

**A GRAMMATICAL  
DESCRIPTION  
OF THE  
ENGENNI LANGUAGE**

**Elaine Thomas**

**SIL**

 **SUMMER  
INSTITUTE OF  
LINGUISTICS**

**UNIVERSITY  
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**Elaine Thomas**

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

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The following acknowledgements are made by the author:

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

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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### 1.0. The Engenni People and Language

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

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

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

Engenni is regarded by Westcott (1962) as being a member of the Edo branch of the Kwa language group.<sup>1</sup> Together with Epie and Degema, it forms the subgroup Delta Edo.

The only work so far published on the Engenni language is a word list by E. Thomas and K. Williamson (1967). The present work is therefore, as far as is known, the first description of the Engenni language.

#### 1.1. The Material for the Present Study

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>Engenni is not mentioned by D. Westermann and M. A. Bryan in *Handbook of African Languages*, nor by J. H. Greenberg in 'The Languages of Africa', *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 1963.

in co-operation with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The analysis is based on a quantity of tape-recorded text material from a variety of speakers. The tapes were transcribed, resulting in about 3,500 lines of written text. The texts include a large number of folk stories and also general narratives, descriptions, etc. The texts were then processed by a computer under the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which produced a complete alphabetised concordance of the whole corpus.<sup>2</sup> The concordance has proved very useful in the later stages of the analysis. The majority of the examples in this study are taken from the concordance.

This description of the Engenni language was submitted as a Ph.D. thesis to the University of London in 1969. It was later revised in 1976 after the author had worked for a further four years in the language. The revisions expand the original analysis at some points (e.g., types of complex sentence) but do not change the basic analysis.

## 1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis

This analysis of Engenni is based largely on the methods and terminology used first by J. T. Bendor-Samuel in his 1963 article and developed further in later articles. The model has been used for a full grammatical description of a language by R. Stanford in his Ph.D. thesis (1967).

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

discourse  
sentence  
clause  
phrase  
word  
morpheme

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

The structure of a unit is described in terms of:

(a) Its elements. These are units of the rank below.

(b) Its syntagmatic features. These can be divided into two kinds with different functions, though certain features (e.g., clause-introducers) may combine both functions.

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<sup>2</sup>This project was sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation of the U.S.A.

Features marking the relationship between units are termed relational features. In this description of Engenni the following are analysed as relational features:

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

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

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

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

Units are divided into types and, if necessary, into subtypes according to similarities in structure. At some ranks, a complex of units may function as a single unit. Such a complex is termed an extended unit (e.g., extended nominal phrase, Section 8.3) or a unit string (e.g., verbal clause string, Section 5.9) depending on the relationship between the units.

A unit may have a secondary function as an element of a unit at a lower rank. The unit is then termed rankshifted. The unit may function as an element of a unit at its own rank as part of the structure of its own class of units; e.g., a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of an extended nominal phrase. Or the unit may function as part of the structure of a different class of unit; e.g., a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of one type of adverbial phrase. The unit may also function as an element of a unit at a lower rank than its own; e.g., a rankshifted clause functions as an attributive element of the nominal phrase.

Any rankshifted unit may theoretically be recursive, and an

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

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

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

### 1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles in Engenni

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

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

- sentences in the discourse (Section 3.2.1)
- clauses in the sentence (Section 4.4)
- phrases in the clause (nominal clause 6.1.2 and 6.2.2,  
verbal clause 5.4.3)

The speech particle *ga* marks speech material at three ranks:

- discourse (Section 3.2.1)
- sentence (Section 4.4.6)
- clause (nominal clause 6.2.2)

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

- ga* (a) clause-introducer in complex sentence type 11  
(b) speech particle marks direct or indirect speech or reported thought at three ranks (see above)
- í* (a) preverbal functions as attributive element of the verbal phrase  
(b) sequential particle linking sentences in the discourse
- nà* (a) incompletive particle marks the incompletive aspect  
(b) negative particle marks negation in imperative and subjunctive clauses  
(c) reinforcer (Section 11.5) functions as attributive element of the nominal and verbal phrases
- na* (a) clause-introducer in complex sentence types 8 and 10  
(b) construct marker marks rankshifted clause or sentence functioning as relative construct
- nì* (a) completive particle marks the completive aspect

- (b) definitive particle marks the focus aspect
- sa (a) clause-introducer in complex sentence types 9 and 14
- (b) negative particle marks negation in nominal clauses

#### 1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples

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

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

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

cp1	completive aspect	pl	plural
def	definitive particle	qu	question
emp	emphatic particle	seq	sequential particle
inc	incompletive aspect	sp	speech particle
neg	negative		



CHAPTER TWO  
THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSCRIPTION

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

### 2.1. Consonants

The consonant phonemes are set out in tabular form below.

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

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

#### 2.1.1. Labialisation and Palatalisation

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

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

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

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

Labialisation and palatalisation are analysed phonologically as features of the syllable. Alternative analyses would be (a) to establish twenty-three extra consonant phonemes, or (b) to analyse labialisation and palatalisation as separate consonant phonemes. Neither analysis is satisfactory. The former is uneconomical in the number of phonemes, and the latter would lead to setting up consonant clusters which do not otherwise occur in the CV structure of the language.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

### 2.1.2. Nasalisation

The semivowels w and y occur both with and without velic closure. The position of the velum remains the same for the following vowel. Two analyses are possible: (a) Two extra consonant phonemes,  $\tilde{w}$  and  $\tilde{y}$ , may be set up, or (b) the nasalisation may be analysed as a feature of the syllable. The latter analysis is adopted, as it is more economical in the number of phonemes required and parallels the features of palatalisation and labialisation of the syllable. It also reflects the phonetic data more closely, since the nasalisation extends to the following vowel, i.e., throughout the syllable.<sup>2</sup> The nasalisation feature is transcribed by n preceding the w or y, e.g., nwei, nyou, to avoid

<sup>1</sup>For a fuller discussion of this problem see P. M. Bendor-Samuel 1965.

<sup>2</sup>It is recognised that labialisation, palatalisation, nasalisa-

the use of diacritics.

Two examples have been recorded of the feature of nasalisation co-occurring with the feature of labialisation:

knwɛi *be heavy*

knwɛi *be bent*

## 2.2. Vowels

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

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

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

### 2.2.1 Vowel Harmony System

Vowels divide into two sets:

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

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

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

In the transcription, the five phonemes are represented as i, e, a, o, u. The lowered tongue feature is shown by a dot under the initial vowel of the word; the raised tongue feature by the absence of a dot. The only exception to this procedure is in words where the only vowel is [a]. This is not marked with a dot since there is almost no possibility of confusion with [ə], as only one occurrence of the latter as the sole vowel in a word has been found. As [a] is very much more frequent than [ə], the non-

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tion, and the vowel system which is described on the following page could also be analysed prosodically. See, for example, J. Carnochan 1966.

marking of [a] in this special circumstance reduces very considerably the number of times the diacritic dot is needed.

In compound words (Sections 10.1.1.2 and 10.2.2), the two parts are hyphenated and the vowel feature of each part is marked separately, e.g., ʌmini-bhwoni *soup*, ony-ʌvuramu *woman*.

### 2.2.2. Vowel Sequences

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

ũviì	<i>paddle (noun)</i>	gbèi	<i>kill</i>
òdhià	<i>sin (noun)</i>	bhùe	<i>keep</i>
gbòu	<i>plant (verb)</i>	pèê	<i>very full</i>
dùu	<i>go out</i>	bhòò	<i>lukewarm</i>

### 2.2.3. Nasalisation of Vowels

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

## 2.3. Tone and Intonation

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

### 2.3.1. Basic Tone System

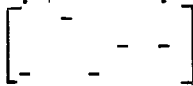
There are three phonetic ranges of pitch, and there are restrictions on the distribution of the top and middle ranges. Two top pitches do not occur in sequence, and a middle pitch does not occur between two low pitches within a phonological clause (Section 2.5).

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

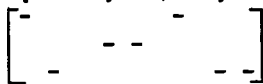
In the examples, tone is marked as follows: low tone  $\grave{}$ , high tone is unmarked, and upstepped high tone resulting from the upstep toneme  $\acute{}$ . In subsequent chapters, when referring to the tone system, the term 'upstepped high tone' (abbreviated h) is used only for the upstep toneme, since the upstepped high tone resulting from automatic upstep is an allotone. The other two tones are abbreviated thus: low tone L and high tone H.

Automatic upstep. A H tone is upstepped before a L tone within the phonological clause but not across phonological clause boundaries (examples 1-3). A H tone is also upstepped before a following L tone syllable which is elided (examples 4-5). (Details of the elision of vowels at word junctures will be given in Section 2.4.)

- (1)             $\grave{}$ kpi lāma nū            *as for snail*

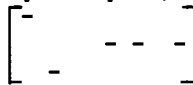


- (2)            omù dhemu ya sāmù        *Is the house big?*



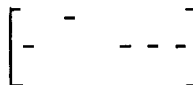
Compare with example 3.

- (3)            omù dhemu ya            *The house is big.*

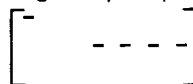


In the following examples the absence of a pitch mark under a syllable means that the vowel of that syllable is elided.

- (4)            unwonì oìllo            *mouth of a bottle*



- (5)            ogbò opìlopo            *back of a pig*



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

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

- (6)      m̀i do ʔgbó dh̄emes̀è      *I wove the net bigger.*  
           [        -            - - - ]  
           [        -            - - - ]  
           *I weave net enlarge*

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

- (7)      ègwè ʔgbo              *nets (lit. plurality of nets)*  
           [        -            - ]  
           [        -            - ]

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

- (a) future tense (Section 5.4.1.3)
- (b) phrase junctures (Section 5.8.2)
- (c) juncture of nouns and some adjectives (Section 8.2.1.1)
- (d) juncture of nouns and some reinforcers (Section 8.2.1.1)
- (e) the preverbals *nà* and *i* (Section 11.1)
- (f) the sequential particle *i* (Section 3.2.1)

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

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

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

- (8)      if̀ufom̀ù              *sandfly*              ogb̀ò if̀ufom̀ù              *back of a sandfly*  
           [        -            - ]                              [        -            - ]  
           [        -            - ]                              [        -            - ]

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

Compare the tone of *omu* and of *enuma* in the following pairs:

- (9)      ò kunu ɔm̀ù s̄am̀ù              *Did he build a house?*  
           *he build house qu*
- (10)    ò kunu ɔmu n' ək̀ìè              *He built a house in the town.*  
           *he build house in town*
- (11)    ò t̄ou ɛ̀nùm̀à                      *He took money.*  
           *he take money*
- (12)    ò t̄ou ɛ̀numa t̄ou dy ɛ̀nùm̀ù      *He took money to buy something.*  
           *he take money take buy thing*

Note that the assimilated L tone still has the effect of raising the previous H tone to h, since there is an ordered se-

quence in the pitch changes. Firstly, a L tone causes a previous H tone to be upstepped; secondly, a L tone following an upstepped H tone and preceding a H tone perturbs to H tone.

Tone glides. Rising and falling glides occur on single syllables. A syllable with a tone glide is of the same duration as a syllable with a level tone. The glides are analysed as a sequence of two tones, as they result either from a juncture feature or from the compression of a tone pattern. The rising glide usually rises from L to H, unless it is followed by a L tone, in which case it rises from L to h due to the operation of automatic upstep. The rising glide is marked  $\vee$ . The falling glide usually falls from h to L, unless it is preceded by a h tone, in which case it falls from H to L. The falling glide is marked  $\wedge$ . A ligature between two tones indicates that the tones form a glide, e.g., HL, LH.

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

Compare the tone of ukwo and of kpɛ in the following:

- (13) m̀ t̃a ̀ukwò                    *I went to farm.*  
       I go farm
- (14) m̀ t̃a ̀ukwo ña                *I went to the farm.*
- (15) m̀ t̃a ̀ukwo n'udhè        *I went to farm yesterday.*
- (16) m̀ s̃ì kp̃ɛ                    *I will pay.*  
       I will pay
- (17) m̀ s̃ì kp̃ɛ w̃ò                *I will pay you.*
- (18) m̀ s̃ì kp̃ɛ n' ̀inyà        *I will pay you today.*

### 2.3.2. Intonation

In certain grammatical categories, there is a rise in the overall pitch level of part or the whole of the clause, but the tone pattern (i.e., the relation between individual pitches) of the words is not altered. This change of pitch is analysed as a different intonation pattern. The start of the rise in pitch is marked in the transcription by an arrow  $\uparrow$ . For the intonation pattern marking question sentences, see Section 4.6, and marking interrogative clauses see 5.6.

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



## 2.4. Word Juncture

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

### 2.4.1. Juncture of Major Words

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

- |      |            |             |                         |
|------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| (19) | dhɪ ɛ̀nàmù | [dhyɛ̀nàmù] | <i>eat meat</i>         |
| (20) | ɛ̀vì ɛ̀mò  | [ɛ̀vyɛ̀mò]  | <i>a child's leg</i>    |
| (21) | dɨ àswâ    | [dwàs-wâ]   | <i>buy a hoe</i>        |
| (22) | ɔ̀mù ɛ̀bhù | [ɔ̀mwɛ̀bhù] | <i>a doctor's house</i> |

With nonminimal nouns (VCV+) and verbs (CV+), the close vowel of the final syllable elides together with the tone, and there is no palatalisation or labialisation of the syllable except in the cases noted below.

- |      |              |               |                          |
|------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (23) | ìkènì ɛ̀nò   | [ìkè-nànò]    | <i>this ivory</i>        |
| (24) | ùtùmù ɛ̀nàmù | [ùtùm-ɛ̀nàmù] | <i>an animal's tail</i>  |
| (25) | fòlì ɛ̀bhìlì | [fòl-ɛ̀bhìlì] | <i>peel kola</i>         |
| (26) | fùnu ɛ̀dhi   | [fùn-ɛ̀dhi]   | <i>climb a palm tree</i> |
| (27) | dèlì ɛ̀sèni  | [dè-ɛ̀sèni]   | <i>sell fish</i>         |
| (28) | yòu ɛ̀mìni   | [yò-ɛ̀mìni]   | <i>bail out water</i>    |

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

When the root has reduplicated syllables.

- |      |             |              |                          |
|------|-------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| (29) | mìmi ɛ̀kàni | [mìmyɛ̀kàni] | <i>squeeze the cloth</i> |
| (30) | ovuvù ɛ̀nò  | [ovuvwànò]   | <i>this light</i>        |

When the syllable ri or rɪ is preceded by an identical vowel.

- |      |              |              |                         |
|------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (31) | ìkìrì ɛ̀nò   | [ìkìryànò]   | <i>this grasscutter</i> |
| (32) | ɛ̀bhìrì ɛ̀nò | [ɛ̀bhìryànò] | <i>this fish trap</i>   |

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

- |      |             |             |   |
|------|-------------|-------------|---|
| (33) | ɛ̀sàrù ɛ̀nò | [ɛ̀sàrwànò] | <i>this mosquito</i>                      |
| (34) | ògbarù ɛ̀nò | [ògbarwànò] | <i>this fish (one particular species)</i> |

When there is a sequence of two similar vowels in word-final position, the final vowel elides together with the tone.

- (35) ùviî ânò [ùviâânò] *this paddle*  
 (36) utùù ânò [utùâânò] *this hat*  
 (37) ọ rịl ọkìè [ọrịlọkìè] *He passed the town.*  
 (38) ọ duu ọmìnì [ọduâmìnì] *He bathed. (lit. he went out to*  
*water)*

(b) Nonclose vowel in word-final position followed by VC-.  
 With all nouns and verbs, the nonclose vowel elides together with the tone.

- (39) ọkò edèì [ọkèdèì] *a man's canoe*  
 (40) dīre èsèni [dīrèsèni] *cook fish*  
 (41) ọ kie ọmò [ọkiàmò] *She refused the child.*  
 (42) zùo ọmìnì [zùàmìnì] *draw water*

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

- (43) imòsyì nàà [ivùrààmù] [imòsyì nìivùrààmù] *men and women*  
 (44) okàà edèì [okèedèì] *old man*

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

- (45) mị nà gbe ọ [mịnàgboò] *I am going home.*

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

- (46) ọ dẹl ọkà [ọdàakà] *She sells corn.*  
 (47) ọ tọu ẹnùmà [ọtẹnùmà] *She takes money.*

#### 2.4.2. Juncture of Particles With Major Words

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

- (48) ọ wei ga ọ somu ya [ọweigòsomuya] *He said it was all right.*  
 (49) ọdhe wịl ọka ọ gbe [ọdhewìl ọkògbe] *When day dawned, he*  
*went home.*  
 (50) èsèni ivà na ọ ya [èsènivànọya] *There are two*  
*fish.*  
 (51) sa ọki [sòki] *It's not him.*

## 2.5. Relation Between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies

The five units set up for the analysis of Engenni phonology are the following: phoneme, syllable, phonological word, phonological clause, and pause group.

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

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

The phonological word is the unit bearing the tone pattern. It is further characterised by vowel harmony. It usually correlates with the grammatical word, except in the case of compound nouns (Section 10.2.2). Various groupings within the nominal phrase (Section 8.2.1.1), a singular pronoun subject and the following verb (Section 5.8.1), and the verb and following post-verbal(s) (Section 11.2) constitute extended phonological words. Vowel harmony operates throughout the extended phonological word, and certain regular tone perturbations occur between the elements.

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

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

## 2.6. Other Symbols used in the Transcription

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

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



CHAPTER THREE  
BEYOND THE SENTENCE

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

### 3.1. Types of Discourse

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

Initial forms (The symbol ~ indicates nasalisation; the symbol : indicates a lengthened vowel.)

Narrator: ǒ: ǐ: (a call to gain people's attention)  
Audience: ǎ: (the response)

or

Narrator: gba isyi ẹkàà *I am going to tell a story.*  
Audience: wùràdha *Go right ahead.*

#### Final forms

Narrator: ẹkàà í gba ísyì *So the story has been told.*  
Audience: wùràdha nwàse *It has indeed.*

The general narrative is distinguished by the absence of any of the above forms.

### 3.2. Sentence Groupings

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

#### 3.2.1. Linking of Sentences by Particles

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

(a) ka occurs sentence initially. í occurs following the nominal phrase subject preceding the verbal phrase. ka may occur without í, but í cannot occur unless preceded by ka.

(52) /// ì nà gbe /// ka ànàmù na èní dọ ...  
*they inc go-home seq meat which we buy*

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

(53) /// onyôswâ wei àkajú tu yî /// ka àkajú í tu yî ///  
*name say tree should- come seq tree seq bend come bend*

*Onyoswa told the cotton tree to bend over. And the cotton tree bent over.*

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

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

(54) /// àlibò ná ko òbhuènêtì ga adegì /// òbhuènêtì me ///  
*tortoise go-to call lion sp name lion answer*

*ga mi yia, mi yì í ko wò, bhù na nyoni kù mē òbhò ///*  
*sp I come I come to call you you go-to put give me hand*

*Tortoise went to call lion, (shouting) "Adegi". Lion answered. (Tortoise continued,) "Here I am; I have come to call you to help me."*

### 3.2.2. Linking of Sentences by Repetition

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

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

(b) The tense is restricted to either the descriptive or the referential (see Section 5.4.1.3 for details of tenses).

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

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

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

(55) /// èsyià ka èsyì na onu-amo ná wuru dhe êdhyomu na  
*there seq place that mother the make finish food the*

*tou bho kye ì /// o wùrù dhe êdhyomu na tou bho*  
*take keep give her she make finish food the take keep*

*kye ì // ka ègua nà pa // ì nà bìdha ///*  
*give her seq they inc start they inc travel*

*So the mother prepared some food and kept it for her. When she had prepared the food and kept it for her, they set off.*

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

(56) /// avuramu nà me /// avuramu na me // àlibò ná  
*woman the agree woman the agree tortoise go-to*

*wa dhòu êdhyomù n'âzyì yì ///*  
*search take food in bush come*

*The woman agreed. When the woman agreed, tortoise went to get food in the bush and came back.*

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

- (57) àlibò kòni kòni kpurùkpurù tɔu // ka ànì àlibò  
*tortoise fight fight struggling till seq wife of-tortoise*  
 sye dhe àki na sisè /// o syè sise  
*remove finish pot the put-down she remove put-down*  
 ka àlibò wu dhe nì ///  
*seq tortoise die finish cpl*

*Tortoise struggled and struggled and squirmed till his wife took the pot right off (the fire) and put it down. When she took it off and put it down, tortoise was dead.*

'Echo' clause: (a) same verbal phrase, (b) descriptive tense, (c) pronoun subject, (d) zero form of object pronoun. (For the occurrence of the zero allomorph of the object pronoun see Section 10.3.2.)

### 3.3. Quotations in Speech Material

#### 3.3.1. Different Types of Quotation

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

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

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

(c) In direct quotations, first and second person pronouns are used for both the speaker and the addressee; e.g., tortoise said to rabbit, "I saw you" or "You saw me".

The pronouns used are summarised below: (r = reflexive)

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



The following chart gives the actual forms which occur:

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1st	mi	me	eni	eni
2nd	bhu	wo	bha	bha
3rd reflex	okí	eí	bha	bha
3rd nonreflex	o	eí	i/egua	egua

The type of quotation is also characterised by the occurrence of imperative or subjunctive clauses. Imperative clauses occur only in direct quotations (example 62). In semi-indirect and indirect quotations, commands are in the subjunctive mood (examples 58 and 59). For details of imperative and subjunctive clauses, see Sections 5.5 and 5.4.1.2.

Examples of different types of quotation

(a) Indirect quotations

(58) àlìbò í wo kye omIní eì ga ó yìlà  
3rd  
*tortoise seq say give child his sp he should-stand*  
*Tortoise told his child to stand up.*

(59) edei àkà wei ga òkí ma moní eì  
3rd-r 3rd  
*man that say sp he yet not-see him*  
*That man said that he had not seen him yet.*

(b) Semi-indirect quotations

(60) ò wei ga ... bhú tou eì ka òkí nàà !wó wu zà  
2nd 3rd 3rd-r 2nd  
*he say sp you should- him seq he and you should- stay*  
take die  
*He said, "Look after me, and I will die with you." OR*  
*He said that she should look after him, and he would die with her.*

(For the occurrence of !wo in this construction see Section 8.3.6.)

(61) ... ga òkí wo ku wo ga bhù nà gba à  
3rd-r 2nd 2nd  
*sp he not-say give you that you neg tell qu*  
*(He said,) "Did I not tell you that you weren't to tell anyone?" OR (He said) hadn't he told him that he wasn't to tell anyone?*

(c) Direct quotations



there is usually a change to semi-indirect quotations. Direct quotations are used as follows:

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

Example from an early section of the discourse (indirect quotations)

- (66) ànàmu nà ga ... àlibò ka ànya ì ... èsyì  
*animal the sp tortoise seq horse his place*
- na òki sị tâ ka àlibò kpọ nị ẹi ta  
*that he will go seq tortoise carry cpl him go*
- nị ta nị  
*cpl go cpl*

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

Example from the climax of the discourse (direct quotations)

- (67) àlibò í ko ànamu nà. ò me. ga bhù tọu  
*tortoise seq call animal the he reply sp you take*
- mẹ bhịle bhue ni ilô, ga bhu wèià, ga mệ ka  
*me tell keep cpl lie sp you say sp I seq*
- ànya wọ ga ùtòmù ẹkòmù à.  
*horse your sp head word qu*

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

(b) When the speech material is a dialogue, the speeches of one character are usually direct quotations and those of the other character are indirect. The character using direct

quotations can be said to be in focus, and the other character out of focus. An example occurs in the text 'A Man is Saved by His Dogs', where in the conversation between a wicked fairy and a farmer called Onyoswa, the wicked fairy is in focus and her speeches are usually direct quotations, whereas the farmer is out of focus and his speeches are indirect.

- (68) ka ò í weì edèì na bhù ya n'âzyi nà, ò za  
*seq she seq way man who you are in bush the it stay*  
nì na bhù nyine yi, mi ì gúru wo  
*apl that you not-appear come, I will cast you*  
îsyòní. *ká ònyôswá nà í weì gá ò nò gúra*  
*spell seq name the seq say sp she neg cast*  
*So she (the fairy) said, "You who are in the bush, if you do not come out I will cast a spell on you". Onyoswa replied that she should not cast a spell."*

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

- (69) ànamu nà í bhine amo nà, ga ènô bhu yì í  
*animal the seq ask child the sp now you come to*  
wa iyo. *ga òki yì í wa owutumu eì.*  
*look-for what sp she come to look-for rat her*

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

- (70) ga bhù mōni adegì. na ó dei dhyani n'ûvòmù êwai  
*sp you see name who he fell enter in inside pond*  
nà. *ò me ga òkì mōni adegì.*  
*the he reply sp he see name*

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

### 3.4. Progression of Discourse

#### 3.4.1. Introduction of Discourse

A discourse usually starts with either the introduction of one of the main characters or with a clause indicating the time setting. The time setting may be general, e.g., o za ṭỵu *once* (literally *it was until*), or a specific time, e.g., ̣aṇô òṿùṛù isondì ivà *two Sundays ago*. The usual tense for the main verbs in a discourse is the aorist tense, but in the initial sentence of a discourse, the descriptive tense is used for the first main verb.

(71) edèì avù í zà, a ko ì onyòswâ  
*man one then was they call him name*  
*There was once a man called Onyoswa.*

(72) ̣aṇô òṿùṛù isondì ivà na ọ ṛḷià, na ṃí ta  
*this between Sunday two that it pass that I go*  
 îsuà, ṃí ná bhue îsosyì.  
*Isua I go keep church*  
*Two Sundays ago when I went to Isua, I led the church service.*

Note that the main verb occurring in the final clause is in the descriptive tense.

(73) o za ṭỵu ka ìḅìṛidyì ̣ǎḳḷè enì í deì  
*it was until seq bridge town our seq fell*  
*Once the bridge in our town collapsed.*

#### 3.4.2. Climax of Discourse

As a discourse progresses towards a climax, there are certain changes in style. These changes have the effect of making the action more dramatic. A discourse may consist of only one scene and therefore have only one climax, or of several scenes, each with its own climax. The main changes in style which occur are as follows:

##### 3.4.2.1. Omission of the Sequential Particle

The sequential particle *ka* does not occur at the beginning

of sentences nor between clauses within a sentence.

- (74) ọ fyàni ná te edà, ò kpei pàdhe ọbho kyakya.  
*he flew went reach river he wash finish hand clean*
- ọ tọu ọkyà kàri kpei ọbhò vìovìè. ọ lẹ pa  
*he take soap well wash hand well he again lift*
- fune ọbho nà vùù. ọ lẹ fyàni yi í bhàri  
*raise hand the wish he again fly come to land*
- n'òkù ẹdhyomu nà.  
*on pot of-food the*

*He flew to the river and really washed his hands clean. He took soap and washed his hands very well. He again lifted up his wings-'whish'. He flew once more and landed on the pot of food.*

Compare the following pairs of examples. The first example comes from an early part of the discourse; the second example comes from the climax.

- (75) ọ rìi ọgbê, ka obhúenetì ná suè.  
*it pass small seq leopard went appear*  
*After a little time, leopard appeared.*

- (76) ọ rìi ọgbê, òdumù ná sue.  
*it pass small lion went appeared*  
*After a little time, lion appeared.*

- (77) i ná te ọmù inà àlibò,  
*they went reach house of mother of tortoise*
- ka inà àlibò nà bhuenià dire ẹdhyà.  
*seq mother of tortoise the then cook yam*
- When they reached the house of tortoise's mother, she then cooked yams for them.*

- (78) i ná te ọmù inà óyisyì,  
*they went reach house of mother of kougál*

inà ósylsyí bhuenià dire ikirè.  
*mother of kougal then cook cocoyam*

*When they reached the house of kougal's mother, she then cooked cocoyams for them.*

### 3.4.2.2. Omission of 'Echo' Clause

An 'echo' clause (Section 3.2.2) does not occur in the climactic sections of a discourse. Compare the following pairs of examples. The first example comes from an early part of the discourse; the second example comes from the climax.

(79) ì ríí, ka ì ná bhàrí n'ogìgè. ì bhàrí  
*they pass seq they went land at court they land*  
 n'ogìgè, ka ì mọní nì imò ákìè enì ivà avù.  
*at court seq they see ppl boys town our two certain*  
*They passed by and landed at the court. When they had landed at the court, they saw a certain two boys from our town.*

(80) à kọní ọkoni nà tọu à nọ kịe egwe  
*they fight fight the till they hit split people*  
 Íbusan ùtòmù. ùtòmù édèì ákìè enì avù a kịene.  
*of Ibusan head head man of town our one also split*  
 à bhuenià gbou tọu à gbou dhe êgbòù  
*they then advise till they advise finish advice*  
 ọkoni nà.  
*of fight the*

*They fought till they split open the heads of some of the people from Ibusan. The head of one of the people of our town was also split open. Then they had a parley until they settled the fight.*

(81) à gbeí nì eseni na yi nì, ka a tọu tuu  
*they kill ppl fish the come ppl seq they take pour*  
 n'ọmù álibò, ka à ma. à ma nì eseni  
*in house of-tor. seq they divide they divide ppl fish*  
 nà, ka àlibò pa.  
*the seq tortoise choose*

*Whenever they catch fish and return, they empty them out in tortoise's house and divide them. When they have divided them (into piles) then tortoise makes his choice.*

- (82) à kpei dhe ì ònwíì dīna dhe ì eìò tɔu  
*they wash finish him body rub finish him oil take*  
 awo nyɔni dhe ì  
*shirt put finish him*

*They washed him all over and rubbed him with oil and dressed him in a shirt.*

#### 3.4.2.3. Omission of Speech Verb and/or Speech Particle

As a discourse proceeds to a climax, the speech verb and/or the speech particle *ga* is frequently omitted. The following examples are all taken from the same text, which consists of a number of different scenes, each with its own climax. The first example in each pair occurs at the beginning of the new scene; the second example occurs near the climax.

- (83) àlibò bhuenià wei a ì ko inìì éðhyomu nà.  
*tortoise then say they will call name of-food the*  
*Then tortoise said, "The name of the food must be called."*

- (84) ò te nì na àlibò ì tɔu òbhò nyɔni n'ùvòmù  
*it reach cpl that tort. will take hand put inside*  
 éðhyomu nà dhìà, osyisyì ga nà má tɔu tâ.  
*food the eat kougal tsp not yet take go*  
*When tortoise was about to put his hand into the food to eat, kougal (said), "Don't take any yet."*

- (85) o nó te, osyisyì wei v̄ìlèse òbhò wò  
*he went reach kougal say open hand your*  
*When he arrived, kougal said, "Open your hand."*

- (86) ẹ̀pìdhè ẹ̀pìdhè na ò ya. lè ta.  
*mud mud which it is again go*

*There was mud all over. (Kougal said,) "Go again."*

#### 3.4.2.4. Use of Direct Quotations in Speech Material

As the discourse approaches a climax, there is a change from indirect to direct quotations (Section 3.3.2).



