

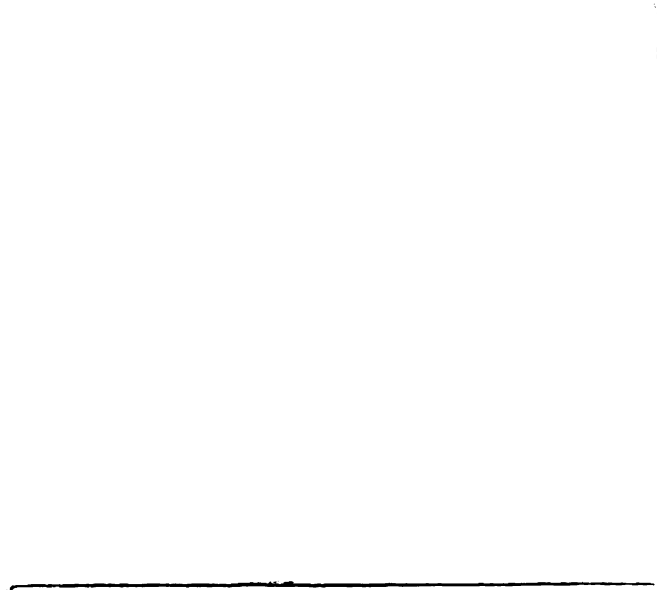
A TAGMEMIC DESCRIPTION
OF THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE
NON-EMPHATIC CLAUSE IN A SMALL SAMPLE OF YORUBA

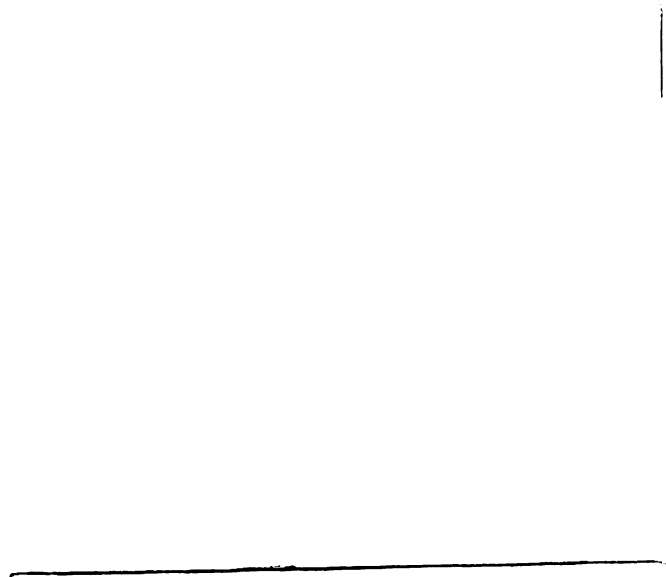
Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

H. David McClure

1966





ABSTRACT

A TAGMEMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE NON-EMPHATIC CLAUSE IN A SMALL SAMPLE OF YORUBA

by H. David McClure

This study is a tagmemic description of the structure of the independent, transitive, declarative, non-emphatic clause type as it is manifested in a small sample of the Yoruba language.

The sample was obtained by tape recording a ten-minute conversation and four brief monologs given by Nigerian students at Michigan State University. A full description of the methods used in transcribing, translating and preparing the language corpus for analysis is given in the introduction to the paper.

The analysis is based on the tagmemic theory of grammar originated by K. L. Pike, especially as presented in the following writings: An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, 1962, by Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett; Grammar Discovery Procedures, 1964, by Robert Longacre; and The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec, 1960, by Velma Pickett.

The thesis presents the grammatical relationship between the clause in focus and other clause types by means of matrices and clause nucleus formulas, identifies the tagmemes which occur in the clause in focus, and lists and presents available data on the items and/or constructions which manifest these tagmemes.

A TAGMEMIC DESCRIPTION
OF THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE
DECLARATIVE NON-EMPHATIC CLAUSE
IN A SMALL SAMPLE OF YORUBA

By

H. David McClure

A THESIS

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PREFACE

This monograph results from a pilot study of the syntax of the Yoruba language. The author's primary purpose in the study was to improve his language teaching ability through better knowledge of the subject. The secondary purpose was to process and present language data according to an accepted theoretical model, viz. tagmemics.

The study is based on a modest corpus (four hundred sentences) of conversational Yoruba consisting of one ten-minute dialog and four monologs totalling sixteen minutes. Data for the work were gathered at Michigan State University during the latter part of 1964.

Special acknowledgments are due to my principal informant, Mr. Olayinka Asseez of Ibadan, Nigeria, who has given careful and patient thought to my many questions and has consistently done his best to provide me with whatever help I asked of him. His investment of time in preparing, recording and transcribing the monologs also deserves commendation. I wish also to thank Mr. Emmanuel Adegbite, of the Oyo area, who volunteered his time to be Mr. Asseez's partner in the conversation which is part of the corpus.

For my introduction to the Yoruba language, and earliest instruction in it, I am indebted to Dr. Hans Wolff and his language assistant, Johnson Omotoso Aremu. Dr. Wolff's pedagogical grammars entitled Introductory Yoruba and Beginning Yoruba furnished the background from which my present understanding of Yoruba grammar has developed.

To the members of my graduate committee, I express sincerest appreciation, not only for their patience and constant encouragement, but for the special part each has played in the development of this study. Under the guidance of Dr. Roger Shuy I read Longacre's Grammar Discovery Procedures and began to apply those procedures to an analysis of a small corpus. It was in his seminar in March 1964 that this study began to take shape in the form of a term paper.

In Dr. Ruth Brend's classes in structural analysis, and in many personal discussions, I received valuable guidance in the form of critiques of tentative analyses, which have sharpened my understanding of tagmemic theory.

From Dr. Charles Kraft I received many insights into the values of alternative analyses during the course of informal discussions. His constant encouragement and ability to empathize were much appreciated.

Acknowledgment is also made to the African Studies Center of Michigan State University, Charles C. Hughes, Director, where an assistant instructorship gave me teaching experience, freedom for research, adequate financial support, and access to the office facilities so useful in carrying out such a study.

The role that the National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship program has played in this study also deserves mention. NDFL Fellowships financed the second and third years of my study of the Yoruba language at Michigan State University.

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INTRODUCTION

0.1. Language and Dialects. The Yoruba language is spoken by ten to twelve million people, most of whom are located in the Western Region of Nigeria.¹ Yoruba speaking people are also found in the south-western part of the Northern Region, in Lagos, and also in southern Dahomey. There are a number of regional dialects of the language, some quite different from one another.²

The data for this study represent both the Lagos dialect, which the two informants used in conversation, and the Ibadan dialect, which was used in giving the monologs. These two dialects differ primarily in matters of pronunciation and vocabulary.

0.2. Theoretical Model. This syntactic analysis is based on the tagmemic theory of grammar originated by K. L. Pike, especially as presented in the following writings: An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, 1962, by Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett; Grammar

¹The preliminary figures of the 1963 National Population Census of Nigeria gives the population of the Western Region as 10,278,000, and that of Lagos, the Federal Capital, as 675,352 (Benson (ed.), 1964: 186). Yoruba speakers comprise at least ninety percent of these totals.

²In a society of low mobility, non-contiguous dialects often tend, in time, to become increasingly less mutually intelligible through the process of language change. Thus it may happen that widely separated dialects are for all practical purposes mutually unintelligible. People from two such areas wishing to communicate often use some third form of the language which is mutually intelligible. In Nigeria, the dialect of Lagos is most frequently used for communication between Yoruba from different parts of the Western Region. Sources of this information include Dr. Hans Wolff, whose grammars of Yoruba are mentioned later; Mr. Asseez, the principal informant; missionaries in the Western Region visited by the writer; and several Yoruba who have discussed the matter with the writer, both in Nigeria and at Michigan State University.

Discovery Procedures, 1964, by Robert Longacre; and The Grammatical Hierarchy of Isthmus Zapotec, 1960, by Pickett.

Some of the more significant concepts of that theory are briefly presented here for the benefit of the reader who is unfamiliar with the terminology of tagmemic analysis.

0.2.1. Tagmeme and Syntagmeme. The concept of the tagmeme is basic. It originated with Kenneth L. Pike under the name "grammeme."¹ Elson and Pickett (1962:57) define the tagmeme as

a grammatical unit . . . the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distribution within the grammatical hierarchy of the language.

Two words in this definition need further amplification here. One is class. For Elson and Pickett (1962:58), the term class in the above definition of a tagmeme "refers to the list of mutually substitutable morphemes and morpheme sequences which may fill a slot." (They use the term for other kinds of groupings elsewhere.)

The other word needing clarification is items, which they use to refer to those morphemes and morpheme sequences considered as fillers. They may be roots, stems, stems plus affixes, or constructions, which they define as "a morpheme sequence which fills a grammatical slot and which is itself analyzable in terms of constituent tagmemes" (Elson and Pickett, 1962:59).

A syntagmeme in Longacre's usage is a construction seen in terms of its being a slot filler and of its constituent tagmemes. He also uses the term "pattern" for syntagmeme, and speaks of

¹For the history of the term, see Pike (1958).

tagmemes as "pattern points" or elements of constructions. He points out: "The two concepts are correlative. Syntagmemes cannot exist without component elements, i.e. tagmemes. On the other hand, tagmemes exist only by virtue of placement in one or more syntagmemes" (1964:15).

0.2.2. Function. Longacre, using the terms "function-set correlate" for tagmeme, stresses the concept of function. "So intimate is the correlativity of function and set that each is mutually dependent on the other; the function cannot exist apart from the set nor has the set significance apart from the function" (1964:16).

While Elson and Pickett do not offer a definition of function, they do provide some explanation of their use of the term. "The term 'slot' refers to the grammatical function of the tagmeme. The terms 'subject,' 'object,' 'predicate,' 'modifier,' and the like indicate such grammatical functions" (1962:57). In discussing the relationships between constituents, they observe that there is no need in tagmemic theory to try to abstract the relations between the terms of a construction from the terms themselves. The tagmeme, as a slot-class correlative, contains within itself the kinds of relations which Hockett (1958:188-267) finds between various constituents in different constructions, viz. attributive, topic-comment, directive, and appositive.¹

¹It remains, of course, for the investigator to identify the relationships contained within the function-set correlates of the language.

0.2.3. Relationship Between Item and Function. The phrase "fills a slot" indicates the function of a class of items. The phrase "manifests a tagmeme" indicates the relationship of a class (or set), or member of a class, to tagmeme.

The term "fillers" refers to all members of the class of items which fill a certain slot in a structure, or which manifest a tagmeme. The singular form, "filler," refers to one item from that class.

When the terms such as "subject" or "object" are used here, they mean "subject slot" and "object slot" respectively. When the correlation of function and set is meant, the noun "tagmeme" will follow the name of the grammatical function, e.g. "subject tagmeme."

0.2.4. Etic and Emic. The terms "etic" and "emic" are taken from the terms "phonetic" and "phonemic" and provide, in Pickett's words, "a terminology for making the same nonstructural vs. structural comparison in other hierarchies and on other levels" (1960:19).

A structural contrast in the sound system of English is illustrated by the difference between [k^h] and [g] in initial position in a word. A nonstructural contrast is illustrated by the difference between [k^h] and [ḳ] (unreleased) in final position. The first pair are emically contrastive sounds. The second pair, although they differ phonetically, are non-contrastive sounds, or variants of a unit in the sound system. The difference between them is an etic difference.

In the grammatical system, the class of items filling a slot may be composed of any number of emically contrastive word or construction types.¹ For example, several contrastive types of noun phrases

¹Pickett's use of the term "type" is employed here: "Types are emically contrastive structures within the general kind at any one level" (1960:19).

may manifest the subject tagmeme of a clause. In such a case, the differences between these noun phrase types is of no significance to their function as subject. Such non-structural differences are described as etic. On the phrase level, however, the differences between the noun phrases are structurally significant and are described as emic.

One of the ultimate aims of a tagmemic analysis, then, is to throw the patterns of the language into bold relief by distinguishing etic differences between function-set correlations at a specific level of the grammatical hierarchy from emic differences between such correlations at that level.

0.2.5. Nuclear-Peripheral Distinction. In the analysis of any given syntagmeme, it frequently happens that some tagmemes seem more important than others. This fact has given rise to a distinction between nuclear or important tagmemes on the one hand, and peripheral or marginal tagmemes on the other. Nuclear tagmemes are those which are of considerable relevance in defining syntagmemes, i.e. they are diagnostic. They are usually more stable as to linear order, and are often manifested by large classes. (Elson and Pickett, 1962:63). They may, however, be optional tagmemes. This gives a trichotomous classification: 1) nuclear and obligatory, 2) nuclear and optional, 3) peripheral and optional.

0.2.6. Criteria for Uniting or Separating Syntagmas. The criteria for deciding whether two syntagmas should be joined or separated differ slightly from analyst to analyst. Longacre and Pike¹

¹See Pike (1962).

agree that for two syntagmemes to be in contrast they must have more than one structural difference between them. For Longacre, at least one of these differences must involve the nuclei of the syntagmemes. For both analysts, two internal differences establishes emic contrast. But when only one internal difference is present, they differ as to what external differences are counted as significant. Pike allows either a difference in distribution of the two syntagmas, or a differing permutation potential (or derivation by permutation). Longacre does not consider external distribution of a syntameme as a countable structural difference. Elson and Pickett follow Pike, as does this writer.¹ The features Longacre (1964:19) does mention as countable structural differences between syntagmemes are: a) differing linear orderings of tagmemes; b) differing number of nuclear tagmemes; c) differing syntagmemes manifesting similar but distinct tagmemes; d) differing emic classes manifesting similar but distinct tagmemes; e) differing transform potential (or differing derivations via transform.)

0.2.7. Levels and Grammatical Hierarchy. Tagmemic theory recognizes structurally significant levels in a grammatical hierarchy at which tagmemes and syntagmemes may be identified and described. With certain qualifications, Elson and Pickett (1962:59) equate these levels with the traditional items designated as stem, word, phrase, clause and sentence, arranged from the lower to the higher levels. The formal recognition of emic levels in a grammatical hierarchy allows organizing the data into the most meaningful groupings. In Longacre's terms, it

¹It follows that Pickett's dissertation (1960) reflects this. See p. 18 of her monograph for an example.

uncovers "hierarchically arranged patterns of maximum relevance and comparability and carefully distinguishes emic levels from mere layering tendencies" (1964:16,17). It also enables the linguist to choose the most convenient place to begin his analysis and the eventual description.

0.2.8. Format of a Tagmemic Descriptive Analysis. A language description will be structured in a manner reflective of the theory on which it is based. Tagmemic grammars will, therefore, have certain features in common. It will be helpful to specify the goals which a complete¹ tagmemic descriptive analysis sets for itself by reason of its particular grammatical theory. It seeks:²

- 1) to identify the emic structural types on each level, presenting the formal features which establish the patterns as contrastive;
- 2) to identify, with supporting evidence, the included tagmemes of each syntagme;
- 3) to list and describe the fillers for all tagmemic slots on all levels treated, i.e., list and describe the variants of the syntagmes;
- 4) to describe any remaining variants of the syntagmes, such as order of tagmemes;

¹Complete in the sense that it treats all levels of the grammatical hierarchy, not in the sense that it incorporates a phonology and cross-referenced lexicon for the generation of terminal sentences. A grammatical sketch, such as this one, restricts itself to one level or one aspect of one level of the grammatical hierarchy.

²See Longacre (1964) and Elson and Pickett (1962) passim.

5) to indicate the distributions or functions of all tagmemes and syntagmemes.

0.3. Focus and Scope. This study focuses on the independent, transitive, declarative, non-emphatic clauses found in the corpus. To refer to all clauses of this type, the phrase "the clause in focus" is used. In scope, it 1) presents the grammatical relationship between the clause in focus and the other clauses by means of matrices and clause nucleus formulas, 2) identifies the tagmemes which occur in the clause in focus, and 3) lists and presents available data on the classes which manifest these tagmemes, although phrase level analysis is as yet tentative.

0.4. Methodology. Of particular interest in studies of this type is the methodology employed in the collection, processing and employment of the data. Thus a rather complete description of methodology will be included here.

0.4.1. Nature of the Corpus. The corpus referred to is a conversation, four monologs, and a small number of elicited sentences obtained to clarify points of structure and check hypotheses about function.

0.4.1.1. Conversation. The writer was deliberately absent while the two informants were carrying on their conversation. For a short time Mr. Adegbite was not aware that his remarks were being recorded on tape. When he learned of this it made no difference in his speech or style, according to the judgment of Mr. Asseez, the principal informant.

From this original recording a carefully revoiced second tape of the same material was made by Mr. Asseez. Since morphemes are so often fused across those word boundaries where vowels meet, he was instructed to pronounce the individual words in their unelided forms. From this recording, the writer was able to transcribe the conversation. He then used the original to identify such things as juncture and certain elisions which might be syntactically important.

Then, using this transcription, the writer and principal informant spoke the English translation equivalents onto a third tape, discussing each clause as necessary to bring out both the literal meaning and the free translation.

O.4.2.2. Monologs. The monologs were collected in a different fashion. The informant was asked to prepare some brief talks on subjects relevant to Yoruba culture, employing written notes only as necessary to prompt his memory as he spoke extempore onto tape. This he did, again without the writer's presence. Then the informant transcribed the monologs in standard Yoruba orthography, leaving three blank lines between each line of transcription.

The informant's transcription was then edited by the writer, and tone and juncture symbols were added. Translations were arrived at in the manner described above.

O.4.1.3. Fourth Monolog. The fourth monolog was originally a text on skilled labor in Wolff's Second-Year Yoruba (1964:88-90). When the writer asked Mr. Asseez to prepare to help the intermediate Yoruba students learn it, he read it and raised several objections

to its style and word choice. It was then agreed that he should revise it and present his version orally in class. After doing this he recommended that he should present it again the next day, in a little different form because he was not yet satisfied with it. This was done and recorded on tape, and it was this recording which was later included in the corpus.

0.4.2. Preparation of the Corpus. At this point a rough definition of a sentence was decided upon.¹ Using it, the writer went through the corpus marking off sentence boundaries.² The corpus was then typed onto stencils so as to place only one sentence on each of eight sections per stencil. The mimeographed copies were cut into file slips the size of the section; uncut copies were called "masters" and were used for study.

Accompanying each sentence is a line-number reference to its location in the transcription. In the examples cited, the conversation is indicated by a capital "C" followed by the line number. The monologs are indicated by a capital "T" followed by the number of the text, which is then separated from the line number by a period. "T2.14b" means text two, the sentence beginning on line fourteen.

¹A sentence was defined as a linguistic form which is isolatable. That is, it can be said to manifest closure (the antithesis of incompleteness); and has, actually or potentially, silence before it and silence after it.

