind;
 this Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 1(ii) of
 structure (DO) S P L. For discussion of the position when
 a syntactically ambivalent word manifests (part of) the Q
 place in a RS Cl, see section 5.3.3.

Subtype (iii)

156. S1, A, S2, P1, S3 and P2 places, with Ind SMs
mé òkwálákwò / gó+nù-ò / mé ú/túkpù-ò / mú ú/ga-lágbò
 then Tortoise took then he-stooped then he-passed
 Then Tortoise bent down and passed underneath. B25.16

4.4. Clause Class C

Clause class C is defined as those clauses which may
 function only at the Ind place in sentence structure.
 Clauses of this class have no secondary functions. This
 class corresponds exactly to the structural type labelled
 type 4, which will now be described in detail.

4.4.1. Clause Type 4 - Structure

Two places are recognised in this clause type, both being nuclear. They are labelled Subject and Complement, and as both are obligatory, no subtypes are established. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

- S by a NP of subclasses (a), (b), (d) or (e)
- Cp by a NP of subclasses (a) or (b), or a downward RS clause of classes A(a) or B

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

S	Cp
NP(a)	NP(a)
NP(b)	NP(b)
NP(d)	CLA(a)
NP(e)	CLB

4.4.2. Other Features

The places in this clause type occur only in the sequence shown above. There are no syntactic markers, and since no VP may occur in this type, the categories of Person and Tense are not relevant. CT4 could accordingly be labelled the non-verbal clause type.

Examples (157 - 163 all CT4)

157. S and Cp places, at Ind in a RS Sen
bé yô / ηwéna
 that you who?
 "Who are you?" S3.83

158. S and Cp places, at Ind in a RS Sen

bá éyé ya (mè / lɛ àdɛ́ ómòm) / bá éké (éyê)

that thing that does in place thus that size-of thing

"The thing that has happened here is a great thing."

B34.16 The S place is manifested by a NP of type 1 whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P L.

159. S and Cp places, at Ind

yá' / (kpá ú/zé-lɛ / (bá yá' / lá-gbá-dɛ́ / ètá ñ))

that how he-went that self go-wrestle bout the

That was how he went off to take part in the wrestling.

H1.5 The Cp place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure S P Q; this Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure Ind; this Ind place is manifested by a clause of type 1(ii) of structure S P DO.

160. S and Cp places, at Ind

á / (kpá ðkwálékwo / gò-tú-lɛ / má ú/se-ji-dí

that how Tortoise took then he-waited

//lɛ ùdú / àdɛ́ ya //)

in hole place that

That was how Tortoise came to be lurking in the hole there. G1.14

The Cp place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 3(iii) of structure S1 A S2 P L.

161. S and Cp places, at Ind

ndé / yò lábó

where you question

Where are you? B18.4

162. S and Cp places, at Ind in a RS Sen

bá ndé //áǵájé m / á (yá) //

that where spoon the that-of self

"Where is that spoon of mine?" S17.18

163. S and Cp places, at Ind

ndé /(kpé áná m / zé-lé) lá

where how pond the is question

How is the fish-pond? B35.25

4.5. Clause Class D

Clause class D is defined as those clauses which have only secondary functions. They function at the following places:-

DO, D and L in CT1

Cp in CT2

Mdl in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP

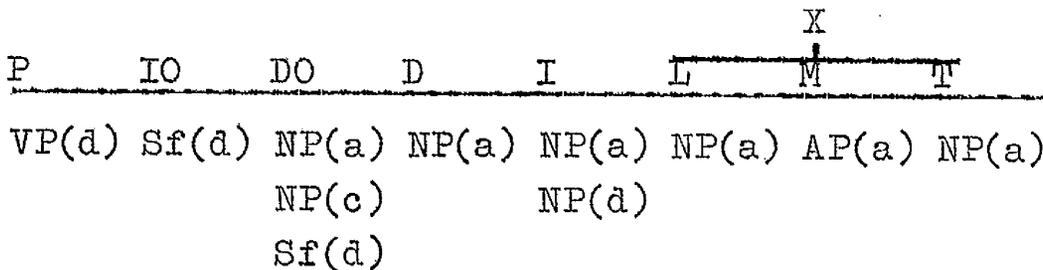
This class corresponds exactly to the structural type labelled type 5, which will now be described in detail.

4.5.1. Clause Type 5 - Structure

Six places are recognised in this clause type, three nuclear and three peripheral. In the preferred sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Predicate, Indirect Object, Direct Object, Directional, Instrumental and X. As with CT2, X is merely a cover symbol for the medial post-nuclear periphery, indicating that any one, but not more than one, of the L, M and T places may occur, as stated in section 4.1.2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

- P by a VP of subclass (d)
- IO by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)
- DO by a NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)
- D by a NP of subclass (a)
- I by a NP of subclasses (a) or (d)
- L by a NP of subclass (a)
- M by an AP of subclass (a)
- T by a NP of subclass (a)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.



Of the nuclear places, only P is obligatory, and according to the distribution of IO and DO, three subtypes are recognised, as in CT1 (section 4.2.1.1.) and CT3 (section 4.3.1.). For convenience, a summary diagram of the place distribution in the three subtypes is given below, parallel to those in the sections cited. Once more, the symbol + denotes an obligatory place, and the symbol ± an optional place.

Subtype 5(i)	+P	+IO	±DO
5(ii)	+P		+DO
5(iii)	+P		

As in subtypes 1(i) and 3(i), in subtype 5(i), the DO place is never manifested by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d).

The peripheral places are all optional, and two is the maximum number attested in any one example. It happens that in subtype 5(i) there is no example with more than one peripheral place, so that four is the maximum number of places attested in any one example of this subtype (no. 165). Four is also the largest number of places attested in any one example of subtype 5(ii) (no. 170), and three in subtype 5(iii) (nos. 174, 175 and 177). It also happens that neither the D nor the I place is attested in a clause of subtype 5(i), but as there are only a handful of examples of this subtype, this limitation is almost certainly accidental.

4.5.2. Syntactic Markers

The class of clause to which CT5 corresponds, class D, may function at the DO, D or L places in CT1, and the Cp place in CT2. At the L place in CT1, the clause is obligatorily preceded by the Preposition (Pr) class of Particles (section 11.8). This class consists of the single formal item l, as in no. 164. The clause is not marked in any of its other functions in clause structure.

At the Mdl place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP, there is no overt SM, but there is the possibility of change from the preferred sequence of places (cf. section 4.2.1.3.2.). The syntactically ambivalent Hd word of the NP is attested to manifest the DO (nos. 165, 169), D (no. 177), I (nos. 170, 174), L (no. 171) or T (nos. 168, 175) places in the type 5 clause. Apart from place sequences produced in this way, the places always occur in the sequence listed in the previous section.

The categories of Person and Tense are not relevant to this clause type, which could appropriately be labelled the infinitive clause type.

Examples (164 - 165 subtype 5(i), 166 - 171 subtype 5(ii),
172 - 177 subtype 5(iii))

Subtype 5(i)

164. P, IO and DO places, at L in CT1(iii), with L SMS

má àlá (bè)/jì=1á+fí-jí-á-bè /

then village-of them rushed-out-again

(lá ù-zé-fí-kèjì/à / ékâ)

for to-go-put-with-him hand

Then the villagers rushed out again to lend him

a hand. R4.9

165. (DO), P, IO and L places (a maximum form) at Mdl in NP1

//éwécí / lè bélébélé áyê (à-dé-dé-kpó/yá / lè èlè) //

ashes and all things to-rub-finish-self on body

Ashes and everything to rub all over his body B35.6

Subtype 5(ii)

166. P, DO and L places, at DO in CT1(i)

àá ú/zí-ní-jí-bè / òkwálákwò / (à-bà-cí-jí /

then they-sent-for Tortoise to-come-clear-again

énà / lè édo (égwó (a)))

stroke in house-of debt-of him

Then they sent for Tortoise again to come and do some

more clearing for his in-laws' family. S21.5

167. P and DO places, at D in CT1(iii)
má ikpí / zé / (à-dá-yá-wé / ányíbo)
then he-goat went to-go-fetch bananas
Then He-goat went off to fetch some bananas S23.75
168. (T), P and DO places, at Mdl in NP1
èyè (à-wá+byé / ífí (ákítá) ñ)
day to-cut-off head-of dog the
The day for cutting off the dog's head S20.26
169. (DO) and P places, at Mdl in NP3
nyé / (ù-dí è-dí)
person to-eat eating
The person to be eaten S23.72
170. (I), P, DO and D places (a maximum form), at Mdl in NP4
á (ù-dú-wé / àdà (yà)/ èbó)
that to-give-with daughter-of him in-marriage
That with which to marry off his daughter S7.3
171. (L), P and DO places, at Mdl in NP1
lè àdè (ù-gbú / óhwá ñ)
in place to-cut palmfruit the
In the place for cutting the palmfruit B24.4

Subtype 5(iii)

172. P and D places, at DO in CT1(ii)
má nyé (nwa+lá ð-nwá+lá)/á-gwé / (à-yá / ádó)
then person-who dies dying fails to-return home
Anyone who dies fails to return home B19.8

173. P and L places, at DO in CT1(ii)
má /gwe / (à-ló / lɛ ɔgbòkó (ɛdɔhwá))
then you-fail to-come-out under oil-bean-tree-of Idohwa
Then you fail to appear under the oil-bean tree
at Idohwa village. B27.8
174. (I), P and D places (a maximum form) at Mdl in NP1
àgàdà (à-nàzɛ-wé / ɛzɛ)
chair to-sit-with session
A chair on which to sit down G1.12
175. (T), P and D places (a maximum form) at Mdl in NP1
èyè (à-zé / ɛdɔ (ɛgwó) ñ)
day to-go house-of debt the
A day to visit the in-laws B26.3
176. P and M places, at L in CT1(iii), with L SMS
á /(kpá mótó (ɛhwáda) / nyè-hwó-lɛ-bè / ényè /
that how lorry-of Ahoada saw-at-last with-eye
(lɛ à-kádé-kpó / kpáɛ))
on to-go-away-finish completely
That was how the Ahoada lorries had nearly all gone.
B38.40 (The CT1(iii) functions at Cp in a CT4)
177. (D), P and T places (a maximum form) at Mdl in NP1
àdɛ (à-kpá à-kpá / lɛ àbàlɛ)
place to-feed feeding in night
Somewhere to feed at night S1.6

See also no. 127, where a clause of type 5(iii) is at Cp in CT2, and no. 128, where a clause of type 5(ii) is at Cp in CT2.

4.6. The Clause Complex

Where two or more clauses in paratactic relationship to each other are together manifesting only one place in the structure of another unit, a Clause Complex (ClCx) is established. A ClCx (or for that matter, any other supplementary unit) may operate at any place where all its constituent elements may operate. Thus, no statement about the functional potential of any individual ClCx can be made until the class membership of its constituent elements is known. This is why supplementary units are included neither in the statements of manifesting classes for any place, nor in the statements of class distribution. This is also why supplementary units such as the ClCx are not grouped together into classes, since these would largely duplicate the class divisions of the basic units.

The principal restriction involved in the above formulation of the function of the ClCx is that no ClCx having as an element a clause of class B may operate at the Dep place in the sentence, nor in any secondary function.

4.6.1. Elements

Clauses of classes A and B only are attested to function as elements in a ClCx. The highest number of elements found in any one example is five (no. 183), in a ClCx manifesting the Ind place in the sentence. No example with more than three elements is attested in any other function (see nos. 180, 184, 185). There is no known restriction on the sequence or co-occurrence potential of the various possible (sub)classes of clause when functioning as elements in a

ClCx. A clause may be repeated identically, usually with the implication of continuing action. Where this happens (as in no. 190), the resulting sequence is treated as a ClCx like any other, though with the restriction that all the elements must belong to the same (sub)class of clause. This construction is attested only at the Ind place in the sentence.

4.6.2. Syntactic Markers

4.6.2.1. In Primary Function

At the Dep place in the sentence, each element in the ClCx must bear the SMs appropriate to the single clause in the same function, as described in sections 4.2.1.3.1. and 4.2.2.3.1., and illustrated by nos. 178 - 180.

At the Ind place, each element in the ClCx may bear the SMs appropriate to the single clause in the same function, as described in the sections cited above, and in section 4.3.3.1, and illustrated by nos. 181 - 183 and 190. When the Cnj Particle occurs, it may be either *má* or *áá*, but there may not be a change from one to the other within one ClCx. At the Ind place, there is no obligation for every element to be marked in the same way (see no. 181), so that tense variation from one clause to another is possible, albeit unusual.

At the Exg place, the first clause of the complex is obligatorily preceded by the Cs class of Particles. In the two available examples of a ClCx manifesting the Exg place, each of the subsequent clauses is preceded by *má*. The first clause has tense 2, and subsequent clauses tense 3.

4.6.2.2. In Secondary Function

In all the available examples of the ClCx in secondary functions, its elements are always clauses of subclass A(a) (= type 1), and the SMs are basically therefore as described in section 4.2.1.3.2. If the ClCx is manifesting a place in another clause, its first element is obligatorily preceded by the Rlg class of Particles, with tense 1 and the Verb Suffix -lé. Subsequent elements are preceded by the Cnj class of Particles, both má and áá being attested. Once more, there may not be a change from one to the other within one ClCx. As usual, the Cnj Particle is followed by tense 3. See examples 185 and 186.

If the ClCx is manifesting the Md1 place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP, there is no overt SM, but there is the possibility of change from the preferred sequence of places in the first clause of the complex. In such a clause, the syntactically ambivalent Hd word is attested to manifest the S, DO, D, L or T place. The second clause is usually followed by má and tense 3 (nos. 187, 188), but there is one example where both clauses have tense 8 (no. 189).

In the following examples, the top line shows the class membership of each element of the ClCx, which is crucial in delimiting the range of function of the complex as a whole. The type membership and structure of each element is shown below the example, together with the structure of any downward rank-shifted sentences or clauses that any element of the complex may contain.

Examples (178 - 190 all ClCx)

178. Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), both with Dep SMs

;á/bá-cé+gá+fé-é / bókété/lé imé (òṣwò),

she-when-threw-in bucket in inside-of well,

á-bá-nyé / ényé;

she-when-looked with-eye

When she dropped the bucket down the well and took a
look in B32.8

Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO L, and Cl 1(iii) of
structure S P I.

179. Cl A(a) and Cl A(b), both with Dep SMs

;m/bá-zé-lé / édólé ya, á/bà-lé / (mó/gbù / ákpá);

I-when-go-if trap that it-is-if I-kill fish

Whenever I go fishing, if I catch any fish S4.5

Cl 1(iii) of structure S P D, and Cl 2 of structure
S P Q; the Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of structure
Ind; this Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(ii) of
structure S P DO.

180. Cl A(a), Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), all with Dep SMs

;á/dú+má-lé / lé éci (óyúkwè), ádè / bò+lá-lé,

it-reaches-if in middle-of morning place dawns-if

á/ló-hwátò / ákwá;

he-emits-when cry

Very early in the morning, as it gets light, when he
crows B31.22

Cl 1(iii) of structure S P L, Cl 1(iii) of structure S P
and Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO.

181. Cl A(a), Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), the second and third
with Ind SMs

;ú/dù+má-bè //éká / ádí ya //, àé ú/nyi-bètè-bè / éṙwó,
they-reached farm place that then they-laid-down child
àé é/kazé-bè;

then they-went-off

They reached the farm there, put the child down to
sleep, and then went off. B21.15

Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO, Cl 1(ii) of structure
S P DO and Cl 1(iii) of structure S P.

182. Cl A(a), Cl A(a), Cl B and ClA(a), all with Ind SMs

;àé ú/dù+má, àé éṙnhwà (zè //lé ùgbùlù /
then it-reached then gorilla-which is in forest

ádí ya //)/ú-ja, àé ú/gó+nù / éṙwó ṁ /

place that came then he-took child the

àé ú/hwuyá-ké-kpó / míni / àé é/ya+fè-ké-kpó /

then he-washed-finish water then he-rubbed-finish

àdò, àé ú/me-ké-kpó/à;

powder then he-did-finish-her

After a while, a gorilla that was in the forest there
came and gave the child a good bath, and rubbed her
all over with powder, and got her quite ready. B216

Cl 1(iii) of structure S P, Cl 1(iii) of structure S P,
expanded Cl 3(ii) of structure S1 A DO S2 P1 I1 S3 P2 I2
and Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO; the S place in the second
Cl is manifested by a NPl whose Mdl place is manifested by
a RS Cl 1(iii) of structure (S) P L.

183. Cl A(a), Cl A(a), Cl A(a), Cl A(a) and Cl B

(a maximum form), all with Ind SMS

; má òkwáákwò / ná+jé-è / éyè ñ,

then Tortoise . heard thing the

má á/dò-dyo-tá-kpó / lókó /

then he-went-begged-finish silk-headscarf

lé ádo (imé (áná (a))),

in house-of inside-of mother-of him

má á/kwa-ké-kpó / kpóm (nyé (kwá /

then he-dressed-up-finish as person-who dresses

éyè (étá))), má á/lo, má á/gò+nù /

thing-of wrestling then he-went-out then he-took

òkélè má á/ko / lé énáamá;

gong then he-beat in playground

Tortoise heard the drums, then he went and borrowed a silk headscarf from his mother's family and dressed up as one does for wrestling, then he went out and beat a gong in the playground. S1.14

Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO, Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO L, Cl 1(iii) of structure S P M, Cl 1(iii) of structure S P and Cl 3(ii) of structure S1 A DO S2 P L; the M place in the third Cl is manifested by an AP whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS NP3 whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO.

184. Cl A(a), Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), with Exg SMS

; éyédòné á/lo-mò-tù/á / ò-mò-tú, má á/né/là /

because we-went-seized-her seizing then we-gave-her

áláísá, má á/né/là / bélébélé éyè (ù-dí);

rice then we-gave-her all things to-eat

Because we went and caught her, and gave her rice, and gave her all sorts of things to eat. B22.34

Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO (with discontinuous P), Cl 1(i) of structure S P IO DO and Cl 1(i) of structure S P IO DO; the DO place in the third Cl is manifested by a NPl whose Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl 5(i) of structure ^(DO)P.

185. Cl A(a), Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), at DO in CT 1(ii)

lɛ éci (óyúkwè) / é/nà+jɛ-è bà / (;kpá ɛnà /
in middle-of morning you-will-hear emphatic how cock
lɔ-lɛ / ɛkwá, àú úsù / kpɔ=kɔ+fí / úlí, àú éhwá /
emits cry then usu speaks-out report then ehwa
kwa+fɛ-jɛ-nɛ / á (yá);)
cries-out-also that-of self

Very early in the morning, you will certainly hear how the cock crows, then usu (a bird) raises his song, then ehwa (another bird) lets out his cry.

B31.35 Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO, Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO and Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO.

186. Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), at Cp in CT4

ndɛ / (;kpá á/mɛ-lɛ, má á/lo-wé/à;) là
where how we-do then we-bring-out-it question

What are we going to do to get it out? B32.15

Cl 1(iii) of structure S P and Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO.

187. Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), at Mdl in NPl

bá ndɛ /újì (;yá/ mɛ, bá má ipikilipi / nwa+lɛ;) là
that where sort self do that then Ipikilipi die question

"Whatever can I do to kill Ipikilipi?" S7.56

Cl 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P and Cl 1(iii) of structure S P.

188. Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), at Mdl in NPl.
bá á/má+jé / ádú(;yé' / á-zé, má á/ma / árwó;))
that we-shall-know place we shall-go then we-bear child
"We shall know where we should go in order to have
a child." S3.2

Cl 1(iii) of structure (D) S P and Cl 1(ii) of structure
S P DO.

189. Cl A(a) and Cl A(a), at Mdl in NP3
//ágbó / nyé (;nwè / éká-a, nwè / úkó-o;) //
snail person-who has-not hand-NV has-not leg-NV
Snail, a person who has no arms or legs B18.4

Cl 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO and Cl 1(ii) of
structure (S) P DO; this example is unique in that the
syntactically ambivalent Hd word manifests the S place in
both elements of the ClCx.

190. Cl A(a) twice repeated, with Ind SMS
áá ú/me-dí/úgbòlò, áá ú/me-dí/úgbòlò,
then she-did work then she-did work

áá ú/me-dí/úgbòlò;
then she-did work

Then she worked and worked and worked B21.5

Cl 1(ii) of structure S P DO, twice repeated.

For an example of the syntactically ambivalent Hd
word manifesting the T place in the first Cl of a ClCx
RS to Mdl in NPl, see no. 288.

CHAPTER 5

The Phrase (I) - The Nominal Phrase Class

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Chapter 5

The Phrase (I) - The Nominal Phrase Class

5.1. Phrase Rank and Phrase Classes

The Phrase is the unit ranking next below the clause. The phrase has a primary function at some place in clause structure, and also has secondary functions at certain places in the structure of other phrases. On the basis of function, phrases are divided into three classes. Phrases of class A may operate at the S place in at least one of clause types 1, 2, 3 and 4, in addition to other primary and secondary functions. Phrases of class B may operate at the P place in at least one of clause types 1, 2, 3 and 5, in addition to other primary and secondary functions. Phrases of class C may operate at the C place in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause, and at either the M or T places in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, in addition to other secondary functions; they may not operate at the S place in any clause type. In keeping with common linguistic usage, these three phrase classes are termed the Nominal, Verbal and Adverbial Phrase classes respectively, and in this thesis are referred to by their labels rather than by their less memorable class letters. However, despite the somewhat notional labels, the classes they denote are established on completely formal grounds.

Phrase class A, the Nominal Phrase class, is described in the remainder of this chapter, phrase class B, the Verbal Phrase class, in chapter 6, and phrase class C, the Adverbial Phrase class, in chapter 7.

5.2. The Nominal Phrase Class (Phrase Class A)

5.2.1. Nominal Phrase Subclasses

The Nominal Phrase class is defined as those phrases which may function at the S place in at least one of clause types 1, 2, 3 and 4. On the basis of function in specific CTs, and of other primary and secondary functions, five subclasses are established. The detailed distribution of each subclass is shown in the following paragraphs.

Nominal Phrases (NPs) of subclass (a) function at the following places:-

S in CTs 1, 2, 3 and 4

IO, DO, B and Cp in the clause nucleus

C, D, I, L, T and Q in the clause periphery

Gn in the NP nucleus

Mdl in the AP

V in the MS

and also as a fragment in elliptical sentences. This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 1.

NPs of subclass (b) function at the following places:-

S in CTs 1, 2 and 4

Cp in the clause nucleus

Q in CT1

Gn in NPTs 1 and 4

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 2.

NPs of subclass (c) function at the following places:-

S in CTs 1, 2 and 3
IO and DO in the clause nucleus
Cp in CT2
Gn in NPT1
Mdl in the AP

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 3.

NPs of subclass (d) function at the following places:
S in CTs 1, 2 and 4
C, DO, D, I, L and T in CT1
Cp in CT2
I in CT5
Gn in NPT1

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 4.

NPs of subclass (e) function only at the S place in CT4. This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 5.

A summary of NP structure follows in section 5.2.2., and then NP types 1 to 5 are described in detail in sections 5.3. to 5.7. respectively.

5.2.2. Summary of Nominal Phrase Structure

On the basis of structure, five Nominal Phrase types (NPTs) are set up, corresponding to the NP subclasses as stated in the previous section. A summary description of their structure may again be made, dividing their constituent places into nuclear and peripheral. In contrast with

clause structure, the occurrence of nuclear places in the NP is not alone a sufficient criterion for the recognition of the separate types; in this case, account must also be taken of the manifesting classes at the Head place, which are different for each type. The distinction between nuclear and peripheral places is consequently made on the basis of what the Pronoun class, the class which manifests the Hd place in NPT2, substitutes for. The nuclear places may be shown in diagram form as follows:-

Type	Hd	Gn	Num
1	Hd	Gn	Num
2	Hd		
3	Hd	Gn	
4	Hd	Gn	
5	Hd		

Full details of these places and their manifesting classes will be found in sections 5.3.1., 5.4.1., 5.5.1., 5.6.1. and 5.7.1. below.

The peripheral places are those which occur in several NPTs, and whose occurrence, though not diagnostic of any type, shows restrictions which vary from type to type. On the basis of their sequence of occurrence, the peripheral places are divided into pre-nuclear and post-nuclear. The pre-nuclear periphery consists only of the Qualifier place (Qf), which is found in NPTs 1, 2 and 3. The post-nuclear periphery consists of the Demonstrative (Dem), Modifier 1 (Md1) and Modifier 2 (Md2) places. These places are found in NPTs 1, 2, 3 and 4, with the restriction that in NPT2 any one of them, but not more than one, may occur, and in

NPT3, any two, but not more than two. In NPTs 2 and 3, the pre-nuclear periphery and post-nuclear periphery do not co-occur, though in NPT1 they may. In NPT5, the only peripheral place which occurs is the Md2 place. In the diagram of peripheral places below, the superscript numerals indicate the number of post-nuclear places which may co-occur, and brackets indicate places which are mutually exclusive within any one type.

	Pre-nuc (Qf)	Nucleus	Post-nuclear (Dem, Md1, Md2)
Type 1	x		x^3
2	(x)		(x ¹)
3	(x)		(x ²)
4			x^3
5			x

In NPTs 3 and 4, the occurrence of the Gn place in the nucleus precludes the occurrence of any peripheral places, and could be used as a formal basis for the establishment of subtypes within these types. But since this restriction does not apply to NPT1, subtypes are not set up.

Full details of the manifesting classes attested at each place in each type will be found in the relevant sections of this chapter, as cited above. The complete range of manifesting classes for each place is found only in NPT1.

5.3. Nominal Phrase Type 1

5.3.1. Structure

Nominal Phrase type 1 is the type to which a majority of all the NPs recorded belong. In this type, seven places are recognised, three nuclear and four peripheral. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, the places are labelled Qualifier (Qf), Head (Hd), Genitive (Gn), Numeral (Num), Demonstrative (Dem), Modifier 1 (Md1) and Modifier 2 (Md2). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

- Qf by a Quantifier (Qt), or a Noun Prefix (NPF)
- Hd by a Noun (N), or a Qt of subclasses (a) or (b), or a Number (Nb) of subclass (a)
- Gn by a downward RS NP of subclasses (a), (b), (c) or (d), or a downward RS AP of subclass (a)
- Num by a Nb
- Dem by a Specifier (Spc)
- Md1 by a downward RS Cl of classes A(a) or D
- Md2 by an Identifier (Id), or a Terminal (Tm), or a Marginal (Mg) of subclasses (a), (b), (c), (e) or (f)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Qf</u>	<u>Hd</u>	<u>Gn</u>	<u>Num</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Md1</u>	<u>Md2</u>
Qt	N	NP(a)	Nb	Spc	ClA(a)	Id
NPF	Qt(a)	NP(b)			ClD	Tm
	Qt(b)	NP(c)				Mg(a)
	Nb(a)	NP(d)				Mg(b)
		AP(a)				Mg(c)
						Mg(e)
						Mg(f)

Only the Hd place is obligatory, all the other places being optional. The maximum number of places attested in any one example is five. Within this limit, all the theoretical co-occurrence possibilities are attested, except that the Num place is not attested to co-occur with either the Qf place or the Md2 place. This is probably to be regarded as fortuitous. Maximum forms are shown as nos. 210 and 222. Many examples have the minimal structure Hd.

In certain circumstances, more than one analysis is possible. Where the Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of a subclass other than (b), and is followed by one or more of the Num, Dem, Md1 and Md2 places, these places may be analysed either as part of the RS NP, or as part of the original NP. No phonetic distinction between the two kinds of structure has been observed, but the context usually indicates which analysis is preferable. In examples 215, 219 and 225 below, the suspect places are analysed as belonging to the RS NP, and in examples 205 - 213, they are analysed as belonging to the original NP.

5.3.2. Syntactic Markers

The subclass of NP to which NP11 corresponds, subclass (a), has obligatory SMs in only two of its primary functions. At the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause, it is preceded by the Itr class of Particles (see section 11.3.). Their selection is conditioned in exactly the same way as described in section 3.3.2. At the L place in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, the NP is preceded by the Preposition (Pr) class of Particles (see section 11.8.), which consists of the single formal item lā.

This is exemplified in nos. 213, 217, 219, 221, 223 and 225 below, as well as in such examples as nos. 1, 2, 7, 109, 117, 118, 120, 131, 134, 141, 143, 145 - 148 etc. in previous chapters. The Pr class of Particles may also occur as an optional SM at the T place in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, and at the C place in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause. See nos. 10, 125, 146 and 185. At the T and C places as at the L place, the Pr Particle always precedes the NP it marks.

No SMs of secondary functions have been observed.

5.3.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When the Mdl place occurs, syntactic ambivalence always arises, since the word manifesting the Hd place in the NP is simultaneously manifesting some place in the RS Cl. at the Mdl place. In sections 4.2.1.3.2., 4.2.2.3.2., 4.5.2. and 4.6.2.2. this feature has been described with respect to the changes it produces in the sequence of clause rank places. In the analysis of the NP, the importance lies in the range of places in the RS Cl. which the syntactically ambivalent word in each type of NP may manifest. In NPT1, the syntactically ambivalent Hd word may also manifest the S, IO, DO, D, I, L, T or Q places in a RS Cl. of class A(a), and the DO, D, I, L or T places in a RS Cl. of class D. These various possibilities are shown in, amongst others, the following examples.

Cl A(a) = CT1							
S	IO	DO	D	I	L	T	Q
211	107	209	231	232	221	106	233
212		210				114	234
219		216				288	235

		Cl D = CT5			
DO	D	I	L	T	
165	177	226	171	168	
		174		175	
		176			

When the syntactically ambivalent word is said to manifest the Q place in the RS Cl, the position is somewhat more complicated than in the other cases, and needs to be amplified. In all the available examples where the Mdl place in a NP is manifested by a RS Cl containing a Q place, that Q place is manifested by a RS Sen of minimal structure, consisting only of an Ind place. Again in every case, this Ind place is manifested by a clause of class A(a). In these circumstances, the syntactically ambivalent word has a third function, since it manifests one of the places in this clause. Thus to state merely that the Hd word is manifesting the Q place in the RS Cl at Mdl, though useful both through its brevity and its parallelism with the statement of other possible relationships, is not sufficient to show the full analysis. The function of the Hd word within the doubly RS clause must also be indicated. With such a clause, the Hd word is attested to manifest the DO (no. 234), I (no. 233) or L (no. 235) places.

In the following examples of NPT1, the structure of any downward RS clauses or phrases is stated beneath the translation, as was done at clause rank in the previous chapter. The Gn place in these examples is manifested by a RS NP of type 1 of (minimal) structure Hd, unless otherwise stated.

Examples (201 - 235 all NPT1)

201. Hd place only

ìkpfí

he-goat

He-goat S23.40

202. Qf and Hd places

àdó èmènè

other people

Other people S19.38

203. Hd and Gn places (~~cf. no. 11 for context~~)

ògbó (èṅwè)

group-of monkeys

A group of monkeys S2.10

204. Qf, Hd and Gn places

béìlébélé mǎdà (éluwá)

all people-of world

All the people of the world S24.55

205. Hd, Gn and Num places

égbó (ókwatà) átó

bunch-of palmfruit three

Three bunches of palmfruit B35.7

206. Hd, Gn, Num and Dem places

égbó (ókwatà) átó ñ

bunch-of palmfruit three the

The three bunches of palmfruit B35.8

207. Hd, Gn and Dem places

úfi (báka) ya

tree much that

That huge tree B32.20

The Gn place is manifested by a RS AP(a) of structure Hd.

208. Qf, Hd, Gn and Dem places (cf. no. 289 for context)

ù+újí (mélécá) nēne

a-sort-of soup certain

A certain sort of soup B38.32

209. Hd, Gn, Dem and Mdl places

ífi (ézábálá) m̄ (i/nè-ni/yà)

head-of fox the you-people-gave-self

The fox's head that you gave me S8.38

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (DO) S P IO.

210. Hd, Gn, Dem, Mdl and Md2 places (a maximum form)

ijélè (ámá) m̄ (yá' / yè=kè-tù-kpò) òm̄

george-cloth-of goodness the self put-on-finish thus

The beautiful george-cloth that he had just put on

B6.6 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P.

211. Hd, Gn and Mdl places

mádu (ègèdè) (zò-já-nê / táá)

person-of reality who-is-beautiful-also very

A human being who was also very beautiful G2.4

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P M.

212. Qf, Hd, Gn and Mdl places

í+íkí/í (ábàjé) (lè+dù-kèjì/yô / lè ùdù)

a-half-of snake that-slipped-in-beside-you in hole

Half a snake that crawled into your hole with you

S22.39 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (S) P IO L; the L place in this Cl is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd, with L SM.