CHAPTER FOUR  
THE SENTENCE

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

(87) àlibò ta ɔmù opilopo  
 [ - - - - - ]  
 [ - - - - - ]

*Tortoise went to pig's house.*

(88) ènì ná te edà  
 [ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ]

*We went and reached the river.*

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

The final intonation is analysed as a demarcative feature which distinguishes the sentence from other units. In the following two examples, it is the occurrence of the final intonation, marked by a full stop, that distinguishes two sentences linked by the particle *ka* (Section 3.2.1) from two clauses linked by *ka* forming one sentence (i.e., complex sentence type 1, Section 4.4.1). In example 89, the pitch of the sentence-final H tone syllable *ta* is lower than that of the previous syllable *lɛ*, whereas in example 90, the pitch of the clause-final H tone syllable *-ma* is the same as that of the previous syllable *vɛ*.

(89) /// ègwè ony-ɔkò nà a lɛ ta. /// ka à tɔu  
 [ - - - - - ]  
 [ - - - - - ]

*pɪ messenger the also again go seq they take*

*àvuramu na tou du ta obì. ///*

*woman the take lead go name-of-hut*

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

(90) /// ò vuma // ka ò vɛ. ///

[ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ]

*he vex seq he cry*

*He got angry and cried.*

#### 4.1. Function of the Sentence

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

Some sentences also have a secondary function as a rank-shifted unit as follows:

- (a) as a single clause (Section 4.7)
- (b) as a complete nominal phrase (Section 8.2.7)
- (c) as an attributive element to the head of the nominal phrase (Section 8.2.1.2)

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

#### 4.2. Structure of the Sentence

The sentence consists of an obligatory nucleus preceded by an optional margin. The margin is described in Section 4.5. The nucleus of the sentence may be simple, consisting of one clause, or complex, consisting of two or more clauses in certain relationships to each other. These relationships are marked by syntagmatic features, e.g., (a) order of clauses, (b) clause introducer and/or clause terminal, (c) special introductory clause with a fixed or restricted structure, (d) occurrence of a certain class of unit from a rank lower than the rank immediately below, and (e) certain sequence of polarity/mood/tense/aspect features of the clause. Polarity, mood, tense and aspect are analysed as features of the clause, but the sequence of the features is a demarcative feature of some sentence types. (In other sentence types the sequence of features is not restricted.) Each set of clause features is summarized here and will be described in detail in Chapter 5.

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

Different types of complex sentences are set up according to the different relationships between the clauses in the nucleus and the way in which the relationship is marked. Usually the relationship is between individual clauses, but in two types (5a and 18) it is between a group of clauses and an individual clause. In some multiclausal sentences there are a number of different relationships between the component clauses. This complexity is handled by means of rankshifting (or embedding) of sentences within sentences

(Section 4.7). This method of analysis has the advantage of making clear the layering of the relationships.

Question sentences (i.e., those requiring a yes/no answer) are analysed as being derived from non-question sentences and are described in Section 4.6.

#### 4.3. The Simple Sentence

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

(91) /// òdwèì bhue-enià kunu eì ///

*fear then hold him*

*Then he was afraid.*

(verbal declarative clause)

(92) /// lè wei ///

*again say*

*Say it again.*

(verbal imperative clause)

(93) /// òsyisyì ka ìnì òfènì ///

*kougál seq name of-bird*

*The name of the bird is a kougál.*

(nominal declarative clause)

(94) /// ànò ka ìdhì ìnùmù vo à ///

*this seq kind of-thing which qu*

*What sort of thing is this?*

(nominal interrogative clause)

(95) /// dyeì /// *Fancy that!*

(marginal clause)

#### 4.4. The Complex Sentence

The nucleus of a complex sentence consists of two or more clauses in a certain relationship to each other. Eighteen types are distinguished according to differences in relationship and the way in which the relationship is marked. The clauses are all verbal except where otherwise stated. In types 1-8 the clauses are in a coordinate relationship; in types 9-18 one of the clauses is subordinate to the other. The subordinate or dependent clause is marked by a clause introducer or a special introductory clause with a fixed structure and/or by a terminal. None of these features occurs in a sentence where the clauses are in a coordinate

relationship. The sequential particle *ka* in types 1-3 and 5, and the speech particle *ga* in type 6 are not analysed as clause introducers since they may also occur initially in an independent sentence (Section 3.2.1) or medially in a nominal clause (Section 6.1.2) where in both cases they link elements in a co-ordinate relationship.

4.4.1. The Complex Sentence, Type 1 Co-ordinate

Nonfinal clauses are in the aorist tense or negative indicative. The final clause is in the aorist tense. The demarcative feature is the sequential particle *ka* occurring between the clauses and/or the adverb *tuu* *until* occurring finally in any clause except the last one.

(96) /// ènì díre ṭȳu // ọ̀ dh̄esyì // ka èdhi nà bhie ///  
                   VbCl:aor                  VbCl:aor                  VbCl:aor  
*we cook till it last seq palm- the get-*  
*fruit soft*  
*We cooked (the palm fruit) until after some time it*  
*got soft.*

(97) /// èkòmù fou egwe ì̄sosyì // ka èkòmù kunu egwe  
                   VbCl:aor                  VbCl:aor  
*word free people of-church seq word hold people*  
*ekwesù ///*  
*of-devil*  
*The church people were acquitted, but the heathen were*  
*found guilty.*

(98) /// ó ma wei èkòmù ɔ̀vù a // ka edei nà v̄uma ///  
                   VbCl:neg indic                  VbCl:aor  
*he not-yet say word one even seq man the vex*  
*He had not said a word and the man got annoyed.*

4.4.2. The Complex Sentence, Type 2 Contrastive

The nonfinal clause is in the aorist or descriptive tense, and the final clause is negative indicative.

(99) /// ọ̀ wa wa ugyo nà // ọ̀ ì̄ m̄oni ///  
                   VbCl:aor                  VbCl:neg indic  
*he look look stone the he not-see*  
*He looked and looked for the stone, but he did not see*  
*it.*

- (100) /// a nǎh gbuono ì // ka ố ! swèi ///  
 VbCl:des VbCl:neg. indic  
*they go-to treat her seq she not-live*  
*They took her to be treated, but she did not live.*

#### 4.4.3. The Complex Sentence, Type 3 Double Positive Command

The nonfinal clause is positive imperative, and the final clause is in the aorist tense with a 2nd person pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. (A double negative command occurs as a type 4 (Cumulative) sentence.)

- (101) /// tọu êsèni ânò nà // ka bhù tọu dhị bhèè ///  
 Vb:Cl pos imp VbCl:aor  
*take fish this the seq you take eat indeed*  
*Do take this fish and eat it.*

- (102) /// bha yiò // ka bhà í dhuu êni kpori  
 VbCl:pos imp VbCl:aor  
*you-pl come seq you come follow us sing*  
*ivìè ///*  
*song*  
*Come and sing with us.*

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

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

- (103) /// onu bhà a bídha dhẹ nì //  
*mother their too walk finish ppl*  
 ասunu bhà a bídha dhẹ nì ///  
*father their too walk finish ppl*  
*Both their mother and father had left.*
- (104) /// ọbhò á mo wo // ẹvì á mo wo ///  
*arm too is-not you leg too is-not you*  
*Neither your arms nor your legs are strong.*
- (105) /// bhà nà gbàì n' ọmù a // bhà nà bhínè ậlibò a ///  
*you-pl not turn at house too you not ask tortoise too*  
*Do not call at the house or ask tortoise.*

- (106) ọ̀ mọ̀nì    ɪnumu avù a    //    ọ̀ sylenè    a    ///  
*he not-see thing one too            he not-hear too*  
*He did not see or hear anything.*

See also example 224.

4.4.5. The Complex Sentence, Type 5 Temporal

The nonfinal clauses are always verbal. The final clause may be verbal or nominal. Different sequences of polarity, tense, and aspect features mark the relationship between the clauses and determine the semantic meaning. On the basis of these differences, seven subtypes are set up.

Type	Nonfinal clause	Final Clause	Meaning
5a	descriptive	aorist / neg. indic./imp.	when (nonfuture)
5b	descriptive with incomplete aspect	ditto	at the same time as
5c	referential	ditto	as, at/since the time that
5d	aorist with completive aspect	ditto	whenever (nonfuture)
5e	future	ditto	whenever (future)
5f	aorist with completive aspect	future	when/if (future)
5g	negative indicative	future	if

Type 5a

- (107) /// ọ̀ fùnù dhyàna // ọ̀ nùà kpoukpou // ọ̀mọ̀syì  
                         VbCl:des                          VbCl:des  
*he climb enter                          he knock tap-tap                          boy*  
     nà    ɪe    yì    í    nyì | nè    ///  
                         VbCl:aor  
*the again come to appear*  
*When he climbed up and knocked tap-tap, the boy reappeared.*

- (108) /// ọ̀ fùnù dhyàni n'èkùnù // ka ọ̀ gèni ta //  
                         VbCl:des                          VbCl:des  
*he climb enter on top                          seq he look go*  
     ka    sa    ànàmù    ///  
     NomCl (predicative)  
*seq not animal*

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

Type 5b

- (109) /// i nà wa nà // ka àlìbò nàà omini èì  
 VbCl:des inc VbCl:aor  
*they inc look tortoise and child his*  
 ya n'èsyìmù ///  
*are at back*

*At the time they were looking for it, tortoise and his child were at the back.*

- (110) /// bhu nà kòní èsyìòphò // nà nwàsè //  
 VbCl:des inc VbCl:neg imp  
*you inc fight wrestling do-not fear*  
*At the time you are wrestling, do not be afraid.*

Type 5c

- (111) /// àtye mệ yi i tề, // ka mìta nì ùkwò ///  
 VbCl:ref VbCl:aor cpl  
*brother my come reach seq I go cpl farm*  
*At the time my brother arrived, I had gone to the farm.*
- (112) /// ó yìà // ó ma dhesyì ///  
 VbCl:ref VbCl:neg ind  
*he come it not-yet long*  
*He arrived not long ago. (lit. Since he arrived, it is not yet long.)*
- (113) /// ó kunu dhọ àbadhi nà // ka ùtùmù ///  
 Vb:Cl:ref NomCl  
*he hold take iguana the tail*  
*When he caught hold of the iguana, (he got) the tail.*
- (114) /// ení za nìbhòrì // àdhè ishònrì ///  
 VbCl:ref NomCl  
*we stay at-camp day five*  
*We stayed at the fishing camp five days. (lit. When we stayed at the camp, it was five days.)*



- (115) /// ɔvuramu ná mē // àlibo ná wa dhòu  
 VbCl:ref VbCl:aor  
*woman the agree tortoise go look take*  
 êdhyomù n'azyì yì ///  
*food in bush come*  
*As the woman agreed, tortoise went to get food in the bush and came back.*

Type 5d

- (116) /// à ná bhìne nì ọkpa nà // ọ tọu  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor  
*they go-to dance cpl dance the he take*  
 imemini ei bhue n'âkpà ///  
*children his keep in bag*  
*Whenever there was a dance, he kept his children in a bag.*

- (117) /// ɔdhe wìi nì // ka à ko egwe ímorobhà ///  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor  
*day dawn cpl seq they call pl bridesmaids*  
*At daybreak the bridesmaids are called.*  
*(description of events at weddings)*

- (118) /// ɔvuramu nà wọrì dhẹ nì odo nà // ọ  
 VbCl:aor cpl  
*woman the scrape finish cpl mortar the she*  
 dhì nì // ó te ì ///  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:neg ind  
*eat cpl it not-reach her*  
*Whenever the woman scraped the mortar clean and ate (the scraps), she was not satisfied.*

Type 5e

- (119) /// ọ sì ta êkì Otìrekè // ka ọ dụ ikpolì  
 VbCl:fut VbCl:aor  
*she will go market name she buy plenty*  
 êdhyomù ///  
*food*

*Whenever she plans to go to Otireke market, she buys a lot of food (to take with her).*

- (120) /// ọ̀ sì ta úkwô /// ọ̀ tọ̀ omini eì tà dhù ///  
 VbCl:fut VbCl:neg indic  
*she will go farm she not-take child her go never*  
*Whenever she plans to go to the farm, she does not take her child with her.*

- (121) /// bhụ sì ọ̀nì ẹ̀shìòbhò // nà zá kyẹ̀ edèì ///  
 VbCl:fut VbCl:neg imp  
*you will fight wrestling do-not fear give person*  
*Whenever you are going to wrestle, do not be afraid of your opponent.*

### Type 5f

- (122) /// bhú wuru nu ènià // edeì sì gbéì wò ///  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:fut  
*you do cpl thus man will kill you*  
*If you keep doing this, you will be killed.*
- (123) /// opilopô yi í te nì // ka ọ̀ ị̀ mọ̀ni  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:neg ind  
*pig come to reach cpl seq he again not-see*  
*mọ̀ni ẹ̀ì ///*  
*not-see him*  
*When pig came, he would not see him.*
- (124) /// bhù ná te ni êsyia nà // ka wùrù  
 VbCl:aor cpl  
*you go-to reach cpl place the seq do*  
*kàrèsè bhùe ìkpebi wò ///*  
 VbCl:pos imp  
*strengthen keep heart your*  
*When you reach the place, keep confident.*

An open condition may also be expressed by a nonfinal clause consisting of *ò za nì* (lit. *if it has been*) followed by a nominal phrase or a rankshifted clause introduced by *na*.

(125) /// ò za nì ênià // gwa b̄̀dha ///

VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:pos imp  
*thus right walk*

*If so, come on, get going.*

(126) /// ò za nì na m̄̀ ta n̄̀ // m̄̀ s̄̀ gbai m̄̀ni w̄̀ ///

*I go cpl I will turn see you*

*If I go, I will branch off and see you.*

When the noninitial clause consists of ò r̄̀i n̄̀ (lit. *it has passed*) followed by a nominal phrase or a rankshifted clause introduced by àna, the semantic meaning is *unless*. If the final clause is negative, the order of the clauses may be reversed.

(127) /// ò r̄̀i n̄̀ ênià // m̄̀ ta ///

*thus I not-go*

*Otherwise, I will not go. (lit. Except thus, I will not go.)*

(128) /// ò r̄̀i n̄̀ àna ed̄̀t̄̀ bhuene bhue n̄̀ ɛ̀nùm̄̀ //

*man has keep cpl money*

ò m̄̀ni kunu ɔ̀m̄̀ ///

*he not-able build house*

*Unless a man has money, he cannot build a house.*

(129) /// bhú m̄̀ni turu me // ò r̄̀i n̄̀ àna bhu s̄̀

*you not-able meet me you will*

dhemine yìà ///

*speed come*

*You will not be able to see me unless you come early.*

If the final clause is positive, the introducer kana (see type 12) occurs, and the clause is in the referential tense with focus aspect.

(130) /// ò r̄̀i n̄̀ àna m̄̀ s̄̀ gya ì // kana ó s̄̀

*I will urge him he will*

wuru dhe n̄̀ ìn̄̀wurà n̄̀ ///

*do finish cpl work the*

*Only if I urge him, will he finish the work.*

## Type 5g

- (131) /// bh́ nyɔ̀ni ɔ̀nwii n' êno ná // ̀̀swèi wọ ná  
 VbCl:neg ind VbCl:neg ind  
*you not-put body at now the life your the*  
*te ̀̀kìè ///*  
*not-reach town*  
*If you do not try now, you will not reach the town alive.*
- (132) /// m' ta // ka mi wúru iyo n' ọ̀mù à ///
- VbCl:neg ind VbCl:fut  
*I not-go seq I will-do what in house qu*  
*If I don't go, what shall I do in the house?*

4.4.6. The Complex Sentence, Type 6 Report

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

Type 6a, Speech Verb in Initial Clause

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

bhine	<i>ask</i>	ɔ̀	<i>argue</i>	*gu	<i>promise</i>
*gba	<i>tell</i>	káli	<i>rebuke</i>	ko	<i>call</i>
*ma	<i>teach</i>	vye	<i>cry</i>	tyi	<i>shout</i>
*wei, wo	<i>say</i>				

\*indicates that these verbs occur in a compound verbal phrase (Section 7.4) preceding the verb *kye*, lit. *give*, if a nominal phrase object is present in the clause (example 138).

In this subtype the speech particle is optional (examples 133, 139). It may occur preceding every clause in the speech material (example 134). In narrative with frequent conversation, the speech verb may be omitted (examples 135, 136). In this case the speech particle is then obligatory. Following the speech verb and/or speech particle, there may be a clause or a rankshifted sentence of any type (examples 134, 136-140).

- (133) /// ̀̀l̀bò tyi // ̀̀kì wu nù ///
- tortoise shout he die cpl*  
*Tortoise shouted that he was ruined. (lit. he had died)*

- (134) /// à í weì //  
*they seq say*  
 ga ò za ní ênià // ga á ta na  
 rankshifted sentence  
*sp it stay epl thus sp they should-go to*  
ko ɔtwài ///  
*call antelope*  
*They said that if so, they should go and call antelope.*
- (135) /// àlibò // ga òkí dhì dhụ àvù àvù a ///  
*tortoise sp he not-eat never one one even*  
*Tortoise (said) that he would never eat a single one.*
- (136) /// ɔmò nà // ga sa ènià ///  
 NomCl  
*child the sp not thus*  
*The child said that was not right.*
- (137) /// ka ò wei // ga ò somu ya ///  
 VbCl:declarative  
*seq he may sp it be-good is*  
*He said that it was all right.*
- (138) /// ì wo kye ì // ga zà kòrì ênì  
 VbCl:imperative  
*they say give him sp stay wait-for us*  
 n' ênà ///  
*at here*  
*They said to him, "Wait for us here."*
- (139) /// ɔmo nà í weì // òki sì wúru ívo ///  
 VbCl:interrogative  
*child the seq say he still do how*  
*So the child said what was he to do?*
- (140) /// ò ko ɔmo nà // ga ìnyà a // bhu yi úkwo  
 rankshifted question sen-  
*she call child the sp today even you come farm*

nà ///

tence

*the*

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

The rankshifted sentence has the question intonation (Section 4.6).

#### Type 6b. Nonspeech Verb in Initial Clause

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

mɔní	<i>see</i>	nomu	<i>know</i>
syiene	<i>hear</i>	tou ko	<i>think (lit. take call)</i>
gɛní mɔní	<i>realise (lit. look see)</i>	ma mɔní	<i>perceive (lit. show see)</i>
me	<i>agree</i>	wa	<i>wish, want</i>

The clause following the speech particle may be nominal or verbal. If it is verbal, it must be declarative in contrast to type 6a where the following clause may be of any type.

Following the verb *syiene* *hear*, the particle *ga* indicates that the report is secondhand, in contrast to the clause-introducer *na* (see sentence type 10b Section 4.4.10) which indicates that the report is firsthand.

Compare (141) and (142):

(141) /// ò syiene // ga o nò yàa ///  
*he hear sp it inc come*

*He heard that it was coming. (i.e., somebody told him)*

(142) /// ò syiene // na o nò yàa ///  
*He heard it coming.*

(143) /// ó nomu // gá àka nà ka ìnùmù ágbùrà ///  
 NomCl

*he not-know sp that the seq thing fairy*

*He did not know that that was a fairy.*

(144) /// èní í bhue-enia gɛní mɔní //  
*we seq then look see*

ga onisò nyoni kyẹ nị ênì òbhó bô ///

VbCI

sp God put give cpl us hand big

So we then realized that God had helped us very much.

(145) /// mi tòù ko // ga bhù nomu me bhue nì ///

VbCI

I take call sp you know me keep cpl

I thought you knew me.

#### 4.4.7. The Complex Sentence, Type 7 Immediate Action

In this type, the final clause is in the 'incompletive aspect, which is marked by the particle *nà* or *nò* (Section 5.4.3.4) and has a pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. This pronoun is in concord with respect to number and person with the head of the nominal phrase subject of the first clause. The action of the second clause follows immediately upon that of the first clause.

(146) /// opilopô í pà // o nò gbe ///

pig so leave he inc go-home

So pig left and set off home.

(147) /// èguà giri // ì nà gídhe àlibo ta ///

they turn they inc go-forward tortoise go

They turned and started toward tortoise.

(148) /// ò lẹ fyani yi í bhari n'okù êdhyomu

he again fly come to land on dish of-food

nà // o nò zà kòri àlibò ///

the he inc stay wait tortoise

He flew again and came and landed on the dish of food and stayed waiting for tortoise.

#### 4.4.8. The Complex Sentence, Type 8 Reason/Result

The nonfinal clause has a restricted structure consisting of an impersonal subject, i.e., the NPs is the 3rd singular pronoun which does not have an antecedent in a previous clause, followed by a clause string in which the first verb is *dhuu* 'issue from' and the second verb is *yi* 'come'. Either a NP or a rankshifted clause introduced by *àna* occurs as the object of the first verb. When the verb is in the descriptive tense, the final clause has the clause introducer *na*. When the verb is in the referential tense, the order of the clauses may be reversed (example 153).

- (149) /// o dhùu àna mí ta yìà // na ọ nọ vùma ///
- VbCl:des
- I not-go                      he inc vex*
- Because I did not go, he is angry.*
- (150) /// o dhùu àna ó ko me yìà // na mí ta nì ///
- he call me                      I go cpl*
- Because he called me, I went.*
- (The final clause is in the referential tense with  
focus aspect, as the action is in past time.)
- (151) /// o dhùu àkâ yia // na ó dei nì ///
- that                      he fell cpl*
- Because of that, he fell.*
- (152) /// ó dhuu àna ó kpoma nà yìà // ka ọ mọni
- VbCl:ref
- he sick                      he not-able*
- ta. ///
- go*
- Because he was sick, he was not able to go.*
- (153) /// ezyìe nà kọni ẹì // ó dhuu àna ọ ma dhị
- hunger inc catch him                      he not-eat*
- inìmù nà yìà ///
- thing*
- He was hungry because he had not yet eaten anything.*
- (154) /// ò dhuu nù àna ạtye ì wu nù nà yì tų //
- brother his die cpl                      until*
- ka ọ mọni ta ///
- he not-able go*
- Because his brother had died, he was not able to go.*
- (The occurrence of the adverb tų at the end of the  
first clause is optional.)
- (155) /// o sì dhuu àna ẹkya sì yì ọmu mè
- visitor will come house my*
- n'adhịa nà yìà tų // ka mí mọni ta ///
- day the until                      I not-able go*



*Because visitors will come to my house on that day,  
I will not be able to go.*

In Sentence types 9-13 the dependent clause is marked by a clause introducer.

#### 4.4.9. The Complex Sentence, Type 9 Unrealised Action

The dependent clause is marked by the clause introducer *sa* initially and by the conditional particle *na* occurring before the VP. The particle bears the initial tone of the tone pattern of the verb root. When the clause refers to past time, the referential tense with focus aspect is used. When it refers to nonpast time, the descriptive tense is used. When the dependent clause occurs first, the following clause is in the aorist tense or is negative indicative. When the dependent clause occurs last, the preceding clause is in the descriptive tense, or is negative indicative.

(156) /// sa mi nà ta // ka ʔsu mế me ///  
I go father my not-agree  
*I would go, but my father will not agree.*

(157) /// sa mí na vuma nị // ka ò dose me ///  
I vex foc he beg me  
*I would have been angry, but he begged me (for forgiveness).*

(158) /// sa mí na me // ka ò dose me ///  
I not-agree he beg me  
*I would not have agreed, but he pleaded.*

(159) /// ʔsə̀ni na dọ fyè // sa edei na nà dụa ///  
fish the small exceed man the buy  
*The fish was too small, or the man would have bought it.*

#### 4.4.10. The Complex Sentence, Type 10 Relative

The dependent clause occurs finally and is marked by the relative particle *na*. There are three subtypes.

##### Type 10a Impersonal construction.

The initial clause has an impersonal subject, i.e., 3rd person singular pronoun which does not have any antecedent in a previous clause. The following are the most common impersonal constructions.

ó dhə̀syi                      *It is/was not a long time, 'before long'*  
o wùru ìvo                    *why? (lit. it does what)*

ò kọ nì ògbê            *almost (lit. it remained a little)*  
 ò te nì                    *it is time*

(160) /// o wùru ìvo // na bha nà zà dha ùdhi  
*it do how that you inc stay drink wine*  
 nà òfùromù // na bhá tọ ọbhii dhiese ///  
*the empty that you not-take kola eat with it*  
*Why are you drinking the wine by itself and not eating*  
*cola with it?*

(161) /// ò kọ nì ògbê // na o nò dèi wùà  
*it stay cpl little that he inc fall die*  
 bhùà ///  
*indeed*  
*He almost fainted; fancy that!*

(162) /// ò te nì // na a sì wùru ẹdhyomù  
*it reach cpl that they will make food*  
 ọnwùmù //  
*of-evening*  
*It is time to cook supper.*

#### Type 10b Perception

In this subtype there is no nominal phrase object in the initial clause, and the verb(s) occurring as head of the verbal phrase is either *mọni see*, *gẹni mọni perceive*, or *syiene hear*.

(163) /// ọfẹnì gẹni mọni // na ògbànàmọ nà gidhe i  
*hen look see fox inc toward him*  
 tà //  
*go*  
*Hen caught sight of fox coming toward him.*

(164) /// ò syiene // na ọfẹni nà bho ///  
*he heard cock inc crow*  
*He heard a cock crowing.*

#### Type 10c Miscellaneous

The clause introducer *na* occurs in a wide variety of sentences, of which the following are representative.

- (165) /// ọ ta // na mí nomu ///  
*he went I not-know*  
*He went without my knowing.*
- (166) /// ọ kwa // na o si bídha ///  
*he pack he will travel*  
*He packed for travelling.*
- (167) /// bhu wèi ìvo // na ọ vuma nì ///  
*you say what he vex foc*  
*What did you say that he became angry?*
- (168) /// ẹdhé ma wìi // na mí pà ///  
*day not-dawn I leave*  
*Day had not dawned when I left.*

#### 4.4.11. The Complex Sentence, Type 11 Purpose

The dependent clause occurs finally and is marked by the clause introducer *ga so that*. The verb in the dependent clause is either positive subjunctive or in the future tense. (A negative purpose clause is introduced by *kana*, see type 12). The clause introducer may be omitted when the clause is subjunctive.

This type is distinguished from the type 6 Report sentence (Section 4.4.6) since the verb in the initial clause is not restricted. The clause introducer *ga* is distinguished from the speech particle *ga* since the former occurs only in a Purpose sentence, whereas the latter has a wider distribution.

- (169) /// í gbàìà // ga bha kọu dhọu  
VbCl:fut  
*they branch so-that they will-collect take*  
*ẹtài ///*  
*fire*  
*They branched off to collect some embers.*
- (170) /// ẹgwè ẹkìè ẹnì ìsuà kwa // ga bha  
*people of-town our name prepare that they*  
*sì dúu yìà ///*  
VbCl:fut  
*will out come*  
*The people of our town, Isua, got ready to come out.*

- (171) /// ka mî tɔu ibi tɔu kyɛ ɪ // ó tou  
VbCl:subj  
*seq I take nut take give him he should-*  
*take*  
 dhiesè ///  
*eat-with-something*  
*Then I gave him some kernels to eat with (the wine).*

See also example 220.

#### 4.4.12. The Complex Sentence, Type 12 kana

The dependent clause is marked by the clause introducer kana. Different sequences of tense/aspect features indicate different meanings of the clause introducer. For this reason, three subtypes are set up.

##### Type 12a Purpose

The verb in the final clause is usually subjunctive, but aorist tense also occurs. When the verb in the main clause is imperative, the verb in the dependent clause has to be in the aorist tense.

- (172) /// ka ɔ bɪdha ta // kana ɔkí dhemine na turu  
VbCl:sub  
*seq he walk go he speed to meet*  
 êdhyomu nà ///  
*food the*  
*And he walked on, so as to get the food quickly.*
- (173) /// mi sî nwəsè ɔbhò // kana ìnìwura nà nà  
VbCl:neg sub  
*I will hurry hand work the not*  
 dhɛsyà ///  
*last*  
*I will work fast, so that the task will not take too long.*
- (174) /// dhèmìnè ta // kana bhù turu eì ///  
VbCl:imp                      VbCl:aor  
*speed go you meet him*  
*Go quickly, so that you will meet him.*

Type 12b Time

The sequence of tense/mood/aspect features in the component clauses is as follows:

<u>Nonfinal clause</u>	<u>Final clause</u>
aurist	aurist with sequential particle i occurring before the verb
future	referential with focus aspect and future particle si before the verb
subjunctive	subjunctive
positive imperative	aurist (when subject is 2nd per- son singular pronoun) otherwise subjunctive
(175) /// ọ̀ dhęsyi ọ̀bọ̀ // kana à í kpodhi kịdhe ì ///	
VbCl:aor	VbCl:aor
<i>it last big</i>	<i>they seq drive remove him</i>
<i>It was some time before they drove him away.</i>	
(176) /// o sị yi i tẹ̀ ọ̀mù // kana ọ̀dhe sị	
VbCl:fut	VbCl:ref foc
<i>he will come reach house</i>	<i>day will</i>
bhi nì ///	
<i>get-dark</i>	
<i>He will reach home before it gets dark.</i>	
(177) /// ẹní gbẹ̀ // kana ọ̀wí tọ̀ ///	
VbCl:sub	VbCl:sub
<i>we go-home</i>	<i>rain fall</i>
<i>Let's go home before it rains.</i>	
(178) /// wùrù dhe ìnìwurà // kana ọ̀dhe bhì ///	
VbCl:imp	VbCl:sub
<i>do finish work</i>	<i>day get-dark</i>
<i>Finish the work before it gets dark.</i>	
(179) /// wùrù dhe ìnìwurà // kana bhù gbe ///	
VbCl:imp	VbCl:aor
<i>do finish work</i>	<i>you go-home</i>
<i>Finish the work before you go home.</i>	

Type 12c Result

The tense in the final clause is referential with focus aspect.

(180) /// ò nyoni ònwî // kana ọ rì nì ///  
*he put body he pass foc*  
*He tried hard, with the result that he passed.*

(181) /// ò ko me // kana mí ta nì ///  
*he call me I go foc*  
*He called me, so I went.*

4.4.13. The Complex Sentence, Type 13 Comparison

The dependent clause is marked by two introducers ee ga.

(182) /// àdhe zà dhe // ee ga òwii sî tóuà ///  
*day stay finish rain will fall*  
*The day looks just as if it will rain.*

(183) /// ąmo nà vye // ee ga à nų gbei ni ei  
*child the cry they hit kill cpl him*  
 bhue nì ///  
*keep cpl*  
*The child cried as if he had been beaten to death.*

In types 14-18, the dependent clause is marked by a clause whose structure is fixed and which cannot stand alone. In some cases the elements have become fused and are no longer recognisable. Such a clause is analysed as a demarcative feature marking a particular sentence type, and not as a constituent element of the sentence. In some types the dependent clause is marked also by a clause terminal.

