A GRAMMAR OF IZI

AN IGBO LANGUAGE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAdj	adverbial adjective	N	nasal
AD	adjectival deictic	NAdj	nominal adjective
Adj	adjective	ND	nominal deictic
AP	adverbial phrase	nf	nonfuture
AR	adjective root	Nom	nominal
Aux	auxiliary	NP	nominal phrase
AvR	adverb root	NPben	NP benefactive
		NPe	NP equative
C	consonant	NPio	NP indirect object
CC	clause construct	NPo	NP object
cf	compare	NPs	NP subject
cl	clause	NR	nominal root
coh	cohortative	Nu	numeral
Con	conditional	Nuc	nucleus
Con cl	connective clause		nonverbal clause
CP	complement phrase		
CT	clause type	P	personal
		part	particle
D	deictic	Per	periphery
Dem	demonstrative	pl	plural
Dep	dependent	Pmar	postmargin
		PostX	postexpansion
e.g.	for example	Pper	postperiphery
Ext	extension	PPN	personal pronominal
		Pr	pronoun
fut	future	PreX	preexpansion
		pur	purpose
GAdj	general adjective		
Ger	gerundial	R	raised high tone
GNom	general nominals	Reg	register
		RelX	relative expansion
H	high tone	RP	reflexive phrase
		RS	relative sentence
i.e.	that is		
Imp	impersonal	SC	sentence construct
imp	imperative	sg	singular
Ind	independent	SPr	selective pronoun
ind	indicative	ST	sentence type
int	interrogative		
interj	interjection	T	tone
		ts	tone span
L	low tone		
lit.	literally	V	vowel
		VC	verbal clause
Mar	margin	VE	verbal extension
		VP	verb phrase
		VS	verb stem

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE IZI LANGUAGE

The Izi language is spoken by approximately 200,000 people in the East-Central State of Nigeria. They live in an area around and to the east of Abakaliki, extending to the north just over the boundary between East-Central State and Benue-Plateau State, to the east as far as the State boundary and to the south to about twelve miles north of the Cross River.

All the people indigenous to this area recognise themselves as Izi and distinguish themselves from their neighbours. Though there are various clans and in spite of the fact that the whole group is scattered over quite a large area, only very minor language differences have been observed. It can be stated that within Izi there are no dialects.

Izi is closely related to neighbouring Ezaa and Ikwo, the three forming a dialect cluster which can be regarded as constituting a language within the Igbo language group, which may, for convenience, be called North-eastern Igbo. No previous study of any of these three dialects is known to the authors.

Some comparative work covering the Igbo language group has been attempted in recent years, though a great deal of work remains to be done. These initial studies suggest that it is realistic to consider Izi, Ezaa and Ikwo as constituting the North-eastern Igbo language, sufficiently different from Central Igbo to be regarded as a separate language within an Igbo language group. When Izi, Ezaa and Ikwo are compared with one another, they give lexico-statistical scores of around 95%; but when the three are compared with the Central Igbo dialects, the scores drop sharply to the 80% area.

Other lexical comparisons, for instance an examination of all the Igbo words found in Green and Igwe, show that there are some corresponding forms in Izi for about 70% of the Igbo words considered. Speakers of Izi and Central Igbo would not necessarily understand all these words since in many instances there are several changes in the sounds involved. These changes, however, show many regularities and the forms concerned can be clearly recognised as cognates.

On the basis of these studies, it would seem best to regard Izi, together with Ezaa and Ikwo (and probably one or two smaller dialects like Mgbo and Ishielu), as a separate language rather than as dialects of Igbo. This is confirmed by observations made

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while living in the area for many years, which indicate that
North-eastern Igbo (Izi-Ezaa-Ikwo) is not mutually intelligible
with Central Igbo. Speakers of the one cannot understand speakers
of the other unless they have lived where the other language is
spoken. It is clear that Central Igbo and North-eastern Igbo are
further apart from each other than some languages which, though
closely related, are general recognised as separate languages,
for example, some of the Romance languages.   On the other hand,
it is comparatively easy for speakers of either language to
transfer to the other and it may be expected that bilingualism
between the two will increase.

1.2 THE PRESENT STUDY

     This study in Izi is based on field work carried out by Mr.
and Mrs. Paul E. Meier, as members of the Institute of Linguistics,
a branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Inc., in collabo-
ration with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, in the period May
1964 to 1967. For most of the three year period, Mr. and Mrs.
Meier lived at Abia Unufu (ebya unuphu) the mother village of the
Izi, some ten miles south of Abakaliki. Mr. and Mrs. Meier
returned to the north of Nigeria in 1969 and resumed work on the
analysis of Izi on a part-time basis while living in Zaria, before
being able to return to the Izi area in May 1971.

     John Bendor-Samuel visited the Meiers on a number of occasions
in Abia Unufu and later worked with them as they analysed their
field data.

     In addition to the first-hand knowledge of the language which
the Meiers have acquired in living amongst the Izi for some six
years, extensive collections of oral literature have also been
used in the analysis of Izi. Some three hundred pages of this
text material has been used to compile a substantial concordance
of the language through the Information Retrieval Project of the
Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma.[1]
This concordance has been an extremely useful tool in the study
of Izi.

     All three authors wish to acknowledge the stimulation they
have received from many of their colleagues in the Summer Institute
of Linguistics and in particular to mention the opportunity for
this which was afforded in the very early stages of their work,
through a workshop conducted by Professor K.L. Pike, held in
Nsukka, January to March, 1966.

[1] This project was supported by Grant No. GS-934 of the National Science
Foundation.

1.3 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1.4   THE MODEL

The purpose of this description is not to illustrate a parti-
cular linguistic model or discuss its strengths or weaknesses, but
to give a consistent and coherent description of Izi. A model,
however, supplies a consistent framework for the description of
a specific language and inevitably the model influences the
description since it means that certain aspects of the language
receive more attention than other aspects. This description
utilises the syntagmatic model[1] as a framework for the statement
of the phonology and grammar of Izi. The syntagmatic model is
essentially a hierarchical display model which distinguishes three
separate but interrelated levels, namely, the phonological, the
grammatical and semantic levels.

This description is limited to the phonological and gram-
matical levels. No attempt is made to include details of the
semantic level as work on that level is incomplete, but it is
planned to publish a more general grammar of Izi designed for use
in the community which will integrate these three levels and so
include the semantic level.

Within each level a hierarchy of ranks is set up. At each
rank there is a unit which functions as a constituent element of
the unit in the rank above and whose structure is analysed in
terms of elements which are units of the rank below.

The description of a unit as consisting of certain elements
is not complete since the realtionships between these elements
also need to be stated. Syntagmatic features are said to mark
relationships between elements in a structure. Features which
mark a unit and cannot conveniently be handled as elements of
that unit since they may be relevant to the whole unit or extend
over more than one element of that unit are also treated as
syntagmatic features. In the case of the phonological units,
such syntagmatic features correspond to the prosodic features of
J.R. Firth and his colleagues, see Firth (1948) and Robins (1957).

Thus every unit has a function, i.e. the way it operates as
an element of a higher unit, except that the highest unit in the
hierarchy has no function within grammar, though it does have
contextual function. Every unit has a structure, i.e. its com-
position in terms of elements which are themselves units of a
lower rank, except that the lowest unit has no structure within
grammar. Every unit is also marked by certain syntagmatic features
which are regarded as properties of that unit as a whole and not
as elements which occur elsewhere as units at another rank.

[1] This model was known earlier as the structure-function model. For examples
of the model, see Bendor-Samuel 1963, 1965, Stanford 1967, Thomas 1969, Jacobs
1970, Bendor-Samuel 1970, Naden 1973, Bendor-Samuel 1973.

Units at various ranks are grouped in two ways, either according to a common function and such a grouping is known as a class of units, or according to a common structure, when it is termed a type. Thus, classes are set up on the basis of function and types on the basis of structure. Classes and types of units may run parallel to each other, a particular class being composed of units which are all of the same structural type; or they may cut across each other with no correlation between the class grouping on the basis of function and the type grouping on the basis of structure.

The syntagmatic model allows for rankshifting and embedding. Units may function as elements of units at a lower rank or at the same rank. Thus a clause may function as an element of a phrase, or a nominal phrase may function as an element of an adverbial phrase. Units which are rankshifted to a lower rank are termed constructs.

It is recognised that there are relationships between units of the same rank which may be stated by describing a particular unit as derived from another unit by means of a transformation. In this way, for instance, the number of distinct basic sentence types is reduced by setting up five sentence transformations. Every Izi sentence may be referred to either a specific sentence type or to a derived sentence type consisting of a transformation operating on a basic sentence type.

There is no set number of ranks but the number varies from language to language. In a specific language the number of ranks in the hierarchy used for one level may also vary from the number of ranks in another hierarchy. In Izi, there are six ranks in the phonological hierarchy but seven ranks in the grammatical hierarchy.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out that as the description proceeds no attempt is made to refer explicitly to the model. It is assumed, for instance, that phrases function as elements of clauses. Since not all phrases can operate in the same way as elements of clauses, classes of phrase are set up. These classes are given meaningful labels - verb phrase, nominal phrase, adverbial phrase, complement phrase and reflexive phrase.

1.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE ANALYSIS

Part I (Chapters 2-6) describes the phonological hierarchy and Parts II (Chapters 7-13) and III (Chapters 14-18) describe the grammatical hierarchy. Part II deals with units above the word rank, Part III deals with the units at and below word rank. Chapter 19 consists of part of an Izi story which is presented to give more of an overall illustration of the language than short disconnected examples illustrating specific points in the description can do.

In presenting both the phonological and grammatical hierar-
chies, the description begins at the highest level in the
hierarchy and works down to the lowest. The model does not
require this and the description could be presented in the
reverse direction.

Most chapters deal with one unit in either the phonological
or the grammatical hierarchy. In general, in describing each unit,
first the details of its function are given and then details of
its structure. Classes and types are set up wherever this seems
useful.

For the statement of Izi phonology, the following ranks are
set up:

- utterance
- pause group
- tone span
- phonological word
- syllable
- phoneme

Thus, phonemes·function as elements of syllables, syllables
function as elements of phonological words, phonological words
function as elements of tone spans, tone spans function as elements
of pause groups and pause groups as elements of utterances.
Conversely, utterances consist of one or more pause groups, pause
groups consist of one or more tone spans, tone spans consist of
one or more phonological words, and so on.

In the description of specific units in the phonology, any
correlations with grammatical units are given. It will be seen
that while there are no one-to-one absolute correlations, some
parallels between the two hierarchies can be noted.

The Utterance (Chapter 2) is described as being marked by
six registers. These reflect both different contextual functions
of the utterance and certain structural differences. There are,
thus, clear formal characteristics for each register.

The Pause Group (Chapter 2) is perhaps the least clearly
delineated rank in the phonological hierarchy. It consists of
one or more tone spans. It could be argued that this rank is
unnecessary since at the beginning of utterances most pause
groups consist of a single tone span. As a speaker warms up,
however, groups of tone spans occur and this grouping can most
easily be handled as a unit functioning as a rank between
utterance and tone span. So, on balance it seems advantageous
to postulate a rank between the utterance and the tone span.

The Tone Span (Chapter 3) constitutes a unit which is essen-
tial to the statement of the pitch system of the language since
it is the unit within which the tonal rules operate. It is marked
by some eight syntagmatic features, which include resetting of
pitch levels, downdrift, upshift, reduction of glides and devoicing.

The Phonological Word (Chapter 4) has as its elements syllables and its main syntagmatic features are the vowel elision and vowel harmony systems which operate at the word rank. Whereas utterance, pause groups and tone spans are not grouped into classes or types, phonological words are grouped into types. Simple, reduplicated and compound words are recognised. The overwhelming majority of Izi words are simple words and four types of simple word are established. Types 1 and 4 account for 80% of Izi words. Simple word type 4 corresponds to the grammatical unit of verb phrase.

The Syllable (Chapter 5) comprises one or more phonemes and on the basis of different structures, two syllable types are set up. The syllable is marked by syntagmatic features of quality and pitch. The system of quality handles labialisation and palatalisation in terms of syntagmatic features of the syllable, i.e., prosodic features in Firthian terms. This simplifies the phonemic inventory and avoids the necessity of setting up some fifteen phonemes.

The pitch system constitutes one of the most interesting and significant features of Izi phonology. Essentially, a two-tone downstep system, it differs sharply from other downstep systems, in that it has features which constantly restore the pitch level. It can aptly be nicknamed a "see-saw" system.

Phonemes (Chapter 6) are grouped into three classes on the basis of their function as elements of the syllable. In general, the description of the phonemes is very simple and straightforward. It is perhaps worth noting that there are very few allophonic variations.

For the statement of Izi grammar, the following ranks are set up:

- discourse
- paragraph
- sentence
- clause
- phrase
- word
- morpheme

Considerable work has still to be done on the discourse and paragraph ranks so this description is limited to the sentence and units which function below sentence rank. Details of certain para-sentence features (Chapter 7) are given, but no attempt has been made to describe paragraph and discourse ranks. In this way, sentences are recognised as having grammatical function in addition to contextual function and some description of these functions is given. Four classes of sentence are set up; Independent, Demarcative, Question and Response.

Sentences (Chapter 8) are grouped into sentence types on the basis of different nuclei. Sentence margins do not differentiate

sentence types. Single clause sentences and multi-clause sentences
are distinguished and the latter divided into subordinative sen-
tences, coordinative sentences and serial sentences.

Single clause sentences are of two types: General and Phrasal.
Subordinative sentences are of seven types: Conditional, Unmarked
Conditional, Unfulfilled Conditional, Unfulfilled, Purpose,
Temporal and General Inclusive. Coordinative sentences are of
three types: Conjunction, Concomitant and Sensient. Serial sen-
tences are of three types: Main Serial, Clause Pairing and
Connective Serial.

These fifteen basic sentence types may be modified by five
sentence transformations (Chapter 9), namely, Focus, Emphasis,
Interrogative, Imperative and Cohortative. Sentences may also be
rankshifted to clause or phrase rank and such sentences are termed
sentence constructs.

The fifteen sentence types differ from one another princi-
pally in terms of the following:

    - different clause types functioning as elements of the
      sentence types,
    - different aspects marking the verb head,
    - the occurrence of particles which are treated as syntag-
      matic features marking relationships between the clauses.

Clauses (Chapter 10) are divided into two classes; one class,
the non-verbal clauses, occurring almost exclusively in single
clause sentences, whereas verbal clauses occur in almost all
sentences. Clauses are also grouped into clause types on the
basis of different nuclei. Eleven clause types are set up, namely,
Transitive, Ditransitive, Intransitive, Complement, Equative,
Impersonal, Gerundial, Demonstrative, Phrasal, Interjectural and
General Inclusive. A clause transformation operates with three
of these clause types. Clauses may be rankshifted to function at
phrase rank and such clauses are termed clause constructs.

Phrases function as elements of clauses and according to
their clearly differentiated functions five classes of phrase are
established. These five classes of phrase also differ radically
in structure. At this point in the analysis, functional and
structural criteria coincide and it is convenient to describe
phrase structures separately for each class of phrase. The labels
given to the five phrase classes, namely, Verb Phrase, Nominal
Phrase, Adverbial Phrase, Complement Phrase and Reflexive Phrase,
reflect the internal structure of each class, apart from the
Complement Phrase. The Complement Phrase illustrates the fact
that the phrases are set up primarily on functional grounds as
there are no structural reasons for its establishment.

Verb Phrases (Chapter 11) are divided into seven classes on
the basis of their function in verbal clauses. In structure, verb
phrases are comparatively simple with two types being established.

The majority of verb phrases are simple verb phrases and consist
of a single verb. Auxiliary verbs and a verbal particle in
addition to the verb head function in complex verb phrases.

Nominal phrases (Chapter 12) are divided into classes on the
basis of their function in clauses and other phrases. They are
divided into simple and complex on the basis of whether they have
one or more than one head element. A simple nominal phrase has
a single head element but the head may vary and eight different
types of simple nominal phrase are set up according to the head
element. There are six types of complex nominal phrase. All
nominal phrases occur with various expansions which are grouped
into preexpansion, occurring before the phrase head, and post-
expansion and relative expansions, both occurring after the head.

Adverbial phrases (Chapter 13) constitute a single class and
and are also divided into simple and complex on the basis of
whether they have one or more head element. Simple adverbial
phrases are divided into six types. Three of the six involve an
embedded nominal phrase. There are two types of complex adverbial
phrase.

Complement phrases (Chapter 13) also constitute a single
class. They are divided into four types. Three of the four are
nominal or adverbial phrases.

Verbs (Chapter 14) are grouped into nine classes on the
basis of their function, namely, Transitive, Ditransitive, Intran-
sitive, Complement, Equative, Impersonal, Sensient, Gerundial and
Auxiliary. Verbs are divided into stative and non-stative.
Stative verbs are a small class consisting of fifteen verbs.
Stative and non-stative verbs, though having very similar struc-
tures, do show some significant differences. These differences
are mainly in the aspect system which can be regarded as a
reduced system in the case of stative verbs. Stative and non-
stative verbs may be affirmative or negative. There are thus
four main verb types, which can be listed in order of their fre-
quency of occurrence, as affirmative non-stative, negative non-
stative, affirmative stative and negative stative.

In structure, all verbs comprise a stem with an obligatory
base affix and optional extensor suffixes of which there are
twenty-seven. The aspect system is realised by four verb base
affixes together with tone patterns which mark the verb and, in
some instances, preceding nominals. This leads to eleven aspects
of the affirmative non-stative verb. Verb stems may consist of
one or more root and derivational affixes also occur.

Verbs may be transformed into the negative and into the
relative. The negative transformation involves negative particles
and negative base forms. The aspect system in the negative is
reduced to a seven term system. The relative transformation is
also limited to certain aspects. The other verb forms are the
two gerundial forms and the verbal extension.

Nominals (Chapter 15) are grouped into five classes, Independent, Dependent, Pronominals, Numeral and Relative. Independent nominals are further divided into General, Personal, Impersonal, Verbbound, Time and Interrogative nominals. Pronominals are divided into Personal Pronominals, Personal Pronouns and the Selective Pronoun. In structure, four types of nominals are recognised; Simple, Derived, Reduplicated and Compound. Tone classes are established for nominals. Simple nominals divide into seven tone classes.

Adjectives (Chapter 16) are grouped into four classes, Nominal, General, Adverbial and Numeral. There are three types of adjective; Simple, Reduplicated and Derived.

Adverbs (Chapter 17) comprise three classes based on their occurrence in adverbial and complement phrases. In structure, there are three types of adverb; Simple, Reduplicated and Derived.

Other word classes (Chapter 17) include Deictics (of which there are two classes, Nominal and Adjectival), Reflexive elements, Particles (of which there are eleven classes) and Interjections.

Roots (Chapter 18) divide into Verb, Nominal, Adjective and Adverb roots.

Some classes of words and roots are open classes, others are closed classes. This information is given for each class. To save unnecessary wording, the convention is followed that all classes of word and root are open classes unless it is stated otherwise. Thus, in 14.1.1, Class T1 and T2a are open classes, but Class T2b is a closed class, and in 14.1.3, Class I1 is open but Class I2 is a closed class. It will be seen that sometimes the term "closed class" is used, but in the case of some very small classes, it has not been considered necessary to state this explicitly since the description states concerning the particular class, that it "consists of ... (followed by a list of items)". Such lists include all members of the class concerned.

1.6   THE TRANSCRIPTION

In general, the Izi examples given as illustrations in each section and discussed from time to time in the text are written phonemically. The symbols used for the phonemes are those currently in use in Izi orthography. A phonetic transcription is used, however, whenever the particular feature is discussed. Thus, in Chapter 6, the voiceless labial fricative is symbolised [Φ], whereas elsewhere it is written /ph/ as this is the way it is written in current Izi publications.

Details of the phonemes are given in Chapter 6 and the symbols used in the Izi transcription are those given in the charts of consonants (page 77) and vowels (page 82) except that

ŋ is written elsewhere as ng
ŋm   ngm
Φ   ph
x   h
ɣ   gh

Palatalised consonants are written with phonetic symbols
only in the display of consonant contrasts in 6.2.3. Elsewhere
they are written with a /y/ following the consonant as described
in 5.3.1 (page 56), except that in three instances the Izi ortho-
graphy is used, so that

ty is written as ch
dy   ɟ
sy   sh

Tone is symbolised as follows:

high tone	′ on the vowel, as in ákǫ́ *"story"*
downstepped high tone	! before the syllable, as in nwó!ké *"man"*
low tone	` on the vowel, as in òkpù *"hat"*
non-raising low tone	^ before the low tone syllable, as in ^èrʃá *"will eat"*
upstep	^ before the syllable, as in mʃ!nʃ ^mú *"my water"*
raised high	¨ on the vowel, if the following low is not shown; otherwise, raised high is not marked as every high before a low is raised, 5.4.2.1., e.g., nǫ̈dÿ̈ ékòwá *"kept calling"*, contrast ó!kóró .òwá *"this batchelor"* where the high is unmarked before the following low.
latent low (when marked)	before the first syllable of the word. This symbolisation is used when latent low is being discussed in the text and also when forms are cited in isolation, e.g., `ná!nǫ́ *"one"*. Generally, however, in the Izi examples, latent low is not marked, but rather its raising effect on the preceding high is marked by the raised high symbol, e.g., éswʃ^ìyä ná!nú *"one of his cows"*.
elision	of vowel and tone is shown by the absence of a tone mark, except that in a sequence which includes high tone followed by low tone, when that low tone is elided, it is still marked since, even if it is elided, it still has a raising effect on the pre- ceding high, e.g., mú ànú !ngu ʃyá *"I am giving it to you"*.

In the tone span tracings, there are some modifications of this symbolisation and details are given in 3.5.

A morpheme-by-morpheme literal translation is given with each Izi form and usually a free translation also. From time to time when the morpheme translation is completely clear, no further translation is given.

Underlining of parts of the Izi examples is used to draw attention to specific forms which illustrate points which have been discussed in the preceding text.

A display of the grammatical categories under discussion in the text is also given under the Izi examples when this seems helpful.

Almost all the Izi examples used in this description are taken from the extensive collection of oral literature which has been made.

PART ONE

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

THE PHONOLOGICAL HIERARCHY

AND HIGHER RANKS

2.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL HIERARCHY

To describe Izi phonology, five ranks are set up:

- utterance
- pause group
- tone span
- phonological word
- syllable

The phonological unit in each rank is described in terms of its function, i.e., its operation as an element of the unit of the rank above; and its structure, i.e., the elements of which it is composed, together with the syntagmatic features which mark it.

2.2 THE UTTERANCE

The utterance is the highest rank in the phonological hierarchy.

In structure, the utterance comprises one or more pause groups. Its beginning and end are marked by silence.

The utterance is marked by six registers:

Register 1 - Conversational
Register 2 - Deliberate
Register 3 - Formal
Register 4 - Grievance
Register 5 - Quarrel
Register 6 - Poetic

(1) Register 1 - Conversational, is marked by:

(a) the regular "see-saw" pitch pattern of the Izi tone system,

(b) the hesitation device used for effect or time to think, consisting of, either

    - a lengthened bilabial nasal after the vowel, -m::, or

    - a lengthening of the vowel in the case of particles ending in -ę.

The Conversational Register is used for conversation (bǫ́ʌ̀jɓǫ́) and storytelling (kǫ́ ákǫ́).

(2) <u>Register 2 - Deliberate</u>, is marked by:

(a) a lengthening of the syllables,

(b) the reappearance of vowel glides, which are shortened in other
     registers,

(c) a clearer differentiation of tones with fewer tone elisions
     and reductions.

     The Deliberate Register is used for speech at a distance,
e.g., public announcements by the town crier, and it is often
accompanied by the occurrence of the calling margin.

     Since it gives the clearest differentiation of tones, this
register has been used in analysing the tone system.

(3) <u>Register 3 - Formal</u>, is marked by:

(a) an opening call for attention,

(b) a raising of the pitch level considerably higher than in con-
     versation. This raised level is maintained for several pause
     groups, then the pitch level reverts to conversational level
     for a pause group, and then returns to the raised level for ·
     several more pause groups. (At times, this gives the impres-
     sion of an aside which forces the hearer to give undivided
     attention to the speech.)

(c) The hesitation device of the lengthening of any vowel,

(d) the emphatic device of the clitic -à which occurs word-final
     and is followed by a pause,

(e) the clearing of the throat (àkpʊ́!kp(ʊ́) ɛ̀kpʃrʃ). This is a
     signal of the importance of the statement to follow:
     ẹ́::: ʔẹ́hẹ́ʔ.

     The Formal Register is used for legal and other formal business,
e.g., land cases and public speeches.

(4) <u>Register 4 - Grievance</u>, is marked by a very minimal pitch
     contrast, which gives the effect of monotonous murmuring, very
     much in contrast to the usual "see-saw" dynamics of Izi speech.
     The level of pitch is considerably lowered throughout.

     This register is used to convey hurt or grievance (gʊ́ áphʊ́).

(5) <u>Register 5 - Quarrel</u>, is marked by minimal pitch contrasts but
     considerably raised and much faster. Annoyance is also
     expressed by the Quarrel Register (ẹ̀hú àghú èghù).

(6) <u>Register 6 - Poetic</u>, occurs only in songs, either the formalised
     folk songs (íphè) or the spontaneous antiphonal ordinary songs

(ébvú). The spoken parts of íphè show a typical rhythmic
action with words grouped into rhythm units. The skilful poet
is known by his ability to convey information within this
framework.

Correlation with grammatical units. The utterance corresponds
to a series of grammatical sentences spoken by one or more persons.
A change of speaker does not automatically involve a new utterance
but a change of register, on the other hand, always initiates a
new utterance.

2.3 THE PAUSE GROUP

2.3.1 Function

The pause group functions as an element of the utterance.

2.3.2 Structure

The pause group comprises one or more tone spans.

The length of the pause group is idiolectical; speakers vary
considerably in the number of tone spans they utter within one
pause group. The number of tone spans in a pause group also varies
according to the position of the pause group within the utterance
and according to the register. At the beginning of an utterance,
pause groups tend to be identical with tone spans. As the utter-
ance proceeds, the number of tone spans within a pause group
increases.

2.3.3 Syntagmatic features

The syntagmatic features marking the pause group are demar-
cative features, as follows:
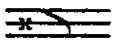
(1) Pause. Every pause group is bounded by a pause which may be
     of variable length. Not every pause, however, marks a pause
     group boundary, since hesitation may result in a pause at
     any point in a pause group. When a pause coincides with a
     tone span boundary and is accompanied by the two most
     frequent features of a tone span boundary, i.e., re-setting
     of pitch levels and devoicing, then it marks the boundary
     of a pause group.

(2) Lengthened vowel of Deliberate Register. In Deliberate
     Register, a lengthened vowel also marks the boundary of a
     pause group as follows:
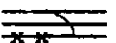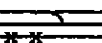
     -e:: after vocatives (personal names), elliptical questions
           and exclamations of surprise,
     -o:: after other sentences.

     The addition of -o:: may occur after every one, two or three
     pause groups, depending on the situation and the speaker.

The lengthened vowel is marked by a low tone. If the final
vowel is -e or -o already, the mere lengthening of it without
the corresponding pitch change is due to hesitation only.

byá-ò *"come"* ⎯⎯ or ⎯⎯ instead of byá ⎯⎯

ówá-è *"(exclamation of surprise* HR+L ⎯⎯ or ⎯⎯
          and regret)"

ǹkè mú-è *"(Where is) mine?"* ⎯⎯ or ⎯⎯

2.3.4 Correlation with grammatical units

The pause group usually correlates with a grammatical sentence
or clause, but there is no one-to-one congruence.

CHAPTER 3

THE TONE SPAN

3.1 FUNCTION

     The tone span (ts) functions as an element of the pause
group.

3.2 STRUCTURE

     The tone span comprises one or more phonological words.

     This study of the structure of the tone span and its features
is based on instrumental analysis of non-elicited taped text
material. The text was run through a pitch circuit linked to an
Oscillomink running at 10 cm/s at the Phonetics Laboratory of the
Institute of Linguistics in Zaria. A sampling of a dozen tone
spans out of the fifty studied is given at the end of this chapter
to illustrate the features illustrated below.

3.3 SYNTAGMATIC FEATURES

     There are three non-demarcative features and five demarcative
features, as follows:

3.3.1 Downdrift

     Within the tone span in Register 1 there is a gradual lowering
of a sequence of low tones, cf. tone span 22. When slower regis-
ters are used, this downdrift is minimal, or totally absent,
except at the end of the tone span, cf. ts 45.

3.3.2 Upshift

     Within the tone span, the raised high tone has a raising
effect on an immediately preceding high tone, or an immediately
following low tone. Compare the following:

	Register 1 Conversational	Register 2 Deliberate	
HHR			cf. ts 2 Ꞇé nwɔ́ké
RLH			cf. ts 29 & 30
RLL			cf. ts 2 nwṳ̀tàrṳ̀
RLR			cf. ts 24 m̀bɔ̀kṹ

33

3.3.3 Reduction of glides

Within the tone span, in Register 1, tone glides are reduced
towards the higher of the two tones involved, unless the glide
carries a high functional load, e.g., marking imperative (cohorta-
tive) aspect,cf. ts 34, where the glide on -kwáə̀ is retained in
Register 1 because it realises the sentence clitic -áà which would
otherwise be unrealised following the -kwá suffix. In such reduc-
tions involving a downstepped high, or a non-raising low tone, any
following high is lowered and can be interpreted as a downstepped
high, e.g., ts 22.

This reduction in the glides leads to the development of a
certain type of rhythm. This occurs in sequences involving glides
which are then reduced to a succession of raised highs and highs
with a compensatory stress accompanying the raised high tone or
the high tone. The faster the speed of the spans, the more this
rhythm develops.

It is to be noted that where glides are reduced, which
involve either a downstepped high or a low tone, any following
high tone is lowered to approximately the downstep level, though
it still functions as a high rather than as a downstepped high.

3.3.4 Re-setting of pitch levels

There is a gradual lowering of the pitch levels in the tone
span as a result of the effect of downstep and downdrift, and
though this lowering is much reduced by upstep and upshift,
high and low tones at the end of tone spans are lower in pitch than
at the beginning of each tone span. Thus a high tone initial in a
tone span is usually on a higher pitch than a final high on the
preceding tone span, as illustrated in tone spans 34 and 35.

3.3.5 Devoicing

Vowels occurring tone span final are devoiced, e.g., ts 20,
26, 35, 45.

When this occurs, any immediately preceding voiced consonant
may also be devoiced, except as noted below, e.g., ts 8. This
devoicing is carried still further in the case of -rù "base affix
of Base C" when the whole syllable is omitted.

It is noticeable that when a tone span is broken by hesita-
tion, there is no such devoicing. Thus in ts 41 there is
hesitation in the last three words, shown by the gap in the tone
spans, but there is no devoicing between 41a and 41b, or 41b and
41c, only at the end of the whole span.

Vowels are not devoiced when

(a) carrying a high/low glide, ts 34;
(b) carrying any tone with a high functional load, e.g., numeral

with the tone pattern ^LH;
(c)   occurring at the end of an exclamation, command or
       introductory quotation frame.

3.3.6 Absence of perturbation across span borders

The rules described in 5.4 and the span features operate
within one tone span only and do not affect a preceding or
following tone span.

3.3.7 Downdrift of high tone sequences

The downdrift of a sequence of high tones only occurs finally
in the tone span (contrast the downdrift with a sequence of low
tones described in 3.3.1).

3.3.8 Syllabic nasals

Syllabic nasals are also a feature of the tone span, inasmuch
as they only occur at the beginning of a tone span, cf. 4.3.2.

3.4 CORRELATION WITH GRAMMATICAL UNITS

The tone span may correlate with a number of different gram-
matical units, but it is noticeable that it almost always does
correlate with some grammatical unit and its boundary is
co-terminous with either a sentence, clause or phrase boundary.

Most frequently the tone span correlates with a single clause
which in turn is part of a sentence. This is not a one-for-one
correlation, however, inasmuch as it is possible to have one span
extending over more than one clause, e.g., ts 26, and even over
more than one sentence, as in ts 40.

On the other hand, the tone span does occasionally corres-
pond to a grammatical unit less than a clause, i.e. a phrase.

3.5 TONE SPAN TRACINGS

In the analysis of the pitch system, a sampling of some fifty
tone spans run through a pitch circuit linked to an Oscillomink
was used extensively. A photograph showing an example of the
original graph and some examples of representations of the original
tracings made from the graph are given below.

These tracings represent tone spans in Register 1 (Conversa-
tional). The interpretation of these tracings was facilitated by
pitch patterns called scores, representing the same material, but
in Register 2 (the slower Deliberate Register). These scores
were confirmed by the pitches which were whistled by an Izi lan-
guage assistant and abstracted on musical scales. These scores
show the morphophonemic substrata underlying the spans.

The main differences between the tracings representing
Register 1 and the scores which represent Register 2 is that the

neutralisation of automatic downstep and downdrift, the glide
reduction and the devoicing of span final vowels which mark
Register 1 are absent from Register 2.

In the examples, the first line of each span gives the
reconstructed morphemes with their tones as spoken in Register 2.
Below this comes the score showing the pitches used in Register
2 and whistled by the language assistant. Underneath is the
representation of the tracing from the pitch circuit representing
Register 1. Below the tracing are the syllables of the Izi as
comparing the spoken and reconstructed forms.

Note that pitch frequencies in herz are comparable throughout
and that raised high is symbolised ⁴, upstep ¡, stress ', down-
step ¦ and length : in the tone span examples. Brackets round
vowels indicate elision of the vowel.

I   Oscillomink graph and representation
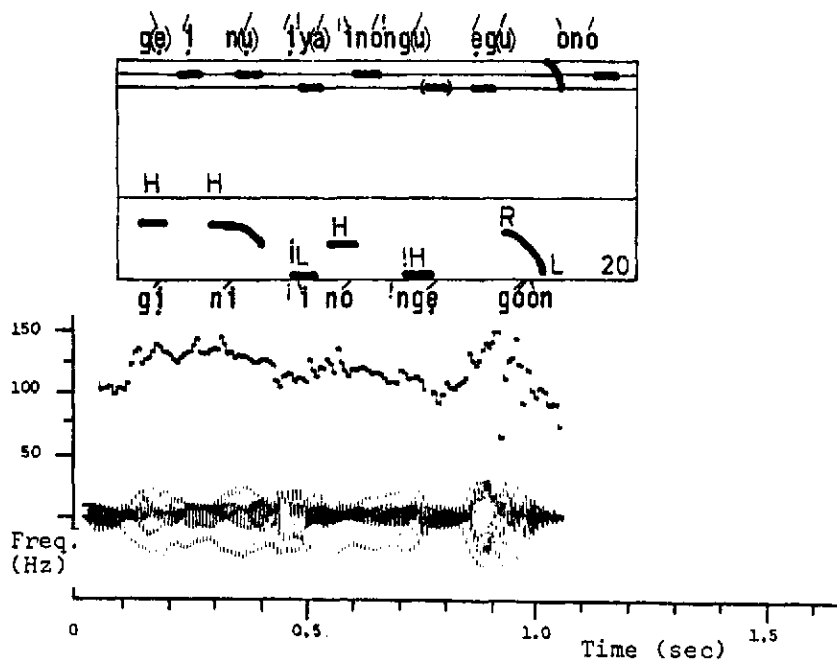
II   Tone Span Representations
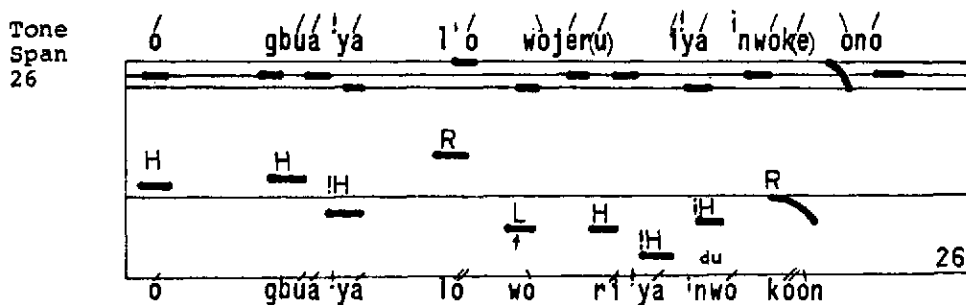
Tone
Span
2
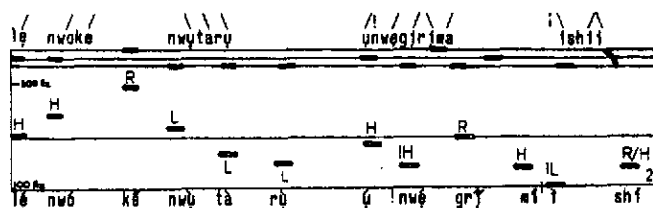
Tone
Span
22
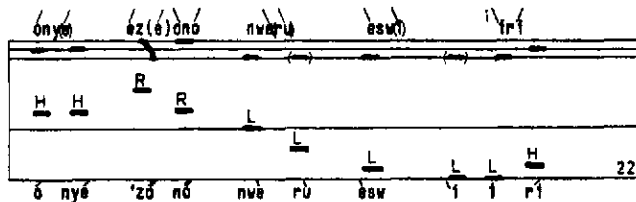
Tone
Span
24
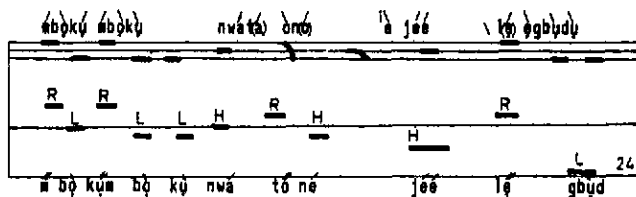
Tone
Span
29 &
30
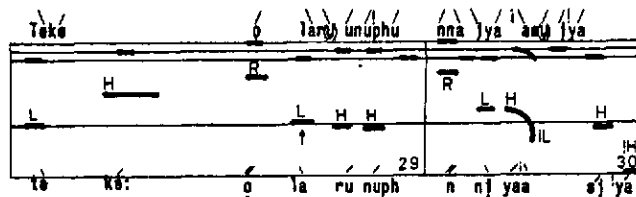
Tone
Span
34 &
35
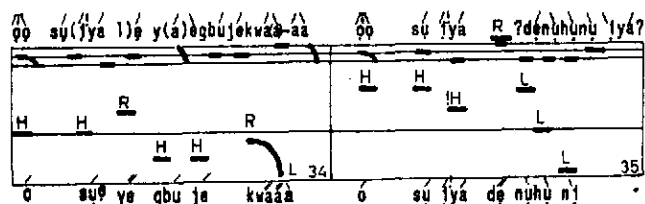
CHAPTER 4

THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

4.1 FUNCTION

The phonological word functions as an element of the tone span.

4.2 STRUCTURE

The phonological word comprises one or more syllables.

On the basis of their different structures, two main types of phonological word are distinguished:
- the simple word,
- the reduplicated word.

The approximate frequency of occurrence of each type is given below, and this is based on a count of 500 words from a story text (which had no particular recurrence of topical words).

4.2.1 Simple words

Structures of the simple word are divided into different subtypes as follows:

(1) <u>Simple Word 1</u> (40%) is diagrammed as follows:

	Premargin	Nucleus	Extension	Postmargin
(a)	$\pm$ V N	+ CV_1	$\pm$ rV_1 ($\pm$ rV_1)	
(b)	$\pm$ V N	+ CV_1	+ rV_1	+ CV/GV_1DV_1 or $GV_1DV_1GV_1$ ($\eta\acute{u}$)
(c)	+ V N	+ CV_1	+ CV_1	

The simple word 1 always has an obligatory nucleus consisting of a CV syllable[1].

Three subtypes are distinguished - a, b and c.

<u>Subtype 1a</u> (40%) may have an optional premargin which consists of any V or N, and a following optional extension which may be reduplicated.

___

[1] Occasionally, a CV nucleus is reduced to V, e.g., $l\grave{e} \triangleright \grave{e}$ *"and"*.

The extension always consists of the consonant r and the
repetition of the nucleus V₁. If the extension is present, the
premargin is usually also present.

<u>without extension</u> (40%)

né	*"mother"*	ńdò	*"goose"*	ǫ́bá	*"yam barn"*
éìé	*"antelope"*	ìę̣	*"that"*	m̀bá	*"reproach"*

<u>with extension</u> (less than 1%)

ę́phų́rų̀	*"sweat"*	ʌ̀kǫ̀rǫ́	*"monkey"*	ìphóró	*"light"*
m̀bàrá	*"frog"*	íphéré	*"shame"*	ų́tàrà	*"fufu"*

<u>with reduplicated extension</u> (less than 1%)

ògbúrúrú	*"fence"*	gbóróró	*"narrow path/straight"*
ǫ̀kárárá	*"dagger"*	v[r[r[	*"very ripe, orange red"*

<u>Subtype 1b</u> (less than 1%) has a premargin, an obligatory
extension and an obligatory postmargin.

The premargin and extension are as described for type 1a.
The obligatory postmargin consists of either,

(a)   a CV syllable whose phonemes are not restricted, or

(b)   less commonly, two CV syllables whose consonants are G-D,
      optionally extended to G-D-G. (G and D stand for the voiced
      or voiceless pairs.) In such syllables, vowels are the same
      as the vowels of the nucleus. This postmargin can be
      extended by -ŋu.

It may be noted in the examples below that frequently there
are sequences of from three to five high or low tones. This shows
clearly that these words are not compound forms. In compound
forms, where two high tones might be expected, downstep occurs
(15.12.2) and where two low tones might be expected, a high-low
sequence is found.

When the postmargin occurs in the fully extended form, no
premargin is usually found.

ákị̀rị̀kǫ̀	*"tax"*	íbíríbé	*"half"*
ókóróbó	*"empty"*	íkírízé	*"molar teeth"*
ǫ́gbàràbvų̀	*"root"*	ǫ̀gę̀rę̀nyà	*"old"*
ínyǫ́rǫ́kǫ́tǫ́	*"not guilty"*	òkpérégédé	*"a bell drum"*
gbérégédégé	*"finished completely"*		
gwórógódógó	*"falling of a bundle of wood, a tree"*		

gwǫ́rǫ́gǫ́dǫ́gǫ́   *"falling of a soft thing, a woman"*

gbárágádágá   *"falling of a hard thing, a man"*

kíríkítíkíŋú   *"brisk jumping of a person"*

Subtype 1c (1%) always has an obligatory premargin and an obligatory extension. The premargin is as described for subtype la. The extension consists of a CV syllable, with the C being d, t, g, k, kp, l or m, and the V always being the same as the vowel of the nucleus.

| íkpètè | *"fish trap"* | ńkàtà | *"basket"* | ègbụ̀dụ̀ | *"bush"* |
| èbịlị | *"ram"* | àdáká | *"gorilla"* | ìgòdò | *"lock"* |

(2)   Simple Word 2 (less than 1%) is diagrammed as follows:

+ Margin	+ Nucleus
V_1	CV_1CV

The simple word 2 consists of an obligatory nucleus of two CV syllables preceded by an obligatory margin consisting of the same vowel as the first vowel of the nucleus.

| àbàlị | *"night"* | èbèmù | *"thunder"* |
| ùdùgà | *"coco-yam"* | ǫ̀kpǫ́mà | *"heart"* |

(3)   Simple Word 3 (10%) is diagrammed as follows:

	Premargin	Nucleus	Extension	Postmargin
(a)	$\pm$ V / N	+ CVCV (CV_1V_1 or $CV_1CV_1V_1$)	$\pm$ CV	
(b)	$\pm$ V / N	+ CV_1CV_2	+ CV_2	$\pm$ CV

The simple word 3 has two subtypes:

Subtype 3a (10%) consists of an obligatory nucleus, preceded by an optional premargin and followed by an optional extension and an optional postmargin.

The obligatory nucleus consists of two CV syllables, or very rarely, of CV_1V_1 or $CV_1CV_1V_1$ syllables, with vowels being identical in the latter instances.

The premargin consists of a vowel or syllabic nasal.

The optional extension consists of a CV syllable without restriction as to consonants and vowels. This extension very seldom occurs. It is probable that all such words are either loan words or words which could be regarded as originally compound words and so treated as two phonological words, e.g., nwáànyì *"woman"* (nwá *"child"* + ànyì " ʔ ").

mí!ní   *"water"*   ìtùmó   *"pledge"*   òkòphóò   *"jealousy"*

ẹ̀byéà   *"stranger"*   nyéè   *"wife"*   àl̇ìm̟ítà   *"lime"*

Subtype 3b (less than 1%) consists of a nucleus with an obligatory extension, optionally preceded by a premargin and followed by a postmargin.

The nucleus consists of a CVCV syllable cluster, with dissimilar consonants and vowels.

The premargin consists of any vowel or syllabic nasal.

The obligatory extension consists of a CV syllable whose vowel is the same as the last vowel of the nucleus, and whose consonant is r or l.

The optional postmargin consists of a CV syllable whose phonemes are not restricted.

m̀gbàshírídè   *"earthworm"*   phéngárá   *"tall"*

ágágbórókó   *"gigantic, mighty"*   jákpélá   *"shallow"*

(4)   Simple Word 4 (40%) is diagrammed as follows:

± Periphery ± Premargin + Nucleus ± Postmargin ± Postperiphery

V_1	V_1	CV	CV	(V)CV
CV		CVCV	V	
		CVCVCV		

Simple word 4 consists of an obligatory nucleus of one to three CV syllables, together with an optional preceding periphery and premargin and optional postmargin and postperiphery.

The preceding periphery consists of I or O or mU (the capital letters are used to indicate the vowels which may be either advanced or retracted according to the vowel harmony of the whole word, 4.3.3).

The premargin consists of a vowel which is the same as the vowel of the periphery when that vowel is I or O and in other circumstances is E.

The postmargin consists of one of the following: rù, á, V́ (this vowel is the same as the last vowel of the nucleus).

The postperiphery consists of one of the following: mÚ, ngÚ (í)yá. A second postperiphery is sometimes found.

Simple Word 4 correlates with the grammatical unit verb phrase, with the nucleus and its preceding and following margins correlating with the verb stem and its base affixes, and the

preceding periphery correlating with the pronominal subject and
the following peripheries with pronominal objects.

Per	Mar	Nuc	Pmar	Pper	
mú	è	jé			*"I am going."*
ó	ò	ríje		í!yá	*"He is usually eating it."*
í	ì	nụ		í!yá yá	*"You are giving it to him."*
ọ̀		chọ́	ọ́	yá	*"He looked for it."*
í		nụ̀	rụ̀	mụ ìyà	*"You gave it to me."*
mú	˄è	rí	á	!yá	*"Then I will eat it."*
mú		gbùbùfù	ru	ìyà	*"I cut it out."*

4.2.2 Reduplicated words

Two types of reduplicated word are found.

(1) Reduplicated Word 1 (less than 1%) comprises words with a
single reduplication. All types of simple word have been found
reduplicated in this way.

Consonant-initial words are reduplicated without any modifi-
cations to their structure. Vowel-initial words are reduplicated
with vowel elision or with a connecting consonant.

The connecting consonant is r, l, t, d or y. In the case of
reduplication involving a connecting consonant, there may be a
lengthening of the vowel immediately after the connecting consonant.
together with a glide.

bẹ̀lẹ́bẹ̀lẹ̀	*"soft"*	phùkúphùkú	*"a fool, vagabond"*
réngúréngú	*"fine"*	ráàráà	*"swelling sickness"*
jákpáláJákpálá	*"shallow"*	ógólóg!ógólógó	*"very long"*
kwàkìrìkwàkìrì	*"ridiculous"*	ígódóphígòdòphù	*"serpentines"*
ìgbìdígbì (ìgbìdígbì)	*"thick"*	ònyònyò	*"shadow"*
ẹ̀nìyẹ́nì (ẹ̀nìyẹ́ẹ̀nì)	*"lame"*	ógólógó	*"long"*
ìgwèrígwè (ìgwèrígwè)	*"many"*	òbùtóbù	*"neighbour"*

(2) Reduplicated Word 2 (less than 1%) consists of a simple word
triplicated.

With vowel-initial words, there is elision between the first
two reduplications with a connecting consonant r between the second
and third forms.

póìlpòìlpóìl   *"jumping of a frog"*

gáphú!gáphú˄gáphú   *"squanderingly"*

jὶkpòjὶkpòjίkpò   *"carelessly dressed"*

gbágàgbàgàgbágà   *"proudly, conceitedly"*

ótyè + ótyè + r + ótyè ▸ ótyótyèrótyè   *"great grandparents"*

                                         ótyè *"ancient"*

4.2.3 Compound words

Compound words are treated as sequences of two (or more)
simple phonological words since each component in a compound
retains its vowel harmony feature, cf. 4.3.3.

4.3 SYNTAGMATIC FEATURES

There are two demarcative features, vowel elision and the
loss of syllabicity of the nasal with nasalisation, and one non-
demarcative feature, vowel harmony.

4.3.1 Vowel elision

Vowel elision marks the border between two phonological words
within the tone span. Vowel quality, tone and length are all
involved. The register also affects the degree of elision – with
Register 1 having a much greater degree of elision than Register 2.

Six types of elision are found. Types 1 to 3 occur much more
frequently than types 4 to 6.

(1) Replacement. When the tone of the first vowel is not higher
than the tone of the second vowel, a word-final V is fully elided
before a following V, thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} T_1 & T_2 & T_2 \\ V_1 & + \ V_2 & , & V_2 \end{array}$$

Unless otherwise stated, the second column of Izi data gives
the perturbations which underlie the final form.

H + H , H   ékú + óphé *"spoon soup"* , ék(ú)ó!phé , ékó!phé

!H + H , H   mί!nί + ίgwé *"water sky"* , mί!n(ί)ίgwé , mί!nίgwé

L + H , H   màrù + ίphé *"to know*   , màr(ù)ίphé , màrίphé·
                              something"

L + !H   does not occur. (No phonological word begins with !V̇.)

L + L , L   màrù + ọ̀nyà *"to know a*   , màr(ù)ọ̀nyà , màrọ̀nyà
                              friend"

(2) Single downglide. When the tone of the first V is higher than
the tone of the second V, a word-final V is partially elided, with
the vowel quality of V_1 being assimilated to the quality of V_2
with compensatory length and the retention of the first tone resul-
ting in a downglide. With Register 1, the glide is·reduced to the
higher of the two tones, thus:

$$\frac{T_1}{V_1} + \frac{T_2}{V_2} \; , \; \frac{T_1 T_2}{V_2 V_2} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{T_1}{V_2}$$

$$\text{Register 2} \qquad \text{Register 1}$$

						Register 2	Register 1

H + L , RL   íshí + ʃnyà   *"head horse"*   , íshʃ ̣nyà , íshínyà

ꜜH + L , RL   míꜜní + ìtè   *"water pot"*   , míníìtè , mínítè

H + ^L , H^L   íphé + ^òlé   *"Which thing?"*   , íphó^òlé , íphóꜜlé

(3) <u>Fused nasal</u>. At the juncture of a word-final V and a word-initial syllabic nasal, the syllabic nasal loses its syllabicity and a single tone is found. This resultant tone is always the higher of the two tones.

H + R , R   ḿbọ̀kụ̀ + ḿbọ̀kụ̀ , ḿbọ̀kụ́ ḿbọ̀kụ̀ , ḿbọ̀kụ́mbọ̀kụ̀
      "day after day, i.e. daily"

ꜜH + L , R   ụ́zọ́, ꜜdụ́ ǹhàmụ́hà , ụ́zọ́, dụ́nhàmụ́hà
      "the way, which is straight"

(4) <u>Double vowels</u>. When a word ending with a double vowel is followed by a word beginning with a single or double vowel, in general the vowels of the first double vowel, $V_1 V_1$ are elided to the quality of the second vowel or double vowel, V_2 or $V_2 V_2$ and high tones tend to predominate. Four types of elision are distinguished.

(a) $V_1 V_1$ carrying an HL sequence elides fully with V_1 if the HL pattern can be maintained, which is the case if V_2 is carrying L.

      ẹ̀byáà ònɔ́ *"that guest"* , ẹ̀byáá ònó , ẹ̀byóònó

When the V_2 is carrying H and the HL pattern cannot be maintained, the second V_1 is elided, but not the first,

      ẹ̀byáá, ọ́ hụ̀màrụ̀ , ẹ̀byáá, ọ́hụ̀màrụ̀ , ẹ̀byá, ọ̈hụ̀màrụ̀
      "the guest, whom he saw"

In very rapid forms of Register 1, there is assimilation of the vowel quality of V_1 giving

      ẹ̀byọ́ọ̈hụ̀màrụ̀

These sequences have only been found with nominals.

(b)   In a $V_1 V_1$ carrying an HH sequence, the second V_1 is fully elided, but the first V_1 and tone are maintained.

      mẹ́ẹ́ àtsụ́ ꜜngụ́ , mẹ́àtsụ́ꜜngụ́   *"you are drunk (lit. wine is beating you)"*
      máá ònó , máònó   *"that spirit"*

(c)   In a juncture of two double vowels $(V_1V_1$ with $V_2V_2)$, if the second vowel cluster involves a pronominal, the first V_1V_1 elides fully.

ẹ̀byáà, óò dukwa ˃ ẹ̀byáá, óò dukwa ˃ ẹ̀byóò ...
"the guest whom he is leading ..."

(d)   In a juncture of V_1V_1 with V_2V_2 if the second V cluster involves

   i.   a verb-prefix, or a gerundial form I, e.g., $^\wedge \grave{V}_1 \acute{V}_1 CV$ or $^{\wedge\prime}\acute{V}C\acute{V}$

   ii.   Nominal Class 6a,

   iii.   Nominal Class 7,

there is complete assimilation of the quality of V_1V_1 to V_2V_2 but the tones assimilate to $T_1T_3T_4$ in Register 2 and to T_1T_4 in Register 1, thus

$$\frac{T_1T_2}{V_1V_1} + \frac{T_3T_4}{V_2V_2} \quad ˃ \quad \frac{T_1T_3T_4}{V_2V_2V_2} \quad ˃ \quad \frac{T_1T_4}{V_2V_2}$$

ẹ̀byáà ^èérì ńrí ˃ ẹ̀byé(é)^èérí ... ˃ ẹ̀byééérí ...
"guest eating food, i.e. food-eating guest"

(5)   Dissimilar vowel clusters. In general, clusters of dissimilar vowels, V_1V_2 followed by a V_3 assimilate to the vowel quality of V_3, but the tones are only partially assimilated.

When T_1T_2 are both H, however, the elision is

$$\frac{T_1T_2}{V_1V_2} + \frac{T_3}{V_3} \quad ˃ \quad \frac{T_1T_3}{V_1V_3}$$

ọ̀ gʉ́á ó!bvú ˃ ọ̀gʉ́ébvú   *"he sang a song"*

ò ríá ʉ́tàrà ˃ òríʉ́tàrà   *"he ate fufu"*

ọ̀ chọ́ọ́ éswí f!yá ˃ ọ̀chọ́éswí!yá *"he searched for his cow"*

When T_1 and T_2 are H and T_3 is L,   the elision is

$$\frac{T_H \; T_H}{V_1 \; V_2} + \frac{T_L}{V_3} \quad ˃ \quad \frac{T_R \; T_R}{V_3 \; V_3}$$

nwó!ké á ùgò hùmàrù à ˃ nwó!ké ä ùgò ... ˃ nwó!kʉ̈ ʉ̈gò ...
"man   this Ugo saw"
whom

(6)   Double tone glides occur with certain Class 7 nouns (15.12.1) which are marked by an initial latent low and initial vowel. When a single V_1 is followed by such a noun, the V_1 is elided, but the tone is maintained.

$$\frac{T_1}{V_1} + \frac{T_2T_3}{V_2} , \frac{T_1T_2T_3}{V_2V_2V_2} , \frac{T_1T_3}{V_2V_2}$$

With these junctures the following double tone glides occur in Register 2 but are reduced in Register 1:

(a) $\acute{V}_1$ + $\grave{\acute{V}}_2$CV̀ , RLR , RR

áswá `ę̀mà , áswę̈ę̈mà , áswę̈ę̈mà *"price of fish"*

(b) $\acute{V}_1$ + $\grave{\acute{V}}_2$CV́ , RLH· , RH

éswí `é!chíęgú , éswëé!chíęgú   *"cow of Echiegu"*

(c) $\acute{V}_1$ + $(\hat{\grave{V}}_2)\acute{V}_2$, H^LH , H(!)H

ǫ́nmǫ́ ^àábá m̀mà , ǫ́nmá^àábämmà , ǫ́nmá(!)ábämmà
"stone for sharpening knife"

(V) indicates optional occurrence.

Non-realisation of vowel elision. Vowel elision is not realised when there are stylistic factors such as special emphasis or hesitation. In addition, vowel elision is not realised in the following instances:

(a) When a high vowel is followed by base affix -é, e.g., ę̀phę́ gǘá é!bvú , gǘé!bvú not *géé!bvú. Elision would make it impossible to recognise the verb root, and the verbal extension which, in other instances, serves to identify the verb root is not used after this base affix.

(b) When the deictic -à follows a vowel, e.g.,íphé-à *"this thing"* in Register 1 span final a vowel change takes place, , íphï̀ and the -à is omitted though its low tone causes the previous high to be raised.

(c) When a high back vowel is followed by the lengthened vowel -`é,*"calling feature"*, e.g. ńnà mu-`é , mïé *"Oh my father!"* élòmu-`é , élòmï̀-é *"Elomu!"* a vowel change takes place with the high front vowel replacing the high back vowel.

There is no vowel elision either in the case of -òó *"calling feature"* e.g. byá-òó , byäó *"Come!"*

4.3.2 Loss of syllabicity of nasal

A syllabic nasal loses its syllabicity at the border of two phonological words.

(a) A syllabic nasal is realised as a non-syllabic nasal before a plosive or a velar continuant:

ę̀tsá + ńchị̀   *"ring"* + *"ear"*, ę̀tsánchị̀   *"earring"*
ò + gbú + ńkụ́ *"it cuts wood"*, ògbún!kụ́   *"axe"*

ọ̀ + gbá + n̆ghọ́ *"he runs a trade"* ⸱ ọ̀gbán!ghọ́ *"trader"*

The tone of the syllabic nasal is not lost, but fuses with the
preceding tone, sometimes resulting in a tone glide. Tone
perturbations are according to the tonal rules of compound
nominals, cf. 15.12.2.

(b) A syllabic nasal is realised as nasalisation of the preceding
vowel before a non-velar continuant:

    èmá + n̆sọ́   *"to do a rite"*⸳ èmá̰!sọ́ *"to perform a rite"*

    ọ́ + dụ̀ + n̆phé *"it is easy"* ⸳ ọ́dụ̰̀phé *"it is easy"*

4.3.3 Vowel harmony

Within the phonological word, a consistent vowel harmony
system has been found with the following two sets of vowels:

Tongue-root advanced set	Tongue-root retracted set

    i   u   į   ụ

                                   + a

    ə   o   ẹ   ọ

The ninth vowel a seems to function with the tongue-root
retracted set, apart from the instances mentioned below.

Patterns of vowel harmony within the phonological word
correlate with the grammatical category of the phonological word
concerned. Different types of vowel harmony characterise phono-
logical words which are nominals and phonological words which are
verbs.

(1) Vowel harmony within nominals

(a) Disyllabic and trisyllabic nominals

The great majority of nominals show the pattern VCV and
VCVCV. All the vowels within these nominals belong to the same
set of vowels, either the advanced or retracted set.

ídzù	*"week"*	į̀nyà	*"horse"*
ìnè	*"porridge, horse"*	į̀kpà	*"war drum"*
égú	*"hoe hand"*	ẹ̀tsá	*"bead"*
élé	*"antelope"*	ẹ̀nụ̀	*"bird"*
óyí	*"coldness"*	ọ́bvụ̀	*"medicine"*
óphé	*"soup"*	ọ́ʃí	*"cola nut"*
únú	*"salt"*	ụ́ìọ̀	*"house"*
ùwé	*"clothes"*	ụ̀pyí	*"protrusion of·yam"*

ìphóró	"light"	ìgbàkpò̩	"pepper"
èkpému̍	"bottle"	è̩chàrà	"bamboo"
ò̩kpùrú	"pond"	ò̩gàzi̩	"guinea fowl"
ùtóbó	"monkey"	úgù̩rù̩	"harmattan"

The following exceptions have been found:

àkpè	"maize"	ò̩kpò̩gà	"money"
ákpó	"palate".	ò̩dùmá	"lion"
ágò̩dó	"juju"	ùdùgà	"coco yam"
àwúrù	"fox"	íbyi̩nà	"tadpole"
ḿkpúmà	"stone"	ḿkpúlá	"under"
m̀gbúrùmá	"bailiff"		

As all the exceptions are limited to the occurrence of a with the advanced set, it might be argued that a should be considered a member of both sets, but a functions with the advanced set proportionately so infrequently that it seems better to consider it a member of the retracted set.

(b) Trisyllabic compound nominals

In compound nominals, each morpheme retains its own set of vowels, and these forms are therefore considered to be two phonological words.

ó̩!kpóshí	"stool"	ó̩kpà + óshí	"leg + wood"
ó̩kpúpfù	"hipbone"	ó̩kpú̩ + úpfù	"bone + hip"
ògbúnkú̩	"axe"	ò + gbú + ńkú̩	"it cuts wood"

A compound may be made up of two or more morphemes of the same set, but they should not be confused with trisyllabic noncompound nominals which show vowel harmony, as illustrated above.

ákpó̩kpà	"shoe"	ákpó̩ + ó̩kpà	"skin + foot"
é̩swú̩lò̩	"roof"	é̩swá + ú̩lò̩	"grass + house"
égbígwé	"thunder"	égbè + ígwé	"gun + sky"

(2) Vowel harmony within the verb

In the verb system, vowel harmony occurs to a very high degree.

(a) Vowel harmony with simple verbs

The great majority of verbs are simple verbs consisting of a stem which consists of one root only, with the structure CV,

constituting the phonological nucleus of the word as described in
Simple Word 4.

