THE ROLE OF AFFIXATION IN THE GRAMMAR OF IGBO

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Abstract

The first part of the work is introductory to the second part and deals briefly with the following topics:

(i) Phonology: (a) the function of tones in Igbo;
   (b) tonemeperturbation;
   (c) tone assimilation;
   (d) vowel harmony;
   (e) vowel assimilation;
   (f) vowel elision;
   (g) consonants:

(ii) Morphology: (a) the morphological processes of
duplication, reduplication, and
triplication;
   (b) classes of verbs and the structure
   of verbs:

(iii) Syntax: (a) the major types of Independent Verbal
   Clauses, both Simplex and Complex,
   Positive and Negative;
   (b) discussion of 'auxiliary verbs';
   (c) discussion of 'participle', 'cognate
   object', and 'na' prefix, and their
   rejection.

The second part deals with the grammatical and lexical
uses of affixes. The grammatical use of affixes is of two
types:
(i) Inflexional: the representation of the following grammatical categories by affixes: 
(a) Tense;
(b) Aspect;
(c) Case;
(d) Number;
(e) Modality;
(f) Anaphora;
(g) Comparison;
(h) Emphasis;

(ii) Derivational: the use of affixes to derive from verbs:
(a) Non-finite verbs;
(b) Nouns;
(c) Adjectives;
(d) Adverbs.

The final chapter deals with lexical suffixes and provides lists of verbs with such suffixes.
The Work and its Contributions to the Study of the Language

The work which is presented here is entirely original. It is in part an off-shoot of the dialect survey of Igbo which the author undertook as a Research Fellow at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, but which was not completed because of the Nigeria-Biafra war. However, the materials for the work as it stands were obtained from Mr. Timothy Ekeleme Uchendu, a male nurse, Mr. Udembia Nlewedim, a photographer - both of whom come from the village of the author, Umúdà Isìngwù, in Umúahìa - and Mr. J.O. Atuloma of Umúgphara, Umúahìa, who was formerly in the Nigeria Diplomatic Service. Further materials were obtained from a number of pamphlets and books written in Igbo by Igbo writers, and from recordings made available from the following sources: the Department of Africa, SOAS, which supplied me with some recordings made by Miss M.M. Green, M.A., sometime ago; Mr. Mark Inman, a former C.M.S. missionary in Nigeria, who gave me his recordings and teaching course in the Onitsha dialect; Mrs. Ella Floyer, formerly of the Census Office, Enugu, who lent to me her recordings of stories and songs by Igbo school children from various parts of Igbo land; and the Rev. A.K. Mincher, formerly of the Church of Scotland Mission, Òhafyà, who sent me copies of his recordings of conversations in the Òhafyà dialect.

In addition to these sources, the author listened
unobtrusively and critically to speeches by Igbo speakers from different dialect areas at social and formal occasions in London, and during his three-week visit home in February 1973 continued his observation, and checked some of his conclusions.

In the view of the author, the present work is an advance in the study of Igbo in both a major and a minor way. In the major dimension it shows: (a) that affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) have grammatical roles in the language; (b) that the majority of suffixes, in particular, have grammatical functions, but in different dimensions of the grammar (contrary to the prevalent view which makes all suffixes, except possibly two or three, semantic elements), although lexical suffixes also exist; (c) that the Adjective class is an open class derived by affixation and various morphological processes, contrary to the view which states that the adjectives of the language consist of only eight words; (d) that there is an adverb class a number of the members of which are morphologically derived. (e) As a consequence of the recognition of the grammatical function of affixes, a new and fresh approach will be adopted in the analysis of Igbo yielding more accurate categorization, and leading to a more explicit formalization of the grammar in transformational terms, probably along the lines suggested by the model tentatively proposed by P.A.M. Seuren in
'Operators and Nucleus' rather than by adopting the Chomskian model as it now stands. (f) For the first time the 'Comparative Sentence Construction' has been described to show how 'comparison' is handled by the language.

In the minor dimension, the work indicates (g) what types of tones have grammatical functions and what types have lexical; (h) describes 'toneme-perturbation', 'tone-assimilation', 'vowel-assimilation', 'vowel elision' in the language; (i) describes three regular morphological processes in frequent use - 'duplication', 'reduplication', and 'triplication'; and (j) summarily systematizes the major Independent Clause types of the language. All these things have not been done before.

Furthermore, although what is presented in this work is based on the Oñnyhny dialect, for consistency, it will be found that a great deal of its findings are applicable to a number of dialects. Thus this work will facilitate the study of other dialects of the language.

Finally, by ensuring a better grasp and understanding of the grammar of Igbo, the findings presented here should help lexicographers to produce dictionaries of the language in which the entries are more accurately described grammatically, as well as semantically, and thus produce reliable tools for the further study of the language.
Acknowledgement

I will not feel that I have completed this work until I have expressed my gratitude to those without whom it could not have been begun let alone finished. So I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to:

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PART I

CHAP. I  The Language and the People

The language described is the Igbo language, and the indigenous speakers of it call themselves NDĮ ÌGBÒ - the people of Ìgbò. The language is a tone language in which tones have both lexical and syntactic (or grammatical) functions. It has many dialects, and the speakers of various dialects tend to modify their speech in a mixed gathering in order to achieve mutual intelligibility. The greatest variation in dialects comes in the consonant sounds, which are quite complex in some dialects, but much simpler in some others. The present system of writing the language (referred to as 'Official Orthography', and adopted in 1961 to settle the dispute over the representation of the eight vowels of the majority of the dialects), suffers from over-simplification. In many respects it is lacking in features which are significant in the majority of dialects - such features as aspiration, nasalization and palatalization, and does not represent tones, the latter omission being the most serious of all.

The language is classified as one of the Kwa languages, being in the same family as the following other Nigerian languages: Yoruba, Igala, Nupe, Gbari, Igbira, Gade, Bini, Ishan, Kukuruku, Sobo, Idoma, Agatu, Iyala, and Ijo; and such Ghana languages as Akan, Gã, and Adangme. The area in which it is spoken lies roughly within Latitudes 5 and 7 North of
the Equator and Longitude 6° and 8° East of Greenwich (see p. 545). Thus the language and the people bestride the River Niger, with the greater part east of the river.

In 1972, the estimated population of Nigeria was given as 69,252,709\(^1\), of which the Igbos were estimated as comprising 18 per cent, like the Yorubas. This makes them 12,465,487.

In the description of the language which follows, no particular descriptive model, transformational or otherwise, is used. The reason for this is that the elements to be dealt with are all surface realizations of various grammatical categories or derivational elements, and adopting any particular model will lead to a very complicated presentation.

The dialect used as a basis is the Òhnumnrù dialect of Ìmùìahìà. However the dialect has a number of features which are shared by many dialects far beyond its boundaries. It is sometimes called (or included in what is called) the 'Central Dialect'.

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CHAP. 2
'Tone' in Igbo

Tr. 1. The Function of Tone in Igbo

For over a century now, with the publication in 1861 of the first grammar of Igbo, written by J.F. Schon, it has been known that Igbo is a 'tone language'. The first systematic work done on the tones of the language was however that of Dr. Ida C. Ward, who drew attention not only to the lexical, but also to the grammatical function of tones in the language. In their work published in 1963 (though done long before then) M.M. Green and G.E. Igwe took Dr. Ward's findings a stage further. Since then, with the advent of transformational approach to language, tones in Igbo have been given a transformational treatment, particularly by Dr. Patricia L. Carrell.

It is not intended in this work to go over the grounds again, but to draw attention to certain aspects of the grammatical uses of tones which have either been glossed over, neglected, or misunderstood. This is particularly necessary in view of the transformational approach to Igbo.

4. Patricia L. Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igbo (West African Language Monographs, 8; (1970)).
which relegates tone to the phonological component of the grammar.

The tonal system of Igbo is the terrace-tone type. Lexically, there are two basic tones, high-tone and low-tone, and each syllable of a word can have either one or the other. The mid-tone or 'step-down' tone is not a basic or phonological tone: for when a word has a mid-tone in it, that word is composite. (Something more is said about this later below).

In syntax, however, some pitch features\(^5\) are added to the high- and low-tones. These are: (a) high-falling, (b) low-rising, (c) higher reference-level, and (d) lower reference-level. And in both morphology and syntax another type of tone is involved - (e) mid-tone (or 'step-down tone'). Each of these will be briefly discussed.

These tones are represented as follows here:

(a) ` low-tone
(b) - mid-tone
(c) ^ high-falling tone
(d) v low-rising tone
(e) -- mid and high-falling tone
(f) A syllable not marked is high (if preceded by ` or by - , with which it shares the same level, or high by itself or following a high.)
(g) ´ for higher reference-level

(h) \text{ for lower reference-level}

Tn.1.1. \textit{High-falling pitch}

The high-falling pitch (in combination with other tone types) distinguishes clause types (see pp. 48+). It occurs in the following types of clauses:

(i) \textit{Declarative Form I}; (ii) \textit{Complex Clause Type I}; and (iii) \textit{Subjunctive Clause II}.

(i) \textbf{Declarative Form I}: The high-falling pitch occurs in this clause type if the subject has a final syllable with a high tone. This contrasts with its absence in an Imperative clause with identical elements. Contrast (a) and (b) of (1).

(1) (a) /"obi/ vù abọ. 'Obi is carrying a basket.' (Declarative)
(b) /"obi/ vù abọ. 'Let Obi carry a basket.' (Imperative)

(ii) \textbf{Complex Clause Type I}: The high-falling pitch of the final syllable of the Complex Clause Type I, when such a syllable is high, distinguishes the clause from a sequence of Independent clauses. (a) and (b) of (2) illustrate these types of clauses, respectively.

(2) (a) Ọ nà àga ahyyä\textsuperscript{à}zu yà. 'He goes to the market and buys it.'

(b) Ọ nà àga ahyyä\textsuperscript{à}zu yà. 'He goes to the market, and he buys it.'

In (b) the second clause has a higher reference-level than the preceding one which ends with \textit{ahyä}: and there is a pause after the end of the first clause before the second one can be said.
(iii) **Subjunctive Clause II**: The high-falling pitch occurs in the subjunctive II clause if the subject is a mono-phonemic pronoun (M 'I', O/Ø 'He', I/₁ 'You (sg.)', E/A 'Indefinite' 3rd Pers.) and distinguishes it from the Declarative I with identical elements. Consider (a) and (b) of (3).

(3) (a) /₀/ hnu₇ gi, nòd⁶ ebe à. 'In case he should see you, stay here.'

(b) /₀/ hnu₇ gi. Nòd⁶ ebë a. 'He must see you. Stay here.'

**Tn.1.2. Low-rising pitch**

The low-rising pitch occurs when the final syllable of the subject of the clause has a low tone, and the clause is a Relative Clause Type I or Type II, or the Complement in a predication, as in (3) (b). In the Relative Clause Type I, the low-rising pitch makes possible the tone-relationship that should exist between the subject and the verb-phrase; and in all three types of clause it indicates that the clause with the low-rising subject is not an independent clause. Often, however, the low-rising pitch is converted into a straightforward mid-tone, as the bracketed words show in (1) - (3).

In the following examples, (1) is a Relative Clause I; (2) a Relative Clause II; and (3) (b) a clause in which the base clause has been transformed into a Complement through transposition and predication. The relevant words are enclosed in //.
(1) /Ojhî (Ojhî)/ zûrù yā.... 'Ojhî who bought it....'
(2) ìgbè /Ojhî (Ojhî)/ zûrù ya.... 'When Ojhî bought it....'

'The time Ojhî ....)

(3) (a) Ojhî zûrù ya. 'Ojhî bought it.'
(b) O wù ya kà/Ojhî (Ojhî)/ zûrù. 'It was it that Ojhî bought'.

Tn.1.3. Higher and Lower Reference-level

Higher and lower reference-level pitches occur when clauses in succession are independent of each other. Thus they distinguish this sequence of clauses from other sequences in which there is cohesion between what precedes and what follows. The higher reference-level pitch occurs when the following clause begins with a high-tone syllable, and the lower reference-level occurs when the following clause begins with a low-tone syllable.

The term 'reference-level' is used to indicate that the significant difference between the preceding and the following clauses lies in their reference-levels, the initial higher or lower pitch indicating the level at which the subsequent clause begins. The notation used here is adopted from the works of Green and Igwe, as far as the higher level is concerned; the lower level is being mentioned for the first time. The notation mark is placed before the first syllable of the

1. cf. Green and Igwe, op. cit. p.111 'higher than high'.

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1
subsequent clause: /\/ for higher, and \_/ for lower.

Between the independent clauses, there is always a pause of relative duration, whereas between the clauses that have some cohesion, there is no such pause. The pause is indicated by comma.

In the examples, (a) contains independent clauses, while (b) contains cohesive clauses.

(1) (a) 0 gàrà ahya, \_'zuo jî. 'He went to the market, and bought yams too.'

    (b) 0 gàrà ahya \_zuo jî. 'He went to the market and bought yams.' (i.e. the purpose or result of his going to the market was the buying of yams.)

(2) (a) 0 gàrà n'ahya, \_'zuò ikhë. 'He went to the market, and he rested too.'

    (b) 0 gàrà n'ahya \_zuò ikhë. 'He went to the market and rested.'

Tn.1.4. The mid-tone.

Whereas there are monosyllabic words with low-tones, and others with high-tones, there is no monosyllabic word with a mid-tone. Examples of low-tone and high-tone words are (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) (a) nà 'and'; (b) mà 'and', 'but'; (c) kà 'that';

    (d) tâ 'bite'.
Furthermore, whereas the low-tone or the high-tone can begin a word in isolation, as in (3) and (4), the mid-tone cannot.

(3) (a) ìbhe 'pear'; (b) ìbu 'hall'; (c) ìgbè 'time'.
(4) (a) okwu 'word'; (b) uzó 'way'.

It follows therefore that the mid-tone is not a basic and lexical tone, like the ones considered above. In fact its function lies in the area of morphology and syntax; but while the fact has been recognized at the syntactical level, it has not been fully recognized on the morphological. The function of the mid-tone at both the morphological and syntactic levels will now be summarily stated and illustrated.

Tn.1.4.1. **Morphological function of the mid-tone.**

The occurrence of the mid-tone in a lexical item indicates that the item is composite, made up of more than one element. This is not to say that only items in which a mid-tone occurs may be composite. What is meant is that the fact of compositeness may be overtly indicated by the presence of a mid-tone.

For the tone to be present, the syllable on which it occurs must be preceded by one that has a high-tone.

It occurs in the following classes of words:

(1) **The Infinitive** of class I and class III verbs, as in (1) and (2) respectively, in which the vowel i-/i- is prefixed to
the verb stem.

(1) (a) ímē 'to do'; (b) ìgà 'to go'; (c) ílē 'to look'.

(2) (a) iznûznû 'to behave foolishly'; (b) ífûfà 'to force in'.

(i) Nouns derived from class I verbs by prefixation and suffixation. In some instances the mid-tone occurs on the suffix, and in some others on the verb base, as in (6) to (8).

(3) ag'ùō 'hunger' (ìg'ù 'to desire/be desired')

(4) ìbarà 'plentifulness' (ìbà 'to increase')

(5) ebherè 'slice' (ibhè 'to slice')

(6) mbhôro 'roof beam' (ibhô 'to put (a load) on')

(7) nohàra 'reddish-brown earth' (ìchà 'to have colour')

(8) mbèle 'excessive crying' (ibè 'to cry')

(9) àgààm 'the fact of going' (ìgà 'to go')

(10) èmèm 'the fact of doing' (imè 'to do')

(ii) Adjectives

(11) ójọọ 'bad' (ìjọ 'to be bad')

(12) ojìẹ 'black' (ìjì 'to be/become black')

(13) óhnýọ 'new' (? ihnû 'to see')

(14) ìkpọọ 'dry/hard' (ìkpọ 'to dry hard')

(iv) Interrogatives

(15) ìlè 'which'; 'where is?' (ilè 'to look')

(16) ídîì 'which'; 'where is?' (ìdî 'to be at/in')

(17) ìghàà 'how?' (ìghà 'to change')

(v) Quantifiers

(18) nìlè 'all'

(19) naànì 'only/sole'
In all these examples the mid-tone indicates that the element with the mid-tone has a close relationship, or is in construction with the preceding elements. This applies too to its occurrences in syntactic constructions, as shown below.

Tn.1.4.2. **Syntactic functions of the mid-tone**

In verbal and nominal clauses, the place where the mid-tone occurs is as important as its occurrence or non-occurrence. Its place of occurrence in verbal clauses distinguishes one clause type from another, and its place of occurrence in a nominal clause gives a different grammatical meaning to the same nominal clause. In the illustrations to be given the items used are restricted to high-high nouns and class I verbs.

(i) Its occurrence on the second syllable of the object of an Imperative clause, and its absence from the same object in a Declarative I clause, help to distinguish both clause types, as in (1).

(1) (a) Ọbị vu/abọ/. (Decl.) 'Ọbi is carrying a basket.'
(b) Ọbị vu /abọ/. (Imp.) 'Let Ọbi carry a basket.'

(ii) Its occurrence both on the prefix of the verb and on the second syllable of the object in a Declarative II clause, and its occurrence only on the prefix in the Declarative III clause, contrast the two clause types, as in (2).

(2) (a) Ọbi/evuole abọ/. 'Obi has carried the basket.'
(b) Ọbi/evuole abọ/. 'Obi should have carried the basket.'

(iii) Its occurrence both on the verb and the object in a
relativized Declarative I and Declarative II, distinguishes these two types of Relative clause from their Independent counterparts, as in (3) and (4), where (b) is the Relative Clause in each case.

(3) (a) Òbí/vù abọ. 'Obi is carrying a basket.'
(b) Òbí/vù abọ/... 'Obi who is carrying a basket...'

(4) (a) Òbí évú abọ. 'Obi should have carried a basket.'
(b) Òbí/évú abọ/ 'Obi who should have carried a basket....'

(iv) In a noun-phrase composed of Noun HH₁ + Noun HH₂, the second noun in the phrase may have the meaning of (a) a defining genitive; (b) a possessive genitive; or, (c) the phrase may be just a compound noun, if the mid-tone occurs on the final syllable of the second noun. Much depends on the types of nouns in the phrase. Consider the following examples.

(5) eg'o nnū 'money for salt'; 'salt money'; 'salt's money'.
(6) egwu onwā 'moon dance'; 'dance in moonlight'; 'the dance of the moon'.

But if the mid-tone occurs on the first syllable of the second noun, then that noun must have specified for it (+POSSESSIVE, +HUMAN (or PERSON)). Thus we get

(7) (a) isi ọkwe 'Mr. Ekwe's head.'
(b) anya ọghu 'Mr. Eghu's (Goat's) eye.'

(Some linguists have refused to admit the fact of personification

1. Voorhoeve, Meeussen, de Blois: Journal of West African Languages, Vo. VI, 2, 1969, p.79.
in this occurrence of the mid-tone, but have not provided any satisfactory alternative interpretation.)

(v) When the noun-phrase is Noun HH₁ +Noun HH₁, if the mid-tone falls on the second syllable of the second noun, the phrase has a comparative sense 'the X of X's', as in (8).

(8) (a) egwu egwū 'the dance of dances' (i.e. a great dance)
    (b) anü anū 'the meat of meat' (i.e. very tasty meat)

(vi) If the mid-tone falls on the first syllable of the second occurrence of the same noun, the phrase indicates plurality, as in (9).

(9) (a) eghu āghu 'plenty of goats'; 'goat upon goat'
    (b) ọsọ ọsọ 'quickly'; ('run upon run')
    (c) akwukwọ akwukwọ 'plenty of books'

(vii) In a limited number of prepositional phrases in which the nouns of the HH tone type, these nouns take a mid-tone on their second syllables, behaving as though the preposition was another noun. Examples of such phrases are:

(10) (a) n'anwụ 'in the sun'; (b) n'ụnwụ 'during a famine';
    (c) n'elụ 'on high', 'above'

(viii) The mid-tone distinguishes a negative verb form from a positive one, as in (11) (b).

(11) (a) Òbi/àgala/ahyā. 'Ôbi has gone to the market.'
    (b) Òbi/agàla/ ahya. 'Obi never went to the market.'

In view of the varied functions of the mid-tone in the language, and the different places in which it can occur in
verbal and nominal constructions, it is questionable therefore whether the existence or otherwise of any class of words can be made to be dependent on the occurrence or non-occurrence of the tone.

(See 'Adjectives' DA.4.1, p.428)

Tn.1.4.3. The use of tone alternation for emphasis

The use of tones for emphasis is dealt with in Em.2.

Tn.2. **Toneme-perturbation**

Toneme-perturbation is a frequent phenomenon in Igbo. By its operation a syllable that would otherwise have a low-tone or a high-tone is made to have a high-tone or low-tone, respectively. It is morphologically motivated in verb structures, and syntactically motivated in noun-phrases and verb-phrases.

If in a verb a syllable with a low-tone is followed by another syllable which belongs to the class of class II items (that is low-tone items) the preceding syllable is forced up, and this in turn affects earlier syllables, if they are present (as in (2) (b)). In (1) (a) the verb is a class I verb, in (b) it is a class II, and in (c) both types of verb are combined in the same clause type and the class I verb loses its low-tone.

(1) (a) Ežè/nyèrè/abọ. 'Ežè gave a basket.'
(b) Ežè/fèrè/abọ. 'Ežè passed the basket.'
(c) Ežè/nyefèrè/abọ. 'Ežè handed across the basket.'

In (2) (a) a class II verb alone occurs, and in (b) two of them occur, the second perturbing the first.

(2) (a) Ọbi/ēluóle/yā. 'Ọbi has thrown it.'
(b) Ọbi/ēludhàlà/yā. 'Ọbi has thrown it down.'

In a noun-phrase if the second noun has LH or LL tones and the first one has a final low-tone, toneme-perturbation occurs in the first noun, as in (3). In a verb-phrase of a clause requiring a syntactic tone-change in the object or complement, if the object has a LH or LL tones and the verb ends with a low-tone, the same result occurs, as in the noun-phrase, as shown in (4).

(3) (a) ọpị + ạchàrà → ọpị ạchàrà 'flute'
(b) og'è + ọzọ → og'è ọzọ 'another time'

(4) (a) ọ nà/azá + èzi/ → ọ nà/azá èzi/ 'She is sweeping the yard.'
(b) ọ nà/azá + ạlà/ → ọ nà/azá ạlà/ 'She is sweeping the floor.'

Tn.3. **Tone assimilation**

Dr. Ward describes tone assimilation in Igbo as follows:

"The many levels of pitch of an Igbo sentence may be explained as the result of tone assimilation."\(^1\) However, what she calls tone assimilation is more aptly described by Dr. Elizabeth Dunstan as 'downdrift': 'Igbo has a downdrift type of intonation.

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This means that a high tone after a low tone is not as high as the high tone which preceded the low tone."¹

Complete tone assimilation does take place sometimes in the language. This happens in two types of construction, one morphological, and the other syntactic. The morphologically created assimilation causes a non-initial class I (high tone) element to take a low tone like a class II element which follows it. It occurs in a compound-complex verb form (see p.44 below), where a non-initial class II element in the verb pulls down every syllable that intervenes between it and the initial verb root. In such a structure the initial syllable is perturbed while succeeding syllables are tonally assimilated, as in (1) (a) and (b). Tone assimilation takes place also in the infinitive verb form when a class I element following a class II takes a low-tone, as in (1) (c) and (d).

(1) (a) M wetā́fù́o? 'Shall I bring some more?'
(b) Hna garù́zìfù́o? 'Are they to get closer still?'
(c) iwè́tá 'to bring to'
(d) imḗzù́chàsì 'to do the whole lot completely'

Syntactically based tone assimilation occurs when a suffix monosyllabic final syllable that should have a mid-tone from a preceding syllable takes the same level as the preceding syllable, as in (b) of the following examples.

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(2) (a) 0 zūqola/ehyni wā/ 'He has bought the cow.'
    (b) 0 zūqola/ehynī wā/ 'He has bought the cow.'

(3) (a) Adha āhnula/nwa yā/ 'Adha has found her child.'
    (b) Adha āhnula/nwā yā/ 'Adha has found her child.'

(4) (a) Anyi/āhmughī gi/... 'We who didn't see you...'
    (b) Anyi/āhnughī gi/... 'We who didn't see you...'

Tone assimilation, if not taken due notice of can lead to some error in grammatical analysis.
CHAP. 3  Vowels and Consonants

Vac.1. Number and harmony of vowels

As a result of Dr. Ward's investigations it was discovered that Igbo has a system of eight vowels for the majority of dialects. But there are some, particularly among the Western Igbo dialects, which have nine vowels, for example Ŭkwaàlì.

(In the dialects which have eight vowels, the vowel /e/ has two allophones (e) and (e). They are differently distributed in some dialects. In Ônhunu (Őnhun), (e) occurs initially and before /i/ and /u/; in Ônuchà (Onitsha), (e) occurs initially and before /i/, /o/, or /u/; (e) occurs everywhere else in both dialects. In the dialects that have nine vowels, /e/ and /e/ constitute phonemes.

In the dialect of Êthém, in Bende Division, /a/ has two allophones: (a) in initial positions and (a) elsewhere.)

Whether with eight or with nine vowels, the dialects observe a system of vowel harmony. This has been widely recognized, and has been given prosodic treatment by Professor Carnochan in his article, 'Vowel Harmony in Igbo'.

When eight vowels are involved, the harmony is as follows:

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The odd number vowels occur with each other, and the even number vowels occur with each other in polysyllabic morphemes. Vowel harmony often operates across morpheme boundaries. But it is limited mostly to derivational prefixes, and suffixes to verbs, as in (1), where the prefixes ɪ-/ɨ-, ɛ-/ə-, ʊ-/ʊ-, and ɔ-/ɔ- harmonize with the following verb root. Similarly, the mono-phonemic second and third person pronouns, as subjects, harmonize with the following verb, as in (2).

(1) (a) ḯmē 'to do'; (b) ḯmā 'to know'; (c) emē 'not to do'; (d) emā 'not to know'; (e) əme 'doer'; (f) əma 'knower'; (g) əme 'disaster'; (h) əma 'knowing'.

(2) (a) /0 mə/yə. 'He knows it.'
(b) /0 mə/yə. 'He is doing it.'
(c) /ɨ mə/yə. 'You know it.'
With suffixes, the situation varies in the following ways: (i) some do not harmonize their vowels with preceding ones, as -nǐ in (3); (ii) some others harmonize, as -ghi in (4); (iii) some still harmonize only when preceded by some vowel types, as -ta in (5); (iv) some others are not merely harmonized but completely assimilated to the preceding vowel, as -ra in (6).

(3) (a) /Mèni/ya. 'Do it, then.'
    (b) /Byanì/ebe à. 'Come here, then.'

(4) (a) ò/meghi/ya. 'He didn't do it, I insist.'
    (b) ò/byaghɪ/. 'He didn't come, I insist.'

(5) (a) ivùte 'to carry to'
    (b) irìte 'to acquire as profit'
    (c) ig'òta 'to buy'
    (d) ìlùta 'to marry to'

(-ta harmonizes only when preceded by any vowel except /e/ and /o/)

(6) (a) ò/gàrà/ahya. 'He went to the market.' (He went market)
    (b) ò/mèrè/ornu. 'He did some work.' (He worked work)
    (c) ò/cirì/ocì. 'He laughed (a laugh).'

In considering suffixes later, the following symbolization is used to cover the fact of vowel harmony: -A/E represents complete assimilation, -A representing the vowels a,i,u and ì,
and -E representing e, i, u and o (as in -m/A/E). -A alone represents harmonizing to either -a, or -e; -I represents either -i or -i; and -A/O means either -a/ -e or -o/-ô.

Vac.2. Vowel Elision

Vowel elision is another phenomenon that occurs in Igbo. It has not been much discussed. In 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo' it is merely mentioned. It operates between morphemes, where the final vowel of the preceding morpheme may be affected by or affect the initial vowel of a following morpheme. It works as follows:

(i) When the close vowel i/i or u/u occurs as the final vowel in a morpheme, no elision takes place between it and the initial vowel of the next morpheme whatever type the latter may be, (as in (1)).

(1) (a) isi ôrmu 'the beginning of the farm'
(b) ụdị elẹ 'the appearance of the deer'
(c) egwu onwà 'moon dance'
(d) ôrmu ochiè 'old piece of work'
(e) egwu aghà 'war dance/music'
(f) ụdị ụdèlè 'the appearance of a vulture'
(g) egwu ikhè 'energetic dance'

(ii) If the first morpheme has a final open vowel, elision takes place, such that the open vowel is displaced by a close vowel, as in (2).

(2) (a) Onyị isị /onyiisị/ 'head-man'
Vowel elision often obscures the morphological structure of a word, and may lead to incorrect spelling or the loss of elements from a composite word. For instance *agbo+aàla* 'lower region', pronounced *agbaaala*, is written as *agbala* (without tones).
Vowel elision is observed in forms derived by the
infixation of the assimilated affix -ghA/E, as in (4) and (5).
(4) ure -ghe -ure /ureghuure/ 'filthy'
(5) ulo -gho -ulo /uloğhuulo/ 'gummy'

The operation of vowel elision has led to the complete
transformation of some items, for instance, the following.
(6) (a) nwa+okhê : nwookhê : /nwokhê/ 'a male person'
(b) di+ikhê : /dikhê/ 'a strong person'
(c) elu+ugwhû : /elugwhû/ (enugu) 'top of the hill'/Enugu
(d) ãus+ekwhû : ãseekwhû : /ãseekwhû/ 'kitchen'

Although the examples given in (1) to (5) are of nominals,
the phenomenon of elision operates also between other types
of words, including Verb+Noun, Particle+Noun, Verb+Verb, etc.
In all cases the number of syllables is maintained, except in
the case of Particle+Noun where the particle is the preposition
na and the following noun has an initial high-tone syllable.
Compare (7) (a) with (b).
(7) (a) na+ôhya : /n'ôhya/ 'in the bush.'
(b) na+ôbu : /n'ôbu/ 'in the hall'

Vac.3. Consonants

The consonants of the language have been looked at from
both the prosodic and the phonemic points of view. The two
approaches were exemplified by Elizabeth Dunstan and G.E. Igwe
in 'Two Views of the Phonology of the Ôhùnù Dialect of Igbo',

published in 1966. There is also Carnochan's 'A Study of the Phonology of an Igbo Speaker', based on another dialect of Igbo, and the Wordlist by Armstrong referred to earlier.

The number of consonants one wishes to recognize in Igbo depends upon one's analytic approach and the dialect one is handling. From a phonemic point of view, the situation is stated as follows by Armstrong: "I conclude these remarks by pointing out that in Igbo, as in the other Kwa languages, there is in general no consonant clusters. On the other hand, there are many compound consonants, with quite complex articulations. (These are usually written with digraphs and trigraphs.)..... We see that the Onitsha dialect has less than half as many consonants as any of the three eastern dialects. The figures are: Olu 64 consonants, Owerri 60 consonants, Ochnu 55 consonants, Onitsha 28 consonants...."2

The problem of consonants is not discussed in this work, which is based on the Ochnu dialect. The phonology adopted and the system of writing it are those set out in Green and Igwe's 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo'. The only departure from them is in the representation of nazalization by the letter /n/ (as part of the consonant) instead of the tilde /~/

over the consonant, for instance Ωνυννυ in place of Ωηυνυ.
In addition to the processes of Prefixation, Suffixation and Infixation there are three other regular processes by which items can be derived from other items. These are Duplication, Reduplication, and Triplication. Instead of combining the first two under Reduplication, two separate terms are used because two radically different procedures are involved.

Prefixation, Suffixation, and Infixation are not discussed because they are merely additive.

As the term implies, the process of duplication repeats twice over a base unit, to derive other units. It is usually applied to nominal forms (derived or underived) to form other nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or to express plurality in the noun concerned. But it is applied also to verb roots with prefixes or suffixes.

In the examples, the tones of the resulting items are not under consideration, though important. Consider the following examples.

(1) eluēlu 'upwards': North (elu 'top', 'height')
(2) àlaàlà 'downwards': South (àlà 'ground', 'land')
(3) ʻokhûʻokhû 'much fire': 'quickly' (ʻokhû 'fire', 'heat')
(4) madhûmadhû 'plenty of people' (madhû 'person')
(5) otûotû 'one-by one' (otû 'one')
(6) ìmbùmbù 'newly': 'of old' (ìmbù 'first')
(7) sèmsèm 'briskly': 'brisk' (isè 'to pull/tug'; + -m (suf.))
(8) gomgom 'clearly': 'clear' (igò 'to sound forth'; + -m
(suffix))
(9) mfemfe 'light': 'easy' (ifè 'to fly/blow'; + m- (pref.))
(10) njònjò 'profuse': (ijò 'to rain'; + n- (prefix))

Longer items may be duplicated, including clauses (as in
(12)).

(11) aghalariäghalari 'of many different kinds sorts' (aghalari
'of different sorts')
(12) Ọ nà àga /m hnùrù ọnye m hnùrù ọnye/. 'He goes (walks)
proudly ('He goes 'Who did I see? Who did I see?')

Duplication may be contiguous, as in (1) to (12), or
dis-contiguous, as in (13), (14), (15) and (16).

(13) mpe-re-mpe 'rather impaired' (ipè 'to chip'; + -re (suff.))
(14) nka-ra-nka 'tattered' (ikà 'to tear'; + -ra (suffix))
(15) anù-mà-anù 'animals' (anù 'animal'; +ma (conjunction))
(16) isi-mì-ìsi 'hither and thither' (isi 'head'; + ma (conj.))

3. Reduplication

The process of reduplication is applied to verb roots,
and by it various classes of words are derived. Unlike
duplication, which makes additions in post-base positions,
reduplication makes additions in pre-base positions. The
reduplicated form can have as prefix any vowel (according to
vowel harmony), or a nasal consonant /N/ which must be
homorganic with the following consonant.

The process operates as follows:

(i) The consonant of the verb root is repeated in its entirety and may have either i/i or u/u as its vowel, and is then followed by the verb root. Which of these two sets of vowels will occur is conditioned as follows.

(ii) If the verb root has the close vowel i/i, the reduplicate syllable will have the same vowel as the root whatever the composition of the consonant of the root.

(1) òbìbì 'living in/at' (ìbì 'to live in/at')
(2) òcìci 'collecting' (ìcì 'to collect')
(3) òzniznì 'teaching/showing' (ìznì 'to teach/show')
(4) òhyìhyì 'twisting' (ìhyì 'to twist')
(5) òphyìphyì 'sharpening' (ìphyì 'to sharpen')
(6) òhynihynì 'sweeping' (ìhynì 'to sweep')

(iii) If the verb root has the vowel e/a, the reduplicate syllable will have i/i as vowel provided the root consonant does not contain a labial sound. But if there is a labial sound, then the vowel will be u/u provided no palatal sound co-occurs with it. But if a palatal sound co-occurs with the labial then the vowel of the reduplicate will be i/i, as in (10).

(7) òlíle 'looking' (ìlè 'to look')
(8) òríre 'selling' (ìrè 'to sell')
(9) òjìja 'praising' (ìjà 'to praise')
(10) òphyìphyà 'flogging' (ìphyà 'to flog')
(11) ḍobube 'crying' (ibē 'to cry')
(12) ḍogwugwe 'grinding' (igwē 'to grind')
(13) ḍokwhükwha 'wailing' (ikwhā 'to wail')
(14) ḍomume 'doing' (imē 'to do')
(15) ḍowuwa 'sawing' (iwā 'to saw')

(iv) The vowel of the reduplicate syllable is u/u if the vowel of the verb root is a back vowel, u/u or o/o. But if the vowel of the root is o/o and the consonant of it contains a palatal sound, then the vowel of the reduplicate syllable will be i/i, as in (21) to (24).

(16) ḍog'ug'u 'reading' (ig'u 'to read')
(17) ḍojuju 'filling up' (ijū 'to fill up')
(18) ḍokwhükwhu 'hanging' (ikwhu 'to hang')
(19) ḍokuko 'planting' (ikoko 'to dig/plant')
(20) ḍofufo 'plucking' (ifō 'to pluck')
(21) ipyipyò 'to wander about in narrow place' (ipyō 'to pass through narrow gap')
(22) ipyipyò 'to twitter'.
(23) ḍoryiryo 'bending' (iryō 'to bend')
(24) ḍoryiryo 'begging' (iryō 'to beg')

The following items with palatal consonants plus o/o in the verb root may have either i/i or u/u in the reduplicate syllable.

(25) ḍcico/ocular 'growing' (iocō 'to grow')
(26) ḍjijo/oidjọ 'raining' (ijọ 'to rain')
(27) ọjịọ/ọjụọ 'planting' (ịọ 'to plant')
(28) ọyiyo/ọyụọ 'swallowing' (iyọ 'to swallow')
(29) ọnyịnyọ/ọnyụnyọ 'peeping' (iụnyọ 'to peep')

In (30) the fact of the occurrence of other prefixes than ọ/ọ is illustrated.

(30) (a) ekwụkwụ 'talkativeness' (b) mfufe 'a fan'
(c) ụbibi 'a ladder' (ibị 'to lean on')
(d) ịriri 'eating'

Mp.4. Triplication

Triplication in Igbo has two subtypes: one subtype which operates on verb roots, and another which operates on other types of items. Both subtypes have one thing in common which (apart from the triplicating of forms) distinguishes them from duplication. It is this, that they do not admit prefixes in the forms derived.

Mp.4.1. Triplication of verb roots

In the triplicating of verb roots (which affects only simple verb roots) the root is repeated thrice. The consonant is the same in each of the three syllables; the vowel of the second and third (and root) syllables are identical, but the vowel of the first syllable alternates (where applicable) exactly as described for reduplication. Consider the following examples.

(1) byìbyìbyìa 'coming on and on' (ìbyà 'to come')
(2) cucoco 'growing-up and up' (icó 'to grow up')
The second subtype of triplication has within it two further subtypes. In the first sub-subtype the whole word is repeated thrice, such that the second occurrence has low tones and the first and third have high tones. The triplicated form may be derived from verb stems or other types of items, as in the following examples.

(7) gobì gòbì gobi 'in an elegant/stately manner' (igöbi 'to be tall and straight')
(8) kwedu kwèdu kwedu 'undeviatingly' (ikwèdu 'to go withoutdeviating from path')
(9) com cöm com 'with imposing gait' (ico 'to grow up')
(10) kpum kpùm kpum 'with thuds'
(11) wuruwuru würùwürù wuruwuru 'with much under-cover and secret activity' (iwürü 'to put clothes on')

In the second sub-subtype, the base form is progressively shortened, such that the third repetition consists only of the first syllable of the initial item. The first form usually contains a -rA/E suffix and an -m suffix, and has a four-syllable structure. In tone-structure, it is made up as follows: HLLL-HLL-H.

