A TAGMENIC

CLAUSE-LEVEL ANALYSIS

OF BINI

By

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Linguistics and Oriental and African Languages.

1968
The goal of this study is to discover and distinguish the various clause types in Bini, analyze their structure in terms of their components and variant forms, and finally discuss their general distribution within other grammatical levels.

The formal corpus on which this analysis is based consists of four tape-recorded Bini folktales, which were later transcribed.

The analysis is based on the Tagmemic Theory of grammar as developed by Kenneth L. Pike.

I wish to express my special appreciation to Dr Ruth Brend, Miss Helen Ullrich, and Dr David Lockwood, members of my thesis committee, for their guidance and encouragement during the period of preparation of this study. I also gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr Ernest Dunn for his many useful hints regarding the technical aspect of this analysis, and most of all, for his continued interest in the study.
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TABLE

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A Summary Table of the Clause System in Bini.

**Basic Clause Types:**

Simple:
- Transitive
- Intransitive
- Ditransitive
- Locative
- Directive
- Stative
- Equative
- Descriptive
- Demonstrative

Complex:
- Causative
- Benefactive
- Impersonal
- Instrumental

**Contrastive Derived Clause Types:**

- Imperative
- Concessional
- Hortative
- Conditional
- Dependent Initial
- Relator-Axis Class

**Derived Variants:**

- Interrogative
- Emphatic
- Negative
- Sequential.
INTRODUCTION

0.1 The Language: Bini is the native language of about a million\(^1\) people resident in Benin City, the capital of the Mid-Western Region of Nigeria, and the immediate surrounding villages. It can be regarded as the standard dialect of the Edo group of languages consisting of Bini, Ishan, Kukuruku, and Sobo. As one departs farther and farther away from Benin City, the influence of the three other languages becomes noticeable, Ishan and Kukuruku towards the north-east, and Sobo towards the south. According to Greenberg's classification\(^2\), Bini belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family. Like several other West African languages, it is a tone\(^3\) language.

0.2 Nature of Corpus: The corpus which serves as the formal data for this study consists of four common Bini folktales which I recorded myself last summer and later transcribed. The tales were originally recorded to be

\(^1\)This figure is estimated from the preliminary figures of the 1963 National Population Census of Nigeria given for the Mid-Western Region.

\(^2\)The Languages of Africa, 1966, page 8.

\(^3\)There are both lexical and phonological pitch operative in Bini, but a final decision about the number of significant tone levels is yet to be made. However, for this study, I have distinguished three level tones and two glides.
used as part of the text material needed for the pedagogical text in Bini, being currently written for the Peace Corps Training Program, by Mr Ernest Dunn, whom I assist as chief informant. I decided to use the material as my corpus, because it was the only type of unconditioned free text I could collect here, since there is no other Bini speaker, besides myself, in Michigan, with whom I could record some free conversation. In spite of the predominantly narrative style of the corpus, however, it proved extremely useful for the preliminary discovery procedures, as I shall show later.

0.3 Theoretical Model: The theoretical model for this analysis is the tagmemic theory of grammar as developed by Pike in Parts I and III of his *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, and also with special reference to its application in the following works: *Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages*, Nov. 1966, by Kenneth L. Pike; *Grammar Discovery Procedures*, 1964, by Robert E. Longacre; *An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax*, 1962, by Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett. The above works have, for the most part, served as my chief references in the analysis, and I adopted, with little or no modification, all the major concepts of the theory they contain. Some of these concepts shall be defined briefly below, for the benefit of any reader who may be unfamiliar with the tagmemic theory and/or its terminology.
Syntagmeme and Tagmeme: The term "syntagmeme" can be regarded as the technical name for a construction or a sequence of bound tagmemes which operate together as a unit within any grammatical level. A "tagmeme", on the other hand, is a functional unit within a construction or syntagmeme. The following quotation represents clearly the relationship between both concepts:

Syntagmemes cannot exist without component elements, i.e. tagmemes. On the other hand, tagmemes exist only by virtue of placement in one or more syntagmemes. ¹

Also the concept of the tagmeme as a functional unit within a construction is further explained thus by Longacre:

The tagmeme is a functional point (not necessarily a point in fixed linear sequence) at which a set of items and/or sequences occur........ the function cannot exist apart from the set, nor has the set significance apart from the function. ²

By the term "function" in the quotation above, or in its general use within the tagmemic theory framework, is meant such grammatical relations as "subject" or "object" or "modifier", etc. The word or construction which fills any of the above slots or function-points is said to "manifest" the tagmeme. Since it is usual for more than one word or construction to be able to fill a certain

¹Grammar Discovery Procedures, 1964, page 15.
²Ibid, page 15/16.
slot in a construction, such possible fillers of the slot are referred to as a "class" or "set-fillers" of the slot.

**Etic and Emic**: These two terms are employed in tagmemics to describe some types of distinctions that can be made between the units of the different levels of a language. A distinction is said to "etic" when the noticeable difference found between the units in question is based on a criterion usually external to the system of the language itself. On the other hand, if the differences between the units are internally significant in the language, then they are described as "emic". For example, the noticeable difference between "boy" and "boys" in the English sentences below\(^1\) is emic in English in that the lack of "s" in the one means singular number, while the presence of it in the other means plural number, a distinction which is important in English. On the other hand, the difference of the forms of "either"—[iˈðɛər] and [aiˈðər]—is etic in the English lexicon, in that it is not a significant difference. This however does not mean that etic distinctions are not important within the system of a language, because, after all, the etic variants generally constitute the possible variant forms of an emic unit within the language—forms which are useful to know.

---

\(^1\)The boy is here.
The boys are here.
Nuclear versus Marginal: This is a distinction usually necessary in the description of the tagmemic composition of a construction, in that some of the tagmemes are more important within that construction than others in terms of its distinction from other constructions. The more important tagmemes are referred to as the nuclear tagmemes, while the less important ones constitute the marginal or peripheral tagmemes. A further distinction usually drawn between tagmemes of a construction is "obligatory" versus "optional". The obligatory tagmemes, as the term implies, are those which must always be present in that construction, while the optional ones may or may not be present. All obligatory tagmemes are also nuclear, but on the other hand, not all nuclear tagmemes are necessarily obligatory.

0.4 General Methodology and Analytical Procedures:
For the purposes of this study, my definition of a clause is: a construction which minimally consists of an obligatory subject tagmeme and an obligatory predicate tagmeme. The subject tagmeme is always manifested, except in the singular imperative;\(^1\) the predicate tagmeme is always overtly manifested.

\(^1\)The singular imperative has no marked subject, while the plural does: Lèrè! - Come! (singular)
Wà lèrè! - You Come! (plural).
My focus and goal in this study is to discover and distinguish the various clause types in Bini, analyze their structure, and discuss their general distribution. In achieving the first part of this goal, I relied mainly on the evidence provided by my corpus — though the results were further tested with some citation paradigms. For the second and third parts of the goal, the three works on tagmemic analysis by Pike, Longacre, and Elson and Pickett cited earlier, were my major guide, supplemented by the useful advice given to me at various times by the members of my thesis committee.

In working with the transcribed corpus, first, the complete utterances were marked off at their boundaries\(^1\), after which the different clauses were then marked off. In typing out corpus on cards, each complete utterance was first typed on a 4" by 6" card, and then the clauses comprising it were typed underneath it. Next each of the clauses was typed on a separate card. Thus each clause appeared on two different cards, with one showing its distribution within a higher-level construction. The clauses on the separate cards were then analyzed into their component tagmemes. Clauses with similar constructions in terms of their tagmeme types were grouped together, and the resulting groups constituted the etic clause types. There were 485 clauses in all, and the cards

\(^1\)This first step was found useful because the distribution of clauses was mainly in higher-level constructions.
of the different clause types were then organized into their different groups for further scrutiny and systematic study. The results were then analyzed into what follows in later chapters of this study.

0.5 Bini Orthography: Since my focus in this study is on the clause level, I have refrained from making any far-reaching decision in matters directly related to other aspects or levels of the language. I have therefore adopted the standard orthography, with the following modifications:

1. Tone levels and glides are all represented as superscripts over the syllable peaks thus: /á/ for high tone; /a/ for mid; /ã/ for low; /ã/ for rising glide; and /ã/ for falling glide.

2. Two /r/ liquids have been distinguished: /r/ and /r/, instead of the single one in the standard orthography. In the chart below, a phonetic approximation is given in parenthesis after letters which may seem unfamiliar.

Chart I: Letters of the Alphabet.

Consonants:
Stops: p, kp, b, gb, t, d, k, g,
Fricatives: vb (bilabial fricative), mw (nasalized vb), f, v, s, z, kh(x), gh (voiced x), h.
Liquids: r, ð (palatalized r), rh (trilled r), l.
Nasals: n, m.
Semi-vowels: w, y.
Vowels:
Oral: a, e, ə(open e), i, o, ɔ(open o), u.
Nasal: an, en, in, ən, un.

0.6 Conventions Used in Listing Of Examples:

1. In the analysis, all examples given in Bini are immediately followed with a literal English translation underneath each word. Occasionally, the examples are introduced with a formula; also in many cases a free translation is added in square brackets.

2. In the presentation of the corpus, each of the folktales is numbered according to its constituent sentences. A literal English translation is given immediately after the Bini text, with similar numbering. At the end of each folktale a free translation of the story is given.
CHAPTER ONE: CLAUSE TYPES

1.1 Etic and Emic Clause Types:

A close examination of the corpus yielded the following as the etic clause types of Bini:

1. Transitive  
2. Intransitive  
3. Ditransitive  
4. Equative  
5. Locative  
6. Directive  
7. Demonstrative  
8. Descriptive  
9. Stative  
10. Impersonal  
11. Causative  
12. Instrumental  
13. Benefactive  
14. Imperative  
15. Interrogative  
16. Hortative  
17. Emphatic  
18. Concessional  
19. Negative  
20. Sequential  
21. Dependent Initial  
22. Relator-Axis Class  
23. Conditional

On the basis of the structure and distribution of these clauses (both of which will be discussed in fuller detail later), the clause system in Bini can be described as having a "wave" form, in that not only are there a number of basic clause types, but there are also a set of marginal ones, which can be derived from the basic set--as transform possibilities.

Basic

1. Transitive  
2. Intransitive  
3. Ditransitive  
4. Equative
This immediately provides a basic pattern of dimensional contrast: basic versus transform. The matrix below represents this contrast, with the transform clause types as the columns, and the basic clause types as the rows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Im</th>
<th>Hort</th>
<th>D.I.</th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>R.A.</th>
<th>Cond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditr</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>In</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eq</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desc</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to showing the contrast between the basic clause types and the derived clause types, the chart above also outlines the transform potentials of the basic clause types. Each "X" indicates that the basic clause type along the row of its occurrence can be transformed into the clause along the column of the same "X". On the other hand, a dash indicates that the basic clause type does not have, as a transform possibility, the clause type along the column. For example, while it is possible to have an imperative transitive clause, it is not possible to have an imperative equative one.

The basic clause types can further be sub-divided into simple and complex types. This sub-division is found necessary in that the construction of some of the basic clauses involves more than one predicate tagmeme, and it looks like a clause cluster construction. The clauses belonging to this special complex subgroup are:

1. Instrumental
2. Causative
3. Impersonal

There is yet a fourth group of clauses which can be classified as etic variants of not only the basic clauses,

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1This is true, not only from the evidence provided by the corpus, but also from the writer's intuition as a native speaker of Bini.
but also of the derived clauses outlined above. The clauses of this group are:

1. Interrogative
2. Emphatic
3. Negative
4. Sequential

Thus, it is possible to have an interrogative transitive clause, as well as an interrogative imperative transitive clause, as etic variants of the basic transitive clause and the derived imperative transitive clause respectively.¹

Before discussing each of the clause types, I shall first review briefly the general basis on which the different emic clause types have been distinguished.

1.2 General Basis of Clause Distinction:

Longacre² recommends the establishing of at least two structural differences between clauses before they can be classified as distinct, and also that at least one of the two differences must involve the nuclear and/or obligatory tagmemes of the clauses. This recommendation has, in the most part, served as my basis for clause distinction. However, I have also utilized, where necessary, the following hint from Pike:

²Grammar Discovery Procedures, 1964, page 47.
¹See table on page v above.
.... a difference in the distribution of two constructions in higher-layered constructions may, like a transform difference, count as one of the two required differences, provided this distributional difference is paralleled by a substantial difference in structural meaning (such as "declarative" versus "interrogative").

Structural differences distinguishing clause types included the following:

1. A difference in the number of tagmemes in the contrasting clauses.

2. Presence of a special tagmeme in one clause type that is absent in the other.

3. A difference in the emic classes manifesting similar but distinct tagmemes.

Differences of external distribution distinguishing clauses included the following:

1. Occurrence of a clause as an independent base tagmeme of a higher-level construction versus occurrence as a dependent tagmeme on clause level.

2. Differences in occurrence of some clauses as wholes in higher-level slots.

3. Differences in transform potential.

4. Occurrence of some clauses as slot fillers in lower-level constructions.

2An example of such higher-level slots is: a slot for response to a question as opposed to a slot for response to a statement.
CHAPTER TWO: BASIC SIMPLE CLAUSE TYPES

The basic simple clause types shall be discussed in this chapter, in terms of their tagmemic formulas, their minimal and maximal forms, and their constituent tagmemes. First there is a chart below showing the different tagmemes of the different clauses. Under each tagmemic slot is listed the most frequent, or stylistic normal fillers of the slot. Thus the label of the tagmemic slot indicates the function, while the sub-column of fillers indicate the manifesting class, and both together represent the tagmeme as a whole. The chart however does not include any information regarding variation in the ordering of the tagmemes. All matters of ordering shall be discussed later under section 2.2 below. Also, the key to the constructions filling the slots, as well as some elaboration of the constructions, constitute Appendix I at the end of this study.

