A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF BINI

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A TAGMEMIC
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By

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PREFACE

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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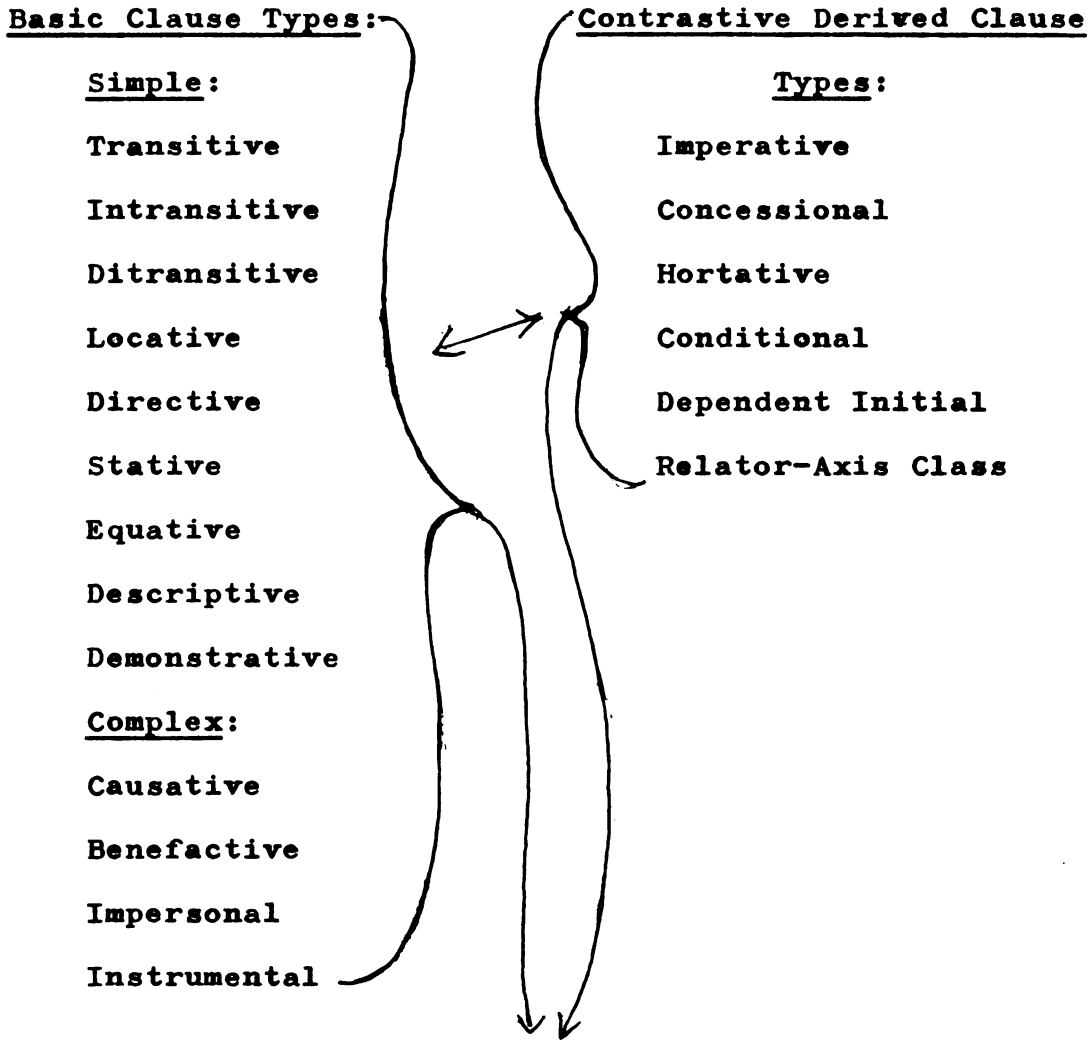

INTRODUCTION

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

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[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

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[1] Grammar Discovery Procedures, 1964, page 15.

[2] Ibid, 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"--[iyðər] and [aiðər]--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.

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[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.

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[1]The singular imperative has no marked subject, while the plural does: Làré! - Come ! (singular)
Wà làré! - 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; /à/ for low; /ǎ/ for rising glide; and /â/ for falling glide.

2.Two /r/ liquids have been distinguished: /r/ and /r̄/, 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,r̄(palatalized r), rh(trilled r), l.

Nasals: n,m.

Semi-vowels: w,y.

Vowels:

Oral: a, e, ẹ(open e), i, o, ọ(open o), u.

Nasal: an, ẹn, in, ọn, 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

5. Locative
6. Directive
7. Demonstrative
8. Descriptive
9. Stative
10. Impersonal
11. Causative
12. Instrumental
13. Benefactive

Transform

1. Imperative
2. Hortative
3. Concessional
4. Dependent Initial
5. Relator-Axis Class
6. Conditional

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.

Chart II

	Im	Hort	D.I.	Con	R.A.	Cond
Tr	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ditr	X	X	X	X	X	X
Loc	X	X	X	X	X	X
In	X	X	X	X	X	X
Eq	-	X	X	X	X	X
Dem	-	-	X	X	X	X
Dir	X	X	X	X	X	X
Desc	-	X	X	X	X	X
St	X	X	X	X	X	X
Imp	-	X	X	X	X	X
Ca	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ins	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ben	X	X	X	X	X	X

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[1], 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
4. Benefactive.

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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[1]This 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:

Longacre[2] 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:

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[2]Grammar Discovery Procedures,1964, page 47.

[1]See 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").[1]

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[2].

3.Differences in transform potential.

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

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[1] Language, 1962, page 232.

[2] An example of such higher-level slots is: a slot for response to a question as opposed to one 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[1] 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.

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[1]The idea of this chart originated from a similar one done for Vagala in Pike 1966, page 27.

5.Dir:	+S.A NP1a,b c,&f NP2g NP4 NP5a RC	+P.Dir VP1g VP2g VP3g VP4g	±O.I NP1a,b c,&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	+P.D.P PP	+Loc NP1a,b c,d,f NP2a,e NP4 NP5a RC	±M Adv ideo NP2b NP3d	±Locn Locn NP3a,c	±T temp NP2c,d NP3b D.I.	±Pur R.A Infinitive
6.St:	+S.I NP1a-f NP2a-e NP4 NP5a-d RC	+P.St VP1h VP2h VP3h VP4h				±M same	±Locn same	±T same	±Pur same
7.Desc:	+S.I (Same as St.)	+P.Desc VP1k VP2k	+Com ideo NP1a-f NP2a-e NP4 NP5a-d RC				±Locn same	±T same	
8.Dem:	+S.I Emp.NP1a-f "NP2a-e "NP3a-c "NP4 "NP5a-d RC		+Dem "no"				±Locn same	±T same	
9.Eq:	+S.I (Same as St.)	+P.Eq VP1m VP2m	+Com NP1a-f NP2a-c NP4 NP5a-d RC				±D Adv ideo	±Locn same	±T same

Chart III: A Tagmemic-Notation Paradigm for the Basic Simple Clause Types in Bini.

	NUCLEAR TAGMEMES			MARGINAL TAGMEMES			
1A.Tr:	+S.A	+P.Tr	±O.G	±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	NP1a-f	VP1a	NP1a-f	Adv	Locn	temp	R.A
	NP2a	VP2a	NP2a,b	ideo	NP3a,c	NP2c,d	Infinitive
	NP4a,b	VP3a	NP4a,b	NP2b		NP3b	
	Np5a	VP4a	NP5a	NP3d		D.I.	
	RC		RC				
1B.Tr:	+S.I	+P.Tr	+O.R	±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	NP1a-f	VP1b	NPa,b c,&f	same	same	same	same
	NP2a,b	VP2b	NP2a				
	NP4	VP3b	NP4				
	NP5a	VP4b	NP5a				
	RC		RC				
1C.Tr:	+S.A	+P.Tr	+O.T	±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	NP1a,b &f	VP1c Vp2c	R.A	same	same	same	same
	NP2a	VP3c					
	NP4	VP4c					
	NP5a						
	RC						
2.In:	+S.A	+P.In		±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	(Same as Tr.1A.)	VP1d VP2d VP3d VP4d		same	same	same	same
3.Ditr:	+S.A	+P.Ditr	±O.I +I.O	±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	(Same as Tr.1A.)	VP1e VP2e VP3e VP4e	NP1b, NP3d c,&f NP2a,b, c,&e NP4 NP5a RC R.A	same	same	same	same
4.Loc:	+S.A	+P.Loc	+Loc	±M	±Locn	±T	±Pur
	(Same as Tr.1C.)	VP1f VP2f VP3f VP4f	NP1d NP2e NP5d	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 three 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 Predicate slot filled by a verb phrase of the subclass 1a.

