

A text-based lexicogrammatical description of Ọ̀kọ̀: a systemic functional approach

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Abstract

Among the over 400 languages in Nigeria, and the over one thousand languages in Africa, very few have been described in any detail; and among the few described, very few have been given a comprehensive grammatical description. The few grammars of African languages that exist have tended to use traditional or formal approaches, which pay very little attention to the development of a description from real texts, and hardly reflect their function in the community.

This study is a text-based description of the grammar of Ọ̀kọ́. It will explore the language from the systemic functional typological perspective, as a meaning potential for its speakers. For this purpose, Ọ̀kọ́ texts, sampled from their natural contexts of occurrence, will be analysed and interpreted using systemic functional linguistics.

This thesis will focus on the lexicogrammatical description of Ọ̀kọ́, addressing both the global dimensions of the organization of language in context — the hierarchy of stratification, the spectrum of metafunctions, and the cline of instantiation; and the local dimensions of the rank scale and axis (paradigmatic and syntagmatic).

The study will therefore reveal the meaning making processes of Ọ̀kọ́ (as of any human language), not as a haphazard affair, but as motivated by the context, which is then realized as meaning. Meaning is realized by wording, and the wording in turn through sounds. By implication, in this study the context, semantics, lexicogrammar and the phonology of Ọ̀kọ́ will be given an interpretation, from a corpus of real texts.

The Ọ̀kọ́ texts have been transcribed using a writing system based on the Roman script. The description of the writing system, the product of a preliminary investigation in the study, is based on a phonological description. The lexicogrammatical description is organized metafunctionally, exploring the various resources used to model ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. The goal in the study is to develop a description that will be a resource for the development of other resources such as materials for literacy in Ọ̀kọ́.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the fond memory of:

My beloved father,
His Royal Highness,
Late Gabriel Bawa Akerejola, Eminefo
III,
The Ologori of Ogori.
1947-1969

*Okurin lafia, lafia, Okurin lafia lafia,
ogbuloko jen ekon, ayeni, Osiako,
Ekenikun oogben, Emiefo b'Oyibo.
Idodo.*

a visionary, who, following his belief in
the power and dignity of education,
ensured the education of all his thirty
children, contributed to the education of
other people's children and encouraged
all in his domain to send their children
to school

My beloved brother
His Royal Highness
Late Gaius Bade Akerejola
Eminefo IV
The Ologori of Ogori
1990 - 1999

Saaki, Kabiyesi Odio

a most decent, principled and progressive
ruler, who also contributed to my
education and those of other brothers.

I hereby certify that the work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution, and also that the sources of information used and the extent to which the work of others has been utilised have been indicated in the thesis.

Ernest S. Akerejola
November 2005

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Key to Notations

AUX	auxiliary
“e-a”	interrogative element such as the English “wh-” element
1 ^{PL} /2 ^{SG}	first person plural/second person singular
ACKN	acknowledgement
adv	adverbial
adv g	adverbial group
AGREE	agreement
APO	appositive
Spkr	speaker
ATTDN	attitudinal
ATTN	attention seeking
B.INTERG	
Cl	clause
COMPL	completed (perfective aspect)
Compl	Complement
CONJ	conjunction
conj g	conjunction group
DEP	dependent (unit)
Sens	Senser
E.INTERG	
HESI	hesitation
ID	ideophone
Phen	Phenomenon
INFO	informative
IPA	International Phonetic Association
V	vowel
C	consonant
ASP	aspect
EXPECT	expectation
COV	coverbal

EXCL	exclamation
INT	intensifier
INTRG	
IP	interpersonal particle
Cl	clause
Cl C	clause complex
LOC	locative
LV	lexical verb
MAS	modal assessment
MOD	modal
NEG	negator
Pred	
E.INTG	ending interrogator particle
ng	nominal group
OBL	obligator
ASP	
PART	Particle
B.INTEGT	beginning interrogator particle
ATTDN	attitudinal particle
ATTN	attention-seeking particle
Med	Medium
AGREE	agreement seeking particle
PREP	preposition
SG	singular
PL	plural
PRJ	projecting - grammatical function
S-MKR	subject marker
mkr	marker
TTM	topical Theme marker
vag	verbal adjectival group
YOR	Yoruba

Convention

-----	clause complex boundary
-----	clause boundary
-----	group boundary
[[]] -----	embedded clause
[] -----	embedded group
“-“ joining words -----	Òkó word glossed as a phrase in English or vice versa
<< >> -----	clause interrupting/splitting another clause
< > -----	group/phrase interrupting/splitting another group/phrase
☐ -----	realization
$\alpha, \beta, \gamma \dots$ -----	marking relation of dependency in a hypotactic clause complex
/ -----	boundary of a phonological transcription.
∅ -----	null/zero realization
? -----	denotes uncertainty, e.g. finding no match in glossing a word or phrase
X -----	placeholder for name
= -----	elaboration
+ -----	extension
× -----	enhancement
^ -----	“followed by”

1 Introduction

This study, “A Text-Based Lexicogrammatical Description of Ọ̀kọ́: a Systemic Functional Approach”, is a linguistic description of Ọ̀kọ́, the language of the Ogori and Magongo people in Kogi State of Nigeria (see Map 1-1). This research is founded on the assumption that Ọ̀kọ́, like any other human language on earth, is a resource for making meaning. Therefore my intention in this research is to investigate its meaning potential, focussing on the lexicogrammar and exploring it from the perspective of functional typology.

The motivation for the study is both intellectual and socio-political. Intellectually, I have a professional urge and interest, as a linguistics scholar, to explore natural languages, and Ọ̀kọ́ seems to provide a “virgin opportunity” for such an exploration. The socio-political reasons can be considered from two major dimensions, namely one that can be described as a “survival mission”; and the other, of educational (and national) interest. Ọ̀kọ́ can be described as one of the endangered languages of the world: there is a serious threat to the survival of Ọ̀kọ́ as a language. Regarding the second dimension, there has been an increasing interest in education in the “Mother-Tongue” in Nigeria, and it is my opinion that Ọ̀kọ́ speakers should take advantage of this. Both points will be discussed in greater detail in Sections 1.4.1- 1.4.2.

1.1 Heading Ọ̀kọ́ and its Sociolinguistic Environment

Ọ̀kọ́ is the language of the Ogori and Magongo people in Kogi State of Nigeria. The first official census put the population of speakers at tens of thousands. An unsourced document based on the controversial 1983 census put the number at about forty-nine thousand (49,000); and with demographic factors the population could be estimated as being between 60 - 70 thousand at present. Until the creation of their Local Government, most Ogori people lived outside the geographical home (and a great number of them still do). The home of Ọ̀kọ́ (also known to non-natives as "Ogori")¹ is surrounded by many linguistic groups. Ọ̀kọ́ shares

¹ The land, the people and the language are called Ọ̀kọ́ by the speakers. People in Magongo, prefer their accents to be called “Osayen” for political reasons, although their speech form shows very minute accentual difference from those of Ogori. They are in fact kith and kin of the Ogori people who settled in the first half of 20th century in their present location, to escape from congestion (see Akerejola 1970; Osheidu 1990; Eyika 2003).

boundaries with some Okpameri dialects of the Edoid² language clusters: Ososo, Ojah, Makeke, Ekpedo and Olokoto are in the south, while Bekuma, Lampese, Ibillo, Imoḡa are in the south-west — all in Edo State of Nigeria. The level of intelligibility between one dialect and another in the Okpameri dialect clusters is speculated to be between 30 and 90%.

The Ebiras (of Kogi State) cover the north of Ọ̀kọ̀ speaking areas. They constitute a very large group and are, relatively, linguistically homogeneous.

2. Notwithstanding the numerous surrounding linguistic groups, numbering about 22, Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers manifest linguistic as well as cultural particularities among her neighbours.

1.2 The status of Ọ̀kọ̀ as a language

In their preface, Mann and Dalby (1988: viii) posit that what constitutes a language is based “on the usage and self perception of the speakers, rather than on external academic or administrative judgement”. Beside the self-perception factor, Ọ̀kọ̀ is perceived by surrounding groups as a different language — and the fact that it has retained this kind of identity, despite the relatively small population in comparison to its neighbours, is a mystery. In addition to this, it fulfils the requirement of Hansford Bendor Samuel & Standford’s (1976) idea of a language (as opposed to a dialect) which is 75% non-intelligibility to any other language.

Incidentally, Ọ̀kọ̀ native speakers are usually bilingual, especially if they have grown up at the home district - Ogori and Magongo. Some other languages likely to be spoken by an Ogori indigene include Yoruba, Ebira, and one or the other Okpameri languages mentioned above. It is most often the case that Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers use learned languages, especially contiguous ones, with near native-like proficiency, even though some of them (e.g. Ebira) have significantly different phonological systems. While the above phenomenon seems to be of social advantage to the people, there are also some grave linguistic consequences — the depletion of the language as discussed below (see Section 1.4.1).

Bilingualism, characteristic of the people can be linked to history factors, such as the claim that Ogori, in the time past, dominated some of the neighbours politically, for a prolonged period (see Akerejola, 1973; Osheidu, 1990). In summary, while Ogori people are said to have descended from Yoruba migrants who founded the community, their language,

² The term Edoid is used to refer to languages that have genetic relation with Edo language, spoken in Benin, Edo State of Nigeria. Those of immediate concern are those spoken in Akoko-Edo region of the state. These include languages such as Orah, Ukpilla, Etuno, etc., besides those mentioned above and other Okpameri dialects.

Ọ̀kọ́ has developed from contact with different linguistic groups in the process of the long migration (both in space and time) from Ife, as well as interaction with their eventual neighbours, some of whose areas were Ogori vassals (Osheidu, 1990: 88). Eyika, (2003:1)³ describes Ọ̀kọ́ as a “concoction” of different languages, perhaps to reflect the numerous languages to which the language owes a significant number of its vocabulary items.



Map 1-1 Map of Nigeria locating Ọ̀kọ́ among some major languages (adapted from Arts & Life in Africa online: <http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/countries/Nigeria.html>)

Until recently, Ọ̀kọ́ has been known as an unclassified language⁴. The first known record of an attempt to locate Ọ̀kọ́ or relate it to a language family is Thomas (1914: 137), whose author was introduced as a government anthropologist. The book, which documents languages from Southern Nigeria, however places the Ogori land, known as “Gori”, in the North. This is a reflection of the fact that it is a border town between the northern and southern part of the country. In his description, Thomas (Thomas, 1914: 138 – 139) states:

Gori is a small place ... which lies on the borderland between Kukuruku and the Akoko, i.e, Yoruba areas. So far as I have been able to ascertain, that language is only spoken in Gori itself and in a small village a mile or two away. The

³ Akerejola (1970) had earlier explained that the people describe the language “ẹ̀nà” to reflect this fact and until recently, people who spoke Ọ̀kọ́ in its “purest” form are admired as being skilful in articulating “ẹ̀nà”.

⁴ Mann et al (1988: 91). It is here marked as unclassified language. However, a more recent article by Kay Williamson in Bernd Heine et al (eds), (2000: 11-42) groups it under West Benue-Congo of the Niger-Congo family in Nigeria.

inhabitants of Gori were able to speak Kukuruku, and the vocabulary was obtained by means of that language.

Thomas claims that Ọkọ must have obtained its vocabulary from Kukuruku. History (oral and written) is aware of some resemblance between the Kukuruku (later known as Edoid⁵, a cluster of languages) and Ọkọ, but it may not support the claim that the language “obtained its vocabulary” largely by means of the latter. An extensive lexicostatistic study is necessary to verify such a claim. Rather, Ọkọ vocabulary seems to be related to the speakers’ historical journey from Ife to Ogori. The same view is shared by Osheidu (1990: 15), who declares,

*On the question of a distinct language, Ogori ‘language’ requires serious study under **Ethnology** to determine its linguistic ancestors. There is no doubt that as an **Enan** or new language it is an admixture or a **Hybrid** of any old and new languages formed as the result of words cross-fertilisation.⁶*

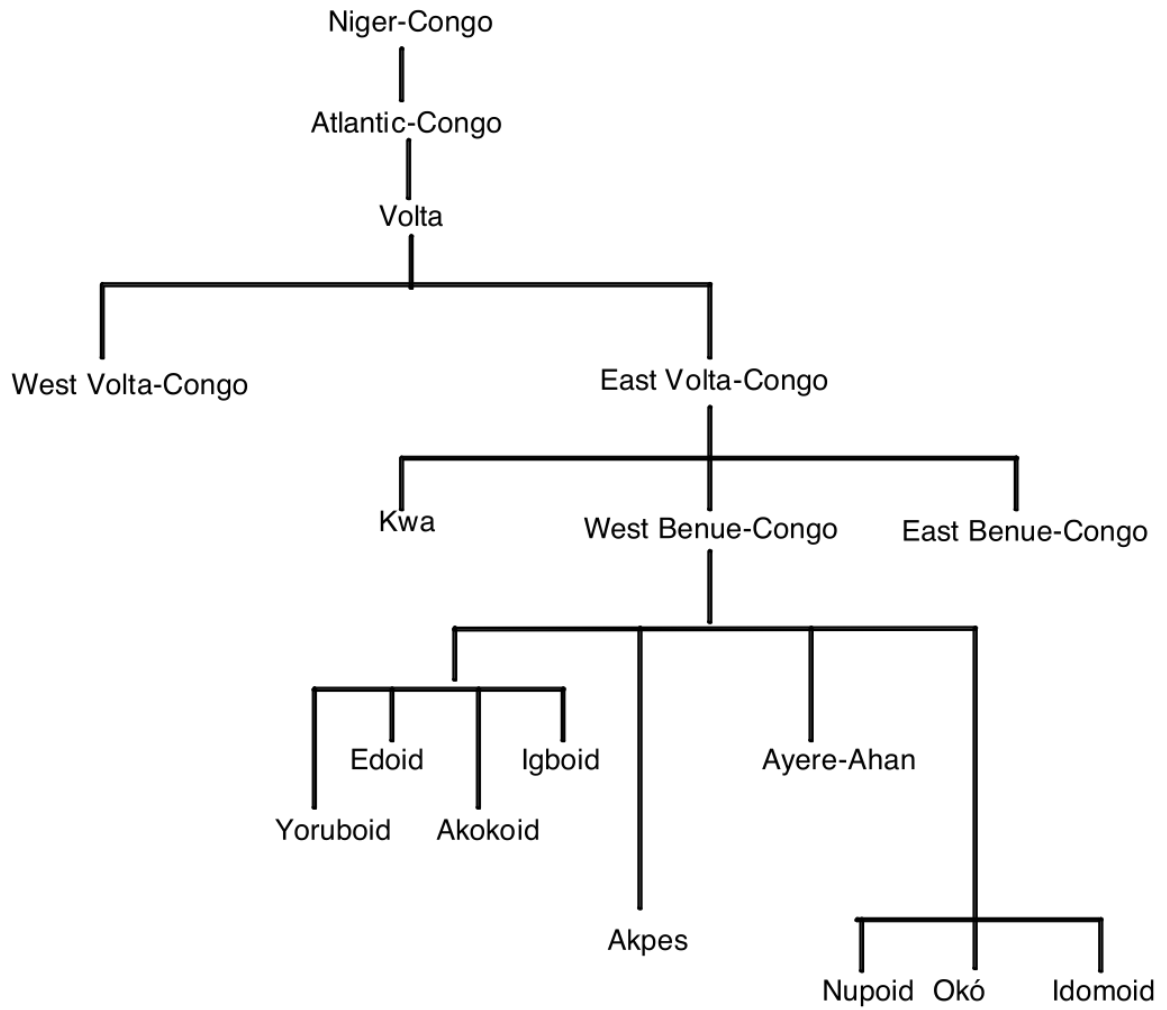
In the literature, the language is said to share some affinity with Yoruba, Edoid, Idoma, Ebirra and Igbo. This group was formally classified as belonging in the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family by Joseph Greenberg (1966; 1977) and subsequent genetic linguists until recently, and Ọkọ by implication has been classified alongside the Kwa group (see Lyovin, 1977: 193; Williamson, 1989: 20; 2000: 15). However, it is now being specifically profiled as belonging in the West Benue-Congo family (Williamson, 2000: 31). Its classification in 14th edition of the Ethnologue⁷, which seems to depend on Williamson sources, profiles Ọkọ as Benue-Congo of the Volta-Congo of the Atlantic-Congo of Niger-Congo.⁸ Benue-Congo is the name given to the group of languages formerly known as East Kwa languages (Williamson, 1989: 11-17). However, in none of the above sources was any empirical explanation provided for Ọkọ’s classification as a member of that family. Figure 1-1 Language “family tree” tracing Ọkọ to the Niger-Congo family (extract from Williamson (2000: 31)) traces Ọkọ to the Niger-Congo family.

⁵ Williamson (1989: 17; 2000: 31).

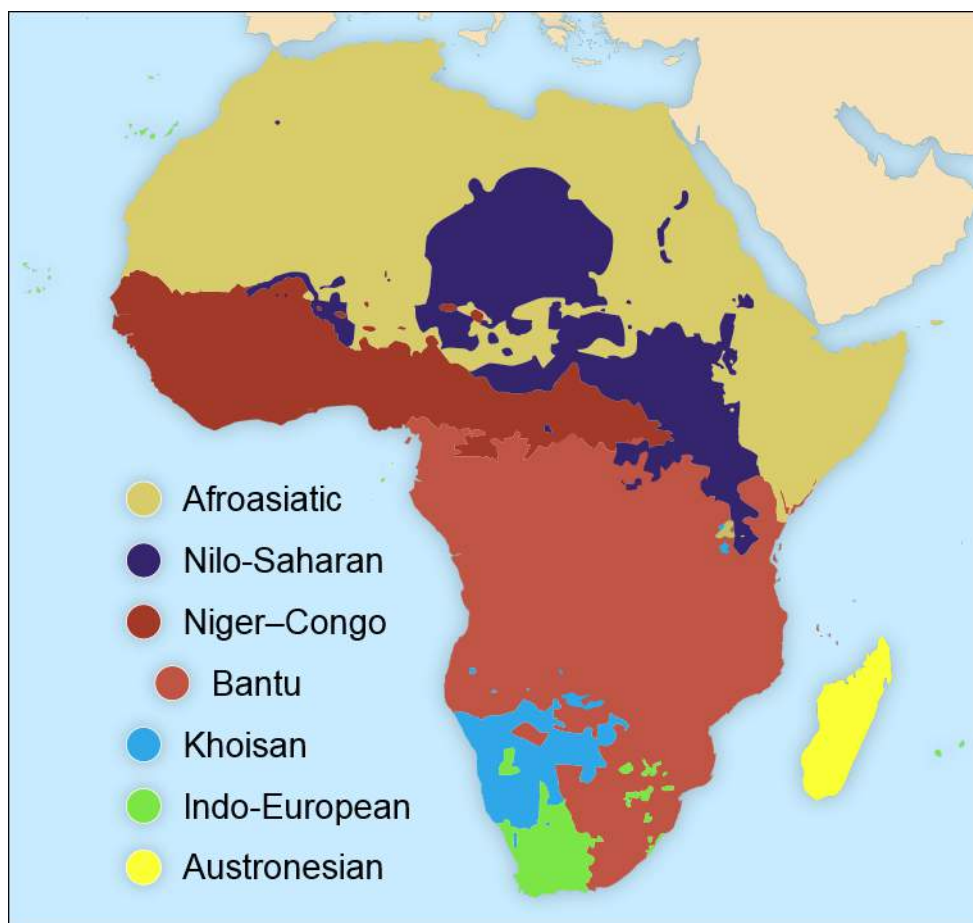
⁶ Words in bold are in italics in the original document.

⁷ See SIL International, 2000-2005, Linguistic Lineage for Ọkọ-Eni-Osayen, Ethnologue: Languages of the World, http://www.ethnologue.com/14/show_language.asp?code=OKS

⁸ Two points to note on this reference however is that the population figures seem to be based on the census figures of the 1960s, and that “Uku” is no official name for the language, but the re-articulation of Ọkọ by some particular linguistic groups whose phonological system may not support the articulation “O-k-ó”.



**Figure 1-1 Language "family tree" tracing Òkó to the Niger-Congo family
(extract from Williamson (2000: 31))**



Map 1-2 Language Phyla of Africa (Mapsland, 1993). (*Substituted for an older map in the original original thesis*)

1.3 Ọ̀kọ̀ as Member of the Niger-Congo Family

In a remark on Joseph Greenberg’s pioneering work on the classification of languages, Gregersen (1977: 84) noted, “it is easier to specify the fact of relationship” among languages “without being able to pinpoint degree.” In this section, I will discuss a few characteristics that mark Ọ̀kọ̀ as a member of the Niger-Congo phylum in general and Benue-Congo in particular; and hopefully, the examples discussed here and in subsequent chapters should demonstrate the degree to which Ọ̀kọ̀ typifies the genetic family it belongs to. The Niger-Congo languages which cover the southern half of Africa, as can be seen on Map 1-2, number about 2000 (Lyovin, 1977: 192). Benue-Congo is said to cover “roughly, the southern two-thirds of Nigeria and Cameroon” among other areas (Williamson, 2000: 30).

Ọ̀kọ̀ shares various characteristics with the Benue-Congo language family at all linguistic levels, but I will only mention these under two main headings in this chapter: at the level of wording (lexicogrammar) and at the level of expression (phonology). More information on each of the characteristics will be discussed in the relevant subsequent chapters.

1.3.1 Grammatical affinity with other Benue-Congo languages

Òkó shows what is so-called SVO (Subject ^ Verb ^ Object) word order, like most members of the Benue-Congo phylum. Thus a clause, in the unmarked grammatical realisation, would be as follows:

- (1) (Subject) *Ayesa-Akpoti* (“Verb”) *a wa* (Object) *bo oga* (Adjunct) *igan*
 Ayesa-Akpoti AUX be their master then

Ayesa-Akpoti was their leader then.

- (2) *Iya osuda* *fon* *ifo*
 Old woman pound pounded yam

The old woman pounded yam.

The phenomenon known as ‘serial verb construction’ (Creissels 2000: 253) is very common in the language. This involves the juxtaposition of two or more verbs in a single clause, all sharing the same Subject.

- (3) (S-MKR)⁹ *Ti-* (“Verb”) *file* (“Verb”) *yọ* (Adjunct) *Ibadan* (Adjunct) *gba*
 We send_him go Ibadan sometime.before

We have once sent him to Ibadan.

- (4) (S-MKR) *Ni-* (“Verb”) *da ta* (Complement) *uba* (“Verb”) *bile*
 You AUX contribute hand combine

You usually contribute together.

Some verbs express meanings that are commonly expressed by adverbials in certain other languages, including English (Creissels, 2000: 238).

Òkó also shows frequent cases of “ideophones” (Walters, 2000: 196).

- (5) *Ero kpitikpiti bila ya urun, ayi mi e siye komekome*
 People ID¹⁰-all turn him back he AUX AUX do ID-withdrawn
 Everybody abandoned him and he became withdrawn.

Some other characteristics include the absence of passive constructions (Walter, 2000: 209); and juxtaposition of clauses without conjunction, for example,

⁹ Subject marker.

¹⁰ ID (ideophone).

- (6) *A faḷẹ ||e- me di pile siye utun*
 He fell ||he not could again do work
 He fell and could not work anymore.

Some notions that are often expressed with descriptive adjectives in some European languages (Walter, 2000: 195) are done with verbs without a copula in Ọ̀kọ̀, as is typical of many members of the Benue-Congo phylum, for example,

- (7) *Mọ- uboo bẹbẹ*
 My- house hidden
 My house is hidden.

The above constitute some of the numerous grammatical characteristics that mark Ọ̀kọ̀ as a member of the Benue-Congo family. I now turn to phonological evidence.

1.3.2 Phonological evidence of Ọ̀kọ̀' s genetic relation with the Benue-Congo family

Ọ̀kọ̀ is a tone language, like the Benue-Congo languages. The language also has relatively few (and non-opaque) vowel phonemes. It contains instances of what is known as “double articulation” (Lyovin, 1977: 195) or “co-articulation”, which involves simultaneous articulation of two stop consonants. Two examples of co-articulation are (i) /k/ and /p/ articulated as a single sound /kp/, as in /ekpo/ (skin or leather”); and (ii) /g/ and /b/ articulated as /gb//, as in /ɔgba/ (time). Phonologically, each example constitutes a single consonant with two points of articulation, although they are transcribed as two consonants in a Latin-based alphabet (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.1 for further discussion on this). The same sets of coarticulated consonants are found in the Yoruba, Igbo, Akoko-Edo (clusters of) and Idoma languages, which are of the same stock as Ọ̀kọ̀. There is also the phenomenon of “consonant ablaut” or “permutation” (Lyovin: *ibid*) or “diaphone” (IIALC¹¹ 1930: 17) in Ọ̀kọ̀, as found in Fulani, Igbo and Epira. This is a situation where two phonologically unrelated phonemes are interchangeable in a word, without a change in meaning. In addition, Ọ̀kọ̀ also contains features of vowel harmony, and nasalization of syllables. The manifestation of these All the phonological features as they pertain to Ọ̀kọ̀ will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2, where the general profile of the language is explored.

¹¹ International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

1.4 Problematising the Research Issues

The justification for this research has been alluded to in the opening paragraphs of Section 1.1; and these can be summarised as follows:

- (a) The linguistically ‘hostile’ environment in which Òkó survives currently threatens its future as a language. This calls for an urgent action to “rescue” it.
- (b) The educational needs of the Òkó speaking community can be addressed more pragmatically. There is a necessity for increased opportunities in this regard, and the aim is geared toward achieving part of the goals of the Nigerian national policy on education
- (c) A comprehensive linguistic description of the language would not only make an interesting study in itself, but would also contribute to linguistic knowledge.

The following section expatiates on these concerns.

1.4.1 Endangerment of Òkó Language

Various factors ranging from political to socio-economic relations have made the mutation of the language seemingly inevitable. The erosion of Òkó is observable at all grammatical ranks, but I will not classify the examples in terms of rank dimension here. Many Òkó words and expressions have been lost to borrowed ones from these neighbouring languages due to socio-economic affinities, Yoruba being the most "generous donor". Expressions such as the following are not uncommon in Òkó.

Expression	Meaning	Source Language
<i>mẹ rẹ ru</i>	I'm fed up	Ebira
<i>ayenwunro</i>	'a victim of circumstances'	Ebira
<i>nitori</i>	because (conjoining a clause or reason)	Yoruba
<i>ni lati</i>	must	Yoruba
<i>gbadọ</i>	dare	Yoruba
<i>sugbọn</i>	but	Yoruba
<i>kpitan</i>	tell story	Yoruba
<i>tulasi</i>	compulsory	Yoruba
<i>a she</i>	no wonder (conjunctive)	Yoruba
<i>ogbọn</i>	wisdom, subtlety	Yoruba

Figure 1-2 Loaned expressions in Òkó

These are just a few of such examples. The point here is not the failure to recognise loaning as a natural or inevitable consequences of two languages in contact (Weinreich, 1967: 2.24 & 2.43), Weinreich has observed that when two languages come in contact, there is the tendency for them to borrow linguistic features from each other and that the less dominant language is more likely to borrow from the economically, politically or socially dominant

one. However, a careful examination of the expressions in Table 1.1 reveals that they are basic to all cultures and tend to be more resilient to borrowing. Some of them are grammatical (as opposed to lexical) items, which languages less frequently borrow from other languages. The question is, what happened to Òkó original equivalent expressions? The same concern is shared by the older generation in the community, from whom expressions such as *Òkó e me pile gule* (Òkó is **no longer** complete) is frequently heard. I got these comments many times when I tried to find out the original Òkó expressions for those expressed in other languages such as in **Error! Reference source not found.** above. Eyika's (2003:1) similar view: that "ÒKÓ is an incomplete language (sic)" is an echo of this common belief among the older generation.

Until 1991, when Kogi State was created, and Ogori and Magongo had a local government of their own, Òkó speakers had been under the domination of the Ebiras. This administrative situation, under which the people were subjected to pressures indirectly, did not encourage the flourishing of Òkó among the younger generations, who must seek government jobs.

Additionally, the dearth of Òkó has being, up till now compounded by the migration of the younger generation from their homeland. The effect of this factor on language is explained by Bernd and Nurse (2000: 8), who observe,

Some languages themselves are changing, some are disappearing, new languages are arising. People are flocking into cities.

The greatest influence on the language, however, is from the contact (if the commonly held opinion of the people's origin is correct, then I should say "re-contact") with the Yoruba language. Christianity, the main religion of the people, and western education, which later became the main "industry" of the people, were introduced to Ogori and Magongo in the late 19th Century through missionaries and teachers from the Yoruba speaking West. Religious services were (and still very often are) conducted in Yoruba, while the language also served as the medium of instruction in the schools. As a result of these contacts, Òkó has increasingly borrowed from Yoruba such that only very few of the younger generation (from about 55 years of age down) would know the Òkó equivalent of many Yoruba words and expressions they use today. There has been little success, if the older generation has attempted to find any solution to the depletion of the language. There is no doubt about what dire consequences the current trend spells for the language, if allowed to continue for a few more generations without a scientific intervention. The same danger is signalled by Bernd and Nurse (2000: 6), whose fears are expressed in the following words:

A phenomenon that has not affected comparative work much yet but is likely to do so in the twenty-first century is language death. Social, political and economic pressure is already conspiring to eliminate the languages of smaller communities and the pressure will increase

In the case of Òkó, a concerted effort to stimulate interest in the language may assist in keeping what is left of it and, by implication, preserving the “real world” of the people (Martin, 1988: 245) for a few more centuries. An effective intervention involves, first and foremost, a systematic description and codification of the language, which I hope would in turn facilitate literacy activities. This is probably where this research comes into relevance. The culture of a people is construed, enacted and transmitted primarily through language. The erosion of what Òkó represents as an important meaning potential also implies the erosion of the speakers’ cultural heritage and identity. For language and culture, according to Butt (1989: 68), “are two terms on the same continuum”; and language constitutes a very significant “vehicle” for “symbolising the social system” of any people (Halliday, 1977: 25).

1.4.2 The Nigerian Policy on Education and its Implication

Halliday’s (1977: 25) statement that “Language serves both as a vehicle and as a metaphor, both maintaining and symbolising the social system” has great implications for the language in which a child is educated. Besides creating the world through his/her language, exploring the world in the language of the child’s environment is of utmost importance. The experimentation with education in the “mother tongue” in Nigeria for example, by Babs Fafunwa (see Olarewaju, 1988; Emenanjo, 1988),¹² has proven the great advantages of educating a child in his/her own language. My discussion here is concerned with the extent to which the educational policy in Nigeria helps the Òkó child in exploring his/her environment. I will argue that a lot more needs to be done in this area concerning the use of the child’s first language as the medium of instruction in schools.

In the Nigerian language policy on education, the recognition accorded a language is in accordance with its place in the hierarchy of languages. Nigeria has over 400 languages, and these are usually classified, generally, into 3 main groups, according to population of speakers:

¹² <http://fafunwafoundation.tripod.com/fafunwafoundation/index.html>

- i. The Major Languages (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo)
- ii. Large Group Languages (about a dozen, including Ijaw, Kanuri, Edo, Effik, Tiv, Fulfude, Nupe, Igala, Èbira and Urhobo)
- iii. Minor languages (including Òkó, Gbagi, Kaje, Hangan, Birom, languages of Edoid language clusters)

Òkó belongs in the third group. In the Nigerian policy on language, a child whose mother tongue is in neither of first two groups above is supposed to be literate in three languages by the time s/he finishes secondary education: one from each of the three groups mentioned above, in addition to English, which is the official language. A discussion of this policy and its lopsidedness, both in the statement and the implementation, is not the focus of the present thesis (see the Fafunwa Foundation Website below on a full critique on this policy). However, the mention of it does serve:

- i. to expose the complex linguistic situation in which an Òkó child finds him/herself;
- ii. to justify the necessity for this research, namely, to develop the language for the purpose of mother-tongue education (as advised in the Nigerian policy).

The immediate challenge confronting Òkó is the non-availability of standardization of the language for educational purposes. There is the need to develop the literate forms for formal educational purposes. Unfortunately, it seems too few people are interested in attempting this standardization.

Òkó speakers would not benefit from the advantages enumerated on the basis of the Fafunwa experiment, now popularly known as the “Ifè Project”, if they have to also explore their immediate environment through a language that is not primarily theirs, when they commence formal education. The lamentation of Dr Olushola, one of the pioneer Nigerian broadcasters and an ex-Ambassador to Ethiopia, concerning the social consequences a group of kids in Warri, Delta State, Nigeria suffered for their inability to speak their mother tongue, testifies to the need to do anything that would help facilitate MT education in any community.¹³ A similar concern is expressed by the Special Adviser to the President on Culture and Traditional Matters, Professor Wande Abimbola (The Guardian: 20 March 2004), when he observed,

¹³ See the article “Olusola Decries Neglect Of Local Languages” in *The (Nigerian) Guardian* of Saturday, November 15, 2003. (Also see similar recommendation of his in *The Guardian* 28 April 2005).

It is a grave error of judgment on the side of parents and policy makers to raise Nigerian children on foreign languages without first grounding them properly in their mother tongues.

As the paper rightly observed, local languages have no parallel in transmitting age-old traditions and the local intelligence of every people. Abimbola is further quoted as positing that:

If by age eight or 10, a child is not proficient yet in either his mother tongue or any other language as often happens with children raised or taught in foreign tongues, then you have a mentally retarded individual on your hands.

What these suggest is that there is a growing feeling among many of our renowned scholars that indigenous languages deserve more than the passive attention that is given to them in our educational system at the moment. Professor Reuben Adeboyeje, Provost, Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo, Nigeria, also recently stressed the need for the Nigerian Government to implement Fafunwa's recommendation on "Mother Tongue" education for the country. An article in *the Vanguard*s attributed to him was captioned "DỌn seeks action on use of local languages for learning"¹⁴. One of the strongest concerns for the Nigerian minority languages comes from Professor Matthew Omo-Ojugo, University of Benin, whose views, expressed in his recent talk "Revitalising Endangered Languages: The Esan Language as a Test Case," seem to capture what is happening to Òkò (see article in *Thisday* 2 May 2005).

Therefore, I share the same sense of duty with Otunba Olayinka Lawal-Solarink, President of the Nigeria Book Fair Trust (NBFT), whose opinion is,

Our language is our person, our culture, our identity and our inheritance. It tells who we are and what we believe in. We feel a sense of duty, therefore, to protect our mother tongues in all ramifications. We believe that if care is not taken, our languages will not only be relegated to the background, but also go into extinction.

All the above substantiate my concerns, as well as emphasize the urgency of the present study.

1.4.3 Epistemological consideration

The third justification for this study has to do with intellectual/epistemological reasons. The research efforts in describing Nigerian languages have been concentrated on large group languages, which may be deemed more politically and economically advantageous by the Nigerian Government and public. In departments of Linguistics, Nigerian and African languages, small group languages are hardly given serious attention, even though their

¹⁴ Date of reference misplaced.

speakers together constitute a great majority in the country. If the numerical strength of languages in the country is considered a blessing, rather than a divisive factor as our leaders claim, then research attention needs to be paid to all languages. For example, President Olusegun Obasanjo, in a recent nationwide address, is reported (in the Guardian Newspapers, Friday March 26 2004) as saying “Democracy must be anchored on the grassroots”. This can only be possible when the “grassroots” can participate directly in the democratic system, by construing government policies through their own language potentials.

Personally, I have always been fascinated by languages, and any linguistic information about them is a pleasure. The fact that Ọ̀kọ̀ has no comprehensive description gives me a challenge as a linguistic scholar. It is in this vein that I approach the study of Ọ̀kọ̀. By studying it, I hope to contribute to knowledge in descriptive linguistics and typological studies in general, while doing a patriotic service in respect of the issues described in Sections 1.4.1 - 1.4.3 as well as accumulating experience in the fields above.

1.5 Challenges

The task of describing a language is a mammoth one. To realise the research outcomes as outlined in the previous section entails a number of challenges. Firstly, as I already mentioned, Ọ̀kọ̀ is a spoken language only: there is no existing writing system for the language, let alone written literature in the language. As a result of this I am restricted to working with spoken data. Secondly, since Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers have become used to reading and writing in other languages, a great effort may be required to convince them to change this practice. Education was (and still is, to a large extent) conducted in Yoruba and English; therefore, Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers use these languages where literacy skills are required.

Thirdly, not only has there been no writing in Ọ̀kọ̀; there have also been very few attempts to describe the language. As a result, I have had very little, and non-systematic, secondary resources for this study: no dictionary, no standard orthography, and no linguistic literature or reference grammar. Consequently, I have to depend mainly on primary sources of data for this research. This situation is not peculiar to Ọ̀kọ̀: descriptions of general typological features of other languages in the area where Ọ̀kọ̀ is located are also not available. The recognition of Ọ̀kọ̀ and its neighbours does not go beyond global mention among genetic families.

The first known linguistic work on Ọ̀kọ̀ is that of Thomas (1914), in which a general coverage of the languages in the Southern part of Nigeria is attempted. Apart from the few geographical statements as mentioned in Section 1.2 above, he compiled a list of about two

dozens of lexical items and expressions, so-called “specimens of Ọ̀kọ́”. His is a remarkable attempt; but the lexical items and expressions have varying degrees of remoteness to what they actually are in the language from a native speaker’s point of view. A few examples from Thomas (1914: 138) are as in Figure 1-3

Thomas’ List	My version	English
<i>eboli</i>	<i>ebọre</i>	Two
<i>ufomboli</i>	<i>ufọmbọre</i>	Seven
<i>Ibobo</i>	<i>igbogbo</i>	Nail
<i>ubwibi</i>	<i>ubwa-ibe</i>	Palm
<i>maca</i>	<i>ma a ca</i>	I come
<i>ebao</i>	<i>e gba epeṅ</i>	I see something
<i>ifitutu</i>	<i>i file utun</i>	I send
<i>amololidu</i>	<i>ororiro</i>	I am a hunter
<i>egbe</i>	<i>e na epeṅ*</i>	I seize
<i>ifigi lazubo</i>	<i>te fọ igila ca uboo</i>	We bring yam home

Figure 1-3 Examples from Thomas’ (1914: 138) contrasted with mine

The discrepancies in Thomas’ (1914) list, compared with mine above, can be understood, as he was not a native speaker of the language and did not possess the technology we have today to process speech systematically. As a result, some of the items can hardly be understood by an Ọ̀kọ́ speaker, as they make little sense in the language.

Akerejola (1973), in his anthropological study, also showed interest in the language by suggesting some letters for the Ọ̀kọ́ alphabet, as well as documenting some vocabulary items in the language; while Adegbija (1993), in a sociolinguistic article, suggested an orthography. Notwithstanding whatever improvements these last two works may need, no efforts have been made to recognise or commend such efforts, let alone experimenting with them in pursuing literacy, even among the speakers.

The most extensive linguistic work on the language has been that of Aje (1979 – MA Thesis), in which Ọ̀kọ́ tenses and aspects have been discussed, but using a Chomskyan formal approach. Apart from a need to review his views about the phenomenon of tense in Ọ̀kọ́, the analyses are not based on actual, naturally occurring texts, and they lack functional statements as well as semantic bases. Eyika (2003) has been the most recent work on the language. His is a book that covers diversity of issues, including specimens of the language. The book

provides good information about the history and culture of Ọ̀kọ̀ and its speakers, but it is not the product of a linguistic study. I will discuss this further in (Chapter 2. Section 2.2.2).

From the foregoing, it becomes apparent that my present study cannot be located on the basis of any linguistic descriptive literature on the language. Therefore part of the purpose of this research, generally speaking, is to indicate what the state of affairs is. My study will therefore be pioneering in the sense that it will be the first account of what may be regarded as Ọ̀kọ̀ grammar, and it will constitute, as far as I am aware of, the most intensive description of the language so far. It is also the first comprehensive functional grammatical description of a language in the West African region, if not in Africa as a whole.

The project has the long-term objective of mobilizing Ogori people to be conscious of the dangers that their language faces. This I hope will spur engagement in literacy and literary activities. How the people's consciousness will be raised is another challenge altogether.

The project will take the form of exploring Ọ̀kọ̀ in all its dimensions: that is, what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 19) describe as a “**comprehensive**” and “**holistic**” approach (also see Caffarel et al, 2004: 8 & Matthiessen, 2002b). However, no single person, not even in a lifetime, is able to do all that it takes to describe a language, let alone doing it in one project. Nevertheless, a good description can be undertaken in one of these two ways: either by taking a little aspect of a system and attempting as much detailed account as possible; or by attempting a kind of survey of as many aspects of the grammar as possible in one study. The relationship between these two methods of approach is that of “a trade off”, as often explained by Christian Matthiessen¹⁵. The goal of the present project can best be described as “a-middle-ground” approach. Thus while I am trying to cover the grammar of the language extensively, I will also make efforts to investigate many aspects of Ọ̀kọ̀ grammar in as much detail as possible, within the several constraints of the thesis. My specific direction in the project shall be guided by typical functional questions as articulated by Halliday (1973: 7 & 51; 1982: 28) - also see Eggins, 1994: 2 - namely: (i) How do Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers use language; and (ii) How is the language structured for use?

1.6 Sources of data

According to the Systemic Functional Linguistic theory, the object of study in linguistics is a naturally occurring language. For a description to be authentic, it should be based on a true and authentic data. The kind of data used (in terms of source) can be a reflection of what

¹⁵ In his Typology lectures and seminars.

the purpose of the researcher is, and this also determines the method he adopts to acquire samples and enquire about it. Halliday (1973: 68), in commenting on Bernstein's position on a related issue, outlines the three approaches to the investigation of language behaviour associated with a social context, namely: "hypothetico-deductive reasoning"; "various forms of elicitation"; and "hopeful observation".

My purpose in this study is to investigate Òkó in its social context of use, in line with the enquiry tradition that has developed from Bronislaw Malinowski through Firth to Halliday (see Halliday, 1978: 19). In other words, I am doing my lexicogrammatical description in a sociological tradition. For a purpose such as mine, Halliday (1994: xxiv); Cumming and Ono, (1997: 131) and de Beaugrande (1996: 39) among others stress the importance of using natural spontaneous discourse data. Therefore, the data used for this description have been collected mainly from naturally occurring spoken discourse, recorded spontaneously.

1.6.1 Elicitation Method

Since a comprehensive grammar is my target it is imperative to gather data from all instances of the language observable. I went to the field, therefore, without restricting myself to a particular kind of data. Spontaneous oral data were recorded from every situation where Òkó was used, ranging from informal exchanges (such as friendly jokes or casual conversation) to formal structured ones (such as a meeting and sermons): virtually every situation of language use where I was granted access. Some of the situations required an interview, during which minimal intrusion by the interviewer(s) was ensured. Others were just free, random and uninterrupted language instances.

Both audio and video recording equipment were used for the data collection process. Where necessary, written notes were made of the context, especially when only audio recording was the method of documentation. The texts have been categorized on the basis of similarity in the principle of organization, and contextual circumstances. The task of doing this is not easy, because some of the texts overlap in certain areas, such as their communicative goals. The difficulty encountered in text classification confirms Swales' (1990: 39) observation that it is not easy to classify text types neatly "because categorizations are not necessarily in exclusive opposition". However, using Jean Ure's (1989 as laid out in Matthiessen, 2002¹⁶) method, outlined in Figure 1-4, as a model, I will attempt to classify the

¹⁶ Matthiessen (2002) "Text typology: registers in situation types and contextual structures" Ling 900 Lecture material, Sydney: Macquarie University.

texts types available in my archive into some registers, some of which make up the corpus for the present study.

		written		spoken			
		dialogue	monologue	dialogue			
specialised	1	Letter	Reference book	Lecture	Debate	Expounding	Reflection
		Menu	Textbook				
non-specialised	2	Questionnaire	History	Statement in Evidence	Cross Examination	Reporting	
			Biography				
			News Report				
	3	Comic Strip	Memoir	Radio Commentary	Drama	Recreating	
			Novel		Folk play		
			Stories		Collaborative narrative		
	4	Letter, personal	Diary	Reminiscence	Conversation	Sharing	
	5	Letter, business			Co-operation	Doing	Action
		Invitation			service		
	specialised	6	Letter, agony, aunt	Advertisement	Prayers	Consultation	Recommending
				Blurb			
			Advice		Business messages		
7	Open Letter, exhortation	Act of Parliament	Sermon	Demonstration	Enabling		
		Regulations					
		Know-how					
8	Letter to the editor	Critical Studies	Speech talk (TV)	Discussion	Exploring	Reflection	
		Investigation					

Figure 1-4 "Text types classified by situational factors" © Jean Ure 1989

Jean Ure's principle of classification of texts is based on the concepts of field, tenor, and mode, as developed by Halliday (1985b: 52); Halliday & Hasan (1985 Lang context & text); also see Hasan (1999). The motif for the classification is the kind of linguistic activities that are involved in the discourse. The method has been applied to different text types (registers,

genres)¹⁷. However, as there are no written text samples from the field of data collection, I have extracted out and modified the spoken categories in Jean Ure's table to reflect most of the data in my collection. The shaded portions of the tables represent the data that are not available in Òkó sociolinguistic setting..

		spoken			
		monologue	dialogue		
specialised	1	Lecture	Debate (Argument)	Expounding	Reflection
	2	Statement in Evidence	Cross Examination	Reporting	
	3	Radio Commentary	Drama	Recreating	
		Folk play			
non-specialised	4		Collaborative narrative		
		Reminiscence	Conversation	Sharing	
	5	-	Co-operation Service	Doing	Action
specialised	6	Prayers	Consultation	Recom mending	
		Blurb	Business messages		
	7	Sermon	Demonstration	Enabling	
	8	Speech (TV talk)	Discussion	Exploring	Reflection

Figure 1-5 Text Types sampled for the study extracted from Jean Ure (1989)

I have also worked with data translated from other languages into Òkó. Two of such are *Jouha and the Cook* (tales from the Arabian collection, obtained courtesy of Mohammed Ali-Bardi, a researcher investigating Arabic lexicogrammar) and *The Lion and the Mouse* (obtained; courtesy of Pattama Patpong, a researcher investigating Thai lexicogrammar) — see Appendix I.

¹⁷ See Matthiessen (2002c) for such references as Suzanne Eggins & Di Slade, Susan Feez, Ruqaiya Hasan, J.R. Martin, etc.

Figure 1-6 below contains some of the texts of different categories. A more comprehensive record will be provided in the appendix.

	Text type (Register)	Text Labels
1	Folk narratives	Fi ogben ne igila (FOI)
		Ijouha (IJ)
		The lion and the mouse (L&M)
		Kawa kawa (KK)
		Idenomo (IDM)
2	Recounting historical event	Egbe ife Egbe ife (EI-1)
		Ovia- osese (OVI)
3	Biography	C A O
		Arubi (ARU)
4	Argument	On relationship (ANG)
6	Folk plays	Kpin kpin kpin (KP)
		Pe pe pe (PP)
7	Folk songs	Ogbon' iwo ogben-ikeke (FOS 1)
8	Prayers	Pre-dinner (PR1)
		Pre-meeting (PR2)
		Pre- (PR3)
		Pre-departure (PR4)
9	Interviews	Okpa-uuku (OKP)
		Iresoro-opa (IRE)
		Egbe ife (EI-2)
		Adokojo (ADO)
		Information on market (MKT1)
		Egin owow (EGI)
		Gari price (GAR)
10	Casual conversation	At eba game (EBA)
11	Exhortation (advise)	Pre-meeting (MTN)
		Pre-dinner (DSP1)
		Sunday Ikpo (SUN)
12	Greeting	Iw-iyá (IWR)
		To Eric (ERI)
13	Complaining	Land encroachment (LE)
		Adasi - pad (ADA)
		Motocyclist (lade) (OYI)
14	Consultation	Political visit (POL)
15	Praise-singing (griot)	Owele (PRS)
16	Warning	To O'bbjj to wash car (BBJ)
17	Exploring	Introducing wares in market (MKT2)

Figure 1-6 Some texts in the archive and their codes

The range of texts in the archive is reflective of the reality in the experiential repertoire of Òkó speakers, within their home environment. From the data samples and the process of

gathering them, It has been observed that the domains of human relationship is most developed in the language. Interestingly, this domain of experience was one of which people were most ready to volunteer information. The nouns that undergo pluralisation are in human-related domains. The genre in this domain also reflects largely the socio-economic milieu and circumstances, besides depicting the organization of the Òkó speaking communities and their historical experiences, through a relatively large proportion of the vocabulary. This observation seems to support Swales' (1990: 39) position,

There is interest in discovering in a community which communications are generically typed and what labels are used, as these will reveal elements of verbal behavior which the community considers sociolinguistically salient.

In addition, the data have also been supplemented with a few constructed examples (as I am also a native speaker of the language), in order to cover the full paradigm of aspects of the grammar not typified by any of the texts in the corpus.

1.6.2 Data Transcription and Translation

The transcriptions were done using the orthography that I had proposed (see Chapter 2), on the basis of the recommendation by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (1930: 9), that the writing of African languages be based on the Roman scripts. The same has been used for languages of the same family in the region where Òkó is located, such as Yoruba, Epira, Edo, Igbo, Epira, Akan, etcetera.

For the analysis I have used interlineal glossing and/or free translation, not without some challenges; for as Halliday (1994: xxiv) insinuated, it is not easy to do an absolutely correct transcription of data, let alone a perfect translation from one language to another. One case in Òkó is the phenomenon of polysemy, where a lexical item means several things, sometimes with differences in a cline of semantic domains, for example *su* (“to be”, “to have”, “to marry”, “to exists”, “to keep”, as in *e e su efená su oro yọ ega su ná, a gẹ* “if there be anyone who has someone else in mind (has any grudges against another) let him/her say it”) . This point shall be explored further in Chapter 2. Therefore what I am doing is to approximate meaning as best as possible in the translation process. I claim responsibility for all inadequacies that may be found.

Texts are selected for analysis on the basis of their general orientation. While some texts (e.g. dialogic ones) are more inclined to interpersonal meanings, some are rather oriented towards ideational analysis, and some to textual meaning. Besides the theoretical tools that I will discuss in the next section, I will also use some computational tools to process my data.

These include Wu Canzhong and Christian Matthiessen's SysConc, Matthiessen et al's Sysfan, and Matthiessen's Sysgloss.

1.7 Theoretical Orientation

The description of aspects of a language that already has a long descriptive tradition involves an enormous work, in spite of the fact that linguists involved in such descriptions have other works among which to locate their own description. This onerous task is significantly made more arduous in an endeavour such as the present study, where no such cognate resources exist.

Often there are too many choices to make in any research investigation. One of the first of such decisions is the general orientation of the studies in terms of approach. The decision is complicated in a discipline such as Linguistics, because of long established traditions of different approaches to the study of language in general, and the study of particular languages. Without necessarily tracing the history of the development of Linguistics, we could observe the emergence in modern times of two major traditions, since Ferdinand de Saussure, the Swiss scholar's, seminal work in 1906: these are the formal, and functional approaches. I do not intend to pursue these dichotomous theoretical positions in great detail in the present study, but it is my opinion that a study like mine should be based fundamentally on a sound and empirical (rather than a philosophical or simulated) approach, to be of maximum benefit to the present research task.

Both formal and functional approaches have existed since the classical periods, however, I will limit my brief discussion to the trends that have developed since the middle of the last century; of which Noam Chomsky's Generative tradition represents the formal approach, while Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics represents the functional school¹⁸.

As earlier mentioned, our perception of language informs the approach we adopt in its description. It is important to understand not only the way language is created, but also how language is equipped to perform its functions in the society. We should be able to distinguish between the properties of language and the place of metalanguage in the descriptive process. The formal approach seems to treat language as an artefact, stripped of a context. The formal tradition is one in which language is perceived as a "code" and separated from language as a "behaviour" (Halliday, 1984: 1). It is a tradition where notional and philosophical

¹⁸ See Matthiessen (1995: 1.9) for a detailed comparison of the two traditions.

explanations dominate the whole perception of language. Givón (1979: 2) summarises the characteristics of formal approach as,

The a priori and arbitrary curtailment of the data *base relevant* to the investigation
The rise of the *formalism* as “theory”
The neglect or devaluation of the notion of explanation.

The formal approach fails to recognise the importance of natural or contextualised data, neither does it explain the particularity of the sources of data. In other words, the fact that “different cultures constitute different repertoires of ways of meaning” (Matthiessen, 2004: 10)¹⁹ is not provided for in formal explanation. There is a great focus on syntactic rules, and in a way that does not relate them to the very essence of language, which is meaning making. Meaning is therefore relegated to secondary position, and the scientificness of description is equated with grammatical precision. Grammar becomes theorized as a rule system, embodying explicit rules. Williams (1994: 3) observes that in a formal grammar, grammatical explanation takes the form of a proposal, as opposed to the view of grammar as a proposition as in a functional approach. In a grammatical analysis, “form” is separated from “function”, so that class structure is treated as primary in a description (Matthiessen, 1995: 67).

In this approach also, individual stratum of the language system is studied discretely, without relating it to the overall meaning making process. However, Lemke’s (1991: 28) view represents what kind of description is required for a linguistic description of natural languages:

We need one unified account of meaning-making practices within which both linguistic text production and other forms of semiosis can be modelled and interrelated.

The formal approach tended to dominate linguistic studies for a few decades from the 1950s onward.

In a functional approach, on the other hand, language is perceived as a resource for making meaning (Halliday, 1977; 1994: xxxv; Matthiessen, 1995: 5), with emphasis on how language is organised functionally to do this. It is an approach that developed from the European anthropological tradition with Bronislaw Malinowski (1923ff) as a key reference point. The ‘context of culture’ and ‘context of situation’ (Halliday, 1994), including the user’s actual interactional linguistic behaviour, are to be accounted for in the description of a language. In other words, the focus is on the description of natural language and grammar (or

¹⁹ Matthiessen (2004) “Systemic functional typology: Past results, present progress and future prospects” - seminar material.

rather lexicogrammar). In the approach, it is held that language is not a mere rule system, but a potential for meaning-making. Dik (1978: 6-7) summarized the 3 principles of adequacy which a **functional description** attempts to fulfil, in describing particular languages.

The first of Dik's principles is "pragmatic adequacy", which he explains in the terms, "We want a functional grammar to reveal those properties of linguistic expressions which are relevant to the manner in which they are used, and to do this in a way that they can be related to a description of the rules governing verbal interaction; ...that provides the means for explicitly relating facts ... to description of expressions". The second principle is termed "psychological adequacy" which, according to him, describes the language system, and the third, "typological adequacy", which he claims is capable of providing grammars for typologically quite different languages, while at the same time accounting for similarities and differences between languages. A diametric difference exists between these and the characteristics of the formal approach discussed above. Since the functional approach will constitute our framework for this study, I will return to it in greater detail in the next section.

The formal approach seems to have been the tradition in most of the descriptions that have been done for African languages; for examples, refer to "Maninka" by Shopen, (1979). In the exploration of Òkó grammar however, my emphasis will dwell on the functional framework, which has the characteristics of "interpreting language in relation to its place in peoples' lives" (Halliday, 1984: 7); because "meaning", as Halliday (1975: 65) again explains, "takes place in an environment, not in solitude". The functional approach has the potential of enabling users of the language to see their own relevance in the whole descriptive process and product. I perceive the functional approach therefore as one that is likely to facilitate the achievement of my set objectives in this study. I shall revisit this point.

My descriptive tool will be the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) framework, as developed by Michael Halliday from the 50s onwards; and which has continued to be expanded in delicacy and/or applied to different areas of knowledge by other scholars such as Ruqaiya Hasan, Jim Martin, Christian Matthiessen, Peter Fries, David Butt, Robin Fawcett, Gordon Turker, Martin Davis, Geoff Thompson, Bloor & Bloor, Geoff Williams, Frances Christie, Bill Greaves, John Bateman, Paul Tench, Erich Steiner, Eija Ventola, Suzan Eggins and Diana Slade, Canzhong Wu, Mick O'Donnell, Allison Moore and V. Prakasam, Michael O'Toole, Felix Banda and a host of others. Systemic grammar differs in goals and orientation from formalism, as observable in "its particular choice of mechanism and detail"; see Winograd (1983: 277). Bailey (1985: 1) summarizes the conviction of systemicists like those

above in a phrase: the “notion of ‘**context of situation**’ and the concomitant idea that language does not occur in some sort of **idealized realm** but in the interplay of words and actions as human beings interact with others (or with themselves)”.

1.8 The Systemic Functional Linguistic Approach

The basic organizing principle in the systemic approach is the system of “choices”. The origin of SFL approach to language can be traced back to the European anthropological linguistics tradition, with Bronislaw Malinowski and his contemporary J.R. Firth as the pioneers of the concept of “meaning as a function in context” (see Halliday (1973; 1976; 1985; 1988; 47; Halliday and Hasan, 1985 & Matthiessen, 1991, 2002:1; Winograd, 1983: 272). M.A.K. Halliday developed a coherent functional linguistic theory on the basis of his contact with Firth, his experience in linguistic research, and contact with the functionalist tradition of the Prague School. Halliday (1976: 27) defines a functional theory as being “a theory of language, and is an essential aspect of any theory that attempts to explain the nature of language”. Furthermore, Matthiessen (1984:) explains,

Seeing language in a functional perspective means among other things seeing language as a resource in communication. In particular, grammar is a resource for meaning; grammar enables us to mean.

SFL is a sociologically based theory and one in which language is perceived in its enabling role. As articulated by Rose (2001: 86), language is construed in SFL as evolved,

to enable members of a culture to enact their social relationships, to construe their individual and collective experience of reality and to phase these enactments and construal together as discourse that is meaningful in its social context.

This relates directly to the next point about this theory, which is that the SFL approach gives the prime of place to meaning in its analysis of a language. From the SFL perspective, every language constitutes a semiotic resource engaged in making meaning. In this way it again differs from the formal approach in both its goal and orientation. For example, while the goal of the Chomskyan School of linguistics is to produce a universal grammar - that is, to attempt to discover formal features that are common to all human languages - SFL has as its goal;

to develop comprehensive account that brings out the particular character of a given language...treating it in its own right rather than as a variant of a universal motif that is actually based on Latin, English or some other dominant language...The point is that the description of particular languages should be designed to bring out the special features of these languages; they should not make them look like variants of some universal codes derived from English, Latin or some other language with which linguists have had abundant experience. (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen et al, 2004: 7-8)

Language does not just function as a means of labelling a pre-existing world of realities. It creates and organises the world into meaningful categories in a way relative to every group of language users. It is a **meaning potential**.

In SFL, language is foregrounded as the resource for making meaning — a semiotic system. The relationship between grammar and semantics is a natural one (Halliday 1978, 1994; Matthiessen, 1991a: 72; Matthiessen, Lukin, Butt, Cleirigh & Nesbitt, 2005). Halliday refers to it as a “social semiotic”. There are other types of semiotic systems such as art, music, mores, fashion, etcetera, which also have to do with signification; but language is regarded as a different type of semiotic system (Halliday and Hasan, 1985: 3 & Eggins, 1994: 16) — a **higher-order semiotic** (Matthiessen, 2002:1 & Caffarel 2004: 9, emphasis theirs). This SFL view of language, as not just a sign system, is implied in Halliday’s explanation of what kind of semiotics it is: Halliday (1984: 34) defines it as,

any act, linguistic or otherwise, that projects cultural meanings and can be interpreted as the realization of such meanings.

A semiotic system comprises three features, namely (i) meaning, (ii) encoding (realization) of meaning, and (iii) the expression of meaning. The content of meaning is realized by a sign which is then expressed physically, Eggins (1994: 14).

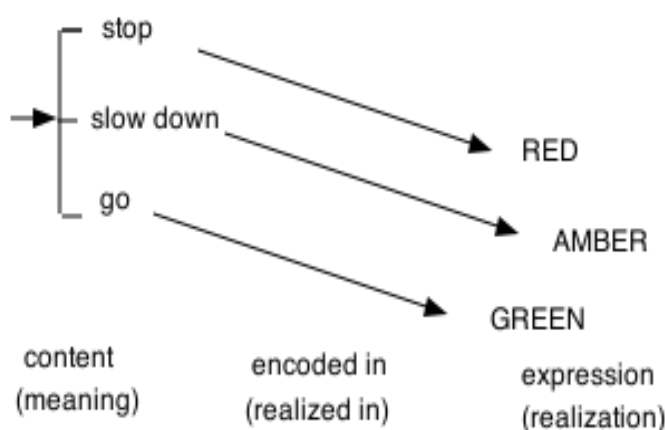


Figure 1-7 Illustration of a semiotic system (after Eggins (1994: 14))

A linguistic meaning is realised by lexicogrammar, and expressed by sound or graphic sign, while a non-linguistic meaning is realized directly through other sign systems. Figure 1-8, adapted from Eggins (1994: 18), shows the difference between linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic systems.

	Traffic Lights	Language
CONTENT	meaning	meaning
		wordings
EXPRESSION	lighting	sounds

Figure 1-8 Contrast between language and other semiotic systems (adapted from Eggins (1994: 18))

Halliday (July 1998)²⁰, in a plenary lecture, specifies at least three reasons why the linguistic semiotic system differs from other semiotic systems:

- i. It is the only one that embodies all human experience and all human relationships;
- ii. It is the only semiotic system with which it is possible to talk about other systems;
- iii. It naturally evolved as a semiotic system whereas others evolved in other contexts.

In addition to this, language is the only semiotic system with which “one makes more than one kind of meaning at the same time” (Matthiessen, 2002c: 1) — it is multifunctional, and multidimensional. I shall take up this point in the discussion of the dimensions of language in Section 1.10.

Related to the reasons above is the fact that while each of the other semiotic systems are kinds of codes, merely signifying or signalling some other things, language is creative — semogenic (Halliday, 1994: 261). How meaning is created is a question one might want to explore a little further.

1.9 Language and the Creation of Meaning

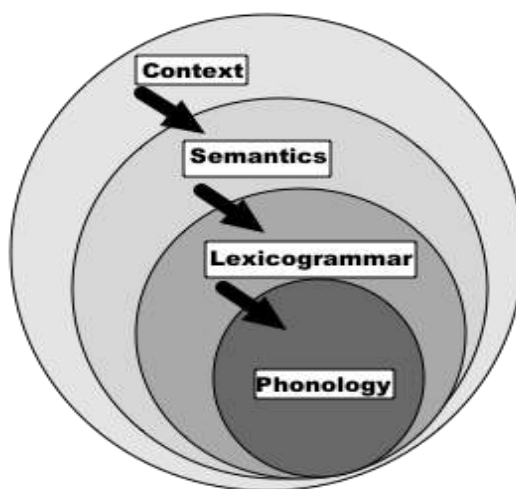
In systemic thinking, language is viewed as a complex semiotic system in the service of meaning creation. The act of creating meaning is referred to as **semogenesis**. Language is organized stratally to do this (see Ventola, 1988: 54). The levels of stratification are,

²⁰ ISFC25 Institute in Cardiff.

basically, context, meaning, wording and sounding. Each stratum or level, as it is otherwise known, is related to another through the principle of realisation (Matthiessen, 2002: 53).

Hasan (1996: 106) defines context as “the activator of a speaker’s meaning”. In other words, it provides the resource for meaning (the semantic system). Meaning is then encoded in wording (the lexicogrammatical system), and wording is expressed in sound (the phonological system) or graphic/writing (the graphological system) — (Halliday, 1994: xx; Hasan, 1999: 6). Language creates and organises context into meaningful units, which we refer to as texts (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Such texts will constitute the object of my lexicogrammatical exploration of Òkó in this study.

The level of context, which is first in the hierarchy of the stratificational organization of language, is considered outside the linguistic system. But context provides the sociocultural environment for the realization of meaning, and the sociocultural environment comprises the world around and inside us, that is made real through language (Martin, 1988: 244; Matthiessen, 1995).



**Figure 1-9 Realizational relationship between linguistic strata
(Matthiessen, 2002c: 54)**

1.9.1 Context

Context, in the widest sense, encapsulates the culture of the speakers of a language, and more explicitly is made up of a particular situations that bring about the creation of a text. The former is described as the “context of culture”, while the latter is the “context of situation” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 1985). These two entail the total environment (verbal and non-verbal) for meaning. The cultural environment includes different domains of social activities, such as agricultural, economic, political, educational, scientific contexts, etc – simply any

potential field for meaning-making. Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 12;) identify the three major variables of context as “field”, “tenor”, and “mode” (of discourse) (see Hasan, 1999:14; Swales, 1990: 40 also). Field is the domain of experience (activities) construed by language; tenor represents the social roles and relations enacted through language; and mode refers to the role played by language in organizing the context. So each context represents a categorization of our experience of the world in terms of the three variables above. The context determines what type of text will occur (Caffarel Martin & Matthiessen, 2004: 18). Text is a manifestation of the meaning made of the context. It is the “language that is functional”: that is, “that is doing some job in some context...a semantic unit” (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:10). Therefore, a text is an instantiation (the process and product) of some context (Matthiessen, 1995a). Context is considered a semiotic system on its own (‘connotative semiotic’) — Nesbitt and Plum (1988: 10), although a semiotic system that can only be expressed through language or some other semiotic system.

1.9.2 Semantics

Next in the hierarchy of the stratification of language is the level of semantics, which is the resource for meaning — meaning potential, or “what the speaker can mean” (Halliday, 1973: 72). Semantics directly realizes the context, serving as the interface between context and lexicogrammar, which is the wording of meaning (Matthiessen, 1995a: 5; 2003b). There is a natural relationship between the level of meaning and the level of wording. (Halliday, 1994: xvii; Hasan & Martin, 1989: 5; Matthiessen, 1991a: 72; 1998: 3). I will discuss the three major modes of meaning: ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning, shortly.

1.9.3 Lexicogrammar

Lexicogrammar, or grammar for short, is a resource for making and expressing meanings as wordings, both instantially as text and generally as system. We say that the grammar realizes the semantics. Halliday (1996) uses the term “grammatics” to refer to the metalanguage for studying the phenomenon of grammar. Thus, my research uses systemic functional grammatics to explore the grammar of Òkó.

This SFL conception of grammar differs from that of the traditional grammar, but also from that of modern formal grammars: grammar is construed as a resource, rather than as a rule system. “Grammar creates and reflects the higher level organisation of text” (Cumming and Ono, 1997: 122). Lexicogrammar stands in a natural relationship to semantics: both meaning and wording constitute the content plane of language.

Lexicogrammar includes both lexis and grammar (see e.g. Halliday, 1961; Hasan, 1987; Matthiessen, 1995; Tucker, 1997). These are not interpreted as separate phenomena to be modelled in distinct “modules”, but rather as zones, within a single lexicogrammatical continuum, defined by the cline of delicacy. The cline of delicacy extends from the most general — the grammatical zone — to the most delicate — the lexical zone, and these two zones shade into one another in the region of the cline of intermediate delicacy.

The units of lexicogrammar are organised into a rank scale. I will discuss this in Section 1.11.

1.9.4 Phonology/Graphology

The lexicogrammar is then realised as sound (phonology), writing (graphology), or sign. These three constitute the levels at which language as a semiotic system interfaces with material forms of expression (phonetics in the case of speech, graphetics in the case of writing). Unlike the natural relationship between semantics and lexicogrammar within the content plane, the relationship between system of phonology and the system of lexicogrammar is between the content plane and the expression plane, and is thus basically arbitrary. Note that while a realizational relationship holds as one moves from the higher stratum to the next below, a construal relationship obtains as one moves from below to the level above.

1.10 The Dimensions in Language

Describing a language as a meaning potential entails exploring how language is organized in all its dimensions. Stratification of language, discussed in Section 1.9 is one of its dimensions. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 19) summarize these different perspectives from which a natural language can be explored namely: “(i) as text and as system, (ii) as sound, as writing and as wording, (iii) as structure – configuration of parts, and (iv) as resource – choices among alternatives”. These dimensions cover the “theory and description”²¹ of language, and with them one can locate the “semiotic address” of one’s description of different linguistic phenomena – an address defined in terms of the dimensions according to which we draw our map or maps of the system, when exploring language as a resource (Butt, 1996). A typical SFL description is therefore a multidimensional one, relating the dimension of stratification to those of metafunction, constituency (rank and axis), and instantiation; and

²¹ For detailed explanation and interaction of these two concepts, see Halliday (1979 and 2002), Rose (2001: Chapter 2), Caffarel et al. (2004) and Matthiessen (2002c).

perhaps relating what one discovers to the general theory of language (Matthiessen, 2002c: 4; Matthiessen & Nesbitt, 1995: 26), see Figure 1-15.

1.10.1 Metafunction

One dimension of organization of language is that of the spectrum of metafunction. The grammar organizes the clause into functional components of meaning described in terms of metafunctions. There are three types of meaning systems that operate simultaneously in a text, at the rank of the clause. These are (i) ideational (ii) interpersonal, and (iii) textual metafunctional meanings (Halliday, 1994).

1.10.1.1 Ideational system of meaning

The ideational system is the “resource for *construing* our experience of the phenomena in the world around and inside us” as meaning (Matthiessen, 1995a: 17). It construes meaning as the organization of experience (experiential meaning), and relates one experience to another logically (logical meaning) — (Halliday, 1994: Chapter 5). An instantial ideational system is the configuration of meanings created in a text that would be characterized as “knowledge’ in a cognitivist framework”. (Matthiessen, 1995b: 4). At the lexicogrammatical level, ideational meaning allows us to configure the clause as a quantum of change in our experience of the flow of events in the world inside or outside us (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). These systems allow users to choose different kinds of processes, with their attendant participants and circumstances. The ideational grammar will constitute the subject matter of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

1.10.1.2 The interpersonal system of meaning

The interpersonal system is the resource for *enacting* social roles and relations as meaning in dialogic exchange - “an enactment of semiosis” (Matthiessen, 1991a: 92). It is the speaker’s on-going intrusion into the speech situation (Halliday, 1979: 67; Bailey 1985: 8; Matthiessen, 1995b: 2). The resource enables the speaker to exchange or interact with the listener, performing the social giving or demanding of information or goods-&-services (Halliday, 1994), with particular attitude, judgement and motive, which can be inferred from the choices made at the lexicogrammar (De Joia & Stenton, 1980: 41). The interpersonal metafunction is manifested lexicogrammatically through the system of MOOD, enhanced by other systems such as POLARITY and MODALITY. Terms in these systems tend to be realized prosodically. Delicate distinctions within each mood are further made by the features of tone systems, and particles. The interpersonal system will form the focus of Chapter 4 in this thesis.

1.10.1.3 The textual meaning system

The textual metafunction is the resource for *organising* the ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared. It deals with the role language plays in the construction of the text in context. The textual metafunction enables the ideational and interpersonal meanings to be woven into the “fabric of linguistic structure” (Halliday 1973: 42). The role of the textual metafunction in organising the clause as a message, or quantum of information, is further explained in Matthiessen (1991b: 10) as follows:

Textually, the clause is organized as a piece of discourse (within a larger discourse); two peaks of prominence fall within the domain of the clause, one peak of thematicity realized by sequential prominence (initial position) and one peak of newsworthiness realized by intonational prominence (location of the tonic). The thematic peak is followed by a trough of non-prominence; and the trough of non-prominence as news builds up towards the peak of prominence (again followed by non-prominence).

In textual grammar, the text itself is the main focus. The method of development of the text within a context is explored, the method of organization within and between clauses in the texts is accounted for, and how the speaker accords saliency to parts of the clause, in constructing the discourse, is observed. These are realized through the THEME and the INFORMATION FOCUS systems of the clause. The modes of realization of these systems (either through positional prominence or other strategies) are also explored. Another concern of the textual grammar is the way a text hangs together cohesively and coherently (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; 1995; Eggins, 1994: 13).

The textual metafunction provides the speaker with the resources for contextualizing the ideational and interpersonal meanings, giving them the status of information. Textual meaning is a consequence of the internal organization of the message according to the particular medium selected for transmission (Malcolm, 1985: 136). The textual systems in Òkó grammar will be explored in Chapter 3.

All the three metafunctional meanings function simultaneously in clauses, in a discourse.

1.11 The rank dimension

The dimension of the rank scale describes hierarchical arrangement of linguistic units according to size. There are four units on the Òkó lexicogrammatical rank scale, namely, **clause, group/phrase, word and morpheme**, as illustrated below

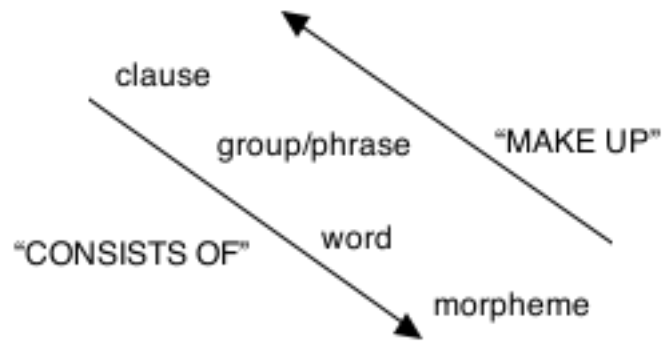


Figure 1-10 Lexicogrammatical rank scale

Each unit on the rank scale consists of one or more of the units immediately below it, as indicated by the arrow pointing down. Alternatively, the relationship can be stated in reverse order, moving up the rank scale, as one or more units constituting/making up the a unit above it. The rank of clause makes up the intersecting point between the levels of meaning and lexicogrammar. Clauses are combined through logical relations to make up “clause complexes” (Halliday, 1994) — what the traditional grammarians refer to as “sentence”; but the relationship between clause and clause complex is not one of rank-based constituency, but rather one of interdependency relations (cf. Matthiessen, 2002). In Òkó grammar, much work is done at the group/phrase rank, and the line between group/phrase and word can sometimes be difficult to draw. I will illustrate this in Chapter 2.

1.12 The dimension of axis

The dimension of axis is another important principle in the organization of language. This dimension deals with the relations of elements at each stratum or rank of a language. Elements can be organised in two kinds of way, namely by opposition in the form of choice among options, or by sequence in the form of chain (e.g. Halliday, 1963; Berry, 1975). The organizing principle of choice brings about a **paradigmatic** relation, while the organizing principle of sequence brings about a **syntagmatic** relation. The organization of options along the paradigmatic axis (which represent potential choices) yields a **system**. The sequential organization of elements yields a **structure** (see Halliday, 1994: 15-16; Matthiessen, 1995a: Section 1.1.2; Egins, 1994: Section 7.2.1 for detailed discussion of the dimension of axis).

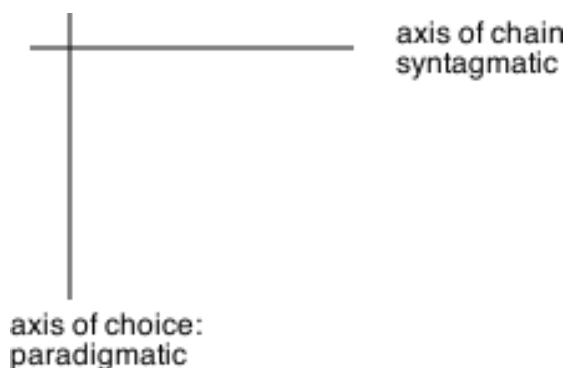


Figure 1-11 Paradigmatic & syntagmatic axes

The principles of the rank scale and axis (fractal principles of organization) operate at every linguistic subsystem (Matthiessen 2002c: 27).

1.12.1.1 System

A system can be described as an arrangement of contrastive options with an entry condition, from which a choice must be made. A group of interrelated systems constitutes a system network. Figure 1-12 below is an example of a system network with the clause as the entry condition.

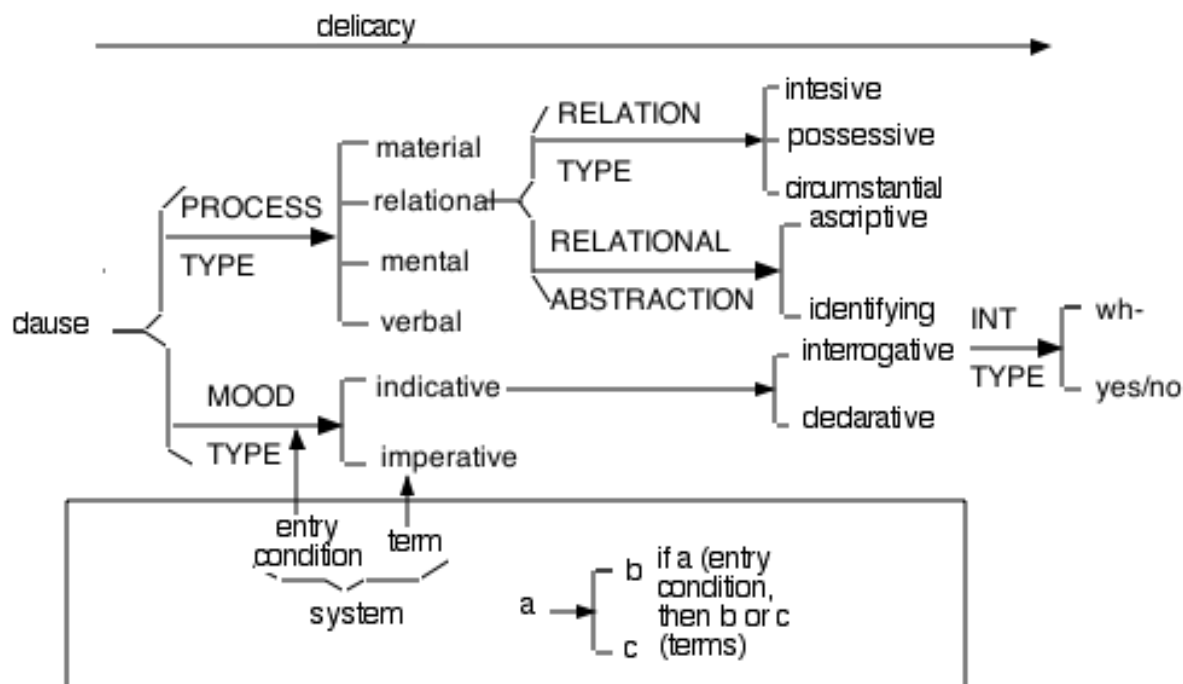


Figure 1-12 An example of a system network with material clause as its entry condition (Matthiessen 1995a: 13)

Every system has an entry condition, which specifies where that system is located in the overall systemic description. A movement to the right of a system network is a movement in

“delicacy”. However, any point of the system can be instantiated. The system network models the choices available in a speech event in a particular context. The principle of organization in a system is that of substitutionality. Every term in the system is a potential choice in the creation of a text. In every linguistic event, continuous choices are being made, and every choice made mutually excludes other options in the system. Choice processes are semiotic.

The concept of system is fundamental to systemic functional description. All dimensions and domains of language are defined by the role they play in the system of language.

1.12.1.2 Structure

The resources of structure organize elements linearly, in a sequence. Structure therefore is the ordering of elements in a chain. The organizing principle is that of combinatorial possibility. An element is defined by the functional properties that enables it to combine with other elements in the string. Some units in Òkó may be structured in the following ways:

VCV (phonological syllable structure)

ε k ɔ̃

(ekɔ̃)

Subject ^ Predicator ^ Complement ^ Adjunct ^ Negotiator (interpersonal
Wo ogben e tiye eguru eḡeḡe go clause structure)

Paradigmatic choices are a prerequisite for the organization into syntagmatic chains. Actually, structures are the outcome or realization of systemic choices. Structures are statements of “how features in the system network are realized...through a piece of wording” (Matthiessen, 1995a: 19): expressions of choices made from the system network, as indicated in Figure 1-13:

	potential	instantiation →	instance
system (paradigmatic)	system network		selection expression
realization →			
structure (syntagmatic)	realization statements [structural potential]		structure [structural instance]

Figure 1-13 Structures as realization statements

1.12.2 Instantiation

In 1.7.6.1 I discussed the system as the meaning potential of a language. Instantiation is the process that relates the system potential and actual text of a language. Instances are instantiations of specific terms in a system network by text: it is the process of selecting from

the set of options that make up the meaning potential. System potential and text are at either ends of the cline of instantiation: in other words, “the cline of instantiation extends language along a continuum” (Matthiessen 2002c: 28).

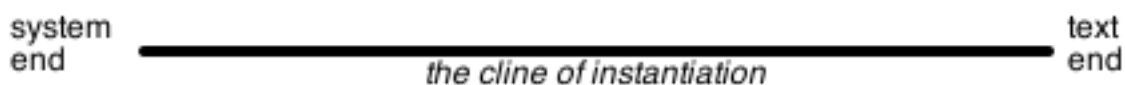


Figure 1-14 The cline of instantiation showing the system end and the text end

Every instance of a text instantiates a part of the system potential: a term in the system network. The terms in a system network are decided and described by features that are observable in the text of a language.

1.13 Summary

I started this chapter by giving a kind of background to the study as a whole: I discussed my motivation, purpose, and the justification for the study. I introduced Òkó as source language for the study, locating it geographically as one of the minority languages in Nigeria, and then went on to provide the sociolinguistic and political contexts in which the language exists.

Another important dimension is the attempt to locate Òkó in a linguistic context. Reasons were provided as to why I opine that the language is typologically in the West Benue-Congo family, where Kay Williamson (2000) recently classifies it, genetically, but without such specific evidence as I have provided. I also described the kind of data for the study, and the environment and circumstances characterizing the sampling processes.

I then defined the theoretical basis as the Systemic Functional Linguistic approach, predicated on the fact that it is meaning based, seeing language as a resource; therefore, it is most suitable for exploring language in general, and specific languages such as Òkó that do not have existing description. SFL is also suitable for “Building up ... description from scratch using only the general theory as a guide” (Caffarel et al., 2004: 23), and it is acclaimed for its characteristics of “total accountability” Butler (1985). Furthermore, I briefly surveyed the concerns of SFL, which include its perspective on language, and the various dimensions and domains of description, including the hierarchy of stratification, the spectrum of metafunctions, the scale of ranks and the cline of instantiation.

Butt (2003: 35) succinctly summarizes some of the advantages in using the SFL approach thus:

The grammar not only helps the language teacher, and not only supports the investigation of culture through wording, but it also provides certain principles – principles of stratification, of functional orientation, of constituency, of generalisability, which grounds an argument.

The descriptive programme that has accelerated in the last decade and a half or so brings out the advantages summarized in the quote – extending to French, German, Finnish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Thai, etc. Therefore, I believe that a framework for analysis based on an approach of this description would be best suited for the overall purpose of this study. The product will not only be a document about the language, for preservation, it can also serve as a basis for the production of literacy materials, as well as motivate series of activities, which will assist in preserving the endangered language that I identify Ọ̀kọ́ as, as well as providing a template for similar projects with other languages.

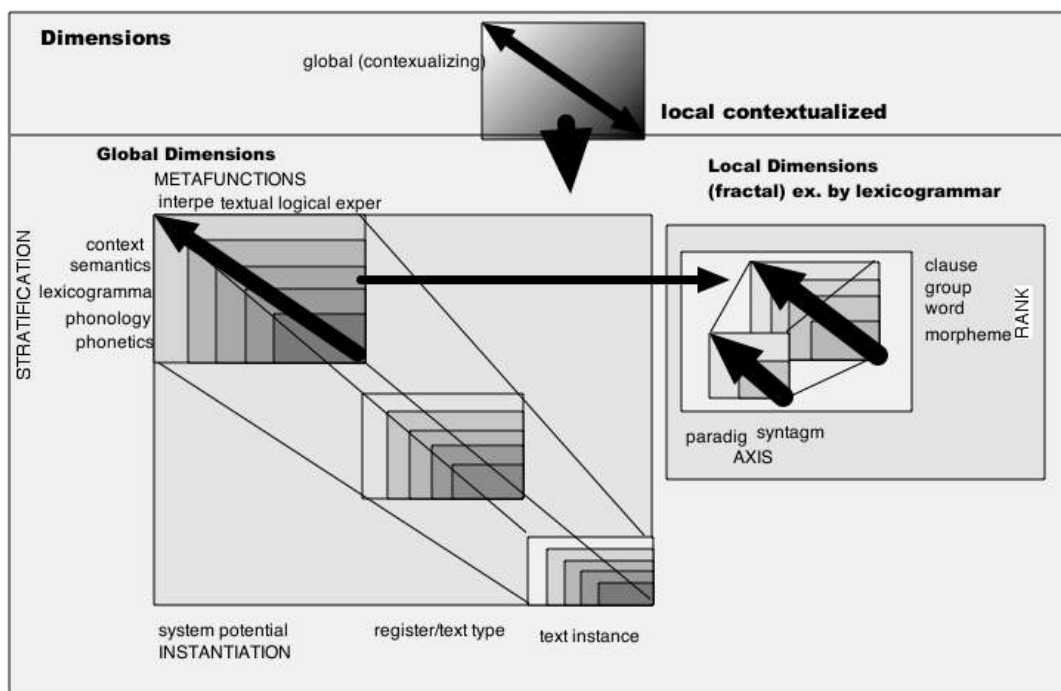


Figure 1-15 Multidimensional organization of language (Matthiessen, 2004c: 11)

1.14 Outline of the Chapters

In this section, I discuss briefly the way I have organized the thesis.

Chapter 1 is a general introduction to the thesis (a text-based lexicogrammatical analysis of Ọ̀kọ́). In the chapter, I have stated the purpose of the study and discussed the source and description of my data for the study. I have also explained the analytical tools, and attempted a brief statement of the general approach taken in the study. I explained my preference for the

Systemic Functional Linguistics as the approach upon which I am basing the interpretation of Ọ̀kọ́ Grammar.

Chapter 2 will attempt a general exploration of the grammar of Ọ̀kọ́, giving a kind of profile of the grammar. I will begin the survey of the organization of the grammar from below, at the expression plane, which encompasses the systems of sounding and writing (phonology and graphology). I will then proceed to the content plane where I will explore the resources for meaning and its wording (semantic and lexicogrammatical systems); then I will outline the systems at the context plane, thus proceeding according to the hierarchy of the stratification.

In Chapters 3 to 5, I will attempt the description at the content plane in some detail, exploring how the method of organization at the lexicogrammatical systems is related to the realisation of the semantic systems. Patterns of appropriate texts in my corpus sourced from their natural context of occurrence will be studied in order to ‘excavate’ their perceivable lexicogrammatical organizing principles. Each main resource in the metafunctional spectrum of analysis will be focused upon for each chapter.

Chapter 3 is devoted to textual systems, which construct the ideational and interpersonal meanings as information. I will explore the resources for organizing the “clause as a message” (Halliday, 1994: Chapter 3). The role of the systems of THEME and INFORMATION FOCUS in this regard will be highlighted.

Chapter 4 will be devoted to the exploration of the clause as a resource for interaction. The use of Ọ̀kọ́ to enact social roles as meaning will be examined. The MOOD system will be studied as the basic potential. The various moods that congruently realise different speech roles will be discussed, but I also intend to examine the possibility of non-congruent cases. The functions of systems such as of POLARITY, MODALITY, which work in conjunction with the mood in an exchange, will also be described, as well as features such as tones and particles, that extend the delicacy of terms of the MOOD system.

Chapter 5 will explore the resources for construing our experience of the flow of events into quanta of change as meaning. How experience is construed as a process will be explored: I will describe the process types in Ọ̀kọ́, and the various ways each organizes our experience as meaning.

Chapter 6 will summarize and outline some of the notable observations, findings and conclusions. It will also suggest some areas for further research. The thesis will also be supplied with a series of appendices.

2 Exploring Ọ̀kọ̀

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will give a general overview of Ọ̀kọ̀ language at various levels of description — a kind of lexicogrammatical profile of the language. In other words, I will explore the various resources available to users of the language in creating and expressing meaning (Matthiessen 1995a). Particularly, I will provide a brief survey of features at the expression plane, examining the resources for sounding — phonology. I will then preview in very general terms the Ọ̀kọ̀ meaning and wording potentials – the phenomena at the content plane (Halliday, 1992: 20; 1994: xvii Hasan, 1999:3; Martin, 1992; Matthiessen1991a: 71; 1995a: 2; in press: 3; also see Eggins, 1994: 19; Malcolm, 1985: 136). The environments for meaning and wording (context) will also be briefly described. This comprises the various socio-semiotic activities that motivate the exchange of meaning.

Naturally, the procedure that begins the description from the context plane through the content plane to the expression plane, which replicates the fashion in which meaning is exchanged between two people in any language (from production to consumption of meaning), would be the ideal. Describing the phonological system would make possible the development of a systematic orthography, upon which the transcription of the data can be based. The method of organization in the chapter will therefore be an expansive one. That implies that I will begin the description “from below” as it were (the lowest stratum) and work up the linguistic stratal hierarchy, as mentioned in Chapter 1. This will also constitute the general pattern of approach in dealing with other dimensions of the description involving hierarchical principle of organization through the chapters.

Error! Reference source not found. represents an approximate overview of what I intend to cover in this study. It is a kind of map, modelling the “semiotic territory”²² in the development of a description for Ọ̀kọ̀, so that at any stage of the description I am able to locate my “semiotic address” (Butt, 1996).

²² See Matthiessen “Language sketch: German” Chapter 1, Manuscript.

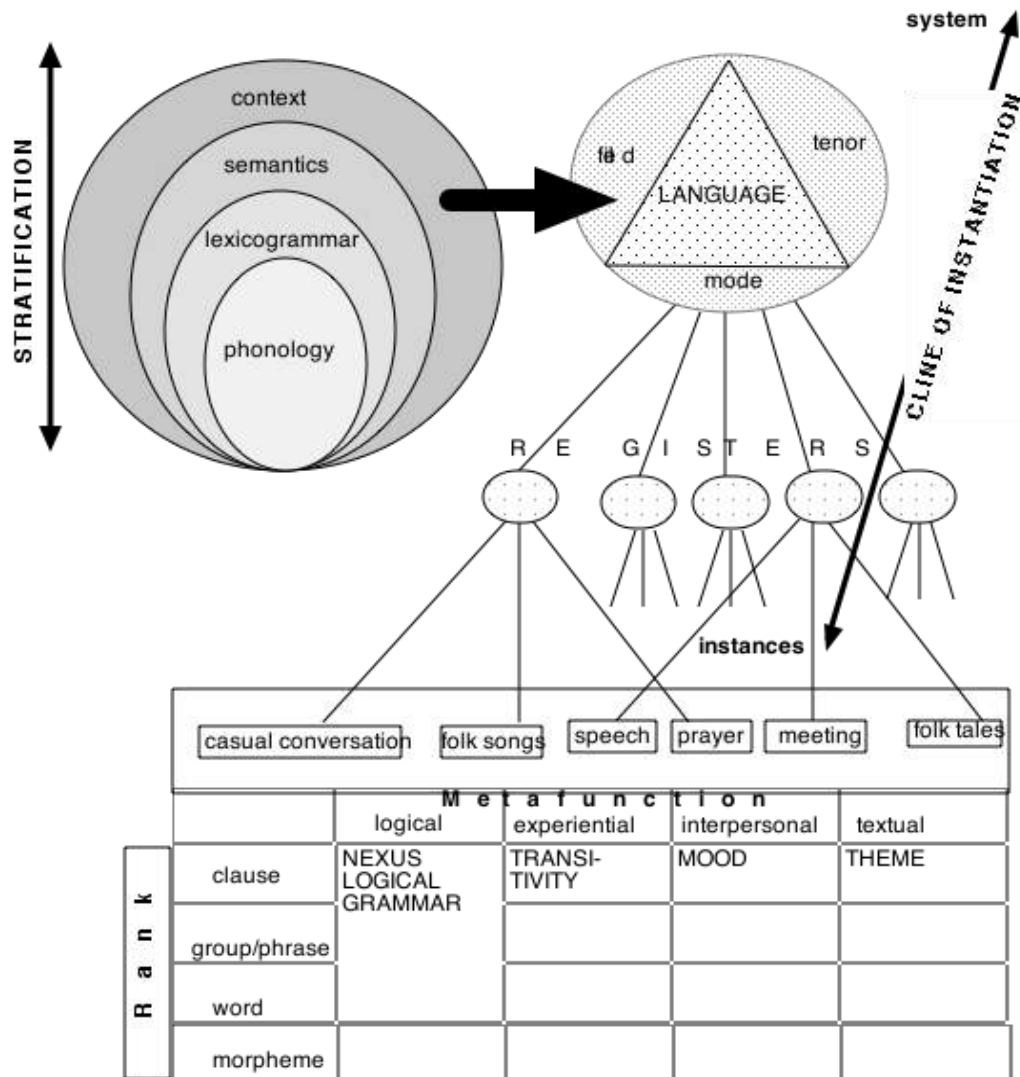


Figure 2-1 A semiotic map of the study

I will explore the grammar of Ọkọ paying attention to the systemic potentials located at the different strata (levels) of the stratal hierarchy as shown in Figure 21 - a semiotic map of the study. I will begin at the stratum of expression: sound [phonology] and writing [graphology]. I will explore the internal structure of the sub-systems of the phonological system. These will be linked to how they determine choices at the co-level of the graphological system. This is a horizontal relation of levels within the same expression plane. The expression level will then be linked vertically to the levels of content within the content plane: wording [lexicogrammar] and meaning [semantics].

I will then focus on the lexicogrammatical stratum, describing the options within the sub-systems and the structural patterns that realise them. In other words, I will be exploring the

organization of systems in the rank matrix. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the relationship between the semantic and lexicogrammatical levels is a natural one (rather than a conventional, or “arbitrary” one), so I will begin to explore how meaning is systemically differentiated through the patterns at the lexicogrammar stratum. In the hierarchy of the rank scale, I will begin with the rank of clause, exploring the general systems at that rank, namely the systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME. I will examine the structural functions that realize each of these systems. This will naturally lead us to the resources at the rank of group/phrase, whose structural functions combine to make up the clause. The next concern will then be the relationship between the rank of group/phrase and the rank of word. At that stage, it will be important to explore the various functions of the word and how they realize systems at the group/phrase rank. At the rank of word, I will focus on both the functions and classes of words. I will then discuss the patterning of morphemes in the processes of realizing words.

At the semantic stratum, the general systems of the lexicogrammar mentioned above will be linked to their metafunctional meaning component that each realizes. The metafunctional matrix will then be linked to the description of the contextual dynamics they typify.

2.2 Expression plane: phonological/ graphological stratum

2.2.1 Phonology

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of the phonological systems of Ọ̀kọ̀. This is essential, considering that the knowledge of how the language patterns at the expression plane is fundamental to analyses at the higher strata. A meaningful and acceptable writing system, as one of the objectives of the research suggests, needs to be based on a carefully scrutinized and scientifically described sound system. The knowledge of the phonological system will also serve as an argument for whatever suggestion I make for the inclusion of any orthographic character in the Ọ̀kọ̀ alphabet.

The only work known to have been done in the area of the sound system is my BA dissertation (Akerejola, 1985) and subsequent conference articles. In the work, I had used Daniel Jones’ (1967) “Minimal Distinctive” as well as Abercrombie (1967) “Contrastive” methods to isolate individual phonemes that pattern in minimal pairs. However, since “meaning potential” is the main motif in the present study, the recognition of units in the Ọ̀kọ̀ phonological system is based on what each such item contributes to the distinction in meaning at the higher strata. Phonemes will be recognised in terms of how they make distinctions in

lexical meaning. Prosodic tones will be isolated on the basis of how they contribute to interpersonal meanings in the grammar.

The phonological system of a language is the deployment of the human phonetic potential (cf. Catford, 1977; 1994: 187) as an expressive resource for that language. Phonology is realized by phonetics — the bodily manifestation in articulation and perception of phonological patterns. The phonological systems of all languages are organized internally in terms of a phonological rank scale ranging from the largest phonological units to the smallest, with each unit being the point of origin of one or more phonological systems. Languages vary in number of ranks. In the phonology of Òkó, there are four ranks: **tone group**, **foot**, **syllable** and **phoneme**:

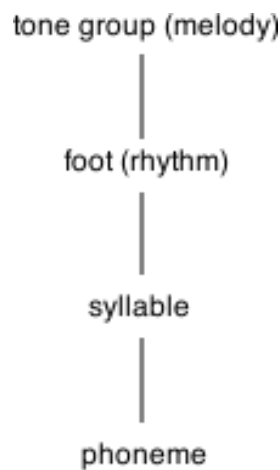


Figure 2-2 The phonological rank scale

As in Figure 2-2 above, the **tone group** is the highest-ranking unit in Òkó phonology. A tone group is made up of one or more feet; a foot is made up of one or more syllables and a syllable is made up of one or more phonemes (Halliday, 1994). Each unit is the domain of a different kind of phonological patterning: the tone group is the domain of melody (intonation), the foot is the domain of rhythm, and the syllable is the domain of articulation, organizing phonemes into patterns. In this chapter, I will discuss each of these units of the phonological rank scale, although rather briefly²³.

A phoneme is the smallest unit of articulation realized by the movement of the human articulatory organs. The phonemes listed in this study are, from my observation, those that show systemic contrast between two meaningful sounds (in accordance with Catford's (1984: 198) definition of a phoneme, each of which would, at least, realize part of a syllable in Òkó.

²³ See Akerejola (1985) for a detailed description the phonology of Òkó.

Like everything else in language, phonemes can be described “trinocularly” — “from above”, “from roundabout” and “from below”. Different definitions of the phoneme have tended to foreground one or other of these perspectives. For example, Daniel Jones foregrounded the perspective “from below” with his notion of the phoneme as a “family of sounds”, whereas the American structuralists foregrounded the perspective “from roundabout” with their appeal to distributional patterns. But for this study, the approach to the description of Òkó phonemes will be trinocular.

The following examples in English illustrate the kind of systemic contrast that informs the isolation of phonemes in Òkó.

