THE BEKWARRA LANGUAGE OF NIGERIA

- A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

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ABSTRACT

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

The first chapter describes briefly the background to the analysis presented in the thesis and outlines the theoretical framework within which it is set. The system of transcription used in the thesis is explained in Chapter Two, together with a description of the main features of the tonal system of the language.

The main body of the grammatical description is contained in Chapters Three to Eleven. Chapter Three contains an account of the sentence, and Chapters Four and Five an account of the clause and its features.

The three major phrase classes and their elements and features are then described in turn. Chapter Six contains a description of the verbal phrase and its elements. Chapters Seven and Eight deal with the nominal phrase, the general structure of the phrase and unitary elements being described in the former and complex elements in the latter. Chapters Nine to Eleven are concerned with the adverbial phrase. Chapter Nine contains an account of the structure and the elements of the adverbial phrase, Chapter Ten an account of functionally determined classes and Chapter Eleven an account of adverbial phrase expressions functioning as extensions to the nominal phrase.

Chapters Twelve and Thirteen contain respectively a brief summary of the analysis and an analysed text.

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

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CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Bekwarra People and their Language

The Bekwarra people number approximately 34,000 (1963 census) and live in the northern part of Ogoja Province, Eastern Nigeria,[1] adjoining the boundary with Northern Nigeria. They occupy an area of little more than 100 square miles, with its western extremity at a point two or three miles east of Ogoja town. Within this area there are very few resident members of other tribal groups, and there appears to be a very high degree of linguistic homogeneity.

The name 'Bekwarra' (phonologically /èbèkwàrà/, see chapter 2) is applied to both the tribal group and its language by the people themselves and is also used as the name of the local administrative unit, or 'clan'. The spellings 'Bekworra' and 'Bekworrah' are also current, but the spelling with medial 'a' is adopted here in view of its greater resemblance to the phonetic form as used by members of the tribal group and its greater acceptability to the relatively few literate Bekwarra people. There is no phonetic or phonological justification for a doubled medial 'r', but it was felt unwise to add yet another spelling to those already current for the sake of rectifying this. For the nominal prefix èbè- and its orthographic representation as 'Be-' see sections 2.3.1, 7.3.3.

Certain neighbouring tribal groups (e.g., the Yala (Iyala) and the Boki (Nki)) refer to the Bekwarra as 'Yakoro', and this is the name which normally appears in the few references to the people and their language in literature of an ethnographic or linguistic nature.

As far as can be ascertained, the earliest available published information about the Bekwarra (Yakoro) language is an incomplete word-

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1. Since this chapter was drafted Eastern Nigeria has seceded from the Republic of Nigeria and adopted the name 'Biafra'.

list appearing in N.W. Thomas, Specimens of Languages from Southern Nigeria (London, 1914). Thomas states (p.9) that the vocabulary was not collected by himself. Many of the words listed differ from their equivalents in the language which forms the subject of this thesis, though very few are completely unrecognisable. It may well be, therefore, that the language from which these words were gathered is in fact one of several languages in the area which are closely related to Bekwarra, rather than from Bekwarra itself, since it is most unlikely that differences on this scale could be the result of normal processes of linguistic change over a period of little more than fifty years.

Sir H.H. Johnston in A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages (Oxford, 1919-22, 2 vols.) states explicitly (vol. 1, p.814) that he has derived his only information on 'Yakoro' (and neighbouring related languages) from the volume referred to above. He classes 'Yakoro' as a dialect of Nki (Boki) in Group A (The Cameroons - Cross River Languages) of the Semi-Bantu languages (vol. 1, pp. 672-697).

The tentative classification of 'Yakoro' as a dialect of Boki in D. Westermann and M.A. Bryan, 'The Languages of Africa' (Handbook of African Languages, Part II, London, 1952) is in turn apparently based on the two works listed above. So presumably is the classification of 'Yakoro' with Boki and Gayi (Uge) as 'Cross River 1' (and part of the larger Benue-Congo grouping) by J.H. Greenberg in 'The Languages of Africa' (International Journal of American Linguistics, 29, 1, Jan. 1963, Part II).

It would appear, then, that no original information about the Bekwarra language has been published since the reproduction by Thomas in 1914 of a partial word-list obtained at second hand (if, indeed, his 'Yakoro' is to be identified with Bekwarra).

The present thesis is, therefore, believed to be the first attempt at the systematic presentation of original information on the Bekwarra language since 1914 at least, as well as constituting the first systematic description of the grammar of any of the languages of Greenberg's 'Cross River 1' grouping.

Published ethnographic information about the Bekwarra people is as sparse as linguistic information.

1.2. The Background of this Analysis

The language material on which this thesis is based was gathered principally between May 1964 and October 1965 by the author and his wife. A certain amount of preliminary field work was carried out over a period of a few weeks earlier in 1964. This work was carried out under the auspices of the West Africa branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which is affiliated to the University of Nigeria.

Except during the brief period of preliminary field work, the author and his wife lived in the village of Beten (Ebeten), approximately 16 miles east of Ogoja town by road and just south of the main road from Enugu and Abakaliki to Gboko in Northern Nigeria.

The majority of informants, including the principal informant, Mr. Edward Adugba, a young man, are residents of Beten, though some material has been collected from residents of other villages. There are no apparent dialect variations from one village to another within the area represented by the informants.

The analysis presented in this thesis is based on a quantity of tape-recorded text material (traditional stories, conversations, descriptions, etc.). With very few exceptions, all the examples quoted in the thesis are from this corpus of text. In a few cases, however, examples are taken from isolated unelicited utterances (not tape-recorded) or, very rarely, from elicited utterances. Such examples are, however, given only when the only available unelicited examples involve complications which are not relevant to the particular construction illustrated and would be as likely to confuse as to enlighten the reader. The conclusions drawn from the analysis to text material have been assessed in the light of the author's general experience with the language. No analytical statements are, however, made without reasonably clear evidence in the recorded unelicited data. All examples are numbered serially for ease of cross-reference (see section 1.4, end).

The author and his wife have participated in the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute.[2] Some 30,000 words of continuous text material, with each separate text identified by a two-letter code (see below), were typed out and sent to the University of Oklahoma, where each line of text was transferred to a separate punched card. The cards were fed into an IBM 1410 computer, which produced and printed out a complete alphabetised concordance of the corpus, in which each occurrence of each word appears preceded by 59 letters of its context (with each space between words being counted as a 'letter') and followed by as many letters (and spaces) of its context as will fit in a total line length of 120 letters (or spaces). Each line of the concordance also has the text code and serial number of the sentence in which the word under attention occurs, together with the serial number of the word in question within its sentence.

The corpus used for the concordance project constitutes approximately 75 per cent of the total text data used for the analysis presented in this thesis. The main features of the analysis were worked out independently of the concordance, which was received in November 1966, at a relatively late stage in work on the thesis. The concordance has, however, proved to be of considerable value in the more detailed study of specific forms and of small closed classes of words and markers (see section 1.3), as well as in the selection of illustrative examples.

Examples in the thesis which occur in the corpus used for the project are labelled according to text code and sentence number (thus 'AC005' means 'the fifth sentence of text AC'). Examples from text material not used for the concordance project are labelled according to line number, preceded by the letter 'T'. Examples from isolated unelicited utterances are labelled according to serial number, preceded by the letter 'U'. Similarly, the letter 'D' is used to identify elicited data.

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2. See Acknowledgements.

The principal goal of this thesis, then, is the presentation of a reasonably comprehensive grammatical analysis of a language which has hitherto been documented, if at all, only by an incomplete word-list. It is of course impossible within the bounds of a single thesis to give an exhaustive analysis even of the limited body of recorded data taken as the basis of this study. But it is fairly confidently believed that further data will not materially affect the analysis presented and that more detailed study of any item can be made without any major alteration to the overall framework given here.

1.3. The Theoretical Basis of this Analysis

The theoretical model underlying the analysis presented in this thesis closely resembles in its methods and terminology the 'structure-function' model described by J.T. Bendor-Samuel in 'A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases'[3], which itself is developed from that underlying his monograph 'The Verbal Piece in Jebero'.

It is not, however, the aim of this thesis to present a systematic exposition or defence of the 'structure-function' model. Nevertheless, it is believed that the description presented in the following chapters demonstrates the usefulness of a model of this kind for a systematic analysis of the complete grammatical structure of a language.

The remainder of this section contains an outline of the version of the 'structure-function' model used for the description of the grammar of Bekwarra, while the next section (1.4) provides an outline of the way in which some of the categories of the model are applied in succeeding chapters.

* * * *

The grammar of the language is analysed and described in

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3. For details of this and all other articles, etc. referred to in this section see Bibliography.

terms of a series of units arranged in a hierarchical scale of levels.[4]

Each of the units (other than the 'highest' in the scale) is defined and given its primary description in terms of its function as an element[5] of the next 'higher' unit in the scale.

Each of the units (other than the 'lowest' in the scale) is further described in terms of its structure, in that it is said to consist of one or more elements, which are normally (though not exclusively, see below) units at the next lower level in the scale.

For the analysis of the grammar of Bekwarra the following levels (and units) are set up:-

Sentence
Clause
Phrase
Word
Morpheme

Thus, moving 'up' the hierarchy, the morpheme is said to function as an element of the word, the word to function as an element of the phrase, and so on. Moving 'down' the hierarchy, the sentence is said to consist of one or more clauses, the clause of one or more phrases, and so on.

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4. The term 'level' is used here for the stages of analysis within the grammar. (See 'The Verbal Piece in Jebero', p.9, fn.11). It corresponds to the term 'rank' as used, for example, by M.A.K. Halliday in 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', and is to be contrasted with Halliday's use of 'level' (following J.R. Firth) to refer to the main divisions of linguistic analysis in general (i.e., phonology, grammar, etc.). See 'Categories', pp. 243f.

5. This use of the term 'element' again differs from Halliday's. For the latter see 'Categories', p.256: 'Each element represents the potentiality of operation of a member of one grouping of members of the unit next below ....' (i.e., of one 'class').

If, however, the description of the structure of a unit is to be complete it must take account also of the way in which the elements are arranged, of their status in relation to each other, of any formally marked links between them, and also of any general formal characteristics of the unit which cannot readily or usefully be assigned to any given element. Syntagmatically relevant items of these kinds are handled in terms of syntagmatic features. Some of these features have overt markers, which are to be distinguished from elements, in that they are not analysed as units at the next lower level in the scale. In Bekwarra, for instance, the negative particle re is analysed as the marker of a clause-level feature of negation, since it is at the level of the clause that its occurrence is most efficiently described, rather than as an element of either the clause or of a lower-level unit. (See section 1.4 for appropriate cross-references).

Units at a given level may differ in their function in terms of the place(s) which they may occupy as elements of the next higher unit in the hierarchy. At each level other than the highest, therefore, units may be grouped into classes on the basis of similarity of function. The classes may in turn be divided into subclasses, again on a functional basis.

Units which are similar in their structure are likewise grouped into types. Types, in turn, may be divided into subtypes. Structurally based types may - and frequently do - parallel functionally based classes, but may cut across them.

In common with other hierarchical models, this model allows for a secondary function of a unit, namely as an element of a unit at a lower level than normal, i.e., at its own or a lower level.

In Bekwarra, for instance, the sentence (Chapter 3) may itself function recursively as a peripheral element of a larger sentence. Such an embedded sentence has in this case a function parallel to that of a clause, in that it occupies a place which in the basic structure of the sentence is normally occupied by a clause.

Hypotactic recursion of this kind operates extensively in the nominal phrase (Chapters 7, 8). The structure of the nominal phrase is described in terms of both words (classified as 'nominals') and expressions. The former are units of the next lower level; the latter have themselves the structure of a nominal phrase, while functioning as elements of a larger nominal phrase and occupying structural places which may also be occupied by basic elements of the phrase (i.e., words).

In each case of hypotactic recursion there are significant restrictions on the structure of the recurring unit which do not necessarily apply when the unit in question has its normal function. Statement of these restrictions and of any special markers is an essential part of the description of such units.

A unit functioning at a level lower than its own is labelled a 'construct'.[6] In Bekwarra this characteristic is illustrated by a secondary function of the sentence as an element of the nominal phrase (section 8.5) and by a secondary function of the clause (or clause complex or clause string, see below) as an element of the noun and of the adjective (sections 7.3.1.3, 7.7.2).

Again, there are significant restrictions on the structure of the construct which do not necessarily apply when the unit in question has its normal function, and it may have special markers.

The model also allows for linear, or paratactic, recursion, which is manifested in the occurrence of a sequence of two or more units of the same class which together have the function of a single unit of that class.

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6. Bendor-Samuel uses the term 'construct' to refer to any unit functioning as an element of a unit either at its own level or at a level lower than its own. For the purposes of the present analysis, however, it was felt advisable to make a distinction between a unit functioning as an element of a unit at a lower level than its own and a unit functioning as an element of another unit at its own level. Accordingly, the term 'construct' is applied only to instances of the former. Instances of the latter are handled in terms of 'embedded' units or 'expressions', as described above.

In Bekwarra this characteristic is particularly prominent at clause level (Chapter 4), where sequences of two or more clauses may occur in paratactic relation, having the function of a single clause. To handle these, two supplementary units are set up, viz. the clause complex and the clause string, (sections 4.3-4), the latter being subject to fewer structural restrictions and having the potentiality of containing one or more of the former. Neither the clause complex nor the clause string may be regarded as additional 'basic units' in the hierarchy of grammatical levels, since they are analysed as consisting solely of linear sequences of units of a single class which is itself defined primarily in terms of the function of its members as elements of the next higher basic unit.[7]

Paratactically recursive complexes may also be set up at phrase level, as illustrated by the verbal phrase complex (section 6.7) and by the nominal phrase complex (section 8.7), as well as at word level, as illustrated by the verbal complex (section 6.4). See also section 3.1 for references to evidence which might lead to the establishment of a sentence complex.

As in the cases of hypotactic recursion and of constructs, some or all of the units entering into a paratactically recursive construction may be subject to certain structural restrictions which do not apply when a single unit of the same class occurs with normal function. Certain specific correlations may exist between such units and they may bear specific markers.

The term 'complex' is also used in this analysis to cover sequences of two or more adverbial phrases (Chapter 10) which together have the function of a single adverbial phrase of the same class as the first phrase in the complex.

Finally, the term 'extended nominal phrase' is used for a sequence of nominal phrase and adverbial phrase (or adverbial phrase

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7. For the use of the terms 'linear recursion', 'complex', 'basic unit' and 'supplementary unit' see R.D. Huddleston, 'Rank and Depth'.

cluster or adverbial phrase complex) in which the latter is subordinate to the former, as described in Chapter 11.

1.4. Outline of the Analysis

This section contains an outline of the units set up for the analysis of Bekwarra grammar, together with their principal structural characteristics in terms of elements and marked features (it being understood that the features of arrangement and status of elements apply to the structure of all units). Cross-references are given to the chapters and sections in which these are described in detail. See also the outline table of contents which precedes this chapter and the detailed tables preceding each of Chapters 3-11.

Unit: Sentence (Ch. 3)

(Supplementary unit: Sentence complex(?), 3.1.)

Elements (3.2)

Clauses (independent and dependent)

(also clause complexes and clause strings)

Embedded sentences

Features and Markers

Introducers and terminals (of component elements, 3.2.1)

Mode and primary aspect (3.2.2)

(Other markers, 3.2.3-4)

Question (3.9)

Sentence-initiating expressions (3.10.1)

Reinforcing terminals (3.10.2)

Conversational particles (3.10.3)

Unit: Clause (Chs. 4, 5)

(Supplementary units: clause complex (4.3), clause string (4.4))

Elements (4.2)

Phrases (verbal, nominal, adverbial)

(also phrase complexes and extended phrases)

Features and Markers

Subject number and person (5.1.1)

Mode (5.1.2, cf. 3.2.2.1)

Primary aspect (5.1.3, cf. 3.2.2.2)

Secondary aspect (5.2.1)

Negation (5.2.2)

Emphasis (5.3)

Unit: Phrase (Chs. 6-11)

Major classes of unit: verbal phrase, nominal phrase, adverbial phrase

Verbal Phrase (Ch. 6)

(Supplementary unit: verbal phrase complex, 6.7)

Elements (6.2)

Verbs (major, subsidiary, auxiliary, copulative)

(also verbal complexes)

Features and Markers

Subject number and person

Mode and primary aspect (as for clause)

Nominal Phrase (Chs. 7, 8, 11)

(Supplementary unit: nominal phrase complex, 8.7)

Elements (7.2)

Nominals (noun, pronoun, intensifier, numeral, adjective, demonstrative)

(also numeral complexes)

Expressions (noun, nominal, genitive, appositional, numeral, demonstrative, Ch. 8)

Sentence construct (demonstrative, 8.5)

(The construct and some of the expressions bear special markers)

Features and Markers

Concord (7.3)

Inclusive clitic (7.10)

See also the extended nominal phrase (Ch.11)

Adverbial Phrase (Chs. 9, 10)

(Supplementary unit: adverbial phrase complex, passim)

Elements

Adverbs (9.2)

Nominal Phrase (unmarked or marked, 9.3-7)

Repeated nominal (9.8)

Features and Markers

(see above)

Unit: Word

Major classes of word:

Verb

Major verb (6.3)

(supplementary unit: verbal complex, 6.4, 6.8)

Subsidiary verb (6.5)

Auxiliary verb (6.6.)

Copulative verb (6.9)

Nominal

Noun (7.3)

Pronoun (7.4)

Intensifier (7.5)

Numeral (7.6)

(supplementary unit: numeral complex, 7.6.5)

Adjective (7.7)

Demonstrative (7.8)

(see also interrogative pronouns and numeral, 7.9)

Adverb (9.2)

For word structure (morphology) see the sections referred to above.

The examples quoted in Chapters 3-11 are numbered serially for ease of cross-reference, as follows:-

Ch. 3	(The Sentence):	examples	1ff.
Chs. 4, 5	(The Clause):	examples	101ff.
Ch. 6	(The Verbal Phrase):	examples	201ff.
Chs. 7, 8	(The Nominal Phrase):	examples	301ff.
Chs. 9, 10	(The Adverbial Phrase):	examples	501ff.
Ch. 11	(Adverbial Phrase Expressions):	examples	601ff.

1.5. Some Items of Particular Interest

1.5.1. Economy of Units and Markers

One of the general characteristics of Bekwarra is the economical use which the language makes of relatively small inventories of units or markers in several areas of its grammatical structure.

See, in particular, the following:-

a. Introducers (3.2.1.1, 8.4, 8.5.2)
b. Terminals (3.2.1.2 and references given there)
c. Secondary aspect markers (5.2.1)
d. Subsidiary verbs (6.5)
e. Auxiliary verbs (6.6, especially 6.6.9)
f. Locative adverbs (9.2.1.1)

This characteristic is seen especially in the case of the 'terminals' described in section 3.2.1.2. There are, in all, ten forms which are referred to under this heading. Between them they share eight distinct syntactic functions. In seven out of these eight cases their function is that of a marker of a given construction (at sentence, clause and phrase levels). In the remaining case their function is that of an element of an adverbial phrase type.

Of the ten forms in question none has more than five of the eight potential functions of the group as a whole, and only two pairs have identical ranges of functions. Furthermore, the members of one of these two pairs differ considerably from each other in terms of the specific subclasses or subtypes of unit with which they may be associated.

Moreover, the functional range of each of the two pairs overlaps those of other members of the group. (For full details see the table in section 3.2.1.2 and the cross-references which precede it).

For these reasons there is little to be gained by attempting to set up subclasses within the group, since any subclassification would involve either a high proportion of functional overlapping of subclasses of very small membership or extensive assignment of individual items to more than one subclass, or both.

A similar characteristic, though less extensive in its ramifications, may be observed in the case of the introducers described in section 3.2.1.1. In this case there are somewhat stronger grounds for the establishment of separate classes or subclasses in at least some instances. For example, there is a clear functional contrast between the introducer (re)dè: and all other introducers, and there is in general a somewhat smaller degree of overlap between the introducers and the items labelled 'prepositions' (section 9.7), together with a slight apparent difference in the phonetic realisation of the clitic k' corresponding to its function as an introducer or as a preposition.

On the other hand, it is undoubtedly significant that the clitic n' may have the alternative form nen' and may be associated with the occurrence of the terminal ngin both when it functions as a marker of a sentence of type 3d and when it functions as a 'preposition'. The 'prepositions' may accordingly be regarded as something of a borderline case, with arguments being possible both for and against their recognition as a separate class of markers distinct from the introducers.

(See sections 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1, 8.4-5 for full details of the introducers and terminals).

Each of the remaining items listed above (i.e., items c-f) is associated with a single grammatical unit and in general has a fixed position. Each may, however, have more than one syntactic and/or semantic function, depending on its co-occurrence with other forms or features.

1.5.2. The Category of Number

Relatively few nouns in Bekwarra are marked morphologically (viz., by prefixes) for number. The majority of these have 'personal' referents (and are assigned to class Ai, section 7.3.1). A few nouns with 'impersonal' referents are similarly marked (section 7.3.2), but the majority of 'impersonal' nouns and a few 'personal' nouns have no distinct singular/plural forms.

There is concord with respect to number both within the nominal phrase (Ch. 7) and, at clause level, between a nominal phrase functioning as subject and a following verbal phrase (section 5.1.1), in that when a plural noun of class Ai (but not Aii) or a plural pronoun functions as head of the nominal phrase in question plural forms of the intensifier (section 7.5) and of the pronominal prefix preceding the first verb of the verbal phrase occur. In almost all other cases singular forms occur, even when semantic reference is to a plurality of items. (For other concord features within the nominal phrase see sections 7.6-7).

A demonstrative (section 7.8), on the other hand, when occurring in attributive relation to a noun, may occur in either singular or plural form, irrespective of the class of the noun. Selection of singular or plural form in this case is made entirely on the basis of semantic reference, in contrast to the syntactically determined occurrence of the markers of agreement within the nominal phrase and the clause. The introducers and terminals functioning as markers of the demonstrative expression and the demonstrative sentence construct (sections 8.4-5) resemble the demonstrative in this respect.

See the sections quoted, and also sections 4.5.1, 7.3.3, for fuller discussion of this characteristic.

CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER TWO

THE TRANSCRIPTION AND THE TONAL SYSTEM

This chapter contains a brief account of the system of transcription used in subsequent chapters of this thesis, together with a somewhat more detailed description of the tonal system of the Bekwarra language.

No attempt is made to give a detailed description of the total phonology of the language, since this lies outside the scope of the thesis. The transcription itself is to be taken simply as a systematic and straightforward guide to the pronunciation of the examples quoted and not in any sense as implying any particular analytical approach or conclusions though it does in fact conform in many respects to an orthodox phonemic-style transcription. The system of transcription closely resembles the orthography recommended for the Bekwarra language in that, apart from the use of diacritics to symbolise tone and length, it employs only the letters of the English alphabet. In several instances (see section 2.1.1) two letters are employed to symbolise a single phonological unit.

The tonal system is described in rather more detail (both in the section headed 'Tone', i.e., section 2.2, and in section 2.3.2. in the course of the description of the clitics), since it is of considerable grammatical and lexical significance.

2.1. Consonants and Vowels

The consonant and vowel symbols employed in the transcription are first set out in tabulated form as a rough guide to their phonetic value. They are then described in turn in more detail with an account of any environmentally conditioned or idiolectal variants.

It is to be noted that f and w are classed as labiovelar rather than labial (or labio-dental in the case of the former, see below). This is because their distributional characteristics parallel those of the labio-velar plosives and nasal, not the bilabial. Similarly, the symbols in the column headed 'Palatal' share the same distributional characteristics, despite certain articulatory differences.

2.1.1. Consonants

		Labio-Velar	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	vl.	kp	p	t		k	
	vd.	gb	b	d		g	
Affricated Plosives	vl.				c		
	vd.				j		
Nasals		ngm	m	n	ny	ng	
Fricatives		f			s		h
Lateral				l			
Vibrant				r			
Semi-vowels		w			y		

Plosives

There are four pairs of voiceless/voiced plosives, occurring at the points of articulation stated below:-

kp Voiceless labio-velar plosive (double articulation)
gb Voiced labio-velar plosive (double articulation)

p Voiceless bilabial plosive
b Voiced bilabial plosive

t Voiceless alveolar plosive
d Voiced alveolar plosive

k Voiceless velar plosive
g Voiced velar plosive

There are no major environmentally conditioned variants beyond slight aspiration of the bilabial, alveolar and velar voiceless plosives, which increases with the closeness and/or retraction of the tongue in the articulation of the following vowel. The plosives labelled 'alveolar' vary non-significantly between a true alveolar and a dental articulation.

The set of four pairs of simple plosives is complemented by a pair of voiceless/voiced palato-alveolar affricated plosives:-

c Voiceless palato-alveolar affricated plosive
j Voiced palato-alveolar affricated plosive

The voiceless member of this pair is rather more heavily aspirated than any of the simple plosives, but the degree of aspiration varies according to the position of the tongue in the articulation of the following vowel in the same way as that described for the simple plosives.

Nasals

There are five nasals, corresponding in respect of point of articulation with the simple and affricated plosives described above, viz.:-

ngm Voiced labio-velar nasal (double articulation) [ŋm]
m Voiced bilabial nasal
n Voiced alveolar nasal
ny Voiced palatal nasal [ɲ]
ng Voiced velar nasal [ŋ]

There are no major environmentally conditioned variants. The labio-velar nasal is extremely infrequent in occurrence.

The bilabial, alveolar and velar nasals may be phonologically syllabic, a phonological syllable being defined briefly as the basic tone-bearing unit (see section 2.2.1).

Fricatives

There are three fricatives, viz.:-

f Voiceless labial fricative, varying from one speaker to another between bilabial and labio-dental articulation. If the articulation is labio-dental there is frequently a clearly noticeable labial off-glide from the consonant to the following vowel, especially if the latter is a

s Voiceless grooved fricative, normally palato-alveolar, but alveolar in the speech of some speakers, especially of the younger generation. (The corresponding phonological unit functions in a manner parallel to that of other palatals, not to that of alveolars)

h Glottal fricative, replaced by f , either systematically or erratically, in the speech of some speakers, especially of the older generation.

Lateral

l Voiced alveolar lateral

Vibrant

r Voiced alveolar vibrant, varying non-significantly between a single alveolar tap and a short trill.

Semivowels

There are two semivowels, viz.:-

w Voiced labio-velar semivowel

y Voiced palatal semivowel

Labialisation and Palatalisation

A number of consonants may occur with labialisation (i.e., simultaneous lip-rounding) and/or palatalisation.

A labialised consonant is symbolised by the use of w following the consonant symbol and a palatalised consonant by the use of y in the same way.

The following consonants may occur with labialisation:-

Bilabials:	p	b	m	
Palatals:	c	j	ny	s
Velars:	k	g	ng	

The following consonants may occur with palatalisation:-

Bilabials:	p	b	m	
Alveolars:	t	d	n	l

Labialised consonants have a distribution basically similar to that of labio-velar consonants; palatalised consonants have a distribution basically similar to that of palatal. For instance, in the case of monosyllabic verb roots of pattern CV (consonant - vowel) a back vowel (section 2.1.2) may occur only after a labio-velar or labialised consonant, and the close front vowel i only after a palatal or palatalised consonant, or after kp . For the sake of simplicity of transcription a labialised consonant occurring before a back vowel in such a syllable is transcribed without w, since no non-labialised consonant may occur in this context. Similarly, a palatalised consonant occurring before i in such a syllable is transcribed without y.

A palatalised alveolar nasal occurs only in the last-mentioned context, when it is transcribed without y . The sequence ny is therefore always to be taken as symbolising the palatal nasal.

Phonologically, labialisation and palatalisation are most satisfactorily analysed as features of the syllable[1].

2.1.2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Mid	e		o
Open		a	

i Close front unrounded vowel, slightly less close than cardinal i. Central in a word-medial syllable immediately preceding a consonant unless a palatal or palatalised consonant precedes, when it is only slightly retracted. Even more retracted (to a position between central and back) when preceded by the consonant w. Somewhat lowered in word-initial position before r (this happens only in the nominal prefix iri-).

e Mid front unrounded vowel, in a position near but slightly closer than cardinal ɛ. Somewhat more close in word-initial position.

---

1. Two alternative analyses within the framework of orthodox phonemic theory are possible, viz.:-

i. to establish 17 extra consonant phonemes (i.e., 10 labialised and 7 palatalised consonants);

ii. to analyse labialisation and palatalisation as separate consonant phonemes.

Neither analysis is entirely satisfactory. The former runs counter to the principle of economy of phonemes, while the latter necessitates the establishment of consonant clusters, for which there is no justification in terms of the regular syllable patterns of the language.

For further discussion of this problem see P.M.Bendor-Samuel, 'Phonemic Interpretation Problems in Some West African Languages' (see Bibliography).

This, like many other aspects of Bekwarra phonology, could be handled conveniently by the techniques of 'prosodic' phonology. (See, for example, R.H.Robins, General Linguistics, pp.157-168 and the Bibliography to his Chapter 4.)

Such an approach, in addition to its value for a descriptive analysis of Bekwarra, would, it is believed, also highlight a number of factors which would be of interest for purposes of comparison between Bekwarra and neighbouring related languages.

a Open central unrounded vowel intermediate between cardinals a and ɑ

o Mid back vowel with lip-rounding, in a position near but somewhat closer than cardinal ɔ. Somewhat more close in word-initial position.

u Close back vowel with lip-rounding, considerably lowered and somewhat advanced in a word-medial syllable immediately preceding a consonant unless the syllable is palatalised.

2.2. Tone

2.2.1. General

The basic tone-bearing unit is the syllable, syllables (with a few special exceptions) being of the pattern CV (consonant - vowel), V (vowel) or N (syllabic nasal). Each of these normally bears a single unit of tone, viz. high, mid or low (abbreviated H, M and L respectively).

High tone is symbolised in the transcription by an acute accent, low by a grave accent. Mid tone is unmarked, except when it occurs on a syllabic nasal following a vowel with non-mid tone, when it is marked by a horizontal line over the letter. The same diacritic is used over a length mark (:) when a lengthened vowel bears a tone which moves from high or low to mid. In all other cases it is to be assumed that a syllabic nasal not in word-initial position bears a tone identical with that of the preceding vowel and that a lengthened vowel has a level tone.

When the tone associated with a non-word-initial V or N syllable differs from that of a preceding syllable (which must be of structure CV) the two tones together are realised as a rising or falling pitch extending over the two syllables, with terminal points corresponding to the units of tone associated with each syllable.

In certain cases (see below and sections 3.2.2. 2-3) two diverse tones occur on a single syllable, being realised phonetically as a

quick falling or rising pitch. The following symbols are used in such cases:-

^ high - low fall
' mid - low fall

ˇ low - high rise
ˬ low - mid rise

High - mid fall and mid - high rise have not been recorded, except as described in section 3.2.1.2, footnote 3.

2.2.2. Verb Tone Classes

Monosyllabic verb roots (i.e., of pattern CV) fall into three tone classes on the basis of the tone associated with their 'base' form (i.e., the form in which they are quoted in isolation and from which all other forms are most easily predicted), viz :-

H (high): only one member, bé 'come'
M (mid): e.g., ji 'eat'
L (low): e.g., jì 'steal'

Disyllabic verb roots (i.e. of patterns CVV, CVN, CVCV) also fall into three tone classes on the basis of the tone associated with their 'base' form, viz.:-

M-M (mid-mid): e.g., faa 'roast', nyung 'dry up', tibi 'dig'
M-L (mid-low): e.g., faà 'teach', nyuùg 'push', tibì 'be thick'
L-L (low-low): e.g., fàà 'grind', nyùng 'shake' tìbì 'weave'

For grammatically determined tone changes see section 3.2.2.

2.2.3. Other Tonal Features

There appear to be no significant restrictions to the tone combinations occurring in nouns or adverbs, except that low tone is considerably more frequent than either mid or high, being particularly frequent in noun prefixes (Section 7.3.) Mid tone, in turn, is considerably more frequent than high.

There are a few nouns and adverbs which have a cluster of labio-velar or bilabial consonant plus lateral in root-initial position. The majority of these have a rising or falling pitch on the first root syllable. (As the phonological system does not allow for rising or falling tones on a single syllable within one word, except as described in section 3.2.2, such words are analysed as containing a syllable of structure CL (L = phonologically syllabic lateral) followed by a syllable of structure V. The first part of the rising or falling tone then is associated with the CL syllable and the last with the V syllable.) These words include the following

ɔ̀blɛ̌ 'early yam'	plɛ̌te: 'very light'
ɔ́blɛ̌ (a game)	blɛ̌te: 'flowing everywhere'

The general pitch level remains virtually constant throughout each pause-group (i.e., the actual pitch of, for example, a high tone syllable toward the end of a pause-group is virtually identical with the pitch of a high tone syllable at the beginning of the same pause-group). There is, however, a noticeable drop in the pitch of a mid or low (but not a high) tone syllable before pause, or sometimes in very rapid speech on the last two or three syllables before pause.

There appear to be no significant intonation patterns which can be correlated with any specific grammatical units or categories, though variations in general pitch level are possible, either extending over the whole of a phonological unit or related to the occurrence of the conversational particles described in section 3.10.3.

Variations in degrees of 'emphasis', 'intensity', etc. are most frequently marked either grammatically or by variations in degree of vowel or nasal length, as described in section 2.4 below.

For other tonal features see section 2.3.2.

2.3. Word Junction

Since the large majority of words begin and/or end in a vowel, the occurrence of word-junctions involving the interaction of word-final and word-initial vowels is extremely frequent.

2.3.1. Basic System

Since the basic system of rules set up to account for junction features is of considerable complexity and operates very largely without reference to grammatical categories and relations it is not described in detail. Some of its principal characteristics may, however, be outlined briefly as follows:-

a. Word-final (-)CV + Word-initial VC-

In the case where a monosyllabic verb with vowel i is immediately followed by a noun in object position (section 4.2.) and in all cases where a word with final vowel e, a, or o is immediately followed by a word with an initial vowel the final vowel of the first word is lost and the following word-initial vowel is slightly lengthened (and in some cases modified phonetically). In all other cases both the final vowel of the first word and the initial vowel of the second are retained. In all cases the tones of both syllables are retained, unless, of course, the grammatical construction requires any perturbation. (See sections 8.1, 9.7.)

b. Word-final (-)CVV + Word-initial VC-

The final V syllable of the first word (with its tone) is completely lost. Junction features are then basically similar to those described in paragraph 'a'.

c. Word-final -VbV or -VrV + Word-initial VC-

All verbs (other than two compounds, section 6.3.2.), and a high proportion of nouns and adverbs, of syllable pattern CVCV (or, in the case of nouns and adverbs, of syllable patterns ending in a sequence of two syllables of pattern CV) have either b or r as their second consonant and identical vowels in the two syllables. When a word of this phonological structure is immediately followed

by a word with an initial vowel the final vowel of the former (with the tone of the syllable) is completely lost.

d. Before Disyllabic Nominal Prefixes

When a nominal (chapter 7, especially section 7.3.3) bearing one of the prefixes ebe- or iri- is preceded by a word with a vowel in final position the first vowel of the nominal prefix (with its tone) is invariably lost. (It is noteworthy that in related languages the corresponding prefixes are of structure CV.)

e. The Genitive Pronouns

When a genitive pronoun (other than a 4th person pronoun, sections 7.4, 7.4.2) occurs in attributive relation to/immediately preceding nasal-final noun (see sections 7.2.1, 7.3) the former has its full form (i.e., with initial í-), except that the initial vowel of the 3rd person singular and plural pronouns is usually lost in rapid speech after a word-final -m. In this case the -m itself is lengthened and carries the high tone associated with the initial vowel of the genitive pronoun in addition to its own, as in the following specimens:-

àcom ímin 'his knife' [àcomːmin]
àcom íbere 'their knife' [àcomːbere]

After a vowel-final noun the initial í- of the genitive pronoun is always lost. Its high tone normally replaces the final tone of the preceding noun, but in the case of nouns with a final -CV syllable (other than those with a final -VbV or -VrV sequence, see paragraph 'c' above) the final tone of the noun may be kept in addition to the high tone associated with the initial syllable of the pronoun, and the final vowel slightly lengthened.

Specimens:-

ekpo ímin 'his bottle' [ekpómin] or [ekpoˊmin]
ùfàa ímin 'his fowl' [ùfàːmin]
ùkerò ímin 'his bag' [ùkorómin]

The junction features described in this section do not operate where pause occurs.

2.3.2. Clitics

Bekwarra has a number of forms which are analysed as 'clitics'. While they serve grammatically as markers (section 1.3) of the whole unit with which they are associated, they are bound phonologically to the first word in that unit, in that, while they have no (final) vowel of their own, they manifest junction features analgous to those described in section 2.3.1, paragraph 'a' for words with final (-)CV with a vowel other than i or u when followed by a word with initial vowel or syllabic nasal. In the relatively rare cases where the word following a clitic has an initial non-syllabic consonant there is an open transition between the clitic and the following word (except as described in section 8.4). When the word following the clitic is a nominal with a disyllabic prefix (section 2.3.1, paragraph 'd') the clitic is simply attached to it without any other change taking place.

Clitics are symbolised by an apostrophe following the (final) consonant.

The following clitics occur (see also section 1.5.1):-

a. Introducers (sections 3.2.1, 8.4-5): áb', áng', b', gb', h (or heh'), k', n' (or nen'), ng'.

b. The emphatic marker h' (or heh') (section 5.3).

c. The inclusive clitic àb' (section 7.10).

d. Prepositions (section 3.7): k', n' (or nen'), r' (or har').

The introducers and the emphatic marker bear what is labelled an 'inherent tone'. The junction between one of these clitics and the following word is marked (i) by the occurrence of the normal tone of the latter preceded by the inherent tone of the former and (ii) by a slight lengthening of the initial vowel or syllabic nasal of the latter. If the word following the clitic begins with a non-syllabic consonant the inherent tone of the clitic appears in the open transition between the clitic itself and the initial consonant of the following word.

The inclusive clitic and the preposition r' (har') are directly attached to the following word without any special tonal characteristics or lengthening of the initial vowel or syllabic nasal of the latter.

In the case of the preposition k' (which, like all the prepositions, is attached to the first word in the structure of a nominal phrase) high tone replaces the normal tone of the first syllable of the following word, except that when that word bears either of the disyllabic nominal prefixes described above both syllables of the prefix bear high tone. When, however, the word following k' normally bears low tone on both its prefix and the first syllable of its root, the tone of the former is raised to mid, not to high. In slow speech the normal tone of a monosyllabic nominal prefix may be retained in addition to the high (or mid) tone associated with the preposition, with a slight lengthening of the vowel or syllabic nasal.

In the case of the preposition n' (non') there is considerable lengthening of the initial vowel or syllabic nasal of the first syllable of the following word, except in the case of the disyllabic nominal prefixes, where no lengthening occurs. The normal tone of the initial syllable is retained and is preceded by the high tone which is invariably linked with this preposition. In the case of the disyllabic nominal prefixes the first syllable bears high tone and the second its normal tone.

In the following specimens of the prepositions the transcription is phonetic to the extent that length and tone are indicated as they actually occur. In subsequent chapters, however, words immediately preceded by a clitic of any kind are always transcribed with their normal tones (i.e., the tones with which they occur in isolation).

		k'	n'	r'
àbó	'arm'	[kábó]	[ná!bó]	[ràbó]
àkpà	'box'	[kakpà]	[ná!kpà]	[ràkpà]
ìrìjí	'food'	[kírìjí]	[nírìjí]	

2.4 Length

The final vowel or nasal of an adverb frequently occurs in lengthened form, as described in section 9.2.2. Lengthening of a word-medial vowel occurs in the case of reduplicated verb stems (section 6.3.3.2) and again in adverbs of root pattern CV (section 9.2.2). Length is symbolised by a colon (:) following the lengthened vowel or nasal.

Vowel length is to be distinguished from sequences of identical vowels. The latter are invariably analysable in terms of two syllables, which may bear diverse tones. The former is ~~always~~ normally associated with a single tone, and the actual duration of the lengthened segment (vowel or nasal) is variable in proportion to the degree of 'emphasis' or 'intensity' reflected.

2.5. Other Symbols

The following additional symbols are used in the transcription of examples:-

Full stop: boundary between sentences.

Comma: boundary between clauses (but not between clauses forming part of a single clause complex or clause string).

/ phrase boundary (where relevant to description, see chapters 4 and 5)

// boundary between clauses within a clause complex (section 4.3.)

/// boundary between clauses or clause complexes forming parts of a clause string (section 4.4.)

\- morpheme boundary (only between pronominal prefix and verb, section 3.2.2, and in clause-based compounds, sections 7.3.1.3, 7.7.2).

[ ] included element (viz. included clauses, section 3.8.2, included nominal phrase object, sections 4.2.2, c.7).

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CHAPTER THREE

THE SENTENCE

3.1. General Remarks

For the purposes of this analysis the sentence is defined as the largest entirely 'self-contained' grammatical unit, in that it is possible to account for the relationships between its component elements in terms of grammatical rules and categories without reference to semantic considerations or to non-linguistic context.

Certain characteristics of sequences of closely linked sentences would make possible the establishment of a supplementary unit which might be labelled 'sentence complex' (see sections 6.6.1, 6.6.3, 7.3.1.4, 7.6.3, ~~9.5.3~~ 9.8.4), but insufficient evidence is available for the establishment of a major unit (e.g., 'paragraph') at a higher level than the sentence. The question of stating the function of the sentence as an element of a higher-level unit accordingly does not arise.

The sentence may, however, function as a construct at a lower level, viz. as an element of the nominal phrase. See chapter 8, where this function is described in detail under the heading 'Demonstrative Sentence Construct' (section 8.5).

The sentence may also enter into recursive constructions at its own level, viz. as a peripheral element of a complex sentence (section 3.2) or as part of an alternative question sentence (section 3.9.2).

3.2. The Statement Sentence

The majority of recorded sentences may be categorised as instances of a unit labelled the 'Statement Sentence' (abbreviated 'SS'). Its structure is described in terms of a nucleus and one or two (rarely more) peripheral elements, which may precede and/or follow the nucleus, or occasionally be included within the nucleus.

The nucleus always consists of a single clause,[1] normally an independent clause (section 4.1.1), but occasionally (e.g. section 3.7.2) a dependent clause. The periphery consists normally of a single dependent clause, but may also consist of an embedded sentence (section 1.3), or in the case of the statement sentence, type 2 (section 3.4) of more than one such sentence, non-initial sentences being in paratactic relation to the initial embedded sentence.

A sentence which consists of nucleus alone is labelled 'Simple'. A sentence which consists of nucleus and periphery is labelled 'Complex'.

Statement sentences are divided into a number of types and subtypes, simple sentences being labelled 'Type 1'. The division of complex statement sentences into types and subtypes is made on the basis of the nature of the periphery itself, its position in relation to the nucleus and the occurrence of certain distinctive markers. The last-mentioned are described in detail in the remainder of this section.

The following abbreviations are employed:-

clause - Cl
clauses - Cl's
independent clause - ICl
dependent clause - DCl
statement sentence, type 1, etc. - SS/1, etc.

3.2.1. Introducers and Terminals

In a large majority of cases the peripheral element of a sentence is marked by an introducer (or introducer expression) and/or a terminal. The nuclear element, too, is in a few cases marked by an introducer. These introducers and terminals are described in detail below.

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1. The term 'clause' when not further characterised is to be understood throughout this chapter as including both verbal and non-verbal clauses (sections 4.2, 4.5 respectively) and also as including clause complexes and clause strings (sections 4.3-4).

3.2.1.1. Introducers and Introducer Complexes

Introducers fall into two classes, class A occurring in a complex sentence of type 2 (section 3.4) only, class B occurring in a complex sentence of any type, or occasionally in a simple sentence.

Introducer, Class A

This class comprises the introducers dè: and redè:, the second being equivalent to the first in function but rather less frequent in occurrence, except in a more 'flowery' style. The frequency of its use varies from one speaker to another.

Introducer, Class B

This class comprises five clitics (i.e., forms whose grammatical relevance extends over the whole of the following element (whether single clause, series of clauses, etc.) but which are bound phonologically (section 2.3.2) to the initial word within that element), together with two other forms. The members of this class (approximately in descending order of frequency of occurrence) are:-

k', with inherent high tone before a following mid tone, inherent mid tone elsewhere

ng', with inherent high tone

n' (or its optional free variant nen'), with inherent high tone

h' (or its optional but rare free variant heh'), with inherent high tone

gb', with inherent mid tone, or its optional but rare free variant gben (not a clitic)

mòōkpang 'before', which normally functions as an adverb (section 9.2)

Introducer Expressions

The introducers k' and ng' may be preceded by the noun ìgben 'time'. This combination of noun and introducer is analysed as an

introducer expression, since its function is analogous to that of a simple introducer of class B.

The introducer n' is occasionally preceded by the noun àbó (which is elsewhere translatable as 'arm'). This combination, too, is analysed as an introducer expression on the same grounds.

For instances of the use of the introducers see the appropriate subsections of sections 3.3-7 below.

The following abbreviations are employed:-

introducer - Intr

introducer expression - IntrExpr.

It is noteworthy that the language makes economical use of a relatively small inventory of introducers. For instance, the introducer k' functions as a marker of no less than six sentence types or subtypes (see sections 3.4-7 below), the types and subtypes in question being distinguished from each other by other features and markers.

It is moreover of significance that clitics of identical form with almost all of the introducers have other functions at lower levels, viz:-

h' (heh') as a marker of emphatic clauses (section 5.3);

n' (nen') and ng' as markers of the demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5);

k' and n' (nen') as prepositions (section 9.7).

The principle of economy applies to an even greater extent to the terminals described in the next section.[2]

3.2.1.2. Terminals

The terminals have a variety of functions both at sentence level and at lower levels, viz:-

---

2. It is believed that data from related languages would facilitate the tracing of historical links between the various functions of the clitics and terminals, as well as between the terminals and words of other classes (see below), but this lies outside the scope of this thesis.

a. as distinctive markers of certain complex sentence types and subtypes (sections 3.5-8);

b. as 'reinforcing' markers at sentence level (section 3.10.2);

c. as markers of the predicative non-verbal clause (section 4.5.1);

d. as markers of emphatic clauses (section 5.3);

e. as markers of the demonstrative expression (section 8.4);

f. as markers of the demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5);

g. as adverbs of type 1b (section 9.2.1.2).

Of the ten terminals constituting the entire membership of this class none has all of the above functions. Since, however, there is considerable overlap of functional range the terminals are listed here in full with indication of the functional potentialities of each. In the table below the letters a-g at the head of each column correspond to the functions listed above.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.
á	+	+	+				
ngá	+	+	+				+
ngáná	+					+	+
áná	+			+	+	+	+
ngin	+			+	+	+	+
bá		+	+				
báná					+	+	
bin					+	+	
ma:	+						
ná			+				

As may be seen from the table, more than one terminal may occur with each of the functions listed above. In general the forms ngin and bin are most frequently, though not exclusively, associated with reference to or implication of 'nearness' in some sense (see below) or

with the occurrence of a first person pronoun (section 7.4) or pronominal prefix (section 3.2.2) in the general linguistic context, whereas the others are very seldom found in such contexts, unless, of course, the construction is one which may not be marked by ngin or bin. The forms with initial b- are invariably associated with plural reference (see appropriate sections) and are in general more restricted in distribution.

There is little, if any, semantic distinction between the other terminals, selection between them being made very largely on stylistic grounds.

These terminals are linked morphologically with the demonstratives (section 7.8) ángin, ábin, ánga, ába, ángáná, ábáná (the first two again being associated with 'nearness' in some sense) and with the locative adverbs (section 9.2.1.1) kin 'here', ká, káná 'there'.

It is worthy of note that the forms with root -in[3] in each case have a general, though not necessarily exclusive nor particularly strong, implication of 'nearness' (in the sense either of actual physical location or more frequently of association with a first person or of reference to an item previously referred to at a nearby point in the general linguistic context), whereas the other forms generally imply the absence of such 'nearness' in any of its senses.

3.2.2. Mode and Primary Aspect

Although the markers of mode and primary aspect are located entirely within the verbal phrase (see section 6.2), they are described in detail here in view both of the function of the selection of mode and sometimes also of primary aspect as markers of the sentence and also of the frequent reference which is made to both in the course of this and succeeding chapters.

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3. There appears to be a high-mid falling pitch associated with forms in -in, but one which differs in character from a falling pitch of the kind associated with words of major classes (see section 2.2.1), in that the fall is extremely rapid (and in the case of ángin and ábin appears to be complete before the articulation of the second vowel), with pitch remaining at mid for the rest of the word. For the sake of simplicity these forms are marked as for simple mid tone.

As stated in section 2.2.2, monosyllabic verb roots fall into the three tone classes H, M and L (high, mid and low tone base forms respectively) and disyllabic roots into the three classes M-M, M-L and L-L. The first verb in the (initial) verbal phrase (chapter 6) of each clause (other than a non-initial clause in a clause complex or clause string, sections 4.3-4) bears a pronominal prefix (abbreviated 'PnPx'), except in the special cases described in sections 3.2.2.1 and 5.1.1.1.