4.4.14. The Complex Sentence, Type 14 Unfulfilled Condition

The nonfinal clause is marked by the fixed clause ò í za ga (*lit. it was that*) and by the occurrence of the reinforcer lò *just* clause finally. If the clause is positive, it is in the aorist tense; if negative, the negative particle occurs before the verb. The introductory clause can be reduced as shown below. The final clause is marked by the clause introducer sa and by the conditional particle na which occurs before the verbal phrase. The particle bears the initial tone of the tone pattern of the verb root.

(184) /// ò í za ga ąsu mề me lò, // sa mi nà ta ///  
*father my agree I go*

(185) /// ò za ga ʔsu mɛ̂ i me lò // sa mi nà ta ///

(186) /// ʔsu mɛ̂ í me lò // sa mi nà ta ///

*If my father would agree, I would go.*

(187) /// ò í za ga ʔtye mɛ̂ na kɔ̂ mɛ̂ ɛ̂numa nà //

*brother my neg give me money the*

sa mí na mɔ̂ni ta ///

*I not-able go*

*If my brother had not given me the money, I would not be able to go.*

#### 4.4.15. The Complex Sentence, Type 15 Alternative

The final clause is marked by one of the following: *alàgba* *in case*, *ómonenià* *otherwise* (lit. *it is not as thus*), *ómomo* *or* (lit. *it is not not*). The latter two forms still have the negative intonation, showing that they were originally negative clauses.

(188) /// nà shirè /// alàgba bhù dei ///

*do-not run you fall*

*Do not run, in case you fall.*

(189) /// mi sî má ʔdhe tà // ómonenia mí turu eì ///

*I will show day go I not-meet him*

*I will go at dawn; otherwise I will not see him.*

(190) /// o sî yi i mɔ̂ni mɛ̂ // ómomo ɔ̂ sî ɔ̂ ɔ̂ ylà ///

*he will come see me he will write come*

*He will come to see me, or he will write.*

(191) /// t̂òu ʔnô // ómomo bhù k̂idhe ɔ̂bho ///

*take this you leave hand*

*Take this one or leave it.*

When the nonfinal clause is positive imperative, the final clause is in the aorist tense with a 2nd person pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. (Cf. type 3, Double Positive Command.)

#### 4.4.16. The Complex Sentence, Type 16 Dubitative

The dependent clause is marked by one of the following: *laa*, *ákarifye*, *áfurebi* *perhaps* occurring initially in the clause. The two latter forms have the negative intonation. The clause is also marked by the terminal form *anomú* (lit. *they know*). If there are two dependent clauses, each is marked by *anomú*.

(192) /// bhìne ì // laa ọ sì mọni tà anòmu ///  
*ask him he will be-able go*  
*Ask him whether he will be able to go.*

(193) /// mí nomu // áfurebi ò yi nì anòmu //  
*I not-know he come cpl*  
 ó ma yi anòmu ///  
*he not-yet come*  
*I do not know whether he has come or not.*

In Types 17-18, the dependent clause is marked by a clause terminal which may be one or two reinforcers. One type is also marked by a fixed introductory clause.

#### 4.4.17. The Complex Sentence, Type 17 Concessional

The dependent clause may be nominal or verbal. If it is verbal, it is in the aorist tense. It is marked by two reinforcers a ò (*lit. even indeed*) occurring clause finally. The clause may also be marked by a fixed introductory clause ọ gba za ga (*lit. it exceed stay that*).

(194) /// ọwìì tọu a ò // ka mi sì ta ///  
*rain fall I will go*

(195) /// ọ gba za ga ọwìì tọu a ò // mi sì tâ ///  
*Even if it rains, I will go.*

(196) /// àdhè okiè a ò // bhú mọni kọni ///  
*day of-match you not-able wrestle*  
*Even on the day of the match, you will not be able to wrestle.*

(197) /// ènià na ó dhuu me za nà a ò // ka ọdwèì  
*thus that he with me stay fear*  
 va kunu me ///  
*still held me*  
*Even though he was with me, I was still afraid.*

The initial clause is nominal, consisting of an adverbial noun followed by a relative construct (Section 8.2.1.2).

#### 4.4.18. The Complex Sentence, Type 18 Alternative Condition

The dependent clauses are marked by the reinforcer ò *indeed* occurring clause finally. If the clause is positive, the referential tense with focus aspect occurs.



(198) /// òwìí tọu nì ò // òwìí tọu ò // ka mi sì  
*rain fall foc rain not-fall I will*  
 tâ ///  
 go

*Whether it rains or not, I will go.*

(199) /// ó ta nì ò // ó ta ò // ka èkòmú mo ///  
*he go foc he not-go trouble is-not*  
*It does not matter whether he goes or not.*

#### 4.5. The Sentence Margin

There are three types of sentence margins.

##### 4.5.1. Vocative

This consists of a marginal clause, type 1 (Section 6.3.1).

(200) /// olò è // mí nà gídhe wọ yia ///  
*friend I inc toward you come*  
*Friend, I am coming to see you.*

(201) /// ạnì mề // bhu dìre iyo ///  
*wife my you cook what*  
*My wife, what are you cooking?*

##### 4.5.2. Nominal Clause

The clause is of type 1a Simple (Section 6.1.1.) It either indicates the time or location of the nuclear clause(s), or gives the theme of the sentence.

(202) /// ògà ésou ẹì // àbùra nà nyìne ///  
 NomCl (location) VbCl  
*edge of-ear his blood inc appear*  
*On the tip of his ear, blood was appearing.*

(203) /// ìnya nà ny // ka àvu sì té me òbhò ///  
 NomCl (time) VbCl  
*today the very seq one will reach me hand*  
*This very day, I will get one.*

(204) /// imolò ùtòmù ẹsàà àno nà // ẹdhyomù ẹguà ì  
 NomCl (theme) VbCl  
*friends head three this the food their they*

dhì fìdho ///

*eat unite*

*These three friends, they eat their food together.*

- (205) /// ẹwai nà nù // ìnyà ka àdhdè na a  
 NomC1 (theme) NomC1 (predicative)

*pond the very today seq day that they*

sì wàì ẹwai nà ///

*will bail pond the*

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

- (206) /// ìkàà édèì // ùkpòrì ágba nwènè za n'  
 NomC1 (theme) VbC1

*old people hair of-cheek flow stay on*

òtò ///

*ground*

*The old men, their beards flowed to the ground.*

#### 4.5.3. Contrast

The margin consists of either *bùbùnà* or *òzamùnu*, which are probably fused forms. They indicate that the following sentence is in direct contrast to what has preceded.

- (207) (nà tọ̀ù ògìà kpẹ̀ òdià) /// bùbùnà // ka wùru  
*do-not take evil pay evil instead do*  
 òvìè kye edèì ẹgba wọ̀ ///

*good give man enemy your*  
*(Do not return evil for evil.) Instead, do good to your enemy.*

- (208) (ùkwo nà dhẹmu ya) /// òzamùnu // ka ó  
*farm the big is however it*  
 gbori mo ukùnù ///

*not-difficult farming*  
*(The farm is big.) However, it is not hard to farm.*

#### 4.6. Question Sentences

A question sentence is any simple or complex sentence composed only of declarative clauses with one or both of the following demarcative features: (a) a question terminal, (b) question intonation.

(a) Question Terminals

à occurs in general questions. It usually occurs sentence finally, but for emphasis it may occur finally in every clause in the sentence (example 211).

sàmù occurs in alternative questions. It occurs finally in the first clause. If there is only one clause, it indicates a negative alternative (i.e., *or not*) (example 212).

e occurs sentence finally and indicates doubt or disbelief. The vowel harmonises with the quality of the final vowel of the sentence (examples 214-216).

(b) Question Intonation

Starting with the clause that is semantically a question, the pitch of the remainder of the sentence is raised, and the final tone, if high, falls to low. This is shown in the examples by an arrow ↑ (examples 217-219).

(209) /// bhu nà syiène à ///

*you inc hear qu*

*Are you listening?*

(210) /// mí wo ku wo // ga bhò ka ànya mè

*I not-say give you sp you seq horse my*

à ///

*qu*

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

(211) /// mí wo kye bhà à // òdùmunãbhuagu ka

*I not-say give you qu wolf seq*

ànya mè à // na bhá t̃ou avuramu t̃ou kyè

*horse my qu that you take woman take give*

à ///

*qu*

*Didn't I tell you that the wolf to whom you gave the woman is my horse?*

(212) /// olo ì na nà ì yia sàmù ///

*friend her the inc again come qu*

*Is her friend coming again or not?*

(213) /// ọ t̃ou kpai ànàmù sàmù // ọ t̃ou

*he will-take feed animals qu he will-take*

kpaì âfènî à ///

*feed birds qu*

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

The final a is optional in alternative questions.

(214) /// ga bhu fye mè e ///

*sp you exceed me qu*

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

(215) /// ilô na ó za enià a tòu edei bhìle

*lie that it is thus they take man tell*

*bhìlè ẹ ///*

*tell*

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

The object of the clause is frontshifted (Section 5.4.3).

(216) /// ka bhù wei // ga bhu gîdhe onù êní ta

*seq you say sp you toward mother our go*

*n'ûkwô ùkwô e ///*

*at farm farm qu*

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

(217) /// edei nà bhíne omini eì // ga † bhù

*man the ask daughter his sp you*

*dhùmò ///*

*will-marry*

*The man asked his daughter, "Will you marry (him)?"*

The question sentence (underlined) is rankshifted and  
forms part of a report sentence, type 6a (Section  
4.4.6).

(218) /// bhù ta nì ąkìè // † bhù tòu gbà ///

*you go cpl town you will-take tell*

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

(219) /// † bhù mọni ẹì ///

*Did you see him?*

4.7. Rankshifted Sentences

Sentences whose structure is more complex than that already described have as one or more of their elements rankshifted sentences which function as single clauses. There is no change in the structure of the sentence when it is rankshifted in this way. Sentences of all types may be rankshifted and function as clauses in any of the coordinative and subordinate sentence types. A sentence with a margin of type 2 (Nominal clause) may be rankshifted and function as any element in any sentence type (example 224). But a sentence with a margin of type 1 (Vocative) or type 3 (Contrast) functions only as the final element of type 6 (Report). In the examples which follow, the rankshifted sentence (abbreviated 'rs sentence') is underlined, and the analysis of the whole sentence is given after the free translation.

- (220) /// o za t̩y // ka ekpukpe yì í te //  
*it stay till seq hawk come to reach*  
 ka ò t̩y owutumu na kyẹ ì // ga ó  
*seq he take rat the give him that he*  
t̩y ẹi tà ///  
*should-take him go*

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

Analysis: rs sentence type 11 as final element of type 5.

- (221) /// bhù duu ta n̩i // na à m̩ni w̩  
*you go-out go cpl so-that they see you*  
n̩i // ka bhù deí ni orou íbè ///  
*cpl seq you fall cpl law ?*

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

Analysis: rs sentence type 10c as initial element of type 5f.

- (222) /// m̩i m̩ni me // ga ó gbe ófùromù //  
*I not-able agree that he should- empty*  
*go-home*  
na ó b̩dha omini mè ///  
*that he not-marry child my*

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

Analysis: rs sentence type 10c as final element of type 6b.

- (223) /// ò dhị dhẹ nị // ka ò pa // o nò  
*he eat finish cpl seq he start he inc*  
gbe ///  
*go-home*

*Whenever he had eaten, he would set off for home.*

Analysis: re sentence type 7 as final element of type 5d.

- (224) /// ì dhyani nị ipwa nà // ka akìè inìi nà //  
*they enter cpl room the seq town four the*  
á nu ìnùmù // á dhei òdhèi bó  
*one not-hit thing one not-sound noise big*  
a dhy ///  
*also never*

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

Analysis: rs sentence type 4 with sentence margin as final element in type 5d.

- (225) /// ka o te udhè // opilopo tà ná te //  
*seq it reach tomorrow pig go to reach*  
ka àlibò vye // ga ątye ì wu nù ///  
*seq tortoise cry sp brother his die cpl*

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

Analysis: rs sentence type 6 as final element in type 5a.

- (226) /// mi yì í te // ka mị tọ eseni na nyoni  
*I come to reach seq I take fish the put*  
n'akì dirè tų // mi dirè pàdhe // ka mị  
*in pot cook till I cook finish seq I*  
ná ko ąsu mề n' ọmu ẹi ///  
*go-to call father my in house his*

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

Analysis: two rs sentences type 5a as initial and final element of type 1.

(227) /// ạm ò     na     bìdha     tỳu     //     ka     ò     sylene     //

a

b

*child the walk till seq he hear*

na     òbhuenềtì     nà     kpo     //     ka     ò     bhine     ì     ///

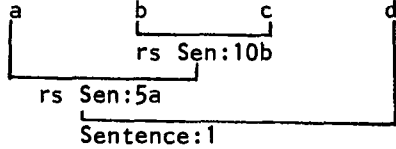
c

d

*that lion inc roar seq he ask it*

*When the child walked on, he heard a lion roaring, and he enquired from the box (what to do).*

Analysis:







CHAPTER FIVE  
THE CLAUSE i. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

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

### 5.1. Function of the Clause

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

Dependent clauses are marked by a clause introducer, or by a special introductory clause with a fixed structure and/or by a terminal (Section 4.4.). Independent clauses are distinguished by the absence of such markers.

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

The interrelation between independent and dependent clause classes and between the different clause types will be described under each clause type (Sections 5.2, 6.0, 6.3).

### 5.2. Basic Structure of the Clause

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

The demarcative features are analysed as part of the clause structure and not of the phrase structure, since they may be spread over more than one element in the clause or over the whole clause, and since they cause different types of juncture between the elements of the clause.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>An alternative analysis would be to regard the juncture features and the tone pattern of the verbal phrase as together constituting the 'tune' of the clause. Each clause would then bear one of a set number of 'tunes'. For a development of this analysis, see *Studies in Nigerian Languages* No. 4, pp. 20-22.

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

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

The category of person is marked by the pronoun class, which has a three-term system (Section 10.2). As has already been noted, the person of the pronoun used distinguishes different types of speech quotation (Section 3.3).

On the basis of differences in internal structure, three main types of clause are distinguished: verbal, nominal, and marginal. Within each main type, further subtypes are set up as follows:

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

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

The verbal clause may be independent or dependent. When it is independent it functions as a simple sentence or as any element of a complex sentence, types 1-8. When it is dependent, it functions only as the final element of a complex sentence, types 9-18.

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

### 5.3. The Verbal Clause

The verbal clause is composed of nominal, verbal, and adverbial phrases (abbreviated NP, VP, AP, respectively, in the singular and NP's, etc. in the plural). The NP preceding the VP functions as subject. The one or two NP's following the VP function as object. (The NP functioning as subject is abbreviated NPs and the NP functioning as object NPo.) Up to two AP's occur clause finally. It is useful to distinguish between nuclear and peripheral elements, since the difference between the types of verbal clause concerns mainly the nuclear elements. The NPs and the following VP form the nucleus of the clause except in one case, viz. when the clause is imperative

and the subject is singular there is no NPs (Section 5.5). The other phrases in the clause are all optional peripheral elements. The number of NPo's that occur is determined by the class of verbs functioning as head of the VP (Section 10.1.1.1). Where there are two NPo's, the first frequently, but not invariably, corresponds to the English indirect object (examples 243, 247, 271).

The theoretical maximum structure of the clause may be diagrammed as follows:

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

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

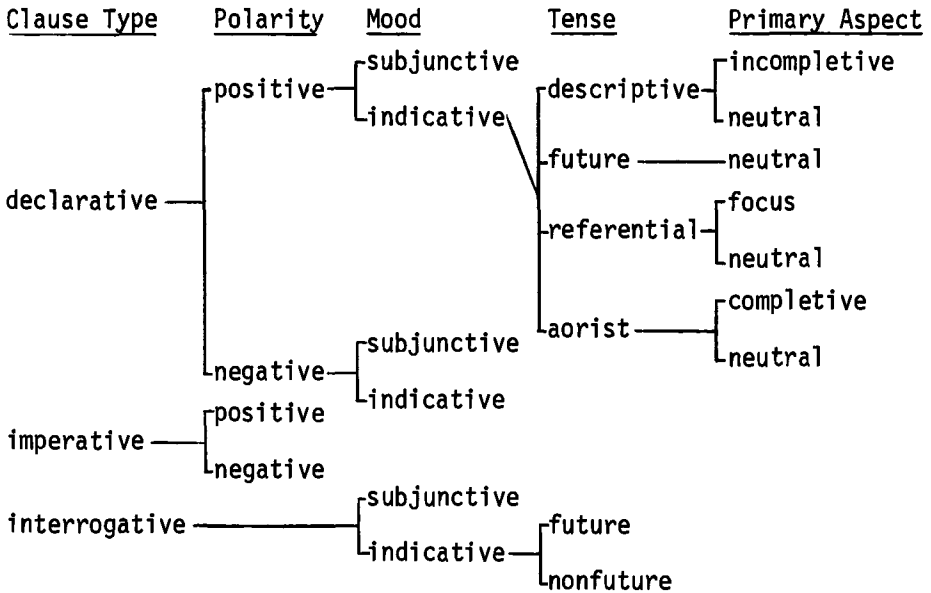
NPs	VP	NPo <sup>1</sup>	NPo <sup>2</sup>	AP <sup>1</sup>	AP <sup>2</sup>	Example
	+					272
	+	+				268
	+	+	+			271
	+			+		270
+	+					228
+	+	+				238
+	+	+	+			236
+	+	+	+	+		247
+	+			+		229
+	+			+	+	244
+	+	+		+		263

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

#### 5.4. The Verbal Clause, type 1 Declarative

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

Interrelation of Clause Features



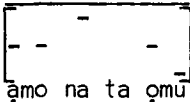
5.4.1. The Verbal Clause, type 1a

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

5.4.1.1. Polarity

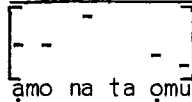
The polarity of the clause is shown by contrasting intonation patterns. In the negative pattern there is a raising of the level of low tones and a lowering of the level of high tones, which results in what may be termed a change of key. The 'key change' starts with the VP and continues to the end of the clause.

Positive tune



*The child should go home.*

Negative tune



*The child did not go home.*

The particle *dhu* *never* may occur following the VP or clause finally in addition to the negative intonation pattern. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the vowel quality (Section 2.2.1) of the preceding word. (See example 230.)

5.4.1.2. Mood

Tone patterns of the VP mark the mood of the clause. (In the examples which follow, the verb root is underlined, and the structure is given of those clauses which are included in the chart on page 66.)

The negative indicative is marked by the following tone pattern:

- |       | verb root   | 3 syllables     | 2 syllables      | 1 syllable      |
|-------|---|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
|       | tone pattern  | HHH             | HH               | H               |
| (228) | // m' / <u>ta</u> //  |                 |                  |                 |
|       | NPs   | VP              |                  |                 |
|       | <i>I</i>  | <i>not-go</i>   |                  |                 |
|       | <i>I'm not going.</i>   |                 |                  |                 |
| (229) | // ɨvùrànmù əkìè  | èní /           | <u>m'ise</u>     | / n' àsù        |
|       | NPs   |                 | VP               | AP              |
|       | <i>women of-town</i>  | <i>our</i>      | <i>not-sleep</i> | <i>on night</i> |
|       | àdhià   | //              |                  |                 |
|       | <i>of-that-day</i>  |                 |                  |                 |
|       | <i>The women of our town did not sleep the night before that day.</i> |                 |                  |                 |
| (230) | // á / <u>ko</u>  | / ènià          | dhu //           |                 |
|       | <i>one</i>  | <i>not-call</i> | <i>thus</i>      | <i>never</i>    |
|       | <i>It is never said like that.</i>                                    |                 |                  |                 |

The future particle *si* may occur at the beginning of the VP with the negative indicative tone pattern, though this is rare. The particle denotes indefinite future. It is not set up as a tense system, since in the positive, tense is marked by tone. Also the negative indicative tone pattern alone occurs when the reference is to definite future action (example 233).

- (231) // ogbei na á bhue n' àzhì / á / si  
*mangoes rel they keep in bush they will*  
do à //  
*not-steal qu*  
*The mangoes which are kept in the bush, will they not likely be stolen?*

(232) // mí / si mɔni ta / okpolamù / 'n'udhè nâdhù //  
*I will not-able go meeting on tomorrow*  
*I don't think I will be able to go to the meeting tomorrow.*

(233) // mí / mɔni ta / okpolamù / n'udhè nâdhù //  
*I will not be able to go to the meeting tomorrow.*

The negative subjunctive is marked by the negative particle *nâ* occurring initially in the VP and by the tone pattern below. The particle has two allomorphs: *nò* following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the NPs; *nâ* elsewhere. The vowel of *nâ* harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (Section 2.2.1). The tone pattern is as follows:

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

(234) // ò / nò / tâ //  
*he neg should-not-go*  
*He should not go.*

(235) // ò / nò bhunè //  
*it neg should-not-break*  
*May it not break!*

(236) // à / nâ zyò / ì / ɛnù //  
 NPs VP NPo NPo  
*one neg should-not-cut him wound*  
*He is not to be wounded.*

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

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

(237) // bhú / tâ //  
*you should-go*  
*You should go.*

(238) // onyênyé / bìdhâ / ùgbuswei eì //  
 NPs VP NPo  
*everyone should-walk road his*  
*Let everyone go his own way.*

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

#### 5.4.1.3. Tense

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

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

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

(a) The future tense is used for action in future time, except for the immediate future. The future particle *sì* or *ì* occurs optionally at the beginning of the VP. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (Section 2.2.1).

(239) // mi / syíenè //  
 I will-hear  
 I will hear.

(240) // avuramu na / *sì* nûù / ònwìì //  
 woman the will shake body  
 The woman will tremble.

(241) // àlibo / *ì* kpé mè / ọsà mè //  
 tortoise will pay me due my  
 Tortoise will pay me what he owes me.

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

(242) // àlibò / vilese / ọbho //  
 tortoise open hand  
 Tortoise opened his hand.



(243) // mî / ná kìdhe / irityadi / ìpenì //  
 I got-to remove Richard penny  
 I went to get a penny from Richard.

(244) // ò / nù / n' ùtomu ọkwei nà /  
 NPs VP AP  
 he hit at top of palm-tree the  
 kpoukpou //  
 AP  
 tap-tap

*He knocked at the top of the palm tree, tap tap.*

For use of the aorist tense in complex sentences where it denotes nonpast action, see sentence types 3, 5d, and 12.

(c) The descriptive tense denotes either a nonfuture state or a nonpunctiliar action. The reference may be to past or present time, according to the context. Other uses of the descriptive tense are:

- (i) In a nonfinal clause of a complex sentence type 5a (Temporal).
- (ii) In the final clause of a complex sentence type 5a, where it is used instead of the aorist tense as an expression of surprise (examples 248, 249).
- (iii) For the first main verb of a discourse (Section 3.4.1).
- (iv) For parenthetical comments or background information which are not part of the event line of the discourse.

(245) // a / ko / ì / ọgbùrà // *He is called Ogbura.*  
 they call him name

(246) // ùkpè ọkì // ka mi / za / n'àmò gbèrì-  
 year that seq I stay in child small  
 kọnyì ///  
 very

*In that year I was a very young child.*

(247) /// mî / dìla / ẹsòù / ąsyài nà / kùkwe //  
 NPs VP NPo NPo AP  
 I stretch ear fish the popping

mì / giri dhe ///

*I turn finish*

*When I heard the fish making a popping noise, I turned right back.*

- (248) /// mị / tộu / ẹnuma / tộu kyẹ / ị // ka  
*I take money take give him seq*  
 ọ / tộu sộ tộvầa ///

*he take throw away*

*When I gave him some money, he threw it away.*

In the final clause, the VP is compound, and the tone pattern is manifested over all the verbs (Section 7.4.1).

- (249) /// o / dèi / nộtồ // ka o / wầa /// *He fell to*  
*he fall on-ground seq he die the ground*  
*and died.*

(d) The referential tense occurs in a number of different grammatical environments:

- (i) In a nonfinal clause of a complex sentence type 5a (Temporal).
- (ii) In a clause functioning as a rankshifted unit in a nominal phrase (Section 8.2.1.2).
- (iii) In a clause with an interrogative subject (Section 5.6).
- (iv) In a clause with an emphatic subject (Section 5.4.3).

#### 5.4.1.4. Primary Aspect

Certain particles may occur with certain tenses. The particles are analysed as demarcative features marking different primary aspects:  $n\grave{1}$  marks the completive aspect,  $n\grave{a}$  the incompleted aspect, and  $n\grave{2}$  the focus aspect. Clauses which have no particle are analysed as having neutral aspect.

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

They are relevant at sentence rank, being obligatory in certain sentence types (i.e., 5, 7, 8, and 12), whereas other attributive elements of the VP are relevant only at phrase rank.

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

With three of the tenses, there is a two-term system of primary aspect as follows: aorist: completive / neutral; descriptive: incompletive / neutral; referential: focus / neutral. With the future tense, only the neutral aspect occurs.

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

(250) /// *mì* / *me* // *ga onisò* / *wuru nù* ///  
*I agree sp God do cpl*  
*I agreed, (saying) God had done it.*

(251) /// *á* / *gbè* /// *àdhè* / *bhi nì*  
*one let-go-home day be-black cpl*  
*o ///*  
*in-fact*  
*Let's go home! It has got dark, you know.*

(252) /// *ó* / *nomu* // *ga onisò* / *kɛ nì* / *èì* /  
*she not-know sp God give cpl her*  
*àmò ///*  
*child*  
*She did not know that God had given her a child.*

For use of the completive aspect in the complex sentence type 5, see Section 4.4.5.

(b) The incompletive aspect is marked by the particle *nà* occurring initially in the VP. It denotes that the action is happening at the same time as the previous action (examples 253, 254) or will start in the immediate future. The particle *nà* has two allomorphs: *nò* occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the noun NPs; *nà* occurs elsewhere. The vowel of *nò* harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (Section 2.2.1).

(253) /// *àdhe* / *nà bhìa* // *ka ... ì* / *bhue-enia*  
*day inc be-black seq they then*  
*ko / ì ///*  
*call her*  
*It was getting dark, and (so) they then called her.*

- (254) /// òtà [na ì nà ta nà] // onyênye / nà  
*time that they inc go the each-one inc*  
 ma / ikpebî / ìnùmù [na ọ sị dụà  
*think heart thing that he will buy*  
 dụà] ///  
*buy*

*As they were going along, each person was thinking of what he would buy.*

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

- (255) /// ò / te nì / udhè // ka mị / nà yà ///  
*it reach opl tomorrow seq I inc come*  
*Tomorrow I will come. (lit. when it reaches tomorrow ...)*

For use of the incomplete aspect in complex sentence type 7, see Section 4.4.7.

(c) The focus aspect is marked by the definitive particle  $nì^2$ , which occurs following the 'core' of the VP (See section 7.2 for the definition of 'core'). The particle has the same allomorphs as the completive particle. It is distinguished from the completive particle as it may occur with the future particle and function in negative clauses, whereas the completive particle does not occur in either of these environments.

The focus aspect occurs mainly in emphatic clauses (Section 5.4.3) and in interrogative clauses (Section 5.6). It also occurs in sentence types 8 (Reason), 9 (Unrealised Action), and 12 (kana).

#### 5.4.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 1b

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

- (256) // èsènì / ya / bhèè //  
*fish are indeed*  
*There is plenty of fish.*
- (257) // àlibó / i mo / n' ẹwai nà //  
*tortoise again is-not in pond the*  
*Tortoise was no longer in the pond.*

### 5.4.3. Emphasis in the Declarative Clause

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

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

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

- (a) The VP is in the referential tense with focus aspect.
- (b) Future time is shown by the occurrence of the future particle *i* or *si* initially in the VP (example 259).
- (c) Negative clauses have the negative intonation pattern and the negative particle *sa* clause initially, preceding the NPs (example 260).

(258) /// èni / sîsè dhe / ẹkpau nà // mí / za  
*we set finish hooks the I stay*  
nì / n'ùtùmù ọkò ///  
*def at tail of- canoe*

*When we set all the hooks, I was the one at the back of the canoe.*

(259) // ọkí / si kilo nì //  
*he will rule def*

*He will be the one to rule.*

(260) // sa mí / gbei nì //  
*not I kill def*

*I was not the one who killed it.*

Emphasis on the VP. The VP in a positive clause may be emphasized in one of two ways:

- (a) By the use of the completive instead of the neutral aspect (example 261).

<sup>1</sup>In imperative and interrogative clauses, emphasis is expressed by elements (e.g., adverbs) which are analysable in terms of the regular clause structure.

(b) By the occurrence of the emphatic particle *va* either initially in the VP or following the incomplete particle, if present (examples 262, 263).

The VP in a negative clause is emphasized by repeating the verb following the reinforcer *nụ* clause finally (examples 264, 265). The repetition of the verb is analysed as an element of the VP margin (Section 7.5).

(261) // ò / mɔni nị / ògbànàmù //

*he see cpl fox*

*He actually saw fox!*

(262) // bhú / sị vá deia //

*you will emp fall*

*You will surely fall.*

(263) // ạnì ậlibo / nà và nụ gbèi /

NPs VP

*wife of-tortoise inc emp hit kill*

âfe-oduzyi / bhòò //

NPO AP

*fish all-the-same*

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

(264) // òko ná / yi nụ yia //

*canoe the not-come indeed come*

*The canoe did not move at all.*

(265) // mị / ma dhị / inumu / nụ dhia //

*I yet not-eat thing indeed eat*

*I have not eaten anything at all.*

For the addition of the final *-a* to the verb root in examples 264, 265 see Section 10.1.1.3.

**Emphasis on the NPO.** To emphasize the object, the NPO is frontshifted and precedes the NPs. It may be followed by the sequential particle *ka* or by the speech particle *ga* in speech material for additional emphasis.

(266) // ì nùmù âvù á / í / mɔni //

NPO NPs VP

*thing one even they not-see*

*They did not see anything at all.*

- (267) // avuramu nà / ka a / ì gbéià //
- NPo                      NPs                      VP
- woman      the      seq they      will kill*

*It is the woman that they will kill.*

### 5.5. The Verbal Clause, Type 2 Imperative

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

The positive imperative clause has three demarcative features, two obligatory and one optional. The obligatory features are the positive intonation (Section 5.4.1.1) and a tone pattern which is the same as for the descriptive tense:

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

When the pronoun *bha* occurs as subject, there is ambiguity between the positive imperative and the descriptive tense. This ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 269).

The optional demarcative feature is the exclamation *gwa right!, come on!* which may occur initially in positive clauses (examples 272 and also 126).