	A	B
(i)	sit	fit
(ii)	sit	sat
(iii)	sit	sip

Table 2-1 Minimal pairs: English phonemes

In (i) above, there is a systemic contrast between /f/ in **B** and /s/ in **A**, the result of which is the realization of two different meaningful sounds in English - "sit" and "fit" respectively. Similar contrasts can be observed between the medial sound in (ii) and the final sound in (iii). The same principle also works for features of prosody. Let me again illustrate with the English stress pattern as in the following examples:

	A		B
i.	'import	to	im'port
ii.	'conflict	to	con'flict
iii.	'rebel	to	re'bel
iv.	'novel	to	no'vel

Table 2-2 Minima pairs: English stress pattern

A change in the stress pattern of the English word from **A** to **B** is not only lexically contrastive but also plays a grammatical role by changing **A** from noun to verb in **B**. Similarly, an alteration in stress in some cases, such as in example (iv), can lead to a systemic contrast in meaning. Articulating the same utterance such as "yes" (rising) to "yes" (falling) tones and "thank you" corresponds to an attitudinal change. Through the minimal pairs approach, the phonemes of a language are not only isolable but also distinguishable in terms

of their quality and quantity. In addition, this approach also facilitates their grouping into their respective “families”.

The same principle has been used to isolate the phonemes for Ọ̀kọ́ language after a long period of observation of oral texts in my speech corpora. **Error! Reference source not found.** below contains a transcription of a short excerpt from one of the texts in the corpus, excerpt from “ISJ: Family Relationship” (see Appendix 1).

Speakers	Text	Phonetic Transcription
S:	<i>Èra be e ye Ipita?</i>	/ <u>èra</u> <u>bè</u> e <u>jè</u> <u>ipita</u> a/
M:	<i>Pita ọ̀nẹ̀ fọ̀ laipẹ̀ ọ̀nẹ̀ na.</i>	/pita <u>ọ̀nẹ̀</u> <u>fọ̀</u> <u>laipẹ̀</u> ọ̀nẹ̀ na/
D:	<i>Pita Ejamgbadi. Ayẹ a cẹ̀lẹ̀ mọ̀ ẹ̀mama</i>	/pita e <u>dʒ</u> <u>ã</u> <u>gbadi</u> aje a <u>tʃ</u> ɛɛ <u>m</u> ɔ ɛmama/
M:	<i>iya ogben ka at'ẹ wa. Wiya a cẹ̀lẹ̀ mọ̀, I gwe, ẹ̀ sẹ̀ owiya.</i>	/Ija oogbè <u>ka</u> at'ɛ <u>wa</u> / /wija a tʃɛjɛ mɔ /I <u>gwe</u> / /ɛ <u>sɛ</u> <u>oyija</u> /
D:	<i>Ipita Ejamgbadi, wiya aka mọ̀ ẹ̀mama o. nẹ̀ wiya, iya ọ̀yẹ̀rẹ̀ a ba ba.</i>	/Ipita e <u>dʒ</u> amgbadi wija aka mɔ ɛmama ọ̀nẹ̀ <u>wija</u> ija ɔjɛ <u>rɛ</u> a ba ba/
M:	<i>Ayẹ I cin y'ayẹ ka Ofe Ọ̀kpa, gana tẹ̀ kpakpa siye siye a? a a kẹ̀ gba mọ̀ ọ̀rikpokpo a kẹ̀ gan mọ̀, ki I ka ayẹ ọ̀da-oogben, amẹ̀ ẹ̀ẹ̀hn. Ayẹ aka hummm, amẹ̀ ime tebi owo, ọ̀yẹ̀rẹ̀ tẹ̀ wa go. A wa aka iya ogben ayẹ̀ tẹ̀ wa go. Ẹ̀kena worẹ̀ ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀ a ca yọ uboo na, a ca iya, ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀ lakata a ca ayọ uboo, ada ka ọ̀ ẹ̀kẹ̀na nẹ̀nẹ̀ ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀ aka gba je na, e tiye je. "Obin oogben ọ̀nẹ̀ be su ya ẹ̀fa okẹ̀ka na ayẹ̀ a worẹ̀ e ve a ca go". E siye akọ̀ lẹ̀ ye mu. "iyaaa! Oda tẹ̀ wa? "Oda tẹ̀ wa, iya ogben ayẹ̀ tẹ̀ wa go. " Owọ̀ họn?</i>	/ayɛ i ʃi ka <u>ofe</u> ɔpka gana tɛ kpakpa siye siye a/ /a a kɛ gba mɔ ɔrikpokpo a kɛ <u>gã</u> mɔ/ /aje a ka <u>hm</u> / /amɛ ime tebi owo o/ <u>use</u> ɔjɛrɛ tɛ wa go/

Table 2-3 Excerpt from “ISJ: Family Relationship”

Part of the text in **Error! Reference source not found.** has been transcribed phonologically. I have marked the first occurrence of every distinctive sound in Ọ̀kọ́ in underlined bold italic to isolate it from other phonemes. The marked phonemes, which number twenty-eight (28), represent the entire sound repertoire from which Ọ̀kọ́ speakers make selections in communicating meaning.

2.2.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

The Ọ̀kọ́ system of consonant phonemes is made up of a total of 21 distinct consonant sounds. Consonant sounds are those produced with partial or total obstruction to the air stream from the lungs, at a certain point of the vocal tract. The possible points of obstruction

for the Òkó consonants are those labelled “place of articulation” in **Error! Reference source not found.** The manner of obstruction is labelled “manner of articulation”. Table 2-4 sets out the consonant phonemes, and the list is systematized so that only one marked phoneme can be realized in each lexical item.

Phoneme		Example	English Translation
/p/	as in	<i>pọra</i>	to sweep
/b/	as in	<i>balẹ</i>	to look
/f/	as in	<i>furu</i>	to jump
/v/	as in	<i>ve</i>	to go out
/m/	as in	<i>ma</i>	to sit down
/n/	as in	<i>na</i>	to take
/t/	as in	<i>tan</i>	to chew
/d/	as in	<i>dẹn</i>	to step on something
/s/	as in	<i>su</i>	to have
/ʃ/	as in	<i>ca</i>	to come
/tʃ/	as in	<i>ca</i>	to come
/dʒ/	as in	<i>jọ</i>	to sell
/l/	as in	<i>lo</i>	to use
/j/	as in	<i>ya</i>	to agree
/k/	as in	<i>kọ</i>	to pack
/g/	as in	<i>ga</i>	to say
/kp/	as in	<i>kpare</i>	to pluck
/gb/	as in	<i>gba</i>	to see
/h/	as in	<i>han</i>	to scrape
/w/	as in	<i>wo</i>	to weave
/r/	as in	<i>ri</i>	to cover.

Table 2-4 Òkó segmental phonemes

Òkó language operates what Gregersen (1977: 29) refers to as the four-position consonant system of the set of terms p t c k. Each of the phonemes “strongest” members in terms of articulatory force and voicing represents general articulatory points: bilabial, dental, alveolar

and velar positions respectively. This system contrasts with four other groups of choices in Africa represented by Arabic, Temne, Bangando and Limba (see Gregersen, 1977, for a detailed discussion on this). **Error! Reference source not found.** organizes the consonants into a chart in accordance with their place and manner of articulation.

PLACE MANNER	BILABIAL	LABIO- DENTAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO- ALVEOLAR	LABIO- VELAR	VELAR	PALATAL	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d			kp gb	k g		
NASAL		m			n				
FRICATIVES		f v		s	ʃ				h
AFFRICATES					tʃ dʒ				
SEMI-VOWELS	w							j	
FLAP				r					
LATERAL					l				

Table 2-5 Òkó consonant chart

Worthy of note among the consonant are the labio-velar plosives gb and kp. These have earlier been described in terms of “double articulation” (See Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2). This term can be misleading, as the sounds, for example, /k/ & /p/ are not articulated separately, but are articulated as a single plosive (“stop”) with a single breath. Therefore, every instance of such an articulation is only given a double graphic representation in a Latin-based writing. /kp/ and /gb/ are consonants with typological characteristics that link Òkó with members of the West Benue-Congo languages. A few examples of words in Òkó with these labio-velar plosives are:

kp-words	English Translation
<i>ogben</i>	(child)
<i>igben</i>	(injury)
<i>kpun</i>	(to pound)
<i>kpa</i>	(to carve)

Table 2-6 Words with labio-velar plosive

2.2.1.1.1 Allophonic Variants/ diaphones

The consonants maintain a relatively stable quality in articulation – they do not vary much in quality or in terms of aspiration, with variation in environments. However, there are two pairs of consonant which function as though they were allophonic. Allophones are the variant forms of the same phoneme conditioned by their phonological environment. In allophonic situations, Crystal (1980: 21) observes, "formal variation noted is not linguistically distinctive, i.e. no change of meaning is involved".²⁴ Two types of allophones are discussed in phonetics. The first group consists of a situation where members in variation belong in the same phoneme. The variants are said to be in "complementary distribution" (Abercrombie, 1967: 87). English has this type as illustrated in the following examples (**Error! Reference source not found.**):

Phoneme	Realized by	Examples
/k/	[k] or [k ^h]	as in "king" and "buckle"
/p/	[p] or [p ^h]	as in "port" and "napkin"
/l/	[l] clear or [ɫ] dark	as in "look" and "bottle"
/r/	[r] rolled or flapped	as in "front" and "carry"

Table 2-7 Allophonic contrast between phonemes

Allophones of the first two examples depict differences in aspiration, those of /l/ show differences in resonance and those of /r/ manifest differences in the manner of articulation.

A different kind of situation obtains for the allophonic system in Òkó. This kind of situation, according to Daniel Jones (1967), is one whereby a group of phonemes with completely different phonetic realizations function as if they belong to the same phoneme. Crystal (1971: 176) explains it as a language organizing two sounds so that they perform exactly the same function in communicating and distinguishing between words and meaning, their physical differences notwithstanding. In such circumstances, the members of the group are used interchangeably and are said to be in "free variation" or "parallel distribution". They are alternative consonants that function in one word root and could sometimes be conditioned by lexicogrammatical or semantic factors. What seems to be happening is that phonetically different functional items become muted or merged into the same psycho-semantic space and realization (see **Error! Reference source not found.** below). This phenomenon could be

²⁴ Crystal (1980) considers a phoneme as an abstraction, the realization of which may vary according to context - environment of occurrence.

construed as each member differing at the physical plane but identical at the semiotic level. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (1930: 17) refers to this phenomenon where variants of the same sounds are heard from different speakers of the same language as “diaphone” or “consonant ablaut” or “permutation” (Lyovin 1977: 196). The diaphonic situation may be represented as in **Error! Reference source not found.**

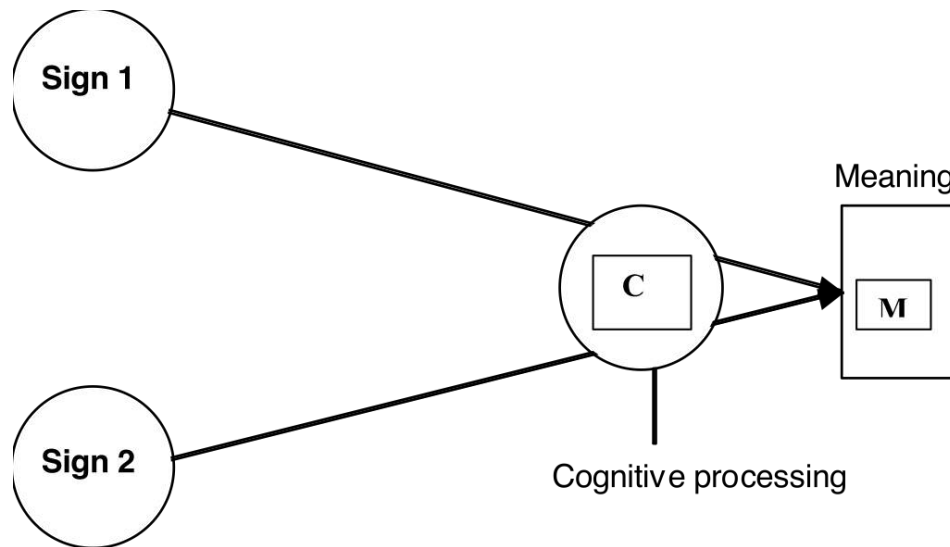


Figure 2-3 Psycho-semantic Semantic Convergence of Signs

Whichever phonological signal of a diaphonic pair (S1 or S2) is sent by a speaker, it is mediated through cognitive processing by the hearer with the same meaning outcome (M).

In Ọ̀kọ́, there are two groups of phonemes that operate in this manner. The first pair consists of the palato-alveolar fricative / ʃ / and the palato-alveolar affricate / tʃ / where the members can be interchanged in all utterances. With this group, it is difficult to determine which is primary or secondary. Thus, either of these of utterances will mean the same thing to an Ọ̀kọ́ native speaker.

/ iʃoma /	or	/ itʃoma /	meaning, " a lie"
/ ʃen /	or	/ tʃen /	meaning, " to cut"
/ ùʃuʃu /	or	/ ùtʃutʃu /	meaning, "quiet"
/ ʃé /	or	/ tʃé /	meaning, "to carry"
/ ʃa /	or	/ tʃa /	meaning, "to come". etc

Table 2-8 Examples of diaphonic variants

There are situations when the choice of /tʃ/ is semantically motivated. In certain utterances, its use suggests some interpersonal modulation of mood (as in the imperative), and attitude for example,

/ ʃun /	(to go pass) in an unmarked situation would become	/ tʃun /	in command
/ dúùfu /	(keep quiet) in a neutral situation becomes	/ dúùtʃu /	in annoyance
/ ifomf /	(a lie) in a neutral situation becomes	/ itʃomtʃ /	in annoyance
/ file /	(strong) in an unmarked situation would become	/ tʃfile /	in emphasis

Table 2-9 Examples of motivated phonological choice between diaphonic variants

Another pair of phonemes with similar characteristics is one that comprises the bilabial semivowel /w/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/. However, cases where these can be used interchangeably are limited. Examples such as the following exist in Ọ̀kọ̀.

<i>íwíre</i>	(a type of pea)	with the variant	<i>ívíre</i>
<i>wuna</i>	(to pull)	with the variant	<i>vuna</i>
<i>ówia</i>	(a maiden)	with the variant	<i>óvia</i>
<i>ẹ̀wà</i>	(a white milky substance from a suckling child's mouth)	with the variant	<i>ẹ̀và</i>

Table 2-10 Examples of words with variable choice between /w/ and /v/

The phonemes /w/ and /v/ are not allophonic in certain situations, especially where /w/ is not the first consonant in the word; e.g. in words like *puwa* (to wash), *ruwa* (to share/divide), *buwa* (to remove e.g. a pasted paper from the wall) and *ẹ̀wón* (thorn).

/tʃ/ and /v/ may be regarded as the strong members of their allophonic pairs, on the basis of the force applied in uttering them as well as the attitudinal implications, as referred to in **Error! Reference source not found..**

2.2.1.1.2 Consonant Labialisation

Another phonological process of labialization that is characteristic of Ọ̀kọ̀ consonants is “labialisation”. Labialisation is the rounding of the lips in the production of a consonant. In Ọ̀kọ̀, the lips may be rounded so that a consonant is simultaneously articulated with a /w/ sound. In such a situation, IPA recommends that such a labialized consonant be represented by a diagraph comprising the main consonant and /w/; e.g. a labialized /k/ will be /k^w/ etc.

In Ọ̀kọ̀, this simple process has a lexicogrammatical and semantic significance. The labialisation process is used to distinguish between two lexical items. A clause may be

ambiguous if the unmarked form is used where a labialized consonant is supposed to occur in a word. Minimal pairs of labialized consonants include the following:

<i>be</i>	(to spoil)	and	<i>bwe</i>	(to sleep)
<i>mẹ</i>	(to build)	and	<i>mwẹ</i>	(to laugh)
<i>fe</i>	(full)	and	<i>fwe</i>	(to relax)
<i>uba</i>	(hand)	and	<i>ubwa</i>	(sleep)
<i>ke</i>	(perfective Aspect marker)	and	<i>kwe</i>	(finished)

Table 2-11 Examples of contrast made through labialization process

Many Òkó consonants are subject to this process. However, there are nine of them that are never labialized, namely, /r/, /v/, /s/, /h/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, /kp/ and /gb/.

Labialization is also deployed in making distinction between an ordinary verb and imperative clause. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the contrast between a monosyllabic verb that ends with the vowel /o/ and its contrast with an imperative clause realized by labialization process, when the 3rd person singular pronominal clitic /e/ (him/her/it) is added to the verb. To emphasize the contrast, I will list the examples using orthographic characters.

Verb	Trnaslation	Pron	Imperative clause
<i>do</i>	(to knot)	+ ẹ	= <i>dwe</i> (knot it).
<i>yọ</i>	(to suck)	+ ẹ	= <i>ywe</i> (suck it)
<i>to</i>	(to arrange)	+ ẹ	= <i>twẹ</i> (arrange it)
<i>bo</i>	(to support)	+ ẹ	= <i>bwe</i> (support him/her)
<i>go</i>	(to help)	+ ẹ	= <i>gwe</i> (help him/her/it)

Table 2-12 Monosyllabic Verb Contrasted With Imperative Clause

The pattern of change is by no means limited to imperative clauses.

2.2.1.2 Vowel Phonemes

Vowel sounds are usually produced with unobstructed egressive air stream. However, the tongue position could be altered along two dimensions, height: high-mid-low and position: front-central-back, and the lips shaped to produce different sounds. Seven vowel phonemes can be distinguished in Òkó, namely **i e ε a ɔ o u**. This selection is typical of the languages of the West Benue-Congo stock (Gregersen, 1977: 32), and the articulation of each can be

represented approximately by their counterparts in the IPA cardinal vowel system. They are opaque (Williamson, 2000: 36), dense and rather long in articulation. The following **Error! Reference source not found.** is a chart representing the position and shape of the tongue in the production of Ọkọ vowel sounds.

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i:		u:
Mid	e:		o;
Low	ɛ:	a:	ɔ:

Table 2-13 Ọkọ Vowel Chart

Error! Reference source not found. contains Ọkọ vowel phonemes, each exemplified at the initial position of a word.

Phoneme	In word context	Meaning	English Translation
/ a /	/afɔ/	afɔ	fireplace
/ e /	/ebi/	ebi	Water
/ ɛ /	ɛra	ɛra	Fire
/ i /	Irũ	irun	tooth
/ o /	oti	oti	stick
/ ɔ /	ɔɛ	ɔɛ	friend
/u/	uku	uku	forest.

Table 2-14 Ọkọ vowel list

Ọkọ vowels are predominantly monophthongal but they are all long vowels but there would be no need to mark vowel length, since it makes no systemic contrast with anything else in Ọkọ phonology. A monophthong is a vowel phoneme made up of a single vowel sound (vowel simplex). It contrasts with a diphthong which is a vowel phoneme made up of two or more vowel sounds occurring together as a single phoneme in a syllable, articulated with a glide from one to the other (vowel complex) - e.g., /ai/ /ei/ /uə/ etcetra, Sometimes, a prolongation in articulation of /o/ sound may be due to some kind of process of reduction. In some words, the semivowel /w/ has been subdued or is almost totally lost out in articulation

e.g *ooro* (wife), and *uboo* (house), which are short forms for *oworo* and *ubowo* respectively. But again, these are very few in the language and the way the words are articulated depends on the individual speaker and his/her speed in utterance.

2.2.1.3 Vowel Harmony

In Ọ̀kọ́, the vowel sounds are organized into two main groups defined by the tongue height and the part of the tongue raised in the production process thus:

i) i e o u

ii) a ɛ ɔ

Vowels in the first group (i) are “breathy” or “baggy” while the second are described as “hard” and “creaky” (Gregersen, 1977: 34). The first group (i) corresponds to advanced tongue root vowels (+ATR); and by contrast, the second group (ii) corresponds to the non-advanced tongue root vowels (-ATR) - see Akan example in UCLA Phonetic Lab Data²⁵ In the context of a word, their occurrence is not haphazard. It is systematic. A vowel may not occur in the same word with another outside its column. This principle of organization is by class restriction as shown in Table 2-15 . This principle is known as **vowel harmony**.

+ATR	-ATR	
i:		ɛ
e		
o	a:	ɔ:
u:		

Table 2-15 Ọ̀kọ́ vowel harmony

A lexical item in which this rule is broken suggests an instance of borrowing from another language or a “lexical phrase” (more than one word combined into a lexical item). The sound in the middle column, /a:/ is neutral, in that it can co-occur with any sound in either column.

2.2.1.4 Syllable structure

There are two sets of systems operating at the rank of the syllable namely (1) articulatory systems and (2) tonal systems. The articulatory systems are realized by the syllabic structures, while the tonal systems are realized by the tone selection at the Peak.

²⁵ UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles Phonetic Laboratory Data: <http://hctv.humnet.ucla.edu/departments/linguistics/VowelsandConsonants/appendix/languages/akan/akan.html>. Akan is of the same Niger-Congo family as Ọ̀kọ́.

2.2.1.4.1 The Articulatory Systems

The syllable is a resource for coordinating the articulatory movement; it is generally constructed out of the succession of a consonant and a vowel or vice versa, except when one of either (like a vowel in Ọkọ) constitutes an independent syllable on its own. There are two basic syllable structures in Ọkọ namely,

- i. V e.g. /e/ /e/ “3^{SG}”
- ii. CV e.g. /dʒ/ + /ɔ:/ /dʒɔ/ “to sell”

Syllables in Ọkọ are “open” and may consist of at most two essential parts namely, an **onset** (realized by a consonant) and the **peak** (realized by a vowel). Ọkọ syllables do not realize a coda as we have in some other languages, which means that the syllables always end in a vowel sound. The Onset is always realized by a simple consonant; there are no consonant clusters in Ọkọ. In addition, to organizing the articulatory movement, the syllable is also the domain of tone. In this way, the syllable is the “gateway” between prosodic and articulatory phonology.

	(Onset ^)	Peak
articulation	consonant	vowel
prosody	tone	

Table 2-16 Syllable Structure

The peak is obligatory in the prosody of Ọkọ syllable while the onset may not be realized in a monosyllable.

The position of the peak vis-à-vis the onset, can signal the class of a word at the lexicon grammar as in Table 2-17 and any exception to the rule signals borrowing.

	(Onset ^)	Peak
general structure	consonant	vowel
noun, adjective		vowel
verb, verb: attributive, adverb, ideophone	consonant	vowel

Table 2-17 Syllable structure and word class

A word in the language is realized by a combination or recursion of the above two syllable types. Where vowels are contiguous in two adjacent words, the language usually employs some strategies such as vowel elision and assimilation, mainly proactively, to reduce the phonological “burden” so that a clause with all the composite words spelt out such as (a) would be articulated as (b) below.

a) *Mọ ọrẹ e ni uwo* (My friend needs a dog)

b) *M' ọr' e n' uwo*

Only a word at the clause final position can be sure to retain all its syllables.

The syllable is also the domain of the process of nasalization. The process of nasalization is systemic. It makes contrast between lexical meanings as in the following pairs:

Non-nasalized	Translation		Nasalized	Translation
pa	“to pile	in contrast with	pã	“dismantle/scatter
pu	“to fold”	in contrast with	pũ	“to shake off”
te	“to teach”	in contrast with	tẽ	“to bud/sprout/develop rashes”
fo	“to die”	in contrast with	fon	“to hit”

Table 2-18 Contrast made by nasalisation

The syllable serves as an interface between the phoneme and other units of organization — the prosodic features (the foot and the tone group). In other words, it serves as a conduit for rhythmic movement and tone.

2.2.1.4.2 The Tonal Systems

The syllable is, as already noted, the domain of tone: Òkó is a tone language. There are three principal tones in Òkó: (˘) low tone; (ˆ) high and between these is an unmarked medial tone. It is also possible to distinguish two levels of the medial.

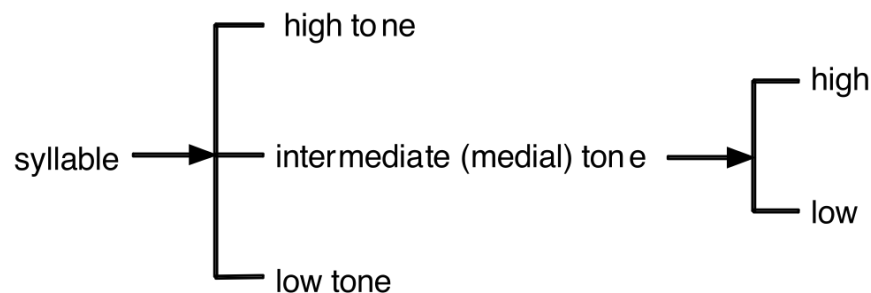


Figure 2-4 The tone system

Tone is deployed lexicographically. As in tone languages in general, it is deployed lexically in the first instance (contrasting with the grammatical deployment of intonation). Just like articulatory distinctions within syllables, tonal distinctions are lexically distinctive. The same segmental pattern may result in as many as five different words with alteration in tone. For instance, *eba* with tone variation could mean “hands”, “game”, “breast”, “gratitude” and “food” made out of crushed and roasted cassava grains.

As typical of the languages of the Niger-Congo family, Òkó makes use of the “register system”, rather than a tone “contour system”; that is a level tone is maintained throughout a syllable (cf Gregersen, 1977: 36). The tone level is also discrete rather than terrace; meaning that the tone of the syllables in a lexical item is relatively stable, irrespective of the position of the word in the clause (cf Lyovin, 1977: 196). Table 2-19 summarizes the discussion so far on the Phonology of Òkó.

RANK	SYSTEMS	EXAMPLES	FURTHER INFORMATION
TONE GROUP	Tone		Register tone system.
FOOT (RHYTHM)	Òkó is syllable-timed (it has a syllabic rhythm) i.e. the tempo depends on the rhythm (Halliday, 1994:293)		Syllable in rhythm: + equal stress + equal interval
SYLLABLE	Syllable structure: (Onset) ^ Peak ↓ ↓ consonant vowel	V, CV and VCV	The basic element is the peak.
	Tone	` low tone (1) ´ high tone (2) medium tone (3)	Make lexicogrammatical distinctions.
PHONEME	Vowel inventory	# of vowel phonemes (7)	Long monophthongs.
	Consonant inventory	# of consonant phonemes (21)	+ diaphones + double articulation No consonant clusters.

Table 2-19 Systems at the Level of Phonology

The syllable is the domain of pitch. It is a resource for making distinctions in the vocabulary. The language deploys tone rather than stress as a resource for rhythm/tempo. The

extensive deployment of tone at the rank of the syllable, thus establishes Òkó as a tone language.

2.2.1.5 Foot

Òkó is syllable-timed language; hence it operates with a syllabic rhythm (Halliday, 1994: 293). Every syllable receives the same amount of stress, unless there is a special textual reason for emphasizing a particular syllable over and above others. The syllables recur at equal intervals of time and the tempo of the rhythm is determined by them (Halliday, 1994: 293). The feet in a sentence such as *ẹdẹda siye ya ese a wa ẹpa upi* is likely to pattern like:

= ẹ/dẹ/da /si/ye /ya/ e/se / à wà / ẹ/pan /ù/pi
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

There are no consonant clusters in Òkó. That means that every phonological string is made up of a succession of vowels and consonants as discussed in 2.2.1.4 As a result of this, the language is very sonorous. The short length of the foot foregrounds a rapid rhythm and this engenders the processes of elision and assimilation (as has been previously explained).

2.2.1.6 Tone Group

Tone is sometimes deployed grammatically, in the textual organization of the clause in Òkó, to give prominence to a certain part. Tone alone can be used to mark the Focus of information (Halliday, 1994: 58). For example, *I we yọ* “I went out” with tone 1 on “I” suggests a neutral information; whereas the same wording with tone 2 on the same monosyllabic word “I” suggests a marking for “information Focus” which would be interpreted as “it is that I went out / “it was outing that I did” (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3.7). Tone is very significant in making various distinctions in the lexicogrammar. It functions in each of the three metafunctions to make delicate distinctions (see Chapter 4, 1.4). For example, tone selection at initial and/or final positions of the clause is very important for marking the contrast between the declarative and interrogative moods. This interpersonal tone usually falls on the first or last syllable of the clause (see Chapter 4 Section 2.2.1.1.2). The following is a TONE GROUP system network for Òkó.

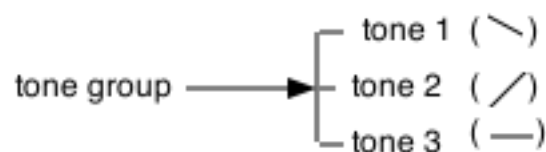


Figure 2-5 System network for Òkó tone group

A register tone group system operates in Òkó. A register tone system means that a level tone is maintained throughout the clause with the appropriate tone marking the beginning and the end in accordance with the choice at the MOOD system.

2.2.2 Graphology (Òkó writing system)

In Òkó, as in many other languages, the expression plane consists primarily of phonology and phonetics. Traditionally there is no graphology, and the registers that make up the language are those of the spoken mode. The registers of the written mode used in the Ogori community come from the more dominant languages in Nigeria — Yoruba, English: literacy thus means literacy in a language other than the mother tongue, Òkó. This is a very common situation in many parts of the world.

Thus there is no generally accepted or standardized Òkó writing system. However, there is evidence that people have been interested in a writing system for the language. Occasional strips of writing are done informally by individuals and mostly for private consumption only. Both the orthography and the unit boundaries of such texts are usually neither systematic nor uniform. These are a few examples of written Òkó taken from various sources.

i.	yo omodore ase yon	His nose is bleeding (Eika 2003: 16)
ii.	ede ki yiwo (sic) foṛe ba	He/She cries too much (Eika 2003: 17)
iii.	menutun moben	I am seeking for another job (from personal email Wed: 25/09/02)
iv.	mekewutun mefa	I will be at work (from personal email Wed: 25/09/02)
v.	teda newapan na	Our father who art in heaven (from Charles Babatunde's attempt to write the Lord's prayer August 2004)
iv.	tefo ugbugbodi newi wuru	(same as v. above)

Table 2-20 Extracts of written Òkó attempted by different people

The items in each of the “sentences” i - iv above can hardly be defined by any organizational principle lexicographically. The constituents marked by space cannot be defined in terms of class membership, as most of them span more or less than one recognizable linguistic unit. Therefore, up till now, there is no writing system, and neither is there an acceptable official orthography for the language.

However, there have been a few attempts to propose an orthography for Òkó. All those who have made such attempts have used the strategy of adapting the Roman alphabet as a

phonemic writing system and the challenges have included the representation of phonemes not represented by letters in that alphabet and the determination of what the phoneme inventory of Ọ̀kọ́ is, some proposals having been influenced by languages of Ọ̀kọ́ neighbourhood.

The first such known attempt is Akerejola's (1973) *History of Ogori*. This proposal involves an essentially phonemic writing system, adapted from the Roman alphabet. Akerejola proposed 32 letters (graphemes) for Ọ̀kọ́ orthography. Table 2-21 contains his proposal. I have also provided the phonemic transcription for the graphemes. A double question marks (??) signifies a redundant entry that has no separate phonemic equivalent in the Ọ̀kọ́ phonological system (probably, evidence of copying the English alphabetic system).

Grapheme	a	b	c	d	e	ẹ	f	g	gb	H	i	j
Corresponding Phoneme	a	b	??	d	e	ɛ	f	g	gb	H	i	ɟʒ
Grapheme	k	l	m	n	o	ọ	kp	p	q	r	s	ş
Corresponding Phoneme	k	l	m	n	o	ɔ	kp	p	k ^w	r	s	ʃ
Grapheme	ch	t	u	v	w	x	y	z.				
Corresponding Phoneme	tʃ	t	u	v	w	??	j	z				

Table 2-21 Graphemes and the phonemic transcription for the alphabet proposed by Akerejola (1973)

To make up for gaps in the Roman alphabet, Akerejola uses combinations of letters (digraphs) to represent certain consonant phonemes (gb, kp, and ch). Tones are not indicated.

As a pioneering attempt from a non-linguist, this is highly commendable. However, strictly speaking, the phonology of the language does not support 32 orthographic characters as we have begun to see from the phonology. There is no evidence from the list of consonants in **Error! Reference source not found.** to support the inclusion of characters such as **c, q, z, x**. The suggestion of the letters above as part of the Ọ̀kọ́ orthography might have been influenced by Akerejola's attempt to work out Ọ̀kọ́ writing system from the vantage point of the English language system. The nature of Ọ̀kọ́ phonology is such that it is appropriate to adopt a phonemic writing system (instead of a syllabic, or logographic one).

The next attempt was by Aisoni and Gabriel in the 1980s. They were encouraged by the Ogori Descendant Union (ODU) to work out an orthography that would be generally agreed upon (Eyika, 2003). They came up with 29 letters (see Table 2-22), but the ODU has not

adopted it, let alone made it public for consideration as possible material for producing written Òkó texts.

Grapheme	a	b	d	e	ẹ	f	G	gw	gb	h	i	j
Corresponding Phoneme	a	b	d	e	ɛ	f	G	g ^w	gb	h	I	dʒ
Grapheme	kw	l	m	n	o	o	py	p	pw	r	S	sh
Corresponding Phoneme	k ^w	l	m	n	o	ɔ	??	p	??	r	S	ʃ
Grapheme	t	u	x	w	y							
Corresponding Phoneme	t	u	??	w	j							

Table 2-22 Orthographic characters proposed by Gabriel and Aisoni

Aisoni and Gabriel's work was said to be based on the study of two folk rhymes. While the work is another commendable attempt, I wish to make a few observations. In their proposed alphabet they claim that there is no "k", which suggests that Òkó speakers do not articulate the /k/ sound without labialising it. Evidence from the consonant table in **Error! Reference source not found.** and the discussion of labialization in 2.2.1.10 proves that /k/ may or may not be labialized. Even the two texts (folk rhymes) upon which their orthographic characters are derived (see Eyika, 2003: 3-4) include both cases of labialized and non-labialized /k/, and ironically, only 1 (*ekwa*) out of 12 (including *Òkó*, *okure*, *koko*, *ibuko*, *buke*) of the /k/ instances would be labialized.

There is also the absence of the labio-velar plosive, which can be represented the diagraph /kp/. Moreover the choice of the data is subject to questions as it is not a regular piece of the language: it is not a naturally occurring text on the one hand; while on the other, the origin of the two poems or majority²⁶ of the words are a mystery to the present Ogori people. The poems have different versions and they are also used by other linguistic groups surrounding the Òkó speaking communities. In addition, the versions used by the authors, from my investigation, are largely not the common ones. While the observation of the process of labialisation as registered in the suggested letters GW, KW, and PW, demonstrates some thoughtfulness in their proposal, I observe that these are not the only ones that are labialized as already discussed above. The existence of [PY] is also hardly defensible.

Another description akin to the above is that of Adegbija (1993), whose suggestions include the:

²⁶ See Appendix 1.

labialized voiceless velar plosive /kw/
 velar nasal sound /ŋ/
 nasalized palatal semi vowel /ny/

I wish to observe again that the sounds above and others such as the following are features of the phonological systems of the neighbouring languages, and the temptation of erroneously taking their existence in Òkó phonological system for granted is high.

voiceless labialized glottal sound /hw/
 palatalized glottal sound /hy/
 palatalized velar sound /gy/

While /kw/ in Adegbija's catalogue is functional in Òkó, it may not be advisable to include it in the orthography as he suggests because there are few practical advantages for doing so, as discussed in Section 2.2.1.1.2.

The most recent attempt has been that of Eyika (2003), who concluded that there were 26 letters in the Òkó alphabet namely;

Grapheme	a	b	d	e	ẹ	f	g	gb	H	i	j	k	L	m
Corresponding Phoneme	a	b	d	e	ɛ	f	g	gb	H	i	dʒ	k	L	m
Grapheme	n	o	ọ	p	r	s	ş	t	U	v	w	y		
Corresponding Phoneme	n	o	ɔ	p	r	s	ʃ	t	U	v	w	j		

Table 2-23 Orthographic characters proposed by Eika (2003)

Eika based his argument on the genetic relation with the Yoruba language; possible influence of the surrounding languages on previous attempts; the statistical evidence of occurrence of the letters in Aisoni and Gabriel's poems as well as a poem the author himself wrote in 1976, to arrive at the above conclusion. His constitutes the closest to what is linguistically plausible for Òkó language. However, the derivation of the Òkó alphabet on the basis of the Yoruba affiliation is not linguistically defensible, especially after he has admitted that Òkó is a language, different from the former. Rather, an argument based on language family or typology would be more plausible; but even then, it is reasonable to presume that each language would select a different set from the repertoire of phonemes of that family. Òkó shares certain linguistic resources with Yoruba, just like it does with the Idoma, Igala, and Edoid cluster of languages and Igbo of the same West Benue-Congo family, and therefore, selecting from the sound system of the family is to be expected. But still, no two languages in the stock have identical systems — not even members of the Edoid, which are in

some cases separated only by a bridge (Bekuma and Ekpedo, and Ibillo and Ekpesa as specific cases).

Contrasting Ọ̀kọ̀ and Yoruba, we find that /p/ and /v/ occur in Ọ̀kọ̀, but not in Yoruba. Eyika's (2003: 11) also argues that both Ọ̀kọ̀ and Yoruba share certain lexical items with the same referential meaning. However the same argument can be made for Ebira e.g. with words like *akara*, *eta*, *agidigbo* referring to the same kind of objects in both languages, and the same kind of situation between Ọ̀kọ̀ and some of the surrounding languages too.

Among the attempts to propose orthographic characters for the Ọ̀kọ̀ alphabet, only Adegbija's (1993) is based on sound linguistic criteria. Both the phonological evidence already presented above as well as other scientific criteria have been used in the course of my research to arrive at the suggestion of the orthography, which I will now begin to discuss in the remaining part of this sub-section. A discussion on the issues relating to diaphonic variants on the one hand (see Section 2.2.1.1.1), and issues relating to labialization of consonants (see Section 2.2.1.1.2) on the other, have been used as some of the linguistic arguments for inclusion (or exclusion) in the orthography.

While it is difficult to choose which phonemic value to represent, /ʃ/ or /tʃ/, considering that native speakers of the same dialect of Ọ̀kọ̀ grow up with and perpetuate the use of one form or the other, it may not be linguistically economical to ascribe characters to both, in spite of the differences in articulation. And to obviate redundancy, one would recommend a single character for all cases where /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ occur. Here I would suggest the use of "c", the actual articulation of which is to be left for the individual's idiolect. This will render the following words orthographically represented as follows:

/ʃa / or /tʃa /	as	<i>ca</i>	(to come)
/ifoma / or /itʃoma /	as	<i>icoma</i>	(a lie)
/ɔʃ / or /ɔtʃ /	as	<i>oço</i>	(metal)
/ùʃu / or /ùtʃu /	as	<i>ùcucu</i>	(quiet)

Table 2-24 Orthographic Representation of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ with examples

The cases of /w/ and /v/ are a bit difficult to decide. One could have recommended /w/ to represent both in the orthography for the reasons that (i) there are strong reasons to believe that /v/ was, relatively, recently acquired from Ọ̀kọ̀ neighbours; (ii) /v/ has no instances of occurrence without the possibility of substituting it with /w/, whereas /w/ can occur in words

and may not be substitutable with /v/. However, the sound is becoming increasingly popular among the present Ọ̀kọ́ speakers. Therefore the two members of the pair should each be accorded a representation in the alphabet, since the orthography is aimed at the service of the present users of Ọ̀kọ́.

In teaching the allophones, attention should be drawn not only to the individual's idiolect, but also to the various situational factors (such as mood, attitudinal factors) that may determine the how the phoneme sounds. The PHONEMIC system of Ọ̀kọ́ comprises all the 28 phonemes identified while the ORTHOGRAPHIC system has 27 members.

As regards the issue of labialized consonants, one question that may arise is whether they should be given an entry in Ọ̀kọ́ ALPHABETIC system. There is no doubt that a number of the Ọ̀kọ́ consonants undergo this phonological process as discussed in Section 2.2.1.1.2 above but to what end this should be allotted separate orthographic character in the alphabet is a matter for a critical consideration. To accord each of the labialized consonant an entry in the alphabet may have very few practical advantages. Only about three of such consonants (/k/, /b/ and /m/), by the process of labialization, show systemic contrast between words. But even in such cases, the number of lexical items in Ọ̀kọ́ where this contrast exists is less than three in each case. Again, it is difficult to generalize when commenting on the labialization of Ọ̀kọ́ consonants, as one third of them do not undergo this process in any environment. In addition to the observation above, the labialization process in Ọ̀kọ́ appears to be more relevant to the lexicogrammatical stratum than the phonological stratum.

The discussion so far foregrounds some of the criteria that inform the suggestion of characters for Ọ̀kọ́ orthography. I have identified some of the phonological processes that are relevant to the choice of items that will represent the real orthography of Ọ̀kọ́. We have also learnt why mere tacit understanding of other processes should suffice at this level. With all the above consideration in view, I would like to suggest that the Ọ̀kọ́ alphabet should contain the following graphemes:

Grapheme	Aa	Bb	Dd	Ee	ƐƐ	Ff	Gg	GBgb	Hh	Ii	Jj	Kk
Corresponding Phoneme	a	b	d	e	ɛ	f	g	gb	h	i	dʒ	k
Grapheme	Ll	Mm	Nn	Oo	Ọọ	KPkp	Pp	Rr	Ss	Cc	Tt	Uu
Corresponding Phoneme	l	m	n	o	ɔ	kp	p	r	s	ʃ/tʃ	t	u
Grapheme	Vv	Ww	Yy.									
Corresponding Phoneme	v	w	y									

Table 2-25 Recommended orthographic characters for the Òkó alphabet

With the above proposal, a popular song in Òkó would read thus:

Folk song (FS/1)

Translation

*Ọgb' ọn' iwo ogben' ikeke I me din kẹnakide
Ma a ma me e roro titi ida k' ẹn' ẹgb' ẹnan' a,
Me e siye me e mi roro iroro de kwo m' ibe
Dedi k' im' e mi gben ayẹ otutun.
Me e mi ma, ẹ dake bẹn (dake bẹn)
Am' imi gben, imi gben ayẹn.*

When I was a small child, I knew nothing
When I sat and pondered, I would wonder
what kind of world I was in
I would sit and think until I could think no
more
I never knew that what I lacked was
wisdom.
When I sit now and reflect, I rejoice
(greatly rejoice)
That I now have understanding.

The contraction in the song above present the written form in a way it can best represent the spoken form. In writing Òkó, it is recommended that all lexical items be written out in full in a formal register as obtains in other languages where writing exists. Writing the words out in full will also ensure an accurate view of how the lexicogrammar is organized. Thus for such purposes, it would appear without contraction as below:

*Ọgb**ona** iwo ogben okeke I me din kẹnakide
Ma a ma me e roro titi ida **ka ẹna ẹgba ẹnanẹ** a,
Me e siye me e mi roro iroro de kwo **mu** ibe
Dedi**ka** ime e mi gben ayẹ otutun.
Me e mi ma, e dake bẹn (dake bẹn)
Amẹ imi gben, imi gben ayẹn.*

The parts that were affected by the contraction are marked in bold font. Notice that the elision affects the last vowel of each word in each case.

PATTERN REPRESENTED		GRAPHOLOGY		
STRATUM	Rank	Type of Graphemic symbol	Type of Script	Example
SEMANTICS	[Semantic feature]	Semogram	Charactery	
LEXICOGRAMMAR	Word/morpheme	Character orthographic		
PHONOLOGY	Phoneme	(tone marking)	Alphabetic	Latin script
		Letter		
	Syllable	syllabery	Syllabic	

Table 2-26 Summary of discussion on Ọ̀kọ́ writing system

2.2.2.1 Script

The Latin script is currently used for most African languages and it is suitable for Ọ̀kọ́.

Diacritics are important for the orthography to mark graphemic characters that are identical but have different phonetic realization. This affects letter “e”, which can either be articulated as /e:/ or /ɛ/ and letter “o”, which can either, be articulated as /o/ and /ɔ: / respectively. A dot below “ẹ” and “ọ” marks them for the second of each pair. This is especially useful for those learning to read Ọ̀kọ́ and non-native speakers. Similarly, tone marking is ideal especially for educational materials at the elementary stages. However, this might be de-emphasized as a user advances in Ọ̀kọ́ literacy. For Ọ̀kọ́ native speakers, the context would in most cases disambiguate the lexical choice where ambiguity is likely to exist.

2.3 Content plane: Lexicogrammar Stratum: Rank Dimensions

In the previous Section, I gave the overview of the resources at the expression plane. I am proceeding in this section with the previews of resources at the content plane, exploring the systems at the LEXICOGRAMMATICAL level: the system of wording, and features at the SEMANTIC level: the system of meaning. My first focus at the lexicogrammatical stratum will be its overall organization — the rank scale. Thereafter, I shall take a general survey of the dimension of metafunction. The latter will be brief in the form of a profile in this section since Chapters 3 to 5 will be devoted entirely to setting out a grammatical description of Ọ̀kọ́ from the perspective of the three metafunctions of language.

2.3.1 The rank dimension

Òkó grammar organizes the units of grammar according to size into a scale of ranks. The hierarchy from the highest to the lowest on the rank scale comprises the clause, the group/phrase, the word and the morpheme. The relationship of the units is such that the clause consists of one or more groups/phrases; the group/phrase is made up of one or more words and the word is made up of one or more morphemes (Halliday, 1961, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995a: 75; Rose, 2001).

Table 2-27 gives a brief summary of how the grammar is organized at various ranks. It shows the basic sequence of elements or realizational patterns at each rank

RANK	MAJOR SYSTEMS	BASIC STRUCTURES
CLAUSE: GRAMMAR OF THE CLAUSE	TRANSITIVITY	(participant: nominal group) + Process: verbal group + (participant: nominal) + (circumstance: adverbial group/nominal group/prepositional phrase)
	MOOD	(^ Negotiator) Subject ^ Predicator (^ Complement) (Adjunct) (^ Negotiator)
	THEME	positional prominence information focus
PHRASE/ GROUP		phrase structure: co-verb + (preposition) + nominal (Premodifier ^) Head (^Postmodifier)
WORD		word structure: (bound morpheme - affix^). free morpheme - base (^bound morpheme affix). base: verbal, nominal, adverbial, conjunction etc affix: prefix, suffix
MORPHEME	DERIVATION;	reduplication/ compounding/complexing
	INFLECTION	prefix, suffix

Table 2-27 Major grammatical systems by rank in Òkó

The rank scale in Òkó can be schematically represented as in **Error! Reference source not found.:**

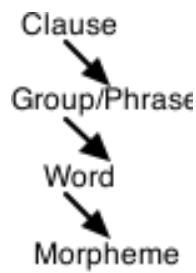


Figure 2-6 Rank scale in Ọ̀kọ́

I will explore each of these in greater detail, starting with the clause. I will also explore the mechanism for relating one clause to another in a clause nexus (Matthiessen, 2002b). The organization of Ọ̀kọ́ grammar in terms of rank is illustrated in Table 2-28 Figure 2-7 Rank constituency structure and relation. (KEY: auxiliary/aux; adverb/adv; marker/mkr).

	Ọgba-ona time-when	Ọku-ro Ọ̀kọ́- person	deki aux	siye do	ẹma ema	aye the	a? IP
clause	Time	Actor	Process		Goal		
group/ phrase	adverbial phrase	nominal group	verbal group		nominal group		
word	adverb	noun	verb	verb	noun	determiner	
morpheme	noun+adv	noun+mkr	auxverb	noun	determiner	particle	

Table 2-28 Figure 2-7 Rank constituency structure and relation

2.3.2 The Rank of Clause

The clause is the highest unit on the lexicogrammatical scale of rank. It is made up of one or more groups/phrases. The clause in Ọ̀kọ́ is the basic unit on the rank scale where grammar and meaning intersect. It serves as the convergent point of the various modes of meaning including ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings.

A clause may be free or bound. A free clause is semantically self-contained and can be used to perform a specific speech function (make statement, ask a question or give a command); and so, expresses a particular mood (declarative, interrogative and imperative, respectively). A bound clause cannot express mood but depends on the mood of another.

Compositionally, a clause is made up of groups/phrases, which have structural functions within the clause. Each Ọ̀kọ́ clause is made up of a nucleus comprising a verbal group (vg), which realizes the experiential structural function: Process; and an implicit or explicit nominal group (ng), which realizes the experiential structural functions: participant (Actor, Senser, Goal, Phenomenon, etcetera according to the type of experience). This nucleus is basic to all

clause types, whether they take additional groups such as adverbial group (adv g), which realizes Circumstances, or conjunction group (conj g), which link elements logically. Table 2-18 shows the basic constituents of a clause.

	Clause				Composition	
(i)	<i>ki mune</i> be run vg				ng - <i>awo</i> (you) implicit = nucleus	
	(run)					
(ii)	<i>u-</i> You ng	<i>ne</i> not.any vg	<i>roro</i> think		vg + explicit ng = nucleus	
	Nucleus					
	(Do not think (brood) anymore)					
(iii)	<i>iken aye</i> ng	<i>fón</i> vag			ng + vag = nucleus	
	The town is far					
(iv)	<i>wiya</i> her-mother ng	<i>lakata</i> hastily adv g	<i>mune we ca.</i> run exit come vg		nucleus + adv g	
	nuc-		-leus			
	The mother quickly ran out					
(v)	<i>cana</i> then conj g	<i>ogbonaw</i> hen. adv g	<i>e-</i> she ng	<i>mi fw' e ca</i> then bring him come vg <ng>	<i>na,</i> Dep. mkr	nucleus + conj g + adv g
			nucleus < >			
	Then when she brought him					

Table 2-29 Òkó Clause Constituent and text examples

Two or more clauses may be combined to form a “clause complex” by means of logical metafunctional resources. The clause complex (referred to in traditional and other grammars, as sentence) is not, strictly speaking, a separated unit on the rank hierarchy (see Halliday, 1994: 7.1; Matthiessen, 1995a: 2.1.2 for a detailed explanation).

A clause may also be exploited as a constituent within a clause or group; in which case it is “rankshifted” — embedded (Halliday, 1994: 188). Rankshifting is of particular interest in Ọkọ grammar, as relativization constitutes a productive strategy for augmenting the relatively small number of descriptive adjectives in the language. The following extract from the Text (EI-1) shows a text divided into clauses, marking clause complexes, and rankshift.

<i>Anọ aka egben iforo i nakẹ bẹ abẹn, ni ki siye arẹ. I ta balẹ aka Efa aka Adamu igan. Teme din kenakide. Akọ u siye ma ọnẹ ana, i ba sẹ mọ amẹ owiya bẹ fọ mọ a nẹ ọ. Tẹ ma uboo ọnẹ ti ki siye arẹ. W’ eme din ẹkẹna wo mu iwu na, i me din ẹkẹna wo wu iwu na. Eyibọnẹ-akọ, abẹ-ayẹrẹ e mi ni yẹ e e ne.</i>													
	Anọ	aka	egben	iforo	i	na-	a	kẹ	bẹ	abẹn	ni-		
	you	and	children	males	PHP	you-	ASP	ASP	beat	each.other	//you-		
	ki	siye	arẹ.		I	ta-	balẹ	aka	Efa	aka	Adamu	igan	
	ASP	do	play		PHP	we-	look	like	Efa	and	Adam	then	
	Te-	me	din	kenakide		Akọ	u-	siye	ma	ọnẹ	ana	i	
	We-	not	know	nothing		As	you-	do	sit	this	DP	PHP	
	ba-	a	sẹ	mọ	amẹ	owiya	bẹ-	fọ	mọ	a	nẹ	ọ.	Tẹ-
	they-	ASP	catch	me	myself	maiden	they-	carry	me	ASP	give	you	we
	ma	uboo	ọnẹ	ti-	ki	siye	arẹ		We-	me	din	[[ẹkẹna	
	sit	home	this	we-	ASP	do	play	you-	NEG	know	[[what		
	wo	mu	iwu	na]]	i-	me	din	[[ẹkẹna	wo	wu	iwu		
	be	me	body	DEP]]	i-	NEG	know	[[what	be	you	body		
	na]]		Eyibọnẹ-akọ,	abẹ-	ayẹrẹ	e	mi	ni	ya	e	ne		
	DEP		now-this	they.	alone	ASP	MAS	seek	it	ASP	about		
<p>You and men would be hitting each other and be playing together. We were just like Eve and Adam then. We did not know anything. Just as you are now (a young man), they would betroth me to you and bring me to you. We would be in the same house and be playing. You did not know what was in my body, I, too, would not know what you have in your body. But now, it is they who would go after their own partners.</p>													

Table 2-30 Extract from Text EI/1 showing clause, clause complex & embedding

Looking “from above” we can define the clause as a “master system” (Lemke, 1991: 23), in the sense that it is the “gateway” to meaning (Matthiessen et al: forthcoming). It is the

unification of the three metafunctional types of meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 29-30; Matthiessen, 2004c: 10), namely ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning types. The IDEATIONAL system is the resource for construing our experience of the world around and inside us as meaning; the INTERPERSONAL system enables us to enact social roles and relations as meaning; (Halliday, 1994; Martin, 1992; Matthiessen 1995a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004); while the TEXTUAL system is the “resource for giving value to ideational and interpersonal meanings as information being developed as text in context” (Matthiessen, 1991: 98-99). These three modes of meaning are respectively expressed in the lexicogrammatical systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME & INFORMATION of the clause.

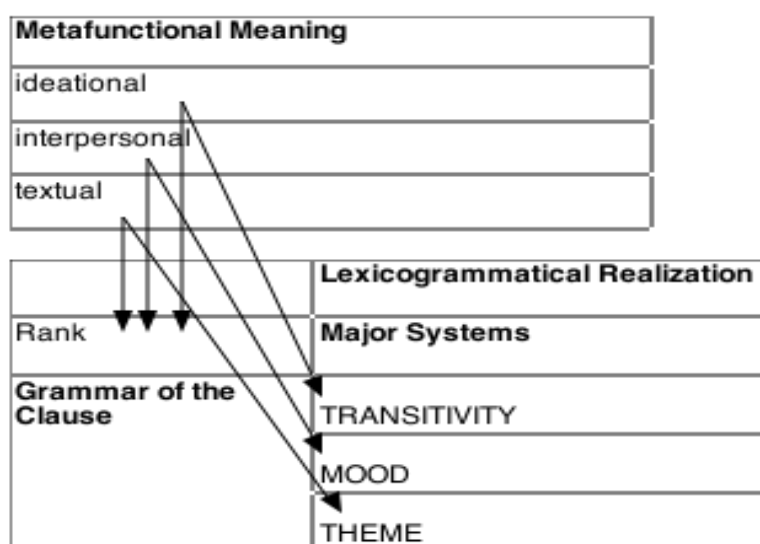


Figure 2-8 The clause: an intersection of meaning and lexicogrammatical systems

Ideational meaning is of the experiential or logical type. The experiential elements of the clause are the process, participants involved in this process and attendant circumstances. The Process is realized by the verbal group which is usually made up of either a lexical verb, or a series of verbs in a verbal group complex, otherwise known as “serial verb construction” (Matthiessen, 1995a; Patpong: in preparation); as well as auxiliaries (marking aspects, or modality); and pronominal affixes (referring to the participant). The participant is usually realized by a nominal group or a pronominal clitic (such as *na-*, *ni-*, *ta-* *u-* *we-*, in Table 2-30 above) functioning within the verbal group. A pronominal affix serving as a participant is usually cliticized, and constitutes an integral part of the Process. Their roles as participants will, however be recognized in the experiential metafunctional analysis in Chapter 5 of this

thesis. The circumstance is usually realized by adverbial group, prepositional group or an ideophone.

The interpersonal elements of the clause are the Predicator, Subject, Complement, Adjunct, the Negotiator and the Wh-element. The Predicator is realized by a verbal group with pronominal subject prefixes, polarity-marking auxiliaries and modality elements; the interpersonal Adjunct can be Mood Adjunct: adverb e.g. *ẹgaba* (“true”) as in *ẹgaba, u wa- a yọ ẹfa?* (Truth, PHP you- ASP go place “truly, are you travelling?). The Negotiator is realized by interpersonal particles. Other interpersonal resources include metaphorical modalities: mental|verbal clauses; and phonological prosody.

Textual meaning of the clause is realized by the structural functions, Theme + Rheme and Given + New. Theme is realized through positioning: clause initial and Rheme constitutes whatever follows the Theme. New information is realized by tonic prominence on a clause element, a highlighting particle or an emphatic pronominalization.

I will expand on these three meaning components and their lexicogrammatical realization in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis.

2.3.3 The Rank of Group

A group is made up of one or more words. Every group is defined by its structural function in the higher rank of the clause, and “from below” according to the class of elements that interact within the group, as well as the mode of interaction among the elements. By these criteria, there are three basic groups in Ọ̀kọ́ grammar, namely the nominal group (ng), the verbal group (vg) and the adverbial group (adv g).

The nominal and verbal groups have earlier been defined as the nucleus in Ọ̀kọ́ clause because they always constitute the minimum exponents of the elements that realize the experiential and interpersonal modes of meanings (see “the rank of clause” above).

Rank	Primary class	Basic Structure
clause	free and bound clauses.	Subject ^ Verb ^ (Object) [SVO]
group/ phrases	nominal	Premodifier: (Pronominal Deictic ^ Classifier) ^ Head: Thing ^ Postmodifiers: Epithet 2 (colour) ^ Epithet 1 (descriptive) ^ Numerative ^ Deictic
	verbal	Auxiliary ^ Event
	adverbial	adverbial or prepositional
word	(including interpersonal particles, onomatopoeic ideophones)	root (lexeme) + inflections = derivations prefix ^ stem ^ suffix = inflections
morpheme	(bound/free)	

Table 2-31 Basic structural realization across ranks

Each group is usually defined by the dominant member, which is the **Head** (Halliday, 1994: 191) — a feature of the rank below the group. The nominal group usually has a noun as its Head (where the nominal group system selects a head), whereas, the Òkó verbal group has (at least) a lexical verb as the dominant element. Other words in a group usually function to modify the Head. Other groups can be considered as peripheral and their size as well as function seems to reflect this. For example, the adjective mainly functions as part of the nominal group. The status of the prepositional group or phrase depends on how far we extend the scope of the verbal group. I will return to this issue.

2.3.4 Nominal Group

The modification at the nominal group is relatively simple. Cases of multiple modifications are possible but not very common. Instead, there is a high frequency of nominal (embedded) clauses used for expanding of the Head in a nominal group. Embedding is a strategy for augmenting the relatively small number of adjectives and adverbs.

In the nominal group, the Head is usually conflated with the Thing, often a noun. The Head can be pre-modified by a Classifier and a Pronominal Deictic only. Other modifying elements such as the Epithets and Deictic Determiners occur as post-modifiers. So, the nominal group is frequently configured with a head-initial pattern.

<i>imu</i> Festival
Thing
Head

Table 2-32 Nominal group with head only

<i>ivia</i> Maiden	<i>imu</i> festival		
Classifier	Thing		
Premodifier	Head		
		Other Premodifiers	Examples
		Pronominal Deictic	<i>wọ</i> “your” as in <i>wọ ogben</i> , “your child” <i>to uboo</i> our “house”
		Genitive	Initial <i>u</i> in <i>neda uboo</i> “your father’s house”

Table 2-33 Head and Premodifiers in a nominal group

<i>imu</i> festival	<i>aye</i> the		
Thing	Deictic		
Head	Postmodifier		
		Other Postmodifiers	Examples
		Epithet 1 (descriptive adjectives)	<i>ededa oboro</i> “father good” (good father)
		Epithet 2 (colour)	<i>amọ oyayan</i> “oil red” (red oil)
		Numerals	Numerative
			Ordinalive
		Deictic generic pronoun	<i>ebero kọrọrọrẹ</i> “enemy none” (no enemy)
		Qualifier: embedded (rankshifted) clause	<i>atọ [[ne ti gule ogbọne na]]</i> we [[that we gather year.this RPCP]] “we who are gathered together this year”

Table 2-34 The Head and Postmodifiers in a nominal group

2.3.4.1 Multiple modification in a nominal group

The following is an example of a nominal group with one Premodifier and multiple Postmodifiers.

tọ- *osuda* *ikerese* *oyayan* *iboro* *ẹta* *ẹnabẹ*
our elder-brother vehicle red good three those

Deictic (pronominal clitic) - “possessive”	Classifier	Thing	Epithet2 colour	Epithet 1 Ddescriptive	Numerative	Deictic
(those three good red vehicles of our elder brother’s)						

Table 2-35 Multiple modification of nominal group

Interestingly Òkó nominal group accommodates two deictic modifiers of different kinds but they occur at both ends of the nominal group: and are farthest from the Thing.

2.3.5 Verbal Grouplabialized

In the discussion of the major systems of the clause, I stated that the verbal group is the realization of the Process in the experiential structure of the clause and the Predicator in the interpersonal structure. It can also realize the Theme in an imperative clause type or the focus of the new information (where the Subject is a pronominal clitic in the Predicator) in the textual structure of the clause. Chapter 5, exploring the experiential meaning, will discuss the verbal group potential under the various process types. In this section, I will focus mainly on the composition and structure of the verbal group. There are three main functions realized in the verbal group, namely the **Event**, realized by the lexical verb; **Aspect**, realized by an auxiliary; and **Modality**, realized by a modal operator. I will now illustrate these three systems in Sections 2.2.3 - 2.3.5 respectively below but let me first give an overall picture of the verbal group grammar.

The following system network Figure 2-9 models the grammar of the verbal group and these are instantiated in Table 225 of examples below it.

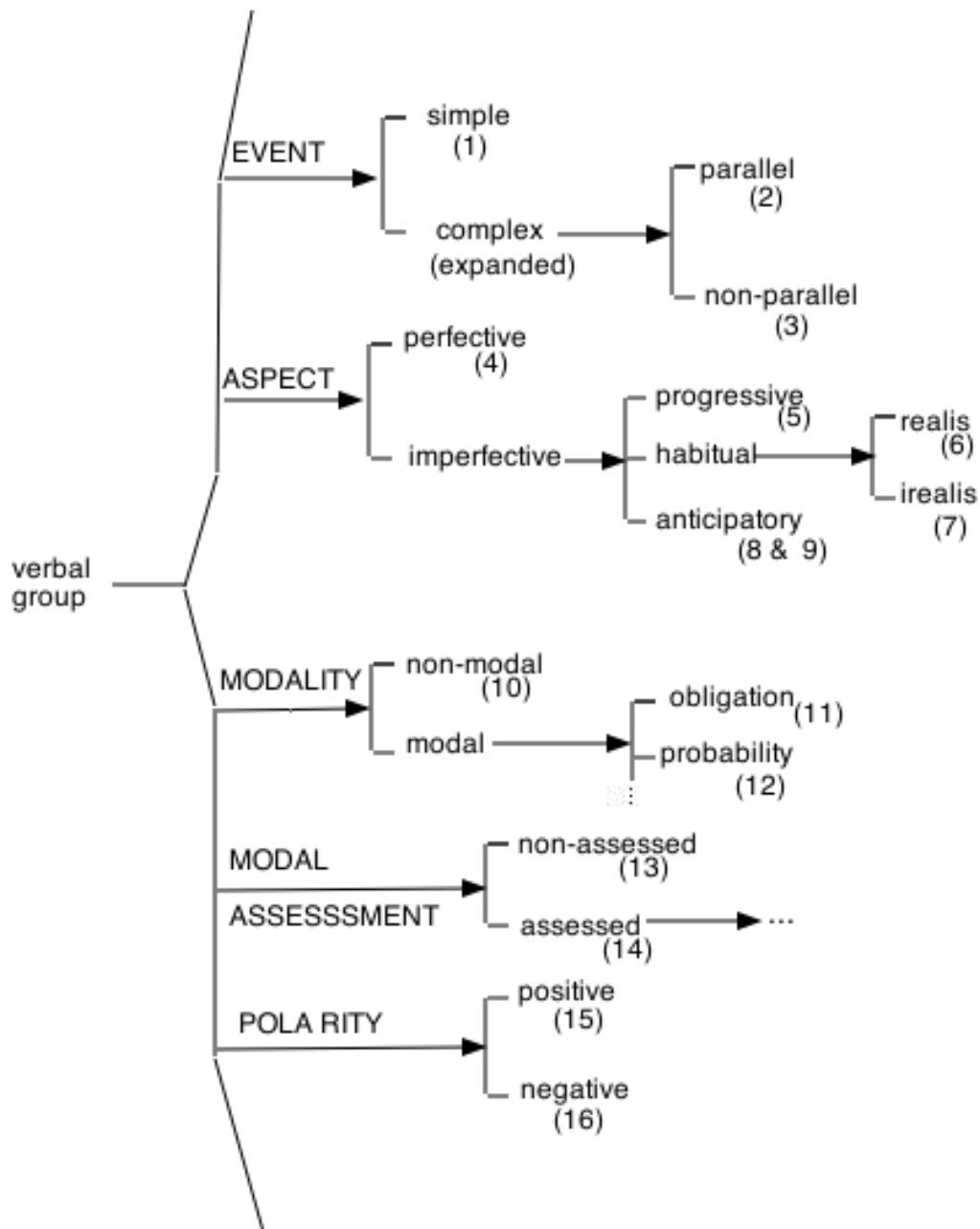


Figure 2-9 Òkó verbal group system network

	Òkó examples and interlineal glossing	English translation
1	<i>Bi- [tebi] mu.</i> They leave me	They have left me.
2	<i>U mune [yọ]</i> You run go	You ran away.
3	<i>Ba a [fọ] oti wuna ije</i> They ASP use stick drag ground	They do/did not drag a stick on the ground
4	<i>Wo ogben [e] be t'ekeke</i> Your child ASP spoil our bicycle	It was your child who damaged our bicycle.
5	<i>Ba [a] we awọma</i> They ASP "making" ridges	They are making ridges.
6	<i>I bi [deki] te ba utun</i> PHP they ASP teach them work	They usually train them.
7	<i>Bi [deki] piya emumu efẹnẹbẹ</i> They ASP learn book there	They do academic work there/it is a venue for academic work.
8	<i>We [e] jen ubowo u tiye ugi a</i> <i>ne mọ</i> You ASP go home you bring basket ASP give me	Get me a basket if you go home.
9	<i>Ne [eke] pila ca ẹkọnẹ</i> You ^{PLU} will return come here	You will come back here.
10	<i>Ti- ruw' e</i> We share it	We (have) shared it
11	<i>Wa ka [lati] puwa imatọ ọnẹbẹ cana u we ke yọ</i> You will MOD wash car that CONJ you go ASP out	You must wash that car before going out.
12	<i>Ti [diye] ruw' e</i> We can share it	We can/could share it.
13	<i>Erire e me cin m'ega</i> Erire ASP NEG ask my- affairs	Erire did not ask after me.
14	<i>Erire e me [sisi] cin m'ega</i> Erire ASP NEG MAS ask my- affairs	Erire did not even ask after me.
15	<i>Oso [pi]</i> Light turn_on	The came on.
16	<i>Oso e [me] pi</i> Light ASP NEG turn on	The did not turn on.

Table 2-36 Examples of the various functions at the verbal group

2.3.5.1 Event: realized by lexical verb

The verbal group includes the function Event, which is usually realized by at least one lexical verb. The lexical verb may include a pronominal affix, which refers to the Subject, for example:

1.	<i>Bi-</i> They	<i>fura</i> Leave
	Event: pronominal affix ^ lexical verb	
They (should leave/have left)		

Table 2-37 Verbal group with pronominal prefix

The pronominal affix marks the Subject of the clause in cases where the Subject is not a separate element realized by a nominal group (with a lexical noun or “emphatic” pronoun as Head). I will, henceforth, restrict my analysis to the purely verbal elements of the verbal group, leaving out the pronominal affix.

The Process of the clause is realized by either a verbal group simplex or a verbal group complex. Each verbal group consists of the Event realized by one lexical verb. In other words, if there are more than one lexical verbs, then there are more than one verbal groups — a complex of verbal groups. Each of the verbs has comparable degree of lexical meaning in the context. I refer to those that can relate with comparable semantic value in the group as parallel while I regard the context where one of the verbs seems to dominate as non-parallel – a kind of dependency structure within the verbal group. I will discuss the meaning potential in the verbal group complex and the mode of realization further, later in this section. Example (2) in Table 2-37 illustrates this phenomenon, popularly known as “serial verb construction”, and it compares with Example (3) in Table 228.

2	<i>Wo oforo</i> Your husband	<i>pila</i> return	<i>ca</i> come
		Event: lexical verb	Event: lexical verb
		vg-complex	
Your husband returned.			

Table 2-38 Verbal group complex realized by two events

Example (3) illustrates a verbal group complex with two lexical verbs realizing the event function with a non-parallel relation. This is common with such a verb as *fo*, a lexical verb which seems to be at the stage of being de-lexicalized and grammaticalized to serve a grammatical function. *Fo* (“carry” - ordinarily an event too) only modifies the meaning of the event, *wuna* (“drag”), which is semantically the main event in the verbal group.

3	<i>Oro</i> Person	<i>a</i> ASP	<i>fo</i> carry	<i>oti</i> stick	<i>wuna</i> drag	<i>ije</i> ground
		Aspect	Event: lexical verb	ng	Event: lexical verb	
		verbal			group	
A person does not drag a stick on the ground it is forbidden to drag a stick on the ground						

Table 2-39 Verbal group complex realized by two Events in non-parallel relation

2.3.5.2 ASPECT: realized by auxiliary

The event may be made more specific (modified) by an auxiliary in Òkó whose status can be a simple Aspect (ASP) prefixed to the event, modal auxiliary (MOD) or modal adjunct. A temporal Aspect (ASP) prefix realizes aspects only, as demonstrated in Example (4) below:

4.	<i>Wo Ogben</i> Your Child	<i>e</i> ASP	<i>be</i> spoil	<i>t'ẹkẹkẹ</i> our bicycle
		Aspect: aux (perfective)	Event	
		Event		
		vg		
It was your child who damaged our bicycle.				

Table 2-40 Modification of the Event by ASP

The Aspect is usually affixed to the Event. This can be substantiated by the fact that no other class of word can occur between the Aspect and the Event and they usually harmonize phonologically. However, I will represent them in different columns for the purpose of analysis. Aspect is a resource for interpreting the internal temporal composition of the event (usually represented by the lexical/main verb), in terms of how it spans through time (Whaley, 1997: 204). Every event has a beginning, a middle and an end, and the grammar sets up the aspect marker to express this. The primary options in the ASPECT system are

perfective and imperfective. Perfective represents an event that is temporally bounded, whereas the imperfective depicts the event as not temporally bounded (also see the PHASE system in Halliday, 1994: Sections 7.4.4 & 7.A.4).

An event may be conceptualized as being in the imperfective. An imperfective aspect selects either progressive, in which case the event is perceived as being in progress; or habitual, in which case it is perceived as being perpetuated continually. The progressive aspect is marked by the ASP affix *a* in example (5) below.

5	<i>Ba-</i> [<i>a</i>] they ASP	<i>wẹ</i> “making”	<i>awọma</i> ridges
	aspect: imperfective (progressive)	Event:	
	Event		
	vg		
	They are making ridges		

Table 2-41 ASP marking the imperfective aspect

The selection of ‘habitual’ leads to the contrast between ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’. A realis event (as in example 6 of Table 231) is one that historical or actually takes or took place, while an irrealis event is one that has not actually taken place but has the potential of doing so.

6	<i>I</i> PHP	<i>bi-</i> they	[<i>deki</i>] ASP	<i>te</i> teach	<i>ba</i> them	<i>utun</i> work
			aspect: imperfective (habitual: realis)	event		
	Event					
	vg					
	They usually teach them work/ they were taught there					

Table 2-42 Verbal group with the Event in the imperfective aspect: realis

The ASP *deki* usually marks a habitual aspect, but in the case of (7) below, it marks irrealis habit. The evidence is that the pronominal affix *bi-* (they) may not construe a specific person — a generic reference in this instance.

7	<i>Bi</i> They	<i>[deki]</i> ASP	<i>piya</i> learn	<i>emumu</i> book	<i>efenēbe</i> there
		aspect: imperfective (habitual: irrealis)	event		
		vg			
	They do academic work there/it is a venue for academic work.				

Table 2-43 Verbal group with the Event in the imperfective aspect: irrealis

The third option in the imperfective aspect is what I describe as “anticipatory”. It is an event that the grammar constructs as being expected by the use of the ASP: *a/e/aka/eke* (see examples 8 & 9 in Table 233 and Table 234 respectively). In many instances I have glossed the operator of the (9) type as “will” to represent the sense of futurity. In actuality, it could be explained in terms of aspectual anticipation in the Òkò system of ASPECT.

8	<i>Usiye</i> Tomorrow	<i>a</i> ASP	<i>gan</i> dawn	<i>o- gba mo</i> you-see me
		aspect: anticipatory	event	
		vg	(independent clause)	
	When it is dawn, wake me/ wake me at dawn			

Table 2-44 Verbal group with an anticipatory aspect (i)

9	<i>Ne</i> You ^{PLU}	<i>[eke]</i> will	<i>pila</i> return	<i>ca</i> come	<i>ekone</i> here
		Aspect: anticipatory	Event	Event	
		vg			
	You will come back here				

Table 2-45 Verbal group with an anticipatory aspect (ii)

2.3.5.3 Modality: realized by Modal Operator

There are two primary options of modality in the verbal group namely modal and non-modal. The event in the verbal group can be expressed without modality as in Table 2-25.

10	<i>ti ruw'</i> we share	<i>ẹ</i> it
	Event	
	vg	

Table 2-46 Non-modalized verbal group

The modal option, on the other hand, is realized by an auxiliary, which could be a modal operator, expressing the speaker's judgement of the event as obligation, possibility, probability usuality, frequency, or willingness (see examples 11 and 12 in Table 236 and Table 237). The event in example (11) is modified by a modal operator, which realizes obligation.

11	<i>U</i> PHP	<i>wa-</i> you	<i>ka</i> ASP	<i>lati</i> must	<i>puwa</i> wash	<i>ẹsa</i> clothes	<i>ẹnabẹ</i> those
			aspect: aux	modal: aux	event		
		vg					
You must wash those clothes							

Table 2-47 Verbal group with a modal auxiliary

The event in Table 237 is modified by a modal operator realizing probability or ability.

12	<i>E</i> She it	<i>diya</i> can	<i>can</i> barb	<i>ẹpen</i> hair
		Auxiliary: modal: (ability)	event	
		vg		
He can cut hair.				

Table 2-48 Modality in the verbal group realized by modal operator

Dina/diya seems to be the only modal operator that Òkó has. Other strategies such as clause complex constructions (sometimes involving an attributive construction) are deployed where obligation is to be expressed. Therefore, modal meanings such as “may/might”, “can/could”, are expressed as *din/diya*. However, Òkó speakers use a ‘more economical’ expressions borrowed from Yoruba to realize obligation as in example (12) below.

2.3.5.4 MODAL ASSESSMENT: realized by Modal Adjunct

The event in the verbal group can be assessed by a class of items that portray the speaker’s feeling of expectation, satisfaction or disappointment with the event. These items have been referred to as Modal Assessment (MAS), as in example (14), Table 239. Òkó has a number of them such as *ka, sisi, mi, pkoto*; again mirroring the attitude of the speaker. However, a non-assessed event would be like example (13) in Table 238.

13	<i>Erire</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>m’ega</i>
	Erire	ASP	NEG	ask	my- affairs
		event			
		vg			
Erire didn’t ask after me					

Table 2-49 Event in a verbal group without modal assessment (MAS)

14	<i>Erire</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>[sisi]</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>m’ega</i>
	Erire	ASP	NEG	MAS	ask	my- affairs
		aspect	Polarity	modality (willingness)	Event	
		vg				
Erire did not even ask after me.						

Table 2-50 Verbal group with a modal assessment element (MAS)

2.3.5.5 POLARITY

The verbal group is also the domain in the clause where polarity is realized in Òkó. Positive polarity is unmarked, as in example (15) - Table 240, but negative polarity is marked by a negative particle (NEG), which can be *e/a*, or *me/ma*, and occurs before the event (see Table 241).

15	<i>osọ aye</i>	<i>[pi]</i>
	Light the	turn on
		Event: positive polarity
		vg
The light came on		

Table 2-51 Polarity marking in the verbal group: positive (unmarked)

16.1	<i>osọ aye</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>[me]</i>	<i>pi</i>
	Light the	ASP	NEG	turn on
		aspect: perfective	polarity: negative	event
		vg		
The light did not come on				

Table 2-52 Polarity marking in the verbal group: negative (marked)

The negative particle usually occurs between the aspect marker and the event as in example (16.2, Table 242) or between the first aspect marker and the modality marker if the former is an imperfective.

16.2	<i>Mọ ogben</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>cẹn cut</i>	<i>icoma</i>
	My child	ASP	NEG		lie
		aspect: imperfective	polarity: negative	Event: LV	
		vg			
My child does not tell a lie					

Table 2-53 Verbal group with negative between aspect and event

However, if the verbal group is initiated by a pronominal clitic as the Subject marker, the negator comes immediately after the clitic as in example (14) below.

2.3.5.6 Multiple modification in the verbal group

It is a bit unusual to find verbal groups that are as extended as in Table 243, but when they occur, they seem to be ordered as in Table 243 and Table 244. That is the negative marker is followed by modality elements, and these are succeeded by aspect markers before the events.

17	<i>Me-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>diya</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>gb'</i>	<i>e</i>
	I	NEG	yet	again	repeat	still	see	3 ^{SG}
		Polarity	MAS	MAS	MAS	aspect	LV	
			Usuality	Frequency	Frequency	Habitual	event	
I still haven't seen him again.								

Table 2-54 Multiple modification at the verbal group (i)

The order of the modality elements seems to be flexible, whereas the aspects have a fixed order.

18	<i>Gbodi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>siye</i>	<i>yo utun</i>
	Gbodi	NEG	can	yet	ASP	again	ASP	do	his work
		Polarity	MOD	MAS			aspect	event	
		ability	usuality		infinitive	habitual	progressive	event	
Ghodi is still not able to continue his work yet.									

Table 2-55 Multiple modification at the verbal group (ii)

When the event is conceptualized as non-habitual imperfective, it is always signalled by the aspect marker *a/e* at the group-initial position. Further aspect marking comes after the modality elements.

aspects	state of verb		Auxiliaries
	perfective (completed relative to the moment of speaking).		∅
	imperfective	progressive	<i>a /e, kè/ k ì</i>
	imperfective	habitual	<i>de/da /deki/dake</i>
modality	Modal Operator		<i>diya/dina</i>
Modal Adjuncts	Modal Assessment		<i>mi, sisi, fu, pile, kpoto etc,</i>

Table 2-56 Categories of auxiliaries in the verbal group

As Creissels (2000: 239) observes with some African languages, auxiliaries may exhibit certain morphological characteristics of verbs (which includes tense, aspect and modality) without necessarily being affixed to the verb. As I have demonstrated above, how auxiliaries

in Òkó exhibit similar characteristics. However, Òkó verbs are not inflected for tense. The construal of the occurrence of an event relative to the time of speaking (Matthiessen, 1995a: 736) is not, strictly speaking, the prerogative of the verbal group. Rather, time adverbials in conjunction with modal affixes are used as resources to construe this (see a similar case in Burmese; Whaley, 1997: 206).

2.3.5.7 Verbal Group Complex

A verbal group could be a lot more complex than I have illustrated in this section. A few other examples of serial verb construction are as follows:

(i)	<i>me-]</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ke jowon</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>fọ</i>	<i>ayen</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>balẹ</i>	<i>[ya]</i>	
	I	ASP	will wait	assist you		use	eye	ASP	look	[it]	
			1	2		3			4		
	I will be watching it for you										
(ii)	<i>bẹbẹ</i>	<i>mune</i>	<i>fọn</i>	<i>yọ</i>	<i>jen</i>	<i>kuru epan</i>	<i>balẹ</i>				
	hide	run	enter	go	go	peep head	look				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	6				
	quickly go and quietly peep										
(iii)	<i>lakata</i>	<i>jin ujun</i>	<i>mamọ</i>	<i>kpọ</i>	<i>yọ</i>	<i>jen e-</i>	<i>tiy'ẹ</i>	<i>holo</i>	<i>pila</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>a</i>
	hurry	open door	assist	ascend	go	go	ASP-take-it	descend	return	come	ASP
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	<i>ne</i>	<i>[neda]</i>									
	give	[your father]									
	11										
	quickly open the door and go up to bring it for your father.										

Table 2-57 More examples of SVC

Although the number of verbs in a series in my entire corpus hardly exceeds five, Òkó has the potential of serializing more than ten verbs at once. In a verbal group complex, verbs of movement usually constitute the majority of the components. Although a few points have

been mentioned about this process in Section 2.3.5.1, a lot more interesting features can be explored on this concept. I will pursue the motif for serial verb construction further, the kind of relations between the elements, the functional contexts of their use and so on, in Chapter 5 where I discuss the logical metafunctional mode of meaning.

2.3.6 Adverbial Group

The adverbial group is the unit for realizing the circumstance in the transitivity structure of the clause and Adjunct in the interpersonal structure of the clause. The group selects from items that may generally be classified as adverbs. I say “generally” because, in most cases, the adverbial items can function as other grammatical classes; for example, items such as *nemise*, *lakata*, *jese* and *moso* can function as lexical verbs. Others like *akana* (now), *iren*, (the day before yesterday), *igan* can be modified by the deictic *one* (*one* or *onebe*), hence, they could be perceived as nominal. Similarly, other items, like *cana* (then), could be conjunctive in function. Table 246 presents items functioning within the adverbial group.

class of group	class of word	Items	Examples
adverbial group	adverbs (grammatical: intensifiers)	<i>kaba,</i>	<i>kaba esusnukọ ọ ka I ma yọ ubo.</i> Since day.that you say I NEG go home “after such a long period, didn’t you expect me to go home?”
	adverbs (lexical: time)	<i>akana</i>	<i>Osibi e ni ya akana</i> Osibi ASP want it now “Osibi wants her thing now”
		<i>igan,</i>	<i>gana bi ye su oworo igan na?</i> how they ASP marry wife then ICP
		<i>iren,</i>	<i>Wiya ba ogben iren</i> His/her mother bear child two days ago “2 ^{SG} mother had a baby two days ago”
		<i>esunube,</i>	<i>E re esunube</i> 2 ^{SG} arrive (at) day that “2 ^{SG} arrived.there that day”
	adverbs (lexical: place)	<i>efenebe,</i>	<i>Fura efenebe</i> Leave place.that “leave that place”
	adverbs (lexical: quality)	<i>ronmuro</i>	<i>A gawo esa aye ronmuro</i> S/he sew cloth the good s/he sewed the clothe nicely
	adverbs (lexical: manner)	<i>nemise</i>	<i>I wiya e nemise</i> PHP her.mother ASP. meticulously <i>e guru ya iwu</i> ASP reparaire her body “her mother would meticulously adorne her”
		<i>cerayen,</i>	<i>a- cerayen den mo- očen</i> s/he deliberate march me foot “s/he deliberately stepped on my foot”
		<i>lakata,</i>	<i>ka wiya lakata mune we ca</i> and her mother hurry run exit come “her mother also quickly came out”

	<i>jese,</i>	<i>Idido abẹ kọ jese wo efa-ore</i> flowers they pack gather be.in place-one “the flowers were all in one place”
	<i>gbogba</i>	<i>U- me je wo iwu oya gbogba</i> You- NEG eat your body suffer in vain “Do not suffer for yourself fro nothing”
	<i>bile</i>	<i>Ero abẹ da ta ikiba</i> People they ASP contribute money <i>bile</i> together “people would contribute money”
adverbs (lexical: degree)	<i>re,</i>	<i>ọtẹẹfe re owo</i> Pot full reach mouth “The pot was full to the brim”
adverbs (lexical: modal)	<i>cece,</i>	<i>ogben a cece gwe ca</i> child ASP just grow come “when a child has just grown up to the stage”
	<i>moso,</i>	<i>o moso yo o fwe</i> you careful go ASP carry it “you carefully go and carry it.”
	<i>fu,</i>	<i>aye e me fu wa ucucuro</i> s/he ASP NEG MAS be quiet person, “not being a dumb person...”
	<i>sisi,</i>	<i>ufo e sisi cẹn ya wan</i> death ASP MAS cut him kill “even if he dies suddenly,...”
	<i>mi,</i>	<i>Ogben ne e e mi re</i> Child that ASP NEG MAS celebrate <i>ẹkọn na</i> war RCP “a child that has not yet celebrated manhood”

		<i>ki,</i>	<i>Iya aye ki jin opolo</i> Woman the MAS open doorway “the woman just open the door”
	comparison	<i>ka,</i>	<i>I bi deki siye ka aye aka imu na.</i> PHP they ASP do also it as festival RCP “They also do it just like a celebration”
	adverbs: ideophones	<i>daadaa</i>	<i>E mi gwe daadaa akana</i> s/he MAS grow very.well now “s/he’ is now well grown up”
		<i>korokpa</i>	<i>Ededa aye don korokpa</i> Man the old very-well “The man is very old”
		<i>gureyen</i>	<i>Ogben yuma gureyen</i> Child lean extremely “The child is extremely lean”
		<i>yanfuyafu</i>	<i>Ajayi epen fe yanfuyafu</i> Ajayi hair full extremely “Ajyi’s hair is terribly grown”
phrase	preposition	<i>wo</i>	<i>Enane taye cen osa eyen gana</i> Those before cut osa year how.many <i>wo urun na</i> be in back RCP “those that had previously been initiated into manhood”
		<i>ne</i>	<i>Gan wo oforo ne mo</i> Greet your husband for me
		<i>keye</i>	<i>Yo utun-efa keye yo uboo</i> His/her work-place near his/her home “His/her office is close to his/her home”

Adverbs:(con junctive)	<i>cana</i>	<i>cana, wiya fọ yọ ogben.</i> Then , mother take her child “Her mother then took her child”
	<i>akọ,</i>	<i>I bi dakẹ kọ ẹsa akọ bi</i> PHP they ASP dress.up cloth as they <i>siye a kọ ẹsa a sẹ</i> do ASP dress.up cloth ASP celebrate <i>ogben ovia ẹnabẹ ana</i> child maidenhood those DP “they usually dress up the way they do in the case of maidenhood celebration.
	<i>aka</i>	<i>I bi deki siye ka ayẹ aka imu na</i> PHP they ASP do also it as festival RCP “They also do it just like a celebration”

Table 2-58 Inventory of words in the adverbial group/prepositional phrase

2.3.7 Conjunction Group

Conjunctives are logical resources for constructing complex structures. Their function cuts across the lexicogrammatical ranks. They realize the function “Conjunctive Adjunct” in the context of the clause. They have a significant function in the logical metafunction, by linking two clauses into a clause complex. Within the clause, a conjunction constructs complex groups, from simple ones. They also construct complex structures at the rank of the group and the word and the morpheme.

In the textual system of the clause, the conjunction group functions as a structural (conjunctive) Theme item (see Chapter 3). Actually, it is difficult to perceive conjunctives at the group rank, because the conjunction element is usually made up of one lexical item without modification. However, clauses such as “*wa a gb’ẹ*”, “*e de ki siye*”, and “*e siye ke*”, are rankshifted to perform cohesive conjunctive functions. These are instances of grammatical metaphors in the textual metafunction. There may be a need to expand the perception of the conjunction group to accommodate such instances.

There are three main types of conjunctions in Ọkó. *Cana* links only clauses into a clause complex, marking the clause it initiates temporally as subsequent to the antecedent clause.

The other two are *aka* (additive), which functions at all ranks like the English “and” and *ama* (adversative) which is also restricted to inter-clausal relational functions.

2.3.8 The Rank of Word

In this section I will focus on the classes of words in Ọ̀kọ̀; particularly the three main classes, and the relationship between a word and a phrasal word. The word is a grammatical unit in Ọ̀kọ̀. However, when it comes to writing the language, the unit could be problematic in its definition. The problem may be a consequence of the intrusion of the sense of the articulatory process on the sense of wording in the language - an interstratal realizational problem. Speech in Ọ̀kọ̀ is usually characterized by a lot of phonological elision, assimilation and contraction of sounds, resulting in fuzzy boundaries between words. It may explain the reason why a few people who have attempted to write strips of the language come up with different boundaries for the same words. This problem, however, does not undermine the fact that the word exists as a distinct unit on the lexicogrammatical rank scale.

For the purpose of illustration, I want to revisit the examples given in Table 29 above.

i.	Yọ omodore ase yon
ii.	Ede ki yiwo (sic) fọre ba
iii.	Menutun moben
iv.	mekewutun mefa
v.	tẹda newapan na
vi.	tefo ugbugbodi newi wuru

Table 2-59 Various attempts at writing Oko

The word boundaries adopted in each of the excerpt clauses above are highly contestable on linguistic grounds. It is difficult to understand the scientific basis for their definition, they lack consistency; and the glossing will be a Herculean task. However, as a linguistically informed speaker of the language, I can appreciate the difficulty in segmenting some Ọ̀kọ̀ words morphologically. The morphological spectrum of Ọ̀kọ̀ words would range from those traditionally described as “agglutinating” through “fusional” to “polysynthetic” types (see Comrie 1981, 39-44), and this may be one of the sources of the confusion in marking word boundaries. However, I am not using morphological criteria for typologizing the language in this research due to their shortcomings (see Cafarrel et al, 2004: 55).

In this research I have employed the word for word glossing as one of the strategies for determining word boundaries in connected speech. My approach is to recognize any item as a word if only it can be defined by a linguistic class membership - that is, an item that has a paradigmatic potential in a group configuration, and exists as an independent lexical or

grammatical item that can mean in a specific context. Their repeated occurrence within a text or across different texts supports this decision. This method has proved effective and has been helpful in the analyses at the lexicogrammatical level. As such, the clauses above can be glossed as follows:

- i.* *yọ-* *ọmọdọrẹ* *a* *ca* *ẹyọn*
 His nose ASP ooze blood
 His nose is bleeding
- ii.* *e-* *deki* *yi* *iwo* *kẹ* *fọrẹba*
 He ASP weep cry be excess
 He cries too much
- iii.* *Me-* *e* *ni* *utun* *ọbẹn*
 I ASP want job another
 I am looking for another job
- iv.* *Me-* *e* *ke* *wo* *utun* *ẹfa*
 I ASP will be job place
 I will be in the office
- v.* *T'ẹda* *nẹ* *wo* *apan* *na*
 Our-father that be up RPCP
 Our father which art in heaven
- vi.* *Tẹ-* *fọ* *ugbugbodi* *nẹ* *wọ-* *iwuru*
 We take glory give your name
 We give honour to your name (Hallowed be thy name).

Table 2-60 Suggested word boundaries using linguistic class membership for earlier writing attempts

2.3.8.1 Classes of Words

I will divide Òkó words into two broad categories according to their status in-group grammar and their structural function within the clause. The first category comprising four members (nominal, verbal, adverbial and conjunctive) have structural functions within the clause and could be termed major groups. The second category includes pronominal, adjectival, and prepositional groups that function as modifiers in the major groups. They can

be regarded simply as minor groups. Therefore, noun, lexical verb and adverb are members of the primary class. For example, a noun functions as the Head in a nominal group. Examples of major classes of words are in Table 2-47.

noun	verb	Adverb
<i>igila</i> “yam”	<i>je</i> “eat”	<i>mọsọ</i> “carefully”
<i>ọtọn</i> “ear” “beauty”	<i>mune</i> “run”	<i>nemise</i> “meticulously”
<i>ikiba</i> “money”	<i>fọ</i> “carry”	<i>tititi</i> “long”(temporal)
<i>ekpurakpa</i> “corn”	<i>guma</i> “pour”	<i>urorun</i> “morning”
	<i>kpo</i> “climb”	<i>ẹfa</i> “somewhere”

Table 2-61 Different classes of words in Òkó

2.3.8.2 Noun

A noun functions as the Head (Thing) of a simple (non-metaphorized) nominal group. In the grammar of the word, human nouns (and such only, except *one* (*ẹnẹ*) the word for “animal(s)”) can be inflected for number, as in Table 248 for example,

<i>oro</i>	“person” ^{SING}	=	<i>ero</i>	“persons”
<i>ogben</i>	“child” ^{SING}	=	<i>egben</i>	“children”
<i>osuda</i>	“elder” ^{SING}	=	<i>isuda</i>	“elders”
<i>ocen</i>	“leg” ^{SING}	=	<i>ecen</i>	“legs”
<i>ovia</i>	“maiden” ^{SING}	=	<i>ivia</i>	“maidens”
<i>uba</i>	“hand” ^{SING}	=	<i>eba</i>	“hands”

Table 2-62 Nouns inflected for number

Thus, none of the nouns in Table 2-47 can be inflected for number. One of the characteristics of a noun is that it usually begins with a vowel sound.

A noun can also take a genitive clitic. To express possession, the first vowel sound of the noun is doubled and the second vowel receives a low tone; for example, *ógbén* becomes *óògben* (see the inflectional process in 2.3.10.1 for more explanation).

2.3.8.3 Verbs

I have earlier identified two main parts of the verb: lexical part (e.g. *mune* “run” and *kpukpuse* “break - into pieces”) and verbal prefix serving auxiliary functions (e.g. *a* - making imperfection- and *ke* -marking anticipation or *di* - marking modality). The lexical part of the verb is not inflected for anything. However, there are two pairs of verbs in Òkó that, when

they function as the Predicator in a clause, seem to reflect the number of the Complement, proactively, as in the examples in Table 2-49

verb	meaning	verb	meaning	Example
<i>fọ</i> “bring”	(as of singular or massive object)	<i>kọ</i> “pack”	(as in picking up more than one object)	<i>fọ ogben ca gan mọ</i> “bring the child for a visit”
				<i>kọ egben ca gan mọ</i> “bring the children for a visit”
<i>nẹ</i> “throw”	(as of singular object)	<i>guma</i> “throw”/“pour”	(as of more than one or liquid object)	<i>iya ka u ma nẹ ya fuwa</i> “mother says not to throw it away”
				<i>iya ka u me gum’ẹ /ba fuwa</i> “mother says not to pour it throw them away”

Table 2-63 Examples of verbs that indicate quantity

The two pairs of verbs *fọ/kọ* and *nẹ/guma* are in the same domain of moving objects. No other verbs are known to portray these types of characteristics.

2.3.8.4 Òkó Pronouns

The pronominal system has some interesting characteristics. Pronominal items have functions at different rank structures: they may operate as free, “emphatic” pronouns in the structure of the clause, or as bound pronominal prefixes in the structure of the verb. In addition, possessive pronominals serve as deictic clitics in the structure of the nominal group. Table 2-50 shows how pronominal items pattern to function in various contexts.

Person	Number	Root	Subject Prefix		Emphatic	Complement	Possessive
1st	SG	<i>m</i>	non-	progressive	<i>amẹ</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>m-</i>
			<i>i- / e-</i>	<i>mV-</i>			
	PL	<i>t</i>	<i>tV-</i>		<i>aṣọ</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>t-</i>
2nd	SG	<i>w</i>	<i>u- / wV-</i>	<i>wV-</i>	<i>awọ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>w-</i>
	PL	<i>n</i>	<i>nV-</i>		<i>anọ</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>n-</i>
3rd	SG	<i>y</i>	<i>e- / a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ayẹ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>y-</i>
	PL	<i>b</i>	<i>b/ -</i>		<i>abẹ</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>b-</i>
			verbal group		clause		nominal group

Table 2-64 Structural functions of pronouns

Table 2-51 presents an inventory of pronouns and some examples of clauses where they are used.

Class of group	Class of word	Class of morpheme		Item	
Nominal group	Pronoun: personal	In perfected Process	+ Vowel Harmony	In Non-perfected Process	+ Vowel Harmony
		<i>I / e = I</i>	E.g. <i>I me din</i> “I don’t know”	<i>m' = I</i>	[e / a:] E.g. <i>ma a wa aḍe</i> “I don’t take alcohol”
		<i>t' = we</i> . E.g. <i>Te gba ba</i> “we saw them”	[i: / e / Σ / a:] <i>t' = we</i>	[e / a]	
		<i>u / w' = you</i> ^(SG) E.g. <i>u j' ijen ke?</i> “Have you eaten?”	[e / a:]	<i>w' = you</i> ^(SG)	[e / a:]E.g. <i>Wa ka ou bowo usiye</i> “you will go home tomorrow”
		<i>n' = you</i> ^(pl)	[i: / e / a], E.g. <i>Ne me pi ma aton</i> “you are not listening to me”	<i>n' = you</i> ^(pl)	
		<i>e / a = s/he/it</i> E.g. <i>e e yeri</i> “3 ^{SG} is yawning”		<i>a = s/he/it</i>	
		<i>b' = they</i>	[i: / e / a] <i>b' = they</i>		
	Pronoun: Interrogative		<i>era</i> = who ^{SG} , <i>erana</i> = who ^{PL} , <i>ena</i> = what, <i>ona</i> = which ^{SG} , <i>ena</i> = which ^{PL}		
	Pronoun: Relative		<i>efena</i> = who ^{SG} , <i>enane</i> = who ^{PL} <i>ekena</i> = what, <i>one(ne)</i> = which		

	Pronoun: in the Objective case			<i>mu</i> “me” <i>tu</i> “us” <i>u</i> “you” ^{SING} <i>nu</i> “you” ^{PLU} <i>ya</i> “him/her/it” <i>ba</i> them
	Personal pronoun in isolation/ Subjective/ Nominative case			<i>ame</i> “me” <i>ato</i> “we” <i>awo</i> “you” ^{SING} <i>ano</i> “you” ^{PLU} <i>aye</i> “him/her/it” <i>abe</i> “them”

Table 2-65 Inventory of pronouns in different contexts

2.3.8.5 Adjectives

Adjectives function within the structure of the nominal group either as epithets or as items in the nominal group of the intensive attributive relational clause type. Two types can be identified in Ọkọ; namely those that are also used as verbs and pattern paradigmatically as verbs. I have referred to this group as “verbal adjectives”. There is a sense of “material process”²⁷ or mental action in the meaning they convey. Table 2-52 contains a few examples of verbal adjectives.