²Clauses most commonly fill slots on the sentence level. Therefore, by typing sentences instead of clauses, the grammatical-semantic content of each clause was retained on the file slips.

0.4.3. Filing of the Corpus. Tentative clause level analysis was performed on the masters, and the slips were filed accordingly. Thus the data were organized in the file for systematic study. The results of this study were then used to confirm or revise the tentative analysis.

0.5. Orthographic Conventions and Formulaic Representation.

0.5.1. Yoruba Orthography. Conventional Yoruba orthography has been based on the Oyo-Ibadan dialect and is used throughout the school system of the Yoruba-speaking people of Nigeria. That orthography is used here with two alterations: (1) the addition of tonemic symbols, and (2) the writing of two-mora vowels with two vowel symbols instead of the standard symbol of \sim over a single vowel letter.

Where the phonetic value of a symbol differs greatly from the value commonly associated with that symbol, a phonetic interpretation is given in brackets. That symbol is thereafter to be read with its appropriate phonetic value.¹

Consonants

Stops:	t	k	p=[kp]	
	b	d	j	g gb
Fricatives:	f	s	s=[š]	h
Nasals:	m	n		
Liquids:		r=[ř]	l	
Glides:	w	y		

¹The analysis which follows is basically that of Hans Wolff (1963:29,32-3).

by what precedes and are considered phonemic.¹

Short glides consisting of sequences of low-mid, mid-high, high-mid, and mid-low are also heard. However, they are not phonemic, since they always occur at morpheme boundaries and where automatic juncture phenomena are operative. The former is illustrated by /ṣe é/ 'do it,' and the latter by /ilé bàbá/ 'father's house,' pronounced [ilée bàbă].

A phenomenon called "subject tone rise" occurs when nouns, independent pronouns and noun phrases filling the subject slot precede certain fillers of the predicate slot. It indicates the grammatical connection between the subject and predicate tagmemes.

0.5.2. Symbols and Conventions Used in Presentation of Examples.

For presenting examples from the corpus, the following conventions are employed:

Brief examples appear in the line with the text and are underlined or enclosed in diagonal lines. Longer examples are indented and consist of Yoruba, English literal translation, and, where deemed necessary, free translation, in that order. Free translations are enclosed in double quotation marks.

A dash (hyphen with space on both sides) separates tagmemes at the level under discussion, in the Yoruba example and in the literal

¹Cf. Wolff, (1963:29), where he writes that examples of /nâ/ 'the aforementioned' and /yi/ 'this' show that "some rising or falling tones are not predictable by what precedes. It is therefore necessary to recognize, in Yoruba, the existence of two additional tone features... Rising or falling tone glides which are not predictable do not occur nearly as frequently as the level tones... Nevertheless, they do occasionally occur and must therefore be recognized as distinctive tone features...."

Notes on consonants: (1) Since all syllables are open syllables, the letter n at the end of a word or syllable indicates that the preceding vowel is a nasal vowel.

(2) The consonants /m/ and /n/ may be syllabic and therefore may occur with tone and a unit of vowel length. In those cases, a tone symbol will be written over the consonant symbol.

(3) Regarding spelling, Wolff notes: "In certain forms, before nasal vowels, the standard orthography uses nw and ny to indicate w and y respectively" (1963:33). That convention is followed here.

Vowels (Standard orthography indicates nasal vowels by this device: vowel + n.)

<u>Oral</u> :	i	e	e=[ɛ]	a	ɔ = [ɔ]	o	u
<u>Nasal</u> :	in=[ĩ]	en = [ẽ]	an = [ã]	on = [õ]	un = [ũ]		

Note on vowels: oral vowels with nasal counterparts (i e a ɔ u) are subject to phonetic nasalization in syllables beginning with nasal consonants, and frequently in syllables followed by a nasal consonant. The degree of nasalization varies with the speaker and the situation.

Tones

Level: high is marked /´/; low is marked /`/; mid is unmarked.

Glides: low-rising is marked /˘/; high-falling is marked /˘/.

Notes on tones: a low tone occurring immediately after a high tone is automatically actualized as a high-falling glide. Similarly, high tone after a low tone automatically actualizes as a low-rising glide. Other instances of rising and falling glides are not predictable

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translation.

In indented examples only free translations appear in quotes.
In the text, all translations appear in single quotes.

In the literal translation, hyphens join words needed to translate one Yoruba word.

Parentheses surrounding a word or words in the translation indicate that the enclosed word or words do not correspond to any Yoruba word.

Two x's in the translation correspond to non-translatable function words, or content words unusually difficult to translate.

Underlining in indented quotations is occasionally used to indicate the clause level slot under discussion.

In the Yoruba, an apostrophe shows elision of a vowel, and therefore marks an instance of phonological fusing across morpheme boundaries.

An example follows:

. . . inu - ti bi - oñ - pupo . . . T1.44b-47a
. . . insides - had riled - her (up) - greatly . . .
". . . she had become greatly agitated. . ."

0.5.3. Abbreviations, Symbols and Formulas.

0.5.3.1. Abbreviations. Abbreviations appearing in the text are presented here in alphabetical order. Those items marked * are tagmemes.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>To Be Read</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>To Be Read</u>
Ac	Accompaniment *	Np	Noun phrase
Ad	Adjunct *	O	Object *
Ap	Appositive *	OA	Object Appositive *
Ax	Auxiliary *	ob	object
B	Benefactor *	OD	Object Detail *
Cl	Clause	P	Predicate *
CM	Color Modifier *	pr	pronoun
Cn	Connector *	Pur	Purpose *
d	declarative	Qn	Quantifier *
Dep	Dependent	RQC1	Relative Qualifying Clause
dsc	descriptive	ra	Relator-axis
DscM	Descriptive Modifier *	sdsc	stative-descriptive
e	equative	SA	Subject-as-Actor *
E	Equative *	ST	Subject-as-Topic *
EM	Extent-Manner *	sub.	subject
H	Head *	t	transitive
i	intransitive	T	Time *
I	Instrument *	TA	Tense-Aspect *
ind	independent	v	verb
Loc	Location *	vc	verb complex
N	Noun	Vp	Verb phrase
NumM	Number Modifier *		

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0.5.3.2. Symbols. The symbols used in the text are:

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>To Be Read</u>
/	either/or
//	(in formulas) a filler which is one member of a class, as distinct from a construction formula or filler-class symbol occurring elsewhere in the same formula as a slot filler.
[]	(in formulas) the only form filling this slot.
:	(in formulas) manifested by
+	obligatory
±	optional
->	rewrite as . . .
,	(in order formulas) optional (symbol does not precede first unit tagmeme symbol)

superscript numbers represent a sub-category of a class.

subscript numbers represent repeated occurrence of a tagmeme in a syntagmeme.

absence of plus and plus-minus symbols before abbreviations of clause level tagmeme names indicates that the abbreviations identify the specific tagmemes found in one particular clause.

0.5.3.3. Formulas. Tagmemic formulas are of two kinds: occurrence formulas and order formulas.

0.5.3.3.1. Occurrence Formulas. Occurrence formulas are meant to generate the grammatical component of actual utterances, or parts of utterances. The tagmemic symbols used in them indicate the slot names (grammatical function), the class of items which fill the slots, and the relationships between tagmemes (i.e. whether tagmemes are obligatory or optional, and how they relate one to another).

The fillers of the slots can be indicated in one of two ways. A unit symbol for slot and filler can be given, with the list of fillers given in subsequent paragraphs. Or, as Longacre (1964:24) explains, "a dual function-set symbolism can indicate the set [of manifesting items and/or sequences] in the summary formula itself as follows. . . ."

+SA:sub.pr/ind.pr./N/Np +tdP:dVp^{1/2/3}/_v^{t1/2/3}/_{vc}^{t1/2/3} etc.

0.5.3.3.2. Order Formulas. Order formulas as used by Pickett in her monograph on Isthmus Zapotec (1960:20) show

the most frequent order of occurrence but do not indicate that actual utterances of the language could be generated by choosing one manifestation of each tagmeme included. The value of such a formula is seen in the presentation of clause structure and of certain phrase types in which no one manifestation includes all of the tagmemes of the structure, but all are included in various of the possible combinations.

Illustration (taken from Yoruba, see section 2.3.1.2.4.):

Qn +H, DscM, CM, NumM

PART I

OVERVIEW OF CONTRASTIVE CLAUSE STRUCTURES

1.1. Definition of a Clause. A clause in Yoruba is a structural unit of predication which has, as a minimum form, some kind of predicate¹ and some kind of subject.² Predication derives from the interrelation of the parts of the structural unit. To have predication, both subject and predicate tagmemes must exist in the linguistic or situational context. In clauses, the predicate tagmeme is always overtly present, and is therefore described as nuclear and obligatory. The subject tagmeme is not always overtly present, but is always manifested. That is to say, the absence of a unit filling the subject slot is in structural contrast with the presence of such a unit. Therefore the subject tagmeme is also described as nuclear and obligatory in all clause types.

1.2. Distribution of Clause Structures. Structures identified as clauses most commonly fill slots on the sentence level, but also may fill slots on the clause, phrase and word levels in the grammatical hierarchy. A simple sentence is coterminous with a clause when the sentence consists solely of a base tagmeme. Clause and word are

¹The meaning of the term 'predicate' as used in tagmemics differs from its meaning in traditional English grammar. For example, see Elson and Pickett (1962:65): "Our use of predicate here refers only to that part of the clause which is manifested by verbs or their equivalent." My own use of predicate includes certain modifiers, tense and aspect markers, bound verb-like auxiliaries, modals, and certain linking words.

²This definition of clause is adapted from Pickett, 1960:15.

coterminous when a specific manifestation of the independent declarative transitive non-emphatic clause nucleus fills the nucleus slot of a certain class of derived nominals, and optional peripheral word level tagmemes are not present.

On the phrase level, clauses fill modifier slots of noun phrases and modifier phrases.

On the clause level, clauses fill such slots as object, equative, purpose, time, and subject-as-topic.

Clauses fill slots other than the sentence base slot on the sentence level, but sentence level analysis has not been carried to a point which will permit identification of such sentence level tagmemes.

1.3. Dimensions for Clause Matrix Multiplication, and Resulting

Matrices. Yoruba clauses can be classified along four axes: a dependent-independent axis, a transitive-intransitive-equative-descriptive-stative axis, a declarative-interrogative-imperative axis, and an emphatic-non-emphatic axis. The type of clause highlighted here is the independent, transitive, declarative, non-emphatic clause.

Confining attention to independent clauses, two matrices are effective for representing the possible combinations along these axes. The symbol "x" denotes occurrence, while the symbol "-" denotes non-occurrence. The writer assumes that those combinations marked "-" would not be found even in an expanded corpus.¹

¹This assumption is based upon my present knowledge of the language. Structural and/or logical impossibility rules out such things as imperative stative-descriptives, while my analysis (i.e. set of definitions) rules out such things as non-emphatic interrogatives (except for the equative non-emphatic interrogative), which are dealt with on the sentence level.

Table I. Independent clauses

	EMPHATIC		
	<u>Declarative</u>	<u>Interrogative</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
Transitive	X	X	-
Intransitive	X	X	-
Equative	X	X	-
Stative-descriptive	X	X	-
NON-EMPHATIC			
Transitive	X	-	X
Intransitive	X	-	X
Equative	X	X	-
Stative-descriptive	X	-	-

1.4. Clause Nuclei of Independent Declarative Non-emphatic Clauses.

The following are tentative clause nucleus formulas for independent declarative non-emphatic clauses. Illustrations are given in the next paragraph. Values for symbols are found in section 0.5.2.

tdC1: ±OD +SA +tdP +O ±OA₂ ±Pur₂

idC1: +SA +idP ±Pur

edC1: +ST +edP ±E

sdscdC1: +ST +sdscdP

Illustration with tagmemes labeled:

tdC1: SA tdP O OA

Nwon - maa np' - owe - pe "eko akokotan . . ." (non-corpus)
They - usually are-quoting - proverb - that "learning
unfinished . . ."

idC1: SA idP B

Iya - mbo - fun omo ti ko gbon. C56a
Punishment - is-coming - for child who negative is-wise.

edC1: ST edP E

Eleyi - le je - ijoba ilu kan . . . T3.3b
This-one - can be - government (of) town one . . .

sdscC1: ST sdscdP Loc T Loc

O - wa - ni klas tu - nigba na - tabi klas tri. C95b-96a
You - were - in class two - at-time that - or class three.

sdscdC1: ST sdscdP EM

Eyi ti emi lo - dara - ju tie lo - sa o! C21
The-one which I attended - was-good - surpass yours go -
certainly xx!

PART II

THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE NON-EMPHATIC CLAUSE

2.0. Introduction. Since nuclear tagmemes may be either obligatory or optional, the nucleus of the transitive declarative non-emphatic clause is presented in two sections. The minimal nucleus is presented in 2.1. and the expanded nucleus in 2.2. This division is also useful in the presentation of the nuclear tagmemes themselves. Obligatory nuclear tagmemes are treated in 2.3., while optional nuclear tagmemes are treated in 2.4. Peripheral tagmemes are then presented in Part III.

In the presentation of slot-fillers, it is frequently necessary to deal with phrase level constructions. However, because the focus of this study is clause level structure, the phrase level analysis presented herein is preliminary.

2.1. Minimal Nucleus. Formula. +SA +tdP +O.

Illustrations:

(SA:pr, O:pr)	mo - lo ki - i. I - went (to) greet - him.
(SA:N, O:N)	Ojo - ri - ise. Ojo - got - (a) job.
(SA:Np, O:Np)	opolopo enia - maa nko - ise meji... multitudes (of) people - usually learn - jobs two...

The minimal nucleus occurs more frequently than any other variant of the clause in focus.

2.2. Expanded Nucleus. Formula. $\pm OD + SA + tdP + O \pm OA_2 \pm Pur_2$.

The following tagmeme symbols are descriptive of clauses found in the corpus and are derivable from the formula.¹

OD SA tdP O	C125c
SA tdP O Pur	T1.16b-21a
SA tdP O OA	T2.32b-33
SA tdP O OA OA	T1.51b-54a.

2.3. Obligatory Nuclear Tagmemes.

2.3.1. Subject-as-actor Tagmeme.

2.3.1.1. Distribution. The subject-as-actor tagmeme always occurs immediately preceding the transitive declarative predicate tagmeme.

2.3.1.2. Fillers. The subject-as-actor slot is filled by subject pronouns, independent pronouns, nouns and noun phrases.

2.3.1.2.1. Subject Pronouns. Subject pronouns are affixes which are prefixed to the first morpheme of the verb phrase which fills the predicate slot. Subject pronouns are the most frequent fillers of the subject-as-actor slot.²

¹Absence of both plus-minus symbols and commas between unit tagmeme symbols indicates one particular reading of a formula. See section 0.5.3.2.

²Tagmemicists differ as to whether affixes should be listed among fillers of clause level slots. Elson and Pickett (1962:84-5) and Longacre (1964:41-2) consider affixes assignable to clause level slots under certain conditions.

2.3.1.2.2. Independent Pronouns. Independent pronouns are of two kinds: **emphatics** and **possessives**. Both are among the fillers of the subject-as-actor slot as well as the object slot and the descriptive modifier slot of the centered noun phrase (see following page).² Subject tone rise occurs with these pronouns in the same way that it occurs with nouns. See section 0.5.1.

Possessives are: temi 'mine,' tie 'yours,' tie 'his/ her/ its,' tiwa 'ours,' tinyin 'yours (plural),' tiwon 'their.' An illustration of possessive pronouns filling the subject-as-actor and object slots follows: (see also C22)

SA		<u>tdP</u>		O
temi	-	ti	ju	- tie - lo. (non-corpus)
mine	-	has	surpassed	- yours - xx.

Emphatics occur in both **emphatic** and **non-emphatic** clauses. They are: emi 'I,' iwo 'you,' on 'she/he/it,' awa 'we,' enyin 'you (plural),' awon 'they.'

Emphatic pronouns are used in **dependent** clauses following verbs of saying to refer to the subject of that verb of saying in the independent clause.

2.3.1.2.3. Nouns. Nouns are divisible into two classes on the basis of the internal structure of their stems: (1) noun stems which are composed of single morphemes, and (2) noun stems which are composed of at least two morphemes. There are a number of consonant-vowel

¹Independent pronouns also occur in the subject-as-topic slot, which is part of both the equative and the stative-descriptive clause types, which are not within the focus of this study.

patterns in each class. In both classes, all consonant-initial nouns have high tone on the first vowel following the initial consonant.¹

2.3.1.2.4. Noun Phrases. Yoruba noun phrases are divisible into two classes: relator-axis phrases and centered phrases. Only centered phrases fill the subject-as-actor slot. These consist of an obligatory head slot and optional modifier slots. The order formula is:

Qn +H, DscM₂, CM, NumM

Read: optional quantifier tagmeme, obligatory head tagmeme, and optional descriptive modifier, color modifier, and number modifier tagmemes.²

Examples with tagmeme labels follow:

Qn	H	DscM	
gbogbo - eyi - ti mo ranti			C63
all - those - which I remember			

H	DscM	
eran - erin		C79
meat - (of) elephant		

H	DscM	NumM	
omo - kekere - meji			T1.17
children - small - two			

H	DscM	CM	NumM	
aja - titobi - dudu - meji				(non-corpus)
dogs - big - black - two				

¹For further details, see Appendix A, "Examples of Single Morpheme and Derived Noun Stems," and also R. C. Abraham (1958:pp. xxiv-xxx).

²The restrictions on variations of this order have not been explored for this study. The descriptive modifier slot can occur at least twice in a given phrase, but the specific content and structural type of the fillers determine their co-occurrence and placement possibilities.

Modifier slots are filled by nouns, modifiers, embedded noun phrases, and a dependent clause, herein called the "relative qualifying clause." This clause is introduced by /ti/ 'which, when, where, who, whom,' and always follows the head slot filler, with other tagmemes optionally intervening. For example:

H	DscM	NumM	DscM	
aja	- titobi	- meji	- to	dudu. (non-corpus)
dogs	- big	- two	- which	are-black

2.3.2. Transitive Declarative Predicate Tagmeme.

2.3.2.1. Distribution. The transitive declarative predicate tagmeme immediately follows the subject-as-actor tagmeme in transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses.

2.3.2.2. Fillers. This predicate slot may be filled by a transitive verb from subclass one (v^{t1}), a transitive verb complex (vc^t), or a transitive declarative verb phrase ($tdVp$), of which there are three types.

2.3.2.2.1. Transitive Verbs. The distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses is not based upon morphology of verbs, but upon an analysis of these clauses as contrastive structural types. The principle which led to this distinction is the one used by Pickett (1960:94) in her analysis of Isthmus Zapotec, as follows:

If the addition of an optional tagmeme [viz., object] requires subdivision of the fillers of one of the obligatory slots in such a way that some fillers occur with the optional tagmeme and some without the optional tagmeme (thus requiring a subformula to show this limitation if the formulaic representation is to be generative) our preferred analysis is that of the two separate structural types.