213. Hd, Gn and Md2 places, with L SM

lè ózà (édo (yè)) dèhwá

in rear-of house-of us likewise

Just behind our house B32.1

The Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd.

214. Hd and Num places

éwó élá

child how-many?

How many children? G2.19

215. Hd, Num and Dem places, RS to Gn in NPT1

ánàzè (éwó ébó ya)

condition-of child two that

The condition of those two children E1.7

216. Hd, Num, Dem and Mdl places

pámé étó ñ (ù/bù-ò / (pá yá / bi-ni /

pound three the he-carried that self buy-for

ñwényi (yà)/èkàné ñ))

wife-of self cloth the

The é3 he was carrying in order to buy the cloth for his wife S14.16

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P Q; this Q place is manifested by a minimal sentence whose Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(i) of structure S P IO DO; in this clause, the S place is manifested by a NP of type 2 of structure Hd, the IO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn, where the Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd; and the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

217. Hd and Dem places, with L SM

lɛ àdɛ́ ɛ̀mà

in place this

In this very place S2.20

218. Qf, Hd, and Dem places

ɔ̀táɛ́ ɔ̀nɔ́ ya

many goats that

That large number of goats R4.20

219. Hd, Dem and Mdl places, RS to Gn in NPT1 with L SM

lɛ ɛ̀ká (únúnwé m̄ (zù / ɛ̀gbù))

in hand-of woman the who-stole theft

In the possession of the woman who had stolen (it)

S11.10 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO.

220. Qf, Hd, Dem and Mdl places

ɔ̀tú ɛ̀yɛ́ m̄ (í/úɔ̀ / kà-nà-ɛ̀/là)

those things the gecko told-him

Those things that Gecko told him G2.11

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (DO) S P IO.

221. Hd, Dem, Md1 and Md2 places, with L SM

lɛ àdɛ̀ m̄ (yá / ʒɛ̀) óm̄

in place the self was thus

Just where he himself was B28.58

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii)
of structure (L) S P.

222. Qf, Hd, Dem, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)

bélɛ̀bɛ̀lɛ̀ ɔ̀wáyɛ̀ m̄ (gwà+lɛ̀-hwɔ̀) yá

all money the that-was-left thus

All the money that was left B38.51

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii)
of structure (S) P.

223. Hd, Dem and Md2 places, with L SM

lɛ igbú wɛ̀ nɛ̀

on side that towards

Over on that side E2.11

224. Qf, Hd, Dem and Md2 places

òtú ɛ̀nà m̄ ɛ̀nɛ̀nɛ̀m̄

those hens the other

Those other hens B24.23

225. Hd and Md1 places, RS to Gn in NPT1 with L SM

lɛ ímé (ónádo (ʒɛ̀ / lɛ ɛ̀kwɛ̀ (ádo (yè)))

in inside-of pit that-is on side-of house-of us

In a pit that is beside our house B22.1

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii)
of structure (S) P L; the L place is manifested by a NP of
type 1 of structure Hd Gn; the Gn place is manifested by a
RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is mani-
fested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd.

226. Hd and Md1 places

úfi (à-gbá-wé / àdè)

stick to-fence-with place

Sticks with which to fence the place S16.20

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 5(ii) of structure (I) P DO.

227. Qf, Hd and Md1 places

à+únú (à/hwò-dèdè-bè // lè alá / alá //

a-pond they-used-to-bale on year year

A pond they used to bale every year B35.2

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P T; the T place is manifested by a NP Cx of type 2, for whose analysis see no. 284.

228. Hd, Md1 and Md2 places

fyé (yá' / gbà+fè) óm

thing self spread-out thus

The things he had just spread out S3.69

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P.

229. Hd and Md2 places

ùbótù jánè

some also

Some also B38.28

230. Hd and Gn places (cf. no. 102 for context)

émèné (édo (ímé (fná (a))))

people-of house-of inside-of mother-of him

The people of his mother's family S20.7

The Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is also manifested by a RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn is also manifested by a RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd. Four degrees of rank-shifting, as here, is the highest number attested in an NP.

231. Hd and Mdl places

àdɛ́ (à/dɔ́-wà / ijàdɛ́ m)

place he-went-threw net the

The place to which he went to cast his net S5.14

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (D) S P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

232. Hd, Dem and Mdl places

ɔ́wáyɛ́ m (yá' / gbà-wè / éwá m)

money the self gave-with oracle the

The money with which he was paid for giving the oracle

B30.13 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (I) S P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

233. Qf , Hd, Dem and Mdl places

béélébéélé ùlí m (únúnwé m / kà / (bá yá' / kpà-wè /

all thread the woman the said that self weave-with
àkànɛ́ m))

cloth the

All the thread with which the woman said she would
weave the cloth S3.49

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (Q) S P; the S place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem, and the Q place by a minimal sentence whose Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (I) S P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

234. Hd, Dem, Mdl and Md2 places

ṅwúje ṁ (~~á~~/ká-bè / (bá ñdése/~~ó~~/kpò-bè ó-kpò)) yá
friendship the they-said that not they-break breaking so
The friendship they said just couldn't be broken

S18.21 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (Q) S P; the Q place is manifested by a minimal sentence whose Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P; the P place is manifested by a discontinuous unit.

235. Hd, Dem and Mdl places, with L SM

lá ádí ṁ (yá' / ká / (bá yá' / ná / ádo ṁ))
in place the self said that self build house the

In the place where he said he would build the house

S23.12 The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (Q) S P; the Q place is manifested by a minimal sentence whose Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (L) S P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

5.4. Nominal Phrase Type 2

5.4.1. Structure

Three places are recognised in this type, one nuclear and two peripheral. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Qf, Hd and Y. Y is merely a cover symbol for the post-nuclear periphery, indicating that any one, but not more than one, of the Dem, Md1 and Md2 places may occur, as stated in section 5.2.2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Qf by a Quantifier of subclass (a)

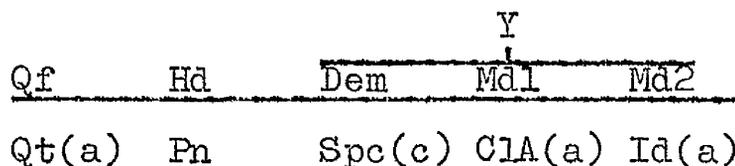
Hd by a Pronoun (Pn)

Dem by a Specifier of subclass (c)

Md1 by a downward RS Cl of class A(a)

Md2 by an Identifier of subclass (a)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.



The Hd place is obligatory and the others optional. Since the pre-nuclear and post-nuclear peripheral places do not co-occur, the maximum number of places attested in any one example is two (nos. 237 - 241).

When a NP of this type is manifesting the S place in a clause of types 1 or 2, the full range of concord possibilities between the units manifesting the S and P places is found, as stated in section 4.2.1.4. For details, see sections 8.2.6. and 13.3.1.1.

5.4.2. Syntactic Markers

The subclass of NP to which NPT2 corresponds, subclass (b), has obligatory SMS only at the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause. In this function, it is preceded by the Itr class of Particles (section 11.3.) whose selection is conditioned just as described in section 3.3.2.

In secondary function, at the Gn place in NPTs 1 and 4, an NP of type 2 never consists of more than the Hd place, and is marked by certain tonal changes. These are shown in detail in section 8.2.6. It should be noted that such tonal changes cannot be indicated in the examples by underlining, as are other SMS.

5.4.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When the Md1 place occurs, syntactic ambivalence arises, as described in section 5.3.3. In NPT2, the syntactically ambivalent Hd word is attested to manifest only the S place in the RS C1 of class A(a), as in no. 241.

Examples (236 - 245 all NPT2)

236. Hd place only

yé

we

We S3.2

237. Qf and Hd places
bélébélé b'é
all they
All of them G1.6

238. Hd and Dem places
yá n'étéh
he alone
He alone B25.2

239. Hd and Md2 places
yô w'éw'é
you self
You yourself G2.43

240. Hd and Md2 places
m'é w'é
I self
I myself B39.3

241. Hd and Md1 places
yô (i-nwè / úkó ñ)
you who-have leg the
(It is) you who are the owner of the leg S8.41

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii)
of structure (S) P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP
of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

242. Hd place only, RS to Gn in NPT1
fádá (m'é)
father-of me
My father B30.3

243. Hd place only, RS to Gn in NPT1
 #dâ (a)
 father-of him
 His father S3.38
244. Hd place only, RS to Gn in NPT1
 #dâ (yâ)
 father-of self
 His own father B13.6
245. Hd place only, RS to Gn in NPT1
 #dâ (yâ)
 father-of you-people
 Your fathers B35.36

See also nos. 213, 225, 230, 262, 277 - 283 etc.

5.5. Nominal Phrase Type 3

Phrase Type 3

5.5.1. Structure

Five places are recognised in this type, two nuclear and three peripheral. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Qf, Hd, Gn, Y and Z. Y and Z are merely cover symbols for the post-nuclear periphery, indicating that any two, but not more than two, of the Dem, Md1 and Md2 places may occur, as stated in section 5.2.2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Qf by a Noun Prefix

Hd by a Relative (Rel)

Gn by a downward RS NP of subclass (a)

Dem by a Specifier of subclasses (a) or (b)

Md1 by a downward RS Cl of classes A or D

Md2 by a Terminal, or a Marginal of subclass (e)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

Qf	Hd	Gn	Y	Z	Md2
NPF	Rel	NP(a)	Dem	Md1	Tm
			Spc(a)	C1A	
			Spc(b)	CLD	Mg(e)

The Hd place is obligatory, and all the other places optional. The Gn place does not co-occur with any of the peripheral places, nor do the pre-nuclear and post-nuclear peripheral places co-occur. The maximum number of places attested in any one example is therefore three (nos. 254 - 258).

5.5.2. Syntactic Markers

No syntactic markers have been found, either in primary or in secondary function.

5.5.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When the Md1 place occurs, syntactic ambivalence arises, as described in section 5.3.3. In NPT3, the syntactically ambivalent Hd word is attested to manifest the S, IO and DO places in a RS Cl of class A(a)(nos. 254, 257 and 252 respectively); the S place in a RS Cl of class A(b)(no. 251); and the DO place in a RS Cl of class D (no. 250).

Examples (246 - 259 all NPT3)

246. Hd place only

nyé

person

Someone S8.35

247. Qf and Hd places

//ǎǎnyé / ézè //

one-person chief

A certain chief G2.25

248. Hd and Gn places

nyé (ǎsàmàlè)

person-of hunt

A hunter S23.56

249. Hd and Dem places

nyé émà

person this

This very person S12.19

250. Hd and Mdl places

nyé (ù-dí è-dí)

person to-eat eating

The person to be eaten S23.72

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 5(ii)
of structure (DO) P.

251. Hd and Mdl places

nyé (bè ǎ-bá)

person who-is being

Who it really was G2.7

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 2 of structure (S) P.

252. Hd and Mdl places

nyé (á-dá-dá-bé)

person they-will-fall-into

Anyone upon whom they would fall S1.8

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P.

253. Hd and Md2 places

nyé ómóm

person thus

This person E1.15

254. Hd, Dem and Mdl places (a maximum form)

nyé ñ (ŋwé / ðdêná ñ)

person the who-has plantain the

The owner of the plantain S11.3

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

255. Hd, Dem and Mdl places (a maximum form)

nyé ya (zè / kpóm (òkwéákwo))

person that who-is like Tortoise

That person who is like Tortoise S22.43

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P M.

256. Hd, Dem and Md2 places (a maximum form) RS to Gn in NPT1
àdǎ̀nwò (nyé m yá)
eldest-daughter-of person the thus
That man's eldest daughter S20.23
257. Hd, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)
nyé (yá / dǎ̀+ǎ̀-ǎ̀/ǎ̀nwò) ómóm
person self marry-to child thus
The very person to whom he would marry his child
B37.3 The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of
type 1(i) of structure (IO) S P DO.
258. Hd, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)(cf. no. 3 for
context)
nyé (gbà / éwá) dǎ̀hwá
person-who gives oracle likewise
A soothsayer B39.1
The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii)
of structure (S) P DO.
259. Hd and Md1 places, RS to Md1 in AP (cf. no. 183 for
context)
kpóm (nyé (kwà / éyé (ètá)))
as person-who dresses thing-of wrestling
Like someone who dresses up for wrestling S1.14
The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii)
of structure (S) P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP
of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; the Gn place is manifested
by a RS NP of type 1 of structure Hd.

See also nos. 276, 280, 286, 293, 294 and 298.

5.6. Nominal Phrase Type 4

5.6.1. Structure

Five places are recognised in this type, two nuclear and three peripheral. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Hd, Gn, Dem, Md1 and Md2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

- Hd by an Obviative (Ob)
- Gn by a downward RS NP of subclasses (a) or (b)
- Dem by a Specifier of subclass (a)
- Md1 by a downward RS Cl of classes A or D
- Md2 by an Identifier of subclass (b), or a Terminal of subclass (a)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Hd</u>	<u>Gn</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Md1</u>	<u>Md2</u>
Ob	NP(a)	Spc(a)	ClA	Id(b)
	NP(b)		ClD	Tm(a)

The Hd place is obligatory and all the other places are optional. The Gn place does not co-occur with any of the three peripheral places. Neither the Dem nor the Md2 place is attested to occur as the sole peripheral place. The three peripheral places may co-occur, so that four is the maximum number of places attested in any one example (no. 269).

5.6.2. Syntactic Markers

The subclass of NP to which NPT4 corresponds, subclass (d), has obligatory SMs in three of its primary functions.

At the C place in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause, and at the L and T places in the medial post-nuclear periphery, the NP is preceded by the Preposition class of Particles. At the T place, where the NP of type 4 has a RS Cl of class A(a) at Mdl, the RS Cl must show tense 1 and the subclass (d) Verb Suffix -lĕ, as in no. 265.

No SMS of secondary function have been observed.

5.6.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When the Mdl place occurs, syntactic ambivalence arises, as described in section 5.3.3. In NPT4, the syntactically ambivalent Hd word is attested to manifest the C, S and Q places in a RS Cl of class A(a)(nos. 265, 266 and 269 respectively); the S place in a RS Cl of class A(b)(no. 264); and the I place in a RS Cl of class D (no. 263). When the Hd word of the NPT4 is manifesting the Q place in the RS Cl of class A(a), it also manifests some further place within the unit functioning at Q, as described for NPT1 in section 5.3.3. The Hd word of NPT4 is attested to manifest only the DO place in such a unit (no. 269; cf. sentence 24 of the analysed text of chapter 14).

Examples (260 - 269 all NPT4)

260. Hd place only

ĕ

that

That one S25.10

261. Hd and Gn places, with L SM

lɛ á (ɪfúɔ́)

in that-of Gecko

At Gecko's (house) G2.10

262. Hd and Gn places

á (bɛ)

that-of them

Theirs M1.5

263. Hd and Mdl places

á (ù-dú-wé / ádá (yà) / ɛbɔ́)

that to-give-with daughter-of him in-marriage

That with which to marry off his daughter S7.3

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 5(ii) of structure (I) P DO D; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Gn; the Gn place is manifested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd.

264. Hd and Mdl places (cf. no. 132 for context)

á (á-bà-hwátɔ́)

that-which is-at-all

Whatever it was B20.2

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 2 of structure (S) P.

265. Hd and Mdl places, with T SM

lɛ á (yá / lɔ́-lɛ / lɛ óyúkwè)

in that self went-out-if in morning

Whenever he went out in the morning S5.40

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (C) S P T.

266. Hd, Dem and Md1 places

á ñ (gbù-wě / bɛ́tɔ́ ñ)

that-one the which-made-up three the

The third one B28.19

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO; the DO place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem.

267. Hd, Dem and Md2 places

á ñ ɛ́nɛ́nɛ́m

that-one the other

That other one B16.9

268. Hd, Dem and Md2 places, RS to Gn in NPT1

ɛ́ná (á ñ ɛ́nɛ́nɛ́m)

mother-of that-one the other

The mother of the other one B16.14

269. Hd, Dem, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)

á ñ (ɛ́/ká / kpɔ́m / (bɛ́ ɛ́-má+jɛ́-é-bɛ́

that-one the you-said thus that they-will-not-know

ɛ́-má+jɛ́) yá

knowing so

The one you said they would simply never find out

B37.24 The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of

type 1(iii) of structure (Q) S P M; the Q place is manifested by a minimal sentence whose Ind place is manifested by a Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (DO) S P.

See also nos. 106, 295 and 296.

5.7. Nominal Phrase Type 5

5.7.1. Structure

Two places are recognised in this type, one nuclear and one peripheral. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Hd and Md2. (Although in this type there is no Md1 place, the label Md2 is used since the manifesting classes for this place are similar to those for the Md2 place in other NP types; they are quite different from the manifesting classes at the Md1 place in other NP types.) The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Hd by an Interrogative (Itv)

Md2 by a Marginal of subclasses (a) or (b)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Hd</u>	<u>Md2</u>
Itv	Mg(a)
	Mg(b)

The Hd place is obligatory and the Md2 place optional. The theoretical maximum of two places is, of course, attested, as in nos. 271 and 272.

5.7.2. Syntactic Markers

No SMS have been found with this type.

Examples (270 - 272 all NPT5)

270. Hd place only

ndé

how?

How? B32.15

271. Hd and Md2 places

ndé jɛnɛ

where also?

Where on earth? S7.18

272. Hd and Md2 places

ndé hwɔ

how then?

How ever? G1.2

See also nos. 161 - 163.

5.8. The Nominal Phrase Complex

Where two or more Nominal Phrases in paratactic relationship to each other are together manifesting only one place in the structure of another unit, a Nominal Phrase Complex (NPCx) is established. A NPCx may operate at any place where all its constituent elements may operate. Thus, no statement about the functional potential of any individual NPCx can be made until the subclass membership of its constituent elements is known. The principal restriction involved in this formulation of the function of the NPCx is that no NPCx having^{as} an element a NP of subclass (b) may operate in CT1 at other than the S place.

On the basis of structure, three types of NPCx are recognised. They are described in sections 5.8.1. to 5.8.3. below.

5.8.1. Nominal Phrase Complex Type 1

5.8.1.1. Elements

NPs of subclasses (a), (b) and (c) are attested to function as elements in a NPCx of type 1. The highest number of elements found in any one example is three (nos. 274 and 275). There is no known restriction on the sequence or co-occurrence potential of the various possible subclasses of NP when functioning as elements in a NPCx of type 1. However, it happens that the (relatively few) examples with three elements show only NPs of subclass (a). The second and third elements of a NPCx of type 1 are normally preceded by the Cumulative class of Particles (Cum), which consists of the single formal item $l\dot{x}$ - and. See section 11.9. and nos. 273, 274, 276 - 278. Where three elements occur, however, the Cum may be optionally omitted, as in no. 275. Where the second of two elements is a NP of subclass (b), the Cum Particle may optionally coalesce with it, taking the form of a harmonising postposed clitic, as in nos. 279 - 281 (contrast no. 277). The forms arising from such coalescence are shown in full in section 8.2.6.

In addition to the range of function permitted by the statement in the previous section, the NPCx of type 1 may also occur as a rank-shifted unit manifesting the Hd place in a NP of type 1. It may also occur as an element in a further NPCx of type 3. See nos. 283, and 297 - 298. This type of NPCx could appropriately be labelled cumulative.

5.8.1.2. Syntactic Markers

The NPCx as a whole carries the same SMs as its constituent elements would do in the same function. This formulation applies equally to all types of NPCx.

5.8.1.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When rank-shifted to manifest the Hd place in NPT1, the NPCx has the same theoretical range of relationships with the RS Cl manifesting the Mdl place as has the simple Noun. However, in practice a RS NPCx in this function is very rare, and is attested to manifest only the S place in a RS Cl of class A(a), as in no. 283.

Examples (273 - 283 all NPCx type 1)

273. NP(a) and NP(e), with Cum

//à+úgwá (áñwó (ánu))/lâ áñwó (ánu) ábó //
one-score-of child-of pond and child-of pond two
Twenty-two small ponds R5.24

NPT1 of structure Qf Hd Gn, and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn Num; the Gn place in the first NP is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd.

274. NP(a), NP(e), and NP(e), with Cum

//òkwálákwó / lâ nwényi (á) / lâ àmèlèdè (yá) //
Tortoise and wife-of him and children-of him
Tortoise and his wife and children S7.76

NPT1 of structure Hd, NPT1 of structure Hd Gn and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn; both Gn places are manifested by a RS' NPT2 of structure Hd.

275. NP(a), NP(a) and NP(a)

//bidi/ ówáyé / ádò //

food money house

Food, money and a house S5.18

NPT1 of structure Hd, NPT1 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd.

276. NP(c) and NP(c), with Cum

//nyé (é-zè è-zé-e) / lè nyé (zè è-zé) //

person-who went-not going-NV and person-who went going

Those who didn't go and those who went G1.16

NPT3 of structure Hd Md1, and NPT3 of structure Hd Md1; both Md1 places are manifested by a RS C1 of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P.

277. NP(b) and NP(b), with Cum

//yá / lè yô //

self and you

You and I myself S13.13

NPT2 of structure Hd and NPT2 of structure Hd

278. NP(b) and NP(a), with Cum

//yá / lè àgbèdè (fibe (á)) //

she and girls-of age-group-of her

She and the girls of her age-group B37.11

NPT2 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd Gn; this Gn place is manifested by a RS NPT2 of structure Hd.

279. NP(a) and NP(b) with coalesced Cum

//nwúje (mè) / mè-lè //

friend-of me me-and

My friend and I R5.8

NPT1 of structure Hd Gn and NPT2 of structure Hd; the Gn place in the first NP is manifested by a RS NPT2 of structure Hd.

280. NP(c) and NP(b), with coalesced Cum
//nyé ñ yá / yá-la //
person the thus self-and
He himself and that person S12.19
NPT3 of structure Hd Dem Md2, and NPT2 of structure Hd.

281. NP(b) and NP(b), with coalesced Cum
//yá / bɛ-lɛ //
she them-and
She and they S13.9
NPT2 of structure Hd and NPT2 of structure Hd.

282. NP(a) and NP(a), with Cum, RS to Gn in NPT1
úzu (//ɛdá (yá) / lɛ ɛná (yá) //)
corpse-of father-of self and mother-of self
The corpses of his father and his mother B3.11
NPT1 of structure Hd Gn and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn;
both Gn places are manifested by a RS NPT2 of structure Hd.

283. NP(a) and NP(b), with coalesced Cum, RS to Hd in NPT1
//óbi / yó-lo // (ɛ-ná-ná / séléɛ)
porcupine you-and who-lay yesterday
(It was) Porcupine and you who slept together yesterday
S18.12 NPT1 of structure Hd and NPT2 of structure Hd;
the Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of
structure (S) P T.

5.8.2. Nominal Phrase Complex Type 2

5.8.2.1. Elements

NPs of subclasses (a) and (c) are attested to function as elements in a NPCx of type 2. This type always consists of two elements, the second being an identical repetition of the first. Thus no mixture of NP subclasses among the elements is possible.

In addition to the range of function permitted by the statement in section 5.8., the NPCx of type 2 may also occur as a rank-shifted unit manifesting the Hd place in a NP of type 1 (no. 288). It may also occur as an element in a further NPCx of type 2 (no. 287). This type of NPCx could be labelled repetitional.

5.8.2.2. Syntactic Markers

What was said about SMs for NPCx type 1 is exactly applicable to NPCx type 2. See section 5.8.1.2.

5.8.2.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When rank-shifted to manifest the Hd place in NP1, the NPCx has the same theoretical range of relationships with the RS Cl manifesting the Md1 place as has the simple Noun. However, in practice a RS NPCx in this function is rare, and is attested to manifest only the S and L places in a RS Cl of class A(a), and the T place in the first clause of a RS ClCx, as in no. 288.

Examples (284-288 all NPCx type 2)

284. NP(a) and NP(a), with T SM (cf. no. 227 for context)

//lé álá / álá //

on year year

Every year B35.2

NPT1 of structure Hd, repeated.

285. NP(a) and NP(a)

//éṅwó (ékpá) / éṅwó (ékpá) //

child-of fish child-of fish

Small fishes B3.8

NPT1 of structure Hd Gn, repeated.

286. NP(c) and NP(c)

//nyé / nyé //

person person

Each person S18.23

NPT3 of structure Hd, repeated.

287. NPCx2 and NPCx2; each NPCx2 consists of NP(a) and NP(a)

// //ṅwáné / ṅwáné // //ṅwáné / ṅwáné // //

one one one one

One by one B35.22

NPT1 of structure Hd, repeated; NPT1 of structure Hd, repeated.

288. NP(a) and NP(a), RS to Hd in NPT1

((è+éyè / è+éyè //)(ù/zè, mé é/gwé / (ù-gbú))

a-day a-day he-went then he-failed to-kill

(There wasn't) a single day he went without a kill

S23.57 NPT1 of structure Qf Hd, repeated; the Mdl

place is manifested by a RS ClCx whose elements are both of class A(a); the first is of type 1(iii), of structure (T) S P, and the second of type 1(ii), of structure S P DO; the DO place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 5(ii) of structure P

5.8.3. Nominal Phrase Complex Type 3

5.8.3.1. Elements

NPs of subclasses (a), (b), (c) and (d) are attested to function as elements in a NPCx of type 3. No example consists of more than two elements. NPs of subclass (a) may co-occur with NPs of any of the other subclasses, though NPs of subclasses (b), (c) and (d) are not attested to co-occur with each other. Where the elements are NPs of different subclasses, either subclass may precede the other. This type of NPCx is distinct from the other types in that it may be discontinuous, as in nos. 291 and 297. When this happens, the first element occurs in the normal clause rank sequence for the place it is manifesting, while the second element occurs at the end of the clause.

In addition to the range of function permitted by the statement in section 5.8., the NPCx of type 3 may also occur as a rank-shifted unit manifesting the Hd place in a NP of type 1 (no. 299). It may also occur as an element in a further NPCx of type 3 (no. 298). This type of NPCx could be labelled appositional.

5.8.3.2. Syntactic Markers

What was said about SMs for NPCx type 1 is exactly applicable to NPCx type 3. See section 5.8.1.2.

5.8.3.3. Syntactic Ambivalence

When rank-shifted to manifest the Hd place in NPT1, the NPCx has the same theoretical range of relationships with the RS Cl manifesting the Md1 place as has the simple Noun. However, no example shows a NPCx of type 3 RS to manifest the Hd place in any NPT1 with a Md1 place, so that in practice the question of syntactic ambivalence has not yet arisen.

Examples (289 - 299 all NPCx type 3)

289. NP(a) and NP(a)

//í+íyé néne / ù+újí (mélécá) néne //

a-thing certain a-sort-of soup certain

A certain thing, that is, a certain sort of soup

B38.32 NPT1 of structure Qf Hd Dem and NPT1 of structure Qf Hd Gn Dem.

290. NP(a) and NP(a), with L SM

//l_í ímé (mótò) / àcá ya dáhwá //

in inside-of lorry place that likewise

Inside the lorry there as well B38.16

NPT1 of structure Hd Gn and NPT1 of structure Hd Dem Md2.

291. NP(a) and NP(b), discontinuous

//ó1ó / bù-ò / b_él_éb_él_é yá' //

antelope was-big all he

Antelope was huge all round R3.2

NPT1 of structure Hd and NPT2 of structure Qf Hd.

292. NP(b) and NP(a), RS to Gn in NPT1

éwa (//bè / bélébélé m̄ (zè-hwátò-bè/ è àdè ya) //

name-of them all the who-are-just in place that

The names of all those who are there B37.11

NPT2 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd Dem Md1; the Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (S) P L; the L place is manifested by a NP of type 1 of structure Hd Dem, with L SM.

293. NP(a) and NP(c)

//nwúje (mè) nwèné / nyé (mè / ùgbòlò / lè èhwàdà) //

friend-of me one person-who does work in Ahoada

One of my friends, a chap who works in Ahoada B38.16

NPT1 of structure Hd Gn Num and NPT3 of structure Hd Md1; the Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO L.

294. NP(c) and NP(a)

//nyé / ifí (ètá) m̄ jínè //

person head-of wrestling the also

One who is also a leading wrestler H1.8

NPT3 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn Dem Md2.

295. NP(a) and NP(d)

//òtú ízè (báka) m̄ / á (yà) //

those teeth much the that-of him

Those great teeth of his R3.3

NPT1 of structure Qf Hd Gn Dem and NPT4 of structure Hd Gn; the Gn place in the first NP is manifested by a RS AP of structure Hd and the Gn place in the second NP is manifested by a RS NP of type 2 of structure Hd.

296. NP(a) and NP(a)

//á m / éci (ùpí) m //

that-one the centre-of face the

Right in the middle of his face B30.5

NPT4 of structure Hd Dem and NPT1 of structure Hd Gn Dem.

297. NP(a) and NPCx1, discontinuous; the NPCx1 consists of

NP(a) and NP(a) with Cum

//mádu íbó / kpá-bé / nwújé //ikáléci / lè óbi // //

people two became friends rat and porcupine

Two people became friends, Rat and Porcupine S18.2

NPT1 of structure Hd Num, NPT1 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd.

298. NPCx3 and NPCx1; the NPCx3 consists of NP(c) and NP(a),

and the NPCx1 consists of NP(b) and NP(b) with Cum

// //óó-nyé / íbéké // // mē / lè yá' // //

one-person white-man I and he

One white man, he and I R5.25

NPT3 of structure Qf Hd, NPT1 of structure Hd, NPT2 of structure Hd and NPT2 of structure Hd.

299. NP(a) and NP(a), RS to Hd. in NPT1

(//émèné / ùnyómá //)(ádo (ímé (áná (a))))

people female-of house-of inside-of mother-of him

The womenfolk of his mother's family S20.17

NPT1 of structure Hd and NPT1 of structure Hd; for the analysis of the unit manifesting the Gn place, see no. 230.

CHAPTER 6

The Phrase (II) - The Verbal Phrase Class

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Chapter 6

The Phrase (II) -- The Verbal Phrase Class

6.1. The Verbal Phrase Class (Phrase Class B)

6.1.1. Verbal Phrase Subclasses

The Verbal Phrase class is defined (in section 5.1.) as those phrases which may function at the P place in at least one of clause types 1, 2, 3 and 5. On the basis of function in specific CTs, and of other primary and secondary functions, five subclasses are established. The detailed distribution of each subclass is shown in the following paragraphs.

Verbal Phrases (VPs) of subclass (a) function at the following places:-

P in CT1

~~P1 and P2 and P3~~ in CT3

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 1.

VPs of subclass (b) function only at the P place in CT2. This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 2.

VPs of subclass (c) function at the following places:-

P in CT1

A in CT3

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 3.

VPs of subclass (d) function at the following places:-

P in CT5

Ac in VPT5

This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 4.

VPs of subclass (e) function only at the P place in CT1. This subclass corresponds exactly to a structural type labelled type 5.

A summary of VP structure follows in section 6.1.2., and then VP types 1 to 5 are described in detail in sections 6.2. to 6.6. respectively.

6.1.2. Summary of Verbal Phrase Structure

On the basis of structure, five Verbal Phrase types (VPTs) are set up, corresponding to the VP subclasses as stated in the previous section. A summary description of their structure must separate type 5 from types 1 to 4. On strictly formal grounds, types 1 to 4 should be labelled as four subtypes of one type, but in this description, they are for convenience accorded the status of full types, in order to facilitate a consistent system of cross-reference between subclasses and types.

In VP structure, there is no advantage in distinguishing nuclear and peripheral places. In addition to the varying distribution of places from type to type within types 1 to 4, there are different manifesting (sub-)subclasses at the Hd place in each type. In the diagram of place distribution overleaf, brackets indicate places

which are mutually exclusive within any one type.

Type 1	(Qf)	Hd	(E)	Red
2		Hd	(E)	(Red)
3		Hd	E	
4		Hd		Red
5	Sub	E	Ac	

Full details of the manifesting classes attested at each place in each type will be found in sections 6.2., 6.3., 6.4., 6.5.1. and 6.6.1. below.

6.2. Verbal Phrase Type 1

Verbal Phrase type 1 is the type to which a majority of all the VPs recorded belong. In this type, four places are recognised. In their invariable sequence of occurrence the places are labelled Qualifier, Head, Emphatic (E) and Reduplicative (Red). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Qf by a Negator (Neg)

Hd by a Verb (Vb) of sub-subclasses (ai), (aⁱⁱⁱ) or (a^{iv})

E by an Emphasiser (Em)

Red by a Vb of sub-subclass (bi)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Qf</u>	<u>Hd</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>Red</u>
Neg	Vb(ai) Vb(a ⁱⁱⁱ) Vb(a ^{iv})	Em	Vb(bi)

Only the Hd place is obligatory, the other three places being optional. The Qf and E places do not co-occur, so that three is the maximum number of places attested in any one example (nos. 310 - 312, 314). Both Qf and E places are restricted in the tenses with which they are attested to occur; the Qf place is attested only with tenses 7 and 9 (nos. 314 and 313 respectively), and the E place with tenses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6. The E place appears to be obligatory with tense 6, but as there are relatively few examples of this tense, it would be premature to speak of an absolute constraint. Both the Qf and E places are manifested by single-member classes, for details of which, see sections 9.1.1, and 9.1.2. The tense system is described in section 9.2.2.2. The Red place is always manifested by a form of the same lexical item as that occurring at the Hd place.