(12) faràtem fatèm fa. 'in a very untidy manner' (fäta 'to
do in an untidy manner)

(13) kharátəm khatəm kha 'in a slashing fashion' (ikhà 'to cut sharply; to sharpen')

(14) gbaràdàm gbadàm gba 'in hard-hitting manner' (igbà 'to shoot/sting')

(15) kwhoròtòm kwhotòm kwho 'in fierce wrenching manner'
    (ikwhò 'to tear off by force')

(16) kporòtòm kpòtòm kpo 'in pelting manner'

As will have been observed from the translations, triplication is used to derive adverbial forms. (See also Adverbs, p.468f). And forms derived by the first subtype of the process can also function as adjectives (given as adjectives Form 14 below, p.468f).
The verb occupies a very central place in the grammar of the language. It is not only that it stands between the subject and the object/complement in a simple sentence (because Igbo, in terms of basic order typology, is a Subject-Verb-Object language), it is also the word class from which other word classes are derived (such as Nouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs). In addition, it is the point in a clause at which several elements which realize various grammatical categories are localized. The derivational possibilities of the verb and its grammatical centrality will be abundantly demonstrated in the parts of this work dealing with affixes.

Until now only two classes of verbs have been recognized. They are distinguished as High Tone and Low Tone. Here the suggestion of Professor Carnochan of Class I and Class II is adopted. But the further suggestion of sub-categorizing the classes into Class Ia, Class Ib, Class IIa and Class IIb, on the basis of the occurrence or non-occurrence of the vowel

3. 'Word Classes' p.8ff.
suffix -A/0 is not accepted because that vowel can occur with any verb of the language.

A third class of verbs is recognized here. It differs morphologically and tonally from both Class I and Class II. It is called Class III. It has two sub-classes: the first has a reduplicated stem, and the other is composed, sometimes inseparably, of a root plus a lexical suffix. Whereas the infinite forms of Class I and II have HM and HL tones, respectively, that of Class III has HML tones. Consider these examples.

(1) inyé 'to give' (Class I)
(2) ifú 'to go out' (Class II)
(3) (a) itútú 'to pick up several things' (Class III)
    (b) ikóbò 'to look seemingly substantial' (Class III)

Vb.3. The structure of verbs

A verb-structure may be of the following types:

(i) **Simplex** - consisting of a single verb root as in (1).
(1) O /jì/ eg'o. 'He has money.'

(ii) **Complex** - consisting of a root and affixes (prefix/suffix).
(2) (a) O /gàrà/ òrnù. 'He went to work.'
    (b) Anyi /àgala/ òrnù. 'We've gone to work.'

(iii) **Compound** - consisting of more than one root.
(3) (a) Anyi /znídà/ ivù? 'Shall we put down the load?'
    (b) Unù /gàrà/ ngwaàngwa. 'Get there quickly.'

(iv) **Compound-Complex** - consisting of ((root+(root)+affix)+
(root+affix)) (i.e. a compound of separately suffixed stems).

4) (a) Anyi /èwebhàtàfùqola/ eg'q. 'We have brought in
      some more money.'

      (b) Unù /natàzùo/ ūtu. 'Make a complete collection of
          the levies, you people.'

5) (a) /Znidhàta/ abong n'àlà. 'Put the basket on the ground
       here.'

      (b) /Anyi /èwebhàjuwerele/ unù hna. 'We have taken all
          of them in for you people.'

In the examples the verb roots are underlined, the affixes
are not.
VC.1. The structure of verbal clauses

The role of affixation in the grammar of Igbo will be discussed in the context of the verbal clause for a number of the affixes. Therefore it is necessary to give the major clause types which exist in the language. But this will be a summary account because the types have been exhaustively described by Green and Igwe in 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo' and other publications by them. However, the assumptions and the procedure evident in those publications are different from the ones adopted in this work. In them such categories as Mood, Tense, Aspect, etc., were studiously avoided, and the affixes, here regarded as grammatical, were taken as semantic elements. Consequently it was not realized how the convergence of the various grammatical categories in a clause determined the form it took. The works, however, constitute a step forward in the study of Igbo from where Dr. Ward left off, and they are exceptional in the handling of the complicated tonal systems of the language, making it quite unnecessary to repeat here. What is done in this chapter is to systematize the clause types of the language, and in doing so, contrastive tone patterns and other distinguishing features are briefly stated.

In terms of structure, there are two types of verbal clauses in Igbo, and they are distinguished as (a) SIMPLEX CLAUSE, and (b) COMPLEX CLAUSE. Each type has INDEPENDENT
and DEPENDENT types. Thus we get INDEPENDENT SIMPLEX CLAUSE, and DEPENDENT SIMPLEX CLAUSE; INDEPENDENT COMPLEX CLAUSE, and DEPENDENT COMPLEX CLAUSE.

A Simplex Clause is defined as a Verbal Clause containing one verb structure only, while a Complex Clause is one which contains more than one verb structure. These are illustrated by (a) and (b), respectively, of (1).

(1) (a) 0 /byårütèrè/ eci. 'He arrived yesterday.'
(b) 0 /gà àbyarute/ eci. 'He'll arrive tomorrow.'

The rest of this chapter is given to brief descriptions of Simplex and Complex Independent Clauses.

VC.2. Independent Simplex Clauses

On the criterion of Mood¹ (which is realized in the language by the organization of the elements, the form of the verb, and the tonal relationships between the elements), three major Mood Clauses are recognized as follows: (i) Indicative or Declarative; (ii) Imperative; and (iii) Interrogative.

The Declarative has four sub-types within it:

(a) Declarative Form I (Assertive)
(b) Declarative Form II (Narrative)
(c) Declarative Form III (Commentative)
(d) Declarative Form IV (Exclamative)


The Imperative has two sub-types:
(a) Imperative I (Ordinary); (b) Imperative II (Insistence)
All these clause types have different forms for the expression of the Positive Polarity, but use the same form for the expression of the Negative Polarity. Consequently, a NEGATIVE CLAUSE type is separately recognized and described, instead of giving a positive and a negative form of a particular mood clause.

VC.3. Declarative Form I (Assertive), Positive

The characteristics of this clause type are as follows:
(i) the verb lacks a prefix; (ii) Class I and Class II verbs take low tones; (iii) the subject takes a high-falling tone if the final syllable is high; (iv) monophonemic pronouns (M, I/1, 0/0, E/A), as subjects, retain their tones, as in (2); (v) the object does not undergo tonal change. In example (1), (a) has a Class I, (b) a Class II, and (c) a Class III verb, and the objects are HH nouns.

(1) (a) Eze/Obi gara ọrụ. 'Eze/Obi went to work'.
    (b) Eze ụgwụ ụgwụ. 'Eze played a game.'
    (c) Eze tuturụ ọjị. 'Eze picked up the kola nuts!'

(2) M/I/0/A gara ahya. 'I/You/He/One went to the market.'
(3) Anyị/Unụ/Hnà gara ahya. 'We/You/They went to the market.'

Although suffixes are included in the structure of the verbs in the clauses above, and will be included in later ones, they are not obligatory elements in any clause type,
except in the class of Class III verbs where the suffixes are integral parts of such verbs. But their presence, or absence, adds to or subtracts from the clause a grammatical category, thus altering its meaning accordingly.

VC.4. **Declaration Form II (Narrative), Positive.**

The characteristics of the clause are as follows:

(i) The verb takes a prefix e-/a-, unless the subject is a monophonemic pronoun; (ii) the subject retains its tones; (iii) a change of tones is required in the object or complement, but this affects only nominals with H, HH, or LH lexical tones; (iv) if the subject is a noun or a polyphonemic pronoun and has a final high tone, Class I and Class III verbs have a mid-tone relationship with it, Class II verbs take low tones; but if the subject has a low tone finally, the prefix of Class I or Class III verb takes a low tone while that of a Class II verb takes a high tone; (v) when the subject is a monophonemic pronoun the tone-relationship of subject and verb is as in (iv) minus the prefix. Only a Class I verb is used in the illustrations below.

1. (a) 'Obi ágalá ahyā. 'Obi has gone to the market.'
   (b) Ezè ágala ahyā. 'Ezè has gone to the market.'
   (c) Ọ gāla ahyā. 'He has gone to the market.'
   (d) Hna ágala ahyā. 'They have gone to the market.'
   (e) Anyi ágala ahyā. 'We have gone to the market.'
VC.5. Declarative Form III (Commentative), Positive

The Declarative Form III is in every respect like the Declarative Form II, except in not requiring a tone change in object or complement. Compare VC.4 (1) with (1) below.

(1) (a) Ọbi ọgala ahya. 'Ọbi should/would have gone to the market.'
(b) Eze ọgala ahya. 'Eze should have gone to the market.'
(c) Q gala ahya. 'He should/would have gone to the market.'
(d) Hna ọgala ahya. 'They should have gone to the market.'
(e) Anyị ọgala ahya. 'We should have gone to the market.'

VC.6. Declarative Form IV (Exclamative)

The difference between Declarative Form IV and Form II lies only in the additional element which the former has to take, the comparative verb jka 'to be more than'. It is this element which distinguishes the Exclamative from the Narrative Clause. The term 'Exclamative' is not to be confused with 'exclamatory'. For any clause type can be 'exclamatory' by being uttered on a higher pitch than ordinary, or with greater loudness, and this applies too to the Exclamative Clause. The Exclamative Clause often does not take a suffix, and when it does it is only the perfective -1A.

Consider the following examples.

(1) (a) Ọbi ọgaka ahya. 'Ọbi goes to the market so often.'

VC.7. The Imperative I (Ordinary), Positive

The facts about the Imperative I are as follows:

(i) The subject is expressed for the first person, the third person, and the second person plural. The second person singular subject is expressed only when emphatic. (ii) Class I and Class II verbs have low tones, while Class III verbs have high-low tones; (iii) the verb does not take a prefix; (iv) the clause requires a tone change in the object/complement exactly in the same way as Declarative II/IV.

In meaning, the first person Imperative has the force of a question, and is so understood always. The third person Imperative can have this sense too. Usually, however, the full Interrogative construction is used to avoid any ambiguity. See VC.9 below. The verbs ime (Class I) and iza (Class II) are used in the illustrations.

(1) (a) M/Anyi me ornú? 'Am I/Are we to get on doing the work?'
     (b) Me ornú. 'Get on doing the work.'
     (c) Unú me ornú. 'Get on doing the work, you people.'
     (d) Gi me ornú. 'Get on doing the work, you (sg., emph.)'
     (e) Ya/Hna me ornú./? (i) 'Let him/them get on doing the work.'
(ii)'Is he/Are they to get on doing the work?'

(f) '0 mè ọrụ? 'Is he to get on doing the work?'

(g) Ezè mè ọrụ/? 'Let Ezè get on doing the work.'/ 'Is Ezè to get on doing the work?'

For a fully expressed interrogative form of (a), (e)-(g), the clauses would be predicated with Ọwụ 'Is it?...' (See Interrogative Clause below.)

(2) (a) M zà amà? 'Am I to get on and sweep the square?'

(b) Zà amà. 'Get on and sweep the square'

(c) Unù zà amà. 'Get on and sweep the square, you people.'

(d) Gị zà amà. 'Get on and sweep the square, you.' (sg., emph.)

(e) Ya zà amà. 'Let him get on and sweep the square.'

(f) Ọ zà amà? 'Is he to get on and sweep the square?'

(g) Ezè zà amà. 'Let Ezè get on and sweep the square.'

The use of 'let' for the third person imperative accommodates Igbo grammar to English; it has no place in Igbo. Nor does the expression of the subject of the Imperative Clause in any way imply, in Igbo grammar, that the element is Vocative, as in the English second person imperative.

VC.8. **The Imperative II (Insistence)**

The Imperative II is characterized by the obligatory occurrence of the 'Insistence' suffix -ghụ (See Emphasis, pp. 517f) It might be termed 'Persuasive Imperative'. Its
other features are: (i) Class I and Class II verbs take high tones, and so does the first syllable of Class III verbs; then for Class I verbs other syllables take mid-tones in relation to the first one, and with Class II and Class III verbs following syllables take low-tones. (ii) No tone change takes place in the object. The same applies whether the subject is first, second or third person. So only the second person is illustrated with Class I and Class II verbs only, in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) (a) Meghị ọrụ. 'Get on and do the work, I urge you.'
(b) Unụ meghị ọrụ. 'Get on, you people, and do the work, I urge you.'

(2) (a) Zaghi ama. 'Get on and sweep the square, I urge you.'
(b) Unụ zaghi ama. 'Get on, you people, and sweep the square, I urge you.'

VC.9. The Interrogative Construction, Positive

The Interrogative Construction is a rather complex construction in Igbo and has a variety of forms depending upon whether it is disjunctive or non-disjunctive, polar or non-polar, conducive or non-conductive, etc., and whether a whole non-interrogative clause (or merely elements in it) is being interrogated. The simplest form is considered here: the form derived by interrogating a Declarative Form I Clause.

Basic to the structure of every Interrogative clause of any type is the fact (hitherto unrecognized) that it derives
from a predication of the element to be questioned (a single element or a whole clause) by the addition to it of 'Ọ wụ' 'It is', to which then is applied the question tones which turn it into Ṙ wụ? 'Is it?'. This phrase is often deleted, leaving the shorter forms which have come to be regarded as the whole of the interrogative construction. In the examples it will be enclosed in brackets () to indicate its deletability.

The low tones of Ṙ wụ are carried on to the subject of the clause being interrogated, unless somewhere in its structure the subject has HM or HL tones, and is a noun. In addition, the noun subject has an appositional pronoun, agreeing with it in person and number, interposed between it and the verb of the interrogated clause. The pronoun also takes low-tones. If the subject is a pronoun the tone rule applies but no appositional pronoun occurs.

The clause to be interrogated is (1).

(1) AB Ɔzụrụ ọkụkwọ 'AB bought a book' (AB = Noun/Pronoun)
(2) (Ọ wụ) Ọbi Ọ zụrụ ọkụkwọ? 'Did Ọbi buy a book?' ('Is it Ọbi he bought book?')
(3) (a) (Ọ wụ) ọnụ ọzụrụ ọkụkwọ? 'Did we buy a book?'
(b) (Ọ wụ) ọnụ ọzụrụ ọkụkwọ? 'Did you (pl.) buy a book?'
(c) (Ọ wụ) ọnụ ọzụrụ ọkụkwọ? 'Did they buy a book?'
(d) (Ọ wụ) ọnụ ọzụrụ ọkụkwọ? 'Did I/You/He buy a book?'

When only elements are questioned, no appositional pronoun can occur, the subjects take their normal tones, and Ọ wụ cannot
be deleted without creating serious ambiguity. A non-subject
element is transposed first to an initial position and is
linked with the rest of the clause by ka/nà, as in (6).
(4) Ọ wụ Ọbi zurù akwụkwọ? 'Was it Ọbi who bought a book?'
(5) (a) Ọ wụ anyị zurù akwụkwọ? 'Was it us who bought a book?'
(b) Ọ wụ mụ/gị/yà zurù akwụkwọ? 'Was it I/you/him who
bought a book?'
(6) Ọ wụ akwụkwọ ka/nà Ọbi zurù? 'Was it a book that Ọbi
bought?'

It is the presence of Ŭ wụ that disambiguates an
Interrogative Negative Clause from a Non-interrogative one
when the subject of both is a pronoun, for they are similar or
even identical in tones at this point.

VC.10. The Negative Clause

The verb in the Negative Clause takes the prefix e-/a-
if the subject is not a monophonemic pronoun. The clause
requires a high-mid tone to occur on class I and III verbs,
and a high-low tone on class II verbs. This HM or HL tone
structure occurs on the prefix and the succeeding syllable
when a prefix occurs and has not a low tone. If no prefix
occurs, or having occurred has a low tone, the mid-tone or
low-tone is carried by the next syllable following the verb
root (in the case of class I and class II verbs). But if
there is no such syllable, the suffix -ghI is usually brought
in to carry the tone, but also adds its particular meaning to
the verb. In emphatic clauses with monophonemic pronouns, the required tone structure is obtained between the subject and the unprefixed and unsuffixed verb root, as in (2), (4). (See also As.5.3, pp. 129 ff.; Emph. 4(b), pp. 517 ff.). In normal cases all pronouns take low tones and nouns retain their tones. Similarly, objects retain their tones unchanged.

The verbs inwè 'to have' (Cl. I), and izù 'to rest' (Cl. II) are used in the illustrations. The meanings of the clauses are given as though the clauses are Declarative, Negative; but they could also be given imperative interpretations.

(1) (a) Anyì/Unù/Hnà ènweghì eg'ò. 'We/You/They have no money.'
    (b) Ì/Í/O/ nweghì eg'ò. 'I/You have no money.'/He has no money'.
    (c) Òbi enwè(ghi) eg'ò. 'Obi has no money'.
    (d) Èzè enwè(ghi) eg'ò. 'Èzè has no money'.

(2) I/O nweghì eg'ò. 'You/ have no money.' (emph.)
    'He has no money.' (emph.)

(3) (a) Anyì/Unù/Hnà ìzughì ikhe. 'We/You/They did not rest.'
    (b) Ò zughì ikhe. 'He did not rest.'
    (c) Òbi ezù(ghi) ikhe. 'Obi did not rest.'
    (d) Èzè ezù(ghi) ikhe. 'Èzè did not rest.'

(4) O zù ikhe. 'He did not rest'. (emph.)

VC.10.1. One Negative form for all Positive Forms

Now a demonstration is given of the fact that the various positive clauses have the same negative form.
Positive

(i) **Declarative I**

Obi vù abọ. 'Obi is carrying a basket.'

(ii) **Declarative II**

Obi evu abọ. 'Obi carries a basket.'

(iii) **Declarative III**

Obi evu abọ. 'Obi should carry a basket.'

(iv) **Declarative IV**

Obi evuka abọ. 'Obi carries baskets so often.'

(v) **Imperative I**

Vù abọ. 'Carry the basket.' Evu abọ. 'Don't carry the basket.'

(vi) **Imperative II**

Vughī abọ. 'Carry the basket, I urge you.' Ì vughī abọ. 'Don't carry the basket, I urge you.'

(vii) **Interrogative**

(Ọ wụ) Obi ò vù abọ? 'Is Obi carrying a basket?' (Ọ wụ) Obi ò vughī abọ? 'Is Obi not carrying a basket?'

VC.11. **Independent Complex Verbal Clauses**

There are three types of the Complex Clause. They are distinguishable from each other though all three can be found
together in a rather more complex clause. They are termed here (A) Complex Clause Type I; (B) Complex Clause Type II; and (C) Complex Clause Type III. The number of types can be increased by combining any two, and all three, but this is not necessary.

The reason for setting up the Complex Clauses and discussing them is to raise the question whether there is anything in Igbo clause structure which validates or invalidates the analysis which has resulted in certain elements in verbal clauses being called 'Auxiliary Verbs', 'Participle', and 'Cognate Object'. The Complex Clause types are illustrated as follows:

(A) Complex Clause Type I: This is characterized by the occurrence of two verbs of different types in close cohesion, as in (1).

(1) (a) O/na ème/ òrnú. 'He is, as a fact, working.'
   (b) O /gà àzu/ okpù. 'He will buy a hat.'
   (c) O /mà yà ème/. 'He knows how to do it.'

(B) Complex Clause Type II: This is characterized by a double occurrence of the same verb with the same or modified form in each case, as in the following examples.

(2) (a) O /gàrà àga/. 'He did go.'
   (b) O /mèrè yà ème/. 'He did do it.'
   (c) O /jì èjì/. 'He does have (some).'</nwe/.
   (d) O /nwèrè eg'o ènwe/. 'He does have money too.'
(C) **Complex Clause Type III:** This is also a clause of two verbals, but in which the first verb must be either ka, gha or ga, and the second verb any other verb type.

These three elements have nowhere been mentioned before. So a little more space will be given to them before we return to (A) and (B) above.

They may be assigned the following meanings though their use often has 'modal' content: ka 'still/up to now'; ga 'at last/after all'; gha 'rather/instead'. They are Class I verbs.

They cannot occur without being followed immediately by another, and lexical, verb. Consider the following occurrences:

(1) **Declarative I**

(3) (a) Obi/kà mè/ya. 'Obi is still doing it.'

(b) Obi/ gà mè/ya. 'Obi is doing it after all.'

(c) Obi /ghà mè/ya. 'Obi, instead, is doing it.'

(ii) **Declarative II**

(4) (a) O c̀ròrò imè ya, Obi/ákâ ème/ya. 'He wanted to do it, but Obi was still doing it.'

(b) O c̀ròrò imè ya, Obi /ága ème/ yà. 'He wanted to do it, but Obi was, after all, doing it.'

(c) O c̀ròrò imè ya, Obi /ághà ème/ yà. 'He wanted to do it, but Obi was doing it, instead.'

(iii) **Declarative III**
(5) (a) Òbi /āka me/ya. 'Ôbi should have been doing it still!'  
    (b) Òbi /āga mee/ya. 'Ôbi should have done it after all.'  
    (c) Òbi /āgha mee/ ya. 'Ôbi should rather have done it.'  

They have not been found in Declarative IV.

(iv) Imperative I

(6) (a) Kà me ya. 'Go on doing it still.'  
    (b) Gà me ya. 'Get on then and do it (without further delay).'  
    (c) Ghà me ya. 'You then, do it.'  

No occurrence of them have been found in Imperative II.  
Observe the absence of tone change in the object of ImperativeI.

(v) Interrogative

(7) (a) Òbi ô/kà mè/ya? 'Is Ôbi still doing it?'  
    (b) Òbi ô /gà mè/ya? 'Is Ôbi doing it after all?'  
    (c) Òbi ô /ghà mè/ya? 'Is Ôbi doing it instead?'  

(vi) Negative Clause

(8) (a) Òbi/akā me/ya. 'Ôbi would not be doing it still.'  
    (b) Òbi /agā me/ya. 'Ôbi would not have done it after all.'  
    (c) Òbi/aghā me/ ya. 'Ôbi would not have done it instead.'  

The following examples have strong 'modal' contents.

(9) (a) Òbi/kā mè/ya. 'Ôbi would have done it still (if...)'  
    (b) Òbi /gā mè/ ya. 'Ôbi would have done it after all (if...)'  

(c) Ọbì/ghà mè/ ya. 'Ọbì would have done it instead (if...')

(10) (a) Ọbì/àkà mè/ya. 'Ọbì would have still done it (had not...')
(b) Ọbì /àghà mè/ ya. 'Ọbì would have done it after all (had not...')
(c) Ọbì /àghà mè/ ya. 'Ọbì would have done it instead (had not...')

(11) (a) Ọbì /kà ˈème/ yà... 'If Ọbì should still be doing it ...
(b) Ọbì /gà ˈème/ yà... 'If Ọbì should after all be doing it...
(c) Ọbì /ghà ˈème/ yà... 'If Ọbì should be doing it instead...

(12) (a) Ọbì/ka me/ yà... 'If Ọbì should still be doing it (which is possible/probable)...
(b) Ọbì /ga me/ yà... 'If Ọbì should after all be doing it (which is possible/probable)...
(c) Ọbì /gha me/ yà... 'If Ọbì should be doing it instead (which is possible/probable)...

The glosses given to the three items are to be taken in a rather rough sense, for they are often used with more subtle senses. However, from their fixed positions in the clause relative to the subject (where it occurs, and also to other verbals, and from the variety of tones they take to express
modal meanings, they can be termed 'modal auxiliaries' or, at least, 'auxiliary verbs'. In any case, they should be distinguished from the items which now go by the terms 'auxiliary verbs' in the language. To these attention is now turned.

VC.12. Auxiliary Verbs.¹

The verb 'na' (which in the infinitive is sometimes ìnà and sometimes ìnà, but behaves in every other respect as a Class I verb) has been called 'the auxiliary verb'. But there has been some equivocation about the verbs ìgà 'to go'; ìjì 'to use'/'hold' and ìsì 'to originate from', 'to come/go from'; and the verb ìvù 'to be' has not been given any consideration at all. The question therefore arises as to the criterion for determining 'auxiliary verbs'.

The major syntactic characteristic of the three auxiliaries considered above is their inability to follow any other verb. The second is that they cannot constitute the only verb in a clause, except in response clauses, as in (1).

(1) (a) Ọ/kà bì/Àba? 'Is he still living at Àba?'
    (b) Ọ/kà/. 'He still is.'

The third characteristic is that they do not take suffixes, and only take the prefix a-. (Consequently, other words cannot be derived from them.) Fourthly, they cannot by them-

¹. Green and Igwe: op.cit., p.111f; Carrell: op.cit., p.31.
selves constitute a Complex Clause Type II.

Like them, the verb na can only occur in first position before any other verb with which it is directly related, as in (2), and can occur as the only verb in a clause only in response clauses, as in (3).

(2) (a) Ọ/nà ˈabya/ 'He is indeed coming.'
(b) Ọ/nà èri/nrɪ. 'He is in fact eating.'
(3) (a) Ọ/nà ˈejukwe? 'I hope it is filling up, is it?'
(b) Ọ /nà/. 'It is.'

Like them also, other word classes (except the Infinitive) cannot be derived from it, as can happen with other types of verb. But unlike them, it takes suffixes, as in (4), and can constitute a Complex Clause Type II, as in (5).

(4) (a) Ọ/naghɪ/ ˈeme yā. 'He is not, as a fact, doing it.'
(b) Ọ /nàrâ/ ˈeme yā. 'He used to do it, as a matter of fact.'
(c) Ọ /nālâ/ ˈeme yā. 'He has started to do it, as a fact.'
(5) Ọ /nà ˈanâ/ ˈeme yā. 'He is in the constant habit of doing it, as a matter of fact.'

The lexical meaning of na (which hitherto has not been realized because the function of the word had been misinterpreted (See As.3.1., p.18f), is 'in fact', 'really', 'indeed'.

Like na, si, ji, ga and vu precede the verb with which they are directly related except na itself which must precede as in
(6) - (9). Like na, they take suffixes, but unlike it other word classes can be derived from them, as in (10), for instance.

(6) (a) ebe o /sì 'àbya/ 'the place he is coming from/through'
(b) ebe o /nà 'èsì/ 'àbya 'the place he is really coming from'

(7) (a) ihyne o /jì 'ème/ yā 'the thing he does it with'
(b) ihyne o /nà 'èjì/ 'ème yā 'the thing he really does it with'

(8) (a) ihyne o /gà 'ème/ yā 'the thing he is going to do to it'
(b) ihyne o /nà 'àgà/ 'ème yā 'the thing he really goes and does to it'

(9) (a) ihyne o /vù 'ème/ yā 'the thing he used to do to it'
(b) ihyne o /nà 'èvù/ 'ème yā 'the thing he really used to do to it.'

(10) (a) /òsisi/ 'Aba ìgà 'passing through Aba to go'
(b) /nga/ imé ya 'going to do it'
(c) /evu/ ìme 'a usual practice'

sì, ji, ga, and vu, can take suffixes like na, as in (11).

(11) (a) òthù o /sììrì/ 'ème yā 'how he was doing it'
(b) ihyne o /jìghì 'ème yā 'why he is not doing it'
(c) ihyne o /gàárà/ 'ème 'what he should have done'
(d) ihyne o /vùílè/ 'ème 'whatever he used to do'

They can also constitute Complex Clauses Type II by themselves.

There are therefore two basic differences between na and
the other four verbs: (a) they are always preceded by na when it co-occurs with them and directly related to them; (b) other word classes are derivable from them, but not from na (except the infinitive which is, even then, tonally unsteady). These facts throw some light on the matter of 'auxiliariness' in Igbo syntax.

The 'auxiliary verb', in relation to the verb which is directly connected with it, expresses what might be termed 'MANNER': it indicates a feature attributable to the 'action' denoted by the other verb.\(^1\) It has a kind of 'adverbial' function. Thus Igbo verbs may be classified (or subclassified) into "MANNER VERBS" and "NON-MANNER VERBS". 'Manner Verbs' or verbs 'used' as 'Manner Verbs' precede those 'Non-manner Verbs' directly related to them. So 'auxiliary verbs' are 'Manner Verbs', and 'verbs used as auxiliary verbs' are 'Non-Manner Verbs' used as 'Manner Verbs'.

Three types of 'auxiliary verbs' are recognizable on syntactic grounds, and distinguished as follows:

(a) Primary Auxiliary Verbs: ka, gha, and ga (i).
(b) Secondary Auxiliary Verbs: na
(c) Tertiary Auxiliary Verbs: si, ji, ga (ii), and vu.

When all three types occur, the order is Primary plus

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Secondary plus Tertiary, as in (12) where the relationships are indicated by bracketing.

(12) Ùzò ọ (gha:\(nà\{esì, àbya\})) 'the way he does take now to come' ('way he rather really takes comes')

Apart from the difference in sequential ordering, there is another between Primary, on the one hand, and Secondary and Tertiary on the other. It is this, that whereas in the case of the latter two another element can come between the auxiliary verb and the following non-auxiliary verb, this cannot happen in the case of the Primary auxiliaries.

Consider (13). The intervening word is underlined.

(13) (a) ọ /nà ụmme./ 'He is actually doing it, as a fact.'
(b) ọ /gà jë ẹri./ 'He will certainly eat the yam.'
(c) ọ /sì Ọwèrè àbya/ 'He will come through/from Ọwèrè.'
(d) ọ /vù ụmme/ 'He is used to doing it.'
(e) ọ /jì ubọ èrute./ 'He will arrive by train.'

At this point the statement of Kenneth Pike may be quoted: "The evidence of the emergence of this class (i.e. auxiliary verbs) within the clause cluster is grammatical (by restrictive distribution in construction), lexical (by specialization of meaning), and phonological (by special minor rules for usage of tones..."¹

Two more facts about 'auxiliariness' are as follows.

In the place where the secondary or tertiary auxiliaries occur, that is, in the first position, other types of verbs can occur and have 'adverbial' meanings or give adverbial senses to the expressions containing the next verb: and they can take objects/complements in such positions. Consider these examples.

(14) (a) Ọ/mà ème/yà. 'He does it knowingly.'
(b) Ọ /mà egwù ègwù/ 'He plays well.' ('He knows game plays')

(15) (a) nri o/rì ìrnì/qrnì 'food he will eat and in consequence of which will then work'
(b) 0/rì nri ìrnì/qrnì 'He works while eating' ('He eats food works work')

(16) (a) ihyne o /kwhò ème/ yà. 'Why he does it' ('the thing he regards does it.')
(b) Ọ/kwhò ehynì ìgbì/ ọsọ. 'He runs away because of the cow.' ('He regards cow runs race')

The other fact is that the auxiliary relation of the auxiliary verb or the auxiliary verb-phrase (if an object also occurs) is tonally indicated by the tone relationship between the verb/verb-phrase and the following verb or verb-phrase. It is this, that if the second verb has the prefix a-/e-, and the first verb or verb-phrase ends with a high tone syllable, the latter must take also a falling tone before the low-tone prefix of the second verb. This has been indicated above
throughout the examples already given. The omission of the falling tone in grammatical works on clauses, or treating it as a mere phonetic feature is due to lack of appreciation of the nature of the Complex Clause Type I. When the following verb form does not have the prefix, the falling tone does not occur, as in (17).

(17) (a) 걉/ayarə meeyə... 'If he had done it...'
(b) Ya/ga meeyə... 'If he goes and does it...' i.e. 'If as a consequence of his going he does it...'
(c) Un/source ga/yə mme/ 'You will certainly do it.'

The possibility of the occurrence of verbs without the prefix a-/e- leads now to a consideration of 'Participle' and 'Cognate Object'.

VC.13. Aorist Verb form miscalled 'Participle'/'Cognate Object'

In the Complex Clause Type I, the second verb can have a number of forms determined by the grammar of the piece. The verb form which has the prefix has hitherto been described, erroneously, as the 'participle' when it occurs with the verbs na and ga in the Complex Clause Type I, and as 'Cognate Object' when it occurs in the Complex Clause Type II. It will be shown now that this classification is mistaken. It will be shown that the verb form in question is the Aorist verb form (See T.3.2., p.90 below) and is one of the forms that a second verb can take in a Complex Clause Type I, and
the only form it can take in Type II.

Consider the following examples with the verbs na and ga as first verbs.

(1) (a) Ọ na /èkwu/ okwù. 'He speaks, as a matter of fact.'
     'He is/was speaking, ...'
(b) Ọ na /kwuo/ okwù, ya àfù. 'As soon as he had
     spoken, he went out.'
(c) Ọ mà /ikwù/ okwu. 'He must speak/He's got to speak.'
(d) Ọ nà/ nkwu/. (Response clause) 'He does speak
     actually.'
     = Ọ nà / nkwu/ okwù ìkù. ('He indeed speaking word
     speaks.')
     = Ọ nà /èkwu/ okwù ìkù. ('He indeed speaks word
     speaks.')
(e) Ọ nà okwu/ nkwu/. 'He does speak, actually.' ('He
     indeed word actually speaking.')
(f) Ọ nà okwù /èkwu/ mgbè' anyi rùrù. 'He was in the
     process of speaking when we arrived.' ('He was
     indeed word speaks time we arrived.')
(g) Ọ nà okwu /èkwu/. 'He does speak, as a matter of
     fact.'

(2) (a) Ọ gà /àzu/ anù. 'He'll buy meat.'
(b) Ọ gàrâ /zuq/ anù. 'He went and bought meat.'
(c) Ọ gà /izù/ anù. 'He'll buy meat'/ 'He's got to buy
     meat'/ 'He's going to buy meat.'
(d) 'He'll certainly actually buy.'
= Ọ gà /nzu/. (Response Clause) 'He will buying meat buys.'
= Ọ gà/ažu/ anụ āžu. ('He will buys meat buys.'
(e) Ọ gà anụ /nzu/. 'He'll certainly buy meat.' ('He
will meat actually buying."
(f) Ọ gà anụ /ažu/ mgbé o nwetārā eg'o. 'He'll be
dealing in meat when he gets money.'
(g) Ọ gà anụ /ažu/. 'He will indeed buy meat.'

In (1) and (2), (a), (f) and (g) contain the Aorist verb form
with the characteristic prefix a-/e-; in (b) the Aorist verb
without a prefix; in (c) the infinitive; and in (d) and (e)
the true participle (see Nf.1.2., p.320 below).

What is being contended is not that the participle cannot
occur following the verbs na and ga (and indeed any other
auxiliary verb). What is being said is that what has
hitherto been called the participle is not a participle at
all. It is not a participle for the following reasons: it
cannot function as a noun (that is, it cannot be a subject or
object); and it cannot function as a noun modifier (like
adjectives and nouns can do in the language.) But these are
functions which the true participle of the language can do
without any difficulty. On the other hand its prefix can
be dropped under certain conditions, and when it is retained
it is tonally variable depending on the tone of the preceding
syllable. And these are the characteristics of the Aorist verb form, as they have been found in this work, for instance in the Declarative II-IV Clauses.

The reason why it was called the 'participle' is that the construction in which it occurs was equated directly with the English construction 'be+present participle' with which it has, on occasion, similar semantic sense. The verb na was equated with 'be', and the next verb with the 'present participle' of its semantically equivalent verb in English. This was where the error lay, and is a warning not to equate the grammatical structure of one language directly with that of another. (It is of interest to note that Dr. Ward never used the word 'participle' of the second verb form, but said, "The Na-form is used as a kind of participle". But this was in addition to its ordinary usage which she had earlier described.)

The same verb form is met with in Complex Clauses Type II, where the first verb is repeated at the end, and there always takes a prefix. Here again the tonal behaviour of the prefix indicates that it is the Aorist verb form. The recurrence of the first verb is one of the ways by which the language stresses the fact that the action denoted by the verb was/was not performed, or of contrasting action that was performed with

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another which might have been performed. Repetition has a number of functions in Igbo grammar. The verbal form at the end of a Complex Clause Type II is not a noun, nor, therefore, an object, including 'cognate object'. The clause can have an appropriate object preceding the second occurrence of the verb, and in addition to the verb form, as the following examples show. In the examples the verbal form under consideration is put in //.

(1) contains a Class I verb, and (2) contains a Class II verb.
(1) (a) 0 rìrì /èrì/. 'He did eat.'
(b) 0 rìrì ihyne /èrì/. 'He did eat something.'
Contrast these with (c) and (d).
(c) 0 rìrì. 'He ate.'
(d) 0 rìrì ihyne. 'He ate something.'
(2) (a) 0 zàrà/azà./ 'He did sweep.'
(b) 0 zàrà èži/azà./ 'He did sweep the yard.'
Contrast these with (c) and (d).
(c) 0 zàrà. 'He swept.'
(d) 0 zàrà èži. 'He swept the yard.'

In transformational terms, the final verbal form is what remains of the second occurrence of a repeated sentence, repeated for stress or contrast. Thus (1) (b), for instance, is derived as follows:
(3) 0 rìrì ihyne. + 0 rìrì ihyne. → 'He ate something. He ate something'.
O rìrì ihye + rìrì  (Deletion of common subject and obj.)
\[\rightarrow /O rìrì ihye èrí.\]  (Converting second verb to Aorist form and adjusting tone of prefix.)

In conclusion, the so-called 'participle' and 'cognate object' are one and the same verbal form. They are not Non-finite forms, nor nouns. They are finite verbs.

VC.14. The verb 'na' miscalled 'Na prefix'

In Green and Igwe it is stated, "There is also a lexical prefix, na- (ne-), of which the vowel harmonizes with the stem vowel of the verb, and which occurs only with the subordinate, relative A and B of the verb which have an inflexional vowel prefix..."¹ The fact of the language is that for a finite verb there is only one type of prefix, the a/-e prefix, and no finite verb takes a prefix na-/ne-. (The only items in the language which have na-prefix are the dual naawọ, the final naa[to - see N.9.1.3, p.45 - and probably naañi 'only', niile 'all'). What was called na-prefix in the quotation is the verb na occurring in a Subjunctive I (i.e. Conditional) clause, as in the following instances.

(1) /Ndị na/ ābya ahyā abyāghị. 'Those who should have come to the market, if this was really true, did not come.'
(2) /Onye na/ āmeghị ya, è rie yā āwu. 'If any one, if such there should be, does not do it, he will be fined'/

'Any one who does not do it, if there should be any such, will be fined.'

Such sentences are syntactically complex. The first part with the verb *na* is a conditional clause with *na* as the only verb (another construction in which *na* can occur without a second verb to which it is bound); the second verb, with its complement, is a relative clause and adjunct of the subject; and the third and last part is a declarative clause (negative in (1) and positive in (2)). If the *na* is deleted, then the sentence will lose its Conditional part. Thus (1) becomes (3), and (2) becomes (4).

(3) /Ndi ahyay ahyay ahyagh/. 'The people who should have come to the market did not come.'

(4) /Onye emeghi ya, erie ya iwu. 'One who does not do it will be fined.'

Dependent Clauses whether Simplex or Complex are not discussed in this work because they will not be necessarily needed in what follows on affixation, and because there is no space for them. However, one of them, the Subjunctive I clause is relevant to the understanding of what has been miscalled: 'Na prefix'. In this dependent clause, Class I verbs have high tones and Class II verbs low tones. Hence the high tone of *na* in (1) and (2) above. Compare it with *hmy* 'see' in (5).
(5) Hna /\hnu/ anū, hna.āzyta. 'If they see meat, they will buy (it) and bring back.'

In (5) hnu has an object, being a 'transitive verb'. Na has no object in (1) and (2) because it is not such a verb and does not in any case have an object, though the object of the clause in which it occurs can be transposed to occur next to it, as in VC.13 (1) (e), (f) and (g).
There are three morphological types of affixes in Igbo: (a) Prefixes; (b) Suffixes; and (c) Infixes.