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Verbs are classified, then, on the basis of whether or not they occur with a filler of the object slot. But there remains the question posed by those verbs which function as members of both the transitive and intransitive classes. Is it necessary to posit a semitransitive clause type with an optional object slot and a third class of verbs manifesting the predicate of this clause type?

Pickett's solution is again applicable:

The decision was made to eliminate the possible semitransitive clause type, with optional object. To do so does not require a subformula of any kind. It requires only the recognition of overlap of classes. Of the two classes of verbs, transitive and intransitive, each has a subclass which is overlapping¹

When the term "transitive verbs" is used here, it includes both those verbs which are always and only transitive, and those verbs which function as members of both the transitive and intransitive classes.

2.3.2.2.2. Verb Phrases. A verb phrase in Yoruba consists of two or more phrase-level tagmemes, one of which, the head, is manifested by a free verb² or a verb complex. Verb phrase types are classified on the basis of the co-occurrence of contrastive obligatory nuclear tagmemes with emic classes of verbs. Subclass one is composed of all verbs which fill the predicate slot or head slot of a verb phrase and never co-occur with either the verb-phrase-level dependent predicate modifier or adjunct tagmemes. Subclass two is

¹Pickett, loc. cit.

²The term is adapted from Bamgbose (1962) and is used herein to mean a verb which can fill the predicate slot in an independent clause, unaccompanied except for obligatory nuclear phrase level tagmemes (i.e. DepPM and Ad).

composed of those verbs which, in a verb phrase, co-occur with the dependent predicate modifier tagmeme. Those verbs which co-occur in a verb phrase with the adjunct tagmeme in declarative non-emphatic clauses comprise subclass three. Phrase types and subclassification of verbs are presented in more detail in the following three sections.

Chart of Contrastive Phrase Formulas

$$\text{tdVp}^1 \rightarrow \pm(\text{periphery}) + \text{H:v}^{t1}/\text{vc}^{t1}$$

$$\text{tdVp}^2 \rightarrow \pm(\text{periphery}) + \text{H:v}^{t2}/\text{vc}^{t2} + \text{DepPM:Np}^Y$$

$$\text{tdVp}^3 \rightarrow \pm(\text{periphery}) + \text{H:v}^{t3}/\text{vc}^{t3} + \text{Ad:Np}^Z$$

The following list identifies the optional peripheral tagmemes which have been found to occur in these verb phrases: tense-aspect (TA), connector (Cn), accompaniment (Ac), instrument (I), modifier (M), and auxiliary (Ax). All these precede the head tagmeme or occur within the verb complex. None of the forms manifesting these tagmemes are free forms in normal speech, although most of them are written that way in the standard orthography.

Given below are verb phrases illustrating each of these tagmemes. In some cases two or more are found in the same phrase. Only the verb phrase tagmemes are identified by labels. For the sake of convenience certain minor departures from conventional Yoruba word division are made.

TA H

Emi - ko ni ko - ise - mo.

I - negative future refuse - work - henceforth.

Cn TA H

...mo - si maan ka - 'we - ni ale.
 ...I - and usually read - books - in evening.

M I H

O - kan fi owo kan - oju.
 He - just took hand touched - eye.

TA AX H

O - o le se - e.
 You - negative can do - it.

Vc Ac Vc

Mo - fe ba e lo se - ise.
 I - want accompany you go do - work.

2.3.2.2.2.1. Transitive Declarative Verb Phrase Type One.

Symbol: tdVp¹.

Formula: ±(periphery) +H:v^{t1}/vc^{t1}

Read: Optional peripheral slots, and obligatory head slot,
 filled by a transitive verb of subclass one or a transitive verb complex.

Subclass one of transitive verbs is composed of single syllable verbs (the most numerous), discontinuous two-syllable verbs, and the verbs in combinations of verbs and nouns, both unique and non-unique.¹

¹Bamgbose (1964) asserts that verb-nominal collocations are divisible into two types: (1) separable and (2) fixed. (A verb-nominal collocation is a verb and nominal which stand in predicate-object relationship to each other.) In separable collocations the verb may occur contracted with or separate from its vowel-initial noun object. E.g. ko 'we or ko iwe, 'take books.' He points out that fixed verb-nominal collocations differ from separable collocations in one respect, viz. the nominal is fused with the verb and therefore nowhere occurs as a separate item. He further states, "a non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocation has a separable collocation counterpart. This counterpart may contrast formally with it. But in most cases, the separable counterpart is homophonous with the fixed verb-nominal collocation. E.g.

The filler of the object slot occurs between the terms of a discontinuous verb.

Examples (fillers of the head slots are underlined):

eni . . . - nilati koko ko - owu tita . . . T4.17b-18
(the) person . . . - must first learn - thread stretching. . .

temi - ti ju - bee - lo C90a
mine - has surpassed - that - gone.

. . . a ba - ilu - je. C77c-78a
. . . it-will ruin - town - xx.

2.3.2.2.2.2. Transitive Declarative Verb Phrase Type Two.

Symbol: $tdVp^2$

Formula: $\pm(\text{periphery}) +H:v^{\dot{t}2}/vc^{\dot{t}2} +DepPM:Np^Y$

Read: optional peripheral slots, followed by an obligatory head slot, filled by a transitive verb of subclass two or a transitive verb complex, and the obligatory dependent predicate modifier slot, filled by a relator-axis noun phrase.

verb	separable collocation	fixed collocation
pe	<u>p'olowo</u> call the owner of the money	<u>p'olowo</u> hawk wares

A unique fixed verb-nominal collocation has no separable collocation counterpart." E.g.

pade	meet
joko	sit
gbagbe	forget

The verbs in the unique fixed collocation are considered to be among the fillers of the head slot in $tdVp^1$.

The relators observed in these phrases are ní and sí. All the phrases which fill this slot comprise a set, herein designated "Y". Subclass two transitive verbs are those which co-occur with the fillers of the dependent predicate modifier slot. The filler of the dependent predicate modifier slot cannot be permuted to fill any emphasis slot in an emphatic clause. The filler of the object slot occurs between the head slot filler and the dependent predicate modifier slot filler.

In the following examples, fillers of the head and dependent predicate modifier slots are underlined.

ó - dá - iléìwé - sí'lè. . . T2.5b-6a
he - created - schools - xx. . .

. . . 1'èhìn nâ - nwón - sì lè yan - ara wón - 1'ódì. T1.22-3
. . . after that - they - and can ignore - bodies their - xx.

o - lè ràn - mí 1'ówó. (non-corpus)
you - can help - me - xx.

2.3.2.2.2.3. Transitive Declarative Verb Phrase Type Three.

Symbol: tdVp³

Formula: ±(periphery) +H:v^{t3}/vc^{t3} +Ad:Np²

Read: Optional peripheral slots, followed by an obligatory head slot, filled by a subclass three transitive verb or transitive verb complex, and obligatory adjunct slot, filled by a set of relator-axis noun phrases which overlaps but is not coterminous with the set manifesting the dependent predicate modifier tagmeme in tdVp². Subclass three transitive verbs are those which co-occur with the fillers of the adjunct slot in transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses.¹

¹At least one subclass three verb, fún, 'give,' can occur in

2.3.2.2.3. Transitive Verb Complex. A transitive verb complex is a special type of verb phrase which consists of three head slots.

Formula: $vc^t \rightarrow +(\pm H_3: [f_e] \pm H_2: v^i) + H_1: v^t/1/2/3$

An example of a transitive verb complex is /fě lə kə/ 'want (to) go write.'

When a transitive verb complex occurs, it may have one of two relationships to the predicate of the clause: (1) it may completely and solely fill the predicate slot, or (2) it may fill the head slot of a verb phrase which in turn fills the predicate slot. In the latter case, the first head slot of the complex is the one filled by a verb from one of the three subclasses of transitive verbs. In

certain environments without the expected noun phrase. Compare /mo fún un ní owó/ 'I gave him xx money,' with /mo fún un/, 'I gave it to him.' One would expect /mo fún un ní i/ by extrapolation from the pattern, but it does not occur. This may be due to influence from another pattern, namely, that in permuting the filler of the adjunct slot to fill an emphasis slot in an emphatic clause, two kinds of relators are recognized: (1) those which do appear in the permuted clause, and (2) those which do not. Ní is one of those which do not. In the examples below, the first type of relator is illustrated in example one, and the second in example two.

- (1) . . . àá - tẹ - ara - món iṣẹ ẹni. C53b-54
 . . . we-future - press - selves - against work (of) person.

Permutation:

Iṣẹ wa ni - a - tẹ - ara - món.
 Work our it-is - we - press - selves - against.

- (2) Nwọn - kọ - wa nâ - ní irú ẹ. C47a
 They - taught - us too - xx type (of) it.

Permutation:

Irú ẹ ni - nwọn - kọ - wa nâ.
 Type (of) it it-is - they - taught - us too.

the former case, the first head slot is filled by a verb from subclass one.

For example: mo fẹ́ lọ fún wọ́n ní omi.
 I want go give them xx water.

tdC1 = S:/mo/ P:tdVp³ O:/wọ́n/
tdVp³ = H:vc^t Ad:/ní omi/
vc^t = H₃:/fẹ́/ H₂:lọ/ H₁:/fún/

2.3.3. Object Tagmeme.

2.3.3.1. Distribution. The distribution of the object tagmeme is as follows: (1) immediately following the transitive declarative predicate tagmeme (most common); (2) immediately after the benefactor tagmeme, which in turn follows the transitive declarative predicate tagmeme; (3) between the terms of a discontinuous verb filling the predicate slot; (4) between the obligatory nuclear phrase-level tagmemes in transitive declarative verb phrases two and three. (See sections 2.3.2.2.3.2. and 2.3.2.2.3.3.).¹

2.3.3.2. Fillers. Fillers of the object slot include object pronouns, independent pronouns, nouns, noun phrases, and dependent clauses.

¹In one instance in the corpus the object tagmeme occurred immediately preceding the subject tagmeme. Two things are noteworthy: (1) the subject tagmeme was manifested by an English phrase, "secondary school"; (2) the object tagmeme is formally distinct from the emphatic object tagmeme, in that the linking morpheme ni, diagnostic of emphatic tagmemes, is absent. Otherwise the structure of the clause is that of an emphatic clause type. See T2.24b-26a.

2.3.3.2.1. Object Pronouns. Object pronouns are affixes which are bound (suffixed) to verbs.¹ They are the most frequent fillers of the object slot. Except for the form for second person plural, object pronoun tones are determined by the tone of the verb (or final syllable of the verb) in the following manner:²

verb tone	object pronoun tone (phonemic)
high	mid
mid	high
low	high

The form for second person plural has high tone after all verbs.

The pronoun forms are: mi 'me,' o 'you,' vowel of verb, 'him, her, it,' wa 'us,' nyin 'you (pl.),' won 'them.'

2.3.3.2.2. Independent Pronouns. Independent pronouns are presented in section 2.3.1.2.2.

2.3.3.2.3. Nouns. Nouns which fill the subject-as-actor slot also fill the object slot. Nouns which fill the object slot may also fill the subject-as-actor slot within limitations imposed by semantics.

2.3.3.2.4. Noun Phrases. Nouns and noun phrases are alike in regard to their occurrence in the subject-as-actor and object slots. (See section 2.3.1.2.4. for discussion of noun phrases.)

¹A few transitive verbs, such as jé 'allow, permit' and ní 'say', are never followed by object pronouns, but by nouns, noun phrases, dependent clauses, and expletives.

²The following description covers the Ibadan dialect (approximately sixty per cent of this corpus) and omit certain tonal complexities which are not relevant to a discussion of syntax per se. With certain minor systematic alterations, the description is applicable to the Lagos dialect.

2.3.3.2.5. Dependent Clauses. Dependent clauses which fill the object slot contain a morpheme which marks their dependent status. Morphemes which mark clauses as dependent are kí, a clause connector which usually carries a notion of obligation or suitability; pé, paralleled by English 'that', and pé kí, combining the preceding two meanings.

Transitive verbs which frequently co-occur with clause constructions manifesting the object tagmeme are: fẹ́ 'want,' mọ́ 'know,' sọ 'say,' wí 'say,' ní 'say,' jẹ́ 'allow,' ké 'shout,' gbọ́ 'hear,' and rò 'think, believe.'

Illustrations:

ó - ní - kí n kí nyín. (non-corpus)
he - said - should I greet you.

. . . bá nké - pé mú àdó mi fún mi. T1.42b-43c
. . . then was-shouting - that give gourd my to me.

. . . yío sì sọ - pé kí ó jáde . . . T3.19-21a
. . . he-will and say - that ought he go-out . . .

2.4. Optional Nuclear Tagmemes.

2.4.1. Object Appositive Tagmeme.

2.4.1.1. Distribution. In three of the five instances of its occurrence the object appositive tagmeme immediately follows the object tagmeme. (E.g. T2.32b-33 and T1.51b-54.) In one instance it follows the benefactor tagmeme (T3.27b-29). In T2.41b-43 it follows the dependent predicate modifier tagmeme of tdVp2.

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2.4.1.2. Fillers. The object appositive slot is filled by a dependent clause introduced by pe, 'that.'

Illustrations (object appositive slots underlined):

- . . . dá - ẹjọ́ - pé ọ́ ye kí ọkọ bèrè . . . T1.51b-54a
 . . . rendered - judgment - that it befitted that husband inquire . . .
- . . . yío sì lọ jẹ - iṣẹ́ - fún baálé - pé òn ti sọ . . . T3.27b-29
 . . . he-will and go deliver - message - to chief - that he has said . . .

2.4.2. Object Detail Tagmeme.

2.4.2.1. Distribution. The object detail tagmeme occurs clause-initially immediately preceding the subject-as-actor tagmeme.

2.4.2.2. Fillers. Fillers of the object detail slot include centered noun phrases and derived noun stems. Illustrations:

oríṣíríṣí - wàá máa ra - gbogbo rẹ. C139b-140a
 different-types - you-will be buying - all (of) it.

gbogbo àwọn nńkan tí a máa kọ - èmi - mà ti gbàgbé - wọn.
 C125c-26b
 all those things which we were learning - I-myself - certainly
 have forgotten - them.

2.4.2.3. Function and Characteristics. The item filling the object detail slot seems loosely connected to the rest of the clause. The informant's comment regarding the subject detail tagmeme (not found in transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses in the corpus) is also true of the object detail tagmeme: it was employed, he said, because (1) the speaker wished to emphasize something about the object, perhaps its plurality, or (2) the speaker began, then hesitated, and completed the clause with a subject, predicate and object.

2.4.3. Purpose Tagmeme. The purpose tagmeme expresses the purpose of an activity or thing.

2.4.3.1. Distribution. The purpose tagmeme occurs clause-finally in the independent transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses of the corpus.¹

2.4.3.2. Fillers. Fillers of the purpose slot include dependent clauses marked by kí, verb phrases and verbs. These are presented in that order in the following sections.

2.4.3.2.1. Clauses Marked by Ki. The semantic function of kí in such clauses is similar to English 'so,' 'that,' 'in order that.'

Illustrations:

. . . kí ó má baà şìşe.² T1.13-14
 . . . so he not might err.

2.4.3.2.2. Phrases Introduced by Láti. Of the three items which fill the purpose slot, this one occurs most frequently. Lati can usually be translated 'in order to.'

Illustration:

. . . yío pè - wòn - láti bá wòn parí ìjà nà. T1.16b-21a
 . . . he-will call - them - to accompany them settle quarrel the.
 ". . . he will call them to help them settle the quarrel."

¹In another clause type, two purpose tagmemes occur clause-finally in sequence.

²In kí clauses filling the purpose slot, the morpheme baà is obligatory when the negative imperative marker má is present, but is optional otherwise. Baà occurs only in these kí clauses manifesting purpose. It may be translated as 'might.'

2.4.3.2.3. Verbs. Verbs which fill the purpose slot immediately follow the filler of the object slot.¹

Illustration:

. . . nwon - kò rí - ẹbọ àbámò - ẹ. C84
 . . . they - negative find - sacrifice (of) regrets - (to) do.

¹To distinguish verbs filling the purpose slot from those verbs which are one term of a discontinuous verb, a permutation or substitution test may be used. One such permutation is the insertion of lāti before the verb in question. For example, the writer asked the informant if he felt ẹ in the above illustration expressed purpose. After deliberating a moment he replied that it did. When asked how he had come to this decision, he said that he had inserted lāti before the verb ẹ. However, not every verb filling the purpose slot can be preceded by lāti. This apparently is due to considerations of a stylistic nature.

PART III

PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

3.0. Introduction. There are four peripheral tagmemes which occur in all types of clauses: time, location, benefactor, and extent-manner. The description of the location and extent-manner tagmemes includes data from all independent clauses of the corpus because their occurrence in the independent transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses is too limited to permit meaningful analysis. The following order formula¹ describes the sequence in which peripheral tagmemes most commonly occur when they occur together:

T + Nucleus Minimum, EM, Loc, T

3.1. Time Tagmeme

3.1.1. Distribution. The time tagmeme occurs (1) preceding the clause nucleus, e.g. T1.21c; (2) immediately following the clause nucleus, e.g. T4.14b; (3) before the clause nucleus and again after it but with another tagmeme (extent-manner) optionally intervening, e.g. C118c-120a. The post-nucleus time tagmeme is followed by another tagmeme (viz. purpose) in only one instance, T4.13-14.

3.1.2. Fillers. It is diagnostic of fillers of the time slot that they are permutable to occur as responses to questions introduced by nígbàwo 'when.' Fillers of the time slot include dependent

¹See section 0.5.3.3.2. for explanation of order formula as used here.

clauses, relator-axis noun phrases, and centered phrases.

3.1.2.1. Clauses Which Fill the Time Slot. Two kinds of clauses fill the time slot: (1) those marked by tí...bá, labeled Dependent Time Clause One (DepTC1¹), and (2) those marked by kí...tó, labeled Dependent Time Clause Two (DepTC1²).

3.1.2.1.1. Dependent Time Clause One, DepTC1². The marker of this clause, tí...bá, is composed of two morphemes. Tí occurs initially in the dependent clause; bá, in the dependent verb phrase manifesting the predicate of this clause.

Clauses marked by tí...bá occur clause-initially immediately preceding the nucleus of the independent clause.¹ Two tí...bá clauses may occur in sequence.

The marker tí...bá can mean 'when,' 'whenever,' or 'if.' The specific lexical content of the dependent clause, together with that of the main clause, determines which of these meanings is elicited by tí...bá. Illustration (independent clause tagmemes are labeled):

	T		SA	tdP	
<u>Tí</u>	omọ	<u>bá</u>	ti	pé	odún mārūn - ó - níláti . . . T2.9
When	child	xx	has	become	years five - he - must . . .