Illustrated formula:

+S.A : NP1a +P.Tr : VP1a

òkpìá nâ rê̄.

man this ate (it)

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:

Max BS Tr C 1A = +S.A : NP/RC +P.Tr : VP1a ±O.G : NP/RC

±Locn : NP ±M : Adv ±T : temp ±Pur : RA

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:

òkhùó nî gbé òvbì é̩rè khùè̩rhè̩khùè̩rhè̩ vbè è̩kì
woman that beat child her severely at market
nódè̩ nè é̩ ghé̩ ghì rhă.
yesterday that he not ever steal.

[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 nâ yè̩ Òzó.
house this pleases Ozo.

1C: +S.A : NP +P.Tr : VP1c +O.T : RA.
òkpìá nî hŏ 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 mwẹ́n lóvbiẹ́.

dog my lie down

[my dog is lying down]

Maximal Formula:

+S.A : NP +P.In : VP1d ±M : Adv ±Locn : NP3a +T : temp

ékítâ mwẹ́n lẹ́rè khùèrhẹ̀ vbè úghúghà náson

±Pur : Inf

ya vbiẹ

to sleep

3.Ditransitive.

Formula: Minimal Form[1]

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 mwẹ́n rhíé nè ètísá ímàn

friend my gave(it) to teacher us

[my friend gave it to our teacher]

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[1]For 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

ọ̀sè mwẹ́n yá èbé èvá nè Ò zó

friend my gave book two to Ozo

±M : ideo ± Locn : NP3c ± T : NP3b ± Pur : R.A.

fẹ́rẹ́rẹ́ vbè èsùkú nódè nè ọ́ tìè

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

òkpìá nî rìè úgbó

man that (is) going farm

Maximal Formula:

+ S.A : NP1a + P.Loc : VP1f + Loc : NP1d ± M : Adv

òkhùó nî yô èkì ègíégìè

woman that went market quickly

± Locn : NP3c ± T : Temp ± Pur : Inf

vbè Òzà nódè yǎ dę̀ ìyán

at Oza yesterday to buy yam

5. Directive.

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 nî mú fī 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

òkpīá nî zìènzíèn òfę́n nî yè

man that squeezed rat that into

+ Loc : NP1c ± M :Adv ± Locn : NP3c ± T : Temp

ékpò ègíégìè vbè úghúghâ násǫ̂n

bag quickly at room last night

± Pur : R.A

nè ọ́ ghẹ́ lẹ̌

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.]

6. Stative.

Formula: Minimal Form:

Min BS St C ± + S.I : NP/RC + P.St : VP1h

Illustrated Formula:

+ S.I : NP1a + P.St : VP1h

ọ̀vbòkhán nâ mòsé

child this (is) beautiful

Maximal Formula:

+ S.I : NP1a + P.St : VP1h ± M : ideo ± Locn : NP3a

òkhùó nâ fí r̄ọ̀nr̄ọ̀nr̄ọ̀n vbè úgbárò

woman this shines (with grease) at forehead

± T : NP3b

vbè ẹ̀ghẹ̀ híá

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 : NP1c + P.Desc : VP1k + Com : ideo

òwá nî yé gólótó

house that be very high

[that house is very high.]

Maximal Formula:

+ S.I : NP1c + P.Desc : VP1k + Com : NP1a ± Locn : NP3a

èrhán nâ yévbê ọ̀vbán vbè úríà

tree this be like person at distance

± T : temp

násọn

last night

8. Demonstrative.

Formula: Minimal Form:

Min BS Dem C ± + S.I : Emp NP/RC + Dem : nọ

Illustrated Formula:

+ S.I : NP1c + Dem : nọ

èbè mwén nọ̀

my book (it) is

[it's my book.]

Maximal Formula:

+S.I : NP1a + Dem : no + Locn : NP3a + T : temp

rẹ̀n ghárá nọ̀ vbè ẹ̀kì nodẹ̀

Emp. she past prog is at market yesterday

[it was she at the market yesterday.]

9. Equative.

Formula: Minimal Form:

Min BS Eq C ± +S.I : NP/RC +P.Eq : VP1m +Com : NP/RC

Illustrated Formula:

+S.I : NP1a .P.Eq : VP1m +Com : NP1a

òkhùó nâ rè òsè mwén

woman this be friend my

[this woman is my friend]

Maximal Formula:

+S.I : NP1a +P.Eq : VP2m +Com : NP1a ±D : ideo

òkhùó nî té ré òsè mwén khúánkhúánkhúán

woman that Pm be friend my very close

±Locn : NP3a ±T : temp

vbè èsùkú 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. Ọ́ rhíé íghó nè Òzó.
   He gave money to Ozo.
2. Ọ́ rhíé 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 Objeet. 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:

3. Òzó zẹ́gíẹ́giẹ rì èvbā́ré.

Ozo quickly ate food

4.*Òzó rí ègíẹ́gìè[1] èvbā́ré.

5. Òzó rí èvbā́ré ègíẹ́gìè.

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

íā̀n ghí re	íā̀n	ná ri	èvbā́ré.
they when come	they	Pm ate	food

[when they arrived, they ate some food]

---

[1]The 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. ír̄àn rí èvbàr̄è nódẹ̀.

they ate food yesterday.

3. ír̄àn rí èvbàr̄é ẹ́gíẹ́gìẹ̀ nódẹ̀.

they ate food quickly yesterday.

4. ì míẹ́n ímọ́tò r̄ùẹ́ vbè Ọ̀zà núkpò. OR

I saw car your at Oza last year.

5. ì míẹ́n ímọ́tò rùẹ́ núkpò vbè Ọ̀zà.

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:

Òzó khámàn Òtàbọ́ nè ọ́ lárè.

Ozo told Otabe that he come.

instead of:

*Òzó khámàn nè ọ́ lárè Òtàbọ́.

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 head[2] 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,

Ọ sẹ̀ òwà mwén is a variant of Ọ té sẹ́ òwà mwén.

he visits house my he used to visit house my.

---

[1]In Nov.1966: Pike treats such a construction as a kind of paragraph structure.

[2]The 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 manifeasted 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
4. Benefactive.

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.

1.Ins	+S.A NP1a,b, c,&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	+P.Ins VP1n VP2n	+O.Ins NP1a,b c,e,&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	+Act.P Sub. VP Infinitive
Allo-Con 1:	+S.A same	+P.Ins same	+O.Ins same	+P.Tr VP1a,b, c VP2a,b, c VP3a,b, c VP4a,b, c
				±O.G NP1a,b,c &f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC R.A
Allo-Con 2:	+S.A same	+P.Ins same	+O.Ins same	+P.In VP1d VP2d VP3d VP4d

Allo-Con 3:	+S.A	+P.Ins	+O.Ins	+P.Loc	+Loc	
	NP1a,b, c,&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	VP1n VP2n	NP1a,b, c,e,&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	VP1f VP2f VP3f VP4f	NP1d NP2e NP5d	
Allo-Con 4:	+S.A	+P.Ins	+O.Ins	+P.Ditr	±O.I	+I.O
	same	same	same	VP1e VP2e VP3e VP4e	NP1b,c,f NP2a-c,e NP4 NP5a RC	NP3d
Allo-Con 5:	+S.A	+P.Ins	+O.Ins	+P.Dir	±O.I	+P.D.P	+Loc
	same	same	same	VP1g VP2g VP3g VP4g	NP1a,b c&f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	PP	NP1a-d,&f NP2a,e NP4 NP5a,d
2.Imp	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+Act.P		
	Imp.pro	VP1p VP2p	NP1a-c,f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC	Sub. VP Infinitive		
Allo-Con 1:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Tr	+O.G	
	same	same	same	VP1a,c VP2a,c VP3a,c VP4a,c	NP1a-c,f NP2a NP4 NP5a RC R.A	
Allo-Con 2:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.In		
	same	same	same	VP1d VP2d VP3d VP4d		
Allo-Con 3:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Loc	+Loc	
	same	same	same	VP1f VP2f VP3f VP4f	NP1d NP2e NP5d	

Allo-Con 4:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Ditr	±O.I	+I.O
	Imp.pro	VP1p	NP1a-c,f	VP1e	NP1b,c,	NP3d
		VP2p	NP2a	VP2e	&f	
			NP4	VP3e	NP2a,b	
			NP5a	VP4e	NP4	
			RC		NP5a	
					RC	
Allo-Con 5:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Dir	±O.I	+P.D.P +Loc
	same	same	same	VP1g	NP1a-c,	PP NP1a-d,f
				VP2g	&f	NP2a,e
				VP3g	NP2a	NP4
				VP4g	NP4	NP5a
					NP5a	RC
					RC	
Allo-Con 6:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Desc	+Com	
	same	same	same	VP1k	ideo	
				VP2k	NP1a-f	
					NP2a-e	
					NP4	
					NP5a-d	
					RC	
Allo-Con 7:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.St		
	same	same	same	VP1h		
				VP2h		
				VP3h		
				VP4h		
Allo-Con 8:	+S.A	+P.Imp	+O.G-A	+P.Eq	+Com	
	same	same	same	VP1m	NP1a-f	
				VP2m	NP2a-c	
					NP4	
					NP5a-d	
					RC	