Word	Adjectival meaning	Verbal meaning
<i>be</i>	spoilt	to spoil
<i>sin</i>	dirty	to dirty
<i>yen</i>	smell	to smell
<i>can</i>	wide	to widen
<i>kore</i>	compact	to ram
<i>funa</i>	swollen	to inflate

Table 2-66 A list of verbal adjectives

The second group is a set that I have referred to as “pure adjectives” (see List 2-13). In distribution, some of them also pattern like the first group above: (i) they post-modify the noun, taking the first slot after the noun in the system of noun modification (see 2.3.4.1

²⁷ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of material process.

above) (ii) some others can also be used in the progressive form. However they differ from the first group because they cannot function as the Predicator in an imperative mood. Below is a list of a few of them.

adjective	translation
<i>oyanyan</i>	“red”
<i>puen</i>	“narrow”
<i>won</i>	“clean”
<i>yọ</i>	“many”
<i>ren</i>	“lazy”

Table 2-67 Pure adjectives

For example, it would not be grammatical to say

**Won ya.*

**Yọ obo.*

In other words, they are purely descriptive in meaning.

2.3.8.6 Ideophones

Doke (1935: 118) defines an ideophone as:

A vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity.

Ideophonic words in Ọ̀kọ̀ mainly serve intensifying functions. They are frequently associated with and qualify adjectives and adverbs. Other African languages are also said to contain a class of words of this description (see Watters, 2000: 196; also see articles in Voeltz & Hatz eds, 2001). The words are unique phonologically, in that they are usually made up of duplicated syllables and sounds (see the discussion on the rank of morpheme)

ideophones	denotation
<i>kpaakpaa</i>	flat
<i>ogologolo</i>	singly
<i>gadagba</i>	huge
<i>pɛpɛpɛ</i>	thin and flat
<i>danaa</i>	obliviously
<i>sɛsɛsɛ</i>	sluggishly
<i>gɛgɛnɛgɛ</i>	slim.

Table 2-68 Òkó examples of Ideophones

This group of words is important because it seems to provide another resource through which the language increases its vocabulary. Whether they modify adjectives or adverbs they show phonological resemblance in their formation. And because these words are sometimes used without their headwords, we could hypothesize that such words are in the transitional stages of becoming full-fledged members of the adverbial or adjectival classes.

2.3.8.7 Preposition

Òkó does not seem to have developed a separate word class that can be clearly referred to as preposition. One word that appears to serve as a general prepositional function in the language is *wo*. However, it conflates the functions of both preposition and verb. It functions like “coverbs” in Chinese (see Halliday & MacDonald, 2004: 317). I will also analyze it as a coverb (COV). *Wo* denotes be in/ be on/ be at/ (but also realizes a full verbal meaning, “put” for example:

<i>fɔ</i>	<i>wɔ- asɔna</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>adan osi</i>
take	your bag	put	stool top
Put your bag on the stool			

Table 2-69 *Wo* (coverb), conflating prepositional and verbal meaning

Another word of similar function as *wo* is *keye* (“be”/ “put near”), but it is more adverbial in meaning than preposition.

<i>a- fọ</i>	<i>ogben a- à</i>	<i>keye</i>	<i>igilà</i>
she take	child, she ASP	put. near	yam
She put the child near the yam			

Table 2-70 Keye functioning as a coverb

One word that is closest to a prepositional meaning is *ne* (“for” or “on behalf of”). The word still has a remote coverbal interpretation of “give”.

Osibina a	bale	orikpokpo ke	ne no
God	ASP watch	road	ASP for you ^{PL}
May God keep protecting you on the road			

Table 2-71 ne remotely functioning as a coverb

The words *wo*, *keye* and *ne* which may be regarded as prepositions also function grammatically as verbs. The ambivalence in function of elements that construe prepositional meaning seems to raise some question about the existence of the class, “preposition” in Ọ̀kọ̀. This will not be further investigated in this study.

Ọ̀kọ̀ vocabulary is relatively small compared to those of other linguistic groups around it. Perhaps that explains why speakers quickly resort to a loan from a neighbouring language when occasion demands it. As the elderly speakers of the language resound from time to time, “*Ọ̀kọ̀ e me (pile) gule*”: meaning, Ọ̀kọ̀ is not/no longer complete. But why this is so and when the situation started being noticed is a potential subject of further research. Another way of getting round lexical “deficiency” especially for the noun word class is through polysemy – an extension of one lexical item to mean several things, most often within the same semantic field (see Table 75).

Lexical Item	Domains Of Meaning
<i>uboo</i> (house)	house, home, accommodation,
<i>utun</i> (work)	work, function, role, job, message,
<i>ega</i> (speech)	speech, issue, trouble, behaviour
<i>ore</i> (way)	Way, opportunity, avenue, means, chance

Table 2-72 Elasticity (semantic fields) of lexical items

2.3.9 The rank of morpheme

The morpheme is the lowest unit on the lexicogrammatical rank scale, but it has no internal structure of its own. It functions within the grammar of the word (Matthiessen, 1995a: 76), but it is possible to observe certain morphological tendencies like inflection and derivation. Therefore, the attention given to the rank of morpheme in this chapter derives from my interest in accounting for as many resources of Òkó as possible. The immediate interest here is the internal structure of the word and how the morphemes may be organized to realize it. The word formation in Òkó consists of relatively simple processes. This is summarized in Table 2-73 Òkó Morphology.

MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS	STRUCTURE	MORPHEME	EXAMPLE
INFLECTION	a. Stem only		<i>oro</i>
	b. Stem + prefix	<i>gbamekòṅ</i> (“to fight war” + <i>o-</i>	<i>ogbamekòṅ</i> “soldier”
	c. Stem + suffix	<i>eṣen</i> “music” + <i>-ro</i> “person”	<i>eṣenro</i> “musician”
	d. Stem + (number/morpheme contrast)	<i>/o/</i> contrasts with <i>/e/</i>	<i>ero</i>
DERIVATION			
FREE	Root	Single	<i>ebi</i> , “water” <i>ekpakpala</i> “gun”
REDUPLICATION	Root 1 + root 1	Symmetric repetition of part of the word.	<i>feyanfeyan</i> “all”, <i>nene</i> “that”- (relative) <i>one-one</i> “whichever”
COMPOUNDING	Root 1 + root 2	Two different roots combined in a word	<i>ogben-opa</i> “youth” <i>ogbenikeke</i> (<i>ogben okeke</i>) “small child) = kid. <i>oti-igben</i> “bottom of a tree”
COMPLEXING	Free + bound morpheme		<i>ebero</i> , “enemy person” <i>oyenro</i> “outside person” (stranger) <i>oyiboro</i> “white person”

Table 2-73 Òkó Morphology

In Òkó, morphemes function singularly or in combination with other morphemes to realize a meaningful word. “Meaning” is used loosely here, considering that even words and phrases have no meanings of their own except as defined ultimately, by their functions in the clause. There are both free and bound morphemes. A free morpheme is made up of the stem

only - the base - for example, the word *oro* is made up of one morpheme. Alternatively, a word can be inflected in various ways for additional meaning. Inflection is a kind of logical relation that holds between two or more morphemes in a word. We can also discuss the kinds of relation in terms of taxis. A paratactic relation holds between two free morphemes (each being a potential base), whereas a hypotactic relation obtains between a free and a bound morpheme. In a hypotactic inflection, the affix can precede the stem as a prefix; or it could follow the stem as a suffix. A third strategy for inflecting the stem is one that is realized in a noun pluralization process. This is discussed in greater details in subsequent sub-sections.

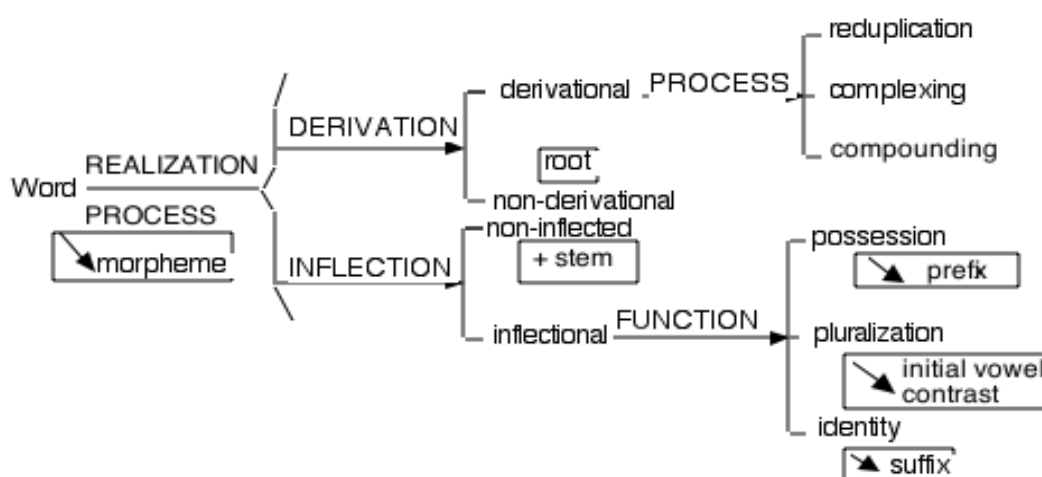


Figure 2-10 Word grammar system network

2.3.10 Inflectional Process

Inflection is an affixation process that occurs, but in very restricted cases in the nouns and verbs classes. Two major types of affixes in Òkó word grammar are prefix and suffix. A third, but also restricted one is found in the process of pluralization. A Prefix functions as a genitive marker, and Subject marker in the environment of a verbal group

2.3.10.1 Genitive Prefix

In *ẹ̀dẹ̀da ẹ̀pẹ̀rẹ̀* “father’s portion” *ẹ̀wanro uubu*, a “prisoner’s room” *mọ ọ̀da oofile-ọ̀cẹ̀n* “my junior brother/sister’s shoe”, the possessive morpheme is the first vowel sound produced with a high tone (tone 2). This contrasts with the following tone (tone 1), which is in the low

tone. The possessive clitic is attached to the possession rather than the possessor, as in some other languages such as English²⁸.

2.3.10.2 Pronominal Clitic

A Pronoun morpheme also serves as a prefix cliticised to a verb to mark the Subject. A pronominal prefix in this function is referred to as Subject Marker (S-MKR) throughout the chapters of this thesis. Examples of pronominal prefixes are given in Section 2.3.8.4.

2.3.10.3 Number Marking

In the pluralization of nouns, the contrast between singular and plural is reflected in the choice between /o/ representing the singular morpheme and /e/ representing the plural morpheme at the initial position of the word. Number contrast is restricted to human or personified descriptive vocabulary. Beside this domain, which deals with the human being, human part or human relationship, there is no inflection of nouns for number as earlier mentioned (see 1.1.1.2 for illustration).

2.3.10.4 Suffix

The only bound suffix in the language is *ro*, which obviously derives from the word *oro*, meaning “person”. It is added to a noun stem to relate an object to an “owner”, as in List 214 below. With suffixation, there is no change in class.

word	gloss	suffix	derived word	translation
<i>igila</i>	yam	+ <i>-ro</i>	= <i>igilaro</i>	yam trader
<i>Òkó</i>	Òkó	+ <i>-ro</i>	= <i>okuro</i>	Òkó indigene
<i>ewu</i>	down	<i>-ro</i>	= <i>ewuro</i>	someone from down (street)
<i>ijoba</i>	government	<i>-ro</i>	= <i>ijobaro</i>	someone in government

Table 2-74 Inflection through suffixation

The only other instance where *ro* is used is with ordinatives as in: *otetaro*, *onenaro*, *upipiro* (third, fourth, fifth respectively).

²⁸ A different grammatical resource (like the nominal group) could be used to express the possession. In the case of such a nominal group, the possessor is realized by a pronominal clitic (such as *yɔ utun/y'utun* “his work” *to osuda/t'-osuda*, “our elder brother) functions as a Deictic in the nominal group (see deictic pronominal clitic in Table 224).

2.3.11 Derivational Processes

Derivational affixation is grammatically motivated. It occurs in instances where a prefix signals a change of class from that of the original stem (See Halliday and ,Matthiessen, 2004: 51). Matthiessen (1995a: 101) refers to this as “transcategorization”.

2.3.11.1 Derivational Prefix

Derivational processes are realized in the same way, no matter which classes are involved. For example, /o/ or its close variant /ɔ:/ is a bound morpheme usually prefixed to a verb (phrase) or adjective to nominalize it; or prefixed to a quasi verb to mark it for a full-fledged adjective; as in Table 2-57.

<i>fɔra</i> ^v (bath)	<i>ɔfɔfɔra</i> ^{adj} (the act of bathing – bathing, or for bathing)
<i>mu uba</i> (clean hand)	<i>omunuba</i> (one for cleaning hand – towel)
<i>mwɛn</i> ^{v-adj} (rot(ten))	<i>omwɛmwɛ</i> ^{adj or n} (rotten one)

Table 2-75 Examples of prefixes realizing class change

2.3.11.2 Morpheme reduplication

Morpheme reduplication serves the purpose of emphasis while compounding serve classificatory function. Reduplication is a process which Ọkọ deploys for descriptive purposes – ‘adjectives and particularly adverbs’. It is a useful process when nominalizing an adjective; for example:

adjective	translation	noun	translation
<i>fon</i>	“be far”	<i>ɔfifon</i>	“far one”
<i>mɔ</i>	“be thick”	<i>omomɔn</i>	“thick one”
<i>kere</i>	“be small”	<i>okikere</i>	“small one”

Table 2-76 Pure adjectives nominalized through reduplication process

The form of adverbs (especially of manner and extent) appears similar to adjectives that have undergone, derivational process to realize nominals, for example:

adverb	translation
<i>Sẹ̀sẹ̀</i>	“slowly”
<i>giragira</i>	“hastily”
<i>gbogbogbo</i>	“entirely”
<i>tititi</i>	“until/prolonged action”
<i>parakata,</i>	“hugely”

Table 2-77 Adverbs with form like adjectives with reduplicated morphemes

However, reduplication in the adverbial class differs from the one of adjective above. First, it is obligatory process in the sense that a reduction in the number of syllables may result in an item that does not make sense in Ọ̀kọ́; second, the outcome of reduplication in the adverbial class does not bring about transcategorization (a change in class).

Finally, I want to discuss the use of particles in Ọ̀kọ́. Most of the particles function at clause rank, and majority of them are relevant to the MOOD system (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of these). However there are some particles that combine interpersonal functions with other ones. For example, the “Attention Seeking particle” (ASP), *so* and “Informative Offering Ending Particle” (IEOP) *go* also function as logical elements between two clauses, to mark the end of the first clause, while *i/u* (PHP) also has textual functions. See Appendix 2 for a list of all particles.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted an exploration of the organization of Ọ̀kọ́ focusing on the basic systems at the various levels of analysis. The first domain of investigation of the semioticization is the sounding of the language. The phonology of Ọ̀kọ́ is the fundamental resource upon which further analysis of the language can be based. The phonological description accounts for 28 phonemes among which 21 are consonants and 7 are vowels. I provided a brief overview of systems across the phonological rank scale.

With the arguments emanating from the phonological system, I then proposed 27 characters in the Ọ̀kọ́ orthography, after considering some other (but less scientific) suggestions. The Roman script is preferred, as this is not only deemed adequate for representing Ọ̀kọ́ in writing, but also it is the popular choice among agnate languages in which some measure of written work has been done.

After suggesting a writing system for Ọ̀kọ̀, I began to give a general overview of the lexicogrammar using the systemic functional approach as the interpretive resource. The area I explored extensively in this chapter is the content plane especially the lexicogrammar. With support from the literature, I studied the natural connection between meaning and its wording. I examined the clause as the domain of the three metafunctional modes of meaning, exploring briefly, how the clause is configured to carry out these functions. I have not dwelt too much on this area in this chapter, because the organization of the clause as a resource for meaning will constitute the bulk of the next three chapters.

At the level of the lexicogrammar, I took a survey of the function-rank matrix. I explored the grammatical units of Ọ̀kọ̀ and how they can be arranged in a scale of rank according to sizes. Beginning from the rank of the clause, I began to review the various systems at each rank, examining the grammatical structural functions. The grammar of the group is observed to be of particular importance as a great deal of work is done there. The nominal and verbal groups seem to carry a lot of burden in the grammar. The nominal group has an interesting modification system, while the verbal group organizes as a complex structure, with the serialization of the Events in form of “serial verb construction”. This is not entirely surprising as I have earlier observed that verb complexing of this nature is characteristic of languages of the West Benue-Congo stock such as Yoruba, Igbo and Edoid clusters (see Chapter 1). Furthermore I also took note of the prefixation of the Subject marker at the verbal group system.

Lesser work is done at the lower ranks, as there is no general marking for gender or number or honorification. At the rank of the word, I also observed the dominance of the noun and verbs. The territories of these two classes of words seem to cover some other classes like the adjectives, adverbs and items that play prepositional roles. On the other hand, I observed an elaborate system of particles, which perform various functions across the ranks. The important roles played by the strategy of ideophones in creating items to fill the gaps for adverbs and adjectives, makes them worthy of attention in this chapter.

In the next Chapter (3), I will move on to the systemic interpretation of Ọ̀kọ̀, taking up the textual metafunction. I will explore how each clause is organised as a message and information and I will also investigate what the principles of organisation are for specific texts of different sociocultural description.

3 Òkó Textual Grammar

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 I described in very general terms how meaning is construed and organised metafunctionally (simultaneously into ideational, interpersonal, and textual systems) and then realised lexicogrammatically as the systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME. Each of these systems represents a different strategy, through which meaning is created in a language. The ideational metafunction construes our experience of the world around and inside us as meaning in its configurational nature, while the interpersonal metafunction enacts social roles and relationships as meaning; and the textual metafunction transforms ideational and interpersonal meanings into information that “flows” with the unfolding text. This flow of information includes the method of development of a text. In this Chapter I will begin to explore the resources of the textual metafunction and how they are deployed in the service of the meaning making process in Òkó.

The first section of the Chapter will examine the structural organization of Òkó text, focusing on what regularity we find in the organization of texts in the language for textual meaning making purposes. First, the section will investigate how an Òkó speaker guides his listener in the interpretation of the clause as a message and whether observable patterns can be interpreted as exemplifying the systemic functional notion of Theme and Rheme. These questions will be raised using a text taken from a natural context. I do not expect a straightforward answer to the questions; neither do I assume that the results will be conclusive. For as Matthiessen (1995a: 586) observes, such a conclusion “requires extensive discourse based work across a range of registers”. The stance taken in the present chapter (and for all other analytical ones for that matter) is that of starting a kind of dialogue on issues raised, which I hope others would make contributions to, and I would explore in greater depths in the future, given more data resources. Section 3.1.2 will then explore the system of THEME in Òkó, and the options available in this textual system and how we can classify the options. Section 3.1.3 will describe the functional variation of Theme as determined by

registers. Theme variation will be investigated through the role of the context in the selection of Theme and the concept of Theme progression in a variety of texts.

3.1.1 Textual Grammar

Textual grammar provides the speaker with resources to organize ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared with an addressee. I will return to the mode of this relationship in greater detail shortly. This role of textual grammar in language description gives it the recognition as an enabling system (see Halliday, 1978: 131; 1985b; Martin, 1992; Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995b: 6; Teruya, 1998: 93; Caffarel et al, 2004: 410; and Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Describing the function, Matthiessen (1995b, 25) explains:

*It enables the speaker or writer to organize his/ her instantial meanings **logogenetically** in text and by doing this, s/he guides the listener or reader in constructing an instantial ideational system in his/ her interpretation of the unfolding text. (Emphasis mine EA).*

A text may be described as a flow of information, which the grammar of the clause helps to organize into quanta of meaning. In the discussion of the patterning of information in a text, Halliday and Hasan (1976) identify the two main textual resources: structural and non-structural. These two concepts will be explored in this section in relation to the clause rank, although their application is by no means limited to the clause. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the clause is the rank at which the levels of semantics and lexicogrammar intersect. The structural resources include those that function in the textual structuring of a clause (Matthiessen, 1995a: 95). The non-structural resources include cohesive elements that facilitate the formation of textual ties in a text as discourse, making reference backward or forward as the discourse is created.

The structural resources are the Theme-Rheme patterning of the clause as message, on the one hand, and the information structure (in terms of Given and New information) of the information unit, on the other. The non-structural resources are the “elements of cohesion” as earlier expounded by Halliday and Hasan (1976). This chapter focuses primarily on the description of textual grammar in Òkó, exploring it as the resource for structuring a clause as a quantum of information, a message from the structural perspective, particularly from the Theme and Rheme analytical angle.

3.1.2 Theme and Rheme

Rheme is the resource for organizing the message and “for assigning textual prominence to elements within the clause” (Matthiessen, 1992: 47; 1995b). Theme is “the point of

departure of the message” when we interpret the text as a “semiotic movement” (Matthiessen, 1995a: 531), while “the remainder of the message” constitutes the Rheme (Halliday, 1994:37). The configuration of these two elements marks a significant part of the textual organization of the clause, which is part of the overall meaning potential in any given language. A clear sense of what constitutes the Theme in a clause can be seen in Rose (2004: 492) where it is described in the following terms:

Each Theme includes an element that is the experiential starting point for the message, grounding it in the field of discourse. This experiential Theme (also known as “topic”) may be preceded by an interpersonal element such as a modal item, positioning the message in the speakers’ interaction, and by a textual element such as a conjunction that connects the message to the preceding discourse.

Although Theme and Rheme are grammatical constructs, as Cumming and Ono (1997) and Butt (2003) observe, grammar creates and reflects the higher levels (namely, semantics and context) in several ways. As Butt (2003: 11) puts it, “Grammatical selections construct particular kind of meanings.” Therefore, my approach in the present chapter shall be meaning-based – to study how the grammar constructs meaning textually in Òkó. By means of text examples, this chapter will seek answers to the following questions:

- How does the text reflect the context from which it is taken? How does the context determine specific types of organization in the text?
- How do elements interact in the ordering of information in the clause, which is the basic unit of information in a discourse?
- If thematization is a significant organizing principle in the textual organization of Òkó texts, what choices are available in the thematic system network?
- What clause element holds thematic potential?

The rhetorical organization of these questions from the more global concerns down to the particular systemic realisation of textual meaning modelling is deliberate: to reflect how systemic functional description proceeds with the human meaning-making potential, in this particular case, the Òkó language.

Even though the context of Theme patterning belongs in the textual organization of the clause, its explanation cannot be treated discretely or in isolation from the two other meaning constructs of the clause, namely the patterning of the clause as a quantum of meaning in the flow of events, that is, experiential and logical (ideational) meaning which is the main focus of Chapter 5; and the patterning of the clause to enact its interactional outcomes (interpersonal metafunction), which will be discussed in Chapter 4. These different meaning components do not only occur simultaneously within the same clause, they also interact in a way that

suggests their interdependency, as was earlier suggested by Halliday (1976). For instance, the element of the clause that is thematized is a particular experiential element, while interpersonal variables (the tenor of relationship) inform the way the message is organized. Interpersonal variables include the roles and statuses of those engaged in a linguistic exchange. In other words the thematic orientation of the clause is affected and conditioned by the choices made in the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY and the interpersonal system of MOOD. According to Halliday (1976) the nature of the unmarked topical Theme in English depends on the mood of the clause. To reword this relationship succinctly, according to Matthiessen (1995a: 513), the textual metafunction has the function of organizing the experiential and interpersonal meanings of the clause into a quantum of information in the unfolding text. The series of figures and tables to be presented in this chapter exemplify how the choice of Theme is made across transitivity and mood types, among other factors in respect of Òkó discourses.

3.1.3 Pointers from Typological Literature

The foregoing discussion does not presuppose the organization of the Òkó clause as necessarily patterned in terms of Theme and Rheme. This will be determined through a careful analysis of texts in the language. Presumably, every language would have resources through which a speaker guides his addressee in interpreting the message in the clause through one form of organization or another (Matthiessen, 1995a: 586). It does not have to be through thematisation or positional prominence. Furthermore, as Matthiessen explains from a typological perspective, languages would differ in the way their linguistic systems map textual metafunction onto ideational and interpersonal metafunctions.

From the study of a range of languages, the fact seems to emerge that most languages signal the structural organization of the message through positional prominence and definite ways of marking Theme.

Halliday (1985a: Chapter 3) observes that the English language organizes the clause as a message through the resources of Theme and Rheme in the initial position of the clause and is sometimes motivated by the phenomenon of “voice” and specific arrangements in the interpersonal systems. While Theme frequently occurs at the clause-initial position, in Japanese, Theme marking is done by means of a particle, “wa”, affixed to the transitivity role (participant or circumstance) thematized (Teruya, 1998: 89-91). Japanese also differentiates between thematized participant and circumstance (see Teruya, 2004: 198, for further details). German reserves the clause-initial position for Themes, similar to French but specifically uses

the “Finite function as a transition between Theme and Rheme” (Steiner & Teich, 2004: 186). Position is important for the placement of Theme in French, but one phenomenon that Caffarel (2004: 134) points out is the high frequency of absolute Themes in spoken discourse, implying the selection of Theme, according to Matthiessen (2002a: 27), “from “outside” the clause in which it serves as Theme”. This marks languages like French from others where a thematized element must have a specific transitivity role. While the organization of Theme and Rheme in Pitjatjantjara is similar to those of German and French in position, “the thematic potential of Pitjatjantjara clauses is not consumed until the Medium is identified” (Rose 2004: 503; also see Rose, 2001: 172).

With evidence from the different languages above, there is a temptation to speculate that Òkó clause is likely to be textually organized with a form of starting point, which may be regarded as the Theme of the message. How theoretically safe it is to make such presumption and the specific way in which the Theme is marked out from the rest of the message will be revealed as I explore the contexts of texts in the language.

3.1.4 A Textual Organization of Òkó Text

I will approach the textual organization of Òkó texts without assumptions. However, I will be guided by discussion of similar issues from the typological literature, using the observation of authorities cited above only as a resource for a systematic discussion of the textual grammar in Òkó, particularly from the point of view of the organization of the clause as a message. To the best of my knowledge, no textual analysis yet exists for Òkó or languages of the same Niger-Congo family.

I will engage with texts from a trinocular point of view; “from above” (that is from the level of context), “from around” (from options at the semantic level) and “from below” (that is from the level of lexicogrammar) - see Matthiessen (2004b: 9-10). The approach will be from above because every text has its origin in a particular context that guides the meaning that emerges from it; from around because every text represents a potential from the system (of options) and part of the meaning is its relation to other possible options in the system; and from below because every text is realized in wording and reflects some form of lexicogrammatical organization.

The entire analysis will be based on data collected across a range of contexts. For this chapter, I will be using 5 main texts. Each of the five texts represents a different context and it is selected from the corpus. The only presumption at this stage is that each text will

consequently epitomize a different principle of organization. This presumption is predicated on Nesbitt & Plum's (1988: 10) observation that a language is systematically related to its context and that an alteration of the context in which a language is functioning will automatically change the organisation of the language too.

The generalization about the textual organization of texts in *Òkó* that I make, even though will be based on actual texts and will be derived on the basis of multiple points of view, is not to suggest that any such generalization will be conclusive. Rather the suggestion will be that such generalizations can be assumed to be valid as far as the cumulative evidence from the selected texts goes.

The five texts selected are described in Table 3-1 . More introductory information will be provided at the beginning of the analysis of each text. Each text is treated as representative of its text types (register). The letter code therefore represents the text type, for example, "PR" represents the text type "prayer" while the number after the slash (e.g. "4") represents the serial number of that particular text in the series of prayer texts in the corpus.

Text Type/Description	Text Code	General Information
Prayer	PR/4	
Dinner Speech	DS	Speech given at an annual family dinner.
Market Interview	MKT1	It is labelled 1 among a series of interviews conducted in the market place.
Political Consultation	POL	An extract from a dialogue between a political group and a political leader.
Narrative	L/M	A short folk narrative translated from an Arabian fable.

Table 3-1 Details of the texts for textual analysis

Each text will be glossed interlineally, and this will be followed by a free translation. In both cases, efforts will be made to remain as close as possible to the original interpretation of the text. The analysis of each text will contribute to the overall picture of the textual grammar of *Òkó*. (PR/4) will provide initial scaffolding for the conceptualisation of the textual organization of a text in *Òkó*. Each subsequent text will be analytically situated in relation to the previous one, in most cases developing previous discussions further.

(PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer - 4): This prayer was said on the occasion of the departure of some family members returning to their different stations after a Christmas holiday in their

country home. Prayer is an important part of the Ogori social life. It is said at every activity, even in simple phatic exchanges such as greetings. Most prayers in Òkó have the flavour of Christianity, which, as explained in Chapter 1, has become part of the way of life of majority of the Ogori people, irrespective of the spiritual inclination of the participants in the social event. The context of (PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer involves a mixed group of participants. What is important here, however, is that prayer constitutes a genre in Òkó as will be progressively demonstrated in this chapter, and that it plays a vital role in the various social milieu of the community.

(PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer

||| *Osibina eḍeḍa osu iwuru ogbugbodi, uyiyei a wa ne ọ* ||| *okurubile a wa ne ọ* ||
Eḍeḍa oḱeḱa, mo egben enane, B²⁹ eegben enane e- ko ba e -ya don wo uba ||| *Eḍeḍa, efenefena* [[*neḱe ba ka ke yo na*]], *o -da yo eren* || *u -de munurun ne ba* ||| *bo oje e wo i-wo uba* || *o-a ne ba* ||| *bo owa e wo i wo uba* || *o- a ne ba* ||| *be- ko eḱere oboro ke ca uboo* ||| *emune tiya one isubu e gule* [[*ne a don na*]] || *ato feyan, egben feyan a fo uba e e ri ya ayen* ||| *emune yo isubu e ke gule na* || *ogben ama fo oḱen ta* || *osuda ama fo oḱen ta* ||| ... *li oruko omo re -Jeesu Kristi, Oluwa wa* |||

Both the interlineal glossing of (PR/4) and the free translation are contained in **Error! Reference source not found.** have divided the text into clause complexes (bounded by “|||”) and each clause complex is further divided into clauses (bounded by “||”). Each clause represents a move in the unfolding of the text (a move in the definition of Slade, 1996: Chapter 6³⁰); and each clause represents a basic semantic unit as explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

With (PR/4), I am commencing the description in a sense “from below” on the cline of instantiation, from the vantage point of the instance pole of the cline. The text is a particular instance of the Òkó language: a product of a particular context (see Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 11 for the relationship between text and its social environment). The description will gradually explore the textual potential of the language leading to a movement towards the system end of the pole as I progressively make generalizations about instantial patterns (Matthiessen, 1995a; 2002c: 28).

In **Error! Reference source not found.** I will attempt to identify the structural starting point of each clause. This point will be determined by the first experiential element in the clause that relates to the context suggested in the prayer; and this element, I will classify as

²⁹ “B” here is a letter representing a specific name for ethical reasons.

³⁰ A move is defined by Slade (1996: 68 & 228) phonologically as a unit representing a tone group in English; and semantically and metaphorically capturing the notion of “could stop here”. Lexicographically, it is roughly equivalent to a ranking clause.

the Theme of the clause in line with the definition given in Sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3 . The remainder of the clause, I will classify as the Rheme. Experiential elements are those that refer to entities (concrete or abstract) and “goings on” (Halliday, 1994: 106) in the experience of the world inside and around us. They include the process (typically realized by verbal group), participants (typically realized by nominal groups) and circumstances (typically realized by adverbials and nominal groups), as mentioned in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.2. Therefore, the Theme conflating with a participant will be regarded as “participant Theme”; a Theme conflating with the Process of a clause will be termed “process Theme”, and one conflating with a circumstantial element will be termed “circumstantial Theme”. At this stage, the discussion will be limited to experiential Themes - those that have specific transitivity functions (as participant, process or circumstance) in the clause, to the exclusion of other items such as nominal, adverbial and conjunctions groups in the Theme slot, but preceding experiential Themes. A Theme with a transitivity function in the clause is usually referred to as a **topical** Theme (Halliday, 1994: 53-54). A Theme that does not have a transitivity function is a non-topical Theme.

CL #	Theme	Rheme	English translation
1	<i>Osibina ẹdẹda</i> [[<i>osu iwuru ogbugbodi</i>]], <u>uyiyeyi</u> , God father [[who._has name big]], <u>praise</u>	<i>a wa ne – ọ</i> ASP be to you	Father God who has a mighty name praise be to your name
2	<i>okurubile</i> blessing	<i>a wa ne - ọ,</i> ASP be to you	Honour be to you
3	ẸDẸDA ỌKẸKA, [<i>mọ egben ẹnanẹ, B eegben ẹnanẹ</i>], FATHER BIG, [my children these, B's children these],	<i>e- kọ ba ẹ ya dọn wọ uba,</i> 1 ^{SG} carry them I ASP possess you hand	Great father, these children of mine, B;s children, I commit into your hand
4. 1	ẸDẸDA, <u>ẹfẹnẹfẹna</u> [[<i>nẹnẹ ba ka kẹ yọ na</i>]], <i>FATHER</i> , wherever [[that they will be go DEP]]	<i>ọ - da yọ ẹrẹn,</i> 2 ^{SG} ASP go front	Wherever they are going, you be their guide in front
4.2	<i>U-. de munurun</i> 2 ^{SG} ASP last.backne <i>ba</i> give them	You be their guide at the back	
5.1	<i>Bọ- oje</i> Their eating,	<i>e- wo i wọ</i> <i>uba,</i> it COV ASP your hand	Their daily bread, is in your hand; give them
5.2	<i>Ọ- a nẹ</i> 2 ^{SG} ASP give	<i>ba.</i> Them	
6.1	<u><i>Bo- ọọwa</i></u> Their drinking	<i>e wọ I wọ uba,</i> it COV ASP your hand	Their drink is in your hand; give them
6.2	<i>Ọ- a nẹ</i> 2 ^{SG} ASP give	<i>ba.</i> Them	
7	<i>Bẹ- kọ</i> 3 ^{PL} carry	<i>ẹkẹrẹ oboro kẹ ca</i> uboprofit good ASP come home	They should be bringing outside profits back home
8.1	<i>Emunẹ tiya one</i> When our-.mother <u>this</u>	<i>isubu e gule, [[ne a- dọn na]],</i> day ASP complete [[that she old DEP]]	When the days of this mother of ours will expire on earth when she becomes old
8.2	<i>atọ feyan, egben feyan</i> <u>we all,</u> <u>children all</u>	<i>a fọ uba e e ri</i> <i>ya ayẹn.</i> ASP use hand ASP ASP cover her hand	(Let) all of us be there to give her the last respect
9.1	<i>Emunẹ yọ isubu</i> When <u>her day</u>	<i>e ke gule na</i> it ASP complete DEP	When her days are done on earth,
9.2	<u><i>ogben</i></u> child	<i>a ma fọ ọcẹn ta,</i> ASP not use foot hit	no child nor adult should stumble
9.3	<u><i>osuda</i></u> adult	<i>a ma fọ ọcẹn ta.</i> ASP not use foot hit	

10.		<i>li oruko Omọ rẹ Jeesu Kristi, Oluwa wa.</i> In name child yours Jesus Christ Lord our	In the name of your son, Jesus Christ
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Table 3-2 Extract from Pre-departure Prayer” (4)

I have distinguished process and participant Themes from circumstantial ones by marking the former one in bold font. Participant Themes are underlined to distinguish them from process Themes. Circumstantial Theme is in regular font, while other types (which will be discussed later) are in italics and small capital respectively. The experiential Theme in Clause 1 (**Error! Reference source not found.**), *uyiyeyi*, is an activity relevant to the prayer context, but it has been nominalised to become a participant (an Attribute - see Chapter 5). The same goes for *okurubile* in Clause 2. The two Themes relate to God - something in the experience of world around and inside the people in the context of the prayer. Similarly, Themes 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2 are process Themes with God as the Actor in the respective Processes.

In contrast, Themes 5.1, 6.1 and 7.1 are nominalized process Themes referring to the activities of the same group of participants who have earlier been identified in Theme 3 as *megben*, although these are not integrated as a constituent of the clause. I will return to this type of Theme. Themes 8.1 and 9.1 refer to another participant (*tiya one*) while 9.2 again refers descriptively as *egben* and *isuda* to the participants previously mentioned in Theme 3. Theme 8.2 includes the person praying and those being prayed for as a participant Theme. The point being pursued here is that in the context of this particular prayer, we can observe how the text is organized through the individual clause by positioning something relating to the speaker and addressees' experience at the first part of the clause (the Theme). Furthermore, we can recognize the role of three types of participants, namely “the praying”, “the prayed to” and “the prayed for”, making up the participant Themes in the organization of each clause as a message. Such recognition is important because, as the text unfolds logogenetically, the Theme selection revolves round these three groups of participants. As a tentative conclusion, it is possible to posit that in the organization of a prayer text in Òkó, the terms in the system of PARTICIPANT THEME are likely to be made up of at least two: “the praying” and “the prayed for”. I have included a third, “the praying” in view of the role set for it in the organization of (PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer. We can also speculate that the process Themes will depict the activities of the same group. Theme 4.1 is a circumstantial Theme.

The text gives us the sense of how Òkó text patterns textually. The possibility of marking out elements serving as the point of departure in the Pre-departure Prayer seems to suggest that in an Òkó text, one main principle of organisation of the clause as a message is that of Theme and Rheme.

(PR/4) therefore shows us how the speaker has organized her instantial meanings logogenetically in the prayer; but thus far, attention has been focused on the Theme element of the clause. I want to take the textual organization in Òkó text one step further by focusing (i) first on the Theme element, which is primarily essential in the development of the text as a flow of information; and then (ii) the Rheme element, which plays a complementary role in the textual development of the text. The first interest is how the Theme provides a link between what has been said before and what is going to be said next as the text unfolds; that is, how the speaker is exploiting Theme to set up the local context for each clause (Matthiessen, 1995a: 575), letting the listener know where the speaker is in relation to the entire discourse in question. The second interest concerns how speakers use the Rheme to present some kind of information that we can classify as different from what we have in the Theme. The Theme seems to present the information “this is what I want to talk about (next)”, in a sense presuming a shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener; the Rheme, on the other hand seems to present the information, “this is what I wish to say about the Theme”- a kind of new information to the listener. This explains the Given/New dichotomy we mentioned in Chapter 2 Section 1.3.2. Thai (2004: 400) observes the same kind of phenomenon in Vietnamese (the relationship between Theme and Rheme) as a degree of prominence in a cline, and with Theme and Rheme at the different poles of the cline.

In this section I have explored the textual organisation of the clause in an Òkó prayer text identifying the organising principle as definable in terms of Theme|Rheme. It is also established that position is used as a resource for marking textual prominence in Òkó clauses. So far, the discussion has been limited to the first item that plays an experiential role in the transitivity of the clause. A Theme of this description is regarded generally as an ideational Theme and specifically as “topical” Theme (Halliday, 1994: 52-53; Matthiessen, 1995a: 549). In Section 3.2 other items that function at the Theme position of the clause will be discussed in addition to the ideational Theme.

3.2 The System of THEME

In this section, the Theme will be explored further. First the items occurring within the Theme will be classified according to the kind of meaning each contributes to the meaning potential of the Theme; next, the elements that realize the Theme will be explored in greater detail, and the section will be concluded with a proposal for the THEME system network. Table 82 shows a division of the Themes in (PR/4) according into its functional elements. The Themes of the clauses that make up the Pre-departure Prayer text are composed of elements, some of which have an experiential function (topical Themes, as we have seen in the last section), some have an interpersonal function, and others have textual function. The different components of the Theme have been set out in Table 82.

	Theme				Rheme
	interpersonal	absolute	textual	Ideational	
1	<i>Osibina ededa osu iwuru ogbugbodi,</i>			<i>Uyiyeyia</i>	
2				<i>Okurubile</i>	
3	<i>Ededa Okeka,</i>	<i>mọ egben enane, B eegben enane</i>			<i>ẹ kọ ba ẹ ya dọn wọ uba</i>
4.1	<i>Ededa</i>			<i>efeneḡfena [[nene ba ka ke yọ na]],</i>	<i>Ọ da yọ ẹren,</i>
4.2				<i>U de munurun ne</i>	<i>ba</i>
5.1		<i>bo oje</i>			<i>e wo i wo uba,</i>
5.2				<i>Ọ a ne</i>	<i>ba</i>
6.1		<i>bo owa</i>			<i>e wo i wo uba,</i>
6.2				<i>Ọ a ne</i>	<i>ba.</i>
7				<i>bẹ kọ</i>	<i>ẹkerẹ oboro ke ca uboo.</i>
8.1			<i>emune</i>	<i>tiya one isubu</i>	<i>e gule ne a don na</i>
8.2				<i>ato feyan, egben feyan</i>	<i>a fo uba e e ri ya ayen.</i>
9.1			<i>emune</i>	<i>yọ isubu</i>	<i>e ke gule na</i>
9.2				<i>ogben</i>	<i>a ma fo očen ta</i>
9.3				<i>Osuda</i>	<i>a ma fo očen ta</i>
10					<i>li oruko omo re Jeesu Kristi, oluwa wa</i>

Table 3-3 Composite elements of the Theme

The setting out of the Theme components in Table 82 also shows the logogenetic ordering. That is, in the Theme, interpersonal Theme comes first. Absolute Theme follows (where it is present); this is then followed by textual Theme before ideational Theme. In Sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.7, each of the types of Theme will be discussed. The discussion will proceed as follows: ideational, interpersonal, textual and absolute Themes. The discussion will not be based entirely on examples from Table 82, as it does not contain all possible instantiation of each of the Theme elements. Therefore examples from other texts in the corpus and constructed ones will also be used. Interpersonal terms (such as Subject,

Predicator, Complement and Adjunct) will henceforth be used to label clause functions in the analysis. This is again to demonstrate the interdependency between textual and interpersonal meanings in creating a text (see Chapter 4 for an exploration of the interpersonal metafunction).

3.2.1 Ideational Theme

As earlier mentioned in Section 3.2.4, Theme in a clause is recognized by its position in the clause — initial position. Any element that contributes to the textual development can take this prominent position; and this includes ideational, interpersonal, and textual elements.

Ideational Themes are those elements that have a transitivity role in the clause. These include participants (which are interpersonally the Subject or the Complement), the Process (Predicator - with or without a pronominal prefix and Process in certain imperative clause types) and circumstances. Ideational Theme is also known as topical Theme.

<i>Ogben</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>fọ</i>	<i>ọçen</i>	<i>ta,</i>
Child	ASP	NEG	carry	foot	hit
Subject	Predica-		Complement	-tor	
Theme: topical	Rheme				

Table 3-4 Ideational Theme: Subject as topical Theme

83 shows the Subject of (PR/4) (9.2), *ogben*, thematized as topical Theme. The following ideational Themes are also Subjects: 1, 2, 8.1, 8.2, 9.1, and 9.3. These comprise the group described in experiential terms as participant Themes (see 3.2.4) - a total of seven.

<i>Bẹ-</i>	<i>kọ</i>	<i>ẹkẹrẹ oboro</i>	<i>kẹ</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>uboo</i>
They	carry	profit good	ASP	come	home
Predi-	Complement		-cator	Adjunct:	
Theme: topical	Rheme				
That they bring back home profit from outside.					

Table 3-5 Ideational Theme: Predicator as Theme

The Predicator is thematized in Table 84. Other Predicator Themes in Table 82 include 5.2, 6.2 and 7, totalling four.

[[Èfènéf èna nẹnẹ ba ka kẹ yọ na,]]										ọ	da	yọ	erèn,
[[Wherever that they will be go RPCP]]						2 ^{SG}	ASP	go	front				
Adjunct						Predicator		Adjunct					
Theme: topical						Rheme							

Table 3-6 Ideational (topical) Theme: Adjunct as Theme

Table 85 shows Adjunct as thematized in example 7. From the analysis, the Subject or the Predicator (with a Subject-marker) occurs most frequently as Theme in a declarative clause, and this gives them a special status in the marking of Theme. With the frequency of these Theme types in Òkó text, a question arises concerning the significance of having one or other kind of element as Theme. This can be explained through the system of THEME MARKING. An element with the highest frequency of occurrence as Theme in majority of different kinds of text can be considered the unmarked Theme. Other elements of less frequency of occurrence as Theme are considered marked. However, how frequently an element is thematized could depend on the text type. Notwithstanding, it is possible to assert that some elements would be thematized more frequently across ranges of texts. From my analysis of several texts, some of which will be seen in this chapter, the Subject and Predicator (with a pronominal prefix) are most frequently thematized and shall be considered unmarked Themes. I will return to this statistically later in this chapter.

3.2.2 Interpersonal Theme

The interpersonal Themes, *Osibina ẹdẹda osu iwuru ogbugbodi*, *Ẹdẹda Ọkẹka*, and *Ẹdẹda*, in (PR/4) are of the type: vocative. Interpersonal Themes convey the attitude of the speaker. They contribute to eliciting response from, or are themselves responses by, the speaker. Besides, vocatives other Interpersonal Themes include, elemental interrogative pronouns (e.g. *ena*, *era*, etc - see Chapter 4 Section 1.2) and mood particles. I will discuss both types in 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2

3.2.2.1 Interrogative Theme

Thematic interrogative pronouns occur at the beginning of the clause and are used to enact a demand for information. They include the “e-a” items such as *era*, *etẹka*, *ena* etc; equivalents of the English “Wh-” items (henceforth to be referred to as “e-a” items or

elements). However, interrogative pronouns play dual roles as both ideational (Topical) as well as interpersonal Theme because they can be mapped unto specific transitivity functions of the clause apart from demanding a response.

<i>Gana</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>siye</i>	<i>wa?</i>
How	it	do	be?
Adjunct			
interpersonal Theme	Rheme		
circumstance			
How was it?			

Table 3-7 Interpersonal Theme realized by an interrogative pronoun

Gàna in Table 86 is an Adjunct realizing interpersonal Theme, in the clause; but it also has a function as the Circumstance in the transitivity of the clause and therefore is an ideational Theme as well.

<i>Èna</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>táyi</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>énaṅ</i>	<i>a</i>
What	ASP	before	COV	these-places	IP
Subject	Predicator		Adjunct Locative		
interpersonal Theme	Rheme				
participant					
What were in these places before?					

Table 3-8 Thematized interrogative pronoun

Èna in Table 87 is an interrogative pronoun realizing interpersonal Theme but it is also a participant in the transitivity of the clause, thus is an ideational Theme as well.

3.2.2.2 Vocative Theme

Vocatives are elements that summon or call attention in a conversation. They include real names and other such expressions that occur only in a face-to-face or actual interactive situation for example.

<i>Osibina ẹdẹda osu iwuru ogbugbodi</i> God father [[who.has name big]]	<i>uyiyeyi</i> praise	<i>a wà</i> ASP be	<i>nẹ -Ọ</i> to you
Vocative	Subject	PredicatorComplement	
interpersonal Theme	topical Theme	Rheme	

Table 3-9 Interpersonal Theme: Vocative

Vocatives are not part of the transitivity structure of the clause. Vocative Themes come before the topical Theme, as in Table 3-8 (also see items in small capitals in Table 3-2 and interpersonal Themes in Table 3-9). They can also occur after the clause when they are not thematized.

3.2.2.3 Thematized Interpersonal (Mood) Particles

Mood particles (such as *njẹ* in Table 89 and *ama* in Table 90 that are employed primarily for interpersonal purposes but also serve thematic functions at the same time. However, unlike the “*e-a*” types, they do not serve ideational roles in the clause.

<i>Njẹ</i> IP ^{YOR}	<i>bi</i> they	<i>ya kpitan</i> ASP tell-story	<i>nẹ nọto you^{PLU}</i>
Negotiator	Subject	Predicator	Complement
Theme: interpersonal	Theme: topical	Rheme	
Were you told any story about it?			

Table 3-10 Thematized mood particle (i)

<i>Ama</i> IP	<i>I</i> PHP	<i>tẹ-</i> we	<i>sọma?</i> wake?
Negotiator: interrogative			
interpersonal	predicative	topical	
Theme			
I hope you have woken up well?			

Table 3-11 Thematized mood particle (ii)

Njẹ and *ama* do not occur in any other clause position other than the Theme position. However, they are Negotiators (realizing the interrogative mood - see Chapter 4). The clause

in Table 90 cannot be said to have Rheme because the only experiential element is the Predicator with a pronominal prefix realizing the topical Theme.

<i>Sọ</i> , (ASP)	<i>wa- a kẹ yọ ọ yọ</i> you- ASP be go ASP go	<i>u- ye</i> you- call	<i>mu</i> me
IP	Predicator Predicator Complement		
Theme: interpersonal	Theme: topical	Theme	Rheme
If you are ready to go,		you- call me.	

Table 3-12 Other interpersonal Theme

Sọ in Table 91 clause is a particle realizing an interpersonal Theme. Its interpersonal function is to elicit the attention of the addressee, who is required to give a verbal acknowledgement.

3.2.3 Textual Theme

Textual Theme elements comprise resources that play rhetorical roles in the development of a text. Chafe (1970) discusses them as structural signals (also see Butt et al, 2000: 138, where they are referred to as “signposts to the purpose of the text”). They include structural conjunctions, continuatives and resumptive Themes, each of whose examples are listed in Table 92.

According to Matthiessen (1995a: 530), CONJUNCTIONS “are used to indicate changes in context in the development of a text” (also see Matthiessen, 1995b).

Conjunctives	Continuatives	Resumptive
<i>cana</i> (then)	<i>ọọhn</i> (well)	<i>eebaopkẹnẹpkẹnẹ</i> (just as)
<i>ka</i> (that)	(exactly)	<i>kẹkẹkẹ</i> (especially)
<i>ama</i> (but)	<i>ẹhẹn /mhnn</i> (oh yes)	
<i>tori</i> ^{YOR} (because)	<i>ooh</i> (yes) - dialogic	
<i>ẹfẹnẹbẹ</i> (there)		
<i>Ayẹ</i> (then)		

Table 3-13 Sub-types of textual Themes

3.2.3.1 Textual Theme: CONJUNCTIVE

A conjunctive Theme is made up of an adverbial group, which is traditionally known as a disjunct. It is a non-topical element, linking two parts of a discourse. Table 93 contains a text with a conjunctive Theme (*ama*), occurring before the topical Theme in the second clause.

<p><i>Gbodi a ma wa oro</i> [[<i>nẹ e gbe ka e jowon onawo ka “a ma ke da ka ame” na.</i>]]. (conjunctive Theme) <i>Ama</i> (topical Theme) [[<i>akọ te di siye a se uba e bile na</i>]]<i>aye</i> (Rheme) <i>e e ni</i>.</p>
<p>Gbodi is not the kind of person [[that would insist that “either me or no one else.”]] but [[how we cooperate with each other]] is what he desires.</p>

Table 3-14 Conjunctive Theme preceding Topical Theme

3.2.3.2 Textual Theme: CONTINUATIVES

CONTINUATIVES bridge the gap between the previous part of a discourse and the following one that they initiate. Some are similar to resources used for hesitation but they are more constant in form.

<i>Eebao</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>e jowon gbeli</i>
Exactly	it is him	he stand support
Continuative	Complement	
textual	topical	
Theme		Rheme
Of course oh yes, it is him he supports.		

Table 3-15 Example of Continuative a Theme

The continuative *eebao* shows that some discussion has gone before and the speaker is developing on that which has earlier been discussed. Continuatives differ from conjunctives because they are not logical items, nor do they make reference to any specific part of the previous discourse.

<i>Nn-nnh</i> Yes,	<i>I</i> PHP	<i>ba a ka</i> they ASP say	<i>a cẹn ọsa</i> he cut ọsa
Continuative	Predicative	Predicator	
Textual		topical	
Theme			Rheme
They would say he has cut “osa”.			

Table 3-1 Continuative Theme

3.2.3.3 Textual Theme: RESUMPTIVE

“RESUMPTIVE” Themes could be construed as a sub-category of the continuative type. These are used to resume a previous discourse or aspect of it. They make a kind of backward reference to some part of the discourse similar to the way a cohesive element can be linked anaphorically to another referent previously mentioned in the discourse. They normally occur in the environment of enlarged lexicogrammatical structures such as clauses with embedded nominal groups. The textual value of some of them can be discussed in more specific terms than others. *Kẹ̀ẹ̀kẹ̀ẹ̀*, for example may further emphasize the part referred to by expanding on or further illustrating it.

<i>kẹ̀ẹ̀kẹ̀ẹ̀</i> <i>Just</i>	<i>akọ</i> as	<i>e</i> he	<i>siye ga</i> do say	<i>na...</i> DEP...
		Subject:	<i>Predicator</i>	
resumptive	conjunctive	topical		
Theme			Rheme	
Just as he had earlier said ...				

Table 3-2 “RESUMPTIVE” Continuative Theme

<i>kẹ̀ẹ̀kẹ̀ẹ̀</i>	<i>[[ẹ̀ga nẹ̀nẹ̀ me ke ni ka ẹ̀ ga nẹ̀ Gbodi aka to ero obuba na]] a wa</i>	<i>[[ka atọ tẹ fo uba ta uloko ka ta ka yẹrẹ no]]</i>
particularly,	[[what I want to tell Gbodi and other members of our group]] is	that we have resolved to follow you loyally
	Predicator	Complement
resumptive	topical	
Theme		Rheme

Table 3-3 “RESUMPTIVE” Continuative Theme in embedded nominal groups.

3.2.3.4 Thematic Clauses

In Òkó conversations, one regularly comes across some clauses that provide the point of departure for other more important clauses. Such clauses do not have a specific function in the ideational semantics of clause complexing or logical metafunction. In other words, they do not contract a tactic relation (see Chapter 5) with succeeding clauses. They do not construe an event or process of doing, saying, sensing or being. Rather, each plays just some thematic role (as cohesive conjunctions), relevant to the textual development of a text. I have referred to them as thematic clauses, to be distinguished from instances of “Clause as Theme” discussed in Section 3.2.5 in which case a thematic clause can be mapped onto a specific experiential function. A few of such expressions serving as theme clause are in Table 98.

Clause	English approximation	Metaphorical Function	Congruent Function
<i>wa a gb'e</i> you ASP see it	You see,	Continuative Theme	well
<i>e siye ke</i> it do COMPL	After a while	Conjunctive Theme	later
<i>a ka aye e ki jen</i> he say he ASP be go	On arrival	Conunjunctive Theme	coincidentally
<i>e de ki siye</i> it again still do	After a while again	Conjunctive Theme	later again
<i>u wa aka</i> it be like	It is as if	Modality (probability) interpersonal Theme	probably
<i>u ka</i> you say	Do you suppose that	Modality interpersonal	conversely

Table 3-4 Textual /thematic clauses

Thematic or textual clauses (as I have been referring to them) are like fixed expressions. They are also interpersonally “empty” because they are not arguable: they cannot be probed or denied; neither are they tagged. They are phonologically marked from the rest of the clause by being articulated without stress. Thematic clauses are classified in Table 98 in accordance

with their grammatical function in the process of text creation either as conjunctives, continuatives or modality, for example,

<i>U^E - wa^{WE} aka</i>	<i>aaw-iya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ayi fi ogben ne igila na]]</i>
It be like	[[her-own-mother	say	she roast child give yam DEP]]
clause	Subject	Pred	Projected Clause
interpersonal Theme	topical Theme		
	Projecting clause		
Theme		Rheme	
it appears as if (she supposed that) her mother told her to roast the child for the yam.			

Table 3-5 Thematic clause: metaphor for modality

U wa aka is a thematized interpersonal resource that foregrounds the succeeding text *aawiya ka ayi fi ogben ne igila na* as a product of the speaker's supposition.

<i>U ka</i>	<i>amọṅe</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ne:</i>	<i>e fon.</i>
You say	today	be	RPCP	It far
clause	Adjunct	Predica.		clause
interpersonal	topical			
Theme		Rheme		
Do you suppose that it is today, it is long ago.				

Table 3-6 Thematized interpersonal resource

The speaker uses *U ka* (a projecting verbal clause - see Chapter 5 Section 1.9.2.2) thematically to presume on and to probe the addressee's thoughts, which is contrary to his/her own. The question it realizes does not require the addressee's response (rhetorical question), and to substantiate this fact, the speaker provides the answer *e fon* to the supposed thoughts. *U ka* is regarded as a metaphor whose congruent realization would be the conjunctive Adjuncts, "conversely" or "on the contrary"

<i>E- de ki siye,</i> it again just do	<i>a- da fw-ẹ ca</i> she again take-him come
Time	
Theme (topical)	Rheme
After a while, she brought him again	

Table 3-7 Clause Theme: metaphor for conjunctive Theme

E de ki siye is a thematized clause foregrounding location in time of occurrence of the succeeding clause. It is a clause that connotes “it just happens” which is a metaphor for an Adjunct of time “After a while” and a topical Theme.

What examples in Table 98 - Table 101 show is that thematic clauses cut across all basic types, ideational, interpersonal and textual.

3.2.4 Multiple Themes

MULTIPLE Themes describe the occurrence of a number of Theme elements within a clause. Table 99 to Table 101 already depict the instances of more than one Theme. Where multiple Themes occur, they are systematically ordered. The various Themes are ordered generally according to metafunction: interpersonal ^ textual ^ ideational. Vocative usually would come first, but Continuative sometimes precedes Vocatives. The order among the textual types depends on the angle the speaker construes the events from. A common arrangement is (Continuative ^ Resumptive ^ Conjunctive). The textual types would be preceded by Vocatives if one is present, but ideational Themes come last in the sequence of Themes. However, cases where all Theme types would come in one clause are not so common.

3.2.5 Clause as Theme

Theme may be realised by a nominalised clause functioning as a constituent (participant or circumstance) in a clause. In Table 102 below, the Theme, *Òkó*, is qualified by a rankshifted clause interrupted by the Rheme. The Subject in Table 103 is a rankshifted (headless relative) clause functioning as the Theme, whereas we have a case of thematic equative (Halliday, 1994: 40) in Table 104 where the Subject (making up the Theme) and the Complement are rankshifted clauses in a relational clause (see Chapter 5).

Òkó	[[ne ni diya ga ne to na	e _{ye} tu	aka eḍeḍa na]].
Language	[[that you also tell give us DEP	it understand us	as father DEP
Th-		Rheme	-eme
We understand the language you have spoken to us as a father.			

Table 3-8 Rankshifted clause as Theme (i)

Òkó in Table 102 is used here as a common noun "language" and it is qualified by an embedded clause *ne ni diya ga ne to (na)*, *aka eḍeḍa na*. The Theme is split by the Rheme *e ye tu*, the second part of the Theme being an Adjunct of comparison.

[[Eṅane e jen Ibilo na]]	aye e di e din	ḗnabe
[[Those that ASP go Ibilo DEP	they ASP can ASP know	those
Subject	Predicator	Complement
Theme	Rheme	
those who patronize Ibillo market are the ones that would know those (names).		

Table 3-9 Headless relative clause as Theme (ii)

[[Eḱena atọ e ni na]]	a wa	[[ka ni turu ke yo eṛen]]
[[what we ASP want DEP]]	ASP be	[[that you move ASP go forward]]
Subject	Predicator	Complement
Theme	Rheme	
What we want is you should continue to make progress.		

Table 3-10 Nominalised clause as Theme (iii)

3.2.6 Thematization and Information Focus

As mentioned earlier, Theme is realized by the clause-initial position. This foremost position is also important in constructing the information structure into Given and New information (Halliday, 1994: 8.4; Matthiessen, 1995a: 516). The information structure deals with the "newsworthiness" of a particular segment of the clause. The Given information represents the information as shared between the speaker and the addressee. Information focus is systematically marked through the resources of major pitch movement and particles. I shall return to this later. Information focus organizes the clause such that one transitivity element is exclusively focused on (or "marked off" Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 95) and given a special or additional emphasis. As earlier discussed (see Section 3.1.2), the Theme of

a clause is given prominence positionally by its initial position. In addition, it may also be given prominence as the Focus of new information.

While Theme is the locus in the THEMATISATION system, New is the locus in the INFORMATION system. Halliday (1985a: 316) explains the semantic function of Theme as speaker-oriented, and construes “what I am talking about” while New information, which is listener-oriented, is explained as “what I am asking you to attend to”. In Òkó, the choice of a marked Theme automatically presupposes the sense of predication (“it is” or “is it”) or more precisely, Theme focusing. Hence each Theme in Examples (iii) to (vii) in Table 105 regarded as “predicated” and the element realizing the Theme would simultaneously be interpreted as the focus of information³¹. In other words, Theme focusing and information focusing could combine functionally on one element, which incidentally is also given positional prominence in an indicative clause.

³¹ Example (i) whose Theme is regarded as non-predicated presents a “neutral” information.

	Predi-	Comple	- catorC omple ment	Adjunct	Adjunct	THEME STATUS		
i.	[tone3] <i>A- fọ</i> He take	<i>ikiba</i> money	<i>nẹ</i> give	<i>mọ</i> me	<i>efẹnẹbẹ</i> there	<i>eranyesterd</i> ay	neutral (unmarked)	
ii.	[tone1] <i>A- fọ</i>	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>mọ</i>	<i>efẹnẹbẹ,</i>	<i>eran</i>	non-predicated	
iii.	[tone2] <i>A- fọ</i>	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>mọ</i>	<i>efẹnẹbẹ</i>	<i>eran</i>	predicated	
	Theme		Rheme					
iv.	Subject	Predi-	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>mọ</i>	<i>efẹnẹbẹ,</i>	<i>eran</i>	predicated
	<i>Ayẹ</i> S he	<i>a fọ</i> ASP						
	Adjunct		Comple					predicated
v.	<i>Èran</i>	<i>a- fọ</i>	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>mọefẹnẹb</i> <i>e</i>			predicated
vi.	<i>Efẹnẹbẹ</i>	<i>e- we fọ</i> ASP	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>mọ</i>	<i>ne (DCP)</i>		predicated
	Comple	Predicato	Adjunct					
	ment	rComple						
	ment	ment						
vii	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>a- fọ ca ne</i> (come)	<i>mọEfẹnẹb</i> <i>e</i>		<i>eran</i>			predicated
	Theme	Rheme						
He gave me money there yesterday.								

Table 3-11 Theme and Information Focus

In Table 105 Theme Focusing is presented in constructed examples. Example (i) has no particular focus, and so contrasts with (ii) - (vi) whose Themes are focused. If the element predicated is a participant or a circumstance, the predication is realised in Òkó by immediately succeeding it with *ayẹ*.

Both THEME FOCUSING and INFORMATION FOCUSING systems are conflated in a single realization process at the clause initial position. Both the Subject and the Predicator naturally occur at the clause-initial position, therefore whichever system is selected, the options comprise any of the main clause components (Subject, Predicator, Complement or Adjunct). If the Predicator is the focus, it is highlighted by the Predicator highlighting particle (PHP) “*i*” at the clause-initial position if the predicator element is realized by an item beginning with a consonant. Otherwise, the Predicator is focused upon through the tonic feature (tone 2). If the Subject is the focus of the Theme, then tone is used, since all Òkó names (nominal - unless phrasal) would begin with a vowel sound. The clause-initial position is the main strategy for focusing on the Complement and the Adjuncts, whose natural positions in the clause are not the initial place. Riailand & Robert (2001: 2) also discuss the

effect of information focus on word order in Wolof. Elements that receive the focus of information are also shifted to the clause-initial position.

Table 106 contrasts two instances where the Predicator receives Theme/information focusing, one beginning with a consonant and the other with a vowel sound. The information focus (on the Predicator), is signalled by Predicator Highlighting Particle (PHP) in Example (i) while it is signalled by tone 2 in Example (ii).

i.	<i>I</i> (PHP)	be- (3 ^{PL})	fɔ	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>mɔ</i>	<i>ɛfɛnɛbɛ</i>	<i>ɛran</i>	predicated
ii.	<i>Á-</i> (3 ^{SG})	<i>fɔ</i>		<i>ikiba</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>mɔ</i>	<i>ɛfɛnɛbɛ</i>	<i>ɛran</i>	
	Theme			Rheme					

Table 3-12 Predicator is focus of information

3.2.7 Absolute Themes

An absolute Theme is an element that does not serve as Subject, Complement or Adjunct in the clause; it is detached from the rest of the clause (by the clause final tone 3), but can be picked up by resumptive anaphoric pronominals somewhere later in the text. Instances of absolute Themes, similar to those described in French textual grammar (cf Caffarel Martin & Matthiessen, 2004: 80 and 121) are regularly seen in Òkó. Matthiessen (1995a: 554) considers it to be a strategy “to present an item elaborating some message which has been introduced earlier” in a discourse. In the clause *yɔ ukuba feyan, I bi dake ke ɛsa*, “*yɔ ukuba feyan*” is an absolute Theme, not originally part of the main clause, but has been rementioned as *bi* which serves as the pronominal prefix in the Predicator as in Table 107 to Table 112. The items picking up the absolute Theme have been underlined.

<i>Yɛ ukuba feyan</i> His relatives all	<i>I</i> PHP	<u><i>bi-</i></u> <i>dake</i> <i>ke</i>	<i>ɛsa</i> clothes
		3 ^{SG} do dress	
		Predicator	Complement
Absolute Theme	Predicative		
Theme		Rheme	
All his family would be making preparation.			

Table 3-13 Thematic Structure: Absolute Theme (i)

<i>Esuburo, ka abẹ</i> Ancient.people also they	<i>bi- fi</i> 3 ^{SG} hot	go. (IOEP)
	Predicator	
Absolute Theme	Rheme	
Theme		
People of those days were tough too..		

Table 3-14 Absolute Theme (ii)

<i>[[Onẹ sisi rẹkon]</i> The_One_that MAS celebrate_manhood na] DEP	<i>a- gba</i> he- get	<i>ikiba</i> money	<i>su</i> marry	<i>Oworo</i> wife	<i>ke?</i> COMP?
Absolute Theme: clause	Predi-	Comp.	-cator	Comp.	
Theme	Rheme				
Has the one that has celebrated manhood got the means to marry yet; let alone the one just initiated.					

Table 3-15 Absolute Theme (iii)

In Table 107 to Table 110, the Subject markers in the Predicator happen to have picked up the absolute Theme, but the absolute Theme could have been any other element, such as the Complement in the constructed clause example in Table 110.

<i>Ikiba ọnẹ</i> Money this	<i>gana</i> how	<i>Me- e ke siye siy' ẹ</i> I ASP will do do it	<i>a</i> ICP
Absolute Theme	Adjunct	PredicatorCo mplement	
Theme	Rheme		
This money, how do I do it?			

Table 3-16 Absolute Theme realized by Complement

3.2.8 Thematized clause constituent in appositive relationship

An apposed constituent is one that re-mentions another constituent by way of elaborating on the latter paratactically, but without a logical connective. An apposed constituent has the same status as its antecedent - a relationship of “1 = 2” (Halliday, 1994: 225-226). It operates as a group complex within the clause. Any clause constituent can be elaborated appositively.

For example, if the Subject of a clause is mentioned, the first mention of the Subject and the apposed Subject (elaborating) as in Table 111 make up a nominal group complex, and so constitutes the theme of the clause.

<i>Oboro, Efuro oosuda</i>		<i>dake jọ</i>	ẹkọmputa
Oboro, Efuro's_senior_brother		ASP sell	computer
Subject	apposed Subject	Predicator	Complement
Theme		Rheme	
Oboro, Efuro's senior relative, sells computers.			

Table 3-17 Theme in a clause with apposed Subject

3.2.9 THEME System Network

Here is a recapitulation of what has been discussed so far in this chapter. The structure of the clause as a message in Òkó is realised by its organization as Theme and Rheme. An independent clause has at least one Theme element, which is topical. The Theme can either be a simple one or a complex one. A simple Theme is made up of one item, which is an experiential element of the clause. A complex Theme is made up of more than one item. It may be realised by a whole clause (in rankshifted or embedded relation) or by multiple Themes in the sense that it includes a “structural” or/and “interpersonal” Theme preceding the topical Theme in the clause or it can even be a whole clause/clause complex functioning as Theme. A Simple Theme can be marked when it is Complement or Adjunct; or unmarked when it conflates with the Subject or Predicator (with Subject marker). The system network in **Error! Reference source not found.** presents the general choices at the Òkó THEME system.

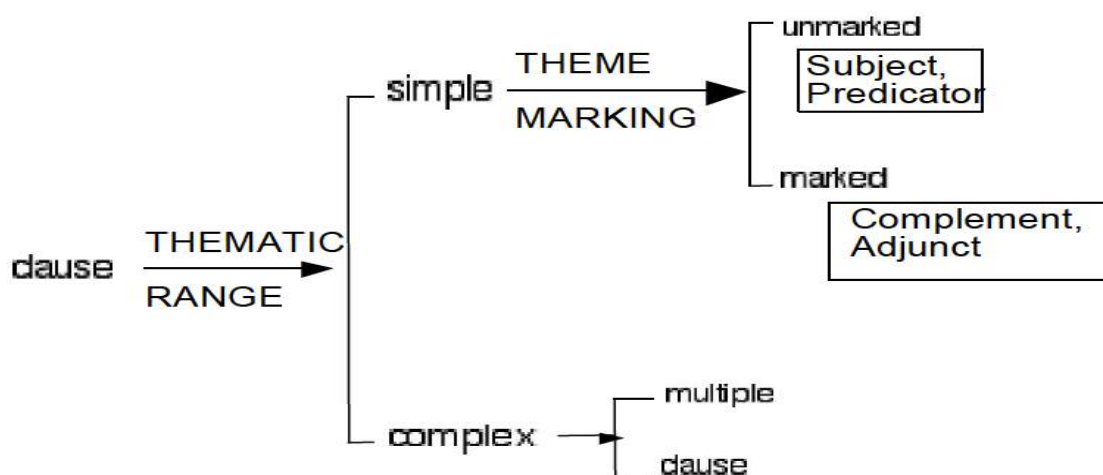


Figure 3-1 Oko THEMATIC System Network

The clause is the environment for the choice of Theme in *Òkó*. A Theme can also be highlighted as the focus of the new information through predication. The resource for predicating an unmarked Theme is either the Predicator highlighting particle (PHP) or the use of tone 2 - the condition has been spelt out in Section 3.2.6. A marked Theme is highlighted by simply locating it at the clause-initial position. In addition to positioning it strategically, a marked Theme is often marked by *ayẹ*, which serves a predicative purpose.

3.3 Functional variation in *Òkó* texts

Having set out a detailed description of Theme in *Òkó*, I will now say it is possible to further explore the discourse strategies and the motif for the occurrence of particular thematic patterns in specific text types. First I will explore the method of development in some texts and then I will discuss the relationship between the context and the thematic progression in a text.

From the beginning of the chapter to this point, I have used one text ((PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer) as the main resource for exploring Theme in *Òkó*. However, as was mentioned earlier in Section 3.1, the grammar of Theme in *Òkó* will be explored from the analysis of five major texts from different registers. For the analysis in this section (3.3) the other texts will be brought into the discussion in order to compare their textual patterning and the role of the context in the Theme choices. Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2) is another prayer, belonging in the same register as (PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer, hence its label as “2”.

3.3.1 Theme Progression

Theme Progression is one perspective on the exploration of Theme patterning in various text types, viewing it from the angle of Theme Progression as expounded by Fries (1995). It refers to the method/pattern of development of Theme in the texts (also see Matthiessen, 1995b; Leckie-Terry, 1995a; Teruya, 1998). The analysis of Theme progression involves tracking the Themes in the texts and observing how each contributes to building up the text as a flow of events in time. Thematic progression is an important semiotic process in the organization of language. I will use Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2), the second prayer in the series of four, to demonstrate Theme Progression and its use as a resource for the overall textual organization of the discourse in Òkó. The prayer in Table 112 was said at the commencement of a family meeting. The purpose of the prayer was to solicit divine blessing upon a meeting that was about to begin, and to ask for God's control, so that the meeting would be conducted in an atmosphere pleasing to the house. The text has been broken into clauses and translation is provided.

Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2)

Èdèdà okuku nènè a a ga ka oro owo a yèn na, ka oro e e yè ya, ayè a a ka wo yò èka na, tẹ fọ ogba ọnẹ ti ya ma. Tẹ fọ wo ugbugbodi ti ya ma. Tẹ fọ wo uyiyei ti ya ma. Akọ ti siye ni ka tẹ tọmẹ tọ igule ọnẹ na, u me ya ka ebero aca pan tọ. U me ya ka ecu a pan tọ. Tẹ fọ arẹ siye ipade ayè. Ti diya fọ arẹ wo amọ we. Èkẹna ta ka ga na, a da ẹga iboriboro. A ma da ẹkẹna a ka pan ukuba na. Èkẹna te ke e jese nẹ tọ egben-egben abẹ be ke wo amọ siye kẹ yọ tititi kẹ yọ na, Osibina Èdèdà ọkẹka, u we wo tu ibe. Ènanẹ akọ ta bẹlẹ i wo ogben ọnẹbẹ iwuru

1	Èdèdà Okuku [[nènè a a ga ka oro owo a yènFather Mighty[[that does not say that person mouth ASP smell na,]] [[ka oro e ye ya ayè a a ka wo yò RPCP [[that person ASP call him he ASP not would hear his èka na]], tẹ - fọ ogba ọnẹ ti ya ma own RPCP we use time this we to sit
2	Tẹ- fọ wo ugbugbodi ti ya maWe use your greatness we to sit
3	Tẹ- fọ wo uyiyei ti- ya mawe use your praise we to sit
4.1	Akọ ti- siye ni as we do want
4.2	ka tẹ- tọmẹ to igule ọnẹ na that we commence our meeting this RPCP
5.1	U- me ya You not allow
5.2	ka ebero a ca pan to that enemy ASP come scatter us
6.1	U- me ya You not allow
6.2	ka ecu a pan to that Satan ASP scatter us
7	Tẹ- fọ arẹ siye ipade ayè We use play do meeting the
8	Ti- diya fọ arẹ wo amọ we ca We also use play COV it exit come
9.	[[Èkẹna ta ka ga na]], a da ẹga iboriboro What we will say RPCP ASP be issue good-good
10	A- ma da [[èkẹna a- ka pan ukuba na]] It NEG be what it will scatter family RPCP
11	[[Èkẹna te ke e jese nẹ tọ egben-eegben abẹ [[What we will ASP gather that our.children's-children them

	<i>be ke wo amọ siy' e ke yọ, tititi ke yọ na,]]</i> they will COV it do it ASP go continually, ASP go RPCP
	<i>Osibina Ẹdẹda Ọkẹka, u- e wo tu ibe</i> God Father MightyYou ASP COV us inside
12	<i>Ẹnanẹ akọ ta- bele i wọ ogben onẹbẹ iwuruThese like</i> we beg LOC-MKR your child that name
	Close Translation [1] God Almighty who will not say one's mouth is stinking and so would not listen to him, we sit in your glory. [2] We sit in your praise. [3] We sit in your honour. [4.1] As we want [4.2] to commence our meeting, [5.1] do not allow [5.2] our enemy to scatter us. [6.1] Do not allow [6.2] Satan to scatter us. [7] Let us conduct our meeting in harmony. [8] Let us also depart in peace. [9] Let all that we shall say be good and edifying. [10] It should not be things that would scatter the family. [11] The manner and wisdom with which we will gather, from which our children's children will learn and emulate us continually, put it in our heart. [12] All these and other things we request in your son's name.

Figure 3-18 (PR/2) Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2) clause by clause

Figure 3-20 below represents the thematic progression in Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2)). It gives a picture of the organization and “flow” of information in the text (Matthiessen, 1995a: 572). The focus will be on how topical Theme is selected. The diagram will show what the priorities are in the selection of Theme as well as how a particular Theme relates to the Theme and/or Rheme of the preceding and succeeding clauses.

Theme	Rheme
<i>Èdèda okuku nènè a a ga ka oro owo a yèn</i> <i>na, ka oro e e yè ya, ayè a a ka wo yò èka</i> <i>na, tẹ fọ</i>	<i>ogba ọnẹ ti ya ma.</i>
<i>tẹ fọ</i>	<i>wọ ugbugbodi</i>
<i>ti ya ma.</i>	
<i>tẹ fọ</i>	<i>wọ uyiyei</i>
<i>ti ya ma.</i>	
<i>akọ ti siye ni</i>	
<i>ka tẹ tọmẹ</i>	<i>tọ igule ọnẹ na</i>
<i>u me ya</i>	
<i>ka ebero.</i>	<i>a ca pan tọ</i>
<i>u me ya</i>	
<i>ka ecu</i>	<i>a pan tọ.</i>
<i>tẹ fọ</i>	<i>arẹ</i>
<i>siye</i>	<i>ipade ayẹ</i>
<i>ti diya fọ</i>	<i>arẹ</i>
<i>wọ amọ</i>	<i>we</i>
<i>ẹkẹna ta ka ga na,</i>	<i>a da ẹga iboriboro</i>
<i>a ma da.</i>	<i>ẹkẹna a ka pan ukuba na</i>
<i>Èkẹna te ke e jese nẹ tọ egben-egben abe</i> <i>be ke wo amọ siye kẹ yọ tititi kẹ yọ na,</i> <i>Osibina Èdèda ọkẹka</i>	<i>u we wo tu ibe.</i>
<i>ẹnanẹ akọ</i>	<i>ta belẹ i wọ ogben ọnẹbẹ iwuru</i>

Figure 3-19 Theme and Rheme in PR/2

The experiential elements that constitute topical Themes are in bold font.

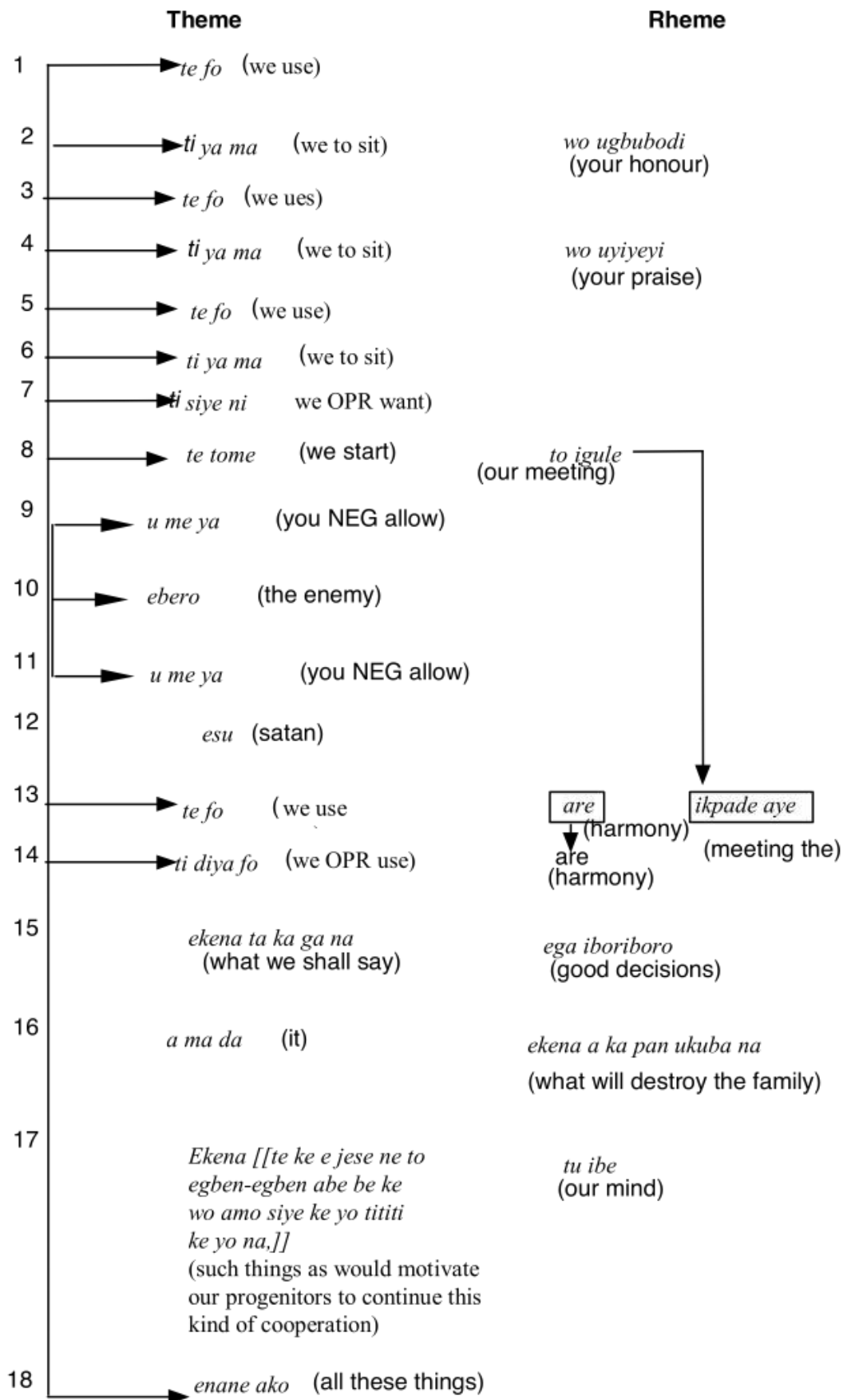


Figure 3-20 Theme Progression of extract from the Annual Meeting Prayer

I shall compare the Theme development in the Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2) and Dinner Speech (DS/1). The two show a clear contrast in their methods of development. The Themes in prayer texts (talking generally from the study of about 4 prayers) create a linear kind of progression —“constant” progression “Lekie-Terry (1995: 148), and they are predominantly unmarked. The Annual Meeting Prayer depicts many instances of repetition of form. This mode of organization makes it sound like a poem. Instances of similarity in form can be observed between Clause Complexes 2 & 3, 5 & 6, 7 & 8 and 9 & 10. The text seems to use elaboration as the method of development. The second member of each pair elaborates on the first with the participant remaining constant. That may account for why the “constant” Theme progression method is preferred in the text. This same principle can also be observed in (PR/4) Pre-departure Prayer. I will elaborate on the method of development in 3.3.2 , which explores the general motifs for selection on Themes across text types.

For the purpose of consistency in numbering of texts used for the analysis of Theme in this chapter, I will first present (MKT/1) Information about Òkó market. However, I will reserve the discussion of it until Section 3.3.2 on the motifs of Themes selection across text types.

Text 2-1 Information about Òkó market (MKT1)

- K: *Ewe, mama.*
 Ol: *Ooh tẹda, ewe, ama I tẹ sọma? Aao.*
 K: *Ooh. Itika ti cin nu eji ọnẹ ẹga: nje ni din ọgbona bi ya bẹrẹ eji ọdodo ẹkọnẹ na?*
 Ol: *I me din ro.*
 K: *Ayẹ e din ka ni me din ọgbone bi ya bẹrẹ eji ayẹ na?*
 Ol: *Ẹh-ẹhn, I gben ayen, I bẹ ba mọ ca e twe.*
 K: *Nje bi ya kpitan nẹ nọ ka e su ọgba akọ akọ akọ nẹ bi ya bẹrẹ eji ayẹ na?*
 Ol: *Be e si ya kpa itan, me e diye din. Ayen luwe mu.*
 K: *Nje akọ eji ayẹ tayi siye we tẹlẹtẹlẹ ọgbona ni ye gben ayen ca to eji ayẹ na?*
 Ol: *A ma tayi we akọ ro.*
 K: *Gana e siye wa? Ẹna a tayi wo ẹnane nẹ eme pile wo eji ayẹ na?*
 Ol: *Eme su ẹkẹna eme wo eji ayẹ na, but e gbodi fọrẹ akọ igan. Ọgbona ẹkpẹtesì e mi ca na, ẹnane akọ cẹcẹcẹ, eji ya.*
 K: *Isubu gana gana ba dọ eji ọnẹ a?*
 Ol: *Tẹlẹ ọgbona amẹ I ye gben ayen ca na isubu upi-upi biya dwe. Ọgbona bi siye na bi mi bilẹ wo isubu ẹta-ẹta.*
 K: *Akana oo.*
 Ol: *Isubu ẹta-ẹta ba kẹ dwe. Usiye ayare-ayo bi da dwe ya akana.*
 S: *Nje ni din ẹkẹna wọrẹ bi ye bilẹ wo isubu ẹta-ẹta na?*
 Ol: *I me din ca.*
 K: *Iroro ka bi ka Okuro eji su isubu iwuru, ẹna wa amọnẹ iwuru a?*
 Ol: *Amọnẹ a wọ oonumejinemej. EnaneẸnanẹ e jen Ib na ayeaye e di e di ẹnabee, I me d*
 in a.

EEeen! OObonemejioni, obenoben wa ebina isubu. Isiji obben ayeaye e gbe Okoto iubu. Yọ ji oobeen aka Ekeji ayeayee be oọ OOfaji isubu.

The Thematic Progression in Dinner Speech (DS/1) below will be contrasted with that of PR/2. The speech was made at the annual dinner of an Òkó household made up of an extended family. There were about 50 members in attendance, many of who resided outside Ogori town, but went home for an annual celebration. The speaker, who was invited to preside on the occasion, is a respected, titled elder of the town, and distantly related to the family. Dinner Speech (DS/1) is a short extract from the speech (see the full text in Appendix 1).

Dinner Speech (DS/1)

I ti gule amọṅe, ka te ma aben gega. Ti je imu aye akọ ti siye wo oyeṅ ca na. So that, at least, ne ke diya fọ oṅe din ke yeṅ ka oḡbọna ne ca eyen oṅe imu na, ekeṅa nene ni siye na aye awa oṅe. Enane fọ eto ọla akọ weca na, imoran ọla akọ aye eke wo ba okan we ke ca ne. Enane diya fọ uba file aligbogben, cin ubwa file aligbogbe bi tiye ikiba weca ne biye siye epen ọla akọ na, Osibina eke kuru bile ba amọ. Osibina e e ke ya ka ne gba o ecu. Osibina eke ya ka ne gba ekon ubowo eka. Tori ka efena nene ron na, aye esu de ni ka aye ma bale. Osibina e e ke ya ka te gb'e. Ne pila ke yo, Osibina aka ke bale oripopo ke ne no. Osibina e teyi ni di siye ke e yo. Ne diya ke yo, no istacionu, na ke yo utun efa, osibina aka bale oripopo ne ororo.

Clause Compl	Cl #	Text
1.1	1	<i>I ti- gule amọṅe</i> PHP we meet today
1.2	2	<i>ka te- ma aben ga ega</i> that we with one.another speak word
1.3	3	<i>ti- je imu aye</i> we celebrate feast the
1.4	4	<i>akọ ti- siye wo oyeṅ ca na. as we do</i> from outside comeRPCP
2.1	5	<i>So that, at least, ne ke diya fọ oṅe di ke yeṅ</i> So that, at least, you will again use this able to remember
2.2.1	6	<i>ka oḡbọna ne- ca eyen oṅe imu na</i> that when you come year this festival RPCP
2.2.2	7	<i>[[ekeṅa nene ni- siye na aye]] awa oṅe</i> [[what that you do RPCP it be this
3	8	<i>[[Enane fọ eto ọla akọ we ca na]]</i> [[those_that bring arrangement type this come out RPCP <i>imoran ọla akọ aye e ke wo ba okan we ke ca ne</i> wisdom type this it ASP will COV them mind exit ASP come RPCP
4	9	<i>[[Enane diya fọ Uba file aligbogben - cin uba file aligbogbe</i> [[Those-that also put hand deep pocket -insert hand deep pocket <i>bi- tiye ikiba we ca [[ne bi ye siye epen ọla</i> they take money out come [[which they ASP do thing like akọ <i>na]]</i> this DCP]]
		<i>Osibina e ke kuru bile ba amọ</i> God ASP will cut add them there
5.1	10	<i>Osibina e e ke ya</i> God ASP NEG will allow

5.2	11	<i>ka ne gba oon ecu</i> that you see (HESI)devil
6.1	12	<i>Osibina e e ke ya</i> God ASP NEG will allow
6.2	13	<i>ka ne gba ẹkọn uboo ẹka</i> that you see war home own
7.1	14	<i>Tori ka efená [[neṅe rọn na,]] aye esu de ni</i> Because that where [[that sweet DCP]] it devil ASP want
7.2	15	<i>ka aye mabalẹ</i> that he tempt
8.1	16	<i>Osibina e e ke ya</i> God ASP NEG will allow
8.2	17	<i>ka te gba ẹ</i> that we see it
9.1	18	<i>Ne e pila ke yo</i> You ASP return to go
9.2	19	<i>Osibina aka ke balẹ orikpokpo ke ne no</i> God will be watch way ASP for you

Figure 3-21 Interlineal Glossing of Annual Dinner Speech Extract

Table 113 presents the Theme patterning in the Dinner Speech extract. The table summarizes the choice of Theme describable in systemic terms in accordance with the discussion in Section 3.2. In addition, it has also included a column for the experiential roles of the participant Themes, which will be analysed further in 3.3.2. Textual or structural Themes are listed under Conjunctive Theme, a reflection of their general functions in the development of a text.

Clause Compl #	Cl.#	experiential role	Theme				Rheme
			inter personal	conj & circ	unmarked topical Theme	marked topical Theme	
1.1	1	Actor		<i>I</i>	<i>ti- gule</i>		<i>amọṅẹ</i>
1.2	2	Sayer		<i>ka</i>	<i>tẹ- ma <<>> ga</i>	<i><<abẹn>></i>	<i>ẹga</i>
1.3	3	Actor			<i>ti- je</i>		<i>imu aye</i>
1.4	4	Actor		<i>akọ</i>	<i>ti- siye <<>> ca</i>		<i>< wo ọyẹn> na</i>
2.1	5	Senser		So that, at least,	<i>ne- ke diya fọ</i>	<i>ọṅẹ di kẹ yẹn</i>	
2.2	6	Time		<i>ka</i>		<i>ogbọna nẹ ca eyen ọṅẹ imu na]]</i>	
2.3	7	Identifier			<i>[[ekena nẹnẹ ni siye na aye]]</i>		<i>a wa ọṅẹ</i>
3	8	Place				<i>[[Enanẹ fọ eto ọla akọ we ca na]]</i>	
4	9	Beneficiary				<i>[[Enanẹ diya fo uba file aligbogben: cin uba file aligbogbe bi tiye ikiba <weca> [[nẹ bi ye siye epen ọla akọ na]]</i>	<i>Osibina e ke kuru bile ba amọ</i>
5.1	10	Sayer			<i>Osibina</i>		<i>e e ke ya</i>
5.2	11	Senser		<i>ka</i>	<i>nẹ- gba</i>		<i>... ecu</i>
6.1	12	Sayer			<i>Osibina</i>		<i>e e ke ya</i>
6.2	13	Senser		<i>ka</i>	<i>nẹ- gba</i>		<i>ẹkọṅ uboo ẹka</i>
7.1	14	Place				<i>Tori ka ẹfena [[nẹnẹ rọn na,]] aye</i>	<i>ecu de ni</i>
7.2	15	Behaver		<i>ka</i>	<i>aye</i>		
8.1	16	Sayer			<i>Osibina</i>		<i>e e ke ya</i>

8.2	17	Senser		<i>ka</i>	<i>tẹ- gb'</i>	
9.1	18	Actor			<i>ne- e pila</i> <i>kẹ yọ</i>	
9.2	19	Actor			<i>Osibina</i>	

Figure 3-22 Theme patterning in Dinner Speech

Another feature of Figure 3-22 is that it shows how the thematic pattern is constructed progressively in the text. The thematic progression is diagrammatically represented in Figure Figure 3-23.

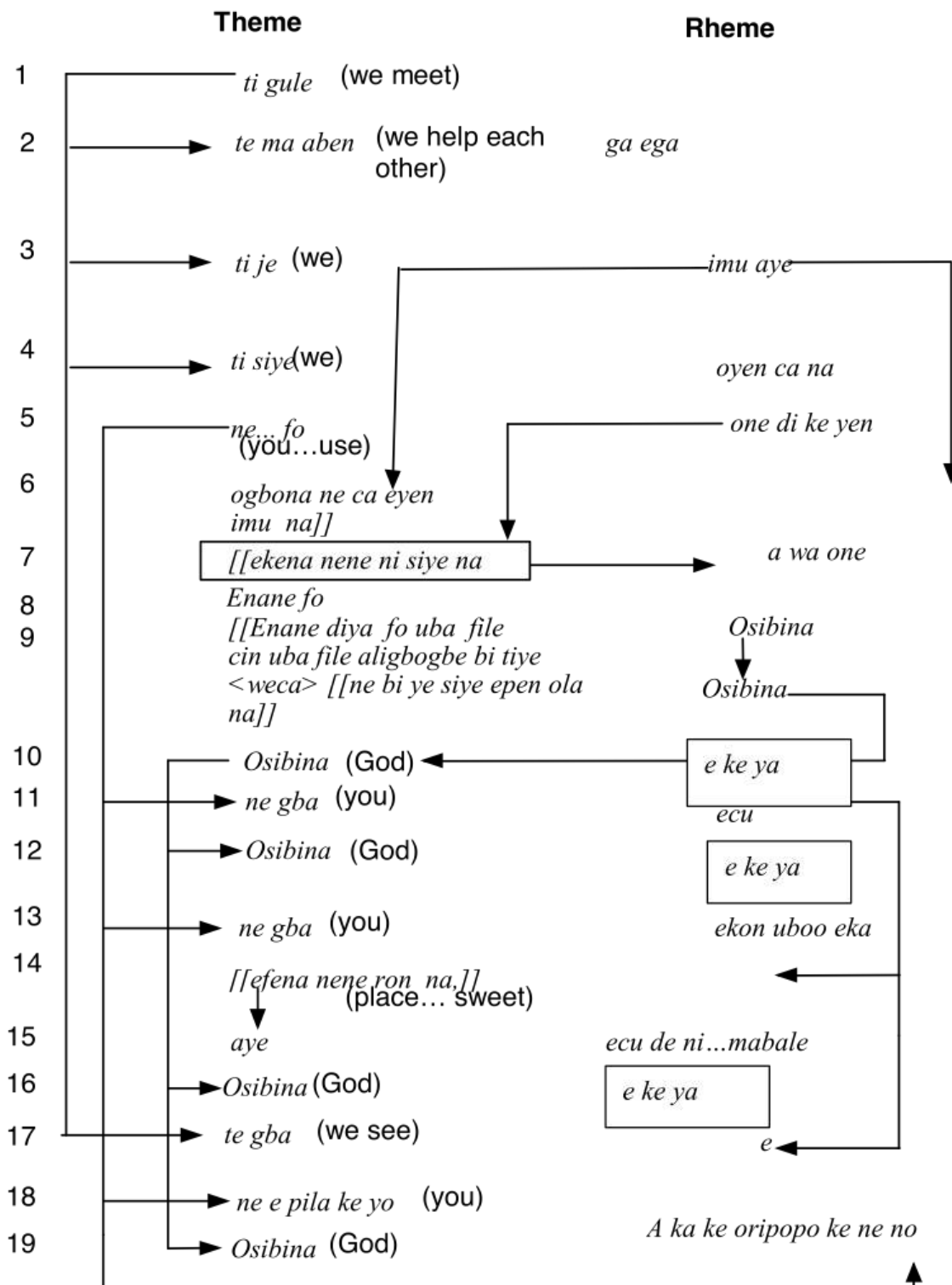


Figure 3-23 Theme Progression from extract in "Dinner Speech"

Figure 3-23 shows that there are three main Themes that are used to develop the Dinner Speech text, namely (i) speaker-inclusive participant Theme, *ti|te* “we” (see Themes 1, 2, 3, 4 & 17); (ii) speaker-exclusive participant Theme *ni|ne* “you” (see Themes 5, 13 & 18); and (iii) both speaker, and addressee-exclusive participant Theme *Osibina* “God” (see Themes 10, 12, 16 & 19). Interestingly positive values are attributed to these three categories of Theme

participants. In contrast, *ecu* (Satan), which also occurs a few times and with a negative participant, is kept in the Rheme.

Generally speaking, the method of development of Dinner Speech (DS/1) contrasts with that of Annual Meeting Prayer (PR2). Although Dinner Speech (DS/1) also uses elaboration as a method of development like the latter, both the elaborated and elaborating clauses are contained in the same complex clause either in the Theme or Rheme. In contrast, the Prayer text uses a less complex method of elaboration, with the Theme and Rheme made of less complex components than it is in the Dinner Speech. The Themes in the speech text are more varied, and unlike the prayer text, part of the development involves a number of marked Themes. The choice of Rheme is also relatively more varied than in the former. The method of Theme Progression can best be described as “derived” (Lekie-Terry, 1995), with the various ideational Themes that construct the Theme progression, making reference to different objects in the context of the text. Thus Òkó textual grammar also instantiates Fries’ (1995) claim that each text type is more oriented towards one method of Theme development than another.

3.3.2 Motifs in Theme Selection

The discussion so far has presumed that the textual organisation of a text, the structure of the clause in terms of Theme and Rheme, and the systemic choice made of Theme are context-motivated (see Section 3.1.43.1.4). It is also stated that each text type would suggest a different method of organization as proved by the comparison of the Theme progression between a prayer text and a speech. In this section, I will explore the role of context vis-à-vis meaning on the pattern of Theme choice more extensively. The discussion will be anchored on inferences from the five texts earlier mentioned in Section 3.1.4, each representative of a particular register. The purpose of this venture into text or discourse semantics here is to capture how systemic choices in the textual metafunctional domain are motivated by the communicative purpose underlying each discourse. It is an insight into the practical way in which textual resources organize ideational and interpersonal meanings into a unified semogenic system. I want to begin to examine what I may call micro-typological issues, such as dealing with what Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen (2004: 50) refer to as “dialectal variation” – “low level” variation; that is, in “the narrowest environment” Matthiessen (2004b). My attempt here is to focus on differences in text types and how each text is organized to achieve its semiotic purpose. The series of texts that follow are exemplifications of how functional variation or registers interfere with the structure of each instance of text. I

will appeal to the principles of classification by Jean Ure (1989, quoted in Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu: in prep). The principle is based on the idea that functional varieties are defined by particular combination of field, tenor and mode (Matthiessen, 1995b: 9).