Any derivational suffix (except -kǫ "together") and two
extensor suffixes (-jé "habitual", -rú "benefactive") harmonise with
the preceding syllable (verb root) of the nucleus.

The vowels of all other morphemes in the simple verb harmonise
with the vowel of the nucleus. It should be noted, though, that
when the following margin consists of the Base Affix -a, it is
realised as -a after advanced as well as retracted high vowels.

Advanced V nucleus		Retracted V nucleus	
ó ò hu ǀ!yá	"he is rubbing it"	ǫ́ ǫ̀ hu̧ ǀ!yá	"he is punishing him"
ó nyǀhùrù	"he climbed up"	ǫ́ nyǀhù̧rù̧	"it became blunt"
ǀ gbúá ǀyá	"you killed it"	ǀ tsú̧á ǀyá	"you pounded it"
mù kùá ǀyá	"I called him"	mù̧ kù̧á ǀyá	"I beat it (drum)"

(b) Vowel harmony within compound verbs

A compound verb (having a verb stem with more than one
morpheme) is marked as two (or more) phonological words, since the
vowel harmony may change from one set of vowels to the other
between the two or more morphemes. Verbs with the derivational
suffix -kǫ "together" and all extensor suffixes except -jé "habitual"
and -rú "benefactive" also function as compound verbs and constitute
two or more phonological words.

When there are two phonological words, any preceding periphery
and premargin harmonise with the first nucleus and so constitute
one phonological word with vowel harmony throughout; any following
margin and periphery harmonise with the second nucleus and
constitute a second phonological word.

Phon.word 1		Phon.word 2	
mú è kpú	-	ba ǀíyá	"I enter it by stooping (stoop-enter)"
mú̧ ǀá gù̧	-	chǀ ǀ!yá	"I am closing it"
ʃ ǀ sá	-	rwe ǀ!yá	"you are thoroughly washing it"
ʃ gbà	-	gbùru ǀyà	"you killed it by shooting (shoot-kill)"

Where there are more than two morphemes in the verb stem,
three phonological words may result, as in the examples below:

ö̧ ǫ̀ gú̧	-	chǀ	-	fú̧áǀyá	"after he has closed it ..."
ʃ gbà	-	gbù	-	kpǫ̀ru̧ ǀyà	"you really killed it by shooting"
ó kù	-	kǫ̀	-	chǀrù ǀyà	"he called them together on his behalf"

In certain restricted circumstances there is limited vowel
harmony within compound verbs. This occurs when the morphemes
listed below, all of which have vowels which are tongue root
advanced, are preceded by verb roots in which the vowel is tongue
root retracted. In these circumstances the vowel of the first
verb root changes to the tongue root advanced quality.

The morphemes which have this harmonising effect on the pre-
ceding root include some independent verb roots (18.1), some
dependent verb roots and one negative extensor suffix (14.5.2).
There seems nothing in common between these morphemes except this
harmonising effect. There is some evidence that Izi speakers
vary in their practice and whether or not there is vowel harmony
is a matter for debate when newly literate people want to write
these compounds. This suggests the vowel harmony system for com-
pounds may well be changing.

The independent roots are:

-dzú *"to complete"*   as in chódzú *"to look for all"*
                               cf. chǫ́   *"to seek"*

-gbú *"to kill"*   as in swʃgbú *"to kill by strangling"*
                               cf. swʃ   *"to strangle"*

The dependent roots, which all belong to class D3, are:

-chʃ *"to cover, shut"*   -phè   *"to be around"*
-phù *"to turn back"*   -kúbé   *"to move near"*

The negative extensor suffix is

swèé *"never before"*

Any preceding periphery and premargin harmonise with the verb
root in its original form and are not harmonised with the form of
the verb root which has been harmonised with the following root
advanced form.

èphǫ́ àswʃgbu ʃ!yá   *"They are killing it (by strangling)"*

ǫ́ tǫ́kǫ ǫ̀dúswèé ónyé !máru ʃyá ^nù *"There has never yet been anybody*
                                    who knew it."
cf. ǫ̀dý + swèé
     was   never before

èphǫ́ nòphèru ʃyà m̀gbùrùmgbúrù   *"They surrounded him (all around)"*

cf. nǫ̀ + phè
     to be to be around

It will be seen that in the case of compound verbs, it is clearly a little cumbersome to retain vowel harmony as a feature marking the phonological word. On the other hand, since vowel harmony so clearly marks the phonological word in other instances, it seems better to retain it as a feature, particularly as the longer verb structures are comparatively infrequent in occurrence.

CHAPTER 5

THE SYLLABLE

5.1 FUNCTION

The syllable functions as an element of the phonological word.

5.2 STRUCTURE

The syllable comprises one or more phonemes. On the basis of their different structures, two types of syllable are distinguished.

	± Premargin	+ Nucleus	± Postmargin
Type 1	C	V	N
Type 2		N	

Type 1 comprises an obligatory nucleus consisting of a vowel and an optional premargin consisting of a consonant, and an optional postmargin following the nucleus.

Type 2 comprises an obligatory nucleus consisting of a syllabic nasal.

In Register 1 a third syllable type occurs, CRi/u. This is a contraction of two syllables which in Register 2 are Ci/u Ri/u

kpírˇîkpìrí ► kprˇîkprí   *"a market"*

ú¡nwę́gˇrˇįmá ► ú¡nwę́grˇįmá   *"children"*

5.3 SYNTAGMATIC FEATURES

All syllables are marked with features of quality and pitch.

There are three features of quality, the palatalisation feature, the labialisation feature and the neutral feature and these are described in 5.3.1 to 5.3.4. The pitch features are more extensive and are described in 5.4.

The palatalisation and labialisation features are regarded· as features of the syllable rather than as constituting individual phonemes for the following reasons:

(a) There is contrast between some syllables marked by the feature of labialisation and those without. Labialised syllables

55

with a back vowel show a definite lip-rounding spread over the
whole syllable. Back and, to a lesser extent, central vowels in
other surroundings are not rounded or only extremely slightly
rounded (6.3).

(b) To treat palatalisation and labialisation as a feature of the
syllable is more economical in terms of the number of phonemes
which are set up, since otherwise fifteen additional phonemes
would be needed.

5.3.1 Palatalisation feature

The palatalisation feature is realised phonetically as
palatal friction which is fairly strong except in the case of n
and y. It is also realised in the slight fronting of the vowel
which occurs in such syllables.

The palatalisation feature is found whenever the syllable
margin is the palatal consonant y. It may also occur optionally
when the syllable margin is a bilabial stop or a consonant with
alveolar articulation except liquids, namely p, b, t, d, ts, dz,
s, z and n. Palatalisation is symbolised by y after the consonant
margin throughout this section and in Chapter 6.

pyí	"to carve"	èbyáà	"stranger"
ápyá	"a bird"	byíbù	"to cut with teeth"
útyè	"mind"	ụ̀dyá	"conversation"
tyọ́	"to look for"	ꟾdyérè	"soldier ant"
tsyé	"to throw into"	dzyá	"to lend"
tsyí	"to shine"	édzyꟾ	"snail"
ósyí	"tree"	ózyí	"message"
ásyá	"cheek"	ńzyá	"wagtail bird"
ꟾnyí	"dirt"	óyí	"coldness"
ònỵò	"mirror"	yọ̀	"to shake a rattle"

5.3.2 Labialisation feature

The labialisation feature is realised phonetically by a
transitional semivowel between the consonant margin and the vowel
nucleus. There is slight lip-rounding before front vowels and
this increases for the central vowels and is very definite for
back vowels. Such lip-rounding occurs throughout the syllable,
commencing with the articulation of the consonant and through the
articulation of the vowel.

The labialisation feature occurs when the syllable margin is
the labial consonant w. It may also occur if the syllable margin
is a velar stop, a velar nasal or a liquid, namely: k, g, ŋ, ꟾ

or r[1]. Labialisation is symbolised by w after the consonant margin.

ę́kwà	*"cloth"*		àgwá	*"juju"*
ákwọ̀	*"razor"*		ŕgwè	*"iron"*
ų́nwų́[2]	*"sons"*		ų́ɩ̀wų̀	*"fright"*
nwá	*"child"*		ɩwę́	*"to swallow"*
érwé	*"mushroom"*		ɩ̀wú	*"law"*
ų́rwá	*"clay"*		ų̀wà	*"personal god"*

5.3.3 Neutral feature

When the syllable is not marked by either the palatalisation feature or the labialisation feature, it is regarded as marked by the neutral feature. There is no restriction of consonants except that syllables marked by the neutral feature never have w and y as syllable margin.

ágọ̀	*"spoon"*		únú	*"salt"*
ɩ̀vú	*"hawk"*		ọ̀kọ̀	*"fowl"*
m̀bè	*"tortoise"*		ézé	*"tooth"*

5.3.4 Palatalisation and labialisation features

Some syllables are marked by the combination of both the palatalisation and labialisation features and this is realised phonetically with strong fronting of the consonant, palatal and labial friction through the syllable (often giving a whistling sound) and lip-rounding with back vowels and, to a lesser extent, with central vowels.

This combination of palatalisation and labialisation features only occurs when the syllable margin is the consonant s.

áswá	*"market"*		ùswè	*"width"*
éswí	*"cow"*		ų̀swọ́	*"quarrel"*

---

[1] In some areas, one instance of z with labialisation occurs, in ázwá *"first day of the week"*.

[2] There is slight nasalisation with a labialised syllable whose margin is [ŋ] and whose nucleus is a high back vowel, e.g. [ų́ŋwų̃́] *"sons"*.

5.4   THE TONE SYSTEM

5.4.1   <u>General features</u>

   The tone system is essentially a two tone system with down-
step and upstep. It could be called a "see-saw system" more
appropriately than a downstep system. Thus the downstepping
influence which characterises other Kwa languages and especially
Igbo, is counteracted by widely distributed raising influences.

   The tone system comprises:

   Two basic tones: High (H or ´), Low (L or `)

   Three features: Downstep (!)
                       Upstep (ˆ)
                       Latent Low (` before the word)

   In addition, low tone has two variants, the raising low tone
(L or `) and the non-raising low tone (ˆL or ˆ`). High tone has a
variant, raised high (R or ¨) but this is always predictable,
5.4.2.1.

   A series of rules describes tonal variations and the way in
which these features operate.

   Phonemic contrasts are seen in

   a two-way contrast after L: LL and LH

   a three-way contrast after H: HH, H!H and HL

   Many minimal tone pairs and triplets are found, and some
quadruplets:

	ọkụ	ẹka	ẹba	ẹkwa
HH	*fire*	*hand*	*vegetable*	*cry*
HL	*fowl*	*notch mark*	*feather*	*cloth*
LH	*a bird*	*place*	*head of arrow*	*egg*
LL	*heart burn*	*worm*	*fat*	*an age group*

   H!H does not often mark nominals except in genitival construc-
tions. The following has been found, however:

Ibe	H!H	*home*	ọchị	H!H	*darkness*
	HH	*kind of food*			
	HL	*neighbour*		HL	*laughter*
				LH	ọchịmbà *age group I*
					ọ chị mbà *he rules area*
	LL	*grass ashes*		LL	*a water insect*

These contrasts may be seen below:

H H   H!H   L H   L L   H L

"x x"   "x"   "x"   "x x"   "x"

                                                 R L
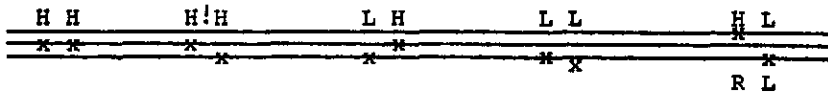
   In this section, the data are displayed in one of two ways,
the first giving fuller details of the pitch levels of the tones
in the examples and the second being used where this does not seem
necessary. These displays are explained below.

Display 1

1.   mí!ní + únú!phú   *water of the compound*

2.   ═══════════════   ,   ═══════════════

3.   ,   min(í) unuphu

4.   H `H + H H `H   H `(H)H H `H

Line 1 Reconstructed form with tones as spoken with isolated
morphemes or phrases and represented by suprasegmental symbols.

Line 2 Phonetic pitches, i.e. the scores described in 3.5. Elided
tones are given in brackets, when they help to explain the level
of adjacent tones.

Line 3 Syllables (V or CV) related to the score pitches. If forms
are entirely identical with those of line 1, this line is omitted.
Otherwise this alone represents the spoken form in Register 2,
unless otherwise stated. Elision, i.e., loss of vowel quality, is
indicated by brackets.

Line 4 Phonemic interpretation of the pitches except that high
tone may be signalled by R instead of H, R being the phonetically
raised high tone. Brackets around tone means loss of tone.
Brackets around vowel, tone and pitch signals total elision;
where a vowel is bracketed but not the tone, the following vowel
is lengthened to carry the tone. Latent tones are in brackets
not relating to a syllable.

   Frequently only the right hand side of the scores, etc., is
given.

Display 2

ézè ònó nwèrù (é!zé ònó) , ézöönö nwèrù ,, ézönö nwèrù

"chief that had ..."

                                         ═══════════════

                                         H R R   L L
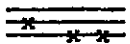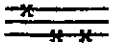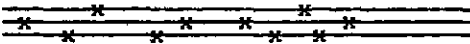
The form after the ، is the form used in Register 2. If any
underlying forms needs to be shown, it is put in brackets before
this form. The form after ‹‹ is the one used with Register 1.
Frequently there is no difference between Register 1 and Register
2 and in such instances ، is used.

It should be noted that the phonetic pitches given in the
Display 1 are representations of the Deliberate Register (Register
2) unless otherwise stated, checked against the whistled speech
of the language assistant. The same check has been applied to
Display 2 and all representations of Register 1.

5.4.2 High tone

The high tone contrasts with low after low and with
downstepped high and low after high.

5.4.2.1 The raised high rule. All high tones (including down-
stepped high) before a raising low tone are raised to raised high
level (R). This rule applies both within the phonological word
and between phonological words.

ó!kóró *"batchelor"*   ókòrò *"cup"*   ó!kóró + ǫwá   *"this batchelor"*

okoro   ǫwa ، okorǫǫwa

H! H H   R L L   H!H   R   L H   H!H RL H

5.4.2.2 Two raised high tones. A sequence of two raised high
tones is the result of the loss of a low syllable across morpheme
boundaries, or, more rarely, due to contraction within a morpheme
and is phonetically realised as a raised high tone followed by a
downstepped raised high tone. Such a sequence is interpreted as
follows: HLHL ، RLRL ‹‹ RRL, i.e., normally it is elided.

ónyé ònó nwèrù ، (ónyëònö) ، ónyöònö nwèrù ‹‹ ónyönö nwèrù
"person that had"   H RL R   L L   H R R   L L

When this explanation is not possible, a latent low tone is
postulated,

    ónyé `ké ۱kpá!zú   *"the last person"*

    H   H(L)H L   H !H

The nominalising particle ke has a high tone, wherever it occurs,
yet since any preceding high tone is raised, the particle ke is
reconstructed as `ké under the assumption that it consisted of
two syllables originally, the first of which was lost while the
raising low tone was preserved.

  ، ónyë   kè ۱kpá!zú   ‹‹ ónyë kïkpá!zú
    H R (L)R L H !H   H R R H !H

The downstep occurring within an RR sequence is non-phonemic, i.e., automatic.

5.4.2.3 A raised high tone followed by a high tone is analogously interpreted as R(L)H, cf. 5.4.3.3, i.e., a latent low is postulated. High in relation to raised high is downstepped. The downstep again is non-phonemic.

5.4.2.4 Sequences of raised high tones, While raised high tones are frequent, sequences of more than two raised tones are rare. Tone span 45 illustrates such a sequence.

éswí ònó g'ǫ́ hà , ésw(ʏ) ònö ʿg'ǫ́ hà ͵, éswönö g'ǫ́ hà
"cows the all"
ǫwánàáwà ͵ ǫwänäwà *"this"*   ǫphúnàáwà ͵ ǫphünäwà *"that"*

5.4.2.5 High-low glides. Since the raised high rule also applies across morpheme boundaries, boundaries of -V̂ V̂- at which elision takes place are marked by glides. These glides are particularly characteristic of Register 2 scores. The above successions in Register 2 compared with Register 1 may be presented as follows:

Reg. 2	Reg. 1		Reg. 2	Reg. 1

R (L)H ͵, R H   R(L)R(L)H ͵, R R H

i.e., glides in Register 2 are often shortened or reduced to virtually non-glided R tones in Register 1.

5.4.2.6 The downstepped high tone. Within the same phonological word the downstepped high tone contrasts after high with high in that it is lower than a previous high. It also contrasts with the raising low tone but this contrast is only possible if the low tone does not follow the downstepped high tone immediately because of the raised high rule. In the case of H!HHL, which is realised in Register 2 with the third high as raised high because of the following low, downstepped high and low are phonetically identical but in Register 1, the low tone is phonetically lower than the downstepped high.

The non-raising low tone, cf. 5.4.3.2, only occurs initial in the phonological word. If it follows high across word boundaries the contrast is identical with that of a downstepped high. There is no phonetic contrast between the succession H followed by downstepped H and a word final high followed by a non-raising low tone, irrespective of the register.

The Izi system differs from some other downstep systems in that the level of downstepped high after high is phonetically identical with the level of low before high, not only in sequences of LH!H but also in symmetric reverse sequences such as H !H ˆL H in which L is non-raising, cf. tone span 20.

LH!H: mú èré !jí   cf. H!H^LH .. ná!nú ^j(è)^às(ú) ^ò ..

mëè ré !jí
"I am selling yam"

ná!nú   ^jèà   só
"... one by one until he ..."

and ^LH!H

g(è) ∫ n(ú) ∫!y(á) ^ìnó!ng(ú) ég(ú) ònó
"so that you give him that field rat."
H   H   ^L H!   H   RL H

A high tone following a downstepped high tone is level with that downstepped high.

mí!ní + ígwé ₌ mí!n(í)ígwé

mí!n(I)ígwe
"water of heaven, rain"
H! (H)H H

ó`ó!yétá ìyá + éká

o o!yet(a)iy(a)eka
"he will put to it hand, be involved
R(L)H! H   H   H H   *in it."*

For sequences of downstep, see 5.4.5.3.

5.4.2.7 <u>Nominal high to low rule</u>. High tones of nominals in tone classes 1-3 (15.12) are perturbed to low tones when these nominals occur
(1) before numerals,
(2) as second NPo when span final after a sequence of low tones,
(3) as unexpanded NPs if followed by a verb in Base A, cf. 14.3.3.

(1) íphé + ^ètó

iph(e) ètọ
"things + three"
H   H + ^L H

ó hùmàrù + íphé + ^ètó

ọ hụmar(ụ) iph(e)   ètọ
"he saw   things   three"
R L L (L)^L (L) ^L H

^L (L)^L H

(2) ògbònà + íphé

ọ́ nùrù ògbònà   íphé   *"he gave something*
                          to Ogbona."

ọ nụr(ụ)ogbon(a)Iphe   (Register 1)
H L (L)L L (L)L L

(3) éghú + gbálá
                           "goat ran away"

eghu gbala
H H + H H   L L   H H

5.4.3 <u>Low Tone</u>

The low tone is that tone which when preceding a high tone is lower than high.

A distinction is made between a raising low (L) and a non-raising low tone (^L). This notation is discussed in 5.4.6.3.

5.4.3.1 <u>The raising low tone</u> raises the pitch of a preceding high to raised high (5.4.2.1).

A sequence of word initial low tones are always raising low tones. A sequence of low tones and one or more high tones on the downstep level may be distinguished in Register 2 in span-final position since only low tone sequences show downdrift. In Register 1 there is no contrast since both low and high sequences show downdrift span-final.

5.4.3.2 <u>The non-raising low tone</u> does not raise a preceding high tone. The non-raising low tone only occurs word-initial and before high. This means that contrasts are only possible between LH/^LH, LHH/^LHH, LH!H/^LH!H and LHL/^LHL.

^LH/LH contrast. Nominal class 6 and tone pattern LH of class 7. Nominal class is indicated by subscript number.

$í phé_1$ + $^\text{ˆ}ọzọ́_6$	"thing other"	$í phé_1$ + $ònó_7$	"thing that"

íphé	^ọzọ́	íphé	^ọzọ́	íphé	ònó	íphöònó
H H	+ ^L H	H H	^L H	H H	L H	H RL H

^LHH/LHH contrast. The following verb aspects contrast.

man	eat	it		man	eat	it
nwó!ké	^èríá	!yá		nwó!ké	èríá	!yá

nwó!ké	^èríá	!yá		nwó!kë	èríá	!yá
H !H	^L HH	!H		H R L HH	!H	

"...then the man will eat it"   "When the man has eaten it ..."
Base AB future aspect   Base AB conditional aspect

^LH!H/LH!H contrast. Nominal class 4 and the pattern LH!H of class 7 contrast, e.g., ^ìnó!ngú "bush rat" and òró!ké "(a name)". The raising low tone in this special case has a variant form which is non-raising and characteristic for certain areas of Izi, ^òró!ké, cf. 5.4.5.4 c.

With <u>compounds</u> contrasts abound:

(1) $^\text{ˆ}LH_3$ + $^\text{ˆ}LH_3$ → ^LH!H

(2)   LL + H_1 → LH!H

(3)   LHL + HH_1 → LH!HH » LH!H

Examples are set out as follows: on the left, the formation of the compound; on the right, the effect of the initial low tone.

(1) *cloth*   *body*   *"shirt"*
     ùwé₃ + èhý₃   ùwẹ́hý   éphà₇ + uwẹhụ   *"name of shirt"*

     ┌─(×)─────×──┐ ┌──×──×──┐ ×─────────────────────────────────
     ×──────×──── ──×──×── ──×────×───×──×────×────×────×
     ùw(é)   èhú , ùwẹ́hý   éph(a)(ẹ́¦phá) + ùwẹ́hý , ẹ́^phùwẹ́¦hý
     L (H)   L H , L H¦H   R (L)(H ¦H) +^L H¦H ⌐ H ^L H ¦H

(2) *pot* + *wine*   *"winepot"*
     ìtè + mẹ́₁   ìté¦mẹ́   éphà + ìté¦mẹ́   *"name of winepot"*

     ┌──────×───×──×────×──┐ ┌──×────────────×─────×──┐
     ×──×───×──×──×───×──×─── ──×───×────×──────×───×
     ìtè + mẹ́ (ìté + ¦mẹ́) , ìté¦mẹ́ éphà(éph¦á) + ìté¦mẹ́ » éphꜛté¦mẹ́
     L L + H (L H + ¦H) , L H ¦H   R L(H ¦H) + L H ¦H » H R H ¦H

(3) *mark*   *thing*
     ìchíì   + íphéı   *"mark of something"*

     ┌──×────────┐   ┌──────×────×──┐
     ×──×──×────×──×──× ──×───×──×────×──×
     ìchíì (ìchí¦í)+ íphé , ìchí¦íphé » ìchí¦phé
     L HL L H¦H + H H , L H¦H H » L H¦ H

<u>^LHL/LHL contrast</u>.

HLH ókòkó *"flower"* +   LHL   èbyáà *"guest"*
                           ^LHL ^ìshíì *"six"*

     ókòkó + èbyáà   ókòkó + ^ìshíì
     ┌─×───×──────×──┐   ┌──×───×──────×──┐
     ──×────×──×──   ──×────×──×
     ökòkẹ̈ èbyäá   ökòkí ^ìshꜛì
     R L R L RL   R L H ^L RL

It is significant that old people may still use the form
ókòk(ò) ìshíì *"flower six"* instead of ókòk(ó) ìshíì, which would
indicate that with numerals the nominal high rule (5.4.2.7) had
wider application a generation agó: not only nominal classes 1-3,
but also high tones in other patterns were lowered before numerals.

   Non-raising low has been found with three of the seven tone
classes of nominals beginning with a low tone (including decimal
numerals) and with the verb prefix in certain verb aspects,
followed by high.

   In one specific construction, that of nominal classes 1 and
3, followed by a numeral, non-raising low has a lowering effect
on immediately preceding highs, cf. 5.4.2.7.

   The origin of ^L may be due to a loss of the raising influence.
As will be shown, it is suggested that the loss of non-raising
low is responsible for upstep, cf. 5.4.6.4.

5.4.3.3 <u>The latent low tone</u>. In some classes, the raising
influence is found without the presence of a low tone.

íphé + ná!nú   *"thing one"*

```
  *    *        *          *       *
  ------------------------*----------------
  *    *        *          *       *
                *                      *
```

íphé + ná!nú   ► íphë ná!nú
H   H   H !H   H   R H !H

In order to account for the raised high tone, a latent low
tone is postulated: `ná!nú (L)H!H. The same interpretation was
followed for the R(L)R(L) sequences where segmental evidence for
(L) is missing in Izi (5.4.2.3).

Further examples are found among verb aspects (verb prefix
14.3.3.) and with certain particles of the pattern CV, e.g., lè
has a raising low tone (no CV with non-raising low tone has been
found). If the adverbial phrase occurs without this particle lè
the raising influence is optionally present on the tone which
would have preceded it.

öó !Jépfu   íyá   únú!phu   *"he will meet him at home"*
NPs   VP   NPo   (AP)=NPo

```
  *                      *
  -*---------------------*---*-*-----------
       *        *          *
  öó   !Jépf(u)  íy(ä)  únú!phú
R(L)H!H    (H)   H (R)  H  H  !H
```

Alternatively, lè, elided as in l'únú!phú, can occur without
any perturbation of the preceding high tone. These four possibi-
lities (with or without lè, with or without the raising influence)
appear to fluctuate freely.

The postulation of such a latent low is not merely a descrip-
tive device since it seems very likely that certain disyllabic
nouns can be reconstructed as originally trisyllabic, cf. several
Igbo dialects, which have for example ọ̀kụ́kọ̀ *"fowl"* where Izi has
`ọ̀kụ̀; ètítì *"middle"* where Izi has .`échì.

These disyllabic nouns are from the nominal class 7, pattern
HL, and this class is described as having a latent low tone.

In one particular instance a latent low tone does not raise
a preceding high. The nominalising particle `ké has a raising
influence on a preceding high, e.g., ùjíkù *"day"*, ^ètó *"three"*
ùjíkü `ké!tó *"the third day"*. But in Nominal phrase 26c (12.5), it
has no such raising influence, e.g., ùjíkù èbó ké!tó *"after three
days, lit. (after) two days the third"*.

5.4.4 Tone glides

Tone glides only occur across morpheme boundaries which
involve sequences of two vowels.

There are a few phonological words which give the impression
of a tone glide on a single vowel in Register 1, e.g., nwênyì

"woman", èbyâ *"guest"*, amâru *"gerund form of maru"*. All these glides
involve a raised high tone followed by a low tone. In Register 2
these vowels can be interpreted as VV. Either they go back to
elided forms whose etymology is no longer known, e.g., nwá *"(child)"*
+ *ànyì > nwáànyì *"woman"* , or they are interpreted as historically
reduced forms in which a CV existed originally.

Some gerunds have glides, though only a minority among gerunds
and they cannot be explained.

Glides also occur with some verbal constructions and these
are interpreted by postulating a latent low tone. It is signifi-
cant that Central Igbo has a low tone particle in such instances,
cf.   Izi   ùnú `é!jé   *"you (pl.) will be going"*
and Igbo unu gà aga. (ga is the future auxiliary in Igbo).

These glides involving sequences of raised high and low in
Register 2 are often shortened or reduced to virtually non-glided
R tones in Register 1, cf. 5.4.2.5.

5.4.5 Downstep

Downstep lowers a high tone to a tone lower than high but
without causing it to become a raising low.

Downstep may be automatic or non-automatic. For a full
discussion of downstep, see Stewart (1965) and Pike (1966). It is
significant that non-automatic downstep applies to both Registers
1 and 2, but automatic downstep only applies to Register 1.

5.4.5.1 Automatic downstep. In Register 1, any high tone after
a raising low is automatically downstepped in relation to a
preceding high.

Interval differences resulting from automatic downstep are
most noticeable within the first few tones of a tone span. They
flatten towards the end of the tone span in Register 1. In
Register 2 the same tones occur on the same levels without down-
step across any sequence and interval differences remain constant
throughout.

A high tone after a non-raising low in Register 2 is never
found to be downstepped in relation to its preceding counterpart.
In Register 1 there may be an occasional slight lowering but the
downstep rule does not operate. This is due to the dual nature
of the non-raising low level which is regarded as always being
accompanied by an upstep feature and is further discussed in
5.4.6.3.

5.4.5.2 Non-automatic downstep occurs as follows:
- after a high and before another high in the same
  phonological word, or
-initially in a phonological word preceding a high.

mí!ní *"water"*   únú!phú *"compound"* !jí *"yam"*   é!tézí *"outside"*

5.4.5.3 <u>Sequences of downstep</u> very seldom occur. There are a number of features in the language which resist such sequences, especially upstep, (cf. 5.4.6.1 phonologically conditioned upstep) and a preference for upstep rather than downstep where alternative forms exist (as in nominal classes 4-6).

When a sequence of more than one downstep occurs, the high preceding the first downstep is shifted to a phonetic level between high and raised high, to accommodate the additional level that a second downstep introduces. Alternatively, the interval between the two downstepped highs is reduced so that two downstepped highs are squeezed into the interval which normally occurs between high and downstepped high.

ę́phà + ę́zę̀ + ǫ́bvʉ̀ + ę́nyà   *"the name of the great eye medicine"*

ę́!ph(a)ę́!z(ę)ǫ́!bv(ʉ)ę́nyá

In this example, the first high is raised towards the raised high level, so enabling the first downstepped high to be on the normal high level and the two following downstepped highs to be squeezed into the normal interval between high and downstepped high.

5.4.5.4 <u>Origin of downstep</u>. The possible origins of downstep[1] in Izi are low tones which were

(a) lost, or
(b) replaced, or
(c) which lost their raising influence on preceding high.

Comparisons with other Igbo dialects shed further light on this question.

(a) <u>Lost low tone</u>. Examples suggesting a lost low tone are: jí 'yam' and chí *"God"*. After a high tone, they become !jí, !chí; in Ikwo they are ǹjí, ǹchí (similar in other Igbo dialects). The monosyllabic nominals of class 2a might go back to the same pattern e.g., m̀mę́ę́ *"wine"* , as evidence from Ikwo suggests.

(b) <u>Replaced low tone</u> is found by internal reconstruction which allows the setting up of the following rule:

Any word-final L is replaced by !H after H and by H after L within the nominal phrase (the low replacement rule)[2].

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[1]Stewart 1971: 184 ff. discusses downstep and its origins in Kwa languages.

[2]Pike 1966: 136 ff. discusses development of downstep from replacement of low in Degema and Engenni.

The difference between phrase-final and non-final can be shown with the word ọ̀zọ́

AP₁ + AP₂	óò Jé I'ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ̀ ọ̀zọ́	"he is going hunting again"
	to bush again	
AP	óò Jé I'ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ́ ọ̀zọ́	"he is going to another forest"
	to bush another	

I'ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ̀ *"bush, savannah forest"* is phrase final, since ọ̀zọ́ *"again, another"* is a separate phrase and so there is no low replacement; whereas in the second sentence I'ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ̀ is not phrase final as ọ̀zọ́ is part of the AP, hence I'ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ́.

This rule applies within any simple nominal phrase or complex nominal phrase if these consist of more than one element. Thus this shift from low to downstepped high or high marks the internal structure of the nominal phrase. When the four personal possessive pronouns (mú, ngú, ìyá, phẹ́ *"1st, 2nd, 3rd sg., 3rd pl."*), the selective pronoun ìyá and the numerals occur as the second elements in the nominal phrase, this rule does not apply. In contrast to phonologically conditioned upstep (5.4.6.1) this rule does not extend to the verb phrase.

The implications of this are

... RL › ...H!H i.e., a raised high preceding low becomes non-raised high, as L is replaced by !H.

... LL › ... LH or ... LR before a following raising low.

The evidence for the replacement of L by !H rather than loss of the raising influence is best seen in the class 7 LL nominals in which H replaces any word-final low, e.g.,

ìtè *"pot"* + mí!ní *"water"*	ìtémí!ní *"waterpot"*
L L + H !H	L H H !H

(c) Loss of raising influence. Assuming that the neutralisation of the raising influence of low, e.g., in a sequence LHL (LRL) could be the result of a historic process just as it may be the result of the low replacement phenomenon, it is conceivable that LRL becoming LH!H is another source of downstep. This is described in 5.4.6.3.

Evidence for this process of loss of the raising influence of low, may be seen in the pronunciation of the name Ophoke LHL (as in class 7) which in certain areas is ^LHL, or ^LH!H (as in class 4). Compare ọ̀phókẹ̀₇ :

éphà + òphókè	››	ẹphophoke	"name of Ophoke"
		éphöphökè ‹ éphöòphökè	
R L L R L'		H R R L H R L R L

with ^òphó!ké₄   é!phóphóké   *"name of Ophoke"*

   ^L H !H   H !H H H

with òró!ké *"(a name)"*

                         éphöró!ké < éphöòró!ké
   L H !H   H R H !H   H RL H !H

5.4.6 Upstep

Upstep is the stepping up from a downstepped high level to
the high level which preceded the downstep. It is the feature
which has the opposite effect to the downstep, the resumption of
the level of the previous high. Thus upstep is the symmetrical
counterpart of the downstep.

Upstep can be demonstrated in the following succession of
tones:

mí!ní + mú   *"my water"*

mí!nì ^mú

If mú is not upstepped, mìnì would have to be interpreted as
HL instead of H!H. This interpretation would violate four impor-
tant rules (the raised high rule, the downstep level rule, the
downdrift rule and the low replacement rule).

1.   *Violation of the raised high rule.* If mìnì is HL, then the
raised high rule would raise H to R. Compare mìnì *"water"* and
ọ̀bvụ̀ *"medicine"*.

Phonetically, mìnì mu and ọbvụ mụ are in contrast:

mìnì mu   ọbvụ mụ

So if -nì is low, it would have to be interpreted as a non-raising
low. This would lead to a non-raising low not only in initial
position, but also in final position. Consequently, the raised
high tone (R) would have to be made phonemic since it would no
longer be predictable. This would in turn lead to an additional
imbalance since R does not occur final and therefore no three-way
contrast H, L and R is found there.

2.   *Violation of the downstep level rule.* A high tone following
a downstepped high tone is level with the downstepped high tone
and, by implication, is not perturbed thereby. édé HH, if joined
to mini in minede *"water of Ɛdɛ̀"* instead of

mí!n(i)édé (H!HH) would have to be interpreted mín(i)èdè· (HLL):

mí!ní + édé ⸱ mínede   i.e., HH ⸱ LL "water of Ede"

3.   Violation of the downdrift rule. A change of HH to LL as
hypothetically interpreted above would have to be proved phoneti-
cally. No LL sequences have been found elsewhere in which ...LL
is not downdrifting, irrespective of register. The phonetic shape
of HLL is

    and not

4.   Violation of the low replacement rule

*mínì HL + édé HH ⸱ mín(i)èdè HLL is in contrast with
ọ̀bvụ̀ HL + édé HH ⸱ ọ́bv(ụ)édé H!HH, which are phonetically

mini + ede ⸱ min(i)ede   ọbvụ + ede ⸱ ọbv(ụ)ede

The low replacement rule which states that word final L is
replaced by !H after H and by H after L would then no longer apply
to HL nominals since the final low in mínì would prove that there
is no replacement of the final low, if the interpretation mín(ì)èdè
were right. Yet it would continue to be valid for LL nominals
since ìtè "pot" + míní "water" shows the corresponding tonal
change ìtè ⸱ ìté in ìté!míní "waterpot".

Again, this interpretation of mini as mínì necessitates a
system with two different low tones in parallel distribution
(i.e., word initial and word final) and phonetically identical
levels at the same time (cf. the level of the final syllables in
ọ̀bvụ̀ and mínì above), or alternatively, a three tone system with R.

In view of the implications of a three tone system in which
there is only a two-way contrast after each tone, but nevertheless
downstep after R, after H and after L, it is simpler and also more
consistent with tonal interpretations in related Igbo dialects and
downstep systems in general to accept this one peculiarity of the
phonetic identity of two phonemically different levels with the
upstep feature to account for the resumption of the level of the
high preceding the downstep.

5.4.6.1 Phonologically conditioned upstep. After a downstepped
high, a high of a following phonological word is upstepped when
either,

(1)   that high precedes another downstep, which is on the second
or third syllable of a pattern beginning with non-low tones, or

(2) that high is the second of a sequence within the phonological
word of at least two non-final high tones.

(1)   mɩ́!nɩ́ + únú!phú ﹥ mɩ́!n(ɩ) ún^ú!phú   *"water of compound"*

       H !H + H H !H   H   !H ^H !H

       mé!jɩ́ + nwó!ké ﹥ mé!jɩ́^nwó!ké   *"heart of man"*

       H !H +   H !H   H !H ^H !H

(2)   ɔ̧́bvʊ̧̀ + ókpórókpó ﹥ ɔ̧́!bv(u)ó^kpórókpó   *"the fat juju"*

       H L + H H H H   H   !H ^H H H

       mú`á!chɔ̧́ + ókpórókpó ﹥ mää́!chó^kpórókpó   *"I shall look for*
                                                      fatness (I want to
                                                      become fat)"
       H(L)H !H + H H H H   R(L)H!H ^H H H

5.4.6.2 <u>Grammatically conditioned upstep</u>. Upstep occurs with a
number of specific grammatical constructions. Details are given
in the description of the relevant constructions. At this point,
five more common instances are given.

(1) <u>Nominal class upstep</u>. When a nominal of class 1-5 functions
as the final nominal, cf. 15.12.1 and contains not more than one
downstep and ends in two high tones, the last high tone is upstepped
(the exception is class 1, low form which remains HH).

        ŏó !ngú ^mɩ́!n(ɩ) ópfú   *"he will drink water of trouble"*

        ɩ́!jɩ́jɩ́ *"fly"*   ɩ́!jɩ́^jɩ́ tё phèdùrù   *"the fly did not fly"*

(2) <u>Verb phrase upstep</u>. Upstep marks the initial syllable of
the verb phrase in Base A and Base NC forms (14.3.3 and 14.5.4).

Base A: nwó!ké ^rɩ́á!yá   *"the man ate it"*
           mɩ́!nɩ́ ^wúshɩ́hú   *"the water was poured out"*
           jɩ́ ɩ́!yá ^jéshɩ́á ɩ'ę́gú *"her husband went to farm"*

Base NC: nwó!ké ^té ̧́!jédúrú   *"the man did not go"*
           ɔ̀phó!ké ^tá ̧́!mádú ɩ́yá *"Ophoke does not know it"*

(3) <u>Initial upstep.</u> In tone span non-initial position, and
following a downstepped high tone, a high tone which is initial in
a sentence, clause or phrase is upstepped.

This feature seems to parallel the regular re-setting of
pitch levels which accompanies each new tone span. Normally,
sentence and clause boundaries correlate with tone span boundaries
so that an initial high is usually re-set. This upstep rule
appears to achieve much the same effect.

In the case of the verb phrase, this re-setting preserves the
level of the pitch of the tone patterns that mark the verb bases
and serves to keep the pitch levels of the bases relatively
constant.

An example is when a verb with high tone occurs initial in a
second or following clause in a serial sentence.

<blockquote>
ò shíá !jí ^tsúá ríá   *"she cooked yam, pounded (it) and ate (it)"*

ó tòrù nwé!hú ^déé !yá *"he slowly wrote it"*
</blockquote>

The two adverbial phrases in the examples below illustrate the
same upstep feature.

<blockquote>
mü é!jé ^ı'ẹ́gý́ éché!ıé *"I will go to the farm tomorrow"*

ó tó !shídú ^ı'ényígbá *"he does not come from Enyigba"*
</blockquote>

(4) <u>Gerundial upstep rule</u>. Upstep marks the initial syllable of
the gerundial forms of class I, IV and V verbs. Full details are
given in 14.8.

<blockquote>
ọ́ tọ́ !mádú ^ágý́ !ẹ́kwọ́ *"he doesn't know how to read"*
he not know reading paper
</blockquote>

(5) <u>The relative particle</u> ^nú (9.10) is always accompanied by
upstep.

<blockquote>
ńdý́ ^èméje í!yá ^ný́ *"The people who are usually doing it ..."*
people doing it   who ...
</blockquote>

5.4.6.3 <u>Upstep with non-raising low</u>. In Register 2, high after a
non-raising low is found to be level with a preceding high, in the
same way as a downstepped high after upstep is level with the
preceding high tone. In Register 1, in about half the examples,
high tone after non-raising low does not completely reach the
preceding high level and the same is true for a high after upstep.
This contributes to the overall downdrift of the tone span.

Since this feature of upstep always accompanies a non-raising
low, it is convenient to symbolise the non-raising low as ^L.

The sequence H^LH may result in vowel glides in sequences
involving vowel clusters which then elide, e.g., -CV + VCV-.
Such vowel glides may then be reduced in Register 1 to either high
followed by a lowered high or high followed by high:

```
R ──────────────────────────────── R
H ───×───×───────×─×  H
L ──────────×────────── L / !H
  H ^L  H , H (^L) H or H H
```
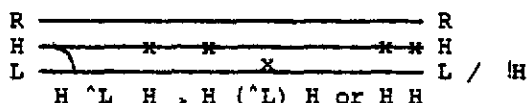
This lowering of high when there is a vowel glide reduction, involving a high followed by a non-raising low, may be compared with the lowering of high when there is a vowel reduction involving a raising low. When RL glides in a sequence RLH are reduced, the following high is lowered, cf. 5.4.2.5.

These vowel glide reductions may account for some of the tones found with compounds. They could also constitute another source of downstep. For instance, an LH!H class 7 nominal might have originated from a LHL where HL is a glide which elided with a following ^LH class 6 nominal, as follows:

```
R ────────────────────────────────
H ───×───×───×───×───×
L ×────×───×─×───×───×──×───×─×
```

L HL$_7$ + ^L H$_6$ (L H!H + ^L H) L H^L H   L H !H
VCVV + VCV   VCV!V + VCV   VCV!VCV   VCV!CV
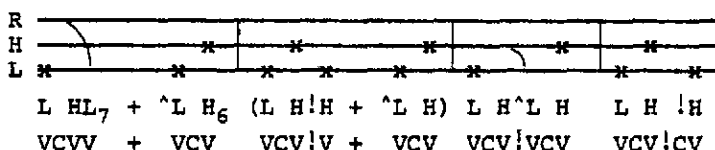
A downstep glide reduction may lie behind the development of nominal classes 5 and 6 where fluctuation between forms is still present.

On the other hand, the nature of the high lowered as a result of glide reduction in Register 1 (3.3.3) can still be demonstrated as a phonemic high even in forms where it is lowered to the downstepped level, e.g., `óshí$_6$ "wood, stick, tree"

```
ö,ó  kè  `óshí mú            "he will divide my wood"
═══════════╱═══×─×           ═══════════════
                            ═════════×─×─×
  o o  k o o shí mu    >>      o o k o shí mu
  R R   ^L H   H H            R R   H   H H
```
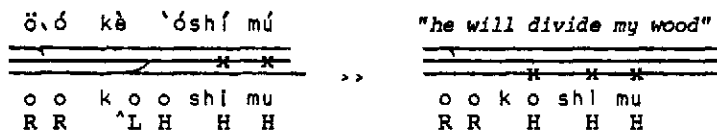
If koshi were phonemically !HH, the ^mu "my" would have to be upstepped. If koshi were LL, mu would have to be H (or else a sequence of LLL would drift down and could not stay level).

This explains why an upstep (^mu) may not occur after such glide reductions. This is also the case with Gerund I forms of class I verbs underlined below, e.g.,

```
èchá ^èérí l'únwú          "dried yam (for) eating in hunger season"
═════╲══×─×─×             ══════╲══×─×─×
×                        ×
  eche eerí l'unwu   >>      eche erí l'unwu  =  èchéérí
  L  H^LH H   H H           L  H H H   H H
```
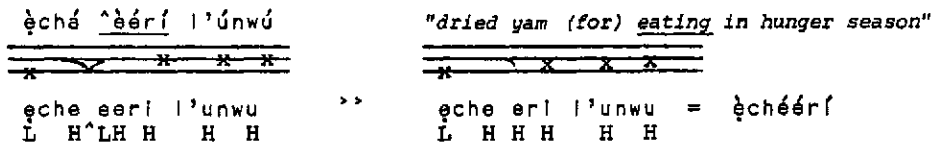
I'unwu in Register 1 is not upstepped since the lowered high
preceding it is really phonemically high.

5.4.6.4 <u>Origin of upstep</u>. Upstep may be the result of morpho-
phonemic changes, but it may also be the result of an historic
development from internally stable patterns, along the lines
discussed in the section on the loss of raising influence in
5.4.5.4(c). If, for example, a development takes place in which
LH becomes ˆLH while losing the initial syllable, an upstep is
left before the high tone. This process could underlie the
pronominal forms of Izi, cf. 15.4.   Possessor pronouns have
the following tones after ˈH:

1st sg.	ˆmú	1st pl.	ˆànyí
2nd sg.	ˆngú	2nd pl.	ùnú
3rd sg.	ˆ\ˈyá	3rd pl.	ˆphé

2nd pl. ùnú LH could be assumed to represent the original form of
the set; 1st pl. ˆànyí ˆLH, the next stage with loss of the raising
influence but still both functioning as qualifiers of a preceding
morpheme, while 3rd sg. ˆ\ˈyá ~ yá (ˆyá) (only the H form as subject)
and 3rd pl. ˆèphé ~ phé (ˆphé) (the ˆLH form only occurring as
subject) are transition forms in that they no longer are preceded
by non-final forms and existing with disyllabic and monosyllabic
allomorphs. The latest stage of the development is represented by
1st sg. mú and 2nd sg. ngú.

There is further evidence for this development as shown in
the patterns of nominal classes 6 (ˆLHH) and 6a, where the non-
raising low tone is either present (class 6) or latent (class 6a).
It is of course possible that the pronominals of class 3b could
be considered to constitute class 6b, on the basis of originally
stable ˆLH forms.

5.4.7 <u>Relative sentence juncture</u>

A high tone juncture marks Class R relative sentence constructs
(9.10), realised by the raising of the tone of the syllable imme-
diately preceding the VP of the construct from downstepped high or
low tone to high tone. Syllables marked by the high tone juncture
are underlined in the examples below.

byá gé̩ mú góshí ˈngú ó̩ˆphé̩ ˈká ń̩ˆphé   (ó̩phú̩)

"come so that I show you the one, which is more easy."

ó̩ tó̩ ˈdú̩dú̩ ón̩ˆyé ˆèjé ˈʼé̩gú   (ónyé)

"it is not anyone, who is going to the farm."

ú̩ˈló̩   ùgó kpùrù dù ré   (ùgò)

"house, which Ugo built is good"

ó̩ nùmàr(u) íph(e) ézé pfùrù   (ézè)

"he heard   what   chief was saying"

CHAPTER 6

THE PHONEME

6.1 FUNCTION

The phoneme functions as an element of the syllable.

6.1.1 Classes of phoneme

Three classes of phoneme are set up on the basis of their different functions:

Vowels function as nuclei of type 1 syllables,

Consonants function as margins of type 1 syllables,

Nasals function as nuclei of type 2 syllables and margins of type 1 syllables.

6.1.2 Distribution in CV syllables

In general, there are few restrictions in the distribution of consonants and vowels within the CV syllables which function as nuclei of phonological words. Restrictions affecting the margin, extension, etc., have been noted in the relevant sections describing the structure of the phonological word. There are, however, a few other more general restrictions which also affect CV syllables functioning as nuclei and these are set out below.

Consonants

pf and bv only occur in syllables with high back vowels
         as nuclei and marked by the neutral feature.

ŋm only occurs with syllables with the neutral feature and
         then only with vowels e, a and o.

Vowels

High front vowels do not occur,

- in syllables marked by the labialisation feature,
- in syllables marked by the neutral feature, and with the
  following consonant margins:

      stops (except gb)
      fricatives
      velar and labio-velar nasals

75

High back vowels do not occur,

- in syllables marked by the palatalisation feature,
- in syllables marked by the neutral feature and with the
  consonant margin ŋm.

These restrictions only apply in non-elided forms. Conse-
quently, across morpheme boundaries frequently the restrictions
are neutralised because of the frequent elision already described.
It is noticeable, however, that elision of a high front vowel is
usually avoided, thus preserving many of the restrictions noted
above.

6.1.3 Consonant and vowel interpretation

All nasalised vowels are interpreted as a sequence of V
followed by N, because all such vowels involve a sequence of two
morphemes and can carry two tones.

èrí!rí =   èrí ńrí   *"to eat food"*

ŋwátãš[] = ŋwátà ǹš[]   *"small child"*

ã̀ is interpreted as the realisation of a pause group initial
syllabic nasal before a non-plosive consonant:

ã̀Φé = ǹΦé   *"easy"*   ã̀sǫ́ = ǹsǫ́   *"rite"*

All long vowels are interpreted as a cluster of two vowels,
particularly as they can carry dissimilar tones:

èbyáà   *"stranger"*   èsáà   *"seven"*

Consonant clusters pf, bv, ts and dz are interpreted as
single consonants on the basis of the CV patterns:

ópfú   *"talk, speech"*   épfų́   *"nut"*

ǫ́bvų̀   *"medicine"*   ètsá   *"bead"*

ǫ́dzų́   *"piston"*   ńdzų̀   *"life"*

6.2 CONSONANTS

6.2.1 Chart of consonants

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Izi, as follows:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
Stops					
voiceless	p	t		k	kp
voiced	b	d		g	gb
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	ŋm
Fricatives					
voiceless	ɸ	s		x	
voiced	v	z		ɣ	
Affricates					
voiceless	pf	ts			
voiced	bv	dz			
Liquids					
lateral		l			
non-lateral		r			
Semivowels	w		y		

6.2.2 Description of the consonants

Izi consonants are of six types: Stops, Nasals, Fricatives, Affricates, Liquids and Semivowels.

Stops. There is a series of voiceless stops /p t k kp/ at labial, alveolar, velar and labio-velar points of articulation respectively.

/p/	/òpùmɛ̰́/	"a flower"	/pátá/	"to carry"
/t/	/òtòtò/	"flute"	/tétá/	"come to life"
/k/	/ŋ̀kɔ̀rɔ́/	"monkey"	/kúkèbé/	"try!"
/kp/	/èkpémú/	"bottle"	/kpɔ́/	"to plant"

There is a series of voiced stops /b d g gb/ at labial, alveolar, velar and labio-velar points of articulation respectively.

/b/	/ógùbá/	"chameleon"	/bóbé/	"to tell lies"
/d/	/ùdèlè/	"vulture"	/dóbé/	"to put"
/g/	/ɔ́gɔ̀/	"in-law"	/gébé/	"to wait"
/gb/	/ìgbàkpò/	"pepper"	/gbágbú/	"to kill-shoot"

Nasals. There is a corresponding series of nasals /m n ŋ ŋm/ at labial, alveolar, velar and labio-velar points of articulation respectively.

/m/   /m̀kpúmà/   " stone"   /méká/   "to wound"

/n/   /ónɔ̀dʉ̀/   "place"   /nátá/   "to receive"

/ŋ/   /ɔ̀ŋʉ̀/   "hammer"   /ŋábé̩/   "to wait"

/ŋm/ /áŋmé̩!gʉ́/   "mother town of Izi" /ŋmátá/   "catch with a rope"

Fricatives. There is a series of voiceless fricatives /Φ s x/ at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively.

The voiceless labial fricative /Φ/ has minimal friction.

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ may have a phonetic variant [h], a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, used by non-monolingual speakers.

/Φ/   /òΦó!ké/   "rest-day"   /Φé/   "to weed grass"

/s/   /è̩sʉ̀sà̩/   "beni-seed"   /sétá/   "to catch with a hook"

/x/   /àkáxù/   "old"   /xʉ́bé̩/   "to roast"

There is a series of voiced fricatives /v z ɣ/ at labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation respectively.

/v/   /ɔ́vʉ̀mà/   "anger"   /vútá/   "to carry"

/z/   /è̩zà/   "broom"   /zɔ́há/   "to forget"

/ɣ/   /áɣʉ̀ɣɔ̀/   "craftiness"   /ɣàtá/   "to pass"

Affricates. There are two voiceless affricates /pf ts/ at labial and alveolar points of articulation.

/pf/ /òpfùrù/   "liver"   /pfʉ́ší̩/   "to stop"

/ts/ /ɔ̀tsʉ̀rí̩/   "a dive"   /tsʉ́bé̩/   "to beget"

There are two voiced affricates /bv dz/ at labial and alveolar points of articulation.

/bv/ /ʉ́lɔ́bvʉ̀/   "hospital"   /bvùkɔ́ší̩/ "to play"

/dz/ /némádzʉ̀/   "person"   /dzábé̩/   "to plant"

Liquids. There is a voiced lateral liquid /l/ at alveolar point of articulation.

/l/   /àbàl̩/   "night"   /lʉ́tá/   "to marry"

There is a voiced non-lateral liquid /r/ at alveolar point
of articulation. /r/ is occasionally replaced by /l/ by some
speakers.

/r/   /ẹgara/   "ribs"   /rita/   "to remember"

Semivowels. There are two semivowels /w y/ at labial and
palatal points of articulation respectively.

/w/   /ewall/   "rabbit"   /woli/   "to lift up"

/y/   /ẹyọmẹyọ/ "a tree"   /yeta/   "to help"

One more consonant can be added to·the list of Izi phonemes,
/f/. It has only been found a very few times and is regarded as
extrasystemic.

/fúté/   "to grow, germinate" /fụ̀, fụ̀té/ "to come out"

/-fù,-fụ/   "outwards (vb.sfx.)" /ṅfù/   "booty"

/-fùa/   "also (vb.sfx.)"   /fó/   "to be soft,
                                                make a hole in a wall"
/fọ́kọ̀fọ́kọ̀/ "watery(fufu)"

6.2.3   Display of consonant contrasts

In the following display, palatalised and labialised consonants
have been included, though separate phonemes are not set up for
these consonants as the features are handled at the syllable level.
Their inclusion, however, illustrates the contrast between
palatalised, labialised and neutral syllables.

6.2.3 Display of consonant contrasts

p	kp	b	gb
[pá] "to carry"	[kpá] "to harvest"	[bá] "to sharpen"	[gbá] "to run"
[òpù] "horn"	[òkpù] "hat"	[òbú] "hut"	[ògbú] "part of river"

p	py	b	by
[pá] "to carry"	[ọ̀pyà] "wooden sword"	[bá] "to sharpen"	[òkóró̧byà] "youth"
[òpó̧ké] "yam kind"	[pyí] "to carve"	[ábọ̧́] "wine basket"	[byí] "to mark"

p	Φ	b	v
[òpè] "metal"	[óΦé] "soup"	[óbé] "until"	
	[Φú] "to peel"	[bú] "to live"	[vú] "to carry"

pf	bv	b	v
[pfú] "to talk"	[bvú] "to dig"	[bú] "to live"	[vú] "to carry"
[ḿpfú̧] "oil palm"	[m̀bvù] "bundle"	[m̀bú̧] "first"	[ǹvú̧] "flying fox"

b	w	Φ	v
[íbé] "food"	[íwé] "danger"	[íΦé] "thing"	
[bù̧] "to be"	[wú̧] "to pour over"	[Φù] "to curse"	[vú] "to carry"

t	d	ty	dy
[tá] "to chew"	[dá] "to boil"	[tyá] "to be white"	[dyá] "to flatter"
[ȩ̣́tá] "grass"	[ȩ̣̀dà] "bag"	[ȩ̣̀tyà] "dried yam"	[ȩ̣̀dyà] "fortune"

ts	dz	tš	dž
[tsé] "to pierce"	[dzé] "to put on"	[tšé] "to throw	[džé] "to lend"
[ùtsú] "alarm"	[údzù] "dust" top"	[òtšì] "dish" into"	[ọ́džì] "cola nut"

	k		g		kw		gw
[ká]	*"grow old"*	[gá]	*"to be useless"*	[kwá]	*"to dress"*	[gwá]	*"to sacrifice"*
[ákǫ́]	*"story"*	[ágò̩]	*"spoon"*	[ákwò̩]	*"razor"*	[ágwǫ́]	*"snake"*

	k		g		x		ɣ
[ké]	*"to tie"*	[gè̩]	*"to stalk"*	[xé]	*"to carry"*	[ɣé]	*"to fry"*
[ékú]	*"spoon"*	[égú]	*"hoe handle"*	[ę̩xǘ]	*"guinea worm"*	[éɣú]	*"goat"*

	s		š		šw		z
[ásá]	*"palm leaf"*	[ášá]	*"cheek"*	[ášwá]	*"market"*	[àzámù̩]	*"beans"*
[è̩sá̩à]	*"seven"*	[ę́šà̩]	*"weaver bird"*	[ę́šwá]	*"grass"*	[ę́zà]	*"broom"*

	š		šw		ž
[ší]	*"to cook"*	[šwí]	*"to assist in birth"*	[ží]	*"to teach"*
[éší]	*"since"*	[éšwí]	*"cow"*	[éʒ̀]	*"pig"*

	m		n		ñ		ŋ
[ímé]	*"inside"*	[ìnè]	*"porridge"*			[íŋè]	*"unhatched"*
[má]	*"to know"*	[nátá]	*"to receive"*	[ñátá]	*"remember"*	[ŋábę́]	*"to wait"*

	ŋ		ŋw		ŋm		m
[ŋábę́]	*"to wait"*	[ŋwá]	*"child"*	[ŋmá]	*"to plant"*	[má]	*"to know"*
[ò̩ŋgù̩]	*"hammer"*	[ó̩ŋwú̩]	*"death"*	[ó̩ŋmó̩]	*"whetstone"*		

	lw		l		r		rw
[lé]	*"to taste"*	[lwé]	*"to swallow"*	[ré]	*"to sell"*	[rwé]	*"to do thoroughly"*
[élé]	*"antelope"*			[íré]	*"tongue"*	[érwé]	*"mushroom"*

6.3 VOWELS

6.3.1 Chart of vowels

There are 9 vowel phonemes in Izi, as follows:

		Front	Central	Back
High	tongue root advanced	ı		u
	tongue root retracted	ı̣		ụ
Mid	tongue root advanced	e		o
	tongue root retracted	ẹ		ọ
Low			a	

6.3.2 Description of the vowels

Izi vowels contrast as to tongue height (high, mid and low), tongue position (front, central and back) and the tongue root position (advanced or retracted).

High vowels. There are two high front vowels /ı ı̣/, which are marked by advanced and retracted tongue root position respectively.

/ı/ /ı̀bókó/   "2nd day of week"   /èbl ı ı̀/   "ram"
/ı̣/ /ʃkè̩ké̩/   "fish hook"   /é̩kpı̣rʃ/   "bed bug"

There are two high back vowels /u ụ/ which are marked by advanced and retracted tongue root position respectively.

/u/ [ɯ] spread vowel occurs after velar fricatives in pause group final position.

  /ı̀ téhú/ [ı̀ téxɯ́] "Good morning (lit. you wake up?)"

  [u] occurs elsewhere.

  /únú̩ɸú/ "compound"   /ùkú̩vú/   "shoulder"
/ụ/ /ụkpara/ "wooden plate"   /é̩nwụ̀rụ̀/   "snuff"

Mid vowels. There are two mid front vowels /e ẹ/ which are marked by advanced and retracted tongue root position respectively.

/e/ /é̩gbígwé/ "lightning"   /ʃkpèrè/   "knee"

/ẹ/   /èrùmà/   *"riddle"*   /ẹ́gbẹ̀rẹ́bẹ̀/ *"transparent"*

There are two mid back vowels /o ọ/ which are marked by advanced and retracted tongue root positions respectively.

/o/   /ókòkó/   *"flower"*   /ótùbò/   *"navel"*

/ọ/   /ọ̀lọ̀kpọ̀/   *"waist beads"*   /ọ̀kọ̀rọ̀/   *"cultivations"*

<u>Low vowels</u>. There is one low central vowel /a/.

/a/   /àkànyà/   *"industrious"*   /ágỳgà/   *"side, corner"*

<u>Notes</u>: 1.   The aperture of the mouth remains the same for [ɪ] and [ɪ̠], for [e] and [ẹ], for [u] and [ụ], for [o] and [ọ].   Their differences in quality are achieved by retracting or advancing the tongue root at the appropriate heights.

2.   Lips are spread for all front vowels.

3.   For back and central vowels, there is a contrast between syllables marked by a feature of labialisation and those that are not marked by it.   In labialised syllables whose nucleus is a back or central vowel, lip rounding is observed over the entire syllable, whereas in non-labialised syllables there is no lip-rounding even for the back vowels.

Contrast:

<u>with lip-rounding</u>		<u>without lip-rounding</u>	
ákwò	*"razor"*	ákọ́	*"story"*
àlwụ̀lwụ̀	*"fighting"*	àlụ́lụ́	*"marrying"*
rwụ́.	*"to prevent"*	rụ́	*"to work"*
ẹ́kwá	*"second burial"*	ẹ́ká	*"hand"*

All nine vowels have voiceless allophones which only occur tone span final (3.3.5).   All vowels can be nasalised and this is interpreted as a sequence of V and N (6.1.3).

6.3.3 Display of vowel contrasts

i		ị		e		ẹ	
[tší]	*"to shine"*	[tšị]	*"to clean"*	[tšé]	*"to throw into"*	[tšẹ́]	*"to give"*
[mìtá]	*"to get water"*	[mìtáị]	*"to suck"*	[méé]	*"blood"*	[mẹ́ẹ́]	*"wine"*

ẹ		a		ọ	
[xẹ́]	*"to give"*	[xá]	*"to comb"*	[xọ́]	*"to select"*
[ẹ́ŋwụ́]	*"honey"*	[áŋwụ́]	*"sunrays"*	[ọ́ŋwụ́]	*"death"*

u		ụ		o		ọ	
[tsú]	*"to beat"*	[tsụ́]	*"to pound"*	[tsò]	*"to follow"*	[tsọ̀]	*"to set fire"*
[ùkó]	*"ceiling"*	[ụ̀kọ́]	*"scarcity"*	[òkó]	*"a tree"*	[ọ̀kọ́]	*"scratching"*

P A R T   T W O

SENTENCE, CLAUSE AND PHRASE

CHAPTER 7

SENTENCE AND PARA-SENTENCE FEATURES

7.1 SPEECH REGISTERS

Two of the six registers whose phonological characteristics
have been described in 2.1, also have specific grammatical charac-
teristics, namely the Conversational and Formal speech registers.
Special initial, medial or final sentences, termed "demarcative
sentences", mark these different registers. Sentences which
initiate formal speech, for instance, are not the same as sentences
which initiate a conversation.