The following pronominal prefixes occur:-

Singular:

1st person: syllabic nasal homorganic as to point of articulation with the following consonant, but maa- in completive indicative (see below) when no nominal phrase subject (section 4.2) occurs in the same clause

2nd person: o-

3rd person: a- in completive indicative, and also in incompletive indicative when immediately preceded by the clitic h' or heh' (sections 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1, 5.3). i- elsewhere.

Plural (no person distinction): e-

For further details of the pronominal prefixes see section 5.1.1.

3.2.2.1. Mode

Every verbal clause is obligatorily marked for mode (see also section 5.2), viz. indicative (abbreviated 'ind') or subjunctive (abbreviated 'sbj'). Subjunctive is marked by the occurrence of low tone on the pronominal prefix, indicative by non-low tone, the actual selection of mid or high tone being one of the markers of primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2).

In the case of the second person singular, subjunctive mode is normally marked by the absence of a pronominal prefix in an independent clause if no nominal phrase subject (section 4.2) occurs and none of the auxiliary verbs kà, mang̀, nè, yi, tìm or tung̀ (section 6.6) precede the (first) main verb in the (initial) verbal phrase of the clause. A clause in which the 2nd person singular pronominal prefix is omitted in this way is labelled 'imperative'.

3.2.2.2. Primary Aspect

Every verbal clause, with an exception described below, is also obligatorily marked for primary aspect, viz. completive (abbreviated 'cmp') or incompletive (abbreviated 'inc'). (The description 'primary' is used to distinguish this feature from a further feature of the clause which is labelled 'secondary aspect'. See section 5.2.1). A verbal clause of type 4 (section 4.2.4) with the copula yi as the primary verb of its verbal phrase is not, however, marked for primary aspect but has the functions of both completive and incompletive clauses of other types. Reference in subsequent sections to clauses of either completive or incompletive primary aspect is therefore to be understood as including clauses not marked for primary aspect unless otherwise stated.

In view of the fact that verb tones are in some cases perturbed by a following object the markers of primary aspect are first described with reference to major verbs occurring without a following object and then with reference to major verbs followed by an object consisting of one of the object pronouns listed in section 7.4, and finally with reference to major verbs followed by a nominal phrase object of any other type.

Markers of Primary Aspect

Verb without immediately following object

Completive

a. Base form of verb root (section 2.2.2)

b. Special forms of 1st and 3rd person singular pronominal prefixes (see above).

c. Mid tone on pronominal prefix when verb has low or low-low tone; high tone elsewhere.

Incompletive

a. Verb roots of all tone classes except L and L-L have high-low tone (mid-low if a non-low verb occurs earlier in the same clause). Roots of L and L-L tone classes retain low tones.

b. Monosyllabic verb roots have a as their vowel, irrespective of the nature of the vowel occurring in the base form.

c. Mid tone on the pronominal prefix when the immediately following verb has high-low tone; high tone when the following verb has low or low-low tone.

Verb with immediately following object pronoun
(i.e., nominal phrase object of type 2b, section 7.2.2.2).

Verb roots of tone classes L and L-L have low-high tone in both completive and incompletive primary aspect; all others invariably have high (high-high) tone. In other respects the markers are the same as those described above.

Verb with immediately following nominal phrase object of any type other than 2b

Verb roots of all tone classes except L and L-L have high (high-high) tone (mid or mid-mid if a non-low verb occurs earlier in the same clause). In other respects the markers are the same as those described above.

3.2.2.3. Specimens

In the following specimens the following verbs are used with 3rd person singular pronominal prefix:-

Monosyllabic: ji 'eat' jì 'steal'
Disyllabic: faa 'roast faà 'teach' fàà 'grind'

The 3rd person singular object pronoun he and the noun iyem 'thing', 'something' are used as specimens of pronoun and noun objects respectively.

	ji	jì	faa	faà	fàà
Completive					
Indicative:	á-ji	a-jì	á-faa	á-faà	a-fàà
	á-jí he	a-jǐ he	á-fáá he	á-fáá he	a-fàá he
	(Forms with noun object are identical with 1st row)				
Subjunctive:	ì-ji	ì-jì	ì-faa	ì-faà	ì-fàà
	(Verb root forms with following object are identical with those above, but prefix is always ì-.)				
Incompletive					
Indicative:	i-jâ	í-jà	i-fáà	i-fáà	í-fàà
	i-já iyem	í-jà iyem	i-fáá iyem	i-fáá iyem	í-fàà iyem
	i-já he	i-jǎ he	i-fáá he	i-fáá he	í-fàá he
Subjunctive:	ì-jâ	ì-jà	ì-fáà	ì-fáà	ì-fàà
	(Verb root forms with following object are identical with those above under 'indicative', but prefix is always ì-.)				

3.2.2.4. Notes

Verb roots of tone classes M-M and M-L have identical form in incompletive primary aspect and before an object pronoun in completive primary aspect. In the case of roots of tone classes L and L-L there is no formal distinction between completive and incompletive subjunctive, except with monosyllabic roots whose base form has a vowel other than a.

The use of completive primary aspect implies a 'completed' or 'punctiliar' action or event, that of incompletive an 'uncompleted' or 'continuous' action or event. In the absence of any other indication of time or aspect completive primary aspect with indicative mode is glossed as a simple past tense and incompletive as a simple present tense. For other indicators of time, aspect, etc. see the following:-

secondary aspect (section 5.2.1)
subsidiary verbs (section 6.5)
auxiliary verbs (section 6.6)
locative adverbs (section 9.2.1.1).

3.2.3. Subsidiary Verb

The occurrence of the subsidiary verb bé (section 6.5) in a dependent clause is a further marker of certain complex sentence types.

3.2.4. Additional Markers of Indirect Sentences

The periphery of an indirect sentence (type 1a) is additionally marked by the occurrence of the 4th person pronouns (section 7.4) and by the occurrence of the auxiliary verb yi (section 6.6). For full details see section 3.4.1 below.

The markers described above are underlined in the examples given throughout this chapter.

3.3. The Simple Statement Sentence (Type 1)

This consists of a single independent clause, which may be marked for either indicative or subjunctive mode and either completive or incompletive primary aspect, unless of course the clause is non-verbal, when distinctions of mode or aspect do not apply.

Examples:-

1. abe é-kàng ìrìkang n'èbèné (incompletive indicative)
   they pl-talk talking with-neighbours
   'They are talking with each other' U4377

2. bén mi àhe re (completive imperative)
   spoil me it not 'Do not spoil it for me' AJ086

3. ì-gbè íyíá kìn (completive subjunctive)
   it-pass at-side one 'Let it pass on one side' U3492

4. àmi ngá (non-verbal clause)
   I(emph) Term 'It is I'

A simple sentence occasionally bears the introducer k' (section 3.2.1.1) when the mode is subjunctive. There appears to be no special meaning associated with the presence or absence of the introducer in this case. See also section 3.4.1.2 and example 11.

Example:-

5. k' ǹg-kara ye (completive subjunctive)
   I-continue go 'Let me go on' U5568

3.4. The Complex Statement Sentence, Type 2

This consists of a nucleus obligatorily followed by a periphery. The nucleus is normally obligatory, except as described below. The periphery may consist of one or more embedded sentences.

This type is marked by the occurrence of the introducer (class A) dè: or redè: (section 3.2.1.1), which is normally obligatory, except as described below.

There are two basic subtypes, labelled 'Indirect' and 'Direct' respectively, and these are described in detail below.

3.4.1. The Indirect Sentence (Type 2a)

This is the most frequently occurring complex sentence type. In addition to the occurrence of the introducer (re)dè:, as described above, this subtype is marked by the occurrence throughout the periphery of the 4th person pronouns ámín (singular) and ábín (plural), functioning as both emphatic and genitive pronouns (section 7.4). They are used when the referent is other than the subject of the nuclear clause, unless reference is specifically to a first or second person, when the occurrence of a 1st or 2nd person emphatic or genitive pronoun is obligatory, except as described below.

When the notional 'subject' of the (first) peripheral clause is the same as that of the nuclear clause the occurrence of a nominal phrase subject consisting of an emphatic pronoun (1st, 2nd or 3rd person) in the former is obligatory, as in examples 7, 10, 11 below. Any nominal phrase with a pronoun as head occurring at any place in the periphery must be of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1), i.e., must have an emphatic, not an object, pronoun as its head.

When the notional 'subject' of the (first) peripheral clause is the same as the object of the nuclear clause no nominal phrase subject normally occurs, though a phrase consisting of a 1st, 2nd or 4th person pronoun is possible, occurring usually when the nominal phrase object of the nuclear clause is followed by at least one adverbial phrase. (For the structure of the clause see section 4.2).

This subtype is also optionally marked by the occurrence at one or more places within the periphery of the auxiliary verb yi (section 6.6.7).

This subtype is itself further subdivided as described in the following sections.

3.4.1.1. Indirect Reported Speech (Type 2a.i)

In its most frequently occurring form the indirect sentence has the following special characteristics and is labelled 'Indirect Reported Speech':-

a. The nuclear clause usually has relatively simple internal structure, often consisting of a verbal phrase alone or of a verbal phrase with nominal phrase object and/or subject (section 4.2), with one of a relatively small subclass of verbs functioning as the primary verb (sections 6.2-3) in its (last) verbal phrase. This subclass, labelled 'introducing verbs' includes the following:-

dè[4]	'say'	kàng	'speak'
bàng	'agree'	kuo	'call'
bii	'ask'	nè	'see'
bwin	'report'	nyìè	'know'
cwen	'deny, forbid, refuse'	yi	'be'
fìà	'make a noise'	yùò	'hear'
ji	'mean', 'be'		
jim	'think'		

b. The periphery consists of one or more embedded sentences, which may themselves be of any of the types described in this chapter.

c. Both mode and primary aspect throughout the periphery are identical with those occurring in the equivalent sentence(s) in direct narrative. See the discussion of examples 6 and 7 below.

d. When the last word of the nuclear clause is the verb dè 'say' the introducer (re)dè: is omitted.[4]

---

4. It is highly probable that there is a historical connection between the verb dè and the introducer dè:, but discussion of this lies outside the scope of this thesis. The two are certainly distinguishable both phonologically and in terms of grammatical function.

c. In a very small proportion of cases in continuous narrative no nuclear clause occurs. The combination of context and of the occurrence of one or more 4th person pronouns and/or of the auxiliary verb yi are in such cases sufficient to indicate that the reference is to indirect reported speech, and the sentence(s) so marked is/are analysed as constituting the periphery of a complex sentence of type 2a.i which has zero nucleus.[5]

Examples:-

6. a-kà kung bii iyem áná, dè: e-kúó ámín dènanǹg
he-then took asked thing the pl-call it (4th pers) how?

'Then he asked the thing what it was called' AF027

7. a-kà banǹg, dè: àhe i-bâ yà ká
he-then agreed he(emph) sg-fut. go there

'Then he agreed to go there' AG012

The equivalents in direct narrative of the peripheral elements are:-

6a. e-kúó wo dènanǹg 'What are you called?'
pl-call you how?

7a. m-bâ yà ká 'I shall go there'
I-fut. go there

3.4.1.2. The Goal Sentence (Type 2a.ii)

This type resembles that described above, but differs from it in the following respects:-

a. There are no restrictions either on the internal structure of the nuclear clause (which is always obligatory) or on the range of verbs which may function as the primary verb of its (last) verbal phrase.

b. The periphery never consists of more than one embedded sentence.

c. The mode of the nuclear clause of the peripheral sentence is always subjunctive.

---

5. In traditional terms it might be stated that a nuclear clause consisting of a-dè 'he said', etc. is 'understood'.

The label 'Goal' needs no special explanation or comment beyond the observation that in many cases (e.g., examples 8 and 9 below, but not example 10) it is possible to detect a semantic link involving 'speech' between sentences of this type and those of type 2a.i even though speech is not specifically referred to in the nuclear clause.

Examples:-

8. e-kà tyànǵ he, dè: ì-bé ìrìyé
pl-then left him he-come home

'Then he was allowed to come home' AC026

9. e-kâ fàm èní, dè: è-bé búá awo ùtuo
you-next employ people pl-come tie you roof

'Next you employ people to come and tie the roof down for you' BD013

10. a-kà bé, dè: àhe ì-fèn ògá
she-then came she(emph) sg-bear Oga

'So she was about to give birth to Oga' FA008

When the subject of the nuclear clause of the peripheral sentence is the same as that of the total sentence the nuclear clause may bear the introducer k' (in addition to (re)dè:), as described in section 3.3 and illustrated by example 5.

Example:-

11. á-kung ùfàm, dè: k' àhe ì-kpì gbung àhìhíbí
he-took hoe he(emph) sg-cut pluck sapling

'He took the hoe with the intention of digging out the sapling' HK013

3.4.1.3. The Explanatory Sentence (Type 2a.iii)

This type is extremely infrequent. Its nucleus consists of a non-verbal clause (section 4.5.2) consisting of the noun ucècè 'cause' optionally followed by the adverb kin 'here'. The periphery consists of a single sentence with indicative mode in its nuclear clause. The introducer (re)dè: precedes the periphery.

The following example contains a sentence of type 2a.ii, followed by one of type 2a.iii:-

12. e-tyàng ùnìce irikòò, dè: i-ye. ucèce, redè:
pl-left man of-Tiv he-go cause

á-tung abe àsàán ímin
he-showed them paper his

'The Tiv man was allowed to go because he showed them his pass' CA009

3.4.2. Direct Reported Speech (Type 2b)

Direct quotation is far less frequent than indirect. Like indirect reported speech, however, direct reported speech is preceded by a nuclear clause with one of a limited subclass of verbs as the primary verb of its (last) verbal phrase and is itself introduced by (re)dè:, except when the last word of the nuclear clause is the verb dè 'say'. The periphery may again consist of one or more sentences of any type or subtype. As in the case of indirect reported speech, too, it is possible, though rare, for no nuclear clause to occur.

The principal difference between direct and indirect reported speech is the non-occurrence of the 4th person pronouns and the auxiliary verb yi (section 3.4.1) in direct reported speech.

In general, direct reported speech appears to be restricted to narrative style and is employed either for the sake of greater vividness or to avoid ambiguity or awkwardness of style.

Examples:-

13. maá-màng kàng, dè: m-bâ kpébé he
I-emph.past spoke I-fut. marry her

'I had said that I would marry her' HG035

14. a-dè, amin è-bé kin
he-said you(pl) pl-come here

'He said, 'Come here!'' AJ123

The equivalents in indirect reported speech of the peripheral elements of the above examples are:-

13a. àmi m-bâ kpebe ámín
I(emph) I-fut. marry her(4th pers.)

14a. ábín è-bé kin
they(4th pers.) pl.come here

3.5. The Complex Statement Sentence, Type 3

Like the complex statement sentence, type 2, this type is analysed in terms of a nucleus followed by a periphery. In this case, however, the nucleus is obligatory in all circumstances and the periphery consists either of a single dependent clause (labelled a 'simple periphery') or, much less frequently, of an embedded complex sentence of type 2 (but not subtype 2a.iii) or type 3 (labelled a 'complex periphery'). An embedded complex sentence of type 2 may not contain more than one peripheral sentence.

A non-verbal clause may not function as an element of a sentence of this type, whether nuclear or peripheral.

Six subtypes are set up on the basis of selection of introducer (which is always of class B, section 3.2.1.1) and terminal (section 3.2.1.2) and of mode in the (first) clause of the periphery. These subtypes are described in detail in sections 3.5.1-6 in terms of sentences with simple periphery. Sentences with a complex periphery are dealt with in section 3.5.7. Each subtype is given a semantically-based descriptive 'label'.

There are no restrictions to the structure of either the nuclear or the (first) peripheral clause beyond those described for dependent clauses in general in section 4.2, except that there is normally no nominal phrase functioning as subject within the (first) peripheral clause if the subject of that clause is the same as either the subject or the object of the nuclear clause. If, however, the absence of an explicit subject would result in ambiguity a nominal phrase subject, usually consisting of an emphatic pronoun (i.e., a nominal phrase of

type 2a, section 7.2.2.1) may occur.

The mode of the nuclear clause may be either indicative or subjunctive, and primary aspect either completive or incompletive unless stated otherwise. In the case of the (first) peripheral clause either completive or incompletive primary aspect may occur in each subtype except the last, in which only incompletive may occur. For certain other restrictions see the subsections below.

Table 1 below summarises the markers associated with the (first) dependent clause of each subtype. Optional items are enclosed in parentheses.

TABLE 1

Subtype	Intr/B	Mode	Terminal	'Label'
a.	k'	sbj	-	Purpose
b.	k'	ind	-	Sequential
c.	ng'	ind	(ngin)	Result
d.	(ne)n'	ind	(ngin)	Manner
e.	(he)h'	ind	(á, áná, ngin)	Outcome
f.	-	ind	(áná, ngin)	Simultaneous Action

3.5.1. The Purpose Sentence (Type 3a)

This is the only subtype which is marked by the occurrence of subjunctive mode in the dependent clause. It is marked also by the occurrence of the introducer k' in the dependent clause. Completive primary aspect occurs in the dependent clause only if it occurs also in the nuclear clause (or if the nuclear clause is of type 4, i.e., has the copula yi as the primary verb of its verbal phrase, see section 3.2.2.2). Incompletive primary aspect, on the other hand, may occur in the dependent clause following a nuclear clause of either completive or incompletive primary aspect. (For the semantic implications of completive and incompletive primary aspect see section 3.2.2.4).

The label 'purpose' needs no special explanation or comment other than the observation that semantically this type closely resembles type 2a.ii ('Goal', section 3.4.1.2).

Examples:-

15. á-kung àbó kung ùlùgo tàng ùkwo, k' ì-nókpó
he-took hand took calabash cut road he-depart

'He took the calabash in his hand and set out to go away' JC024

16. yè tùò àcì íwòn, k' ì-tán
go wash face your it-be-clean

'Go and wash your face clean' U2741

3.5.2. The Sequential Sentence (Type 3b)

This subtype, like the last, is marked by the occurrence in the dependent clause of the introducer k'. In this case, however, indicative mode occurs in that clause. Either completive or incompletive primary aspect may occur in both the nuclear and the dependent clause, but incompletive may occur in the latter only if it occurs also in the former.

The label 'sequential' reflects the normal use of a sentence of this subtype, viz. to indicate that the event referred to in the periphery follows in time that referred to in the nucleus, quite frequently, though not necessarily, with the further implication that it is the result of it.

Examples:-

17. a-sì ìrìjí, k' maá-ji
he-made food I-ate

'He prepared food, and I ate it' KD040

18. umó a-sì, k' maá-bé ìcé ìcé re
water sg-did I-came early not

'The rain made me late' U3627

19. e-câ ká kpòm, k' á-kung ùngwan fèn
pl-sit there still she-took child bore

'They stay there until she gives birth to the child' BB005

3.5.3. The Result Sentence (Type 3c)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of the introducer ng' and indicative mode in the dependent clause. Primary aspect is normally the same in both nuclear and peripheral clauses, but incompletive in the latter may follow completive in the former. The terminal ngin normally occurs at the end of the periphery, but it may be omitted without affecting the meaning of the construction. The occurrence of this subtype is particularly, but not exclusively, associated with the use of an interrogative noun or adverb in the nuclear clause.

The use of a sentence of this subtype normally indicates that the event referred to in the periphery is the result of that referred to in the nucleus.

Examples:-

20. yè kùñg h' ó-ye, ng' iyem ánáá a-sǐ wo k'àbó ngin
where emph you-went thing the sg-did you on-arm

'Where did you go that that happened to your arm?' KA001

21. ìbang iyem h' àhe i-ka ba sá' àmi,
what thing emph he(emph) sg-then fut. do me(emph)

ng' i-kà bâ kwìn àmi ìrìtyem ngin
he-then fut. cool me(emph) heart

'What should he do then to set my mind at rest?' KA033
(In indirect reported speech, i.e., periphery of sentence type 2a.i, section 3.4.1.1)

(For emphatic clauses see section 5.3).

and an attempt is made to bring this out in the English translation of the examples below.

Examples:-

24. maá-... bé gbàjè k'ùwèbe ùbùba, h' maa-kà
I- came reached to-valley Ubaba I-then

mù ngin
fell

'I .... reached Ububa valley, and that was where/ when I fell' KA012

25. a-dè, àbère é-wam ugàm ánangkere ímin ìhà,
he-said we pl-removed sack of-groundnut his two

h' àhe á-bang íten ìhà ci ìrìsi ngin
he(emph) sg-gathered our two sat head

'He said that we had removed his two sacks of groundnuts, and that was why he had taken our two to replace them'
(in indirect reported speech) CA027

3.5.6. The Simultaneous Action Sentence (Type 3f)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of completive indicative in the nuclear clause and incompletive indicative in the sole peripheral clause. No introducer occurs, but the occurrence of either of the terminals áná or ngin is normally obligatory (but see next paragraph). The peripheral clause has no nominal phrase subject (section 4.2), except in indirect reported speech, when the occurrence of an emphatic pronoun (of any person, including 4th) is obligatory. See section 3.4.1, and also example 27 below.

Except in indirect reported speech, the periphery occurs without any marker when the subject of the peripheral clause is the same as that of the nuclear if the latter is of type 1 (section 4.2.1) and has no nominal phrase object and no adverbial phrase other than up to two locative phrases (i.e., of subclasses E or F, sections 10.2.1-2). Although this construction bears no distinctive markers it is assigned to the simultaneous action sentence subtype on the grounds of both

functional and semantic analogy. Its potentiality of occurrence as a demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5) prevents analysis of it as a sequence of two sentences. See examples 28-29.

The use of a sentence of this subtype indicates that the event referred to in the periphery is taking place at the same time as that referred to in the nucleus, the former being 'continuous' and the latter punctiliar'.

Examples:-

26. a-nĕ he, i-kérè áná
he-saw him he-coughs

'He saw him coughing' JC009

27. àhe á-yi ci ngin jì:, àhe í-fàà àtabà ngin
he(emph) sg-ISp sat here just he sg-grinds tobacco

'He was just sitting here grinding tobacco' HA026
(indirect reported speech)

28. ènì é-jwen, e-já iyem
people pl-gathered pl-eat thing

'There was a group of people eating' AF051

29. á-ne k'ùgbùdù ká, i-nă he ci:
he-lay in-shelter there he-sees him carefully

'He lay there in the shelter watching him closely'
JA014

3.5.7. Embedded Sentence in Periphery

When the periphery of a type 3 sentence consists of an embedded sentence of type 2 or 3 (see introductory remarks to sections 3.2, 3.5) it may be marked by an introducer (class B) and optionally also by a terminal identical with those described above as markers of subtypes 3a-e (sections 3.5.1-5). A sentence of subtype 3f (section 3.5.6), on the other hand, always has a simple periphery. The first clause of the periphery, which functions also as nucleus of the embedded sentence, is likewise marked for the mode and primary aspect associated with the subtype in question.

An embedded complex sentence of type 2 may not have more than one sentence as its periphery. An embedded sentence of type 3 may itself have as its periphery a further embedded sentence of type 2 or type 3. Further degrees of recursion are theoretically possible, but have not been recorded in text.

In the analysis of the examples which follow the abbreviation 'Nucl.2' refers to the nucleus of the first embedded sentence and the abbreviation 'Nucl.3' to the nucleus of the second embedded sentence. The clauses in the examples are delimited by square brackets for the sake of greater clarity.

Examples:-

a. Embedded Type 2 Sentence

In the example below and the two which follow the type 3 sentence itself functions as the periphery of a larger type 2a sentence (section 3.4.1).

Nuclear clause: completive indicative

Periphery: Intr ng' (Nucl.2: completive indicative
(Peri: simple sentence, incompletive ind.

Total (type 3) sentence: type 3c (Result, section 3.5.3)

Embedded sentence: type 2a.i (Indirect Rep. Speech, section 3.4.1.1)

30. a-dè, ìbang h' a-sì, [ng' ámín á-cwen, [dè:
he-said what emph. sg-did he(4th) sg-refused

i-káà re]]
he-fries not

'He asked why it was that he refused to fry it'
AR014

b. Embedded Type 3 Sentence

Nuclear clause: completive indicative

Periphery: Intr ng' (Nucl.2: completive indicative) (Peri: Intr k', cmp indicative) Term ngin

Total sentence: type 3c (Result, section 3.5.3)

Embedded sentence: type 3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2)

31. ámín h' a-jì àjì [ng' á-làm ùtyùng
he(4th) emph. sg-stole theft sg-deceived antelope

ye [k' e-gù] ngin]
went pl-killed

'It was he who had cheated and so deceived the antelope, which was killed' AD064

Note that the clause k' e-gù precedes the terminal ngin which marks the subordination of the whole of the sentence á-làm .... e-gù to the preceding nuclear clause.

c. Double Embedding

Nuclear clause: completive indicative
(Nucl.2: completive subjunctive
Peri: Intr k' (
(Peri: Intr k' (Nucl.3: cmp subjunctive
(Peri: Intr k', cmp subjunctive

The total sentence and both embedded sentences are of type 3a (Purpose, section 3.5.1).

32. abe é-caa [k' è-wam ungwá írítyem íkerekèrè
they pl-wanted pl-remove heart of-monkey

[k' àhe è-kà yi sì ùsékakpà íbere [k' ì-mia]]]
they(ISp) pl-then ISp make chief their he-recover

'They wanted to take a monkey's heart in order to make their chief recover' AA008

3.6. The Complex Statement Sentence, Type 4

This consists of a nucleus preceded by a periphery. Table 2 below summarises the introducers (or introducer expressions) and terminals associated with the periphery of each of the subtypes described in the following sections, together with the selection of primary aspect in both the nuclear and the (first) peripheral clause (since this is frequently of syntagmatic relevance to the sentence as a whole, see section 3.2.2) and the significant occurrence of the subsidiary verb bé (bâ in incompletive primary aspect) in the (first)

peripheral clause. Except for type 4a, in which subjunctive mode is obligatory, the mode of the (first) peripheral clause is always indicative. The mode of the nuclear clause, on the other hand, may in every case be either indicative or subjunctive.

The subtypes are again described first in terms of a periphery which consists of a single dependent clause (sections 3.6.1-10) and then in terms of a periphery which consists of an embedded sentence of type 2 or 3 (section 3.6.11). There are no major restrictions to the structure of either independent or dependent clauses in complex sentences of this type beyond those described for dependent clauses in general in section 4.2.

Unlike the subtypes of the complex statement sentence, type 3 (section 3.5), which are usually distinguishable semantically as well as formally, several formally distinguished subtypes of the type 4 sentence appear to be basically identical semantically, or at least to have considerable overlap. It has consequently proved more difficult than in the former case to assign distinctive semantically-based descriptive labels to each subtype.

A non-verbal clause may function as peripheral element of a sentence of type 4c or 4h (sections 3.6.3, 3.6.8) or as nuclear element of a sentence of one of several types. The latter usage is extremely infrequent, so it is not possible to state with any certainty what systematic restrictions there are, if any.

TABLE 2

Subtype	Intr	bé	P.Aspect	Term	P.Aspect in Nucleus	'Label'
a.	k'	(+)	cmp	(ngáná)	cmp	Past Temporal
	ìgben k'	-	cmp	áná, ngáná	cmp	
b.	k'	(+)	cmp	-	inc	Gen. Subordinative I
c.	k'	-	cmp	ngá	inc	Gen. Conditional I
d.	ng'	-	cmp	áná, ngin, ngáná, mà:	cmp	Temporal/ Causal
e.	ìgben ng'	-	cmp	áná	inc	Habitual Temporal
f.	àbó n'	-	cmp	áná, ngin	inc	Continuing Temporal
g.	mòōkpang	-	either	-	either	Previous
h.	gb', gben	(+)	either	-	either	Gen. Conditional II
i.	-	-	either	áná, ngin, ngáná, mà:	either	General Subord. II
	-	+	cmp	ditto	cmp	
j.	-	+	either	-	either	General Subord. III

3.6.1. The Past Temporal Sentence (Type 4a)

This is the only subtype which is marked by the occurrence of subjunctive mode in the dependent clause. It is additionally marked by the occurrence of the introducer k' or the introducer expression ìgben k'. When the latter occurs the occurrence of the terminal áná or ngáná is obligatory. When the simple introducer k' occurs ngáná may optionally occur. Primary aspect is completive in both clauses. The subsidiary verb bé is optional when the simple introducer occurs.

There appears to be no semantic distinction attaching to the presence or absence of ìgben, or to the selection of áná or ngáná. The choice of label needs no further comment.

Examples:-

33. k' ì-bé gbàjè k'àté ká ngáná, a-nè ùnì ....
he-come reach to-market there he-saw person

'When he reached the market he saw someone....'
ACO11

34. k' è-kìm ùnáng k'ìpì úsé kin, ínung ngá re
pl-pound fufu at-place of-chief here goodness not

'When the fufu was pounded at the chief's place it was not good' JBO19

(Nuclear clause is non-verbal. For the terminal ngá see section 4.5.1).

35. ìgben k' è-ye áná, anyamcù á-kpe ìdyùng
pl-go hare sg-took lizard

'When they went, the hare took the lizard' ADO65

3.6.2. The General Subordinative Sentence I (Type 4b)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of the introducer k' and indicative mode in the dependent clause and by the correlation of completive primary aspect in the dependent clause and incompletive in the nuclear clause. The subsidiary verb bé is optional.

Sentences assigned to this subtype straddle the borderline between temporal and conditional, as may be seen from the examples below. For this reason the label 'General Subordinative' has been chosen.

Examples:-

36. k' ùnì á-ye ká k'àhà úcom, i-nă ti
person sg-went there to-inside of-house he-sees us

'If anyone goes inside the house he can see us'
KD193

37. k' é-kwa abe mà, e-yâ r'abe ...
pl-held them perf. pl-go with-them

'When they have been caught they are taken ....'
BGOO3

(For the perfective mà see section 5.2.1.1).

3.6.3. The General Conditional Sentence I (Type 4c)

This subtype bears the same markers as that described above, plus the obligatory occurrence of the terminal ngá at the end of the dependent clause. Unlike subtype 4b, however, this subtype may have as its periphery a non-verbal clause (section 4.5) in place of a verbal clause in completive mode (example 39). The subsidiary verb bé has not been recorded.

Sentences assigned to this subtype are used to indicate a general condition without any implication as to the actual occurrence or otherwise of the situation referred to. In this respect there is considerable similarity between this subtype and subtype 4b. This subtype, on the other hand, has no 'temporal' implication.

Examples:-

38. k' ùngwán áná á-tìm kà fo ngá, e-kúng ùngwán kuǹg nyà
child the sg-but then died pl-take child take bury

'But if the child then dies they take bury it'
BB013

39. k' ùnìce ngá, e-kúng he kuǹg teǹ
man pl-take him take circumcise

'If it is a male child it is circumcised'
BB008

3.6.4. The Temporal/Causal Sentence (Type 4d)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of the introducer ng' and one of the terminals áná, ngin, ngáná or mà: in the dependent clause, the last-mentioned being used only in indirect reported speech, the remainder elsewhere. Primary aspect is completive in both clauses.

Sentences assigned to this subtype usually have a basically 'temporal' meaning, though in some cases there appears to be at least some implication of 'cause' in addition to or instead of a 'temporal' implication. The notion of 'cause' is, however, normally carried by a sentence of type 3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2) or type 3c (Result, section 3.5.3), or by the auxiliary verb kà (section 6.6.1).

Examples:-

40. ng' maá-ye k'ácánya íyecu ngin, ó-kwa ìmútù
I-went to-Achanya the-other-day pl-held lorry

íten nàm
our stood

'When I went to Achanya the other day our lorry was stopped' CA001

41. ng' ng-kà mang kě he uné ngáná, a-kà kúng mi
I-then emph.past gave him money he-then took me

'So when I had paid him he took me' KD031

3.6.5. The Habitual Temporal Sentence (Type 4e)

This subtype may be considered a counterpart of subtype 4d, in that incompletive primary aspect occurs in both clauses. The other markers are the introducer expression ìgben ng' and the terminal áná.

The label needs no special explanation or comment.

Example:-

42. ìgben ng' iyè ímin í-sìrì àcì áná, ùngwá ímin í-mwà
mother his sg-turns face child her sg-falls

'Whenever his mother looks back the child falls down' AC005

3.6.6. The Continuing Temporal Sentence (Type 4f)

This infrequently occurring subtype is marked by the occurrence of the introducer expression àbó n' and either áná or ngin as terminal in the dependent clause, together with the correlation of completive primary aspect in the dependent clause and incompletive in the nuclear clause. It is to be noted that the introducer n' does not occur in a complex sentence of type 4 except in this complex.

Example:-

43. àbó n' maá-ye ngin, ń-fùò àsàń
since I-went I-write paper

'Since I went I have been writing in a book' CB001

3.6.7. The Previous Sentence (Type 4g)

This subtype, like 4f, is infrequent in occurrence. It is marked by the occurrence of the introducer mòōkpang in the dependent clause and identical primary aspect, most frequently incompletive, in both dependent and nuclear clauses. As in the case of the Temporal/Causal Sentence (Type 4d, section 3.6.4), the notion conveyed by a sentence of this subtype is normally carried by a sentence of type 3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2) or by the auxiliary verb kà (section 6.6.1).

Example:-

44. mòōkpang àbère e-já ùnáng, e-yâ wibi ológo
before we pl-eat fufu pl-go pull-up cassava

'Before we eat fufu people go and pull up cassava'
GA001

3.6.8. The General Conditional Sentence II (Type 4h)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of the introducer gb', or very occasionally gben. The subsidiary verb bé may occur in the dependent clause. As in the case of subtype 4c (General Conditional I, section 3.6.3) the periphery may consist of a non-verbal clause (section 4.5). These two conditional sentence types are the only cases in which a non-verbal clause may function as the peripheral element of a complex sentence of type 4.

Semantically, sentences of this subtype are virtually identical with sentences of subtype 4c (section 3.6.3) or conditional sentences of subtype 4b (section 3.6.2). It appears, however, that there is a general preference for this subtype in colloquial conversation and for 4c or 4b in more formal style. The majority of recorded instances of this subtype are in indirect reported speech. Occasionally, as in example 45, there is a hint of a temporal implication, similar to that associated with subtype 4b.

Examples:-

45. gb' ámín á-faa, ì-bang ji
he(4th) sg-roasted he-gather eat

'If he had roasted them he should gather them together and eat them' AJ024

(Indirect reported speech)

46. gb' ámín i-bâ sùù ma, ámín ì-bé ....
he(4th) sg- pump perf. he(4th) sg-come

'If he knows how to use bellows (i.e., as a blacksmith) he should come ....' HK031

(Indirect reported speech)

3.6.9. The General Subordinative Sentence II (Type 4i)

This subtype is marked by the occurrence of one of the terminals áná, ngin, ngáná or mà: at the end of the dependent clause. There is no introducer. If incompletive primary aspect occurs in the nuclear clause it is required also in the dependent clause. If, however, completive primary aspect occurs in the nuclear clause either completive or incompletive may occur in the dependent clause. When completive primary aspect is used in both clauses the subsidiary verb bé may occur in the dependent clause.

Sentences assigned to this subtype are frequently comparable semantically with sentences of subtypes 4b or 4d (sections 3.6.2, 3.6.4). If any distinction can be drawn it is that in some cases there appears to be more emphasis placed on the dependent clause in this subtype than in 4b and 4d. This subtype seems also to be characteristically associated with either a long and/or complex dependent clause or a complex periphery (section 3.6.11). The presence or absence of the subsidiary verb bé appears to be of no lexical significance.

Examples:-

47. ó-nyím he áná, í-nùng kin
you-extinguished it it-smells here

'Now that you have put it out it is smelling'

U4657

48. abe é-ye ká k'ácánya ngáná, abe e-nè ùngwatung
they pl-went there to-Achanya they pl-saw small-child

'When they went there to Achanya they saw a small child'
HG004

3.6.10. The General Subordinative Sentence III (Type 4j)

This subtype may be grouped with subtype 4i above in that it differs from it only in the absence of a terminal and in the obligatory occurrence of the subsidiary verb bé. Most frequently primary aspect is completive in both clauses, but incompletive has been recorded in the dependent clause, as in example 50. Semantically this subtype is indistinguishable from 4i, though it is considerably less frequent.

Examples (both in indirect reported speech):-

49. ámín á-bé faa ùwia .... , àhe i-bâ yi kibì
he(4th) sg- roasted bush-rat he(emph) sg-fut ISp bend

'When he (not the speaker) has roasted the bush-rat, he (the speaker) will bend down' AJ024

50. ámín i-bâ bà, ì-kwa àcom
he(4th) sg- comes he-hold knife

'When he comes he should hold the knife' AJ036

3.6.11. Embedded Sentence in Periphery

When the periphery of a type 4 sentence consists of an embedded sentence of type 2 or 3 (see introductory remarks to sections 3.2, 3.6) it may be marked by an introducer/introducer expression and/or terminal and/or subsidiary verb identical with those described above as markers of subtypes 4a-j. The first clause of the periphery, which functions also as nucleus of the embedded sentence, is likewise marked for the mode and primary aspect associated with the subtype in question.

As in the case of sentences of type 3, an embedded sentence of type 2 may not have more than one sentence as its periphery. An embedded sentence of type 3 may itself have as its periphery an embedded sentence of type 2 or 3. Again it is assumed that further degrees of

recursion are theoretically possible, but they have not been recorded in text.

Examples:-

a. Embedded Type 2 Sentence

Periphery: Intr k' (Nucl. 2: completive indicative
(Peri: simple sentence, incompletive ind.

Nucleus: incompletive indicative

Total sentence: type 4b (Gen. Subordinative I, section 3.6.2)
Embedded sentence: type 2a.i (Indirect Reported Speech, section 3.4.1.1)

51. [k' e-dè [e-kwá ìwàli]] e-kwá èbwatung ....
pl-said pl-hold (ritual) pl-hold children

'If it is decided to hold the Iwali ritual, children are taken ....' BG001

b. Embedded Type 3 Sentence

Periphery: Intr k' (Nucl. 2: completive indicative) Term á
(Peri: Intr h', cmp ind, Term ngin)

Nucleus: incompletive indicative

Total sentence: type 4c (Gen. Conditional I, section 3.6.3)
Embedded sentence: type 3e (Outcome, section 3.5.5)

52. [k' ùsé ùcicò á-fo [h' é-kwá he ci ìrìsi
chief certain sg-died pl-held him sat head

ímin ngin] á] e-kpá ìsú .... bà kà áng' ìhíhé'
his pl-take amulet come give that new

'If a chief has died, with the result that another has been chosen to replace him, the amulet .... is taken and given to the new one' LE027

Note that two terminals occur, á serving to mark the subordination of the whole of the preceding piece to the following nuclear clause, and ngin serving to mark the subordination of the immediately preceding clause to its predecessor. Two identical terminals may not co-occur in this way. In some cases, of course, only one terminal occurs, or there is no terminal at all (as in example 51 above). For further comments on the function of terminals in cases of embedding see sections 3.7.2-3.

c. Double Embedding

Peri: Intr k' (Nucl.2: completive indicative
(
(Peri: Intr ng' (Nucl.3: completive indicative
(Peri: Intr k', completive ind.

Nucleus: incompletive indicative

Total sentence: type 4b (Gen. Subordinative I, section 3.6.2)

1st Embedded sentence: type 3c (Result, section 3.5.3)

2nd Embedded sentence: type 3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2)

53. [k' é-cíé he [ng' á-bi yè ká wa: mà
pl-cooked it it-was-ready from there all perf.

[k' é-súrú he yè ká k'ine]]] e-máng kúŋ̀ kìm
pl-lifted it from there on-fire pl-again take pound

'When it has been cooked so that it is completely ready and has been taken from the fire, it is again pounded' GA007

3.7. Sentences with more than one Peripheral Element

As mentioned in the introductory remarks to section 3.2, a complex sentence may occasionally have two (rarely more than two) peripheral elements. Sentences of this kind are dealt with in the following sections, viz:-

a. periphery both preceding and following nucleus (3.7.1);
b. double periphery following nucleus (3.7.2);
c. double periphery preceding nucleus (3.7.3);
d. three or more peripheral elements (3.7.4).

In each case each of the peripheral elements bears markers identical with those associated with a specific subtype of a complex sentence of types 2, 3 or 4, together with any significant correlations of primary aspect and/or mode between it and the nucleus. There are no apparent restrictions on the subtypes which may be represented in sentences of this kind.

3.7.1. Periphery Preceding and Following Nucleus

Examples (with cross-references to corresponding subtypes of sentences of types 2, 3 or 4):-

1st Periphery: Intr k', completive subjunctive, Term ngáná
Nucleus: completive indicative
2nd Periphery: Intr k', completive indicative

cf. subtypes 4a (Past Temporal, section 3.6.1)
3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2)

54. k' è-buù ìrìsì bé nĕ he ngáná, abe é-kpé he
pl-opened door came saw him they pl-took him

ye k'ùcom, k' é-ye nèn ìrìnèn n'àhe
went to-house pl-went rejoiced joy with-him

'When they opened the door and saw him they took him into the house and rejoiced with him'
T52b

1st Periphery: completive indicative, Term áná
Nucleus: completive indicative
2nd Periphery: simple sentence, completive indicative

cf. subtypes 4i (Gen. Subordinative II, section 3.6.9)
2a.i (Indirect Reported Speech, section 3.4.1.1)

55. á-ye áná, irikama a-dè, ayùng̃ h' á-yi tìà àhe ....
he-went crab sg-said who emph sg-ISp touched him

'As he went the crab said, 'Who touched me?''
AM019

3.7.2. Double Periphery Following Nucleus

Both peripheral elements bear markers identical with those associated with a specific subtype of the complex sentence type 3. In the majority of cases both bear the same markers. No unambiguous instances have been recorded of a periphery consisting of an embedded sentence (section 3.5.7).

Examples:-

Nucleus: completive indicative

Both peripheral clauses: Intr k', completive subjunctive

cf. subtype 3a (Purpose, section 3.5.1)

56. maá-kúó he, k' ì-nyíé wo, k' àwo titi nyíé he
I-called him he-know you you(emph) also know him

'I invited him so that he might become acquainted with you and that you might become acquainted with him'
U2963

Nucleus: completive indicative

1st peripheral clause: Intr k', completive indicative

2nd peripheral clause: Intr ng', cmp indicative, Term ngin

cf. subtypes 3b (Sequential, section 3.5.2)
3c (Result, section 3.5.3)

The whole sentence is in indirect reported speech.

57. ùkàm inakù á-yi bèn, k' ìnàkù á-yi jwebè
bicycle of-Inaku sg-ISp be-bad Inaku sg-ISp refused

kɛ́ àhe, ng' àmi màng ye mu pyebe ngin
gave him I(emph) emph.past went fell hurt

'Inaku's bicycle had broken down, so Inaku had refused to let him have it - and now I had gone (on it) and fallen and been hurt' KA036

In some cases a sentence may be open to two analyses, viz. as containing a single complex periphery (i.e., an embedded sentence, section 3.5.7.) or as containing two simple peripheral clauses. This is the case, for instance, with example 57, where the clause introduced by ng' may be analysed as subordinate either to the nuclear clause of the total sentence or to the immediately preceding clause. Semantic factors, however, point to the latter analysis as preferable.

The occurrence of titi 'also' in example 56 points again to analysis in terms of two paratactic dependent clauses.

These may be contrasted with the examples given in section 3.5.7. Examples 30 and 31 are unambiguous, the former because the final clause is the sole clause of a sentence in indirect reported speech and the latter because of the occurrence of the terminal ngin at the end of the sentence. (If the two dependent clauses were in paratactic relation, i.e., both subordinate to the initial nuclear clause the terminal ngin would follow the verb ye). Example 32, which contains three dependent clauses, is analysed in terms of double embedding both because of the absence of unambiguous instances of a triple periphery following (or preceding) a nucleus and for semantic reasons, since both the stretch è-wam .... ì-mia and the shorter stretch àhe .... ì-mia may occur as complete sentences with the same meaning as they bear in the example as quoted.

3.7.3. Double Periphery Preceding Nucleus

Both peripheral elements bear markers identical with those associated with a specific subtype of the complex sentence type 4. In every recorded instance both elements are single dependent clauses and both bear the same markers.

Examples:-

Both peripheral clauses: Intr gb', indicative
Nuclear clause: completive subjunctive

cf. subtype 4h (General Conditional II, section 3.6.8)
(the whole sentence is in indirect reported speech)

58. gb' ì-yi ínung á, gb' ì-yi ìjìjàa á,
it-is goodness Term it-is bad-thing Term

ámín ì-yi kung kě àhe ra
he(4th) sg-ISp take give him ConPt

'Whether it was good or bad, he should still give it to him' JC017

(For the reinforcing terminal á see section 3.10.2. For the conversational particle ra see section 3.10.3).

Note that the repetition of the terminals both in the example above and in example 59 below points to analysis in terms of two paratactic dependent clauses rather than in terms of a single embedded sentence. These examples may be contrasted with those given in section 3.6.11, and especially with example 52, in which the occurrence of two terminals in juxtaposition points unambiguously to analysis in terms of embedding. Example 53 could be analysed either in terms of double embedding or in terms of three paratactic dependent clauses - or in terms of two paratactic elements, one of which consists of an embedded complex sentence. No unambiguous instances of either of the last two possibilities have been recorded in text. The example is accordingly analysed in terms of double embedding.

3.7.4. Three or More Peripheral Elements

Instances of the occurrence of more than two peripheral elements are extremely infrequent, though there appear to be no structural reasons why any of the following may not occur:-

a. double periphery preceding and single following nucleus;
b. double periphery following and single preceding nucleus;
c. double periphery both preceding and following nucleus.

Only the first of these possibilities has in fact been recorded in text.

Example:-

Both pre-nuclear peripheral clauses: completive ind, Term áná
Nuclear clause: completive indicative
Post-nuclear periphery: simple question sentence, cmp ind

cf. subtypes 4i (Gen. Subordinative, section 3.6.9)
2a.i (Indirect Reported speech, section 3.4.1.1)

59. é-kuo anyamcù bé ci áná, é-kuo ùbuhó bé ci áná,
pl-called hare came sat pl-called dog came sat

é-bii ùbuhó, dè: abe n' anyamcù e-ngwìà iyìm .... à
pl-asked dog they with hare pl-entered agreement ?

'The hare was called to sit, the dog was called to sit, and then the dog was asked whether he and the hare had entered into an agreement ....'
AR020

(For question sentence see section 3.9).

3.8. Other Complex Sentences

3.8.1. Variants of Statement Sentence Type 4

Sentences of type 4 occasionally occur with the second (nuclear) clause marked by the introducer h' and optionally by the terminal ngin (cf. type 3e, Outcome, section 3.5.5.). The semantic function of the markers of the second clause is to place more emphasis on that clause than would otherwise be the case. (Compare notes on type 3e in section 3.5.5).

So far only sentences of the following types have been recorded with a marked nuclear clause of this kind:-

4a (Past Temporal, section 3.6.1)
4h (General Conditional II, section 3.6.3)
4i (General Subordinative II, section 3.6.9).

Further data may reveal that other subtypes may be marked in the same way. Subtype 4c (General Conditional I, section 3.6.3) has, for instance, been recorded with marked nuclear clause in response to elicitation, but it has not appeared in an unelicited utterance.

Examples:-

60. ìgben k' ìrìte ánga ì-mù, h' abe é-jua ìrìban
day that sg-fall they pl-sharpened arrow

'When that day came they then sharpened arrows' FC039

(Type 4a; note that the first clause, contrary to the normal rule, has no terminal. It is possible that this is due to the presence of the following introducer)

61. gb' ámín á-kwere ìtyekpà ká, h' á-kwa ìnyàm
he(4th) sg-set trap there it-held animal

'If he has set a trap there, then it has caught an animal' AD038

(Type 4h, in indirect reported speech).

62. a-dè, ùfòm á-yi kpang: mà:, h' àhe á-yi
he-said hole sg-ISp was-smooth he(emph) sg-ISp

jùng ùci yi cìrì ye ká ngin
cut stick ISp inserted went there

'He said that it was because the hole was smooth that he had cut a stick and inserted it there' JD015

(Type 4i, in indirect reported speech)

3.8.2. Included Dependent Clause(s)

A complex sentence of type 3d (Manner, section 3.5.4) or less frequently of type 3a (Purpose, section 3.5.1) may occur with one or occasionally more dependent clause(s) included within the nucleus rather than following it. Such included dependent clauses most frequently occur between two separate clauses within a clause string (section 4.4 and especially subsection 4.4.5), but may occasionally occur between two separate phrases within a single clause, as in the examples below.

