ASPECT IN YORUBA AND NIGERIAN ENGLISH

By

TIMOTHY TEMILOLA AJANI

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This work is dedicated to the loving memory of:

Jim Sharp, Jr.:

From the heavenly grandstands
I know you wear a proud grin at the
conclusion of this work;

and

My late father, Jacob Ajani,
who taught me how to read and write Yoruba at home
while living in a foreign country;

And to

My mother, Rebecca Madandola Ajani,
who has endured many years of my absence from home
while I pursued my education from one institution to another and
from one nation to another.
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Explanation of Glossary

- YL: Yoruba language
- YSL: Yoruba as a second language
- YVP: Yoruba verb phrase
- 1pP: first person plural
- 1pS: first person singular
- 2pP: second person plural
- 2pS: second person singular
- 3pP: third person plural
- 3pS: third person singular
Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ASPECT IN YORUBA AND NIGERIAN ENGLISH

By

Timothy Tèmilọlọ Ajànì

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Chair: Dr. M.J. Hardman
Major Department: Linguistics

Yorùbá, has, for the most part, been analyzed by earlier grammarians from the perspective of English, thus leading to an English-oriented analysis of the language. This study presents a strictly aspect-based analysis of Yorùbá and its application to Tútùolá’s work and Nigerian English. Twelve identified aspects are subdivided into two main categories comprising five simple and seven complex aspects.

This dissertation makes an original contribution to Yorùbá grammar by its presentation of Yorùbá as an aspect-based language, rather than a tense-based one, as previous analyses have often tended to suggest. A closer look at Tútùolá’s English reveals that many of the idiosyncracies of his language are a result of the unconscious transfer of the aspectual system of his native Yorùbá into the English of his writings. What this shows is that in Nigeria, the Yorùbá language has influenced the way English is written and interpreted. Data from The Palm-Wine Drinkard, My Life in the Bush of Ghosts, and The Brave African Huntress, three of Amos Tútùolá’s earliest novels, were used to demonstrate this important influence on the work of Tútùolá, a native of Yorùbáland who,
in choosing to write in English, also chose not to leave behind many of the features of his first language.

The implications of this study are several. At the disciplinary level, the study affords the opportunity to capture linguistic data as they develop and to provide fresh insights into the internal workings of the Yorùbá verb phrase in general and aspectual relations in particular. These insights enhance our understanding of the Yorùbá language as a linguistic system. The study has implications for the history of the English language. The study also leads to an understanding that language contact is a two-way process. When two languages come into contact, mutual influences at various levels of grammar and usage are inevitable.

At the national and international levels, our understanding of the language of Tútùolá’s work can affect the way English is taught in nations where English is a second language. Our understanding also can affect the way Yorùbá is taught to speakers of English as a first language. The results of this study also have general implications for the theory of second language learning and teaching and for the science of language in general, as it could lead to a better understanding of the role the mother tongue plays in the acquisition of a second language in non-native contexts.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief historical and linguistic background to Yorùbá—the people and the language—and Nigerian English (NE). It answers the following pertinent questions: who are the Yorùbá? (§1.1); what does the Yorùbá language look like? (§1.2); how did the English language get into Nigeria and Yorùbáland in particular? and finally, how do both languages interact within the linguistic and socio-cultural environment in which they co-exist? (§1.3). The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the major themes of subsequent chapters.

1.1 The Yorùbá People

The Yorùbá are a group of people whose identity is linked by common origins: a common ancestry to Odùduwà; a common language—Yorùbá; and a common historical link to the ancient city of Ilé-Ifè as cultural and spiritual headquarters and cradle of the race (cf. Ajani 1998: 12-13). All the groups of people who consider themselves as Yorùbá also identify themselves by these three common bonds. Apart from ancestry and language, all Yorùbá peoples also share a great similarity in culture and religious background.

Today most of the Yorùbá occupy southwestern Nigeria. Smaller communities exist in the neighboring republics of Benin and Togo to the west. Yorùbáland thus encompasses three different nations, with different modern histories. Benin and Togo, for example, were colonized by the French, while Nigeria was colonized by the British during the colonial period. Thus we find
Yorùbá people today who use French as an official language (those in Benin and Togo) while others use English (in Nigeria). There is also a strong Yorùbá cultural presence in Sierra-Leone (home of the late Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who laid the foundation for Yorùbá studies by translating the Bible and John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* into Yorùbá and by writing the first dictionary and orthography of the language). Here the descendants of Yorùbá freed slaves who were resettled after abolition of the obnoxious trade in human beings still bear Yorùbá names and carry on Yorùbá culture. The Yorùbá language made the greatest contribution to the grammar, vocabulary and sound systems of the Krio (Creole) language of Sierra-Leone, the principal lingua franca of this tiny West-African coastal nation (UNESCO 1985). Today, about 25-30 million Yorùbá people live in Yorùbáland, with probably several million more in the diaspora around the world.

Although Oyewùmí (1997: 29-30) argues that Odùduwà, ancestor of the Yorùbá is represented as female in some accounts, in Yorùbá folklore he is generally considered to be the son of Olódùmarè, the Creator and life-giver, the all-knowing, all-powerful and self-existent God who lives in the skies from where he rules over all of creation with the help of the Òrìsà or lesser gods who also serve as his intermediaries. As for Olódùmarè, Oyewùmí observes that as a god this mythic figure could not have had gender.

According to the legend, it was Odùduwà who created dry land from the huge mass of water after his older brother, Obàtálá failed, through negligence, in the commission given to him by Olódùmarè. It is also believed that Odùduwà molded the first human shapes out of clay. Furthermore, Odùduwà’s sixteen sons (cf. Oyewùmí 1997 for more detailed discussion on the genderization of Yorùbá) were sent out to found and to govern the various cities and kingdoms that constitute present Yorùbáland. So strong and central is the figure of
Odùduwà to the identity of the Yorùbá that they fondly refer to themselves as "Omo Odùduwà" (children, or descendants of Odùduwà). In fact the ancestors of modern day Yorùbá people did not always refer to themselves by this name, nor even consider themselves as one people, although they had much in common.

The origin of the name “Yorùbá” itself is still shrouded in obscurity. It is, however, believed to have been conferred on the Yoruba people by their Hausa neighbors to the north who used to refer to the people of the old Oyo Empire as the “Yariba.” Europeans then appropriated this name and began to use it to refer to all the speakers of the Yoruba language. The present generalized application is a result, then, of further extension. In fact, for a long time only the Oyó people were referred to as Yorùbá. The other Yorùbá groups bore their own distinct names (such as Ijèsà, Ekiti, Egbá, Ijèbú, etc.) until the language became standardized by missionary-linguists in the nineteenth century, at which point it came to be applied to all of Odùduwà’s descendants.

Apart from the name Yoruba, Oduduwa’s descendants were called by several other names before the current name Yoruba arose. In the past, Europeans called them the “Akú,” a word derived from Yoruba greetings, most of which begin with “E kú” or “A kú”. This label was originally used to describe the freed slaves from Yorubaland who were later resettled in Sierra-Leone. Their Hausa neighbors to the north still call them by the name “Yorubawa.” Once, the Yoruba were also referred to as the “Eyó,” a term obviously derived from “Oyó.” In the diaspora, enslaved Yorubas were referred to as “Nago” in Brazil and “Lukumi” in Cuba. “Nago” is a derivative of the name of one of the twenty Yoruba groups known as the Anago. “Lukumi” is a word derived from the Yoruba phrase “Olùkù mì,” meaning “My friend.”
Lukumi also has become a generic name in Cuba where it has some other variants such as Licomim, Ulkumi and Ulkami.

Although oral history puts the origins of Ilé-Ifé at around 8 B.C., linguistic and archaeological evidence suggest that the Yoruba emerged near the Niger-Benue confluence some 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. From here, it is believed, they migrated to their present location between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Historians tell us that a powerful Yoruba kingdom already existed in Ilé-Ifé by the eighth century: one of the earliest in Africa south of the Sahel region.

The Yoruba are among the most urbanized people in Africa. For centuries before the arrival of the British colonial administration most Yoruba already lived in well structured urban centers organized around powerful city-states (ilú) centered around the residence of the oba (ruler). In ancient times, most of these cities were fortresses, with high walls and gates. Yoruba cities always have been among the most populous in Africa. Recent archaeological findings indicate that Oyó-ilé, capital of the Yoruba empire of Oyo that flourished between 1000 and 1840 A.D. had a population of over 100,000 people (the largest single population in Africa at that time in history). For a long time, Ibadan, one of the major Yoruba cities, was the largest city in the whole of western Africa. Today, Lagos, another major Yoruba city, with a population of about eight to ten million, remains the second largest in Africa, apart from being the main commercial and economic nerve center of Nigeria and the entire West-African sub-region. It also was the political capital of Nigeria for decades, until very recently when a new capital (Abuja) was founded in the center of the country.

The Yoruba are traditionally an agricultural people, as their environment in conducive to farming. The Yoruba evidently, have always
lived in large cities. Each city usually is surrounded by an elaborate network of farmlands (oko) around which villages (abúlé) developed. Each city-dwelling family generally also had a farm in the village. Although most Yoruba people live in the villages, the city is considered the center of civilization, culture and religion. Each year village dwellers go back to their respective cities for annual religious festivities and social celebrations. Carnivals in Brazil and other places in the Yoruba diaspora probably originated from these annual festivals (Abimbola 1998: 36). The annual Osun Festival of Osogbo has now become an international event that attracts people from all over the world, especially people from the diaspora.

Traditionally, most Yoruba women specialized in commercial activities such as marketing and trading. While the men did most of the farming, the women bought produce from farms and sold it at the markets. They also sold cloths woven by the men as well as tie-dyes made by the women. This middle-person role played by the women generally made them wealthy and financially independent. For this reason, Yoruba women do not fit the usual traditional Western definition of a wife and a mother. Part of the role of a wife and mother among the Yoruba is that of provider, which subsumes economic activity and financial independence.

Although traditionally the Yoruba are agricultural people, today the Yoruba could be found engaged in practically all forms of modern day professions, ranging from education to medicine, arts and science to cutting-edge high-tech jobs in technology and the computer industry. In fact, the first African and black person to win the prestigious Nobel Prize in Literature, Wole Soyinka, is Yoruba. Though Soyinka’s English is elegant and complex in the usual sense, it is also distinctive in its use of Yoruba structures and discourse features.
The Yoruba also are known around the world for their artwork. Their naturalistic bronze and terra-cotta sculptures are found in museums all over the world, among them the famous Ifè heads. So remarkable were the sculptures produced in Ile-Ife that when the German ethnographer, Leo Frobenius, visited Ile-Ife in 1911, he could not believe what he saw with his eyes and made up stories that they must have been the relics of the lost city of Atlantis. Today, it is believed that these great works of art must have been created by Yoruba sculptors. It is also no longer a hidden fact that some of these great works of art were imitated by some of the great European artists.

The Yoruba are probably best known around the world for their traditional religious belief system based on a pantheon of Òrìṣà (lesser divinities). Yoruba traditional religion consists of a pantheon of two hundred one (or four hundred one, according to other accounts) Òrìṣà. Names of the well-known deities are Ogún, Sàngó and Ifá or Orùnmílà, Other major deities include Osun, Oya and Yemoja, Òbàtálá or Òrìsànlá, Sònpònná, Elà and Esù. The Yoruba believe that Olodumare, the creator of all Òrìṣà and humans, is too powerful to be worshipped directly by mere mortals. Thus they need the intermediary role of the Òrìṣà, who are considered to be much closer to humans. becomes apparent. The orisa are thus seen as the mediators between Olodumare, the high God and mortals.

The worship of some of these deities was transported across the Atlantic during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 1800s, during which time many Yoruba people were forcefully uprooted to the New World as slaves for plantation owners of European descent. This resulted in a large Yoruba diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean, where Yoruba culture and religion is still very much vibrant and active, especially in places like Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, as well as in more recent revivals in the
United States. These enslaved Yoruba took along with them their traditional religious beliefs and married these to Catholic Saints to produce such syncretic belief systems as Santería (in Cuba and the Caribbeans) and Candomblé (in Brazil). In Cuba, for instance, the enslaved Africans superimposed Catholic saints on Yoruba deities to hide their true religious practices from their brutal slave masters and missionaries. In the United States, it is estimated that more than a million people in the Northeast alone practice some form of Yoruba religion with more than 5,000 stores selling Santería paraphernalia (Honebrink 1993: 46). Today New York and Washington D.C. remain a vibrant center of Yoruba religious activity. In South Carolina, Oyótunjí Village (Oyó has revived) stands as a constant reminder of the ongoing Yoruba renaissance in the United States of America.

Although Yoruba religion spread its influences beyond Yorubaland and Africa, the Yoruba also embraced other religions, especially the two major world religions, Christianity and Islam. The Yoruba are tolerant of other religions, opinions, and ideas. Therefore it is not surprising that right now most Yoruba people embrace Christianity and many have converted to Islam. Just as new adherents embrace Yoruba religious beliefs, so have the Yoruba themselves been open to new religious ideas from other parts of the world. There is peaceful co-existence among people of different religious persuasions. Often Christian and Muslim Yorubas also practice their family religious traditions, side by side with their adopted religions. Yoruba Muslims often go to church functions with their Christian friends and relatives and vice versa. In fact, I know of a Yoruba couple in Gainesville. The husband is a Catholic and the wife is a Muslim. Each of them still practice their different religions. They have been happily married for more than twenty years now and have four well adapted children. A Yoruba proverb says “Esin-in baba kò
"le gbomo là," meaning the religious beliefs of the father cannot save the children. The wisdom of this proverb, in essence, is that we each must seek our own salvation.

Finally, the Yoruba are also known for their rich and vibrant literary tradition, especially their oral poetry which has attracted literary luminaries from around the world. Yoruba oral literature is rich in proverbs and wise sayings that reflect the values, hopes and aspirations of its people. Much respect is given to old age among the Yoruba because the elderly are believed to be the repositories of wisdom and knowledge. Old age is thus highly revered among the Yoruba. In fact, probably the most important prayer that an older person can say to a younger one is “O máa dàgbà darúgbó” (You shall grow old and be full of years). Since the Yoruba are very religious, prayers play a very important part in day to day communication, activities, and interactions. Probably Yoruba religion and culture are the two most important contributions of the Yoruba to world civilization. Every civilization and culture undergoes changes over time and Yoruba is no exception. Their culture and civilization have undergone changes and modifications over the years, from both internal dynamics and external pressures. Such were the imposition of European rule on Yorubaland during the colonial era and the introduction of both Islam and Christianity at different times of their history. The Yoruba have used all of these challenges and experiences to better their lot and to advance their own civilization, adopting some changes that they consider as progressive while throwing away others that are not viewed in positive light.
1.2 The Yorùbá Language

Yoruba belongs to the Yoruboid group of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages, which cuts across most of sub-Saharan Africa. It is the largest of the five main language families of Africa. The others are Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Khoisan and Austronesian (mainly in the island nation of Madagascar). About half the population of Africa speak a language belonging to the Niger-Congo family. Other groups in this family include the Atlantic and the Kordofanian group of languages.

Yoruba is demographically and culturally the most important language of the Gulf of Guinea. Spoken by more than 25 million people, it was one of the earliest west African languages to have a written grammar and dictionary. The first known written document in Yoruba appeared in 1819. It was a vocabulary primer containing the numerals 1-10 and was published by the German linguist, Bowdich. A more substantial list of vocabulary appeared some nine years later in 1828 when Hannah Kilham published a collection of vocabularies from thirty African languages while sojourning in Sierra-Leone between 1827 and 1828. This was followed by the first recorded text and dictionary in 1843. The former was a Yoruba translation of Luke 1:35, a sermon text of the Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a priest-linguist working under the aegis of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The first dictionary was also the work of Bishop Crowther. He also produced the first grammar and vocabulary in 1853 and the first translation of the Bible in 1856, the same year in which the first Yoruba periodical also appeared. This was followed in 1875 by the first standardized orthography (which remains essentially unmodified today), issued by the CMS, under the supervision of Samuel Crowther.

The Reverend and later Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who became instrumental in the codification of the Yoruba language and was by far the
most fervent contributor to early Yoruba studies, was himself a Yoruba native. Enslaved and later liberated by the British Navy in 1821, Ajayi resettled in Sierra-Leone, as did other West-Africans after the British empire abolished the trade in humans. In Sierra-Leone, where many of the returning ex-enslaved were of Yoruba origin, Samuel Crowther became a missionary for the CMS of England. He was baptized in 1825 by John C. Raban, a German missionary working for the CMS who also christened the young Ajayi as Samuel Crowther. Raban exerted a profound and lasting influence on the young Crowther. His influence allowed Crowther to play a key role in moving the center of the study of the Yoruba language from Sierra-Leone to Yorubaland itself in a CMS-led missionary effort to christianize the Yoruba-speaking areas of western Africa. The effort to transform Yoruba from a mainly spoken language to a written one was not the effort of one person alone. It was an international effort mostly led by European missionaries whose main purpose was to transmit the Judeo-Christian religion and culture. Apart from Samuel Crowther and his mentor, Raban, several other European missionary-linguists as well as other Yoruba-speaking people were involved. The significance and implications of this European missionary-linguist-led effort and its effect on Yoruba grammatical analysis are discussed further in the next chapter. This was the seed of the English-based analysis that later returned to haunt the grammatical analysis of the Yoruba language.

As one of the three largest groups of languages (classified as “national languages” in the constitution) in Nigeria, Yoruba is spoken by more than 20% of the population of Nigeria (the largest single black nation on earth), a country with a population of about 120 million people. The two other national languages are Hausa and Igbo, both of which are also regional languages in the north and southeastern parts of the country. In fact, Hausa is the most
widely spoken language within the West-African sub-region, followed by Yoruba (although the latter also is used as language of religious rites and communication outside the African continent). “Standard” Yoruba itself is an amalgamation of several dialects, essentially the dialects of Oyo, Ibadan, Abeokuta and Lagos, major activity centers of early CMS missionary activities, making Yoruba itself a koiné (Fagborun 1994), a process involving dialect mixing, levelling, and simplification (Trudgill 1986: 127, Siegel 1987: 186-7).

Apart from the standardized koiné, there are twenty other dialects of Yoruba: Oyó, Ijèshà, Ifè, Ijèbú, Ondó, Owó, Owú, Egbádò, Òhòrì, Igbóminà, Sábe, Gbede, Egbá, Akókó, Anàgó, Bini, Yagbá, Ekiti, Ikàlè and Awóri. These dialects are largely mutually intelligible, albeit with some variations in vocabulary and phonology and were largely spoken by different groups of people who, though tracing their descent to their common progenitor (Odùduwà), did not consider themselves as one people. In fact, these groups belonged to different kingdoms and empires that fought each other in the past for various purposes, including territorial expansion. The term Yorùbá itself was used to refer solely to the people of the old savannah empire of Oyó by their northern neighbors, the Hausa, who referred to them as the “Yariba” and later on as “Yorubawa.” Thus, the term “Yoruba,” first used by a neighboring people to refer to the Yoruba, is itself most likely not of “Yoruba” origin. Although there are several dialects of Yoruba, it is important to mention that my discussions and examples in this analysis shall be based on the so-called “standard” Yoruba. This is the only variety referred to as “Yoruba” and the only variety taught in schools in Yorubaland and abroad. It is the language of the media and of official government business. It also is my native language.

I have provided a brief historical background to the Yoruba language. I now return to its identifying features, especially as these features relate to its
phonology, morphology and syntax. In doing so, I follow established orthographic conventions which involves adding diacritics and two tone marks with subscript dot to the Roman alphabet system.

1.2.1 Phonology

As shown in Table 1.1, standardized Yoruba segmental phonemes are as follows. There are seven oral vowels and five nasalized vowels. The oral vowels are /i, e, e, a, o, o, and u/; with e and o orthographically notated as e and o respectively. The nasalized vowels are /in, en, an, on, and un/. Orthographically they are represented as vowel + n when immediately after an oral consonant (e.g. sünk, pünk) and as a simple vowel when they are immediately after a nasal consonant (e.g. mò, nà). Thus, with the exception of /e/ and /o/ all the vowels have nasalized counterparts. Long vowels are represented by a doubling of the vowel, as in têéré ‘slender,’ dêédé ‘exactly,’ etc. It is important to note that nasalization is phonemic in the language; thus there is a difference in meaning between ‘ri’ ‘to sink’ and ‘rin’ ‘to walk’; between ‘sí’ (DIRECTIONAL) and ‘sín’ ‘to sneeze’.

There are certain restrictions on the occurrence and co-occurrence of vowels. Vowel initial nouns, for example, cannot begin with /u/ or a nasalized vowel. There are two basic patterns of vowel harmony in the language. First, the mid vowels e and o cannot cooccur with the mid vowels e and o as the following examples indicate: òsê ‘week’, èsê ‘foot’, òkò ‘husband’, ètè ‘lip’, epo ‘oil’, etc. The following combinations are not allowed: *oCo, *oCe, *oCo, eCe, etc. Similarly, front and back vowels may also not cooccur in monomorphemic CVCV sequences: àbúrò ‘younger sibling’, ahéré ‘hut’, òkiki ‘fame’, etc.

Although tones are not represented in Table 1.1 they are also phonemic in Yoruba and bear a considerable functional load. The lexical importance of
tones is due to the role they play in differentiating between sets of lexical items. They are also of grammatical importance because of the role they sometimes play in grammatical distinction. These two features are discussed more fully in later sections. Yoruba has an open-ended syllable structure. That is, all syllables end in a vowel (which could be either an oral or a nasal vowel). The language does not permit consonant clusters (note that orthographic gb, as in gbà in the example below, is not considered a consonant cluster but a unit phoneme doubly articulated). Phonologically, a syllable consists of a vowel nucleus with an optional consonant onset: o ‘second person singular subject pronoun’, ilé ‘house’ (V-syllables); ga ‘to be tall’, gbà ‘to take’ (CV-syllables); tân ‘to be finished’, tàn ‘to spread, scatter’ (CV-syllable with a nasalized vowel nucleus). A syllabic nasal constitutes a syllable in its own right, it cannot have an onset. A syllabic nasal can occur only medially (as in Ogédèngbè ‘name of a person’) and initially (òkó ‘where is?, where about?’), but not finally, and must be homorganic with the following consonant. The nucleus of a syllable assimilates to a nasal onset in terms of nasality; thus a vowel after a nasal consonant automatically is nasalized.

There are three contrastive level tones: high (´), low (´) and mid (generally unmarked, but if it is necessary to mark it, then a macron (˘) is placed over the syllabic nucleus, as with the other two tones). Although these contrastive tones are level, phonetic contours occur in some environments. For instance, a low tone immediately after a high tone is realized as a rising tone (as in ówà ‘she exists’, wón sùn ‘they slept’). Similarly, a high tone immediately after a low tone is realized as a rising tone: iwe ‘book’, òre ‘friend’; The functional importance of tones becomes obvious from the following example sets of lexical items, distinguished in meaning solely by the difference in tone marking: mú (to take), mu (to drink), mù (to be deep); rá (to
vanish), ra (to knead), rà (to buy/be rotten); igbà (time, period), igba (two hundred), igbá (calabash), igbà (climbing rope), igbá (locust tree), etc. The only thing differentiating meaning in the words above is the tone. Note that a distributional restriction does not permit vowel-initial nouns to begin with a high tone. With the sole exception of this restriction, tonal co-occurrence is largely free in Yoruba nouns (rf. Comrie 1990 for further discussion).

As for the consonants, four basic places of articulation are distinguished in the language: bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. In addition to these, there are two doubly articulated stops in Yoruba—the labial-velar stops—represented as p [kp] and gb [gb] respectively. The four voiceless fricatives are: f (labial), s (alveolar) and h (glottal). The palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] is written as a dotted /s/ (i.e. ʃ). There are five sonorants: m (bilabial nasal), l (alveolar lateral), r (alveolar tap), y (palatal glide), w (velar glide), plus a syllabic nasal whose representation varies depending on the environment. It is realized as a velar when followed immediately by a vowel, as in ‘n ò rà’ [ŋ ò rà ] (I didn’t buy/I won’t buy). When it is followed by a consonant, the syllabic nasal is homorganic to the following segment, although in the written tradition this has been fossilized as a simple n, as in ‘Mò m bò’ (generally written as [mò n bɔ]) (I am coming/I was coming); ‘Mò n lo’ (I am going/I was going). There are five stops: b (voiced bilabial), d (voiced alveolar), t (voiceless alveolar), g (voiced velar) and k (voiceless velar), plus two doubly articulated labial-velars, as mentioned above and a palatal stop: [dʒ] simply written as /j/. The voiceless labial-velar also is represented orthographically as a simple /p/, since there is no voiceless bilabial stop counterpart in the language.
1.2.2 Morphology

The obligatory categories in Yoruba are syntactic while the derivational categories are mainly morphemic. There are two main processes of word formation, viz prefixation and reduplication. Nouns can be derived from verbs in several ways. Prefixes deriving agentive nouns from verbs include a-, ò- and olù-. Of these three, the a- prefix is the most productive while ò- is the least productive. A- is generally prefixed to a verb phrase (VP) to derive a noun of the order ‘one who does something’, as in apeja ‘fisherperson’ (literally one who kills fish: a + pa + eja), akọrin ‘singer’ (one who sings songs: a + kọ + orin) or an object that performs an action, as in abe ‘knife’ (that which cuts: a + be), ata ‘pepper’ (that which stings: a + ta).

The prefix ò- harmonizes with its base VP to produce two variants: ò- and ò-. For instance òṣiṣẹ ‘worker’ (one who works: ò + se + iṣẹ), but òmọwé, ‘a Ph.D. holder’ (one who knows book: ò + mọ + iwé). Examples of derivations with olù- include olùgbàlà ‘savior’ (one who saves: olù + gbàlà), olùpèsè ‘one who provides: olù + pèsè), olùdámòràn ‘counselor’ (one who counsels: olù + dámòràn), etc.

Prefixes that form abstract nouns from VPs include i- and à- as in imọ ‘knowledge’ (the art of knowing: i + mọ), irètí ‘hope’ (the art of expecting: i + retí); àlo ‘going’ (the art of going: à + lo), àsè ‘banquet’ (the art of cooking: à + sè). These prefixes sometimes form nonabstract nouns: idi ‘bundle’ (the art of binding: i + di), itàn ‘story, history’ (the art of spreading: i + tàn). Other prefixes include àtì- and ài- both of which are used to derive either infinitives or gerunds. While àtì- is used to derive affirmative forms, ài- is used mainly in the derivation of negative forms: àtísísẹ ‘to work, working’ (the art of doing work: àti + se + iṣẹ), àtilọ ‘to go, going’ (the art of going: àtì + lọ); àinisẹ
'joblessness' (the state of not having a job: àì + ní +iṣé), àísùn 'vigil' (the state of not sleeping: àì + sùn), etc.

Reduplication is another way in which new words are formed in Yoruba. Although there are just two basic types of reduplication--complete and partial reduplication, this process is also highly productive. Complete reduplication is used mainly to express either intensification: púpó 'many, much' but púpópúpó 'very many, much' or it can be used to change grammatical categories; dára 'be good' (verb) but dáradára 'good'(adjective). Another form of complete reduplication is the one that derives an agentive nominal from a VP: jagunjagun 'warrior' (fight war fight war: já + ogun), kólékólé 'burglar' (steal/gather house: kó + ilé). Partial reduplication is used to derive a noun from a verb. Generally, the initial consonant of a verb is copied and then followed by a high-toned [i] as in lilo 'going' (lo 'go), síše 'doing' (še 'do'), etc. (cf. Comrie 1990).

1.2.3 Syntax

Syntactically speaking, Yoruba is a highly configurational language. The basic word order is subject + verb + object (SVO). Noun phrases (NP), verb phrases (VP) and prepositional phrases (PP) are head-initial (i.e. the head of a phrase comes at the beginning. Examples (1-2) below show the basic word order typology of Yoruba.

(1) Olú rà kèkè.
Olú buy bicycle
'Olú bought a bicycle.'

(2) Mo ní iwé.
I have book
'I have a book.'

Both objects of a verb with more than one object follow the verb, with the second object preceded by the semantically empty preposition ní.
(3)  *Mo fún Táyé ní owó.*  
I give Táyé PREP. money  
‘I gave Táyé some money.’

Also when a verb has a verbal complement, the complement follows the verb.

(4)  *Mo rò pé o kúrú.*  
I think that you be+short  
‘I think that you are short.’

(5)  *Mo mò pé Kíké mówé.*  
I know that Kíké know+book  
‘I know that Kíké is brilliant.’

Adverbials generally are post-verbal (6-7), although a small number precede the verb (8-9).

(6)  *Bádé sanra púpò,*  
Bade fat/big plenty/a lot  
‘Bade is very fat/big’

(7)  *Gbêmí dúdú gan an.*  
Gbêmí is+dark very/really  
‘Gbêmí is very/really dark.’

(8)  *Bábá têtè dé.*  
Father quickly arrive  
‘Father arrived quickly.’

(9)  *Mo sèsè lọ.*  
I just go  
‘I have just gone.’

Aspect markers are pre-verbal. These markers are the object of the next chapter and will be discussed in further detail.

(10)  *A ti jí.*  
We RELATIONAL wake up  
‘We have awakened/We are awake.’

(11)  *Olú n’ lọ sí ilé-iwé.*  
Olú INCOMPLETIVE go DIRECTIONAL school  
‘Olú is/was going to school.’
Yes-no type questions are formed by placing either Sé, or Njé at the beginning of the sentence or bi at the end:

(12) Sé o ni owó?
    INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE you have money
    ‘Do you have money?’

(13) Njé o ni owó?
    INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE you have money
    ‘Do you have money?’

(14) O ni owó bi?
    You have money INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE
    ‘Do you have money?’

Since NPs are head-initial (as discussed earlier), adjectives, determiners, demonstratives and relative clauses appear post-nominally.

(15) Ilé pupa
    House red
    ‘Red house’

(16) Ilé náá
    House that
    ‘That house’

(17) Eyé tí mo rí
    Bird that I see
    ‘The bird (that) I saw.’

One cannot bring this section on the structure of Yoruba to a close without touching briefly on the subject of serial verbal constructions (SVC) in the language. As is the case in many languages of the Kwa group, in Yoruba it is possible for strings of VPs to appear one after the other without an intervening conjunction or subordinator. SVCs are so common in Yoruba that it is practically impossible to discuss the VP at any length without having to address the issue of SVCs. In fact, they are one of the hallmarks of the VP in Yoruba.
The SVCs exhibit very interesting properties, as can be observed in the examples below.

(18) *Mú un wá!*
    Bring it come
    ‘Bring it (here)!’

(19) *Mo gbé e lo.*
    I carry it go
    ‘I took/carried it away.’

(20) *Títí ta igi fún Tolú.*
    Títí sell wood give Tolú
    ‘Títí sold Tolu some wood.’

In examples (18) and (19), the second verbs (wá, lo) indicate the direction in which the actions performed by the subjects took place. Both the first and second verbs point to the action of one and the same subject. In (20) the second verb (fún) refers or points to the object of the benefactor of the action referred to by the first verb. However, it is also possible to have an SVC construction of this type in (18) and (19) where the subject of the second verb becomes the object of the first verb. In that instance, it is the object of the verb (ti ‘push’) who suffers the consequence of the action and not the subject (as in the last two examples). Such is the case in example (21) below.

(21) *Pàdé ti mí lulè.*
    Pàdé push me hit+ground
    ‘Pàdé pushed me down.’

It is also possible to have two transitive verbs combined in the same SVC construction. In such cases the serial verb sequence will have two object NPs, as in (22) and (23) below.

(22) *Tàfá pòn omì kùn àmù.*
    Tàfá draw water fill pot
    ‘Tàfá filled the pot with water.’
In many instances, however, the object NP separating the two transitive verbs is also the object of both VPs.

(24) *Kànmì se iṣu tà.*
Kànmì cook yam sell
‘Kànmì cooked yam to sell.’

(25) *Mo ra bùrédi jẹ.*
I buy bread eat
‘I bought bread to eat.’