1The idea of this chart originated from a similar one done for Vagala in Pike 1966, page 27.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+S.I</th>
<th>+P.Desc</th>
<th>+Com</th>
<th>+Locn</th>
<th>+T</th>
<th>+Pur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.Dir:</td>
<td>+P.Dir</td>
<td>+O.I</td>
<td>+P.D.P</td>
<td>+L0c</td>
<td>+M</td>
<td>+Locn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP1a,b VP1g</td>
<td>NP1a,b PP</td>
<td>NP1a,b Adv</td>
<td>Locn temp R.A</td>
<td>c, &amp;f VP2g</td>
<td>c, &amp;f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP2g</td>
<td>VP3g</td>
<td>NP2g</td>
<td>NP2a</td>
<td>NP2a,e NP2b</td>
<td>NP3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>VP4g</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>NP3d</td>
<td>D.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP5a</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+S.I</th>
<th>+P.St</th>
<th></th>
<th>+M</th>
<th>+Locn</th>
<th>+T</th>
<th>+Pur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.St:</td>
<td>+P.St</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP1a-f VP1h</td>
<td>NP2a-e VP2h</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>VP3h</td>
<td>NP5a-d VP4h</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+S.I</th>
<th>+P.Desc</th>
<th>+Com</th>
<th>+Locn</th>
<th>+T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.Desc:</td>
<td>+P.Desc</td>
<td></td>
<td>ideo</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP1a-f</td>
<td>NP2a-e</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>NP5a-d</td>
<td>RC</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+S.I</th>
<th>+P.Desc</th>
<th>+Com</th>
<th>+Locn</th>
<th>+T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.Dem:</td>
<td>+P.Desc</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>no</em></td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emp.NP1a-f</td>
<td>NP2a-e</td>
<td>NP3a-c</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>NP5a-d</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+S.I</th>
<th>+P.Desc</th>
<th>+Com</th>
<th>+D</th>
<th>+Locn</th>
<th>+T</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.Eq:</td>
<td>+P.Desc</td>
<td></td>
<td>ideo</td>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Same as VP1m)</td>
<td>NP1a-f</td>
<td>NP2a-c</td>
<td>NP4</td>
<td>NP5a-d</td>
<td>RC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart III: A Tagmemic-Notation Paradigm for the Basic Simple Clause

#### Types in Bini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUCLEAR TAGMEMES</th>
<th>MARGINAL TAGMEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IA.Tr:</strong> +S.A</td>
<td>+P.Tr +O.G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP1a-f</td>
<td>VP1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP2a</td>
<td>VP2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP4a,b</td>
<td>VP3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP5a</td>
<td>VP4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>RC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+M</td>
<td>+Locn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+T</td>
<td>+Pur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>Locn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temp</td>
<td>R.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iede</td>
<td>NP3a,c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>NP2c,d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **1B.Tr:** +S.I  | +P.Tr +O.R        |
| NP1a-f           | VP1b               |
| NP2a,b           | VP2b               |
| NP4              | VP3b               |
| NP5a             | VP4b               |
| RC               | RC                 |
| +M               | +Locn              |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |

| **1C.Tr:** +S.A  | +P.Tr +O.T        |
| NP1a,b           | VP1c               |
| &f               | VP2c               |
| NP2a             | VP3c               |
| NP4              | VP4c               |
| RC               | RC                 |
| +M               | +Locn              |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |

| **2.In:** +S.A  | +P.In             |
| (Same as VP1d)  |                   |
| (Tr.1A.) VP2d   |                   |
| VP3d            |                   |
| VP4d            |                   |
| +M               | +Locn              |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |

| **3.Ditr:** +S.A | +P.Ditr +O.I +I.O |
| (Same as VP1e)   |                   |
| (Tr.1A.) VP2e    |                   |
| VP3e             |                   |
| VP4e             |                   |
| c,&f             |                   |
| NP2a,b           |                   |
| NP4              |                   |
| NP5a             |                   |
| RC               |                   |
| +M               | +Locn              |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |

| **4.Loc:** +S.A  | +P.Loc +Loc      |
| (Same as VP1f)   |                   |
| (Tr.1C.) VP2f    |                   |
| VP3f             |                   |
| VP4f             |                   |
| +M               | +Locn              |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
| same             | same               |
2.1 Clause Contrasts: The chart above immediately shows that, among other structural differences, any two of the clause formulas are distinct from each other in terms of the emic classes filling their predicate slots. Some of the other structural differences revealed by the chart are:

1. Among the transitive, locative, descriptive, and equative clause types, the only four clause types with these nuclear tagmemes, the transitive differs from the other three in that it is the only one whose third nuclear tagmeme is an "Object"—the other three have "Locative" and "Complement" respectively.

2. There are three different subtypes of transitive clause; they differ from each other, not only in their predicate slot filler, but also in their types of Objects: 1A has an Object-as-goal, 1B has an Object-as-reference, while 1C has an Object-as-Topic. In spite of these contrasts however, they still belong to the same clause type by virtue of their otherwise identical structure and transform potential.

3. The demonstrative clause type further differs from the other clause types in that it is the only clause whose subject slot is filled by only emphatic forms.

4. The Intransitive and stative clause types are the other two with two nuclear and obligatory tagmemes, but they differ from each other in their marginal tagmemes: the stative has no purpose tagmeme.
5. The ditransitive differs from the other clause types in that it is the only clause with an obligatory Indirect Object as a nuclear tagmeme.

6. The directive clause type is the only one with as many as five nuclear tagmemes.

7. The equative is the only clause type with a Degree tagmeme as one of its marginal tagmemes.

2.2 Clause Variants: As chart III above shows, all the basic simple clause types have both optional and obligatory tagmemes, either in their nucleus, or periphery, or both. Each of these clauses must therefore have both minimal and maximal variants, with the former consisting of only the obligatory tagmemes, while the latter would have all the possible tagmemes of the particular clause. Each basic clause type shall now be discussed briefly in terms of its minimal and maximal forms.

1. Transitive: 1A
Formula: Minimal Form.
Min BS Tr C 1A - +S.A : NP/RC +P,Tr : VP1a
Read: The minimal basic simple transitive clause of the subtype 1A consists of an obligatory Subject-as-Actor tagmemic slot filled by a noun phrase or relative clause, and an obligatory Transitive Prédicate slot filled by a verb phrase of the subclass 1a.
As the illustration above shows, a transitive verb always carries with it the interpretation of a co-occurring object even when the object is not actually present. This implied object is usually translated as a third person neuter pronoun— though occasionally the object may be self-evident in the context, in which case the known object is supplied in the translation or interpretation.

Maximal Formula:


Read: The maximal basic simple transitive clause of the subtype 1A consists of an obligatory Subject-as-Actor tagmemic slot filled by a noun phrase or relative clause, an obligatory Transitive Predicate slot filled by a verb phrase of the subclass 1a, an optional Object-as-goal slot filled by a noun phrase or relative clause, an optional Location tagmemic slot filled by a noun phrase, an optional Manner slot filled by an adverb, an optional Time slot filled by a temporal, and an optional Purpose slot filled by a relator-axis clause.

An example of the above clause is:
That woman beat her child severely at the market yesterday so that he may never steal again.

The other two subtypes of the basic simple transitive clause differ from the subtype above in that they have an obligatory object. Examples of each of the two subtypes are:

1B: +S.A : NP +P.Tr : VP1b +O.R : NP

òwá ná yè Òzó.

house this please Ozo.

1C: +S.A : NP +P.Tr : VP1c +O.T : RA.

òkpíá ní họ nè Òzó kpâ.

man that wants that Ozo leave.

In terms of distribution, the minimal forms of the transitive clause occur more frequently than the maximal forms.

2. Intransitive.

Formula: Minimal Form.

Min BS In C = +S.A : NP/RC +P.In : VP1d

Read: The minimal basic simple intransitive clause consists of an obligatory Subject-as-Actor slot filled by a noun phrase or relative clause, and an obligatory Intransitive Predicate slot filled by a verb phrase of the subclass 1d.
Illustrated formula:
+S.A : NP +P.In : VP1d
ékítâ mwèn lóvbié.
dog my lie down

[maximal form: my dog is lying down]

Maximal Formula:
+S.A : NP +P.In : VP1d +M : Adv +Locn : NP3a +T : temp
ékítâ mwèn léřè khùèrhè vbè úghúghà náson
+Pur : Inf
ya vbie

to sleep

3. Ditransitive.

Formula: Minimal Form

Min BS Ditr C = +S.A : NP/RC +P.Ditr : VP1e +I.O : NP3d

Illustrated formula:
+S.A : NP1a +P.Ditr : VP1e +I.O : NP3d
òsè mwèn rhié nè ètísá ímàn
friend my gave(it) to teacher us

[my friend gave it to our teacher]

1For the rest of the basic clause types, only their minimal and maximal formulas shall be represented. The reading of their formulas follow the same pattern as those represented for the transitive and intransitive clauses above.
As in the case of the transitive clause 1A, the unmarked object in the ditransitive clause is usually substituted for by a third person pronoun in its interpretation. If, however, the object is obvious in the context, then it is immediately supplied by implication.

Maximal Formula:

\[ +S.A : NP1a +P.Ditr : VP1e +O.I : NP1b +I.O : NP3d \]

\[ òsè mwèn \quad yá \quad èbè \quad èvá \quad nè òzo \]
friend my gave book two to Ozo

\[ ëM : ideo \quad + Locn : NP3c \quad T : NP3b + Pur : R.A. \]

\[ fèrèrè \quad vbè èsùkú \quad nódè \quad nè ó tìlè \]
completely at school yesterday that he read

In distribution, the minimal form occurs more frequently than the maximal form, but the Purpose tagmeme, though optional and marginal, frequently occurs with this clause type.

4. Locative:

Formula: Minimal Form.

Min BS Loc C - + S.A : NP/RC + P.Loc : VP1f + Loc : NP

Illustrated Formula:

\[ + S.A : NP1a + P.Loc : VP1f + Loc : NP1d \]

\[ òkpiá nf \quad riè \quad úgbó \]
man that (is) going farm
Maximal Formula:
+ S.A : NP1a + P.Loc : VP1f + Loc : NP1d + M : Adv
òkhùó ní yô ëki ègiègiè
woman that went market quickly

+ Locn : NP3c + T : Temp + Pur : Inf
vbè òzà nòdè yã dê ëyân
at Oza yesterday to buy yam


Formula: Minimal Form:
Min BS Dir C = + S.A : NP/RC + P.Dir : VP1g + P.D.P : PP
+ Loc : NP/RC

Illustrated Formula:
+ S.A : NP1a + P.Dir : VP1g + P.D.P : PP + Loc : NP1d
òkhùó ní mú fì òhá
woman that carry (it) into bush
[That woman threw it into the bush.]

Maximal Formula:
+ S.A : NP1a + P.Dir : VP1g + O.I : NP1b + P.D.P : PP
òkpiá ní zìènzièn òfèn ní yè
man that squeezed rat that into

+ Loc : NP1c + M : Adv + Locn : NP3c + T : Temp
ékpo ègiègiè vbè ëghùghà násôn
bag quickly at room last night
† Pur : R.A
eò ó gè lè
that it not run
[that man quickly squeezed the rat into the bag last
night in the room so that it might not run away.]

Formula: Minimal Form:
Min BS St C  = + S.I : NP/RC + P.St : VP1h
Illustrated Formula:
+ S.I : NP1a + P.St : VP1h
òvbòkhán nā mòsé
child this (is) beautiful

Maximal Formula:
+ S.I : NP1a + P.St : VP1h + M : ideo + Locn : NP3a
òkhúò nā fí rònrònròn vbè úgbárò
woman this shines (with grease) at forehead

† T : NP3b
vbè èghè hiá
at time all
[this woman's forehead is always shining with grease.]

7. Descriptive.
Formula: Minimal Form:
Min BS Desc C  = + S.I : NP/RC + P.Desc : VP1k + Com : ideo
Illustrated Formula:
+ S.I : NPic + P.Desc : VP1k + Com : ideo
òwá ní yé gólótó
house that be very high
[that house is very high.]

Maximal Formula:
+ S.I : NPic + P.Desc : VP1k + Com : NP1a + Locn : NP3a
erhán ná yévbè ṣvbán vbè úrià
tree this be like person at distance
+ T : temp
náson
last night

8. Demonstrative.

Formula: Minimal Form:
Min BS Dem C + S.I : Emp NP/RC + Dem : nò
Illustrated Formula:
+ S.I : NPic + Dem : nò
ebè mwèn nò
my book (it) is
[it's my book.]

Maximal Formula:
+S.I : NP1a + Dem : no + Locn : NP3a + T : temp
rèn ghárà nò vbè èkı nodè
Emp. she past prog is at market yesterday
[it was she at the market yesterday.]

Formula: Minimal Form:

\[ \text{Min BS Eq C = } +S.I : \text{NP/RC} +P.Eq : \text{VP1m} +\text{Com} : \text{NP/RC} \]

Illustrated Formula:

\[ +S.I : \text{NP1a} \quad +P.Eq : \text{VP1m} +\text{Com} : \text{NP1a} \]

\[ \text{òkhùó nà} \quad \text{è} \quad \text{òsè mwén} \]

woman this be friend my

[this woman is my friend]

Maximal Formula:

\[ +S.I : \text{NP1a} +P.Eq : \text{VP2m} +\text{Com} : \text{NP1a} \quad +\text{D} : \text{ideo} \]

\[ \text{òkhùó nì} \quad \text{tè rè} \quad \text{òsè mwén} \quad \text{khùánkhùánkhùán} \]

woman that Pm be friend my very close

\[ +\text{Locn} : \text{NP3a} \quad +\text{T} : \text{temp} \]

\[ \text{vbè èsùkú} \quad \text{núkpò} \]

at school last year

[that woman used to be my very close friend at school last year.]

So far, two main variant forms of each of the basic simple clause types have been discussed; other types of variation within the clauses can result from the following:

1. Optional order of tagmemes;

2. Variant fillers of tagmemic slots.

Each of these types of variations will be discussed briefly below.