Examples (with included clauses delimited by square brackets):-

63. ìrìnyom á-mang yi [n' àhe ì-yi ngin] k'ìyé re
sickness sg-emph. past be it(emph) sg-is in-world not

'There used not to be sickness in the world as there is now' JC040

64. abe é-kìm ànyà kpèm: kà kúng ùbú gwà kà ùsé,
they pl-beat dance still then take goat kill give chief

áng' á-bé r'ùné ímin bé tùng ngáná
who sg-came with-neighbour his came left

[k' ì-jâ] sǎ he ùgà kǎ he àb'èbètùò
he-eat(inc.subj) do him hospitality give him wine

[k' ì-ngwâ] àb'ìrìmì, k' ì-ngwâ
he-drink millet-drink he-drink

'They beat drums and dance for a long time, then kill a goat and give it to the chief who has come with his neighbour and stayed there, for him to eat, show him hospitality, give him wine and millet-drink to drink' LB013

3.8.3. The Statement Sentence, Type 5 (Unfulfilled Conditional)

This consists of two clauses, of which the first may be non-verbal (see below). Both clauses bear markers associated with a dependent clause, viz:-

1st clause: Intr k' (optional), subsidiary verb bé, completive subjunctive, Term ngá

2nd clause: Intr k' (obligatory), subsidiary verb bé (optional), completive indicative

The second of the two clauses is, however, analysed as nuclear, since it may occur in isolation if the condition which would normally be referred to by the first clause is mentioned in the preceding context. The second example below, for instance, consists of two successive sentences from different participants in a recorded conversation. The second consists of the affirmative n: 'yes', followed by a recapitulation of the second clause of the preceding sentence. The first clause, on the other hand, could not occur in isolation in any context (except, of course, in an unfinished sentence).

Examples:-

65. k' ò-bé ci kin ngá, k' á-fo re
you- be here he-died not

'If you had been here, he would not have died' U6595

66. ò-bé mu k'aci kpa: ngá, k' ó-he ye k'umó.
you- fell on-bridge indeed you-put went in-water

n: - k' maá-bé he ye k'umó
yes I- put went in-water

'If you had in fact fallen on the bridge you would have gone into the water.' 'Yes, I would have gone into the water.' KA015-6

If the first clause is non-verbal, consisting always of a single nominal phrase (section 4.5.1 and chapter 7), it is marked by the special introducer expression ugbe k' and followed by the negative re (section 5.2.2). The whole clause is translatable as 'If it were not for ....'

Example:-

67. ugbe k' ùcucuno á re, k' àhe a-nyùà
bow Term not he(emph) sg-stuck

'If it were not for the bow he would have been caught' AH086

3.9. Question Sentences

Any of the sentence types and variants described in the foregoing sections may occur with the question marker à. In view of the apparent lack of any systematic restrictions on the occurrence of the question marker no separate sentence type is set up to handle question sentences, since the description of its subtypes would overlap the contents of the foregoing sections almost completely. The structure of any given question sentence is thus described in terms of nuclear and peripheral elements, markers, etc. as in the foregoing sections, plus the question marker. Thus, for instance, a sentence bearing the markers associated with the type 3a sentence described above (section 3.5.1) plus the question marker is labelled 'single question sentence, type 3a' (abbreviated QS/3a), and so on.

A question sentence may not function as a demonstrative sentence construct (sections 3.1, 8.5) nor as an element of a larger complex sentence, nor may the imperative (section 3.2.2.1) occur in a question sentence. Other than these there are virtually no functional or structural restrictions on question sentences.

3.9.1. Single Question Sentences

Single question sentences are marked by the occurrence of the question marker à in final position. In all other respects they

are identical with the corresponding statement sentences.

The single question sentence is abbreviated 'QS'.

Examples (with cross-references to corresponding statement sentence types):-

68. ùserè i-bâ sǎ he re à
fear it-fut. do her not ?

'Won't she be afraid?' U4713 (Simple, type 1, section 3.3)

69. ǹg-kara ci itàng à
I-continue sit down ?

'May I sit down then?' U6166 (Simple, type 1, subjunctive, section 3.3)

70. i-yi bâ à
he-ISp comes ?

'Is he coming?' T400b (Simple, type 1, in indirect reported speech, section 3.4.1)

71. àmi á à
I(emph) Term?

'Do you mean me?' Ux (Simple, type 1, non-verbal clause)

72. abe é-sà ìrìkang, n' amin é-sà ngin, à
they pl-do thing you pl-do ?

'Do they do the same things as you do?' U4676

(Type 3d, Manner, section 3.5.4)

73. k' ì-yi r'àbìa ìhà, i-nám à
it-is with-leg two it-stands ?

'If it has two legs will it be able to stand?' U4254

(Type 4b, General Subordinative I, section 3.6.2)

74. a-dè, - é:ye - ùngwa iyi - ng-kwá ùfàm ngin, h' amin
she-said Oh! child my I-hold hoe you

e-tíbí àbóm k'ìsaba úci à
pl-dig heaps with-plank of-wood ?

'She said, 'Oh, my son, since I am holding a hoe, how is it that you are digging heaps with a plank of wood?'' HM043

(Type 4i variant, sections 3.6.9, 3.8.1. For the exclamation é:ye and the vocative ùngwá íyi see section 3.11.)

3.9.2. Alternative Question Sentences

An alternative question sentence (abbreviated 'AQS') consists normally of two sentences, which are linked by the question marker à followed by the alternative question marker hà:. Three or even more sentences may, however, occur, each being linked to its predecessor by à hà:. An 'unfinished alternative question sentence' may also occur as a complete unit, consisting of a single sentence followed by à hà:. A non-initial sentence may optionally be marked by the introducer h' (compare section 3.5.5).

The first sentence of an alternative question sentence is analysed as its nuclear element. It may be either simple or complex, and there appear to be no significant restrictions to its structure. Non-initial sentences are always simple, consisting of a single clause, which is itself either non-verbal (section 4.5) or a verbal clause of relatively simple internal structure. No nominal phrase subject may occur (other than an obligatory emphatic or 4th person pronoun in indirect reported speech, section 3.4.1), nor may there be an initiating adverbial phrase. (See section 4.2 for details of these).

Examples:-

75. o-mù tyàng he k'ùwèbè à hà: h' o-mù pòm
you-fell threw put in-valley? or you-fell were-on

k'aci ká
on-bridge there

'Did you fall into the valley or did you fall on to the bridge?' KA013

(Each element is a simple sentence, which itself consists of a verbal clause complex).

76. àkpà ángin á-kukù à hà: h' á-búbùù
box this sg-was-closed ? or sg-was-open

'Is this box open or closed?' U4256

(Each element is a simple sentence, which itself consists of a single verbal clause).

77. idé ámin h' á-yi sì ìbèn ngin à hà:
father his(4th) emph sg-ISp did wrong ? or

ùngwan ìyen ngá
child himself Term

'Was it his father who did wrong or the child himself?' T1260a

(For the emphatic construction see section 5.3).

(The nucleus is a simple sentence, which itself consists of a single emphatic clause (section 5.3). The peripheral sentence consists of a non-verbal clause).

78. o-kà nòkpó ngin, ìrìbuo ó-kung cìè kwa bé
you-then got-up kola you-took carried held came

à hà: h' ó-kung naà ká
? or you-took kept there

'When you got up, did you carry the kola nuts back or did you leave them there?' KA018

(The nucleus is a complex sentence of type 4i (section 3.6.9). The peripheral sentence consists of a single verbal clause).

79. abe é-sà ukulo à hà:
they pl-do work ? or

'Do they work - or what?' KC055

(Unfinished alternative question)

3.9.3. Supplementary Question Sentences

A question sentence, whether single or alternative, (normally followed by an answer) may be followed by a further question sentence which in some way is related semantically to the first. Such a sentence is marked by the supplementary question marker bê, in place

of the normal question marker à. A supplementary question sentence most frequently consists of a non-verbal clause, or of a verbal clause of relatively simple structure. It is abbreviated 'SQS'.

Examples:-

80. abe è-yi gwà usi ángin re bê
they pl-ISp kill snake this not ?

'Won't they be able to kill this snake too?' HJ015

(in indirect reported speech)

81. r'ikúrúkú bê
in-evening ?

'And what in the evening' KD160

(One of a series of questions about times of meals)

3.10. Other Sentence-Level Markers

3.10.1. Sentence-Initiating Expressions

Certain expressionsof fixed form may precede the initial clause (whether nuclear or peripheral) of a sentence. They are analysed at sentence level as sentence-initiating expressions in view of their fixed position and form. In structure some of them are identical with or analogous to adverbial phrases of type 1. See section 9.2, where these are discussed further. Another includes the negative re (section 5.2.2).

The following are the most frequently occurring:-

gburugburu 'long ago' (adverbial phrase)
há: re 'if not', 'otherwise' (sometimes followed by gburugburu)
ónére 'perhaps' (adverbial phrase)
ànetèn (sometimes followed by yè: ngin 'now') 'formerly'

Note that in the first two examples below the sentence-initiating expression precedes a peripheral clause and that in the third it precedes an initiating adverbial phrase. (In connection with the latter, see section 4.2, where it is stated that only one initiating

adverbial phrase may occur. This fact, in addition to those stated above, points to the analysis of the stretch <u>há: re gburugburu</u> as something other than an adverbial phrase).

<u>Examples</u>:-

82. <u>àneten yè: ngin</u>, ó-ye k'ìyé <u>ngáná</u>, úkògbó á-tìm ....
previously you-went to-outside pig sg-returned

'Before this, when you went outside the pig returned....'
HA030

(Sentence type 4i, section 3.6.9)

83. <u>há: re</u>, <u>k'</u> ámín a-dè ùnì, àhe í-gwà ámín
if he(4th) sg-told person he sg-kills him(4th)

'If on the other hand he tells anyone he will kill him'
AH042

(Sentence type 4b, section 3.6.2)
(in indirect reported speech)

84. <u>há: re gburugburu</u>, k'ùnyang, òkáàrà á-bé mà re,
at-time foreigner sg-came perf. not

ubuo á-màng yi re
main-road sg-emph.past be not

'But long ago, before the foreigners came, there was no main road' CD047

3.10.2. <u>Reinforcing Terminals</u>

The terminals <u>á</u>, <u>ngá</u>, <u>bá</u> and <u>ná</u> (section 3.2.1.2) may occur at the end of a statement or question sentence of types 1 or 4 (sections 3.3, 3.6, 3.9), i.e., following the final element of a nuclear clause in sentence-final position. The occurrence of a terminal in this position is particularly frequent in (though not restricted to) a clause of type 4 (section 4.2.4), i.e., a clause which has a copulative verbal phrase as its head.

The semantic function of a terminal in this position is usually to 'reinforce' the sentence or some element of it, as illustrated in the examples below.

Both the negative marker re (section 5.2.2) and the question marker à (section 3.9) follow the terminal, which itself is lengthened before the negative marker. A reinforcing terminal does not occur in a supplementary question sentence (section 3.9.3).

Examples:-

85. a-kà dè, ì-yi yi àhe á
he-then said it-ISp is he(emph)

'Then he said that it was he' HA026

(The terminal marks the sentence occurring in indirect reported speech).

86. a-kà dè abe, dè: àhe á-bé ùci àsìni ngá.
he-then told them that he sg-came medicine making

àhe á-bé ùbebè àgùni re
he sg-came cutting-grass killing not

'Then he told them that he had come to prepare medicine, not to kill cutting-grass' AP008

(Two indirect reported speech sentences as periphery of a complex sentence of type 2a.i, section 3.4.1.1). (A cutting-grass is a small West African mammal).

See also example 58.

3.10.3. Conversational Particles

The conversational particles listed below (abbreviated 'ConPt') may occur at the end of a statement sentence of any type. Only one (ra, see below) may occur in a question sentence.

Their precise function and meaning is hard to define. Their use is particularly characteristic of colloquial conversational speech (hence the label 'conversational particles') and varies from one speaker to another.

If the negative marker re (section 5.2.2) occurs in the final clause it precedes any of the conversational particles.

Two conversational particles may occur together, as in example 91.

The following are among the most widely occurring terminals of this class:-

a. o:, ko:, jo: (frequently used to draw attention)

b. ra, kè, tè ('so', 'then', 'all right', etc.)

Examples:-

87. maá-bé kin nyùà ko:
I-came here was-lost

'I came here - and, oh, I am lost!' AJ064

88. ì-yi gù ámín ne ko:
he-ISp kill it(4th) not

'Oh, he should not kill it' JE024

89. amin e-kà tìm náng wo: bé k'enugu rà
you pl-then returned like-that all came to-Enugu

'So you all came back to Enugu then' KD202

90. ka ye kè
now go

'All right, you may go' U5327

91. a-dè ..., ámín ì-tìm yi ye kè rà
he-said he(4th) sg-return ISp go

'He said ...., 'All right, you may go then.''
JA009

See also examples 53, 168.

3.11. Vocatives and Exclamations

A vocative consists of a non-verbal clause, itself consisting of a nominal phrase (chapter 7). An exclamation consists of one of a number of exclamatory forms or forms of address.

The following forms of address occur:-

àdadà	affectionate form of address to father
(i)màma	ditto to mother
ánè	respectful form of address to older woman
ntenè	form of address to wife of member of one's age-set

Exclamatory forms have many idiosyncratic variants and include the following:-

è: or ǹ:	'yes'
m̀hm̀ or ǹhǹ	'no'
é:ye	(extreme surprise)

Vocatives and exclamations are analysed as complete non-verbal sentences, since they may occur in isolation and since they do not manifest any grammatical relationships with adjacent forms. Some, such as the forms translated 'yes' and 'no' above, occur normally as response forms following a question sentence or, in a conversational context, a statement sentence.

Vocatives and exclamations do not interrupt any other sentence, except that they may occur in a sentence of type 2a.i or 2b (sections 3.4.1.1, 3.4.2) between the introducer (re)dè: or the introducing verb dè 'say' and one or more further sentences in either indirect or direct reported speech.

An exclamation and a vocative may occur in sequence, as may two vocatives.

Examples (with vocatives and exclamations between dashes):-

a. Exclamation and Vocative

see example 74.

b. Two Vocatives

92. a-dè, - íyii - àwo ùnye íyi áná - n-yâ k'ucù ....
he-said Iyii you wife my the I-go to-compound

'He said, 'Iyii (name), you my wife, I am going home ....'' AJ101

(Direct reported speech)

c. Vocative

93. a-dè, - udìm íyi - nàm
he-said friend my stand

'He said, 'My friend, stop!'' AG019

(Direct Rep. Speech)

d. Form of Address

94. á-kung dě he, dè: - ánè - iyem .... á-nyin àhe
he-took told her thing sg-pleased him

'He said to her that (addressing a senior woman) he liked the thing' JC013

(Indirect reported speech)

e. Exclamatory Forms

95. ǹhm̌ - ùnì ùbwàm ì-yi ká re
no person red sg-is there not

'No, there are no white men there' KC036

96. é:ye - ìrìkang ángin .... ùnye ímin á-ye kpe
Oh! thing this wife his sg-went took

'Oh! My wife has gone and taken this thing ....' JA014

(In indirect reported speech, but translatable into English only in direct speech).

CHAPTER FOUR

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CHAPTER 4

THE CLAUSE - I

This chapter deals with the function and basic structure of the clause and with recursive clause complexes and clause strings. The next chapter deals with features and markers of the clause and with emphatic clauses.

4.1. Function of the Clause

The clause functions normally as an element of the sentence (chapter 3). Clauses are classed as independent and dependent according to their potentiality of occurrence as complete sentences. An independent clause may function as a complete sentence; a dependent clause may not (apart from the special case of the type 5 sentence (section 3.8.3), where the second (nuclear) clause, though dependent, may occur as a complete sentence in certain clearly defined circumstances).

Dependent clauses are always marked by an introducer and/or a terminal (section 3.2.1), except in the special cases described in sections 3.5.6 and 3.6.10. At sentence level these introducers and terminals are of syntagmatic relevance as distinctive markers of sentence subtypes. At clause level they have further relevance as demarcative markers of the clause.

Independent clauses do not bear these markers, except for the limited conditions under which the introducer k' may occur with subjunctive mode (sections 3.3; 3.4.1.2).

The clause has a secondary function as a construct at word level, when it functions as the nuclear element of a noun or adjective (sections 7.3.1.3; 7.7.2).

4.2. Basic Structure of the Verbal Clause

The majority of clauses recorded contain a verbal phrase (abbreviated 'VP', see chapter 6). The favourite clause type is accordingly labelled 'verbal clause'. The verbal clause, whether independent or dependent, consists obligatorily of a verbal phrase and optionally of one or more nominal and/or adverbial phrases (abbreviated 'NP' and 'AP' respectively - see chapters 7-10).

The following diagram summarises the mutual relationships of the elements of the verbal clause. It is followed by a fuller description of these. The layout of the diagram represents the relative sequence in which the elements occur in the most frequently occurring clause type (section 4.2.1). The symbols (x2) and (x4) are to be interpreted as indicating that the element to which they apply may occur up to two or four times respectively at the place in question.

<table>
<tr><td>AP
'initiating'

Outer</td><td>NP
'subject'

Inner</td><td>VP

Head</td><td>NP(x2)
'object'
Inner

Expansion</td><td>AP(x4)

Outer</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Periphery</td><td colspan="3">Nucleus</td></tr>
</table>

The basic division is between nucleus and periphery, the ~~reason for this being made clear in~~ latter being obligatorily absent in certain constructions (see sections 4.2.3, 4.3, ~~and~~ 4.4). Within the nucleus there is a further division between head and expansion, the former being obligatory and the latter optional. The two elements in the periphery and the two (groups of) elements in the expansion of the nucleus are labelled 'inner' and 'outer', both in view of their position and in view of their functional 'centrality' (for the latter see below and also sections 4.2.2 and 5.1 (final paragraph).

Clause types other than type 1 may be described in similar terms to the above, with the following principal variations (which

are described more fully in sections 4.2.2-4):-

Type 2: The head element is a verbal phrase complex (section 6.7) and the first NP object normally occurs between the two parts of the complex.

Type 3: No peripheral elements occur (except as described in section 4.2.3); the first NP object precedes the VP.

Type 4: The head element is a copulative VP (section 6.9).

All three types: There are greater restrictions on the number of phrases which may occur in the expansion of the nucleus.

A copulative verbal phrase (section 6.9) may not occur in types 1-3.

The nominal phrase(s) functioning as inner expansion of the nucleus is/are labelled 'object' ('complement' in the case of clause type 4); that functioning as inner periphery is labelled 'subject'. A nominal phrase with subject function ('nominal phrase subject' for convenience) is abbreviated 'NPs'; a nominal phrase with object function ('nominal phrase object') is abbreviated 'NPo'. Where it is necessary to distinguish the first and second nominal phrases with object function the abbreviations 'NPo1' and 'NPo2' respectively are used. The first of these frequently, though not invariably, oorresponds to the 'indirect object' in English, the second to the 'direct object'. There is, however, no formal distinction between a nominal phrase functioning as first object and one functioning as second object, except in the case of the object pronouns (section 7.4), which may occur only as first or sole object, the emphatic pronouns being used for the second of two objects. Similarly, there is no formal distinction between a nominal phrase functioning as object and one functioning as subject, except again for the fact that the object pronouns may not occur in subject position. Certain minor nominal phrase subtypes are, however, restricted in distribution within the clause. For full details see chapters 7 and 8.

The adverbial phrase functioning as outer periphery is labelled 'initiating' (abbreviated 'APinit'). Only a limited range of adverbial phrase subclasses may function in this place. Full details of these are given in section 10.11. For details of the relative order of occurrence of adverbial phrase subclasses in the outer expansion of the nucleus see chapter 10.

Both independent and dependent clauses may be described in the foregoing terms, except that no initiating adverbial phrase may occur in a dependent clause (this is one of the facts represented in the designation of an APinit as constituting the outer periphery of a clause) and that a dependent clause is usually of somewhat simpler structure than an independent clause. For instance, no more than two adverbial phrases have been recorded as constituting the outer expansion of the nucleus of a dependent clause, whereas four adverbial phrases have been recorded several times in an independent clause. A clause of type 3 (section 4.2.3) may not function as a dependent clause.

4.2.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 1

The most frequently occurring verbal clause type (described here as type 1) consists of a verbal phrase (other than a copulative verbal phrase, section 6.9) optionally preceded and/or followed by one or more nominal and/or adverbial phrases in the sequence and with the mutual relationships shown on the diagram above. The theoretical maximum form has not been recorded, the majority of recorded clauses being of relatively simple structure, i.e., consisting of one, two or three phrases.

The following table shows the maximum combinations of nuclear elements actually recorded in clauses of this type, with references to the examples which follow. The fact that the table shows maximum forms is to be understood as implying that all possible smaller combinations also occur.

It is of course possible that further data may bring other possible combinations of elements to light. The table does, however, reflect the fact that the expansion of a verbal clause nucleus consists normally of up to three elements, or occasionally four. There appears to be no direct correlation between the occurrence of an initiating AP and/or a NP subject and the number of nuclear elements which may occur.

In the examples given in this and succeeding chapters a single oblique line marks the boundary between two phrases within a single clause.

Table 1

APinit	NPs	VP	NPo1	NPo2	AP	AP	AP	AP	Examples
+	+	+	+	+					101
+	+	+	+		+				102
+	+	+			+	+	+	+	103
		+	+	+	+				104
		+	+		+	+			105

Examples:-

101. k'ìrìte kìn / atyǔku / á-ji / úkògbó / ìrìfíá ìsílè ìhà
on-day one tortoise sg-owed pig debt shilling two

'One day the tortoise owed the pig two shillings'
HA002

102. únyang kìn / anyamcù / á-ji / udyìm / n'ùtáng
at-time one hare sg-made friend with-python

'Once upon a time a hare made friends with a python'
AB00?

103. únyang ìcicò / àmi pěè / n-yâ cà / ká / n'abe /
at-time certain I(emph) too I-go sit there with-them

k'àhà / k'ùnyang ng' àhe e-kwá àdù
at-inside at-time that they pl-hold conversation

'Sometimes I too go and sit there with them indoors when they are conversing' KD084

104. a-kà kĕ / m / àbó / har'edyìm ímin
he-then gave me hand with-friends his

'Then he and his friends shook hands with me'
KD038

105. é-kìm / ànyà / r'ùcu / kpèm:
pl-beat dance at-night for-long-time

'They drum and dance at night for a long time'
LA004

4.2.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 2

This type has as its head a verbal phrase complex (section 6.7). In other respects its structure is similar to that of type 1 above, except that no more than two adverbial phrases have been recorded as outer expansion of the nucleus. The first nominal phrase object normally occurs between the secondary and primary verbal phrases within the VP complex.[1] (This characteristic, which is restricted to a nominal phrase, is a further factor which is represented in the designation of a NPo as constituting (part of) the inner, as opposed to the outer, expansion of the nucleus).

No more than three elements have been recorded as constituting the expansion of the nucleus of a clause of this type. In example 106 two NP objects and one AP occur; in example 107 there is one NP object and two AP's. Square brackets are used to delimit the NP which occurs between the two parts of the verbal phrase complex.

Examples:-

106. ùnìnye .... / a-kà kung [ìtìtùng] kĕ́ / he / gbudu:
woman sg-then took garden-egg gave him many

'Then the woman gave him many garden-eggs' FA032

107. á-kung [àtyúng] kwa / ká / k'àbó
he-took ear held there in-hand

'He held the ear in his hand' FA057

1. For an exception see section 6.7, paragraph o.

108. á-kung [ìrìte] náá / he
he-took day kept him

'He made an appointment with him' HA006

As may be seen from the above examples, especially the last, and from their English translation, there is often little if any semantic distinction between clauses of types 1 and 2. For instance, there is little difference in meaning, if any, between the examples above and the following, which are of type 1:-

106a. .... a-kà kě / he / itìtùng / gbudu:
she-then gave him garden-egg many

107a. á-kwa / àtyúng / ká / k'àbó
he-held ear there in-hand

108a. á-náá / he / ìrìte
he-kept him day

Note that in the case of clauses with two NP objects the NP which occurs between the two parts of the VP complex corresponds to the second of the two NP objects occurring in a clause of type 1.

The type 2 clause has the following characteristic uses:-

a. Bringing a NP object (especially one which would in a type 1 clause be the second of two NP objects) into a position of greater prominence;

b. Separation of an internally complex NP object from another NP object or from an AP;

c. Instrumental use of a NP object. (While a clause such as a-jùng he k'àcom 'he cut it with a knife' is possible, a clause such as á-kung [àcom] jùng he 'he took a knife cut it' is more idiomatic).

See also the discussion of the verbal phrase complex and of the secondary verb in section 6.7.

For earlier instances of a type 2 clause see examples 15, 19, 38, 39, 53, 64.

4.2.3. The Verbal Clause, Type 3

The distinctive features of this type are the obligatory occurrence of one NP object preceding the nuclear verbal phrase (which may not be copulative, section 6.9) and of either a second NP object or up to two AP's following the verbal phrase, except that no other phrase need occur if the clause functions as nucleus of a sentence of type 2 or 3 (sections 3.4-5), as in example 109 below. In addition, the VP may optionally be followed by a NP consisting of a pronoun recapitulating the NPo which precedes the VP, as in examples 111-2. No peripheral elements (viz. initiating AP or NP subject) may occur, except that in indirect reported speech (sections 3.4.1, 3.4.1.1) a NP subject consisting of an emphatic (including 4th person) pronoun may occur immediately before the VP, as in examples 110-1. A VP complex (see sections 4.2.2, 6.7) may function as nucleus in the circumstances described in section 4.4.1.

This type is very infrequent in occurrence and does not occur as a dependent clause. It is used normally when the (first) NP object is of complex internal structure, particularly if, as in examples 110-2, it contains a demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5). As in the case of the type 2 clause above, this type has the effect of keeping a complex nominal phrase object apart from a second nominal phrase or an adverbial phrase. In this case, however, the NPo which precedes the VP corresponds (when a second NPo follows the VP) to the first of the two NP objects occurring in a clause of type 1.

Examples:-

109. ùgbugbe ímin / é-kùò dè: ìrìbàdà
first her pl-call Intr Iribada

'The first was called Iribada' AJ099

110. ìrìjí ang' é-sà pòm áná / ámín / ì-ji
food which pl-make be-on Term he(4th) sg-eat

k'ucwìn / ká
in-shadow there

(NPo - NPs - VP - AP - AP)

'The food which is prepared and put out he should eat there as a departed spirit' RM023

111. ùnì áng' ámín i-bâ nà k'àté ánáˊ /
person whom he(4th) sg-fut. see at-market Term

ámín / ì-gwia / ámín / ìsang / ne
he(4th) sg-laugh him (4th) teeth not

(NPo - NPs - VP - NPo(recap) - NPo)

'He should not laugh at the person whom he would see at market' AC009

(For the negative see section 5.2.2)

112. ìrìjwín úci ìcicò áng abe e-wá he /
name of-medicine certain which they pl-pour it

ó-nyíéˊ / he / k'ùngwù ebekwàrà / à
you-know it in-mouth of-Bekwarra ?

(NPo - VP - NPo(recap) - AP)

'Do you know the Bekwarraname for some of the medicine which they pour on it?' KC024

4.2.4. The Verbal Clause, Type 4

This type has as its head a copulative verbal phrase (section 6.9). At least one other phrase must occur, with a maximum of three in the expansion of the nucleus. Normally at least one nuclear non-verbal phrase occurs, either nominal (no more than one), labelled 'NP complement' (abbreviated 'NPc'), or adverbial, or occasionally both. If no nuclear non-verbal phrase occurs the occurrence of a NP subject is obligatory. In other cases it is optional. The occurrence of an initiating AP is optional in all cases, though infrequent. The large majority of clauses of this type consist of two phrases only.

The following table summarises the structure of each of the examples which follow:-

Table 2

APinit	NPs	VP	NPc	AP	AP	AP	Examples
+	+	+					113
	+	+		+	+	+	114
		+	+	+			115

Examples:-

113. k'ùnyang kìn / ùcù-útyén / i-máng yi
at-time one farmer sg-emph.past be

'Once upon a time there was a farmer' AD001

114. àbère / è-yi / r'àhe / kin / gbudu:
we pl-are with-it here many

'We have plenty of it here' U3556

115. ì-yi / m / gógó / re
it-is me well not

'I am not well' Ux

For earlier instances of a type 4 clause see examples 58 (two instances of VP + NPc), 63 (two instances of NPs + VP), 73, 84, 95.

4.3. The Clause Complex

The clause complex (abbreviated 'ClCx') consists of two, three or occasionally more verbal clauses but has the function of a single clause, viz. as either the nucleus or (part of) the periphery of a sentence (section 3.2) or as a construct at word level (sections 7.3.1.3, 7.7.2).

4.3.1. Special Restrictions

The clauses constituting a clause complex are subject to the following restrictions:-

a. First Clause

i. May be of types 1 or 2 (sections 4.2.1-2). (Example 119 below contains a clause of the latter type; the remainder have a clause of type 1 as their first member).

ii. Contains no more than one NP object.

iii. No locative AP (section 10.2) may occur.

iv. If the clause is of type 2 and has a NP object no AP may occur.

b. Second Clause (and any other non-final clauses)

i. Of type 1 or occasionally of type 2.

ii. No peripheral elements (viz. APinit and/or NPs) may occur.

iii. No NP object may occur, except in an infinitival or benefactive clause complex, (sections 4.3.2.2, 4.3.3). (A transitive verb (section 6.3.1.1) may occur, with reference back to the object of the first clause: see examples 119, 120).

iv. The VP or VP complex consists of nuclear elements only (sections 6.2, 6.7), except that the auxiliary verb yi (section 6.6.7) may occur.

v. For restrictions on features see sections 5.1-2.

c. Final Clause (other than second)

Same as second clause, except that the VP or VP complex consists only of major verb(s) (sections 6.2, 6.7).

In the examples below double oblique lines mark the boundaries between clauses within a clause complex. For a clause complex consisting of four clauses see example 139 (first complex).

Examples:-

116. a-kà tìm / r'ìkerekèrè // bé
he-then returned with-monkey came

'Then he brought the monkey back' AA010

117. a-kà kung/ ùfàm aná/ ìbeènè // ye
he-then took hoe the at-once went

'So he went off at once with the hoe' HK023

118. k' e-si / náng / kpèm: // ye gbajè /
when pl-did like-that continually went reached

k'ìrìhùng úherè ìcia, ...
to-inside of-moon three

'When they have done that for three months ....'
BF026

119. á-kung [àcu] fàà // bià / náng / yìrìdìdì: dì / wa:
he-took pepper ground cut-up like-that at-one-time all

'He ground up all the pepper at one time like that'
FA075

120. á-bang / úlyòḿ // he / k'ìcie // mìà // ngin, ...
he-gathered orange put in-pot finished Term

'When he had finished putting the oranges into the pot ..'
U5102

See also examples 31, 66, 75, 89.

4.3.2. Infinitival Clause Complexes

Normally, as may be seen from the examples above, the second and any subsequent clause in a clause complex has the same notional 'subject' as the first clause (i.e., may be analysed as being derived from a single clause with the same subject as that of the first clause). In certain cases, however, this does not apply.

4.3.2.1. With Verbs of 'Motion' or 'Location'

The sequence VP - NPo - AP locative (for the last see section 10.2) is extremely infrequent, and may occur only if there is no implication of 'motion' in any sense. For instance a clause such as a-nĕ he ká 'he saw him there' is permissible, but the verb nè 'see' could not be replaced by com 'send', tyàng 'throw', etc.

In cases where there is an implication of motion a clause complex is used, with the primary verb of the second VP being one of the following:-

ye	'go'	kwom	'terminate'
bé	'come'	mù	'fall'
he	'put'	nàm	'stand'
ci	'sit'	nùò	'set out'
gbàjè	'reach'	pia	'go far'
gung	'gather' (transitive or intransitive)		
gwàn	'be near', 'approach'	pom	'be on'
hìm	'come out'		
jwen	'come together', 'be together'		

For instance, the sequence á-bang úlyòm k'ìcic may not occur. A verb such as he 'put' must be inserted between the NPo and the AP, as in example 120 above.

It is to be noted that each of the verbs listed above has an implication of 'motion' and/or 'location'.

In many cases, as in examples 116-8, the 'motion/location' verb functioning as primary verb in the VP of the second (or subsequent) clause has the same notional 'subject' as the first clause, but this is not necessarily the case, as is illustrated by the examples below:-

121. ...., k' è-wam / anyamcù // hìm / íyé
pl-remove hare come-out to-outside

'.... in order to remove the hare' AJ083

122. e-mè / ùcom ábin // jwen / k'àté / jì: // à
pl-built house these be-together in-market just ?

'Are these houses built in the market for nothing?'
U4432

123. a-kà ye ye-à jùng / úgbugbà // bé kung cìrì //
he-then went went cut palm-rod came took inserted

ye / ká
went there

'Then he went and cut a palm-rod and came and inserted it there' JD012

(Note that the second of the three clauses in the clause complex is of type 2, with a transitive primary verb ciri referring back to úgbugbà, which functions as object in the first clause).

124. àbère / é-...bang / isùguru ánangkere // jwen //
we pl- gathered sack of-groundnut be-together

bé / k'ìyé
came to-outside

'We .... brought the sacks of groundnuts outside'
CA011

125. á-màng tyàng / he // bé
he-again threw it came

'He threw it back again' FA081

(See also examples 40, 59)

In each of the examples above the notional 'subject' of the 'motion/location' verb functioning as the primary verb in the VP of the final (or in the case of example 125 of both the second and the third) clause is the referent of the nominal phrase object in the first clause.

The label 'infinitival' is attached to clause complexes of this kind.

See the discussion of the clause string in section 4.4 (and especially subsection 4.4.3) for a means by which the apparent potential ambiguity involved in such cases as these is avoided.

4.3.2.2. Infinitival Clause Complex with verb nyìè

In addition to the cases described above, an infinitival construction also occurs when the primary verb in the VP of the first clause of a clause complex is nyìè 'be possible for'. A VP with nyìè as its primary verb is obligatorily followed by a NP object, and the whole clause is obligatorily followed by another, in which the notional 'subject' is the referent of the NPo in the first clause.

Example:-

126. i-nyìé / he // jâ // re
it-is-possible him eats not

'He is unable to eat' AHO64

Only in this case and in that described in the next section may a NP object follow the VP of a non-initial clause.

4.3.3. The Benefactive Clause Complex

This consists of two or more clauses of which the last has a VP containing the primary verb kè 'give' and a single NP object. In all other respects this complex has the characteristics listed in section 4.3.1.

Examples:-

127. abe / é-sa / ukulo //kă / he
they pl-do work give him

'They work for him' U5012

128. ì-ye bang ugàm .... íten // kě ti
he-go pick-up sack our give us

'He should go and bring us our two sacks'
CA036

See also section 8.5.3, and especially paragraph ii.

See also example 57.

4.3.4. Miscellaneous

There are a few verbs or verbal complexes (section 6.4) which may occur only in a non-initial clause within a clause complex. These include the verbs kwom 'terminate' and pia 'go far' and the verbal complex gù he[2] 'together'.

Examples:-

129. a-kà bwin // pia // ye / k'ùci
it-then broke went-far went to-height

'Then it broke a long way up' AD051
(Reference is to a stick)

130. á-kung [ùkáá] tye // gù he
he-took stone tied together

'He tied the stones together' Ux

131. abe / e-já / irìjí // gwà hà
they pl-eat food together

'They have their meals together' HH004

---

2. The fact that in incompletive primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2) both members of this combination have forms with vowel 'a' points unambiguously to analysis as two verbs of structure CV, since this phenomenon is not found elsewhere. See example 131. gù is phonologically /gwù/ (see discussion of labialisation in chapter 2). In incompletive primary aspect it appears therefore as gwà.

The word fàn '(come) to (a person)' combines the functions of a verb and a preposition. It may only occur in a non-initial clause within a clause complex and is obligatorily followed by a nominal phrase of either type 1 or type 2(sections 7.2.1-2), i.e., either a noun with or without attributive elements or an emphatic pronoun. The fact that a following pronoun must be an emphatic, not an object, pronoun (section 7.3) shows that fàn is in a category separate from all other verbs. Similarly, the fact that it is followed obligatorily by a NP object rather than (optionally) by an AP locative indicates a significant difference in function between it and other verbs in this position. Since, however, many locative adverbial phrases consist of a nominal phrase marked by a preposition (section 10.2.2) the unique characteristics of fàn are best accounted for in the way stated above, i.e., by regarding the NP as constituting, in combination with the prepositional function of fàn, a locative AP. fàn cannot be a preposition alone, since it may be preceded by a subsidiary verb (section 6.5, see example 133 below).

Examples:-

132. é-kà cóm / ìcom // fàn / àwo
pl-then send message to you

'Then a message is sent to you' BC006

133. á-tìm / r'àhe // ye-à fàn / ùkasì ùnìnye
he-returned with-it went to old woman

'He took it back to the old woman' JC030

4.4. The Clause String

The clause string (abbreviated 'ClSg') consists of two or more verbal clauses or clause complexes but has the function of a single clause, i.e., as either the nucleus or (part of) the periphery of a sentence. There is no theoretical limit to the number of clauses or clause complexes which may constitute a single clause string. The maximum recorded number is six (in example 139 below), but the

majority of recorded clause strings consist of two or three clauses or clause complexes.

4.4.1. Special Restrictions and Characteristics

The clauses constituting a clause string are subject to fewer restrictions than those constituting a clause complex. Moreover, as stated above, a clause complex may itself function as part of a clause string. The following are the only restrictions:-

a. First Clause

i. May be of types 1, 2 or (rarely) 3 (example 78). (For type 2 see examples 135, 137, 139 and also example 15. The remainder are of type 1).

ii. There are no other restrictions, unless of course the clause is also the first clause of a clause complex, as in example 139.

b. Second and Subsequent Clauses (or initial clauses of clause complexes)

i. May be of types 1, 2 or 3, the last being characteristic of the narration of a series of distinct but related events. (For type 2 see examples 135, 136, 139. For type 3 see examples 137-8). In this case alone a clause of type 3 may have a VP complex, instead of a single VP, as its nucleus, as in example 137 (3 times). This appears to be dependent upon the occurrence of a VP complex in the initial clause.

ii. No peripheral elements (viz. AP init and/or NPs) may occur.

iii. Unlike the clause complex there are no restrictions either on the occurrence of NP objects or on the internal structure of the VP. Indeed, in certain circumstances (see example 135) a clause of type 2 may contain three NP objects.

iv. For restrictions on features see sections 5.1-2.

v. There are no other restrictions, unless again the clause is also the first clause of a clause complex, as in examples 133 (4th clause), 139 (3rd, 4th and 6th clauses/clause complexes) and 140 (2nd and 4th clauses/clause complexes). In general, non-final clauses tend to be less complex than final.

In contrast to the clause complex, the notional 'subject' of the second and any subsequent clauses (except of course for any clauses which are non-initial in a clause complex) is invariably the same as that of the first clause.

There is a significant correlation between the grammatical and phonological hierarchies at this point, in that pause-group boundaries tend to coincide with the boundaries between the clauses or clause complexes which constitute the members of a clause string, whereas pause does not normally occur <u>within</u> a clause complex.

4.4.2. <u>Examples</u>

In the examples given below triple oblique lines mark the boundaries between clauses or clause complexes which constitute the members of a clause string. Double oblique lines again, as in section 4.3, mark the boundaries between the constituent members of a clause complex.

134. a-kà bé / ìrìyé / yè ká /// bé kìm / àbó /
he-then came home from there came beat hand

k'ìrìsì / r'ùcu
on-door at-night

'Then he came home from there and knocked on the door by night' T49b

(Two type 1 clauses)

135. òkáárà ùbwàm / á-kung [ìbaa íyi] tùò ///
foreigner red sg-took wound my washed

kung [ùci] he / m / àhe
took medicine put me it

'The white man bathed my wound and put medicine on it for me' KA031

(Two type 2 clauses. The second is unusual, in that it has a total of three NP objects, the last, àhe, referring back to the object of the first clause, viz. ìbaa íyi. This is the only situation in which a clause of any type may contain more than two NP's with object function).

136. a-kà kpé / he /// ye kung [umó] kúó / he ///
he-then took him went took water bathed him

kà ye / r'àhe
then went with-him

'Then he took him, gave him a bath and went with him'
AC009

(Second clause is of type 2; first and third are of type 1).

137. á-kung [ikwàn] kung nyie /// ìnyàm / kung nyie ///
he-took bean-cake took bought meat took bought

ùnáng / kung nyie /// álààsì .... / kung nyie
fufu took bought rice took bought

'He bought bean-cakes, bought meat, bought fufu and bought rice' HH019

(First clause is of type 2, the remainder of type 3).

138. anyamcù / a-nòkpó .... /// ye tim / ùbere / lung: ///
hare sg-got-up went dug hole deeply

ìrìbóm / tye /// kà ka gbè // he // ye / k'àhà ímin
heap raised then next passed put went to-inside its

'The hare got up ...., dug a deep hole, raised a heap of earth and then entered inside it' FB020

(The four parts of this clause string are respectively two type 1 clauses, a type 3 clause and a clause complex, which itself consists of three clauses, all of them of type 1).

139. á-kung [ìne] wam // bua / k'ìnya iricè //
he-took fire removed tied to-palm-fruit-fibre

kung gbè // he/ úkerè /// kung [ùfàm] wùng ///
took passed put in-bag took hoe removed-handle

kung [ùkpín imin] he // ye / ká /// kung [ùfàm ìyen]
took handle its put went there took hoe itself

he // ye / ká /// kung [àcom] kwa /// kung [ùlùgo]
put went there took knife held took calabash

kwa // kung he // ye / ká / k'ùkerè / wo:
held took put went there in-bag all

'He lit the palm-fruit fibre and put it in the bag, removed the handle of the hoe, put the handle in the bag, put the hoe itself there, picked up the knife, picked up the calabash, and put them all there in the bag' AJ032

(The six parts of this clause string are respectively:-

1. Clause complex (4 clauses, types 2, 1, 2, 1)
2. Clause, type 2
3. Clause complex (2 clauses, types 2, 1)
4. Clause complex (2 clauses, types 2, 1)
5. Clause, type 2
6. Clause complex (3 clauses, types 2, 2, 1))

140. k' a-kpèrè mà, o-kǎ kpà / ìtàng ìbwàm ///
when it-is-ready perf. you-then dig earth red

bèré / he // kùng nàà / ká // kùng tabà /// kà yà
mix it take keep there take mould then go

kpà / ùbere / k'ìpì o-bǎ mà ùcom ánà ///
dig hole at-place you-fut. build house Term

kpà / ùbere // yà / k'ìtang ìcicò
dig hole go to-earth other

'When it is ready you then dig red earth, mix it, keep it there, mould it, then go and dig a hole at the place where you will build the house, digging a hole down to some other earth' BD006

(The four parts of this clause string are respectively:-

1. Clause, type 1
2. Clause complex (3 clauses, types 1, 2,2)
3. Clause, type 1
4. Clause complex (2 clauses, both type 1))

See also examples 15, 25, 52, 54, 64, 78. All except the last two consist of two clauses.

4.4.3. Comparison of Clause Complex and Clause String

As stated in section 4.4.1, the clauses constituting a clause string are subject to fewer restrictions than those constituting a clause complex. The latter corresponds approximately to what is frequently labelled a 'serial construction' in the description of West African languages.

In semantic terms it may be stated as a general characteristic that a clause complex (unless a clause of type 2 occurs in non-initial position, or a non-initial type 1 clause has as the primary verb of its VP a verb which semantically is always transitive) normally refers to a single 'action', whereas the successive parts of a clause string refer to separate (though frequently related) 'actions' performed by the same 'actor'. For illustration of the former see any of the examples quoted in section 4.3 (except 123), with their free English translation. For illustration of the latter see examples 134-8.

The occurrence of a clause of type 2 in non-initial position in a clause complex, or of a type 1 clause with a verb which semantically is always transitive as the primary verb of its VP, almost always indicates a separate 'action' from that referred to by the preceding clause, but with no change of either 'actor' or 'object'. See examples 123 and 139 (1st and last clause complexes).

The apparent ambiguity which might be expected in the case of infinitival clause complexes (section 4.3.2, and especially subsection 4.3.2.1), in which there is a change of notional 'subject' in a non-

initial clause, is obviated by the use of a clause string (instead of a clause complex) in cases where it is necessary to specify that the 'subject' is unchanged. Compare, for instance, the following examples:-

141. á-màng tyàng / he // bé 'He threw it back again'
he-again threw it came FA081 (= example 125)

141a. á-màng tyàng / he /// kà bé
he-again threw it then came

'He threw it again and (then) came'

Because of the occurrence of the auxiliary verb kà in the second example, the second clause may only be analysed as constituting the second part of a clause string, since, as stated in section 4.3.1, the VP or VP complex of the second or any subsequent clause of a clause complex may consist only of nuclear elements (except that one auxiliary verb, yi, may also occur). Moreover, it is stated in section 4.4.1 that the notional 'subject' of the second and any subsequent clauses of a clause string is invariably the same as that of the first clause. Example 141a is accordingly open only to the one interpretation implied by the English translation. Example 141, on the other hand, would automatically be understood as infinitival.

It must, however, be emphasised that, while semantic correlations such as the foregoing are of considerable significance, the criteria for the establishment of both clause complexes and clause strings are entirely formal (see sections 4.3.1, 4.4.1). Two or more successive clauses are always analysed as constituting a clause complex if they satisfy all of the appropriate criteria. If they do not they are analysed as constituting a clause string, unless of course they satisfy the criteria of neither the clause complex nor the clause string. In this case they are analysed as the nuclei of successive sentences.

4.4.4. Repetitive Clause Strings

The repetition of a clause or clause complex several times in identical or virtually identical form is a characteristic device

in narrative, as a means of indicating prolonged continuation or repetition of an action.

Examples:-

142. á-ka bù /// ka bù /// ka bù // gbàjè / irihùng
he-now ran now ran now ran reached to-inside

énámbà ìnè
of-mile four

'He ran and ran and ran until he had gone four miles'
T887a

143. ìrìgbùo / é-bé fàà / àkòlòng // gbè k'ùkáá /// fàà // gbè /// fàà // gbè /// fàà // gbè / k'ìpì ....
snail pl-came crawled saliva passed on-stone at-place

'The snails came and kept crawling to and fro over the stone at the place ....' AJ097

(fàà refers to any kind of crawling or gliding movement on a hard surface; àkòlòng refers both to saliva and to any saliva-like fluid). (The verbs fàà and gbè, which function as primary verbs in the two clauses which constitute the first clause complex, are repeated as three successive clause complexes).

4.4.5. Discontinuous Clause String

As stated in section 3.8.2, a dependent clause may be included within the nucleus of a complex sentence. It is, moreover, possible for one or even more independent sentences to be included within the nucleus of a sentence.

In the majority of cases an included dependent clause occurs between two successive clauses or clause complexes within a clause string. An included independent sentence always occurs in this position. An included dependent clause never occurs between two successive clauses in a single clause complex.

Examples:-

144. á-ye .... kung [ùtùò] kpom // [n' àhe / í-gwà
he-went took elephant beat he(emph) sg-kills

ngin] kà bé / yè ká
Term then came from there

'He went and beat the elephant, as if he was going to kill it, and then came from there' AN019

(Included DC1 of type 3d, section 3.5.4)

145. a-sìrì / r'àhe // kpom / k'umó /// [umó/
he-turned with-it beat on-water water

á-nyung / gbogo:] kà bé fuò / ìkwèń
sg-dried completely then came fathered fish

'He turned and beat the water with it - the water dried up completely - then he came and gathered up the fish' AJ026

(Included independent sentence)

4.5. The Non-Verbal Clause

The non-verbal clause (abbreviated 'NVC1') consists of one (very occasionally two, as in example 147) nominal phrase(s), or occasionally of a nominal phrase followed by an adverbial phrase, and is usually accompanied by a terminal (see below and section 3.2.1.2).

4.5.1. The Predicative Non-Verbal Clause

The most frequently occurring non-verbal clause type consists of a nominal phrase (very occasionally two nominal phrases) followed by one of the terminals á, ngá or bá (see section 3.2.1.2). The first two are virtually identical in function and meaning. The third is used to specify plurality, whether the nominal functioning as head of the NP is grammatically marked for number or not, as in examples 146a-d below. (For details of the morphology of nominals see chapter 7, especially section 7.3, and also section 5.1.1).

Examples:-

146a. ùbú á or ùbú ngá 'it is a goat'

146b. ùbú bá 'they are goats'

146c. ùnìce á or, more frequently, ùnìce ngá 'it is a man' or 'it is male'

146d. ènice bá 'they are men', 'they are male'

147. áng' kín, ng' ámín i-bâ faà bà áná, ùketè ngá
that one which he(4th) sg-fut. roast come Term mouse

'The one that he will roast and bring is a mouse'
AJ054

(Indirect reported speech)

For earlier instances of a non-verbal independent clause see examples 4 (simple sentence) and 34 (nucleus of complex sentence, type 4a).

A predicative non-verbal clause, in addition to its normal function as an independent clause, may also function as a dependent clause in the periphery of a complex sentence of type 4c (section 3.6.3) or type 4h (section 3.6.8).