In both of the above examples, the NPs (iṣu) and (bùrédi) are the objects of the verbs that both precede and follow them. There are many other types of serial verb constructions than those given above. However, since serial verbs are not the object of this dissertation, it will be impossible to give an exhaustive analysis of this very interesting topic in Yoruba syntax. Neither will it be necessary, especially since a lot of indepth analyses have already been carried out by others (cf. Bamgbósé 1966, 1967, 1995, Awóbúlúyi 1967, Awóyalé 1988).

Although it is quite obvious from the brief summary of Yoruba grammar given above, it will be pertinent to point attention to the fact that articles, grammatical gender (cf. Oyewùmí 1997 for a more detailed discussion of the imposition of gender on Yoruba through translation tradition based on English), number, and inflection are not relevant to Yorùbá. This is not to say that Yorùbá is “deficient” or “lacks” some things in its grammatical make-up. It only means that Yorùbá emphasizes different things than English or any other language for that matter. This issue will be revisited in the next chapter.
1.3 The Dynamics of Yorùbá and English in Nigeria

In this final section of my introductory chapter I will present a brief overview of the complex dynamics of Yoruba and English within the socio-cultural and political context of Nigeria. First, I will give a brief history of how the English language came into what has come to be known as the present day Nigeria and how this has affected English and Yoruba and how both languages are used in Nigeria today.

English was officially introduced into Nigeria with the arrival of British merchants on the west coast of Africa during the 17th century. During most of this time English was confined to the coastal areas with which the British did legitimate trade and later on the obnoxious trade in humans. The type of English used then was a mixture of English words with West African syntax (mostly of the Kwa group of languages, to which Yoruba belongs). It was this variety of English that later on developed in what is today known as Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). The need for communication between European merchants and their Nigerian counterparts gave birth to this form of communication, a compromise speech of sorts, between the English-speaking British merchants and their Nigerian trading partners who spoke indigenous languages. Thus NPE was already widely spoken along the coast before the coming of the colonial administration. However, what is today known as “standard” Nigerian English (NE) did not emerge until the arrival of the Christian missionaries who began to establish schools for purposes of religious instruction. The preceding colonial administration did not see the need to educate their African subjects in their own language. They felt that the compromise that created NPE was good enough for their purposes. It was only decades later that the colonial administration itself began to take some interest in educating their Nigerian subjects, mostly for their own self-serving
reasons and partly because they wanted to wrest the power of educating the people from the hands of the missionaries with whom they were not always on good terms. The missionaries, whose mission was mainly religious and not commercial, established schools and began to formally teach the Africans the English language (Adékúnlé 1985: 18-19). This is what Adekunle calls the first phase in the evolution of NE. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was also the missionaries who began to put the indigenous languages into writing. Names like Raban, Gollmer and Venn come to mind here—all CMS missionary-linguists who were seriously involved in codifying the Yoruba language and who had a great impact on the Yoruba-born missionary-linguist, Bishop Crowther.

The second phase of the establishment of English in Nigeria covers the period from the amalgamation of Nigeria until the time of independence in 1960. It was during this period that the colonial administration got involved in education and began to subsidize the efforts of the missionaries. The colonial government had discovered that it needed some educated Nigerians to help in the smooth running of the State, at least at the administrative level. At this point in time, a number of Nigerians had already had the opportunity to travel and to study in the United Kingdom under the auspices of the Mission Boards. These returned to serve as middle level administrators. Meanwhile, the number of native Britons had also increased in the country. It was during this period that the standardized variety of NE began to stabilize, especially with the establishment of more schools, as teachers began to teach a standardized form of English in preference to the Pidgin English that had already spread beyond the coastal areas into the far interiors of the country. This could be called the middle period of the evolution of SNE.
The third phase in this evolution extends from the period of self-determination (i.e. independence) until the present. During this phase, most of the stabilizing effort was carried out by Nigerians trained in the UK. Many Nigerians had already been trained as teachers by this time, and it was mostly these British-trained women and men who began to do most of the teaching in the classrooms of Nigeria. It is interesting to note here that these indigenous teachers were adults who already spoke several Nigerian languages before they began to learn English. They could therefore not have had native-like accents and could probably not be considered as perfect bilinguals. The English they spoke and taught in the schools was definitely not the English spoken by the monolingual British person. Most of it would have been colored by the native languages that they were already proficient in before they set their foot in the classrooms of England. If SNE developed from these circumstances, it is therefore obvious that SNE cannot by any standards be the same as the so-called "Queen's English" (See Ajani 1995, 1996) spoken by the English people. This is not to imply that it was or is inferior, but rather that it is different because it has been shaped by its environment. It must have acquired a lot of indigenous flavor. It must be a localized form of English, tailored to the needs of the Nigerian populace as well as influenced by the languages with which it coexisted, or better said, was in competition with. And I don't use the word "competition" lightly here, because until the post-independence period when nationalistic and forward-looking Nigerian leaders decided to systematically implement a new language policy for the nation, it was a major crime in the schools for any Nigerian child to speak her or his mother tongue. There was therefore a calculated attempt by the colonialists to stamp out the indigenous languages in favor of the English tongue. I can still remember a lot of us being severely flogged during our elementary and high
school education for daring to speak our mother tongue while in school. The rule was simple: English only; or face the dire consequences. It is interesting to note that most of us already spoke two or more languages before setting foot in the classrooms.

Having learnt English under these circumstances, it should not be surprising that early writers like Amos Tutuola chose to write in English. Neither is it surprising that Tutuola’s English and the English of other modern Nigerian writers, including the Nobel laureate, Wole Soyinka and internationally acclaimed novelists like Chinua Achebe, still write in an English that is influenced by it’s writers’ multilingual and multicultural background and experiences.

In Nigeria today, English is still very important and even enjoys much higher status than any of our indigenous languages, including the major lingua francas that had been used as languages of wider communication long before the arrival of the British on those soils. Today, English is still the language of social mobility, although its status has been reduced to that of an official language, as opposed to the three national languages -- Yorùbá, Hausa and Igbo. All four languages now coexist in a diglossic state in the nation, with SNE being used mostly by the educated élite, NPE by the not-so-educated Nigerians who did not have the opportunity to go to college, although practically all the educated élite also are either conversant with or are fluent in NPE as well. They code-switch and code-mix between SNE, NPE and the various local languages that they know. Thus code-switching and code-mixing are a fundamental part of the linguistic environment of Nigeria, as it is in most African languages today.

In the Yorubaland section of Nigeria, children begin their education in Yorùbá and continue to receive all their academic instructions in it for at least
the first three years of elementary education, with English as a subject within the curriculum. After the first three years of elementary education English switches place with Yorùbá and becomes the language of instruction while Yorùbá becomes a subject on the curriculum. This notwithstanding, Yorùbá continues as an academic discipline and is studied up to the doctoral and post-doctoral levels in any of the several universities located within the Yorùbá region of Nigeria. Today, Yorùbá studies is a serious and respectable discipline with many people studying to the Ph.D. level and writing their dissertations entirely in Yorùbá. Several news dailies are written in Yorùbá in the Yorùbá states and there are radio and television programs written and presented entirely in Yorùbá to the more than 20 million potential viewing audience in the Yorùbá-speaking states of Nigeria as well those in neighboring Benin Republic and Togo. Numerous books and articles, theses and dissertations -- on both literary and scientific topics -- have been and still continue to be written in the language.

The Yorùbá are great lovers of education and would leave no stone unturned to better educate themselves and their children because, as the Yorùbá saying goes, “Ekó níí soníí dení giga” (It is education that makes one a person of importance.” Thus, within the Nigerian socio-cultural and political environment, Yorùbá and English continue to march on in peaceful coexistence into the future, at least for now. Just as English has been influenced by Yorùbá because of the historical circumstances that brought both languages together, so has Yorùbá been influenced by English. In fact, today there are many English loan words in the Yorùbá language, as both languages and cultures continue to influence each other as they move on into the future. English is now taught as a discipline up to the doctoral level in Nigerian universities, and all Yorùbá children receiving a formal education
must of necessity learn English. English has permeated all facets of life in this former British colony. It is interesting to add too that the Yorùbá language is not only taught in Nigeria, but also in major British and American universities and in other major universities of Europe. In fact, I have had the privilege of teaching Yorùbá language, culture and civilization to students from all over Europe at the National Institute of Oriental and African Languages (INALCO) in Paris, France. Yorùbá is also one of the major African languages taught and researched at the prestigious London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in England. I am also aware that one of our Yoruba professors from Nigeria (Dr. Olábòdé) now teaches Yoruba in one of the major universities in Japan.

Today, Yorùbá remains one of the most studied and researched African languages. The Yorùbá diaspora, which is mostly a direct result of the forced transportation and relocation of able-bodied Yorùbá women and men from their homeland to the New World, continues to produce and to generate studies on the influence and impact of Yorùbá language, culture, religion and civilization on the rest of the world. In places like Cuba, Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti and the United States, Yorùbá religion and the language of that religion continues to gain loyal adherents and speakers. Similarly, Yorùbá art is being exhibited in major cities of the world as the beautiful handiwork of gifted and talented Yorùbá people continue to gain in prestige and importance, both among the educated élite as well as among religious adherents. Due to the recent economic hardship in Nigeria, there is now a new generation of Yorùbá descendants scattered all over the world, especially in the more economically prosperous lands of the West, the Middle-East and Asia. This generation of new-comers too continues to spread the influence of Yorùbá language and culture into every nook and cranny of the globe, thus
continuing to enrich the culture of our global village in which we all live today.

This brief story of the dynamic relationship between English and Yorùbá within the Nigerian context can serve, I think, as a reminder of the verity of the basic principle of contact linguistics, that language contact is not unidirectional but rather a two dimensional highway. As two languages and peoples come into contact, both languages must of necessity exert some degree of influence on each other, given the right circumstances. Unfortunately, however, sometimes the result is not always the good ending of peaceful co-existence. This is the sad story of many indigenous languages that have suffered death due to the contact they had with some language of power at one point in time or another. Sometimes the languages of the less powerful have not only died, the speakers of such languages have perished along with their languages. Language death is not just something of the past, it is still a sad reality of our time and age. Maybe the kind of study in which I am engaged will continue to serve as a reminder that languages can continue to co-exist, just as people can, and that such peaceful co-existence can benefit not only the people who speak those languages, but also enrich world civilization, culture and language in general. People like Tutuola have not only enriched world culture by sharing the lores of their culture with the rest of the world through the instrumentality of the English language. They also, as part of the process of sharing, enrich language worldwide and the English language in particular.

In the next chapter I focus on the Yorùbá language and especially the structure of the verb phrase and more specifically the dynamics of temporality in the language. I begin my discussion with a brief literature review on time relations in Yorùbá and follow it with a personal reanalysis of
the subject. This prepares the way for a detailed analysis of Amos Tutuola’s English in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I summarize some of the salient issues involved in this study of aspect in Yoruba and Nigerian English and suggest certain implications of this study for both English and Yorùbá, both as they relate to theories of grammar and literary criticism and to teaching English (ESL) and Yorùbá (YSL) as second languages.
CHAPTER 2
ASPECT IN YORUBA

The treatment of aspectual and temporal relations in the Yoruba language (YL) has been fraught with confusion right from the onset of formal analysis of the language. This confusion has a long history. It began with the father of Yoruba linguistics—Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, whose foundational work, *A Grammar of the Yoruba Language* (1852), laid the groundwork for all future grammars of the language. Bishop Crowther's work was modeled meticulously after the analysis of the English language (EL), the language in which he had received all of his linguistic training. He therefore was very careful not to deviate from the English model. Unfortunately, almost a century and a half afterwards, his methodology and basis of analysis by and large still command the adherence of YL linguists. In fact, so strong is the influence of Crowther that even Ayo Bamgbose (considered the "father" of modern Yoruba linguistics) could not escape some of his methods and conclusions (cf. the latter's *A Grammar of Yoruba* (1966) and *A Short Grammar of Yoruba* (1967)).

As an example, most of what Bamgbose analyzed as tense markers are indeed aspect markers, while some of them are actually either modals or elements belonging to other categories in the grammar. For the purposes of this dissertation I will be focussing on elements that belong to aspect but which have been analyzed as tenses. Bamgbose, for instance, classified the INTENTIONAL aspect marker 'yíó' and the ANTICIPATIVE 'máá' as "Future Tenses" and the INCOMPLETEIVE 'n' as "Continuous Tense". He categorized all of
the above aspects under “Simple Tenses”. Interestingly enough, he also classified the INCOMPLETIVE aspect marker ‘n’ (which he had earlier on analyzed as “Continuous Tense”) as a “Habitual Tense,” thus having two different classifications for the same marker. It is to be noted, however, that in languages that mark tense (such as EL) one tense marker cannot be used to refer to two different time frames. Thus “She will come” cannot be both future and past tense at the same time. Moreover, most of what I classify under the rubric of Complex Aspects, Bamgbose classifies as “Perfective Tenses.” Examples include the BACKGROUNDER aspect ‘yíó ti’, which he analyzed as “Perfective Future Tense”; the RELEVANT-INCEPTIVE aspect ‘ti n’, as “Perfective Continuous Tense”; the ANTECEDENT-COMPLETION ‘ti máa n’ as “Perfective Habitual Tense”; and the RELATIONAL aspect (one of the simple aspects) as “Perfective Unmarked Tense”. Although this aspect is overtly marked, Bamgbose, for some reasons, still calls it an unmarked “tense” (Bamgbose 1967: 25-31).

One other interesting aspect of Bamgbose’s analysis is the classification of negation as tense, which led him to classify his “simple tense” into two broad categories of “Positive Tenses” and “Negative Tenses”, as if there were such a thing as negative time. I believe negation to be a completely separate category in the grammar and it should be treated as such, rather than woven into the category of “tenses” or even aspect for that matter. Bamgbose’s analysis is therefore quite unsatisfactory and inadequate in the light of current knowledge. But he is not alone in this. Other linguists before and after him have done similar things that are worthy of mention at this point.

Before Bamgbose, Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1852), the pioneer of Yoruba language studies, had analyzed YL verbs into three main time frames: present, past indefinite, and future. He also identified sex-based gender in YL for
which, as a category, I do not find evidence in the language. Other categories that he proposed occupy a different position in the grammar. Crowther, for instance, tried hard to make tense “happen” in YL by postposing time adverbs such as ‘lánáá’ (yesterday), ‘lónií’ (today), and ‘lóla’ (tomorrow) to verbs and using them to explain tense in YL, claiming that tense is grammatical in the language. The only problem with this kind of analysis is that in YL the form of the verb does not change (as it does in EL, the language he chose for his model). In EL one does not need a time adverbial to indicate tense; rather it is the inflection or change in the verb that brings this about, or in the case of the future tense, the use of a modal.

A number of contemporary Yoruba linguists have recognized this problem and have attempted to handle it in different ways (cf. Awoyale 1974, Bolorunduro 1980, Amoran 1986) but the problem still remains.

Awoyale, for instance, devoted scarcely two pages to this all-important issue of tense and aspect in his dissertation on the syntax and semantics of YL nominalizations. In his attempt, he identified two tense markers in YL--‘N’ and ‘ti’--but went right ahead to describe them in terms of aspect. He called the former a progressive marker and the latter a perfective marker, both of which are terms used in describing aspectual relations. Also, Awoyale’s analysis, like many others before it, is laden with deficit hypothesis (See Hardman 1988 for a more detailed discussion on “deficit hypothesis”). Again and again he repeats the phrase “Yoruba does not have...”. One of such instances is his comment on the present tense:

Yoruba does not have an overt marker for the present tense. That is, there is no way to say in Yoruba

42) He struggles with death
What is clearly observable in the above analysis is that Awoyale is using the English language as a model for Yoruba. He therefore expects YL to have everything that EL has in its grammar. When he does not find such similarity, he declares YL as deficient, compared to EL. What Awoyale might have said, if he had chosen to take a more descriptive approach, is that YL uses aspect to perform the same function for which EL uses tense. Thus, where EL uses the present simple tense, YL uses the “progressive aspect” (incompletive aspect in my analysis—cf. Section 2.3.2.2.). Or he could simply say that tense is not of primary importance in YL but aspect is. Without a deficit hypothesis as his starting point, Awoyale would not have made the strong, but wrong, unilateral statement quoted above “There is no way to say in Yoruba” is a statement that makes YL to appear to be stuck and in need of rescue by EL. What Awoyale failed to take into account is the natural independence of individual languages. Every language is a system in itself and individual speakers can, and do, find ways to say what they want to say within that system. It should not be expected that any two systems will correspond in the simplicity of expression for any given idea. It is also true, of course, that no translation is ever fully accurate. The differences in obligatory categories—what must be said—always require that some ideas be expressed by one language that are not required by the other. EL requires tense, YL requires aspect, so the two never quite meet. Furthermore, Awoyale went on to say that YL does not have (emphasis again mine) a special marker or inflection for the past tense (1974:38). It would seem that he expects YL to use inflections and to have something similar or equal to the EL past tense.
Awoyale’s work is just one example of problems that have resulted from attempts of YL linguists educated in EL to impose rules related to tense upon a language to which they do not apply.

Another attempt worth mentioning at this juncture is that of Amoran (1986), an M.A. thesis on “Auxiliaries and Time Reference in Yoruba.” Amoran, who devotes a chapter to ‘Time Reference and Aspect in Yoruba,’ makes the following interesting observations:

The indication of specific or absolute time does not appear to have a pronounced place in the Yoruba verbal system. What is more important is the spread of the action or state through time and its aspect in terms of duration, progression, repetition, and completion rather than a tripartite division into present, past and future...The trend has been to treat tense as the dominant feature in Yoruba...I treat aspect as the dominant feature in the Yoruba verbal system. Further, I consider Yoruba a tenseless language... (pp. 32-33).

The above statement is both insightful and bold, in the light of previous scholarship on this very important subject in YL grammar. Amoran rightly makes allusions to earlier scholarship on this issue, such as those of Bamgbose (1967), Awobuluyi (1967) and Ogunbowale (1970). He rightly points to the inadequacy of Bamgbose’s analysis, judging from the fact that he treated tense as the dominant feature in YL. Also, his two tense systems--simple and perfective--was, as Amoran observed, an indication on Bamgbose’s confused interpretation of aspect and tense. Amoran also noted that although Awobuluyi went a step further than Bamgbose, his attempt was quite simplistic, in that he identified mainly two aspectual components in YL, viz priority and duration as well as a dual tense opposition, subdivided into definite and indefinite, where definite tense corresponds to present and past tense forms and the indefinite corresponds to future tense. Thus, according to Awobuluyi’s analysis, anything future is an aspect while anything present or past is a tense -- apparently a very simplistic view of a very complex issue. Similarly, Ogunbowale’s analysis, observes Amoran, is very inadequate in that it followed
the tradition of Bamgbose and others before him, as it treated YL from a tense perspective, subdividing it into a dichotomy of future and non-future tenses (p. 34).

Having briefly teased out some of the major inadequacies of some of the earlier analyses before him, Amoran proceeds to present his own analysis. He identifies what others had called future tense as aspect markers and the non-future as tense. He then divides the latter into stative and non-stative verbs, a position that is not too far afield from that of Awobuluyi’s. According to the former’s analysis, stative verbs are inherently timeless while non-stative ones, by their nature have a past interpretation. His examples of non-stative verbs with a past interpretation includes the following

“[25] O lo
He went.

[26] O rà á
He bought it.” (p.35)

For stative verbs, he has these examples,

“[28] O fé owó
He wants money.

[29] Mo gbà
I agree or agreed.” (p.35)

One inconsistency I find with this analysis is that although Amoran says that stative verbs are timeless, he still goes on to translate example [29] as present or past. Definitely “I agreed” is not timeless but rather a past event. I believe it is much safer to call the unmarked aspect the completive aspect (my interpretation) because calling it a past tense generates some other problems. For example, I wonder how Amoran would translate “Mo ri i” (I see her/him/it). If we follow Amoran’s analysis, it should be translated as a past
tense: “I saw her/him/it”, since the verb see is a non-stative verb. However, that same sentence could also be translated as “I can see it/I see it”. It is due to these types of confusion that I prefer to refer to the unmarked as an aspect-completive aspect—rather than a tense. Seeing it as an aspect will take care of the confusion that calling it a tense would normally generate, especially since aspect does not address itself to issues of time.

Another inconsistency in Amoran’s analysis is that although he says that non-stative verbs have a past interpretation, he later on analyzes them as simple aspects, giving some of them a present and others a past interpretation, as can be seen in examples [33] and [34] respectively

“[33] Adé je onje náà
Adé eat food the
Ade eat (sic) the food.

[34] O lo sì ojà náà
He go to marker the
He went to the market.” (p.39)

Thus, although both verbs are non-stative, Amoran translates the first as a present and the second as a past. Amoran’s classification is therefore ambivalent. He wavers between calling the unmarked a tense or an aspect. Also, one expects that if Amoran had a simple aspect he would also have a complex aspect, but this is not the case. Apart from what he termed as the simple aspect he has five other forms of aspect, viz the anticipative (máa, yóò, ó, á), the perfective (ti), the continuative (n), the habitual (máa n) and the inceptive (á máa--a variant of ‘yíó máa’).

A close look at this classification shows that Amoran is actually on track in some of his denominations, such as the anticipative, the habitual and the inceptive. The only problem is that he sometimes lumps different aspects together into one single aspect, such as the case with his “anticipative", which
also includes the intentional (yíó). The other two aspect markers, (á) and (ó) are actually variants of ‘máa’ and ‘yíó’, respectively. It is also quite interesting that in his classification he fails to provide examples with the other three aspect markers that make up his ‘anticipative’. His two examples are only with ‘máa’. His definition of the perfective too is very inadequate and does not really fully explain the function of ‘ti’. He simply says that it “expresses an action that is completed”. This definition sounds very much like the completive to me. What Amoran calls the “continuative” I will classify as “incompletive”, what he calls “perfective”, I will call “relational”. What he calls “simple”, I will call “completive”. On the whole, Amoran’s efforts are in the right direction, apart from some of the inadequacies mentioned above and the fact that he does not account for all of the aspect markers in the language. For instance, he leaves out several of the complex aspect markers such as ‘yíó ti’, yíó ti máa’ and ‘ti máa n’. We also observe the same kind of trend that one finds in previous analyses in the area of gender and pronouns. Amoran consistently translates the genderless third person singular subject pronoun as “he.” We find this in his examples [25], [26], [28] and [34] quoted above as well as in all of his other examples in his analysis. In spite of all of these, I believe Amoran still deserves commendation for his bold stance and for the many declarations in his thesis that YL is fundamentally an aspect driven language and should be treated as such, although he himself does not completely follow his own advice.

One last example to be considered here is that of Bolorunduro (1980). Bolorunduro’s work has so much merit in it that I will need to pause a little bit at this point and provide some of his insights on the previous analyses of tense and aspect in YL. Apart from a few inadequacies found in his own personal analysis (which I shall address later on) I believe Bolorunduro’s work is an
important landmark in the analysis of temporality in YL. Like Amoran, Bolorunduro found it necessary to begin with earlier analyses of temporality in YL. In doing so, he appears to be very much on the right track. Bolorunduro examines the works of five YL linguists, Bamgbose (1967), Delano (1965), Awobuluyi (1978), Ayelaagbe (Undated M.A. thesis) and Ogunbowale (1970). In his critique of the first three (i.e. Bamgbose, Delano and Awobuluyi), he observes that they failed to make any clear distinction between tense and aspect in YL, then goes on to make a similar comment on Bamgbose’s analysis, pointing out that he jumbled tense with negation and subdivided tense into “simple” and “perfective” tenses. Bolorunduro then asks a pertinent question: if there is a simple tense, should there not be a complex tense also? He then, continuing his critique, observes that instead of a complex tense, Bamgbose posits a “perfective tense”, and that he identified aspect markers such as “yió, n, máa n and máa” as tense markers. Bolorunduro then asks another important question, this one having to do with the positive-negative opposition,

Bamgbose further subdivides the so-called simple tense into Positive and Negative tense. Here one is tempted to ask what difference exists between positive and negative tenses. If the primary semantic function of tense is to indicate the relation between the time at which the sentence is uttered and the time of the action that is expressed in the main verb, one could then ask if there is a positive time and a negative time? To my mind this cannot be true. Tense, in those languages where it exists, have [sic] no negative and positive concepts. (p. 8).

On Ayelaagbe’s analysis, Bolorunduro observes that the latter divides YL verbs into two categories—those that can be marked for all tenses and those that can only be marked for future tense. He rightly remarks that such a division does not occur in YL. Again, what I see Ayelaagbe doing here is similar to what I have remarked earlier on about a deficit hypothesis syndrome that has plagued YL grammatical analyses. Apparently, Ayelaagbe expects YL verbs to behave exactly the same way as EL verbs.
In Bolorunduro's analysis of Delano's work, too, we see some of the same problems. Delano analyzed YL verbs as having present, past and future tenses. He also maintained that there exists in YL a difference between the form of the verb (my emphasis) which expresses the present or past times and went ahead to give such spurious examples as provided below,

\[
\begin{align*}
Ojo \quad Iq &= \quad \text{Ojo goes or Ojo went (present or past tense)} \\
(Ojo \quad go) \\
\end{align*}
\]

and

\[
\begin{align*}
Ojo \quad Iq \quad lánàá &= \quad \text{Ojo went yesterday (past tense)} \\
(Ojo \quad go \quad yesterday) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Bolorunduro rightly observes that a close look at the above examples shows clearly that there is no change in the form of the verb "lo" (to go) in both instances--and "lánàá" (yesterday) is obviously not a verb! What makes for the difference in time in the second sentence is not a change in the form of the verb, but rather the addition of the time adverb "lánàá". The idea of a past time is therefore not marked on the verb, which obviously remains the same in the two examples given. The only reference to time here is the adverb of time "lánàá". This kind of faulty analysis is reminiscent of the work of Samuel Crowther before him, who also followed a similar line of analysis.

Apart from the above types of erroneous analysis, Delano's work is also filled with terminological confusion. For example, here is one of the analyses I find in his work. In the examples below, he identifies the aspect markers "n, ti, and yió (yóó, in his analysis)" as tense markers,

\[
\begin{align*}
Olo &= \quad \text{He goes} \\
Oñó \quad lo &= \quad \text{He is going} \\
Otí \quad lo &= \quad \text{He has gone} \\
Yóó \quad lo &= \quad \text{He will go (Bolorunduro: 12)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
It is once again apparent that, in addition to the erroneous classification of aspect markers as tense markers, the translation tradition that we find illustrated above, a translation that consistently misrepresents the third person subject pronoun as masculine leads to further difficulties. Gender is, in fact, not an issue here, especially since the third person singular marker “ó” is gender neutral and can be translated as “she”, “he” or even “it”. It is this type of analysis that Hardman refers to as Derivational Thinking (cf. Hardman 1978, 1993a, 1993b, 1994), a type of thinking that is very characteristic of Western thought, especially English, based on linearity and hierarchy and which assumes this mode of thinking to be universal.

Finally, Bolorunduro turns attention to Awobuluyi’s analysis, which, although he does not use the term “tense” or “aspect,” presents similar problems. What Bamgbose calls “preverbs,” Awobuluyi calls “pre-verbal adverbs,” and thus we are still faced with the same problems. Although terminology is different, both are dealing with aspect markers, for, as Awobuluyi later on goes on to say,

In positive sentences, future action is signified by the presence of any one of yóò, ó, ò, a máa and ní. (Bolorunduro 13).

Thus Awobuluyi’s analysis follows closely after that of Bamgbose, in that he too identifies “positive” and “negative” tenses. and although the former does not use the word “tense” in his analysis,—he uses “action” instead—he still makes reference to tense in the above statement. It is still the same attempt to say that tense is a grammatical category in YL and thus is significant.

Bolorunduro concludes his insightful examination of some of the previous analyses by remarking that

There is the semantic concept of time reference (absolute or relative) which may be grammaticalised in a language, i.e. a language may have a grammatical category that expresses time reference in which case we
say that the language has tense. Yoruba for example does not have grammaticalised time reference, though probably all languages lexicalise time reference in the sense that they have temporal adverbials and lexical items that locate situations in time such as lánàá, lónií, lóla, lódún tó kojá. (p. 15).

Bolorunduro goes on to note that what his predecessors had analyzed as “pre-verbal adverbs” (“pre-verbs” in others) are in essence aspect markers and not tense markers as they would have us believe. Thus, Bolorunduro’s more thorough and accurate analysis provides a more useful perspective for analysis of YL temporal relations.

Although Bolorunduro identified a number of inadequacies in previous treatments of temporal relations and made a bold attempt to reanalyze YL aspectual relations with a good measure of success, his analysis is still largely unsatisfactory. He seems, first of all, to have either mingled other elements in the grammar (e.g. locative and adverbial expressions) with aspect or incorrectly analyzed some aspect markers. His analysis, with its 38 different aspect markers, appears to unnecessarily cumbersome. His further claim that there are between forty and fifty YL aspect markers (pp. 19-21) suggests a need for fine tuning. It appears to me that in his zeal to propose an aspect oriented grammatical analysis of YL, Bolorunduro also brought in other elements that do not belong in the category of aspect. (His Group II aspect category, for example, consists of mostly modals and other adverbials.) All this notwithstanding, one must still give due credit to Bolorunduro for observing correctly that tense has no systematic formal expression in Yoruba and that Yoruba has an aspectual system rather than a tense system (p. 3). I believe this observation of Bolorunduro’s is an important landmark in the analysis of YL grammar. So far, he is the only one I know of who has made a deliberate effort to depart from the previous line followed by earlier grammarians and
linguists and attempted to analyze YL as primarily an aspectual rather than a tense language.

Having presented some of the merits of Bolorunduro’s analysis, I will now attempt to show why his efforts, though commendable, are still far from being adequate and satisfactory. Although he correctly identifies YL as fundamentally an aspect driven language, and successfully defines and differentiates between tense and aspect (cf. his definitions on pp.1-2, 6-7), he appears to have lumped other elements into the category that belong elsewhere in the grammar. Some of these elements include modals such as lè (can, could), gbọdọ (must); adverbials such as tètè (quickly), sèṣè (just), jàjà (afterall) tún (again), sáábà (usually), jùmù (together); negators such as kò, ki i; connectives such as bá (with), si (and, also), etc. Apparently the only elements in Bolorunduro’s analysis that qualify as aspect markers are those in his Group I, viz yóó/oo/a, máá, níí, i, ti, ní, a, i, although we still find a negator (i, a shortened form of ki) and níí, a negative form of the verbal particle ní appearing in this category.

Bolorunduro’s difficulties begins with his division of aspect markers into two categories. At this point he classifies those in the first group as “aspectual markers without any independent meaning” and those in category II as “aspectual markers that have independent meaning” (pp. 19-20). Apparently, it goes without saying that if some aspect markers have independent meaning of their own, they can no longer be considered as aspect markers, since aspect markers, by definition, have only grammatical functions and are devoid of any independent semantic meaning.

From every indication, YL is largely an aspectual rather than a tensed language, as Comrie (1976: 82) also rightly observed, although he didn’t go into detail. In other words, a close look at the language reveals that the internal
temporary constituency of a particular activity or event is far more important than the actual time of its performance. This is in no way to say that YL cannot indicate time relations, when such information is relevant. Like any other language, YL can and does indicate time relations, generally by the means of adverbial expressions (syntactic) rather than by changes in the verb (morphological). That is, such information, when appropriate, is coded by means of additional lexical items rather than through inflection of the verb stem. It may also be omitted if not relevant. Indeed, as Lyons has pointed out, in YL the process of the action is primarily the focus of the aspectual markers (cf. Lyons 1968). As we have seen, most of these markers have been analyzed, to one degree or another, as tense markers by earlier Yoruba grammarians (cf. Delano 1965, Bamgbose 1966, 1967, Ogunbowale 1970, Awobuluyi 1978, Awoyale 1988, etc.). The purpose of this chapter is to attempt to bring some degree of clarity into this often muddy area of YL grammar.