- (268) // vìlèse / òbho //
- VP                      NPo
- open                  hand*

*Open your hand.*

- (269) // *bha* / kpè mè / èdhya mè //
- pl                  pay me                  yams my*

*Pay (pl.) me for my yams.*

The same clause in a different context could mean  
*You pay me for my yams (i.e., but others do not).*

For the reasons for analysing *mè* as part of the VP, see Section 11.3.

- (270) // za / dànyì //
- VP                      AP
- stay                  quiet*

*Be quiet.*

- (271) // nyòni / ẹ̀ì / ẹ̀gbìlámù //  
           VP          NPo          NPo  
           *put*          *him*          *lock*  
           *Lock (your leg) around his. (a wrestling expression)*
- (272) // gwa tòu //  
           VP  
           *come-on take*  
           *Come on, take it.*

The negative imperative has three demarcative features, all obligatory: the negative particle *nà* occurring initially in the VP, the negative intonation (Section 5.4.1.1), and the negative subjunctive tone pattern. The negative subjunctive tone pattern has the following features:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	HḶ

When the pronoun *bha* occurs as subject, there is no distinction between the negative imperative and the negative subjunctive. The ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 274).

- (273) // *nà wúrà* //  
           *neg do*  
           *Don't do it.*
- (274) // *bhà / nà bhíne / àlibò* //  
           *you neg ask tortoise*  
           *Do not (pl.) ask tortoise.*

The same clause in another context could mean, *you should not ask tortoise.*

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

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

The interrogative clause is marked by a number of different demarcative features, most of which are obligatory but one of which is optional. Of the obligatory features, one is obligatory to all clauses, i.e., the pitch of the final syllable of a clause, if low, is slightly raised. The other obligatory features mark mood and tense, and will be described later. There are no features marking polarity, since only clauses which are semantically positive occur.



As has already been described, question sentences which are differentiated from interrogative clauses may be either positive or negative (Section 4.6).

The one optional demarcative feature is the question particle à, which occurs sentence finally. The analysis of the question particle as a feature of the clause, even though its occurrence is finally in the sentence, admittedly means that at times the demarcative feature of the unit is not adjacent to or within the unit itself. However, this presents only a practical and not a theoretical problem. The alternative analysis would be to set up interrogative sentences in contrast to declarative sentences. This would lead to a lot of reduplication of description, since the relationships between clauses in the two types of complex sentences are to a very large extent parallel.

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

#### 5.6.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 3a Interrogative NPs

The VP is of class A (Section 7.3.1) and has the referential tense tone pattern:

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

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

The definitive particle nì occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see Section 7.2 for the definition of 'core').

(275) // òyó / bhuene nì / əkíe nà //  
*who have def town the*  
*Who owns the town?*

(276) // iyó / sí nyìne nì / ànò //  
*what will cause def this*  
*How will this happen?*

(277) // òyó / za nì / edèì [na ó yì] //  
*who stay def man who he not-come*  
*Who did not come? (lit. Who is the man who did not come?)*

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

- (278) /// iyó / wuru nù // na bhú / gba nì à ///  
*what do def that you tell cpl qu*  
*What happened to make you tell?*

The interrogative clause is the first element of a complex sentence type 10c.

### 5.6.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 3b Interrogative NPo or AP

The VP may be of class A or B. When the VP is of class A, the clause is marked for mood. The subjunctive clause is marked by the subjunctive tone pattern. The indicative clause does not have a tone pattern marking mood, since it is marked for the further category of tense. The tense category has two terms: non-future is marked by the descriptive tense tone pattern; future is marked by the future tense tone pattern and the optional occurrence of the future particle *ì* or *sì*.

Nonfuture is abbreviated 'nfut' in the following examples:

- (279) // mí / dhuu / êdho à //  
 VP:A subj  
*I should-go where qu*  
*Where should I go?*
- (280) // bhú / kù mē / înúmù / n'òtà vo //  
 VP:A nfut  
*you give me thing at time what*  
*When did you give me anything?*
- (281) // a / dhì / okìè înwèì / n'âdhè à //  
 VP:A nfut  
*one eat time how many in day qu*  
*How many times a day does one eat?*
- (282) // bhú / ì pa / òvo à //  
 VP:A fut  
*you will choose which qu*  
*Which will you choose?*
- (283) // ò / ya / n'êdho //  
 VP:B  
*he is at where*  
*Where is he?*

5.7. Secondary Aspect

One or more phrases in a clause may be reduplicated. This reduplication has been analysed as a demarcative feature marking secondary aspect. Three different aspects are distinguished according to which phrases are reduplicated: habitual / intensive, repetitive, and distributive. Clauses without any reduplication are analysed as having the fourth aspect: neutral.

The category of secondary aspect is distinguished from that of primary aspect, as it may occur together with each of the primary aspects: with the incompletive (examples 284, 299; with the focus (example 287); with the completive (example 286); with the neutral (examples 288, 289).

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

Clause Type	Habitual/ Intensive	Repetitive	Distributive	Neutral
Declarative	+	+	+	+
Imperative	-	+	-	+
Interrogative	+	-	+	+

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

(284) // òbhò ínùmù na ègwè ekwesu nà wùra wùra...  
VP VP

*hand of-thing that people heathen inc do do  
 customs that the heathen used to practice ...*

(285) // o nò syìì ta êgìlè ànwùmù idhiana a nà  
 it inc move go time of-evening how they inc  
 gbe n' ùkwo nà ùkwo nà //

AP                      AP

*go-home from farm the farm the*

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

Note that the preposition in the AP is not repeated.

(286) /// amọ nà ta nì ùkwó ùkwó // o sì kpómà ///  
NPo NPo

*child the go cpl farm farm he will fall-sick*



*children in hand*

*So they kept on giving the children gifts.*

'To tie somebody's hand' is an idiom meaning 'to give a gift'.

- (293) /// opilopo yì í te nì // ka ò mòni  
 VP  
*pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see*  
mòni ẹ̀ì ///  
 VP  
*not-see him*

*When pig came, he would not see him at all.*

Distributive aspect. The NPs, unless the head of it is the distributive noun onyênnyê<sup>1</sup> *each person*, and the final phrase of the clause are repeated. The VP is also repeated if the NPo has a pronoun head (example 294).

- (294) // ògwè ògwè za ta êtyì na ó dhyomu bhà  
 NPs NPs VP NPo  
*group group stay go place that it please them*  
dhyomu bhà //  
 VP NPo  
*please them*

*Each group went to the place they liked.*

- (295) // onyênnyê ná duu dhe àmìnì àmìnì //  
 NPs NPo NPo  
*each-person go-to go-out finish water water*  
*Everybody went to take a good bath.*

- (296) // onyênnyê pa dhọ utwò utwò //  
 NPs NPo NPo  
*each-person lift take basket basket*  
*Each person picked up a basket.*

- (297) // onyênnye d̀ỳ ìyo ìyo //  
 NPs NPo NPo

<sup>1</sup>onyênnyê is not the regular reduplicated form of onye, which would be \*onyonye.

*each-person buy what what*

*What did each one buy?*

In complex sentence type 7 (Immediate Action), the reduplication is spread over both clauses.

- (298) // onyenyè pa // ọ nõ dhyàni dhyàna ///
- each-person start he inc enter enter*

*Everybody began to go to bed.*

For change in the form of the verb see Section 10.1.1.3.

- (299) /// akìè akìè kou dhe // i nà kpòri iviè
- NPs NPs
- town town steer finish they inc sing song*
- gbe gbe //
- VP VP

*go-home go-home*

*Each town got their boat into place and went home singing.*

## 5.8. Relationships between Elements of the Verbal Clause

### 5.8.1. Vowel Harmony

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

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

mì me	<i>I agree.</i>
mí mọni me	<i>I cannot agree.</i>
bhù yí	<i>You came.</i>
bhù dhị	<i>You ate.</i>
ò dire eseni	<i>She cooked a fish.</i>
ò dụ ọkani	<i>She bought cloth.</i>
i gbe	<i>They go home.</i>
ị bìdha	<i>They walk.</i>

(b) When the head of the NP<sub>o</sub> is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it has one of two forms, with either a closer or a more open vowel quality harmonising with the vowel quality of the preceding verb:

ò dose î	<i>He begged him.</i>
ò tɔu kyɛ î	<i>He gave it to him.</i>
ò korɪ eì	<i>He waited for him.</i>
ò kɔli eì	<i>He rebuked him.</i>

### 5.8.2. Juncture Features

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

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

h juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a h tone.

H juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a H tone.

L juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a L tone when the NPs ends in a L tone and a HJ glide when the NPs normally ends in a H tone.

Clauses have the following types of juncture:

<u>Clause Type and Features</u>	<u>Juncture</u>
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1a</u>	
Positive indicative aorist	L
descriptive	H
future	H
referential	h
Negative indicative	h
Positive subjunctive	h
Negative subjunctive	L
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1b</u>	
Positive	L
Negative	h
<u>Imperative Clause</u>	
Positive	H
Negative	L

Interrogative Clause

Subjunctive	h
Nonfuture	H
Future	H

The hypothesis is here put forward that the tone of a former pronominal prefix to the verb was transferred to the previous syllable (the final syllable of the NPs) when the prefix was lost. Some evidence for this hypothesis can be seen from Degema, a closely related language (Section 1.0), where all verbs still have the pronominal prefix.

Degema // ɔmo yò / ò-der / esen //  
                   NPs                  VP                  NPo  
                   *child the he-cook fish*  
                   *The child cooked fish.*

Engenni // ɔmo nà / dire / eseni // (L juncture)

Degema // ɔmo yò / ó-der / esen //  
                   *The child did not cook fish.*

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

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

(a) NPs consisting of noun only: àlibò *tortoise* (final L tone)

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

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

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

ìkpilàma *snail* (final H tone)

L juncture            aorist            ìkpilàma LJ me > ìkpilàmâ me

H juncture            descriptive    ìkpilàma HJ me > ìkpilàma me

h juncture            neg. indic.    ìkpilàma hJ me > ìkpilàamá me

(b) NPs consisting of pronoun only: o he

L juncture aorist            ò me

H juncture descriptive    o me

h juncture neg. indic.    ó me

(c) NPs consisting of noun followed by a relative construct:

edèi [na ɔ kəri ɔko nà] *the man who carved the canoe*

Noun    Relative construct

L juncture aorist            edèi na ɔ kəri ɔko nà me



H juncture descriptive edèì na ọ kàrì ọko ná me  
 h juncture neg. indic. edèì na ọ kàrì ọko ńá me

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

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

Neutral juncture: The tone of the NPo is unaffected. Therefore, when the NPo begins with a H tone, the neutral juncture cannot be distinguished from the high juncture. The mood and tense of the clause determine the type of juncture.

Examples of juncture of VP and NPo (using VP gèni look at):

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

H juncture future ọ gẹ̀nì HJ igbo > ọ gẹ̀ní igbo

N juncture pos. imp. gẹ̀ní NJ igbo > gẹ̀ní igbo

*ùkwô farm (initial L tone)*

H juncture future ọ gẹ̀nì HJ ùkwô > ọ gẹ̀ní ùkwô

N juncture pos. imp. gẹ̀ní NJ ùkwô > gẹ̀ní ùkwô

(b) NPo consisting of pronoun: *èguà they (disyllabic)*

H juncture future ọ gẹ̀nì HJ èguà > ọ gẹ̀ní èguà

N juncture pos. imp. gẹ̀ní NJ èguà gẹ̀ní èguà

*bhà you pl. (monosyllabic)*

H juncture future ọ gẹ̀nì HJ bhà ọ gẹ̀ní bhà

N juncture pos. imp. gẹ̀ní NJ bhà gẹ̀ní bhà

The second tone of the verb in the future is H tone before a following H or HJ glide (see rule 1, upstep toneme, Section 2.3.1).

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

(300) àswá hoe // kyẹ / ị / àswá // Give him a hoe.

VP NPo NPo

(301) ulè banana // kyẹ / ị / ulè // Give him a banana.

(302) [gbo *net* // kyẹ / ̂ / [gbo // *Give him a net.*

The juncture between the VP or the NPo with the AP, or between two AP's differs according to whether or not elision takes place. Where there is no elision (i.e., with AP types 1 and 3 which have an initial consonant) the juncture is neutral.

(303) syinùmù *very much* // ọ / vyẹ / syinùmù //  
VP AP

*He cried very much.*

(304) bhẹ̀ẹ *really* // ọ / vyẹ / bhẹ̀ẹ //  
VP AP

*He really cried.*

(305) kpudùmù *splash* // ọ / dei vəi / n' ̂mìnì / kpudùmù //  
AP AP

*He fell into the water splash.*

(306) wùrùmù *plop* // ọ / dei vəi / n' ̂mìnì / wùrùmù //  
AP AP

*He fell into the water plop.*

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

(307) ọgbẹ̀ *a little* // ọ / vyẹ / ọgbẹ̀ //  
VP AP

*He cried a little.*

(308) ọgbẹ̀ *a little* // ọ / nwene / n' ugbuswèi / ọgbẹ̀ //  
AP AP

*It split on the path a little.*

(309) ọ̀fùromù *empty* // ọ / dhị / ẹdhyà / ọ̀fùromù //  
NPo AP

*He ate yam by itself.*

(310) obô *a lot* // ọ / dhẹsyi / obô //  
VP AP

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

For examples of junctures from text material see Chapter 9.

5.9. The Verbal Clause String

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

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

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

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

The verbal clause string has the following special characteristics in addition to those already described:

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

(b) The maximum number of peripheral elements in any one of the clauses is two (examples 328, 329).

(c) Where the string is in either the neutral, the completive, or the focus primary aspect, all its clauses are marked (examples 329, 335, 333). Where the string is in the incompletive aspect, only the first clause is marked (example 331).

(d) A VP of class B occurs only in the final clause of the string (example 336).

(e) The preverbals *ná go in order to*, *í come in order to*, and *le in addition, also* may occur in the VP of any clause (examples 337, 338). All postverbals may occur in the VP of any clause (example 328).

(f) The tone of the VP in noninitial clauses varies according to whether the VP occurs in the middle of the clause string or as the final element.

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

The following frame is used in the examples below:

//	ọ	/	tọu	/	inya		dire	/	n'èkì	//
	NPs		VP		NPo		VP		AP	
	<i>she</i>		<i>take</i>		<i>rice</i>		<i>cook</i>		<i>at market</i>	

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

String medially

- |       |                 |   |     |      |      |       |  |                                      |
|-------|-----------------|---|-----|------|------|-------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (311) | descriptive     | ọ | tọu | inya | dire | n'èkì |  | <i>She cooks rice at the market.</i> |
|       |                 |   |     |      | HH   |       |  |                                      |
| (312) | pos. imperative |   | tọu | inya | dire | n'èkì |  | <i>Cook rice at the market.</i>      |
|       |                 |   |     |      | HH   |       |  |                                      |
| (313) | future          | ọ | tọu | inya | dire | n'èkì |  | <i>She will cook at the market.</i>  |
|       |                 |   |     |      | HH   |       |  |                                      |

String finally

- |       |                 |   |     |      |      |  |                            |
|-------|-----------------|---|-----|------|------|--|----------------------------|
| (314) | descriptive     | ọ | tọu | inya | dire |  | <i>She cooks rice.</i>     |
|       |                 |   |     |      | HH   |  |                            |
| (315) | pos. imperative |   | tọu | inyà | dìrè |  | <i>Cook rice.</i>          |
|       |                 |   |     |      | LL   |  |                            |
| (316) | future          | ọ | tọu | inya | dirè |  | <i>She will cook rice.</i> |
|       |                 |   |     |      | HL   |  |                            |

(g) There are different junctures between clauses in a string depending on whether the preverbal *ná* or *í* occurs in the following clause or not.

Juncture of two clauses without the preverbal *ná* or *í*. The juncture is marked by a h tone on the final syllable of the first clause. In the following examples the end of the first clause is shown by a vertical line.

- |       |           |    |                |             |  |                |                                     |
|-------|-----------|----|----------------|-------------|--|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (317) | igbo (HH) | mì | do             | gbó         |  | dhemèsè        | <i>I wove the net bigger.</i>       |
|       |           |    | <i>I weave</i> | <i>net</i>  |  | <i>enlarge</i> |                                     |
| (318) | òkì (LH)  | mì | dụ             | òkí         |  | dirè           | <i>I bought fish and cooked it.</i> |
|       |           |    | <i>I buy</i>   | <i>fish</i> |  | <i>cook</i>    |                                     |

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

When a h tone occurs preceding the juncture, the final syllable of the first clause is H and is not upstepped because of the phonological rule that two h tones do not occur in sequence (Section 2.3.1). (In the following example, the initial tone of *akà* is automatically upstepped before the L tone.)

- (319) akà (HL) mî tọ akà | dhì dhè *I roasted the  
I roast corn eat finish corn and ate it  
all.*

Juncture of two clauses with the preverbal ná or í. The juncture is marked by a H tone on the final syllable of the first clause, unless the final syllable has a h tone, in which case the tone remains h.

- (320) àzyî (LL) ọ ta àzyî | ná sa gbei ànàmù *He goes  
he go bush to shoot kill animal to bush  
to hunt.*
- (321) igu (HH) ọ ta igu | ná sa gbei ànàmù *He goes to the  
hill to hunt.*
- (322) edà (HL) ọ ta éda | na sa gbei ànàmù *He goes to the  
river to hunt.*
- (323) ùkwô (LHL) ọ ta ùkwô | na sa gbei ànàmù *He goes to the  
farm to hunt.*

For the reason for the change from a final tone glide to a single tone in ukwo, see Section 2.3.1, tone glides.

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

A clause string is normally one phonological clause, but if the string is long and there is a pause between clauses, each is a separate phonological clause. In this case the juncture is neutral (i.e., the final tone of the clause is unaffected.) Compare the final tone of each clause in example 339.

(h) The maximum number of clauses which have occurred in a clause string is six (example 339). The usual number is two to four. Imperative clause strings are rare (examples 340-342). A series of commands normally occurs as a complex sentence type 3 if positive and type 4 if negative (Sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4). Imperative and interrogative clause strings have a maximum of two clauses in the corpus analysed (examples 340-345).

(i) In a clause string, the second and any subsequent clause usually has the same 'notional' subject as the first clause, i.e., underlying clauses would have the same NPs. However, where the first verb in the string is *gya urge*, *goad* or *vio send*, the underlying subject of the second clause is the referent of the NPO in the first clause.

- (324) mî vio i dụ eseni *I sent him to buy fish.  
I send him buy fish*
- (325) ò gya imo na wuru iníwura *He urged the children  
he urge children the do work to work.*

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

(326) aorist      èdhi              nà    bhue-ènia    bhiè  
 tense            *palm-fruit the then get-soft*  
*Then the palm-fruit got soft.*

(327) descriptive    ó    bhùe-ènia    dose    àdhdhe    nà ...  
 tense                    *she then beg rich-man the*  
*When she then begged the rich man ...*

#### Examples of verbal clause strings.

(The boundary of nonfinal clauses in the string is shown by a vertical line and a slight pause between the clauses by a colon.)

#### Declarative clause strings.

(328) //    à            /    kpei    dhe            /    ì            /    ɔ̀nwìì:            |    dɪna    dhe            /  
 NPs                    VP                    NPo                    NPo                    |            VP  
*they            wash    finish            him            body            rub    finish*  
 ì            /    eìð:            |    tɔ̀u            /    awo            |            nyɔ̀ni    dhe            /    ì            //  
 NPo            NPo            |            VP                    NPo                    |            VP                    NPo  
*him            pomade    take            shirt            put            finish him*  
*They washed his body, rubbed him with pomade, and dressed him in a shirt.*

Note that the postverbal *dhe* occurs in both initial and noninitial clauses.

(329) //    èní            /    swài    dhɔ̀u            /    ɔ̀ko            /    n' ɛ̀vuu            |  
 NPs                    VP                    NPo                    AP                    |  
*we            carry    take            canoe            on shoulder*  
 swài    ləi    na    dhyani            /    n'ewù            //  
 VP                    AP  
*carry turn to enter            in inlet*  
*We carried the canoe on our shoulders and turned to enter the inlet.*

- (330) // à / ná tɔu nì / utunu owuo na |  
 NPs VP NPo  
*they go-to take cpl bunch of-palm the*  
 yi í sue nì //  
 VP  
*come to appear cpl*

*They had gone to get the bunch of palm and had come back.*

Note that both classes are marked by *nì* for the completive aspect.

- (331) /// ɔvuramu nà / í pà // ọ / nọ tọu /  
 NPs VP  
*woman the so start she go-to take*  
ẹ́í | ta / ɔdhu udhyomu ávù ///  
 NPo | VP NPo  
*him gp eye of-juju one*

*So the woman set off to take him to see a juju.*

The clause string is the final element in a complex sentence type 7 (Immediate Action).

- (332) // ɛ̀nì / tɔu / ɪgɪre na | dẹ̀ì / dẹ̀ì //  
 NPs VP NPo | VP VP  
*we take crocodile the sell sell*  
*We took the crocodile (meat) and kept selling it.*

The string is in the repetitive secondary aspect.

- (333) // ɔdhogbò ọ̀dàú / syɪna nì / ɔdhu | su nù /  
 NPs VP NPo | VP  
*wreath of-name pass def eye float def*  
 su nù //  
 VP  
*float def*

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

The string is in the habitual secondary aspect. Both clauses are marked for the focus aspect.

- (334) // onyenyé / dý / ìnùmù [na ò dhyomu ei  
 NPs VP NPo  
*each should-buy thing that it please him*  
 ya] | yì / yì //  
 VP VP  
*is come come*

*Each person should buy something he likes and come.*

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

- (335) // onu eì / dhuu nu / ùkwo / yi nì //  
 NPs VP NPo VP  
*mother her follow cpl farm come cpl*  
*Her mother has come from the farm.*

- (336) // òko nà / fyé nì / bha | ya //  
 NPs VP NPo VP:B  
*canoe the exceed cpl them is*  
*The canoe is too big for them.*

The final VP is of class B.

- (337) // ì / kọu dhẹ / ọko | ná bhari / n'  
 NPs VP NPo VP  
*they steer finish canoe to land on*  
 êbhùmù: | duu dhe / àmìnì //  
 AP VP NPo  
*sand-bank go-out finish water*

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

Note that the preverbal ná occurs initially in the second clause of the string.

- (338) // ọ / bídha dhyani nì / n'unwoni ąki | kpina  
 NPs VP AP  
*he walk enter cpl in mouth of-pot tread*  
 kime dhe | e yi í duu nu / n' ọtò  
 VP AP  
*circle finish again come to go cpl on ground*



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

Note that the preverbals *le* and *í* occur in a noninitial VP.

- (339) // ò / í bhue-enia | kunu / ąmo na | nyoni  
 NPs VP AP | VP NPo | VP  
*he so then held child the put*  
 n'uvomu ọmù: | tọu / ugyo | tọu firi bhue /  
 AP | VP NPo | VP  
*in inside house take stone take press keep*  
 ąmo nà: | tọu / ẹde | fari lei ọdhe /  
 NPo | VP NPo | VP  
*child the take rope tie close finish*  
 enuswèi //  
 NPo  
*entrance*

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

Imperative clause strings.

- (340) // za / ọpìdhemù | zà //  
 VP NPo | VP  
*stay seat stay*  
 Remain seated.
- (341) // bùrèbùre / onisò | tọù kù mè //  
 VP NPo | VP  
*pray God take give me*  
 Pray to God for me.
- (342) // nà tọu / okpo inumu | tou wuru / edei  
 VP NPo | VP NPo  
*neg take bad thing take do person*  
 ebhura wò //  
*of-same-age your*

*Do not do evil to your neighbour. (lit. your contemporary)*

Interrogative clause strings.

- (343) // òyó / za tọu nì / udhi me | tọu dha  
 NPs VP NPo | VP  
*who stay take cpl wine my take drink*  
 dhe nì / n'âzyi //

AP

*finish cpl in bush**Who has been taking my wine and drinking it all in the bush?*

- (344) // ịvùràmu / mọni / îyó | wurà //  
 NPs VP NPo | VP  
*women will-be-able what do*

*What will the women be able to do?*

- (345) // mị / tọu / adhya na | tou wuru / îyo //  
 NPs VP NPo | VP NPo  
*I should-take snake the take do what*

*What should I do with the snake?*

## CHAPTER SIX

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

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### 6.0. The Nominal Clause

The nominal clause may occur as a simple sentence or as the final clause of a complex sentence type 5 (Temporal) or 6a (Report), or as the margin of the sentence (Section 4.5).

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

declarative : simple, appositional

interrogative : simple, appositional, locative

### 6.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 1 Declarative

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

#### 6.1.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 1a Simple

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

(346) /// àdhè êvìè // ò ta ...

*day another he go*

*Another day he went ...*

(347) /// ùkwo nà // a ì kunu ətòdhya ///

*farm the they will grow cocoyam*

*In the farm they will grow cocoyams.*

(348) /// omìnì àdhìmù ///

*child orphan*

*(He was) an orphan.*

(349) /// ìnùmù ìbìrìmanì ///

*thing of-wonder*

*(It is) a wonderful thing!*

(350) /// ọtà [na á tọ ana ẹvi nyoni pàdhe] nà // ...

*time that they take one of-leg put-on finish the*

*At the time that (or when) the stirrups had been put on ...*

The NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (Section 8.2.1.2). See also examples 351, 352 below.

- (351) /// ọkó bo [na ọ karà] ///  
*canoe big that he carve*  
*It was a big canoe that he carved.*
- (352) /// èbhùrù [na ọ kàri enià] ///  
*famine that it be-strong thus*  
*There was a severe famine.*
- (353) /// sa ọkì ///  
*neg he*  
*It's not him.*
- (354) /// sa ànàmù ///  
*neg animal*  
*It's not an animal.*

### 6.1.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 1b Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition followed optionally by one AP. The juncture between the phrases is neutral (i.e., there are no tone changes). When the clause is positive, the two phrases may be linked by the sequential particle *ka* (example 357). If the clause is part of a complex sentence type 6 (Report), *ka* may be replaced by the speech particle *ga* (example 358).

The two phrases are analysed as one clause and not as two, since there is frequently elision at the juncture of the phrases, whereas there is no elision at a clause boundary (Section 5.0). The two phrases differ from two NP's constituting an extended NP type 1 (Section 8.3.1) in function, since they are followed by an AP or a new clause and not by a VP, and in structure, since the sequential particle does not occur in an extended NP.

- (355) /// ègìlè ọkí nà / ègìlè íbhwè /// ! / nà  
                   NP                                  NP                                  NP<sub>s</sub>                  VP  
*time that the time of-flood they inc*  
*yàa ...*  
*come*  
*That time was the flood season. They were approach-*  
*ing...*

(356) /// mẹ / àdhi dhè /// mị / sị kpé ...

NP NP NPs VP

*I rich-man I will pay*

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

(357) // bhù a / ka edèi avu n'uvomu esyì [na

NP NP

*you too seq man one in inside place that*

*a nà kòni ẹsyìòbhò ] //*

*they inc fight wresting*

*You are a person (to be reckoned with) on the wresting ground.*

The final NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (Section 8.2.1.2).

(358) /// à / í gba kyẹ / ì // ga avuramu nà /

NP

*they so tell give him sp woman the*

*ga ànì àlibò //*

NP

*sp wife of-tortoise*

*They told him that the woman was the wife of tortoise.*

(359) /// edel nà / sa ákumedei ///

NP NP

*person the neg human*

*The person is not a human being.*

### 6.1.3. Emphasis in the Declarative Clause

The declarative clause may occur with a special syntagmatic feature which makes the clause emphatic. The feature is the emphatic particle *va* which occurs before the final NP of the clause.

(This particle may also occur in the verbal declarative clause when the VP is emphatic, Section 5.4.3.) This feature is analysed as a modification of the basic clause structure, as it is parallel to the special emphasising features which may occur in the verbal declarative clause (Section 5.4.3).

(360) // ẹkòri nà / va ìgini ávù //

*maggot the emp kind one*

*The maggots are really the same.*

(361) // ìbà ɔdhe nà / va ènià //  
*every day the emp thus*  
*Every day was just like that.*

(362) // va ìginì ûkwô âvu nà ò //  
*emp kind of-farm one the indeed*  
*It was still in the same farm, you know.*

6.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2 Interrogative

The interrogative clause has two optional demarcative features: the interrogative intonation in which the pitch of the whole clause is raised (example 363), and the question particle à which occurs clause finally (example 367). Like the verbal interrogative clause, the nominal interrogative clause has no features marking polarity. Only clauses which are semantically positive occur. Three types of interrogative clause are distinguished: type 2a, simple; type 2b, appositional; type 2c, locative.

6.2.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 2a Simple

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

(363) /// † ùkwo òyo ///  
*farm of-whom*

*Whose farm is it?*

(364) /// abhwà // ga ìyo ///  
*dog sp what*  
*The dog (said), "What?"*

The interrogative clause is the final element in a complex sentence type 6a (Report).

6.2.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2b Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition, of which one is of type 4 (interrogative). The phrases may be linked by the sequential particle ka.

(365) /// ànô / ànàmù vo ///  
 NP NP:4  
*this animal which*

*What animal is this?*

(366) /// òyô / ka edèì [na bhu sî] dhũmo n' uvomu  
 NP:4 NP  
*who seq man who you will marry in inside*

egua utomu esaa nà ] ///

*them head three the*

*Who of the three men will you marry?*

The NPo includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (Section 8.2.1.2).

(367) /// mī r bhinè // àkâ / ka ìnìwùrà vo à ///

NP NP:4

*I so ask that seq work which qu*

*So I asked, "What job is that?"*

The interrogative clause is the final element in a complex sentence type 6a (Report).

### 6.2.3. The Nominal Clause, Type 2c Locative

This type consists of a NP of type 1. There are two demarcative features: the question introducer *tènè where is?* which precedes the NP, and the raised pitch of the final tone of the clause.

(368) /// tènè àlibò /// *Where is tortoise?*

[ - - - ]

(369) // tènè ugyo nà /// *Where is the stone?*

[ - - - ]

(370) /// tènè olilo /// *Where is a bottle?*

[ - - - ]

### 6.3. The Marginal Clause

The marginal clause usually occurs as a simple sentence, or as the margin of a sentence (Section 4.5). It occasionally occurs as the final element of a complex sentence type 6a (Report). The marginal clause is distinguished from the nominal clause as it does not have any feature marking polarity. There are two types of marginal clause: type 1 vocative, and type 2 exclamatory.

#### 6.3.1. The Marginal Clause, Type 1 Vocative

This type consists of a NP type 1 followed optionally by the vocative particle *è* which is analysed as a demarcative feature of this type.