Af.1.1. Prefixes

The prefixes consist of the eight vowels of the language, (V-), the nasal consonants, (N-) and na-. The first two types are added to verb stems to derive other word classes. The V- harmonizes with the immediately following verb root, and the N- is homorganic with the immediately following consonant of the verb stem. Na- has been found only with numerals; and items that indicate number. They consist of the following:

(1) naàwò 'both/two of a kind' (~naàbò from 'àbọ 'two')
(2) naànì 'only' (pausal) (from nnaà 'one')
(3) niìle 'all' (origin unknown so far). The vowel of na- is assimilated to the following one in niìle.

Af.1.2. Suffixes

There are five phonological types of suffixes as follows:

(a) -N (which occurs as the bilabial consonant /m/);
(b) -V (which is realized by any of the eight vowels);
(c) -CV; (d) -VCV; and (e) -CVCV.

The -VCV type consists of the following:

(1) IghA 'into'; (2) Isì 'out of'; (3) ahna 'away to'.
The -CVCV type consists of the following:

(4) -rísí 'up till now'; (5) -gidhe 'against/upon';
(6) -láhna 'beyond/away from'; (7) -láhna 'more than/beyond';
(8) -kàta 'on and on'; (9) -mîte 'on and on'; (10) -kísí 'un-'
(negating).

The suffixes are classified, phonologically, into Class I and Class II according to their tones, Class I consisting of high tone suffixes, such as -tA, -lA, -rísí, -m, and Class II consisting of low tone ones such as -tù, -rì, kàta.

They are also syntactically classified into MOVABLE and NON-MOVABLE suffixes or particles. The movable suffixes consisting of the following:

(11) -dî (Anaphora); (12) -nî (Anaphora); (13) -kwA (Anaphora); (14) -thà (Modality); (15) -nî (2nd person plural pronoun); (16) -sî (Number); (17) -cha (Number);
(18) -rA/E (Case) (whose movability is very restricted).

The suffixes are called Movable Suffixes because they can occur suffixed to verbs or occur independently following a nominal.

Af.1.2.1. Functional classes of suffixes

Suffixes are of two major functional classes:

(a) grammatical; and (b) lexical or semantic.

Lexical suffixes are restricted in their distributions to the verbs with which they can occur and their occurrence merely adds to the lexical meaning of the stem. (See
Grammatical suffixes, on the other hand are free in their distribution and can occur with any verb of the language, and their occurrence adds a grammatical dimension to the verb or the clause.

Excluding the Vowel Suffixes, and taking as one element any suffix that has multiple grammatical functions, 42 grammatical suffixes have so far been found in the language and are discussed later under the grammatical categories in which they are relevant.

Af.1.2.2. Grammatical Suffixes

Grammatical suffixes fall into three subclasses:

(a) derivational: This consists only of the bilabial consonant -m, which is used in deriving adjectives, adverbs and nouns.

(b) derivational and inflexional: This consists of the Vowel Suffixes, the Case suffixes -rA/E (Benefactive-Dative) and -rI (Comitative) which in addition to their inflexional functions can occur as derivatives in the derivation of, for instance, adjectives.

(c) inflexional: All other suffixes than those mentioned in (a) and (b) are inflexional.

Af.1.3. Infixes

Infixes do not occur in the language except when nouns, adjectives, or adverbs are being derived from other words, especially verbs, by a process involving discontiguous duplication. Apart from the infixes -m- and -ma- (whose
vowel is assimilated to the following vowel), all other infixes (as listed below) are either grammatical suffixes, or lexical suffixes occurring in infix positions as a result of the morphological process by which another word is derived from the ones in which they are members. These consist of the following:

1. \(-dA/E-\)
2. \(-dhA/E-\)
3. \(-ghA/E-\)
4. \(-1A/E-\)
5. \(-tA/E-\)
6. \(-rA/E-\)

These are abundantly illustrated in the main parts of this work, but here a few examples are given:

6. eri-meri 'food' (iri 'to eat')
7. òzù-me-òzù 'a large gathering'/'an assembly' (izù 'to meet')
8. ìkwù-mù-ìkwù 'step by step' (ìkwù 'leg')
9. mkpu-te-mkpu 'humped' (ìkpù 'to enter underneath' + -tA ('case') 'to/towards'
10. epe-re-epe 'chipped', 'slight' (ipè 'to chip + -rA/E ('case' - Dative: Benefactive))
11. okpoto-okpo 'big-looking' (ìkpòto 'to look big')

The items above are written as they are morphologically composed. In (11) the syllable -to is a lexical suffix inseparable from the stem whereas the second morpheme in (6) to (10) is separable. However, the presence of -to (and other lexical suffixes like it) makes possible the derivation of this morphological type of word. So from this point of
view even *lexical suffixes can be said to have grammatical function in aiding derivation.* This is similar to the fact that inflexional suffixes (as stated in Af.12.2.) can have derivational functions too.

Af.1.4. **Problem of isolating suffixes from verb roots**

It has often been said that suffixes are difficult to distinguish and isolate from verb roots. This alleged difficulty is the result of: (a) assuming that all suffixes have a CV structure as verb roots of Class I and ClassII verbs have (but it has been shown above that the phonological structure of suffixes varies, thus making a number of them quite distinct from verb roots); (b) the fact that while some suffixes allow their vowels to be assimilated to that of a preceding syllable, others allow theirs to be harmonized, while others still resist these two processes. The greatest cause of such a difficulty is, (c), the assumption by a number of investigators that (with the possible exception of a few) the suffixes are all lexical or 'Meaning Modifying Suffixes' possibly originally derived from verbs, and whose meaning and function should be looked for entirely in the verb structure.

However, the problem ceases to be insuperable once it is discovered that there are two functional classes of suffixes - grammatical and lexical - which have different distributional characteristics; and once it has been found that far from the functions of the suffixes being restricted to the verb
structure (in the case of grammatical suffixes) each of the suffixes gives an indication somewhere else in the verbal clause which helps to isolate it from verbs, including verb roots with which it has phonological identity.

Because the consideration of suffixes in Igbo has thus far been limited to the verb piece, it has escaped notice that the occurrence of some of them gives rise to Subject-Verb or Verb-Object concord, to colligation, or to correlation (as when the occurrence of a suffix is linked with the occurrence of an NP or Prephrase somewhere else in the clause); or to reference to a preceding or succeeding clause (as in the case of the anaphoric suffixes.) Therefore to achieve accuracy in analysis and categorisation in the matter of suffixes, not only the verb structure but also the whole verbal clause and longer structures must be taken into consideration. For what the verb piece does is to be the hub in which the various spokes in the wheel - the clausal construction - are attached. Such an approach has been adopted in the present work, and has yielded results which have led to the conclusion that the majority of suffixes in Igbo are grammatical and not lexical in function.

Af.1.5. List and Grammatical Categories of Affixes

The list of Igbo grammatical affixes and the categories of the grammar to which they belong are now given, and after discussed.
(I) Prefixes

(a) Inflectional: a-/e- (Tense)
    a- (Emphasis; Pronominal; Adj.)
(b) Derivational: a-/e-; i-/i-; o-/q-; u-/u- (Nouns, Adjectives)

N- (Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)

(II) Suffixes:

(a) Derivational: -m (Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)
(b) Inflectional; Derivational:
    -a/e; i/i; o/q; u/u (Tense, Aspect; Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs)
    -rA/E; -rI; (Case; Adjectives)
(c) Inflectional:
    (1) -rA/E (Tense)
    (ii) -lA; -wA; -risi (Aspect)
         -A/O (Aspect)
    (iii) -rA/E; -si; -rI; (Abstract Case)
         -tA; -lA; -tA; -rA; -sa; -g'o; -tu; -gidhe;
         -IghA; -IsI; -lahna; l'ahnA; --ahnA (Local Case)
    (iv) si/-si; -se/-sa; -cha; -ghA; -k'o; -hule;
         -kata; -mite (Number); -be (Paucal)
    (v) -nI (-nU) (Pronoun)
    (vi) di/-di; ni/-ni; kwA/-kwa (Anaphora); (-kwa also Number)
    (vii) -mo; -thA/ thu; (Modality)
    (viii) -ghA; -hna (Emphasis/Insistence)
(ix) -كب (Privative)

(x) -ز (as in زکار); -ز; -ت (Comparison)

(III) Infixed: Derivational (as in Af.1.3, (1) to (6) above.

From the functions assigned to the affixes, and the dimensions of the grammar in which they operate, it will be seen how great a role these elements play in the language.

Af.2. The sequential order of classes of suffixes

Suffixes follow each other sequentially in a verb structure, and except in the Compound-Complex verb structure, suffixes are always preceded by verb roots.

It is not possible to give a detailed account of the position of all suffixes relative to all other suffixes when these co-occur in a verb form. What is given here is the general order which classes of suffixes follow when their representatives co-occur. The general order is as follows;

(1) Verb root + Lexical + Case + Number + Anaphora/Comparison +
    Aspect + Tense + Modality + Emphasis

All the classes of suffixes are not represented in any given verb form, but for those which occur, each will take its place as given above. When emphasis, or primacy intervenes, some changes can be made in the ordering such that one that normally precedes follows if it is less important than the one that precedes it, according to the immediate context. Thus we can have the -ز gh1 'emphasis' before rather than after some other suffixes, except the lexical and case suffixes.
Consider (2).

(2) (a) Unu /wətəralaᵍhi/ ʧ ya... 'As long as you bring it to me' (emphatic)
(b) Unu /ətəgaləɾa/ ʧ理财产品. (same as (a) but -ghi more emphatic still).

In the case of the -ra/E 'Benefactive-Dative case, its place in the verb structure is determined by where the NP co-related with it occurs in the clause. If the NP is the subject, the suffix will occur early in the verb structure, but if it is a complement, then the suffix occurs at the end or towards the end of the verb structure, as in (3).

(3) (a) /ɔ/ ʤərəchaala ʧorno. 'She has already gone to the farm for her own purpose and come back.'
(b) ʤərəchaalaʳə/yā/ ʧorno. 'She has already gone to the farm for him and come back.'

A few examples are now given of the order of some suffixes in verb structures, using figures to indicate the classes.

(4) 0 /vù-tè-si-wə-ra/ hnas̱ n'èbe à. 'He went on carrying them to this place.'

(5) Hnas̱ /ko-bo-sə-la-ghə-ra/ n'ama. 'They were all out in square like the empty people they are.'

(6) Hnas̱ /açi-tə-ris¹-mə-ghə/ hnas̱ ebe ahnu... 'In case they should still be collecting and taking them to that place, which is strongly probable...'
(7) 0 /nwē-ta-kari-a-la/ mmekpāāhu. 'He gets himself so much
into trouble.'

The affixes are now to be considered under the various
grammatical categories in which they are used.
Mood is expressed in the language by the organization of 'participants' or items in a verbal clause, the tone-structure (or intonation) of the clause, and also by the form of the verb/verbs in the clause. And the form of the verb expresses the Tense it represents. Thus Mood and Tense are simultaneously involved in a given clause. However, for simplicity, both categories are dealt with separately. The major Mood clauses of the language have been discussed on pages 48f. Now Tense will be discussed, though in the context of Verbal Clauses, without specific regard to Mood.

Every Igbo verb in a Verbal Clause has an aspectual form whatever Tense it may represent. In some instances particular aspects are overtly represented by some morphemes, but in some others not so represented. Thus Tense and Aspect are in some ways involved with each other. In the presentation below, however, they are discussed separately because where Aspect is overtly marked, it selects different elements from those selected by Tense.

T.2. Tense

Tense is discussed here with particular reference to the form which a verb may have in a Verbal Clause "to indicate the different times in which the 'action' is viewed as happening
or existing." Tense, in Igbo, as a deictic category, is a feature of the sentence. It does not only require the verb to be of certain forms, but can also necessitate the occurrence in the sentence of certain other expressions - adverbials of time (which David Crystal summarizes in the term 'Specification'). Because of the limitation imposed by the subject of the thesis, only the elements which occur as affixes in the verb are discussed, and 'Specification' is merely taken note of where necessary.

T.2.1. Tense and Time

It is necessary to state at the outset that Tense and Time are two different things, and that in the language the same Tense may be used to refer to 'past time', 'present time', or 'future time'. Failure to recognize the distinction between 'form' and 'use of form' has led some linguists to deny the existence of Tense or some particular Tenses in Igbo. As Barbara Strang observes in the reference given above, "Tense


Charles J. Fillmore: 'The Case for Case' - Universals in Linguistic Theory' (Ed. Bach and Harms) p.23. "There are probably good reasons for regarding negation, tense and mood as associated directly with the sentence as a whole, while the perfect and progressive 'aspects' as features on the V."

is any of the forms in the conjugation of the verb which serve to indicate the different times in which the 'action' is viewed as happening or existing. The italics here draw attention to the fact that tenses do not refer directly to 'real', i.e. extra-linguistic, time, but to the speaker's subjective use of distinctions of time drawn (in general, compulsorily drawn) in accordance with the conventions of his language; the language may even use these distinctions for grammatical purposes that have nothing to do with time."

T.3. Tense Forms

Three basic Tense Forms are recognized for Igbo as follows:

(i) Simple Tense, which consists of the verb stem only (whether simple or complex), and in positive clauses occurs in Declarative Form I and Imperative Clauses.

(ii) Aorist Tense, which is marked by the occurrence of the inflexional harmonizing prefix e/a-. It occurs in Declarative Form II, Declarative Form III, Declarative Form IV, and in Negative Clauses. (see pp. 48f)

(iii) Past Tense, which is formed by suffixing -ra/E to either the Simple Tense or the Aorist Tense and can occur only in the same type of clause in which the base from which it is derived can occur.

T.3.1. Simple Tense

The Simple Tense is sometimes called 'Tense I' to
distinguish it from the Aorist Tense which is called 'Tense II'.
The term Simple Tense is preferred to 'Present Tense' in order to avoid any misleading impression of its reference to time. The Simple Tense may refer to present, past, or future time, according to the situational context. The exact time reference may be 'specified' by time adverbial expressions.

Consider the following examples. Adverbials are enclosed in //.

(1) Àdhâ vù èkète. (a) 'Adha is carrying a wicker-basket.'
(b) 'Adha was carrying a wicker-basket.'
(c) 'Adha will carry a wicker-basket.'

(2) (a) Àdhâ vù èkète //ùgbü à.// 'Adha is carrying a wicker-basker now.'
(b) Àdhâ vù èkète //mgbè m hmürü ya.// 'Adha was carrying a wicker-basket when I saw her.'
(c) Àdhâ vù èkète //eci dì n'ihnu./ 'Adha will carry a wicker-basket tomorrow.' ('... next day in front.')

(3) Ojhi gbà ọsọ. 'Let Ojhi run.'

(4) (a) Ojhi gbà ọsọ //ùgbu à.// 'Let Ojhi run now.'
(b) Ojhi gbà ọsọ //eci./ 'Let Ojhi run tomorrow.'

The Simple Tense can also express, in the Declarative Form I, 'modality': obligation, necessity, or compulsion, as in (5).

(5) Ezè mè ọrnu. (a) 'Èzè has (got) to work.'
(b) 'Èzè must work.'
(c) 'Èzè is to (be made to) work.'

As the translations of (1) to (2) (b) above show, the

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1. Igwe and Green: 'A Short Grammar of Igbo, p.27f.
Simple Tense form of the verb also carries the aspectual meaning of 'progressive' or 'continuation', although this meaning is not always brought out in translation, as in (3) to (5). More is said on this under Aspect.

T.3.2. Aorist Tense

Very little understanding of the Aorist Tense form in Igbo has hitherto been shown by linguists. So some statement about it and what makes it different from the Simple Tense are in place.

The tense is not very dissimilar from the Greek tense from which the term is borrowed. It represents a different 'kind of action' from that represented by the Simple Tense. Whereas the Simple Tense generally represents 'durative action' or 'linear action', to put it in graphic terms, 'duration' or 'linearity' is not a primary (if at all) idea in the use of the Aorist Tense. It represents what might be summarily called 'punctiliar' or 'punctual' kind of action. It represents the action denoted by the verb as a 'point'. Consequently the form may represent INGRESSIVE, EFFECTIVE, or SUMMARY action: INGRESSIVE, if attention is focused on the fact of the action beginning, without any regard to its continuance; EFFECTIVE, if attention is given to the fact of the completion of the action; and SUMMARY, if the action is viewed as simply having occurred, without distinguishing any points in its progress. It is because of these three possibilities
in the sense of the form that in translating the Aorist Tense into English, for instance, the same verb can be rendered by either 'begin to + verb', 'have/has + past participle of verb' (the perfective expression), or simply by 'verb + PAST' (the past tense verb). The exact rendering of the form will sometimes depend upon the semantic features of the verb with the form.

In the light of this discussion, consider the following instances of the Aorist Tense in the Declarative Form II, Form III, and Negative Clauses.

(a) **Declarative II**

(6) Ọjhi /èkwù/ okwù.  
(a) 'Ọjhi begins to speak.'
(b) 'Ọjhi has begun to speak.'
(c) 'Ọjhi has spoken.'
(d) 'Ọjhi spoke.'

(7) Ọjhi /àhì/ yà.  
(a) 'Ọjhi has seen him.'
(b) 'Ọjhi saw him.'

(b) **Declarative III**

(8) Ọjhi /èkwù/ okwu.  
(a) 'Ọjhi should have/ought to have/  
would have/could have/might have spoken.'
(b) 'Ọjhi should/ought to/would/could/  
might speak.'
(c) 'Ọjhi should/etç. begin to speak.'
(c) **Negative Clause**

(9) *Ojhi* /ekwụ/ okwu.  
(a) 'Ojhi did not speak.'  
(b) 'Ojhi did not begin to speak.'  
(c) 'Ojhi has not spoken.'  
(d) 'Ojhi never spoke/never speaks.'  
(e) 'Ojhi is not to/should not speak.'

For a statement on the use of the Negative Clause see p 56ff.

Because of the notion represented by the Aorist Tense it is not surprising that it is the form of the verb used for the negative clause, since the important thing is the fact of non-performance of the action denoted by the verb.

The Aorist Tense may refer to present, past, or future time, co-occurring expressions helping sometimes to define the exact time-reference.

(10) *ANYI* /eme/ ọrụ. 'We have begun to work.' (Pr. time)
(11) *O byarà, /anyi* 'eme ọrụ.' /He came and we began to work.' (Pst.)
(12) Ya bya ecî, /anyi* 'eme ọrụ.' /If/when he comes tomorrow, we shall begin to work.' (Fut.)

T.3.2.1. **Loss of Aorist Prefix**

Under the following conditions the Aorist Tense loses its prefix *a/e*-:

(i) If the subject of the verbal clause is a monophonemic pronoun as in (13), (14) and (15). (The suffixes which occur in the examples are disregarded.)
(13) (a) /M nyēle/ gī. 'I have given to you.'
    (b) /I nyēle/ yā. 'You have given to him.'
    (c) /O nyēle/ mī. 'He has given to me.'
    (d) /E nyēle/ hnhā. 'Someone has given to them.'

(14) (a) /M maghī/ ya. 'I do not know him.'
    (b) /I maghī/ ya. 'You do not know him.'

etc.

(15) (a) /M' me/ ya. 'I should begin to do it.'
    (b) /I' me/ ya. 'You should begin to do it.'

etc.

(iii) If the clause containing the Aorist Tense verb shares a common subject with a preceding clause in a serialized construction, the Aorist Tense verb loses its prefix, as in (16) to (18). (The relevant clauses are marked by //).

(16) Àḍhā zutārā ji, Êgë̄ zisie yā, /ṣuọ yā, 'pata yā, /hnhā èrie. 'Adha bought some yam, Eze cooked it, pounded it, and brought it, and they ate it.'

(17) Êgë̄ zisie ji, /ṣuọ yā, pata, /anyi èrie. 'Eze should cook the yam, pound it and bring it so that we might eat it.'

(18) Òbì hnrù òkpu òma, /ṣuọ ya. /Qjhì ahmùghì, /zughì. / 'Obi saw a good hat and bought it. Qjhì saw none and bought none.'

(iii) In emphatic negative clauses following positive ones, the verb loses its normal prefix even though the subject is
not a monophonemic pronoun, as in (i) above. Consider (19) and (20), with alternative tones for the verbs.

(19) Ọ kpọrọ m 'mù za ya.' 'He called me, but I never
       {mù za ya} answered him.'
(20) Ọ nyèrè yà 'Obì, 'Obì na ya.' 'He offered it to Obì but
       {Obì na ya.} Obì never accepted it.'
Circumstance Clause and has a common subject with the preceding clause, the verb loses its prefix, as in the following instances.

(21) Ọ gărà /nu yà aka. 'He went and pushed it.'
(22) Ọ kpù ọkpu /thee egwụ. 'He danced wearing a hat.'
(23) Ọ mà /me yà. 'He deliberately began to do it.'

The clauses illustrated in (21) to (23) differ from those in (16) to (18) in that while the parts enclosed in // in the latter are independent of co-occurring clauses, those in the former constitute one clause with the preceding ones.

In contrast with the facts set out above, in Complex Clauses Type I (See pp.50, 63) the Aorist Tense retains its prefix even though the subject is remote from it in the sequence of elements. In (24) and (25) the subjects (underlined) are remote from the Aorist Verbs which are in slants.

(24) Anyì nà /èri/ nrì. 'We are eating food.'
(25) Ọ gărà /ème/ yà. 'He would have done it.'
T.3.3. Past Tense

The Past Tense forms are derived from the Simple and Aorist Tense forms by the addition of the \(-rA/E\) which is here called 'past tense suffix'. There are two major categories of Past Tense. They have sub-categories also. The sub-categories are determined by the number of the 'past tense' suffix that occurs with the base form, the highest number being three. Any Past Tense form with more than one \(-rA/E\) suffix is Complex in structure and is called 'Complex'. The categories and subcategories of Past Tense are given below; Form II and Form III have two and three of the past tense suffix, respectively:

(i)  
(a) Simple Past Tense, Form I (Simplex).
(b) Simple Past Tense, Form II (Complex).
(c) Simple Past Tense, Form III (Complex).

(ii)  
(a) Aorist Past Tense, Form I (Simplex).
(b) Aorist Past Tense, Form II (Complex).
(c) Aorist Past Tense, Form III (Complex).

The Complex sub-categories have remoter time-references than the Simplex categories, the Form III indicating still more remote time than Form II.

The phonology of the 'past tense suffix' is discussed later on.

T.3.3.1. Simple Past Tense

The Simple Past Tense is illustrated as follows:

(26) (a) Simple Past Tense, Form I
(b) **Simple Past Tense, Form II**

"Obi /nwere\(\) (\)eg'o. 'Obi had some money.'

(c) **Simple Past Tense, Form III:**

"Obi /nwere\(\)ere (\)eg'o. 'A long time ago Obi used to have some money.'

T.3.3.2. **Aorist Past Tense**

Aorist Tense clauses of the Declarative Form II type occur more frequently in non-initial positions in sequences of clauses, especially when the tense is 'past'. So in the illustrations of this type of clause below clauses in non-initial positions will be used. For the Declarative Form III, the situation is different.

Because of the features of the Aorist Tense discussed earlier, with particular reference to its representing 'action' as done, each addition of the 'past tense suffix' makes the time-reference still more remote.

Consider the following illustrations, the verbs being underlined.

(27) (a) **Aorist Past Tense, Form I**

"Mgb\(\)e anyi nwere eg'o, /anyi \(\)azury ehyn\(\)i. / 'When we had money, we used to buy cows (but that was a long time ago)'

(b) **Aorist Past Tense, Form II:**
When we used to have some money, we used to buy cows (but that was quite a long time ago).

(c) **Aorist Past Tense, Form III**

When we used to have money (so long ago now), we used to buy cows (at so remote a time).

Consider the following examples with the Declarative Form III clause as the context instead of Decl.II, as above.

(28) (a) Öbi /azuuru/ ehyñī. 'Öbi should have bought cows then.'

(b) Öbi /azuuru/ ehyñī. 'Öbi should have before then bought cows.'

(c) Öbi /azuuru/ ehyñī. 'Öbi should have long before then bought cows.'

T.3.3.3. Distribution of 'past tense suffix':

In Complex Clauses, the -ra/E suffixes may all occur in the first verb, or in the second verb, or be distributed between them, if more than one occurs. Consider these examples.

(29) (a) Öbi nà /azuuru/ ocô. 'Öbi used to buy chairs.'

(b) Öbi /nààra/ âzu ocô. 'Öbi used to buy chairs.'

(c) Öbi /nààra /azuuru/ ocô. 'Öbi used a long time ago to buy chairs.'

(d) Öbi /nààraâra /azuuru ru ocô. 'Öbi used, a very long
time ago, to buy chairs.'

T.3.3.4. Past Tense Clause, Negative

The implication of the Past Tense Clause, Negative, is that the action represented by the verb was not in practice

1. Adams: Modern Ibo Grammar, p. 61 says, "The past tense, as explained earlier, cannot by its very nature have a negative. One who feels compelled to translate "I did not do it" literally, must use a periphrasis, and say "It is not I did it" ḥ bughi m mère ya. This statement has no foundation in fact, as (30) to (32) show. The Igo sentence Adams gives is an emphatic sentence in which emphasis is achieved by 'predication', in this case the subject /m/ which is then denied. The correct meaning of the sentence is 'It was not I (emphatic) (who) did it.' Just as both parts of the sentence could be negative - 'مقاطع m emahgu ya' 'It was not me (I) (who was the person who) did not do it' - so both parts could be past, that is have the past tense suffix: 'مقاطع/럼 bughi m mère ya.' 'Then it was not me (who) did it (but now it is).'

Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igo, p. 29, after quoting the statement by Adams says, "...Also, the expected negative ḥ gwurughji ji is not possible. Based on this, and on Adams' phrase 'a statement without qualification or doubt' quoted above, I have separated the 'past tense' from tense categories and called it an 'assertive'." Then to her question whether Assert could be considered an alternative to the negative, she replied, "The answer is no, however, because the assertive may occur with the negative in the environment Neg (Emph) Tns - if Tns dominates aux... ḥ naraghî m eri ji 'I was not in the process (habit) of eating yams.' There is some inconsistency here: a morpheme that is not a tense morpheme in one verb form becomes one in another verb form, though of a different type: the occurrence of the morpheme is said to make the negative sentence where it occurs ungrammatical (which it definitely is not), and then another negative sentence with it is said to be grammatical (which it certainly is). The fact is that the occurrence of the 'past tense' is not at any time conditioned by the occurrence of some other category. Dr. Carrell's inaccurate analysis of the 'past tense' suffix and her categorization of it are based on false impressions of the language derived from various sources.
in the past but is now, or at the relevant time of utterance.

(30) (a) Ezè emêre ihyne dî òthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'

(b) Ezè emêere ihyne dî òthu à. 'Before now Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'

(c) Ezè emêerere ihyne dî òthu à. 'Long before then Eze used not to do such a thing as this.'

If the 'Insistence' suffix, -ghl co-occurs with the 'past tense' suffix, either may precede the other, as in (31), the -ghl preceding if it is emphatic.

(31) (a) Ezè /emêreghi/ ihyne dî òthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.'

(b) Ezè /emêghire/ ihyne dî òthu à. 'Ezè used not to do such a thing as this.' (emph.)

The same applies if the 'perfective aspect' -lA also occurred with -rA/E, as in (32), but with some change in the meaning of the clause.

(32) (a) Ezè /emêrele/ òrnu. 'At that time Ezè had not yet done the work.'

(b) Ezè /emêlere/ òrnu. 'At that time Ezè had not begun to do the work.'

The combination of the -rA/E suffix with other types of suffixes is touched on in the discussion of its phonology below.

T.3.3.5. The Negative Non-finite Verb Form

The Aorist Tense verb form with Negative tone-structure
has been erroneously called 'the Negative Infinitive'. The fact is that when it is used as a Non-finite form, it serves as the negative counterpart of all Non-finite positive forms, that is the Infinitive, the Simple Participle, and the Gerund. (See Non-finite Forms, pp. 364) The situation is exactly as in verbal clauses (See p. 464 above) where there is only one type of Negative Verbal Clause which is used as the negative of any positive verbal clause type. In the following, (33) - (35), the positive Non-finite forms (a), have the same negative form, (b).

(33) (a) /Ime/ yåde ràrà àhu. 'To do it is difficult.' (Infinit.)
    (b) /Eme/ yà ràrà àhu. 'Not to do it is difficult.'

(34) (a) /Mme/ yà ràrà àhu. 'Actually doing it is difficult.' (Participle)
    (b) /Eme/ yà ràrà àhu. 'Not actually doing it is difficult.'

(35) (a) /Omume/ yà kàrà àhu. 'Theoretically, doing it is difficult.' (Gerund)
    (b) /Eme/ yà ràrà àhu. 'Not doing it is difficult.'

In view of these examples the inappropriateness of the term 'Negative Infinitive' becomes rather obvious. It is preferable, therefore, to talk about 'Negative Non-finite Form'.

T.3.3.6. Summary of Tense System

The Tense System of Igbo is summarized as follows, and illustrated with the verb ivù 'to carry/to lift', using the verb without a verbal clause.

I Positive:
(i) Simple Tense: vu
(ii) Aorist Tense: èvu
(iii) Past Tense:
   (a) Simple Past Tense, Form I: vùrù
   (b) Simple Past Tense, Form II: vùrùrù (vùrùrù)
   (c) Simple Past Tense, Form III: vùrùrù (vùrùrùrù)
   (d) Aorist Past Tense, Form I: èvuru
   (e) Aorist Past Tense, Form II: èvùuru (èvuru)
   (f) Aorist Past Tense, Form III: èvùuru (èvuru)

II Negative:
(a) Aorist Tense, Negative: èvu
(b) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form I: èvuru
(c) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form II: èvùuru (èvuru)
(d) Aorist Past Tense, Negative, Form III: èvùuru (èvuru)

T.3.3.7. The Phonology of the -rA/E suffix

The 'past tense suffix' has the following phonological characteristics:
(i) The vowel is usually assimilated to that of the immediately preceding syllable, whether the syllable is a verb root or another suffix, as in (36).
(36) (a) Anyì /gàrà/ ahya. 'We went to the market.'
(b) Ọmụ /gùzùrù/ ọtụ. 'You (pl.) stood up.'
(c) Hná /cìlìrì/ akwụkwọ. 'They took away the books.'
(d) Ọ /bèwèrè/ akwha. 'He began to cry.'
(e) Ọ /thìrì/ akhalaakha. 'It grew tall.'
(f) Ọ /lùrù/ nwaànyị. 'He married a wife.'
(g) A /cìrù/ gi. 'You are wanted.'
(h) Ọ /gàzùrù/ ebe dum. 'You went everywhere.'

(ii) Sometimes, however, the vowel merely harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable, being either -a or -e, as in (37).
(37) (a) Ọ /tùìra/ n'akamè nà mirị. 'He threw a stone into the water.'
(b) Ọ /zuùrù/ motò. 'He used to deal in cars.'
(c) Ọ /cìrù/ ụbyà. 'He had wanted to come.'
(d) Ọ /lùùrù/ mkpùrù n'olù. 'He threw a seed into the pit.'
(e) Ọ /zuùrù/ ikhe ebe à. 'He used to rest here.'
(f) Ọ /vùùrù/ akwà. 'He used to deal in cloths.'

(iii) When the suffix is reduplicated or triplicated to express the Form II and Form III, respectively, the initial occurrence of it is normally abbreviated to an assimilated vowel, as in (37) above and in (38).
(38) Ọ /vùùrùrù/ akwà. 'She used to trade in cloths.'

However, when the form is emphatic, the suffixes are pronounced in full, but this is often avoided.

(iv) When the 'Intensive'/'Completion aspect' vowel suffix
-A/0 (represented in (39) by the first -o) occurs, only one
-RA/E and only two -RA/E can occur to express the Form II
and Form III, respectively.

(39) (a) Òbi/vuòrò/ akwa. 'Obi used to trade in cloths.'
(b) Òbi/vuòròrò/ akwa. 'Obi used to trade in cloths a
long time ago.'

This means that when the 'Intensive'/'Completive aspect' (See
Aspects) also occurs, and since its sense of 'completion'
implies a sense of 'pastness' in the action represented by
the verb, the full form of the Past Tenses are not realized, as
in (40).

(40) (a) Eze/riè/ nri. 'Eze was getting himself fed.'
(b) Eze/rièrè nri. 'Eze used to get himself fed.'
(c) Eze/rièrèrè nri. 'Eze used to get himself fed a
long time ago.'
(d) Eze/èrie/ nri. 'Eze should have got himself fed
then.'
(e) Eze/èriere/ nri. 'Eze should have got himself fed
before then.'
(f) Eze/èriere/ nri. 'Eze should have got himself fed
long before then.'

T.3.3.8. The Syntactic Characteristics of the -RA/E suffix

The 'past tense suffix' has the following syntactic
characteristics.

(i) It can occur with all other suffixes, and follows all
of them except -g hå and -lô which it can either precede or follow (as in T.3.3.4. above), and the 'Comparative suffix' -ri which it precedes, as in (41). Only a few of the other suffixes with which it can occur are given here, and such examples are underlined.

(41) O mèrerì nwannè ecî. 'It happened as long ago as two days ago.'

(42) O mèrisirì yà ruo tha à. 'He went on doing it until today.'

(43) O vutùsèrè ngwongwo n'âlà. 'He took the loads down to the ground.'

(44) O mèghèrè yà ci ìjìe. 'He went on and on doing it until darkness fell.'

(45) O wètarà ya. 'He brought it.'

(ii) It can occur in Non-finite verb forms - the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Particle (as in (46)), and in verb-derived nouns1 (as in (47)).

(46) (a) /Imère/ yà gàrà èwe yà iwe. (Simple Inf.) 'To have done it would have angered him.'

(b) /Mmère/ yà gàrà èwe yà iwu. (Simple Participle)
'To have been doing it would have angered him.'

(47) (a) /Òdhabhàrà/ n'ìyi arùghì mma. 'Something that fell into the stream but did not lose its beauty.'

(Riddle) ('Fallen-into+PAST into stream not lose beauty."

(b) /Emerem/ o mèrè ya wụ nà e Mùrù ụzọ kwọp yà ụgwọ. 'That he did it was due to the fact that he was first paid for it.' (The fact of doing he did it was that one first paid him debt.)

(iii) It does not occur outside a verb form as a separate element in a verbal clause (as the -rA/E 'Benefactive Case' which is phonologically identical with it can do. See 'Case' 8.2.6. p.278)

(iv) It cannot occur in the Imperative Clause type (as the 'Benefactive' suffix can do.)

These two characteristics -(iii) and (iv)- are some of the ways the two phonologically identical suffixes syntactically stand apart from each other.

T.3.3.9. **Critical Statement about -rA/E 'past tense'**

The view taken in this work about -rA/E (as well as a/e-) is that it is a grammatical suffix, inflecting the verb for tense. Miss Green whose opinion of all suffixes is that they are lexical and not grammatical calls it -ra (time). Other writers are divided on their assessment of its function. While some, like Julius Spencer, take it as a grammatical suffix, others like Dr. Carrell deny it grammatical functions, and others still are undecided. These include Adams and Dr. Ida C. Ward.
J. Spencer\textsuperscript{1} writes: "There are eight tenses in Ibo - the Present, Indefinite, the Present Incomplete, the Past, the Past Complete, the Perfect, the Pluperfect, the Future, and the Future Incomplete." Then he gives '-lu' as the 'sign' of the 'Past Tense Indefinite', and '-li' as the 'sign' of the 'Past Incomplete Tense', and observes, "It should be noted that -lu is often loosely used with the Present Tense."

It should be said that -lu is the Onitsha dialect for the -\textit{rA/E} suffix, and -li is the Onitsha dialect for the 'Comparative' suffix -\textit{ri}. Spencer is correct in taking -lu as the 'past tense' marker, but is not about -li (-\textit{ri}). His observation about the use of -lu (-\textit{rA/E}) with a present time meaning will be discussed later with the statement of others on the same point.

Dr. Ida C. Ward uses the term 'Ra-form' and distinguishes three types of it which she calls 'Ra-form (a)', 'Ra-form (b)' and 'Ra-form (c)'. Her 'Ra-form (c)' is the 'Benefactive Case' suffix which she includes in the term 'meaning suffixes'. 'Ra-form (b)' turns out to be the 'past tense' suffix in Relative Clauses. Dr. Ward does not anywhere in her book explicitly call her 'Ra-form (a)' a 'past tense'; the closest she comes to it is on page 137 of her book where she says: "If on the analogy with meaning suffixes, we assume the tense

\textsuperscript{1} J. Spencer: 'A First Grammar of the Ibo Language', pp.30-35.
suffix to be the final one, the past tense here has la instead of the usual ra as its tense suffix..." However, she gives the impression of being quite undecided whether to call it a past tense marker or not. She writes: "The grammar books call this form the past tense (i.e. "the construction which consists of verb root + a suffix (made up of r+ a vowel...)), at the same time pointing out that it is used very frequently to show present, perfect and even future action. Spencer calls it Past Tense (Aorist or Indefinite). Adams explains it as showing a state rather than a time of action. Whether it is present or past is generally indicated by the context, an adverb or phrase often showing the time of the action...

A number of verbs which are mainly used in this form to express present time are frequently descriptive, e.g.

(48) 0 sìrì ikhe. 'He is strong.'
(49) 0 rèrè üre. 'It is rotten.'
(50) 0 nìwèrè eg'o. 'He has money.'

The indecision of Dr. Ward, and the explanation of Adams (which is the same, virtually, as that of Spencer given earlier) arise from not distinguishing a grammatical form from its 'use'. A similar criticism applies to Dr. Carrell's statement. Dr. Carrell writes² (after stating the views of Spencer and

Adams) "However, despite this designation (i.e. 'past tense'), it was clear to these writers that this 'past tense' so frequently refers to the present time and that often adverbs of time must be present if the sentence containing Assert (i.e. \(-rA/E\)) is to have a past-time meaning.

(51) O nwèrè eg'o. 'He has money.'
(52) Eci gàra āga o nwèrè eg'o. 'Yesterday he had money.'
(53) Jì jọ̀rọ̀ njo. 'The yams are bad.'
(54) Eci gàra āga jì jọ̀rọ̀ njo. 'Yesterday the yams were bad.'

Adams explains it as showing a 'state' rather than a 'time' of action. (He says) 'Thus plain (55) O gwùrù jì means "He digs yams", it is a statement without qualification or doubt; and therefore does duty for the absolute form of the present tense. O gwùrù jì 'with any word denoting the past or in answer to a question referring to the past.'"

With regard to the use of adverbs of time, it simply is not the case that when the \(-rA/E\) 'past tense' suffix occurs an adverb of time "must be present if the sentence is to have a past time meaning". Such adverbs occur only if it is necessary to be specific about the time referred to. That is, it is not the occurrence of such expressions that gives the sentence a past-time sense but the presence of the suffix. This applies to (52) and (54) above. And with regard to (55), no native Igbo speaker will understand it as being anything else than a past tense clause. So Adams is entirely wrong in his explanations of it.
However, the suffix can occur in clauses with present time-reference, but this is limited to what Dr. Ward called above "descriptive" clauses. The clauses with such verbs have adjectival meanings in the language and the verbs express the 'state' which the object described 'has come to have' as a result of the action denoted by the verb. The logic of the clause is that the state attributed to the object is not immediately acquired but is the outcome of a process that took place before the present moment of utterance, and is represented by the verb/verbs in the clause. Sentences (48) to (51) and (53)(which are usually quoted to justify the use of the 'past tense' verb for present-time reference) fall into this category.