2.1 The Nature of the Verb Phrase (VP) in YL

I begin my analysis with the nature of the verb phrase (VP), because I believe that it is impossible to do any satisfactory analysis of aspectual, or even temporal relations in the language without first of all understanding how the VP operates in the overall syntactic set up.

The VP in Yoruba has probably received more attention from Yoruba linguists than any other aspect of the language and has been the center of a major controversy and debate for many years (Bamgbose 1972, Bolorunduro 1980). The nature of this controversy has been simply summarized by Bamgbose,

The most problematic issue in the analysis of the Yoruba verb phrase has always been how to find a defining criterion (or criteria) for verbs which will be sufficiently powerful to embrace all verbs, and yet exclude all non-verbs...In this matter, there are two schools of thought
the ‘wide definition’ school who would accept as a verb any non-nominal item in the verb phrase (sometimes including auxiliaries), and the ‘narrow definition’ school who would accept as verbs only those items in the verb phrase which can occur in a minimal sentence (i.e. a basic sentence having only one verb). (Bamgbose 1972: 1, 17).

This should not be a surprise to anyone who knows anything about the central role the verb plays in a sentence. Due to the many disagreements on the nature and order of the VP in YL, however, a foundational conference on the Yoruba Verb Phrase (YVP) was convened under the auspices of the Egbé Onímò Edè Yorùbá (The Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria) at the University of Ibadan--Nigeria’s foremost tertiary institution--on April 1-2, 1971 to discuss and consider possible solutions to this thorny issue in Yoruba language studies. The 1971 seminar was itself a follow-up to an earlier one held at another major Nigerian university, the Obafemi Awolowo University (then known as the University of Ifè), Ilé-Ifè from December 13-16, 1969. It was at this conference that the issue of the YVP was raised. At the root of this controversy are the many disagreements on what really constitutes a verb in YL (cf. Bamgbose 1972.) The end product of the YVP Conference was a special volume entitled *The Yoruba Verb Phrase* edited by Professor Ayo Bamgbose and published in 1972. It contained a series of articles presented at the conference by noted Yoruba linguists--Afolayan, Awobuluyi, Bamgbose, Kujore, Oyelaran and Oke. Each paper contained the views and perspectives of the various presenters at this important conference. There have been several other conferences and colloquia on the Yoruba verb as well as other aspects of the language since the first two mentioned above and several articles have been written and yet the debate rages on.

According to my analysis, the VP in YL consists of ASPECT + VERB + (OPTIONAL) ADVERB OF TIME. Thus the verb is preceded by the obligatory aspectual markers (see example (1) and (2) below) and followed optionally by
adverbial expressions of time, if and when necessary (examples (3) and (4)). However, it is not uncommon to find adverbs of time preceding the aspect markers and the verb, as examples (5) and (6) clearly demonstrate. Thus, although the aspectual markers must obligatorily precede the verb, the time adverbs can optionally appear at the beginning of a sentence, mostly as a focus device (when writing they are immediately followed by a comma), to draw attention to the time element in the sentence. Nevertheless, in a non-focus construction, the regular position of the time adverbs is post-verbal, as examples (3) and (4) below indicate. The fact that the optional time adverbs can either precede or come after the verb shows clearly their independent, lexical nature. The aspect markers, however, do not have an independent lexical meaning. The fact that they do have a grammatical meaning, though, can be seen from the fact that when placed before verbs, they provide the sentence with much needed aspectual information, but placed post-verbally, they become grammatically meaningless. Their meaning is therefore derived from their position before the verb. It is in this sense that they can be classified as proclitics in particular and clitics in general. From the foregoing, it is obvious that the optional elements in the grammar (e.g. time adverbs) are for the most part post-verbal while those that are obligatory, such as pronouns and aspect markers, are pre-verbal.

In examples (1-2) below, the incompletive aspect marker ‘n’ and the relational aspect marker ‘tì’ precede the verbs ‘sisé’ and ‘kàwé’ respectively. In both cases the sentences would be ungrammatical if the aspect markers were to follow the main verbs, as in examples (1b-2b) indicate,

2.2.1 The Incompletive Aspect

(1)  
\[ Mo \ tì \ \text{sisé.} \]
\[ 1pS \ INCOMPLETIVE \ work \]
'I am working/was working.'
(1b) *Mo sisé ní.
1pS work INCOMPLETIVE
'I am working/was working.'

2.2.2 The Relational Aspect

(2) O ti kàwé tán.
2pS RELATIONAL read+book finish
'You have finished reading/studying.'

(2b) *O kàwé tán. ti.
2pS read+book finish RELATIONAL
'You have finished reading/studying.'

The ungrammaticality of examples (1b) and (2b) stems from the fact that there is a violation of word order. In both instances, the aspect markers ‘n’ and ‘ti’ are placed after the verbs ‘sisé’ and ‘kàwé tán’. The position of aspect markers is obligatorily pre-verbal, so they cannot be placed post-verbally under any circumstance.

2.2.3 The Habitual + Post-verbal Time Marker

The next two sentences provide examples of adverbial time marking. In (3) the idea of time is provided only by the adverb ‘lójoojúmó’ (daily); in (4) it is the adverb ‘lóla’ that provides us with definite time frame for the performance of the activity in question. In both sentences, the aspect markers ‘máá n’ and ‘yíó’ do not provide us with any sense of time. In fact, sentence (3) could have both a present and a past interpretation, depending on the context of usage. It could mean either “You work everyday” or “You used to work everyday (in the past)”. Thus, the issue here is not that of time but rather of the internal structure of the activity. Likewise, example (4) has nothing to do with tense and everything to do with intentionality. It means that the speakers intend to do something. It is the addition of ‘lóla’ to it that frames it in time and gives it a future interpretation.
(3) Ě màa ńi șișé (LOJOJUMO.)
2pP HABITUAL work everyday
'You work everyday/used to work everyday.'

2.2.4 The Intentional + Post-verbal Time Marker

(4) Awa yió lọ sí Oyó (LOLA.)
1pP INTENTIONAL go DIREC Oyo tomorrow
'We will go to Oyo tomorrow.'

2.2.5 Completive Aspect + Pre-verbal Time Marker (Introducing a Focus)

In examples (5-6) the time adverbs ‘lánàá’ and ‘lóla’ have been focused, to signal a focus construction. In these examples, the adverbs of time have replaced the pronouns ‘wón’ and ‘a’ in the subject position to indicate the speaker’s intention to emphasize the time frame in which the activity was or would be performed.

(5) (LANAA,) wón lọ sí Ìbàdàn.
Yesterday, 3pP go DIRECTIONAL Ibadan
'Yesterday, they went to Ibadan.'

2.2.6 The Anticipative + Pre-verbal Time Marker (Focus)

(6) (LOLA,) a màa șe irinajò.
Tomorrow 1pP ANTICIP do journey
'Tomorrow, we might/probably will travel.'

As amply demonstrated in the introductory part of this chapter, time (or tense) is not of utmost importance in YL, as aspect is, which is obligatorily marked. Aspect is important conceptually and syntactically obligatory. The omission of an aspect marker in a YL sentence does not mean that aspect is not present, but rather that the completive aspect is meant (cf. section 2.2.5 & 2.2.7.)
2.2.7 The Completive Aspect

The completive aspect is generally unmarked in syntax, as the following example indicates:

(7)  Mo  jeun.
     1ps  eat
     'I ate'.

In the above example, there is no overt marking for aspect. The first person personal pronoun 'Mo' (I) is immediately followed by the verb 'jeun' (to eat). However, the sentence has a completive interpretation. The activity of eating has both begun and ended; it is full and complete. There is nothing to be added to or taken away from it, as would have been the case with the incompletive aspect, which describes an activity still in progress.

2.3 Aspect in Yoruba

Overall there are twelve identifiable aspects in YL which can be further categorized into two types: simple and complex aspects. The simple aspect series consists of five aspects. Four of these are marked by single aspect markers while one is the unmarked. The complex aspect series consists of seven sequences of combinations of the simple aspects. Five of them are a series of two simple aspects co-occurring in a syntactically constrained order while two are a complex of three simple aspects, also co-occurring in a syntactically constrained order. Like I have mentioned earlier and will discuss in greater detail shortly, aspect is of utmost importance in YL and is obligatory, so much so that even when it is not overtly marked in syntax, it is still assumed to be present, in an unmarked form (cf. completive aspect in 2.2.7 and 2.3.2.1).
2.3.1 Aspect Constraints On Person Marking And Pronoun Selection

In YL, subject pronoun selection is partially determined by aspect. There are basically two types of subject pronouns: regular and emphatic (also referred to in the literature as pronominals due to the similarity of their behavior to nouns). Both forms of the pronoun can occur in subject position before the VP, with certain restrictions on the regular pronouns. The regular pronouns, for example, cannot occur before an interrogative sentence ending with the interrogative and locative verbs 'dà' and 'nkó' and the subsequent responses to these questions (cf. examples 8-11b). They also do not occur before the existence verb, 'ni' and the non-existence verb, 'kó', (cf. 12-15b) nor in compound NP structures, using a conjunction (cf. 16-18b). Above all, they cannot occur before the intentional aspect 'yíó' (cf. 19-20b), albeit they are acceptable before the alternative form 'ó', which is probably a contracted form of 'yíó'. The anticipative aspect 'máa' is the preferred form, however, in such instances (cf. section 2.3.2.5. & 2.2.2.4). In all of the above mentioned instances, only the emphatics may be used.

Regular and Emphatic Pronouns + Interrogative Verb: dà

In examples (8-8b) below, the use of the regular pronoun before the interrogative verb 'dà' is ungrammatical, but replacing the regular pronoun with the emphatic makes it acceptable. The same analysis is true for examples (9) and (9b), where the regular pronoun 'Wón' must be replaced by the emphatic 'Awon' to make the sentence grammatically acceptable.

(8)  *O  dà?
     2pS(RP)  INTV?

(8b)  Iwó  dà?
     2pS(EP)  INTV?

‘Where is she/he/it?’
(9)  *Wón  dà?
     3pP(SP)  INTV?
(9b) Awón  dà?
     3pP(EP)  INTV?
‘Where are they?’

Regular and Emphatic Pronouns + Interrogative Verb: nkó

In the following examples, the interrogative verb ‘nkó’ cannot cooccur with the regular forms of the pronoun subject ‘A’ and ‘Mo’ (10, 11); only the emphatic forms of the pronoun, ‘Awa’ and ‘Emi’ (10b, 11b), are acceptable.

(10)  *A  níkó?
     1pP(RP)  INTV
(10b) Awa  níkó?
     1pP(EP)  INTV
     ‘What about us?/And us?’
(11)  *Mo  níkó?
     1pS(RP)  INTV
(11b) Emi  níkó?
     1pS(EP)  INTV
     ‘What about me?/And me?’

Regular and Emphatic Pronouns + Presentative Verbs: “ni” and “kó”

Likewise, the regular pronouns are not acceptable before both the affirmative and negative forms of the so-called presentative verb. The examples below will illustrate my point.

(12)  *Mo  ni  Tèmi.
     1pS(RP)  be  Tèmi
(12b) Emi  ni  Tèmi.
     1pS(EP)  be  Tèmi
     ‘I am Tèmi/My name is Tèmi.’

In (12) above, the sentence is ungrammatical because the presentative verb ‘ni’ is not permitted to select a regular pronoun. (12b) is grammatical
because ‘ni’ is preceded by the emphatic form of the first person singular subject pronoun ‘èmi’. In (13 & 13b) below, the same rule is applicable to the negative form of the verb ‘ni’. As in the affirmative form, ‘kó’ is allowed to select only the emphatic form of the pronoun. The same explanation for (12-12b) goes for examples (14-15b).

(13) *Mo kó (ni) Témi.
1pS(RP) NEGbe (be) Témi

(13b) Emi kó (ni) Témi.
1pS(RP) NEGbe be Témi
I am not Témi.

(14) *O ni.
2pS(RP) be

(14b) Iwó ni.
2pS(EP) be
‘It’s you.’

(15) *O kó.
2pS(RP) NEG

(15b) Iwó kó.
2pS(EP) NEG
‘It isn’t you.’

Regular and Emphatic Pronouns + Compound NP Structures

The regular subject pronoun forms (16, 17 and 18) cannot occur in a compound NP structure using a conjunction, as illustrated in the examples below. Compound NP structures require the use of emphatic pronouns, as we find in (16b, 17b and 18b). The regular pronoun forms make examples (16, 17 and 18) ungrammatical, as illustrated below.

(16) *Mo àti o féé sísé.
1pS(RP) and 2pS(RP) want work

(16b) Emi àti ôun féé sísé.
1pS(EP) and 2pS(EP) want work
‘She/He and I want to work.’
Finally, there is a syntactic constraint that does not permit the intentional aspect ‘yíó’ to select the personal pronoun subject, a clear indication that aspect also determines the choice of pronoun. Thus the intentional aspect ‘yíó’ selects only the emphatic pronoun, while the other aspect markers can select either the regular or the emphatic pronoun. However, when they do select the emphatic it is generally for purposes of emphasis. Thus sentences (21-22) below are grammatical, while sentence (19-20) aren’t.

2.3.1.1 Intentional Aspect + Regular Pronoun

(19) *Mo yíó lọ sí ilé-iwé.
1pS(RP) INTEN go DIRECTIONAL school

(20) *Wọn yíó lọ sí ilé-iwé.
3pP(RP) INTEN go DIREC school

2.3.1.2 Intentional + Emphatic Pronoun

(21) EMI yíó lọ sí ilé-iwé.
1pS(EPI) INTEN go DIREC school
‘I intend to go to school.’

(22) AWON yíó lọ sí ilé-iwé.
3pP(EPI) INTEN go DIREC school
‘They intend to go to school.’
Examples (19-20) above are ungrammatical because the intentional aspect ‘yíó’ selects the regular pronoun ‘mo’ and ‘wón’, which cannot cooccur with the intentional. A table of the two types of subject pronoun in YL is also given below.

Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronoun Type</th>
<th>Pronoun Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>èmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>iwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td>ó</td>
<td>òun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>àwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>èyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td>wón</td>
<td>àwon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows clearly that YL pronouns are marked for both person (1st, 2nd & 3rd) and number (singular & plural) but not for gender. The third person of both singular and plural could refer to either female or male, human or non-human. Thus the third person singular ‘ó’ could mean any of she, he or it. For every form of the regular pronoun there is a corresponding emphatic pronoun. In fact, a closer scrutiny reveals that the regular forms might have been derived from the emphatic or pronominal forms. This is probably why linguists like Ogunbowale (1970) prefer to call the regular pronouns “short forms” and the emphatic as “full forms”, suggesting that the shorter forms must have been derived from the longer or “full” forms.

Bamgbose (1967) sees the emphatic pronouns as “a noun which resembles a pronoun” (p. 11) and refers to them as “pronominals”, making
allusion to their ambivalent nature. Other linguists have called them “independent pronouns”, due to their ability to also play the role of nouns in certain contexts (ibid.). Bamgbose's stance is that they are indeed nouns, due to their ability to take qualifiers and their tonal behavior which is similar to that of nouns. Recognizing their role in emphasis, Bamgbose adds that they “act as emphatic equivalents of pronouns” (ibid.). But he insists that they are more than just pronouns due to the fact that they can substitute for pronouns where the regular pronouns cannot occur in syntax (i.e. in the instances already mentioned above).

2.3.1.3 Completive Aspect + Regular Pronoun

In the sentences that follow, examples are provided of instances when various aspect markers cooccur, first with the regular pronouns, then with the emphatic pronouns. In examples (23-24), the completive aspect (unmarked) cooccurs with the first and second person regular subject pronouns 'Mo' and 'O' respectively.

(23) MO 1pS go DIREC ilé-iwé.  
'1st person subject went to school.'

(24) O 2pS go DIREC ilé-iwé.  
'2nd person subject went to school.'

2.3.1.4 Completive Aspect + Emphatic Pronoun

In the next two examples (25-26), the two sentences above (23-24) are repeated, but this time the emphatic pronoun is used in place of the regular pronouns. The only difference in these examples and the previous ones is simply that of emphasis -- the speaker is emphasized in (25-26).
(25) **EMI** \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
1pS EMPH go DIREC school
'I indeed did go to school.'

(26) **IWQ** \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
2pS go DIREC school
'You indeed did go to school.'

### 2.3.1.5 Relational Aspect + Regular Pronoun

In the following two examples, the relational aspect 'ti' occurs with the third and second person regular pronouns 'Wón' and 'E' respectively.

(27) **WQN** \(ti\) \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
3pP RELAT go DIREC. school
'They have gone to school.'

(28) **E** \(ti\) \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
2pP RELAT go DIREC school
'You have gone to school.'

### 2.3.1.6 Relational Aspect + Emphatic Pronoun

In examples (29-30) we have the emphatic forms of the pronouns in (27-28) above, an indication that the relational aspect can cooccur with either forms of the pronouns, the only difference being the emphasis that the latter add to the statements through the use of the pronominals or emphatics.

(29) **AWQN** \(ti\) \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
3pP EMPH RELAT go DIREC school
'They indeed have gone to school.'

(30) **EYIN** \(ti\) \(lq\) \(si\) ilé-iwé.
2pP EMPH RELAT go DIREC school
'I indeed have gone to school.'

### 2.3.1.7 Habitual Aspect + Regular Pronoun

In (31) the habitual aspect occurs with the second person singular regular pronoun 'o' while in (32) it occurs with the third person plural regular pronoun 'wón'.
2.3.1.8 Habitual + Emphatic Pronoun

In the next examples, the emphatic forms of the pronouns in (31-32) are used to show that the habitual can select either the regular or the emphatic forms ('iwo' and 'âwon') of the same pronouns (33-34). Again, the difference is mainly that of emphasis—the emphatics are used to bring an added emphasis to the subject of the sentences.

(33)  *IWO māa ní lọ sì ilé-iwé.*
2pS EMPH HABITUAL go DIREC school
'She/he indeed goes/went (habitually) to school.'

(34) *AWON māa ní lọ sì ilé-iwé.*
3pP EMPH HABITUAL go DIREC school
'They indeed go to school/went to school.'

2.3.1.9 Antecedent Completion + Regular Pronoun

In examples (35-36) below, we have instances of the occurrence of forms of the regular pronoun occurring with the antecedent completion aspect (māa n).

(35)  *A ti māa ní lọ sì ilé-iwé.*
1pP ANTE COMP go DIREC school
'We used to have gone to school.'

(36)  *E ti māa ní lọ sì ilé-iwé.*
2pP ANTE COMP go DIREC school
'You used to have gone to school.'
2.3.1.0 Antecedent Completion + Emphatic Pronoun

In sentences (37-38) the emphatic forms of the first and second person plural regular pronouns (A and E) cooccur with the antecedent completion aspect.

(37) AWA ti máa ní lọ sí ilé-iwé.
AWA EMPH ANTE COMP go DIREC school
'We (indeed) used to have gone to school.'

(38) EYIN ti máa ní lọ sí ilé-iwé.
2pP EMPH ANTE COMP go DIREC school
'You (indeed) used to have gone to school.'

The examples above indicate that although the intentional must of necessity select the emphatic, the other aspect markers can select either the regular pronoun forms or the emphatic forms (for purposes of emphasis). This goes for both the simple (19-30) and complex (31-38) aspects, as the sentences above amply illustrate.

2.3.2 The Simple Aspect Series

There are five identifiable simple aspects in YL: the completive aspect which is unmarked, the incomplete 'n', the relational 'ti', the anticipative 'máa', and the intentional 'yíó'. It is these simple aspects which combine in their various forms to produce the complex aspects.

2.3.2.1 The Completive Aspect (Unmarked)

The unmarked form of the verb indicates a completed action. Some linguists (cf. Comrie 1976: 82) have sought to exclude stative verbs from this aspect form by using a stative/active dichotomy, under the rubric of perfective/imperfective opposition. In such analyses, active verbs (See examples 39-41 below) are classified as having perfective meaning, while
stative verbs (42-44) are classified as having imperfective meaning. I, however, believe that the completive ('perfective' in Comrie's classification) includes both the active and stative forms of the verb. My reason for this all-inclusive classification is that in (42-44) the states of 'wanting,' 'knowing' and 'having' something is complete. In (43) my knowledge of the third person is complete, while in (42) and (44), the states of 'wanting' and 'having' are also full, or complete. It is in this sense that I believe that the completive should include both active and stative forms of the verb.

The completive aspect constitutes the unmarked form of the aspect system. It is therefore to be noted that in YL, even when you don't mark aspect, it still is an aspect. The following examples will amply illustrate my point.

(39)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
   & Mo & lọ \quad sí \quad ilé-iwé. \\
   & 1pS & go \quad \text{DIREC} \quad \text{school}
\end{array}
\]  
'I went to school.'

(40)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
   & A \quad jeun. \\
   & 1pP \quad \text{eat}
\end{array}
\]  
'We ate.'

(41)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
   & E \quad sıṣé. \\
   & 2pP \quad \text{work}
\end{array}
\]  
'You worked.'

(42)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
   & Wón \quad fé \quad owó. \\
   & 3pP \quad \text{want} \quad \text{money}
\end{array}
\]  
'They want money.'

(43)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
   & Mo \quad mò \quad ọ. \\
   & 1pS \quad \text{know} \quad 3pS
\end{array}
\]  
'I know her/him/it.'

(44)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
   & Mo \quad ní \quad ilé. \\
   & 1pS \quad \text{have} \quad \text{house}
\end{array}
\]  
'I have a house.'

It is to be observed in the above examples that, by default, the unmarked form of the verb (39-44) is automatically given a completive interpretation,
whether it be stative or non-stative verb. I therefore consider the completive aspect the first in the series of the simple aspects.

2.3.2.2 The Incompletive Aspect: n

Next in the series of simple aspects is the incompletive /realised by 'n'/.

Here, the focus is ongoingness of the activity. As the illustrative examples indicate, the time, past, current, or recent, is not carried by this aspect. The activity could be in progress either in the present or before the present. For example, (45-47) could be rendered both in the present or in the past, in the absence of context or adverbs indicating time. If we must insist on the knowledge of time, then we must rely on the discourse context surrounding the statement (where a context is provided) or on time adverbials, such as are provided in (48-50) below. In (48), the adverb 'báyïi' situates the activity in a present time frame, whereas in (49-50), the past time frame of the activities involved is provided by the time adverbials lánàá’ and ‘léékan’ respectively.

(45)  Mo n’ lọ sì ojà.  
1pS INCOM go DIREC. market  
'I am going/was going to the market.'

(46)  Wón n’ sìsé.  
3pP INCOM work  
'They are busy/were busy working.'

(47)  A rí q nígbàtí o n’ lọ sìlè.  
1pP see you when you INCOM go DIREC+home  
'We saw you when you were going home.'

(48)  Mo n’ lọ sì ojà BAYII.  
1pS INCOM go DIREC market now  
'I am going to the market right now.'

(49)  E n’ sìsé LANAA.  
2pP INCOM work yesterday  
'You were working yesterday.'

(50)  A rí q nígbàtí o n’ lọ ílè LEEKAN.  
1pP see you when you INCOM go home a while ago  
'We saw you when you were going home a short while ago.'
2.3.2.3 The Relational: ti

The relational aspect describes an event or activity that is not complete, with reference to an ongoing event. It is thus incomplete in relation to another activity or event. In the examples below, although an activity has taken place, its relevance or effect is still ongoing. For instance, in example (51), although the speaker has performed the act of going to school, it is understood that she is still in school and has not yet returned home. The same explanation goes for (52) and (53). In (52), the speakers, or subjects of the sentence, have arrived from school. The act of arrival is still felt at the moment of speech. They have not returned to school yet, but are still in the arrival mode. In (53), although the activity of eating has taken place sometime before the moment of speech, its effect is still being felt and is still considered incomplete with reference to other activity or event at the moment of utterance.

(51) O ti lô si ilé-iwé.
3pS RELATIONAL go DIREC school
'She has gone to school/She went to school.'

(52) A ti dé.
1pP RELAT arrive
'We have arrived/We are here.'

(53) E ti jeun.
2pP RELAT. eat
'You have eaten/You ate.'

2.3.2.4 The Irrealis Aspects

In the same manner that there is a realis completive (cf. 2.3.2.1.) and incompletive (cf. 2.3.2.2.), there is likewise an irrealis completive and incompletive. The irrealis aspects comprise two simple tenses: the anticipative, 'máa' and the intentional, 'yió'. Whereas 'máa' describes an anticipated event or activity, 'yió' gives completeness to the anticipation in 'máa'. Thus, 'yió' is a
type of completive, an irrealis completive, while ‘máa’ is an irrealis incompletive, by virtue of the incompleteness of the knowledge involved (cf. (54-56)). With the intentional, the knowledge is full and complete (cf. (57-60)). I will be describing these two aspects in greater detail in the next two sections.

2.3.2.4.1 The Anticipative: máa

The anticipative is the first in the series of the irrealis aspects. With the anticipative, we have an activity that is non-existent but likely to take place. It is non-completive, not ongoing, and though it is likely to happen, we do not know for sure. It can therefore be used in predicting, planning, or speculation.

In the following examples, the activities have not yet taken place, and though the speakers have verbally made their intentions known about these “yet to take place” activities, there is nothing that guarantees that they surely will perform those activities. In (56) for instance, although the speaker expects and anticipates that the visitors in question will make the visit, she cannot be completely certain if they will indeed make it. In (54), the speaker anticipates, has plans or desires to go to the farm. This plan may or may not be realized, depending on the circumstances or other unpredictable factors. Thus it indicates a yearning, a desiring to do something. Similarly in (55), the speakers have some plans to go to the stream on the day in question, a plan that may or may not be realized. The main difference between this aspect and the next one--the intentional--is that whereas with the intentional the speaker exercises control over the actions to be performed, with the anticipative she has no control, or better still, does not exercise control (through the power of the will). One can therefore say that with the anticipative, there is a lack or an absence of will power.
2.3.2.4.2 The Intentional: yió

The intentional is very similar to the anticipative in that both refer to activities that are non-existent but likely. In fact, it is the second in the series of the irrealis aspects, which comprise the anticipative and the intentional (cf. 2.3.2.4). The main difference between them is that whereas the anticipative ‘máa’ has a decisiveness to it, the intentional ‘yió’ has a certain intentionality to it—the object of the utterance is focalized for intention. Thus it has to do with the will of the speaker. It is something she has made up her mind about. It also denotes that the speaker has control over the performance of the activity in question, and has weighed all the options before making the decision.

It is important to note, too, that the syntax of ‘máa’ is different from that of ‘yió’ (cf. 2.3.2.4.1). While ‘máa’ co-occurs with the regular pronouns, ‘yió’ can only occur with the emphatic pronoun. Thus, ‘yió’ has to be agented, with a force of will to come to pass. The will of the speaker has to be involved, and this requires the attributes of an agent to be emphasized. Below, in example (57), the speaker-agent is determined to go to school, a determination that comes from the force of the will. What the speaker is saying, in practical terms is “I have made up my mind to go to school, come what may. I have made up my
mind about it." Similarly, in (59), the speakers have determined to complete
the assigned work on the day of the utterance. They are saying in essence, "We
have considered all the options and have come to the conclusion that this job
must and will be completed by us today." In (58) the speaker has the privileged
knowledge about a firm decision taken by a third person to buy a car that year,
although she may not have any ability or power to make them do it. The
speaker has power only over her own decisions and it is likely for this reason
that in the second and third persons, although the emphatic form of the
pronoun is preferred, the regular form of the pronoun is also allowed.
However, in the first person, only the emphatic form of the pronoun may be
used, as already explained in sections 2.3.1.1. and 2.3.1.2 above. The explanation
for (58) is equally applicable to (60) in which second persons are involved.

(57)  

EMI  yíó  lò  só  ilé-iwé.
1pS  INTEN  go  DIREC  school
I intend to go to school/ I have made up my mind to go
to school/ I have willingly chosen to go to school.

(58)  

OUN  yíó  ra  móto  ní  qódn  yií.
2pS  INTEN  buy  car  PREP  year  this
'She intends to buy a car this year.'

(59)  

AWA  yíó  parí  işé  yií  lóníi.
1pP  INTEN  finish  work  this  today
'We intend to finish/complete this job today.'

(60)  

ÉYIN  yíó  wá  kí  wa  lójá.
2pP  INTEN  come  greet  us  tomorrow
'You intend to come and greet/visit us tomorrow.'

The examples given for the five simple aspects above provide insight
into the internal workings of the YL verb. Each shows a different aspect of the
performance of the same activity. Obligatory inflections of the verb are done
by aspectual markers. It is therefore obvious that aspect is syntactically
obligatory in YL sentences.
These clitics co-occur in a grammatically constrained order. Any combination is possible except those containing 'yíó' and 'n'. These two are mutually exclusive. Table 2.2 below presents a comprehensive list of all the sequences of combination in the language, which can be summarized by the simple formula (((yíó) + (((ti)) + ((máa))) + (n))).

Table 2.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yíó</th>
<th>ti</th>
<th>máa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>yíó</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>máa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>yíó</td>
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<td>máa</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>máa</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td></td>
<td>máa</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3 The Complex Aspect Series

There are seven complex aspects in YL, each of them a combination of the simple aspects. Below are the combinations or co-occurrences that make up the complex aspect series. Five of these complex aspects combine two simple aspects, while two consist of three simple aspects. Included in the first category are the backgrounder (yíó ti), the inceptive (yíó máa), the manifestive (ti máa), the relevant-inceptive (ti n) and the habitual (máa n). The second category of complex aspects comprises the expective (yíó ti máa) and antecedent completion (ti máa n). Below are a couple of illustrative examples of how the simple aspects combine to produce the complex aspects. In the next section I will be defining and giving several examples to illustrate the various aspects and how they operate in syntax. For now, however, I will limit
my consideration to the two- and three-part structures referred to above. In example (61), the anticipative ‘máa’ combines with the incompletive ‘n’ to derive the habitual ‘máa n’.

(61) Mo máa ní wè lójoojúmò.
1pS HABITUAL bathe daily
'I bathe daily/everyday.'

In example (62), the relational ‘ti’, the anticipative ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’ combine to derive the complex that I call the antecedent completion. These two aspects, as well as all of the others mentioned previously will be further discussed in the succeeding sections.

(62) A ti máa ní sísé tán kí won tó dé.
1pP ANT COMP work finish before 3pP PART arrive
'We used to have finished working before they arrived.'

2.3.3.1 Backgrounder: Intentional/Decisive + Relational

The first in the series of the complex aspects is the BACKGROUNDER ‘yíó ti’. This is derived from the combination of the INTENTIONAL ‘yíó’ and the RELATIONAL ‘ti’. It provides a background to another action that is yet to take place. It is important to mention, at this juncture, that every complex aspect that begins with ‘yíó’ must of necessity be preceded by an agent focuser, as exemplified in the sentences below (cf. 2.3.2.5 above.) Thus the explanation for ‘yíó’ as well as the constraints that go with it also applies to the BACKGROUNDER.

In the following examples, the backgrounder aspect operates within the main clause to provide a background to the event described in the subordinate clause that is introduced by ‘ki’ (before). In (63) for instance, the speaker, also the subject of the main clause, expects to have completed work before the arrival of the subject of the subordinate clause. She has resolved, having made
a decision by her will power to finish the work before the second person arrives on the scene. The same explanation is true for the remaining three examples, where ‘yíó ti’ provides a background to the succeeding event in the sentence.

(63)  
Emi yíó ti síṣê tán ki o tó dé.  
1pS BACKGRD work finished before 2pS PARTICLE arrive  
'I definitely will have finished working before you arrive.'

(64)  
Awa yíó ti lọ kí e tó padà.  
1pP BACKGRD go before 2pP PART arrive  
'We definitely/surely will have left before you return.'

(65)  
Oun yíó ti sùn kí o tó jẹ̀n tán.  
3pS BACKGRD sleep before 2pS PART eat finish  
'He surely will have slept before you finish eating.'

(66)  
Iwo yíó ti gbále kí a tó ṣetán.  
2pS BACKGRD. sweep before 1pP PART do+finish  
'You surely will have swept the floor before we are ready.'