For the discussion, I have selected five texts with different orientations taken from their natural context of occurrence. The first is Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2), an extract from a prayer to commence a meeting family; the second is Information about Òkó market (MKT/1), an enquiry about a market — a short interview seeking some historical information about the market; the third is Dinner Speech (DS/1), an extract from a speech at a family dinner; the fourth text is Political Consultation (POL/1), taken from a political consultation involving a group and a political mentor in the community; and the fifth text is *Ugbia aka Uuring*, “The Lioun and the Mouse” (L/M-1), which is the Òkó translation of a short Arabian folk tale. Each of the texts will be explored as a flow of information through the structural patterns that characterize it. Each text will also be related to some other texts in the corpus, making reference to the semantic features that have given rise to such patterns. The five texts were compared to see the pattern of Theme selection in each. Specifically, the predominant Theme types (ideational, interpersonal or textual) in each of the texts will be identified in relation to the dominant thematized participant roles. The observed mode of selection will be linked to semantic criteria. My observation will then be computed in percentages. A series of tables and figures will be used to summarize the statistical observations at the end of the chapter.

3.3.2.1 Summary Analysis of a Prayer Text

I am commencing the discussion again with the Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2), including in the discussion of the angle of the generic structure this time, as in Figure 3-24.

		Theme						Rheme
		textual	interpersonal	topical				
				'we'	'you'	'enemy'	other	
Motivation through praise	[1]		[Vocative:] God [praise: power]	'we' <i>tẹ-fọ</i>				
				'we' <i>ti-ya-ma</i>				[praise: greatness]
	[2]			'we' <i>tẹ-fọ</i>				
				'we' <i>ti-ya-ma</i>				
	[3]			'we' <i>tẹ-fọ</i>				
				'we' <i>ti-ya-ma</i>				[praise]
	[4.1] <			'we' <i>ti-siye</i>				[desire] →
	[4.2] ®	<i>ka</i> 'that'		'we' <i>tẹ-tọmẹ</i>				[meeting]
Request	[5.1] <				'you' <i>u-me-ya</i>			[control] →
	[5.2] ®					'enemy' <i>ebero</i>		[scatter]
	[6.1] <				'you' <i>u-me-ya</i>			[control] →
	[6.2] ®					'satan' <i>ecu</i>		[scatter]
	[7]			'we' <i>tẹ-fọ</i>			[request: harmony]	
	[8]			'we' <i>ti-diya-fọ</i>				desire: ending]
	[9]						'what we will say' [[<i>ẹkẹna ...</i>]]	= [good]
	[10]						'it' <i>a-ma-da</i>	= [scatter]
	[11]						[[<i>ẹkẹna te-ke-e</i>]]	
Summary of request	[12]						'these and similar things' <i>ẹnanẹ akọ</i>	[request/

Figure 3-24 Motif in Theme selection of Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2)

As a prayer invoking the presence and participation of God in the event in question, (PR/2) foregrounds the imperative mood where the addressee (in this case, God) is asked to give goods-&-services (Halliday, 1994), hence the thematisation of the command structure *u me ya* (*don't allow*). Examples 5 and 6 are overt commands while 7 - 9 are indirect commands. The attention of God is called through Vocatives, stating the invokee's attributes, some of which span a few clause complexes. Thematization of the Vocatives is used as a strategy to underscore the important status of the invokee. The text is dialogic in conception with the addressee's contribution to its unfolding taken for granted, but it is monologic in realization, as is typical of the prayer genre. The method of development here makes "you" (God) and "us" (the house) the point of departure (Theme) of the message in each clause.

The set-out of the Annual Meeting Prayer in Figure 3-24 is also to demonstrate that there is usually a distinct kind of thematic movement within each text, typical of the genre, and this movement reflects the overall motif of the text in particular and the genre in general. This observation is substantiated as in the thematic development in this second prayer text, which not only takes account of the different phases of topical Theme but also suggests the motifs within the Rhemes (which are likely to be the news). Part of the contextual information is that it is a prayer that was meant to solicit divine blessing upon a meeting that was about to begin, and to ask for God's control so that the meeting would be conducted in a satisfactory manner.

From the table, we can observe a thematic movement beginning with the motif: **motivation** through praise [clauses 1 - 3]. This is aimed at creating a social environment within which the request can be made. Although God is the target and the one to be motivated, it is interesting that the choice of Theme seems to suggest a focus on *te-fo* "we...". However, the textual organization of meaning becomes evident when the Rheme (the "News" part) is taken into consideration. The Rhemes suggest that the "we" are taking a first turn "to give" glory, praise and honour (see translation in Section 3.3.1). The motif then shifts to request [clauses 4 - 11], and correspondingly, there is a shift in the choice of Theme to *u-me ya* "you...". If we again add the Rheme, the meaning that emerges is that God is now being requested to take his turn in "giving"/"providing" security, harmony and goodness, which are necessary for the conduct of the affairs of the day. Although from clauses [7 - 11], "you" is no longer selected as the Theme, the change affects only the strategy: the request motif is still the same. Clause [12] ends the discourse by summarizing the request with the Theme *enane akò*, "all these". Thus, we can see a systematic thematic movement as the text develops. The same kind of thematic movement characterizes the first prayer discussed in Section 3.2 above.

3.3.2.2 Summary Analysis of an Interview: Dialogue

Every text is liable to particular thematic movements such as have been described in the prayer texts above. However, I will focuss more on issues other than thematic movement for other texts in this study. More specifically, I will continue the general discussion on the motifs of the selected texts. Figure 3-25 contains Information about Òkó market (MKT/1) which has been segmented into clauses, glossed interlineally, and has the Theme of each clause marked in bold font. It is an interview in the market involving the interviewer and a middle-aged woman.

Speakers	Clause #	Text
K	1	<i>Ewe, mama.</i> Good_morning, Mother
Ol	2	<i>Ooh tẹda, ewe,</i> ACKN my_father Good_morning
	3	<i>ama I tẹ- sọma? Aao.</i> IP PHP we wake? Hello
K	4.1	Ọọ-ọhn. I ti- kaACKN PHP we say
	4.2	<i>Ti- cin nu eji ọnẹ ẹga</i> we ask you ^{PL} market this issue;
	5.1	<i>Njẹ ni- din IP^{YOR} you know</i>
	5.2	<i>ogbona bi- a bẹrẹ eji ododo ẹkọnẹ na?</i> when they to start ^{YOR} market trading here RPCP?
Ol	6	<i>I- me din ro.</i> I not know ISET
K	7.1	<i>Ayẹ e- diIt it mean</i>
	7.2	<i>ka ni- me din</i> that you NEG know
	7.3	<i>Ogbone bi- ya bẹrẹ eji ayẹ na?</i> when they to start market the RPCP
Ol	8	<i>Eẹh-ẹhn, i gben-ayen: I bẹ- ba mọ ca e tw'ẹ.No I</i> mature-eye: PHP they bear me come ASP meet-it
K	9.1	<i>Njẹ bi- ya kpitan nẹ nọ IP they to tell-story to</i> you ^{PLU}
	9.2	<i>ka e- su ọgba akọ akọ-akọ [[ne bi ya bẹrẹ eji ayẹ</i> that it have time such such-such [[that they to start ^{YOU} market the na?]] RPCP?]]
Ol	10.1	<i>Be- si ya kpa-itan,</i> if-they even to tell-story
	10.2	<i>me- e diye din.</i> I NEG can know.
	11	<i>Ayẹn luwe muEye forget me.</i>

K	12	Njẹ akọ eji ayẹ tayi siye we teleteteIP ^{YOR} like_this market the before do look before_before,
		[[ogbona ni ye gben ayen ca to eji ayẹ na?]] when you be mature eye come meet market the RPCP?
OI	13	A- ma tayi we akọ ro. It NEG before look like-this ISMP
K	14	Gana e- siye wa? How it do be?
	15	Ena a- tayi wo enanẹ What it before COV these-places
		[[ne e- me pile wo eji ayẹ na?]] that it NEG again COV market the RPCP
OI	16.1	E me su [[ekena e me wo eji ayẹ na,]] It NEG have[[what ASP NEG COV market the RPCP
	16.2	But e- gbodi fore akọ igan. But it big more_than this then.
	17.1	Ogbona ekpetesi e- mi ca na,When main_road ASP NEG come RPCP,
	17.2	enanẹ akọ cecẹcẹ, eji ya. these_places like_these all market be
K	18	Isubu gana gana ba do eji onẹ a? Days how how they trade market this IP?
OI	19	Tele, [[ogbona amẹ I ye gben-ayen ca na]]isubuBefore, [[when I APO be mature-eye come RPCP]] day
		upi-upi bi- ya dw'e. five-five they ASP trade_it
	20.1	Ogbona bi siye na when they do RPCP
	20.2	bi- mi bil'ẹ wo isubu eta-eta. they then change-it COV day three-three
K	21	Akana oo Now IP?
OI	22	Isubu eta-eta ba- kẹ dw'e. day three-three they do trade-it

	23	<i>Usiye-ayare-ayo bi da do ya akana.</i> Day-after-tomorrow they again trade it now
K	24.1	Nje ni- din ekena wore ^{IP^{YOR}} you know what cause
	24.2	<i>bi- ye bile wo isubu eta-eta a?</i> they to change COV day three-three RPCP
OI	25	<i>I me- din ca.</i> I NEG know anyway
K	26.1	<i>I- roro</i> I think
	26.2	<i>ka bi- ka</i> that they say
	26.3	<i>Òkuro eji su isubu iwuru,</i> Òkó_people's market has day name
	27	Ena wa amone iwuru a?What be today name IP
OI	28	Amone a wa onumeji ne.Today ASP be Onumeji DCP.
	29.1	<i>[[Enane e jen Ibilona]] aye e diye din enabe,</i> Those_that ASP go Ibillo RPCP TTM ASP can know those
	30	<i>I me- din ya.</i> I NEG know it
K	31	Eehn, oben wa Onumeji;HESI another be Onumeji,
	32	Oben wa Ebina isubu:Another be Ebina day:
	33	<i>Isima eji; oben aye e gbe Okoto isubu.</i> Ebira market; another TTM ASP known Okoto day.
	34	Yọ eji oben aka Ekpe eji aye e gbe Ofaji isubu.Its market another and Ekpe market TTM ASP known Ofaji day

[1] Good morning mother [2] Good morning; [3] are you well? [4.1] We just thought [4.2] we should make some enquiries about this market [5.1] Do you know [5.2] when they started trading in this location? [6] I don't know [7.1] Does it mean [7.2] that you don't know [7.3] when they established the market? [8] no, it was already here when i was born. [9.1] were you not told any story [9.2] that there was such and such a time when the market was started? [10.1] Even if I was told, [10.2] I can't remember anymore

[11] I've forgotten [12] Was the market like this before? [13] It was not like this. [14] How was it? [15] What was there that is no longer there? [16.1] There is nothing that is not in the market [16.2] but it was bigger than this. [17.1] When the main road had not been constructed, [17.2] all these areas were part of the market. [18] How many days interval was it open for business? [19.1] Before, when I was wise enough to know, [19.2] it was patronized every five days. [20.1] After it had operated for some time [20.2] they changed it to every three days [21] And now? [22] It is patronized every three days. [23.1] The day after tomorrow will be the next market day, now. [24.1] Do you know what warranted [24.2] that it be changed to every three days? [25.1] I don't know anyway [26.1] I thought [26.3] that it was said [26.3] that Òko people's market days had names.

[27] What is name of the market of today? [28] Today is Onumeji. [29] Those that patronize Ibillo market are the ones that can know all that [30] I don't know [31] One is Onumeji. [32] Another is Ebina day. [33] One of Ebira market days is called Okoto. [34] One of their market days concurrent with Ekpe market is called Ofaji day.

Figure 3-25 Market interview (MKT1) glossing, translation, and Theme in bold

The purpose of the interview is to elicit historical information — a fact-finding discourse. It differs from the previous one in its method of development. As a dialogic text with enquiry as a motif, the interactional function is foregrounded through several interpersonal Themes in a measure that is not the case with other sub-registers that I have observed. A summary of the observation is presented in **Table 121** and **Table 343**. 10 (15.2%) of the total number of Themes are interpersonal while 12 (18.2%) are textual. These are realized sometimes as interrogative particles (IP; as in Clauses 3, 5.1, 9.1, 12, 24.1 etc) or e-a words such as *gana* (Clauses 14 and 18) and *ena* (15 and 27) and *ogboona* (5.2 and 7.3). Table 116 displays these and the entire pattern of Theme choices in the text. The table also shows the experiential function of the Theme participants (see Chapter 5 for experiential metafunction).

CI #	experiential role	Theme				Rheme
		interpersonal	Conj & Circ	unmarked topical Theme	marked topical Theme	
K: 1	Minor clause	mama! (Mother!)				<i>ewe,</i>
Ol: 2	Minor clause	<i>Ooh</i> (RESPONSE) <i>tèda,</i> (my father)				<i>ewe,</i>
3	Carrier	<i>Ama</i> (IP)	<i>i</i> (PHP)	<i>te- sọma</i> (we wake)?		
K: 4.1	Sayer	<i>Oohn</i> (ACKN)	<i>i ,</i> (PHP)	<i>ti- ka</i> (we say)		
4.2	Sayer			<i>ti- cin</i> (we ask)		<i>nu eji one ẹga</i>
5.1	Senser	<i>Njẹ</i> (IP ^{YOR})		<i>ni- din</i> (you know)		
5.2	Actor		<i>ogbọna</i>	<i>bi- ya bẹrẹ</i>		<i>ẹji ododo ẹkọṅẹ na</i>
Ol: 6	Senser			<i>i- me din</i> (I don't know)		<i>ro.</i>
K: 7.1	Senser			<i>ayẹ e din</i> (does it mean, (3 ^{SG}))		
7.2	Senser		<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>ni- me din</i> (you don't know)		
7.3			<i>ogbone</i>	<i>bi ya bẹrẹ</i>		<i>ẹji ayẹ a?</i>
Ol: 8	Senser	<i>Eeh-eehn,</i> (NEG)		<i>i- gben-ayen...</i> (I grew up...)		<i>i be- ba mọ ca e to-ẹ</i>
9.1						
K: 9.1	Sayer	<i>Njẹ</i> (IP ^{YOR})		<i>bi- ya kpitan</i> (they narrate)		<i>ne no</i>
9.2	Existent		<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>e- su</i> (it exist)		<i>ogba akọ akọ akọ</i> [[<i>ne bi ya bẹrẹ eji ayẹ na?</i>]]
Ol: 10.1	Sayer		<i>be</i> (they)			<i>e si ya kpa itan</i>

10.2	Senser			<i>me- e diye din</i> (I cannot know)		
11	Senser			<i>ayen</i>		<i>luwe mu.</i>
K: 12.1	Attribute	<i>Nje</i> (IP ^{YOR})			<i>akọ</i> (like-this)	<i>aji ayẹ tayi siye we tẹtẹtẹ</i>
12.2	Senser		<i>ogbona(w hen)</i>	<i>ni- ye gben ayen (you)</i>		<i>ca to eji ayẹ na?</i>
Ol: 13	Carrier			<i>a- ma tayi we</i> (it did not look)		<i>akọ ro.</i>
K: 14	Attribute				<i>gana</i> (how)	<i>e siye wa?</i>
15	Existent			<i>ena a</i> (what)		<i>tayi wo enanẹ</i> [[<i>ne eme pile wo eji ayẹ na</i>
Ol: 16.1	Existent			<i>e- me su</i> (3 ^{sg})		<i>ekena eme wo eji ayẹ na,</i>
16.2	Attribute		but	<i>e gbodi</i> (it was bigger)		<i>forẹ akọ igan.</i>
17.1	Existent		<i>ogbona(w hen)</i>	<i>ekpetesi,</i> (main road)		<i>e mi ca na</i>
17.2	Identified				<i>enanẹ akọ cecece,</i> (the all these places)	<i>aji ya.</i>
K:18	Frequency				<i>isubu gana gana</i> (how many days interval)	<i>ba do eji one a?</i>
Ol: 19.1	Senser		<i>teḷe ogbona</i> (before when)	<i>ame,</i>		<i>i ye gben ayen ca na</i>
19.2	Frequency				<i>isubu upi-upi</i> (every five days)	<i>bi ya dwe.</i>
20.1	Actor		<i>ogbona(w hen)</i>	<i>bi- siye</i> (after a while)		<i>na</i>
20.2	Actor			<i>bi mi bil'</i> (they changed)		<i>e wo isubu eta-eta</i>

K: 21		<i>Akana oo (and now?)</i>				
Ol: 22	Frequency				<i>isubu ẹta-ẹta</i> (every three days)	<i>ba ke dwe</i>
23	Time				<i>usiye ayare-ayọ</i> (day after tomorrow)	<i>bi da dwe ya akana</i>
S: 24.1	Senser	<i>Nje (IP^{YOR})</i>		<i>ni- din</i> (you know)		
24.2	Actor			<i>ẹkená</i> (what)		<i>wọre</i>
24.3	Actor			<i>bi- ye bil'</i> (they change)		<i>e wo isubu ẹta-ẹta na?</i>
Ol: 25	Senser			<i>i- me din</i> (i don't know)		<i>ca</i>
K: 26.1	Senser			<i>i- roro</i> (I think)		
26.2	Sayer		<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>bi- ka</i> (they said)		
26.3	Possesser			<i>Okuro eji</i> (Ogori people's market)		<i>su isubu iwuru</i>
27	Identifier				<i>ena</i> (what)	<i>wa amọne iwurua?</i>
Ol: 28	Identified			<i>amọne</i> (today)		<i>a wa onumeji ne</i>
29	Senser			<i>[[enane e jen Ibiló na]] ayẹ</i> (those who patronize Ibiló market)		<i>e di ye din ẹnabẹ</i>
30	Senser			<i>i- me din</i> (I don't know)		<i>ya.</i>
K: 31	Identified	<i>Ẹehn!</i>		<i>ọben</i> (another)	!Unexpected End of Formula	<i>wa onumeji,</i>
32	Identified			<i>ọben</i> (another)		<i>wa ebina isubu</i>
33	Identified			<i>Isima eji ọben, ayẹ</i> (another Ebira market)		<i>e gbe okoto isubu</i>

34	Identified			<i>yò eji oben aka ekpe eji aye</i> (another of its market and that of Ekpe)		<i>e gbe o ofaji isubu</i>
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Figure 3-26

The discourse progresses with the assumption that the interviewee is the custodian of some kind of knowledge. This reflects in the choice of pronouns (independent or prefixed to the Process) referring to her as the topical Theme in most of the clauses either spoken by the interviewer or the interviewee. Both marked and unmarked Themes seem to make reference to the immediate material setting or circumstances. The unmarked Theme alternates between *ni* (you) and *i* (I) representing the interactants in the immediate context of discourse. Unlike the political discourse (POL/1), these make direct references to concrete objects in the environment of the discourse. There are two other unmarked Themes. The first, *bi* (they), is more of the product of the way Òkó grammar expresses an independent clause, than of a semiotic selection of Theme. The second *e/a* (3^{SG}) has to do with the market as Theme.

Looking at the patterns of topical Themes, what immediately strikes one is the number of **Sensers** thematized in this variety of Òkó text (14 of 45 – 31.1%). This can be explained in relation to the kind of information being exchanged: something that has to do with the respondent’s mental image and understanding about the issues of discourse, hence the choice of mental Themes with the respondent as the Senser. Similarly, because the expression of the information required the grammar of description, there is a relatively large number of relational attributive/identifying clauses (13 of 45 – 28.9%) and in addition to the 4 (8.9%) that thematize Existent, which serve a similar purpose, make up 37.8% of the total topical Themes. In contrast, thematic Actor is only 5 of 45 (8.9%), the same quantity as thematized Sayer 8.9%. Strictly speaking, only Clauses 20.2 and 24.3 actually involve action. The three remaining material clauses realize abstract actions.

This text compares with the political text in the number of textual Themes. However, unlike the former which are mainly conjunctive Themes, these are mostly predicative types (PHP) with the meaning “it is the case that...” or “is it the case that...”, as the kind of information exchanged are various and do not need to be linked together in any logical manner.

3.3.2.3 Summary Analysis of a Speech: Monologue

Dinner Speech (DS/1) - see Table 112 Section 3.3.1 is a monologic text, an excerpt from an introductory remark at the commencement of a family dinner. It is aimed at appreciating the efforts of the organizers. It is not a product of historical or preconceived ideas. Therefore it depicts some contrast in the method of development from Information about the Òkó market (MKT/1). It is interesting to note that most of the unmarked Themes are preceded by a structural or conjunctive Theme, except four (2,7, 18 & 19). The experiential value of the Theme in 7 is that of “Value” as against Token, which seems to be the default arrangement in an identifying clause. The many instances of conjunctive Themes serve as resources to move the discourse forward by relating one issue to another logically. This contrasts with the case in (MKT/1) where the ideas do not necessarily have to be interconnected. One can also observe that this registerial type – a speech – contains no vocative Themes. This may be explained by the fact that, unlike Annual Meeting Prayer (PR/2), it does not need to invoke the attention of someone or appeal to anyone for goods-&-services. It also differs from (MKT/1) in the sense that it is monologic; in which case it seeks no verbal response from the addressees.

3.3.2.4 Summary Analysis of a Persuasive Discourse

A text from a political atmosphere is selected for the exploration of the patterning of Theme in a persuasive discourse. In this particular context, the leader of a political party in the area has just politely turned down an invitation to attend the formal public declaration of one of the aspirants who wanted to contest for a position. The leader explained that he would not be able to attend similar events for all aspirants. The following text is a reaction to the leader’s position. A team from a particular group visits the political leader and their spokesman addresses the leader. The aim of the address is to appeal for equal treatment of all rival groups. Political Consultation (POL/1) is a short extract from the ensuing speech. I will produce the transcribed text in this section and then some analysis of it. For the interlineal glossing and the whole translation, go to Appendix 1. The text is broken into numbered clauses for easy reference.

Political Consultation (POL/1)

||| [1.1] *Na a bale ato ne te wa no egben na,* || [1.2] *ededa [[ne bi egben na e diya fo uba ojijen a se oben* || [1.3] *ka one a wa meka ne.* ||| [2.1] *Ogben [[nene ne ke file utun* || [2.1.2] *edi ga utun,* || [2.1.3] *be da a ka* || [2.1.3.1] *“era a wa weda? na,* || [2.1.3.2] *e gben ayen waa!,* || [2.1.3.3] *e e jen utun wa,!...”* ||| [3.1] *ano ebaba, na a ba ogben [[3.1.1]ne e diya ga utun na]],* || [3.2] *ano ebaba I na fo uba a ke ta egban* || [3.3] *“ka ogben one, mo ogben ya.”* ||| [4] *Ugbugbodi [[ne Osibina fo no wo ke na]], ebero kporofo e ke di fo ne ca ije.* |||

[5] *One a wa [[èkèna nènè ti jonmò wo na]]* ||| [6] *Aah, ‘A’³² ama wa oro [[nè e gbe || ka e jowon onawò ka || “a ma kẹ̀ da ka amẹ̀” na. || [7] Ama akò te di siye a sẹ̀ uba e bile na... || [8.1] Ati mi e ni || [8.2] ka, akò edẹ̀da na, ne fò uba wuna atò feyan [[nè wa no egben na]]. || [9.1] Tori ka ugbugbodi a wa nẹ̀ tó atò || [9.2] ka ta wò nọ iwuru efa feyan. || [10.1] Atò e ni ka, || [10.2.1] bi ka || [10.2.2] “eren-eren aye oti da kẹ̀ ma, || [10.2.3] urun urun be gu edagba.” || [11] Eren-eren na ka kẹ̀ yo. || [12.1] [[Èkèna atò e ni na]] a wa [[ka ni turu kẹ̀ yo eren || [12.2] atò e di ga [12.2.1] ka ti su edẹ̀da wo eren. || [13.1] A ka || [13.2] “Ikpen [[ne eme su ero wo urun na]] I bi da nẹ̀ ya oti.” || [14.1] Osibina E e ke ya || [14.2] ka bẹ̀ na no oti. || [15] A! Atò a wa [[nọ enanẹ̀ a yere nọ urun na]]. || [16.1] And erokoro aka balẹ̀ ya ka, || [16.2] “A-ah! oro onẹ̀ esu ero wo urun ro || [16.3] be e diya nẹ̀ ya oti.” || [17] Osibina a ka a nẹ̀ no ki siye. || [18] Eto, ni din || [19] Okó [[nè ni diya ga nẹ̀ to na]] e ye tu aka edẹ̀da na. || [20] Yò uba a worẹ̀ || [20.2] I ka || [20.3] uba oyere na ka a sẹ̀ ero feyan. || [21.1] Tori te balẹ̀ ya ka, || [21.2] oohn, nọ utun e gbodi. || [22.1] Na a ca ‘A’ efa usiye, || [22.2.1] oro oben e ki siye, || [22.2.1] ne me di ca oo? || [22.3.1] I ba a ka, || [22.3.2] oohn, “eebao! Ehen!’, ‘A’ aye e jowon gbeli”. || [22.3.3.1] Bẹ̀ tayi ki gẹ̀ e ki ne || [22.3.3.2] || ka “Ehen!...” || [23.1] Tori, [[èkèna nènè na ma ga na,]] <<[23.2.1] aye ba ka a >>[23.2.2] ka nẹ̀ ga. || [24.1.] [[One ne me siye na]] <<[24.2] aye ba ka a >>ka ni siye || [25.1] Adura a tẹ̀ ma. || [26.1] Ati jowon gbeli nu ogba-kogba, Osibina iiwuogbigben, aka Okuro ikpikpen aka epan oboro [[nènè ni ya kọ̀ tó ayọ̀ na]] || [26.2] ka usi aka sẹ̀ nọ ||*

[27.1] Ne e ke diye ya || [27.2] ka usi a sẹ̀ Okó feyan. || [28] Epati [[nènè tẹ̀ ma na,]] aye a wọ̀..., || [29.1] Osibina ee ke diye ya || [29.2] ka usi a sẹ̀ to amọ̀. || [30.1] Kekekẹ̀ ega [[nènè me ke ni ka e ga nẹ̀ ‘A’ aka to ero obuba na]] a wa [[ka atò tẹ̀ fò uba ta uloko ka]] || [30.2] ta ka yere nọ. || [31] Ore ka ore nẹ̀ [[ne ke ki ga nẹ̀ tó ka “ore a wa onẹ̀” na,]] ta ka yore. || [32] Te e gbado e bila ega e wo nu owo. || [33] Anọ e ke diye ki jowon nẹ̀ tó aka edẹ̀da na. || [34.1] Edẹ̀da da ba egben oyoyọ̀ ro. || [34.2] ama uba ore ada sẹ̀ ogben feyan. || [35.1] Ogbona ne ne ke ki tiye ogben obobo na, || [35.2] aye eben abẹ̀ <<35.2. i bi diye siye>> be ma aben kẹ̀ fwe. || [36] A ma wa egben eebe ro. || [37.1] Ama uba [[nènè edẹ̀da a a sẹ̀ egben na]] aye a ka worẹ̀ || [37.2] nènè egben a ka ma aben kẹ̀ fwe na. || [38.1] A a fò uba ore sẹ̀ egben feyan, || [38.2] egben abẹ̀ i ba wọ̀ ega e ki wo edẹ̀da owo. ||

³² ‘A’ stands for the name of the contestant whose interest the visiting group came to represent.

CI #	voice	Experiential Role	Theme			Rheme
			unmarked Theme		marked Theme	
			Conj & Circ	Participant	Participant	
1.1	1	middle	Behaver	<i>na- a balẹ</i>		<i>atọ</i> [[<i>nẹ tẹ wa nọ egben na,</i>]](look at us [[who are your children,]])
				<i>if</i>	<i>you</i>	
1.2	2	operative	Actor		<i>ededa</i> [[<i>nẹ bi egben na</i>]], (a father who owns his children)	<i>e diya fo uba ojijen a sẹ ọbẹn</i> (cannot separate one for preferential treatment)
1.3	3		Identified	<i>ka</i> claiming that	<i>ọnẹ</i> this	<i>a wa mẹka nẹ</i> is mine.
2.1	4		Identifier		<i>ogben</i> [[<i>nene nẹ ke file utun,... utun waa</i>]]... (a child that can deliver messages “...”...)	
3.1	5	operative	Actor		<i>anọ ẹbẹba, na</i> (you yourself)	<i>ba ogben</i> [[<i>nẹ e diya ga utun na</i>]] (if you have such a child that can run errands,)
3.2	6	operative	Actor	<i>i</i> (it is that) – PHP	<i>anọ ẹbẹba na</i> (you yourself)	<i>fo uba a kẹ ta egban</i> (would beat your chest)
3.3	7		Identified	<i>ka</i> (that)		<i>ogben ọnẹ,</i> (this child) “ <i>mọ ogben ya.</i> ” (is my child.)
4	8	operative	Goal			<i>ugbugbodi</i> [[<i>nẹ Osibina fo nọ wo ke na</i>]] (the honour that God has bequeathed on you) <i>ebero kọrọrọrẹ e ke di fo nẹ ca ije</i> (no enemy would be able to drag it to the mud.)
5	9		Identified		<i>ọnẹ</i> (this)	<i>a wa</i> [[<i>ẹkẹna nẹnẹ ti Jọnmọ wo na</i>]] (is the point upon which we stand.)
6	10		Carrier	<i>aah,</i>	‘ <i>A</i> ,’ (‘ <i>A</i> ’)	<i>a ma wa oro</i> [[<i>nẹ e gbe ka e jowon nawọ ka “a ma kẹ da ka amẹ” na.</i>]] (is not the kind of person that would insist that “either me or no one else”.)

[7]	11		Attribute	<i>ama</i> (But)		<i>akọ te di siye ...</i> <i>a sẹ uba e</i> <i>bile</i> <i>na...</i> (how we cooperate with each other.)	
[8.1]	12		Senser		<i>ato</i> (we)		<i>mi e ni</i> (then wish)
[8.2]	13	operative	Manner	<i>ka</i> (that)		<i>akọ ẹdẹda na,</i> (as a father)	<i>nẹ fọ uba wuna ato feyan</i> <i>[[nẹ wa nọ egben na]].</i> (you should embrace us all that are your children.)
9.1	14		Identifier	<i>tori ka</i> (because)		<i>ugbugbodi</i> (honour)	<i>a wa nẹ to ato</i> (it is to us ourselves)
9.2	15		Senser Perceiver	<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>ta- a wo</i> (we hear)		<i>no iwuru ẹfa feyan.</i> (of your popularity everywhere)
10.1	16		Senser		<i>ato</i> (we)		<i>e ni</i> (wish)
10.2.1	17		Sayer	<i>ka, ...</i> (that)...	<i>bi- ka</i> (they say)		
10.2.2	18		Location-Attribute			<i>ẹren-ẹren,</i> <i>aye</i> (forward, it is)	<i>oti dake ma,</i> (‘that’ a walking stick points)
10.2.3	18.1	operative	Location-Place			<i>urun unun</i> (behind)	<i>be gu ẹdagba.”</i> (they pursue elephant)
11	19	middle	Location-Place			<i>Ẹren-ẹren</i> (forward)	<i>na ka kẹ yọ.</i> (you will be progressing.)
12.1	20		Identified			<i>[[Ẹkẹna ato e ni na]], a</i> (what we want)	<i>wa [[ka ni turu kẹ yọ ẹren.]]</i> (is that you should be making progress)
12.2	21		Sayer		<i>ato</i> (we)		<i>di ga</i> (then can say)
12.2.1	22		Carrier: Possessor	<i>ka</i> (that)		<i>ti</i> (we)	<i>su ẹdẹda wo ẹren.</i> (have a mentor in front.)
13.1	23		Sayer		<i>a- ka</i> (they say)		
13.2	24	operative	Goal			<i>“Ikpen [[ne eme su ero wo unun na,]]</i> (a masquerade which has no good following)	<i>I bi da nẹ ya oti.”</i> (it is the case that they could seize his cudgel.)
14.1	25	ergative	Sayer		<i>Osibina,</i> (God)		<i>e e ke ya [[ka bẹ na nọ oti.]]</i> (will not allow that they take your cudgel)
14.2			Actor	<i>ka.</i> (that)	<i>bẹ na</i> (they take)		<i>nọ oti</i> (your staff.)

15	26		Carrier		<i>ato</i> (we)		<i>a wa</i> [[<i>nò ẹnàṅ ayere nò urun na</i>]]. (are your followers.)
16.1	27		Behaver	<i>and</i> (and)	<i>erokoro</i> (people)		<i>a ka bale ya</i> (would be looking)
16.2	28		Carrier: Possesser	<i>ka, "a-ah!"</i> (that "a haa")	<i>oro ọṅ</i> (this person)		<i>e su ero wo urun ro</i> (has people behind him)
16.3	29	operative	Actor		<i>be- e diya ne</i> (they cannot seize)		<i>ya oti.</i> " (his cudgel.)
17	30	ergative	Agent		<i>Osibina</i> (God)		<i>a ka a ṅ nò ki siye.</i> (will give you to succeed.)
18.1	31		Phenomenon			<i>eto,</i> (arrangements)	<i>ni din,</i> (you know.)
19	32		Phenomenon		<i>Òkò</i> [[<i>nè ni diya ga nẹ tọ na</i>]] (the language that you have spoken to us)		<i>e ye tu aka ẹdẹda na.</i> (as a father, 'we' understand.)
20.1	33		Agent		<i>Yọ uba</i> (the reason)		<i>a wọṛẹ</i> (is why)
20.2	34		Sayer		<i>i-ka</i> (I say)		
20.3	35	operative	Instrument			<i>uba ọyẹ</i> (the same hand)	<i>na ka a sẹ ero fẹyan</i> (is what you should use to hold us.)
21.1	36		Senser	<i>tori</i> (because)	<i>te- bale</i> (we have seen)		<i>ya</i> (it)
21.2	37		Carrier	<i>ka, ọṅhn,</i> (that 'aam')	<i>nò utun e</i> (your job)		<i>gbodi</i> (‘is’ huge.)
22.1	38	operative	Actor	<i>na- a ca</i> (if)	(you come to)		<i>A ẹfa</i> (A’s place tomorrow)
22.2	39	operative	Actor		<i>oro ọḃen</i>		<i>e ki siye,</i> (somebody else)
22.3	40	operative	Circumstance: Time			<i>usiye</i> (tomorrow)	<i>ne me di ca oo?</i> (if you are not able to come,
22.3.1	41		Sayer	<i>i:</i> (PHP)	<i>ba- a ka</i> (they will say)		
22.3.2	42	operative	Goal	<i>ọṅhn,</i> "eebao! eḃen!!, (O' yes,)		<i>aye</i> (3 ^{SG})	<i>e jowon gbeli</i> ". <i>Be- tayi ki ge e ki ne ka</i> "Eḃen!..." (it is this person he supports) People have long rumoured it about that , yes ...

23.1	43		Verbiage	<i>tori,</i>		[[<i>ẹkẹna nẹnẹ na ma ga na,</i>]] <i>aye</i> (what you have not said)	<i>a ka a ka</i> (they will say)
23.2	44		Sayer		<i>ka nẹ- ga</i> (that you said.)		
24.1	45	operative	Actor			[[<i>ọnẹ ne me siye na</i>]] <i>aye</i> (the one/what you have not done)	<i>ba ka a ka</i> (they will say)
24.2	46	operative	Actor		<i>ka ni- siye</i> (you do.)		
25	47		Circum: Carrier			<i>Adura</i> (prayer)	<i>atẹ ma.</i> (we sit.) - We are praying constantly.
26.1	48	operative	Actor		<i>ati</i> (we)		<i>jowon gheli nu ogba-kogba, Osibina iiwuogbigben, aka Okuro ikpikpen aka epan oboro</i> [[<i>nẹnẹ ni ya kọ to ayọ na</i>]]. (support you anytime in God's power, Oko's ancestors' and the good fortune that by which you are leading us)
26.2	49	operative	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>usi</i> (shame)		<i>a a ka sẹ no</i> (will not befall you.)
27.1	50		Sayer		<i>ne e ke diye ya</i> (You would not allow)		
27.2	51	operative	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>usi</i> (shame)		<i>a sẹ Òkó fẹyan.</i> (to befall the whole of Ogori.)
28	52		Carrier Identified		<i>ẹpati</i> [[<i>nẹnẹ te ma na,</i>]] (The party in which we are)		<i>aye a wo...</i> , (it can hear ...)
29.1	53		Sayer		<i>Osibina</i> (God)		<i>e e ke diye ya</i> (would not allow)
29.2	54	operative	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>usi</i> (shame)		<i>a sẹ to amọ.</i> (will not befall us in it.).
30.1	55		Identified	<i>kẹkẹkẹ</i> (special)	<i>ẹga</i> [[<i>nẹnẹ me ke ni ka ẹ ga nẹ 'A' aka to ero obuba na</i>]] (What I would like to put across to 'A' and other members of the group)		<i>a wa</i> [[<i>ka atọ te fọ uba ta uloko</i>]] (is that we are absolutely behind you)

30.2	56	operative	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)	<i>ta- ka yere</i> (we will follow)		<i>no.</i> (you.).
31	57	operative	Place			<i>ore ka ore ne</i> [[<i>ne ke ki ga ne to ka "ore a wa one", na,</i>]] (whichever way you show us that "This is the way")	<i>ta ka yo e</i> (is where we will tread.)
32	58		Verbal		<i>Te- e gbado e bila</i> (We shall never argue)		<i>ega e wo nu owo.</i> (with you.)
33	59		identified		<i>ano</i> (you)		<i>e ke diye ki jowon ne to aka ededa na.</i> (you would also stand for us as a good father.)
34.1	60		Carrier: Possessor		<i>ededá</i> (father)		<i>da ba egben oyoyo ro.</i> (may have many children)
34.2	61		Means	<i>ama</i> (but)		<i>uba ore</i> (with the same hand)	<i>a- da a se ogben feyan.</i> (he would handle all of them.)
35.1	62		Condition	<i>ogbona</i> (when)	<i>ne- ne ke ki tiye</i> (you begin to handle)		<i>ogben obobo na</i> (the children differently)
35.2	63	operative	Actor	<i>aye</i> (then)	<i>aye eben abe</i> (some of them)		<< <i>bi diye siye</i> >> <i>be ma ke fwe aben</i> (would begin to pick quarrel with each other.)
36	64		Identified		<i>a ma wa</i> (it is not)		<i>egben eebe ro</i> (the children's fault.)
37.1	65		Instrument	<i>ama</i> (but)		<i>uba</i> [[<i>ne ne ededa a a se egben na</i>]] (it is the way you are handling them discriminately)	<i>aye a ka wore</i> (that would be the cause)
37.2	66	operative	Actor	<i>ne ne</i> (that)	<i>egben a</i> (the children)		<i>ka ma aben ke fwe na.</i> (would begin to quarrel with each other.)
38.1	67	operative	Actor		<i>a- a fo</i> <> <i>se</i> (if you use)		< <i>uba ore</i> > <i>egben feyan,</i> (the same hand to handle them)
38.2	68		Senser	<i>i:</i> (it is that)	<i>egben abe , ba</i> (the children)		<i>Wo ega e ki wo ededa owo.</i> (would be obedient to you.)

Figure 3-27

The pattern of Theme selection in (POL/1), the political discourse, varies significantly from those previously discussed. The main motif here is persuasion and diplomacy. This seems to reflect in the pattern of Theme selection. Firstly, there is a wider spectrum of Themes than in any of the previous texts considered and while some of these are specific in their reference, many are generic. This is not surprising since oratory is part of politics. It seems that making sense in political discourse demands the ability to use a lot of lexical metaphors – indirect references - to make comparisons, and this text seems to have taken advantage of that.

The spokesman for the visiting political group addresses the political leader of the community. The pattern of selection shows that 22 out of 68 Themes are marked. About 15 of the 67 Theme participants relate directly or indirectly to the political leadership and about 15 also relates to the followers. Other Themes are references to some general phenomena, among which a significant number are abstract. Of the references to the political leader, about half are specific while others are indirect references. Although the referents are mainly *anɔ* (you – representing the political leader) and *atɔ* (us – representing the political followers), it would be impolite to use these terms to make direct reference at each mention. The speaker therefore uses generic terms as a strategy for avoiding this problem Table 340 presents the manner in which Theme referencing is done in the text as alluded to above. “T” refers to Theme while “R” refers to Rheme.

Clause #	Theme Participant	Referent	Location in the Cohesive Chain
1.	<i>na</i> (you)	Political Leader – Mentor = specific	1-
2	<i>ẹdẹda</i> (father)	(Allusion to) the Political Leader = generic	T1 – <i>Anọ</i>
3	<i>one</i> (this)	Supporters of some political groups (metonymically) = generic	R2 – <i>ọben</i>
4	<i>ogben</i> (child)	Supporters of some political groups (metonymically) = generic	T2 – <i>egben</i>
5	<i>anọ ẹbẹba</i> (you yourself)	Political Leader –Mentor = generic	T1 – <i>Anọ</i>
6	<i>anọ ẹbẹba</i> (you yourself)	Political Leader –Mentor = generic	T1 – <i>Anọ</i>
7	<i>ogben one</i> , (this child)	Indirect reference to the visiting Group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>
8	<i>ugbugbodi</i> (honour)		
9	<i>one</i> (this)	Foregoing discourse	
10	'A'	Member of the visiting group	T1
11	<i>atọ</i> (we)	Direct reference to the visiting group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>
15	<i>ta</i> (we)	Visiting group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>
16	<i>atọ</i> (we)	Visiting group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>
17	<i>bi</i> (they)	People = generic	
20	[[<i>ẹkẹna atọ e ni na</i>]] (what we want)	Cataphoric (IFG:314)	R20 - [[<i>ka ni turu ke yọ ẹrẹn.</i>]]
21	<i>atọ</i> (we)	Visiting group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>
24	<i>ti</i> (we)	Visiting group	T1 – <i>atọ</i>

Figure 3-28 Theme participant references in "Political Consultation" text

The purpose is not to construct the full pattern of cohesion in the Political text, but to illustrate how Theme participant references are made and linked to one another.

And although the whole message is that of a request or demand (“Be fair to all of us”), which should normally be realised grammatically by imperative clauses, the speaker hardly chooses that mood; neither do we find any Predicators without a Subject marker as Theme (as may occur in imperative clauses). Rather, examining the thematic patterns experientially, we find that the majority of instances where the leader is the Theme are active (material) clauses

and the leader is projected as the Actor or Behavior. In contrast, the followers and the public are usually thematized as Sayers and Sensers. Issues, on the other hand, are thematized mainly as Tokens, Values and Attributes. The many and varied illustrations seem to give rise to clause complex constructions, while the need to logically connect these to the main issue of discourse – to give it some texture - warranted the use of textual Themes. The textual Theme *ka* dominates the list. This is as a result of the projection of many phenomena as idea. This lends credence to the fact that much of the discourse is founded on irealis imagination rather than action.

In Figure 34 the ideational Theme elements for Political Consultation Text (POL/1) are summarised under headings according to what they represent, and the role each category plays in the overall configuration of Themes in the text. This presents a picture of the role of each Theme category in “hanging the clauses together” to form a coherent whole (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 48).

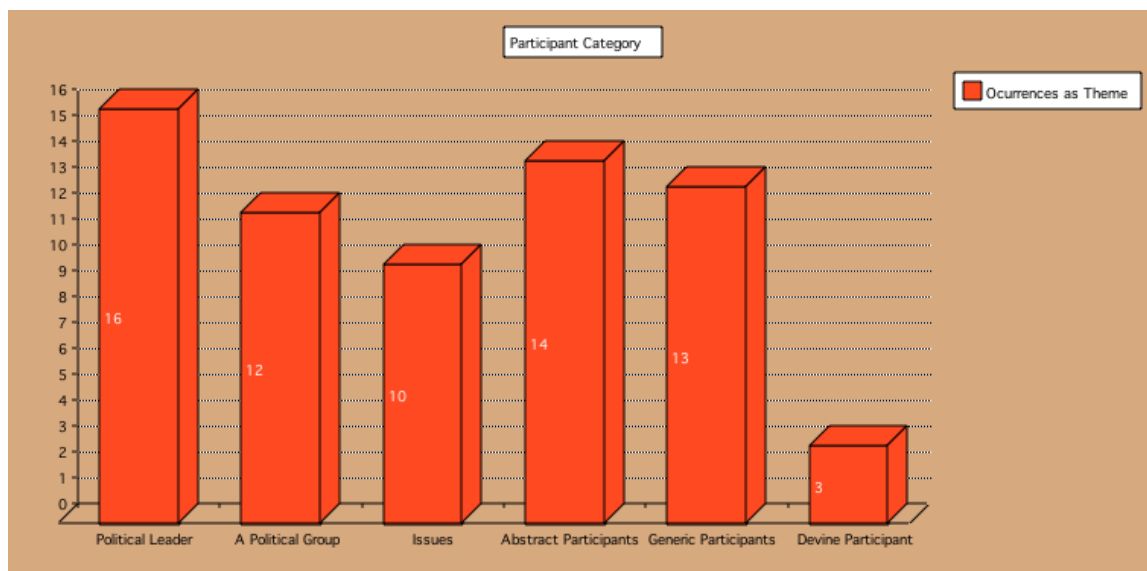


Figure 3-29 Participant categories in the construction of Text 4

3.3.2.5 Summary Analysis of a Narrative

The fifth text *Ugbiya aka Uurin* ("The Lion and the Mouse" - LM/1) folktale, to be analysed textually, is a narrative translated from an Arabic tale, *The Lion and the Mouse*. It is significant in the sense that it has a universal application. And specifically, it is a narrative that can well typify aspects of Òkó tradition. I will provide only the first part of the narrative in this section in order to illustrate one of its basic textual differences compared with other texts. Furthermore, I will then show in a table the narrative as translated from the written text

without the conventional introductory part, just in case it depicts some textual differences from other texts that have been transcribed directly from the oral data.

1	Ogarega parakata, a ca a ta Ugbia e diya ta Uurin.Story huge it came to hit Lion, it also hit Mouse
2	Bi e je bi a wa they ASP eat, they ASP drink
3	Iken fẹyan e gula gbọọ, eroro kwe a pẹn-uri. town all ASP hot INT everybody ASP ASP break-sweat.
4	Uri ca a pẹn Ugbiya aye, e me din ekeṅa e-ke siye na: sweat, come ASP break Lion the, he NEG know what he will do RPCP:
5	e bwe wo yọ odorẹ, a na ekperi, ubwa d'ẹ yọ. he sleep COV his hole ASP receive fresh-air, sleep slumber-him go.
6	Isi ọọre, Uurin aye mune a fọ ọcẹn kakana ya ọmọdọrẹ cun time one, mouse the run he use feet brush him nose pass
7	Ugbiya aye sọma lion the wake

Figure 3-30 *Ugbiya aka Uurin* "The Lion and the Mouse": (LM/1) Folktale

This introductory part of the folktale has been worked for the text in order to conform to the conventional way of commencing a narrative in *Òkó*. Therefore, the wording and numbering is not identical with the one in Table 120 which will be analysed in terms of thematic patterning. The alteration is to serve a specific purpose of showing the significance of the introductory part in the textual organization of an *Òkó* folk narrative.

The introductory part above is divisible into two parts: the Placement (1 – 4) and the Initiating Event (5 -7). The placement is further divided as follows. (1) Formulaic Opening (FO), which serves the purpose of introducing the main characters, perhaps the protagonist(s) and the antagonist(s) or other characters of the narrative, in the above case, *Ugbia* and *Uurin* respectively. This is usually immediately followed by a (2) General Condition (GC), which provides the setting, for the main event in the story. The introduction generalises the problem and provides the parameter for the interpretation of the action and reaction of the main characters of the story.

Cl: Comp #	Cl #	experiential role	Theme			Rheme	
			Conj & Circ	interpersonal	topical		
					unmarked		marked
1.1	1	Existent				<i>isubu ọbẹn</i> (one day) <i>wo amọ</i> , (there was)	
1.2	2	Carrier			<i>iwu</i> (the body)	<i>e gula</i> . (was very hot.)	
2.1	3	Behaver			<i>ugbia ọbẹn</i> (a lion)	<i>bwe wo i yọ ọdọre</i> (lay in its hole)	
2.2	4	Actor			<i>uurin ọbẹn</i> (a mouse)	<i>mune cun ya ọmọdọre-ooti</i> (ran across his nose)	
2.3	5	Behaver			<i>ugbia aye</i> (the lion)	<i>ca sọma</i> . (woke up.)	
3.1	6	Senser			<i>iwu</i> (BODY)	<i>kan ya</i> . (he was angry)	
3.2	7	Actor			<i>e- guma</i> <>_ <i>se</i> (he stretched <his claws> and caught)	< <i>igbogbo</i> >_ <i>ya</i> (him)	
3.3.1	8	Actor			<i>a- ka aye mumuuse</i> (he squeeze)	<i>uurin aye owo</i> (the mouth of the mouse)	
3.3.2	10	Actor			<i>aye</i> (he)	<i>a- fafaase guma fuwa</i> (and to tear him into pieces.)	
4.1	11	Behaver			<i>uurin aye</i> (the mouse)	<i>yi Ọga</i> . (shouted)	
4.2.1	12	Sayer			<i>a- ka</i> (he said)		
4.2.2	13	Actor		" <i>obin, aguga,</i> (oh king, please)	<i>teyi</i> (let <> go	mu.<ME>	
4.2.3	14	Carrier			<i>i- me sisi gwe</i> (i am not even worth)	[[<i>efena abowo ka ọ wan na</i>]]. (your efforts to kill me)	
4.2.4	15	Actor			<i>i- ma cerayen</i> (i did not deliberately)	<i>siye-ẹ go</i> (do it)	
4.2.5.1	16	Actor			<i>we- e sisi wan</i> (even if you kill)	<i>mọ</i> , (me)	
4.2.5.2	17	Actor			<i>mọ ọnẹ</i> (my meat)	<i>a ma ron ọtẹtan</i> .” (is not good to eat.)	
5	18	Behaver				<i>aka ubwa ayen</i> (with sleep in his face) <i>ugbia aye a se etome</i> (the lion sighed.)	

6.1	19	Sayer			<i>uurin aye</i> (the mouse)		<i>ga ne ya</i> , (told him)
6.2.1	20	Time	<i>ka</i> (that)			“ <i>isubu oyere</i> (one day)	<i>ka ame i diye siye oguba ne o</i> , (I too will be of help to you)
6.2.3	21	Actor			<i>wa- a wa</i> (if you could pardon)		<i>mọ amọne na</i> . (me today.)
7.1	22	Behaver			<i>ugbia aye</i> (the lion)		<i>pen oron</i> , (broke into laughter)
7.2	23	Behaver			<i>a mwe</i> and (HE LAUGHED at him.)		
8.1	24	Actor	<i>ama</i> (but)		<i>e- tiye</i> (he took)		<i>igbogbo fura ya iwu</i> (his claws off him)
8.2	25	Actor			<i>uurin aye</i> (the mouse)		<i>lakata mune fura ya uba</i> (hurriedly ran off his hand.)
9.1	26	Behaver				<i>aka oron</i> , (with laughter)	<i>ugbia aye diye guru bwe</i> , (the lion lay back to sleep)
9.2	27	Behaver			<i>a- a ma</i> (he was dreaming)		<i>-omwen</i> (dream.)
10.1	28	Carrier			<i>e- me fon</i> , (it was not long)		
10.2	29	Actor			<i>ugbia aye</i> (the lion)		<i>we wo eme-ibe</i> (got out into the grass)
10.3	30	Actor			<i>e- e tu</i> (he was hunting)		<i>one</i> , (for a game.)
11	31	Actor			<i>a- ca fale wo</i> (he then fell into)		<i>asona-etakute</i> [[<i>nene ororiro eben ren wo orikpokpo</i> [[<i>nene a da yo ki cun na</i> .]]]] (a net trap which some hunter has set on the way through which the lion goes.)
12.1	32	Actor			<i>be- fo <> ren</i> (they had set it with < ropes to tie >)		< <i>oyi</i> > <i>asona gbaun-gbaun aye se oti a kare ya</i> (the net to a tree, awaiting him)
12.2.1	33	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)		<i>e- e cuwa wo</i> (if he falls)		<i>oyi aye</i> , (on the rope)
12.2.2	34	Actor			<i>asona aye</i> (the net)		<i>e guma ri ya</i> , (would cover him)
12.2.3	35	Actor			<i>a- pare</i> (and trap him)		<i>ya</i> [[<i>tititi usiye a a gan</i> .]] (until the day would break.)

13.1	36	Actor			<i>ugbiya aye</i> (the lion)		<i>bila ayereyere,</i> (turned round and round.)
13.2	37	Actor			<i>a- a kakana</i> (he was scratching)_		<i>asona aye;</i> (the net.)
14.1.1	38	Actor	<i>ama akò</i> (but as)		<i>e- siye e bila</i> (was turning)		<i>na,</i>
14.2	39	Actor	<i>egan</i> (so)		<i>asona aye</i> (the net)		<i>siye a pare ya a fore</i> <i>egan ne</i> (was binding him.)
15.1	40	Actor			<i>e- kuru siye,</i> (after a while)		
15.2	41	Actor			<i>e- me pile di bila</i> (he could not turn)		<i>kotutun</i> (at all.)
16.1.1	42	Senser	<i>ogbona</i> (when)		<i>a- gba</i> (he saw)		
16.1.2	43	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)		<i>aye</i> (he)		<i>e ke di fan na,</i> (he could not free himself)
16.2	44	Sayer			<i>a- a gen,</i> (he roared)		
16.3	45	Actor			<i>uku feyani</i> (so that the whole forest)		<i>e gbun teyin</i> (shook.)
[17.1]	46	Token			<i>a- ca, e gbe</i> (it then happened)_		
[17.2]	47	Time	<i>Ka</i> (that)			<i>ujogwe onebe</i> (that night)	<i>uurin onebe e ni</i> [[<i>ekena e ke je na</i>]] <i>e ne</i>] (the mouse went about looking for what to eat.)
18.1	48	Senser			<i>a- wo</i> (he heard)		<i>Na,</i>
18.2	49	Senser				<i>igan-igan</i> (immediately)	<i>e kpeli ugbiya aye ohun,</i> (he recognized he voice of the lion)
18.3	50	Actor			<i>e- mune yo</i> (he ran)		<i>efenebe</i> (there.)
19.1	51	Actor			<i>e- re,</i> (when he got there)		
19.2	52	Senser			<i>a- gba</i> (he saw)		[[<i>ekena to-e na</i>]], (what has befallen him)
19.3.1	53	Sayer			<i>a- gane</i> (he told)		<i>ya</i> (him)

19.3.2	54	Actor	<i>ka</i> (that)	“ <i>edaar</i> <i>o</i> , (máster)	<i>eye</i> (your HEART)		<i>a ma cen o ibe o</i> , (should not tremble.)
20	55	Actor			<i>ma-ka tora o fan</i> (I will set you free)		<i>eyibone</i> . (soon.)
21.1	56	Predicator		<i>se</i> (remain)		<i>iwu jowon</i> , (still)	
21.2	57	Actor			<i>u- me pile gbun</i> (do not shake)		<i>iwu</i> .” (your body.)
23.1	58	Actor			<i>odo aye</i> (the rodent)		<i>siye kurekure turu ni ya yo</i> (moved close to him)
23.2	59	Actor			<i>a-fo</i> <> <i>a-can</i> (he used <the teeth> to cut)		< <i>irun</i> > <i>a asona aye-ooyi</i> . (the rope of the net.)
24.1	60	Carrier			<i>e- me fon</i> (it was not long)		
24.2	61	Actor			<i>ugbiya aye yo igbogbo eren eka</i> (the lion’s front claws)		<i>we ca</i> ; (came out.)
25.1	62	Actor	<i>[[e- siye]].</i> (after a while)				<i>yo epan fan</i> ; (his head was freed)
25.2	63	Actor			<i>yo abare-eepen</i> (the back hair)		<i>tora</i> . (got loose.)
26	64	Actor				<i>i yurunba</i> (later)	<i>yo ocen fan we ca</i> . (the hind limbs got free.)
27.1	64	Senser			<i>uurin teteyin aye</i> (the mouse)		<i>gba epen siye ne ugbiya aye</i> , (was able to do something for the lion)
27.2	65	Sayer	<i>pkenepek ene ako</i> (just as)		<i>e- siye</i> < <i>taye</i> > <i>gane</i> (did <before> tell)		<i>ya na</i> (the lion.)
28	66	Actor			<i>a- na-e fan fura</i> (he rescued him from)		<i>ufo-uuba</i> (the hand of death.)
29	67	Carrier			<i>a- ma bowo</i> (it is not proper)		<i>ka oro a fo aye kan ke wan oro-ka-oro</i> . (that one should underate anybody else.)

Figure 3-31 Theme patterning in a narrative (The Lion and the Mouse)

Table 341 shows the analysis of the folktale in relation of the organization of the clause in terms of Theme and Rheme as well as the choices favoured in the THEMATIC system. The table also foregrounds the thematic patterning in experiential terms, by showing the experiential function of the Theme. Topical Themes seem to dominate this genre. A narrative is a collection of doings/actions and events, and Òkó grammar construes it as such through thematization of participants. The preponderance of Actor as Theme is a reflection of their roles as the ones through whom events are enacted. Actor Themes therefore serve as the main driving force in the organization of the narrative discourse. There are relatively few exchanges between the main characters in the story. As a result, there is only one interpersonal Theme. The text is a translation from a written monologue and the participants in the narrative process may not have primary interaction to warrant interpersonal Themes, which here make up 2.5%. In this respect, it contrasts sharply with the information about Òkó market (MKT/1), which is dialogic with 15.2%. It is however interesting to note that textual Themes are relatively few too (8.9%), unlike in the political discourse. Another area of contrast (especially with Text 2) in the pattern of Theme choices is the relatively low number of participants as Themes in relational clauses

Table 121 presents the statistical evidence of the pattern of choices among ideational, interpersonal and textual types of Theme across text types. It also shows the differences in choice between marked and unmarked Themes.

Text Type		1 (prayer)		2 (market)		3 (speech)		4 (political)		5 (narrative)		TOTAL
type of Theme												
topical	unmarked	19 (76%)	19 (76%)	36 (54%)	44 (78.6%)	17 (65.3%)	17 (65.3%)	45 (49.5%)	67 (73.7%)	63 (79.4%)	70 (88.6%)	217
	marked	0 (0.0%)		8 (12.6%)		0 (0.0%)		22 (24.2%)		7 (8.9%)		37
interpersonal		2 (8%)		10 (15.2%)		0 (0.0%)		0 (0.0%)		2 (2.5%)		14
textual		4 (16%)		12 (18.2%)		9 (34.6%)		24 (26.4%)		7 (8.9%)		56
TOTAL		25		56		26		91		79		324
TOTAL		25		56		26		91		79		277

Figure 3-32 Statistics of Theme selection in various discourse types

I shall present these facts in the form of charts to further illustrate the differences in pattern of Theme choice in accordance with discourse types. The first chart illustrates the difference in choice between marked and unmarked in the ideational Themes.

I also show the pattern of choice across the metafunctions as in Figure 35.

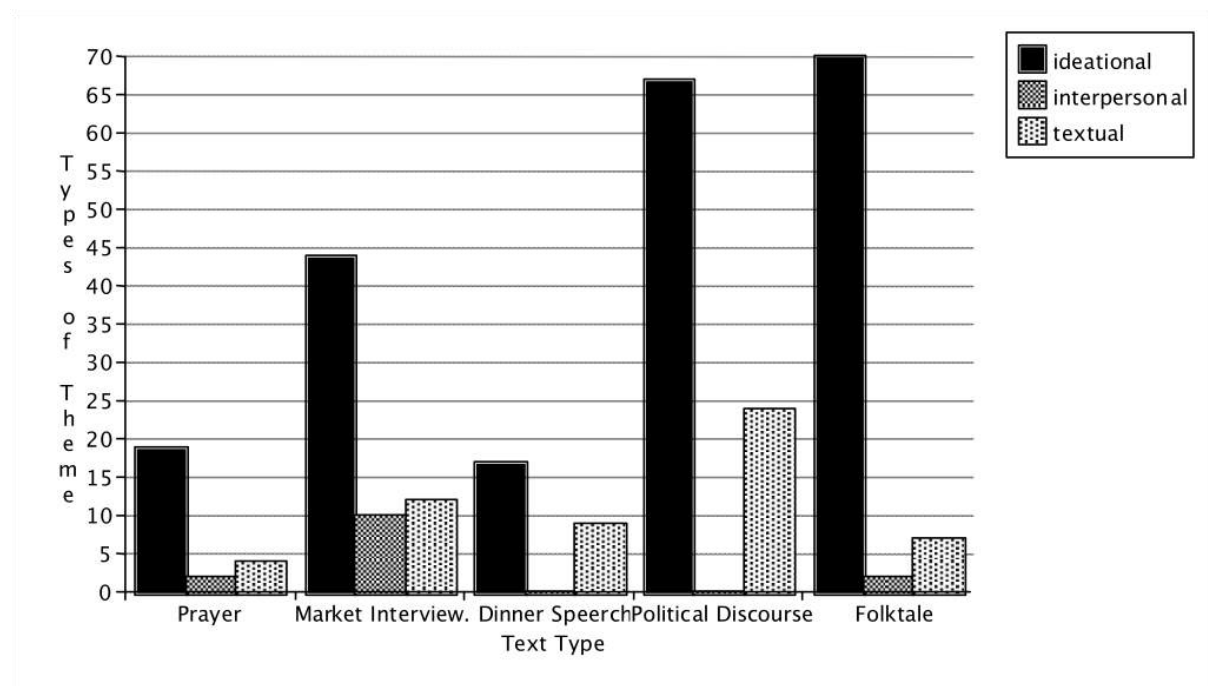


Figure 3-33 Pattern of Theme selection according to metafunctions

The pattern of Theme choice as depicted in Figure 3-6 shows a general preference for ideational Themes across text types. The relative difference among metafunctional types is most pronounced in folktales where ideational Themes constitute about 70% as against less than 10% of either interpersonal and textual metafunctions. A similar trend is also observed in the political consultation text. Perhaps this trend can be explained by the fact that a narrative describes the action and inaction of participants in relation to time in the past, while a political genre describes the same in relation to the future. In contrast, both the political and dinner speeches have no interpersonal Themes. Both are monologues where the speaker, interactionally, is given the full benefit of the turn whereas in the market exchange, the interpersonal Themes are necessitated by the dialogic nature.

Table 122 shows further detail about Theme selection focusing on participant roles thematized across the variety of texts.

Thematised Participant Role	Text Type	1 (Prayer)	2 (Market)	3 (Speech)	4 (Political)	5 (Narrative)	TOTAL
Actor		11 (64.7%)	6 (15%)	6 (40%)	20 (40%)	48 (65.8%)	91
Behaver		0 (0.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (4%)	5 (6.8%)	08
Senser		1 (5.9%)	13 (32.5%)	4 (26.7%)	6 (12%)	6 (8.2%)	30
Sayer		3 (17.6%)	5 (12.5%)	4 (26.7%)	11 (22%)	7 (9.6%)	30
relational clause roles		2 (11.8%)	13 (32.5%)	0 (0.0%)	17 (34%)	6 (8.2%)	38
Existent		0 (0.0%)	3 (7.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.4%)	04
TOTAL		17	40	15	50	73	201

Figure 3-34 Percentage of various participant roles thematized

Table 122 is also presented in pie graphs as shown in Figure 37. The discussion of the features will come after the pie graph.

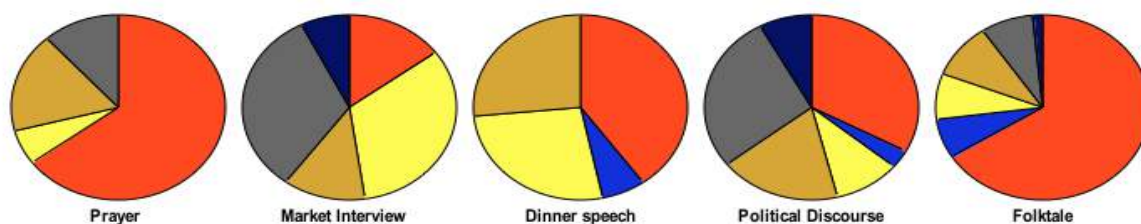
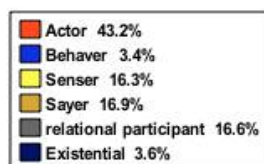


Figure 3-35 Thematized participants across text types

The market Interview stands out in the preference of other Theme choices to Actor as Theme. This is not a surprise because the text is mostly concerned with a description and state of affairs on the one hand, as depicted in the high percentage of Theme in the relational

domain of experience, and on the other hand, it is also concerned with the interactants' perceived experiences, as depicted in the high percentage of Themes in the mental domain of experience. The prayer text particularly has a low percentage of the Senser as Theme, and this can be understood because there is a limit to how far speakers can assume the mental status of God, who is the addressee, especially if Theme is viewed from the perspective of shared knowledge of the message in a clause.

Only (DS/1), (POL/1) and (LM/1) have Behaver as Theme, and this may be due to the fact that it is only in these three text types that personal and individual behaviour of participants are to be expected. Such individualism would normally not be a feature of a group prayer or a description of material space such as the market interview demands.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the lexicogrammatical resources used to organise the clause as message in *Òkó*. I began the investigation using natural texts and approaching the description both “from below”, and “from above”. This has facilitated the endeavour to define the place of the textual metafunction in relation to the other metafunctions, in the total space of meaning creation in *Òkó* as instantiated through various texts. The rank of the clause was central to the discussion of textual meaning. That the clause is structured to carry textual meaning has been observed. A significant finding is that the Theme and Rheme schema is one crucial resource in the organization of the flow of information in a text. A second important strategy is the structure of information. another observation is that both Theme and Information Focus are realised through positional prominence of primarily experiential elements of the clause. While structural elements like conjunctions are also important in the thematic structure, other resources such as particles and tone are also in the service of the organization of the flow of information in the clause.

Although these are not the only textual resources for achieving a successful flow of communication between the speaker and listener in *Òkó*, I am limiting the exploration to Theme and Information Focus in this study. However, I have also been able to demonstrate that the organization of the message in *Òkó* is motivated “from above”, that is from the higher strata of context and semantics. These I have been able to do through the use of actual texts from their natural contexts of occurrence. I have established that the pattern of choice of Theme is motivated by the meaning in the context. On the one hand the frequency of particular Theme types depend on the text genre. On the other hand, there is a connection

between the patterning of Theme and Rheme in the development of the text— Theme Progression — and particular text types.

In the next chapter, I shall be focusing on how the clause is used as a resource for interacting. I shall be exploring the interpersonal metafunction, which is the basis of social exchange.

4 Ọ̀kọ̀ Interpersonal Grammar

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I presented a general overview of Ọ̀kọ̀ the ideational, interpersonal, and textual modes of meaning, which are simultaneously created in the process of linguistic exchange. When a text is being created, these meanings are also created automatically. In Chapter 3 the textual grammar of the language was explored, with particular attention to how texts are created: the resources and strategies for organising the clause as a message. The main concern in the present chapter will be the interpersonal grammatical resources for enacting social roles and relations as meaning — the enacting of meaning as a social process, in Ọ̀kọ̀. Interpersonal grammar is the description of a “speaker’s angle: attitude and judgement, his encoding of role relationship in the situation and his motive of saying anything at all” (De Joia & Stenton, 1980: 41; see also Halliday, 1976; 1994: 70; Matthiessen, 1991a 94; Malcolm, 1985: 136). Therefore, this chapter will focus on the resources for enacting social roles and relations in the process of dialogic exchange in Ọ̀kọ̀, using instances of spoken data, and treating the linguistic resources as the speaker’s potential for the social self-positioning of himself/ herself as a role player, in the world of social roles and relations. In other words, the chapter will explore how the Ọ̀kọ̀ speaker uses language as his/ her instrument for social control (that is to adjust into his/her social environment). The speaker engages in linguistic decisions: choosing from linguistic resources available in the grammar of Ọ̀kọ̀. According to Hasan (1996: 18):

Interactants will choose to engage in a social process whose inherent design promises to best satisfy their own desire/intentions, their own sense of what they are attempting to do in their encounter with others.

The desires and intentions mentioned in Hasan’s quotation above can be explained as the interactant’s personal meaning, which s/he uses the system of INTERPERSONAL GRAMMAR as a resource to enact. With this resource the Ọ̀kọ̀ speaker constructs a text, in which his/her social roles and status vis-à-vis others in the speech environment are expressed; and by the same token reflects the general expectations, the social psyche and diversity of the Ọ̀kọ̀ people. This use of language as a resource is not peculiar to Ọ̀kọ̀ speakers but common

to all users of language (see Halliday, 1973: 8; Matthiessen, 1995a: 2; Lemke, 1992: 86 & 88; Cumming and Ono, 1997: 116).

The instrument for engaging in this “social process” is language itself. Winograd (1983: 273) further states that every utterance we make in an interaction is a potential tool for role-playing, which has consequences for further action and interaction (see also Malcolm, 1985: 136). The question to address therefore is, how do speakers systematize these resources to achieve these interactive desires - that is, for negotiating social or interpersonal meaning?

Matthiessen (2004) observes that a high degree of generalization of the major interpersonal systems could be made across languages. However, the realisations of specific aspects of these systems in grammar are language-specific. For example, Halliday (1994: 4.1) posits that the enactment of the clause as a move in a dialogic exchange is done through the system of MOOD, as a resource. The MOOD system is a fundamental interpersonal resource for creating dialogue; and may be typologically generalized across different languages, as proven in Caffarel et al. (2004). However, the grammaticalization of mood distinction, according to Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen (2004: 13); Rose (2004: 538), differs from one language to another. In certain languages such as English (see Halliday, 1994: 71), German (see Matthiessen, 1995a: 390; Steiner & Teich, 2004) and French (see Caffarel, 2004: 81); “finite element” is an integral determinant of mood differentiation; in Telugu (see Prakasam, 2004: 437), finiteness is phonologized; whereas other languages such as Japanese (see Teruya, 2004: 195); Chinese (Halliday & McDonald, 2004: 331) makes distinction of moods using different resources. Similarly, social status and relationships are interpersonal features that transcend cultural boundaries, but their enactment through the relationship between the system of MOOD and other systems, such as HONORIFICATION, MODALITY and EVIDENTIALITY differs from one language to another (see Matthiessen, 2004: 539-541, for detailed discussion). I will now focus the discussion mainly on the resources Òkó speakers use to realize interpersonal meaning in a social interaction.

4.1.1 Moving in from Text

A short text will first be used as a springboard to build up an account of interpersonal meaning. The text selected for this purpose is an exchange in the Ogori main market, involving a traders’ reaction to a new market levy introduced by their local administration³³. The Ogori-Magongo Local Government Administration has recently directed that a toll be

³³ The market in Ogori is operated in an open space, where wares are displayed in the open, like in most other African communities.

collected from traders who display their wares every market day. The interview samples the opinions of the traders concerning the tax.

The aim of the interpersonal analysis of the first text, Market Interview (MKT/2) in Table 4 1, and other texts in this chapter, is to attempt to capture features that are relevant to a successful interaction, paying attention to the linguistic resources used by an Òkó speaker when negotiating meaning. In MKT/2, the initials S, U, etc and abbreviations Iw, Tr etc represent speakers' identity codes, and the numerals represent the turns in serial order. The elements that serve the purpose of negotiating the interactional meaning have been marked. The bold numerals in square brackets represent tone selections, while the bold words are interpersonal particles.

Sprs & Turn #	Text
S 1	<i>I-ka so?</i> [1-2] [[<i>Ano enane be- cen irisiti a no na</i>]], <i>nje no- ibe ron?</i> [3-1] I say ASMP you that ^(PLU) they cut receipt ASP give RPCP IMP your ^{PLU} stomach sweet? Are you happy that they cut receipts for you (you are asked to pay some tax)?
Iw 2	<i>Ka be- cen irisiti a ne to?</i> [2] That they cut receipt ASP give us? That they issue us receipts?
S 3	<i>Ehn.</i> [3-1] Yes
Iw 4	<i>To- ibe a ma ron ro</i> <i>a-</i> [1] <i>wa tulasi go.</i> Our stomach it NEG sweet ISMP it be compulsory IOEP We are not happy it is compulsory
U 5	<i>Ka ni- siye ena?</i> [2] That you do what? That you should do what? (apparently just joining in the discussion)
I 6	<i>Ka be- cen irisiti ke ne to</i> <i>a-</i> [2] <i>wa tulasi,</i> <i>a- ma da egan na...</i> That they cut receipt be give us it be compulsory it NEG be so RPCP... That we should pay tax. We are only compelled to do so. Otherwise...
U 7	<i>Eji one hon?</i> [3] <i>I be- cen irisiti a ne ba eji?</i> [1] Market this IMP? PHP they cut receipt ASP give them market? In this market? Are you required to pay tax?
S 8	<i>Ehn.</i> [3-1] <i>Yes.</i>
Ub 9	<i>Ano e ni</i> <i>ka ni- ki lo eji</i> <i>ni- me duna yo ubwa?</i> [2] You ASP want that you be use market you NEG pay its levy Do you want to be using this market for free? (apparently teasing the traders)
Trl 10	<i>Be- me fu cen eji ne to.</i> They NEG MOD establish market for us How could they expect us to when they did not establish the market for us?
I 11	<i>Esuburo ne cen eji na</i> [3] Ancestors that establish market RPCP... Our forefathers who establish the market...
U 12	<i>Ekoṅe bi- we a cen irisiti aye ne</i> [3-1]? <i>a- ma wa o...</i> This place they from to cut receipt the DCP it NEG be HESITATION ... Are the receipts issued here in the market, and not... (not completing the sentence)
Trl 13	<i>Ehn,</i> <i>Be- me fu cen eji ne to</i> <i>Onebe gana</i> [2] <i>ti- siye ki siye ya</i> [3] Yes, tbey NEG MAS establish market give us that how we do ASP do it? <i>Egovumenti a cen eji ne to akana, a- ma se to iwu</i> [3] Government ASP establish market give us now, it not offend us body <i>Ka efena e yin na, ka efena a jo na ta lati ki duna ubwa</i> And person ASP buy RPCP, and person ASP sell RPCP we must ASP pay toll.
K 14	<i>Ni- roro</i> <i>ka ijobaro e- e diya kperε onebe uba</i> <i>bi- mi</i> You ^(PLU) think that government it NEG can because that hand they then <i>cen eji okεka ne no?</i> [3-1] establish market big for you? Don't you think that the government could establish a big market for you for that reason (complying)?

Tr1 15	<i>Onẹ [2]</i> <i>te- e siye onẹ na ? [3-1]</i> <i>/// Well, be- e di siyẹ nẹ tọ / I tọ</i> we ASP do this RPCP <i>/// well, they ASP can do-it give us PHP our</i>
	<i>ibe a rọn e wo amọ.</i> stomach will sweet to COV there.
With what we are doing now? Well, if they can do so for us, we will be happy.	
K 16	<i>Ama u- din ka bi- ka "oro eku a yọ-ayọ daadaa, efena bi</i> IP you know that they say "person masquerade ASP dance-dance very well, the-one own
	<i>eku na I yọ ibe a rọn e wo amọ? [3-1]</i> masquerade RPCP PHP his stomach ASP sweet ASP COV there
You know that it is said that if a person's masquerade dances well, he will be very pleased with it, don't you?.	
Tr 17	<i>A- a da ka onẹbẹ na.</i> It ASP be that that RPCP
Well that is true, anyway.	

Figure 4-1 Market Interview (MKT/2) depicting interpersonal elements in the clauses

In Figure 4-1 above each of the speakers performs some kind of speech function in turn, either by giving or demanding something. What is being negotiated, the “commodities of exchange” (to use Halliday’s, 1984: 20 metaphor), can be defined in terms of “information” or “goods-&-services”. In the case of the interaction in Figure 4-1 information is the main “commodity” of interaction and is only brought about by semiotic systems. For example, Turn [1], *njẹ nọ ibe rọn?* and [7], *I bẹ cẹn irisiti a nẹ ba?* demand information through the semantic construct we recognise as “question”, while Turns [4], *tọ ibe a ma rọn ro and a wa tulasi go* and Turn [10], *Be me fu cẹn eji nẹ to*, give information through the semantic construct we recognise as “statement”. Although the text above does not exemplify the speech function of “command”, other texts in my corpus contain instances of it: there is ample evidence to show that “command” is part of the Òkó potential for enacting interpersonal roles in an exchange, as shall be seen shortly.

Each example quoted above constitutes a free clause. A free clause is one that performs a specific speech function (making a statement, asking a question or giving a command), makes an arguable proposition, and independently realizes a mood. Examples [1] and [7] select the interrogative mood, while [4] and [10] select the declarative mood. It is therefore possible to make a tentative assumption that the interpersonal meaning in Òkó is negotiated through the system of MOOD. Every clause also selects additional resources from the system of POLARITY, and MODALITY for interpersonal meaning. The marked features in Table 4-1 are tones and particles, and if they are also taken into consideration, then it can be added that tones and particles are important strategies exploited in the MOOD system. The specific

lexicogrammatical patterns and the roles of each of these terms in Òkó vis-à-vis the MOOD system will constitute the subject of exploration in this chapter.

The basic lexicogrammatical unit used to achieve each of these speech roles is the clause. Figure 4-2 summarises these resources for interpersonal exchange, illustrating the speech roles and the “commodity of exchange”

	Information	Goods-&-services
Giving	statement <i>To ibe a ma rón ro</i> Our stomach it NEG sweet ISMP	offer <i>namo irisiti</i> take receipt
Demanding	question <i>I bẹ cẹn irisiti a nẹ ba eji?</i> PHP they cut receipt to give them market?	command <i>cẹn irisiti nẹ ba ejicut receipt</i> give them market

Figure 4-2 Speech functions in Òkó

4.2 Òkó Clause Structure and Interpersonal Meaning

The elements that make up the structural configuration of the clause include the Subject, Predicator, Complement, Adjunct and the Negotiator. These will be explored further shortly. The examples below from the text in Figure 4-1 show some of these elements.

- i. (Subject) *To- ibe* (Predicator) *a ma ròn* (Negotiator) *ro*
 Our-stomach ASP NEG sweet (IP)
 “we are not happy”
- ii. (Predicator)-(Subject) *A- wa* (Complement) *tulasi* (Negotiator) *go*.
 It-be compulsory (IP)
 “it is compulsory (for us to do so)”
- iii. (Adjunct \square [ng]) *Eji ọnẹ* (+ Ellipsed clause) (Negotiator) *họn?*
 Market ‘this’ (IP)
 “in this market?”
- iv. (Predi-(Subject) *Be- me fu cẹn* (Complement) *ẹji (-cator) ne*
 they NEG MAS establish market give
 (Complement) *-tọ us*
 “but they did not establish the market for us”
- v. (Complement) *Ọnẹbẹ* (Adjunct) *gana* (Subject) *ti-* (Predicator) *siye ki siye*
 that how we do ASP do
 (Negotiator) *a*
 How could we comprehend such a thing?
- vi. (Negotiator) *Ama* (Predicator)-(Subject) *u- din* (Conjunction) *ka...?*
 (IP) you- know that...?
 “ Don’t’ you remember that ...”

It is possible now to postulate the default structural organization of a free clause in *Òkó*, as follows:

(Negotiator ^) Subject ^ Predicator ^ (Complement) °(Adjunct) (^ Negotiator)

The (°) sign before the Adjunct is to reflect the characteristic mobility of Adjuncts. Reference has not been made to “Finite” in the clause structure. This is because, as Matthiessen et al. (forthcoming) observes for Arabic, the “Finite” function is not separated

from the Predicator in Òkó. For that reason, I will regard all elements that realise the verbal group as Predicator in my interpersonal analysis. It should be noted that the pronominal clitic which expresses the Subject is bound to the Predicator, as obtains in many other languages of the same Niger-Congo family. Òkó verbal groups have auxiliary elements, but these mark aspect rather than finiteness. I will return to the role of auxiliaries shortly. The question at this point is, how is a dialogue developed successfully? At least, the nucleus of a clause comprising the Subject and the whole of the Predicator (including Aspect marker - realized by what I refer to as the Aspect (ASP) and Event) - make up the nub of an argument. The inclusion of other clause elements (Complements and Adjuncts) depends on what part of the clause is being argued. I will use the exchange between A and B in the adapted and derived³⁴ examples in Figure 4-3 - Figure 4-7 below to illustrate this point.

A (i)	<i>Egin</i> Guineacorn	<i>owowo</i> new	<i>a</i> ASP	<i>wà</i> be	<i>òṅẹ</i> this	
	Subject		Predicator		Complement	
	This is a new guinea corn.					
B (ii)	<i>A-</i> It	<i>ma</i> NEG	<i>wà</i> be	<i>egin</i> guineacorn	<i>owowo</i> new	<i>ro</i> ISEP
	PredicatorComplement				Negotiator	
	It is not a new guinea corn.					
A (iii)	<i>Àyẹ</i> It	<i>ya</i> be	<i>go</i> IOEP			
	Subject	Pred	Negotiator			
	It is.					

Figure 4-3

Subject-marker A (in B ii) in the Predicator is co-referential with the Complement in [A (i)]. *Ya* is a clause-final morphological variant of *wà* “be”, and is used usually when the agency is of the middle type. The argument is constructed around what we can experientially identify as a relational clause³⁵ of the identifying type. The positions of the Subject and the Complement in this clause type can potentially be reversed, just as has occurred in the text

³⁴ A[i] and B[ii] are original sentences recorded while the rest in the table are derived from them for the purpose of analysis.

³⁵ The pattern of selection of elements to build the argument will be same even with material, mental and other clause types.

(compare (i), (ii) and (iii)). In other words, the Subject in (i) corresponds to the Complement in (ii), but it is picked up as the Subject again in (iii) in form of an emphatic 3^{SG} pronoun, àyẹ̀. However, reversibility here suggests an operation of the textual dimension, not the interpersonal metafunction.

B (iv)	<i>I me roro ka</i>	<i>aye ya ro</i>
	I NEG think that	it is PART
	projecting clause	Subject
I don't think that it is,		

Figure 4-4

The Subject and Predicator, which are basic elements to all mood types, are projected by a mental clause.

<i>A (v) Ena</i>	<i>e- mi wa?</i>
What	it- then be?
Complement	
What then is it?	

Figure 4-5

An elemental interrogative word *ena* is introduced to probe the element of the Complement. The arguable proposition - the nucleus of the information being exchanged (Halliday, 1994: 70) - is condensed into the Predicator (with a pronominal clitic marking the Subject).

B (vi)	<i>I me din</i>	<i>onene</i>	<i>a wa na</i>
	I NEG know	the-one	it be RPCP
	projecting clause	Complement	
I don't know which one it is.			

Figure 4-6

Ọnẹnẹ a wa na is Complement + Predicator projected by a mental clause *I me din*, as an embedded relative clause; hence the relative pronoun (*ọnẹnẹ*) appears clause-initially as Complement. Similarly, (vii) also retains the nucleus Predicator.

A (vii)	<i>Egin</i>	<i>owowo</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>o</i>
	Guineacorn	new	be	OK?
	Subject			
I assure you that it is a new guinea corn.				

Figure 4-7

illustrating exchange-essential elements

4.2.1 Argument Structure in Òkó Interaction

This section explores the basis upon which my analyses and arguments of interpersonally relevant elements in an Òkó exchange are constructed. I will explore the role of tonicity in an interaction in Section 4.4. What has been retained in the construction of the argument between interactants A and B, based on a clause (K 9.1) in (MKT/3 - see Table 4-3): Exchange with guineacorn (sorghum) vendor in Table 4-2,- can be tracked. B (ii) retains everything that makes up A’s proposition (i), from the Subject (*egin owowo*) to the Complement (*ọnẹ*).

However, the Complement becomes pronominalized (as *a*) and is made the Subject of the clause in B (ii). Perhaps it is helpful to say that what is being argued here, experientially, is the link between the Identifier (Subject) and the Identified (Complement), in a relational clause setting. In the same clause, *ma* (NEGATOR) is introduced to contradict the view in (i), and the particle *ro* (serving as the Negotiator) helps to reinforce the sense of the argument; but note that the Subject and Complement are still important. A (iii) maintains the Subject in the argument. Again he selects the emphatic form (*aye*) of the same 3^{SING} pronoun (*a*), as well as the other (emphatic) form (*ya*) of the verb *wa* that requires no Complement, as a means to insist on his earlier proposition and to carry the argument forward. He also adds *go* (Information Offering Ending particle - IOEP, see 4.5.1.1.1), a particle that gives the clause its information-giving (declarative) status. However, the IOEP also seems to convey the message “here is my opinion, it is your turn to make the next move in the argument” to the listener. Hence B (iv) responds by the choice of denying the proposition, appealing to his thoughts in order to project the main element of the argument. Structurally speaking, the Subject and Predicator are retained in the same syntactic order and then negotiated by means of *ro* as a resource.

The next step in A's argument – (v) — is for him to probe the conception of B with an elemental question, beginning with an interrogator *E_{na}* ('what' - (a kind of *E-a* word), but still retaining the subject prefix in the Predicator, *e*, which is a phonological variant of *a* in (ii). *Mi* between the subject prefix and the main verb in the Predicator is something like an attitudinal element that marks for a kind of modality, assessing the probability. In addition, there is an obligatory interrogative Negotiator - *a* - (with tone 2) that usually comes in an elemental interrogative at the clause-final position. (vi) is a declarative clause which responds to (v), and then (vii) is a declaration with *o* (tone 2), which brings a kind of finality to the argument. The *o* also suggests an air of superiority in A's view in this argument, although this is not always the case.

As is illustrated by the example above, the modal value of the clause as a move in an argument is indicated by interpersonal particles serving as Negotiator. I shall discuss this in greater detail shortly.

Two main observations can be made here, namely, that the Subject, and Predicator (and where necessary, the Complement and Adjunct) make up the interpersonal configuration of *Òkó* clause. Secondly, the order of elements in a free clause is relatively constant, irrespective of the choices in the MOOD system. In fact, as Halliday and McDonald (2004: 323) observe also for Chinese, the Subject is not involved in making mood distinctions, as shall be verified later in this chapter.

Let me sum up some of the observations made in the interpersonal analysis of the texts above. The clause in *Òkó* deploys the resources of MODALITY and POLARITY as well as tone and interpersonal particles to realize less general options within the MOOD system in the grammatical construction of dialogue. *Òkó* has an operator (ASP), which is a component of the verbal group that makes up the Predicator, but whose function transcends the boundaries of the traditional verbal group (see Chapter 2). The Aspect has no special interpersonal status in the clause (especially in connection with the choice of mood) other than the role it plays in the Predicator. The Subject and Predicator have fixed positions, always occurring together as part of the overall negotiating element (as Table 4-1 shows), unless reversed for textual reasons. In the next section I will explore the grammar of the system of MOOD in greater detail, and try to account for it as a sub-system in the interpersonal system network.

4.3 The system of MOOD

Mood is the grammaticalization in the clause of the speech functions of a dialogic move (discussed in Section 4.1.1 above). The MOOD system is the central grammatical resource for interacting dialogically and for realizing the interpersonal meanings in Òkó. The primary distinction in the MOOD system is between indicative and imperative clauses. Indicative clauses are concerned with the exchange of information and are either declarative or interrogative, while the imperative mood is concerned with the exchange of goods-&-services and can be sub-categorised into jussive, optative, suggestive or oblativ. These distinctions are not peculiar to the Òkó MOOD system. In fact they are at the least delicate end of this system; and thus are applicable to most languages (see Caffarel, 2004 on French; Martin, 2004 on Tagalog; Rose, 2004 on Pitjanjatjara; Teruya, 1998, 2004 on Japanese; Patpong, 2005, on Thai, just to mention a few). Modal features specific to each language are found at the most delicate end of the system.

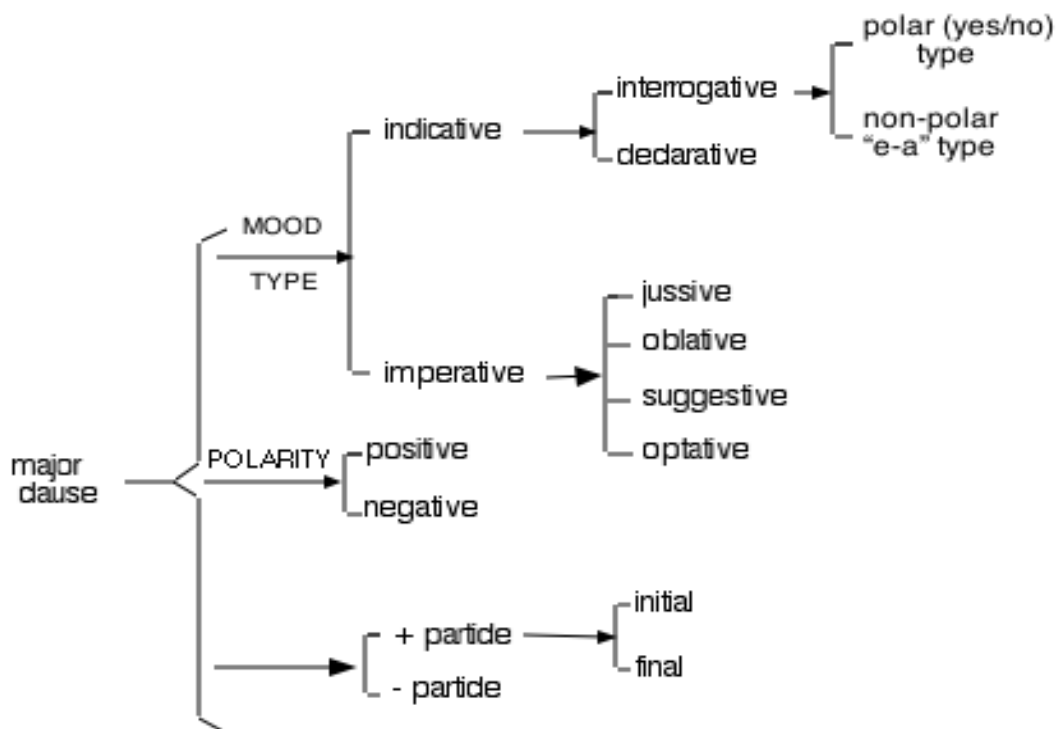


Figure 4-8 Òkó interpersonal system network

In the Òkó interpersonal system network, the system of MOOD is the basis of any interaction. I will explore the MOOD, POLARITY and MODALITY systems of the clause further in the

Table 4-4 Summary of mood contrasts by tone and particles

next few sections. I will also discuss the role of tone and particles in realizing delicate contrasts within the MOOD system.

As previously mentioned, the importance of mood selection in Òkó is based on the fact that it is a lexicogrammatical resource for realising speech functions. Although there is no one to one correspondence between the speech functions and mood types (see Halliday 1985: 363), each speech function does relate to a specific lexicogrammatical realization in congruent terms, as set out in Table 4-5 below (see Halliday, 1994: Chapter 4).

SPEECH FUNCTION	Typical Lexicogrammatical Realisation
statement	declarative
question	
command	imperative

Figure 4-9

In pragmatic terms, and for more complex interpersonal and contextual reasons, speakers frequently resort to the selection of non-congruent resources (Halliday, 1994: 365) for enacting various moods.

MOOD TYPE		Negotiat or Tone			
		initial	medial	final	
indicative	declarative	<i>sò</i> : ATTN <i>i</i> or <i>u</i>	<i>sò</i> : ATTN	<i>rò</i> : AGREE <i>naa</i> : ATTDN <i>gò</i> : INFO	tone 3
	interrogati vepolar	<i>hòn</i> : INTRG marked <i>i</i> or <i>u</i> <i>ama</i> : B.INTRG	<i>sò</i> : ATTN <i>hòn</i> : INTRG unmarked	tone 3-1, tone 2-1	
		elemental		<i>a</i> : E.INTRG	tone 3

Figure 4-10

Table 46 presents a general picture of how interpersonal elements are deployed in the process of negotiating meaning between interactants.

4.3.1 IMPERATIVE MOOD

The imperative mood is the congruent realization of commands. Four imperative mood types can be distinguished in Òkó, according to the person expected to comply with the order - the MOOD PERSON (see Matthiessen, 1995a: 397 & Rose, 2001: 228): namely the jussive, oblativ, the suggestive, and optative. When the Subject of the ‘jussive’ imperative is a single addressee, it can be left implicit; in all other cases, it is explicit in the structure of the clause. Usually, the subject would be a pronominal verbal prefix in the Predicator as in examples (iii) - (x) in Table 4-6. If the Process is in the imperfective Aspect, the presence of an Aspect Marker *ke/ki* is obligatory.

4.3.1.1 IMPERATIVE MOOD: jussive

We can distinguish between the jussive imperative clause with a singular Subject, and that with a plural Subject.

4.3.1.1.1 Singular Subject

When the Subject of a jussive imperative clause is singular, it is usually left implicit, in contrast with jussive clauses with a plural Subject and with oblativ and suggestive

The MOOD system		Structure	Tone	Example
imperative	jussive	Predicator (^ Complement)	3	i) <i>je imu aye</i> (celebrate the festival)
		Predicator: [+2 ^{PL} subject prefix ^ verb](^ Complement)	3 & 3	ii) <i>Ni- je imu aye</i> (“you ^{PLU} celebrate the festival)
	suggestive	(Subject ^) Predicator: [+ 1 ^{PL} subject prefix ^ verb](+Complement)	3	iii) <i>Ti- je imu aye</i> (Let’s celebrate the festival)
	oblativ	Predicator: +1 ^{SG} subject prefix ^ verb] (+ Complement)	3	iv) <i>Jowon/Teyi I- je imu aye</i> (Let allow me [to] celebrate the festival)
indicative	declarative	Predicator (^ Complement)	1 & 3	v) <i>Ti- je imu àyè</i> “ we celebrate festival the” (we celebrate the festival)
		(Negotiator^)^ Predicator (^ Complement) (Negotiator)	3 ^{LOW} ”	vi.)(<i>sø</i>), <i>Ti- je imu aye go</i> (we celebrated the festival)
	interrogative polar (yes/no)	Predicator(^ Complement)		vii) <i>Ti- je imu àyè?</i> (Did we celebrate the festival?)
		(Negotiator^)^ Predicator (^ Complement)	2 at IP & 3-1 final	viii) <i>Ama Ti- je imu àyè?</i> (Didn’t we celebrated the festival)
		Predicator (Complement) (^Negotiator)	3 for polar interrogative & 3 ^{LOW} for IP	ix) <i>Ti- je imu àyè hon?</i> Did we celebrate the festival? Do you suggest we [choice depending on the tone selection at the clat
		Predicator (^Complement) (^Negotiator)	1-3	x) <i>Ti- je imu aye sø?</i> (Did we celebrate the festival, did we?)
		“E-a word” + Predicator (^Complement) + Negotiator1-2 at E-a & 3 at IP	xi) <i>Era e ke je imu aye a?</i> Which-one you will (fin) give us IPCT	

imperative clauses (see i. in Table 4-7). The speaker uses this sub-type to command the addressee, who is usually in the immediate context of exchange and is expected to comply. S/he may choose not to comply, however.

Subject	Predicator	Complement
	<i>Fura</i> (stand up)	
	<i>Je</i> (celebrate)	<i>imu ayẹ</i> (the festival)

Figure 4-11 Jussive imperative mood  Table 47 Jussive imperative mood  Table 47 Jussive imperative mood 

A negative jussive imperative clause takes an explicit Subject.

Predicator	Complement
<i>U- me fura</i> 2 ^{SG} NEG stand	
<i>U- me je</i> 2 ^{SG} NEG celebrate	<i>imu ayẹ</i> festival the

Figure 4-12

4.3.1.1.2 Plural Subject

When the Subject refers to more than one addressee, it is explicit in the structure of the clause, for example:

Predicator	Complement
<i>Ni- fura</i> 2 ^{PL} stand up	
<i>Ni- je</i> 2 ^{PL} celebrate	<i>imu ayẹ</i> (the festival)

Figure 4-13

4.3.1.2 IMPERATIVE MOOD: suggestive

In the suggestive type, the speaker obliges himself/herself and the addressee to carry out the suggestion. It is realised by the explicit first person plural Subject marker in the Predicator, as in Table 4-10.

Predicator	Complement
<i>Ti- fura</i> 1 ^{PL} stand up	
<i>Ti- je</i> 2 ^{PL} celebrate	<i>imu ayẹ</i> the festival

Figure 4-14 suggestive imperative mood

4.3.1.3 IMPERATIVE MOOD: oblativ

An oblativ imperative clause is made up of a hypotactic verbal group complex as Predicator/Process. The first verb usually makes the suggestion, which can be interpreted as “let”, while the second verb realizes the command that will be carried out physically, mentally or verbally by the speaker (Subject) himself/herself. In the oblativ mood, the speaker holds himself/herself as modally responsible for carrying out a command (of providing goods-&-services).

	Predicator Complement 1	Complement 2		
i.	<i>Teyi I- fura</i> Let 1 ^{SG} (I) stand up			
ii.	<i>Jowon e- ma</i> <Complement > yin Wait 1 ^{SG} (I) help) <Complement > fetch		< o > < you >	<i>ebi</i> water
iii.	<i>Ma- a ca I- je</i> I ASP come 1 ^{SG} (I) celebrate		<i>imu ayẹ</i> festival the	

Figure 4-15

Semantically, the first verb of the Predicator is usually of the “empty” type (see “empty verbs” in Halliday, 1994: 141). It tells the addressee to “wait”, “allow” or “let go” the speaker to do something: what Nedyalkov (1994: 10), in describing the phenomenon in Evenki Grammar, refers to as “permissive causative marker”. However, it is not really a case of “causing” another action, ergatively-speaking, as *téyí* and *jowon* suggest. *Ma- a ca* (“I’m coming”) in Table 4-11 (iii), is a Predicator with a Subject marker, realizing a “fixed expression” in Òkó. *Ma a ca* does not actually involve physical movement or intention to move. Its collocation with the second verb realizes the oblation.