To use the Present Tense verb forms of the verbs in these clauses will imply that the objects have not acquired the states but will do so. Thus we get.

(56) 0 sì ikhe.  'He will become strong.' / 'It will become hard.'
(57) 0 rè ̀ ure.  'It will rot (rottenness).'/ 'It is getting rotten.'
(58) 0 mwè eg'o.  'He will possess money.'
(59) 0 jò njò.  'It will become bad.' / 'It is getting bad.'

Variant constructions with the past tense suffix are provided by Complex Clause Type II (See pp. 59, 74), as in (60).

(60) (a) 0 rè rè ̀ ere.  'It is rotten.'
(b) 0 nwùrù ànwù.  'It is dead.'
(c) 0 chàrà ̀ acha.  'It is ripe.'

Clauses like those in (60) are often transformed into a
(61) (a) `Akwhârere ère. 'The egg is rotten.'
(b) `Akwhârere ère. 'Egg which is rotten.'
(c) èrèrèrèrè `Akwha 'rotten egg'

Fundamentally, the problem which linguists have encountered with the -rA/E 'past tense' with regard to its use to indicate a 'present state' is the result of unconscious dependence on translations of Igbo into English, and, concomitantly, of equating Igbo grammatical constructions directly with English grammatical constructions having similar meanings. This is skating on thin linguistic ice, as any translator will know.

It must be added that clauses with the suffix can have a future time reference, a kind of past-in-the-future. But again this is a matter of use, and this happens in hypothetical constructions as in (62).

(62) Mà unù byàrà n'ùthùthù ecì mà unù byàrà n'anyaàsù, unù gà ènweta m. 'Whether you came in the morning or in the evening tomorrow, you would find me.'
CHAP. 9  —  Aspects

As.1. The Category of Aspects

The category of Aspect is set up to account for the grammatical function of the elements to be given below. The term is often used in a wide and general sense to cover "something other than, and additional to, temporal reference of the kind indicated by tense in verbal forms". For example, John Lyons says, "...the opposition of 'locative' and 'directional' (which is found in the case systems of many languages) is a particular instance of a more general aspectual opposition which might be called 'static' and dynamic; and ...as locomotion is to location, so acquisition is to possession, and 'becoming' to 'being'." The term is, however, used here in a narrower sense, to describe the functions of certain affixal elements which when they occur in the verb "serve to indicate the manner in which the 'action' denoted by the verb is considered as being carried out".

As said earlier, under Tense, Aspect is being considered separately from Tense for simplicity. But in addition to the need for simplicity of presentation, there is also the

reason that Aspect does not belong to the same category with Tense, for as Lyons says, "Aspect, unlike tense, is not a deictic category; it is not relative to the time of utterance." And although distinctions of aspect have to do with time, they "have to do, not with the location of an in event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour."  

In Igbo, Aspect is one of the inflexional categories.

As. 2. **Number of Aspects recognized for Igbo:**

The following six Aspects are recognized for Igbo:

(i) **Imperfective** - not overtly represented by an affix, but is cumulative with the Simple Tense form.

(ii) **Punctiliar** - not overtly represented but is cumulative with the Aorist Tense form.

(iii) **Perfective** - represented by the suffix -1a (1a/1e).

(iv) **Resumptive/Continuative/Inceptive** - represented by the suffix -wa (-wa/we).

(v) **Intensive (Completive)** - represented by the vowel

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3. Professor J. Carnochan in 'Outline Analysis of Igbo', pp.69-74, recognizes six aspects as follows:

   Aspect I - verb form without any suffixes
   Aspect II - verb form with suffix -wa/we
   Aspect III - verb form with suffix -ta/te
   Aspect IV - verb form with suffix -ra/re
   Aspect V - verb form with suffix -si/se
   Aspect VI - verb form with suffixes -rite/rīta

   In this work, however, the suffixes said to represent Aspects III to VI are regarded as Tense and Case suffixes.
suffix -A/O (-a/-e, or -s/-o.)

(vi) **Inclusive** - represented by the suffix -risi

A seventh aspect, the 'Iterative/Repetitive' aspect, might also be recognized. The aspect is realized by the suffixes -gidhe, -ghA (-gha/ghe), -kata, and -mite. But the view I have taken is that 'iteration' is a concomitant and secondary function of verbs, and is realized also by 'repetitive verbs'. Primarily -gidhe has 'adessive, locative case' function (see 'Case' p. 285), and the others (and 'repetitive verbs' also) realize 'number' in verbs (See 'Number', N.6.1. (i) - (iii)).

Paradigms of the aspects are given later on pages 163-165. The aspects are discussed one after another first before the paradigms are given, in order that they may be better understood in the paradigms.

Some general facts about the aspects are stated as follows:

(a) The 'Perfective', the 'Resumptive', the 'Completive' and the 'Inclusive' aspects can occur in the Simple Tense, the Aorist Tense, and the Past Tense verb forms, in Positive and Negative Clauses and in the Non-finite forms - the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle.

(b) While the 'Perfective', the 'Continuative'/'Resumptive', and the 'Inclusive' can co-occur in a given Tense form, the 'Intensive'/'Completive' can co-occur only with the 'Perfective' and the 'Inclusive' aspects. It is mutually exclusive with
the 'Continuative'/ 'Resumptive'.

(c) The 'Continuative'/ 'Resumptive' and the 'Inclusive'
aspects, and also the 'Imperfective' can concomitantly realize
the plural idea in verbs, as indicated in N.6.(v) and N.6.2.
p.215.

3. The 'Imperfective' Aspect: 'Progressive' and 'Habitual'
The term 'imperfective' as used here subsumes two related
aspects - (i) 'progressive' and (ii) 'habitual'. Depending
on the context, the same verb form, the Simple Tense or the
Aorist Tense form, may have a 'progressive' or a 'habitual'
meaning. Usually the 'habitual' aspect is specified by the
occurrence of some adverbial expression. Thus when such a
limiting expression does not occur in the verbal clause, and
there is nothing in the situational context to suggest a
'habitual' sense, a 'progressive' meaning is normally under-
stood.

The adverbial expressions whose occurrence indicates
'habitual' meaning, and which can occur in Verbal Clauses with
any Tense form (as in (c) of (1) and (2)), are of the types (I)
to (IV).

(I) Kwa+NP
(II) NP+du'm/nile
(III) NP+Relativized Indefinite Clause
(IV) Prep.+(NP)+Relativized Indefinite Clause

Consider the following examples. (a) represents
'progressive', and (b). and (c) 'habitual'. (The tense of the clauses are not under consideration, so the time-references which the verbs can have are not spelt out.) The adverbials are enclosed in //. The portions in () are not under consideration.

(1) (a) 'Obi bu abu. 'Obi is singing.'
(b) 'Obi bu abu/kwa uthuthu/\{ mgbé dum. every time. \} every time.
\{ ebe ọ wùlà. everywhere. \}
\{ nà mgbé Eze akpọlà ya. ...whever Eze invites him. \}
\{ na à kwùlà yà eg'o. ...whenever he's paid money. \}
(c) 'Obi bu ru abu /kwà ubòcì/. 'Obi sang every day.'

(2) (a) (Obi keighere anyi ornu), anyi ume ya, (mecha yà.) '(Obi gave us some share of the work,) and we went on doing it, (and finished it all.)'
(b) (Obi keighere anyi ornu), anyi ume ya /kwà ubòcì/, (mecha yà). '(Obi gave us some share of the work), and we did it every day, (and finished it all.)'
(c) 'Obi aغاara ahya /kwà Oryè/. 'Obi used to go to the market every Oryè day.'

In (1) bu is a Simple Tense form, and in (2) ume is an Aorist Tense form. In view of the 'progressive' or 'habitual' aspect of the simple verb form, represented here by bu, in addition
to its tense function (as indicated under 'Tense'), it is not true, as Dr. Carrell alleges, that the Simple Tense form "represents the simplest tenseless, aspectless Igbo expression" in her statement: "Predicate phrase (AUX) VP (Time)(Place) AUX is later developed into a series of tense, aspect and other suffixes. VP stands for the verb phrase, and in the absence of AUX represents the simplest tenseless, aspectless Igbo expression. Time and Place at this level are not bound to the verb, that is, they are VP-components, not V-components..."¹

Some more examples with the Simple Tense are given.

(3) Eze /vu/ oco. 'Eze is/was carrying a chair.'
(4) Adha /si/ erimeri. 'Adha is/was cooking food.'
(5) Qjh /de/ akwukwu. 'Qjh is/was writing a letter/book.'
(6) Any /no/ qdhu. 'We are/were sitting down.'

As vu in (3) and no in (6) show, the 'progressive' aspect applies also to verbs which express states ('stative verbs'), including the verbs iw 'to be' ('equative') and id 'to be' ('attributive'/'locative'), although sentences with them cannot be translated into idiomatic English by the use of 'is/was+verb+ing', which, however, uneducated Igbo speakers often do. Thus we get the bracketed forms in (6) and (7).

(6) Nnà m wù ezè. (My father is being chief.) 'My father is a chief.'
(7) Q dì arnù. (It is being heavy.) 'It is heavy.'

Although their English is un-English, it is an accurate 'grammatical' rendering of Igbo.

As 3.1. The verb 'na'.

It has become traditional and orthodox for Igbo linguists to say that the verb 'na' is used to express the 'progressive' or 'habitual' aspect, as the following quotations show:

"The Na-form (a) as a finite verb showing some kind of habitual or progressive action..."1

"...For every non-auxiliary verb form there is a corresponding auxiliary form, the latter usually having a habitual, or, in some contexts, a progressive meaning..."2

"...Igbo has two verbs that may be used as auxiliary verbs: 'na' 'to pass, progress' used primarily to show the progressive or habitual; 'ga' 'to pass, go' used to express the future."3

In the examples given above in (1) to (7), 'na' does not occur, yet the verbs have 'progressive' or 'habitual' meanings. This surely means that the 'progressive' or the 'habitual' aspect does not necessitate the occurrence of 'na'. If then 'na' occurs in some constructions but not in others, it follows then that it must have a particular function it

fulfils in those constructions, but which is not called for in the other clauses in which it does not occur. Because of the traditional explanation of the use of the verb 'na', of the frequency with which it is used, and also of the imperfect translation of clauses in which it occurs, it has not been realized that it has its own lexical meaning which is the reason for its use. It expresses what the English expressions - 'It is a fact', 'actually' express. Having its own lexical meaning, it can and does have tense and aspect like any other verb, although it is more limited in its distribution than other types of verbs (see VC.12, p.21).

Consider the following pairs of examples, with the verb 'na' fully translated.

(8) (a) Adhâ sì nri. 'Adhâ is cooking food.'

(b) Adha /nà èsi/ nri. 'Adha, it is a fact, is cooking food.'

(9) (a) Adhâ sì nri kwà anyaasñù. 'Adha cooks food every evening.'

(b) Adha /nà èsi/ nri kwà anyaasñù. 'Adha, it is a fact, cooks food every evening.'

(10) (a) I wū onye isì. 'You are a leader.'

(b) I /nà əwụ/ onye isì. 'It is a fact that you act as leader.'

(11) (a) I wū onye isì mgbé ụnum. 'You are leader every time.'

(b) I /nà əwụ/ onye isì mgbé dum. 'It is a fact that
you act as leader every time.'
From these examples it should be clear that whatever 'progressive' or 'habitual' meaning the verb 'na' may have, it does so (in common with other verbs) because this is a peculiar property of verbs of whatever type. This is true not only when it has the Simple Tense form, but also when it has the Aorist form, as in (12).

(12) Hna na àçu ányì, ányì /ànà àgba/. 'As they kept pursuing us, which was a fact, we kept running away, which was also a fact.'

Once again we can learn something from the literalness of the uneducated Igbo, who is always using 'really' and 'in fact' for rendering into English sentences with 'na' in them when his educated compatriot would neglect such fine points of grammar. Thus he would give (13) by the bracketed form, omitting the verb 'to be'.

(13) Ò nà àbýa. '(He really coming.)' 'He is indeed coming.'

So it is not true to say that 'na' is "used primarily to show the progressive or habitual (aspect)".

As.4. The Punctiliar Aspect

The aspectual implications of the Aorist Tense were discussed in T.3.2., p. 9f, so no further statement is necessary, except to draw attention to the fact that its 'effective' sense overlaps with the sense of the 'Perfective' aspect in some uses of it, hence the possibility of translating a sentence with the Aorist Tense with a 'perfect construction'
in English, for instance. Secondly, in both the positive and the negative forms the 'progressive' and the 'punctiliar' aspects are cumulative in the Aorist Tense form.

In the following examples, the various aspectual senses of the Aorist Tense form are drawn out by the translations of the Igbo sentences (14) - (17). The same form has different senses, depending upon the context.

(14) Anyi eme ya.  (a) 'We are getting on doing it, as a matter of fact.'
(b) 'We have indeed been doing it.'
(c) 'We have indeed begun to do it.'

(15) Anyi eme ya.  (a) 'We are not indeed doing it.'
(b) 'We have, indeed, not been doing it.'
(c) 'We have, indeed, not begun to do it.'

From these full translations it will be seen that before now the full implication of the Aorist Tense form, from the point of view of aspects (as indeed from other points of view) has not been appreciated.

Often, when the 'effective' aspect is primary, the 'Perf ective' suffix occurs, as in (16) and (17).

(16) Anyi 'emele ya.  (a): 'We have indeed been getting on doing it.'
(b) 'We have indeed begun to do it/
begun to be doing it.'

(17) Anyi 'emele ya.  (a) 'We have indeed not been getting on doing it.'
(b) 'We have indeed not begun to do it/ begun to be doing it.'

As.5. **The 'Perfective' Aspect**

The 'perfective' aspect is marked by the suffix -1A (-la/-le). It has been treated as tense by most writers on Igbo\(^1\), but here it is being treated as aspect.\(^2\) The reason is that in the use of the 'perfective suffix' -1A it is not the time of the action denoted by the verb that is primary but

1. E.g. Spencer, Ward, Carnochan, and Carrell.

2. C.f. Barbara M-H. Strang: Modern English Structure, p.163 - "...we must examine the two aspectual terms we have introduced, durative and perfective. The durative, as positive term in a contrast, draws attention, where necessary, to the fact that an action is thought of as having (having had or to have) duration or continuingness... The perfective adds a positive implication of 'being in a state resulting from having...'; it indicates that the 'action' is thought of as having consequences in or being temporally continuous with a 'now' or 'then' (past or future)."

F.R. Palmer: A Linguistic Study of the English Verb, p.59 - "...the forms are to be classified as either perfect or non-perfect, the perfect forms being those that contain a form HAVE, which is always followed by a past participle... The term 'aspect' could be used to designate this category."

Martin Joos: The English Verb, p.38 - 'This privative character of all the markers is curiously different in the case of the phase marker HAVE -N... The name derives from the special relation between cause and effect signified by verbs in the perfect phase.'

John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp. 313,395f. "The term 'aspect' (which is a translation of the Russian word 'vid') was first used to refer to the distinction of 'perfective' and 'imperfective' in the inflexion of verbs in Russian and other Slavonic languages. The term 'perfective' (or 'perfect') is reminiscent of that used by the Stoic grammarians for the somewhat similar notion of 'completion' found in Greek...(p.313)..."...the 'auxiliary verb 'to have', which is combined with 'the 'past Participle' to form the perfective aspect.
the 'fact' that the action has been performed (in the case of positive verb forms) or not performed (in the case of negative verb forms). When the time of the action is also important or relevant, this is expressed by some time adverbial expression.

While the 'imperfective' is concerned with the duration or continuity (or habitualness, in some cases) of the action represented by the verb, and the 'punctiliar' is concerned with either the ingressive, effective, or summary nature of it, the 'perfective' is concerned with the effecting of the action, and also implies that the effecting has results or consequences relevant to the present, past, or future time. The notion of 'being effected' may apply to a part or the whole of the action denoted by the verb, hence the aspect can co-occur with other aspects, as in (18), in which (a) - (d) respectively, include 'progressive', 'completive/resumptive', and 'inclusive' aspects with the 'perfective'.

(18) (a) /Anyị: rịlè nri/ mgbe ọ bhátara. 'We were just going on eating food when he entered.'
(b) /Anyị rịcle nri/ mgbe ọ bhátara. 'We had already eaten food when he entered.'
(c) /Anyị rịwélè nri/ mgbe ọ bhátara. 'We had been continuing to eat food when he entered.'
(d) /Anyị rịrịsilà nri/ ruo ụgbu a ọ bhatara. 'We have been going on still eating until now when he entered.'

**As.5.1. Subcategories of the Perfective Aspect**

There are two subcategories of the Perfective Aspect, the second of which has not hitherto been observed and written about. The two subcategories are distinguished as follows:

(a) **Perfective Form I or Perfective I** - represented by a single occurrence of the suffix -lA.

(b) **Perfective Form II or Perfective II** - represented by a double occurrence of the suffix -lA; -lA1A (-lala/-lele).

The double occurrence of the suffix has the effect of 'locating' the event 'effected' further back in time. However, this does not mean that the resulting verb form has exactly the same meaning as the English 'pluperfect' construction which often translates it into that language. For the 'pluperfect' sense can be expressed in other ways in Igbo, for instance by the combination of the past tense suffix with the Perfective I suffix -lA, or combining the latter with the 'Completive' vowel suffix, though the latter combination does not necessarily have a past time meaning, unless the context implies this.

The contrast between the Perfective I and Perfective II is indicated by the differences in the meanings of the following pairs of sentences in which (a) represents Perfective I and (b) represents Perfective II:

(19) (a) Ọbị /zụlà/ ākwa āzu (mà m garule ahyà). 'Ọbị had
been going on buying/begun to buy the eggs (by the time I had got to the market."

(b) Ọbị /zulala/ akwa aṣà (mà m garule ahyà.) 'Ọbị had already been going on buying/begun to buy the eggs (by ....)'

(20) (a) Mgbè unu /kwèlè/ ya kwo okwù, ya kwùonì. 'Since you (pl.) have allowed him to speak, let him speak then.'

(b) Mgbè unu /kwèlèlè/ ya kwo okwù, ya kwùonì. 'Since you have already allowed him to speak, let him speak then.'

(21) (a) Anyị /emele/ ọrnụ. 'We have begun to do the work, as a matter of fact.'

(b) Anyị /emelele/ ọrnụ, (kà anyị mechaani yà). 'We have already begun to do the work, as a matter of fact. So let us finish it then.'

In (22) and (23) the past tense suffix co-occurs with

the perfective suffixes.

(22) (a) Anyị /maliterèlè/ ọrnụ mà hna rutele. 'We had begun to work before they had arrived.'

(b) Anyị /maliterèlèlè/ ọrnụ mà hna rutele. 'We had already begun to work before they arrived.'

(23) (a) Anyị /ag'urula/ egwu dì òthù ahnù. 'We had in the past sung such a song as that.'

(b) Anyị /ag'urulala/ egwu dì òthù ahnù. 'We had at some remote time in the past sung such a song (but
we don't sing it any more).

In (24) and (25) the 'completive' vowel suffix co-occurs with the perfective suffixes.

(24) (a) Ọ wụ Àdhá /mǜlù/ ọrù hńá ọthu à? 'Is it Àdha who has done (to completion) so much work?'
(b) Ọ wụ Àdhá /mǜlùlù/ ọrù hńá ọthu à? 'Is is Àdha who has already done (to completion) so much work?'

(25) (a) Ọjhí /aʃùlù/ mụ ābya cèta yá. 'Ọjhí had gone out before I came to remember it.'
(b) Ọjhí /aʃùlùlù/ mụ ābya cèta yá. 'Ọjhí had already gone out before I came to remember it.'

In (18) the occurrence of Perfective I with other aspects was illustrated. In (26) the occurrence of Perfective II with the 'resumptive' and 'inclusive' aspects are illustrated, the occurrence of the 'progressive' and the 'completive' having been illustrated above in (19) to (25).

(26) (a) O /mèwèlèlèlè:/ yá ọ ci ābya jie. 'He had already been continuing doing it before darkness fell.'
(i.e. He has already been doing it off and on...)
(b) O /merìsilìlìla/ ya ru ịgbè ahnụ à bya kwụsị ya. 'He had already been going on still doing it up to and including that time before someone came and stopped him.'

As.5.2. Other Uses of the Perfective

(i) The Perfective is often used with the notion 'just', 'exact'/'exactly', 'barely'-and similar notions, in such
expressions as the following:

(27) \[ \text{Ugbu à kà Òbi lọtálà ọrnu.} \quad \text{'Ôbi has just returned from work.'} \]

(28) \[ \text{Tha à kà m hmùlà yà ìbù.} \quad \text{'I have just seen him for the first time today.'} \]

(29) \[ \text{Onya à kà o nyèlèlè.} \quad \text{'He has only given this person as yet.'} \]

(30) \[ \text{Mà o dele ụkwụ n'ụlọ, anyị afùisịa.} \quad \text{'As soon as he stepped into the room we all went out.'} \]

(31) \[ \text{Unù rìle yà.} \quad \text{'Just get on and eat it, you people.'} \]

(32) \[ \text{Unù rìlele yà (hmù ihyne m. gà ème).} \quad \text{'Just eat it (pl.) (contrary to my instruction)(and see what I shall do.)'} \]

(33) \[ \text{Cọọla yà ìbù.} \quad \text{'Just look for it first.'} \]

(34) \[ \text{Cọọlala yà ìbù.} \quad \text{'Just look for it first before anything else.'} \]

(ii) The Perfective suffix is also used to construct an **Indefinite Relative Clause**. The clause is constructed by making a non-subject element of it the head word and transforming the remainder of the original clause into an adjunct, such that monophonemic pronoun subjects take low tones while other pronoun subjects take high tones and the verb takes low tones, and noun subjects must have final high syllables before
the verb, as in (35).

(35) (a) ulọ (m) zulà 'whichever house (I buy/bought')
         (you buy/bought')
         (he buys/bought')
         (one buys/bought')

(b) ebe (anyi) agàlà 'wherever (we go/went')
         (you (pl.) go/went')
         (they go/went')

(c) ihyne (Adhà) èmèlé 'whatever (Adhà did/is doing')
         (Ojhi did/is doing')
         (Ìnì did/is doing')

It should be observed that in the translations the full gamut
of time meaning and aspectual meanings are not given.

When mgbe 'time' or ebe 'place' is the head word, the
clause may have the meaning 'whenever' or 'wherever',
respectively, or mean 'since + ...', as in (36).

(36) (a) mgbe ọ byàlà (i) 'whenever he comes/came.'
         (ii)'since he came/has come.'

(b) ebe ọ byàlà (i) 'wherever he comes to/came to.'
         (ii)'Since he has come.'

It is to this type of construction that the clause 'Ọ wùlà'
(written as one word 'ọ wùlà'/'ọbùlà') belongs, but it has, as
a result of the spelling, been incorrectly described as an
adjective1, or as a noun.2 Consider (37).

When the subject is also the head of the relative clause and is a noun and not a pronoun, the verb takes the normal tone relationship with the subject, that is, it has a mid-tone in relation to the subject, as in (38).

(38) (a) Onye byala 'whoever comes/came.'
(b) Ihyne àfọla 'whatever remains'
(c) Ìkẹ kwẹle imẹ 'whichever it is possible to do'

The verb can also have other aspectual suffixes and suffixes of other grammatical categories, but it is not considered necessary to demonstrate the fact.

As.5.3. The Perfective in Negative Clauses

The Perfective suffix -1A has been taken by some linguists as a necessary part of the negative verb in the negative clause. Dr. Ward gives the structure of the Imperative, Negative as "Prefix+root+suffix -1a (na in some dialects) ".

And Dr. Carrell writes, "The only true tense indicators in Igbo are two auxiliary verbs, expanded from aux by rule 2.44, and a 'present perfect'. I have analysed the present perfect into two morphemic segments, Vowel Suff (A0)..., and Pres. Perf. (1A) for a number of reasons. First the analysis into two segments facilitates the description of changes which the

imperative and negative transformations bring about; in certain instances Vowel Suff. is retained and Pres. Perf. deleted, in other cases Pres. Perf is retained and Vowel Suff. is deleted... Starting with Vowel Suff. as the basis for the imperative makes it possible to handle both the positive and negative imperatives with one rule. Simply stated, if the negative occurs, ... Vowel Suff. is deleted; if the negative does not occur, ... Pres. Perf. is deleted.¹

In the first place, negation is not achieved by the use or necessary use of any morpheme in Igbo, but by 'intonation'—the tone-structure of the verb and the clause as a whole. (See Negative Clauses, pp. 56f). So the Perfective suffix is not a marker of 'negation'. Secondly, there is not an 'Imperative, Negative' or 'negative imperative' as a separately definable clause type in Igbo; but there is one type of the Negative Clause which may be used imperatively or non-imperatively. Thirdly, it is not true that the vowel suffix (which expresses an aspect) and the perfective suffix cannot co-occur in a negative clause, as Dr. Carrell suggests. Both can occur together not only in positive clauses but also in negative clauses.

To appreciate the function of the perfective suffix when it occurs in a negative clause, it is necessary to bear in mind what has been said about it in other sections above. Its

¹. Carrell: A Transformational Grammar of Igbo, pp. 30, 59; cf p. 73
occurrence in the Negative Clause has already been set out under 'Negative Clause' on page 58. A few more examples here will not be wholly out of place, however. So consider the following examples first of clause with a noun subject, then one with pronoun subjects.

(For the 'Question' interpretation, (iv), of the examples, see Interrogative Clause, pp. 54f.).

(39) Ọbi /erîle/ nri. (i) Ọbi never ate food.' (Statement)
     (ii) Ọbi is not to eat food.' (Prohibition/Command)
     (iii) Ọbi should not eat/should not have eaten food.' (Comment)
     (iv) 'Didn't Ọbi ever eat food?' (Question)

For the interpretation (iv) a deleted predicking question phrase 'ọ wù' is assumed.

(40) (a) (Anyi) /ekwule/ okwu. (Emph. by the tones of the pronouns)
     {Unu} {Hna}
     (b) (Anyi) /ekwulé/ okwu.
     {Unu} {Hna}
     (i) 'We/You/They never spoke a word.'
     (ii) 'We/You/They are never to speak.'
     (iii) 'We/You/They should never speak/should never have spoken.'
(iv) 'Are we/you/they never to speak/to have spoken?'

(41) (Mu) /ekwule\ okwu. (Emph. by the form of the pronouns)

(i) 'I/You/He never spoke.'

(ii) 'I am/(You) are/He is never to speak.'

(iii) 'I/You/He should never speak/should never have spoken.'

(iv) 'Am I/Are you/Is he never to speak/to have spoken?'

(42) (a) /kwule\ okwu. (Emph. by the high tones of the pronouns)

(b) /kwule\ okwu. (Non.emph.)

(i) 'I/You/He/Someone never spoke.'

(ii) 'I am/You are/He is/Someone is never to speak.'

(iii) 'I/You/He/Someone should not speak/Should not have spoken.'

(iv) 'Am I/Are you/Is he/Is someone not to speak/to have spoken?'

The occurrence of the vowel suffix with the perfective
suffix in a negative verb form is demonstrated by the following examples.

(43) Ezè /ekwùole/ okwu ọthu a gwàrâ ya. 'Ezè never made the statement as he was told to do.'

(44) Òbi /em̄eele/ ornụ wà mà m rule. 'Òbi had not/ never finished the work by the time I got there.'

As.5.4. Distribution of the Perfective in Complex Clauses

In a Complex Clause, both of Type I and Type II (see pp. 50ff) the perfective suffix may occur on one or both verbs, whether the clause is positive or negative. Consider the following positive examples.

(1) Complex Clause Type I.

(45) (a) Anyị /nàlà ́emele/ yā. 'We are indeed just getting on (just) doing it.'

(b) Anyị /nàlà ́eme/ yā. 'It is a fact that we used to do it.'

(c) Anyị /nàlà ́emele/ yā. 'We are indeed just getting on (just) doing it.' (Emph. by tone of first -la which is high).

(46) (a) Anyị /gàlà ́eme/ yā. 'We are as a matter of fact doing it after all.'

(b) Mgbe anyị /gàlà ́emele/ yā, ya ābya. 'Just as we began to do it, he came.'

(c) Mgbe anyị /gà ́emele/ yā, ya ābya. 'By the time we are just ready to do it, he will have come.'
Consider the following examples of negative clauses, interpreted in only one sense instead of all the senses of the Negative.

(i) Complex Clause Type I

\[(48)\] (a) Anyi /anàlà `emele/ yá. 'We are indeed as a matter of fact not just getting on (just) doing it.' (i.e. We haven't begun to do it yet.)

(b) Anyi /anàlà `emele/ yá. (Same as (a) or) 'We never, as a matter fact, really used to do it.' 'We were never really in the habit of doing it.'

(c) Anyi /anàlà `eme/ yá. 'We never used to do it (but now we do.).'

\[(49)\] (a) Anyi /agàlà `emele/ yá. 'We are not going to do it yet.' 'We would not have done it yet.'

(b) Anyi /agàlà `emele/ yá. 'We would not have done it yet.'

(c) Anyi /agàlà `eme/ yá. 'We would not have (done it.) (begun to do it.)'

(ii) Complex Clause Type II

\[(50)\] Anyi /àkpòlā/ ya /akpola/ ya ãza. 'We had hardly called
him when he responded.' (i.e.'No sooner had we called
him than he responded.' (Lit.) 'We have not yet called
him yet he answered.')

As.5.5. The Perfective Aspect in Non-finite verb forms

The perfective suffix occurs in Non-finite verb forms —
the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle, and their
Negative form.

(51) (a) /Ijúla/ ya hnu ìgbè ahnu gàrà àjo njọ. 'To have
asked him about it then would have been bad.' (Inf.)
(b) /Njùla/ a jùrù yà hnu, iwe ābya yà. 'As soon as
he was asked about it he got angry.' (S. Participle)
('Just asking someone asked him of it, anger came
into him.')
(c) /Ajúla/ ya hnu byàrà yà iwe. 'Not having asked him
of it made him angry.' (Negative Non-finite),

As.6. The 'Continuative'/('Resumptive')('Inceptive') Aspect

The alternative names given to this aspect is an attempt
to state the shades of aspectual meanings which can be present
in some of its occurrences. The name usually given to it is
the 'inceptive' aspect, though it has been recognized that it
"gives meaning of beginning, or sometimes of continuing, an
action."

The aspect is represented by the suffix -wa (-wa/-we).
There are two subcategories of it, the second one being so
far unrecognized. They are distinguished as follows:
(a) 'Continuative' I — which is realized by the suffix -wa

(-wa/-we);
(b) 'Continuative' II - which is represented by the suffix -w AwA (-wawa/-wewe).

In its inceptive sense the aspect overlaps the punctiliar aspect in the latter's ingressive sense; and in its
continuative sense it overlaps the imperfect aspect in its progressive sense.

Phonologically, if the suffix occurs preceded by a verb with a nasal or nasalized consonant, the nasality passes on to the suffix. (The same is true of the -rA/E suffix, and the vowel suffix (below), but not true of other suffixes.)

Unlike the complex forms of the past tense and the perfective aspect, which imply remoter time-reference, the Non-Regular form of the 'continuative' implies later time-reference in addition to its appropriate aspectual meaning.

It may be interpreted by '(continuative)('resumptive')( 'inceptive')+'after all'/'afterwards'/'then' 'or some such equivalent English phrase.

The contrast between 'Continuative I' and 'Continuative II' is illustrated by the following pairs of sentences, (a)
representing the occurrence of I and (b) representing that of II.

(1) (a) Anyi /gàwà/ ornu (mà i byàghì ngwaàngwà). 'We are setting off/will set off to the farm (if you do not come soon).'
(b) Anyi /gàwàwà/ ornụ (má byághị ngwàngwà). 'We will then set off to the farm (if you do not come soon).'
(implying, rather than wait indefinitely or sit doing nothing).

(2) (a) Anyi /zuwàrà/ ya, (Ọbi ākwusị ānyị.) 'We began to buy it, (but Ọbi stopped us.)'
(b) Anyi /zuwàwàrà/ ya, (Ọbi ākwusị ānyị.) 'We began to buy it after all/seeing there was none other, (but Ọbi stopped us.)'

(3) (a) Unu /mèwe/ yà. 'Begin to do it, you people.'/ 'Continue now to do it, you people.'
(b) Unu /mèwewe/ yà. 'Begin now to do it, you people.'/ 'Continue now to do it, you people.'

(4) (a) Unu /mèwèghị/ yà. 'Begin to do it/Get on doing it, urge you.'
(b) Unu /mèwèghị/ yà. 'Begin to do it then/Get on doing it then, I urge you.'

(5) (a) Kà m/dewe/ akwukọ m nà ède. 'Let me continue writing the letter I am/was writing.'
(b) Kà m /dewewe/ akwukọ m nà ède. 'Let me then continue writing the letter I was writing.' (implying since the reason for stopping is no longer valid).

(6) (a) Ayi /èriwèle/ ihynè. 'We have begun to eat.'/ 'We have been getting on eating.'
(b) Anyi /èriwèwele/ ihynè. 'We have begun to eat then/have been getting on eating then.' (implying, instead
of waiting indefinitely to get started)

The Continuative I is regularly used in greetings of encouragement to someone/people engaged in some activity. In such use only the 'continuative' sense is acceptable. The sentence is always in a question form, and the Aorist Tense of the verb is used. Also the perfective suffix normally occurs.

(7) Ùnu àrnwula òrnú? 'Are you going on working?' i.e. 'I greet you at your work.'

(8) Ḩawala ahyā? 'Are you (sg.) going to the market?' i.e. 'I greet you on your way to market.'

Such questions can of course be also used in their ordinary non-greeting sense.

In the negative clause, and when accompanied by the perfective suffix, in addition to its normal meaning, the 'continuative' suffix can add a note of sarcasm to the clause, as in (9), when the clause is used imperatively.

(9) (a) Èrēwele ya! 'Do not sell it yet!' (implying, wait until you can get the whole earth for it)

(b) Èrēwēwele ya! 'Do not sell it even now (with so much offered for it)! (implying same as in (a)).

As.6.1. Distribution of 'continuative' suffix in Complex Clauses

In Complex Clause Type I the 'continuative' suffix does not occur in the first verb but in the second, but in Complex Clause Type II it must occur in both verbs. This however is
limited to the -wa/-we form. Consider the following examples.

(i) **Complex Clause Type I:**

(10) (a) 0 /nà ̀ enyiwe/ nwá. 'She is laying down the child.'
(b) 0 /nà ̀ enyiwe/nwá. 'She is after all laying down the child.'

(11) (a) 0 /gà ̀ ìme/we/ yá. 'He will go on doing it.'
(b) 0 /gà ̀ ìme/we/ yá. 'He will after all go on doing it.'

(ii) **Complex Clause Type II:**

The occurrence of the -wa/-we in the first verb is invariably accompanied by the occurrence of the -la/-le suffix.

(12) 0 /byawala (abyawala)/. 'He has already begun to come.' /
\(\{\)abyawa\(\}^\) 'He is already coming.'

**As.6.2. Occurrence of 'continuative' suffix in Non-finite forms**

The 'continuative' suffix can occur in Non-finite verb forms.

(13) (a) /Idêwe/ akwukwo wà tûrù yà ̀ úokôr. (Infinitive) 'He became too lazy to begin to write/to continue writing the letter.'
(b) /Idêwe/ akwukwo wà tûrù yà ̀ úokôr. 'He became too lazy to begin then to write/to continue then to write the letter.' (Simple Participle)

(14) (a) /Ndêwe/ akwukwo wà nyîrî yà. 'Beginning to write/Going on with the writing of the letter proved impossible for him.'
(b) /Ndewewe/ akwukwọ wâ nyíriâ ya. 'Beginning then to write/Going on then writing the letter proved impossible for him.'

As.7. The 'Inclusive' Aspect

The 'Inclusive' Aspect is realized by the non-harmonizing bi-syllabic suffix -risi. It indicates 'action' begun at a prior time and continued (continuously or intermitently) to and including a later time (which may be the moment of utterance, a time in the past or in the future). This is the reason for the term used to describe it. This aspect, though in frequent use in the dialect, has not been recognized and described before now.

It has a Simplex and a Complex forms, but the Complex form is most frequently abbreviated to three syllables. The Complex form merely adds emphasis to the verb in which it occurs. The two subcategories are distinguished as follows:

(a) 'Inclusive' I or 'Inclusive-Simplex' - which is represented by the suffix -risi.

(b) 'Inclusive' II or 'Inclusive, Complex' - which is represented by the suffix -risisi (risirisiri).

The later time which the 'action' includes in its span is often indicated by an adverbial expression of time, preceded by '(tutuù)+iru', 'up to'/'until up to'.

Consider the following examples.

(1) (a) Òbì /mèrisi/ ornu. ((tutuù) ru ùgu tù à). 'Obi has been
working still till now.'

(b) Òbì /mèrìsìsì/ ornu (........) Same as (a) but emphatic.

(2) (a) 0 /kwùrisì/ okwu (ruo mgbè anyì làwàrà.) 'He went on speaking still right up to the time when we left for home.'

(b) 0 /kwùrisìsì/ okwu (........) Same as (a) but emphatic.

(3) (a) Òbì /āg'urìsìla/ akwukwọ ruo mgbè ahnu. 'Obi has been reading until then.'

(b) Òbì /āg'urìsìsìla/ akwukwọ ruo mgbè ahnu. Same as (a) but emphatic.

(4) Òbì āg'urìsi akwukwọ. 'Obi is not reading still.'

As.7.1. Distribution of the 'inclusive' suffix in Complex Clauses:

In the Complex Clause Type I the 'Inclusive' suffix can occur on the first verb or the second, or on both. In the Complex Clause Type II, it must occur on both verbs. Since the Complex form merely adds emphasis, it will not be illustrated below.

Consider the following examples.

(i) Complex Clause Type I:

(5) (a) Anyì /nàrìsì egwù/ egwù. 'It is still a fact (up to now) that we are playing.'

(b) Anyì /nà egwùrisì/ egwù. 'It is a fact that we have been playing up to now.'

(c) Anyì /nàrìsì egwùrisì/ egwù. 'It is still a fact
that we have been playing up to now.'

(ii) **Complex Clause Type II**:

(6) Ö mērisīla yā emērisī mū ērute. 'He had already been going on still doing it before I arrived.'

As.7.2. **Occurrence of the 'Inclusive' suffix in Non-finite forms**

The 'Inclusive' suffix can occur in the Simple Infinitive and the Simple Participle, as in (7) and (8), respectively.

(7) /Ijīdherīsī/ ya mū ēmechaā gwūrū yā ikhe. 'To hold it still until I had finished tired him out.'

(8) /Njīdherīsī/ ya mū ēmechaā gwūrū yā ikhe. 'Holding it still until I had finished tired him out.'

As.8. **The ('Completive')/('Intensive') Aspect**

The 'Intensive' ('Completive') Aspect is represented by the vowel suffix -A/0 (-a/-e or -o/-o) which is conditioned as follows: if the final syllable in the verb has a close vowel this expands in accordance with vowel harmony, and if the final syllable has an open vowel, this is merely lengthened,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLOSE} + \text{OPEN} \\
\text{OPEN} + \text{OPEN}
\end{align*}
\]

There have been varied views expressed about the suffix. These will be stated later on here. For now it will be characterized without any reference to these views.
The alternative name 'Completive' given to the suffix is due to one of the senses it can have in some contexts, as this quotation puts it: "As to the meaning of this suffix, it adds a sense of completion to the action of the verb. But it does rather more than this in some instances." However, the term 'completive' is not so happy a term. So the term 'intensive' is chosen because it goes to the heart of the meaning of the aspect expressed by the suffix, and is inclusive of 'the sense of completion'.