As an additional emphasis on the expected completion of the first event or activity prior to the second one, “tán” (finish) is sometimes postposed to the main verb of the first clause (if it is a punctual verb), as example (63) illustrates. In this example, ‘tán’ is not obligatory in the main clause, but is included for added emphasis on the intended completion of the main event prior to the second one. Thus, although “tán” could be suffixed to the verbs in (63) and (66), it cannot be added to the verbs ‘lo’ and ‘sùn’ in (64) and (65) because “go” and “sleep” are not punctual activities.

2.3.3.2 Expective: Intentional+ Relational +Anticipative

The EXPECTIVE ‘yíó ti máa’ is a combination of three aspect markers, the intentional ‘yíó’, the relational ‘ti’ and the anticipative ‘máa’. It describes an activity that will have begun and still be ongoing before another one takes place. It is actually a complex of the backgrounder and the anticipative
aspects. Whereas with the backgrounder aspect (Section 2.3.3.1) the subject of the main clause intends to have completed the job at hand prior to the arrival of the subject of the subordinate clause, with the expective, she expects to have begun working prior to and would still be working when the subject of the second clause arrives on the scene. Thus, the work would have begun sometime before the arrival of the second person and would still be continuing and be ongoing while she arrives. Thus, whereas the backgrounder deals with an event that would have begun and have been completed before another event, the expective deals with an event that would have begun and would still be ongoing before a second event takes place. It should be observed that because of their basic differences, the EL translations provided below, being an attempt to capture the meaning of the YL combinations, may not necessarily to sound grammatical.

(67) Emi yió ti máa sísé kí o tó dé.
I EXPECTIVE work before 2pS PART arrive
'I will have(expect to have started working before you arrive.'

(68) Iwo yió ti máa kàwé kí a tó jí.
2pS EXPECTIVE read before 1pP PART wake up
'You will have been reading before we wake up.'

(69) Eyin yió ti máa gbálè kí a tó șetán.
2pP EXPECTIVE sweep before we PART finish
'You will have been sweeping before we finish.'

2.3.3.3. Inceptive: Intentional/Decisive + Anticipative

The INCEPTIVE aspect is one of the important highlights of my analysis of YL aspectual categories, in that the two simple aspects that make up this complex aspect have been analyzed by almost all previous YL linguists as one and the same, whether they were classified as tenses (as in Bamgbose 1966, 1967; Ogunbowale 1970) or as aspects (as in Amoran 1986). The fact that both aspects can combine to form a complex aspect is a clear indication that both
cannot be one and the same. If they were synonymous, their combination must of necessity be redundant and meaningless. The very possibility of both of them combining in syntax to create another (complex) aspect points to the fact that they must, by all means, be different and separate aspects, rather than simple synonymous alternates of a single aspect.

The INCEPTIVE, ‘yió máa’ is derived from two irrealis aspects: the intentional ‘yió’ and the anticipative ‘máa’. It describes an activity that is yet to begin but which the speaker has decided to embark upon shortly. Thus, the subject of sentence (70) has made a decision—and it is this power of decision making that is involved which makes me feel that the “Decisive” is also an appropriate name for this aspect--by exercising the power of the will, to leave. There is an anticipation, informed by a decision, to embark upon the process of leaving the place of utterance. A similar analysis goes for the other two examples in (71-72) where the enunciators of the utterances have made decisions, using the power of their volition to move from point A to point B. In all instances, though, the activities in question have not yet been performed. They are at the inceptive point.

(70) Emi yió máa lọ.
1pS INCEPTIVE go
'I will be leaving/I have made up my mind about leaving any time from now/I anticipate leaving any moment from now due to an exercise of my will and volition.'

(71) Awa yió máa śiwájúu yin lọ.
(1pP INCEPTIVE precede 2pP go)
'We will be going ahead of you/We have decided to go on ahead of you and do intend to begin to do so right now/ any moment from now.'

(72) Oun yió máa bá wa lónà.
3pS INCEPTIVE meet 1pP on + way
'She will be meeting us ahead/We anticipate that she will soon embark on the process of meeting us on the way because we are aware of her decision to do so.'
2.3.3.4 Manifestive: Relational + Anticipative

The MANIFESTIVE ‘ti máa’ combines the relational ‘ti’ and the anticipative ‘máa’. This sequence describes an activity that would have started prior to another one. Whereas in the previous aspect (the inceptive), the activity, though decided upon and expected to take place is yet to begin, in the manifestive the activity is expected to have begun and be ongoing before the second event takes place. This aspect is similar, in many ways, to the expective, the main difference between the two being that with the expective there is a quality decision taken, through the power of the will, thus providing a sense of certainty to the performance of the activity. With the manifestive, on the other hand, everything borders more on a desire to perform the activity. In (73) below, the speaker expects, desires, intends to have begun working and to keep on doing so by the time the subject of the second clause arrives on the scene. The work would have begun and be ongoing when the other person arrives. In contrast to the backgrounder (cf. 2.3.3.1), where the first activity is expected to have terminated before the second event, the activity here would still be going on by the time the second event takes place.

(73) Mo ti máa šişëki o tó dé.  
I MANIFESTIVE work before 2pS PART arrive  
'I will/may have started working before you arrive.'

(74) A ti máa lq kí o tó dé.  
1pP MANIFEST go before 2ps PART arrive.  
'We will/may have left before you arrive.'

(75) Wón ti máa jeun kí a tó şetán.  
3pP MANIFEST eat before 1pP PART finish  
'They will/may have eaten before we get ready.'

2.3.3.5 Antecedent Completion: Relational + Anticipative + Incompletive

The ANTECEDENT COMPLETION ‘ti máa n’ is a combination of three aspect markers, viz the relational ‘ti’, the anticipative ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’.
It can also be seen as the addition of incompleteness to the manifestive aspect, which combines the relational and the anticipative, but without the incompletive. This complex sequence describes an action that used to have been completed, on a regular basis, prior to another activity. Whereas the manifestive describes an activity that would have started prior to another one, the antecedent completion describes an activity or event that took place regularly before another one over a period of time prior to the moment of utterance. The next examples capture the complexity of this aspect. In (76), the subject of the main clause used to have completed working on a regular basis over an unspecified period of time in the past, prior to the arrival of the subject of the subordinate clause. In (77), the activity of eating used to have been performed prior to the departure of the subject of the second clause, and that on a regular basis. Again, as with the examples in the backgrounder aspect, the verb “tán” is usually postposed to the main verb of the main clause to add a note of finality to the completion of the activity in the main clause prior to the one described in the subordinate clause. In both of (76) and (77) “tán” is added to the main verb of the first clause to emphasize the completion of the first activity prior to the second one, however it will be redundant to do the same to the verb of the main clause in (78) because by its very nature ‘parí’ (finish, complete) carries with it a note of completion and finality. It therefore does not need the help of the verb “tán”, which carries a synonymous meaning.

(76) Mo ti màa ní sìṣe tán kí o tó dé.  
1pS ANTE COMP work finish before you PART arrive  
'I used to have finished working before you arrived.'

(77) Wón ti màa ní jeun tán kí a tó lo.  
3pP ANTE.COMP eat finish before 1pP PART go  
'They used to have finished eating before we left.'
(78) ENTE 2pP ANTE COMP finish work before 1pP PART begin 'You used to have finished working before we began.'

2.3.3.6 Relevant-Inceptive: Relational + Incompletive

The next complex aspect is the RELEVANT-INCEPTIVE ‘ti n’. This aspect is a combination of the relational ‘ti’ and the incompletive ‘n’. It describes an activity that has or had just started but is or was still on-going before another one. In (79) the speaker has begun the activity anterior to the arrival of the addressee and is still continuing to do so while the latter arrives on the scene. The work, though begun prior to the moment of speech, still has relevance and effect at the moment of speech. Although begun in the past, it carries on into the present. The effect is still felt and continues to be felt at the moment of the arrival of the subject of the second clause. Most likely, the arrival of the addressee must have interrupted the activity. In (80), the subjects of the main clause had been sleeping and still would have been sleeping without the interruption of the subjects of the subordinate clause. The act of sleeping carried on into the moment of speech and probably was interrupted with the arrival of the persons in the second clause. Similarly, in (81), the subject of the subordinate met that of the main clause busy washing at the stream. Thus in the antecedent completion the event in the main clause began at some time before the event introduced in the second clause. Although it began sometime before the time of utterance, its effect remained and probably will continue after the moment of interruption. The difference between this aspect and the antecedent completion is that whereas in the latter the activity is completed before the one described in the second clause, in the relevant-inceptive, the activity is not completed before the inception of the second one. It is still relevant in the present.
2.3.3.7 Habitual: Anticipative + Incompletive

The last aspectual combination, the Habitual, ‘máa n’, is a sequence of the anticipative ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’. It describes an activity that was performed on a regular basis prior to the present or is continually performed on a regular basis. It refers to a habitual event or activity, either in a timeless frame or in a past frame. Thus, without the addition of any adverb of time, the habitual could have either a timeless or a past interpretation.

Example (82), for instance, could mean either “I used to work” or “I work always, habitually,” the latter having no specific time frame of reference. In (83), the adverb of time ‘lójoojúmó’ emphasizes the idea of regularity, but could be located either within a timeless frame or a past, just like example (82) indicates. In (84), the adverbial clause of time “nígbatí mowà ní èwe” frames the activity of working within a past time. It describes a regular activity that took place on a habitual basis over a period of time when the speaker was still a youth. This is, however, no longer true of the speaker at the present moment.

(82) Mo máa tí síṣé.
1pS HABITUAL work
‘I work, habitually/I used to work, habitually/ I have or had a habit of working on a regular and consistent basis.’
It is evident from the above analysis that although various aspectual markers can co-occur, the combinations themselves are aspects in their own right. These I have decided to refer to as complex aspects, to distinguish them from the simple aspects, and in doing so have answered Bolorunduro’s question (cf. 2.0) with an affirmation: yes. If YL has simple, it also has complex aspects. These complex combinatorial sequences also help to expand the aspectual repertoire of YL, from what would have originally been just five to twelve in number--more than doubling its size. A careful look at the YL aspects described above reveal that although YL is fundamentally an aspectual language, it still has a way of relating events and activities to time, if and when it is necessary and important to do so. I will be focusing on how YL handles time in a greater detail in a later section (2.5) on time reference.

2.3.3.8 Two Major Categories of the Complex Aspects

Further scrutiny of the complex aspects reveal that there are two main categories into which they can be subdivided--those that do not involve the RELATIONAL (simple) aspect and occur in simple sentences; and those that do and occur in complex sentences. Those that do not are two in number: the
INCEPTIVE, 'yió máa' and the HABITUAL, 'máa n' and those that do are five: the BACKGROUNDER 'yió ti', the EXPECTIVE 'yió ti máa', the MANIFESTIVE 'ti máa', the ANTECEDENT COMPLETION 'ti máa n' and the RELEVANT-INCEPTIVE 'ti n'. In the next two subsections, I will be examining these two subcategories of the complex aspects.

2.3.3.8.1 Complex Aspects Involving the RELATIONAL Aspect

The complex aspects involving the relational aspect are as follows: the BACKGROUNDER (Intentional + Relational), the EXPECTIVE (Intentional + Relational + Anticipative), the MANIFESTIVE (Relational + Anticipative), the ANTECEDENT COMPLETION (Relational + Anticipative + Incompletive) and the RELEVANT-INCEPTIVE (Relational + Incompletive). These complex constructions are found primarily in complex sentences and generally require the use of the preposition 'ki' (before) and the verbal particle 'tó' (be enough, be sufficient, be adequate, etc.), a clear indication that all the simple aspects that make up these complex aspects must relate to one another as well as relate the various component events or activities of the sentence/other clauses to each other. In the next few sections I will be illustrating how the relational aspect operates in the context of these complex sentences.

2.3.3.8.1.1 The Backgrounder: Intentional + RELATIONAL

The backgrounder (See section 2.3.3.1 for more details) combines the RELATIONAL with the intentional aspects. Examples (87-88) show how this combination operates in syntax.

(87)  
Emi yió ti sún kí o tó dé.  
1ps INT + RELAT sleep before 2ps PART arrive  
'I definitely will have slept before you return.'
Examples (87) and (88) are both complex sentences comprising a main clause and a subordinate clause. The subordinate clauses are introduced by the preposition ‘ki’ (before) and their subjects are immediately followed by the verbal particle ‘tó’. The verbal particle ‘tó’ could have any of the following interpretations -- “be adequate, be sufficient, be enough, reach limit”. Each of these words have in their meanings a sense of “fullness” and “completeness”. The verb ‘tán’ in (88) also has a sense of completeness inherent in its meaning. In both instances, the main clause (containing the aspect markers) provides a background to the event described in the subordinate clause. Both clauses are related one to the other and neither can stand on its own and still be meaningful. The RELATIONAL ‘ti’ is a major player in this configuration, due to its nature as the aspect that relates one action, event or activity to another (cf. section 2.3.2.3 on this aspect).

2.3.3.8.1.2 The Expective: Intentional + RELATIONAL + Anticipative

The expective (cf. 2.3.3.2).is made up of three simple aspects: the RELATIONAL, along with the intentional and the anticipative. As with the backgrounder, the simple aspects combining together here are connected to each other by the RELATIONAL, ‘ti’. It coordinates the relationship among all three aspects, a relationship that establishes the very definition of the exceptive--if it is completive and relational, then it can be expected, though related to other elements in the sentence. The examples below will illustrate how this operates in the sentence,
Once again, we see in the above examples all of the common elements we found in the backgrounder: 'ki' and 'tó', and both of them playing important roles in the two clauses that make up the sentences. Again, the relationship between the main and subordinate clauses is signaled in the main clause by 'tí', the relational aspect marker and established firmly by the preposition, 'ki' in the subordinate clause.

### 2.3.3.8.1.3 The Manifestive: RELATIONAL + Anticipative

Third in the series of complex aspects incorporating the relational is the manifestive (cf. 2.3.3.4) which combines the RELATIONAL and the anticipative aspects. Examples (91-92) reveal the internal workings of this complex aspect. Here, as in the two aspects treated above, it is the relational 'ti' which establishes the foundation of the relationship between the two clauses that make up the manifestive. The preposition 'ki' in the subordinate clause only serves to strengthen this bond already signaled by 'ti' in the main clause.

(91) Wón tí máa šìṣe ło kí á tô dé Ẹkọ. 2pP RELAT+ANTI work go before 1pP PART reach Lagos
'They will be busy at work by the time we get to Lagos.'

(92) Wón tí máa mura lọwọ kí á tô délẹ. 2pP RELAT+ANTI get ready before 1pP PART reach+home
'They will be busy getting ready before we get home.'

### 2.3.3.8.1.4 Antecedent Completion: RELATIONAL + Anticipative + Incompletive
Next in the series of complex aspects involving the relational is the Antecedent Completion (cf. 2.3.3.5), which combines three simple aspects in its formation: the RELATIONAL ‘ti’, the anticipative ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’. It is, in essence, an addition of a sense of “incompleteness” to the manifestive aspect already discussed in 2.3.3.8.3. As with the other aspects incorporating the relational, it is ‘ti’ that establishes the bond between the anticipative and the incompletive, with, of course, additional emphasis provided by ‘kí’ and ‘tó’. The latter pair confirm the relationship already signaled by ‘ti’ in the main clause. Examples (93-94) provide a sense of this complex dynamics.

(93) A ti máa ní wê tán kí o tó jí.
1pP RELAT+ANTI+INCOM bathe finish before 2pS PART wake
‘We used to have finished bathing before you woke up.’

(94) Mo ti máa ní jí kí o tó sún.
1pS RELAT+ANTI+INCOM wake before 2pS PART sleep
‘I used to be awake before you went to sleep.’

2.3.3.8.1.5 The Relevant-Inceptive: RELATIONAL + Incompletive

Last in the series of the complex aspects involving the relational aspect is the relevant-inceptive, which combines two simple aspects: the RELATIONAL ‘ti’ and the incompletive ‘n’. It is similar, in many ways, to the antecedent completion (cf. 2.3.3.5 & 2.3.3.8.4), except for the absence of the anticipative ‘máa’. In fact, the main difference between the two is that in the antecedent completion aspect, the event in the main clause is terminated before the one in the subordinate clause, in the relevant-inceptive, the the activity described in the main clause is ongoing before and during the second activity in the subordinate intervenes.

(95) Mo ti ní jeun kí e tó wölé.
1pS RELAT+INCOM eat before 2pP PART enter
‘I have/had begun eating before you came in.’
In both of examples (95) and (96), ‘ti n’ frames the key clause, which serves as a frame around which the subordinate clause occurs. Thus the activity in the main clause begins prior to the one in the subordinate clause and continues after the interruption. The subordinate clause is introduced in syntax by the preposition ‘ki’, though already signaled in the main clause by the relational ‘ti’.

Thus, we see that in all the five complex aspects involving complex sentences, the RELATIONAL aspect is pivotal in the dynamics of these aspects. It is the relational that signals, right from the main clause, that a relationship is to be expected among the different clauses that will make up the entire sentence. Other elements, such as the preposition ‘ki’ (before) and the verbal particle ‘tó’ (be sufficient, be enough, be adequate, attain limit, etc.) are introduced later on, in the subordinate clause, to reinforce and emphasize this relationship. The relational is therefore central to the formation of the complex aspects and complex sentences.

Another observation worth making at this juncture is that although the relational occurs in complex sentences, it can also occur alone (as one of the simple aspects), but even when it occurs alone, it still bears relationship to some other event at the moment of utterance, such as we see in section 2.3.2.3 examples (51-53) above, and 2.4.3 example (96) below, illustrating the relational aspect.
2.3.3.8.2 Complex Aspects not Involving the Relational Aspect

There are two complex aspects that do not involve the relational aspect, at least not directly. Although they are found primarily in simple sentence structures (97-98 & 99b-100), they are also attested in the habitual complex aspect when it involves an activity that was undertaken with regularity over a period of time prior to the moment of speech (99a). This group of complex aspects comprises the INCEPTIVE ‘yíó máa’ and the HABITUAL ‘máa n’. As with the ones that have the relational in common (cf. 2.3.3.8.1 above), this category of complex aspects also have one simple aspect in common: the ANTICIPATIVE ‘máa’, which suggests that anticipation is a common element in both of these complex aspects. Also ‘yíó’ and ‘máa’ make up the irrealis aspects. The former is the irrealis completive and the latter the irrealis incompletive (cf. 2.3.2.4). Thus both are related, by virtue of belonging to the same sub-category: the irrealis.

2.3.3.8.2.1 The Inceptive: Intentional + Anticipative

The inceptive (cf. 2.3.3.3. for a more detailed discussion) is a complex of two simple aspects: the intentional ‘yíó’ and the ANTICIPATIVE ‘máa’. This aspect describes an event or activity that is yet to occur but is anticipated. The speaker has decided, by a force of the will, to embark upon it.

(97)  
\[\text{Emi yíó máa lọ ilé.}\]  
1pS INTEN + ANTI go home  
‘I intend to leave for/start going home.’

(98)  
\[\text{Emi yíó máa bá iṣẹ lọ.}\]  
1pS INTEN + ANTI with work go  
‘I intend to/will get back to work (and keep it going).’

The two examples above capture a scenario in which the speaker has made up her mind to embark on the activities mentioned in each sentence:
“leaving” in (97) and “working” in (98), respectively. The activities have not yet taken place but have been willed to take place shortly. There is therefore a sense of anticipation involved.

2.3.3.8.2.2 The Habitual: Anticipative + Incompletive

The habitual aspect is created by a combination of two simple aspects: the ANTICIPATIVE ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’. It refers to an activity that was habitually undertaken prior to the moment of speech (99a) or is still being undertaken up to and beyond the moment of speech (99b). In some way, this latter sense could have an eternal meaning, such as the sun rising in the east, as in example (100). It goes without saying that if something is habitual, then it can reasonably be anticipated.

(99a) Mo máa ní jó púpọ́ nígbàtí mo wà ní èwe. 
1pS ANTI + INCOM dance plenty when 1pS exist PREP youth  
‘I (used to) dance a lot when I was young.’

(99b) Mo máa ní jẹ́ún lójọ́ojúmọ́. 
1pS ANTI + INCOM eat daily  
‘I eat daily.’

(100) Òòrùn máa ní ràn ńí ńìlà-òòrùn. 
Sun ANTI + INCOM shine PREP splitting-sun  
‘The sun rises (regularly, habitually) in the east.’

Just as the relational is common to the other five series of complex aspects, in like manner the anticipative is common to the latter two. In the complex aspects not directly involving the relational, it is still a sense of relatedness that makes the anticipation possible when the two aspects combine. It is the intentionality in 2.3.3.8.2.1 that makes anticipation possible. Likewise in 2.3.3.8.2.2, it is the non-completion that informs the anticipation. Relationship is therefore a fundamental element in the chemistry that creates the complex aspects from otherwise independent simple aspects. This
relatedness points to a complex, internal harmony that undergirds the interconnectivity of the various aspectual elements.

2.4 Aspect Markers in Context

Having already emphasized that aspect markers can, and do, co-occur, I provide below a free text to illustrate how these markers interact within the VP as well as in the wider context of the YI sentence.

Text A below is an example of aspect markers in context. It is a text that I generated by myself, from my native speaker's intuition. A free translation is also provided below it. It is to be noted that in the text, aspect markers (in bold) always precede the verb (italicized).

In this text, the following aspects occur: the unmarked aspect (101-103, 104,107); the incompletive ‘n’, example (103/104); the relational ‘ti’, example (104); the anticipative ‘máa’, example (107) and the intentional aspect ‘yíó’, example (108). Thus, in this short text we see all of the five simple aspects operating freely in discourse.

Text A:

(101) Lánáá, ëmì àti Ayò lọ sì ilé àwon órée wa
Yesterday, 1 and Ayo go to house PLUR friend our

(102) sugbón a kò bà àwon òbìi won nílé.
but we NEG meet PLUR parent their LOC+home

(103) Awon omo won ní a bà nílé. Wón ní
PLUR child their is we meet at+home. They INCOM

(104) sùn lówó. Wón sọ pé àwon òbìi won ti lọ
sleep at+hand. They say that PLUR parent their RELA go

(105) sì Orlando látì ijetà sugbón won kò
DIREC Orlando since day before yesterday but they NEG

(106) ní pé padà dé.
have late return arrive.

(107) Wón sọ pé òlà ní wón màa padà dé.
They say that tomorrow is they ANTI return arrive.

(108) Léhin náá won yíó lọ sì Tampa fún òjó diè.
Afterwards they INTEN go DIREC Tampa for day few.
Free Translation of Text A

'Yesterday, Ayo and I went to the house of our friends but did not meet their parents at home. Only the children were at home. They were sleeping. They told us that their parents had gone to Orlando since the day before yesterday but they wouldn’t be long in returning. They said that they (the parents) would return the following day. Afterwards they will (intend to) go to Tampa for several days.'

A close observation reveals that all the verb forms (in italics) remain unchanged, whether they are referring to activities or events that have already occurred, as in examples (101) to (106), are yet to occur, as in (107) and (108), or are still in progress, as in (103/104). The aspect markers (in bolds) preceding the verbs simply describe different stages in the performance of the various activities.

2.4.1 Completive Aspect (Unmarked)

The completive aspect appears five times in the text, and every time it appears it has to do with completed actions. In all instances of its appearance the activity has both begun and has ceased to continue before the moment of speech.

2.4.2 Incompletive Aspect 'ì'

The incompletive appears only once in the text, (103/104). It refers to an activity that began sometime before the speaker and his companion appear on the scene and is still in progress when they arrive at the home of their friends. The children of the friends were still sleeping when the visitors arrived and interrupted their sleep. It is important to note here that it is only through context that we know that the activity took place sometime in the past.

(109) Wọn ì sûn lójọ.
3pP INCOM sleep at hand
'They were/are busy sleeping.'
2.4.3 Relational 'ti'

The relational also appears only once in the text, in example (104). Here, it refers to an activity that had taken place relative to the moment of speech: the parents had already left for Orlando before the arrival of the guests.

(110) Wón so pé àwọn ọbụl won ọlọ si Orlando...

3pPS say that PLUR parent 3pPO RELAT go to Orlando...

'They said that their parents had gone to Orlando...'

2.4.4 Anticipative 'máa'

The anticipative likewise appears just once in the text, in example (107). Here, the kids tell their visitors that their (the kids') parents should return the following day. The anticipative is used here because the children have no control over when their parents will return. They can therefore not say so with absolute certainty, for they could decide to return earlier than planned, or even much later.

(111) Wón so pé ọla ni wón máa padà dé.

3pPS say that tomorrow is 3pPO ANTI return arrive

'They said that they (the parents) would return tomorrow.'

2.4.5 Intentional 'víó'

The intentional also appears once, in example (108). Here the children use the intentional—as opposed to the anticipative, as is the case in (107). They know with some degree of certainty that their parents, upon return from Orlando, will be heading for Tampa. Most likely, the kids know that their parents had purchased another ticket for Tampa for the day in question, probably a non-refundable ticket. It is the parents' will that is involved here. They must have made up their minds about going to Tampa on the said date so as not to lose their ticket money. Probably the parents had told the kids, "We're going to Orlando and will be back at the latest on such a date so we could catch
the flight for Tampa on such and such a date.” Thus, although the day of the
parents’ return from Orlando may not be hundred percent certain, it is
however their intention to make another trip to Tampa upon their return. It is
a decision they had taken before leaving for Orlando.

(112) Léhináá won yió lọ sì Tampa fún ọjọ dìè.
   Afterwards 3pPS INTEN go to Tampa for day few
   ‘Afterwards they will/intend to go to Tampa for a while.’

In order to capture a few more aspect markers, especially those that do
not occur in Text A, I provide yet another personally generated text below
(Text B). In this text, we observe some more complex aspects, in context.

Text B:

(113) Emi àti Fúnmi yió lọ sì Nàijíríyà nínú osù
   I and Funmi INTEN go DIREC Nigeria inside month
(114) kefá odún yií. A ti n mūra sīlè bāyīi.
   sixth year this. We RELEV-INCEP prepare down now.
(115) A ti n ra ãwọn èbùn tì a màà fun
   We RELEV-INC buy PLUR gift that we ANTI give
(116) ãwọn ebi àti òrè nigbàti a bá délè.
   PLUR. family and friend when we meet arrive+home.
(117) Gbogbo won yió tì màà rẹ tì wa kí a
   All them EXPECTIVE expect us before we
(118) tó délè. Gbogbo igbà tì a bá lọ
   reach arrive+home. All time that we meet go
(119) ilé ni a màà n ra èbùn lòwò.
   home is we HABITUAL buy gift in hand

Free Translation of Passage B

‘Funmi and I will (be) go(ing) to Nigeria this June. We are busy making
preparations right now. We’ve started buying gifts that we will give to
family and friends when we arrive home. Everyone will be expecting us
by the time we get home. Every time we go home we always take gifts
along.’

In line (113), we have a simple aspect ‘yio’ preceding the verb ‘lo’. In
lines (114) and (115), however, we have examples of the relevant-inceptive
aspect ‘ti n, a complex aspect involving the combination of the relational ‘ti’
and the incompletive ‘n’. In line (117) we have an example of the expositive ‘yíó ti máa’, a combination of the intentional ‘yíó’, the incompletive ‘ti’ and the anticipative ‘máa’. This is an example of three simple aspects co-occurring to derive a complex aspect. In line (119) the suppositional ‘máa’ and the incompletive ‘n’ combine to derive the habitual complex aspect, ‘máa n’.

2.4.6 Relevant-Inceptive ‘ti n’

The relevant-inceptive aspect occurs twice in text B, lines (114) and (115). In both instances of its occurrence, it refers to an action that has begun and still is in progress.

(120) A ti ní múra silẹ báyìí.
1pP RELEV-INCEP prepare down now
‘We are getting ready/getting prepared now.’

(121) A ti ní ra àwọn ìbùn...
1pP RELEV-INCEP buy PLURAL gift
‘We have been (busy) buying gifts...’

2.4.7 Expositive ‘yíó ti máa’

The expositive occurs in line (117) in the text. It is practically self-defining in the context in which it appears, as it is immediately followed by the verb ‘retí’ (expect). It describes the state of mind of the people looking forward to the arrival of the speaker and to the gifts that they will receive. They are expectant.

(122) Gbogbo wọn yíó ti máa retí wa...
All 3pP EXPECTIVE expect 1pP
‘They will all be expecting us...’

2.4.8 Habitual ‘máa n’

The habitual occurs in line (119). In that context, it describes an activity that takes place all the time. There is therefore a timelessness to it. It describes
an activity that the speaker performs all the time. It has already taken place in the past, it still goes on in the present and is expected to continue in the future. The speaker and his wife are in the habit of buying gifts along for people whenever they travel home.

(123) A màa ní ra èbùn lówó.  
1pP HABITUAL buy gift in hand  
‘We buy gifts to take along.’

A good grasp on the nature and the internal workings of these YL aspect markers is very crucial to the understanding and appreciation of Tutuola’s language and Yoruba English in general, including most of what we encounter in the grammar of Nigerian English (NE). My next chapter shall focus on specific data from the works of Amos Tutuola to see how these aspect markers from YL have been transferred into this variety of NE.

2.5 Temporal Relations In Yorùbá

It is a known linguistic fact that every language has a means of expressing time, if and when there is a need to do so. Although it is aspect that is obligatorily marked in YL (and not tense), the language does have a syntactic way of marking time, when such information is needed and is necessary. This is done largely by the use of adverbial expressions of time such as ‘báyìi’ (right now), ‘lówó’ (at hand/at moment), ‘lánàá’ (yesterday), ‘lóla’ (tomorrow) ‘láàárò yií’ (this morning), ‘lálé àná’ (last night), ‘láípé’ (soon), ‘nígè kan rí’ (sometime ago), ‘layé àtíjó’ (long time ago/in years gone by), etc. These adverbs are the principal means by which time may be marked in the grammar. Some of them are more time-specific (cf. 124-129) while others are more general in nature (130-132). These adverbs of time are normally placed postverbally. However, they could be placed preverbally,
when they are deliberately focused for emphasis in a sentence and, though the language does permit this syntactic fronting, generally it sounds awkward. The examples below will elucidate my point.

(124) *Níbo ní o ní lo BAYII?*  
Where is you INCOMP go now?  
‘Where ARE you going now/at moment?’

(125) *Níbo ní o ní lo LANAA?*  
Where is you INCOMP go yesterday?  
‘Where WERE you going yesterday?’

(126) *Mo ní jéun LOWQ.*  
I INCOMP eat at hand/this moment  
‘I AM busy eating/I am eating at moment.’

(127) *Mo ní jéun NIJETÁ.*  
I INCOMP eat day before yesterday  
‘I WAS eating day before yesterday.’

In examples (124) and (125) above, the only indicators of time are the adverbs ‘báyií’ (now) and ‘lánàá’ (yesterday). The former adds the notion of present while the latter gives it a past interpretation. Otherwise the two expressions are devoid of any specific notion of time. The same is applicable to (126) and (127). In (126), ‘lówó’ (at the moment/hand) gives it a present time frame while ‘níjeta’ (day before yesterday) gives example (127) a past frame of time. In the absence of ‘níjeta’ in (127), the sentence could also have a present interpretation.

(128) *Mo rí Kíké BAYII.*  
I see Kiké now.  
‘I (can) SEE Kike (right) now/this moment.’

(129) *Mo rí Kíké LAAARQ YII.*  
I see Kiké morning this.  
‘I SAW Kike this morning.’

Likewise in (128) and (129), it is ‘báyií’ (now) and ‘lááárò yii’ (this morning) that help us fix the two similar expressions in time. In all of the
above given examples, the time adverbials refer to a more specific frame of time in which an action or an event took place. In (130-132), examples are provided of some less time-specific adverbials.

(130) Mo màa lọ sibi-iṣẹ LAIPE.
1pS ANTI go to+workplace soon
‘I will be going to work soon/I am looking forward to going to work soon/I anticipate to be at work soon.’

(131) A ti pàde rè NIGBA KAN RI.
1pP RELAT meet 2pS some time ago
‘We have met her/him sometime ago/We’ve met before.’