3.1.2.1.2. Dependent Time Clause Two, DepTC1². The marker of this clause, kí...tó, is composed of two morphemes. Kí occurs initially in the dependent clause; tó, in the dependent verb phrase manifesting the predicate of this clause.

¹Occurrence of DepTC1¹ alone as a response sentence is possible, but does not occur in the corpus.

Clauses marked by kí...tó most commonly occur clause finally. They may also occur in penultimate position (followed by the purpose tagmeme).¹ The meaning elicited by kí...tó is "before".

Illustration (independent clause tagmemes are labeled):

SA tdp O T

. . . yíó tǒ - odún méta - kí ó tǒ gba òye kǐní. T2.34-5a

. . . it-will equal - years three - before he xx gets degree first.

3.1.2.2. Phrases Which Fill the Time Slot. Two kinds of phrases fill the time slot: (1) centered phrases, in which the head slot is filled by ìgbà, 'time,' and (2) relator-axis phrases, in which the relator slot is filled by ní, 'at, in' fún 'for,' láti 'from,' or sí 'to, toward.'

3.1.2.2.1. Centered Phrases. Centered phrases are structures composed of an obligatory head tagmeme and various optional modifier tagmemes. (See section 2.3.1.2.4.).

Centered phrases filling the time slot are composed of a head tagmeme, manifested by ìgbà, 'time,' and a descriptive modifier tagmeme, manifested by a relative qualifying clause (RQC1). The word ìgbà plus the marker of the RQC1, tí, elicits the meaning 'when.'

The centered phrases found in the corpus occur clause-initially.

Illustration:

Ìgbà tí bàbá aládǒ ro'jò - ó - ní . . . T1.47b-49a
Time which elder juju-man stated-case - he - said . . .
"When the juju man stated his case, he said . . ."

¹Occurrence of DepTC1² clause-initially is not found in the corpus, but is possible, e.g. /Kí n tō kūrō nīhīn, mō fě jēun/ 'before I xx leave from-here, I want (to) eat.'

3.1.2.2.2. **Relator-Axis Phrases.** Relator-axis phrases are structures composed of an obligatory relator tagmeme and an obligatory axis tagmeme. The latter may be manifested by centered phrases, nouns, independent pronouns, or object pronouns. Only centered phrases and nouns manifest the axis tagmeme in relator-axis phrases filling the time slots in the corpus.

Of the twenty-two relator-axis phrases filling the time slot in independent transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses, twenty occur either clause-initially immediately preceding a minimal nucleus of SA tdP O, or clause-finally immediately following that nucleus. One of the two exceptions occurs clause-finally following the extent-manner tagmeme. The other occurs after the minimal nucleus and is followed by the purpose tagmeme.

Illustrations:

ní ìgbà tí Èèbó dé . . . T2.5b-6a
at time when Europeans came . . .

ní èhìn na ní èèkan. C98a
in back-of-that for once.

ní èhìn tí ojísé ọba bá ti lọ tán . . . T3.19-21a
at back-of when messenger (of) ruler xx had gone finished . . .

ní ìsájú ní àárò. T4.14
at front in morning.
"previously . . ."

3.2. Location Tagmeme.

3.2.1. Distribution. In independent clauses, the location tagmeme may occur clause initially, or following the minimal nucleus.

See section 3.0. for an order formula including the location tag-meme.

3.2.2. Fillers. Fillers of the location slot include words referring to a place, and relator-axis phrases. The relators occurring in these phrases are ní 'at, on, in, from,' sí 'to, toward, onto, into,' and lāti 'from.' Illustrations:

A - kǐ ru - ẹran ẹrin - ní orí . . . C79
We - don't carry - meat elephant - on head . . .

. . . bàbá - mú - àdó - ní orí àtẹ. T1.41c-42b
. . . man - took - gourd - from top (of) tray.

3.2.3. Function and Characteristics. The semantic function of the location slot is to give details in regard to place. Items manifesting the location tagmeme are permutable to occur as answers to questions introduced by níbo ni, 'where.'

Illustration:

Nwọn - ó mà pè - ó - ní àgbàyà - ní iléìwé. C133a
They - will certainly call - you - xx useless-elder - at school.

The underlined phrase is omitted and a question formed:

Níbo ni - nwọn - ó pè - ó - ní àgbàyà?
Where is-it - they - will call - you - xx useless-elder?

The answer in briefest form is:

Ní iléìwé.
At school.

The phrase ní iléìwé is analyzed as a filler of the location slot.

3.3. Extent-Manner Tagmeme.

3.3.1. Distribution. In independent clauses, the extent-manner tagmeme follows the minimal nucleus of each clause type. (See section 3.1.1. for an order formula.)

3.3.2. Fillers. Fillers of the extent-manner slot include the following kinds of forms and constructions: (Those which occur in independent transitive declarative non-emphatic clauses are marked with an asterisk.) Clause level tagmemes are labeled.

*monomorphemic forms: díè 'a little' 49a

SA	tdP	O	EM
Bóyá	- n -	ó mò -	ó - díè
Maybe	- I -	will know	- it - a-little.

*multimorphemic forms: dáadáa 'well, good, fine' C31a

SA	tdP	O	EM
Ó	- nkq -	wa -	dáadáa.
He	- was-teaching	- us	- well.

verb phrases: tó erù 'equals (a) load' T2.38-39

SA&tdP	O	EM
. . . á sé -	igi rẹ -	tó erù.
. . . he-will	gather	- firewood his - equal (a) load.

modifier phrases: dáadáa gaan o 'good exceedingly xx' C4

SA	idP	EM
. . . mo -	mà nse -	dáadáa gaan o!
. . . I -	certainly	was-doing - good exceedingly xx!

*noun phrases: ní eeméta 'for three-times' T3.21b

SA&tdP	O	EM
. . . yío lu -	aago rẹ -	ní eeméta . . .
. . . he-will	strike	- ball his - for three-times. . .

relative qualifying clauses: tí kò dǎa 'that it-negative was-good'
C106

ST dsrdP EM
 . . . ó - wúwo - tí kò dǎa.
 . . . it - **was**-heavy - that it-negative **was**-good.
 ". . . it **was** so heavy it **was** not good."

3.3.3. Function of the Extent-Manner Slot. The function of the extent-manner slot is to modify or qualify the predication of the clause in regard to manner and extent (or degree).

3.4. Benefactor. The semantic function of the benefactor tag-meme is to identify the person, thing or abstraction affected by the action of a transitive predicate on its object, the action of an intransitive predicate, or by the predication of a stative-descriptive or equative clause. In many clauses its function resembles that of the indirect object in English.

3.4.1. Distribution. The distribution of the benefactor tag-meme in the independent clauses of the corpus is shown in the following formulas:

+SA +tdP ±B +O ±OA

+SA +tdP +O ±B ±EM/OA

+SA/ST +i/sdscP ±B

+ST +edP ±E ±B ±Ap

3.4.2. Fillers. Fillers of the benefactor slot are dependent transitive verb phrases with the following structure:

+H: [fún] +O:ob.pr./ind.pr./N/Np

Illustrations:

o - ò sǐ wí - fún tíṣà - pé C107b-08

you - negative and say - to teacher - that

ó - sọ - fún mí - pé . . . (non-corpus)

he - said - to me - that . . .

. . . ó - wá fò - ó - fún ara rẹ. C148b

. . . she - then washed - it - for body her.

" . . . then she washed it for herself."

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APPENDIX A

Examples of Single Morpheme and Derived Noun Stems

A.1. Single Morpheme Noun Stems.

om̩	'child'
pákó	'plank'
òṣùpá	'moon'
pátákò	'hoof'

A.2. Derived Noun Stems. The prefixes used in forming derived noun stems are listed in column A. The morphemes or morpheme sequences which function as stems in deriving nouns are listed in column B, with translation. The derived noun stems are in column C. A translation for each (not necessarily the only one possible) is given in column D. The upper case letter C in the fifth prefix in column A stands for the first consonant in the verb stem.

A	B		C	
ì-	dúpé	thank	ìdúpé	the thanking
a-	k'ékǒ	study lesson	akékǒ	a learner, student
àì-	sùn	sleep	àìsùn	sleeplessness
aláì-	l'ékǒ	have learning	aláìlékǒ	person lacking good upbringing
Cí-	jé	eat	jíjé	act of eating
o ní-	epo	palm oil	elépo	seller of palm oil
àìṣe-	ìgbàgbó	belief	àìṣègbàgbó	unbelief

APPENDIX B

The Corpus

The conversation and four monologs presented here are those on which this study is based. Together they are referred to hereafter as the texts. The conversation is represented in the guide numbers at the tops of the pages by C, and the four monologs by T1, T2, T3 and T4.

The texts are so arranged that the Yoruba and its literal English translation are on facing pages. A free translation is placed beneath the Yoruba. The line numbers in the literal translation correspond exactly to those in the Yoruba transcription.

The symbols employed here are those set forth in sections 0.5.1. and 0.5.2., with the following two additions: (1) word division at times departs from conventional Yoruba spelling, and (2) four abbreviations are used in the literal translation. With the Yoruba forms which they translate, they are:

gen. = generalization (bá) (see sec. 3.1.2.1.1.)

habit. = habitual aspect (máań)

neg. = negative (kò) (with allomorphs)

comp. = completive aspect (ti)

These conventions enable the reader to locate the literal translation for any given Yoruba word in the texts. However, the literal English is designed only to provide an indication of Yoruba structure and a clue to the meanings of individual Yoruba words. The meaning of the whole is expressed in the free translation.

CONVERSATION

- 1 Mǎnnì olódo!
- 2 O kò mà mọ̀ ǹnkan tí ń̀ṣe ọ̀!
- 3 O tilẹ̀ ẹ̀ ṣe ń̀gba òdo jọ̀ báyí?
- 4 Ní ị̀gbà tí mo wà ní iléiwé kékeré mo mà ń̀ṣe dáadáa gan o.
- 5 N kò mọ̀ ǹnkan tí ó dé sí mi ní iisín yí.
- 6 Bóyá torípé iwé ẹ̀ ń̀ga diẹ̀ diẹ̀ ni. O kò rí iwé bàmbà bàmbà tí o ń̀kà?
- 7 Bóyá torí ẹ̀ ni ó ń̀jẹ o féełì.
- 8 Òtitọ́ ọ̀rọ̀ ni.
- 9 Dúró ná! Sukù wo ni o tilẹ̀ lọ?
- 10 Agbeni ni.
- 11 Bóyá òdo ni o tún ń̀gba ní ị̀gbà tí o wà ní ibẹ̀.
- 12 Òdo wè! Èmi? Ipò kíní ni èmi máań ẹ̀ ní ị̀gbà gbogbo.
- 13 Ní ị̀gbà tí mo dé kọ́lẹ́jì àgbà nà ni ǹnkan mbàjẹ̀.
- 14 Ipò kélǒ ni o máa wà ní ị̀gbà tí o wà ní iwé A.B.D.?
- 15 Ipò kíní ni èmi gbà!
- 16 Sukù wo ni o tilẹ̀ lọ?

Y: Manni, you school failure! M: What is wrong with you? Don't be stupid! Y: Why are you flunking out of school? M: When I was in elementary school, I was doing very well. I don't know what has happened now. Y: Maybe it is because little by little your books are becoming bigger. Don't you see what big books you're studying? Maybe that's the reason you are flunking. M: That's the truth. Y: Hold on a second. What school did you attend? M: Agbeni. Y: Maybe when you were there you were failing as you are now. M: Failing! Me? I was always leading the class. It was when I came to the senior college that things started going bad. Y: What place in your class were you usually in during primary school? M: I was always on top of the class. Y: What school did you attend, anyway?

CONVERSATION

C 1 - 16

1 Manni owner-of-nothing! 2 You neg. even know thing which
is-doing you! 3 You even do are-getting zeros together like-this?
4 At time when I was in school small I even was-doing good very xx.
5 I neg. know thing which it came upon me at moment this. 6 Maybe
because books your are-becoming-higher little little it-is. You neg.
see books big big which you are-reading? 7 Maybe because of-it it-
is it is-allowing you fail. 8 Truth (of) words it-is. 9 Stop
first! School which it-is you even attended? 10 Agbeni it-is.
11 Maybe zeros it-is you moreover were-getting when you were at
that-place. 12 Zero emphatically-not! I? Place first it-is I
always was-doing at time all. 13 At time when I came-to college
senior aforementioned it-is things were-spoiling. 14 Place which
it-is you usually were-in at time when you were at book (of) A.B.D.?
15 Place first it-is I received! 16 School which it-is you even
attended?

- 17 Agbeni ni mo lo sẹ!
- 18 Agbeni wo nùu? Sebí o mò pé sukû méjì ni ó wà ní Agbeni?
- 19 A! O mò Méthódísì?
- 20 Aha! Iléìwé . . . sukû wa kò jìnnà sí ara wọn ní ìgbà nà.
- 21 Èyí tí èmi lo dára ju tiẹ lo sá o!
- 22 A! Iró! Tiẹ kò dára tó tẹmi . . .
- 23 O kò mò nńkan tí nse ó!
- 24 . . . kò lè dára tó tẹmi. O kò mò àwọn tí nkó wa ní ibẹ.
- 25 Àwọn Èèbó ni.
- 26 Èèbó! Nlẹ o!
- 27 Èèbó ni ó nkó wa ní ibẹ. Àwọn Èèbó . . . o mò Místá Hughes?
- 28 Ta ni nńjé Hughes?
- 29 A jo máán sáré kiri ní ìgbà tí a wà ní ibẹ ni.
- 30 Sẹ ó nkó nyín dáadáa?
- 31 A! Ó nkó wa dáadáa. Dúró ná! Irú kí ni nwọn máán kó nyín
- 32 ní sukû ti nyín?

M: I told you, Agbeni. Y: Which Agbeni was that? Don't you know that there are two schools in Agbeni? M: Uh . . . do you know the Methodist school? Y: Aha! So our schools weren't far apart at all! M: Anyway, the one I attended was better than yours. Y: That's a lie! Yours was not as good as mine. M: Don't be stupid! Y: It couldn't be as good as mine! Don't you know our teachers? They were Europeans. M: Europeans! Sorry to hear that! Y: Yes, it was Europeans who taught us there. Do you know Mr. Hughes? M: Who is Mr. Hughes? Y: We were always running around together while we were there. M: Did he teach you well? Y: He taught us well . . . hold on a second! What type of thing did they teach you in your school?

17 Agbeni it-is I attended definitely! 18 Agbeni which is-that?
xx you know that schools two it-is there are in Agbeni? 19 Uh . . .
you know Methodist? 20 Aha! School school our neg. far from bodies
their at time that. 21 The-one which I attended was-good exceed
yours go anyway xx. 22 A! Lie! Yours neg. was-good equal-to
mine . . . 23 You neg. know thing which is-doing you. 24 . . . it
neg. can be-good equal-to mine. You neg. know those who were-teach-
ing us at that-place? 25 Plural European it-is. 26 European!
Sorry xx. 27 Europeans it-is he was-teaching us at that-place.
Plural Europeans . . . You know Mr. Hughes? 28 Who is-it is-being
Hughes? 29 We together usually were-running around at time when we
were at that-place it-is. 30 Question he was-teaching you well?
31 Ah! He was-teaching us well. Stop first! Kind what it-is they
usually taught you 32 at school of yours?

- 33 Áá maa se ìàirò, áá maa kò Èèbó tí o wí ì nâ,¹
- 34 Áá sè maa kò Jógíráfí, áá maa kò Hísítórì.
- 35 Kí ni ìtúmọ́ Jógíráfí, kí ni ìtúmọ́ Hísítórì?
- 36 O₂ eae ìlú wa jèrè! Mò mò? Eí nwón se k̀pè é fún wa nùu.
- 37 Jógíráfí, èkò nípa aiyé. Aiyé ni. Èkò nípa aiyé.
- 38 Èwo ní è k̀pè ní Hísítórì ní ibè? Hísítórì, èkò nípa ìgbà láíláí.
- 39 Ìgbà àtíjọ́. Ìgbà . . . ìgbà láíláí en.
- 40 Nípa àwọn bàbá wa. Itàn, Itàn, àwọn itàn. Èmi ò mò.
- 41 E maa kò àkósórí?
- 42 Kódà èmi ní mo tilẹ̀ mò ó jù, ní ìgbà tí mò mbe ní iléiwe.
- 43 Irú àkósórí wo ní o mò ní ìgbà nâ?
- 44 Â, jé n wo èyí tí mo lè rántí ní ibè. Sé o mò pé àgbà fádé?
- 45 . . . a ti kò "mú ara sí isé, òré mi."
- 46 Mú ara sí isé òré mi!

M: We used to do arithmetic, we used to learn English, which you just now used, we used to study geography, and we used to study history.
 Y: What is the meaning of "geography," and what does "history" mean? Please speak our own language! M: Do I know? That's what they called it. Y: "Geography" - study of the earth. M: Yes, the earth.
 Y: Study of the earth. M: Which one do you call "history?" Y: "History" - study about times of long ago. M: Bye-gone ages. Y: Ages of long ago. M: About our forefathers. Y: Yes, those stories. M: I myself don't know. Y: Did you used to learn recitations? M: Aha! I was the champion when I was in school. Y: What type of recitations do you know, in that case? M: Ah, let me see which one I can remember. Do you know how old I'm getting to be? Uh . . . we learned "Work hard, my friend." Y: Work hard, my friend!

¹This may be /tí o wí èyùn nâ/.

33 We used-to do arithmetic, we used-to study English which you said that the-aforementioned, 34 we and used-to study geography, we used-to study history. 35 What is meaning (of) "geography," what is meaning (of) "history"? 36 Speak language (of) land our please! I know? How they xx were-calling it for us is-that. 37 "Geography" study about earth. Earth it-is. Study about earth. 38 Which is-it you are-calling xx "history" in that-place? "History" study about time long-ago. 39 Time long-ago. Time . . . time long-ago is-that. 40 About plural father our. Stories . . . stories . . . those stories. I don't know. 41 You habit. learned recitations? 42 Even I it-is I even knew it best, at time when I was in school. 43 Type (of) recitation-which is-it you knew at time aforementioned? 44 Uh . . . allow I look-at the-one which I can remember at that-place. Question you know that old-age is-coming? 45 We comp. learned "Take body to work, friend my." 46 "Take body to work friend my!" Aha! I also remember it.