A high proportion of VPs of type 1 have only the minimal structure Hd. Where other places do occur, the VP may be discontinuous. When the S, IO or DO places in the clause are incorporated, that is when they are manifested by a Verb affix, then obviously the place(s) they manifest must intervene between the Hd place in the VP and any other places present. However, other forms of discontinuity may also occur. The S place in the clause always intervenes between the Qf and Hd places in the VP, even when it is manifested by a NP (no. 313). Between the Hd and E places, NPs manifesting the DO (no. 305), D (no. 306) and L (no. 118) places are attested to intervene. Between the Hd and Red places, and between the E and Red places, a NP manifesting the DO place is attested to intervene (nos. 309 and 312 respectively). In addition to these fairly frequent occurrences, there are the five exceptional examples (as

mentioned in section 4.2.1.4.) which also involve changes in the sequence of clause rank places. These five cannot be covered by a general statement in any economical way, and are quoted in full as nos. 315 - 319.

Examples (301 - 321 all VPT1)

- 301. Hd place only, with incorporated S and IO
 Ì/kà-dé-bí=yá-ní-hwétò/bé
 you-please-go-cut-bring-for-just-them
 Please just go and cut and bring back for them S23.73

- 302. Hd and E places, with incorporated S
 mè/dé+fi bà / èméné ñ / ékpá
 I-shall-sell emphatic people the fish
 It is to these people that I shall sell fish S4.5

- 303. Hd and E places, with incorporated S
 à/lò bà / lé édo (ìpikilipi)
 he-came-out emphatic in house-of Ipikilipi
 It was in Ipikilipi's house that he emerged S7.29

- 304. Hd and E places, with incorporated S and DO
 ò/kpó-bété/à / bà / lé ògbàná
 she-will-keep-it emphatic in basket
 It is in a basket that she will keep it S20.24

- 305. Hd and E places, with incorporated S and intervening DO
 ù/dù+má-jé / àbòlè / bà / kpéye/tété
 it-reached-again day-after-tomorrow emphatic thus long
 It was the same when the next day came for many days
 B31.27

306. Hd and E places, with incorporated S, and intervening D
á/zé / éná m / bà / lá éhwó
 let-us-go pond the emphatic on ehwo-day
 Let it be ehwo-day that we go to the pond B35.3
307. Hd and Red places, with incorporated S
 à/ká-dá-dò à-dá-dó-o
 he-not-yet-fall-could falling-could-NV
 He hadn't had a proper fall (in wrestling) S15.23
308. Hd and Red places, with incorporated DO
bá yá / gbù/à / ò-gbù
 that self kill-her killing
 That he would kill her S2.25
309. Hd and Red places, with incorporated S and intervening DO
 à/ká-gbá-jé-é-bé-né / ètá m / à-gbá-a
 they-had-not-yet-even-wrestled match the wrestling-NV
 They had not yet even held the wrestling bout S15.16
310. Hd, E and Red places (a maximum form) with
 incorporated S
 ò/nùzò-bé bà ò-nùzò
 they-stand emphatic standing
 They insist on standing S20.19
311. Hd, E and Red places (a maximum form) with
 incorporated S and DO
 ò/gbù/yò / bà ò-gbù
 he-will-kill-you emphatic killing
 He will certainly kill you S23.79

312. Hd, E and Red places (a maximum form), with DO
intervening between E and Red
bé yá' / gbú bà / ágbálà ñ / ò-gbú / tám
that self will-kill emphatic fairy the killing today
That he would certainly kill the fairy today B9.14
313. Qf and Hd, with incorporated IO and intervening S
ndéke / yá' / ká-nè-è-dè-m/è
not self speak-to-you-again
I certainly won't tell you again S13.33
314. Qf, Hd and Red places (a maximum form), with
incorporated S (cf. no. 234 for context)
ndéke/ò/kpò-bè ò-kpò
not they-break breaking
They couldn't break S18.21
315. Hd and E places, with incorporated S, intervening DO
and clause-final IO
ù/nè-dí-jí-hwò-nè / bídí ñ / bà /
he-was-giving food the emphatic
nyé ñ (nwè / bídí ñ)
person the who-has food the
It was to the owner of the yams that he was giving
them S12.14
316. Hd and E places, with incorporated S, intervening IO
and L, and clause-final DO
ù/3è-nè-jè-è-nè / (nyé / éze //) yá/lá édò / bà /
it-was-also-to person chief that in house emphatic
únyóma ísábò
wife seven
That chief had seven wives at home already G2.29

317. Hd and E places, with incorporated S, intervening D,
and clause-final DO
ù/bù-jí-bè-nê / álu m / bà / à-ánà
'-----'
they-carried-also battle the emphatic a-bird
(ù/hwù-bè / bìlú)
they-call Bilu
There was also a bird called Bilu that they carried
to the battle. S19.14
318. Hd and E places, with intervening I and clause-final DO
òkwálákwò / bá-cá / ényê / bà / ápá
'-----'
Tortoise when-saw with-eye emphatic Apa (a fish)
When Tortoise recognised that it was Apa R1.15
319. Hd and E places, with incorporated S, intervening T,
and clause-final M
ù/já / séle / bà / kpéye
'-----'
she-came tomorrow emphatic thus
It was in the same way that she came the next day B17.8
320. Hd and Red places
àé òkwálákwò / gbá+lá-gbà à-gbá+lá
then Tortoise ran-away-again running-away
Then Tortoise ran away again B12.8
321. Hd and Red places, with intervening DO
àmèlèdè / bè-tè-tù-dí-è-bè / ákpá / è-bè-tè-tú
'-----'
children keep-back fish keeping-back
Children like to keep back some fish B35.32

6.3. Verbal Phrase Type 2

Three places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Head, Emphatic and Reduplicative. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Hd by a Vb of sub-subclass (aii)

E by an Emphasiser

Red by a Vb of sub-subclass (bii)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Hd</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>Red</u>
Vb(aii)	Em	Vb(bii)

The Hd place is obligatory, and the other two places optional. The E and Red places are not attested to co-occur, so that two is the maximum number of places found in any one example. The E place is attested only with tense 4, and the Red place only with tense 2, but as both are rare, this may be accidental. All three places in this type are manifested by single-member classes, for details of which, see sections 9.1.2., 9.1.3.1. and 9.1.3.2. The Red place is always manifested by a form of the same lexical item as that occurring at the Hd place; in this type, the item in question is the Verb *bà* - to be (predicative). Most VPs of type 2 have only the minimal structure Hd, and no discontinuous examples have been found. As with VPT1, no syntactic markers have been found.

Examples (322 - 324 all VPT2)

322. Hd place only

òṃ / bà / ìfì

this is folly

This is folly B28.12

323. Hd and E places, with incorporated S

ò/bá-bè bà / è+émènè

there-will-be emphatic some-people

There will certainly be some people S6.9

324. Hd and Red places

bá yá' / bà ò-bá

that self is being

That he is somebody B20.2

See also nos. 121 - 133.

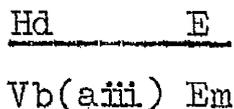
6.4. Verbal Phrase Type 3

Two places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Head and Emphatic. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Hd by a Vb of sub-subclass (a_{iii})

E by an Emphasiser

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.



The Hd place is obligatory and the E place optional. The theoretical maximum number of two places is attested. The E place is attested only with tense 6, though this may

again be accidental. As with VPT2, both places are manifested by single-member classes, as detailed in sections 9.1.2. and 9.1.3.1. Most VPs of type 3 have only the minimal structure Hd, and no discontinuous examples have been found. As with VPTs 1 and 2, no syntactic markers have been observed.

Examples (325 - 326 both VPT3)

325. Hd place only, with incorporated S

mó/gò-tú-kpó-lê-m̄

I-have-taken-finish

I have taken away S4.2

326. Hd and E places (cf. no. 145 for context)

bà ólò / ó-gò+nù-ò bà / ùpé (yà)

that antelope would-certainly-take emphatic horns-of him

That Antelope would surely take his horns R3.3

See also nos. 134 - 156.

6.5. Verbal Phrase Type 4

6.5.1. Structure

Two places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Head and Reduplicative. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Hd by a Vb of subclass (c)

Red by a Vb of sub-subclass (bi)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form overleaf.

Hd Red
Vb(c) Vb(bi)

The Hd place is obligatory and the Red place optional. The theoretical maximum number of two places is attested. The Red place is always manifested by a form of the same lexical item as that occurring at the Hd place. The only discontinuity which has been found with this type of VP is that which arises with an incorporated Indirect Object, as in no. 331.

6.5.2. Syntactic Markers

The subclass of VP to which VPT4 corresponds, subclass (d), has a secondary function at the Action place in VPT5. In this function, it is obligatorily preceded by the Pr class of Particles (section 11.8.), which consists of the single formal item lɛ. The coalescence which may take place between the Pr Particle and the Vb manifesting the Hd place in the VP of type 4 is described in section 6.6.2.

Examples (327 - 331 all VPT4)

327. Hd place only

ò/wú-dí-gá-jé-lé-né / (ù-zé / íká)

he-wanted-in-turn to-go farm

He also wanted to go to his farm B31.16

328. Hd place only, with incorporated DO

bá yá / bá-gwé / (ù-gbú/á)

that self when-failed to-kill-him

That when he failed to kill him S23.91

329. Hd place only, RS to Ac in VPT5, with Ac SM
 mɛ/ʒɛ (lɛ ù-mé) / ùgbòlò
 I-was on to-do work
 I was working El.4

330. Hd and Red places
 ɛyɛ (ù-mé è-mé)/ʒɛ-ɛ-ɛ
 thing to-do doing is-not-NV
 There was nothing to do B25.1

331. Hd and Red places, with incorporated IO, RS to Ac in
 VPT5, with Ac SM
 bɛ (lɛ ù-mé-bɛ/yá / è-mé)
 that on to-do-to-self doing
 That while they were doing it to him B28.22

See also nos. 164 - 177.

6.6. Verbal Phrase Type 5

6.6.1. Structure

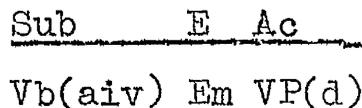
Three places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Subsidiary (Sub), Emphatic, and Action (Ac). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Sub by a Vb of sub-subclass (aiv)

E by an Emphasiser

Ac by a downward RS VP of subclass (d)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.



The Ac place is obligatory, and the other two places optional. The optional places may co-occur, so that the theoretical maximum of three places is attested. The Sub and E places are both manifested by single-member classes, as detailed in sections 9.1.3.1. and 9.1.2. No discontinuity has been found, and no syntactic markers have been observed with this type.

6.6.2. Contracted Forms

A majority of VPs of type 5 show only the minimal structure Hd. In such examples, there is a strong tendency for the VP of subclass (d) manifesting the Ac place, and its SM, the Preposition lɛ, to coalesce into a single word, as mentioned in section 6.5.2. The analysis of this contracted form as a single word is confirmed by two features. The first is the use by speakers of the Upata dialect, such as Mr. William, of the phoneme /d/ instead of the phoneme /l/ in the Preposition, as in nos. 335 - 336 below. The second is the manifestation of the category of Person by morphemes immediately preceding the consonant of the Pr. There is also the further feature that in this alone of its functions, the subclass (c) Vb manifesting the Hd place in the RS VP of subclass (d), may bear Suffixes of Order 17 (section 13.3.5.), which are semantically related to the subject. (See nos. 334, 336 and 337 below.)

The change of /l/ to /d/ is not found in any of the other functions of the Pr, even in Upata speech¹. Nor can

1. Though not attested in text material, an additional point of interest lies in the harmonic variations of the subclass (a) Prefix manifesting the Speaker term in the category of Person. As a contraction of mé/ɔɛ (lɛ ù-já) - "I am coming",

the items manifesting the category of Person be regarded as separate words in any other context. The analysis of contracted forms as single words, therefore, seems firmly established. If, as is apparently happening, this process becomes standard, the result will eventually be the loss of VPT5 (which is essentially a periphrastic continuous tense form), and the compensatory addition of an eleventh unitary tense form as a new Verb Type at word rank.

In the contracted forms, the Pr loses its vowel by elision (section 2.6.), but its high tone remains, replacing the low tone found elsewhere on the first syllable of Verbs of subclass (c). For details of the structure of Verbs of this subclass, see sections 9.2.1.4. and 13.3.1.4.

Examples (332 - 337 all VPT5)

332. Sub, E and Ac places (a maximum form) with
incorporated S

mé/3í-jí-hwò-né bà (lɛ̀ à-lá-dí-gá)

I-was-also-at-last emphatic on to-struggle

In the end, I was really struggling B38.38

both mé-d-ú-já and mó-l-ú-já were regularly heard, the first representing the Upata dialect, and the second the Ako dialect. In the first, the Prefix mé- harmonises with the vowel of the (omitted) subclass (aiv) Vb 3í. In the second, mó- harmonises with the vowel /u/ which actually follows it in the contracted form. It is noteworthy that the Upata dialect which has moved further towards the incorporation of the Pr into the structure of the Verb, is more conservative with respect to the harmony, while the Ako dialect which has retained the Pr as a more readily identifiable item, has made the more radical change in the harmony. For details of harmony, see section 9.2.2.1.

333. Sub and Ac places

éwú / bá-z-ô (l á-w+f) / écá ñ
grasscutter when--was on to-blow fire the
While Grasscutter was blowing the fire B3.20

334. Ac place only, with an Order 17 Suffix (-bê)

á-á-lá / (l á-h-w-bê) / éyê
a-village on to-beat thing
The people of one village were drumming B31.7
This example could be written as a contracted form,
like nos. 335 - 336, but in the absence of an incorporated
S, there is no obligation to do so.

335. Ac place only (a contracted form with incorporated
S and DO; cf. no. 4 for context)

(á/d-á-gô=gbô-dí/yôñá)
he-on^{to}-curse-kill-you-people
He's putting a death curse on you both S7.81

336. Ac place only (a contracted form with incorporated S
and an Order 17 Suffix (-bê))

(á/d-á-ká-bê)
they-on-to-say
They were saying S3.54

337. Sub and Ac places (an optionally contracted form, as
no. 334, with an Order 17 Suffix (-bê))

ádí (ù-gwú ô-gwú) / z (l á ù-yú+lú=ká-bê)
place to-dig digging is on to-fill-surpass
There are plenty of places to dig R5.25

CHAPTER 7

The Phrase (III) - The Adverbial Phrase Class

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Chapter 7

The Phrase (III) - The Adverbial Phrase Class

7.1. The Adverbial Phrase Class (Phrase Class C)

The Adverbial Phrase class is defined (in section 5.1.) as those phrases which may function at the C place in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause, and at either the M or T places in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, but not at the S place in the clause nucleus. On the basis of function at the M or T places in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, and of secondary functions, two subclasses are recognised. Their detailed distribution is shown in the following paragraphs.

Adverbial Phrases (APs) of subclass (a) function at the following places:-

- M in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause
- C in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause
- Md1 in NPT1
- Md1 in AP

APs of subclass (b) function at the following places:-

- T in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause
- C in CT1 only
- Md1 in AP

In contrast with the other phrase classes, where each subclass has corresponded to a separate structural type, both subclasses of AP correspond to a single structural type. This is described in the following section, 7.2.

7.2. The Adverbial Phrase Type

7.2.1. Structure

Three places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Head, Modifier 1 and Modifier 2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Hd by an Adverb (Adv)

Md1 by a downward RS NP of subclasses (a) or (c), or a downward RS AP, or a downward RS Cl of class A

Md2 by a Terminal, or a Marginal of subclasses (a), (b) or (c)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Hd</u>	<u>Md1</u>	<u>Md2</u>
Adv	NP(a)	Tm
	NP(c)	Mg(a)
	AP	Mg(b)
	ClA	Mg(c)

The Hd place is obligatory and the other two places optional. The optional places may co-occur, so that the theoretical maximum of three places is attested (nos. 364 and 365). No syntactic markers of the AP have been observed.

7.2.2. Syntactic Ambivalence

When the Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl, syntactic ambivalence arises, as described for the NP in section 5.3.3. In the AP, when the Hd place is manifested by an Adv of subclass (a), this Adv also manifests the M place

in the RS C1, which may be of subclasses A(a) or A(b); when the Hd place in the AP is manifested by an Adv of subclass (b), this Adv also manifests the T place in the RS C1, which is attested to be of subclass A(a) only. For instances with Adv of subclass (a), see examples 361 - 365, and for instances with Adv of subclass (b), see examples 369 - 372.

In the following examples, each attested combination of places will be illustrated by APs of both subclasses as far as possible. It happens that in the available data, the maximum form of the AP is not attested with subclass (b).

Examples (351 - 365 subclass (a), 366 - 372 subclass (b))

351. Hd place only

jóka

well

Well S2.20

352. Hd place only

kpówê

in-that-way

In that way B20.4

353. Hd and Md2 places

kpóm̄ óm̄

so thus

In this very way S1.16

354. Hd and Md2 places

báka jánê

much also

Excessively B31.5

355. Hd and Md2 places

ńtákwó hwó

little finally

Just a little B38.38

356. Hd and Md1 places

kpóm (gbídim)

so altogether

Completely S7.84

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS AP(a), of structure Hd.

357. Hd and Md1 places

kpóm (séle)

so tomorrow

On the next day B35.45

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS AP(b), of structure Hd.

358. Hd and Md1 places

kpóm (bánnó)

so four

About four B29.11

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd.

359. Hd and Md1 places (cf. no. 255 for context)

kpóm (ókwalákwó)

so Tortoise

Like Tortoise S22.43

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd.

360. Hd. and Mdl places
kpóm̄ (ògbò̄ (ánà̄))
so flock-of birds

Like a flock of birds S22.35

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd. ^{gn}Mdl; this ^{gn}Mdl place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd.

361. Hd. and Mdl places
kpóm̄ (à/sà-bè / òhwá̄ m̄)
so they-pounded leaves the

As they pounded the leaves B28.62

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (M) S P DO.

362. Hd. and Mdl places (cf. no. 106 for context)
kpóm̄ (à/zà-nà-é/yò / éké̄ m̄ (í/jà / àdà̄ m̄ /
so it-was-for-you time the you-came place this
lá̄ ànàzà̄))
at first

As your condition was when you first came here S5.46

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(i) of structure (M) S P IO T; the T place is manifested by a NPT1 of structure Hd Dem Mdl; this Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (T) S P D L.

363. Hd. and Mdl places
kpóm̄ (à/bà-jà-é-nê / nyé̄ (gbà / ètá / báka))
so he-was-also person-who does wrestling much
As he too was a keen wrestler H1.4

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 2 of structure (M) S P Cp; the Cp place is manifested by a NPT3

of structure Hd Md1; this Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (S) P DO M.

364. Hd, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)

kpóm (mó/1ó+fá-má) óm

so I-went-off thus

As I went away B22.11

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (M) S P.

365. Hd, Md1 and Md2 places (a maximum form)

kpóm (é/kà) yá

so you-said thus

Just as you said S13.29

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (M) S P.

366. Hd place only

séle

tomorrow

Tomorrow S23.59

367. Hd and Md2 places

tám óm

today thus

This very day S3.86

368. Hd and Md1 places

tó (ámó) Variant form: tó (úmé)

till time

At any time S3.5, S13.33

The Md1 place is manifested by a RS NPT1 of structure Hd.

369. Hd and Mdl places

tó (àdì / bò+lì)

till place lightened

Until it became dawn B36.18

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (T) S P.

370. Hd and Mdl places

tátá (èyè ya / gbè+li-ò)

until day that darkened

Until it grew dark S23.62

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(iii) of structure (T) S P.

371. Hd and Mdl places

tó (i/di-è / bídi)

till you-ate food

While you ate the food S17.32

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (T) S P DO.

372. Hd and Mdl places

tátá (ù/dù+mà-hwò / è+éyè)

until it-reached-at-last a-day

Until it finally reached a day B29.11

The Mdl place is manifested by a RS Cl of type 1(ii) of structure (T) S P DO.

7.3. The Adverbial Phrase Complex

Where two Adverbial Phrases in paratactic relationship to each other are together manifesting only one place in

the structure of another unit, an Adverbial Phrase Complex (APCx) is established. The APCx corresponds in structure to the NPCx of type 2, in that the second element is always an identical repetition of the first. Thus, since no mixture of AP subclasses among the elements is possible, the APCx has the same range of function as the AP subclass to which its elements belong. The APCx with elements of AP subclass (a) may also function as an element in a further APCx, as in no. 375.

An AP functioning as an element in an APCx always has minimal structure Hd. No syntactic markers of the APCx have been found, and the question of syntactic ambivalence has not arisen. Examples of the APCx are sufficiently few to be listed exhaustively.

Examples (373 - 378 all APCx)

373. AP(a) and AP(a)

//kpóm / kpóm //

so so

So and so S14.9

374. AP(a) and AP(a)

//kpéye / kpéye //

thus thus

In such and such a way B28.11

375. APCx and APCx; each APCx consists of AP(a) and AP(a)

(cf. no. 141 for context)

// //kpéye / kpéye // //kpéye / kpéye // //

thus thus thus thus

In that very same way B30.12

376. AP(b) and AP(b)

//tám / tám //

today today

This very day G1.3

377. AP(b) and AP(b)

//séle / séle //

yesterday yesterday

Only yesterday S2.22

378. AP(b) and AP(b)

//tátá / tátá //

long-time long-time

For a very long time B2.20

CHAPTER 8

The Word (I) - The Nominal Hyperclass

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Chapter 8

The Word (I) - The Nominal Hyperclass

8.1. Word Rank and Word Hyperclasses

The Word is the unit ranking next below the phrase. The word has a primary function at some place in phrase structure, or in the case of one hyperclass, as a syntactic marker of the function of some higher-ranking unit. Words do not occur in downward rank-shifted secondary functions. On the basis of function, words are divided into four hyperclasses, three of which roughly parallel the classes set up at phrase rank. Words of the Nominal hyperclass may operate only in the structure of phrases of the Nominal Phrase class. Words of the Verbal hyperclass may operate only in the structure of phrases of the Verbal Phrase class. Words of the Adverbial hyperclass may operate in the structure of phrases of the Adverbial Phrase class, or in the structure of phrases of both the Nominal and Adverbial Phrase classes. Words of the Particle hyperclass may operate extra-hierarchically, that is, as syntactic markers of other, higher-ranking units at certain of their places of function. These four hyperclasses are referred to by their labels in this thesis.

The Nominal hyperclass is described in the remainder of this chapter, the Verbal hyperclass in chapter 9, the Adverbial hyperclass in chapter 10, and the Particle hyperclass in chapter 11.

8.2. The Nominal Hyperclass

The Nominal hyperclass is defined as those words which may function only in the structure of phrases of the Nominal Phrase class. On the basis of function at specific places in specific NPTs, nine classes are established, as follows:-

- Class A - the Noun Class
- Class B - the Quantifier Class
- Class C - the Number Class
- Class D - the Specifier Class
- Class E - the Identifier Class
- Class F - the Pronoun Class
- Class G - the Relative Class
- Class H - the Obviative Class
- Class J - the Interrogative Class

These classes are described in sections 8.2.1. to 8.2.9. respectively below. Seven of them are closed classes whose members have no further grammatical structure, and can only be listed. Of the two remaining classes, class A is open and class G closed, but both have further grammatical structure. Since no phonological abstractions are necessary for class G, its grammatical structure is shown in section 8.2.7., but for class A, a separate section (8.4.) handles both the grammatical and phonological structure.

8.2.1. The Noun Class (Nominal Class A)

The Noun class is defined as those words which may function only at the Hd place in NPT1. It is an open class, and is the class into which loan words most commonly pass. Since there is only one place of operation for the class,

no direct subclassification is possible; indirectly, Noun subclasses could be established on the basis of the range of clause rank places manifested by the NPs at whose Hd place they function. For instance, only a limited number of Nouns are attested in NPs manifesting the D or T places in the clause periphery. However, any subclasses set up on such a basis would account for relatively few of the Nouns, and would still leave one subclass containing the overwhelming majority. Moreover, the application of this principle of subclassification to a limited corpus would not guarantee that even the closed subclasses would be fully identified, and its results would therefore be trivial. So while such criteria might be effectively applied by a native speaker, they are not used in this thesis.

The internal structure of the Noun, both grammatically and phonologically, is described in section 8.4.

8.2.2. The Quantifier Class (Nominal Class B)

The Quantifier class is defined as those words which may function at the Qf place in the pre-nuclear periphery of NPT1. It is a closed class of six formal items, which on the basis of other functions is subdivided into three subclasses.

Subclass (a) may also function at the following places:-

Hd in NPT1

Qf in NPT2

It consists of the single formal item

bélébélé - all.

Subclass (b) may also function at the following place:-
Hd in NPT1

It consists of three formal items listed below.

òtú - those
ùbótù - some
èdô - other

Subclass (c) may function only at the Qf place in NPT1.
It consists of two formal items listed below.

èlâ/èlê - which?
ótátá - many

8.2.3. The Number Class (Nominal Class C)

The Number class is defined as those words which may function at the Num place in the nucleus of NPT1. It is a closed class of ten formal items, which on the basis of other functions is subdivided into two subclasses.

Subclass (a) may also function at the following place:-
Hd in NPT1

It consists of the single formal item

ṛwàné - one.

Subclass (b) may function only at the Num place in NPT1.
It consists of nine formal items listed below.

èbó - two
ètô - three
ènô - four
ísê - five
ísû - six
èsábô - seven

ísátó - eight
ísánô - nine
ílá - how many?

The members of subclass (b) all have corresponding forms with an initial /b/, which are members of the Noun class. In the case of básánô - nine, there is also an alternative form nàzámadi, which is probably more frequent.¹

8.2.4. The Specifier Class (Nominal Class D)

The Specifier class is defined as those words which may function at the Dem place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP. It is a closed class of six formal items, which on the basis of distribution in the various NP types is subdivided into four subclasses.

Subclass (a) may function at the Dem place in NPTs 1, 3 and 4. It consists of the single formal item

m̄ - the, this.

Subclass (b) may function at the Dem place in NPTs 1 and 3. It consists of two formal items listed below.

émà - the, this (emphatic)

ya - that (nearby)

Subclass (c) may function at the Dem place in NPTs 1 and 2. It consists of the single formal item

1. Higher numbers are formed with the Nouns di - ten, égwá - a score, twenty, and únà - four hundred (i.e. twenty times twenty), in NPCxs of type 1 (section 5.8.1.). In practice, higher numbers are avoided, English being preferred. The corpus contains only one higher number, which is quoted as example no. 273.

nétéh/étéh - alone, a single.

Subclass (d) may function at the Dem place in NPT1 only. It consists of two formal items listed below.

nénc - a certain

wê - that (far off)

8.2.5. The Identifier Class (Nominal Class E)

The Identifier class is defined as those words which may function at the Md2 place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP, but not in the structure of a phrase of any other class. (This negative condition is necessary to distinguish Identifiers from Terminals and Marginals (Adverbial Classes B and C respectively), which are described in sections 10.3. and 10.4.) It is a closed class of two formal items, which on the basis of distribution in the various NP types is subdivided into two subclasses.

Subclass (a) may function at the Md2 place in NPTs 1 and 2. It consists of the single formal item

wé/wéwé - self, himself, herself, itself
(emphatic, not reflexive).

Subclass (b) may function at the Md2 place in NPTs 1 and 4. It consists of the single formal item

ânêném - the other.

8.2.6. The Pronoun Class (Nominal Class F)

The Pronoun class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd place in NPT2. Since there is no other

place of function, no subclasses are set up. The class consists of six formal items listed below.

- mê - I
- yô - you
- yâ' - he, she, it, self, that
- yé' - we
- yô' - you people
- bé' - they

As was stated in section 4.2.1.4. and in section 5.4.1., NPs of subclass (b) exhibit the full range of concord possibilities with respect to Person. The selection of the term in the Person system is determined by the Pn manifesting the Hd place in the NP of subclass (b), in accordance with the following scheme:-

mê	selects	the	Sp	term	in	the	Person	system
yé'	"	"	SG	"	"	"	"	"
yô' & yô'	"	"	H	"	"	"	"	"
yâ' & bé'	"	"	R	"	"	"	"	"

The four terms in the Person system are manifested by Verb Prefixes of subclass (a), which are described in section 13.3.1.1.

As stated in section 5.4.2., when the NP of subclass (b) is in a secondary function at the Gn place in NPTs 1 or 4, it never consists of more than a Hd place. In these circumstances, the Pn manifesting the Hd place has a form which varies tonally from the forms listed above; the change is treated a syntactic marker of the secondary function of the NP. The variant forms are as follows:-

- mê - my
- yô - your

yà - his, her, its, self's
yè - our
yò - you people's
bè - their

The form yà - his, etc., occurs with a large majority of Nouns, but there are a few (which could be said to constitute a subclass of Noun) which require an allomorphic form, namely a. The Nouns involved are semantically related in that they all denote family or personal relationships or possessions. Those attested to occur with the allomorph a are as follows:-

éwà	- name
íbè	- age-set
ìzì	- husband
ídá	- father
ídákánì	- grandfather
íká	- farm
íná	- mother
ínákánì	- grandmother
ṅwána	- sibling
ṅwánákánì	- elder sibling
ṅwényí	- wife
ṅwújè	- friend
úḍò	- house
úgwò	- debt ¹
úṅwó	- child

Further data might reveal a few other Nouns behaving in this way. For examples of Pns in downward RS NPs, see nos. 242 - 245 etc.

1. Only in the idiom úḍò (úgwó) - house-of debt (= in-laws' family).

When an NP of subclass (b) is functioning as the second element of a NPCx of type 1, it never consists of more than a Head place. In these circumstances, as described in section 5.8.1.1., the Pn manifesting the Hd place may optionally coalesce with the Cum Particle, which then takes the form of a harmonising post-clitic. The Pn also varies tonally from its isolate form, and the resultant forms are as follows:-

mé-lɛ - ...and me
yó-lɔ - ...and you
yá-la - ...and him/her/it/self
yé-le - ...and us
yó-lɔ - ...and you people
bɛ-lɛ - ...and them

For examples, see nos. 279 - 281, and 283.

8.2.7. The Relative Class (Nominal Class G)

The Relative Class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd place in NPT3. It consists of a single formal item which displays further grammatical structure. This can be described as a subtype of the type set up for the Noun in section 8.4.1. below. The only difference lies in the manifesting class at the Bs place. In this (sub)type, two places are recognised which in their invariable sequence of occurrence are labelled Ante-Base (AB) and Base (Bs). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

AB by a Noun Prefix

Bs by a Relative Root

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form overleaf.

AB Bs

NPf RelRt

The Bs place is obligatory, and the AB place optional (and in fact rare). The NPf class is described in section 13.2.1., and the RelRt class in section 13.2.3. The RelRt class consists of the single formal item

nyé - person, someone, anyone.

See examples 246 - 259, and 298.

8.2.8. The Obviative Class (Nominal Class H)

The Obviative class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd place in NPT4. It consists of the single formal item

á - that one, that.

8.2.9. The Interrogative Class (Nominal Class J)

The Interrogative Class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd place in NPT5. It consists of the single formal item

ndé - where?, how?.

8.3. The Proximate Class

There remains a further word class which is in a unique position, the Proximate class. This is defined as those words which have only an upward rank-shifted function, at the S place in CTs 1 or 2. It consists of the single formal item

óm - this one, this.

The definition of the Nominal hyperclass in section 8.2. includes only words which function at some place in the structure of phrases of the Nominal Phrase class. By this definition, the Prx class cannot be included unless it is regarded as manifesting the Hd place in a sixth NPT. Since this type would have no other places, and therefore no possibility of expansion, phrase rank would be a dummy rank in this case. It is to eliminate such a dummy rank that the Prx class is here analysed as having only an upward rank-shifted function in the clause. The Prx class is described in this chapter, however, because it shares the characteristic of manifesting the S place in clause structure, which is the definitive feature of the Nominal Phrase class from which the Nominal hyperclass is derived. Certainly it has nothing in common with any of the other word hyperclasses.

8.4. Noun Structure

8.4.1. Grammatical

Only one structural type is necessary for the description of the Noun class. (This type also embraces the Rel class, as stated in section 8.2.7.) In this type, two places are recognised, which in their invariable sequence of occurrence are labelled Ante-Base and Base. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

AB by a Noun Prefix

Bs by a Noun Root

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form overleaf.