It has the following functions:

(i) It implies that the 'action' denoted by the verb is (was or will be) done thoroughly or exhaustively, hence the sense of 'completion'. Such verbs may be translated into English by the addition of the word 'up', although this is not always possible. In this sense it can occur in most verbs of the language, except those to be listed below. See pp. 48f. Its occurrence contrasts with its non-occurrence in a verb. Consider the following paired sentences; (a) represents the occurrence of a verb without the suffix, and (b) represents the occurrence of the same verb with the suffix.

(2) (a) Eghu /oëri/ ji gĩ. 'A goat has begun to eat your yam.' (implying that the goat is still at it.)
(b) Eghu /oërie/ jĩ gĩ. 'A goat has eaten up your yam.'

(3) (a) (I kwuo m eg' o,) mũ /ẽme/ yā. '(If you pay me money,)
I'll begin to do it.'
(b) (I kwuo m eg' o,) mũ ëmee/ yā. '(If you pay me money,)

I'll do it/get it done.'

(4) (a) /Dọ/ eriri. 'Tug/pull at the rope.'
(b) /Dọọ/ eriri. 'Pull/draw the rope.'

(ii) As the next step in distinguishing 'complete' from 'incomplete' senses of the same verb, the suffix sometimes distinguishes verbs derived from the same root, as in the following examples.

(5) (a) /Ji/ nwā gi aka. 'Get/Take hold of your child.'
(b) /Jie/ nwā gi aka. 'Discipline/control your child.'

(6) (a) /Zni/ m ihyne i mutārā. 'Show me/Demonstrate to me what you learnt.'
(b) /Zni/e/ m ihyne i mutārā. 'Teach me what you learnt.'

(7) (a) (O bèwèrè akwha,) mū /ēnye/ yā 'ikīkā. 'He began to cry and I gave him some biscuits.'
(b) (i) (O bèwèrè akwha,) mū /ēnye/ yā 'ikīkā, ya āju hnu. 'He began to cry and I offered him some biscuits but he refused them.'
(ii) (O bèwèrè akwha,) mū /ēnye/ yā nri. 'He began to cry and I fed him with food.'

(iii) With some egressive verbs, the occurrence of the suffix implies forth and return, while its non-occurrence implies journey in the outward direction only. Such verbs are: ìgā 'to go' (=ijhē); ìbyā 'to come'; ìbha 'to enter', 'to go into'; and ìfù 'to go out'.

(8) (a) O hāfùrụ ānyi eci /ga/ Kàlàba. 'He left us yesterday and went to Calabar.'
(b) O hàfùry ànyị-eci /gaa/ Kàlàba. 'He left us yesterday and went to Calabar and came back.'

(9) (a) O sìrì ebe à /bya/ ebe ahnù. 'He came there from here.'

(b) O sìrì ebe à /byaa/ ebe ahnù. 'He came there from here, and returned.'

(10) (a) Unù nọ n'èzi, ya /àbhà/ n'ulọ. 'You were outside while he went inside the house.'

(b) Unù nọ n'èzi, ya àbhàa/ n'ulọ. 'You were outside while he went inside the house and came out.'

It should be observed that (iii) is another dimension of the sense of 'completion', but what is completed is a 'circuit'.

The sense of 'completion' or doing thoroughly implies also a period of time in performing the action represented by the verb. This gives the suffix another dimension of meaning which is applicable to all verbs, but in which sense alone it can occur in certain verbs; this is the fourth function of it.

(iv) It implies past time, though it has no direct relation with tense, and in verbs which do not take it ordinarily it implies remote time. In this use of it, it is frequently (but not always) associated with the perfective suffix -lA. In addition, an adverbial expression of time usually occurs with it, particularly the phrase '(nà) mbụ' 'formerly'/'before'.

The verbs which do not take the suffix with the meaning 'completion' are those verbs which represent events in which, semantically, 'duration' is not a necessary element of meaning,
in other words, 'stative' verbs, or verbs which depict actions done and accomplished instantaneously. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of such verbs without and then with the suffix, and are contrasted with homophonous verbs which take the suffix for the normal sense of 'completion'. The former occur in (i) of each example, and the latter in (ii).

The verbs used and contrasted are īnu' 'to hear; īnu' 'to get warm; īhnū 'to see'; īhnū 'to roast'; ījū 'to refuse'; ījū 'to ask'.

(10) (i)

(a) Anyi /ənụ/ olụ ya. 'We've heard his voice.'
(b) Anyi /ənụọ/ olụ ya. 'We had heard his voice before/
formerly.'
(c) Anyi /ənụọ/ olụ ya{/mụ/} /nà mụ/ /akha/ 'We'd heard his voice before/earlier/last
year.'

(10) (ii)

(a) (ó kwáhàrà ókhu), miri /ənụ/ ókhu. '(He stoked up
the fire,) and the water began to get warm.'
(b) (ó kwábhàrà ókhu), miri /ənụọ/ ókhu. '(He stoked
up the fire and the water got/became warm.'

(11) (i)

(a) Obi /əhnụ/ enyi. 'Obi has seen an elephant.'
(b) Obi /əhnụọ/ enyi. 'Obi had seen an elephant before.'
(c) Obi /əhnụọ/ enyi /mụ/. 'Obi had seen an elephant
some time ago.'
(11) (ii)
(a) Obi /āhnu/ jī. 'Obi began to roast yam.'
(b) Obi /āhnuə/ jī. 'Obi roasted yam.'

(12) (i)
(a) Ezè /aĵu/ iwè ya. 'Ezè has refused to take it.'
(b) Ezè /aĵuо/ iwè ya. 'Ezè had formerly refused to take it.'
(c) Ezè /aţu mбу/ iwè ya. 'Ezè had refused sometime ago to take it.'

(12) (ii)
(a) Ezè /aĵu/ aĵu;u. 'Ezè began to ask questions.'
(b) Ezè /aţuо/ aţu;u. 'Ezè asked questions.'

The verbs ānū 'to get warm', āhnu 'to roast', and āju 'to ask' are examples of the type of verbs which can take the vowel suffix to express the sense of 'completion' as well as the sense of 'remote time', according to the context. But to express the 'remote time' sense, an adverbial express has to occur obligatorily. Consider the following examples with āju 'to ask' and ārī 'to eat'.

(13) (a) Ezè /aţuо/ m ya. 'Ezè has asked me about it.'
(b) Ezè /aţuо/ m ya /mbu/. 'Ezè had asked me about it previously.'

(14) (a) Anyi /ērie/ nrī gị. 'We've eaten (up) your food.'
(b) Anyi /ērie/ nrī gị /mbu/. 'We had sometime ago eaten your food.'
As.8.1. Verb+Vowel-Suffix with 'remote time' sense

Verbs which have a remote time sense when the 'intensive' vowel suffix occurs with them are now given. There are 55 of them so far discovered.

(i) **Class I verbs:**

(15) be/bo 'to be (only)' (Privative)
(16) bho 'to place on (usually the head)'
(17) bho 'to accuse'
(18) bo 'to take unawares', 'to happen suddenly'
(19) co 'to pause', 'to cease from'
(20) co (to) 'to supercede', 'to be older than'
(21) di 'to be' ('attributive'; 'locative', 'existential')
(22) du 'to accompany'
(23) du 'to meet with'
(24) du 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient'
(25) fo 'to remain over'
(26) fo 'to lift off' (e.g. a pot on the fire)
(27) gwa 'to utter to', 'to express to'
(28) gwu 'to exhaust/be exhausted'
(29) hyi/hye 'to originate from', 'to begin from'
(30) hna 'to be as... as' ('comparative')
(31) hnu (whnu) 'to see', 'to find/discover'
(32) ji 'to use' ('instrumental')
(33) ji 'to have/possess'
(34) ju 'to be full'
(35) ju 'to refuse'
(36) ka 'to be more than', 'to exceed/supercede' ('comparative')
(37) kwe 'to agree/consent'
(38) kwe 'to allow/permit/let'
(39) kwe (+nkwha) 'to promise'
(40) kwhu 'to be in the company of', 'to associate with'
(41) kwu 'to be in company with' (e.g. in travel)
(42) ma 'to know', 'to be/become aware of'
(43) na 'to be a fact' (used as 'auxiliary verb' only)
(44) nu 'to sense'
  (a) inû isnì 'to smell'
  (b) inû ihyne/nthì 'to hear (something/with the ear)'
  (c) inû ùfu 'to feel pain'
  (d) inû ùto (ûo) 'to taste/savour'
(45) nye 'to give', 'to donate'
(46) si 'to originate from', 'to begin from', 'to come/go from'
(47) si 'to utter', 'to give expression to'
(48) to 'to be/get stuck'
(49) vu (+ uzò/ûzò) 'to be first'
(50) vu 'to be the cause of'
(51) wa 'to start from', 'to come/go from'
(52) wù 'to be' ('equative')
(53) yo (lo) 'to arrive back', 'to return'; 'to tend to'
(54) yo 'to rebound', 'to resound', 'to echo'
(55) za 'to answer a call'
(56) zni 'to show', 'to expose to view'
(57) nwe 'to have', 'to possess'
(11) **Class II Verbs**

(58) bhà 'to grip'

(59) gù 'to refuse, decline'

(60) gù 'to pertain to'

(61) hnà 'to be/become equal/sufficient' ('comparative')

(62) khò 'to be hung up/hang up'

(63) kwho 'to regard', 'to take account of', 'to defer to'

(64) kwhù 'to be suspended/suspend'

(65) kwhù 'to be/become putrid'

(66) nyì 'to be/become impossible'

(67) phò 'to be in a position' (usually in a line)

(68) phò 'to pop', 'to blister/be blistered'

(69) sno 'to be in company with', 'to associate with', 'to be involved in'

(70) zu 'to meet (with)', 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient'

**As.8.2. Effect of 'Case' and 'Number' Suffixes on 'Intensive' Suffix**

When the following 'Case' and 'Number' suffixes co-occur with the 'Intensive' suffix in the same verb (and they always precede it) the 'Intensive' suffix makes the verb have a 'remote time' meaning. This applies to every type of verb except 'na' 'to be a fact.'

(a) **Case' suffixes** (See pp.283f.)

(i) -sa (vii) -g'o

(ii) -kwása (viii) -tA

(iii) -gidhe (ix) -IghA
Consider the examples with -tA (which will be the only suffix to be illustrated here). (a) lacks the suffix while (b) has it.

(71) (a) 0 /hnūtala/ yā. 'He has found it out (for someone)'.
(b) 0 /hnūtaala/ yā. 'He had found it out (for someone) sometime ago.'

(72) (a) I /mētala/ yā. 'You've got it right.'
(b) I /mētaala/ yā. 'You had got it right sometime ago.'

In (71) we have the verb ihnu 'to see' which takes the vowel suffix for the 'remote time' sense, and in (72) imē 'to do' which takes the suffix for either the 'completion' sense or the 'remote time' sense. But the occurrence of -tA makes them both behave alike.

(71) (b) and (72) (b) invalidate the statement of Dr. Carrell which says: "The deletion of VowelSuff in the presence of Asp or MMS applies also to instances where the positive imperative and subsequential, normally distinguished by the presence of VowelSuff, occur with MMs or Asp."¹ For

even in the imperative clause the vowel suffix can co-occur with the -tA suffix, though the resultant form gives the sense of 'before something else happens' - thus still maintaining the 'remote time' sense.

Consider the verbs ȉbhàtà 'to come to' and ivùte 'to carry to' (the two verbs which Dr. Carréll used).

(73) (a) Vùte yā. 'Bring it (by carrying) here/there.'
(b) Vùtele yā. 'Just bring it (....) here/there.'
(c) Vùtele yā. 'Just bring it here/there before anything else should happen' (e.g. explaining of circumstances; protesting; etc, according to situational context.)

(74) (a) Bhàta n'ulò. 'Come into the room.'
(b) Bhàtala n'ulò. 'Just come into the room.'
(c) Bhàtaala n'ulò. 'Just come into the room first (e.g. 'You begin to tell me your story').

As.8.3. **Use of the Vowel Suffix with Simple Tense Verb Form**

Except in the few cases of Imperative clauses, the vowel suffix has so far been illustrated with the Aorist Tense verb forms. But this does not mean that it can occur only with this verb form. It can also occur with the Simple Tense verb form. (See T.3.3.7 (39) and (40) (a)-(c), for instance).

However, when the suffix occurs with a Simple Tense form, in terms of time-reference, the verb can only refer to past time. That is either to real past time or 'past-in-the-future'. Consider these other instances.
(75) ̀Adhà /ghee/ àkàrâ.  (i) 'Adha used to fry bean-balls.' (implying she does not do so any more)
(ii) 'Adha will fry bean-balls.' (i.e. as a completed/finished operation).

(76) ̀Eze /zuò/ akwà (mà ọ ga Legòsì). (i) 'Eze used to buy clothes when he went to Lagos.' (ii) 'Eze will buy clothes when he goes to Lagos.'

(77) Ọ korò ikwù otù ihyne ahnù mgbè m /kwùôle/ ya. 'He wanted to say the same thing after I had already said it.'

As.8.4.  Neutralization\(^1\) of the 'past tense' by the vowel suffix

In (75) and (76), meaning (i) is equivalent to Simple Past, Complex Form I with regard to time-reference. It is a characteristic of the vowel suffix to displace and therefore neutralize one occurrence of the past tense morpheme. Thus we get the following correspondences, using the verb ịzu 'to buy' for example:

(78)  
(a) ́zúrù́rù́ (zuùürù́) :zuòrò 'used to buy'
(b) ́zúrù́rù́ :zuòróró 'used to buy a long time ago'

(See also T.3.3.7. (39) and (40)).

As.8.5.  Occurrence of the vowel suffix in Negative verb forms.\(^2\)

If the vowel suffix does not occur with a negative verb form, it is not because it cannot occur in such a verb form, but because the particular function of the suffix is not required in the particular instance of the negative verb form. When the particular function performed by the suffix is necessary, it does occur, as in (b) and (d) of the following examples with ḫhyā 'to press'.

(78) (a) ṭ /bhyābēghī/ yā aka. 'He has not pressed it with his hand at all, I insist.'
(b) ṭ /bhyābēghī/ yā aka. 'He has never/not at any time pressed it with his hand, I insist.'
(c) ṭ /bhyālā/ yā aka. 'He did not at all press it with his hand.'
(d) ṭ /bhyālā/ yā aka. 'He never at any time pressed it with his hand.'

Consider one more set of examples with ithū 'to look for', where (b) and (d) have the vowel suffix.

(79) (a) ṭ /thughī/ ya. 'He did not look for it, I insist.'
(b) ṭ /thuōghi/ ya. 'He did not look thoroughly for it.'
(c) ṭ /thulē/ ya. 'He just did not look for it.'
(d) ṭ /thuōle/ ya. 'He never looked for it at all.'

He did not look thoroughly for it.'

It should be observed that, as in the case of the suffix -1A discussed earlier, the -ghI suffix has no necessary relation with negation.
As.8.6. Occurrence of vowel suffix in Non-finite forms

The vowel suffix can occur in the Simple Infinitive, the Simple Participle, and various types of verbal nouns (See 'Nouns'), as in the following items.

(80) (a) imēe 'to do to a finish', 'to do before something else' (S.Inf.)
(b) mmee 'completely doing' (S.Part.)
(c) 'omēe 'doer (to a finish', 'one who did') (N.)
(d) `mēemmēe 'busyness'; 'Mutiplicity of engagements'.(N)
(e) `emēem 'the fact of having done (completely)' (N)

As.8.7. Function of the Vowel Suffix in Imperative and Perfective Constructions

It has been erroneously assumed that the vowel suffix is a necessary component of both the imperative and the perfective construction (as it was, equally incorrectly, assumed that the suffixes -ghI and -1A were necessary elements in Negative Clauses). So have Dr. Ward1 and Dr. Carrell2 assumed. However, they mention cases of verbs which do not take this suffix in those clause types, as they supposed, but were unable to account for the absence of the suffix. The reasons for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the vowel suffix have already been discussed at length above and will

not be repeated here. But what will be stated very emphatically is that no suffix of the language, including the vowel suffix, has to occur obligatorily in any construction type, whether imperative or non-imperative, positive or negative. Suffixes occur only where the particular functions which they indicate are present in the constructions.

With reference to the suffix under consideration, see As. 8.2 (71) to (75) and As. 8.5. (78 (c), (d)) and (79 (c) (d)) for examples of imperative and perfective construction with and without the suffix.

As. 8.8. Other Functions attributed to the Vowel Suffix.

Miss Green in 'Suffixes in Igbo'1 writes: "It is true that suffixes are important modifiers of meaning. They are also used for stylistic purposes. But some of them give statement force to a verb form that otherwise would be exclamatory or used as a command. And some of them act as signals, distinguishing homonymous verbs or distinguishing verb forms which, in certain contexts, might be ambiguous... The open vowel suffix in the second example is suggesting which verb is to be understood..."

It should be realized that Green holds that all suffixes of the language are semantic elements and are not grammatical, consequently she endeavours to find various semantic uses for

them in various contexts. In this work the contrary view of suffixes is held for the majority of the suffixes of the language. And from the facts of the language as one has found them, it has to be said that one runs a grave risk of very costly misunderstanding if one attempts to use suffixes stylistically, if by 'stylistic purposes' is meant that one can add or subtract them or use them anywhere he feels like doing so. It should be remembered that Christendom broke into two over a mere vowel of the Greek language. This is possible in Igbo.

With regard to "statement force...exclamatory...command", it can be said that the language has well-defined statement clause patterns and command clause patterns which do not depend upon the presence or absence of any suffix, unless the suffix is needed or not needed for grammatical purposes. And exclamation can be achieved in any type of construction without the use of any particular suffix - using such features as pitch, loudness, etc.

Referring to the use of suffixes, especially the vowel suffix, to disambiguate homophous verbs, this cannot be entertained seriously after the study of the language in depth. It has been shown earlier that the suffix can occur with every verb of the language but with certain verbs - listed in As.8.1 - it can only occur in certain contexts determined by time-reference. Furthermore, if the function of the suffix...
were to be merely to disambiguate homophonous verbs, it would be a most inefficient means for the language to use for such an enormous task. For this thesis a collection of 600 simplex verbs (i.e. uncompounded verbs) was made and arranged in sets of homophonous verbs. The number of sets came to 200. Out of these sets, 5 items had no homophonous partners; 70 sets had two items each; and the rest had from 3 items up, some having as many as 4, 5, or more. How then can the suffix distinguish between 3, 4, 5, or even more items that are phonologically identical? More than this, it was found that a number of the homophonous items could take the suffix, quite normally. Therefore disambiguating of homophonous verbs as a function of the vowel suffix must be discounted.

The true position is rather that homophonous verbs are disambiguated in constructions by the elements which collocate with them. Consider the following examples.

(81) (a) zie ozī 'give a message'
(b) zie izizi 'tease out raffia fibre'
(c) zie mīri 'drink water by sucking'
(d) zie imī 'blow the nose'

(82) (a) Òbi āzaala okù. 'Obi had at some time gone answered a call.'
(b) Aka āzaala yā. 'His arm has got swollen.'
(c) Ādha āzaala ahu. 'Adha has left herself unready.'

In none of the sets above is one verb distinguished from the
rest by the non-occurrence of the vowel suffix, but by their objects (in the case of (81)) and by both their objects and subjects (in the case of (82)).

Another function suggested for the vowel suffix is that of making possible four conjugations of verbs in the language. This is the grammatical function which the suffix has, according to Professor John Carnochan. He outlines this view in 'An Outline Analysis of Igbo'¹ and in 'Word Classes'². On the basis of this view he sets out Igbo verbs in four conjugations:

(a) Conjugation I - high tone verbs/Class I verbs - non-expanding;
(b) Conjugation II - low tone verbs/Class II verbs - non-expanding;
(c) Conjugation III - high tone verbs/Class I verbs - expanding;
(d) Conjugation IV - low tone verbs/Class II verbs - expanding.

Professor Carnochan was not aware that there was a third class of verbs. Including this, then we would get six Conjugations. The number is not, however, the crucial thing. What is important is whether or not the function of the suffix is to classify the verbs of the language into conjugational types. One agrees with Professor Carnochan that the suffix

2. Lingua Vol. 17, nos. 1/2, 1966, pp.3-112.
has a grammatical function, but it is a grammatical function in the category of Aspect, as has been explained above. The reasons why it cannot be conjugational function as such (although it changes the form of a verb) are (i) every verb can have it, although when it can occur in a given verb is conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb; (ii) when certain 'case' and 'Number' suffixes co-occur with it the result in its sense is the same for all types of verb (As.8.2.).

It is to be noted, however, that Professor Carnochan has a category of aspect for Igbo, but the vowel suffix is not one of the elements in the realization of this category (See footnote 3, p.114).

As.8.9. Occurrence with other suffixes and its position

The vowel suffix can co-occur with other suffixes except the suffixes -wa/we or -wawa/wewe, and -ghA,-mite,-kata, - which are 'Number' suffixes; and its position is as follows, with regard to the grammatical suffixes.

(a) It precedes the following suffixes: -ra/E 'past tense'; -ra/E 'Benefactive Case'; -1A/1A1A 'perfective'; -bè 'Number'; -nì 'Reference' (in some dialects, like Okahyuìg'À, it follows this suffix); -ghÌ 'insistence'; -nì 2nd person plural pronoun; -rì 'Comparative'; and -tà 'Probable/Possible'.

(b) It may precede or follow -kwa 'Reference', and -dì 'Reference'.

(c) It follows all other suffixes, that is, all 'Case' suffixes (except the 'Benefactive' suffix); 'Number' suffixes
(except -bè, -ghA, -mite, and -kàta); and 'Comparison' suffixes (except -rì).  

Since lexical suffixes always occur next to the verb root or form an unanalysable unit with the root, the vowel suffix always follows them.

As 8.10. Assimilation of the Vowel Suffix

In Compound Complex verb forms (See p 44.), the vowel suffix occurring in the first component of the Compound form is assimilated to the vowel of the verb root in the cases where an expansion from close to open vowels normally occurs, thus making all occurrences of the suffix similar in process.

Consider (83).

(83) (a) rièfùò → riìfùò  'Eat some more.'/'Eat yet again.'
(b) ciàfùò → cíìfùò  'Laugh yet again.'
(c) luòzuò → luùzùò  'Throw again to complete the number.'
(d) zùòzuò → zùùzùò  'Buy some more to complete the number.'
(e) kaàfùò → ø  'Say yet again.'/'Repeat.'
(f) reèfùò → ø  'Sell some more.'
(g) nyoòfùò → ø  'Peep again.'
(h) çoòfùò → ø  'Search yet again.'

The same process of assimilation occurs also in some types of nouns derived from verbs, as in (84) and (85).

(84) (a) 'okwuù  'a talkative'
(b) 'ozùù  'buyer' (with reproachful sense)
(c) ̀orii  'eater' (with reproachful sense)
(d) ̀cii  'ruler' (with reproachful sense)
(e) ̀gaà  'goer' (with reproachful sense)
(f) ̀meé  'doer' (with reproachful sense)
(g) ̀nyooò  'peeping Tom'
(h) ̀coò  'seeker' (with reproachful sense)

(85) (a) ̀nkùuùkwùù  'talkativeness'
(b) ̀zuùùzuùù  'buying' (frequentative)
(c) ̀riiìriì  'eating' (frequentative)
(d) ̀ciìnciì  'laughing' (frequentative)
(e) ̀gaangaa  'going about' (frequentative)
(f) ̀meéèmeé  'doing' (frequentative)
(g) ̀nyooñnyooò  'peeping' (frequentative)
(h) ̀coòñcoòò  'seeking' (frequentative)

As.8.11. Occurrence of the suffix in Complex Clauses

The suffix has not been found to occur in Complex Clause Type I. The -a vowel which precedes the -ra suffix in the Complex Past Tense forms of the verbs 'na' and 'ga' being the abbreviated form of the initial -ra suffix, as in (86). But the vowel suffix does occur in the Complex Clause Type II, and on both verbs in the construction, as in (87).

(86) (a) ˈ/naàrà àbyaara./ 'He used to come a long time ago.'
(b) ˈ/gaàrà abya./ 'He would have come.'

(87) ˈ/riele/ yà /eric(le)/. 'He has/had already eaten it.'

As.8.12. Paradigms of the Aspects

With the explanation of the functions of the aspectual
morphemes given above, it is now possible to give simple paradigms of the aspects. The translations of the sentences will be as simple as possible, in view of the fact that some of the suffixes can have indirect time-references, and others can have 'number' functions too, and also of the fact of the uses of the Tense forms. Simple Tense and Aorist Tense forms are used, and both Positive and Negative sentences are used too. In the Negative sentences, the translations are given as for statement use of the negative. The nouns Ezê, and abô 'basket', and the verb ivu 'to carry' are used in the paradigms.

**Paradigm 1: Positive Sentences**

(i) **Simple Tense Verb form**

(a) Imperfective: Ezê vu abô. 'Ezê is carrying a basket.'

(b) Perfective I: Ezê vule abô. 'Ezê has just begun/been going on to carry/carrying a basket.'

(c) Perfective II: Ezê vulele abô. 'Ezê has already begun/been to carry/carrying a basket.'

(d) Intensive: Ezê vuvo abô. 'Ezê used to get the basket carried'/'Eze will have had the basket carried.'

(e) Continuative I: Ezê vuwe abô. 'Ezê is continuing to carry the basket.'/'Eze will continue to carry the basket.'/'Eze will begin to carry the basket.'

(f) Continuative II: Ezê vuwele abô. 'Ezê will continue to
carry the basket then.'

(g) Inclusive I: Eže vürisi abọ. 'Eže is still carrying the basket up till now.'

(h) Inclusive II: Eže vürisi abọ. 'Eže is still carrying the basket ever since.'

(ii) Aorist Tense Verb Form

(a) Punctiliar: Eže ewu abọ. 'Eže carried the basket.'/ 'Eže began to carry the basket.'/ 'Eže has carried the basket.'

(b) Perfective I: Eže evule abọ. 'Eže has begun to carry the basket.'

(c) Perfective II: Eže evulele abọ. 'Eže has already begun to carry the basket.'

(d) Intensive: Eže evuo abọ. 'Eže got the basket carried.'/ 'Eže has got the basket carried.'

(e) Continuative I: Eže evuwe abọ. 'Eže continued to carry the basket.'/ 'Eže began to carry the basket.'

(f) Continuative II: Eže evuwewe abọ. 'Eže continued then to carry the basket.'

(g) Inclusive I: Eže evurisi abọ. 'Eže has continued still to carry the basket.'

(h) Inclusive II: Eže evurisi abọ. 'Eže has continued still to carry the basket ever since.'
Paradigm 2: Negative-Sentence (Statement meaning)

(a) Punctiliar-Imperfective: Eze evu abo. 'Eze does not carry a basket.' / 'Eze is not carrying a basket.'

(b) Perfective I: Eze evule abo. 'Eze is just not carrying a basket.'

(c) Perfective II: Eze evulele abo. 'Eze has not yet begun to carry the basket.'

(d) Intensive: Eze evuo abo. 'Eze did not get the basket carried.'

(e) Continuative I: Eze evuwe abo. 'Eze did not continue to carry the basket.' / 'Eze did not begin to carry the basket.'

(f) Continuative II: Eze evuwewe abo. 'Eze did not continue then to carry the basket.' / 'Eze did not then begin to carry the basket.'

(g) Inclusive I: Eze evurisi abo. 'Eze is not carrying the basket still.' / 'Eze still does not carry baskets even now.'

(h) Intensive II: Eze evurisi abo. 'Eze does not go on still carrying the basket.'
Time-Reference

Tr.1. The expression of time-reference

An exhaustive treatment of the manner in which the language uses the Tense forms and some of the Aspect forms given earlier will go far beyond the scope of this work. So what is intended in this chapter is to state briefly how the language uses the Tense forms in expressing present, past or future time-references.

Each of the tense forms - Simple Tense, Aorist Tense, and Past Tense - can have reference to present time, past time, or future time, according to the syntactic and situational context in which it is used. (The case of the use of the past tense with a present time reference was discussed in T.3.3.9. p.106f). So instead of talking about Present Tense, Past Tense and Future Tense, the procedure adopted is to show how the tense forms are used to refer to events in the present, past or future time.

It has been assumed that Igbo has present and past tenses but no future tense. It is probably more correct, in spite of Carwell, to say that Igbo has a past tense, and neutral tenses which can be used to express present, past and future time. This will be supported by what will be presented below. Aspects, except the perfective, are not taken into consideration in the presentation.

Tr.2. The use of the Simple Tense to express time

The Simple Tense is neutral in its reference to time.
It can have a present, past or future time reference. Consider (1) and (2) with the verbs ịzụ 'to buy', and ịnọ 'to be at/in'.

(1) ọ ụzụ ọkpu. (i) 'He is buying a hat.' (Present time)
(ii) 'He was buying a hat.' (Past time)
(iii) 'He will buy a hat.' ('Necessity' (Modulation)) (Future time)

(2) ọ nọ n'ụlọ. (i) 'He is at home.' (Present)
(ii) 'He was at home.' (Past)
(iii) 'He'll have to be at home.' (Future)

To specify the time reference in (1) and (2) some adverbial expressions have to be added, if the situational context does not make it clear. Thus from (1) we get (3) and from (2) we get (4) by the addition of such adverbial expressions of time as enclosed in //.

(3) (a) ọ ụzụ ọkpu /ugbu a/. 'He is buying a hat now.'
(b) ọ ụzụ ọkpu /ɛci ɛmgbɛ m hnrụ ya/. 'He was buying a hat yesterday when I saw him.'
(c) ọ ụzụ ọkpu /ɛci dī n'ùhnu/. 'He'll have to buy a hat tomorrow.'

(4) (a) ọ nọ n'ụlọ /ugbu a/. 'He is at home now.'
(b) ọ nọ n'ụlọ /ɛci m ẹwara/. 'He was at home yesterday when I came.'
(c) ọ nọ n'ụlọ /n'abali ạto n'ùhnu/. 'He must be at home in three days' time.'

Although it was said above that the Simple tense was neutral as to indication of time (where there is no specifying
time adverbial expression) in general, however, it is taken to imply reference to the present moment of utterance, unless there is good reason to take it otherwise.

Tr. 3. **The use of the Aorist Tense to express time**

Like the Simple Tense, the Aorist Tense can refer to present, past or future time.

It has a present time reference when it is used to set out a future event as already predetermined, or a past event as though it was happening at the moment of speech. And this applies to those forms of it which have the perfective and intensive aspects. It has this present time reference because of its punctiliar sense which is concerned with the fact of the event rather than the duration or period of it.

Consider the following examples.

(1) Anyị ʿaga ahyā. 'We are off to the market.' ('We go market.')
(2) Ezè ʿeri nrī. 'Ezè eats food.' (i.e. he is at it.)
(3) Anyị ʿah bụ yâ. 'We've seen it.' ('We see it.')

The Aorist Tense has a past time meaning when it occurs in a non-initial clause in a sequence of clauses, if the preceding clause has a past tense verb or a Simple Tense verb with a past time meaning.

In (4) and (5) the first verbs have past time meaning, and in (6) and (7) the verbs in the initial clauses have past tense forms.
Hnâ phô ihnu, unû /ephô/ âznû. 'They were in front and you people were behind.'

Œ zuru aznû,.my /âzy/ anû. 'She was buying fish, and I was buying meat.'

Œ zuru aznû, my /âzy/ anû. 'She bought fish, and I was going on buying meat.'

Œ kwûrû okwu, gi /êkwuo/ (okwu). 'He spoke and you too spoke.'

However, sentences of the type of (4) and (5) can have a present time reference, as well as a past time one, thus requiring that the 'pastness' of the event be specified by a time adverbial, as in (8).

Œ ci /hnâ phô ihnu, unû ephô âznû. 'Yesterday, they were in front and you people were behind.'

To have a future time reference, again the Aorist must occur in a non-initial clause, and be preceded by a Simple Tense with a future time meaning. And if the context of situation does not make the time-reference clear, then an adverbial expression referring to the future will have to be added.

Consider (a) and (b) of (9).

(9) (a) Unû gâ ahya, anyî âga (ahya). 'You will go to the market, and so shall we too go (to the market).'</n

(b) Eci, unû gâ ahya, anyî âga. 'Tomorrow you will go to the market and so shall we too go.'

The Aorist clause will have a future time reference also
when it is preceded by a subjunctive or conditional clause. But the conditional clause may need to be specified for future time-reference, as in (10) (b).

(10) (a) Ya rute, anyị ̀àkpọtụ ́gị́. 'If/When he arrives, we shall call you.'

(b) Ya rute n'ùthụkhụ, /eçị anyị ̀àkpọtụ ́gị́/ 'If/When he arrives in the morning, tomorrow, we shall call you.'

Tr.4. Other forms for expressing future time.

In addition to the use of the Simple Tense and the Aorist Tense to express future time, two other forms are available for use in the language. This is by the use of na/ğa plus another verb, the so-called auxiliary constructions.

It has been commonly held that Igbo used ịgā to express future, and ịnà/ịnà to express 'present continuous'. But what has not been realized yet is that these are not the only functions, nor even the primary functions of these verbs. (On na, see VC.12, As.3.1; and on ịgā, see Modality and Modulation, especially Mod.8, pp.50ff)

The use of ịgā for future reference is not controverted, what needs stressing is that such use is more complex than has hitherto been realized. In addition, the expression can have a past time reference, thus making it necessary sometimes for its future time-reference to be precisely specified.

Consider (1) and (2).

(1) Ọ /gà ̀aza/ ́mgbẹ ́ọ̀wụlà ́m kpọrọ́ ́ya. (i) 'He will answer
whenever I call him.' (ii) 'He would answer whenever I called him.'

(2) Ọ /gà àza / mgbe ọ wụlà m kpòrọ yà eci dị n'ihnu. 'He will answer whenever I call him tomorrow.'

The na construction can have a present, past, or future time meaning. Consider (3), (4) and (5).

(3) Anyị /nà èrị/ ihyné. (i) 'We are actually eating.'
(ii) 'We do eat.' '/We eat.'
(iii) 'We were actually eating.'

(4) Anyị /nà èrị/ ihyné mà nné lọta.
(i) 'We eat when Mother comes back, actually.'
(ii) 'We ate whenever Mother came back, actually.'
(iii) 'We'll eat when Mother comes back, actually.'

(5) Hna /nà àga/ ahyá eci n'isi ụthụthụ. 'They are going/will go to the market early tomorrow morning, as a matter of fact.'

The use of the ga and the na constructions to express future time is not as surprising as it appears to be. These two verbs are behaving like any other verb with a Simple Tense form. The only thing unusual about them is that they are combined with another verb with another tense, the Aorist Tense, but this, it has been shown, can have a present, past or future time use.
In addition to expressing a past time, the past tense can be put to the following uses.

(i) In a subjunctive or conditional clause (as in (2)) it expresses a hypothetical or unfulfilled condition, while in the consequence clause following a conditional clause (and having got the verb īgā) it expresses an unrealized result.

(1) Unu /meere/ yā, 'anyì /gàrà/ ikwù unù īgwọ. 'If you had done it (which you didn't do), we would/should have paid you (which we didn't do either).'

(2) Unù /jùù́ró́/ ya, o /gàrà/ īgwà unù. 'If you had asked him, he would/should have told you.'

(ii) When it occurs in a relative clause modifying a time noun, such as mgbè/og'e 'time', ėhyì 'date/day', it expresses past-in-the-future, as in (3) and (4).

(3) Añù m yà /mgbè o byàrà/. 'I must see him when he comes.' ('I must see him when he came.')</n
(4) O gà āgwa gì /ēhyì o hìǹró́ ya/. 'He will tell you the day when he sees him.' ('He will tell you the day when he saw him.')

(iii) In descriptive clauses, it indicates a present state resulting from a past event, or process. (See also T.3.3.9.), as in (5) and (6).

(5) Ojì à /gbarà/ útù. 'This kola-nut is worm-eaten.'

(6) Osisi à /kpọ́rọ́/ àkpọ́. 'This stick is dry/hard.'
N.1. Number as an essential category of Igbo

The category of Number has been set up for Igbo in order to account for certain forms and syntactic relations which cannot properly be understood without the category.

Among writers on Igbo only two so far have endeavoured to give a grammatical account of Number in the language. These are Professor J. Carnochan and Dr. P.L. Carrell. Their views are briefly criticised below as follows.

Professor Carnochan is criticised on three points. Firstly, he says, "A grammar of Igbo could be written without bringing in the category of number at all, but my way of looking at the material suggests that it is indeed a useful category in the analysis of this language." If by this he means that the category of number is peripheral in Igbo, then this is not acceptable. For there are a number of forms, and concordial features in existence in the language which make the category of number an essential category, but which were not in evidence in the type of material which Professor Carnochan used for his analysis.

Secondly, he limits the formal consideration of number and person to two types of structure as follows: "...The present writer believes there are formal criteria for setting

them (number and person) up, although only with regard to certain structures, namely, verbal phrases of the types pronoun-verb and pronoun-verb-pronoun."1 These two types of structure are only some of the variety of forms in which number is realized in the language in surface sentences, the level at which Carnochan considered the category of number and person. Adequate justification of these two categories is possible only at the deep level of grammar, because of the nature of their superficial representations.

Number and Person belong in the category of Deixis, the category concerned with the orientational features of the linguistic event, and in its subcategory of DET (the other being AUX). So dealing with them entirely on the superficial level will not give a wholly satisfactory result, as Professor Carnochan himself was able to observe: "I will now give the facts that support the establishment of the category of person as a dimension of the verbal phrase and recognise that they are perhaps less satisfactory."2 For, as Roger Fowler says, "DET and AUX are not categories to be split up into subcategories, but complexes of features, some obligatory and some optional, which can be put together in various combinations which are...

1. Ibid, p.111.
then associated in rather idiosyncratic ways with surface structure representatives. DET and AUX are obligatory. That is to say, there are always some features of their underlying meanings present in sentences, even where no morpheme marks the fact in surface structure... So DET is a set of abstract syntactic features... There are two mandatory features of DET in respect of which every NP must be specified: Number and Universality... in a simple rule... DET (Number, Universality).¹ Thus, for instance, pronouns realize deep level features specified for DET and for N. Thus, for instance, ya 'he/it/she' and unù 'you (pl.)' realize features characteristic of DET and characteristic of N, as follows:

(9) NP

DET

+Plural

-Universal

IIIPerson

N

+Num

+Pron.

+Hum

→ unù 'you' (pl)

(10) NP

DET

-Plural

-Universal

III Person

N

+Num

+Pron

+- Animate

+- Hum

+-Masc.

→ ya 'it/he/she'

The structures, pronoun-verb and pronoun-verb-pronoun, used by Carnochan, obscures the fact that in Igbo number is not a category of nominals only but also a category of verbs. This will be amply demonstrated later.

Furthermore, the structures give pride of place to pronouns (which are proforms) rather than to nouns, in the treatment of number, suggesting that number can be relevantly talked about only by reference to pronouns. But the number which a pronoun indicates is derived from the noun for which it substitutes.