3.Ca	:+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+Act.P	
	NP1a-c,f	VP1q	NP1a-c,f	Sub. VP	
	NP2a	VP2q	NP2a	Infinitive	
	NP4		NP4		
	NP5a		NP5a		
	RC		RC		
Allo-Con 1:	+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+P.Tr	+O.G
	same	same	same	VP1a,c	NP1a-c,f
				VP2a,c	NP2a
				VP3a,c	NP4
				VP4a,c	NP5a
					RC
					R.A

4.Ben	:+S.Bene	+P.Ben	+O.Be	+Act.P	
	NP1a,b,f	VP1r	NP1a,b,f	Sub. VP	
	NP2a	VP2r	NP2a	Infinitive	
	NP4	VP3r	NP4		
	NP5a	VP4r	NP5a		
	RC		RC		
Allo-Con 1:	+S.Bene	+P.Ben	+O.Be	+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.Be	+P.Tn	
	same	same	same	VP1d	
				VP2d	
				VP3d	
				VP4d	
Allo-Con 3:	+S.Bene	+P.Ben	+O.be	+P.Loc	+Loc
	same	same	same	VP1f	NP1d
				VP2f	NP2e
				VP3f	NP5d
				VP4f	
Allo-Con 4:	+S.Bene	+P.Ben	+O.Be	+P.Ditr	±O.I +I.O
	same	same	same	VP1e	NP1b,c NP3d
				VP2e	&f
				VP3e	NP1a-c,
				VP4e	&e
					NP4
					NP5a
					RC
Allo-Con 5:	+S.Bene	+P.Ben	+O.Be	+P.Dir	±O.I +P.D.P +Loc
	same	same	same	VP1g	NP1a-c,f PP NP1a-d,f
				VP2g	NP2a NP2a,e
				VP3g	NP4 NP4
				VP4g	NP5a 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
				VP2f	NP2e
				VP3f	NP5d
				VP4f	
Allo-Con 4:	+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+P.Ditr	±O.I +I.O
	same	same	same	VP1e	NP1b,c,f NP3d
				VP2e	NP2a-c,e
				VP3e	NP4
				VP4e	NP5a
					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
				VP2g	&f NP2a,e
				VP3g	NP2a NP4
				VP4g	NP4 NP5a,d
					NP5a
					RC
Allo-Con 6:	+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+P.Desc	+Com
	same	same	same	VP1k	ideo
				VP2k	NP1a-f
					NP2a-e
					NP4
					NP5a-d
					RC
Allo-Con 7:	+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+P.St	
	same	same	same	VP1h	
				VP2h	
				VP3h	
				VP4h	
Allo-Con 8:	+S.Ca	+P.Ca	+O.G-A	+P.Eq	+Com
	same	same	same	VP1m	NP1a-f
				VP2m	NP2a-c
					NP4
					NP5a-d
					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.

Formula: +S.A : NP/RC +P.Ins : VP1n +O.Ins : NP/RC +Act.P : VP1a ±O.G : NP/RC

Illustrated formula:

+S.A : NP1a	+P.Ins : VP1n	+O.Ins : NP1c	+Act.P : VP1a
òkpiá nî	yá	ẹ́rọ̄	gbẹ́ẹ̀.
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:

ọ̀khùó nî yá ífúnárò ìsẹ́n rì èvbàré.

woman that used minutes five eat food.

ọ̀ yá ẹ́gógó ọ̀há sẹ̀ ọ̀wá

he used clock three reach home.

[he reached home at three o 'clock.]

2.<u>Impersonal</u>.

Formula: +S.A : Imp.pro +P.Imp : VP1p +O.G-A : NP/RC

+Act.P : VP1d

Illustrated formula:

+S.A : Imp.pro +P.Imp : VP1p +O.G-A : NP1a +Act.P : VP1d

Ọ̀ kẹ́ íràn híá yá lẹ

it quicked they all to run away

[they were all able to run away.]

3.<u>Causative</u>.

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

+Act.P : VP1a ±O.G : NP/RC

Illustrated formula:

+S.Ca:NP1a +P.Ca:VP1q +O.G-A:NP1a +Act.P:VP1a ±O.G:NP1c

ọ̀khùó nî gú mwẹn gbè ẹ̀gẹ́

woman that caused me break bottle.

Like the instrumental clause construction, the causative is also used to express permission:

ọ̀khọ̀ọ̀dè gíé ìbḭ́ḛ́ká ní gbèrá.

gateman allowed children that pass.

[the gateman allowed the children to pass.]

4.Benefactive.

Formula: +S.Ben:NP/RC +P.Ben:VP1r +O.Be:NP/RC +Act.P:VP1e ±O.I:NP/RC +I.O:NP3d

Illustrated formula:

+S.Ben:NP1a +P.Ben:VP1r +O.Be:NP1a +Act.P:VP1e ±O.I:NP1c

Ọ̀tḛ́n mwḛ́n gú íyḛ̄ mwḛ́n rhìè èvbàr̄é

sister my helped mother my give food

+I.O:NP3d

nè ìbḭ́ḛ́ká nî

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:

ír̄àn èvá ní lèlé ọ̀sè mwḛ́n yè èsọ́sì.

they two that followed friend my go church.

[these two followed my friend to church.]

ọ̀sè mwḛ́n gú mwen r̄ìnmwìán òkpìá nî.

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:

Ọ́ yá ẹ́pía gìà ègbá vbè òdẹ̀ nódẹ̀ nè ẹ́ gbêrá.
he used cutlass cut fence at road yesterday that he pass.

2.Impersonal:

Ọ́ ké mwẹn yâ khàmàn rẹ̄n vbè èwà nódẹ̀.
it quicked me to tell him at home yesterday.

3.Causative:

Òkhùó nî gíé èvbì ẹ́rẹ̄ sákân.
woman that caused child her spoil.
[that woman spoiled her child.]

4.Benefactive:

Òzó gú íràn gìà èrhàn nódẹ̀ nè íràn ghẹ́ gbè ẹ́rẹ̄
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-constructions which result from the different possible slot

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.Ọ́ yá ́érọ̀ fìàn ìyán.
he used knife cut yam.

2.Ọ́ yá èwá lòvbìé.
he used mat lie down.
[he lay on a mat]

3.Ọ́ yá ímótô yè èsósì.
he used car go church.

4.Ọ́ yá ókpán rhìè èvbàré nè Ọ̀zó.
he used plate give feed to Ozo.

5.Ọ́ yá èrhán rùà íkù fì ùvún.
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[1] 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 shewing the derived clauses as transform types of some of the basic clauses.

[1]It 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: Ọ̀kpìá nî gbé ẹ̀wé. - [That man killed a goat.]
man that killed goat.

b.Im: Gbè ẹ̀wé! - [Kill a goat!]
Kill goat!

c.Hort: Gìè ǎ gbé ẹ̀wé. - [Let's kill a goat.]
Let we kill goat.

d.D.I: Ọ̀ ghí gbè ẹ̀wé... - [When he killed a goat..]
he when kill goat...

e.Con: Ọ̀ rhé gbè ẹ̀wé.. -[Though he killed a goat..]
he though kill goat..

f.R.A: Nè é gbé ẹ̀wé - [who killed a goat.]
that he killed goat.

g.Cond: Ọ̀ ghà gbè ẹ̀wé.. - [If he kills a goat...]
he if kill goat...

2.Equative:

a.Dec: Ọ̀kpìá nâ r̄è ọ̀hẹ́n. - [This man is a priest.]
man this be priest.

b.Im: -----

c.Hort: Gìè ǎ ghá r̄ê ọ̀hẹ́n. -[Let's be priests.]
let we (prog)be priests.

d.D.I: Ọ ghí r̄ê ọ̀hẹ́n.. - [When he was a priest..]
he when be priest..

e.Con: Ọ rhé r̄ê ọ̀hẹ́n.. -[Though he is a priest..]
he though be priest..

f.R.A: Nè ọ̀ r̄è ọ̀hẹ́n. - [who is a priest.]
that he be priest.

g.Cond: Ọ ghà r̄é ọ̀hẹ́n.. - [If he is a priest...]
he if be priest...

3.Demonstrative:

a.Dec: Ọ̀khùó nâ nọ̀. - [It's this woman.]
woman this (it)is.

b.Im: -----

c.Hort:-----

d.D.I: Ọ ghí r̄ề ọ̀khùó nâ... -[When it was this wonam..]
it when be woman this..

e.Cơn: Ọ rhé r̄ề ọ̀khùó nâ... -[Though it's this woman..]
it though be woman this..

f.R.A: Nè ọ̀ khín. - [who it is.]
that it be.

g Cond: Ọ ghă r̄ê ọ̀khùó nâ... -[If it's this woman..]
it if be woman this..