A predicative non-verbal clause may occur with the question marker à (section 3.9.1 and example 71) or as the second part of an alternative question sentence (section 3.9.2 and example 77). It may also occur with the supplementary question marker bê (section 3.9.3 and example 81), but in this case alone it occurs without a terminal.

4.5.2. The Explanatory Non-Verbal Clause

This consists of a NP, itself consisting of the noun ucècè 'cause', optionally followed by an AP, consisting of the adverb kin 'here', and functions only as the nucleus of a sentence of type 2a.iii (section 3.4.1.3).

4.5.3. The Vocative Non-Verbal Clause

This consists of an unmarked nominal phrase. For details see section 3.11.

CHAPTER FIVE

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CHAPTER 5

THE CLAUSE - II

5.1. Obligatory Features of the Clause

The verbal clause is obligatorily marked for the following features:-

a. subject number and person
b. mode
c. primary aspect

Each of these remains constant throughout a clause complex or clause string (sections 4.3, 4.4), except as described in sections 6.6.3 and 6.8.

5.1.1. Subject Number and Person

Except in the special case of the imperative (section 3.2.2.1), every verbal clause, other than a non-initial clause in a clause complex or clause string, is obligatorily marked for subject number - and in the case of a singular subject also for person - by a pronominal prefix attached to the first verb, whether major, subsidiary or auxiliary (sections 6.3, 6.5, 6.6), of the verbal phrase (or verbal phrase complex), even if no nominal phrase subject (section 4.2) occurs.

The pronominal prefixes are listed in full in section 3.2.2.

When a nominal phrase subject occurs there is agreement between it and the verbal phrase as follows:-

5.1.1.1. Nominal Phrase Type 2 as Subject

When the head of the NPs is one of the emphatic pronouns listed in section 7.4 (i.e., when the NPs is of type 2a, section 7.2.2.1) there is agreement between the emphatic pronoun and the verbal phrase with respect to number and, in the case of singular subject pronouns, also with respect to person, as in the following paradigm:-

àmí m-bâ	'I(emph) come'	àbère e-bâ	'we come'
àwo o-bâ	'you(emph) come'	amin e-bâ	'you(pl) come'
àhe i-bâ	'he(emph) comes'	abe e-bâ	'they come'
ámín i-bâ	'he(4th) comes'	ábín e-bâ	'they(4th) come'

Note that in the singular - other than in the case of the 4th person - there is double indication of person (by both the emphatic pronoun and the pronominal prefix), whereas in the plural person is marked only by the emphatic pronoun. The singular emphatic pronouns are used much less frequently than the plural and have a more distinctly emphatic function (see section 7.4.1). In some instances (examples 56-7) a 1st or 2nd person singular pronominal prefix is omitted after an emphatic pronoun. This appears to be limited to conversational style. Note, too, that the 4th person pronoun is followed by a 3rd person prefix.

For instances of the emphatic use of a singular pronoun see examples 56, 103.

5.1.1.2. Nominal Phrase Type 1 as Subject

When the head of the NPs is a 'personal' noun (i.e., of subclass Ai, section 7.3.1) in the plural form the plural pronominal prefix e- occurs. In all other cases the 3rd person singular pronominal prefix i- or a- occurs (see section 3.2.2). (As explained in more detail in section 7.3, the majority of nouns are not marked for number. Of those which are, the large majority have singular prefix u- and plural e- or ebe- and have 'personal' (i.e., human) referents).

There are a few apparent exceptions to this rule (as in example 143 above), where a noun of a subclass other than Ai is followed by a plural pronominal prefix, but these may well be due to influence from English or from a neighbouring language in which a singular-plural distinction runs throughout the whole noun class.

Examples:-

148a. ùnì ì-yi kin
person sg-is here 'There is someone here'

148b. ènì è-yi kin
people pl-are here 'There are some people here'

148c. ipem ì-yi kin 'There is a yam here' or
yam sg-is here 'There are some yams here'

Where it is necessary to state specifically that reference is to a plurality of impersonal objects expressions such as the following may be used:-

148d. ipem á-jwen kin 'There are yams here'
yam sg-gathered here

(The verb jwen implies the existence of more than one referent).

148e. ipem á-yebe kin 'There are many yams here'
yam sg-be-many here

148f. ipem ì-yi kin gbudu: 'There are many yams
yam sg-is here many here'

In the following example note that both the presence of a numeral and the occurrence of the verb jwen indicate that a plurality of objects is referred to.

149. ìcie ìcià á-jwen gwàn n'úkpìà
pot three sg-gathered be-near to-mortar

'There are three pots near the mortar' URD119

See also section 7.3.3.

For plural pronominal prefix after plural 'personal' noun see also example 28.

5.1.1.3. Other Nominal Phrase Types as Subject

A NP subject may also be of one of the following types:-

3a (genitive pronoun as head, section 7.2.3.1)

3b (numeral as head, section 7.2.3.2)

3c (demonstrative as head, section 7.2.3.3)

3d (demonstrative expression as head, section 7.2.3.4)

3e (demonstrative sentence construct as head, section 7.2.3.5)

When the NP is of type 3b the numeral is almost always okìn/ukìn 'one'.

Nominal phrases of the above types are normally followed by a singular pronominal prefix, even if reference is to a plurality of items, unless the referent is that of a noun of subclass Ai (see above) in plural form, in which case the plural pronominal prefix occurs.

Examples:-

150. ábáná h' á-yi ká (NP type 3c)
those emph. sg-be there

'Those are the ones that are there' T1186b

(The referent is varieties of èbètùò 'wine', which is not marked for number).

Compare:-

150a. ábáná h' é-yi ká
those emph. pl-be there

(This form, with plural pronominal prefix, would be used if the referent were a 'personal' noun, such as èní 'people').

151. áb' iha á-nyim (NP type 3d)
those two sg-be-missing

'Two of them were missing' CA013

(The referent is ugàm 'sack', which is not marked for number. If it had been a 'personal' noun the plural prefix would have been used).

5.1.1.4. Additive Nominal Phrase Complex or Extended Nominal Phrase as Subject

If the subject is an additive nominal phrase complex (NP complex types 3 or 4, section 8.7.3) or an extended nominal phrase consisting of a NP followed by an additive adverbial phrase expression (class D, section 11.4), i.e., consists, in effect, of two or more

nominal phrases linked in a semantically co-ordinate relation, the pronominal prefix is always plural, even if, as in example 153, the nouns functioning as head of each nominal phrase are not of subclass Ai.

Examples:-

152. ùnìgà àhe n' ùnì jì: é-nà abe re
stranger and person merely pl-see them not

'A stranger or any ordinary person may not see them'
T1023b

153. ìkerekèrè àhe n' ùfàa úsang é-ji udyìm
monkey and shark pl-made friend

'A monkey and a shark made friends AA001

See also the examples given in sections 8.7.3, 11.4.

5.1.1.5. General Notes

Complex nominal phrases of types 1 or 2a (i.e., phrases which consist of more than a noun or an emphatic pronoun alone) and nominal phrases of type 3 (whether simple or complex) are in fact rare in subject position in unelicited text material, except for nominal phrases of type 1 with a 'personal' noun as head. Some of the analytical conclusions presented in the foregoing sections are accordingly subject to considerable revision in the light of findings from a larger body of text material. For the same reason the examples given in those sections are rather more scanty than is the case in most parts of the thesis.

As stated earlier, some apparently variant forms may be due to influence from English or a neighbouring language. This factor prevents the drawing of any valid conclusions from elicited data, since these would be even more susceptible to external influence than would unelicited text. (See also section 7.3.3 and the note on loss of singular-plural contrast in nouns).

5.1.1.6. Impersonal Pronominal Subject

In view of the lack of specific person indication, the plural pronominal prefix is normally preceded by one of the plural emphatic pronouns (section 5.1.1.1), or of course by a NP subject of some other kind. It may, however, occur without any preceding NP subject of any kind when the clause refers to a general condition or situation without particular reference to specific participants. This usage is labelled 'Impersonal'. Quite frequently it may be translated in English by a passive.

Example:-

154. e-sì iyem ne 'Nothing was done'
pl-did thing not KB045

See also examples 105, 109, 110, 122, 132.

A plural pronominal prefix may also occur without a preceding NP subject of any kind when the notional 'subject' is made clear by the immediate context. This is particularly the case in clauses functioning as (part of) the periphery of a complex sentence, as in examples 9, 32, 35, 54.

A 3rd person singular pronominal prefix may be used with 'impersonal' meaning before such verbs as yi 'be' (as in example 115), nyìè 'be able' (example 126) and ji 'mean' (as in the example below).

Example:-

155. á-ji , dè: a-mìà 'It means that it is
it-means that it-finished finished' KC060

The fact that there is agreement of the kind described in the foregoing sections between the NP subject and the VP confirms the validity of the distinction drawn in section 4.2 between 'inner' and 'outer' periphery in the structure of the clause, since there is no analogous link between an initiating AP and any other element of the clause.

5.1.2. Mode

Every verbal clause is obligatorily marked for mode, viz. indicative or subjunctive, in the manner described in detail in section 3.2.2.1. Mode remains constant throughout a clause complex or clause string.

5.1.3. Primary Aspect

Every verbal clause is also obligatorily marked for primary aspect, viz. completive or incompletive, in the manner described in detail in section 3.2.2.2. Primary aspect normally remains constant throughout a clause, clause complex or clause string, except as described in sections 6.6.3 and 6.8.

5.2. Optional Features of the Clause

The verbal clause is optionally marked for the features of secondary aspect and negation. The markers of the former always follow the final element in the structure of the clause. The marker of the latter normally follows the final element of the clause, but see section 5.2.2.3 for circumstances in which it may occur elsewhere.

The markers of these features do not normally occur in a non-final clause in a clause complex or clause string. They do, however, occasionally occur medially in a clause string, viz. in the final clause of a non-final clause complex or in a non-final single clause. In this case their domain of relevance extends only as far as the point at which they occur.

There is a certain flexibility in the use of the negative marker, which is of value in the avoidance of ambiguity or awkwardness of style. See section 5.2.2.3.

The non-verbal clause (section 4.5) may also be marked for negation in the same way. See section 5.2.2.4.

5.2.1. Secondary Aspect

A single clause or (occasionally) a clause complex or clause string is optionally marked for secondary aspect by one of the markers described below, which normally follow the final element in the structure of the clause (or of the final clause in a clause complex or clause string). In a very few instances a secondary aspect marker occurs medially in a clause string, viz. in the final clause of a non-final clause complex or in a non-final single clause. In such cases the domain of relevance of the marker does not extend beyond the point at which it occurs.

The following secondary aspect markers occur:-

mà	'perfective'
fò	'repeated'
nyìè	'previous'

The first two may occur in conjunction with both indicative and subjunctive mode and with both completive and incompletive primary aspect. They may occur in both independent and dependent clauses, though they are infrequent in the latter, except that mà is frequent in the periphery of a complex sentence of type 4b (General Subordinative I, section 3.6.2: see example 37). nyìè, which is less frequent than the other two, is found only in conjunction with indicative mode and completive primary aspect and occurs only in independent clauses.

When the nuclear clause (or clause string or clause complex) of a sentence of type 3 (section 3.5) is marked for secondary aspect the marker may optionally follow the peripheral clause, as in the following example:-

156. ìne ì-yi ká [k' á-nyung umó] fò re
fire sg-is there that sg-dried water again not

'There was no longer any fire to dry up the water'
AJ058

The secondary aspect particles are described in turn below.

5.2.1.1. 'Perfective' Secondary Aspect

A clause of type 4 (section 4.2.4) is marked for perfective secondary aspect only in the circumstances described in paragraph 'd' below. There are no comparable restrictions in the case of clauses of other types.

a. The most frequent and characteristic use of the perfective secondary aspect marker mà is in conjunction with completive primary aspect and indicative mode, as in the following examples:-

157. á-bi mà 'It is ready' (of food, etc).
it-became-ready AG016

158. maá-bé mà 'I have arrived' KD037
I-came

159. àhe ngin àhe á-yi gbè ímin mà ///kà kùò umó ....
he here he sg-ISp passed his then swam water

'As for him, he had gone on his way then swam ....' HH030
(non-final clause in string; indirect reported speech)

b. As mentioned above, mà quite frequently occurs in a dependent clause when the latter functions as (part of) the periphery of a complex sentence of type 4b (section 3.6.2). It has the effect of indicating that the 'action' referred to by the nuclear clause is contingent upon the completion of that referred to by the periphery.

Example:-

160. k' e-nyĭ he wa: mà, i-já àte àcià
when pl-buried him all it-is days three

'When his burial is fully completed, three days pass'
LB044

See also example 37.

c. The above example also illustrates the frequently occurring combination of mà with the adverb wo:/wa: 'all' (see also example 53) as an indication of absolute completion of an action, etc.

d. Like the other secondary aspect markers, mà is frequently followed by the negative marker (section 5.2.2). The combination of the two markers may be translated 'not yet', as in the examples below:-

161. á-bi mà re
it-became-ready not

'It is not ready yet' HF005

(compare with example 157)

162. ì-yi r' isíle ihà mà re
he-is with-shilling two not

'He has not two shillings yet' HA008

See also example 84.

When used in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect the perfective marker mà has an extremely wide range of functions, very economical use being made of combinations involving mà and an element of a preceding phrase, as described in paragraphs e - h below.

e. When the VP includes the subsidiary verb bâ 'future' (section 6.5) and the clause (or clause complex) is marked by mà the VP is translatable as 'is/are about to ....', as in the following example:-

163. i-bà yá íriyé mà 'He is about to go home'
he-fut. go home AB013

f. When, however, the marker mà is followed by the negative marker a preceding VP containing the subsidiary verb bâ is normally translatable as 'will not .... yet', as in the following example:-

164. àbère e-bá nyie mà re 'We shall not buy any yet'
we pl-fut. buy not U3556

g. The perfective marker may also occur in conjunction with a preceding locative adverb (viz. either ka 'there' or kin 'here'). (See section 9.2.1.1 for a further special function of the locative adverbs which may be related to that described here). The meaning of this construction is best illustrated by examples such as the following:-

165. ànáng àwìàni i-gán ìcìè kin mà
beniseed sowing sg-(?) sun

'It is getting too late to sow beniseed' U5957

Compare:-

165a. ànáng àwìàni á-gan ìcìè mà

'It is too late to sow b.'

(completive primary aspect)

166. àté í-gbà kin mà
market sg-passes here

'People are passing on their way to market (which means that the market is about to begin)' U5331

167. í-gbàjè k'àjó àci àhà kin mà ....
it-reaches to-years twenties two

'It is almost forty years ago now ....' TT6.10.2

h. When, however, neither the subsidiary verb bâ nor a locative adverb occurs the VP of a clause (or clause complex) marked by mà is translatable as 'is/are able to ....', in the sense of general ability to perform a given action (in contrast to making a successful attempt on a specific occasion, when the verb nyìè, with impersonal 3rd person singular subject (section 5.1.1.6 and example 126), is used).

Examples:-

168. àmi n-já k'ungwá úfaa mà o:
I(emph) I-eat with-small spoon ConPt

'Of course I know how to eat with a spoon' KD143

(For the conversational particle o: see section 3.10.3).

169. ìdyùng í-kàng ìrìkang mà re
lizard sg-speaks speaking not

'The lizard could not speak' AD068

(Completive primary aspect is used in the context, with reference to past time).

This usage occurs also with subjunctive mode, as in the example below. This is the only circumstance in which mà has been recorded in a dependent clause functioning as (part of) the periphery of a complex sentence of a type other than 4b (as described above). The sentence below is of type 3a (section 3.5.1).

Example:-

170. ùbere .... ì-yi, k' ì-múò // hìm íyé mà re
hole sg-is that he-climb emerge to-outside not

'The hole is such that he could not climb out' AK030

5.2.1.2. 'Repeated' Secondary Aspect

The 'repeated' secondary aspect marker fò may occur with either completive or incompletive primary aspect and either indicative or subjunctive mode with virtually no difference in meaning.

In 44 out of 57 recorded instances in text it is followed by the negative particle re, in which case the VP of the clause so marked is translatable as 'not .... again', 'no longer ....', 'not .... any more', etc. In seven out of the remaining 13 instances of the occurrence of fò the VP includes the auxiliary verb màng (with the meaning 'again', see section 6.6.2). màng does not occur, however, if fò is followed by the negative marker.

Examples:-

171. á-ye kuo iribwáte fò
he-went called cricket

'He went and called the cricket again' HH023

172. e-kà màng bé ye útyén ányamcù fo
pl-then again came went to-farm of-hare

'Then they went to the hare's farm again' FB019

173. àbère e-gwán he fò re
we pl-repair it not

'We don't repair it any more' HK048

174. a-kě m iyem fò re
he-gave me thing not

'He didn't give me anything else' KB025

175. ukulo .... ì-yi fò re
work sg-is not

'There is no longer any work ....' KD206

See also example 156.

5.2.1.3. 'Previous' Secondary Aspect

As stated above, the 'previous' secondary aspect marker nyìè is considerably less frequent in occurrence than mà or fò and occurs only in conjunction with indicative mode and completive primary aspect. It has been recorded only in independent clauses.

Like fò it occurs most frequently in conjunction with a following negative particle, when the VP of the clause so marked is translatable as 'never ....', 'not .... before'.

Examples:-

176. á-yi kwa ìrìjem nyìè re
it-ISp held conception not

'It had not been pregnant before' JE024
(indirect reported speech)

177. á-kung { àbung } wìà // mù náng nyìè re
he-took millet sowed grew-fat like-that not

'He had not sown millet which grew like that before'
HF001

(Note that nyìè follows the final element of the second clause in a clause complex (section 4.3).)

5.2.2. Negative

A single clause (whether verbal or non-verbal) or a clause complex or clause string is also optionally marked for negation by

the negative marker re (with allomorph ne occurring when immediately preceded by a nasal).

5.2.2.1. Normal Function

Like the secondary aspect markers described above, the negative marker normally follows the final element in the structure of a clause. It does not occur in a clause of type 2 (section 4.2.2) and only occurs in a clause of type 3 (section 4.2.3) if that clause does not form part of a larger clause string (section 4.4).

If a secondary aspect marker also occurs it always precedes the negative (section 5.2.1 and examples 161, 164, 169, 170, 173-7).

If the negative marker co-occurs with a terminal in a sentence-final nuclear clause (section 3.10.2) the latter precedes the former. (See also section 5.2.2.4). In a dependent clause, on the other hand, the terminal always occurs in final position. The negative marker always precedes any of the conversational particles described in section 3.10.3.

For other instances of the occurrence of the negative marker earlier in this chapter see examples 152 and 154. There are numerous examples in chapters 3 and 4.

The negative marker may be followed by the intensifying adverb (section 9.2.2.3) gbang: or by intensified forms of gbang, viz. gbanggara: or repetition of gbang: three or more times.

Examples:-

178. umó pëë ì-yi re gbang:
water too sg-is

'Nor was there any water at all' FC009

179. anya.... í-duò kin ne gbanggbanggbang
dance sg-progresses here

'The dance is not going well at all' JB039

The negative marker may occur in both independent and dependent clauses in conjunction with both indicative and subjunctive mode and completive and incompletive primary aspect.

5.2.2.2. Medial Negative in Clause String

Like the secondary aspect markers, the negative marker very occasionally occurs medially in a clause string, viz. in a non-final single clause or in the final clause of a non-final clause complex. In the majority of recorded instances the primary verb of the preceding VP is hàrà 'answer', as in the examples below. This usage has not been recorded in a dependent clause. The intensifying adverb gbang: may again follow the negative marker.

Examples:-

180. a-hàrá he re /// kung [ìnyàm] co ...
he-answered him took meat divided

'He did not answer him, but divided the meat ....'
AJ094

181. a-nùò ímin òkpó /// hàrá he re gbang:/// ye dè ....
he-set-out his away answered him went said

'He went on his way without answering him at all, and went and said ....' AJ096

5.2.2.3. Negative within Clause or Clause Complex

The negative marker may also precede an adverbial phrase within the nucleus of a final or only clause, either to avoid ambiguity or to prevent excessive separation of it from the nuclear clause of a type 3 complex sentence by a lengthy and complex dependent clause. (See examples 182-3).

The negative marker does not normally occur in a non-final clause of a clause complex, except again for the sake of avoidance of ambiguity, as in example 184.

Examples:-

182. á-bé re k'ìnyang ìrìkwom a-pòm íyé
he-came not at-time corpse sg-sat at-outside

'He did not come when the corpse was resting outside'
LA028

(A clause with the negative marker in the normal position, i.e., after íyé, could be understood as meaning 'He came at a time when the corpse had not been placed outside').

183. é-nà abe re kpòm:, k' abe é-ye kuo
pl-see them not until they pl-went called

udyàrà // gùng /// sì ìrìjí /// sì ìpàm, k' abe
village gather made food made feast that they

è-ji
pl-eat

'They do not see them until they have called the villagers together and prepared a feast for them to eat' BG008

(Postponement of the negative marker to the end of the periphery, which itself consists of an embedded complex sentence, would leave it excessively far removed from the clause to which it belongs. When the adverb kpòm: occurs in the nuclear clause of a sentence of this type (i.e., type 3b, section 3.5.2) it is always followed immediately by the introducer k' and the peripheral element of the sentence. The negative marker must therefore precede it).

184. ùnì i-buù ìrìbìrì ángin ne // gbàjè k'ìrìhùng
person sg-open store this not reach to-inside

úherè idiènè
of-moon nine

'No one should open this store for nine months'
AB014

5.2.2.4. Negative in Non-Verbal Clause

The negative marker may also occur in a predicative non-verbal clause (section 4.5.1), in which case it always follows the terminal.

Example (see also example 34):-

185. ahe á re
he(emph)Term

'He is not the one' AL015

5.2.2.5. Other Uses of the Negative Marker

For other uses of the negative marker see the following sections:-

a. 3.8.3. (Sentence type 5, example 67)
b. 3.10.1. (Sentence-initiating expressions, examples 83-4).

5.3. Emphatic Clauses

An emphatic clause is defined as a clause in which a nominal or adverbial phrase receives special emphasis. It is analysed in terms of derivation from an underlying verbal clause. Its elements are the same as those of a non-emphatic verbal clause, but it manifests certain special features and has certain special markers, as follows:-

a. The emphatic marker h' (or its infrequent free variant heh'), with inherent high tone (see section 2.3.2) immediately follows the emphasised phrase. (Compare the introducer, class B, of the same form, sections 3.2.1.1, 3.5.5.).

b. If the emphatic marker is itself immediately followed by a verbal phrase and the clause is in indicative mode the 3rd person pronominal prefix (section 3.2.2) is always a-. See examples 199 and 200, and note.

c. The terminals (section 3.2.1.2) ána or ngin may follow the final element of the emphasised clause.

d. The emphasised phrase (other than an emphasised peripheral element, viz. initiating AP or NP subject) is front-shifted to a position immediately preceding the NP subject or, if no NP subject occurs, immediately preceding the verbal phrase.

e. When the emphasised element is a NP object the occurrence of a NP subject is obligatory (a NP type 2a (section 7.2.2.1) with an emphatic pronoun as sole element occurring in the absence of any other NP subject), except in the special case of the 'impersonal' use of the plural pronominal prefix (section 5.1.1.6) or when a first or second person singular pronominal prefix occurs.

f. Emphasis occasionally occurs in a clause complex or clause string. In this case the emphasised phrase always occurs in the first clause of the complex or string, even if in the underlying complex or string the corresponding phrase belongs to a non-initial clause. See section 5.3.3.

g. The underlying clause is always of types 1 or 4 (sections 4.2.1, 4.2.4). There appear to be no special restrictions on the number of nominal or adverbial phrases which may occur.

h. The emphasised phrase frequently consists of or contains an interrogative nominal (section 7.9) or interrogative adverb (sections 9.2.1.1, 9.2.1.6). See examples 20, 21, 30, 55.

i. There are no special restrictions on the occurrence of the features or markers described in earlier sections of this chapter, except that the negative is rare in an emphatic clause (but see section 5.3.4).

5.3.1. Emphasis in a Single Clause, Type 1

Examples:-

a. Emphasised NP Subject (see also examples 30, 31, 55, 77, 195, 199)

186. èníinye h' e-jwéǹ ká ngin
women pl-gather there

'It is women who gather there' BB003

b. Emphasised NP Object (see also examples 21, 194, 196, 200)

187. àyém útyó ímin .... h' ng-kà bâ yèm ngin
song of-story his I-then fut. sing

'It is the song of his story that I am going to sing now' HH005

c. Emphasised AP (see also examples 20, 197)

188. ìtàmbáná h' ùtyé íyi á-fáá ti
like-that story my sg-taught us

'That is the moral of my story' HA031

5.3.2. Emphasis in a Single Clause, Type 4

In this case only a nominal phrase subject or, more frequently, a nominal phrase complement may occur in emphatic position. When a NP complement is emphasised and no other phrase follows the VP the occurrence of the terminals áná or ngin is obligatory. In this case alone (viz., when an emphasised NP complement occurs and no other phrase follows the VP), in addition to the other copulative verbs which may occur in a normal type 4 clause, the verb nung may also occur, with meaning identical with that of yi 'be'. nung does not occur in any other environment and always bears the 3rd person singular pronominal prefix a-. It does not occur in subjunctive mode.

When a NP complement is emphasised no NP subject may occur.

Examples:-

a. Emphasised NP Subject

189. ámín h' á-yi ayùñg
he(4th) sg-is who?

'Who is he? AN011

b. Emphasised NP Complement (see also example 198)

190. iyem áng' maá-nyiè ...., h' á-yi áná
thing which I-know sg-is

'That is what I know ....' KD256

191. ùcù íyi h' á-nung ngin
compound my sg-is

'This is my compound' KC052

5.3.3. Emphasis in a Clause Complex or Clause String

As stated at the beginning of section 5.3. (paragraph f), emphasis occasionally occurs in the first clause of a clause complex or clause string. If a terminal occurs it follows the final element of the last clause in the complex or string, as in example 192 below.

Examples:-

a. Emphasis in a Clause Complex

192. ídia h' àhe a-he igwàm // cie áná
in-basket she(emph) sg-put banana carry

'It is a basket that she is carrying the bananas in'
(emphasised AP) U4443

b. Emphasis in a Clause String

193. èninye h' e-kpóm àkpomoni /// kà kúng {he} kpòm tèrctère
women pl-beat beating then take it beat smoothly

'It is women who do the beating, and they beat it smooth'
(emphasised NP subject) BD017

5.3.4. Negative in an Emphatic Clause

The occurrence of a negative is rare in an emphatic clause.

Example:-

194. inyam h' ámín a-kè àhe ngin ne gbang:
animal he(4th) sg-gave him not at-all

'But he had not given him any animals at all (but only other things)' AH025

(Note that in this case the negative follows the terminal, probably for the sake of emphasis).

5.3.5. Emphatic Clause in a Complex Sentence

Emphasis is rare in a dependent clause, and has only been recorded in a dependent clause functioning as (part of) the pre-nuclear periphery of a complex sentence (sections 3.6, 3.7.1, 3.7.3), as in example 195 (which is a three-element sentence, with peripheral dependent clauses both preceding and following the nuclear clause, see section 3.7.1).

In the nuclear clause of a complex sentence, on the other hand, emphasis is relatively frequent, particularly in a sentence of type 3c (Result, section 3.5.3, see examples 20, 21, 30, 31). For instances of the occurrence of an emphatic nuclear clause in sentences of other types see examples 196-8 below.

Examples:-

a. Emphasis in a Dependent Clause

195. gb' ìtung h' a-nùò ámín, ì-yi kpe, k' ì-ji
if hunger sg-set-out him(4th) sg-ISp take that he-eat

'If he was hungry, he should take it to eat' FA056
(in indirect reported speech)

b. Emphasis in a Nuclear Clause

196. udáji h' àhe á-kwa, i-tyà n'àhe áná
spear he(emph) sg-hold he-throws at-it

'It is a spear that he is throwing at it' U3731
(Sentence type 3f, Simultaneous Action, section 3.5.6. The terminal áná may be analysed as a marker of either the dependent clause or the emphatic construction - or perhaps both simultaneously).

197. ìtìtàmbáná heh' àbère é-sà, n' é-sà ológo
like-that we pl-do as pl-do cassava

'That is how we prepare cassava' GA010
(Sentence type 3d, Manner, section 3.5.4)

193. k' o-dè, ò-kpebe ùnye, iyem ang' ó-sà
if you-said you-marry wife thing which you-do

h' á-yi áná
sg-is

'If you want to get married, that is what you do'
BC012

(Sentence type 4b, General Subordinative I, section 3.6.2, with embedded type 2a sentence (sections 3.4.1, 3.6.11) in periphery).

5.3.6. Emphatic Clause in a Question Sentence

An emphatic clause may function as nucleus of a question sentence (section 3.9), whether single question or the first part of an alternative question sentence. For an instance of the latter see example 77.

Examples (in Single Question Sentence):-

199. ámín h' á-kàng áná à
he(4th) sg-speaks ?

'Is he the one who is speaking? ANO14

200. ángáná h' ámín í-kàng ngin à
that he(4th) sg-speaks ?

'Is that what he is saying?' AG042

(Note that the pronominal prefix in example 199 is a-, as it immediately follows the emphatic marker, whereas in example 200 the normal form i- occurs. See paragraph b. at the beginning of section 5.3).

CHAPTER SIX

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CHAPTER 6

PHRASE CLASSES: THE VERBAL PHRASE

6.0. Phrase Classes

On the basis of their function as elements of the clause three classes of phrase are set up, viz.:-

a. The Verbal Phrase (abbreviated 'VP')
b. The Nominal Phrase (abbreviated 'NP')
c. The Adverbial Phrase (abbreviated 'AP')

The first of these is described in detail in this chapter, while the nominal phrase and its elements are described in chapters 7 and 8 and the adverbial phrase and its elements in chapters 9 and 10. Chapter 11 contains details of adverbial phrase expressions.

6.1. Function of the Verbal Phrase

The verbal phrase is defined as the unit which functions as head element in the structure of a verbal clause of types 1, 3 and 4 (sections 4.2.1, 4.2.3, 4.2.4). The verbal phrases functioning as head of each of these clause types may be described in terms of the same basic elements of internal structure, and these are described in sections 6.2-6. The special characteristics of the copulative verbal phrase which functions as head of a verbal clause of type 4 are described in section 6.9.

The verbal phrase complex, which functions as the head of a verbal clause of type 2, is described in section 6.7.

6.2. Basic Structure of the Verbal Phrase

The verbal phrase consists, obligatorily, of a major verb (section 6.3) or, very occasionally, of a verbal complex (section 6.4) functioning as head, optionally preceded by one (occasionally two) subsidiary verb(s) (section 6.5) functioning as expansion. These two

together are analysed as constituting the nucleus of the phrase and may be preceded by one or more auxiliary verbs (section 6.6) functioning as periphery (see also section 4.3.1). No discontinuity is possible at any point in the verbal phrase.

Except when the verbal phrase occurs in a non-initial clause in a clause complex or clause string (sections 4.3-4) and in the special cases described in sections 3.2.2.1 and 5.1.1.1, the first verb in the structure of the verbal phrase (or verbal phrase complex, section 6.7), whether major, subsidiary or auxiliary, bears one of the pronominal prefixes described in sections 3.2.2 and 5.1.1.

These pronominal prefixes function as markers of subject person (which is analysed as a feature of the clause as well as of the verbal phrase, section 5.1.1). Furthermore, they bear the marker of mode (viz. selection of non-low or low tone, section 3.2.2.1) and one of the markers of primary aspect (viz. selection, in the case of indicative mode, of mid or high tone, section 3.2.2.2). Mode and primary aspect are both analysed as features of the clause as well as of the verbal phrase, and also as features of the sentence (sections 3.2.2, 5.1.2-3).

Whereas the markers of subject number and person and of mode are located solely within the pronominal prefix, all major and subsidiary verbs (other than the copula yi, section 6.9) and some auxiliary verbs (sections 6.6.2, 6.6.4-5, 6.6.8) bear markers of primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2), which, except in the special cases described in sections 6.6.3 and 6.8, remains constant throughout the verbal phrase.

The structure of the verbal phrase and the relative status of each of its elements are summarised in the following diagram. The lay-out of the diagram reflects the sequence in which the elements or groups of elements occur, with the sole exception described in section 6.6.7.

The pronominal prefix is not included in the diagram, since it is not analysed as an element of the verbal phrase as such. In morphological terms it is a bound affix, functioning as an element of whatever

verb occurs as the first element of a given verbal phrase, subject to the conditions stated above. With the special exception of the reduplicated verb stems described in section 6.3.3, no other verbal affixes occur.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Auxiliary Verb(s)</td><td>Subsidiary Verb(s)</td><td>Major Verb or Verbal Complex</td></tr>
<tr><td>Expansion</td><td>Head</td></tr>
<tr><td>Periphery</td><td colspan="2">Nucleus</td></tr>
</table>

6.3. The Major Verb

6.3.1. Function

The major verb functions as head of the verbal phrase. Various subclassifications are possible on the basis of functional characteristics and restrictions. The most important of these subclassifications are described or referred to below. Other subclassifications, either within those described below or cutting across them, are possible, but are not described here in view of the fact that they are not of particular significance in the overall description of the language. The subclassifications which are described or referred to below, on the other hand, are relevant at other points in the analysis.

6.3.1.1. Transitive, Intransitive and Semitransitive

An intransitive verb (abbreviated 'IntVb') is defined as a major verb which may not function as head of a verbal phrase which is followed within the same clause by a nominal phrase object (NPo), as described in section 4.2.

A semitransitive verb (abbreviated 'STrVb') is defined as a major verb which may function as head of a VP which may be followed

within the same clause by a nominal phrase object only if the latter has as its head either a noun of class Aiii (section 7.3.3) whose root is identical with that of the verb or a pronoun referring to a previously occurring noun of this kind.

A VP containing a semitransitive verb may occur without a following NP, but in this case it is almost always followed by at least one AP.

In other respects the distribution of a semitransitive verb is similar to that of an intransitive verb. References elsewhere in this thesis to intransitive verbs are therefore to be understood as including semitransitive verbs unless stated otherwise.

Examples:-

201. a-kà ka tìm ìtìm 'So then he returned'
he-then next returned return AH058

202. e-yém ayém 'They sing (a song)'
pl-sing song JC010

For a functionally complementary and semantically analogous construction used in cases where no noun of class Aiii exists with a root cognate with that of a given verb see section 9.6.

With the exception of copulative verbs (section 6.9), all other major verbs are classed as transitive. A transitive verb (abbreviated 'TrVb') is defined positively as a verb which may function as head of a verbal phrase which is followed within the same clause by one or more nominal phrase objects. The occurrence of a NPo after a VP with a transitive verb as head, while statistically frequent, is not, however, obligatory. When, however, a NPo does not occur there is usually a semantic link between the transitive verb and a NP in the immediately preceding context. This is invariably the case when a transitive verb functions as head of a non-initial clause in a clause complex (section 4.3.1).

See also section 6.7.

6.3.1.2. Other Subclassifications

For details of verbs of 'motion' and 'location' see section 4.3.2.1. All except two (viz. gung 'gather' and he 'put') are intransitive. All except two (viz. kwom 'terminate' and pia 'go far') may function as a major verb in the VP of the first clause of a clause complex as well as with the special function described in section 4.3.2.1.

For further subclassifications of syntactic importance see sections 3.4.1.1, 6.7, 9.3.2, 10.1, 10.3.2.

6.3.2. Simple Verb Stems

For the phonological structure of the simple major verb and for verb tone classes see sections 2.2.2 (and the whole of chapter 2) and 3.2.2.

Only two irregular major verbs have been recorded, both of them probably analysable historically as compounds, viz. gbàjè 'reach' and nòkpó 'get up', 'go away'. Analysis of the latter as a compound of the verb nùò 'set out' and the adverb òkpó 'away'(?) is confirmed by the occurrence of the sequence nùò ímin òkpó 'went on his way' (lit. 'set-out his away': for this construction see section 10.1.2). òkpó has not been recorded in any other context. gbàjè may be related to the verb gbè 'pass', but there is no firm evidence for this. These two verbs are irregular in the sense that they are the only verbs of phonological structure CVCV which do not have /b/ or /r/ as their second consonant. gbàjè is irregular also in that it is the only verb of this structure which does not have identical vowels in its two syllables. nòkpó is irregular also in that it is the only verb with tone pattern low-high in its base form.

6.3.3. Reduplicated Verb Stems

Reduplication of a verb stem occurs in the forms and with the functions described below.

6.3.3.1. Single Reduplication

Single reduplication takes the form of the occurrence before the verb root of a syllable consisting of a consonant identical with the first root consonant (but without labialisation or palatalisation) followed normally by the vowel /i/. The vowel /u/, however, frequently - though not invariably - occurs in the following circumstances:-

a. when the first (or sole) vowel of the verb root is /u/;

b. when the first (or sole) syllable of the verb root is labialised;

c. when the initial consonant of the verb root is /w/.

The tone of the reduplicating syllable is high if the (first) root tone is high or mid, and mid if the (first) root tone is low.

The semantic function of single reduplication may in general be characterised as 'stative'. It occurs most frequently in conjunction with completive primary aspect and indicative mode (section 3.2.2), as in examples 203-4 below and example 76, but may also occur in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect, as in example 205. It may also occur in conjunction with subjunctive mode, with either completive or incompletive primary aspect. A clause whose VP has as its head a verb with single reduplication of its stem may not be marked for secondary aspect (section 5.2.1) unless its primary aspect is incompletive, nor may it function as a non-initial clause in a clause complex or clause string (sections 4.3-4), other than in the special case illustrated by example 206 below, when the verb root is tung 'leave'.

Examples (with reduplicating syllable underlined):-

203. iyè ímin á-fúfo 'His mother is dead'
mother his sg- died HF042

(Contrast iyè ímin á-fo 'his mother died')

204. álaasì, áng' é-cícìè 'Cooked rice' (as opposed
rice which pl- cooked to raw) HH019

205. irikama i-gbigbirì. ùtùò i-gugwà
crab sg- cuts elephant sg- pulls

'The crab does it by cutting, the elephant by pulling'
ANOO2-3

206. á-ji // gurù // títung
he-ate was-full left

'He ate till he was full and had some left over'
EA015

6.3.3.2. Double Reduplication

Double reduplication takes the form of the occurrence before the verb root of two syllables, each consisting of a consonant identical with the first root consonant (but again without labialisation or palatalisation) followed normally by the vowel /i/ or occasionally /u/ or /a/. The vowel /u/ occurs in the circumstances described in section 6.3.3.1 above, while /a/ sometimes occurs when the first (or sole) vowel of the verb root is /a/.

The vowel of the second reduplicating syllable (i.e., the syllable closest to the root) is lengthened. (See section 2.4).

The rules for tone on both reduplicating syllables are the same as those described above for single reduplication.

The semantic function of double reduplication may be characterised as 'intensive' or 'repetitive', the degree of 'intensity' or 'repetition' being indicated by the degree of length in the vowel of the second reduplicating syllable.

Verb stems with double reduplication are not subject to any restrictions analogous to those described above for those with single reduplication, except that no more than one clause whose VP has as its head a verb with double reduplication may occur in a clause complex or clause string, even if, as in example 208, reference is to a series of repreated 'actions'.

Examples:-

207. ìnyàm é-bíbí:bé náng wo:
animal pl- came like-that all

'All the animals kept coming like that'
AM022

208. e-kà túó umó // bá wùwú:wá he
pl-then fetch water come pour it

'Then they keep fetching water and come and pour it on it' BD005

6.4. Verbal Complexes

In a very few instances the head element of a verbal phrase is a verbal complex (abbreviated 'VCx'), consisting of two major verbs which function both grammatically and semantically as a unit equivalent to a single major verb. In some cases one of the verbs in such a complex may never occur as the sole verb in a VP. In other cases both verbs have the potentiality of occurrence as the sole verb in a VP but function as a single grammatical unit and together have a meaning which differs from that of either of them in isolation.

The most frequently occurring verbal complex is gù he 'together' (see section 4.3.4). Others include kwa nàm 'stop' (lit. 'hold stand') with intransitive meaning, as in the following example:-

209. abe e-kà ye r'ìmútù // ye kwa nàm ká
they pl-then went with-motor went stopped there

'Then they went by car and stopped there' KD060

For another verbal complex type see section 6.8.

6.5. Subsidiary Verbs

There are two subsidiary verbs (abbreviated 'SubsVb'), viz. bé and ye, which may also function as primary verbs, with meanings 'come' and 'go' respectively.

One, or occasionally two, subsidiary verbs function as expansion of the nucleus of the verbal phrase.

The occurrence of a subsidiary verb in the VP of a non-initial clause in a clause string (section 4.4) is obligatory if no auxiliary verbs occur in the same VP and the VP of the immediately preceding clause has either bé or ye as its major verb. When, however, the non-initial clause in question is of type 3 (section 4.2.3) this rule does not apply. The subsidiary verb in this situation is always identical with the governing major verb in the preceding VP.

Example:-

210. a-kà muo // ye ká k'ùci /// ye pom ká
he-then climbed went there in-tree went sat there

'The he climbed up there in the tree and sat there'
FD012

(Note that the preceding clause in this case is itself the second clause in a clause complex).

See also example 209.

In all other cases the occurrence of a subsidiary verb in the structure of a VP is optional, though it is most frequent in the VP of a non-initial clause in a clause string, even when not required by the grammatical context as described above. No more than one clause in a clause complex (section 4.3) may contain a VP which itself contains a subsidiary verb. A non-initial clause in a clause complex may contain a VP which itself contains a subsidiary verb only if a locative AP (section 10.2) also occurs or if the major verb of the VP is transitive, as in example 208, with the sole exception that the major verb gbàjè 'reach' (section 4.3.2.1) may be preceded by a subsidiary verb even when no AP occurs.

For other instances of the occurrence of a subsidiary verb see examples 103 (single clause); 118 (2nd clause in clause complex); 136, 138 (both non-initial in clause string), 143-4 (initial clause), 145 (non-initial in string), 171 (single clause), 183 (initial clause).

For the occurrence of subsidiary verbs in a verbal phrase complex see section 6.7.

A copulative VP may contain a subsidiary verb only in the special circumstances described in section 6.9.

When ye (but not bé) functions as a subsidiary verb it may optionally be suffixed by -à, with no apparent change of meaning. The frequency of the use of this suffix varies from one speaker to another.

Example:-

211. a-ye-à nĕ he 'He went and saw him'
he-went saw him FC012

See also examples 133, 212.

In some instances two subsidiary verbs occur in a single verbal phrase, in which case the first may be either be or ye, but the second is always ye. The suffix -à may be added to the second but not to the first subsidiary verb. As may be seen from the free English translations of the examples below, there is little trace, if any, of the normal meaning of the second of the two subsidiary verbs. In some cases there appears to be a slight implication of 'purpose' attached to the use of two subsidiary verbs, though not in the explicit sense associated with the use of a complex sentence of type 3a (section 3.5.1).

Examples:-

212. a-kà bé ye-à nĕ he 'Then he came and saw her'
he-then came went saw her JA046

213. i-bé ye kung ámín 'He should come and take him'
he-come(subj) go take him(4th) FB056

When bâ (incompletive form of bé, section 3.2.2.2) occurs as a subsidiary verb it normally, though not invariably, has the function of a marker of future time. See examples 111, 147, 163-4 etc.

When, however, the occurrence of bâ is obligatory under the conditions described earlier in this section there is usually no reference to

future time. For an instance of non-obligatory occurrence of bâ as a subsidiary verb with no apparent reference to future time see example 52.

For the function of the subsidiary verb bé as a marker of a dependent clause see sections 3.2.3, 3.6.1, 3.6.2, 3.6.8-10, 3.8.3, and examples 33, 46 (incompletive), 49, 50 (incompletive), 65, 66.

For the special function of the subsidiary verb bé in conjunction with the auxiliary verb màng see section 6.6.2.

There are no special restrictions on the occurrence of subsidiary verbs in dependent clauses or in conjunction with any particular clause-level features or markers. Only bâ (with future meaning) may, however, occur in an emphatic clause (section 5.3, see example 187).

6.6. Auxiliary Verbs

The verbal phrase may contain up to three auxiliary verbs functioning as periphery to the phrase. These are described in detail below. They are analysed as constituting the periphery of the phrase in view of restrictions to their occurrence described in sections 4.3.1 and 6.7 (viz. that they do not occur in the VP of a non-initial clause in a clause complex, with the one exception described in section 4.3.1, nor in the second VP in a VP complex). See also section 3.2.2.1.

6.6.1. kà

This is by far the most frequent of the auxiliary verbs. It serves to indicate that the clause in which the VP of which it forms part occurs refers (sometimes along with following clauses) to an 'action' which is subsequent in time to that referred to in the immediately preceding context, sometimes with the further implication that it is consequent upon it. It may thus normally be translated 'then' or sometimes 'so'.

This auxiliary verb may in this way link any of the following:-

a. successive clauses or clause complexes in a clause string (section 4.4);

b. successive clauses or clause strings consistituting the elements of a complex sentence (chapter 3);

c. successive sentences (in which case the auxiliary verb occurs in the VP of the first clause, whether nuclear or peripheral, of the second of the sentences in question).

For examples of each of these see the following:-

a. 136, 133, 140, 141a, 144, 145;

b. 21, 24, 32 (sentence type 3); 41 (sentence type 4);

c. 6, 7, 8, 10, etc.; for occurrence in initial peripheral clause see examples 38, 41, 78; for examples earlier in this chapter see 208-10, 212.

A pronominal prefix (section 3.2.2) immediately preceding the auxiliary verb kà in indicative mode is always on mid tone, irrespective of primary aspect. In subjunctive mode it has the usual low tone. When occurring in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect the auxiliary verb has low-high tone when immediately before a major or subsidiary verb of low or low-low tone classes or the auxiliary verb nè (sections 6.6.3, 6.6.6). A verb of low or low-low tone class in this case has high or high-high tone before an object pronoun (sections 3.2.2.2-3, 7.4).

Specimens:-

In the following specimens the verbs ji 'eat' and jì 'steal' are used, with 3rd person singular pronominal prefix and 3rd person singular object pronoun.

Completive indicative:	a-kà ji	'then he ate'
	a-kà jí he	'then he ate it'
	a-kà jì	'then he stole'
	a-kà jǐ he	'then he stole it'
Incompletive indicative:	i-kà jâ	'then he eats'
	i-kà já he	'then he eats it'
	i-kǎ jà	'then he steals'
	i-kǎ já he	'then he steals it'

Note that in incompletive primary aspect the only indication of the tone class of the major verb when the latter is followed by a pronoun object is the tone of the preceding auxiliary verb. From another angle it may be suggested that the 'normal' low-high tone which is associated with a verb of low (low-low) tone class before an object pronoun (see sections 3.2.2.2-3) is 'contracted' to a simple high tone when immediately preceded by another low-high tone.

The auxiliary verb kà and tìn (section 6.6.8) ~~(and to a lesser extent certain of the other auxiliary verbs described below, particularly tìn (section 6.6.8) is~~ are of syntactic relevance at sentence level, in that in the relatively few cases where a sentence-initial nuclear clause (i.e., the sole clause of a simple sentence or the first clause of a sentence of types 2 or 3, sections 3.3-5) which has no nominal phrase subject (section 4.2) occurs without ~~an auxiliary verb other than~~ either of these yì (section 6.6.7) there appears to be a closer functional and semantic link between that sentence and its predecessor than is usually the case between successive sentences. This characteristic is matched phonologically by a smaller potentiality of pause between such sentences. Analysis of a greater corpus of text may well make it possible to set up some such supplementary unit as the 'sentence complex' to handle these. (See section 3.1).

6.6.2. màng

Some speakers use the form màn in place of màng. In rapid speech it may appear phonetically as [mã̀], without any final consonantal articulation, especially before a word beginning with a semivowel.

When used in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect this auxiliary verb always has the meaning 'again' or 'in addition' and is frequently used in conjunction with the secondary aspect marker fò 'repeated' (section 5.2.1.2). See example 214 below for an instance of màng without fò, and also example 53.

When used in conjunction with completive primary aspect it may again have the meaning 'again' or 'in addition', as in example 215 below. More frequently, however, and especially in a dependent clause, màng in this case has the function of an emphatic

indicator of past time, though not when it occurs in the VP of a non-initial clause in a clause string (section 4.4). See example 216 below and also examples 41, 57. It frequently functions as an indicator of past time in a copulative verbal phrase (section 6.9) when the major verb is the copula yi, to which the distinction between completive and incompletive primary aspect does not apply (see section 3.2.2.2), when the reference is explicitly to past time as opposed to present. See example 217 below and also examples 63, 113.

màng may be used in conjunction with any of the secondary aspect markers (section 5.2.1) when primary aspect is completive. When used with fò, màng naturally has the meaning 'again', but when used with mà or nyìè it always functions as an indicator of past time.