Formal speech is marked by the occurrence of sentences of
classes D1f and D2f.

Conversational Register needs to be divided into conversation
and story.

Conversation is marked by the occurrence of sentences of
classes D1c, D2c, Q, R1 and R2.

Story is marked by the occurrence of sentences of classes
D1s, D2s and D3s.

Though a detailed study of the grammatical characteristics
of these registers has not yet been attempted, it is apparent that
there are other differences between them in addition to the occur-
rence of the demarcative sentences. Thus, for instance, conversa-
tion has a greater percentage of short one clause sentences and
more question sentences than other registers. On the other hand,
grammatical structures do not vary according to the registers.
Rather, there is a different selection of the same grammatical
structures from register to register.

7.2 FUNCTION OF SENTENCES

The sentence is the highest unit described in this grammar.
There are, however, some features which show that certain sen-
tences are restricted in relation to each other. For instance,
not all sentences can initiate a conversation, or terminate it.
Furthermore there are groupings of sentences with certain mutual
relationships which suggest that it might be useful to set up a
unit higher than the sentence. This, however, lies outside the
scope of this description. All that can be attempted here is to
state some of the features which mark different classes of
sentence.

All sentences fall into one of the following classes:

Class D - Demarcative
Class Q - Question
Class R - Response
Class I - Independent

Any sentence which falls into Class D Demarcative is not regarded as a member of Class Q, even though it may be similar in other respects to Class Q sentences.

7.3 DEMARCATIVE SENTENCES

These sentences have a contrastive function, marking one series of sentences as different from another series.

It is noticeable that in structure demarcative sentences are always single clause sentence types.

Three subclasses are set up, as follows:

Class D1 - Initial sentences
Class D2 - Final sentences
Class D3 - Medial sentences

Class D1 - Initial sentences mark the beginning of a series of sentences. All initial sentences are followed by independent sentences.

In structure, Class D1 sentences are of sentence types (ST) 11, 12 or 70, cf. Chapter 8.

The following examples are grouped according to the registers, namely, conversation, formal speech and story.

D1c - Conversation initial demarcative sentences

(1) It is customary to introduce a conversation with a series of greetings before the real subject of the conversation is brought up, as follows:

	Singular	Plural	
Speaker A:	ì dụphọ́ *you are well?*	ùnú dụphọ́ *you are well?*	ST 71 *"How are you?'*
Speaker B:	ńdụ̀kwà *(I)am well*	ànyí dụ̀kwà *we are well*	ST 11 *"I/we am/are well."*
	ì dụphọ́ *you are well?*	ùnú dụphọ́ *you are well?*	ST 71 *"How are you?"*
Speaker A:	ńdụ̀kwà *(I) am well*	ànyí dụ̀kwà *we are well*	ST 11 *"I/we am/are well."*

(2)   After those sentences, questions concerning the well-being
of others may be asked, which vary according to personal
circumstances.

ý!nwέg[r]má dὺphǫ́   ST 11
children are well?   *"Are the children well?"*

ńdụ   ſ!bé ngú dὺphǫ́   ST 11
people place your are well? *"Are the people of your compound well?"*

ńdụ   ý!ǫ̀   ST 12
people house?   *"Are your people well?"*

      The answer to the first question is

ǫ́ dὺkwὰ   ὲphέ dὺkwὰ   ST 11
he is well   *they are well*   *"He/they are well."*

and to the following ones:

ǫ́ dὺkwὰphǫ́-ǫ́ ὲphέ dὺkwáphǫ́-ǫ́   ST 11
he is also well   *they are also well*   *"He/they are also well."*

(3)   In the morning, the following sentences precede the basic
greetings above:

Speaker B: ì tέhú   ùnú ὲtέhú   ST 71
             you wake up   *you pl. wake up* *"Good morning!"*

Speaker A: gẹ é ὲtέhú   ST 11
             as one wakes up   *"Good morning!"*

             ì dὺphǫ́ ...

(4)   The following sentences precede the basic greetings when
entering a compound other than his own, or when greeting someone
returning from the farm or market:

             déὲʃé   ùnú déὲʃé   ST 12
             This is not divisible into morphemes   *"Welcome, greetings!"*

             ńdókwá   ST 12 *"Greetings!"*

             ì dὺphǫ́ ...

Dlf - Formal speech initial demarcative sentences

      The speaker draws the attention of the people by calling out
their tribal, village or lineage names and greeting them with the
following sentences:

Speaker: ìzſì ὲkélé!mú ùnú-ò ὲkélé!mú ùnú-ò   *"Izi people, I*
           Izi, greeted I you ` greeted I you   *greet you."*

or   chſfu ìzſì ὲkélé!mú ùnú-ò ὲkélé!mú ùnú-ò
           Chiefs of Izi, greeted ſ you   greeted I you
           ST 11, base AB nf

Audience: ìyáà   or   m̀hm̀m̀   ST 12 *"echo of agreement"*

             évìyá   ST 12 *"True."*

Speaker: mù súà ...   ST 33
             I said this ...   *"I say ..."*

Dls - Story initial demarcative sentence

·All stories are introduced by the following sentence:

à sṳ́!ngú I'áà Ié   ST 33
one said you indeed that   *"Once upon a time ..."*

Class D2 - Final sentences mark the end of a series of
sentences. In structure class D2 sentences·are of types ST 11,
12 or 80.

D2c - Conversation final sentences

(a) Leaving a compound:

Visitor: ùnú nɔ̀kwáphɔ !ómá   ST 80
             you stay also   good   *"You stay well also."*

Reply: áó tɔ́kwá é!hṳ́   ST 80
                go slow body   *"OK, go slowly."*

(b) Leaving one's own compound for a longer period:

The one   mú nòkwá àlwá   ànyí nòkwá àlwá ST 41 *"I stayed and*
leaving: *I stay returning   we   stay returning   am returning."*

Reply: ſìwa é!gwá   ùnú àlwa é!gwá
             you return quickly   you pl. return quickly

D2f - Formal speech final sentences

nóò   g' ɔ́ dṳ̀ bṳ ònó   ST 12
this is how it is is that   *"This is how it is."*

Reply:

ſ !dṳ ſké ſ̂ſ !dṳ ſké   ST 11
you are strong you are strong   *"Thank you, thank you."*

èkélé mú ùnú-ò, ìzíì   ST 11
greeted I you, Izi   *"I greeted you, Izi people"*

ſ bṳ̀ nwó!ké   ST 11
you are man   *"You are a man."*

D2s - Story final sentence

gbórògſjì gbàkſgbà   *"The end." (The breakdown of this form
                                is unknown.)*

Class D3 - Medial sentences occur introducing a new group
of sentences within a series of sentences and may be repeated
several times within such a series.

In structure, Class D3 sentences are of ST 11, 12 or 73.

D3c - Conversation medial sentences

mý sỳrụ-áầ	ST 11	*"I said this."*

D3s - Story medial sentences

nóồ yá *this is it*	ST 12
nó ɩ!yá *this it*	ST 12
ốồ yá bụ̀ *it is it is*	ST 11 *"And then ..."*
tố !bụ́dụ́ !yố̧ bụ̀ *it came from*	ST 73
ồshɩ́tá *it came from*	ST 11

With Formal speech both D3c and D3s sentences occur.

7.4 QUESTION SENTENCES

Question sentences occur at any point in a series of
sentences. They are always followed by another sentence. One
question sentence may follow another. Very frequently, question
sentences signal a change of speaker. Sometimes, however, the
same speaker continues after the question sentence. Question
sentences occur in all registers, but most commonly in
conversations.

In structure, question sentences are ST 70 (9.4).

ề ề jé àwé *one is going where*	ST 71 *"Where is one going?"*
bụ̀ gụ́!nụ́ bụ̀ ếpha ɩ̀yá *what is name his*	ST 75 *"What is his name?"*

7.5 RESPONSE SENTENCES

These sentences always occur after another sentence. They
cannot initiate a series of sentences. Four subclasses of response
sentences are set up:

Class R1 - Answer sentences
Class R2 - Phrasal sentences

Class R3 - Clarification sentences
Class R4 - Interjectural sentences

Answer and Phrasal sentences occur almost exclusively in conversations. Clarification and Interjectural sentences may occur in all registers and when used in formal speech and story register are usually uttered by the audience.

Class R1 - Answer sentences always follow a question and they have two markers:

(1)   a class A or B interjection occurs initially in the sentence, i.e., interjections of agreement, negation and surprise, in particular:

   é *"Yes."*   áàwá or wáàwá   *"No."*

(2)   the extensor suffix -kwá is affixed to the first verb. It should be noted that -kwá replaces the usual negative suffix -du,

In structure, Class R1 sentences are ST 10, 20, 30 or 40.

é àmé   èkélè lyá é, é èmékwá !èkéle lyá ħtáànú-òó ST 11
one is doing greeting her? Yes, one is doing greeting her today!

"Is one doing her greeting (marriage feast)? Yes, one is doing her greeting today!"

l̩ nyàtàwàru̩   lyà é, mú nyàtààkwàru   lyà   ST 11
you have.remembered it? Yes, I have remembered it.

"Have you remembered it? Yes, I have remembered it."

Class R2 - Phrasal sentences only occur after question sentences.

In structure, class R2 sentences are always ST 12.

e èJé   àwé   íbe á!nyí   *"Where is one going,?"*
one is going where? home our   *"To our home."*

l̩ gùdè gu̩!nu̩   shí!ru   ó!lú   *"How much money do you have? (lit. what*
you hold what?   shilling one   *do you hold?)" "One shilling."*

m̩!bu̩, n^du̩ !jéru ^àáru̩   óru̩ le̩ e̩ká ònó   *"Do you mean those people*
meaning people who went to work work in place that   who went to work there?"

é, lé̩ mgbábù̩ le̩ e̩ká ònó   *"Yes, in the garden there."*
yes, in garden in place that

Class R3 - Clarification sentences occur after an independent sentence and frequently towards the beginning of a series of sentences.

In structure, Class R3 sentences are ST 12 and comprise a clause of CT 22.

ḿ!bų́, ndų̈ kẹ ónyı̀kwá   é,   ńdų̈ kẹ ónyı̀kwá
meaning people of Onyikwa? Yes, people of Onyikwa.

"You mean Onyikwa people? Yes, Onyikwa people."

ò ó!rwú   gẹ ẹ̀zà   m̀bų̈   kẹ́   !ó^nyé !á!nų́ é áàwá, ó tóò rwúkwá
it will reach as Eza? meaning the one of person one? Yes. No, it does not reach

"Does the land extend as far as Eza?" "Do you mean the land of one person,"
"Yes." "No, it does not extend so far."

Class R4 - Interjectural sentences are divided into three
subclasses, those that follow a question sentence, those that
follow independent sentences and those that can follow both.

In structure, Class R4 sentences are·always ST 12.

Following a question sentence

é	*"Yes."*
wáàwá or áàwá	*"No."*
ì pfú tọ̀ *you say or*	*"Of course!"*

Following an independent sentence

áó	*"reply to commands or statements"*
óówä	*"(bad) surprise"*
àà mų́	*"surprise (good or bad)"*
àà mų́!bẹ́dų́à *myself*	*"surprise (good or bad)"*
àà mų́!bẹ́duá ǹtáànų́ *myself today*	*"surprise (good or bad)"*
àà nwá ẹbyá *child of Ebya (own birthplace)*	*"surprise (good or bad)"*
àà nwá anmézè nwọ́!phọ́ *child of Anmeze Nwopho (lineage)*	*"surprise (good or bad)"*
ếhẽ̀ế or ìyáà or òwóò	*"reply of agreement"*

Following both question and independent sentences

ọ́ọ̀yá	*"That's right. (lit. it is it)"*
tụ̀phẹ́kwà or tụ̀swẹ́kwà	*"disgust (onomatopeic words for spitting, the difference is ideolectical)"*

7.6 INDEPENDENT SENTENCES

Sentences which are not Demarcative, Question or Response
sentences are Independent. Such sentences may occur at the begin-
ning of a series of sentences or at any point within a series.
They may follow any other sentence and may precede any other
sentence. They may also end a series.

In structure, Independent sentences are of any sentence type.

It is significant that in Izi the Nominal Phrase subject of
an Independent sentence. may be a pronoun (3rd sg). It is very
common for series of sentences to begin with a sentence which has
as its subject a pronoun. Even when the subject has not been
previously mentioned, this is still the case. The non-linguistic
context is generally sufficient to identify the subject, but not
infrequently it is necessary to ask a question in order to ascertain
the subject of the sentence.

sý ǀˈyá lẹ ǫ̀ǫ̀ ńdý mkpùkpú ˆànyí kùrù mítìná ònó   ST 80
say him   that it is people village our   called meeting that

"Tell him it is the people of our village who called that meeting."

byíˈkó, yá àrwǫ́   ngụ̂ àrwǫ́rwǫ́ gẹ̀ ǀ kǫ̀ǫ́rý   ǀˈyá íphé   ST 25
please, he is begging·you begging   that you should tell him thing

"Please, he is begging you to tell him something."

(These are two examples of independent sentences at the beginning
of a text with pronouns where the context setting makes it clear
who the person concerned is.)

CHAPTER 8

STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

8.1 SENTENCE TYPES

Sentences consist of a single clause, or two or more clauses. The latter may be divided into subordinative constructions, coordinative constructions and serial constructions. Within each of these groups, sentences of various structures are found. On this basis various sentence types are set up: Each sentence type can be regarded as a rule which generates sentences.

When these sentence types are examined it is found that some sentence types are closely related to others. In such instances, it is possible to state the relationship between sentence types by making a transformational statement showing how one sentence type can be derived from another. Thus, sentence types are either basic or derived. This reduces the number of basic sentence types which are needed to generate all possible grammatical sentences in Izi. These transformational statements are given in detail in Chapter 9.

Each sentence which can occur in Izi can be referred in its structure, either

(a) directly to one of the basic sentence types described in this chapter, or

(b) to one of these sentence types together with one of the transformational statements described in Chapter 9.

Conversely, these basic sentence types together with the transformational statements which account for the derived sentence types can generate every grammatical sentence possible in Izi.

All sentences have an obligatory nucleus (Nuc) and an optional margin (Mar). Since the margins of all sentences are similar, the description of the margin is not repeated for each sentence type but presented separately in 8.6.

8.2 ST 10 - SINGLE CLAUSE SENTENCES

Many Izi sentences consist of a single clause. All sentences of this type are referred to as ST 10.

Two single clause sentence types are established:

ST 11 - General sentences
ST 12 - Phrasal sentences

Single clause sentences may function as Class D, I or R
sentences but there are considerable differences between ST 11
and ST 12 in this respect.

ST 11 - General sentences   consist of a Class V clause of
any clause type.

ST 11 General sentences are found functioning as Class D, I
and R1 sentences.

Occasionally, ST 11 sentences may be expanded with one of
the following conjunctions: lé, kélé, ộộlé in the middle of a
series of sentences, cf. 8.4.

ST 11 sentences are marked by the verb occurring with Base
A nf, AB nf, AB fut, B nf, B fut or C nf aspects (14.3.3) or with
the negative transformations Base NA imp, NB nf, NC nf.[1] (14.5.4)

ó tó nwùkwàrù lẹ ẹ̀ká ònó   *"It did not happen there."*
it not happened   in place that
VC CT 11 Base NC nf

ó òJe   óz̀ì ré   *"She is working well."*
she is working work well
VC CT 11 Base B nf

úméré nkè phẹ̣́ dụ̀ íchè   *"Their own actions are different."*
action own their are different
VC CT 14 Base SC nf

ST 12 - Phrasal sentences   consist of a class NV clause of
the following types:

CT 21 - Demonstrative
CT 22 - Phrasal
CT 23 - Interjectural

ST 12 Phrasal sentences usually function as Class D and
Class R sentences, and less frequently as Class I.

ònó ộtụ́tàrà   *"That (is) Otutara feast."*
that otutara
NVC CT 21

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[1]Throughout Chapters 8-10, when the verb aspects are listed, the non-stative
verb forms are given, but unless it is otherwise stated, the corresponding
stative aspects also occur.

é, ké nwíbó m̀bámù   *"Yes, the one of Nwibo Mbamu."*
yes, of Nwibo Mbamu
NVC CT 22

wáàwá   *"No."*
NVC CT 23

8.3 ST 20 - SUBORDINATIVE SENTENCES

Sentences may consist of two clauses; one clause (termed the subordinate clause) is in a subordinative relationship to the other clause (termed the head clause).

Several different sentence types of this structure are set up. All such sentences are referred to as type 20 sentences. The following sentence types are established:

        ST 21 - Conditional
        ST 22 - Unmarked conditional
        ST 23 - Unfulfilled conditional
        ST 24 - Unfulfilled
        ST 25 - Purpose
        ST 26 - Temporal
        ST 27 - General inclusive

Subordinative sentences may function as Class I, Q or R sentences. They are most frequently found as Class I sentences.

Unless it is otherwise stated in the description of individual sentence types, a sentence construct may function as either clause in ST 20. Sentence constructs of structures SC 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 40 or 60 may function in this way (9.7).

ST 21 - Conditional (temporal) sentences consist of two class V clauses, the second of which is subordinate to the first. The relationship of the two clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1) The sequence of the clauses, which is fixed.

(2) The particle mè which occurs between the two clauses.

(3) The verb in the head clause is always Base B fut or Base NB fut aspect.

(4) The verb in the subordinate clause is always in Base A con, Base NB con or Base NC con aspect.

ö ó!mé   mu éphó   mè mú ríá !yá *"It will trouble my stomach if I*
it will do me stomach if I   eat it   *eat it."*
VC CT 12 Base B fut   mè VC CT 11 A con

ẹhŷ áǃtsǫ́ ányǐ mè̩ ǫ́ dý̩rý̩ ónyéǃ`ˆáˡsý̩ ...   *"We will be happy*
body is sweet to us *if* *it is   someone who will say* ... *if there is some-*
VC CT 16 Base B fut mè̩ VC CT 14 Base A con   *one who will say ..."*

mü é-ku   1yà mè̩ ó rwṹáé̩ǃphó   *"I will call him when it*
I will call him when it has just reached *is time."*
VC CT 11   B fut mè̩ VC CT 13 Base A con

ST 22 – Unmarked conditional sentences consist of two Class
V clauses, the first of which is subordinate to the second, the
second being the head clause. The relationship of the two clauses
is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1)   The sequence of the clauses, which is fixed.

(2)   The verb in the subordinate clause is always found in
       Base A con, AB con, NB con or NC con aspects.

(3)   The verb in the head clause is always found in Base AB fut
       aspect.

é̩ká hàkǫ́   ǀ'óˆòrǐkǫ́   *"If hands are equal, they*
hand are together *it will eat together*   *will eat together."*
VC CT 13 A con VC CT 13 Base AB fut *(Proverb)*

nwóké àmárú ˆàá̩gý̩ǃé̩kwó ẹhúˆàdy̩ ǐyá gù *"Whenever a man knows*
man   knows reading book body will be to him cool how to read, he will be
VC CT 13 Base AB con   VC CT 16d Base AB fut   *satisfied."*

ǫ́ ǫ̩tsý̩dý̩ ǃnrǐ mú ˆàbáá̩ru ǐyá ǃmbá *"If he doesn't pound fufu,*
he not pound food *I will scold him scolding* *I will scold him."*
VC CT 11 NB con VC CT 30 Base AB fut

ST 23 – Unfulfilled conditional sentences consist of two
class V clauses, the second of which is subordinate to the first.
The relationship of the two clauses is marked by the following
syntagmatic features:

(1)   Either the particle ǫ́ǫ̩mé̩ or the particle ǫ́bỳ̩ǀé̩ precedes
       the head clause.

(2)   The particle mè̩ precedes the subordinate clause.

(3)   The verb of the head clause is in Base B nf, C nf, NB nf or
       NC nf aspects.

(4)   The verb of the subordinate clause is in Base A nf or AB
       fut aspects.

(5)   The sequence of the clauses is fixed though a feature of
       clause reversal occurs. In the clause reversal, the particle
       mè̩ is deleted and the verb previously in Base A or AB aspect
       occurs as a complex VP ·type 22 and is always marked by Base

B fut aspect. The other clause is unchanged. There does
not seem to be any particular difference in meaning
associated with the clause reversal.

(6)   When the subordinate clause is marked by the negative
      transformation, the clause reversal feature occurs.

ợợmẹ ſ ìpɾu   ·ópɾú mẹ ợ hụ́má !ngụ́   "If you had been talking
if   you are talking talk   he saw you   he would have seen you."
ợợmẹ VC CT 11 Base B nf   mẹ̀ VC CT 11 A nf

ợbụ̀lé̜ mú jè̜pfùru ìyà mẹ̀ mụ́^àkụ́é̜   yá !mkpó "If I had met him, I
if   I   had met him   I knocked him knock would have knocked him."
ợbụ̀lé̜ VC CT 11 Base C nf mẹ̀ VC CT 12 Base AB fut

ńnà   mú gé̜gè̜ áb!árụ́ mụ́ ìmbá   ợbụ̀lẹ ó mè̜byìhùrù
father my would reproach me reproach if   it spoilt
VC CT 12 VP 22 Base B fut   ợbụ̀lé̜ CT 13 C nf

"My father would have reproached me if it had spoilt."

ó gógò ótó òrídu ſya ợợmẹ ſ tſ!shídúru ſyá^ ré
he would not eat   it   if you not cooked it well
VC CT 11 VP 22 B fut   ợợmé̜ VC CT 11 Base NC nf

"He would not have eaten it, if you had not cooked it well."

      ST 24 - Unfulfilled sentences consist of two class V clauses,
the second of which is subordinate to the first. The relationship
of the two clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1)   The sequence of the clauses which is fixed.

(2)   The particles ợphụ́, è̜bé̜ or ợbé̜, one of which always occurs
      between the two clauses.

(3)   The verb in the head clause is in Base A nf, AB fut, B nf,
      B fut, C nf, NB nf or NC nf aspects.

(4)   The verb of the subordinate clause is always in the negative
      conditional aspect, Base NB con.

ó tó !shídú lẹ è̜zá   è̜bẹ ó !shídú ^lẹ ényſgbá
he not is from Eza, and not he is from   Enyigba
VC CT 13 Base NC nf   è̜bé̜ VC CT 13 Base NB con

ợ sụ́ lé̜ yá gbùru éswſ lâbọ̀ ợbé̜   yá a!kádụ́ mmá
he said that he killed cow   two   and not he is more good
           VC CT 11 Base C nf   ợbé̜ VC CT 14 Base SNB con

"He said that he killed two cows, and yet he is not better."

nwátà. fụ̀tàrụ ợphụ   ợ́ !mádụ́ né ì^yá yё̈ ńna ìyá
child grew up and not he knew mother his and father his
VC CT 13 C nf   ợphụ́ VC CT 11 Base NB con

"...the child grew up but he did not know his father and mother."

ST 25 - Purpose sentences consist of two class V clauses,
the second of which is subordinate to the first. The relationship
of the two clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1)   The sequence of the clauses which is fixed.

(2)   The particle gè which occurs between the two clauses.

(3)   The verb in the head clause is in Base A nf, AB fut, B nf,
      B fut or C nf aspect.

(4)   When the verb in the head clause is sý "to say" the verb in
      the subordinate clause is in Base A coh or pur or NA coh or
      pur aspect.
      The verb in the subordinate clause in all other instances is
      always in Base A pur, AB pur, NA pur or NAB pur aspect.
      The two purpose aspects Base A and AB seem to be used inter-
      changeably though the Base A aspect does appear to carry the
      implication of obligation:

é djèru lya úgwó gè á kpótá mótò   "One lent him money with
one lent   him money that one _buy_ car   instructions to buy a
                                      Base A   car."

é djèru lya úgwó gè á ˆàkpótá mótò   "One lent him money so
one lent   him money that one_ _buy_ car   that he would be able
                                      Base AB   to buy a car."

When the head of the VP in the head clause is mé "to want"
or chó "to want" the verb in the subordinate clause is always
in Base A or NA purpose aspect.

Two additional types of sentence construct may function as
the head clause of ST 25 sentences, namely sentence constructs
of types 21 and 22.

It should be noted that when the verbs mé "to want" and chó
"to want" occur as head of the VP in this construction, that clause
is always of CT 13. If any adverbial phrase occurs as clause
margin it is always frontshifted. No sentence constructs may
occur as the head clause apart from SC 40 which have as their
final verb either mé or chó.

It would be possible to set up a further sentence type to
cover the sentences of this structure, but the parallels with ST
25 seem so strong that this has not been done.

mú èmé   ge   ànyí nyátájékwá   lé ˆànyí bùkwà ńdú   lzíl
I want   we   remember always   that we   are   people Izi
CT13 Bnf gè   SC 33 Base A pur

"I desire that we should always remember that we are Izi people."

é màchìwàrù   gẹ ä bá kọ̀hẹ̀   jí   h̀tânụ́
one already closed   one not farm any more yam today
VC CT 13 Base C nf   gẹ VC CT 11 Base NA pur

"It has already been closed so that there should be no more yam farming today."

f ˆìdébé fya ọ́bvụ̀   gẹ ọ́ ˆọ̀kpọ́hụ́   *"Then you apply medicine in*
you apply it medicine   it may heal   *order that it may heal."*
VC CT 12 Base AB fut   gẹ VC CT 13 AB pur

ọ̀ sụ fyá gẹ̀ ó shìbe   fˡyá   *"He told him that he should*
he said him   he should cook it   *cook it."*
VC CT 11 A nf gẹ VC CT 11 Base A coh

ST 26 - Temporal sentences consist of two class V clauses,
the second of which is subordinate to the first. The relationship
of the two clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1) The sequence of the clauses which is fixed.

(2) One of the following conjunctions always occurs between the
     two clauses:
     tẹ̀mẹ́   *"before"*   je àsụ́(rụ́) *"until"*
     tẹ̀mú   *"before"*   je àdụ́(rụ́) *"until"*
     tẹ̀máànụ́ *"before"*   ọ́dụ́mẹ̀kà   *"if not then, otherwise"*

(3) The verb of the head clause is in Base A nf, AB fut, B nf,
     B fut, C nf, NB nf or C nf aspect.

(4) The verb of the subordinate clause is always Base A nf or
     AB fut aspect. When ọ́dụ́mẹ̀kà occurs, the negative base NB nf
     can also occur.

ànyí àwájé   ˡjf ọ́bụ̀ àwáwá tẹmânụ á ˆànmáá ˡyá
we   split usually yam that   splitting before one plants it
VC CT 11 Base B nf   tẹmanụ VC CT 11 Base AB fut

"We usually split the yams before we plant them."

ò ményàá   jeˆàdụ́rụ́ ˆànyì gúde fˡyá   *"He ran for a while*
he did for a while   until   we   caught him   *until we caught him."*
VC CT 13 Base A nf je adụrụ VC CT 11 Base A nf

mẹ̀é gẹ̀   ànyf jé ọ́dụ́mẹ̀kà mú ˆèjéshfá fphé mú èjé
do so that we go   if not   I will go which I am going
SC 25   ọdụmẹka VC CT 11 Base AB fut

"Hurry up, otherwise I will leave."

ST 27 - General inclusive sentences consist of a non verbal
clause of class CT 24 (10.4) followed by a verbal clause. The
first clause is subordinate to the second.

The relationship of the two clauses is marked by the
following syntagmatic features:

(1)   The sequence of the clauses which is fixed.

(2)   The verb of the sentence construct in the subordinate clause
      is in the relative aspect Base C nf.   When èkǎ "wherever"
      functions as the head of the NP, the verb has also been found
      occasionally in the relative aspect Base B nf.

(3)   The verb of the head clause is always in the Base AB fut
      aspect.

(4)   When the subordinate clause includes one of the following
      relative nominals ónyé, ọ̀phụ́, íphé, there is always a third
      person pronoun in the head clause. ‧ This pronoun functions
      either
      (a)   as subject or object of the clause, or
      (b)   as object within a SC R which is part of the clause or
            sentence construct.
      The pronoun refers to the nominal phrase of the preceding
      non verbal clause.   This pronoun is underlined in the examples
      below.

      Sentence constructs SC 21 and 22 may occur as the head clause.

íphě òkôré sụ̀rù gẹ í mèéru f‡yá   f^ìmééru f‡yá yá
what Okore says that you should do him   _you will do him it_
NVC CT 24   VC CT 12 Base AB fut

"Whatever Okore says that you should do for him, you will do for him."

ónyẹ ó dàru éswí   ó ^ògúde é‡swí   "To whomever it falls(to sacrifice)
who it falls cow   _he takes   cow_   a cow, he will take a cow."
NVC CT 24   VC CT 11 Base AB fut

ọ́phụ́ ^ànyí ‧tá‡mádụ́   kùzíjékwáru íya ^ànyí
the one we   not know   _teach always it to us_
NVC CT 24   SC 80 Base A imp

"Whatever we do not know, always teach it to us."

tèke é rwùru ápha ^ọ̀zọ́   í ^ìnmáa yá m̀kpú‡rú jí ònó
when one reach   year other   _you plant it short   yam that_
NVC CT 24   VC CT 12 Base AB fut

"Next year, you will plant the seed-yams on it."

8.4   ST 30 - COORDINATIVE SENTENCES

Sentences are found with two class V clauses in a
coordinative relationship to each other.

Several different coordinative sentence types are set up.
All such sentences are referred to as ST 30 sentences. The
following sentence types are established:

        ST 31 - Conjunction
        ST 32 - Concomitant
        ST 33 - Sensient

Coordinative sentences may function as Class I, Q or R
sentences. They are most frequently found as Class I sentences.

Unless it is otherwise stated in the description of the
individual sentence types, a sentence construct of structures
SC 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 40 and 60 may function as a clause in
ST 30.

ST 31 - Conjunction sentences consist of two class V
clauses in a coordinative relationship. The relationship of the
two clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1)   One of the following conjunctions always occurs between the
      two clauses:

      kę́Ií̧ę́   *because*   ǫ̀ǫ̀Ií̧ę́   *but*

      ópfúIí̧ę́   *because*   gbȩ̀há̧Ií̧ę́   *unless*

      ȩ̀ká   *because*

(2)   The verbs of the two clauses are in any of the non-subor-
      dinate indicative aspects. The only context in which the
      verb is not in a non-subordinate aspect is when one of the
      clauses is replaced by a sentence construct and in these
      cases the aspects of the sentence construct are determined
      by the type of sentence construct concerned.

Occasionally, kę́Ií̧ę́ and ǫ̀ǫ̀Ií̧ę́ occur introducing a single
clause sentence. It seems that this usually occurs when
additional information is added as an afterthought.

In addition to the sentence constructs previously mentioned,
sentence constructs of SC 21, 22, 25 and 26 may function as either
clause in a ST 31 sentence. With ǫ̀ǫ̀Ií̧ę́ the first clause can be
SC 71, 80 or 90 and when the first clause is 80 or 90, the second
may be 90.

Í   nwų̀hų̀rų̀ ǫ̀ǫ̀Ií̧ę́   ˆȩ̀nyí nǫ̀kwà   *You died, but we are (here alive)."*
you died   _but_   _we are (here)_
VC CT 13 Cnf ǫ̀ǫ̀Ií̧ę́   VC CT 13 Base SC fut

[^ỵbyá ^ànų ỹyá `kélé chỹlékè bų ónyé ỵkáchá ^shỹ
you then give it   because   God   is person exceeding big
SC 43   kélé   VC CT 15 Base SC nf

mỹ áỹtý   ỹyá m^kpórǫ gbàhálę ǫ́ rwǫ̀rų̀ mų àrwǫ́rwǫ́
I will throw him prison   unless   he begged me begging
VC CT 12 Base B fut   gbàhálé VC CT 11 Base C nf

"I will throw him in prison, unless he has begged me."

   ST 32 - Concomitant sentences consist of two or more Class
V clauses in a coordinative relationship. The relationship of
the clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1) The verb of the second and any subsequent clause is in
     either Base A nf or AB fut aspect.

(2) The verb of the first clause is in Base A nf, AB fut or C nf.

(3) Not infrequently a pair of extensor suffixes occur; -éphǫ́
     "just as" with the first clause and -áhá *"start"* with the
     second clause. -éphǫ́ occurs in the first clause without
     -áhá occurring in the second clause, but they usually
     co-occur.

     Note that no negative transformation occurs with ST 32.

     Sentences of type 32 occur infrequently.

é rwùèrùphǫ́ lè ǫ́ỵbỹphé   èphè kpùshỹáhá ógbòdò
one reached just at feast   *they put on   mask*
VC CT 13 Base C nf   VC CT 11 Base A nf

"When the time of the feast came, they started to put on masks."

è   je ézỹcháá némáàdzù̀ lę àsàbà èphè byátáshỹá ^ǫ̀ bų́wáry ų́zényàshỵ
one then collected people from Asaba, *they came,* *it was already evening*
VC CT SC43 Base A nf   VC CT 13 A nf VC CT 15 Base A nf

   ST 33 - Sensient sentences consist of a Class V clause of
type 11, 12, 13 or 15 followed by a second Class V clause.

   The relationship of the two clauses is marked by the following
syntagmatic features:

(1) The verb of the first clause is always of Class S and is in
     one of the following aspects: Base A nf, AB fut, B nf, B fut,
     C nf, NB nf or NC nf.

(2) Class T and Class D verbs when occurring in the first clause
     frequently do not have a direct object. Thus Class T verbs
     which normally occur in CT 11 clauses, when functioning as
     the first clause of ST 33 usually occur in a CT 13 clause.
     Similarly, Class D verbs usually occur in CT 11 clauses,
     when functioning in this sentence type.

(3) When the verb of the first clause is bá "reproach" or dé "write"
     an AP may occur without frontshifting, but in all other
     instances any AP in the first clause is frontshifted and
     followed by bé, (9.2)
(4) The particles lé, or gè occur between the two clauses. The
     particle may be omitted when the verb of the first clause
     is sú "say",
(5) The verb in the second clause is in Base B nf, B fut, C nf,
     NB nf or NC nf aspect.

    If any sentence constructs function as first clause of ST 33
sentences, a verb of Class S is head of the verb phrase in the
head clause in the case of subordinative sentence types and a verb
of Class S is head of the verb phrase in the final clause in the
case of coordinative sentence types.

ùnyáphù bé mú nùmàrù lọ é djèru úgwó   "I heard yesterday that one
yesterday   I heard   *one lent money*   lent money."
VC CT 13 Base C nf   lé VC CT 11 Base C nf

ọ́ bàrù   mụ m̀bá   l'ẹ́nyàshì̀   lé mú tá àbyádú̧
he scolded me   scolding in the night   *I   not come*
VC CT 12 Base C nf   lé   VC CT 13 Base NB nf

"He scolded me last night that I had not come."

ó tó ˥kwédú lẹ ọ̀ọ̀gba   ˥˥yá égbè   *"He did not agree that he*
he not agree   *he shoots it   gun*   *shoots it with a gun."*
VC CT 13 SNC nf lé VC CT 11 Base B nf

ọ́ zọ̀hàrù gẹ é àméjé   ˥˥yá   *"He forgot how one does it."*
he forgot how one does usually it
CT13 C nf gé VC CT 11 Base B nf

8.5 ST 40 - SERIAL SENTENCES

    Sentences may consist of two or more clauses following one
another in a string relationship. Clauses in such constructions
are of CT 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15.

    Such clause strings are marked by the following syntagmatic
features:

(1) The deletion of the NPs of all clauses after the first
     clause.

(2) The deletion of the NPo where a subsequent clause shares
     the same NPo as the clause immediately preceding it.

(3) The negative transformation only occurs with ST 42a and 42b.

(4) The verbs in all the clauses may be suffixed by one or more
     extensor suffixes. Usually, however, only the verb of the

first clause is suffixed. The most frequently occurring
suffixes are -nȳ "*after all*" , -kwá "*emphatic*" , -áhá "*start*",
and -chó "*all*".

(5) Each of the verbs in the clauses occur in certain aspects
     only and according to these patterns of aspect, the meanings
     are expressed. The verb of the first clause may occur in
     Base A nf, AB fut, B nf, B fut or C nf aspect. The verb
     aspects of the subsequent clauses are restricted. Two main
     patterns occur and may be termed 'punctiliar' and
     'progressive'.

     The combinations of patterns of aspect are given in the
following table:

Initial Clause	Intermediate Clause	Final Clause	Meaning
Punctiliar			

1. Base A nf
  or   AB fut
  or   B fut
  or   C nf
	Base A nf	Base A nf	Actions are successive.

Progressive			
2. Base B nf	Base B nf	Base B nf	(a) Actions done successively and continually, or (b) Actions are simultaneous.
3. Base B fut	-	Base B nf	Simultaneous actions in the future.
4. Base A nf or C nf	Base B nf	Base B nf	The last two actions are simultaneous.
5. Base A nf or C nf	-	Base B nf	Successive actions with the last action still going on.
6. Base A nf or C nf	Base A nf	Base B nf	Two or more past actions with the last action still going on.

     Several different serial sentence types are set up. All
such sentences are referred to as type 40 sentences. The
following serial sentence types are established:

     ST 41 - Main serial sentences
     ST 42 - Clause pairing sentences
     ST 43 - Connective serial sentences

     Serial sentences may function as Class I, Q or R sentences
though they are most frequently found as Class I sentences.

     Unless it is otherwise stated in the description of indivi-
dual sentence types, a sentence construct of SC 25 or 33 or 43
may function as a clause in an ST 40. In the case of SC 25,

however, if the verb is mé or chǫ́ *"want"* , the SC may only function in the first clause.

In the examples, the numbers correspond to the numbers in the table and the verbs are underlined.

ö ó!shí   jí ˆtsǘá ríá
she will cook yam pound eat
Base B fut   A   A

            1. "She will cook, pound and eat yam."

ó òshí   !jí àtsǘ   èrí
she is cooking yam pounding eating
Base B nf   B   B

           2. "She is cooking, pounding and eating yam." (every day)

ö̧ ó!tsǘ   nrí èrí !jí
she will be pounding food eating yam
Base B fut   B

           3. "She will be pounding food and eating yam."

ò shíá !jí àtsǘ   èrí
she cooked yam is pounding eating
Base A   B   B

           4. "She cooked yam and is pounding and eating (it)."

ò shíá !jí èrí
she cooked yam is eating
Base A   B

           5. "She cooked yam and is eating (it)."

ò shíá !jí ˆtsǘá èrí
she cooked yam pounded is eating
Base A   A   B

           6. "She cooked and pounded yam and is (now) eating (it)."

ST 41 - Main serial sentences consist of two or more Class V clauses in a string relationship. The relationship of the clauses is marked by the following syntagmatic features:

(1) All the syntagmatic features listed in the preceding paragraphs mark this string of clauses.

(2) In contrast to other serial sentences any verb may occur in any of the clauses in ST 41 sentences. All verbs occurring in these clauses may also function as head of a verb phrase in a single clause sentence, ST 11.

(3) There is a loose relationship between the verbs in ST 41 serial sentences.

All the examples previously cited are of ST 41.

èphȩ̀ kwátá   láshíá ˆàzu̧ í!yá phò̧   *"They packed and went to the other*
they packed   went   back of it that side."
Base A nf   Base A nf

ǫ́ nùru̧ ìyà jí nátá òkpògà kèle í!yá ˆláshíá *"He gave him yam, received*
he gave him yam received money thanked him went   *the money, thanked him*
Base C nf   A nf   A nf   A nf   *and went away."*

ST 42 - Clause pairing serial sentences consist of two
Class V clauses functioning in a close-knit relationship to each
other. The relationship of the two clauses is marked by the
following syntagmatic features:

(1) All syntagmatic features listed previously as characteristics
     of serial sentences mark ST 42 sentences.

(2) In all ST 42 sentences the verbs which occur in the first
     clause constitute a small closed class.

Three types of clause pairing serial sentences are set up
as follows:

     ST 42a - Non-dependent clause pairing
     ST 42b - Semi-dependent clause pairing
     ST 42c - Dependent clause pairing

ST 42a - Non-dependent clause pairing sentences have the
structure and syntagmatic features already discussed. It should
be pointed out that non-dependent clause pairing sentences differ
from the main serial sentences in the following ways:

(1) One or more clauses are in a close-knit relationship to the
     following clause.

(2) The verb in the first clause of the clause pairing sentences
     may be transformed into the negative.

(3) When gúdé, wòtá or nòdú occur as the verb in the first
     clause of the clause pairing sentences, these verbs may be
     repeated. No such repetition occurs with the main serial
     sentence type except when a different object occurs. This
     repetition does not appear to have any semantic implication.

(4) The pairing relationship between the first and the second
     clauses may be extended to all subsequent clauses in the
     construction. It is possible to have more than one clause
     following the first clause and all of them may be in this
     relationship. Whether this pairing relationship extends
     beyond the second clause depends on the context, but the
     pairing relationship never extends beyond a connective clause
     (Con Cl) cf. ST 43. The first three examples illustrate
     these possibilities.

As in the main serial sentence, the verbs in all the clauses
of a non-dependent clause pairing sentence may also function as
head of the verb phrase in an ST 11. But the verbs which function
as the first clause of the clause pairing when functioning indepen-
dently may have a slightly different meaning, as noted below.

The following verbs occur in the first clause of a non-
dependent clause pairing:

gúdé   *"instrumental, with" (as indep. verb "hold, catch")*

wòtá   *"take"*

nòdú   *"stay" (if followed by Base A nf)*
            "continue to do something" (if followed by Base B nf)

shí   *"to be from (time and place)"*

tọ́ nwẹ́!hụ́ *"to do slowly"*

vú ụ́zọ̀   *"to be or do as the first"*

All these verbs may take an object. The last two mentioned verbs have an obligatory fixed object.

ọ́ tọ̀rụ̀ nwẹ́!hụ́ nọ̀dụ́ ànọ́ọ̀ déé !yá   *"He sat down slowly and wrote it"*
he slowly   sat seat wrote it   *or "He sat down slowly and*
Base C   Base A   Base A   *slowly wrote it."*

ọ́ tọ̀rụ̀ nwẹ́!hụ́ nọ̀dụ́ ànọ́ọ̀ bya èdéé !yá   *"He sat down slowly and then*
he slowly   sat seat   then wrote it   *wrote it." ("slowly" does not*
Base C   Base A   Con Cl Base AB   *extend to "write")*

ọ́ tọ̀rụ̀ nwẹ́!hụ́ nọ̀dụ́ ànọ́ọ́   bya àtọ́ọ nwẹ́!hụ́ ^déé !yá
he slowly   sat seat   then slowly   wrote it
Base C   Base A   Con Cl Base AB   Base A

"He slowly sat down and then slowly wrote it."

nwéze ègúde ónmó ònó gúdé !áá   *"Nweze went away with the*
Nweze with stone that with go   *whetstone."*
Base B nf   Base A Base A

ò gúdé òkpògá ònó kpọ́ta ú!wé ^zụ́ta ékwà gótá !jí   *He, with that money, bought clothes,*
he with money   that bought clothes bought cloth bought yam
Base A nf   Base A   Base A   Base A

^méé jíòkè bújía   únú!phú   *"He, with that money, bought clothes,*
made title lived-filled compound   *cloth, yam, made jioke title, fed*
Base A   Base A   *the whole family in the compound."*

ńdụ́   ònó!yá éwòta í!yá ^gúdé láshíá   *"Those people then take it*
people those take it   with go home   *and go home with it."*
Base AB fut   A nf A nf

ọ́ tọ́ nòdù̀ l'ụ́lò r*í*á !yá   *"He did not stay in the house to eat*
he not stayed in house ate it   *it."*
Base NC nf   A nf

ó vùru ụ́zọ̀ túgbụ́á   ó vùru ̀ya ụ́zọ̀ túgbụ́á
he led way left   he led him way left
Base C nf   A nf   Base C nf   Base A nf

"He left first."   *"He left before he did."*

ST 42b - Semi-dependent clause pairing sentences have the
structure and syntagmatic features already discussed. They differ
from the non-dependent clause pairing sentences in the following
ways:

(1)   These clauses may not be transformed into the negative,
      except when the verb of the clause is pérú.

(2)   The verb of the first clause of the clause pairing does not
      function as an independent head of a verb phrase in a simple
      clause. These verbs do not occur in the last clause of a
      serial sentence. In spite of these restrictions, this group
      of words are treated as verbs since they are marked with all
      the aspects and extensors like any full verb.

(3)   As with the non-dependent clause pairing sentences the
      pairing relationship may extend to subsequent clauses, except
      when the verb of the clause is pérú. The occurrence of a
      connective clause breaks this pairing relationship. It may,
      however, be repeated after the connective clause.

The following verbs[1] occur in the first clause of a semi-
dependent clause pairing sentence:

     tụ́kọ́   "all"

     wòrú   "then"

     gbẹ́   "from, however,"

     pérú   *meaning unknown, always linked with the verb* hà *"to leave
              something"*

ụ́nw!ókẹ́ tụ̀kọ̀rụ̀ bàhụ́   lẹ̀ mótò   jérwúá !ábá ^bya àtụ́kọ́ dzùkọ́tá
men   *all*   *entered in lorry* *reached Aba.* *and* *all* *gathered*
Base C nf   Base A nf   Base A nf   Con Cl AB   A nf

"All the men got into the lorry, reached Abakaliki and gathered (for a meeting)".

éswí ònọ́ wáá ọ́kà   tụ́kọ́ á!zúphú   ^gbákọ́tá
cow   *that* *split* *cow-pen* *all* *back-compound*   *ran all*
Base A nf   A nf   Base A nf

"That cow split the cow-pen and ran all over the back of the compound."

mù wòrú jíókè   méé   *"Then I qualified for the jioke*
I *then* *jioke title* *made*   *title."*
Base A nf   A nf

ànyí dzèkòṛu   ẹ́ká wòṛú !mẹ́ẹ́-à   wòṛú nṵ́   !ngṵ́
we   put together   hand then wine this then gáve   you
Base C nf   Base A nf   A nf   A nf

"We put the hands together and gave you this wine."

óbvùd[nyà páṛṵ́ nke ìyá hàá   *"Obvudinya left her own (calf)"*
Obvudinya   own her leave
       Base A nf   A nf

mṵ́ tá àpádṵ́rṵ̈ áhà   *"I am not leaving (=forgiving)it)."*
I not leaving
Base NB   B nf

ézè   gbé   ká shí l'àzṵ íyèlè   *"However, there are more*
richmen however exceed big on back Iyele river   *rich men on the other*
Base A nf   A nf   *side ."*

    It should be noted that more than one type of clause pairing
may occur in a single sentence:

ó   wòta éswí !âbò̩ wòṛú   gbṵ́á   *"He took two cows and then*
he took cow two then killed   *killed (them)."*
ST 42a Base A nf   ST 42b A nf A nf

    ST 42c - Dependent clause pairing sentences have the
structure and syntagmatic features already discussed. Dependent
clause pairing sentences differ from non-dependent and semi-
dependent clause pairing sentences as follows:

(1) The clauses may not be transformed into the negative.

(2) The first clause consists of a nominal phrase subject and
     a verb phrase only (i.e., no nominal phrase object ever
     occurs).

(3) The verb in the first clause of the clause pairing cannot
     function as head of the verb phrase in an ST 11. The verb
     is, however, marked with all the aspects and extensors.

    Only one verb has so far been found occurring in the first
clause of a dependent clause pairing sentence:

    kábẹ́   *"for the first time after a long time"*

    Note that with these sentences too the pairing relationship
may extend to the following clauses, but not beyond a connective
clause.

ò̩ kábẹ́ ríá n!ri ^ngṵ́á !míní ^bya èkṵ́á !mgbẹ́nyá
he   ate food drank water and slept sleep
Base A Base A   Base A   Con Cl Base AB

"He ate food (and) drank water for the first time after a long time, then slept."

ọ̀ kábé̩   rí́á nɨrɨ   bya   àkábé̩   ngụ́á !mɨnɨ
he   ate food   and   drank   water
   Base A   Base A   Con Cl Base AB Base A

Same meaning as previous example, but note that kábé̩ *may be repeated after a connective clause, cf.* ST 42a (4).

ST 43 - Connective serial sentences have the structure and syntagmatic features already discussed for serial sentences. Connective serial sentences differ from other types of serial sentences in that the first clause of the series or one of the medial clauses, but never the last clause, is a connective clause.

A connective clause has the following syntagmatic features:

(1) When occurring initially a connective clause consists of an NPs and a VP only, there is never an NPo. When occurring medially, the connective clause consists of a VP alone.

(2) It can never be transformed into a negative.

(3) It always has one of the following verbs; which also occur independently; jé *(elsewhere "to go")* and byá *(elsewhere "to come")*

(4) When a connective clause occurs medially, the verb carries a fixed tone: non-raising low. The verbs in the preceding clauses are in the same form as in the serial construction. The verb in the immediately following clause occurs in Base AB nf aspect[1]. The forms of the verbs in the remaining clauses are the same as in the main serial sentence.

(5) When a connective clause occurs initially in the sentence, it is found in any aspect except the Base B aspects. Most frequently it occurs in Base AB fut aspect. It may be suffixed by only one of the extensor suffixes: -kwá *"emphatic"*. The verb in the immediately following clause occurs in Base AB aspect.

(6) The two verbs jé and byá can occur together. In this case jé follows byá and occurs in Base AB as ˆè̩jé. When such a connective clause occurs initially, byá is found in any aspect except the Base B aspects as with the single connective clause. When it occurs medially, it carries a non-raising low tone. The immediately following verb occurs in Base AB and any further verbs are in the same forms as in the main serial sentence.

---

[1] The tone of the E-prefix for initial low stems, however, is here a raising low tone (and not high as in Base AB nf) and across the ˆL of the connective clause raises a high tone which precedes the connective clause.

<u>Occurring initially:</u>

ànyí ˆèjé ˆègúda ógù̀ wáá !yá   *"Then we go to divide it with a hoe."*
we   then with   hoe split it
Con Cl   AB   AB   A

ĺ   ˆ꜓bya éwòru ꜖ì꜖ kpꜝáry [꜖ya é̩ˆgꜝbé̩ à   *"Then you build a house*
you then   then   house build for her like   this   for her like this."
Con Cl AB   AB   Base A

mù̩ byáˆèje ánò̩dꜝ ĺ'àzꜝ mótò̩   *"Then I stayed in the back of the*
I   then   stayed in back' lorry   lorry."
Con Cl   AB AB

<u>Occurring medially:</u>

è̩phé̩ ˆèjé je èkèé   ózí ˆò̩zó̩   *"They go and then distribute more*
they   go   and distribute work another   work."
Base AB   Con Cl Base AB

mù réshíá !jí ˆbya èréshía é!swí   *"I sold yams and then sold cows."*
I   sold   yam and sold   cows
   Base A   Con Cl Base AB

è gúdé !mú byaˆèjé. ˆàpfꜝshĺ ĺ'è̩ká ònó   *"One took me and then*
one took me and   stopped in place that   stopped there."
Base A   Con Cl   Base AB

<u>Different connective clauses occurring in the same sentence:</u>

mù jé ˆàzꜝtácháá nĺríˆríá bya ˆàtꜝgbꜝá byaˆèjé ˆàzé̩é̩ ĺ'è̩ká ònó
I then bought   food ate and left   and then lay down in place that
Base A Base AB   A   Con Cl Base AB Con Cl   Base AB

"Then I bought food and ate (it), left and then lay down there."

8.6   SENTENCE MARGIN

        All sentences may include a sentence margin. The sentence
margin most frequently follows the nucleus of the sentence, except
in the case of the vocative or interjectural margin, which usually
occurs initially.

        Three types of sentence margin are set up:

        Vocative or interjectural margin
        Calling margin
        Appositional margin

        <u>Vocative or Interjectural margin</u> consists of either an NP .
of Class V functioning as a vocative element, or of an interjec-
tion of Class B, C or D. The margin may precede and/or follow
the sentence nucleus. Occasionally the margin may occur medially

in the sentence between two clauses or between two sentences.
The vocative or interjectural margin is underlined.

 m̀bámụ̀ nwékè, nẹ́nụ̀ gẹ í dòbèjèrù jí !ányí   "Mbamu Nweke, how did you
<u>Mbamu Nweke,</u>   how   you kept   yam our   keep our yams?"
NP class V   ST 77

ngụ̀jía   ẹ́phọ́,   ògbúỊnyà   "Fill your stomach with
drink-fill stomach, <u>horsekiller</u>   drink, horsekiller!"
ST 80   NP Class V

àà, ó gbòbèkwàrù ngu ẹ́ká gẹ̀ í nụ íyá   "(surprise), he stretched
  he stretched   you hand that you give him   out (his) hand to you so
Interj.   ST 25   that you should give it him."

ẹ́ẹ, ákụ́, ánụ́, ẹ́ẹ, dòbe ọ́nụ́ dò   "Yes, kernels, meat, yes,
yes, kernel,meat; yes, keep mouth quiet   keep your mouth shut!"
Interj. ST 12   Interj. ST 80
class 8   class 8

     Calling margin consists of a vowel occurring finally in the
sentence. Very occasionally it is found medially. This vowel is
-è after Personal Nominals (class P Nominals cf. 15.2) and very
rarely after sentences of ST 12 which are used as an elliptical
question[1] as in the last example below; -ò in all other instances.

     Wherever information needs to be communicated across a
distance (regardless of the number of recipients), the whole
sentence is in the Deliberate Register (2.2).

á^àsụ́:   ùnú dụ̀ íké-ò   "Then one will say 'Thank you'."
one will say you are strong
ST 11

nàtá !mẹ́ẹ-áà-ò   gẹ ọ́ nụ̀rù ngụ Ịya-áà-ò "Take this wine, as he
take wine this,   as he gave you it   gave it to you."
ST 33

óké!míní-è   byá-ò   "Okemini, come!"
Okemini,   come!
ST 12   ST 80

ö ókù   nwa Ịyá-è nwa Ịyá-è   "She is calling 'What about my child,
she is calling child her child her   my child?' (literally 'her child')"
            ST 12   ST 12

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[1] Alternatively, an additional interrogative sentence type could be set up for
such elliptical questions with the margin -è as interrogative marker. As their
occurrence is very rare, it has seemed preferable to treat -è as calling
margin only.

Appositional margin consists of a nominal or adverbial
phrase with an optional interjection of Class D, which is in
apposition to another phrase of the same class within the sentence
nucleus. The appositional margin always follows the sentence
nucleus and functions as additional information explaining or
clarifying a previous statement.

The interjection Class D m̀bý "I mean.." may precede the
appositional nominal or adverbial phrase.

The head of the appositional NP or AP together with any
preposition are limited to either a noun identical to the head
of the referent NP or AP, or a relative nominal referring to the
head of the NP or AP. When m̀bý "I mean..." occurs, this limitation
does not apply.

The expansion of an appositional NP or AP can be of any
type except that no elements precede the head. The most frequent
expansions are a relative sentence or a possessive construction
that is identical in structure to a complex NP type 21 (12.5).

The margin and the referent NP are underlined.

m̀bámụ̀, | hụ̀màrụ̀ mẹ́ẹ óbìyá àgbárý !ngý, óbìyá ògẹ́shà̀
Mbamu, you see wine Obiya is giving you, Obiya Ogesha
ST 71

"Mbamu, did you see the wine which Obiya is giving you, Obiya Ogesha?"

ọ́ kwà ọ̀nyà mú, m̀bụ ónyé ọ̀wá   "It is my friend, I mean this
it it friend my, I mean person this   person."
ST·11

á nwụ̀rụ ̀yà ì'ọ́nwá ọ̀phụ́, ì'ọ́nwá h̀tégọ́gù   "He was born last month,
one bore him in month that, in month Ntegogu   in Ntegogu month."
ST 11

ó shì ì'ópfu ̀yá byá, ì'ópfu   ọ́ kọ̀rụ̀ ì'ánmé!gý
he from farm his comes, farm which he farmed in Anmegu
ST 42a

"He is returning from his farm, the farm on which he worked in Amagu."

An alternative analysis of the appositional margin would be
to treat it as a clause margin, rather than a sentence margin.
In the case of the vocative/interjectural margin and of the calling
margin, there is no doubt that they can best be stated as elements
of the sentence since they clearly stand in relation to the sen-
tence as a whole and not just to one clause in the sentence.
With the appositional margin, however, it could be argued that the
margin is only related to one clause so could best be regarded as
a clause margin. On the other hand, it is significant that the
appositional margin relates to the sentence nucleus, i.e. the main
clause of the sentence, and not every clause in the sentence can
be expanded by an appositional margin. If it were handled as a

clause margin, some statement limiting its occurrence in multi-
clause sentences would have to be made.

Another reason for not grouping the appositional margin with
the clause margin is the very different structures of these two
margins. The clause margin is limited to AP and RP and is never
introduced by the Class D interjection, whereas the appositional
margin is either an NP or an AP and may be introduced by the
Class D interjection. This could have been handled by setting
up two types of clause margin, but it seemed simpler, and to
reflect the function of the appositional margin better to group
it with the sentence margins rather than with the clause margin.

CHAPTER 9

SENTENCE TRANSFORMATIONS AND CONSTRUCTS

9.1 SENTENCE TRANSFORMATIONS

In addition to sentences whose structures can be referred
directly to one of the basic sentence types described in Chapter
8, there are other sentences whose structure is described as
derived from one of these sentence types by means of a transfor-
mational statement. Thus a set of derived sentence types is
established.

Each such sentence type is given a reference number in the
same way as the basic sentence types. Such derived sentence types,
however, have two reference numbers; that of the derived sentence
type itself and also that of the underlying basic sentence type
which is given in brackets after the derived sentence type
reference number.

9.2 ST 50 - FOCUS SENTENCES

Sentences of all types may be transformed into sentences in
which either a clause or a phrase within one of the clauses of
the sentence is frontshifted and followed by the frontshifting
particle `bę́, bringing the frontshifted element into special focus.
Frontshifting occurs very frequently and does not carry as much
emphasis as the emphatic transformation. All sentences of this
type are referred to as type 50.

ST 51 - Clause frontshifting sentences. In a sentence of
ST 21 or ST 26, one of the clauses may be frontshifted and this
has the effect of putting the clause into focus. The clause is
followed by the particle `bę́. The transformation consists further
of:

> In ST 21, the particle mę̀ is omitted and the conditional
> aspect is replaced by Base B fut.

> In ST 26, the verb which follows `bę́ is always in one of
> the independent aspects Base B nf, B fut, or C nf.
> Any dependent aspect of the first clause of ST 26
> is thus replaced by an independent aspect in ST 51.

ànyꞮ́ áɟǀkàkwà   mę̧ ǫ́ dų́rų ǀphé   ꞌdų́ ę̀jǀ Ꞁdų Ꞁyá^nų́
we   shall refuse if it is   thing which is bad   is in it
ST 21: CT 13 B fut   CT 14 Base A con

ǫ́ dų́rų ǀphé dų́ ę̀jǀ Ꞁdų Ꞁyá^nų́ bę̧ ànyꞮ́ áɟǀkàkwà
ST 51(21): CT 14 Base A con   CT 13 Base B fut

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ё é!vúru   éʒbú ˆ|'ékä mę   à ʒbäswèe á!má
one will carry chain in hand if one bears witness wrongly
ST 21: CT 11 Base B fut   CT 11 Base A con

á ʒbäswèe á!má bę   ё ő̆vúru éʒbú ˆ|'éká
ST 51(21) CT11 A con   CT 11 Base B fut

"If one bears false witness, one will carry the chain on the hand." (Proverb)

mÿ á!byäädá   tèmáànú |'[ˆ]túʒbÿá   *"I will come to you first,*
I will come first before   you will leave   before you leave."
ST 26 CT 13 B fut   CT 13 AB fut

tèmânú |'[ˆ]túʒbÿá   bę́ mÿ á!byäädá
ST 51(26) CT 13 AB fut   CT 13 Base B fut

ё é!méch[í]chäa   ÿˆzǫ́, !nǫ́ˆ|'ǫ́bá tèmáànú |'áˆàkpáá !yá
one will already close way   is in barn before one harvests it
ST 26 CT 11 Base B fut   CT 11 Base AB fut

"One will close the opening which is in the yam barn, before one harvests it."
tèmânú |'áˆàkpáá ·yä bę́ ё é!méch[í]chäa ÿˆzǫ́,!nǫ́ˆ|'ǫ́bá
ST 51 (26) CT 11 Base AB fut   CT 11 Base B fut

ST 52 - Phrase frontshifting sentences. In Phrase front-
shifting sentences, a nominal phrase, an adverbial phrase in which
a NP functions, or a verbal extension is frontshifted, preceding
a clause nucleus, and thus brought into focus. The frontshifted
phrase is marked by the particle ˙bę́ which follows the phrase.

Phrase frontshifting occurs in ST 21, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32,
33, and 40. In these sentences, phrase frontshifting occurs in
the head clause in the case of ST 20 or the first clause of ST 30
and ST 40. It also occurs in the subordinate clause of ST 25 and
in the second and following clauses of ST 33 and ST 40.

In ST 25 and ST 33, the NPs or NPo of the subordinate or
second clause may be frontshifted only, as a frontshifted AP of
the second clause becomes the AP of the first clause (second
example).

The verb which follows ˙bę́ is always found in one of the
independent aspects, Base B nf, B fut, C nf or the respective
negative aspects.

A dependent aspect of a sentence to be transformed is replaced
by an independent aspect.