1. Optional orders of tagmemes: All nuclear tagmemes of the different basic simple clause types occur, relative to
each other, only in the order in which they have been represented in their formulas. Thus the Subject slot always precedes the Predicate slot, which in its turn precedes the Object slot, if any. If an Object and an Indirect Object occur together in a ditransitive clause, the former must precede the latter. Thus, in sentences 1 and 2 below, 1 is grammatical, while 2 is not:

1. Ḟ rhié íghó nè Òzó.

He gave money to Ozo.

2. Ḟ rhié nè Òzó íghó.

The only exception to this ordering rule is in the case of emphatic clauses, where the emphasized item is brought to the pre-Subject position. This will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

The representation of the marginal tagmemes in the formulas so far discussed has not included any information regarding the required ordering of these tagmemes. Usually, when the Manner slot is filled by a single-word adverb, it occurs immediately before the verb, or immediately after it, if there is no marked Object. If there is a marked Object, it then occurs after the last nuclear tagmeme. Generally, the verb and its Object form a very tight link and no modifiers are allowed between them. For example, sentences 3 and 5 below are permissible, but 4 is not:
When the Manner slot is filled by an ideophone or any long construction, it occurs after the last nuclear tagmeme.

The Location tagmeme usually occurs after the nuclear tagmemes of the clause. If a clause is marked for both Manner and Location, the Location slot generally follows the Manner slot.

The Time tagmeme usually occurs at the pre-Subject position if it is filled by a phrase or a long construction. If, however, it is filled by a single-word temporal noun or adverb, it generally occurs after the last nuclear tagmeme, if there is no Manner tagmeme, or after the latter if it is present. It can occur before or after the Location tagmeme without altering the meaning of the clause. Below are some examples to illustrate this:

1.+T : D.I +S.A : NP1a +P.Tr : VP2a +O.G : NP1c

íran ghi re íran ná ri èvbàrè.

[when they came, they ate food]

1The variant forms of the adverb in the three sentences have no important grammatical or semantic consequences; they are rather the result of a phonological phenomenon which is irrelevant at this point of the analysis.
2. íràn rí èvbàrè nódè.
   they ate food yesterday.

3. íràn rí èvbàrè égiéglè nódè.
   they ate food quickly yesterday.

4. i míén ímọtò rùé vbè òzà núkpọ. OR
   I saw car your at Oza last year.

5. i míén ímọtò rùé núkpọ vbè òzà.
   I saw car your last year at Oza.

The Purpose tagmeme always occurs in clause-final position, that is, after all nuclear and other marginal tagmemes.

2. **Variant fillers of tagmemic slots:** As chart III shows, some tagmemic slots are optionally filled by more than one construction type. For example, the Subject slot of all the clause types can be filled by either a noun phrase or a relative clause, and the noun phrase, in turn, has several subclasses. In most cases, all accepted fillers of a slot result in a homogeneous construction, and they impose no distributional constraint on the clause. There are, however, a few cases in which the variant fillers of some of the tagmemic slots cause a significant difference in the ordering of its other tagmemes. One of such cases is with the ditransitive clause type: when its Predicate tagmeme is manifested by "khaman", [to say], and the Object-as-Item tagmeme is manifested by a subjunctive clause, the Indirect Object has to precede the
Object—the reverse of the normal ordering. For example, it is:

Ọzé khámàn ọtàbó nè ọ lárè.
Ozo told Otabe that he come.

instead of:

*Ọzé khámàn nè ọ lárè ọtàbó.

The Object-as-Topic tagmeme of the transitive 1C clause type is another tagmeme whose slot could be filled by a whole string of sentences, as quotation or "speech". When that tagmeme is filled by such a long utterance instead of the usual relator-axis clause, the whole clause could then fill a slot in a higher-level construction—like the Initial Sentence slot on paragraph-level.¹

Noun phrases filling tagmemic slots on clause level are regular endocentric constructions, which can be expanded or reduced according to the number of modifiers the head² has. The variant forms of these phrases result in variant forms of the clauses as well.

Clauses marked for mode could be called etic variants, or optional expansions of the verb phrase. Thus,

Ø sè òwà mwèn is a variant of Ø té sè òwà mwèn.
he visits house my he used to visit house my.

¹In Nov. 1966: Pike treats such a construction as a kind of paragraph structure.
²The noun phrase and verb phrase types can also be realized by only their single-word heads; thus, the slots filled by a noun phrase of a certain subclass can also be filled by a noun or pronoun of the same subclass. See Appendix I.
Tense and aspect, however, are not only nuclear to the verb, but are also obligatorily manifested along with it, either as a tone notation or as a lexical item.
CHAPTER THREE: BASIC COMPLEX CLAUSE TYPES.

The second group of clauses consists of the basic complex clause types, and the clauses of this group are:

1. Instrumental
2. Impersonal
3. Causative

The chart below shows the tagmemic formulas of the clauses, and the possible fillers of their slots. Also listed with each clause type are the allo-constructions.

Chart IV: A Tagmemic-Notation Paradigm Showing the Nuclear Tagmemes of the Basic Complex Clause Types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.Ins</th>
<th>+S.A</th>
<th>+P.Ins</th>
<th>+O.Ins</th>
<th>+Act.P</th>
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<tr>
<td>NP1a,b, c,&amp;f</td>
<td>VP1n</td>
<td>NP1a,b</td>
<td>c,e,&amp;f</td>
<td>Sub. VP</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NP5a</td>
<td>NP5a</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Allo-Con 1: +S.A same +P.Ins same +O.Ins same +P.Tr +O.G

| VP1a,b, NP1a,b,c | VP2a,b, NP2a | VP3a,b, NP5a |
| c &f | c | c |
| NP4 | RC |
| VP4a,b, R.A |

Allo-Con 2: +S.A same +P.Ins same +O.Ins same +P.In

| VP1d |
| VP2d |
| VP3d |
| VP4d |

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Allo-Con 3:+S.A +P.Ins +O.Ins +P.Loc +Loc
NP1a,b, VP1n NP1a,b, VP1f NP1d
    c,e,f VP2n c,e,f VP2f NP2e
NP2a   NP2a   VP3f   NP5d
NP4    NP4    VP4f
NP5a   NP5a
RC     RC

Allo-Con 4:+S.A +P.Ins +O.Ins +P.Ditr +O.I +I.O
same   same   same   same   same   same
VP1e   VP1e   NP1b,c,f NP3d
    VP2e   NP2a-c,e
    VP3e   NP4,
    VP4e   NP5a
RC

Allo-Con 5:+S.A +P.Ins +O.Ins +P.Dir +O.I +P.D.P +Loc
same   same   same   same   same   same
VP1g   VP1g   NP1a,b PP
    VP2g   NP2a-c,e
    VP3g   NP4
    VP4g   NP5a
RC

Imp.pro VP1p NP1a-c,f Sub. VP
    VP2p NP2a Infinitive
    NP4
    NP5a
RC

Allo-Con 1:+S.A +P.Imp +O.G-A +P.Tr +O.G
same   same   same   same   same
VP1a,c NP1a-c,f
    VP2a,c NP2a
    VP3a,c NP4
    VP4a,c NP5a
RC
R.A

Allo-Con 2:+S.A +P.Imp +O.G-A +P.In
same   same   same   same
VP1d  VP1d
    VP2d
    VP3d
    VP4d

Allo-Con 3:+S.A +P.Imp +O.G-A +P.Loc +Loc
same   same   same   same
VP1f   VP1f
    VP2f   VP2f
    VP3f   VP3f
    VP4f   VP4f
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<td>NP5a VP4r NP5a</td>
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<tr>
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<td>RC RC</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Allo-Con 1: +S.Bene +P.Ben +O.0e +P.Tr +O.G |
|------|-------------------------|
|      | same same same VP1a NP1a-c,f |
|      | VP2a NP2a |
|      | VP3a NP4 |
|      | VP4a NP5a |
|      | RC |

| Allo-Con 2: +S.Bene +P.Ben +O.0e +P.Tr |
|------|-------------------------|
|      | same same same VP1d |
|      | VP2d |
|      | VP3d |
|      | VP4d |

| Allo-Con 3: +S.Bene +P.Ben +O.0e +P.Loc +Loc |
|------|-------------------------|
|      | same same same VP1f NP1d |
|      | VP2f NP2e |
|      | VP3f NP5d |
|      | VP4f |

| Allo-Con 4: +S.Bene +P.Ben +O.0e +P.Ditr +O.I +I.O |
|------|-------------------------|
|      | same same same VP1e NP1b,c NP3d |
|      | VP2e &f |
|      | VP3e NP2a-c, |
|      | VP4e &e |
|      | NP4 |
|      | NP5a |
|      | RC |

| Allo-Con 5: +S.Bene +P.Ben +O.0e +P.Dir +O.I +P.D.P +Loc |
|------|-------------------------|
|      | same same same VP1g NP1a-c,f PP NP1a-d,f |
|      | VP2g NP2a |
|      | VP3g NP4 |
|      | VP4g NP5a |
|      | RC RC |
Allo-Con 2: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.In
   NP1a-c,f VP1q  NP1a-c,f VP1d
   NP2a  VP2q  NP2a  VP2d
   NP4  NP4  VP3d
   NP5a  NP5a  VP4d
   RC  RC

Allo-Con 3: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.Loc  +Loc
   same  same  same  VP1f  NP1d
   same  same  same  VP2f  NP2e
   same  same  same  VP3f  NP5d
   same  same  same  VP4f

Allo-Con 4: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.Ditr  +O.I  +I.0
   same  same  same  VP1e  NP1b,c,f NP3d
   same  same  same  VP2e  NP2a-c,e
   same  same  same  VP3e  NP4
   same  same  same  VP4e  NP5a
   same  same  same  RC

Allo-Con 5: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.Dir  +O.I  +P.D.P  +Loc
   same  same  same  VP1g  NP1a-c, PP  NP1a-d,f
   same  same  same  VP2g  &f  NP2a,e
   same  same  same  VP3g  NP2a  NP4
   same  same  same  VP4g  NP4  NP5a,d
   same  same  same  RC

Allo-Con 6: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.Desc  +Com
   same  same  same  VP1k ideo
   same  same  same  VP2k  NP1a-f
   same  same  same  NP2a-e
   same  same  same  NP4
   same  same  same  NP5a-d
   same  same  same  RC

Allo-Con 7: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.St
   same  same  same  VP1h
   same  same  same  VP2h
   same  same  same  VP3h
   same  same  same  VP4h

Allo-Con 8: +S.Ca  +P.Ca  +O.G-A  +P.Eq  +Com
   same  same  same  VP1m  NP1a-f
   same  same  same  VP2m  NP2a-c
   same  same  same  NP4
   same  same  same  NP5a-d
   same  same  same  RC
A close study of the above charts immediately shows that the four clause types have at least two peculiar features in common, namely that:

1. Their construction involves a subcluster of clauses;

2. Each of the clause types consists of two base functional components, the first being the Special Action component, which introduces and dominates the second—the Sequential Action component. A basic complex clause can therefore be represented in a special overall composite formula thus:

+Special Action +Sequential Action.

This general formula can then be made specific for any of the basic complex clause types by including the special constructions of the clause type which fill the two base slots above. One more feature common to all the clauses of this group is the fact that the Sequential Action base slot can be filled by some of the Predicates of the basic simple clause types. This results in the various allo-constructions listed with the clauses on the chart. It is important to note also that the verb phrases filling the second component are restricted, in inflection, to only the subjunctive mood or the infinitive. Only the special action Predicate has unrestricted inflection in all the tenses and aspects. All these point to the important fact of the very tight and close-knit relationship between the two base components of the
clause, a relationship which is lacking in all other types of clause-cluster or serial constructions in the language.

3.1 **Clause Contrasts:** In spite of the structural similarities between the four clause types, they are however distinct from one another. Their first structural difference is found in their Predicate tagmemes, as the chart clearly shows. The instrumental and benefactive clauses further differ from each other, and from the other two clause types in the function of their Object tagmeme: the instrumental clause has an Object-as-Instrument, while the benefactive clause has Object-as-Benefactee; the other two have Object-as-Goal and Actor. The impersonal clause type differs from the other three in that its Subject-as-Actor slot can be filled only by an impersonal pronoun. The function of the Subject tagmeme of the causative clause is Subject-as-Cause.

3.2 **Nuclear Tagmemes:** The nuclear formula of each of the four clause types will now be illustrated, using one of its allo-constructions.

1. **Instrumental.**


Illustrated formula:

+S.A : NPla +P.Ins : VP1n +O.Ins : NP1c +Act.P : VP1a

dkplá mf  yá  éro  gbó

man that  used  knife  kill (it).
Though the instrumental clause construction is used generally to express such ideas as illustrated above, it is also used to express certain relations which have nothing to do with the instrumental idea whatsoever. For example, in expressing the period of time spent on something, the instrumental construction is used:

\[
\text{èkhùò ni yá ífànáìì rì èvébà̀rè.}
\]

woman that used minutes five eat food.

\[
\text{ò yá ògógó èhá sè èwá}
\]

he used clock three reach home.

[he reached home at three o'clock.]

2. Impersonal.


+Act.P : VP1d

Illustrated formula:

\[
\begin{align*}
+S.A & : \text{Imp.pro} & +P.Imp & : \text{VPip} & +O.G-A & : \text{NP/RC} \\
& & & & & +Act.P & : \text{VP1d}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{ò kò íràn hiá yà lè}
\]

it quicked they all to run away

[they were all able to run away.]

3. Causative.

Formula: +S.Ca : NP/RC +P.Ca : VP1q +O.G-A : NP/RC

+Act.P : VP1a +O.G : NP/RC

Illustrated formula:

\[
\begin{align*}
+S.Ca: & \text{NP1a} & +P.Ca: & \text{VP1q} & +O.G-A: & \text{NP1a} & +Act.P: & \text{VP1a} & +O.G: & \text{NP1c}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{èkhùò ni} & \quad \text{gú} & \quad \text{mwen} & \quad \text{gbè} & \quad \text{ègò}
\end{align*}
\]

woman that caused me break bottle.
Like the instrumental clause construction, the causative is also used to express permission:

ôkhôôdè gié ibrated ní gberá.
gateman allowed children that pass.