(371) /// olò è /// *Friend!*

(372) /// ądhogbò è /// *Elephant!*



(373) /// ìkìrì            í ko // ga àlibò     ///  
*grasscutter so call            sp tortoise*  
*So grasscutter called out, "Tortoise!"*

(374) /// ònyimosyì // ga ani mè ///  
*The man said, "My wife!"*

### 6.3.2. The Marginal Clause, Type 2 Exclamatory

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

áyê	<i>expression of amusement</i>
e:	<i>expression of pleasure</i>
èhenyì	<i>I thought so!</i>
enyi	<i>Yes!</i>
enyìènyì	<i>No!</i>
gwa	<i>Come on! That's done!</i>
ohonyì	<i>You wait--something is going to happen.</i>
taa	<i>Too bad! Oh dear!</i>

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

(375) /// ànàmù // ga taa     /// àlibo wùru ìvo ...  
*animal            sp too-bad            tortoise do            what*  
*The animal (said), "Too bad! Why has tortoise ..."*



CHAPTER SEVEN  
THE VERBAL PHRASE

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## 7.0. Phrase Classes

On the basis of their function in the clause, three classes of phrase are distinguished: verbal phrase, nominal phrase, and adverbial phrase. The verbal phrase will be described in this chapter, the nominal phrase in Chapter 8, and the adverbial phrase in Chapter 9.

### 7.1. Function of the Verbal Phrase

The VP functions as a nuclear element of the verbal clause. There are two classes of VP which have different classes of verb functioning as the head and which have different functions. The two classes are: Class A with a class A verb as head and Class B with a class B verb as head. Class A functions in any verbal clause. Class B functions only in declarative clauses and in interrogative clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP. Differences of structure of the VP parallel the differences in class, so there is no need to set up different types of VP.

### 7.2. Structure of the Verbal Phrase

Each class of VP may be either of simple or compound structure. The simple VP has one verb functioning as head; the compound VP has two or more verbs functioning as head. The head is optionally preceded by preverbals and is optionally followed by postverbals and/or one reinforcer. The latter may be separated from the rest of the phrase by an NPo or AP, thus making the phrase discontinuous. It is useful to refer to the head and the pre- and postverbals as the core of the phrase and the reinforcers as the margin, since the margin is the same for all classes and types. The core of the VP is described in 7.3 and 7.4 and the margin in 7.5.

### 7.3. The Simple Verbal Phrase

This consists of a single verb functioning as head which is optionally preceded by one or two preverbals (Section 11.1). Class A preverbals usually occur nearest the head, though *le again* may occur following them before the head (example 378). The head is optionally followed by one or two postverbals (Section 11.2).

#### 7.3.1. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class A

A class A verb (see Section 10.1.1) functions as head, which may be preceded and followed by attributive elements as described above. The VP is underlined in the following examples:

(376) ó ma na te esyì na ....

Pre:B            Pre:A            VB:A

*he yet go-to not reach place which*

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

- (377) à lẹ ná dhị ẹdhyomù  
 Pre:B Pre:A VB:A  
*they again go-to eat food*  
*They again went to eat food.*
- (378) ẹfèni nà ná lẹ yila ni n'ùtwô omù  
 Pre:A Pre:B Vb:A  
*hen the go-to again stand cpl on roof of-house*  
*èviè*  
*another*  
*The hen went and perched again on the roof of another house.*
- (379) í tọ̀  
 Pre:A Vb:A  
*come-to take*  
*Come and get it.*
- (380) bha ná gbò  
 Pre:A Vb:A  
*you go-to prevent*  
*Go (pl.) and stop (it).*
- (381) à jii dhe me  
 Vb:A PostVb PostVb  
*they tie finish me*  
*They all gave me gifts.*
- (382) ò lẹ za dhe idhìàna ...  
 Pre:B Vb:A PostVb  
*she again become finish like*  
*She again became exactly like ...*  
 For further examples see Section 11.2.

### 7.3.2. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class B

This consists of one of the two class B verbs: *ya is* and *mo is not* functioning as head, together with a restricted number of optional attributive elements as described below. For a full description of the class B verbs see Section 10.1.2. *ya is*, *exists* may be preceded by one preverbal of class A or B, or followed by one postverbal.

- (383) ènì ná ya n'omu isùkulù  
 PreVb:A Vb:B  
*we go-to are in house of-school*  
*We had gone to the school building (and were still there).*
- (384) edei nà ma ya n'èbhà êsyìmù  
 PreVb:B Vb:B  
*man the still is at part of-back*  
*The man is still at the back.*
- (385) ìnùmù na ò ya me n'ìkpèbì  
 Vb:B PostVb  
*thing which it is me in heart*  
*thing which is in my heart*  
*mo is not, does not exist may occur with one preverbal of class B or one postverbal.*
- (386) ẹsòú ma mo ì  
 PreVb:B Vb:B  
*ear yet is-not him*  
*He could not yet hear (because the speaker was too far away).*
- (387) àswèì èí i mo  
 PreVb:B Vb:B  
*life his again is-not*  
*He did not live any longer.*
- (388) òdwèì òkí ná mo wo n' ùvomu ìkpèbì  
 Vb:B PostVb  
*fear that the is-not you in inside of-heart*  
*No fear like that is in your heart.*

#### 7.4. The Compound Verbal Phrase

Two to four verbs function as head of the phrase, and these may be preceded and/or followed by optional attributive elements. The verbs are analysed as constituting one compound head rather than as heads of separate VP's in a clause string (Section 5.9) for the following reasons:

(a) The tone pattern marking polarity, mood, and tense is manifested over the entire phrase.

(b) The completive and focus aspect particles *nì* occur following the final verb only (examples 391, 394).

(c) The class of the final verb of the head determines the number of NPo's that can occur, except in the stative compound VP which is described below.

(d) Preverbals Class B except *le again* occur only preceding the initial verb (example 390). Preverbals Class A and *le again* occur also before any noninitial verb (examples 338, 394).

(e) Postverbals occur following any verb (examples 395, 396).

#### 7.4.1. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class A

All the verbs functioning as head are class A verbs.

- (389) lè kàrì syìì fùnù yì  
 PreVb:B Vb:A Vb:A Vb:A Vb:A  
*again do-well move climb come*  
*Come and move up again really close.*
- (390) ó ma nyàne yìla  
 PreVb:B Vb:A Vb:A  
*he yet not-arise stand*  
*He had not yet got up.*
- (391) àkpìdhà ayèì nwùne rìi nì àmò  
 Vb:A Vb:A  
*change pass cpl child*  
*The shrimp had become a child.*
- (392) i yì í kpola  
 Vb:A Pre:A Vb:A  
*they come to gather*  
*They come and gather.*
- (393) ò la ná dhyàni n'unwoni àki nà  
 Vb:A PreVb:A Vb:A  
*it crawl to enter in mouth of-pot the*  
*It crawled into the mouth of the pot.*
- (394) ò ta ná te nì àkiè  
 Vb:A PreVb:A Vb:A  
*he go to reach cpl town*  
*He had reached the town.*

- (395) bhù sye dhe sise  
 Vb:A PostVb Vb:A

*you remove finish put-down*

*You take it right off (the fire) and put it down.*

- (396) o ì kúnu me dhjà  
 Vb:A PostVb Vb:A

*he will catch me eat*

*He will catch me and eat me.*

The Stative Compound Verbal Phrase. When the final verb in the phrase is one of the following: *za remain*, *fye exceed*, *bhue keep*, the number of NPo's which may occur is determined by the class of the verb occurring penultimately in the phrase (Section 10.1.1.1). In the following examples, intransitive verbs are marked IntrVb, and transitive verbs are marked TrVb.

- (397) èbhùru yì za akìè im-àlibò  
 TrVb IntrVb

*famine come stay town of-those-like-tortoise*

*Famine had come to tortoise's town.*

- (398) onù àlibo nà kpòmù bhùe  
 IntrVb TrVb

*mother of-tort. inc be-ill keep*

*Tortoise's mother kept on getting more ill.*

- (399) ùnomù ìnumu ei bhù fye  
 IntrVb TrVb

*knowing of-thing his be-much exceed*

*He was too clever.*

#### 7.4.2. The Compound Verbal Phrase, Class B

The class B verbs *ya is* and *mo is not* may occur with class A verbs in a compound VP. The class B verbs follow all class A verbs except *kɛ give* (examples 402, 404).

- (400) idhjàna ènì tou geni nyeni ya n'ênò  
 Vb:A Vb:A Vb:A Vb:B

*how we take look live are at now*

*how we are living now*



- (401) idhìàna ò tòu gbọ ya nà  
 Vb:A Vb:A Vb:B  
*how he take be-rich is the*  
*how rich he is*
- (402) idhìàna ò ya kyẹ ikpolì ógwè  
 Vb:B Vb:A  
*how it is give many people*  
*how it is for many people*
- (403) ó dhemu mo  
 Vb:A Vb:B  
*it be-big is-not*  
*It isn't big.*
- (404) ó gbori mo kyẹ ênì  
 Vb:A Vb:B Vb:A  
*it be-hard is-not give us*  
*It isn't hard for us.*

### 7.5. The Verbal Phrase Margin

One reinforcer (see Section 11.5) may occur following the core of the VP. If the VP is followed by a NPo or AP, the reinforcer occurs clause finally and the VP is discontinuous. When the reinforcer occurs following a NPo, it may form part of the NPo or part of the VP. The analysis is clear from the context. When the VP is negative and emphatic, the margin consists of the reinforcer *nụ* followed by a repetition of the verb (Section 5.4.3, examples 264, 265).

The reinforcer is analysed as an attributive element of the VP and not as constituting a separate AP, since it can never be expanded and since it functions as an attributive element also of the NP (Section 8.2.1.1). For this latter reason it is also not analysed as a feature of the whole clause.

- (405) bha yì í pa kyẹ enì ivìè lòu  
 Vb Aux Vb Vb NPo NPo rf  
*you come to raise give us song just*  
*Just come (pl.) and start the song for us.*
- (406) mị nà zà swèi |gbo bhòò  
 Vb Vb NPo rf  
*I ine stay cast net for-long*



CHAPTER EIGHT  
THE NOMINAL PHRASE

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## 8.0. Function of the Nominal Phrase

The primary function of the NP is as an element of the clause (a) as subject preceding the VP and as object following the VP in verbal clauses, and (b) as the sole element or either of two elements of the nominal clause.

The NP also has a secondary function as a rankshifted unit at phrase rank (a) as part of the complex head of a simple NP when it is termed a genitive construct (Section 8.2.1.3), (b) as either of two elements of an extended NP (Section 8.3), (c) as a complete AP type 2 (Section 9.2.2), and (d) as an element of AP type 1 (Section 9.2.1).

## 8.1. Structure of the Nominal Phrase

The NP may be either simple or extended. The simple NP has one element functioning as head. The extended NP consists of two or more simple NP's functioning as a single phrase (Section 8.3).

## 8.2. The Simple Nominal Phrase

Simple NP's are divided into seven types according to the element that functions as head of the phrase.

### 8.2.1. The Simple NP, Type 1 Noun as Head

This type may have either a simple head, consisting of a single noun (abbreviated Nn), or a complex head, consisting of a noun followed by a genitive construct. The complex head is described in Section 8.2.1.3.

The head is optionally followed by up to three of the following attributive elements in the order given: adjective (Adj); numeral (Num); possessive (Poss); demonstrative (Dem); modifying construct; reinforcer (rf). The term 'modifier' is used to cover all the attributive elements which are not constructs, since these all have similar juncture features with the head of the phrase. The modifiers are described first in Section 8.2.1.1 and then the modifying constructs in Section 8.2.1.2.

#### 8.2.1.1. Modifiers

The order of occurrence of the modifiers is described first, followed by an account of the vowel harmony, juncture features, and concord operating within the NP. All these are relational features of the NP type 1.

##### (a) Order of Occurrence

The order of occurrence of the modifiers in the NP is as follows:

- adjective (Section 11.3)
- numeral (Section 10.4)
- pronoun functioning as possessive (Section 10.3)
- demonstrative (Section 10.5)

## reinforcer (Section 11.5)

Two reinforcers may occur together (examples 411, 415).

- (410) ò nó ko ùtòmù evà àyò  
           Nn   Num Dem  
*he go-to call head two other*  
*He went to call the other two people.*
- (411) olo i nà a dhuu nù ẹbhà na ó za na yí nì  
       Nn Poss rf rf  
*friend her the also follow cpl part that he stay the come cpl*  
*Her friend, too, came from the place where he had been.*
- (412) ọmò gbẹ̀rì àvù  
       Nn Adj Num  
*child small one*  
*one small child*
- (413) ọ̀nì wọ̀ àka nà  
       Nn Poss Dem rf  
*wife your that the*  
*that wife of yours*
- (414) ị̀pàmù ẹ̀saa wọ̀  
       Nn Num Poss  
*pound three your*  
*your three pounds*
- (415) ẹ̀kpakìdho lẹ̀u a  
       Nn rf rf  
*type-of-snail only even*  
*even just a nonedible snail*

There is one exception to the order given above. Nouns of class A denoting kinship (Section 10.2.1) are obligatorily possessed, and the possessive immediately follows the noun:

Compare	àtye mè vìè	<i>my dear brother</i>
	Nn Poss Adj	
with	olò vìè mè	<i>my dear friend</i>
	Nn Adj Poss	
Compare	onu me bô	<i>my grandmother</i>
	Nn Poss Adj	<i>(lit. my big mother)</i>
with	ùkwó bo mè	<i>my big farm</i>
	Nn Adj Poss	

(b) Vowel Harmony

The following modifiers harmonise with the vowel quality of the preceding word in the NP: demonstrative, singular pronouns

(all monosyllabic) functioning as possessives, and the numeral *avu one*. (See Section 2.2.1 for the vowel harmony system.)

### Demonstratives

òdò	à nò	<i>this rope</i>	odò	ânò	<i>this mortar</i>
òdò	âyò	<i>another rope</i>	odò	âyò	<i>another mortar</i>

### Singular Possessives

òdó	mè	<i>my rope</i>	odo	mè	<i>my mortar</i>
òdó	ì	<i>his rope</i>	odo	ì	<i>his mortar</i>
àwò	fàì wò	<i>your new shirt</i>	àwó	dho wò	<i>your old shirt</i>

### Numeral *avu*

òdò	àvù	<i>one rope</i>	odò	àvù	<i>one mortar</i>
èdhyà	gbèrì àvù	<i>one small yam</i>	èdhyá	bò àvù	<i>one big yam</i>

### (c) Juncture Features

The juncture between a modifier and the previous word in the NP, whether this is the head or another modifier, is marked by tone on one of the syllables at the boundary.

When a modifier begins with a vowel (unless it is a single vocalic morpheme), the normal rules of elision operate, i.e., the first vowel at the juncture is elided together with its tone (Section 2.4). In addition, there is a high juncture. The initial tone of the modifier which is normally L is a H<sub>L</sub> glide. The following modifiers begin with a vowel: numerals, demonstratives, and disyllabic possessives.

### Numerals

àvù	<i>one</i>	ìsyò nì	<i>five</i>
èdhyà	àvù <i>one yam</i>	èdhyà	ìsyò nì <i>five yams</i>
ìgbo	àvù <i>one net</i>	ìgbo	ìsyò nì <i>five nets</i>

### Disyllabic Possessives

ènì	<i>our</i>	èguà	<i>their</i>
èdhyà	ènì <i>our yam</i>	èdhyà	èguà <i>their yam</i>
ìgbo	ènì <i>our net</i>	ìgbo	èguà <i>their net</i>

### Demonstratives

à nò	<i>this</i>	àkà	<i>that</i>
èdhyà	à nò <i>this yam</i>	èdhyà	àkà <i>that yam</i>
ìgbo	à nò <i>this net</i>	ìgbo	àkà <i>that net</i>

When a modifier begins with a consonant or is a single vo-

calic morpheme, there is no elision. The juncture with the previous word is of three types: upstepped high, low, or neutral. The following modifiers begin with a consonant or consist of a single vowel: adjectives, monosyllabic possessives, reinforcers. The type of juncture operating with the adjectives and reinforcers is morphologically conditioned and cannot be predicted from the phonology (Section 11.3.3 and 11.5).

(a) Upstepped High Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture is h tone:

ẹ̀dhyà *yam*

ìgbò *net*

Adjectives

ẹ̀dhyá bô *big yam*

ìgbó bô *big net*

ẹ̀dhyá doramù *long yam*

ìgbó doramù *long net*

Monosyllabic Possessives

ẹ̀dhyá mẹ *my yam*

ìgbó mẹ *my net*

ẹ̀dhyá wọ *your yam*

ìgbó wọ *your net*

ẹ̀dhyá ì *his yam*

ìgbó ì *his net*

ẹ̀dhyá bhà *your (pl) yam*

ìgbó bhà *your (pl) net*

Reinforcers

ẹ̀dhyá nà *the yam*

ìgbó nà *the net*

ẹ̀dhyá ò *yam indeed*

ìgbó ò *a net indeed*

(b) Low Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture, if normally L, remains L, and if normally H is a H<sub>L</sub> glide:

Adjective

ẹ̀dhyà gbẹ *a little yam*

ìgbò gbẹ *a few nets*

Reinforcer

ẹ̀dhyà a *yam too*

ìgbò a *a net too*

(c) Neutral Juncture

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

Adjectives

ẹ̀dhyà vìè *good yam*

ìgbo vìè *a good net*

ẹ̀dhyà gbẹ̀rì *small yam*

ìgbo gbẹ̀rì *small net*

(d) Concord

The only modifier which concords with the head of the NP is the demonstrative, since this is the only modifier which has sin-







- (424) ùkwô farm                          ògà ùkwô edge of the farm  
Nn GenCon

The genitive construct may consist of a head element only, as in the examples given so far, or of a head followed by one or two attributive elements. It is frequently not easy to tell whether an attributive element is attributive to the head of the construct or to the complex head. In some cases, the attributive element collocates only with one of the two heads and not with both and thus clarifies the analysis (examples 425-428). In the majority of cases it is the context alone which determines the analysis.

- (425) ì pa dhòu òko àbhìì àvù kyè ì  
                  Nn GenCon Num

## NP

*they lift take canoe of-kola-nut one give him*

*They took a canoe of kola nuts and gave it to him.*

The semantics preclude the analysis of the numeral as attributive to the head of the construct, i.e., *the canoe of one kola nut*.

The *h<sub>l</sub>* glide on the numeral is a juncture feature (Section 8.2.1.1), not a construct marker.

- (426) ọ nò tòu ẹí ta ọdhu [udhyomu àvù]  
  Nn Num

Nn GenCon

## NP

*he inc take him go face of-juju one*

*He was taking him to see one juju.*

In this context, the numeral does not collocate with ọdhu and is therefore analysed as attributive to the head of the construct.

The initial tone of *udhyomu* is H not h, since no L tone has interposed following the previous h tone (Section 2.3.1).

- (427) ànô ka èdhivìè àdhíà [na mí vyè] nà  
                  Nn GenCon RelCon rf

## NP

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

*This is the lament I made on that day.*

Since the verb *vyè cry* frequently co-occurs with the noun *èdhivie lament*, it is preferable to analyse the relative construct as attributive to the complex head.

(428) á ta na wa omu ede| âno [na ó yi ôfai ôfai]  
   Nn Dem RelCon  
   Nn GenCon  
   NP

one go to look-for house of-man this who he come new new  
 Let's go and look for the house of the man who very  
 recently arrived.

The verb yi come does not collocate with omù house;  
 therefore the relative construct is analysed as attributive to  
 the head of the construct.

One of the attributive elements of a genitive construct may  
 itself be a genitive construct, and further degrees of recursion  
 are possible. The highest number of degrees of recursion which  
 have occurred in the corpus is two (example 429).

(429) ʔni ɛ̀i ʔvùrà̀mù ákie êsyià [na ó nyeni za] nà  
   Nn GenCon RelCon rf  
   Nn GenCon  
   NP

wife his woman of-town of-that-place that she live stay the  
 His wife was a native of the town where he lived.

The genitive construct usually occurs immediately following  
 the noun head, preceding all the attributive elements. Two ex-  
 amples have been found of an adjective occurring between the noun  
 head and the genitive construct. This happens if the collocation  
 of the noun and the adjective is very frequent, e.g., in example  
 430 ʔzyi dhia (lit. bush bad) is the term for cemetery; and in  
 example 431 ákie vuuamu (lit. town being made clear) is the name  
 of a ceremony at New Year.

(430) ʔzyí dhia ʔsosí ʔsuà âno nà  
   Nn GenCon  
   Nn Adj GenCon Dem rf  
   bush bad of-church of-name this the  
   this cemetery of the Isua church

(431) ákie vuuamu [ûkpè âyò]  
   Nn Dem  
   Nn Adj GenCon  
   town clearing of-year that

the cleansing-the-town ceremony of that year

Co-occurrence of attributive elements in the NP. There are  
 no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of attributive  
 elements in the NP, but owing to semantic restrictions, no more  
 than three different elements co-occur in any one phrase. See

example 413.

### 8.2.2. The Simple NP, Type 2 Pronoun as Head

This type consists of a pronoun (abbreviated Pr) functioning as head. Third singular and all plural pronouns occur both as the NPs and the NPo. First and second singular pronouns occur only as the NPs. When they are semantically the object of the verb, they are analysed as elements of the VP. The reasons for this analysis are given in Section 11.2. The impersonal pronoun occurs only as the NPs. For full details of pronouns see Section 10.3.

(432)  $\frac{m\grave{i}}{I}$  sa  $\frac{\grave{i}}{it}$  I shot it.

(433)  $\frac{\grave{i}}{they}$  bisyi  $\frac{\acute{e}n\grave{i}}{us}$  They pushed us.

Certain pronouns may occur with an attributive element as follows:

Pronoun with relative construct. The following pronouns may occur with one or two relative constructs.

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

(434) mè [na m\grave{i} nà gba égberigba nà]  
 Pr RelCon  
*I who I inc tell story the*  
*I who am telling the story*

(435) ènì [na ènì ya n' éná] [na ènì gèni ta nì]  
 Pr RelCon RelCon  
*we who we are at here who we look go epl*  
*we who are here and who have looked at it*

Pronoun with reinforcer. The same pronouns as listed above may occur with a reinforcer. Preceding a *also*, however, the forms of the first and second person singular are m\grave{i} and bh\grave{u}.

(436)  $\frac{m\grave{e}}{Pr}$   $\frac{n\acute{u}}{rf}$  gbei onu mè  
*I instead should-kill mother my*  
*I instead should kill my mother.*

(437)  $\frac{\acute{e}n\grave{i}}{Pr}$   $\frac{l\grave{o}u}{rf}$  s\grave{i} t\grave{a}

*we only will go*  
*Only we will go.*

- (438)  $\frac{bh\hat{u}}{Pr\ rf} \text{ a me}$   
*you too agree*  
*You too agreed.*

8.2.3. The Simple NP, Type 3 Numeral or Demonstrative as Head

This type consists of a numeral or a demonstrative functioning as head which may optionally be followed by a relative or locative construct, and/or by a reinforcer.

- (439)  $\frac{av\hat{u}}{Num\ rf} \text{ l\hat{o}\hat{u} \text{ k\o ya}}$   
*one only remain is*  
*Only one is left.*

- (440)  $\frac{\{n\grave{a} [na\ m\acute{i}\ d\grave{u}] n\grave{a}}{Dem\ RelCon\ rf} \text{ somu ya}$   
*these which I buy the be-good are*  
*These that I bought are good.*

- (441)  $\frac{av\hat{u} [n'uvomu\ bh\grave{a}]}{Num\ LocCon}$   
*one in inside them*  
*one of them*

8.2.4. The Simple NP, Type 4 Interrogative as Head

This type has an interrogative (abbreviated Int) or the interrogative modifier (abbreviated IntMod) *vo* as one of its elements. The interrogative may function as head (examples 442, 443) or as the genitive construct (example 444). The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element following the head (example 445). The interrogative modifier has a low juncture with the preceding noun; i.e., the final tone of the noun, if normally H, is a HL glide:

ɛ̂dhyà yam                      ʄgbo net  
 ɛ̂dhyà vo *which yam?*           ʄgbô vo *which net?*

- (442)  $bh\grave{u} \text{ t\grave{a} } \frac{\grave{e}dho}{Int}$   
*you go where*  
*Where did you go?*

- (443)  $\frac{i\acute{y}\acute{o}}{Int} \text{ wuru n\grave{u} \grave{a}}$   
*what do def qu*  
*What has caused it?*

- (444)  $av\grave{u}r\grave{a}m\grave{u} \text{ \grave{a}n\grave{o} ka } \frac{\grave{a}n\grave{i} \acute{o}yo}{Nn\ Int\ as\ GenCon}$   
*woman this seq wife of-whom*

*Whose wife is this woman?*

- (445) ànò ka idhì òkòmù vo  
           Nn   GenCon IntMod  
*this seq kind of-affair what*  
*What kind of affair is this?*

### 8.2.5. The Simple NP, Type 5 Gerundive Construct as Head

The sole element of this type is a gerundive construct, which is formed from a declarative clause. The final verb of the verbal phrase is a participial form and has the nominalising suffix -mu (Section 10.2.2). In the examples below, the NP is underlined.

- (446) ò í na ko égwé bhuramu abhanì  
       he so go-to call people fishing lake  
       *So he went and called (some) fishermen.*
- (447) òkì ka edèì wuru karèsèmù edèì ikpebi  
       he seq man do making-strong man heart  
       *He is an encourager of other people.*
- (448) ikàà edèì fìnamù n'òkò gbori ya  
       old people entering in canoe hard is  
       *Entering a canoe is difficult for old people.*

### 8.2.6. The simple NP, Type 6 àna or idhàna as Head

This type consists of àna the one or idhàna how or the way in which functioning as head followed by a rankshifted verbal declarative clause as a relative construct. In this type, the relative construct does not have the marker na<sup>1</sup>. The only attributive element which may occur is a reinforcer.

- (449) àna [mí wo ku wo] nà // wùru ènià  
           ReICon                   rf  
       the-one I say give you the do thus  
       *Do what I tell you.*
- (450) òkì zá kori àna [evumù ya]  
   ReICon  
       he will-stay wait the-one fat is  
       *He will wait for the one with some fat.*
- (451) ó dhuu àna [bhú mamine bhue] yia  
   ReICon  
       it follow the-one you not-learn keep come  
       *Because you did not learn properly ...*

<sup>1</sup>àna and idhàna are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker na (Noun Class A3, Sec. 10.2.1).



often cannot be distinguished formally from the simple NP with a complex head, but the analysis is clear from the context.

Extended NP's are divided into seven types. In the following examples, each of the phrases comprising the extended phrase is enclosed in round brackets.

### 8.3.1. The Extended NP, Type 1 Appositional

The two NP's are in appositional relationship. This type differs from the appositional nominal clause both in function and in structure, as has already been described in Section 6.1.2. It also differs from two separate NPo's, as it may occur following transitive verbs, and there has to be concord of number between the phrases.

(458) ì bhye (ì) (edèì ígò)  
NPo

*they bear him man of-poverty*

*He was born a poor man.*

(459) ò ko nì (àlibò) (olò i nà)  
NPo

*he call cpl tortoise friend his the*

*He called his friend tortoise.*

(460) (ènì) (ùtòmù ẹsaa ná) funu dhyani n'èkùnù úte nà  
NPs

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

*We three should get onto the mat.*

(461) (òkì nàà ègwè íkpòkpò) (ọ) nọ tà bhùe

*he and pl load he inc go keep*

*He went on walking with his loads.*

(462) ògwè ávù ka (ògwè) (àna ímorobha nà)  
NP

*portion one seq portion the-one of-bridesmaids the*

*One portion was the one allocated to the bridesmaids.*

(463) o nò syìì ta (ègìlè ànwùmù) (idhìàna a nà gbe)  
NPo

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

*n'ùkwo nà ùkwo nà*

*from farm the farm the*

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

The second NP contains a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (Section 8.2.1.2).



- (464) (odhonì wò) (avùrù) wo ku wo nì  
NPs  
*husband your himself say give you cpl*  
*Your husband himself has told you.*

8.3.2. The Extended NP, Type 2 Partitive

One of the elements of the second NP is a numeral or a noun denoting quantity.

- (465) àmìnì yì í tǎi dhòu (àwo nà) (ògà èbhà àvù)  
NPO  
*water come to cover take trap the side of-part one*  
*Water came and reached one side of the trap.*

- (466) (imo nà) (avu) nà wùru ìniwùrà ...  
NPs  
*children the one inc do work*  
*One of the children is working ...*

- (467) (àrùsù) (ìkòpù àvù lẹ̀u á) mo  
NPs  
*rice cup one only even is-not*  
*There was not even one cup of rice.*

- (468) (èsèni nà) (ògbe á) kọ mo à  
NPs  
*fish the a-little any remain is-not qu*  
*Isn't there just a little of the fish left?*

8.3.3. The Extended NP, Type 3 Cumulative

Either both or only the second NP has the reinforcer a or ò finally.

- (469) (ìvùrà̀mù) (imòsyì a)  
NP  
*women men too men and women*

- (470) (ubhwò a) (otà a) ọ̀ dhẹ̀l dhẹ̀  
NPO  
*bone too flesh too he swallow finish*  
*He swallowed all the bones and the flesh.*

- (471) (ìnùmù àvù) (ìnùmù àvù á) i mo me  
NPs  
*thing one thing one even again is-not to-me*  
*I have nothing more at all.*

- (472) (imosyi nà a) (ìvuramu nà á) yì  
NPs  
*men the too women the too not-come*

*Neither the men nor the women came.*

- (473) (àsu ò) (òtana ò)  
                           NP  
*night indeed day indeed                    night and day*

#### 8.3.4. The Extended NP, Type 4 Reduplicative

The second phrase is a reduplication of the first phrase. The reduplication has the semantic meaning of intensity or plurality. This reduplication affects only one phrase in the clause and thus differs from the reduplication analysed as distributive aspect (Section 5.7) which affects more than one phrase.

- (474) (òmù vïovìè) (òmù vïovìè) nyìne dɛ  
                           NPs  
*house fine house fine appear finish*  
*Fine houses appeared.*

- (475) ùkwò onu mè // mì mɔni (ikiri) (ikiri)  
   NPo  
*farm of-mother my I see grass-cutter grass-cutter*  
*In my mother's farm I saw a lot of grass cutters.*

- (476) (àdhià) (àdhiá bhòò) // òkì kpomu ya  
                           NP  
*this-day this-day even he be-sick is*  
*On this very day he is ill.*

- (477) òkò èsyia nà // (èkòrí bô) (èkòrí bô na ò ya)  
   NP  
*pit there the maggot big maggot big which it is*  
*There in the pit there were big maggots.*

#### 8.3.5. The Extended NP, Type 5 Emphatic

A demonstrative or genitive construct which normally occurs following the head of a simple phrase may occur as the head of a second NP for greater emphasis.

- (478) ò nó tɔ (èdada nà) (àkâ)  
   NPo  
*he go-to take spear the that*  
*He went to take that spear.*

- (479) ò yi í te (èsyi nà) (etyì)  
   NPo  
*she come to reach place the of-name*  
*She came and reached Etyi's place.*

#### 8.3.6. The Extended NP, Type 6 Additive

Two or more NP's are joined by the conjunction nàà *and*, accompanied by.