(132) Awọn baba wa jagun LAYE ATIJΩ.
PLURAL father 1pPOBJ fought in+world+of old
‘Our (fore)fathers fought wars in days gone by/in time of old.’

In (130) the time reference is indicated by the use of the time adverb, ‘lái pé’ (soon), which also places the expression in the future. In (131), the only element of time is introduced by the use of the adverb ‘nígbàkánří’ (some time ago). Similarly, in (132), it is the adverb ‘láyé àtijó’ (in the olden days) that provides a time frame to the sentence.

Bolorunduro attempted to classify these adverbs of time into two main categories--specific and general--but appears to have jumbled them together. For instance he classified ‘lósòósán’ (every afternoon/in the afternoons) and ‘lójoojúmó’ (daily/everyday) under “Specific Time Adverbial” while, for reasons best known only to him, ‘lálaalé’ (every night/nightly) was classified under “General Time Adverbial” (p. 25). Apart from such minor problems as discussed above, I think the categorization of the time adverbials into general and specific is largely accurate and does have some merit.

It is evident from the above examples that although tense is not morphologically marked on YL verbs, the language does have its own way of indicating time relations, if and when it is important to do so.
CHAPTER 3
ASPECT IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH

The treatment of tense and aspect in NE is one of the most interesting aspects of EL usage. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, YL is largely an aspectual language while EL is primarily a tensed one. In fact, the place of tense is so strong in EL that aspect is often treated as tense. A good example of this is the so-called Perfect Tenses, which are apparently aspectual in nature. Take the following EL sentences for instance,

(1) I ate. (Past Simple Tense)
(2) I have eaten. ("Present Perfect Tense")

Example (1) above deals with an activity that took place in the past: the act of eating took place at some point in the past and is completed. In example (2), however, we are not as much concerned with the time of the performance of the activity as with its internal state, i.e. the completion of the act of eating, relative to the moment of speech. It is clear from example (2) that what we are dealing with here is aspect rather than tense. However, most English grammar books refer to it as tense. It is this kind of grammatical analysis that has been carried over into YL by grammarians, who have mostly been trained in the United Kingdom. The effect of this training often shows itself in descriptions of YL made from an EL perspective. For instance, Bamgbose (1967: 26) classifies examples (3-4) below as "Continuous Tense", (5-6) as "Habitual Tense" and (7-8) as "Future Tense", although these can more appropriately be seen as examples of aspect. In fact, the terms "continuous" and "habitual"
themselves betray them as aspects and not tenses, especially since these are generally used in the literature to describe aspect markers.

(3) A nsise ‘We are working’.
(4) Nwon tie nkorin daadaa ‘They are even singing well’.
(5) A maa nkorin ‘We usually sing’.
(6) Emi maa nlo soko ‘I usually go to the farm’.
(7) Awa yo. mo ‘We will know’.
(8) Ojo ma ro ‘It’s going to rain’.

A more accurate classification of the above should have been as follows:

(3-4) as Incompletive ASPECT, (5-6) as Habitual ASPECT, (7) as Intentional ASPECT and (8) as Anticipative ASPECT. A reanalysis of the above sentences is provided in (9-14) below. It is also interesting to note that Bamgbose had attached most of these aspect markers to the verbs, as though they were affixes, so they could agree with EL morphologically based tense analysis. He also split some aspect markers (e.g. the HABITUAL ‘máa n’ in (5-6)), using the first one ‘máa’ as a clitic and the second ‘n’ as an affix, thus creating quite some confusion. In my analysis, both aspect markers are treated as one unit of a complex aspect form (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.3.7). A reanalysis of Bamgbose’s examples (3-8) above appear as (9-14) below,

(9) A ́ n’ sısié.
1pP INCOMPLETIVE work
‘We are working/were working.’

(10) Wón tiè n’ kɔrin dàadáa.
3pP even INCOMPLETIVE sing well
‘They are even singing/were even singing well.’

(11) A máa n’ kɔrin.
1pP HABITUAL sing
‘We usually sing/ususally sang.’

(12) Emi máa n’ lo sóko.
1pSEmp HABITUAL go DIRECTIONAL+farm
‘I (for sure) usually go/ususally went to the farm.’
The above reanalysis raises a few questions that must be answered. First, what Bamgbose had analysed as three “tenses” (Continuous, Habitual and Future) are actually four separate aspects (INCOMPLETE, HABITUAL, INTENTIONAL and ANTICIPATIVE). Bamgbose calls the HABITUAL a “tense”, however, within the structure of YL it is an ASPECT. Also, what he calls the “future tense” is a result of reliance on a long tradition of translation instead of looking at the structure of the language itself. Properly analyzed, Bamgbose’s “future” becomes two separate and different aspects -- the INTENTIONAL (7) and the ANTICIPATIVE (8). Actually, both the INTENTIONAL and ANTICIPATIVE are two forms of the IRREALIS group of aspects, the former having a completive and the latter an incompletive sense. ‘Yió’ in example (13) is the irrealis counterpart of the completive (unmarked) aspect. As has been amply explained in chapter two, sections 2.3.2.4 and 2.3.2.5, the intentional ‘yió’ is structurally different from the anticipative ‘máa’. Whereas the anticipative takes a regular pronoun, the intentional occurs principally with an emphatic pronoun. For instance, while (15) below is grammatical, (16) is not. However, both (17) and (18) are allowed. Thus, the intentional is more restrictive in its usage than the anticipative.

(13)  
\[ \text{Awa } \text{yió } mó. \]
1pPEmp INTENTIONAL know
\[ \text{‘We definitely intend to know/We definitely will know.’} \]

(14)  
\[ \text{Ojóó } \text{máa } rọ. \]
Rain ANTICIPATIVE fall
\[ \text{‘We anticipate rain to/will fall.’} \]

(15)  
\[ \text{Emi } \text{yió } lọ. \]
1pSEmp INTEN go
\[ \text{‘I will go/ I intend to go.’} \]

(16)  
\[ \text{*Mo } \text{yió } lọ. \]
1pS INTEN go

However, both (17) and (18) are allowed. Thus, the intentional is more restrictive in its usage than the anticipative.
Secondly, the fact that the denomination “tense” is inaccurate is clear from the fact that what Bamgbose calls the “Continuous Tense” (3-4) and “Habitual Tense” (5-6) could be interpreted as having already taken place in the past or are taking place in the present, depending on the context, as is clearly evident in the reanalysis in examples (9-10) and (11-12) respectively, or by a simple addition of time adverbs, as in examples (19-26) below. Thus, it is misleading to refer to them as tense, especially since one tense can refer only to one possible time--past, present or future--and not two time frames simultaneously, as Bamgbose’s analysis suggests.

Examples of Incompletive as a Present (/n' + /lówò/)

(19) A  n'  śisé  LÒWÒ
  1pP  INCOMPLETIVE  work  now
  ‘We are busy working (right now).’

Examples of Incompletive as a Past (/n' + /lánàá/)

(20) A  n'  śisé  LÀNÀA.
  1pP  INCOMPLETIVE  work  yesterday
  ‘We were working yesterday.’

Examples of Incompletive as a Present (/n' + /lówò/)

(21) Wǒn  tié  n'  kòrin  dàádáá  LÒWÒ,
  3pP  even  INCOMPLETIVE  sing  well  now
  ‘They are even singing well (this very moment).’
Examples of Incompletive as a Past (/n/ + /lánå/) 

(22) Wón tiè ni korin dáadáa LANAA.  
3PP even INCOMPLETIVE sing well yesterday  
'They were even singing well yesterday.'

In the examples above, the notion of time is not conveyed by the aspect marker ‘n’, but rather by the time adverbs, LOWO (now/at moment/at this time/ at hand) and LANAA (yesterday) respectively. In the absence of these adverbs of time, each of the sentences could be rendered either in the present or in the past, leaving us with context only to decipher their location in time, if we must indicate time. Thus, sentence (19), without the adverb ‘LOWO’ could be translated as either ‘We ARE working’ or ‘We WERE working’ and (21) without the adverb ‘LANAA’ could mean either ‘They ARE even singing well’ or ‘They WERE even singing well.’ The concept of time, therefore, is introduced only with the addition of the time adverbs ‘LOWO,’ in (19) and (21) and ‘LANAA’ in (20) and (22) respectively.

Habitual + Adverb of Time

(23) A máa ni korin lójoojúmò.  
1P HABITUAL sing daily  
'We sing everyday.'

(24) A máa ni korin nígbáti a jé èwe.  
1P HABITUAL sing when 1P be youth  
'We used to sing when we were young.'

(25) Emi máa ni lọ sóko lójoojúmò.  
1PSEmp HABITUAL go to+farm daily  
'I do go to the farm everyday.'

(26) Emi máa ni lọ sóko nígbàkan rí.  
1PSEmp HABITUAL go to+farm sometime ago  
'I used to go to the farm sometime ago (in the past).'

The analysis for (19-22) is equally valid for (23-26). In (23) and (25), it is the time adverb ‘LOJOOJUMO’ (daily, everyday) that conveys a sense of time
while in (24) and (26) it is the adverbial phrases ‘NIGBATI A JE EWE’ and ‘NIGBAKAN RI’ respectively. In the absence of these subordinate clauses of time, all four sentences could have either a present or a past interpretation.

NE speakers often use aspect markers where a British or American speaker of English would use tense. The works of Amos Tutuola are replete with such transfers and a knowledge of this difference is crucial to understanding the language and works of Tutuola and many other YL speakers of English. The rest of this chapter will be devoted to this aspect transfer.

3.1 Amos Tutuola: the Man

Amos Tutuola was born in 1920 in Abeokuta, a city about 64 miles from Lagos, the commercial capital (and for many decades the political capital) of Nigeria and passed on to the “Deads’ Town” (to use his own terminology) on Saturday, June 7, 1997, having lived a long, fruitful and often controversial life. He was 77 when he died quietly at his home in Odô-Onà, in the suburbs of Ibadan, another major Yoruba city, next only to Lagos in demographic importance. In spite of his international popularity, he died unsung at home, in obscurity and almost destitute.

Here is what Oyekan Owomoyela had to say in his full-length book on Amos Tutuola,

He died as he had lived, amid uncertainties, contradictions, and controversy. The causes and circumstances of his death reflect a major contradiction in his life and career. Diabetes and hypertension, the conditions to which he succumbed, need not prove fatal to a patient able to afford proper medical care; unfortunately Tutuola was not, for despite his literary success and international fame, at the time of his death, he was destitute. In the view of many who mourned him, ... he got far less from life and much less from his society than he deserved. ... His virtual local anonymity in his last days, despite his international fame, is also something of a contradiction. (Owomoyela, 1999: 146, my emphasis).
Abeokuta (meaning “beneath the stone/rock” in Yoruba), Tutuola’s birth place and hometown, is one of the major cities of the Yoruba, located in the rain-forest region of south-western Nigeria, a geographical location that would later inform, shape and influence his writings. The spiritual atmosphere of Abeokuta and its environs during Tutuola’s growing years was that of a syncretism birthed by the presence of a strong Yoruba traditional belief and value systems and a heavy Christian missionary activity, mostly by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S).

Tutuola hailed from an honorable and respectable background. According to Michael Thelwell in his informative introduction to *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, Tutuola’s grandfather, the Odafin Odegbami, was a well respected administrative ruler among his people, being one of the sub-chiefs and spiritual leaders of Abeokuta. He had six wives and more than twenty children. As a spiritual leader of his people, he was a practitioner of one the African traditional religions--Ogún. In fact, his name, “Odegbami” itself means ‘the deity Ogún saves’, or ‘accepts me’. Ogún is the Yoruba patron deity of hunters, smiths and warriors; the god of iron, fire, technological knowhow and political authority.

Amos Tutuola’s father, Charles Tutuola Odegbami, had three wives and several children. Although his parents were firm believers in Yoruba traditions and values, they had converted to Christianity as a result of strong missionary activity in Abeokuta area during most of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Thus, Tutuola was born into an extended family in which Yoruba traditional religion was practised side by side with European-introduced Christianity, a background that would forever influence his outlook, life and works. Although Tutuola’s grandparents practised indigenous Yoruba religion, his parents were firm believers in the Christian religion.
Tutuola has been quoted as saying that “I met my father and mother as Christians” (Tutuola 1984: 182). Thelwell believes that it is this conflicting religious background that must have influenced Tutuola’s decision to change his name from Olátúbösún (his given name, meaning “wealth or honor is still increasing”) to Amos (most probably his baptismal name), a name reminiscent of the biblical fiery prophet of righteousness in the Jewish Old Testament. Changing his last name from Odégbámí (his family name, bearing loyalty to the deity, Ogún) to Tútùólá, his father’s given name (meaning “fresh wealth”, and with no religious connotations) is reminiscent and indicative of the then Christian missionary practise of asking their adherents to expunge from their names any references or allusions to African deities. This is how Olátúbösún Odégbámí became Amos Tútùólá, the name by which Tutuola is now known and recognized around the world. In this name lies the history of Tutuola’s transformation as well as an important key to understanding his works, works that mix Yoruba beliefs and cosmology with Christian beliefs and western technology and transfer underlying Yoruba linguistic structures into English to produce writings that appeal to both Yoruba and English speakers alike.

As one of several children in a large family, Tutuola had a rough time growing up, especially with regard to his academic upbringing. As a struggling cocoa farmer, his father could not afford the luxury of sending him to school, at least not without some help from the extended family. His father’s meagre income from cocoa farming was not sufficient to take care of his large family and send all the children to school. Although cocoa was a major cash crop, most of the profit that came from it went, unfortunately, to the colonial authority and the few middle men that it had created and very little to the hardworking farmers who owned the land and did most of the work. Thus, his father struggled financially and was able, with some help, only to put Tutuola
into school for a few years. His uncle, Mr. Dalley, arranged for him to live with his friend, Mr. F. O. Monu, a civil servant, to earn his tuition working for the latter as a household servant. The young Tutuola quickly jumped at this opportunity and left his father to live with Monu, while working his way through school at the Salvation Army School, Abeokuta. He was, then, about 12-14 when he began his formal education, but quickly proved himself to be a brilliant and promising student. This is what Tutuola had to say himself about his academic abilities and potentials,

I started my first education at the Salvation Army School, Abeokuta, in the year 1934, and Mr. Monu was paying my school fees regularly, which were 1/6 a quarter, and also buying the school materials, etc., for me. But as I had the quicker brain than the other boys in our class (Class I infant), I was given the special promotion from Class I to Std. I at the end of the year... [M]y weekly report card columns were always marked 1st position on every week-end, which means I was the first boy out of 50 boys in the class throughout the year. At the end of that year I was in the 1st position out of 150 boys and this was the final examination of the year. (Tutuola, 1953: 126-127).

Tutuola later on moved to Lagos with his employer and there enrolled at the Lagos High School where he continued with his education. However, due to the verbal and physical abuse he suffered from his master's wife (whom he unflatteringly referred to as a "cruel and hard-hearted woman"), he had to return to his native Abeokuta without completing his education. Upon his return home, he continued with his education at the Anglican Central School, Ipose Ake, also in Abeokuta. Here he remained until 1939, when his final hopes of completing his formal education were dashed as a result of his father's untimely death. He had had in all only six years of formal education.

After an unsuccessful attempt at farming, during a drought, he returned to Lagos the following year, but this time, to live with one of his half-brothers. Back in Lagos he successfully learnt blacksmithing which landed him a job as a coppersmith with the West African Air Corps of the British Royal Air Force in 1942. In 1945, following the end of the Second World War, he
was discharged from the Royal Air Force and made an attempt to establish his own blacksmithing practice but failed because he did not have enough capital to properly establish the business.

A year later, he wound up as a messenger with the Department of Labour in Lagos. It was during his tenure here that the idea of writing his first book, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and His Dead Palm-Wine Tapster in the Deads’ Town* came to him. It is said that he wrote the entire book within the space of two days (*Africana* 1999: 1905). It was his creative way of easing his boredom while working as a messenger, a job he would later on refer to as “this unsatisfactory job”. Although he wrote this first full-length narrative ever to be written by a West-African in the English language in 1946, this pioneering work would not be published until in 1952--six years after it had been written. He married Victoria Alake in 1947, the year after completing his audacious book. The couple was blessed with three children during their fruitful marriage, which lasted half a century. Tutuola also had three other wives with whom he had eight more children, bringing the total number of his children by all four wives to eleven (*West Africa* 1997: 1267).

In 1957 Tutuola secured a job as a storekeeper with the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in Lagos and was subsequently transferred to Ibadan where he continued with his writing career. At Ibadan, he teamed up with Professor Collis of the University of Ibadan to adapt his first book, *PWD*, for the stage while he worked on his fourth, *The Brave African Huntress* (henceforth *BAH*), published in 1958 by the same publishers, Faber and Faber, which had published his first three books and later would publish most of his books yet to be written.
3.2 Amos Tutuola: his Works


His first two novels, and by far his most popular -- The Palm-Wine Drinkard (henceforth PWD) and My Life in the Bush of Ghosts (henceforth LBG) -- were also adapted for the stage in Nigeria in 1958. PWD was first produced as a Yoruba opera in 1968 by the popular Yoruba dramatist Kólá Ogúnmólá. In 1995, a stage adaptation of LBG was presented in the United Kingdom as Nigeria’s entry play for the Africa95 international festival held in London that year. Several other performances of these two books have been made by various local operas since their first stage presentations, a testimony to their popularity among the masses of the people at the home front.

Tutuola’s popularity among non-élite Yoruba speakers and the “common Nigerian” could be attributed to the fact that his works spoke to their
hearts -- they could identify with the folktales and the folklores of their common backgrounds. Because his works and the way he used his language (i.e. English) conveyed the worldview of YL speakers, it was easy for the common people to identify with and appreciate his works. Although he drew from a common pool of knowledge, he went one step further by making that knowledge his own first before sharing it with an international audience.

Despite the hostile attitude towards Tutuola and his works and his apparent non-popularity among a large segment of the Nigerian educated élite, an excellent proof of the general popularity of Tutuola’s works and their influences on the Yoruba élite was Wole Soyinka’s staging of the PWD in Yorubaland, which was followed by several other stagings of both English and Yoruba versions by various theater groups across West Africa, especially in Nigeria and Ghana in the early sixties. In fact, according to Eko (1974:20), the first Yoruba stage adaptation and performance of PWD by Kola Ogunmola (with parallel English translation) in April 1963 “was an immense success with the public, especially African intellectuals, and received an excellent review from Wole Soyinka.”

It should also be observed that Tutuola’s fiction has received high praise from his fellow novelists. Soyinka (the internationally renowned playwright, author and critic and the 1986 winner of the Nobel prize in literature as well as the first black person to win this prestigious award) and Chinua Achebe (the acclaimed author of the world-famous Things Fall Apart, translated into some fifty languages around the world) are known to openly admire Tutuola and his works. Achebe is known to have referred to Tutuola as “the most moralistic of African writers” while Soyinka has popularized his works among the masses through theatrical performances. Both authors are the two most famous writers to come out of Nigeria, and probably Africa as a whole.
Tutuola has been unequivocally recognized as the first person to write any full-length narrative in English in Nigeria as well as the first West African writer of English expression to win considerable international attention. Ebele Eko has this to say about Tutuola’s pioneering effort:

Amos Tutuola was undeniably the first West African writer of English expression to win considerable international recognition. The publication of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* in 1952 marked the beginning of modern Nigerian literature and apparently took the literary world by surprise. An important review by Dylan Thomas launched the book on its way to fame and the author on his way to becoming one of the most controversial writers of modern African literature (Eko 1974:19, emphasis mine).

Bernth Lindfors, who has written a full-length *Critical Perspectives on Amos Tutuola* (1975) and has studied Tutuola and his works over several decades, has the following observation to make with regards to the publication of Tutuola’s pioneering work,

Amos Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* was the first substantial literary work written in English by a Nigerian author, and its publication in 1952 created a stir. (1973: 51)

In a posthumous eulogy recognizing Tutuola’s achievements, the editor of *West Africa* magazine referred to Tutuola’s first novel in the following terms

Today, this book is recognised as a significant milestone -- indeed, the first milestone -- on the long road that Nigerian authors writing in English have travelled since that time. *It was the national equivalent of The Canterbury Tales in British literature, Tutuola being anglophone Africa’s aboriginal Chaucer* (1997: 1268, my emphasis).

Tutuola, then, has been given credit for opening up the new field of modern African literature in English for Achebe, Soyinka and the other Nigerian writers who followed. It should be acknowledged, however, that although Tutuola pioneered creative writing in English, he himself was following in the footsteps of another compatriot and kinsman, Daniel O. Fagunwa, who was actually the first person to codify Yoruba folktales in
creative written form, the only difference being that he chose to write in Yoruba rather than in English. Just as Tutuola was influenced by his predecessor, Fagunwa, so also has Tutuola influenced Wole Soyinka. These three are inseparably linked to each other and are recognized as the three most outstanding Yoruba writers, all three drawing from the same sources -- their common background in a rich and vibrant tradition of storytelling and Yoruba folklore.

Tutuola built his literary career primarily by the creative retelling and expansion of Yoruba folktales, stories that not only he, but all other Yoruba children like him have heard recited again and again by adults under the bright moon-lit African sky. They are stories that have been told and retold, from one generation to another over the millennia. All of his eleven books draw from these common sources. Throughout his life, Tutuola’s goal was to preserve Yoruba culture by codifying his people’s folklore; his choice of language was English, but his was a modified English, an English that could convey adequately the culture he was trying to preserve without doing much damage to its originality and intensity, an English made to serve his people, an English created in the image and likeness of his people and their language.

Here, in his own words, is the reason Tutuola decided to put down into writing the folklore of his people and the reason he wrote the way he did,

I don’t want the past to die. I don’t want our culture to vanish. It’s not good. We are losing [our customs and traditions] now, but I’m still trying to bring them into memory. So far as I don’t want our culture to fade away, I don’t mind about English grammar ... I should feel free to write my story. I have not given my manuscript to any one who knows grammar to edit. (West Africa, 11-17 August, 1997: 1299)

What Tutuola was saying in essence is this: I will not be bogged down by trying to write English like an American or a British. I am going to domesticate the English language to serve my own ends. I am going to let it “bear the burden” of my experience. I am a man with a message and a mission and I shall not be
distracted by elitist critics. I will use the English language as an instrument to convey my mission to the next generation. I am trying to preserve the culture and customs of my people before it dies away. About a decade later, Chinua Achebe would capture the spirit of what Tutuola was doing with his English in the following often quoted response to those who feel that Africans must speak English like the British.

So my answer to the question, Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so. The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience...It will have to be a new English still in full communion with its ancestral home, but altered to suit its new African surroundings (1965: 29-30, all emphases mine).

But almost a decade before Tutuola’s novel came on the scene, another writer from far away India had already shared similar convictions in another well-known and often cited quotation

We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world around us as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish and the American. Time alone will justify it (Rao 1943: viii, my emphasis)

The existence of different varieties of EL is now a well established fact. Much has been written on Indian, South African, Liberian, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Cameroonian and other Englishes around the world. In fact, American English itself is a variety or dialect of English, with its own idiosyncracies that set it apart from the British or any other variety of EL.

What both Achebe and Rao said above is exactly what Tutuola has done, and this he has done well. Proof of his success is to be found in the effusive
praise and adulation showered upon him in numerous posthumous tributes in the Nigerian press after his passing away. One writer referred to him as “Nigeria’s Nobel Literature Laureate who never won” (West Africa 1997: 1266). Another described him as “an honored ancestor, an inspirational father figure to a whole generation of younger writers” (ibid.). Another tribute writer in the same article quoted above put it so well in one single but powerful sentence: “Tutuola may have died, but what he left to the world lives on” (p. 1267). In other words, Tutuola has left a lasting legacy to generations yet unborn.

When the London firm, Faber and Faber, published his first novel, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, on May 2, 1952, it became an instant success, mostly due to a positive review by Dylan Thomas in *The London Observer* of July 6, 1952. Other rave reviews of the book followed, especially after the American edition of PWD appeared the following year, issued by Grove Press. The seriousness with which the American audience took his work could be seen in the many reviews that it enjoyed in leading newspapers and magazines across the country. According to Ebele Eko, within three years of its publication, PWD was translated into four other European languages: French, German, Italian and Serbo-Croatian. (1974:19)

While Tutuola enjoyed mostly favorable reviews in Europe and America, the story was quite different at home; he was booed and jeered at by the Nigerian educated elite, who felt he had disgraced them because of the “unconventional” way in which he wrote his English. They were afraid Europeans would label them incompetent to acquire the “glorious” English language. They felt he was an anomaly and a disgrace because he had not followed strictly the rules of the “Queen’s English.” In short, they got stuck on his language and forgot to look at his message. Although many well-known
writers and critics, such as Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Harold Collins, Bernth Lindfors, to mention just a few, have come to appreciate and to positively appraise Tutuola's works and worth, there are still a few, mostly Nigerian, who feel Tutuola is not deserving of all the attention he is being accorded (cf. Owomoyela 1999). In the midst of all this, however, Tutuola is being discovered by others in other realms where his name had been hitherto practically unknown. He is now receiving honorable mention in science fiction circles (Hardman 1999: Personal communication). This is because the dividing line between science fiction and fantasy (SF & F) is sometimes very blurred and thin, and Tutuola's works are rich in the fantastic. It is therefore no surprise that SF & F is now claiming him as one of their own. This, definitely, will further expand the support base for Tutuola's works and increase his recognition around the world.

Furthermore, Tutuola's works and name also figure prominently on the world-wide web, especially on Amazon-dot-com, the commercial internet site that has become very popular in the book sales world. The public reviews of his works on this web site have been consistently very positive, as most reviewers have given his works five star ratings--the highest in that rating system. One internet reviewer and admirer had this to say about Tutuola and his use of the English language

Amos Tutuola is one of the handful of master stylists in the English of the 20th century ... Tutuola is, in fact, a stylist and not, as it once seemed possible, a naive product of an unusual and scanty education in English in Nigeria. The compelling factor in his style is his rhythm, presumably related to his mother tongue of Yoruba. It has something of the cyclical nature of extended drumming. (Harry Eager, Amazon.com, Inc.: 1998, my emphasis).

Another internet reviewer called Tutuola "The voice of the Yoruba people...when he died he was one of the most appreciated authors of the

3.3 Amos Tutuola: his Accomplishments

While Amos Tutuola was still alive, he was showered with many honors, but mostly outside Nigeria. In 1979 he was appointed a writer-in-residence at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ilé-Ifè, one of the most prestigious universities in Nigeria, located in the heart of Yorubaland. It was during this tenure at my alma mater that I met him for the first time when he was invited by my professor to come recite folktales to my freshman Literature in English class. Although I was fascinated by his English back then, I didn’t have much clue as to why he spoke the way he did. I could, however, identify with his stories. Tutuola’s use of language—the English language — was quite fascinating to me, as another Yoruba user of English, for it struck a chord within me, as I began to recognize underneath his English a lot of structures and usages that are very recognizably Yoruba. His stories are drawn from a commonly shared pool of Yoruba folklore, but with a personal touch and flavor that is distinctly his. It would take more than a decade after that initial encounter for me to revisit the man and his works. By this time I had already acquired enough linguistic tools to be able to begin to reappraise and appreciate his works and his then “strange” but harmonious and musical English. This is the English that Cyprian Ekwensi, another veteran Nigerian novelist, was referring to when he wrote

Tutuola wrote music with his words. Although his medium was prose, his writing appeared more musical, more lyrical and more poetic than many of those who actually set out to write poetry. (West Africa 1997: 1266, my emphases).
In 1983 Tutuola received three awards: USIA International Visitor Program, Fellow of the Iowa Writing Workshop, and an Honorary Citizenship of New Orleans. The following year he received the Grimzane and Cavour Prize in Italy. In 1989 he was made an Honorary Fellow of the Modern Language Association and in 1992 he was designated Noble Patron of the Arts by the Pan-African Writers Association, in recognition of his contribution to the African literary world. Three years later, in 1996, he received a Special Fellowship Award from the Oyo State Chapter of the National League of Veteran Journalists. Delivering an eulogy following his death in 1997, Cyprian Ekwensi recommended, among other things, that an Amos Tutuola Prize for Literature be established by the Federal Government of Nigeria as a well-deserving honor for the hardy literary pioneer.

Throughout his life and long career, Tutuola saw himself as a folklorist whose life ambition was to preserve Yoruba culture. He had always been fascinated by the folklore of his people and spent the rest of his life trying to preserve this legacy for generations to come. He had spent a lot of time with wise elders among his people, learning from them as they told their stories of days gone by. This way, he himself acquired the knack for story telling. Here, in his own words, is how he became the good storyteller that he later became:

[In school] we used to tell folktales to our schoolmates and teachers. Each time we got our holiday, I used to go to my people in the village. There was no radio or television, but our source of amusement was to tell folktales after dinner. I used to listen to old people and the folktales they told. Each time I returned to school, I told the story to other schoolmates and I became a very good storyteller. They used to give me presents for telling incredible folktales. (West Africa 1997: 1268, my emphasis).

A Yoruba proverb readily captures the experience Tutuola describes above: “Those who know how to wash their hands properly could eat with the elders” (i.e. if you humble yourself before the elders and conduct yourself
appropriately, you will eventually learn of their wise ways). Apparently Tutuola knew how to conduct himself well and was granted the honor of dining at the same table as the sages among his people.

3.4 Aspect in Tutuola’s Writings

What became Tutuola’s bane at the home front also became his blessing abroad--his use of English. The main reason he was villified and disdained by his detractors back home, who would not even take a serious look at his works was their response to the unconventional way he wrote. They felt his oral storytelling style would make native speakers of English in Europe and America look down on them as people who could not correctly acquire the “Queen’s English.” They felt his works would serve to confirm the erroneously held belief in some Western circles that Africans are too backward and are incapable of learning the noble ways of the West. That Tutuola was attracting a great deal of positive interest presented his critics with a serious problem. So great was the ripple that the publication of his pioneering work created in Nigeria that while he was still receiving highly positive reviews in the West, his fellow countrymen were writing criticisms intended to descredit the very authenticity and originality of his work. Instead of studying his language and trying to find out why he wrote the way he did, they dismissed it as the half-baked, uneducated babble of a childish mind. They went on to predict that the euphoria surrounding his works in the West would soon wane and that Tutuola would end up in the trash heap of history. Time, however, would prove them wrong, very wrong.

A closer look at Tutuola’s language reveals some fascinating and intriguing structures that the casual observer cannot simply discern from afar off. An unbiased and serious observer will, however, not go too far before
beginning to discover that there is a regularity and systematicity underlying the entire linguistic processes undergirding Tutuola’s language. Any person for whom Yoruba is a first language, however, can easily identify the underlying structures upon which Tutuola has superimposed his English.

Amos Tutuola has a way with language that defies the conventions of English grammar as set forth by the British, the introducers of this language on the Nigerian scene. He constantly weaves the grammar of his native Yoruba into that of the English of his writings and this is most obvious in the area of tense and aspect. Geoffrey Parrinder gives us an insight into this “non-conventional” use of EL in his introduction to Tutuola’s second book: My Life in the Bush of Ghosts (1954) when he comments,

Tutuola’s writing is original and highly imaginative. His direct style, made more vivid by his use of English as it is spoken in West Africa, is not polished or sophisticated and gives his stories unusual energy. It is a beginning of a new type of Afro-English literature ... (p. 12, my emphases).

A few decades later, a fellow Yoruba and a highly respected Professor of English at one of Nigeria’s foremost institutions of higher learning, Adebisi Afolayan, would identify Tutuola’s English as “‘Yoruba English’, a language possessing Yoruba deep grammar that nevertheless has many of the surface features of conventional English grammar.” (Parckh & Jagne 1998: 473, my emphasis). Harold Collins who wrote the first monograph on Tutuola spoke of Tutuola’s “imaginative use of the English language” and describes him as “A conscious craftsman whose unconventional English syntax, spelling and punctuation represent an artful technique that assists readers in comprehending Tutuola’s imaginary worlds where all conventional rules of order are suspended.” (1969).