4.Instrumental:

a.Dec: Ọ yá érọ̀ fìàn ọ̀rhán. -[He cut the weed with a
he used knife cut weed. knife.]

b.Im: Yà ér̀ọ̀ fìàn èrhán! -[Cut the wood with a knife!]
use knife cut wood!

c.Hort: Gìè á yá ér̀ọ̀ fìán èrhán. -[Let's cut the wood with
let we use knife cut wood. a knife.]

d.D.I: Ọ́ ghí yà ér̀ọ̀ fìàn èrhán.. -[When he cut the wood
he when use knife cut wood.. with a knife..]

e.Con: Ọ́ rhé yà ér̀ọ̀ fìàn èrhán.. -[Though he cut the
he though use knife cut wood.. wood with a knife..]

f.R.A: Nè ẹ́ yá ér̀ọ̀ fìàn èrhán. -[who cut the wood with
that he use knife cut wood. a knife.]

g.Cond: Ọ́ ghà yà ér̀ọ̀ fìàn èrhán... -[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 constituent 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.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. D.I:VP1a ±O.G:NP/RC

4.Concessional:

+S.A:NP/RC +Con:rhe +P.Con:VP1a ±O.G:NP/RC

5.Conditional:

+S.A:NP/RC +Cond:ghà +P.Cond:VP1a ±O.G:NP/RC

6.Relator-Axis:

+Su.Rel:ne/Adv +S.A:NP/RC +P.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: Rì èvbàré!

eat food!

Plural: Wà rì èvbàré!

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[1] 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.

---

[1]A 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 relator-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 tagmeme 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 tagmeme. 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.Condition[1]

6.Reason.

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

---

[1]This 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:

+SU.Rel:nè +S.A:NP/RC +P.Sub:VP1a ±O.G:NP/RC
(Sub. mood)

3.Time:

+Su.Rel:vbèghènè +S.A:NP/RC +P.T:VP2&4 ±O.G:NP/RC

4.Manner:

+Su.Rel:vbénè +S.A:NP/RC +P.M:VP1-4 ±O.G:NP/RC

5.Condition R.A:

+Su.Rel:déghê +S.A:NP/RC +P.Cond:VP2&4 ±O.G:NP/RC

6.Reason:

+Su.Rel:rhúmwûndánè +S.A:NP/RC +P.Rea:VP2&4 ±O.G:NP/RC

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

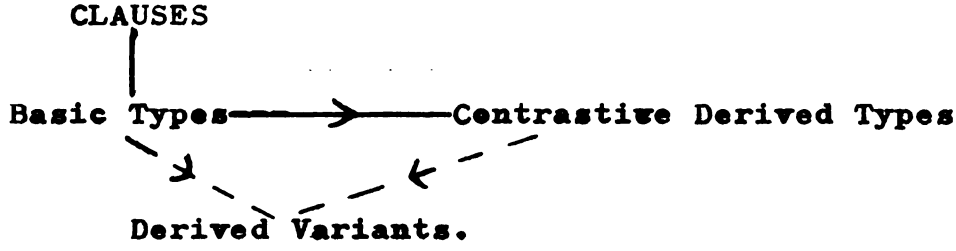
1.The relative clause, in addition to its distribution on clause-level, is the only clause type that can fill a Modifier slot on phrase-level.

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.



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.

2. Neg. Tr: Òzó mán gbé èwé.
Ozo not killed goat.

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

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

[1]See table on page v above.

basic transitive as the derivational source:

a.Dec: Òzó gbé èwé. -[Ozo killed a goat.]

Ozo killed goat.

b.Int: Ghá ọ́ gbé èwé? -[Who killed a goat?]
(i)

who he killed goat?

(ii) Ɣbè Òzó á-gbě? -[What did Ozo kill?]

what Ozo killed?

(iii) Òzó gbé èwé rà? -[Did Ozo kill a goat?]

Ozo killed goat (Q)?

(IV) Té Òzó gbé èwé? -[Did Ozo kill a goat?]

(Q) Ozo killed goat?

c.Emp: Òzó èrẹ́ ọ́ gbé èwé. -[Ozo killed a goat.]
(i)

Ozo it is he killed goat.

(ii) Èwé èrẹ́ Òzó gbé. -[Ozo killed a goat.]

goat it is Ozo killed.

d.Neg: Òzó mán gbé èwé. -[Ozo did not kill a goat.]
(i)

Ozo not killed goat.

(ii) È í rẹ́ Òzó ọ́ gbé èwé. -[It's not Ozo who kill-

it(neg)be Ozo he killed goat. ed a goat.]

e.Seq: Sòkpán Òzó gbé èwé. -[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 special 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--"ẹ̀rẹ́", 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:

Ọzọ́ bọ́ ọ̀wá. --> Ọzọ́ ẹ̀rẹ́ ọ́ bọ́ ọ̀wá.

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:

Ọ́ sẹ́ ẹ́wù. --> Rẹ̀n ẹ̀rẹ́ ọ́ sẹ́ ẹ́wù.

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, "Ẹ̀ í r̄ẹ̀" , 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 tagmeme 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. ọ́ vbíé́ rhìèré. -[He slept and woke.]
he slept wake

ọ́ vbìé́rè.ọ́ rhìórè. (In.+In.)

5.ọ́ mèsé yè mwén. -[She is pretty and plea-
she beautiful please me. sing to me.]

ọ́ mèsé. ọ́ yè mwén. (St.+Tr.1B)

6. ọ́ rú èsé nén dí ívbâbè yá. -[He did her a good
he did good for-her stay poverty turn and ended in
in.

ọ́ rú èsé nén. ọ́ díe ívbâbè yá. (Ditr +Loc.) poverty.]

7. ọ́ mú éghéé fì étè mù óghómwèn. -[He threw his own
he take his onto floor take mine. down and took

ọ́ mú éghéé. fì étè. ọ́ mú óghómwèn. (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[1] of the basic simple clause types, with the secondary clauses forming the columns while the initial clauses form the rows:

[1]The matrix is based primarily on the evidence provided by the formal corpus on which this analysis is based.

Chart VII: A Co-occurrence Matrix of the Bini Basic Simple Clause Types.

Initial clauses	Secondary Clauses. Lec	Tr	In	Ditr	Dir	St	Eq	Dem	Desc
Tr:	x[1]	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
In:	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
Loc:	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
Ditr:	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
St:	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
Dir:	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
Eq:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dem:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Desg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[1] An "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[1] 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	+Modifier(s)
	Ani.Hum.noun	±quan ±Dem
	pro	num
	pro. name	adj
		ideo.
Examples:	ìbìékà èhá glèghègièghè	ìkpìá dân híá nâ
	children three small	men bad all this
	[three little children]	[all these bad men]
NP1b:	+Head	±Modifier(s)
	Ani.N.H.noun	Same
Examples:	ékítâ nókhúa híá	òfén èsó
	dogs big all	rats some
	[all big dogs]	[some rats]
NP1c:	+Head	±Modifier(s)
	Ina.noun	Same
Examples:	èbé nî.	ìrō èsì nî
	book that	thought good this
	[that book]	[this good idea]
NP1d:	+Head	±Modifier(s)
	Locn. noun	Same
Examples:	èkì nòrě.	
	market far	
	[distant market]	
NP1e:	+Head	±Modifier(s)
	Time noun	Same
Examples:	úzôlá èvá nî	
	week two that	
	[those two weeks]	

[1]The analysis below is by no means a complete analysis of phrase constructions in Bini.

NP1f: +Head ±Modifier(s)
Numeral ±qual ±Dem

Examples: èvá gèdùgèdù nî
two big that
[those two big ones]

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

NP2a: +Head.Rel. ±Modifier(s)
E noun a,b,c RElator-Axis clause ±Dem.
" " phrase

Examples: òmwàn nè ú mién nî òwà vbérìo
person that you saw that house like that
[that person who you saw] [a house like that]

NP2b: +Head.Rel ±Modifier(s) ±Dem
Adv R.A clause

Examples: vbé nè ò rú. vbé nè ò khían
how that he does how that he walks
[how he behaves] [how he walks]

NP2c: +Head.Rel ±Modifier(s) ±Dem
Time noun R.A clause

Examples: úzólà nè ò dě
week that it(is) coming
[next week]

NP2d: +Head.Rel ±Modifier(s) ±Dem
temporal R.A phrase

Examples: òwìè né àkhùè àsòn né èrè
morning that tomorrow night that today
[tomorrow morning] [to-night]

NP2e: +Head.Rel ±Modifier(s) ±Dem
Locn. noun R.A clause

Examples: èvbè nè ó ké rè
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 ùvún nî — vbè ùhúnmwún ètébúrù
at inside hole that — at head .. table
[inside of that hole] — [on top of the table]

NP3b:	+Relator	±Modifier(s)	+Head	±Dem
	vbe	noun	Time noun	

Examples: vbè èghé òwíé — vbê èvbàré òtà
at time morning — at food evening
[in the morning] — [at dinner]

NP3c:	+Relator	+Modifier	+Head
	vbe	Locn noun	Place name

Examples: vbè òkpén Èdó
at proximity Benin
[in the vicinity of Benin]

NP3d:	+Relator	+Head	±Dem
	ne	noun a,b,f NP2a, NP4, NP5a	

Examples: nè òkpìá nî — nè òmwàn nè ó ré nà
to man that — to person that he come this
[to that man] — [to this man who came]

NP4: This stands for possessive noun phrase.