If an AP type 21 is frontshifted, the particle ˙bę́ is absent,
probably due to the absence of any ambiguity.

The frontshifted phrase and particle are underlined.

ö ó!mé   nwóké òno   éphǫ́   mè̩ ó rĺá !yá   *"It will trouble the stomach*
it will do man   that   belly,   if he eats it   of that man if he eats it."
ST 21 B fut   A con

focus on NPo:
nwó!ké ònö   be̩   ö ó!me   éphǫ́   mè̩ ó rĺá !yá
ST 52(21)   B fut   A con

é mèchlwàrù̩   ge̩ ä bá kǫ̀he̩ jĺ ǹtáànú̩   *"One has already closed*
one already closed that one not farm   yam today   *in order that one should*
ST 25 Base C nf   NA pur   *not farm yam any more*
                                                          today."
Focus on NP of second clause:
jĺ be̩ é mèchlwàrù̩ ge̩ ä bá kǫ̀he̩ ntáànú̩

ST 52(25)C nf   NA pur

Focus on AP of second clause , AP of first clause

ǹtáànü̩ be̩ é mèchlwàrù̩ ge̩ ä bá kǫ̀he̩ jĺ

ST 52(25)   C nf   NA pur

ànyĺ àwájé̩   !jĺ ǫ́bù̩ àwáwá tè̩máànú̩ á^ànmáá !yá
we   usually split yam that splitting before one plants it
ST 26 B nf   AB fut

"We usually split the yams before we plant them."

Focus on NPo
jĺ ǫ́bù̩ bé̩ ^ànyĺ àwájé̩ ^àwáwá tè̩máànú̩ á^ànmáá!yá

ST 52(26)   B nf   AB fut

Focus on VE
àwáwä bé̩ ^ànyĺ àwájé̩ jĺ ǫ́bù̩ tè̩máànú̩ á^ànmáá!yá

ST 52(26)   B nf   AB fut

[^]byá^ànu̩   íphé ònó ké̩lé̩ chĺlékè bu̩ ónyé !káchá^shĺ
you then give thing that   because God   is person who is most big
ST 31 AB fut   SC nf

"Then you will give that thing because God is the greatest."

Focus on NPo
íphé ònö be̩ í [!byá^ànú̩ ké̩lé̩ chĺlékè bu̩   ónyé!káchá^shĺ

ST 52(31)   B fut   SC nf

mú̩^àsú̩   lé̩ mü ó̂!jé   ^l'é̩gú̩   *"Then I will say that I will go to*
I will say that I will go to farm   the farm."
ST 33 AB fut   B fut

Focus on AP
l'é̩gú̩ ·bé̩ mü̩ á!sú̩ lé̩ mü é!jé

ST 52(33)   B fut   B fut

échi!égý wòtàrù mkpú!rú jí ònó ^nmàá I'àl! ùnyáphù
Echiegu took   seed-   yam that planted in ground yesterday
ST 42

"Echiegu took those seed-yams and planted them yesterday."

Focus on NPs:

échi!égý bé wòtàrù mkpú!rú jí ònó ^nmàá I'àl! ùnyáphù ST 52(42)

Focus on NPo:

m̀kpú!rú jí ònö bé échi!égý wòtàrù nmàá I'àl! ùnyáphù ST 52(42)

Focus on first AP:

I'àl! bë̈ échi!égý wòtàrù mkpú!rú jí ònó ^nmàá ùnyáphù ST 52(42)

Focus on second AP:

ùnyáphù bë̈ échi!égý wòtàrù mkpú!rú jí ònó ^nmàá I'àl! ST 52(42)

nwátá ònó èjé   I'è̩gbùdù m̀bò̩ký mbò̩kù   *"The child goes to the bush*
child that is going to bush   day   day   day by day."
ST 11

Focus on AP 21:

m̀bò̩ký mbò̩kù nwátá ònó èjé I'è̩gbùdù
S̶T̶ ̶5̶2̶(̶1̶1̶)̶

9.3   ST 60 - EMPHATIC SENTENCES

Sentences of all types can be transformed into emphatic
sentences, ST 60.   Such transformation consists of an introductory
phrase which precedes the rest of the sentence.   It may also
precede a clause within the sentence.

Any nominal phrase in the sentence may be emphasized.   When
a post-verbal nominal phrase is emphasized, the sentence obliga-
torily undergoes first the focus transformation, i.e., the
emphasized nominal phrase is frontshifted.

When a nominal phrase functioning as subject is emphasized,
two possibilities exist:

(a)   emphasis without focus.
      In this case the introductory phrase precedes the sentence
      which is otherwise unchanged (except that a pronoun func-
      tioning as NPs is in its emphatic form).

(b)   emphasis with focus.
      In this case the frontshifting particle `bé follows the NPs.
      The NPs becomes the head of a sentence construct R1 (9.10)

The introductory phrase consists of 3rd sg. pronoun ó *"it"*
and the equative verb bý *"to be"* or kwà *"to be "* .   The verb bý
occurs in all non-subordinate aspects except Base C nf, where ó bù
is replaced by ó̩ò̩ *"it is"* or ó kwà *"it is"*.

It is interesting to note that kwa only occurs in Base C,
i.e., with low tone. kwa very likely has its origin in the
extensor suffix -kwá *"emphatic"* , so that ǫ́ bụ̀kwà ﹥ ǫ́ kwà and there-
fore ǫ́ kwà has taken the place of ǫ́ bụ̀.

If ST 60 functions as a sentence construct, the verb bụ́ of
the introductory phrase is marked by the respective aspect.

The extensor suffix -ę́phǫ́ is not uncommon in this sentence
type. It may be affixed to forms with the verb stem bụ́, but it
may not be affixed to kwà. It may be affixed to ǫ́ò, but in this
case, the vowels are assimilated, i.e. ǫ́ò + ę́phǫ́ ﹥ ę́ę̀phǫ́.

Emphasis on NPs

ǫ́ò ụ́ˀnwę́gírǐmá èméje íˀyá   or   ǫ́ò ụ́ˀnwę́gírǐma bę́ ˆèméje íˀyáˆnụ́
it is children usually doing it   *it is children   usually doing it.*
ST 60(11)

"It is the children who are usually doing it."

ǫ́ò gụ́ˀbę́dụ̌à   màrụ íphé ˆème   íˀyáˆnụ́   *"It is you yourself who*
it is yourself knows thing which is doing him   *knows what is worrying*
ST 60(33)   *him."*

Emphasis on NPo

ǫ́ò ǫ́gụ̀ bę́ ˆànyí ègúdéjé   wáá ˀyá   *"It is the hoe we usually use*
it is hoe   we   usually use split it   *to split it."*
ST 60(42)

ǫ́ tǫ́ ˀbụ́dụ ụ́dụˆíphé ònö̈ bę á àchǫ́   *"It is not that kind of thing*
it not is   kind thing that   one is seeking   one is looking for."
ST 60(11)

ǫ́ kwà ńkä̈   bę́ ùnü ákàgbùà   *"It is a long life you shall*
it is long life   you shall all live   *all live."*
ST 60(11)

Emphasis on NP within AP

ǫ́ò ˀlę̀ nkwę́gụ̈ bę ǫ́ byàpfụ̀tàrụ̀ mụ̀   *"It is in Nkwegu he met me."*
it is in Nkwegu   he met   me
ST 60(11)

ę́ę̀phǫ́ ˀǘtsụ̀ bę   é èjéje.   ókpùrú ònó   *"It is only in the*
it is only in morning   one goes usually pond that   *morning one usually*
ST 60(11)   *goes to that pond."*

à sụ́ ˀlę ǫ́ò ˀǘtsụ̀ bę á bya ègúde íˀyá
one said that it is in morning one then caught him
ST 60(33)

"It is said that it was in the morning that he was caught."

9.4   ST 70 - INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Sentences of all types can be transformed into interrogative
sentences.   Several types of transformation are found.

ST 71 - Low tone interrogative sentences.   ST 11, 20, 30 and
40 may be transformed into a low tone interrogative sentence, if
the NPs consists of a pronoun or a pronominal.   In these sentence
types it is always the head clause in ST 20 or the first clause in
ST 30 or 40 which is marked by the transformation.

The transformation is effected by the verb occurring in one
of the interrogative aspects, which are marked as follows:

(a)   The verb occurs in either Base B nf, B fut or C nf aspects.

(b)   All pronouns and pronominals are marked by low tone.   This low
      tone is in contrast to the high tone (or LH in the case of
      plural pronouns and pronominals) which otherwise occurs.

When an NPs consists of a plural pronoun or pronominal, it
may be optionally marked by a low tone.   If there is no pronoun
to carry the low tone, as is the case when the head of the NPs
consists of a nominal, a third person pronoun may be introduced
in apposition to the nominal.   The tone of this pronoun is low.
If no pronoun is introduced, there is potential ambiguity.[1]

In this description, the interrogative aspects are treated as
derived from the Base B and C aspects as described above.

Any phrase after the VP may include an interrogative nominal.

Low tone interrogative sentences are followed by a Yes/No
answer, unless an interrogative nominal is included in the sentence.

In the examples below the low tone pronoun is underlined.

ẹ̀ká hàkọ̣́	I'ó^òríkọ̣́	"If hands are equal, they will eat
hand is together	it will eat together	together."
ST 22	Base AB fut	

| ẹ̀ká hàkọ̣́ ọ̀ ó!ríkọ̣́ | "If hands are equal, will they eat |
| ST 71 (22)   Base B fut int | together?" |

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[1] It is of interest to note that Ikwo has an obligatory pronoun in such con-
structions.   The potential ambiguity in Izi is resolved by the context since
in contrast to statements an interrogative sentence is followed by a response
sentence, e.g.,

  òró!ké jèru áswá   "Oroke went to market?"
  é, ó jèkwàru ìyà   "Yes, he went."

ó gőgò   ǫ̀nwų́hų́ ǫ́bų̀lę ǫ́bvų̀   tá!dų́   *"He would have died if there
he would have died   if   medicine not is   had been no medicine."*
ST 23

ò gőgò ǫ̀nwų́hų́ ǫ́bų̀lę́ ǫ́bvų̀ tá!dų́   *"Would he have died if there had been
S̄T 71 (23)   no medicine?"*

ę̀phę́ màrų̀ lę ǫ́ tǫ́!dų́dų́ mú ^ré   *"They know that I do not like it."*
they know that it not is me good
ST 33

ę̀phę̀ màrų̀ lę ǫ́ tǫ́!dų́dų́ mú ^ré   *"Do they know that I do not like it?"*
S̄T 7̄1̄ (33)

ó shìrù ìtè bya àtsų́á rìá   *"She cooked and pounded and ate."*
she cooked pot and pounded ate
ST 40

ò shìru ìtè bya àtsų́á rìá   *"Did she cook and pound and eat?"*
S̄T 71 (40)

óshìí à ámìJę́   àmìmì   *"This tree is bearing fruit."*
tree this bears fruit bearing fruit
ST 11

óshìí à   ò ǫ́mìJę́ ę̀mìmì   *"Is this tree bearing fruit?"*
ST 71 (11)

ò Jìrù gų́!nų́   *"How much was it?"* (lit."It filled
It filled what   what?")
ST 71(11)question word

ST 72 - tǫ̀ sentences. Any sentence may occur as tǫ̀ sentence
ST 72. The transformation consists of the particle tǫ̀ *"or"* which
precedes or follows the sentence. When tǫ̀ precedes the sentence
it has a linking function to the preceding sentence which may or
may not be an interrogative sentence. When it is an interrogative
sentence, the two sentences may be analysed as being no longer
two but one single sentence. Note that tǫ̀ also occurs linking
two nominal phrases in NP type 24, cf. 12.5.

ìphé à   ká   ìphé phǫ̀ ré tǫ̀   *"Is this thing better than that thing?"*
thing this exceeds thing that good or
ST 72(11)

ǫ̀ hà shìì? tǫ̀ ǫ̀ hà nwáànshìì   *"Is it big? Or is it small?"*
ST 71   ST 72(71)

ǫ̀ hà shìì tǫ̀ ǫ̀ hà nwáànshìì   *"Is it big or small?"*
it is big or it is small
ST 72

 òkéré!pfú tǫ̀   *"Is it a rat, or what?"*
rat   or
ST 72(12)

tọ̀ mứ sụ̀rụ̀ gẹ ä tá!rứshị ọ́rứ
or I said that one not work work
ST 72(25)

tọ̀ mứ sụ̀rụ̀ gẹ á rụ̀a ọ́rứ   !dứ ẹ̀jị̀ I'ẹ̀ká ònó
or I said that one work work that is   bad in place that
ST 72(25)

"Did I tell you not to work or to do bad work there?"

ST 73 - Second and third person negative interrogative sen-
tences. In a sentence marked by negation and where the head of
the NPs is a second or third person singular pronoun, the inter-
rogative transformation is achieved by dropping that pronoun
altogether. The negative particle in the VP which always har-
monises with the pronoun then indicates the subject.

ST 73 interrogative sentences are frequently used as rhetori-
cal questions especially with the verbs bứ *"to be"* and márứ *"to know"*,
the answer often being *"Yes, of course."*

ʃ tʃ]nứdứ !mu ákứ   *"You are not giving me kernels."*
you not giving me kernel
ST 11

tʃ]nứdứ !mu ákứ   *"Aren't you giving me kernels?"*
ST 73(11)

ọ́ tọ́ !dứdụ ọ́phụ ʃ tàrụ̀, nwíʃbó   *"There is nothing you eat, Nwibo."*
it not is   that you eat, Nwibo
ST 11

tọ́ !dứdụ ọ́phụ ʃ tàrụ̀, nwíʃbó   *"Isn't there anything you eat, Nwibo?"*
ST 73(11)

í mécháá yá lẹ̀ mpyà ʃ tʃ !bứẹ́dụ   ónyé]zíì
you did   it in secret you not be any more person Izi
ST 22

"When you do it in secret, you are no longer an Izi."

í mécháá yá lẹ̀ mpyà tʃ !bứẹ́dụ ónyé]zìí
ST 73(22)

"When you do it in secret, are you no longer an Izi? (Of course, you are.)"

ʃ tʃ !mádứ lẹ ọ́ rwụ̀hụ̀rụ àrwứhụ̀   *"You don't know that he is*
you not know that he failed   failing   lazy."
ST 33

tʃ !mádứ lẹ ọ́ rwụ̀hụ̀rụ àrwứhụ̀   *"Don't you know that he is lazy? (Of*
ST 73(33)   *course you do.)"*

ST 74 - Imperative interrogative sentences. A ST 80
imperative sentence may be transformed into a question by adding
an NPs consisting of a first or third person pronoun, preceding

the verb in the imperative aspect. Most frequently, it is a
first person pronoun, as imperative interrogative sentences usually
follow an imperative sentence and are asked as a clarification of
it. Infrequently the NPs may consist of a nominal. The pronoun
in this transformation is on high tone, which contrasts with the
low tone of the pronouns in the interrogative aspects.

mú rìá   tọ̀ mü té ˈríshí   *"Should I eat, or shouldn't I?"*
I eat   or I not eat
Base A imp   Base NA·imp

nwóˈké rìá   *"Should the man eat?"*
man   eat

ó tó ˈríshí   *"Shouldn't he eat?"*
he not eat

mú byà   *"Am I to come?"*
I come

        ST 75 - Cohortative interrogative sentences. An ST 90
cohortative sentence may be transformed into a question. This
question is merely a rhetorical question and is often followed
by another question which may or may not be rhetorical. In an
ST 90 cohortative sentence the aspect is always the negative
Base NA cohortative aspect. In these sentences, the negative
suffix -shí or -kwá is absent (14.5).

gè̩ nwátä té ˈrí nrí   *"Why shouldn't the child eat?"*
let child not eat food

gè̩ nwátä té ˈrí nrí ò óˈmé ˆgý̩ˈnú *"If the child doesn't eat,*
let child not eat food he will eat what   *what will he do?"*

        ST 76 - bụ interrogative sentences are a transformation of
the following sentences:

        ST 60 when the introductory phrase is initial
        ST 52 when the focussed element is initial
        ST 11 or 40

        The transformation is realised as follows:

        In ST 60 the introductory phrase is replaced by the particle
bù̩. In ST 52 bụ̀ precedes the sentence. In both ST 60 and 52 the
focussed element is frequently replaced by or includes an interro-
gative nominal.

        In ST 40 or 11 bụ̀ precedes the sentence. The NPs is replaced
by or includes an interrogative nominal. In the case of an imper-
sonal nominal functioning as NPs, it is not replaced and bụ̀ is
occasionally omitted when the context makes it clear that the
sentence is a question.

bụ̀ may be affixed by the extensor suffixes -kpọ́ "really" and
-hụ́nụ́ "slight annoyance". This seems to confirm the supposition
that the particle bụ̀ may have its origin in the stative verb bụ́
"to be" (ọ̀ bụ̀ "is it..").

bụ̀ interrogative sentences are more emphatic than low tone
interrogative sentences. They are usually asked as a repetition
if the question asked first was not heard or understood. bụ̀
interrogative sentences are always content questions.

ọ́ọ̀ gụ́!bẹ̣́dụ́à màrụ ʃphé èṃe ʃ!yá ˄nụ́   *"You yourself know what is*
you yourself know thing is doing him   *ailing him."*
ST 60
bụ̀ gụ́!bẹ̣́dụ́à màrụ ʃphé ˄èṃe ʃ!yá ˄nụ́   *"Do you yourself know what is*
ST 76   *ailing him?"*

ọ́ọ̀ ṃbè   bẹ é wòfùtàru ńrʃ ọ̀wá   *"It is to the tortoise that*
it is tortoise   one brought out food this   *one brought this food."*
ST 60
bụ ònyë bẹ é   wòfùtàru ńrʃ ọ̀wá   *"To whom did one bring out*
ST 76   *this food?"*

ńna   ʃyä ʃ'á!kpátá nrʃ˄nụ ụ́!nwẹ̣́g[r]má *"His father will get food and*
father his will get food give children   *give it to the children."*
ST 41

bụ ònyë ʃ'á!kpátá nrʃ˄nụ ụ́!nwẹ̣́g[r]má   *"Who will get food and give*
ST 76   *it to the children?"*

ʃphé èṃe   ʃ!yá
thing is doing him   *"He is sick."*
ST 11

bụ· ʃphé èṃe ʃ!yá   *"Is he sick?"*
ST 76

ST 77 - nẹ́nụ̀/dẹ́nụ̀ interrogative sentences. A clause of Class
NV, CT 21 (demonstrative), may be transformed into the interroga-
tive when lexically possible. The demonstrative particle is
réplaced by one of the following interrogative particles: nẹ́nụ̀ or
dẹ́nụ̀ "Where? or How?", or nẹ́náànụ́ or dẹ́náànụ́ "Where again? or What again?"
The variation between the consonants n and d seems to be an
ideolectical variation, each speaker using one or the other form
consistently.

There is never any demonstrative expansion. With the
particles nẹ́nụ̀ and dẹ́nụ̀ the verb extensor suffixes -kpọ́ "emphatic"
and -hụ́nụ́ "impatience" may occur.

If nẹ́nụ̀/dẹ́nụ̀ is followed by an SC type 11 or 12, the meaning
is "How?.." If nẹ́nụ̀/dẹ́nụ̀ is followed by an NP, the meaning is
"Where ..?" nẹ́náànụ́ or dẹ́náànụ́ may only be followed·by a nominal
phrase.

nẹ́nụ̀ ákpọ́kpà mụ́   *"Where are my shoes?"*
where shoes   my

dẹ́nụ̀ gẹ ó gùdè kùtá ⌐míní   *"What does he use to fetch water?"*
how   he uses fetches water

nẹ́náànụ́   ọ̀wá   ó shì pfúá
what again this which he (past) spoke   *"What is it again that he said?"*

dẹ́nụ̀hụ̀nụ   ⌐yà   *"Where is it now?" (impatience)*
where now   it

ST 78 - agha interrogative sentences. An ST 11 sentence may
be transformed into an àghá interrogative sentence. Such sen-
tences, however, occur infrequently as they are lexically limited
by the verb of the VP. They usually indicate surprise.

The transformation consists of the interrogative construction
described below which follows the clause nucleus. When the NPs
is a pronoun - which is most frequently the case - it is marked
by low tone as is usual with the interrogative aspect.

The interrogative construction consists of the following:

í + verb stem + àghá(⌐yá)

The vowel í- harmonises (root advanced or retracted) with the
first vowel of the verb stem. The final syllable -⌐yá is
frequently omitted. The verb stem in the construction is iden-
tical with the stem of the head of the VP. Any monosyllabic verb
stem may occur and occasionally stems of more than one syllable
are found. The verb stem is marked by low tone.

ńrí mú mèru íme-àghá   *"What about my food?"*
food my did   what

nwí⌐bó sàru ⌐ya ⌐sa-àghá⌐yá   *"How did Nwibo wash it? (that it is*
Nwibo   washed it   how   *now so torn)"*

ò ɔ̀je   íya íje-àghá   *"How come he is going there? (while*
he is going it   why   *he should be working)"*

ò ógbúbùshì   ⌐ya ígbùbùshì-àghá
he will cut many pieces   *it   how*

"How will he cut it?" (i.e., should he cut it big or small, long or short
pieces?)"

9.5 ST 80 - IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

The following sentence types may be transformed into ST 80 imperative sentence: ST 11; ST 20 (except 23) the head clause is marked by the transformation; ST 30 (except 32) the first clause is marked by the transformation; ST 40 all clauses are marked by the transformation. When the head clause of ST 24 is transformed, the subordinative clause is also transformed into an SC 90. When in ST 31 the conjunction is ǫ̀ǫ̀lé̩ "but" the second clause may also be transformed into an SC 80.

The transformation into an ST 80 sentence consists of

- the deletion of the nominal phrase subject (except ùnú́ *2nd sg*)
- the verb in the clause which is transformed is found in
  Base A imp, or NA imp aspects. In ST 41, 42 (serial sentences)
  all verbs in the sentence are found in Base A imp. In ST 43
  the verb of the connecting clause, when occurring <u>initially</u>
  in Base A imp is followed by a verb also in Base A imp which
  is preceded by an E-prefix with high tone. When occurring
  <u>medially</u> it is marked by a non-raising low tone. The
  immediately following verb is in the imperative aspect, but ·
  preceded by a non-raising low tone.

Some extensor ·suffixes occur specifically with verbs in imperative sentences: occurring frequently are -rǫ̀ "*after all*" -nú́ "*still, all the same*"; less frequently are -fùtá "*constraint*",-bùdé "*to help to do something*", -è̩kwà and -e̩dùkwà "*polite or endearing form of command*".

In the sentence margin Class C interjections frequently occur and also Class B interjections. Of the Class B interjections, byí̩lkó "*Please*" is the most frequent.

A sentence in which an impersonal clause type (CT 16) is functioning may not be transformed into an imperative sentence. It may, however, be transformed into a cohortative sentence.

ǫ́phú́ ˆànyí̩ tá lmádú́ I'í̩ˆlkúzí̩jékwáru   í̩ya ˆányí̩
what   we   not know you will teach habitually   it   us
ST 27

"*You will always teach us what we do not know.*"

ǫ́phú́ ˆànyí̩ tá lmádú́ kùzí̩jékwáru̩ í̩ya lányí̩   "*Always teach us what we*
ST 80 (27)   *do not   know.*"

I̩ í̩lzú́táru̩ mu̩ új̩lí̩rú ǫ̀ǫ̀le̩ í̩ tí̩ lzú́tádú́rú lmu̩ ǫ́ˆphú́ ldú́ è̩jl
you will buy for me oranges but you will not buy me those which are bad
ST 31

zù̩táru̩ mu̩ új̩lí̩rú ǫ̀ǫ̀lé̩ ge̩ I̩ tí̩ lzú̩tákwáru̩ mu̩ ǫ́ˆphú́   ldú́ è̩jl
ST 80 (31)

"*Buy oranges for me, but don't buy bad ones.*"

[^]byá^àngýá !mę́ę́ ònó   *"Then you will drink this wine."*
you then drink wine this
ST 43

bya ángýá !mę́ę́ ònó   *"Come, drink this wine!"*
ST 80 (43)

9.6   ST 90 - COHORTATIVE SENTENCES

The following sentence types can be transformed into ST 90
cohortative sentences: ST 11; ST 20 (except 23), the head clause
is marked by the transformation; ST 30 (except 32), the first
clause is marked by the transformation; ST 40, all clauses are
marked by the transformation.

The transformation consists of the introductory particle gę̀
which occurs initially in the transformed clause. The verb
following gę̀ is in the Base A imperative aspect, or the Base NA
imperative aspect. In ST 43 an E-prefix is added to the verb
following the connective clause. This prefix is on high tone,
when the connective clause occurs initially, and on non-raising
low tone when the connective clause occurs medially.

There is no deletion of the NPs in cohortative sentences.

There is a specific sentence margin for the cohortative
sentence:

òphý   *"Be sure to do something"* (if affirmative)
        "Beware of doing something" (if negative)

ſ tſ ljédú   *"You are not going."*
you not are going
ST 11

òphú gę ſ tſ !jéshſ   *"Beware of going!"* (If you go,
ST 90 (11)   something bad will happen to you)

ńna lyä á!bárų   ſyá mbá ^mę ó mébylá !yá
father his will reproach him reproach if he spoils it
ST 21

gę̀ ńna   lyá bàárų   ſyá m!bá ^mę ó mébylá !yá
ST 90 (21)

"May his father reproach him if he spoils it!"

ǫ́ tǫ́ ǫ̀láshſkwá gbàhálę ó mèàdàru ſphé ònó̆
he not will go   unless   he did first thing that
ST 31

gę ǫ̈ tǫ́ !láshſkwá gbàhálę ó mèàdàru ſphé ònó
ST 90 (31)

"Let him not go away unless he has finished that thing!"

mũ é!gúdé nchá ˆkwǫ́ǫ é!ká   *"I will wash my hands with soap."*
I will use soap   wash hands
ST 42

gè mũ̀ gùdé !ńchá kwǫ̀ǫ é!ká   *"Let me wash my hands with soap."*
ST 90 (42)

9.7 SENTENCE CONSTRUCTS

Sentences are sometimes found embedded at a lower level in
the grammatical hierarchy than the sentence level. Not infre-
quently, they are found to function at clause level. From time
to time they are also found at phrase level.

Embedded sentences bear the marks of independent sentences
to a very large degree. Their structure may be referred to the
structure of one or other sentence type, as already described.
There are, however, certain modifications which need to be noted.
Such sentences are termed sentence constructs.

Three classes of constructs are distinguished:

Class C - which function as a clause. There is no change
          in the structure of the sentence.
Class P - which function as a phrase. The structure of this
          type is a coordinative particle plus the sentence.
Class R - which functions as an element of a phrase (Relative
          expansion).

Different structures occur which are described in detail
below.

Since, in general, sentence constructs have the same struc-
ture as sentence types, they are given the same reference number.
Thus, for example, a sentence construct of any class is referred
to as SC 21 when its internal structure is that of ST 21.

9.8 CLASS C SENTENCE CONSTRUCTS

Class C sentence constructs function as a clause. They may
take the place of any clause in the subordinative or coordinative
sentence types. Sentences of all types are found as Class C
sentence constructs.

mǘ nừmàrừ lę é djèru ũ̀gwǫ́ gè á kpǫ́tá mótò
I heard ˙ that one lent money that one buy car
ST 33: CT 13   SC 25

"I heard that money has been lent in order to buy a car."

mú èmé   gę ànyí nyátájékwá   lę́ ˆànyí bùkwá ndǘ ìzíì
I   want that we   remember always that we are people Izi
ST 25: CT 13   SC 33

"I want us always to remember that we are Izi people."

ọ̀ gbábá   Iẹ ụ̀dó ònó ọ̀bẹ   á !máhẹ́dụ́   gẹ ë̀ élmé ^gúdə flyá
he ran-entered in rope that but   one not know any more how one do   catch him

                                  CT 13   gẹ SC 41

ST 24: CT 13   ọbẹ SC 33

"He ran into the rope and one didn't know any more how to catch him."

9.9 CLASS P SENTENCE CONSTRUCTS

Class P sentence constructs function as a phrase. Three subclasses are set up as follows:

Subclass P1 consists of a sentence construct which comprises an initial particle gẹ́ *"as, how"*, and a sentence of ST 11 or 40. This subclass functions as: NPs in verbal clause CT 15; NPs in CT 11 or CT 16a, if the head of the VP is a verb of Class Imp 1b or T 2b; NPe in CT 15; NP in CT 21 (10.3 and 10.4).

Subclass P2 consists of sentence constructs which comprise an initial particle Iẹ́ *"that"* and a sentence of ST 11, 20, 30 and 40. This subclass functions as NPe in CT 15.

Subclass P3 consists of sentence constructs which comprise a sentence of ST 22 (and have no particle). This subclass functions as NPe in CT 15.

gẹ ànyí àshíjé àkẹ́   ụ̀jí l'ìzfì bụ́ Iẹ́^ànyí àvúje ụ́zọ̀ chfə ẹ́gbụ̀dụ̀
how we go about farming   yam in Izi is that we usually lead way clear bush
        Class P1 SC 42a   Class P2 SC 42a

VC CT 15

"How we do our yam farming in Izi is that we first clear the bush."

gẹ ànyí àshíjé ète élbvú àmá   !mmá ^shí
how we   go about dancing song   is beautiful beauty much
Class P1 SC 42a

VC CT 11

"The way we usually dance is very beautiful."

ọ̀zẹ́   bụ̀ Iẹ́ yá tá ànyátàbàẹ́dụ   flyá   *"Another thing is that he*
another is that he not remember any more it   will not remember it any more."
        Class P2 SC 11

ụ́lnwẹ́gírìmá bụ̀ ẹ̀phẹ́ tụ́gbụ́á ẹ̀phẹ́ ^èje ánọ̀dụ́ àchí Iógú
children   are they   go   they then stay chasing grasshoppers
        Class P3 SC 22

"Children are like that: when they go away, then they continually chase grasshoppers."

9.10   CLASS R SENTENCE CONSTRUCTS

Class R (Relative) sentence constructs function as an element
of a nominal phrase.

Sentences of the following types may be found as Class R SC:
ST 11 (most frequently), ST 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 40. In
the case of ST 20, the first clause of a Class R SC must be the
head clause, hence ST 22 and 27 do not occur as sentence constructs.

Class R sentence constructs are marked by the following
syntagmatic features:

(1)   The first verb of the sentence construct always occurs in
      Base B nf, B fut, C nf, NB or NC. These aspects are, for
      convenience, referred to as the relative aspects.

(2)   The tone of the syllable preceding the VP of the construct
      is always high irrespective of all other factors.

(3)   In the case of subclass R1 sentence constructs, the relative
      transformation operates, see 14.6.

There are three subclasses of Class R SC, set up on the basis
of the relationship between the head of the nominal phrase of
which the sentence construct is the relative expansion, and the
sentence construct itself. These different relationships are
reflected in the structure of Class R SC and in tonal features:

      Subclass R1 - the head of the NP is also the subject of
                    the construct
      Subclass R2 - the head of the NP is another shared element
                    of the construct
      Subclass R3 - the head of the NP is referred to by a
                    possessive pronoun in the construct.

Subclass R1 sentence construct has no subject of its own.
The head of the nominal phrase is also the subject of the sentence
construct.

The particle ˆnʉ́ is added as obligatory final particle of
the sentence construct when the final part of the Subclass R1 SC
is either a VP or an NPo of type 13a, consisting of the following
object pronouns: mú *"me, 1st sg"* ŋgú *"you, 2nd sg"* ìyá ~ yá *"him, her,
it, 3rd sg"* phẹ́ *"them, 3rd pl"*.

When one of the deictics functioning as back reference (12.3.5)
occurs, it follows ˆnʉ́.

The sentence constructs are underlined, and when they are
not SC 11, their reference number is given.

ǫ́nwá ˆǫ̀zǫ   áfụ̀tà nǘ   bụ̀ ǫ́nwá ˆtèté   "The next month to come is
moon another who will come is moon   nine   the ninth month."

ǘ!nwę́gʃr̀ma ónye ǫ́bǘ   !nwụ́hụ́rǘˆnǘ ǫ́bụ̀.. "The children of that
children   person that who died   that   person who died ..."

ǫ́ǫ̀ ónyé ˆàkǫ́ jʃ bụ̀ ónyé ˆème ǫ́bvụ̀
it is person farms yam is person who does medicine

"It is the person who farms that is the one who is the doctor."

ö ó!dóbé ngú l'è̩ká   !dǘ ʃyá ˆré   "He will put you where he
he will you in place which is him good   likes."

wáà nwânyʃ gégè á!nwụ́hụ́ ǫ́bụ̀le̩ ǫ́bvụ̀ tá!dǘ
this is woman who would have died if   medicine not it
                  SC 23

"This is the woman who would have died if there had been no medicine."

ǫ́ hụ̀màwàrụ̀ nwóké !shʃ nǫ̀dǘ le̩ mkpǫ́rǫ̈ ké̩le̩ ó zìtàru átǘ!rǘ
he has seen man who was staying in prison because he stole sheep
                  SC 31

"He has seen the man who was in prison because he stole a sheep."

     Subclass R2 sentence construct includes a nominal phrase
with double function, as it also functions as one of the phrases
of the SC. It may thus function as NPo or AP in the SC.

     The only marker of the construct is high tone juncture.
There are no other features marking subclass R2.

ǫ́ tǫ́ !dǘkwa ǫ́phǘ   ˆànyʃ !bé̩dǘá màrụ̀   "There is not anyone we know."
it not is those whom we   know

ʃphé   òkôré sụ̀rụ ge̩ ʃ mèéru ʃ!yá ʃˆìmèéru ʃ!yá yá
thing which Okore said that you do for him, you do for him   it
           SC 33

"What Okore said that you should do for him, do it for him."

ánmé̩!gǘ bụ̀ è̩ka á vù ǘzǫ̀ fụ̀tá   "Anmegu is the place where
Anmegu   is place one lead way came out   (the Izi people) started to
           SC 42a   be."

ànyʃ̈ é!rʃ   jʃ   nyéà mú shìrù bya àtsǘáˆàtsǘtsǘ
we will eat yam which wife my cooked and pounded pounding
                  SC 43

"We will eat the yam, which my wife cooked and pounded."

    <u>Subclass R3 sentence construct</u> includes a nominal phrase whose head is in genitival relationship with one of the elements of the sentence construct. This subclass is the least frequent.

    The genitival relationship is not always marked specifically but when it is it is shown by a substitutionary possessive pronoun following the element under focus, as can be seen in the second, third and fourth examples. This pronoun is in singular or plural agreement with the head.

ọ̀ byá ˆ̀àhý̧ma ọ́phy̧   ọ́dzý̧ dzùru òkè   "Then he saw the one whose
he then saw   that whose <u>tail was   complete</u>   tail was complete."

ọ́phý̧ ˆ̀ę̀ę́kwọ ſyá làry̧ ę́gwá tá!dý̧dý̧ˆré   "Those whose leaves fall
those whose <u>leaf its   shed early</u> not are good   early are not good."

ónyé   yé àkpá ſ'ſbe !ſˆyá   "The one in whose place he
person who <u>he weaves in place his</u>   makes his nest ..." (Proverb)

wáà   nwóke !ę́phọ̈ é!mé   mè ó rſá !yá
this is man   <u>stomach will be doing if he eats it</u>
        SC 21

"This is the man whose stomach will be troubled if he eats it."

    <u>Sequences and embedding of Class R sentence constructs</u>. It follows that a Class R SC may be embedded within another Class R SC, since a Class R SC can occur as relative expansion of an NP which is itself part of a sentence construct. In addition, sequences of Class R SC which are not embedded within each other occur.

mę́!ę́, ń̂dý̧, !nwé né ngú-á   nỳrỳ ngỳ   "The wine which your
wine   people <u>own mother your this</u> gave you   mother's relatives
          <u>SC Class R1</u>   *have given you ..."*
<u>SC Class R2</u>

ńdý̧ !nwé ónye ˆọ́bý̧ !nwý̧hý̧rý̧ ny̧ ọ́bỳ á !gátá mę́ę́
people own   person that <u>died</u>   <u>that</u> will buy wine
             <u>SC Class R1</u>
<u>SC Class R1</u>

"The senior relatives of the person who died will buy the wine ..."

ọ̀ dý̧ry̧ ónye ézé !nwéru ſˆphé   !bú   lę́ mkpỳkpý̧ ònó
it was person chief <u>had   things</u> <u>who lived in village that</u>
           <u>SC Class R1</u>   <u>SC Class R1</u>

ò gý̧déjé ˆìnóngu!ę́gý̧ ˆjé ſbe !ſˆyá
he   <u>with rat   bush go place his</u>
<u>SC Class R3</u>

"There was a certain rich chief, who lived in that village, to whose house he would go with the bush rat."

tèké as head of Class R sentence constructs. The dependent
nominal tèké "time" occurs as head of an adverbial phrase 12b. It
is always expanded by either a deictic or, most frequently, by a
relative expansion.

tèké with Class R2 sentence construct. Most frequently,
tèké is found with Class R SC as relative expansion; for example:

ànyí èrí n!rí   tèké ùgó byàru íbé !ányí   *"We were eating when Ugo*
we are eating food time Ugo came place ours   came to our home."

The question arises whether this single clause sentence
could not be treated as two clauses, with tèké functioning as a
conjunction.

For the following reasons tèké has not been treated as a
conjunction but as the head of an AP with a Class R sentence
construct.

(1) A post expansion (deictic ònó "that") may co-occur with the
relative expansion, i.e. Class R SC. If tèké were a conjunction
this would not be possible.

ànyí èrí   n!rí   tèké   ònó   ùgó byàru íbé !ányí
                  head   PostX relative expansion

(2) The high tone relative juncture of Class R SC is present:
ùgò , ùgó preceding the VP.

(3) The whole AP including the Class R SC may be frontshifted:

tèké ònó ùgó byàru íbé !ányí̀ bé̞ ˆànyí èrí !nrí

íphé ònó shìhàwà   tèké ˆànyí !bé̞dý̞à à má!dý̞
thing that started to be time we   not know

"That thing has been since a time we ourselves do not know."

tèke í mèru é̞jo̞ !íphé bù̞kwà tèke í mèru ìyà mbámù̞
when you did   bad thing   is   when you did it to Mbamu

"When you did something bad, was when you did it to Mbamu."

tèké introducing a clause. In some cases, however, it is
found that tèké and the following sentence construct no longer
function as an adverbial phrase in the clause, but as a whole
clause. Compare the following: ·

tèké mú rìru ìyà   be̞ ó mèrù mu é̞phó̞   *"When I ate it, it troubled*
when I ate it,   *it did me stomach   my stomach (at a specific*
frontshifted AP   NPs VP   NPo NPo   *time)."*
                        Base C

tèké mú rìru ìyà   í'ó^òméé mu !é̞phó̞   *"Whenever (if) I eat it, it*
1st cl. non-verbal   2nd cl. verbal Base AB fut *will trouble my stomach."*

In the second example, there is no frontshifting particle
`bé which would show the occurrence of a frontshifted AP, and the
second clause is in the Base AB fut aspect.

For these reasons, tèké followed by a Class R SC is not being
treated as a frontshifted AP, but as a clause, and the second
example is analysed as ST 27.

It is interesting to note that this example could be
paralleled to ST 22:

mú rʃá !yá ı'ó^òméé mu `!éphǫ   *"If I eat it, it will trouble my
                                      stomach."*

The structure of the second clause which is the head clause,
is identical in both sentences. In ST 27, the subordinate clause
is nonverbal, while in ST 22 it is verbal.

It would be possible to treat tèké as a conjunction, i.e. to
treat the two clauses as two verbal clauses of which the first is
introduced by a conjunction, but the above analysis has seemed
preferable in view of the analogy with the other relative nominals
occurring in ST 27.

    tèké with Class R1 sentence construct. The only occurrence
of tèké with a Class R1 SC is the expression:

    tèké   !dú ényá   *"a long time ago"*
    time which is far

The only aspect in which the verb of this expression is found
is the relative Base SC nf aspect, and no negative transformation
occurs.

ńnà   mú nwǫ̀hǫ̀hàwàrǫ̀   tèké   !dú ényá   *"My father died a long
father my has died already time which is far   time ago."

    `ké óphú conjunction or head of a Class R2 sentence construct
`kę ǫphu may be treated as a conjunction, e.g., as ST 25 Purpose
sentence, which at first sight may seem advisable, or it may be
treated as head of a Class R2 sentence construct.

ǘdára ǫ́bų àtsǫ́kwa   ʃ lü ké óphú   mú^èté èrʃhédų   ʃ!yá
fruit that is bitter   to the point I not eat any more it

The question whether `ké óphú functions as a conjunction or
head of a Class R2 SC can only be answered if we consider the
aspect in which the following verb occurs. It is noted that the
verb following `ké óphú is in the aspect in which verbs in Class
R2 SC occur. This is seen most clearly in the negative trans- ·
formation:

Compare: Relative with Base B: mú^èté èrʃhédų ʃ!yá

         Base NB pur: mú^èté é!rʃhéhų ʃyá

The difference in the tone patterns suggests that `ké ọ́phụ́ be analysed as head of an AP type 16, which includes a relative expansion, i.e., Class R2 SC.

Where a negative transformation might be expected in both clauses, in fact only the VP in the first clause is transformed into the negative which would also point to a single clause analysis.

The verb following `ké ọ́phụ́ occurs in either Base B fut or Base NB with the relative transformations.

ánwụ́ té èchídü ké ọ́phụ́   mü ása ǃúwé ˆmú
sun   not shining to the point I will wash clothes my

"*The sun is not shining, so I will not wash clothes.*"

ì nwèru égbëˋ ké ọ́phụ́   ˥ íǃjé   nta ɓˆchélé
you have gun to the point you will go hunt tomorrow?

"*Do you have a gun so that you may go hunting tomorrow?*"

ígwë édzèákwé ǃmín˥ ké ọ́phụ́   múˆàtá àláhẹ́dụ́ ·ɦtáànụ́
sky falling   water to the point I will not go home today

"*It is raining so much that I will not go home today.*"

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CHAPTER 10

THE CLAUSE

10.1 FUNCTION

Clauses operate as elements of sentences. Since not all clauses can function as elements of every sentence type, two classes of clauses are set up, Class V verbal clauses and Class NV nonverbal clauses.

Class V clauses of any type, unless stated otherwise, function

As the main element of ST 10, single clause sentences.
As either of the elements of ST 21-26, subordinate sentences
As second element only of ST 27, general inclusive sentences
As any of the elements of ST 30, coordinative sentences.
    CT 15, 16, 17 do not occur as the first element of ST 33.
As any of the elements of ST 41, serial sentences. CT 16
    does not occur in ST 40.
As second element of ST 42. The first element is also a VC
    but with a very restricted structure.
As any element except the connective element in ST 43.

Class NV clauses function

As the main element of ST 10, single clause sentences.
As first element of ST 27.

10.2 CLAUSE TYPES

Clauses consist of one or more phrases. They are found to vary in structure and on this basis various clause types are set up.

It is found that one clause type can be most simply stated as a transformation of other clause types. This parallels the treatment of sentence types.

Every clause can be referred to one of the basic clause types or to a transformational statement together with one of these clause types. Conversely, these clause types together with the transformational statement can generate every grammatical clause in Izi.

It is found that the clause types which are set up correlate closely with the classes of clause already established. All clauses fall into the two main classes, verbal and nonverbal, and all clause types are found to correlate with one or other of these

classes without any overlap. This makes it convenient to
describe the clause types in two groups, those which reflect the
structure of clauses all of which are Class V clauses, and
secondly those which reflect the structure of clauses all of
which are Class NV clauses.

Clauses are analysed as comprising an obligatory nucleus
and an optional margin. Clause types are set up on the basis of
different clause nuclei. The margins which occur with all clauses
do not vary from clause type to clause type. For this reason, the
description of the structure of clauses is limited to the clause
nucleus and details of the clause margin are given later in 10.5.

10.3 VERBAL CLAUSES

Seven clause types are set up as follows:

CT 11 - Transitive
CT 12 - Ditransitive
CT 13 - Intransitive
CT 14 - Complement
CT 15 - Equative
CT 16 - Impersonal
CT 17 - Gerundial

All clauses of these types are referred to as type 10 clauses.

CT 11 - Transitive clauses consist of an obligatory nominal
phrase functioning as subject (NPs), an obligatory verb phrase
(VP) of Class T (VP$_T$), followed by an obligatory nominal phrase
functioning as object (NPo).

In addition to these obligatory elements, an optional
element consisting of a verbal extension (VE) is occasionally
found. The verbal extension is a discontinuous part of the VP
and is further described in 11.5. In rare instances, the VE
may follow the margin, thus signalling an unusual event.

The verb functioning as head of the VP is always a verb of
Class T. It may be non-stative or stative.

The NPo may have a wide variety of structures. Not infre-
quently it consists of a verb-bound nominal which is never
expanded, as in the first and third examples below. Such a verb-
bound nominal always occurs whenever the head of the VP is of
Class T$_2$ (14.1).

The transitive clause type is diagrammed:

+ NPs + VP$_T$ + NPo $\pm$ VE $\pm$ Mar

NPs	VP	NPo	VE	Mar	VE
ùnù	rīá	yá		mbọ̀kụ́ ònó	"You ate it that
you	ate	it		day that	day."
ụ́nwáànyị̀	àgụ	é!bvú			"The women are
women	are singing	song			singing."
ó	òme	ìyá		ị̀ ẹ̀ mpyà	"He does it in
he	is doing	it		in secret	secret."
nwátá ònó rìru		ńrí	ˆèrírí	ụ̀nyáphụ̀	"That child ate a
child that ate		food	eating	yesterday	lot yesterday."
nwátá ònó rìru		ńrí		ụ̀nyáphụ̀ èrírí	"That child really
child that ate		food		yesterday eating	ate a lot yesterday."
ónyé ọ̀wá màkpọ̀rụ		ìphé àmáàrụ̀			"This person really
person this knows		thing knowing			knows something."

   CT 12 - <u>Ditransitive clauses</u> consist of an obligatory NPs,
an obligatory VP of Class D, followed by two NPo.

   A verbal extension may also occur following the NPo. The
verbal extension occurs much less frequently with the ditransitive
clause type than with the intransitive or transitive clause type.

   Of the two NPo, the first functions as an indirect object
and the second as the direct object. If, however, a pronoun is
functioning as head of either NPo, it precedes the other NPo.

   The verb functioning as head of the VP is always a verb of
Class D (14.1) and a non-stative verb. When the head of the VP
is of Class D2 the NPo consists of a verbbound nominal.

   The ditransitive clause type is diagrammed:

   + NPs + VP$_D$ + NPo + NPo $\pm$ VE $\pm$ Mar

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo	VE	Mar	
á	tụ̀ru	ìya	ọ́kú		ị!ẹnyashị	"One set fire
one	set	it	fire		in night	to it in the
						night."
mụ́	nụ̀rụ	ìyà	yà			
I	gave	to him	it			"I gave it to him."
nwó!ké ònó nụ̀rù		mbámù	ùwé			"That man gave Mbamu
man that gave		Mbamu	clothes			clothes."
nwó!ké ònó nụ̀rụ		ìya	ùwé			"That man gave him
man that gave		to him	clothes			clothes."

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo	VE	
nwóǃké ònó	nụ̀ru	ꞁyà	mbámụ̀		*"That man gave it to*
man that	*gave*	*it*	*to Mbamu*		*Mbamu."*
ó̩	tshè̩rụ̀	ngụ	é̩kwa ꞁyá	^àtshé̩tshé̩	*"He gave you his*
he	*gave*	*to you*	*cloth his*	*giving*	*cloth."*

CT 13 - Intransitive clauses divide into two subtypes,
CT 13a, Main intransitive clause and CT 13b, Twin subject
intransitive clause.

CT 13a - Main intransitive clauses consist of an obligatory
NPs and an obligatory VP of Class I_1. With this clause type
frequently a clause margin occurs.

Optionally a verbal extension (VE) may occur, usually pre-
ceding the margin. A verbal extension which follows the margin
is also acceptable. In this clause type, a VE is more frequently
found than in the other clause types, not so much for emphatic
purposes but as a redundancy feature.

The verb functioning as head of the VP is always a verb of
Class I (14.1). It may be non-stative or stative.

The Main intransitive clause type is diagrammed:

$$+ \text{ NPs } + \text{ VP}_{I_1} \; \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ VE} \pm \text{ Mar} \\ \pm \text{ Mar} \pm \text{ VE} \end{array} \right\}$$

NPs	VP	VE	Mar	VE	
ò̩	gbá̩lá				*"He ran away."*
he	*ran away*				
ó	bù	èbúbú	ꞁ'ụ́ǃló̩ ònó		*"He is living in that*
he	*lives*	*living*	*in house that*		*house."*
ꞁgwé	rwùru	èrwùrwù			*"The sky is clouded."*
sky	*is clouded*	*clouding*			
nwúǃné ^mú	tó̩ nò̩dụ̀rụ̀		ꞁ'é̩gụ́	ànò̩nò̩	*"My brother did not*
brother my	*not stayed*		*in field*	*staying*	*stay long in the field."*

CT 13b - Twin subject intransitive clauses have the same
structure as the main intransitive clause type. The head of the
VP, however, is always of the subclass I_2. This verb subclass
consists of the following:

    swꞁ̩ *"to go together"*

    bụ́ *"to be related"*

The NPs is always a complex nominal phrase of type 22.

This subtype could be treated as a separate clause type, but
as it is relatively infrequent and has the same basic structure
as the main intransitive clause type, it is treated as a subtype
of it.

NPs	VP	VE	Mar
ànyí è yá *we and he*	shì swìrú *went together*		ùnyáphù *"We and he went* *yesterday together yesterday."*
gý è yä *you and he*	áswìrù *will go together*	àsw[ìrù *going together*	*"You and he will be* *going together."*

nwí!bó yélè ýgỳrỳ bỳ
Nwibo and Uguru   are related

CT 14 - Complement clauses consist of an obligatory NPs,
an obligatory VP of Class C, followed by an optional NPo and an
obligatory complement phrase (CP).

The optional NPo functions as indirect object.

Very rarely a verbal extension may be found. It serves
emphatic purposes.

The head of the VP is always a stative verb of Class C_1 or
C_2 (14.1). When the head of the VP is of subclass C_2 a fixed,
unexpandable CP is obligatory as set out below:

dý	íké	*"to be strong, to be able"*
shíhú	íké	*"to be strong"*
shíhú	'ýká	*"to be sour"*
párý	ényá	*"to be far"*
párý	éka	*"to be much, many"*
kárírú	éká	*"to surpass one's ability"*

The stative complement clause type is diagrammed:

+ NPs + VP_C ± NPo + CP ± VE ± Mar

NPs	VP	NPo	CP	VE	Mar
ké ndý óphÿ áldý *one the people other will be*			íchè *different*		*"The one of the other* *people will be different."*
ó *he*	kàchàkwà *exceeds all*		shí *big*	í'ìzíì *in Izi*	*"He is the biggest* *in Izi."*
ó *he*	hà *is*		shí *big*	àhàhà *being big*	*"He is really big."*

NPs	VP	NPo	CP
óphé ònó	shìhùàkwàru	ýká	*"That soup has already gone*
soup that	*has already become*	*sour*	*sour."*
ý!nwég[r]má	kàrìru	ìya éká	*"He can't control the*
children	*surpass*	*him hand*	*children."*

CT 15 - Equative clauses consist of an obligatory NPs, an
obligatory VP of Class E and an obligatory nominal phrase of any
type functioning as equation (NPe).

The verb functioning as the head of the VP is always a stative
verb of Class E. This class comprises two verbs:

    bý   *"to be"*

    kwá   *"to be"*

The equative clause type is diagrammed:

    + NPs + VP_E + NPe $\pm$ Mar

NPs	VP	NPe	Mar
ó̩	bù̩	ńjó̩ nwáàny]	*"She is a bad woman."*
she	*is*	*evil woman*	
ńdý ke̩ ò̩zó̩	bù̩	íshí!éké	*"The other people are*
people other	*are*	*Ishieke*	*Ishieke."*
èke àl]	àbýjéru	ìvýù̩zò̩ ìé̩ ìzfì	*"Dividing land will*
dividing land	*will usually*	*be first in Izi*	*usually be first in*
			Izi."
ńdý!ó̩chá ìè̩ ńdý!ójí	bù̩kwà	ná!nú	
people white & people	*are*	*one*	*"White people and black*
black			*people are the same."*
á	kwà	óbvùdínyà	
one	*is*	*Obvudinya*	*"It is Obvudinya."*

CT 16 - Impersonal clauses divide into non-stative and
stative types. Each of these types may again be divided into
two types so that four subtypes (16a, b, c, d) are set up.
Parallels between types a and b, and c and d on the one hand,
and a with c, and b with d on the other hand are noted.

    Types a and b are non-stative types. Type a is parallel to
      CT 11, Type b to CT 12.
    Types c and d are stative types and are parallel to CT 14.
      In both types, the head of the VP is dý *"to be"*.
    Types a and c show a close relationship between the NPs
      and the VP.
    Types b and d show a close relationship between the VP and

a post-verbal element.
Types b and d have the same nominal (èhý "body") as head of
the NPs.

The special features of all impersonal clause types are

(1)   the NPs and when there are more than one NPo, the second NPo,
always consists of a phrase with a nominal of Class Imp·as head,
usually unexpanded (15.1),

(2)   the first NPo consists of a phrase with a nominal of Class P
or a   Pronominal or pronoun as head,

(3)   the VP consists of Class Imp.

Both the VE and the margin are very rare with these types.
Exceptionally the VE may follow the margin.

CT 16a – Non-stative impersonal clauses are marked by the
close relationship between the NPs and head of the VP. Specific
nominals and verbs collocate together.

The non-stative impersonal clause is diagrammed:

$$+ NPs_{Imp_1} + VP_{Imp} + NPo_p \quad (\pm VE \pm Mar)$$

NPs	VP	NPo	VE	Mar	
ègù *hunger*	gýáháa *started to hunger*	á!ké *boa*			"The boa became hungry."
ńdzù *life*	gýáháá *started to hunger*	!yá *him*			"He became afraid."
óyí *coldness*	àtsý *is beating*	!mý *me*			"I am cold."
íphé *thing*	ème *is doing*	í!yá *him*			"He is sick."
ýkwárà *cough*	sèru *drew*	ìya *him*	èsèsè *drawing in night*	ì'ényàsh] *last night.*	"He coughed a lot

CT 16b – Non-stative (ditransitive) impersonal clauses are
marked by the close relationship between the head of the VP and
the second NPo. The NPs always consists of the nominal of Class
Imp èhú "body".

Usually it is not possible to transform subtype a into
subtype b as the lexical items are different. Only one instance
of such a transformation has been found (elicited), compare the
third example in both sets of examples.

The non-stative (ditransitive) impersonal clause is diagrammed:

$$+ \text{NPs}_{\grave{\text{e}}h\acute{\text{u}}} + \text{VP}_{\text{Imp}} + \text{NPo}_{\text{P}} + \text{NPo}_{\text{Imp}_1} \quad (\pm \text{ VE} \pm \text{Mar})$$

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo	VE	
ẹhụ́ body	èghú is angering	mu me	!éghú anger		*"I am annoyed, angry."*
ẹhụ body	évù is growing	mu me	ọ̀kụ̀ fire	èvùvù growing	*"I am hot, feverish."*
ẹhụ́ body	àtsụ́ is beating	mu me	!óyí coldness		*"I am cold."*
ẹhụ́ body	àtsọ́ is sweet	!ányí us	!útsọ́ sweetness		*"We are happy."*

<u>CT 16c - Complement impersonal clauses</u> are marked by the close relationship between the NPs and the VP. A restricted number of nominals may occur in this NPs. The VP always consists of the stative verb dụ *"to be"*.

The complement impersonal clause is diagrammed:

$$+ \text{NPs}_{\text{Imp}_1} + \text{VP}_{\text{dụ}} + \text{NPo}_{\text{P}} \quad (\pm \text{ VE} \pm \text{Mar})$$

NPs	VP	NPo	VE	Mar	
ínyí dirt	dụ is	ìyà him		l'ẹ́ká on hand	*"His hands are dirty."*
ínyí dirt	dụ̀kpọ̀ọ̀ is really	ya him	àdụ́dụ́ being	l'ẹ́ká on hand	*"His hands are very dirty."*
íphéré shyness	dụ̀nụ̀kàrụ̀ is too much	ngụ̀ you			*"You are too shy."*
íke ọ́kọ̀rọ íbó strength heap cultivation	dụ̀ is	ngụ̀ you			*"You are able to make "yam heaps." (lit. strength of dry season cultiva- tion is to you.)*

<u>CT 16d - Complement (ditransitive) impersonal clauses</u> are marked by the close relationship between the head of the VP and the CP. The NPs always consists of the impersonal nominal ẹhụ́ *"body"* . The VP always consists of the stative verb dụ *"to be"*.

The complement (ditransitive) impersonal clause is diagrammed:

+ NPs$_{\d{e}h\d{u}}$ + VP$_{d\d{u}}$ + NPo$_{P}$ + CP ($\pm$ VE $\pm$ Mar)

NPs	VP	NPo	CP	VE	Mar	
ẹhý *body*	dụ *is*	ànyí *us*	gù *healthy*			*"We are healthy."*
ẹhý *body*	dụ̀kpọ̀ọ *is really*	ànyí *us*	gù *healthy*	àdýdý *being*		*"We are very healthy."*
ẹhú *body*	tá !dýdụ *not is*	íya *him*	íké *strong*		ǹtáàný *today*	*"He is not well today."*

Subtypes c and d could also be paralleled to the complement clause type (CT 14). They consist of the same obligatory and optional elements. The head of the VP is of the same class as that of CT 14.

The following differences from CT 14 (and similarities to the non-stative impersonal clause type) made the grouping with the non-stative impersonal clause type advisable:

(1)   The NP subject is always of Class Imp.

(2)   The NP object is always of Class P.

(3)   There is always a close relationship between NPs and VP, or VP and CP. In CT 14 no such internal relationship exists.

CT 17 - Gerundial clauses are marked by the occurrence of a clause construct (10.7) as the last element of the clause. This clause construct always includes a VP whose head is in the gerundial form (14.7).

It is also noticeable that there is usually no VE. Only in one (elicited) instance has a VE been found:

ọ́	màru	átsý	!nrí	^àmáàrù	
NPs	VP	CC 1		VE	*"He really knows how to pound food."*
he	*knows*	*pounding*	*food*	*pounding*	

The head of the VP of the gerundial clause type is a verb of Class Ger (14.1). These verbs at the same time are members of one of the Classes T, I or C, and the clause construct functions respectively as object, margin or complement phrase. All three classes of clause construct occur.

The Gerundial Clause type may be divided into three subtypes:

CT 17a - Main gerundial Clauses consist of an obligatory
NPs, an obligatory VP of Class Ger followed by an obligatory CC.
The CC is Class S or T.   The VP always consists of a verb of
Class Ger, comprising the following verbs:

wátá	"to start"	(also Class T)
jĺká	"to refuse"	(also Class T)
márú	"to know"	(also Class T)
kwérú	"to agree"	(also Class T)
jé	"to go"	(also Class I)
byá	"to come"	(also Class I)

The clause construct in this subtype functions either as
object or margin.

The main gerundial clause is diagrammed:

+ NPs + VP   + CC

NPs	VP	CC	
ǫ́ he	jĺkàru refused	èkù mbámʉ̀ calling Mbamu	"He refused to call Mbamu."
mí!ní water	ˆwátáéphǫ́ started just	èdzèdzè raining	"Just as it started raining.."
m̀gbę́!nyá sleep	ˆté!kwédu not agree	íyá èrwèrwè him affecting	"He can't sleep (lit. sleep doesn't want to come to him)"
í you	ˆìgúdé jéshíá hold go	yá èkútà her bringing	"You go with it and bring her."

CT 17b - Complement gerundial clauses consist of an
obligatory NPs, an obligatory V of Class C 1b, an optional NP
functioning as indirect object followed by an obligatory clause
construct. The CC may be of any class.

The VP always consists of a member of Class C 1b, comprising
the following members:

ká   "To exceed, to be more"

káchá   "To be most"

The clause construct in this subtype functions as complement
phrase.

The complement gerundial clause type is diagrammed:

+ NPs + VP_{C1b} $\pm$ NPio + CC

NPs	VP	NPio	CC	
ọ́ he	kà exceeds	mbámụ̀ Mbamu	érí nⁱrí eating food	"He eats more food than Mbamu."
ọ́ he e	ka exceeds	ìya it	èrírí eating	"He eats more of it."
ọ́ọ̀ mụ̃́ it is I	kàcha most		érí ¦gbàkpọ̀ eating pepper	"It is I who is eating most pepper."
ọ́ he	ka exceeds		àch¦ ọ́ch¦ émél̀ ára ¦ẹ́kwá laughing laugh than crying cry	

"He laughs more than he cries."

CT 17c - <u>Marginal gerundial clauses</u> consist of an obligatory
NPs, an obligatory VP, class C 1b, an obligatory Complement phrase
and an obligatory Clause Construct.

The CC may be of Class S or T and functions as margin.

The VP Class C 1b always consists of the verb dụ́ (íké) "to
be able".

The CP always consists of the nominal íké "strength".

The marginal gerundial clause type is diagrammed:

+ NPs + VP$_{C1b}$ + CP + CC

NPs	VP	CP	CC	
ọ̈ he	ọ́dụ is	¦í^ké strong	^àtsụ́tsụ íyá pounding it	"He will be able to pound it."
ọ́ he	tọ́¦dụ́dụ not is	í^ké strong	^`átsụ́ nⁱrí pounding food	"He is not able to pound food (He is pounding it just now, but unsuccessfully.)"

10.4 NONVERBAL CLAUSES

Four clause types are set up as follows:

CT 21 - Demonstrative
CT 22 - Phrasal
CT 23 - Interjectural
CT 24 - General inclusive

All clauses of these types are referred to as type 20 clauses.