Generally, the imperative mood is realized by neutral tone (Tone 3). Sometimes the imperative is also realized by the interpersonal particle “a” serving as Negotiator in the

clause-final position, adding some force or advice to the proposal; or “*ro*” as a threat (with some consequences should the addressee fail to comply with the command) - see 4.5.2.3.1 and 4.5.2.3.2.

4.3.1.4 IMPERATIVE MOOD: optative

The mood person in the optative type is non-interactant. This kind is mostly used in command, advice or suggestion to a non-interactant “obligatee”.

<i>Efuro</i>	<i>e ki siye</i>	<i>yọ utun</i>
Efuro	ASP ne do	their work
Subject	Predicator	Complement
Efuro should be doing his work.		

Figure 4-16

The optative type is structured like the previous imperative types, and the Subject is obligatory.

4.3.2 INDICATIVE MOOD

Indicative clauses are resources used for negotiating propositions, which are either statements realised by declarative clauses, or questions realised by interrogative clauses. As earlier discussed, the indicative mood types are distinguished from imperative ones, not by grammatical prosody, but by the choice of particles (see Table 44).

4.3.2.1 INDICATIVE MOOD: declarative

A declarative clause in a congruent context realizes a statement — a move giving information. It is realized prosodically, by a juncture prosody at the end of the clause involving intonation, and/or an interpersonal particle that serves as Negotiator. A statement usually terminates in Tone 3 (see Section 4.4).

<i>I- me din</i>	<i>ro.</i>
I NEG know	ISEP
PredicatorNegotiatordeclarative: I don't know.	

Figure 4-17

<i>Ti- dake sen</i>	<i>ogegen eesen.</i>
We do play	gong music
PredicatorComplement	
declarative: We usually play gong music.	

Figure 4-18

4.3.2.2 INDICATIVE MOOD: Interrogative

Interrogative clauses realize questions — moves demanding information. There are two types — the polar (yes/no) interrogative and the elemental (“*e-a*”) interrogative.

4.3.2.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogative

Polar (yes/no) interrogatives demand information about the polarity of the clause. In this type the addressee is called upon to confirm or negate a proposition. Polar interrogative clauses are realized by juncture prosody at the end of the clause — a tone and/or a particle. Polar interrogative clauses are realized by a different tone from that used in declarative clauses.

A bere no iwu egan (+ Tone 3) → declarative

A bere no iwu egan (+ Tone 3-1) → interrogative

Another means of settling the ambiguity is through particles. Particles constitute a system at the lower level of the lexicogrammatical ranks scale. The terms in the system of PARTICLE³⁶, function as Negotiators as earlier mentioned and as discussed in 4.3Polar interrogative clauses may also be realized by modal particles serving as Negotiator, placed at the beginning or end of the clause. There would be no question about the mood type if the clauses were preceded by interpersonal particles, as follows:

³⁶ The INTERPERSONAL PARTICLE system will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

i. *A- bẹrẹ nọ iwu ẹgan họn?*

It suits you^{PLU} body so PIP? “Are you happy with that?”

ii. *A- bẹrẹ nọ iwu ẹgan so?*

It suits you^{PLU} body so ASP “You are not happy with that, are you?”

iii. *Ama a bẹrẹ nọ iwu ẹgan?*

IMP it suits you^{PLU} body so? “I hope you are happy with that?”

iv. *P³⁷ ti su igule odisi one?*

PHP we have meeting week this “Do we have a meeting this week?”

The difference between (i) and (ii) is the degree in expectation as to the confirmation of the proposition, which is higher in (ii) than (i). Actually, the preferred response to the question in (ii) will be one opposite in polarity to the clause. Even with certain particles such as *họn*, we could further determine the degree of certainty or presumption injected into the probe, by studying the tone choice. While the yes/no interrogative clause with Tone 3 on *họn* signals the unmarked choice, the same with Tone 1-3 signals a high degree of presumption about the proposition. The manner in which a question is asked determines the kind of answer it receives. The manner of a question thus can be revealed through the type of interpersonal particle in addition to modality and tone used.

Table 4-15 is an attempt to measure the degree of certainty of each yes/no interrogative particle Negotiator.

NegotiatorPresumption Rating	Polarity: expected	Proposition vs. response
\emptyset	high	same as proposition
<i>i/u</i>	neutral	positive or negative
<i>họn</i>	neutral	positive or negative
<i>so</i>	high	opposite to proposition
<i>ama</i>	low	same as proposition

Figure 4-19

When an interrogative clause is not realized by interpersonal particle serving as the Negotiator (\emptyset), the speaker’s presumption that his/her proposition will be confirmed in the same polarity as he has made it is high. When *i/u* or *họn* is used as a Negotiator, whether the

³⁷ We shall come back to the discussion on the interpersonal status of the PHP.

proposition is of positive or negative polarity, the assumption of the speaker in making the proposition is neutral (that is, s/he does not assume anything). An interrogative clause with *sɔ* as the Negotiator foregrounds the speaker's belief in the polarity contrary to that in which the proposition is made. Thus, if the proposition is realized in negative polarity with *sɔ* at the clause-final position, the speaker expects a positive response and vice versa. Conversely, if *ama* is used to initiate an interrogative clause, the expectation that the addressee will respond in the same polarity as the proposition is rather low.

This rating is based on the unmarked context. In an emotionally charged context, a particle could take additional interpersonal meaning, which may not necessarily conform to the rating in Table 4-15 above.

4.3.2.2.2 The *E-a* interrogative

The *e-a* interrogative type (referred to as interrogative-elemental in Teruya, 1998: 51) is used to probe one of the elements that has a transitivity role in the clause: that is, a participant, or circumstance. Such an element is characteristically represented by an interrogative pronoun such as *èra^{SG}/èràna^{PL}* (who), *èna^{SG}* (what)/ *èéna^{PL}* (which), *éteka* (where), *èmòóna* (when), *ènaǎ* (why) or *gàna* (how).

The *e-a* element usually occurs in the clause-initial position, except for in special thematic purposes. An interrogative clause that begins with any of the *e-a* items as the *e-a* element usually terminates with an interrogative mood particle *a* (IMP), produced in Tone 3, as Negotiator. The particle *a* occurs at the clause-final position; but it may not be realized overtly if the final syllable already terminates with an *a*-phoneme.

4.3.2.2.3 *E-a* element probing participant

The participant probed is the Subject or Complement of the clause, as in the following examples:

<i>Èra</i>	<i>e din</i>	<i>usiye</i>	<i>a?</i>
Who	ASP know	tomorrow	IMP
Circumstance	PredicatorCo mplement		
Who knows tomorrow?			

Figure 4-20

<i>Èna</i>	<i>e siye</i>	<i>a?</i>
What	he do	IMP
Complement		
What does he do?		

Figure 4-21

4.3.2.2.4 The E-a element probing Circumstance

A circumstance of place, manner time and so on, realised by an Adjunct in the interpersonal structure of the clause, can be probed by the *e-a* interrogative type, as in Table 4-18 below. Circumstances are realized mainly by adverbial groups.

<i>Ètẹka</i>	<i>a - ka</i>	<i>gb'</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a?</i>
Where	he will	get	it	IMP
Adjunct	Predicator	Complement		
Where will he get it?				

Figure 4-22

<i>Gana</i> How much	<i>bi siye su</i> they do marry	<i>oworo</i> wife	<i>igan</i> then	<i>a?</i> IMP
Adjunct	PredicatorCo mplement	Adjunct		
How did people marry a wife in those days?				

Figure 4-23

4.3.2.2.5 Other Resources for Realizing Interrogative mood

Apart from those that have been discussed above, there are also two other resources, one above the clause and the other below the clause, that realize interrogative mood. I refer to the former as the “interrogative mood clause”, and the latter as “matter” interrogative.

4.3.2.2.6 Interrogative Mood Clause

The discussion above does not exhaust the resources for realizing the interrogative mood in Òkó. A topographic view of the Interrogative system would reveal a few more resources, which include whole clauses such as *ú ka* “do you suggest” and *ayẹ e di ka* “does it mean that”, which serve interpersonal purposes as mood Adjuncts. A few such clauses, which are rather “frozen expressions” exist in the language in all metafunctions. In the experiential metafunction, most of them foreground verbal or mental projection or are relational clauses (see Chapter 5).

An instances of such a frozen expression in the interpersonal metafunction is treated as a rankshifted clause functioning as a mood metaphor (Halliday, 1985: 44), while the second clause (declarative in form) constitutes the proposition whose polarity is being probed. Although it is realized as a clause complex, the first clause actually does not have experiential value. This claim can be substantiated by the fact that the first clause does not constitute the arguable part of the clause complex: only the proposition half can be argued. Thus the first (initiating) clause is best described as an interrogative mood metaphor, while the second clause is labelled as the proposition. Without the initiating clause, the second clause, under the appropriate context, could still serve interrogative purposes. The function of the first clause is to strengthen the interpersonal factor in the exchange.

<i>U</i> You	<i>ka</i> say	<i>ti</i> we	<i>ya bori</i> ASP swim	<i>esatide?</i> Saturday?
Predicator		Subject	Predictor	Adjunct
Interrogative mood metaphor		Proposition		
Do you suggest that we go and swim on Saturday? / Shall we go for a swim on Saturday?				

Figure 4-24

U ka for example can be considered as an agnate of the Negotiator *ama* (see Table 46- viii - above). Its contribution is a rhetorical enactment of the demand for information.

<i>Aye</i> It	<i>e di</i> ASP mean	<i>ka</i> that	<i>imu</i> festival	<i>a wọre?</i> ASP cause?
Subject	Predicator	Conjunction	Subject	Predictor
interrogative mood metaphor			Proposition	
Does it mean that that the festival was the cause? Could it be the festival that has caused this?				

Figure 4-25

The contrast between each pair of responses in Table 4-22 demonstrates that clauses realizing mood metaphors are not experientially relevant. For example, if the proposition were to be argued, it would be:

Interrogator	Response: acceptable	Response: unusual
<i>U ka</i>	<i>Ehn, ti- ya b'ori</i> "Yes, let's go and swim".	<i>*Ehn, e- ga ka, ti ya b'ori</i> "Yes, I said that we should go and swim".
	Or	
	<i>Eh-ehn, a- ma wa imu a wọre gbe ka, imu</i> "No, it is not the festival that is the cause of it".	<i>*Eh-ehn, a- ma wa ka, e a wọre</i> "No, it does not mean that it was the festival that caused it".

Figure 4-26

It is also possible to use a metaphor in an interaction to achieve an additional interpersonal purpose. For example, the following clauses pattern lexicogrammatically in the same way as

the mood metaphors for interrogative mood above, yet the meanings they enact have deeper interpersonal consequences. The difference is subtle:

<i>U- ka</i> You say	<i>amọnẹ</i> today	<i>ya</i> be	<i>nẹ?</i> RPCP?
PredicatorS ubject	Predicator		
attitudinal clause		Proposition	
Do you suppose it is today? Don't imagine that it is nowadays.			

Figure 4-27 Clause realizing attitude (i)

<i>U- ka</i> You say	<i>ogbele</i> ogbele	<i>Ba- a ga?</i> they ASP say?
PredicatorComp lement	Subject	
attitudinal clause		Proposition
Do you suppose we are referring to “ogbele”? We do not mean “ogbele”.		

Figure 4-28 Clause realizing attitude (ii)

The mood is overtly and prosodically interrogative, but the interrogation in each case is interpersonally rhetorical, realizing just a comment: it can be glossed as “do you suppose that”. However, the addressee is not expected to confirm or deny the proposition, but rather to change his/her perspective of the proposition. His/her natural response would be *ẹẹhẹen* “I see” (with Tone complex 1-2-1). The clause injects the speaker’s attitude without necessarily asking a question. My suggestion is to simply analyze such a clause as an “attitudinal clause” (without further decomposition) to capture their status within the interpersonal structure. This will also distinguish them from instances when they retain their full ideational meaning.

4.3.2.2.7 The “How about” interrogative

This type of interrogative clause mentions a “Thing”, and demands information about it in the form of “how about X” (X being the “Thing”). Since the Thing usually comes first in the Òkó clause, I will refer to it as the Subject. The Thing can be realized by a nominalised relative clause, or a nominal group with an embedded clause. However, what is important here is the interpersonal function of the unit: that is as an interrogative clause.

The “How about” interrogative is a variant of the *e-a* interrogative type, but without the *e-a* element. Rather, it uses an interrogative particle “o” (tone 1-2), which phonologically doubles the length of the vowel. I will reflect the length of the articulation of this particle graphologically, using double vowels “oo”. The grammar organizes it as the “matter” realized

by a Subject, and the interrogation realized by the Open Interrogative mood Particle (**OIP** — see Section 4.5 below) - the Negotiator: S +OIP as in:

(Subject) *Ogben* (Negotiator) *oo?* (Where is|how about the child)

(Subject) *Wọ utun* (Negotiator) *oo?* (Where is|how about your job)

(Subject) *Usiye* (Negotiator) *oo?* (Where is|how about tomorrow)

4.4 The interpersonal system of TONE

As we have seen, terms in the system of MOOD may be realized by items within the phonological system of TONE. As discussed in Chapter 2, TONE system operates in the domain of the syllable to bring about lexical distinction. However, it also operates in the domain of the tone group to make distinctions within the system of MOOD. In this Chapter, I am concerned with the latter, where every mood type selects a term from the system of TONE (to form an intonation pattern) to achieve a kind of interpersonal purpose. Table 4-25 compares the options in the two domains above.

	tone (intonation)	tone
lexicogrammar: deployment	grammar (interpersonal): system of MOOD	lexis (experiential, interpersonal)
phonology: unit of operation, terms	tone group: tone 1 / tone 2 / tone 3 ...	syllable: high (H) / low (L)

Figure 4-29

Halliday (1994: 302), in describing the role of tone in English grammar, refers to the system of tone in terms of the “KEY” system: this system is a delicate mood system whose terms are realized by distinctions in tone, as when a ‘neutral’ declarative is realized by tone 1 (falling), but a ‘reserved’ one by tone 4 (falling-rising) - also see Matthiessen, 1995a: 5.1.3. Other linguists have also discussed its important role in the interpersonal grammar of various languages (Halliday & McDonald, 2004; Matthiessen, 2002d: 67; Rose, 2004; Teruya, 1998, 2004, forthc.).

The function of tone becomes paramount as a distinctive feature since every mood option has the potential to occur without individual internal prosody marking it as different from the others, generally speaking (compare examples (iii), (v) and (vii) in Table 46). This is specifically the case with mood options that foreground the importance of polarity, as against elemental interrogative options. In such cases, therefore, that tone is primary - the nucleus - to the distinctions made in the MOOD system. Other mood markers may be considered secondary.

I will use (MKT/3), another discourse in a market place involving a guineacorn vendor and a potential buyer, to illustrate the use of tone in Òkó. Items that serve negotiatory functions (interpersonally relevant items) have been marked in bold. The bold numerals represent tones, while the bold words are interpersonal particles, ideational elements, or clauses serving interpersonal purposes. However, the commentary on the text will be limited to the tone selection.

Speaker & Clause #	Text		
K 1	<i>A- ma wa anọ [[a jọ egin]]? 3-1</i> It NEG be you ^{PLU} [[ASP sell guineacorn]]?		
	Are you not the one selling guineacorn?		
G 2	<i>Ame a jọ ya 3I ASP sell it</i>		
	It is I selling it?		
K 3	<i>Gana ne- fọ orogo one w'amọ a? 3</i> How_much you take orogo this put_on_it IP?		
	How much does a measure of this metal tin bowl cost?		
G 4	<i>Enaira ebọre. 1Naira two</i>		
	Two naira.		
K 5	<i>A- ma te? 3-1</i> It NEG reduce?		
	Is it not less? (Couldn't it be reduced further?)		
G 6	<i>A- ma te. 3</i> It NEG reduce.		
	It is not less (It couldn't be reduced further?)		
K 7.1	<i>A- a da asọna.</i>	7.2	<i>oro ka ayẹ e yin oo? 1-3</i> someone say one ASP buy IOP
	It ASP be sack Supposing one needed a bag?		
G 8.	<i>Imuritala eta a wa one. 3</i> Murtala three ASP be this		
	This is sixty naira.		
K 9.1	<i>Egin owowo a ne; 1-3</i>	9.2	<i>sa gana...? 3</i>
	Guineacorn new be this		or what
Is this a new guineacorn or what?			
G 10.	<i>Egin owowo ya 3</i> Guineacorn new be		
	It is new guineacorn.		
K 11.1	<i>Ayẹ e di ka 3It ASP</i>	11.2	<i>bi- soba a gba egin owowo? 3</i> they so-soon ASP see guineacorn new?
	mean that Does that mean that new guineacorn is out already?		

G 12.1	<i>Egin owowo a wa enanẹ fẹyan 3</i> Guineacorn new ASP be these all	13	Ayẹ ero enanẹ abẹ a ma. 3It people these they ASP measure
	All these are new guineacorn.		It is the one these people are buying.

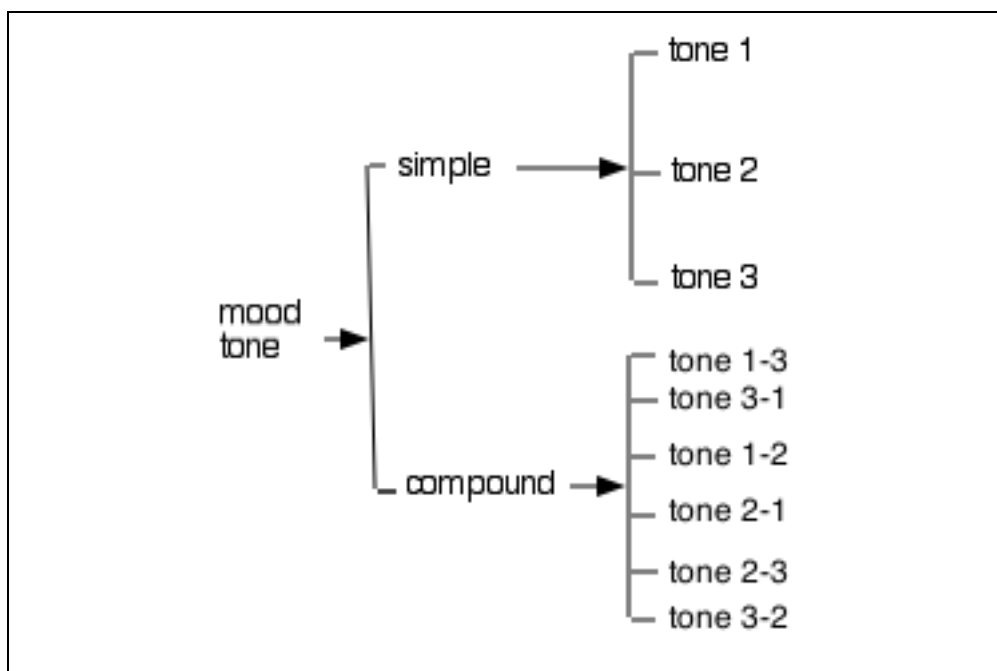
Figure 4-30 Tone marking in (MKT/3): Exchange with guineacorn (sorghum) vendor

As earlier mentioned, the market is operated in an open space, with massive movement of people in every direction. The interaction in (MKT/3) involves a guineacorn vendor and a buyer. As usual, the price is not fixed; therefore, what a customer pays depends on how much s/he is able to bargain within the range of price suitable to the owner of the ware. The MKT3 discourse contains preliminary enquiry about the guineacorn, and the bargaining, a linguistic exchange that requires the use of varieties of tones in a persuasive manner.

The systemic distinction of tone in Òkó is immediately apparent between clauses 5 and 6. Clause 5 differs from Clause 6 only because it selects tone **3-1** as opposed to tone **3** of the latter. While a tone **3-1** combination (with a rapid glide from tone 3 to tone 1 in 5) realizes the interrogative mood, tone **3** in 6 realizes the declarative mood. Interpersonal tone can occur both at the clause initial and final positions. To render the clause in the imperative for example, all that is required is to change the tone of the initial syllable of clause 6 to Tone **2**. Most declarative clauses would terminate in tone **3**. A negative interrogative mood usually selects tone **3-1**, while tone **1-2** is common with the *e-a* interrogative mood, as in Table 426 clause 3. Polar interrogatives usually terminate with tone **3**, unless they are preceded by an initial interrogative particle “u/i”, in which case they are marked with **2-1**. Tone is a resource that features at all ranks, but its interactional function is mostly relevant to the clause, which is the point of intersection between grammar and semantics. And although the element that carries the interpersonally relevant tone is one syllable of a single word in the clause, its effect is clausal.

The interrelationship between tone and mood is not straightforward. While tone is not a system simultaneous with the system of MOOD, it does serve to realize delicate terms within the system of MOOD. However, it is possible to make some generalisation about the pattern of selection. In a simple clause, when the first word of the clause begins with a vowel, the mood-relevant tone is right at the beginning of the clause, so that *e fon* “it far” (it is far), in terms of mood choice, would be realized as below:

i.	<i>E fon</i> (tone1)	(declarative mood)	(it is far.)
ii.	<i>E fon</i> (tone 2)	(interrogative mood)	(Is it far?)
iii.	<i>E fon</i> (tone 3)	(imperative mood)	(let it be far!)

Figure 4-31**Figure 4-32**

The principle of variability of Òkó tones can be described as that of height. On the basis of this principle, three principal tones can be distinguished, namely: low tone [ˀ], which I have assigned numeral (1); high tone [ˀ̄], assigned (2); and one whose height is intermediate between tone 1 and tone 2, which I have assigned tone 3 - it is an unmarked - medium - tone. Earlier on (Akerejola, 1985) I had recognized two combinations of the first two tones, which could be treated as (4), for the low-high tone and (5) for the high-low tone. Alternatively, they can be treated as tone-complexes (see Bird & Shopen, 1979: 82, on Maninka). In a tone complex, there is a rapid gliding from the first tone to the second.

It is also possible to distinguish two levels of tone 3, which I do not consider as separate tones, but as allòtones. The unmarked realization of terms in the system of mood, by terms in the system of tone, are summarized in table Table 4-27 below:

MOOD TYPE		TONE	Position in clause: initial	Position in clause: final
declarative		tone 3		clause-final
interrogative polar interrogative 3-1	clause-initial			
polar interrogative with clefting particle		tone 2		clause-final
negative <i>e-a</i> interrogative 3-1			clause-final	
Polar (yes/no) interrogative with particle		tone 2-1	clause-initial	
<i>e-a</i> interrogative 3			clause-final	
<i>e-a</i> interrogative with tone 3 at penultimate syllable		tone 1-3		clause-final
imperative		tone 3		clause-final
imperative [∇] Predicator only		tone 2-3		clause-final

Figure 4-33 Tone distribution across mood types

The following is a system network showing the deployment of tone across clause types.

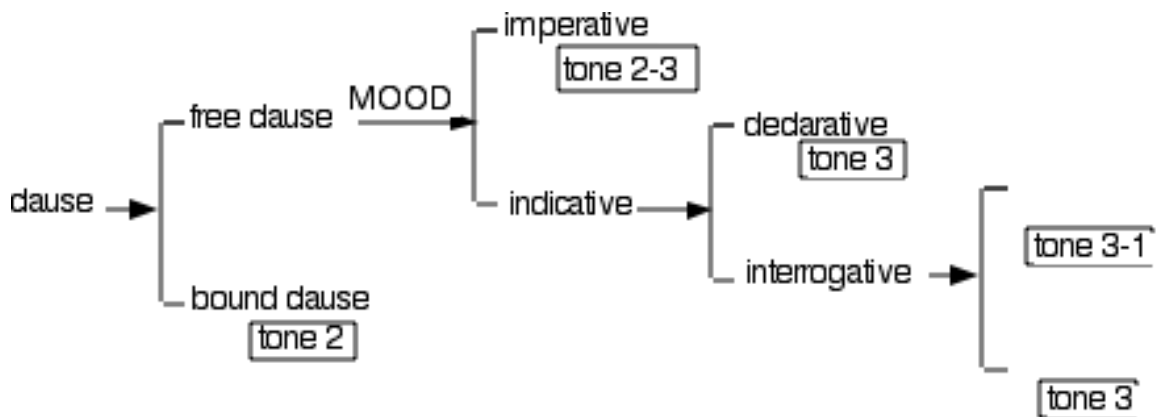


Figure 4-34 Tone contrast across mood types

Even though my major concern in this chapter is the function of tone in interpersonal semantics, Table 4-28 provides concrete examples to illustrate further its function in other domains of the grammar of Òkó, as represented in the system in Figure 4-34:

Metafunction=	System	Term	Example	English Gloss
interpersonal	status mood	&bound	bound clause <i>i) Tí je imu</i> tone 3	that we celebrate
		free	declarative <i>ii) A a nẹ tọ</i> tone 1-2	He has given it to us
			<i>interrogative</i> <i>iii) A a nẹ tọ</i> tone 3-2	Did he give it to us?
			imperative <i>iv) A á nẹ tọ</i> tone 3	(you) give it to us
textual	information	non-predicated	<i>v) A a nẹ tọ</i> tone 1-2	He gave it to us
		predicated	<i>vi) Á a nẹ tọ</i> tone 2-3	It is that he gave it to us

Figure 4-35

4.5 The Features of Interpersonal Particles

As noted above, interpersonal particles serve to realize terms in the system of MOOD. In this section I will explore them in greater detail, focusing on their roles in negotiation, particularly in the clause as exchange. Interpersonal particles are not only important in the MOOD grammar of *Òkó*, but their function in the language also seem to echo Halliday's (1994: 305) observation in respect of tones, that there are certain elements that contribute additional semantic features to the interpersonal meaning of the clause (also see Matthiessen, 2004: Section 10.2.2.3). *Òkó* deploys an elaborate system of particles to various domains of the grammar. Mood particles usually have an overwhelming presence in dialogic genres, in which their functions can be referred to as a kind of system of verbal gestures. I shall come back to this issue in the discussion of the meaning potential of (groups of) particles.

The following text, (EI-1): Extract from Egbe-Ife Discourse is an extract from a dialogue by some very old women, who were requested to reminisce about their youthful experiences as members of a cultural group that has long ceased to exist. Unaware that the camera they wanted to pose for was a movie camera that could capture them irrespective of their relative position to it (as opposed to a still one), they tried to find a comfortable posture for the supposed snapshot. In negotiating the attendant meaning in this context, they exploited the

resources of particles immensely for constructing the dialogue as well as enacting politeness. The particles are marked in uppercase, italic bold.

R2:	<i>Ei, i me dina gba epen oben</i> Oh, i NEG again get something another
	I wish I could get something (a stool)
	<i>ka ayẹ di ya a ma GO.</i> that he again use ASP sit IOEP
	So that she too would sit down.
R1:	<i>Jowon amẹ i jowon akọ.</i> Allow me I stand like.this
	Let me stand this way)/(I am alright standing this way.
S:	<i>Ayi di a ma ekọne GO.</i> She can ASP sit here IOEP
	She could sit here.
R1:	<i>I di ya ma ekọ HQN?</i> I can ASP sit here PIP
	Could I sit down here?
S:	<i>mnh.</i> Yes
	Yes.
R2:	<i>AMA oro oben e me do ba ẹta?</i> CIIP person other ASP NEG add them three?
	Could another person make them three?
S:	<i>E me siye kenakide, efenefena ne^{PL} sisi ma na.</i> It NEG do nothing wherever you even sit RPCP
	(It doesn't matter even if you are seated.)

R3:	<i>E ka ka amẹ i do ba ẹta GO</i>
	I say also I I add them three IOEP
	If I may I ask, could I make them three?/ I am suggesting that I make them three.
S:	<i>Ehn, ni cun w'amọ A.</i>
	Yes, you ^{PL} pass be.there IPCP
	Yes, why don't you join them?
R1:	<i>Akọ I siye ma ọṅ a na OO?As I do sit</i>
	this as this OIP
	How about the way I am sitting?
S:	<i>A rọn ẹgan.</i>
	It appropriate thus
	It is perfectly alright.

Figure 4-36 Extract from Egbe-Ife Discourse (EI/1)

The interpersonal particles that feature in the conversation above are *go*, *họn*, *ama*, *a*, and *oo*. However, there are many more, as revealed in Table 4-1 and Table 4-26 above, and in subsequent discussions. Figure 4-36 below lists some of the particles and their approximate meanings. It should be pointed out that it is not possible to capture absolutely the full semantic value of the particles in translation. The attempt here therefore is to present at least a semantic approximation of what they help to convey interpersonally in Òkó interactions.

Interpersonal particle	Designation	Imperative	Declarative	Interrogative: (yes/no)	Interrogative: E-a
[a] clause-final	Interrogative Pronoun Completive Particle (ICP) /Suggestive Particle (SG)	SP - 'why not do' (order)			ICP - '...' Usually at clause final position. It completes the sense of the interrogative Pronoun (E-a)
[ama] clause-initial	Clause Initial Interrogative Particle (CIIP)		'I presume (the proposition)		
[go] clause-final	Informative Offering Ending Particle (IOEP)		'I'm informing you that' - 'believe me'		
[hon] clause initial-final	Polar Interrogative Particle (PIP)			'I ask you' – tone 2 'to confirm or negate'(proposition) final only: tone 1-2. 'I'm sure of the proposition, but confirm'	
[i/u] clause-initial	Predicator Focus Particle (PHP)		'it is that'	'is it that?'	
[naa] clause-final	Attitudinal Particle (AP)		'you know/ of course'		
[o] clause-final	Conclusive Statement Particle (CSP)		'my preceding proposition is conclusive'		
[oo] clause-final	Open Interrogative Particle (OIP)				'I demand information (say something) about this' - Subject
[ro] clause final	Information Statement Ending Particle (ISEP)	'you had better be...'	'you must be aware that'		
[so] clause-initial,	Attention Seeking Particle (ASP)		'I want to tell you something' 'Give me your attention'		
[so] clause-final				'is (the proposition) true?'	

Figure 4-37 Interpersonal Particles and their approximate meanings

The list represents only particles that are interpersonally relevant in the clause. Interpersonally relevant particles contribute to mood (or the enactment of speech functions). And as Teruya (1998) observes for the Japanese Negotiators, *Òkó* interpersonal particles also generally convey the speaker's assessment of the sense of "suppositionality" or "conclusiveness" of the proposition. When a speaker uses any of them, s/he expects a response from his/her addressee: they constitute the driving force in any conversation. A more

comprehensive list, which includes other particles that have no function in the clause as exchange, is in Appendix 2. The table suggests that *ro*, *naa*, *go*, *o*, *i/u* function as Negotiators in declarative clauses; *hòn*, *sò*, *a*, *ama* and *oo* function as Negotiator in interrogative clauses; whereas *ro* and *a* function as Negotiators in imperative clauses. The table below summarizes their grouping according to the moods within whose structure they function.

Mood	declarative		interrogative		imperative	
	Particle		elemental	polar		
Particle	<i>go</i>	IOEP	<i>oo</i>		OIP	
	<i>o</i>	CSP	<i>a</i>		ICP	
	<i>naa</i>	AP		<i>ama</i>	CIIP	
	<i>ro</i>	ISEP		<i>hòn</i>	PIP	<i>ro</i> ISEP
	<i>sò</i>	ASP		<i>sò</i>	ASP	<i>a</i> ICP
	<i>u/i</i>	PHP		<i>u/i</i>	PHP	

Figure 4-38 Mood and their potential particles

Interpersonal particles occur, significantly, at the junctures of the clause as an interactive event — as a move, where the speaker starts the move (potentially taking over from the previous speaker) or completes it (potentially handing over to the next speaker). At the clause-initial position, they seem to suggest that the speaker is ready to take over; and the particles portray the angle of entry of the speaker into the conversation. In mundane terms, the speaker uses the particle to signal his/her intention such as “I’m taking a turn by giving/demanding this information”, which constitutes the proposition in the succeeding clause. Similarly, the clause final particle signals that the speaker is handing over to the addressee the next turn, in which s/he is called upon to validate the polarity of the proposition in the preceding clause.

Figure 44 represents the system network for the Òkó interpersonal particles.

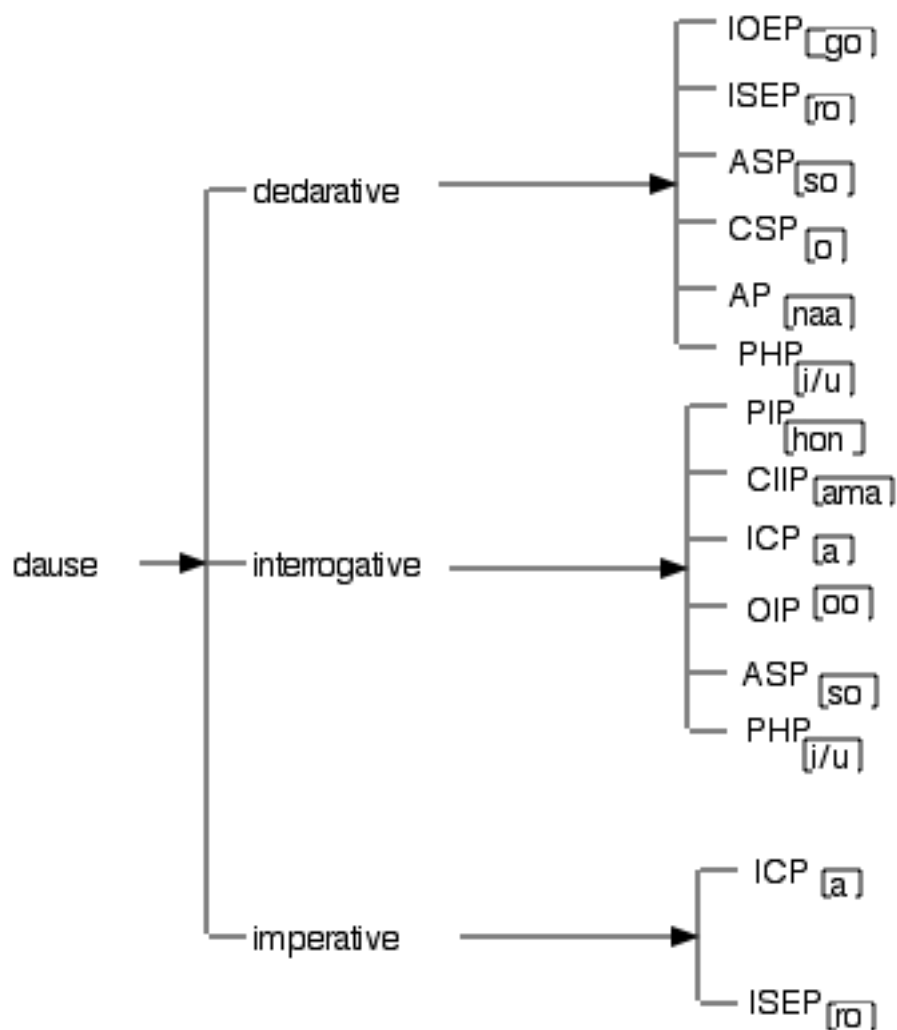


Figure 4-39 Òkó interpersonal particles system

Interpersonal particles make systemic distinction between moods, as demonstrated in Table 4-31 below:

clause example	interpersonal particle	lexicogrammatical status
<i>i. ka oforo a lati yọ oyara</i> also male ASP OBL go arena	none	ambiguous: declarative/ interrogative/non-congruent imperative
<i>ii. ka oforo a lati yọ oyara họn?</i>	[họn]	
The proposition: “males too must go to the arena”.		

Figure 4-40

Clause (i) could be interpreted as ‘declarative’, ‘interrogative: polar’ or ‘imperative’ (incongruent), if these are not distinguished by tone. In contrast, clause (ii) is marked by the mood particle *họn* as polar interrogative in mood.

Not only do interpersonal particles contribute to the realization of mood, they also make delicate distinctions within the same mood types upon which they depend, as depicted in Table 4-32.

Clause	Interpersonal Particle	Semantic Status
<i>We e ni?</i> You ASP want?	none	polar question + surprise
<i>U we e ni?</i> PHP You ASP want?	[u]	neutral –unmarked polar question

Figure 4-41

The above discussion, on the delicate choices made with interpersonal particles, suggests that without a mood particle, there may be significant semantic consequences. To mean in Òkó, a speaker would have to know how to make appropriate selection from these features, within the system of MOOD. The choice made in this system reflects and enacts the tenor of the relationship between interactants.

Particles will be particularly helpful in written Òkó, especially in constructions that are ambiguous in mood, as revealed in Figure 4-41 above.

In Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 the interactional characteristics of the semantic potential of interpersonal particles, and their relevant contexts, will be explored further. Every speaker selects features of interpersonal particles to advance his/her meaning more delicately. Halliday and McDonald (2004: 341) observe that particles play a role in the modal

assessment of clauses in Mandarin-Chinese. According to them, modal **assessment** is a strategy for the speaker to signal his/her “attitude to, and degree of involvement in, the proposition or proposal of the clause”, Halliday and McDonald (2004: 341). When particles are used in *Òkó*, they do show some modal assessment too. The use conveys the speaker’s bias toward the proposition. Particles in *Òkó* seem to perform the interpersonal roles played by intonation in the grammar of languages such as English. A particle may realize more than one modal assessment; however, the delicate distinction between one assessment and another is difficult to represent formally.

Halliday & McDonald (2004: 352) tabulate the ASSESSMENT system for Mandarin and relate it to the degree of modality, as in Table 4-33:

	indicative	imperative
high	assertive	insistent
	demanding	
	exclamative	
median	opinative	suggestive
	biased question	
low	tentative	
	hesitative	
	“how about...”	molliative

Figure 4-42 Halliday & McDonald’s (2004) Assessment Table for Mandarin

The *Òkó* particles will generally construe most of the assessment categories, as in Table 4-33 above. I will discuss the cline of meaning represented by the *Òkó* particles within each mood type, in a way similar to Halliday’s discussion of KEY as the tone choice in the English grammatical system. As mentioned above, particles in *Òkó* are similar in function to the role of intonation in English. Thus, just as in the English KEY system, the *Òkó* particle feature has to do with “a little network of choices ...related to the system of MOOD” (Halliday, 1994: 302).

4.5.1 Declarative Mood Particles

Declarative Mood Particles are the particles that function within the domain of declarative clauses, enabling delicate choices of meaning within the mood. They include the IOEP, ASP, ISMP, AP and CSP.

4.5.1.1.1 Declarative: Informative Offering Ending Particle (IOEP): [go]

Go is an interpersonal particle that usually occurs in the clause-final position of a declarative clause. It signals that the information being given by the statement realized by the clause is asserted: the speaker declares an absolute belief in the polarity of the assertion, using the particle as a strategy. At the same time the addressee is called upon to respond in a way that will show understanding. This would be considered the unmarked interpretation of *go*. However, the use is not limited to this context alone. The examples below provide the major semantic space of its operation.

- i. [statement + complaint]

Imu ya go

Festival be IOEP

“The festival is the cause/to blame (‘otherwise the situation would be different’).”

- ii. [statement + plea]

Ega me ni ka i cin nu go Issue I want that I ask you IOEP

“I wish to ask you something (‘if you don’t mind’).”

- iii. [statement + sarcasm]

Usiye e e mi gan go

Tomorrow ASP NEG yet dawn IOEP

“The day has not broken (‘perhaps at 10 am’).”

A declarative clause has the interpersonal particle *go* as the Negotiator, and occurs in the clause-final position; and under appropriate contexts, conveys that the speaker is making a plea, complaining of his/her frustration, assuring the addressee of the validity of the proposition, or creating sarcasm about it.

4.5.1.1.2 Declarative: Informative Statement-Ending Mood Particle (ISMP): [ro]

Basically, the Informative Statement-Ending Mood particle occurs in the declarative mood, and is used when the speaker is seeking a kind of agreement from the addressee about the information being given. The information could come in the form of simple or strong advice, contradiction to addressee’s real or assumed opinion, a warning or a threat. The particle *ro* conveys the sense, “(you must) be aware that...” when positive, and “you dare

not...” when negative, and the clause does not already have a corresponding modalizing element.

It occurs in both imperative and declarative clauses, in the clause-final position only, but I will first show examples of its occurrence in statements realized by the declarative mood.

i. [Statement + agreement seeking]

E- pila a yọ yọ uboo ro
She- return ASP go his/her house ISMP

“S/he is returning to his home. (‘Please be aware of this’).”

[positive]

ii. [Statement + contradiction]

A ma tayi we akọ ro
It NEG before be like.this ISMP

“It was not like this before (‘at least not as you suppose’).”

[negative]

iii. [Statement + threat]

U me puwa imatọ ọnẹbẹ, u ma yọ k’ẹfa kọyẹrẹ ro
you NEG wash car that you NEG go even.place none ISMP

“If you do not wash that car you dare not go anywhere (‘as you seem to be trying to do’).”

[negative]

4.5.1.1.3 Declarative: Attention Seeking Mood Particle (ASP): [so]

The Attention Seeking Mood Particle occurs in the three major mood types. When initial or medial, the clause is declarative or imperative, and it is separated from the clause by tone 1-3; but when final, the clause is interrogative. As its name implies, it demands the attention of the addressee in a dialogue. It can be interpreted roughly as ‘Give me your attention/I want to tell you something’. It is a Negotiator in the sense that the listener is expected to respond with *ehn* (yes) as a form of interactional cooperation with the speaker. Sometimes the listener actually answers with a full clause *ma a wọ ọ ro* (I am surely listening to you). The listening level of the interlocutor is sometimes gauged by his response to *sọ* (tone 1-3).

In discourse terms, it seeks the permission *from* or gives the permission *to* the addressee to take a turn, when the particle is in clause-initial position. Its function in the medial position is

textual; namely to mark the Given information from the New. When it appears in the clause-final position, the addressee is requested to contradict the polarity of the proposition ('is the proposition true?' - in a manner of speaking); hence the preferred response is one opposite in polarity to the one in the clause. The following examples illustrate their function in the declarative clauses:

[statement +attention seeking]

So, e- mè gbeka oti àyẹ́ á wà ònẹ̀ àkána
 ASP, it NEG be-that tree the ASP be this now

It does not mean that this is the same tree.

4.5.1.1.4 Declarative: Attitudinal Particle (AP): [naa]

Naa is to be interpreted as “You know, of course”; it occurs in the clause-final position, injecting the attitude of the speaker to the statement realized by the declarative clause. It is used to show anger or sarcasm regarding the proposition in the clause.

Declarative clause with AP	Meaning	(free) Translation
<i>Èbọlẹ́ u- e ne naa.</i> Naked you ASP wander AP	derision	You went about naked, of course.
<i>E me go mu naa</i> It NEG suffice me AP	protestation	It is not sufficient for me.
<i>Èrọ́ fu be fuwa naa</i> world MAS spoil away AP	resignation	Of course, the world is decayed.

Figure 4-43

4.5.1.1.5 Declarative: Conclusive Statement Particle (CSP): [o]

The Conclusive Statement Particle is used to express strong belief in one’s proposition by way of saying ‘my preceding proposition is conclusive’. CSP occurs in the clause-final position of a declarative or imperative clause. In a declarative construction, it could either be advisory or meant to close a discussion. It is usually employed by a speaker who has superiority of age or status over the addressee. When imperative however, it indicates a polite request with affection.

Declarative clause with CSP	Meaning	Translation
<i>Ogbere oboro one ga ne yo ogben ka aye a yo erun o</i> Rival good this say give her child that she ASP go farm CSP	affection	The good rival told her child that she had to go to the farm.
<i>Ani 'ka niya a ka ma ubiribe cana o tor' e, o</i> You and your mother ASP will sit room before you loose it CSP	advice	Only you and your mother should be in the room when you untie it.
<i>Ukuba enabe abe e bi ije ne o</i> Household those they ASP own land DCP CSP	conclusion	The land belongs to that family.

Figure 4-44

4.5.2 Interrogative Mood Particles

The discussion above has been focused on the particles which relate to the declarative mood, providing different kinds of assessment within the mood. In the following section, I will explore the interpersonal particles that relate to the interrogative mood.

4.5.2.1 Polar (yes/no) Interrogative Mood Particles

This set constitutes those particles that function in polar interrogative clauses, seeking the confirmation of the polarity of a proposition.

4.5.2.1.1 Polar Interrogative Particle (PIP): [*hɔn*]

The purpose of the Polar Interrogative Particle is to probe the polarity of a proposition: it realizes the “yes/no” interrogative mood. It occurs at the beginning or end of the clause, to make a demand for information. At the beginning of the clause, it is more like a “checking tag” (Sinclair, 1975) whereas, at the end of the clause, it is more unmarked. Wherever it occurs, its meaning can be summarised as “I ask you to confirm or negate the following proposition”, or sometimes it expresses the demand in the form of: “I’m sure of the proposition, but confirm” using tone (1-2).

Example Clause with PIP	Meaning	English (free) Translation
<i>Egari da yọ fore akọ eji</i> <i>họn?Gari opr plenty more.than this</i> market PIP	proposition probing	Is gari usually more abundant in the market? ('What do you know about that?').
<i>Ọ- sọma họn?You wake PIP</i>		Are you well? /I hope you are doing well ('confirm').
<i>E- ye wu akana họn?</i> <i>It- understand you now PIP</i>		Are you sure you understand? ('I need to know')?
<i>Èsen gbọgba ni dake e sen họn?Music</i> ordinary you ASP ASP play PIP		Is it ordinary music they play? ('I need to know').
<i>Họn, a dake ga ẹga?PIP it ASP talk talk</i>	confirmation seeking	Is it true that it talks? ('I don't think it does, but reinforce my opinion').

Figure 4-45

4.5.2.1.2 Clause Initial Interrogative Particle (CIIP): [ama]

The Clause Initial Interrogative Particle is used for asking polar questions. Its use suggests that the speaker presumes that listener is or would be thinking as s/he does in relation to the message of the clause. So we can decode the meaning as “I presume the proposition to be true and I call you to agree with me”. The mood particle conveys the sense of negativity. Therefore, the addressee is expected to respond in the affirmative. In this respect, it functions as relative opposite to the case of “so” discussed above.

Example Clause with CIIP	Meaning	English (free) Translation
<i>Ama eḍeḍa e fo?</i> CIIP father ASP die	resignation	Is it not father that died? (‘what can anyone do about it’)
<i>Ama I te sōma?</i> CIIP PHP we- well	hope	I hope we are well. How do you do?
<i>Ama bi da ke kpa ije ne ya?</i> CIIP they.do still dig ground give him	presumption	Isn’t a grave still prepared for such a person?.
<i>Ama u- din ka bi- ka oro eeku a yayo,</i> CIIP you know that they say person masquerade ASP dance, <i>daadaa efena bi eku na I yo ibe a ron</i> well one.who own masquerade RCP PHP his stomach ASP sweet <i>e wo amọ?</i> ASP COV .it	presumption	Don’t you know that it is said if a person’s masquerade dances very well, he becomes happy?
<i>Ama oro oḅen e me do ba eta?</i> CIIP person other ASP NEG add them three	hope	I hope someone does not make them three?
<i>Ama oḅen ne a ca one na be-je eya?</i> CIIP moon that ASP come this RCP they eat eya	presumption	Is not the coming month “eya” festival?
<i>Ba- a ke ga ega, ama oro deki piye aton hon?</i> They ASP be say word CIIP person ASP listen ear PIP	rebuke	Shouldn’t a person listen when others are talking?

Figure 4-46

From our earlier grouping of the particles as in Table 430, we can see that only PIP and CIIP are restricted to the polar (yes/no) interrogative mood. There are other particles that make delicate distinctions within the polar interrogative clause, as seen in that table, namely ASP and PHP. ASP at the end of the clause realizes the polar interrogative, but with the additional meaning of requesting the listener to confirm the proposition, in contra-polarity, for example:

E- *ganẹ* *ọ* *ka* *u-* *fì* *igila* *nẹ* *ogben* *sọ?*
 I tell you that you boil yam give child ASP

Did I tell you to roast yam for the child? (You know that I didn't).

The response expected from the listener here is *eh-ehn* (no, you didn't); in the case of PHP particle, the polarity determines the degree of involvement of the speaker in the proposition. An interrogative clause in the positive polarity is neutral in modal assessment, for example:

- i. [positive question + PHP =non-biased]

I *bẹ-* *cẹn* *irisiti* *a* *nẹ* *nọ* *ẹji* *ọnẹ?*
 PHP they cut receipt ASP give you market this?

Are you being issued receipt in this market?/are you levied in this market? ('I seek to know'.)

-
- ii. [negative question + PHP = biased]

I *ba-* *a* *cẹn* *irisiti* *a* *nẹ* *nọ* *ẹji* *ọnẹ?*
 PHP they NEG cut receipt ASP give you market this?

Don't they issue receipt to you in this market? /Are you not taxed in this market? ('I expect so.)

4.5.2.2 Non-Polar Interrogative Mood Particles

This is a set of particles that function in non-polar interrogative mood realizing elemental (*e-a*) questions.

4.5.2.2.1 Interrogative Pronoun Completive Particle (IPCP): [a]

The IPCP as illustrated in Table 438 usually occurs in the clause-final position, to complete the sense of the interrogative clause of the *e-a* type. They do not contribute additional modal assessment, unless they are part of a rhetorical question, as in the case of *ọona wa ka nẹ tọ a?* in its original (prayer) context in (PR/1) -Appendix 1

Example Clause with IPCP	Meaning	English (free) Translation
<i>Ọona wa- ka a ne tọ a?</i> Which.one you will ASP give us IPCP	elemental interrogation	Which one will you give us?
<i>Ẹna e me wo amọ na?</i> What ASP NEG COV it IPCP		What was not in it?
<i>Ẹna a?</i> What IPCP		What is it?
<i>Ẹra e gbe Ẹtetemu a?</i> Who ASP bear Ẹtetemu IPCP		Who is known as Etetemu?
<i>Ẹta a gba ikiba aye a?</i> Where he see money the IPCP		Where would he get the money from?

Figure 4-47 Semantic potential of IPCP

4.5.2.2.2 Open Interrogative Particle (OIP): [oo]

This particle occurs in the clause-final position and implies: ‘I demand information (say something) about this Subject’. It is used to ask an open question about a transitivity element of the clause -what I have earlier referred to as the “how about” question (see Section 4.3.2.2.5). It is like an interrogative form of an existential clause.

Interrogative Clause with OIP	Meaning	English (free) Translation
<i>Ogben oo</i> child OIP	enquiry (demanding)	Where/how about the child?
<i>Urorumẹka oo</i> Morning OIP		Would the morning time be suitable? (‘how about in the morning?’)
<i>Be- e pila ikiba aye ca oo</i> They ASP return money the come OIP		What if the money is returned?

Figure 4-48

4.5.2.3 Imperative Mood Particles

Speakers also select certain particles to assess proposals realized by imperative moods. The particles contribute different degrees of “force” to the proposal, similar to the Halliday & McDonald, (2004) table of assessment features (see Table 433 above).

4.5.2.3.1 Imperative: Suggestive Particle (SP): [a]

Grammatically, the Suggestive Particle (SP) cannot be distinguished from the IPCP, because it also occurs in the clause-final position. However, while SP functions in imperative clauses, the latter is restricted to the interrogative context. SP connotes ‘why not do’ (order),

and whether it is advice, suggestion, command or mark of insistence depends on the tenor of the relationship of interlocutors, as well as prosodic realisation.

imperative clause with SP	Meaning	English (free) Translation
<i>Je ijen ke a</i> Eat food ASP SP	suggestion	Why don't you eat first
<i>Jowon e- ma o ki puwa esa</i> aWait I help you ASP wash clothe SP	suggestion/ offer	Why not let me wash your clothes?
<i>Teyi I- siye onene a bare mo na</i> Let I do what ASP wish me SP	insistent	Let me do whatever I like?
<i>Mon fura orikpokpo a</i> Clear stand road SP	order	Get off the way?

Figure 4-49

4.5.2.3.2 Imperative: Semantic potential of (ISMP): [ro]

Another particle with a role in the imperative mood is the ISMP, which we have earlier discussed (see 4.5.1.1.2). Its roles in commands are illustrated by the following examples:

- i. [Command + advice/suggestion]

Teyi wo iwu e yeyi ro
Leave your body ASP dry ISMP

Let/allow your body be dry. ('it is better that way?')

[positive]

- ii. [Command + warning/threat]

U me holo yo ro
You NEG descend go ISMP

Do not descend/ do not go down ('otherwise you face the consequences!')

[negative]

The foregoing description of particles shows how significantly they contribute to interpersonal exchange in Òkó.

4.6 The systems of POLARITY

The POLARITY system is a resource that enables the choice between positive and negative in a clause (Halliday, 1994: 88). It is the fundamental system upon which an argument is based. The short text below has been extracted from a longer one, Text 2-1 (MKT1 - see Chapter 3), which is a conversation (interview-like) in an Òkó market, where K is trying to find out some historical facts about the market from an elderly trader (buyer).

Spr	Clauses	Status & polarity	English translation
K	1.1 Njẹ bi- a ta Ogarega nẹ nọIP they ASP narrate story give you ^{PL}	free positive	Was the story told to you?
	1.2 <i>Ka e-su ogba akọ akọ akọ</i> [[<i>nẹ bi- a tọmẹ eji aye</i> That it have time so... [[that they ASP start market the na?]] RPCP]]	bound positive	that there was time, this-and-that, that they started the market?
Ol	2.1 <i>Be- si a ta Ogarega,</i> They MAS ASP narrate story	bound positive	Even if they have told me the story,
	2.2 <i>Me- e diye din</i> I NEG can know.	free negative	I cannot know.
	3 <i>Ayẹn luwe mu.</i> Eye forget me	free positive	I have forgotten.
K	4.1 <i>Njẹ akọ eji aye tayi siye weIP like</i> this market the before do be	free positive	Is this how the market was
	4.2 <i>Ogbona ni- ye gben ayẹn ca to eji aye</i> na?When you ^{PL} ASP marure eye come meet market the RPCP	bound positive	when you grew up to meet it?
Ol	5 <i>A- ma tayi we akọ ro.</i> It NEG before be like.this ISMP	free negative	It was not like this.
K	6 <i>Gana e siye wa?</i> How it do be	free positive	How was it?
	7 <i>Èna a tayi wo enane nẹ e me pile</i> What ASP before COV here ^{PL} that ASP NEG any.longer <i>wo eji aye na?</i> COV market the RPCP	free negative	What were in these places that are no longer in the market?
Ol	8.1 <i><u>E- me su</u> [[<i>ẹkẹna e me wo eji aye na</i>]],</i> It NEG have what ASP NEG COV market the RPCP	free negative	There is nothing that is not in the market,
	8.2 <i>Ama e gbodi fọrẹ akọ igan</i> But it big more than.this then.	free positive	But it was bigger than this.
	9.1 <i>Ogbona ẹkpẹtesì e e mi ca na,</i> When tarred.road ASP NEG yet come RPCP	bound negative	when the tarred road had not come,
	9.2 <i>Ènanẹ akọ cẹcẹcẹ, eji ya.</i> These like all, market be	free positive	all these places were parts of the market.

Figure 4-50 Extract from (MKT1)

Each line constitutes a major clause, free or bound. Those that enact positive polarity are not marked, but the negative elements have been marked in bold for those that have negative polarity. The clause environment where negative is usually marked has been underlined —

that is, the clause component that bears the negation in an exchange. From the text, certain preliminary generalizations can be made, which include: that the negative element can be either in a free clause (see Clauses 2.2,5,7 & 8 for example) or bound clause (see Clause 9.1 for example); and in similar grammatical location.

4.6.1.1 Discussion

The system of POLARITY has the terms ‘positive’ and ‘negative’; it is simultaneous with the system of MOOD. POLARITY is an interpersonal system because when a clause is positive, the listener is presented with the choice of either affirming it, or negating it and vice versa. The domain of realization of polarity is the verbal group. Positive polarity is unmarked, while negative polarity is marked by the verbal affix *e/a/ma/me* (NEG) in the verbal group, usually between the Subject and the Predicator where these two elements are separate in the clause, or before the operator (ASP) in the Predicator. The verbal affix with the phonological variant *e* is used for perfective aspects, whereas *ma* and its phonological variant *me* is reserved for imperfective (habitual, anticipatory and irrealis) aspects. At the rank of the clause, it could be realised by the Adjunct *ehn* for “yes” and *eh-ehn* for “no”. Table 4-41 is an attempt to illustrate polarity of different moods across major process types.

Clause Type	MOOD	indicative		imperative
		declarative	interrogative	
	POLARITY			
material	positive	i. <i>Ti- diye siye utun</i> We can do work	<i>Ti diye siye utun?</i> <i>We can do work</i>	<i>Ti (ki) siye utun</i> We (be) do work
		ii. <i>We e siye utun</i> You ASP do work	<i>We- e siye utun?</i> you ASP do work	<i>siye utun</i> Do work
	i. We can work.	(We can)/(Can we) work?	Le us (be) work(ing)!	
	ii. You are working.	(Are you)/(You're) working?	Work!	
negative	i. <i>Te e diye siye utun</i> We NEG can do work	<i>Te e diye siye utun?</i> We NEG can do work	<i>Ti me siye utun</i> We NEG do work	
	ii. <i>We e siye utun</i> You do work	<i>We- mè siye utun?</i> You NEG do work	<i>U- me siye utun</i> You NEG do work	
	i. We cannot work.	(We can't)/(Can't we) work?	Let us not work!	
	ii. You are working.	(Are you) (You are) not working?	Do not work!	
relational	positive	<i>Mọ ogben ya</i> My child be	<i>Mọ ogben ya (họn)?</i> My child be	<i>A da mọ ogben ro</i> It be my child ISMP
		S/he is my child.	S/he's/ Is S/he my child?	Let him/her be my child!
	negative	<i>A ma wa mọ ogben</i> S/he NEG be my child	<i>A ma wa mọ ogben</i> S/he NEG be my child	<i>A ma da mọ ogben (ro)</i> S/he NEG be my child ISMP
		S/he is not my child.	S/he isn't /Isn't s/he my child?	Let her/him not be my child!
mental	positive	<i>E ye mu</i> It understand me	<i>E ye mu (họn)?</i> It understand me?	<i>E ye mu (ro)</i> It understand me!
		I understand (it).	Do I understand (it)?	Let me understand (it)!
	negative	<i>E mè ye mu</i> It NEG understand me	<i>E me ye mu (họn)</i> It NEG understand me	<i>E mè ye mu</i> It NEG understand me
		I don't understand (it).	I don't/Don't I understand (it)?	Let me not understand (it)!
subjunctive	positive	<i>E e ye mu...</i> It ASP understand me...		
		If/should I understand it ...,		

	negative	<i>E e me ye mu ...</i> , It ASP NEG understand me..., If I do not understand it...,		
e-a	positive	<i>Ena á kọ tọ</i> what it gather us <i>bile a?</i> together (ICP)?		
		What brought us together?		
	negative	<i>Ena á mà kọ tọ</i> What it NEG gather us <i>bile a?</i> together (ICP)		
		What didn't bring us together?		
purpose	positive	<i>á kọ tọ bile ...</i> it gather us together... (it gathered us together...)		
		In order to gather us together...		
	negative	<i>á mà kọ tọ bile ...</i> it NEG gather us together...		
		In order not to bring us together...		

Figure 4-51

In Òkó, polarity can be expressed through tonal variation, as Creissels (2000: 238) also observes for Kposo, another Niger-Congo language. Tone 2 at the clause initial position realizes the imperative mood, but only in the context where *diya/dina* (“can” or “should”) functions as a modal auxiliary, as illustrated in Table 4-43. Conversely, tone 1 would realize a positive polarity. Tone is shown in square brackets.

<i>Tì [1] dina a wọre aben</i> We can ASP deceive each/one another “We could deceive one other”	positive tone 1 on “ <i>ti</i> ”
<i>Tì [2] dina wọre aben</i> We should deceive each/one another “We should not deceive each other”	negative tone 2 on “ <i>ti</i> ”

Figure 4-52 Polarity marked by tone

However, generally speaking, negative polarity tends to be associated with low tone on the Negator (NEG), realized by the verbal affix. Table 4-44 presents polarity across different aspects.

Aspect	Positive	Negative
Imperfective (Progressive)	<i>Ba a sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They ASP playing music	<i>Ba ma sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They NEG play music
Perfective	<i>Bẹ sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They play music	<i>Bi ma sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They NEG play music
Anticipatory (declarative)	<i>Ba ka sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They will play music	<i>Ba a ka sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They not will play music
Habitual	<i>Bi dake sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They do play music	<i>Ba a sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They NEG play music
Modulation	<i>Bẹ kẹ sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They be play music	<i>Bi diya/dina sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They should-no-longer play music
Anticipatory (interrogative)	<i>I ba ka sẹ ẹsẹn?</i> PHP they will play music?	<i>I ba a ka sẹ ẹsẹn?</i> PHP they NEG will play music?
Pos: completive Neg: irealis	<i>Bẹ sẹ ẹsẹn ke</i> They play music have	<i>Be e mi sẹ ẹsẹn</i> They NEG yet play music

Figure 4-53

The so-called “anticipatory” types are actually imperfective events that are yet to (but may or may not according to the polarity) be realized. In a sense, they are anticipated. There is no difference between the negative perfective and imperfective aspects. The introduction of temporality by means of a temporal Adjunct (such as *akana* - “now” and *ẹran* “yesterday”) will clear the ambiguity.

4.7 The system of Modality

The interpersonal system of MODALITY is a resource the speaker uses to assess a proposition or proposal from his/her own attitudes and judgements (see Halliday, 1994:75; Matthiessen, 1995: 495; also Eggins, 1997: 178; Morley, 2004: 182). It is the way in which speakers intrude into what is being argued, by expressing the degree of probability, or degree of usuality in a proposition; or the degree of obligation or inclination in a proposal (Halliday, 1994: 88-89; Matthiessen, 1991a: 94; 1995a: 495-499; and Martin, Matthiessen & Painter, 1997: 247; for a discussion on a “full range of modality”: Cumming & Ono, 1997: 124). In *Òkó*, modal assessments are expressed in a number of ways. Table 444 contains a short extract from a recount of a cultural event (initiation into manhood in *Òkó*) involving youths. Even though it is predominantly monologic, attempt has been made to extract passages involving a dialogue, where the narrator uses a lot of modality to express what was possible, probable and usual, in the succession of events that characterizes initiation and celebration of

the youths. Items that express modality have been marked in bold both in Òkó and in the English gloss.

	Text	English gloss	Modality
Iy	<i>Ehẹn, boya u di a kẹ wọ ka bi deki tiye eguru aye.</i>	Oh yes, maybe you would be hearing that they usually sing the song.	probability, probability, usuality
R	<i>I dakẹ wọ ka be e tiye eguru aye.</i>	I usually hear that they sing the song.	usuality
Iy	<i>Unhun, ekeṅa wa eguru aye igbe na a wa oṅeṅe.</i>	Ah ha, that is what the song means.	
R	<i>Uhn.</i>		
Iy	<i>E e mi re istage oṅeṅe, e e fo, epepan bi jen e re e wo, (laugh).</i>	If he hasn't yet reached the stage, and he dies, he would be buried in a dunghill.	reality
	<i>Esuburo ka abe bi fi go.</i>	Ancient people, even they too were tough, you know.	
R	<i>Ogbona ba a cẹn oṣa na, tititi bi ye re eḱon, ẹna bi de mi ki siye kẹ nẹ egben ẹnabe a?</i>	When they have been initiated, until they have celebrated manhood, what would they then be doing.	usuality
Iy	<i>Uh –uhn, bẹ da kẹ ma, bi ki din ka a cẹn oṣa ke e e mi re eḱon.</i>	Ah ha, they would just remain, they of course know that he has not yet celebrated manhood.	usuality, reality, reality, reality
R	<i>E e diye su oworo oḡba ẹnabe go.</i>	Could he marry at that time?	probability

Figure 4-54

From the text, it can be seen that the items expressing modality most usually operate in the environment of the verbal group and, in fact, seem to be part of the group, as reflected in all their instances. They characteristically occur between the Aspectual element and the Event on the one hand, and the fact that they are not “mobile”, as modal Adjuncts are, suggests that they are modal auxiliaries.

There is some overlap in the items used to realize different modal assessments, as can be observed from the following table, adapted from Rose’s (2000: 420ff) discussion of modal assessment. Empty rows in the “item” column in Table 4-46 suggest that other resources are used in such instances.

	System	Feature	Item
1	usuality	occasionally	<i>de/da deki/dake</i>
		sometimes	<i>de/da deki/dake</i>
		frequently	<i>pile/pila, cana</i>
		continually	<i>da/deki/dake</i>
2	degree	nearly	<i>nike/a</i>
		utterly: positive	
		utterly: negative	
3	reality: positive	really	<i>kpoto, mi sisi</i>
		only	<i>ki</i>
		just	<i>fu</i>
	reality: negative	mistaken	<i>sisi</i>
		untrue	<i>fu</i>
4	continuity	transient	
		permanent	
5	responsibility	deflected	<i>bi ka (they say)</i>
6	deference	deferent	
7	desire	addressee	<i>a</i>
8	probability	expected	<i>pile/pila</i>
		probable	<i>diye/diya</i>
		most probable	<i>ka</i>

Figure 4-55

4.7.1.1 Modal auxiliaries

Modal assessment is carried out in Òkó using the resources of modal auxiliaries, modal adverbials, or clauses that can be described as metaphors of modality (Halliday, 1985: 34), as discussed earlier (see Section 4.3.2.2.4), and illustrated in Table 4-48 in Sections 4.7.1.1 - 4.7.1.3 below.

<p><i>Abẹ e dine r' ẹkọn</i> They OPR^{Asp} can^{Modal} go war They are the ones that can celebrate ẹkọn.</p>	can
<p><i>E diya gba oro a vẹ oworo</i> He may get someone ASP give wife He may get someone to offer him a wife for free.</p>	may
<p><i>E gure oro a- da karẹ yẹn ya.</i> She meet someone she would narrate show him If she meets anyone she would narrate what happened to her.</p>	would
<p><i>Be e gbadọ a fọ oti e wuna ije</i> They NEG OBL ASP carry stick ASP drag ground They must not drag a stick on the floor.</p>	must
<p><i>U wa ka lati kẹ yẹrẹ obin urun</i> PHP you ASP OBL ASP follow king behind You must follow the king behind.</p>	have to

Figure 4-56

4.7.1.2 Modal adjuncts

<p><i>Ama bi da kẹ kpa ije nẹ ya</i> But they would still dig ground for him</p>	certainty
<p>Wouldn't they still dig a grave for him?</p>	
<p><i>Bi dake kọ ẹsa</i> They usually dress_up clothes</p>	usuallity
<p>They usually dress up/make preparation.</p>	
<p>Ena e kpoto wọrẹ a? What ASP really cause IPCP</p>	possiblility
<p>What possibly caused it?</p>	
<p><i>E de sisi nika kẹ dọn</i> He ASP even almost be old</p>	sometimes
<p>He would sometime almost have grown old.</p>	

Figure 4-57

4.7.1.3 Modal Assessment Clauses

<p><i>A a ma cọra,</i> It ASP NEG careful (probably)</p>	<p><i>e e ke juudun</i> he NEG ASP last</p>
<p>It may not last.</p>	

<i>I roro ka</i> I think that (probably)	<i>iken bi we kọ ọcọ ẹnanẹ a ca</i> country they ASP carry ọcọ abe a ca
I suppose that they bring them from somewhere else/it is imported.	
<i>U wa a ka</i> PHP you ASP say (possibly)	<i>ẹpen a kẹnẹ</i> nasomething ASP burning RCP
It is as if something is burning/something is probably (or was possibly) burning.	
<i>Ayẹn sẹ mọ ka</i> that (probably)	<i>Eye catch me</i> <i>we e mi gwe ọgbọnẹbẹ</i> you NEG yet grow time.that
I suppose you had not grown up by then/ you probably were not mature enough then.	
<i>U ka (certainty)</i> You say	<i>i pile we a ca?</i> <i>i anymore exit ASP come?</i>
I'm certainly not coming out again.	

Figure 4-58

The interpersonal value of the MODALITY system is in the fact that modality elements make the clause susceptible to argument.

4.8 The interpersonal function of Vocatives

Vocatives include direct mention of names by peers or a speaker superior to the listener in age or status, name substitutes (nick/pet names). A Vocative can occur at the beginning of the clause as summons, or for attention seeking purposes; whereas it can occur at the end of the clause to connote threat, disapproval or rebuke. A Vocative functions as part of the overall interpersonal system of the language, enacting some kind of tenor of relationship between the speaker and the listener.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to the resources used in enacting interpersonal meaning in *Òkó*. The MOOD system is the central resource in interpersonal exchange, but the enactment of the different moods are furnished by the resources of other interpersonal systems such as POLARITY and MODALITY.

Of particular significance are the tones and particles used to make delicate distinctions within the system of MOOD in the grammar. Every clause is used interpersonally to realize a general term in the MOOD system. And then, further distinctions are also made within each

mood through the deployment of tones and particles. Tones and particles also play important roles in the system of HONORIFICATION, which has not been discussed fully here because politeness strategies are not grammaticalized in Òkó as they are in languages such as Japanese and French. An observation worth mentioning is that, due to the influence of the Yoruba language, the younger generation does use the second person plural pronoun to express honorification while the older generation are virtually not affected. Besides intonation and particles devices, honorification is enacted through extra-linguistic strategies, e.g., a person shows respect by not looking straight into the eyes of his superior during verbal interaction.

The interaction of these systems with other ones definitely creates a complex system network for interpersonal meaning in Òkó.

5 Ọkó Ideational Grammar

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will turn to the ideational resources of the grammar of Ọkó. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) characterize the ideational mode of meaning as one of *construing*: the ideational metafunction construes our experience of the world as meaning. Using the ideational resources of language, humans construe their experience of the world around them and inside them as meaning. The ideational resources of language are oriented to the experience of change — of flux: the experience of the flow of events is construed as sequences of configurations.

The ideational metafunction embodies two modes of construing — experiential and logical. In the experiential mode, the flow of events is construed into quanta of change (Matthiessen 2002c: 1), and each quantum is construed configurationally as a **figure**. In the logical mode, the flow of events is construed serially or iteratively as a **sequence** of related figures (Matthiessen 1995a, Teruya 1998). A figure is an organic whole consisting of parts; it is a configuration of **elements**. A figure is realized grammatically by a clause, and a sequence by a clause complex. These three units of arrangements of our experience of the world can be represented as in Figure 5-1.

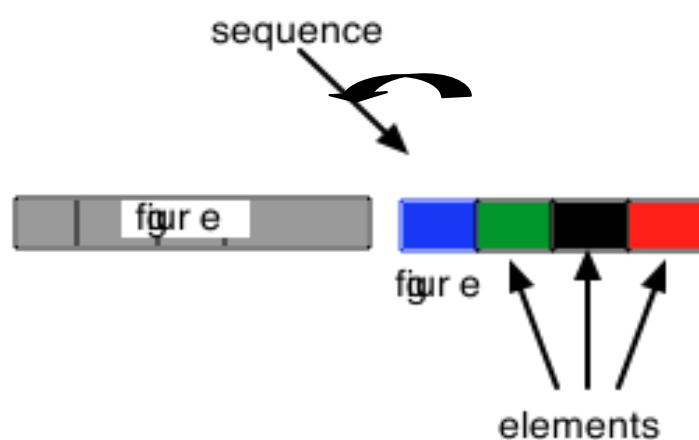


Figure 5-1 Organization of our experience into three types of ideational categories

The grammatical system for construing a figure as a clause is the system of TRANSITIVITY, and I will outline the grammar of transitivity in Ọ̀kọ in this chapter. This system organizes the clause into a nuclear process, participants involved in this process and attendant circumstances. The process and the participants make up the nuclear TRANSITIVITY system, while the circumstances make up the circumstantial TRANSITIVITY system (Matthiessen, 1995a: 206). The nature of the process and the nature and number of the participants depend on the type of process represented by the clause. The way in which the participants are involved in the unfolding of the process (for example either directly as the Medium through which the process is actualized or as an external Agent to the unfolding of the process); that is the system of AGENCY (Halliday, 1994: 164 and Matthiessen, 1995a: 206; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 297) will also be explored.

Halliday (1985b, 1994) identifies “three major types of processes in English: Type I, **doing** (material and behavioural), Type II, **sensing/saying** (mental and verbal) and Type III, **being** (relational and existential)” which are common to all languages. The above constitute the theoretical basis upon which the ideational resources of Ọ̀kọ will be explored. However, the conclusions will be based on actual text evidences as has been done in previous chapters.

To illustrate the system of transitivity, a folk narrative text, titled *Fi Ogben ne Igila* (FOI) will be mainly used as the text. The content of Table 51 is a short extract from the narrative, which is made up of over 430 clauses. Note that a different formatting convention (font, size and style) has been used to mark different Processes in this particular table.

<p> [1.1] Ọgbona be ke e wura erun na, [1.2]aye a <u>ka</u> [1.3]“oru, oru, oru.” When they will ASP return farm DEP then he say welcome , welcome, welcome.</p>
<p> [2] ”ogben oo”. [3.1]Aye a <u>ka</u> [3.2]“Ei, je ijen ke a, [3.3]tori aye ẹbẹba child OIP then he say EXCL eat food COMPL ICP because she herself MI <u>GBA</u> MAS see</p>
<p> [3.4]ka ogben aye, e sive ako. [4] E je ijen. [5.1] aye iya <u>ka</u> [5.2] “Ogben that child the, ASP do like_this she eat food then woman say “child oo”? OIP”?</p>

<p> [6.1]a <u>ka</u> [6.2]“Awọ e mi fu wa ebi”. [7]A <u>wa</u> ebi. [8]Ogben oo? she say you NEG ASP MAS drink water she drink water, child OIP [9.1]a <u>ka</u>, she say</p>
<p> [9.2]“Ama ogben [[ne awọ ka ayi fi ne igila na?”]] ayi fi ya ne igila, [9.3]igila e CIIP child [[that you say she roast give yam DPE]] she roast it give yam, yam ASP</p>
<p>me je-ẹ. [10.1]wiya kọ uba se ẹpan [10.2]a ka [10.3]“iyeye!” [10.4]Bẹ NEG eat-it her-mother carry hand hold head she say LAM they won ya ayẹ ro. rescue her her ISEP</p>
<p> [11.1]Erokoro gidina ca, [11.2]ogben eekporo BẸ GBA. [12.1]iya ayẹ ka people throng come child’s corpse they see woman the say [12.2] “sam”, [12.3]a ma <u>wa</u> ayẹ ogben, [12.4]ayẹ A MA <u>NA</u>. “never” it NEG be her child she ASP NEG agree</p>
<p> [13.1] a fon uboo [13.2]e tive ẹsa we ca, [13.3] a pare ya sẹ yọ abare. she enter house she take cloth exit come she tie it hold her back </p>
<p>[14.1]a <u>ka</u> [14.2][[ẹfena a A GBA na,]] e e ni ayọ ogbe she say [[wherever she ASP see DEP]] she ASP search-for her child</p>
<p>a ne ya ayẹ. [15]Ogben e yi iwo go. [16][[One-ne <u>wa</u> ogben oyegben one na,]] ASP give her her child ASP weep cry IOEP [[that-that be child girl this DEP]]</p>
<p>ayẹ e yi iwo. [17.1]a <u>ka</u> [17.2]oya, oya, oya, a ke yo. [18]A damena a yọ. She ASP weep cry she say immediately... she ASP go she wander ASP go</p>

<p> [19.1] e e gure oro orikpokpo [19.2a da <u>kare</u> yen ya. [20.1]a a <u>ka</u> she ASP meet person way she ASP narrate show him she ASP say 20.2] “O-lo-o,” [20.3]awo E <u>DIN</u>. “poor-you” you ASP know</p>
<p> [21.1]a ka [21.2]aye e ki jen, [21.3]iya oṅeḅe a fọ epan e puwa she say she ASP ASP go woman that ASP use head ASP wash</p>
<p>eyana. [24]ena be e ye [[ka be fọ epan e <u>puwa</u> eyana?]] [25.1]A tome something what the ASP call [[that they use head ASP wash eyana?]] she bend</p>
<p>eḅan wo ije akọ, [25.2]e e puwa oṛe tabi iyin. [26]aye a <u>wa</u> epan head be-in ground like_this she ASP wash melon or locust_bean that ASP be head</p>
<p>[[ne e e puwa eyana na]] [27.1]a kpan epan dasu akọ, [27.2] ogben [[that she ASP wash something DEP]] she lift head clumsy like_this child aye <u>gan</u> ya. [28.1]aye a <u>kathe</u> greet her then she say</p>
<p> [28.2]ena WE E <u>NI</u> a?” [29.1]aye a ka [29.2][[eḅena aye <u>GBA</u> na]] a <u>ne</u>. what you ASP want ICP? then she say [[what she see DEP]] be this </p>

Figure 5-2 Extract from FOI showing process types in different formatting styles

In **Error! Reference source not found.**, the text (FOI) has been divided into clause complexes and clauses. Every clause moves the story forward or develops the episodes as a quantum of change in time, space and detail. The Process in each clause is identified and grouped in accordance with the domain of experience expressed in the clause. The Process in each domain of experienced, realized by a verbal group, is marked differently from those in the other domains. The bold style represents the domain of experience that is prototypically “concrete” (action or happening); the small upper case represents a Process in the domain of “sensing”; italics represents a Process in the domain of “being” and the smaller regular style represents the experience in the domain of “saying”. What appears to be the conveyor of the main experience in each verbal group or verbal group complex (a unit which I will return to later) is underlined for each Process. I will commence the analysis by tabulating the underlined items which represent the main Event in each Process. An item may not be listed

twice unless it describes a different Event from its previous use. Matthiessen's (1995a: 212) four options, which separate the "sensing" domain from the "saying" domain, will be adopted, in the system of PROCESS TYPE.

doing & happening	sensing	saying	being
<i>wura</i> (arrive)	<i>gba</i> (see)	<i>ka</i> (say)	<i>wa</i> (be)
<i>je</i> (eat)	<i>na</i> (agree)	<i>karẹ</i> (state/narrate)	<i>a</i> (be)
<i>siye</i> (do)	<i>din</i> (know)	<i>gan</i> (greet)	
<i>wa</i> (drink)	<i>ni</i> (want)		
<i>fi</i> (roast)			
<i>sẹ</i> (hold)			
<i>won</i> (rescue)			
<i>ca</i> (come)			
<i>tiye</i> (take)			
<i>pare</i> (tie)			
<i>ni</i> (search)			
<i>yi</i> (weep)			
<i>yọ</i> (go)			
<i>gure</i> (meet)			
<i>tome</i> (bend)			
<i>jen</i> (go)			
<i>puwa</i> (wash)			
<i>kpan</i> (lift)			

Figure 5-3 Main Process Types in Òkó

The set of verbs under the domain of doing-&-happening are those involving concrete actions such as *sẹ* (hold) *tiye* (take) and *yọ* (go) or physical activities such as *won* (rescue) *gure* (meet) and *yi* (weep). These express what Halliday terms material and behavioural processes (Halliday, 1985a: Chapter 5). The set of Events under sensing e.g. *gba* (see) *na* (agree) and *din* (know) concerns physiological processes or mental states, hence its members are described as mental processes. The main Events in the domain of saying are concerned with verbal activities - different manners of saying - such as *ka* (say), *karẹ* (narrate) and *gan* (greet). Hence they comprise verbal processes. The set of Events in the domain of being deals with relations of one entity to another. These are called relational processes. A list of verbs expressing each process type will be provided in their respective sections in this chapter. The system of PROCESS TYPE will dominate the description in this chapter.

Meanwhile, I will present examples from the FOI text extract in a table (see Figure 5-4 below), and then proceed to the exploration of the grammar of the clauses with each process type, beginning with material clausesdomains. I wish to state here, however, that the illustration of the grammar of TRANSITIVITY in Ọkọ will not be limited to examples from the text extract (FOI/1), but the story as a whole, and other text sources in the corpus.

Domain of Experience	Process Type	Realization	
doing	material	Actor + Process + Goal + Manner <i>A- kpan epan dasu</i> She lift head clumsy (She lifted her head clumsily.)	
	behavioural	Behaver + Process + Range <i>Ogben e yi iwo</i> Child ASP weep cry (The child was crying.)	
sensing	mental	Phenomenon + Senser + Process <i>Ogben eekporo be gba</i> Child's corpse they see (It was the corpse of the child they saw.)	
saying	verbal	Sayer + Process + Receiver <i>A da kare yen ya</i> She ASP narrate show him (She would narrate to him/her.)	
being	relational	identifying	Identifier + Process + Identified <i>[[Ekeṅa aye gba na]] a ne</i> [[What she see DEP]] be this (what she encountered was this.)
			Carrier Process Attributive
			aye that <i>a wa</i> epan [[ne e e ASP be puwahead [[that she ASP wash eyana na]] something DEP]]
		attributive	That was what [[using the head to wash wash something means]].
		existential	Existent + Process + (Location) <i>Oro oḃen wo amo</i> Person other be exist (There are some people.)

Figure 5-4 Text Examples of process types

Figure 5-4 exemplifies the different processes types. Each process type denotes how the grammar construes the experiences in each representative example as meaning.

5.2 Domains and Process Types

The domain of doing is realized by clauses with a material Process, or behavioural Process. The domain of sensing is realized by a clause with mental Process, while the domain of saying is realized by a clause with verbal Process. The domain of being can be realized by a clause with the attributive Process, identifying Process or existential Process. The details of these process types will constitute the discussion in the succeeding sections.

5.2.1 Domain of Doing and Happening

The domain of “doing” construes physical or physiological action; hence, in the TRANSITIVITY system, the process type is that of (i) **material** or (ii) **behavioural**. Material clauses construe the physical engagement by some entity (animate or inanimate) with the material world; whereas behavioural clauses construe involuntary or controlled behaviour of a (normally) animate being — a biological organism. I will now discuss the resources for realising each of the “doing” process types beginning with the lexical resources.

Table 54 below contains a list of lexical verbs expressing the main Events of material and behavioural Processes. They are all taken from the FOI/1 narrative from which the content of Table 51 has been extracted.

<p><i>ta</i> (hit), <i>je</i> (eat), <i>wa</i> (drink), <i>yọ</i> (go), <i>su</i> (marry), <i>ba</i> (bear a child), <i>bobo</i> (put on the back), <i>gwe</i> (grow up), <i>ca</i> (come), <i>fi</i> (roast), <i>we</i> (exit), <i>ne</i> (throw), <i>wo</i> (put), <i>fo</i> (carry), <i>keye</i> (place near), <i>wura</i> (arrive back), <i>siye</i> (do), <i>se</i> (hold), <i>won</i> (rescue), <i>tiye</i> (take), <i>pare</i> (tie), <i>ni</i> (search/seek), <i>gure</i> (to meet “on-coming thing/person”), <i>tome</i> (bend down), <i>puwa</i> (wash), <i>kpan</i> (lift), <i>gidina</i> (demolish), <i>fon</i> (enter), <i>ne</i> (give), <i>jen</i> (go), <i>tome</i> (stoop), <i>jowon</i> (stand), <i>kare</i> (wait for), <i>kuru</i>, (cut), <i>kuru</i> (fetch), <i>bwe</i> (sleep), <i>me</i> (build), <i>kolẹ</i> (fold), <i>ba</i> (shoot), <i>bile</i> (combine), <i>meṭe</i> (stick to - “human body”), <i>ban</i> (stick to - “object”), <i>kpọ</i> (climb), <i>holo</i> (descend), <i>jiri</i> (open), <i>je</i> (walk), <i>to</i> (to meet - “static object”), <i>ṭora</i> (loose/untie), <i>ma</i> (sit), <i>re</i> (reach), <i>pu</i> (fold), <i>mune</i> (run), <i>bila</i> (turn), <i>ma</i> (stay).</p>

Figure 5-5 Main Event in the domain of “Doing” in FOI text.

5.2.2 Material clauses

The Process of a material clause in Òkó denotes a concrete action such as *kpan* (lift up), *ca* (come), *je* (eat) or *puwa* (wash); however, material Processes may be extended to the abstract realms on Òkó, which I will return to later in this chapter. Material clauses dominate the narrative as shown in **Error! Reference source not found.** above, for example:

<i>Erokoro</i> People	<i>gidina ca,</i> throng come
Actor	Process
People came in their throng.	

Figure 5-6 Material Process – Middle [11.1] (Error! Reference source not found.)

The above process *ca* unfolds as an action. The actualisation of a material process is made possible by a participant *erokoro* (the Actor). It could be said that the Actor - i.e. the people actually engaged in physical activity of movement in the Process above - are in control of its unfolding. The Actor is the only participant in the Process and the action does not extend to or impact on any other participant. In ergative terms, the Actor is the Medium through which the Process is brought into being (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 288). Clause [11.1] (**Error! Reference source not found.**) also reveals one characteristic that distinguishes material and behavioural processes from other process types namely the tendency of the Process to be realized by a “verbal group complex”. The Process in Clause [11.1] is made up of two lexical verbs *gidina* (throng) and *ca* (come). This means that the verbal group is composed of more than one lexical verb expressing the unfolding of the Process. This phenomenon is also referred to as “serial verb construction”. An extensive discussion of this will be presented in Section 5.4, where I explore logical grammar. But meanwhile serial verb construction can be observed in such clauses as [10.1], [13.2], [13.3], [18] and [21.3], from Table 5.1.

<i>E-</i> She	<i>je</i> eat	<i>ijen</i> food
Actor	Process	Goal
She ate food.		

Figure 5-7

The action of the first participant directly affects a second independent participant *ijen*, which is referred to as the Goal (impacting it). In another instance, the configuration extended beyond the process and the participants to include the circumstance surrounding the process.

A- <i>kpan epan dasu akọ</i>			
She raise head “clumsily” thus			
Actor	Process	Goal	Manner
She raised her head awkwardly like this.			

Figure 5-8

The Actors, *e* in [4] and *a* in [27.1], are each realized by a pronominal affix, which as earlier mentioned, is an integral part of the Process (see Chapter 2 Section 2.7.3). The circumstance (*dasu*) construes the Manner — the way in which the Process is performed. While the Process and Participants make up what we have earlier described as nuclear TRANSITIVITY, the Circumstance belongs to circumstantial TRANSITIVITY (see Section 5.1 above).

The Actor can be described as the obligatory “doer” in a material clause, a participant without which the action is not brought into existence. The Actor can be animate or inanimate, a physical being or an abstract entity. The Process in a material clause is a direct tampering with the natural state of affairs brought about by the Actor and the result of which is an alteration in the cosmic equilibrium at a particular cosmic moment. The Goal is the entity (a Participant) that is directly impacted upon by the Process. However, the second Participant in the Process may not be directly impacted upon but rather represents the “domain” over which the process unfolds. This is referred to as the Range as exemplified in Table 58

E- <i>e gure oro orikpokpo</i>				
She ASP meet person way ...				
Actor	Proc	Range	Location	
if she meets anyone on the way ,...				

Figure 5-9 Material Process (+ Range) (Table 5-1: [19.1])

A- <i>kpọ utosi,</i>		
She climb roof-top		
Actor	Proc	Range
She climbed to the roof top		

Figure 5-10 Material Process (+ Range) FOI/1 [91]³⁸

The phenomenon of direct impact distinguishes the Goal from the Range. While Goal describes the participant directly impacted by the Process, Range describes the extent or scope of the Process. Therefore, Goal can be probed by the question *Èna bi siye ya?* (what did they do to it), whereas the Range cannot be probed by the same question. *Èna* (what) suggests a concrete action, while the question itself implicates three participants: (i) *èna* (ii) *bi* (they), referring to the Actor and (iii) *ya* (it/him/her), which denotes the Goal. Conversely, the kind of question that can probe the Range is one that describes the circumstance such as how far, where, and to what extent; for example, *Ètẹka a kpọ a?* (Where did she climb) - in respect of FOI/1 [91] above and this can be preceded by an intensifier such as *kaba*, which can be translated as “right to” - (and can be probed by the question “how far?” or “to what extent?”). And in contrast to the goal-oriented Process, this involves only two participants, *ètẹka* and *a* (the *a* before *kpọ*). From the perspective of the system of AGENCY, Goal is a feature of the effective clause while Range is a feature of the middle clause.

Another possible participant in a material clause is the Beneficiary. As the name suggests, it is the one on behalf of whom (for whose benefit) the process is made to occur. Halliday (1994: 144) further distinguishes between the one to whom goods are given as Recipient and the one for whom services are done as the Client, as in for example:

U- <i>fi ogben nẹ igila</i>				
You roast child give yam.				
Actor	Pro-	Goal	-cess	Client
(Roast the baby child for the yam.)				

Figure 5-11

The Process is usually realised by a verbal group while the Actor, Goal and Range are typically realised by a nominal group. In other words, a benefactive clause comprises a

³⁸ The example in Table 59 is outside the extract in Table 51, but it is part of the same text (see Clause 91 of FOI in Appendix 2).

Process made up of at least two Events, the first e.g. *fì* (roast), which is brought into existence by the Actor (first participant). The Process impacts a Goal (the second participant) to the benefit of the Client or Recipient (the third participants). *Òkó* generalizes both cliency and reciprocity in a second Event of the Process, most often realized by *ne* (give) - see further discussion of the benefactive clause in Section 5.4.1.4.3.1 dealing with “serial verb construction”. Circumstances are realised by either a nominal group or adverbial group.

5.2.3 Behavioural clauses

Behavioural clauses generally construe physiological doings. It is the second category (besides material process) of process type in the domain of “doing”, although the difference from the former is not immediately obvious grammatically. For example, a behavioural clause construes a participant (the Behavior) whose role is like the Actor in a material clause; behavioural clause construes a process which may be voluntarily or involuntarily brought into existence; and, more often than not, it construes a second participant which depicts the scope or range of the process. Table 5-11 contains a list of behavioural Process verbs.

Process	Scope	Behaviour
<i>yi</i> (blow)	<i>oga</i> (shout)/ <i>iwò</i> (cry)	shouting/weeping
<i>gan</i> (count)	<i>owo</i> (mouth)	making a noise
<i>gidina ri</i> (through cover)	<i>oro</i> (person)	throng upon
<i>dò</i> (excrete)	<i>ẹ̀nọ</i> (urine)	urinate
<i>ta</i> (?)	<i>ẹ̀sọ̀n</i> (fart)	fart
<i>ma</i> (measure)	<i>ayẹ̀n</i> (eye)	imitate
<i>cẹ̀n</i> (cut)	<i>icomá</i> (lie)	lying
<i>pẹ̀n</i> (break)	<i>ọ̀bẹ̀rẹ̀</i> (yelp)	yelp
<i>damẹ̀na</i> (wander)	-	wander
<i>yẹ̀ri</i> (yawn)	-	yawning
<i>can</i> (blink)	<i>ayẹ̀n</i> (eye)	blinking
<i>fwẹ̀n</i> (breath)	-	breathing
<i>sẹ̀</i> (?)	<i>ẹ̀tọ̀mẹ̀</i> (sigh/snore)	sigh/snore
<i>da</i> (?)	<i>ucucu</i> (quite)	keep quite

Figure 5-12 List of Behavioural Process Verbs

As earlier alluded to, in a ranged behavioural clause, the construal of the Process as a behaviour is usually realized through the collocation of the Process and the Range. Many verbs (such as *yi*, *ma*, *cen*, and *pen*) realizing the Process in a behavioural clause also function as Processes in a Goal-oriented (material) clause. In other words, the ranged behavioural clause can only be distinguished from the material clause with a Goal, through semantic and not structural criteria. Whereas the behaviour can be probed by *ena é siye a* (what happened) *ena è siye a* (what did s/he do), the response to which will, in this case, involve both process and scope obligatorily, the scope cannot be probed separately. This seems to be one difference with languages like Japanese (Teruya, 1998: 394) and English behavioural clauses, which are almost always non-ranged middle (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 251). Most behavioural clauses (though not all) would be ranged. An example of one behavioural clause that would not be ranged is:

<i>U</i>	<i>ne roro</i>
You	not.anymore think
Behaver	Process/Behaviour
Do not think (brood) anymore/stop brooding.	

Figure 5-13 Non-ranged behavioural clause

This type of behavioural clause is marked by its close resemblance to a mental clause.

A non-conscious entity may sometimes act as Behaver; for example:

<i>Irediyo e tiye eguru</i>
Radio ASP sing song
(A radio is singing ‘song’.)

Figure 5-14 Non-conscious entity as Behaver

Error! Reference source not found. is a systemic modelling of the primary resources of material clauses.

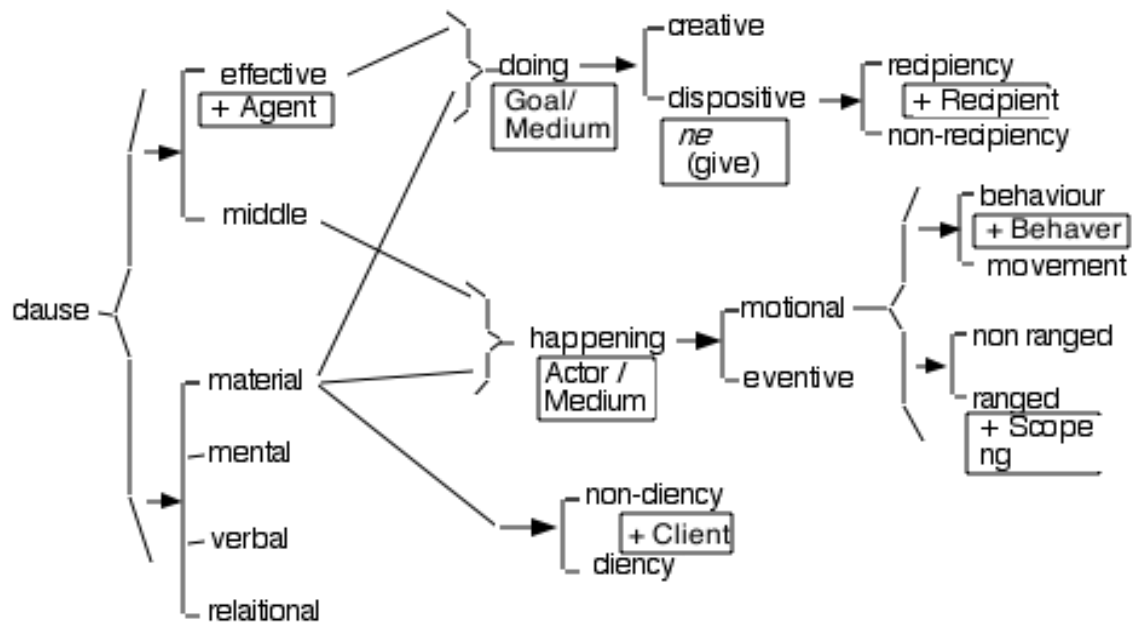


Figure 5-15 Material and behavioural clause system network (adapted from Matthiessen, 1995: 245; and Teruya, 1998: 394)

Table 5-14 below expatiates on and illustrates the Òkó material/behavioural clause system network.

Process description	Realization statement	Example
material & effective: doing: creative	+ Goal: n.gp	<i>b ẹ kẹ wọra adẹ</i> They.ASP brew alcohol (They will be brewing alcohol)
material & effective: doing: dispositive - recipency	+ Recipient: n.gp	<i>Ayi fi ya nẹ igila</i> She roast it give yam (She roast and gave him to the yam)
material & effective: doing: dispositive - non-recipency	+ Goal	<i>E je ijen</i> She eat food (She ate food)
material & effective cliency	+ Client	<i>Bì siye ẹgan a nẹ ka iforo.</i> They do same ASP give also man (They do the same thing for men)
material & effective non-cliency	+ Goal	<i>È é puwa ọọrẹ tabi iyin</i> She ASP wash mealon or locust- bean [FOI: 25.2] (She was washing melon or locust beans)
material & middle: happening motion behaviour	+ Process- oriented n.gp	<i>Ivia abẹ a y'ayọ</i> Maiden the ASP dance dance (The maiden are dancing)
material & middle: happening motion movement	- Goal & - Range	<i>A damẹna a yọ.</i> She wander ASP go (She was wandering away)
material & middle: happening motion non-ranged	+ Location: spatial: motion: n.gp	<i>È é jen erun, He ASP go farm</i> (He goes to the farm)
material & middle: happening motion ranged	+ Scope: n.gp	<i>A kpọ utosi</i> She climb rooftop (She climbed the rooftop)
material & middle: happening eventive	- Goal & - Range	<i>Ogben aye fo</i> Child the die (The child died)

Figure 5-16 Summary of options in the MATERIAL/BEHAVIOURAL system network

In a creative material clause type, the Process brings the Goal into being. The creative Process generally denotes the act of “making”. Verbs functioning as Process in material

creative clauses, are realized by such verbs as *wora* (brew), *ba* (bear child), *coma* (create), *mẹ* (build), *cọ* (form), *wẹ awonma* (make³⁹ ridges), *sọ* (ooze), *pẹn uri* (sweat). This class of verbs, compared to depositive ones, are generally fewer in *Òkó*.

The material dispositive type construes a quantum of change, where a pre-existing Goal is impacted in some way. Verbs serving as Process in the dispositive type include *puwa* (wash), *fiye* (fill up), *tiye* (take), *kuru* (cut), *mẹtẹ* (stick), and *gidina* (demolish).

A middle clause has only one obligatory participant: the Medium through which the process is performed, although it may be ranged (see Section 5.2.2). Some of the middle clauses involve motion, whereas some describe events. The issue of motion in material clauses will be elaborated in the discussion of “serial verb constructions”.