[the gateman allowed the children to pass.]


Illustrated formula:

+S.Ben:NP1a +P.Ben:VP1r +O.Ben:NP1a +Act.P:VP1e +O.I:NP1c
ôtén mwén gú iyé mwén rhiè òvbârë
sister my helped mother my give food

+I.O:NP3d
nè ibréká ní
to children that.

[my sister fed the children for my mother.]

The benefactive clause construction is also frequently used for expressing the idea of accompaniment:

îran èvá ní lèlè ôtèmwèn yè èsèsi.
they two that followed friend my go church.

[these two followed my friend to church.]

ôtèmwèn gú mwèn űmwàn ôkpiá ní.
friend my helped me beg man that.

[my friend and I begged that man.]

3.3 Marginal Tagmemes: All four complex clause types have as marginal tagmemes Location and Time, and with the
exception of the impersonal clause, they all also have a marginal Manner tagmeme. As with the basic simple clause types, these three marginal tagmemes are optional. The Purpose tagmeme frequently occurs optionally with the benefactive and instrumental clauses, but hardly ever with the impersonal and causative. Below are some examples of marginal tagmemes occurring with complex clause types:

1. Instrumental:
ô yà épîà gà ègbá vbè èdè nóđè mè è gbêrâ.
he used cutlass cut fence at road yesterday that he pass.

2. Impersonal:
ô ké mwèn yà khàmàn rèn vbè èwà nóđè.
it quicked me to tell him at home yesterday.

3. Causative:
ôkhùò nî giè èvbi ërè sâkàñ.
woman that caused child her spoil.
[that woman spoiled her child.]

4. Benefactive:
ôzò gú ìràn gà ìràn nóđè nè ìràn ghè gbè ërè
Ozo helped them cut wood yesterday that they not flog him.
[Ozo helped them to cut some wood yesterday so that they might not flog him.]

3.4 Clause Variants: The main variant forms of the basic complex clause types are the different allo-constructs which result from the different possible slots
fillers of the Sequential Action component. Thus the instrumental clause has five main variant forms, the causative and impersonal eight, and the benefactive five. Also, further variations can occur from the presence or absence of any of the optional tagmemes. Below are some examples of variants resulting from allo-constructions:

1. yá ṣèrè fiàn iyán.
   he used knife cut yam.

2. yá àwá lòvbò.
   he used mat lie down.
   [he lay on a mat]

3. yá ímòtò yè èsòsì.
   he used car go church.

4. yá ókpàn rhiè èvbařè nè Ozó.
   he used plate give feed to Ozo.

5. yá èrhàn rùà ìkù fi ìvún.
   he used stick push dirt into hole.
CHAPTER FOUR: DERIVED CLAUSE TYPES.

The clauses of this group have in common a derivational relationship with the basic clause types. However, in spite of this derivational relationship, they show sufficient structural and distributional differences from the basic clause types to warrant their classification as contrastive clause types. These differences shall be discussed later, but first will be presented a citation paradigm showing the derived clauses as transform types of some of the basic clauses.

1It is necessary at this point to mention that the criteria used as basis for clause distinction in this chapter and the next are subject to revision and possible modification, with a larger and less restricted formal corpus. Some of the clauses now classified as derived and emic (i.e., contrastive) may be found to be only etic variants, while some of those now classified as etic variants may fit into the contrastive derived group. However, one major distinction, at this point, between these two groups of clauses is that while the members of the derived variants can be simultaneously derived, the members of the contrastive derived group cannot: that is, while it is possible to have an interrogative emphatic transitive clause, it is not possible to have an imperative hortative transitive clause, or an imperative concessional transitive clause, etc.
A Citation Paradigm Showing the Contrastive Derived Forms of Some of the Basic Clause Types.

1. Transitive:
   a. Dec: Ọkpiá ní gbé èwé. - [That man killed a goat.]
      man that killed goat.
   b. Im: Gbè èwé! - [Kill a goat!]
      Kill goat!
   c. Hort: Giè à gbé èwé. - [Let's kill a goat.]
      Let we kill goat.
   d. D.I: Ọ ghí gbè èwé... - [When he killed a goat...]
      he when kill goat...
   e. Con: Ọ rhe gbè èwé... - [Though he killed a goat...]
      he though kill goat...
   f. R. A: Né ọ gbè èwé - [who killed a goat.]
      that he killed goat.
   g. Cend: Ọ ghà gbè èwé... - [If he kills a goat...]
      he if kill goat...

2. Equative:
   a. Dec: Ọkpiá nà Ṣè èhén. - [This man is a priest.]
      man this be priest.
   b. Im: ------
   c. Hort: Giè à ghà Ṣè èhén. - [Let's be priests.]
      let we (prog)be priests.
d. D. I: ḍ̣ g̣ hi ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḥ ẹ̀ ṇ.. - [When he was a priest..]
    he when be priest..

e. Com: ḍ̣ ṭ̣̀ ḥé ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḥ ẹ̀ ṇ.. - [Though he is a priest..]
    he though be priest..

f. R. A: Ṇ̀ ḍ̣ œ ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḥ ẹ̀ ṇ.. - [who is a priest.]
    that he be priest.

g. Cond: ḍ̣ g̣ hà ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḥ ẹ̀ ṇ.. - [If he is a priest...]
    he if be priest...

3. Demonstrative:
   a. Dec: ḍ̣ḳḥụ̀̀ ọ ṇ̀ ạ̀ ṇ̀ .̣ - [It's this woman.]
      woman this (it)is.

   b. Im: ------

   c. Hort:------

   d. D. I: ḍ̣ g̣ hi ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḳḥụ̀̀ ọ ṇ̀ .. - [When it was this woman..]
      it when be woman this..

   e. Com: ḍ̣ ṭ̣̀ ḥé ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḳḥụ̀̀ ọ ṇ̀ .. - [Though it's this woman..]
      it though be woman this..

   f. R. A: Ṇ̀ ḍ̣ Ệ̀ ḳḥ̀ ị́ ṇ.. - [who it is.]
      that it be.

   g Cond: ḍ̣ g̣ hà ṭ̣̀ ẹ ẹ̣ ḳḥụ̀̀ ọ ṇ̀ .. - [If it's this woman..]
      it if be woman this..

4. Instrumental:
   a. Dec: ḍ̣ ỵ ạ̣ े̣ ṭ̣̀ ọ̄ ̣̣̀ ṛ̀ ẹ f̣ḷ̣ ̣̣̀ ạ̊ṇ̣́ ẹ ṛ̀ ḥ̀ ạ̄ ṇ.. - [He cut the weed with a
      he used knife cut weed.]

     knife.]
b. Im: Yà érọ fián èrhàn! —[Cut the wood with a knife!]
   use knife cut wood!

c. Hort: Giè á yà érọ fián èrhàn. —[Let's cut the wood with
   let we use knife cut wood. a knife.]

d. D.I: Ọ ghi yà érọ fián èrhàn. —[When he cut the wood
   he when use knife cut wood. with a knife.]

e. Cen: Ọ rhe yà érọ fián èrhàn. —[Though he cut the
   he though use knife cut wood. wood with a knife.]

f. R.A: Nè ọ yà érọ fián èrhàn. —[Who cut the wood with
   that he use knife cut wood. a knife.]

g. Cond: Ọ ghà yà érọ fián èrhàn. —[If he cuts the wood
   he if use knife cut wood. with a knife.]

**Clause Contrasts:** As the examples above indicate, the
derived clauses differ from each other in their consti-
tuent structure. They also differ in distribution, as will
be shown later. To highlight their structural differences,
the nuclear tagmemes of the different contrastive derived
forms of the basic transitive clause have been represented
in the chart below.
Chart V: The Nuclear Tagmemes of the Six Contrastive Derived Types of the Basic Transitive Clause.

1. Imperative:
   \[ +S.A:Wa +P.\text{Im}:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

2. Hortative:
   \[ +Hr.Mk:Gie +S.A:NP/RC +P.Hr:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

3. Dependent Initial:
   \[ +S.A:NP/RC +T:ghi +P.\text{D.I}:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

4. Concessional:
   \[ +S.A:NP/RC +\text{Con}:rhe +P.\text{Com}:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

5. Conditional:
   \[ +S.A:NP/RC +\text{Cond}:ghè +P.\text{Cond}:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

6. Relational-Axis:
   \[ +S.A:NP/RC +\text{Rel}:ne/Adv +S.A:NP/RC +P.\text{Su}:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC \]

As a supplement to the information on the above charts, each of the clause types has been further described below.

1. Imperative: The imperative differs from other clause types in that it is the only one without a subject filler in the singular. In the plural, the only filler of the Subject slot is the plural second person personal pronoun. For example:

   Singular: Ri èvbàrè!
   eat food!

   Plural: Wà ri èvbàrè!
   You eat food!
In distribution, the imperative clause is the only clause type that fills a command slot in a higher-level construction.

2. Hortative: The hortative clause has a special marker "gie", which occurs obligatorily before the Subject. A further peculiarity of this clause is that it does not have a past time form. Also, its Subject slot can only be filled by the first person plural noun phrase or pronoun, or a relative clause.

3. Dependent Initial: This clause type is characterized by the presence of an obligatory temporal tagmeme manifested by "ghi", [ghi], which immediately turns the clause into a dependent one. In distribution, it occurs only initially in a clause, filling a Time slot.

4. Concessional: The concessional clause differs from the other clause types in that it has an obligatory Concession tagmeme just before its Predicate tagmeme.

---

1A dependent clause is taken to mean one that contains a subordinating tagmeme and therefore lacks the potential for occurring as a complete or entire utterance on a higher-level, whereas the independent clause has this potential. There are two types of dependent clause: the bipartite structured type, like the clauses of the relater-axis group, whose subordinator is also the introducer or relater of the rest of the clause that forms the axis; the second type is a regular non-centered clause whose subordinator occurs medially in the construction. Examples of the second type are the dependent initial clause, and the concessional.
Like the dependent initial clause, it is a dependent clause, but it is not restricted to only the initial position in clauses, for it can also occur after the last nuclear tagmem of the clause it modifies.

5. **Conditional**: There are two types of conditional clauses, one is a relator-axis type (to be discussed later), while the other has a Condition slot filler "ghà". This slot usually occurs just before the Predicate tagmem. In distribution, it occurs only initially in higher-level constructions.

6. **Relator-Axis**: The relator-axis clause type is a special class of distinct dependent clauses, which have been grouped together because of their similarity in structure. Apart from the structural similarity of the clauses, they are each distinct from the other both in their distribution and in the emic classes filling their Subordinator slots. The clauses of this class are:

1. Relative
2. Subjunctive
3. Time
4. Manner
5. Condition¹
6. Reason.

The chart below shows the component tagmemes and class fillers of the clauses of this group.

¹This clause shall hereafter be referred to as Condition R.A, to distinguish it from the other Conditional clause.
Chart VI: The Component Tagmemes of the Transitive Relater-Axis Group of Clauses.

1. Relative:
+Su.Rel:nè +S.A:NP/RC +P.Rel:VP1=4 +O.G:NP/RC

2. Subjunctive:
+5U.Rel:nè +S.A:NP/RC +P.Sub:VP1a +O.G:NP/RC
(Sub. mood)

3. Time:

4. Manner:

5. Condition R.A:

6. Reason:

The following are the distributional differences between the clauses charted above, and other clauses in general:

1. The relative clause, in addition to its distribution on clause-level, is the only clause type that can fill a Modifier slot on phrase-level.

2. The subjunctive clause is the only clause that can fill the Object-as-Topic slot in the transitive 1C clause type.

3. The other adverbial clauses fill different adverbial slots relevant to their type.
CHAPTER FIVE: DERIVED VARIANTS.

The clauses of this group add one more feature to the dimensional pattern of the clause system in Bini, as shown by the diagram below.

![Diagram of clauses]

The arrows indicate the direction of development, while the broken lines represent non-contrastive relationship. The variant clauses are therefore etic variants of all the other contrastive clause types.¹

The tagmemes found in the different derived variant clauses may co-occur in a single clause, for example, there can be a negative interrogative transitive clause, just as there can be a negative transitive one or an interrogative transitive clause, all three clauses being derived variants of the basic transitive clause:

1. Basic Tr: Òzó gbé èwé.
   Ozo killed goat.

   Ozo not killed goat.

3. Neg. Int. Tr: Té Òzó mán gbé èwé?
   (Q) Ozo not killed goat?

The citation paradigm that follows is intended to show the forms of the derived variant clauses, showing the

¹See table on page v above.
basic transitive as the derivational source:

a. Dec: Ọzọ gbé èvé. - [Ozo killed a goat.]
   Ozo killed goat.

b. Int: Ghá ó gbé èvé? - [Who killed a goat?]
   (i) Ọwe he killed goat?
   (ii) Ṣbè Ọzọ á-gbè? - [What did Ozo kill?]
        what Ozo killed?
   (iii) Ọzọ gbé èvé Fà? - [Did Ozo kill a goat?]
          Ozo killed goat (Q)?
   (IV) Té Ọzọ gbé èvé? - [Did Ozo kill a goat?]
      (Q) Ozo killed goat?

c. Emp: Ọzọ ì-ré ó gbé èvé. - [Ozo killed a goat.]
   (i) Ozo it is he killed goat.
   (ii) Èvé èrè Ọzọ gbé. - [Ozo killed a goat.]
        goat it is Ozo killed.

d. Neg: Ọzọ mán gbé èvé. - [Ozo did not kill a goat.]
   (i) Ozo not killed goat.
   (ii) È í ré Ọzọ ó gbé èvé. - [It's not Ozo who kill-
        it(neg)be Ozo he killed goat.  ed a goat.]

e. Seq: Sèkpán Ọzọ gbé èvé. - [But Ozo killed a goat.]
       but Ozo killed goat.