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

Examples: ágá òvbí òkpìá nî — èvbàré ékítá Òzó
chair child man that — food .. dog Ozo
[the chair of that man's child] — [Ozo's dog's food]

---

[1]Dots indicate recursiveness.

NP5: This stands for all types of co-ordinate noun phrase.

NP5a:	+Head +Coo ±Link +Coo ±Link...1 +Coo NP1a- vbe NP1a- vbe NP1a-c c, c	±Modifier(s) See NP1f

Examples: Òzó vbe Òtàbó vbe Íyǎyì.....
Ozo and Otabo and Iyayi.....

NP5b:	+Head +num ±Link +num ±Link.....1+num	±Modifier(s) Same

Examples: èvá vbè èhá vbe ìsén....
two and three and five.....

NP5c:	+Head +temp ±Link +temp ±Link... +temp	±Modifier(s) Same

Examples: èwíé vbé àvàn vbé òtà....
morning and afternoon and evening....

NP5d:	+Head +Loc ±Link +Loc ±Link....+Loc	±Modifier(s) Same

Examples: èmwán vbé Èdó vb Ùwòrí...
here and Benin and Warri....

Verb Phrases:

The four classes of verb phrases are:

VP1: all types of simple verb phrase;

VP2: all types pf 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:

Symbol	Interpretation
±	optional
+	obligatory
:	filled by (in formulas)
=	consists of
/	either...or(in formulas)

The abbreviations are arranged alphabetically below.

Abbreviation	Interpretation
Act	Action
Adv	Adverb
Allo-Con	Allo-construction
Ani	Animate
BC	Basic Complex
Be	Benefactee
Ben	Benefactive
Bene	Benefactor
BS	Basic Simple
C	Clause
Ca	Causative
Com	Complement
Con	Concessional
Cond	Conditional
Dec	Declarative
Deg	Degree

Abbreviation	Interpretation
Dem	Demonstrative
Dep	Dependent
Der	Derived
Desc	Descriptive
D.I	Dependent Initial
Dir	Directive
Ditr	Ditransitive
EL	Emphatic Link
Emp	Emphatic
Eq	Equative
Hort or Hr	Hortative
Hum	Human
ideo	ideophone
Im	Imperative
Imp	Impersonal
In	Intransitive
I.O	Indirect Object
Ina	Inanimate
Infl	Inflectional
Ins	Instrumental
Int	Interrogative
Loc	Locative
Locn	Location
M	Manner
Max	Maximal
Min	Minimal

Abbreviation	Interpretation
Neg	Negative
N.H	Non-Human
NP	Noun Phrase
num	numeral
O.Be	Object-as-Benefactee
O.G	Object-as-Goal
O.G-A	Object-as-Goal and Actor
O.I	Object-as-Item
O.Ins	Object-as-Instrument
O.T	Object-as-Topic
O.R	Object-as-Reference
P	Predicate
P.D.P	Predicative Directive Particle
Pm	Pre-modifier
Poss	Possessive
Possr	Possessor
Post.m	Post-modifier
PP	Predicative Particle
prog	Progressive
pro	pronoun
pro.name	Proper name
Pur	Purpose
Q	Question
qual	qualifier
quan	quantifier

Abbreviation	Interpretation
R.A	Relator-Axis
RC	Relative Clause
Rel	Relator
S.A	Subject-as-Actor
S.Ca	Subject-as-Cause
Seq	Sequential
S.I	Subject-as-Item
St	Stative
Su	Subordinator or Subordinate
Sub	Subjunctive
T	Time
temp	temporal
Tr	Transitive
VP	Verb Phrase.

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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 kèvbè Ofinotò.

1. Èdẹ ọkpa ke dò re.
2. Èkpèn ne ẹba avbe àr̄anmwẹn-òha hia ke dŏ bie.
3. Ùgbèn vbè ẹ ghi bìè nẹn, ọ na wẹ:
4. "Vbè ì r̄a khian r̄u èmwẹn èvbàre hẽ vbè èghè nâ nè ǐ khian nâ sètin y' ọ̀bàfi?"
5. Uwuẽr̄e nî ọ na yère ighè è i mwẹn avbe àr̄amwẹn-òha man do tu ir̄èn n' ir̄èn na dà bie nâ.
6. Ọ na ghì yăn ighè ir̄àn èr̄' ir̄èn ghi yà kòk' ọ̀mon, kòk' ègbe.
7. Òfinotò gbă ekpèn sè vberìè,
8. Ọ̀ ghi wà hon igh' ẽkpèn bieè, ọ na kp' ŏtò kp' ŏtò yă ladìan vbè ègua 'r̄ê..
9. Ọ̀ ghi gùà làdìàn nẹn, ọ na zè ekèn kherhe gù' ùvun nî.
10. Ọ na fèko lèr̄e y' ũwu ùvun nî gha damwẹn-èho èyan k' eyan ne ekpẹn gha yan.
11. Ọ̀ ghi wà hon ighè èkpèn w' ir̄èn gha y' avb' ar̄amwèn-òha nì gha do tu' or̄e kok' ọ̀mon kok' ẽgbe, o na wà tùlẹmù gha rie uw' oha.
12. Ọ na si avb' ãr̄amwẹn-òha hia kòko.
13. Ọ na khàmàn ir̄àn igh' èkpèn w' ir̄àn er̄' ir̄èn khian ya kòk' òmmn kòk' egbe.

14. Òhan ke ghì mù irān èsesè.
15. Irān na gha ha yo ha re.
16. Uw'erě nî èfinotò ghi nà wê:
17. "Wà ghe gì' òhan m' uwà; òde roò n' à gha l' ekpěn rè."
18. Wà ghà h' ǎkô gi' erè, wà ghe là 'rè òwǎ; sòkpan wǎ ghi k' erere dà khàmǎn rên ighè t' uwà hà ǎkô gì'erè.
19. Wà ghà ghì khàmǎn rên nen, wà sètin lě."
20. Iràn hia kěghì ghòghò y' èwàèn n' òfínotò zeè.
21. Ò man ghi he kpee, èdomwândoghee na gb' ìkun-erhan mù mwen n' iran mǔ gi' ekpen.
22. N' o rhirhi s' ogh' ekpèn ghi mù ìkun-èrhan rên fùa z' ìhuan sò:
23."Èkpèn mì' èrhan, gbele; èrhèn n' u kǒko nî; n' u yǎ rànmw' imân;"
24."Gha o kha òre?"
25."Òfinotò n' ôwa, àbetù wewewe, ò su ekhèn y' ekì, ò` man ghi su ère re."
26. Èkpèn ghi hìn 'hùàn n' irân so, ò ghi hun 'dè n' èfinotè bu irân re, ò ke mòbo yàn rèn ùnuâñ.
27. Òhù ke vbè mù'èn èsesè.
28. O na sùèn gha yan èyan hia khê òfinotè, bhen' ìrèn gha wǎ lee hê vbè àmen-èrhen.
29. Vb' uw' eghě nâ, òfinotò vbe lèrè y' ùvùn erèn nèn sin.
30. Ò rěnrên igh' è i mwen èkpèn man z' irè n' è khǒ da irèn vb' è 'a rên nen ighê rèn n' ofinotò èr' o bu avbe àramwen-òha ùde.

31. Ọ na fèko gha damwèn-èhò vb' uw'uvùn ẹrẹ̀n.

32. Ò họn èyan hia n' ẹ̀kpẹ̀n yan kh' ọrẹ̌.

33. Ò ghi gie avb' arẹ̄amwẹn-òha hia y' ọgh' ẹkpẹ̀ǹ gbà` òbọ nẹn, ọ na yằ gual' àb' erhàn.

34. Ọ na gha dì' òdarẹ̄' ow' ẹkpẹ̀n.

35. Ò ghi s' òbọ dẹ̀dẹ̀dẹ̀ nẹn, ọ na dà khàmàn ẹkpện n' ọ kì' urhô ighệ te ìrẹ̌n do tu' ọrẹ̀.