Professor Carnochan set up a category of pronoun on the score that pronouns differ in distribution from nouns.\(^1\) However, this is true only as regards Interrogative sentences, and even then only when the Interrogative sentence is derived from a Declarative sentence that has a noun as subject. In such a case, an appositional pronoun follows the noun subject in the derived interrogative form, as in (3) (b). (But see more on Pronouns, p.\(218^f\))

(3) (a) Ezè kpù ̀kpu + Q. 'Ezè is wearing a hat.' + Q
    (b) Ezè ̀kpu ̀kpu? 'Is ̀Ezè wearing a hat?'

Apart from instances like this, nouns and pronouns have the same distributions. Consider the following examples, with nouns in (a) and pronouns in (b).

---

(4) (a) /Ezè/ jì akwuọ. 'Ezè is holding a book.'
   (b) /Hnâ/ jì akwuọ sì. 'They are holding books.'
(5) (a) Ezè jì /ímkpara/. 'Ezè is holding a walking-stick.'
   (b) Ezè jì /ya/. 'Ezè is holding it.'
(6) (a) ụlọ /eghù/ 'goat-house'
   (b) ụlọ /ya/ 'its house'/his house'/her house'
(7) (a) /eghu/ ụlọ 'domestic goat'
   (b) /ya/ ụlọ ('it house') 'it, the house'
(8) (a) /eghu ēghu/ 'plenty of goats'/goats upon goats'
   (b) /ya ya/ 'all of it'/it alone'; 'he alone/only'
(9) (a) /eghu/ āmụ 'the first goat'
   (b) /ya/ āmụ 'the first one (it)'
(10) (a) Otù /eghù/ 'one goat'
    (b) otù /ya/ 'one of it'
(11) (a) /eghu ābuọ/ 'two goats'
    (b) /hna ābuọ/ 'the two of them'
(12) (a) /eghu ọma/ 'a beautiful goat'
    (b) /ya ọma/ 'the beautiful one'
(13) (a) Ġmụ /Ezè/ ābuọ. 'Ezè's two children'
    (b) Ġmụ /ya/ ābuọ. 'His two children'
(14) (a) Ġmụ ābuọ Ẹzè. 'Two children of Ezè's'
    (b) Ġmụ ābuọ /ya/. 'Two children of his.'

In all these examples nouns occur where pronouns can occur, with necessary semantic differences, naturally. There is therefore no syntactic difference, other than that illustrated
in (3) between nouns and pronouns.

The third point for criticism is the three-term system for the category of number. This is based on surface features, and if adopted will make it rather difficult to characterize the category explicitly and simply. Professor Carnochan states his view, in these terms: "Some nouns, then, colligate exclusively with a singular verbal phrase, while the vast majority colligate with either, according to the situational factors. This suggests that it might indeed be useful to consider setting up the plural and common."

Dr. Carrell rejects the suggestion in these words: "Carnochan has based his suggestion on evidence from surface structure of Igbo only. If only the two categories Singular (-Pl) and plural (+Pl) are posited in the underlying deep structures for All nouns, the seemingly unpredictable colligation of the 'vast majority' of Igbo nouns with either singular or plural pronouns need not be explained by 'extra-linguistic factors in the context of the situation'. The choice of singular or plural pronoun is 'linguistically' conditioned on the basis of the occurrence of (-Pl) or (+Pl) respectively, in the deep structure when no pronominal reference is made, two distinct deep structures have the same surface structure... In Yes-No questions in Igbo, noun subjects are followed by an appositional third person pronoun with low tone. If three categories of number were recognized for nouns... it is impossible to introduce 'ò (sg. pronoun) or hná (pl pronoun)
for 'common' nouns in the pronominalizing transformation because a meaning-change would be involved... The number agreement between nouns and pronouns is best accounted for by positing only two categories of number for nouns in the base, singular and plural...

In addition to providing linguistic explanation for the choice of singular versus plural pronouns, the feature (+Pl) and (-Pl) for nouns are necessary to explain number colligations with certain verbs.¹

Carrell is correct in recognizing the two terms, 'singular' and 'plural' in the Igbo category of number. She is also correct in recognizing their deep structure origin. But she is mistaken about the category, in deep structure, of which (-Pl) and (+Pl) are features, because she assigns them to the N, as follows: "Therefore, two categories of number are set up for All nouns, including Garnochan's class of 'common' nouns. The grammatical member of the feature matrix dominated by the lexical category N always includes the feature (Pl).

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  N \\
  +N \\
  aPl \\
  G \\
  L
\end{bmatrix}
\]


Carrell is constrained to assign \( \text{Pl} \) to \( N \) because in her rule for the development of Nom she made DET optional:

"2.18 Nominal (DET) (Sent)

Rule 2.18 states that all Nom phrases consist of an obligatory Nominal element..., an optional DET complex..., and an optional Sent...

2.19 Nominal \( \rightarrow (N)N\left\{\text{Numeral}_{1}\right\}\)

Rule 2.19 ... expands Nominal into (a) an optional noun, which, if chosen, overtly marks singularity or plurality of the Nominal and is restricted by subcategorization features to a certain class of nouns, (b) an obligatory noun, \( N \), the head of the construction, and (c) an optional numeral."^1

Since in her base rule, 2.18, DET is optional, it is difficult to see the origin of 'singularity or plurality of the Nominal' and also the origin of 'Numeral' which is a subcategory of Number.

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Carrell is as much dependent upon surface structure as Professor Carnochan in her treatment of Number. For as was said earlier, DET is an obligatory category which may or may not be overtly realized in surface structure, and when realized may take a variety of forms. Furthermore, DET has two obligatory features, Number and Universality/Definiteness. Whatever else may not

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occur, these must occur for all instances of DET. And further dimensions are added to DET, such as Proximate, Numeral (Ordinal, Cardinal), Proportional, Quantitative, etc.

Therefore, an adequate treatment of Number in Igbo on the basis of deep structure categories must recognize the obligatoriness of DET of which Number is a feature and is later developed into surface singular and plural forms.

Another statement by Dr. Carrell calls for criticism. She says: "Although Igbo verbs are not inflected for number, some verbs are restricted to plural noun subjects. For example, kàrírì 'be plentiful' ... If number were not recognized for all nouns, there would be no way to state the selectional restriction on this and other verbs."¹

The verb ika 'to be (Comparative)' can take a singular or plural subject NP and has nothing to do with Number, as See 'Comparative Sentences' in the language is 'Comparison'. See 'Comparative Sentences' p. 472. Verbs are indirectly inflected for number through Aspect suffixes, and through the fact that they are the places where Number suffixes are often located in the Verbal clause, and they can, along with the nouns to which the suffixes relate, participate in the notion of plurality. In addition, there are verbs which are inherently plural in meaning, making it necessary for their

subject or object to have a plural meaning if not a plural form. Thus Igbo can indicate plurality of action as well as plurality of objects. The manner in which this is done will be dealt with below.

In conclusion, accepting the category of Deixis, and recognizing DET as an obligatory category in Deixis, as far as Igbo is concerned, two categories of Number - Singular and Plural - are recognized for the language. In what follows, the ways in which the category PLURAL is realized in surface structure are set out.

N.2. The realization of PLURAL in Igbo

The form in which the notion of 'plurality' is realized in Igbo depends upon whether it is concerned with 'action' or with 'objects'. And when 'objects' are involved, the form which represents +Pl depends upon whether the composing 'objects' are conceived as a solidarity of individuals, a collectivity of individuals, or as individuated collectivity. That is, when a number of similar objects form a consistent group, or when a collection is viewed from the stand-point of

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1. Cf. H.A. Gleason: 'An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics', pp.237-8: "While it is probably true that number, for example, is most often basically a category of nouns, this is not necessarily the case. For example, in Quileute (Oregon) both nouns and verbs have plurals ... The latter two are not plural verbs in the sense that they are verb forms used with plural actors. Instead they indicate the plurality of the action expressed. There is no grammatical category necessarily associated with any particular type of word. Each language has its own pattern."
the individuals composing it, or when an individual is viewed against the background of a collection of objects of which it is a member, the language uses different forms to express the fact that in each case more than one object is involved. These matters will be dealt with in the appropriate places below.

In addition, the language expresses the plural notion of 'many-ness', 'few-ness' (paucal), 'two-of-the-same', 'three-of-the-same', etc. (dual, trial, etc.) ('Trial, quadrial, etc. are limited to some dialects of the language only). These subcategories of PLURAL are not dwelt upon in this work.

N.2.1. Plurality in Nouns

Plurality in the referent of a Noun is indicated by one or the other of the following forms:

(i) Plural Nominals (nouns or pronouns)
(ii) Quantifying Nominals (nouns, numerals and adjectives)
(iii) Reduplicated Nominals (nouns and adjectives)
(iv) Particles (affixal and non-affixal)
(v) Plural verbs.

N.2.1.1. Plural Nouns

Excluding Pronouns (which will be dealt with separately), Nominals which have plural meanings fall into three groups as follows.

(i) Suppletive plural forms.
(ii) Simple Plural Forms.
(iii) Inflected Plural Forms (derived by the inflection of
singular forms). (The items involved in (iii) are few and are restricted to some dialects of the language, though taken note of here.)

N.2.1.1. (i) Suppletive Plural Nouns:

These comprise the following:

(1) ụmụ 'children' (nwa 'child')
(2) ndị 'persons/things' (onye 'person'; ūkè 'thing')
(3) ịn'yè'me 'wives'x (nwunye 'wife')

ụmụ and ndị (See more below) are used as markers of +Pl. For this purpose they function as 'adjectivized nouns' and precede the noun which they modify. ụmụ may have, in addition, (and like nwa 'child', may have) the sense of 'little/small'.

Consider the following examples.

(4) ụmụnwaanyị 'women', 'womenfolk'
(5) ụmụnwokhè 'men', 'menfolk'
(6) ụmụtákiri 'children' (=ụmụntákiri)
(7) ụmụmadhù 'men'/ 'people'
(8) ụmụmmbụ 'ghosts'
(9) ụmụathurụ 'lambs'; 'little lambs'
(10) ụmụmkiti 'puppies'; 'little puppies/little dogs'

The relation between ụmụ and the noun which follows it in such constructions as (4) - (10) is that of Adjunct + Head. The adjunct pluralizes the head. The two are written as one word. Where the relation is one of N + N, we get a genitive construction with the second N as the modifying 'possessive genitive' element, as, for instance, in (11) and (12). The

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two nouns are written separately.

(11) ūmụ nwokhe 'the children of a man'
(12) ūmụ ūmụnyanya 'children of women'

As a noun, ūmụ hardly occurs as subject or object without a modifier unless it is used in the general sense of 'offspring', as in (13).

(13) Ŭmụ nà ảmụta ūmụ. 'Children beget children.'

ndi (like onye and ínke) is a pro-noun. It can only occur when the noun for which it substitutes has already occurred, and it cannot occur as subject or object without a modifier, as in (14).

(14) Êbe i còrò izụ /akwụkwọ/, zụrụni /ndi ǎ/. 'Since you wanted to buy books, then buy these ones.'

It is also used as a relative pro-noun (as onye and ínke are used).

(15) Akwụkwọ /ndi/ m hnụrụ dị okhe onụ. 'The books which I saw were costly.'

In (15) ndi indicates that the subject 'akwụkwọ' is plural in meaning. But in such a clause as (15) ndi is a noun and the head of the relativized clause 'm hnụrụ'. When it is not itself modified, and functions as a pluralizer, it precedes the noun which it pluralizes, as in the following examples.

(16) ndiáhyà 'traders', 'marketers'
(17) ndiórnnú 'workmen'
(18) ndióbhià 'visitors'
(19) ndióżznizni 'teachers'
It is used as a pluralizer of nouns for which +Human can be specified, and always used to identify, in the plural, people engaged in the activity or profession, as in the examples above.

It differs from ndị 'some' in that the latter can occur as subject or object without a modifier and refers to part of a number, whereas ndị has no such reference. ndị is equivalent to ụfọду 'some'. Consider (20) and (21).

(20) /Ndị/ tутàrà eg'o /Ndị/ ātuta. 'Some contributed some money and others did too.'
(21) Ọ nyèrè /Ndị/ nye /Ndị/. 'He gave to some and gave to others too.'

2.1.1. (ii) Simple Plural Forms

(a) The following nouns usually have plural meanings:

(22) ụkè 'age-group', 'people of the same age'
(23) ibè 'companions', 'associates'
(24) mbà 'community'; 'village of people'
(25) ikwu 'members of the same family'; 'relatives'

(b) Some morphological types of derived nouns which involve duplication in their derivation have plural meanings. Two such types are exemplified by (26)-(28) and (29)-(31).

(26) ịgbaàghàa 'journeyings'
(27) ịmèmèmmè 'doings', 'activities'
(28) ịlèènléè 'spectacles', 'scenes'
(29) ịnyènnye 'acts of giving'
(30) ịmèmmè 'doings', 'celebrations'
These nouns also imply frequency in the action denoted by the underlying verb. (See Derivation of Nouns, pp. 347–.)

(c) The following items may be called 'Collective Nouns'. They are always used of a quantity of objects, but do not occur independently; they have to be followed by a noun representing the referent being 'quantified'.

(32) ìgwè 'multitude' e.g. ìgwè athurù 'a flock of sheep'
(33) ògbàrà 'line/row (of)' e.g. ògbàrà eghụ 'a herd of goats'
(34) ìthù 'mass' e.g. ìthù mādhù 'a crowd of people'
(35) ibì 'mass', 'swarm': ibì anú 'a swarm of bees'
(36) ūkwhù 'large crowd': ūkwhù nàmà 'a herd of cows'
(37) ūkwhùtu ūkwhù 'a large collection'; ūkwhùtu ūkwhù akwukwo 'a large collection of books'

(d) A fourth group of items consists of two pro-nouns. They are so called because although they can, like nouns, occur as subjects or objects, they do so only if the noun to which they refer has previously occurred. They are

(38) òtụtu 'many' and (39) ụfọdu 'some'

While (38) always refers to countables, (39) can refer also to mass things.

(40) òtụtu àlà 'many countries'
(41) ụfọdu ụlọ 'some houses'

N.2.1.1. (iii) Inflected Plural Nouns

The following items represent examples of noun inflection in a dialect of Igbo, Ibusa (Ìgbòuzò) on the western side

1. I am indebted to Mr. M. Nolue Emenanjo, B.A., of the Oxford University Press, Ibadan, Nigeria. To this list is added an example from J. Spencer (A First Grammar of the Ibo
of the River Niger. The plural is formed by the substitution of the first vowel syllable of the singular, o-, by the vowel i-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(42) okèi 'man' (generic)</td>
<td>ikei 'men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(43) ọkpòro 'woman'</td>
<td>ịkpòro 'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(44) ọkényè 'man' (old man)</td>
<td>ịkényè 'old men' ('men')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(45) ọkologobià 'young man'</td>
<td>ịkologobià 'young men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46) ọchíè 'old man'</td>
<td>ichíè 'old people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47) ọchênè 'a cult priest'</td>
<td>ịchênè 'cult priests'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.3. **Pluralizing Particles**

The following particles realize (+P1):

(a) hna
(b) si/-si
(c) -sA (-se/-sa)
(d) Aocha
(e) -kọ
(f) -rI 'Comitative'
(g) -IsI 'Elative'

N.3.1. **The particle Hnà**

The particle does not harmonize and always has a low tone. It follows the noun or noun-phrase associated with it, occurring after any other noun modifiers except a relativized clause functioning as an adjunct, as in (3).

(1) /Ọbi hna/ èrutele. 'Ọbi and company have arrived.'
(2) /Nna ọnyị ukwu hna/ nọ na nzúkọ. 'Our masters are at a meeting.'
(3) /Ezè hna gára ọrụ / ọlọtala. 'Ezè and company who

Language' (1901), p.12: ọrụ 'slave'; ịrụ 'slaves.'
went to work have returned.'

There is number colligation between the NP with hnà and the verb, if the NP is also the subject of the verbal clause. And there is number colligation between an overtly plural verb and an NP with hnà which is an object of the clause, as in (4).

(4) Ezè /kèlèsìrì/ Òbi hnà/ èkèle. 'Ezè greeted everyone of Òbi and company.'

Because -si in the verb kèlèsìrì implies plurality of 'objects' (5) is ungrammatical.

(5) × Ezè /kèlèsìrì/ Òbi/ èkèle.

The fact that there is number colligation between the subject NP and the verb may be overtly expressed by the form of the verb, as in (6) and (7).

(6) Òbi hnà èrutesìlè. 'Òbi and company have severally arrived.'
(7) /Òbi hnà nòjùrù/ n'ùlò. 'Òbi and company filled the room.' (Òbi and company sit+fill+PAST in room)

Without hnà as part of the subject NP, (6) and (7) will be ungrammatical, as in (8) and (9) respectively.

(8) × Òbi èrutesìlè. × 'Òbi has severally arrived.'
(9) × Òbi nòjùrù n'ùlò. × 'Òbi filled the room (i.e. sitting in different places at the same time.)'

hnà implies 'solidarity' in the objects of which the N associated with it represents a member.

The particle hnà should be distinguished from two forms
which are similar to it: the third person plural pronoun 'hna' 'they', and the suffix -hna. The latter occurs with an 'auxiliary verb' and implies 'INSISTENCE/EMPHASIS', as in (10) and (11).

(10)  Hna ēnyele yā. 'They have given it.'
(11)  Ọ nànhà àbya. 'He is actually coming (Emph.).'

The three forms can co-occur as in (12).

(12)  /Ọbi hna/ gànhà ewèta hna 'ugbu à. 'Ọbi and company are going to bring them just now (Emph.).'

N.3.2. The Particle sị/-sị

sị/-sị is a movable particle. It can occur as a suffix in a verb, or as a particle in an NP. It is a non-harmonizing class I morpheme. As a particle in an NP it takes a high tone if the preceding syllable has a high tone, and a low tone if the preceding syllable has a low tone. But as a suffix its tone depends upon the type of clause in which the verb carrying it occurs, as the illustrations below show.

Because of its mobility, it can pluralize a noun or a verb. And when it occurs as a suffix it can imply plurality of 'action' as well as plurality of 'objects'. Consider the following pairs of sentences.

(13) (a) Eghu āfisọla. 'The goat has gone out.'

(b) Eghu āfụsịala. 'The goats have (each) gone out.'

(14) (a) madhù nọ n'ụlọ. 'There is somebody in the house.'

l.  sị/-sị is equivalent to ga/-ga which occurs in the Onitsha dialect — cf. J. Spencer: "A First Grammar of the Ibo language" (1901), p.13.
(b) Madhu nösi n'ülö. "There are people in the house.' In 'b) the subject NP implies more than one 'object', but the verb, as the result of the occurrence of -si, may imply more than one 'action' also. This is clearly brought out in (15).

(15) O vùsìri hna. 'He carried them.' (Implying several acts of carrying)

(See more below on Plurality in Verbs)

When -si occurs, either the subject of the verb or the object must be plural in meaning, as in (13) (b) and (14) (b), or in form, as in (15). Consider these further examples.

(16) /Umùntákiri gùzòsi/ qọọ. 'The children are (each) standing.'

(17) /Ibè ya àbyasíla/ qorù. 'His companions have (each) come to work.'

(18) Q /kpọtusíla ibè ya./ 'He has called his companions.'

(19) Q /g'ótasíla ndì qorù./ 'He has hired workmen.'

(20) Q /zúsiála akwà./ 'She has bought (different acts) cloths.'

(21) Q /vúsi abq./ 'She is carrying baskets.'

In (16) and (17) the subjects are plural in form; in (18) and (19) the objects are plural in form, but in (20) and (21) they are plural in meaning.

Consider the following examples of the occurrence of the particle si:

1. Igwe and Green: 'Igbö Language Course, Bk III', pp.98-100, O.U.P.
(22) Ebe wụ nwa àlà obì ụlọ ntà jùsịrị, na ọnwụghụ ụlọ ukwu sị/ māra mmā... 'A place that is a small neighbourhood, not of fine mansions...' 

(23) nsụpya nà ntụgharị ịkè /okporo amà sị/ dị ihè nà / ābara sị/ anụ nà ạcha... 'The nooks and turns of shady lanes and sunny commons...' 

(24) ānyịnyà sị, okhe ehynị nà mne ehynị sị, ymü ehynị ọhụọ sị... 'Horses, oxen, cows, calves...' 

The use of sị or -sị indicates that the objects are conceived of as consisting of separated individual units but making up a collection. And the particle may be translated by 'each of', although this translation is not possible in all cases.

The particle, as a suffix, must be distinguished from the 'Dative suffix' -sị which always occurs as a suffix and is associated with the 'indirect object'. (See 'Case' pp. 248f.) The two can co-occur in the same verb. In such an instance, the 'Dative -sị' precedes the 'Plura -sị' in the sequence of morphemes in the verb, as in (25).

(25) ọbị resịsịrị m akwukwọ. 'Obi sold books to me.' (Ọbị sell+to+Pl.+PAST me book')

N.3.3. The Particle -sA

The particle occurs only as a suffix in a verb, and harmonizes to -se, preceded by E vowels, and to -sa, preceded by A vowels. It pluralizes a noun which occurs as the direct object of the verb in which it occurs. Thus the object N
must be plural in form or meaning. It occurs with 'active verbs' and in transitive clauses, although the object may be transformationally deleted.

Consider the following pairs of examples. The objects in (b) are singular in form only.

(26) (a) Vùlîe /àkpà./ 'Carry away the bag.'
     (b) Vùlîse /àkpà./ 'Carry away the bags.'

(27) (a) Wèlaa /ocô./ 'Take the chair home.'
     (b) Wèlasa /ocô./ 'Take the chairs home.'

(28) (a) O vùtùrù /iyû/ n'ålà. 'He carried down the load to the ground.'
     (b) O vùtùsèrè /iyû/ n'ålà. 'He carried down the loads to the ground.'

The object N may be plural in form, as in the following examples.

(29) Vûlasa /ocô sí./ 'Take the chairs home.'
(30) Çûlîse /hna./ 'Drive them away.'
(31) O kûlîse /Qjhi hna./ 'She has carried Qjhi and others away.'

The use of -se/-sa indicates a plurality of objects from which individuals are singled out, hence the translation of the morpheme as 'one by one'.

-se/-sa can co-occur with -si, their co-occurrence indicating two different concepts of plurality: one in which
the objects are seen as made up of individual items, and the other in which the items are singled out of the collection, as in (32).

(32) Ezè àcilisesiša efere. 'Ezè has taken away the plates.' (i.e. There is a collection of plates made up of individual plates and Ezè has taken one after the other of the collection away).

Observe that when the two types of suffixes co-occur, -se/-sa precedes -si, as in (32).

The -sa form of -se/-sa should be distinguished from the 'adessive case' suffix -sà. The latter does not harmonize, and is correlated with a locative NP which usually occurs as an adjunct. In the following examples the 'number' suffix occurs in (a) while the 'case' suffix occurs in (b). The correlated NP is marked by //.

(33) (a) Vùlasa /ivū/. 'Carry home the loads.'
    (b) Vùlasa ivū /n'àlā/. 'Carry the load away and put it on the ground.'

(34) (a) Wèlise /akwụkwọ/. 'Put away the books.'
    (b) Wèlisa akwụkwọ /nà teblụ/. 'Take the book away and put it on the table.'

When a locative NP occurs as well as the 'number' suffix, the NP is correlated to another form in the verb than the 'number' -se/-sa as in (35).

(35) Wèlise akwụkwọ /nà teblụ/. 'Take the books away from the table.'
Here /nà teblù/ is correlated to the verb root -li 'to move from'.

Although -se/-sa pluralizes the object of a verb, it may also imply plurality of 'action' as in (36).

(36) Ezè gbutùsèrè akalã nkwù. 'Ezè cut down palm branches.'
    (Implying several acts of cutting.)

N.3.4. The Particle -ko

It always occurs as a suffix, and does not harmonize. It is a class I suffix, and functions as a noun pluralizer. It indicates plurality conceived as the result of association of objects, hence it has been regarded notionally as expressing 'togetherness'. But the fact is that whenever it occurs, more than one object is implied, and this is grammatically expressed by a plural (in form or meaning) subject or object.

In the following pairs of sentences, (a) is ungrammatical.

(37) (a) x/0 bikò n'Àba. x 'He lives together in Àba.'
    (b) Hnà bikò n'Àba. 'They live together in Àba.'

(38) (a) x'Obí gùzòkò qto. x 'Obi is standing up together.'
    (b) Òbi na Ôjì gùzòkò qto. 'Obi and Ôjì are standing up together.'

(39) (a) x'Cùkòtaa yá. x 'Drive it together.'
    (b) Cùkòtaa hna. 'Drive them together.'

In the following sentences the objects are plural in meaning though not in form.

(40) Ezè aìcùkòtaala /ũwe/. 'Ezè has collected together the clothes.'
(41) Nnà yà' nwekọta /yulọ à./ 'His father owns these houses.'

When the object is a conjoined expression part of it only may be expressed and may be not only singular in form but also in meaning. But the remaining part of the expression is usually 'understood' and may be set out in full if necessary, and the -kọ occurs because this other part is covertly present, as in (42).

(42) Ọbì jikọ ya (nà ibe ya). 'Ọbi is holding it together (with the others).'

Conjoined objects correlated with -kọ may occur as separate objects in different but associated clauses, as in (b) of (43), (44).

(43) (a) O rikọtara ji nà anụ. 'He ate both yam and meat.'
    (b) O riri ji, rikọtaa anụ. 'He ate yam, and ate meat along with it.'

(44) (a) Ọ zụkọtara akwà nà ọkpu. 'He bought both cloth and hat.'
    (b) Ọ zuri akwà, zụkọtaa ọkpu. 'He bought a cloth as well as a hat.'

N.3.5. The Particle -cha

While nà indicates 'solidarity' of a plurality of objects, sị/-sị a collection of separate objects, -se/-sa separate individual items 'out of' a collection, and -kọ associated items, -cha indicates and emphasizes the 'totality' of the items. But the totality may refer to objects or actions. Thus the occurrence of the suffix may express
plurality either in the subject, or object, or in the verb of a clause, or in all three elements at once. Therefore the clause in which -cha occurs is capable of more than one interpretation unless the situational context limits its application, or unless the verb is such that no plural notion is possible in connection with it, as in the case of 'gwu' in (45).

(45) Nkhu ágwuchaala. 'The pieces of firewood are finished.'

In the following examples the subjects are plural in form.

(46) /Ndí ahyá/ ālachaala. 'The marketers have all gone.'
(47) /Ezè hná/ nwèchàrà ikhe. 'Ezè and the others all have the ability.'
(48) /Madhù nińlè/ byàchàrà. 'All the people came.'

In the following examples the subjects are plural in meaning, but not in form.

(49) /Akwukwù/ zùchàrà onye ọ wùl. 'The books went round everyone.'
(50) /Uzó/ jochàrà njo. 'The roads are all bad.'

In the following examples the objects are plural in form in (51) and (52), but so in meaning in (53) and (54).

(51) A zùchaala /nnù akwà ya./ 'His four hundred pieces of cloth have all been bought up.'
(52) O wefùchàrà /ndí ọjọ/ n'ime hná. 'He took out all the bad ones from among them.'
(53) Oryà ọkụko ẹgbuchàala /ọkụkọ ya./ 'Fowl pest has killed all his chicken.'

When the subject and the object of the verb are explicitly
singular in form and meaning, the application of -cha is limited to the verb only, as in (54) and (55).

(54)  O mēchaala yā. 'He has done it all.'
(55)  E rēchaala ya. 'It is sold out.'

But in a sentence like (56) the meaning of -cha may apply to the subject, verb, or object.

(56)  Anyị g'uchara akwụkwọ yā.
   (a) 'We all read his book.'
   (b) 'We all read through his book.'
   (c) 'We all read through all his books.'
   (d) 'We read all his books.'
   (e) 'We read through his book.'
   (f) 'We read through all his books.'

-cha sometimes occurs with a noun or pronoun. Such an expression is usually introduced by the conjunction 'mà', and expresses the inclusiveness and comprehensiveness of the action denoted by the verb, as in the following examples.

(57)  ọ nyerè /mà Enì chà?/ 'Did he so give as to include even Enì?'
(58)  ọ nyerè /mà ya cha./ 'He so gave as to include even him.'

Observe that the tone of -cha as a particle following a noun or pronoun is determined by the tone of the preceding syllable, as in (57) and (58). In Onitsha dialect we get ńcha for 'all':

(59)  fa ńcha 'all of them'
(60)  mgbè ńcha 'always,' 'at all times'
(61)  umụ ńcha 'you all', 'all of you'
N.3.6. The 'Comitative' -ri

Detailed discussion of the suffix -ri has been done under 'Case', page 148f. There too the fact that its use indicates plurality, among other things, was touched upon. Its use implies plurality of action and of objects. The verb in which it occurs always has a plural meaning, as in (62).

(62) o /bɔriri/ ìrnu. 'She went on and on weeding the farm herself.'

When more than one person or thing are involved in the action denoted by the verb, the subject of the verb must be plural in form, one of the forms being a conjoined expression.

(63) /Obi nà Ezè/ kwèritàrà n'aka. 'Obi and Ezè greeted each other by handshakes.'

(64) /Nnà hñà/ gbùrí riùzù. 'Father and others consulted together.'

(65) /Anyì/ kwùrí ri okwu. 'We discussed together.'

If the object, when present, is a countable noun, plurality is implied and this may be expressed by a plural noun form or by a singular form with a plural meaning.

(66) Òkùko nà atùrì /ukwaorù/. 'The hen is picking up the grains of corn.'

(67) Adha nà ewèrì /akwà ndì à/. 'Adha is taking these cloths for herself.'

N.3.7. The 'Elative' Suffix -Isi

This case suffix is dealt with in detail under 'Case',
In intransitive clauses, it implies plurality in the subject NP, if the noun is countable, or mass if the noun is not countable, as in (67) (a) and (b). So the noun must be plural in form or meaning. If the clause is a transitive clause, it implies plurality in the object, but not necessarily in the subject noun, as in (67) (c) and (d).

(67) (a) /Ojhı̂ hna/ afüsiala n'ama. 'Ojhı̂ and company have all gone out to the square.'

(b) /Ehyni/ ägbaśizontal a n'ama. 'The cows have all run out to the square.'

(c) Eze èreisiele /hná/. 'Eze has sold all of them.'

(d) Eze èreisiele /akwykwọ/. 'Eze has sold all the books.'

N.4. Pluralization of Nouns by Reduplication

It was indicated in N.2.1.1. (ii) (b) that nouns derived from verbs by (reduplication have plural meanings. The process of pluralization by (reduplication applies also to underived nouns. Professor R.H. Robins observes: the same phenomenon in some other languages: "In Malay, Sundanese, and other Malyopolynesian languages, the reduplication of entire word: forms is a regular means of forming noun plurals (it also serves other grammatical purposes)."

Consider the following examples:

These noun + noun phrases constitute a type of Noun Phrase, and is different from other types of the same class by being composed of a repetition of the same morpheme. Apart from indicating 'more than one of the same thing', with certain types of nouns the construction can function as an adverb, as in (71) and (72).

(71) Anyị byara /ọsọsọ/. 'We came quickly/soon.' ('We came run run.')

(72) O kwurụ okwu /ikhe įkhe./ 'He spoke forcefully.' ('He spoke power power.')

Other types of the Noun Phrase are composed as follows:

(a) Noun 1 + Noun 2 e.g. (73) onye isi 'headman'
(b) Noun + Pronoun e.g. (74) ĝ'ọ yaa 'his money'
(c) Noun + Adjective e.g. (75) onye mkpumkpu 'a short man'
(d) Noun + Relative Clause Adjunct e.g. (76) ndị nwē yaa 'the people who own it.'

The type which is represented by (a) has been described in three different ways: 'nouns in genitival relationship',

'Completive phrase'\textsuperscript{1}, and 'Associative construction'\textsuperscript{2}. These terms are unsuitable for the construction and can give quite misleading impressions of the relationship between the terms in the construction, to say nothing of the meaning of the construction. 'Associative construction' is too general and therefore vague, since there is always some form of association between elements in a construction of any type. 'Completive phrase' does not indicate in what sense the phrase is 'completive' and which of the elements is completive of the other. And 'nouns in genitival relationship' is semantically and grammatically too precise, because of its analogy with the English 'of genitive' construction, suggesting as it does, that the meaning of the second element is one of 'possession', whereas this is not always the case, as (77) to (80) show.

(77) ụlọ ęghu 'goat-house'
(78) ńkwa ahya 'market-egg'; 'egg for sale'
(79) ahya ńkwa 'egg-market'; 'price of egg'
(80) ụlọ ńlà 'Low(er) house'; 'Àlà's house'

With regard to the term 'genitival relationship' note should be taken of Strang's statement: "Any attempt to sum up 'the meaning' of the genitive is doomed. It is hard to

\begin{itemize}
  \item Jan Voorhoeve and others: Journal of West African Languages vol. vi, no.2, 1969, pp. 79-84.
  \item Welmers and Welmers International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.35, No.4, p.316.
\end{itemize}
get nearer to it than to say that it conveys a relationship which may be of possession, origin, consisting of, association with or concerning (directed towards). Genitives commonly occur in collocation with another noun-like word, which provides the second term in the relationship.1 Anderson speaks in a similar vein: "Clearly, 'genitive' constructions represent a superficial neutralization of a large range of (in some cases quite complex) underlying relations, and if there is a basic (non-derived) 'genitive' relation as such, it is presumably partitive."2

It would be preferable to call all the types of phrases given above simply by the term Noun Phrase, and then to describe the composition, including tones, of each type. The noun 1 + noun 1 which is the primary concern here differs from the noun 1 + noun 2 type in that the tone-structure of it is fixed: Class I and Class II nouns in second positions have mid-tones on their first syllables relative to the word in first position; as in (69) and (70); and Class III and Class IV nouns in second position have low-low tones, as in (68) and (81) respectively.

(81) `enwo `enwo 'monkeys'/ 'plenty of monkeys'

N.4.1. Reduplication of Adjectives

Adjectives can be reduplicated to indicate plurality in the referent represented by the noun which the adjectives qualify. But the reduplication applies only to adjectives which can occur in pre-head position, or can occur as predicate Complements. This, therefore rules out such adjectives as ọma 'good', ọcha 'white', ukwu 'big' and ọjọọ 'bad', and other adjectives which can only occur as adjuncts in NP's and post-nominally too. This latter syntactic type of adjectives are reduplicated along with their heads, whereas in the case of the first type only the adjective is reduplicated.

The reduplication additionally gives the sense of emphasis (as 'reduplication' generally does in the language), but the fact that plurality is implied is made explicit in the following ways.

(i) If the NP with the adjective is referred to anaphorically, the reference element must have a plural form, even when the Noun in the NP is singular in form. Adjectives are underlined in the examples below.

(82) Ọ zurụ /akhalaakha akhalaakha ogugu./Hna/ ràrà ahù n'vevuvu. 'He bought long bamboos. They were difficult to carry.'

(83) /Ogwoghorọ ogwoghorọ okoroqbya//ndi/ byara, onghụ abhaghị /hna/. 'There were not sufficient seats for the hefty youths who attended.' 'The hefty youths who came, seats did not contain them.'
(ii) If the adjective occurs as an attributive Complement, the attribuquant, being a subject, usually has a plural form, as in (84) and (85), or the verb takes a plural-marking suffix, as in (86) and (87).

(84) /Hnâ/ dî /ntâ ntâ/. 'They are all small.'

(85) /Nkwû ndî à/ dî /oloriri òloriri/. 'These palm-trees are all lofty.'

(86) Osisi à /dïsî mkmukpy mkmukpy/. 'These trees are all short.'

(87) Ede /dîchâ urughuru urughuru/. 'The cocoyams are all tiny.'

N.4.2. **Conjunction of Nominals**

The conjunction of nominals is another way in which the language expresses the plural notion. This is proved to be so by the occurrence of plural anaphoric elements referring to the conjoined expression, as is the case with appositional pronouns. (See. N.8.9. below)

The conjoining of nominals applies to adjectives as well as nouns, and to these attention is limited here. The conjoining of adjectives may be taken as a variant of the reduplication of adjectives discussed above, the only difference in form being the occurrence of the conjunction na 'and' between the first and the second occurrences of the adjective, plus the fact that the second occurrence has low tones except in the first syllable, while the first occurrence has high tones throughout.
Consider the following examples. Anaphoric elements referring to the conjoined expressions are underlined.

(88) /Umikpọrọ nà umikpọrọ eghu à, onye n'te ọgresi gị hna?
    'Who sold to you these lean goats?' ('Lean and garlic goats these, who sold to you them?')

(89) /Eferiri nà eferiri akwa/ o vù bya ahyá, ọ dighi onye nà 'azu yà hna.
    'Nobody is buying from him the very light cloths he brought to the market.' ('Light and
    light cloths he carried came market, there is not person actually buys from him them.')

In the following examples pluralizing suffixes occur, and the conjoined adjectives function as attributive Complements.

(90) Ehyni yà/ disi okpokoro nà okpokoro./ 'His cows are all huge.'

(91) Ìṣò /dịchà mwaramwa nà mwaramwà./ 'The roads are all narrow.'

N.5. **Plural Verbs**

There are two verbs in the language which when used always imply a plurality of objects. They are icì 'to carry or hold many things'; itu tu 'to pick up many things'. The objects of these verbs must be plural in form or meaning.

(92) Ènì cì /àwe/ n'aka. 'Ènì is carrying clothes in his hands.'

(93) O cì /umú nkîdà./ 'He is carrying puppies.'

(94) Ezè nà atutu /ugirî./ 'Ezè is picking up oranges.'
The verbs iphọ 'to collect', iju 'to fill' and itu 'to pile up', and compound verbs with them, when used with countable nouns, imply plurality in the noun. In the case of iphọ only the object must be plural in form or sense, and in the case of iju the subject must be plural, in the same way.

(95) Òbi phọ /a hyihya. 'Obi is carrying leaves.'
(96) /Akwa/ juru n'ahya. 'There are many cloths in the market.'

The verb izu 'to be complete', 'to be sufficient', 'to be of required amount or number' implies plurality in the subject and the object (when expressed), if the nouns are countable.

(97) /Ọkè/ ezùole /hnà/. 'The shares have gone round all of them.'
(98) /Ọbi hnà/ 'abyazùole. 'Obi and others have all come.'
(99) /Akwukwọ/ zurù /madhù niîle./ 'The books went round all the people.'

If the subject is a mass noun or the third person singular pronoun representing a quantity of the same thing, and the object is expressed, the object must be plural in form or meaning.

(100) Mirì èzùole /ehyni/. 'The cows have all got water.'
(101) O.zuru /a nyì./ 'It was enough for all of us.'

In the sense of 'to meet', izu is a reciprocal verb and must have both a subject and an object, both of which must be expressed. By this obligatory occurrence of the two elements the verb indicates plurality.
(102) Ọbì zùrù m n'ulọ ahyà.  'Ọbì met me at the shop.'

N.6. Plurality in Verbs

The notion of 'plurality' is expressed in the verb in certain ways as it is expressed in nouns in certain other ways, as shown above. Some verbs were given, in N.5., the use of which implies plurality of objects, but not plurality of action. It was stated that the suffixes -cha and -rl implied plurality of action in addition to plurality of objects. It was also said that with certain types of verbs, 'active verbs', the suffixes -ṣi, -se/-sa could also imply plurality of action, indirectly, though primarily concerned with expressing plurality of objects. Now attention will be turned to those elements which indicate, plurality of action.