AB Bs
NPf NRt

The Bs place is obligatory, and the AB place optional. The NRt class is described in section 13.2.2. with reference to its function, and in section 8.4.2. below with reference to its phonological structure. The NPf class is described in section 13.2.1. with reference to its function, and in this section with reference to its phonological structure. This is because it shows vowel harmony, which in Ekpeye is a feature of word rank, and is conditioned/by the NRt that manifests the Bs place.

The NPf class consists of the single formal item

35- - a, one.

The form quoted is a representative allomorph which occurs before Noun Roots beginning with a consonant or the vowel /o/ (and before the Relative Root). Before Noun Roots beginning with other vowels, the vowel quality of the NPf is completely assimilated to that of the Root-initial vowel, yielding a nine-way vowel harmony system. Before any vowel, the second vowel of the NPf is elided, and its High Tone replaces the first tone of the Root. See examples 401 - 412 below.

The NPf class and certain Verb affix classes or sub-classes can be said to have a double function in that they manifest both a place at word rank and a place at phrase or clause rank. In the case of the NPf class, the upward rank-shifted function is at the Qf place in NPTs 1 or 3. For further discussion of this point, see the theoretical introduction to the thesis in section 1.2.2.

In the following group of examples, those with the same structure are all set in one column, so that the structure need be indicated only once. Throughout this chapter, examples are so short that a single line will suffice for each example or pair of examples.

Examples

Bs place only	AB and Bs places
401. ikpí he-goat	401a. i-ikpí a he-goat
402. ígbò nail	402a. ì-ígbò a nail
403. ébè gun	403a. è-ébè a gun
404. égbò bunch	404a. è-égbò a bunch
405. ádì place	405a. à-ádì a place
406. ógwò snake	406a. ò-ógwò a snake
407. ògè knife	407a. ò-ògè a knife
408. únà hen	408a. ù-únà a hen
409. ùdù hole	409a. ù-ùdù a hole
410. bágò palm-wine tree	410a. òó-bágò a palm-wine tree
411. mádà person	411a. òó-mádà a person
412. sápi key	412a. òó-sápi a key

8.4.2. Phonological

The Noun Root class is an open set whose members/^{occur}most frequently as monomorphemic words. For this reason, their phonological structure is described here at word rank rather than at morpheme rank in chapter 13.

8.4.2.1. Syllable Patterns

Noun Roots are attested to consists of from one to five syllables, with the following CV patterns.

	VCV	VCVCV	VCVCVCV	VCVCVCVCV
CV	CVCV	CVCVCV		

The V-initial words vastly outnumber the C-initial words. Of these, there is one monosyllabic example (dî - ten), two trissyllabic examples (mélécá - soup, and kpòkónî - an empty tin), and about thirty dissyllabic examples. Noun Roots of more than ~~two~~^{three} syllables are also relatively rare; there are about fifty examples with four syllables, and nine with five.

8.4.2.2. Tone Patterns

The monosyllabic NRT dî - ten has a Low Tone, as shown. The dissyllabic and trissyllabic NRTs can be divided into a number of groups on the basis of their tone patterns. The tone patterns vary with the syntactic environment, as described in section 8.4.2.3. The isolate forms are taken as basic, since they show the maximum differentiation. With the notation H = High Tone, L = Low Tone, 'H = Downstep and F = High-to-Low fall, the tone patterns are as follows.

Dissyllabic

Trissyllabic

H H	L H	H H H	L H H	L L H
H F	L F	H H F		L L F
H'H		H H'H	L H'H	
H L	L L	H H L	L H L	L L L

Of these patterns, all the dissyllabic ones are common, with the L H and L F being somewhat less common than the rest. Of the trissyllabic patterns, only H H H, L H L and L L L are at all common, all the others being attested by only a few examples. (See nos. 450 - 466 below.)

Four- and five-syllable NRts show a great diversity of tone pattern. The fifty or so four-syllable examples fall into about twenty tonal groups, and the nine five-syllable examples into seven tonal groups. Consequently, a number of tone patterns are attested in only one word, and in some cases, native speakers were unable to agree on the "correct" tone pattern. In view of these uncertainties, and the general paucity of the evidence, any comprehensive statement about the range of tone patterns would be very insecurely based, and therefore none is attempted. The tone patterns listed below are all fairly surely established, however, either from the existence of several examples, or from a single example which is of frequent occurrence in the corpus.

Whereas the shorter NRts are too numerous to be listed, forms illustrating the polysyllabic tone patterns are sufficiently few for this to be done. They are quoted as numbers 413 - 449 below.

Four-syllable Patterns

Five-syllable Patterns

H H H H	L H H H	L L L H	
H H H F		L L L F	
H H H'H			H H H H'H
H H H L	L H H L	L L H L	L L L H L
H H'H H			
H H L L		L L L L	

No polysyllabic NRt is recognisable as a compound of two separately identifiable shorter forms. There are, however, several instances where one part of a polysyllabic NRt bears some resemblance to a shorter form of related meaning. In the following examples, such shorter forms are also quoted to give a comparison. The assumption is that in these examples, especially where the vowel harmony is not constant throughout the word, some kind of compounding has taken place at some time, even if the constituents can no longer be identified.

Examples

- H H H H
413. ágbádílí - disinfectant
414. ágbónágbó - bell
415. áyólónwá - graveyard
416. ólílíkwú - large pot
417. ówáíwá - bamboo

418. ágbánúkó - toe (cf. úkó - leg)
419. ákpáláhwá - paper, letter (cf. shwá - leaf)
- H H H F
420. ́nńlńkń - leopard
- H H H' H
421. ágélézi - goat (cf. élézi - compound)
- H H H L
422. ényícéle - charcoal
423. ékpélenń - eye
424. ́kpńlńgwè - python
425. únńbńń - doorway (cf. ńń - house)
- H H' H H
426. ákńkwńfń - stick (cf. ńfń - tree)
427. ńmńlńcń - smoke (cf. ńcń - fire)
428. ńzńkpńlń - whole
- H H L L
429. ágbńgbńdń - history
430. ńkpńkńlń - shell of water-snail
431. únńkwńmń - chest

H H H H'H
 446. ékélágbála = big fairy (cf. ágbála - fairy)

L L L H L
 447. ágbálásóbi = old people

448. ágbânágbâná - whip

449. ákpêlêkédê - cough (cf. êkédê - throat)

8.4.2.3. Syntactically Conditioned Tone Changes

Each tone pattern has what is termed an "Oblique" form corresponding to the Isolate form. These two forms may be said to constitute a two-term tone paradigm somewhat analogous to the morphological noun paradigms of inflected languages like Latin. The circumstances under which the Oblique form occurs, however, vary from one pattern to another, so that no general statement can be made which will embrace all the patterns. To present the form and distribution of the Oblique "case", the various tone patterns are arranged in groups, each group being denoted by a number and a letter. For the dissyllabic and trisyllabic patterns, the groups are as follows.

<u>Group 1a</u>	<u>Group 1b</u>	<u>Group 1c</u>	<u>Group 2a</u>	<u>Group 3a</u>	<u>Group 3b</u>
H H	H F	H'H	H L	H H L	H H'H
H H H	H H F	L H'H	L H L		
L H H	L F				
L H	L L F				
L L H					
L L					
L L L					

From the Group number, the form of the Oblique can be predicted, and from the Group letter, its distribution. As for the form, all the patterns in Group 1 show a High Tone on the final syllable in the Oblique. All those in Group 2 show a final Downstep in the Oblique. All those in Group 3 show a final Low Tone in the Oblique. Thus for some patterns the Isolate and Oblique forms are identical, but for most there is a difference in the final syllable.

In distribution, there are three syntactic environments in which the Oblique form may occur. At phrase rank, when a Noun is manifesting the Hd or Gn places in the NP, and is followed by a unit manifesting the Gn, Num or Dem places, the Oblique form occurs with all Groups. At clause rank, when a Noun is the last word in a NP, and precedes a VP or a NP manifesting another place in the clause, then the Oblique form occurs with all the patterns in Group b. When a Noun follows another Noun, the Oblique form of the second Noun occurs with all the patterns in Group c; this happens at both phrase and clause ranks, that is whether the two Nouns are manifesting the Hd and Gn places respectively in the same NP, or whether they are manifesting Hd places in separate NPs.

In Groups 1 and 2 as shown on the previous page, the the behaviour of dissyllabic and trissyllabic Nouns is parallel, so that the membership of these Groups can be summed up in the following formulae.

Group 1a (H/L)H H, (L)L H, (L)L L
Group 1b (H)H F, (L)L F
Group 1c (L)H'H
Group 2a (L)H L

With the polysyllabic patterns, the evidence is so scanty that reliable generalisations about the form and distribution of the Oblique cannot be made. What evidence there is suggests that most polysyllabic Nouns would behave in a manner similar to that of dissyllabic Nouns with the same tones as those of their own two final syllables. Thus for example, Group 1a would include the words quoted in nos. 413 - 419, Group 1b those in nos. 420 and 439 - 441, and Group 2a those in nos. 442 - 443 and 447 - 449.

The following examples illustrate the Isolate and Oblique forms of all the dissyllabic and trissyllabic tone patterns. The Oblique form is shown before the subclass (a) Spc *m̄* - the, as manifesting the Dem place in NPT1.

Examples (450 - 456 Group 1a, 457 - 460 Group 1b,
461 - 462 Group 1c, 463 - 464 Group 2a,
465 Group 3a, 466 Group 3b)

Isolate		Oblique
Group 1a		
450. éwú	— grasscutter	450a. éwú <i>m̄</i> — the grasscutter
451. ákítá	- dog	451a. ákítá <i>m̄</i> - the dog
452. iwóló	— tree-hyrax	452a. iwóló <i>m̄</i> — the tree-hyrax
453. ikpí	— he-goat	453a. ikpí <i>m̄</i> — the he-goat
454. òlálé	- skink	454a. òlálé <i>m̄</i> — the skink
455. ènwè	— monkey	455a. ènwé <i>m̄</i> — the monkey
456. ikpèlè	— lizard	456a. ikpèlé <i>m̄</i> — the lizard

Isolate		Oblique	
Group 1b			
457. ólô	- antelope	457a. ólô ñ	- the antelope
458. éńńfê	- juju	458a. éńńfê ñ	- the juju
459. êhwê	- ape	459a. êhwê ñ	- the ape
460. íbêkê	- white man	460a. íbêkê ñ	- the white man
Group 1c			
461. úce	- parrot	461a. úcé ñ	- the parrot
462. àhwénya	- insect	462a. àhwényá ñ	- the insect
Group 2a			
463. óbì	- porcupine	463a. óbì ñ	- the porcupine
464. èlèfí	- pigeon	464a. èlèfí ñ	- the pigeon
Group 3a			
465. ńńábà	- crocodile	465a. ńńábà ñ	- the crocodile
Group 3b			
466. ágbála	- fairy	466a. ágbálà ñ	- the fairy

CHAPTER 9

The Word (II) -- The Verbal Hyperclass

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Chapter 9

The Word (II) - The Verbal Hyperclass

9.1. The Verbal Hyperclass

The Verbal hyperclass is defined (in section 8.1.) as those words which may function only in the structure of phrases of the Verbal Phrase class. On the basis of function at specific places in specific VPTs, three classes are established, as follows:-

Class A - the Negator Class

Class B - the Emphasiser Class

Class C - the Verb Class

These classes are described in sections 9.1.1. to 9.1.3. respectively below. Classes A and B are closed classes whose members have no further grammatical structure, and can only be listed. Class C is an open class whose members have a complex internal structure involving two more grammatical ranks. This structure is described in section 9.2.1. and in chapter 12. The phonological structure of the Verb class is described in section 9.2.2. and in section 13.3.

9.1.1. The Negator Class (Verbal Class A)

The Negator class is defined as those words which may function at the Qf place in VPT1. It consists of the single formal item

ndéke - not, not at all.

9.1.2. The Emphasiser Class (Verbal Class B)

The Emphasiser class is defined as those words which may function at the E place in VPTs 1, 2, 3 and 5. It consists of the single formal item

bà - emphatic.

9.1.3. The Verb Class (Verbal Class C)

The Verb class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd or Red places in VPTs 1, 2 and 4. It is an open class which on the basis of function at specific places in specific VPTs is subdivided into three subclasses, labelled as follows:-

Subclass C(a) - the Finite subclass

Subclass C(b) - the Participle subclass

Subclass C(c) - the Infinitive subclass

These subclasses are described in sections 9.1.3.1. to 9.1.3.3. respectively below. Subclasses C(a) and C(b) are further subdivided.

9.1.3.1. The Finite Subclass (Subclass C(a))

The Finite subclass is defined as those members of the Verb class which may function at the Hd place in VPTs 1 or 2. On the basis of function at these and other specific places in the various VPTs, the subclass is further subdivided into four sub-subclasses.

Sub-subclass (i) may function only at the Hd place in VPT1. It is an open class. Further subdivision might prove

possible on the basis of indirect criteria (cf. the discussion in section 8.2.1.), such as the subtype of CT1 whose P place the VPT1 is manifesting. But since many Verbs of subclass C(ai) are found in more than one subtype of CT1 (i.e. they may be ditransitive, transitive or intransitive), any such subdivision would be more complicated than useful, and none is attempted.

Sub-subclass (ii) may function only at the Hd place in VPT2. It consists of a single formal item, which is the Vb type 1 form based on the VbRt

bà - to be (predicative).

Sub-subclass (iii) may function at the Hd place in VPTs 1 and 3. It consists of a single formal item, which is the VT1 form based on the VbRt

gò - to take.

Sub-subclass (iv) may function at the Hd place in VPT1 and the Sub place in VPT5. It consists of a single formal item, which is the VT1 form based on the VbRt

zè - to be (locative).

This Vb is unique in that in tense 2 (section 9.2.2.2.), if it is the final word of its clause, the consonant /m/ is added. This is not to be confused with the subclass (d) Suffix -m, since it is not restricted as to the terms in the Person system with which it may co-occur, nor is it mutually exclusive with other Suffixes of the Order to which -m belongs, Order 17. Thus there is a common form

à/zè-bè-m - they are there

used as a reply to a conventional greeting-inquiry after one's family. (For Suffixes, see section 13.3.5.)

9.1.3.2. The Participle Subclass (Subclass C(b))

The Participle subclass is defined as those members of the Verb class which may function at the Red place in VPTs 1 or 2. On the basis of function at these and other specific places in the various VPTs, the class is further subdivided into two sub-subclasses.

Sub-subclass (i) may function at the Red place in VPTs 1 and 4. It is an open class, like class C(ai), and as with that class, no further subdivision is attempted.

Sub-subclass (ii) may function at the Red place in VPT2 only. It consists of a single formal item, which is the VT2 form based on the VbRt

bà - to be (predicative).

9.1.3.3. The Infinitive Subclass (Subclass C(c))

The Infinitive subclass is defined as those members of the Verb class which may function at the Hd place in VPT4. It is an open class, like class C(ai), and as with that class and class C(bi), no further subdivision is attempted.

9.2. Verb Structure

9.2.1. Grammatical

Each subclass of Verb corresponds exactly to a structural type. The Finite subclass corresponds to Verb type 1, the Participle subclass to VT2, and the Infinitive

subclass to VT3. A summary of Verb structure follows in section 9.2.1.1., and then VTs 1 to 3 are described in detail in sections 9.2.1.2 to 9.2.1.4. respectively.

9.2.1.1. Summary of Verb Structure

On the basis of structure, three Verb types are set up, corresponding to the Verb subclasses as stated in the previous section. A summary description of their structure may be made, dividing their constituent places into nuclear and peripheral. The nuclear places are so called because they are crucial to the establishment of the three types as separate structural entities. The nuclear places may be shown in diagram form as follows.

Nuclear Places				
Type 1	Ps	AB1	AB2	Bs
2	Rep			Bs
3	Imp	AB1		Bs

Full details of these places and their manifesting classes will be found in the following sections of this chapter.

The peripheral places are those which occur in more than one VT, and whose occurrence, though not diagnostic of any VT, shows restrictions which vary from type to type. Within the peripheral places, which are all post-nuclear, three layers are recognised, labelled inner, medial and outer. The inner periphery consists of the Post-Base (PB) places 1, 2 and 3, the medial periphery of the PB places 4 and 5, and the outer periphery of the PB places 6, 7 and 8.

The maximum number of places within any layer is found only in VT1. In VT2, up to two inner peripheral places may occur, but no medial or outer ones. In VT3, all three inner peripheral places may occur, but only one medial place, and only two outer places. In the diagram of peripheral places below, the superscript numerals indicate the number of places within any one layer which may co-occur.

	Nucleus	Inner PB1/PB2/PB3	Medial PB4/PB5	Outer PB6/PB7/PB8
Type 1		x^3	x^2	x^3
2		x^2		
3		x^3	x^1	x^2

Full details of the manifesting classes attested at each place in each type will be found in the relevant sections of this chapter below.

9.2.1.2. Verb Type 1

Twelve places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Person (Ps), Ante-Base 1 (AB1), Ante-Base 2, Base (Bs), and Post-Base (PB) 1 to 8. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

- P_s by a Verb Prefix (P_f) of subclass (a)
- AB1 by a Verb Prefix of subclass (b)
- AB2 by a Verb Prefix of subclass (b)
- B_s by a Stem (St)
- PB1 by a Verb Suffix (S_f) of subclass (b)
- PB2 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)
- PB3 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

PB4 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (c)

PB5 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (c)

PB6 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)

PB7 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)

PB8 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

Ps AB1 AB2 Bs PB1 PB2 PB3 PB4 PB5 PB6 PB7 PB8

Pf(a) Pf(b) Pf(b) St Sf(b) Sf(b) Sf(b) Sf(c) Sf(c) Sf(d) Sf(d) Sf(d)

Only the Bs place is obligatory, all the others being optional. The two AB places and the Ps place may co-occur, and up to six of the eight PB places are attested to co-occur. It seems probable that this is a statistical accident rather than a structural limitation. There is no known reason why longer forms should not occur, but as with the structure of any unit, length and frequency are in inverse proportion. The maximum number of places attested in any one example is eight (nos. 522, 523). No syntactic markers have been found.

In the following group of examples, the main point of interest is the co-occurrence potential of the PB places. Examples up to 511 show only suffixes of one subclass in each example, with nos. 506, 508 and 511 showing the maximum number of Suffixes of any one subclass which may co-occur. It is on the basis of these and similar forms that the total of eight PB places has been recognised. Since it is impractical to illustrate all the possible combinations of PB places, examples from 512 to 523 illustrate a random selection of combinations.

Examples (501 - 523 all VT1)

501. Ps and Bs places

ú-me

he-does

He does B30.25

502. Ps, AB1 and Bs places (cf. no. 8 for context)

má-kà-jà

I-please-come

I should come B32.9

503. Ps, AB1 and Bs places

mé-lé-tè

I-went-greet

I went to greet B38.22

504. Ps, Bs and PB1 places

ú-wu-dí-gá

he-looked-round

He searched about B31.20

505. Ps, Bs, PB1 and PB2 places

í-gá-lá-gá-tá

you-may-pass-by

You may pass by S7.70

506. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2 and PB3 places

á-ci+má-tá-kwá-kpò

he-cleared-completely-finish

He thoroughly cleared S7.24

507. Ps, Bs and PB4 places
ú-zé-jí
he-go-again
He should go again B2.14
508. Ps, Bs, PB4 and PB5 places
ò-hwù-gédé-déhwá
he-will-call-first-likewise
In the same way, he will first call B39.7
509. Ps, Bs and PB6 places (cf. no. 311 for context)
ò-gbù-yò
he-will-kill-you
He will kill you S23.79
510. Ps, Bs, PB6 and PB7 places
í-ló-lé-ní
you-go-out-if-group
If you people go out S1.10
511. Ps, Bs, PB6, PB7 and PB8 places
ú-mé-lé-bé-yá
he-do-if-group-self
If they do (it) to me S17.83
512. Ps, AB1, Bs, PB1, PB2 and PB3 places
ú-dò-tú-gbèdè-tà-kpò
he-went-prepared-together-finish
He went and finished laying (a fire) S7.30

513. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2, PB3 and PB4 places
ú-bí-tú-má-dó-hwátò
he-took-finish-could-when
When he was able to finish taking (food) A5.46
514. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB4 and PB5 places
ù-wù-dìgà-gìlì-hwò
he-looked-round-often-at-last
He eventually searched and searched B31.20
515. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2, PB3 and PB6 places
á-cá-kwà-ná-kpó-yá
he-cleared-thoroughly-for-finish-self
He completely finished the clearing for me S23.9
516. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2, PB6, PB7 and PB8 places
è-bé-ní-kpó-lê-bè-mâ
she-hate-for-finish-have-group-her
They have had a strong hatred for her G2.44
517. Ps, Bs, PB4, PB5, PB6 and PB7 places
à-tákpó-dá-jé-hwò-lé-nê
he-become-thin-also-at-last-have
In the end, he had also become very thin S7.77
518. Ps, Bs, PB4, PB6, PB7 and PB8 places
è-mé-jí-lé-má-nê
it-do-also-have-him
It has also happened to him R6.5

519. Ps, AB1, AB2, Bs, PB1, PB4 and PB6 places
á-ká-dé-bí=yá-ná-hwátò-bé
you-please-go-cut-bring-for-just-them
Please just go and cut and bring for them S23.73
520. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2, PB3, PB4 and PB6 places
ù-mê-kè-ní-kpò-gèdè-à
he-made-completely-for-finish-first-her
At first, he prepared thoroughly for her G2.35
521. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB4, PB5, PB6 and PB7 places
è-3á-ná-dé-já-à-nê
it-was-for-continuous-also-him
He always used to have S7.33
522. Ps, AB1, Bs, PB1, PB4, PB6, PB7 and PB8 places
(a maximum form)
ú-dó-wú=wé+já-ná-já-lé-nê-mê
he-went-search-look-for-also-me
He then went and searched on my behalf E1.12
523. Ps, Bs, PB1, PB2, PB4, PB6, PB7 and PB8 places
(a maximum form, both in the total number of places,
and the number of PB places)
è-mé-ké-ní-jí-lê-yá-nê
he-make-completely-for-also-have-self
He has also thoroughly prepared for me S23.18

9.2.1.3. Verb Type 2

Four places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled

Repetitive (Rep), Base, Post-Base 1 and Post-Base 2. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Rep by a Verb Prefix of subclass (c)

Bs by a Stem

PB1 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

PB2 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Rep</u>	<u>Bs</u>	<u>PB1</u>	<u>PB2</u>
Pf(c)	St	Sf(b)	Sf(b)

The Rep and Bs places are obligatory, and the PB places optional. The two optional places may co-occur, so that the theoretical maximum of four places is attested (nos. 526 and 527). No syntactic markers have been found.

Examples (524 - 527 all VT2)

524. Rep and Bs places

è-dí

eating

Eating S11.1

525. Rep, Bs and PB1 places

ò-zò-lágá

being-beautiful

Being beattiful G2.25

526. Rep, Bs, PB1 and PB2 places (a maximum form)

à-gá-lágá-té

passing-by

Passing by S7.70

527. Rep, Bs, PB1 and PB2 places (a maximum form)

è-bé-tè-tú

keeping-aside

Keeping aside S10.3

See also nos. 307 - 312, 314, 320 and 321.

9.2.1.4. Verb Type 3

Nine places are recognised in this type. In their invariable sequence of occurrence, they are labelled Impersonal (Imp), Ante-Base 1, Base, and Post-Base 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7. The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Imp by a Verb Prefix of subclass (d)

AB1 by a Verb Prefix of sub-subclass (bi)

Bs by a Stem

PB1 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

PB2 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

PB3 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (b)

PB4 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (c)

PB6 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)

PB7 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (d)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below.

<u>Imp</u>	<u>AB1</u>	<u>Bs</u>	<u>PB1</u>	<u>PB2</u>	<u>PB3</u>	<u>PB4</u>	<u>PB6</u>	<u>PB7</u>
Pf(d)	Pf(bi)	St	Sf(b)	Sf(b)	Sf(b)	Sf(c)	Sf(d)	Sf(d)

The Imp and Bs places are obligatory and all the others optional. Up to four of the six PB places are attested to co-occur, and the maximum number of places attested in any one example is six (no 533). As with VT1, this is probably accidental, and there is nothing to suggest that longer forms are impossible. No syntactic markers have been found.

Examples (528 - 539 all VT3)

528. Imp and Bs places (cf. no. 288 for context)

ù-gbù

to-kill

To kill S23.57

529. Imp, Abl and Bs places

à-bà-dí

to-come-eat

To come and eat S8.38

530. Imp, Bs and PBl places (cf. no. 176 for context)

à-kádé-kpó

to-go-away-finish

To go right away B38.40

531. Imp, Abl, Bs and PBl places

à-bà-yó-tá

to-come-take-down

To come and take down (yams from a barn) S12.19

532. Imp, Bs, PBl, PB2 and PB6 places (cf. no. 165 for context)

à-dá-dá-kpó-yá

to-roll-finish-self

To rub all over himself B35.6

533. Imp, Bs, PBl, PB2, PB3 and PB6 places (a maximum form)
at Ac in a contracted VPT5

í-d-ù-gwè-ní-kpó-dó-yá

you-on-to-keep-for-finish-able-self

You can keep (the rules) properly for me G2.31

534. Imp, Bs, PB1 and PB4 places
ù-gó--tú-hwò
to-buy-at-last
To buy finally B38.36
535. Imp, Bs and PB4 places
à-ná+jí-gbà
to-hear-again
To hear again B32.3
536. Imp, AB1, Bs and PB4 places (cf. no. 127 for context)
à-bà-má+jí-gbó
to-come-to-know-completely
To get exclusive knowledge of B25.21
537. Imp, Bs, PB4 and PB6 places, at Ac in a contracted VPT5
l-á-gwá+lá-dí-bè
on-to-cess-continuous-group
They were running out B28.11
538. Imp, Bs, PB6 and PB7 places, at Ac in a contracted VPT5
(cf. no. 331 for context)
l-ù-mé-bè-yá
on-to-do-group-self
While they are doing (it) to me B28.22
539. Imp, AB1, Bs, PB1 and PB6 places (cf. no. 164 for
context)
ù-zé-fi-kèjí-à
to-go-put-with-him
To go and lend him (a hand) R4.9

See also nos. 164 -177 and 327 - 337.

9.2.2. Phonological

9.2.2.1. Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony is a phonological feature characteristic of word rank. In word classes other than the Verb, the harmony is of the simple two-set kind outlined in section 2.5.1. In the Verb, however, the picture is considerably more involved, with several harmonic systems in evidence. Since vowel harmony is a feature of the word, the various harmonic systems are described at this point, and reference is made back to this section when the morphemes exhibiting the harmony are described in chapter 13.

In the Verb, vowel harmony is centred on the Root manifesting the Core place in the Stem (for Stem structure see section 12.2.). All harmonising morphemes of the Verb Prefix class show progressive harmony, while all harmonising morphemes of the Verb Suffix class show regressive harmony. Not every individual affix exhibits harmony, but for those which do, the above principle is invariable. The progressive or regressive influence extends over only one syllable; that is, the harmonic form of an affix is determined by the quality of the vowel in the syllable immediately following or preceding, irrespective of the grammatical status of that syllable. The Root is the pivot of the progressive or regressive influence, but the vowel quality of the Root syllable(s) influences only one syllable in either direction.¹

1. One Root only, the Root já - come, is irregular in its harmonic influence on Prefixes, which take forms that would be expected before the vowel /i/. Thus in example no. 8, the VT2 form based on this Root is è-já, where regular harmony would yield à-já. In the VT1 form in the same

The vowel harmony systems operative within the Verb fall into three groups. The first involves tongue height, the second tongue position, and the third both. The three systems in the first group are represented by the symbols E, I and U, the two in the second group by the symbols A and O, and the two in the third group by the symbols V and F. The vowels which realise the various systems in different environments are shown in the following three diagrams.

Tongue Height Only

Conditioning Vowel	Symbol		
	E	I	U
i, e, o, u	e	i	u
ɛ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ	ɛ	ɛ̃	ʊ

Tongue Position Only

Conditioning Vowel	Symbol	
	A	O
i, ɛ̃	ɛ	ɛ
u, ʊ	ɔ	ɔ
e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o	-	-

example, má-kà-jà, the occurrence of the invariable Prefix kà- between the Root and the harmonising Prefix mV- cancels the irregular influence of the Root, and a harmonically regular form of the Prefix results. In no. 118, where no invariable Prefix intervenes, the harmonising Prefix U- is realised as ù- in the VT1 form ù-jà, where regular harmony would yield ʊ-jà. This irregularity, unique to the Root já, leads to the conjecture that it is a contraction of an earlier dissyllabic form *jiya. Such a form is in line with the preference of palatal consonants for following close front vowels, and would explain both the irregular Prefix harmony and the regular Suffix harmony.

Tongue Height and Tongue Position

Conditioning Vowel	Symbol	
	V	ɪ
i, e	e	i
o	o	
u		u
ɛ, ɛ̃	ɛ	
a	a	ɛ̃
ɔ	ɔ	
ʌ		ʌ

The distribution of the various vowel harmony systems is as follows:-

- E occurs only in the subclass (a) Prefix E- (section 13.3.1.1.)
- V occurs in the subclass (a) Prefixes mV- and V-, in the subclass (b) Prefix lV- and in the subclass (c) Prefix V- (sections 13.3.1.1. to 13.3.1.3.)
- A occurs only in the Additional Vowel (section 9.2.2.2. following)
- ɪ occurs only in the subclass (a) Suffix -lɪ (Order 3) (section 13.3.3.1.)
- o occurs only in the subclass (d) Suffix -o (Order 16) (section 13.3.3.4.)
- I and U occur in Prefixes of subclasses (a) and (d) and in several Suffixes of various subclasses (sections 13.3.1.1., 13.3.1.4. and 13.3.3.)

9.2.2.2. Tone Patterns and the Tense System

The Tense system is included under the general heading of the phonology of the Verb because, although Tense is a

category functionally relevant at clause rank (see e.g. section 4.2.1.4.), it is manifested structurally within the Verb, primarily through the phonological features of tone and vowel harmony. Ten tenses are recognised, in five of which all Verbs show the same tone patterns. In the other five, Verbs fall into two tonal groups, and can conveniently be labelled High Tone Verbs and Low Tone Verbs (HTVbs and LTVbs). HTVbs are much more common.

The ten tenses are illustrated below. Not every Person of every tense is attested in text material, but the paradigms have been filled out by elicitation. The tenses are exemplified as they appear in a very simple Verb structure, Ps and Bs (VT1); the Bs place is manifested by a Stem of minimal structure Core, with the Core place manifested by a monosyllabic Root (for Stem structure, see section 12.2.). The HTVb and the LTVb selected both have the same vowel in the Root, to avoid any confusion that might arise through different harmonic forms of the subclass (a) Prefix manifesting the Ps place. In any tense where the occurrence of a Suffix is obligatory with the tone pattern shown, the Root is followed by a hyphen. In tenses 5 and 7 - 10, a specific Suffix of subclass (d) is obligatory with the Sp person, and this is included in the paradigm. If the tone pattern of suffixed and unsuffixed Verbs in any tense varies, this is indicated below the paradigm. The tenses are shown with the HTVb bá - write, and the LTVb dà - fall.

Tense 1

	HTVb	LTVb
Sp	m̄-bá	n̄-dà-
SG	á-bá	á-dà-
H	ɛ̄-bá	ɛ̄-dà-
R	ɛ̄-bá	ɛ̄-dà-

A LTVb occurring unsuffixed in this tense will have a downstep tone.

Tense 2 (HTVb and LTVb have the same pattern)

Sp	má-bà	má-dà
SG	à-bà	à-dà
H	ɛ̄-bà	ɛ̄-dà
R	ɛ̄-bà	ɛ̄-dà

Tense 3

Sp	m̄-ba	n̄-dá
SG	á-ba	á-dá
H	ɛ̄-ba	ɛ̄-dá
R	ɛ̄-ba	ɛ̄-dá

Tense 4

Sp	má-bá	má-dá-
SG	á-bá	á-dá-
H	ɛ̄-bá	ɛ̄-dá-
R	á-bá	á-dá-

A LTVb occurring unsuffixed in this tense will have a high tone. In VTs 2 and 3, Vbs show the same tone patterns as in tense 4; for the specimen Vbs, the forms are as follows:-

VT2	à-bá	à-dá-
VT3	ɛ̄-bá	ɛ̄-dá-

Tense 5

	HTVb	LTVb
Sp	má-ba- -m̃	má-dá- -m̃
SG	á-bá-	á-dá-
H	é-ba-	é-dá-
R	á-bá-	á-dá-

This tense never occurs unaffixed; either -ô or, more commonly -lê of subclass (d) (Order 16) always occurs.