36. Ẹ̀kpẹ̀n ghi họn, ọ na zẹ̀gieg̈ẹ̈ sì y' àmẹ̀n nè ọ mu yàn erhẹ̀n n' ọ̀ khian mu ọ̀finotọ̀ fĭ.

37. Ẹ̀kpẹ̀n ghi kìè urhô nẹn, gìẹ̀ gha vin yan oọ̀finotọ̀, ọ̀finotọ̀ na lẹ̀ fua.

38. Ẹ̀kpèn na ghì we èwàèn rẹ̄n gha ya rẹ̄u'ɐè.

39. Ẹ̀rẹ ọ ghi nà gha go tie ọ̀ finotọ̀ n' ọ wĕrìègbe gha dê ĭghẹ̀ rẹ̀n i rû èr' èmwin rhòkpà.

40. O na we ofinoto man ren ighe t' iren te khian ded' ere?

41. Ọ̀finotọ̀ na gèlè wèrìègbe gha dê.

42. Ẹ̀kpẹ̀n man rẹ̄n igh' ộfinotọ̀ z' irẹ̄o èmwìn n' ọ̀ gha rẹ̄u nẹn.

43. Ò ghi s' èhè n' ẹ̀kpẹ̀n ye nẹn, ẹ̀kpẹ̀n na we n' ọ lâhọ n' ọ do diàk' ọ̀mon khè irẹ̄n igh' irẹ̄n khian y' êgbe-owà.

44. Ọ̀finotọ̀ na wẹ ọ̀ măn.

45. Ò ghi gìè ẹ̀kpẹ̀n fi iyekê gbè nẹn, ọ na tọ̀n òvbì ẹrẹ̀ mu., ọ na mu'ẹn fì àmẹn-èrhẹ̀n nè iy'ẹè te ya z'irẹ̄'irẹ̄n.

46. Ẹ̀kpẹ̀n ghi họ̀n vb' ò̩vbi ẹ̄re da tu, ọ na vìn gha dê;

47. Sòkpan, ọ te s' èhè n' ò̩finotọ̀ ye, ò̩finotọ̀ san fì ùvùn n' ọ toẹn nẹ̀n.

48. Ũkp' ẹrhùnrhùn ẹ̄rẹ̀n n' òb' ẹkpẹ̀n ghi vbă na bòlò y' ẹ̀kpẹ̀n òbọ.

49. Õni ọ si ẹ̀̄re n' ùkpẹrhurhun ò̩finotọ̀ na bà rìẹ̀rìẹ̀rìẹ̀ sẹ̀ ìkìnegbe ẹ̀rhùnrhùn ẹ̄rẹ̀n n' i kẹ̄rè.

50. Èvba nî òkha nâ na yă 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.

Folktale One: The Tiger and the Rabbit.

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:

Song	Refrain
Tiger, accept firewood!	Gbele
That fire you made....	"
To roast us in....	"
Who said it?	"
The house-rabbit!	"
The bearded one!	"
Who escorts women to market,	"
But never returns with them.	"

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 than 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: Ènàbulele

1. Òkha ọkpa ke dǒ rè.
2. Ọ na yǎ de mù ọvbokhon-òkhùò ọkpa n' à tì' ẹ̄r' Ènàbulelè.
3. Kèn' a ya bì' ọrè gha de, ìgbàkhùàn Ènàbulele khianrèn.
4. Èd' ọkpa ghi re, ǐy' ẹre ke ghi khian gha rì' ugbo.
5. Ọ na gb' uhi màn Ènàbulele n' ọ ghẹ kpà hìn òwa re ìr̄ěn tě rè.
6. N' ọ ghẹ gèlè sẹ̀tin kpaà, ìy' ẹ̄re na rnò òkuta y' ọ̀r̄è àkhe n' ọ gha le.
7. Ọ na we nè Ènàbulele ghẹ kpa hìn òwa re a te mien ighè èmwìn n' ọ̀ le gaè.
8. Ènàbulele na wẹ̌ hè.
9. Gi' 'ye Ènàbulele gha z' òwẹ̌ kpa hin òwã̀ re, avb' ọsi Ènàbulele na re dǒ ti' ẹ̄rè n' ir̄an ya rhọ̀ òkpàghà.
10. Ènàbulele nã̀ khàmàn avb' ọsì ọ̀r̄è igh' iy' ir̄ẹn we n' ìr̄ěn ghẹ kpà hìn òwa re.
11. Ọ na wẹ: "Òko, wà dǒ ghe èmwìn n' iye mwẹn mu yọ mwèn erhẹn n' i gha le.
12. Ọ man ga nẹn, òhan i gun mwẹn kpa hin òwa re."
13. Avb' ọsi Ènàbulele na gèlè yǎ ghe òkuta n' iyẹe mu y' ọ̀r̄è erhẹn n' ọ gha le.
14. Ir̄àn ghi mì' ọrèn nẹn, ọkpâ vb' ir̄ân na w' ir̄ẹ̀n r̄ẹn vben' ọ̀ gha ya rherhe ga hê.
15. Ọ na rhùlẹ̀ gha ri' ìyek' owa.
16. Ọ na yǎ gb' eb' iyôkho re;
17. Ọ na vi' ọ̀r̄è yàn òkuta ni

18. Ọ na kàkàbọ si erhẹ̀n y' àkhe.
19. Ọ̀ ghi kpẹe kherhe, iràn na w' ẹgẹ̄re ghě.
20. Ènàbulele ghi y' obọ kan r̄ẹn, ọ̀ wa ye khùèrhèkhùèrhè.
21. Uwẹre nî ìhùa 're na zèẹgiẹgiẹ wệ: " Ènàbulele, man miẹn ighệ ọ̀ ga nẹn!
22. Gì' a gha rì' òh' okpàghà nian."
23. Ènàbulele na gèlè lèlè ir̄àn.
24. Irân ghi zẹ khian, ir̄an na dǒ s' ẹzè.
25. Ẹ̀zè nî, à ghà vè ọ̄rè èmwin, ọ ghî wà eva n' ọ̀mwăn gberă.
26. Sòkpan degh' a man rhi' èmwìn n' a v' ẹzĕ r̄e m' ẹzè, è i gi' a wĕrìègbe gbèrà gha ri òwa.
27. Ènàbulele vb' avb' ọsi ọ̃rè ghi s' ọ̀kpen ẹ̀zè, èdaadọghẹe kẽghì yàn màn ẹzè ĩghè ọ̀ ghà wàn n' ir̄ẹ̀n gbêră, r̄ẹ̀n gha rhì' òkpàghà nện vb' ìr̄ẹ̀n ă gha deè.
28. Ẹ̀zè na gèlè wà n' ir̄àn gberà.
29. Ir̄àn ghi rhọ̀ òkpaghà fò nẹn, ir̄ân na z' òd' owà.
30. Iràn ghi s' ẹzè, èdaàdọgheè na gha rhì' òkpàghà n' ọ v' ẹzĕ re fi ẹzè.
31. N' ọ rhirhi fi ọghẹe fĩ ẹzè, èzè ghi wa nẹn n' ọ gbera.
32. Iràn hia na dǒ gberà; ọ̀ na kẹ Ènabulele ọkpa.
33. Ìhùa 'r̄e na k' òbọ̀ n' ọ kẹ̄re vàn khàmăn r̄ẹn n' ọ fî òkpàghà ọgh' ẹ̄re fì ẹzè n' ir̄an gha ri òwa.
34. Sòkpan Ènàbulele man damwẹn-èhọ ir̄àn.
35. Seriọ ọ̀ r̄ẹnr̄ẹn ighè degh' ìr̄ẹ̀n man rhi' òkpàghă fi ẹzè vbàn' ìr̄ẹ̀n yan màn ẹzè, è i wa n' ir̄ẹ̆n gberà.

36. Sòkpan rhumwûnda n' ọ na r̄' igbăkhùàn, ọ man dâmwẹ̀n-èhọ avb' ọ̀sì ọr̄è.

37. Ọ̀ ghi zẹ kpẹe, ọ na z' udù là uwu ẹ̀zẹ̀.

38. Ọ̀ ro ighẹ̀ rẹ̀n gha sẹ̀tin lae gbèra vbè n' ọ man na wa n' irẹ̀n.

39. Ọ̀ man he k' ọ̆r̄e yâ z' òw' èha vb'ẹ̀zẹ̆ suẹn gha r̄o lẹga ọr̄è.

40. Ìhua 'r̄e ghi ghè vb' ẹ̀zẹ̀ r̄o s' ọ̀re igbọn, ir̄an na z' ìhuan sò:

41. Ènàbulele rhì' okpăghà fì ẹzẹ̀, rhì' okpăghà fì ẹzẹ̀ Ènàbulele.