The structure of the clauses will now be briefly discussed.

1. Interrogative: TAn interrogative variant has a spe-
   cial interrogative tagmeme which immediately turns a
   declarative statement into a question. Apart from the
"Yes" or "No" type of question, the Interrogative tagmeme usually occurs at the initial position in the clause; in the "Yes" or "No" question, the Interrogative tagmeme occurs at final position in the clause. The interrogative variants result from the fact that different items form the focus of the different questions, such that the question focussed on the Subject-as-Actor differs from that focussed on the Object-as-Goal. Generally, however, whatever distributional differences exist between a basic clause type and its interrogative variant can be attributed to the presence of the obligatory interrogative tagmeme in the latter. Thus the basic difference between both clauses remains only one, which is not enough to cause their classification as distinct clauses.

2. Emphatic: Emphasis leads to classes of emphatic clauses, differing according to the tagmeme which is emphasized. Any tagmeme, whether nuclear or marginal, can be emphasized in any basic clause type, but the resulting clause is an emphatic variant of that basic clause type. A tagmeme is emphasized by shifting it to a position before the Subject tagmeme, and it is linked with the rest of the clause by a special emphatic copula—"èrê", which can be translated as "it is". In rapid speech, however, this link tends to be left out; so in this sense, it could be termed optional. If the Subject filler is emphasized, it is also shifted to the pre-Subject position,
while the original Subject slot is then filled by a corresponding pronoun. This fact therefore suggests that there is an Emphatic tagmemic slot which is filled by the emphasized item, and if this item happens to be the filler of another obligatory slot in the clause, it is substituted for by a pronoun in the latter slot. For example:

**Ozo built house. Ozo it is he built house.**

When the emphasized item is a pronoun, it is replaced by an emphatic pronoun in the Emphatic slot:

**She made dress. She it is she made dress.**

In distribution, the emphatic clause usually doesn't occur as the initial statement in a discourse. This is because it carries, as a shade of meaning, a refutation of an earlier statement, or an assertion of an initial claim. This distributional constraint, however, only points back to the fact of the presence of an emphatic tagmeme in its structure, and therefore does not constitute a second difference necessary for its classification as a distinct clause type.

3. **Sequential:** A sequential variant is characterized by the obligatory Link tagmeme which introduces it. Another common feature of this clause is that the Subject slot is occasionally filled by a pronoun referring back
to the noun phrase filler of a slot in the previous clause; but this is more a stylistic feature rather than the rule. As with the emphatic clause, the presence of the initial Link tagmeme restricts the distribution of the sequential clause in higher-level constructions, because it can only occur as the second clause in a clause-serial construction.

4. **Negative:** In a negative variant of a basic or derived clause, the item which constitutes the focus of the negative is expanded to include a negative modifier, and this immediately transforms the positive clause to a negative one. When the Predicate filler is the focus of the negative, the negative modifier is usually a single-word particle; but when other items, such as the fillers of the Subject or Object slots, constitute the focus of the negative, the negative modifier is a special construction, "*_否定_" , meaning "it isn't". However, whatever form the negative modifier may assume, it should rightly be classified as a phrase-level tagmeme, rather than a clause-level one.
CHAPTER SIX: CLAUSE DISTRIBUTION.

With the exception of the relative clause, all other clauses are limited in distribution mainly to higher-level constructions, such as the sentence or paragraph. Also, some of the basic clauses frequently occur in a kind of clause cluster or serial construction. In structure, this construction is superficially similar to the basic complex clause types, but it is fundamentally different from that group of constructions in that it lacks the close-knit relationship which exists between the components of the former. It generally consists of a sequence of clauses which are very loosely linked together by the sharing of some tagmemes—either for reasons of economy or style, or because the unrepeated tagmem is self-evident in the context. Such clause serial constructions can be explained by the following structural representation:

Class 1: Initial Clause + Secondary Clause

Class 2: Initial Clause - Secondary Clause

In these formulas, "+" means optional presence, while "-" means obligatory absence. It therefore means that the clauses belonging to class 1 can occur alone as independent clauses, or can form a serial construction with another clause occurring as the second member. The clauses belonging to class 2, on the other hand, are terminal in the sense that they are incapable of forming a serial construction if they occur as the initial clause.
4. ḃ vbié rhièré. -[He slept and woke.]
    he slept wake

vbièré rhièré. (In.+In.)

5. ḃ mòse yè mwèn. -[She is pretty and please-
    she beautiful please me. sing to me.]

mòse. yè mwèm. (St.+Tr.1B)

6. ḃ rú èsè nèn di ñvbèbè yà. -[He did her a good
    he did good for her stay poverty turn and ended in

rú èsè nèn. di ñvbèbè yà. (Ditr.+Loc.) poverty.)

7. ḃ mú òghèé fi òtè mú òghómèn. -[He threw his own
    he take his onto floor take mine. down and took

mú òghèé. fi òtè. mú òghómèn. (Dir.+Tr) mine.]

As the examples above indicate, not only are some
clause types capable of occurring as the initial clause
in a cluster, but they can also occur as the secondary
clause. To show this more clearly, below is a co-occurrence
matrix of the basic simple clause types, with the
secondary clauses forming the columns while the initial
clauses form the rows:

---
\[^1\text{The matrix is based primarily on the evidence provided by the formal corpus on which this analysis is based.}\]

Secondary Clauses.

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<th>Tr</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Ditr</th>
<th>Dir</th>
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¹An "x" means that the clause along the row can co-occur with the clause along the column. A dash indicates that the negative is the case.
APPENDIX I

The following is an elaboration of the phrase types filling the tagmemic slots in charts III and IV above.

Noun Phrases:

NP1: This stands for all types of basic noun phrases.

NP1a: +Head
   Ani.Hum.noun
   pro
   pro. name
   +Modifier(s)
   +quan +Dem
   num
   adj
   idee.

Examples: ibiékà èhà gièghègièghè children three small
   [three little children]
   [all these bad men]

NP1b: +Head
   Ani.N.H.noun
   +Modifier(s)
   Same

Examples: èkítà nókhùa hiá dogs. big. all
   [all big dogsI
   [some rats]

NP1c: +Head
   Ina.noun
   +Modifier(s)
   Same

Examples: èbè ní. book that
   [that book]
   [this good idea]

NP1d: +Head
   Locn. noun
   +Modifier(s)
   Same

Examples: èkì nòrè. market far
   [distant market]

NP1e: +Head
   Time noun
   +Modifier(s)
   Same

Examples: úzôlá èvá ní week. two that
   [those two weeks]

1The analysis below is by no means a complete analysis of phrase constructions in Bini.
NP1f: +Head numeral +Modifier(s) equal +Dem
Examples: èvá gëdùgëdù ni
two 'big that
[those two big ones]

NP2: This stands for all kinds of relative noun phrase.

NP2a: +Head.Rel. noun a, b, c +Modifier(s)
Rblator-Axis clause +Dem.
"phrase
Examples: èmùwàn nè ú mién ni
person that you saw that
dùbérìó house like that
[that person who you saw]
[a house like that]

NP2b: +Head.Rel Adv +Modifier(s) +Dem
R.A clause
Examples: vbé nè è rú.
how that he does
[how he behaves]

NP2c: +Head.Rel Time noun +Modifier(s) +Dem
R.A clause
Examples: úzólà nè è dë
week that it(is) coming
[next week]

NP2d: +Head.Rel temporal +Modifier(s) +Dem
R.A phrase
Examples: èwë nè àkhùé
morning that tomorrow
[tomorrow morning]

NP2e: +Head.Rel locn. noun +Modifier(s) +Dem
R.A clause
Examples: èvbè nè o ké re
town that he from come
[the town that he comes from]

NP3: This stands for all types of relator-axis phrase types.
NP3a: +Relator +Modifier(s) +Head +Dem
vbe directional noun noun a-
d
Examples: vbè úwú úwú nò
at inside hole that
[inside of that hole]
vbè uhúnmwun ètèbùrà
at head table
[on top of the table]

NP3b: +Relator +Modifier(s) +Head +Dem
vbe noun noun
Examples: vbè èghé èwìé
at time morning
[in the morning]
vbè èvèrè ótà
at food evening
[at dinner]

NP3c: +Relator +Modifier +Head
vbe Lecn noun
Examples: vbè èkpèn Èdé
at proximity Benin
[in the vicinity of Benin]

NP3d: +Relator +Head +Dem
me noun a,b,f
Examples: nè èkpìá nò
[to man that]
[to that man]
nè èmwàn nè ó ré nà
[to person that he come this]
[to this man who came]

NP4: This stands for possessive noun phrase.

NP4: +Head +Modifier(s)
+Poss......1 +Possr
Same as for NP1a

Examples: ága èvbí èkpìá nò
chair child man that
[the chair of that man's]
èvèrè évítà Ozo
food dog Ozo
[Ozo's dog's food]
child
NP5: This stands for all types of co-ordinate noun phrase.

NP5a:  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Head} \\
+\text{Coo} \quad +\text{Link} \\
+\text{Coo} \quad +\text{Link} \\
\end{array} \quad +\text{Modifier(s)} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{NP1a} - \quad \text{vbe} \\
\text{NP1a} - \quad \text{vbe} \\
\text{NP1a} - \quad \text{vbe} \\
\end{array} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
c, \quad c \\
c, \quad c \\
c, \quad c \\
\end{array} \]

Examples: Òzó \text{vbe} \quad Òtâbó \text{vbe} \quad Íyáyí \ldots \ldots \\
Ozo and Otabô and Iyáyi \ldots \ldots \\

NP5b:  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Head} \\
+\text{num} \quad +\text{Link} \\
+\text{num} \quad +\text{Link} \\
\end{array} \quad +\text{Modifier(s)} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\end{array} \]

Examples: èvá \text{vbe} \quad èhá \text{vbe} \quad ìsèn \ldots \\
twá and three and five \ldots \ldots \\

NP5c:  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Head} \\
+\text{temp} \quad +\text{Link} \\
+\text{temp} \quad +\text{Link} \\
\end{array} \quad +\text{Modifier(s)} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\end{array} \]

Examples: èvíè \text{vbe} \quad ìvàn \text{vbe} \quad ìtà \ldots \\
morning and afternoon and evening \ldots \ldots \\

NP5d:  
\[ \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Head} \\
+\text{Loc} \quad +\text{Link} \\
+\text{Loc} \quad +\text{Link} \\
\end{array} \quad +\text{Modifier(s)} \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\text{Same} \\
\end{array} \]

Examples: èmwán \text{vbe} \quad Èdó \text{vbe} \quad Òwòrí \ldots \\
here and Benin and Warri \ldots \ldots \\

**Verb Phrases:**

The four classes of verb phrases are:

VP1: all types of simple verb phrase;

VP2: all types of pre-modified verb phrase;

VP3: all types of post-modified verb phrase;

VP4: all types of pre- and post-modified verb phrase.

The different subgroups of each verb phrase (indicated on the charts by letters) represent the special verb class of the clause type. Thus, VP1a means simple transitive verb phrase. A verb phrase usually consists of the verb-word
and its modifiers such as tense, aspect, and modal. While the first two are obligatory as well as nuclear to the verb phrase, the latter is optional though also nuclear. Thus the formulaic representation of a typical verb phrase would be:

+ tense + modal + aspect + verb-head.

Tense is usually realized as a tone notation on the verb, but mode and aspect\(^1\) are usually realized as lexical items.

\(^1\)Three aspects operate in Bini: progressive, completive, and habitual. The last two aspects, like tense, may occur as tone on the verb. Thus a single tone mark on a verb could mean both tense and aspect indication.
### APPENDIX II

Symbols and abbreviations used in the analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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<td>±</td>
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<td>=</td>
<td>consists of</td>
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<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>either...or (in formulas)</td>
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The abbreviations are arranged alphabetically below.

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<th>Interpretation</th>
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----- "String Constituent Analysis", Language 36, 63-88, 1960


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THE CORPUS

The four folktales presented here constitute the formal data on which this study is based. The tales are arranged such that the numbering of the Bini text corresponds to that of the literal English translation. A free translation follows at the end of each tale. In the Bini text, only low tone and the two glides are marked.
Folktale One: Èkpèn kòvbè Ofinòtò.

1. Ède òkpa ke dò re.

2. Èkpèn ne èba avbe ërëmwen-ôha hia ke dò biè.

3. Ógbèn vbè ò ghi biè nen, ò na we:

4. "Vbè i òa khian ru èmwen èvbàre hë vbè èghè nà nè ë khian nà sëtìn y' òbàfi?"

5. Ówúàré nì ò na yère ighè è i mwen avbe ërëmwen-ôha man do tu irèn n' irèn na dà biè nà.

6. Ò na ghi yàn ighè irèn èr' irèn ghi yà kòk' èmwen, kòk' ègbe.

7. Ofinòtò gbà èkpèn sè vberìè,

8. Ò ghi wà hòn ighè èkpèn biè, ò na kp' òtò kp' òtò ya làdian vbè ègùa 'rè.

9. Ò ghi guà làdian nen, ò na zè ekèn kherhe gu' ùvùn nì.

10. Ò na fèke lèrè y' ùwù ùvùn nì gha damwen-èho èyan k' eyan ne èkpèn gha yan.

11. Ò ghi wà hòn ighè èkpèn w' irèn gha y' avb' ërëmwen-ôha nì gha do tu' òrè kok' èmwen kok' ègbe, ò na wà tûlemu gha rie uy' oha.

12. Ò na si avb' ërëmwen-ôha hia koko.