(480) avùrà mù avù nàà ódhonì eì í bhye bhue imò ivà  
 NP  
*woman one and husband her so bear keep children two*  
*A woman and her husband had had two children.*

(481) onu-amò nàà okílòlò nà yà  
 NP  
*mother and cutlass inc come*  
*The mother was coming with a cutlass.*

(482) á kye ì úkpóu ísyovà nàà etitè àkànì  
 NP  
*they should-give him 6d ? and scrap of-cloth*  
nàà agbìdh-ubhwòni  
*and sherd*  
*They should give him 3/6d and a rag and a sherd.*

(483) ìkpilàmá á nàà ivie na nà yia  
 NP  
*snail also and song the inc come*  
*The snail, too, came singing.*

For numerals above eleven, an extended NP of this type is used.

(484) igbèì nàà ìsyllènì enyisà  
 NP  
*ten and shilling six*  
*sixteen shillings*

For further examples see Section 10.4.

When a noun and a pronoun co-occur in this type of NP, the pronoun occurs as the head of the first VP (example 485). When the first NP is a pronoun, it must be one of the following subject pronouns:

	1st	2nd	3rd
singular	mì	bhù	òkì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà

When the second NP is a pronoun, it must be one of the following object pronouns:

	2nd	3rd
singular	ìwo	ẹ̀ì
plural	ìbha	èguà

There is a ranking order in the occurrence of the different persons. First person pronouns occur only as the first NP. When second and third person pronouns occur together, the second

person pronoun occurs as the first NP and the third person as the second NP (examples 487, 488).

When a monosyllabic pronoun occurs as the first NP which is functioning as the object of the clause, the subject form of the pronoun has to be repeated before the second NP. The NP type 6 then functions as a rankshifted NP forming the second element of an appositional extended NP type 1:

o m̀oni m̀e m̀i nàà ʒsu m̀e      He saw my father and me.  
he saw me I and father my

o m̀oni ẁe bh̀u nàà ʒsu ẁe      He saw your father and you.

o m̀oni èi òk̀i nàà ʒsunu èi      He saw his father and him.

o m̀oni bh̀a bh̀a nàà ʒsunu bh̀a      He saw your father and  
you (pl).

But o m̀oni eǹi nàà ʒsunu eǹi      He saw our father and us.

o m̀oni èguà nàà ʒsunu èguà      He saw their father and  
them.

(485) m̀i nàà ʒsu m̀e ta ùkwò ónu m̀e nàh sa ik̀ir̀i  
I and father my go farm of-mother my to shoot grass-cutter  
My father and I went to my mother's farm to shoot grass  
cutters.

(486) òk̀i nàà ès̀eni nà b̀idha  
he and fish the walk      He went with the fish.

(487) m̀i nàà ìẁó si ta ǹi  
I and you will go def

You and I will be the ones to go.

(488) ed̀èi na bh̀u nàà èi nà k̀ona nà  
man who you and he inc fight the  
the man who is wrestling with you

### 8.3.7. The Extended NP, Type 7 Alternative

Two or more NP's are joined by the fixed construction ómomo (Section 4.4.15) which here functions as a conjunction.

(489) mi sì ná dụ es̀eni ómomo ànàm̀u  
I will go-to buy fish or meat

I will go and buy fish or meat.

(490) ʒtye ì ómomo ʒsunu èi tỳe ì eǹumà eǹumà  
brother his or father his send him money money

His brother or father sends him money.

(491) t̀ou eseni na tỳe ʒvuramu nà ómomo odhoni èi  
take fish the send woman the or husband her

Take the fish to the woman or her husband.

Pronouns do not occur as the head of the NP in this type of extended NP. A complex sentence type 15, Alternative (Section 4.4.15) occurs instead:

(492) mi sî tâ // ómomo bhu sî tâ  
*I will go or you will go*

*Either you or I must go.*

(493) ọ sî gế tyie mè // ómomo ọ sî gế tyie ặsu mè  
*he will write send me or he will write send father my*

*He will write to my father or me.*



CHAPTER NINE  
THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

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The adverbial phrase class is set up on the basis of its function in the clause. The AP may be similar or identical in structure with the NP, but it is analysed as an AP because it functions as an attributive element and not as the subject or object of the clause. See also Section 9.2.2.

9.1. Function of the Adverbial Phrase

The primary function of the AP is as a peripheral element of the clause. It occurs in the verbal clause following the VP, or NPo if present, and in the nominal clause following the final NP.

The AP has also a secondary function as a rankshifted unit functioning as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 (Section 8.2.1.2). Only certain types of AP have this secondary function. Details are given below.

9.2. Structure of the Adverbial Phrase

There are four types of AP.

9.2.1. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1

This type consists of a rankshifted NP (abbreviated rsNP) preceded by the preposition (abbreviated Prep) n' *in, at* or ṭu *until*. As all nouns begin with a vowel, the preposition n' never has a CV structure. But since the language has no C syllables, the preposition is written as n', indicating the elision of the V element. There is always a high juncture between either preposition and the NP; i.e., the initial tone of the NP, if normally L, is a Ḥ glide.

There are two subtypes. In type 1a, the NP is of type 1 (noun as head). This subtype may function as a locative construct in the NP type 1. In type 1b, the NP is of type 4 (interrogative). This subtype functions only in the interrogative clause.

Examples of Type 1a:

- (494)  ò    nỵine  n' [ísyìsyà  édạ̀]
 

Prep	rsNP:1
------	--------

  
*she appear in middle of-river*  
*She appeared in the middle of the river.*
  
- (495)  ìkìdhè  ná  ko  âlibò  n' [âdhè  âvụ̀]
 

Prep	rsNP:1
------	--------

  
*snail go-to call tortoise on day one*  
*One day snail went to call tortoise.*
  
- (496)  ò  bìdha  ta  ṭu  [eṭyi  úsuòdhá  bhọ̀]
 

Prep	rsNP:1
------	--------

  
*he walk go till place of-distance far-off*  
*He walked to a far distant place.*



- (497) à dhí nì udhyori nà t̩y [âdhe êsyòní]  
   Prep           rsNP:1  
*one eat cpl feast the till day five*  
*The feast lasted for five days.*

Examples of Type 1b:

- (498) á yí                       n' [êgìlè      vo]  
   Prep           rsNP:4  
*they should-come at time what*

*When should they come?*

- (499) bhṽ mṽni                 n' [êdhô]  
   Prep           rsNP:4  
*you see at where*  
*Where did you see it?*

9.2.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2

This type consists of a NP type 1 of which the head is a noun of class B (adverbial noun, Section 10.2.1), e.g., *ogbe a little*; *enia thus*; *eno now*. Such a construction is analysed as an AP rather than as a NPo because it may occur following an intransitive verb, a transitive verb with a NPo, or a ditransitive verb with two NPo's. (See Section 10.1.1.1 for verb classes.)

- (500) bha / nà zà dha / ûdi nà / òfùromù  
   NPo                AP  
*you inc stay drink wine the emptiness*  
*(Why) are you drinking the wine by itself (i.e.,*  
*without eating as well)?*

*dha is a transitive verb.*

- (501) ò / dhesyí / obô  
                                 VP                       AP  
*it last much*  
*It lasted a long time.*

*dhesyí is an intransitive verb.*

- (502) ì / va wu / enià  
                                 VP                       AP  
*they emp die thus*  
*They still died in this way.*

*wu is an intransitive verb.*

- (503) o / yì í te / ekunu / idhii ênô  
   NPo                AP  
*he come to reach top way this*  
*He came up to the surface like this.*

*te* is a transitive verb.

- (504) *ò / kẹ́ / ẹ̀tai ná / ọ̀bhò ẹ̀sàà*  
NPo AP  
*he cut tree the hand three*  
*He cut the tree three times.*

### 9.2.3. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 3

The sole element of this type is an adverb (Section 10.7).

- (505) *alagba na dèià kpaù*  
*gun the fall bang* *The gun went off, bang!*
- (506) *àkìè za nì búràmù*  
*town stay cpl quietly* *The town was really quiet.*
- (507) *syìre bhèè*  
*run indeed* *Do run!*
- (508) *ò / wuru nù / n' àzyì / wùrùmùwùrùmù*  
AP:1 AP:3  
*it do cpl in bush boom-boom*  
*There had been a sound, boom-boom, in the bush.*
- (509) *ò / gu me / n' ọ̀bhò / bhùà*  
AP:1 AP:3  
*it prick me in hand surprise*  
*Fancy it biting my hand.*
- (510) *ò / nụ́ / n' ùtòmù ọ̀kwei ná / kpoukpoukpou*  
AP:1 AP:3  
*he tap at top of-palm the knock-knock*  
*He tapped, knock-knock, at the top of the palm tree.*
- (511) *ò / wuru dhe bhue / ẹ̀vuù / ìdhìì ênià / tìrèdè*  
AP:2 AP:3  
*it do finish keep wing way thus wish*  
*It spread its wings right out, wish, like this.*

### 9.2.4. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 4

This type consists of a reduplicated noun or numeral. It is analysed as an AP rather than a NPo because it may occur following an AP or a transitive verb with a NPo. It denotes distribution. It differs from the distributive aspect of the clause (Section 5.7) in that only one element of the clause is reduplicated. It is therefore analysed as an AP and not as a feature of the clause.

- (512) *èbhũfũmu na / zá nwene / n' ugbuswei ná / ọ̀gbé ọ̀gbé*  
Nn Nn  
AP:1 AP:4  
*ash the will-stay spill on road the little little*  
*The ash will drop onto the road little by little.*

(513) bhũ / tɔu / uvi édhɪ nà / ɔvũ ɔvũ / tɔu kyɛ / ɔnàmũ ɔvũ  
NPO AP  
*you take mould of-palm the one one take give animal one*  
*You take the palm moulds one by one and give them to an animal.*

(514) ɔ / nò dèl / ulè / ɪpenì ɪpenì  
NPO AP  
*she inc sell banana penny penny*  
*She is selling bananas a penny each.*

Co-occurrence of Adverbial Phrase Types. Usually only one AP occurs in a clause, but a few examples of clauses with two AP's have been recorded. There are no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of types. The order of the AP's is in the sequence that the types have been numbered, starting with the locative/temporal type 1. The table below gives the co-occurrence of AP's which have been recorded.

AP Type				Example
1	2	3	4	
+		+		508-510
+			+	512
	+	+		511



CHAPTER TEN  
THE WORD i. MAJOR WORDS

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Words are divided into two main classes: major words, which may function as head of a phrase, and minor words, which never function as head of a phrase. The classes of major words will be described in this chapter and the classes of minor words in Chapter 11.

### 10.1. The Verb

The verb is divided into two classes, class A and class B, on the basis of its function in different VP classes. Class A comprises all the verbs in the corpus except two. Within class A, four types of verbs with different structures are distinguished. As there are no verb tone classes, and as the tone of a verb depends on the polarity, mood, and tense of the clause, the tone is not marked on verb roots in isolation.

#### 10.1.1. The Verb, Class A

##### 10.1.1.1. Subclasses of Class A Verbs

Class A verbs function as the head of VP class A (Section 7.4.1). They are further divided according to their degree of transitivity, i.e., their occurrence with NPo's in simple sentences. This analysis is preferred to dividing clauses into transitive, intransitive, etc., since the object required by a verb need not be present in the clause but may be implied from a previous clause.

Verbs frequently belong to more than one class. For example, *wu die* belongs to two classes, intransitive and transitive:

<i>edei nà wu</i>	<i>The man died.</i>
<i>ònwìlì wu edei nà</i>	<i>The man went cold with fear.</i> (lit. <i>body died the man</i> )

*dhì eat* belongs to two classes, transitive and ditransitive:

<i>ò dhì êdhyomù</i>	<i>He ate food.</i>
<i>ò dhì edei nà òsà</i>	<i>He is in debt to the man.</i> (lit. <i>he eats the man a debt</i> )

*dhyani enter* belongs to three classes, intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive:

<i>ò dhyani</i>	<i>He did not enter. It was not possible.</i>
<i>òmù ná dhyani eguà</i>	<i>There was not enough room for them in the house.</i> (lit. <i>the house did not enter them</i> )
<i>èsanì dhyani edèi nà àdhù</i>	<i>Pepper went into the man's eye.</i> (lit. <i>pepper entered to the man the eye</i> )

Class A1 Intransitive. The VP of which this class functions as head cannot be followed by a NPo:

dhẹmu *be big*                      dhẹsyi *last long*              duu *go out*  
 f|na *enter (canoe)*              funu *go up*                      w|i *dawn, get light*

Class A2 Transitive. The VP of which this class functions as head is followed by a NPo. Three subclasses are set up.

Class A21 comprises verbs for which there is no grammatical restriction on the following NPo. Also, if the NPo is not specified, the noun ìnimù *thing* is required:

dẹi *sell*                      dh| *eat*                      dẹ *buy*  
 nẹ *beat*                      tọ *take*                      wuru *do*

Class A22 comprises verbs for which the following NPo must have a noun denoting place as head:

gbe *go home*              ta *go*                      yi *come*

Class A23 comprises verbs for which the following NPo is restricted to one specific noun (e.g., one which is cognate with the verb) or one of a restricted group of nouns:

b|dha *walk*      b|dha ẹk|è      *commit adultery (lit. walk town)*  
                     b|dha ẹvùràmù      *marry a woman (lit. walk woman)*  
                     b|dha ọko      *mediate (lit. walk canoe)*  
 dei *fall*      dei ẹgbura      *turn into a ghost (lit. fall ghost)*  
                     dei ẹnamu      *be stupid (lit. fall animal)*  
                     dei orou      *break the law (lit. fall law)*  
 duu *go out*      duu ẹmini      *bathe (lit. go out water)*  
 vẹma *be angry*      vẹma ọvuma      *be angry*

Class A3 Ditransitive. The VP of which this class functions as head is followed by two NPo's. The first NPo is an animate noun and functions as indirect object:

k|dhe *remove from*              kpẹ *pay to*  
 kyẹ *give to*                      pa *lift up for*  
 s|se *put down for*              sy|e *send to*

#### 10.1.1.2. Structure of Class A Verbs

Four types of class A verbs are distinguished.

Type 1 Simple Root. This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: CV, CVV, CVCV, CVCVCV.

ta *go*                      dei *fall*  
 d|re *cook*                      kofilo *cough*

Type 2 Root with Reduplication. Some verbs of two or more

syllables have reduplicated syllables in the root. The nonreduplicated form of the verb does not occur. The reduplication of syllables as part of the verb root differs from the reduplication of the secondary aspect (Section 5.7) where the complete verb is reduplicated.

Type 2a reduplication of part of a syllable. This type is rare. Only the following have occurred:

gigyo	<i>lever</i>	gigya	<i>rebuke</i>
gugwo	<i>heap together</i>	suswe	<i>go south</i>

Type 2b reduplication of one syllable:

CVCV	bhabha	<i>wander</i>	lele	<i>deceive</i>
	mimi	<i>squeeze</i>	pipi	<i>suck</i>
CVCVCV	bhynene	<i>be on good terms</i>	dhunene	<i>meet</i>
	fynene	<i>doubt</i>	gbunono	<i>heal</i>
	kjnono	<i>resemble</i>		

Type 2c reduplication of both syllables:

bholibholi	<i>rush to save</i>	burebure	<i>pray</i>
kilekile	<i>roll</i>	kpurokpuro	<i>gather</i>
syinesyine	<i>hide</i>	v̄inivini	<i>tangle</i>

Type 3 Derived Verb. This type consists of a root followed by a derivational suffix which harmonises with the vowel quality of the root (Section 2.2.1). There are two classes of derivational suffix.

Class A changes the subclass of the verb and has two members:

-ne *of its own accord, by itself* changes verbs from class A2 (transitive) to class A1 (intransitive).

-se *causative* changes verbs from class A1 (intransitive) to class A2 (transitive).

kje	<i>split open</i> (tr.)	kje-ne	<i>split open by itself</i>
kue	<i>open</i> (tr.)	kue-ne	<i>open by itself</i> (intr.)
ke	<i>burn</i> (intr.)	ke-se	<i>set light to</i> (tr.)
yila	<i>stand</i> (intr.)	yila-se	<i>raise to upright position</i> (tr.)

With a CVV root in which the first V is a nonclose vowel and the second V is a close vowel, the second V is dropped before the suffix:

bhou	<i>uproot</i>	bhou-ne	<i>uproot by itself</i>
bou	<i>be wet</i>	bou-se	<i>make wet</i>



dɛi     *sell*                         dɛ-se     *sell to a person*

The two suffixes have on occasion co-occured with the same root, but this is rare. When they do co-occur, -ne precedes -se, and the resultant verb is transitive:

bhɔ-ne-se     *unintentionally cause something to uproot  
                itself*

Allomorphs of -ne and -se. -ne and -se have phonologically conditioned allomorphs -ene and -ese, respectively, which occur in the environments given below. (Compare the allomorphs of the nominalising suffix -mu (Noun type 4a). In both cases, roots ending in a close vowel are followed by the VCV allomorph.)

(a) Following CV root ending in a close vowel:

fy           *be white*                     fy-ese       *make white*

bhi          *be black*                   bhi-ese      *make black*

(b) Following CVV root where both vowels are close and CVCV root ending in a close vowel, the final vowel is dropped:

nuu         *shake*                         nu-ene       *shake by itself*

dhyomu     *be sweet*                       dhyom-ese   *make sweet*

kari        *be strong*                   kar-ese       *strengthen*

mji         *be cool*                      m]-ese        *make cool*

Class B maintains the subclass of the verb and has only one member: -ru *more than once*

dɔ           *pull*                                 dɔ-ru         *pull to pieces*

fya         *slice*                               fyɔ-ru        *shred*

sa           *shoot*                               sɔ-ru         *shoot more than once*

With a CVV root ending in a close vowel, the final vowel is dropped before the suffix:

bhɔu         *uproot*                             bhɔ-ru        *uproot many plants*

yɔu          *bail out*                               yɔ-ru         *bail out repeatedly*

The above are analysed as suffixes and not as postverbals because their distribution is restricted to certain verbs, and this restriction is not dependent upon lexis. For the same reason, the suffixes are not analysed as marking aspect.

Type 4 Compound Verb. This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only two examples occur in this data.

tɥvai *get rid of*           (vai lose   tɥ ?? )

yinigbe *return home.* This is a fusion of yi *come*, ni the completive particle, and gbe *go home*. Proof of the fusion is the occurrence of ni medially, whereas in a compound VP it occurs finally (Section 7.4).

10.1.1.3. The verbs bhue, kyẹ, tọu and wei

These four verbs have allomorphs as follows. *bhue keep* has two allomorphs: *bho* occurs preceding *kye give* (this is the only verb that may follow *bho*); *bhue* occurs elsewhere (i.e., preceding NP<sub>o</sub> or AP or clause finally):

(515) ò wuru êdhyomú bho kye ì  
she make food keep give him

*She prepared some food and kept it for him.*

(516) ò gbei ạnamú bho kye olo ì  
he kill animal keep give friend his

*He shot an animal and kept it for his friend.*

Compare:

(517) ò tọu êdhyomú bhue n' ậtìlà  
he take food keep on shelf-above-fire

*He kept the food on the shelf above the fire.*

*kyẹ give* has two allomorphs: *ky* occurs preceding the pronominal postverbals *me* and *wo 1st and 2nd person singular object*, respectively; *kyẹ* occurs elsewhere. The vowel of the allomorphs harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb:

kỳ mẹ Give me.

ò tọu kụ wọ He gave it to you. (lit. he took gave you)

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

Compare:

kyế ì Give it to him.

ò wuru kye edei nà He did it for the man.

*tọu take* has two allomorphs: *dhọu* occurs following another verb in a compound VP except *za stay*; *tọu* occurs elsewhere. The vowels of *tọu* harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb:

pà dhọu Pick it up. (lit. lift take)

ò kunu dhọu He caught hold of it. (lit. he held took)

Compare:

ò tọu dhị He took it and ate it.

ò tou dire He took it and cooked it.

ò za tọu ứdhi nà He kept taking the wine.

*wei say* has two allomorphs: *wo* occurs preceding *kye give*; *wei* occurs elsewhere:

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

èní wo kye edei nà *We said to the man ...*

Compare:

ò wei ênià *He spoke thus.*

#### 10.1.1.4 Class A Verbs ending in a Close Vowel

Verb roots ending in a close vowel add the suffix -a in the following clauses:

positive: descriptive, referential, future

negative: imperative, subjunctive, indicative if the VP is emphatic (Section 5.4.3)

in the following positions:

clause finally (examples 518, 519)

preceding a single vocalic morpheme (example 520)

preceding a consonant (example 521) except the preposition n' (example 522)

Following CVCV roots ending in a close vowel the final vowel is dropped before the suffix:

wuru do nà wúr-à *Do not do (it).* (neg. imper.)

kírì cut ọ sị kír-à *he will cut* (future)

(518) // i nà zà gbèì-a //  
*they inc stay laugh*

*They kept laughing.* (descriptive tense)

(519) // nà yí-à //  
*neg come*

*Do not come!* (negative imperative)

(520) // èní nà yì-a ò //  
*we inc come indeed*

*Oh yes, we are coming!* (descriptive tense)

(521) // alagba ná dei-a kpàù //  
*gun the fall bang*

*The gun went off, bang!* (referential tense)

(522) // ìnùmù [na ì sị dhí n' ọkìè] ná za //  
*thing that they will eat in town the was-not*

*There was nothing for them to eat in the town.*

dhí is in the future tense, but does not have the suffix -a because it precedes the preposition n'.

10.1.2. The Verb, Class B

Class B verbs function as the head of VP class B (Section 7.4.2). The class has only two members: *ya is, exists* and *mo is not, does not exist*. They are analysed as verbs because they occur as the head of a VP and have the same juncture features with the NPs as class A verbs (Section 5.8.2). They are distinguished from class A verbs because of their limited distribution (they occur only in declarative clauses and clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP) and because they occur only in certain positions in a compound VP (Section 7.4.2).

*ya* functions only in positive clauses. It always has H tone. It may occur with one NPo (example 525), but this is rare.

(523) // aɫəbà / ya / n'âmìnì òkò //  
           NPs   VP   AP  
           *gun is in water of-canoe*

*The gun is in the water in the canoe.*

(524) // ɛnùmà [na òkí tɔ̀u bídha ɔ̀vuramu nà] / ya //  
   NPs  VP  
           *money that he will-take marry woman the is*

*He has the money to marry the woman.*

(525) // ò / ya / ì / n' otòrù //  
           NPs VP NPo AP  
           *it is her in throat*

*It's in her throat.*

*mo* functions only in negative clauses. It always has a H tone. It may be followed by one NPo (example 527), but this is rare.

(526) // èvè / mo //  
           NPs VP  
           *other is-not*

*There is no other.*

(527) // ó / mo / ɔ̀wò //  
           NPs VP NPo  
           *he is-not state-of-being-alive*

*He is not alive.*

(528) // onu êguá / mo / n'òmù //  
           NPs   VP   AP

*mother their is-not in house*

*Their mother is not at home.*

10.2. The Noun

Nouns are divided into two classes on the basis of their

function in phrases and into six types according to differences in their structure.

10.2.1. Classes of Noun

Class A General Nouns. This class functions as the head of the simple NP type 1 (Section 8.2.1). There are three subclasses.

Class A1 nouns can function in a complex head (Section 8.2.1.3) either as head of the whole phrase (i.e., first head) or as head of the genitive construct:

edèl	<i>person</i>	edà	<i>river</i>	èsènì	<i>fish</i>
odò	<i>mortar</i>	ùtòmù	<i>head</i>	ùkwô	<i>farm</i>

A small group of nouns of this class denoting kinship are obligatorily possessed and occur either with a pronoun functioning as possessive, or with a genitive construct:

ạnì	<i>wife</i>	ạsùnù	<i>father</i>	ạtyè	<i>relation</i>
odhònì	<i>husband</i>	ofònì	<i>co-wife</i>	omìnì	<i>own child</i>
onù	<i>mother</i>				

ạsùnù *father* has an allomorph ạsù which occurs preceding *me my* and *you your*.

Following ạsùnù *father*, ạtyè *relation* and onù *mother*, if the possessor is not specified, the noun ạmò *child* occurs.

ko ạsùnù ạmò	<i>Call the father.</i>
ó bhuene bhue ạtye ạmò	<i>He has no relations.</i>

Class A2 nouns can function in a complex head only as the first head:

igbugbò	<i>thickness</i>	ikpolì	<i>a quantity</i>	òfùromù	<i>worthless-</i>
okàà	<i>oldness of age</i>	okòkìrò	<i>shortness</i>		<i>ness</i>
ọkpìlòkpìlò	<i>genuineness</i>	okpô	<i>badness</i>		

Class A3 nouns cannot occur as the sole element of a NP. There are three members:

ana	<i>the one</i>	idhiana	<i>how, like</i>
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These nouns are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker *na*. They are followed either by a relative construct (Section 8.2.6) or by a genitive construct (Section 8.2.1.3). *ana* may also be followed by a possessive. *ana* has two allomorphs: ạnu occurs before a consonant; *ana* occurs before a vowel.

(529) ó dhuu âna [òkí kilo ni egwe ạnàmù] a nà  
ReICon rf rf  
*it follow the-one he rule opl pl animal too the*

*Because he rules over the animals ...*

- (530) ó kue dhe âna [avuramu] nà  
 GenCon rf  
*he open finish the-one of-woman the*  
*(When) he opened up the woman's ...*
- (531) ọ nọ vọmu gbei ọmo àna [ókàà] nà  
 GenCon rf  
*he go-to flog kill child the-one of-age the*  
*He went and flogged the eldest child to death.*
- (532) àna ì ọki sì zá fou akibhì  
 Poss  
*the-one his he will stay smoke pipe*  
*As for him, he will go on smoking his pipe.*
- (533) ọ dhẹmu idhiana [anu wọ]  
 GenCon  
*it not-big like the-one your*  
*It is not big like yours.*
- (534) ọkù idhiana [eswei nà] ka idhiana [aku avuramu nà ya]  
 GenCon ReICon  
*teeth like axe the seq how teeth of-woman the is*  
*The woman's teeth were as sharp as an axe. (lit. teeth like an axe is how the woman's teeth were)*
- egwe plurality has to be followed by one of the NP modifiers (Section 8.2.1.1) or by a genitive construct.
- (535) ọ nọ wa ẹgwè [na i sì syimu oko nà]  
 RelCon  
*he go-to look pl rel they will push canoe the*  
*He went to look for those who would push the canoe.*
- (536) ẹgwè ávù na za wa úkwò  
 Num rf  
*pl one the stay harvest farm*  
*One group was harvesting the farm.*
- (537) ẹgwè [ànàmù] ná kpolì  
 GenCon  
*pl animals to-to gather*  
*The animals gathered together.*

Class B Adverbial Nouns. This class functions as head of AP type 2 (Section 9.2.2). Some of the members also belong to Class A2. In the examples below, nouns with this dual membership are marked with an asterisk.

ènà *thus*

ènó *now*

*obô	a lot	*òfùromù	in vain
*ogbe	a little	oklè	occasion

### 10.2.2. Types of Noun

The CV structure of the six different types of nouns is described first, followed by details of their tone patterns.

Type 1 Simple Root. This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: VCV, VCVV, VCVCV, and VCVCVCV.

òkò	canoe	àkaì	thatch	enùmà	money
		apìdhemù	seat		

Nouns of more than four syllables involve reduplication of one or more syllables or are compounds.

Type 2 Root with Reduplication. Some three and four syllable nouns and nouns of more than four syllables other than compounds have reduplicated syllables in the root. The nonreduplicated form of the noun does not occur.

Type 2a reduplication of part of a syllable:

apìpyà	hornbill	èdidhyè	four days (former week)
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Type 2b reduplication of one syllable:

VCVCV	òdyìdyì	snake	òdhùdhu	unripe palm fruit
	òvùvù	light	usùsù	south
VCVCVCV	àdùbhabha	alligator	ikùlelè	iron
	òkíloìò	cutlass	òkùlulu	spring of water
	ègàdigà	fish trap	ègbùlugbù	sandfly
	egùlegù	rainbow	èkpòrikpo	shrub

Type 2c reduplication of one syllable with a change from a front to a back or central vowel:

ègbèrìgbà	story	ègbìnàgbà	bell
ofílofò	skull	opilopo	pig

Type 2d reduplication of two syllables:

èmùrààmùrà	act	òfìrìfìrì	darkness
òkànìkànì	broom	ovolìvolì	fresh air

Type 3 Prefixed Root. In this type there is a change in the initial vowel between the singular and the plural. The noun is therefore analysed as consisting of a prefix followed by a root. The singular prefix is a-/o-, and the plural prefix is i-. Nouns of this type are few. Only the following have occurred in this corpus:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
amemùrè	imemùrè	<i>young girl</i>
amò	imò	<i>child</i>
amodhyòmù	imodhyòmù	<i>young man</i>
avùràrà	ivùràrà	<i>woman</i>
okàà	ikàà	<i>old man</i>
ozyi	izyi	<i>thief</i>

Note that a vowel prefix always harmonises with the vowel quality of the following root.

#### Type 4 Derived Noun

Type 4a. This type consists of the nominalising prefix ò- *singular* or ì- *plural* and one to three verb roots of class A followed by the nominalising suffix -mù. The suffix has two allomorphs: -amù occurs following roots ending in a close vowel (in CVCV and CVCVCV roots the final vowel drops before the suffix); -mu occurs following roots ending in a nonclose vowel. The suffix harmonises with the vowel quality of the verb root. Due to semantic restrictions, some nouns of this type do not have a plural form.

<u>Verb root(s)</u>	<u>Noun</u>
bhuene <i>have</i>	òbhuenemù ìbhuenemù <i>owner</i>
dhì <i>eat</i>	òdhiàmù <i>eating</i>
gwe <i>obey</i>	ògwemù <i>obedience</i>
kilo <i>rule</i>	òkilomù ìkilomù <i>chief</i>
sami ne <i>forget</i> }	òsaminekyemù <i>forgiveness</i>
kyè <i>give</i> }	
yìla <i>stand</i> }	òyilawosezamù <i>steadfastness</i>
wose <i>strengthen</i> }	
za <i>stay</i> }	

Type 4b. This type consists of a vowel prefix and a verb root. There is no regular correspondence between the prefix and the root:

<u>Verb root</u>	<u>Noun</u>
swèi <i>live</i>	àswèì <i>life</i>
gbou <i>advise</i>	ègbòù <i>advice</i>
kpomu <i>be ill</i>	ìkpòmù <i>illness</i>
koni <i>fight</i>	òkònì <i>fight</i>



kàrì *be strong*

ùkàrì *power*

Type 5 Compound Noun. This type consists of two roots. In type 5a, one root is a verb root and the other is a noun root. In other types, both are noun roots which have fused to some degree and no longer follow the regular rules of elision or tone at word juncture (Section 2.4).