42. Vbẽn' ir̄an s' ihuan nẹ sẹ, ọ̀ man rhi' òkpàghă fî ẹzẹ̀.

43. Ẹ̀zẹ̀ na gha r̄o gŭ' ẹ̀r̄è khian.

44. Ọ na dŏ s' ọr̄e ẹ̀kun.

45. Ohàn ghi mu avb' ọsi ọr̄è.

46. Èsò vb' ir̄an na ghì rhùlẹ̀ yă ti' iy' ẹr̄e rè.

47. Iy' ẹr̄e ghi tè re, ẹ̀zẹ̀ r̄o s' Ènàbulele ẹ̀wẹe nẹ̀n.

48. Iyẹe na fũn 'rhu r̄ùa, ọ na z' ìhuan sò:

49. Ènàbulele rhi okpagha fi ẹ̃zẹ̀, rhi' okpăghà fì Ẹzẹ̀ Ènàbulele.

50. Ènàbulele man yĕ damwẹn-èhọ iy' ẹr̄è.

51. Ẹ̀zẹ̀ na yè gha ro gu ẹ̀r̄ĕ khian.

52. Iy' ẹr̄e man ghi r̄ện vb' ọ̀ gha r̄û.

53. Ọ na ghi wệ: "Ọ̀ măn, ì gha ya tì' ìgbàkhìàn r̄ẹn re.

54. Ù ghă ghe ọ̀ gha dàmwẹ̀n-ehọ ọnî."

55. Iy' ẹr̄e na gèlè yă tî' ìgbàkhìàn r̄ện re.

56. Ọ̀ ghi re, ọ na vbè z' ìhuan so:

57. Ènàbulele rhi' okpăghà fì' ẹzẹ̀, rhì' okpăghà fi ẹzẹ̀ Ènàbulele!

58. Vben' ọ s' ihuan sẹ̀, Ènàbulele man rhi' èhọ nẹn tă yi.

59. Vb' ẹ̀ghẹ̀ n' a khă nâ, amẹ̀n ghi a r̄ŏ s' ọ̀r̄è èhọ.

60. Ìgbàkhian r̄ẹn na ghì w' ir̄ẹn r̄ẹn èmwìn n' ìr̄ẹ̀n gha r̄ù.

61. Ọ na wệ: "Ì gha ya gb' adẹn n' i do yă sùà òkpàghă nî fùa vb' ùhùnmwùn ẹrẹ̀n."

62. Ọ na gèlè zẹ̀gẹ̀gẹ̀ yă gb' adẹn n' ọ taẹ̀n rè.

63. Ọ na ghì yè n' adẹn rùà ìkun òkpàghà n' Ènàbulele mu yàn uhunmwun fì ẹ̆zẹ.

64. Ọ̀wàr̄ọkpa nî, ẹ̀zẹ̆ na ghì wà y' ihi' èva n' Ènàbulele gbĕra.

65. Èvbă nî òkha nâ na yă dê 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.

Folktale Two: Enabulele.

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[1] 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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[1]The 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 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: Ègùì ne òmwan èro.

1. Òkha ọkpa ke dǒ re.
2. Ọ na yǎ de mù ègui vb' emwan hia n' ì re ẹvbǒ nî.
3. Ùkhumwûn wǎ fi vb' ẹ̀vbǒ nî ẹ̀sẹsè.
4. Ègui man sẹ̌tin m' ugbo.
5. Òb' ohànmwẹ̀n na dǒ gha dae.
6. Ọ̀ ghi kpẹe kherhe, ọ na wệ: "T' i gha r̄ǒ vb' ì gha r̄ù ẹ̀mwẹn òhànmwẹ̌n nâ hệ."
7. Ẹ̀d' ẹkì ghi re, ọ na ṛhì' òvbi èmàn;
8. Ọ na fẹ̀ko yǎ lẹr̄e y' òvbi òdẹ ṅ' èkhẹ̌n ẹ̀kì la gbera.
9. Ọ̀ man ghi he kpẹ kherhe, èkhẹn hia na dǒ gha la gberâ.
10. Ẹ̀kì na dǒ r̄o.
11. Ẹ̀kì ghi rò nẹn, ègui na z' ìhuan so vb' èhè n' ọ lẹrè yi:
12. Ẹ̀ki ogìso, kpuman; n' ọ man gha rie, kpuman; èmwìn n' ọ̀ dẹ̌ kpòlọ, kpuman.
13. Ọ na gha sǒ ẹ̀r̄ě yan ègbe.
14. Òhan na gha mu èkhẹn ẹ̀ki hia.
15. Ir̄àn r̄ǒ igh' ẹ̀r̄imwin ọ̀ kpẹ̌ deè.
16. Ẹ̀hia na mù vẹ.
17. Ir̄an na lẹ̀ s' èmwin ir̄an hia r̄àe y' ẹkì.
18. Ẹ̀gui ghi gi' ir̄an hia kpâ nẹn, ọ na yàṅkàn làdìàn vb' èhè n' ọ lẹr̄è`yi.
19. Ọ na yǎ kok' èmwĩn hia n' èkhẹ̌n lẹ sẹ̀r̄ae.
20. Ọ na vìò gha ri òwa.

21. Èguị n' ọ man ghi he te miè 'vbā̀rē rē ọ ghi ri ẹdẹ 'ha na ghi rì èvbā̀rē rē rē rē, ẹ̀ko na vù' ọ̄rẹ̀n.
22. Ọ na wẹ,"Àh, ọ̀nà i ghi gha rū!"
23. Ẹ̀d' ẹkì n' ọ kẹ̄re ghi vbè re, ọ na vbè yằ lẹ̄re y' ọ̀kpẹn ẹ̀kì.
24. Èkhẹ̀n hia na vbè dŏ gha la gberâ.
25. Ọ̀ ghi vbè gi' iran hia gbera fò nẹn, ọ na vbè z' ìhuan so:
26. Ẹ̀ki ògiso,kpuman; ẹ̀ki ògiso, kpuman; n' ọ man gha rie, kpuman; èmwìn n' ọ̀ dĕ kpọ̀lọ, kpuman.
27. Èkhẹn ẹ̀ki ghi vbè hìn 'huan nî, ī̀ran hia na vbè sùẹ̀n gha mu vẹ.
28. Ọ te s' ifunàrò èva, èhe hia vbe ye gbẹlẹ nẹ̀n.
29. Sòkpan ọ man ke ùk' ọba yằ lẹ̀ hìn ẹki rè fŏ vb' èguị ladìàn vb' èhè n' ọ lẹ̄re yi gha vi' èmwin.
30. Ùk' ọba ghi bẹ̀ghè èguị, ọ na wệ: " ẹ̀r̄' i kha ighẹ̀ èguị ẹ̀r̄' ọ rù a-ghẹ-rū nâ; rẹ̀n ẹ̀r' ọ vẹ̆ 'ki.
31. Ìwina èmwìn n' à vio mu èguị, ọ̀ man bẹgh' ŭk' ọba.
32. Ọni na fẹ̀ko kọ̀n hìn ẹki rè.
33. Ọ na zẹ̀gịẹgịẹ gha ri' eguae.
34. Ọ̀ ghi s' ẹguae, ọ na khàmàn avb' eghàẹ̀vbọ̀ n' ī̀ran lă̆họ n' ī̀ran gi' ī̀rĕ̀n mi' ọba ā̀ro ẹ̀gịẹgìẹ̀, ighẹ̀ èmwìn n' àr̄ọ ī̀rẹn mien wanwan kpọ̀lọ se 'r̄ẹn gbè.
35. Iran na gèlè rhi' ẹ̄re gìè ọba.
36. Ọ̀ ghi s' evba, ọ na wệ: "Dọ'mọn n' ọ yaẹn mwẹ̀n n' ẹhi mwẹn! Ẹ̀kì ẹ̀r̄' i ke de nâ.