When used in conjunction with subjunctive mode and completive primary aspect and immediately followed by the subsidiary verb bé (section 6.5) and a major verb it usually, though not invariably, has the special meaning 'ought to ....', 'should (emphatic) ....', as in example 218 below. (See also example 262).

Like kà, màng may occur in a non-initial clause of a clause string and in both independent and dependent clauses.

When occurring in conjunction with completive primary aspect (except of course in subjunctive mode, which is invariably marked by low tone on the pronominal prefix) an immediately preceding pronominal prefix (section 3.2.2) has high tone. When occurring in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect the auxiliary verb itself has high tone and an immediately preceding pronominal prefix has mid tone.

Specimens:-

á-màng ji	'he (emphatic past) ate', 'he ate again'
á-màng ji .... fò	'he ate again'
á-màng ji .... mà	'he had eaten'
á-màng ji .... nyìè	'he had eaten before'
i-máng jâ	'he eats again'
ì-màng bé ji	'he ought to eat'

Examples:-

214. amin e-tím máng bwià ìpì, abe e-kwén ìtùò ///
you pl-return again repair place they pl-plant palm

nà gbà r'úlyòm /// máng bwia ìpì, abe e-kwén
see pass with-orange again repair place they pl-plant

úlyòm
orange

'In addition you weed the place where they plant palm trees and look after the orange-trees, and in addition weed the place where they plant the orange trees'
KC020

215. á-màng sì, n' àhe a-sì íyecu áná .... ///
he-again did as he(emph) sg-did previously Term

màng sìrì ùcìe /// màng tìm // bé
again turned cry(noun) again returned came

'He again did what he had done before .... again began to cry and again came back' AF044

(The repetition of màng emphasises the repetition of each 'action').

216. k'ùnyang kìn ùnìnye ìcicò á-màng fèn ùngwan
at-time one woman certain sg-past bore child

'Once upon a time a woman gave birth to a child' AC001
(màng occurs frequently in sentences of this kind which serve as the introduction to a narrative).

217. ubuo á-màng yi re
main-road sg-past be not

'There used not to be a main road' CD047

218. á-yi kan // bé k'ùci, k' ì-màng bé yi kàng
he-ISp grew came to-height that he- ISp speak

ìrìkang mà
talk perf.

'He had grown up, so he ought to be able to speak'
T1276a

6.6.3. nè

It was stated in section 5.3 that primary aspect normally remains constant throughout a clause, clause complex or clause string. Whe, however, the auxiliary verb nè occurs in the periphery of a verbal phrase the remainder of that phrase, together with the verbal phrases of any following clauses within a clause complex or clause string, normally bears the markers of incompletive primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2), irrespective of the primary aspect of the preceding part of the clause, clause complex or clause string. This characteristic, which is unique to the auxiliary verb nè and to the semantically analogous construction described in section 6.8, is related to the normal function of nè, viz. as an indicator of the commencement of an 'action', as in the following specimens:-

í-nè jâ 'he begins to eat'
a-nè jâ 'he began to eat'

In the first of these specimens incompletive primary aspect is maintained throughout, being marked by the prefix i- with high tone and by high-low tone on the major verb, which has the vowel a. In the second specimen the pronominal prefix is of the form associated with completive primary aspect, viz. a-, with mid tone, but the major verb is identical in form with that of the first specimen. This corresponds to the semantic implication that the 'action' begun is continued.

nè is frequently collocated with the major verb kibì 'begin', but either may occur without the other.

An immediately preceding pronominal prefix in indicative mode bears mid tone in completive and high tone in incompletive primary aspect. Like kà (section 6.6.1), nè has low-high tone if it occurs immediately before a major verb of low or low-low tone classes in incompletive primary aspect. A verb of low or low-low tone class in this case again has high or high-high tone before an object pronoun.

nè may occur in the VP of a non-initial clause in a clause string, though recorded instances of this are infrequent. See example 220.

Specimens:

In the following specimens, as in the case of those given for kà in section 6.6.1, the verbs jì 'eat' and jì 'steal' are used, with 3rd person singular pronominal prefix and 3rd person singular object pronouns.

Completive indicative:	a-nè jâ	'he began to eat'
	a-nè já he	'he began to eat it'
	a-nè̌ jà	'he began to steal'
	a-nè̌ já he	'he began to steal it'
Incompletive indicative:	i-nè jâ	'he begins to eat'
	i-nè já he	'he begins to eat it'
	i-nè̌ jà	'he begins to steal'
	i-nè̌ já he	'he begins to steal it'

Note that the fact that the pronominal prefix in incompletive primary aspect has high tone (unlike that preceding kà in analogous circumstances, which has mid tone) eliminates the ambiguity which would otherwise occur with the occurrence of a 2nd person singular or a plural pronominal prefix, which, unlike the first and third person singular prefixes, do not vary according to primary aspect. Thus 'you began to eat' would be rendered o-nè jâ (with mid tone on prefix) and 'you begin to eat' ó-nè jâ (with high tone on prefix).

Examples:-

219. èbwan úbuhó e-nè dyém
children of-dog pl-began be-big

'The dog's children began to get big' FC015

220. abe e-kà ye-à jùà //// nè ngwá èbènung
they pl-then went gathered began drink blood

'Then they gathered and began drinking the blood'
JE023

Like màng (section 6.6.2), nè has more than one function (see general remarks in section 6.6.9). In addition to the normal 'inceptive' function described above, nè may also have a function which may be labelled 'distributive'. This is illustrated by examples 221-2 below. In this case primary aspect remains constant throughout.

For a third function of nè see section 6.6.6.

Examples:-

221. á-ji utitìbì /// ji // kè àb'ùkpàng .... /// nè ji //
he-ate alone ate gave leopard ate

kè àb'ùfuo /// nè ji // kè àb'ùtùò
gave bush-cow ate gave elephant

'He ate alone and shared his food with the leopard, shared his food with the bush-cow and shared his food with the elephant' HH021

(For the inclusive clitic àb' see section 7.10).

222. ùnìnì a-nè hìm ìtyén ímin // jùng // cìè //
each-person sg- took-out piece his cut carried

nòkpó. ùnìnì a-nè hìm // jùng// cìè // nòkpó
went-off each-erson sg- took-out cut carried went-off

'Each person cut out his own piece and carried it off' FB051

(Sentences initiated by ùnìnì are always repeated in identical or virtually identical form. The two together, while having the structure of two separate sentences are obviously more closely related than is normally the case with two successive sentences. This characteristic, like that described in section 6.6.1, would justify the establishment of a supplementary unit such as the 'sentence complex' to handle sequences of related sentences, see section 3.1).

6.6.4. ka

This auxiliary verb, which is to be distinguished from kà (section 6.6.1), normally bears an implication of either 'finality' or 'change of situation', or both. It is most frequently collocated with such verbs as fo 'die', mia 'recover from sickness', wia 'cease working', nòkpó 'go away', etc. At times, however, it is scarcely distinguishable in meaning from kà. It is rare in the VP in a non-initial clause in a clause complex or clause string.

Its use appears also to be associated quite frequently with an intransitive use of a verb which may also be used transitively. See example 223 below and compare with example 222 above.

When occurring in conjunction with completive primary aspect it has mid tone and an immediately preceding pronominal prefix has high tone (but low tone, as always, in subjunctive mode). When occurring in conjunction with incompletive primary aspect it has high-low tone and an immediately preceding pronominal prefix (except in subjunctive mode) has mid tone. In this case all succeeding major or subsidiary verbs in the clause, clause complex or clause string, other than those of low or low-low tone classes, have mid-low or mid(-mid) tones under the conditions described in section 3.2.2.2.

Specimens:-

á-wia	'he stopped working'
á-ka wia	'he stopped working' (somewhat more definite)
i-wíà	'he stops working'
i-kâ wià	'he stops working' (ditto)

ka and kara (section 6.6.5) are the only auxiliary verbs which may occur with the imperative form of the subjunctive (section 3.2.2.1), as in example 90.

Examples:-

223. á-ka jùng 'it broke' or 'it is broken' HK019
(Compare a-kà jùng, which would normally be translated 'he then broke (it)').

224. ùngwan áná á-ka mia
child the sg- recovered

'The child recovered' HG031

225. àwo o-kâ nòkpó // yà ìrìyé
you(emph) you- go-away go home

'After that you go home' BC004

See also example 142.

6.6.5. kara

This is normally translatable 'continue to'. It is infrequent in narrative text, but is more common in colloquial conversational speech. It may occur in conjunction with both completive and incompletive primary aspect. In the former case an immediately preceding pronominal prefix has high tone. In the latter the auxiliary verb has high tone on both syllables and an immediately preceding pronominal prefix has mid tone. As mentioned in section 6.6.4 above, kara may occur with the imperative form of the subjunctive, as in example 228.

Examples:-

226. ó-kara nùò áté à
you-continue set-out to-market ?

'Are you going on your way to market?' U6165

See also examples 5, 69.

227. è-yi ji // títung // naà ká, k' ì-kara
pl-ISp eat leave(stative) keep there that it-continue

yi ngwom
ISp dry

'They should eat but leave some there so that it may finish drying' FD006

228. kara ye kè
continue go Term

'All right, go on your way' Ux

(response to example 5)

6.6.6. Combinations of Auxiliary verbs

The following table shows the combinations of the auxiliary verbs described above which have been recorded in text:-

kà	maǹg	nè	ka	kara
+	+			
+	+	+		
+		+		
+			+	
+				+
	+		+	

The combination kà ka is considerably more frequent than any other. Quite often in this case the second auxiliary verb appears to serve little purpose beyond that of reinforcing the first. In almost every other case each of the auxiliary verbs occurring in combination has its normal grammatical and semantic function. maǹg always bears the meaning 'again'.

As may be seen from the table above, the auxiliary verbs nè, ka and kara are mutually exclusive. Only one instance has been recorded in text of a combination of three of the auxiliary verbs described above. See example 229 below. maǹg and kara have not been recorded as co-occurring; this may, however, be due to the limitations of the data, since, as noted above, kara is rare in narrative text.

Examples:-

229. k' ó-he // ye kpèrè ìrìcì mà, o-kà máng nǒ
when you-put went met circle perf. you-then again begin

pòm ìcicò
put-on another

'When you have put them in a complete circle you then begin to make another circle on top' BD010

230. umó a-kà ka fàà // bé k'ìyé
water sg-then flowed came to-outside

'Then the water flowed out' AM029

231. abe ó-maǹg ka bé gbàjò k'ùngwù írísaa
they pl-again came reached to-mouth of-river

'They again came to the bank of the river' HH027

When used in conjunction with completive primary aspect the sequence kà nè (without change to incompletive as described in section 6.6.3) has the special function of indicating that the 'action' referred to has only just taken place. Quite frequently, though not invariably, the major verb in this case appears in stative form (i.e., with single reduplication, see section 6.3.3.1 and example 233 below).

Examples:-

232. maa-kà nè bé yè: ngin
I- came now

'I have only just arrived' U5221

233. maa-kà nè bíbé
I- came(stative)

'I have just arrived' D5237

234. a-kà nè kpèrè ìrìbia àkpèrèni
she- met marriage meeting

'She has just reached marriageable age' HG060

With example 232 compare the following:-

232a. maa-kà nè bâ 'Then I began to come'
(major verb is in incompletive primary aspect)

232b. ng-kǎ nè bà 'Then I begin to come'
(incompletive primary aspect throughout; note low-high tone on kǎ, see section 6.6.1).

6.6.7. yi

The verb yi functions both as a copulative verb (section 6.9) and as an auxiliary.

When functioning as an auxiliary verb it most frequently serves as a marker of an indirect sentence (i.e., a complex sentence of type 2a, section 3.4.1), almost always of subtype 2a.i (indirect reported speech).

It may also function as an indicator of a situation in the past which no longer applies. With this function it occurs most frequently in the 'summing up' sentence(s) at the end of a traditional story (example 235 below) or in the introductory sentence(s) of a historical narrative (example 236). There is, no doubt, a link between this function and its more frequent function as a marker of indirect reported speech.

Examples:-

235. há: re gburugburu é-yi kwa anyamcù /// sì ùkìm
otherwise long-ago pl- held hare make sacrifice

'Before this they used long ago to take hares for sacrifice' EA057

236. é-yi kuo ìcicò, dè: ùkwo ìkáàni. é-yi kuo ìcicò,
pl- called certain road big pl- called certain

dè: ùkwo igwìndù
road of-cattle

'Some used to be called main roads and some cattle roads' CD003-4

yi always bears mid tone. In completive primary aspect an immediately preceding pronominal prefix has high tone in indicative mode. In incompletive primary aspect the prefix has low tone in indicative mode (compare section 6.9), as well as in subjunctive mode (which in this case is indistinguishable from indicative).

yi always follows any other auxiliary verb which may occur. There appear to be no systematic restrictions on combinations of auxiliary verbs involving yi beyond those already described in section 6.6.6. See example 227.

yi precedes the major verb or verbal complex, but follows the subsidiary verb bé (or bá in incompletive primary aspect) in the following circumstances:-

a. when bé functions as a marker of a dependent clause (sections 3.2.3, 3.6);

b. when the sequence màng bé occurs with the special function described in section 6.6.2 (example 218);

c. when bâ functions as a marker of future time (section 6.5 and examples 49, 239).

Apart from these cases it rarely co-occurs with a subsidiary verb. In the few instances in which it does so co-occur it precedes the subsidiary verb.

yi does not normally occur in a non-initial clause in a clause complex. A few instances have, however, been recorded of its occurrence in the second clause of a clause string (and also of a clause complex) when it occurs also in the first, but this repetition appears to have no particular grammatical significance and is probably a stylistic variation. In general it appears that the incidence of yi as an auxiliary verb varies in frequency from one speaker to another.

6.6.8. tìm and tung

The verb tìm, which normally functions as a major verb with meaning 'return', may also occur as the first element of a complex verbal phrase, preceding any of the auxiliary verbs described above and having usually an 'adversative' meaning. In view of its special position and meaning, tìm is in this case analysed as an auxiliary verb.

Furthermore, tìm, like kà, serves to link successive clauses or successive sentences, as described in section 6.6.1. See especially examples 237-8 below.

Some speakers use the verb tung 'leave' in a similar way, either in place of or as an alternative to tìm.

Examples:-

237. ìcìè á-si úfúfo, n' umó i-bâ nàà ngin.
sun sg-burnt yesterday as-if water sg-fut. rain Term

á-tìm nàà re
it- rained not

'The sun was hot yesterday, as if it was going to rain, but it did not rain after all' U4097

238. k' ùsé á-tung ka fo, ùnì í-yùò re
if chief sg- died person sg-hears not

'But if a chief dies no one hears about it' LB036

239. àmi n-tím bà yi nà òbèjùò ámin
I(emph) I- fut. ISp see suffering its(4th person)

'And now I will suffer for it' KA044

6.6.9. General Notes

None of the auxiliaries described in sections 6.6.1-5 occurs independently of a major verb. They are, however, analysed as verbs rather than verbal affixes for the following reasons:-

a. Tonal characteristics. The interaction of tones between auxiliaries and succeeding major or subsidiary verbs is analogous to that between succeeding verbs in a complex verbal phrase or between the verbs of successive verbal phrases. In particular, as noted above in section 6.6.4, the auxiliary ka behaves in the same way as a major or subsidiary verb in incompletive primary aspect in that it requires any succeeding non-low tone verb to bear mid-low (not high-low) tone when not followed by a NP object. Moreover, the tonal relationship between an auxiliary and an immediately preceding pronominal prefix is in almost every case the same as that between a major or subsidiary verb of the same tone and an immediately preceding prefix.

b. Auxiliary function of yi, tìm and tung. The fact that these may function either as major verbs or as auxiliaries points by analogy to an analysis of all auxiliaries as verbs rather than as affixes. This is particularly the case with tìm and tung, whose function as auxiliaries is, as noted above, closely analogous to that of kà.

c. Phonological structure. Each of the auxiliaries has a phonological structure which is found also in major verbs, viz. CV, CVN or CVCV (see chapter 2).

It is to be noted that the language makes economical use of a relatively small inventory of auxiliary verbs, several of which have

more than one syntactic and semantic function. See sections 6.6.2, 6.6.3, 6.6.6, in addition to sections 6.6.7-8.

6.7. The Verbal Phrase Complex

The verbal phrase complex (abbreviated 'VPCx') functions as head of the verbal clause type 2 (section 4.2.2) and consists of two, occasionally three, verbal phrases with the following special characteristics and restrictions:-

a. The head of the first verbal phrase (and of the second of three verbal phrases) is the major verb kung, which is normally translatable 'take'.

b. If a nominal phrase object (NPo) occurs in the same clause as the VP complex it normally follows the first VP in the complex. A second (and rarely a third) NPo may follow the VP complex, as described in sections 4.2.2, 4.4.1). When, however, the major verb functioning as head of the final VP in the complex is a verb of a subclass characterised semantically by reference to 'speech' (e.g., dè 'say', bii 'ask', as in example 242 below) any NPo which occurs must follow the VP complex.

c. A VP complex may consist of three VP's only when an included NPo (i.e., a NPo occurring immediately after the initial VP) occurs. The second VP is, in effect, a recapitulation of the initial VP.

d. A subsidiary verb may normally occur only in the first VP of the complex. When, however, an included NPo occurs a subsidiary verb may occur in both the first and the second VP's of a three-part complex or in the final VP. A subsidiary verb may not occur in both the initial and the final VP of a VP complex. When a subsidiary verb occurs in the second VP of a three-part complex it is identical in form with that occurring in the initial VP. A subsidiary verb may also occur (as in example 243 below) in the final VP of a VP complex which itself functions as head of a non-initial clause in a clause complex (section 4.3) when the head of that VP is a transitive verb other than a verb of the subclass described in paragraph 'b' above.

e. The subsidiary verb bé when functioning as a marker of a dependent clause (section 6.5) may occur only in the first VP of a VP complex. Similarly, the subsidiary verb bâ when functioning as a marker of future time (section 6.5) may occur only in the first VP.

f. Any auxiliary verbs which occur always precede the initial VP of the VP complex and are analysed as constituting the periphery of the whole complex rather than of the first VP alone.

Although the verbal phrase complex consists of two or three verbal phrases it is analysed as a single (supplementary) unit both because of its function as an element of the clause and because of the mutual restrictions between its component parts described above.

The final VP of a VP complex is labelled 'primary' in view of the absence of any major restrictions on the class membership of the verbs which may function as its head and is abbreviated 'PVP'. The initial VP is labelled 'secondary' (abbreviated 'SVP') and the optional medial VP 'tertiary' (abbreviated 'TVP'). Similarly, the term 'secondary verb' (abbreviated 'SecVb') is used to refer to kung when it functions as head of a secondary or tertiary verbal phrase, in contrast to the 'primary verb' ('PVb') which functions as head of the primary verbal phrase.

The occurrence of a tertiary verbal phrase is relatively infrequent and appears to be only of stylistic significance. In addition to the basic restriction stated in paragraph 'c' above, it may be stated as a general characteristic of the TVP that it rarely occurs when any other phrase follows the VP complex. It does not occur in the VP complex of the first clause of a clause complex (section 4.3).

For the function of a verbal phrase complex when occurring with an included NPo and for comments on semantic and stylistic factors see section 4.2.2.

The grammatical and semantic function of a VP complex occurring without any included NPo is hearder to define with any precision. In many cases it appears to indicate a new 'action' or a new stage in an

'action'. This is confirmed by its non-occurrence in the initial sentence of an utterance. In this respect the secondary verb kung is functionally and semantically analogous to the auxiliary verb kà (section 6.6.1), but is not analysed as an auxiliary verb because of its wider range of functions, especially in conjunction with a NPo.

The non-occurrence of kung in conjunction with the negative marker (section 5.2.2) suggests that in some cases at least its use may imply strong affirmation.

Examples (with notes on function and structure):-

a. Without NPo

240. apúo á-kung bàng 'The iguana agreed' AJ061
iguana sg- agreed

241. abe e-bá kung cà ka 'They will sit there'
they pl-fut. sit there KC013

(The preceding context contains no nominal phrase which could be regarded as a notional 'object' to kung which would make it possible to translate kung here as 'take').

b. With non-included NPo

242. á-kung bíí he .... 'He asked him ....' AF021
he- asked him ....

(Nuclear clause of type 2a sentence, section 3.4.1)

c. With included NPo (see also examples 106-8, 119, etc.)

243. ùsékakpà á-kung [ipem] cìè náng /// kung [àcu]
chief sg- yam cooked like-that pepper

faà // yè naà ká
ground went kept there

'The chief cooked a yam like that, ground some pepper and went and kept it there' AD010

(For the occurrence of the subsidiary verb yè in the VPCx of the final clause see paragraph 'd' above (last sentence)).

244. a-kà tìm // ye k'ùcù /// ye ye-à kung
he-then returned went to-compound went went

[iyè ímin] kpom
mother his beat

'Then he returned home and flogged his mother' HF029

(The occurrence of at least one subsidiary very in the final clause is obligatory in view of the occurrence of ye as a major verb in the preceding clause. See section 6.5).

245. e-kúng [ìtyáng áná] bá yá tyàng ko:
pl- (special) stick the come go throw away

'The (special) stick is thrown away' BF026

(For the possibility of a slight implication of 'purpose' in the use of two subsidiary verbs in a case like this see section 6.5, and especially the paragraph preceding examples 212-3. Note that in this instance the subsidiary verbs function as part of the primary VP, not, as in the previous example, the secondary VP).

d. With included NPo and tertiary VP

246. k' àhe é-bé kung [ùnì ángin] kung gù ....
if they(ISp) pl- person this kill

'If they kill this person ....' AC025

(The subsidiary verb bé here functions as a marker of a dependent clause. The whole sentence is of type 4b, section 3.6.2).

247. e-kà yâ kung [ìcáto] yá kung gbiri ....
you-then go rafters go cut-up

'Then you go and cut up wood for the rafters ....'
BD012

(The subsidiary verb of the secondary VP is repeated in the tertiary).

6.8. The Intentive Verbal Phrase

This is analysed as a subtype of the basic verbal phrase type as described in the foregoing sections. It has as its head a verbal complex (section 6.4) consisting of a major verb preceded by the sequence nùò yâ 'set-out go' or less frequently nùò bâ 'set out come'. The verbs yâ and bâ together with the following major verb bear the markers of incompletive primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2), as do the verbal phrases of any succeeding clauses within a clause complex or clause string. The verb nùò, on the other hand and any preceding elements of the verbal phrase and the verbal phrases of any preceding clauses in a clause string bear the markers of completive primary aspect.

For the change of primary aspect see also the description of the auxiliary verb nè in section 6.6.3.

The intentive verbal phrase may include one or two subsidiary verbs (as in example 251) and/or (occasionally) an auxiliary verb (sections 6.5, 6.6 respectively). It is subject only to the following functional restrictions:-

a. It may not function as a non-initial part of a verbal phrase complex (section 6.7).

b. It may not function as the head of a clause which is non-initial in a clause complex (section 4.3), though it may, as in examples 250, 251 below, occur in a clause which is non-initial in a clause string (section 4.4).

As its label implies, the intentive verbal phrase has a semantic implication of 'intention' or 'goal'.

Examples:-

248. a-nùò yâ wàm ìne
he- remove fire

'He is on his way to fetch fire' HH047

249. a-nùò bâ kung ungwá írítyém
sg take small heart

'He is going to fetch the heart' AA011

250. a-kà kwa ùfàm ímin /// nùò yâ sà ìbang
he-then held hoe his do what?

'What is he going to do with the hoe he is holding?
HK010

251. á-bibì /// kà bé nùò yâ kuo ìrìjwin ímin
he-guessed then came call name his

'He had a guess, and was about to call out his name'
FB047

252. àhe h' àbère e-nùò yâ kàng
it(emph) emph. we pl- speak

'That is what we are on our way to speak about'
CC006

(For emphatic clause see section 5.3)

6.9. The Copulative Verbal Phrase

The copulative verbal phrase functions as head of the verbal clause, type 4 (section 4.2.4). It has as its nucleus one of the copulative verbs yi, ci, ji or nung, normally alone, but in certain circumstances (see below) with a preceding subsidiary verb.

yi is the most frequently occurring form. It does not, however, occur in conjunction with subjunctive mode. The normal distinction between completive and incompletive primary aspect (section 3.2.2.2) does not apply to yi. An immediately preceding pronominal prefix is in every case identical with that associated with incompletive primary aspect (section 3.2.2), but its tone is always low. The verb itself always occurs in its base form, with no change of tone or of vowel.

(For the function of yi as an auxiliary verb see section 6.6.7. In this case the distinction between completive and incompletive primary aspect in indicative mode does apply).

In subjunctive mode the form ci is used, with the usual markers of that mode (section 3.2.2.1). Likewise, in the infrequent circumstances in which incompletive primary aspect is required, the incompletive form cà is used (in conjunction with either indicative or subjunctive mode), as in examples 253, 256 below.

The verb ji may occur only under one or more of the following conditions:-

a. When a NP complement follows, with or without a following AP (see section 4.2.4).

b. When an AP consisting of the interrogative adverb dènàng 'how?' (section 9.2.1.6) follows.

c. When the clause is the nuclear clause of a complex sentence of type 2 (section 3.4), as in example 155.

d. When the head of the NP subject is the noun ìfùfù 'darkness', as in example 261 below.

ji has not been recorded as occurring in conjunction with subjunctive mode, but it bears the normal markers of completive and incompletive primary aspect. See examples 260, 261.

nung occurs only in the circumstances described in section 5.3.2.

The following are the only circumstances in which a subsidiary verb (section 6.5) may occur in a copulative verbal phrase (the copulative verb always being ci/cä):-

a. When bó functions as a marker of a dependent clause or is preceded by the auxiliary verb màng (section 6.6.2), as in example 262 below.

b. When bâ functions as a marker of future time, as in example 253 below.

The following auxiliary verbs may occur in a copulative verbal phrase:-

kà (section 6.6.1), as in examples 254, 257. The copulative verb nung may not occur with kà.

màng (section 6.6.2), as in example 217. The auxiliary verb always serves as a marker of past time and never has the meaning 'again'. Only the copulative verb yi may occur, but a distinction of primary aspect is possible, being marked by the combination of pronominal prefix and auxiliary verb, though with little if any apparent distinction of meaning. Both á-màng yi (completive) and i-máng yi (incompletive) are translatable as 'he was'.

nè (section 6.6.3), as in example 256. The copulative verb is always câ (incompletive).

yi (section 6.6.7), as in example 257. Any of the copulative verbs may occur.

tìm/tung (section 6.6.8), as in examples 258-9. The copulative verb nung may not occur. A distinction of primary aspect is again possible, even when the copulative verb yi occurs, since it is marked by the combination of pronominal prefix and auxiliary verb. Incompletive primary aspect occurs in examples 258-9.

Examples:-

253. i-bâ cà r'ùkán
he-fut. be with-power

'He will have power/authority' Ux

254. i-kà yi k'ùcù ká re
he-then is at-compound there not

'Then he is not at home there' FC019

255. ìrìkang i-máng yi r'akùhó k'ìtim ne
crab sg-emph.past be with-shell on-back not

'The crab used not to have a shell on its back'

256. ìjìjàa ìrìkang í-nè câ
bad thing sg-begin be

'Bad things begin to happen' HCC02

257. àhe i-kà yi yi r'iyè ímin ne
he sg-then ISp is with-mother his not

'So he does not have a mother of his own' HF019

258. gb' i-tìm yi abe .... re, ùcwen ì-ham abe
if it-returns be them not ordeal sg-vomit them

'But if they are not the ones ...., the ordeal should prove that they are innocent' AK024

259. i-tìm yi r'ìrìgben ne
it-returns is with-distance not

'But it is not far away' KD053

260. é-ji udyìm
pl-are friend

'They are friends' AA001

261. ìfùfù .... á-jí m k'àcì
darkness sg-was me on-face

'Darkness has fallen upon my face' AK058

(cf. the common expression ìfùfù á-ji 'it is dark')

262. i-màng bé ci náng
it- be like-that

'It ought to be so' U3475

CHAPTER SEVEN

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CHAPTER 7

THE NOMINAL PHRASE - I

7.1. Function of the Nominal Phrase

7.1.1. The Nominal Phrase as an Element of the Clause

The normal, definitive, function of the nominal phrase (abbreviated 'NP') is as an element of the clause, viz.:-

a. (part of) the inner expansion ('object' or 'complement') of the nucleus of the verbal clause (section 4.2);

b. the inner periphery ('subject') of the verbal clause;

c. the sole element (or either of two elements) of the non-verbal clause (section 4.5).

7.1.2. The Nominal Phrase as an Adverbial Phrase

The nominal phrase may also have the function of an adverbial phrase. For a full description, with details of structural restrictions and of special markers see sections 9.3-7.

7.1.3. Recursive Constructions

The nominal phrase may also enter into various recursive constructions, both paratactic and hypotactic. See chapter 8.

7.2. Basic Structure of the Nominal Phrase

7.2.1. The Nominal Phrase, Type 1

This consists obligatorily of a noun of class A (section 7.3) or occasionally a noun expression (abbreviated 'NnExpr', section 8.2) or a nominal expression (abbreviated 'NExpr', section 8.6), functioning as head, and optionally (obligatorily in the case of a NP with a noun complex or nominal expression as head) of one or more attributive elements, functioning as expansion. All attributive elements follow the head, normally without interruption. (For the only circumstances under which a NP may be interrupted see section 8.5).

Attributive elements are divided on a structural basis into the following groups:-

i. Nominals (i.e., unitary elements)

a. Genitive pronoun ('GenPn' - section 7.4.2)
b. Intensifier ('Ints' - section 7.5)
c. Numeral ('Num' - section 7.6)
d. Adjective ('Adj' - section 7.7)
e. Demonstrative ('Dem' - section 7.8)

ii. Expressions (see chapter 1)

f. Genitive expression ('GenExpr' - section 8.1)
g. Appositional expression ('AppExpr' - section 8.3)
h. Numeral expression ('NumExpr' - section 7.6.4)
i. Demonstrative expression ('DemExpr' - section 8.4)

iii. Complex (see chapter 1)

j. Numeral complex ('NumCx' - section 7.6.5)

iv. Construct (see chapter 1)

k. Demonstrative sentence construct ('DemSCt' - section 8.5)

The following elements are mutually exclusive:-

1. Genitive pronoun/genitive expression
2. Genitive pronoun/intensifier
3. Genitive expression/appositional expression
4. Intensifier/appositional expression
5. Numeral/numeral expression/numeral complex
6. Adjective/any of the elements listed in 1-5
7. Demonstrative/demonstrative expression/demonstrative sentence construct

These restrictions are summarised in the diagram which appears below.

Not all elements are of equal frequency. The following in particular are relatively infrequent (the listing being in approximate order of frequency, with the least frequent first):-

Intensifier

Appositional expression

Adjective

Numeral expression and numeral complex

Certain further apparent restrictions on combinations of elements, in addition to those given above, may be due to the relative infrequency of some at least of the elements involved and to the limitations of the data. The restrictions stated above appear, however, to be grammatically determined. Certain further restrictions are probably to be accounted for in grammatical terms, though it is not possible in these cases to be entirely certain. In general, for instance, demonstrative expressions and sentence constructs have rarely been recorded as co-occurring with any other attributive elements.

The majority of nominal phrases recorded are of relatively simple structure, consisting of a noun alone or of a noun and one attributive element. More complex phrases are, however, found occasionally, with a maximum of four elements (including the nuclear noun, etc.).

A NP of type 1 may be marked by the occurrence of the inclusive clitic àb', which is more fully described and exemplified in section 7.10. Because of its special status as a clitic (section 2.3.2) and because of its function, as described in section 7.10, it is analysed as a marker, not as an element, of the NP. For this reason it is not shown in the diagram of the elements of the NP which appears below.

A limited system of concord operates within a NP of type 1. For details see section 7.3.

The following diagram summarises the structure of the nominal phrase, type 1. It is to be interpreted as follows:-

1. The elements occur in the order (from left to right) in which they are shown in the diagram).

2. Horizontal lines group together elements which may co-occur; e.g. a GenPn may co-occur with an AppExpr, but not with an Ints; it may co-occur with a Num, a NumExpr or a NumCx.

3. No more than one element in each vertical section may occur in a single NP; e.g., genitive pronouns and genitive expressions are mutually exclusive, and neither may co-occur with an adjective.

Structure of the Nominal Phrase, Type 1

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Noun</td><td>GenPn</td><td>AppExpr</td><td rowspan="2">Num
NumExpr
NumCx</td><td rowspan="3">Dem
DemExpr
DemSCt</td></tr>
<tr><td>GenExpr</td><td>Ints</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Adj</td></tr>
<tr><td>Head</td><td colspan="4">Expansion</td></tr>
</table>

Any one of the attributive elements shown on the diagram may function as the sole attributive element of a NP of this type. There appear to be no significant restrictions to the structure of the NP corresponding to any of the three functional possibilities described in section 7.1.1. above. For structural restrictions to NP's with the functions described in sections 7.1.2-3 see the appropriate sections of chapters 8 and 9.

The table below shows every combination of elements recorded in text or from unelicited utterances of nominal phrases of type 1 consisting of three or four elements, with references to the examples which follow. The heading 'numeral' includes numeral, numeral expression and numeral complex.

Noun	Genitive Pn	Genitive Expr	App Expr	App Ints	Num	Adj	Demonstrative Dem	Demonstrative Expr	Demonstrative SCt	Examples
+	+		+							301
+	+				+					302
+	+						+			303
+	+							+		304
+	+								+	305
+		+			+					306
+		+					+			307
+		+							+	308
+			+		+					309
+			+				+			310
+				+	+					311
+					+		+			312
+					+			+		313
+					+				+	314
+						+		+		315
+						+			+	316
+		+		+			+			317
+			+		+				+	318

Examples:-

301. udyìm ímin ùnìnye
friend his woman 'his girl friend' HG021
Nn GenPn AppExpr

302. ùsékakpà íbere kìn
chief their one 'one of their chiefs' AA008
Nn GenPn Num

303. ùfàm íyi ángin
hoe my this 'this hoe of mine' HK030
Nn GenPn Dem

304. ùnye ímin áng' kin
wife his that here 'this one of his wives' FA026
Nn GenPn DemExpr

305. udyìm íyi áng' ì-yi gógó re 'my friend who is
friend my who sg-is well not ill'
Nn GenPn .....DemSCt.....

306. ugàm ánangkere ìhà
sack of-groundnut two 'two sacks of groundnuts' CA036
Nn GenExpr Num

307. ùnì írínyoòm áná
person of-sickness the 'the sick person' JC002
Nn GenExpr Dem

308. àyém útyé ímin ng' ahe á-yi yem
song of-story his which he sg-JSp sang
Nn ..GenExpr. .....DemSCt.....

'The song in his story, which he sang' HH055

309. ùkasì ùnìnye ìcicò
old-person woman certain 'a certain old woman' T3212
Nn AppExpr Num

310. ùkasì ùnìnye áná
old-person woman the 'the old woman' FA001
Nn AppExpr Dem

311. ìrìsuó iyen ìtáng kìn
civet itself emph. one 'the civet itself alone' FC055
Nn Ints NumExpr

312. èní èhà ábáná
people two those 'those two people' HJ023
Nn Num Dem

313. ìsílè ìhà áng' ucì .... 'the two-shilling fee
shilling two that of-lawsuit for the case ...'
Nn Num ....DemExpr... CA030

314. ùnì kìn ang' a-dè ....
person one who sg-said .... 'one person, who said ...'
Nn Num ....DemSCt.... AB020

315. ìcicà ìkáànì ángi nsukka 'the University at
school big that at-Nsukka Nsukka' KD115
Nn Adj ....DemExpr...

316. ìnyàm ìkáànì áng' ì-yi úmó áná
animal big which sg-is in-water Term
Nn Adj .....DemSCt.....

'The big animal which is in the water' AJ082

317. iyè ògá ìyen áná
mother of-Oga herself the 'Oga's mother herself'
Nn GenExpr Ints Dem FA025

318. ùngwatung ùninye kìn ng' maa-nè ....ngin
child woman one whom I-saw Term
Nn AppExpr Num .....DemSCt.....

'One girl whom I saw ....' HG008

7.2.2. The Nominal Phrase, Type 2

The nominal phrase, type 2 has a pronoun as its head element. There are two subtypes.

7.2.2.1. The Nominal Phrase, Type 2a

This consists of an emphatic pronoun (section 7.4.1) (abbreviated 'EmphPn'), functioning as head, occasionally followed by one or rarely two attributive elements. Only a limited number of the attributive elements listed in section 7.2.1 may occur in this type, viz.:-

Intensifier (Ints)
Appositional expression (AppExpr)
Demonstrative expression (DemExpr)
Demonstrative sentence construct (DemSCt).

(See also the interrogative pronouns, sections 7.9.1-2).

In addition, the indefinite numeral ìcicò 'certain', 'some' (section 7.5.3) has been recorded as following an appositional expression, as in example 321 below. No other instances of the occurrence of two attributive elements have been recorded in text, but it is believed that other data may reveal other possible combinations. It is, however, worthy of note that apart from example 318 above, which contains both an appositional expression and a demonstrative sentence construct, no two of the elements listed above have been recorded as co-occurring in a NP of type 1.

Examples:-

319. àmi ìyen 'I myself' HM015
EmphPn Ints

320. amin èní ùsì
you(pl) people black 'you black people' KD065
EmphPn ..AppExpr.

321. àbère èní ùsì ìcicò
we people black some 'some of us black people'
EmphPn ..AppExpr. Num KD064

322. àbère ábi ká 'those of us who were there'
we who there KC034
EmphPn ..DemExpr.

323. àmi áng' ng-kà ye ....
I who I-then went 'I who then went ....'
EmphPn ...DemSCt HG047

7.2.2.2. The Nominal Phrase, Type 2b

This consists of an object pronoun (section 7.4.3) alone and occurs only in a position immediately following a verbal phrase. It does not, however, occur in indirect reported speech (section 3.4.1.1). In this case, as in all other environments, type 2a is the only pronoun-head NP type which may occur.

Example:-

324. bén mi àhe re 'Do not spoil it for me'
spoil me it not AJ086

(Note that the second NPo - àhe - is of type 2a, with an emphatic pronoun as its sole member).

7.2.3. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3

A NP of type 3 has as its head an element whose normal function is as an attributive element of a NP of types 1 or 2a. Such an element when functioning as head of a NP may itself occasionally be followed by one (but never more than one) attributive element, but (with one exception, section 7.2.3.4) only an element which would follow it within the structure of a NP of types 1 or 2a. The occurrence of such attributive elements is very infrequent. It is not always possible, therefore, to state with any certainty whether the absence of any given element is grammatically determined or simply due to the limitations of the data.

Six subtypes of the NP type 3 are set up, according to the class of unit functioning as head.

7.2.3.1. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3a

This consists of a genitive pronoun functioning as head, optionally followed by a numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex.

Examples:-

325. ímin ì-yi apètèré apètèré k'ìrìcì
his sg-is (eye-infection) in-eye

'His has an infection in his eyes' AR005

(For the adverbial construction see section 10.5.3).

326. á-baǹg íten ìhà
he-gathered our two

'He gathered our two' CA027

(For the larger context see example 25).

7.2.3.2. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3b

This consists of a numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex functioning as head. No attributive elements have been recorded.

Examples:-

327. ukìn a-kà kung ùkerè
one(person) sg-then took bag

'The one of them took the bag' HG024

328. àbère é-wam ìnè
we pl-removed four

'We removed four' CA016

7.2.3.3. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3c

This consists of a demonstrative alone.

Example:-

329. ángin á-fáá ti ....
this sg-taught us

'The moral of this ....' AP009

(See also examples 150, 200).

7.2.3.4. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3d

This consists of a demonstrative expression, which in one instance (example 331) is followed by a demonstrative sentence construct.

Examples:-

330. áb' iha á-nyim
those two sg-be-missing

'Two of them were missing' CA013

331. áng' kìn ng' ámín i-bâ faà bá áná
that one which he(4th) sg-fut. roast come Term

'The one that he will roast and bring' AJ054
(= example 147)

See also section 8.4.

7.2.3.5. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3e

This consists of a demonstrative sentence construct alone.

Example:-

332. áb' é-kwa ìrìcìa é-kwa ....
those-who pl-held axe pl-held

'Those who had axes took them ....' CD039

See also section 8.5.

7.2.3.6. The Nominal Phrase, Type 3f

This consists of an adjective alone and functions only as NP complement in a clause of type 4 (section 4.2.4).

Example:-

333. ì-yi ùgboo 'It is big' FD014
it-is big

7.2.4. The Nominal Phrase, Type 4

This NP type differs from all others in that it consists of a noun of class B (i.e., a verbal noun, section 7.3.5), optionally preceded (and occasionally also followed) by one or more attributive elements.

The whole phrase is derived from an underlying verbal clause of type 1 (section 4.2.1), whose VP consists of a major verb alone. One or two nominal phrases with object function in the underlying clause may precede the verbal noun and an adverbial phrase may follow it. Usually such nominal and adverbial phrases are of simple internal structure. The occurrence of an adverbial phrase in this construction is infrequent and appears to be dependent on the occurrence of a nominal phrase preceding the verbal noun. No more than one adverbial phrase has been recorded, though there appears to be no syntactic reason why more than one should not occur.

Examples (with underlying clause in parentheses):-

334. i-bâ nè kibì àdyemèni
it-fut. begin begin growing

'It will begin to grow' U6201
(á-dyèm 'it grew')

335. ó-ye ìbang àsìni 'What did you go to do?'
you-went what doing KA004
(o-sì ìbang 'what did you do?')

336. ákògbó ímin ìrìjí àkèni 'Giving food to his pigs'
pigs his food giving T1296b
(a-kè ákògbó ímin ìrìjí 'he gave food to his pigs')

337. é-kibì ìtùng àkànàni n'èbèné
pl-began fight fighting with-neighbours

'They began to fight with each other' TT6.5.4
(abe e-kàn ìtùng n'èbèné 'they fought with each other')

7.3. The Noun

There are two main classes of noun (abbreviated 'Nn'), class A functioning as head of the NP type 1, class B as head of the NP type 4. Class A is divided into three subclasses on the basis of the presence or absence of markers of concord between the noun and certain attributive elements, the three subclasses having distinctive structural characteristics.

For other functions of the noun see sections 8.2-4, 8.6, 9.8.1, 9.8.4.

7.3.1. The Noun, Class Ai ('Personal')

This class comprises nouns which manifest concord with respect to number with the intensifier (section 7.5) and with respect to the selection of prefix with numerals of classes B and C (sections 7.6.2-3), the interrogative numeral (section 7.9.3) and adjectives (section 7.7). For full details see the sections quoted.

They manifest concord also with any elements of a following appositional or demonstrative expression which are themselves marked for concord features. See sections 8.3-4.

For agreement between a NP subject with a noun of class Ai as its head and a following verbal phrase see section 5.1.1.2.

7.3.1.1. Simple Nouns

The majority of nouns of this class bear the singular prefix u- and one (occasionally either) of the plural prefixes e- or ebe-, and all have 'personal' referents. They include the following:-

ùnì	'person'	(pl. ènì)
ùnye	'wife'	(pl. ènye)
udyìm	'friend'	(pl. edyìm)
ùjì	'thief'	(pl. èbèjì)
ùsé	'chief'	(pl. èbèsé)
ùfià	'slave'	(pl. èbèfià)
ùné	'neighbour'	(pl. èné or èbèné)

This class also includes the slightly irregular forms ùngwan 'child' (pl. èbwan) and the diminutive ùngwatung 'small child' (pl. èbwatung), as well as the (borrowed?) noun òkáàrà 'foreigner', which has no separate plural form but manifests the same concord features as the other nouns of this class.

7.3.1.2. Noun-based Compounds

This class also includes a few compounds consisting of two noun roots with a single prefix. Unlike the clause-based compounds described below, these constitute a strictly limited subclass. They include the following:-

ùnìce	'man'	(ùnì	'person'	+	ùce	'husband')
ùnìnye	'woman'	(ùnì	'person'	+	ùnye	'wife')

In some cases the first of the two noun roots is truncated, for example:-

ùngwiyè 'sibling' (ùngwan 'child' + iyè 'mother')
ùngwidé 'step-sibling' (ditto + idé 'father')

7.3.1.3. Clause-based Compounds

This class also includes nouns whose stem consists of a verbal clause (or occasionally a clause complex or clause string) construct without any peripheral elements (sections 4.2-4). In contrast to the noun-based compounds, there appear to be no restrictions to the membership of this subclass. These compounds bear the singular prefix ù- (occasionally ò-) and the plural prefix è-.

Specimens:-

ùbang-ìcom (sts. òbang-) 'messenger' (bang ìcom 'carry message')

ùji-ìrìfíá 'debtor' (ji ìrìfíá 'owe debt')

ùkwa-ùnì-nàm-úmó 'someone who keeps another out in the rain' (from a proverb)
(kwa ùnì nàm úmó 'hold person stand in-water')

7.3.1.4. Distributive Noun

The distributive noun ùnìnì (probably best analysed as a compound of ùnì 'person') always occurs in a context in which it (and usually the whole clause in which it occurs) is repeated. Most frequently it occurs in two successive identical, or almost identical, sentences, as in example 222 and the following example:-

338. ùnìnì ì-yi r'ujím̄ ùnìnì ì-yi r'ujím̄
sg-is with-thought

'Everybody has his own plan' HJ036

Such a sequence of sentences may usefully be analysed as a sentence complex (section 3.1).

The distributive noun also occurs in a repetitive clause string (section 4.4.4), as in the following example:-

339. i-bâ yi yen ùnìnì /// yen ùnìnì
he-fut.ISp elude

'He will elude everyone of them' HG059

Finally, it may occur twice as a single nominal phrase complex of type 1 (section 8.7.1), as in the following example:-

340. ùnìnì ùnìnì á re. ùkpàng ngá.
Term not leopard Term

'There is nothing else that it can be. It must be the leopard' AK016

(Two non-verbal clauses, section 4.5.1.)

7.3.2. The Noun, Class Aii

This class comprises a few 'impersonal' nouns (including two adverbial nouns, section 9.3.4) which manifest concord with respect to selection of prefix with numerals of classes B and C (sections 7.6.2-3) and the interrogative numeral (section 7.9.3). Adjectives and the intensifier (sections 7.7, 7.5 respectively) invariably occur in their 'normal' forms (not the forms in which they occur when the head noun is of class Ai, section 7.3.1).

The nouns constituting this class bear a variety of singular prefixes, but all bear the plural prefix a-. They include:-

ìrìte 'day' (pl. àte)
ìrìjé 'year' (pl. àjé)
ìrìbóm 'heap' (pl. àbóm)
ùkáá 'stone' (pl. àkáá)
úkògbó 'pig' (pl. ákògbó, but not in all idiolects)
ìgwindù 'cow' (pl. àgwindù)

7.3.3. The Noun, Class Aiii

This, the largest of the three subclasses of class A, comprises nouns which occur with the 'normal' forms of the intensifier (section 7.5), numerals (sections 7.6, 7.9.3) and adjectives (section 7.7) and are not themselves marked for number. It includes adverbial nouns (section 9.3) and ordinal numerals (see below) in addition to nouns with normal function.

It is worthy of note that in related languages all nouns are inflected for number by means of prefixes corresponding to those borne by nouns of classes Ai and Aii above. The majority of Bekwarra nouns are, as stated in the previous paragraph, not inflected in this way but bear a constant form which corresponds in some cases to the singular and in others to the plural form in the related languages. They are still, however, analysed in terms of root and prefix for the following reasons in addition to this comparative-historical factor:-

a. the initial syllable (or two syllables in the case of ebe- and iri- sequences) corresponds in almost every case to one of the prefixes established on formal grounds for classes Ai and Aii;

b. there are a number of nouns (see section 6.3.1.1 and examples 201-2) which, apart from their initial syllable(s) are identical formally and semantically with verbs;

c. the special tonal characteristics marking genitive expressions (section 8.2) and adverbial phrases of type 6 (section 9.7) are best described by reference to a noun prefix.

There are eight noun prefixes in all, viz. a-, e-, i-, o-, u-, ebe-, iri-, N- (syllabic nasal homorganic with following consonant as to point of articulation). All except the last, which is very infrequent in occurrence, are represented in nouns of classes Ai and/or Aii, as well as in class Aiii.

For the special junction features associated with the prefixes ebe- and iri- see section 2.3.1.

Although the nouns of this subclass are not themselves marked for number the language has more than one way of indicating reference to a plurality of items where this is not already made clear by the context, viz.:-

a. the plural numerals (section 7.6);

b. the plural demonstratives (section 7.8) and plural introducers marking demonstrative expressions and sentence constructs (sections 8.4-5);

c. the verbs jwen 'be gathered', 'exist as a group' and yebe 'be many' (section 5.1.1.2, examples 148d-f, 149);

d. the adverbs gbudu: 'many', wo:, etc. 'all' (sections 9.2.2, 10.6.1).