13. Ò na khàmàn irèn ighè èkpèn w' irèn èr' irèn khian ya kòk' èmwen kòk' ègbe.
14. Òhan ke ghi m’ iRAND ẹsesè.
15. IRAND na gha ha yo ha re.
16. Uw’erè nf èfinotò ghi nà we;
17. "Wà ghe gi’ òhan m’ uwa; ède roò n’ à gha l’ ekpèn ìè."
18. Wà gha h’ ìkò gi’ ìrè, wà ghe là ‘ìrè ọwà; sòkpan wà ghi k’ ìrère dà khamàn ìrèn ighè t’ uwa hà ìkò gi’ìrè.
19. Wà gha ghi khamàn ìrèn nen, wà sètin lè.
20. IRAND hia kéghi ghógho y’ èwàèn n’ èfinotò zèè.
21. Ò man ghi he kpee, èdèmèndoghe na gb’ ikun-érhan mû mwen n’ iràn mû gî’ ekpèn.
22. N’ o rhirhi s’ ọgh’ ekpèn ghi mû ikun-érhan ìrèn fùa z’ ihuan sò;
23."Èkpèn mi’ èrhan, gbele; èrèn n’ u kòko nì; n’ u yà rànmw’ imàn;"
24."Gha o kha ìrè?"
25."Òfinotò n’ òwà, àbètù wewewè, ò su ekhen y’ ekì, ò’ man ghi su ìrè re."
26. Èkpèn ghi hin ‘hùân n’ irân so, ò ghi hun ‘de n’ èfinotè bu iràn ìè, ò ke mòbo yan ìrèn ìnuÀÀ.
27. Ìhù ke vbè mû’èn èsesè.
28. O na suèn gha yan èyan hia khè èfinotè, bhen’ irèn gha wà lèe hè vbè ìmen-èrhen.
29. Vb’ uw’ ìghè nà, èfinotò vbè lèrè y’ ùvùn èrèn nen sin.
30. Ò ìrèn ìghè è i mwen èkpèn man z’ irè n’ è khọ da irèn vb’ è’ a ìrèn nen ighè ìrèn n’ èfinotò èr’ ò’ bu avbe àramwen-òha ùde.
31. O na fèko gha damwèn-èhò vb' uw'uvùn èrèn.
32. O hon èyan hia n' èkpèn yan kh' òrè.
33. O ghi gie avb' aramwèn-òha hia y' ògh' èkpèn gbà' obo nen, o na yà gual' àb' erhàn.
34. O na gha di' òdar' ow' èkpèn.
35. O ghi s' obo dèdèdé nen, o na dà khàmàn èkpèn n' o kl' urhò ighé te ïrèn do tu' òrè.
36. Èkpèn ghi hon, o na zègiegie si y' àmèn nè o mu yàn erhèn n' ô khian mu òfinotò fì.
37. Èkpèn ghi kiè urhò nen, gie gha vin yan oòfinotò, òfinotò na lè fua.
38. Èkpèn na ghi we èwàèn rèn gha ya ëru'èè.
39. Ère o ghi na gha go tie ò finotò n' ô werlègbe gha dé ighè rèn i rù èr' èmwin rhòkpà.
40. O na we òfinoto man ren ighè t' ïren te khian ded' ère?
41. Òfinotò na gèlè werlègbe gha dé.
42. Èkpèn man rèn igh' òfinotò z' iòò èmwin n' ô gha ëru nen.
43. O ghi s' èhè n' èkpèn ye nen, èkpèn na we n' ô lâhò n' ô do diàk' òmon khè ighè ïrèn khian y' ògbe-owà.
44. Òfinotò na we ô mân.
45. O ghi gie èkpèn fi iyèkè gbè nen, o na tòn óvbi èrè mu., o na mu'en fi èmèn-èrhèn nè iy'èè te ya z'ir'ìrèn.
46. Ekpen ghi hon vb' ovbi ere da tu, q na vin gha dê;
47. Sokpan, q te s' ëhê n' ôfinoto ye, ôfinoto san fi
    üvùn n' q toèn nèn.
48. Õkp' erhùnrhùn ërèn n' ob' ekpen ghi vbà na bòlò y'
    ekpen òbo.
49. Ìni q si ërè n' ükperhurhun ôfinoto na bà ríèríèriè sè
    ikinegbe erhùnrhùn ërèn n' i kerè.
50. Èvba nî òkha nà na yà dê wù.
Folktale One: A Literal English Translation.

1. One day then finally came.
2. Tiger that king all beast-forest then finally born.
3. When that he after born already, he then said:
4. "What I will do matter food how at time this that I not going be able to hunt?"
5. Inside it that he then remembered that it not have all beast-forest not come greet him that he now just born like this.
6. He then threatened that they it is he will use grow child, grow himself.
7. The rabbit know tiger reach like that,
8. He after really hear that tiger born, he then dig ground dig ground go come out at room his.
9. He when dig come out after, he then gathered sand little cover hole that.
10. He then carefully hid in hole that be listening threat by threat that tiger will make.
11. He when really hear that tiger said he will use all beast-forest that will come greet him grow child grow himself, he then just run going into forest.
12. He gathered all beast-forest together.
13. He then told them that tiger said they it is he will use grow child grow himself.
14. Fear did then catch them very much.
15. They then be fret forward fret back.
16. Inside it that, rabbit then said:

17. "You don't let fear catch you; road exists that we will pass tiger by.

18. You when take gift to him, you not enter house his; but you from outside shout tell him that you bring gift for him.

19. You after when you tell him already, you can run away."

20. They all happy for wisdom that rabbit made.

21. It not yet long, each one then tied bundle wood carry with him that he carry to tiger.

22. Who ever reach tiger's place throws bundle-wood his down start song sing:

23. "Tiger, take wood, (gbele: drum refrain); fire that you made that; that you use fry us;"

24. "Who he say it?"

25. "Rabbit of house, the bearded one, he follows women to market, he not again follow them back."

26. Tiger when hear the song that they sing, he when hear the advice rabbit advise them, it really open him mouth completely.

27. Anger catch him too very much.

28. He then start be threatening threats all await rabbit, how he will really cook him in Water-fire

29. At time this, rabbit again hide in hole his already since.

30. He knew that it not have tiger not think thought that
it bad towards him when he has known that him the rabbit it is he advise all beast-forset advice.
31. He then carefully be listening inside hole his.
32. He hear threats all that tiger threatened towards him.
33. He after let all beast-forest go tiger's place finish, he went look for branch wood.
34. He then be coming to front house tiger.
35. He after knock hard already, he then shout tell tiger that he open door that he come visit him.
36. Tiger when hear, he then quickly push (wood into fire) for the water that he put on fire, that he will put rabbit into.
37. Tiger after open door, let him be springing on rabbit, rabbit ran away.
38. Tiger then said wisdom he will use do it.
39. It is he then be shouting call rabbit that he turn be coming back that he not do him thing any.
40. He said rabbit not know that he was going to embrace him?
41. Rabbit then truly turn be coming back.
42. Tiger not know that rabbit think thought thing that he will do already.
43. He when reach place that tiger be already, tiger said that he please that he come stand near child for him that he about to go behind house.
44. Rabbit said it good.
45. He when let tiger turn back already, he then lift child his up, he then throw it into water-fire, that mother him had used to await him.

46. Tiger when he hear child his shout cry, he then sprang back;

47. But he before reach place that rabbit be, rabbit jump into hole that he dig already.

48. Tip tail him that hand tiger reach peel for tiger hand.

49. That caused it that tip tail rabbit be red slightly more than skin tail that is left.

50. Place that story this go fall die.
Once upon a time, the tiger, king of all the beasts of the forest, had a cub. Soon he started to worry: "What will I do for food during this period when I can't go hunting?" Then he remembered that the other animals will not fail to come and pay homage to him and his new baby. So he decided that they will serve as his food for that period.

The rabbit knew the tiger very well, and suspected that he must be making some evil plans now that he can't go hunting. So he started to pipe out a hole until he came out at the tiger's room. As soon as he had come out at the tiger's floor, he covered his hole with a layer of sand, and then hid quietly in it, listening to hear whatever plans the tiger might be making. As soon as he heard the tiger decide to feed on the animals who would come to visit him, he immediately ran into the forest. He assembled all the animals and announced to them that the tiger was planning to feed on them. They were all greatly frightened. The rabbit then told them not to be afraid. He advised them that when they take their gifts to the tiger, they should not enter his house, but should shout from outside that they had brought him a present. After that, they could run away. They were all happy with the rabbit's wise suggestion.

Soon afterwards, each one carried his bundle of fire-
wood to take to the tiger. Whenever each got to his house, he would throw down his bundle and start to sing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiger, accept firewood!</td>
<td>Gbele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That fire you made....</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To roast us in....</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who said it?</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The house-rabbit!</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The bearded one!</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who escorts women to market,</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But never returns with them.</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the tiger heard how the rabbit had advised all the animals, he was very angry and started to lay plots down for him. But the rabbit was again listening in his hole, and heard all the plans that tiger had made. After all the other animals had been to the tiger's house, he then went and looked for a branch, and went to the tiger's door. After knocking hard, he shouted to the tiger to open the door because he had come on a visit. As soon as the tiger heard who it was, he quickly added more fire-wood to the fire so that the water he was boiling to throw the rabbit into might boil faster. As soon as he had opened the door and wanted to spring on the rabbit, the latter ran away. The tiger then decided that he must be more careful and plan more wisely. So he started to shout to the rabbit to come back and that he wouldn't hurt him.
The rabbit then came back. The tiger did not suspect that the rabbit had his own plans. The tiger then requested the rabbit to come and watch over his cub for him while he went to ease himself. The rabbit agreed to do so. As soon as the tiger turned his back, the rabbit picked up his cub and threw it into the boiling water which the tiger had meant to throw him into. When the tiger heard his cub cry, he rushed back; but before he got to where the rabbit was, the rabbit had jumped into his hole. The tip of his tail, which was the only part the tiger could lay his hands on, peeled off with him. That is why the tip of the rabbit's tail is lighter in color than the rest of his body.

That ends the story.
Folktale Two: Ênàbulele

1. Ókha okpa ke dò rè.
2. Ó na ya de mù óvbkohon-okhùò okpa n' à ti' ë' Ênàbulele.
3. Kèn' a ya bi' orè gha de, ígbàkhùàn Ênàbulele khian rèn.
4. Èd' okpa ghi re, ëy' ère ke ghi khian gha ri' ugbó.
5. Ó na gb' uhi màn Ênàbulele n' ò ghe kpà him èwa re
   ìrèn tè rè.
6. N' ò ghe gèlè sètìn kpàà, ëy' ère na rno ëkuta y' òrè
   àkhe n' ò gha le.
7. Ó na we nè Ênàbulele ghe kpà hèn èwa re a te mièn ighè
   èmwin n' ò le gaè.
8. Ênàbulele na wè hè.
9. Gi' 'ye Ênàbulele gha z' òwè kpà hèn èwà re, avb' òsi
   Ênàbulele na re dò ti' erè n' iñan ya rhò ëkpàghà.
10. Ênàbulele nà khamàn avb' òsi òrè igh' iy' ìrèn we
    n' ìrèn ghe kpà hèn èwa re.
11. Ó na we: "Òko, wà dò ghe èmwin n' iye mwen mu yo
    mwen erhen n' i gha le.
12. Ó man ga nèn, òhan i gun mwen kpà hèn èwà re."
13. Avb' òsi Ênàbulele na gèlè ya ghe ëkuta n' iyèe mu
    y' òrè erhen n' ò gha le.
14. Ìràn ghi mì' òrèn nèn, ëkpà vb' ìràn na w' ìrèn Ìèn
    vben' ò gha ya rherhe ga hè.
15. Ó na rhùlè gha ri' ëyek' èwa.
16. Ó na ya gb' eb' iyôkho re;
17. Ó na vi' òrè yàn ëkuta ni
18. ដ នាង ក្លាហ្វេ សិ ក្លាឣ េ ក្លាល េ ក្លាល េ សិ ដៃ ក្លាឣ េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
19. ដ ខិ ប្រុង េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ សិ សិ សិ ដៃ ក្លាឣ េ ក្លាឣ េ
20. េ ណាអំបោ សិ ក្លាង េ សិ លើ វិ ធី ំបោ ំបោ ំបោ
21. គឺ និ ធូន េ បៀប េ សិ េ បៀប េ សិ េ បៀប េ ពី េ បៀប េ សិ េ បៀប េ សិ
22. គឺ បាន រីេ ឬ ស្តី េ ក្លាម េ សិ េ ក្លាម េ សិ េ ក្លាម េ សិ
23. េ ណាអំបោ សិ ក្លាជ េ សិ ក្លារ េ សិ ក្លាណ េ សិ ក្លាត េ សិ
24. េ រីេ សិ ក្លាត េ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាអ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឤ េ
25. េ សិ ស្តី េ ស្តី េ ក្លាត េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
26. េ ណាវាស េ ប្រកួត េ សិ ប្រកួត េ សិ ប្រកួត េ សិ ប្រកួត េ
27. េ ណាអំបោ សិ ក្លាអ េ សិ ក្លាអ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ
28. េ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
29. េ រីេ សិ ក្លាជ េ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាល េ សិ
30. េ រីេ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
31. េ រីេ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
32. េ រីេ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
33. េ រីេ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
34. េ ណាវាស េ មាដ េ មាដ េ មាដ េ
35. េ រីេ សិ ស្តី េ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ ក្លាឣ េ សិ
36. Sòkpan rhumwûnda n' ö na r' ighâkhùàn, ö man dàmwèn-èho avb' ösi oôrê.

37. Ö ghi ze kpee, ö na z' udù là uwu èzè.

38. Ö ro ighê rèn gha sètin lae gbera vbè n' ö man na wa n' irèn.

39. Ö man he k' ôrê yà z' òw' èha vb'èzè suèn gha òro lêga oôrê.

40. Îhuâ 're ghi ghè vb' èzè òro s' ôre igbon, iðran na z' ihuâ sò;

41. Ènàbulele rhi' okpâghà fi èzè, rhi' okpâghà fi èzè Ènàbulele.

42. Vbèn' iðran s' ihuâ nè se, ö man rhi' okpâghà fi èzè.

43. Èzè na gha òro gu' èrê khian.