The language expresses plurality of action by the following means:

(a) suffixes
(b) repetitive verbs
(c) quantifying adverbial adjuncts
(d) repetition of verb phrases

(a) and (d) will not be discussed but are illustrated by (1) to (3) and (4) to (5), respectively.

(1) Ọ byàrà /ugbọ ọto./ 'He came thrice.'
(2) Ọ gàrà /kwa ụbọtì./ 'He went every day.'
(3) Ọ jùrù m /mgbe ọ wùlà ọ hùrù m./ 'He asked me every time he saw me.'
(4) Eze /rìrì ji, rie jì, rie jì. 'Eze went on and on eating yams.'
(5) Ọ /cùrù ānyì, cu ānyì/. Ānyì /agba, gba./ 'He chased
us. And we ran and ran.

N.6.1. **Verb Pluralizing Suffixes**

In addition to -cha and -Pl above, the suffixes given below indicate +Pl in the verb in which they occur, thus inflecting it for Number. But in addition to this, each of them has a particular semantic sense which differentiates it from the others although they are comprehended in the category of Number. The suffixes are

(i)  -ghA
(ii) -hule
(iii) -mite
(iv) -kata

(v)  -kwa
(vi) -wa
(vii) -risi

These suffixes indicate frequency in the action denoted by the verb to which they are added.

N.6.1. (i)  -ghA

It is a harmonizing suffix. With 'action verbs' it implies repetition of the action, and with 'stative verbs' repetition of the state. Consequently, it can have the sense of 'progressive' or 'continuing' action or state.

The clause in which it occurs usually has an adverbial clause of time indicating the terminal time until which the action or state was relevant. The adverbial clause is optionally introduced by 'tutū/tém/tii' 'until'.

(6) Anyi /bùghà/ abù (tutū) ci abọ. 'We sang and sang until dawn.' ('We sang and sang songs...')

(7) Hnà /rmùghà/ ñrñu (tém) ikhe agwu hñà. (They worked

They worked until they got tired.)
and worked work until strength finished (in) them.

(8) Eze /règhè/ ahy a (tiliì) ngwa ahy ā ya āgwuchaa. 'Eze kept selling until his goods were sold out.' ('Eze sold and sold marketables until his wares got finished.')

(9) 0 /dìghà/ ndhù (tùtùù) nwanwà ya āmùta ùmù. 'He lived on and on until his grandchild got children.'

(10) 0 /zùghè/ ikhe (tèm) mì àlọta. 'He went on and on resting until I got back.'

In (9) and (10) we have 'stative verbs'.

The suffix has not been found to occur with the past tense -rA/E. It sometimes co-occurs with the suffixes -sì (Num. and -rì 'Comitative'. In much instances while the function of -ghA is restricted to the verb, the functions of the other two relate them to the nouns in the clause, as discussed above. Consider these examples.

(11) ı nà èmeghari gìnì? 'What and what do you really keep on doing?'

(12) ı nà èmeghasì gìnì? 'What and what (name each of them) do you really keep on doing?'

From its aspectual meaning of 'progressive', -ghA might be included in the list of Aspect suffixes. But considering its basic function of indicating plurality of action it is regarded as belonging primarily to the Number category.

The suffix should be distinguished from the two verbs ighà 'to turn' and ighà 'to leave behind', 'to let go', 'to forgive'. It can be suffixed to either of them.
N.6.1. (ii) -hule

The form -hule is composed of two units, the second unit being the 'perfect aspect' suffix -1A. Whereas in some dialects -hu can occur alone, in the dialect which forms the basis of this work, -hu and -1A have coalesced to form one unanalysable unit. It does not harmonize.

Semantically it means 'to be or do again (and again)'. That it has to do with 'number' is sometimes brought out by an expression which indicates the final number in the series of 'doing' or 'being', as in (13). Sometimes ozo 'again' occurs redundantly with it, as an adjunct, as in (14); but in other cases the presence of ozo indicates a further repetition of the repeated action or state, as in (15).

(13) Anyị /gahùlèrè nke ụgbọ ọnọ/. 'We went again for the fourth time.'
(14) O /menùlèrè/ ya /ozo/. 'He did it again (again)'.
(15) O /dihùlèrè ndhù ozo/. 'He came back to life yet again.' (i.e. 'He died and came back to life and died again and again came back to life. ')

Consider some more examples of its use.

(16) /Nyètùhule/ m akwùkwọ ahnù. 'Please give me that book again.'
(17) O /kwùhùlèrè/ ihyne o kwùrù nà mbyi. 'He said again what he had said previously.'
N.6.1. (iii) -mite and -kàta

These two suffixes are completely interchangeable. The second syllable in each of them is the 'allative' case suffix -ta. -mite derives from the verb imi 'to be or go deep'. The derivation of -ka (if derived) is not known. However, the forms -mite and -kàta as they are now used cannot be separated into further meaningful units. Neither of them harmonizes.

They indicate repeated action or state the repetition of which was eventually given up, for one reason or another. Sometimes the reason for giving up is expressed, and often the fact of the termination of the action or state is also expressed.

(18) Anyi /(njumìtèrè) (njukàtàrà)/ òrnu ikhe ágwù anyì, 'anyì  àkwusi. 'We worked and worked until we got exhausted, and we stopped.'

(19) Ò /(jumìtèrè) (jukàtàrà)/ ya, ò dìghì n'isà ya, 'ya áhafù ijù ya. 'He asked him and asked him, but he would not answer him, so he gave up asking him.'

In (18) and (19) both the reason for and the fact of termination are expressed. In (20) the fact of termination is expressed, and in (21) it is not.

(20) Ò gakàtàrà, / tugharià, laghàchi aznu. 'He went on and on, then turned and went back.'

(21) Hnà' kwumìtèrè, 'iwe áfù yà. 'They talked and talked until he got angry.' (They talked and talked, anger
came out (of) him.'

N.6.1. (iv) -kwA

-kwA is a multi-function particle: it can function within the category of Number; and it can function within the category of Anaphora. As an anaphoric morpheme it is dealt with under 'Anaphora' on pages 505f. As a realization of Number, its function is additive. In this function it indicates more than one 'action' or more than one 'object'. With regard to 'action' it usually indicates more than one of the same type of 'action' but can also indicate more than one action but of different types. When its use is limited to the verb, it occurs as a suffix. But when the emphasis is on the noun, it occurs as a particle following the noun to which it refers. In such a use it implies the addition of the referent of the noun to the number of other referents which may have the same or different identities, thus giving the sense of 'inclusiveness'.

Whether as a suffix or as a particle it harmonizes. And when it occurs as a particle its tone is the same as that of the preceding syllable.

As an additive element, its use often necessitates the occurrence of associated verbal clauses with identical verbs, and when only one clause occurs another one with the same verb is presupposed.

The semantic labels often given to it have to be viewed in the light of its belonging to the category of Number as well
as the category of Anaphora - such labels as 'too', 'also', 'again', 'then'.

In the following examples the focus of attention is the verb.

(22) Ñdhnù zurù okpu, zykwaak ëkisi. 'Adha bought a hat and in addition bought a scarf.'

(23) Anyì èsiele jì sikwee anù. 'We have cooked yams and in addition cooked meat.'

(24) O kwëre imë ya dikà anyì kwëkwëre. 'He agreed to do it just as we agreed too to do it.'

In the following examples a previous clause with the same verb is presupposed.

(25) O nyëkwëre m. 'He also gave to me.' (as he gave to others)

(26) Unù hnukwàra ya. 'You (pl.) saw it too.' (as others did)

In these following examples the attention is focused on the noun which 'kwa' follows.

(27) O nyèrè Òbi, nye Qjhì kwà. 'He gave to Òbi, and gave to Qjhì also.'

(28) Qjhì gàrà, unù kwè àga. 'Qjhì went, and you also went.'

(29) Anyì tìrù eg'ò, tìrì erimeri kwe. 'We contributed money and contributed food as well.'

So far, the examples show more than one performance of the same type of action, and more than one object of different types, as in (27) to (30). In the following examples more
than one 'action' of different types by the same referent of the subject is indicated by the occurrence of -kwA.

(31) Eze zara ulo, sikwee nri. 'Eze swept the house and cooked in addition.'
(32) O vu ru ivu, thi kwaaakhalaakha. 'It grew big and also grew tall.'

N.6.1. (v) -wa and -risi

The two suffixes have been discussed in detail under Aspect, pages 112f. They have been included here under Number because some of their uses imply plurality of the 'action' denoted by the verbs in which they occur.

N.6.2. The Imperfective Aspect

The Imperfective Aspect might be included here too along with the 'Continuative' (-wa) and the 'Inclusive' (-risi) aspects although there is no overt representation of it different from the verb root. For the use of the verb root alone, particularly of 'action verbs', unless it is limited by the occurrence of some other expression always implies plurality of action, as for instance (33) and (34).

(33) Anyi ri ihyne. 'We are (going on) eating.'
(34) O kwu okwu. 'He is (going on) talking.'

The fact that the sense of plurality of action is not brought out in translations is not sufficient reason for not recognizing the fact. What such suffixes as -wa, -risi, -ghA, etc. do is to make apparent what is latent in every verb of the language, and to give a particular semantic dimension to it.
In support of the approach here are the statements of Otto Jespersen: "the plural idea with regard to the verbal action which is expressed in this use of the imperfect is of the same order as that which finds stronger expression in iterative or frequentative formations." Earlier he had said, "...the real plural of the verb is what in some languages is expressed by the so-called frequentative or iterative - sometimes a separate 'form' of the verb is often classed with tense or aspect system of the language in question..."2

N.6.3. Repetitive Verbs

Repetitive verbs form a sub-class of the phonologically defined Class III verbs, and are marked by their consisting of a reduplication of a verb root. We have already seen the use the language makes of the process of reduplication in expressing the plural idea in nouns and verb phrases. The same process is applied also to verbs, and the resulting forms serve the same purpose of expressing the notion of more than one, but with reference to the action. The verb ḫtūtū which was given earlier as a plural verb is so derived and implies a number of picking actions with the further implication of several objects. It differs from other repetitive verbs in that in others the plural notion is limited to the verb and does not necessarily imply plural in the noun related with the verb.

Here a few examples of repetitive verbs are given along with the simple base from which they are derived.
(35) (a) *igbụ* 'to slash', 'to hit out', 'to swat'
      (b) *igbụgbụ* 'to wave about', 'to thrash about', 'to shake (e.g. the head)'.

(36) (a) *ịfà* 'to wedge in'
      (b) *ịfụfà* 'to wedge into by repeated forcing actions'

(37) (a) *ịfẹ* 'to fan', 'to blow (of wind)'
      (b) *ịfụfẹ* 'to fan repeatedly', 'to wave'; cf. *ịfufe* 'wind'

(38) (a) *ǐkwà* 'to glance'
      (b) *ǐkwụkwà* 'to hit about', 'to be unsteady', 'to stagger'

Hitherto the plurality of 'action' implied in the use of these verbs has not been recognized because consideration of Number in the language has been limited to nouns and pronouns only.

N.7. Concord

Before now it has been assumed that concord did not exist as a grammatical category in Igbo. But now that it has been shown in several places above that the occurrence of certain suffixes require the object noun to be plural in form or meaning, and certain other elements in the verb require the subject or object or both to be plural either in form or meaning, and further that certain verbs, the plural verbs, cannot occur except with plural nouns, it becomes necessary to modify the assumption about concord. It can be said that concord in Number operates in the language, at least to some
degree, although this may not be overtly realized in all the 
words associated together by the category of Number.

N.8. Pronouns (in Direct Speech): SINGULAR NUMBER

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<tr>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEFAULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Subject</td>
<td>m 'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Object</td>
<td>m 'me'</td>
</tr>
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(ii) EMPHATIC

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<td></td>
<td>DEFAULT</td>
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<tr>
<td>(àmi)</td>
<td>àgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Object</td>
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## B. PLURAL NUMBER

### (i) NON-EMPHATIC

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<th>3RD, DEFINITE</th>
<th>INDEF.</th>
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<td>Remoter</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Subject</td>
<td>anyį</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>hna</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>anyį</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Object</td>
<td>anyį</td>
<td>'us'</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>hna</td>
<td>mmuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>anyį</td>
<td>'us'</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'them'</td>
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### (ii) EMPHATIC

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<th>INDEF.</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>anyį</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Subject</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Object</td>
<td>anyį</td>
<td>'us'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
N.8.1. Pronouns: Categories and Forms

As set out in Table I, above, Igbo pronouns indicate Person—First, Second, and Third, and Number—Singular and Plural. All three Persons have Non-emphatic and Emphatic forms; the forms are discussed in N.§.1-3.

The Third Person subcategorizes into Definite and Indefinite, and the Definite subcategorizes further into Remote and Remoter.

The Second Person has a form -ni/-nì, which can occur either as a suffix or as a particle following an NP. It is treated separately in N.§.12.

The forms of the pronouns in Direct Speech (as set out in Table I) are different from those used in Indirect Speech (as set out in Table 2) pages 128f.

N.8.2. Pronouns in Subject Function

The forms of pronouns in subject function are illustrated as follows:—

(i) Singular, Non-emphatic
(1) 1st. /M/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'I bought a book.'
(2) 2nd. /I/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'You bought a book.'
(3) 3rd (a) Def. /O/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'He/She bought a book.'
   (b) Indef. /A/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'Someone bought a book'/
       'A book was bought.'

(ii) Plural, Non-emphatic
(5) 1st. /Anyì/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'We bought a book.'
(6) 2nd. /Unù/ zurù akwụkwọ. 'You bought a book.'

(7) 3rd. Def./Indef. /Hnâ/ zù̀́rù akwúkwọ́. 'They bought a book'/'Some people bought a book.'

The 2nd and 3rd, singular, forms harmonize with the vowel of the first syllable of the following verb to I/ī, O/Q, and E/A, respectively. They are sometimes called 'inseparable pronouns' because they can only occur as subjects and immediately followed by the verb. A/E is usually called 'impersonal pronoun'; but this is considered in this work to be a misnomer. See below, N.§.S.

Along with the 1st person singular, 'M', I/ī, O/Q and E/A are called 'monophonemic' pronouns because of their form which makes them not to behave tonally as forms with more than one phoneme. Compare (1) to (4), for instance, where /Hnâ/ has a high-falling tone, though one syllable, and the others lack the falling tone.

(iii) Singular, Emphatic

The singular, emphatic, forms have alternative forms one of which takes the low tone prefix à-, as in these examples.
(8) 1st. /(Mù, ̀Amù, ̀Amì)/ zù̀́rù akwúkwọ́. 'I (emph.) bought a book.'
(9) 2nd. /(Gì, ̀Agì)/ zù̀́rù akwúkwọ́. 'You (emph.) bought a book.'
(10) 3rd. Def./(Ya, ̀Ayà)/ zù̀́rù akwúkwọ́. 'He/She (emph.) bought a book.'

(iv) Plural, Emphatic

The 1st and 2nd plural, emphatic, show emphasis by tone,
taking high-high tones instead of the unemphatic high-low tones. The 3rd, Definite takes the low tone prefix, à-.

(11) 1st. /Anyi/ zuru akwukwo. 'We (emph.) bought a book.'
(12) 2nd. /Unu/ zuru akwukwo. 'You (Emph.) bought a book.'
(13) 3rd. Def. /Ahna/ zuru akwukwo. 'They (emph.) bought a book.'

N.8.3. Pronouns in Object Function

(1) Singular, Non-emphatic

Only the 1st person, singular, uses the same form for object as for subject function.

(14) 1st. Eze hnuru /m/. 'Eze saw me.'
(15) 2nd. Eze hnuru /gi/. 'Eze saw you.'
(16) 3rd. Prox. Eze hnuru /ya/. 'Eze saw him/her/it.'

(11) Plural, Non-emphatic

The first person, plural, as an object always takes a mid-level tone structure which causes a preceding low tone syllable to take a high tone. 2nd and 3rd persons have the same form for object as for subject function.

(17) 1st. Eze hnuru /anyi/. 'Eze saw us.'
(18) 2nd. Eze hnuru /unu/. 'Eze saw you.'
(19) 3rd (Bro) Eze hnuru /hna/. 'Eze saw them.'

(iii) Singular, Emphatic

The 1st person, singular, emphatic, as object takes the form mu. There is no differentiated form for the 2nd and 3rd persons. However, when the latter are not final in a clause, they take high tones, if emphatic, in place of the
non-emphatic low tones. When they are not final, emphasis is achieved phonetically, by extra loudness, length, or stress (which is different from 'tone').

(20) 1st. Ezè hñùrù /mu/. 'Ezè saw me (emph.).'

Compare non-emphatic (21) with emphatic (22) as regards 2nd and 3rd person pronouns.

(21) Ezè nyèrè (/m/) ya. 'Ezè gave it to (me).

(22) 1st. (/mu/) (me (emph.))

2nd. Ezè nyere (/gi/) ya. 'Ezè gave it to you (emph.)'

3rd. (/ya/) hñù. (him/her (emph.))

(iv) **Plural, Emphatic**

The 1st and 2nd persons take two high tones as emphatic objects, and the 3rd person takes a high tone for emphasis only if it is not final in the clause.

(23) 1st. Ezè hñùrù /anyi/. 'Ezè saw us (emph.)'

2nd. Ezè hñùrù /unù/. 'Ezè saw you (emph.)'

3rd. (a) Ezè nyèrè hña ya. 'Ezè gave it to them (Non-em)

(b) Ezè nyèrè /hña/ ya. 'Ezè gave it to them (emph)"
N.8.4. Remote and Remoter Third Person

The 3rd Person Remote and Remoter forms fall into the system of Deixis of the language as set out below:

System of Deixis

1. Proximate

A. Definite

(i) Pronouns:

Sg. gi, i/i, 'you'

Pl. unu 'you'

B. Indefinite

(i) Pronouns:

Sg. ya, o/o 'he' hnu 'him'

Pl. hna 'they'

2. Non-Proximate

A. Remote

B. Remoter

(iii) Location:

ebe 'here'

 nga 'here'

 'there'

 'there'

 'there'

 (ii) Reference:

\{ a \} ahnu wa 'the'

\{ ma (oblique) \} wa

\{ naa \} 'this/

 'that/

 'the'

\{ these \} 'those'

\{ that other/ \}

\{ that \}
The system of Deixis as such is not discussed, but with regard to the Reference elements see 'Adjective' pp. 425+. Attention is restricted to the 3rd Person forms.

When two 3rd person elements of the same number occur as objects the second of them, representing a remoter referent, takes the 'Remoter' form, as in (26) and (27).

(26) Ezè nyèrè /yà hny./  'Ezè gave it to him.'
(27) Ezè nyèrè /hnà mmuo./  'Ezè gave them to them.'

If, however, the elements have different numbers only the 'Remote' forms are used, as in (28) and (29).

(28) Ezè nyèrè /yà hna./  'Ezè gave them to him.'
(29) Ezè nyèrè /hnà ya./  'Ezè gave it to them.'

When a 3rd person 'Remote' occurs as subject, another 3rd person of the same number with it occurring as object normally takes the 'Remoter' form, as in (30) and (31).

(30) /q/ gwàrà /hnù/.  'He told him.'
(31) /Hnâ/ gwàrà /mmuo./  'They told them.'

Often, however, and especially in writings, the 'Remote' forms are used both for subject and object.
The expressions in which /ya ya/ and /hna hna/ occur as objects, though the result of the influence of English on Igbo as used by those literate in English, are ungrammatical and when used (which is always done with a great deal of hesitation) produce ludicrous results. Their use, however, in writing especially is due to the fact that the 'Remoter' forms have not been given any prestige by using them in written works, although they are used widely in oral communications.

N.8.5. Indefinite Pronouns

The 3rd person, singular, Indefinite (inaccurately called 'impersonal pronoun'), e/a can have a plural meaning, and is often substituted for the plural form 'hna', as in (32).

(32) (a) /A/ nà  àkpọ  gị  ọkụ. 'Someone is calling you.'
(b) /Hna/ nà  àkpọ  gị  ọkụ. '(They are) (Someone is) calling you.'

The Indefinite construction using e/a when attention is focused on the 'process' rather than on the participant. It is the means by which the language suppresses the subject or Agent, whereas English achieves the same end by passivization and deletion of the Agent (or 'logical subject'). Hence English passive sentences are translated into Igbo by Indefinite expressions as in (33).

(33) 'The work was done yesterday.' A ọmụ  ọmụ  wã  eci.
When the subject is emphasized by passivization +'by NP' in English, the same purpose is achieved in Igbo by predicating
the subject NP, as in (34) (b), or by the use of the reflexive form n'ọnwe + Pron. as in (34) (c).

(34) (a) 'The work was done yesterday \(\text{by John}\)/.
(b) /\(\text{O wù J\(\text{on}\) /\(\text{rnùrù q\(\text{rn\(\text{u}\)}\) w\(\text{ā eci.}\)}/}\)
(c) J\(\text{on\) \(\text{rnùrù q\(\text{rn\(\text{u}\)}\) w\(\text{ā eci /n'\text{onwe y\(\text{ā.}\)}}\)}/}\)

The Indefinite pronoun \(\text{a/a}\)/ is used for referents that can be specified with (+Animate, +Human). So it cannot mean 'something, it', as Dr. Carrell\(\text{l}\) glosses it.

N.8.6. Oblique use of Pronouns

The 1st person and 2nd person, plural pronouns are sometimes used with oblique reference. In such instances they have low-high tones, as in (35) and (36).

(35) (a) /\(\text{Any\(\text{i\)}\) m\(\text{èrè ya. \}'We\' did it.'}\)
(b) /\(\text{O g\(\text{wàr\(\text{à}\)}\) /\(\text{any\(\text{i\)}\)}\)/. \}'He told 'us'.\)'/

(36) (a) /\(\text{\(\text{Un\(\text{u}\)}\) m\(\text{èrè ya. \}'You\' did it.'}\)
(b) /\(\text{O g\(\text{wàr\(\text{à}\)}\) /\(\text{\(\text{un\(\text{u}\)}\)}\)/. \}'He told 'you'.\)'/

This use of the 1st and 2nd persons, plural, is a way of making them Indefinite, as it endeavours to conceal the identity of the referents.

N.8.7. Verb + Subject Pronoun

Igbo clauses are generally of the order NP+V+NP when the positions are all filled. Sometimes, when the subject NP is the first person singular, or the third person plural pronoun, the order of Subject+Verb is reversed to Verb+Subject. The reversal, however, is not unmotivated, and the two orders do not mean exactly the same thing.

The reversed order contrasts with the unreversed one, and is used to stress the 'effective' or 'summary' aspect of the 'action' denoted by the verb (See Aspects, p.115). Consequently the Aorist form of the verb is used. In terms of Non-emphatic/Emphatic, the unreversed order is 'Non-emphatic' or neutral, while the reversed order is Emphatic.

Compare (a) and (b) of the following examples.

(37) (a) /M byara/ ahya. 'I came to the market.' (b) /Abyara m/ ahya. 'I did come to the market.'

(38) (a) /M meelee/ ya. 'I have done it.' (b) /Emeelee m/ ya. 'I have got it done.'

(39) (a) /M hnughi/ hna. 'I didn't see them.' (b) /Ahnughi m/ hna. 'I did not see them.'

(40) (a) /Hna byara/ ahya. 'They came to the market.' (b) /Abyara hna/ ahya. 'They did come to the market.'

(41) (a) /Hna meelee/ ya. 'They have done it.' (b) /Emeelee hna/ ya. 'They have got it done.'

(42) (a) /Hna ahnughi/ ya. 'They didn't see it.' (b) /Ahnughi hna/ ya. 'They did not see it.'

As can be seen from the (b) examples, the form. of the verbs is that of the Aorist, and the prefix is the Aorist prefix, a/e-. This prefix has hitherto been called 'pronominal prefix' and assumed to be substituting for the postposed pronoun.1 The Welmers call it 'subject pronoun'2 and

1. Green and Igwe, op.cit, pp.33-34.
separate from the verb. Both analyses are wrong, and the latter more so than the former because there is no justification for it in the grammar of the language and it can lead to confusion with the Indefinite pronoun, a/e, or create quite unnecessary ambiguities, as in (43) and (44).

(43) E mèrè m ya.  (i) 'I did do it.'
     (ii) 'Someone did it to me'/'It was done to me.'

(44) A zürü hña ya.  (i) 'They did buy it.'
     (ii) 'Someone bought it from them'/'It was bought from them.'

If the clause is a Complex Clause, the post-posed pronouns occur before the final verb in the series, as in (b) of (45) to (47).

(45) (a) /M nà 'bya/ ùgbu à.  'I am coming now.'
     (b) /Anà m 'bya/ ùgbu à.  'I am coming now.'

(46) (a) /M gà gà ème/ yà eci.  'I'll now do it tomorrow.'
     (b) /Agà gà m ème/ yà eci.  'I'll now have to do it tomorrow.'

(47) (a) /Hña kà nà èri/ ihynè.  'They are still eating as yet.'
     (b) /Akà nà hña èri/ ihynè.  'They are still eating as yet.'

The post-posing of the third person plural pronoun is as frequent as that of the first person singular pronoun. So the statement of Dr. Carrel - "However, anà hña èri nrī is
less common than hna nà 'eri nri 'They are eating food'."l ... is without foundation.

N.8.8. Sequential Order of Co-occurring Pronouns

When the first person pronoun (singular or plural) co-occurs in a conjoined NP, with the 2nd or 3rd person or with both, it always takes precedence before them. If all three persons co-occur, the 2nd person usually precedes the 3rd person, after the 1st person, but can sometimes be preceded by the 3rd person. The monophonemic pronouns never occur in conjoined expressions.

Consider the following examples.

(48) Mụ nà gị nà ya ... 'I and you and he...'
(49) Mụ nà ya nà gị ... 'I and he and you ...'
(50) Anyị nà unụ nà hna ... 'We and you and they...'
(51) Anyị nà hna nà unụ ... 'We and they and you...'
(52) O nyèrè /mụ nà gị nà ya nà hụ. 'He gave to me and you and him and him (Remoter).'
(53) O nyèrè /mụ nà ya nà hụ nà gị. 'He gave to me and him and him and you.'
(54) O nyèrè /anyị nà unụ nà hna nà mmuo. 'He gave to us and you and them and them (Remoter).'
(55) O nyèrè /anyị nà hna nà mmuo nà unụ. 'He gave to us and them and them and you.'

When only the 2nd and 3rd persons are conjoined, the 2nd always occurs first, as in (56).

(56) (a) gị nà ya 'you and he'
(b) unu nà hna 'you (pl.) and they'

And among the 3rd person pronouns the 'Remoter' forms follow the others, as in (57).

(57) (a) ya nà hnu 'he and he (Remoter).'
    (b) hnu nà mmuo 'they and they (Remoter).'

The emphatic forms 'amù, àgi, âya, and âhna occur only in first positions, as in (58).

(58) (a) 'amù nà gî 'I and you'
    (b) àgi nà ya 'you and he'
    (c) âya nà hnu 'he and he (Remoter)'
    (d) âhna nà mmuo 'they and they (Remoter)'

Observe that when the first person plural and the second person plural occur first they take their emphatic forms of high-high tones, as in (50) and (56) (b) above, for instance.

The third person singular and plural 'ya' and 'hna' may precede or follow each other, as in (59).

(59) (a) ya nà hna 'he and they'
    (b) hna nà ya 'they and he'

N.8.9. Appositional Pronouns: Person and Number

The occurrence of the appositional pronoun in Interrogative sentences has been mentioned in the literature of Igbo grammar, but nowhere fully treated. Here it is fully described in order to bring out certain details which have not so far been brought to light, and to justify the claim that Singular and Plural Number alone should be recognized for Igbo nouns.

(i) If the subject of the clause to be interrogated is
singular in form or meaning, and the interrogation is not emphatic, the appositional pronoun is /o/ or /ɔ/ in harmony with the first syllable of the following verb, and has a low tone.

(60) Eze /ɔ/ mà ya? 'Does Eze know him?'
(61) Eze /o/ riele ihyné? 'Has Eze eaten something?'
(62) Okwu /ɔ/ futala? 'Has trouble ensued?'

(ii) If the subject is plural in meaning (as in (63)), or plural in form being (a) a plural noun (as in (64)), or (b) conjoined nouns (as in (65)), the appositional pronoun is the third person plural /hna/, with a low tone.

(63) Àkwùkwọ /hna/ èfùisiele? 'Have the books got all lost?'
(64) Ùmuùtùkiri /hna/ ègwuchaala egwu? 'Have the children finished playing?'
(65) Obi nà Qjhí /hna/ gàrà mba? 'Did Obi and Qjhí travel?'

(iii) If the subject is a conjoined expression and contains a first person pronoun, singular or plural, the appositional pronoun is the first person plural /anyi/, with low tones.

(66) Mù nà 'Obi nà ya /anyi/ zùrù ikhe? 'Did Obi and he and I rest?'
(67) Anyi nà hna /anyi/ kwùrù okwu? 'Did they and we speak?'

(iv) If the conjunction contains no first person pronoun but contains a second person pronoun, singular or plural, the appositional pronoun is the second person plural /unu/ with low tones.

(68) Gì nà Eze /unu/ wù enyi? 'Are you and Eze friends?'
(69) Unu nà hna /ùnù/ gàrà ebe ìle? 'Where did you go with them?'

(v) If the conjunction consists of third person elements only - noun + noun (as in (65) above), noun + pronoun (as in (70)), or pronoun + pronoun (as in (71)), the appositional pronoun is /hna/.

(70) Ya nà Òbi /hna/ mèrè gíñí? 'What did he and Òbi do?'

(71) Ya nà hmu /hna/ jì gíñí? 'What is the matter between him and him?'

(vi) In all the instances above the questions are unemphatic. When the question is emphatic, ò/ó is replaced by /ya/, and /hna/, /ànyi/, /ùnù/ become /hna + ya/, /ànyi + ya/ and /ùnù + ya/, respectively, as in the following examples.

(72) Gì /ya/ wètàrà ìkpu? 'Was it you who brought the hat?'

(73) Òbi /ya/ mèrè zíi? 'Was it Òbi who did the work?'

(74) Èzè nà ya /hna yà/ kwùrù ìkú? 'Was it Èzè and him who spoke?'

(75) Mì nà gi /ànyì yà/ zùrù yìì? 'Did you and I buy it?'

(76) Gì nà Òjìhi /ùnù yà/ hñùrù yìì? 'Was it seen by you and Èzè?'

The type of questions illustrated in (72) to (76), it must be explained, expect the answer 'No'.

It should be observed how, in (60) to (71) the Number of the appositional pronoun is determined by the Number of the subject NP, and how 'conjoining' counts for 'plural' in the language.
The details of the tones of the subject NP are not described here as these are not under consideration. But they are worthy of note, however.

N.8.10. **Reduplication of Pronouns**

It has been stated that nouns are reduplicated for the purpose of expressing the 'plural' notion. Similarly pronouns are reduplicated with the purpose of expressing the sense of 'all-ness'.

(77) \( \text{Ya yā/mèrè qrny à.} \) 'He alone did this piece of work.'/
    'He did this piece of work all by himself.'

(78) \( \text{Hna hna/ ālachaala.} \) 'All of them have all gone away.'

(79) \( \text{Anyi anyi/ nò ñga à.} \) 'All of us are here.'/ 'It is only us exclusively who are here.' (i.e. 'There is no outsider among us. ')

(80) \( \text{Ø wû/unu ûnu/ mèrè ya?} \) 'Was it done by all of you?'/
    'Was it done by you (pl.) alone?'

Observe that as in the case of class I and class II nouns, the second member in the reduplication has an initial mid-tone in relation to the first member.

N.8.11. **Reflexive Forms**

Reflexive forms are constructed by combining pronouns (and sometimes nouns) with the nouns ogwe 'self' and onwe 'self'. Neither of the nouns can occur by itself without being modified by a pronoun or by a noun. There are seven types of reflexive forms as follows:

(1) ogwe+Pronoun/Noun.
(ii) `onwe+Pronoun/Noun.
(iii) (ogwe+Pronoun 1)+ (Prep.+`onwe+Pronoun 1).
(iv) (ogwe+Noun)+(Prep.+`onwe+Pronoun of same Person & Number as Noun)
(v) Pronoun 1 +(Prep.+`onwe+Pronoun 1)
(vi) Noun+(Prep.+`onwe+Pron. of same Person and Num. as Noun)
(vii) Prep.+`onwe+Pronoun/Noun.

Only the types with pronouns in their composition will be described and illustrated, in the order they are given above.

(i) ogwe+Pronoun

The form has an emphatic sense and is substitutable for an emphatic pronoun. It can be used as subject or object.

(81) /Ogwe ya/nye`er`e /ogwe m/ aka. 'He himself helped me myself.'

(82) /Ogwe hna/ hn`ur`u /ogwe um`a/ n'anya. 'They themselves love you yourselves.'

(ii) `onwe+Pronoun

It can be used only as a reflexive object and the pronoun member must agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.

(83) /Eze/ m`ere /`onwe y`a/ ihyne o`jo. 'Eze wronged himself.'

(84) /Anyi/ hn`ur`u /`onwe a`nyi/ n'anya. 'We love ourselves.'

(85) /Obi na O`jhi/ hn`ur`i`ar`a /`onwe hna/ irno. 'Obi and O`jhi hate each other.' ('...hate themselves each the other.')
(iii) \((\text{ogwè}+\text{Pronoun})+(\text{Prep.}+\text{onwe}+\text{Pronoun})\)

This form is still more emphatic in sense than (i) above, but is used in the same way — as subject or object.

(86) /Ogwe gi n'Ìonwe gi/ mère /ogwè ya n'Ìonwe ya/ ihyne qjoqó.

'You yourself did him himself wrong.'

(v) \(\text{Pronoun}+\text{Prep.}+\text{onwe}+\text{Pronoun}\)

The form is emphatic in meaning and also in form in that the first pronoun is always an emphatic form, while the second one is the unemphatic form of the same person and number. It may be used as a subject or an object.

(87) /Mù n'Ìonwe mì/ mère kà /hna n'Ìonwe hÌn/ mata. 'I myself made them themselves know.'

(88) Ayà gwàrà /unu n'Ìonwe unù./ 'He (emph.) told you yourselves.'

(vii) \(\text{Prep.}+\text{onwe}+\text{Pronoun}\)

It is used as a reflexive ('Agentive' form, and the pronoun member must agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.

(89) Òmèrè /mì/ ya /n'Ìonwe mì/. 'I did do it by myself.'

(90) /O/ cètàrà ya /n'Ìonwe yà/. 'He recalled it by himself.'

(91) /Ndì ahńu/ byàrà /n'Ìonwe hÌn/. 'Those people came by themselves.'

From the composition of the reflexive forms which is such that the number of the final pronoun member is determined by the number of the preceding pronoun (and this will apply also where nouns precede), and from the fact of number concord
between the final pronoun member and the subject of the clause, as in (ii) and (viii), it will be realized that Number cannot be a peripheral category in the language. And the concord noticed here and also between appositional pronouns and their preceding subject NP's give a grammatical justification for classifying the pronouns into singular and plural forms.

N.8.12. The Particle ni/-nì

The particle ni/-nì is a class II element, non-harmonizing and tonally invariable. It can occur as a suffix, or as a particle following a noun or pronoun. It has two functions: one as a subject in a second person Imperative, plural, when the subject unù is not expressed, and another as a Vocative element when not functioning as subject.

As regards its subject function, compare (c) with (a) and (b) in (92).

(92) (a) Zuò ikhē. 'Rest (sing.)'
(b) Unù zuò ikhē. 'You rest (pl.)'
(c) Zuoni ikhe. 'You rest (pl.)'

As to its function as a Vocative form, consider the following examples.

(93) Ezè afuqalanì. 'Ezè has gone out, you people.'
(94) Anyì abyalani. 'We have come, you people.'
(95) Ikhe ìgwula yà nì. 'He is tired, you people.'
(96) Ihnu ìmà ìkpòla unù nì. 'You are lucky, you people.'
(97) Ìdèèwọ nì. 'Greetings, you people.'/*Thank you (pl.)'
(98) Abhàla m ìłọ nì. 'I have gone to bed, you people.'
The forms of pronouns in Indirect Speech have not been discussed anywhere before in the treatment of Igbo grammar, although these forms are in regular use in speech. They have not also appeared anywhere in writing largely due to the simplicity of the material and the style of what has been written so far, but also due to the indirect influence of English on Igbo writing.

The forms of the pronouns are set out in Table 2 below.

**Table 2  Pronouns in Indirect Speech**

A. **Singular Number** (i) Non-emphatic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>1ST</th>
<th>2ND</th>
<th>3RD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Remote</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mo/mo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gohno/gohno</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omó/omó</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yo/yô</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yohno/yohno</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I'</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amo/amo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>agohno/agohno</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>'I'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omó/omó</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>yo/yô</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>yohno/yohno</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amó/amó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ayohno/ayohno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphatic
### B. Plural Number, (i) Non-emphatic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>1ST</th>
<th>2ND</th>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>DEFINITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Remote</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyô/anyô</td>
<td>unô/unô</td>
<td>ahno/ahno</td>
<td>mmuô/ôhno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyînhnô/</td>
<td>unî unhnô/</td>
<td>hnahno/hnahno</td>
<td>mmuô oohnô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyînhnô</td>
<td>unhnô</td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>mmuô oohnô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(ii) Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anyînhnô/</td>
<td>unûnhnô/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyînhnô</td>
<td>unûnhnô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'they'</td>
<td>'they'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the system of pronouns used in Indirect Speech the monophonemic pronouns which occur in Direct Speech do not occur. The Indirect Speech pronouns are differentiated from the Direct Speech ones by the occurrence of a basic element - ohno (the vowels being determined by harmony with the first syllable of the following verb). This element may be shortened by the deletion of the first vowel syllable, as in any i 'we', unu 'you' and hno 'he/she', or be completely deleted but only after it has affected the pronoun before it, as in mo 'I', go 'you', omo 'I' and ogó 'you'.

In the emphatic dimension, where the full form of ohno occurs, the expression is more emphatic than other emphatic forms.

Observe the regressive assimilation of the vowels of mʊ, amʊ, gi, əgi, anyi and unu to the vowel of ohno such that these pronouns become respectively mo/mo, amo/amo, omo/omo, go/go, əgo/ago, ogó/ogo, anyo/anyo and uno/uno.

N 8.13 (i) Verbs necessitating Indirect Pronouns

The type of verbs which necessitate the use of Indirect Pronouns are

(a) verbs of 'saying' e.g. isi 'to say', igwá 'to tell', iká 'to say', ikwú 'to speak/say'.
(b) verbs of 'thinking' e.g. Ọcè 'to think', ịa 'to reflect', ıkwho 'to take regard of'; and
(c) the verb ịjụ 'to ask'.

The Indirect pronouns occur in the dependent parts of Complex sentences, and such dependent parts function as Complements in the sentences. The pronouns do not occur as objects, in their own right. It is not possible to illustrate all the varieties of forms as set out in the Table above. And since there is no syntactic difference between Non-emphatic and Emphatic forms, only the Non-emphatic forms will be illustrated in the paradigms below.