This subclass includes the ordinal numerals ùgbugbe 'first', ìrìhà 'second', etc. (all except the first consisting of the root of the corresponding numeral as described in section 7.6, with the prefix ìrì-). These are restricted in distribution and accordingly form a smaller subclass within class Aiii, in that they either function as a demonstrative expression of type 1 (section 8.4.1) or are obligatorily followed by a singular genitive pronoun or a genitive expression (sections 7.4.2, 8.1), which may not have as its head a noun of plural form. If a 'mass' noun such as ìrìwu 'group' occurs as head of a following genitive expression the whole phrase bears the meaning 'the first group' (etc.), not 'the first (member) of the group' (etc.).

Examples:-

341. ùgbugbe únye ímin (Noun + GenExpr)
first of-wife his 'his first wife' AJ142

342. ùgbugbe ímin (Noun + GenPn)
first his 'the first of them' AJ099

343. áng' ùgbugbe ... áng' ìrìhà (demonstrative expressions)
first second 'the first ... the second'

(For the full sentence see example 389).

7.3.4. Noun Tones

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, there are no apparent restrictions to the tone combinations occurring in nouns, except that low is by far the most frequent in occurrence, especially in prefixes, and that mid is considerably more frequent than high. High is rare in prefixes, though not infrequent in roots.

In the case of nouns inflected for number the tone on both the singular and the plural prefix is the same. While low tone is strongly predominant, both mid and high do occur, except in the case of clause-based compounds in class Ai, where the prefix always bears low tone.

The disyllabic prefixes ebe-, iri- bear identical tones on both syllables in all circumstances, except when preceded by the preposition n' (section 2.3.2).

7.3.5. The Noun, Class B ('Verbal')

This class comprises nouns which consist of a verb root with derivational affixes à- and -ni. In the case of verb roots with a final nasal a stem-forming vowel identical with that of the verb root and with a tone identical with the final tone of the verb root occurs between the root and the suffix -ni. In rapid speech, however, this vowel is almost lost, especially when the verb root ends with -n.

Specimens:-

ji	'eat':	àjini	'eating', 'to eat'
yàn	'spread':	àyànàni	'spreading', 'to spread'
dyèm	'grow':	àdyèmèni	'growing', 'to grow'

Nouns of this class may be translated in English by either an infinitive or a participle. For the sake of consistency, however, they are always glossed in the examples as participles.

7.4. The Pronoun

The following pronoun forms occur:-

Emphatic	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Singular:	àmi	àwo	àhe	ámín
Plural:	àbère	amin	abe/àhe	ábín
Genitive				
Singular:	íyi	íwòn	ímin	ámín
Plural:	íten	ínèn	íbere	ábín
Object				
Singular:	mi, m	wo	he	-
Plural:	ti	-	-	-

7.4.1. The Emphatic Pronouns

These function as head of a NP of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1). The 4th person forms occur only in the periphery of a sentence of type 2a (section 3.4.1) (or in indirect reported speech without any introducing nuclear clause, section 3.4.1.1) when the referent is other than the actual speaker (stated or implied).

The form àhe occurs as a 3rd person plural pronoun only in a NP with subject function (section 4.2), and then only when the clause in which it occurs forms (part of) the periphery of a complex sentence of types 2a or 3 (sections 3.4-5) or (part of) a demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5). In these cases it appears to be an optional alternative to abe. Ambiguity is obviated by the occurrence of a plural pronominal prefix (section 5.1.1.1) in the verbal phrase when the pronoun has plural reference.

The emphatic pronouns manifest concord with a following intensifier (section 7.5, and compare nouns of class Ai, section 7.3.1) and with any elements of a following appositional or demonstrative expression which are themselves marked for concord features (see sections 8.3-4).

The degree of emphasis implied by the use of these pronouns varies according to the presence or absence (or the potential presence or absence) of other (and less emphatic) indicators of person. For instance, as

described in section 5.1.1.1 (compare section 3.2.2), the fact that every verbal clause is marked for subject person only in the singular means that the plural emphatic pronouns occur much more frequently than the singular as head of a NP of type 2a in subject position and that when the singular emphatic pronouns do so occur they bear a much more 'emphatic' meaning than do their plural counterparts. Similarly, the absence of 2nd and 3rd person plural object pronouns means that the 2nd and 3rd person plural emphatic pronouns function as head of a NP of type 2a in object position much more frequently than do the singular or the first person plural emphatic pronouns, and that they have a less 'emphatic' meaning.

In the same way, when the presence of an emphatic pronoun is obligatory (under the circumstances described in section 3.4.1) it does not normally have an 'emphatic' meaning.

7.4.2. The Genitive Pronouns

These function as an attributive element of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1) or as head of a NP of type 3a (section 7.2.3.1), see also section 9.4.

For the special junction features associated with the genitive pronouns see section 2.3.1.

7.4.3. The Object Pronouns

These function only as the sole element of a NP of type 2b (section 7.2.2.2). The first person singular form m occurs only after a verb of structure CV, the form mi elsewhere. For the special tonal characteristics of the object pronouns see sections 3.2.2.2-3, 6.6.1, 6.6.3.

7.5. The Intensifier

This functions as an attributive element of NP types 1 and 2 (sections 7.2.1-2). For an additional function see section 9.8.2.

It normally has the form ìyen, but manifests concord with respect to number with a noun of class Ai (section 7.3.1) or an emphatic pronoun (section 7.4.1) functioning as head of the NP, in that when the head word is of plural form the intensifier has the form èyen. The intensifier is normally translatable 'himself', 'itself', etc.

Examples:-

344. á-kung .... ùfám ìyen 'He took .... the hoe itself'
he-took hoe itself AJ032

345. àmi ìyen ng-kà kúng jà 'Then I eat it myself'
I myself I-then take eat GB007

7.6. The Numeral, Numeral Expression and Numeral Complex

These function as attributive elements of NP types 1 and 3a (sections 7.2.1, 7.2.3.1) and as head of NP type 3b (section 7.2.3.2). For an additional function see section 9.8.3.

A numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex (other than the indefinite numeral ìcicò 'some', 'certain', section 7.6.3) does not occur in a NP of type 1 if the head of that NP is a noun of class Ai other than ùnì/ènì 'person/people'. Instead, an appositional expression (section 8.3) consisting of ùnì/ènì followed by a numeral is used, as in the following example:-

346. ùngwa ímin ùnì kìn
child his person one 'his one child' AJ098
Nn GenPn AppExpr

Numerals, numeral expressions and numeral complexes fall into the following classes (see also the interrogative numeral, section 7.9.3):-

7.6.1. The Numeral, Class A

This class consists of the single member kìn/okìn/ukìn/ikìn 'one'. The first form occurs when the numeral functions as an attributive element of a NP of types 1 or 3a. The second and third occur when the numeral functions as head of a NP of type 3b, ukìn being used when the referent

is personal (irrespective of the actual occurrence or otherwise in the context of a noun of class Ai or a pronoun) and okìn elsewhere. The forms okìn and ukìn are also used in counting. For the form ikìn see section 7.6.5.

See examples 302, 314, 318, 327 (NP type 3b), 346.

7.6.2. The Numeral, Class B

This class consists of the numerals from 'two' to 'nine'. These normally bear the prefix ì-, as in ìhà 'two', ìcià 'three', etc. When, however, the numeral functions as an attributive element of a NP whose head is a noun of class Ai it bears the prefix e- or ebe-. The prefix of the numeral is not necessarily identical with that of the noun; for instance both ènì èhà and ènì èbèhà have been recorded with meaning 'two men'.

Similarly, when the numeral functions as an attributive element of a NP whose head is a noun of class Aii it bears the prefix a-.

Specimens of Numerals, Classes A and B:-

		'one'	'two'
ùnì 'person'	(class Ai):	ùnì kìn	ènì èhà
ìrìte 'day'	(class Aii):	ìrìte kìn	àte àhà
àte 'egg'	(class Aiii):	àte kìn	àte ìhà

See also examples 306, 312-3, 326 (NP type 3a), 328 (NP type 3b).

The complete membership of this class is as follows (note that the numerals from 'six' to 'nine' are compounds whose roots are clearly related to those of -dyang 'five' and one of the numerals from 'one' to 'four'):-

-hà	'two'	-dyaàkìn	'six'
-cià	'three'	-dièhà	'seven'
-nè	'four'	-diècià	'eight'
-dyang	'five'	-dièné	'nine'

7.6.3. The Numeral, Class C

This class comprises only the indefinite numeral -cicò, normally translatable 'certain', 'some' or in some cases 'other(s)'. It has a wider range of functions than do the other numerals: see section 7.2.2.1 and the second paragraph of section 7.6 and also section 8.1.1, example 370.

When the indefinite numeral functions as an attributive element of a NP whose head is a noun of class Ai in plural form or a plural emphatic pronoun it normally bears the prefix è-, though ì- has occasionally been recorded. The prefix è- also occurs, as in example 347 below, when the indefinite numeral functions as head of a NP of type 3b and its referent is personal. In all other cases the prefix is ì-, except that ù- may occur as an optional (idiolectal?) alternative when the indefinite numeral is attributive to a singular noun of class Ai or when it functions as head of a NP of type 3b whose referent is singular and personal.

Example:-

347. èciccò é-bàng. ècicò é-cwen ...
pl-agreed pl-refused

'Some agreed, but others refused ....' CC004-5
(A pair of sentences of this kind may usefully be analysed as a sentence complex, section 3.1).

See also examples 229, 236, 309, 321, 362.

7.6.4. The Numeral Expression

This class comprises only the emphatic numeral expression ìtáńg kìn '(only) one'. In functional range it is identical with the numeral (-)kìn 'one', but always appears in the same form, irrespective of specific function or reference. The form ìtáńg never occurs in any other environment.

See example 311.

7.6.5. The Numeral, Class D, and Numeral Complex

Class D comprises the three numerals irifo 'ten', ìrìcí 'twenty' and únò 'four hundred' (i.e., twenty squared). They combine with each other and/or with numerals of classes A and/or B and/or the emphatic numeral expression to produce numeral complexes for the numbers from 'eleven' upwards.

The three numerals of class D, unlike the numerals of classes A-C, are structurally identical with nouns, in that they bear a prefix which is constant in form. The second, moreover, has a plural form with prefix a- (compare the nouns of class Aii, section 7.3.2).

The numeral complexes involve either addition or multiplication, or both, as follows:-

a. Numbers 11-19: addition, using irifo 'ten' followed by a numeral of class A or B linked by the preposition r' (see sections 9.7, 11.4), for instance:-

irifo r'ikìn	'eleven'	(10 + 1)
irifo r'ìhà	'twelve'	(10 + 2), etc.

It is to be noted that all the class A or B numerals in this case invariably bear the prefix ì-.

b. Numbers 21-39: addition, using ìrìcí 'twenty' followed by a numeral of class B or D the emphatic numeral expression ìtàńg kìn or a numeral complex of set 'a' above, linked by a complex form consisting of the 3rd person singular emphatic pronoun àhe preceded by the preposition r', for instance:-

ìrìcí r'àhe ìtàńg kìn	'twenty-one'	(20 + 1)
ìrìcí r'àhe ìhá	'twenty-two'	(20 + 2)
ìrìcí r'àhe irifo	'thirty'	(20 + 10)
ìrìcí r'àhe irifo r'ikìn	'thirty-one'	(20 + 10 + 1)

c. Multiples of 20 up to 380: multiplication, using àcí 'twenties' followed by a numeral of class B or D or a numeral complex of set 'a' above, with concord between àcí and a numeral of class B, for instance:-

àcí àhà	'forty'	(20 x 2)
àcí àcià	'sixty'	(20 x 3)
àcí irifo	'two hundred'	(20 x 10)
àcí irifo r'ìhà	'240'	(20 x (10 + 2))

d. Multiples of 400: multiplication, using únò 'four hundred' followed by a numeral of class B or D or a numeral complex of sets a, b, c or e. Numbers of this scale are rare in occurrence in normal contexts.

e. Other numbers over 40: combination of multiplication and addition, with the former taking precedence, using a numeral complex of set 'c' (or of set 'd' followed by set 'c' and linked to it by r'àhe) followed by a numeral of class B or D, an emphatic numeral expression or a numeral complex of set 'a' and linked to it by r'àhe, for instance:-

àcí àhà r'àhe ìtàńg kìn	'41'	((20 x 2) + 1)
àcí irifo r'àhe ìhà	'202'	((20 x 10) + 2)

(Compare the above with '240' (set 'c' above) and note the function of the two connecting forms in resolving any ambiguity which there might otherwise be).

7.7. The Adjective

The adjective functions normally as an attributive element of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1), but may also function as sole element of a NP of type 3f (section 7.2.3.6).

As in the case of the numerals (section 7.6) an adjective (other than ìhíhé 'new', see below) does not occur in a NP of type 1 if the head of that NP is a noun of class Ai other than ùnì/ènì 'person/people'. Instead, an appositional expression (section 8.3) consisting of ùnì/ènì followed by a numeral is used, as in the following specimen:-

èbwatung	ènì	ùbwàm	'white children'
children	people	red	

Adjectives fall into two types:-

7.7.1. Simple Adjectives

With one exception (see below) these adjectives, which are very few in number, bear the prefix ù- when functioning as an attributive element in a NP whose head is a noun of class Ai (section 7.3.1), whether singular or plural, or when functioning as sole element of a NP of type 3f with personal reference. Elsewhere they bear the prefix ì-, except that ùgboo 'big' always has the prefix ù-, as in example 333.

In the case of the adjective root -tyim 'old' and the three 'colour' adjective roots -hung 'white', -sì 'black' and -bwam 'red' (and any other intermediate colour if not further specified by an adverb, section 9.2.2) the prefix ì- may be separated from the root by a reduplicating prefix, which frequently has an 'intensifying' function. (For the phonological characteristics of this reduplication see section 6.3.3.1). When, however, one of these adjectives functions as sole element of a NP of type 3f the reduplicating prefix appears to be obligatory, except when the referent is 'personal'.

Specimens:-

ùnì ùsì 'black person' (i.e., African)
ènì ùsì 'black people'
ùfàa ìsì or ùfàa ìsìsì 'black fowl'
ì-yi isìsì 'it is black'
ì-yi ùsì or, more frequently, ì-yi ùnì ùsì
'he is (a) black (person)'

The adjective ìhíhé 'new' always has the prefix ì- and always occurs in this (presumably reduplicated) form. Semantic factors make its occurrence in attributive position to a 'personal' noun infrequent, but it has been recorded in the phrase ùsé ìhíhé 'new chief'.

See examples 315-6, 320-1, 333.

7.7.2. Compound Adjectives

The structure of these is identical with that of the clause-based compound nouns described in section 7.3.1.3, i.e., they have as their stem

a verbal clause (or occasionally a clause complex or clause string) construct without any peripheral elements. The rules for the selection of prefix are as follows:-

a. the prefix is u-, or occasionally o-, when the adjective is attributive to a singular noun of class Ai;

b. the prefix is e-, or occasionally o-, when the adjective is attributive to a plural noun of class Ai;

c. in all other cases the prefix is o-.

A compound adjective may not function as sole element of a NP of type 3f.

Examples:-

348. ìrìfó ògù-ùnì 'death which kills people'
(gù ùnì 'kill person') HJ002

349. èbang ètibi-àbóm-k'ìsaba-úci

'tribes who dig heaps with a plank of wood' HM061
(tibi àbóm k'ìsaba úci 'dig heaps with-plank of-wood')

7.8. The Demonstrative

The demonstrative functions normally as an attributive element of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1), but may also function as sole element of a NP of type 3c (section 7.2.3.3).

Demonstratives constitute a closed class comprising the following members:-

singular:	ángin	ángáná	ánga	áná
plural:	ábin	ábáná	ába	

For the morphology of these forms see section 3.2.1.2.

The forms áná, ánga and ába are always used anaphorically (the first being the most frequently occurring of all the demonstratives), i.e., to indicate that the referent of the noun to which they stand in

attributive relation has been referred to in some way in the immediately preceding context. These anaphoric demonstratives occur only in a NP of type 1. In addition to these the demonstrative ábáná is frequently and ángáná occasionally used with anaphoric function.

In all other cases members of this class have a general demonstrative function. There is very little semantic difference between the forms, other than a slight tendency in the directions indicated in section 3.2.1.2, leaving scope for personal or stylistic variation or for variation in degrees of emphasis. The demonstratives are not normally used when proximity as opposed to distance, or vice versa, is at issue. In this case a demonstrative expression of type 5 (section 8.4.5) is used, with one of the locative adverbs ká 'there', kin 'here', etc.

The plural demonstratives are used when reference is to a plurality of items, even if the noun functioning as head of the NP is not itself marked for number (i.e., is of class Aiii, section 7.3.3).

Specimens:-

ùnì	ángin	'this person'	iyem ángin	'this thing'
ènì	ábin	'these people'	iyem ábin	'these things'

See the following examples:-

anaphoric: 307, 310, 312, 317

general demonstrative -

NP type 1: 303

NP type 3c: 329

7.9. Interrogative Nominals

There are three interrogative nominals, viz.:-

ìbang - impersonal interrogative pronoun - 'what?'

ayùñg - personal interrogative pronoun - 'who?', 'whom?'

-húńg - interrogative numeral - 'how many?'

The interrogatives occur frequently, though by no means exclusively, in an emphatic clause (section 5.3) and there constitute either the head or an attributive element of the emphasised phrase. This is most frequently the case when the emphasised phrase is that functioning as subject of the clause.

Each of the interrogatives is described in turn below.

7.9.1. ìbang

This interrogative pronoun (abbreviated 'IntPn') functions as head of a NP. It is frequently followed by an appositional expression (section 8.3), normally consisting of a noun alone, and has also been recorded with a following genitive pronoun (section 7.4.2). A NP with ìbang as its head is labelled 'NPint'. It occurs quite frequently (with or without an attributive element) in a predicative non-verbal clause (section 4.5.1), which is normally terminated by the particle á. This terminal may also occur when a NP of this type occurs in a non-emphatic verbal clause, as in example 351 below.

When occurring immediately before the emphatic marker h' or the terminal á the interrogative pronoun has the apocopated form ìba:. (In transcription, however, the interrogative pronoun is consistently recorded in its full form).

Examples:-

a. In a non-emphatic clause

350. o-kè ìbang (IntPn as NP object)
you-gave what? 'What did you give?' KD014

351. ì-yi ìbang iwòn á (IntPn + GenPn as NP complement)
he-is what your Term 'What (relation) of yours is he?'
KB008

352. í-sà ìbang ukulo (IntPn + AppExpr as NPo)
he-does what work 'What kind of work does he do?'
KD221

b. In an emphatic clause

353. ìbang h' a-sì, ng' àhe a-gù ùtùò
what emph. sg-did that he sg-killed elephant

'How did it come about that he killed the elephant?'
AM039

354. ìbang h' ámín í-sà ánà (IntPn as NP object)
what emph. he(4th) sg-does Term

'What is he doing?' JC015

7.9.2. ayùñg

This IntPn, like ìbang, functions as head of an interrogative NP. It may not, however, be followed by any attributive element. It may occur in a predicative non-verbal clause and in both non-emphatic and emphatic verbal clauses.

Example:-

355. ayùñg h' a-sì èbèku ngin (Emphatic NPs)
who emph. sg-made oil Term

'Who made the oil?' AL012

See also example 189.

7.9.3. The Interrogative Numeral

This consists of the stem -húnù preceded by one of the prefixes associated with the numerals of class B (section 7.6.2), but with mid, not low, tone, viz. e- or ebe- when attributive to a noun of class Ai (which must be in plural form) or when functioning as head of a NP of type 3b with a personal referent, a- when attributive to a noun of class Aii (which again must be in plural form), and i- elsewhere.

The interrogative numeral (abbreviated 'IntNum') does not occur in a NP of type 1 if the head of that NP is a noun of class Ai other than ùnì/ènì. In this, as in all other respects, the interrogative numeral is identical in function with the other numerals described in section 7.6.

The interrogative numeral may follow àcí 'twenties' and with it constitute an interrogative numeral complex parallel to the numeral complex, set 'c' (section 7.6.5), as in example 358 below. It has not been recorded as following únò 'four hundred', but this is almost certainly due to the limitations of the data.

Examples:-

356. àbère é-wam ugàm ihúnǵ 'How many sacks did we remove?' CA015
we pl-removed sack

357. amin è-yi èni ebehúnǵ 'How many of you are there?' KD063
you(pl) pl-are people

358. èni àcí ahúnǵ 'How many twenties of people?' KC033
people twenties

7.9.4. 'Indefinite' Function of Interrogatives

The interrogative pronoun ìbang and the interrogative numeral -húnǵ, or a NP containing either of these, may be doubled (occasionally trebled) and bear a meaning which may be labelled semantically as 'indefinite', as illustrated by the following examples:-

359. é-wùm caca:ca har' ápi har' ìbang ìbang ímin wa:
pl-woke all with cow with his all

'They all awoke, both the cow and anything and everything that he had' FA098

(For the adverbial phrases in this sentence see section 10.6).

360. ùherè ihúnǵ ihúnǵ 'a number of months' KA046
moon

See also section 8.4.5 and example 407.

7.10. The Inclusive Clitic

The inclusive clitic (abbreviated 'InclClit') àb' may precede a NP of type 1 only (section 7.2.1). Its use normally implies that the NP refers to one of a number of items, whether the other items are specifically referred to or not.

It is frequently used in a listing of items, in a repetitive clause string (section 4.4.4), in an additive NP complex (section 8.7.3) or in an extended NP (section 11.4.1). For an instance of the first see example 361 below. For the remainder see the sections quoted. For instances in which no other item is specifically referred to see examples 362-3 below.

Examples:-

361. .... kà nyie àb' ùfàm /// nyie àb' àcom náng wo: ....
then buy hoe buy knife like-that all

'.... then buy a hoe, a knife, and so on ....' FA017

362. ècicò e-nyíé àb' èbètùò bá kǎ wo
some pl-buy wine come give you

'Some people buy wine (and other things) and come and give you' LA006

363. e-máng wá he àb' ùci náng wo:
pl-again pour it medicine like-that all

'In addition they pour medicine on it as well' KC023

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CHAPTER 8

THE NOMINAL PHRASE - II

This chapter deals with elements of the nominal phrase which are themselves of complex internal structure (in contrast to the nominals described in the previous chapter) and with combinations of two or more nominal phrases to form nominal phrase complexes with function analogous to that of a single nominal phrase.

Each of the complex elements referred to falls into one of the following two groups:-

a. Expressions

Genitive expression (section 8.1)
Noun expression (section 8.2)
Appositional expression (section 8.3)
Demonstrative expression (section 8.4)
Nominal expression (section 8.6)

(See also the numeral expression, section 7.6.4, together with the numeral complex, section 7.6.5)

b. Construct

Demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5)

The numeral expression and numeral complex were described in chapter 7 because of their close relation to the numeral.

For a definition of the terms 'expression', 'complex' and 'construct' see section 1.3.

Each of these complex elements occupies a structural place in the basic NP type which may also be occupied by one of the unitary elements described in the previous chapter (see the diagram of the structure of the NP, type 1 in section 7.2.1), though they may differ in terms of total functional range.

Further complex constructions, consisting of a nominal phrase followed by one or more adverbial phrases and with a function analogous to that of a single nominal phrase are described in chapter 11 after the description of the adverbial phrase.

8.1. The Genitive Expression

There are two types of genitive expression (abbreviated 'GenExpr'), the first having a considerably wider range of both functional and structural possibilities than the second.

8.1.1. The Genitive Expression, Type 1

This has the structure of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1), a noun expression (section 8.2), a NP complex (section 8.7) or an extended NP consisting of a NP of type 1 and an AP expression of class D (section 11.4), but functions as an attributive element of a larger NP of type 1 or as a demonstrative expression of type 2 (section 8.4.2).

In almost every recorded instance a genitive expression (unless it has the structure of a NP complex or an extended NP) consists of a noun or of a noun plus one attributive element. In only one instance (out of a total of over 600 recorded) does a genitive expression which has the structure of a NP contain two attributive elements (example 370 below). Any of the elements listed in section 7.2.1 as having attributive function in a NP of type 1 may occur in a genitive expression, including another genitive expression, as in examples 364-5 below. Further degrees of recursion are theoretically possible, but have not been recorded in text.

The noun functioning as head of the genitive expression (or, in the case of a genitive expression with the structure of a NP complex, the noun functioning as head of the first NP) is marked by special tonal characteristics, as follows:-

The prefix (section 7.3) of the noun bears mid tone (on both syllables if it is a disyllabic prefix) if both it and the first root

syllable normally bear low tone. In all other cases the prefix bears high tone. No tone change, however, takes place if the noun is a personal name. (As mentioned in section 7.3.4, very few nouns bear high tone on their prefix in their normal (isolate) form. There are therefore very few cases in which a noun functioning as head of a genitive expression is indistinguishable from the same noun as it appears in isolation (or in an appositional expression, section 8.3.1).)

In the examples given below the noun functioning as head of the genitive expression is repeated in parentheses at the end of the phrase, with its normal tone. The genitive expression itself is underlined.

There is in many cases no formal distinction between an element functioning as attributive to the head of the whole NP (and following a genitive expression) and an element functioning as attributive to the head of a genitive expression. In the majority of cases, however, such elements are only analysable as attributive to the nearer of the two possible head elements, i.e., the head of the genitive expression, on one or more of the following grounds:-

a. Syntactic. Certain elements were listed in section 7.2.1 as being mutually exclusive with a genitive expression as attributive elements of the same NP, viz. genitive pronoun, appositional expression, adjective. If therefore one of these elements follows a noun which has genitive function it must be analysed as attributive to the genitive noun (and therefore part of a complex genitive expression) rather than to the noun which functions as head of the whole NP. (See examples 367, 369). Similar considerations apply if a noun with genitive function is itself followed by a genitive expression. The latter must be analysed as attributive to the preceding genitive noun (and part of a complex genitive expression). (See examples 364-5).

Moreover, the operation of concord (as in example 366) or the selection of a particular form of a numeral, adjective or demonstrative (e.g., singular or plural, personal or impersonal, etc., as in example 369) sometimes indicates unambiguously that the element in question can be attributive to only one of the two theoretically possible head elements.

b. Contextual and Semantic. Reference to a larger linguistic context and/or to semantic compatibility are factors which resolve theoretical ambiguity in almost every case, as in examples 367-8. In the majority of cases these factors point to analysis of the element in question as part of a complex genitive expression, but for instances where they point to analysis of the marginal element as attributive to the noun functioning as head of the whole NP (and therefore co-ordinate with the preceding genitive noun within that NP) see examples 306-8, 317. In each of these cases syntactic criteria are neutral but contextual and/or semantic factors point unambiguously to the analysis stated.

Compare, for instance, examples 307 and 368. Both consist of noun, genitive noun and demonstrative in that order, but in the first case the demonstrative (like the genitive noun) is attributive to the first noun, while in the second the demonstrative is part of a complex genitive expression. Syntactic criteria are neutral in both cases, but reference to a larger linguistic context and the collocation in the former of ùnì and írínyòm to form what semantically might almost be regarded as a compound point unambiguously to the analyses chosen.

Examples:-

364. ùkùò úngwa úsé (ùngwa)
skin of-child of-chief

'the skin of the chief's child' AJ085

365. àbìa irikwìn íyè ímin (ìrìkwìn)
leg of-grave of-mother his

'the foot of his mother's grave' HF029

366. èbwan íríkwom ìyen (ìrìkwom)
children of-corpse itself

'the children of the dead person himself' BF018

(Concord here between the intensifier ìyen and its referent makes it clear that the former is attributive to the noun functioning as head of the genitive expression and not to that functioning as head of the whole NP. If the latter were the case the intensifier would have the

form èyen, since the head of the whole NP is a noun of class Ai, see section 7.5).

367. ìpì úsé ùné ímin (ùsé)
place of-chief neighbour his

'the home of the neighbouring chief' LB009

(The appositional expression ùné ímin cannot co-occur with a genitive expression as attributive to the same noun. It must therefore be analysed as part of a complex genitive expression).

368. ìrìjwín íyem ánga (iyem)
name of-thing that

'the name of that thing' KB020

369. ìpì ókáàrà ùbwàm (òkáàrà)
place of-foreigner red

'the white man's place' Ux

(The adjective ùbwàm cannot co-occur with a genitive expression as attributive to the same noun. It must therefore be analysed as part of a complex genitive expression).

370. ìrìjwín úci ìcicò áng' abe e-wá he (ùci)
name of-medicine certain which they pl-pour it
Nn Num .....DemSCt.....

'the name of some of the medicine which they pour on it' KC024

(Note that in this, the only recorded instance of a genitive expression containing two attributive elements, the first of the attributive elements is the indefinite numeral - see note on its special distributional characteristics in section 7.6.3).

For examples of genitive expressions with the structure of a NP complex see sections 8.7.1-2.

8.1.2. The Genitive Expression, Type 2

This consists of a genitive pronoun (section 7.4.2) followed by

an appositional expression of type 2 (section 8.3.2), itself having the structure of a NP of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1), viz. consisting of an emphatic pronoun (section 7.4.1) followed by the intensifier ìyen/èyen (section 7.5). It does not co-occur with any other attributive element in the same NP.

Example:-

371. iyè ímin àhe ìyen
mother his 3rd.sg.Pn Ints

'his own mother' BB04 (in contrast to the mother of someone else)

Compare the equivalent to the above with a 3rd person plural pronoun:-

371a. iyè íbere abe èyen
mother their 3rd.pl.Pn Ints

'their own mother' or 'their own mothers'

8.2. The Noun Expression

The noun expression (abbreviated 'NnExpr') consists of two nouns which function as a single unit, as the head of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1) or of a genitive expression (section 8.1.1). The second is attributive to the first and is marked tonally in the same way as a noun functioning as head of a genitive expression of type 1 (section 8.1.1). Unlike a sequence of noun plus genitive expression, however, the two nouns constituting a noun expression are analysed as a single unit for the following reasons:-

a. One or both of the nouns belong to a limited subclass.

b. The sequence of two nouns may be followed by any of the attributive elements which may follow a single noun in a NP of type 1, including a genitive pronoun, genitive expression or adjective, elements which do not co-occur with a genitive expression as elements of the same NP.

Noun expressions are, however, to be distinguished from compound nouns (as in section 7.3.1.2), which consist of two noun roots with a single prefix.

Noun expressions fall into three types.

8.2.1. The Noun Expression, Type 1

The first noun is one of a closed class of nouns which are obligatorily followed by a second noun, e.g., ungwá 'small (person/thing)' (to be distinguished from ùngwa(n) 'child', section 7.3.1.1), ùcù 'one who specialises in ....'.

Examples:-

372. ungwá ácom ebetùò — 'a small knife for wine-tapping' BE001
knife of-palm-wine
..NnExpr.. GenExpr

373. ungwá ácom òsì-ìrìjí — 'a small knife for preparing food' BC009
knife make-food
..NnExpr.. Adj(compound)

374. ungwá írítyém ímin — 'his heart' AA009
small chest his

375. ùcù úmúkpe áná — 'the hunter' JE031
hunting the

8.2.2. The Noun Expression, Type 2

The second noun is either ìrìjí 'food' or ìrìmère ('left'), as in:-

àbó íríjí 'right arm/hand' (i.e., hand with which food is eaten)
àbó irimère 'left arm/hand'
àbìa íríjí 'right leg/foot', etc.

Example:-

376. àbìa íríjí ányamcù — 'the hare's right leg' AD034
..NnExpr... of-hare(genExpr)

8.2.3. The Noun Expression, Type 3

The two nouns are habitually collocated, as in:-

ùkàm úne	'horse of-iron'	=	'bicycle'
ìpì írífó	'place of-death'	=	'funeral celebration'
ùkáá átábà	'stone of-tobacco'	=	'tobacco-grinding stone'
ìgaa úci	'soft-stick of-wood'	=	'pliant twig'

Examples:-

377. ìpì írífó ímin 'his funeral celebrations'
..NnExpr.. GenPn LA004

378. ùkáá átábà íyè ímin 'his mother's tobacco-stone'
..NnExpr... ..GenExpr HA026

8.3. The Appositional Expression

There are three types of appositional expression (abbreviated 'AppExpr'), the first having a considerably wider range of both functional and structural possibilities than the others.

8.3.1. The Appositional Expression, Type 1

This may function as an attributive element of a NP of either type 1 or type 2a (sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2.1).

It has the structure of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1), or occasionally of type 4 (section 7.2.4) but, unlike the genitive expression, type 1 (section 8.1.1), bears no special marker to indicate its function. Since, as mentioned in section 8.1.1, very few nouns have a high tone prefix in their normal form, there are few cases in which an appositional expression is indistinguishable formally from a genitive expression. Contextual or semantic factors would in the majority of such cases eliminate any theoretical ambiguity.

Unlike the genitive expression, the appositional expression may only have one of the following as its sole attributive element:-

genitive pronoun	(example 367 - in NP type 1) (example 379 - in NP type 2a)
genitive expression	(example 380 - in NP type 1)
numeral	(example 381 - in NP type 1) (example 382 - in NP type 2a)
(includes numeral expression and complex)	
adjective	(example 383 - in NP type 2a)

If the head of the whole NP is a noun of class Ai (section 7.3.1) or an emphatic pronoun (section 7.4.1) and the noun functioning as head of the appositional expression is itself of class Ai, the latter agrees with the former, in that number remains constant throughout. (See examples 367, 379 (singular), 381-3 (plural).)

Examples:-

379.	àwo ùnye íyi you wife my	'you, my wife'	AJ101
380.	ògá ùngwa ányamcù Oga child of-hare	'Oga, the hare's child'	HK047
381.	edyìm ímin ènì èhà friends his people two	'his two friends'	HG032
382.	abe ènì èhà they people two	'the two of them'	HJ014
383.	amin ènì ùsì you(pl) people black	'you black people'	KD065

An appositional expression consisting of more than a single noun is never followed by another attributive element within the same NP. Theoretically potential ambiguity is thus avoided, since any peripheral element following a noun which has appositional function can only be analysed as attributive to the appositional noun and not as attributive to the head of the whole NP.

As in the case of the genitive expression (section 8.1.1), double recursion (i.e., the occurrence of two successive appositional expressions) is possible. In this case the first consists of a noun alone and the second

of a noun plus either adjective or numeral, as in the following example:-

384. èbwatung ènìnye ènì èhà
children women people two 'two girls' BG001

For other notes on circumstances in which an appositional expression containing a numeral or adjective may occur see sections 7.6-7.

8.3.2. The Appositional Expression, Types 2 and 3

For the appositional expression, types 2 and 3, see sections 8.1.2 and 11.4.3 respectively.

8.4. The Demonstrative Expression

The demonstrative expression (abbreviated 'DemExpr') functions normally as an attributive element of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1) or occasionally of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1). It may also function as head of a NP of type 3d (section 7.2.3.4).

It consists of one of the following marked by one of the introducers áng'/ángi (singular), áb'/ábi (plural) and very occasionally also by oneof the terminals áná/ngin (singular), báná/bin (plural) (see sections 2.3.2, 3.2.1.2):-

Noun (section 8.4.1 - type 1)
Genitive pronoun or genitive expression (section 8.4.2 - type 2)
Numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex (section 8.4.3 - type 3)
Adjective (section 8.4.4 - type 4)
Adverbial Phrase (section 8.4.5 - type 5)

The introducers áng' and áb' have inherent mid tone.

Only the DemExpr type 1 may occur in a NP of type 2a. Type 4 may function only as head of a NP of type 3d.

The plural introducers and terminals, like the plural demonstratives (section 7.8) are used when the referent is a noun not inflected for number if reference is to a plurality of items, as well as when it is a plural noun

of class Ai or Aii (section 7.3.1-2) or a plural emphatic pronoun (section 7.4.1). See example 398.

The introducer forms ángi and ábi are used on the relatively infrequent occasions when the following word begins with a consonant (examples 398, 400-2, 404), the forms áng' and áb' elsewhere. When, however, the singular introducer is followed by a word beginning with the consonant 'k' it has the form ángk, as in examples 399, 405-7.

A demonstrative expression is frequently used for purposes of specification (i.e., indication of which of two or more possible referents is intended) or of special emphasis. For further notes on the function of demonstrative expressions of specific types and for exemplification see the subsections below.

8.4.1. The Demonstrative Expression, Type 1

This consists of a noun of one of the following two subclasses:-

a. 'Personal' noun of class Ai (section 7.3.1) indicating age or sex, viz.:-

ùkáàni	'senior person'
ùngwatung	'(young) child'
ùnìce	'man', 'male'
ùnìnye	'woman', 'female'

b. Ordinal numeral (see section 7.3.3), viz:-

ùgbugbe	'first'
ìrìhà	'second'
ìrìcià	'third'

etc.

Examples:-

385. ùngwan áng' ùnìnye 'the girl' (not the boy)
child woman HG043 (NP type 1)

386. ámín áng' ùngwatung án-nyie ìrìjwín íbere
he(4th) child sg-knew name their

'Child as he was, he knew their names' AC025 (NP type 2a)

387. áb' ènìnye è-yi ci ...
women pl-ISp sit

'The women (as opposed to the men) should sit ....'
CA005 (NP type 3d)

388. áb' ènìce bin é-he ìtàāyem bu à
men pl-put beads too ?

'Do the men wear beads too?' U4268 (NP type 3d)

389. maa-mìà áng' ùgbugbe màng kpèbè àbó k' áng' ìrìhà
I-finished first again put hand to second

'I have finished the first and have even started on the second' U5592

(NP type 3d, functioning in the second instance as an adverbial phrase of type 6 (section 9.7).)

8.4.2. The Demonstrative Expression, Type 2

This consists of a genitive pronoun (section 7.4.2) or, more frequently, of a genitive expression (section 8.1), which itself may be of either type 1 or type 2. It functions most frequently, but not exclusively, as an attributive element of a NP of type 1.

Examples:-

390. ùtùò áng' íyé (GenExpr, type 1, in NP type 1)
elephant of-outside HB021

(This is used to distinguish the elephant proper from the hippopotamus (ùtùò úmó 'elephant of water'), which is referred to in the context).

391. ukulo ímin áng' íríte
work his of-morning

'the work that he has to do in the morning' KD226

(The use of a demonstrative expression here makes possible the inclusion of both a genitive pronoun and a genitive expression (normally mutually exclusive) in a single NP).

392. á-màng mè áng' ábó irimère
he-again clenched of-hand left

'Then he clenched his left (fist)' AD020

(The genitive expression here consists of a noun expression, type 2, section 8.2.2. The previous sentence referred to the clenching of the right fist).

393. áng' ímin àhe ìyen 'his very own'
his 3rd.sg.Pn. himself HK008

(GenExpr, type 2, in NP type 3d)

394. áng' íbere ngá 'it is theirs' KD071
their Term (GenPn, in NP type 3d)

See also examples 313, 315.

8.4.3. The Demonstrative Expression, Type 3

This consists of a numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex (section 7.6). It functions most frequently as the head of a NP of type 3d, but see example 396 for an instance of its occurrence in a NP of type 1.

Examples:-

395. áng' ukìn a-dè .... 'one of them said ....'
one(person) sg-said HG044

396. ùnînye áng' kìn a-bù .... 'the one woman ran ....'
woman one sg-ran HL029

See also examples 330-1.

8.4.4. The Demonstrative Expression, Type 4

This consists of an adjective (section 7.7).

Example:-

397. a-hìm anyamcù ìsì hìm áng' ìbwàm hìm
it-appeared hare black appeared red appeared

áng' ìhùng
white

'It became a black hare, then became a red one, then became a white one' AJ149

See also example 52.

8.4.5. The Demonstrative Expression, Type 5

This, the most frequently occurring demonstrative expression type, consists of an adverbial phrase. See section 10.10.2 for details of AP classes which may function in this way. Most frequently the adverbial phrase is of class E ('locative', section 10.2.1), i.e., consists of one of the adverbs kin 'here', ká, káná, ko: 'there', kùn̄g 'where?' (see section 7.8).

The frequency and versatility of this demonstrative expression type compensate for the smallness of the class of simple adjectives (section 7.7.1). See, for instance, examples 399, 402, 404.

Examples:-

398. iyem ábi ká — 'those things' (in contrast to ones which are nearer) EA020
thing there
(cf. iyem áṅg ká 'that thing')

399. ìnyìè áṅg ko: — 'the other side' (in contrast to the nearer side) KA026
side there

400. ábi ká e-dè .... — 'the others said ....' (in contrast to a group mentioned earlier) (NP type 3d) KC034
there pl-said

401. ìpì ángi nàng — 'a place like this' HG047
place like-this

402. ènì ábi jì: — 'ordinary people' BG010
people merely

403. ìrìfàa áng' ònyín ngin — 'today's harmattan' U5455
harmattan today
(The harmattan is a very dry N.E. wind which blows during the dry season in West Africa)

404. ùkwo ángi dènaǹg — 'what kind of road?' HD019
road how?

405. ùkwo áṅg kùn̄g — 'which road?' KC045
road where?

406. áṅg kùn̄g á-dyeǹ fù
where? sg-became-big surpassed
'Which is the biggest?' (NP type 3d) U4257

407. bé r' áng kùng kùng
come with where where

'Bring any one you like' U2544

(For the 'indefinite' use of a repeated interrogative compare section 7.9.4)

See also examples 304, 322.

8.5. The Demonstrative Sentence Construct[1]

8.5.1. Function

The demonstrative sentence construct (abbreviated 'DemSCt') functions normally as either an attributive element of a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1) or the sole element of a NP of type 3e (section 7.2.3.5). It may also function as an attributive element of a NP of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1) or type 3d (section 7.2.3.4).

Unlike any other attributive element of the nominal phrase, the demonstrative sentence construct may be separated from the head of the phrase (and any other attributive elements within the same phrase) when occurrence in its normal position would unduly interrupt a verbal phrase complex (sections 4.2.2, 6.7), as in example 417 below.

8.5.2. Markers

The following introducers (sections 2.3.2, 3.2.1.1) function as markers of the demonstrative sentence construct:-

áng' (singular), áb' (plural)
ng' (singular), b' (plural)
ángi (ne)n' (singular), ábi (ne)n' (plural)
n' or nen'

The first pair of markers listed above bear inherent mid tone

---

1. The demonstrative sentence construct corresponds to what in many linguistic descriptions is termed a 'relative clause (or sentence)', but the term 'demonstrative' is used here in order to reflect the clear functional parallelism and structural resemblances between this construction and the demonstrative (section 7.8) and the demonstrative expression (section 8.4).

(section 2.3.2), the remainder inherent high tone.

The first pair are the most frequent in occurrence. The second pair are considerably less frequent. Functionally and semantically they have a considerable resemblance to the first, but they do not occur in a DemSCt which functions as sole element of a NP of type 3e. The introducer ng' frequently occurs when the head of the NP is a noun which has a 'temporal' implication, as in example 419 below. (This may well be linked with the use of ng' as a marker of the sentence type 4d, section 3.6.4, which is labelled 'Temporal/Causal').

The third pair are apparently indicative of a somewhat 'flowery' oratorical style, and the frequency of their use varies from one speaker to another. They have not been recorded in a DemSCt which functions as sole element of a NP of type 3e. See example 412.

The final introducer listed above occurs only in a DemSCt which functions as sole element of a NP of type 3e in object position in the structure of a clause. It may normally be translated 'how', and is undoubtedly to be linked with the identical introducer which functions as a marker of the sentence type 3d ('Manner', section 3.5.4). See examples 425-6.

The occurrence of an introducer is normally obligatory. When, however, the DemSCt functions as an attributive element in a NP of type 1 which has as its head either of the nouns ìpì 'place' or ìnyang 'time the introducer may be omitted. This is most frequently the case when the NP itself functions as an adverbial phrase of type 6 (section 9.7). See examples 413, 418.

The following terminals also function as markers of the demonstrative sentence construct:-

Singular	Plural
áná	báná
ngin	bin
ngáná	

For the semantic implications of each of these see section 3.2.1.2.

The occurrence of a terminal is optional, and the frequency of its occurrence appears to a certain extent to vary from one speaker to another. A terminal may occur in a clause which lacks an introducer, though its presence even there is not obligatory. See examples 413, 418.

The plural introducers and terminals, like those which mark the demonstrative expression (section 8.4), are used whenever reference is to a plurality of objects, even if, as in examples 411 and 413, the DemSCt is attributive to a noun which is not marked for number.

There is a significant similarity of form, as well as of function, between the demonstratives (section 7.8) and the introducers and terminals which mark the demonstrative expression and sentence construct. Compare, for instance, the following:-

ángin - áng' .... ngin
ángáná - áng' .... áná/ngáná, etc.

These parallels are undoubtedly accountable for in historical terms, but discussion of this lies outside the scope of this thesis.

A fairly large number of examples of the DemSCt is given in section 8.5.3 in order to illustrate the range of functions and of markers, as well as the various structural possibilities. Considerations of space prevent the inclusion of a completely exhaustive tabulation or exemplification of every possibility and combination.

8.5.3. Structure

The demonstrative sentence construct has the structure of a sentence of types 1, 2 or 3 (sections 3.3-5), i.e., a sentence which consists either of a single verbal clause[2] or of a nuclear verbal clause followed (but not preceded) by a periphery. The large majority of demonstrative sentence constructs recorded have the structure of a sentence of type 1. There appear to be no systematic restrictions to the

2. The term 'clause' here, as in chapter 3 (see section 3.2, footnote 1) is to be understood as including clause complexes (section 4.3) and clause strings (section 4.4), unless stated otherwise. The expression '(first) nuclear clause', used in this section, is to be interpreted as meaning 'single nuclear clause or the first clause of a nuclear clause complex or clause string'.

subtypes of the type 2 and 3 sentences which may function as a demonstrative sentence construct. For instances of a complex demonstrative sentence construct see examples 408-9 (type 3), 423 (type 2). All other examples are of type 1.

In the case of a demonstrative sentence construct functioning as an attributive element of a NP of types 1 or 2a the relation between the head of that NP and the nuclear clause of the construct may be of any one of the following five kinds (listed in order of frequency of occurrence):-

i. The function of the head of the NP corresponds to that of a NP with subject function within the nuclear clause of the demonstrative sentence construct (section 4.2): see examples 305, 316, 323, 408-13.

ii. The function of the head of the NP corresponds to that of a NP with object function within the (first) nuclear clause of the demonstrative construct (examples 308, 318, 331, 414, 416), or occasionally the second part of a 'benefactive' clause complex (section 4.3.3), in which case it is recapitulated by an object pronoun or emphatic pronoun (section 7.4) following the VP of the second clause, as in example 415.

iii. The function of the head of the NP corresponds to that of an adverbial phrase of types 2d or 6 (sections 9.3.4, 9.7) within the (first) nuclear clause of the demonstrative sentence construct, or occasionally within the second clause of a clause complex (section 4.3). See examples 417-9.

iv. The function of the head of the NP corresponds to that of a genitive expression (section 3.1.1) within a NP in the structure of the (first) nuclear clause of the demonstrative sentence construct. See below and examples 420-2.

v. The function of the head of the NP corresponds to that of a NP with object function within the (first) nuclear clause of (the first sentence of) the periphery of an indirect sentence (type 2a, section 3.4.1): see example 423.

In the first of the above cases no NP with subject function may occur in the nuclear clause of the demonstrative sentence construct itself. The selection of pronominal prefix (section 5.1.1) in the nuclear clause of the latter is governed by the person and number (where applicable) of the head of the NP.

Except when the nuclear clause of the demonstrative sentence construct is marked by the 1st or 2nd person singular pronominal prefixes (sections 3.2.2, 5.1.1), as in example 318, or by the plural pronominal prefix with 'impersonal' function (section 5.1.1.6), as in example 417, the occurrence of a NP with subject function in the nuclear clause of an attributive demonstrative sentence construct is in all other cases obligatory.

In the second of the above cases no more than one NP with object function may occur in the (first) nuclear clause. Similarly, in the fifth case no more than one NP object may occur in the (first) nuclear clause of (the first sentence of) the periphery.

In the fourth of the above cases the head of the NP of which the demonstrative sentence construct is part is itself recapitulated within the (first) nuclear clause of the construct by a genitive pronoun (section 7.4.2) forming (part of) the expansion of a NP within that nuclear clause. See notes to examples 420-2.

No initiating adverbial phrase (section 4.2) may occur in the nucleus of any demonstrative sentence construct.

When a demonstrative sentence construct functions as head of a NP of type 3e the occurrence of a NP with subject function within its nuclear clause is obligatory, except when, as in example 423, the whole NP functions as subject of the clause in which it occurs and the notional 'subject' of that clause and that of the nuclear clause of the construct are the same.

Neither a clause of type 3 (section 4.2.3) nor an emphatic clause (section 5.3) may function as the nucleus of a demonstrative sentence construct. The occurrence of a clause of type 2 (section 4.2.2) with this function is extremely rare.