44. Ö na dô s' ôrê èkun.

45. Ohàn ghi mu avb' ôsi oôrê.

46. Èsò vb' iðran na ghi rhulè yà ti' iy' èrê re.

47. Iy' èrê ghi tè re, èzè òro s' Ènàbulele èwee nèn.

48. Iyêe na fûn 'ruh' ðùà, ò na z' ihuâ sò;

49. Ènàbulele rhi okpâghà fi èzè, rhi' okpâghà fi èzè Ènàbulele.

50. Ènàbulele man yè dàmwèn-èho iy' èrê.

51. Èzè na yè gha ro gu èrê khian.

52. Iy' èrê man ghi rèn vb' ò gha ðù.

53. Ò na ghi wê: "Ö mån, i gha ya ti' ighâkhîàn rèn re.

54. Ü gha ghe ò gha dàmwèn-èho onî."  

55. Iy' èrê na gèlè yà ti' ighâkhîàn rèn re.

56. Ö ghi re, ò na vbè z' ihuâ so:
57. Enàbulele rhi' okpäch'ìa fì' ezè, rhi' okpäch'ìa fì ezè
   Enàbulele!

58. Vben' o s' ihuan sè, Enàbulele man rhi' èho nen t'à yi.

59. Vb' èghè n' a khà nà, amèn ghi a rò s' òrè èho.

60. Igbàkhian rèn na ghi w' i rèn rèn èmwin n' l rèn gha
   rù.

61. O na wê: "Ì gha ya gb' aden n' i do yà sùà okpággha
   ní fùa vb' ùhùnmwùn èrèn."

62. O na gèlè zègiègiè yà gb' aden n' o taèn rè.

63. O na ghi yè n' aden rùà ìkun okpággha n' Enàbulele mu
   yàn uhunmwùn fì èzè.

64. Òwàrọkpa ní, èzè na ghi wà y' ihi' èva n' Enàbulele
   gbèra.

65. Èvbà ní òkha nà na yà dè wù.
Folktale Two: A Literal English Translation.

1. Story one then finally came.
2. It then go fall catch girl one that people call her Enabulele.
3. Since she was born coming, problem-child Enabulele became.
4. Day one when come, mother her was about to go farm
5. She gave instruction to Enabulele that she not leave house she till return.
6. That she really not able to leave, mother her then pick stone for her pot that she be cooking.
7. She then said that Enabulele not leave from house we till see that thing she is cooking done.
8. Enabulele then said okay.
9. Let Enabulele's mother be lifting leg leave from house them friend Enabulele arrived come call her that they go pick cassia pods.
10. Enabulele then told them friend her that mother her said that she not leave from house.
11. She then said: "fellows, come look thing that mother my put for me fire that I be cooking.
12. It not cook already, fear not let me leave from house.
13. Them friend Enabulele then truly go look stone that mother her put for her fire that she be cooking.
14. They after see it already, one for them said she knew how that it take quick done.
15. She then ran go back house.
16. She went to pluck leaves cocoyam come.
17. She put them on stones that.
18. She then hard push fire for pot.
19. It when stayed little, they open pot look.
20. Enabulele when use hand touch it, it just be soft.
21. Inside it that, friends her quickly said: "Enabulele, don't you see that it done already!
22. Let we go search cassia pods now."
23. Enabulele then really follow them.
24. They after walk, they come reach river.
25. River that, if we promise it thing, it divide two for person pass.
26. But if we not give it thing that we promise it, it not let we again pass go home.
27. Enabulele and frind her when reach side river, each one then promise to river that it if split for her pass, she will give it cassia pod when she will be coming.
28. River really divide for them pass.
29. They when pick cassia pods finish, they then picked road home.
30. They when reach river, each one start throwing cassia pod that she promised river into river.
31. Who ever throw her own into river, river will divide for her that she pass.
32. They all then come pass; it then remained Enabulele only.
33. Mates her from the other side shout tell her that she throw cassia pod into river so that they be going home.
34. But Enabulele not listen to them.
35. Yet she knew that if she not throw cassia pod into river, like she promised to river, it not divide that she pass.
36. But because that she be problem-child, she not listen friend her.
37. It when stayed a while, she stubbornly enter inside river.
38. She thinking she able to walk it pass when it not divide for her.
39. It yet not quick her take three steps when river start filling round her.
40. Friend her when see that river fill reach knee her, they then start song sing:
41. Enabulele, throw cassia pod into river, throw cassia pod into river, Enabulele!
42. Like they sing song for her reach, she not throw cassia pod into river.
43. River continue fill round her.
44. It then reach her waist.
45. Fear began catching her friends.
46. Some among them then ran go call mother her come.
47. Mother her before come, water filled reach Enabulele chest already.
48. Mother her then opened voice, she start song sing.
49. Enabulele, throw cassia pod into river, throw cassia pod into river, Enabulele!
50. Enabulele not still listen to mother her.
51. River still continued to fill round her.
52. Mother her not know what she will do.
53. She then said: "Okay, I will go call fiance her come."
54. Maybe she will listen to that."
55. Mother her then really go call fiance her come.
56. He when come he also start song sing;
57. Enabulele, throw cassia pod into river, throw cassia pod into river, Enabulele!
58. Like he sang song reach, Enabulele not give him ear talk in.
59. At time we say this, water almost reach her neck.
60. Fiance her then say he knew thing that he will do.
61. He said:"I will go make hook that I come use push cassia pods that from head her."
62. He really quickly go make hook that it long come.
63. He then use hook that push bundle cassia pod that Enabulele carry on head into river.
64. Immediately, river divide into two places that Enabulele pass.
65. Place that story this then go fall die.
Once upon a time, there lived a girl called Enabulele. Right from the day she was born, she had always been a problem-child. One day, her mother wanted to go to the farm. She instructed Enabulele not to leave the house until she returned, and to be sure she wouldn't leave, her mother picked some stones into a cooking pot, and put it on the fire. She then told Enabulele to continue cooking the stones until they would become soft. No sooner had Enabulele's mother left the house than Enabulele's friends came in to call her to go with them to pick cassia pods. Enabulele told her friends that her mother had instructed her not to leave the house. She showed them the stones that her mother left her to cook. Her friends told her that they knew how to make it cook soft in a short time. They went and collected some cocoyam leaves, and placed them on the stones. A short while later, when they opened the cooking pot, Enabulele touched the covered stones, and found that they were very soft. Her friends told her that the stones were cooked, and that they could now go. Enabulele therefore followed them.

After walking some distance, they came to a river. Each of them, including Enabulele pledged to the river that, if it would divide for her to pass through, she would give it a cassia pod on her way back. The river therefore

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1The cocoyam is a plant in the lily family. It has thick broad leaves.
divided for them to pass. When they had finished picking cassia pods, they set out for home. As they got to the river, they each threw into it the pod that they had promised it. After each one threw her pod into the river, it divided for her to pass. Soon, they had all passed, except Enabulele. Her friends shouted to her from the other side of the river to throw her pod into the river so that she could pass through, and they could go home; but Enabulele did not heed them. Yet, she knew that if she did not throw the cassia pod into the river as she promised, the river would not divide for her to pass through. As was typical of her as a problem child, she refused to do as she was supposed to, and stubbornly stepped into the river. She thought she could cross it without its dividing for her. She hadn't taken more than three steps when the river started to rise around her. When her friends saw that the water had risen up to her knees, they started to sing thus:

Enabulele, throw the cassia pod into the river!
Throw the cassia pod into the river, Enabulele!
Enabulele, throw the cassia pod into the river!
I'm sorry for you, Enabulele.

In spite of how long they sang, Enabulele did not throw the cassia pod into the river. The river continued to rise round her. It soon rose as high as her waist line. Some of her friends therefore ran to call her mother.
When she came and found that the water had risen to her daughter's chest, she started to cry, and sang the same song Enabulele's friends had been singing; but Enabulele didn't heed her mother either. The water continued to rise round her. Her mother therefore decided to call her fiance. Her fiance came and also sang to her, but she did not listen to him. By this time, the water had risen up to her neck. So he went and quickly constructed a hook which was long enough to reach Enabulele. With the hook, he then pushed into the river the bundle of cassia pods Enabulele was carrying on her head. Immediately, the river divided at last for her to pass through.

That ends the story.
Folktale Three: Êguí ne òmwan éro.

1. Òkha ọkpa ke dọ re.
2. Ọ na yà de mù Òguí vb' Òmwan hia n' i re ẹvbọ nị.
3. Ókhumwün wà fi vb' ẹvbọ nị ọsesẹ.
4. Òguí man sẹtın m' ugbo.
5. Òb' ọhànmwen na dọ gha dae.
6. Ọ ghi kpee kherhe, ọ na wè: "T' i gha ọ̀ ọvb'i gha rù èmwen ọhànmwen nà hê."
7. Èd' èki ghi re, ọ na rhi' ọvb'i èmàn;
8. Ọ na fèko yà lèrè y' ọvb'i ọdọ n' èkhên èki la gbera.
9. Ọ man ghi he kpe kherhe, èkhen hia na dọ gha la gberâ.
10. Èki na dọ ọ̀rọ.
11. Èki ghi rò n'en, Òguí na z' ihuan so vb' èhè n' ọ lèrè yi;
12. Èki ogíso, kpuman; n' ọ man gha rie, kpuman; èmwin n' è dẹ kpọlo, kpuman.
13. Ọ na gha sè èrè yàn ègbè.
14. Òhan na gha mu èkhên èki hia.
15. Èran ọ̀ igh' èrìmwin ọ kpẹ deè.
16. Èhia na mù vè.
17. Èran na le s' èmwin èran hia ràe y' èki.
18. Òguí ghi gi' èran hia kpà n'en, ọ na yànkàn làdìàn vb' èhè n' ọ lèrè'yi.
19. Ọ na yà kok' èmwin hia n' èkhên lẹ sèràs.
20. Ọ na viò gha ri òwa.
21. Ègui n' o man ghi he te miè 'vbàre re o ghi ri ède 'ha na ghi ri èvbàre re re re, éko na vù' ōrèn.
22. O na we,"Ah, ònà i ghi gha ōru!"
23. Èd' eki n' o ke're ghi vbè re, o na vbè yà lère y' ôkpen eki.
24. Èkhèn hia na vbè dó gha la gberà.
25. O ghi vbè gi' iran hia gbera fò nèn, o na vbè z' ihuan so;
26. Èki ògiso, kpuman; èki ògiso, kpuman; n' o man gha rie, kpuman; èmwìn n' o dé kpòlo, kpuman.
27. Èkhèn èki ghi vbè hìn 'huan nî, iran hia na vbè suèn gha mu vè.
28. O te s' ifunàrò èva, èhe hia vbè ye gbèlè nèn.
29. Sòkpan o man ke 'uk' oba yà lè hìn èki rè fò vb' ègui ladiàn vb' èhé n' o lèrè yì gha vi' èmwìn.
30. 'Uk' oba ghi bèghè égui, o na wè: "èr' i kha ighè égui èr' o ðù a-ghe-ðù nà; rèn èr' o vè 'ki.
31. Ìwina èmwìn n' à vio mu ègui, è man bègh' ùk' oba.
32. Onì na fèko kòn hìn èki rè.
33. O na zègiegie gha ri' eguae.
34. O ghi s' eguae, o na khàmàn avb' eghàèvbò n' iràn lâho n' iràn gi' iřèn mi' oba èèò ègiegie, ighè èmwìn n' àřò iřèn mièn wanwan kpòlo se 'řen gbè.
35. Iran na gèlè rhi' ère giè oba.
36. O ghi s' evba, o na wè: "Dò'mon n' o yàèn mwen n' ehi mwen! Èki èr' i ke de nà.
37. Emwín n' àrò mwen mien èr' i we n' i do khamàn rèen.
38. É i re èrinmwin ô do gha ve èkhèn vb' èki; ègùi n'
omwan èrò nò.
39. O man ke mwen ya lè hin èki re fo vbè o ghàra de
do vi' èmwin n' èkhèn le sèr'ae.
40. Àrò mwen'vèva nà èr' i ya bègh' èrè." 
41. Oba ghi hòn èmwin n' ûkè kharè, òhù keghi kàkàbo mòèrèn èsesè.
42. O na gîè nà tie avb' owinà ègieglè.
43. O na we n' iiran kà òmwan, n' iiran y' òdan sikan rènègbe hìà.
44. O na wè: "Èd' èki n' ô dê ghà re, wà ghi yà muen y'
àdesè 'ki".
45. Avb' owina na gèlè kà òmwan nì vben' oba khamàn iràn.
46. Èd' èki ghi re iiran na yà mu òmwan nì n' iiran kàrè
y' àdesè' èki.
47. Ègui ghi vbè gi' èki fò nen, o na vbè suën gha su lhuàn.
48. Èkhen èki hia na vbè mu ve.
49. Sòkpan òmwan n' avb' owina kàrè ke yè gha r' ades' èki.
50. Ègui ghi zè kh' oref n' o kpa ò man kpa, èr' o ghi
nà bu èrè.
51. Ô ghi s' èhè n' ô ye, ô na we n' i rèn gb' ubi y'
èr' aro, ôb' oref na sikan mò èrèn.
52. O na ghi we n' i rèn y' obo n' ô kere sau 'rè, ôbò rè
nì na vbè sikan mò èrèn.
53. O na we n' i rèn y' owe suëe, owè oref na vbè sikan muen.
54. O na ghi we n' iren y' egbe sua 're, ègbè ère na vbè sikan muen.
55. Vben' o ghi zuğh' ègbè sè, è man setin z' ègbè hìn ìdàn n' o gbae mù èmwin n' a ka're ni re.
56. Uwere n' i oba na gi' evban èso n' iñan ya gh' ère ghë degh' ifi n' iñan kuhën khë ègui muen.
57. Ìran ghi dò vbà, ègui gha gù' utukpumwerhan zuğh' ègbè.
58. Ìran na yà khaman oba èmwin n' iñan mien.
59. Oba na tì' ik' evbò ègiegiè.
60. O na we n' èmwan eso ya mu ègui rè.
61. Ìran ghi muen ërë nèn, o na n' evbo vben' iñan hó n' a ru ègui hë.
62. Ìran hia na we t' a gha gb' èrë ñuà.
63. Oba na vbe n' evbo vben' iñan hó n' a ya gb' ègui ñuà hë.
64. Ìran na we àmen èrhèn èr' a gha muen fi.
65. Ègiegiè, iñan vbìèvbìè àmen èrhèn nèn.
66. Ìran na mù ègui fìo.
67. Ìran ghi mù ègui fìo nèn, o na gha nièn.
68. Ègui ghi a wù vb' èvba, sòkpan, o na bà yan 'kon vbè n' ò gie.
69. Íran na wè: "Ègui, vb' u a gie yi?"
70. Ègui na wè: "Wà ro ighè t' u wa ðù mwen kho n' ù wà na mù mwen fi' amen èrhèn, wà man ðèn ighè t' u wa ðù mwen èse; wa man mien ighe t' i ghi tan yò?"
71. Irân ghi gêlê ghê, t' o ghi tan yô;
72. Irân ghi nà zègiègiè yà mu âmen oôdidôn re.
73. Irân na mù ègui fío.
74. Irân ghi mù ègui fío nen, ègui na bà hûnwan hiriri.
75. Irân na gha ro igh' ô wu nèn.
76. Er' irân na ghi muen fi ôha.
77. Ègui ghi gi' irân hia gha rie nen, ô na ghi hionrôn s' otô.
78. Ô na ghi yànkàn gha rie.
79. Evbã ni òkha nà na yà dê wu.
Folktale Three: A Literal English Translation.