Tense 6 (HTVb and LTVb have the same pattern)

Sp	má-bâ	má-dâ
SG	á-bâ	á-dâ
H	é-bâ	é-dâ
R	á-bâ	á-dâ

Tense 7

Sp	má-bâ-m̃	má-dâ-m̃
SG	á-bâ	á-dâ
H	é-bâ	é-dâ
R	á-bâ	á-dâ

A HTVb occurring suffixed in this tense will have a high tone.

Tense 8 (HTVb and LTVb have the same pattern)

Sp	má-bâ-m̃	má-dâ-m̃
SG	á-bâ	á-dâ
H	é-bâ	é-dâ
R	á-bâ	á-dâ

Tense 9 (HTVb and LTVb have the same pattern)

	HTVb	LTVb
Sp	m̂-bá-m̂	n̂-dá-m̂
SG	à-bá	à-dá
H	ɛ̂-bá	ɛ̂-dá
R	ɔ̂-bá	ɔ̂-dá

Tense 10 (HTVb and LTVb have the same pattern)

Sp	má-bá-m̂	má-dá-m̂
SG	à-bá	à-dá
H	ɛ̂-bá	ɛ̂-dá
R	ɔ̂-bá	ɔ̂-dá

Tenses 8, 9 and 10 have a further distinguishing feature in that they require the lengthening of the final syllable of the clause in which they occur. This may affect the Verb itself, or any other unit that happens to be manifesting the clause-final place. The lengthened syllable bears a non-low tone, which is realised as a downstep after a high, or a high after a ^{downstep} low. The lengthened syllable has been denoted in previous examples by the abbreviation NV (Negative Vowel). See nos. 4, 5, 111, 114, 125, 129 etc., and nos. 540 - 542, 546, 548 and 549 below.

Tenses 6 - 10 may in certain circumstances be characterised by an Additional Vowel (AV). This occurs only if there is a close vowel (/i, ɛ̂, u or u/) in the final syllable of the last Suffix present of Orders up to 14, or if no Suffixes occur, of the Root. (For Suffix Orders, see section 13.3.5.) If the last present Suffix of Orders up to 14 does not end with a close vowel, the AV will not occur, even if earlier Suffixes do end in a close vowel (see note to no.

546). The AV is harmonically variable according to the system represented by the symbol A in the second vowel harmony diagram in section 9.2.2.1. The Verbs chosen to illustrate the tense paradigms did not show the AV, but rather than repeat the paradigms with Verbs that do, selected examples are given below to illustrate the principle. Tonally, the AV behaves as a member of Suffix tone group 1 (section 13.3.4.). In the following examples, the AV is underlined.

Examples (540 - 550 all VT1 with AV)

540. AV following Rt in tense 10, with NV

ù-bí-é-ε

it-broke-not-NV

It didn't break B3.27

541. AV following Rt in tense 10, with NV

íŋwe gwá-ǔ-dǎ-bǎ-ε

hunger seized-not-again-them-NV

They weren't hungry again S16.28

542. AV following Order 1 Sf in tense 8, with NV

é-wè+jǎ-ǔ-é

if-he-saw-not-NV

If he didn't see (it) B3.4

543. AV following Order 1 Sf in tense 7

ǒ-gǒ+nù-ǔ

he-should-take-not

He shouldn't take B34.8

544. AV following Order 1 Sf in tense 6 (cf. no. 145 for context)

ò-gò+nù-ò

he-would-certainly-take

He would certainly take R3.3

545. AV following Order 4 Sf in tense 7

é-gwá+fí-é

you-sing-not

Don't sing B28.47

546. AV following Order 4 Sf in tense 9, with NV

yá kpó+dù-ò-má-á

self would-not-climb-NV

(That) he wouldn't climb S22.4

The same sentence contains a similar word kpó+dù-dò-má -- would not be able to climb; in this word, the last present Suffix of Orders up to 14, -dò of Order 11, does not end in a close vowel, so no AV occurs even though the preceding Suffix -dù does end in a close vowel.

547. AV following Order 6 Sf in tense 9

ndéke yá zú-tú-ò-má

not self would-steal

(That) he would never steal S13.13

548. AV following Order 8 Sf in tense 10, with NV

~~à-zí-ná-é-dé-lá-á~~

it-was-not-to-again-him-NV

He didn't have it any more B31.17

549. AV following Order 13 Sf in tense 10, with NV

~~á~~-ká-~~ṛwá~~+lá-dó-~~ji~~-~~é~~-nê-~~é~~

he-not-yet-die-could-also-NV

He hadn't yet managed to die S25.34

550. AV following Order 14 Sf in tense 10

yá wú-digá-d~~h~~wá-~~é~~-má-nê

self wanted-likewise-not-even

(That) he didn't even want S5.45

The formal features of the tenses have been described, but no tense labels have been given. This is because labels would inevitably suggest misleading comparisons with the semantic categories of European languages. The tenses are referred to by their numbers, and the most common translation equivalents are listed below.

- Tense 1 Temporal or conditional in clauses at the Dep place; hortatory or imperative in clauses at the Ind place.
- Tense 2 Habitual present or (more usually) past.
- Tense 3 Past narrative.
- Tense 4 Future.
- Tense 5 Perfect; often seems to be a stylistic variation from tenses 2 and 3.
- Tense 6 Emphatic assertion, usually with future reference.
- Tense 7 Prohibition or negative command.
- Tense 8 Negative temporal or conditional.
- Tense 9 Negative future.
- Tense 10 Negative non-future.

For tense distribution, see sections 4.2.1.3., 4.2.1.4., 4.2.2.3., 4.2.2.4., 4.3.3., 4.3.4. and 4.6.2.

CHAPTER 10

The Word (III) - The Adverbial Hyperclass

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Chapter 10

The Word (III) - The Adverbial Hyperclass

10.1. The Adverbial Hyperclass

The Adverbial hyperclass is defined (in section 8.1.) as those words which may function in the structure of phrases of the Adverbial Phrase class, or in the structure of phrases of both the Nominal and Adverbial Phrase classes. The analysis of words which may function in both the Nominal and Adverbial Phrase classes as belonging to the Adverbial hyperclass rather than the Nominal hyperclass is essentially arbitrary. The present analysis is preferred on the purely practical ground that the Nominal hyperclass already embraced a large number of classes, whereas the Adverbial hyperclass did not. A further consideration is the notionally "adverbial" semantic rôle of the words in question.

On the basis of function, three classes are established, as follows:-

Class A - the Adverbial Class

Class B - the Terminal Class

Class C - the Marginal Class

These classes are described in sections 10.2. to 10.4. respectively below. They are all closed classes whose members have no further grammatical structure, and can only be listed.

10.2. The Adverb Class (Adverbial Class A)

The Adverb class is defined as those words which may function at the Hd place in an AP. It is a closed class of seventeen formal items, which on the basis of function is subdivided into two subclasses.

Subclass (a) may function at Hd in an AP of subclass (a) only. It consists of thirteen formal items listed below.

báka	- much, very
gbídím	- completely
gbùwàá	- firmly
ìyámàá	- definitely
jóka	- well, good
kpáá	- completely
kpálá	- how?
kpéye	- thus, in that way
kpóm	- so, in this way
kpówê	- thus, in that way
ntáko	- small, a little
sáásáá	- utterly
táá	- extremely

It is possible that further data would reveal a few more members of this subclass, but the membership is certainly closed and small. The VV cluster /aá/ is attested only in the five Adverbs listed above.

Subclass (b) may function at Hd in an AP of subclass (b) only. It consists of four formal items listed below.

séle/sélém	- yesterday, tomorrow (i.e. one day from today in either direction)
------------	---

tám - today
tó - ever, at all, until
tátá - a long time, until

It is possible that further data would reveal a few more members of this subclass, though less probable than with subclass (a).

10.3. The Terminal Class (Adverbial Class B)

The Terminal class is defined as those words which may function at the Md2 place in the AP, or at the Md2 place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP. It is a closed class of two formal items, which on the basis of distribution in the various NP types is subdivided into two subclasses.

Subclass (a) may function at Md2 in NPTs 1, 3 and 4. It consists of the single formal item

yá - thus.

Subclass (b) may function at Md2 in NPTs 1 and 3 only. It is further distinguished from subclass (a) in that subclass (a) is attested in APs of subclass (a) only, whereas subclass (b) is attested in APs of both subclasses. Subclass (b) consists of the single formal item

óm/ómóm - thus.

10.4. The Marginal Class (Adverbial Class C)

In order to include a few poorly attested items which are somewhat impressionistically deemed to belong to this class, a rather elastic definition is employed. The Marginal class is defined as those words other than

Identifiers and Terminals which may function at the Md2 place in the post-nuclear periphery of the NP, or in Elliptical Sentences. It is a closed class of eight formal items, whose distribution in the available data is sufficiently diverse to necessitate the establishment of six subclasses.

Subclass (a) may function at Md2 in NPTs 1 and 5, at Md2 in the AP, and in Elliptical Sentences. It consists of the single formal item

hwò - at last.

Subclass (b) may function at Md2 in NPTs 1 and 5 and at Md2 in the AP. It consists of the single formal item

nê/jânê - also, in turn.

Subclass (c) may function at Md2 in NPT1 and at Md2 in the AP. It consists of the single formal item

hwátò - just, only.

Subclass (d) may function only in Elliptical Sentences. It consists of the two formal items listed below.

gédé - at first

là - then

Subclass (e) may function at Md2 in NPTs 1 and 3. It consists of the single formal item

díhwá - likewise, also.

Subclass (f) may function at Md2 in NPT1. It consists of the two formal items listed below.

kwám - exactly

né - towards

The feature that brings some degree of coherence to this diverse class is that all its members except those of subclass (f) are identical in form with members of Verb Suffix subclass (c). (The form *jânê* is a compound of *jà* (subclass (c)) and *nê* (subclass (d)).) Further data might reveal that all the members of Suffix subclass (c) may also function as members of the Marginal class. See the discussion in section 13.3.5.2. The two members of Marginal subclass (f) have some similarity of form with Suffixes of subclass (b), and seem to be of somewhat related meaning.

CHAPTER 11

The Word (IV) - The Particle Hyperclass

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Chapter 11

The Word (IV) - The Particle Hyperclass

11.1. The Particle Hyperclass

The Particle hyperclass is defined (in section 8.1,) as those words which function extra-hierarchically, that is, as syntactic markers of other higher-ranking units at certain of their places of function. On the basis of function as SMS of specific units in specific functions, eight classes are established, as follows:-

- Class A - the Initiator Class
- Class B - the Introducer Class
- Class C - the Interrogator Class
- Class D - the Conjunction Class
- Class E - the Causal Class
- Class F - the Relegator Class
- Class G - the Preposition Class
- Class H - the Cumulative Class

These classes are described in sections 11.2. to 11.9. respectively below. They are all closed classes whose members have no further grammatical structure, and can only be listed.

11.2. The Initiator Class (Particle Class A)

The Initiator class is defined as those words which may function as SMS of the Sentence in primary function (at some place in a hypothetical unit of higher rank). For discussion, see section 3.3.1. This class may also

function in Elliptical Sentences (section 3.6.). It consists of the single formal item

ngwá - come on then, well then.

11.3. The Introducer Class (Particle Class B)

The Introducer class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of the Sentence in secondary function at the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause (section 3.3.2.). This class may also function as a SM of the NP of subclasses (a) and (b) in their primary function at the Q place in the outer post-nuclear periphery of the clause (sections 5.3.2 and 5.4.2.). The class consists of two formal items, as listed below. Their selection is determined by the exponent of the Person category at the S place in the clause, as described in section 3.3.2.

bá - that

méni - that

11.4. The Interrogator Class (Particle Class C)

The Interrogator class is defined as those words which may mark the Interrogative term in the category of Assertion, as described in section 3.4. As stated in that section, it may reasonably be supposed that the category of Assertion is associated with the function of the Sentence in some hypothetical unit of higher rank, and this supposition underlies the inclusion of the Interrogator class in the Particle hyperclass. The class consists of the single formal item

là/làbó - question marker.

11.5. The Conjunction Class (Particle Class D)

The Conjunction class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of clauses of classes A(a) and B in primary function at the Ind place in the Sentence. See sections 4.2.1.3.1. and 4.3.3.1. This class also marks clauses of class B in secondary function at the Cp place in CT4 (section 4.3.3.2.). In the Clause Complex, the Cnj class may mark all the elements when the ClCx is in primary function at the Ind place in the Sentence. The Cnj class may mark the second and subsequent elements only when the ClCx is either in primary function at the Exg place in the Sentence, or in secondary function at some place in the structure of another clause. See sections 4.6.2.1. and 4.6.2.2. In any clause marked by the Cnj class, tense 3 must occur at the P place. The class consists of two formal items listed below.

- áá - then, and
- má - then, and

11.6. The Causal Class (Particle Class E)

The Causal class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of clauses of classes A or B in primary function at the Exg place in the Sentence. See sections 4.2.1.3.1., 4.2.2.3.1. and 4.3.3.1. The Cs class also marks the first element of a ClCx when in primary function at the Exg place in the Sentence. See section 4.6.2.1. The class consists of the single formal item

- íyédò/íyédòné - because.

11.7. The Relegator Class (Particle Class F)

The Relegator class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of clauses of classes A(a) or B in secondary function at some place in the structure of another clause (sections 4.2.1.3.2. and 4.3.3.2.). This class also marks the first element of a ClCx when in secondary function at some place in the structure of another clause (section 4.6.2.2.). In any clause marked by the Rlg class, tense 1 must occur at the P place. The class consists of the single formal item

kpé - how.

11.8. The Preposition Class (Particle Class G)

The Preposition class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of the NP of subclasses (a) or (d) in primary function at the L place in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause, and as SMs of the clause of class D in secondary function at the same place. The Pr class may also mark the NP of subclasses (a) and (d) in primary function at the C place in the pre-nuclear periphery of the clause, and at the T place in the medial post-nuclear periphery of the clause. See sections 5.3.2., 5.6.2. and 4.5.2. The Pr class also marks the VP of subclass (d) in secondary function at the Ac place in VPT5 (section 6.5.2.). In these circumstances, the Pr Particle may coalesce with the Verb which follows it, as described in section 6.6.2. The Pr class consists of the single formal item

lé - in, on, at, etc.

11.9. The Cumulative Class (Particle Class H)

The Cumulative class is defined as those words which may function as SMs of the second or third elements in a NPCx of type 1 (section 5.8.1.1.). When the Cum Particle precedes a NP of subclass (b), it may optionally coalesce with it, and take the form of a harmonically variable post-clitic. The resulting forms are shown in full in section 8.2.6. The Cum class consists of the single formal item

lã - and.

(Its post-clitic forms may be summarised as -lV, where V represents the harmonic variations shown in the third diagram in section 9.2.2.1.)

11.10. Residual Forms at Word Rank

There remain a few items which have not been allotted membership of any word class. They are almost entirely onomatopoeic forms, and some indeed may be nonce forms. In such features as nasalisation and protracted vowels, they are phonologically extra-systemic, and their transcription is therefore somewhat impressionistic. It may be roughly compared with such conventions as "tch tch", "eh", "ahem" etc. in English. The forms in question are as follows.

gõĩgõĩgõĩ Ding dong ding dong B35.45

hwððð Ooh! B24.29

kókilíkóòò Cock-a-doodle-doo B24.25

kùkùkùkù	The cooing of a pigeon	52.20
kpúm	Bang!	B28.63
kpúrú	The twanging of a spear	G1.24
kwííí	A grunt of strenuous effort	B36.31
nyðnyðnyð	Sniff sniff	S7.87
péépéépé	The sound of whistling	B29.13
sékííí sékííí	The noise of a rattle	B39.11
tòkwù	Abacadabra (a magic word)	S7.42

CHAPTER 12

The Stem

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Chapter 12

The Stem

12.1. Stem Rank

The Stem is the unit ranking next below the word. It is unique in that it is relevant to only one class of units at the next higher rank. At word rank, only the Verb class displays an internal structure which requires the recognition of a rank intermediate between that of the word and that of the morpheme. This recognition is compelled not by any internal feature of the Stem in itself, but by the occurrence of a Stem Complex which gives rise to a sequence of morphemes that cannot be adequately described without recourse to a further rank between that of the word and that of the morpheme. For further discussion, see section 12.3.1. below, and examples 560 - 562.

The Stem has only a primary function, at the Bs place in VTs 1, 2 and 3. Not every individual Stem is attested to occur in each VT, but the evidence is sufficient to warrant the confident projection that every Stem has the potential of occurring in each VT. Accordingly, since there is no significant variation in function, all Stems are analysed as belonging to one Stem class. This class is of course of open membership, and displays further grammatical structure.

Internally, all Stems are described in terms of one type, which is treated in section 12.2. following. The Stem Complex is described in section 12.3.

12.2. Stem Structure

Only one type is necessary for the description of Stem structure. In this type, four places are recognised, which in their invariable sequence of occurrence are labelled Core (Cr), and Extension 1, 2 and 3 (Ex1, 2 and 3). The manifesting classes are as follows:-

Cr by a Verb Root (henceforth referred to simply as a Root; Noun Roots are always specified as such)

Ex1 by a Verb Suffix of subclass (a) (henceforth referred to simply as a Suffix)

Ex2 by a Suffix of subclass (a)

Ex3 by a Suffix of subclass (a)

The manifesting classes are shown in diagram form below:

<u>Cr</u>	<u>Ex1</u>	<u>Ex2</u>	<u>Ex3</u>
Rt	Sf(a)	Sf(a)	Sf(a)

The Cr place is obligatory and the Ex places optional. All three Ex places may co-occur (no. 554), so that the theoretical maximum of four places is attested. No syntactic markers have been found.

Examples

551. Cr place only

é-mê

you-do-not

Don't! B20.3

552. Cr and Ex1 places

ù-dù+mâ

it--reached

It reached Bl.1

553. Cr, Ex1 and Ex2 places

á-lâ+gâ+mâ-hwátô-â

she-drew-out-when-for-him

When she drew out (the nail) for him S13.22

554. Cr, Ex1, Ex2 and Ex3 places

á-gba+pâ+mâ+lâ-ô

it-squeezed-out-itself-past

It was squeezed out S17.150

12.3. The Stem Complex

12.3.1. Elements

Where two or (rarely) three Stems in paratactic relationship to each other are together manifesting the B place in a Verb (of any VT), a Stem Complex (StCx) is established. In the few examples of a StCx with three elements, none contains an Ex place. Stems functioning as the second of two elements in a StCx are quite frequently attested to contain an Ex place. In only four instances, however, is the Stem functioning as the first of two elements in a StCx attested to contain an Ex place. It is these four examples that are crucial to the establishment of Stem rank. Without them, it would be possible to analyse all Suffixes as functioning in the Verb at word rank, and to analyse a cluster of two or three Roots as a Morpheme Complex.

12.3.2. Phonological Features

Each Root occurring in a StCx retains membership of its own tonal group, as described in section 9.2.2.2. It is the tonal group membership of the final Root in the StCx that determines the tonal behaviour of Suffixes, which is set out in detail in section 13.3.4.

There is no vowel harmony between the Roots in a StCx. The first Root determines Prefix harmony, and the last Root determines Suffix harmony (section 9.2.2.1.), but Roots do not influence each other. See nos. 556, 558 and 561 below. There are, however, two individual Roots which have a slightly different form when they occur as the second or third Roots in a StCx. The Roots in question are

dfí ... reach

gbú .. kill

Their variant forms are dō and gbo respectively (no. 557), and occur without regard to the vowel qualities of other Roots in a StCx.

Examples

555. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VTs 2 and 3

ù-gbú=dfí ò-gbú=dfí

to-kill-eat kill-eating

To kill and eat R3.3

Stem of structure Cr, and Stem of structure Cr.

556. StCx of three Stems, at Bs in VT1
á-tá=ka=dí-kpó-là
he-bit-tore-ate-finish-him
He completely devoured him R3.25
Stem of structure Cr, Stem of structure Cr, and Stem
of structure Cr.
557. StCx of three Stems, at Bs in VT3 (at Ac in a
contracted VPT5)
à-l-á-ló=gbó=zé-dí-hwò
he-on-to-swat-kill-go-continuous-at-last
He kept on swatting and killing (the mosquitoes)
B36.24 Stem of structure Cr, Stem of structure Cr,
and Stem of structure Cr.
558. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VT1
mé-cí=wé+jí-dó-má-nê
I-chase-see-could-her-not-even
I couldn't even get a good look at her B22.15
Stem of structure Cr, and Stem of structure Cr Exl.
559. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VT1
bá yá' dá=ná+jí
that self suck-hear
That he understood a little (English) B3022
Stem of structure Cr, and Stem of structure Cr Exl.
560. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VT3 (cf. no 128 for context)
ù-gwú+jí=zé
to-dig-go
To go on digging R5.22
Stem of structure Cr Exl, and Stem of structure Cr.

561. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VT1

ú-yu+lú=ká-kpó

it-filled-exceed-finish

It completely flooded out (the house) S17.151

Stem of structure Cr Ex1, and Stem of structure Cr.

562. StCx of two Stems, at Bs in VT1

ú-gba+pí=ló+fí-hwó-à

it-popped-came-out-of-at-last-her

It eventually popped out of her (toe) S3.12

Stem of structure Cr Ex1, and Stem of structure Cr Ex1.

CHAPTER 13

The Morpheme

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Chapter 13

The Morpheme

13.1. Morpheme Rank and Morpheme Hyperclasses

The Morpheme is the lowest ranking grammatical unit established in the description of Ekpeye. The morpheme has a primary function at some place in the structure of the unit of the next higher rank. In most cases, this is the word, but in the case of Verb Roots and Verb Suffixes of subclass (a), it is the stem. Since morpheme rank is the lowest rank in the grammatical hierarchy, morphemes cannot occur in secondary functions. On the basis of function, morphemes are divided into two hyperclasses, both linked with one or more of the classes established at word rank. Morphemes of the Substantive hyperclass may function only in the structure of words of the Noun and/or Relative classes. Morphemes of the Predicative hyperclass may function only in the structure of words of the Verb class. The Substantive hyperclass is described in section 13.2. following, and the Predicative hyperclass is described in section 13.3. below.

13.2. The Substantive Hyperclass

The Substantive hyperclass is defined as those morphemes which may function only in the structure of words of the Noun and/or Relative classes. On the basis of function at specific places in Noun and Relative structure, three classes are established, as follows:-

Class A - the Noun Prefix Class
Class B - the Noun Root Class
Class C - the Relative Root Class

These classes are described in sections 13.2.1. to 13.2.3. following.

13.2.1. The Noun Prefix Class (Substantive Class A)

The Noun Prefix class is defined as those morphemes which may function at the AB place in Noun or Relative structure. It consists of the single formal item

35- - a, one.

The form quoted is a representative allomorph of a morpheme which harmonises completely with the first vowel of any V-initial Noun Root that may follow it. Since vowel harmony is a characteristic feature of word rank phonology, the harmonically variable forms of the Noun Prefix, and its tonal elision with the following Noun Root, have been described at word rank in section 8.4.1., and illustrated in examples 401 - 412.

13.2.2. The Noun Root Class (Substantive Class B)

The Noun Root class is defined as those morphemes which may function at the Bs place in Noun structure. It is an open class, whose members occur most frequently as monomorphemic words. For this reason, their phonological structure has been described at word rank in section 8.4.2.

13.2.3. The Relative Root Class (Substantive Class C)

The Relative Root class is defined as those morphemes which may function at the Bs place in Relative structure. It consists of the single formal item

nyě - person, someone, anyone.

This morpheme occurs most frequently as a monomorphemic word, as described in section 8.2.7. See also examples 246 - 259, and 298.

13.3. The Predicative Hyperclass

The Predicative hyperclass is defined as those morphemes which may function only in the structure of words of the Verb class (section 13.1.). This includes, of course, those morphemes which function in the Stem, the unit intermediate between word rank and morpheme rank. On the basis of function at specific places in Verb (or Stem) structure, three classes are established, as follows:-

Class A - the Verb Prefix Class

Class B - the Verb Root Class

Class C - the Verb Suffix Class

These classes are described in sections 13.3.1. to 13.3.3. following.

13.3.1. The Verb Prefix Class (Predicative Class A)

The Verb Prefix class (referred to simply as the Prefix class (Pf)) is defined as those morphemes which may function at any nuclear place other than the Bs place, in any Vⁿ.

On the basis of function at specific places in the various VTs, the class is subdivided into four subclasses. They are described in sections 13.3.1.1. to 13.3.1.4. below.

13.3.1.1. The Verb Prefix Subclass (a)

Subclass (a) is defined as those members of the Pf class which may function only at the Ps place in VT1. The members of this subclass are the items which manifest the category of Person¹ (sections 4.2.1.4. and 8.2.6.). The subclass consists of four formal items, three of which show allomorphic variation combined with vowel harmony, as listed below.

Sp	mV- ~ N-	- I
SG	a-	- we
H	I- ~ E- ~ Ø	- you
R	U- ~ V-	- he, she, it

The tilde ~ denotes allomorphic variation, and Ø denotes a zero allomorph. I, E, U and V denote vowel harmony systems, as described in section 9.2.2.1., and N denotes a syllabic nasal homorganic with the following consonant. For the phonemic and allophonic realisation of this morpho-phoneme, see section 2.3.2.

The allomorphs of the morphemes manifesting the Sp, H and R terms in the Person system are tense-conditioned, as follows:-

Sp	N-	occurs in tenses 1, 3 and 9, mV- elsewhere
H	E-	occurs in tenses 4 - 8, I- elsewhere
R	V-	occurs in tenses 4 - 8, U- elsewhere

The zero allomorph of the morpheme manifesting the H

¹. They may therefore also have an upward RS function, as manifesting the S place in the clause nucleus (section 4.2.1.4.).

term occurs only in tense 1, and then only at the Ind place in a sentence which is in a primary function (nos. 604 and 650). The U- allomorph of the R term morpheme is omitted when the S place in the clause is manifested by a NP; the E- allomorph is omitted only in sentences in secondary function when the S place is manifested by the Pn yá (no. 686). The tones carried by Pfs of subclass (a) are, like their allomorphs, tense-conditioned, and are shown in the tense paradigms in section 9.2.2.2. Examples of Pfs of this subclass are to be found in chapter 9, and indeed throughout the thesis.

13.3.1.2. The Verb Prefix Subclass (b)

Subclass (b) is defined as those members of the Pf class which may function at the AB 1 and 2 places in VT1. On the basis of function at these and other specific places in the various VTs, the subclass is further subdivided into two sub-subclasses.

Sub-subclass (i) may also function at the AB1 place in VT3. It consists of the two formal items listed below.

bá- -- come
lV̂- -- go¹

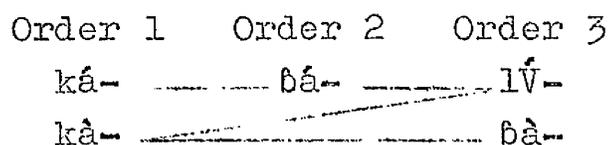
1. The morpheme lV̂- is interesting in that it furnishes the most consistent and readily available means of distinguishing the dialects of Ekpeye. All the dialects show the harmonic variations summarised by the symbol V, but in the Ako dialect, the consonant is /l/, in the Upata and Ubye dialects, it is /d/, and in the Igbuduya dialect, it is /z/. Examples 119, 519 and 539 represent the Ako, Upata and Igbuduya dialects respectively.

Sub-subclass (ii) may function only at the AB 1 and 2 places in VT1. It consists of the three formal items listed below.

- bá- -- temporal, when
- ká- -- not yet
- kâ- -- polite request, please

The morpheme bá- also has an upward RS function, as a SM of clauses of class A(a) at the Dep place in the Sen (section 4.2.1.3.1.).

In VT1, two AB places are recognised because two Ffs of subclass (b) may co-occur. In order to state the co-occurrence potential of the individual members of the subclass, they are grouped into Orders. As stated in section 1.2.2., an order is a grouping made within a class or subclass to display co-occurrence sequence and restrictions. Within Pf subclass (b), the sub-subclasses and the orders are cross-classifications of the same formal items. Within this subclass, it is necessary to recognise three orders, as shown in the diagram below.



In this diagram, the horizontal and diagonal lines linking the morphemes indicate the co-occurrence sequences which are attested. ká- is attested before bá-, and bá- in turn is attested before lV- (nos. 601 and 602 below), hence the need for the recognition of three orders. kâ- on the other hand is attested before lV-, but not before

bâ-, so that on the available evidence, it could belong to either of orders 1 and 2. bâ- is attested only to follow kâ-, so that its order membership is dependent on that of kâ-. kâ- is placed in order 1 rather than order 2 because it shows both a similar form and a complementary distribution with kâ-; kâ- occurs only with tenses 1 and 7, and kâ- only with tense 10. bâ- is placed in order 3 rather than order 2 because it has a semantically complementary relationship with lV̂-, and cannot be linked in any way with bâ-¹. This arrangement has the added advantage that it keeps the two members of sub-subclass (bi) together in the same order, so that the orders and sub-subclasses are mutually supporting.

of the orders

The evidence for the establishment/is not all available in text material. Where no reference numbers are given in the examples below, they are taken from unelicited utterances of native speakers in informal contexts. In each example, the crucial Pfs are underlined.

Examples

601. Order 1 before Order 2

má-kâ-bâ-já-m-m

I-not-yet-would-come-NV

I wouldn't have come

1. In the Igbuduya dialect, /b/ is replaced by /b/ in these two morphemes; which have the forms bâ- and bâ-, as exemplified in no. 624.

602. Order 2 before Order 3

é-bá-lá-kwá+jé

he-when-went-cried

When he went and cried B35.39

603. Order 1 before Order 3

é-kà-dó-kpó=gá+lá-né-yá

you-please-go-fetch-bring-for-self

Please go and get for me S17.73

604. Order 1 before Order 3

kà-bá-wé+jé

please-come-see

Please come and see

13.3.1.3. The Verb Prefix Subclass (c)

Subclass (c) is defined as those members of the Pf class which may function only at the Rep place in VT2. It consists of the single formal item

\hat{V} - (no gloss).

The vowel harmony system summarised by the symbol \bar{y} is described in section 9.2.2.1. For examples, see nos. 524 - 527, 307 - 312 etc.

13.3.1.4. The Verb Prefix Subclass (d)

Subclass (d) is defined as those members of the Pf class which may function only at the Imp place in VT3. It consists of the single formal item

\hat{U} - (to).

The vowel harmony system summarised by the symbol U is described in section 9.2.2.1. For examples, see nos. 164 - 177, 327 - 337 and 528 - 539.

13.3.2. The Verb Root Class (Predicative Class B)

The Verb Root class is defined as those morphemes which may function at the Cr place in Stem structure. It is an open class whose members may, but in practice rarely do, occur as monomorphemic words. For this reason, their phonological structure is described here at morpheme rank.

Verb Roots are attested to consist of either one or two syllables, and only the patterns CV and CVCV occur. Monosyllabic Roots greatly outnumber dissyllabic ones. (The relatively small number of possible combinations of C and V may seem surprising; the vast number of forms necessary to meet the lexical requirements of the language is made up by the enormous range of possible collocations, with Suffixes and groups of Suffixes. See section 13.3.3. following.)

On the basis of their behaviour in the various tenses, Verb Roots fall into two tonal groups, which may be labelled High Tone (HT) and Low Tone (LT). The tones carried by members of each group in each tense are shown in the paradigms in section 9.2.2.2. Dissyllabic Verb Roots fall into the tonal groups according to the tone carried by their final syllables in those tenses where the two groups differ. In examples 605 - 618 below, the Verb Roots are shown carrying the "inherent" tone of the tonal group to which they belong.

Examples

CV

605. yá - return

606. yé - squeeze

607. gwé - fail

608. yí - send

609. yí - dance

610. yó - cool

611. yó - wear

612. yú - satisfy

613. là - fight

CVCV

614. búzé - move off

615. cǎi - level

616. kádé - go away

617. nàzǎ - sit

618. fǐsé - lock

13.3.3. The Verb Suffix Class (Predicative Class C)

The Verb Suffix class (referred to simply as the Suffix class (Sf)) is defined as those morphemes which may function at any Ex place in Stem structure, or at any peripheral place in Verb structure. On the basis of function at specific places among those listed, the class is subdivided into four subclasses. They are described in sections 13.3.3.1. to 13.3.3.4. below. Their tone patterns and co-occurrence potential are handled separately in sections 13.3.4. and 13.3.5. respectively.

13.3.3.1. The Verb Suffix Subclass (a)

Subclass (a) is defined as those members of the Sf class which may function at the Ex1, 2 or 3 places in Stem structure. It consists of sixteen formal items, which are listed below without glosses. The meaning of these and other Sfs is discussed in section 13.3.5.1. Tones are shown only to distinguish a Sf from otherwise homophonous members of other subclasses.