37. Èmwìn n' àrò mwẹn mieṇ ẹ̀r̄' i we n' i do khamàn r̄ùẹn.
38. È i re ẹr̄inmwin ọ̀ do gha vẹ èkhẹ̀n vb' ẹki; ègùì n' ọmwan er̄o nọ̀.
39. Ọ̀ man kẹ mwẹn ya lẹ̀ hin ẹki re fo vbè ọ gha r̄a de do vi' èmwìn n' èkhẹ̆n lẹ sẹ̀r̄ae.
40. Àrò mwẹn'vèva nâ ẹ̀r̄' i ya bẹ̀gh' ẹr̄è."
41. Ọba ghi họ̀n èmwìn n' ùkẽ̆ khar̄e, òhù keghi kàkàbo mù ẹ̀r̄ẹ̀n ẹsẹsè.
42. Ọ na gìè nă̆ tie avb' owinà ẹgieg̀iẹ̀.
43. Ọ na we n' ir̄an kà ọ̀mwan, n' ir̄an y' ọ̀dan sìkàn r̄ẹ̀n ègbe hìà.
44. Ọ na wệ: "Ẹ̀d' ẹkì n' ọ̀ dẽ̆ ghà re, wă̆ ghi yă̆ muẹn y' àdesẹ 'kì".
45. Avb' owîna na gèlè kà ọ̀mwă̆n nî vben' ọba khamàn iràn.
46. Ẹ̀d' ẹkì ghi re ir̄an na yă̆ mu ọmwă̆n nî n' ir̄an kar̄e y' àdẹs' ẹkì.
47. Ègui ghi vbè gi' ẹ̀ki r̄ô nẹn, ọ na vbè sùẹ̀n gha sû ìhuan.
48. Èkhẹn ẹ̀ki hia na vbè mu vẹ.
49. Sòkpan ọ̀mwàn n' avb' owina kare ke yè gha r' ades' ẹkì.
50. Ègui ghi zè kh' or̄e n' o kpa ò man kpa, èr̄' o ghi nà bù er̄e.
51. Ọ̀ ghi s' èhè n' ọ̀ ye, ọ na we n' ìr̄ẹ̆n gb' ubi y' ẹ̀r̄' ar̄o, òb' ọ̀r̄e na sìkàn mù ẹr̄ẹn.
52. Ọ na ghi we n' ir̄ẹ̆n y' obọ n' ọ kẹr̄e sua 'r̄e, òbọ̀ r̄ẽ̆ nî na vbè sìkàn mù ẹr̄ẹn.
53. Ọ na we n' ir̄ẹn y' owẹ suẹe, òwè or̄e na vbè sìkàn muẹn.

54. Ọ na ghì we n' ìr̄ẹn y' egbe sua 'r̄e, ègbè ẹr̄e na vbè sìkàn muẹn.

55. Vben' ọ ghi zùgh' ègbe sẹ, ò man sẹtin z' ègbe hìn ọ̀dàn n' ọ gbae mù èmwìn n' a kar̄e ni re.

56. Uwẹr̄ẽ nî ọba na gì' evban èso n' ir̄an ya gh' ẹr̄e ghẽ degh' ifi n' ir̄an khuẹn khẹ̀ègui muẹ̀n.

57. Ir̄an ghi dõ vba, ègui gha gù' utukpumwẹrhan zugh' egbè.

58. Ir̄an na yã khaman ọba èmwìn n' ir̄an miẹ̀n.

59. Ọba na tì' ìk' ẹvbò ẹ̀giẹgiẹ̀.

60. Ọ na we n' èmwan eso ya mu ègui rè.

61. Ir̄an ghi muẹn r̄̃è nẹn, o na n' ẹ̃vbo vben' ir̄an hõ n' a r̄u ègui hẹ̃.

62. Ir̄an hia na we t' a gha gb' ẹ̀r̄ẽ r̄ua.

63. Ọba na vbe n' ẹvbo vben' ir̄an hõ n' a ya gb' ègui r̄ua hẹ̃.

64. Ir̄an na we àmẹn èrhẹ̀n ẹ̀r̄' a gha mùẹn fi.

65. Ẹ̀giẹgiẹ̀, ir̄an vbìẹvbiẹ amẹn èrhẹ̀n nẹn.

66. Ir̄an na mũ ègui fiọ.

67. Ir̄an ghi mù ègui fiọ nen, ọ na gha niẹ̀n.

68. Egùì ghi a wu vb' èvba, sòkpan, ọ na bà yan 'kọn vbẽ n' ọ̀ giẹ.

69. Ir̄an na wẹ̀: "Ẹ̀gui, vb' u a giẹ yi?"

70. Ègui na wê: "Wà r̄o ighé t' u wa r̄ù mwen kho n' ù wã na mù mwen fì amen èrhèn, wà man r̄en ighé t' u wa r̄ù mwèn èse; wa man mien ighe t' i ghi tan yô?"

71. Īran ghi gèlè ghě, t' ọ ghi tan yô;

72. Īran ghi nà zègiegie yă mu àmẹn òdìdòn re.

73. Īran na mù ègui fiọ.

74. Īran ghi mù ègui fiọ nẹn, ègui na bà hùnwan hīrīri.

75. Īran na gha rō igh' ọ wu nèn.

76. Èr' īran na ghì muẹn fì òha.

77. Ègui ghi gì' īran hia gha rie nẹn, ọ na ghì hìònrònn s' otọ.

78. O na ghi yànkàn gha riè.

79. Evbă nî òkha nâ na yă 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.

47. Tortoise when he let market full already, he then start be singing song.
48. Market-people then again ran away.
49. But person them carpenters carve,was still at middle market.
50. Tortoise when wait it that it go it not go, it is he go meet it.
51. He when reach place that it be, he say that he slap its face, hand him then stuck to it.
52. He then say that he use hand that it remain push it, hand him that also stuck to it.
53. He then say that he use leg kick it, leg him also stuck to it.
54. He then say that he use body push it, body him stuck to it also.
55. Like he struggle body reach, he not able pull body from glue that it glue him to thing that is carved.
56. Inside it that king then sent some that they go look if trap that they lay for tortoise catch him.
57. They when come meet, tortoise was with the carved wood struggling.
58. They then go tell king thing that they saw.
59. King call assembly people immediately.
60. He said that people some go bring tortoise come.
61. They when bring him already, he then ask people how they want that we treat tortoise.
62. They all said that he must be killed.

63. King again ask people how they want that they use kill 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:

Song	Drum Refrain
Ogiso's market!	kpuman!
Ogiso's market!	kpuman!
Whoever doesn't flee home...	kpuman!
What is coming is terrible!	kpuman!

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

body got stuck to it.

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. Òkha ọkpa ke dǒ rè.
2. Ọ na yǎ de mù ọ̀finotọ̀ vb' okpǎghà.
3. Īran na dǒ gha rộ.
4. Òwi'owiẹ, ọ̀finotọ̀ ghà rhìọ̀re, ọ na làdìàn vb' ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn, ọ ghî dǒ vba vb' ìkpo 'kpàghǎ̀hia salọ lẹ̀gà ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn.
5. Ọ ghî ghọ̀ghùa.
6. Ọ ghi rhǒ̩ èhia là ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn.
7. Èd' ọkpa ghi re, ọ na wệ: "Òkpàghà na, ọ̀se 'sì wǎ nọ̀."
8. À rhe mieṇ ighẹ ùvùn mweṇ re ne sẹ̀ vbeniàn, ọ̀ yè èvbà-re khan mwẹ̀n vbeniàn.
9. Ì ghà ghì wà b' òwa kẹẹ ghi vbo?"
10. Èr' ọ ghi na gèlè yǎ tun 'vùn ẹ̄rẹn k' èzi okpàghà.
11. Èdẹ ghi gbe, ọ̀finotọ̀ na rhùlẹ̀ làdìàn vb' ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn.
12. Ọ̀ r̄o ighẹ n' ìr̄ẹ̀n na ghì dǒ si k' èzi òkpàghà nâ, t' okpàghà khian wa y' èvbàr̄e khàn ir̄ẹn.
13. Ọ̀ ghi ladian, ọ̀ghi ghè èhe hia, èhe hia ye gbẹlẹ.
14. Ọ na wẹ ù gha ghe t' ir̄ẹn rherhe làdìàn gbe.
15. Ọ na ghì wèrìègbe là ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn yǎ lovbiẹ.
16. Ọ̀ ghi vbe zẹ̀ kpẹe kherhe, ọ na vbè rhùlẹ̀ làdìàn vb' ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn n' ọ do gh' ẹ̄re ghe degh' ikp' okpàghà sàlọ lẹ̀gà ùvùn ẹ̄rẹn nẹ̀n.
17. Ọ̀ ghi yè vbè do vba, ès'esò i rọ.
18. T' ob' ohànmwẹ̀n ghi dae.
19. Èr' ọ ghi na wệ, "T' i gha do werìègbe gha ri èhè n' i kere vben' òhànmwẹ̀n te gbè mwuàn."

20. Ẹ̀r̄' ọ na gèlè wèrìègbe kùn kpà gha ri' uria n' ọ̀ ka ye.

21. Ọ̀ ghi sè 'vba, ìkp' okpàghà vun èhe hia.

22. Ọ na ghì zẹ̀gịẹgịẹ rhọ̀ ehia vùn uvnn ẹr̄ẹn.

23. Ọ̀ ghi r̄è nẹn, ẹ̀ko vun or̄ẹn,o na wê: "Èr' ir̄an gele khă igh' uria ò man . ose."

24. Èvba nî òkha nâ na yă 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.
18. Hand hunger begin hard him.
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 .

Folktale Four: Distance Nourishes Friendship

Once upon a time, there lived a rabbit and a cassia[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.[2]

That ends the story.

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[1]The botanical name for this tree is "Pentacletra macrophylla.

[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 moved to live at the foot of the tree.