Examples (with DemSCt underlined):-

408. ùce ámín áng' á-yi kwa ùci bé yàn
husband her(4th) sg-ISp held medicine came healed

ámín, k' ámín á-yi mia ngin
her (4th) that she sg-ISp recovered

'her husband who brought medicine and healed her so that she recovered' HG041

(Sentence type 3b, section 3.5.2)

(Note that the terminal ngin follows the peripheral element of the sentence construct).

409. ì-yi r'ùni áng' í-cwà r'ùné ímin,
it-is with-person he-pulls with-neighbour his

ng' ì-bâ íyé re
that he-come to-outside not

'There is no one who can pull his neighbour out' HB016

(Sentence type 3c, section 3.5.3. Note that subjunctive mode is used in the peripheral clause rather than indicative. Its function is apparently to indicate that the desired 'result' (cf. the label given to this sentence subtype) is not achieved).

410. èní áb' é-tìm ye èbèfià bánâ
people pl-returned went slaves

'the people who on the other hand went as slaves' TT6.12.2

(For tìm with adversative function see section 6.6.8).

411. ìbaa b' í-mwà èní bin
sore sg-falls people

'sores which afflict people' JC003

(Note that although the introducer and terminal are plural (since reference is to more than one sore) the pronominal prefix is singular, since the noun ìbaa is not itself marked for number).

412. edyìm ímin ábi nen' é-màng nyíé he mòōkpang
friends his pl-remote-past knew him before

'His friends who had known him before' T1265b

413. abe é-tèn .... mìà r'ìpì ì-yi bin wo: jì:
they pl-walk finish with-place sg-is all merely

'They walk to all the places that there are' HG002

414. ùnì ang' ámín i-bâ nà k'àté áná
person he(4th) sg-fut. see at-market

'the person whom he would see at market' AC009

415. ìpì unì áng' abe é-sà ukulo kǎ he
place of-person they pl-do work give him

'the place of the person for whom they work' U5012

416. èbèfià áb' ènì íten é-màng yi kwa nyie ji
slaves people our pl-remote-past held sold

gburugburu
long-ago

'the slaves which our people used to catch and sell long ago' TT6.10.1

(For the function of yi as a marker of a past situation no longer applying see section 6.6.7).

417. .... kà yá kung ipì bùrù áng' e-bâ kpà ìtàng
then go take place clear pl-fut. dig earth

áng' e-bâ mà ùcom áná
pl-fut. build house

'.... then go and clear the place where the earth will be dug with which the house will be built' BD003

(The underlined DemSCt is separated by the primary verb bùrù from the noun ìpì which functions as head of the NP of which the DemSCt forms an attributive element. Occurrence of the DemSCt immediately after ìpì would separate the secondary verb kung unduly from the primary verb. Note, too, that the underlined DemSCt includes a NP object which itself contains a DemSCt. There are no criteria by which to determine to which of the two DemSCts the terminal áná is to be assigned, since either may occur without a terminal. The juxtaposition of two identical terminals is, however, impossible).

418. ìpì anyamcù i-bâ gbà tàng ìnyìè ngáná
place hare sg-fut. pass cut side

'the place at which the hare will cross to the other side' AJ097

419. ì-yi r'ìrîte ng' àhe a-gù ìnyàm ne
it-is with-day he(emph) sg-killed animal not

'There was never a day on which he killed an animal'
AQ012

420. ùnì áng' ùci ímin i-bâ bwìn yá k'ùci hè: ngáná
person stick his sg-fut. break go to-height far

'the person whose stick breaks a long way up' AD049

(The genitive pronoun ímin in the NP subject recapitulates the noun ùnì functioning as head of the total NP).

421. ùyén íríbuo áng' àmi ye kung ìrìbuo ámín
owner of-kola I(emph) went took kola his(4th)

'the owner of the kola, whose kola I took' KA045

(The 4th person genitive pronoun ámín in the NP object recapitulates the noun ùyén functioning as head of the total NP).

422. ùnì áng' àhe á-ye k'ìpì ímin áná
person he(emph) sg-went to-place his

'the person to whose place he went' U6011

(The genitive pronoun ímin in the locative adverbial phrase (AP type 6) recapitulates the noun ùnì functioning as head of the total NP).

423. áng' á-kwa ùci a-dè, - áne - ùngwan áng' àhe
sg-held medicine sg-said (Vocative) child he(emph)

a-dè, ì-yi kpebe ngin h' á-yi nùng ngin
sg-said sg-ISp marry emph. sg-ISp is Term

'The one who held the medicine said, 'Madam, this is the child whom I said I would marry'. HG028

(The first DemSCt functions as sole element of a NP of type 3e, which in turn functions as subject of the clause. In the case of the second DemSCt, the function of the NP as a whole corresponds to that of a NP object following the VP ì-yi kpebe. For the vocative see section 3.11. For the emphatic construction see section 5.3).

424. .... kà fuò áb' àhe é-gbirì jwen áná́
then gathered they pl-cut-up gathered

'.... then gathered up what they had cut up and collected together' CD039

(The DemSCt functions as sole element of a NP of type 3e, which in turn functions as object of the clause).

425. í-nà n' abe é-cwà r'èné́
he-sees how they pl-pull with-neighbours

'He sees how they pull each other' HB013

426. e-fáá abe nen' e-bâ nìm ùtyéń
pl-teach them how pl-fut. till farm

'They teach them how they should farm' KC012

8.6. The Nominal Expression

The nominal expression (abbreviated 'NExpr') has the structure of a NP of type 1, but itself functions as head of a larger NP of the same type, which obligatorily contains at least one attributive element in addition to the nominal expression. It normally constitutes a recapitulation of a complex NP which has occurred in the same or an analogous form in the immediately preceding context.

It is to be distinguished from the noun expression (section 8.2) in that it has greater flexibility of structure (see below).

It is infrequent in occurrence, so it is not possible to state with any certainty what special restrictions, if any, apply to the structure of either the NP as a whole or the nominal expression which functions as its head. The examples given below are, however, believed to be typical. No instances of a nominal expression consisting of more than two elements have been recorded. It is believed that, while a nominal expression of three or even four elements is theoretically possible, the likelihood of its occurrence in a limited body of unelicited data is extremely remote. It would appear from recorded instances that a nominal expression consisting of noun plus demonstrative may be followed only by a numeral, numeral expression or numeral complex.

In each of the examples below the nominal expression is underlined. Each example is followed by a summary of its structure. It is to be noted that none of the examples is susceptible of analysis as a NP with a single noun as head, since the order of the elements - if they are analysed as being equal in status - differs from that found in a NP of type 1. The establishment of a nominal expression as a complex head element, on the other hand, both preserves the parallelism of structure with that of a noun-head NP and reflects the semantic function of the nominal expression as a recapitulation of an item previously referred to.

Examples:-

427. ìsíle ìhà ímin (Noun + Num) + GenPn
shilling two his 'his two shillings' HA029

(The context refers to a debt of two shillings)

428. ugàm ánangkere ímin ìhà (Nn + GenExpr) + GenPn + Num
sack of-groundnut his two

'his two sacks of groundnuts' CA027

(The context refers to a dispute over the ownership of two sacks of groundnuts).

429. ìnyàm ábin ìhà (Noun + Dem) + Num
animal these two 'both of these animals' AG094

8.7. Nominal Phrase Complexes

8.7.1. The Repetitive Nominal Phrase Complex (NPCx Type 1)

This consists of a NP of type 1 which is repeated in identical form but functions as a single unit, viz. as one of the following:-

a. a single nominal phrase;

b. a genitive expression (section 8.1.1);

c. an adverbial phrase of type 6 (section 9.7), i.e., a nominal phrase marked by a preposition or by tone change.

The repetition of the NP has a function which may be characterised as either 'distributive' (examples 430-1) or 'intensive' (examples 432-3).

Examples:-

430. k'ùngwù ókóbó òkóbò (genitive expression)
in-mouth of-penny penny

'by pennyworths' GC007

(The function of the NPCx as a genitive expression is marked by the raising of the tone of the prefix of the first noun, see section 8.1.1).

431. k'ìkùrù átin ìkùrù átin (AP type 6)
in-age-set age-set 'by age-sets' CD007

(Reference is to organised community labour).

432. ì-kwa iyem iyem ne
he-hold thing thing not

'He should not hold anything at all' AJ030

433. a-nè ùnìnì ùnìnì fò re
he-saw (distributive) again not

'He no longer saw anyone at all' AK083

(For the distributive noun see section 7.3.1.4, and compare example 340).

8.7.2. The Alternative Nominal Phrase Complex (NPCx Type 2)

This consists of two nominal phrases, each consisting of a noun followed by a numeral, the same noun occurring in both of the phrases. The whole functions as a single unit, with the function of either a single NP or a genitive expression.

The function of this complex is to indicate an approximate quantity, period of time, etc.

Example:-

434. e-sì náng kpòm: ye gbàjè k'ìrìhung
pl-did like-that continually went reached to-inside
úherè ìcià ùherè ìnè (genitive expression)
of-moon three moon four

'They went on doing that for three or four months' BF026

(The function of the NPCx as a genitive expression is again marked by the raising of the tone of the prefix of the first noun).

8.7.3. Additive Nominal Phrase Complexes (NPCx Types 3-4)

The NP complex type 3 consists of two or more NP's of type 1 (section 7.2.1), each of which has a different noun as its head. Some at least of the NP's are marked by the inclusive clitic àb' (section 7.10), the actual occurrence of the clitic with any given phrase being subject to personal and stylistic variation. The complete complex constitutes a listing of items and as such has the function of a single NP of type 1.

Example:-

435. àb' ùgbàḿ àb' ùtùò àb' ùfuo .... e-bâ yi
deer elephant bush-cow pl-fut. ISp

màà ámín
carry(on back) her(4th)

'The deer, the elephant and the bush-cow will carry her on their backs' HH029

The NP complex type 4 consists of two NP's of type 1, again with differing nouns as their head elements. The second is marked by the occurrence of the inclusive clitic, which itself is preceded by the 3rd person singular emphatic pronoun àhe. The combination of the pronoun and the inclusive clitic serves to link the two nominal phrases in a co-ordinative relationship.

Example:-

436. iyè úngwan àhe àb' idé úngwan e-dè ....
mother of-child father of-child pl-said

'The child's mother and father said ....' HG050

For other additive constructions involving nominal phrases see section 11.4.

CHAPTER NINE

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CHAPTER 9

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE - I

General Remarks

Adverbial phrase types manifest much greater structural diversity than do verbal and nominal phrases. For this reason their structure is described in detail (in sections 9.2-4), with particular attention to the structure of the adverb itself (section 9.2), before functionally determined classes are described (in chapter 10). In terms of the analytical model underlying this description functionally based classes take precedence over structurally based types, but for ease of description this order is here reversed, since the two sets of classification cut across each other to a considerable extent. Full details of this cross-cutting are given in Chapter 10. They are, however, summarised in the table which follows.

The following general characteristics are to be noted:-

1. Adverbial phrases of type 1 are represented in 12 out of the 23 classes.

2. Adverbial phrases of type 6 are represented in 6 classes.

3. Every other type is represented in only one class.

4. Adverbial phrases of classes J and O may be of more than one type (see sections 10.4.1, 10.5.1).

Table of Adverbial Phrase Classes and Types

AP Types:	1	2a	2b	2c	2d	3	4	5	6	7a	7b	7c	7d
AP Classes													
A						+			+				
B						+							
C			+										
D	+												
E	+												
F									+				
G									+				
H	+												
I	+												
J				+	+								+
K	+												
L									+				
M	+												
N									+				
O	+	+								+	+	+	
P	+												
Q	+												
R									+				
S	+												
T								+					
U	+												
V							+						
W	+												

In this chapter the majority of examples contain only one adverbial phrase (abbreviated 'AP'); in Chapter 10 the examples are chosen as far as possible on the basis of their illustration of the distributional criteria used for the setting up of each subclass. In the examples given in this and the next two chapters each AP is underlined.

9.1. Function of the Adverbial Phrase

9.1.1. The Adverbial Phrase as an Element of the Clause

The normal, definitive, function of the AP is as an element of the clause (section 4.2), viz:-

a. as (part of) the outer expansion of the nucleus of the verbal clause or

b. as the outer periphery of the verbal clause.

9.1.2. Other Functions

Adverbial phrases of certain classes may also function as either:-

a. a demonstrative expression (see section 8.4.5) or

b. part of an extended nominal phrase (see Chapter 11).

9.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1

An AP of type 1 consists normally of a single adverb (abbreviated 'Adv'), or occasionally of two adverbs.

Adverbs themselves fall into two basic structural types, the first being of fixed form and the second being describable in terms of doubling, repetition or lengthening of a theoretical root form. These two types are described in detail below.

9.2.1. The Adverb, Type 1

An adverb of this type has a fixed form. The number of adverbs falling into this type is relatively small, but some of them are very

frequent and widespread in occurrence. They are grouped below into subtypes on the basis of formal similarity, with notes on common semantic characteristics. Types 1a-1e are listed exhaustively; type 1f, comprising adverbs which bear little if any formal resemblance to each other or to members of other subtypes, includes a few additional members beyond those listed.

9.2.1.1. The Adverb, Type 1a

This comprises the following:-

kin	'here'
ká	'there'
káná	'there' (stronger but less frequent than ká)
kùn̄g	'where?'

Any of these may be preceded by the supplementary adverb yè, normally translatable as 'from', though sometimes (especially with kùn̄g, see example 504, or in emphatic position, section 10.10.3) bearing no meaning distinct from that of the following adverb. yè does not occur as the sole constituent of an AP, except in a demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5), as in example 505 below. For this reason the combination of yè plus another adverb is analysed as a single adverbial phrase. yè may occur in AP's of other types (see sections 9.3.3, 9.7).

The adverbs of this subtype normally bear a meaning which may be labelled 'locative'. kin and ká (yè kin, yè ká after the verb bé 'come') may also be used with incompletive primary aspect to indicate continuous action, as in examples 165-7, 179 and example 502 below. For the selection of kin or ká see section 3.2.1.2. For the occurrence of kin or ká in conjunction with perfective secondary aspect see section 5.2.1.1, paragraph 'g'.

Examples:-

501. èni é-jwen ká
people pl-gathered there

'There are some people there' AF086

502. i-bâ yè ká
he-comes from there

'He is coming' AK046

503. maa-kà ye yè kin
I-then went from here

'Then I went from here' KD032

504. o-gbè yè kùn̄g
you-passed where?

'Which way did you go?' KB034

505. àhe i-bâ yi bii ìpì ng' ámín i-bâ yè
he (emph) sg-fut. ISp ask place that he(4th) sg-comes from

'He will ask where he comes from' HG016

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.2.1.

The interrogative adverb kùn̄g may be doubled or trebled and bear 'indefinite' meaning in the same way as that described in section 7.9.4. for interrogatives in the nominal phrase.

Example:-

506. á-ye yè kùn̄g kùn̄g kùn̄g

'He went here, there and everywhere' EA032

9.2.1.2. The Adverb, Type 1b

This comprises the following:-

ngin	'here',	'thus'	
ngá	'there',	'like that'	
ngáná	'there',	'like that'	(stronger)
ána	'there',	'like that'	(infrequent)

(For the morphology of these forms, their parallelism with adverbs and terminals see section 3.2.1.2).

The adverbs of this subtype normally bear a meaning which combines both 'location' and 'manner'.

Examples:-

507. i-cɑ̂ ngá gbàjè k' àte irifo
he-stays reaches to-days ten

'He stays there/like that for ten days' BB008

508. è-tìà ngáná re
pl-touch not

'They should not touch him there/like that' AJ058

509. á-bé ..... kèn ne áná
it-came rolled-up lay

'It came .... and coiled up and lay there/like that' FB012

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.2.4.

9.2.1.3. The Adverb, Type 1c

This comprises the following:-

ìtàḿbin	or	ìtìtàḿbin	'like this'
ìtàḿbáná	or	ìtìtàḿbáná	'like that'

Note the morphological parallelism between these adverbs and those of subtypes 1a-b above.

These adverbs occur most frequently in emphatic position in the clause (section 5.3). They are infrequent elsewhere.

Example of use in non-emphatic position (for examples of use in emphatic position see 188, 197):-

510. é-bé kung iyem áná sì ìtàḿbáná
pl-came took thing the did like-that

'They came and did that to the thing' CD043

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype see section 10.3.

9.2.1.4. The Adverb, Type 1d

This comprises the following:-

nàng	'like this'
náng	'like that'

These are synonymous with adverbs of subtype 1c, but never occur in emphatic position.

Example:-

511. a-bùng náng nyìè re
it-was-red like-that previously not

'It was not red like that before' AJ145

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.3.

9.2.1.5. The Adverb, Type 1e

This comprises the following:-

pìrì	'together'
yiri	'at the same time'
kpùrù	'properly'

In addition, the 'intensive' forms yiridìdi:di and kpùrùdùdù:dù are assigned to this subtype. pìrì has not been recorded in an analogous 'intensive' form, but is assigned to this subtype on the basis of both formal and semantic similarity to yiri.

Example:-

512. abe e-yâ ngwa yiri
they pl-go drink at-the-same-time
'They go and drink together' JE029

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype and for an additional example see section 10.5.

9.2.1.6. The Adverb, Type 1f

This includes the following, among others:-

anéten	'previously'
àyini	'indeed'
bi, bu	'also', 'indeed'
hìihè	'only'
ikpala	'intentionally'
mòōkpang	'before'
ipìre, onère	'perhaps'
opyàng	'in vain'
pěè	'also', 'even'
utitìbì	'alone'
ùwere, ùwùwere	'always'
òbéène, ibéène, béène	'now', 'at once'
dènaǹg	'how?'

Example:-

513. àyini kin àhe á-yi yùò ábín mòōkpang
indeed here he(emph) sg-ISp heard them(ISp) before

'Indeed, he had heard them before' HG057

(For the combination àyini kin see section 10.11.

For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this subtype and for additional examples see sections 10.5-6, 10.11.

9.2.2. The Adverb, Type 2

An adverb of this type has a structure which may be described in terms of doubling or repetition of a theoretical root form or in terms of lengthening of a final vowel or nasal. (For the distinction between 'doubling' and 'repetition' see next paragraph. For the phonetic realisation of length see section 2.4). Apart from a few which are extensively used the majority of adverbs of this type are infrequent in occurrence.

These adverbs are grouped below according to the syllable pattern of the theoretical root form and subdivided according to whether they manifest doubling, repetition or lengthening. 'Repeated' roots may occur two, three or even more times, the degree of repetition reflecting degree of emphasis. 'Doubled' roots, on the other hand, are constant in form. 'Repeated' roots of pattern CV occur at least three times (see below), with the vowel of the penultimate syllable lengthened. (Compare double reduplication of verb stems, section 6.3.3.2. In this case, however, the root is repeated in identical form). As with the degree of repetition, so the degree of lengthening of the final vowel of this penultimate syllable or that of the final vowel or nasal of a lengthened form varies in proportion to the degree of emphasis intended.

The listing below is by no means exhaustive, but does include all adverbs of this type occurring in examples quoted earlier in this thesis plus a few others. For the function of an AP consisting of an adverb of this type see sections 10.1.2, 10.4.3, 10.4.5, 10.5-6.

9.2.2.1. The Adverb, Type 2a (CV Root)

i.	Doubled:	gógó	'ill'
		tìtì	'also'
ii.	Repeated:	càcà:cà	'clean'
		kpikpi:kpi	'nevertheless'
iii.	Lengthened:	cì:	'carefully'
		hè:	'far'
		jì:	'merely'
		ko:	'there'
		kpa:	'really'
		wa:, wo:	'all'
		yè:	'immediately'
iv.	Lengthened or Repeated:	kwe: or kwekwe:kwe	'small', 'few'

9.2.2.2. The Adverb, Type 2b (CVV Root)

i. Doubled: kpuòkpuò 'near'

ii. Lengthened: pia: 'tightly' (pulled from opposite directions)

Roots of this pattern are infrequent. No repeated roots have been recorded.

9.2.2.3. The Adverb, Type 2c (CVN Root)

i. Doubled: tàntàn 'good', 'well' (Rarely repeated three or more times)

ii. Lengthened: kpèm: kpòm: 'continually', 'until'
lung: 'deep'

iii. Lengthened or Repeated: kpaǹg: or kpaǹgkpaǹg 'smooth(ly)'
gbang: or gbanggbang...'altogether'
see also the intensified form gbanggara:
(compare section 5.2.2.1)

9.2.2.4. The Adverb, Type 2d (CVCV Root)

i. Doubled: gburugburu 'long ago'
màtemàte 'always'

ii. Repeated: byerèbyerè... 'sorrowful(ly)'
tèretère .... 'smooth(ly)'
karakara..... 'all' (occasionally lengthened)

iii. Lengthened: gbada: 'wide'
plĕte: 'light'
gbogo: 'completely dry'
gbudu: 'many', 'much'

9.2.2.5. The Adverb, Type 2e (CVNCV Root)

Roots of this pattern and of those listed below are infrequent. No repeated roots of this pattern have been recorded.

i. Doubled: fùndufùndu 'brown'

ii. Lengthened: kengge: 'curly'

9.2.2.6. The Adverb, Type 2f (CVCVN Root)

No doubled roots of this pattern have been recorded.

i. Repeated: gbilimgbilim.....'fat' (paunch)

ii. Lengthened: bèdèm: 'subsided'

9.2.2.7. Other Adverbs of Type 2

Type 2 adverbs of other root patterns include àlogòmàlogòm.... 'yellow' and òkpùkpùrù 'bald' (one syllable only doubled).

Examples of Type 2 Adverbs

514. a-kà pom abe kpikpi:kpi
he-then followed them nevertheless

AM004

515. i-yi kpuòkpuò bià r'ùcù
it-is near add to-compound

'it is near the compound' AG013

516. í-sà ìrìkang tàntàn
he-does thing well

BC001

517. ènì ùbwàm é-yebè gbudu:
people red pl-were-many many

'There were many white people' KD068

9.3. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2

An AP of type 2 has the structure of a nominal phrase of type 1 (section 7.2.1), viz., it consists of a noun, which functions as head, and in many cases of one or occasionally more attributive elements.

Four subtypes are set up. In each case the head noun is of a limited subclass and there are clear restrictions to the attributive elements which may occur. Nouns which may function as head of an AP of one of these subtypes are labelled 'adverbial' to distinguish them from nouns which do not function in this way. Many adverbial nouns may also function as head of a NP which has 'normal' (i.e., non-adverbial) function, but they have been recorded most frequently as occurring in adverbial phrases.

Phrases of these subtypes are analysed as adverbial rather than nominal on the following functional grounds:-

a. The major verb functioning as head of the preceding verbal phrase may be intransitive or semitransitive (section 6.3.1.1). In the case of type 2b the preceding major verb is always intransitive.

b. An AP of any subtype of type 2 may be preceded by one or more other adverbial phrases. (See Chapter 10).

9.3.1. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2a

This consists of an adverbial noun of class A, viz. either ùfàn or ùbwòn 'time', the former being more frequent in occurrence, obligatorily followed by either a numeral or, less frequently, a demonstrative.

Example:-

518.	é-sa	ùfàn	ìhà	'It is done twice'	KD110
	pl-do	time	two		

For the function of an AP of this subtype and for additional examples see sections 10.5.1-2.

9.3.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2b

This consists of an adverbial noun of class B, viz. ìnáng 'visiting', ìrìbíá 'marriage', ìrìyé 'home'. These do not occur with any attributive element. The major verb functioning as head of the preceding verbal phrase is always one of the following:-

bé 'come' ye 'go' nùò 'set out'
tèn 'walk' (with ìnáng only).

Examples:-

519. abe e-kà ye ìrìbíá' 'Then they went to be married'
they pl-then went marriage BG014

520. í-tèn ìnáng 'He is going visiting'
he-walks visiting AK033

For the function of an AP of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.1.3.

9.3.3. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2c

This consists of an adverbial noun of class C, normally without any attributive element. This class comprises the following members:-

òn yín	'today'
ùfo	'tomorrow'
úfúfo	'yesterday'
ìyecu	'any day after tomorrow
íyecu	'any day before yesterday'

òn yín may be followed by the demonstrative ángin 'this' (section 7.8).

Note the similarity of the second and third and of the fourth and fifth members of this class. Note also the function of tone to distinguish those referring to future time from those referring to past time. No such correlation between tone and indication of time is found at any other point in the language.

Example:-

521. e-bà ngwá he òn yín 'it will be drunk today'
pl-fut. drink it today HJ026

úfúfo and íyecu may be preceded by the supplementary adverb yè 'from' (section 9.2.1.1), as in the following example, which also includes

an adverbial phrase consisting of a locative adverb (type 1a) preceded by yè:-

522. ò-yi yè kūng yè úfúfo
you-are where? from yesterday

'where have you been since yesterday' U4233

For the function of an AP of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.4.1.

9.3.4. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2d

This consists of an adverbial noun of class D (see below) obligatorily followed by either a numeral or, much less frequently, a demonstrative, or occasionally both. Class D comprises the following adverbial nouns:-

ìrìjé (pl. àjé)	'year'
ùherè	'moon', i.e., 'month'
utyang	'week'
ìrìte (pl. àte)	'day'
àkàràkà	'clock', i.e., 'hour'
ìminìtì	'minute'

Example:-

523. á-nàm ngá ìrìte kìn
he-stood there/like-that day one

'He stood there/like that for one day' AQ005

For the function of an AP of this subtype and for additional examples see section 10.4.

9.4. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 3

This consists of a genitive pronoun (section 7.4.2), i.e., has the structure of a simple NP of type 3a (section 7.2.3.1). This phrase type is analysed as adverbial rather than nominal on the grounds that the (final) major verb of the preceding verbal phrase is always intransitive.

(See section 6.3.1.1 and see notes on the AP, type 2 in section 9.3 above).

Examples:-

524. a-gbè ímin ye
he-passed his went
'He went on his way' AB030

525. a-kà nùò ímin ye k'ùci
he-then set-out his went to-height
'Then he set out to climb' JE055

For the function of an AP of this type and for additional examples see section 10.1.2.

9.5. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 4

This has the structure of a NP of type 4 (section 7.2.4), i.e., consists of a verbal noun (section 7.3.5) obligatorily preceded by a nominal phrase object (NPo) and optionally followed by an adverbial phrase. Like type 3 above, this phrase type is analysed as adverbial rather than nominal on the grounds that the (final) major verb of the preceding verbal phrase is always intransitive.

Examples:-

526. ó-ye ìbang àsìni
you-went what doing
'What did you go to do?' KA004

527. àbèrɛ é-màng nùò ìrìbuo àcièni
we pl-emph, past set-out kola carrying
'We had gone to carry kola' KA005

528. á-ye ìgwén àgùni k'àcì íríte
he-went grass pulling at-face of-day
'He went to pull grass early in the morning' AN001

For the function of an AP of this type see section 10.8.2.

9.6. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 5

This consists of a single verbal noun (section 7.3.5), i.e., has the structure of a simple NP of type 4 (section 7.2.4). The root of the verbal noun is identical with that of the verb functioning as head of the preceding verbal phrase. The function of the AP in this case is mainly stylistic, in that it provides a means of 'rounding off' a sentence that would otherwise terminate unduly abruptly. (See also section 6.3.1.1).

As in the case of types 2-4, this phrase type is analysed as adverbial rather than nominal on functional grounds, viz:-

a. The major verb functioning as head of the preceding VP may be intransitive.

b. It may be preceded by another AP (section 10.7).

An AP of this type may not occur if the major verb functioning as head of the preceding VP is semitransitive (section 6.3.1.1).

Examples:-

529. e-nè gwíá he àgwiani
pl-began laugh him laughing
'They began to laugh at him' JC027

530. á-buù àbibà ímin àbuùni
it-opened wing its opening
'It spread its wings' U4902

For the function of an AP of this type and for further examples see section 10.7.

9.7. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 6

This consists of a nominal phrase of almost any type (see below), or of a nominal phrase complex of type 1 (section 8.7.1), marked in one of the following ways:-

a. by one of the prepositions k', r' (or its stronger form har'), n' (or its free variant nen') or pìrì, or by pìrì followed by n';

b. by raising of the tone on the prefix of a noun constituting the head of the NP in a manner similar to that described in section 8.1.1 for the genitive expression, type 1;

c. occasionally by both the preposition n' and the terminal ngin.

For the tonal characteristics of the preposition k', r' and n' see section 2.3.2. The prepositions k' and n' are identical in form with two of the introducers described in section 3.2.1.1. and have similar tonal characteristics. (See also section 1.5.1).

Raising of the tone of a nominal prefix is equivalent functionally to the use of the preposition k'. It may not, however, occur if an AP of type 6 marked by k' occurs earlier in a series of two or more AP's in the outer expansion of the nucleus of a verbal clause.

A NP ~~construct~~ marked by k' (or raised prefix tone) normally bears 'locative' meaning, and may be preceded by the supplementary adverb yè 'from' (section 9.2.1.1), as in examples 535, 538. Occasionally, however, the meaning may be classed as 'temporal' or (rarely) 'instrumental' (see section 4.2.2, final paragraph). The other prepositions may all frequently be translated 'with', but the full range of their meaning is best deducted from the examples given below and in the next two chapters. n' (or nen') occassionally expresses 'manner', in which case the NP is normally followed by the terminal ngin, as in example 537. Compare this construction with the complex sentence type 3d (labelled 'Manner', section 3.5.4), which is marked in the same way.

There appear to be no significant restrictions on the types of nominal phrase which may function as an AP of this type nor on their internal structure, other than the following:-

a. NP's of types 3e and 3f (sections 7.2.3.5-6) do not function as an AP, nor does a NP with a nominal expression (section 8.6) as head.

b. Only a NP of type 1 may be marked by raising of tone. A NP of type 3d (section 7.2.3.4) may, however, occur without any overt marker, having a function identical with that of a NP of type 1 with raised prefix tone. (A NP of type 3d is always marked by an introducer with high tone, so the question of the raising of the initial tone of the first element of the phrase does not arise).

Examples:-

531. àbère é-ngwìà k-àhà k'àkàràkà ìdiècià
we pl-enter to-inside at-hour seven

'We go in at seven o'clock' CB011

532. é-nà gbà r'iyem ábáná
pl-see pass with-thing those

'They look after those things' KC015

533. í-nyinyùò r'àbènèni
it-is-hard(stative) for-spoiling

'It is hard to spoil' (NP type 4) AJ085

534. a-gbàjè k'àfèneni
it-reached to-giving-birth

'The time of childbirth arrived (NP type 4) PB001

535. ì-hìm íyé yè k'ùbere
it-emerge to-outside from in-hole

'It should comeout of the hole' AE035

536. á-kung he kwa ye ucù
he-took it held went to-compound

'He carried it home in his hand' AF038

537. a-kà kung èbènung kpì n' ùnìóm ngin
he-then took gum cut like human-being

'Then he carved the gum to look like a human being' AD013

538. a-nòkpó yè itàng
he-got-up from on-ground

'He got up from the ground' JB041

For the function of an AP of this type and for additional examples see the following sections:-

k' or raised tone:	10.2.2, 10.2.5, 10.4.6-7, 10.5.2-3 10.11, 11.3.
n' or nen':	10.2.3, 10.2.5, 11.4.3.
r' or har':	10.1.1, 10.4.4, 10.4.7, 10.6.4, 10.11, 11.4.1-2.
pìrì (n'):	10.6.4, 11.4.1.

9.8. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 7

An AP of Type 7 consists of a repeated nominal. There are four subtypes.

9.8.1. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 7a

This consists of a repeated noun of class Aii or Aiii (sections 7.3.2-3). Within the bounds of semantic possibility any noun of these classes may function in this way.

Examples:-

539. e-sébé umó ìne ìne
pl-heat water fire fire
'The water is made hot' KD136

540. e-kà ..... kúng he mà ilìm ilìm
pl-then take it mould lump lump
'Then it is .... moulded into lumps' GA004

541. o-kà bâ r'àhe èbènung èbènung bâ k'ùcù
you-then come with-it blood blood come to-compound
'Then you bring it home bleeding' KA023

In rapid speech such repeated nouns may be shortened, as in the following specimens:-

ùkán 'strength': ùkán ùkán 'strong', frequently [ùkù:kán]

ìtan 'emptiness': ìtan ìtan 'empty' frequently [ìtì:tan]

For the function of an AP of this subtype and of subtypes 7b-c below and for an additional example see section 10.5.

9.8.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 7b

This consists of a repeated intensifier (section 7.5).

Example:-

542. ìne a-kà yebè ìyen ìyen
fire sg-then was-much

'Then the fire became too big' AJ055

9.8.3. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 7c

This consists of a repeated numeral (section 7.6).

Example:-

543. é-muo kìn kìn
pl-climbed one one 'They climbed one by one' AK022

9.8.4. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 7d

This consists of a repeated adverbial noun of class C (section 9.3.3).

Example:-

544. yè kung ó-yíye íyecu íyecu ngin
where emph you-went(stative) Term

'Where have you been all this time?' KC001

(For the emphatic construction see section 5.3. For the stative form of the verb see section 6.3.3.1).

Repetition of ònyín 'to-day' serves to link two successive sentences in the manner illustrated by the following examples. The repetition may occur either in the first or in both of the sentences involved. The two sentences may together be analysed as constituting a sentence complex (section 3.1).

Examples:-

545. á-fo ònyín ònyín. e-búú ìrìfó ímin
he-died pl-open death his

'His funeral rites are begun on the very day of his death'
BF006

546. á-kpe ònyín ònyín. á-bwaǹ r'àhe fùò ònyín ònyín
he-received he-repeated with-it wrote

'He wrote back on the very day that he received it'
U5428

In rapid speech repeated adverbial nouns may be shortened in a manner analogous to that described above for nouns. For instance, ònyín ònyín is frequently heard as [ònyó:nyín].

For the function of an AP of this subtype see section 10.4.1.

CHAPTER TEN

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CHAPTER 10

THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE - II

23 classes of adverbial phrase are set up on the basis of function. They are labelled serially from A to W. Apart from the last, which comprises AP's which function only in initial position (outer periphery) in the clause (section 4.2), these classes are set up primarily on the basis of relative position in a sequence of AP's in the outer expansion of the clause nucleus.

It would undoubtedly be possible to set up an even greater number of classes and of subdivisions within the classes on the basis of co-occurrence restrictions between their members and those of other classes. This would be the case with class O (see below and section 10.5) in particular. This process could be taken almost to the point where each one of the items assigned to certain of the classes described below could be assigned to a separate one-member class. Detailed study of a far greater body of data would, however, be required before any real validity could reasonably be claimed for such an analysis. Even then one might justifiably question its practical value.

The analysis given in this section, on the other hand, is believed to account fairly adequately for the principal distributional characteristics of adverbial phrases as exemplified in the body of text analysed, subject to the limitations imposed (as described in the appropriate sections below) by the relative infrequency of certain items or classes.

The table which follows summarises the co-occurrence potentialities of AP's of classes A - T. Classes U and V comprise AP's which do not co-occur with any other, while class W, as mentioned above, comprises AP's which function only in initial position in the clause. The latter are described in section 10.11 below. Combinations of three or more AP's of classes A - T are described in section 10.9. Classes A - S normally occur in the relative order implied by their alphabetical label. Class T has very limited co-occurrence potential (see below).

Up to four AP's have been recorded in sequence, and there appears to be no structural reason why even more may not occur, subject to the limitations described below, though the frequency of such combinations is likely to be extremely low, since only four examples have been recorded of a sequence of four AP's in a single clause and sequences of three are far from frequent.

In the table each horizontal row represents the first member in a sequence of two adverbial phrases and each vertical column the second member. A 'plus' sign indicates co-occurrence, a 'minus' non-co-occurrence. Parentheses enclosing a 'plus' sign indicate that, although the combination is not exemplified in text it is confidently believed (from general experience with the language) to be possible.

Thus the 'plus' sign in the first row under 'C' is to be interpreted as meaning that at least some members of class A have been recorded in text as being followed by at least some members of class C, and so on, and that, subject to semantic and stylistic compatibility, all the members of the two classes are firmly believed to have the potentiality of co-occurrence.

In general, the members of most of the classes bear a formal and/or semantic resemblance to each other, though this is by no means a case of one-to-one formal correspondence between functional class and structural type, at least as far as basic structure is concerned. For instance, AP's consisting of a NP marked by the preposition r' (section 9.7) are assigned to both class A and class L, and AP's consisting of a NP marked by the preposition k' are assigned to classes F and N. It is, however, possible in both cases to set up distinct subgroupings among the nouns which may function as head of the NP in each case.

Class O, however, has a membership which is widely diverse both formally and semantically. It is set up as a single class on the grounds of mutually exclusive distribution among its members and the potential co-occurrence of each of them with preceding and/or following

AP's of other classes. The majority of its members are relatively infrequent in occurrence, or at least in co-occurrence with AP's of other classes. This fact prevents any valid or useful subdivision of this class into smaller classes on the basis of recorded text material.

The members of classes P and Q bear a formal resemblance to the members of class D or to some of the members of class O, but are to be distinguished on distributional grounds.

The classes themselves are grouped together on grounds which are basically distributional and in some cases also semantic, and which are described in more detail below.

Co-occurrence of Adverbial Phrases Classes A - T

	1				2				3	4					5	6				7
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
A	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
B	-	-	+	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+
F	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
G	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	-
H	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	(+)	+	(+)	(+)	-
I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
J	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	(+)	(+)	-	-
K	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
O	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	(+)	-
Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
R	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	-
S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
T	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-

The seven groups of classes marked off by the lines on the table are described in sections 10.1-7 respectively. They are given the following labels, those for groups 2-4 being semantically based, as explained in the appropriate sections below:-

1. Primary (section 10.1)
2. Locative/Associative (section 10.2)
3. Manner (Section 10.3)
4. Temporal (section 10.4)
5. General (section 10.5)
6. Qualifying (section 10.6)
7. Verbal (section 10.7)

Certain classes are relatively infrequent in occurrence, or at least in occurrence in a sequence of AP's. Moreover, certain classes have small membership. These facts together account for the cases where a 'plus' sign appears in parentheses in the table. Certain other combinations may in fact be possible, especially where the two classes involved are both either infrequent or of small membership. In particular, the following combinations may yet turn out to be possible: class H with classes G, K, L, N; I with J, L, N; O with R, S.

The principal restrictions on co-occurrence of classes may accordingly be summarised as follows:-

Class A does not co-occur with classes H-N, R
..... B ..... G-S
..... C ..... G-S
..... D ..... G-S
..... E I
..... J ..... O, S
..... K ..... M, O-S
..... L ..... N-S
..... M ..... O-S
..... N ..... P-S
(i.e., classes K-N are followed only by the class next in order, except that K may be followed by N).

Class T co-occurs only with classes E, F, I, S.

The mutually exclusive distribution of each of the pairs A and B, C and D, J and K, Q and R is probably also of syntactic significance, though it is possible that further data may show that members of these pairs may in fact co-occur.

In general, the relative order of classes other than E-H is virtually fixed. The few cases in which AP's of two classes other than E-H occur in the reverse of their normal order involve either a class of very small membership or a limited subgrouping within a class, or both. These are described in the appropriate sections below in terms of AP complexes.

An AP complex (abbreviated 'APCx') is defined as a semantically close-knit sequence of either (a) two (very occasionally more) AP's occurring in the reverse of their normal order with a function similar to that of the first of the AP's when occurring without the other(s) or (b) two (or occasionally more) AP's of the same class with a function similar to that of a single AP of the same class.

10.1. Primary Adverbial Phrases (Classes A-D)

The four classes constituting this group share the following distributional characteristics:-

i. AP's of these classes invariably precede any co-occurring AP's of any other class - hence the label 'primary'.

ii. AP's of these classes do not co-occur with AP's of classes H-N, R, T; AP's of classes B-D share the further characteristic that they do not co-occur with AP's of any class other than E and F, except that AP's of classes B and C may co-occur.

iii. AP's of classes A-C may not be preceded within the same clause by a nominal phrase object (section 4.2); they are most frequently (always in the case of classes B and C) preceded by one of a limited class of verbs.

10.1.1. Class A

Each member of this class is an AP of type 6, viz. a nominal phrase marked by the preposition r' (section 9.7).

The preceding verbal phrase most frequently has one of the following as its (final) major verb:-

yi	'be'	(yi r'(NP) 'be with', i.e., 'have')
ye	'go'	(ye r'(NP) 'go with', i.e.,'take')
bé	'come'	(bé r'(NP) 'come with', i.e., bring')
nòkpó	'go away'	(nòkpó r'(NP) 'go away with', i.e.,'take away')
tìm	'return'	(tìm r'(NP) 'return with', i.e, 'bring back')
cù[1]	'draw'	(cù r'(NP) 'pull')

The preceding verbal phrase may, however, occasionally have one of a large number of other verbs as its (final) major verb. There are no apparent syntactic restrictions either in the range of nominals which may function as head of the NP or on the attributive elements which may occur.

Examples (see also example 576):-

547. é-bé ye r'anyamcù ìrìyé (AP classes A/C)
pl-came went with-hare home
'They came and took the hare home' EA031

548. i-bâ r'ìrìsi nywè: (AP classes A/D)
he-comes with-head a-little
'He pokes his head a little way out' FA013

10.1.2. Class B

Each member of this class is an AP of type 3, i.e., a genitive pronoun (section 9.4).

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1. cù occurs most frequently with an AP of this class. It may, however, also be used transitively to refer to drawing with a pencil, etc., and also intransitively of the ingredients of soup or other liquid beverages 'drawing'; related to this is a further transitive use with ùfìa 'soup', when it may be translated 'cook'.

The preceding verbal phrase always has one of the following as its (final) major verb:-

ye	'go'
bé	'come'
nùò	'set out'
gbè	'pass'
ci	'sit'

The meaning of this class is difficult to define clearly. Quite often it appears to contrast the action referred to by the clause in which it occurs with that performed by some other actor, and may be translated 'for his part', 'on the other hand' etc.

Examples:-

549. a-nùò ímin ìrìyé (AP classes B/C)
he-set-out his home

'He on the other hand set off home' Tx

550. á-yíyí:ye ímin k'ùtyén (AP classes B/F)
he-went(intensive) his to-farm

'He for his part kept going to the farm' EA016

10.1.3. Class C

Each member of this class is an AP of type 2b, i.e., an adverbial noun of class B (section 9.3.2).

The preceding verbal phrase always has one of the following as its (final) major verb:-

ye	'go'
bé	'come'
nùò	'set out'
tèn	'walk'

For the correlation of specific members of this class with specific verbs see section 9.3.2.

Example:- (see also example 547)

551. á- ..... ye ìrìbíá k'owaka (AP classes C/F)
she - went marriage to-Owaka

'She went to be married at Owaka' AJ019

10.1.4. Class D

Each member of this class is an AP of type 1, viz. one of a limited number of adverbs of type 2 (section 9.2.2), subtypes a.iii or occasionally d.ii, e.g.:-

cì: 'carefully'
hè: 'far away'
nywè: 'a little way'
plè: 'very early'
gbada: 'wide'

Example (see also example 548):-

552. a-hìm plè: yè ká (AP classes D/E)
he-emerged very-early from there

'He came out from there very early' HA012

10.2. Locative/Associative Adverbial Phrases (Classes E-H)

The four classes constituting this group share the following distributional characteristics:-

i. Apart from the restrictions quoted in section 10.1 for primary AP's, AP's of these classes may co-occur with AP's of any other class, except that class H has not so far been recorded as co-occuring with classes G, K, L, N. Class E does not co-occur with class I. (As mentioned above, class H has a small membership and is relatively infrequent in occurrence).

ii. Unlike other groups of classes, there is considerable freedom of order among the classes constituting this group. See section 10.2.5 below.

10.2.1. Class E

Each member of this class is an AP of type 1, viz. an adverb of type 1a (section 9.2.1.1), or the type 2a adverb ko: 'there' (section 9.2.2.1). Any of the former may be preceded by the supplementary adverb yè.

Each member of this class bears a meaning which may be labelled 'locative'.

Example (see also examples 552, 559):-

553. àhe ì-yi câ kin n'ayùn̄g (AP classes E/G)
he (emph)sg-RS sit here with-whom?

'With whom would he sit here?' HE028

10.2.2. Class F

Each member of this class is an AP of type 6, viz. a nominal phrase or NP complex marked by the preposition k' or by the raising of the tone of the prefix of the noun functioning as head of the NP (section 9.7). The phrase almost always bears a 'locative' meaning, though an 'instrumental' meaning is also possible.

There are no apparent syntactic restrictions, either on the range of nominals which may function as head of the NP or on the attributive elements which may occur.

Examples (see also examples 557-8, 563):-

554. i-mwà ùné k'àkparakpàrà n'àhe re (AP classes F/G)
he-falls(into) sleep on-bed with-her not

'He does not sleep in bed with her' AH071

555. àmi m-bâ yi ná k'ìtàng ngin (AP classes F/H)
I(emph) I-fut. ISp lie on-ground here/thus

'I shall lie down here/like this' KA046

556. ìtung í-nùò k'ìpì ángin nàng (AP classes F/I)
hunger sg-sets-out at-place this thus

'There is famine here like this' HL001

10.2.3. Class G

Each member of this class is an AP of type 6, viz. a nominal phrase marked by the preposition n' (or nen') and occasionally also by the terminal ngin. See section 9.7 for these markers and for discussion of their meaning.

Examples (see also examples 553-4):-

557. maa-kà bé ci n'patrick k'enugu ìrìte kìn
I-then came sat with-Patrick at-Enugu day one

'Then I came and stayed with Patrick at Enugu for one day' KD208

(AP classes G/F/J)

10.2.4. Class H

Each member of this class is an AP of type 1, viz. an adverb of type 1b (section 9.2.1.2).

This class manifests a certain flexibility of order in relation to AP's of classes other than those described in preceding sections. See sections 10.4.2, 10.10.1, 10.11.2.

Examples (see also examples 555, 564):-

558. í-nyùà k'ùcom ngin ònyín ne
he-stays in-house here today not

'He will not stay here in the house today' AHO70

(AP classes F/H/J)

559. ì-yi ngin kin
he-is here/thus here AHO20

(AP classes H/E)

10.2.5. Locative/Associative Adverbial Phrase Cluster

As stated earlier, AP's of classes E-H may co-occur in almost any sequence. On the other hand, they maintain a constant position in relation to AP's of other classes. Two or more co-occurring AP's of any of these four classes are accordingly grouped together as a single

AP cluster (abbreviated 'APCr'). The label 'locative/associative' is employed to characterise the cluster as a whole.

As may be deduced from the table given at the beginning of this chapter, the only sequence of AP's from this group which is not exemplified in text is H/G. This may, however, be due to the fact that these two classes are considerably less frequent in occurrence than classes E and F and also to the fact that class H has a limited membership.

Two AP's of class F may co-occur, with or without additional AP's of other classes (examples 536, 560, 562), but in this case only the first may be marked by raising of the tone of the prefix of the noun functioning as head of the NP.

In general, the first is the most 'emphatic' position in a sequence of two or more AP's from this group.

In a sequence of three AP's from this group only classes E and F have been recorded in first position. Class H has only once been recorded in a sequence of three AP's from this group - in second position, with AP's of class F both preceding and following (Example 560).

Examples:-

560. maá- .... ye nàm k'ìrìyàa ijoko ngáná
I- .... went stood at-junction of-Ijoko there/like-that

k'ìrìten ímánggòrò r'ìkùrúkù ucàgà
at-underneath of-mango in-evening of-Uchaga
(day of local week)

'I went and stood there at Ijoko's turning underneath the mango-tree on Uchaga evening' KD012

(AP classes F/H/F/L)

561. a-kà .... bé wu k'ì-ìng kin n'àhe
he-then came poured on-ground here with-him

'Then ..... he came and fell on the ground here by him' JD014

(AP classes F/E/G)

562. i-bâ cà k'ìrìten íkibi òbàhè k'umó kin
he-comes sits at-underneath of-coconut in-water here

'He .... comes and sits here under the coconut-palm in the water' AA003

(AP classes F/F/E)

For additional examples of an APCr consisting of two AP's from this group see the following:-

553 (E/G) 554 (F/G) 555 (F/H)
557 (G/F) 558 (F/H) 559 (H/E)

See also section 10.9.

10.3. Class I ('Manner')

This class has a distribution similar to that of classes E-H, except that it has not so far been recorded as co-occurring with classes J, L, N. This may be due to the fact that it has a small membership and is relatively infrequent in occurrence. Unlike classes E-H, it has a fixed position in relation to all other classes, except under the conditions described in section 10.10.1. Moreover, it is not preceded by classes A-E.

This class comprises AP's which are all of type 1, viz. the following adverbs of type 1:-

nàng 'like this', náng 'like that'
(type 1d, section 9.2.1.4)

ì(tì)tàḿbin 'like this' ì(tì)tàḿbáná 'like that'
(type 1c, section 9.2.1.3)

dènaǹg 'how?' (type 1f, section 9.2.1.6)

Examples (see also example 556):-

563. àbère é-sà náng màtemàte irihùng áte àdyaǹg
we pl-do like-that every-day to-inside of-days five

'We do that daily for five days' CB013

(AP classes I/K/N)

564. e-kà kúó he k'ùngwù ókáàrà dènaǹg
pl-then call it in-mouth of-foreigner how?