- 47 Nwón kó wa nâ ní irú è. Nwón kó nyín ní iléiwé?
- 48 Njé o lè rántí rẹ? Mo lè gbìyànjú.
- 49 Bóyá ngó mò ó díè . . . Èmi nâ rántí; Ó yá, kà á
- 50 kí ñ wò ó, bóyá o mò ó, bóyá o kò mò ó.
- 51 Dúró ná o. Jé ñ fi owó ha orí díè ná. Bí ó se ló ni èyí.
- 52 "Mú ara sí isé òrè mi. Isé ni a fi ñdi eni gíga. Bí a kò bá rí
eni
- 53 fi èhìn tì, bí òlẹ ni à ñrí.¹ Bí a kò bá rí eni gbékèlẹ, à ñtẹ²
ara mó
- 54 isé eni. Ìyá rẹ lè ní owo ní owó, bàbá sí lè ní esin
- 55 ní èèkàn, bí o bá gbé ojú lé won, o tẹ tán ni mo sọ fún o.
- 56 Ìyà mbò fún omọ tí kò gbón. Ekún mbe fún omọ tí ísá kiri.

Y: I remember it, too. They taught us that kind, too. M: They taught you in school? Y: Can you remember it? M: I can try. Maybe I will recall a little of it. Y: I remember, too. Okay, recite it so I can see whether you know it or not. M: Wait a minute. Let me think first. This is how it goes. "Get to work, my friend. It is work that makes a man important. If we don't find someone to lean on, we look like a loafer. If we have no one to depend on, we work hard. Your mother may be wealthy, and your father may have important possessions. But I tell you, if you depend on them, you will be disappointed. Punishment is coming for the child who is not wise, and the truant will end up in tears.

¹Ni à ñrí is the writer's morphemic interpretation of /làárí/.

²À ñtẹ is the writer's morphemic interpretation of /làáte/.

47 They taught us also xx kind of-it. They taught you in school?

48 Question you can remember it? I can try.

49 Maybe I-will know it a-little . . . I myself remember; it's

time, read it 50 so I look-at it, whether you know it, whether you

neg. know it. 51 Stop first xx. Allow I use hand touch head

a-little first. How it xx goes is this. 52 "Take body to work

friend my. Work it-is we use are-becoming person tall. If we neg.

gen. see someone 53 use back lean-against, as loafer it-is we look.

If we neg. gen. see someone to-depend-on, we press body against

54 work (of) person. Mother your can have money in hand, father

and can have horse 55 at tether, if you gen. put eyes upon them,

you are-disgraced completely it-is I say to you. 56 Punishment

is-coming for child who negative is-wise. Tears are-being for

child who is-running around.

- 57 Mú ara sí isé, òrè mi." Ibi tí mo rántí rẹ́ dé nà nùu o jẹ̀rẹ,
 58 àmó, nńkan tí kiní òhún kọ̀ ènià ni yí, kí a tẹ ara mọ isé
 ní kékeré,
 59 kí òla lẹ́ dára fún wa.
 60 O mà kú àìgbàgbé rẹ! Nlẹ́ o. O kú o tíṣà.
 61 Nkò tilẹ́ mọ pé o lẹ́ rántí òkankan mọ.
 62 Bẹẹ ni. Iwọ tí o tilẹ́ wá mbi mí yí, èwo ni iwọ rántí?
 63 Á! Á! O kò mọ pé èmi ni ògá rẹ? Nlẹ́! Gbogbo èyí tí mo rántí,
 64 ó tilẹ́ pọ́ gan ni! Nkò tilẹ́ mọ èyí tí mo tilẹ́ lẹ́ sọ níisinyí.
 65 Ó dára, sọ fún wa. Jé kí a mọ èyí tí o rántí.
 66 Jé kí n wò ó, èwo ni mo lẹ́ rántí báyi o.
 67 Nkò mọ èyí tí mba kà. Ó tilẹ́ ti pọ́ ní orí mi. Ó njò . . .
 68 Nwón kàn nsọ pé ká mi ká mi ká mi ká mi. Nlẹ́ o!
 69 Ó njò . . . Ó njò ní isalẹ́. Òké, jé kí n rántí òkan.
 70 Eni dá eérú ni eérú tọ.

M: Work hard, my friend." Oh darn, that's as far as I can remember it, but the thing which it teaches people is this, that we should apply ourselves to our work while we are young so that tomorrow can be good for us. Y: Congratulations for remembering it! M: Thank you. I congratulate you, teacher. Y: I didn't think you could remember even one of them any more. M: Whatever you say, you who are coming to question me like this, which one do YOU remember? Y: Hey! Don't you know I am your boss? M: Good boy! Y: I remember so many of them, I don't even know the one I can say now! M: Okay, tell us. Let's see which one you remember. Y: Let me see, which one can I remember now . . . I don't know which one I should recite. My head is so full of them . . . M: It is leaking . . . Y: . . . they just keep saying "Pluck me pluck me pluck me pluck me." M: Oh, boy! It's leaking . . . It's leaking at the bottom. Y: Okay, let me remember one. "Ashes follow the person who pours ashes."

57 Take body to work, friend my." Place which I remember it arrived the-aforementioned is-that xx darn-it, 58 but, thing which thing that teaches people is this, ought we press bodies against work in youth 59 in-order-that tomorrow can be-good for us.

60 You emphatically salutations not-forgetting it! Thank-you xx. You salutations xx teacher. 61 I neg. even know that you could remember one-thing any-more. 62 Thus it-is. You which you even come are-asking me like-this, which is-it you remember? 63 Hey! You neg. know that I am boss your? Rejoinder! All the-ones which I remember, 64 they even abound exceedingly it-is! I neg. even know the-one which I even can say now. 65 It is-good, say to us. Allow that we know the-one which you remember. 66 Allow that I look-at it which it-is I can remember now xx. 67 I neg. know the one which I-should recite. It even has abounded in head my. It is-leaking ... 68 They just are-saying that pluck me pluck me pluck me pluck me. Rejoinder xx! 69 . . . it is-leaking . . . it is-leaking at the-bottom. Okay, allow that I remember one. 70 Person throws ashes it-is ashes follows.

- 71 Èyùn mà gùn! Wěll, kò gùn púpò jù nà.
 72 O kúkú mọ ìwé. Gbìyànjú.
 73 Òké, jé kí ñ wò ó bí mo bá lè rántí.
 74 Èni da eérú ni eérú tò. Eléte ni ète nye. Ohun tí a bá se
 75 ni fýé eni. A kíí gba àkàkà ní ọwọ akíkì. A kíí gba ilé bàbá eni
 76 ní ọwọ eni. Ahéré ni yíó kẹhìn oko. Ààtàn ni yíó kẹhìn ilé.
 77 Àgbà kò sí, ilú bàjé. Baálé ilé kú, ilé di ahoro. Ìmòdò ìbá se
 bí
 78 elédè, á ba ilú jé. Erú ìbá je ọba, ènià kò bá tí kù ọkan.
 79 A kíí ru eran erin ní orí, kí a máa fi esè ta ìrè ní ilé.
 80 Gégé kò mọ eni ọba, ọjò kò mọ eni ọwọ. Ohun tí a bá
 81 sọ sí iwájú ni a ó bá, ohun tí a sì gbín sí ilé ni a ó wà.
 82 Ní ìgbà tí a kò sọ s'iwájú, tí a kò sì gbín s'ilé, kí ni a ó wà?
 83 Ọsé ni nṣáájú ẹkún, àbámò ni nḡba èhìn ọrò,
 84 gbogbo ọtòkùlú pé, nwon kò rí ẹbọ àbámò se.

M: That's a long one! Y: Well, it isn't very long at all. M: Anyway you're smart so go on and try it. Y: Okay, let me see if I can remember. "Ashes follow the person who throws ashes. Whoever plays tricks understands tricks. We understand the things that we do. We don't rob a man of what is rightfully his. We don't take the house of a man's father from that man. The farmhouse will outlive the farm, and the garbage dump will outlast the house. When there is no elder, the town goes to pot. When the father of the house dies, a house becomes empty. If the wart hog acts like a pig, it spoils good countryside. If the slave becomes king, there will be no one left. We don't carry elephant meat on our heads and use our toes to search for crickets in the ground. Goiter is no respecter of persons, and rain is no respecter of persons. The thing which we throw to the front will meet us, and whatever we plant in the ground we will harvest. When we don't throw to the front and we don't also plant in the ground, what shall we reap? There is no use crying over spilled milk, and regret follows ill chosen words. It would be nice if the wise men of the town could gather and not provide sacrifices for regrets."

71 That-one very is-long! Well, it-neg. long very very the-afore-mentioned. 72 You anyway know books. Try. 73 O.k., allow that I look-at it how I gen. can remember. 74 Person throws ashes it-is ashes follows. Trickster it-is tricks are-knowing. Thing which we gen. do 75 it-is is-knowing a-person. We neg.-habit. take "akaka" from hand (of) "akiki." We neg.-habit. take house (of) father (of) a-person 76 from hand (of) a-person. Farmhouse it-is will outlast farm. Garbage-dump it-is will outlast house. 77 Elder neg. is, town is-spoiled. Father (of) house dies, house becomes empty. Wart-hog if-it does like 78 pig, it spoils town xx. Slave if-he becomes king, person neg. gen. xx remain one. 79 We neg.-habit. carry meat (of) elephant on head, and we be using toe hunt cricket in ground. 80 Goiter neg. know person (of) king, rain neg. know person (of) respect. Thing which we gen. throw to front it-is we will pick-up, thing which we and plant in ground it-is we will harvest. 82 At time when we neg. throw to-front, when we neg. and plant in-ground, what is-it we shall harvest? 83 Hissing it-is is-preceding tears, regrets it-is is-getting back (of) words, 84 all elders gather, they neg. find sacrifice (of) regrets to-do.

- 85 Á! Mo ti gbàgbé.
- 86 Mo ti gbàgbé. O tilẹ̀ gbìyànjú!
- 87 Mo ti fi je èbà. O gbìyànjú! O kò mò pé odún
- 88 tí a ti kó o ti pé ni? Odún wo ni iwo kó tìe?
- 89 Jẹ n wò ó ná . . . ó mà ti tó odún mēwǎ ní ìisìn yí.
- 90 Tèmi ti ju bée lo. Ó ju bée lo o, òpònú.
- 91 O kò ri? Mo ti nparí, àbí o kò rí ni?
- 92 Ó ju bée lo. O kò mò pé odún mēwǎ sí ìisìn yí,
- 93 o ti wà ní gòfment kóléjì nígbà nà?
- 94 Òtító mà ni! Èmi nà ndi arúgbó bò nnu.
- 95 Odún mēwǎ sí ìisìn yí jẹ 1954. O wà ní klas túù nígbà nà,
- 96 tàbí klas tríí. Òtító mà ni! Ó ti tó odún mēédógún.
- 97 Wěll, kò ye kí a sọ wí pé "òpònú" ní ìgbà nà . . . òtító ni!
- 98 O tilẹ̀ yín mí léèkan! . . . torí pé tí o bá lè rántí
- 99 ohun tí o se ní odún mēédógún sí èhìn, ó ye kí ènìà kí ó kan sárá sí o.

Y: Ah! I have forgotten. I've forgotten. M: You certainly did well! Y: I've gotten rusty. M: You did well! Don't you realize that you learned it a long time ago? Y: When did you learn yours? M: Let me see first . . . it's been ten years now! Y: It's been longer than that for me. It's longer than THAT, you blockhead. M: Don't you see? I'm getting bald, can't you see? Y: It's more than that. Don't you know that ten years ago, you were in the government college? M: You're right. Even I am becoming very old. Y: Ten years ago was 1954. You were in class two at that time, or class three. M: That's true! It's more like fifteen years ago. Y: Well in that case, it isn't right that we should call you blockhead . . . M: That's right! Thank you, teacher! For the first time you praise me! Y: . . . because if you can remember the things which you did fifteen years ago, it is more fitting that people should commend you.

85 Ah! I have forgotten. 86 I have forgotten. You even tried!
87 I have taken eaten food-made-from-cassava-flour. You tried! You
neg. know that year 88 which we comp. learned it comp. been-long-
gone it-is? Year which it-is you learned yours? 89 Let me look-at
it first . . . it even has equalled years ten at moment this.
90 Mine has surpassed that gone. It surpasses that goes xx, block-
head. 91 You neg. see? I comp. am-balding, or you neg. see is-it?
92 It surpasses that goes. You neg. know that years ten from moment
this, 93 you comp. were at government college at-time that?
94 Truth emphatically it-is! I myself am-becoming old-person come
is-that. 95 Years ten toward moment this is 1954. You were in
class two at-time that, 96 or class three. Truth emphatically it-
is! It has equalled years fifteen. 97 Well, it-neg. befit that we
say that "blockhead" in event that . . . Truth it-is! You salutation
xx teacher! 98 You even praise me once! . . . because if you gen.
can remember 99 thing which you did at year fifteen toward back,
it befits that people that he shake hand toward you.

- 100 Òtító ni o! Àà, sùgbón inú iléìwé wa dùn ní ìgbà nà . . .
- 101 Á! Olórún! . . . tí a máań sáré kiri, kí a máa ta ìdò,
- 102 kí a máa ta òkòtó. Tí o bá léétì ní ààrò báyí, tí tíṣà
- 103 bá lù ọ . . . Ègba mà nùu! Ègba!
- 104 Ijọ kan ni nwọn ní kí ñ lọ pọn omi wá ní odò, odò nà jìnnà,
nítorípé
- 105 mo pé kí ñ tó dé sukù. Ojú mi rí, torí garawa omi tí mo rù,
ó wúwo
- 106 tí kò dáa.
- 107 Garawa omi nà tóbi. O kò sì wí fún tíṣà pé nwọn rán
- 108 ọ ní isẹ ni? Njẹ ènyin amáa lọ rẹsì?
- 109 Àa máa sáré, èmi máa fò.
- 110 Èmi máań wò wọn ní! O kò gbó ọle?
- 112 Tí o bá wọ aṣọ funfun báyí, tí o wọ bàtà funfun, wáá dé fílà
sukù,
- 112 a máań kọ "Home, my home . . ." A tún máań kọ orin kan:
- 113 "Ìyá ni olùgbòwọ mi, tí ñtọjú mi ní kékeré. Èhìn rẹ ni ó fi

M: That's the truth! Y: Ah, but in those days life in school was very sweet. M: Oh, God! Y: We used to be running around, we used to be playing with seeds and playing the shell game, and if you are late one morning because of this, teacher would beat you . . . M: That would get a beating every time. Y: A flogging! So one day they said I should go fetch water from the river (the river was far away) because I got to school late. I suffered because the pail of water which I carried was so heavy that it hurt. The pail of water was big. M: Why didn't you tell your teacher that they sent you on an errand? Y: Did you used to go to the races? M: I used to run, and I used to jump. Y: And I used to watch them. M: Don't you hear a lazy man talking? Y: We used to wear our white clothes and put on our white tennis shoes and don the hat of our school and then we would start to sing, "Home, my home . . ." We also used to sing a certain song: "Mother was the receiver of my hand, and it was she that cared for me in my childhood. It was her own back she used

100 Truth it-is ~~xx~~! Ah, but insides (of) school our were-sweet at
time that . . . 101 Ah! God! . . . when we habit. ran about, and
we usually played-with seeds, 102 and we usually played-with
shells. If you gen. were-late in morning like-this, if teacher
103 gen. beat you . . . Beating certainly that-is! Beating!
104 Day certain it-is they said ought I go fetch water come at
river, river the-aforementioned was-far, because 105 I was-late
before I ~~xx~~ reached school. Face my suffered, because pail (of)
water which I carried, it was-heavy 106 that it-neg. was-good.
107 Pail water the was—big. You neg. and say to teacher that they
sent 108 you on errand it-is? Question you usually attended track-
meets? 109 We used-to run, I used-to jump. 110 I habit. looked-
at them it-is! You neg. hear lazy-man? 111 When you gen. entered
clothes white like-this, when you entered shoes white, you-future
put-on hat (of) school, 112 we habit. sang "Home, my home . . ."
we also habit. sang song certain: 113 "Mother it-is receiver-of-
hand my, who is-caring for me in childhood. Back her it-is she used

- 114 pòn mí. Ìyá kú isẹ́ mi. Èmi yíó kǐ ìyá mi 'kú isẹ́'
 115 pèlú ìteríba mò ilẹ̀. Èmi kǒní kọ́ isẹ́ fún ìyá mi mò!
 116 Ndá o, ndá o, ndá o." Àmín o! A gbìyànjú!
 117 Njẹ́ o tún rántí òmíràn? Jẹ́ n gbọ́ ná . . .
 118 Eè, a tún kọ́ ọ̀kan; a máań kọ́ ọ̀kan. "Nígbà tí mo rí ọ̀kọ́ kan,
 119 tí nfò ní òfurufú ní etí èbùte ní ilú kan tí à npè ní Èkó,
 120 enu yà mí púpọ̀, 'gbà mo rí àwọn tí ó wà ní ibẹ̀. Nwón fẹ́ fi mí
 121 rín èrín pé ará oko wo ni èyí? Ní ìgbà tí ó di àṣàálẹ́
 122 mo bá yí sí agbádá mi. Mò ńgba afẹ́fẹ́ lọ ní etí omi ní ọ̀run ni.
 123 Afẹ́fẹ́ o, afẹ́fẹ́ o, afẹ́fẹ́ o." O kú àìgbàgbé!
 124 O gbìyànjú! O tún dàbí èyí tí n tún padà
 125 sí ABD ní ìisìn yí. Gbọ́ ná! Gbogbo àwọn nńkan tí a kó,
 126 `emi mà ti gbàgbé wọn. Tí m bá padà sí ABD,
 127 `emi ni ńgó mǎa fọ́sì! Sà dǎkùn padà sí ibẹ̀!
 128 Mo fi iwo sí ilẹ̀ nùu! `Emi ni ńgó mǎa kọ́ wọn.

to carry me. Mother, thank you for the job of caring for me. I will greet my mother 'greetings for work' with my head bowed down to the ground. I shall never refuse to work for my mother." (Refrain)
 M: Amen! We did it! Y: Do you remember another one? M: Let me think first. Yes, we learned another one. We used to learn one: "When I saw a vehicle that was flying in the air near the port in a town which we call 'Eko,' I was amazed when I saw all the people who were in it. They were laughing at me and saying 'What kind of hick is this?' When it became evening I put on my agbada with great ceremony. I was drinking in the fresh air as I walked near the water that is so big that it looks like the sky. Fresh air, fresh air, fresh air." M: Mr. Memory! You did well! Y: I feel like I should return to ABD right now. M: But listen to me. I surely have forgotten all the things which we used to learn. Y: If I return to ABD, I would be first in the class. M: Oh please return. In that case I have surpassed you. Y: I am the one who would be teaching them.

114 carried me. Mother salutation work (of) me. I will greet mother my 'greetings (for) work' 115 with bowing-of-head onto ground. I neg.-future refuse work for mother my any-more!"

116 (First six words are the refrain of the song.) Amen xx!