CT 21 - Demonstrative clauses consist of an obligatory
demonstrative particle or a nominal deictic followed by an obliga-
tory nominal phrase, followed by an optional demonstrative
extension.

The demonstrative particle is either nóò "that is, there is",
or wéà "this is, here is".

The nominal deictic is ònó "that" ò̩wá "this" or ò̩phý "the other
one".

The nominal phrase may be of any structure. A sentence con-
struct of Class P1 (consisting of the conjunction ge̩ "as, how" and
ST 11 or 40) may function as the nominal phrase.

The demonstrative extension consists of the equative verb bý
"to be" followed by the nominal deictic ònó (if the clause was
introduced by nóò) or the adjectival deictic à "this" (if the
clause was introduced by the particle wéà or the deictic ò̩wá).
In general, it is a redundancy feature and does not serve for
emphasis.

A margin is very infrequent and may consist of an AP or RP.
The AP may be of type 11, 12b, 12c or 12d. If a demonstrative
extension is present, the margin usually follows it, but may also
precede it.

The demonstrative clause type is diagrammed:

+ demonstrative particle + NP (± Mar) ± Dem Ext ± Mar
+ nominal deictic

Dem part	NP/SC		Dem Ext	Mar	
nóò *that is*	óme̩làlí *custom* NP 11	ˆànyí *our*	bu̩ ònó *is that*	lˈìzíl *in Izi*	"That is our custom in Izi."
nóò *that is*	ge̩ ó̩ dù̩ *how it is* SC 11		bu̩ ònó *is that*	ntá *now*	"That is how it is now."

Dem part	NP/SC	Dem ext	
wáà *this is*	gẹ Ỷ íˈgúde íyá *how you will hold it* SC 11	bụ̀ á	*"This is how you should hold* *it."*
ọ̀wá *this*	ǹkè̩ ngǔ *own your* NP 13b		*"This is your own."*
ọ̀phụ́ *other one*	ĺé̩ghu ọ́nụ á!swá *goat mouth price*		*"The other one is a goat for* *the beginning of payment of* *the bride price."*

    CT 22 - <u>Phrasal clauses</u> consist of a nominal phrase or an adverbial phrase.

é, kè̩ nwíbó m̀bámụ́   m̀bú, nwáànyí ò̩nó̩
"Yes, the one of Nwibo Mbamu."   *"Do you mean that woman?"*
  NP 12   NP 11

èché!lé   í'àbánká!léké   égụ́bé̩-à
"Tomorrow."   *"In Abakaliki."*   *"Like this."*
AP 12c   AP 11   AP 13

    CT 23 - <u>Interjectural clauses</u> consist of an interjection.

é!víyá   byí!kó   wáàwá
"truly, indeed"   *"please"*   *"No."*

ọ̀ sụ í!yá: hm̀   mé̩tá
"He said to him: OK."   *"Thanks."*

    CT 24 - <u>General Inclusive clauses</u> consist of a nominal phrase with a relative nominal (15.6) as head, followed by a relative expansion which may be any class R sentence construct.

    The relative nominal in this construction has a wider, more inclusive meaning than when it is used in other constructions:

        ónyé *"the person who"* in CT 24 - *"whoever"*

        ọ́phụ́ *"the one which"*   "   *"whichever"*

        íphé *"what"*   "   *"whatever"*

        è̩ká *"place where"*   "   *"wherever"*

        tè̩ké *"when"*   "   *"whenever, if"*

    These clauses never occur independently. They are always the first clause in ST 27.

ónyé !nwérú mé̩é̩   ọ́^ò̩ngụ́á mbọ̀kụ́ ·ò̩nó   *"Whoever has wine will drink*
<u>*person who has wine*</u>   *he drinks   day   that*   *it on that day."*

tèke é rwùrù   i ſwòtá !nwékwó ^túkóbe ſ!yá
when one reaches, you take small leaf put on   it

"Whenever it is time, you take a small leaf and put it on it."

ǫ́phų́   ^ànyſ tsòswèru   ètsóòswè   ſ^ìzééru ſya ^ànyſ !lé̩ nrwǫ́
the one which we follow wrongly following w., you teach it to us in dream

"Whatever we are doing wrong, you will teach it to us in a dream."

10.5 CLAUSE MARGINS

Clauses of types 10, 21 and 30 may occur with an optional margin following the clause nucleus.

The margin consists of one or more adverbial phrases (AP) and/or a class C Reflexive Phrase (RP) cf. 13.5. Both phrases are optional, one occurring without the other or very infrequently both occurring together. The AP occurs frequently, the RP infrequently.

Up to three AP are found in any one clause margin. Most commonly, only one or two AP occur.

When there are more than one AP, it appears that these phrases may occur in any order irrespective of their structure and meaning. The common phrase ſ'è̩ká ònó *"at that place"*, however, is preferred finally in the clause.

Clause Nucleus	AP/RP	AP	
ó kàchàkwà shſ *he is most big* CT 14	ſ'ìzſì *in Izi*		*"He is the biggest in Izi."*
ǫ̈ ǫ́!bų́kwárų́ *it will be* CT 15	ſ'áphà ſá!nų́ *in year one*		*"It will be in the same year."*
è gbúchàá !yá *one killed it* CT 11	ſ'àlſ ònó *in land that*	ſ'è̩ká ònó *in place that*	*"It was killed on that land in that place."*
á àngų́ mé̩é̩ *one drinks wine* CT 11	ſ'ſbe ↲íyá *in home his*	mbò̩kų́ mbò̩kų̀ *day day*	*"One is drinking wine in his home every day."*
tèhúwárǫ́ *wake up then* CT 13	ſ'ònwó ngú-ò *by yourself* RP		*"Wake up by yourself!"*
ǫ́ nò̩ *she stays* CT 13	ſ'ų́lò̩ *in house*	nwánggù jſnggù jſ *quietly*	mbò̩kú ònó *day that* AP

"She stays quietly in the house on that day."

10.6 CLAUSE TRANSFORMATIONS

In addition to clauses whose structure can be referred
directly to one of the basic clause types, there are other clauses
whose structure is described as derived from one of these clause
types by means of a transformational statement.

Only one such transformational statement is applicable to
clause types. Such derived clause types are given a reference
number 30 and the underlying clause type number is in brackets.

Clause types 11 to 13 may be transformed into clause type 30
benefactive. This transformation is effected as follows:

(1)   The extensor suffix -rú "benefactive" is suffixed to the head
      of the verb phrase.

(2)   The verb phrase is followed immediately by an additional
      nominal phrase which functions as benefactive. This nominal
      phrase is usually an NP of class P.

NPs	VP	NP_ben	NPo	NPo	Mar	
ó	jèru	ńne ìyá		l'ę́gų́		"He went to the farm
he	went for	father his		to farm		for his father."
CT 30 (13)						
ó	òshíbéjérú	!mú	ìtà		ntèkéntèkè	"She is always cooking
she	cooks usually	for me	pot		always	for me."
CT 30 (13)						
ò	déérú	!mu	íya	^ę́kwǫ́		"He wrote him a letter
he	wrote for	me	him	letter		for me."
CT 30 (12)						

10.7 CLAUSE CONSTRUCTS

Clauses are sometimes found functioning at phrase level.
Such clauses are termed clause constructs (CC). CT 11 to 16 or
30 occur as clause constructs.

In contrast to sentence constructs, clause constructs bear
the following syntagmatic features:

(1)   The NPs is deleted (for restrictions with the Impersonal
      Clause, CT 16, see below).

(2)   The VP is restricted as follows:

      - only a simple VP may occur
      - no negative transformation is possible
      - no verbal extension is possible
      - the head of the VP is in one of the two gerundial forms.

(These forms are a prefixed verb stem with a fixed tone, 14.8.)

Three classes of clause construct are distinguished:

Class S - Simple
Class T - Transformed
Class C - Complex

Clause constructs are given the same reference number as the clause type from which they are derived.

Class S - Simple clause constructs function in three ways:

(1)   in CT 17 Gerundial Clauses (10.3) as object, margin or complement of the clause.

(2)   as head of a nominal phrase NP 17 (12.4) functioning as subject or frontshifted object or AP. It should be noted that when Class S CC is head of an NP, that NP is always either part of a complement or equative clause, or a clause with a verb of Class I 3 or T 3.

(3)   in the expansion of NP type 11 (12.3).

Any of the CT 11 to 15 and 30 may function as Class S CC.

The Impersonal Clause type (CT 16) may also function as CC. Such a CC only functions as an NPs or frontshifted NPo or AP. When the impersonal clause functions as CC, the NPo pers is deleted instead of the NPs imp.

Functioning in CT 17:

óbvùdínyà té!kwédu ˆèéché nwa !íya ˆérá   "Obvudinya does not want
Obvudinya   not agree giving child her breast   to give milk to her calf."
                        VP   NPo   NPo
                        CC 12

óbọ ó!phóké kàchà ábụ éze ìyá   "The Ophoke feast is the
feast Ophoke   exceeds being big of it   biggest of them."
                        VP   NPe
                        CC 15

ọ́ j̧̀kàrụ ásárụ í!yá ùwé lȩ̀ nggèlé   "He refused to wash
he refused wash for him clothes in river   clothes in the river
          VP   NP   NPo AP   for him."
          CC30(11)ben

Functioning as NP 17:

áwý !ɛ́hý lè̗ nggélé èzéje	é!hɔ́ký	"Bathing in the river causes
bathing body in river	*causes usually fever*	fever."
NPs CC 11	VP NPo	

CT 11

íphé ˆèmémé tá !dúdú ˆré	"Being sick is not good."
thing doing *not is good*	
NPs CC 16 VP	

CT 14·

Functioning in the expansion of NP 11:

ɔ́nmɔ́ ˆàábá mmà	"stone for sharpening knife (whetstone)"
stone sharpening knife	
CC 11	

è̗chá ˆè̗érí l'únwý	"dried yam for eating in the hunger season"
dried yam eating in hunger season	
CC 13	

íphé ˆè̗rírí	"edible thing"
thing eating	
CC 13	

    <u>Class T – Transformed clause constructs</u> function in CT 17 and as head of an NP. Class T CC is a transformation of Class S, as follows:

(1) Any NP of the CC may be replaced by the third person singular pronoun.

(2) When the CC is functioning in CT 17a or as head of an NP, any AP of the CC can be similarly replaced by the third person singular pronoun.

(3) When the CC is functioning in CT 17a, this pronoun is front-shifted and precedes the VP of the CC.

(4) When the CC is functioning in CT 17b, this pronoun is front-shifted and precedes the NPio of the CT 17b. The reason for this might be that the pronoun could be mistaken for the possessive expansion of the NPio, if it were to follow immediately.

    When the CC is a CT 16 Impersonal clause, which seldom occurs, the NPs Imp of the CC is not deleted but replaces the NPs of CT 17.

Functioning in CT 17a:

ànyí ˆàbyá ˆàwáta íyáˆè̗éphé !é̗swá	"Then we start to weed grass
we then start it weeding grass	in it (i.e. in the field)"
AP VP NPo	

óbvùdínyà té!kwédu íyá ˆèéché !nwa íyá   "Obvudinya does not want to
Obvudinya   not agree   *it giving child her*   give it (milk) to her calf."
                         NPo   VP   NPo

èhú   té!kwédu   íya^àátsó   ú!tsó   "He does not want to be
body not agree   *him being sweet sweetness*   happy."
NPs_Imp   NPo_p   VP   NPo_Imp

Functioning in CT 17b:

ó ka   ìyà mbámu èrírí.   "He eats more of it than Mbamu."
he exceeds it Mbamu eating
        NPo   VP

íphé kà   íya ˆèmámé ńtáànú "He is more sick today."
thing exceeds him doing   today
NPs_Imp   NPo_p   VP

Functioning in CT 17c:

ó tó!dúdu   íˆké   ˆàgúgu íyá   "He is not able to read it."
he not is   able   *reading it*
                     VP   NPo

Functioning in NP:

àwáwa   íyá ònó àbújérú ...   "That splitting of it is usually ..."
splitting of it that is usually ...
VP   NPo

   Class C - Complex clause constructs function in the CT 17b
Complement gerundial clause only, as complement, and only if the
head of the VP is ká "to be more".   Class C consists of two clause
constructs connected by the particle émélè "more than".   The VP
of the second construct is optional when the verb is identical to
the verb in the first construct.

   In both constructs, one element (apart from the VP) is
obligatory: either NPo or AP or both.   If the NPo in the second
construct is identical to the NPo in the first, it is not repeated.

ó ka   àra ékwá   émélε àchì óchì   "He cries more than he
he exceeds crying cry than   *laughing laugh*   laughs."
         VP   NPo   VP   NPo

ó kà   émé ré   émélè (éme) éjì   "He does more good than bad."
he exceeds doing good than   *doing bad*
         VP   AP   VP   AP

ó kà   égúdé mma ìyá jé l'égu émélè (égúde) ógu ìyá
he exceeds holding knife his go to farm than holding hoe his
         VP   NPo   VP AP (SC P 42) VP   NPo
"He goes to farm more often with his knife than with his hoe."

CHAPTER 11

THE VERB PHRASE

11.1 FUNCTION

Verb phrases (VP) function in type 10 clauses as one of the elements of the clause nucleus. Since not all verb phrases function in all clause types, classes of verb phrase are set up. Each class functions in a particular clause type and has as its head a verb of a specific class (14.1), as shown in the table below:

VP Class	Functions in clause type	Head is verb of class
Class T	CT 11 - Transitive	Class T
Class D	CT 12 - Ditransitive	Class D
Class I1	CT 13a - Intransitive	Class I1
Class I2	CT 13b - Intransitive twin-subject	Class I2
Class C	CT 14 - Complement	Class C
Class E	CT 15 - Equative	Class E
Class Imp	CT 16 - Impersonal	Class Imp
Class S	1st clause of ST 33	Class S
Class Ger	CT 17 - Gerundial	Class Ger

11.2 STRUCTURE

Two types of verb phrases are established, the simple verb phrase, described in 11.3 and the complex verb phrase, described in 11.4.

As in both types of phrase a discontinuous part, the verbal extension, may occur, this will be described separately in 11.5.

11.3 SIMPLE VERB PHRASES

Simple verb phrases consist of a head which is a verb. The verb may be in any aspect. This verb may be suffixed by one or more of the extensor suffixes (14.3.2).

All simple verb phrases are referred to as VP 10.

ényígbá tsòta   ílyá   *"Enyigba followed it."*
Enyigba followed it

ö ó!búrú ɪ'ụ̀lǫ́ ònó   *"He will live in that house."*
he live   in house that

mú àrɪ́jé ļgbàkpọ̀ shɪ́   *"I usually eat much pepper."*
I am eating pepper much

11.4 COMPLEX VERB PHRASES

Complex verb phrases consist of a head and a preceding margin.
All such verb phrases are referred to as VP 20.

There are two types of complex verb phrase, VP 21 and VP 22.

VP 21 - Complex verb phrases consist of a head which is a
verb in either the Base B nf or Base A nf aspect.

The margin consists of an auxiliary verb. There are two
auxiliary verbs: shɪ̀ *"completed past"* and àhájéwárụ́ *"sometimes in the
past"*.

Both auxiliaries precede the verb. The auxiliary shɪ̀ occurs
very much more frequently than the other auxiliary. Occasionally
both auxiliaries occur in the same complex verb phrase and in this
case shɪ̀ precedes àhájéwárụ́.

The auxiliary shɪ̀ may be suffixed by a verb extensor suffix.
Two suffixes are found to occur with shɪ̀ , namely -kwá *"emphatic"*
and -wá *"already"*. When occurring in VP 21, these two suffixes
can only be suffixed to shɪ̀.

The auxiliary àhájéwárụ́ might be analysed as consisting of
the extensor suffixes -há *"before"* -jé *"usually"* -wá *"already"* and
base affix -rù *"past"*. No other extensor suffixes are ever found
with this auxiliary.

It may be noted that the tone pattern of àhájéwárụ́ parallels
Base B, whereas the tone pattern of shɪ̀ parallels Base C. In the
negative transformation shɪ̀ has the tone pattern of Base NC. Both
auxiliaries, however, do not occur in any of the other aspects of
the verb.

The negative transformation (14.5) only occurs when the
auxiliary is shɪ̀. The transformation is applied to the auxiliary
not to the verb, and the auxiliary carries a Base NC tone pattern.

The occurrence of the negative transformation and of some
extensors support the analysis of shɪ̀ as an auxiliary verb rather
than as a verbal particle.

ò shɪ̀wà tsụ́á !nrɪ́   *"She already had pounded food."*
she   pounded food
         Base A

á àhájẹ́wárụ́ àtsụ́   !nrí   *"One was sometimes pounding food."*
one sometimes pounding food
                Base B

ɔ̂ shì àhájẹ́wárụ́ tsụ́á   !nrí   *"She sometimes pounded food."*
she   sometimes pounded food
                Base A

ɔ́ tɔ́ !shídú ^tsụ̣́á nrí   *"She did not pound food."*
she not (past) pound food
                Base A

ɛ̀cha   ɔ́phụ   ɛ́ shì àrí tèké phọ̀ *"The dried yam one was eating at
dried yam that which one eating time that ...   that time ..."*
                Base B

___VP 22 - Complex verb phrases___ consist of a head which is a
verb in Base B fut aspect.

    The margin consists of gɛ́gɛ̀ *"obligative"*, or its reduced form
gɛ́. gɛ́gɛ̀ appears to be a verb particle and lacks many of the
characteristics of the verb. No extensor suffixes are ever found
affixed to gɛ́gɛ̀. gɛ́gɛ̀ harmonises with the preceding NPs as
follows:

    E is realised as ì if the NPs is a 2nd sg pronoun
                as o if the NPs is a 3rd sg prónoun
                as e in all other cases.

    When the negative transformation occurs (14.5) it either
marks the verb head or gɛ́gɛ̀ is replaced by tɛ́gɛ̀.

ì gíg(ì)   ì!byá   *"You would have come ..."*
you would have come

ɔ̀ gɔ́g(ɔ̀)   ɔ́!me ìyá tèké !ɔ́Ié *"When would he have done it?"*
he would have done it time   what

mú gég(è)   ɛ́!mérú ngu íyá   *"I would have done it for you."*
or
mú g(è)   ɛ́!mérú ngu íyá
I would have done for you it

ńnà mú gég(è) á!bárụ́   mụ́ mbá *"My father would have reproached me."*
father my would have reproached me reproach

mú gég(è)   átá àbyákwá   *"I would not have come."*
or
mụ́ tég(è)   á   àbyákwá
I would have not come

11.5 VERBAL EXTENSIONS

The verbal extension (VE) is a discontinuous part of the VP.
It does not occur very frequently. Details of its structure are
given in 14.8.3 .

It seems to serve in some cases as a redundancy feature
(especially in CT 13a and CT 11) since frequently because of the
phonological structure of the verb and the functioning of the tone
system tonal contrasts are eliminated in some verb aspects, but
these contrasts are maintained on the verbal extension.

```
ǫ́ ghàrụ   ļya àghá̀ghá        "He scattered it."
he scattered it  scattering

ǫ́ ghàrụ   ļya àghàghà         "He passed him (e.g. on the way)"
he passed    him  passing

ó chìru èchíchí               "It shone (e.g. sun, moon)"
it shone  shining

ó chìru     èchìchì           "It was slippery."
it was slippery being slippery
```

In other cases its occurrence carries emphasis (CT 11 and
CT 14).

```
ǫ́ nụ̀rụ̀ mụ ùwé  ^ànụ́nụ́       "He gave me clothes (for me to keep)"
he gave me  clothes giving

ǫ́ màrụ ļyà àmáàrụ̀            "He really knows him well."
he knows him knowing
```

The verbal extension never precedes the VP and usually occurs
as the last element of the clause nucleus. In some cases, however,
the VE may also follow the margin, thus marking the unusual action
or event (CT 11 and 13).

```
ó rìru ńrí ^èrírí  ụ̀nyáphụ̀    "He really ate yesterday."
he ate  food eating  yesterday
NPs VP NPo   VE      Mar

ó rìru ńrí ụ̀nyáphụ̀ èrírí      "He really ate (much) yesterday."
he ate  food yesterday eating  (implied: he does not usually eat
NPs VP NPo  Mar       VE         that much)
```

CHAPTER 12

THE NOMINAL PHRASE

12.1 FUNCTION

     Nominal phrases (NP) function as an element of the nucleus
of all clauses, and as elements of Complement and Adverbial
phrases.

     The following classes of nominal phrase are set up.

     Class P occur in CT 16 as NPo and in CT 30 as NP benefac-
tive. Class P always have the structure of NP 11 (12.3) with a
personal nominal (nominals, 15.2) as head, or of NP 13a or 13c
with a pronominal or pronoun as head (15.4).

     Class Imp occur in CT 16 with two subclasses - Subclass Imp 1
as NPs in CT 16a and c, and Subclass Imp 2 as NPo in CT 16b.
Class Imp always have the structure of NP 11 with an Impersonal
nominal as head.

     Class E occur in CT 15 as NPe and have the structure of any
type of NP.

     Class V occur in the sentence margin and have the structure
of NP 11 or 21 with a nominal of Class P or D1 or D2 as head.
(15.2 and 15.3). The only expansion is a postexpansion type 1
consisting of a possessive pronominal or pronoun (12.3)

     Class G occur in all other clause types as NPs or NPo and
have the structure of any type of NP.

12.2 STRUCTURE

     Nominal phrases may be grouped into simple (type 10) and
complex phrases (type 20), on the basis of whether they have one
or more head element. Simple NP have a single head, whereas
complex NP have more than one head element.

     The structures of NP differ according to the word class of
the head of the NP. On this basis different types of simple and
complex NP are set up.

     In addition to the head element, NP may also include a
preexpansion (PreX), a postexpansion (PostX) and relative expansion
(RelX).

     The fullest range of expansions is possible with NP 11. For
this reason in 12.3, the simple NP 11 is described together with

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the expansions which occur with it. In 12.4 the descriptions of
the other simple NP include details of the expansions which occur
with each NP. In 12.5 the complex nominal phrase is described.

12.3 SIMPLE NP 11 - NOMINAL AS HEAD

12.3.1 Head

The head of the NP 11 consists of either an independent or
dependent nominal (15.2. and 15.3).

If the head is an independent nominal (Ind Nom) one or more
expansion is optional. If the head is a dependent nominal (Dep
Nom), an expansion is obligatory.

12.3.2 Preexpansion

The Preexpansion (PreX) may have four different elements;
nominal adjective (N Adj), general adjective (G Adj), adverbial
adjective (A Adj) and numeral nominal Class N1 (Nu Nom).

Usually only one element occurs in the PreX but very rarely
a second element occurs. The numeral always precedes the adjec-
tive and the larger numeral precedes the smaller numeral.

In most cases, the selective nominalising particle `ké may
precede the nominal or general adjective. For occurrences of `ké
see 16.2. If `ké precedes the numeral it becomes an ordinal
number (15.5).

12.3.3 Postexpansion

The Postexpansion (PostX) divides into three types: adjectival,
agentive and reflexive.

Postexpansion type 1 - adjectival may have 11 different
elements: Ind Nom, Dep Nom, N Adj, G Adj, A Adj, Selective Pronoun
(SPr), Personal Pronominal (PPN), Personal Pronoun (P_r), Nu Nom,
Nu Adj and Deictic (D). More than two elements seldom occur in
any one postexpansion, though fairly frequently, two elements do
occur. The Ind Nom, Dep Nom, PPN, P_r and D are the most
frequently occurring elements.

The relationship of the nominal of the postexpansion to the
head of the NP is adjectival, compare NP 21 for genetival
relationships (12.5).

Compound nominals are distinguished from an NP 11 consisting
of a head and following nominal as postexpansion on the basis of
close-knit and frequently used combinations (15.11)

In general, the PreX is preferred for adjectival nominals
and adjectives. This is especially the case if a pronominal or
a numeral occurs in the PostX. Very rarely the adjective is

reduplicated for emphasis. The deictics may occur with any
combination of elements.

The following elements may be preceded by ˋkɛ́: the Indepen-
dent or Dependent Nominal, some Nominal or General Adjectives,
Nominal Deictics, Personal Pronominals and the Personal Pronouns.
ˋkɛ́ does not occur frequently and occurs only once in any one
postexpansion. If ˋkɛ́ precedes a Numeral Nominal it becomes an
ordinal number (15.5).

When more than one element occurs in the postexpansion, there
is a preferred order as shown in the examples below. Elements
listed in the same column at the head of the examples are mutually
exclusive.

NP 11 with PreX and PostX 1

PreX	Head	PostX			
N Adj	Ind Nom	Ind Nom	PPN	Nu Nom	Deictic
G Adj	Dep Nom	Dep Nom	Pr	Nu Adj	
A Adj		N Adj			
Nu Nom		G Adj			
		A Adj			
		SPr			
ǫ́kpǫ́bɛ́	ˈmɛ́ɛ̥	ḿbèkéè			"real European wine"
true	wine	white man			
G Adj	Ind Nom	Ind Nom			
	ìté	ˈmɛ́ɛ́		èbǫ́	"two pots for wine"
	pot	wine		two	
	Ind Nom	Ind Nom		Nu Nom	
	ńsǫ́	ˈjí			ònó	"that custom with
	rite	yam			that	regard to yam"
	Ind Nom	Ind Nom			D	
	ý ˈ ì ǫ́	ɱgbùrùgbúrù	ànyí		ònó	"that round house
	house	round	our		that	of ours"
	Ind Nom	G Adj	PPN		D	
ókée	éˈswí			ìábǫ̀	ònó	"those two bulls"
male	cow			two	those	
G Adj	Ind Nom			Nu Adj	D	
ù̥kpǫ́rǫ́	némáàdzu̥			èbǫ́		"forty people"
twenty	people/person			two		
Nu Nom	Ind Nom			Nu Nom		
	ńsǫ̣	ˈ ˈ yá			ònó	"that custom with
	rite	of it			that	regard to it (yam)"
	Ind Nom	SPr			D	

Very occasionally the order of the elements may change, resulting sometimes in a difference of emphasis. Compare

ìtè	mú	ìábò̩		and	ìtè ìábò̩ mú
pot	my	two			pot two my
Ind Nom	Pr	Nu Adj			

"my two pots" (usual order)   "my two pots"
                                     (my only two, I have no others)

but with   ù̩kpó̩ro̩ ógbó!shí and   ógbóshí ù̩kpó̩ró̩, there appears
           twenty   yamlines   yamlines twenty
           Nu Nom   Ind Nom

to be no difference in meaning, though the first order is preferred.

Postexpansion type 2 - agentive consists of an NP 17. Only a CC S may occur in an NP 17 functioning in· this PostX.

ó̩ku̩	ágwa	ꜜ!phé	"fowl for sacrificing to a juju"
fowl	sacrificing thing	
Ind Nom		NP 17

| é̩swá^è̩ékpu | ú̩lò̩ | "grass for thatching a house" |
| grass thatching house | |

| ꜛphé ^èríꜛ | "edible thing" |
| thing eating | |

Postexpansion type 3 - reflexive consists of a Class P Reflexive Phrase (RP type I), cf. 13.5. It is rare.

| ḿbè | ì'ò̩nwo ꜛyá ... | "The tortoise himself ..." |
| tortoise by himself | |

| ú̩!nwé̩gꜛrꜜmá ì'ò̩nwó phé̩ mèru ꜛyà | "The children themselves did it." |
| children   by themselves   did   it |

12.3.4 Relative expansion

The relative expansion (RelX) consists of a sentence con-struct of Class R. Any class R sentence construct may function as relative expansion of the simple NP. For the different structures of Class R SC and further examples, see 9.10.

| ákó̩ | mú̩ | àchó̩ | gè̩ | mú̩ | kó̩ó̩ | "The story which I want to tell ..." |
| story | I | want | that | I | tell |

ꜛphé !dú̩ è̩jꜛ	du̩ !ꜛyá ^nú̩	"The bad thing which is in it."
thing is bad	is in it
Head RelX	RelX

12.3.5 Co-occurrences of expansions

When a relative expansion occurs, a preexpansion or a post-
expansion occur much less frequently and when they do, they seldom
consist of more than one element.

```
ókóróbó   ìté    !du   ákáhù        "the empty old pot"
empty     pot    is    old
G Adj     Ind Nom
PreX      Head   RelX
```

```
hnmá   èbó    !bu   ónwá   hte-égu-ógù    "the second month which is
month  two    is    moon   ?  handle-hoe  Nte-ego-ogu"
Dep Nom Nu Nom RelX
Head     PostX  RelX
```

In an NP in which the final element of the PostX is one of
the following deictics: ònó "that" óbù "that" áà "this", when a
relative expansion occurs, very frequently the same deictic is
repeated after the RelX. This deictic refers back to the nominal
head and appears to have some linking function as well as serving
as a marker of the boundary of the construction. It is noticed
that where there is more than one RelX in which one of these
deictics occurs, the RelX have different subjects and are in
different relationships to the nominal head. The deictics serve
to give cohesion to what otherwise would be a rather loose
construction.

```
ónye   óbú,   !nwúhúrú nu óbù        "that person who died ..."
person that   died        that...
Head   PostX  RelX
```

```
kèbé  ndú    ònó   !nwé né   ngú ·ònó  ré   "Keep your mother's
keep  people those own mother your those well relatives well."
      Head          RelX
```

```
íphé á,   ó nùrù mú á,   !ne  íyá nùru ìyá à  be ó nàtàrù mu òzó
thing this he gave me this mother his gave him this  he took  me again
Head      RelX           RelX
```

*"He took from me again the thing which he gave me and which his mother had
given him."*

12.4 SIMPLE NP 12-18

NP 12 - `ké with Nominal as head consists of the nominal-
ising/selective particle `ké followed by a nominal.

The expansions are identical to those of NP 11. If a PreX
occurs, the particle `ké precedes the PreX and not the head.

ꜝdzu ꞋYa ọ̀zó ˄àbụ́rü̈ kẹ́ Ꞌzꝭ́Ꞌ óphú   *"The week following that week*
week of it another is   Izi   whole   is for the whole of Izi."
                               Ind Nom G Adj
                               Head   PostX

wɛ̀à kẹ́ ọ́kpọ́bẹ́ ọ̀nyà mú   *"This is for my true friend."*
this   true   friend my
            G Adj   Dep Nom Pr
            PreX   Head   PostX

ọ̀wɛ́ bụ̀ kẹ óz꜀ ọ̀nɔ́, ꜞ jɛ̀rù mú ọ̀nɔ́ *"This is for the work which*
this is   work that you went me that you did for me."
               Ind Nom D   RelX
               Head   PostX RelX

> **NP 13 – Pronominal or pronoun as head** seldom has any
expansion.

> **NP 13a.** The head is a personal pronominal or pronoun,
consisting of either the subject or object form (15.4).

The only expansion is the relative expansion.

ọ̀ nụ̀rụ̀ mụ Ꞌyà   *"He gave it to me."*
he gave me it

ọ́ ꜝchꝭ́rụ ọ́chꝭ̀ ꞋꞋárà Jẹ ẹ́kwɛ́   *"He who laughs will usually cry."*
he   laughed laugh will cry usually cry   (Proverb)
Head RelX

ẹ̀phẹ̀ ꜝnọ́ ẹ̀bó· jɛ̀ru áswɛ́   *"The two of them went to market."*
they   are two   went market
Head   RelX

> **NP 13b.** The head is a personal pronominal or pronoun con-
sisting of the object form, preceded by the nominalising particle
`kẹ́ or ǹkè *"one's own"*. Any expansion is very rare and consists
of either a RelX or a PostX which is a deictic.

Ꞌzꝭ́Ꞌ ọ̀zọ́ nwɛ̀rù nke Ꞌya ꜀chɛ̀ *"The other Izis have their own in a*
Izi other have own his different different way."

byꝭꜝkó, mɛ̀érú mú nkẹ̀ mú   *"Please make me one of my own."*
please do   me own my

...ǹkɛ̀ ngú ọ̀nɔ́ àkä kẹ́ ꜝǹdụ́ ọ̀phụ́ụ̀ shꝭ́ *"Yours will be bigger than*
  own your that exceeds   people other big   the other people's"

kẹ́ ˄ànyꝭ́ kàchà ré   *"Ours is best."*
    our   exceeds good

> **NP 13c.** The head is a personal pronominal or pronoun, con-
sisting of the object form together with the emphatic suffix

-ˈbẹ́dụ́à. (In the case of the 2nd sg pronoun, the suffix may
be reduced to -ˈbẹ́.)

     Any expansion is limited to a PostX or a RelX and these only
occur infrequently. The PostX may consist of an NP 11 in apposi-
tion, a Class P reflexive phrase in apposition or a deictic.

gụ́ˈbẹ́ nwóòkóró ònó   *"You, that young man ..."*
yourself young man that
          NP 11

mụ́ˈbẹ́dụ́à ɪˈònwó mú   *"I myself by myself"*
myself   by myself
          RP

ànyˈbẹ́dụ́á, ˈbụ́ ^ʃshɪ́ ákɪ̀rˈkò̀   *"We who are the chief tax collectors"*
ourselves   are head tax
          RelX

     NP 13d. The head is the selective pronoun ìyá *"of it"* (15.4).
This type is rare.

     A PreX consisting of a general adjective or the nominal
adjective ézè *"big"* is always found.

     The nominalising/selective particle ˋkẹ́ is always present
with G Adj Class 1x and 1y and always absent with the N Adj
and G Adj Class 2a and 2c.

ọ́bọ óˈphóké kàchà ábụ éze ìyá *"The Ophoke feast is the biggest*
feast Ophoke   exceeds being big of it (of several)"

nú mü k'ógóióˈgo ɪ̂^yá   *"Give me the long one (out of two*
give me long   of it   *or more)"*

ókóróbo ɪ́yá   *"the empty one (out of several)"*
empty   of it

     NP 14 - Nominal adjective or general adjective as head, does
not occur frequently.

     The only expansions are a RelX or a PostX which is always a
nominal deictic. Both occur infrequently.

     If the general adjective occurs as head, it is preceded by
the nominalising particle ˋkẹ́; if a nominal adjective occurs as
head, it is optionally preceded by ˋkẹ́.

...ịẹ ó àme ɪ́ˈyá ẹ́hụ́ká ònó   *"... that it is paining her."*
  that it does her   pain that
               PostX
               N Adj

ò rwúkwä kẹ ókpórókpó ꞁdṹ ˆshí   *"It grows many fat ones."*
it grows   fat   which are many
              G Adj   RelX

NP 15 - Numeral nominal as head seldom has any expansion.
A RelX and a PostX consisting of either the selective pronoun or
a deictic occur infrequently.

The head may be preceded by ˋkẹ́ making it an ordinal.

í ˆìkẹ́e ya ụ̀kpọ́rọ́   *"you tie twenty of them (yamlines)"*
you tie   it   twenty

kẹ́ꞁẹ̀bọ́ ꞁíyá bụ̀ ...   *"The second of several is ..."*
second of it   is ...

kẹ́ ìvụ́zọ̀ bụ̀ íphé ...   *"The first is something ..."*
first   is thing ...

NP 16 - Nominal deictic as head can occur with a RelX.

The nominal deictic can be preceded by ˋkẹ́ which appears
to have both a nominalising and selective function in this context.

... lẹ í mèru ọ̀phṹ   *"... that you did that"*
   that you did   that

... á zọ́hä kẹ́ ònó   *"... one should forget that one"*
   one forget one that

ọ̀wáꞁdụ ẹ́ˆgụ́bẹ́ á ꞁpťụ́rụ óˆgólógo ꞁẹ́ˆgụ́bẹ̀à
this is like   this stands long   like this

"This one which is like this is long like this ..."

NP 17 - Clause construct as head occurs with CC S or T.

A RelX or a PostX consisting of a deictic may occur.

ákpụ́fụ̀tà   kóbò lá꞊nṹ dụ̀ nphé,   *"Bringing out one penny is easy ..."*
bringing out penny one   is easy
CC S

èrírí, ˆànyí èríjë   bẹ́ àbụ́jẹ́rụ́ ꞁjí *"The thing we usually eat is*
eating we   usually eat   usually is yam   yam"
Head   RelX

àwáwa   íyá ònó àbụ́jẹ́rụ́ ...   *"That splitting of it (yam) will*
splitting it   that   is usually   usually be ..."
Head   PostX
CC T   D

NP 18 - Reflexive phrase as head consists of a Class H
reflexive phrase (RP) (13.5), with the structure of RP type 2.
No expansions occur.

ónyé ònó ègbúkwá ^ònwo !íyá   *"That person will kill himself."*
person that will kill himself

mù méáhá ^ònwó mú zừáhá   ^ònwó mú   *"I started to care for myself,*
I do-start myself   feed-start myself   *to buy food myself."*

èku   ònwo ó!nyé pàrụ ỉya ẹ́ká l'ẹ̀hự   *"He is full of pride."*
calling oneself is much him much in body

12.5 COMPLEX NOMINAL PHRASES

Complex nominal phrases have two or more head elements with
or without expansions. The head elements are nominal phrases,
each of which may in its turn include an expansion.

Any expansion in NP 21-26 following the final NP may be
ambiguous in that it may be part of the last nominal phrase, or
it may refer to the whole phrase. An expansion of any non-final
nominal phrase, however, refers only to that phrase and is
unambiguous. Preexpansions refer to the immediately following
NP only.

ńna ỉyá yẹ́lẹ̀ nwúne !í^yá !jérú ^l'ẹ́gú *"His father and his brother*
father his and   brother his who went to farm   who went to farm ..."
NP   +   NP   RelX   *(ambiguous)*

nwúne !í^yá !jérú ^l'ẹ́gú yẹ́lẹ̀ ńna ỉyá *"His brother who went to*
brother his who went to farm and   father his   farm and his father ..."
NP   +   NP

Six types of complex nominal phrase are set up, all of which
are of type 20:

    NP 21 - Genitival
    NP 22 - Coordinative
    NP 23 - Additive
    NP 24 - Alternative
    NP 25 - Discontinuous
    NP 26 - Numeral

NP 21 - Genitival consists of two or more nominal phrases.
The second and any further NP is in genitival relationship to the
preceding one. Theoretically, there is no restriction on the
number of nominal phrases, but it is unusual to have more than
three nominal phrases except for strings of dependent nominals
(cf. last example below).

The first or non-final NP is always of type 11 or 12, the
final NP is of type 11, 12 or 13b. If more than two nominal
phrases occur, the head is usually unexpanded. The preexpansion
seldom occurs. The Postexpansion is restricted in that no

pronominals, pronouns or deictics occur, and independent or
dependent nominals or nominal adjectives are very rare.

A relative expansion may occur, but always phrase final.

àkáhụ́	ìte	ụ́nwányì	ìábọ̀	*"The old pot of the two women"*
old	*pot*	*women*	*two*	
NP 11		NP 11		

ńdụ̈	ké	ẹ̀ka	ìyá	*"The people of the other side"*
people		*place of it*		
NP 11		NP 12		

ńdụ	íbé	nkẹ̀	mú	*"The people of my own home"*
people	*home*	*own*	*my*	
NP 11	NP 11	NP 13b		

nwá	nwá	nwúné	nnà	nyéè	nwúné	nnà	mú
child	*child*	*brother*	*father*	*wife*	*brother*	*father*	*my*
NP 11	NP 11	NP 11	NP 11	NP 11	NP 11	NP 11	

"The grandchild of the brother of the father of the wife of my father's brother"

NP 22 - <u>Coordinative</u> consists of two or more nominal phrases
which are connected by one of the following coordinative particles:

    ìẹ̀, ẹ̀ *"and"* occurring only after NP 13a (i.e., PPN or Pr)
                    or NP 11 which includes a numeral in its
                    expansion.

    yẹ́ìẹ̀ *"and"* ⎫ occurring in all other instances; wáà occurs
    mẹ̀ *"and"* ⎬ occasionally also after NP 11 which includes
    wáà *"and"* ⎭ a numeral.

    yẹ́fụ̀à *"and also"*
    mẹ́fụ̀à *"and also"*
    wáfụ̀à *"and also"*

It is interesting to note that the two extensor suffixes
which are otherwise suffixed to a verb stem, are added here to the
connecting particle:

    -fụ̀ *"also"*   and
    -wá *"already"*   (wà ﹥ à after fụ̀ (14.3.2.).

This seems to indicate that these particles, connecting the two
phrases, are of verbal origin ‐ comparable to the connective
serial clause which connects two clauses. They are, however, no
longer used as verbs.

ànyí è̩ n̄du̩ únú!phu íbe á!nyí   *"we and the people of our
we   and people compound home our   compound"*
NP 13a   NP 21

u̩kpó̩ró̩ !é̩kwó̩ lè̩ é̩kwó̩ lábò̩   *"22 books"*
twenty books and books two
NP 11   NP 11

pó̩ngu è̩tó̩ lè̩ shíru è̩sáà è̩ kóbo ìrí *"Three pounds, seven shillings
pound three and shilling seven and penny ten   and tenpence"*
NP 11   NP 11   NP 11

n̄du̩ é̩!byá mè̩ n̄du̩ íziíí !nó̩ l'è̩ká à *"people of Ebya and people of
people Ebya and people Izi are in place this Izi who are here"*
NP 21   NP 21   RelX

(ò̩wá) !éghú nnà ngú wáà ígwè lábò̩ ì̩yá *"This is your father's goat
(this) goat father your and iron two his   and his two iron rods"*
     NP 21   NP 11

NP 23 - Additive consists of more than two nominal phrases
which are juxtaposed to each other usually without any coordina-
tive particle. The final NP, however, is usually preceded by the
coordinative particle wáà. If any of the non-final NP are
connected by a particle, any one of the three connecting particles
wáà, mè̩ and yé̩lè̩ may occur; wáà, however, is the one mostly used.

The nominal phrases are of type 11 and usually consist of a
head without any expansions.

ànyí^è̩gúdé mmà, ìtè̩, mí!ní, ó̩ku̩ wáà jí ànyī áhù̩ ríá
we   take knife, pot, water, fire and yam we roast eat
       NP   NP   NP   NP   NP
"We take knife, pot, water, fire and yam; we roast the yam and eat it."

á^abyá ^à̩zu̩ta é̩kwà wáà nshí égbè, wáà éswí, éghú, ìtígwè, éku̩
one then buy   cloth and gunpowder and cow, goat, pot,   spoon,
         NP   NP   NP   NP   NP   NP

h̩kàtà, ó̩bà,   gbàmu̩gbàmu̩, òchì wáà òró̩!ku̩
basket, calabash, metal dish, wooden dish and lamp
NP   NP   NP   NP   NP

*"Then one will buy cloth, gunpowder, ·cows, goats, iron pots, spoons, baskets,
calabashes, metal and wooden dishes and a lamp."*

NP 24 - Alternative consists of two or more NP which are
connected by one of the following coordinative particles Class B
(17.4):

mò̩bu̩[1] *"or"* ò̩zó̩ò̩ *"or"* tò̩ò̩ *"or"* (only in interrogative sentences)

___

[1] This appears to be derived from Igbo, lit. mà ò̩ bu̩ *"and is it?"*

Any expansions may occur with the nominal phrase, but a PreX is very rare, and a PostX seldom has more than one element.

... ùgbo ètɔ̣́ mɔ̣bụ ènɔ̣́   *"three or four times"*
    times three or   four
    NP 11   NP 15

pfùárú né ngu ɔ̣zɔ̣ɔ̣ ńnà ngu ſphé ònɔ́ *"Tell that to your mother*
tell   mother your or father your thing that or your father."
        NP 11   NP 11

ì zùrụ jíìkpá !ó^gólógó tɔ̣ɔ̣ újíɾú   *"Did you buy plantains or*
you bought bananas long   or oranges   oranges?"
        NP 11   NP 11

NP 25 - Discontinuous consists of two nominal phrases, the second of which occurs after all other elements of the clause, i.e. after the optional margin. The second NP, however, has to be preceded by one of the coordinative particles yélè̩, mè̩ or wáà. In most contexts it appears that the second NP is added rather as an afterthought. There is no emphasis on either NP.

Any expansions may occur with both nominal phrases but a PreX is very rare and a PostX seldom has more than one element.

gẹ è̩hụ́ dụ́ ſyá gù yélè̩ ńdụ ſbe !í^yá *"May he be well and the people*
let body be him cool and   people home his   of his compound!"
        NP 13a   NP 21

... lẹ ékɛ́ jèrù l'ḛ́gụ̀ wáà ùnyómu lyá *"... that the Boa went to the*
    that boa went to farm and wives   his   farm with his wives."
        NP 11   NP 11

NP 26 - Numeral consists of two or three numeral nominals. The only element in the PostX is a deictic. Occasionally a RelX occurs.

Three types are set up:

NP 26a - Additive numeral consists of a primary head and a secondary head connected by a coordinative particle.

The primary head is always either one of the following numerals: ìrí "ten", ụ̀kpɔ̣́rɔ̣́ "twenty" ụ́nụ̀ "four hundred", or a complex NP 26b.

The secondary head may be either a numeral nominal 1-10, or another NP 26a.

The coordinative particle is lè̩ "and". This particle may be reduced to è̩ after the numeral ìrí "ten".

ìrí ẹ `náˈnụ́   *"eleven"*
ten   one

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ lẹ̀ ìrí lẹ̀ ẹ̀tǫ́   *"thirty three"*
20   + 10   + 3

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ ẹ̀nǫ́ lẹ̀ ná!nú́   *"eighty one (20 x 4 + 1)"*
20   4   + 1
NP 26b   Nu Nom

NP 26b - Multiple numeral consists of a primary and a
secondary head which are juxtaposed.

The primary head always consists of either ùkpǫ́rǫ́ *"twenty"*
or ú́nù̩ *"four hundred"*.

The secondary head consists of any numeral nominal 2-10, or
ùkpǫ́rǫ́ *"twenty"* or another NP 26a.

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ ^ìrí   *"two hundred"*
20   10

ú́nù̩ ùkpǫ́rǫ́   *"eight thousand"*
400 20

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ ^ìrí lẹ̀ ẹ̀nǫ́   *"two hundred and eighty"*
20   10 + 4
Nu Nom   NP 26a

ùkpǫ́rǫ́^ìrí l'ẹ̀bǫ́ ònǫ́ bù̩   *"Those two hundred and forty are ..."*
20   10 + 2   that are ...

NP 26a and 26b function as any nominal phrase. They also
function in the PostX 1 of NP 11 if the numeral nominal primary
head is of class 2 (15.5).

NP 26a and 26b do not occur as PreX of NP 11, except for the
expression ú́nù̩ ùkpǫ́rǫ́ *"8000"* as those two numerals are the only
ones occurring in the PreX. If a lexical item needs to be
specified, a NP 22 or NP 11 is used:

NP 22: ùkpǫ́rǫ ú́máàdzù̩ lẹ̀ ú́máàdzṵ ẹ̀tǫ́   *"twenty three people"*
        20   people and people   3

NP 11: ùkpǫ́rǫ ú́máàdzṵ ẹ̀tǫ́   *"sixty people"*
        20   people   3

Stating the lexical item is also a way in which any ambiguity
is resolved. The following example may be interpreted in two
different ways and is therefore ambiguous:

         ùkpǫ́rǫ́^ìrí l'ẹ̀bǫ́   may be either:
         (20 x 10) + 2
NP 26a: NP26b   + Nu Nom   *"two hundred and two"*

or
NP 26b: 20 x (10 + 2)
          Nu Nom + NP 26a   *"two hundred and forty"*

In the following examples this ambiguity is solved:

ùkpǫ́rǫ ýmáàdzụ ìrí ìẹ̀ ýmáàdzụ̀ !ábǫ̀ *"two hundred and two people"*
20   people   10 + people   two
NP 11   + NP 11

ùkpǫ́rǫ ýmáàdzụ ìrí ì'ẹ̀bǫ́   *"two hundred and forty people"*
20   people   ten + 2

NP 26c - Ordinal numeral consists of a primary and a secondary head which are juxtaposed.

The primary head always consists of either a numeral nominal or a numeral adjective.

The secondary head consists of a numeral nominal 2-10 which is preceded by the particle ʽkẹ́, i.e., making it an ordinal number.[1] The secondary head is always the next higher numeral than the primary head.

The ordinal numeral complex NP 26c may only function in the PostX of NP 11, when the head of the NP is a nominal of Class T or when the head of the NP is ùgbo and the NP is functioning as an AP in ST 32 (Concomitant).

ìbókó   !ábǫ̀ kẹ́ !ẹ́tǫ bụ àjì   jí   *"The third Iboko day is*
Iboko day two the third is celebrating yam   *the celebrating of yam"*

mu ánǫ̀ f!dzú ẹ̀tǫ́ kẹ ẹ́!nǫ́, mú àìwá   *"I will stay four weeks*
I will stay week three the fourth I will then return and then return."

ǫ́ pfụ̀rụ ìya ùgbo ẹ̀nǫ́ kẹ f!sé, ǫ̀ dáá   *"He jumped four times,*
he jumped it times four the fifth he then fell   *and the fifth time he*
                                            fell."

---

[1] Note that in this construction the latent low of ʽkẹ́ does not operate to raise a previous high to raised high (5.4.3.3).

CHAPTER 13

OTHER PHRASES

13.1 ADVERBIAL PHRASES.

Adverbial phrases (AP) function in the margin of CT 10 (verbal) clauses, and CT 21 (non-verbal) clauses and as the nucleus of CT 22. There is only one class of AP.

AP differ in structure and are grouped into simple (type 10) and complex (type 20) on the basis of whether they have one or more head element.

In general, when an AP includes an NP, that NP seldom has any expansion and the description gives details of any possible expansion.

13.2 SIMPLE ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Simple adverbial phrases (AP 10) have one head. AP 10 are divided into six types on the basis of their different structure.

AP 11 - Preposition with nominal phrase as head

The preposition is in most cases the particle Ɩè expressing the meaning of location, time, manner, etc. Sometimes the particle gè *"like, as"* may be used as a preposition.

The nominal phrase is NP 11, NP 21 or NP 22. If the particle gè is used, NP 12 or NP 13b may also occur.

The NP usually does not occur with any expansions, but the different types of PreX and Post X and the RelX can occur.

à byá ˆàpfʉ́shʃ mʉ̈ ɩ'águgá ǃmínʃ ɩ'èká ònó *"I was left at the river-*
one then stopped   me at side water   at place that side there."
                        NP 21   NP 11

ó rwúá   ɩè ɔ́nwá ɩ̀rʃ   *"when it reaches the tenth month"*
it reaches in month ten
        NP 11

... ɩɛ́ mú tá èmédu ʃǃyá ɩè mpyà   *"... that I am not doing it secretly"*
 that I not doing it   in secret
                        NP 11

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kèbé nwézè l'ómá   *"Bless Nweze (i.e. keep him*
keep Nweze   in goodness   *in goodness)"*
            NP 11

á páfùta   ónye óbù á ^àgwáá   yä lẹ éghú wáà ókù wáà éswî
one carried out person that one sacrifices to him in goat and fowl and cow
                                  NP 22

"When the person is carried out, one sacrifices to him with goats, fowls & cows"

ó lúérúphó   jî   ònó gè áphà áà áphá òzó *"When she is marrying*
she married just husband that as year this year another as of this year, the
                            NP 11   *next year ..."*

ńnà   mú mèrù mu   lyà gè nkè ngú   *"My father made it for me*
father my made for me it like yours   *like yours."*
                NP 13b

ó tsùrú nrl óbù gè ké nwú!né ^mú   *"He pounded that fufu (so that*
he pounded food that like one of brother my   *it is)like my brother's"*
                NP 12

AP 12 - NP 11, NP 15 or NP 26 as head without any preposition

Four subtypes are set up.

AP - 12a   consists of NP 15 or 26a. With such a NP the only expansion is the PostX with the deictic ònó *"that"* and only if it functions as a back reference to the same deictic in the preceding NPo.

The numeral may occur reduplicated. The reduplication can be of two types:

- a single reduplication of a single numeral, expressing a repetitive action.

- a multiple reduplication of a single numeral or of the final numeral· in NP 26a, expressing many groups, the more reduplication of the single numeral the greater the number of groups. There are two or four repetitions of the final numeral in NP 26a and for further emphasis the full multiple reduplication can be repeated two or three times:

ùkpóró l'ètó !étó ^ètó !étó ^ùkpóró l'ètó !étó ^ètó !étó
  20   +   3   3   3   3   20   +   3   3   3   3

"in many groups of twenty three"

... àbàlị kèwá   èbó tèmáànú à párwúá   mu uméhà
   night divided two   before one carried reached me Umuahia

"... it was midnight before I reached Umuahia."

...gẹ é gùdè gbúa éswỉ ȯnóyä ná!ánÿ ná!nÿ ȯnó   "... how one kills
how one uses kill cow   that   one   one   that   those cows one by one"

ó kpȍbèrù   jỉ ỉyá ^ỉrỉ i'ỉsé ǃỉsé ^ỉsé ǃỉsé   "he displayed his yams
he displayed yam his   ten + five five   five five   in groups of 15."

AP 12b consists of an NP 11 with Dependent Nominal Class 4,
5 or 6 as head. A PostX type 1 (excluding pronominals and
pronouns) or a RelX expansion always occurs. A PreX may occur.

m̀bȍkÿ ó èmẹ ẹ́kwä   bẹ. ë é!gbúkwa éswỉ
day   one does second burial   one will kill   cow

"On the day one celebrates the second burial one kills cows."

... àtÿkȯ́tá fÿa   ó!mé mgbȍ lá!nÿ   "... all germinated together
all together garminated sprouts time one   at the same time."

ónyé !jéru ^èrỉá jỉ^ ȍphÿ tèké phȍ...   "The person who went to eat
person went ate   yam new   time that   new yam at that time ..."

AP 12c consists of an NP 11 with the head being a nominal
of Class T1. There may occasionally be a PostX (consisting of a
selective pronoun or a deictic) or a RelX.

... gẹ ànyỉ gùdè mée !yá ÿnyáphÿ ȯnó   "... how we did it on the
   how we used did it yesterday that   previous day."

nwárӓkáphÿ   bẹ́^ànyỉ jèru àbá·   "The year before last we
year before last   we   went Aba   went to Aba."

èchéle ỉyä bẹ́ ó jèru ỉbé nna   ỉyá   "The following day he went
tomorrow of it   he went home father his   to his father's home."

AP 12d consists of an NP 11 with a nominal of Class T2 as
head. A RelX may occur.

ỉgwé àmá mmá   m̀táànÿ   "The sky is beautiful today."
sky   is   beauty today

AP 13 - Nominal adjective, general adjective or adverbial adjective as head

A relative expansion may occur if the head is a nominal or
general adjective but not if it is an adverbial adjective. When
the nominal adjective ẹ́gÿbẹ́ "like" occurs it is always expanded
by the PostX ȯnó "that" or ä "this" . No other expansions occur.

ẹ̀hÿ àtsȯ́shỉkpȍ́ !mu ỉké ^m̀tá   "I am very happy now."
body is very sweet to me strongly now
                N Adj

... é té àríjédu ꞌya !ę̂ꞏgúbę́ ònó ó rìrù ꞏyá ònó
  one not eat   it like   that he ate it that
                         G Adj   RelX

"... one does not eat it like he ate it."

ǫ̀ǫ̀ ú!nwų ęswí tèke á nwų̀rų̀ phę̀ ké̂ꞏǫ̀phų́ *"It is the calves when they*
it is sons cow   time   one bore them newly   are newly born..."
                         G Adj

ùnú ꞏwà égwá   *"Come (pl.) back quickly!"*
you return quickly
       A Adj

     AP 14 - <u>Adverb as head</u>. The head may be single or
reduplicated.

...nwáànyí ̂èté èmédú ré shí   *"... the woman who does not do much*
  woman   not doing good much   well."*

ǫ̀ nǫ̀dú   èhékpǫ́   ̂ànyí shíngúshíngú *"He continues to look after*
he continually cares much for us very much   us very much."

ò gúde ágàdà wúkò wúkò   wų́!éhų́ ꞏę̀ mánų ǫ́!kų́
he with legs (careless jumping) jumped into oil fire

"He was jumping up and down and jumped into hot oil."

     AP 15 - <u>Pronoun as head</u> consists of the pronoun ꞏyá.
This AP always refer to a previous AP 11 expressing location.

ò Jèkwàdùrù ꞏꞌégų́? é, ó jèkwàru ꞏyà *"Did he still go to farm?"*
he went-still to farm? Yes, he went   it   "Yes, he still went there."

òphó!ké nǫ̀rų ꞏyà ꞏꞌúnú!phú? é, ǫ́ nǫ̀kwàrų ꞏyà yà
Ophoke is for him in compound? Yes, he is for him it

"Is Ophoke staying in the compound for him?" "Yes, he is staying in it for him."

ǫ̀ kǫ̀rù ꞏę̀ nggá? è, ǫ́ kǫ̀kwàrų ꞏyà   *"Does it hang on the nail?"*
it hangs on nail? Yes, it hangs   it   "Yes, it hangs on it."

     AP 16 - <u>k'óphú as head</u> consists of a NP 11 with a RelX.
The head of the NP is always the relative nominal óphų́ preceded
by ꞏké̜. The RelX is always a Sentence Construct Class R2[1].

ánwų té èchídü kę óphú   mų̈ á!sa   úwé ̂mú
sun not shines to the point I will wash clothes my

"The sun is not shining enough for me to wash my clothes."

---

[1] Compare also the discussion of ꞏké̜ ǫ́phų́ as conjunction or head of a relative
expansion in 9.10.

ì nwèru égbè kẹ ọ́phụ́   ϒ ſ!jé nta é^chélé
you own   gun   to the point you will go hunt tomorrow

"Do you have a gun so that you may go hunting tomorrow."

13.3 COMPLEX ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Complex adverbial phrases, type 20, have two heads. Two
types are set up:

    AP 21 - Repetitive·
    AP 22 - Reduplicated

AP 21 - Repetitive consists of two identical heads, either
juxtaposed or coordinated by a particle. The heads are dependent
nominals of Class D5 (15.3). They show a fixed pattern with
particles or without (m̀bọ̀kụ̀). No expansions or variations occur.
Only the following expressions are possible:

    m̀bọ̀kụ́ mbọ̀kụ̀   *"from day to day, daily"*

    ſdzù gẹ́ ſdzù   *"every week"*

    áphà gẹ áphà   *"every year"*

    ọ́nwá lẹ́ ọ́nwá   *"every month, from month to month"*

ànyſ àtụ́jẹ   ụ́tàra áphà gẹ áphà   *"We are throwing fufu every*
we   throw usually fufu year   year   year (on the graves)"

ó ὸjéjé l'ọ́bvụ̀ ſdzù gẹ ſdzù   *"He goes to the juju every week."*
he goes usually to juju week week

áphà gẹ áphà, m̀bọ̀kụ́ mbọ̀kụ̀ é ègbú !éswá ^l'ụ́zọ́ ὸnó
year   year   day   day   one cuts grass in way this

"year after year, day by day, the grass on this road is cut."

AP 22 - Reduplicated consists of two identical AP of the
structure preposition lẹ and head. The heads are either an
Independent Nominal, or the Nominal Adjective ſké, or the
Adverbial Adjective ſchè. No expansions occur.

...tá !bụ́dụ́ àlſ   é nwèrù l'ẹ̀hụ́ l'ẹ̀hụ́ *"... is not land which is owned*
   not is   land   one owns   in body in body individually."

...ọ́ọ̀ ſphé   dụ̀ l'ſchè l'ſché !dụ́ l'ẹ̀hụ́^ànyſ *"It is the things which*
   it is things are different   are in body our   are very different in our
                                                              bodies."

mù lwákwa ázụ ^ọ̀zọ́ byà èkúkèbe ẹ́!hụ́ l'ſké l'ſké
I   returned back again and tried body strong strong

"I came back again and tried very very hard."

Other examples found include:

lé mkụ̀kpụ̀ lé mkụ̀kpụ̀	*"from village to village"*
lé unúˈphúˆlẹ únúˈphú	*"from compound to compound"*
lẹ ọ́kụ́ lẹ ọ́kụ́	*"urgently,lit. in fire in fire"*
lẹ ọ́sọ́ lẹ ọ́sọ́	*"hastily, lit.race by race"*

13.4 COMPLEMENT PHRASES

Complement phrases (CP) function as an element of the nucleus of the Complement Clause, CT 14, and of the Impersonal Complement Clause CT 16c and d. There is only one class of CP.

CP differ in structure and on this basis four types are set up.

CP 11 - Adjective as head consists of a Nominal Adjective, General Adjective or Adverbial Adjective. The head is not expanded with the exception of the general adjective égụ́bé "like, likeness", which must be followed by either ònó "that" or èà "this".

CP 11 occurs most frequently.

```
ùnú dụ̀    íké                  "Thank you (lit. you are strong)"
you  are  strength
          N Adj
```

```
... ńdụ    íshí ụ́zọ́ éà  dụ ìgwèrígwè    "The leaders of this side
... people head  way this are  many          are many."
                        G Adj
```

```
gẹ  ọ́  dụ égụ́bé ònó              "May it be like that."
let  it  be  like that
          G Adj
```

```
ké ndụ́        ọ̀phụ́ àdụ  íchè     "The one of the other people will be
one of people other will be different    different."
                        A Adj
```

CP 12 - Nominal phrase as head consists of an NP 11, 15 or 16. NP 15 and NP 16 may only be expanded by a relative expansion, while NP 11 must be expanded by either a numeral or relative expansion.

```
ànyí dụ̀ chífù ìrí              "We are ten chiefs."
we    are chiefs ten
        NP 11
```

```
ọ̀ tọ́ˈdụ́dụ ó^nyé  ^èJé lʼégụ́    "There is no-one who goes to the farm."
it not  is   person   goes to farm
        NP 11
```

ǫ́ dụ̀ ètǫ́   *"There are three."*
it is three
      NP 15

... gẹ ǫ́ dụ̀ ǫ̀wáà   *"... that there may be this."*
   that it be this
                NP 16

    CP 13 - AP 11 as head   consists of an AP 11 which includes
the preposition gẹ̀. This type is relatively frequent.