What Afolayan and others are saying in essence is quite simple to understand by any Yoruba, or, for that matter, any Nigerian or West African
speaker of EL. The term “West African English” is already known and is well attested in the literature on New Englishes, but so is the term “Nigerian English” (cf. Bamgbose 1982, Ajani 1996a.) Under the umbrella of the latter, three main sub-varieties have been identified: Yoruba English (YE), Hausa English (HE) and Igbo English (IE), sub-varieties representing the three majority groups of Nigeria that constitute about 70% of the population. Thus, although there is a superordinate variety known as Nigerian English (NE), there are enough idiosyncracies in usage that makes the Hausa person use NE quite differently from say an Igbo or a Yoruba speaker of NE (cf. Odumuh 1987). The reason for this is not far fetched: the mother tongue (L1) of each of the speakers of the three sub-varieties mentioned above affects the way they use English. These differences come, in part, from the differences that exist among the various L1s. For instance, the way Tutuola and Soyinka use English is quite different from the way Achebe uses it. It is a well known fact that Achebe draws a lot from his Igbo background when he writes and this is most obvious in his world classic Things Fall Apart (1958) in which he uses a lot of his native Igbo proverbs, sayings and lexical items. The same could be said of Soyinka and his use of Yoruba vocabulary, sayings and especially cultural and religious items from Yoruba traditional religion. We find a lot of these in his popular Collected Plays (1973).

Of course, we do know, too, that the quality and amount of formal education acquired by the various speakers of the same sub-variety will also affect the amount of transfer from the L1 into the target language. Evidence for this can be seen in the NE versions of Tutuola and Soyinka. Whereas it is much easier to identify YL substratum in Tutuola’s NE, they are much more subtle in Soyinka’s works. The reason for this is that although both Soyinka and Tutuola speak the same dialect of YL, they stand at different points along
the continuum of YL and NE. Whereas Soyinka had a college education and even lived and worked in England for a while, Tutuola’s entire formal education lasted only six years and took place solely in Nigeria and Yorubaland specifically. This explains why although both authors draw heavily from their common background, Tutuola’s NE is much closer to YL while Soyinka’s is rather closer to EL.

What I will be attempting to do here is show some of the ways that the grammar of Tutuola’s first language reveals itself in the way he wrote in English. Using three of Tutuola’s earliest narratives—*The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (PWD), *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (LBG) and *The Brave African Huntress* (BAH)—I will also attempt to show that what Tutuola did with his language is neither strange, unusual nor unheard of. In fact, the systemacity we find in the whole process is proof that it is not random, but rather rule-governed. It is a normal occurence in any language contact situation, as many researches in contact linguistics and especially second language acquisition (SLA) amply attest. (Weinreich 1953, Nemser 1971, Selinker 1972, 1992; Corder 1978, Cook 1993, etc.) Kirk-Greene, in his article entitled “The Influence of West African Languages on English” rightly observes that

*The English used in West Africa reveals in varying degrees vernacular influences at the morphological, syntactic and semantic levels; as well, of course, as at the phonological level in spoken English. ... [C]haracteristic deviations from standard English usage may be ascribed to the influence exercised by a dominant West African language... there may result an English surface structure with a vernacular deep structure... The sub-stratum syntax is there, and now and again it comes to the surface.* (Spencer 1971: 141,131, 133, all emphases mine)

Thus Spencer and several others mentioned earlier in this section have correctly pointed out certain identifying features of West African and Nigerian English, features at different levels of the grammar: syntactic, morphological and semantic; phonological, stylistic, etc. Tutuola’s works are
replete with examples of the influence of the YL aspectual system, which shall be the focus of the rest of this chapter.

The Corpus

My corpus, gleaned from the three narratives of Tutuola just mentioned (The Palm-Wine Drinkard, My Life in the Bush of Ghosts and The Brave African Huntress), contains 50 pages of data, with 200 separate entries. The statistical breakdown of the corpus, according to number of pages, number of entries and percentage of total is provided in table 3.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th># of Entries</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant-Inceptive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of the above table shows that of a total 200 entries covering 50 pages of data, the incompletive aspect makes up 72%, with 144 entries, covering 36 pages. The habitual comes next in order of significance, with 20% and 40 entries, spanning 10 pages of data. Next comes the anticipative, with only 4% of the total, having just 8 entries in 2 pages of data. Least represented and almost insignificant are the relational and relevant-inceptive, both of which make up a meager 4% of the total corpus, with 4 entries each spread over 1 page of data respectively. From a statistical perspective, only the
incompletive and the habitual appear to be of any significance, with both gulping 184 of a 200-page data, a whopping 92% of the whole corpus, leaving the remaining aspects to share a mere 8% of data space. Of the two most attested aspects, the incompletive far outweighs the habitual by an almost 4 to 1 margin. Other aspects not attested in the data are the completive, the intentional, the backgrander, the expective, the inceptive, the manifestive and the antecedent completion.

A breakdown of the corpus reveals that Tutuola tends to transfer mostly the incompletive and the habitual aspects. Standing at two pages and one page of data each, transfer of the anticipative, the relational and the relevant-inceptive aspects are not very significant. My focus therefore will be placed on the two aspects with the most significant amount of transfer: the incompletive and the habitual.

3.4.1 The Incompletive Aspect ‘n’

As has been mentioned above, Tutuola appears to transfer the incompletive aspect far more than any of the other eleven aspects in YL. In fact, taking 72% of the total, it stands far apart from all the other aspects combined. As one of the simple aspects, the incompletive has only a single marker, ‘n’ and does not have a specific time referent (cf. Section 2.3.2.2). Its basic referent is the ongoingness of an activity, event or situation. Time: present, past or future is not relevant to this aspect, as it could deal with all of these, depending on the context of usage. Take the following examples for instance,

(27) Mo pàdée Kiké nígáštì mo n’ lo sEkòó lánàá.
1pS meet Kike when 1pS INCOM. go to+Lagos yesterday
‘I met Kike on my way to Lagos yesterday.’
In example (27), the main indicator of time is the time adverbial, ‘lánàá’ (yesterday), although it still lends itself to a past interpretation due to the use of the completive aspect (unmarked). In spite of this, though, the real marker of time is the adverb ‘lánàá’. Actually the sentence could not have the completive interpretation that it has were it not for the main clause, “Mo pàdée Kíké...” for it is the main clause that is written in the completive aspect. If we were left only with the subordinate clause, “Mo n lo sEkòó lánàá”, as in example (27b) then the sentence could not have a past interpretation without the adverb, ‘lánàá’--the only indicator of time in that sentence. Thus (27b) lends itself to no particular time interpretation and we need a time adverb to assign it to any specific time frame. Otherwise the statement itself is tenseless.

Similarly, in (28), it is the adverb of time, ‘báyií’ (right now, this moment) that lends the statement any sense of time. Otherwise, it could have either a past or a present, or even a future interpretation, depending on the context of usage. What is true of (28) is equally true of (29). The statement, “Mo n lo sOgbómòsò” alone, without the time adverbial ‘íọlà’ (tomorrow) is devoid of any sense of time. What gives it a future interpretation is the inclusion of this futuristic adverb.

What we see from these examples is that the incompletive covers the entire gamut of all the three major tenses of English. It is therefore not
surprising that Tutuola easily transfers it into EL, using it to cover various tenses of EL in his works, as demonstrated in the data below.

3.4.1.1 Examples of Incompletive Referring to a Past Event:

The past tense in EL has several manifestations, the most basic ones being the past simple, past continuous and the past perfect. The data show a lot of contexts that require the past simple in BE being translated into the past continuous forms in Tutuola’s EL. There are a few other contexts that call for the past continuous but which Tutuola renders in the present continuous tense. In all instances, the YL incompletive aspect adequately translates the ideas carried by these EL tenses. I will take each of these past tense forms one by one and explain them within the contexts in which they appear in the data.

Contexts Requiring the Past Simple Tense in BE

(30) I thought within myself that old people were saying that the people who died in this world, did not go to heaven directly, but they were living in one place somewhere in this world. (Appendix: 1)

(31) He picked one cowrie out of the pit, after that he was running towards me, and the whole crowd wanted to tie the cowrie on my neck too. (Appendix: 2)

(32) I was told that he was now at Dead’s town” and they told me that he was living with deads at the “Dead’s town”, they told me that the town was very far away and only deads were living there. (Appendix: 2)

(33) After a while he came out with two of his attendants who were following him to wherever he wanted to go. Then the attendants loosened me from the stump, so he mounted me and the two attendants were following him with whips in their hands and flogging me along in the bush. (Appendix: 3)

In all four of the examples above, Tutuola uses the past continuous in NE to render situations that would have required the past simple tense forms in BE. For instance, the appropriate BE rendition for Tutuola’s were living in (30) above would be the simple past form, lived. The same is true of was
running in (31), which should be rendered simply as ran in BE. In example (32), BE requires the past simple form of the verb: lived. Similarly, in (33), BE would have required the simple form, followed rather than Tutuola’s were following. It is quite easy to explain what Tutuola is doing in all these instances: he was translating his thoughts from the Yoruba where the incompletive, ni adequately renders all of the scenarios represented here. In examples (30b-33b) below, I will be providing the YL rendition of the EL clauses that contain these BE tense forms.

(30b) sügbón won ni gbé ni ibikan
but they INCOM.+live PREP somewhere
‘but they live/lived/are living/were living somewhere’

Devoid of the specific context in which we find clause (30b), it could have any of the above interpretations in BE. The YL clause from which Tutuola translates his idea could have a present simple or a past simple interpretation. It could also be translated into the EL present or past continuous tenses, as context dictates. In the Yoruba mind, all that matters is that the state of the verb is tenseless. It is still in an inconclusive or incompletive stage. It could be interpreted as, ‘they live there; they are (still) living there; they lived there or they were (still) living there’. Since the context of usage dictates a past event, however, Tutuola renders the auxiliary verb (were) in its past tense form, but puts the main verb (living) in the continuous form, thus giving it an incompletive sense.

(31b) léhin näa ó ní sáré bò sódó mi
after that 3pS INCOM.+run come towards me
‘after that he runs/ran/is running/was running towards me’
In (31b), as in (30b), the idea Tutuola is translating into EL is the YL incompletive ‘n’ sáré’ which could be conveniently rendered by the BE runs, is running, ran, was running’. To the YL speaker, the important thing here is that the activity of running is incompletive, and this could be in the past or in the present, if context so dictates. Again, since the context of usage presupposes a past time frame, Tutuola uses the past form for the auxiliary verb (was), but since the action is inconclusive, he renders the main verb in the continuous form ‘running’.

(32b) ìwọn ọkú nikan ni ó si ní gbé ibè
PLUR. dead only be 3pS and INCOM.+live there
‘and only the dead live/lived/are living/were living there’

Example (32b) is similar to (30b) in that both use the same verbs. The explanation is therefore the same in both instances. Here, as in (30b), Tutuola is translating the YL ‘n’ gbé’: live, lived, are living, were living. Again, the context dictates an activity that took place before the present time; however, it still was continuous during that time frame, thus Tutuola’s justification for using the past continuous form in EL.

(33b) ìwọn ọmọ-ọdọ rè méji tí ó ní télé e
PLUR. attendants 3pS two who 3pS INCOM.+follow 3pSObj
‘two of his attendants who follow/followed/are following/were following/keep following/kept following him’

Again, the YL ‘n’ télé’ could be rendered as any of the above. It could translate the BE ‘are following, were following; follow, followed; keep following and kept following’, context being the deciding factor in all cases. Since Tutuola is narrating an event that has already taken place, once more, he reverts to the past continuous form in EL. The past continuous giving a sense of the past, but also capturing the YL sense of incompleteness.
The YL rendition in (30b-33b) above throw some light into what was going on in Tutuola’s mind when he wrote those sentences. He was making his constructions in YL and translating them into EL. Since in YL, the incompletive adequately translates all of the above temporal situations, Tutuola therefore renders all of them in the past progressive form in NE. The issue in YL is not that of the time of the performance of the various activities involved but rather their ongoingness. The activities involved were not completive. They were still in the process of happening. What Tutuola does, both here and elsewhere, is what Young captures so well in the following quote.

Alongside experiment runs writing drawing upon the indigenous languages unconsciously because of the amount of European education the writer happened to receive. Amos Tutuola is the best known representative of this group ... Tutuola ... perhaps sheds light on the complexity of the influence of indigenous languages, in this case Yoruba, on the language of writing in English. He writes first in his own language and himself translates it into English. This naturally has its effect on the language of his works. (Young 1971: 180, emphasis added).

**Contexts Requiring the Past Continuous in BF**

Not only does Tutuola use the past continuous tense for situations that call for the use of the simple past in BE but he sometimes uses the present continuous tense where BE requires the past continuous. An instance of this is captured in the data provided below

(34) Then I told the old man (god) that I am looking for my palm-wine tapster who had died in my town some time ago, he did not answer to my question but asked me first what was my name (Appendix: 1)

In (34) Tutuola uses the present simple form, to describe an event that took place in the past. The accurate BE version should have been the past continuous form, ‘was looking’. However, what Tutuola does here is very typical of YL speakers of NE, including, once in a while, the so-called educated élite who have been well schooled in the British and American traditions. The
reason for this is not far fetched, in YL the verb is not inflected for tense and the aspect markers do not point to any specific time frame. It is therefore easy for the YL speaker of EL to transfer this linguistic habit into EL. A YL translation of the clause containing this verb form will further clarify my point.

(34b) pé mo ní wá adémuù mi
that 1pS INCOM. looking for palm-wine tapper 1pSOBJ
‘that I am/was looking for my palm-wine tapper’.

The aspect/verb combination ‘ní wá’ could be translated either as ‘am looking for’ or ‘was looking for’ since the aspect marker ‘ní’ does not have any time indication. Although, in the data, the context calls for a past time frame, Tutuola still uses a present time frame anyhow. This type of transfer is very unconscious for YL speakers who also unconsciously use the feminine and masculine forms of the third person EL subject pronouns she and he often indiscriminately. I have caught myself doing this many a time already and I have caught many a Yoruba speaker of EL, including the most educated and sophisticated, doing this at various times. Some have even attempted to deny doing so although caught red handed. The reason for this subconscious transfer is not far fetched either; in YL, the third person singular subject pronoun is not inflected for gender nor is it differentiated for humanness, as is the case in EL. In fact there is only one marker for the semantic fields covered by EL she, he and it. It is the pronoun ‘ó’. This pronoun is used for both humans and non-humans, female or male. Thus “ó ti dé” could mean either of “She is here”, “He is here” or “It is here".
3.4.2 Verbs that do not take -ing in BE

Another interesting area of Tutuola's transfer of the YL incompletive is that involving certain EL verbs of perception such as 'to hear' and 'to see'. In BE grammar, these verbs cannot take the -ing inflection in the general sense of their meaning. In the following examples, (35a) and (36a) are ungrammatical while (35b) and (36b) are not.

*(35a) I am hearing you.
(35b) I can hear you.
(35c) I am listening to you
*(36a) I am seeing you.
(36b) I can see you.
(36c) I am seeing her.

In (35a), the verb 'hear' can only be rendered in the simple form even if the act of hearing has an incompletive sense. BE has two possible ways of rendering this: either in the form in (35b) or (35c), although in (35c) a different verb has to be used. In (35b) the verb 'hear' is preceded by the modal 'can.' The verb 'to listen' is allowed to have an -ing inflection, however.

In (36a), BE grammar blocks the -ing form of the verb 'to see', except, of course, as a gerund. Notice (36c), however. In this example, the verb 'to see' can take the -ing form, but then its meaning is no longer the same. Now it has a meaning synonymous with 'dating'. Thus, "I am seeing her" does not have the sense of "I am looking at her," but rather, I am currently in a dating relationship with her.

In YL, however, the semantic field of the verb 'gbó' includes all of EL's 'to hear', 'to listen', 'to understand' as well as 'to smell'. The sense is that of 'to perceive'. Thus in YL you can 'gbó', a smell, a sound or even someone. The following examples will clarify what I am saying.

(37) Mo ní gbo ọdùn nnkan.
Ips INCOM. perceive smell something
'I can smell something'.
'I can perceive the smell of something'.

(38) Mo ni gbó ohun tí o ni so.
1pS INCOM. listen thing that 2pS INCOM. say
'I am listening to what you are saying.'

(39) Mo ni gbóyín.
1pS INCOM. listen 2pP
'I am listening to you.'

(40) Mo gbó ohun tí o so.
1pS understand thing that 2pS say
'I understand what you said.'

(41) Mi o gbó ohun tí o so.
1pS NEG. hear thing that 2pS say
'I did not hear what you said.'

In (37), gbó has the sense of 'perceive', while in (38) and (39) the sense is that of 'to listen'. In (40), the sense is that of 'understand' and in (41) it means 'to hear'. What the examples above show is that the semantic field of 'gbó' in YL is quite broad, covering the meanings of all of the following EL verbs: to hear, to listen, to understand and to perceive.

Due to the broad nature of the usage of this verb in YL, one often hear YL speakers of English utter the following utterances, which have become some of the characteristic features of NE:

(42) She doesn't hear word.
(43) I am hearing you.
(44) I can hear a smell.
(45) Do you hear me?

The BE interpretation of (42-45) above is listed as (42b-45b) below

(42b) She doesn’t listen.
(43b) I am listening to you (Depending on the context, this could also have the sense of "I can hear you").
(44b) I can perceive a smell.
(45b) Do you understand me?

In the above situations it is apparent that the YL speaker assigns the same semantic value to the EL verb 'to hear' that is attached to the YL verb 'gbó' thus using 'hear' in all the instances where the BE speaker of EL would have used different verbs, such as listen, perceive and understand. The BE
verb 'hear' is thus extended to include the role normally assigned to all of the above verbs of perception whereby 'to hear' actually means 'to perceive.'

Examples (46) through (51) are instances involving Tutuola's transfer of the YL incompletedive aspect onto certain verbs of perception to produce structures that would be considered ungrammatical in British English (BE).

(46) So that since that day that I had brought Death out from his house, he has no permanent place to dwell or stay, and we are hearing his name about in the world (Appendix: 1).

In (46), we find Tutuola transferring the YL 'a sì ní gbó orúko rè' into EL to produce the 'and we are hearing his name' in the above passage. The more precise BE translation of this clause would be 'and we continue to hear his name' or 'and we still hear his name.' Or it could even be rendered by the passive, 'and his name is still being heard.' Tutuola's 'and we are hearing his name' is ungrammatical in BE, as the verb 'to hear' is not allowed to take a progressive form, except, of course, as a gerund.

In example (47), we find the same type of scenario. Again, Tutuola adds an -ing ending to a verb that normally does not take an -ing ending in BE. He signals that the event took place in the past by using the past tense form of the auxiliary verb, 'was.' The -ing ending captures the sense of the YL incompletedive aspect. The more accurate BE rendition of Tutuola's 'and when the "homeless-ghost" was hearing my voice inside the wood" would be 'and when the "homeless-ghost" heard my voice inside the wood.'

(47) But as this snake was also fearful to me too, then I was crying louder than before, and when the "homeless-ghost" was hearing my voice inside this wood, it was a lofty music for him, then he started to dance the ghosts' dance ... (Appendix: 6).

Other instances involving a peculiar use of EL perception verbs are given in examples (48-52). In (48) an accurate BE rendition would be 'we
heard faintly'. In (49), BE would have required the simple past form, 'was heard'. The same analysis goes for the verb 'to see' in (50-52) where Tutuola uses the unacceptable form of the verb 'was seeing' to translate the YL incompletive form 'n rř'. In all the examples cited, Tutuola ignores some restrictive rules guiding the use of certain verbs of perception, such as 'to hear' and 'to see.' These verbs are not permitted to carry the -iing inflection in the contexts in which we find them in Tutuola's usage.

(48) As these hunters were still telling me the story of “Odara” as we were going along to the river, there we were hearing faintly, the noises which were coming from a long distance (Appendix: 11).

(49) When “Odara” came nearer all the hills and trees were shaking, his voice was hearing all over the jungle (Appendix: 12).

(50) After I travelled in this jungle for a few minutes -- the great fears, wonders, and uncountable of undescriptive strange things, which I was seeing here and there were stopped me by force (Appendix: 18).

(51) After I killed “obstacle” I travelled in this jungle till six o'clock in the evening. As I was travelling along it was so I was killing all the wild animals that I was seeing on the way (Appendix: 27).

(52) As I was looking for this boa constrictor it was so I was killing all the wild animals which I was seeing on the way. And in a few days time I killed the whole of them (Appendix: 30).

3.4.1.2 Examples Involving the Habitual Aspect‘máa rř’

Next in order of significance are examples involving the transfer of the YL habitual aspect to produce structures that perfectly make sense in YL and Yoruba English (YE) but are unacceptable in BE. These include rendering in the past continuous, and occasionally in the past perfect continuous tense, contexts that in BE would have required either the past simple (as in (57-59)) or the phrasal verb “used to” (as in.(53-56) below).
Contexts Requiring the Modal Verb Used to in BE

As with the other forms of transfer discussed earlier on, the data also contains many examples of the past continuous being used in contexts where BE would have required the “used to” form of the past tense. Examples (53-56) below are just a few of such instances. In all of these examples, the YL habitual aspect ‘máa ní’ adequately translates the ideas being conveyed.

The YL rendition of the phrase “I was drinking palm-wine from morning till night” in (53) is provided as (53b) below while those translating the ideas being conveyed by (54-56) are provided as (54b-56b) respectively.

(53) My father got eight children and I was the eldest among them, all of the rest were hard workers, but I myself was an expert palm-wine drinkard. I was drinking palm-wine from morning till night and from night till morning (Appendix: 37).

(53b) Mo máa ní mu emu láti áárọ di alé 1pS HABITUAL drink palm-wine from morning till night ‘I used to drink palm-wine from morning till night’

Examples (54-56) provide further instances where Tutuola transfers the YL habitual aspect to produce the past continuous tense in contexts that would have required the phrasal verb “used to”. Each example from the data is followed by a YL translation of the sentence or phrase containing the VP in order to elucidate what exactly was going on in Tutuola’s mind when he wrote those statements. In (54) for instance, his “was tapping” perfectly translates the YL “máa n dá” (54b).

(54) So my father gave me a palm-tree farm which was nine miles square and it contained 560,000 palm-trees, and this palm-wine tapster was tapping one hundred and fifty kegs of palm-wine every morning (Appendix: 37)

(54b) adému yií máa n dá àádójó agbè emu palm-wine tapper this HABIT. tap 150 keg palm-wine ‘this palm-wine tapper used to tap one hundred and fifty kegs of palm-wine’
Similarly, Tutuola’s “were doing” and “was doing” in (55) and (56) respectively, are a transfer of the YL habitual aspect ‘máa n’ (55b, 56b). All of the examples involve activities that took place continuously over a period of time before the present. They were habitual events. Thus Tutuola is more concerned about the internal consistency of the activities rather than in the time of their performance.

(55) I was seven years old before I understood the meaning of “bad” and “good”, because it was at that time I noticed carefully that my father married three wives as they were doing in those days, if it is not common nowadays (Appendix: 38).

(55b) bábá mi fẹ iyawọ métẹ bí wón se máa ní ọ lẹyé ọtijọ father my marry wife three as PLU.do HABIT. do in-world old ‘my father had married three wives as they used to do in days gone by/as the practice was in those days’

(56) Immediately I held the cudgel and I was expecting him to come down as he was doing before. A few minutes after that he did not hear the sound of my “shakabullah” gun again, he flew down (Appendix: 43).

(56b) mo ní rẹ́tí pé ó máa sọkále wá bí ó ọ se máa ní 1pS INCOM. hope that 3pS ANTI. descend come as 3pS do HABIT. ọ se rẹ́lè. do before ‘I was expecting him to come down as he used to do before.’

**Contexts Requiring the Past Simple Tense in BE**

Examples (57) through (59) provide instances of contexts in which BE would have required the past simple or past historic tense. Once again, Tutuola transfers the YL habitual aspect to derive the past continuous tense which is perfectly within the range of coverage of the former. The logic is simple: the activities took place in the past, thus the past tense forms witnessed in the auxiliary verb “were”. The activities were habitual, thus incompletive, so we have the -ing endings in the main verbs (assembling, coming, making). In Tutuola's mind, the BE verbs, met, assembled (57b), came (58b), made (59b), are too finite and punctual and do not do justice to the incompleteness and
ongoingness of the activities in question, thus his resort to the past continuous, which captures more vividly the internal consistency of the YL habitual aspect.

(57) It was in this town I saw that they had an "Exhibition of Smells'. All the ghosts of this town and environs were assembling yearly and having a special "Exhibition of Smells" and the highest prizes were given to one who had the worst smells and would be recognized as a king since that day (Appendix: 39).

(57b) Gbogbo òwọn òkú ilú yìi àti agbègbè rè máa ní All PLU. ghost town this and surrounding 3PSObj. HABIT. pàdè lójóqódún meet yearly
   'All the ghosts of this town and its environs met/assembled yearly'

(58) The market day was fixed for every 5th day and the whole people of that town and also spirits and curious creatures from various bushes and forests were coming to this market every 5th day to sell or buy articles (Appendix: 39).

(58b) òwọn abàmì èdá máa ní wá sì ojá yìi PLU. curious creature HABIT. come to market this 'curious creatures...came to this market'

(59) And under the ground of this jungle, there were metals as brass, copper, etc., with which the people were making the cutlasses, knives, hoes, etc., from the iron which were dug out from there. All these things were attracting the people to force themselves to go there as well (Appendix: 41).

(59b) tí òwọn èniyàn fi máa ní ñe àdá, òbè, òkó which PLU. people use HABIT. do cutlass, knives, hoe 'with which the people made the cutlasses, knives, hoes'

3.4.3 Examples Involving the Anticipative Aspect ‘máa’

Although a great majority of Tutuola's transfer involves the incompletive and the habitual aspects, there are a few examples based on the transfer of the anticipative aspect. As I have already explained in the previous chapter (cf. 2.3.2.4), the anticipative aspect describes an activity or event that is non-existent but likely to take place. It is non-completive and not ongoing and although such an activity or event has a likelihood of taking place, there
are no guarantees it would. It is therefore used in planning, speculating or predicting. It is used to describe activities or actions that the speaker anticipates to perform. This aspect is traditionally referred to in the literature as future tense but the following examples indicate that the anticipative does not necessarily correspond to the future tense.

(60) Mo màa parí iṣé yìí kí n tí loqélé.
1pS ANTI. finish work this before I reach go+home
'I plan to complete this job before I go home/ I anticipate completing this piece of work before going home.'

(61) Mo fẹẹ màa lọ.
1pS want ANTI. go
'I am planning to/about to leave.'

In both of the examples above, it is obvious that màa is not referring to some future event, but rather to the present state of mind of the speaker. In (60), she anticipates finishing whatever job she has already started to do before leaving for home. Meanwhile she keeps on doing the work and does not plan to quit until it is completed. In (61), the speaker has probably been visiting for a while and, remembering that he probably has some other things to do at home, decides it's time to leave.

Contexts Requiring the Conditional Present Simple in BE

In the following examples from the data, Tutuola transfers the anticipative aspect to EL to derive such conditional past continuous phrases as "would be drinking" (62), "would be returning" (63) and "should be talking" (64).

A Yoruba rendition of the clauses containing the highlighted verb phrases (VPs) in examples (62-64) are given in (62b-64b). In all of the YL translations, the anticipative aspect adequately captures the ideas being
conveyed in the given contexts but BE calls for the use of present simple form of the verb, preceded by a modal.

(62) After that he would go and tap another 75 kegs in the evening which I would be drinking till morning (Appendix: 47)

(62b) nírọlẹ tí mo máa mu tíí dàárọ
in+evening which 1pS ANTI. drink until become+morning
‘in the evening which I would drink until day break’

(63) By 4 o’clock in the evening, the market would close for that day and then everybody would be returning to his or her destination or to where he or she came from (Appendix: 47).

(63b) léhin náá gbogbo éniyàn máa padà sí ibudó wọn
after that all people ANTI. return to place 3pPObj.
‘afterwards everybody would return to their destinations’

(64) As I was following them to the river, they were telling me that I should be talking to them very softly because if “Odara” the giant-like or cyclops-like creature as I could describe him and who was the owner of this semi-jungle, heard my voice or any one else, would come out and kill us (Appendix: 47).

(64) wọn ní sọ fún mi pé kí ní máa bá wọn sòrọ
3pP INCOM. tell give me that should I ANTI. with 3pPObj. talk
‘they were telling me that I should talk to them’

**Contexts Requiring the Present Simple Tense in BE**

In the following examples, Tutuola uses the form "to be + ing" to translate the YL "láti (to/in order to) + máa (anticipative)" in contexts where BE calls for the infinitival form "to + verb".

(65) And also the mosquitoes which were as big as flies did not let me rest once till the morning, but I had no hands to be driving them away from my body (Appendix: 47)

(65b) sugbón mi ó ní ọwọ láti máa fi lé wọn
but 1pS NEG. have hand to ANTI. with chase 3pPObj.
‘but I didn't have any hands (with which) to drive them away’

(66) After I ate the porcupine to my satisfaction, I began to think in mind whether to kill the whole of the wild animals first ... or to be looking for where the pigmies were living in this jungle first before I would come back to kill those wild animals (Appendix: 48).
(66b) tábí láti máa wá ibi tí àwọn arárá náà ní gbé or to ANTI. search place which PLUR pigmy those INCOM live ‘or to look for/keep looking for where the pigmies lived’

(67) This huge man was one of the “obstacles” of this jungle. He was one of the strongest and the most cruel pigmies who were keeping watch of the jungle always. His work was to be bringing any hunter or anyone who came to the jungle, to the town of the pigmies, for punishment (Appendix: 48).

(67b) Ìṣé rè ni láti máa mú ọdẹkọdẹ tábí ènikèni Work 3pSObj. is to ANTI. bring any+hunter or anyone ‘His work was to bring any hunter or anyone’

(68) After he handed my property to the king and another pigmy put them on the ceiling and the king thanked him greatly and advised him as well to be going round the jungle every day and night and bringing all hunters or huntresses he might see in the jungle...

(68b) láti máa pòòyi ịgho náà láràárọ ạti láalaalé to ANTI. go+round forest that each+morning and at+night ‘to go round/keep going round the jungle day and night’

What we see in these constructions is that Tutuola appears to derive two different EL tenses from one and the same YL aspect. The first group are those he renders with modal+copula+-ing (62-64b) and the second are those with the form infinitive+copula+-ing (65-68b). In both instances YL uses the anticipative aspect to achieve the same purpose.

3.4.4 Examples Involving the Relational Aspect ‘ti’

The next group of examples from the data, though quite scanty (there are only four such examples), involves those in which Tutuola transfers the YL relational aspect to EL to produce the past simple tense in NE. In all of the contexts, however, BE calls for the past perfect tense. All four instances are reproduced below, each one followed by a (b) which is a YL translation of the relevant clauses.
After I ate the porcupine to my satisfaction, I began to think in mind whether to kill the whole of the wild animals first ... or to be looking for where the pigmies were living in this jungle first before I would come back to kill those wild animals (Appendix: 49).

Léhin tí mo ti je òòre nàà tè ara mi lóyìn
'After that 1pS RELAT. eat porcupine that to self me satisfaction'

After I killed “obstacle” I travelled in this jungle till six o’clock in the evening. As I was travelling along it was so I was killing all the wild animals that I was seeing on the way (Appendix: 49).

Léhin tí mo ti pa “idiwó” mo rin ninú igbo yìì
‘After I had killed “obstacle” 1pS walk inside forest this'

After I rested for a few minutes then I started to beat him with my poisonous cudgel until when he was completely powerless and then he died after some munutes. It was like that I killed this “super-animal” as I could call him (Appendix: 49).

Léhin tí mo ti sinmi fún ịséjú dié
‘After I had rested for a few minutes’

As I was looking for this boa constrictor it was so I was killing all the wild animals which I was seeing on the way. And in a few days time I killed the whole of them (Appendix: 49).