Type 5a. This type consists of the nominalising prefix ò- *singular* or ì- *plural* and a verb root of class A followed by a noun root functioning as complement. The normal rules of vowel elision apply at the juncture of verb and noun. But where there is a change from the raised vowel set in the first root to the lowered set in the second root, the compound has to be written with a hyphen:

<u>Verb root</u>	<u>Noun root</u>	<u>Compound noun</u>
fou <i>smoke</i>	àkìbhì <i>pipe</i>	òfo-àkìbhì <i>pipe-smoker</i>
gbei <i>kill</i>	èsènì <i>fish</i>	ògbe-esènì <i>fisherman</i>
ji <i>keep</i>	ànàmù <i>animal</i>	òji-ànàmù <i>herdsman, shepherd</i>
bìdha <i>walk</i>	òkò <i>messenger</i>	òbìdhokò <i>mediator</i>
sa <i>shoot</i>	òbhò <i>hand</i>	òsobhò <i>hunter</i>

Type 5b. This type consists of two noun roots which are still identifiable but which have partly fused. In the fusion, the initial vowel of the second word is elided. Normally the final vowel of the first word is elided at word juncture:

ìdhìl-fàì	<i>intestines</i>	(ìdhìl <i>vine</i> èfàì <i>stomach</i> )
àmìni-bhwòni	<i>soup</i>	(àmìni <i>water</i> ùbhwòni <i>salt</i> )

Type 5c Only one of the roots is still identifiable:

àkúm-edèì	<i>human being</i>	(edèì <i>person</i> )
òny-òkò	<i>messenger</i>	(òkò <i>messenger</i> )
òny-àvùrààmù	<i>woman</i>	(àvùrààmù <i>woman</i> )
òny-imòsyì	<i>man</i>	(mòsyì <i>male</i> )
òw-àwiè	<i>next morning</i>	(àwiè <i>morning</i> )

Type 5d. Some nouns are formed from the root àmò *child* or imò *children* being prefixed to another root. Such nouns are analysed as compounds, since the tone pattern differs from that of two separate nouns in a NP as follows. (Inside the square brackets, tone is written phonetically.)

noun + noun	àmò + àkìè	> [ámákìè]	<i>child of the town</i>
àmò + noun	àmò + àkìè	> [ámákìè]	<i>small town, village</i>

Nouns with the prefix *amò* are diminutives. Nouns with the prefix *imò* are mainly plurals. The prefix *im-* also means *belonging to the same group or species as ...*

okorì	<i>name of a man</i>	im-Ókorì	<i>Okori's people</i>
am-àkì	<i>small pot</i>	am-okùbô	<i>small box</i>
im-àní	<i>wives</i>	im-ebhùrà	<i>contemporaries</i>
im-àkiresàdhù	<i>buffaloes</i>	im-olò	<i>friends</i>

In *amómu-vùrà mù girl*, the first root is probably an older form of *amò*.

Type 5e. Neither of the roots is identifiable. The occurrence of a medial tone glide points to the fusion of two former roots, as tone glides do not occur medially in monomorphemic nouns.

elǎlì	<i>sign</i>	òfòrò	<i>frog</i>
otòrù	<i>throat</i>		

Type 6 Clause-based Compounds. A few names of birds and animals and insects are derived from a verbal declarative clause. The clause without any marker functions as a single noun.

òkari	oko	yài	òkpì	<i>woodpecker</i>
<i>carver of-canoe pulls unfinished-canoe</i>				
ànigó	duu	àfini		<i>sandfly (lit. a poor man does not go outside)</i>
<i>poor-man not-go outside</i>				

(538) // òkari oko yài òkpì / í na kẹ sise / àkàù //

NP <sub>s</sub>	VP	NP <sub>o</sub>
<i>woodpecker</i>	<i>seq go-to chop fell</i>	<i>cotton-tree</i>

*Then the woodpecker went and felled a cotton tree.*

### 10.2.3. Tone of Nouns

There are nine main tone classes with tone patterns which are manifested with nouns of four, three, and two syllables. L tone is the less stable of the two tones, and so is the first to drop out when a tone pattern is compressed. The tone classes are given in the table that follows. The gaps in the pattern in classes E and G occur because the tone pattern for VCV(V) would be the same as for classes D and F respectively. The gaps in the pattern in classes H and I occur because no nouns of the pattern LHH (class H) and HLLH (class I) occur in the data. Classes A and B have the largest membership; classes H and I have the smallest membership.

For tones of nouns when functioning as the head of the NPs or NP<sub>o</sub>, see Section 5.8.2.

Noun Tone Classes

Class	VCVCVCV	VCVCV	VCV(V)
A	HLLL àvuramu <i>woman</i>	HLL èsarù <i>mosquito</i>	HL òmù <i>house</i>
B	LLLL ebhufumu <i>ash</i>	LLL òbila <i>pitcher</i>	LL èkì <i>market</i>
C	HHHH òpilòpò <i>pig</i>	HHH òlìlò <i>bottle</i>	HH ìgbò <i>fish-net</i>
D	HHLL àkpukùrò <i>cassava</i>	HHL àvuvò <i>bat</i>	HHL ìlò <i>lie</i>
E	HLHL àpìdhemù <i>seat</i>	HLHL òkubò <i>box</i>	
F	LLHL ègadígà <i>fish-trap</i>	LLHL èkasyì <i>chair</i>	LHL umè <i>faith</i>
G	LHLL òrìsyòní <i>snake</i>	LHL àbìnà <i>plantain</i>	
H	LHLH ìkpílámà <i>snail</i>		LH òkì <i>type of fish</i>
I		HLH ògele <i>procession</i>	HHL èkpàù <i>fishhook</i>

Noun Tone Class B. When a noun of this tone class functions as the head of the NPo, its tone is determined by the type of clause in which it occurs and the polarity, mood, and tense of the clause as follows:

Clause	Tone	Example
Neg. indic.	HHHH	ò gèní àkpùràtà <i>He does not look at the mat.</i>
Aorist		ò gèní àkpùràtà <i>He looked at the mat.</i>
Pos. imp.	LLLH	gèní àkpùràtà <i>Look at the mat.</i>
All other verbal clauses	HLLLL	ò gèní àkpùràtà <i>He looks at the mat.</i>
Nonverbal clauses	LLLL	à nò kà àkpùràtà <i>This (is) a mat.</i>

When a noun of this tone class functions as head of the NP<sub>o</sub> in an aorist, negative, or imperative clause string, the string has the following special tonal characteristics: (a) the final tone of the NP<sub>o</sub> is not upstepped, and (b) noninitial verbs have H tone on each syllable.

### Aorist string

(539) // ò / do / əkpurata | dhẹmese //

NP <sub>s</sub>	VP	NP <sub>o</sub>	VP
<i>he</i>	<i>weave</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>make-bigger</i>

*He wove the mat bigger.*

Compare:

(540) ịgbo (HH) // ò / do / ịgbó | dhẹmesè //

*He wove the net bigger.*

## 10.3. The Pronoun

### 10.3.1. Function of the Pronoun

The primary function of the pronoun is as head of the simple NP type 2 (Section 8.2.2) when this is either subject or object of the clause. Certain pronouns also function as attributive elements of the simple NP type 1 as possessive or demonstrative (see below and Section 8.2.1.1).

The pronoun is analysed as constituting the head of a separate phrase rather than as an element of the VP, since it is parallel to the noun in the following respects:

(a) There are the same types of juncture between the NPs and the VP, and between the VP and the NP<sub>o</sub> as when the noun is head of the NP (Section 5.8.2).

(b) The pronoun may be followed by some of the same attributive elements as the noun, i.e., by a modifying construct or a reinforcer (Section 8.2.2). It may not, however, be followed by all the attributive elements which may follow the noun, and thus is distinguished from the noun.

Pronoun Paradigms. Full paradigms of the pronouns according to their main functions are given below. The categories of person and number will be discussed in Sections 10.3.2 and 10.3.3. Disjunctive pronouns occur in isolation and in the NP preceding a reinforcer or a relative construct.

<u>As Head of the NPS</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
singular	mì	bhù	ò
plural	ènì	bhà	î / èguà

<u>As Head of the NPo</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
singular	-	-	eì
plural	ènì	bhà	bhà / èguà
<u>As Head of the NP</u>			
<u>Disjunctive</u>			
singular	mè, èmè	bhò, èbhò	òkì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà
<u>As Attributive of the NP</u>			
<u>Possessive</u>			
singular	mè	wò	eì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà

The third person singular pronoun eì has two allomorphs: i occurs following a word ending in a nonclose vowel; ei occurs following a word ending in a close vowel:

- mì ko ì *I call him.*  
 mì dhuu eì *I follow him.*  
 olo ì *his friend*  
 ùtòmù eì *his head*

The third person singular pronoun òkì also functions as a demonstrative:

- (541) edèì òkì nà *this man*  
*man this the*  
 (542) òtâ òkì *(at) this time*  
*time this*

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

As head of the NPs and NPo: Section 8.2.2.

As possessive : Section 8.2.1.1.

There is also an impersonal pronoun a which occurs only as the head of the NPs. It may be translated by *one, they, people*, or by a passive construction.

- (543) a ko ì obì *He is called Obi.*  
*one call him name*  
 (544) à í mè *So it was agreed.*  
*one so agree*  
 (545) à dhyani ìsosi nà *People joined the church.*  
*one enter church the*

10.3.2 Category of Person

Within the pronoun class there is a three-term system of person. The person used distinguishes the different types of quotations in speech material (Section 3.3) and is relevant to the system of concord between the pronoun and its referent (Section 10.3.3).

There is no first or second person singular object pronoun. A pronominal postverbal occurs instead (Section 11.2).

The third person object pronouns have zero allomorphs when the referent is an inanimate noun.

- (546) àswa mẽ vạì ya. bhù mọ̀ni à (zero pronoun)  
hoe my lose is you see qu

*My hoe is missing. Have you seen it?*

- (547) omini mẽ vạì ya. bhù mọ̀ni eì à

*My child is missing. Have you seen him?*

- (548) ò gbei eseni esàà ka ò í tọ̀u ta omù (zero pronoun)  
he kill fish three seq he so take go house

*He caught three fish and took them home.*

- (549) ò mọ̀ni imemini eì n' oga edà ka ò í tọ̀u êgua  
he see children his at edge of-river seq he so take them

ta omù  
go house

*He saw his children near the river and took them home.*

In the third person pronouns there is a further two-term system which is termed reflexive/nonreflexive. The reflexive pronoun occurs if the referent is the subject of the previous clause and the nonreflexive if the referent is not the subject. When the pronoun is the subject the singular forms are: reflexive ọ̀ki, nonreflexive o; and the plural forms are: reflexive bha, and nonreflexive i or èguà. When the pronoun is the object the distinction is neutralised in the singular, both forms being eì; in the plural the distinction is maintained: reflexive bha, nonreflexive èguà. This subsystem has a limited distribution, occurring only after the clause-introducers ga and kana in sentence types 6 (Report), 11 and 12a (Purpose).

- (550) ãmo nà wei ga òkì gbei êsèni nà  
  reflex

*child the say sp he kill fish the*

*The child said that he (the child) caught the fish.*

- (551) ãmo nà wei ga ò gbei êsèni nà  
  nonreflex

*The child said that he (another person) caught the fish.*

- (552) *amo nà wei ga ade sị tọu ei tà*  
*child the say sp name will take him go*

*The child said that Ade would take him there.*

The pronoun *ei* could refer either to the child or to another person already mentioned. The semantic meaning is determined by the context.

- (553) *Imo nà wei ga bhà gbei êsèni nà*  
*reflex*

*The children said that they (the children) caught the fish.*

- (554) *Imo nà wei ga êguà gbei êsèni nà*  
*nonreflex*

*The children said that they (other people) caught the fish.*

- (555) *Imo nà wei ga ade sị tọu bha tà*  
*reflex*

*The children said that Ade would take them (the children)*

- (556) *Imo nà wei ga ade sị tọu êgua tà*  
*nonreflex*

*there.*

*The children said that Ade would take them (other people)*

*there.*

### 10.3.3. Category of Number

Within the pronoun class there is a two-term system of number: singular and plural. The singular nondisjunctive pronouns (all monosyllabic) harmonise with the vowel quality of the head of the VP or NP as follows:

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPs with the following verb (Section 5.8.1)

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPo with the preceding verb (Section 5.8.1)

Pronoun functioning as possessive with the preceding noun (Section 8.2.1.1)

There is concord with respect to number and person between a pronoun and its referent either within a sentence or across sentence boundaries as follows:

(a) If the referent is a noun which is marked for number morphologically or is preceded by *egwe plurality*, the pronoun is third person, and singular or plural according to the number of the noun.

Singular referent: *omìnì child*. Singular pronoun: *o*.

- (557) */// omìnì àllobò me /// ka ò tọu etai na wai*  
*child of-tortoise agree seq he take fire the throw*

tɔ-vəi ///  
lose

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

Plural referent: imemìnì children. Plural pronoun: i.

(558) /// àlibò nà dhì òbhúen-eti nà // imemìnì àlibò  
tortoise inc eat lion the children of-tortoise

ya /// ì gèni nì àlibò // àlibò toru dhòu bha  
are they look cpl tortoise tortoise blink take them

àdhù ///  
eye

*As tortoise was eating the lion, his children were there. Whenever they looked at tortoise, he snubbed them.*

(b) If the referent is a noun which is not marked for number, i.e., is common, the pronoun is third person and singular or plural according to the semantic meaning.

Common referent: ìkpilàma snail. Singular pronoun: o.

(559) /// ìkpilàmá yìla za /// ò tyi nì ///  
snail stand stay he shout cpl

*Snail stopped. He shouted.*

Common referent: ìkpilàma snail. Plural pronoun: i.

(560) /// a wèia ga ìkpilàmá syimu nù o /// ì nyoni bhue nì ///  
one say sp snail push cpl indeed they put keep cpl

*They said that it was the snails who had pushed it. They kept at it.*

(c) If the referent is a pronoun and a noun, the following pronoun is plural and of the same person as the preceding pronoun.

(561) /// mị nàà ògìdhi èni yàia // ...  
1st sg. 1st pl.

*I and name we paddle*

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

(562) /// bhù nàà àni wò bhà yì ọmu mè ///  
2nd sg. 2nd pl.

*you and wife your you come house my*

*You and your wife came to my house.*

(563) /// òkì nàà ọvuramu nà kwa // ì nà bìdhà ta ///  
3rd sg. 3rd pl.

*he and woman the start they inc walk go*

*He and the woman set off.*



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

	<u>Referent</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Example</u>
	Including 1st person	1st	564
	Including 2nd but not 1st	2nd	565
	3rd person only	3rd	566
(564)	/// m̀ì nàà ìwò ènì s̀ì dú ênú // 1st sg. 2nd sg. 1st pl. <i>I and you we will buy price</i> <i>You and I will bargain over the price.</i>		
(565)	// bh̀ù nàà ẹ̀ì bha ta // 2nd sg. 3rd sg. 2nd pl. <i>you and him you go</i> <i>You and he go.</i>		
(566)	/// ọ̀kì nàà ẹ̀ì kwa // ì nà ta /// 3rd sg. 3rd sg. 3rd pl. <i>he and him start they inc go</i> <i>He set off with him.</i>		

The occurrence of a pronoun immediately following a 'double' subject is not obligatory.

#### 10.4. The Numeral

The numeral functions as head of the simple NP type 3 (Section 8.2.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (Section 8.2.1.1). The numeral is distinguished from the noun since it may occur following the adjective in the NP, whereas apart from the special case described in Section 8.2.1.3, the noun does not. Also when the numeral is functioning as head of the NP, it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (Section 8.2.3).

The class comprises the following:

av̀ù	<i>one</i>	ivà	<i>two</i>	esàà	<i>three</i>
iǹì	<i>four</i>	ìsyò̀nì	<i>five</i>	ènyìsà	<i>six</i>
ìsyovà	<i>seven</i>	ènumà̀nì	<i>eight</i>	avumò	<i>nine</i>
ìgbè̀	<i>ten</i>	ìv̀ù	<i>a number of, some</i>		

èsènì ivà *two fish*      imò ìsyovà *seven children*

Following ù̀tòm̀ù *person* and à̀dhè *day* numerals with initial i- have an allomorph with initial e-:

ù̀tòm̀ù evà *two people*      ù̀tòm̀ù esyò̀nì *five people*

àdhè evù *some days*                      àdhè egbèì *ten days*

Numbers above ten involve nouns as well as numerals. They are described here for the sake of convenience.

Numbers above ten. These are derived from units of 20, 200, or 400 together with numerals by either addition, or multiplication, or a combination of both, or subtraction. The units of 20, 200, and 400 are nouns and precede the noun in question. (The two nouns together function as a complex head of the NP, Section 8.2.1.3.)

iyèì èsènì 20 *fish*                      ugbèì imò 200 *children*  
20    200

The full list of units used as the base for higher numbers is given below, followed by a description of how the intermediate numbers are formed.

iyèì 20	ovùà 40	osàà 60
unìì 80	usyonì 100	osumasè 120
ùsyovà 140	ònumàni 160	ugbèì 200
àsyī 400		

Where a number involves addition, an extended NP type 6 Additive (Section 8.3.6) is used:

iyèì nàà esàà 23  
20 *and* 3

Where a number involves subtraction, it has the structure of a clause: NPs VP AP, but it functions as a noun, i.e., as subject or object of a clause, and thus is analysed as a compound noun type 6 (clause-based compound).

/ ènumàni / mo / n' ugbèì /              192  
     NPs              VP              AP  
8              *is-not in* 200

Numbers 11-19. These are formed by addition, using igbèì 10 as the base and adding numerals 1-9.

igbèì nàà ìva    12  
10 *and* 2

igbèì nàà ìsyíllènì inìì                              14 *shillings*  
10 *and* *shilling* 4

Numbers 20-179. These are formed by addition, using units of twenty and adding numbers 1-19.

ùsyovà nàà ìva    142  
140 *and* 2

osàà nàà igbèì nàà èdhyà ènumàni 78 *yams*  
60 *and* 10 *and* *yam* 8

Numbers 180-199. These are formed by subtraction from úgbèì 200.

ìyèí mo n'ugbèì 180  
20 is-not in 200

Numbers 200-799. These are formed by addition, using úgbèì 200 or àsyì 400 as the base.

àsyì nàà usyòní nàà ìva 502  
400 and 100 and 2

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

àsyì ìvâ nàà ugbèì edèì 1,000 people  
400 X 2 and 200 person

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

àkì òdùnèsèmù ìnìì fourth pot  
pot order 4

òdùnèmù ùtòmù evâ second person  
order head 2

The first ordinal requires the compound noun (of type 5a) òsyinadhù (lit. *the one appearing the front*) as the second element of the complex head.

àmò òsyinâdhù first child  
child of-appearing of-front

òkò òsyinâdhù first canoe

Distributive numbers. These employ an AP type 4 (Section 9.5).

#### 10.5. The Demonstrative

The demonstrative functions as the head of the simple NP type 3 (Section 8.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (Section 8.2.1.1). It is distinguished from the noun since it may follow the numeral in the NP, whereas the noun does not. Also when the demonstrative is functioning as the head of the NP, it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (Section 8.2.3).

The class comprises the members listed below. Some of the demonstratives have plural forms. For vowel harmony and concord between the demonstrative and the noun, see Section 8.2.1.1.

(sg.) ànô this (pl.) ìnâ these

(sg.) àkâ that (pl.) ìkâ those

(sg.)	àyô	(pl.)	ìyô (ìyâ)	<i>other near at hand</i>
	èviè			<i>other out of sight</i>
	ènó, èná			<i>this kind (attributive only)</i>
	avù			<i>certain (attributive only)</i>

The demonstrative avù is distinguished from the numeral avù one since it may occur following a numeral (example 568).

Tone Patterns of Demonstratives. Some demonstratives have different tone patterns, depending on their function. When functioning as head, they have the tone pattern given above. When functioning as an attributive, the following have the tone pattern LL:

ano	<i>this</i>	ina	<i>these</i>	aka	<i>that</i>	ika	<i>those</i>
ayo	(sg.)	iyô	(pl.)				<i>other</i>

Because there is a high juncture between the demonstrative and the previous word (Section 8.2.1.1c), the initial tone of the demonstrative is a HJ glide.

(567) ànàmù àyò yí í te nì  
 Nn Dem

*animal another came to reach cpl*

*Another animal arrived.*

(568) ì mɔni imò əkìè êni iva avù  
 Nn GenCon Num Dem

*they see boys of-town our two certain*

*They saw a certain couple of boys from our town.*

(569) ò nó le ko èviè  
 Dem

*he go-to again call another*

*He went to call another (doctor).*

(570) əkìè êní êna nà  
 Nn Poss Dem Rf

*town our this the*

*this town of ours*

(571) ìnùmù avu ênô a [na mị tộ kyè bhá] í mo  
 Nn Num Dem Rf RelCon

*thing one this even which I will-take give you again is-not*

*There is nothing at all that I can give you.*

See also examples 410, 413, 440.

### 10.6. The Interrogative

The interrogative functions as head of the simple NP type 4

(Section 8.2.4). It is distinguished from the noun, since it does not occur with any attributive elements and also since it occurs only in interrogative clauses. The class comprises the following members:

èdho	<i>where?</i>	inwèì	<i>how many?</i>	ìvo	<i>how?</i>
iyo	<i>what?</i>	òvo	<i>which?</i>	òyo	<i>who?</i>

For examples, see 275-279, 281-283, 442-445.

## 10.7. The Adverb

### 10.7.1. Function and Structure of the Adverb.

Adverbs<sup>1</sup> are descriptive of "sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity"<sup>2</sup>, or indicate the attitude of the speaker.

The adverb has a demarcative feature marking intensity. The intense form is marked by reduplication, once or frequently twice, or by a lengthening of the final vowel beyond the length of a normal double vowel. The nonintense form is characterised by an absence of lengthening or reduplication.

The lengthening or reduplication is analysed as a demarcative feature of the word, since it distinguishes adverbs from other words. (A verb may be reduplicated once when the clause is in the secondary aspect (Section 5.7) but not twice.) The feature is not analysed as part of the system of emphasis, since the latter is restricted to declarative clauses (Section 5.4.3), whereas the intense form of the adverb occurs in all types of clauses. The feature is analysed as demarcative of the adverb word and not of the AP, since in one type (2b) only part and not the whole of the word is repeated. For this reason also, the feature is not analysed as part of the secondary aspect (Section 5.7) where a complete phrase is repeated.

Adverbs are divided into two classes on the basis of their function in clauses, and into two types according to their differences in structure.

### 10.7.1. Classes and Types of Adverbs

Class A. This class functions as the sole element of AP type 3 (Section 9.2.3). Semantically, adverbs of this class describe sound and movement.

bhùà	<i>indicates surprise</i>
kpekèkpèkèkpékè	<i>in an unsteady manner</i>
pùkàmù	<i>sound of water lapping against the side of a canoe</i>

<sup>1</sup>Similar items are frequently termed 'ideophones' by other linguists.

<sup>2</sup>Cole, D.T., An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, Capetown 1955, p. 370.

For examples from text see 505-511.

**Class B.** Adverbs of this class share characteristics with both adverbs of Class A and with verbs. Like class A adverbs, adverbs in this class have distinctive tones. They function in the periphery of the clause following the NPo. Like verbs, they also function in the nucleus of the clause. They may occur with the post-verbal *dhe* (Section 11.2), and with the completive particle *ni* and the incompletive particle *na* (Section 5.4.1.4). When they function in the nucleus of the clause, they bear the tone pattern marking the mood, polarity, and tense of the clause. Their distribution, however, is more limited than that of other verbs, as they do not occur in imperative clauses.

Since their distribution completely overlaps that of class A adverbs, but only partially that of verbs, and also since they occur most frequently in the AP, they have been analysed as adverbs with a dual function: as sole element of AP type 3 and as head of the VP class A (Section 7.3.1).

Semantically, adverbs of this class describe appearance, taste, manner, and smell.

o pèpìlè dhẹ	<i>It is really flat.</i>
ò mẹnìmenì nì	<i>It has become sweet.</i>
àmìnì kyakya ya	<i>The water is clear.</i>
ònwìl ẹì dẹdẹ ya	<i>His body is weak.</i>

**Type 1 Simple Root.** This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures:

CVV	doo	<i>quietly</i>
	gàà	<i>very bright (of sun)</i>
	yìì	<i>sound of something heavy falling</i>
CVCV	kpèrù	<i>bulging</i>
	kpùku	<i>of short stature</i>
	wàsà	<i>splash! (sound of something falling in water)</i>
CVCVCV	bilomu	<i>pointed in shape</i>
	gbùrodo	<i>clearly visible</i>
	wùrùmù	<i>sound of something heavy falling</i>

**Type 2 Root with reduplicated syllable(s).** This type has reduplicated syllables in the root. The nonreduplicated form does not occur.

**Type 2a** reduplication of one syllable:

CVCV	tètè	<i>in a tottering manner</i>
	vùvù	<i>in a hurried manner</i>

CVCVCV bhùnunu *in a ruffled state*  
 kịlòlò *dripping wet*

Type 2b reduplication of two syllables. In the intense form, the two syllables are further repeated:

Nonintense form: kpekèkpèkè *in an unsteady manner*

Intense form: kpekèkpèkèkpèkè

kpaṅèkpàṅè *in a furtive manner*

l|k|l|l|k| *of tall and slim stature*

kwemukwèmù *in a lively manner*

mènìmènì *being very sweet in taste*

wòlòwolo *hurriedly*

zyèrìzyèrì *torn to shreds*

### 10.7.2. Tone of Adverbs

There are three main tone classes with patterns which are manifested with adverbs of four, three, or two syllables. In the chart that follows, all the examples used have occurred in Section 10.7.1. The gloss is not repeated for reasons of space.

#### Adverb Tone Classes

Class	CVCVCVCV	CVCVCV	CV(C)V
A	LLLL zyèrìzyèrì	LLL wurumu	LL yii
B	HHHH l k l l k	HHH b lomu	HH doo
C	LLHH wòlòwolo	LHH bhùnunu	LH kpuku

### 10.7.3. The Adverb tɔ̀

The adverb *tɔ̀ until*, for a long time has a more restricted distribution than other adverbs. It does not occur sentence finally, and within the clause it is always the final phrase. It is analysed as an adverb rather than as a clause introducer in a complex sentence for the following reasons:

(a) It may be followed by the sequential particle *ka*, whereas the other clause introducers may not.

(b) It is frequently followed by a pause (clause introducers are followed by a pause only when the speaker hesitates).

(c) It may be lengthened or reduplicated for intensity (clause introducers do not have any intense form).

(572) /// ì ta ṭu // ka ì ná te eda bô ///  
*they go till seq they go-to reach river big*

*They went on for a long time until they reached a big river.*

(573) /// ì wuru ṭu // ì wuru dhe ///  
*they do till they do finish*

*They worked until they finished it.*

(574) /// à ṭo ɔbho ḳe dḥo nỵoni n'î̀nùmù ṭu //  
*one take hand skim take put in thing till*

ka ò vure dhe ///  
*seq it end finish*

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

(575) /// àlibò ḳonikoni kpuṛùkpuṛùkpuṛù ṭu // ànì àlibò ...  
*tortoise fight fight struggling till wife of-tortoise*

*Tortoise struggled and struggled until his wife ...*

### 10.8. The Preposition

The preposition functions as an obligatory element of AP type

1. This class has only two members:

n' at, in

ṭu as far as, until

See Section 9.2.1 for examples.



CHAPTER ELEVEN  
THE WORD *ii*. MINOR WORDS

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Minor words never function as the head of a phrase. They comprise words which function as attributive elements of the NP or of the VP, particles which function as syntagmatic features of a unit, and exclamations which function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2.

### 11.1. The Preverbal

The preverbal functions as an attributive element of the VP (Section 7.2). It follows the aspect particle *ná* *incomplete* and the future particle *si*. Two classes of preverbals are distinguished on the basis of their function.

Class A has two members:

*ná* (*go*) *in order to*

*í* (*come*) *in order to*

It is probable that formerly these were particles which occurred only following *ta go* and *yi come*, respectively. Now they very frequently occur without the preceding verb and have acquired the meaning of the verb. In a simple VP, they occur preceding the head. They may also occur preceding any verb in a compound VP (Section 7.4) and in any VP in a clause string (Section 5.9). *í* is more restricted in its distribution in a compound VP or clause string, occurring only initially or following the verb *yi come*, whereas *ná* occurs initially and following any motion verb.

*ná* has two allomorphs: *nó* occurs immediately following the third person singular pronoun functioning as head of the NPs; *ná* occurs elsewhere. The vowel of *nó* and of *í* harmonises with the vowel quality of the following verb.

For examples see 376-379 (simple VP), 392-394 (compound VP), and 330 (clause string).

Tone of the verb following class A preverbals. The preverbals have *h* tone, and the tone of the verb which succeeds them is as follows:

(a) In all clauses except those in the descriptive tense, the final tone of the verb is *L*:

#### Aorist tense

verb only	(ò) rùbhìne (HHH)	<i>He played.</i>
preverbal and verb	(ò) nó rùbhìnè	<i>He went to play.</i>
compound VP ( <i>ta go</i> )	(ò) ta ná rùbhìnè	<i>He went to play.</i>

#### Positive imperative

verb only	rùbhìne (LLH)	<i>Play!</i>
preverbal and verb	ná rùbhìnè	<i>Go and play.</i>

(b) In clauses in the descriptive tense the nonfinal tone(s)

of the verb which are normally L, are H.

Descriptive tense

verb only	{o} rùbhìne (LLH)	<i>He plays.</i>
preverbal and verb	{o} nõ rùbhine	<i>He goes to play.</i>
compound VP	{o} ta ná rùbhine	<i>He goes to play.</i>

Class B has three members:

i	<i>again</i>
le	<i>in addition, again, always (see note below)</i>
ma	<i>still, yet</i>

When *le* occurs in a clause in the negative indicative, it may mean *in addition, again* or it may mean *always*. The ambiguity is resolved by the context. If the previous verb is negative, then *le* means *in addition, again*. If there is no preceding negative, then *le* means *always* (see examples 576, 577).

*i* and *le* harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb. Class B preverbals usually occur preceding class A in the VP, though *le* may occur following. All three members occur in a simple VP and initially in a compound VP or a clause string, but *le* is the only member that occurs medially in a compound VP or in a noninitial clause in a clause string.

From the point of view of their tone (see below), class B preverbals function as verbal prefixes, but they are analysed as free forms and not as prefixes, as class A preverbals may occur between them and the verb.

Tone of class B preverbals. They bear the initial tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood, and tense of the clause (Sections 5.4 - 5.6).