-bye
-dÍ
-dU
-ga
-jÍ
-lá
-lɛ
-má
-nU
-ɲwu
-pI

-pya
-pyɛ
-sa
-fɪ
-yɪ

The vowel harmony systems summarised by the symbols I, U and ɛ are described in section 9.2.2.1.

13.3.3.2. The Verb Suffix Subclass (b)

Subclass (b) is defined as those members of the Sf class which may function at any of the inner peripheral places (PB1, 2 and 3) in Verb structure. It consists of seventeen formal items, which are listed below without glosses (for their meanings, see section 13.3.5.1.). Tones are shown only to distinguish a Sf from otherwise homophonous members of other subclasses.

-bɛtɛ
-dɪga
-do
-dye
-gbɛdɛ
-kata
-ke
-kefɪ
-kpo
-kwa
-laga
-má
-ní
-ta

-te

-tU

-wE

The vowel harmony systems summarised by the symbols I and U are described in section 9.2.2.1.

13.3.3.3. The Verb Suffix Subclass (c)

Subclass (c) is defined as those members of the Sf class which may function at either of the medial peripheral places (PB4 and 5) in Verb structure. It consists of ten formal items, which are listed below without glosses (for their meanings, see section 13.3.5.1.). Tones are shown only to distinguish a Sf from otherwise homophonous members of other subclasses. Those Sfs marked with a raised [⊗] are identical in form with items occurring as free words as members of the Marginal class (section 10.4.). It is possible that further data would reveal this link with the Mg class to be characteristic of all members of Sf subclass (c). See also the discussion in section 13.3.5.2.

-dÍ

-dihwá[⊗]

-gede[⊗]

-gili

-gba

-gbo

-hwo[⊗]

-hwa

-hwáto[⊗]

-jí[⊗]

The morpheme *-hwato* may also have an upward RS function, as a SM of clauses of class A(a) at the Dep place in the Sen (section 4.2.1.3.1.). The vowel harmony system summarised by the symbol I is described in section 9.2.2.1.

13.3.3.4. The Verb Suffix Subclass (d)

Subclass (d) is defined as those members of the Sf class which may function at any of the outer peripheral places (PB6, 7 and 8) in Verb structure. It consists of nineteen formal items, which are listed below without glosses (for their meanings, see section 13.3.5.1.). Tones are shown only to distinguish a Sf from otherwise homophonous morphemes.

-a
-bê
-bê
-dɛ
-lâ
-lâ
-lê
-lê
-m
-mâ
-mâ
-mɛ
-nɛ
-nî
-o
-ya
-ye
-yo
-yonî

Ten of the morphemes in this subclass may also have an upward BS function, either as a SM of the clause, or as manifesting the IO or DO place in the clause nucleus. Full details of these functions are given in section 13.3.5.1.4. The vowel harmony systems summarised by the symbols I and O are described in section 9.2.2.1.

13.3.4. Verb Suffix Tone Patterns

On the basis of their tone patterns, the members of the Suffix class can be divided into three groups. This division cuts right across both the division into subclasses of section 13.3.3. and the division into orders of section 13.3.5. In two of the three tonal groups, the tone carried by the Sf varies with the tense; members of one group can be said to have an inherent HT, and members of the other group can be said to have an inherent LT. In the third tonal group, each member has a basic tone (High, Low or High-to-Low Fall) which, with one minor exception unrelated to the tense, is invariable.

Group 1, the inherent HT group, has thirty-two members, five dissyllabic, and the rest monosyllabic. The inherent tone is realised as High on monosyllabic Sfs, and High High on dissyllabic Sfs. The Additional Vowel (section 9.2.2.2.) also behaves tonally as a member of this group. The members of this group are as follows:-

- bye
- de
- dI (subclass (a))
- dI (subclass (c))
- dIga

-d^hhwu
-do
-dU
-ga
-gede
-gili
-gbo
-hwu
-jI (subclass (a))
-jI (subclass (c))
-ke
-kpo
-la (subclass (a))
-laga
-l^h
-ma (subclass (a))
-ma (subclass (b))
-nI (subclass (b))
-nU
-ŋwu
-pyε
-fI
-ta
-tU
-wε
-ya
-yi

Group 2, the inherent Iɪ group, has twelve members, four dissyllabic and eight monosyllabic. The inherent tone is realised as Low on monosyllabic Sfs, and Low Low on dissyllabic Sfs. The members of this group are as follows:-

-bete
-dye
-gba
-gbɛde
-hwo
-kata
-kefi
-kwa
-pɪ
-pya
-sa
-te

Group 3, the invariable group, has eighteen members, two dissyllabic, and the rest monosyllabic. According to their tone, they are subdivided into four subgroups, as follows. Subgroup (i) consists of the two dissyllabic Sfs, with the tone pattern High Low, namely

-hwátò
-yónà

Subgroup (ii) consists of two Sfs with a High tone, namely

-bÉ (subclass (d), order 18)
-lÉ (subclass (d), order 16)

Subgroup (iii) consists of seven Sfs with a Low tone, namely

-à
-bè (subclass (d), order 17)
-là (subclass (d), order 18)
-lâ (subclass (d), order 21)
-m̃
-mà (subclass (d), order 17)
-nĩ (subclass (d))

Subgroup (iv) consists of seven Sfs with a High-to-Low falling tone, namely

- lê (subclass (d), order 16)
- ô
- mâ (subclass (d), order 18)
- mé
- nê
- yê
- yô

If two or more Sfs of subgroup (iv) follow each other within one word, all except the last will have a High tone instead of the High-to-Low fall. This change takes place irrespective of the tense. See for example no. 649.

Suffixes of groups 1 and 2 carry their inherent tones with the following exceptions:-

- In tenses 1, 4 and 5, Sfs of group 2 have Low or Low High after HTVbs, and High or High High after LTVbs
- In tenses 2, 6 and 8, Sfs of group 1 have Low or Low Low after all Vbs
- In tenses 3, 7, 9 and 10, Sfs of group 1 have Low or Low Low after LTVbs
- In tense 7 only, a word-final Sf of group 1 has a High-to-Low fall, on the second syllable if dissyllabic

The behaviour of Sfs of groups 1 and 2 is summed up in the diagram overleaf. It has not been possible to test every individual Sf in every environment, so that the above description may need some modification in the light of further data.

With the exception of word-final Sfs of group 1 in tense 7, the tonal behaviour of Sfs of groups 1 and 2 is as shown in the following diagram.

Tense	After HTVb		After LTVb	
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 1	Group 2
1, 4, 5	H/HH	L/LH	H/HH	H/HH
2, 6, 8	L/LL	L/LL	L/LL	L/LL
3, 7, 9, 10	H/HH	L/LL	L/LL	L/LL

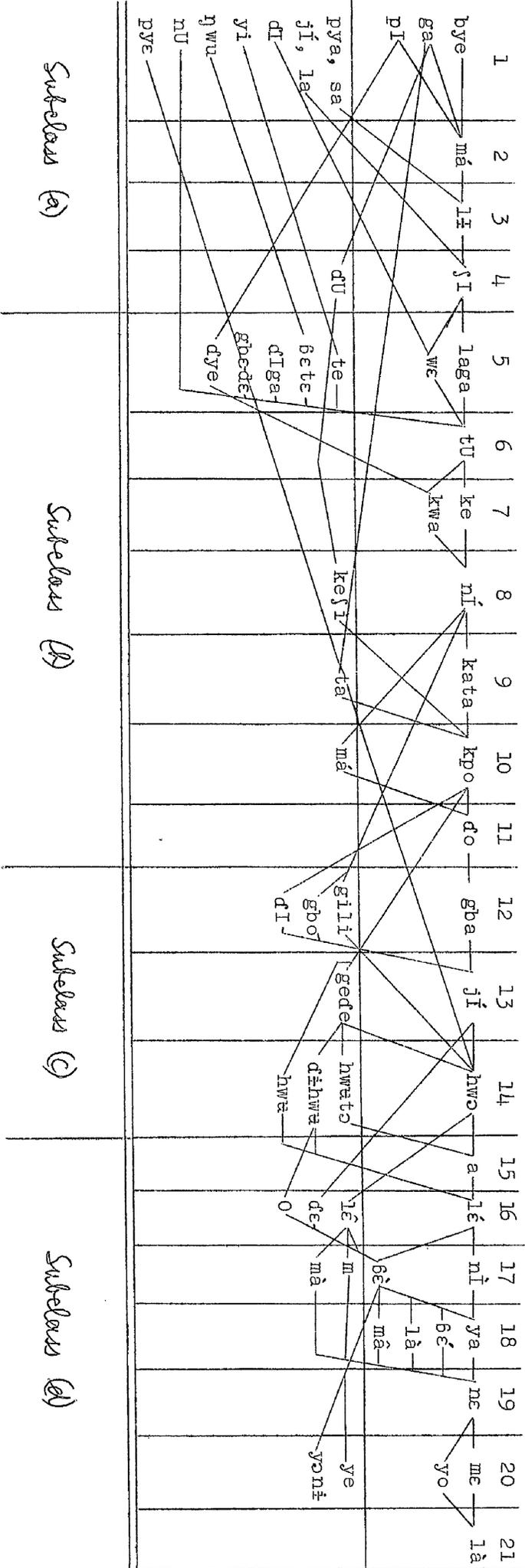
In VTs 2 and 3, the tonal behaviour of Sfs of groups 1 and 2 is just as it is in tense 4.

Sfs are abundantly exemplified throughout the thesis, especially in nos. 501 - 550, and 619 onwards in this chapter, so that examples to illustrate Sf tones in particular are not supplied separately.

13.3.5. Verb Suffix Co-occurrence Potential

The Verb Suffix class contains a (not necessarily exhaustive) total of sixty-two members, up to six of which are attested to co-occur (section 9.2.1.2.). The range of possible combinations of Sfs is therefore enormous, and in order to state the attested sequences of co-occurring Sfs, twenty-one orders are set up (cf. section 15.3.1.2.). The orders and the subclasses constitute a cross-classification within the Sf class as a whole. Nevertheless, the two sets of results are mutually consistent and mutually supporting, and together present a clearer picture of Sf distribution than has been given for Igbo. The orders are shown in the chart overleaf, whose interpretation is explained in the subsequent pages.

Verb Suffix Orders



Subclass (a)

Subclass (b)

Subclass (c)

Subclass (d)

In the chart, the orders are given ascending numbers outwards from the Root. A single horizontal line cuts across each order, and those Sfs which are placed above this line are necessarily members of the order to which they are allotted. In every case, they are attested to occur both before Sfs shown above the line in the next higher numbered order, and after Sfs shown above the line in the next lower numbered order, as indicated by the linking lines. It is on the basis of such examples that the twenty-one orders are recognised.

Those Sfs which are shown below the horizontal line cannot be conclusively allotted to any one order on the available evidence. The limits of their possible order membership are shown by the linking lines to their left and/or right. Each Sf must belong to an order higher in number than that of the Sf to which it is linked on the left, and to an order lower in number than that of the Sf to which it is linked on the right. Wherever the data allows, Sfs below the horizontal line are linked to Sfs above the line. Sometimes, however, as with *-hwato* and *-dihwa* of order 14, their range of possible membership is delimited more precisely by their collocation with other Sfs shown below the line (in this case, with *-gedo* of order 13). In other cases, a link with other Sfs shown below the horizontal line represents the only available evidence. Within their limits of possible membership, the Sfs below the line are allotted to the order to which on the basis of subclass membership, or if relevant, semantics, they are deemed most likely to belong. Thus *-m* and *-mâ* are allotted to order 17 rather than order 18 because like the necessary members of order 17, they are semantically related to the

subject of their clause, whereas the members of order 18 are semantically related to the object of their clause. The vertical sequence in which the Sfs are arranged within an order is not grammatically significant. It was chosen simply to afford maximum convenience in drawing the linking lines.

The congruence of the division of Sfs into orders with the division into subclasses is seen in the fact that all the members of Sf subclass (a) fall into orders 1 - 4, all the members of subclass (b) fall into orders 5 - 11, all the members of subclass (c) fall into orders 12 - 14, and all the members of subclass (d) fall into orders 15 - 21. For a discussion of the way in which evidence from each scheme of classification has been used to influence marginal decisions in the other scheme, see section 13.3.5.2. The chart on page 266 is by no means a final and conclusive statement on the Verb Sfs of Ekpeye. However, it does present the mass of available data in a form which, though certainly complex, is both concise and consistent.

The examples on which the establishment of the orders is based are shown below in two groups. The first group, nos. 619 - 651, give the co-occurrences of those Sfs shown above the horizontal line in the chart on page 266, and constitute the evidence on which the orders are recognised. The second group, nos. 652 - 697, give the evidence which delimits the range of possible order membership of the Sfs shown below the line on the chart. Nos. 698 - 700 give the few cases where Sfs occur in other than the regular sequence. In all these examples, the crucial Sfs are underlined.

Examples

619. Order 1 before order 2
à-wà+byè+mà-mà-hwò-à
he-split-sever-off-completely-at-last-her
Finally he chopped her (head) right off B17.16
620. Order 1 before order 2
á-lá+gá+má-hwétò-à
she-drew-out-when-for-him
When she drew out (the nail) for him S13.22
621. Order 1 before order 2, and order 2 before order 3
á-gba+pá+má+lá--ò
it-squeezed-out-itself-past
It was squeezed out S17.150
622. Order 3 before order 4
ú-gbe+lí+fí-ê-là
it-darkened-itself-on-him
He was benighted B24.4
623. Order 4 before order 5
à-zò+fí-làgà-mà-yà
she-is-beautiful-passing-completely-self
(That) she attracted him very much G2.28
624. Order 4 before order 5
á-bá-bú=lá+fí-wé-ò-bè
he-when-carry-go-out-past-group
When they carried (him) out R2.39

625. Order 5 before order 6

á-gá-lágá-tá

you-pass-by

You may pass by S7.70

626. Order 5 before order 6

bá yá lé-mé-wé-tá-gédě

that self go-do-with-first

That he would go at once and use (it) B31.1

627. Order 6 before order 7

á-yo-tá-ké-kpó

he-dressed-up-finish

He dressed right up S2.17

628. Order 6 before order 7

á-ci+má-tà-kwà-kpó

he-cut-off-thoroughly-finish

He thoroughly cleared (the bush) S7.24

629. Order 7 before order 8

á-ci-kwà-ní-kpó-yá

he-cleared-thoroughly-finish-for-self

He completely finished the clearing for me S23.9

630. Order 7 before order 8

è-mé-ké-ní-jí-lê-yá-nê

he-make-completely-for-also-have-self

He has also thoroughly prepared for me S23.18

631. Order 8 before order 9

mó-gó=yá-ná-kàtá-bê

I-buy-bring-for-as-well-them

(That) I should buy and bring back for them as well.

B38.28

632. Order 9 before order 10

ú-hwò-kàtá-kpó

he-ground-as-well-finish

He ground (them) up with the rest S3.56

633. Order 10 before order 11

à-zó-kpó-dó-o

it-be-beautiful-finish-could-NV

It couldn't be very beautiful B38.55

634. Order 11 before order 12

ñ-zé-dó-gbà-á

I-go-could-again-NV

I shall not be able to go again E1.8

635. Order 12 before order 13

mó-gò+nù-gbà-jí-nê

I-took-again-also

I took again next B38.52

636. Order 13 before order 14

à-tákpó+dú-jí-hwò-lé-nê

he-become-thin-also-at-last-have

In the end, he had also become very thin S7.77

637. Order 14 before order 15
è-wâ+byè+mâ-mâ-hwò-à (as no. 619)
638. Order 15 before order 16
ú-dú+fí-à-lé
it-reached-her-when
When it reached her turn G2.39
639. Order 16 before order 17
í-ló-lé-nè
you-go-out-if-group
If you people go out S1.10
640. Order 16 before order 17, and order 17 before order 18
ú-mé-lé-bè-yá
he-do-if-group-self
If they do (it) to me S17.83
641. Order 17 before order 18 (cf. no. 209 for context)
í-nè-ní-yá
you-gave-group-self
You people gave me S8.38
642. Order 17 before order 18
é-hwá-bè-bé
they-pay-group-them
They pay them S20.20
643. Order 17 before order 18
è-bé-ní-kpó-lé-bé-mâ
she-hate-to-finish-have-group-her
They have hatched a plot against her G2.44

644. Order 17 before order 18, and order 18 before order 19
à-hwó-kpó-bè-là-nê
he-bale-not-finish-group-it-even
They won't even finish baling it R5.35

645. Order 18 before order 19
à-má+jí-é-yá-nê
it-appeal-not-to-self-even
(That) it didn't appeal to him at all G1.19

646. Order 18 before order 19
má-kà-nà-jí-bé-nê
I-said-to-also-them
I told them next S15.4

647. Order 18 before order 19
è-mé-jí-lé-má-nê
it-do-also-have-him
It has also happened to him R6.5

648. Order 19 before order 20
ú-dó-wú=wé+jí-ná-jí-lé-né-mê
he-went-search-look-for-also-me
He then went and searched on my behalf E1.12

649. Order 19 before order 20
íṅwe gwà-jí-né-yô
hunger seized-also-you
Did you get hungry? C2.12

650. Order 20 before order 21
né-n̄-lá
give-me-then
Give me (some) then B35.35

651. Order 20 before order 21
bá yá' gbù-mà-dò-hwò-é-lá
that self kill-finish-can-at-last-you-then
That I can kill you off at last then S3.27

Examples 652 - 697 relate to those Sfs shown below the horizontal line in the chart on page 266.

652. pya (order 1) before order 3
á-gba+pyá+lá-kpó
it-split-small-itsself-finish
It was broken up into tiny bits B34.6

653. sa (order 1) before order 3
ú-wo+sà+lá-ô
it-spill-overturn-itsself-past
It was all upset and spilt B26.22

654. jI (order 1) before order 4
á-lo+jé+lé-é-bé
he-went-out-to-them
He went out to them S12.11

655. la (order 1) before order 4
á-dò=ká+lá+lé-é
he-told-spoke-out
He related (the story) R5.32

656. dI (order 1) before order 5

ú-lú+dí-wè-à-bè

he-use-it-group

They make use of it B27.9

657. yi (order 1) before te (order 5) before order 6

ú-kpò+yí-tè-tù

he-filled-right-up

He filled right up S7.86

658. nwu (order 1) before bste (order 5)

ú-sú+nwú-bètè-hwátò

he-stuck-upright-down-when

When he stuck (the paddle) upright in the ground S16.24

659. nU (order 1) before order 6

gò+nú-tú-hwó

take-at-last

Take at last B8.23

660. pys (order 1) before order 14

ú-ze+pyé-hwò

he-went-to-see-at-last

He finally went to see N3.22

661. dU (order 4) after order 1

ú-dá+gà-dà-mà-gbà

he-fell-inside-completely-again

He fell right back in again B32.26

662. dU (order 4) before kefi (order 8)
ú-kpu+dú-kèfi
he-went-in-with
He entered with (them) B24.8
663. bɛtɛ (order 5) before order 6
à-wà-bètè-tà
he-poured-down
He poured down A5.41
664. dIga (order 5) before order 6
bá yá' dó-wú-dígá-tá
that self go-search-round
That he would go and search round S23.6
665. gbɛdɛ (order 5) before order 6
ú-dó-tú-gbɛdè-tà-kpò
he-went-gathered-together-finish
He went and laid (a fire) S7.30
666. dye (order 5) after order 1 and before order 7
é-cáté+pà-dyè-kwà
she-locked-turned-thoroughly
She locked (it) fast S24.63
667. kefi (order 8) before order 10
é-wa-kèfi-kpó-à-bè
he-chopped-with-finish-him-group
They helped him finish chopping B7.6

668. ta (order 9) after order 1
ù-kpà+gà-tà-bè
he-went-about-together-group
They were inseparable S18.9
669. ta (order 9) before order 10
ù-lù-tà-kpò-bè
he-threw-together-finish-group
They both finished throwing S17.13
670. ma (order 10) after order 8
é-gbù-ní-má-yâ
you-kill-not-for-finish-self
Don't kill (the child) for me G2.32
671. ma (order 10) before order 11
ù-bi-tú-má-dó-hwátò
he-took-completely-could-when
When he was able to finish taking (food) A5.46
672. gili (order 12) after order 8
ù-kà-nà-gili-à-bè
he-said-to-often-him-group
They kept telling him H1.9
673. gili (order 12) before order 14
ù-wù-digà-gili-hwò
he-looked-round-often-at-last
He eventually searched and searched B31.20

674. gbo (order 12) after order 8
à-gwa+lá-ní-gbò-hwò-là
it-remained-to-only-at-last-her
In the end, she only had (one) left N3.23
675. gbo (order 12) before order 13
à-mà-gbò-jí-nê
she-bore-only-even
She in turn bore only (one) S19.5
676. dI (order 12) after order 10
ù-gò+nù-kpò-dí
he-take-finish-continuous
He was finishing taking S3.51
677. dI (order 12) before order 13
à-zè-ná-dè-jè-à-nê
it-was-to-continuous-also-him
He usually had (six) S7.33
678. gede (order 13) after order 10
ù-mè-kè-ní-kpò-gèdè-à
he-made-completely-for-finish-first-her
At first, he prepared thoroughly for her G2.35
679. gede (order 13) before order 14
í-hwú=dá-wé-gédé-hwò-là
you-eat-suck-with-first-then
Just eat some with (this spoon) then S17.111

680. hwato (order 14) after gede (order 13)
ú-kpú+ǎú-gédé-hwátò
 he-entered-first-when
 When he first entered A3.58
681. hwato (order 14) before order 15
ǎ-lá+gá-má-hwátò-à (as no. 620)
682. díhwa (order 14) after gede (order 13)
ò-hwù-gédé-díhwá
 he-will-call-first-likewise
 In the same way, he will first call B39.7
683. díhwa (order 14) before order 16
 bá yá' té-kpó-díhwá-lé
 that self dance-finish-likewise-when
 That when she finished dancing in that way S11.19
684. hwa (order 14) after order 10
ú-dí-kpó-hwá
 he-eat-finish-somehow
 He should somehow eat up S21.15
685. hwa (order 14) before order 16
 á kpá... ǎ-ká+dí-tá-hwá-lé-òè
 that how...he-speak-somehow-group
 That is roughly how they talk B39.5
686. lê (order 16) after order 14
 bá yá' wé+jí-hwò-lé-má
 that self seen-at-last-had
 That he had seen at last B20.11

687. 1Ê (order 16) before order 17
è-bé-ní-kpó-1Ê-bè-mâ (as no. 643)
688. dε (order 16) after order 13 (with intervening AV)
à-sá-jí-é-dé-nê
it-was-ripe-not-even-after-all
It wasn't even ripe after all S3.33
689. dε (order 16) before order 17
à-bá+jí-é-dé-bè
he-threw-not-again-group
They didn't get another throw S15.25
690. 0 (order 16) after dâhwa (order 14)
ú-kwo+mâ-dâhwá-ô
she-dried-likewise-past
She dried (it) in the same way B32.42
691. 0 (order 16) before order 17
à-bá-dû+m-ô-bè
he-when-reached-past-group
When they reached S2.13
692. m (order 17) after 1Ê (order 16)
mê-we+jí-gílí-1Ê-m
I-see-often-have
I have often seen B39.2
693. mà (order 17) after 1Ê (order 16)
bâ yá' wé+jí-hwô-1Ê-mâ (as no. 686)

694. m (order 17) before order 19
 mŏ-gbú-jí-é-m-nê-é
 I-killed-not-even-NV
 I didn't even catch any (fish) S4.6

695. mà (order 17) before order 19
 bá yá wú-dí-gá-dí-hwú-ŏ-mà-nê
 that self wanted-likewise-not-even
 That he didn't even want S5.45

696. ye (order 20) after order 17
 à-wá-nà-tá-bê-yê
 he-seize-remove-group-us
 They will snatch (it) away from us R5.21

697. yonɛ (order 20) after order 17
 à-kpá+jɛ-lê-bê-yónɛ
 he-receive-have-group-you-people
 They have treated you people well S17.71

Examples 698 - 700 show Sfs occurring in atypical sequence.

698. nI (order 8) before ke (order 7)
 ɛ-kà-kò+pyá-nɛ-ké-gbá-nɛ
 you-please-beat-small-for-well-again-group
 Please break (it) well up for (me) again B28.62

699. kpo (order 10) before nI (order 8)
 ù-dí-kpò-ni-dí-yá
 he-ate-finish-for-continuous-self
 He kept eating (it) up for himself B24.30

700. ya (order 13) before nI (order 17)

i-bè-ní-yà-ní

you-hate-for-self-group

You people have a hatred for me G2,42

13.3.5.1. The Orders and Their Members

This section contains details of the meaning of each Sf, and alternative forms where these occur. The semantic characteristics of the orders themselves are discussed when this is relevant. Sfs are listed as on the chart.

13.3.5.1.1. Orders 1 -- 4

Orders 1 - 4 correspond with Sf subclass (a). Members of these orders are often extremely hard to gloss, because a lexical item in English is equivalent to a Root plus one or even more Sfs of subclass (a) in Ekpeye. See for instance the notes on jI below. It is not possible to attribute any semantic characteristics to the orders as orders within this group.

Order 1

- bye - Separate, detached.
- ga - No convenient gloss; this Sf often combines with another to equate with an English lexical item, e.g. ga+fi - into (transitive)
ga+da - into (intransitive).
- pI - Inside.
- pya - Small, into pieces.
- sa - With a turning motion.

- jI - No convenient gloss; this Sf is common with Roots related to the idea of perception, e.g. ma+jí - know, na+jí - hear, wa+jí - see. It is homophonous with jI of order 13, but is attested to co-occur with it, as in no. 648.
- la - No convenient gloss.
- dI - No convenient gloss.
- yi - No convenient gloss; this Sf is always followed by te of order 5.
- ɲwu - Upright.
- nU - No convenient gloss.
- pɣɛ - To see; used with verbs of motion.

Order 2

Order 2 is not attested to co-occur with order 5. Where no restrictions of this kind are stated, it is to be understood that none have been observed. Even where such restrictions are stated, however, it is always possible that they are accidental in the available data.

- ma - Often means "off" or "out". It is homophonous with ma of order 10, but is attested to co-occur with it, as in no. 619.

Order 3

Order 3 is not attested to co-occur with orders 5 or 6.

- lɛ - Reflexive. The ɛ vowel harmony system is unique to this morpheme.

Order 4

- fI - No convenient gloss; this Sf is usually found in transitive verbs, and may imply transitivity.
- dU - Inside.

13.3.5.1.2. Orders 5 - 11

Orders 5 - 11 correspond with Sf subclasses (b).

Order 5

The members of this order mostly have meanings connected with the idea of motion; they do not occur with orders 2 or 3.

- laga - Direction past.
- we - With (instrumental).
- te - No convenient gloss.
- bete - Down.
- dIga - Around.
- gbeds - Together, into one place.
- dye - With a circular motion.

Order 6

Order 6 is not attested to co-occur with order 3.

- tU - No convenient gloss.

Order 7

- ke - With effort, well.
- kwa - Thoroughly.

Order 8

- nI - To, for. This Sf implies ditransitivity.
keji - With (accompaniment). There is an alternative form keji.

Order 9

- kata - In addition to something already there.
ta - In company with, mutually.

Order 10

- kpo - Finish, completed action.
ma - Completely. There is an alternative form cama, which belongs to Sf tone group 2. This Sf is homophonous with ma of order 2, but is attested to co-occur with it, as in no. 619.

Order 11

- do - To be able. This Sf is much more common with the semantically negative tenses 8 - 10.

13.3.5.1.3. Orders 12 - 14

Orders 12 - 14 correspond with Sf subclass (c).

Order 12

- gba - Again, more.
gili - Often, frequently.

- gbo - Only.
dI - Continuous action. This Sf occasionally has the reduplicated form dIdI. It is otherwise homophonous with dI of order 1.

Order 13

- ji - Also, again. This Sf very often co-occurs with ns of order 19, with the combined meaning of "in turn", or "in contrast, on the other hand". It is homophonous with ji of order 1, but is attested to co-occur with it, as in no. 648.
gede - First, at first.

Order 14

- hwo - At last, finally.
hwato - When, whenever, only, just. This Sf may also have an upward RS function, as a SM of clauses of class A(a) at the Dep place in the sentence.
dihwa - Likewise, in the same way.
hwa - Somehow.

13.3.5.1.4. Orders 15 - 21

Orders 15 - 21 correspond with Sf subclass (d). They are mainly inflectional in meaning, and their members are often linked with the categories of Person or Tense. Orders 15, 18 and 20 are mutually exclusive; the members of all three orders denote clause objects, and therefore always have an upward RS function at clause rank.

Order 15

- a - Referent person object, him, her, it. This Sf never occurs with tenses 5, 8, 9 or 10, ~~nor with tense 3 after the Cnj má.~~ It never causes the elision of the preceding vowel.

Order 16

The members of this order are all distributionally linked with particular tenses, though in no case are they a diagnostic feature of any tense.

- lé - If, when. This Sf occurs only with tense 1, and always has an upward RS function, as a SM of clauses of class A at the Dep place in the sentence, or of clauses of classes A(a) or B in secondary function at some place in the structure of another clause.
- lê - Perfect, have. This Sf occurs only with tense 5, but is not obligatory with it.
- dε - After all, contrary to expectation. This Sf occurs only with the semantically negative tenses 8 - 10, but does not carry the negation.
- 0 - Past time. This Sf occurs only with tenses 2, 3 and 5. It causes the elision of the preceding vowel and the tone it bears, unless that vowel is close (/i, í, u or u/). The 0 vowel harmony system is unique to this morpheme, and is also unique in that it is optional after a close front vowel (/i or í/). The occurrence of the ε harmonic form after /i/ and /í/ seems

to be increasing, and is considerably more frequent in the speech of younger people than in that of older people. In historical terms, it may be conjectured that in the not very distant past, this morpheme was invariable in form, and that the harmonically variable forms have been introduced by analogy with the AV characteristic of tenses 6 - 10 (vowel harmony system A) with which it is in mutually exclusive distribution. See section 9.2.2.1.

Order 17

The members of this order are all distributionally linked with the terms in the Person system.

- nI - Co-occurs only with the SG and H terms in the Person system. In semantic terms, this Sf makes first person plural exclusive into inclusive, or second person singular into plural. As an abstraction from this, it may be said to mark the group of which the hearer is a member as subject.
- bè - Co-occurs only with the R term in the Person system. In semantic terms, this Sf makes third person singular into plural.
- m - This Sf occurs obligatorily with the Sp term in the Person system in tenses 5 and 7 - 10. See the paradigms in section 9.2.2.2.
- mà - This Sf occurs obligatorily with the R term in the Person system in tenses 5 and 8 - 10 when the reflexive Pn yâ' is manifesting the S place in the clause.

Order 18

- ya - Reflexive object, self. This Sf is used only in sentences in secondary function, or, in notional terms, in indirect speech.
- bé - Referent person group object, them.
- là - Referent person object, him, her, it. This Sf occurs with tenses 2 and 7 - 10, and with tense 3 after the Cnj má.
- mâ - Referent person object, him, her, it. This Sf occurs only with tense 5.

Order 19

- ne - Even. This Sf very often co-occurs with jI of order 13, with the combined meaning of "in turn", or "in contrast, on the other hand".

Order 20

- mε - Speaker person object, me. This Sf occasionally has an alternative form m̄, as in no. 650.
- yo - Hearer person object, you. This Sf may optionally coalesce with a preceding Sf. The attested forms are shown in examples 701 - 707 below.
- ye - Speaker's Group person object, us.
- yoná - Hearer person group object, you people.

Order 21

- là - Hortatory, then. This Sf occurs often in

sentences marked by the In Particle *ngwá*. It coalesces with *nI* of order 17 in the stereotyped parting greeting *ngwá ló+ǵá-ń-nà*, where *ná-là* goes to *ń-nà*. This *Sf* is homophonous with *là* of order 18.

The following examples show the coalescing forms of the *Sf* *yo* of order 20.