íphé-à   dụ̀ gẹ̀ nkè mú   *"This thing is like mine."*
thing this is like mine
                gẹ̀ NP 13b

ǫ́ dụ̀ gẹ ónyé ⁱngýrý míní   *"He is like someone who has drunk water."*
he is like person drank water
      gẹ̀   NP 11

á nǫ̀   íphé ¡dý gẹ̀ àbàⁱ¡ ⁱsé   *"After about five days ..."*
one stayed thing is like day   five
                gẹ̀   NP 11

    CP 14 - AP 14 as head   occurs quite frequently.

ńdý chífù dụ̀ shí ⁱˀìzíⁱ   *"There are many chiefs in Izi."*
people chief are many in Izi

jí ˆànyí ˆàdý   ré áphá ònó   *"Our yam will be good that year."*
yam our   will be good year that

ǫ̀wê tá ¡dýkwá mú ˆré   *"I do not like this."*
this not is   to me good

13.5 REFLEXIVE PHRASE

    Reflexive phrases (RP) function as clause margin in CT 10
and CT 21; as PostX in NP 11 and 13c and as head of NP 18.

    Since not all RP function in all these ways, three classes
of RP are set up.

    Class C RP function as clause margin. In structure Class C
RP may be of type 1 or 3.

    Class H RP function as head of NP 18. In structure Class H
RP are always of type 2.

    Class P RP function as PostX of NP 11 and 13c. In structure
Class P RP are always of type 1.

    Three types of RP are set up on the basis of differences in
structure.

RP 1 consists of the preposition !ẹ followed by the reflexive
element ônwó "self" (17.3), followed by either one of the pronomi-
nals (15.4) or pronouns (object form), or the dependent nominal
ónyé "person" (15.3).

RP 1 function as Class C and Class P reflexive phrases.

RP 2 has the same structure as RP 1, except that no
preposition occurs.

RP 2 functions as Class H reflexive phrases.

RP 3 consists of one of the three reflexive elements

nwẹ́!ká   "...self alone"

nwéèkínyì   "self alone"

ħkínyì   "self alone"

followed by one of the pronominals or pronouns.

RP 3 function as Class C reflexive phrases.

ó òrí   n!rí ı'ônwo íyá   "He is eating the food by himself."
he eating food by himself
                 Class C RP1

ọ́ ṇò   nkínyì ìyá   "He is alone."
he stays himself alone
        Class C RP3

mü á!la ú^nú!phú nwéèkínyì mú   "I will go home by myself."
I will go compound myself alone
                 Class C RP3

ónyé   ònó ègbúkwá ^ònwo !íyá   "That person will kill himself."
person that will kill himself
                 Class H RP2

ụ́!nwẹ́g[r]má ı'ònwó phẹ́   mèru ìyà "The children themselves did it."
children   by themselves   did it
            Class P RP1

P A R T   T H R E E

WORD AND ROOT

CHAPTER 14

THE VERB

14.1 FUNCTION

Verbs function as head of the Verb Phrase. Different classes
of verbs are set up according to the function of the classes of
verb phrase in which they occur.

Verbs may belong to more than one class. Thus, for instance,
jé "to go" is a member of both Class Tl and Il, dà "to fall" is a
member of Class T2 and Il. There is also some overlap between
verbs of Class Imp, as some of these belong to Classes T, D or C.

All verbs belong to one or more of the Classes T, D, I, C, E
or Imp. Some verbs belong additionally to Classes S and/or Ger.
Thus, for instance, hǔmá "to see" is both a member of Class T and
Class S. The verb márǔ "to know" is a member of Class T, Class S
and in addition Class Ger;   the verb dǔ is a member of Class Imp
and C.

Two verbs have been found to function in the margin of a
complex VP. These are termed Auxiliary Verbs and constitute a
separate class, Class Aux, 14.1.9.

14.1.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs (Class T) function as head of the Class T
VP. Two subclasses are set up.

Class Tl comprises verbs for which there is no grammatical
restriction of the NPo which occurs with these verbs.

bvǔ	"to dig"	dóbé	"to place, put"	gúdé	"to hold, catch"
hǔmá	"to see"	jé	"to go"	márǔ	"to know"
wòrú	"and then"	wòtá	"to take"	tǔkǒ	"all"

Class T2a comprises verbs which occur with a fixed specific
nominal as NPo (mentioned in parenthesis).

Some of these nominals are verbbound nominals and may only
occur as NPo with this particular verb; some may also occur in
other nominal phrases. These nominals have not been treated in.
this description as part of the VP since they function in parallel
ways to any other NPo. A further reason is that other objects
(e.g., benefactive, indirect object in the case of ditransitive
clauses) occur between the verb and this nominal. In this construc-
tion with this specific meaning, however, no expansion of the
nominal is possible.

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bọ́ (ùʃá)   "to converse"   chʃ (m̄kpú)   "to shout"

chʃ (ńtá)   "to go hunting"   chʃ (ọ́nụ́)   "to eat breakfast"

chị̀ (ọ́chị̀)   "to laugh"   dà (ìkó)   "to fall down (of persons)"

dzè (mʃ̀nʃ)   "to rain"   gụ́ (ébvú)   "to sing a song"

gụ́ (ọ́gụ́)   "to count"   kú (m̀gbẹ́�'nyá)   "to sleep"

tọ́ (nwẹ́hụ́)   "to do slowly"   vú (ụ́zọ̀)   "to be/do first"

    Class T2b comprises verbs which also occur with a specific
nominal as NPo.

    When these verbs are head of the NP, however, the NPs may
consist of a CCS, or an SC Class Pl.

    This is a closed class consisting of

má (m̄má)   "to be beautiful"   zé (èhọ́'kụ́)   "to cause fever"

14.1.2 Ditransitive verbs

    Ditransitive verbs (Class D) function as head of the Class
D VP. Two subclasses are set up.

    Class D1 comprises verbs for which there is no grammatical
restriction of the NPo which occurs with these verbs.

bó   "to help to carry"   djé   "to lend"

góshʃ   "to show"   hẹ́   "to give (e.g. groundnuts, matches)"

kẹ́   "to give (leaves, fufu)" kó   "to give (something hanging)"

nmé   "to give (flower, grass)" nmẹ́ "to give plentifully"

nụ́   "to give"   tshẹ́ "to give (all that you have)"

    Class D2 comprises verbs which occur with a fixed nominal
as NPo. Some of these nominals are verbbound nominals and may
only occur as NPo with this particular verb; others may also
occur in other nominal phrases. The relation between these verbs
and the nominals is parallel to that which is described in 14.1.1
and the reasons given there for not treating these nominals as
part of the VP apply equally here. In this construction with
this specific meaning, however, no expansion of the nominal is
possible.

bóbé (ìbó) "to accuse wrongly"   chʃ (ʃphé)   "to beat"

kọ́ (ọ́kọ́)   "to itch, scratch"   kpé (ʃkpé) "to judge"

rétá (ńré) "to fine"   yé (óbù)   "to love"

yé (ẹ́nyá) "to love"   yé (ọ́nú)   "to speak to somebody"

14.1.3 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs (Class I) function as head of the Class I VP. Two subclasses are set up.

Class I1 comprises all verbs of Class I which do not belong to Class I2.

bàhų̀	"to enter, go in"	bàtá	"to enter, come in"
bú	"to live in, at"	jé	"to go"
téhú	"to wake up"	shí	"to be from"
gbę́	"even"	ká̧bę́	"to do for the first time again"

Class I2 comprises verbs which function as head of Class I2 VP, and consists of

swḭ̀	"to go together"	bų́	"to be related"

14.1.4 Complement verbs

Complement verbs (Class C) function as head of Class C VP. All Class C verbs are stative verbs. Two subclasses are set up.

Class C1a comprises verbs which function only as head of Class C VP when that VP occurs in a CT 14, and consists of

dų́	"to be (quality, quantity)"	hà	"to be (in size)"

Class C1b comprises verbs which also occur as head of Class C VP when that VP occurs in a CT 17b, and consists of

ká	"to be more, exceed"	káchá	"to be most"

Class C2 comprises verbs with a specific adjective functioning as CP. Two subclasses are set up.

Class C2a comprises verbs which function only as head of Class C VP when that VP occurs in a CT 14. This is a closed class consisting of

shíhú (íké)	"to be strong"	shíhú (ų́ká)	"to be sour"
párų́ (ę́nyá)	"to be far away"	párų́ (ę́ká)	"to be much"
ká̧rírú (ę́ká)	"to surpass one's ability"		

Class C2b comprises verbs which function as head of Class C VP when that VP occurs in a CT 17c and consists of

dų́ (íké)	"to be able, strong"

14.1.5 Equative verbs

Equative verbs (Class E) function as head of the Class E VP. The class consists of two members only, both stative verbs.

bú *"to be"*   kwà *"to be"*

kwà has been found to be restricted in its occurrences, always occurring in Base C only and only if the NPs is one of the pronouns ó *"3rd sg"* or a *"impersonal pronoun"*. kwà very likely has its origin in the extensor suffix -kwà *"emphatic"* which attached to the verb bú in Base C was ó bùkwà and has become ó kwà.

14.1.6 Impersonal verbs

Impersonal verbs (Class Imp) function as head of the Class Imp VP. Most Impersonal verbs are also members of another class (T, D or I). Of the verbs listed below, only gú, ghú and wé are members of Class Imp only.

Three subclasses are set up.

Class Imp 1 comprises verbs which function as head of Class Imp VP when that VP occurs in CT 16a and is further subdivided;

Class Imp 1a comprises verbs which do not belong to Class Imp 1b.

bvú	*"to finish"*	gbá	*"to prick"*	gú	*"to hunger"*
kpó	*"to beat"*	mé	*"to do"*	sé	*"to draw"*
tsú	*"to beat"*	tú	*"to throw"*	wá	*"to split"*

Class Imp 1b comprises verbs which also function as head of Class Imp VP when that VP occurs in a CT 16a.

When these verbs are head of the VP. however, the NPs may consist of a CC Class S or a SC Class Pl. This is a closed class consisting of

tsú (l'èhú)   *"to beat in the body"* *(i.e., to be difficult)*
rwú (l'èhú)   *"to reach in the body"* ⎫
rwú (l'óbù)   *"to reach in the heart"* ⎬ *(i.e. to be sad)*

Class Imp 2 comprises verbs which function as head of Class Imp VP when that VP occurs in a CT 16b.

ghú	*"to annoy"*	tsó	*"to be sweet"*	tsú	*"to beat"*
vù	*"to grow"*	wé	*"to anger"*		

Class Imp 3 comprises a single verb which functions as head
of Class Imp VP when that VP occurs in a CT 16c or 16d.

    dŕ̩   *"to be"*

14.1.7 Sensient verbs

Sensient Verbs (Class S) function as head of the Class S VP.
Three subclasses are set up.

Class S1 comprises verbs which occur with both the particles
!é or gè. This is a closed class consisting of

bá	*"to reproach"*	dé	*"to write"*	góshí	*"to show"*
hŕ̩má	*"to see"*	kwérú	*"to agree"*	márŕ̩	*"to know"*
nŕ̩má	*"to hear"*	nyátá	*"to remember"*	zǫ́há	*"to forget"*

Class S2 comprises verbs which occur with !é only and
consists of

| sŕ̩ | *"to say"* | dóbésŕ̩ | *"to think"* | gbà | *"to think"* |
| r̩ | *"to think"* | .dŕ̩ | *"to be"* | | |

Class S3 comprises verbs which occur with gè only and
consists of

| j̩ká | *"to refuse"* | yétá | *"to help"* | mé | *"to do"* |
| chǫ́ | *"to seek"* | | | | |

14.1.8 Gerundial verbs

Gerundial Verbs (Class Ger) function as head of Class Ger VP.
Three subclasses are distinguished.

Class Ger 1 comprises verbs which also function as head of
Class T and I VP and consists of

| Jé | *"to go"* | j̩ká | *"to refuse"* | márŕ̩ | *"to know"* |
| kwérú | *"to agree"* | | | | |

Class Ger 2 comprises verbs which also function as head of
Class T VP only, and consists of

    wátá   *"to start"*

Class Ger 3 comprises verbs which also function as head of
Class I VP only and consists of

    byá   *"to come"*

14.1.9 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are non-stative verbs with limited structure
(see 14.4) which function as margin in complex VP 21 and consist of

shí *"completed past"*   àhájéwárý *"sometimes in the past"*

14.2 STRUCTURE

Verbs in Izi can be grouped into two main types since they
show differences in their internal structure and in their tone
patterns. The two types are named Non-stative and Stative verbs.
The Non-stative verbs comprise the large majority of Izi verbs.

Each of these types may be subdivided into the affirmative
verb and the negative verb, i.e., the verb which has undergone a
negative transformation.

Non-stative verbs function as head of any class of verb
except Class C and E. Stative verbs function as any class of
verb except Class D.

The description of the structure of the affirmative Non-stative
verb is given first. and then details of the Stative verb and the
negative transformation follow.

14.3 NON-STATIVE VERBS

The structure of the verb is diagrammed as follows:

```
+ tone pattern - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
+ base affix + verb stem                    ± extensor affix(es) + base affix
             root ± root(s)
                   derivational affixes
```

The Non-stative affirmative verb consists of the following
obligatory elements:

  - the verb stem (consisting of at least one verb root)
  - one of the four base affixes
  - a specific tone pattern

and of the following optional elements:

  - one or more extensor suffixes
  - within the verb stem - additional root(s)
                           one or two derivational affixes

The four base affixes occurring with the verb stem make up
four verb forms which are basic to the system. They are termed
Bases of the verb.

Example: mú *"1st sg"*   rí *"to eat"*   ìyá/yá   *"3rd sg"*

base affix -A: mu   rí-a   ya   ,   Base A

base affix E-/-A: e-rí-a mu ìya   ,   Base AB

base affix E-   mu e-rí   ìya   ,   Base B

base affix -rù: mu   rí-ru   ìya   ,   Base C

The meaning of these forms of the verb varies according to the tone pattern which accompanies the particular base; it is therefore not easy to attribute to them any precise meaning. A rough semantic label can be given, however,

- the forms with base affix -A, termed Base A, correspond roughly to "punctiliar narrative"

- the forms with base affixes E-/-A, termed Base AB, "descriptive sequence"

- the forms with base affix E-, termed Base B, "progressive"

- the forms with base affix -rù, termed Base C, "independent past".

With each Base several different tone patterns occur. The various combinations of base with tone pattern constitute the basis of the verb system. They make up a set of "aspects". The aspects that have been found in Izi are outlined in the following table:

Table I: Aspects of the affirmative verb

	Base	Non-subordinate		Subordinate		Imperative
		Non-future indicative	Future indicative	Conditional	Purpose	
Dependent Aspects:	A	x		x	x	x
	AB	x	x	x	x	
Independent Aspects:	B	x	x			
	C	x				

14.3.1 Verb stems

Verb stems are divided into simple and complex verb stems.

Simple verb stems consist of one verb root. This root is in most cases a monosyllabic root of the phonological structure CV.

bé	*"to reach"*	dé	*"to write"*	hà	*"to leave"*
ké	*"to divide"*	pá	*"to carry"*	sý	*"to say"*
vù	*"to grow"*	yé	*"to add, put"*	zỳ	*"to feed"*

Complex verb stems are made up of more than one root.
These additional morphemes may be either independent roots or
dependent roots or derivational affixes. Up to three morphemes
occur in verb stems.

Independent roots (R) are defined as morphemes that may func-
tion as simple verb stems. Dependent roots (-R) and derivational
affixes (D) may not occur as simple verb stems. They are in
contrast with each other in the following ways:

(1) dependent roots may function as first morpheme, derivational
     affixes do not;[1]

(2) dependent roots do not replace the base affix -A, derivational
     affixes do;

(3) dependent roots do not usually harmonise with the vowel of
     the preceding syllable, derivational affixes do.[2]

These differences show clearly in the following table:

Table II - Root and Affix contrasts

	Occurs as simple verb stem	As first morpheme	Replaces Base affix -A	Vowel harmony with preceding syllable
Independent Root (R)	x	x		
Dependent Root (-R)		x		
Derivational affix (D)			x	x

The following structures of the complex stem are possible:

Table III - Complex verb stems

	First morpheme	Second morpheme	Final morpheme
Two-morpheme stems	R		R, -R or D
	-R		-R or D
Three-morpheme stems	R	R	-R or D
	R	-R	-R or D
	-R	-R	-R or D
	R	D	D
	-R	D	D

N.B. 1. R never follows -R.
      2. R or -R never follow D.
      3. R does not occur as final morpheme with three morpheme stems.

---

[1] The derivational affix -fὺ/fὺ "out", however, also occurs as an independent
root and as such takes the base affix -A: fú "to grow", fὺ "to come out"(moon).

[2] The derivational affix -kọ́ "together, collective", however, does not harmonise.

The following derivational affixes have been found:

-bɛ́/bɛ́	*"reach"*
-fṳ̀/fù	*"out"*
-fṳ̀-tá/fù-tá	*"out towards"*
-hṳ́/hú	*"termination, direction away from, action by itself"*
-kɔ́	*"together, collective"*
-kɔ́-tá	*"together, directional, collectiv "*
-kɔ̀-bɛ́	*"together, directional, collective"*
-shɪ́/shɪ́	*"directional termination"*
-tá	*"towards oneself"* (not only of verbs of motion, rɪ̀-tá *"think about"*)

R R stems

chɪ́-gbú	*"beat-kill*	*= to kill by beating"*
gbá-gbú	*"shoot-kill*	*= to kill by shooting"*
tṳ́-gbú	*"throw-kill*	*= to kill by throwing a stone"*
pyà-gbú	*"break-kill*	*= to kill by crushing"*
rɪ́-jɪ́	*"eat-fill*	*= to eat sufficient"*
tṳ́-pyà	*"throw-break*	*= to break by throwing it"*
kpɔ́-wá	*"knock-split*	*= to split with a machete or something similar"*

R -R stems

-swè	*"do wrongly"*	pfú-swè	*"speak wrongly = mispronounce"*
-rwè	*"do well"*	sá-rwè	*"to wash thoroughly"*
-ghɛ́	*"finish doing"*	mé-ghɛ́	*"do-finish = finish doing"*
		pfú-ghɛ́	*"speak-finish = finish speaking"*
-bà	*"enter"*	pá-bà	*"carry-enter = carry inside"*
		kpú-bà	*"stoop-enter = enter by stooping"*
-shɪ́	*"do many times"*	kè-shɪ́	*"to divide into many parts"*
		kú-shɪ́	*"to scoop water many times from a large container with a small one"*
		pá-shɪ́	*"to carry many times small amounts from a big heap"*

---

[1] -swè, -rwè and -ghɛ́ have been found as independent roots but with no semantic relationship: swè àkwà *"walk on bridge"*, ghɛ́ *"fry, yawn"*, rwè *"to feel sleepy"*.

[2] -shɪ́ also occurs as derivational suffix in -R D stems.

R D stems

-fú	"out"	dáfù	"fall out"
		chí-fù	"drive out"
		bú-fù	"cut out"
		hú-fù	"rub out"
		tó-fù	"untie"
-tá	"towards"	bvú-tá	"dig out"
		lú-tá	"marry to"
		dú-tá	"lead by hand to"
		gbú-tá	"cut off (harvest)"
		ná-tá	"receive"
-hú	"involuntary"	ná-hú	"slip off hand"
		ká-hú	"grow old"
		nwú-hú	"die"
		ré-hú	"decay, rot"
-kó	"together"	kù-kó	"call together"
		swé-kó	"pack together"
		chí-kó	"gather"

-R -R stems

gù-	"?"	gù-há	"open"
		gù-chí	"close"
wò-	"take, bring"	wò-há	"take aside = hide"
		wò-lí	"take up = lift"
-há	"direction away"	gù-há	"open"
		wò-há	"take aside, hide"

-R D stems

		bà-tá	"go inside"
		bà-hú	"come inside"
		wó-fù	"take away"
		wò-tá	"take here, bring"
		gbé-shí	"get up"
		gò-shí	"show"
		kò-shí	"grow - of young animals and babies"
		pfù-shí	"stop"

R R -R stems

| gbú-bù-shí | (cut-cut-many times) | "cut into small pieces" |
| tá-bù-shí | (bite-cut-many times) | "cut with teeth" |

R R D stems

bú-bù-fú	(cut-cut-out)	"cut out"
chį́-pyà-bę́	(chase-press-reach)	"chase by pursuing"
lų́-pyà-bę́	(marry-press-reach)	"marry a related widow"
tsó-pyà-bę́	(follow-press-reach)	"follow and come nearer"
tų́-gbà-bę́	(throw-share-reach)	"mix together"
rí-gbà-bę́	(eat-share-reach)	"eat together"

R -R -R stems

| Jį́-bų̀-shį́ | (throw-small ?-away) | "throw sand" |
| tų́-bų̀-shį́ | (throw-small ?-away) | "beat with a small stick" |

R -R D stems

Já-pfú-tá	(go-meet-towards)	"go to meet"
byá-pfú-tá	(come-meet towards)	"come to meet"
kú-phù-bę́	(scoop-loose-reach)	"stir with a spoon"
dá-phù-hú	(fall-loose-by itself)	"get lost"

-R -R -R stems

| ré-bù-shí | (burn-smallness-plurality) | "burn in many small places" |

-R -R D stems

| wó-bà-tá | (bring-inside-towards) | "to take inside" |

R D D stems

gbá-fų̀-tá	(run-out-towards)	"run out of"
dzǫ́-fų̀-tá	(save-out-towards)	"save out of"
pá-fų̀-tá	(carry-out-towards)	"carry out of"
swí-fų̀-tá	(roll-out-towards)	"roll out of"
chį́-kǫ́-tá	(drive-together-towards)	"collect together" (e.g., by beating fruits)
dzù-kó-tá	(meet-together-towards)	"meet together, gather"
ghá-kǫ̀-bę́	(turn-together-reach)	"mix together"
yé-kǫ̀-bę́	(add-together-reach)	"add"

<u>-R D D stems</u>

wó-fù-tá   (bring-out-towards)   "bring out of"

Verb roots all appear to be monosyllabic, though there are
some verb stems where it has not been possible to identify the
function and/or meaning of individual morphemes. Such items may
well be compounded of morphemes which once were roots or affixes
but whose meaning can no longer be analysed.

hú-má "see"   nú-mó "hear"   ké-lé "thank"

tú-phá "throw"   tó-gbó "drop"

<u>Verb stem tone classes</u>. Tones of verb stems have been written
as they occur in Base B nonfuture indicative aspect. This aspect
has been chosen because the tone of the root can be detected most
conveniently.

In general the verb roots of the complex stems retain their
tone when they are compounded, so that the tones of a complex stem
consist of the tones of the single morphemes, e.g.,

    chí + gbú   chí-gbú   "kill by beating"
    phù + nwú   phù-nwú   "rekindle the fire by blowing"
    wò + lí   wò-lí   "lift up"

Two low tones are not found occurring together. (This may
be evidence for the non-existence of basically disyllabic roots.)
If two low morphemes are compounded to form a complex stem, a tone
change takes place.

When two low morphemes are compounded, the first one changes
to high. When, however, the two low morphemes follow a high mor-
pheme, the second low changes to high.

L + L ‚ HL   phù + fù ‚ phú-fù   "blow out"
                  kpù + fù ‚ kpú-fù   "uncover"
                  wò + fù ‚ wó-fù   "put aside"
                  sò + ghà ‚ só-ghà   "overflow"
                  zì + ghà ‚ zì-ghá   "dash across"

L + L + H ‚ HLH   wò + zè + tá ‚ wó-zè-tá   "bring down"
                  wò + bà + tá ‚ wó-bà-tá   "bring inside"
                  tsò + pyà + bé ‚ tsó-pyà-bé "follow and come nearer"
                  dà + phù + hú ‚ dá-phù-hú   "get lost"
                  ghà + kò + bé ‚ ghá-kò-bé   "mix together"

H + L + L ‚ HLH   gbú + bù + fù ‚ gbú-bù-fú   "cut out"

The following tone classes of verb stems have been set up:

I	H, HH, HHH
II	L
III	LH, LHH
IV	HLH
V	HL

LL, LLL, LLH, LHL, HHL and HLL do not occur.

Note that simple and complex stems within the same tone class show the same tonal behaviour.

14.3.2 Extensor affixes

Extensor affixes differ in a number of ways from the base affixes and derivational affixes.

The base affix is obligatory. It harmonises to a great extent (Base affix E- and -rù completely) with the first or last morpheme of the stem. The two Base suffixes (-A and -rù) are not stem-forming in that they are not included in the gerundial forms (14.8) and verbal extension. The function of the base affix is grammatical whereas the function of the other affixes is lexical.

Derivational affixes are lexically restricted. They are included in the gerundial forms and therefore belong to the stem.

Derivational affixes replace the Base affix -A. Derivational affixes harmonise with the vowel of the preceding syllable (except kǫ).

Extensor affixes are optional and are lexically restricted. Potentially they may be joined to every verb. They are not included in the gerundial forms and are therefore not stem-forming. They do not usually harmonise with the preceding morpheme.

The following table shows the contrast between the three affixes:

Table IV: Verb affixes:

Affix	Obligatory occurrence	Lexical function	Inclusion in gerun-dial forms	Vowel Harmony	Replaces base affix
Base	x		E only	x	
Derivational		x	x	x	x
Extensor		x			

The three discontinuous extensor affixes -phǫ, -rǫ, -áà could be set up as another category of verb affix with the following features:

(1)   They occur after all other derivational or extensor suffixes,
      even after the base affix -rú.
(2)   They are discontinuous, i.e., they follow an NPo consisting
      of a pronoun.
(3)   The three affixes are mutually exclusive.

     As these three affixes combine very easily with other extensor
suffixes, however, they have been treated as such.

     Twenty-seven extensor suffixes have been found so far. In
texts, verbs are usually found with only one extensor, but it is
not uncommon to find two extensors. Sequences of more than two
are rare in non-elicited material, though combinations of four or
five can be elicited. Some combinations of suffixes are more fre-
quent than others, sometimes with a slight change of lexical
meaning (see individual examples). Some suffixes are mutually
exclusive (shown in the same column in the table below).

     If more than one suffix is added, the following specific order
has to be observed:

Table V - Extensor suffixes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-dó	-gbú	-èbé	-nùká	-jé	-chá	-bà	-chí	-fù	-áhá
	-gbà			-há	-nyà				-bùhú
	-dzù								

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
-kpó	-é	-ádá	-kwádú	-wá[1]	-kwá	-nú	-rú	-phó[3]
	-húnú						(-rù)[2]	-ró[3]
								-áà[3]

Notes:

1. -wá becomes -á after -gbà, -chá, -bà, -chí, -fù, -ádá; before -kwá; -ó after -kpó.

2. -rù, Base C suffix, is mutually exclusive with -rú.

3. -phó and -ró and -áà are discontinuous suffixes, i.e. they follow the NPo
when it consists of a personal pronoun.

1.   -dó   "because of"

               óò ngÿ bé mú byàdòrù   "It is you that I came for."

               ó nmàdòrù phẹ ètú ònó   "He told that proverb because
                                                           of them."

2.   -gbú   "all" (referring to subject or object)

               rì-gbúá !yá[1]   "Eat it all."

               é jè-gbù-wà-rù   "Everybody has gone."

---

[1] Certain extensors occur with the base suffix -A. 14.3.3 lists all such exten-
sor suffixes and the examples of each suffix illustrate this.

2.   -gbà   "all, every kind, everyone (referring to object or subject)"
ctd.   ké-gbàá yá   "Tie it all."(every kind of yam)
                  èphé èjó-gbàá   "They all go." (every one)

      -dzù   "all, wholly, completely"
                  ḿkpụ̀kpụ̀ mà-dzù-rù lé ... "All the village knows ..."

3.   -èbé/-bèbé   "all, finish doing something" (ideolectical variation)
                  ó pfù-èbè-rụ ìyà   "He said it all."
                  ànyí mè-èbè-wà-rụ   "We have done it all, finished
                                                                it."

4.   -nụ̀ká   "too much, very much"
                  ó jè-nụ̀kà-rụ ózí   "He works too much."
                  ó rí-nụ̀ka í!yá ...   "If he eats too much ..."

5.   -jé/-jé   "habitually, usually" (harmonising with preceding morpheme)
                  ó òrí-gbú-je í!yá mgbò ìá!ný   "He usually eats it all
                                                         at once."
                  ó mé-je í!yá mú ètsú-je íya !íphé
                                                  "If he does it habitually, I
                                                   will beat him every time."

      -hà-wà-rù
      -jè-wà-rù   "once before in the past" (2 extensor suffixes + Base C)
                  mú pfù-jè-wà-rụ̀ ngụ̀   "I have told it to you before."
                  ó jè-hà-wà-rù   "He has gone (there) before!
                  (ó tó òjééédú^ọ̀zọ́)   (He is not going again.)"

6.   -chá   "all" In conditional aspect "after doing ..."
                  ò tsý-cháá !yá   "He pounded it all."
                  ó tsú-cháá !yá, l'ó^òkúta í!yá "After he has pounded
                                                   it, he will bring it."

      -nyà   "for a little while"
                  "after doing it for a little while" in conditional aspect
                  ọ̀ nọ́-nyàá à byá^àwátá ọ̀kọ̀rọ́ ònó
                                             "After it has stayed for a
                                              little while, one then started
                                              to make yam heaps."
                  à byá^èmé-nyàá n̄nó...   "One then did like this for
                                              a while ..."

7.   -bà   "again, more"
                  nú-bàá yá !nrí   "Give him more food."
                  ọ́ ọ̀sá-bàá yá (=ba + wa) "He is washing it again."

8.   -chí   *"instead"*
     -chí-rú   *"on behalf of"*
     rì-chíá ọ̀wá   *"Eat this instead."*
     rì-chí-rú ¡mú   *"Eat (it) for me, on my behalf."*
                                    *(a polite way of declining
                                     offered food)*

9.   -fụ̀   *"also"*
     rí-fụ̀á nk̀ẹ̀ mú   *"Eat my share as well."*
     ó ọ̀jé-fụ̀á lẹ ẹ́gụ́ (fụ + wa) *"He is also going to the field"*

10. -áhá́/-láhá́   *"to begin to do something" (ideolectical variation)*
          ọ́ tá-áháá mu¡ẹ́rụ́, mú áhàá ¡yá   *"When it started to
                                           bite me, I left it."*
          é chì-làhà-rụ ìya ẹ́cháchị̀, ọ́ rà-áháa ọ́rà
                                           *"When one started to beat him,
                                            he began to shout."*

     -bùhú   *"to stop doing something"*
     phẹ̀rẹ̀phẹ̀rẹ̀ zíbùhú   *"The wind stopped blowing."*

11. -kpọ́[1]   *"really"*
     ò rí-kpọ́ọ́ ¡yá   *"He really ate it."*
     ọ́ ọ̀tsụ́-kpọ́ọ́ ¡nkọ́   *"It really cuts, is really sharp."*

12. -ẹ́-phọ́[2]   *"only, just as"*
     ó pfù-ẹ̀-rụ̀-phọ ó¡pfú   *"Just as he spoke ..."*
     ọ̀ chịtá-ẹ́phọ ¡ákpụ́rụ́ àzámụ̀ *"He brought only beans."*
     ànyí¡bẹ́dụ́á ¡nwé oṇwó^ànyí mà-ẹ̀-rụ̀-phọ́^ọ̀nwo ánịyí
                                    *"We who own ourselves know
                                     only ourselves."*
     ẹ̀phẹ̀ bàtá-ẹ́¡phó, ẹ̀ wòta ẹ́kwà wáà éswí
                                    *"As soon as they enter, one
                                     brings cloth and the cows."*

     -kpọ́-ẹ́-phọ́ *"to continue to do, while continuing ..."*
          ó pfù-kpọ̀-ẹ̀-rụ̀-phọ ó¡pfú *"While he continued to speak.."*

     -kpọ́-ẹ́- lụ́ -phọ́ *"to go on doing something for a long time"*
          í^ì ké-kpọ́-ẹ́-lụ íyà phọ́ je àsụ́ í^ìkéííá ya¡éíí
                                    *"You keep on tying, tying it
                                     until you tie it high."*

---

[1] This suffix is also used with the interrogative particles (9.4 & 17.4.6).

[2] When the NPo consists of a personal pronoun, the pronoun precedes -phọ́.

12   -hýn̨ý[1]   "what again?" (only used in interrogative sentences)
ctd.
        í jè-hų̀nų̀-rų àwé   "Where on earth did you go?"

13.   -ádá/-ǫ́dá "first" (ideolectical variation)

        rì-ádáá nǃrí   "Eat first!"

        jì-ádáaǃájǃ   "Ask first!"

14.   -kwádý   "still"

        ó òshíbé-kwádý ìtè   "She is still cooking."

        ǫ́ kpų̀-kwàdų̀-rų íshí   "He still shaved his head
                                     (although he wanted to rush
                                     away)."

15.   -wá   "already" action which had been expected has now been started
                    -wá becomes á if combined with -kwá (> á-kwá) and
                    after -gha, -cha, -ba, -chǃ, -fy, -ada.
                    This suffix does not occur in Base form A.

        ... m̂bè nǫ̀dý-wa íǃyá   "...the tortoise was already
                                     there"

        ùnú èjé-wá ǃágba ídò   "Have you started to go and
                                     celebrate ido?"

        é yè-wà-ru ìya n̂shǃ éǃswí   "One has already added manure."

        -a-kwa (=-wa-kwa)

        ànyí byà-à-kwà-rų ágbá ǃmę́ę́ m̂bǫ̀ký ònó
                                     "We had come already to share
                                     the wine on that day."

        ànyí mè-à-kwà-rų n̂sǫ́ ǃjí   "We have indeed already made
                                     the yam-ritual."

        -wá-phǫ̀[2]   "just then, immediately"

        ò vùwá-phǫ̀   "It has grown immediately."

        ì jéwá-phǫ̀   "Are you going just now?"

16.   -kwá   "emphasis" also occurs in answer sentences

        rì-kwáá ǃyá   "Do eat it!"

        ó òkú-kwá mǃgbę́nyá   "He is sleeping." (Reply to
                                     "Where is he?")

---

[1] This suffix is also used with the interrogative particles (9.4 & 17.4.6) and
the interrogative nominals (15.2.6).

[2] When the NPo consists of a personal pronoun, the pronoun precedes the
extensor suffix -phǫ́.

16.   -kwá-phǫ́[1]   *"also, too, all the same"*
ctd.
                    ... lẹ ſ̀ rſ-kwa ſyà phǫ́ *"that you eat it all the same."*

                    èphǫ́ àwǘ-kwá phǫ́ èjé   *"They are also going in great*
                                               numbers." or "They are going
                                               in great numbers all the same."

      -kwá-nǘ   *"on the one hand, on the other hand"*

                    ſphé, òkóòré sừrừ gẹ ſ̀ mèé-ru ſ!yá, ſ̂ſ̀ méé-ru ſ!yá yá
                    ſphe, ſ̀ sừkwà-nừ-rừ gẹ òkóòré mèé-rú !ngú, ó̂òmééru
                    !ngu ſyá

                    "What Okore says that you should do for him, you do it for
                    him. On the other hand, what you say that Okore should do
                    for you, he will do it for you."

                    ...ǫ̀lẹ ǫ́ sừ-kwà-nừ-rừ lẹ́ yä áhà ózſ̀

                    "... but he said for his part, that he will stop the work.."

17.   -nǘ   *"repetition of a command that has not been followed"* (in
                    imperative sentences), "reference back to an earlier state-
                    ment, e.g., "still", "continue", "now"

                    jè-nụ ápàta ǘkpàrà   *"Go now and carry ·the wooden*
                                                ukpara vessel!"

                    ngừtá-nụ ſ!yá   *"Come on, just drink it!"*

                    mú èpfú-nǘ gẹ ànyſ shſa ǫ̈kpǫ́kǘ ẹ̀ká-à
                                                "I still say, let us go to
                                                the side of Okpoku."

      -nǘ-!phǫ́[1] *"still, going on, all the same, in spite of ..."*

                    ſ̀ nǫ̀dǘ-nǘ-phǫ̈ ágbàzſ̂ànyſ ó!lú
                                                "You will still go on
                                                correcting us all the same."

                    ̣ mà-nừ-rừ-phǫ́: ǫ́ tǫ́!dǘ-kpǫ́-dụ-á ...
                                                "You know only too well (in
                                                spite of something): there
                                                is nothing ..."

      -lǘ⁔phǫ́[1]   usually with -ẹbẹ *"having just finished ..."*

                    ànyſ kǫ́-ẹ̀bé-lụ ſyà phǫ́, ſ̀ jé̂ànmá-ẹ̀bé-lǘ-!phǫ́ jſ̀ ònò̀

                    "When we have just finished cultivating it, and when you have
                    just finished planting that yam, ..."

18.   -rú   *"benefactive, to do for somebody"*

                    mú èyé némáàdzừ gẹ é jè-ru ſ!yá yä kẹ̈má!nǘ
                                                "I will send people that one
                                                work it for him free."

---

[1] When the NPo consists of a personal pronoun, the pronoun precedes -phǫ́.

18
ctd.

íphé òkóòré sùrù gẹ í mèé-ru í!yá, í^ì méé-ru í!yá yá

                  "What Okore says that you should
                   do for him, you do it for him."

19. ⁻phọ́[1]   *"ironic statement of the opposite"*

ọ́ tọ́!bý́dụ ìyà phọ́ bụ̀ chífù   *"It is not he who is a chief*
                            (you say, but he is a chief)."

í tí!rídùrù phọ́ !nrí, ì nọ̀dụ́ àbyáhụ́nụ́

"You have not eaten and yet you are coming! (Your coming
shows me that you must have eaten)"

The extensor suffix phọ may have other meanings
according to the combination with other extensor
suffixes.

-rọ́ [1]   *"after all, concession with respect to initial disapproval"*

Jà-á-kwá-!rọ́ yá   *"O.K. go now (as you have*
                       started to go already) there!
                       (I had disapproved before)"

yá!bẹ́dụ́à màwàrụ̀-rọ́ nwámbàké!shí nọ̀dụ́!nụ́ ...
                       "After all, he himself has
                       known the Englishman who was
                       staying ..."

tèhú-wá-rọ́ ì'ònwó ngú-ò *"O.K. then, wake up by your-*
                       self! (I don't want to have
                       a part in it anymore.)"

-áà [1]   *"emphasis of the action or status"*

mụ́ màrụ-áà   *"I do know."*

mụ́ màrụ ìya-áà   *"I do know him."*

ọ́ màrụ-áà ànyí   *"He does know us."*

ọ́ nụ̀rụ ìyà ya-áà   *"He did give it to him."*

mụ́ sụ̀rụ-áà !ẹ́ ...   *"I did say that ..."*

ọ̀ nọ̀-áà   *"Is he?"(Is he really at home?)*

    It is tempting to compare the suffix -áà with the adjectival
deictic áà *"this"*. The tonal behaviour is the same, but the deictic
áà has the function of back reference (especially if it occurs
finally in relative sentences), whereas the extensor suffix -áà
is emphasising the verb. Furthermore, the deictic áà may be
replaced in all cases by the deictic ònó, whereas this is not so
with the extensor suffix -áà.

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[1] When the NPo consists of a personal pronoun, the pronoun precedes the
extensor suffix -phọ́, -rọ́ or -áà.

14.3.3 Bases

The four bases consist of a verb stem together with one of
the four base affixes which are described below. The tables on
pages 210 and 211 display the bases and their tone patterns.

Base A.   In Base A the obligatory base affix is the suffix
-A, which is realised as either -á, after a verb root ending in
a high vowel (i, į, u and ų); or, elsewhere, as a vowel which is
assimilated to the preceding vowel.

The following restrictions are found:

(1)   any derivational affix replaces the obligatory base affix;

(2)   when the extensor suffixes -Jé *"habitual"*, èbé/bèbé *"all"*, -nųká
       "too much" occur, they replace the base affix.

(3)   with the following group of extensor suffixes, the -A suffix
       is used together with the extensor:

       - following the extensor:

       -gbú   *"all"*   -gbà   *"every kind"*

       -chá   *"all, after ..."*   -nyà   *"after a little while"*

       -bà   *"more, again"*   -chí   *"instead, on behalf of"*

       -fų   *"also"*   -áhá   *"starting"*

       -kpǫ́   *"really"*   -ádá/ǫ́dá   *"first"*

       -kwá   *"emphasis, response"*

       - preceding the extensor:

       -rú   *"benefactive"*

(4)   with the following verbs no -A suffix has been found:

       byá   *"to come"*   hųmá   *"to see"*

       jé   *"to go"*   kélé   *"to greet, thank"*

       nų́   *"to give"*   nų́má   *"to hear"*

       sų́   *"to say to"*   yé   *"to put, add"*

Examples are given in Base A nonfuture indicative aspect:

-á after I: High tone verb   ò ríá ¡yá   *"he ate it"*

             Low tone verb   ǫ̀ pylá ¡yá   *"he squeezed it"*

-á after U: High tone verb   ǫ̀ tsų́á ¡yá   *"he pounded it"*

             Low tone verb   ò kùá ¡yá   *"he called him"*

- assimilation: High tone verb: ọ̀ sáá ꜜyá *"he washed it"*

             Low tone verb: ọ̀ kèé ꜜyá *"he divided it"*

                     ò kwòó ꜜyá *"he cut it"*

Base A in conjunction with certain tone patterns forms four aspects:

    Non-subordinate: nonfuture indicative aspect
    Subordinate   conditional aspect
                   purpose aspect
    Imperative (cohortative) aspect

Base A nonfuture indicative aspect is one of the dependent aspects inasmuch as the clause in which it occurs does not function in an independent utterance and may not initiate a stretch of speech. This aspect occurs in ST 11, 23, 26, 32 and 40. It carries the lexical meaning of *"and then he did ..."* (e.g. in Table VI mù ríá ꜜyá *"and then I ate it"*), it describes a single, completed action and is frequently used in Story Register.

Tone pattern. The tones of the verb stem remain unchanged. The tone of the Base suffix -A is always high. A verb stem with initial high tone is upstepped if it follows a downstep tone (e.g., nwóꜜké ꜛríá ꜜyá).

The distinctive features of this aspect are the tones of the subject:

low tone on all the pronouns (mù ríá ꜜyé   *"and then I ate it"*)
        the pronominals (ànyì ríá ꜜyá *"and then we ate it"*)
        unexpanded nominals of tone classes HH   èghù táá ꜜyá
                   "and then the goat chewed it")
optional low tone of all unexpanded nominals of tone classes LH
             (ọ̀gbọ̀ ríá ꜜyá or ọ̀gbọ́ ríá ꜜyá
             "and then the age-mate ate it")

Base A subordinate conditional (temporal) aspect occurs in ST 21 and 22.

Tone pattern. The tones of the verb stem remain unchanged. The tone of the base suffix -A is always high. A verb stem with initial high tone is upstepped if it follows a downstep tone.

Base A subordinate purpose aspect occurs in ST 25.

Tone pattern is the same as for Base A subordinate conditional aspect.

Base A imperative (cohortative) aspect occurs in ST 80, 90 and 25.

Tone pattern. An initial low tone is realised in the different tone classes as follows:

```
H, HH, HHH:     low tone on the first syllable of the stem,
L, LH, LHH:     no change as initial syllable is already low,
HL, HLH:        no change as a sequence of two low tones never
                occurs in the verb stem.
```

In addition a latent low tone preceding the verb stem occurs
when the NPs is not a pronominal or pronoun. The effect of the
latent low is seen in that the H or ¦H of the NPs is raised to R,
e.g., gè nwóké gbútsùá ¦yá "let the man fell it."

Base AB. In Base AB two obligatory base affixes are found:
E- and -A. The restrictions and realisation of the -A suffix are
the same as for Base A.

The realisation of the prefix E- is the same as for Base B
(next section).

Examples are given in Base AB future aspect:

ó ˆòríá ¦yá   "then he will eat it"   ǫ́ ˆòpy]á ¦yá "then he will squeeze it"

ǫ́ ˆòtsúá ¦yá "then he will pound it"ǫ́ ˆòsáá ¦yá   "then he will wash it"

nwóke ˆèríá ¦yá "then the man will eat it"

Base AB in conjunction with certain tone patterns forms four
dependent aspects:

```
    Non-subordinate nonfuture indicative
    Non-subordinate future indicative
    Subordinate conditional
    Subordinate purpose
```

Base AB non-subordinate, nonfuture aspect occurs as a single
clause ST, but it is very infrequent. This aspect carries the
meaning "I have just done it!". It describes a very recent, single
past action which was not expected.

Tone pattern. The tones of the verb stem are unchanged.
The tone of the Base suffix -A is always high. The tone of the
Base affix E- is always opposite to the first tone of the stem,
i.e., tone classes H, HH, HHH, HL, HLH: the tone of the E- prefix
is a non-raising low tone, i.e. preceding H or ¦H is not raised
to R; tone classes L, LH, LHH: the tone of the E- prefix is H
and therefore raised high before the initial low tone of the stem.

The subject pronoun ¦mú follows the verb, e.g. èríá ¦mu íyá
"I have just eaten it!" In all other cases of NPs the usual order
of the subject preceding the verb is followed. If the subject
is one of the other pronouns, it is on low tone.

Base AB non-subordinate, future indicative aspect occurs
in ST 11, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 32 and carries the meaning
"then I will do it" or "then I do it".

Tone pattern. The tones of the verb stem are unchanged.
The tone of the Base suffix -A is always high. The tone of the
Base prefix E- is always opposite to the first tone of the stem.
If it is low, it is a non-raising low tone (tone classes H, HH,
HHH, HL, HLH).

The special feature of this aspect is the linking particle
I' which occurs preceding the subject pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd
persons singular, (17.4.11), e.g., ... I'í^îrîá !yá "... *then you
will eat it*", ...I'ó^òrîá !yá "... *then he will eat it*".

Base AB subordinate conditional aspect occurs in ST 22 and
is almost always used in proverbs. This aspect carries the
meaning *"whenever somebody does it,..."*

Tone pattern. The tones of the verb stem are unchanged.
The tone of the Base suffix -A is always high. The tone of the
Base prefix E- is always opposite to the first tone of the stem,
and in addition a latent low tone is postulated which precedes
the E- prefix. This results in the following pattern for the
different tone classes:

tone class H, HH, HHH,   The tone of the prefix E- is low and
            HL, HLH: raises a preceding H or !H
tone class L, LHH: The tone of the prefix E- is H (and as
                          it is followed by a stem-initial L the
                          H is raised).
                          The postulated latent low tone raises
                          a preceding H or !H, thus a sequence
                          of two raised high tones occurs.

Base AB subordinate purpose aspect occurs in ST 25.

Tone pattern of this aspect is the same as for Base AB
non-subordinate future indicative aspect, with the exception that
the linking particle does not occur in this aspect.

Base B. In this base the verb stem is preceded by the Base
prefix E-.

This prefix harmonises in two ways:

(1) with respect to its quality, whether back or front, high or
     mid, it harmonises with the vowel of the preceding 2nd or
     3rd person singular pronoun as follows:

     when the vowel of the pronoun is I (2nd sg) the prefix is I,
     when the vowel of the pronoun is O (3rd sg) the prefix is O,
     in all other instances the prefix vowel is E.

(2) with respect to its quality, whether tongue root advanced or
     retracted, it harmonises with the vowel of the immediately
     following verb root.

The prefix vowel I is realised as ɪ or i̱
                        O   o or o̱
                        E   e or ə

Examples are given in nonfuture indicative aspect:

Prefix vowel I   ɪ́ ɪ̀rɪ ɪ́ꜜyá   *"you are eating it"*

                  ɪ́ ɪ̱̀tsy ɪ́ꜜyá   *"you are pounding'it"*

Prefix vowel O   ó òrɪ ɪ́ꜜyá   *"he is eating it"* '

                  ó̱ ò̱tsy ɪ́ꜜyá   *"he is pounding it"*

Prefix vowel E   nwóꜜké èrɪ ɪ́ꜜyá *"the man is eating it"*

                  nwóꜜké ə̀tsy ɪ́ꜜyá *"the man is pounding it"*

Base B in conjunction with certain tone patterns forms two
independent aspects:

    Non-subordinate nonfuture indicative
    Non-subordinate future indicative

<u>Base B non-subordinate, nonfuture indicative aspect</u> occurs
in ST 11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 40 and carries a present
progressive meaning *"I am doing it"*.

    <u>Tone pattern</u>. The tones of the verb stem are kept in the
classes H, HH, HHH, LH, HLH. Verb stems of classes with a final
low tone, i.e., L, HL replace the final low tone by ꜜH if an
object follows.

    The E- prefix, carrying the opposite tone of the initial
stem tone, shows the following patterns:

- it is on low tone for the classes H, HH, HHH, HL, HLH and raises
  any preceding H or ꜜH tone
- it is on high tone for class LH and raised to R because of the
  stem-initial L
- it is on high tone for class L, but not raised to R because the
  L stem tone has been replaced by ꜜH (see above). In cases where
  no object follows and the stem tone remains L, the E-prefix is
  raised to R.

    Furthermore, an additional latent low tone is postulated
which precedes the E- prefix. Its effect is seen in the tone
classes L and LH where the final tone of the NPs is raised to R,
e.g., nwóꜜké ágỳchí ɪ́ꜜyá , nwókě ágỳchì ɪ́ꜜyá

    <u>Base B non-subordinate future indicative aspect</u> occurs in
ST 11, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33 and 40.

    <u>Tone pattern</u>. The tone on the E- prefix is always high (and
is thus raised to R before a following L). A latent low tone is

postulated before the E- prefix which raises the final H or !H
of the NPs to R.

All stem tones show a lowering influence of some kind. This
is probably due to a lost low tone between the E- prefix and the
stem, which influences the various classes as follows:

Classes H, HH, HHH are on !H level;
Classes in which an L occurs: the stem tones after that
low tone are all replaced by low, and any following object
pronoun is also on low tone.

Base C. In Base C the suffix -rù follows the verb stem and
most of the extensor suffixes (14.3.2).

The Base affix -rù harmonises with the vowel of the preceding
morpheme with respect to root advanced and retracted quality.

ó rìrù ʃſ   *"he ate yam"*   ó kèrù ʃſ   *"he tied yam"*

ǫ́ tsǔrǔ ʃſ   *"he pounded yam"*   ǫ́ hàrǔ ʃſ   *"he left yam"*

ǫ́ kwàkǫ̀bèwàrǔ *"he has prepared"*   (kwákǫ́bǫ́   *"to prepare"*)

The low tone of the base affix -rù has a very strong influence
which carries back to the first syllable of the stem.

Base C in conjunction with a tone pattern forms one indepen-
dent aspect:

Non-subordinate nonfuture indicative.

Base C non-subordinate nonfuture indicative aspect occurs
in ST 11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33 and carries the meaning of
neutral past tense *"he did it"*.

Tone pattern. The low tone of the base suffix -rù has a
very strong influence which carries back to the first·syllable
of the stem. All stem tones in all classes are low tones.

Table VI - AFFIRMATIVE BASE FORMS

The display overleaf gives examples of all the affirmative
base forms, set out for the four base forms: A, AB, B and C and
showing how the forms are realised for verbs of all tone classes.
Examples are paired in sets of first and third person forms for
each tone class with each aspect.

At the head of each column, a symbolisation abstracting the
salient features of the aspect concerned is given. The relevant
symbols are identified below the tables. The same symbolisation
is used for the display of negative base forms, in Table VIII,
pages

A GRAMMAR OF IZI

Base form A:

	Non-subordinate		Subordinate	
Tone Classes	Nonfuture indicative NPs̀ ^VS-Á	Imperative VS-Á	Conditional VS-Á	
H, HH, HHH	mù rɪ́á !yá nwó!ké^rɪ́á !yá	rìá !yá ùnú rìá !yá	mú rɪ́á !yá nwó!ké ^rɪ́á !yá	
L	mù kùá !yá nwó!ké kùá !yá	kùá !yá ùnú kùá !yá	mú kùá !yá nwó!ké kùá !yá	
LH, LHH	mù g̀chɪ́á !yá nwó!ké gù̀chɪ́á !yá	gù̀chɪ́á !yá ùnú gù̀chɪ́á !yá	mú gù̀chɪ́á !yá nwó!ké gù̀chɪ́á !yá	.
HL	mù gbútsùá !yá nwó!ké gbútsùá !yá	gbútsùá !yá ùnú gbútsùá !yá	mú gbútsùá !yá nwó!ké gbútsùá !yá	
HLH	mù gbúbùshɪ́á !yá nwó!ké gbúbùshɪ́á !yá	gbúbùshɪ́á !yá ùnú gbúbùshɪ́á !yá	mú gbúbùshɪ́á !yá nwó!ké gbúbùshɪ́á !yá	

Base form AB:

	Non-subordinate		Subordinate	
Tone Classes	Nonfuture indicative ^^E-VS-Á	Future indicative ^^E-VS-Á	Conditional `E-VS-Á	
H	èrɪ́á !mu ɪ́yá nwóke ^èrɪ́á !yá	mú ^èrɪ́á !yá nwóke ^èrɪ́á !yá	mú èrɪ́á !yá nwó!ké èrɪ́á !yá	
L	ékùá !mu ɪ́yá nwóke ékùá !yá	mu ékùá !yá nwóke ékùá !yá	mü !ékùá !yá nwókë !ékùá !yá	
LH, LHH	ágù̀chɪ́á !mu ɪ́yá nwóke ágù̀chɪ́á !yá	mu ágù̀chɪ́á !yá nwóke ágù̀chɪ́á !yá	mü !ágù̀chɪ́á !yá nwókë !ágù̀chɪ́á !yá	
HL	èrgbútsùá !mu ɪ́yá nwóke ^èrgbútsùá !yá	mú ^èrgbútsùá !yá nwóke ^èrgbútsùá !yá	mú èrgbútsùá !yá nwóké èrgbútsùá !yá	
HLH	èrgbúbùshɪ́á !mu ɪ́yá nwóke^èrgbúbùshɪ́á!yá	mú^èrgbúbùshɪ́á !yá nwóke^èrgbúbùshɪ́á !yá	mú èrgbúbùshɪ́á !yá nwóké èrgbúbùshɪ́á !yá	

VS   verb stem with its inherent tone   -A   base suffix -A
V̀S   low tone marks the entire verb stem   E-   base prefix E-
NP̀s   low tone marks the final syllable of some NPs.   -rù   base suffix -rù

BASE FORMS

Base form B:

	Non-subordinate	
Purpose (gẹ) VS-Á	Tone Classes	Nonfuture indicative `E-VS	Future indicative `Ë-`VS
mú ríá !yá nwó!ké ^ríá !yá	H	mú èrí f!yá nwó!ké èrí f!yá	mü é!rí fyá nwókë é!rí fyá
mú kùá !yá nwó!ké kùá !yá	L	mü é!ku fyá nwókë é!ku fyá	mü !éku ìyà nwókë !éku ìyà
mú gùchíá !yá nwó!ké gùchíá !yá	LH, LHH	mü !águchì f!yá nwókë !águchì f!yá	mü !águchì ìyà nwókë !águchì ìyà
mú gbútsùá !yá nwó!ké gbútsùá !yá	HL	mú ègbútsu f!yá nwó!ké ègbútsu fyá	mü égbútsu ìyà nwókë égbútsu ìyà
mú gbúbùshíá !yá nwó!ké gbúbùshíá !yá	HLH	mú ègbúbùshì f!yá nwó!ké ègbúbùshì f!yá	mü égbúbùshì ì!yà n̊wókë égbúbùshì ì!yà

Base form C:

	Non-subordinate
Purpose ^`E-VS-Á	Tone Classes	Nonfuture indicative V̀S-rù
mú ^èríá !yá nwóke ^èríá !yá	H	mú rìru ìyà nwó!ké rìru ìyà
mu ékùá !yá nwóke ékùá !yá	L	mú kùru ìyà nwó!ké kùrù ìyà
mu águchíá !yá nwóke águchíá !yá	LH, LHH	mú gùchìru ìyà nwó!ké gùchìru ìyà
mú^ègbútsùá !yá nwóke^ègbútsùá !yá	HL	mú gbùtsùru ìyà nwó!ké gbùtsùru ìyà
mú^ègbúbùshíá !yá nwóke^ègbúbùshíá !yá	HLH	mú gbùbùshìru ìyà nwó!ké gbùbùshìru ìyà

Vocabulary:

NPs:

mú	"1st sg."
nwó!ké	"man"
ùnú	"2nd pl pronominal"

NPo:

ìyá ~ yá	"3rd sg."

VP:

rí	"to eat"
kù	"to call"
gùchí	"to close"
gbútsù	"to fell"
gbúbùshí	"to cut in pieces"

E-　　no tone on the E- prefix indicates its tone is opposite to the stem-initial tone
`E-　　latent low tone precedes the E- prefix
^`E-　　a non-raising low precedes the E- prefix

14.4 STATIVE VERBS

The structure of stative verbs is parallel to that of non-stative verbs. All elements of the non-stative verb are also found in the stative verb, but with slight differences.

The main contrast between non-stative and stative verbs is the absence of Base B, nonfuture indicative aspect (i.e. present progressive) in the stative verb, though when the extensor suffix -jé "habitual" occurs, the tone pattern of Base B occurs (14.4.2).

On the other hand, Base C, whose meaning with non-stative verbs corresponds to "neutral past" has taken over the meaning "a state in the present" for the stative verbs. "A state in the past" is expressed with the stative verbs by the auxiliary verb shí, VP 21 (11.4).

14.4.1 Stative verb stems

The number of stative verb stems is very small. The following have been found so far:

High tone classes:

bụ	"to be" (equation)	bu	"to live in a location"
dụ	"to be" (quality)	gba	"to be" (same or different)
ka	"to be more, exceed"	kari[1] (ẹ́ká)	"to surpass one's ability"
ma	"to know"	nwe	"to own, to have"
shI	"to be from, come from"	pa (ẹ́nyá)	"to be far"
shIhu (ụ́ká)	"to be sour" (spoilt food)	pa (ẹ́ká)	"to be much, many"
shIhu (íké)	"to be strong"		

Low tone classes:

ha	"to be" (in size)	kwa	"to sleep, spend the night"
nọ	"to be (in a location)		
nọdụ[1]	to remain"		

With the verb stems ma, nwe, bụ, bu and gba a suffix -ru occurs in certain aspects which does not have the same function as the base affix -rù of Base C of the non-stative stems, nor can it be compared with the extensor suffix -rú "benefactive". It is regarded as part of the verb stem as it is found in the majority of aspects and in four cases helps to form the verbal extension:

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[1] -rI in kari and -du in nọdu are not regarded as suffixes as they are not found with any other verb.

Stem:	má	Verbal extension:	àmámá	or	àmáàrù
	nwé		ènwénwé		ànwéàrù
	bú		èbúbú		èbúùrù
	bų́		àbų́bų́		
	gbá				àgbáàrù

The stem suffix -rú has high tone except for the verbal extensions above.

   Derivational suffixes. Apart from the suffix -hu in the stem shíhú *"to be strong, or sour"*, no other derivational suffix has been found.

   The suffix -kǫ́tá, found frequently with non-stative verbs, may also be added to all stative verbs. It is not, however, included to form the verbal extension and has to be considered as an extensor suffix rather than a derivational suffix. With the stative verbs, the meaning of -kǫ́tá is *"all, plurality"*:

ǫ́ hàkǫ̀tà shí   *"They are all big, lit. it is all big"*

14.4.2 Stative extensor suffixes

   All extensor suffixes, mentioned for non-stative verbs, have also been found to occur with stative verbs.

-nų̀ká	ǫ́ pà-nų̀kà-rų̀ shí	*"it is extremely big"*
-bà + -wá	ǫ́ dų̀-bà-à I'ų́lǫ̀	*"there is more in the house"*
-kwádų́	ǫ́ nǫ̀-kwàdų̀ I'ų́lǫ̀	*"he is still in the house"*
-fų̀ + -wá	ǫ́ hà-fų̀-à shí	*"he is also big"*
-chá	if this suffix is used together with the stem ká *"to be more"*, it expresses the superlative *"to be most"*:	
	ǫ́ kà-chà shí *"it is biggest"*	
	ǫ́ kà-chà nwáànshí̖ *"it is smallest"*	
-jé / -ję́	*"habitual"* This suffix may only occur together with the E- prefix and therefore the verb occurs with the tone pattern of Base B indicative aspect.	
	Base C: ǫ́ dų̀ ·ré *"it is good"*	
	Base B: ǫ́ ǫ̀dų́-ję́ ré *"it is usually good"*	
	Base B: á àbų́ję́rų́ tèké ... *"it is usually the time when"*	

14.4.3 Stative bases

The same four bases which are found with the non-stative
verbs are also found with stative verbs, but Base B nonfuture
indicative does not occur.   The four bases are termed SA, SAB,
SB and SC.

Unless otherwise stated below, the occurrence of the stative
bases, their meaning and tone patterns are identical to those of
the corresponding non-stative bases. Base SC, however, does not
carry the meaning *"neutral past"* as with the non-stative verbs, but
describes a state in the present.

The base affixes are realised somewhat differently:

Base affix -A   is realised in three ways:

(1)   as -A as described for non-stative verbs with the following
verb stems: bú[1], kárí, kwà, nọ̀, pá.

(2)   the suffix -ru has taken over the function of the base affix
-A with the following verb stems: bụ́[1] bú, gbá, má, nwé,

(3)   no -A suffix is present with the following verb stems: dụ́,
hà, ká, shí, shíhú. Sometimes, however, its tonal influence is
still seen, particularly in the case of hà and ká.

Base affix E- is realised in the same way as for non-stative
verbs.

Base affix -ru in Base SC. This base suffix is realised in
two ways:

(1)   as for non-stative verbs with the following verbs: kárí,
kwà, má, nwé, pá, shíhú, gbá.

(2)   with all the other verb stems the suffix is absent, its
low tone influence however is still present.