The contrast in the system network of *Òkó* PROCESS TYPE could be analysed much more delicately in a fashion akin to Teruya’s treatment of Japanese and Matthiessen’s (1995a) and (1998b) treatment of English, but I will not do that in this thesis because of space constraints.

5.2.4 The Domain of “saying”

Verbal clauses are in the domain of “saying”, which is the “symbolic exchange of meaning” (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1995a: 305). The main participant in a verbal clause is the Sayer, which typically represents the speaker in a symbolic exchange of meanings (but see below on other symbol sources such as *ipepa* (paper), *ogba* (time/clock), and *iwu* (body)). There may be two other participants, the Receiver and the Verbiage. The Receiver represents the addressee in a symbolic exchange of meaning, as in Table 5-15.

<i>E-</i>	<i>ganẹ</i>	<i>o</i>
I	tell	you
Sayer	Proc	Receiver
I told you		

Figure 5-17 Addressee as Receiver (FOI 113.6)

The Verbiage represents what is said as a speech functional or rhetorical category as in Table 5-16.

³⁹ The best glossing that can be provided for *wẹ* in English is “make”. The word *síyẹ* is the *Òkó* general term for “make”.

<i>I</i>	<i>da ke ga</i>	<i>ęga iukwa ęka</i>
I	do OPR say	word truth own
Sayer Process		Verbiage
I usually say the truth		

Figure 5-18 Participant as Verbiage (EK)

The Verbiage “names” what is said. Alternatively, what is said may be constituted in a separate clause serving as a report (Table 5-17) or a quote (Table 5-18) — a projection of the content of the process of saying (I will return to the difference between these two categories of verbal clauses (quoting and reporting) shortly).

<i>Iya</i>	<i>ka,</i>	ogben	e bwe.
Woman	say,	child	OPR sleep
Sayer	Proc	Actor	Process
Projecting (reporting)		Projected (reported)	
The woman said the child should sleep.			

Figure 5-19 Projection: Report (FOI 63.2 & 3)

(FOI 72.1 & 2)

<i>Aye</i>	<i>iya aye</i>	<i>“Opuu, ęna a ga”</i>
ka	Then woman the say,	“Opuu, what OPR sound?”
Sayer	Proc	Behaver Process
Projecting (quoting)		Projected (quote)
Then the woman asked, “Opuu, what is making that noise?”		

Figure 5-20 Projection: Quote

Underlying both types is the fact that they represent what is said as a locution.

In the examples given so far, the Sayer is realized by a nominal group denoting a person. However, the nominal group may alternatively denote some facet of a person, like the “mind” (see Table 5-19),

(FOI, 19)

<i>Yọ ọkọn ọbẹn da ga-ne</i>	<i>ya ka</i>	<i>“eh-ehn ro igila ya”</i>
Her mind other again say-give	her that	“uh uh ISEP yam be“
Sayer	Process	Receiver
Projecting		Projected
One mind told her that, “Uh uh, no it was the yam.”		

Figure 5-21 Sayer construed as part of a person

In the example above, *ọkọn* (mind) has been ascribed the characteristics of a whole conscious person, and it is quoted as saying something. The contrast is being drawn here may not be immediately obvious due to the case of **metonymy** in the actual text example above. However, there are some clauses where nominal groups denoting phenomena like *ọgba* (time), *ipepa* (news paper) and *iwu* (body) function as the Sayer, for example:

<i>Gana</i>	<i>ọgba</i>	<i>ga</i>
How_many	time	say
Verbiage	Sayer	Process
What does the time say?/what time is it?		

Figure 5-22 Non-human Sayer (i)

<i>Iwu</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ẹga</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>ya.</i>
Body	say	word	ASP	give	him
Sayer	Pro-	Verbiage	-cess	Receiver	
The body was talking to me. (having premonition.)					

Figure 5-23

We have discussed two types of locution, namely reporting and quoting. The contrast between quoting (direct speech) and reporting (indirect speech) is revealed, only in the choice of pronoun in the quote/report, and not in the structural configuration of the clause as in many languages. The first and second persons pronouns are used to refer to the human referents of the direct quoted clause whereas the option, third person pronouns are used to refer to the human referents in a reported clause. For example:

<i>A</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>“Q-lq-o,”</i>	<i>awo</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>din</i> ”
She	ASP	say	“poor-you”	you	ASP	know
				2 ^{SG}		
quoting clause			quoted clause			
She would say, “Poor you, it’s your problem”.						

Figure 5-24

<i>Aye</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>Thenshe</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>“ena</i>	
	<i>we</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>a?”</i>		
“what you		ASP	want	ICP?”	2 ^{SG}	
quoting clause			quoted clause			
Then she said, “what do you want”?						

Figure 5-25

<i>A</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>efena</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gba na,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ayo</i>	<i>ogben a</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ya aye</i>			
She	say	ayewherever	she	ASP	see	DEP	she	ASP	search	her	child	ASP	give	her	her
			3 ^{SG}				3 ^{SG}				3 ^{SG}			3 ^{SG}	
reporting clause		reported clause													
She said, wherever she could, she should go and find her child for her.															

Figure 5-26

<i>Iya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kpọ</i>	<i>utosi</i>
<i>Woman</i>		<i>she</i>	<i>climb</i>	<i>roof.top</i>
		<i>say</i>	3 ^{SG}	
reporting clause			reported clause	
The woman said she should climb the roof top.				

Figure 5-27

However, Ọkọ grammar allows for a hybrid of the two in the same clause complex; for example:

<i>A</i>	<i>ka,</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ogben</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>awo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ayi</i>	<i>fi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>igila</i>	<i>na</i>
She	say,	CHECK	child	[[that	you	say	she	roast	give	yam	DEP]]
Sayer	Process				2 ^{SG}		3 ^{SG}				
reporting clause	reported clause										
The other said, “Isn’t it the baby you told me to roast for the yam?”(FOI/1: 9).											

Figure 5-28 Hybrid of report and quote

The projected clause, which begins with *ama* (the “CHECK” interrogative particle), patterns as a direct quotation from the original speaker. However, some of the elements of the quotation are realised in the indirect forms rather than the direct forms. The form *awo* (you-2^{SG}) is in the EMPHATIC form, which is atypical of the initial position in a direct quoting, where the NON-EMPHATIC *u-* (2^{SG} pronominal clitic) is the preferred option. Similarly, *i-* (1^{SG} NON-EMPHATIC) is a preferred option in a direct speech rather to the *ayi* (she) - 3RD EMPHATIC) used in the same clause.

This combination is probably intended to achieve some interpersonal purposes. The narrator at such points in the narrative process seems to position him/herself as a narrator as well as the voice in the story at the same time. Nevertheless, this characteristic is perfectly in order and since such instances are relatively frequent, we may consider this hybrid form a third type of projection in verbal clauses.

A hypotactic clause complex of projection takes the conjunction *ka* (that) between the reporting and the reported clauses. *Ka* could have a dual function in a verbal clause complex. When there is an overt reporting verb *ga* (say), *ka* functions as a conjunction to link the clauses within the projection clause complex. On the other hand, when there is no overt reporting verb, *ka* functions as a substitute verbal Process rather than as a conjunction. The relationship between *ga* and *ka* may require further investigation. *ka* might originally have been a lexical verb - “say”, but which, in the process of time, has become grammaticalized to function as a conjunction - “that”. It has similar functions both in “idea” and “fact” clauses (see Halliday, 1994).

One feature that distinguishes verbal clauses from mental ones is that the mental clause has an obligatory mental verb followed by *ka* while in a verbal clause, a reporting verb may potentially be realised by *ka* only. A system network of Òkó verbal clauses is presented in Figure 5-3.

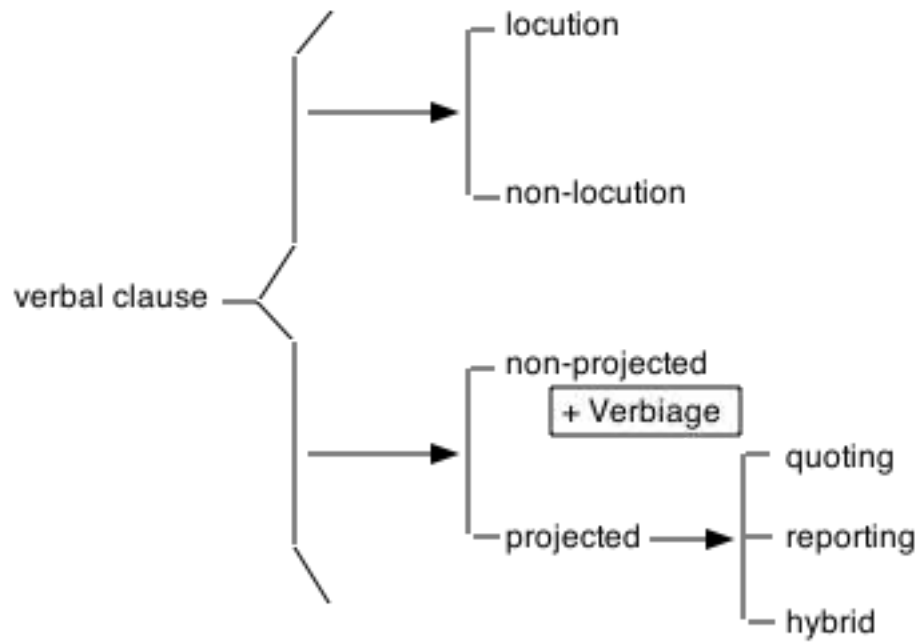


Figure 5-29 Verbal clause system network

From the discussion above, *ka* (say) and its occurrence with or without *ga* (say) is the main item that realises the verbal process. *Kare* (defending “oneself”) is the only close item in function to *ka* but it is very rare to find it in a quoting clause. An example is given in Table 5-28, but before discussing the example, I would like to list some verbs that function as Process in a verbal clause: see Table 5-27.

verb	example
<i>ga</i> (say)	<i>I da ke ga ega iukwa-eka</i> I MAS ASP speak word of-truth
<i>Ayẹ a ka</i> “Ei, je ijen ke a”	Then he say EXCL eat food COMPL ICP
<i>karẹ</i> (state/narrate)	<i>A da karẹ yẹn ya.</i> She ASP narrate show him
<i>gan</i> (greet)	<i>Ogben ayẹ gan ya.</i> Child the greet her
<i>hu</i> (applaud)	<i>[[Enanẹ tayẹ gb'ẹ na]] bi ye hu ka “ei! e- wura!...”</i> [[Those-that first see 3 ^{SG} DEP]] they OPR applaud that “SURP she- arrive!...” Sayer Process
	those that saw her first applauded excitedly “Ay? She’s come. back!...”
<i>guna-</i> (answer)	<i>E- e si e guna- ba -owo,</i> She not even OPR respond-them -mouth Sayer Process- Receiver-Vebiage She would not even give them an answer.
<i>su-</i> (argue)	<i>Alimatu ma mọ e su- ọsakata ka awọ ayẹ ayẹ gba</i> Alimatu with me ASP have- argument that you TTM she see Alimatu was arguing with me that it was you she saw
<i>kpẹrẹ</i> (warn)	<i>Oboro kpẹrẹ, y’oda ka e yina fọ iwu ufolo ne</i> Oboro warn his-younger-one that ASP not_anymore naked go about Oboro cautioned his junior brother/sister not to go about naked anymore

Figure 5-30 Verbs of Verbal Processes

I want to return to the case of verbs such as *karẹ* mentioned earlier. Although they project ideas, their function differs slightly from *ga* as can be demonstrated by reference to the example in Table 5-28.

<i>A karẹ ka ayi me din</i> He argue that he NEG know
Sayer Process Senser Process
He argued that he did not know.

Figure 5-31 Verbs that only project indirect speech

We could not use *I me din* (“I don’t know”), a direct quote, as a replacement for the clause projected by *karẹ* above. Other expressions that seem to project in a similar manner include *su ọsakata* (argue), also listed in Table 5-27 above, and *gan owo* (gossiping about) and *sẹ ece* (conversing). However, these describe one kind of behaviour or another, suggesting that they can be interpreted as serving as the Process in ‘behavioural’ rather than ‘verbal’ clauses. One piece of evidence of this is the fact that they usually do not project direct speech; and secondly, they are made up of a Process and the Range/Behaviour, which is the second element in each phrase. *Yi ọga* (shout) is in between the two types. However, they can project indirect speech.

Finally, in the process of saying, Ọkọ grammar seems to construe what is said, the locution, as a separate entity from the saying (be it a quote or a report). What this implies is that in the projection of a saying where there is an overt conjunction, which is always *ka* (that), the projecting clause terminates with the linking element as suggested in Table 5-29 and Table 5-30.

Ọgbẹrẹ-oboro ọnẹ	ganẹ	yọ	ogben ka,	ayẹ	a	yọ	erun	o
Rival good this	tell	her	child that	she	ASP	go	farm	OBL
reporting (projecting) clause				reported (projected) clause				
This good rival told her child that she was going to the farm.								

Figure 5-32 Clause boundary in projection taken from Text FOI (12.1-2) (i)

The reported clause in Table 5-29 can be reconstructed as a direct quote as in Table 530.

Ọgbẹrẹ oboro ganẹ yọ ogben ka,	“ma- a yọ erun o”
Good rival tell her child that	“I ASP go farm CSP
This good rival told her child, “I am going to the farm”.	

Figure 5-33 Reporting clause reconstructed as a direct quote (ii)

This conclusion is furnished from below — the prosodic features in the phonological stratum. And if such evidence is acceptable, then the boundary between the reporting and the reported clauses in a clause complex will be after the conjunction *ka*, where it functions as a conjunctive. Perhaps this phenomenon is what gives the narrator the room to manipulate how the rest of the report is constructed, either as a full quote, as a mixture of a quote and indirect reporting or as an outright reporting. This will need to be explored further.

My analysis of the projecting verbal clauses so far is tentative rather than conclusive and it requires more time than I can give it in the context of this study, because one of the greatest challenges to me in the analysis of the mental and verbal clauses is how to deal with the item, *ka*. It can apply to any verbal or mental process; it can also be used on its own, or in conjunction with another verbal process which in itself cannot project, such as *ga(ne)* ‘tell’. One very strong possibility is to regard *ka* as having a projecting grammatical function in which case all its instances would be given such a semantic characterization: “PRJ” rather than the way it is presently glossed (either as “say” or “that”). However, in certain uses this item, which may otherwise be regarded as a particle, seems to have a conjunctive function, being part of the projecting clause. In such cases, I have analysed it as such; however, more research is needed to determine the precise role/s of this item.

5.2.5 The Domain of Sensing

Mental clauses construe the various sub-domains of “sensing”. This grammar construes the world inside us as experienced through our senses. The sub-domain of thinking is construed through mental clauses of cognition; the sub-domain of feeling is construed through mental clauses of emotion; the sub-domains of seeing and hearing are construed through mental clauses of perception; and the sub-domain of wanting is construed through mental clauses of desideration (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Figure 5-4 shows the general categories of mental Processes.

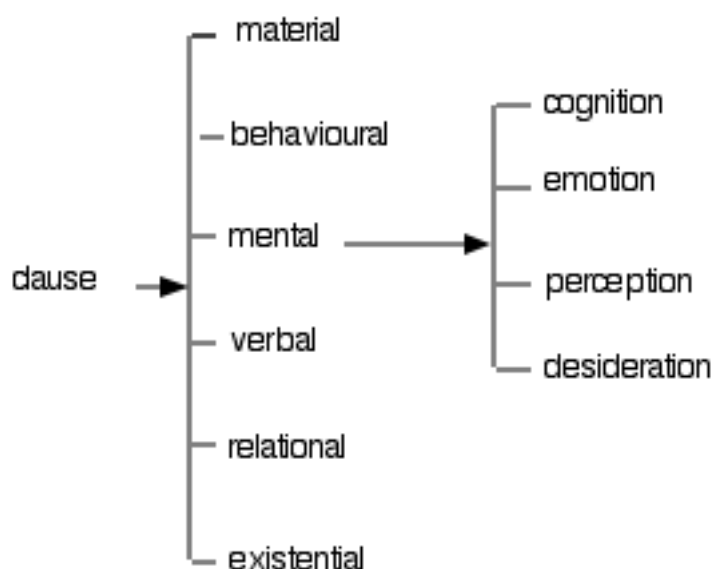


Figure 5-34 Mental Process types

In the domain of sensing, there is usually a participant who senses — the Senser, which is usually construed as a “conscious” being (Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995a; Teruya, 1998). Human beings and animals generally fit into this description. However, just as observed for verbal clauses, some non-biological things like the computers and objects in a fairy tale as in the case of *akoto* (see FOI 88 & 146) can be ascribed the role of a Senser as in example Table 5-31 below.

<i>Ebi aye</i>	<i>a ma gba</i>	<i>ore way</i>	<i>cun</i>
Water the	ASP NEG see		pass
Senser	Pro-	Phenomenon	-cess
The water did not see a channel to flow through.			

Figure 5-35 Non-human “Senser”

The effect of the sensing can be limited to the conscious Senser alone, in which case there is no second participant construed in the sensing. This is the issue of PHENOMENALITY (Matthiessen 1995) and such a clause is non-phenomenal. This is a common feature of cognitive mental clauses, as in Table 5-32.

<i>Awo</i>	<i>e din</i>
You	OPR know
Senser	Process
You are the one that knows.	

Figure 5-36 (FOI 43.5) Non-phenomenal mental clause

The Senser is the one through whom the sensing process is brought into being. In ergative terms, the Senser is the Medium. In most cases, there would be the Phenomenon sensed, as in the example in Table 5-33,

<i>Ogben eekporo</i>	<i>bethey</i>	<i>gba.</i>
Child corpse		see
Phenomenon	Senser	Process
It was the corpse of the baby they saw.		

Figure 5-37 (FOI 35.2) Phenomenal mental clause

The Phenomenon can take different forms. The Phenomenon can be construed as a simple nominal group as in the example above or it can be a “macro thing” (Halliday, 1994);

Teruya, 1998: 168). This is the instance when the nominal group realising the phenomenon is realized by an embedded clause, for example:

[[<i>Ayẹn ọwan oro</i>]] [[Eye that-kills person]]	dake sẹdo hold	mọ iwumy body
annoy me		
Phenomenon: macro	Process	Senser
Snubbing somebody annoys me.		

Figure 5-38

The Phenomenon may also be realised by a nominalised clause - metaphenomenon (Halliday, 1994:249). Most metaphenomena in *Òkó* construe abstract entities for example:

<i>Wa-</i> You-	<i>a gba</i> ASP see	<i>ako nẹda oogbe siye jen e ce aron ca,... na</i> [[how your-father child do go OPR carry wealth come... DEP]]
Senser	Process	Phenomenon: meta
Can't you see how your sister went somewhere and came back with wealth? (FOI: 111.2).		

Figure 5-39

<i>Ka oro a kẹ ga oro ọbẹn ẹga urun, amẹ I me ni ya</i> [[That person ASP be speak person other issue back,]] I I NEG like it
--

Figure 5-40

A more complex situation is when the mental clause projects a different clause entirely, either as an act, in which case it is a macro-phenomenon; or as a fact or idea, in which case it is a meta-phenomenon (see Matthiessen, 1995a: 258).

<i>Wiya gba</i> Her.mother see	<i>ka a- a ca,</i> that she- OPR come		
Senser	Process	Actor	Process
mental (projecting) clause		(projected clause as a) meta-phenomenon	
The mother saw that she was returning.			

Figure 5-41

There are two different ways by which the Senser may experience the sensing. The first is to initiate the sensing such as in *din, roro, gba, ni* and these are middle processes. The other is

a situation where the sensing is rather induced by an external Agent, e.g. *barę, ayęn sę mę. ręn-ętęn* and *numa* in an effective process. These two ways through which the sensing is realised can best be distinguished by looking at how the mental clause organises itself thematically. Compare the two clauses Table 5-38 and 5-39:

(a)	<i>E</i>	<i>yęn</i>
	<i>I</i>	remember
	Senser	Process
Theme		
I remember		

Figure 5-42 Non-phenomenal mental clause

(b)	<i>E</i>	<i>yęnremem</i>	<i>ęran</i>
	<i>I</i>	ber	yesterday
	Senser	Process	Phenomenon
I remember yesterday.			

Figure 5-43 Phenomenalised mental clause

(c)	<i>E</i>	<i>yęn</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>usiye</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ęji</i>
	<i>I</i>	remember	that	tomorrow	ASP	be	market
	Senser	Process					
Theme							
α			‘ β : idea				
I remember that tomorrow is the market day.							

Figure 5-44 Projecting mental clause

The verb *yęn* belongs in the group that realises a thematized Senser, as evident in both the non-phenomenal mental clause (Table 5-38) and phenomenal (Table 5-39) above. The Senser is also thematized even when it projects an idea (meta-phenomenon) as in Table 5-40 above. This group, in which phenomenalization is optional, differs from the next one represented by *ye* Table 5-41 - Table 5-42), where phenomenalization is obligatory. In this latter group, the Phenomenon is thematized, whether it is a simple phenomenon as in (Table 5-41) or a macro-phenomenon as in (Table 5-42).

(d) <i>E</i> It	<i>ye</i> understand	<i>mu</i> me
Phenomenon	Process	Senser
Theme		
I understand.		

Figure 5-45 Mental clause with simple Phenomenon thematized

(e) <i>Èsẹ̀ nẹ̀ be siye ọgba fẹyan na</i> [[Gift that they do time all DEP]]	<i>jin</i> open	<i>mu owo fuwa</i> my mouth wide
	surprises	me
Phenomenon	Process	Senser
Theme		
The generosity they always show surprises me.		

Figure 5-46 Mental clause with macro-phenomenon thematized

However, there is a mental verb (*luwe* as in *luwe ayen*), the function of which can either thematize the Senser or the Phenomenon, for example:

(f) <i>U-</i> You	<i>luwe</i> forget	<i>ayen</i> eye	(g) <i>ayen</i> eye	<i>luwe</i> forget	<i>u</i> you
Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Phenomenon	Process	Senser
Theme			Theme		
You forgot.					

Figure 5-47 Mental clause (Senser as Theme)

This is similar to the phenomenon of directionality of English mental clauses, the major difference being in their lexical realisation. While there is variation in the lexical realisation of the English bi-directional mental clauses, the same lexical choices are involved in those of Òkó; only the positions of the constituents are reversed.

Clause (f) in Table 5-43 is however constrained in its context of occurrence as well as in its ability to project a fact unlike Clause (g) in the same table. Thus only the latter can be expanded further as in Table 5-44.

(h) <i>Ayẹn luwe u</i>			<i>ka amọṅe ba a kọ uce ne</i>
Eye forget you			[[that today they ASP pack load DEP]] -
Pheno-	Process	Senser	-menon
Theme			
You forgot that they are packing their load today			

Figure 5-48 Mental clause (Phenomenon as Theme)

The ambivalence of Clause (g) in Table 5-43 is not limited to its comparison with Clause (f) only, Clause (h) in Table 5-44 could be taken for a pre-projection or a “fact clause”. As a fact clause, it can be paraphrased as follows:

ayẹn [[ka amọṅe ba a kọ uce ne]] luwe u.

The number of mental verbs that have the same characteristics as *luwe* needs to be explored further.

The realization of the sensing could be marked by the lexical choices which represent the Senser either as the whole body, *iwu*, or as part of the body (often one of the senses) like *ayẹn* (eye) or *ọṭon* (ear), *ibe* (stomach), *ẹyẹ* (liver). This is a strategy through which Ọkọ restricts the Senser to a conscious being (just as Matthiessen, 2004a: 591 has observed for many languages, especially of African origin). A common configuration of a metaphorized mental clause is a verbal phrase (or phrasal verb) rather than a verbal group. The verbal phrase is usually made up of a verbal group, a nominal group and an optional Spatial Location (vg + ng₁ ± ng₂). The verbal group realises the Sensing, the nominal group realizes the Process of sensing while the location realizes the part of the Senser, that is assumed to be affected by the sensing, as in Table 5-45:

<i>dakẹ sedo</i> hold	<i>mọme</i>	<i>iwu</i> body
vg	ng ₁	ng ₂
annoy	me	

Figure 5-49 Emotive sensing with ng₁ & ng₂

Metaphorization affects cognitive and emotive clauses, mainly. Another characteristic of this category is their inclination to be configured with pre-projected facts. The table below contains categories of mental verbs with examples. Verbs in emotive clauses are in bold.

	Cognitive	Emotive	Perceptive	Desiderative
Non-metaphorized Mental Processes	<i>din</i> (know) <i>ye</i> (understand) <i>yen</i> (remember) <i>roro</i> (think) <i>nawo</i> (believe) <i>kpeli</i> (recognize)	<i>a bere mo iwu</i> (suits) <i>ta X orore</i> (scare) <i>jin X owo fuwa</i> (surprise) <i>goli</i> (hate) <i>ni X ega</i> (like) <i>X a na umi</i> (nervous)	<i>numa</i> (pain) <i>gba</i> (see) <i>wọ</i> (hear) <i>re</i> (hurt)	<i>ni</i> (want) <i>bare</i> (long for)
Metaphorized Mental Processes	<i>fe -X ayen</i> (confused puzzle) <i>da ayen su</i> (contemplate) <i>e gben -X ayen</i> (presume) <i>ayen se mo</i> (suppose) <i>luwe</i> (forget) <i>u ka</i> (do you think/say) <i>gon Y ayen</i> (concentrate)	<i>ron-X otan</i> (please), <i>se -X iwu</i> (anger) <i>eyi</i> <i>- son -X</i> (pity) <i>kan (-X) iwu</i> (angry) <i>son orore</i> (afraid)		

Figure 5-50

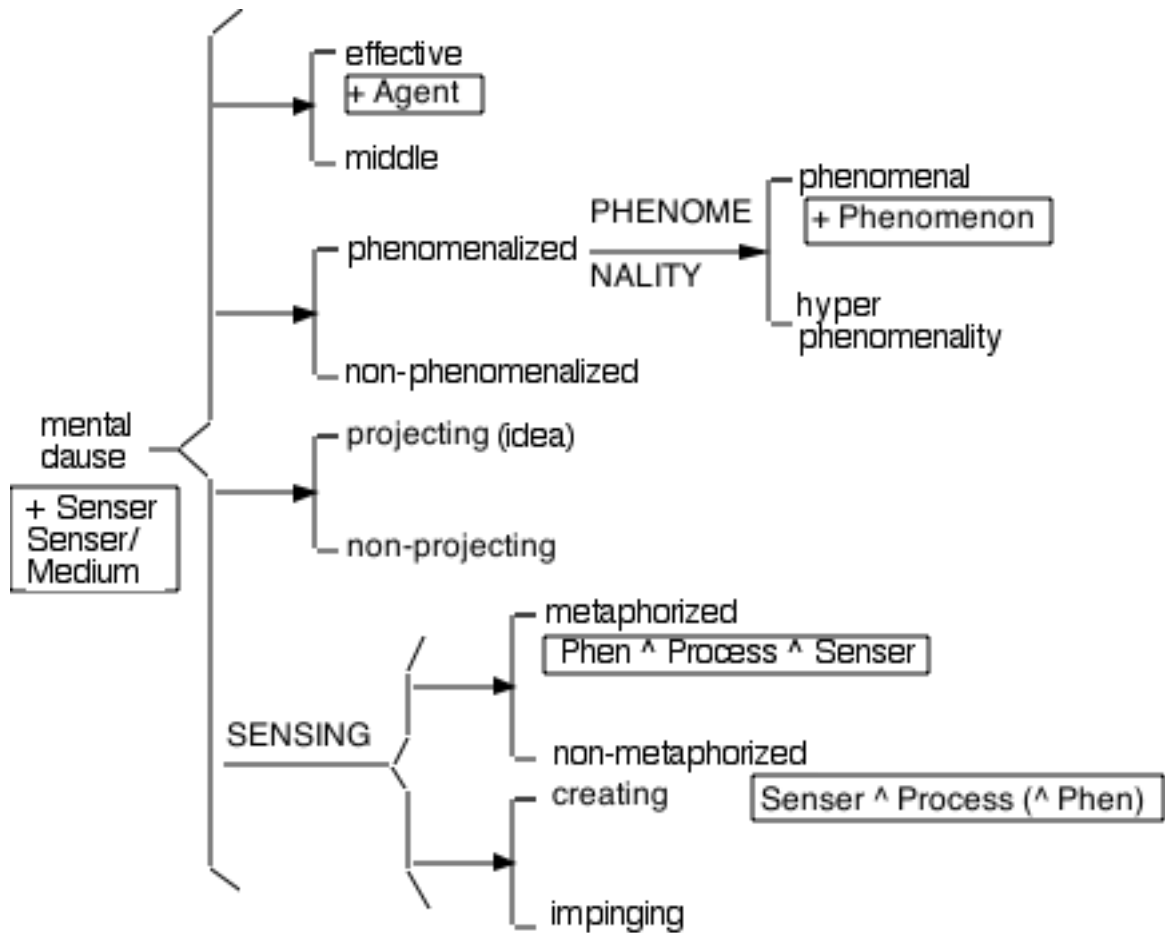


Figure 5-51 System of Òkó MENTAL TRANSITIVITY

The system network in Figure 5-5 represents the meaning potential in the domain of sensing realized through the various mental clauses in Òkó. A mental clause serves as the entry condition to the system and this initiates a range of choices, namely those of AGENCY (middle or effective), PHENOMENALIZATION (\pm phenomenon), PROJECTION (\pm projection) and SENSING which itself opens up two sub-systems of METAPHORIZATION and MANNER OF SENSING. This suggests that the language has rich lexicogrammatical resources for construing the world of consciousness. For example, the manner in which the sensing is brought about is important. It can be created by the conscious participant - the Senser; or it can be brought about by an external factor impinging the sensing on the Senser. Similarly, the grammar of Òkó allows the sensing to be represented metaphorically, for example *e gben mu ayen* (I presume), which would literally translate as “it done on my eye”. Alternatively, the sensing may be expressed in simple non-metaphorical way.

The degree of metaphorization in Òkó mental clauses constitutes a cline depending on semantic correlation between the physical act of sensing and the lexicogrammatical resources used to construe the act. At one end of the cline are expressions like the following:

<i>eyi</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>mọ</i>
Pity	SON	me
I pity... or I regret.		

Figure 5-52

There is some close relation between the emotive noun *eyi* + SON which is the process of sensing the emotion by the Senser *mọ*. At the other end of the cline are such examples as *u ka*, which is literally “you say” — a verbal clause that can be translated as “do you think”, used to construe cognition. This is to be distinguished from the same expression, which in a verbal process means “do you suggest”. In the mental clause environment, it can only appear in the interrogative, functioning as a metaphor for modality (Matthiessen 1995a: 226-227).

Table 5-48 summarizes the various mental clause types discussed in this chapter, giving their characteristics, realization statement and example for each of the mental types identified.

Mental Clause Type	Properties	Text Example	Descriptive Statement
non-phenomenal		<i>Ba- ka wọ</i> They ASP hear (They will hear.)	Senser ^ Process
phenomenal	Phenomenon	<i>bẹ- kẹ yọre ayẹn gba ogben</i> they MAS stretch eye see child (as soon as they saw her)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon
	thematized Senser	<i>Ogben aye kpeli wẹda</i> Child the recognised his-father (The child recognised his father.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon
	thematized Phenomenon	<i>Wọ ega ye mu</i> Your word understand me (I understand your statement.)	Phenomenon ^ Process ^ Senser
participants	conscious Senser	<i>Ti- roro nọ^{PL} ega</i> <u>We</u> think your word (We thought about you.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon

hyper-phenomenal: macrophenomenal	Phenomenon is an abstract act	<u>Ka oro a fo osuda ki</u> That person ASP take elder ASP <u>Siye</u> <u>osi, dika aye a se</u> Do fun MAS it ASP hold <u>mo iwu</u> me body (The act of behaving discourteously to an elderly person makes me angry.)	Phenomenon ^ Process ^ Senser
hyper-phenomenal: metaphenomenal (fact)	Phenomenon is a fact	<u>Iwu e me sisi kan ya</u> Body ASP NEG MAS hurt 3 ^{SG} <u>ka</u> <u>aye a ma gba efa</u> [[that s/he ASP NEG see place <u>ma</u> sit]] (He was not even annoyed that he could not get a sit.)	Phenomenon ^ Process ^ Senser
hyper-phenomenal	projected 'β	<u>Bi ki din ka a cen_osa</u> Tey MAS know that he cut <u>osa</u> <u>ke</u> COMPL (They are aware that he has passed through the "osa" rites.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon
projecting		<u>U roro ka neda su ya?</u> You think that your_father has it (Did you think that your father had it?)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon
sensing	non- metaphorised	<u>Ogben e ke pkeli</u> Child ASP MAS recognize <u>wiya</u> Her_mother (The child will recognise her mother.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon
	metaphorised	<u>Ayen se mo //ka I be ni</u> eye hold me that PHP they want <u>//ka bi to ya uboo</u> that they meet him/her home (I presume they wished to meet him at home.)	+ projecting mental clause (Phen ^ Proc ^ Senser) as metaphor
cognitive		<u>E yen deen</u> Iremember ID (I remember faintly.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Manner
emotive		<u>Ega aye se ba iwu</u> Matter the hold them body (The matter angered them.)	Phenomenon ^ Process ^ Senser

perceptive		<i>U dakẹ wọ //ka bi deki</i> You ASP hear that they ASP <i>tiye eguru aye.</i> sing song the (You often hear them singing the song.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon (projecting)
desiderative		<i>I be ni //ka bi to</i> PHP they want that they meet <i>ya uboo</i> him/ her home (They wanted to meet him at home.)	Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon (projecting)
DIRECTIONALITY	bi-directional	<i>Iwu a kan mọ:</i> Body ASP hurt me <i>Ma- a kan iwu</i> I ASP hurt body (I'm angry.)	

Figure 5-53 Summary of mental clauses characteristics

5.2.5.1 Cognitive Type

Òkó cognitive mental clauses are those used to construe the process of knowing, thinking, believing, recognizing, remembering etc. as previously mentioned, we can categorize these into two main types namely (i) simple act of cognition and (ii) complex or incomplete process of cognition. The ones I regard as simple ones, earlier recognized as non-metaphorical cognition (see table Table 5-49), are usually monosyllabic or di-syllabic and construe acts of cognitive sensing. They are also distinguished in the sense that the Senser syntactically relates to the Process directly, preceding and modally responsible for it. Besides the Senser also unambiguously semantically relates to the sensing. On the other hand, the relationship between the sensing and the Senser are only metaphorically meaningful in the complex ones where they seem to merely extend the meaning of the simple cognitive processes as illustrated in Table 5-49.

Simple Cognitive Processes	Complex Cognitive Process	
	Example	Meaning Extension
<i>din</i> (know) <i>ye</i> (understand) <i>yen</i> (remember)	<i>fe mu ayen</i> full me eye (confused puzzle)	= no proper understanding
<i>roro</i> (think)	<i>da ayen su</i> (?) eye keep (contemplate)	no prior thinking / not-envisaged
<i>nawo</i> (believe)	<i>e gben mu ayen</i> it resemble me eye (presume)	= no clear belief
<i>kpeli</i> (recognize)	<i>ayen se mo</i> eye hold me (suppose)	= not clearly remembering

Figure 5-54 Simple and complex cognitive processes

The issue of complexity in the projecting cognitive mental clauses is both syntactic and semantic. The simple ones (except *ye*) involve only one obligatory participant — the Senser, whereas the complex ones involve two obligatory participants — the Senser and the Phenomenon. The example in Table 5-50, with one participant (Senser), contrasts with that in Table 5-51 with two (Senser and Phenomenon).

<i>E</i>	<i>nawo</i>	<i>ka oguba gbogba e ni yo</i>
I	believe	that help only she seek go
Senser	Process	(projection: idea)
I believe she only went to seek help.		

Figure 5-55

<i>Ayen</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ka abe e mi yin ije obuba</i>
Eye	hold	me	that they ASP then buy land remaining
Phenomenon	Process	Senser	(projection: idea)
I suppose that they bought the rest of the land			

Figure 5-56 Projecting cognitive mental clause reflecting two participants (Senser & Phenomenon)

The configuration of the simple ones may include both pre-projected facts or idea functioning as Phenomenon, whereas the complex ones seem to be configured with pre-projected facts only as Phenomenon.

Whether simple or complex, the clauses that result from either type of projection are characteristically introduced by the conjunction *ka*, sometimes making it somewhat difficult to draw a clear line between a projected idea and pre-projected fact. These projected phenomena, whether by simple or complex cognitive mental processes, are usually abstract.

Basic cognitive process types in Òkó are exemplified in Table 552.

Basic Cognitive Process Types	Range of Meanings
<i>din</i>	know, aware
<i>yen</i>	remember, recall
<i>roro</i>	think, mediate, consider, contemplate, guess, suppose, conclude, envisage, care, imagine
<i>ye</i>	understand, comprehend
<i>nawo</i>	believe, suppose, think

Figure 5-57 Semantic extension of basic cognitive types

However, some perceptive types may also realise cognitive processes by semantic extension; e.g.

Perceptive Process	Perceptive Sensing	Cognitive Connotation
<i>gba</i>	see	realise, notice, understand, discover, deduce, recognise
<i>wọ</i>	hear	understand

Figure 5-58

Such overlaps are not uncommon in experiential grammar. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 210) observe, “different types of sensing shade into one another”.

5.2.5.2 The Emotive type

Emotive mental clauses construe feeling or mental reaction to some stimulus. The grammar of Òkó construes the emotions as either pleasant or unpleasant. The stimuli sensed are construed by the grammar as involuntarily experiences and this reflects on the expression

that “some phenomenon motivates a sensing” as in the following examples in Table 5-54. I have used X to represent the Senser and Y for the Phenomenon where constructed examples are involved.

Phenomenon	Process	Senser	Senser’s Sense (Location)	Translation
A It	sẹhold	X X	<i>iwu</i> body	“It angers X” (X is angry)
E It	<i>kpina</i> shake	X X	<i>iwu</i> body	“It shakes X” (It worries X)
E It	<i>sula</i> tire	X X		“It exhausts X” (X is tired of/fed up with)
A It	bẹrẹ suit	mọmy	<i>iwu</i> body	“It suits X’s body” (It pleases X)
A (+ conscious) It	<i>ta</i> strike	X X	orọrẹfear	“It scares X” (I’m scared)
A It	<i>jin</i> open	X X	<i>owo (fuwa)</i> mouth (away)	“It opens X’s mouth wide” (it surprises X/ X is surprised)
A It	rọn sweet	X X	ọtọnear	“It sweetens X’s ear” (it pleases X/ X enjoys)
Eyi (- conscious) pity	sọn SON	X X		“Pity SON X” (X pities /X regrets)
A It	kan hurt	X X	<i>iwu</i> body	“It hurts my body” (it angers me/I’m annoyed)
OrọrẹFear	sọnSON	X X		“Fear SON X” (X fears/dreads)
E It	<i>be</i> spoils	X X	<i>ibe (fuwa)</i> stomach (off)	“It spoils X’s stomach” X is displeased/saddened

Figure 5-59 Examples of verbs serving in emotive clauses

There are not many verbs that can be termed as independent emotive verbs. Emotions of feeling and reaction are in most instances construed by material verbs such as *jin* (open), *ta* (strike), *kan* (hurt), *kpina* (shake), *se* (hold) in a material-like construction (Actor + Process + Goal ± Location). In other words, emotive sensing is mostly expressed metaphorically.

One exception to the patterns above is exemplified below.

E She	<i>ni</i> want	yo ogben egaher child matter	“She loves her child’s matter” (She like/loves her child).
Senser	Process	Phenomenon	

Figure 5-60 Senser emotive clause

There are few instances of emotive mental process where the Senser is construed as directly taking part in the process of sensing; for example:

(Senser) *Wiya* (Process) *a na* (Phenomenon) *umi* (her mother was worried)

The process, *na* complemented by *umi* (that realizes the emotion “worry”), can occur with pre-projected fact such as *ka ayọ ogben e e ke di ma oforo uuboo* (that her daughter would not be able to stay in the husband’s home)⁴⁰.

Ni also functions as a desiderative process and its semantic function as an emotive verb seems to be related to the former. However, it differs grammatically when it functions as a desiderative type because, unlike in its emotive function, it is able to project another clause, as in Table 5-56.

<i>Ogben ayẹ e ni</i>	<i>ka ayi bwe keyẹ iya ayẹ</i>
Child the ASP want	that she sleep near woman the
desiderative clause	projection
The child wanted to sleep near the woman.	

Figure 5-61 "ni" in a desiderative clause projecting idea

Ni in its emotive function takes a Phenomenon (to whom the emotion is targeted at rather than the Senser); therefore, it does not project in an emotive clause. The “*ni*” mental Process can be theorized basically as a desire, and only becomes emotive when the desire involves affection for the phenomenon.

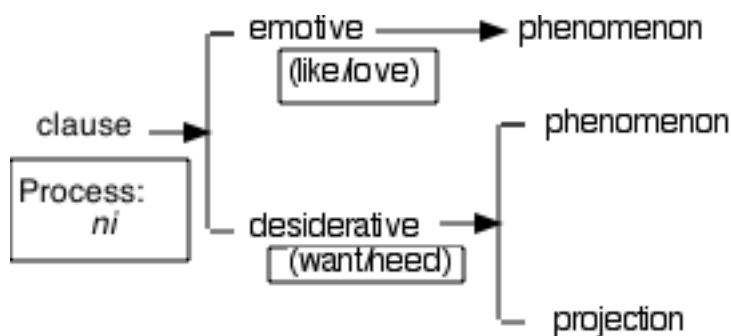


Figure 5-62 The “ni” mental Process

This represents a view “from below”, as it were: the item /*ni*/ has two senses, and two different locations in the lexicogrammar of sensing. An alternative way of interpreting Figure

⁴⁰ “*Na*”, (like *son*) is in the class of a few Verbal Phrase Particles (VPP) which usually co-occur with a noun to construe verbal meaning. Some VPP may be glossed with lexical verbal meaning but which, in the context of VPP, will not make sense.

5-6 is that, a mental clause either emotive or desiderative Process could be realized as *ni*; but if the clause is an emotive one, there is only one possibility, and that is that it has second participant which is a Phenomenon; on the other hand, if it is a desiderative clause, it can have a second participant (Phenomenon) or it can project another clause.

One typical sensing process in the emotive category is *goli* (hate) as in the example below.

<i>Ọgbẹrẹ odudu</i> Rival bad	<i>goli</i> hate	<i>ọgbẹrẹ oboro</i> rival good
Senser	Process	Phenomenon
The bad wife hates the good one.		

Figure 5-63

Goli can project an idea but only when it does not take a Phenomenon. It is not normally used with speaker or speaker-plus (1^{SG or PL}) as the Senser.

There are other types of emotive sensing that are construed lexicogrammatically as material clauses but which are semantically mental; for example:

X	<i>Fọ</i>	<i>ayen</i>	<i>yere</i>	Y
X	carry	eye	place-upon	Y
Actor	Pro-	Goal	-cess	Place
Senser	Process (phrasal)			
“place eye upon” (X trusts Y)				

Figure 5-64

It is not a single element but the whole phrase that construes the emotive sensing. I want to point out again that the criteria I have used to define the above and others as mental clauses include the obligatory conscious participant as well as the ability to project another clause (Halliday, 1994: 114).

Some emotive process types have the characteristic of reversibility.

Example i.	Reversed version (a) ii.	Reversed version (b) iii.
1. <i>E- sòn orọrẹ</i> I SON fear Senser Proc Phen	<i>Orọrẹ sòn mọFear</i> SON me Phen Proc Senser	<i>Y sòn mọ orọrẹ</i> Y SON me fear Phen Proc Senser
I feared/was afraid.		
2. <i>E- kan iwu</i> I hurt body Senser Proc Phen	<i>Iwu kan mọ</i> Body hurt me Phen Proc Senser	<i>Y kan mọ iwu</i> Y hurt me body Phen Proc Senser Loc
I was angry		
3. <i>E- be ibe fuwa</i> He spoil inside off Senser Pro- Loc cess	<i>Yọ ibe be fuwa</i> His inside spoil off Location Process	<i>E be ya ibe fuwa</i> It spoil him stomach off Phen Pro- Sens Loc -cess
He is displeased.		

Figure 5-65 Emotive types showing reversibility characteristics

Since the Senser functions as the Subject in each clause in column (i) of Table 5-59, it is modally responsible for the sensing process in each of the clauses. The Senser and it sometimes initiates the emotive process. On the other hand, the Phenomenon is the initiator of the emotion in each of the clauses in column (ii) even though it may be the emotion itself (as in ii-1), in which case it seems to impose itself on the Senser's senses (as in ii-2 & 3), engendering reaction to some stimulus. Although the Phenomenon is a part in the body of the Senser in each of the Clauses 2 and 3 in column ii, *Òkó* grammar construes it as if it acts independently of the latter and subject it to a kind of Goal. Example (iii) construes the emotive process as if some external Phenomenon is acting as Agent. The human faculty in the Senser where the sensing process unfolds is construed as a Location. (i) of Table 5-59 is a lexicogrammatical agnate of a behavioural clause, (ii) and (iii) are grammatical agnates of material clauses. This account of the models in *Òkó* for construing the experience of emotion demonstrates what Halliday's (1998) earlier observed about how emotions are expressed. Generally, in his observation, emotion is like pain: it is a complex kind of experience to construe, so grammars of languages provide a range of models for construing emotion (as well as for enacting it interpersonally).

Very similar patterns of the grammar of emotion as discussed for *Òkó* above have been found in other languages. For example, Matthiessen (2004: 601-605) in his work on Akan (a language of the same Niger-Congo family as *Òkó*), found this as one area of the grammar of transitivity with ergative patterning. Also observed is the construal of body parts as Senser. In

exploring the characteristics of emotion, Matthiessen (1998a) observes that the processing of emotion in the grammar cuts across process types, just as the angles of its manifestation are cross-metafunctional. The construal and expression of this mental processing of experience is explained thus:

*They are **construed** as an aspect of our experience of processes of consciousness, either by means of an emotive mental clause or by means of an emotive relational clause. However, on the other hand, feelings are also **enacted** as part of the ongoing exchange of meanings: most generally, they are enacted by the speaker either as positive assessments ... or as negative ones... These two different manifestation of emotion represent two complementary metafunctional angles on them: emotions are construed denotatively within the ideational metafunction and they are enacted connotatively within the interpersonal metafunction (Matthiessen, 1998a: 335) - emphasis, his.*

Example (3) of Table 5-59 represents an extreme case of the grammatical metaphor in this category of mental clauses. The configuration is entirely that of material clause. No constituent can be identified as the Sensor (*e* being an Actor), Phenomenon (*ibe* being a Goal), or mental Process (*be fuwa* being a material Process). However, they all add up semantically as an emotive sensing (“sad”, “displease”, “depressed”, “disappointed”, etc). In a way this establishes the fact that the TRANSITIVITY of emotional sensing — as a matter of fact, of any process type — is a function of the grammar of the clause rank. In other words, the interpretation of a clause in terms of TRANSITIVITY goes beyond the category of verbs that realizes the Process. I also observe that it is unusual for clauses in column (iii) of Table 5-59 to project, perhaps because it already has an external Causer (Phenomenon) of the emotion but of course this is a general characteristic of emotive processes (see Matthiessen, 1995a: 266).

5.2.5.3 Perceptive Type

Perceptive clauses construe our experience of perceiving the world through the senses of sight, hearing, touch, feeling, and taste (see Teruya, 1998: 261). Perceptive sensing in Ọ̀kọ̀ is construed by a relatively small number of mental verbs as in the tabulated examples below.

Sense	Verb of Perception	Clause Examples			
		Senser	Process	Phenomenon	
sight	<i>gba</i> (see)	<i>Ofe</i>	<i>a a gba</i>	<i>mọme</i>	Ofe doesn't see me
		Ofe	ASP NEG see		
hearing	<i>wọ</i> (hear)	<i>ta-</i> we	<i>a wọ</i> ASP hear	<i>nọ iwuru</i> your name	We hear your name
taste	<i>tọre</i> (taste)	<i>a</i> he	<i>tọre</i> <i>taste</i>	<i>oya</i> suffering	He tasted suffering

Figure 5-66 Mental clauses of perception

Strictly speaking, there are only three verbs (so far observed) in *Òkó* that realise perceptive types in a categorical manner, bearing in mind the criteria for defining mental types, namely the presence of a conscious Senser and the predisposition to projection. These are *gba*, *wọ* and *tore* as illustrated in Table 5-60 above. *Òkó* construes any phenomenon that impinges on the sense of smell as a behaviour or happening, with the phenomenon itself modally responsible for the happening. The Senser is only introduced to the process as a circumstance. Thus even the mere olfactory consciousness which English would construe as (Senser) *I* (Process) *smell* (Phenomenon) *iodine* will be construed in *Òkó* as follows:

<i>Iodine</i>	<i>yẹn</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>mu</i>
Iodine	smell	ASP	cover	me
Phenomenon	Process		“Senser”	
Iodine smells towards me/ I smell iodine.				

Figure 5-67

A critical analysis of the above would more appropriately construe *iodine* as Medium / Phenomenon (construed as being active) and *e ri mu* as a spatial Location rather than Senser. This position is further strengthened by *e ri* which looks like a direction marker. The pair of quotation marks is to deliberately mark out the “Senser” because it comes into the clause rather as an optional element. Whether there is a Senser or not, the “Phenomenon” causes the unfolding of the process. The relationship between the Phenomenon and the Process is constant in this context. There is no direct relation between the Senser and the Process as in other perceptive types or other mental clauses. Besides, the clause cannot project an idea or be configured with a fact as Phenomenon.

An alternative realisation of the sense of smell is to construe it in terms of hearing. Thus Òkó would construct the idea as “I can hear a smell”. We observe that the sense itself has been reified as a thing rather than a process: the smelling process has been “thingified” (Martin, 1993) while its actualization has been construed as a hearing (auditory) process.

A similar argument applies to the construal of tactile sensing, which is often realised as an emotive or cognitive process; for example:

<i>Onini ayi</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>oyiri ayẹ</i>
Cane the	pain	thief the
Phenomenon	Process	Senser
The thief felt the pain of the cane.		

Figure 5-68

From the point of view of grammar, the tactile process type patterns differently from those of other perceptive mental clauses previously discussed. Unlike the visual, auditory and gustatory peceptive processes, which are organised as Senser ^ Process ^ Phenomenon, the one above reverses the positions of the two participants. While it is possible to reverse the position of the former, the positions of the participants in the clause above are fixed. A clause with a mental verb that can generalize feeling is the one below, but it is liable to multiple interpretations, namely feeling, reaction and more possibly, cognition, as deducible from the glossing.

<i>E</i>	<i>kpeli</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>iwu</i>
He	recognised	it	(in his) body
Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Place
He felt it/recognised the feeling in his body			

Figure 5-69

Both the tactile and olfactory sub-types share similar grammatical properties namely the thematization of the phenomenon as well as fixed positions of constituents. Similarly, neither of the two can project an idea or a fact. These conditions rule out the example above as one of tactile sub-type of mental clauses.

The Senser in the clause of olfactory perception is optional, whereas that in the tactile perception is obligatory. Besides, while the perceptive clause of the olfactory type is a

grammatical agnate of a material middle clause, the clause of the tactile type is like the reversed version (b) type of emotive clauses (see Table 5-59 above).

The perceptive types with a pre-projection provide an environment for further choices in what they construe between material and abstract reality; either constructed as an embedded clause serving as a qualifier in a nominal group, or a pre-projected (fact) clause. Material reality is a physical and concrete phenomenon as in Table 5-64.

		Senser + perceptive Process	Phenomenon (embedded /pre-projected clause)
Literal Perception	visual	<i>Tẹ gba</i> We see	<i>[[enanẹ e je [[those-that ASP celebrate ikpen imu na]] masquerade festival DEP]]</i>
		We saw those who were celebrating masquerade festival.	
	auditory	<i>U di a kẹ wo</i> You may ASP be hear	<i>ka bi deki tiye eguru ayẹ</i> that they ASP sing song the
		You may be hearing that they sing the song.	
Gustatory	<i>Yọ oforo a-da tọrẹ obu [[ne wo owun na]]</i> His husband ASP-do taste salt [[that be stew DEP]]		
	Her husband usually tastes the salt level in the stew.		
Metaphorical Perception	visual	<i>Boya ijobaro a gba</i> Maybe government_people ASP see	<i>ka ne- e siye ebẹja ọnẹ</i> <i>daadaa...</i> that you ASP do thing this properly...
		Maybe if the government sees (realizes) that you are responding very well ...	
	auditory	<i>Uba ayẹ wọ</i> Hand she hear	<i>ka bi ye puwa eyana</i> that they ASP wash something
		It is the hand I understand one washes with.	
Gustatory	<i>A tọrẹ</i> He taste	<i>[[ekẹna be- e ye oya na]]</i> [[what they ASP call suffering DEP]]	
	He tasted (experienced) what it means to suffer		

Figure 5-70 Showing literal and metaphorical perception

Both the literal and metaphorical perceptive clause types project hyper-phenomena. While the process in the former literally interpretes the sensing and the phenomenon sensed as physical reality, the process in the latter metaphorically relates to the sensing and the phenomenon sensed is abstract reality. The metaphorical perceptive types are semantic agnates of the cognitive types like “realise”, “understand” and “experience”.

5.2.5.4 Desiderative type

The desiderative clauses in Ọ̀kó construe the sense of wanting, waiting and longing, among others.

The following excerpt from a political consultation text is one in which the desiderative Process is foregrounded. It depicts the speaker expressing some kind of desire on behalf of the interest group he represents. I have marked out the clause complexes that express desire in italics. The clauses where the desiderative process is located have been underlined and the process itself marked in bold. The English translation comes after every couple of clauses.

<i>Onẹ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ẹkẹna</i>	<i>nẹnẹ</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>jọnmọ</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>na.</i>	<i>Aah,</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>a</i>
This	ASP	be	what	that	we	stand	be	RPCP.	HESIT	X	ASP
..											
<i>ma</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>oro</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>gbeka</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>jọwọn</i>	<i>onawọ</i>	<i>ka</i>		
NEG	be	person	that	he	seem-that	he	stand	in	belief	that	
..											
<i>“a</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kẹ</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>amẹ</i>	<i>na...</i>					
“it	not	just	be	that	me	DEP					
..											
<i>Ama</i>	<i>akọ</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>siye</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>uba</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>bile</i>	<i>na.</i>
But	how	that	we	can	do	to	hold	hand	to	combine	RPCP
This is what we stand for. X is not a person who believes in “It is either me or nobody else” but rather in how we will cooperate together .											
<i>Ati</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>akọ</i>	<i>ẹdẹda</i>	<i>na,</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>fọ</i>		
We	then	ASP	want	that	as	father	RPCP	you	use		
..											
<i>uba</i>	<i>wuna</i>	<i>atọ</i>	<i>feyan</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nọ</i>	<i>egben</i>	<i>na.</i>	<i>Tori</i>		
hand	pull	us	all	that	be	your	children	RPCP.	Because		
..											
<i>ka</i>	<i>ugbugbodi</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nẹ</i>	<i>tọ</i>	<i>atọ</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>wọ</i>	<i>nọ</i>	
that	honour	it	be	to	us	we	that	we	hear	your	
we just want that, as a father, you should treat every one equally, as your own children because it is an honour to us to hear of your fame everywhere.											
<i>iwuru</i>	<i>ẹfa</i>	<i>feyan.</i>	<i>Ato</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka,...</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>“erẹn-erẹn</i>		
name	place	all.	We	ASP	want	that...	they	say	“forward-forward		
..											
<i>ayẹ</i>	<i>oti</i>	<i>dakẹ</i>	<i>ma,</i>	<i>urun-urun</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>ẹdagba.”</i>	<i>Erẹn-erẹn</i>			
it	stick	do	be	back-back	they	follow	elephant”.	Forward-	forward		
..											
<i>na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kẹ</i>	<i>yọ.</i>	<i>Ekena</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wa</i>	
you	will	be	go.	What	we	ASP	desire	RPCP	it	be	
..											

<i>ka, ni turu kẹ yọ ẹrẹn. atọ e di ga</i> that you move to go forward. we ASP able say
<i>ka ti su ẹdẹda wo ẹrẹn. A ka “Ikpen ne</i> that we have father be forward It say “Masquerade that
We want... it is said “forward ever, backward never. Your fate will be” forward ever”. What we want now is that you should be making progress. We also would continue to claim that we have an elder.
<i>e me su ero wo urun na, I bi da ne ya</i> it not have crowd be back RPCP PHP they do seize him
<i>oti.” Osibina Ee ke ya ka be na no oti.</i> sticks”. God He-not will allow that they take you cudgels
it is said that a masquerade who has no followers soon loses his powers to another. God will not allow you to lose the staff of your authority.

Figure 5-71

I observe that the speaker uses the verbal group (in bold) with the central element (the verb) *ni* to represent desires. With the aid of Canzhong Wu’s (2003) SysConc tool, I scanned through the corpus and it seems the same resource dominates similar contexts. A few of such examples are the clauses in Figure 5-72 below.

*Ayi **ye ni** ka ayẹ sẹrẹ ya.*
*A a da asọna oro **e ni** ka ayẹ yin o?*
*Anọ **e ni** ka ni ki lo eji ni me duna yọ ubwa*
*Ayẹ **ikpoto e ni** ka ẹ wo go. Ẹkẹna amẹ*
ikpoto e ni** na a nẹbẹ go. Iresoro ẹga me **e
***ni** ka i cin nu go.*
*Bi **ye ni** ka bẹ kẹ do eji.*
*E- **e ni** ka ayi bwe keyẹ iya ọnẹ.*

Figure 5-72

This signals that there are limited lexical resources for expressing this sort of mental process. Beginning with *ni* I shall discuss the various ways in which desires are construed in Òkó.

Èna	<i>we-</i>	<i>e ni</i>	<i>a</i>
What	you	OPR want?	IP
Phen	Senser	Process	
What do you want?			

Figure 5-73 Desiderative Process "ni"

The verb which simply glosses as “want” or “desire” construes the process of desiring a phenomenon which the desirer (Senser) hopes will be fulfilled in the future. This is a semantic peculiarity of the desiderative sub-type vis-à-vis the other mental process types. There are only two other verbs that realise the desiderative process types, namely *barẹ* (longing for) and *karẹ* (waiting, expecting). The following are constructed examples showing how they pattern lexicographically.

<i>W'orẹ</i>	<i>abẹ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>karẹ</i>	<i>bọ</i>	<i>uce</i>
Your-friends	them	ASP	wait	thier	load
Senser		Process		Phenomenon	
Your friends are expecting their luggage.					

Figure 5-74 Desiderative Process

<i>Ukusaye</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>barẹ</i>	<i>mọ</i>
Groundnuts	ASP	appeal	me
Phenomenon	Process		Senser
I long for (feel like eating) groundnuts.			

Figure 5-75

Another feature that distinguishes desiderative clauses from the other types of mental clause is that they are obligatorily phenomenal. The sensing is not just localised in the Senser but implicates the Phenomenon. The examples above show the Senser — normally human — desiring a thing denoted by the nominal group functioning as the Phenomenon. The Phenomenon can also be realised as a projected idea as in the examples in .Table 5-69 toTable 5-71

<i>Bi</i>	<i>ye ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bẹ</i>	<i>kẹ dọ</i>	<i>ejì.</i>
They	ASP want	that	they	be trade	market

Senser	Process	
desiderative clause		projected clause
They wanted to start trading.		

Figure 5-76 "ni" projecting an idea clause

A	<i>barę</i>	<i>mọ</i>	<i>ka ti bile</i>	<i>kę ma.</i>
It	pleased	me	that we together	be live
desiderative clause			projected clause	
I desire that we live together.				

Figure 5-77

<i>Wo oforo</i>	<i>a karę</i>	<i>ka bę fọ ikiba file</i>	<i>nę ya aye</i>
Your husband	ASP wait	that they take money send	give her her
desiderative clause		projected clause	
Your husband is expecting that money be sent to him.			

Figure 5-78 "karę" projecting an idea clause

It is interesting to note that when a *ni* or *karę* clause does not project another clause, it is liable to double grammatical interpretation. It may be interpreted as a behavioural clause, in which case *ni* could be interpreted as the activity of “looking for” some entity, represented by the Range, which in the perceptive sense is the Phenomenon; and then the Senser could be the Behaver. Thus the first example (Table 5-66) has the potential for both (as in Table 5-72) below.

	<i>Ena</i>	<i>we-</i>	<i>e ni</i>	<i>a</i>	
	What	you	OPR want?	IP	
desiderative clause	Phen	Senser	Process		What do you want?
behavioural clause	Range	Behaver	Process		What are you looking for?

Figure 5-79 Illustration of dual grammatical interpretation of desiderative verbs

In each of these examples, the desiderative verb is like a hyponym of *ni* as the clauses where *barę* or *karę* is used can be substituted by a *ni*-clause. In other words we have a semantically hyponymous relationship among the various Processes that realise the sensing of desire as this figure below shows.

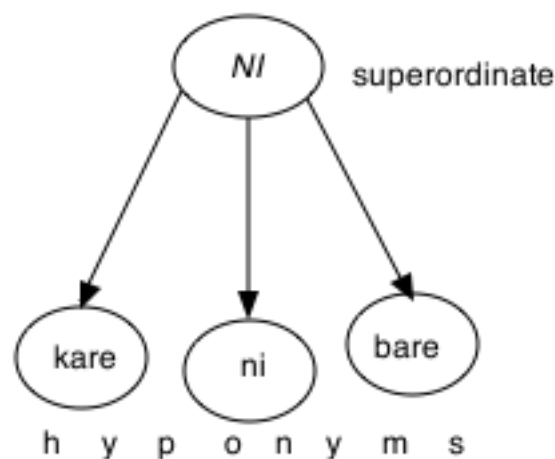


Figure 5-80 Desiderative Processes

In the actual sense, it is more than a relationship of hyponymy, each of the processes being a realisation of a degree in the cline of the fulfilment of the desired phenomenon. *Ni* (wanting) can be theorised as the most generalised form of desire, *bare* (longing) takes the desire a degree further, and *kare* (waiting) is actually expecting the desire to be fulfilled. The desire, thus builds up increasingly like a crescendo as one moves from the *ni* end toward the *kare* end of the cline



Figure 5-81 Degree of desire in desiderative Processes

There exists a point of intersection between the desiderative type and the interpersonal metafunction. The desiderative type, though grammaticalized in the declarative mood, which functions typically as a statement, may realise a command. Thus *ma a kare mọ ijen* (I am waiting for my food), in the appropriate context may actually function to demand goods-&-services, which would succinctly connote “give me my food without any further delay”.

The most obvious cases of this intersection can be seen below, where I make a little digression to explore ways of enacting desiderative sensing interpersonally. Within the topology of desiderative sensing are wish, hope, begging, prayer and so on, which are construed using different lexicogrammatical resources. These resources can be mapped onto different experiential types, either already discussed or to be discussed shortly. For this reason, I will not focus on them here where I am discussing typical types but just to point to

the way a speaker may construe his/her enactment of the mental process of wish in a different process category, I will use the following clauses in Table 5-73.

Actor/Medium	Process		Translation
i. <i>Ijen, e</i> Food, it	<i>ke gben</i> ASP cook	<i>a!</i> expect	I wish the food were cooked.
ii. <i>Bi</i> They	<i>ka ke yọ</i> ASP be go	<i>a!</i> expect	I wish they were going.
iii. <i>Osi, a</i> rain, it	<i>ka ca!</i> ASP come		I wish it was raining.

Figure 5-82 Alternative realisation of desiderative types

The examples above enact the mental sense of wish interpersonally, with a material clause representing what is wished for. This is to further illustrate the intersection of the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions.

The Process is realised by a verbal group made up of *ke/ka* functioning as anticipatory aspect marker and the main verb (e.g. *gben, yọ and ca*) which construes the main Event. The aspect marker and the interpersonal particle *a* (EXPECT) at the end of the clause together realise the WISH, even though the clause in each case is material, experientially speaking. Clause iii does not contain an overt particle. This is because the last word is terminated with same sound as the particle *a* and in this case, the sound in the last word is prolonged as a realization of the “wish” particle.

The examples above compare with a certain command type in the material domain - suggestions - to express what the speaker thinks should be done. It has the structure of a normal imperative, but with the interpersonal particle *a*. A few examples are as follows:

iv.	<i>Ni</i> You ^{PLU}	<i>ki jen</i> be go	<i>a!</i> EXPECT
	Actor	Process	IP
v.	<i>Namọ a</i> Take ASP	<i>nẹ</i> give	<i>nẹda a!</i> your father
	Process		Recipient IP
vi.	<i>Kare</i> EXPECT	<i>mọ</i>	<i>a!Wait</i> me
	Process	Range	IP

Figure 5-83 Suggestive imperative clauses

The options for a typical desiderative process clause can be represented systemically as follows.

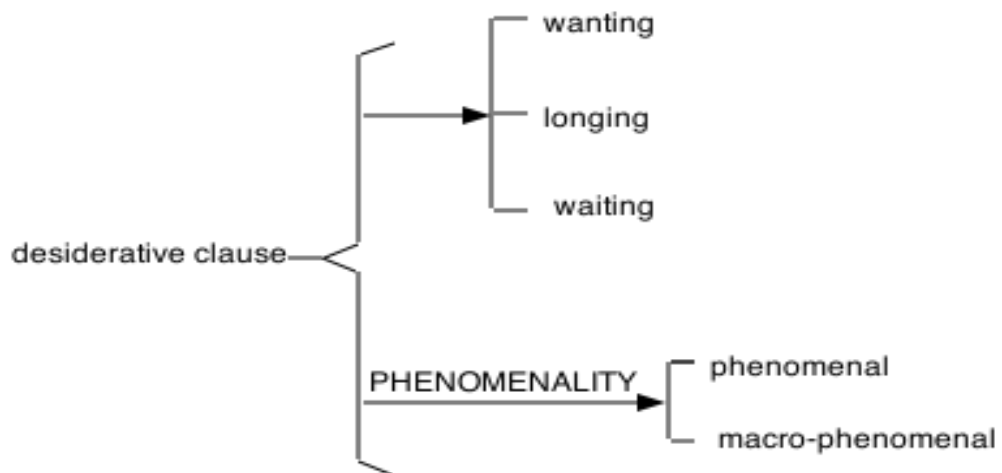


Figure 5-84 Options in desiderative Process types

5.2.6 Domain of Being

The text in Table 5-57 below is an excerpt from an interview with members of a social club that has long gone out of existence. Living members were asked about the purpose of the club, their activities and membership and how it was run. The purpose of the interview was to probe the state of “past being” and it is amazing to discover how many “being” processes types are used to construe the members’ recollections.

All the processes are in bold while those that construe the phenomenon of “being” are also underlined. The symbol “=” indicates simultaneous responses.

Tade:	<i>Iresoro ẹga me ni ka i cin nu go: ka i dake wo Iresoro Iresoro, i me pkoto din ẹnanẹ <u>wa</u> Iresoro na. Ẹra na <u>a wa</u>?</i>
Chorus:	= <i>I <u>wo</u> amọ.</i>
Adeb:	= <i>Atọ.</i>
Eri:	= <i>Isuda abẹ <u>a</u> nẹ.</i>
Okuw:	<i>Abẹ <u>a wa</u> boṣṣa igan, Ayisa-Akpoti.</i>
Tade:	<i>Ẹbaba ọnẹ, gana bọ iwuru gbe a?</i>
Okuw:	<i>Ayisa-Akpoti.</i>
Tade:	<i>Yọ iwuru e gbe ẹgan?</i>
Eri/Okuw:	<i>Ẹhn.</i>
Eri:	<i>Abẹ <u>a wa</u> [[ẹnanẹ jowon gedegbe, neṅe a sẹn Iresoro ayẹ igan na]].</i>
Tade:	<i>Eme diya <u>wa</u> ikiba [[ba a ta]] ?</i>
Ayes:	<i>Eeh-ehn, Ama <u>wa</u> ikiba...</i>
Tade:	<i>Ama <u>wa</u> ikiba [[bi ya fon ya]]?</i>
Eri:	<i><u>Te- e su</u> ikiba wo akpo, ti da na...</i>
Ayes:	<i>Bi da nẹ ẹgan [[ka ikiba nẹ ti <u>su</u> wo akpo na, ka awo u <u>su</u> wo amọ]].</i>
Tade:	<i>Mmhnn! e- ye mu. ọpa ọnẹbẹ, nje iyaro kpoto <u>wa</u> amọ.</i>
Chorus:	<i>Iyaro <u>wa</u> amọ.</i>
Tade:	<i>Nje ni diye e ye iyaro [[ẹnanẹ ni din...]]</i>
Okuw:	<i>Nẹ <u>wa</u> amọ na?</i>
Tade:	<i>Ẹhn.</i>
Okuw:	<i>Ẹm, Obin ooro <u>w</u>'amo, nẹda ooro.</i>
Tade:	<i>Gana e gbe a?</i>

Figure 5-85 Extract from Iresoro Oopa Interview (IRE/1)

5.2.6.1 Relational Types

The domain of being construes relationship between one strand of experience and another. This domain is grammaticalized through the **relational clauses** in the TRANSITIVITY system of Òkó. Unlike the domain of doing and happening, the domain of saying and the domain of sensing, in which the processes are brought into being or induced, the processes in the domain of being are not brought into being by the participant. Rather one experience is construed as related to another one in a way that something is linked to some properties as its attribute, identity, or circumstance. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 213) explain, “The fundamental properties of ‘relational’ clauses derive from the nature of a configuration of ‘being’”. There are two main kinds of relations, namely existential and expanding (Matthiessen, 1995: 297; Teruya, 1998: 300). The **existential** type in Òkó is the reality of being, whereby an entity is related “to the fact of its existence”, as Teruya (1998: 292) has also observed for Japanese, and Halliday and McDonald (2004: Section 6.5.1.1) for Chinese. Òkó has two types of existential clauses realized by *wo* and *su* respectively. The *wo*-type usually collocates with *amọ* (existence/there) to realize the construction *wo amọ* (be in existence/be in a place): locative, in which case it is agnate with a locative relational clause as in English (see examples in Table 576). The second type is realized by *su* (have), agnate with possessive relational clauses, except that the subject is not conflated with an ideational function (Matthiessen, 1995a: 300).

The **expanding** type in Òkó generally may also be said to contain two participants: but what the specific nature of the configuration of the participants vis-à-vis the process is reveals some typologically interesting features.

5.2.6.2 Existential clauses

An existential clause has one main participant — the Existent, which is often realised by a nominal group. The existent can refer to either animate or inanimate objects, concrete or abstract things. The two main verbs that construe this process of existential being are *wo* and *su*. The Table 5-76 contains examples extracted from various text, as there is no single text in the corpus that contains more than two examples close together.

1	<i>Iyatọ wo amọ</i> Difference be there (There is a difference.)
2	<i>Oro ọbẹn de wo amọ</i> Somebody other MOD be there (There could be somebody.)
3	<i>Mama ọnẹ wiya wo amọ ọgba ẹnabẹ</i> Mother this her-mother be there time those (The mother of this woman was alive then.)
4	<i>Èra e pile wo amọ a?Who ASP also be there IP</i> (Who else was there?)
5	<i>Èsẹn gbọgba ni dake ẹ sẹn họn sa e su [[ẹkẹna bi de e ki siye na?]]music Ordinary you^{PLU} do ASP play IP or it have [[something they do ASP ASP do RCP]]</i> (Is it music alone they play or there is something else they use the club for).
6	<i>E me su [[ẹkẹna be e siye Eni]] nẹnẹ na ma ca ẹfẹnẹbẹ...</i> It NEG have [[what they ASP do Eni]] that you NEG come there (there was nothing they were doing (happening) in Eni that you would not come there.)
7	<i>Njẹ bi ya kpitan nẹ no ka e su ọgba akọ akọ akọ nẹ bi ya bẹrẹ eji aye na?IP they ASP tell -story give you that it have time like this ... that they ASP start market the RCP</i> (Was it told as a story to you that there was such and such a time that the market started here?)
8	<i>njẹ e su iyatọ [[nẹnẹ w'amọ na?]]IP ASP have difference [[that be there IP]]</i> (Is there any difference there?)

Figure 5-86 Text extracts from various sources showing existential processes

For the discussion of the different existential types, some of the examples in Table 5-76 will be analysed experientially.

<i>i. Oro ọbẹn</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>amọ</i>
Person other	be/ exist	...there
Existent	Process	Place
Ther exists somebody ...		

Figure 5-87 "wo" existential clause

ii. <i>E-</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>oro oḃen...</i>
It	have	person other...
	Process	Existent
There exists somebody.		

Figure 5-88 "su" existential clause

The existential “being” can be realized as a process of “being” as in the case of Table 5-77 above or as a process of “having” as in the case of Table 5-78. In either case, the Existent constitutes the substantial participant. While there is a spatial location in the *amọ*-process type, the location refers to an abstract space. Similarly, the *su* process contains an expletive *e* (it) - akin to “there” of English Existential Process - which also construes an abstract Possessor. In fact, there is a very good chance that the *e* is an operator (ASP) rather than a participant; which will make the grammar here similar to the Chinese existential process type with one participant as in Halliday & McDonald (2004: 355, Example 48). Although *amọ* in (ii) of Table 5-78 realises a circumstance of Location (place), the clause differs from the circumstantial process types within the domain of the “being”-types, which we will explore shortly. The *su*-type also differs from the expanding identifying type that construes possessiveness in a Token-Value relation, again because the Existent is not a possession.

A third type of existential clause in Òkó relational grammar is one that is actualised by the Process, *siye* (“do”). The Process construes an existence of a time, even though neither the Process nor the Subject *e* (“it” - expletive) has any specific semantic content as exemplified in Table 5-79.

<i>E-</i>	<i>kuru siye</i>
It	cut do
	Process
After a while,	

Figure 5-89 Existential-plus Process

This clause type will be referred to as existence-plus relational clause too. However it differs from the type Matthiessen (1995a: 297) and Teruya (1998: 297) classify as “existence-plus” in the sense that the Process in Òkó is neither an actual behaviour nor a doing. Rather, it links up a previous event, to another one that occurs later/is to happen. It is cohesive in function. Therefore, it is more relevant to textual meaning in which it functions to move the

account forward in time than experiential meaning. If it is discussed under the ideational grammar of Ọkó, it is only because it embodies a structural configuration that patterns as a relational clause and may construe logical meaning.

5.2.6.3 The Expanding Type

The expanding type comprises the subcategories: **ascriptive** and **identifying**. As previously mentioned, the expanding type is distinguished from the existential one in the number of participants (two). Ascriptive clauses are generally and significantly realised by the Carrier and the Attribute. Identifying clauses, on the other hand are realised by an Identified and the Identifier. Ascriptive and identifying clauses cover three primary types of relation: these are **intensive**, **possessive**, and **circumstantial** types Halliday (1994: 119) and Matthiessen (1995a: 305); and these can be further related to the generalised categories of elaborating, extending, and enhancing relations respectively. The expanding relational types share the same set of lexicogrammatical resources in terms of verbs. Table 5-80 lists some verbs of relation and the type of clauses where they function.

	Relational Type	Verbs
intensive	ascriptive	<i>wa</i> (be), <i>ya</i> (be), <i>a</i> (be) & “all attributive processes”
	identifying	<i>wa</i> (be), <i>jowon</i> (stand), <i>ya</i> (is), <i>we</i> (appears), <i>balẹ</i> (look)
possessive	possessive	<i>su</i> (have), <i>bi</i> (own), <i>dọn</i> (possess), <i>go</i> (suffice)
circumstantial	circumstantial	<i>wo</i> (be in)
	existential	<i>wo</i> (be in), <i>su</i> (be/have), <i>siye</i> (do)

Figure 5-90 Relational Process verbs

5.2.6.4 Ascriptive clauses

The system of EXPANDING RELATIONAL TYPE specifies the way the Attribute is related to the Carrier. There are two basic ways in which this relation is achieved namely as a Process-implicit relation or Process-explicit relation. The Process-implicit relational type is further divisible into two categories namely, one in which the Attribute conflates both the Process and the Attribute into what is described here as “Process: attributive”; and the other whose Attribute is realised by an adjectival group. The ascriptive relational types discussed below are defined mainly by the characteristic of their Attributes. The case is similar to the Chinese ascriptive clause (Halliday & McDonald, 2004: 359).

5.2.6.5 Intensive ascription

The intensive ascriptive type ascribes a quality (Attribute) directly to a participant (Carrier). This Process-implicit descriptive clause conflates both the Process and Attribute into one element (Process: attributive) realized by a verbal adjectival group (vag) - see verbal adjective in Chapter 2 (Section 3.8) of this thesis - which is its defining characteristics, as in Table 5-81 and Table 5-82

<i>Esa abẹ</i> Clothes the	<i>sin</i> dirty
Carrier	Process: attributive
The clothes are dirty.	

Figure 5-91 Process-implicit relational clause with Process: attributive

<i>Ẹrọ</i>	<i>gbodi</i>
World	big
Carrier	Attribute
The world is big.	

Figure 5-92 Process-implicit relational clause with adjectival group

Another type of clause in the process implicit group (but not very common) is one in which there seems to be no overt Process, as in Table 5-83

<i>Elo</i>	<i>utugbun [[nẹ bẹ da cẹrẹ]]</i>
Elo	potion [[that they usually prepare_down]]
Carrier	Attribute
Elo is a concoction that has been prepared down.	

Figure 5-93 Ascriptive clause with ellipsed process

On the other hand, the Process-explicit type is realised by an independent Process followed by an Attribute. The Attribute in Process-implicit relational clause is a description characteristically realised by an adjectival group, whereas the Attribute in the Process-explicit type is realised by nominal group expounded by a Thing (post-modified by another adjective or an embedded clause).

<i>Ọbẹn</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ogbẹrẹ odudu.</i>
Other	be	rival bad
Carrier	Process	Attribute (ng)
The other was a bad rival.		

Figure 5-94

<i>Ayẹ</i>	<i>a wa</i>	<i>ẹpan [[nẹ e- e puwa ẹyana na]]</i>
It	ASP be	head [[that she ASP wash something RCP]]
Carrier	Process	Attribute (noun + embedded clause)
That is the head that she was using to wash something/that is what using the head to wash <i>ẹyana</i> means.		

Figure 5-95 Process-explicit ascriptive clause (ii)

Attributes in Process-implicit clauses foreground a description, so the Attribute does not require any further descriptive resources, whereas Attributes in process-explicit ones are

nominal and are often further modified. That presence of modification is the only pattern that distinguishes ascriptive clauses from identifying clauses of identical configuration.

5.2.6.6 Possessive ascription

The ascriptive possessive type construes a Carrier as having a possession — the Attribute. The Attribute may be a tangible or intangible participant, for example:

<i>I</i>	<i>me su</i>	<i>yo iwogbigben</i>
I	NEG have	its power
Carrier	Process	Attribute
I do not have the strength for it.		

Figure 5-96 Ascriptive possessive relational clause

The grammar constructs the Process as that of a possession (*su*), while in reality, it is an outright quality. For example, the congruent interpretation of the clause in Table 5-86 would be “I am not competent”.

5.2.6.7 Circumstantial ascription

The Attribute in the circumstantial type is realised by some kind of circumstance, including, time, place, and reason realized by an adverbial group.

<i>Eḍeda yan daadaa.</i>	<i>Aye</i>	<i>a wa</i>	<i>ogbona</i> [[<i>bi ye file ne o ka o</i>
Father sick terribly	It	ASP be	when [[they ASP send give you that you
			<i>ke ca uboo na</i>]]
			ASP come home RCP]]
	Carrier	Process	Attribute
Father was very sick. That was when they sent for you unto come home.			

Figure 5-97

One relational type that also seems to fit into this category is the general enquiry, which is realised by one participant and a particle, which I have tagged “ENQUIRE”. It has a form which may suggest that it is an existential type, but since the real value of the Attribute, which is usually a specific location, is recoverable from the response to such a question, it seems reasonable to maintain its class membership under the ascriptive circumstantial type.

<i>Ogben</i>	<i>oo</i>
Child	ENQUIRE
Carrier	Attribute
“How about/where is the baby?”	

Figure 5-98

5.2.6.8 Identifying clauses

Identifying clauses describe a range of expanding relational clauses in which a Token (Identifier) — realised as name, sign, symbol, form etc — is linked to a Value (Identified) realised by status, role, meaning, referent, or function — with or without an Assigner (Matthiessen, 1995a: 305; Rose, 2001: Section 5.4.3). In most cases, the two participants construe the same entity. That is the Value is just another way of perceiving the Token (an Identifier “dressed in another costume” as Identified). As Rose (2001: 333) observes: in the Western Desert languages,

One participant may be a concrete identity realised by a personal; or demonstrative - the Value of the relationship, while the other is a symbolic identity such as a name, role, or relationship to the speaker - its Token.

The Token does not necessarily have to be the Identifier and the Value, the Identified. The reverse can be the case; that is, the Token can be the Identified and the Value, the identifier as exemplified in Table 589 below.

5.2.6.9 Intensive identification

In the identification type an identity (Value) is assigned to an entity (Token) - Halliday, (1994: 122). The entity, “x” is identified by particular characteristic “a”, not in the form of classification, but marking it as different from other entities.

Yọ- iwuru	<i>e gbe</i>	egan?
His name	OPR bear	so
Token (Identified)	Process	Value (Identifier)
His name is called so.		

Figure 5-99 Identifying relational clause (i)

<i>a-</i> it	<i>ma wa</i> NEG be	ayẹ ogben her child
Token (Identified)	Process	Value (Identifier)
It is not her child.		

Figure 5-100

Reversibility is one distinguishing feature of identifying relational clauses, although in some cases it results in a lexicogrammatical consequence; for example:

<i>Egan</i>	<i>a wa</i>	ayẹ iwuru	<i>ne</i>
That	<i>ASP be</i>	her name	DRP
Value (Identified)	Process	Token (Identifier)	
That is his name.			

Figure 5-101

The textual arrangement of Token ^ Value in Table 5-89 pre-selects *gbe* as the lexical realization of the relational Process whereas the (Value ^ Token) arrangement of the same clause pre-selects *wa* as the lexical realization of the relational process; but the ideational meaning remains the same. Note however, that there is also a reversal of the role of the participants in terms of what is the Identified and what is the Identifier.

5.2.6.10 Assigned Identification

The relational type, “assigned Identification” is made up of three participants, namely the Identified, the Identifier and the Assigner (i.e. of the identification), for example:

Aye	be	e	ye	elo
It	they	ASP	call	elo
Identified	Assigner	Process	Identifier	
They call it elo (concoction).				

Figure 5-102 An identifying clause with an Assigner

5.2.6.11 Possessive identification

The possessive identifying type describes the possession of (i.e. having) a concrete object. A possessor is identified with a possession, the Identifier. This contrasts with the existential “having” in the sense that this expanding type includes a definite possessor and a concrete possession. In other words, the participants related by the Process are real, for example:

<i>Neda</i>	<i>ok̄eka</i>	<i>abe</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>igan</i>
Your.father	great	they	have	it	then
Token (Identified)			Process	Value (Identifier)	Location: time
Your grand father had it in those days.					

Figure 5-103

<i>Ace ka</i>	<i>ikiba</i>	<i>aye</i>	<i>d̄on</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ogba-̄onebe feyan</i>
Unknowingly that	money	the	possess	him	time-that all
	Value (Identified)		Process	Token (Identifier)	Location: time
Unknowingly, he was in possession of the money all that time.					

Figure 5-104

5.2.6.12 Circumstantial identification

Circumstantial identifying clauses usually construe a placement of some participant in a spatial or temporal location. The participant, usually realising the Token (Identified), could be physical or abstract reality, animate or inanimate object. The second participant, the Value (Identifier), construes the circumstance. Sometimes the circumstantial identifying clause grammatically resembles the existential clause, as we have earlier seen in Section 5.2.6.4.3 However a good probe for the circumstantial clause can always provide a clue.

<i>Ka awọ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>amọ</i>
Too you	you	have	be	inside
	Token (Identified)	Process	Value (Identifier)-Circ	
That you too have a part in it.				

Figure 5-105

When we intersect the experiential with interpersonal meaning, we will observe that we cannot ask *oro ayẹ o* (“Where is the person?”) or *ẹtẹka a ma na* (“Where does he reside?”) for existential clauses in Table 5-77 & Table 5-78, as we can for the circumstantial clauses.

The Token (Identified) is easily recognisable especially when it is thematized, because it is either realised by the emphatic pronominal form *amẹ*, *abẹ^{PL}* or *ayẹ^{SG}* or commonly marked by any of the last two, which has different grammatical functions in the identifying process. The latter can be interpreted as the deictic “the”, which seems to point back to the Token appositively. On the other hand, it could entail a predicative meaning, “it is that” (the Token) which is being assigned an identity (Value).

Figure 5-106 below represents the system network for Òkó relational clause types.

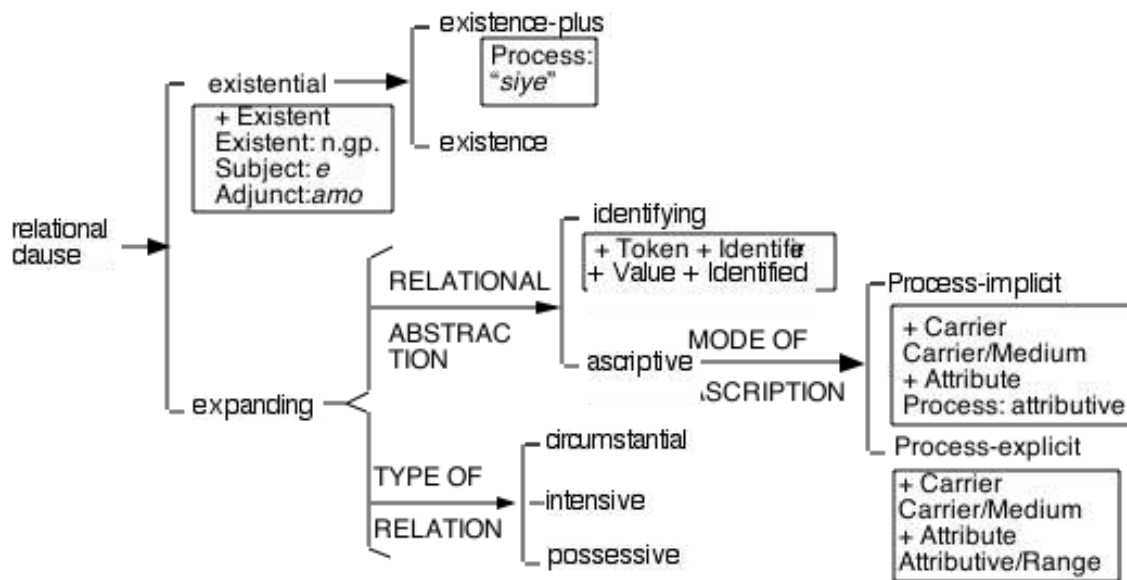


Figure 5-106 Òkó relational clauses system network

The entry condition is relational clause. The primary choice in the system is between existential and expanding. The choice of existential is the basis for further choice between the existence type (realized by *wo* and *su* Processes) or existence plus clauses (realized by *siye* Process). The expanding type leads to two simultaneous systems, RELATIONAL

ABSTRACTION (with options: intensive and circumstantial) system (with the option identifying and ascriptive) and the TYPE OF RELATION system realized by intensive, possessive and circumstantial relational types. If the ascriptive mode of being is selected, the clause can either be Process-implicit or Process-explicit.

5.2.6.13 Summary of relational types

Table 5-97 below summarizes the characteristics of relational clauses as discussed in this chapter, illustrating them with text extracts from the corpus. The Processes are in bold style and the main Event in each Process is underlined.

Clause Type	Properties	Text Examples	English Translation
existential	+Existent	<i>Èna e me <u>wo</u> amọ</i>	What was not there?
	Existent/Medium	<i>E <u>su</u> ogbọbẹn nẹnẹ ma a tan ẹkẹna na</i>	There was a time when I did not eat crab.
	Existent: circumstance	<i>Ayẹ a <u>wa</u> esunubẹ</i>	Then it was that day/there was a day.
ascriptive intensive	+ Carrier	<i>E <u>fon</u></i>	It is far
	+ Process-implicit Attribute: adj g	<i>Isubu <u>gule</u></i>	The days were complete.
	+ Carrier +Attribute Process: attributive	<i>To ikerese <u>be</u></i>	Our vehicle is broken down/damaged.
	+ Carrier +Attribute: embedded clause	<i>E é mi <u>re</u> [[opa nẹ abọwọ ka e re na]]...</i>	If he has not reached the essential age-bracket that's...
	+ Carrier +Attribute	<i>Elo, utugbun [[nẹ bẹ da cẹrẹ na]]</i>	“elo: medicine t.hat is collected and set down.
ascriptive possessive	+ Carrier +Attribute: possession	<i>Wiya e me <u>su</u> iroro ka ayi di ya gba epẹn opa ẹgan</i>	Her mother had not the faintest thought that he could see such a thing.
ascriptive circumstantial	+ Carrier +Attribute: circumstance	<i>Abẹ e de <u>bi</u> ogba ọnẹbẹ</i>	That time belongs to them.
identifying intensive	Token (Identifier) Value (Identified)	<i>Ayẹ a ka, [[ekẹna ayẹ gba na]] <u>a</u> nẹ</i>	Then she said, this is what she has experienced.
identifying possessive	Token (Identified) Value (Identifier) - Possession	<i>Iya ayẹ ka sam a- <u>ma wa</u> ayẹ ogben</i>	The woman said, “Never;” this couldn't be her child.
identifying circumstantial	Token (Identified) Value (Identifier)	<i>Iren a <u>wa</u> ovia</i>	Two days ago was the maiden festival.
identifying assigned	+ Identified +Identifier +Assigner	<i>Ayẹ be e <u>ye</u> elo Ayẹ be e <u>ye</u> agodo</i>	They call it, “elo” It, they call agodo.
non- assigned		<i>Ayẹ e <u>gbe</u> elo</i>	It is called “elo”

Figure 5-107 Summary of relational clause types

5.3 Ọkọ Logical Grammar

The logical metafunction is the fundamental principle for combining simple units into complexes of units. It is a principle that cuts across grammatical rank boundaries (Halliday, 1994, Matthiessen, 1995: 90-91). In this section, we shall focus on the logical resources for combining clauses into clause complexes. The text presented below, an extract from a narrative coded FOI, will be the main resource for discussing this meaning component. Where necessary, it will be supplemented with a text from other sources, however.

Bi we bẹ yọ erun. ogbere odudu, fo yọ ogben bobo yọ erun. Ogbona nene bẹ yọ erun ke na, ogben one e ni ka ayi fi igila; a ka, “Ei!” U wa a ka aawiya ka ayi fi ogben ne igila na. Yọ okon oben da ga ne ya ka, eh-ehn ro, igila ya; yọ okon oben ke ganẹ ya ka “ogben bẹ ka u fi ne igila”. A ne ogben wo era, ogben yi oga, e fo, e tiy’ẹ a a keyẹ igila.

Figure 5-108 Text extract from a narrative coded FOI

The source of this text, like all other texts in this study is oral. The text itself is made up of episodes. Each episode represents a sequence of events in the unfolding of the narrative and each sequence comprises figures which are realized by events. Therefore, the composition of a narrative text can be ranked as follows:

narrative

episodes

sequences of ...

figures (“events”)

The grammar of the language deploys logico-semantic resources to link the episodes together in sequences realized by clauses complexes. Ultimately, the sequential events are made up of minimal semantic units (figures), which are realized in the lexicogrammar as clauses.

*///Bi we bẹ yọ erun// ogbere odudu, **fo** yọ ogben **bobo yọ erun**// Ogbona nene bẹ yọ erun **ke na**,// ogben one e **ni** //ka ayi **fi** igila; //a **ka**, //“Ei!” //U **wa** a ka //aawiya **ka** //ayi **fi** ogben **ne** igila na.// Yọ okon oben **da ga ne** ya ka, //eh-ehn ro, igila **ya**; //yọ okon oben **ke ganẹ** ya ka //“ogben bẹ **ka** //u **fi ne** igila”.// A **ne** ogben **wo era**, //ogben **yi oga**, //e **fo**, //E **tiy’ẹ** a //a **keyẹ** igila.///*

Figure 5-109 FOI extract segmented into clause complexes and clauses (processes in bold italics)

Cl C #	Cl #	Clause relations	Clauses
1	1		<i>Bi we bẹ yọ erun.</i> They exit they go farm (They left for the farm.)
2	2		<i>Ogberẹ odudu, fọ yọ ogben bobo yọ erun.</i> Rival bad carry her child put- on-the-back go farm (The bad rival carried her child on her back to the farm.)
3	3	×β	<i>Ogbona nẹnẹ bẹ yọ erun ke na,</i> When that they go farm COMPL RCP (When thy had gone to the farm)
	4	αα	<i>Ogben ọnẹ e ni</i> Child this ASP want (the child wanted)
	5	α'β	<i>Ka ayi fi igila</i> That she roast yam (to roast the yam)
	6	+2 α	<i>A ka</i> She say (but she said)
	7	+2'β	<i>“Ei!” u wa aka [[aawiya ka ayi fi ogben nẹ igila na]].</i> “EXCL” it be like [[her-mother say she roast child give yam DEP]] (It seems [[her mother told her to roast the child for the yam]])
4	8	1 1	<i>Yọ ọkọn ọbẹn da ganẹ ya ka,</i> her mind other again tell her that (Her mind again told her that)
	9	1'2	<i>“Eh-ẹhn ro, igila ya”;</i> “No ISEP yam be” (No it should be the yam.)
	10	+2 1	<i>Yọ ọkọn ọbẹn kẹ ganẹ ya ka</i> Her mind other still tell her that (Her mind still told her that)

	11	+2”2	“ <i>Ogben be ka u fi ne igila</i> ” Child they say you roast give yam (It is the child you are told to roast for the yam.)
5	12	1	<i>A ne ogben wo era,</i> She throw child COV fire (She threw the child into the fire)
	13	+2	<i>Ogben yi oga,</i> Child cry shout (The child screamed)
	14	+3	<i>E fo.</i> He diend died
6	15	1	<i>E tiy e</i> She take it She took it
	16	+2	<i>A a keye igila.</i> She ASP near yam And placed it near the yam

Figure 5-110 Text depicting the relation of taxis and logico-semantic relations

The logical principles in the ideational metafunction provide the resources for combining clauses together into clause complexes (Matthiessen, 2002b: 241; 1988b). As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 368) observe:

The various examples of clause complexes at work in the creation of text are all based on the same general principle: clause complexes are formed out of relations that link clauses typically one pair at a time, as interdependent on one another.

However, episodes differ in the number of clause complexes. Similarly the clauses complexes may have different statuses as well as different parameters of relation in the syntagm as demonstrated in Table 5-100. The two main logical systems are what Halliday (1994: 218) refers to as the relation of TAXIS (hypotaxis vs. parataxis) and the LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE (projection vs. expansion) - (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)

5.3.1 The system of TAXIS

The system of TAXIS is concerned with the degree of interdependency between two clauses — either parataxis or hypotaxis. In parataxis, the clauses in the clause complex are of equal status: none depending on the other. Where the clauses in a clause complex are equal in status, we shall represent them with Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3 ...). In hypotaxis, one clause

depends on the other. Where the clauses are not equal in status, we shall represent the expanded/projecting clause by the Greek alphabet (α) and the expanding/projected one as (β), following the conventions in Halliday (1985a, 1994, and so on). The latter case can be explained in functional terms as the dependent clause providing further information on the context of occurrence of the independent clause. In Table 5-100, clause complexes (Cl C) 1 & 2 are made up of one clause each. In other words, each of them is construed as an independent event in the development of the story. On the other hand, Cl C 3 - 6 each consists of series of clauses, tactically related together. In order to combine the clauses in a clause complex, Òkó grammar employs different resources. Consider clause complex 5 which is made up of three clauses:

1) <i>A ne ogben wo era,</i> She throw child put.into fire	2) <i>Ogben yi oga</i> Child cry shout	3) <i>E- fo.</i> He die
She threw the child into fire, the child cried, and died.		

Figure 5-111

The three clauses are related logicosemantically, but the relations are not overtly marked. The episode starts with the event of clause 1; it is followed by the event in clause 2 and ends up in clause 3. The grammar relates the three clauses as a sequence of independent events. However, the clue of the relations lies in the prosody, which itself is a complex phenomenon. Both tone and pause are deployed to create the link. The first syllable of clause 1 (*a*) is produced with tone 3 (see Chapter 2), rather than tone 1, with which it would be produced if it were in isolation. In addition, there exists a relatively shorter pause between clauses 1&2 and 2&3 (which seems to signal that the clauses are part of one sub-episode realized by a clause complex) than if they belong to different sub-episodes. In other words, as the events unfold in real time, the transition between contiguous clauses within the same sub-episode (when one listens to the recorded narrative) is more rapid than the transition between sub-episodes.

In many languages, structural conjunctions are essential resources for connecting two related clauses in a clause complex. In Òkó, however, these structural conjunctions are rather of limited importance in marking these relations. Tone sequence is of paramount importance in combining clauses and in signalling their status, as discussed by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: Section 7.6).

i. <i>E re eḡeḡeḡe</i>	ii. <i>e je obin wo ba epan</i>
He arrive there	he reign king put.on them head
He got there and reigned over them.	

Figure 5-112 Clause complex with ambiguous taxis

What may determine the function of the clauses is the order, a phenomenon that bears relevance to what we may describe as the macro-theme in clause complexes. Therefore, sequence (or order) is of paramount importance in the MODE OF REALISATION of taxis. That seems to relegate structural conjunctions to a second level of importance. I will return to this shortly.