We tried! 117 Question you also remember another? Allow me (to) hear first . . . 118 yes, we also learned one; we habit. learned one. "When I saw vehicle a-certain, 119 which was-flying in sky at ear (of) harbor in town a-certain which we are-calling xx Lagos, 120 mouth xxed me plenty, when I saw those who he were in there. They wanted (to) use me 121 laugh laughing say 'inhabitant (of) farm which is this?' At time when it became evening 122 I then entered into agbada my. I was-getting fresh-air go near edge (of) water at sky that. Fresh-air xx, fresh-air xx, fresh-air xx."

You salutation not-forgetting! 124 You tried! It again resembles this which I also return 125 to ABD at moment this. Listen first! All those things which we learned, 126 I emphatically have forgotten them. If I gen. return to ABD, 127 I it-is I-future continuously be-first! Just please return to that-place! 128 I put you onto ground is-that! I it-is I-future continuously teach them.

- 129 O kò fẹ̀ mò pé àgbà ni ti ara rẹ̀ yí sá o?
 130 Ó dàbí èyí tí kí ènìà tún padà.
 131 Òtító ni sá! Tí ènìà bá padà ní lèsìn, kí ó kàn máa lọ gba
 132 e e e e ni ó kàn máa máa gbà jọ. Kòní dùn mó.
 133 Nwón á mà pè ó ní àgbàyà ní iléìwé. Kòní dùn ánywáy.
 134 Sẹ̀ o mò àwọn ọmọ kékèké? Yéà, a ti mò gbogbo rẹ̀ tán.
 135 Á tún máa kọ́ tísà . . . á tún máa kọ́ tísà pé "Ìwọ, tísà,
 136 o kò tilẹ̀ mò ọ." O kò mò ohun tí ò nífẹ̀ ni? Yíó pẹ̀ "Tò,
 137 èwo ni ìwọ kà ní tiẹ?" Sùgbọ̀n ní ìgbà yẹn, à! inú mi máaà dùn,
 138 tí rès kòrs bá dé báyí. Nwón á fún mi ní owó pé kí o fi
 139 ra ráìs, èdò eran àti oríṣíríṣí onjẹ gbogbo, oríṣíríṣí, wàá máa
 140 ra gbogbo rẹ̀, wàá máa já epo sí èwù. Ìgbà tí mo bá dé ilé báyí,
 141 ìyá mi á sọ pé "Á! Ọmọ yí, o tún lọ da epo sí èwù rẹ̀. Báwo ni
 o se se é?

M: But don't you know that you're grown up now? Y: It looks like it would be nice to go back again. M: That surely is true! Y: If someone would return to ABD now, he would continually be getting A A A A, that's all he would be getting. M: It wouldn't be any fun, then. At school they would call you a useless elder. Y: It wouldn't be pleasant anyway. M: Do you know how little kids behave? Y: . . . yes, he would know everything. He would even teach the teacher. (Marni laughed.) Y: He would be teaching the teacher and saying, "You, teacher, you don't even know it." M: You don't know what you're saying, do you? The teacher would say, "Okay, what have you yourself studied?" Y: But at that time, ah! I was very happy when it came time for the track meet and parade. They would give me money and tell me I should buy rice, liver and all different kinds of food. They also said that I would be spilling oil on my clothes. When I got home like this, my mother would say, "Ah! This child! You've gone and spilled oil on your clothes again. How did you do it?"

129 You neg. want (to) know that old-age it-is of body your this
 anyway xx? 130 It resembles this which ought person again return.
131 Truth it-is certainly! If person gen. return at (the)-moment,
 ought he just continuously go get 132 A A A A it-is he just
 continuously continuously gathering together. It-neg.-future
 be-sweet any-more. 133 They will surely call you xx 'useless-elder'
 at school. It-neg.-future be-sweet anyway. 134 Question you know
 plural children little? Yes, we compl. knew all-of-it completely.
135 He again continuously teach teacher . . . he again continuously
 teach teacher that "You, teacher, 136 you neg. even know it."
 You neg. know thing which you are-saying it-is? He-will say "So,
137 which it-is you read regarding your-own?" But at time that,
 ah!, insides my continuously were-sweet, 138 when race course gen.
 come like-this. They will give me xx money say ought you use
139 buy rice, liver meat and different-kinds (of) food all, dif-
 ferent-kinds you-will continuously 140 buy all (of) it, you-will
 continuously spill oil onto clothing. Time when I gen. reach home
 like-this, 141 mother my will say that "Ah! child this, you again
 went poured oil onto clothing your. How is-it you xx did it?

- 142 Ìwọ̀ ni o ó fọ̀ aṣọ̀ yí ní ònì." Sô, ijọ̀ kan ni mo lọ́ tí ó jẹ́ pé
epo dà
- 143 sí ara mi. Ọmọ ọdún mélǝ ni mo tilẹ̀ jẹ́ ní ìgbà yẹn?
- 144 O kò lè ju bíi mǎrǔn mǎfà nà lọ.
- 145 Ní iyá mi bá sọ pé "Fún ara re ni o máa fọ̀ aṣọ̀ yí."
- 146 Ẹ̀gbón ní ìgbà tí mo tún fọ̀ ọ̀,¹ aṣọ̀ funfun wáá di pupa,
147 ó di bròwn . . . Èèbó ni o mà fọ̀!
- 148 . . . torí ñkò fọ̀ ọ̀ mó. Ó ẹ̀ẹ̀ẹ̀ wá mú u ní ó wá fọ̀ ọ̀ fún ara rẹ̀.
- 149 Ẹ̀é ó ẹ̀ mó? Ó mó ní ẹ̀hìn ìgbà nà.
- 150 Wẹ̀ll, kò burú, mo ní iṣẹ́ ẹ̀ṣẹ́ bá yí, jẹ́ kí ñ lọ kàwé mi díẹ̀ . . .
- 151 Wàláì! Ó yẹ ñ yìn ọ̀. . . ẹ̀yí tí a ẹ̀ ìranù yí tó.
- 152 Ẹ̀yí tí o rántí un pàápàá ó yẹ́ kí a yìn ọ̀ fún un.
- 153 Níbo ni ò ńlọ? Kí ni èmi ńṣe tẹ̀lẹ̀? Mo bí² oníranù ni èmi.
- 154 Òké, àá máa rí ara ní ìgbà mǎràn. Ódílâbò o.
- 155 Ódàbò.

You will wash these clothes yourself today." So, one day I was going along and it happened. Oil poured all over me. How many years old was I then? M: You couldn't have been more than five or six. Y: Then my mother said that I would have to wash these clothes myself. But when I washed them, white cloth became brown, they became brown . . . M: That was English you just spoke! Y: . . . because I didn't wash them clean. Then she took them and washed them all over again. M: Were they clean then? Y: They were clean after that. Well, okay, I have work to do now. I must go study a while . . . M: I swear! I ought to praise you. Y: . . . we've had enough of this wasting time. M: You are to be commended for all those recitations which you remember. Y: Where are you going? M: What do I usually do? I am a good-for-nothing. Y: Okay, see you later. M: Goodby. Y: Goodby.

¹/Ní ìgbà tí mo tún/ is compressed to /ńgbà mo tún/.

²/Bí/ is replaceable by and equivalent to /ṣe bí/, 'resemble,' in this context.

142 You it-is you will wash clothes this on today." So, day one
it-is I went when it happened that oil spilled 143 onto body my.
Child (of) years how-many is-it I even was at time that? 144 You
neg. could surpass about five six the-aforementioned go. 145 Then
mother my then said that "For body your it-is you continuously wash
cloth this." 146 But at time when I again washed it, cloth white
then became brown, 147 it became brown . . . English it-is you
just spoke! 148 . . . because I-neg. wash it clean. She just then
took it it-is she then washed it for body her. 149 Question it then
clean? It clean at back-of time the-aforementioned. 150 So, it-
neg. bad, I have work (to) do now, allow that I go read-books my
a-little . . . 151 I-swear! It befits I praise you . . . this
which we do waste-of-time this suffices. 152 The-ones which you
remember them especially it befits that we praise you for it.
153 Where is-it you are-going? What is-it I am-doing ever? I
like do-nothing is I. 154 Okay, we-will continuously see selves
at time other. Goodby xx. 155 Goodby

- 1 Kékeré ni ìmàlẹ̀ tí ńkọ́ ọmọ rẹ ní asọ. Ó ẹtí òwẹ ní o,
- 2 ọyọ́n àgbà, ẹ fi orí jì mí. Òwẹ ní ẹşin ọrọ. Bí ọrọ bá sọrù,
- 3 òwẹ ní a fi ńwá a. Bí àwọn ará ilẹ̀ Yorùbá bá ti bí ọmọ, tí
- 4 ọmọ ná bá ti ńdi àgbà ní nwọn máań kọ ọ ní oríşíríşí ọgbón,
- 5 tí yío ọ ọ di ènià pàtàkì ní ilé aiyé. Ọkan ní inú àwọn nńkan
- 6 tí nwọn máań kọ ọmọ wọn ní pé, kí ọmọ wọn má ẹe bá ẹńikan jà.
- 7 Nwọn máań ọ pé, ìjà kò yẹ ọmọ ènià.
- 8 Àwọn ará ilẹ̀ Yorùbá máań sọ pé, ọmọ tí ó bá jí ní ìjínjì
- 9 ńrọ, tí ó ńjì, èleyùn yío máa jà lọ láíláí ní,
- 10 ọgbón èyí tí ó bá jẹ oníwà tútù, láti kékeré, nwọn rò pé
- 11 bẹẹ ní yío máa ẹe lọ láíláí. Torínà ní nwọn ẹe máań sọ fún
- 12 ọmọ wọn pé, "Í ènià bá gbá ọ ní etí ọtún, kọ ta òsì sí i.
- 13 Tí ènià bá ẹẹ ọ, kí o ká ìka rẹ mewa, kí o tó
- 14 ẹe ohunkóhun, kí o má baà şise." Ẹni tí ó bá lẹ
- 15 yá ara jà, tàbí tí kií gta tí nwọn bá ńlà á ní ìjà,

Whatever one wants to learn, he begins to learn in youth. It sounds like a proverb, elders, please forgive me. A proverb is the bearer of meaning. Every idea is better expressed by a proverb. As soon as the Yoruba bear a child, and as soon as the child has begun to grow up, they teach him different kinds of wisdom which will make him a person of great importance on earth. One of the things which they teach their child is that he should never fight. They say that fighting is not suitable for human beings. The Yoruba say that the child who starts fighting in youth will go on fighting forever. Likewise, it is believed that the man of gentle disposition will be that way all his life. Therefore they usually tell their child, "If someone slaps you on the right ear, turn your left ear to him. If someone offends you, you should count to ten before you do anything, so that you will not act wrongly." The one who is quick to pick up a quarrel, or who isn't agreeable when someone tries to settle a fight,

1 (From) youth it-is Muslims have been-teaching children his xx
much-talking. It resembles proverb it-is xx, 2 you elders, you
use head knock me. Proverb is horse (of) words. If word gen. be-
lost, 3 proverb it-is we use are-finding it. Whenever plural inhab-
itants (of) land (of) Yoruba gen. have born child, when 4 child the-
aforementioned has been-becoming elder it-is they habit. teach him
xx different-kinds (of) wisdom, 5 which it-will make him become
person important in house (of) world. One in insides (of) plural
things 6 which they habit. teach children their is that, ought
child their not do accompany anyone fight. 7 They habit. say that,
fighting neg. befit child (of) person. 8 Plural inhabitants (of)
land Yoruba habit. say that, child who he gen. awakes in early-hours
9 (of) morning, who he is-fighting, that-one continuously fight go
forever it-is, 10 but the-one who he gen. is owner-of-temperament
cool, from youth, they think that 11 thus it-is he-will continu-
ously do go forever. Therefore it-is they do habit. say to
12 children their that "If anyone gen. slap you on ear right, turn
of left to him. 13 If anyone gen. offend you, ought you count fin-
gers your ten, before you ss 14 do anything, in-order-that you not
possibly act-wrongly." Person who he gen. can 15 hasten body fight,
or who never agrees when then gen. are-settling it regarding fight-
ing,

- 16 ni a máań pè ní, "oníjàgbílà." Tí ènià méjì bá jà,
 17 ìbáṣe ọmọ kẹkẹré méjì, tàbí àgbà méjì, ìbáṣe
 18 obínrin méjì, tàbí ọkúnrin kan àti obínrin kan,
 19 ìbáṣe ọkọ àti iyawó, àwọn tí ó bá jẹ àgbàlagbà
 20 ní ilé wọn, tàbí ní àdúgbò wọn, yío pè wọn láti bá wọn
 21 parí ìjà nà. Oríṣí ìjà méjì ni ó wà. Èkíní, àwọn
 22 oníjà méjèjì ṣe gbólóhùn asọ, ní èhìn nà, nwọn sì lè
 23 yan ara wọn ní odì. Oríṣí kejì, àwọn ènià méjèjì lè kọkọ
 24 ṣe gbólóhùn asọ, kí wọn ó sì lu ara wọn. Tí ènià méjì
 25 bá dìmú, tàbí tí nwọn bá jà èṣé, tàbí gídígbò, àwọn
 26 onílájà yío kọkọ bu omi sùrù sí i, kí nwọn ó tó wá pé àwọn
 27 méjèjì jọ, láti . . . a . . . ro ejó . . . láti ro ejó ohun tí
 ó pàdí ìjà nà.
 28 Alábùkúnfún ni àwọn onílájà, nítorípé ọmọ Olórun
 29 ni a ó máa pè wọn. Ní èhìn tí àwọn oníjà bá ro ejó tán,
 30 àwọn àgbàgbà tí ńparí ìjà yío wà dá ejó fún àwọn

that person gets a name which means "a quarrelsome person." If two people should happen to fight, whether it be two small children, or two elders, or two women, or one man and one woman, whether it be husband and wife, those who are elders in their home or in their ward will call them together in order to help them settle the quarrel.

There are two types of quarrels. In the first kind, the two participants do a lot of quarreling and afterwards they may completely ignore one another. In the second type they may first do a lot of quarreling and then they hit each other. If the two people should wrestle or box or knock each other about, the peacemakers will begin by cooling things down before they call the two of them together to have them explain what caused the fight. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." After the quarreling ones have finished stating their cases, the elders who are settling the quarrel will then render a judgment for them.

16 it-is we habit. call xx, "quarreler-who-doesn't-accept-settle-
 ment." If people two gen. fight, 17 whether-it-be children small
 two, or elders two, whether-it-be 18 women two, or man one and wo-
 man one, 19 whether-it-be husband and wife, those who he gen. be
 eldest 20 in house their, or in ward their, he-will call them
 in-order-to accompany them 21 settle fight the-aforementioned.
 Kinds fight two it-is it is. The-first, plural 22 fighters both
 do lots-of-arguing quarreling, in back-of the-aforementioned, they
 also can 23 choose bodies their in-reference-to silence. Kind
 second, plural people both can begin 24 to-do lots-of-arguing
 quarreling, before they will and beat bodies their. If people two
25 gen. wrestle, or if they gen. fight fist, or knock-with-heads,
 plural 26 peacemakers will first pour waters (of) peace onto it,
 before they will xx come call plural 27 both together, in order
 to . . . uh, . . . state case . . . in-order-to state case (of) thing
 which it caused fight the-aforementioned. 28 Blessed-one it-is
 plural peacemaker, because child (of) God 29 it-is we shall contin-
 uously call them. In back-of when plural quarrelers gen. state case
 finish, 30 plural elders who are-settling quarrel will then judge
 case for those

- 31 méjèjì. Ní ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ìgbà, àwọn oníjà méjèjì ni ó máań ní èbi
 32 àti àrẹ̀, sùgbọ̀n èbi tí ẹnìkan lè ju tí ẹnìkejì lọ. Tí ó bá jẹ̀ pé
 33 àgbàgbà mēwǎ ni ó wà ní ibi tí nwọ̀n tí ńparí ìjà, gbogbo
 34 wọ̀n ni ẹnì tí ó bá jẹ̀ àgbàlagbà pátápátá, yíó pé
 35 lẹ̀kẹ̀kan láti sọ sí ọ̀rọ̀ nà. Nwọ̀n máań bèrẹ̀ láti ẹnì tí
 36 ó bá jẹ̀ kékeré pátápátá, dé orí àgbà, sùgbọ̀n ẹnì tí yíó
 37 bá dá ẹ̀jọ̀ nílátì ju àwọn oníjà méjèjì lọ, nítorí pé àrífín
 38 ni kí ọ̀mọ̀dé dá ẹ̀jọ̀ fún àgbà rẹ̀. Fún àpẹ̀júwẹ̀, mo fẹ̀ sọ̀rọ̀ nípá
 39 ìjà kan tí ó ẹ̀se ojú mi. Ní ojọ̀ kan bàbá oníṣẹ̀gùn kan fẹ̀ ra àdó,
 40 ó sì lọ sí ọ̀dọ̀ aládó, ó ní "Èlọ̀ ni ọ̀ nta àdó rẹ̀?" Ìyá aládó sì
 dá a Íohùn,
 41 ó ní "Ṣílé kọ̀kan ni." Bàbá ní "Ṣé ó gba nǎń?" Ní ìgbà tí ìyá
 aládó
 42 kò fọ̀ èsì, bàbá mú àdó ní orí àtẹ̀. Ìyá aládó bá ńké pé

Quite often both of the two fighters have a measure of guilt and innocence, but the guilt of one may exceed the guilt of the other. If it happens that there are ten elders where the quarrel is being settled, they will be called one by one, by the oldest person, to give their opinion on the matter. They usually begin with the youngest and work their way up to the oldest, but the person who gives the judgment must be older than the two quarrelers because it is an insult that a youngster should give a judgment for his elder.