Níwọnba ọjọ dié mo ti pa gbogbo wọn tán
‘in a few days’ time I had killed all of them’

It is quite interesting here that although in the YL VPs the main verb is usually preceded by an aspect marker (the relational ‘ti’ in this context), Tutuola chooses to use the past simple tense in NE, as if he were transfering the YL completive aspect which, generally, is unmarked in syntax.

Furthermore, the YL relational aspect generally refers to an event or activity that is yet incomplete with reference to an ongoing one. Thus for Tutuola to have resorted to the past simple (which is the closest to the YL completive aspect) is difficult to understand. One would have expected that since the YL structure is a compound one (i.e. ti + verb), Tutuola would have used a similar EL tense (i.e. one with a compound structure, such as the present or past
perfect). Whatever be the case, though, Tutuola is very consistent in his transfer and use of his structure of choice.

3.4.5 Examples Involving the Relevant-Inceptive Aspect ‘ti ñ’

The last group of examples from the data are those involving the transfer of the relevant-inceptive aspect from YL to derive the past continuous in contexts where BE calls for either the past perfect or the past simple tenses. The data contains only four of such usages, two in contexts where BE would have required the past perfect tense and two in those where BE would have required the past simple.

Contexts Requiring the Past Perfect in BE

In the examples below Tutuola uses the past continuous tense. The more accurate tense in BE is the past perfect, in both instances

(73) But when my palm-wine tapster completed the period of 15 years that he was tapping the palm-wine for me, then my father died suddenly, and when it was the 6th month after my father had died, the tapster went to the palm-tree farm on a Sunday evening to tap palm-wine for me (Appendix: 50).

(73b) ti ó ti ñ dá emu fún mi that 3PS REL.-INCEP. tap palm-wine give 1PObj.

(74) Because I ought to do all these three works -- "To see that I ... kill the whole of the pigmies who were detaining many hunters or to drive them away from this jungle and the third work was to see that I bring my four brothers back to my town, because I had promised my people and the people of my town to do these three works ... (Appendix: 50).

(74b) gbogbo àwọn aràrà ti wọn ti ñ dá ọpọ ode dúró all 3P REL.-INCEP. keep many hunter wait 'all of the pigmies who had been detaining many a hunter'
**Contexts Requiring the Past Simple in BE**

Two examples from the data fall into this category and these are given below. In both cases Tutuola uses the past continuous tense, as with the two examples already discussed above.

(75) His arms were very long and thick. He had a big half fall goitre on his neck and he had a very big belly which, whenever he was going or running along, would be shaking here and there and sounding heavily (Appendix: 50).

(75b) *igbàkikìgbà tì ó bà tì ní lọ* whenever that 3pS would REL.-INCEP. go ‘whenever he went’

(76) We first wrestled for about fifteen minutes. And each time that he was flinging me away with great anger, to his surprise, I was standing up and gripping him before my feet were touching the ground (Appendix: 50).

(76b) *gbogbo igbà tì ó ti ní jù mì nù* all time that 3pSOBJ. REL.-INCEP. throw 1pSOBJ. lost ‘each time that he flung me away’

It is quite understandable why Tutuola would revert to the past continuous tense of EL to translate the YL relevant-inceptive aspect. Like the continuous ‘tense’ of EL, there is an element of incompleteness involved in the relevant-inceptive aspect as it describes an activity or event that has a starting point in the past but still has relevance into the moment of speech. It is therefore quite logical that Tutuola would use the past continuous tense of EL to render these expressions in NE. Although BE would require two different tenses in these instances, as the data demonstrates, in YL the same aspect is adequate to cover the ideas conveyed by these two tenses.

In conclusion, since the YL aspects transferred (especially the incompletive and habitual) have narrative function—a function that is very conducive to storytelling—Tutuola appears to have capitalized on these, thus using them to translate several EL tenses. Tutuola himself being a story-teller
whose main purpose was to tell and retell the stories of his people to a world audience, this function seems very appealing and he took advantage of it to the very limits of its elasticity. He also broadened the scope of some EL verbs by assigning to them the semantic characteristics of similar YL verbs. By so doing, he was able to produce structures that, though unacceptable in BE, do make a lot of sense within the context of YL and NE.
CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSION

This final chapter consists of two parts: a brief summation of the issues discussed in the main body of the dissertation, and a consideration of possible implications for linguistic theory, second language pedagogy and literary criticism as they relate to the new Englishes and Nigerian English.

4.1 Summary

This entire dissertation is the result of a brief meeting with Amos Tutuola a little over twenty years ago. He had, I immediately noticed, a peculiar way of using the English language that was both fascinating and interesting. As a young freshman, sitting in a literature in English class and listening attentively to a humble looking, softspoken, and scantily educated elderly Yorubaman garbed in a simple Yoruba native attire of búbá and sòkòtò tell folktales to us “well educated” (or at least, so we believed) university students, I found his language was absolutely intriguing. As a Yoruba person myself, I could readily identify with some of his stories but there was something about the way he spoke English that captured my undivided attention. I knew some of his sentences were grammatically “incorrect” while some of his expressions were outright unacceptable to our English-educated minds, which had given us rules for speaking “correct” English. This notwithstanding, I was still able to follow, understand, and even identify with his story. But this wasn’t too strange after all. Tutuola’s story readily struck a chord within me. Although linguistically I couldn’t make much sense of what really was going
on at that time, several years of studying language and linguistics finally began to give me some clues as to why Tutuola used English the way he did and why, although most of his structures were grammatically incorrect according to the British tradition that was imported into Nigeria, I still was able to understand what he was saying with little or no effort.

Thanks to the linguistic tools I have acquired over the past years, I have found, in revisiting of Tutuola’s works that it has become much easier to have a better understanding of his language. In addition, I think I have begun to understand why he spoke and wrote the way he did, or to put it in a better way, why he wrote the way he spoke, and, in addition, that the way he spoke actually was an outflow of the way he thought. What Tutuola was doing in essence was to think in Yoruba, then translate his thoughts into English before putting them into writing. The end result of this linguistic alchemy was an English language touched by, then molded and shaped by Yoruba worldview and thought processes, a new type of English that Afolayan, another Yoruba and a distinguished professor of English, would later on refer to as “Yoruba English” and an internet reviewer would describe as having the “cyclical nature of extended drumming,” a good reminder of the Yoruba language itself, a tonal language that uses the “talking drum” as one of its means of communication through an artful combination and manipulation of the three tonal system of the language.

In order to anchor Tutuola and his language properly in its own context, I have provided a brief background (in Chapter 1) to the peculiar situation that brought two languages, from two different worlds of experience to have a destiny that is so close but yet different. This was the main thrust of my first chapter in which I told who the Yoruba are, where they live and interact, and how the colonial experience came to alter forever the destinies of
the Yoruba people and their British subjugators as well as those of their languages, and thereby creating new varieties of Yoruba and English through that process. Secondly, I gave a brief attention to the Yoruba language, showing that it is a coherent system in its own right. This was to lay the necessary foundation for demonstrating how it has contributed to the way English is used in the Nigerian context, and most importantly, in Tutuola's writings.

Most of the studies on language contact and influence, especially those dealing with the contact between English and other languages, have been undertaken from the perspective of English and have focussed mainly on the influence of English on these languages. Comparatively little, however, has been done on how these other languages have also influenced, affected, and changed the face of English and the way it is used around the world. It was the second concern that became important in chapter three.

In Chapter 2, my focus was on the internal workings of the Yoruba verb phrase, with particular emphasis on temporal relations in the language. However, within this system the story of the contact with English is replayed again, by the way Yoruba grammatical description itself has been shaped and influenced by English over the years as a result of the English-based educational background of the linguists and grammarians doing the analysis. Thus, I pointed out some of these problematic areas of Yoruba grammatical description and attempted a more Yoruba-based and Yoruba-centric approach.

The main thrust of Chapter 2, then, was to propose that rather than a tense based language, as most previous grammars have suggested, Yoruba is primarily an aspect-driven language. A twelve aspect classification was proposed, with two main subdivisions into simple and complex aspects. The simple aspects include the completive, incompletive, relational, anticipative
and the intentional. The complex aspect series comprises the backgrounder, expecitive, inceptive, manifestive, antecedent completion, relevant-inceptive and the habitual. The simple aspects consist of single aspect markers while the complex ones are various combinations of the simple aspect markers, some two and others three. These complex combinations were shown to be rule-governed and syntactically constrained, having the order: (((yió) + (((ti)) + ((máa))) + (n))). Thus apart from the fact that each of the aspect markers can stand as aspects in their own rights, we have three other combinatorial sequences involving ‘yió’: ‘yió ti’, ‘yió ti máa’ and ‘yió máa’; four complex combinations involving ‘ti’: ‘yió ti’, ‘yió ti máa’, ‘ti máa’, ‘ti máa n’ and ‘ti n’; five combinations involving ‘máa’: ‘yió ti máa’, ‘yió máa’, ‘ti máa’, ‘ti máa n’ and ‘máa n’; and three combinatorial possibilities of ‘n’: ‘ti máa n’, ‘ti n’ and ‘máa n’. These combinations, together with the individual single (simple) aspects, make up the repertoire of aspects in the Yoruba language.

Although some of these aspects have been identified in earlier analyses (mostly in unpublished theses and articles), earlier attempts were inadequate in a number of ways. Some writers failed to identify aspect markers and thus assigned them to other categories of the grammar. Others referred to most of these aspect markers as either tense markers, preverbs or modals. One other problem with these earlier classifications is that exemplified by Bolorunduro’s analysis. In that analysis he proposed some 40-50 different aspects for Yoruba of which he came up with just 38. Some of these are actually verbs, others modals or even morpho-phonological variants of the same aspect. The main problem with Bolorunduro’s study is its lack of rigorous analysis and its consequent need for fine-tuning.
One of the main purposes of my analysis has been to provide a more rigorous, comprehensive and exhaustive list of Yoruba aspects and their combinatorial possibilities in the language. I have also attempted to answer Bolorunduro’s lingering question about Bamgbose’s classification of Yoruba tenses into simple without a corresponding complex tense. The latter’s question was that if there is a simple tense, shouldn’t there also be a complex tense? My analysis of Yoruba aspect into simple and complex aspects, I believe, answers that question, albeit in a different way from previously attempted efforts to answer that question. While Bamgbose’s analysis identifies Yoruba as a tense language, mine calls for an aspect-oriented approach to the language. The nagging problem with Yoruba grammatical analysis is that it has been approached from the perspective of the English language, which in turn has given rise to the deficit hypothesis syndrome that has plagued most attempts at a more independent analysis of the language. In this study, I have made a concerted effort to look at Yoruba for what it is: Yoruba (and not English or any other language for that matter). I believe that Yoruba, like any other language, should be seen as a complete system within itself and be analyzed as such, rather than compared, favorably or unfavorably, to another language. To me, this is the only path to a fair, just and honest grammatical analysis of any language.

In Chapter 3, my analysis of Tutuola’s English is intended to show how other languages, and Yoruba specifically, have affected and continue to affect the way English is being described and used around the globe. In order to demonstrate how Yoruba has contributed to how English is used, judged and perceived in the Nigerian environment, however, I needed to, by necessity, give a brief analysis of the Yoruba language as a linguistic system on its own merit, and this is what I did in the chapters prior to this one.
The purpose of this dissertation is to show why Tutuola wrote the way he did, using just one of the major elements of influence from his mother tongue, Yoruba. I chose to focus on the influence of Yoruba aspect because it happens to be the most pervasive as well as the most subtle element in the syntactic make-up of Tutuola's English. A close look at how aspect operates in the Yoruba language was very useful and necessary in deciphering the underlying structures of Tutuola's supposedly "mangled" English.

Of course, aspectual influences alone cannot explain all of the idiosyncracies of his grammar. Other influences also exist, especially those we find in his noun phrases, which involve the omission of certain elements such as articles and other determinants and modifiers that are obligatory in the target British English or even Standard American English. It is only this type of careful and painstaking analysis that could help us properly appraise the language of Tutuola and consequently his works and thus place the man and his works in their rightful place in the literary world and give him the honor that he so much deserves--a comfortable place among the literary giants of our time.

What I have attempted to demonstrate here is that what Tutuola does is not arbitrary at all, but is, instead, rather systematic and even rule-governed. Tutuola's English cannot just be simply dismissed as errors of grammar or of usage, in the very negative sense of those terms, but rather the painstaking effort of a man with little formal education in English who carefully patterns his English after the structure and rules of his mother tongue in order to communicate to posterity a passion--that of preserving the folklore of his people for generations yet unborn. To achieve this noble objective, Tutuola has had to domesticate the English language, remold and refashion it into a useful tool to communicate his message to a worldwide audience. He would not
allow the fear of not writing or speaking "correct grammar" to dissuade him from leaving a legacy for the next generation. Rather than see in EL a handicap, he saw in it a tool, a powerful tool, to communicate the passion of his life to posterity.

In these days when some educators and language teachers are more interested in grammatical accuracy, people like Tutuola continue to remind us that the communication of ideas is far more important than grammatical correctness. Of course, this is not to encourage a deliberate mutilation of grammatical structures, but rather to put things into a perspective that places more emphasis on communicative competence than on grammatical competence. It is this dimension, this balance, that linguistics and, especially the sub-field of sociolinguistics has sought to bring to language education in recent decades by its emphasis on language in use, in society. By this, it recognizes the chief purpose of language: to communicate, and not just to be able to produce "correct" sentences. Communication is far more complex than just the ability to put words and phrases together in a perfect sequence. In fact, so strong is the stance of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA)--the highest linguistic body in the United States--on this matter that it boldly issued a statement of position during the highly publicized and polarized debate on the Oakland Ebonics issue affirming the legitimacy of Ebonics as a coherent linguistic system. Tutuola and his like continue to remind us that a person with a message should not be at the mercy of those who have assumed authority over grammatical correctness. The message must not be at the mercy of the medium. A person with a message should not be stifled; that message should be heard, its communication enhanced.

Tutuola was a man with a message, a universal message, and he did not allow any form of distractions to deter him from giving his message to the
world. That *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* which was first published in 1952, is still being translated into more languages around the world today is a proof of the legacy of a man who could not be stopped or silenced. Amos Tutuola was a man with a will and a purpose, and although he himself has gone to the the “Deads’ Town,” his story and his message still live on as constant reminders of the power and universality of the Story. For, the Story does for our soul what no medicine can do--it soothes, inspires, encourages, challenges, appeals, reaches deep down to our very essence and being.

Rather than demonized as some critics have attempted to do, I believe Tutuola should instead be praised for taking the bold steps that he took at a time when no one else had attempted to do so among his own people. It is this pioneering spirit of Tutuola’s that should be celebrated over and above the clanging cymbals of noise over grammatical correctness. The words of wisdom of Achebe, Obi Wali, Soyinka, and many others come in as excellent reminders of the real issues at stake here and of the importance of handling them carefully so as not to do damage to the man, his message and his legacy.

My closing challenge to Tutuola’s critics and detractors out there, especially those that abhor his language, is to replicate this type of research in other areas of influence such as those mentioned above. Then and only then will we become able to honestly and properly critique his works. At this juncture, one cannot help but remember two famous and often quoted statements of Tutuola’s contemporaries, one a fellow Nigerian, the other an Indian “cousin” (cf. § 3.2), regarding the English language and its use in new contexts. What Tutuola did was to make the English language “carry the weight” of his African experience and in doing so he had to transform it, “stretch it, impact it, fragment and reassemble it,” in the words of Wole Soyinka, without any apologies whatsoever. He had to remold it so as to make it
bear, by necessity, the burden of his experiences. I believe that Tutuola has achieved the purpose for which he wrote. Evidence for this is seen in the fact that his works continue to attract followers and admirers around the world, as he continues to be re-discovered and discovered in places where he had been hitherto unknown. Several years after his death, many still continue to reclaim him as their own. To borrow the age-old biblical saying, it can be safely said of Tutuola too that “he being dead yet speaketh.”

My hope is that this effort will encourage similar researches into other areas of Tutuola’s English and bring the findings to the awareness of those who might wish to study his works. Such analyses should help to elucidate the man’s vision and thus his mission. Such knowledge should help in reducing the hostility towards Tutuola’s works that one often finds among Nigerian critics. If the present work has helped in some way to take one necessary step towards a better understanding and appreciation of Tutuola, then his work will not have been in vain.

4.2 Implications of the Study

The implications of this study are several and far-reaching. Foremost is the implication for a theory of grammar. It has been the contention of linguistic science for decades now that every language is a self-sufficient system and can be used to express all of the experiences, hopes and aspirations of its speakers as well as new experiences that may present themselves. Earlier grammarians have tended to look at Yoruba from the perspective of English and the direct effect of that view was grammars based on the English language, all of which have proved inadequate for a proper and adequate analysis of Yoruba. In chapter two I proposed a strictly aspect-based analysis of the Yoruba language as a means of accounting more accurately for many of
the confusions brought about by previous tense-based analyses. This approach is especially important and may have far-reaching consequences for the field linguist who wishes to embark on the analysis of a previously unwritten language. A linguist who hopes to succeed in this effort must shed all previous misconceptions about what the language should look like or what it should or shouldn’t contain within its system. It is only such an unbiased approach that can produce a grammar that is devoid of false representations.

Studies like the one I have presented here also have implications for second language acquisition theory. Within the context of language contact where the transplanted language is used in an official capacity in places where there exist active and vibrant indigenous languages that are languages of wider communication within their own regions, used side by side with English as languages of the media, of regional government and intra- and inter-state commerce, this approach can be particularly important. In such an environment, it is very natural to expect strong mutual influences, resulting in changes in the ways both established and transplanted languages are used. English now belongs to the world community. Normal language changes chronicled in the linguistics literature apply to International English in ways comparable to other language change. Some changes are occasioned by language contact, others by normalization—also known in linguistic terminology as linguistic productivity. Productive changes are reflected in the ways that generation after generation acquires structure. The unbiased field method approach can be expected to prove valuable. This type of analysis is valuable to nations around the world in which this kind of process is still taking place, if only to show that what some language users might assume to be a deteriorated form of language is, in fact, evidence of the life of the language. Efforts along these lines may also shed light on questions
concerning ways that other native languages affect English when it is used as an official language, within a different socio-cultural context.

The implication of this study for contact linguistics are quite simple and obvious: it leads to an understanding that language contact and interaction is a two-way process. When two languages come into contact, there are bound to be mutual influences at various levels of grammar and usage. As both languages interact with each other, a complex chemistry begins to take place within both languages that results in changes—not "corruption"—within the two systems. Tutuola's English, and by the same token, Nigerian English and other forms of English used in "non-native" contexts, are a direct product of such linguistic alchemy. Such knowledge will help to foster a better understanding and toleration for varieties and diversity within the English family of languages around the globe.

Such an understanding can also have repercussions in the area of literary criticism. It is of utmost importance that critics of literary works have a good grasp of the theory and implications of language variation and change. This should help to avoid the type of intolerance and rigidity towards variations in language use that characterize many a critical work. As I have mentioned elsewhere in this study, the type of heavy-handedness to which Tutuola's works have been subjected, as a result of the peculiarities of his language, would not have shown itself had such critics had a basic understanding of the theory of language contact, with its explanation of changes that take place as a part of the normal process of acculturation and nativization.

Studies of the type in which I have been engaged here also have obvious implications for second language learning and teaching. This is particularly true with regard to the teaching of English as a second language
(ESL), especially within the Nigerian context. ESL teachers must have an understanding that languages change as they journey to new destinations and take up new life in different geo-cultural milieus. In fact, I propose that courses in language variation and change be included in the curriculum of those who are trained to become ESL teachers in places (such as Nigeria) where English is not a mother tongue. The knowledge acquired from such courses will help teachers handle the idiosyncracies they may come across in their students' usage in the ESL classroom. Instead of handling the interlanguge grammar of their students with unbending rigidity, (cf. Lado 1957, Selinker 1972, 1992; Cook 1993) they will be able to look beyond such "interferences" (cf. Weinreich 1953) and "deviations" and see these so-called "errors of usage" as normal steps in the learning process. They will also understand that learners and speakers of a transplanted language, as is the case with English in Nigeria, cannot, and should not be expected to use the language in exactly the same way as speakers for whom it is a first language, and for most, probably the only language. Most Nigerian (and in fact, African) users of English are multilingual and for a great majority of them English comes along as either a second, third or even fourth language, in order of acquisition. With understanding of changes that result from language contact, ESL teachers will understand that it is quite preposterous to expect their students to speak and use English exactly the same way as a British or American monolingual speaker uses English. Achebe's and Rao's unequivocal and unapologetic response to such an unrealistic expectation are worth repeating here.

So my answer to the question, Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so (Achebe: 1965: 29-30).
Achebe's statement echoes that of another creative writer in English from far away India who wrote with similar convictions more than two decades before him. Rajah Rao's deep seated conviction is captured in two brief but strong sentences: "We cannot write like the English. We should not." (Rao 1943: vii).

Another issue this raises is that of the often heard and debated argument about what constitutes the English literary canon. Since African writers and others in the "Outer Circle" (to borrow Kachru's terminology), have written in English and have been able to excel at this, receiving international recognition, awards and encomiums, we are forced to have to face the issue of the English literary canon, which has hitherto been mainly Euro-centric. It probably is about time (as Kachru and other users of the so-called non-native varieties of English have been advocating for years now) to reconsider a revision of this canon to include the works of other non-native speakers of English. This call is for a more inclusive and diversified canon, especially since the latter serves as the basis of our judgment and criticism of works written in English language.

This question about the English literary canon brings us to another very important issue in ESL pedagogy, theory, methodology, and materials development. Let us first consider the issue of models and norms. ESL teachers must recognize that the British or even the American model of English is no longer valid nor practical as a sole guide for speaking and writing English in nations like Nigeria, where new models have evolved due to nativization and acculturation (see Kachru 1982, 1987 for further discussions on models and norms for non-native varieties of English). The implication of this on the pragmatics of teaching English as an international language is also far-reaching, as it has repercussions on the teaching of English for specific purposes (ESP) and communicative language teaching (CLT). The ESL teacher
of the so-called non-native varieties of English must come to grips with the reality of change in norms and models in those places where English has acquired new life and flavor in new contexts and environments. The implications of this will also reverberate in the areas of ESL teaching materials, methodology as well as in language testing and evaluation. Just as the British model cannot be the model taught in American classrooms, neither should it be the sole model used for teaching English in Nigeria. This is actually a very sensitive issue in ESL teaching in Nigeria today. Here English teachers who do not themselves speak the British model of English nevertheless still expect their students to speak like the British. Since this is practically impossible, a lot of students receive bad grades in English, which consequently impedes their academic progress and educational attainment since English is still the language of academic and social mobility in the country.

A further understanding of the relationship between the two or more languages spoken by students in developing countries will make it apparent that there is a need for a revision of outmoded English curricula and syllabi throughout the nation. What I am proposing here is that, along with the current texts used as models of English in the country, stories by Tutuola and his likes should also be read.

It is not a secret that the English used in Nigeria today is no longer the English that the Christian missionaries and British colonial authorities brought into the region during the early years of the nineteenth century. The very face of English has changed a lot since then, whether in Nigeria or in its original homeland of Britain. It is a well established linguistic fact than languages change with time, and Nigerian English is clearly no exception. ESL
teachers must be open to new ideas and new findings about language, and ready to use what they learn as they teach.

On a final note, not only does this dissertation have implications for the teachers of English to Yoruba speakers, but also to teachers of Yoruba to English speakers, both in Nigeria and abroad. It should lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the internal workings of both languages and how to successfully teach those learning them as a second language. It is my hope that work along these lines will eventually facilitate communication and understanding at both regional and global levels. Such studies can, I think, not only contribute to a better appreciation of Tutuola’s works, but to a better understanding of Nigerian English as a whole, and to the ongoing effort to define the corpus of Nigerian English within the larger framework of the International Corpus of English (ICE). In practical terms it should contribute to a better understanding of the influence of the mother tongue (L1) on the acquisition of a second language (L2) in general and English as a second language (ESL) in particular, and finally may foster a better understanding of the important contributions indigenous languages are making to English worldwide and in so doing, enriching the latter while changing its face globally.
APPENDIX

aspect Habitual
quote My father got eight children and I was the eldest among them, all of the rest were hard workers, but I myself was an expert palm-wine drinkard. I was drinking palm-wine from morning till night and from night till morning.

YL maa n        NE was drinking
BE used to

aspect Habitual
quote So my father gave me a palm-tree farm which was nine miles square and it contained 560,000 palm-trees, and this palm-wine tapster was tapping one hundred and fifty kegs of palm-wine every morning...

YL maa n        NE was tapping
BE used to

aspect Habitual
quote So my friends were uncountable by that time and they were drinking palm-wine with me from morning till a late hour in the night

YL maa n        NE were drinking
BE habitually

aspect Habitual
quote When I saw that there was no palm-wine for me again, and nobody could tap it for me, then I thought within myself that old people were saying that the whole people who had died in this world, did not go to heaven directly...

YL maa n        NE were saying
BE used to
aspect Habitual

quote I was seven years old before I understood the meaning of "bad" and "good", because it was at that time I noticed carefully that my father married three wives as they were doing in those days, if it is not common nowadays

BE used to

aspect Habitual

quote My mother was a petty trader who was going to various markets every day to sell articles and returning home in the evening, or if the market is very far she would return next day in the evening

BE used to

aspect Habitual

quote But as my mother was a petty trader who was going here and there, so one morning she went to a market which was about three miles away from our town...

BE used to

aspect Habitual

quote [...] She left two slices of cooked yam for us (my brother and myself) as she was usually doing

BE usually
aspect Habitual
quote [...] I never drank water since I left my brother or since I entered into the “Bush of Ghosts”, but they gave me urine as it was their water which they were storing in a big pot, of course I refused to drink it as well

YL maa n NE were storing
BE usually

aspect Habitual
quote It was in this town I saw that they had an “Exhibition of Smells”. All the ghosts of this town and environs were assembling yearly and having a special “Exhibition of Smells” and the highest prizes were given to one who had the worst smells and would e recognized as a kine since that day...

YL maa n NE were assembling
BE habitually

aspect Incompletive
quote I thought within myself that old people were saying that the whole people who died in this world, did not go to heaven directly, but they were living in one place somewhere in this world.

YL n NE were living
BE continue to

aspect Anticipative
quote After that he would go and tap another 75 kegs in the evening which I would be drinking till morning.

YL maa NE would be drinking
BE would
aspect Relevant-inceptive

quote But when my palm-wine tapster completed the period of 15 years that he was tapping the palm-wine for me, then my father died suddenly, and when it was the 6th month after my father had died, the tapster went to the palm-tree farm on a Sunday evening to tap palm-wine for me.

YL ti n NE was tapping
BE had been

aspect Incompletive

quote Then I told the old man (god) that I am looking for my palm-wine tapster who had died in my town some time ago, he did not answer to my question but asked me first what was my name?

YL n NE am looking for
BE was

aspect Incompletive

quote So that since the day that I had brought Death out from his house, he has no permanent place to dwell or stay, and we are hearing his name about in the world.

YL n NE are hearing
BE continue to/still

aspect Habitual

quote The market day was fixed for every 5th day and the whole people of that town and also spirits and curious creatures from various bushes and forests were coming to this market every 5th day to sell or buy articles.

YL maa n NE were coming
BE habitually
By 4 o’clock in the evening, the market would close for that day and then everybody would be returning to his or her destination or to where he or she came from.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YL</th>
<th>maa</th>
<th>NE would be returning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>would</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

So, one day she went to the market on a market-day as she was doing before, or to sell her articles as usual; on that market-day, she saw a curious creature in the market, but she did not know where the man came from and never knew him before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YL</th>
<th>maa n</th>
<th>NE was doing</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>used to</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

But as she was following the complete gentleman along the road, he was telling her to go back or not to follow him, but the lady did not listen to what he was telling her and when the complete gentleman had tired of telling her not to follow him or to go back to her town, he left her to follow him.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YL</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>NE was telling</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>repeatedly told</td>
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</table>

When I travelled with him a distance of about twelve miles away to that market, the gentleman left the really road on which we were travelling and branched into an endless forest and I was following him ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YL</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>NE was following</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>followed</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>author</th>
<th>Tutuola</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>book title</td>
<td>PWD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aspect Incompletive
quote He picked one cowrie out of the pit, after that he was running towards me, and the whole crowd wanted to tie the cowrie on my neck too.

YL n
BE ran

aspect Incompletive
quote Immediately the whole Skull family heard the whistle when blew to them, they were rushing out to the place and before they could reach there, I had left their hole for the forest ...

YL n
BE rushed

aspect Incompletive
quote I was told that he was now at “Deads’ town” and they told me that he was living with deads at the “Deads’ town”, they told me that the town was very far away and only deads were living there.

YL n
BE lived

aspect Incompletive
quote After a while he came out with two of his attendants who were following him to wherever he wanted to go. Then the attendants loosened me from the stump, so he mounted me and the two attendants were following him with whips in their hands and flogging me along in the bush.

YL n
BE followed
Having finished the corn another terrible ghost whose eyes were watering all over his body and his large mouth faced his back brought urine which was mixed with limestone to me to drink as they were not using ordinary water there because it is too clean for them.

And the worst part of these punishments was that as I was tied in the sun all the young ghosts of this village were mounting me and getting down as if I am a tree as they were very surprised to see me as a horse.

As it was very dark at that time, so I was staggering or dashing into trees along the way when he was returning to his town, and it was almost one o'clock midnight before we reached his town.

But after I ate some of this food he changed me again to the form of a camel and then his sons were using me as transport to carry heavy loads to long distances of about twenty of forty miles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>But when the rest of the smelling-ghosts noticed that I was useful for such purpose then the whole of them were hiring me from my boss to carry loads to long distances and returning again in the evening with heavier loads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YL</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NE</strong></td>
<td>were hiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE</strong></td>
<td>hired</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>But as soon as he went away I saw where he hid the juju which he was using to change me to any animal or creature that he likes, so I took it and put it into my pocket so that he might not change me to anything again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YL</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NE</strong></td>
<td>was using</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE</strong></td>
<td>used</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>God is so good, he did not remember to take the juju when he came out from the house, he thought that he had already put it inside the pocket of his leathern trousers which he was always belting with a big boa constrictor ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YL</strong></td>
<td>mààn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NE</strong></td>
<td>was always belting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE</strong></td>
<td>always belted</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>Of course as a stream crossed the road on which we were travelling to this pasture so I was drinking the water from it when going early in the morning and also when returning in the evening and I was feeding only on this water as food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YL</strong></td>
<td>maàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NE</strong></td>
<td>were travelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BE</strong></td>
<td>travelled</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Of course as a stream crossed the road on which we were travelling to this pasture so I was drinking the water from it when going early in the morning and also when returning in the evening and I was feeding only on this water as food.

---

Then they started to flog me with heavy clubs and also illtreat me as they were treating wild or stubborn cows, so I was feeling much pain and still I was unable to eat the grasses or to be doing as other cows were doing.

---

Then they started to flog me with heavy clubs and also illtreat me as they were treating wild or stubborn cows, so I was feeling much pain and still I was unable to eat the grasses or to be doing as other cows were doing.

---

Then they started to flog me with heavy clubs and also illtreat me as they were treating wild or stubborn cows, so I was feeling much pain and still I was unable to eat the grasses or to be doing as other cows were doing.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>author</th>
<th>Tutuola</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>So when these cow-men were returning to their town in the evening with me as no one bought me on that market day again, they were abusing and clubbing me repeatedly along the homeway.</td>
<td>book title</td>
<td>LBG</td>
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<td>45</td>
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</table>

| YL   | n            | NE were returning |
|      |              | returned          |

<table>
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<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>author</th>
<th>Tutuola</th>
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<td>45</td>
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</table>

| YL   | n            | NE were abusing and clubbing |
|      |              | abused/clubbed              |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Anticipative</th>
<th>author</th>
<th>Tutuola</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>And also the mosquitoes which were as big as flies did not let me rest once till the morning, but I had no hands to be driving them away from my body ...</td>
<td>book title</td>
<td>LBG</td>
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<td>page</td>
<td>46</td>
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| YL   | maa          | NE be driving |
|      |              | drive         |

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<th>aspect</th>
<th>Incompletive</th>
<th>author</th>
<th>Tutuola</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>But as this snake was also fearful to me too, then I was crying louder than before, and when the &quot;homeless-ghost&quot; was hearing my voice inside this wood, it was a lofty music for him, then he started to dance the ghosts' dance ...</td>
<td>book title</td>
<td>LBG</td>
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<td>page</td>
<td>50</td>
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</table>

| YL   | n            | NE was crying |
|      |              | cried         |
aspect Incompletive
quote But as this snake was also fearful to me too, then I was crying louder than before, and when the "homeless-ghost" was hearing my voice inside this wood, it was a lofty music for him, then he started to dance the ghosts' dance ...