Tone patterns. The stems of the stative verbs have been
grouped into tone classes, not only according to their tone
patterns, but also according to their occurrence with the base
affixes, as follows:

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[1] The verb stem bú *"to live in a location"* may occur with either realisation
of the -A suffix: the lexical meaning, however, changes slightly.
bú with -A: *"to live a definite time in a certain location"*
bú with -ru: *"to live an indefinite time in a certain location"*

Table VII - Tone classes of stative verb stems

Tone Class	Verb Stems	Base SA and SAB	Base SB	Base SC
H 1	pa	suffix -A		-rù
	shihu			-rù
	kari	suffix -A		-rù
H 2	ma	suffix -rú functioning as -A	-rú	-rù
	nwe	suffix -rú functioning as -A	-rú	-rù
	gba	suffix -rú functioning as -A	-rú	-rù
H 3a	bụ	suffix -rú functioning as -A	-rú	
3b	bu	suffix -rú or -A		
H 4	ka			
	dụ			1.
	shị			
L 1	ha			
L 2	kwa	suffix -A		-rù
L 3	nọ	suffix -A		
	nọdụ	suffix -A		

The verb stem hà "to be (in size)", carries a different tone
pattern from other low tone verb stems in Bases SA and SAB as
follows:

In Base SA nonfuture indicative, low tone is replaced by
high tone. This may be due to the fact that the -A suffix has
been lost but its tone has replaced the stem tone, i.e., *ọ̀ hàá
shí › ọ̀ há shí.

In Base SA conditional and purpose, when the NPs is a pronoun
the stem tone is replaced by !H.

In Base SA imperative, the low tone which normally marks this
aspect is replaced by high tone. This again might be due to the
influence of a lost -á suffix. When the NPs is a pronoun, the
stem tone is replaced by !H. With other NPs, the stem tone is
high, but preceded by a latent low.

In Base SAB indicative and purpose, the low stem hà is always
replaced by high and the E- prefix is on low tone.

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[1] With the verb dụ two forms of Base C occur: one without -rù but with low tone,
with the regular meaning "to be in quality or quantity". The second form where
-rù is found, occurs in the fixed expression:

ọ́ dụ̀rụ̀ ... "there is ..., there are ..."

ọ́ dụ̀rụ̀ ńdụ́ ọ̀phụ́ àsụ́   "There are those people who say ..."

In Base SAB conditional, the low stem hà is replaced by !H and the E- prefix remains high.

The verb stem ká "to be more" also carries the same tone pattern as hà "to be" in Base SA imperative.

14.5 NEGATIVE TRANSFORMATION

The negative transformation is realised in the same way for non-stative and stative verbs. Verbs in Bases A, B and C may be transformed into the negative but not those in Base AB. The negative bases are termed Bases NA, NB and NC.

The negative transformation consists of

(1)   the negative marker tÉ "not" or tÉkÈ "not yet" which precedes the verb stem. tÉ occurs more frequently than tÉkÈ. The negative marker functions as a prefix but is written separately in Izi orthography.

(2)   One of the negative suffixes -dú, -kwá or -shí is suffixed to the verb stem. When the verb is functioning in an imperative or cohortative sentence, -kwá or -shí occur, otherwise -dú occurs.

14.5.1   Negative particles tÉ and tÉkÈ

The negative particle tÉ is realised in different ways according to the aspect in which it occurs and according to vowel harmony.

tÉ	in NB indicative
	in NC nonfuture indicative
(t)É	in NA imperative
tÉ or bÉ	in NA purpose
ÈtÉ	in NB purpose
É	in NC conditional
#	in NB conditional

The vowel E of the negative particle harmonises in two different ways:

- according to quality whether back or front, high or mid, it harmonises with the vowel of the preceding morpheme when this is the second or third person singular pronoun. Otherwise it is E.
- according to its quality whether tongue root advanced or retracted it harmonises with the vowel of the first morpheme of the stem.

The examples are given in Base NB indicative.

mú	té èpfúdu f!yá	*"I am not speaking it."*
f	tf ìpfúdu f!yá	*"You are not speaking it."*
ó	tó òpfúdu f!yá	*"He is not speaking it."*
nwó!ké	té èpfúdu f!yá	*"The man is not speaking it."*
mý	tá àpfýdý f!yá	*"I am not paying it."*
f	tf ìpfýdý f!yá	*"You are not paying it."*
ó̧	tó̧ ò̧pfýdý f!yá	*"He is not paying it."*
nwó!ké	tá àpfýdý f!yá	*"The man is not paying it."*

The negative particle tÉkÈ only occurs with Base NB, together
with either the negative suffix -dú, -kwá or -swèé. Their lexical
meaning is:

   tÉkÈ and -dú   *"not yet"*
   tÉkÈ and -kwá   *"not yet" (either emphatic or in answers)*
   tÉkÈ and -swèé   *"never yet, never before"*

The vowel E is realised in the same way as with the particle
tÉ , but with some speakers (mostly older ones) tÉkÈ does not
harmonise with respect to the vowel of the stem but remains root
advanced.

ó tók(ò) ò̧byádý	*"he has not yet come"*
or ó̧ tó̧k(ò̧) ò̧byádý	*"he has not yet come"*
mú ték(è) àrʃswèé !yá	*"I have never eaten it before"*
... tèké mbèkéé^ètékè àbyádý	*"At the time when the Europeans had not yet come"*
... ónye étékè àlýdý nwáànyl	*"... someone who has not yet married."*

14.5.2 Negative suffixes

The negative suffixes occur as follows:

-shʃ ~ -shʃ occurs in the imperative (cohortative) aspects

-dú ~ -dý occurs in all other aspects.

Both suffixes harmonise with the vowel of the preceding
syllable.

In general, the negative suffixes function in the same ways
as extensor suffixes, apart from the fact that the negative
suffixes are obligatory in the negative constructions.

The extensor suffix -kwá *"emphatic"*, also *"answer to question"*
occurs very frequently and replaces the negative suffix -dý. In

the imperative aspect, it replaces -shí, when the meaning is
"Stop doing .."   The negative extensor suffix -swèé *"never before"*
occurs together with tékè and replaces -dú.

All these suffixes replace the Base affix -A unless another
extensor suffix is present which always occurs with Base affix -A.

In addition to -shí, -dú and -swèé, two other negative
extensor suffixes occur:

-hé̩ or -é̩ *(idiolectical variation)* *"not again, no longer, no more"*

-zì   *"not as much"*

and the combination -zì + -é̩ *"not as much as before"*.

Most extensor suffixes mentioned in 14.3.2 also occur in
the negative transformation[1]. In relation to the other extensor
suffixes, the negative suffixes occur as follows:

    as order 14:   -dú and -shí
    between orders 15 and 16:   -hé̩ and -zì
    as order 16:   -swèé

The negative particle and the negative suffix are underlined.

té   !mé-shí   *"Don't do it!"*
not do   not

ó tó̩ òmédú   ré   *"He does not do well."*
he not is doing well

ọ̩ tọ̩ !búkwá á^nyí mèru ìyà   *"It was not us at all who did it."*
it not is   we   did   it

ó tó̩ !ríkpó̩dúárụ ̩íyá   *"He really has not eaten it."*
he not eaten really it

ànyí tékè   àhụ̩máswèé íphé!dú   é̩^gụ̩bé̩-à *"We have never seen such*
we   not yet see before thing which is like this   a thing."*

Note that in Base NA, the following extensor suffixes replace
Base affix -A:

    -jé̩ ~ -jé̩   *"habitually"*

    -è̩bé̩ ~ -bè̩bé̩   *"all"*

    -nù̩ká   *"too much"*

[1]Only -áhá *"starting"* and -kwádú *"still"* do not occur in the negative trans-
formation. The extensor suffix -wá *"already"* becomes -á after the negative
suffix -dú: ọ̩ tọ̩ ò̩sád(ụ)á !yá *"he does not wash it already."*

With the other extensor suffixes, the base affix -A does
occur, but requires the negative suffix -kwá to which it is added.

ǫ́ tǫ́ !má-ę́-dų́ gę̀ ö ó!me ɍyá   *"And he does not know any more how to do
                                      it."*

tɨ́ !bú̜-ę́-dų ónyé ɨzɨ́ɨ̀   *"Are you no longer an Izi?"*

tèké ɍdó ònó à dá-zɨ̀-dù-ru ǫ́dà *"When that Ido does not sound so much ..."*

é rɨ́-fų̀-kwàà yà   *"Don't eat it also."*

é rɨ́-nų̀kà-kwa ɨyà   *"Don't eat too much of it."*

14.5.3   Negative forms in complex VP

With VP 21, the negative transformation only occurs when the
auxiliary is shɨ́. The negative particle precedes the auxiliary
verb and the negative suffix is affixed to the auxiliary verb not
to the main verb. The tone pattern of the auxiliary is that of
Base NC.

ó tó !shɨ́dú ˆtsų́é nrɨ́   *"She did not pound food."*
she not (past) pound food

ónyé ˆèté !shɨ́dú ˆmáru ɨ́!phé *"Whoever did not know anything ..."*
person who not (past) know thing

With VP 22, two possibilities occur:

(1)   the verb particle gɛ́gɛ̀ precedes the negative particle which
      is in this case ɛ́tɛ́:

      VP 22 : gɛ́gɛ̀ + ɛ́tɛ́ + verb nucleus in Base NB

(2)   gɛ́gɛ̀ is replaced by its negative form tɛ́gɛ̀; the negative
      particle is reduced to ɛ:

      VP 22 : tɛ́gɛ̀ + ɛ́ + verb nucleus in Base NB

It is to be noted that both gɛ́gɛ̀ and tɛ́gɛ̀ always keep their
root advanced vowels and harmonise with the preceding singular
subject pronoun in number only (e, ɨ or o); whereas the negative
particle ɛ́tɛ́ and ɛ́ harmonises with the preceding subject pronoun
as well as with the first vowel of the verb stem whether root
advanced or retracted (ɨ ~ ɨ̜, o ~ ǫ, e ~ ɐ).

mú gég(è) átá àbyákwá   *"I would not have come."*
I would have not come

ó góg(ò)   ǫ́tǫ ǫ́zàdų ų́ɨ̀ǫ̀ *"She would not have swept the house."*
she would have not swept house

mú tég(è)   ó àbyákwá   *"I would not have come."*
I would have not come

14.5.4 Negative bases

The tone patterns for the negative transformation of the stative and non-stative verb are the same.

As with the affirmative verb, the negative aspects are realised through the verb bases and tone patterns. Table VIII displays these.

Base NA purpose and imperative aspects are the negative transformation of Base A purpose and imperative aspect and occur in the same sentence types. As these two aspects show strong parallels, they are described together.

Tone patterns. The tone of the negative particle is always high. It is preceded by a latent low tone which raises the final H or !H tone of the NPs to raised high.

The tones of the verb stems show the following features:

classes H, HH, HHH: all stem tones (and the negative suffix -shí or -kwá and any object pronoun) are on a downstepped high level.
classes L, LH, LHH, HL, HLH (e.g., all classes in which a low tone occurs) stem tones after the low tone are replaced by low tones, including the negative suffix and any object pronoun.

This suggests a lowering influence on the verb stem which probably goes back to a lost low tone between the negative particle and the verb stem.

The purpose aspect differs from the imperative aspect in that the negative particle in this aspect is freely fluctuating between tÉ and bÉ, (with some speakers bÉ is preferred), e.g.,

gẹ ö bó !ríshi íyá   "*in order that he should not eat it*"
or   gẹ ö tó !ríshi íyá

The negative suffix is optional in this aspect.

Base NB non-subordinate indicative aspect is the negative transformation of the Base B non-subordinate nonfuture and future aspects and occurs in the same sentence types.

Tone pattern. The negative particle tÉ always carries a high tone. A latent low tone is postulated between the negative particle and the following E- prefix which raises the negative particle to raised high in all tone classes. The E- prefix always carries the opposite tone to the stem-initial tone. The tones of the verb stem are unchanged. The tone of the negative suffix -dú is always high.

Base NB subordinate conditional aspect is a negative trans-
formation of the Base A subordinate conditional aspect and occurs
in the same sentence types. In addition, it also occurs in ST 24.

Tone pattern. The negative particle té is always absent.
The E- prefix always carries the opposite tone to the stem-initial
tone. It is preceded by a latent low tone which raises a final H
or !H tone of the NPs to raised high. The tones of the verb stems
are unchanged. The tone of the negative suffix -dú is always high.

Base NB subordinate purpose aspect is a negative transfor-
mation of the Base B subordinate purpose aspect and occurs in the
same sentence types.

Tone pattern. The negative particle is ÈtÉ, i.e. a preceding
H is not raised, thus showing that the initial L is non-raising.
The tone of the final syllable is high. The E- prefix tone is
always high. The tones of the stem show a lowering influence
which is probably due to a lost low tone between the E- prefix
and the stem. The different classes show the following pattern:

classes H, HH, HHH: all stem tones (and the negative suffix -dú
                and any object pronoun) are on a downstepped
                high level.
classes L, LH, LHH, HL, HLH (i.e. classes in which a low tone
                occurs) stem tones after the low tone are
                replaced by low tones, including the negative
                suffix and any object pronoun.

Base NC non-subordinate, nonfuture indicative aspect is a
negative transformation of the same aspect Base C and occurs in
the same sentence types.

Tone pattern. The negative particle té always carries high
tone. When it is preceded by an NPs with a final !H syllable,
the negative particle is upstepped. The stem tones again show a
lowering influence due to a lost low tone preceding the stem.
It influences the pattern of the stems as follows:

classes H, HH, HHH: all stem tones and the negative suffix -dú
                and the base affix -rù and any object pronoun,
                are on a downstepped high level.
classes L, LH, LHH, HL, HLH (i.e. classes in which a low tone
                occurs): stem tones after the low tone are
                replaced by low tones including the negative
                suffix, the base affix -rù and any object
                pronoun.

Base NC subordinate conditional aspect is the negative
transformation of the corresponding aspect of Base C and occurs
in the same sentence types.

The tonal features are identical to those of Base NC non-
subordinate nonfuture indicative aspect.

A GRAMMAR OF IZI

Base form NA:

Tone Classes	Purpose `'tɛ́(`)-VS ± shi/kwa	Imperative (-NPs)`'tɛ́(`)-VS + shi/kwa
H	gè̩ mü̩ té ˈri íyá g'ö bó ˈríshí íyá gè̩ nwókë̈ té ˈri íyá	té ˈrishi íyá mü̩ té ˈríshí íyá nwókë̈ té ˈríshí íyá
L	gè̩ mü̩ ˈté ku ìyà g'ö ˈbó kùshì ìyà gè̩ nwókë̈ ˈté ku ìyà	té kùshì ìyà mü̩ ˈté kùshì ìyà nwókë̈ ˈté kùshì ìyà
LH, LHH	gè̩ mü̩ ˈtá gù̩chì ìyà g'ö ˈbó gù̩chìshì ìyà gè̩ nwókë̈ ˈtá gù̩chì ìyà	tá gù̩chìshì ìyà mü̩ ˈtá gù̩chìshì ìyà nwókë̈ ˈtá gù̩chìshì ìyà
HL	gè̩ mü̩ té gbútsu ìyà g'ö tó gbútsùshì ìyà gè̩ nwókë̈ té gbútsu ìyà	té gbútsùshì ìyà mü̩ té gbútsùshì ìyà nwókë̈ té gbútsùshì ìyà
HLH	gè̩ mü̩ té gbúbùshìshì ìyà g'ö tó gbúbùshìshì ìyà gè̩ nwókë̈ té gbúbùshìshì ìyà	té gbúbùshìshì ìyà mü̩ té gbúbùshìshì ìyà nwókë̈ té gbúbùshìshì ìyà

Base form NB:

Tone Classes	Non-subordinate Indicative tɛ́`E-VS-dú	Subordinate conditional (-tE)`E-VS-dú	
H	mú té è̩rídu í!yá nwó!ké té è̩rídu í!yá	mú è̩rídu í!yá nwó!ké è̩rídu í!yá	
L	mú të̩ ˈékùdu í!yá nwó!ké të̩ˈékùdu í!yá	mü̩ ˈékùdu í!yá nwókë̈ ˈékùdu í!yá	
LH, LHH	mú të̩ ˈágù̩chídu í!yá nwó!ké të̩ ˈágù̩chídu í!yá	mü̩ ˈágù̩chídu í!yá nwókë̈ ˈágù̩chídu í!yá	
HL	mú té è̩gbútsùdu í!yá nwó!ké té è̩gbútsùdu í!yá	mú è̩gbútsùdu í!yá nwó!ké è̩gbútsùdu í!yá	
HLH	mú té è̩gbúbùshídu í!yá nwó!ké té è̩gbúbùshídu í!yá	mú è̩gbúbùshídu í!yá nwó!ké è̩gbúbùshídu í!yá	

NEGATIVE BASE FORMS

Base form NC:

Tone Classes	Non-subordinate	Subordinate
	Non-future indicative ˆté (`)VS-duru	Conditional ˆɛ (`)VS-duru
H	mú té !rídúru ɾyá nwó!ké ˆté !rídúru ɾyá	mu é!rídúru ɾyá nwóke é!rídúru ɾyá
L	mú té kùdùru ɩyà nwó!ké ˆté kùdùru ɩyà	mu ë kùdùru ɩyà nwóke ë kùdùru ɩyà
LH, LHH	mú tá gỳchɩdùru ɩyà nwó!ké ˆtá gỳchɩdùru ɩyà	mu ágỳchɩdùru ɩyà nwóke ägỳchɩdùru ɩyà
HL	mú té gbútsùdùru ɩyà nwó!ké ˆté gbútsùdùru ɩyà	mu égbútsùdùru ɩyà nwóke égbútsùdùru ɩyà
HLH	mú té gbúbùshɩdùru ɩyà nwó!ké ˆté gbúbùshɩdùru ɩyà	mu égbúbùshɩdùru ɩyà nwóke égbúpùshɩdùru ɩyà

Purpose ʼˆɛ̀tɛ́ É(`)-VS-du
múˆɛ̀té é!rídu ɾyá nwóké^ɛ̀té é!rídu ɾyá
múˆɛ̀te ékùdu ɩyà nwóké^ɛ̀te ékùdu ɩyà
múˆɛ̀tá ágỳchɩdu ɩyà nwóké^ɛ̀ta ágỳchɩdu ɩyà
múˆɛ̀té égbútsùdu ɩyà nwóké^ɛ̀té égbútsùdu ɩyà
múˆɛ̀té égbúbùshɩdu ɩyà nwóké^ɛ̀té égbúbùshɩdu ɩyà

Vocabulary:

NPs: NPo:

mú   *"1st sg"*   ɩyá   *"3rd sg"*

nwó!ké   *"man"*

VP:

rí   *"to eat"*

kù   *"to call"*

gỳchí   *"to close"*

gbútsù   *"to fell"*

gbúbùshí *"to cut to pieces"*

Symbolisation at the head of each column is the same as that used in Table VI, pages 210 and 211 with the addition of (`) indicating a lowering influence

The difference in the conditional aspect lies in the form
of the negative particle. Whereas in the nonfuture indicative
aspect the negative particle is tÉ, in the conditional aspect it
is É. For this reason, the final syllable of the NPs always
occurs elided.

14.5.5 Reduced negative

In names, surnames, proverbs and proverbial sayings a negative
aspect sometimes occurs in which the negative is reduced and is
marked primarily by the tone pattern.

As this tone pattern shows most parallels to Base NC non-
future, the hypothesis is set up that this reduced negative
originally was Base NC which was reduced in proverbs, names etc.,
which have in general a very concise form. Compare the following
examples:

ópfú té !gbúdúrú   *"Words did not kill."*
word not killed

ópfú é !gbú   *"Words can never kill"* (proverb)
word not kill

ǹgwèrè tá ràdừrụ ǫ́rà   *"Lizard did not shout."*
lizard   not shouted shout

ǹgwère á rà ǫ́rà   *"A lizard never shouts."* (proverb)
lizard   not shout shout

In the reduced negative, the negative particle is reduced
to the vowel only and the negative suffix is deleted completely,
also the base affix -rừ. The tone pattern remains. The lexical
meaning of Base C *"neutral past"*   changes to a general timeless
truth in the reduced negative.

ẹ́ja á!bvụ́   ı'àı̣   *"Sand never finishes on the ground."* (Name
sand not finishes on ground   of an Izi age group)

éghu á !má   lẹ á àbọ   ʄ!yá *"A goat never knows that she is cut into
goat not knows that one will her pieces."* (The first part is a derogatory
                     cut   name or a curse.)

òkérépfu é ku !ḿgbẹ́nyá I'íphe ǫ́ hừmàrừ *"A rat never sleeps over
rat   not sleeps sleep   on thing it saw   the things it saw."*
                                                     (proverb)

14.6 RELATIVE TRANSFORMATION

Both affirmative and negative verbs occur in sentence con-
structs class R (9.10). Verbs in Bases B and C occur in SC class
R2 and R3 without any change (apart from the high tone juncture
which immediately precedes the verb). Verbs, however, in SC
class R1 undergo a relative transformation.

14.6.1 Affirmative verbs

Affirmative verbs in Bases B nf, B fut and C nf occur in SC
class R1 and undergo a relative transformation which consists of

(1)   the high tone juncture feature marking the syllable
      immediately preceding the verb (9.10);

(2)   a latent non-raising low tone preceding the E- prefix, which
      is realised as follows:

      - in Base B forms, when the E- prefix is L, it becomes ˄L,
                          when the E- prefix is H, it is downstepped
                          and becomes ⁝H,
                          when the E- prefix is R (because of stem-
                          initial L), ˄L precedes R;

      - in Base C forms, as ⁝H on the first syllable of the stem.
                          After any stem-medial L, there is a
                          sequence of L.

14.6.2 Negative verbs

Negative verbs in Base NB and NC undergo a relative trans-
formation which consists of

(1)   in the case of Base NB, an E prefix precedes the negative
      particles tÉ and tÉkÉ, being realised as ˄ÉtÉ or ˄ÉtÉkÉ,

(2)   in the case of Base NC, the negative particle tÉkÉ does not
      occur. The E prefix and the negative particle tÉ are realised
      as either ˄ÉtÉ or in a shortened form ˄É´. Following the
      shortened form, the first syllable of the verb stem is marked
      by high tone.

14.7 SUMMARY OF THE ASPECT SYSTEM

When the various aspects and their realisations with different
verb stem tone classes are studied, it is possible to represent the
essential elements of the aspect system in an abstracted form, as
in Table IX.

Table IX - Abstracts of the aspect system

Base	Non-subordinate		Subordinate
	Non-future indicative	Future indicative	Conditional
A	NPs̀ ˆVS-Ǎ		VS-Á
AB	ˆˋE-VS-Á (1st sg NPs)	ˆˋE-VS-Á	ˋE-VS-Á
B	ˋE-VS	ˋÉ-ˋVS	
C	V̀S-rù		
NA			
NB	tÉˋE-VS-dú	same as nf	(-tE)ˋE-VS-dú
NC	ˆtÉ (ˋ)VS-duru		ˆE (ˋ)VS-duru

```
VS     verb stem with its inherent tone
V̀S     low tone marks the entire verb stem
ˆVS     when following a downstepped high, high tone on the VS is upstepped
ˋVS     latent low precedes the verb stem
(ˋ)VS   lowering influence on the verb stem
```

Purpose	Imperative	Relative Transformation
VS-Á	(NPs) VS-Á	
ˆˋE-VS-Á		
		′ ˆˋE-VS
		′ ˆˋ(ˋ)VS-ru
ˋTɛ́(ˋ)-VS.± shi/kwa	(-NPs)ˋtɛ́(ˋ)-VS + shi/kwa	
′ˆɛ̀tɛ́ ɛ́(ˋ)-VS-du		′ ˆɛ̀tɛ́ E-VS-du or ′ ˆɛ̀tɛ́kɛ̀ E-VS-du
		′ ˆɛ̀tɛ́ VS-duru or ′ ˆˋɛ VS-duru

NPꞏ̀ low tone marks the final syllable of some NPs
-A   base suffix -A
E-   base prefix E-
-rù   base suffix -rù
E-   no tone on the E- indicates its tone is opposite to the stem-initial tone
ˋE-   latent low tone precedes the E- prefix
ˆˋE- a non-raising low precedes the E- prefix

14.8   GERUNDIAL CONSTRUCTION

The structure of the Gerundial form of the verb is of two types as follows:

14.8.1   Gerundial 1

The Gerundial 1 occurs

- in Clause Construct S if it is the non-final element in the CC;
- in Clause Construct T if it is the non-final element in a CC functioning in CT 17a or 17b;
- in Clause Construct C.

Gerundial 1 has the following structure:

Ɛ + verb stem + a specific tone pattern

The prefix Ɛ- is realised as e- before a stem with root-advanced vowel,
as a- before a stem with root-retracted vowel.

The tone patterns are as follows for the five tone classes:

	following H or ꜝH		following L
Class I (H, HH, HHH)	ˆɛ̀ÉV́s		ÉV́s
	ˆè̀érí	*"eating"*	érí
	ˆàápátá	*"carrying"*	ápátá
	ˆàáchɪ́kọ̀bẹ́	*"gathering"*	áchɪ́kọ̀bẹ́
Class II (L)	ÉV̀s		È̀V̀s
	ékù	*"calling"*	èkù
Class III (LH, LHH)	ÉV̀s		È̀V̀s
	ágùchì	*"closing"*	àgùchì
	ágbàpfùbè	*"run-meeting"*	àgbàpfùbè
Class IV (HL)	ˆɛ̀ÉVs		ÉVs
	ˆè̀égbútsù	*"felling"*	égbútsù
Class V (HLH)	ˆɛ̀ÉVs⁽ˋ⁾		ÉVs⁽ˋ⁾
	ˆè̀égbúbùshì	*"cutting in pieces"*	égbúbùshì

Thus the tone of the E- prefix is:

(1)   with stems with initial H: ˆLH following H
                                   H following L

(2) with stems with initial L: H following H
                               L following L

The tone of the verb stems can be described as follows:

- for classes I, II, IV: the stem tones remain unchanged.
- for classes III and V: after the L tone of the stem, all H
                          tones are replaced by L.

14.8.2 Gerundial 2

The Gerundial 2 occurs

- in Clause Construct S if it is the final element in the CC;

- in Clause Construct T if it is the final element in a CC func-
                        tioning in CT 17a or 17b;

- in all CC T which function in CT 17c and NP 17.

Gerundial 2 has the following structure:

E + (reduplicated) verb stem + a specific tone pattern

The prefix E- is realised in the same way as in Gerundial 1.
When the verb stem is monosyllabic, it is reduplicated.

The tone patterns are as follows for the five tone classes:

Class			
Class I (H)	ˆÈVSVS	ˆàsásá	*"washing"*
		ˆèrírí	*"eating"*
(HH, HHH)	ˆÈVS	ˆàpátá	*"carrying"*
		ˆàch[kó̩bé̩	*"gathering"*
Class II (L)	ÈVSVS	èkùkù	*"calling"*
Class III (LH, LHH)	ÈVS⁽˙⁾	àgúchì	*"closing"*
		àgbápfùbè	*"run-meeting"*
Class IV (HL)	ˆÈVS	ˆègbútsù	*"felling"*
Class V (HLH)	ˆÈVS⁽˙⁾	ˆègbúbùshì	*"slicing"*

Thus the tone of the E- prefix is

ˆL with stems with initial H·
L with stems with initial L

In tone classes IV and V, some verbs are found with a raising
low tone on the prefix. They are those verb stems whose initial
root was originally high.

Root	Complex stem		Gerundial 2
wò-	wóbàtá	*"bring inside"*	èwóbàtá
	wófù	*"take out"*	èwófù
ɔvù	bvúghàtá	*"swim across"*	èbvúghàtá
tsò	tsópyàbé̩	*"follow closely"*	ètsópyàbé̩

The tones of the vérb stems show the following pattern:

Classes I, II, IV: the stem tones remain unchanged

Class   III: the initial L is replaced by H, all following tones are L

Class   V: the tone following the stem L tone is replaced by L.

In a number of classes, verb stems have been found which show a R-L glide on the first syllable.

With some stems this glide can be traced back to a certain root or suffix, e.g., the bound roots -swè *"to do wrongly"* and -rwè *"to do well"* always show this glide in their preceding syllable, with other stems this glide cannot be accounted for.

ètsóòswè	*"following wrongly"*	^àsáàrwè	*"washing well"*
^àmáàrù	*"knowing"*	^èbúùrù	*"living"*
^èméèbyì	*"spoiling"*	^èdóòmì	*"hiding"*
^ètúùphà	*"throwing away"*	^àsṳ̀ṵ̀sà	*"scattering"*
èkéèshì	*"dividing"*		

14.8.3 Verbal extension

The structure of the Verbal Extension (VE) is identical to the Gerundial 2.

CHAPTER 15

THE NOMINAL

15.1 FUNCTION

Nominals function as head of nominal phrases.

The following classes of nominals are set up on the basis of their function in different classes of nominal phrase. All nominals belong to one of these classes.

Occasionally nominals belong to more than one class, so for instance, íphé "thing", èhý "body", ǫ́ký "fire, heat", ńdzỳ "life" belong to General as well as Impersonal Nominals; ǫ́nwá "moon" belongs to General Nominals and to Class 5 of Dependent Nominals with the lexical meaning "month". Some Verbbound Nominals also belong to General Nominals. Dependent Nominals Class D6 also belong to Relative Nominals.

All classes are open classes unless it is stated to the contrary.

15.2 INDEPENDENT NOMINALS

Independent nominals function as head of NP 11 or 12 unless otherwise stated. They are divided into six classes according to their function in different classes of NP.

15.2.1 General Nominals

General Nominals (G Nom) function in NP Classes G and E.

à١	"soil"	ánwý	"sun"	àzý	"back"
éíf	"top"	ḗgý	"field"	ḗpfý	"palm-nut"
íshí	"head"	óshí	"wood"	ǫ́Jí	"cola-nut"

15.2.2 Personal Nominals

Two subclasses are set up.

Class P1 comprises nominals which function as head of NP Class P. They also occur as head of NP Classes G and E. Class P1 includes all nominals for people and animals.

átý!rý	"sheep"	ḗghú	"goat"	éswí	"cow"
ḗmà	"fish"	ènὺ	"bird"	ǫ́kὺ	"fowl"
nwáànyὶ	"woman"	nwátà	"child"	nwó!ké	"man"

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Class P2 comprises nominals which function as head of NP
Class V. They also occur as head of NP of Classes P, G and E.
Class P2 includes names, surnames and titles.

Names: Surnames and titles:

m̀bámụ̀   ǹshíégbè   "gunpowder"

òphóꜝké   ògbúǹnyà   "horse-killer"

nwíꜝbó   òjózí   "hard-worker"

15.2.3 Impersonal Nominals

Impersonal nominals function as head of NP 11 (usually
unexpanded) which are functioning as NP Class I or G.

Two subclasses are set up:

Class Imp 1 comprises nominals which function in NP Class
Imp 1 (functioning as subject).

égụ́   "hunger"   ẹ̀hụ́   "body"   ékpá̧   "skin rash"

ǹdápfụ̀ "epilepsy"   ńdzụ̀   "life"   ọ́wíìshì "headache"

óyí   "coldness"   ụ́kwárà "cough"

Class Imp 2 comprises nominals which function as NP Class
Imp 2 (functioning as object).

This is a closed class consisting of

èghú "anger"   óyí "coldness"   ọ́kụ́ "heat"   ụ̀tsọ́ "sweetness"

15.2.4 Verbbound Nominals

Verbbound Nominals function as head of NP 11 which are very
rarely expanded and which function as direct object in CT 11 and
12 (transitive and ditransitive clause types). Each verbbound
nominal is closely related to a specific verb and occurs when that
verb is head in the VP of the clause concerned.

Two subclasses are set up.

Class V1 comprises verbbound nominals whose root is identi-
cal with that of the verb with which they occur.

dó édó   "to report (report)"   bá m̀bá̃ "to reproach (reproach)"

jé íjè   "to walk (a walk)"   kù òkù "to call (a call)"

shí èshí "to leak (leak)"   shì íshì "to smell (smell)" (bad smell)

Class V2 comprises verbbound nominals whose root is not
identical with that of the verb with which they occur.

bù úbvù	*"to cut circumcision"*	bǫ́ ṳ̀Já	*"to converse (conversation)"*
chí ìdzù	*"to hold counsel"*	gṳ́ ébvú	*"to sing a song"*
té ébvú	*"to dance a dance"*	tsṳ́ ébvù	*"to fear (fear)"*

15.2.5 Time Nominals

Time Nominals function in NP 11 which usually function as AP 12. These nominals never occur in NP functioning in AP 11.

Two subclasses are set up.

Class T1 comprises nominals which function as head of AP 12c.

This is a closed class consisting of

àkáphṳ̀	*"last year"*	áswáphṳ̀	*"day before yesterday"*
éché!ié	*"tomorrow"*	ǹtá	*"now"*
nwáràkáphù	*"year before last"*	nwáráswáphù	*"2 days before yesterday"*
nwáré!chí	*"day after tomorrow"*	ṳ̀nyáphṳ̀	*"yesterday"*

Class T2 comprises nominals which function as head of AP 12d.

This is a closed class consisting of

ǹtáànṳ́   *"today"*

15.2.6 Interrogative Nominals

Interrogative Nominals function as head or postexpansion of NP 11. They only occur in ST 71 and 76.

This is a closed class consisting of

ònyé	*"who"*	àwé	*"where"*	gṳ́!nṳ́	*"what"*
òié	*"which one"*	òié	*"how much"*		

To all these nominals the verb extensor suffix -hṳ́nú *"what again?" (showing slight annoyance)* may be suffixed (14.3.2). gṳ́!nṳ́ may be preceded by the selective/nominalising particle `kḛ́ showing annoyance.

15.3 DEPENDENT NOMINALS

Dependent Nominals function as head of NP 11 but with an obligatory expansion. The following six classes are distinguished. These classes fall into two groups on the basis of their occurrence in adverbial phrases. Whereas Class D1 - 3 very seldom occur in NP which function in AP, Class D4 - 6 usually occur in NP which function in AP and very seldom occur in NPo or NPs.

Class D1 comprises dependent nominals which occur with at
least one element of PostX 1 (pronominals and pronouns excluded)
and/or a relative expansion, or another NP in genitival relation-
ship (NP 21).

This is a closed class consisting of

ńdý *"persons, people"*   ónyé[1] *"person, somebody"*

Class D2 comprises dependent nominals which occur with a
possessive pronominal or pronoun, or another NP in genitival
relationship (NP 21).

This is a closed class consisting of

jí[2]	*"husband"*	né	*"mother"*
ńnà	*"father"*	nwánnà	*"sibling"*
nwú!né	*"brother, sister"*	nyéè	*"wife"*
ònyà[2]	*"friend"*	í!bé[3]	*"home"*

Class D3 comprises dependent nominals which occur with a
numeral nominal or a numeral adjective.

This is a closed class consisting of

kóbò	*"penny"*	ýmáàdzý	*"people, persons"*
shírù	*"shilling"*	újíkù	*"day"*
póngý	*"pound"*		

Class D4 comprises dependent nominals which occur with an
adjective, or a numeral or a deictic, and/or a relative expansion.

This is a closed class consisting of

àbàIì	*"night"*	ḿbòchì	*"day"*
ḿgbò, ùgbò	*"a number of times"*	(does not occur in AP 11)	

Class D4 nominals usually function as head of AP 12b, but
may occur in AP 11.

Class D5 comprises dependent nominals which occur with an
adjective, or a numeral, or a deictic, and/or a relative expansion,

---

[1] ónyé also functions in RP (cf. 13.5).

[2] The two expressions lý jí *"to marry (a husband)"* and shí ònyà *"to be friends"*
are the only two instances where these two nominals occur unexpanded.

[3] í!bé frequently occurs in NP which function in AP 11.

or an identical second nominal functioning as head of complex
AP 21.

This is a closed class consisting of

áphà   *"year"*   ɔ́nwá   *"month"*

ídzù   *"week"*   m̂bɔ̀kʉ̀   *"day"*

Class D6 comprises dependent nominals which occur with a
deictic or a relative expansion. Both function in AP 12b.

tèké   *"time"*   ɛ̀ká *"place"* (also functions in AP 11)

15.4 PRONOMINALS

Pronominals function as head of NP 13, or the postexpansion
1 or in the RP.

The following classes of pronominals are set up:

Personal Pronominals (PPN)
Personal Pronouns (Pr)
Selective Pronouns (SPr)

Although the classes of Personal Pronominals and Personal
Pronouns function in the same way, they have been set up separately.
The Personal Pronominals strongly resemble the independent nominals
in the following points:

(1)   tonally they behave like a nominal (15.12);

(2)   the possessive particle (nominalising particle) is `ké as
       for the nominals;

(3)   in Sentence Construct R1 they behave like independent
       nominals (9.10): no particle nʉ́ follows the Pronominal.

In contrast, the Personal Pronouns do not behave in any of
these ways.

In other ways they differ from the independent nominals and
are more closely linked to thé Personal Pronouns:

(1)   When they occur as head of NP 13a, no preexpansion, or post-
       expansion is possible (12.4) as with the Personal Pronouns.

(2)   They occur with the same emphatic particle -bɛ́dʉ́à as the
       Personal Pronouns.

(3)   They occur with the same reflexive elements as the Personal
       Pronouns.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the Personal
Pronouns should be considered as affixes of the verb.

(1) Vowel harmony extends over the VP to include the subject and
     object Personal Pronouns. In this way, these forms are a
     part of the phonological word comprising the verb word (4.3.3)

(2) The tone patterns of the verb aspects sometimes extend to
     the Personal Pronouns (14.3.3).

     In the present analysis, the Personal Pronouns, however,
have not been treated as affixes for the following reasons:

(1) The resulting verb forms would be cumbersome with pronoun
     prefixes and suffixes in addition to derivational, extensor
     and base affixes.

(2) A simpler statement of the clause types is possible if the
     subject and object pronouns are handled separately since
     these pronouns function as subject and object in the clause
     in a parallel way to that of other nominals.

15.4.1 Personal Pronominals

     Personal Pronominals function as head of the NP 13a and as
an element of reflexive phrases. The class consists of the
following two members:

ànyí   *we, us, 1st pl*   ùnú   *you, 2nd pl*

     These two pronominals constitute at the same time subject
and object forms as well as the possessive pronominal form which
functions in the postexpansion 1 of NP 11.

     Personal Pronominals can be preceded by the nominalising
particle `ké and then function as head of NP 13b. They may be
suffixed by the emphatic suffix -bédúà and then function as head
of NP 13c.

15.4.2 Personal Pronouns

     Three forms of Personal Pronouns occur:

     Subject form occur if the pronoun functions as head of
NP 13a functioning as subject. Four of these pronouns harmonise
with the first vowel of the following verb stem.

mú ~ mú	*"I, 1st sg"*	yá	*"he, she, 3rd sg" (used if*
í ~ í	*"you, 2nd sg)"*		*the subject is the same in*
ọ́ ~ ó	*"he, she, it, 3rd sg"*		*the preceding clause)*
á ~ é	*"one, indefinite"*	èphẹ́	*"they, 3rd pl"*

Object forms occur if the pronoun functions as head of an
NP 13a functioning as direct or indirect object, as possessive
pronoun in postexpansion 1 of NP 11, following a reflexive element
in the RP.

mʉ́	˞ mú	"me, 1st sg"	lyá *is reduced to* yǎ *in the following*
ngʉ́	˞ ngú	"you, your, 2nd sg"	*instances:*
			- *after a long vowel*
lyá	· ˞ lyǎ	"him, his, her, its,	- *after verb base affix* -A
		3rd sg"	- *when occurring as the second*
phę́		"them, their, 3rd pl"	*of two 3rd sg pronouns*

These pronouns may be preceded by the nominalising particle
`kę́ and then function as head of NP 13b.

Emphatic forms occur as head of NP 13c. Emphatic forms
consist of a slight variation of the object form, together with
the emphatic suffix -bę́dʉ́à. For the 1st and 3rd person singular
the object form is used as such, for 3rd person plural the initial
ę- occurs as with the subject form. Only the 2nd person singular
form shows a difference: instead of the velar nasal, the velar
plosive is used as initial consonant. For the 2nd person singular
the emphatic suffix may be reduced to -bę́.

mʉ́ˈbę́dʉ́à	"myself, 1st sg"
gʉ́ˈbę́dʉ́à	"yourself, 2nd sg"
yę́ˈbę́dʉ́à/yáˈbę́dʉ́à	"himself, herself, itself, 3rd sg" *(The variation is ideolectical.)*
ę̀phę́ˈbę́dʉ́à	"themselves, 3rd pl"

15.4.3 Selective Pronoun

The Selective Pronoun functions as head of NP 13d, and in
the postexpansion 1 of NP 11. There is only one member of this
class.

lyá ˞ lyá	"of it, the ... one"

The pronoun harmonises with the vowel of the preceding
syllable.

15.5 NUMERAL NOMINALS

Numeral Nominals function as head of NP 15. They may also
occur in the expansion of NP 11 and are further subdivided into
three classes. They may be preceded by the particle `kę́.

Class N1 comprises Numeral Nominals which function in the
preexpansion of NP 11.

This is a closed class consisting of

ùkpǫ́rǫ́	"twenty"	ˋkę ùkpǫ́rǫ́	"the twentieth"
ǫ́nǜ	"four hundred"	ˋkę ǫ́nǜ	"the four hundredth"

Class N2 comprises Numeral Nominals which function in the postexpansion of NP 11.

This is a closed class consisting of

ˋná!nǫ́	"one"		
ę̀bǫ́	"two"	ˋkę ę̀bǫ́	"the second"
ę̀tǫ́	"three"	ˋkę ę̀tǫ́.	"the third"
ę̀nǫ́	"four"	ˋkę ę̀nǫ́	"the fourth"
ˋsé	"five"	ˋkę ˋsé	"the fifth"
ˋshíˋ	"six"	ˋkę ˋshíˋ	"the sixth"
ę̀sáà	"seven"	ˋkę ę̀sáà	"the seventh"
ę̀sá!tǫ́	"eight"	ˋkę ę̀sá!tǫ́	"the eighth"
tę̀té	"nine"	ˋkę́ tę̀té	"the ninth"
ˋrí	"ten"	ˋkę ˋrí	"the tenth"
ˊvǫ́zǫ̀	"first"	ˋkę ˊvǫ́zò	"the first"
ˋkpá!zǫ́	"last"	ˋkę ˋkpá!zǫ́	"the last"

Class N3 - Cardinals are Numeral Nominals which function as NP 15 in nonverbal CT 22. Two or more of them always occur together in juxtaposition, in the order of the increasing numbers. They are only used in counting.

This is a closed class consisting of

tę̀vǫ́	"one"	tę́bǫ̀	"two"
tǫ́	"three"	nǫ̌	"four"
sé	"five"	shíˋ	"six"
sáà	"seven"	sá!tǫ́	"eight"
tę̀té	"nine"	dˋrí	"ten"

Any higher numbers are expressed by numeral complex NP 26 (12.5).

Note the similarities with Class N2:

- numbers 3-8 consist of the nominal root (18.2) which is prefixed by either ę- (if the root vowel is retracted) or ı- (if the root vowel is not retracted).

- number 2 consists of the nominal root bǫ to which tẹ- is prefixed. By analogy it can be said that the same prefix occurs for number 1 and that therefore vụ seems to be an old root.
- number 9 is the same as the numeral nominal of Class N2.
- in number 10 an initial consonant d is found which no longer occurs with the numeral nominal of Class N2.

15.6 RELATIVE NOMINALS

Relative Nominals function as head of a Sentence Construct Class R which functions in CT 24. They are also very frequently found as head of an NP 11 with a relative expansion.

This is a closed class consisting of

ónyé   *"the person who, whoever"*   ẹ̀ká   *"place where, wherever"*

íphé   *"the thing which, whichever"*   tèké *"time when, whenever"*

ǫ́phụ́   *" that one which, whichever"*

15.7 STRUCTURE OF NOMINALS

Nominals consist of one or more roots. They differ in structure and on this basis four types of nominals are set up:

    Simple
    Derived
    Reduplicated
    Compound

15.8 SIMPLE NOMINALS

Simple Nominals consist of a single nominal root of any class. The majority of nominals are simple nominals.

áphà   *"year"*   átụ́↓rụ́   *"sheep"*   éghú   *"goat"*

ẹ̀gbụ̀dụ̀   *"bush"*   jí   *"yam"*   né   *"mother"*

ǫ́kụ́   *"fire"*   ùwé   *"clothes"*   ùkpǫ́rǫ́   *"twenty"*

15.9 DERIVED NOMINALS

Derived Nominals consist of a verb root or verb stem with a vowel or nasal prefix. Four types are set up, of which the first is the most frequent.

Derived Nominals only occur as independent nominals.

Derived Nominals 1 consist of either a vowel or nasal followed by a verb root.

There is no phonological indication as to which vowel or nasal occurs with a given verb root, nor which tone this initial syllable carries but the vowel must be of the same set of vowels (retracted or advanced) as the vowel of the verb root.

The number of verb roots occurring is limited. The tone of the verb root is retained in the nominal.[1]

Verb root		Nominal	
kpé	*"to judge"*	íkpé	*"judgment"*
jí	*"to ask"*	ájí	*"question"*
shí	*"to leak"*	èshí	*"a leak"*
bvù	*"to play"*	ébvù	*"play"*
kpù	*"to put on top"*	ɔ̀kpù	*"hat"*

Derived Nominals 2 consist of a nasal followed by a verb stem.

Theoretically, any verb stem may be preceded by an assimilated nasal, (a) if it consists of two or more syllables and (b) if the verb in which the stem functions is not accompanied by a verb bound nominal.

dzùkɔ́	*"to meet together"*	ńdzùkɔ́	*"meeting"*
gbágbú	*"to shoot-kill"*	ḿgbágbú	*"the shooting-killing"*
gwɔ́kɔ̀bè̩	*"to coil"*	ńgwɔ́kɔ̀bé̩	*"a bend"*
háshí	*"to pick out"*	ńháshí	*"the picking out"*
hṵ́má	*"to see"*	ńhṵ́má	*"a glance"*
húmà	*"to taste"*	ǹhúmà	*"the tasting"*

Derived Nominals 3 consist of a vowel followed by a verb root, with the vowel doubled.

This type is very rare. Only three examples have been found so far.

nɔ̀	*"to be in, to sit"*	ànɔ́ɔ̀	*"seat, sitting"*
zè̩	*"to lie"*	àzé̩è̩	*"the lying down"*
byá	*"to come"*	è̩byáà	*"guest, stranger"*

Derived Nominals 4 consist of a vowel followed by a reduplicated verb root.

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[1] Only three nominals have been found where the tone does not correspond to that of the verb root: jé *"to go"*, íjè *"journey"*; dzṵ́ *"to live"*, ńdzṵ̀ *"life"*, zì *"to send"*, ózí *"message"*.

Only one nominal of this type has been found:

r̰̀   *"to think"*   ɔ́r̰̀r̰̀   *"thought, thinking"*

15.10   REDUPLICATED NOMINALS

Reduplicated Nominals consist of a reduplicated nominal root.
Only six examples have been found to date. Two types are set up
on the basis of whether a connecting consonant occurs or not.

Reduplicated Nominals 1 have no connecting consonant. If
the second morpheme starts with a vowel, the final vowel of the
first morpheme is elided.

The following have been found:

phùkùphùkù   *"a fool"*   ɔ̀nyɔ̀nyɔ̀   *"shadow"*

ráàráà   *"swelling sickness"*   ]gɔ̀]]gɔ́]]   *"long argument"*

Reduplicated Nominals 2 have a connecting consonant, r or t.

The following have been found:

]nyàr[nyà   *"kind of grasshopper"*   ɔ̀bùtóbù   *"neighbour"*

15.11   COMPOUND NOMINALS

Compound Nominals function as independent nominals. Accor-
ding to their structure three different types of compound
nominals are set up.

Compound Nominals 1 - Nominal consist of two nominal roots.
Occasionally three roots are found.

In most cases all the morphemes of a word are identified
and may also occur independently. In other cases morphemes
cannot easily be identified and/or are no longer in use in
isolation.

ágʉ́lɔ̀	*"wall gecko"*	agu	*"tiger"*	+ ʉ́lɔ̀	*"house"*
ákʉ̀ʉ̀mbà	*"coconut"*	ákʉ́	*"kernel"*	+ m̀bà	*"european"*
únúùmbà	*"sugar"*	únú	*"salt"*	+ m̀bà	*"european"*
àzú!phú	*"back of compound"*	àzú	*"back"*	+ úphú	*"home"*
únú!phú	*"compound"*	ʉ̌n	*" ? "*	+ úphú	*"home"*
é!gb[gwé	*"thunder"*	égbè	*"gun"*	+ [gwé	*"sky"*
àwáàl]	*"bush rat"*	àwá	*" ? "*	+ àl]	*"ground"*
ɛ́!gbɔ́nʉ́	*"lip"*	ɛ́gbɔ̀	*"peeling"*	+ ɔ́nʉ́	*"mouth"*
ɛ̀kʉ́tàrà	*"right"*	ɛ́ká	*"hand"*	+ ʉ́tàrà	*"fufu"*
nwɛ́ɛ̀phʉ́ʉ̀zʉ̀	*"cricket"* nwá	*"child"* + ɛ̀phʉ́	*"distant + ʉ̀zʉ̀	*"loud noise"*
				sound"*	

Compound Nominals 2 - Phrasal consist of phrases which function as a single word. The following eight examples have been found and are grouped according to their structure.

Type 2a consist of a Nominal and an AP 11.

		Nominal		AP 11	
òpùlíshí	"cock's comb"	òpù	"horn"	lẹ íshí	"on head"
ǹsèkpùlẹ́ká	"bag, small case"	ǹsèkpù	"carrying"	lẹ ẹ́ká	"in hand"
ómélàlị̀	"tradition, custom"	ómé	"doings"	lẹ àlị̀	"in land"

Type 2b consist of an NP 22 in which the two NP are identical and the coordinative particle is mẹ̀.

ónyémònyè	"everybody"	ónyé mẹ̀ ónyé	"person and person"
íphémìphè	"everything"	íphé mẹ̀ íphé	"thing and thing"
ẹ̀kámẹ̀kà	"everywhere"	ẹ̀ká mẹ̀ ẹ̀ká	"place and place"
ọ̀hámọ̀hà	"all people"	ọ̀hà mẹ̀ ọ̀hà	"community and community"

Type 2c consist of an NP with a relative expansion.

òkpùrú-tụ̀rụ̀-ònwíyá	"lake"	òkpùrú tụ̀rụ̀ ònwo íyá
		pond which dug itself

Compound Nominals 3 - Clausal consist of clauses which function as a single word. The following structures have been found:

Type 3a consists of a transitive clause:

ògbúǃnkụ́	"axe"	o gbú ńkụ́	"it cuts wood"
òrọ́ǃkụ́	"lamp"	o ré ọ́kụ́	"it burns fire"
ọ̀kpụ́ǃụ́zụ́	"blacksmith"	ọ kpụ́ ụ́zụ́	"he moulds iron"
òjó!zí	"servant, workman"	o jé ózí	"he goes to work"
ìvụ́zọ̀	"first"	i vú ụ́zọ̀	"you lead the way"

Type 3b consists of an intransitive clause:

ọ́nyìbẹ́	"a title-holder"	ọ́ nyìbẹ́	"he surpasses the power of a feared man"
ọ́kálíbẹ́	"the insurpass- able"	ọ́ kálíbẹ́	"he surpasses everybody"

Type 3c consists of a clause construct.

ánáànfụ̀	"looter"	áná ǹfụ̀	"seizing booty"
ákpátánǃkụ́	"wooden shed"	ákpátá ńkụ́	"collecting firewood"
èkpénǃtá	•leprosy"	.èkpé ntá	"peeling off (skin)"

15.12 TONE CLASSES

As far as tonal characteristics are concerned, nominals are divided into simple nominals on the one hand and all other nominals (derived, reduplicated and compound) on the other.

15.12.1 Tone Classes of simple nominals

Simple nominals fall into two main groups, those which are internally stable as far as their tonal behaviour is concerned and those which are unstable.

Stable nominals are nominals with an inherent tone pattern which is constant wherever it occurs and follows the rules already described in Chapters 2 and 5. Most nominals are stable, particularly those which are marked by a pattern containing a raising low tone and this is true of the majority of nominals. It is also true of many nominals which carry non-low tones, e.g. ọ́shị̀rị̀shá "a spicy fruit", gáphú!gáphúˆgáphú "squanderingly".

Numeral nominals ˆìshị̀ "six" and ˆẹ̀sáà "seven" and nominals derived from verbs, e.g., ˆn̄hụ́mà "tasting" have an internally stable tone, and so do gerundial forms 1 and 2 and verb extensions although they may begin with a non-raising low tone.

Nominals which are not stable are divided into six classes. These include all nominals containing an initial non-raising low and many nominals with non-low tones.

These six tone classes are established on the basis of the tones of the nominals after H, after !H and after L tones, when occurring "final" or "non-final" in the nominal phrase.

Final nominals are nominals which function as subject or object or as the qualifying nominal, i.e. the second of two nouns in one and the same nominal phrase, if that noun is neither the head of a relative expansion nor immediately precedes the verb phrase of a relative expansion.

In the case of two objects, i.e. indirect or first and direct or second, both use their final form, the second according to the form of the level on which the first ends. Where this is low and the second belongs to Class 1, 2 or 3, all its high tones may be on low in the final form, e.g.,

m(ý)à t(ý) ɔ̀gbàg(a) ìphè   "I'm throwing something to Ogbaga."

Non-final nominals are those which occur first in a noun phrase with two nominals (including personal names, e.g. XY, "X of Y") including any nominal which is grammatically separated from the preceding nominal(s) by a relative expansion boundary cf. Meier 1969. When a nominal precedes the verb phrase of a relative expansion, the nominal is marked by the relative high tone juncture feature.

Table I – Tone patterns of nominal classes

Class Pattern	After H — H form		After !H — !H form		After L — L form	
	final	non-final	final	non-final	final	non-final
1. HH	H!H			——→		
2. H!H	!HH ——→	H!H	HH ——→	^H!H		
3. ^LH	!HH H!H ↗		HH ↗			
4. ^LH!H	H!HH ——→	^LH!H	HHH ——→	^LH!H		
5. H!HH	H!HH ——→ !H!HH (^LH!HH)		H!HH ——→ ^H!HH ——→			——→
6. ^LHH	^LHH H!HH (!HHH)		^LHH (HHH)			

(L)   latent low tone

(   )   less preferred alternative

——→   non-final form derived from final form according to nominal class upstep rule (5.4.6.2)

▭   empty quadrangle: use class pattern

It is necessary to mark the tone classes of nominals only when they fall in classes 1-6. If a nominal does not belong to one of the classes 1-6, it belongs to class 7 and its tonal behaviour is always predictable.

The table presents the tone patterns of classes 1-6 in a contrastive display and needs to be read as follows:

(1) Class patterns which correspond to the pattern of the nominal when spoken in isolation, i.e., its final L form (also used tone-span initial), are listed on the left of the table. These patterns are only written (in the top left corner of the quadrangle concerned) if there is an alternative pattern for the particular form.

Thus an empty quadrangle signalises that the class pattern itself is used for that form and is to be added to the level which precedes. It also means that no irregularity is found there.

For example, in class 3, the non-final H-form is found by applying the nominal class upstep rule (5.4.6.2) indicated by an arrow to the final H-form, i.e. !HH ⟩ !H^H, hence

!ú^wé = ^ùwé

```
✗───✗──── (✗)─ ✗─
         ──────✗─✗─
asw(a) + uw(e)+ ophoke
H    H   ^L (H)  H !H H
```

áswá   "price"   final L-form, class 1
^ùwé   "clothes"   non-final H-form, class 3
òphó!ké   "Ophoke"   final H-form, class 4   H!HH

(2) Identical patterns within each class are listed in the same position relative to the quadrangles in which they occur unless a vertical comparison serves to bring out identity or contrast with other patterns.

(3) All forms on this table correspond to Register 2 forms, yet not all forms are equally unstable: class 6 forms are most stable, 4 and 5 are the least stable.

(4) Alternative forms fluctuate freely even within an idiolect.

Preferences for one or the other alternative may exist: cf. non-final !H form of mī!nī (class 2)

ę́mà$_7$ + mí!ní$_2$ + ǫ̀phú̧$_6$ "fish, water, new = a fish of new water, an ignoramus"

(a) ę́!má^mí!n(í)^ǫ̀phú̧   (i.e., ^H!H)

(b) ę́!má mí^n(í)^ǫ̀phú   (i.e., H^H)

In form (a) phonologically conditioned upstep (5.4.6.1) occurs, while (b) conforms to the class upstep rule.

<u>Class 1 nominals</u>, i.e., nominals with the tone pattern HH.

<u>Membership</u>. Not all HH nominals belong to Class 1. Some
nouns like óshí "tree", éswá "grass", érí "rope" may preferably be
handled as a subclass of class 6. This class comprises many
nominals.

<u>Forms</u>. Nominals of class 1 when occurring final after H are
marked by a tone pattern H!H. In all other contexts the tone
pattern HH is found, the non-final !H form following the class
upstep rule in that it is H^H.

<u>Personal nouns</u>. HH nouns in the case of personal nouns can
be considered to be a subsection on this class since its final H
form is !HH. It is probable that personal names which are mostly
names of deities preserve older forms of the language. Patterns
which could be interpreted as tones of respect have not been
observed apart from these.

<u>Perturbation to low</u>. Class 1 nominals share with classes 2
and 3 an exceptional assimilation to low when functioning as
direct objects following an indirect object before a span boundary
even in Register 2, e.g., ìtè "pot": mụ tụ̀rụ̀ ògbògà ìtè "I threw
the pot at Ogbaga" (Ogbaga is a final form), compared with íphé "thing"
in the same context: mụ tụ̀rụ̀ ògbàgà ìphè "I threw the thing at Ogbaga"
íphé ˎ ìphè. The same applies to nominals consisting of one
syllable only: jí "yam". The HHH nominals which are regular in
other respects assimilate their first high tone to low: -LHH.

Another case where nominals perturb to low is before numerals:
classes 1, 3, i.e. HH and ^LH, ìphè ^ètó " three things" Class 4 can
perturb to low in this case, but usually does not. HHH nominals
are not perturbed while the last tone of HHHH nominals may be
downstepped, hence íphé ógóló!gó ˎ^ètó "three long things".

<u>Class 2 nominals</u>, i.e., nominals with the tone pattern H!H.

<u>Membership</u>. There are very few H!H nominals and not all H!H
nominals belong to class 2 (see below). (H!H patterns may be the
result of H + HH compounds.)

<u>Forms</u>. Nominals of class 2 when occurring final after H are
marked by a tone pattern !HH (e.g. óké!míní   "a name, lit. big water").
After !H this pattern loses the downstep and is HH. After H and
after !H the non-final forms have alternatives: in each case either
the stable class pattern H!H (which after !H requires an upstep
on the high before the downstep, i.e., phonologically conditioned
upstep, or the nominal class upstep rule operates on the final H
of the corresponding final patterns. After low, the class pattern
is stable.

H!H patterns which are the result of H + HH compounds, e.g.,
nwá "child" + éswí "cow" ˎ nwé!swí are stable but are not included
amongst the simple nouns. nwó!ké ˎ nwá + óké "child male" is no
longer felt to be compounded.

Subclass 2a. The nominals méé *"blood"*, mę́ę́ *"wine"*, , máá *"spirit of a dead person"* can be regarded as a subclass of class 2 or class 3 since both classes share their final H form and their �H form with them, i.e., ⹀HH and HH. Yet the L-form is H⹀H as in mę́ę́ míní *"native wine"* . They are preferably handled as subclass 2a. This is supported by the lack of any trace of a non-raising low as it occurs in class 3.

Class 3 nominals, i.e., nominals with the tone pattern ˆLH.

Membership. About 90% of ˆLH nominals belong to this class which is a large one. Other ˆLH nominals belong to class 6. Note that nominals beginning with a raising low belong to class 7.

Forms. Nominals of class 3 just as those in class 2 when occurring final after H are marked by a tone pattern ⹀HH (alter-natively H⹀H). After ⹀H this pattern loses the downstep and is HH. In all other positions the class pattern is used.

Subclass 3a. For numerals of the pattern ˆLH a subclass 3a is set up on the basis that they have a lowering effect on the nominals of classes 1-3 as described under Perturbation to Low in class 1. When they follow other nominals, those nominals use their final forms and therefore are not tonally qualified which constitutes an exception to the low replacement rule (5.4.5.4).

Subclass 3a is a closed class consisting of

m̀bú	*"the first"*	ètǫ́	*"three"*	ę̀nó	*"four"*
̀sé	*"five"*	̀rí	*"ten"*	ùkpǒró	*"twenty"*
òꞁé	*"interrogative numeral, how many?"*				

Nominals with the pattern ˆLHH normally belong to class 6, but ùkpóró is included in subclass 3a because of the lowering effect it has on a preceding nominal.

̀tè ˆètǫ́	*"three pots"*	
̀tè ˋké ˆètǫ́	*"the third pot"*	[̀të k(ę́)ę́⹀tǫ́]
L L(L)H ˆL H		L R (H)H ⹀H
̀të kę̈ ę̀bǫ́	*"the second pot"*	

The numeral ę̀bǫ́ *"ten"* is handled under class 7 rather than under an additional subclass of class 3, provided the lowering effect is attributed to all numerals.

For the purpose of forming multiples of *"ten"* and of *"twenty"* the numerals ˆ̀rí and ˆùkpǫ́rǫ́ use their corresponding final form when preceding a numeral.