For example, I want to talk about a quarrel which occurred right before my eyes. One day a certain juju man wanted to buy a gourd, so he went to the place of the gourd seller and said, "How much are your gourds?" The lady who was selling gourds answered, "One shilling each." The juju man said, "Is nine pence acceptable?" When the gourd seller didn't answer, the juju man took the gourd from off the plate. Then the gourd seller started shouting and yelling

31 both. In multitudes (of) times, plural fighters both it-is he habit. has guilt 32 and innocence, but guilt of one-person can surpass of second-person go. If it gen. is that 33 elders ten it-is it is in place where they have been-settling quarrel, all 34 (of) them it-is person who he gen. is elder most-of-all, he-will call 35 one-by-one in-order-to speak to matter the-aforementioned. They habit. begin from person who 36 he gen. is young-one most-of-all, reach head (of) elder, but person who he-will 37 gen. give judgment must exceed plural fighters both go, because insult 38 it-is should youngster render judgment for elder his. For example, I want (to) speak concerning 39 fight one which it did eyes my. One day a-certain father juju-man certain wanted (to) buy gourd, 40 he and went to place (of) gourd-seller, he said "At-how-much is-it you are-selling gourds your?" Mother gourd-seller and gave him answer, 41 she said "Shilling one-each it-is." Father said "Question it accepts nine?" At time when mother gourd-seller 42 neg. speak answer, father took gourd from head (of) tray. Mother gourd-seller then was-yelling that

- 43 "Mú àdó mi fún mi." Ní ìgbà tí ọkọ rẹ gbọ ní inú yàrá, ó kàn
jádé ni,
44 ní ó bá fọ bàbá aláḍò ní etí. Ní ìgbà tí nwọn ní kí nwọn ro ẹjọ,
ìyàwó ní
45 ẹlẹ̀ kọkan ni òn ńta àdó, òdodo sì ni pé bàbá yọ owó àdó, tí ó sọ
46 pé kí òn gba nàín, sùgbọ́n inú ti bí òn púpọ̀, tí òn kò fi
47 lẹ́ dá a lóhùn. Ìgbà tí bàbá aláḍò ro ẹjọ, ó ní ìgbà tí òn sọ pé
48 kí ó gba nàín, tí kò fọ ohùn, òn rò pé ó gba nàín ni, ní ó jẹ́ kí
òn
49 mú àdó rẹ. Nwọn ní "Ìwọ, ọkọ, kí ni ọrọ̀ tì?" Ọkọ ní
50 òn rò pé, bàbá ńyọ ìyàwó òn lẹnu, tàbí pé òn lù ú ni, ní ó jẹ́
51 kí òn jáde kí òn wá gba ìjà rẹ. Àwọn àgbàgbà tí ó wà
52 ní ibẹ̀ sì dá ẹjọ pé, ó yẹ́ kí ọkọ bèrè ọrọ̀, kí ó tó jà, àti pé
53 ìyàwó rẹ nílati dáhùn pé òn kò gba nàín ní ìgbà tí bàbá

"Give me back my gourd!" When her husband inside heard the commotion, he came running out and cuffed the native doctor on the ear. Later, when the quarrel settlers asked them to state their cases, the gourd seller said she was selling her gourds at one shilling each. But it is also true that the native doctor bargained for a price, when he asked if nine pence was acceptable. But she was so angry that she could not answer him. When the native doctor stated his case he said that when he asked her if she would accept nine, and she didn't answer, he thought that she accepted nine and thus it was that he took the gourd. Then they said, "Okay, husband, what do you have to say?" The husband said that he thought that the native doctor was troubling his wife or that he was hitting her, and so that was why he came running out to pick up her quarrel. And so the elders who were there gave their judgment that before the husband of the gourd seller started to fight, he should have inquired into the matter, and that his wife should have answered that she did not accept nine pence when

43 "Give gourd my to me." At time when husband her heard in insides (of) room, he just came-out it-is 44 it-is he actually struck father (of) gourds on ear. At time when they said ought they state case, wife said 45 shilling one-each it-is she was-selling gourds, truth and it-is that father pulled-out money (of) gourd, when he said 46 that ought she accept nine, but insides had riled her greatly, so-that she neg. xx 47 could give him answer. Time when father owner-of-gourds stated case, he said time when he said that 48 ought she accept nine, when she-neg. gave answer, he thought that she accepted nine it-is it-is it is that he 49 took gourd her. They said "You, husband, what is words your?" Husband said 50 he thought that, native-doctor was-pulling wife his regarding-mouth, or that he beat her it-is it-is it is 51 that he came-out that he came accepted quarrel her. Plural elders who he was 52 in that-place and gave judgment that, it befitted that husband seek-out matter, before he xx fought, and that 53 wife his must answer that she neg. accept nine at time when father

54 oníségún yọ owó àdó. Bàbá oníségún kòbátí¹ jẹ ẹbi tí ó bá
 55 jẹ pé kò fi ọwọ kan àdó nà. Nítorínà, àwọn mètẹta
 56 ni ó jẹ ẹbi. Tí àwọn mètẹta bá ro inú jinlẹ, tí nwọn sì rántí
 57 ẹkọ tí iyá wọn àti bàbá wọn kọ wọn ní ìgbà
 58 kékeré, kíbátí sí² ìjà. Nítorínà, kò yẹ kí
 59 `enlà kí ó máa bá ara wọn jà o.

the native doctor bargained for the gourd. The native doctor himself would not have been guilty if he had not touched the gourd. Therefore all three of them were guilty.

If those three had thought deeply, and if they had remembered the lessons which their mothers and fathers taught them when they were young, there would have been no quarrel. Therefore, people should not fight with each other.

¹This form is equivalent to and interchangeable with /kibati/ in line 58.

²Si is the negative counterpart of wa, 'is, exists,' and is always accompanied by the negator kò or one of its allomorphs.

54 native-medicine pulled money (of) gourd. Father native-medicine wouldn't-have eaten guilt if it gen. 55 were that he-neg. used hand touch gourd the-aforementioned. Therefore, those all-three 56 it-is he ate guilt. If those all-three gen. stirred insides deeply, if they also remembered 57 lesson which mothers their and fathers their taught them at time 58 of youth, wouldn't-have been quarrel. Therefore, it-neg. befits that 59 people that he continuously accompany bodies their fight xx.

- 1 Kíkọ́ ní mímọ̀, òwè ìjápá. Bí ọmọ́ wá bá tí ńdí àgbà ní ọ́ yẹ kí
a máa kọ ọ ní ọgbọ́n
- 2 àti òyè, kí ọ lè mọ ìwàńhù, kí ara ìta má baà pè é ní aláìlẹ̀kọ́.
Ní ìgbà láíláí rí,
- 3 kí àwọn Èèbó ọ tó dé, kò sí iléìwé, bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní kò sì sí ìwé kíkọ́.
Ọmọ́ ìmàlẹ
- 4 máań kọ kẹwú, bẹ̀ẹ̀ sì ní àwọn yókù máań kọ ifá, ọ̀pẹ̀lẹ̀, àti oríṣíríṣí
nńkan
- 5 mǐràn. Ní ìgbà tí Èèbó dé, ọ dá iléìwé sílẹ̀, láti ìgbà nà sì ní
a tí ńlọ
- 6 sí iléìwé. Ìwé ńkọ́ wá ní ọgbọ́n, kíí sì jẹ́ kí a ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ bọra.
Ní ilẹ̀ wá
- 7 oríṣí iléìwé pàtàkì mẹtá ní ọ wà. Èkíní ní à ńpè ní ẹ̀kọ́ ọ̀fẹ̀.
- 8 Nwọn dá ẹ̀kọ́ ọ̀fẹ̀ sílẹ̀ ní egbajì ọdún ọ́dín méréńdíláádóta.
- 9 Tí ọmọ́ bá tí pé ọdún mǎrún, ọ ní láti fi orúkọ sílẹ̀ fún ẹ̀kọ́ ọ̀fẹ̀, bí

Learning is knowing - proverb of tortoise. As soon as a child has begun to grow up, he ought to be taught wisdom and intelligence, so he may know how to behave, so that outsiders will not call him an ill-bred person.

Long long ago, before the Europeans came, there were no schools, nor was there any book learning. Muslim children learned Arabic studies, and the other children used to learn ifa religion, opele divination, and different types of things. When the Europeans came, they created schools, and from that time we have been going to school. Books teach us wisdom, and keep us from doing manual labor.

In our land, there are three important types of schools. The first we call free education. They created free primary education in 1954. As soon as a child becomes five years old, he must register for free primary education;

1 Learning is knowing, proverb (of) tortoise. When child our gen. has been-becoming adult it-is it befits ought we continuously teach him xx wisdom 2 and intelligence, so he can know proper-behavior, so inhabitants (of) outside neg. might call him xx "an ill-bred-person." At time long-ago formerly, 3 before plural Europeans he xx arrived, neg. was schools, thus it-is neg. and was book learning. Children Muslim 4 habit. learned arabic-studies, thus and it-is, those remaining habit. learned ifa-religion, opele-divination, and kinds (of) things 5 other. At time when Europeans came, he created schools xx, from time the-aforementioned also it-is we have been-going 6 to school. Book is-teaching us xx wisdom, it-never also allows that we do labor manual. In land our 7 types school important three it-is it is. The-first it-is we are-calling xx education free. 8 They created education free xx (in) two-thousand years minus forty-six. 9 When child gen. has equalled years five he must put name onto-ground for education free, if

- 10 bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ, ìjọba lè pe òbí rẹ̀ ní ẹ́jó. Odún mẹ́fà ni ènìà fi lọ sí
iléìwé
- 11 ọ̀fẹ́, ní ẹ̀hìn nà yíó sì gba ìwé ẹ́rí. Ní gbogbo ìgbà, tí ó bá wà
ní ilé-
- 12 ìwé ọ̀fẹ́ nà, àwọn olùkọ̀ rẹ̀ máań kọ ọ ní ìsìrò, àpẹ̀kọ, àwòkọ,
13 Èèbó, Yorùbá, ẹ̀kọ̀ nípa aiyé, imọ̀tótó, àti àwọn oríṣíríṣí nńkan
14 míràn. Ní ẹ̀hìn odún mẹ́fà yí yíó wà lọ sí iléìwé gíga. Oríṣí
15 iléìwé gíga mẹ́ta ni ó wà. Èkíní ni à ńpè ní iléìwé isẹ́ ọwọ̀.
Èkejì ni
- 16 iléìwé ti modern school, ẹ̀kẹ́ta sì ni iléìwé gíga, "secondary
17 school." Bí ènìà bá ẹ̀ mọ̀ ìwé tó ni yíó fi han ibi tí ó
18 lè lọ. Àwọn tí ó bá mọ̀ ìwé tó bẹ̀ẹ̀ tí orí wọn fẹ́rẹ́ fọ̀ ni ńlọ̀ sí
19 secondary school. Odún mẹ́ta ni ìwé ti modern school,
20 àwọn tí ó bá sì lọ sí ibẹ̀ máań ẹ̀bà ẹ̀ isẹ́ olùkọ̀. Ní ẹ̀hìn tí
21 nwon bá jáde tán, nwon lè lọ sí iléèkọ̀ tí nwon ti ńkọ̀ isẹ́
22 olùkọ̀, láti kọ̀ bí a ẹ̀ ńkọ̀ ẹ̀ni. Àwọn tí ó bá sì lọ sí

otherwise, the government may call his parents to court. Children spend six years in free primary education, after which they get a certificate. While one is in primary school, he learns arithmetic, diction, writing, English, Yoruba, geography, hygiene, and other things as well.

After these six years he will then go to high school. There are three types of high schools. The first type is called technical school. The second type is called modern school, and the third is called secondary high school. The school to which a person can go is determined by how intelligent he is. Those who have learned so much that their head is almost breaking go to secondary high school, which takes three years. Those who go there usually become teachers. After they finish secondary high school, they can go to teacher training school, in order to learn how to teach. Those who go to

10 thus it-isn't, government can call parents his regarding law-
 suit. Years six it-is people use go to school 11 free, in back-of
 the-aforementioned he-will also receive paper evidence. At all times,
 when he gen. is at house- 12 book free the-aforementioned, plural
 teacher his habit. taught him xx mathematics, dictation, writing,
13 English, Yoruba, lessons about earth, hygiene, and plural dif-
 ferent types things 14 other. In back-of years six these he-will
 then go to school high. Kinds 15 (of) school high three it-is it
 is. The-first it-is we are-calling xx school (of) work skilled.
 The-second it-is 16 school of modern school, the-third and it-is
 school high, "secondary 17 school." How a-person gen. does knows
 book come-up-to it-is it-will xx show place where he 18 can go.
 Those who he gen. know books up-to thus that head their almost breaks
 it-is are-going to 19 secondary school. Years three is books of
 modern school, 20 those who he gen. and go to that-place habit.
 usually do work (of) teacher. In back-of when 21 they gen. go-out
 finish, they can go to school where they have been-teaching work
22 (of) teacher, in-order-to learn how we do are-teaching people.
 Those who he gen. and go to

- 23 iléiwe ti isé ọwọ lè kọ oríṣíríṣí isé ọwọ. Ó bèrẹ láti
 24 isé gbénàgbénà, tí tí dé orí isé mọkálíkí. Ọdún mẹfà
 25 secondary school ngbà, oríṣíríṣí nńkan ni ènìà sì máań kọ
 26 ní ibẹ. Ní ẹhín ọdún mẹfà ni ènìà yío tò wá ẹ idánwò
 27 iwe kéwá. Àwọn tí ó bá ẹ dádádára jùlọ pátápátá yío lọ
 28 sí iléẹkọ gíga fún ọdún méjì láti gba oyè tí à ńpẹ
 29 ní HSC. Àwọn yókù yío sì jáde lọ, láti lọ
 30 wá isé fún onjẹ òòjọ¹ wọn. Púpọ ní inú wọn máań ẹ isé
 31 akowé, a sì lè rí olùkọ kọkan láàrin wọn. Iléiwe
 32 tí ó ga jùlọ pátápátá ni à ńpẹ ní "university." Àwọn àgbà-
 33 lagbà máań pòwe pé "Èkọ akọkọtán, ìjà ni fádálẹ."
 34 Tí ènìà bá ti wọ iléiwe gíga pàtàkì yí, yío tò ọdún mẹta
 35 kí ó tó gba oyè kíní. Tí ó bá ẹ dádádára ní ẹhín oyè yí, nwọn lè
 36 sọ fún un pé kí ó dúró kí ó gba èkejì. Púpọ ní inú
 37 wọn tí ó bá dúró gba oyè kejì máań dúró gba èkẹta
 38 tàbí èkẹrin, torí pé nwọn máań sọ pé "Bí ẹrú bá pé ní igbó,

technical school learn different kinds of skilled trades, from carpentry to auto mechanics. Secondary school takes six years and different kinds of things are taught there. After these six years a person will come to do the examination of the tenth form. Those who do best of all will go to secondary high school for two years in order to receive a degree which we call HSC. The remainder will leave school in order to find work to support themselves. Many of them become clerks, and a few of them become teachers.

The highest school of all is called the university. The elders often quote the proverb which says "A little learning is a dangerous thing." When a person enters the university, it will be three years before he receives the first degree. If he does well after this degree they will tell him that he should stay on and earn the second. Many of those who stay on to earn the second degree often remain to do the third and fourth degrees, because they are reminded of the proverb which teaches us that "Those who spend longer

¹Isé òòjọ, 'daily work'; onjẹ òòjọ, 'daily bread.'

23 school of work skilled can learn different-kinds (of) work skilled. It begins from 24 work (of) carpenter, up-to reach head (of) work (of) mechanic. Years six 25 secondary school is-receiving, different-kinds (of) things it-is people also habit. learn 26 at that-place. In back-of years six it-is a-person will come-up-to come do examination 27 (of) book tenth. Those who he gen. do well very extremely he-will go 28 to school high for years two in-order-to receive degree which we are-calling 29 HSC. Those remaining will also exit go, in-order-to go seek work for food (of) every-day their. Many in insides (of) them habit. do work 31 of clerk, we and can see teachers one-by-one among them. School 32 which is tall surpassingly most-of-all it-is we are-calling xx "university." Plural elders 33 habit. quote-proverb that "Learning unfinished, quarreling it-is is-causing." 34 If a-person gen. has entered school high very this, it-will equal years three 35 before he equals receiving degree first. If he gen. does well in back-of degree this, they can 36 say to him that ought he remain ought he receive the-second. Many on insides 37 (of) those who he gen. remain receive degree second habit. stay receive third 38 or fourth, because they habit. say that "If slave gen. delay in woods,

39 á sẹ́ igi rẹ́ tó ẹ̀rù." Ní nńkan bí ọ̀dún méeḍógún sí ẹ̀hìn,
 40 gbogbo ọ̀mọ́ iléiṣẹ́ ní ó máań fẹ́ tètè jáde ní iléiṣẹ́ kí ó lè
 41 lọ ẹ́e iṣẹ́. Ẹ̀gbón ní iisín yí, àwọ̀n tí ó ti gba oyè
 42 jàńkàn jàńkàn ti pọ́ tó bẹ̀ẹ́ tí àwà ọ̀mọ́dé fi máań rán ara wa
 43 létí pé "A kíí kánjù tu olúorán, igba rẹ́ kò tó sè ní ọ̀bẹ́."

should get more." About fifteen years ago all the school children
 were eager to get out of school so they could go to work. But now
 the number of people who have earned Ph.D.'s and D.Sc.'s has become
 so great that we young people remind ourselves of another proverb
 which says, "We don't pick mushrooms in a hurry because even two
 hundred of them is not enough to cook up into a soup."

39 he-will gather firewood his up-to big-load." In something like years fifteen toward back, 40 all children school it-is he habit. wanted quickly go-out from school so-that he could 41 go do work. But at moment this, those who he has received degree 42 big big has proliferated up-to thus that we children xx habit. remind bodies our 43 on-ear that "We never hurry pluck mushrooms, two-hundred (of) them neg. equals cook in soup."