The future tense tone pattern is:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	HḶ
verb only	{o} mê	<i>He will agree.</i>	
	{o} dirè	<i>He will cook.</i>	
	{o} kófilò	<i>He will cough.</i>	
preverbal and verb	{o} le mê	<i>He will agree again.</i>	
	{o} lé dirè	<i>He will cook again.</i>	

The descriptive tense tone pattern is:

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



tone of the other monosyllabic object pronouns and of adverbs remains constant in all clauses.

dhe (p̄adhe) is analysed as a postverbal and not as a verb, since it never occurs as the head of a VP. The vowel of dhe, me, and wo harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb:

ò kp̄ei dhe me    *He finished washing me.*

ò kp̄e dh̄e m̄e    *He finished paying me.*

Tone of postverbals. They bear the final tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood, and tense of the clause (Sections 5.4 - 5.6), except in descriptive clauses where me and wo have L tone.

The future tense tone pattern is:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	H̄L
verb only	(o) m̄e	<i>He will agree.</i>	
	(o) d̄ir̄è	<i>He will cook.</i>	
	(o) k̄ófīl̄ò	<i>He will cough.</i>	
verb and postverbal	(o) me dh̄e	<i>He will completely agree.</i>	
	(o) d̄íre dh̄e	} <i>He will cook it</i> <i>thoroughly.</i>	
	(o) d̄íre padh̄è		
	(o) kp̄e m̄e	<i>He will pay me.</i>	
	(o) ḡèni w̄ò	<i>He will look at you.</i>	

The positive imperative and descriptive tense tone pattern is:

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

#### Positive imperative

verb and postverbal	m̄e dhe	<i>Agree to everything!</i>
	d̄ir̄è p̄adhe	<i>Cook it well!</i>
	kp̄e m̄e	<i>Pay me!</i>

#### Descriptive tense

verb and postverbal	(o) m̄e dhe	<i>He agrees completely.</i>
	(o) d̄ir̄è p̄adhe	<i>He cooks it well.</i>
	(o) kp̄e m̄e (L)	<i>He pays me.</i>
	(o) ḡèni w̄ò (L)	<i>He looks at you.</i>

- (578) // à / zyi<sup>VP</sup> dhe me nì //  
*they bury finish me cpl*  
*(When) they have finished burying me ...*
- (579) // à / ná<sup>VP</sup> te dhe / ɔmù //  
*they go-to reach all house*  
*They all arrived at the house.*
- (580) // ɛnì ɛlibò / dire<sup>VP</sup> pɔdhe / əkì //  
*wife of-tortoise cook finish pot*  
*Tortoise's wife finished cooking.*
- (581) // mì / sì tɔu / ɛnuma / tɔu<sup>VP</sup> kɔ wɔ dhè //  
*I will take money take give you all*  
*I will give you all the money.*
- (582) // ɛmìnì / te<sup>VP</sup> pɔdhe mɛ nì //  
*water reach finish me cpl*  
*The water came right up to me.*

For further examples see Section 7.3, examples 381 and 382.

### 11.3. The Adjective

#### 11.3.1. Function and Structure of the Adjective

The adjective functions as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 (Section 8.2.1.1). All adjectives are derived forms. There are three types:

Type 1. This type is derived from a noun. The initial vowel prefix is deleted, but the tone of the prefix transfers onto the final syllable of the preceding noun and so determines the type of juncture which occurs between the noun and the adjective (Section 8.2.1.1c). If the prefix has a high tone, the juncture will be upstepped high; if the prefix has a low tone, the juncture will be neutral or low. Compare the following examples:

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>
obô	bô	ɔmú	bô <i>big house</i>
ɔgbèrì	gbèrì	ɔmù	gbèrì <i>small house</i>

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>
òdhià	<i>evil</i>	dhià	<i>evil</i>
òdhô	<i>old condition</i>	dhô	<i>old</i>

òfai	<i>newness</i>	fai	<i>new</i>
òfùromù	<i>worthlessness, in vain</i>	fùromù	<i>worthless, empty</i>
ògbê	<i>a few</i>	gbê	<i>few</i>
igbugbò	<i>thickness</i>	gbugbò	<i>thick</i>
ìkìrikìrì	<i>all</i>	kìrikìrì	<i>all</i>
òvìè	<i>goodness</i>	vìè	<i>good</i>
awò	<i>fresh condition</i>	wò	<i>fresh, live</i>

Type 2 Verbal Adjective. This type consists of a class A verb root with the nominalising suffix -mu. For allomorphs of this suffix, see Section 10.2.2, Noun type 4.

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
dire	dirèmù	<i>cooked</i>
dorì	doramù	<i>long</i>
fù	fùamù	<i>white</i>
kàrese	kàresèmù	<i>strengthened</i>
tùnu	tùnamù	<i>sacrificed</i>
wei	weìlamù	<i>spoken</i>

Type 3 Compound Adjective. This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only three examples occur in the data:

gbèrì-konyì	<i>very small</i>	(gbèrì <i>small</i> )
kì-kàrì	<i>very strong</i>	(kàrì <i>be strong</i> )
vìo-vìè	<i>very good</i>	(vìè <i>good</i> )

Juncture between Noun and Adjective. The juncture between a noun and the following adjective is of three types: upstepped high (h), low (L), or neutral (N). For details see Section 8.2.1.1.

h juncture: bô *big*, dhô *old*, dhià *evil*, wò *fresh*,  
all type 2 adjectives

L juncture: gbê *few*

N juncture: fài *new*, gbèrì *small*, vìè *good*

#### 11.4. The Interrogative Modifier

The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element of the simple NP type 4 (Section 8.2.4). The class has only one member: vo *which*. For full details and examples see Section 8.2.4.

#### 11.5. The Reinforcer

The reinforcer functions as an attributive element of the

simple NP types 1-3 (Sections 8.2.1-8.2.3) and of the VP (Section 7.5), and as a clause terminal in complex sentence types 17 and 18. The class comprises the following members:

a	<i>also, even</i>
bhòdò	<i>for a long time/way</i>
lò	<i>just, to the exclusion of all else</i>
lòù (loukpo)	<i>only, any, whatever</i>
nà	<i>the one already mentioned</i>
ny	<i>in contrast, in particular</i>
ò	<i>indeed</i>

The juncture between reinforcers and the previous word in the NP is of two types: upstepped high or low.

h juncture: bhòdò, lò, lòù, ò, nà

L juncture: a, ny

For examples of reinforcers see: noun phrase, 411, 413, 415; verb phrase, 405-409; complex sentence, 194-199.

### 11.6. Particles

Particles function as syntagmatic features of a unit and not as elements of a phrase. They have already been described in the course of the analysis. For the sake of completeness they are listed here with appropriate cross-references.

Aspect particles	nà, nì	: see verbal clause (5.4.1.3)
Clause-introducers		: see complex sentence
	ee ga	: type 13, Comparison (4.4.13)
	ga	: type 11, Purpose (4.4.11)
	laa	: type 16, Dubitative (4.4.16)
	kana	: types 5f and 12 (4.4.5 and 12)
	na	: type 10, Relative (4.4.10)
	sa	: types 9 and 14 (4.4.9 and 14)
Conditional particle	na	: types 9 and 14 (4.4.9 and 14)
Conjunction	nàà	: see extended NP type 6 (8.3.6)
Construct marker	na	: see NP (8.2.1.3)
Definitive particle	nì	: see verbal clause (5.4.1.4; 5.4.3; 5.6.1)
Emphatic particle	va	: see verbal clause (5.4.3) nominal clause (6.1.3)



Future particle	si	: see verbal clause (5.4.1.2-3)
Negative particles	dhù	: see verbal clause (5.4.1.1)
	nà	: see verbal clause, subjunctive (5.4.1.2), imperative (5.5)
	na	: see complex sentence type 14 (4.4.14)
	sa	: see nominal clause (6.1)
Question introducer	tène	: see nominal clause, type 2c (6.2.3)
Question terminals	à, e, sàmù:	see question sentence (4.6), verbal clause, type 3 (5.6), nominal clause, type 2 (6.2)
Sequence particle	í	: see discourse (3.2.1)
	ka	: see discourse (3.2.1), complex sentence (4.4), nominal clause (6.1.2, 6.2.2)
Speech particle	ga	: see discourse (3.2.1), complex sentence type 6 (4.4.3), nominal clause (6.1.2)
Vocative particle	è	: see marginal clause, type 1 (6.3.1)

### 11.7. Exclamations

Exclamations function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2. See Section 6.3.2 for details and examples.



CHAPTER TWELVE  
ANALYSED TEXT

This chapter presents an analysis of one of the Engenni texts which forms part of the corpus of material on which the foregoing analysis has been based. The text is a traditional folk-tale. It has been chosen because it illustrates a wide variety of different constructions, despite quite a lot of repetition which is characteristic of a folk-tale.

There is a high proportion of speech material in the text. Most of the quotations are indirect. Direct quotations occur as follows:

Sentences 11-12. In a dialogue between pig and tortoise, pig's speech is direct, and tortoise's speech is indirect (see Section 3.3.2).

Sentences 31-48. Almost all quotations are direct, as this is the climax of the story.

The text does not have the customary introduction or conclusion of a folk tale (Section 3.1) since there was no audience present at the time that it was recorded.

The first half of the text is analysed at all ranks; the second half (starting with sentence 26) at clause and sentence rank only. In the first half, the text is set out as follows:

- line 1 The text with phrase and clause boundaries. Phrase boundaries are shown by a single line /, clause boundaries by a double line //. Clause boundaries are marked only within the sentence. Elsewhere clause and sentence boundaries coincide.
- line 2 A word-for-word English translation.
- line 3 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each word.
- \*line 4 Details of any rankshifted units functioning at phrase rank. (Two lines if necessary.)
- line 5 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each phrase. Phrase and clause boundaries are repeated on this line.
- line 6 Analysis of the clause giving its type and also the demarcative features, as these are frequently relevant to the analysis of the sentence.
- \*line 7 Details of any rankshifted sentences functioning at clause rank.
- line 8 Details of the type and, where relevant, the subtype of the sentence.

\*Lines 4 and 7 are omitted when not relevant. Underlining is used to show the extent of rankshifted units. Capital letters are used for line 8.

In the second half of the text, lines 3-5 are omitted. Rankshifted clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

To save congestion in the analysis, the favourite class/type of each unit is not described in full. Therefore unless otherwise stated: Nouns are of class A (General) and type 1 (Simple); verbs are of class A; the NP is simple and of type 1 (noun as Head); the VP is of class A; the nominal clause is of type 1 (Declarative); the verbal clause or verbal clause string is of type 1 (Declarative), positive, indicative, in the aorist tense, and with neutral primary and secondary aspect.

The chapter ends with a free translation of the text followed by a full list of abbreviations used in the analysis, together with others used in earlier chapters. When a sequence of abbreviations is used they are to be understood as follows:

- Adj:2 Adjective of type 2  
 NPs:2 Nominal phrase of type 2 functioning as subject  
 NomCl:2c Nominal clause of type 2, subtype C

Single capital letters, e.g., A, B, refer to the class of the unit, and numerals, e.g., 1, 2, to the type of the unit. A letter following a numeral, e.g., 2c, refers to the subtype of the unit.

1. àlibò / ana oyà. 2. opilopo / ka edèi kunamu ûkwô.  
*tortoise one of-laziness pig seq person making farm*  
 Nn Nn Nn Nn:2c part Nn Adj:2 Nn  
 GenCon GerunCon  
 NP / NP NP / NP:5  
 NomCl:2 NomCl:2  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE SIMPLE SENTENCE
3. ka ò / í kunu bhue / ûkwô akà nàà èdhyà.  
*seq he seq make keep farm of-corn and yam*  
 part Pr part TrVb TrVb Nn Nn Prep Nn  
 NP:6  
 GenCon  
 NPs:2 / VPcomp / NPo  
 VbCl  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
4. ka èbhùrù / í yi / akie anàmù. 5. ka ìnùmù avù a  
*seq famine seq come town of-animal seq thing one even*  
 part Nn part TrVb Nn Nn part Nn Num rf  
 GenCon  
 NPs VP NPo NPs ext:1  
 VbCl continued  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE on next  
 line

na àlibò nàà imemìnì ei s̀ dhjà ó / mo.  
*which tortoise and children his will eat it is-not*  
 part Nn Prep Nn:3 Pr part TrVb Pr Vb:B

RelCon

NPs ext:1 cont. from previous line / VP:B  
 VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

6. ka àlibò / í vïo / omìnì eì / tà //  
*seq tortoise seq send child his go*  
 part Nn part TrVb Nn Pr IntrVb  
 NPs / VP / NPo / VP //  
 VbCl string

ga opilopó / kyè / ì / akà gbê nàà èdhyà gbê //  
*so-that pig should-give him corn little and yam little*  
 part Nn:2 Ditr:Vb Pr Nn Adj:1 Prep Nn Adj:1  
 NPs / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>  
 VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 1 continued on next line

ka òki / s̀ kpé / n' udhè.  
*seq he will pay on next-day*  
 part Pr part IntrVb Prep Nn  
 NPs:2 / VP / AP:1  
 VbCl:fut

rs Sentence continued from line above

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 11 (Purpose)

The occurrence of the reflexive form òki as the third person singular pronoun shows that the final clause is dependent upon the particle ga (Section 10.3.2).

7. ka opilopô / í bhue-enia / kyè / ì / akà nàà èdhyà nà.  
*seq pig seq then give him corn and yam the*  
 part Nn:2 part TrVb-Nn:B DitrVb Pr Nn Prep Nn rf  
 NPs / VP / AP:2 / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>  
 VbCl string

SIMPLE SENTENCE

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

ka opilopô / í tà // ga àlibò / kpe / ì / enùmà ì  
*seq pig seq go that tortoise should-pay him money his*  
 part Nn:2 part IntrVb part Nn DitrVb Pr Nn Pr  
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP /NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>  
 VbCl VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 11 (Purpose)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a Temporal

9. ka o / tà ná te // ka àlibò / í gu kye / ì //  
*seq he go to reach seq tortoise seq promise give him*  
 part Pr IntrVb Pre Intr part Nn part IntrVb TrVb Pr  
 Vb Vb  
 NPs:2 / VPcomp // NPs / VPcomp / NPo //  
 VbCl:des VbCl

rs Sentence: 5a Temporal

ga ò / té ni / udhè // ga ó / le tà.  
*sp it reach cpl next-day sp he again should-go*  
 part Pr TrVb part Nn part Pr PreVb IntrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

10. ka o / te / udhè // opilopô / tà ná te //  
*seq it reach next-day pig go to reach*  
 part Pr TrVb Nn Nn IntrVb PreVb IntrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //  
 VbCl:des VbCl:des

rs Sentence: 5a Temporal

ka àlibò / vyè // ga áche ì / wu nù.  
*seq tortoise cry sp relative his die cpl*  
 part Nn IntrVb part Nn Pr IntrVb part  
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP  
 VbCl VbCl:cpl

rs Sentence continued

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

11. ka opilopô / í wo kye / ì // ga kaò // nà vyè  
*seq pig seq say give him sp sorry do-not cry*  
 part Nn:2 part IntrVb TrVb Pr part excl part IntrVb  
 NPs / VPcomp /NPo// - // VP  
 VbCl MarCl VbCl:neg imp

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

Change to direct quotation in the speech material is shown by the occurrence of the imperative clause.

12. ò / te nì / udhè // ka mi / nà yà //  
*it reach cpl next-day seq I inc come*  
 Pr TrVb part Nn part Pr part IntrVb  
 NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP //  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:des inc  
 rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)

ka bhù / kpè mē / ɔsa nà ò  
*seq you pay me due the indeed*  
 part Pr DitrVb PostVb Nn rf rf  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo  
 VbCl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Co-ordinate)

13. àlibò / me.  
*tortoise agree*  
 Nn IntrVb  
 NPs / VP  
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

Continuation of direct quotation is shown by the occurrence of the first person pronoun.

14. ka o / te / ɔw-awìè // opilopo / tà ná te //  
*seq it reach next-morning pig go to reach*  
 part Pr TrVb Nn:5 Nn:2 IntrVb PreVb IntrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //  
 VbCl:des VbCl:des

ka àlibò / bìdha nì  
*seq tortoise travel cpl*  
 part Nn IntrVb part  
 NPs / VP  
 VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE:  
 5a Temporal

15. ka ò / í bhinè // ga tènè àlibò.  
*seq he seq ask sp where-is tort.*  
 part Pr part IntrVb part Quint Nn  
 NPs:2 / VP // NP  
 VbCl NomCl:2c

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

16. ka imemìnì àlibò / wei // ga àlibo / nà bìdha.  
*seq children of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel*  
 part Nn:3 Nn IntrVb part Nn part IntrVb  
 GenCon  
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

17. àlibò / ta nì / ɛkya / ya.  
*tortoise go cpl foreign-place is*  
 Nn TrVb part Nn Vb:B  
 NPs / VP / NPo / VP  
 VbCl string

SIMPLE SENTENCE



18. ka opilopô / í pà // o / nò gbe.  
 seq pig seq leave he inc go-home  
 part Nn:2 part IntrVb Pr part IntrVb  
 NPs / VP //NPs:2/ VP  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate Action)

19. o / te / ọw-awìè // ka àlìbo / gírì dhuu / êkya nà / yia  
 it reach next-morning seq tor. return follow foreign the come  
 place  
 Pr TrVb Nn:5 part Nn IntrVb TrVb Nn rf IntrVb  
 NPs:2/VP/ NPo // NPs / VPcomp / NPo / VP  
 VbCl:des VbCl string:des

rs Sentence: 5a (Temporal) continued on next line

// ka ò / í bhue-enia / wo kye / omini èì //  
 seq he seq then say give child his  
 part Pr part TrVb-Nn:B IntrVb TrVb Nn:3 Pr  
 NPs / VP / AP / VPcomp / NPo //

rs Sentence continued from line above

ga opilopô / yi nì / n' udhè // ga ọ / sị vyẹ / syinùmù.  
 sp pig come cpl on next-day sp he will cry very-much  
 part Nn IntrVb part Prep Nn part Pr part IntrVb Adv:1  
 NPs / VP / AP:1 // NPs:2 / VP / AP:3  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:fut

rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

This complex sentence consists of two rankshifted sentences, the first of which has three clauses and the second two clauses.

20. o / sị túkpa kye / ì. 21. o / sị wéià // ga o / wùru / ìvo  
 he will scold give him he will say sp it do how  
 Pr part IntrVb TrVb Pr Pr part IntrVb part Pr TrVb Int  
 NPs:2/ VPcomp / NPo:2 NPs:2/ VP // NPs:2/ VP / NPo  
 VbCl:fut VbCl:fut VbCl:des

SIMPLE SENTENCE

// na òkí / kpẹ / í / ọsà. 22. ọ / sị vùma kàresè.  
 that he not-pay him debt he will vex make-strong  
 part Pr DitrVb Pr Nn Pr part IntrVb IntrVb  
 // NPs:2 / VP /NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup> NPs:2/ VPcomp  
 VbCl:neg VbCl:fut

rs Sentence: 10 (Relative)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

23. ka ọ̀ / rịi nì / ẹ̀nià // ka omìnì ẹ́ / kirese / i / laì //  
*seq it pass cpl thus seq child his should- him turn-*  
*turn over*  
 part Pr Intr part Nn:B part Nn:3 Pr TrVb Pr TrVb  
 Vb  
 Nps:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VP / NPo:2 / VP //  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl string: subj  
rs Sentence: 5f (Temporal)

ka ọ̀ / tọ / akà / nyọ̀nì //  
*seq he should-take corn put*  
 part Pr TrVb Nn TrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo / VP //  
 VbCl string:subj

ka ọ̀ / za gbẹ̀ / n'ẹ̀gìlẹ̀ na opilopo sị yá nà.  
*seq he stay grind at time that pig will come the*  
 part Pr IntrVb TrVb Prep Nn part Nn:2 part IntrVb rf  
RelCon

NPs:2 / VPcomp / AP  
 VbCl:subj  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Co-ordinate)

24. ka opilopô / yì í te nì // ka ọ̀ / mọ̀ni mọ̀ni / ẹ̀ì.  
*seq pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him*  
 part Nn:2 IntrVb PreVb IntrVb part part Pr TrVb TrVb Pr  
 NPs / VPcomp // NPs:2 / VP / NPo:2  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:neg rep

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5f (Temporal)

25. ka omìnì ẹ́ / weì // ga ọ̀kì / bìdha ya.  
*seq child his should-say sp he travel is*  
 part Nn:3 Pr IntrVb part Pr IntrVb Vb:B  
 NPs / VP // NPs:2 / VPcomp:B  
 VbCl:subj VbCl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

26. ẹ̀dhe bhùe-ẹ̀nià kirese wì // ka opilopô [ kwà // ọ̀ nọ̀ ta.  
*day then repeat dawn seq pig seq start he inc go*  
 VbCl:des VbCl VbCl:des inc  
rs Sentence: 7

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a (Temporal)

27. opilopo tà ná te //  
*pig go to reach*  
 VbCl:des

ka omìnì ẹ̀libò wuru nu idhiàna [ẹ̀libò wo kye i] nà.  
*seq child of-tortoise do cpl how tortoise say give him the*  
 VbCl:aor cpl  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5a (Temporal)

28. ò tɔu nì akà tou sise nyoni bhue ni n'ogbo àlibò //  
*he take cpl corn take place put keep cpl on back of-tortoise*  
 VbCl string:cpl

ka o nò zà gbẹ. 29. ka opilopô í bhinè // ga tènè àlibò.  
*seq he inc stay grind seq pig seq ask sp where tor.*  
 VbCl: des inc VbCl NomCl:2C  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)  
 1 (Co-ordinate)

30. omìnì àlibò wei // ga àlibo nà bìdha.  
*child of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

31. ka ò í bhue-enia bhò // àlibò àna ọyà.  
*seq he so then scold tortoise one of-laziness*  
 VbCl NomCl:1b  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

32. ìnùmù àvù a ọ mọni wuru. 33. àlibo ì kpẹ mẹ ọsà mẹ.  
*thing one any he not-able do tortoise will pay me due my*  
 VbCl:neg (NPo is frontshifted) VbCl:fut  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

The change to direct quotation in speech material is shown by the occurrence of first person forms.

34. ọ ta èdho n'ínyà. 35. ka o nò bo ènià nà //  
*he go where on today seq he inc scold thus the*  
 VbCl:Inter nfut VbCl:des inc  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

ka ò í bhue-enia swai dhoy ugyò [na omìnì àlibò nà tɔu  
*seq he seq then carry take stone which child of-tor. inc take*  
 (NPo includes RelCon)  
 VbCl string (continued on next line)

gbẹ aka] nà tɔu sɔ tɔvaɪ. 36. ka àlibò bhue-enia bhaa  
*grind corn the take throw lose seq tortoise then return*  
 VbCl (cont. on next line)  
 COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5b (Temporal)

dhuu esyimu yì [na á tɔvai dhẹ ì nà].  
*follow back come which they lose finish him the*  
 (RelCon attributive to esyimu. The RelCon usually immediately follows its antecedent.)  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

37. o yì í te // ka ò í bhue-enia weì // mì sì kpé wọ ọsa  
*he come to reach seq he so then say I will pay you due*  
 VbCl:des VbCl VbCl:fut (cont.  
 rs Sentence: 5a on next line)

wọ n'inyà.  
*you on today*

38. ẹnyi  
*yes*  
 MarCl:2

39. mẹ àdhdhè  
*I rich-man*  
 NomCl:1b  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

COMPLEX SENTENCE:  
 6a (Report)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

40. mì tọu nì ẹnuma mẹ tou dyi bhue nì n'uvòmù ugyò.  
*I take cpl money my take store keep cpl in inside stone*  
 VbCl string: cpl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

41. ò bhue-enià bhine omìnì eì // ga tènè ugyò nà.  
*he then ask child his sp where stone the*  
 VbCl NomCl:2c

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

42. ò í weì // ga opilopo nà vùma. 43. o nò tùkpà ku wò.  
*he so say sp pig inc vex he inc upbraid give you*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

44. ka ò í pa dhọu ugyo nà tọu sọ tọvài.  
*seq he then lift take stone the take throw lose*  
 VbCl string: aor

SIMPLE SENTENCE

45. àllobò tyi // òkì wu nù.  
*tortoise shout he die cpl*  
 VbCl VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Report)

46. opilopo.  
*pig*  
 MarCl:1  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

47. gwa ná wa syie me ugyò mè.  
*right! go-to search bring me stone the*  
 VbCl string: imp

SIMPLE SENTENCE

48. èsyià ka èsyì [na mì dyi bhue nì ẹnùmà mẹ].  
*place seq place which I store keep cpl money my*  
 NomCl:1b (RelCon as attributive of 2nd NP)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

49. ka opilopô í kwà // ọ nọ tà ná wà. 50. ò wa ugyò nà.  
*seq pig seq start he inc go to search he search stone the*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc VbCl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate Action)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

51. ọ́ ị́ mọ̀nì. 52. ọ̀ wa wa ugyo nà. 53. ọ́ ị́ mọ̀nì.  
*he again not-see he search search stone the he again not-*  
 VbCl:neg VbCl:rep VbCl:neg see  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE SIMPLE SENTENCE SIMPLE SENTENCE

54. opilopô kwa // ọ̀ nò ta ná ko êgwè ọ̀mù ẹ̀ì //  
*pig start he inc go to call people of-house his*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

- í yì ị́ dhuu ẹ̀ì wà. 55. ị́ nà wa nà //  
*they should- to follow him search they inc search the*  
 come VbCl:subj VbCl:des inc  
 rs Sentence: 11

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate action)

- ka ậlibò nàà omìnì ẹ̀ì ya n' êsyìmù // ị́ nà zà gbẹ̀ìà.  
*seq tortoise and child his are at back they inc stay laugh*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 5

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5b (Temporal)

56. ị́ nà zà gbẹ̀ì opilopo.  
*they inc stay laugh pig*  
 VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

57. ą̀tye edèì gẹ̀nì edèì // ị́ nà gbẹ̀ì bhùe.  
*each person look person they inc laugh keep*  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Immediate action)

58. ka ọ̀sà ậlibo nà nàà opilopo nà í dhuu êsyià rìì.  
*seq debt of-tor. the and pig the so follow there pass*  
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

59. ka ậlibò í wèì // ga opilopô tų-vai nì ẹnùmà ì.  
*seq tortoise seq say that pig lose apl money his*  
 VbCl VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 6a (Speech)

60. ọ́ dhuu ênià yìà // ọ̀kì á ị́ kpẹ̀ opilopo ọ̀sa ì.  
*it follow thus come he too again not-pay pig due his*  
 VbCl:ref VbCl:neg

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 8 (Reason)

### Free Translation

The numbers of the corresponding sentences in the text are given in parentheses at the beginning of each sentence.

(1) Tortoise was a lazy person; (2) pig was a farmer. (3) Pig had made a farm of corn and yams. (4) Then famine came to the animals' town. (5) There was nothing for tortoise and his children to eat. (6) So tortoise sent his child in order that pig should give him a little corn and a few yams and he would pay the next day. (7) Pig then gave him the corn and yams. (8) When the next day came, pig went with the intention that tortoise should pay him his money. (9) When he arrived, tortoise persuaded him to come again the following day.

(10) The next day when pig arrived, tortoise cried that a relative of his had died. (11) So pig said to him, "I'm sorry, don't cry. (12) I will come tomorrow and you can pay me your debt." (13) Tortoise agreed.

(14) The next morning when pig arrived, tortoise had travelled. (15) So pig asked where tortoise was. (16) Tortoise's children said that tortoise was travelling. (17) He was away in foreign parts. (18) So pig set off for home.

(19) The next morning when tortoise returned from foreign parts, he told his child that when pig came the next day, he would create a big scene. (20) He would scold him. (21) He would ask why he (tortoise) wouldn't pay him what was owing. (22) He would rant a lot. (23) Because of this, his child should turn him over and put corn on him and should be grinding at the time that pig would come. (24) When pig came he would not see him at all. (25) His child should say that he (tortoise) was travelling.

(26) When day dawned pig set off. (27) When he arrived, tortoise's child had done what tortoise told him. (28) He had taken some corn and put it on tortoise's back and was grinding. (29) Then pig asked where tortoise was. (30) Tortoise's child said that tortoise was travelling. (31) Pig then scolded, saying, "Tortoise is a lazybones. (32) There is nothing he can do. (33) Tortoise will pay me what he owes me. (34) Where did he go today?" (35) As he was scolding like this, he picked up the stone on which tortoise's child was grinding the corn and threw it away.

(36) Tortoise came back from behind where he had been thrown away. (37) When he came he said, "I will pay you what I owe today. (38) Yes, I will. (39) I'm a rich man. (40) I have taken my money and kept it inside a stone." (41) Then he asked his child where the stone was. (42) The child said, "Pig was angry. (43) He was scolding you. (44) Then he picked up the stone and threw it away." (45) Tortoise shouted that he was ruined. (46) "Pig! (47) Now then, go and look for my stone and bring it to me. (48) That is where I have kept my money."

(49) So pig set off to go and look. (50) He looked for the stone, (51) but he didn't find it again. (52) He looked and looked for the stone, (53) but he didn't find it again. (54) Pig set off to go and call his family to come and search with him.

(55) As they were searching, tortoise and his child were in the background laughing. (56) They were laughing at pig. (57) They looked at each other and kept laughing. (58) So pig's and tortoise's debts were equalised. (59) Tortoise said that pig had thrown away his money. (60) Therefore he wouldn't any more pay pig what he owed him.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following list includes all the abbreviations used in the analysis of the preceding text, together with others used in earlier chapters.

Adj	Adjective	NomCl	Nominal clause
Adv	Adverb	Nn	Noun
aor	Aorist tense	NP	Nominal phrase
AP	Adverbial phrase	NPext	Extended nominal phrase
cp1	Completive aspect	NPo	Nominal phrase object
decl	Declarative	Num	Numeral
def	Definitive particle	part	Particle
Dem	Demonstrative	pos	Positive
des	Descriptive tense	Poss	Possessive
DitrVb	Ditransitive verb	PostVb	Postverbal
emp	Emphatic particle	Pr	Pronoun
excl	Exclamation	Prep	Preposition
foc	Focus aspect	PreVb	Preverbal
fut	Future tense	QuInt	Question introducer
GenCon	Genitive construct	QuTer	Question terminal
GerunCon	Gerundive construct	ref	Referential tense
imp	Imperative	rep	Repetitive secondary aspect
inc	Incompletive aspect	rf	Reinforcer
ind	Indicative	RelCon	Relative construct
Int	Interrogative	rs	Rankshifted
inter	Interrogative clause	subj	Subjunctive
IntMod	Interrogative modifier	Sen	Sentence
inten	Intensive secondary aspect	TrVb	Transitive verb
IntrVb	Intransitive verb	Vb	Verb
LocCon	Locative construct	VbAdj	Verbal adjective
MarCl	Marginal clause	VbCl	Verbal clause
neg	Negative	VP	Verbal phrase
nfut	Nonfuture	VPcomp	Compound verbal phrase



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