Examples

701. *dú-yô = d-í*
èlǵ yo+d-í
body cools-for-you
You are at peace B39.19
702. *dô-yô = d-ê*
bú yá' bù-d-ê
that self carry-can-you
That I can carry you S7.50
703. *hwò-yô = hwò-ê*
bú yá' gbù-má-dô-hwò-ê-là (as no. 651)
704. *má-yô = m-ǵ*
bú yá' bú-ó-m-ǵ
that self carry-not-you
That I won't carry you S7.60
705. *dǵhwá-yô = dǵhw-ǵ* (cf. no. 106 for context)
ù-ǵá-ná-dǵhw-ǵ
it-is-for-likewise-you
It is the same for you S5.46

706. $l\hat{e}-y\hat{o} = l-\hat{f}$
 $\hat{a}-gb\hat{a}=gb\hat{o}-l-\hat{f}$
we--shoot--kill--have--you
We shot (a pig) for you S3.37

707. AV $\hat{A}-y\hat{o} = \hat{o}-\hat{e}$
 $\hat{a}-b\hat{a}-\hat{o}-\hat{e}$
it-is-not-for-you
Wasn't it your (husband's liver and heart)? S3.44

13.3.5.2. The Relationship of Orders and Subclasses

It is the aim of this section to discuss the criteria on which the Sf subclasses are established, and to state why individual Sfs whose membership of an order and/or a subclass is indeterminate in the available data have been allotted to one order or subclass rather than another.

Sf subclass (a) is defined (in section 13.3.3.1.) as those Sfs which may function at any of the Ex places in Stem structure. The limit of the Ex places, and therefore also the limit of Sf subclass (a), is determined by the occurrence of particular Sfs at the Ex1 place in the first Stem of a StCx (section 12.3.1.). In the available data, only four Sfs are attested in this particular function, namely pI, lE, fI and dU. The occurrence of dU in this function helps both to allot it to one particular order, and to limit the extent to which this characteristic subclass (a) function is projected to Sfs for which it is not attested. On the available evidence, dU could belong to any order lower in number than that of kefi, which in terms of the chart on page 266 means any order between 2

and 7. Since no other Sf for which the diagnostic subclass (a) function is attested belongs to an order higher in number than 4, it is clearly desirable that dU also should be allotted to an order not higher than 4. To allot it to, say, order 5 would involve the projection of the typical subclass (a) function to the seven members of that order; for this there is no evidence. With the exception of nU and pyc, all the other members of orders 1 to 4 are attested to precede order 5, so that the projection of the subclass (a) function to them is not unreasonable. With nU and pyc, further data might well necessitate an alteration in their subclass and/or order membership. dU is allotted to order 4 rather than orders 3 or 2 on the admittedly tenuous ground of its semantically complementary relationship with /I, noted in section 13.3.5.1.1. There is nothing to suggest that any link exists with the members of orders 2 or 3.

So much then for the division between subclasses (a) and (b). Subclass (b) is defined (in section 13.3.3.2.) as those Sfs which may function at any of the inner peripheral places in Verb structure (PB places 1, 2 and 3). As indicated in section 9.2.1.1., the distinction between the inner and medial peripheries in Verb structure, and therefore also the distinction between Sf subclasses (b) and (c), is that the former may occur in VT2 while the latter may not. In terms of the orders, this break must come between orders 11 and 12; do, the sole member of order 11, is attested to occur in VT2 (no. 307), and gba, the sole necessary member of order 12, is attested not to occur in VT2 (no. 320). The membership of subclass (b) therefore corresponds to the membership of orders 5 - 11. Within

this range, most of the Sfs are attested in VT2, but for seven (bete, gbede, dye, we, ke, kefi and kata) there is no evidence. But since the seven Sfs in question are all members of orders not higher in number than 9, the projection of the characteristic subclass (b) function to them seems very reasonable.

Within subclass (c) there remains some indeterminacy. The three optional members of order 12 (gili, gbo and dI) could on the available evidence all belong to lower numbered orders, and therefore to subclass (b). dI is allotted to order 12 rather than order 11 because it is attested not to occur in VT2 (no. 321), but with gili and gbo there is no evidence in this respect. They are allotted to order 12 rather than to a lower order partly to avoid extending the projection of the subclass (b) function in VT2 to them, and partly because they are semantically more compatible with order 12 than with orders 9, 10 or 11; all the members of order 12 as at present constituted bear some kind of semantic reference to time. gede of order 13 and hwa of order 14 also could belong to order 11 on the available distributional evidence. Evidence is lacking as to their occurrence in VT2, but since gede shares what may tentatively be called a typical feature of subclass (c), namely occurrence as a free word as a member of the Mg class (sections 13.3.3.3. and 10.4.), it seems reasonable to allot it to order 13. hwa is not attested as a free word, and indeed is very rare as a Sf. It is allotted to order 14 on no stronger ground than that it has some similarity of form with the other members of that order. With the exception of hwa, all the members of orders 13 and 14 are attested as free words. Since this function is not on

present evidence attested for the members of order 12, it might be better to use it as a basis for the establishment of sub-subclasses within subclass (c) than to project it as a feature of the whole subclass.

The division between the medial and outer peripheries in Verb structure, and therefore between Sf subclasses (c) and (d) cannot be made on such clearly functional grounds as the divisions between subclasses (a) and (b) and between subclasses (b) and (c). On semantic grounds, a division is desirable between orders 14 and 15, because the members of orders 15 - 21 are, with the exception of *ne* of order 19, inflectional in meaning. On structural grounds, there are two lines of support for a break at this point, though neither is overwhelming in itself. The first is that it is only members of orders 13 and 14 which are known to occur as free words; this suggests that a break after order 14 might be appropriate. The second lies in the placement of the Additional Vowel of tenses 6 - 10 (section 9.2.2.2.) This is attested both to precede *de* of order 16 (no. 541) and to follow *dāhwa* (no. 550). On the basis of its tense-linked distribution (section 13.3.5.1.4.) *de* is fairly confidently allotted to order 16, so that any division made on the basis of the occurrence of the AV depends on the order membership of *dāhwa*. Distributionally, *dāhwa* must precede order 16, and follow *gede*. When *gede* is accepted as a member of order 13, as argued in the previous paragraph, *dāhwa* can belong only to orders 14 or 15. It has nothing in common with order 15, but has both occurrence as a free word and a certain similarity of form in common with the other members of order 14. It seems therefore that *dāhwa* is most appropriately allotted to order 14,

and that any break made on the basis of the occurrence of the AV should come between orders 14 and 15.

Within subclass (d), it would be possible to set up sub-subclasses on various grounds, but any such sub-subclasses would be sequentially discontinuous in that they would not be composed of members of adjacent orders, and their establishment would be more complicated than useful. The criteria on which they could be based would include upward RS function, and occurrence as free words. If upward RS function were taken as the basis for further subdivision, the members of orders 15, 18 and 20 would constitute one ^{sub-}subclass, as manifesting an object place in clause structure, 16 of order 16 would constitute a second sub-subclass, as functioning as a SM of the clause at the Dep place in the sentence, and the remaining Sfs would constitute a third sub-subclass, as having no upward RS function. If occurrence as free words were taken as the basis for further subdivision, then the members of orders 19 and 21 would constitute one sub-subclass, and the remaining Sfs a second sub-subclass. Again, if greater weight were attached to the feature of occurrence as free words, then ns of order 19, which is semantically incongruous in subclass (d), and 1a of order 21, which is less so, could be made members of subclass (c). This arrangement would again have the disadvantage of yielding subclasses which were not composed of members of adjacent orders. Where such relatively insignificant factors have to be balanced against each other, the point has been reached in the cline of delicacy where decisions are becoming arbitrary, and depend as much on the predilections of the analyst as on the evidence of the data.

CHAPTER 14

Analysed Text

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Chapter 14

Analysed Text

14.1. The Text

The text analysed in this chapter is that designated S2 in the corpus of material on which is based the analysis presented in chapters 1 - 13. It is typical of the folk-tale genre which includes the majority of the texts recorded (section 1.2.1.), and it shows a good variety of structures within a reasonably small compass. For the purposes of this chapter, a more detailed system of numbering the sentences within the text has been employed than that used for other texts. Where two or more consecutive sentences occur in a secondary function, the second and subsequent of such sentences have the letters a, b, etc. added to the sentence number. This affects sentences 10, 14, 20 and 25.

Sentences or parts of sentences from this text have already been quoted in a number of examples, as listed below.

Sentence	9	in example no.	32
"	10	"	11
"	10a	"	203
"	13	"	691
"	16	"	115
"	17	"	627
"	20	"	217
"	20b	"	351
"	22	"	377
"	25b	"	308
"	26	"	1

14.2. The Layout of the Text

The text and its analysis are set out as follows. The first line gives the text itself, fully punctuated in accordance with the system indicated in section 2.7. Thereafter, with the exception of Stem rank, two lines are devoted to each rank in the grammatical hierarchy, the first giving the status of all the units at that rank, and the second giving the places they manifest in the structure of the next higher ranking unit. A third line is devoted to supplementary units as and when they occur. In any unit consisting of more than one place, all the constituent places are linked by a continuous underline.

At Stem rank, since all units belong to one class and one type, there is no need to indicate the status of a unit, and so only one line is required, unless a StCx occurs. At morpheme rank, the status of each unit is shown in terms of its class and subclass membership, but at word and higher ranks, the type rather than the class membership is shown, since this is more relevant to structure. In the case of Adverbs and APs, however, the subclass membership is shown, since only one type is established. Where type membership is given, class membership can easily be determined by reference to the grammatical outline in section 1.2.3.

The bracketed figures shown at word rank after Verbs of type 1 indicate the tense of the Verb. AVs and NVs are identified at morpheme rank, and linked by a line to the number denoting the tense, by which their occurrence is conditioned. Since only two of the Nouns in this text are other than monomorphemic, Noun structure is shown only

in these two cases. As in chapter 13, the abbreviations Pf and Rt refer only to Verb Prefixes and Verb Roots; when a Noun Prefix or Noun Root occurs, it is specified as such.

When a unit has an upward rank-shifted function, such as a Verb Prefix of subclass (a) manifesting the S place in clause structure, a vertical line links the manifesting item with the place, and the place symbol is enclosed in brackets. When a word or morpheme is functioning as a SM, it is underlined in the text, and a line links it with the place at which it marks a function, but the place symbol is not bracketed. Units in a secondary, or downward rank-shifted, function are fully analysed on their own before being "fed in" ^(it is impracticable to make all syntactic consequences) at the rank at which they are functioning. This means that there may be two or more blank lines below units in a primary function, in order to show the analysis of all units at the same structural layer on the same line. A capital letter at the left of each line indicates the rank of the unit whose structure is given on that line. Where the unit has a secondary function, the capital letter is bracketed. Of these capital letters, M, St, W, P, C and S stand for morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause and sentence respectively. All other abbreviations in this chapter are as used throughout the thesis, and as listed on pages 4 and 5. For the sentence, as the highest ranking unit of the grammatical hierarchy, only secondary functions can be shown, and for the morpheme, as the lowest ranking unit of the hierarchy, no structure can be shown.

In order to make the line breaks at points syntactically convenient in the Ekpeyo, no translation is included in this section. The text is repeated with a morpheme translation and a free translation in section 14.4. below.

14.3. The Analysis

è ê. iyâ. 1. ù/dù+mâ / ù*ùbè.

M		P(a)	Rt	Sf(a)	NPf	NRt
St		<u>Cr Exl</u>				
W		Ps	Bs	AB	Bs	
		VT1(2)		N		
P		Hd		(Qf)	Hd	
		VPT1		NPT1		
C		(S)	P		DO	
		CT1(ij)				
S		Ind				
		Sen				

2. á/bá-dù+m-ô, má ðkwálákwb / zê / áyá (ísámáá).

M	Pf(a)	Pf(b)	Rt	Sf(a)	Sf(á)		Rt
St		<u>Cr Exl</u>					Cr
W	Ps	ABL	Bs	PBG			Bs
		VT1(1)		Cnj	N	VT1(3)	N
(P)							N
							Há
							NPT1
P		Hd			Hd	Hd	Hd
		VPT1			NPT1	VPT1	NPT1
							Gn
C	(S)	P			S	P	D
		CT1(iii)				CT1(iii)	
S		Dep				Ind	
		Sen					

5. má á/wε+jε-É / á+ádε (ú/nyé / (bá á/bá/ónáyá)), má á-gba/ébé;

M	Pf(a)Rt Sf(a) Sf(d) NPF NRt Pf(a)Rt	Pf(a) Rt	Pf(a) Rt
St	<u>Cr Ex1</u>	Cr	Cr
W	<u>Ps Bs PB6 AB Bs</u>	<u>Ps Bs</u>	<u>Ps Bs</u>
(P)	Cnj VT1(3)	N	Cnj VT1(3) N
(C)			
(S)			
(C)			
P	Hd	(Qf) Hd	Hd Hd
C	(S) P	DO	(S) P Cp
S			

(P) VT1(2) Itr VT1(2) N
 Hd Hd Hd
 VPT1 VPT2 NPT1
 (S) P Cp
 CT2
 Ind
 Sen
 (S) P Q
 CT1(ii)
 Hd Hd
 VPT1 NPT1
 (S) P DO
 CT1(i)
 ClCx
 Ind
 Sen

6. á/bá-dú+má/ádε ya, á/gbá=gbò-hwò bá / áá (//nyé / ézè//).

M	Pf(a) Pf(b) Rt Sf(a)	Pf(a) Rt Rt Sf(c)
St	<u>Cr Ex1</u>	<u>Cr Cr</u>
W	<u>Ps AB1 Bs</u>	<u>Ps Bs PB4</u>
(P)	VT1(1) N Spc	VT1(2) Em N Rel N
(C)		
(S)		
(C)		
P	Hd Hd Dem	Hd E Hd Gn
C	(S) P DO	(S) P DO
S		

(P) VT1(2) Em N Rel N
 Hd Hd
 NPT3 NPT1
 NPCx3
 Hd Hd Dem Hd E Hd Gn
 VPT1 NPT1 VPT1 NPT1
 (S) P DO (S) P DO
 CT1(i) CT1(i)
 Dep Ind
 Sen

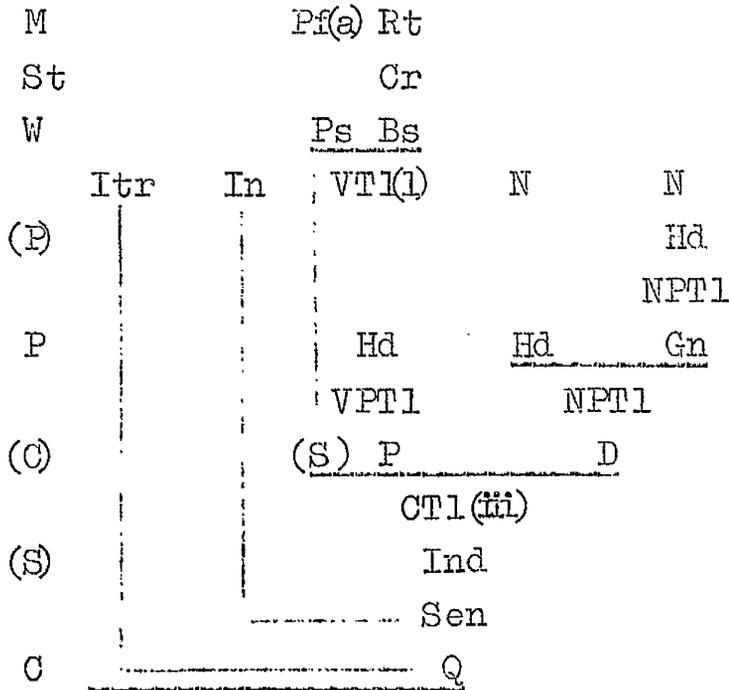
7. ; má ú/bu-tú-ô / àdà (//nyé/ézè//), má ú/dé-be-ké/lá ólú (ú/i);

M	Pf(a)Rt Sf(b) Sf(d)				Pf(a) Pf(b) RtSf(b)			
St	Cr				Cr			
W	<u>Ps Bs PBl PB6</u>				<u>Ps ABl Bs PBl</u>			
(P)	Cnj	VT1(3)	N	Rel N	Cnj	VT1(3)	Pr N	N
				Hd Hd				Hd
				<u>NPT3 NPT1</u>				NPT1
				NPCx3				
P		Hd		<u>Hd Gn</u>		Hd		<u>Hd Gn</u>
		VPT1		NPT1		VPT1		NPT1
C	(S)	P		DO	(S)	P		L
		<u>CT1(i)</u>				<u>CT1(ii)</u>		
				ClCx				
S				Ind				
				Sen				

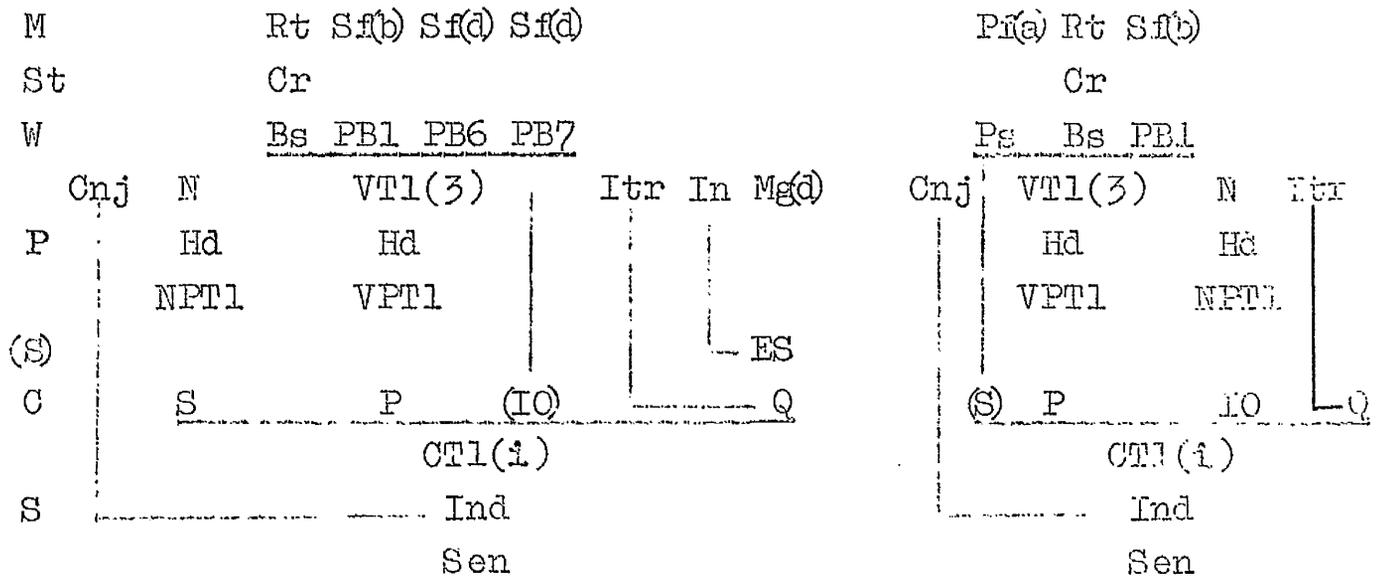
8. ú/bá-dú+má / kpóm / séle, má ú/akwu-ní-é / éwú / (bá...)

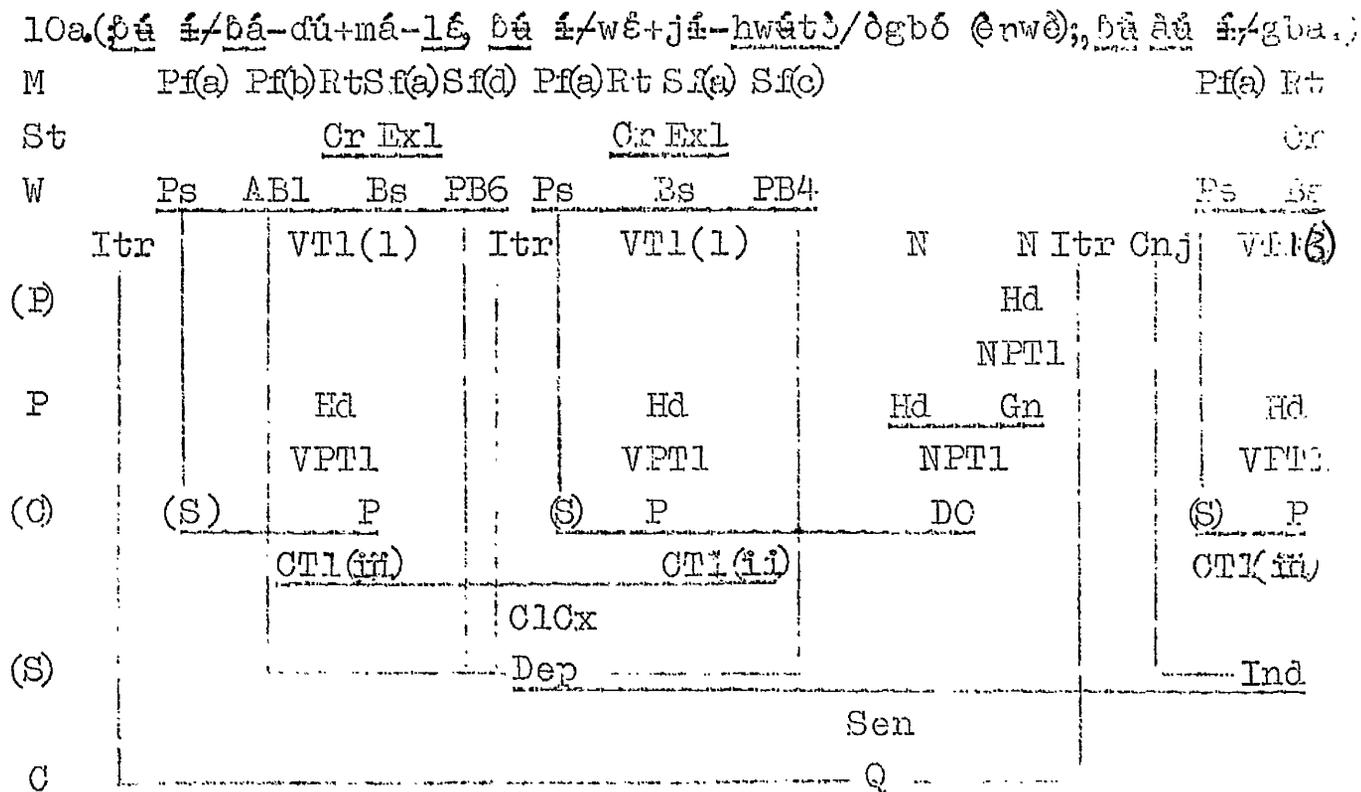
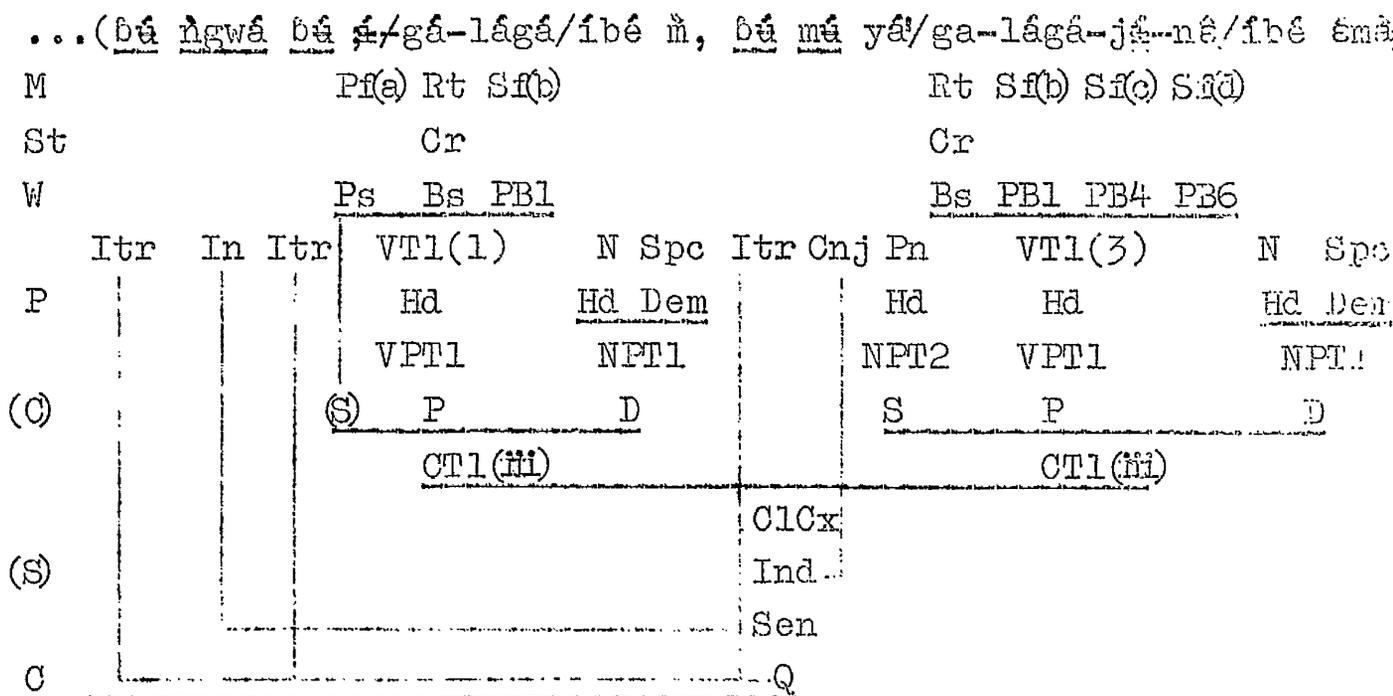
M	Pf(a) Pf(b) Rt Sf(a)				Pf(a) Rt Sf(b) Sf(d)			
St	<u>Cr Exl</u>				Cr			
W	<u>Ps</u>	<u>ABL</u>	<u>Bs</u>		<u>Ps</u>	<u>Bs</u>	<u>PBl</u>	<u>PB6</u>
P		VT1(1)	Adv(a)	Adv(b) Cnj		VT1(3)	N	Itr
		Hd	Hd	Hd		Hd	Hd	
		VPT1	AP(a)	AP(b)		VPT1	NPT1	
C	(S)	P	M	T	(S)	P	IO	Q
		<u>CT1(ii)</u>				<u>CT1(i)</u>		
S		<u>Dep</u>				<u>Ind</u>		
				Sen				

...(bá ngwá á/zé / úyá (ásámúlà)).



9. má éwú / kwu-ní-ê/là / (bá ngwá là). 10. má ú/kwu-ní/éwú/ (óá...





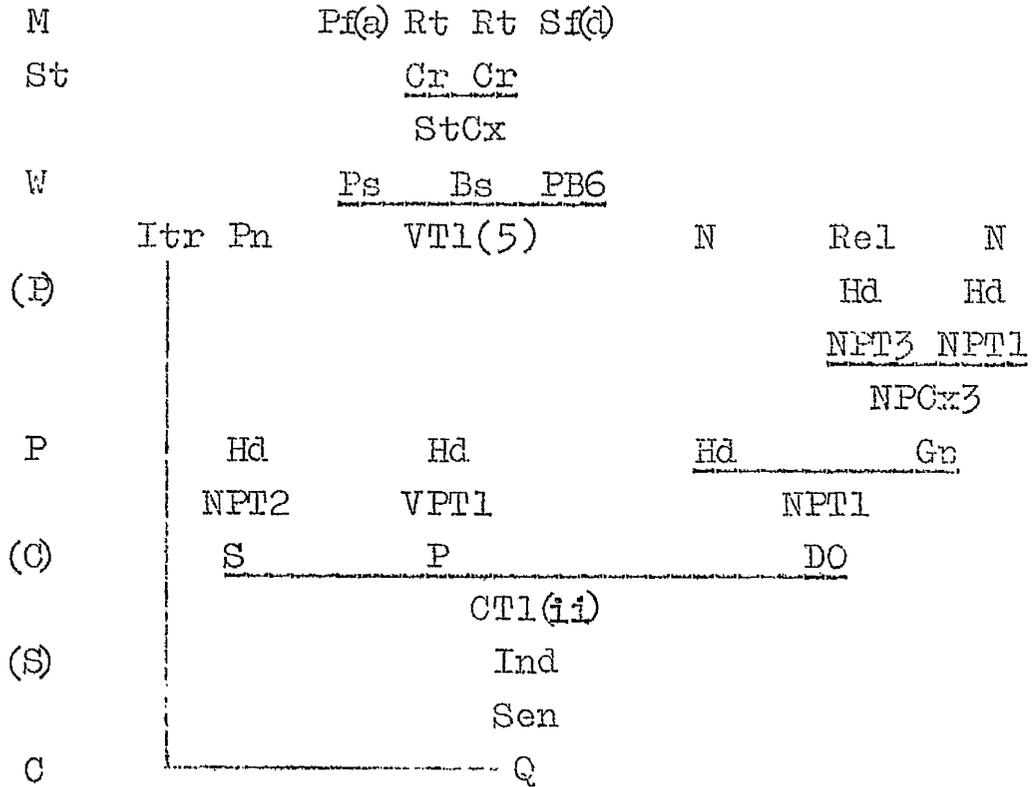
11. má éwú / hw-ô. 12. má //éwú / yá-la // z-ô-bê.

M		Rt Sf(d)				Rt Sf(d) Sf(d)
St		Cr				Cr
W		<u>Bs PB6</u>				<u>Bs PB6 PB7</u>
	Cnj	N	VT1(3)	Cnj	N	Pn Cum VT1(3)
P		Hd	Hd		Hd	Hd
		NPT1	VPT1		<u>NPT1 NPT2</u>	VPT1
					NPCx1	
C		<u>S</u>	<u>P</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>P</u>
		CT1(iii)			CT1(iii)	
S		Ind			Ind	
		Sen			Sen	

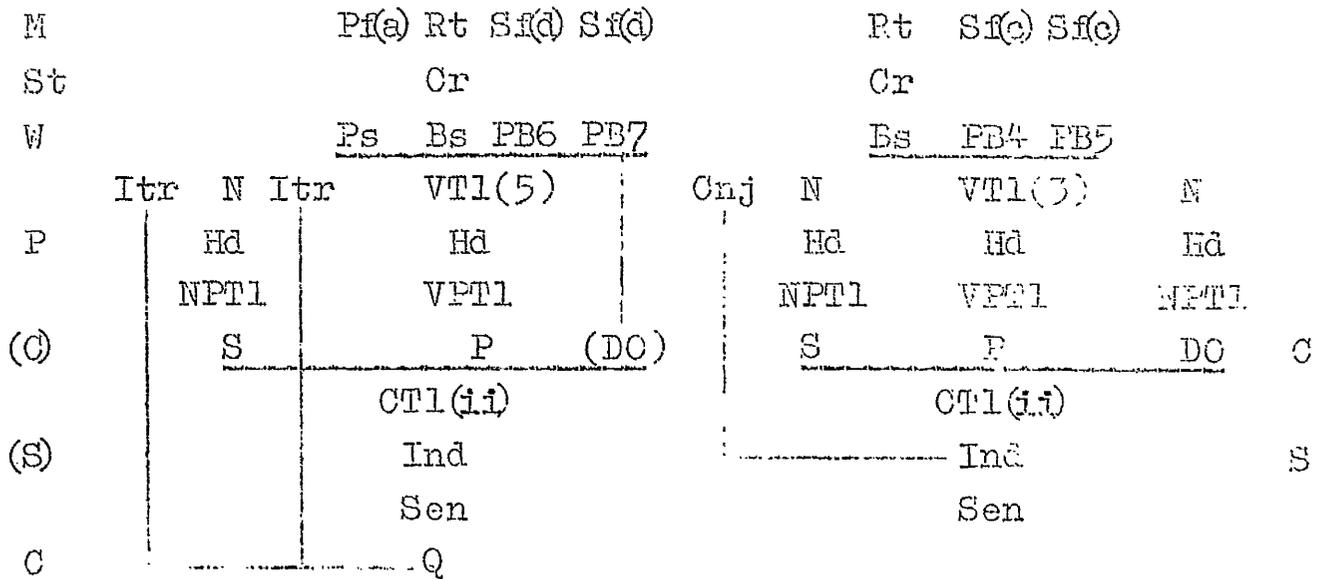
13. á/bá-dú+m-ô-bê ádí ya,...