- 1 Ní ilẹ̀ Yorùbá oríṣí ìjọba méta ni ó wà. Èkíní ni ìjọba gbogbo
ìwọ̀ oòrùn,
- 2 eléyí ni ó sì tóbi jùlọ̀ pátápátá. Èkejì ni ìjọba ibílẹ̀ tí à ńpè
ní "district
- 3 council." Eléyí lè jẹ́ ìjọba ilú kan, àti àwọn abà kékèké tí ó jẹ́
- 4 àṣọmọgbè rẹ̀. Ní ìgbà míràn ilú kan lè tóbi tó bẹ̀ẹ̀ tí nwon ó fi
pín in sí
- 5 ọ̀nà kékèké, tí ọ̀nà kọ̀kan ó sì ní ìjọba ibílẹ̀ tiẹ̀. Oríṣí ìjọba
- 6 kẹ̀ta ni ìjọba abúlẹ̀, tàbí abà kékèké. Irí ìjọba yí kò jẹ́
- 7 ìjọba pàtàkì nítorípé nwon kíí lo ọ̀fin tí ó wà ní inú ìwé. Olórí
ìjọba irú
- 8 eléyí ni à ńpè ní "baálé" tabi "baálẹ̀." Baálẹ̀ ju baálé lọ,
- 9 ó sì jẹ́ olórí abà tí ó tóbi díẹ̀. Baálé abà kọ̀kan ni ó ní ìgbìmọ̀
- 10 tiẹ̀, ẹ̀gbọ̀n kíí ẹ̀ pé àwọn ènìà kanná ni ó wà ní inú ìgbìmọ̀
- 11 yí ní gbogbo ìgbà. Èyí ni pé, tí baálé bá fẹ́ bá àwọn ènìà

There are three kinds of government in Yoruba land. First, there is the government of the Western Region. This is the biggest of the three. Second, there is indigenous local government which we call "district council." This might be the government of one town and the small villages which are adjacent to it. Sometimes a town may be so big that it will be divided into small parts, each of which will have its own self government. The third type of government is the government of a small town or village. This type of government is not important because no use is made in it of codified laws. The heads of this kind of government are called either "bálé" or "bálẹ̀." Bálẹ̀ is superior to bálé, as he is the head of a village which is very big. The head of each village has his own counselors, but this is not to say that the same people always make up the council. This is to say that if the bálé wants people

Text III

T3.1 - 11

1 In land Yoruba kinds government three it-is it is. First it-is government all setting sun, 2 this-one it-is also is-big surpassingly greatest. The-second is government native which we are-calling xx "district 3 council." This-one can be government (of) village one, and plural villages small which it is 4 neighbor (of) it. At time other, town one can be-big up-to thus that they will xx divide it into 5 parts small, which part one-by-one it also has government local of-its-own. Type government 6 third is government (of) small town, or village small. Type government this neg. is 7 government important because they never use laws which it is in insides (of) book. Heads (of) government type 8 this-kind it-is we are-calling xx "baale" or "baale." Baale exceeds baale goes, 9 he also is head (of) village which it is-big a-little. Baale (of) village each it-is he has counselors 10 of-his-own, but never does that those people same it-is it is in insides (of) council 11 this at all times. This is that when baale gen. wants accompany plural people

- 12 dá àmòràn, yío pé gbogbo àwọn àgbàgbà tí ó bá lè
 13 rí àyè wá láti wá sí ẹ̀dẹ̀ rẹ̀, a sì lè sọ pé gbogbo àwọn àgbàgbà
 14 abúlé kan ni ìgbimọ̀ baálé. Oríṣíríṣí ni iṣẹ́ tí baálé máań ẹ̀
 15 sún abà rẹ̀. Òn ni aláṣẹ gbogbo abà, àti pé gbogbo ohun
 16 tí ó bá sọ ni abẹ́ ké. Tí ìjà bá ẹ̀lẹ̀ láàrin ìdílẹ̀ méjì, òn ni
 yío
 17 parí rẹ̀ pẹ̀lú àwọn ìgbimọ̀ rẹ̀. Ní ìgbà kọ̀kan aléjo kan lè wá
 18 sí abúlé rẹ̀ láti sọ nàkan fún un tàbí láti sọ nàkan tí ìjọba
 19 ìbílẹ̀ tàbí ìjọba pátápátá ti ìwọ̀ oòrùn fẹ́ kí abà nà kí ó ẹ̀.
 20 Ní èhin tí ojísẹ́ ọba bá ti lọ tán, baálé yío ẹ̀ alágogo rẹ̀, yío
 sù sọ
 21 pé kí ó júde kí ó lọ sọ fún àwọn ará abà ohun tí ojísẹ́ ọba
 wí. Ní ìgbà tí alágogo bá júde, yío lu aago rẹ̀ lẹ̀mẹ̀ta, "Ko ko
 ko,"
 22 yío sì wí pé "Tótó arére, baálé ní kí a sọ fún nyín pé, ní ọjọ́

to advise him, he will call together all the elders who have time, and so in a sense it is true that all the elders of a village are the council of advisors for the bálé.

The bálé does different kinds of work for his village. First of all, he is the central authority figure, as in the proverb, "Whatever he says, goes." If a quarrel ensues between two households, he is the one who will settle it with his council of advisors. Sometimes a visitor may come to his village to tell him something which the district council or western regional government wants the village to do. After the government messenger has gone, the bálé will call his herald, and will instruct him to go around to all the people of the village delivering the message of the government messenger. As the bálé's messenger goes, he will ring his bell three times, "Ding ding ding," and say, "Hear ye, hear ye. Bálé announces that

12 give judgment, he-will call all plural elders which he gen. can
13 find chance come in-order-to come to place his, we and can say
that all plural elders 14a (of) village one are counselors (of)
baale. Different-kinds it-is work which baale habitually does
14b for village his. He it-is authority (of) village, and that
all things 15 which he gen. says it-is knife cuts. If quarrel gen.
happens among households two, he it-is will 16 settle it with
plural counselors his. At times one-by-one a-certain visitor can
come to village his in-order-to say something to him or to say some-
thing which government 18 indigenous or government most-important
of setting sun wants that village the-aforementioned that it do.
19 In back-of when messenger (of) king gen. has gone finished,
baale will call messenger his, he-will also say 20 that ought he
go-out ought he go say to plural inhabitants village thing which
messenger (of) king 21 said. At time when messenger gen. goes-out,
he-will strike bell his three-times, "Ding, ding, ding," 22 he-will
also say that "Excuse-me silence, baale said ought we say to you that,
on day

- 23 kejì ọ̀sẹ̀ tí mbò ni àwọn ọ̀mọ́dẹ̀ nílátì fì orúkọ sílẹ̀ fún ẹ̀kọ́
 24 ọ̀fẹ́, àtì pé gbogbo àwọn ọ̀mọ́dẹ̀ tí ó bá tì di àgbà tó látì
 25 lọ sí iléìwé nílátì fì orúkọ wọn sílẹ̀. Ẹ̀nikéni tí kò bá
 26 fì orúkọ ọ̀mọ́ rẹ̀ sílẹ̀ ní ọ̀jọ́ kéjì ọ̀sẹ̀ tí mbò, olúwa rẹ̀ yíó bá
 27 ìjọba ilẹ̀ ìwọ̀ oòrùn wọ̀ ẹ̀kòtò kanná pọ̀ o." "Ko ko ko." Ní ìgbà
 tí ó bá
 28 kiri gbogbo abà tán, yíó padà sí ilé baálé, yíó sì lọ jẹ́ ọ̀sẹ̀ fún
 29 baálé pé ọ̀n tì ẹ̀ gbogbo ohun tí baálé rán ọ̀n fún wọn.
 30 Ní ìgbà tí baálé bá fẹ́ kí àwọn ẹ̀nà abúlẹ̀ rẹ̀ ẹ̀ ǹkankan, fún
 ire abà
 31 rẹ̀, bákanná ni ó ẹ̀ ńsọ́ fún wọn. Àwọn diẹ̀ ní inú àwọn ǹkan
 32 tí baálé lè fẹ́ kí àwọn ẹ̀nà kí ó ẹ̀ ni ǹkan bí ọ̀nà yiyẹ̀, odò
 33 gbígbẹ̀, owó didá, òde ẹ̀sẹ̀, àtì àwọn ǹkan bẹ̀ẹ̀ bẹ̀ẹ̀ lọ.
 34 Tí ọ̀ba bá kú, ọ̀ba ni ńkù, ẹ̀gbọ̀n kílí ẹ̀ pé ìdílé kanná

on the second day of the coming week, children must register for free primary education, and all the children who are of age to go to school must register. Whoever fails to register his child on the appointed day must answer to the government of the Western Region." "Ding ding ding." When he has finished going all around the village, he will return to bálé and report that he has delivered the message as he was instructed. Bálé sends his messenger around in the same way whenever he wants the people of the village to carry out a project for the good of the community. A few of the things which bálé might want the people to do are things like clearing the right-of-way, river dredging, money collecting, night watching, and things like that.

There is a saying which says "Even though the king dies, another king immediately takes his place." This isn't to say the same clan

23 second (of) week which is-coming it-is plural children must put names onto-ground for education 24 free, and all plural children who he gen. has become old up-to to 25 go to school must put name their on-ground. Whoever who neg. gen. 26 put name (of) child his on-ground on day second (of) week which is-coming, owner (of)-him will accompany 27 government land (of) setting sun enter pants same together xx." "Ding ding ding." At time when he gen. 28 around all village completed, he-will return to house (of) baale he-will also go deliver message to 29 baale that he has done all things which baale sent him for them. 30 When baale gen. wants that plural people (of) village his do anything, for good (of) village 31 his, in-same-way it-is he does is-saying to them. Plural few on insides (of) plural things 32 which baale can want ought plural people ought he do is things like path clearing, river dredging, money collecting, night watching, and plural things thus thus go.

34 When ruler dies, ruler it-is is-remaining, but never does that clan same

- 35 ni ñjẹ baálé ní gbogbo ìgbà. Ní ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ìgbà ẹnì tí ó bá jẹ
àgbàlagbà
- 36 pátápátá ni nwọn fi ñjẹ baálé. Kíí gba owó isẹ, bí ó tilẹ jẹ pé
- 37 ọ̀n ni aláákọ̀so gbogbo abà rẹ. Sùgbọ̀n ọ̀n nà mò pé
- 38 nùkan pàtàkì ni kí ẹ̀nà jẹ aláákọ̀so abà rẹ, torípé
- 39 àwọn àgbàlagbà máań pòwe pé "Àgbà kò sí, ìlú bàjẹ; baálé ilé kú,
40 ilé di ahoro." Ní isájú mo sọ pé kíí lo ọ̀fin inú ìwé àtí pé ohun
41 tí ó bá sọ ni abẹ́ gé. Ọ̀n ni adájọ, ọ̀n nà sì ni agbejọ̀rò.
- 42 Kò sí iyàn, bẹẹ ni kò sì sí ẹ́jọ̀ kòtẹ̀nlọ̀rùn. Sùgbọ̀n ó jẹ ohun
43 ìdùnnú fún àwa ọ̀mọ̀ ilẹ̀ Yorùbá pé àwọn ẹ̀nà máań gbọ̀ ọ̀rọ̀
- 44 sí baálé wọn ní ẹ̀nu. Nítorínà, pẹ̀lú ayọ̀ àtí ìdùnnú ni àwọn
45 ará abà fi fíba baálé wọn se isẹ̀ pọ̀.

produces a bǎlé all the time. Most of the time, it is the oldest man who becomes bǎlé. He does not receive financial remuneration even though he is the central unifying figure of all his village. He himself knows that it is very important that someone should be the central figure of his village, because of the proverb which says, "When there is no elder, the town is spoiled; if a bǎle of a house dies, the house becomes empty." A moment ago I said that he does not use laws which are codified in books and that whatever he says, goes. He is the judge and he is the lawyer. There is no argument, and therefore there is no case of "I am not satisfied." Finally, it is a happy thing for us sons of Yoruba land that people seldom argue with their village leaders. Therefore, it is with happiness and pleasure that people usually work together with their village chief.

35 it-is is-being baale at all times. In multitudes-of times person
 who he gen. is eldest 36 most-of-all it-is they take are-making
 baale. He-never receives money (of) work, if it even is that
37 he it-is central-unifying-person (of) all village his. But he
 himself knows that 38 thing important it-is that a-person be cen-
 tral-unifying-person (of) village his, because 39 plural elders
 habit. quote-proverb that "Elder neg. is, town spoils; baale (of)
 house dies, 40 house becomes empty." In front I said that he-never
 uses laws inside books and that thing 41 which he gen. says it-is
 knife cuts. He it-is judge, he himself and is lawyer. 42 Negative
 is argument, thus it-is neg. and is case (of) "I'm-not-satisfied."
 But it is thing 43 (of) sweetness for us children (of) land Yoruba
 that plural people habit. hear words 44 to baale their in mouth.
 Therefore, with happiness and pleasantness it-is plural inhabitants
 village xx are-accompanying baale their do work together.

- 1 Iṣé ọwó ni iṣé tí àwọn ènià máań kó, pàápàá ní ìgbà tí nwọn bá wà ní
- 2 kékeré, kí nwọn ó lè baà ní iṣé dárádára ní ọwó ní gbogbo ìgbà ní èhìn
- 3 tí nwọn bá di àgbà. Àpèjúwe iṣé ọwó ni àwọn bí aṣọ híhun, ilé ríré,
- 4 àdìrẹ rírẹ, ọkò èrò wíwà, àti iṣé àgbèdẹ. A máań sọ pe,
- 5 àwọn aláàrù àti oníṣé bọra kò ní iṣé ọwó.
- 6 Èyí ni pé, iṣékíṣé tí ènià kò bá ti kó, kí ó sì gba iwé ẹrí ni
- 7 à npè ní iṣé bọra. Kíí ṣe iṣé tí ènià bá ti ṣe tí ó sì nlàágùn nìkan
- 8 ni iṣé bọra.
- 9 Púpọ ní inú iṣé ọwó ni ó la agbára lọ; àpèjúwe ọkan ni iṣé gbénàgbèná.
- 10 Àkókò iṣé kíkọ yàtò fún oríṣíríṣí iṣé. Òmíràn lè gba ọdún méjì
- 11 tàbí méta, àwọn olóṣù mērin sí mēfà nà sì wà.

Skilled labor is work which people learn, particularly when they are young so that they always have a good job after they have grown up. Examples of skilled labor are things like cloth weaving, house plastering, cloth dyeing, passenger car driving, and blacksmithing. We usually say that porters and people who do manual labor do not have skilled jobs. This is because any work which a person does not learn and for which he does not receive a certificate is what we call unskilled labor. It isn't that work which involves exertion alone is unskilled labor. Many skilled jobs require or involve strength. One example is carpentry.

The period of time it takes to learn a job differs from one kind of work to another. One may take two or three years, but there are also those which take only four or six months to learn.

1 Work (of) hand it-is work which plural people habit. learn, especially at time when they gen. are in 2 childhood, so-that they will be-able might have work good in hand at time all in back-of 3 when they gen. become adults. Examples (of) work (of) hand are those such-as cloth weaving, house plastering, 4 cloth dyeing, vehicle passenger driving, and work (of) blacksmith. We habit. say that 5 plural load-carriers and workers unskilled neg. have work (of) hand. 6 This is that, any-job which person neg. gen. has learned, and it and receives paper certificate it-is 7 we are-calling ~~xx~~ labor unskilled. It-never does work which people gen. have been-doing which it also involves-exertion only 8 is work unskilled. 9 Many on insides (of) work (of) hand it-is it involves strength goes; example one is work (of) carpenter. 10 Period (of) work learning differs for different-kinds-of jobs. Some may take years two 11 or three, those of-months four to six also and are.

- 12 Bí iṣẹ́ bá ẹ̀ ẹ̀oro sí, ẹ̀ẹ̀ ní àkókò kíkọ̀ rẹ̀ ẹ̀ máań gùn sí.
 Ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ẹ̀nià
- 13 máań kọ̀ iṣẹ́ méjì tàbí mẹ́ta. Irú àwọn ẹ̀ẹ̀ máań rí iṣẹ́ ní ìgbà
 gbogbo.
- 14 Nwọn lẹ̀ ẹ̀ iṣẹ́ kan ní àárọ̀, kí nwọn ó sì ẹ̀ òmíràn ní ẹ̀sán, tàbí
 ní alẹ́.
- 15 Iṣẹ́ bí aṣọ̀ hínhun máań gba àsìkò, nítorípé ó pín sí ọ̀nà púpọ̀ -
 16 bí ọ̀wú ríran, ọ̀wú títa, ọ̀wú kíká, ọ̀wú ríre, àti ọ̀fì hínhun.
 Ẹ̀ni tí ó bá
- 17 ńkọ̀ iṣẹ́ ọ̀fì hínhun, a máań pè nwọn ní ọ̀mọ̀ iṣẹ́ olófì. Ẹ̀ni tí ó
 bá rẹ̀ kọ̀
- 18 iṣẹ́ aṣọ̀ hínhun nílátì kọ̀kọ̀ kọ̀ ọ̀wú títa, ọ̀wú kíká, kí ó tó kọ̀
 aṣọ̀ hínhun.
- 19 Ní ìgbà púpọ̀, bàbá àti ọ̀mọ̀ máań ẹ̀ iṣẹ́ aṣọ̀ hínhun àti pé ìyàwó
 tún lẹ̀ ran
- 20 ọ̀kọ̀ rẹ̀ lówọ̀ láti rẹ̀ ọ̀wú, tàbí láti ta aṣọ̀ tí nwọn bá hun.

How difficult a job is determines how long it takes to learn it. Many people learn two or three jobs. Such people seem to have work all the time. They can do one job in the morning and then another job in the afternoon or evening.

A job like cloth weaving takes a long time to learn because it divides into many different operations, such as spinning thread, stretching the thread out on stakes, winding it onto spools, dyeing it, and weaving it on the loom. The person who learns how to weave cloth on a native loom is called the weaver's apprentice. Whoever wants to learn how to weave cloth must learn how to stretch the thread, then wind it on spools before he comes to learn the actual art of weaving. Many times, a father and child do the weaving and the man's wife may help her husband to dye the cloth or to sell the cloth which they have woven.

12 How work gen. does is-hard to, thus it-is period (of) learning it
does habit. is-long to. Multitudes (of) people 13 habit. learn
work two or three. Types those thus habit. get work at times all.
14 They can do job one in morning in-order-that they will also do
another in afternoon, or in evening. 15 Jobs such-as cloth weaving
habit. receive long-periods, because it divides into ways many -
16 such-as thread spinning, thread stretching, thread winding,
thread dyeing, and loom weaving. Person who he gen. 17 is-learning
work (of) loom weaving we habit. call them xx child (of) work (of)
weaver. Person which he gen. wants (to) learn 18 work cloth
weaving must first learn thread stretching, thread spinning, before
he equals-to learn cloth weaving. 19 At times many, father and
child habit. do work cloth weaving and that mother also can help
20 husband her xx to dye cloth, or to sell cloth which they gen.
weave.

- 21 Ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ènìà máań bẹ aláṣọ òfí ní irú aṣọ tí nwọ́n bá fẹ́, kí
 22 ó tó hun ún fún wọ́n.
- 23 Ìlù lílù jẹ ọ̀kan ní inú iṣẹ́ tí a máań pè ní iṣẹ́ àgbè, a sì tún lè
 24 pè ní iṣẹ́ ọwọ́, nítorí pé ènìà nílátí kọ ọ kí ó tó mò ọ. Oríṣíṣí
 ìlù ní ó wà,
- 25 bí àwọ́n kan bá kọ gáńgan, àwọ́n mǐràn lè kọ bàtá, ìlù gidi, sákàrà,
 tàbí
- 26 bẹ̀mbẹ́. Ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ní inú àwọ́n onílù máań lù ní ìgbà tí nwọ́n kò bá
 ṣe iṣẹ́ mǐràn.
- 27 Èyí ní pé nwọ́n kíí fí ṣe iṣẹ́ ìgbà gbogbo.

Many people ask the weaver for the kind of cloth that they want so that he can weave it for them.

Drumming is one of the jobs which we call the work of a begger, but one could also say that it is skilled labor because a person must learn it before he knows it. There are many different kinds of drums, and if one person learns the gangan, another learns the bata, the "real drum," the sakara, or the bẹmbẹ. Many of those people who drum, practice their skill when they are not doing any other work. This is due to the fact that they do not work all the time.

21 Multitudes-of people habit. ask dealer-in-cloth native-loom
for type cloth which they gen. want so-that 22 he comes-to weave it
for them. 23 Drum drumming is one in insides-of jobs which we habit.
call xx job (of) mendicant, we and also can 24 call xx work (of)
hand because person must learn it before he comes-to know it.
Different-kinds-of drums it-is it is, 25 if plural certain gen.
learn gangan, those others can learn bata, "real drum," sakara, or
26 bembé. Multitudes on insides-of those drummers habit. drum at
time when they neg. gen. do work other. 27 This is that they never
use do work time all.

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