The analysis of ̀rí ę̀tǫ́ ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ *"ten, three (thirteen)"* is found
                                   L R L H
with the help of the alternative form ̀rí ꞁę̀ ˆètǫ́ *"ten and three"*, in which the ꞁę̀ can be omitted although the low tone is maintained

hence ìrí`ˆètó *"thirteen"*.   Absence of the raising low of Ìè
results in multiplication:

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ ˆètǫ́   *"twenty, three, i.e., sixty"*
L H HˆL H

ùkpǫ́rǫ́ `ˆètǫ́   *"twenty (and) three"*
L H R(L)ˆL H

    <u>Subclass 3b</u>. The disyllabic pronouns ˆìyá *"3rd sg"* and
ˆèphé *"3rd pl"* which have the pattern ˆLH constitute a subclass 3b
with the following forms:

	<u>H-form</u>	<u>!H-form</u>	<u>L-form</u>
Objects	H!H	HH	LL
Possessors	HH	HH/HˆH	ˆLH

Nominals which precede the pronouns and end in low do not
follow the low replacement rule (5.4.5.4). This exception is
shared with the numerals of class 3a.

    When the pronoun èphé functions as subject, it is stable.
The pronominal ànyí *"1st pl"* is in class 6 and the monosyllabic
pronouns are also handled under this class: i.e., mú *"1st sg"*, ngú
"2nd sg", yá *"3rd sg"*[1] phé *"3rd pl"*, since their forms are:

	<u>H-form</u>	<u>!H-form</u>	<u>L-form</u>
Objects	!H	H	L
Possessors	H	H/ˆH	H

The upstepped alternative !H-form is used for emphasis.

ǫ́ tù̀rù̀ mù̀ m̀bà̀rá / mí!ní / ìtè mú   *"He threw a frog, water and my pot at*
he threw me frog   water   pot my   me."

ǫ̀wǎá bù̀ óshí ógóló!gó ˆmú / mí̇ní ˆmú   *"This is my long stick, my water."*
this is stick long   my   water my

rèé !yá   *"Sell it!"*   mú̇ hù̀mà̀r(ù̀) ìyà̀ *"I saw him."*
sell it   *I   saw   it*

ìt(è) ìyá *"his pot"*   ··· mèé̇ˆyá   *"his blood"*
pot   his   *blood his*

---

[1] ˆyá ~ ˆìyá *"3rd sg"*, ˆyá is only used after a vowel cluster. This loss may
be connected with the development of upstep, cf. 5.4.6.4. ˆLH > ˆH , e.g. after
méé *"blood"* : ó phèrù̀ ìtè mé!é ˆyá *"he sprinkled its blood on the pot"*. The
variant form yá is also possible.

Subclass 3c. The numeral tèté *"nine"* constitutes a separate
subclass. Like all numerals, it shows the lowering influence but
its non-final form (i.e., when followed by ˺yá *"3rd sg., its"*) is
^LH˺H, ké^tèté˺é yá/^yá *"its ninth"* , alternatively ké˺tété^˺yá in
which the more frequent allomorph ^tèté is used and has a final
H-form similar to that of all nominals preceding the pronouns.
(To interpret as ké^tètè^˺yá would be possible but is not justified
since there are no other examples of a non-raising low followed by
low and since tèté follows the class 3 pattern in general.

Subclass 3d. The numeral ná˺ný constitutes a separate sub-
class: the final form is ná˺ný; the non-final form is ˋná˺áný as
in ˋná˺án(ụ)^˺yá *"one of it"* and

ˋná˺áný ˋná˺ný ──────── *"one by one"*
H˺H R(L)H˺H

Class 4 nominals, i.e., nominals with the tone pattern ^LH˺H.

Membership. Not all nominals with the tone pattern LH˺H
belong to class 4. Some belong to class 7 since they begin with a
raising low tone, e.g., òró˺ké *"Oroke (personal name)"* . Others may
be compounded (LH/^LH + class 1 HH nominals).

Forms. Nominals of class 4 when occurring final after H are
marked by the pattern H˺HH. After ˺H this pattern loses the
downstep and is HHH. After H and after ˺H, the non-final forms
have alternatives: in each case the stable class pattern ^LH˺H or
the corresponding final pattern with the nominal class upstep on
its final H. After L, the class pattern is used.

Classes 1 to 4 share the common feature that once the H tone
of a pattern reaches the downstep level (identical with L in
Register 2) no further downstep is possible. Thus the only alter-
natives are level tone or upstep.

Class 5 nominals, i.e. nominals with the tone pattern H˺HH.

Membership. All nominals with the tone pattern H˺HH belong
to class 5.

Forms. This class is the most irregular although the number
of phonetic forms is the same as in class 6.

Nominals of class 5 when occurring final after any level use
their class pattern H˺HH of which the final H is upstepped
according to the nominal class upstep rule when the nominal occurs
non-final.

Alternative forms are possible after H and ˺H. In final
position after H another downstep occurs initial in the class
pattern. After ˺H an upstep occurs instead.

This is the only class which leads to the possibility of two downsteps in succession. (H form !H!HH and !H form H!HH.)

These alternative forms (and a third alternative which occurs after H only but is less preferred) are probably representative of their older form in what may be termed Proto-Izi. Assuming an internally stable pattern of *ˆLH!HH of which the initial syllable but not the tone was lost (parallel examples in Izi are found with the latent low tone (5.4.3.3)), the origin of these alternative forms is clear.

The sequence ˆLH!HH could be rewritten, when it follows H, as !HˆH!HH. With the loss of the initial syllable and the consequent reduction of the morpheme to the three following syllables, the pattern ˆH!HH remains. The original stable pattern is still left 'en bloc' as in í!jíjí "fly", ó!cháá "cockroach" and á!kpáá "iron wood". (The possibility of the development of a downstep from a HˆL glide is discussed in 5.4.6.3.)

Class 6 nominals, i.e. nominals with the tone pattern ˆLHH.

Membership. Nominals with the tone pattern ˆLHH or beginning with the tone pattern ˆLHH belong to this class.[1]

Class 6 also comprises other patterns. In the case of the ˆLH pattern, no subclass needs to be set up.

Forms. Nominals of class 6 use their stable class pattern throughout but they have alternatives when occurring after H: their final H form is marked by the pattern H!HH. A second alternative is !HHH after H (corresponding to HHH after !H) but these forms are less frequent.

The nominal class upstep rule does not apply to class 6.

Subclass 6a is set up for certain nominals with an HH pattern (cf. class 1) on the basis that these nominals appear to have lost the non-raising low tone which preceded them (cf. class 5) and are left with the upstep preceding the HH tone, hence their final H form is (!)HH (a depressed form as the result of the HˆL glide reduction described in 5.4.6.3.). The proof that this is not a genuine, phonemic downstep is shown by the fact that morphemes following (!)HH of class 6a use their H forms and not their !H forms.

Their final H form is alternating with ˆLHH, their final !H form is !HH alternating with HH, their non-final !H form is ˆHH, their L form is HH, e.g., óshí "tree" ékwóˆòóshí ~ ékwó(!)óshí "leaf of tree".

_____
[1] An exception to this is the numeral ùkpóró "twenty", which belongs to class 3a. The personal name ˆùkpóró belongs to this class.

Alternations. Some class 6 nominals have alternative forms.
Note the following H forms of ànyí

a.   ˆLH   ọ́ọ̀ chọ́ òkpùrú ànyí , ọ́ọ̀ chökpùráˆànyí   *He is seeking
b.   H!H   , ọ́ọ̀ chökpùrá!nyí   our pond.*
c.   !HH   , ọ́ọ̀ chökpùrá!ànyí

Similarly, the class 6 nominal ìphóró displays the forms:

a.   ˆLHH   mu àtụ́té ìphóró , mə́ə̀ tụ́tíˆìphóró   *I am breathing in the
b.   H!HH   , mə́ə̀ tụ́tí !phóró   moonlight, i.e. resting
c.   !HHH   , mə́ə̀ tụ́tí !ìphóró   outside in the evening.*

Another example is in nominal-nominal constructions where
H forms are

a.   ˆLHH   ọ́kpụ́ ẹ̀gárá , ọ́kpẹ́ˆẹ̀gárá   *bone of rib, rib bone*
b.   H!HH   , ọ́kpẹ́!gárá
c.   !HHH   , ọ́kpẹ́!ẹ́gárá

There seems to be some similarity between class 6 and class
3 in these alternations, cf. class 6 ìbókó *name* , ìbó; nwá
child + ìbó , nwá - ìbó , nwí!bó _ nwí!ìbó, in which ìbó follows
class 3 behaviour.

Class 7 nominals, i.e., all nominals which do not fall into
classes 1 to 6, beginning with any of the following tones:

     (L) - a latent low tone,
     L   - a raising low tone,
     ˆL - a non-raising low tone, verb derived nominals and
           gerundial forms. Others have not been found with ˆL.
     H   - a high tone,

and ending in L, H or !H in their final form, and in H or !H (due
to the low replacement rule) in their non-final form regardless
of what tones occur in between.

Class 7 comprises by far the largest group of nominals.

Forms. Class 7 forms are stable. They follow the tone rules
set out in Chapters 2 and 5, but one or two patterns should be
noted.

HH!H patterns, e.g., únú!phú (which is probably compounded
from úphú) *compound* are marked by phonologically conditioned
upstep; e.g., !H form únˆú!phú is just like HHH(H) nominals,
e.g., ókóróbó *empty* and ẹ́gụ́bẹ́ *like*:

ọ̈ nừrừ + óké!mínì + ókóróbó + íphé + ẹ́gụ́bẹ́ ə́à   *He gave Okemini an
ọ̈ nừr(ừ) óké!mín(í) óˆkórób(ó) í!ph(é) ẹ́ˆgụ́bẹ̈à   empty thing like this.*

<u>HHL patterns</u>   show an irregularity where the initial H tone may alternate with L: ḿgbá!bú or ^m̂gbá!bú *"garden"*.

<u>HL patterns</u>   go back to an earlier form (L)HL which is evidenced by examples like émà *"fish"* échì *"middle"* ọ̀kụ̀ *"fowl"* which in some Igbo dialects are three syllable nominals (5.4.3.3).

íbé + `é!chíégụ́ (`échì + égụ́ *"middle of field"*) *"home of Echiegu"*

becomes íbëé!chíégụ́

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \overline{\times} & \times \\ \hline \times & \times & \\ & & \times \;\; \times \end{array}$$

íbëé!chíégụ́

<u>LHL patterns</u>   include a VCVV syllable pattern which like all vowels ending in VV is exceptional from the point of view of elision, but the tone is regular.

Note that all patterns with HL glides whose origin is no longer known belong to class 7 also.

nwáànyì ~ nwányì   *"woman"*   ẹ́níyẹ̀ẹ̀nì ~ ẹ́níyẹ̀nì *"lame"*

nwáànshị̀ ~ nwáànshị̀ *"small"*

and some adjectives like àkáàhụ̀ *"old"*, and many gerundial forms with complex verb stems, e.g., èdóòmì < èdómì *"hiding"*.

15.12.2   Tone classes of derived, compound and reduplicated nominals

Derived, compound and reduplicated nominals all belong to class 7, irrespective of the tone patterns of the underlying forms. All such nominals are found to be internally stable.

In the case of derived nominals, their tone pattern is determined by the tone pattern of the individual morphemes of which they are composed.

In the case of compound nominals, the tone patterns have not been fully analysed. Many compounds retain the tones which mark the forms in isolation, but the tone patterns of a considerable number of compound nominals are not identical to the tones of the underlying nominal roots. Certain patterns seem to be well estab-lished and these are given below, but it is not possible to predict whether a specific nominal will retain its tone when entering a compound or be marked by one of these patterns.

In compound forms, when high tone on the final syllable of the first nominal root is followed by high tone on the first syllable of the second nominal root, the junction is frequently marked by downstep. The downstep sometimes marks the first vowel of the second root and sometimes the second vowel of that root. · It appears that when there is vowel elision, the downstep marks the first vowel, but when there is no vowel elision, it marks the second vowel.

ọ́nú   + áswá   ,   ọ́n!áswá   *the front of the mouth*
mouth   front

ǹshʃ   + éswʃ   ,   ǹshʃé!swʃ   *cow-dung*
dung   cow

àzụ́   + úphú   ,   àzú!phú   *back of compound*
back   home

When a downstepped high tone on the final syllable of the
first nominal root is followed by a high tone on the first syllable
of the second nominal root, there is no further downstepping.

mʃ!nʃ + ʃgwé   ,   mʃ!nʃgwé   *rain*
water   heaven

In the case of a compound involving a vowel junction, when
a high tone on the final syllable of the first nominal root is
followed by a low tone on the first syllable of the second nominal
root, the junction is marked by a tone glide. When there is vowel
elision, this tone glide is carried by a lengthened vowel.

ǹshʃ   + ̣nyà   ,   ǹshʃ[̣nyà   *horse dung*
dung   horse

ọ́nú   + ̣tè   ,   ọ́nʃ̣tè   *mouth of pot*
mouth   pot

àzụ́   + ̣tè   ,   ázʃ̣tè   *outside of pot*
outside pot

ụ́gbọ́ + ạ̀ļ   ,   ụ́gbáạ̀ļ   *train*
boat   land

When a low tone on the final syllable of the first nominal
root is followed by a high tone on the first syllable of the second
nominal root, there is elision which results in the loss of the
first vowel and the low tone, but the effect of the low tone is
seen in that the second vowel is marked by downstepped high.

égbè   + ʃgwé   ,   égb!ʃgwé   *thunder*
gun   heaven

úpfù   + óshʃ   ,   úpf!óshʃ   *lower end of the trunk of the tree*
waist   tree

In the case of reduplicated nominals, as with compound
nominals, it is found that their tone patterns are not just the
sum of the tones of the underlying nominals. It is not possible
to predict the tone pattern of the reduplicated forms from the
underlying single form as the examples below illustrate.

LL + LL , LLHL   ̣nyà , ̣nyàṛnyà   *grasshopper*
                     horse

LL + HL , LHLL   ọ̀hà , ọ̀hámọ̀hà   *all people*
                     people

HH + HH ⟶ HHLL   ónyé ⟶ ónyémònyè   *"everybody"*
                      person

LH + LH ⟶ LHLL   èká   ⟶ èkámèkà   *"everywhere"*
                      place

LLL + LLL ⟶ LLHL   ìgòì ⟶ ìgòììgóì   *"long argument"*
                      argument

CHAPTER 16

THE ADJECTIVE

16.1 FUNCTION

All adjectives function in the expansion of NP 11. They are
divided into four classes, on the basis of further functions, as
follows:

Nominal   - also as head of NP 14 with optional 'ké.
General   - also as head of NP 14 with obligatory 'ké.
Adverbial - also as head of AP 13, never as NP 14.
Numeral   - only in PostX of NP 11.

16.2 NOMINAL ADJECTIVES

Nominal adjectives function as head of NP 14. They are
optionally preceded by the nominalising particle 'ké. They also
function in the expansion of NP 11 and are accordingly subdivided
into five classes.

Class N1 comprises adjectives which function in PreX and
PostX and CP 11 and AP 13 and is further subdivided.

Class N1a comprises adjectives which occur optionally with
'ké in PreX.

This is a closed class consisting of

ézè	"big"[1]	èhÿ!ká	"wicked, strongly painful"
é!jéká	"poor"	én[yén]	"lame"[1]
úrwù	"gain, cheap"	èmèrèjè	"joyful" (only for dogs)[1]

Class N1b comprises adjectives which never occur with 'ké.

This is a closed class consisting of

ínyí	"dirt, dirty"	íké	"strong, strength"
ǹphé	"easy"	ḿkpà	"need, important"

---

[1] When these adjectives function in CP 11, they always occur reduplicated.

Class N2 comprises an adjective which functions in PreX, PostX and CP 11.

ílú   *bitter*

Class N3 comprises an adjective which functions in PostX, CP 11 and AP 13.

éswè *fool, foolish*   (never preceded by `ké)

Class N4 comprises an adjective which functions in PostX and CP 11.

òmì   *depth, deep*   (in CP not preceded by `ké)

Class N5 comprises an adjective which functions in PostX and AP 13.

òzó   *another, again*

16.3 GENERAL ADJECTIVES

General adjectives function in the expansion of NP 11. They also function with an obligatory nominalising particle `ké as head of NP 14.

According to their occurrence in the expansion, three classes are set up.

Class G1 comprises adjectives which function in the PreX and PostX of NP 11. This class comprises the great majority of adjectives.

Class G1 is further subdivided in two different ways; Class G1a, 1b, 1c, 1d according to their further function in CP 11 and AP 13; Class G1x, 1y, 1z according to the occurrence of the particle `ké in the PreX.

These are cross-classifications and there is no correlation between these two sets of classes.

Class G1a comprises adjectives which function also in CP as well as AP.

ákáhù	*old*	ényíírú	*lazy*	gbérérá	*slim*
ìgwèrígwè	*many*	mínímíní	*watery*	mkpúlá	*underneath*
ógólógó	*long*	òphú	*whole*		

Class G1b comprises adjectives which function also in CP.

This is a closed class consisting of

mkpúmàmkúmà *stony* òmìíómì' *deep*   mkpókórú *useless* (in CP occurs reduplic'd)

Class Glc comprises adjectives which function also in AP.

This is a closed class consisting of

kämę́nù̀ _"honestly"_   kíchíkpǫ́ _"mute"_   m̀kpóchí   _"last"_
m̀bý̀   _"first"_   m̀má!ný́   _"ordinary"_

Class Gld comprises an adjective which functions in PreX
and PostX only.

ǹsh[!]   _"small"_

Class Gl is subdivided on the basis of the occurrence of the
particle ʻké̜ in the PreX.

Class Glx comprises adjectives which occur optionally with
ʻké̜ in the PreX.

ákáhù̀   _"old"_   gbéréré _"slim"_   ógólógó _"long"_
ìgwèrígwè _"many"_   m̀kpúlá   _"underneath"_

Class Gly comprises adjectives which always occur with ʻké̜
in the PreX.

m̀bý́   _"first"_   ò̀phú   _"whole"_   mí!nímíní _"watery"_
m̀kpóchí _"last"_   ǹsh[!]   _"small"_   m̀má!ný́   _"ordinary"_

Class Glz comprises adjectives which never occur with ʻké̜
in the PreX.

é̜nyí!rú _"lazy"_   kämę́nù̀ _"honestly"_   m̀kpúmà̀mkpúmà̀ _"stony"_
kíchíkpǫ́ _"mute"_   ò̀mìlómì _"deep"_   m̀kpǫ́kǫ́rý́   _"useless"_

Class G2 comprises adjectives which function in the PreX.
The particle ʻké̜ then occurs optionally. According to their func-
tion in CP 11 and AP 13 they are subdivided as follows.

Class G2a comprises adjectives which function in CP and AP
(never with ʻké̜). This is a closed class consisting of

é̜gý́bé̜   _"kind of, like"_ (in CP and AP with oblig. deictic)
ókéà̀   _"male"_   (in CP and AP always reduplicated)
ókóróbó   _"empty"_   (in CP always reduplicated, in AP
                           óptionally reduplicated)

Class G2b comprises an adjective which functions also in
CP, optionally reduplicated.

ǫ́sá _"wide"_   (in CP never with ʻké̜)

Class G2c comprises adjectives which function only in the
PreX. This is a closed class consisting of

ẹ́Jǫ́   "bad"   (never reduplicated)

ǫ́kpǫ́bẹ́   "true" (optionally reduplicated)

Class G3 comprises adjectives which function in the PostX.
According to their function in CP and AP, they are subdivided as
follows:

Class G3a comprises adjectives which function also in CP
and AP. This is a closed class consisting of

mééǃméé   "blood red"   ǹgwàràgwá   "mixed"

ńr[kǫnr[kǫ̀   "crooked"   ǹtsé   "near"

òyíngòyíngò   "green"   ǫ̀phų́ų́   "new"

yágáĺá   "in disorder"

Class G3b comprises adjectives which function also in CP.
This is a closed class consisting of

     gèréréè   "slimy"   (optional `kẹ́, never reduplicated)

     òJí   "black"   (in CP only with `kẹ́, reduplicated
                             k'oJí k'oJí)

     gù   "cool, healthy"

Unlike other class G adjectives gù cannot occur as head of
an NP only as PostX in an NP. gù only occurs in association with
ẹ̀hų́ "body" . It only functions in the CP when that is found in a
CT 16d with ẹ̀hų́ as the NPs, and it only functions in the PostX
when the head of the NP 11 is also ẹ̀hų́.

Class G3c comprises adjectives which function also in AP.
This is a closed class consisting of

     ǹggùJíŋggùJì "silent"   (in AP with `kẹ́ only reduplicated)

     ǹtèkéǹtèkè   "always"   (in AP never with `kẹ́)

     ǫ́má   "good"   (in AP always with `kẹ́)

In CP the particle `kẹ́ seldom precedes general adjectives
of Class 1, 2 and 3, but is optional, except for the following
adjectives which never occur with `kẹ́:

bìrìbìrì "strange, wonderful"   ǫ̀dòdódòdò "yellow"

ẹ́gų́bẹ́   "like"   ógólógó   "long"

ẹ̀Jì   "bad"   ókéè   "male"

ẹ́nyǃírų́   "lazy"   ókóróbó   "empty"

míǃnímíní "watery"   ókpórókpó "fat"

ḿkpǫ́kǫ́rų́	*"useless"*	òm̀liómì	*"deep"*
m̀kpúmàmkpúmà	*"stony"*	òyíngòyíngò	*"green"*
ǹgwàràgwá	*"mixed"*	ǫ̀gè̥rè̥nyà	*"old"*
ǹhàmų́hà	*"straight"*	ǫ́sá	*"wide"*
ńk[r[ká	*"ragged"*	úswú!awé	*"red"*
ǹtsé	*"near"*	ų́ká	*"sour"*
óbvó!bvú	*"thorny"*		

The following adjective may only occur with ˋké̥:

òjí	*"black"*

In AP the particle ˋké̥ seldom precedes general adjectives, but it is optional except for the following adjectives which never occur with ˋké̥

bìrìbìrì	*"strange, wonderful"*	òdòdódòdò	*"yellow"*
é̥gų́bé̥	*"like"*	ógóIógó	*"long"*
è̥jì	*"bad"*	óké̥è	*"male"*
mí!nímíní	*"watery"*	ókóróbó	*"empty"*
ǹgwàràgwá	*"mixed"*	ókpórókpó	*"fat"*
nhamų̀ha	*"straight"*	òyíngòyíngò	*"green"*
ńk[r[ká	*"ragged"*	ǫ̀gè̥rè̥nyà	*"old"*
ǹtèkéǹtèkè	*"always"*	ų́ká	*"sour"*
ǹtsé	*"near"*	óbvó!bvú	*"thorny"*

The following adjectives may only occur with ˋké̥

kämé̥nù̥	*"honesty"*	m̀má!nų́	*"ordinary"*
m̀bų́	*"first"*	ǫ́má	*"good"*

<u>Reduplication of general adjectives</u> occurs mostly for emphatic purposes. Some General adjectives may occur reduplicated in the CP as well as in the AP, others only in one or other of them. Reduplication in the PostX occurs very rarely.

Reduplication <u>in the CP</u> occurs as follows:

<u>Class R</u> comprises adjectives which always occur reduplicated.

ḿkpǫ́kǫ́rų́	*"useless"*	ókóróbó	*"empty"*
ḿkpúlá	*"underneath"*	ǫ̀phų́ų́	*"new"*

Class S comprises adjectives which optionally occur reduplicated.

ákáhù̩	"old"	ìgbìdìgbí	"thick"
é̩gú̩bé̩	"like"	ìgwèrìgwè	"many"
gbé̩ré̩ré̩	"slim"	mé̩é̩!mé̩é̩	"blood red"

Class T comprises adjectives which never occur reduplicated.

è̩jì	"bad"	óbvó!bvú	"thorny"
é̩ny[!rú̩	"lazy"	òmì!ómì	"deep"
gèréé̩è	"slimy"	òyíngòyíngò	"green"

Reduplication in the AP occurs as follows:

Class U comprises adjectives which always occur reduplicated in the AP.

ákáhù̩	"old"	bìrìbìrì	"strange, wonderful"
é̩ny[!rú	"lazy"	m̀kpú̩lá̩	"underneath"
òjí	"black"		

Class V comprises adjectives which optionally occur reduplicated in the AP.

é̩gú̩bé̩	"like this"	bè̩lè̩bè̩lè̩	"soft"
è̩jì	"bad"	ìgbìdìgbì	"thick"
gbé̩ré̩ré̩	"slim"	[!ghárá^phú̩	"upside-down"

Class W comprises adjectives which never occur reduplicated in the AP.

kǎmé̩nù̩	"honestly"	ǹtèkéǹtèkè	"always"
m̀bú̩	"first"	òyíngòyíngò	"green"
m̀má̩!nú̩	"ordinary, idle"	ó̩má̩	"good"

16.4 ADVERBIAL ADJECTIVES

Adverbial adjectives never occur in NP 14. They occur in the expansion of NP 11 and in AP 13. Some also occur in CP 11. Three classes are set up.

Class A1 comprises adverbial adjectives which function in the PreX and in the PostX and in the AP. According to whether they function also in CP 11, they are subdivided into two subclasses.

Class A1a comprises adverbial adjectives which function in CP 11 also.

This is a closed class consisting of

ǫ́nyá	*"far"*	íbíríbé	*"in pieces"*
ǫ́nmę́wà	*"early"*	réngúréngú	*"good, well"*
yángáyángáyángá	*"noisy" (of people talking)*		

Class A1b comprises adverbial adjectives which do not function in CP 11.

ę̀wà	*"early"*	ḿkpákǫ́tá	*"total"*

Class A2 comprises adverbial adjectives which function in the PreX and in the AP (never with `kę́). They are subdivided into two subclasses.

Class A2a comprises adverbial adjectives which function in CP 11 also.

ìgwè	*"many"*	ḿkǫ́	*"sharp"*

Class A2b comprises an adverbial adjective which does not function in CP 11.

ókpókóró	*"useless"*

Class A3 comprises adverbial adjectives which function in the PostX and in the AP. They are subdivided into two subclasses:

Class A3a comprises adverbial adjectives which function also in CP. This is a closed class consisting of

ḿkų́chị̀	*"deaf"*	ǹkòtánkò	*"troublesome"* (occurs only reduplicated in AP/CP)
íchè	*"different, separate"*		
ntụmatụ	*"precious, beautiful"*	ę́gwá	*"fast"* (occurs only reduplicated in AP/CP)

Class A3b comprises adverbial adjectives which do not function in CP 11. This is a closed class consisting of

gwę́gwę́	*"talkative"*	gálàkàgálàkà	*"way of carrying a dead thing"*
ìshì	*"blind"*	gbérégédégé	*"unanimous"*
pyáá	*"clapping sound"*	gìrìgìrì	*"sound of footsteps"*
shìshìshì	*"surprised look"*		

16.5 NUMERAL ADJECTIVES

Numeral adjectives function in the postexpansion of NP 11, also in NP 26. The following have been found.

ĺá!nǘ   "one"   óĺú "one" (only used if the head of the NP
                                     is póngǜ "pound" or shĺrù "shilling".
ĺábǫ̀   "two"   It does not occur in NP 26c)

Note the similarity between Numeral Nominals, cardinals and
numeral adjectives:

Num Nom	Num Adj	Cardinal	
ná!nǘ	ĺá!nǘ	tè̩vǘ	"one"
è̩bǫ́	ĺábǫ̀	tè̩bǫ̀	"two"

In the forms for "two", the nominal root bǫ is found in all three
word classes with three different prefixes. The numeral adjectives
and the cardinals show the same prefixes for "one" and "two" ,
whereas the root for "one" seems only to correspond between the
Num Nominal and the Num Adjective.

16.6   STRUCTURE

Three types of adjective are set up; simple, reduplicated and
derived.

<u>Type 1 - Simple adjectives</u> consist of an adjective root of
Class AR1 or AR2.

è̩jǫ̀   "evil"   ĺchè̩ "different" ĺgbĺ "thick"

ĺgwè̩   "many"   ǹshɩ̩ "small"   ɔ̀mɩ̀ "deep"

<u>Type 2 - Reduplicated adjectives</u> consist of a reduplicated
adjective root of Class AR1 or AR2. If the root starts with a
vowel there is a connecting consonant which is either r, d or ⎮.

bè̩ĺè̩bè̩ĺè̩ "soft"   ĺgwè̩rĺgwè̩   "many"
ĺgbĺdĺgbĺ "thick"   ógóĺógó   "long"

<u>Type 3 - Derived adjectives</u> have either a nominal root or
a verb stem.

<u>Type 3a</u> consist of a reduplicated nominal root of Class NR5,
In the case of roots with an initial vowel, the last vowel of
the first root is elided.

mééʼméé   "blood red" óbvóʼbvú "thorny"   úswúʼswé "red"

<u>Type 3b</u> consist of a verb stem and a vowel prefix:

ákáhǜ   "old"   (káhǜ "to grow old")

CHAPTER 17

OTHER WORD CLASSES

17.1 ADVERBS

17.1.1 Function

Adverbs function as head in AP 14. They never occur in any expansion of NP 11. Two adverbs have also been found to occur in NP 14. `ké does not usually occur, but occasionally it is found. It is noted below whether `ké occurs optionally, is absent or is obligatory.

Three classes of adverbs are set up.

Class AV1 comprises adverbs which function also in CP 14.

ọ́tụ́	*"many"*	without `ké, without reduplication
ré	*"good, well"*	without `ké, without reduplication
líflíé	*"much, many"*	without `ké, optional reduplication
váshíláng̣ý	*"scratching sound"*	optional `ké, optional reduplication

Class AV2 comprises adverbs which do not function in a CP.

górógóró	*"sound of waterdrops"*	without `ké, without reduplication
kpẹ́ẹ́kpụ̀	*"only"*	without `ké, optional reduplication
kpámụ́kpàmụ̀	*"all"*	optional `ké, optional reduplication
dùù	*"sound of flying birds"*	obligatory `ké, optional reduplication
gẹ̀dẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀	*"really"*	if `ké occurs, obligatory reduplication.

Class AV3 comprises adverbs which occur exceptionally (with `ké) in NP 14.  When occurring in AP 14, `ké is never found. This is a closed class consisting of

| shíngúshíngú | *"much"* | also occurs in CP 14 |
| ímélímé | *"innermost"* | never occurs in CP 14 |

17.1.2 Structure

Three types of adverbs are set up: simple, reduplicated and derived.

   Type 1 - Simple Adverbs consist of an adverb root of Class
AvR1 or AvR2.

kpɛ́ɛ́kpʋ̀   *"only"*   ré   *"well"*   shí *"much"*

   Type 2 - Reduplicated Adverbs consist of a reduplicated
adverb root of Class AvR1 or AvR3.

gɛ̀dɛ̀gɛ̀dɛ̀ *"really"*   lìfìlé *"a little,   kpámʉ́kpàmʉ̀ "all"*
                                       anyhow"*

   Type 3 - Derived Adverbs comprise a nominal root of Class
NR2 plus an adjective root, and consist of

nwáànshíì *"small"*

17.2 DEICTICS

   Deictics function as the last element of the PostX 1 of NP 11.
They are grouped in two classes:

(1) Nominal Deictics which also function as head of NP 16.
(2) Adjectival Deictics which never function as head of NP 16.

17.2.1 Nominal deictics

   Nominal deictics function in the PostX 1 of NP 11 and also
as head of NP 16 with optional nominalising particle `kɛ́. Two
subclasses are distinguished.

   Class ND1 comprises deictics which function as the last
element of a relative expansion, and consists of

   ònó / ònó!yá   *"that"*

   Class ND2 comprises deictics which do not function as last
element of a relative expansion, and consists of

   ɔ̀wá   / ɔ̀wánà   *"this"*
   ɔ̀phʉ́ʋ̀ / ɔ̀phʉ́nà *"that, that other"*

17.2.2 Adjectival deictics

   Adjectival deictics function as element of the PostX 1 of
NP 11. They never occur with the nominalising particle `kɛ́ and
do not function as head of NP 16. They are divided into two
subclasses:

   Class AD1 comprises deictics which function as last element
of a relative expansion. This is a closed class consisting of

   ɔ́bʋ̀   *"that"* (back reference)
   áà   *"this"*

Class AD2 comprises deictics which do not function as last element of a relative expansion and consists of

phǫ̀   *"that"*

It should be noted that phǫ̀ and áà are always the only element in the postexpansion.

17.3 REFLEXIVE ELEMENTS

Reflexive elements function together with one of the personal pronominals or pronouns (object form) in the Reflexive Phrase.

The following have been found.

ònwó   *"by ...self, ...selves"*
nwę́ę̀kà   *"by ...self alone, ...selves alone"*[1]
hkíny̨   *"by ...self alone, ...selves alone"*
nwę́ę̀kíny̨ *"by ...self alone, ...selves alone"*

It seems that the last three reflexive elements mentioned share one or two of their morphemes, but it is not possible to identify such a morpheme. It may be that

nwę́ę̀kà	consists of	nwá + ę̀kà	(ę́ká *"hand"*
		small + ?	ę̀kè *"worm"*
nwę́ę̀kíny̨	consists of	nwá + ę̀kà + íny̨	ę̀ká *"place"*
		small + ? + ?	ę́kà *"stripes")*
hkíny̨	consists of	hkè + íny̨	
		one's own + ?	

17.4 PARTICLES

The following classes of particles are set up.

17.4.1 Prepositional particles

Prepositional particles function in AP and RP as prepositions. The following particles function in AP:

lę̀   *"in, on, at, to ..."*
gè   *"as, like"*

In the RP only:

lę̀   *"by ..."*

---

[1] Note that the reflexive element nwę́ę̀kà does not occur together with the pronominal ànyí.

17.4.2 Nominalising/Selective particle

This functions in NP 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. It may also precede most elements of the expansions. It has two forms.

ñkè   preceding Personal Pronouns   *"the one of ..."*

`ké   preceding other word classes   *"the ... one"*

The particle `ké sometimes has a nominalising, sometimes a selective function.  In NP 14, for instance, `ké has a nominalising function, whereas in NP 12 and in the expansions `ké has a selective function in which an item is particularised.

17.4.3 Coordinative particles

Coordinative particles function in various complex phrases.

Class A   comprises those which function in Complex NP 22, 23, 25, 26:

lè, è   *"and"*   occurring only after an NP 13a, an NP 11 which includes a numeral in the expansion, and in NP 26a.

wáà, yélè, mè   *"and"*   occurring in all other instances; wáà occurs occasionally also after NP 11 which includes a numeral.

wáfùà, yéfùà, méfùà   *"and also"*

Class B   comprises particles which function in Complex NP 24:

móbù   *"or"*

òzóò   *"or else"*

Class C   comprises particles which function in Complex AP 21:

lè, gè   *"... by ..."*

17.4.4 Frontshifting particle

This particle functions in ST 50. It follows the frontshifted clause or phrase.

`bé   *"frontshifting particle"*

17.4.5 Conjunctive particles

Conjunctive particles function on sentence level coordinating or subordinating two clauses.

Class C   comprises conjunctive particles coordinating two clauses.

This is a closed class consisting of

ké̩lé̩	*"because"*	} functioning in ST 31
ó̩o̩lé̩	*"but"*	
gbàhálé̩	*"unless"*	
è̩ká	*"because"*	
lé̩	*"that"*	functioning in ST 33 and preceding
gè̩	*"as"*	sentence constructs Class P.

Class S comprises conjunctive particles subordinating two clauses. This is a closed class consisting of

mè̩	*"if"*	functions in ST 21, 23
ó̩o̩mé̩	*"if ... would have"*	functions in ST 23
ó̩bù̩lé̩	*"if ... would have"*	functions in ST 23
gè̩	*"in order that"*	functions in ST 25
o̩phú̩	*"and not"*	functions in ST 24
o̩bé̩ / è̩bé̩	*"and not"*	
tè̩mé̩ / tè̩mú̩	*"before"*	functions in ST 26
tè̩máànú̩	*"before"*	
je àsú̩(rú̩)	*"until"*	functions in ST 26
je àdú̩(rú̩)	*"until"*	
ó̩dú̩mè̩kà	*"if not"*	functions in ST 26

Many conjunctive particles appear to consist of more than one morpheme but are now functioning as petrified forms which were originally phrases. Some forms are obscure but others can be reconstructed with some certainty, e.g.,

ó̩o̩   lé̩ ﹥ ó̩o̩lé̩   ó̩ bù̩ lé̩ ﹥ ó̩bù̩lé̩   gbàhá lé̩ ﹥ gbàhálé̩
it is that   but   *it is that   if*   *except that   unless*

ó̩ dú̩ mè̩kà ﹥   ó̩dú̩mè̩kà
it is (conditional) if not

17.4.6 Interrogative particles

Interrogative introductory particles function in interrogative sentences, ST 70. The following have been found:

bù̩	*"Is ...?"*	functions in ST 76
dé̩nù̩ / né̩nù̩	*"how, where?"*	functions in ST 77
dé̩náànú̩/né̩náànú̩	*"where again?"*	functions in ST 77
tò̩	*"or?"*	functions in ST 72 and NP 24

í-verbstem-àghá(!yá) *"how?"* functions in ST 78

To all these particles except the last two, the verb extensor suffixes -kpǫ́ *"emphasis"* and -hǫ́nǫ́ *"impatience"* may be affixed.

17.4.7 Cohortative particle

The cohortative particle functions initially in ST 90.

gè̩ *"let ..."*

17.4.8 Emphatic particle

The emphatic particle functions initially in ST 60.

ǫ́ǫ̀ *"it is ..."*

17.4.9 Relative particle

The relative particle functions finally in the sentence construct Class R1.

nǫ́ *"relative particle"*

17.4.10 Demonstrative particle

Demonstrative introductory particles function initially in the nonverbal CT 21.

wáà *"this is ..."*
nóò *"that is ..."*

17.4.11 Verb particles

Verb particles function in the VP. Three classes are set up.

Class N comprises two particles which function in the negative transformation of the VP, and consists of

tÉ *"not"*
tÉkÈ *"not yet"*

The various forms of these two particles are described in 14.5.1.

Class O comprises two particles which function in the complex VP 22 and its negative transformation.

gÉgÈ *"... would have ..."*
tÉgÈ *"... would not have ..."*

The various forms of these particles are described in 11.4 and 14.5.3.

Class L comprises a linking particle Ɪ' functioning as
follows:

(1)   always before the 2nd and 3rd person singular pronoun func-
      tioning as subject in Base AB future aspect;

(2)   optionally before the E-prefix of the following aspects:
      all Base B aspects, Base AB purpose aspect;

(3)   optionally before the negative particle ètɛ́ in Base NB purpose
      aspect and the relative transformation with negative verbs in
      Base NB and NC;

(4)   optionally before the discontinuous extensor suffix -áà in
      Class D1s sentence: à sú̩ Ɪngú̩ Ɪ'áà ...

      The linking particle Ɪ' does not seem to have a meaning.
The only purpose it seems to serve is to prevent vowel elision
which would always occur in these contexts. The linking particle
occurs more often in deliberate speech than in fast speech. As
the particle is never followed by a consonant initial syllable,
it is difficult to reconstruct the elided vowel. By analogy with
other particles it is probable that this vowel is e̩.

      It is highly probable that originally this particle did have
a grammatical meaning. In all the above mentioned aspects a lost
tone has been postulated which may go back to the tone of this
particle. Note also that in Igbo, in the verb form which corres-
ponds to Izi Base form B, the word na occurs, which indeed would
correspond phonologically with Izi Ɪe̩:

cf: Igbo: chineke ,   aka etc., nwoke na eri ꞮHe   *the man is
      Izi: chileke ,   e̩ka ,   nwoke Ɪ'eri Ɪ!phe   eating
                                                          something"

17.5 INTERJECTIONS

      Interjections function as sentence margin or in CT 23.

      Five classes are set up.

      Class A comprises interjections which function in CT 23.

ē̩hē̩ *"agreement"*   Ꞷyáà   *"agreement"* ó̩ò̩yá *"agreement"*
òwó *"understanding"* Ꞷ pfú tò̩ *"of course"* àà mú *"surprise"*
Ꞷé̩ká *"thanking"*   métá   *"thanking"* òwá *"surprise after*
túswé̩kwà *"contempt"*   *bad news"*

      Class B comprises interjections which function as sentence
margin in all sentence types.

éé   "yes"   wáàwá/áàwá   "no"   hm̀   "agreement"

àà   "surprise"   híʃ   "laughter"   hàà   "laughter"

byíʃkó   "pleading"

Class C comprises interjections which function as sentence margin in ST 80 and consists of

ńgwá "Come on!"   ǹggé "Here, take!"

Class D comprises interjections which function in ST 90, and consists of

ǫ̀phǘ   "Beware!"

Class E comprises an interjection which functions in the Appositional Sentence Margin and as sentence margin in sentences of Class R3:

m̀bǘ   "I mean, do you mean, meaning ..."

CHAPTER 18

ROOTS

18.1 VERB ROOTS

Four classes of verb roots are set up:

Class I - Non-stative Independent
Class D - Non-stative Dependent
Class S - Stative
Class A - Auxiliary

Class I - Non-stative independent roots function as simple verb stems or as first two elements of complex verb stems. They are subdivided into three subclasses on the basis of their occurrence in derived nominals type 1.

Class I1. comprises roots which occur as an element in derived nominals type 1.

bvù	*"play"*	chè	*"think"*	ghɔ̀	*"deceive"*
jĭ	*"ask"*	rĭ	*"eat"*	pfú	*"speak"*

Class I2 comprises roots which do not occur as an element in derived nominals type 1.

bvú	*"dig"*	hɔ̀	*"select"*	ké	*"tie"*
pá	*"carry"*	ré	*"sell"*	tá	*"bite, chew"*

Class I3 comprises one root which occurs as an element in derived nominals type 1, as well as an element in derived adjectives:

ká   *"to grow old"*   (ŋ́ká   *"long life"*   *derived nominal*)

(ákéhɔ̀   *"old"*   *derived adjective*)

Occurrence in complex verb stems is not restricted. In principle all combinations of verb roots are possible. In text material, however, it has been observed that only five roots occur frequently as second morpheme, though others occur from time to time. These five are: bù *"cut"*, dà *"fall"*, dzú *"meet"*, gbú *"kill"*, wó *"break"*.

Tone classes are set up since every verb root is marked by either high or low tone. These are termed High Class and Low Class.

High Class

bé	*"reach"*	bǫ́	*"converse"*	chí	*"beat"*
chǫ́	*"seek"*	dé	*"write"*	gbá	*"run"*

Low Class:

bvù	*"swim"*	chì	*"rub"*	dzè	*"rain"*
hà	*"leave"*	kè	*"divide"*	ìì	*"bury"*

Class D - Non-stative dependent roots function as an element of complex verb stems. According to their basic function in the verb stem they are divided into four subclasses:

Class D1 comprises two roots which occur as first element only.

wò   *"take, bring"*   ré   *"burn"*

Class D2 comprises one root which occurs as first or second element in the verb stem.

bá   *"direction inside"*

Class D3 comprises roots which occur as second or third element only. This is a closed class consisting of

bù	*"smallness"*	chí	*"cover, shut"*	ghé	*"finish"*
há	*"aside"*	kpǫ́	*"break"*	ká	*"destroy"*
kwó	*"break"*	lá	*"away"*	nwé	*"change"*
pfú	*"meet, together"*	phù	*"turn back, loose"*	rwè	*"well"*
shí	*"many times"*	swè	*"wrongly"*	zí	*"turn, do again"*
byí	*"spoil"*	phè	*"be around"*	kúbé	*"to be near, move near"*

Class D4 comprises roots which occur as second element in the verb stem, but always followed by a derivational suffix (given in parenthesis), and consists of

pyà (bé̩)	*"close, tight"*	gbà (bé̩)	*"do together"*
pfú (bé)	*"join"*	ká (tá)	*"spoil"*.

Class S - Stative roots function in stative verb stems. This is a closed class consisting of

bú	*"to live (in a location)"*	bý	*"to be"* (equative)
dý	*"to be"* (quality, quantity)	gbá	*"to be"* (same or different)
hà	*"to be"* (in size)	ká	*"to be more"*

kárí *"to exceed"*   kwà   *"to sleep, spend the night"*

má   *"to know"*   nǫ̀/nǫ̀dṹ *"to be (location), sit, remain"*

nwé   *"to have"*   pá   *"to be much"*

shí   *"to come from, to be"* shíhú   *"to be (strong, or sour)"*

Only one stative root has been found to occur as a derived nominal: nǫ̀ *"to sit"* (anǫ́ǫ̀ *"seat"*).

Class A - Auxiliary root functions in the complex VP 21, and consists of

shí *"complete past"*

18.2 NOMINAL ROOTS

Six classes of nominal roots are set up on the basis of their function as elements of nominals and adjectives.

Class NR1 comprises nominal roots which function as nominals without reduplication. This is the majority of roots.

íphé   *"thing"*   óshí   *"tree"*   è̩ká   *"place"*

ígwé   *"sky"*   ígwè   *"iron"*   éswí   *"cow"*

ṹtsṳ̀   *"morning"*   tèté   *"nine"*   è̩gbṳ̀dṳ̀ *"bush"*

Class NR2 comprises nominal roots which function as nominals and as an element of compound nominals. Theoretically any nominal root of Class NR1 may become an element of a compound nominal. The ones listed below are more frequently used than others:

ézè   *"chief, big"*   nwá   *"child, small"* é̩ká   *"hand"*

àzṹ   *"back"*   ṹlǫ̀   *"house"*   ṹnwṹ *"sons"*

ṹphú *"home"*

Class NR3 comprises nominal roots which function as nominals with reduplication. Two subclasses are set up.

Class NR3a comprises two roots which occur with a connecting consonant in the reduplication.

ĺnya   › ĺnyàrĺnyà *"kind of grasshopper"*

obu   › òbùtóbù   *"neighbour"*

Class NR3b comprises roots without a connection consonant in the reduplication. If the root starts with a vowel, elision takes place. This is a closed class consisting of

phuku › phùkùphùkù *"a fool"*   raa › ráàráà   *"swelling sickness"*

onyo › ònyònyò   *"shadow"*   ḭ̀gǫ̀lḭ̀ › ḭ̀gǫ̀lḭ̀gǫ́lḭ̀ *"argument"*

Class NR4 comprises nominal roots which function as elements of compound nominals only and consists of ĭchà in ékị́ĭchà *"left"*, ún... in únúphú *"compound"*, èwá.. in èwáàĭĭ *"bush rat"*.

Class NR5 comprises nominal roots which function as nominals without reduplication but which also function as adjectives when reduplicated.

mĭ́nĭ́	*"water, watery"*	óbvú	*"thorn, thorny"*
úswé	*"camwood, red"*	òdòdò	*"yellow wood, yellow"*
únyĭ	*"charcoal, black"*	méé	*"blood, red"*

Class NR6 comprises nominal roots, functioning as numeral nominals and can be prefixed by ę or ĭ. This is a closed class consisting of

bọ́	èbọ́	*"two"*	shĭ́	ĭshĭ́	*"six"*
tọ́	ètọ́	*"three"*	sáà	èsáà	*"seven"*
nọ́	ènọ́	*"four"*	sá!tọ́	èsá!tọ́	*"eight"*
sé	ĭsé	*"five"*	rĭ́	ĭrĭ́	*"ten"*

18.3 ADJECTIVE ROOTS

Four classes of adjective roots are set up on the basis of reduplication.

Class AR1 comprises roots which function with or without reduplication. They are again subdivided on the basis of whether or not a connecting consonant occurs in the reduplicated form:

Class AR1a comprises roots which occur with a connecting consonant (r, d, ĭ) in the reduplication and consists of

ĭgwè	ĭgwèrĭgwè	*"many"*	ĭgbĭ	ĭgbĭdĭ́gbĭ	*"thick"*
òmĭ	òmĭĭómĭ	*"deep"*			

Class AR1b comprises roots which occur without a connecting consonant in the reduplication. If the root begins with a vowel, elision of the last vowel of the first morpheme takes place.

égwá	égwé!gwá	*"quick"*	gbápfù̀	gbápfù̀gbápfù̀	*"creased"*
ĭchà	ĭchĭchè	*"different, separate"*	wárárá	wáráráwárárá	*"narrow"*

Class AR2 comprises roots which function without reduplication.

ę́jọ́	*"evil"*	ǹshĭ́	*"small"*	ọ́má	*"good"*
ọ̀gèrènyà	*"old"*	ǹhàmų́hà	*"straight"*		

Class AR3 comprises roots which function with reduplica-
tion. Again two subclasses are set up:

Class AR3a comprises roots which occur with a connecting
consonant (r, l) in the reduplication and consists of

ógó in ógólógó *"long"*   ókpó in ókpórókpó *"fat"*

Class AR3b comprises roots which occur without a connecting
consonant in the reduplication.

bè̩lè̩bè̩lè̩   *"soft"*   m̀gbùrùmgburù   *"round"*
bìrìbìrì   *"strange, wonderful"*   m̀bvúbám̀bvúbá   *"rough"*

Class AR4 comprises roots which only occur triplicated and
consists of

pyóró *"secretly,*   yángá *"noisy,*   shì *"surprised looking"*
(on back paths)"   *(of people*
talking)"

18.4 ADVERB ROOTS

Three classes of adverb roots are set up on the basis of
reduplication.

Class AvR1 comprises roots which function with or without
reduplication. A subdivision is made on the basis of whether
an additional syllable occurs or not.

Class AvR1a comprises roots which occur with the syllable
-ngu in the reduplication and consists of

ré réngúréngú *"good, well"*   ·shí shíngúshíngú *"much, many"*

Class AvR1b comprises roots which occur without an additional
syllable in the reduplication.

dùù   *"like flying birds"*   váshílángú   *"scratching sound"*
vúshílíngú *"scratching sound"*

Class AvR2 comprises roots which occur without reduplication.

ó̩tú̩ *"many"*   kpé̩é̩kpù̩ [1] *"only"*

Class AvR3 comprises roots which always occur with redupli-
cation. If the root starts with a vowel, elision of the last
root vowel takes place.

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[1] Instead of reduplication, the form kpé̩é̩kpù̩ré̩!ré̩!ké̩ *"only"* *(emphatic)* occurs.

ìlé   *"a little"*   góró   *"like falling   kpámú́   *"all"*
gèdè   *"really"*   waterdrops"*   váshí   *"scratching sound"*

TEXT

In the following text, the top line of each set of three
is the Izi - numbers in brackets indicate tone spans, while
sentence boundaries are marked by the occurrence of full stops
and capital letters. The second line, in italics, is the trans-
lation. The third line shows the various components as far as
clause level, with lower levels mentioned where they are
significant. On this line, the references in brackets are to
the aspect of the verb.

(1) ˆÀ sý ngừ lḗ-à: (2) lḗ nwóʰké nwừtàrừ ýnwừ-ḗgʃrʃmá
One says to you that: *that a man   generated children*

Class Dls ST 33: CT 11 (A nf)   CT 11 (C nf)

ˆìshʃ̀. (3) Ónyé kḗ ìkpáʰzý wátá ˆèémé   gề, ónyé   éswề.
six.   Person of last   began behaving like person (of) folly.

        ST 11: CT 17a (A nf)   CC 5   AP 11

(4) ˆḘphḗ dóbésý lḗ ộ bừ ónyé éswề   (5) kḗlḗ ộộ býjḗrý
They   thought that he is (a) fool,   for it was always

ST 31: SC 33: CT 13 (A nf), CT 15 (C nf);   CT 15 (B nf)

(6) tèké   ộ gbḙ̀shʃrừ   (7) ộˆộ byá   ˆèjé ìʼ ḙ̀gbừdừ
time when he left (to go) he would then go in bush (and)

        RelX: SC 32: CT 13 (C) SC 43 (AB fut): CT 13 (AB nf),

(8) lḗ óˆộ gbúá   ˆìnóʰngú ḗgý. (9/10)[1] ộ   dừrừ ónyé   ézé
he would kill rat (of) field.   It   was person (of) chief

CT 11 (AB fut)   ST 11: CT 14 (C) NP 21

ʰnwérú ʃphˆé   ʰbú lḙ̀ ḿkpừkpừ ờnó. (11) óộ gúdéjé
who had thing (wealth) who lived in village that.   He always

RelX   RelX   ST 42a: CT 11 (B nf),

ˆìnóʰngú ḗgý   ờnó já ʃʰbé ˆìyá . (12) Tèké ó rwừrừ ʃʰbé
with rat of field that went home his.   When he reached home (of)

                CT 11 (A nf)   ST 27: CT 24 (C),

nwóʰké ờnó   (13) nwóʰké ờnó ˆàsý   ˆìyá: Há
man   that,   man   that would say to him: Ha,

                CT 11 (AB nf)   ST 71: Mar

[1] Originally analysed as two tone spans.

(14) Ọ̀nyà mú ọ̀nyà mú, (15) ì̹l̹ byáwá?   Ọ̹́ˆọ̹ sú̹   ˆl̹yá:
     Friend my friend my   *You have come?*   *He would say (to) him:*

     Mar   CT 13 (B nf)   ST 11: CT 11 (AB fut)

éé.   (16) Ẹ̀phẹ́ kwéèbẹ́   óˆò sú̹   ˆl̹yá: (17) ì   wòtàrù
Yes.   *They when greeted, he would say (to) him:*   *you brought*

ST 12: CT 23   ST 22: CT 13 (A con), CT 11 (AB fut)   ST 71:

mú gú̹!nú̹? L'ọ̹́ˆọ̹ sú̹   lẹ́ ọ̹́ kwà ìnó!ngú ẹ́gú̹. (18) L'ọ̹́ˆọ̹ sú̹
me what?   *He would say that it was field rat.*   *He would say*

CT 12 (C)   ST 33: CT 13 (AB fut), CT 15 (C)   ST 41: SC 33:

ˆl̹yá: ị̀ dù̹ íké, ị̀ dù̹ íké; (18a) sú̹   ˆl̹yá: (19) lẹ́ ọ́kpà
(to) him: You are strength (Thank you)   *say (to) him:*   *that leg (of)*

CT11(ABfut), CT 14 (C), CT 14 (C);   SC 33: CT 11 (A nf);   SC 25:

éswí̂ˆl̹yä ná!nú̹ lẹ́ á!bú̹rú̹ ǹkà ngú̹; (20) gè   ị̀ nú̹ ˆl̹yá
cow his one will be   own your;   *so that you give him*

CT 15 (B fut),   CT 12 (A pur)

ˆìnó!ngú ẹ́gú̹ ònó. (21) L'ọ́ˆò kwétá;   (22) Ónyé   ézè
field rat   that.   *He would agree.*   *Person of chief*

                       ST 11: CT 13 (AB fut)   ST 11: CT 11

ònó nwèrù éswí̂ˆìrí. (23) Nóò   yá.   (24) M̀bọ̀kù̹ m̀bọ̀kù̹
that had cows ten.   *That is it (=Well.).*   *Every day*

(C nf)   Class D3s ST 12: CT 21   ST 32:

nwáta ònó ˆèJé ị̀' ẹ̀gbù̹dù̹; (25) ị̀'óˆò gbúá   ˆìnóngú ònó,
child that would go to bush   *he would kill rat   that.*

CT 13 (AB fut)   CT 11 (AB fut)

(26) Ó   gbúá yá   ị̀'ó ówòJérú   ˆl̹yá nwó!ké ònó.
     When he killed it, he would always bring it (to) man that.

     ST 22: CT 11 (A con), CT 12 (AB fut)

(27) Nwó!ké ònó éwòrú ókpà éswí̂ˆl̹yä ná!nú̹ nú̹   ˆl̹yá.
     Man   that takes leg of cow his one gives it to him.

     ST 42b: CT 11 (AB fut),   CT 11 (A nf)

(28) Ó békwá   éché!lé ị̀'óˆò jéé ị̀' ẹ̀gbù̹dù̹ ọ̀zọ́ ị̀'óˆò
     It when reached tomorrow he would go to bush again (and) he

     ST 22: CT 13 (A con),   SC 32: CT 13 (AB fut),   CT 11

gbúkwááˆìnóngú ẹ́gú̹ ònó. (29) Tèké ọ́ làrù   únú!phú
would kill field rat that.   *When he returned (to) compound,*

(AB fut)   ST 27: CT 24 (C)

(30) ńnà ^l̀yá ^àsý ^l̀yá: (31) ègbừdừ ọ̀wá-à íì
father his would tell him: *bush this, to which you*

CT 11 (AB fut) ST 12: CT 22: NP 11 + RelX

jéjékpọ́ m̀bọ̀kừ m̀bọ̀kừ-à. (32) Dẹ́nừkpọ̀hừnà ^l̀nólngú íì
really are going every day, *where on earth is rat which you*

(RelX) ST 77: CT 21 NP 11 RelX

gbừtájé? (33) Tọ̀ ọ́ tọ́ !dừdừ l̀phé íì gbújé?
are killing? *Or it is not thing which you kill (=Aren't you killing anything?)*

ST 72: CT 14 (NC)

(34) ọ́^`ọ̀ sứ ^l̀yá lẹ́ yá ègbújékwáà-áà. (35) ọ́^`ọ̀ sứ
He would say to him that he is indeed always killing. *He would say*

ST 33: CT 11 (AB fut); CT 13 (B nf) ST 11: CT 11

^l̀yá: dẹ́nừhừnừ ^l̀yá? (36a) ọ́^`ọ̀ sứ ^l̀yá gẹ̀ ọ́
to him: where on earth is it then? *He would say to him that he should*

(AB fut) ST 77: CT 21 ST 33: SC 25: CT 11 (AB fut), CT 13

hàá lẹ́ ọ́ọ̀ m̀bọ̀kừ (36b) l̀kpá!żừ bẹ́ (36c) ọ́`ọ́-l̀hừmá ^l̀yá.
leave (it) that it is (on) day last that he will see it.

(A pur) SC 60: CT 11 (B fut) frontsh AP 12b

(37) Ńnà ^l̀yá kwéé: hm̀. (38) Ònyémònyé l̀nọ́ lẹ̀ m̀kpừkpừ
Father his replied: O.K. *Everybody who was in village*

ST 11: CT 13 (A nf) ST 12: CT 23 ST 31: SC 41: SC 33: CT 13 (A nf);

ònó dóbésứ lẹ́ ọ́ bừ ónyé éswè (39) nọ̀dừ̈ ékòwá ^l̀yá ónyé
that thought that he was a fool *(even) kept calling him a fool*

CT 15 (C); SC 42a: CT 13(A nf), CT 12(B nf)

éswè (40) kẹ́lẹ́ ọ́ọ̀ gbújé ^l̀nólngú m̀bọ̀kừ m̀bọ̀kừ.
because he is always killing *rat day by day.*

CT 11 (B nf).

ọ́ tŏ ó wòládứ ^l̀yá únú!phú l̀'ó wòrú ^l̀yá jéé
He would not bring it (to his) compound (and) he takes it goes

ST 31: SC 32: CT 12 (NB nf); SC 42b: CT 11 (AB fut), CT 13a (A fut),

jé ^ànứ (40a) ónyé ézè (41a) ópfú lẹ́ ọ́ọ̀
and giving (to), rich man because he

SC 43 (A nf): Con Cl: CT 11 (AB nf), CT 11 (AB nf) CT 12 (B nf)

nứJẹ́ ^l̀yá (41b) ọ́kpà (41c) éswl̀. (42) Nóò yá.
is giving him leg of cow. *Well.*

Class D3s ST 12: CT 21

(43) Tèké ó jèkwàrù ì'ó^ò jé ^jè   ègbúá ^ìnó!ngú-à
     When he went   he would go and   kill   rat   this
     ST 27: CT 24 (C)nf SC 32: SC 41: CT 13 (AB fut); SC 43 (A nf): CT 11 (AB nf)

ì'ó ówòjérú ^ìyá ónyé ézè ònó.   (44) L'ó ówòrú ǫ́kpà éswí^ìyä
and he brought it (to) rich man that.   *(And) he took leg of·cow his*

CT 12 (AB fut)   ST 11: SC 42b: CT 11 (AB fut)

 ná!nų́ nų́   ^ìyá. (45) ǫ̀ nų́kpǫ́ǫ́yàphǫ́   ǫ́kpà éswí^ìyá ònö̈
 one (and) gave (it) him.   *He continued to give leg of cow his that*

        CT 11 (A nf)   ST 26: CT 12 (A nf)

ná!ánų̈ ná!nų́ ^jè^àsų́ ^ǫ̀ nų́kǫ́tá   ^ìyá m̀pfú-làgàdà éswí ònó
one by one   until   he had given (all) him thighs of   cows that

                CT 12 (A nf)

gè̩ ǫ́ hà̩. (46) Éswí^ìrí ònó. (47) Nóò yá.   ...
all.   *Cows ten those.*   *Well.*
            ST 12: CT 22   Class D3s ST 12: CT 21

FREE TRANSLATION:

Once upon a time, a certain man had six children. The youngest
one began behaving like a fool. They thought that he was a fool
because when he went off, it was to the bush to kill a field rat.

Now there was a chief, a wealthy man, who lived in that
village. So he would always go to that man's house with the
field rat he had caught. When he reached the man's house, he
would say to him: "So, my friend, you have come?" And he would
say: "Yes." When they had exchanged greetings, he would say to
him: "What have you brought me?" He would say: "A field rat."
He would say to him: "Thank you. I will give you one leg of that
cow if you will give me the field rat." He would agree. That
chief had ten cows. Well ...

Every day the child would go to the bush and would kill a
field rat. Then he would take it to the man. The man would promise
him one leg of a cow. The next day he would do the same. When he
returned to the compound, his father would say: "You are going to
the bush every day, but where's the rat you are killing? Or aren't
you killing anything?" He would tell him that he was certainly
killing something. So he would say: "Well, where is it?" He
would tell him to leave it and at the end he would see it. His
father would reply: "O.K." Everybody in the village thought he
was a fool, even called him a fool, because he was always killing
a rat each day, but not taking it home, rather giving it to the
rich man who was promising him the leg of a cow. Well ...

He would go and kill a field rat and take it to the rich man.
He would promise him a leg of a cow. He continued to promise him

a leg of one of his cows one by one, until he had promised him
all the thighs of the cows. All those ten cows. Well ...

(Explanatory note: The boy was far from being a fool. When
the chief died, he claimed all the legs promised to him and
eventually obtained all ten cows alive.)

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