YL n NE was hearing
BE heard

aspect Habitual
quote He would kill many goats for his gods, he would sacrifice a large number of cocks and plenty of palm oil to the witches -- those old and weary mothers who were sleeping always in the dark rooms -- the windowless and unventilated rooms which surrounded the compound.

YL maa n NE were sleeping
BE sleep

aspect Habitual
quote And under the ground of this jungle, there were metals as brass, copper, etc., with which the people were making trays, bowls, gods, idols. They were also making the cutlasses, knives, hoes, etc., from the iron which were dug out from there. All these things were attracting the people to force themselves to

YL maa n NE were making
BE made

aspect Habitual
quote And under the ground of this jungle, there were metals as brass, copper, etc., with which the people were making trays, bowls, gods, idols. They were also making the cutlasses, knives, hoes, etc., from the iron which were dug out from there. All these things were attracting the people to force themselves to

YL maa n NE were also making
BE also made
aspect Habitual

quote And under the ground of this jungle, there were metals as brass, copper, etc., with which the people were making trays, bowls, gods, idols. They were also making the cutlasses, knives, hoes, etc., from the iron which were dug out from there. All these things were attracting the neonle to force themselves to

YL maa n  NE were attracting
BE attracted

aspect Incompletive

quote As a great number of the people were perishing in this jungle every year, then the people of about fifty towns made a meeting between themselves to go there and kill all the wild animals, etc., and all the pigmies.

YL n  NE were perishing
BE perished

aspect Incompletive

quote Of course all hunters believed that the pigmies were living in there but they did not know the real part of it in which they were living.

YL n  NE were living
BE lived
As from that time he was going to hunt in this jungle regularly. But he was still in great sorrow because as he was going there he did not see any trace of his sons at all.

So since that day he became a farmer. He was planting his food as yam, cassava, corn, pepper, etc. But as he was the head of all the hunters who were always coming to his house for advices about the wild animals, dangerous creatures, etc.
So whenever those hunters were coming to his house, they were coming there with many smoked small animals which they killed in the jungle and they would give them to him as presents and thus they were giving him the animals every day.

When I overheard from this woman and when I ran back home, I sat closely to my father. Then I was thinking seriously in my mind whether my father had had another sons before I was born.
When my father explained to me like that with laugh, I told him again that I would first kill all of the wild animals before I would start to find where the pigmies were living in the jungle.

He said that this animal had a kind of two fearful eyes which had a kind of powerful light. The ray of the light was round and was moving along with this animal as it was going along. The light of the eyes never quenched at any time but it (light) could not travel far.

After I did all these things I knelt down before those hunters. As they were praying for me that -- "Though you are a lady and you are still young to go and hunt in the Jungle of the Pigmies, but as you are going there or volunteer your life to go there for the benefit of this town and others..."
As I was going along the whole people were following me and the hunters were shooting their guns repeatedly. The people who were not hunters were telling me loudly -- "Come back, don't go to the Jungle of the Pigmies, it is a bad jungle!" but I did not listen to them, I was just going on as hastily as I could.

YL n  NE was going

BE went

As I was going along the whole people were following me and the hunters were shooting their guns repeatedly. The people who were not hunters were telling me loudly -- "Come back, don't go to the Jungle of the Pigmies, it is a bad jungle!" but I did not listen to them. I was just going on as hastily as I

YL n  NE were following

BE followed

As I was going along the whole people were following me and the hunters were shooting their guns repeatedly. The people who were not hunters were telling me loudly -- "Come back, don't go to the Jungle of the Pigmies, it is a bad jungle!" but I did not listen to them. I was just going on as hastily as I

YL n  NE were shooting

BE shot

As I was going along the whole people were following me and the hunters were shooting their guns repeatedly. The people who were not hunters were telling me loudly -- "Come back, don't go to the Jungle of the Pigmies, it is a bad jungle!" but I did not listen to them. I was just going on as hastily as I

YL n  NE were telling

BE told
As I was going along the whole people were following me and the hunters were shooting their guns repeatedly. The people who were not hunters were telling me loudly -- "Come back, don't go to the Jungle of the Pigmies, it is a bad jungle!" but I did not listen to them, I was just going on as hastily as I could.

This was the junction of roads that which used to confuse the stranger, because I did not know which of these roads to travel to the jungle. Then I stopped there and I was thinking in mind how to distinguish the right one which led to the jungle.

As I was following them to the river, they were telling me that I should be talking to them very softly because if "Odara" the giant-like or cyclops-like creature as I could describe him and who was the owner of this semi-jungle, heard my voice or any one else, would come out and kill us.
quote As I was following them to the river, they were telling me that I should be talking to them very softly because if “Odara” the giant-like or cyclops-like creature as I could describe him and who was the owner of this semi-jungle, heard my voice or any one else, would come out and kill us.

YL maa NE should be talking
BE talk

quote As these hunters were still telling me the story of “Odara” as we were going along to the river, there we were hearing faintly, the noises which were coming from a long distance.

YL n NE were going
BE went

quote As these hunters were still telling me the story of “Odara” as we were going along to the river, there we were hearing faintly, the noises which were coming from a long distance.

YL n NE were hearing
BE heard

quote The noises were just as if thousands of hooligans were foiling their cruel and merciless leader to some place where they were going to cause harm to several people. Then these hunters who had already known the attitudes of “Odara” listened to the noises as we were still going along.

YL n NE were still going
BE still went
A few minutes more, these noises were approaching us nearer and thus the noises were approaching us more and more until the hunters were quite sure that “Odara” and his followers were coming to that direction.

This tree was not far from the road so that I might see “Odara” and his followers clearly when they were passing along through that place.

As they were going along as hastily as they could it was so they were looking at back always just to see whether their leader, “Odara” was approaching nearer.

As they were going along as hastily as they could it was so they were looking at back always just to see whether their leader, “Odara” was approaching nearer.
When "Odara" came nearer all the hills and trees were shaking, his voice was hearing all over the jungle.

And as he was still shouting greatly I saw him clearly. He was too terrible indeed to be seen for a human being, and I feared him so much that I did not know when I opened my mouth and the spit was dropping down.

As he was chasing us along it was so he was throwing his cudgels to us repeatedly until we came to the road that which went along to those hunters' town.

But as it was only one slender stick was put across the river with which the people of the town were crossing it so after we crossed it to the second side and when "Odara" walked on this slender stick to the middle of the river with greediness.
The stick broke into two and then fell into the water unexpectedly, because he was heavier than what the stick could hold. But as "Odara" was so greedy and cruel was that he was struggling very hardly to come out from the water it was so he was still throwing his poisonous cudgels at us.

They were following us along and they were looking at me with great wonder when they saw that I put the gun and hunting bag on my left shoulder like a hunter. They were asking from one another that -- "Is this a young lady huntress?"

They were following us along and they were looking at me with great wonder when they saw that I put the gun and hunting bag on my left shoulder like a hunter. They were asking from one another that -- "Is this a young lady huntress?"

They were following us along and they were looking at me with great wonder when they saw that I put the gun and hunting bag on my left shoulder like a hunter. They were asking from one another that -- "Is this a young lady huntress?"
Then the whole people did not laugh or talk but they were looking at me with sadness until when their king asked from me again whether I knew the kinds of the cruel and harmful creatures, apart from the wonderful wild animals, who were living in this jungle.

They were closing the doors and windows immediately they were entering their houses. All the domestic animals were running here and there and they were hiding themselves as well. All the fires which were at outsides of the houses before that time were quenched with water at once before these people.
aspect Anticipative
quote He was still finding me with hands when I asked from him that why there was no light at all in this palace. But instead to answer my question first he warned me very quietly that I must be talking gently.

**YL** måa **NE** must be talking

**BE** should talk

aspect Incompletive
quote He told me furthermore that this bird was a mighty and curious one, because whenever it was coming to the town the noises and breeze of its wings would nearly to break down all the houses.

**YL** n/ ti n **NE** was coming

**BE** came

aspect Habitual
quote Truly speaking, as the king had told me, when this bird was still in a distance of two miles I nearly died for fear and I nearly to give up my promise because the noises which its wings were making showed that indeed it was a bad and terrible bird which was bold enough that it was eating together with

**YL** maa n **NE** was eating

**BE** ate

aspect Habitual
quote "I am a wonderful bad creature who is half human and half bird. I am so bad, bold, cruel and so brave that I am eating together with witches! I am one of the fears of the Jungle Pigmies! I am a bad semi-bird who has long sharp thorns on both my wings!..."

**YL** maa n **NE** am eating

**BE**
aspect Incompletive

quote Again as he was coming down for the second time with great anger I shot him. But when the gun-shots hit his body this time, his body simply flung all the gun-shots away instead to kill him or to wound him. It was like that I was shooting him repeatedly until when the gun-powder and gun-shots finished.

YL n NE was shooting

BE shot

aspect Habitual

quote Immediately I held the cudgel and I was expecting him to come down as he was doing before. A few minutes after that he did not hear the sound of my "shakabullah" gun again, he flew down.

YL maa n NE was doing

BE used to do

aspect Incompletive

quote As he was looking round and round all over the spot just to find me out and then to carry me away, I hastily threw one of the poisonous cudgels to him.

YL n NE was looking

BE looked

aspect Anticipative

quote After he (king) pulled out some of the wings and put them round his crown, just to be remembering for ever that a semi-bird had once been carrying them away alive, then each of the people took some of the feathers to his or her house and kept them for the future.

YL maa NE be remembering

BE remember
aspect: Incompletive

quote: After the whole people had seen the dead body of this semi-bird and went back to their houses, then I took the two poisonous cudgels and my “shakabullah” gun and I went back to the palace. So as from that day the king and his people were taking great care of me as if I was their daughter.

YL: n

BE: took

aspect: Incompletive

quote: The same day, he gave me the knife with which to clear the hairs off and I started to clear it at once. But as I was clearing it, it was so he was warning me repeatedly not to let the knife touch the two horns or if the knife touched them he would feel pain even nearly to death.

YL: n

BE: warned

aspect: Incompletive

quote: At last when I believed that I would die in a few days time, then I went to an old man whose house was far away from the palace of the king. I told him that I did not know the reason why I was leaning more and more every day.

YL: n

BE: grew lean

aspect: Habitual

quote: Therefore, I took out one wonderful juju from my hunting bag. This juju was the very one which my father had been using whenever he was going to this Jungle of the Pigmies.

YL: maa n

BE: had used
Therefore, I took out one wonderful juju from my hunting bag. This juju was the very one which my father had been using whenever he was going to this Jungle of the Pigmies.

But when the darkness did not me to see again, then I stopped, I climbed a big tree and I slept on its branches till the daybreak. But when I came down in the morning, I did not travel so far when I was seeing the jungle of the Pigmies far away from me.

He was so short that he did not reach my waist and this showed me that he was a pigmy. His heavy head was helping him indeed whenever he wanted to kill a powerful creature because once he hit that creature with it, it would die at once.

He always held one heavy cudgel which had a very big round head. And as he was talking to me it was so he was looking at the big round head of this cudgel and after a few minutes he would glance at my own head, and this showed me that he was thinking in mind that he was going to beat my head with this
aspect Incompletive

quote He always held one heavy cudgel which had a very big round head. And as he was talking to me it was so he was looking at the big round head of this cudgel and after a few minutes he would glance at my own head, and this showed me that he was thinking in mind that he was going to beat my head with this.

YL n NE was looking

BE kept looking

aspect Incompletive

quote But it was a great surprise to him when he saw that my body did not even touch the rock before I stood upright and I was telling him loudly -- "Cat never touch the ground with its back whenever it falls!" When he was hearing what I was saying repeatedly he became more angry and he ran to me and

YL n NE was hearing

BE heard

aspect Incompletive

quote After I travelled in this jungle for a few minutes -- the great fears, wonders, and uncountable of undescriptive strange things, which I was seeing here and there were stopped me by force.

YL n NE was seeing

BE kept seeing

aspect Incompletive

quote I sat on one of its branches and as it was a leafy tree therefore these leaves were covered me and I peeped out very seriously as when an offender peeped out from the small window of his cell. Then I was looking at these handiworks of God with great wonder.

YL n NE was looking

BE looked
The birds of the sky were perched on the branches of the mighty tall trees, except those of the minute birds as canaries, migratory birds, etc., etc., which were jumping from one branch to another. Although the doves were crying in five minutes interval as they were telling the

Although the doves were crying in five minutes interval as they were telling the

Because their hoot was driving animals to the hunters and it (hoot) was also amusing the hunters as they (hunters) had no partners in the jungle.

And all these creatures were kept quiet where they were for the sun was too hot. Because the sun of this jungle was also very curious. Whenever it was out it would be as hot as fire and that was why these living creatures were hiding themselves from it whenever it was out.
When I sat on the branch of this tree and I did not see any living creature to move or walk about by that time and as the jungle was as calm as if there were none living creatures, then I was enjoying the peaceful cool breeze which my cerator was sending to me.

YL n NE was enjoying

As this thick smoke was rushing out in large quantity it was so the sweet smell of food was rushing out as well and this showed me that many of the pigmies who were the inhabitants and owners of this jungle were living under the ground.

YL n NE was rushing

As this thick smoke was rushing out in large quantity it was so the sweet smell of food was rushing out as well and this showed me that many of the pigmies who were the inhabitants and owners of this jungle were living under the ground.

YL n NE was rushing

As this thick smoke was rushing out in large quantity it was so the sweet smell of food was rushing out as well and this showed me that many of the pigmies who were the inhabitants and owners of this jungle were living under the ground.

YL n NE were living

BE lived
aspect Incompletive

quote After a while all the trees were blowing here and there, they were touching the ground with their tops. As I still held the branch of the tree on which I was so tightly that I might not fall down, the wild animals, as lions, tigers, wolves, etc., came to that spot.

YL n  NE were blowing

BE began to blow

aspect Incompletive

quote As I still held the branch of the tree on which I was so tightly that I might not fall down, the wild animals as lions, tigers, wolves, etc., came to that spot. As they were running to and fro, they raised up their heads and they were sniffing my smell.

YL n  NE were running

BE ran

aspect Incompletive

quote As I still held the branch of the tree on which I was so tightly that I might not fall down, the wild animals as lions, tigers, wolves, etc., came to that spot. As they were running to and fro, they raised up their heads and they were sniffing my smell.

YL n  NE were sniffing

BE sniffed

aspect Incompletive

quote As they were surrounded the tree closely it was so the strong wind was forcing it to touch the ground repeatedly. Each time that it touched the ground these wild animals were hastily jumping to where I sat on the branch, but they were unable to touch me before the tree would stand upright again.

YL n  NE was forcing

BE forced
As they were surrounded the tree closely it was so the strong wind was forcing it to touch the ground repeatedly. Each time that it touched the ground these wild animals were hastily jumping to where I sat on the branch, but they were unable to touch me before the tree would stand upright again.

It was like these wild animals were jumping to me every time that the tree was bending down and getting up again. Luckily they were unable to take me away from the top of this tree until when the strong wind was stopped at about seven o’clock in the evening.

It was like these wild animals were jumping to me every time that the tree was bending down and getting up again. Luckily they were unable to take me away from the top of this tree until when the strong wind was stopped at about seven o’clock in the evening.
Of course, I was woken very early in the morning with great fear of the numerous birds which were surrounded me and they were crying repeatedly because I was curious to them.

But to my fear these birds were still following me and they were crying with their loudest voices. I was running away from them so that they might not suspect me to those super-human creatures.

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But to my fear these birds were still following me and they were crying with their loudest voices. I was running away from them so that they might not suspect me to those super-human creatures.
It was like that I was travelling along and I was looking here and there perhaps I would see my four brothers in respect of whom I came to hunt in this jungle, till the light of the sun came down to all over the jungle when it was about nine o'clock and then I stonned.

After I ate the procupine to my satisfaction, I began to think in mind whether to kill the whole of the wild animals first ... or to be looking for where the pigmies were living in this jungle first before I would come back to kill those wild animals.

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After I ate the procupine to my satisfaction, I began to think in mind whether to kill the whole of the wild animals first ... or to be looking for where the pigmies were living in this jungle first before I would come back to kill those wild animals.
Because I ought to do all these three works -- "To see that I... kill the whole of the pigmies who were detaining many hunters or to drive them away from this jungle and the third work was to see that I bring my four brothers back to my town, because I had promised my neonle and the neonle of my

But immediately I concluded this thought, to my fear there I saw that a very small round hill which was at a little distance from me, splitted or parted into two suddenly and at the same moment a heavy black smoke was rushing out in large quantity.

This huge man was one of the "obstacles" of this jungle. He was one of the strongest and the most cruel pigmies who were keeping watch of the jungle always. His work was to be bringing any hunter or anyone who came to the jungle, to the town of the pigmies, for punishment.
His arms were very long and thick. He had a big half fall goitre on his neck and he had a very big belly which, whenever he was going or running along, would be shaking here and there and sounding heavily.

We first wrestled for about fifteen minutes. And each time that he was flinging me away with great anger, to his surprise, I was standing up and gripping him before my feet were touching the ground.

Again, as he was still looking on, I ran to the tree on which I leaned the two poisonous cudgels, I took one and with all my power I beat “obstacle” with it, for I thought the poison of this cudgel would kill him.
When he cut it off I fell down at once and I was crying loudly for pain. As I was doing like that and blaming myself that if I had known I should had not come to the Jungle of the Pigmies, he came and stood at my front.

Then I held the tree under which we were fighting with all my power. He was pulling me with all his power but I did not lose my hands away from this tree. As he was trying hardly to take me away it was so I was shouting greatly that you would not take me away and he too was saving that at all costs he

But God was so good as he was dragging me along as hastily as he could he did not know when he hit his head on the branch of a tree which was full of bees and wasps.
But as he was defending himself it was so these insects were increasing and stinging him badly. As he was still staggering here and there I hastily ran back to the tree on which I leaned my gun. I loaded it with plenty of gun-powder and gun-shots, I ran back to him and I shot him on the head.

...stung

After I killed “obstacle” I travelled in this jungle till six o’clock in the evening. As I was travelling along it was so I was killing all the wild animals that I was seeing on the way.
aspect Incompletive
quote After I killed “obstacle” I travelled in this jungle till six o’clock in the evening. As I was travelling along it was so I was killing all the wild animals that I was seeing on the way.

YL n NE was travelling
BE travelled

aspect Incompletive
quote After I killed “obstacle” I travelled in this jungle till six o’clock in the evening. As I was travelling along it was so I was killing all the wild animals that I was seeing on the way.

YL n NE was seeing
BE saw

aspect Incompletive
quote The teeth of his mouth were so plenty and long that whenever he was eating a person who was in two miles away would be hearing the noises which they were making.

YL n NE was eating
BE ate

aspect Habitual
quote The teeth of his mouth were so plenty and long that whenever he was eating a person who was in two miles away would be hearing the noises which they were making.

YL maa n NE would be hearing
BE would hear
The teeth of his mouth were so plenty and long that whenever he was eating a person who was in two miles away would be hearing the noises which they were making.

Even as the teeth and the horns of his mouth and head were so fearful many of the wild animals who saw him when he was coming to kill them with all these things were dying for themselves before he would reach them instead to kill them with his teeth and horns, because they were too fearful to them.

The powerful light that these eyes were bringing out could not go far or straight but they were bringing out the clear and round light. The ray of this light was always round him and it could be seen clearly from a long distance.
The powerful light that these eyes were bringing out could not go far or straight but they were bringing out the clear and round light. The ray of this light was always round him and it could be seen clearly from a long distance.

He had a kind of a terrible shout with which he was frightening the animals and his humming was also terrible to hear. All the rest animals were so hated and feared that they never went near the place that he travelled for one week.

He first sighted all his horns towards me and then he was running to me as fast as he could. But when I thought within myself that if I stood on the ground and shot him, he would kill me instantaneously, because my "shakabullah" gun would not be able to kill him in one shot. Therefore I hastily climbed a

And it was this day that I believed that -- the half killed snake is the most dangerous. Because this animal was then shrieking and shouting and humming more terribly with angry voice than ever. His fearful humming was hearing all over the jungle.
aspect Incompletive

quote So as was running furiously towards me with all his power and when he was about to reach me, I hastily leapt again to my right unexpectedly and unfortunately he simply butted the stump of that tree.

YL n NE was running
BE ran

aspect Relational

quote After I rested for a few minutes then I started to beat him with my poisonous cudgel until when he was completely powerless and then he died after some minutes. It was like that I killed this “super-animal” as I could call him.

YL ti NE rested
BE had rested

aspect Incompletive

quote As I was looking for this boa constrictor it was so I was killing all the wild animals which I was seeing on the way. And in a few days time I killed the whole of them.

YL n NE was killing
BE kept killing

aspect Incompletive

quote As I was looking for this boa constrictor it was so I was killing all the wild animals which I was seeing on the way. And in a few days time I killed the whole of them.

YL n NE was seeing
BE saw
aspect Relational

quote As I was looking for this boa constrictor it was so I was killing all the wild animals which I was seeing on the way. And in a few days time I killed the whole of them.

YL ti NE killed

BE had killed

aspect Habitual

quote So when I believed that it would help me in future I wrapped it with the skin of animal and I kept it in my hunting bag. As from that day I was using it in the night as my light and I was wearing it on on the head whenever I was hunting. So this wonderful head became a very useful thing at last.

YL maa n NE was using

BE have used

aspect Habitual

quote So when I believed that it would help me in future I wrapped it with the skin of animal and I kept it in my hunting bag. As from that day I was using it in the night as my light and I was wearing it on on the head whenever I was hunting. So this wonderful head became a very useful thing at last.

YL maa n NE was wearing

BE have worn

aspect Incompletive

quote So when I believed that it would help me in future I wrapped it with the skin of animal and I kept it in my hunting bag. As from that day I was using it in the night as my light and I was wearing it on on the head whenever I was hunting. So this wonderful head became a very useful thing at last.

YL n NE was hunting

BE went hunting
aspect Relational
quote Of course I saw several small animals on my way coming to these rocks but I did not attempt to kill any one of them for my food because I had tired of eating animals every day, for I did not see another thing to eat since I had entered this jungle.

aspect Incompletive
quote In my dreams, all these terrible images, etc., were chasing me about to kill. It was so they were troubling me until one of them which was the skeletons of a giant caught me and as he wanted to stab me at belly, so I woke with great fear...

aspect Habitual
quote When I woke up I went to the spot where there were plenty of wild grasses. As I believed that these kind of grasses were always holding the dew which was falling down from the sky in the night.

aspect Habitual
quote When I woke up I went to the spot where there were plenty of wild grasses. As I believed that these kind of grasses were always holding the dew which was falling down from the sky in the night.
aspect Incompletive

quote After I ate the fruits and I was still hearing the noises I thought within myself that perhaps if I kept longer than that in this spot some of the creatures who were living under this rock might come out and when they met me there they might kill me.

YL n NE were living

BE lived

aspect Incompletive

quote As I was going along it was so I was stumbling my right foot thumb on the ground after a few minutes interval and this was a very bad omen. Again several birds were flying past my head and everyone of them was striking my eyes with its wings and this was a very bad sign indeed.

YL n NE were flying

BE flew

aspect Incompletive

quote I did not know whether as these squirrels were barking at me repeatedly their noises were suspecting me to these small animals and by that they were hiding themselves before I was travelling to where they were.

YL n NE were barking

BE barked

aspect Incompletive

quote I did not know whether as these squirrels were barking at me repeatedly their noises were suspecting me to these small animals and by that they were hiding themselves before I was travelling to where they were.

YL n NE was travelling

BE travelled
Having done so I began to keep watch of the animals. Of course as I was doing this thing it was so I was thinking in mind of all the signs which I had seen on the way before I travelled to this tree.

Whenever he was walking very hastily along, this navel would be shaking and sounding heavily as when the water was shaking in a large tube and it appeared on his belly as if a very large bowl covered the belly.

As he was following me along and flogging me repeatedly, it was so he was shouting horribly on me -- “Thief! thief! thief! I catch you today. All days are for thief to thieve but one day is for the owner to catch the thief” It was like that this stern huge pigmy was shouting on me greatly.
aspect Incompletive

quote As he was following me along and flogging me repeatedly, it was so he was shouting horribly on me -- "Thief! thief! thief! I catch you today. All days are for thief to thieve but one day is for the owner to catch the thief!" It was like that this stern huge pigmy was shouting on me greatly.

YL n NE was shouting

BE shouted

aspect Incompletive

quote As he was following me along and flogging me repeatedly, it was so he was shouting horribly on me -- "Thief! thief! thief! I catch you today. All days are for thief to thieve but one day is for the owner to catch the thief!" It was like that this stern huge pigmy was shouting on me greatly.

YL n NE was shouting

BE shouted

aspect Incompletive

quote When this punishment was too severe for me then I became powerless to walk after a short time. I was unable to go along any longer. When he saw this, he started to push me along with his fearful large navel and I was staggering along powerlessly.

YL n NE was staggering

BE staggered

aspect Incompletive

quote When he heard all these words from me the punishment which he was then giving me was more severe than before. It was like that he was pushing me along with his navel as hastily as he could until when he pushed me to these vast rocks and mountains and without hesitation he pushed me like this into one of

YL n NE was pushing

BE pushed
aspect Incompletive

quote As he was still pushing me along they were rushing to me just to kill or swallow me but when they saw that it was this pigmy who was pushing me along, they would not do anything to me but they were parting to both sides of the road for us to pass.

YL n NE were rushing

BE rush

aspect Habitual

quote I believed that all these creatures were also the keepers of this road. They were killing and eating all the enemies of these pigmies.

YL maa n NE were killing and eating

BE killed and ate

aspect Incompletive

quote As the attitudes of these creatures were too horrible for me as we were meeting them on this road, so whenever I feared and ran to either sides of the road, this pigmy would whip me very severely at the same time and then he would shout greatly that -- "just be going along. you don't see wonders yet. you

YL n NE were meeting

BE met

aspect Habitual

quote This ape was as strong as a giant. Of course he was not tall but he was so stout that he was easily opening and closing the door of this gate.

YL maa n NE was easily opening and closing

BE opened & close
aspect Incompletive

quote As this pigmy was pushing me along in the town, uncountable pigmies like himself were shouting on me -- “Ah, this is another one of the thieves of animals!” They were making a mock and deriding of me, and it was so I was breathing quickly and audible because I was so tired that I was unable to move my feet...

YL n NE was pushing

BE pushed

aspect Incompletive

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YL n NE was breathing

BE breathed

aspect Incompletive

quote As he was pushing me along I noticed that the domestic animals of this town were outnumbered the pigmies and this showed me that they were not killing these animals for their food at all.

YL n NE were not killing

BE did not kill

aspect Anticiptive

quote After he handed my property to the king and another pigmy put them on the ceiling and the king thanked him greatly and advised him as well to be going round the jungle every day and night and bringing all hunters or huntresses he might see in the jungle...

YL maa NE be going

BE go round
aspect Anticipative

quote After he handed my property to the king and another pigmy put them on the ceiling and the king thanked him greatly and advised him as well to be going round the jungle every day and night and bringing all hunters or huntresses he might see in the jungle...

aspect Completive

quote As he was pushing me along to the custody thousands of pigmies were surrounded me and they were looking at me with great surprise. Not as I was a huntress but because I was taller than everyone of them. They raised up their heads and were saying--how a person was so tall as this.

aspect Incompletive

quote As he was pushing me along to the custody thousands of pigmies were surrounded me and they were looking at me with great surprise. Not as I was a huntress but because I was taller than everyone of them. They raised up their heads and were saying--how a person was so tall as this.

aspect Incompletive

quote Because they themselves were not more than three or four feet tall. And I too bent my head downward and I was looking at each of them with great surprise that how a person was as short as this.
There were many big and deep wells everywhere in the town in which they were storing their palm-oil. Everyone of them with his own family were living together in each of these small houses.

Then this stern pigmy told him concisely that I was one of the hunters who were stealing away their animals from their jungle.

As I stood in one place and I was noticing all these things and as I was just thinking in mind that in a few months to come, I too would become as dirty and in nakedness as these people or perhaps I would be killed in a few days time. There I saw a very weak man ...
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Timothy Tèmilọlọ ọjànì grew up in Ghana where he also completed his elementary education before his parents returned to Nigeria in the late 1960s. Back in Nigeria, he attended the Nigerian Military School, Zaria from 1974 to 1979. On graduating from the Military School, he was sponsored by the Nigerian Army to study French at the University of Ifê, Ilé-Ifê (now Ọbáfẹmi Awólọwọ University) where he obtained his Bachelors degree with honors in French in June 1983. He did his mandatory National Youth Service as a French lecturer at the Ondó State College of Education, Ikéré-Ekitì from 1983 to 1984. In March 1985 he took a job with the Oyo State Schools’ Board and taught French at the Ikólábà Grammar School, Agodi, Ọlọdọ̀n until September 1988.

In October 1988 he won a French Government Ministry of Foreign Affairs scholarship to study Applied Linguistics at the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III). He obtained his M.A. and D.E.A. (M.Phil. equivalent) degrees in December 1990 and October 1991 respectively. While studying for his graduate degrees, he also taught Yorùbá at the Institut National des Langues et Civilizations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris.

At the tail end of Tim’s D.E.A. degree, he gained admission into the University of Florida’s Program in Linguistics (PIL) to study for his Ph.D. degree. He earned his graduate Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) from the PIL in May 1993 and his ABD in the Spring of 1996 when he was received into doctoral candidacy. While a graduate student in the PIL, Tèmi taught Yorùbá and African Humanities courses at the Department of African and Asian Languages and Literatures (AALL); African Experience and
Introduction to African Literature classes at the Center for African Studies (CAS) and English as a Second Language (ESL) courses at the English Language Institute (ELI). Tim also taught African Cultures and Literature courses as an Adjunct Instructor at Central Florida Community College (CFCC), Ocala during the Spring of 1998 and Fall of 1999. He has also been a regular instructor for African Literatures and Cultures, and Humanities at the CAS annual Summer Institute for K-12 teachers from 1997 until the present. In the Fall of 1998 and the Spring of 1999, he was a Consultant in African Cultures and Humanities at the Valencia Community College, Orlando, Florida.

For three consecutive summers in 1996, 1997 and 1998, Tim was an examiner and interviewer for the CAS Title VI Intensive Advanced Yorùbá and Hausa Group Project Abroad (GPA) program in Nigeria. He was a member of the Editorial Board of FOCUS on Linguistics (the University of Florida Working Papers in Linguistics) in the Spring of 1994 and a language Consultant in an Anthropological Linguistics Field Methods class during the Spring of 1995 and 1997. He served as the Interim President of the African Students’ Union during the 1997/98 academic year. He is currently an internal reviewer for African Studies Quarterly (ASQ), the electronic journal of the UF Center for African Studies and was a reviewer for Al-'Arabiyya, the journal of the American Association of Teachers of Arabic in the Spring of 1995. In October 1996, Tim won the UF College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (CLAS) Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship to do research in Nigeria in the summer of 1997. In April 2000, he won an Outstanding Academic Achievement Award (given annually to international students who have demonstrated excellence in the pursuit of their degree at the University of Florida).
Tim married Fúnmi in London, England in December 1994. Their marriage has been blessed with two sons, Ayọọlá Iléreríolúwa and Ibükún Olúbúsólá, born on February 15, 1996 and October 27, 2000 respectively.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

M. J. Hardman, Chair
Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Marie Nelson
Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Jean Casagrande
Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Diana Boxer
Associate Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Peter R. Schmidt
Professor of Anthropology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Program in Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 2001

Dean, Graduate School