'Then what is it called in English?' KC026
(AP classes F/I)

The interrogative adverb dènaǹg has not been recorded as being followed by any other AP. Like ì(tì)tàḿbin/-báná, it occurs most frequently in emphatic position. See section 10.10.3.

10.4. Temporal Adverbial Phrases (Classes J-N)

The five classes constituting this group share the following distributional characteristics:-

i. Apart from class J, AP's of these classes are followed only by the class next in order, except that K may be followed by N.

ii. AP's of these classes are not preceded by AP's of classes A-D (section 10.1).

All five classes have a meaning which may be labelled 'temporal'.

10.4.1. Class J

Each member of this class is an AP of one of the following types:-

2c (adverbial noun, class C, occasionally followed by a demonstrative, section 9.3.3)

2d (adverbial noun, class D, obligatorily followed by a numeral and/or a demonstrative, section 9.3.4)

7d (repeated adverbial noun of class C, section 9.8.4).[2]

Further data may make it possible to set up three classes to correspond to the three types, but present data indicate that the three types are mutually exclusive and in general share similar distributional

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2. The assignment of type 7d to class J is based on formal similarity to type 2c. It is, however, infrequent in occurrence and has not been recorded as co-occurring with any class from K onward.

characteristics.

Examples (see also examples 557-8):-

565. á-nam ngá ìrìte kìn
he-stood there/like that day one

'He stood there/like that for one day' AQ005

(AP classes H/J)

566. m-bâ yà ká ùfo r'ìkùrúkù
I-fut. go there tomorrow in-evening

'I shall go there tomorrow evening'

(AP classes E/J/L)

10.4.2. Adverbial Phrase Complex, Type 1

This consists of one of the adverbial nouns òǹyín, úfúfo or íyecu ('today', 'yesterday', 'any day before yesterday') followed by the type 1b adverb ngin 'here'/'like this'. The combination is analysed as an adverbial phrase complex (APCx), since the two elements occur in the reverse of the normal order (viz. J/H) and together have a distribution identical with that of a simple AP of class J. Semantically, too, they function as a unit, the adverb ngin serving to reinforce the preceding adverbial noun, in a way identical with that of the demonstrative ángin, as referred to in section 9.3.3.

Example:-

567. á-fo òǹyín ngin 'He died today' BF010
he-died today here

10.4.3. Class K

This class has two members, both of which are AP's of type 1, viz. the adverbs màtemàte 'every day' and puru: 'continually'. They do not co-occur with AP's of class J but are set up as a separate class on the grounds of more restricted distribution.

Example (see also example 563)

568. i-bâ kín màtemàte r'ìkùrúkù
he-comes here every-day in-evening

(AP classes E/K/L)

10.4.4. Class L

Each member of this class consists of an AP of type 6, viz. a nominal phrase marked by the preposition r'. (section 9.7) or of the reduplicated form r'ìterìte 'in the morning' (cf. ìrìte 'day'). The NP has as its head one of the following nouns:-

ùnyòm	'dry season'
ihùng	'rainy season'
ìcìè	'sun' (i.e., midday)
ìkùrúkù	'afternoon, evening'
ùcu	'night'
	one of the days of the week (either the 5-day local week or the 7-day European week)
ìrìgben	'distance' (when used of period of time)

The following attributive elements may follow the noun:-

Demonstrative, demonstrative expression, demonstrative sentence construct (after any except ìrìgben).

Genitive expression, consisting of a noun referring to one of the days of the week (after ìcìè, ìkùrúkù, ùcu), as in example 560 above.

(For demonstrative, etc. see sections 7.8, 8.4, 8.5. For genitive expression see section 8.1.1.)

This class contrasts both distributionally and semantically with class A (section 10.1.1), although the two are similar in terms of basic structure. Both the range of nouns functioning as head of the NP and range of attributive elements which may occur are, however, restricted in the case of this class but not in that of class A.

Examples (see also examples 560, 566, 568):-

569. é-kìm ànyà rùcu kpèm:
pl-beat dance at-night for-long-time

'They drum and dance at night for a long time' LA004
(AP classes L/M)

570. abe é-kàng r'ìrìgben kpèm: à
they pl-talk at-distance for-long-time ?

'Do they keep on talking for a long time?' KD090
(AP classes L/M)

10.4.5. Class M

This class has as its sole member an AP of type 1, viz. the adverb kpèm: or its idiolectal variant kpòm: 'for a long time', 'continually', 'until'.

Example (see also examples 569-70):-

571. i-náà kpèm: k'àto àdièhà
he-stays for-long-time to-days seven

'He stays there for all of seven days' LB010
(AP classes M/N)

10.4.6. Class N

Each member of this class is an AP of type 6 (section 9.7), viz. a nominal phrase marked either by the preposition k' or by raising of the tone of the prefix of the noun functioning as head of the NP. The NP has as its head one of the following:-

a. ùnyang/ìnyang 'time'; ìcie 'sun';

b. an adverbial noun of class D (section 9.3.4);

c. ìrìhùng 'inside' followed by a genitive expression (section 8.1.1) whose head is itself an adverbial noun of class D.

(The forms ùnyang and ìnyang are identical in meaning and approximately equal in frequency in an AP of this class. Elsewhere the form ùnyang is usual. ìnyang is particularly frequent when the AP itself

is in initial position in a clause (section 10.11.1).

This class contrasts both distributionally and semantically with class F (section 10.2.2), although the two are similar in terms of basic structure. The range of nouns functioning as head of the NP is, however, restricted in the case of this class but unrestricted in the case of class F. (Compare the similar characteristic noted in section 10.4.4 above for class L).

This class contrasts semantically with class L in that the latter refers to a certain part of the year, week, etc., while this class refers to a specific point of time. Both in turn contrast with the use of class J to refer to a period of time during which an event, etc. is stated to take place.

Example (see also examples 563, 571):-

572. abe é-kung ìrìjém kwa k'ùnyang ánga yiri
they pl-took pregnancy held at-time that at-same-time

'They both conceived then at the same time' FC004
(AB classes N/O)

10.4.7. Adverbial Phrase Complex, Type 2

This consists of an AP of class N followed by an AP of class L. The former consists of k'àkàràkà + numeral ('at .... hour(s)', i.e. 'at .... o'clock') and the latter of either r'ìterìte 'in the morning', r'ìcìè 'at midday', r'ìkùrúkù 'in the afternoon/evening' or r'ùcu 'at night', as in the following:-

àkàràkà idiècià r'ùcu 'eight o'clock at night'
àkàràkà ìdiècià r'ìterìte 'eight o'clock in the morning'

In view of the severe restrictions on the structure and membership of the two phrases as well as the reversal of the normal order, they are grouped together into a single adverbial phrase complex. As in the case of the APCx type 1 (section 10.4.2), this complex functions both distributionally and semantically as a unit, in a manner analogous

to that of a simple AP of class N.

10.5. General Adverbial Phrases

10.5.1. Class O

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, class O has a membership which is widely diverse both formally and semantically. It is, however, set up as a single class on the following grounds:-

a. mutually exclusive distribution among its members;

b. the potentiality of co-occurrence of each member with at least one preceding and/or following AP of another class;

c. the impossibility of assigning any of its members to any other class.

For instance, the first and third AP's of the following example belong respectively to classes I and P. The second does not match any of the classes J-N in distribution or structure. It is accordingly assigned provisionally to class O. Semantic factors confirm this analysis, since, as mentioned in section 10.4, classes J-N bear a 'temporal' meaning.

573. á-kung àcu fàà bià náng
he-took pepper ground cut-up like that

yìrìdìdì:dì wa:
at-same-time all

'He ground the pepper and cut it all up together like that'
FA075

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, further data may permit the division of this class into several separate classes on the basis of distributional characteristics or the assignment to other classes of some items provisionally assigned to this class.

The following AP types are represented in this class:-

i. Type 1 (viz. adverbs of types 1e, 1f, 2) (section 9.2)

ii. Type 2a (section 9.3.1) viz. ùfàn/ùbwòn 'time' + numeral or demonstrative.

iii. Type 7a (section 9.8.1), viz. repeated noun

iv. Type 7b (section 9.8.2), viz. repeated intensifier

v. Type 7c (section 9.8.3), viz. repeated numeral

See examples 572-5, of which the first two include an AP of type 1, the third an AP of type 2a and the fourth an AP of type 7a.

10.5.2. Adverbial Phrase Complex, Type 3

This consists of an AP of class O and of type 2a followed by an AP of class N, the latter consisting of a simple nominal phrase marked by the preposition k'.

Example:-

574. i-yâ ká ùfàn kìn k'ùherè
he-goes there time one in-month

'He goes there once a month' A0003
(AP of class E, followed by APCx type 3)

The two phrases are analysed as a complex in view of the restriction on the structure of the second phrase as well as the reversal of the normal order of the two phrases. As in the case of adverbial phrase complexes described earlier (sections 10.4.2, 10.4.7), the complex functions both distributionally and semantically as a single unit, in a manner identical with that of a simple AP of the first of the two classes.

10.5.3. Adverbial Phrase Complex, Type 4

This consists of an AP of class O and of type 4a followed by an AP of class F.

Example:-

575. ì-yi apètèré apètèré k'ìrìcì
he-is (eye-infection) in-eye

'He has an infection in his eyes' AR005

If the complex consists of three or more AP's the second may be of classes A or R and the last of classes A or P (the latter again being restricted to wa:/wo: and kara:/karakara....). Any non-final AP's after the second are always of class A.

If the second AP is of class R it is marked by the same preposition as the first, except that if the first is marked by pìrì n' the second is marked by pìrì alone.

The function of this complex is identical with that of a single AP of class R.

Examples:-

581. é-tii gbudu: har'ipem har' èni.....kara:
pl-broke many with yam with people all

'They broke out in large numbers, together with the yams and the people.... too' JB040

(The APCx is preceded by an AP of class P)

582. i-kpá he àbi mià r'inyàmfo wa:
he-rubs him charcoal finish with-body all

pìrì àbó pìrì àbìa
with arm with leg

'He rubs him with charcoal over all his body including his arms and his legs' LB040

(The APCx is preceded by AP's of classes A and P)

583. è-kè àhe ùkpatàng pìrì n' èbèku r'èbènùò
pl-give him(IS) potsherd with oil with salt

r'ungwá úfaa
with small spoon

'They should give him a potsherd, some oil, some salt and a small spoon' AB005

10.6.6. Class S

This class has as its sole member an AP of type 1, viz. the adverb òbéène, ìbéène, béène 'now', 'at once'.

See examples 578, 586.

10.7. Class T ('Verbal')

This is an AP of type 5 (section 9.6), viz. a verbal noun whose root is identical with that of the major verb functioning as head of the preceding verbal phrase. This class is relatively frequent as the sole AP in a clause nucleus but is infrequent in conjunction with any other AP. As shown by the table at the beginning of this chapter, it has been recorded as both preceding and following an AP of class E, as preceding an AP of classes F or S and as following an AP of class I.

Examples:-

584. é-bung náng àbunguni
pl-were-red like-that being-red

'They became red like that' AJ147
(AP classes I/T)

585. abe e-yébè kin àyebeni
they pl-become-many here becoming-many

'They are increasing in number' U5502
(AP classes E/T)

586. á-bi àbini ìbéène
it-became-ready becoming-ready now

'It is ready now' GA007
(AP classes T/S)

10.8. Single Adverbial Phrases

The two subclasses constituting this group have not been recorded as co-occurring with any other class.

10.8.1. Class U

The members of this class are all AP's of type 1, i.e., adverbs of types 1f or 2 (section 9.2). Further data may well make it possible to assign some, perhaps all, of them to another class, probably class O (section 10.5), on the basis of co-occurrence with other AP's.

10.8.2. Class V

This consists of an AP of type 4 (section 9.5), i.e., a nominal phrase of type 4. It may not be preceded by a nominal phrase object. The (final) major verb of the preceding verbal phrase is always one of the following:-

ye	'go'
bé	'come'
nùò	'set out'
gbè	'pass'

Compare this list with that of the major verbs which may precede an AP of class B, section 10.1.2).

For examples see section 9.5.

10.9. Combinations of Three or More Adverbial Phrases

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, up to four AP's have been recorded in sequence in a single clause. In general, the AP's in a sequence of three or more occur in the same relative order as that described in sections 10.1-8 with no additional co-occurrence restrictions or requirements. It is, however, possible for an AP of class F (section 10.2.2) when last in a series of three or more AP's to follow an AP of class P or Q, as in the following examples:-

Examples:-

587. ì-yi ká utitìbì k'irìbú
it-is there alone in-bush

'It is there alone in the bush' AH076
(AP classes E/P/F)

588. àbère è-yi bâ úcúcú:cú jì: k'òkáàrà
we pl-ISp come to-front(intensive) merely to-foreigner

'We should just come on ahead to the foreigner's house'
(AP classes F/Q/F) FB012

For examples of combinations of three or four AP's in normal order see:-

557	(G/F/J)	562	(F/F/E)	568	(E/K/L)
558	(F/H/J)	563	(I/K/N)	573	(I/O/P)
560	(F/H/F/L)	566	(E/J/L)	576	(A/P/Q)
561	(F/E/G)			579	(I/P/R)

10.10. Miscellaneous

10.10.1. Emphatic Adverbial Phrase Complexes

AP's of classes H and I may also function as the second member of other complexes for purposes of special emphasis. The first member is most frequently of class P, but may be of one of several other classes. As in the case of the complexes described in earlier sections, the whole complex has a function similar to that of its first member, the second member serving to emphasise or qualify the first.

Examples:-

589. ì-kpì gbuǹg àhìhíbí kwe: nàng
he-out pluck sapling small like-this

'He should dig out such a small sapling' HK013
(AP classes P/I)

590. o-kàng náng ngin à hà:.....
you-spoke like-that here ? or

'Is that what you said - or what did you say?' HG048
(AP classes I/H)

10.10.2. Adverbial Phrase as Demonstrative Expression

Adverbial phrases of the following classes may function as a demonstrative expression (section 8.4.5).

E (most frequent) - examples 398-400, 405-7
I - examples 401, 404
J (including APCx type 1) - example 402

10.10.3. Adverbial Phrase in Emphatic Clause

There appear to be significant restrictions to the classes of the AP which may function in emphatic position in an emphatic clause (section 5.3). The most frequently occurring AP classes are E and I, with the interrogative adverbs kùn̄g 'where?' and dènaǹg 'how?' being the most frequent members of all.

AP's of classes F, G, J, L, and N (all of them being of types 2 or 6, i.e., consisting of a nominal phrase with or without markers) may also occur in emphatic position, though infrequently, as may at least some members of class O, and AP complexes of types 1 and 2, which have AP's of classes J and N respectively as their first member.

In the case of AP's of class E the occurrence of the supplementary adverb yè (section 9.2.1.1) is obligatory.

In the case of AP's of class I the adverbs nàng and náng 'like this', 'like that' may not occur in emphatic position.

Examples:-

591. yè kùng h' ámín á-ye
where emph- he(4th) sg-went

'Where had he been?' AF060

592. dènaǹg h' a-kà sì .....
how emph. it-then did

'How then did it happen ....?' KA011

10.11. Initiating Adverbial Phrases and Complexes

An adverbial phrase or AP complex may also precede the nucleus of the clause (section 4.2). The label 'initiating adverbial phrase' (abbreviated 'APinit') is applied to such a phrase. Only a limited number of AP classes may function in this way, together with certain characteristic AP complexes.

10.11.1. Adverbial Phrase Classes A-V

Of the AP classes described earlier in this chapter only the following, all of them from the 'temporal' group (section 10.4), may function also as an initiating adverbial phrase:-

Class N

This is by far the most frequently occurring class in initiating position. It is indeed more frequent in this position than in the outer expansion of the nucleus.

Most frequently this AP has the form k'ùnyang kìn, k'ìnyang kìn 'at one time', i.e., 'once upon a time' or k'ìrìte kìn 'on one day', or the equivalent forms marked by raising of the tone of the prefix of the noun in place of the preposition, as in the example below (where the phrase has a form other than that mentioned above).

Example:-

593. únyang ng' á-nyín wo o-yâ cà ká
at-time that sg-pleased you you-go sit there

'When you want to you go and sit there' KD086

Classes K and L

These two subclasses occur much less frequently in initiating position than does class N.

Examples:-

594. ya átyang ámín á-yi kàng náng mòōkpang
previously he (ISp) sg-ISp spoke like-that before

'Previously he had spoken like that' HH034

(Both first and last AP's are of class K; the latter is preceded by an AP of class I).

595. r'ìkùrúkù e-já ùnáng
in-evening pl-eat fufu

'In the evening they eat fufu' KD215

(AP class L)

10.11.2. Temporal Adverbial Phrase Complexes

Adverbial phrase complexes consisting of an AP of class N or L followed by an AP of class H (APCx types 7 and 8 respectively) may also function in initiating position. They are analysed as complexes rather than as sequences of two separate AP's because the second member cannot occur alone in this position. The function of the second member is to reinforce the first. Compare the AP complex type 1 (section 10.4.2), which consists of an AP of class J followed by an AP of class H.

Examples:-

596. r'ùnyòm ngin abe èenyìce é-bùng náng àbùngùni
in-dry-season they men pl-become-red like-that becoming red

'In the dry season those who are male become red like that' AJ147

597. íríjé ímin áng' ìrìhà ngáná i-kà tíbí ùtyén
in-year its second he-then digs farm

'So in the second year he goes farming' A0010

10.11.3. Adverbial Phrase Class W

This class comprises a small number of AP's of type 1 which may function only in initiating position, viz:-

onère, ipìre 'perhaps'
àyini 'indeed'
ìyíyi 'even'

Example:-

598. ìyíyi èbwa ímin é-nǎ he re
even children his pl-see him not

'Not even his children may see him' LB038

10.11.4. Complexes Including Class W

When an AP of class W consists of the adverb àyini it may be followed by an AP of class E or P, viz. kin or ká, pěè. Such sequences

are analysed as AP complexes (APCc types 9 and 10 respectively) rather than as sequences of two separate AP's because the second member cannot occur alone in initiating position.

Example (see also example 513):-

599. àyini pěè maá-màng nè ùngwan
indeed too I-emph. past saw child

'Indeed I saw a child too' HG034

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CHAPTER 11

ADVERBIAL PHRASE EXPRESSIONS

An adverbial phrase expression (abbreviated 'APExpr') consists of an adverbial phrase, an adverbial phrase cluster or an adverbial phrase complex which stands in a subordinate relation to an immediately preceding nominal phrase which itself has one of the following functions:-

i. subject of a verbal clause (section 4.2);

ii. the first of two objects of a verbal clause (AP expression class A only);

iii. an adverbial phrase of type 6 (i.e., a marked NP, section 9.7) and class N, with initiating function (section 10.11.1)(AP expression class A only);

iv. a genitive expression, type 1 (section 8.1.1) (AP expression class D only);

v. the second or only object of a verbal clause, but only in the special circumstances described in section 11.4.2;

vi. an appositional expression (section 8.3.2), but only in the special circumstances described in section 11.4.3.

The sequence of NP and AP expression is referred to as an extended nominal phrase (abbreviated 'NPext').

Adverbial phrase expressions differ from the expressions described in Chapter 8 as elements of the nominal phrase in the following respects:-

a. Each of the expressions described in Chapter 8 occupies a functional place in the basic NP type which may also be occupied by a unitary nominal element (see introductory remarks to Chapter 8). AP expressions, on the other hand, invariably follow the final element of a NP.

b. AP expressions in general occur with a wider range of NP types than do the expressions described in Chapter 8.

c. The occurrence of an AP expression, unlike that of most elements of a NP, is independent of the occurrence or non-occurrence of any given element of the NP (compare section 7.2.1 in particular).

d. The occurrence of an AP expression is far more dependent on the specific function of the NP itself than is the case with attributive elements of the NP.

Despite these differences, AP expressions are analysed as being subordinate to the preceding NP for the following reasons:-

a. In the first four cases described in the first paragraph of this chapter the NP occurs in a position where it may not normally be followed by an AP. For the last two cases see sections 11.4.2-3.

b. The AP expression may not occur in this position without a preceding NP.

c. The NP and the following AP expression have a combined function which corresponds to that of a NP alone.

d. The AP expression is linked semantically to the NP rather than to the clause as a whole.

AP expressions fall into four functional classes, which are described in the sections which follow.

11.1. The Qualifying Adverbial Phrase Expression (APExpr. Class A)

This consists of an AP of classes P or Q (section 10.6.2). It follows a NP of types 1, 2a, 3b or 3c (sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2.1, 7.2.3.2-3), which in turn may have any of the first three functions described at the beginning of this chapter, the first being the most frequent.

An AP expression of this class occurs when the reference of the AP or AP complex is specifically to the preceding NP, but only if occurrence of the AP or AP complex in its normal position (viz. in the outer expansion of the nucleus of the clause, see section 4.2) would

result in one or more of the following:-

a. ambiguity (examples 601-2, 606);

b. excessive separation of the AP from its referent (examples 602, 604-5);

c. awkwardness of style (examples 602-3);

d. misplaced emphasis (examples 601, 603, 607)

An AP expression consisting of either of the adverbs utitìbì 'alone' or hìihè 'only' almost always follows a NP functioning as subject of an emphatic clause (section 5.3). See examples 604-5 below. Note that the emphatic marker h' follows the AP expression, not the NP.

Examples (with AP expression and preceding NP underlined):-

601. idè ámín pěè á-nyiè ìrìjwín íbere
father his(4th) too sg-knew name their

'His father too knew their names' AC025

(A clause in which the AP consisting of the adverb pěè occurred in final position would normally be translated as either 'His father even knew their names' or 'His father knew even their names').

602. únyang ìcicò àmi pěè n-yâ cà ká ....
at-time some I(emph) too I-go sit there

'Sometimes I too go and sit there ....' KD084

(The complete clause contains four adverbial phrases in normal position, only the first of which appears in this extract. Occurrence of pěè after these would result in an unduly long string of AP's, the fourth of which is moreover of extremely complex internal structure. Note, too, that the clause also contains an initiating AP preceding the NP subject).

603. umó pěè ì-yi re gbang:
water too sg-is not at-all

'Nor was there any water at all' FC009

604. àmi utitìbì h' ń-ye ngin
I alone emph. I-went Term

'I was the only one who went' KB015

(NP type 2a)

605. ángáná hìihè h' a-sì ....
that only emph. sg-did

'That was the only thing that happened' KD248

(NP type 3c)

606. i-bâ kà ènì ábin wa: ìrìjí
he-fut. give people these all food

'He will give food to all these people' EA006

(The extended NP is the first of two objects. A clause in which the AP consisting of the adverb wa: occurred in final position would normally be translated 'He will give these people all the food').

607. k'ìjé ánga pěè ìtung i-máng nùò kang:
in-year that too hunger sg-emph.past was strongly

'That year too there was a severe famine' AD002

(The extended NP functions as an AP of class N).

11.2. The Deictic Adverbial Phrase Expression (APExpr. Class B)

This consists of an AP of class H (section 10.2.4), viz., an AP consisting of the adverb ngin 'here', 'thus'. It follows a NP of types 1 or 2a (sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2.1), which in turn functions as subject of a verbal clause. The AP expression serves to lay stress on the NP, and may be translated 'but as for ....', 'on the other hand', etc.

Examples:-

608. ìgàlí ngin i-gúrú ti
garri sg-satisfies us

'Garri, on the other hand, fills us' KDL&L

(Garri is a staple West African food).

609. ámín ngin í-nà inè yè kùñg
he(4th) he-looks looking where?

'But which way does he look?' AG065

(NP type 2a)

11.3. The Locative Adverbial Phrase Expression (APExpr. Class C)

This consists of an AP of class F (section 10.2.2) or occasionally a locative AP cluster (section 10.2.5), which itself consists of an AP of class F followed by an AP of class E. It is infrequent in occurrence and has only been recorded as following a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1) which itself functions as subject of a verbal clause.

Examples:-

610. ùngwan kìn k'ìrìhùng ímin á-wam nyín he
child one in-inside her sg-removed pleased her

'But one of the children she bore was loved by her' HE003

611. ìnyàm ìkáènì k'umó ká á-kung anyamcù kwa mèrè
animal big in-water there sg-took hare held swallowed

'A big animal there in the water caught the hare and swallowed it' AJ059

11.4. The Additive Adverbial Phrase Expression (APExpr. Class D)

This consists of an AP of type 6 (section 9.7), viz. a marked NP, which may be of classes R (section 10.6.4), G (section 10.2.3) or A (section 10.1.1), in this order of frequency, or of an AP complex of type 6 (section 10.6.5), i.e., a complex which has the function of a single AP of class R.

As is implied by the label 'additive', the use of an AP expression of this class serves to link the NP constituting the AP (or the sequence of NP's constituting the AP complex) to the NP which precedes the expression in a relation which is semantically co-ordinative. Grammatically, however, the AP expression is subordinate to the preceding NP in the sense explained at the beginning of this chapter. The pronominal prefix preceding the (first) verb in the structure of the following VP is, however, always of plural form, as described and exemplified in section 5.1.1.4.

There are three subclasses of the additive AP expression.

11.4.1. The Adverbial Phrase Expression, Class Di

This consists of an AP of class R or an AP complex of type 6. It follows a NP of types 1 or 3 (sections 7.2.1, 7.2.3), but only when the NP itself functions as subject of a verbal clause.

Examples:-

612. iyè íbere har' idé íbere é-nà abe re
mother their with-father their pl-see them not

'Their mothers and fathers do not see them' BG008

(AP class R)

613. ùnì áng' ì-yi r'idé pìrì n' ùngwaaben è-yi ....
person who sg-is with-father with-orphan pl-are

'A person who has a father and an orphan are ....' AL003

(AP class R)

614. àb' ùkpaa har'ebekwàrà èbwiyè íbere wa:
InclClit Ukpaa with Bekwarra brothers their all

'Both the people of Ukpaa and the Bekwarra people their brothers' TT6.7.1

(AP complex, type 6, consisting of AP's of classes R and P)

615. idé ímin har' àb' iyè ímin har' èbwiyè ímin
father his with InclClit mother his with brothers his

'his father, his mother and his brothers' BC005

(AP complex, type 6, consisting of two AP's of class R)

11.4.2. The Adverbial Phrase Expression, Class Dii

This infrequently occurring class consists of an AP of class A. It follows a NP of type 1 and serves normally to link two semantically close-knit phrases. In this respect the sequence of NP plus AP expression is analogous to the numeral complex (section 7.6.5).

This is the only class of AP expression which may follow a NP which functions as the second or only object of a verbal clause.

Normally, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, an extended NP occurs in a position where it may not be followed by an AP with normal function. One of the characteristics of AP class A, as described in section 10.1, is that it may not be preceded within the same clause by a NP object. A sequence of NP object and AP of class A may, therefore, be analysed only in terms of an extended NP, with the AP having the function of an AP expression. All other AP expressions are of classes which may co-occur with a NP object.

Examples:-

616. àbèrε ε-kὲ ìsíle r' ìsísì
we pl-gave shilling with-sixpence
'We gave one-and-sixpence' CA022

617. ó-kà abe ùfàa r' àb' ùnáng
you-give them fowl with InclClit fufu
'You give them chicken and fufu (to eat)' LA015

11.4.3. The Adverbial Phrase Expression, Class Diii

This consists of an AP of class G. It may follow only a NP of type 2a (section 7.2.2.1), which in turn may function as either subject of a verbal clause or as an appositional expression of type 3 (see below).

The pronoun constituting the head of the NP is most frequently plural, even if the referent is singular. In example 621 below, however, a singular pronoun is used, but without any discernible difference in meaning or in grammatical function.

Examples:-

618. àbèrε nen' àhe é-bé 'He and I came'
we with-him pl-came T/G248
(This could be translated 'He and we came', but the context makes it clear that the referent of the first pronoun in this instance is singular).

619. abe n' ayùn̄g h' e-bâ yá ....
they with-whom emph. pl-fut. go

'Who would go with him ....?' AJ001

(Again, this could also be translated 'Who would go with them?')

620. abe n' irikama é-kibì ìtùng
they and-crab pl-began fight

'He and the crab began to fight' AN018

(Or 'They and the crab ....')

621. àhe n' ugbìdim e-kà ye ....
he and-ram pl-then went

'Then he and the ram went ....' T2456

The extended NP consisting of a NP of type 2a followed by an AP expression of this class may itself function also as an appositional expression (labelled 'type 3', see section 8.3.2) in a NP of type 1 (section 7.2.1). This construction serves to link (in a semantically co-ordinative relation) the NP constituting the AP to the head of the total NP in which the appositional expression itself functions as an attributive element. There appears to be no semantic difference between this construction and the use of an AP expression of class Di above.

Examples:-

622. e-kim̀ ùnáng abe n' ùfia
pl-pounded fufu they with-soup

'They pounded fufu and soup' AD016

623. ùnìgà àhe n' ùnì jì: é-nà abe re
stranger he with-person merely pl-see them not

'A stranger or any ordinary person may not see them'
T1023b = example 152

See also example 153.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY

The major features of the grammar of the Bekwarra language, from the level of the sentence down to that of the morpheme, have now been described in terms of the categories of one particular analytical and descriptive model. While other models would undoubtedly be of considerable value in the description of the whole or some part of the grammar, it is felt that the model chosen has made possible a reasonably economical and straightforward overall description without excessive use of specialised terms or symbols.

Apart from occasional references to certain characteristics observable in some closely linked sequences of sentences (see references given in section 3.1), it has not so far proved possible to make systematic general statements about the relationships between sentences within any larger grammatical unit. Recorded narrative text material does, however, contain certain characteristic forms which serve to mark the commencement of a new stage in the narration, and instances of these appear in the analysed text which follows this chapter, but the occurrence of such forms does not appear to have any regular correlation with any other grammatical construction which would make it possible to regard them as 'markers' of a unit such as the 'paragraph'.

Similarly, apart from reference to 'conversational particles' (section 3.10.3) and certain other items which are subject to stylistic variation, it has not proved possible at this stage of analysis to make systematic statements regarding different styles of speech which may be associated with, for example, narration of a traditional story as opposed to conversation or to description of an activity. Work on a much larger body of data, especially if linked with statistical studies, would, however, in all probability render such statements both possible and illuminating.

CHAPTER 13

ANALYSED TEXT

The short text which follows is one of a number of traditional stories forming part of the tape-recorded corpus on which the analysis presented in the foregoing chapters has been based. It was used for the concordance project (section 1.2) and was given the code 'AR'. Sentences, or parts of sentences, from this text appear in the body of the thesis as follows:-

Sentence 4: example 325 (section 7.2.3.1) and example 575 (section 10.5.3);
Sentence 14: example 30 (section 3.5.7);
Sentence 19: example 59 (section 3.7.4).

(The slight discrepancies between some of the sentence numbers used in this chapter and those given in the references following the above examples are due to a slight difference between the two numbering systems used.)

The text is a fairly typical traditional story, though considerably shorter than many. One reason for its choice is that it illustrates a wide range of constructions, especially at sentence and clause levels, within a relatively small space, despite the repetitions which are a characteristic feature of such stories.

As in most stories of this kind, there is a high proportion of indirect reported speech (section 3.4.1.1). Direct reported speech (section 3.4.2) is not used at all. In the English translation, however, many of the instances of indirect reported speech are best rendered as direct quotations.

The text is set out as follows:-

i. The text itself, in the transcription used throughout the preceding chapters, with phrase and clause boundaries, etc. marked as described in section 2.5.

ii. A word-for-word English translation.

iii. Details of the class (and in some cases also the subclass and/or type) of each word (including clitics).

iv. Details of any recursive constructions, etc. operating at phrase level (with more than one line being used if necessary).

v. Details of the class (and in some cases also the subclass and/or type) of each phrase. (Phrase and clause boundaries are marked again on this line, corresponding to those marked on the first line.)

vi. The sentence type and a summary of its structure in terms of clauses (and clause complexes and strings) and/or embedded sentences. A 'plus' sign is used here to link clauses. Parentheses are used to group together clauses constituting a clause complex or string and also to group together clauses (or clause complexes or strings) constituting an embedded sentence.

The chapter ends with a free translation into rather more idiomatic English and is followed by a full list of the abbreviations used in the analysis of this text, together with others used in earlier chapters.

Underlining is used for the following purposes:-

i. In the transcription, to indicate markers which have the status of words or clitics.

ii. In the analysis of phrases, to show the extent of expressions or of members of complexes where this is not immediately obvious (i.e., all the items linked by underlining together constitute the unit, etc. appearing beneath the line).

iii. In the summary of sentence structure, to indicate the nuclear clause, etc. of a complex sentence (including embedded complex sentences).

An asterisk in the text indicates a perturbed tone (i.e., a marker of either a genitive expression (section 8.1.1) or an adverbial phrase of type 6 (section 9.7)). Square brackets delimit an included phrase (sections 4.2.2, 6.7), parentheses a demonstrative sentence construct (section 8.5).

All nouns are of class Aiii (section 7.3.3), unless otherwise stated.

When subjunctive mode (section 3.2.2.1) is used the abbreviation 'sbj' appears in the appropriate place(s) in the final line of the analysis of each sentence. In all other cases it is to be assumed that indicative mode occurs.

1. *únyang kìn / ùbuhó àhe n' anyamcù / e-ngwìà / iyìḿ .
at-time one dog it with hare pl-entered agreement

Nn Num/A Nn EmphPn Prep Nn TrVb Nn

APExpr/Diii

AppExpr/3

APinit/N/6 / NPs/1 / VP / NPo/1.

SS/1: Cl/1

2. abe / e-dè , è-káá / èbwa íbere // já .
they pl-said pl-fry children their eat

EmphPn TrVb TrVb Nn/Ai GenPn TrVb

NPs/2a VP , VP / NPo/1 // VP .

SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/1(ClCx(sbj)(Cl/1 + Cl/1))

3. e-dè , è-káá / ùngwa *úbuhó // já .
pl-said pl-fry child of-dog eat

TrVb TrVb Nn/Ai Nn TrVb

GenExpr/1

VP , VP / NPo/1 // VP .

SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/1(ClCx(sbj)(Cl/1 + Cl/1))

4. ùbuhó / a-dè , ímin / ì-yi / apètèré apètèré k' ìrìcì .
dog sg-said his sg-is (eye-infection) in eye

Nn TrVb GenPn CopVb Nn Nn Prep Nn

AP/O/7a AP/F/6

NPs/1 / VP , NPs/3a/ VP / APCx/4 .

SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/1(Cl/4) + SS/3a(see sentence 5)

5. è-tyàng , k' ímin / ì-kpèrè / ukpang .
pl-leave his sg-be-enough before

TrVb Intr GenPn TrVb Adv/lf

VP , NPs/3a / VP / AP/O/1 .

(part of periphery of sentence 4)

SS/3a: Cl/1(sbj) + Cl/1(sbj)

6. é-kung [áng' *ányamcù] kung kaa // ji .
pl-took of-hare took fried ate

SecVb Intr Nn SecVb PVb TrVb
GenExpr/1
SVP _ _ DemExpr/2 _ _ TVP PVP
[NPo/3d] VPCx // VP .

SS/1: ClCx(Cl/2 + Cl/1)

7. áng' *úbuhó / á-bé ka kpèrè .
of-dog sg-came (at last) was-enough

Intr Nn SubsVb AuxVb TrVb
GenExpr/1
DemExpr/2
NPs/3d / VP .

SS/1: Cl/1

(The occurrence of an auxiliary verb between a subsidiary verb and a major verb is exceptional. Apart from the special cases quoted in section 6.6.7 for yi, no other instances have been recorded of an auxiliary verb in this position.)

8. e-dè , è-kúng [áng' *úbuhó] kaà // já .
pl-said pl-take of-dog fry eat

TrVb SecVb Intr Nn PVb TrVb
GenExpr/1
SVP _ _ DemExpr/2 _ _ PVP
VP , [NPo/3d] VPCx // VP .

SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/1(ClCx(sbj)(Cl/2 + Cl/1))

9. ùbuhó / í-bwà // nòkpó /// báng / abe // yá nyèrè //
dog sg-runs goes-away gathers them goes hides

Nn IntVb IntVb TrVb EmphPn SubsVb TrVb
NPs/1 / VP // VP /// VP / NPo/2a // VP //

há / k' ìrìgwìè // kuǹg nìbì // tyàng / ká / k' ùfànúko //
puts in broom takes twists throws there in yard

TrVb Prep Nn SecVb PVb TrVb Adv/la Prep Nn
SVP PVP
VP / AP/F/6 // VPCx // VP / AP/E/1/ AP/F/6 //

nûð / ímin / k' ùtyén .
set-out his to farm

IntVb GenPn Prep Nn

VP / AP/B/3 / AP/F/6 .

SS/1: ClSg(ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1 + Cl/1 + Cl/2 + Cl/1 + Cl/1))

(Although there is no theoretical limit to the length of a clause complex (section 4.3), the occurrence of a complex consisting of six clauses, as here, is very infrequent.)

10. náná:náng .
so...

Adv/1d(repeated)

(The occurrence of a form such as this, normally with a distinct pause both before and after, serves to mark a new stage in the narrative. It occurs mainly, but not exclusively, in traditional stories. See also sentence 16.)

11. *icìè kìn / anyamcù / a-kà nòkpó /// dè / abe / n'ùbuhó / ìhà.
on-sun one hare sg-then went-away told them with dog two

Nn Num/A Nn AuxVb IntVb TrVb E.Pn Prep Nn Num/B

APinit/N/6 / NPs/1 / VP /// VP / NPo/2a/ AP/G/6 / (?).

SS/1: ClSg(Cl/1 + Cl/1)

(The occurrence of a numeral in a position following an adverbial phrase is unusual. It is probably best analysed as constituting a further adverbial phrase equivalent to an AP of class P (section 10.6.1), since the adverb wa: 'all', which functions as an AP of class P, is quite common in such a context and has an obvious semantic resemblance.)

12. a-dè , ùbuhó / ì-wám / ùngwa ímin /// kaà / kìn ,
he-said dog sg-remove child his fry one

TrVb Nn TrVb Nn/Ai GenPn TrVb Num/A

VP , NPs/1 / VP / NPo/1 /// VP / NPo/3b ,

k' abe / è-ji .
they pl-eat

Intr EmphPn TrVb

NPs/2a / VP .

SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/3a(ClSg(sbj)(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + Cl/1(sbj))

13. ùbuhó / á-cwen .
dog sg-refused
Nn IntVb
NPs/1 / VP .
SS/1: Cl/1

14. a-dè , ìbang / h' a-sì ,
he-said what sg-did
TrVb IntPn Emph TrVb
VP NPs/int / VP ,

ng' ámín / á-cwen , dè: i-káà re .
he(4th) sg-refused he-fries not
Intr EmphPn IntVb Intr TrVb Neg
NPs/2a / VP , VP .
SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/3c(EmphCl/1 + SS/2a.i(Cl/1 + SS/1(Cl/1)))

15. a-dè , àhe n' ámín / e-ngwìà / iyìm ùngwan àjini re .
he-said he him(4th) pl-entered agreement child eating not
TrVb EmphPn Prep E.Pn TrVb Nn Nn/Ai Nn/B Neg
APExpr/Diii AppExpr/1(NP/4)
VP , NPs/2a/ext / VP / NPo/1 .
SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/1(Cl/1)

16. e-kàng / ngángá:ngá .
pl-spoke like-that
IntVb Adv/1b(repeated)
VP / AP/1 .
SS/1: Cl/1.
(The repeated adverb, like that in sentence 10, marks a new stage in the narrative.)

17. anyamcù / a-ndkpó /// ye kuo / ùbuhó / ùci / k'àbìa *ékáàni .
hare sg-went-off went called dog lawsuit at feet of-elders
Nn IntVb SubsVb TrVb Nn Nn Prep Nn Nn/Ai
GenExpr/1
NPs/1 / VP /// VP / NPo/1 / NPo/1 / AP/F/6 .
SS/1: ClSg(Cl/1 + Cl/1)

18. á-ye / yè kin .
he went from here
IntVb SupplAdv Adv/1a
VP / AP/E/1 .
SS/1: Cl/1

19. é-kuo / anyamcù // bé ci <u>áná</u>, é-kuo / ùbuhó // bé ci <u>áná</u> ,
pl-called hare came sat pl-called dog came sat

TrVb Nn SubsVb IntVb Term TrVb Nn SubsVb IntVb Term

VP / NPo/1 // VP , VP / NPo/1 // VP ,

é-bii / ùbuhó , <u>dè</u>: abe <u>n'</u> anyamcù / e-ngwìà /
pl-asked dog they with hare pl-entered

TrVb Nn Intr EmphPn <u>Prep Nn</u> TrVb

APExpr/Diii

VP / NPo/1 , NPs/2a/ext / VP /

iyíḿ èbwan àjini / bu <u>à</u> .
agreement children eating indeed ?

Nn <u>Nn/Ai Nn/B</u> Adv/1f Qu

AppExpr/1(NP/4)

NPo/1 / AP/P/1 .

SS/4i(double)/2a.i (see section 3.7.4, example 59):
ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + <u>Cl/1</u> + QS/1(Cl/1)

20. ùbuhó / á-ci / ngá /// nĕ / he / cù: /
dog sg-sat there looked-at him carefully

Nn IntVb Adv/1b TrVb ObjPn Adv/2a

NPs/1 / VP / AP/H/1 /// VP / NPo/2b / AP/D/1 /

<u>k'</u> àcì *ékáànì <u>áná</u> , á-kung baŋg .
in face of-elders he-took agreed

Prep Nn <u>Nn/Ai</u> Term SecVb PVb

GenExpr SVP PVP

AP/F/6 , VPCx .

SS/4i: ClSg(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + <u>Cl/2</u>

21. a-dè , abe / e-ngwìà / iyíḿ èbwan àjini .
he-said they pl-entered agreement children eating

TrVb EmphPn TrVb Nn <u>Nn/Ai Nn/B</u>

AppExpr/1(NP/4)

VP , NPs/2a / VP / NPo/1 .

SS/2a.i: <u>Cl/1</u> + SS/1(Cl/1)

22. e-dè , é-kaa / áng' *ányamcù // ji // mià ngin ,
pl-said pl-fried of-hare ate finished
TrVb TrVb Intr Nn TrVb TrVb Term
GenExpr/1
DemExpr/2
VP , VP / NPo/3d // VP // VP ,

e-já / áng' ámín à hà: , e-jâ re .
pl-eat his(4th) ? or pl-eat not
TrVb Intr GenPn Qu AQu TrVb Neg
DemExpr/2
VP / NPo/3d , VP .
SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + AQS/4i(ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1 + Cl/1) + Cl/1 + Cl/1

23. á-ci / wòm̄ .
he-sat quietly
TrVb Adv/2c
VP / AP/O/1. SS/1: Cl/1

24. e-dě / he , dè: gb' ámín / a-ngwià /
pl-told him he(4th) sg-entered
TrVb ObjPn Intr Intr EmphPn TrVb
VP / NPo/2b , NPs/2a / VP /

iyìḿ èbwan àjini / n' anyamcù , ámín / ì-bang /
agreement children eating with hare he(4th) sg-gather
Nn Nn/Ai Nn/B Prep Nn EmphPn TrVb
AppExpr/1(NP/4)
NPo/1 / AP/G/6 , NPs/2a / VP /

èbwa ámín // kaa , k' abe n' anyamcù / è-ji .
children his(4th) fry they with hare pl-eat
Nn/Ai GenPn TrVb Intr EmphPn Prep Nn TrVb
APExpr/Diii
NPo/1 // VP , NPs/2a/ext / VP .
SS/2a.i: Cl/1 + SS/4h/3a(Cl/1 + ClCx(sbj)(Cl/1 + Cl/1) + Cl/1(sbj))

25. a-kà kung [ùngwa ímin] wam // kaa ,
he-then took child his removed fried
AuxVb SecVb Nn/Ai GenPn PVb TrVb
SVP PVP
[NPo/1] VPCx // ,

k' abe n' anyamcù / è-ji .
they with hare pl-eat
Intr EmphPn Prep Nn TrVb
APExpr/Diii
NPs/2a/ext / VP .

SS/3a: ClCx(Cl/2 + Cl/1) + Cl/1(sbj)

26. èkáànì / e-kà kung dě / he , dè:
elders pl-then took told him
Nn/Ai AuxVb SecVb PVb ObjPn Intr
SVP PVP
NPs/1 / VPCx / NPo/2b ,

*ipì (àwo / ó-ji // kwom) / h' ó-fià // kwoǹ .
at-place you you-ate terminated you-pay terminate
Nn EmphPn TrVb IntVb Emph TrVb IntVb
(NPs/2a/ VP // VP)
DemSCt(SS/1: ClCx(Cl/1 + Cl/1)
AP/F/6 / VP // VP .

SS/2a.i: Cl/2 + SS/1(EmphCl/1)

(The demonstrative sentence construct has no markers. This is possible when the noun functioning as head of the nominal phrase is ìpì 'place'. See section 8.5.2.)

Free Translation

The numbers of the corresponding sentences in the text are given in parentheses at the beginning of each sentence.

(1) Once upon a time a dog and a hare made an agreement. (2) They said, 'Let us fry our children and eat them.' (3) They said, 'Let us fry the dog's child and eat it.' (4) The dog said, 'Mine has an eye infection. (5) Let us leave it to become good enough first.' (6) They took the hare's and fried and ate it. (7) At last the dog's became good enough. (8) They said, 'Let us fry the dog's and eat it.' (9) The dog ran off, hid them all together in a broom, twisted it together, threw it into the yard and set off for his farm.

(10, 11) So one day the hare went off and had a discussion with the dog. (12) He told the dog to fry one child of his for them to eat. (13) The dog refused. (14) He said, 'Why do you refuse to fry it?' (15) He said, 'You and I did not make an agreement to eat our children.'

(16) They continued to talk like that. (17) The hare went off andissued a summons against the dog in the presence of the elders. (18, 19) So then the hare and the dog were called to come and sit, and then the dog was asked whether he and the hare had indeed made an agreement to eat their children. (20) The dog sat there looking at him carefully before the elders, and then agreed. (21) He said that they had made an agreement to eat their children. (22) They said, 'Since you have finished frying and eating the hare's, are you going to eat yours or are you not?' (23) He sat in silence. (24) They told him that if he had made an agreement with the hare about eating children he should gather his children and fry them for the hare and himself to eat. (25) So he took one of his children and fried it for the hare and himself to eat. (26) The the elders told him, 'You must pay in full for all that you eat.'

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list includes all the abbreviations used in the analysis of the text presented in Chapter 13, together with others used in earlier chapters. In the former combinations of two or more abbreviations are used where necessary, and are to be understood as follows:-

AP/F/6: adverbial phrase of class F and type 6
NPo/1: nominal phrase of type 1 functioning as object
NPs/2a/ext: extended nominal phrase of type 2a functioning as subject

etc.

Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
AdvNn	adverbial noun
AP	adverbial phrase
APCr	adverbial phrase cluster
APCx	adverbial phrase complex
APExpr	adverbial phrase expression
APinit	initiating adverbial phrase
AppExpr	appositional expression
AQS	alternative question sentence
AQu	alternative question marker
AuxVb	auxiliary verb
Cl	clause
ClCx	clause complex
ClSg	clause string
cmp	completive
CopVb	copulative verb
DCl	dependent clause
Dem	demonstrative
DemExpr	demonstrative expression
DemSCt	demonstrative sentence construct
Emph	emphatic (marker or past tense)
EmphCl	emphatic clause
EmphPn	emphatic pronoun
fut	future
GenExpr	genitive expression

GenPn	genitive pronoun
ICl	independent clause
inc	incompletive
ind	indicative
InclClit	inclusive clitic
IntAdv	interrogative adverb
IntNum	interrogative numeral
IntPn	interrogative pronoun
Intr	introducer
IntrExpr	introducer expression
Ints	intensifier
IntVb	intransitive verb
ISp	indirect reported speech
Neg	negative
NExpr	nominal expression
Nn	noun
NnExpr	noun expression
NP	nominal phrase
NPc	nominal phrase complement
NPext	extended nominal phrase
NPint	interrogative nominal phrase
NPo	nominal phrase object
NPs	nominal phrase subject
Num	numeral
NumCx	numeral complex
NumExpr	numeral expression
ObjPn	object pronoun
pl	plural
PnPx	pronominal prefix
Prep	preposition
PVb	primary verb
PVP	primary verbal phrase
QS	(single) question sentence
Qu	question marker
sbj	subjunctive

SecVb	secondary verb
sg	singular
SQS	supplementary question sentence
SS	statement sentence
STrVb	semitransitive verb
SubsVb	subsidiary verb
SupplAdv	supplementary adverb
SVP	secondary verbal phrase
Term	terminal
TrVb	transitive verb
TVP	tertiary verbal phrase
Vb	verb
VCx	verbal complex
VP	verbal phrase
VPCx	verbal phrase complex

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