M	Pf(a)	Pf(b)	Rt	Sf(a)	Sf(d)	Sf(d)
St			<u>Cr</u>	<u>Ex1</u>		
W	<u>Ps</u>	<u>AB1</u>	<u>Bs</u>	<u>PB6</u>	<u>PB7</u>	
			VT1(1)			N Spc
P			Hd			<u>Hd Dem</u>
			VPT1			NPT1
C	(S)		<u>P</u>			<u>DO</u>
			CT1(i)			
S			Dep			

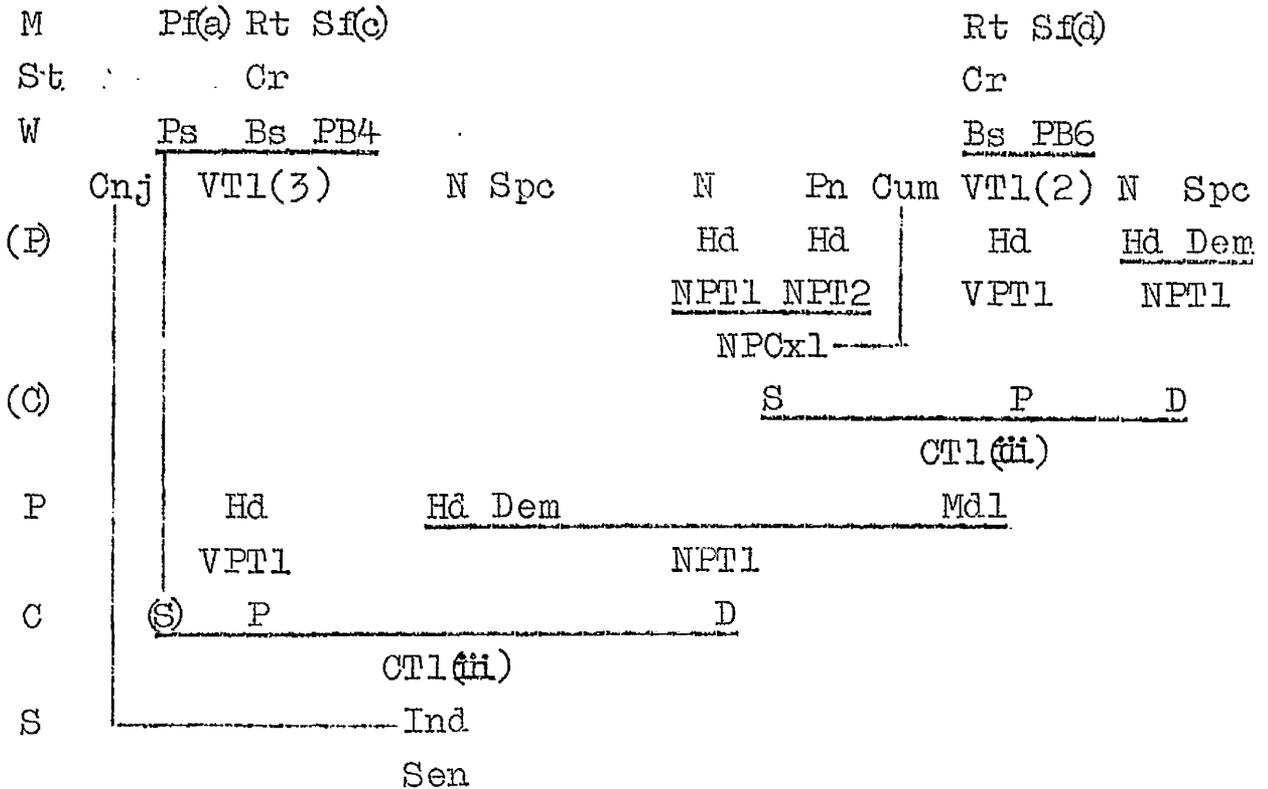
14a. (bá yô / é-gba=gbó-1ê / àdà (//nyé / ézè //).)



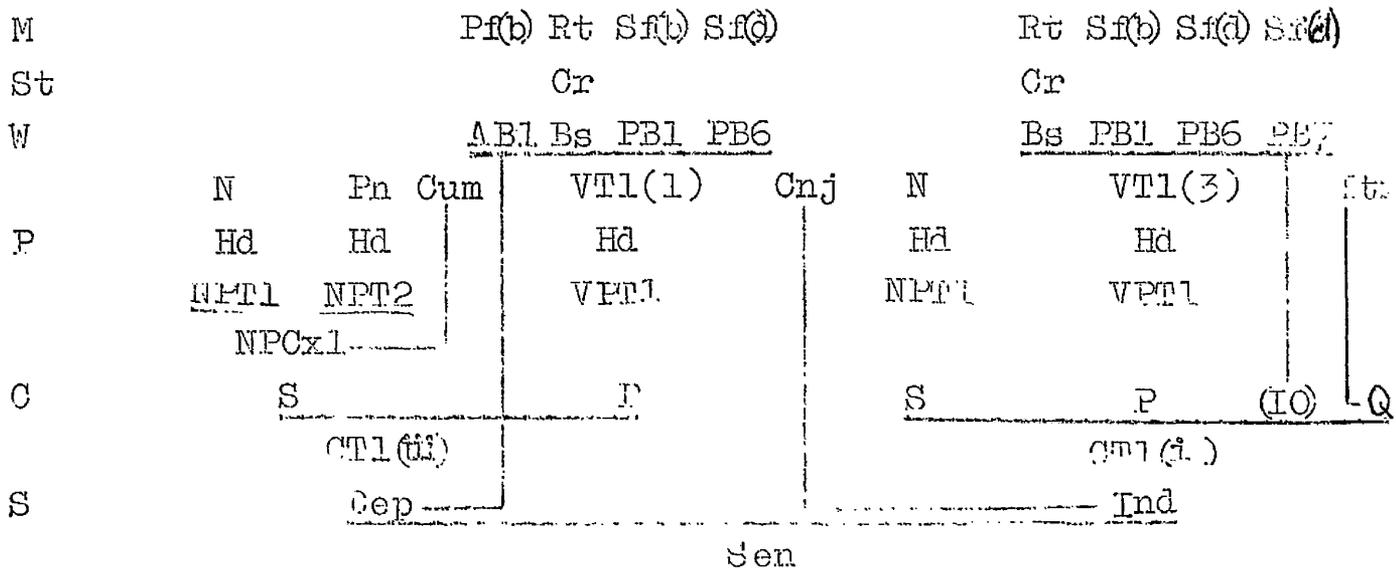
14b. (bá ézè/bá ò-gbú-1é/yâ) 15. má éwú/gba-dí-dí--hwò/ézi.



18. má ú-ja-díhwá/ibé m (// ókwálákwó/yá-lǎ// zè-bè/àdǎ ya).



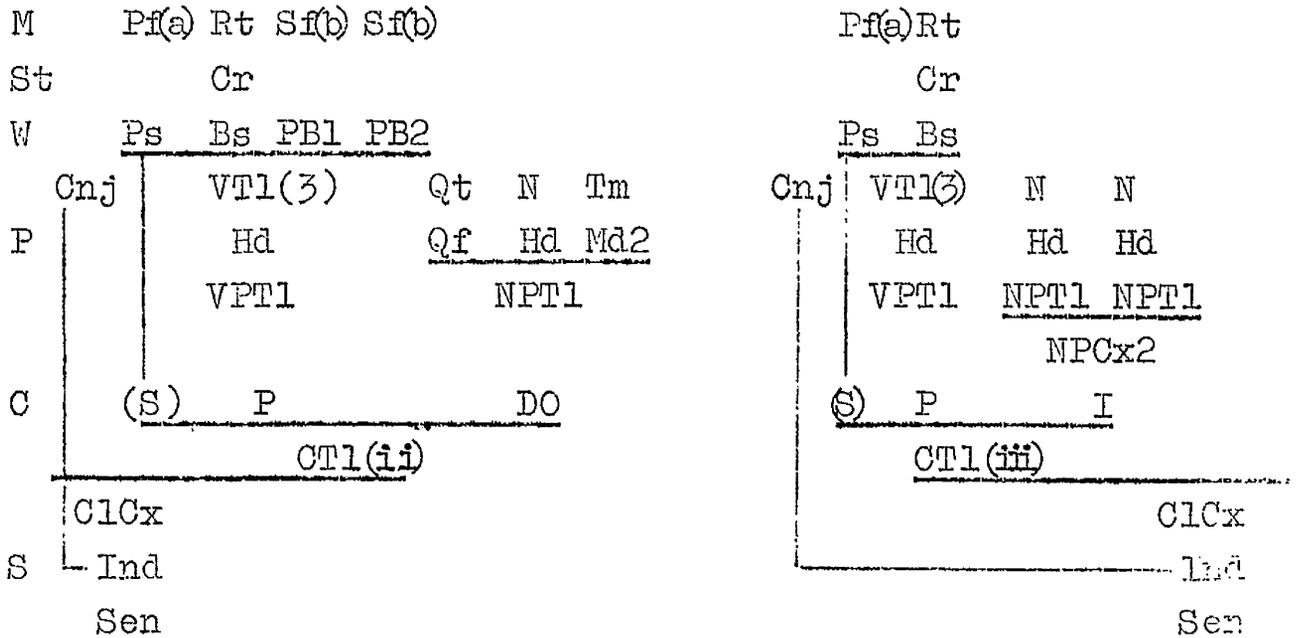
19. // ókwálákwó/yá-lǎ// bá-zú-iá-bé, má ókwálákwó/kwú-ní-é/lǎ, (ó...



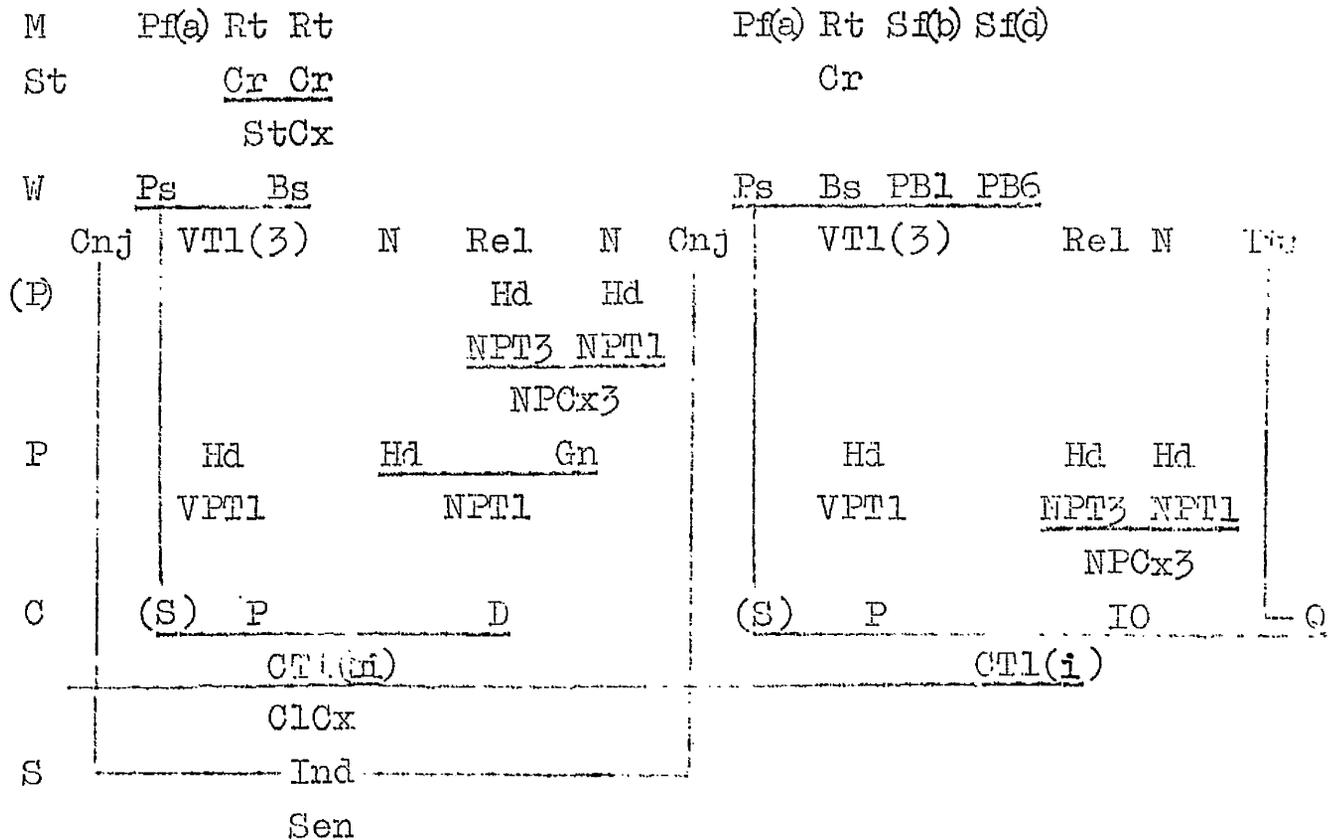
...(bù ì/zò/ùgbòjì m/bù/á m (i/gbù-má/ádá (//nyé/ézè//))).

M	Pf(a) Rt		Pf(a) Rt Sf(b)
St	Cr		Cr
W	<u>Ps Bs</u>		<u>Ps Bs PBl</u>
(P)	Itr	VT1(2) N Spc Em Op Spc	VT1(2) N Rel N Hd Hd <u>NPT3 NPT1</u> NPCx3
(P)			Hd <u>Hd</u> Gn VPT1 NPT1
(C)			(S) <u>P DO</u> CT1(i.i)
P		<u>Hd Hd Dem E</u> Hd Dem Mdl	
(C)	(S)	VPT1 NPT1	NPT4
(S)		<u>P DO</u>	I
C		CT1(i.i)	
		Ind	
		Sen	
		Q	

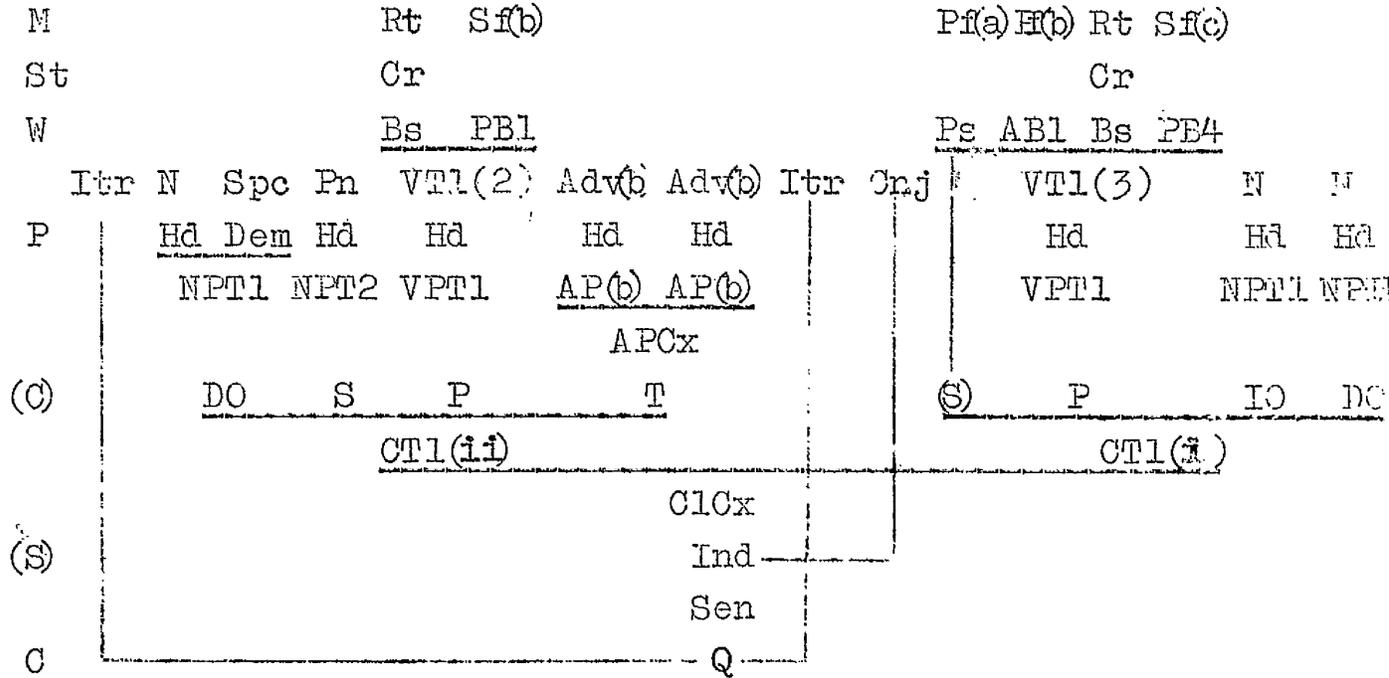
...má ú/gé-tè-kpò/òtú ìyê yá; . 22. ;má ú/gba //ésó/ésó //,...



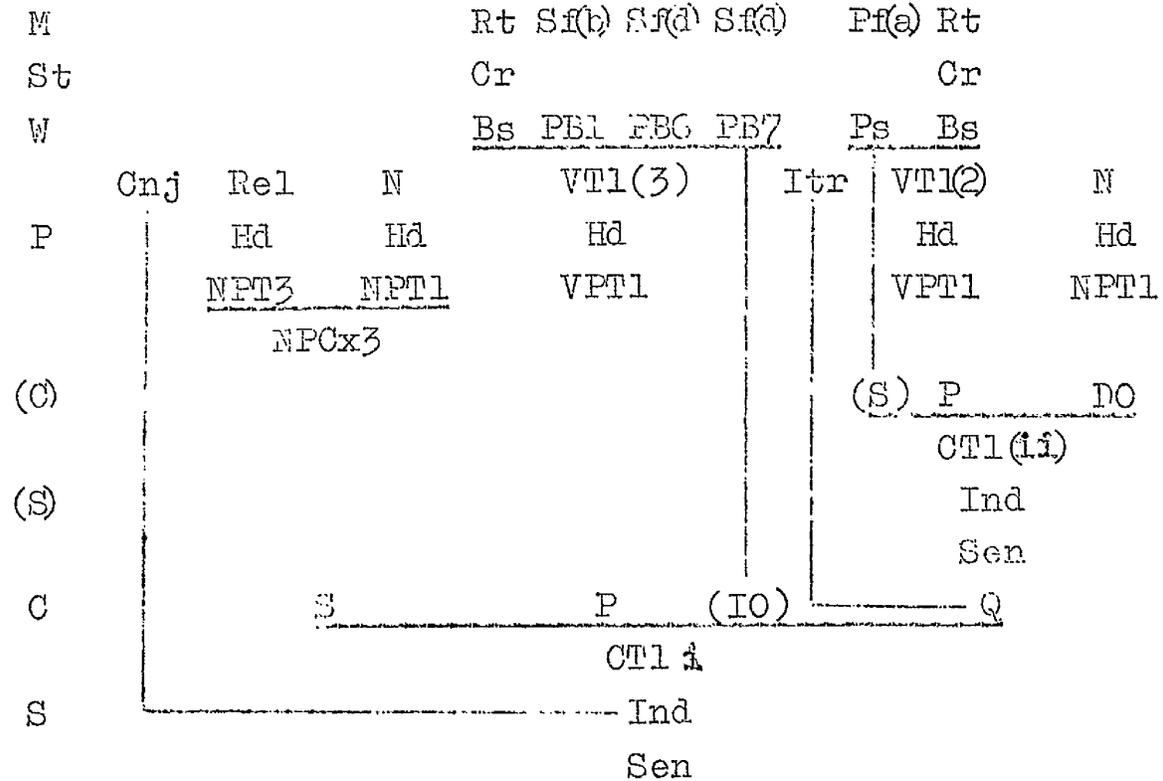
...má ú/gba=zé/édo (//nyé/ézé//), má ú/kwu-ní-é //nyé/ézé// (òḡ...



... (bá máda m/yá/gbù-kpò //séle/séle//, bá má í/dé-né-lwò/éwú/íyé)



23. má //nyé / ézè // kwú-ní-é/là / (bá í/gbù / íyélà).

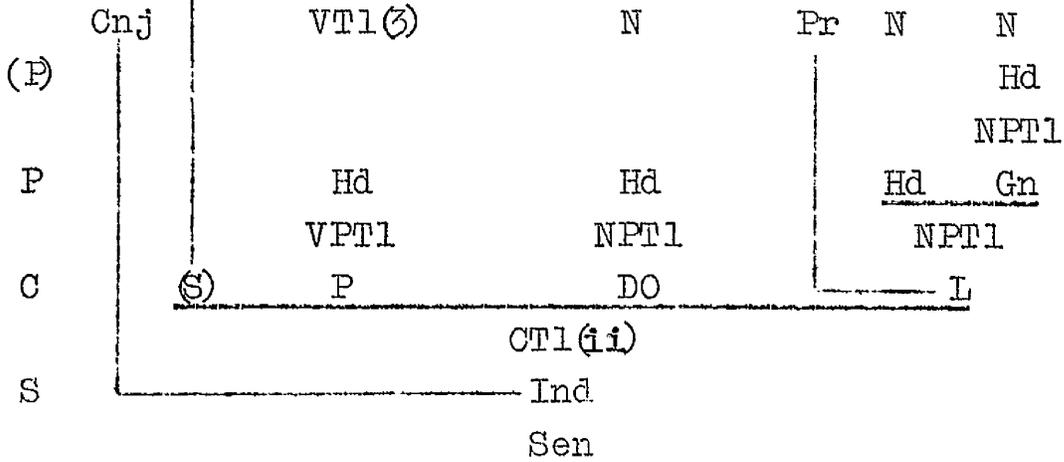


26. má á/kpo+gá+/fí--ê / ðkwálákwò / lá ímé (édf).

M Pf(a) Rt Sf(a) Sf(a) Sf(d)

St Cr Ex1 Ex2

W Ps Bs PB6

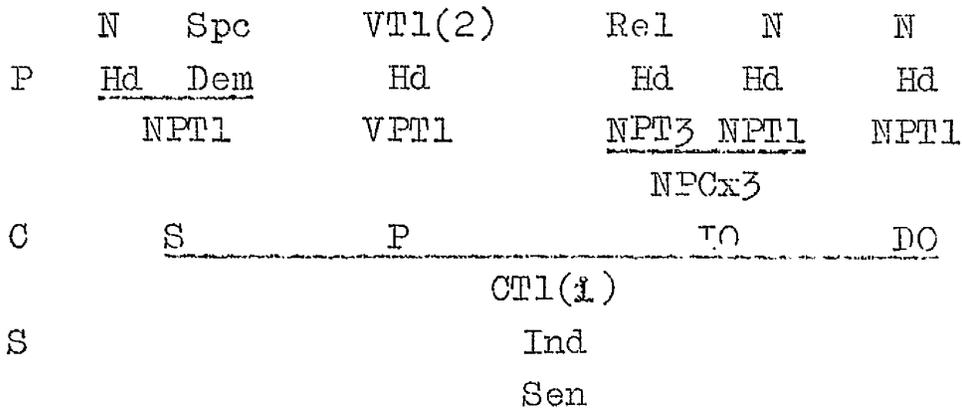


27. éyé ya / dè-wè--jî--nê //nyé / ézè // èlî.

M Rt Sf(b) Sf(c) Sf(d)

St Cr

W Bs PB1 PB4 PB6



28. má //nyé/ézè // gó+nù-ò / ðkwálákwo / má ù/gbu-l-ò.

M			Rt Sf(a) Sf(d)				Pf(a) Rt Sf(b) Sf(d)
St			<u>Cr Exl</u>				Cr
W			<u>Bs PB6</u>				<u>Ps Bs PBl PB6</u>
P	Cnj	Rel	N	VT1(3)	N	Cnj	VT1(3)
		Hd	Hd	Hd	Hd		Hd
		<u>NPT3 NPT1</u>		VPT1	NPT1		VPT1
		NPCx3					
C		S1	A	DO		(S2)	P
				CT3(ii)			
S				Ind			
				Sen			

29. á/bá-gbú-m-ò, ðkwálákwo/nyé-dé/iyè (à-kpó ò-kpó-o).

M	Pf(a) Pf(b) Rt Sf(b) Sf(d)		Rt Sf(d)		Pf(d) Rt Pf(e) Rt NV
St	Cr		Cr		Cr Cr
W	<u>Ps AB1 Bs PBl PB6</u>		<u>Bs PB6</u>		<u>Imp Bs Rep Bs</u>
(P)		VT1(1)	N	VT1(10)	N VT3 VT2
(C)					Hd Red
					VPT4
					P
					CT5(ii)
P		Hd	Hd	Hd	<u>Hd Md1</u>
		VPT1	NPT1	VPT1	NPT1
C	(S)	P	S	P	DO
		CT1(iii)		CT1(ii)	
S		Dep		Ind	
				Sen	

è è. iyà.

14.4. Translation

14.4.1. Literal Translation

In this section, the text is repeated and beneath it is given what is as nearly as practicable a morpheme translation. The sentences are numbered as in the previous section to facilitate cross-reference.

1. ù/dù+má / ù+ùbè. 2. ù/bá-dù+m-ò, má òkwélekwo/
it-reached a-time. it-when-reached, then Tortoise

zé / áyá (àsámèlè). 3. ù/bá-zé / áyá (àsámèlè),
went bush-of hunt. he-when-went bush-of hunt,

; má ù/wu-digá / ónáyá, ónáyá/zì-é-é;. 4. ù/wù-digá /
then he-sought-around animal, animal is-not. he-sought-

ónáyá, ónáyá/zì-é-é;. 5. ; má ù/we+jì-é / à+ádè
around animal, animal is-not. then he-saw a-place

(ù/nyè / (bù ù/bù / ónáyá)), má ù/gba / ébè;.
he-thought that it-is animal, then he-fired gun.

6. ù/bá-dù+má / àdè ya, ù/gbà=gbò-hwò bè /
he-when-reached place that, he-shot-killed emphatic

àdà (//nyé / ézè//). 7. má ù/bu-tù-ò / àdà
daughter-of person chief. then he-lifted daughter-of

(//nyé / ézè //), má ù/dé-bè-ké / lì ólú (úfí);.
person chief, then he-went-hid in top-of tree.

8. ú/bá--dú+má / kpóm / séle, má ú/kwu-ní-ê / éwú /
it-when-reached thus tomorrow, then he-told Grasscutter

(bú ngwá á/zé / áyá (ásámá)). 9. má éwú /
that so let-us-go bush-of hunt. then Grasscutter

kwu-ní-ê/lá / (bú ngwá lá). 10. má ú/kwu-ní / éwú /
told-him that so then. then he-told Grasscutter

(bú ngwá bú ;í/gá-lágá / íbé m, bú má yá' /
that so that you-pass side this, that then self

ga-lágá-jí-né / íbé émá;). 10a. (bú ú/bá--dú+má--lé,
pass-also side this. that you-when-reach-if,

bú í/wé+jí--hwátò / ògbó (ènwè);, bú áá í/gba.)
that you-see-when group-of monkeys, that then you-shoot.

11. má éwú / hw-ò. 12. má // éwú / yá-la // z-ò-òè.
then Grasscutter agreed. then Grasscutter he-and went.

13. ú--bá--dú+m-ò-bè / àdǎ ya, ;má òkwálákwò / dó-do /
they-when-reached place that, then Tortoise went-shook

éká / lǎ àdǎ m (ú/kwá+jí / à'á (//nyé / ézè//)), má
hand in place the he-tied daughter-of person chief, then

éwú / gba / ébé/lǎ àdǎ ya;. 14. má òkwálákwò / ká /
Grasscutter fired gun in place that. then Tortoise said

(bú éè). 14a. (bú yò / é-gba=gbó-lé / àdǎ (//nyé / ézè//),)
that oh! that you shoot-kill-have daughter-of person
chief.

14b. (bá ézè / bá ò-gbú-lé/yò.) 15. má éwú /
that chief that kill-has-you. then Grasscutter

gba-dí-dí-hwò / ézi. 16. á/bá-gbá-dí-dí-hwò / ézi, má
showed sorrow. he-when-showed sorrow, then

á/gba=zé / ádò //ésó/ésó//. 17.;má ú/du+má / ádò, má
he-ran-went home run run. then he-reached home, then

á/yo-tá-ké-kpò / kápá (zò-kè-kpò / ùgbòjí);. 18. má
he-put-on-finish cloth that-is-fine-finish boys. then

á/ja-déhwa / íbé ì (//òkwálákwò/yá-la// zè-èè/àdà ya).
he-came-likewise side the Tortoise he-and went place that.

19. //òkwálákwò/yá-la// bá-zú-tá-èè, má òkwálákwò/kwú-ní-è/lá.
Tortoise he-and when-met then Tortoise told-him

(bá é/zò / ùgbòjí ì / bá / á ì (í/gbú-má/
that you-are-fine boys the emphatic with-that the you-killed

àdà (//nyé / ézè//)). 20. má éwú / kwú-ní /
daughter-of person chief. then Grasscutter told

òkwálákwò/ (bá é/yé (//nyé / ézè//) / kpà+já/yá / lé ádà
Tortoise that thing-of person chief received-self in place

émà). 20a. (;bá yá' / bá ù-gò-ní-kpò/yá / òtá kápá
the. that he that bought-for-finish-self those clothes

ì, bá á/kà / kpóm òm / (bá yá' / á-ú-wú-dí-gá-déhwa /
the, that he-said thus so that self cn-to-want-likewise

(bá yá' / gbù / ádá (yá) / ò-gbù);) 20b. (bá
that self kill daughter-of self killing. that

ù/mè-kè-bè/jóka.) 21. ;má òkwálákwò / dú+má / ádo (yá),
they-did well. then Tortoise reached house-of self,

má ú/gbé-tè-kpò / òtú éyê yá;. 22. ;má ú/gba
then he-thought-finish those things so. then he-ran

//ésó/ésó//, má ú/gba=zé / ádo (//nyé / ézè//), má
run run, then he-ran-went house-of person chief, then

ú/kwu-ní-ê //nyé / ézè// (bá máda ò / yá' / gbù-kpò
he-told person chief that person the self killed-finish

//séle / séle//, bá má í/dé-né-hwò / éwú /
yesterday yesterday, that then you-went-gave Grasscutter

éyê;);. 23. má //nyé / ézè// kwú-ní-ê/là /(bá í/gbù /
thing. then person chief told-him that you-killed

éyélà). 24. (bá yá' / gbà=gbò-dí //áda (yò)/ á
what? that self shot-killed daughter-of you that-one

ò (é/kà / (bá yá' / gbù ò-gbù)) yá//.) 25. má //nyé /
the you-said that self kill killing so. then person

ézè// ká /(bá éè). 25a. (bá yò / é-me-ké-jí-lé-nê.)
chief said that oh! that you do-in-turn-have,

25b. (bá yá' / d-ú-wú-dí-gá-dá-hwá / (bá yá' / gbù/à / ò-gbù).)
that self on-to-want-likewise that self kill-her killing.

26. má á/kpó+gá+jí-ê / ðkwálákwò/lé ímé (ááá).
then he-thrust-inside Tortoise in inside-of house.

27. éyê ya / dè-wè-jí-nê //nyé / ézè// èíá. 28. má
thing that troubled-also person chief body. then

//nyé / ézè// gó-nú-ò / ðkwálákwò / má ú/gbu-m-ò.
person chief took Tortoise then he-killed.

29. á/bá-gbú-m-ò, ðkwálákwò / ñwé-dé / éyê (á-kpó ò-kpó-ò).
he-when-killed, Tortoise had-not thing to-say saying.

14.4.2. Free Translation

As with the literal translation, the sentences are numbered to facilitate cross-reference to the analysis. As an aid to natural English, much of the Ekpeye reported speech is rendered as direct speech.

1. Once upon a time, (2) Tortoise went hunting in the bush. 3 & 4. When he went hunting, he searched and searched for game, but there was none. 5. Then he saw a place where he thought there was an animal, and fired his gun. 6. When he reached the spot, he found that it was the daughter of a chief that he had shot dead. 7. So he lifted her up, and hid her up a tree. 8. Next day, he said to Grasscutter "Let's go hunting". 9. "Come on then" replied Grasscutter. 10. Tortoise said to Grasscutter "You go this way, and I'll go that way. 10a. As you go, if you see a group of monkeys, you shoot." 11. Grasscutter agreed, (12) so off they went. 13. When they got to the right place, Tortoise went and shook the branches where he had tied the chief's daughter,

and Grasscutter fired at the spot. 14. Then Tortoise said "Oh my! 14a. You've killed a chief's daughter. 14b. The chief will kill you." 15. Grasscutter was very upset, (16) and ran all the way home. 17. When he got home, he dressed up in a cloth that was very smart. 18. Then he went back to the place where he and Tortoise had been. 19. When he met Tortoise, Tortoise said to him "You're very smart, considering you've just killed a chief's daughter!" 20. Grasscutter told Tortoise that the chief had welcomed him there, (20a) and that he had bought the clothes for him. and told him that he had been wanting to kill his daughter anyway, (20b) so they had done well. 21. When Tortoise got home, he thought about the matter, (22) then ran off to the chief's house, and told the chief "I killed that person only yesterday, but you went and rewarded Grasscutter." 23. "Who did you kill?" said the chief. 24. "I shot your daughter dead, the one you said you would kill anyway." 25. "Oh!" said the chief, (25a) "So you've done it. (25b) And I was wanting to kill her, indeed!" 26. Then the chief made Tortoise a prisoner. 27. The chief was very annoyed by the affair, (28) so he took Tortoise and killed him. 29. When he killed him, Tortoise had no excuse to make at all.

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This bibliography lists books and articles in the fields of linguistics and ethnography which have been of help in the preparation of this thesis.

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