1. Story one then finally came.
2. It went fall catch tortoise and people all that they be in town that.
3. Famine really was on in town that very much.
4. Tortoise: not fit make farm.
5. Hand hunger start be hard on him.
6. It after stayed little, he then said:"I have to think how I will do matter hunger this like."
7. Day market when come, he ythen took child drum ;
8. He then carefully go hide at child road that market-people pass through.
9. It not stay long little, market-people all started be pass through
10. Market became full.
11. Market when full already, tortoise then start song sing at place that he hide in.
12. Market Ogiso, kpuman(drum refrain); who he not be go home, kpuman; thing that it coming big, kpuman.
13. He continue sing it over and over.
14. Fear continue catching market-people all.
15. They thought that spirit it drum coming.
16. All run away.
17. They ran leave things their all at market.
18. Tortoise when he let they all leave already, he then crawl out from place he hid in.
19. He then went collect things all that market-people run leave.
20. He then take be going home.
21. Tortoise that not before see food eat it going to three days now ate food ate ate ate, stomach filled him.
22. He then said: "Ah, this I will be doing!"
23. Day market that it next when again come, he again go hide fof near market.
24. Market-people all again start be passing through.
25. He when again let they all pass finish, he then again start song sing.
26. Market Ogiso, kpuman; who he not be go home, kpuman; thing that it coming big, kpuman.
27. Market when again hear song that, they all then start be running away.
28. It before reach minutes two, place all again be bare.
29. But it not quick king's lame man to run from market finish when tortoise come from place that he hide be taking things.
30. King's lame man when see tortoise, he then said: "It is I say that tortoise it is he do that-is-not-done this; he it is he dismiss market.
31. Work of taking things hold tortoise, he not see king's lame man.
32. That then carefully crept leave market.
33. He then quickly be going palace.
34. He when reach palace, he told the gatemen that they please that they let him see king's eyes quickly, that thing that eyes him see just now big pass him too much.
35. They then really take him to king.
36. He when reach there, he then said: "Greetings, my lord and master! Market it is I from come now.
37. Thing that my eyes see it is I said that I come tell you.
38. It not spirits he come dismiss market-people; tortoise that person of trick it is.
39. It not quick me to leave market finish when he be coming to take things market-people run leave behind.
40. Eyes my two this it is I use see it."
41. King when hear thing that lame man say, anger then catch him hard very much.
42. He then send to call them carpenters quickly.
43. He said that they carve person, that they use glue rub body it all.
44. He then said:"Day market that it coming when come, you go put it in middle market.
45. Them carpenters then really carve person that like king tell them.
46. Day market when come they go put person that they carve for middle market.
Tortoise when he let market full already, he then start be singing song.

Market-people then again ran away.

But person them carpenters carve, was still at middle market.

Tortoise when wait it that it go it not, go, it is he go meet it.

He when reach place that it be, he say that he slap its face, hand him then stuck to it.

He then say that he use hand that it remain push it, hand him that also stuck to it.

He then say that he use leg kick it, leg him also stuck to it.

He then say that he use body push it, body him stuck to it also.

Like he struggle body reach, he not able pull body from glue that it glue him to thing that is carved.

Inside it that king then sent some that they go look if trap that they lay for tortoise catch him.

They when come meet, tortoise was with the carved wood struggling.

They then go tell king thing that they saw.

King call assembly people immediately.

He said that people some go bring tortoise come.

They when bring him already, he then ask people how they want that we treat tortoise.

They all said that he must be killed.
63. King again ask people how they want that they use killers
tortoise?

64. They then said that hot water it is that they should
put him.

65. Quickly, they have boiled water.

66. They then put tortoise inside.

67. They when put tortoise inside already, he start to
stretch.

68. Tortoise is almost dead there, but he pretend open
teeth like he is laughing.

69. They then said: "Tortoise, what are you laughing for?"

70. Tortoise then said: "You think that you are doing me
evil that you put me in hot water, you not know that
you are doing me good; don't you see that I be tall
more?"

71. They when really look, he is growing taller;

72. They then quickly go bring cold water come.

73. They then put tortoise inside.

74. They when put tortoise inside already, tortoise
then pretend remain quiet.

75. They start thinking that he dead already.

76. It is they threw him into bush.

77. Tortoise after he let them all go home already, he
then breathe deeply;

78. He then crawl go home.

79. That place story this go fall die.
Folktale Three: Tortoise the Trickster.

Once upon a time, there lived a tortoise and all the people of the town. A severe famine broke out in that town. The tortoise was too lazy to farm. Finally when starvation was getting the better of him, he decided he had to think of a way out. When the market day came round, he took a little drum, and went and hid carefully near the footpath which market-people take to the market. When the market was in full swing, he started to sing thus from where he was hiding:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Drum Refrain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ogiso's market!</td>
<td>kpuman!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogiso's market!</td>
<td>kpuman!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoever doesn't flee home...</td>
<td>kpuman!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is coming is terrible!</td>
<td>kpuman!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He continued to repeat this song, disguising his voice as much as possible. The market-people, fearing that the singer must be an evil spirit from the under-world, started to flee. They all ran away, leaving their goods behind them. After they had all left, the tortoise came out of his hiding place, and went and quickly collected all the things the women had left behind, and took them home. At last, after several days of hunger, he could now eat as much as he wanted, and he was happy he had found a clever way out at last.

When the next market day arrived, he again went and
hid near the market. When the market was full, he again started to sing the same song that had frightened everybody away the last time. All the people in the market again fled. However, the king's lame-man was not quite out of the market when the tortoise came out and started collecting the people's things. As soon as the lame-man saw the tortoise, he carefully crawled away and made straight to the king's palace. When he got to the palace, he narrated to the king what he had seen; that it wasn't an evil spirit that came to frighten the people away from the market, but the tortoise. The king was very angry. He sent for the carpenters immediately. He instructed them to carve a human-figure, and rub its body over with glue, and that on the next market day, they should go and place it at the middle of the market. The carpenters carved the figure as they were instructed. On the next market day, they went and placed it in the middle of the market. When the market was full, the tortoise again started to sing. All the people in the market fled as usual. However, the figure carved by the carpenters remained at the middle of the market. After waiting for a while for it to go, and it didn't go, the tortoise then went over to it. When he got to where it was, he tried to slap it, but his hand got glued to it. Then he decided to kick it, and his leg got glued to it. Finally he tried pushing it down with his body, but again his
Meanwhile, the king sent some people to go and check if the trap they had set for the tortoise caught him. When they got there, they found the tortoise struggling with the wooden figure. They went back and reported to the king what they had seen. The king then called an assembly of the people in the town, and also sent some people to go and bring the tortoise. When they had brought him, the king asked the people what they would like to be done to the tortoise. They unanimously said that he should be killed at once. He then asked them how they would like the tortoise to be killed. They answered that he should be be thrown into hot water. Immediately, they boiled water, and as soon as they threw the tortoise into it, he started to stretch with the heat. He was dying, but he started to grin as though he was enjoying himself. So they asked him why he was laughing, and he told them that it was because they thought they were ill-treating him while they were actually doing him a favour by putting him in hot water. He asked them: "Can't you see me growing taller?" The people saw that he was actually taller than he used to be, and they were confused. The tortoise then volunteered that the best way to kill him was by putting him in cold water. They therefore quickly put him in cold water. As soon as they had put him in, he remained very still. The people then assumed that he was dead, and so they threw
him into a near-by bush. The tortoise waited for everybody to get out of sight, after which he took a deep breath and had a good laugh. Then he crawled away, still laughing.

That ends the story.
Folktale Four: Uria O Man Ose

1. Okha okpa ke do re.
2. Ona ya de mu ofinotò vb' okpagha.
3. Iiran na do gha ro.
4. Owio'wii, ofinotò gha rhivre, ona latiand vb' uvon e'en,
   o ghî dô vba vb' ikpo 'kpàghâ hia salo légà uvon e'en.
5. O ghî ghôghùa.
6. O ghî rhô êhia là uvon e'en.
7. Èd' okpa ghi re, o na wè: "Okpàghà na, òse 'si wà nò."
8. À rhe mièn ighe uvon mwen re ne se vbeniàn, o yè èvba-
   re khan mwen vbeniàn.
9. I ghâ ghî wà b' òwa kee ghî vbo?"
10. Èr' o ghî na gêlè yà tun 'vùn e'en k' èzi okpàghà.
11. Ède ghi gbe, ofinotò na rhûlè latiàn vb' uvon e'en.
12. O ro ighe n' iîên na ghî dô si k' èzi okpàghà nà, t'
    okpàghà khian wa y' èvbaère khan iîên.
13. O ghî latiàn, oghî ghê èhîa hia, èhe hia ye gbele.
14. O na we û gha ghe t' iîên rherhe latiàn gbe.
15. O na ghî wèrlègbe là uvon e'en yà lovbiè.
16. O ghî vbe zê kpee kherhe, o na vbe rhûlè latiàn vb'
    uvon e'en n' o do gh' erë ghe degh' ikp' okpàghà
    salo légà uvon e'en nèn.
17. O ghî yè vbe do vba, ês'eso i ro.
18. T' ob' ohànmwèn ghî dae.
19. Èr' o ghî na wè, "T' i gha do wèrlègbe gha ri ëhè n'
    i kere vben' ohànmwèn te gbè mwàan."
20. Èr' o na gêlè wèrlègbe kun kpà gha ri' uria n' o ka ye.

21. O ghi sê 'vba, ikp' okpàghà vun èhe hia.

22. O na ghi zègiègiè rhò ehia vùn uvûn ërèn.

23. O ghi ñè nen, êko vun ñëren, o na wé: "Èr' iran gele khã igh' uria ô man. ose."

24. Èvba ni òkha nâ na yâ de wù.
Folktale Four: A Literal English Translation

1. Story one then finally came.
2. It went fall catch rabbit and cassia tree.
3. They started to live.
4. Morning morning, rabbit when wake, he come out from hole his, he will come meet that seed cassia all drop round hole his.
5. He will happy.
6. He will pick all enter hole his.
7. Day one when come, he then said: "Cassia this, friend good really he is."
8. We though see that hole my far for him reach this, he use food fill me like this.
9. I if build house near him (Q)?
10. It is that he really go dig hole his at foot cassia tree.
11. Day when break, rabbit quickly run out from hole his.
12. He thinking that now that he come dig hole his at foot cassia tree, cassia tree will use food surfeit him.
13. He when come out, he look everywhere, everywhere be bare.
14. He then said maybe he quick come out too much.
15. He then again enter hole his go lie down.
16. It when stay small, he again run out from hole his, that he come see if seed cassia split round hole his already.
17. He again come meet none there is.
19. It is he then said: "I will go back to place that I come from, before hunger kill me.
20. It is he again really pack leave go distance that he first be.
21. He when reach there, seed cassia fill place all.
22. He then quickly pick all fill hole his.
23. He after eat already, stomach fill him, he then said:
   "It is they really said that distance nourish friendship."
24. Place that story this go fall die.
Once upon a time, there lived a rabbit and a cassia\textsuperscript{1} tree. Every morning, when the rabbit would crawl out of his hole, he would find cassia seeds scattered around it. He would gladly pick all up and take them to his hole. One day, he said to himself: "This cassia tree, must be a very thoughtful friend! Even though I'm so far away from him, he sends me so much food. I wonder what he would do if I moved closer to him." Finally he decided to go and dig his hole right at the foot of the tree. The next morning he rushed out of his hole to go and pick the cassia seeds he was sure would be waiting for him, in a large quantity around his hole. When he came out, he looked around, and to his amazement, everywhere was bare. Well, he said he may have come out too early. So he went back into his hole. After a while, he crawled out again to see if the cassia seeds had now dropped around his hole. He still found everywhere bare. He was now becoming very hungry. So he decided to pack and return to his former hole. When he got there, he found cassia seeds everywhere. So he concluded that it really is true that distance nourishes friendship\textsuperscript{2}.

That ends the story.

\textsuperscript{1}The botanical name for this tree is "Pentacletra macrophylla. \\
\textsuperscript{2}When the dry fruit pods of the cassia tree split, the seeds scatter far away. That explains why the rabbit didn't find any seeds near his hole when he mowed to live at the foot of the tree.