The example in Table 5-102 is ambiguous in taxis because it follows a natural pattern of the unfolding of the events; that is, a congruent order. Besides, the context seems to put less pressure on the need for circumstantial elements that serve as connecting elements. Both (i) and (ii) may be taken as clauses of equal status, in which case they are paratactically related. On the other hand, (i) may be perceived as providing a temporal context under which the event of clause (ii) was realized; and in this case it is a hypotactic relation.

The following table shows how the relation may be characterized using the tone sequence.

<i>E re eḡeḡeḡe</i> <i>e je obin wo ba epan</i>	= 1-1: cohesive
<i>E re eḡeḡeḡe</i> <i>e je obin wo ba epan</i>	= 2-3: hypotactic
<i>E re eḡeḡeḡe</i> <i>e je obin wo ba epan</i>	= 3-3: paratactic

The hypotactic option would be the unmarked in the case of Table 5-102 and one piece of evidence for this is to try to tamper with the order of the clauses within the clause complex. The positions of Clauses (i) and (ii) cannot be reversed without the temporal element *ogbona* (when) to initiate Clause (i) in Table 5-102. Therefore, once the order is changed, it will require a temporal conjunction such as *ogbona*, for the logical relation of the two clauses as in Table 5-103.

independent clause	dependent clause
<i>E je obin wo ba epan</i>	<i>ogbona e re eḡeḡeḡe na.</i>
α	β

Figure 5-113 Hypotactic clause with overt temporal element

Once the order is tampered with, structural conjunctions become an issue (see Longacre, 1985, for a detailed discussion on resources for relating clauses in a clause complex).

The argument I am making is not whether structural conjunctions are used as logical connectives or not. Rather, I am trying to position them in relation to other resources deployed for logical metafunction. In many contexts, logical relations are clearly marked out with structural conjunctions as resources as in Table 5-104 below.

In clause complex 3, clauses 3 - 5 are also related, but a hypotactic relation holds between 3 and 4, which is further expanded by 5.

3. <i>Ogbona nene be yo erun ke na</i> When that they go farm COMPL DEP	5. <i>ka ayi fi igila</i> that she roast yam
4. <i>ogben one e ni</i> child this ASP want	
dependent (β) clause	independent (α) clause

Figure 5-114 Hypotactic clause with explicit temporal element

Sometimes, the dependency marker (DEP) *na* marks a clause to signal its dependence on another clause, as in Clause 3, Table 5104. This is to be distinguished from the "relative complete particle" (RCP) which completes the semantic sense of relative clauses initiated by relative pronouns such as *ogbona* (when), *efena* (who/where), *nene* - (that), and *esunu ne* (day when) etc, some of which are homonymous with binders in a clause complex. In Òkó, relative clauses are always defining (embedded) clauses serving as qualifiers in a nominal group as in the β clause in Table 5-105 below (also see nominal group modification in Chapter 2). In other words there are no non-defining relative clauses in the language.

<i>Aye a- ka,</i> Then she say	<i>aye e me su ubowo</i> <i>[[ne ayi pila a yo na ro]]</i> she ASP NEG have home [[that she return ASP go RCP ISEP]]
α	β
The girl replied that she has no home to return to anymore	

Figure 5-115 Hypotactic projection with RCP in the embedded clause

5.3.1.1 Parataxis

As already mentioned, the relation of parataxis holds between clauses of equal status in a clause complex. In the sequence of clauses, the first clause functions as the initiating clause while the following clauses function as continuing ones (Matthiessen, 1995a: 137). Paratactic relations are more often realized by order than hypotactic ones. However, structural

conjunctions (such as *cana*, *diya* (adding) and *ama* (contradicting)), are also used to link clauses in a paratactic relation. The set of structural conjunctions used at the rank of clause complex differs from those used at lower ranks.

Table 5-106 contains the resources for linking clauses in a clause complex.

relational Type	conjunctive resource	subtype
expansion	tone sequence (3^3)	-
expansion	<i>cana</i>	additive
expansion	<i>diya</i>	additive
expansion	<i>tabi</i>	alternative
expansion	<i>ama</i>	contradiction
projection	<i>ka</i>	-

Figure 5-116 Clause complex logical linking elements

Cana links the final continuing clause to the preceding ones in the form of an additional event, whereas *ama* links the final continuing clause to the rest in form of a contradicting event, sometimes modified by *diya/e* (also) — see Table 5-109. However, the function of *cana* is not limited to paratactic contexts alone. In fact it functions as a linker (cohesive conjunction), lister and binder (Sinclair, 1972) - structural conjunction; and sometimes also realizes contradiction. It also functions in hypotactic clause combinations as shall be illustrated shortly, and even various other contexts. Table 5-107 and Table 5-108 contain clause complexes with clauses in a paratactic relation but without logical conjunction.

<i>E- tiy' e</i>	<i>a- a keye igila.</i>
She took it	she ASP put.near yam
1	2
She took it and placed it near the yam.	

Figure 5-117 Example of a paratactic clause complex

<i>A- fɔn uboo_</i> She enter home	<i>e tiye esa we ca</i> she take cloth exit come
1	2
She went into the house, brought out a cloth.	

Figure 5-118 Paratactic expansion

Cana joins clauses 3 and 4 in a paratactic relation within the clause complex in Table 5109.

<i>E e siye utun,</i> He ASP do work	<i>e e jen erun,</i> he ASP go farm	<i>a bowo ya,</i> it fit him	<i>cana e diya tome epan a no osuda</i> CONJ he also bend head ASP give elder
1	2	3	4
He works,	he goes to farm,	it profits him,	and he also respects his elders.

Figure 5-119 Paratactic clause complex with structural conjunction

5.3.1.2 Hypotaxis

Hypotaxis is the resource for combining clauses of unequal status. Usually, there is a dominant clause upon which another depends. The dependent clause may be marked with a structural conjunction where one is required. In one of the narrative texts where I counted about 70 hypotactic complexes, about 38 of them commenced with the dependent clause followed by the dominant clauses. This seems to suggest that *Òkó* grammar predominantly thematizes the dependent clause (at least relative to narrative text types); although much more data will be needed to confirm this. When the chronological order of the event is tampered with, usually for thematic purposes, a conjunction is used to aid the understanding of the original order of events. Table 5-110 contains the resources for linking clauses in a hypotactic clause complex.

relational type	conjunctive resource	meaning range
expansion	tone sequence (2^3)	-
expansion	<i>cana</i>	before, so that,
expansion	<i>aye</i>	(REASON), then,
expansion	<i>ogbona</i> (time when)	when,
expansion	<i>efena</i>	where, who
expansion	<i>emunę</i> (day when)	when
projection	<i>ka</i>	that

Figure 5-120 Conjunctions in a hypotactic clause complex

Table 5-111 is a text example to illustrate the use of *cana* as an example of a binder in a clause complex. It also shows that the dependent clause can precede the dominant clause in a hypotactic construction.

<i>Cana be ya yọ ọnẹbẹ</i>	<i>a ganę ya ka</i>	<i>“ọkara ọne ni ma tor’ -e oro aye n”</i>
Before they ASP go that	she tell her that	Rafia-bag this you NEG untie it person eye
1β	1α	2
Before they left, she said to her, “this rafia bag, you should not untie it in the presence of anybody.”		

Figure 5-121 Hypotactic complex with dependent clause marked by a binder (*cana*)

Conditional clauses also form hypotactic structures, but the dependency load of the hypotactic clause is borne by the tone (tone 1^2) on the OPERATOR (ASP) in the verbal group of the dependent clause, and with the option of the tone alone in certain negative bound clauses.

<i>Igan ẹnabẹ ogbenikike e fo ...</i>	<i>I bi de tiy’ -e jen a nẹ fuwa.</i>
Period those child.little ASP die	PHP they do take it go ASP throw away
β	α
If a little child dies in those days, it was always thrown away.	

Figure 5-122 Dependency  ASP + (Tone 1^2) in β- clause

Generally, the relation of clauses in a clause complex may not be just of simple linear sequences. There may be internal nesting in a clause complex (Matthiessen & Thompson,

1988; Matthiessen, 2002b; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; and Rose, 2001), as the clause complex analysis in Table 5-99 and Table 5-111 show. Figure 5-123 shows the type of interdependence and the relation of taxis discussed above.

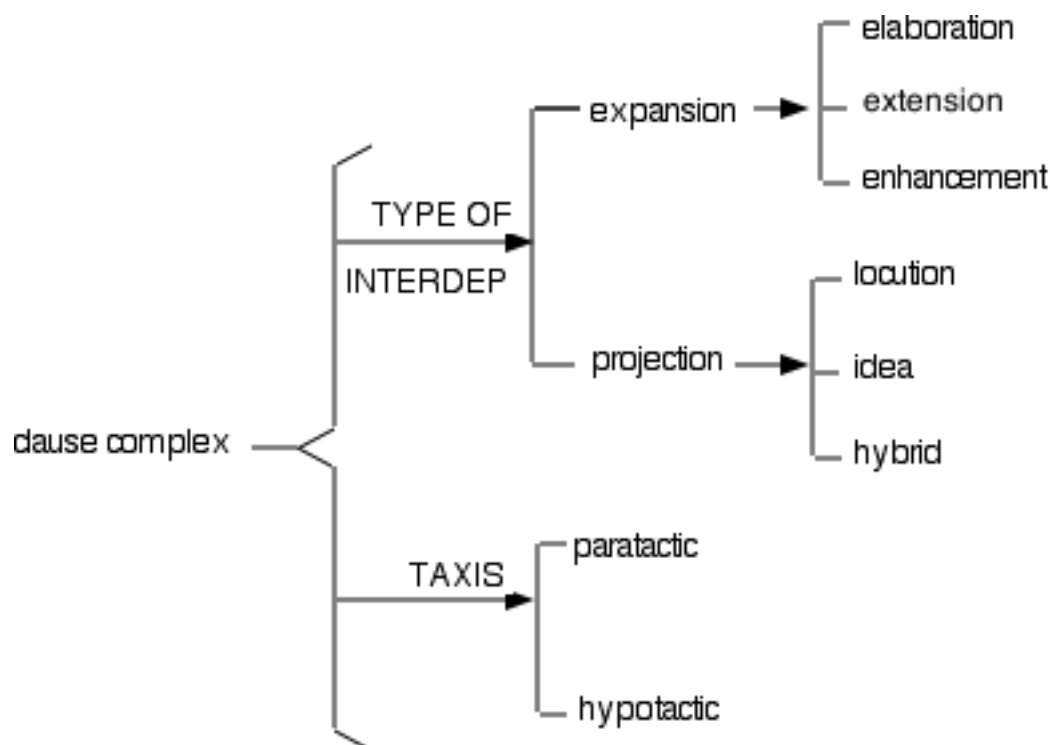


Figure 5-123 Dependence relation in *Òkó* Grammar

5.3.2 Logico-semantic type

The system of LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE is the second primary resource in logical metafunction. In Section 5.3.1 I focused on *Òkó* clause complexing in relation to TAXIS — the degree of interdependency. I observed sequence and order, tone and conjunctive items as fundamental to the realization of the status of a clause in an *Òkó* clause complex. The focus in this section, will be on the type of dependency relation - the logico-semantic type. There are two primary logico-semantic types — expansion and projection.

5.3.3 Expansion

An initiating or dominant clause may be expanded by a secondary clause as an elaboration (=), extension (+) or enhancement (×).

5.3.3.1 Elaboration

In an elaborating combination, one clause expands another in the form of exemplification, restatement or description in terms of more specific detail (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 395) as exemplified in Table 5-113.

<i>E e si e guna ba owo</i> She ASP even ASP answer them mouth	<i>e cun ba tiiri gbagba.</i> she pass them rudely anyhow
1	=2
tone concord: 3^3	
She would not even give them an answer but walk pass rudely in silence.	

Figure 5-124 Expansion: paratactic elaboration

<i>“Ogben a ca;!”</i> “Child ASP come!”	<i>“e e wura!!”</i> she ASP arrive!!	<i>“e e wura!!!”</i> “she ASP arrive!!!”
1	=2	=3
tone concord: 3^3^3		
“The girl is coming!” “She arrives!! “she’s coming back!!!”		

Figure 5-125 Expansion: paratactic elaboration

The clauses in Table 5-113 and Table 5-114 are not related by linkers, but by means of tone concord as indicated in the examples.

5.3.3.2 Extension

Expanding clauses of the extending types either add new information to the initiating clause, contradict it, or provide alternative information.

<i>Be- fon uboo yọ</i> They enter house go	<i>a- ne ya ogben,</i> she take her child	<i>a- ne ya wo elo.</i> she throw him put.into concoction
1	+2	+3
They went into the house, the old woman took her child and threw him into a pot of concoction.		

Figure 5-126

As with hypotactic elaboration, instances of hypotactic extension are also very rare. Examples like Table 5-116, which are close to it, are open to question, as they are interpretable as paratactic instances. This will require further investigation.

<i>Ero jen erun</i> People go farm	<i>bi wura</i> they return	<i>cana awo, u e ki bwe</i> CONJ you, you ASP still sleep
1	+2 α	+2+ β
People have gone to the farm and are back but you are still sleeping		

Figure 5-127 Expansion: hypotactic extension

The following are more examples of the extending type.

1	+2
<i>Egbele owowo biya be e tiye a don</i> Cutlass new INT they ASP take ASP hold	<i>bi ki ne</i> they ASP go-about
They would take a new sharp cutlass	and be going about.
<i>Igila aye e ke fi ne ogben</i> Yam she ASP will roast give yam	<i>sa ogben aye e ke fi ne igila</i> or child she ASP will roast give yam
Is it yam she should roast for the child	or the child she should roast for the yam?
<i>Abeka wiya be fon uboo yo</i> They-and her-mother, they enter house go	<i>be tora akoto</i> they untie raffia-bag
She and her mother went into the house	and they untied the raffia bag.
<i>I ba ke ko esa</i> PHP they ASP pack clothes	<i>be ke wora ade</i> they ASP brewing alcohol
They would be making preparation and and be brewing beer.	
+ β	α
<i>E wura erun</i> She return farm	<i>e cin yo ogben ega</i> she ask her child matter
When she returned from the farm,	she asked after her child.

Figure 5-128

5.3.3.3 Enhancement

Enhancement is far the commonest complex type of expansion in the *Òkó* corpus. The enhancing clause situates the initiating clause in a particular circumstantial context. The context can be spatial, temporal, conditional, causal, concessive, purposive, etcetera. Like the elaborating and extending types, this can occur without any overt structural conjunctive elements but their logico-semantic relation can be easily understood.

<i>Ujogwe gwe</i>	<i>bi bwe,</i>	<i>e e ni</i>	<i>ka ayi bwe keye iya one</i>
Night fall	they sleep	she ASP want	that she sleep near woman this
1	x2	x3	
Night fell, they slept but then she wanted to sleep with the old woman			

Figure 5-129

<i>Ba a ma olore,</i>	<i>bi de siye odore wo amo</i>
They ASP build	they do make hole put.in inside
x β	α
When a clay bed is built, a hole is usually made underneath.	

Figure 5-130

<i>Ero kuru epan na,</i>	<i>bi kwe mune.</i>
People [[peeped head]] DEP	they all ran
x β	α
As soon as people saw what happened, they fled.	

Figure 5-131

x β	α	English translation
<i>Bi puwa eyana aye,</i> They wash “eyana” the	<i>be yo uboo.</i> they go home	After washing the thing, they went home.
<i>Usiye gan</i> tomorrow dawn	<i>iya ka a kpọ utosi</i> woman say she climb rooftop	When the day broke, the old woman told her to climb the rooftop.
<i>E siye ke</i> It do COMPL	<i>be fon uboo yo.</i> they enter house go	When she finished, they went into the house.
<i>Usiye gan,</i> tomorrow dawn	<i>bi siye ijen,</i> they make food	When the day broke they cooked.

Figure 5-132

5.3.4 Projection

I have already made much allusion to projection in my analyses of verbal and mental clauses. Indeed, the two clause types constitute the domains where projecting complex structures obtain: verbal clauses project the content of saying — **locutions**, whereas mental clauses project the content of sensing — **ideas**. In the literature, these have been widely

discussed as the phenomenon of “signification” or “symbolic representation of reality” (Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995a; Teruya, 1998; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; and Rose, 2001). My attention in this section will be devoted to how projection reflects logical metafunctional processes in *Òkó*. In clause complexing involving projection, one clause projects another clause. Locutions can be projected in the language as direct quotation — **quoting**; whereas both locutions and ideas can be projected indirectly — **reporting**. However, it is also observed that *Òkó* allows for the grammaticalization of the projected phenomenon in form of the direct quote interlaced with the indirect reporting. This has prompted our suggestion for a third option, “hybrid”, in the system. The tactic status of a direct quote is paratactic while that of indirect reporting is hypotactic (Halliday, 1994: 254-255). The projecting subtypes in relation to speech functions vis-à-vis their lexicogrammatical realization in terms of MOOD options will also be explored in Section 5.3.2.2.

5.3.4.1 Locution

A locution is the projection of the content of saying as wording. Projected speech is construed as a direct quote, represented in the analysis by a double quotation mark, [“]. Both indicative and imperative clauses can be projected as locution. The indicative types will be discussed first.

Indicative mood types are declarative and interrogative moods used to give or demand information respectively (see Chapter 4).

<i>Bẹ ka, ee!!</i>	<i>Ayẹ a ca ọnẹ ro</i>
They say hooray	she ASP come this UNEXPECT
1	“2
“Hooray,” they said, “here she comes”.	

Figure 5-133 Paratactic projection of speech: (locution giving information)

<i>Ayẹ a ka</i>	<i>“ẹna we e ni a?”</i>	“what do you want?” The old woman asked.
Then she say	what you ASP want IP	
<i>Ayẹ iya ayẹ ka,</i>	<i>“Opuu, ẹna a ga?”</i>	“what is making that sound?”,
Then woman the say	“Opuu, what ASP say”	asked the old woman
1	“2	

Figure 5-134

<i>A ka,</i> He say	<i>“obin aguga teyi mu”.</i> “king, please leave me”
1	“2
He said, “King, please leave me”.	

Figure 5-135 Paratactic projection of speech: (locution demanding goods-&-services)

Paratactic projection of speech is very common in recounts, narratives, casual conversation and some other generic types. It covers all speech functional types, as can be observed in Table 5-122 to Table 5-124. These examples involve congruent instances. Incongruent versions are possible, but I shall only illustrate this fact with the imperative type as in Table 5-125.

<i>Iya ka</i> Woman say	<i>“wa ka yọ uboo”.</i> you will go home
1	“2
“You will go home”, the old woman told her.	

Figure 5-136 Paratactic locution with command \square declarative mood

As I have mentioned earlier in the discussion of verbal clauses (Section 5.3 - the domain of saying), the only grammatical difference between paratactic and hypotactic projecting verbal clauses as speech is the change in person. Unlike in English and some other languages, the grammar of verbal group in Ọkọ does not select for tense; and therefore tense is not a factor to consider for distinguishing the phenomenon of taxis among the clauses of a projecting verbal clause complex. Examples of reported locutions are presented in Table 5-126 and Table 5-127.

Ẹ ka I say	<i>a tẹ ya isile upi</i> she reduce it shillings five	<i>a ka</i> she say	<i>ayẹ ma tẹ ẹ</i> she NEG reduce it
1 α	1“ β	+2 α	+2“ β
I asked her to reduce five shillings from the price, but she refused.			

Figure 5-137 Verbal clause projecting hypotactic locution: (giving information)

<i>A - ka_</i>	<i>agwagwa, ayẹ e diya fo epane e puwa eyana ro</i>
She say	please she ASP cannot use head ASP wash “eyana” UNEXP
α	“ β ”
She replied, that she could not wash with her head.	

Figure 5-138 Verbal clause (α) projecting hypotactic locution (“ β 1) - demanding goods-&-services

Another observation is that *ka* and *ganẹ* (“tell to”) are the only verbs that project direct speech. Table 5-128 lists other verbs serving in a clause that can project another clause. In their unmarked state these do not normally project paratactically. If there is any need to express the behaviour represented by any of the verbal expressions, an independent verbal clause is employed in the function. I shall therefore regard them as behavioural clauses, even though they foreground verbal action.

	Projecting expressions	
i.	<i>gban owo</i>	speaking pompously
ii.	<i>gan owo</i>	nosing about
iii.	<i>rọn owo</i>	boast
iv.	<i>na umi</i>	anxious
v.	<i>mẹẹşẹ</i>	discuss heart to heart
vi.	<i>wẹn ya wo X ọton</i>	whisper (into X’s ear)
vii.	<i>daba -</i>	suggest
viii.	<i>cin</i>	ask
ix.	<i>kperẹ</i>	warn
x	<i>tẹşẹ ẹga</i>	ask inquisitively/persistently

Figure 5-139 Other expressions that project

These mainly project hypotactically as in this constructed example.

<i>Yọ osuda a rón-owo,</i>	<i>ka abẹ a ka fọn uboo</i>
His elder-brother ASP sweet- mouth	we ASP will enter home
α	$=\beta$
His elder brother was boasting, they would win the election.	

Figure 5-140

However under very rare circumstances, they construct paratactic projection in reversed order of the clauses such as in Table 5-130.

<i>“Ayẹn e numa o họn?”</i>	<i>e- siye akọ cin ya.</i>
Eye ASP pain you IP	she do like-this ask her
“1	2
“Are you blind”, she asked in this manner.	

Figure 5-141 Other expressions projecting paratactically

This is an instance when the projected clause comes before the projecting one. However, such cases occur in an interpersonally loaded context. The quotation is accompanied by some verbal (and perhaps physical) “drama” - gestures; which indicates that the emphasis of the speaker is in the manner of or interpersonal circumstances surrounding the saying. In such instances, language plays, rather, an ancillary role. They differ from the paratactic projection accomplished by the *ka*-clause, in the sense that the latter is not reversible and without additional interpersonal implications.

I now turn to the projection type earlier described as a **hybrid** (Section 5.3). Basically it is a verbal process type, but one in which the projected clause realises a mixture of a direct and indirect speech, in a way similar to Halliday & Matthiessen’s (2004: 465) third category of projection: free indirect speech, for example:

<i>A- ka, aguga, u- ma fọ ẹsọn pu ya ayẹ ibe ro</i>
She say please, you not use fart close her her stomach ISEP
Mixed Projection
She said, “Please do not give me constipation with your farting”.

Figure 5-142 Verbal clause projecting tactically mixed clause.

However, it differs a little in the sense that the Òkó example is a blend of a direct quote and an indirect report. In the projected clause of the example in Table 5-131, the first part

aguga u ma fo erson pu with 2^{PL} is a quote (direct) while the second half, *ya aye ibe ro*, which switches reference to 3^{SG} is a report (indirect).

5.3.4.2 Idea

In an idea clause, the content of sensing is projected as meaning. Ideas are typically projected hypotactically — that is, reported rather than quoted. For example:

<i>Ano e ni</i> You ASP want	<i>ka ni ki lo eji</i> that you ASP use market	<i>ni me duna yo ubwa</i> you not pay its debt?
α	$\beta 1$	$\beta +2$
Do you want to be using a market without paying for it?		

Figure 5-143

It is very difficult to find instances of paratactic projection of thoughts. At the moment, we cannot draw an absolute conclusion as to the possibility of their occurrences, but I have not found instances of it in my entire corpus, neither does my memory as a native speaker of *Òkó* suggest any such examples.

5.4 Logical Grammar: Complexing at the Verbal Groups

The logical resources of taxis and logico-semantic relations in *Òkó* grammar discussed above are those dealing with relations at the rank of the clause: the combination of clauses into a clause complex. In Section 5.4, it was mentioned that this lexicogrammatical potential of complexing is not restricted to the rank of the clause. A little evidence of this was seen in Chapter 2 where the morphology of *Òkó* was observed to depict such characteristics through inflectional and derivational processes. In this section, I will explore the potential for complexing groups; specifically, verbal groups in great detail, as not only an interesting but also an important resource in the meaning making process of the language.

To achieve this purpose, I will define the concept which will be referred to as “verbal group complex” or “serial verb construction” as it is traditionally known; I will also define the characteristics and then move on to an extensive discussion of the different categories as they are construed in the grammar.

5.4.1 Serial verb construction

The Process of the *Òkó* clause, as has been discussed in Section 5.1, is realized by a verbal group, which may sometimes manifest some traits of complexity. Such complexity is as a result of the concatenation of lexical verbs, which are individually capable of expressing the

Event in a Process. This phenomenon, traditionally referred to as “serial verb construction”, is pervasive in the Niger-Congo language family (see Williamson, 1989: 30; Creissels, 2000: 231) and some East Asian languages (Matthiessen, 1995a: 638; Patpong, in preparation). The organizing unit of the serial verbs is the verbal group, hence in structural terms, it is a “verbal group complex” (Halliday, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995a: Butt et al, 2001).

Serial verb construction is a feature in the domains of experiential grammar of the clause as well as the logical metafunction (of the verbal group), both of which realize the ideational meaning component. Although this feature has been observed in African languages for some time now, not much has been done in terms of its precise role or status in the functional description of the group until recently. Few earlier attempts had paid attention to its overall potential in the configuration of the meaning of the clause. Only Matthiessen (in an unpublished work on Akan), discussed the verbal group complexing as a resource operating in the system of TRANSITIVITY.

5.4.1.1 Definition

Watters (2000: 220-221) defines serial verb construction thus, “two linked clauses” behave like a sequence of verb phrases rather than a sequence of clauses”, but also recognizes that the verbs within the group may be of different grammatical status: one more of an auxiliary than the other which conveys the core meaning in the clause. Williamson (1989: 30), defining it as the juxtaposition of verbs without conjunction but sharing common surface subject, identifies three main types namely, “unmarked” “consecutive” and “concordial” (see reference for full description of each). In Creissels (2000: 240), serial verb construction is described as “a sequence of two or more verbs” with the three following properties:

- (i) there is a single subject for the whole sequence.
- (ii) each verb may have its own complement.
- (iii) the sequence as a whole has the behaviour of a single predicate and not that of a construction involving distinct predicates in some dependency relation.

Creissels’s and others’ attempts to describe serial verb construction above are not only the latest, they are also representative of a few previous mention of the concept in terms of the extent of description. They show that it has been recognized as one of the features of African languages, specifically those of the Niger-Congo family. However, the most extensive work and those that clearly link them to the overall motifs in a semiotic process are Matthiessen (1995a, 2004), Patpong (in preparation) - also see Halliday (1994: Sections 7A.4). Serial verb construction is portrayed as a logical resource for expanding the potential of the verbal group,

such that circumstantial features are realized by verbs within the Process of the clause. I will illustrate this shortly. The result is that we have a **verbal group complex**.

In a language with serial verb construction potential, the Process of the transitivity structure of the clause can be realized through a verbal group complex with two different principles of organization, namely a univariate or a multivariate organization (Matthiessen 1995a: 715).

In a verbal group, the main experiential element - the Event - may be modified by a series of auxiliaries, the first of which may be the Head (usually), the Finite. This is illustrated in Table 5-133

(1)	<i>Erire</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sisi</i>	<i>cin</i>	<i>m'ega</i>
	Erire	ASP	NEG	MAS	ask	my- affairs
		Aux: aspect	Polarity	Modality (willingness)	Event	
		vg				
	Erire did not even ask after me.					

Figure 5-144 Simple verbal group structure

The verbal group, which realizes the Verbal Process in the clause above, has *cin* as the Event. The state of the Event is made more specific by *e* (an auxiliary: marking the Event as imperfective - irrealis); *me* (Negator: marking the polarity of the event as negative) and then *sisi*, (which convey the attitude of the speaker about the event). Here, the Process includes only one Event. However, in a verbal group complex, the Process is construed as a series of two or more component Events. Example (2) in Table 5-134 below shows a verbal group complex with a series of two Events.

(2)	<i>Iya</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>yọ</i>
	Woman	exit	go
		Event	Event
		verbal group	
	Mother/Woman has gone out.		

Figure 5-145 Complex Verbal group structure

5.4.1.2 Characteristics of serial verb construction

There are a few points I will like to make about serial verb construction before I proceed. First of all, a serial verb construction is oriented towards the logical principle of organization

within the verbal group complex (Matthiessen, 1996: 22-23; 1995a: 638). In other words, the functional unit of operation is a clause as opposed to a clause complex. The first indication that it is a single verbal group unit, that is, one verbal continuum in a complex, is the fact that the verbs, no matter how many, have the same Subject. Second, there is no logical connective such as a conjunction linking the two verbs together. Third, the verbal strings may be interrupted by a nominal group (functioning as a Beneficiary or Means), or an adverbial group modifying a verb).

Fourth, as Creissels (2000) observes, “the verb sequence cannot be viewed as reflecting the decomposition of a complex event into elementary ones”. For example the process in (2) above does not necessarily involve the *Iya* “moving out” first before “going”. It is one and the same experiential process. Besides, *Iya* might not necessarily have been in an enclosed location first before the “going”. Furthermore, in an *Òkó* example similar to Creissels’ is (3) in Table 5-135 below.

(3)	<i>A- fɔ</i> 3 ^{SG} carry	yɔhis/her	<i>uboo</i> house	yɛnsho w	mɔme
	Event			Event	
	He showed me his house.				

Figure 5-146

Contrary to what the English glossing shows, one does not “lift/carry” a house before showing it to somebody else, and it is obvious that *yɔ uboo* does not receive its semantic role as the Complement of the verb “carry” from *fɔ*, but from the other component of the serial verb.

Fifth, verbal group complexing is limited to the domains of doing/happening and sensing/saying. Relational processes are not realized through serial verb construction in *Òkó*. I will discuss other characteristics in the series of examples to be presented later, but one that I need to mention is this: *Òkó* models the unfolding of the process realized by the verbal group in terms of ASPECT rather than in terms of TENSE. Aspect is a resource for interpreting the internal temporal composition of the event in terms of how it unfolds through time as either into perfective (completed/bounded) or imperfective (uncompleted/unbounded), Martin, 1988: 279-280; Halliday, 1994: 241; Whaley, 1997: 204).

5.4.1.3 Types of serial verb construction on Òkó

In this section, I will identify the various types of organization within the verbal group complex. While Matthiessen's (1995a: 725) observation that verbal group complexes manifest "as serial verb construction rather than complementation construction" holds true, I also notice that there is a varying degree of construal of the main Process among the Events in series. The same goes for the degree of lexicality of the verbs that express the Events. For example, as Watters (2000: 220) illustrates, it is difficult to divide some lexical items into their root lexemes because they have been so fused together that speakers no more see them as two. An example is *nawọ*, which would in explicit sense realize "receive" + "hear" in *Efan a ma nawọ ka ayi di e je obin* as in,

(4) <i>Efan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>na-wo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ayi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>king</i>
Efan	ASP	NEG	receive-hear	that	she	MOD	ASP	eat	king
Efan did not believe that she could be crowned the queen.									

Figure 5-147

One major motif in serial verb construction is the circumstantiation of the main Event and the realization of the Beneficiary function through the verbal group. Matthiessen (1995a: 79), in reference to his work on Akan (same Niger-Congo phylum with Òkó) explains,

The circumstantial features realized prepositionally in English may, in other languages, be realized within a group ... or as a dependent verb in a verbal complex.

He goes further to explain (275-276):

Many languages with serial verb construction allow a wide range of enhancing options for introducing transitivity roles - for example, Beneficiaries may be introduced with a verb meaning 'give' or 'benefit' and spatial; Location may be introduced with verbs meaning 'cross', 'move towards, etc. In fact, this may mean that there is no real difference, between a Range-like participant and circumstances.

A few verbal group complexes extracted from part of a recount text in Òkó reveals a similar picture to Matthiessen's observation above. I have tabulated the kind of circumstances each instantiates in Table 5137 below:

<i>Text Example</i>	<i>Circumstance instantiated</i>
<i>siye e siye a ne</i>	beneficiary
<i>e gwe re</i>	extent
<i>ke we we ca</i>	location
<i>e jen e re e wo</i>	reason
<i>de tiye jen a ne fuwa</i>	purpose
<i>yọ e su (oforo)</i>	reason
<i>bẹ k ẹ ca be yọ</i>	reason
<i>e tiye a don</i>	location
<i>e de guru wo icin</i>	location
<i>de mi kọ we kẹ ca</i>	location
<i>de mi ki siye kẹ ne</i>	beneficiary

Figure 5-148 Circumstantial and Benefactive roles realized in verbal group complex

Example (5) in Table 5-138 below demonstrates how the circumstantial function is realized in a clause through the use of serial verb construction.

(5)	A- 3 RD	<i>ne</i> throw	<i>ya</i> it	<i>wo</i> put	<i>era ibe</i> fire inside
	Predi-		Complement	-cator	Adjunct
	Pro-		Goal	-cess	Location

Figure 5-149 Realisation of circumstantial function

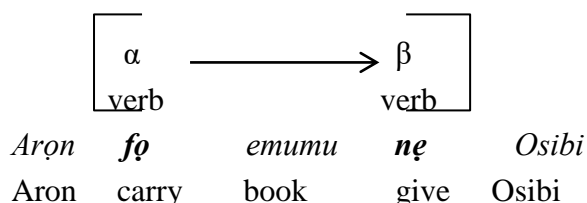
The Event component *ne* (throw) of the Process *a- ne* in addition to another Event *wo* (put) realize the meaning “throw into” where the prepositional meaning of direction (circumstance) has been taken over by a verbal resource. Similarly, the transitivity role of Beneficiary is introduced by *ne* (give) in a complex verbal group involving *fọ* (carrying) and

nɛ (giving) in example (6) below (an *Òkó* version of the Akan example in Matthiessen, 1995a: 726).

(6) clause

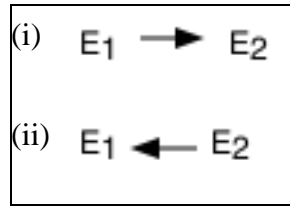
Actor: n.gp	Process: v.gp., Benef. Goal: n gp	Recipient: n.gp
----------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------

v.group



Matthiessen's (1995a: Section 7.5.1) exploration of the potential of a verb for coexisting in a serial verb construction, through the resource of logical relation, is one approach to the categorization of verbs. He observes that verbs pattern logico-semantically, in a similar way as clauses do to a large extent. Verbs in a verbal group complex can expand on or project another both paratactically and hypotactically (with the exception of projecting paratactically). Another approach is that of Patpong (forthcoming), which focuses more on the characterization of the verbs by the different ways each contributes to the construction of the overall meaning within the verbal group. The two approaches are similar except in the degree of detail. I will use an adaptation of Patpong's approach largely in the exploration of the pattern of serial verb construction in *Òkó*, due to the interesting similarities I have found between Thai and *Òkó*, particularly in this area of the grammar.

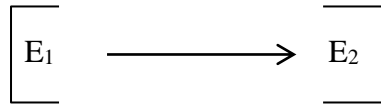
I will discuss the types of complexing in terms of the meaning orientation within the verbal group complex; that is, what kind of meaning the relationship of the verbs in series realizes in addition to the lexical meaning of individual verb in the verbal group. In most cases, a verbal group complex would contain a main Event expressing what Watters (2000: 220-221) refers to as "core" or "primary" meaning. Other Event(s) within the group complex would normally expand (in a general sense) the core meaning. In some cases also, the first Event in the sequence (E_1) "sets the stage" or provides the semantic space for the occurrence of the second Event (E_2). In other cases, the first Event is the core Event, while the second serves to contextualize it. Again, using the metaphor of "expansion", I will term the first case the rightward expansion (an expansion to the right), and the second leftward expansion (an expansion to the left), represented respectively as follows:



The arrowhead points to the core Event as the main target in the serial verb construction. Each of the types is illustrated by examples (Figure 5-150 - i and ii) below:

(i)

Sayer: n.gp	Process: verbal group Verbiage: n gp	Target: n.g
----------------	--	----------------



Oro *fɔ* *wɔ- ega* *ta* *mɔ*
 Someone carry your-matter hit me
 (Someone has reported you to me.)

(ii)

Actor n.gp	Process: verbal group	Location: n.gp
---------------	-----------------------	-------------------

Ogben *bwe* *wo* *agodo*
 Child sleep be in bed
 (The child slept under the earthen bed.)

Figure 5-150 Semantic Relationship between Main and Sundry Events in VG complex.

5.4.1.4 Categories of serial verb construction

Figure 5-151 below shows the different categories of serial verb construction, which I will now go on to discuss.

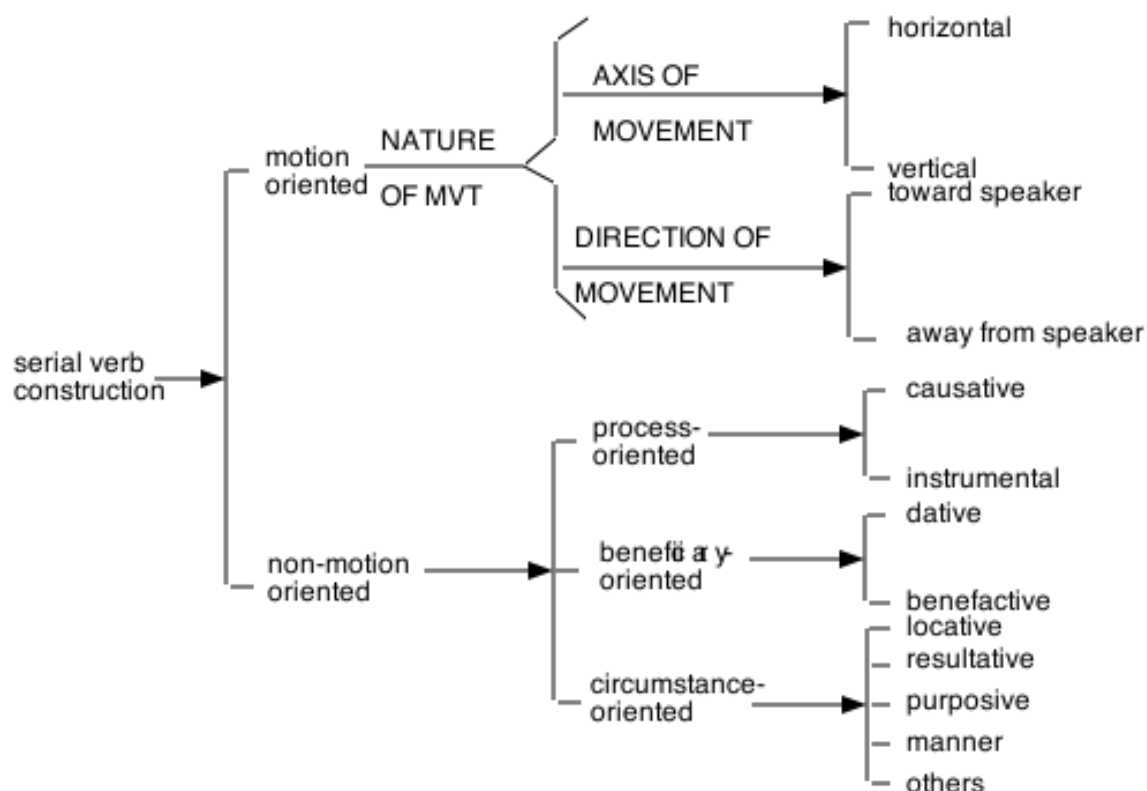


Figure 5-151 Categories of serial verb construction

Because of the role played by the concept of motion in the construction of serial verb, I have set it up as one of the primary types of the system network. This role will be seen when I explore the verbal group complex that contain three or more lexical verbs, under what I will refer to as “extensive” serial verb construction. A serial verb construction can either be oriented towards motion or non-motion.

5.4.1.4.1 Motion-Oriented Serial Verb Construction

A very common phenomenon in serial verb construction is the expression of events in relation to motion. There are two simultaneous options involved, namely the axis of movement and the direction of the movement.

5.4.1.4.1.1 Axis of movement

The axis of movement can either be horizontal or vertical.

5.4.1.4.1.2 Horizontal movement

The common verbs used in a horizontal movement are *we* (exist), *yø/jen* (go) and *ca* (come). Each of the verbs can be used as the initial verbal Event in a verbal group complex, to expand the primary Event⁴¹, as in Table 5-139,

8	<i>We</i> <i>fura</i> <i>eřeņeņe</i>
	Exit leave place.that
	Leave that place!

Figure 5-152 Horizontal movement verb *we*

The command “leave that place!” is realized in serial construction involving E₁ - *we* (exit) and E₂ - *fura* (leave). The direction of the movement is not specified in relation to the speaker, but another object. A similar process is involved in example (9) below, but this is a movement towards the speaker or example (10), a movement away from the speaker.

(9)	<i>Ama</i> <i>u-</i> <i>wa</i> <i>ca</i> <i>u-</i> <i>je</i> <i>jen?</i>
	(CIIP) you- ASP come you- eat food
	Would you come and eat? / You are invited to lunch.

Figure 5-153

(10)	<i>Kę</i> <i>yø</i> <i>u-</i> <i>a</i> <i>ma</i>
	ASP go you ASP sit
	Go and sit.

Figure 5-154

In each of the examples above, there is an orientation towards movement through the first verb in the verbal group. In many instances, the Event construing the Process as involving movement may come after the primary Event, in an expanding role (expansion leftward), as in examples 11, 12 and 13.

⁴¹ The Events are in bold italics.

11	<i>Ogben damena</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yọ</i> ,
	Child wander	ASP	go
The child was wandering away			

Figure 5-155

12	<i>Iya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ọ</i>	<i>fwẹ</i>	<i>kẹ</i>	<i>yọ</i>
	Woman	say	you-	take-it	ASP	go
The woman said to take it away						

Figure 5-156

13	<i>Ero</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mune</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>ca</i>
	People	ASP	run	exit	come
People rushed out.					

Table 5Table 5Table 5

Vertical movement

The vertical direction involves ascending or descending relative to the speaker and this also can be conceived in terms of movement “towards” and “away from” the speaker. So the serial verb construction with a vertical movement often has *yọ* or *ca* as one of its components as in Table 5-145,

14	<i>Opuu</i>	<i>kpọ</i>	<i>utosi</i>	<i>yọ</i>
	Opuu	ascend	rooftop	go
Opuu climbed to the rooftop.				
15	<i>E-</i>	<i>holo</i>	<i>ca</i>	
	3 ^{SG}	descend	come	
He descended.				

Figure 5-157 Vertical Movement

We can see again that the single act of ascending or descending is construed by Òkó grammar as a complex Event involving both the axis and the direction of movement.

5.4.1.4.2 Non-Motion-Oriented Serial Verb Construction

A non-motion-oriented serial verb construction may be process oriented, beneficiary oriented or circumstance-oriented. I will again illustrate each of these.

5.4.1.4.2.1 Process-oriented type

The process-oriented serial verb construction foregrounds the process of “doing” as involving a series of events. In order words, one action is construed as leading to another. There are two types of these, namely the causative and instrumental types.

5.4.1.4.2.2 Causative type

The serial verb construction of the causative type involves a verbal group that realizes a Process with an effective agency (Halliday, 1994: 163; Matthiessen, 1995a: 4.6), where the first Event (*kɔ*) is caused by an external Agent.

16	<i>Ekeke</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kɔ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>fale</i>
	Bicycle	ASP	pack	him/her	fall
	A bicycle pushed him/her down.				
17	<i>U-</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>wɔrɛ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>kan iwu</i>
	2 ^{SG}	NEG	cause	him/her	distress body
	Do not make him angry.				

Figure 5-158 SVC – Causative Type

Kɔ/wɔrɛ prepares the semantic space for the occurrence of the main Event *fale/kan*, which is actualized by the Medium (him/her).

5.4.1.4.2.3 Instrumental type

The instrumental type is similar to the causative type except that the former has three participants namely, the Agent (Causer), an instrument (Means) and Medium.

18	<i>A-</i>	<i>fɔ</i>	ɛpanhead		<i>e</i>	<i>puwa</i>	ɛyanasome
	3 ^{SG}	use			ASP	wash	thing
	Agent-Event (E ₁)		Means	Agent	Event (E ₂)		Medium
She was washing something with her head							

Figure 5-159 SVC – Instrumental Type

The instrument conflates two roles, namely, the Means made possible by the first Event (E₁) and secondly, an Agent actualising the second Event (E₂).

19	<i>Aguga, u-</i> Please	<i>2^{SG}</i>	<i>ma fo</i> NEG use	<i>eson</i> fart	<i>pu ya</i> close him	<i>aye ibe,</i> his inside
		Agent	E ₁	Means/Agent	E ₂	Medium
Please do not block my stomach with farting/ don't get me constipated by your farts						

Figure 5-160 SVC – Means oriented

5.4.1.4.3 Beneficiary-Oriented

Beneficiary-oriented can either be benefactive or dative and the Events in each of the verbal group complex construe a beneficiary of the Process, either directly as a recipient or indirectly as a client.

5.4.1.4.3.1 Benefactive-oriented serial verb construction

The benefactive type involves a direct beneficiary; hence its E₂ is usually realized by a benefactive process, *ne* (give) for example;

20	<i>U-</i> <i>2^{SG}</i>	<i>fi</i> roast	<i>ogben</i> child	<i>ne</i> give	<i>igila</i> yam
Roast the child for the yam.					
21	<i>E-</i> <i>3^{SG}</i>	<i>di</i> could	<i>siye</i> do	<i>epen</i> something	<i>ne oro,</i> give someone
So that it could do something for someone.					

Figure 5-161 SVC- Benefactive Type

5.4.1.4.4 Dative-oriented serial verb construction

The dative type involves an indirect beneficiary. This can be a variety of secondary event types in the serial verb construction, for example:

22	<i>E- e ni aye ogben a ne, ya aye</i> 3 ^{SG} MOD+ASP seek his/her child ASP give him/her him/her
	S/he should go and search for his / her child and bring him to him/her.
23	<i>Oyegben aye da karę yen ero abę</i> gGrI the ^{SG} ASP narrate show people the ^{PL}
	The girl would narrate her experience to the people.
24	<i>Ei, u- ma ma mọ puwa</i> INTERJ 2 ^{SG} NEG assist me wash
	Oh! Won't you assist me to wash?

Figure 5-162 Dative Type

The collocation of the verbs in a verbal group complex of the beneficiary types always indicates that there is one participant that is the Beneficiary in the Process expressed in the two Events.⁴²

5.4.1.4.5 Circumstance-oriented serial verb construction

A circumstance-oriented type is a serial verb construction in which one of the Events foregrounds a specific kind of circumstance. The circumstance is expressed in the verbal group instead of in an adverbial group or prepositional phrase. The following examples illustrate the construal of various circumstances through the verbal group.

5.4.1.4.5.1 Locative

Locative type commonly uses the verb *wo*, a co-verb (COV) (see Halliday & McDonald, 2004: 317), which may mean “be in/on”, “put in/on” “place in/on” etc, as an expanding Event, as in the examples in Figure 5-163:

⁴² Reflexive pronoun is sometimes realized by double pronouns as in example 22 in Table 5-150.

25	<i>Iya</i>	<i>tọmẹ</i>	<i>ẹpan</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>ije</i>	
	woman	bend	head	COV	ground	
	The woman bent her head to the ground.					
26	<i>Oyegben</i>	<i>ayẹ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>bobo</i>	<i>ogben</i>	<i>wo abare</i>
	Girl	the	still	back	child	COV back
	The girl was still carrying the baby on her back.					
27	<i>Bi-</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>siye</i>	<i>ọdọre</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>amọ</i>
	3 ^{PL}	ASP	do	hole	COV	it
	They do make a hole in underneath it.					
28	<i>E</i>	<i>diya</i>	<i>pare</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>bobo</i>	
	She	also	tie	3 ^{SG}	put-on-the-back	
	S/he again used to tie him/her on him/her back.					

Figure 5-163 Locative type

5.4.1.4.5.2 Purpose

In purpose-oriented serial verb construction, the first lexical verb expresses Event, while the second one provides a purpose for the occurrence of the first event.

29	<i>Ẹdẹda ọnẹ</i>	<i>yọ</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>oworo ọbẹn</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>this</i>
	go	he	ASP	marry	wife	other		
	This man went to marry another wife.							
30	<i>Jọwọn kare</i>	<i>w ọ-oda</i>	<i>Stand</i>	<i>wait</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>junior</i>		
	Wait for your younger brother/sister.							
31	<i>Osibina e</i>	<i>bila</i>	<i>ekaniduru</i>	<i>e- e</i>	<i>fon</i>	<i>ogberẹ</i>	<i>odudu ẹpan.</i>	
	God	ASP	turn	punishment	3 ^{SG} OPR	hit	rival	bad head
	God should punish the bad rival.							

Figure 5-164 Purpose Type

5.4.1.4.5.3 Manner

In the manner type, one of the Events (such as *lakata* - in 32) refers to the manner in which the main Event takes place, whereas, *siye*, a kind of adjunct to the main Events *jin* and *siye* - in 33 & 34 respectively provides the environment for the occurrence of a manner adverbial (*akọ* & *egan*).

32	<i>Lakata tiye</i>	<i>yọ ori fura</i>
	Hurry remove	its lid leave
	Quickly take the lid off.	
33	<i>E- siye akọ jin opolo,</i>	
	3 ^{SG} do like.this	open doorway
	He opened the door like this.	
34	<i>Bi- ki siye egan siye</i>	
	They just do so do	
	They just did like that.	

Figure 5-165 Manner type

5.4.1.4.5.4 Resultative type

The resultative type comprises a verbal group complex with the second Event in the series expressing a circumstance that comes into existence as a direct result of the first Event.

35	<i>Wo oforo wa ade fe</i>
	Your husband drink beer full
	Your husband has drunk alcohol in excess.
36	<i>Puwa isisin fura</i>
	Wash dirt leave
	Wash the dirt off.
37	<i>Oro de siye ese kọ uru họn</i>
	Person ASP do kindness pack trouble PIP
	Does a person show kindness to his/her own detriment?

Figure 5-166 Resultative type

5.4.1.4.5.5 Cause-Effect type

The cause-effect serial verb construction is one in which the first Event sets up a Process, which brings about a natural effect expressed in the second Event as in examples 38 and 39 in Table 5-155

38	<i>Wiya paṛe ogben-eekporo se, ya abare</i>
	His/her_mother tie child corpse hold his/her back
	Her mother tied the child's corpse to her back.
39	<i>U- me e yin ijen je ro</i>
	2 ^{SG} NEG ASP buy food eat ISEP
	Don't buy food with the money.

Figure 5-167 Cause-Effect type

5.4.1.5 Extensive Verbal Group Complex

The discussion of serial verb construction has deliberately been restricted to simple cases of the instances. Another reason for the restriction is that the data from which most of the examples are extracted, is dominated by the simple serial verb construction types. The grammar of Òkó, however, allows for a combination of the various types identified above. In

the following section, I will give examples of more complex serial verb construction than have been discussed previously.

5.4.1.6 Perspective on serial verb construction

Whether we regard instances of serial verb construction as involving one or more clauses depends on our perspective of the functions of a clause. The status of the simple (non-extensive) serial verb construction can easily be understood as realizing a single process. The decision becomes more complex with the combination of several complexes. The following characteristics may provide an insight to why I believe that serial verb construction is a single (though complex) semantic entity. There is one semantically dominant (core) Event in the verbal group complex in each of examples 40 - 44, which the other Events seem to cumulatively expand as shown in **Error! Reference source not found.** below.

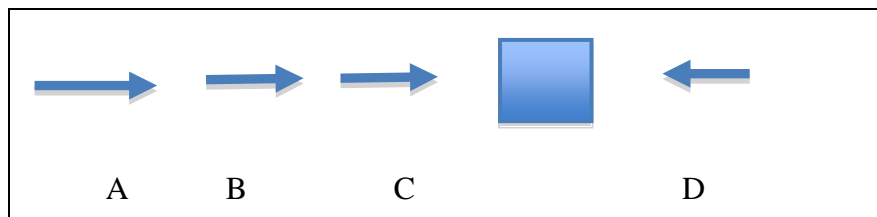


Figure 5-169 The core event as the centrifugal point in a verbal group complex

Each arrow and letter represents an Event in the verbal group complex build-up. The following are the core Events in each complex groups construction example above: *tiye* in (40), *ta* in (41), *ga* in (42), *balę* in (43) and *tiye* in (44).

In the context of the higher rank (clause) in which the serial verb construction functions, each series contains one Subject, which carries the modal responsibility in the clause - that is upon whom an argument of the activity can be built. In addition, each clause performs one grammatical function as follows:

Clause #	MOOD TYPE	SPEECH FUNCTION	PROCESS TYPE
40	declarative	statement	material
41	declarative	offer	behavioural
42	interrogative	question	verbal
43	imperative	command	behavioural
44	imperative	command	material

Figure 5-170 Function of the clause with verbal group complexes

There is no sense of two or more separate Processes in each construction. Rather, it is possible to map the eventual outcome of the verbal group complexing to a specific process type. Serial verb construction, therefore, seems to constitute one verbal continuum.

5.5 Summary

The resources for construing ideational meaning have been the focus of this chapter. Two broad categories of resources are explored namely experiential and logical grammar. The experiential grammar has been explored as the resource for construing our experience as a flow of events or ‘goings on’ as meaning. One quantum of change is represented by the configuration of the clause and perceived through the TRANSITIVITY system. As the model of the domains of experience, options in the PROCESS TYPE system were explored, revealing particularity of choices of resources deployed for meaning construal in each domain of experience. The investigation through texts leads to the recognition of four main domains in concord with Matthiessen’s (1995a) prototypes, namely the domains of doing & happening, sensing, saying and being, expounded by corresponding processes. The domain of doing & happening is expressed through material and behavioural process clauses, the domain of sensing is expressed through mental process clauses, the domain of saying is expressed through verbal process clauses and the domain of being is expressed through relational process clauses.

With the material clauses (Section 5.2.2), it was observed that there is the propensity for “verbal group complexes” to construe a process, and this became the focus of a special discussion in Section 5.4. In the behavioural category, processes that tend toward the material angle are usually ranged while those that tend towards the mental domain can be both middle and ranged. In a verbal clause, it was seen that there is the possibility of wording the reported clause as a hybrid of both quotes and indirect report, especially in narratives. In a mental process (Section 5.2.5), the sensing could be initiated by the Senser or it could have external agency as the Phenomenon. Of significant observation in the sensing domain is the way in which *Òkó* grammar places some emphasis on a body part rather than the whole body. For instance, the Senser in some Processes are construed as active like an Actor in a material process. This characteristic has been perceived as a kind of metaphor in the mental process. In cognitive mental clauses, a delicate distinction is made between the strategies for pre-projecting facts and projecting ideas (cf. Section 5.2.5.1). Generally speaking, the domain of sensing is one area where a lot of grammatical metaphors are found. Of course this makes good sense because the realm of sensing is complex and has diverse manifestations with the

relatively small number of verbs of sensing in Ọ̀kọ́ to express them individually, compared to verbs in the material domain. Some of the characteristics of mental verbs discussed are observed as features of languages in the Niger-Congo language family.

In the relational process of the existential types, two main categories (the “*wo*” and “*su*” types) are found to exist in Ọ̀kọ́ but with different, interesting patterns; while a third (existential-plus) type has lesser role and frequency in the grammar. In the expanding relational type, it is observed that the Process is conflated with the Attribute in the attributive clause, making a distinction between such a process-implicit clause and a process-explicit clause. These two contrast with one in which the process may be left out completely. Of typological interest is the ascriptive type, described as “ascriptive circumstantial process with an implicit Process” and configured as Carrier and ENQUIRE. The second element tagged ENQUIRE is a particle serving interpersonal function (see the Open Interrogative Particle in Chapter 4).

The exploration of the logical grammar makes up the second major division of the ideational grammar. This moved the description to the analysis of clause complexes, focusing on the strategies for clause nexus through the systems of TAXIS and LOGICO-GRAMMAR. The preponderant combination of clauses without overt conjunctives is of great interest as this cuts across tactic and logico-semantic boundaries. The deployment of the INTONATION system is seen as an important strategy in making systemic distinctions between paratactic and hypotactic relations. However, the role of conjunctions in combining clauses is also seen as primary in the logical metafunction. This is especially needful when the sequence of clauses is marked. There is a suggestion that dependent clauses in a hypotactic construction are more likely to be thematized in a narrative than the independent one. But whether this is peculiar to the texts selected for analysis in this chapter; and how far this finding applies to other text types need to be investigated further.

The analysis of the logical metafunction was extended to the rank of the group with the exploration of the “verbal group complex”, where it is observed that a Process is very often construed as being made up of a number of events (realized by lexical verbs) in sequence and in diverse kind of logical relations.

Although the phenomenon is not uncommon in the Niger-Congo languages, the rate, the elaborate system, and the complexity of serial verb construction in Ọ̀kọ́ suggest that a lot of

work is done at the verbal group in the construal of our experience as meaning both experientially and logically in the language.

In Chapter 7, I will draw inferences and draw some conclusions on the basis of the analysis in Chapters 2-5, which comprise the analytical chapters.

6 Summary and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The development of a description for Ọ̀kọ̀, the language of the Ogori people of Nigeria, is predicated upon the assumption that language was created, and continues to evolve, to serve the need of social man. The social need arises from the motivation to mean in every social context (Halliday, 1973), thus language serves as the resource for the construction of meaning. Meaning itself, to use Halliday's (1975) metaphor, is an art that is learnt. The grammar of a language provides potentials realized by a network of systems. From the network, terms, motivated by the context, are selected to make meaning. What I have attempted to do in this study is to observe and describe the options the Ọ̀kọ̀ language affords its speakers in specific meaningful contexts. From the study of these specific contexts realized as text instances, I have been able to make further generalization about what appear to be the systems of the language.

The approach has been text-based; using samples from natural text instances recorded spontaneously as they occurred. The texts were then transcribed and analysed using the systemic functional approach to language description as the framework. Systemic theory provided the best tool for developing the description of Ọ̀kọ̀ (and of any other natural language) because it is a meaning-based approach and it supports the description of a natural language from a multidimensional perspective. The SFL tool has enabled the description of Ọ̀kọ̀ in terms of the dimensions of stratification, metafunction, rank scale, the cline of delicacy, the organization according to two axes as well as in terms of the cline of instantiation. Describing the language in these dimensions promotes natural language description above mere formal prescription as well as providing a holistic and comprehensive view of language — in this case, Ọ̀kọ̀. I have stated from the beginning, the impracticability of combining a wide scope of coverage with great delicacy of description. Therefore, the principle throughout the chapters of this work has been to strike a balance between the two — a middle-ground kind of position. Therefore, while describing a wide spectrum of areas in the

grammar of Ọ̀kọ́, efforts have also been made to ensure a good depth of coverage of individual issues.

6.2 Summary

The description of Ọ̀kọ́ as a meaning potential for its speakers, commenced in Chapter 2 from the lowest stratum, with the organization of the sound system (phonology) and the writing system (graphology). This was preceded by the location of the language in the cultural and socio-political context, which included a linguistic map in Chapter 1. The “expedition” in Chapter 2 afforded the opportunity to observe the expression and perception of meaning in the language by means of resources, which, although have no natural connection with meaning itself, are ultimately the “documents” of meaning. In other words meaning is made to become a “thing” (sound and writing). While the phoneme is the basic unit of expression, it is observed that phonological tones are deployed for use beyond the phonological stratum: that is, they are also deployed at the higher strata of lexicogrammar and semantics.

To facilitate the attainment of the balance between scope and depth of description, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the metafunctional spectrum was adopted as the main organizing principle of the subsequent chapters, and then as many grammatical systems as practicable were explored within the discussion of each of the metafunctions. In the main chapters (Chapters 3 to 5) dealing with the lexicogrammatical resources, I commenced the discussion (in Chapter 3) by first looking at the textual organization of the language. This metafunctional domain deals with the logogenesis of the unfolding of a text. The exploration of textual metafunction enabled me to interpret the Ọ̀kọ́ text as a flow of information, from the systemic functional organization of the clause as Theme and Rheme on the one hand, and as the unit of the Focus of information, on the other. The thematic organization as well as the information Focus are the basis upon which the message of the clause is organised. The clause is seen as a microcosm of the larger message realized through the internal organization of the text, instantiated by the cohesive relations within the text: the co-text relations (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976); the rhetorical organization of the text (cf. Fries, 1992; 1995; Mann, Matthiessen & Thompson, 1992); the generic structure potential (cf. Hasan, 1978; Hasan 1996 Martin, 1997); and the text and context relations (cf. Hasan, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

One of the findings in the organization of textual meaning is the used of position as strategy for marking prominence in the textual organization of the Ọ̀kọ́ clause as a message as in many languages (see Sections 3.1.4 and 3.2.6). This strategy is used both in the

thematization scheme and information focusing. It was observed that, in the marking of Theme and information Focus, the resources of tone and particle play significant roles in addition to positional prominence. It was also demonstrated that the pattern of Theme and Theme progression varied from one text type to another since different text types embody different methods of development. Some text types, such as folk narratives, are oriented towards ideational Themes, while others like interviews lean more towards the interpersonal Theme categories for their development. In the instance of multiple Themes, the sequence comprises, an interpersonal Theme (a Vocative element) first, followed by a textual Theme (a Conjunctive element). Ideational Theme (a transitivity element of the clause, comes last. Among the different types of structural Themes discovered in Ọ̀kọ́, there is a set described as the “resumptive” Theme, which functions as a resource for linking a previous part of the text to a succeeding part (see 3.2.3.3). Resumptive Themes usually occur between continuatives and conjunctive Themes.

Of interest are the frequent occurrences of absolute Themes (Section 3.2.7) and thematic clauses (Section 3.2.8). Among the thematic, clauses a great number basically serve textual purposes with very little function in construing experience. It was also proved that the method of development of a text and the generic structure potential are related to the general motifs under which the text is brought into existence.

In Chapter 4, the interpersonal systems are explored. The giving of and demand for information and goods-&-services are enacted through the lexicogrammatical system of MOOD, with the major terms as declarative, interrogative and imperative moods (Section 4.3). Each mood co-occurs with features from other systems such as POLARITY and MODALITY in the realization of interpersonal meaning of the clause. In addition, further delicate systemic contrasts are made within each mood through the choice of particles, as is common in Niger-Congo languages as discussed in Sections 4.4 and 4.5. A speaker also uses the features of modal assessments to convey attitudes and judgments in the process of a dialogic exchange.

The resources for construing experience as meaning were the focus of Chapter 5. Ọ̀kọ́ grammar chunks experience into process configurations (figures) realized as clauses. The nuances within and between PROCESS TYPES provided a wide area of exploration in the experiential grammar. Each process represents a specific domain of experience and it is configured with a specific set of participants and attendant circumstances. It was also noted that Ọ̀kọ́ grammar construes the unfolding of the process in terms of how it extends through

time — **aspect** (rather than its unfolding relative to time of occurrence — **tense**) — see Section 5.4.1. Clauses are linked together using certain logical resources realized in different ways. Logical grammar is also seen to apply beyond the rank of the clause. Serial verb construction at the rank of the group illustrates the semantic function of logical relations at the rank of the group.

6.3 Conclusion

The study, “A Text based Lexicogrammatical Description of Ọ̀kọ́”, provides a wide range of linguistic knowledge about Ọ̀kọ́ for the first time. Linguistic analyses of minute aspects of the language have been attempted by a few individuals in the past. Aje (1989) wrote a transformational generative account of “Tense and Aspects”; Adegbija (1993) made a suggestion for graphicization of the language and I have previously produced accounts of the phonology (1985) and grammatical units (1990). However, the present study is the first to attempt a description of Ọ̀kọ́ from a multidimensional perspective, integrating context, discourse patterns, the meaning potential, the lexicogrammatical patterning, the writing system and the sound system. The description includes all areas previously mentioned above as well as others about which nothing has ever been known or mentioned. It makes the present study the most comprehensive description of the language. This description of Ọ̀kọ́ is also the most comprehensive systemic functional account of an African language to the best of my knowledge.

The lexicogrammatical description of Ọ̀kọ́ opens up a linguistic dialogue, this study itself, constituting the first move in the dialogue. The text-based analysis and the attendant discussion provide a good insight into the culture and worldview of the Ogori people of Kogi State, Nigeria. The people’s philosophy of life is entrenched in the text/discourses sourced from a spectrum of the social lives of the speakers of Ọ̀kọ́. Not only can strands of their social life be understood from this study, but analysis of discourses/texts also shows how the Ogori society works. In this regard, the study serves as a document to which people in general can make reference. With this study, it is possible to refer to the sound system, writing system, lexicogrammar, discourse strategies and some cultural practices of the Ogori people. In addition, the study can also serve as a reference resource (a benchmark) for other linguistic enquiries about the language. The method of description developed in this thesis can be applied to other Ọ̀kọ́ texts as well as texts from other languages.

The systemic functional method of analysis makes possible the perception of how a language works (how meaning is made in a language) through representation of the networks

in interaction, thus managing the complexity of language (Butt & O'Toole, 2003). The systemic functional approach with its emphasis on language as a social semiotics is particularly useful for describing texts and the language systems as part of the culture that created them, therefore, this thesis is also designed to be a template for the description of some other languages, and particularly African languages. A little table can summarize what goes on in the grammar. A systemic functional table, as a representation of the patterning of meaning, can reveal the kind of meaning potential that a text instantiates. The metafunctional table below is one resource for doing this kind of analysis. The table is a kind of statement of how the different strands of meaning (in this case of a specific folktale) are knitted together in real time in the unfolding of a text. It summarizes the discussions in Chapters 3 - 5. An extract from *Ugbia aka Uurin* is analysed into clause complexes, and these are broken down further into clauses. The analysis shows the logical and logico-semantic relations of the clauses within a clause complex. It also shows the experiential meaning of each clause as construed by the system of TRANSITIVITY; the interpersonal meaning as enacted by the system of MOOD; and the textual meaning as organized by the system of THEME.

[1] <i>Qgarega</i> <i>parakata!</i> Story huge	<i>a-ca a ta</i> it-come ASP hit,	<i>Ugbia</i> Lion	<i>e-</i> it	<i>diya</i> also	<i>-ta</i> hit	<i>Uurin</i> Mouse	[2.1] <i>iken feyan e gula gboq,</i> town all ASP hot INT	[2.2] <i>eroro</i> everybody
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minor clause	1: declarative (positive)		+2: declarative (positive)				1: declarative (positive)		x2: decla-	
	Process		Goal	Pro-		-cess	Goal	Carrier	Process: attributive	Beneficiary
	Actor	Proc.: material		Actor		Proc.: material				
	Predicator Complement	Predicator		Complement	Subject		Predicator	Subject		
Theme	Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	Theme	
Theme	Rheme									
1. There exists an “enormous” story which involves the Lion and it also involves the Mouse. 2. There was intense heat in the										

<i>kwe a pen uri.</i> ASP ASP break sweat.	[3.1] <i>Uri</i> Sweat	<i>ca-a-pen</i> come-ASP-break	<i>Ugbiya</i> <i>aye,</i> lion the	[3.2], <i>e-</i> he	<i>me din,</i> not know	[[<i>ekena e- ke siye na</i>]] [[what he will do RPCP]]		
-rative (positive)	1: declarative (positive)			x2: declarative (negative)				
Predicator Complement	Subject	Predicator Complement	Subject	Predicator	Complement			
Process: pro-material	Phenomenon	Phenomenon	Process: mental	Senser		Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Rheme			Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	
town and every one was sweating. 3. The Lion was sweating but he did not know what to do, so he lay down								

[3.3] e- bwe wo y _o odore he sleep COV his hole			[3.4] a- a na ekperi he ASP receive fresh-air,			[3.5] ubwa d' e y _o . sleep (X) him go.			
+3: declarative (positive)			+4: declarative (positive)			+5: declarative (positive)			
Process		Circumstance Place	Process		Goal	Actor	Mate-- Proc---	Beneficia ry	---rial ---ess
Actor	Process: material		Recipient	Process: material					
Predicator		Adjunct	Predicator		Comple- ment-	Subject	-cator		
Theme		Rheme	Rheme			Theme		Rheme	
in the cave receiving fresh air and then fell asleep.									

[4.1] Isi- <i>o</i> ore, Uurin aye mune [4.2] a- fo <i>o</i> cen kakane ya omodore cun [4.3] ugbiya aye soma Time-one, mouse the run he use feet brush him nose pass lion the wake									
1: declarative (positive)			+2: declarative (positive)				+3: declarative (positive)		
Time	Actor	Process: material	Actor	Pro-- - mat - --	Means --oc--- --er---	Goal	--- ess: --- ial	Actor	Process: material
Adjunct	Subject	Predi	Sub	Pre	Compldica-	-tor		Subject	Predicator
Theme	Rheme		Theme			Rheme		Theme	Rheme
Suddenly, the Mouse ran across, and brushed the Lion's nose with his feet, and the Lion woke up.									

[5.1] <i>iwu kan ya</i> [5.2] <i>e- guma igbogbo se ya</i> [5.3] <i>aka ayẹ e mumuuse uurin ayẹ owo</i> body hurt him he pour fingernails hold him almost he ASP squeeze Mouse the mouth											
1 (positive)			+2: declarative (positive)				(positive)				
Phen	Proc mental	Sens	Pro		Means	-cess	Goal	Circum	Actor	Process	Goal
			Actor	Pro-		-cess				Process: materia	Goal
Subject	Pred	Com	Predic-		Com	-ator	Compl	Adjunct			
Theme	Rheme		Th					Theme		Rh-	
He was angry and he snatched him and trapped him in his fingers and nearly smashed his mouth											

[5.4] <i>a-fafaase gumafuwa</i> . [6.1] <i>uurin ayẹ yi-ọga</i> [6.2.1] <i>a- ka</i> [6.2.2] <i>“Obin, aguga teyi mu”</i> ASP-tear pour-away mouse the blow-shout he say King, please leave me											
3'β=2: (positive)			1: declarative (positive)				=2: decl (pos)	3: imperative (positive)			
Process: material			Behaver	Process: behav			Process: mental			Proc	Goal
Predicator Adjunct	Subject	Predic	Compl				Voc	Adj: mood	Pred	Compl	
Theme		Rheme	Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme			
							Theme	Theme		Rheme	
into pieces. The mouse shouted and said, “O King, please, let me go. Even if you											

[6.2.3] <i>i-me sisi gwe</i> [[<i>ẹfena a bọwọ-ka ọ wan na</i>]]. [6.3] <i>i-ma cẹrayen siy' -e go</i> . I NEG MAS measure someone it suppose-that you kill RCP I-NEG deliberate do it IOEP											
x4: declarative (negative)						free: declarative (negative)					
Process: relational						Process					
Carrier	Process		Attribute			Actor	Pro-mat-	Manner	-cess: -erial	Goal	
Predicator						Predi-		Adjunct	-catorc omp	Nego	
Theme			Rheme			Theme			Rheme		
I am not worth someone you should worry to kill. I didn't do it deliberately											

[6.4.1]we- e sisi wan mọ, [6.4.2] mọ one a-ma rọn otetan.”[7] ayẹ [aka ubwa ayen] a- sẹtọmẹ you ASP MAS kill me my meat ASP-NEG sweet for_eating he and sleep face he sigh									
xβ declarative (positive)			α declarative (negative)				free: indicative (positive)		
Process		Goal	Carrier	Proc: rel	Attrib	Purpose:	Behaver	Process	
Actor/	Process: material							Proc: behav	
Predic		Compl	Subject	Predicator Compl	Adjunct	subjectPredicator			
Theme			Theme	Rheme			Theme	Rheme	
Kill me, my flesh is not suitable for you to eat. With sleep in his eyes, he sighed deeply.									

[8.1]Uurin aye ga ne ya, [8.2.1] ka “isubu oyeṛe, ka amẹ i diye siye oguba a-ne o,” mouse the say give hiim that day one also me I can do help ASP-give you									
α: declarative (positive)				“βα (positive)					
Sayer	Proc: verbal	Receiver		Time		Process	Range	-cess	Client
					Actor	Process			
Subject	PredCompl	Conj	Adjunt	Subject	Predicator	Compl	-tor	Compl	
Theme	Rheme		Theme				Rheme		
but he let the mouse go. The mouse then told the lion that, I to may be of help to you some day.									

[8.2.2] wa-a wa mo amone na. [9.1]Ugbia aye pen oron, [9.2] a mwe [10.1]ama e-tiye igbogbo fura y-iwu, you-ASP give me today DEP Lion the break laughter he laugh but he- take finger.nail leave him body											
“βxβ: bound (positive)			1: declarative (positive)			+2: decl (pos)		1: declarative (positive)			
Process: material	Goal	Time	Actor	Proc	Range	Proc: behav		Pro-	Goal	-cess	Place
						Behav	Proc				
Predicator	Compl	Adjunt	Subject	Pred	Comp	Predi-		Conj	Pred	Compl	-catorCompl
Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme		Theme		Theme	Rheme		
If you forgive me today. The lion laughed at him scornfully, but took his fingers off the mouse.											

[10.2]uurin aye lakata mune fura ya uba. [11.1] aka oron, ugbia aye diye guru bwe, [11.2] a-a m-omwen. Mouse the hurry run off him hand with laughter, lion the again adjust sleep he-ASP dream-dream												
+2: declarative (positive)				1: declarative (positive)				+2: declarative (positive)				
Actor	Proc: material:	Place	Manner	Actor		Proc: material	Process					
							Behvr	Proc	Range			
Subject	Prediator	Adjunt	Adjunt	Subj	MAS	Pred	Pred Complement					
Theme	rheme			Theme	Rheme			Theme				
The mouse quickly ran off his hand. With laughter, the lion lay back to sleep and soon he was dreaming.												

Figure 6-1 Analysis of extract from Ugbia aka Uurin

Figure 6-1 demonstrates how a text is organized semantically, specifically in an Ọkó narrative. The description in the table is based on the fact that a speaker selects a process type

(from material behavioural, mental verbal relational or existential) to construe his/her experience of the world in each clause while the logical resources in the language helps to organise the clauses into interrelated sequences. The speaker simultaneously selects a particular mood (interrogative, declarative or imperative) to enact an interpersonal meaning — demanding, giving or offering information or goods-&-services. Furthermore, the elements in each clause are simultaneously organized logogenetically to accord prominence to a certain part of the clause (Theme), by placing it at the initial position of the clause. By the same token, the information is organized in a way that the initial element is made the focus of information (where such focus is needed).

I have used the analysis of the text extract (first explored in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.5) to show how Ọkọ speakers engage in the construction of knowledge. However I will proceed further in this analysis by using just one episode from the analysis in Table 61.

[5.1] <i>iwu kan ya</i> [5.2] <i>e- guma igbogbo se ya</i> [5.3] <i>aka ayẹ e mumuuse uurin ayẹ owo</i> body hurt him he pour fingernails hold him almost he ASP squeeze Mouse the mouth										
1 declarative (positive)			+2: declarative (positive)				+3 α declarative (positive)			
Phen	Proc mental	Sens	Pro	Means	-cess	Goal		Actor	Process: materia	Goal
			Actor	Pro- Means	-cess					
Subject	Pred	Com	Predic-	Com	-ator	Compl	MAS Adjunct	Subj	Predicator	Complement
Theme	Rheme	Th					Theme			
He was angry and he snatched him and trapped him in his fingers and nearly smashed his mouth										
[5.4] <i>a-fafaase guma fuwa</i> ASP-tear pour-away										
+3= β : (positive)										
Process: material		Circ: manner								
Predicator		Adjunct								
Rheme										

Figure 6-2 An extract of one episode from *Ugbia aka Uurin* for discussion

[5] is an episode in the narrative, made up of a sequence of figures which the grammar construes together as a clause complex, made up of three initial clauses. Clauses [5.1, 5.2 and 5.3] are each independent and so are combined paratactically. Clause [5.2] expands on the meaning of [5.1] and [5.3] also expands [5.2] through the logico-semantic relation of extension. Within [5.3], there is further internal nesting. [+3] is a complex of two clauses, [+3 α] and [+3= β] of unequal statuses,, and so hypotactically linked together, with the β -clause expanding the α -clause as an elaboration.

Experientially, [5.1] construes the figure as a mental clause configured as the Phenomenon (sensed), the Process (of sensing construing emotion) and a Senser/Medium through which the process is brought into existence. Clause [5.2] is in contrast with [5.1] as it construes the experience as a “doing” realized as a material Process, and configured as Actor/Medium, Process, Means and Goal – the Means, being an instrument to actualise the process. Clause [5.1] also contrasts with [5.4] which is construed as a potential “happening” resulting from the action of construed by clause [5.3], which was ultimately unrealised.

From the interpersonal perspective, all the clauses are declarative in mood (giving information) and of positive polarity. Clause [5.1] consists of a Subject, Predicator and a Complement, while [5.2] has two Complements one serving experientially as Means and the other as the Goal.

Textually speaking, the clauses in clause complex [5] are organized as Theme ^ Rheme. Clause [5.1] thematizes the Phenomenon, while [5.2] thematizes the Actor whereas in [5.3] a whole clause serves as mega-Theme within the organization of the clauses making up the clause complex.

The analysis presented in Table 6-1 not only shows the patterning of meaning in the *Ugbia aka Uurin* narrative (typical of the text type), but also creates linguistic evidence upon which further text/discourse analysis can be predicated. The result of the lexicogrammatical analysis of the text is empirical and open to verification by anyone equipped with the basic knowledge of grammar (especially the knowledge of systemic functional grammar).

6.4 More breakthroughs and Possible Application of the Study

One of the achievements in the research is a realistic orthographic system upon which writing can be based. It has been used successfully for the transcription of all my data, and with the political and social support of the Ogori community, it can be adopted as a writing system for the language. This implies that this study has opened up a potential for the people to document their rich history and culture, to keep personal records (e.g. diaries) without losing anything to what documentation in another language would cost them. The outcomes also serve as a potential resource for developing other resources and products including lexicographies/dictionaries, readers, reference grammars and other literacy materials as earlier mentioned in Chapter 1. The study lays a foundation for activities that may promote the language to a level that is considered ready for “mother tongue” education as recommended in the national language policy in of Nigeria. The outcome of the research should spur up different literary and translation activities such as has never happened in the history of the speakers of Ọ̀kọ̀.

On the one hand this research gives value to Ọ̀kọ̀. The engagement with a language outside its everyday usage in the community is important. With the availability of a phonological, graphological and lexicogrammatical description, Ọ̀kọ̀ becomes a language that can be learnt systematically in contexts of formal education. The fact that there is a relevant research of this nature gives a sense of value to the Ọ̀kọ̀ speaking community. It increases the

profile of both the language and the speakers. The study reveals how much the language means to the people and what defines a person as an Ọkọ speaker: that is a person who is able to engage with the system of meaning within the social milieu of the language of Ọkọ.

6.5 Recommendations for further studies

In the first chapter of this study, I mentioned that it is not possible to provide a linguistic description to the scope and depth that might be desirable under the best of circumstances, let alone in a study that has both time and space constraints like a thesis of this kind. The extent of coverage, of scope, and depth of description is related in inverse proportion. The more the scope of coverage in a linguistic description, the less the detail of coverage that can be undertaken. There are therefore numerous areas that need to be explored and described in greater detail than the present study has afforded. The extensions to the description that I am suggesting would be consistent with my map of Ọkọ systematically: increasing delicacy towards lexis, increasing the range of registers, and so on (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1).

There is even a significant number of texts that are part of the collection for this research that has not been used in the thesis (see the list of some of the texts and their codes in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2). Such texts and other text types that realize other contextual types need to be explored, keeping a descriptive focus on different areas of analysis.

A lot of text characterization in terms of lexical description needs to be done. For example, the class of words needs further exploration e.g. if *pẹn* in *pẹn uri* (to sweat) is the same “break” as in *pẹn uwebi* (to break a cup) or if they are two different lexical items with the same form. Figure 6-3 contains a few of such words.

Item	The Use	Gloss	English Translation
<i>pẹn</i>	<i>pẹn uri</i>	break sweat	to sweat
<i>pẹn</i>	<i>pẹn ọrọn</i>	break laughter	to laugh
<i>pẹn</i>	<i>pẹn ọcẹn</i>	break feet	to step on toe or to hint
<i>pẹn</i>	-	break	to slim down
<i>tọra</i>	<i>tọra ọrọn</i>	loose laughter	to smile
<i>de</i>	<i>ubwa de</i>	sleep “bend”	to be asleep
<i>se</i>	<i>se ẹtọmẹ</i>	hold/catch sigh	to sigh/snore
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma ọmwẹn</i>	measure dream	to dream

Figure 6-3 items difficult to characterize in certain contexts xxxxx

A lot of further work is required in the area of intonation and the system of information. Characterization of clauses in terms of voice (passive and active) is one area of the grammar that needs further investigation. Generational and gender differences in grammar is another viable area of exploration. A greater focus on typological issues, for instance, a study of the lexicostatistics of the languages in Ọ̀kọ neighbourhood can be undertaken, just as contrastive analyses of some of the areas in their lexicogrammar will be interesting.

The text-based lexicogrammatical description of Ọ̀kọ has, thus, taken a giant step in the description of Ọ̀kọ, Nigerian languages (especially the languages of small group communities), and languages of Africa. It has also provided a lead to a meaning-based typological description of the Niger-Congo group of languages.

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Appendix 1: List of Texts

Appendix 1 contains the full texts from which extracts have been obtained for illustration in the chapters of the thesis. Where the full version of a text has been incorporated into the analyses in the chapters, it is not included in the appendix. Texts from which very few clauses are extracted are not included in the appendix.

A (i) Okpuuku (OKP)

S: Èkọ̀nẹ̀ be e ye Okpuku ne go?

Er: Eehn.

S: Oon, Èna a wọ̀rẹ̀ nẹ̀nẹ̀ bi e e ya Okpa-uku na? Okpa- uuku.

Er: Èkẹ̀na wọ̀rẹ̀ ne be e ya o Okpa -uuku na, okpa one ayẹ̀ a wa Okpa ne. One a wa Okpa uku ne, tori tẹ̀da weda abe. Aca e gbe ka, ayẹ̀ ikpen de we we ke ca. Ayẹ̀ Uba a wọ̀rẹ̀ bi e ye ya Okpa -uuku. O gba e, ẹ̀fẹ̀na ikura, ẹ̀fẹ̀na ki a timentim ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀ Ana, ayẹ̀ ema de we we ke ca.

S: Ema!

Er; Ema, eehn.

S: Ogbo-ona bi de ki siye ema ayẹ̀ a?

Er E hen, ọ̀cẹ̀n na, ... be e je eya fura yọ̀ ọ̀cẹ̀n ne a yẹ̀rẹ̀ ya na. Ayẹ̀ bi de siye ema.

Ad: Ogbo-ona be e je eya?

Er: Ama ọ̀cẹ̀n na ca one na be e je eya?

K: Januari?

Er: Eeh. Ejanuari isubu efo-kupi.

K: Ayẹ̀ e di ka Febuari ayẹ̀ bi de mi je o... ayẹ̀ bi de mi siye ema ayẹ̀?

Er: Eeba.

Ekw: Ọ̀cẹ̀n ooro ayẹ̀ be e je eya. Ọ̀cẹ̀n ooro ẹ̀yẹ̀n.

Er: Eehn. Yọ̀ isubu efo-kupi, ayẹ̀ bi de je eya.

Ekw: Ọ̀nẹ̀nẹ̀ a yẹ̀rẹ̀ ya,... ọ̀cẹ̀n ooboro nẹ̀nẹ̀ a yẹ̀rẹ̀ ya na.

Er: Ayẹ̀ bi we e je ema: ikpen. Ayẹ̀ be e ye ikpen. Ayẹ̀ bi we e je ikpen.

Ekw: Ayẹ̀ a wa Okuro ikpen ọ̀yẹ̀rẹ̀ ne bi su na họn?

Er: Eehn. Ayẹ̀ ọ̀yẹ̀rẹ̀ a ke wa.

Oy: Ayẹ̀ bi we a ba opa.

K: Iyaro a a gbe e.

Er: Iyaro a a gba e.

San: E e ki we aka, ida ke wo ka bika oti a fale ẹ̀fẹ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀, iyaro a a deye ya.

Er: Eehn titi e we ogbako, ba a deye ya. Ba a deye ya, okpora, a se egben fẹ̀yan ne wo iken na.

San: Een e een.

- Er:** Eehn yọ uba a wọrẹ... wa a gba o, ẹnane e je ikpen ẹfẹnẹbe na, ayẹ bi we e lo ikpen o iijen. One ne ba ka sore na, okun ọnẹbe bi de lo ne. Abe e de lo e.
- Oy:** Be e gbado e tiye e a ca uboo.
- Er:** Eehn be e tiye a ca uboo.
- Ad:** Ama, ebaba, Babalola Aliu, a ga ne mọ ka, aka e su ọgba ne okpa-uuku ayẹ a a fale. I me din akọ ne bi da ga ka e siye diye siye e diye pila na.
- Er:** Ọgba ọnẹbe Odina ayẹ (Babalola) ẹbẹba weda ogben, okun ne wuru wo ije na, ayẹ a kpọ wo ka ayẹ ke sẹrẹ...
- Oy:** Okun ayẹ pile.
- Er:** E me pile, a kpan. A kpan na, ọgbona tẹda abe be ca na, bi siye yọ etutu, e holo.
- Ad:** So, e me gbeka oti ayẹ a wa one akana?
- Oy:** Mh mh.
- Er:** Ayẹ so, e mi ki wuru.
- AD:** One fale wo ije na, ayẹ fale wo ije, ayẹ a a yọ ...
- Er:** Ni i na gaka a fale. Atayi wuru wo ije ...
- K:** Ayi e ni ka ayẹ sẹrẹ ya.
- Er:** Ma a sa ... eehn, Omoba, atayi wuru wo ije, e wuru wo ije na, ọre ne yeyi amọ na ayẹ a sẹrẹ, a kpan.
- Oy:** Ayẹ aka ayẹ a sẹrẹ, ayẹ oti fura.
- San:** Bi de ki do yọ okun akana go?
- Oy:** Be e e do e.
- Er:** Ẹka be e e do e.
- Oy:** Titi ca e wo akana be e gbado e tiye ya a ca uboo.
- Er:** Be e e do e.
- AD:** Ẹna wọrẹ a?
- Oy:** Okpa ro a da ...
- Er:** Ba a ke ga ẹga ama oro deki piye atọn họn? Ẹka ...

(ii) *Okpa*

- S** Okpa ne bi ya ba ẹkọnẹ iwuru na, ayẹ a ne ro.
- Er:** Eehn, okpa ne bi a ba ẹkọnẹ iwuru na ayẹ a ne.
- K:** Oona?
- Er:** Ama ayẹ a ne? U di ka, Okpa, I ba a ka ma yọ Okpa-uuku. E ye wu akana họn? Ẹkẹna bi e ye ya Okpa-uku na, ayẹ a wa ka oyen one, be cẹn, tẹda weda ne abe be cẹn oyen one na, ayẹ a wo Okpa. Yọ uku a ne.

(iii) *Adokojo (ADO)*

- Er:** Uwo ayẹ a da na. A a na oro uwo, oro ca a fo uwo ayẹ e e pun ya, ọcẹn ọnẹbe e e cun oro ayẹ ẹpan, e de ce iyon. To, ọgbona ne tori I to opa, amẹ I ma cana ba ogben. Be ca be ma isia, adokojo one a na mọ uwo. Uwo one a ke na mọ ne, ọcẹn na ca na ... "awo tẹda etiyẹ ọnẹbe"
- S:** Gana ni siye din ka, a na no uwo a? A da ke ga ẹga họn?
- Er:** Ei ama I be wan ya, ama ka abe ,... esuburo ki di ka bi dake ma isiya go. Ama I be wan ya? Ba a yọ isiya a na oro ẹpen ka, fo ẹpen opakọ ne mọ, I ba wan ya, be sore ya. Egben oforo da a tan. Egben oforo a tan ya.
- Ad:** Ẹna fo adikojo one ca eko one a?

Er: Ama tẹda weda?

Ad: Gana e siye re eko one a?

Er: Tẹda weda, Eminefo. Eminefo aye a a ca. Aye a a ca. Wa a gb'e, akana, Okpa one we e gbado a fo oti ... ama akanaro eme pila wo ro, ka abe diye kuru e bo ba ro. We e gbado a fo oti e cun. Wa a fo oti cun, akana, oro siye akọ fo oti cun, ujugwe gwe, epenidudu kwe we a ca.

S: Mh um mh.

Er: To, be e yi uhure.

S: Oro a fo oti wuna ije na.

Er: Eeba.

S: Aye a wọre ne Iya da ka koro oye re ama fo oti wuna ije na.

Ekw: Bi ka epen ufombore be e e siye Okpa one.

Er: Eehn, ba fo oti e cun, be yi uhure, be diya ... ena ika a wa oben a?

Oy: Ba a fo ujiri e tiye era.

Er: Eehn ba fo ujiri e tiye era.

Oy: Ogben a fo obo don, e gume aye ri, abese ya.

K: Ka akana ka akana hon?

Er; Eyi, era wa a na abese akana? U gwe egan? Hooyee!

Ad: Ee e mi ge kwe go.

Er: Ehen, amẹ ime din ufombori ro ca. Tẹda aye diya ge. (Aremo) a ge, a ka oro a gba ka oro fo epen e wuna ije ama ga ne ya, a ka epen aye, yo epan aka ke ca. A ka oro a ga ne ya, ama na wo epen aye e de we jen to e.

San: Aka be diya sere okun ujugwe eka.

Er: Eebaa, iyi a ke yo, ba a sere okun.

Oy: Iburu ne bi de e ki wu iwu na, be e fu iburu ujugwe eka.

Er: Be yine kpi olulun erun eka.

Ad: Ena be ye ka be fu ya?

ER: Ka ga ne ya ka ba a yen ya.

Olulun ne bi dake ta onebe ana, be e kpi ya ujugwe eka. Be diye kpi olulun erun eka.

San: Ogba oona bi de mi e ki kpi ya?

Oy: Ururun ujujo.

B (i) Mama Isj: Family Relationship (ISJ)

S: Aao mama.

M; Ooo tẹda, ime kpeli u go.

S: Ak oogben e wa go.

M: Ama wa amone uusi we ni mega ne. Omona ne ero wo ero ne be e me teyi ka mo ogben onebe e je na, isu ebore aye e guru igila ca ne mo uboo.

S: Amẹ e fo igila ca ekone isubu oben.

M: Iyaro e ce ca ne mo.

S: Mama O, ewo ka so,

M: Uhn.

- S:** Ogbona t'eda e e fo na ka, ebaba oḅen, no ogben e yin ẹsa ca; oḅona Ofe tiya diye fo na, aṅo fo ẹsa oḅen diye file ca, Oyilade ayẹ a na ẹsa oṅẹbẹ. Gana aṅo aka Ofe ni kpoto siye wa?
- M:** Iya oṅẹrẹ ogben te wa go.
- S:** Iya oṅẹrẹ.
- M:** iya oṅẹrẹ ogben te wa go Onomo.
- D:** Iya oṅẹrẹ ogben be wa Onomo.
- M:** Cana
- D:** Obin ogben be wa Onomo.
- M:** Abe aka tiya, Oda egben be wa. A ca, e e su wiya. Ofooro ayẹ, a ca e su wiya, e su Ofe wiya. Amẹ one iya ne ba mọ na, abe aka Ofe, ẹdẹda ne be na, iya ogben te wa. Omo neṅẹ amẹ iya yọ na, eda ibe ne amẹ kara din na, Ofe a gba mọ isi ebore oṅen. Omonebe Akere e wa amọ. Udi ka be e teyi ka oworo e ve yọ ḅon?
- S:** Iukwa ya
- M:** Omona aka ke gba mọ oṅen na, a aka ayọ oda ogben, ayọ oda ogben. A ca e de ye mu ti da ke gan aben. Anita ayẹ e ye mu. Ayẹ a ca emunube, Ipita wiya ayẹ a fo mọ wo uboo.
- S:** Ẹra be e ye Ipita?
- M:** Pita one fo laipe one na.
- D:** Pita Ejambgadi. Ayẹ a cele mọ emama.
- M:** Iya ogben ka atọ wa. Wiya a cele mọ I gwe e se owiya.
- D:** Peter Ejambgadi, wiya aka mọ emama one wiya, iya oṅẹrẹ a ba ba.
- M:** Ayẹ I cin ya ye ka Ofe Okpa, gana te kpakpa siye siye a? A ke gba mọ orikpokpo a ke gan mọ, ki i ka ayẹ oda-oogben, amẹ eeehn. Ayẹ aka hummm, amẹ ime tebi owo, Use, oṅẹrẹ te wa go. A wa aka iya ogben ayẹ te wa go. Ẹkẹna wọrẹ oṅẹbẹ a ca yọ uboo na, a ca iya, oṅẹbẹ lakata a ca ayọ uboo, a a da ka o ẹkẹna neṅẹ oṅẹbẹ aka gba je na, e tiye je. "Obin ogben one be su ya ẹfa okeka na ayẹ a wọrẹ e e we a ca go". Ẹ siye akọ la e ye mu. "iyaaa! Oda te wa?"
- Oda te wa, iya ogben ayẹ te wa go. Owo ḅon?
- S:** E wo ma.
- M:** Ayẹ atọ aka ayẹ mi ve bile, atika Ofe.

(ii) Her daughter takes over explanation

- D:** O wo? Onomo, obin oogben Onomo ayẹ a ba ba, owo ho? Iya aka iya be ca be wa oṅẹrẹ. Be wa oṅẹrẹ ca ... Udika, iyaro aka iyaro be e ki su oforo, e cina ka bi je wo ọrẹ obobo, bi ki su oforo oṅẹbẹ. A a da ka gbogba ya ne, iya oṅẹrẹ ogben be wa. Iya okeka wa ba oṅẹrẹ Onomo ne be ma na. Obin oogben ayẹ be wa Onomo. Ẹfẹna bi we gure na a ma fọrẹ akọ.
- J:** Iya ne be na Onomo ro ya.
- S:** Bo ẹdẹda O?
- Tiya one, weda, a wa Okuro. Isoje ayẹ abe. Wa a gb'e, Ofe wiya, oḅona neṅẹ wiya ayẹ fura Onomo, a a ca na, ayọ e e su Oma ro. A ba neda wiya a a ne Oma ro, Ogbe ḅon? Ehen, akọ e siye wa na a' neḅẹ.
- S:** Mama, ogben gana aano emama ba a?
- M:** Tiya? Aka e siye wo onomo ca su o tẹda na, a ba ogben e fo. Atọ ebore ake dọn ya. Ayẹ be ye Etakanama. Etakanama oṅẹbẹ abe ka Ojo Oba one fo laipe oṅẹbẹ ana. Abe aka ayẹ a wo opa.
- D:** Abe ebore, ayẹ iya ne ca su oforo Eni one na, abe ebore a ba ne Isoje. Oforo aka ooro. Ayẹ a wa Osomo weda. Iya ne ba tiya na, onomo ro Oogben ya. Neda-wiya, okeka,

- Onomoro oogben ya. A ca iya oyerę a ba ba. Onomo, neda wiya a yọ Oma oore. E jen e su oforo amọ. A ba neda wiya a a no Oma ro.
- S:** Tęda-wiya ne be ye Ofe na.
- D:** Oma ro a be. Wiya okeka a wo onomo ro. Ama de, eđęda ne da ba neda wiya aye na, a wo Oma ro. A ca, e egbe ka abe epan ebore aye a yọ eni oore ca. Imusa wiya.
- S:** Eya bee ye Imusa?
- D:** Orimidun, wo osuda ooro. Jamgbadi, yọ abiso aye be e ye Imusa. Wiya Okeka aka tiya okeka, Iya oyerę a ba ba. Jen a se Anise wiya. U din ya akana?
- S:** Mnmn.
- D:** Eiyaa, Anise wiya oņębe ...
- J:** Edadi wiya ne wo efenębe ana.
- S:** Edadi wiya, ce u din Edadi, Ejos? Wiya okeka aka Imusa wiya, iya oyerę a ba ba, eđęda oyerę a ba ba. A ca, e gbe ka, ogboņa neņę, ejamgbadi wiya okeka a ca su oforo eni one na, tiya okeka aye a yerę wiya ogben ca Eni/ Oko one. A ca aye mi su oforo Oko one e e bile iwu a wa abe ebore egan, ne wa tiya okeka bo iken ro, a wa abe ebore egan. Tiya one aye ca, Isoje aye a b'e. Isoje a wa weda. E e bile Ejamgbadi wiya okeka iwu, a fwe keyę iwu ekoņę. Neda wiya ne iya bile ba ba ekoņę na, bi fu ki a ka, abe epan eņa aye a wa akana wo Ogori. Abe epan eņa, tiya okeka, e jowon no oyerę. Ogbana neņę tiya okeka e yan na, wiya oogben abe ca be few, biya yọ Onomo. Owo akana one? Mhnm.wa a gb'e, neda wiya aye do tiya abe epan eņa wo Eni one akana one, ne iya bile ba ba Onomo cana be ca bi gure Ogori na. Aka e siye wa na a ne.
- S:** Ogben gana Emama one aye ba?
- D:** Ogben akọ na a ba na?
- S:** Mhm.
- D:** Eđęda siye ya ese, a wa epa upi. Te gan eđęda eba. Awa epan upi, a ma da one Osibina, ... Cugbon, Osibina ayare e din ore neņę oņębe je ejen yọ na. Sa akọ E siye ga na ya o, sa o ero one e twę ne o, ama de osibina ayayere emi ye aka aye neņę fura ero amoņę Isubu na. Owo hon? Epan upi aye Eđęda e siye ya ese.
- S:** Osibina e teyi enanę teyi tu na bo urun a romuro.
- D:** Amin, amin.
- S:** Osibina e teyi esuna Osibina e ke ye emama one na, a da isubu oboro.
- D:** Eđęda Obin eekwin a ne, Ijesu eekwin a ne. Ero iboro enanę wo ayinewu na ...
- The widow appears without a head gear.*
- D:** Ki teyi ya egan. Ama eđęda e fo? Eđęda e fo go. Efenę wa yọ oworo na aye a ne go. Eđęda siye ese a gba oro balę ya uboo. Te gan Osibina eba. Iya ogben te wa o tęda. Iya ogben te wa.

C Ogori market scene

(i) Gari (GAR)

- K:** Ewe mama!
- I:** Oh ewe tęda. Osoma hon?
- K:** Gana ni yin ya?
- I:** A ka Enaira upi.
- S:** A berę no iwu egan hon? E jebo sa a se eji?
- I:** Eka a te ya isile upi a ka aye ama te e. imu ya go.
- K:** A da eji gbagba, bida ke jo ya gana?

- I:** A da eji gbagba, I di e yin ya enaira ẹna. Imu a jo go.
K: Ayẹ e di ka, imu a wọrẹ? Egari da yọ fọrẹ akọ eji họn sa ...?
I: Ehn egari da yọ fọrẹ akọ imu a wọrẹ.

(ii) Egin owowo “Guineacorn Vendor” (EGI)

- K:** Gana ne fo orogo one wamo a?
G: Enaira ebore
K: Ama te?
G: Ama te.
K: Ada asọna oro e ni ka ayẹ yin o?
G: Imuritala ẹta a wa one.
K: Egin owowo ane, sa gana?
G: Egin owowo ya.
K: Eye e di ka, bi soba a gba egin owowo.
G: Egin owowo a wa ẹnanẹ feyan. Ayẹ ẹnanẹ abe a ma.

(iii) Market: A Vendor’s Displayed Articles (ART)

- K:** Ogole.
S: Ẹna be fo ogole e siye a?
K: I bi da a ke kpare ikoko. Ikoko bi ya kpare; Ogegen okeke; ekpelebe ayẹ Okuro e ye e. I bi ya se odo: ikukuru, neṅe bi da a ke ba ekpakpala na; Odo: I biya sẹrẹ okun. Ogobi: iyaro abe, ayẹ bi da ke sẹrẹ ẹpen.

(iv) Market: Local Government Toll (TOLL)

- K:** Ewe.
Ag: Oo, Ewe.
K: Aoo, Okene Local government ne ma e siye utun?
Ag: Ehn.
K: Ẹna a wa no utun a?
Ag: Revenue ya go.
K: Egbaka ne fo ugi dọn, ne kọ ...
Ag: Ehn I de kuru iwe ke no ero, isile ebore, ebore.
K: Isile ebore u de kuru iwe ke ne ero? Erana u de kuru iwe ke no a?
Ag: Eji ro neṅe a do eji na.
K: Ẹnanẹ a ado na, ka ẹnanẹ e yin na?
Ag: Eh-ehn, ẹnanẹ a jo na.
K: Ayẹ e di ka, ero feyanfeyan, isile ebore ya?
Ag: Ehn, ka ẹnanẹ a jo egari na, ka ẹnanẹ a jo itomatọ na.
K: E me gben ka oro ọben ẹka da yọ fọrẹ ọben ẹka?
Ag: Ehn, isile ebore e ki wa.
K: Emoona ne bẹrẹ irisiti okuru ne ero akọ a?
Ag: E fon, October.

- K:** October?
Ag: Ehn, October, 1986.
K: Gana ni da gba wan isubu, averagely?
Ag: E depend ako ne bi siye e siye utun na.
K: Ne e kuru irisiti ne oro, ni da jo gana?
Ag: Isubu oḅen ti da jo nine naira, isubu oḅen ti da jo ten naira.
S: Ẹna u roro ka be fo ikiba ayẹ e siye a? I bi ki ga ka be ke ne gbogba ḥon?
Ag: I bi da ne yo gbogba, I me din eken a bi de e ki siye na.
K: Ni me din eken a Okene Local Government e siye na? Nje bi me su iplan ka be ma eji okeka?
Ag: Ehn, bi sisi ki su ya wo okan ka be ma eji okeka wo Ọkọ one.
K: Ne bi dina a gba ikiba a ke na a ke forẹ egan na?

D (i) Egbe Ife (EI)

- RA.1 Laao. Akpanda bolukuja. Aja majabi, akpadododgaragara.
 RB.2 Ọmoba. Ei, ime dina gba epen oḅen ka ayẹ di ya a ma go.
 RA.3 Jowon amẹ I jowon ako.
 S.4 Ayẹ di a ma ekoṅe go.
 RA.5 I diya ma ekọ ḥon?
 S.6 Mnh.
 RB.7 Ama oro oḅen e me do ba ẹta?
 S.8 Eme siye kenakide, efenenfena ne e sisi ma na.
 R.93 Ẹka ka amẹ i do ba ẹta go.
 S.10 Ehn ni cun wamọ na.
 RA.11 Ako I siye ma ọne a na o?
 S.12 Aron egan.
 RB.13 Ọmoba Odio.
 RA.14 Odio, Ọmoba, lerama, eḍeḍa iboro eegbe, iya oboro ogben, ọmoba.
 Hun, oḅone Egbe-Ife abe e e siye bo ero na, Egbe-Icaju ero iboro, Egbe-Ife ero iboro.
 RB.15 Be e ki tiye ifoto ba gan owo.
 S.16 Mama, Egbe-Ife nenẹ na a ga eyibone ọne na, erana e kpoto wo opa ayẹ a?
 RB Ama atọ?
 S.17 Eeehn! Mama ka awọ u wa amọ.
 RB.18 Ama amẹ?
 S.19 Ehn.
 RB.20 Eeyi! uka ọne I fu bon oḅen ọne a na, ka Ak wa amọ.
 S.21 Eeehn! Ak ...?
 RB.22 Neda.
 S.23 Tẹda eḅeba?
 RB.24 Neda eḅeba ne ba wọ na, Eb, kaye wa amọ, I to opa ayẹ.
 S.25 Ẹna ni de kpoto ki siye a?
 RA.26 Ti deki siye are, te dake se esen, ti deki je ijen.

- RB.27 Te dake wa ade.
- RA.28 Egan ti siye siye ne. Egbe-Ife, mimo, mimo, mimo
- RB.29 Ika u yina ...
- S.30 Ne ke g' e. Mama Ega aye ikpoto e ni ka e wo go.
- RA.31 E hen.
- S.32 Feyanfeyan ne na yen na, ako ni de siye ki siye igan enabe na, ne g' e.
- RB.33 I ti deki siye te dake wa ade. Ta a wa ade ti de siya are ki ne.
- S.34 Epen aka are ola ona?
- RB.35 Esen, ti de ki mo ade.
- S.36 Esen ona? Aigo sa eregba?
- RA.37 Ti dake sen ognegen esen.
- S.38 Ada iyaro esen ni dake sen, gana iforo de siye yerer no ki ne na?
- RA.39 Aye wo opa gbogba, ama de, ka aye e e ki siye opa aye. Neda e ga ro.
- S.40 E ki ye mu.
- RB.41 Ta a se esen ne ti da yo uboo.
- RA.42 Te da yo yo uboo, te da ma. Oben te e kuru are siye, emune a a ma na a da fo ade ne to.
- S.43 Mama o e yen ka ano ebobo tititi ca ki wo akana, eme su ekena be e siye Okpa nene na ma ca efenebe ... Okpa ro ne wa hon, sa gana ti siye wa?
- RA.44 *Ko si bo ti ri.* Okpa I we gwe. I diya se Olatunbosun wiya owiya wo Okpa, iya ne Oyetunji.
- S.45 Gana ni siye gwe Okpa?
- RA.46 I gwe oyegben daadaa.
- S.47 Era efa ne ma na? Era ne ma a keye a?
- RA.48 Iya aye e fo go.
- S.49 Ehn ne ke ge e, onebe me e ni ka e wo ne.
- RA.50 Ayeja wiya efa I we gwe. Teda Olicimi aye a fo mo ne ya, i bile a ma. Weda oworo ya. E ma Okpa daadaa.
- S.51 Ika so? Ni di e ye oro eben enane wo Okpa nene te ga yo ega igan na ero eben enane ni din, ka enane wa amo akana na ka enane e me pile wa amo na?
- RA.52 Mo emama e me wo uboo, Iya egbe e me wo uboo. Oogbe, oben a ma one.
- S.53 Era e pile wa amo na?
- RB.54 I te logoso go, erokoro gana e pile ku a, ero gana e wo uboo a?
- RA.55 Be me wo uboo, ato oyoyo oyoyo, I te logoso. I ma ga enane fo na.
- S.56 Eguru eena ni de tiye ki ne na?
- RA.57 (SONG) *Egbe ife, ero iboro*
Ba a pare esa esa bowo ba, ero iboro
Ba a se ategbe ategbe bowo ba, ero iboro
*Egbe ife, ero iboro*⁴³
- RA.58 Tide e siye are ki ne.

⁴³ Punctuation is deliberately left out at the end of the lines, because they are mostly in phrases but they are nevertheless unambiguous and perfect for the genre.

(ii) Oke Festival (OKE)

- S: Owiya ne ba se Ọkó akana na aka one be tayi a se igan neṅe anọ gben ayen ca to na, nje e su iyato neṅe wamo na?
- R1: Iyato wamo.
- R2: Gana eme siye su iyato a? Igan ehn, ba a ka oyegben gwe ne ba a se ya owiya na, I be fwe e jen oyara e je oke. Be fo očen wo ije, be ma isia, oro isiya, oro iwiri, cana be e re očen eta, bi siye owiya imu. Be e siye owiya imu, cana, a da yo oforo aka fwe cana bi ki su.
- R1: Esubu iyegben a pare esa.
- R2: Eyi oro e diya ke ga enabe go.
- S: Eken a me ikpoto e ni na a nebe go.
- R1: Esubu iyegbe a pare esa. Oyegben a pare esa, aka odolo icin. U siye are ki ne.
- R2: Anọ aka egben iforo i nake be aben, ni ki siye are. I ta bale aka Efa aka Adamu igan. Te e me din kena kide. Akọ u siye ma one ana, i ba se mo amẹ owiya be fo mo a ne o. Te ma uboo one, ti ki siye are. We me din eken wo mu iwu na, i me din eken wo wu iwu na. Eyibone-akọ, abe-ayere e mi ni ya e e ne.
- R1: Ba a ta ya efo, e gben ka ogben gwe ne baka fo yo oyara na, i ba a ka:

Ayibusu ka se, asaase ro
Ayegbomena ye ayaye ro
Eeri mama kibusu ko ozizo we
Eeri mama keta ko ozizo ro
Oobisina kobi sokpinkpin ro
Oobisina kobi sotayerege, emi ne sema

Wa a gbe one e jowon akọ.

E e e e, e e eh, e e eh
E e eh, e e eh eeh
E e e h, e e eh, e e eh
E e eh, e e eh
E e e e, e e eh, e e eh
E e eh, e e eh eeh
E e e h, e e eh, e e eh
E e eh, e e eh

R1: Amẹ e de ki siye, i ma a ka:

- R1: *Okpo osuda oesema osogbaye*
- Chr: *Osema osogbeye*
- R1: *Okpo osuda oesema osogbaye*
- Chr: *Osema osogbeye*

R1: *Ona mopa mide*
 Chr: *Ona melo mide*
 R1: *Ona melo mide*
 Chr: *Ona mopa mide*
 R1: *A sukuru remire...*
 Chr: *A sogbodo remiremi*
 R1: *A sogbodo remire...*
 Chr: *A sukuru remiremi*
 R2: *Ona mopa mide*
 Chr: *Ona melo mide*
 R2: *Ona melo mide*
 Chr: *Ona mopa mide*
 R2: *A wigila oyeroye ...*
 Chr: *A wamo otelotele*
 R2: *A wamo otelote ...*
 Chr: *A wigila oyeroye ...*
 R1: *E gberiwu me ejoke*
 Chr: *E gberere me ejoke*
 R1: *E gberere me ejoke*
 Chr: *Egberiwu me ejoke*

S: Iken nẹnẹ ni ye tiye eguru one na, Ọkọ niye tiye eguru one sa iken oona ni ye tiye eguru a?
 Chr: Mhmh, mhmh.
 R2: Ato ẹbẹba i te ca e twẹ? Tẹda abe aka tiya abe e te ca e twẹ ero.
 R1: Ka ba igan ...
 R2: Ka ba esubu.
 S: Ama ne me din iken ...
 R1: I ti gben ayẹ ca twẹ, be me dina a ce ece ne to, ka iken ne tiye e na a ne.

(iii) Ireso: Cultural Club (IRE)

S: Iresoro ẹga me e ni ka i cin nu go: ka i dake wo Iresoro Iresoro, i me pkoto din ẹnanẹ wa iresoro na. Ẹra na a wa?
 Chr: I wo amọ.
 Adeba: Ato.
 Eri: Isuda abe a ne.
 Ok: A be a wa bo oga igan, Ayisa-Akpoti.
 S: Ebaba one, gana bo iwuru gbe a?
 Ok: Ayisa-Akpoti.
 S: Yọ iwuru e gbe ẹgan?
 Eri/Ok: Ehn.
 Eri: Abe a wa ẹnanẹ jowon gedegbe nẹnẹ a sẹn ireso ayẹ igan na.

- S: Gana bi siye a s̄en ya, Baba?
- Ay: Ekpi bi da k̄e ba.
- S: Ẹna bi ye siye ekpi aȳe a?
- Eri: Isimaro e deki siye otele aȳe. Bi da kon ya.
- Ay: At̄o at̄o e de mi kon ya.
- S: Ẹna e kpoto wa Iresoro ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀ ȳo igben a?
- Eri: Kaba iken bi we siye we ca.
- Ay: Ukukuukuro eesen ya.
- S: Ba a ke s̄en ya bi deki tiye eguru?
- Ay: Ehn.
- S: Esen gbgba ni dake e s̄en h̄on sa e su ẹ̀kẹ̀na bi de e ki siye na?
- Ok: Bi siye ọ̀gba-ọ̀bẹ̀n, bi ye ni ka be ke do eji.
- S: Eji oloona ẹ̀ka?
- Ay: Te s̄er̄e oti am̄o gba.
- S: Ni da te uba bile ni da s̄er̄e oti.
- Ay: Ti da s̄er̄e oti. Abe e de file tu ro, ka ti ya s̄er̄e oti. Ubele bi ye siye. Te do ẹ̀sa eeji gba. Neda goon ti file ȳo Ibadan gba.
- Eri: Aȳe a wa akowe ọ̀gba-ẹ̀nabẹ̀.
- Ay: Ti fil'e ȳo Ibadan gba jen e yin ẹ̀sa; ne te jo na.
- S: Na a jo ya ẹ̀na ni da fo ȳo ikiba siye a?
- Ay: Ama i ti de e je ijen?
- (All) *Laugh*
- Ay: Oka imoto ti de e yin?
- Ok: Ẹna be e siye ọ̀gba-oneba?
- Ay: Te me e yin imoto.
- S: Ni de e je imu.
- Ay: Ti de e je imu,
- Er: Te da c̄en alegbe am̄o.
- Ok: Ti yin ka ona gba.
- Ay: Ti yin ka ona gba.
- S: Igan ọ̀nẹ̀bẹ̀, gana ni yin ona a?
- Ay: Ehn, ona, ti yin ọ̀bẹ̀n, ti yin ọ̀bẹ̀n (*laughs*) epon ebore-ka-isile-efo. At̄o f̄eyanfeyan e jen a se ya, opa ne e gbodi ta na, Okewen. Ooboro, oon, gana ika be ye ya? Ihima ti jen e yin ya. Ẹgabariro oona ẹ̀nabẹ̀ ya ne: ekpon ufombore. Uka am̄onẹ̀ ya ne? E fon.
- S: I ka so ,,,
- Ay: Ehn.
- S: Ireso ro opa one, oro-k'-oro e diya fon ya h̄on sa...?
- Ay: Ama igan-ẹ̀nabẹ̀? Oro-k'-oro ya. Te me su ya ka ukuba ne be na a ne.
- S: Eme diya wa ikiba ba a ta?
- Ay: Eeh-ehn, Ama wa ikiba.
- S: Ama wa ikiba bi a fon ya?
- Er: Te e su ikiba wo akpo ti da na ...

- Ay: Bi da ne ẹgan ka ikiba ne ti su wo akpo na, ka awo u su wo amọ.
- S: Mmhnn! E ye mu. Opa ọnebe nje iyaro kpoto wo amọ.
- Chr: Iyaro wo amọ.
- S: Nje ni di e ye iyaro enane ni din...
- Ok: Ne wa amọ na?
- S: Ehn.
- Ok: Em, Obin ooro wamo, neda ooro.
- S: Gana e gbe a?
- Ay: Doroti.
- Ok: Doroti.
- S: E wo amọ?
- Ay: E wo amọ. Abe a wa oyayo; Ikpokpo ...
- Ok: Eremilekun wo amọ.
- S: Remi i ...?
- Ok: Remilekun ...
- Ay: Eremi, Ogunbiyi oogben.
- S: Eebao.
- Ay: Abe aka Ijona, ne a ba ekpi na, weda, ededa a ba ba.
- Ok: Ka Etetemu wo amọ.
- S: Era be e ye Etetemu a?
- Ok: E wo osone.
- Ay: Enane a yo ayọ iyegben na.
- Er: Ka oyegben ọnebe wa amọ ... umm ... Eyinla.
- S: Era be e ye Eyinla a?
- Ay/Ok/&co: Eme wo amọ gba.
- Adeb: Uka ogbele ba a ga.
- S: Ogbele?
- Ay: Ehn, Obin Okeka ocin aye a ma. Aye bi de we da sen ya.
- S: Ena esen bi da ke sen a?
- Ay; Esen aye be e ye Ogbele.
- Adeb: Atọ a sen ya ekone wa.
- S: Na ke sen ya akana?
- Ay: Eeh ehn ro, ero abe e me fu?
- Ok: E kwe. Ka ireso goon ...
- Ay: Ireso o, era e pila a sen ya?

E Dinner Speech (DSP)

- Otr:** I ti gule gule amone, ka te ma aben gega. Ti je imu aye ako ti siye wo oyen ca na. So that, at least, ne ke diya fo one din ke yen ka ogbona ne ca eyen one imu na, ekena nene ni siye na aye awa one. Enane fo eto ola ako we ca na, imoran ola ako aye eke wo ba okan we ke ca ne. Enane diya fo uba file aligbogben, cin uba file aligbogbe, bi tiye ikiba we ca ne bi e siye epen ola ako na, Osibina e ke kuru bile ba amọ. Osibina e e ke ya ka ne gba o ecu. Osibina e ke ya ka ne gba ekon ubowo aka. Tori ka efena nene ron na, aye esu

de ni ka ayẹ ma balẹ. Osibina e ke ya ka te gbe. Ne pila ke yọ, Osibina a ka ke balẹ oripopo ke ne no. osibina e teyi ni di siy'e ke yọ. Ne e diya ke yọ, no istacionu, na ke yọ utun ẹfa, Osibina a ka balẹ oripopo ne ororo. E diye re ebeyen, ti diye di gula forẹ akọ.

Aṅo ẹnane guna era na, ti je ijen to ibe rọn. Tori e me su ẹfena a ma rọn owo akana na. Ne siye a a. osibina e e ke ya ka ebi oruru e guma fi nu. Nitiori ka aka na, Aaan nitiori ka ni diye siye ni me din ẹkẹna ni siye akana na. Aṅo ọyọyọ eke pila ga ka te e je ijen oboo akana. Ti je, ti fe akana. Njẹ ẹfena fe na e pile diya ke ga oro oḅen eebe so? Osibina e e ke ya ka te gba ebe ro ẹga. Na ne iwu-ogbigben. Na no iwu-ogbigben.

Chorus: Ta-a-a-a-ro! Ta-a-a-a-ro!! Ta-a-a-a-ro!!!

C: Afotare ẹta e gben ijen.

F EkonEkon

Oon egben iforo, akọ bi siye e siye a ne egben, ka iyaro na, ayẹ bi siye a ne ka iforo. Wa a ba ogben oforo, e e gwe; e e gwe re ogben opa, ogben opa ọṅẹbẹ e ke we we ca ne, ọṅẹbẹ e ke we cẹn osa ne. Ayẹ be e ye “ogben-opa”.

Nn-nnh!

One ne ni deki ye ka “youth”, nnhnn, ogben cece gwe ca, ayẹ be e ye ka be cẹn osa. I bi deki siye ka ayẹ aka imu na. Osa nẹnẹ a cẹn ọṅẹbẹ ana e e mi siye kena kide ro.

R: Uhn.

Nn-nnh! I ba a ka a cẹn osa, igan ọṅẹbẹ, ka abi su opa. Bi da kọ opa gese ka opa ne cẹn osa na a ne. Ẹnanẹ taye cẹn osa ẹyẹn gana wo urun na, abe e dine re ẹkọn.

R: Abe e diye re ẹkọn!

Abe e diye re ẹkọn. Ayẹ e dika abi de gwe. Akọ bi siye a ka te se ovia. Abe e de bi ọgba ọṅẹbẹ, abe e free.

Ama o gbe: ẹnane cẹn osa ẹnabẹ a na, (R:Uhn.) ẹkẹna e ke gbe ka ufo sisi cẹn ya wan na, (R: Uhn.) epepan bi jen e r'e e wo. (R: Ee ee ehn, ẹfena cẹn osa na!). Uhn, e e mi re ẹkọn. Ama u din ka akana, ogbenikeke e fo I bi de siy'e daadaa? (R: Ehn) Iga ẹnabẹ ogbenikike e e fo nẹnẹ e e mi re opa ne abowo ka e re na, I bi de tiye jen a ne fuwa. (R: Ama bi da ke kpa ije ne ya?) Ehen I me din ... kpa ije ne ya ...

Ogbana a cẹn osa ọṅẹbẹ na, ama o gba ọgbona ẹyẹn e ke gule: opa ẹnabẹ ẹyẹn e ke gule ne opa ẹnabẹ e ke ki re ẹkọn na, yọ ukuba feyan I bi dake kọ ẹsa akọ bi siye a kọ ẹsa a se ogben ovia ẹnabẹ ana. I ba ke kọ ẹsa be ke wọra ade. Udika ade a wa imu ọgba-ẹnabẹ. (R: Ehn.) Be ke wọra ade, bi ki te ẹsẹn, bi ki siye ororo. Emune isubu e e re nẹnẹ ba a ke kọ ẹsa, ne bi je ijen, bi fe ọṅẹbẹ na, opa abe ẹbẹba a kọ. Egbele owowo biya be e tiye a dọn, bi ki ne:

Amẹ cẹn osa I re ẹkọn

Amọṅẹ

Amẹ cẹn osa I re ẹkọn

Amọṅẹ

Aka me e de bwe epepan

Amọṅẹ

Ba a da fwe e jen e re e wo epepan. Ogben ne e e mi re ẹkọn na, e efo, epepepan bi jen e re e wo. E mi e tiye eguru akọ e ki cun, e ki ne I yọ ukuba uuboo feyan. E de tiye eguru ọṅẹbẹ e ki ne opolo-opolo, ẹfena e su ukuba ta na. Ẹfena e su ukuba ọyọyọ na, e de su aron. I be e ki fwese e, I be e ki fwese e, I be e ki fwese e, be ke wara ya ikiba, be ke ben. Yọ ukuba feyan ke ben. Egan e siye wa ka ogben iforo ne O.

Ama u din ka ka oo ogben oyegben e gwe, ba ka fwe je oke: be ke jen ọyara? Be e jen ọyara, ba ka ma ivia isiya, be ke siye ivia imu. Cana e ke diye je oke ẹyẹn ooboro: u di ka ayẹ be ke we fo ẹsa parẹ ya.

(R: Isi ocoro ẹka o?)

Odolo bi de guru wo icin go

(R: Isi ocoro?)

Isi ocoro, I bi de guru ebele wo ya icin.

(R: Isi ebore bi da fo ogben jen oyara?)

Isi ooboro ẹka ọṅẹbẹ, e mi parẹ ẹsa ke. Ẹnanẹ mi de gwe yẹrẹ ba na, abe a ka da fo iwu ufolo we ca. Akana ama u din ka egben-ikeke ti de mi fo we ke ca iwu ufolo?

(R: Ehn.)

Ivia da parẹ ẹsa, ivia ẹnabẹ ne parẹ ẹsa ọṅẹbẹ ana, ivia ẹnanẹ tayi je oke ẹyẹn ọṅẹbẹ na abe a da parẹ ẹsa ọṅẹbẹ. Ayẹ a wa ovia ne ta e se na. Ti mi bil'e wo oyiboro ẹka, one ta a se ovia one na. A a daka ọgba ọṅẹbẹ ya ne, oyegben ni gwe gbaga, ne urisi ten, eba a gbagagbaga. Ehn, ẹyẹn ... oona be ye okoleba? Odolo ne bi guru wo ya ofe na, e gwe. One e guru wo icin na, esisi ri ya igben ayẹ ẹgan fẹyan kpaakpaa.

Ah, ero esubu (*laugh*)! Ogben e file ọṅẹbẹ na, ba a ka abeye ya akana?

(R: ...ka e su one e siye na?)

Eehn ẹgan bi siye e siye esubu ne, ka oforo. Un-hun.

(R: ime din ka oforo de ki siye ooohn ...).

Ei! ka abi de je imu go, ka abi de je imu. I be e ki fwese ka abe. I be e guru ka abe iwu. Be cẹn alegbe oboro file ya emunube.

A me cẹn osi r'ekon

Amire amire

A me cẹn osi r'ekon

Amire amire

Mee di ka me ke re

Amire amire

Mee di ka me ke re

Amire amire

Ojigbala ogbal' ọgba

Amire amire

We e re ọgba a da se mọ amẹ

Amire amire

Ọre, me e de bwe epepan

Amire amire

Mee di ka me ke re

Amire amire...

Egan abi siye e je bo imu ayẹ ọgba ẹnabẹ ne.

Ayẹ a wọrẹ, ka akana, oro ọbẹn a gba ẹkẹna jin ya owo fuwa nẹnẹ e me din ka ayẹ eke sisi di siye na, eguru ọṅẹbẹ e e ki tiye ne ka, ayẹ e dinka ayẹ e ke re.

(R: Uhn.)

Eheen. *Boya* u di a ke wo ka bi de ki tiye eguru ayẹ.

(R: I dake wo ka be e tiye eguru ayẹ.)

Unhun, ẹkẹna wa eguru ayẹ igbe na a wa ọnẹbe.

(R: Uhn.)

E e mi re *istage* ọnẹbe, e e fo, epepan bi jen e r'e e wo (*laugh*). Esuburo ka abe bi fi go.

R: Ọgbona ba a cẹn osa na, tititi bi ye re ẹkọn, ẹna bi de mi ki siye ke ne egben ẹnabẹ a?

Uh –uhn, be da ke ma, bi ki din ka a cẹn osa ke e e mi re ẹkọn.

R: E e diye su oworo ọgba ẹnabẹ go.

Ẹtẹka...? Ikiba... ẹta a gba ikiba ...? O ka akana ne... ẹta a gba ikiba ne e soba e su oworo na? Ẹta a gba ikiba ayẹ a? (*laugh*). One sisi re ẹkọn na a gba ikiba su oworo ke? Ama da ka ukuba ne... ẹfẹna ne, boya weda su na, wiya su na.... Ẹna e siye a? Eei! Oro ọbẹn e de gwe, e de sisi ni ka a ke dọn, a a ka gba ikiba ne e ke e su oworo na. Ikiba gana bi e su oworo igan na? ẹtẹka? Ẹta o gba ikiba? Eh (*laugh*).

(R: I ka, ama ayẹ a ke wa amọ aka igila ne be e ki ce akana na?)

Ehen, aka ẹsa. Ikiba wa ekpon upi, ọnẹbe a wa enaira efo akana ne. ekpon upi, ayẹ a wa ẹpan ikiba fẹyanfẹyan. Ẹpan ikiba, ekpon upi; a gba e họn? Ẹtẹka a ka gbe ya? Ei uhun.

Oro ọbẹn wo amọ e diya *lucky*, a a da ogben oforo ne su ẹpan, e e siye utun, e e jen erun, a bowo ya, e diya tọmẹ ẹpan a no osuda ẹbẹn na, e diya gba oro a ve oworo, be ve oworo ka, “namo”, e me siye ẹpan ikiba, e me sisi siye ẹpan ikiba. Ẹta be gba ikiba ayẹ a? kẹkẹkẹ ọgbona bi sisi kọ ikiba okukuru e su na, ero gana e su ikiba ayẹ a? (*laugh*)

G Fi Ogben ne Igila (FOI)

Ọgarega parakata, a to ẹdẹda one a ta iya one. Bi ye je bi ya wa. E kuru siye, yọ oforo yọ e su oworo ọbẹn. E mi su ọgbẹre. E su ọgbẹre na, abe ebobo be ba ogben. Ọbẹn ba ogben oyegben, ọbẹn ba ogben oyegben. Egben abi gwe. E fon fon fon fon fon, bida ba egben iforo, abe ebobo. Ayẹ a wa esunube, ẹdẹda ka be ke ca be yọ erun. Ọgbẹre one, ọbẹn wa ọgbẹre oboro, ọbẹn wa ọgbẹre odudu. Bi we bi a yọ erun, ọgbẹre oboro one ganẹ yọ ogben ka, ayẹ a yọ erun o. Wa a gb'e, igila e wo ije one: erigana u fi igila aneka ogben ni ye je o. A ka “Oho”.

Bi we be yọ erun. ọgbẹre odudu, fo yọ ogben bobo yọ erun. Ọgbona nẹnẹ be yọ erun ke na, ogben one e ni ka ayi fi igila, a ka “Ei!” U wa a ka aawiya ka ayi fi ogben ne igila na. Yọ ọkọn ọbẹn da **ga ne** ya ka, eh-ehn ro, igila ya. Yọ ọkọn ọbẹn ke ganẹ ya ka “ogben be ka u fi ne igila”. A ne ogben wo ẹra, ogben yi ọga, e fo, e tiy'e, a a keye igila.

Ọgbona be e ke wura erun na, ayẹ a ka, “oru, oru, oru.” Ayẹ iya ka, ogben oo. Ayẹ a ka, “Ei, je ijen ke a. Tori ayẹ ẹbẹba mi gba ka ogben ayẹ, e siye akọ. E je ijen. “Ogben oo”? A ka “Awo e mi fu wa ebi”. A wa ebi. Ogben oo? A ka, “Ama ogben ne awo ka ayi fi ne igila na?” Ayi fi ya ne igila, igila e me j'e. Wiya kọ uba se ẹpan, a ka, “iyeye! Be won ya ayẹ ro”. Erokoro gidina ca, ogben eekporo be gba. Iya ayẹ ka “sam”, a ma wa ayẹ ogben. Ayẹ a ma na. A fon uboo, e tiye ẹsa we ca, a parẹ ya se yọ abare, aka ẹfẹna aa gba na, e e ni ayọ ogbe a ne ya ayẹ. Ogben e yi iwo go. One ne wa ogben oyegben one na, ayẹ e yi iwo.

Aka oya, oya, oya, a ke yọ. A damẹna a yọ. E e gure oro orikpokpo a da karẹ yen ya, a a ka “O lo o, awo e din. Aka ayẹ e ki jen, Iya ọnẹbe a fo ẹpan e puwa ẹyana. Ẹna be e ye ka be foe pan e puw ẹyana? A tọmẹ ẹpan wo ije akọ, e e puwa ọọrẹ tabi iyin. Ayẹ a wa ẹpan ne e e puwa ẹyana na. A kpan ẹpan dasu akọ, ogben ayẹ gan ya. Ayẹ a ka, “ẹna we e ni a?” Ayẹ a ka, ẹkẹna ayẹ gba na a ne. A ka e jowon karẹ ya ayẹ. Ogben ki bobo ogben wo abare. A ka, ei! jowon ayẹ “ma o ki puwe a!” Ka ogben n ẹpan wo amọ. Ayẹ a ka, a kpan ẹpan. A ne ya ogben ayẹ, ayọ a ne ya wo elo.

Questioner: Ẹna be e ye elo a?

Narrator: Elo: utugbun ne be de cẹrẹ, bi diye kuru ya a wa. U di a ga ẹga e wo amọ, e di siye ẹpẹn ne oro. Wa a yẹn, neda su ya wo ... neda okeka abe su ya igan.

A ne ya wo elo. Ogben one a fo ẹpan e puwa ẹyana. Bi puwa ẹyana ayẹ be yọ uboo.

Ujogwe gwe ne be e bwe na, iya ka ogben e bwe. Ayẹ ogben ka e jowon ayi bwe agodo. “We e ke bwe agodo?” A ka “ehn”. Ogben bwe wo agodo. Ba a ma olore, bi de siye ọdọrẹ wo amọ, ayẹ be e ye agodo. A kolẹ wo amọ.

Isoore iya aye a ta eson. Aye iya aye ka, “Opuu, ena a ga?” Aye ogben ka, “osi a ba imu go”. Iya aye ka “Oho”. Isi oyerere, eno ka “cacalacacala.” “Opuu, ena a ga?” A ka “ama osi ne a ba imu igan onẹbe ana aye a ca?”. Iya ka “Oho”.

Usiye gan, bi siye ijen bi je. Bi mi siye egan mi bile a ke ma. Ogben aye fo iwu metẹ ya daadaa. Emunune e gule isubu ufombore na, aye iya ka “awo ca o ke yo uboo.” Aye a a ka, aye e me su uboo ne ayi pila a yo na ro. Eteka aye a ka gba ogben oḅen neḅe aye a ka fo a ne aawiya na. Aye a ka “Eh-ehn, wa a ka yo uboo usiye”. Aye a ka “Iye! U ka, aye a ka yo?”

Usiye gan iya ka a kpọ utosi, akoto enane be pare wo efenẹbe na, eḅen e ke ki I ka “fo mo, fo mo, fo mo”. Onene a du’ucu, ne a ma ga ka, o fo ya aye onẹbe ana, o moso yo o fwe o”. A ka, “Oh”. A kpọ utosi, iukwa, okara abe kwe yi oga, “fo mo, fo mo, fo mo.” One e me guna owo na, a fw’e, e holo ca. Iya a ka ogben “fine boy”: Ogben ne ron uro daadaa na, a fw’e. Eḅa ne a pare ya ca onẹbe ana, e diya a pare ya bobo. E siye akọ jin opolo a ka, “Wa a gb’e, wo uboo aye a wa onẹbe”. Sibe e je ejen je ejen cana e e to iya aye. Iya aye ki jin opolo a ka “Wa a gb’e, wo uboo a wa onẹbe.” E jin ogben aye owo fuwa. A bale ogben, a ben a yo uboo go. Enane taye gb’e na bi ye hu ka “Ei! E wura, e wura, e wura”. Be gb’e ya ogben. Cana be ya yo onẹbe, a gan ya ka “okara one, ni ma tore oro aye. Anika niya a ka ma ubiribe cana o tore, o”. Ogebn ka “O”.

Wiya gba ka a ca. Wiya e me su iroro ka ayi di ya gba eḅen opa egan. Wiya gba ka a ca. Ka ededa, ka iya, ero feyanfeyan a ben. Cana wiya fo yo ogben. Be fon ubiribe. Abeka wiya be tora akoto onẹbe. Ena e me wo amọ na? Odolo, ikiba, aron go ba.

Ogberẹ odudu ka, “Ehn! Wa gba akọ neda oogbe siye jen e ce aron ca, abeka wiya bi mi cina aron ro na? Ma a yo erun usiye, ka awo u fi ogben ne igila ro”. Onẹbe aye ka “Oh”. Usiye dake gan, be da yo erun, ogberẹ odudu ka “E ka, u fi ogben ne igila. E gan o ka u fi igila ne ogben so? E gan o ka u fi ogben ne igila”. O gba akọ neda oogben siye fi ogben ne igila na?

Be yo erun, iukwiukwa e fi ogben ne igila. Wiya ki wura erun, “oru oru oru, wo ogben a ne”. Ah “Fwe ke yo. U wa a ka I je ijen ke”. A ka, “oho”. E de ki siye, a da fwe ca. a ka “u wa a ka e wa ebi ke”. A wa ebi. Cana ogbona e mi fwe ca na, e yi oga, a ka “be won ya aye ro!!”, be gba ogbe one ekena e siye na ro!!!” Aye? Aye a ka na, a pare ya se ya abare aka a ke yo, a ke yo, a ke yo. Ogben a yo go.

E re orikpopo, e e gure ero, “ena?” E e siye e guna ba owo. E cun ba tiiri gbagba.

E re efena a yo na e to iya onẹbe, e e puwa eyana. A ka, “Ohoo-ye!!!” Uba aye wo ka bi ye puwa eyana ro; “Gana awo siye fo epan e puwa eyana?” Iya aye ka, “Ei! wa ma mamọ puwa?” A ka, Agwagwa, aye e diya fo epan e puwa eyana ro. Iya aye ka, “Oho.” E siye ke be fon uboo yo. A ne ya ogben, a ne ya wo elo.

Ujogwe gwe bi bwe, e e ni ka ayi bwe keye iya one. Iya ka, “eh-ehn, agbodo we e ke bwe”. A ka, “oo-ye!!!” Aayo aye a gba ega one? Iya ta eson, iya ka, “Ena a ga?” A ka, aguga u ma fo eson pu ya aye ibe ro. E me fon iya do eno. “Ena a ga?” “Eyi! U diya do eno e ri mu? Oya I je one wa”. Ba ma ke agree ca. Bi ki siye egan siye yafayafa to aben. Emune e gule isubu ufombore na, iya ka “Wa ka yo uboo”. “Ehn! O kaba esusnuko o ka ima yo ubo.” “Kpọ utosi, okara ne a a ka o fo ya aye na u ma fwe o. One ne a da ucucu na aye wa ka fo o”. A ka, “Ee-ehn,” aye e me fu wa ucucuro, aye aye a fo okara ne da ucucu na. A kpọ utosi go, a fo okara ne ka a fo ya aye na. Oo, ayi ma wa ucucuro ro; “Ewo a ka e fo o aye e fo o”. E holo ca. Iya tiye ogben, ogben aye wọra-uro, a a gemkpe, e tiy’e, e e bobo ya abare egan.

Be ke yore aye gba ogben, be ka “Ee!! Aye a ca one ro. Ogben a ca; e wura, e wura”. Ka wiya lakata mune we ca. Bi kwe mune we ca, wiya aka ogben. Ogben ya gureyen, ogben aye e me e si siye kenakide. Aye a ka, be ka, abe fon uboo, abe tora akoto one ro. Be fon uboo. Be tora akoto. Ebi ka, “Yaa!” Epenidudu, enana, idede. Bi pile yi oga, yi oga, ero kuru epan na, bi kwe mune. Emeja abe wan abe eteta. Osibina e bila ekaniduru, e e fon ogberẹ odudu epan.

Coda: Kaba ogbonẹbe, aye ero ebore e pila ma uboo, be diye e siye ogberẹ odudu aka ogberẹ oboro a ne aben. Be dina a ma aben aye e siye ega.

Audience’s responses. We e siye! Ana owo! Ijen ne I ye su wu amọ na, Abiye e je.

H Popular Rhymes

	<i>Pin Pin Pin</i>	<i>Pe Pe Pe</i>
(Aisoni & Gabriel - courtesy Eika, 2003)	<p><i>Pin pin, Ekwa ajija</i></p> <p><i>Ajija Ajija Òkó</i></p> <p><i>Òkó Okure UreUrere Urere Ose.</i></p> <p><i>Idu Idu Ayeni</i></p> <p><i>Ayeni Ayeni Asa</i></p> <p><i>Asa Asa Ipigo</i></p> <p><i>Ipigo Ipigo Ore</i></p> <p><i>Ore Ore EminaEmina Emina Ego</i></p> <p><i>Ego Ego Caca</i></p> <p><i>Ayele pea baba Idu</i></p> <p><i>Idu Ori Koko</i></p> <p><i>To titi toto</i></p> <p><i>To yan yan toto</i></p> <p><i>Inulo Yane Buke gwoi</i></p>	<p><i>Pepe Pepulolo</i></p> <p><i>Ulolo mi sagana tada pono</i></p> <p><i>Apono yege yege Oku tanji</i></p> <p><i>Orere tende Orere yaya</i></p> <p><i>Tiyion Tiyion Omo Aleku</i></p> <p><i>Akeke leke</i></p> <p><i>Amu lele walo e</i></p>
(More popular version)	<p><i>Kpin pkin kpin, eku ajija</i></p> <p><i>Ajija ajij' eko, eko ek' urere</i></p> <p><i>Urere urer'oce, oce oce idu</i></p> <p><i>Idu idu ayeni, ayeni ayeni asa</i></p> <p><i>Asa as'ikpigo ikpigo ikpigo ore</i></p> <p><i>Òore oor'enuma, enuma enum'egoEgo eg'ucaca</i></p> <p><i>Agelekpe si baba idu, iduorikoko</i></p> <p><i>Tosisi tooto toyayan tooto</i></p> <p><i>Enum'ekoko yan'ebuke goin.</i></p>	<p><i>Pe pe pe, pep'ulolo</i></p> <p><i>Ulolo mi sagana, ada akpona</i></p> <p><i>Aakpona yegeyege oku taindi,</i></p> <p><i>Tiyotiyo, omolola o eh</i></p>

Appendix 2: Text Extracts

Appendix 2 contains the analysis of some text extracts. It also contains more detailed information about particles than is in the main body of the thesis.

Òkó Particles and their functions

Particle	Function	Full Meaning	mood type	Usage
<i>go</i> clause-final	Information Offering Ending Particle (IOEP)	"I am informing you that..." It is similar in function to the English tag, "is it?" but not identical.	declarative	It is used where the speaker strongly presumes that the listener is not aware of or has misunderstood the message he expresses in the clause of occurrence. If it occurs in the first clause of a clause complex, the next clause is likely to begin with "u ka" (don't think that...). It marks the clause for grammatical prosody.
<i>so</i> clause-initial, medial or final	Attention Seeking Particle (ASP)	When the particle is initial or medial, the clause is declarative, but when it is final, the clause is interrogative.	declarative imperative interrogative	At the clause initial position, the speaker alerts the listener to the importance of the message s/he is about to give the latter. At the medial position, it marks the end of the Given information.
<i>ro</i>	Information Statement Ending Particle (ISEP)	"(you must) be aware that..." or OK?	declarative imperative	This is used when the speaker is seeking for a kind of agreement to his/her opinion.
<i>oo</i> clause-final	Open Interrogative Particle (OIP)	"I demand information (say something) about this" - Subject	interrogative	It is used to demand addressee's opinion about or information on something concrete or abstract.
<i>i</i> or <i>u</i>	Predicator Highlighting Particle (PHP)	"It is that" or "is it that"	declarative interrogative	It has a textual significance in foregrounding the message. It is predicative in function. Interpersonally, it interacts with tone to convey indicative moods.
<i>ne</i>	Demonstrative Completive Particle (DCP)	(This particle is difficult to gloss, but it could roughly be regarded as "is the".)	declarative interrogative	Usually occurs in the environment of the demonstrative, bringing the statement of occurrence to finality.
<i>o</i> clause-final	Conclusive Statement Particle (CSP)	"my preceding proposition is conclusive".)	declarative	By using this particle, the speaker suggests to the addressee that he has the final word on the matter.
<i>na</i>	Dependency Particle unit (DEP)	(It is difficult to think of an English translation for this particle). Its function seems to be performed by tone 4 in an English unit complex - see Halliday, 1994: Section 8.10)	declarative	Usually completes the sense of the antecedent Relative Interrogative Pronoun Occurs at the clause-finite position of a bound (dependent or embedded) clause usually predominantly in relative constructions.

<i>naa</i>	Attitudinal Particle (AP)	It injects the attitude of the speaker to the clause. "You know, of course"	declarative	It is used to show anger or sarcasm regarding the message in the clause.
<i>ana</i> clause-final	Deictic Particle (DP)	A RPCP which includes an idea of deixis.	declarative	It is a resource for pointing linguistically or metaphorically to a person event or thing in the context or co-text.
<i>hon</i> clause final	Polar Interrogative Particle (PIP)	This is the interrogator without which the sentence could be a mere informative statement	interrogative	It is used to ask a polar question. At the beginning of the clause, it is more like a checking tag. It is unmarked at the end of a clause.
<i>a</i> clause final	Interrogative Pronoun Completive particle (ICP)	"the preceding clause is a demand for information from you"	interrogative	Usually at clause final position. It completes the sense of the interrogative Pronoun (WH-).
	Suggestive Particle (SG)	Giving the sense of a suggestion.	imperative	
<i>aye</i>	Topical Theme Marker (TTM)			<i>aye</i> - is an optional element functioning to mark topical Theme. When it links clauses, the preceding one must be predicative, with tone as a resource for realising the predicative Theme.
<i>waa!</i> clause final	Exclamative Particle (EXCP)	"I'm surprised/astounded/or puzzled"	exclamative	Clause final interpersonal particle suggesting that the event expressed by the proposition has been excessive. Positive: context (exclamative); negative context: (taking exception to).
<i>ama</i> clause- Initial	Clause Initial Interrogative Particle (CIIP)	Used for asking polar question. Speaker expects positive answer.	interrogative	Used when the speaker presumes that listener is or would be thinking as he/she does in relation to the message of the clause.
<i>U ka</i> "you say" clause- initial	Interrogative Clause (IC)	"Do you want/think say..."	interrogative	It could be used in the context of a genuine question or to reject what the speaker presumes about the listener's opinion. It is a projecting verbal clause, functioning as the interrogator, and with main emphasis on the interpersonal meaning.

Analysed Texts

Extract From DS/1

1.1	<i>I</i> PHP	<i>ti-</i> we	<i>gule</i> meet	<i>amone</i> , today
	We are gathered today,			
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Actor	Proc: event	Time
		Process: material		
interpersonal: MOOD	Mood Particle	Subject	PredicatorAdjunct	
		Predicator		
	declarative			
textual: THEME	predicative	topical		Rheme
	Theme			
taxis	(⟨)			

1.2	<i>ka</i> that	<i>te-</i> we	<i>ma</i> help	<i>abeneach</i> other	<i>ga.</i> talk	<i>egatalk</i>
	that we may speak with each other,					
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Sayer	Pro- ev-	Receiver	-cess: -ent	Verbiage
		Pro-			-cess: verbal	
interpersonal: MOOD	Conjunction	Subject		Adjunct	Predicator	Complement
		Pred-			-cator	
textual: THEME	Conjunctive	Topical		Rheme		
	Theme					
taxis	(x® 1)					

1.3	<i>ti-</i> we	<i>je</i> celebrate	<i>imu aye</i> feast the
	to celebrate (the festival),		
experiential: TRANSITIVITY	Actor		Process: event
	Process: material		Range
interpersonal: MOOD	Subject		PredicatorCompleme ent
	Predicator		
	declarative		
textual: THEME	Theme		Rheme
Taxis	(+® 2⟨)		

1.4	<i>ako</i> as	<i>ti</i> we	<i>siye</i> do	< <i>wo oye</i> n > COV outside	<i>ca</i> come	<i>na.</i> DEP
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	as we have come from our various stations;					
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Actor	Pro-	Place	-cess: event	
		Pro-			-cess: material & mid	
interpersonal: MOOD	Conjunction	Subject	Pre-	Adjunct	-dicator	
		Predi-			-cator	
textual: THEME	Conjunctive	Topical		Rheme		
	Theme					
taxis	(+®2x®<)					

1.5	so that	at least,	<i>ne-</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>diya</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>di ke</i>	<i>yen</i>	ASP
	so that,	at least,	you	will	MAS	use	this	able	remember	
so that, you will use this to remember/ (remember that on this occasion,)										
experiential: TRANSITIVITY			Senser	Pro-			Time	-cess:		
				Ev -					-ent	
interpersonal: MOOD	Conjunction	Conjunction	Subj	Pred-			Adjunct			
			Predi-							
textual: THEME	structural	conjunctive	Topical	Rheme						
	Theme									
taxis	(+®2x®x®1)									

1.6	ka	[[<i>ogbõna ne ca eyen one imu na</i>]], [[<i>ekena neñe ni siye na</i>]], <i>ayẽ</i>								
	that	<i>a wa one.</i>								
[[when you come year this festival DEP]] [[what that you do DEP]], it										
ASP be this										
that when you came for this year festival, this was what you did.										
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Time			Identifier: (Value)			Process: relational	Identifier: (Token)	
interpersonal: MOOD	Conj	Adjunct			Subject			Predicator	Complement	
textual: THEME	Conj	Topical (Marked)			Rheme					
	Theme									
Taxis	(+®2x®x®+2)									

	<<Enanẹ fo eto ọla akọ we ca na>> Those -that bring arrangement type this exit come RPCP
	Those that came up with this arrangement,
experiential TRANSITIVITY	
interpersonal MOOD	
textual: THEME	Theme: (absolute)
taxis	independent

	imoran [ọla akọ] aye [type ASP COV] ke wo ba<<>> okan we ke ca ne wisdom [this] it their<<>> mind exit ASP RCP come
	(I pray that) this kind of wisdom should always come out of their mind.
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Actor Pro- Place -cess: material & middle
interpersonal MOOD	Subject: Predi- Adjunct -cator declarative
textual: THEME	Rheme

Pre-Dinner Prayer (PR/1)

1.1	U- teyi to ebi a bọra You leave our water ASP settle
	Make our water crystal clear!
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Proc- Actor -ess: material & middle
interpersonal: MOOD	S-MKR PredicatorComp Predic. lement /Subject
	imperative
textual: THEME	topical predicatorRheme Theme
taxis	independent.

2	<i>Edada obin oyeṛe,</i> Father King One,	<i>te-</i> we	<i>e diya ga</i> NEG can say
	The Only Father and King, we cannot speak.		
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Sayer	Proc: verbal
interpersonal MOOD	Vocative	Subject MKR	Predicator
	declarative		
textual: THEME	vocative	topical	
	Theme		
taxis	independent.		

3.1	<i>te-</i> we	<i>e diye siye</i> NEG can do
	We neither can do anything,	
experiential: TRANSITIVITY	Behaver	Process: behaviour
	Proc: behavioural	
interpersonal: MOOD	Subject MKR	Predicator
	declarative	
textual: THEME	Theme	
taxis	independent	

3.2	<i>[[a ma da ka one U siye a ne toa daoboro na]] aye,</i> [[it NEG be that that You do to give us ASP ASP be good RPCP]] TTM		
	except that which you do for us, which is always good		
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Carrier	Process	Attribute
interpersonal MOOD	Subject	Predicator Complement	
	declarative: positive		
textual: THEME	Theme	Rheme	
taxis	independent		

4	<i>[[Feyanfeyan ne U siye a ne tooboro na,]]</i> [[All that You do ASP give us good RPCP]]	<i>a ka da</i> ASP will be
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	(May) all that you do for us be good		
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Carrier	Attribute	Process
interpersonal MOOD	Subject	Complement	
	declarative: positive		
textual: THEME	Theme	Rheme	
taxis	independent declarative.		

5.1	<i>Aguagua,</i> Please	<i>te-</i> we	<i>teye</i> beg	<i>wo</i> you	<i>ekwin,</i> prayer,
	Please, we pray to you.				
experiential TRANSITIVITY		Sayer	event	Receiver	Verbiage
		Process: verbal			
interpersonal MOOD	Adjunct	S-MKR	PredicatorComplement	Complement	
		Predicator			
	declarative: positive				
	interpersonal.	topical			
textual: THEME	Theme			Rheme	
taxis	independent.				

5.2	<i>[[Ato ne ti gule ogbone na]]</i> [[We that we gather this-year RPCP]]	<i>U-</i> You	<i>teyi</i> let	<i>ebeyen</i> next-year	<i>te-</i> we	<i>yerē</i> increase	<i>fore</i> ako. than this.
	Let we that are gathered together this year increase by next year.						
experiential: TRANSITIVITY			Pro-	Time	Actor/ Medium	-cess: event	Comparis on
			Pro-		-ce	-ss: material & middle	
interpersonal MOOD		S-MKR	Predi-	Adjunct-	ment	- icatorAdjunct	
		Predi-			-cator		
	imperative: positive						
textual: THEME	Theme: absolute		Rheme				
taxis	independent. (1)						

6.1	<i>Obin oyeṛe</i>	<i>te-</i>	<i>e diya ga go</i>
	King one	we	NEG MOD say IOEP
	The only one God, we cannot speak		
experiential: TRANSITIVITY		Sayer	Process: event
		Process: verbal	
interpersonal: MOOD	Vocative	Subject MKR	PredicatorNegotiator
		Predicator	
	declarative: negative		
textual: THEME	interpersonal	topical	
	Theme		
taxis	independent (1)		

6.2	<i>te-</i>	<i>e diye cin.</i>
	we	NEG can ask
	We cannot ask	
experiential: TRANSITIVITY	Sayer	event
	Process: verbal	
interpersonal: MOOD	S-MKR	Predicator.
	declarative: negative	
textual: THEME	Theme	
taxis	independent	

7.1	<i>Oona</i>	<i>te-</i>	<i>ke cin,</i>
	Which	we	ASP ask,
	Which one shall we ask		
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Verbiage	Sayer	event
		Process: verbal	
interpersonal MOOD	Complement	S-MKR	Predicator.
	Interrogative: positive		
textual : THEME	Theme: marked	Rheme	
taxis	independent (1)		

7.2	<i>oona</i> which	<i>wa-</i> you	<i>ka</i> ASP	<i>ne</i> give	<i>to</i> us	<i>a?</i> QT
	and which-one will you give us?					
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Goal	Actor	event		Reci pient	
		Process: material				
interpersonal MOOD	Complement	S-MKR	Predicator Comple ment			
		Predicator				
	Interrogative: positive					
textual: THEME	Theme: marked	Rheme				
taxis	independent (+2)					

8.	<i>O-</i> You	<i>fo</i> take	<i>oboro oboro</i> good good	<i>ke ne</i> be give	<i>us</i> to
	Grant us desirable things in Jesus' name.				
experiential TRANSITIVITY	Actor	Pro ev-	Goal	-cess: -ent -rial	Recipient
	Process: mate-				
interpersonal MOOD	Subject MKR	Predi-	Complement	-cator Compl e ment	
	Predi-				
	declarative: positive				
textual: THEME	Theme	Rheme			
taxis	independent				

9.	<i>Ijesu iwuru</i> In Jesus' Name
experiential TRANSITIVITY	minor clause
interpersonal MOOD	
textual: THEME	
taxis	

E fi Ogben ne Igila (FOI)⁴⁴

		material	mental	Verbal	relational
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⁴⁴ Please note that the English translation of FOI is in italics in this table of analysis

	Logi	happening	doing	perceptive	quoting	Attr	&
	cal	(Actor + Scope)	(Actor + Goal)	(Senser	+(Sayer	+ intensive	+
	Rela			Phenom)	Receiver)	(Carrier	+
	tion					Attribute)	
1						<u>Ogarega</u> parakata <i>great</i> <i>story.</i>	
2.1	1		<u>a-</u> ta eḍeḍa one <i>It concerns this</i> <i>man</i>				
2.2	2+2		<u>a-</u> ta iya one <i>and concerns this</i> <i>woman</i>				
3.1	1		<u>bi-</u> ye je <i>They were eating</i>				
3.2	2+2		<u>bi-</u> ya wa <i>and they were</i> <i>drinking (they were</i> <i>drinking - i.e.</i> <i>living their normal</i> <i>life).</i>				
4.1	$\alpha^x\beta 1$					<u>e-</u> kuru siye <i>It became/After</i> <i>a little while</i>	
4.2	α		<u>yo oforo</u> yo <u>e-</u> e su oworo oḅen <i>her</i> <i>husband went to</i> <i>marry another wife.</i>				
4.3	$\alpha^x\beta+$ 2					<u>e-</u> mi su oḅere <i>and she had a</i> <i>rival</i>	
5.1	$\alpha^x\beta$					<u>e-</u> su oḅere na <i>Having had a</i> <i>rival,</i>	
5.2	A		abe ebobo be- ba oḅen <i>they both bore a</i> <i>child.</i>				
6.1	1		<u>oḅen</u> ba oḅen oyegben <i>One bore a</i> <i>female child</i>				

6.2	1+2		<u>o</u> ben ba o <u>g</u> ben oyegbenone bore a female child			
7			egben abi gwe Those children grew.			
8.1	$\alpha^x\beta$					<u>e-</u> fon fon fon fon fon It was long, long...(After a very long time),
8.2	α		<u>bi-</u> da ba egben iforo abe ebobo they again bore male children, both of them			
9.1	$\alpha^x\beta\alpha$					Aye a wa esunube Then it was that day,
9.2	$\alpha 1$				ededa kathe man said,	
9.3	$\alpha^x\beta$ β		<u>be-</u> ke ca <u>be-</u> yo erun that they should come with him to the farm.			
10.1	1					ogbere one <u>o</u> ben wa o <u>g</u> berẹ oboro, be rival good These two rivals, one was a good rival
10.2	1+2					<u>o</u> ben wa o <u>g</u> berẹ odudu. the other was a bad rival
11			<u>bi</u> we <u>bi</u> a yo erun They set off for the farm.			

12.1	α				ogbere oboro one ga ne yo ogben say give her child <i>The good rival told her daughter</i>
12.2	$\alpha''\beta 1$		ka aye a yo erun o <i>that she must go to the farm.</i>		
12.3	$\alpha''\beta 1$ '2			wa a gb' e, "You see it,?"	
12.4	$\alpha''\beta +$ 3				igila e wo ije one <i>"this is a yam here.</i>
12.5	$\alpha'\beta''$ 4 α		erigana u- fi igila <i>when it is time, you should roast yam</i>		
12.6	$\alpha'\beta''$ 4 $\times\beta$		ane-'ka ogben ni- ye je o <i>so that you and the baby should eat it."</i>		
13				a- ka "oho" "OK", she said.	
14			bi- we be yo erun. <i>They then went to the farm.</i>		
15			ogbere odudu fo yo ogben bobo yo erun. <i>The bad rival took her baby, carrying him on her back to the farm.</i>		
16.1	$\alpha'\beta$ $\times\beta$		ogbona neṅe be- yo erun ke na <i>After they had gone to the farm,</i>		
16.2	$\times\beta\alpha$			ogben one e ni <i>the daughter wanted</i>	

16.3	$\beta\alpha^x$ β		ka <u>ayi</u> fi igila, <i>to roast the yam.</i>			
17.1	α				<u>a-</u> ka <i>She thought</i>	
18	A'' β					ei! u <u>wa-</u> aka <u>aaw-iya</u> ka <u>ayi</u> fi ogben ne igila na "Eh, It seemed [[like her mother said to roast the baby for the yam]].
19.1	1				<u>yo okon oben</u> da ga ne ya ka <u>her</u> <i>other mind told her that</i>	
19.2	"2					eh-ehn ro <u>igila</u> ya "Uh uh, no it was the yam."
20.1	1				<u>yo okon oben</u> ke ga-ne ya ka <u>But</u> <i>her other mind told her that</i>	
20.2	2''1				ogben <u>be-</u> ka <i>it was the baby they said</i>	
20.3	2''1= 2		<u>u-</u> fi ne igila <i>to roast for the yam.</i>			
21.1	1		a- ne ogben wo era <i>She threw the baby into fire.</i>			
21.2	+2	ogben yi oga, <i>he baby cried</i>				
21.3	+2+3		e fo <i>and died.</i>			
22			e- tiy' e, a- a keye igila <i>She moved it near the yam.</i>			

23.1	*β		ogbona be- ke wura erun na <i>When they returned from the farm,</i>			
23.2	*β α1				aye a- ka she <i>said</i>	
	*β α1 “2	oru oru oru “Welcome.”				
24.1	1				aye ka <u>iya</u> <i>The mother asked</i>	
24.2	”2					ogben oo “How about the baby?”
25.1	1				aye <u>a-</u> ka <i>Then she said</i>	
25.2	“2α		ei je ijen ke a “Hey, why not eat first?”			
26.1	1			tori <u>aye</u> ebeba mi gba <i>Of course, she herself has also seen</i>		
26.2	‘2		ka <u>ogben aye</u> e siye ako <i>that the baby has done like this (“lying still”).</i>			
27			e je ijen <i>She ate.</i>			
28	“					ogben oo “How about the baby?” (she asked)
29.1	1				<u>a</u> ka <i>She said,</i>	
29.2	“2		<u>awo e mi fu wa</u> ebi “You have not yet even drunk water,”			

30			a wa ebi <i>She drank water</i>			
31	“					ogben oo “How about the baby?” (she asked).
32.1	α α				a ka, <i>She said</i>	
32.2	“β **					ama ogben ne awo ka ayi fi ne igila na “Isn’t it the baby you told me “to roast for the yam?”
33.1	1		ayi fi ya ne igila <i>She had roasted it for the yam</i>			
33.2	+2		igila e me j’ e <i>but the yam did not eat it</i>			
34.1	1		wiya kọ uba se e pan <i>The mother held her head in desperation</i>			
34.2	+21				a- ka <i>she said,</i>	
34.3	+2“2	Iyeye “Iyeye!” (LAMENTATION)				
34.4	“2+3		be- won ya aye ro <i>for someone to rescue her.</i>			
36.1	1		erokoro gidina ca <i>People thronged there</i>			
36.2	+2			ogben eekporo be gba. <i>but only met the corpse of the baby.</i>		

37.1	α				iya ayẹ ka <i>The woman said</i>	
37.2	"β1					sam a- ma wa ayẹ ogben "Never", <i>This could not be her baby,</i>
37.3	"β= 2				ayẹ a ma na. <i>She would accept it.</i>	
38.1	1		a- fon uboo <i>She went into the house,</i>			
38.2	+2		e- tiye ẹsa we ca <i>she brought a cloth out</i>			
38.3	+3		a- parẹ ya se yọ abare <i>and tied the baby on her daughter's back.</i>			
38.4	+41				a- ka <i>She said,</i>	
38.5	+4"2 α ^x β				ẹfena a- a gba <i>nawherever she could,</i>	
38.6	+4"2 α		e- e ni ayọ ogben a ne ya ayẹ <i>she must look for her baby to bring back to her.</i>			
39.		ogben e yi iwo go <i>The girl was sobbing</i>				
40		one [[ne wa ogbe yegben one na]] ayẹ e yi iwo <i>That is the young girl was sobbing</i>				
41.1	α				a ka <i>She said,</i>	

41.2	“β		oya oya oya, a- ke yọ <i>right away, she should go</i>			
42		a damena a yọ <i>She wandered away</i>				
43.1	xβ		e- e gure oro orikpokpo, <i>If she met anyone on her way,</i>			
43.2	α xβ				a- da karę yęn ya. <i>she would narrate what happened to her.</i>	
44.1	1				a- a ka, S/he would say	
44.2	“2	olo o “Farewell,				
44.5	“2=3			awo e din “you know” (“but it’s your problem”)		
45.5	xβα 1				a- ka <i>She said,</i>	
45.2	Xβ“ β		aye e ki jen <i>She should go, (“On getting somewhere”)</i>			
45.3	α		iya onebe a- fo ępan e puwa ęyana <i>that woman was washing something with her head.</i>			
46						ena be- e ye ka be fo ępan e puwa ęyana <i>What does it mean to wash something with one’s head?</i>

47.1	1		a- tọmẹ ẹpan wo ije ako <i>She bent her head to the ground</i>			
47.2	+2		e- e puwa ọ̀rẹ tabi iyin <i>and was washing melon or locust beans</i>			
48						aye a wa ẹpan ne e- e puwa eyana na <i>That was the head he was using to wash something (that is the meaning of washing with head bent to the ground)</i>
49.1	1		a- kpan ẹpan dasu ako <i>She raised her head awkwardly like this</i>			
49.2	+2					ogben aye gan ya. <i>and the girl greeted her.</i>
50.1	1					aye a ka, <i>Then she said ("the old woman asked),</i>
50.2	"2			ẹna we- e ni a <i>"What do you want?"</i>		
51.1	α					aye a- ka <i>Then she said</i>
51.2	"β					ẹkẹna aye gba na a neher <i>experience to her</i>
52.1	α					a- ka, <i>She said,</i>

52.2	”β		e- jowon karę ya aye. <i>she should wait for her</i>			
53			ogben ki bobo ogben wo abare. <i>The child still had the child (the dead baby) on her back.</i>			
54.1	1				a- ka <i>She said</i>	
54.2	“2		ei! jowon aye ma o ki puw’e a <i>“Oh, why not let me help you to wash?”</i>			
55			ka ogben ne epan wo amo. <i>The girl also bent down and started washing</i>			
56.1	α				aye a- ka, <i>Then she said</i>	
56.2	”β1		a- kpan epan <i>she should raise her head</i>			
57.1	1		a- ne ya ogben aye, <i>She took the child from her</i>			
57.2	+2		a- yọ a ne ya wo elo <i>she went and threw it in a pot of concoction</i>			
58					ena be- e ye elo <i>aWhat is known as “elo”?</i>	
59						elo utugbun ne be da cere <i>Elo... medicine which is set down in an open container,</i>

59			bi- di ye kuru ya a wa <i>which one could take out of and drink</i>			
60.1	α	u- di a ga ęga e wo amọ <i>You could speak to it (“make a request of it”),</i>				
60.2	xβ		e- di siye ępen ne oro <i>so that it could do it for you</i>			
61.1	xβ			wa- a yęn, <i>If you could remember,</i>		
61.2	α1					neda su ya-wo... <i>your father had it...</i>
61.3	=2					neda okeka abe su ya- igan. <i>Your grandfather had it in those days.</i>
62			a- ne ya- wo elo, <i>She threw the child into a pot of concoction</i>			
63			ogben one a fo ępan e puwa ęyana. <i>The child also began to wash.</i>			
64.1	xβ		bi puwa ęyana aye <i>They finished washing,</i>			
64.2	α		be- yọ uboo. <i>they went home</i>			
65.1	xβ					ujogwe gwe ne be e bwe na <i>Night came that they should slept</i>
65.2	αα					iya ka <i>the woman told</i>

65.4	$\alpha''\beta 1$		<u>ogben</u> e bwe. <i>the child to sleep</i>			
65.5	$\alpha''\beta +$ 2α				aye <u>ogben</u> kabu <i>the child said</i>	
65.6	$\alpha''\beta +$ $2''\beta$		e- jowon <u>ayi</u> bwe agodo. <i>she should allow her to sleep under the bed</i>			
66			<u>we-</u> e ke bwe agodo o "Will you sleep under the bed?"			
67					a- ka, "ehn". <i>She said, "Yes"</i>	
68			<u>ogben</u> bwe wo agodo <i>The child slept under the bed.</i>			
69.1	$x\beta$		<u>ba-</u> a me olore, <i>When a clay bed is made,</i>			
69.2	α		<u>bi-</u> de siye odore wo amọ <i>they usually make a hole underneath it</i>			
70	α				aye <u>be-</u> e ye agodo <i>That is what they called agodo</i>	
71			<u>a-kole</u> wo amọ. <i>She squeezed into it</i>			
72.1	1	isoore <u>iya</u> aye a ta eson <i>Suddenly the woman fart</i>				
72.2	2α				aye <u>iya</u> aye kaand <i>the woman said,</i>	
72.3	$2\alpha''\beta$				Opuu, ena a ga "Opuu, what is making that noise?"	

73.1	1				aye <u>ogben</u> ka, Then the child said,	
73.2	"2		osi a ba imu go "it must be thunder"			
74					iya aye ka, oho The woman replied, "O.K"	
75					isi-oyere, <u>eno</u> ka cacalacacala Suddenly, (the noise of) urine sounded, "cacalacacala"	
76					Opuu, <u>ena</u> a ga "What is making that noise"	
77.1	1				a- ka She said,	
77.2	"2		ama osi ne a ba imu igan oṅeṅe ana aye a ca "Isn't-it the rain that was thundering a short while ago that is now falling"			
78					iya ka oho The woman replied, "O.K"	
79.1	xβ					usiye gan, When the day broke
79.2	α1		bi siye ijen, they cooked			
79.3	+2		bi- je. and ate			
80			bi- mi siye eḡan mi bile a ke ma They were then living together in the same manner.			

81			Ogben aye fo iwu meṭe ya daadaa. <i>the girl became very intimate with the old woman</i>			
82.1	xβ					emunune e- gule isubu ufombore na, <i>When it was the seventh day,</i>
82.2	α1				aye iya ka, <i>then the woman said</i>	
82.3	“2		“awo ca o ke yo uboo” <i>you should get read to go home</i>			
83.1	α				aye a- ka, <i>Then she (the girl) said,</i>	
83.2	“β1					aye e me su ubowo [[ne pila a yo na ro]] <i>that she has no home to return to anymore</i>
83.3	“β=2				eteṭka aye a ka gba ogben oḅen [[neṅe aye a ka fo a ne aaw-iya na]] <i>Where she get another child to take to her mother?</i>	
84.1	1				aye a ka <i>But she said</i>	

84.2	"2		eh-ehn, <u>wa</u> -a ka yọ uboo usiye "No, (i.e".don't worry"), you will go tomorrow			
85.1	α				aye a-ka Then the girl said	
85.2	"β1				*"iye!" u ka, Oh! Not so,	
85.3	"β1= 2		aye a ka yọ?she would not go back			
86.1	*β					usiye gan, (When) the day broke
86.2	α				Iya ka the woman said	
86.3	α"β		a kpọ utosi she should climb the roof top			
87.1	1				akoto ẹnane be pare wo ẹfẹnẹbẹ na ẹben e ke ki i ka The raffia bags, that are tied up there, some of them will be crying	
87.2	"2		fo-mọ, fo-mọ, fo- mọ "Carry-me, carry- me, carry-me"			

88.1			[[one ne a du'ucu, ne a ma ga ka, o fo ya aye ɔnebe ana]] o- moso yo o fw'e o <i>The one [[that is silent and does not ask that you to take it]], you should carefully take.</i>			
89					a- ka, oh <i>and the girl agreed.</i>	
90			a- kpɔ utosi, <i>She climbed to the roof top.</i>			
91.1	1	iukwa, okara abe kwe yi oga <i>Truly, the raffia bags were crying,</i>				
91.2	"2		fo-mo, fo-mo, fo- mo <i>"Take me," "take me," "take me,"</i>			
92.	1		[[one e me gunaowo na]] a fwe, <i>The one that was silent, she carried it</i>			
93	+2		e- holo ca. <i>She came down.</i>			
94			iya aka ogben , 'fine boy', ogben ne ron uro daadaa na a- fw' e <i>The old woman and the child, a fine- looking boy, that is a very good looking boy, and she took him (from the pot of herbs).</i>			

95			<p>ęsa ne a- a pařę ya ca ęneęę ana, e- diya a pařę ya bobo. <i>The same cloth that he had used to tie the boy on her back was the same one she use to tie him on her back home</i></p>			
96.1	^x β		<p>e- siye akọ jin opolo, <i>As she then opened the door</i></p>			
96.2	α1				a- ka, <i>and told her,</i>	
96.3	α1“2			wa- a gb’e, <i>“you see,</i>		
96.4	=3					wo- uboo aye a wa ęneęę”. <i>that is your house.</i>
97.1	α		<p>Sibe e- je ejen, je ejen <i>But previously, she had walked a long distance</i></p>			
97.2	^x β		<p>cana e- e to iya aye. <i>to arrive at the woman’s place</i></p>			
98.1	^x β		<p>iya aye ki jin opolo, <i>the woman just opened the door</i></p>			
98.2	α1				a- ka, <i>and said,</i>	
98.3	“2			wa- a gb’e, <i>“you see,</i>		
98.4	+3					wo-uboo aye a wa ęneęę <i>that is your house”</i>
99			<p>E- jin ogben aye owo fuwa. <i>the child was surprised</i></p>			

100.1 1	a- baḷe ogben, <i>She looked at the child</i>				
100.2 2	a- a ben a yọ uboo go <i>and she was going home rejoicing.</i>				
101.1 1				[[ḗnanḗtaye gbe na]] bi- ye hu <i>Those that saw her first applauded excitedly</i>	
101.2 2		ka ei! e- wura, e- wura, e-wura <i>Ay? She's come. back! she's come. back!! she's come. back!!!</i>			
102			be- gbe ya ogben <i>They saw the child with her</i>		
103.1 1	^{xβ}	cana be- a yọ ọṅḗḗ <i>Before they left that time</i>			
103.2 2	^{α1}			a- gaṅḗ ya <i>she had told her</i>	
103.3 3	²	ka okara one ni ma tore oro ayen <i>That this raffia bag should not be loosed in the presence of anybody.</i>			
104.1 1	^{+3α}	ani 'ka niya a ka ma ubiribe <i>Only your mother and yourself must be in the room</i>			

104.2	=3 xβ		cana <u>o</u> tore, o <i>when you open the sack.</i>			
105					<u>ogben</u> ka o <i>The child answered "OK"</i>	
106.1	1			<u>wiya</u> gba <i>The mother saw</i>		
106.2	'2		ka <u>a-</u> a ca, <i>that she was returning</i>			
106.3	+3				<u>wiya</u> e me su iroro ka ayi di ya gba epen opa egan <i>her mother did not have the thought that she would ever see such a thing</i>	
107.1	α			<u>wiya</u> gba <i>Her mother saw</i>		
107.2	'β1		ka <u>a-</u> a ca, <i>her arriving</i>			
107.3	'β+	ka eḍeda, ka iya, ero feyanfeyan a ben. <i>and both the father, mother and everybody were rejoicing.</i>				
108.1	1		cana <u>wiya</u> fo yo- ogben, <i>Then the girls mother took her child</i>			
108.2	+2		<u>be-</u> fon ubiribe <i>they went into the room.</i>			

108. 3	+3		abe-ka w- <u>iya</u> be- t \u00f0 ra akoto \u00f0 nebe <i>she and her mother</i> <i>untied the raffia bag</i>			
109						<u>ena</u> e me wo am \u00f0 na; odolo ikiba <i>What was</i> <i>not there;</i> <i>beads, money</i> <i>and all good</i> <i>things</i>
110						<u>aron</u> go ba <i>they had</i> <i>sufficient</i> <i>wealth.</i>
111.1 1					Ogber \u00e9 odudu ka, <i>The evil rival</i> <i>said</i>	
111. 2	"2 α			ehn wa- a gba neda oogbe siye jen e ce aron ca, <i>can't you see</i> <i>how your</i> <i>sister went</i> <i>somewhere</i> <i>and came</i> <i>back with</i> <i>wealth,</i>		
111. 3	"2= β					ako <u>ab-eka</u> w- <u>iya</u> bi mi cina aron ro na <i>how</i> <i>she her mother</i> <i>and her very</i> <i>rich?</i>
112. 1	$\text{\u00d7}\beta$		<u>ma-</u> a y \u00f4 erun usiye <i>When I</i> go to farm <i>tomorrow</i>			

112. 2	$\alpha 1$		ka awo <u>u-</u> fi ogben ne igila ro <i>you too should roast the baby for yam</i>			
112	$\alpha 1 + \beta$				oṅbẹ aye ka <i>o that girls said, "O.K</i>	
113. 1	$1\alpha^x\beta$ 1					<u>usiye da ke</u> gan, <i>It dawned the following morning ,</i>
113. 2	$1\alpha^x\beta$ +2		be- da yọ erun <i>they were going to the farm again</i>			
113. 1	1α				oḡbẹre odudu <i>kathe evil rival said</i>	
113. 2	$1\alpha''$ 2α				e- ka, <i>I have instructed you</i>	
113. 3	$1\alpha''$ $2''\beta$		<u>u-</u> fi ogben ne igila <i>to roast the baby child for the yam</i>			
114. 1	α				e- gaṅe o <i>Did I ask yọ</i>	
114. 2	β		ka <u>u-</u> fi igila ne ogben so <i>to roast the yam for the baby?</i>			
115. 1	α				e- gaṅe o <i>I told you</i>	
115. 2	β		ka <u>u-</u> fi ogben ne igila. <i>to roast the yam for the baby?</i>			

116.1 1			o- gba [[akọ neda oogben siye fi ogben ne igila na]] <i>Did you see how your sister roast the baby for the yam?</i>		
117. ^{xβ} 1		be- yọ erun <i>they went to the farm,</i>			
117.α 2		iukwiukwa e- fi ogben ne igila <i>and truly, she roast the baby for the yam.</i>			
118. ^{xβ} 1		w-iyá ki wura erun <i>Is soon as the mother returned from the farm,</i>			
118.“α 2					oru oru oru, wo-ogben a ne “Welcome. back..., this is your baby”.
119. 1		ah, fwe ke yọ <i>take him away.</i>			
120.α 2				u- wa- a ka <i>you should have told me</i>	
120.“β 3		i- je ijen ke”. <i>to eat first</i>			
121				a- ka, oho <i>and she said “alright”</i>	
122.α ^{xβ} 1					e- de ki siye, <i>after a short while,</i>
122.α1 2		a- da fwe ca, <i>she brought the baby again</i>			

122. .3	$\alpha 1+$ 21				a- ka <i>She said</i>	
122. .4	$\alpha 1+$ 2 "2 α				u- <u>wa</u> a ka, <i>You should have said/suggested</i>	
122. 5	$\alpha 1+$ 2 "2" β		e- wa ebi ke". <i>that I drink water first.</i>			
123			a- wa ebi . <i>She drank water</i>			
124. 1	$\alpha \beta$		cana ogbona e- mi fwe ca na, <i>Then when she again brought him</i>			
124. 2	$\alpha 1$	e- yi oga, <i>she cried out</i>				
124. 3	=2 α				a- ka <i>saying,</i>	
124. 4	=2" β 1		be- won ya aye ro <i>someone should help her</i>			
124. 5	=2 β +2			be- gba ogben one ekena e- siye na ro <i>people should see what this girl had done to her.</i>		
124. 6	=2 β +3				aaye <u>Aye</u> a ka na. <i>she would not agree</i>	
125. 1	1		a- pare ya se ya- abare <i>She tied the dead baby to her back</i>			
125. 2	+2 α				a- ka <i>and told</i>	
125. 3	+2" β		a- ke yo, a- ke yo, a- ke yo <i>her to go away</i>			

126			ogben a yọ go <i>The girl left.</i>			
127	1α xβ1		e- re orikpopo <i>She got on her way,</i>			
127.	1α 1 xβx2	e- e gure ero, <i>if she met people</i>				
127.	1αxβ 2 "2					ena ‘ aand they inquired, “what is the problem?”
127.	1α 3					e- e si e guna- ba-owo, <i>she would not even give them an answer</i>
127.	=2 4	e- cun ba tiiri gbagba. <i>but walk pass rudely in silence.</i>				
128.	αxβ 1		e- re eḡena a yọ na <i>When she got to her destination,</i>			
128.	α1 2	e- to iya oṅeḡe , <i>she met that woman</i>				
128.	+2 3		e- e puwa eḡana <i>labouring to wash.</i>			
129.	1 1					a- ka, <i>She said</i>
129.	"2 2					ohoo-ye <i>(HE EXCLAIM IN DERISION e.g. “how amusing!”)</i>
129.	+3"β 3		uba << >> ka bi- ye puwa eḡana ro <i>people washed with the hands</i>			
129.	+3α 4			<<aye wo>> <i>she heard</i>		

129.5	+4		gana <u>awo</u> siye fo eṣpan e puwa eṣana “how come you are washing with your head?”			
130.1	1				iya aye ka <i>The woman said</i>	
130.2	“2		ei? <u>wa-</u> ma ma-mo <u>puwa</u> “Won’t you assist me to wash?”			
131.1	α				<u>a-</u> ka <i>She replied,</i>	
131.2	“β		agwagwa, <u>aye</u> e diya fo eṣpan e puwa eṣana ro <i>that she could not wash with her head.</i>			
132					Iya aye ka oho <i>The woman said</i> “O.K”	
133.1	1 ^{xβ}		<u>e-</u> siye ke <i>When she finished her work,</i>			
133.2	1α		<u>be-</u> fon uboo yo. <i>they went into the house</i>			
133.3	+2		<u>a-</u> ne ya ogben, <i>the old woman took her child</i>			
133.4	+3		<u>a-</u> ne ya wo elo. <i>and threw him into a pot of concoction.</i>			
134.1	^{xβ}					ujogwe gwe <i>(When) night fell</i>
134.2	α1		<u>bi-</u> bwe, <i>they slept</i>			
134.3	+2α			<u>e- e ni</u> <i>she (the girl) wanted</i>		

134.4	+2 ^x β 1		ka <u>ayi</u> bwe keye iya one. <i>to sleep on the same bed with the woman</i>			
134.5	+31				<u>iya</u> ka <i>the woman told her</i>	
134.6	+3”2		eh-ehn agbodo we - e ke bwe <i>“ah ah, you are sleeping under the bed”</i>			
135.1	α				<u>a-</u> ka <i>She said,</i>	
135.2	‘β			oo-ye! <u>aayo</u> <u>ayen</u> a gba ega one? <i>“what trouble I am into!”</i> , she lamented		
136.1	1	<u>Iya</u> ta e ^{son} , <i>She old woman fart</i>				
136.2	+21				<u>iya</u> ka <i>and the woman asked</i>	
136.3	+2”2	<u>ena</u> a ga? <i>what made that noise?</i>				
137.1	α				<u>a-</u> ka, <i>She (the girl) replied,</i>	
137.2	“β		aguga <u>u-</u> ma fo e ^{son} pu ya aye ibe ro <i>“Please do not give me constipation with your farting”</i>			
138.1	xβ					<u>e-</u> me fon <i>Shortly after</i>

138.α 2		<u>iya</u> do ɛno, <i>the woman urinated</i>			
139					<u>ena</u> a ga “ <i>What is making that sound?</i> ”
140.1 1		eyi! <u>u-</u> diya do ɛno e ri mu <i>“Are you also urinating on me?”</i>			
140.+2 2				oya, <u>i-</u> je one wa. <i>what a terrible suffering I am going through.”</i>	
141					<u>ba-</u> ma ke agree ca <i>They just couldn’t relate well together.</i>
142		<u>bi-</u> ki siye ɛgan siye yafayafa to abɛn. <i>They lived like that in disharmony</i>			
143.xβ 1					emune <u>e-</u> gule isubu ufombore na, <i>On the seventh day</i>
143.1α 2					<u>iya</u> ka <i>the woman told her</i>
143.”2 3			“ <u>wa-</u> ka yɔ uboo”. <i>you will go home</i>		
144.xβ 1					“eehn! o kaba esusnuko, <u>o-</u> ka <i>Of course, after such a long period, do you suppose that</i>

144.	α 2		i- ma yọ ubo.” <i>I will not return home?”</i>			
145.	1 1		kpọ utosi “ <i>Climb to the roof top</i>			
145.	+2 2		okara ne a a ka o-fo ya aye na <u>u-</u> ma fw’e o <i>the raffia bags that ask you to take them, you must not take”.</i>			
146			one ne a da ucucu na aye wa ka fo o <i>“It is the one that keeps quiet you must take”.</i>			
147.	α 1			<u>a-</u> ka <i>She replied</i>		
147.	“ $\beta\alpha$ 2				ee-eehn, <u>aye</u> e me fu wa ucucuro <i>Huh! She was not so dumb</i>	
147.	“ $\beta=$ 3 β		aye <u>aye</u> a fo okara ne da ucucu nathat <i>she would take the raffia bag that kept quiet.</i>			
148.	1 1		<u>a-</u> kpọ utosi go <i>She went up to the roof top</i>			
148.	+2 3		<u>a-</u> fo okara ne ka a-fo ya aye na <i>She took the raffia bag that asked to be taken.</i>			
149.	1 1				oo <u>ayi</u> ma wa ucucuro ro <i>and remarked that she was not a dumb</i>	
149.	+2 α 2			<u>awo</u> a ka <i>“You said</i>		

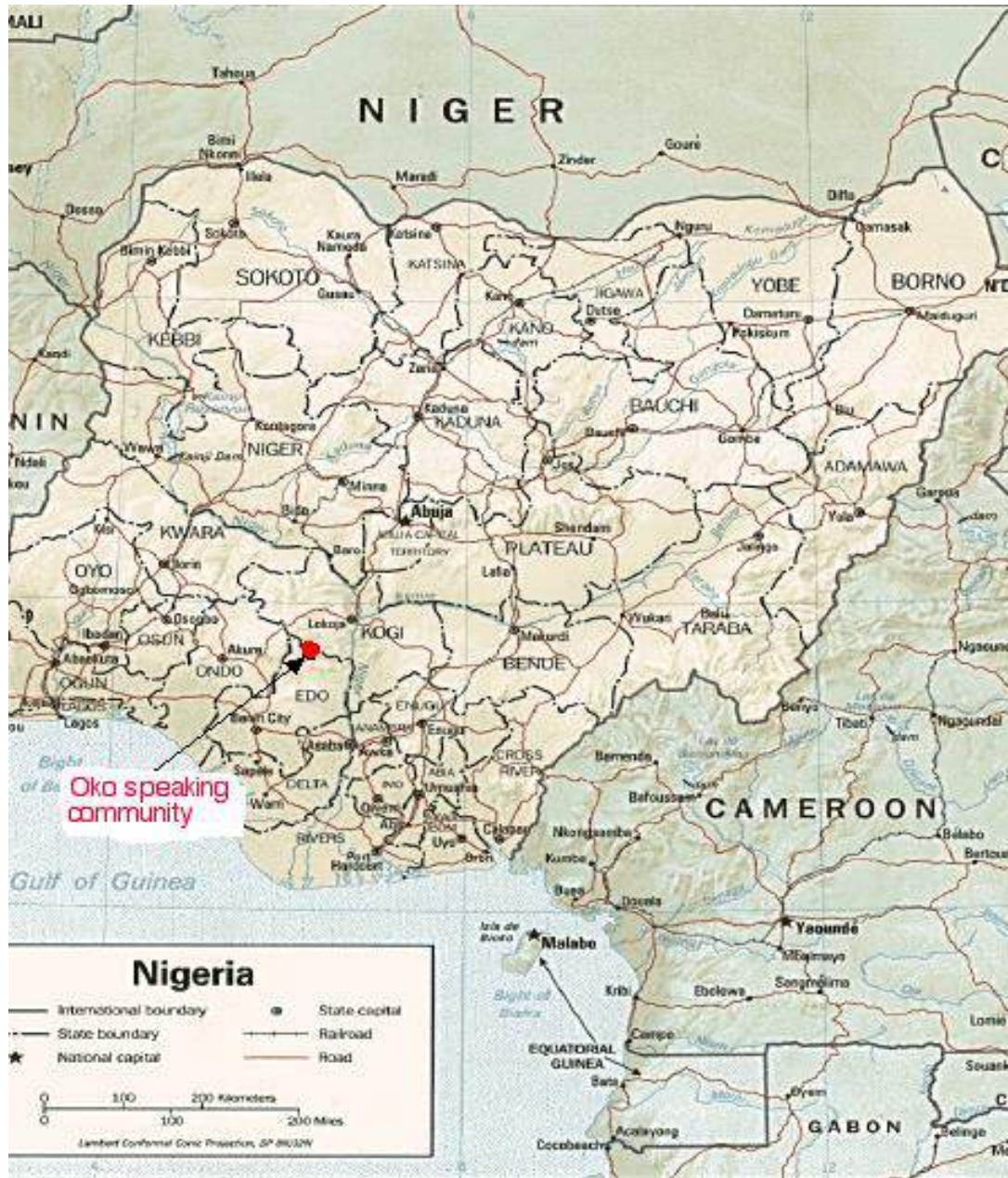
149.3	+2”β 1		e- fo o <i>I should take you</i>			
149.4	+2”β 12		aye e- fo o “hence, I have taken you”			
150.1	1		e- holo ca, <i>She came down</i>			
150.2	2		Iya tiye ogben, <i>the woman took the child</i>			
151.1	1					ogben aye wora-uro, <i>The child was very ugly,</i>
151.2	=2 2					a- a gemkpe, <i>it was lean.</i>
152.1	1		e- tiy’e, <i>She took it</i>			
152.2	+2 2		e- e bobo ya abaregan. <i>and put it on her back</i>			
153.1	α xβ 1			be- ke yore ayen gba ogben <i>As soon as they saw her from afar</i>		
153.2	α1 2				be- ka <i>they said</i>	
153.3	“2 3		ee!! aye a ca one ro <i>“Hooray, here she comes!</i>			
153.4	“2=3 4		ogben a ca; <i>The girl is coming.</i>			
153.5	“2=3 =4α		e- wura, e wura <i>“She is back!, she is back!!”</i>			

154			ka <u>wiya</u> lakata mune we ca. <i>Her mother also rushed out</i>			
155			<u>bi-</u> kwe mune we ca, wiya aka ogben. <i>They all ran out</i>			
156						<u>ogben</u> ya gureyen, <i>The child was anemic</i>
157			<u>ogben aye e-</u> me e si siye kenakide. <i>The baby could not UNEXP do anything</i>			
158.α 1					<u>aye a-</u> ka <i>Then she said</i>	
158.“βα 2			<u>be-</u> ka <i>that they have been instructed that</i>			
158.“β”β 3 α			<u>abe</u> fon uboo, <i>they should go into the house</i>			
158.ʔβ 4 ʔβ xβ			<u>abe</u> tɔra akoto one ro <i>to untie the rafia bag</i>			
159.1 1			<u>be-</u> fon uboo, <i>They went into the house</i>			
159.+2 2			<u>be-</u> tɔra akoto <i>and untied the rafia bag</i>			
160					<u>ebi</u> ka yaa, ependidudu, enana-idede. <i>From it came ocean of water, snakes and all sorts of harmful things</i>	

161.1	1	bi- pile yi oga, yi oga, <i>They cried for help,</i>				
161.2	+2	ero kuru epan na, <i>as soon as people saw what happened</i>				
162.3	+2		bi- kwe mune. <i>They fled</i>			
163			emeja abe wan abe eteta. <i>They three were killed</i>			
164.1	α		Osibina e bila ekanidur <i>may god heap coal of fire</i>			
164.2	xβ		e- e fon ogberẹ odudu epan. <i>on the evil rival.</i>			
165.1	xβ		kaba ogb'onebe, ayẹ ero eboree pila ma uboo, <i>Since then, if two people, live together</i>			
165.2	α	be- diye e siye ogberẹ odudu aka ogberẹ oboro a ne aben <i>they do not envy each other anymore</i>				
166.3	α	be- dina a ma aben ayen <i>They do not also imitate each other anymore.</i>				
166.4	xβ		e siye ega. <i>to do things</i>			

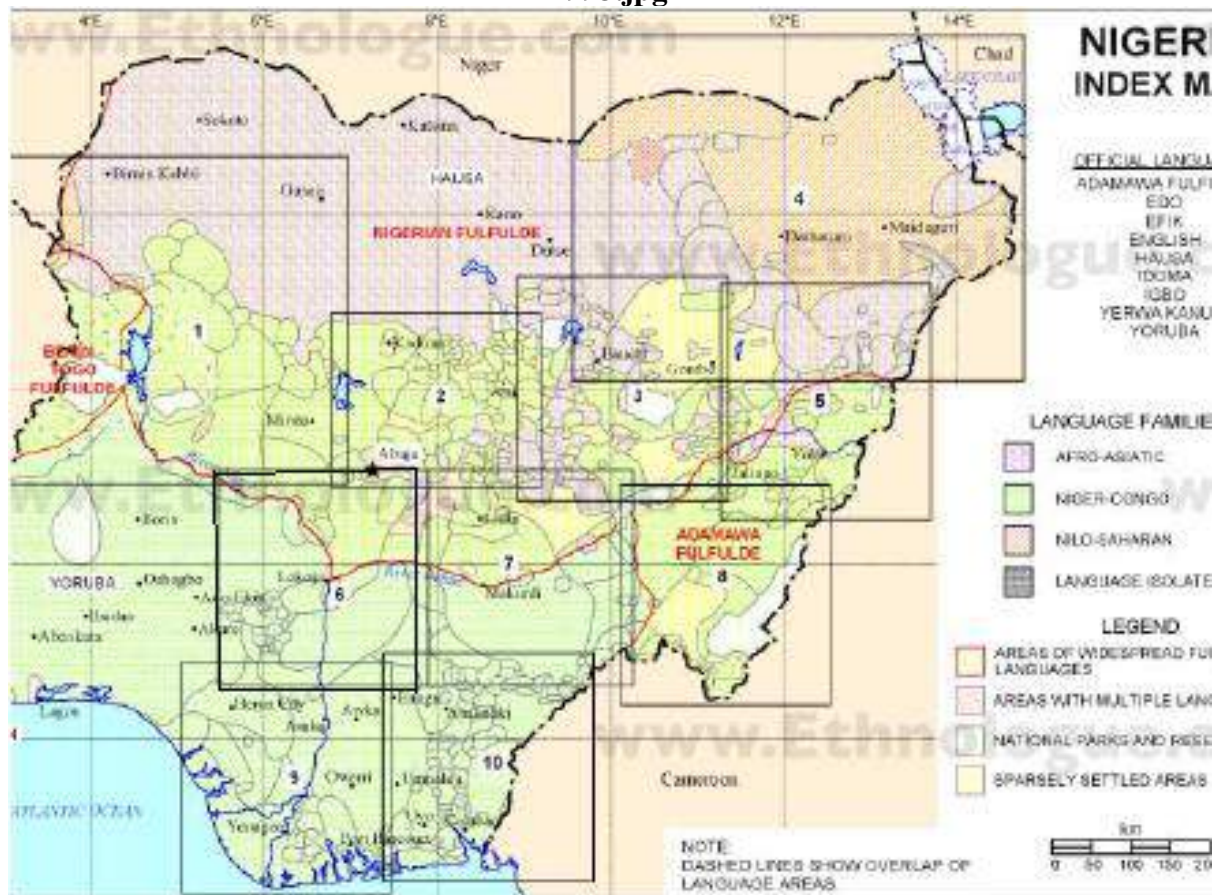
167			we- e siye. <i>Well done</i> <i>(Greeting)</i>			
167		ana owo. <i>Well spoken (Greeting)</i>				
168			ijen [[ne I- ye su wu amọ na]], <u>Abiye</u> e je. <i>All the food I kept for you, Abiye has eaten</i>			

Appendix 3: Maps

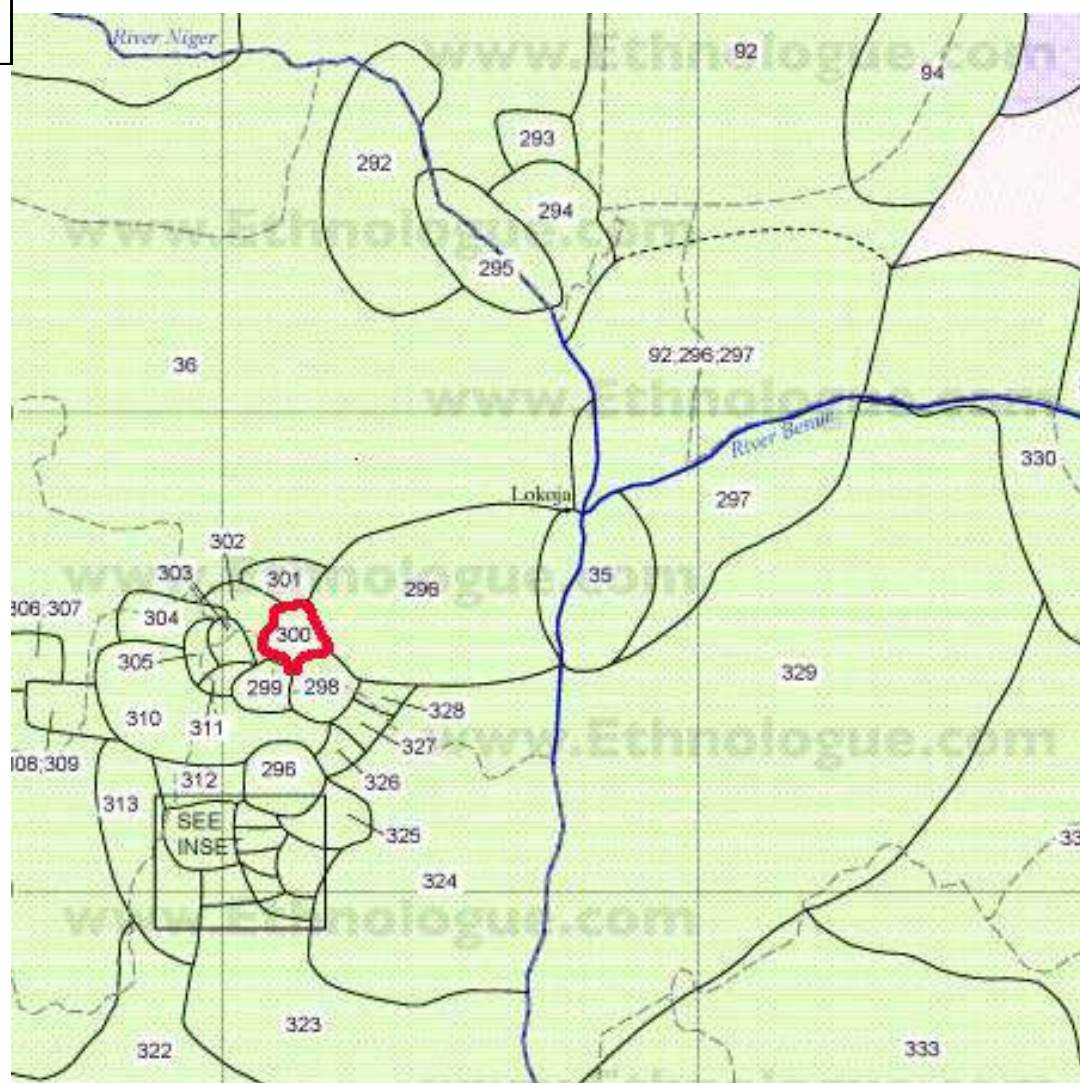


Map 6-1 Map of Nigerian Language Families (adapted from <https://www.mapsland.com/maps/africa/nigeria/detailed-political-and-administrative-map-of-nigeria-with-relief-roads-railroads-and-major-cities->

1993.jpg



Map 6-2 Map showing language families in Nigerian regions (in boxes). See Map 1 in <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/NG/maps>



Map 6-3 Ọkó among a cluster of languages (zoomed-in). See Map 6 in <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/NG/maps>