Paradigm 1: With 'saying' verbs

A. Singular

1st Eže sị (pcm/mo) ụzụ ọkpu. 'Eзе said that (I) bought a

2nd ọgọ/gọ

3rd (a) ayọ/yọ

(b) ọghọ/họ

Paradigm 2: With 'thinking' verbs

A. Singular

(In all cases above 'sì' may be accompanied by the complementizer na.)
The following two examples simply illustrate the use of

(99) Ọ jurū ma /agohno/ gwara m. 'He asked whether you (emph) told me.'

(100) Ezè jurū ma /anyi ohno/ nwe ụwà. 'Ezè asked whether we (emph) owned the world.'

N.8.13. (ii) Appositional use of Indirect Pronouns

Indirect pronouns can occur appositionally. In such cases the form which occurs must agree in number with the NP to which it is in apposition. The conditions stated in N.8.9. also apply, except (vi). Consider the following examples.

(101) Ọ jurū ma /Ezè hno/ riele nrì. 'He asked whether Ezè had eaten (food).'

(102) Ọ cèrè na /Obi na Ojhi mmuo ohno/ n'iri isi ebe a. 'He thought that Obi and Ojhi were still here.'

N.9. Quantifying Nominals

There are two categories of Quantifiers by which the
plural notion is realized, as one of the means of expressing Number in the language. They are Numerals and Quantifying adjectives.

N.9.1. Numerals

Numerals are not dealt with in detail here. The category has been fairly adequately treated by Dr. Carrell in the 'Transformational Grammar of Igbo'.

Igbo has Cardinal, Ordinal and Dual numerals which are widely recognized and used. But some dialects of it have also Trial, Quadrial and more.

N.9.1.1. Cardinals

All cardinal numerals, as quantifiers, follow nouns, with the exception of the following; which only precede their nouns.

(1) otu 'one'  (2) ohu (og'u, oru) 'twenty'
(3) nnu 'fourhundred'

When these three are not quantifiers they can occur after nouns, while the other cardinals, precede when they are not quantifiers. In such cases the numerals become the heads of the phrases. Consider the following examples.

(4) otu akwukwo 'one book'; 'one of the books'; 'a certain book'.

(5) ohu ụgbọ 'twenty times'

(6) nnu afọ 'fourhundred years'

(7) (a) akwukwo /abụọ/ 'two books'; 'the books of two (people)'
    (b) /abụọ/ akwukwo 'two of the books'
(8) (a) òkpu /íri/ 'ten hats'; 'hats of ten (people)'
    (b) /íri/ òkpu 'ten of the hats'

(9) ọlọ /otù/ 'the house of one (man)'

(10) ọg'o /ohū/ 'the money of twenty (men)'

Observe the ambiguity of (7) (a) and (8) (a).

With the exception of otù 'one', all cardinal numerals
can follow or precede pronouns, with necessary differences
in meaning. However, cardinals can follow only plural
pronouns.

Consider the following examples.

(11) 'àbyọ ya 'two of it'; 'his two'

(12) (a) /àbyọ/ hna 'two of them'; 'their two'
    (b) hna /àbyọ/ 'the two of them'

(13) (a) /àtọ/ ànymi 'three (out) of us'; 'our three'
    (b) ànymi /àtọ/ 'the three of us'

(14) (a) /ohù/ unù 'twenty (out) of you'; 'your twenty'
    (b) unù /ohù/ 'the twenty of you'

Again observe the ambiguity of (11), (12) (a), (13) (a),
(14) (a). Otù 'one', as in (4), can have a sense of
'indefiniteness'.

N.9.1.2. Ordinals

There are only two ordinal forms, m'bù 'first' and abọ
'second'. For other numerals the same forms are used for
both cardinal and ordinal, sometimes with some other
expressions, but this cannot be gone into here. Consider
the examples of the 'first' and 'second'.

(15) Ọ wụ /onye ụgbụ/. 'He is the first person.'
(16) Nye m /akwụkwọ ạbọ/. 'Give me the second book.'

N.9.1.3. Dual

The dual form is derived by prefixing na- to the second ordinal form and by turning its consonant /b/ into a labial-velar approximant. In other dialects the consonant remains unchanged. Thus we have two forms of it naǹwọ/naǹbọ 'two-of-the-same'.

It is frequently used of paired things, and always of those parts of the body that are paired.

(17) madụ naǹwọ 'two people'
(18) uzọ naǹwọ 'both ways', 'two ways'
(19) anya naǹwọ 'the pair of eyes'
(20) aka naǹwọ 'the pair of hands'
(21) ụgbọ naǹwọ 'twice'

Some dialects have nañọ 'the three of'; nañọ 'the four of'; niịse 'the five of of'; etc. Such dialects are found in the Awka-Orlu area.

N.9.3. Quantifying Adjectives

The following adjectives imply more than one object when they are used with reference to countable things:

(22) ọzụgbọ (ọzụzụ) 'all'
(23) ebìri 'numerous'
(24) ịkịtị 'plentiful', 'many'
(25) ịmịrịkịtị 'multitudinous'
(26) ọrị 'plentiful', 'many'
As they recur under Adjectives, they are not discussed here.

N.10. **Paucal**

Igbo does not express only Singular, Plural and Dual (and Trial, Quadrial, etc., as mentioned above), it expresses also the notion of 'fewness', or Paucal. It does this by the use of an adjective naání 'only', and a suffix -bè. naání is mentioned again in under Adjectives, p.494. The suffix is dealt with now.

The suffix is sometimes glossed as 'not yet' for the simple reason that it often occurs in negative verb forms. Green, in her work on the Igbo Suffixes glosses it 'yet', 'ever'. These glosses indicate that the point of the suffix is not appreciated. It expresses the paucal dimension of Number, and can occur either in negative or positive verb forms and clauses. It is non-harmonizing, and tonally invariable.

Consider the following examples.

(30) Ò byabèghi. 'He has not come at all.'
(31) Anyì 'eribèghi nri tha à. 'We haven't eaten at all today.'
(32) Ùgbò atò kà unu byàbèlè ebe ìnyì. 'Thrice only have you come to our place.'
(33) Ìmù àhmùbèlè yà? 'Have you seen it at all?' / 'Have you...
ever seen it?'

(34) Mbà àtò kà o gabelè na nghù ya. 'He has travelled to only three towns in all his life.'
Case

'Case' as a category of the Grammar of Igbo

'Case' as a category of the grammar of Igbo has never been discussed in detail anywhere before.¹ There are two main reasons for this. Until recently, the consideration of case as a grammatical category has been more or less limited to inflexional languages, like Latin and Greek, and the category described only in terms of inflexional elements in nouns.² As Igbo is not an 'inflexional' language — in the sense that nouns do not undergo morphological changes when they occur in different syntactic positions and contract different syntactic relationships — it did not seem appropriate to posit a category of case for it. (It should be noted that nouns of certain structures occurring in certain syntactic position are tonally inflected. See 'Tones', p.13 f).

However, if the discussion of 'case' is not inhibited by morphological considerations, and syntactic features (such...

1. J. Spencer has a short paragraph on 'Case' in his 'A First Grammar of the Ibo Language' (1901), p.16.

2. e.g. Frederick Cassidy: "'Case' in Modern English" — Language 13: p.244, 1937. "'Case' will be properly used and will continue to have some meaning only if the association with inflection be fully recognized, and if stretching of the term to include other sorts of 'formal' distinction be abandoned."

Winfred P. Lehmann: "On earlier stages of the Indo-European nominal inflection" — Language 34, p.185, 1958. "...To us a particular case in non-existent unless it is represented by forms which contrast with others in a system."
as word-order and pre- and post-positions) are taken into account, then it will be extremely difficult not to recognize the category for Igbo. That is to say, if the category as such is distinguished from the realization of it in surface structures\(^1\), it will be seen that it has a valid place in the grammar of Igbo. The category of case is therefore set up in this work as a syntactic category of the Clause. It is accounted for both by certain morphological elements which

\[\text{\footnotesize\textit{1. e.g. John Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.294, "We must therefore consider the relationship between prepositional phrases and case, in any general discussion of the category of case... Although the category of case is traditionally restricted to inflectional variation, it is clear that both the 'grammatical' and the 'local' functions... are logically independent of the ways they are realized in particular languages. Furthermore, these 'grammatical' and 'local' functions may be realized in the same language by case inflexions and partly by other means - most commonly by prepositions or by postpositions, or by word-order. This means that the category of case cannot be discussed solely from a morphological point of view."}}\]

Charles J. Fillmore: "The case for case" - Universals in Linguistic Theory, pp.21,32.
"I shall adopt the usage... of using the term 'case' to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship, and the term 'case form' to mean the expression of a case relationship in a particular language - whether through affixation, or suppletion, use of clitic particles, or constraints on word order... "This section will deal with some of the ways in which deep structures of the type proposed in this essay are converted into surface representations of sentences. The various mechanisms involve selection of overt case forms (by suppletion, affixation, addition of prepositions or postpositions), 'registration' of particular elements in the verb, subjectivization, objectivization, sequential ordering, and nominalizations."
occur as suffixes in the verb, and by the NP elements of a clause, including prepositional phrases.

Ca.2. Scope of the consideration of case

In considering the category of case in Igbo I am indebted to the writings of John Lyons¹, Charles J. Fillmore² and John M. Anderson.³

Lyons accepts 'the general validity' of eight cases - 'Subjective' ('Nominative'), 'Objective' ('Accusative'), 'Indirect Objective' ('Dative'), 'Adnominal 'possessive'' ('Genitive'), 'Instrumental', 'Agentive', and 'Comitative'. Fillmore, while recognizing the possibility of 'several others', selects the following cases for treatment - 'Agentive', 'Instrumental', 'Dative', 'Factive', 'Locative', 'Objective'. He mentions the 'Benefactive' case, and observes a relationship between the 'dative' and 'genitive' cases, syntactically. Anderson, on the other hand, working towards a 'localist' theory of case, deals in the main with only three cases - 'Nominative', 'Ergative', and 'Locative'. He sees the 'dative' case as a subtype of the 'locative' case, and suggests a relation between 'possession' and 'location' leading to a recognition of a connection between 'locative' and 'genitive'.

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¹ Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, pp.289-304.
² Fillmore: Case for Case - Universals in Linguistics, pp.1-90.
³ Anderson: The Grammar of Case - Cambridge University Press.
which is similar to the view of Fillmore, though not expressed in 'localist' terms.

Lyons does not seem to accept that 'case' is a 'deep' structure category, as Fillmore and Anderson do. He says: "... 'case' (in the languages in which this category is to be found) is not present in 'deep' structure at all, but is merely the inflexional 'realization' of particular syntactic relationships (since 'case' is defined in terms of a prior notion of 'noun', this fact would vitiate any attempt to define the 'noun' in terms of 'case')." Because of the theoretical differences between Lyons on the one hand and Fillmore and Anderson on the other, there are some differences in the names of some of the cases as used by them. Thus, for instance, while for Lyons 'objective' is synonymous with 'accusative', Fillmore says of 'objective': "The term is not to be confused with the notion of direct object, nor with the name of the surface case synonymous with accusative."

I agree with Fillmore and Anderson that case is a 'deep' structure category, but have adopted the more extensive terminology of Fillmore rather than the limited one of Anderson.

However, the consideration of case in Igbo is limited in this work to those categories of it which involve overt morphological elements - suffixes (and prepositions) - in order to keep within the limit of the general subject of the work. Therefore the following cases, as defined by Fillmore (though
not going all the way with his definitions), will be discussed:

(a) Benefactive  (c) Agentive  (e) Locative
(b) Dative  (d) Comitative  (f) Instrumental

Other cases are mentioned only incidentally, and where necessary.

Ca.3. 'Grammatical' and 'Local' Cases

Following Lyons, as far as the surface realization of case is concerned, the case categories listed above are discussed under two major categories - 'grammatical' and 'local' case functions. This is not a denial of the 'localist' approach of Anderson, which I find very attractive and useful in explaining certain features in Igbo to which attention will be drawn at appropriate places. All but (e), above, will be considered under 'grammatical' function cases.

'Locative' cases are considered under two heads: 'Locational' and 'Directional'.

Ca.4. Case forms

Apart from the preposition 'na', the following case forms will be discussed in connection with the cases which they help to represent:

(a) 'Grammatical Case'

(i) -ra/E 'Dative-Benefactive' case

The grammar of case in Igbo is characterized briefly below, using the rule which Fillmore proposed, of

\[ S \rightarrow M + P \] (i.e. Sentence \(\rightarrow\) Modality + Proposition),

and expanding P to \( V + C_1 + \ldots + C_n \) (i.e. P \(\rightarrow\) Verb + Case_1 + \ldots + Case_n).

The rule will be modified in two respects: It will be treated as a rewriting rule; and some order will be observed in the sequence of case categories from the outset on the basis of Igbo characteristic order of 'Subject+Verb+Object'. First 'grammatical' cases will be characterized, then 'local' cases.

Ca. 5.  **The grammar of case in Igbo**

In the characterization of the 'grammatical' case attention is limited to the 'Dative', and the 'Comitative', the 'Agentive' and the 'Instrumental' cases uncombined. The
initial rule is assumed in each case and the P only is expanded.

Ca.6.1. 'Dative'

(1) (a) \( P \rightarrow A + V + O + D \)
(b) \( \rightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 + (\text{affix+NP}_3) \)
(c) \( \rightarrow NP_1 + V + (\text{affix+NP}_3) + NP_2 \) (reversing order of O and D)
(d) \( \rightarrow NP_1 + (V+\text{affix}) + NP_3 + NP_2 \) (attaching affix to V)

There are two types of affixes connected with 'Dative': 
-\( rA/E \) and \( -si \). The first realizes 'Dative-Benefactive', and the other 'Dative-Recipient/Receptive' I, traditionally called 'Beneficiary' and 'Recipient', respectively. Substituting these affixes one after the other in (d), we get (e) and (f), respectively.

(e) \( NP_1 + (V + rA/E) + NP_3 + NP_2 \)
(f) \( NP_1 + (V + si) + NP_3 + NP_2 \)

Examples of sentences manifesting (e) and (f) are (2) and (3), respectively.

(2) Ọbị mèrè Ọjhi ihyne. 'Ọbi is doing something for Ọjhi.'
(3) Ọbị mèsi Ọjhi ihyne. 'Ọbi is doing something to Ọjhi.'
(with the meaning of something detrimental to Ọjhi's interests).

Ca.6.1.(ii) Agentive

(3) (a) \( P \rightarrow V + A + O \)
(b) \( \rightarrow A + V + Q \)
(c) \( \rightarrow (\text{affix+NP}_1) + V + NP_2 \)
Ca. 6.1. (iii) Instrumental (subjectivized)

(5) (a) \( P \rightarrow V + O + A + I \)

(b) \( \rightarrow I + V + O + \emptyset \)

(c) \( \rightarrow (\text{affix}+\text{NP}_1) + V + \text{NP}_2 \)

(d) \( \rightarrow \text{NP}_1 + (V+\text{affix}) + \text{NP}_2 \)

(6) Example: Uferè vùùrù ahyjhya. 'The wind carried the leaves away.'

Ca. 6.1. (iv) 'Comitative'

(7) (a) \( P \rightarrow A + V + O \)

(b) \( \rightarrow ((\text{affix}+\text{NP}_1) + (\text{affix}+\text{NP}_2)) + V + \text{NP}_3 \)

(c) \( \rightarrow \text{NP}_1 + \text{NP}_2 + (\text{affix}+V) + \text{NP}_3 \)

(d) (i) \( \text{NP}_1 + \text{NP}_2 + (V+\text{affix}) + \text{NP}_3 \)

(ii) \( \text{NP}_{pl.} + (V+\text{affix}) + \text{NP}_{pl.}/\text{NP}_{sg} \)

(iii) \( \text{NP}_{sg} + (V+\text{affix}) + \text{NP}_{pl.} \)

The 'comitative' affix is \(-ri\), and when substituted in (d) (i) to (iii), with lexical items for the NPs we get, respectively (8), (9), (10).

(8) 'Obi nà Qjhi gùùrì egwu. 'Obi and Qjhi are playing with each other.'

(9) 'Umùntàkìnrì gùùrì egwu. 'The children are playing with one another.'

(10) 'Obi wà nìhna. 'Obi is taking each of them.'

Ca. 6.2. 'Local' Cases

Both the 'locational' and the 'directional' subcategories
of the 'Locative' case have the same characteristics, differing only in the affixes which they select, as listed above.

Their grammatical characteristics are as follows.

(11) (a) \[ P \rightarrow A + V + O \pm D + L \]
(b) \[ \rightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (affix+affix+NP_4) \]
(c) \[ \rightarrow NP_1 + V + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (affix+prep+NP_4) \]
(d) \[ \rightarrow NP_1 + (V+affix) + NP_2 \pm NP_3 + (prep+NP_4) \]
(e) \[ \rightarrow NP_1 + (V+affix) \pm NP_3 + NP_2 + (prep+NP_4) \]

The 'Dative' case is optional when the 'Locative' case occurs. Assuming its occurrence in the (e) above, we get (12) and (13) below for the 'locational' and the 'directional' 'Locative', respectively. There is only one preposition in the language which can occur with the 'locative' NP, that is 'na' (orthographically written 'na/n').

(12) Ṫbi dlọsà oco akwụkwọ n'elụ. 'Obi is putting/placing a book on the top of the chair.' ('Obi is-putting-on chair book on top.')

(13) Ṫbi dlọhànhà oco akwụkwọ n'elụ. 'Obi is removing a book from the top of the chair.' ('Obi is-putting-from chair book on top.')

Considering (11) above, and its exemplifications (12) and (13), as far as Igbo is concerned, Fillmore is correct when he says, "locational and directional elements do not contrast but are superficial differences determined either by the constituent structure or by the character of the associated verb."

this language the differentiating elements are the affixes. But Fillmore's distinction of 'inner L' and 'out L' does not apply in Igbo.

Fillmore's definition of 'Dative' as "the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb" does not apply in Igbo, as 'oco' 'chair' in (12) and (13) which represents 'Dative' show. This type of dative I distinguish however, as dative-locative (See Ca.9.2.(iv)).

Ca. 7 * Justification of the rules given

The justification for the rules given above whereby 'affix + NP' is located some distance from the V, then is transformationally brought next to the V, and the 'affix' is later taken into the Verb (V), is the existence of similar structures in normal use in the language. They are as follows.

(i) The 'Dative-Benefactive' case is sometimes found following an NP in question sentences, as in (14) (a) the response to which may be (14) (b).

(14) (a) Ọ hụrụ ọnye /re gị? ('Who did he see for you?')

'As far as you are concerned, whom did he see?'

(b) Ọ /hụrụ m/ Ọbi. ('He saw Ọbi for me.') 'He saw Ọbi, as far as I am concerned.'

(ii) Secondly, verbal clauses in sequence are combined into one by the deletion of common elements and compounding the verbs, as in (12). Compound and Complex Verbs (See p.46 F) originate from Verbal Clauses from which common elements have
been deleted and the verbs combined.

(15) Ọ gbàrà ọsọ + ọ rùrù Aba. 'He ran + He reached Aba.'
      → Ọ gbàrùrù Aba n'ọsọ. 'He reached Aba by running.'
Observe how 'rùrù Aba' now occurs following the verb 'gba',
and how 'ọsọ' now occurs in final position with the preposition
bringing out its 'Instrumental' case function.

(iii) There are what I call 'movable particles' which can
either occur as particles following NPs or as suffixes in
verbs. Such particles are sì/-sì 'Number', kwA/-kwA 'Reference'
etc., nì/-nì 'Reference', di/-dì 'Reference', thà/-thà 'Modality',
and rì/-rì 'Comparative'. Consider (16) and (17).

(16) Ọ /gàrathà/ ahya? 'Could he have gone to the market?'
    (b) Ọ gàrà /ahya thà?/ 'Could he have gone to the
        market?'

(17) (a) /Anyì di/ kà ọ nà àcọ. 'It is we, you know, that
    he is looking for.'
    (b) Anyì kà ọ /nà àcòdì/. 'It is we, you know, that he
    is looking for.'

The rule which initially separates the case affixes from
the verbs has a grammatical value in that it helps to isolate
the case affixes from, for instance, the tense and asp affixes
and to show that their grammatical origins are different.
It is particularly useful in those instances where affixes
belonging to different grammatical categories have identical
phonological shape, as in the case of the 'past tense' suffix
and the 'Benefactive' suffix. (See Ca.8.1., pp. 257 below).
(iv) For preposing the affix to the NP, this is justified by the existence of na + NP (the prepositional phrase), and also of kwà + NP (e.g. kwà ubòcì 'every day'), mà + NP + mà + NP (e.g. mà Òbi mà Qjìhì 'both Òbi and Qjìhì') and NP + na + NP (e.g. Òbi na Qjìhì 'Òbi and Qjìhì').

Ca. 8. Detailed Discussion of Grammatical Cases

The 'Dative -Benefactive', the 'Dative-Recipient/Receptive', and the 'Comitative' cases will now be discussed in some detail, beginning with the first one.

Ca. 8.1. The 'Dative-Benefactive' Case affix

Before discussing details of the grammar of the 'Dative-Benefactive' case, it will be advantageous to set out the phonological and distributional characteristics of the affix which indicates it, which are as follows.

(i) The particle which indicates the 'Dative-Benefactive' can occur as a pre-position, its vowel being assimilated to that of the final syllable of the preceding word. It can occur as a pre-position only in two types of sentences: the Interrogative, and a type of the Imperative sentence.

Examples of Interrogative sentences are as follows:

(18) Ọ gàrà màgbe öle /re gì/? 'When did he go, as far as you are concerned?' ('He went time which for you?')

1. J.Spencer: Op.cit, p.16, says of Case in Igbo, "...Case can only be determined by the position of the Noun in the sentence." He recognizes four Cases: Nominative, Objective, Possessive and Dative, the Dative being expressed by means of the particle lu added to a verb to form a final syllable, and denotes something done to or for an individual." The particle is the Onitsha equivalent of the -RA/E being discussed here.
(19) Ọ gwàrà onye ọle /re yà/? 'Whom did he tell, as far as he is concerned?' ('He told person which for him?')

Such questions imply that the questioner denies strongly that the 'action' denoted by the verb was ever performed, and invites the person to whom the question is put, or the referent of the noun following the pre-position to show evidence that the contrary was true.

Its occurrence as a pre-position in Imperative sentences is restricted to the co-occurrence of the participle 'njhe' and the noun 'ngwa', as in (20) and (21), respectively.

(20) Njhē /re ū/ kà anyị gawa. 'For my sake let us keep going.'

(21) Ngwa /ra ū/ kà anyị màiite. 'For my sake let's begin.'

Such sentences are used when there is something to which the speaker objects and wants to disregard — he consequently urges his hearer to do the same so that together they can turn their minds to something else considered by them to be more relevant. The translations given for (20) and (21) are rough approximations.

(11) As a verb suffix, the vowel of the particle is assimilated to that of the preceding syllable, as in (22). But when the preceding syllable has any other vowel except -e or -a, the vowel of the case suffix may either be assimilated or be merely harmonized to -re/-ra, as in (23) and (24).

(22) (a) /Gwàrà/ ū ya okwu. 'Tell him something for me.'
(b) /Nyere/ anyi hna aka. 'Help them on our behalf.'
(c) /Nyoro/ m ya anya. 'Take a look at it for me.'
(d) /Biri/ ya hnu aka. 'Touch it for him.'

(23) (a) /Luo (Loure)/ m ya. 'Throw it for me.'
(b) /Zuoro (Zuora)/ anyi ya. 'Buy it for us.'

(24) (a) /gbutuuru (gbutuure)/ hna osisi. 'He cut down a tree for them.'
(b) /ciira (ciira)/ gi akwukwo. 'He carried away books for you.'

(iii) In a Compound Complex verb form, the suffix occurs in each of the compounded verb stems, as in (25) and (26).

(25) Eze /rnuruuru/ Obi orny. 'Eze did some more work for Obi.'
(26) Eze /werezuuru/ akwha. 'Eze took, for himself, some more eggs to complete the number.'

(iv) It can occur in Non-finite verb forms - the Simple Infinitive, and Simple Participle, and in verb-derived nouns, as in (27), (28) and (29) respectively.

(27) imere ya hnu 'to do it for him'
(28) mmere ya hnu 'doing it for him'
(29) omere ohna ozi. 'Worker-for-the-public'

(v) It can occur in Imperative clauses (as in (20) to (23) above) as well as in non-imperative clauses (as (18), (19), (24) to (27)). This is one of the distinguishing marks between it and the phonologically identical past tense -ra/E, which cannot occur in the Imperative clause.
(vi) It can co-occur with all other suffixes, and its position in the verb form when these others also occur is as follows. (All the suffixes mentioned here which have not yet been dealt with will be discussed later on in the work, at different relevant places).

(a) It always precedes -rì 'Comparative', -nì '2nd Person plural pronoun', -thà 'modality', and -ni 'Reference', because these suffixes always occur finally in verb forms, as in (30).

(30) (a) /Kwërenì/ imë ya. 'First of all, agree in yourself to do it.'
(b) Unùm. /wërenì/ yà. 'Take it for yourselves, you people.'
(c) Ø mererelekìh à ì ya? 'Could he have begun to do it for me?'
(d) Anyìl /emereleleì/ yà hnyì. 'We have therefore begun to do it for him.'

(b) (i) It precedes or follows -kwA 'Reference', etc, -dì 'Reference', as in (31) and (32), and also -cha 'Number', and -tu 'Comparative'.

(31) (a) 0 /wërekele/ yà. 'He has taken it for himself, even as he had said.'
(b) Ø /wëkwerele/ yà. 'He has taken it even as he said.'

(32) (a) 0 /nàradìlá/ yà. 'He has accepted it for himself inspite of circumstances.'
(b) 0 /nàdirìlá/ yà. 'He has accepted it for himself
inspite of circumstances.'

The difference between (a) and (b) of (31) and (32) is one of meaning-emphasis change, of which there is no idiomatic may of bringing out in English.

(ii) It precedes -wa 'Continuative' when the correlated NP is the subject of the clause, but follows it when the NP is a Complement, as in (33) (b).

(33) (a) 0 /werpwele/ ya. 'He has gone on taking it for himself.'

(b) 0 /werpwele/ m ya. 'He has gone on taking it for me.'

(iii) It preceds -1A 'Perfective', and -ghI 'Insistence' when the correlated NP is the subject of the clause, as in (34) and (35).

(34) (a) 0 /garaghi/ ahya. 'He didn't go to the market for himself.'

(b) Unù /werèghi/ ya. 'You people had better take it for yourselves now, I insist.'

(35) (a) 0 /kwürüle/ okwü. 'He has done his own share of speaking.'

(b) Unù /merèle/ ońw. 'You have done your own share of the work.'

(36) (a) 0 /meghiñe/ m ozi. 'He did not do any work for me.'

(b) 0 /meréghi/ m ozi. 'He did not begin to do any work for me.'

(37) (a) 0 /zülara/ m ökpu. 'He has begun to buy a hat for
me.'

(b) Q /zûrula/ m ọkpu. 'He has begun to buy for me, a hat.'

(c) It follows all other suffixes, that is all other 'case' suffixes, 'Number' suffixes (except '-cha'), 'Comparison' suffixes (except '-rì' and '-tù'), the aspect suffixes --A/O 'Intensive', and --rìsî 'Inclusive', and the past tense suffix -- and A/E. A few examples only of these are given in (38) to (43).

(38) Q /vûahnarala/ m oco n'èzi. 'He has carried the chair away for me from the yard.'

(39) Q /kpàtààrà/ onwe yà mmekpàhù. 'He brought trouble upon himself.'

(40) /Welisere/ m akwùkwo. 'Take away the books for me.'

(41) Q /rnukàriyalara/ gi ọrnu. 'He works far too much for you.'

(42) /Jùgò/ ànyị ajùju à. 'Put this question to him on our behalf.'

(43) Q nà /àtharìsiði/ m ya ùtha. 'He is still blaming him on my account up till now.'

When the 'case' suffix, --rA/E, co-occurs with the past tense suffix, --rA/E, the latter is characteristically abbreviated into a vowel (See Tense T.3.3.7., page 101), as in (44).

(44) (a) Q /jùrù/ m ọyì. 'He cooled it for me.'

(b) Q /dùrinì/ mà ya ndhù. 'He lived for his father.'
(c) 0 /sèrè/ h̀a okwu. 'It caused trouble for them.'

However, there are problems connected with these two phonologically identical affixes which will be discussed later below (see p.178).

Ca.8.2. Functions of the NP correlated with -rA/E 'Dative-Benefactive'

So far, in translating the Igbo clauses into English, the preposition 'for' has been used, thus suggesting 'benefactive' case meaning for the affix plus the NP correlated with it. But as a matter of fact the meaning of the case realized by the affix and its NP is wider than that. The construction can be interpreted by expressions including 'by' ('Agentive'), 'to' ('Dative-Recipient'), as well as by 'on behalf of', 'for the sake of', 'for one's purpose', etc. These differences in meaning are the result of the syntactic function of the correlated NP, as well as of features 'registered' in the verb (as Fillmore puts it). The correlated NP can occur as the Subject of the clause or as a Complement (These two terms are used to avoid the terms 'Nominative', 'Object' and 'Accusative' which will confuse rather than help here.) The occurrence of the correlated NP as Subject is considered first.

Ca.8.2.1. Correlated NP as Subject

When the correlated NP, representing an animate referent, occurs as Subject (that is when the 'Dative-Benefactive' is subjunctivized) it can have one or other or a combination of
the following case functions: (a) Agentive, (b) Dative-Benefactive, (c) Dative-Recipient I, depending on the features of the verb in the clause.

Consider the following examples which, as they stand, are ambiguous.

(45) Ọbì vuùrù abọ.  (i) 'Ọbi picked up the basket by himself.' (Ag.)
       (ii) 'Ọbi picked up the basket for himself.' (Ben.)
       (iii) 'Ọbi picked up the basket and put it on himself.' (D/Rec.)

(46) Ọbì kpuùrù ọkpu.  (i) 'Ọbi put on a hat by himself.' (Ag.)
       (ii) 'Ọbi put on a hat for a purpose.' (Ben.)
       (iii) 'Ọbi put on a hat.' (Dat/Rec.)

(47) Ezè gbùùrù osisi.  (i) 'Ezè cut a stick by himself.' (Ag.)
       (ii) 'Ezè cut a stick for himself.' (Ben)

(48) Ezè nụùrù ọrnụ.  (i) 'Ezè did the work by himself.' (Ag.)
       (ii) 'Ezè did some of the work for his own benefit.' (e.g. as his own share) (Ben)

(49) Enyì dììrì ndhụ.  (i) 'Enyì came to life by himself (after he'd been presumed dead.)' (Ag.)
       (ii) 'Enyì came to life for himself (since no one perhaps was interested
in him) (Ben)

(iii) 'Enyi became alive in himself'

(Dat/Rec.)

(In (49) the stative verb idị 'to be' is causativized, or transformed from a 'static' to a 'dynamic' verb by the occurrence of the -ra/e. (See more on 2.27, below).

However, the ambiguities are resolved by the occurrence of some other expressions: the 'Agentive' and 'Benefactive' senses requiring the occurrence of the reflexive form 'onwe' 'self', and the 'Recipient' adding a 'locative' prepositional phrase. Adding the appropriate expressions to obtain the correct interpretations of (45) to (49) we get (45') to (49'). The added expressions are marked out by //.

(45') (a) Obi vuuru abọ /n'onwe ya/. 'Obi picked up the basket by himself.'

(b) Obi vuuru /onwe ya/ abọ. 'Obi picked up the basket for himself.'

(c) Obi vuuru abọ /n'isi ya/. 'Obi picked up the basket and put it on his head.'

(46') (a) Obi kpụrụ ọkpu /n'onwe ya/. 'Obi put on a hat by himself.'

(b) Obi kpụrụ /onwe ya/ ọkpu. 'Obi put on a hat for himself.'

(c) Obi kpụrụ ọkpu /n'isi ya/. 'Obi put a hat on his head.'

(47') (a) Ezè gbụrụ osisi /n'onwe ya/. 'Ezè cut a stick by
It should be pointed out that what the extra expressions do is to focus one of the case functions of the subject NP; they do not necessarily obliterate the other functions. It should also be observed how the 'Agentive' and the 'Benefactive' functions are linked together supporting Fillmore's statement: "the occurrence of B (Benefactive) expressions ... is dependent on the presence of an A (Agentive)."1 And the function of 'Obi' in (45') (c) and (46') (c) supports the analysis of Anderson leading to his term 'dative-locative'.2 What the

'locative' prepositional expressions do is to specify the 'location' on the body of the referent of the NP. However, the 'dative locative' function is not limited to personal (and animate) nouns in Igbo, but applies also to inanimate nouns too, as in (50) and (51).

(50) Nkwụ thịrị ụthị /n'ọnụ yā/ bha ọkpurù ọjị. 'The palm-tree grew from the top of it into the shade of the iroko tree.' ('The palm-tree grew-to-(itself) growth from top of it enter the underside of iroko-tree.'

(51) Uzo saara mbara /sitẹ na mmalite yā ruo ọgwygwụ ya./ 'The road was wide from the beginning of it to its end.' ('The road became wide(ness) from beginning of it reach ending of it.')

In these two sentences (50) and (51) -rA/E indicates in the verbs something done 'by' the referent of the subject noun 'to itself', and the prepositional expressions specify the place on the referent where the 'action' was effected. This leads into another case function which the suffix can imply when the correlated NP is a subject.

In (45) to (49) above, the subjects are animate nouns, but the subjects can be inanimate nouns, which therefore have the case function of 'Instrumental'. In such instances 'n'ọnwe + pronoun' which indicates 'agentive' or 'instrumental' may or may not be overtly expressed. In the following examples the phrase is expressed but made optional by being enclosed in (), and the NP representing the 'objective' case is underlined.
The subject is enclosed in "//."

(52) /Iyâ/ vùùrù ugbó (n'ónwe yà) gawa. 'The stream carried away the boat.' (The stream carried the boat by itself kept going.)

(53) /Uferê/ feerre abyihya (n'ónwe yà) fefùo. 'The wind carried away the leaves.' ('The wind blew the leaves by itself blew-lost.')

(54) /Idheê/ sòorró (sùsù) (n'ónwe yà) gafée. 'The flood flowed past.' ('The flood flowed flowing by itself went-past'.)

(55) /Jì/ thìrì (ùthì) (n'ónwe yà) ruo n'elu osisi. 'The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.' ('The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.' '

(55) /Jì/ thìrì (ùthì) (n'ónwe yà) ruo n'elu osisi. 'The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.' ('The yam vine grew to the top of the tree.' '

(55) /Iwê/ weerre Òzè ruo n'Obi. 'Ezè was angry even with Òbi.'

(Observe that in (54) and (55) we have 'cognate objects' in (sùsù) and (ùthì) which are 'nominalizations of the process' identified by the verb.

When neither 'agentive' nor 'instrumental' function is implied, the -rA/E does not occur. Consider the following paired examples. In the (a) of each, the subject may be said to have 'Nominative' function, as defined by Anderson ('... 'nominate, which term is used here for a semantic (case) element and is not to be confused with the label commonly used for the subjective (and predicative) case inflexion in languages like Latin...nom is the only obligatory case, in that...
the others may be absent from any particular clause."

(57) (a) Eze /vùrù/ abọ. 'Eze carried a basket.'
(b) Eze /vùrù/ abọ (n'ọnwe yà). 'Eze carried a basket (by himself!) (Agentive)

(58) (a) Úzo /sàrà/ mbara. 'The road was wide.'
(b) Úzo /sàrà/ mbara ruo ahyà. 'The road was wide (by itself) right to the market.' (Instrum.)

(59) (a) Iwe /we're/ Eze. 'Eze was angry.' (Anger angered Eze)
(b) Iwe /we're/ Eze ruo n'aka m. 'Eze was angry even with me.' ('Anger angered Eze (by itself) reached my hand.') (Instrumental)

In the foregoing, 'Agentive' and 'Instrumental' constructions have been seen to be structurally identical. When, however, the 'agent' is animate and employs an 'instrument' in order to effect the action attributed to it, the 'Agentive' and the 'Instrumental' NPs are differentiated, the 'agentive' one functioning as subject while the 'instrumental' one functions as complement. Normally the construction involves two verbal clauses, the first one containing the 'instrument', and the second containing the person or thing affected by the use of the 'instrument'. Both functions as complements in their clauses. The grammar is as follows:

NP ('agentive') + (V+rA/E) + NP ('instrumental') + V + (NP ('Dat./Loc.'/'Factive'))

Consider the following examples. The 'instrumental' NP is in //.

1. cf. J. Lyons: op.cit, p.298, 'neutralization/recategorization'.
(60) (a) Ọbì weere /osisi/ tie eghu. 'Ọbì hit the goat with a stick.' ('Ọbì took (by/to himself) stick hit goat. ')
(b) Ọbì weere /osisi/ tiere eghu. 'Ọbì hit at the goat with a stick.' ('Ọbì took (by/to himself) stick hit to/for goat. ')

(61) Eze vuure /nkhumè/ {luoro} agwọ. 'Eze threw a stone {on} the snake.' ('Eze picked up (by/to himself) stone (threw on) snake. ')

(62) Unù jiri /ọso/ byà ahya (ń'ahya). 'Come to the market with haste, you people. (You (pl.) use (by yourselves) run come market.)

(63) Anyi gaara /ijhe/ ru. 'We got there by walking.' ('We walked (by ourselves) walk arrived.' )

The verb iji (to use'/to hold' does not require the suffix -rA/E when used in a declarative clause as in (64) and (65).

(64) Eze jiri ụthuthụ rute ụlọ. 'Eze arrived home in the morning.' ('Eze used morning arrived home.' ) (i.e. he travelled in the morning.)

(65) Anyi jiri eg'o zụọ yà. 'We bought it with money.' (We used money bought it.)

Except in (62), (64) and (65), the deletion of the second verbal clause in each of the instances would make the remaining portion cease to have any 'instrumental' case.
Ca.8.2.2. 'Causativization' by -rA/E

The suffix -rA/E in addition to indicating case functions also has a particular function which is restricted to certain types of verbs. It might be called 'causativization of non-causative verbs.' Its presence in 'static' verbs transforms them into 'dynamic' verbs, or 'causative' verbs. Compare (b) with (a) in the following examples.

(65) (a) Òbì /kpu/ òkpu. 'Obi will wear a hat.' (i.e. it will sit on his head)
(b) Òbì /kpùru/ òkpu. 'Obi will put on a hat.' (i.e. he will take and put it on his head)

(67) (a) Eze /gùzö/ qto. 'Ezè will stand up.' (i.e. will be in a standing posture/position)
(b) Eze /gùzòró/ qto. 'Ezè stand up.' (i.e. will make himself take a standing posture/position)

(68) (a) Ènì /wù/ eze. 'Ènì will be chief.' (i.e. he will be in that state/status)
(b) Ènì /wùry/ eze. 'Ènì will become chief.'

(69) (a) Nwa gi'/dí/ ndhù. 'Your child will live.'
(b) Nwa gi'/dírì/ ndhù. 'Your child will come to life/become alive.'

(70) (a) Q /mà/ ya. 'He knows him.'
(b) Q /màrala/ yà. 'He has acquired knowledge of him.'

(71) (a) Q /kwēle/. 'He has agreed.'
(b) Q /kwērele/. 'He has convinced himself.' /'He has caused himself to agree or believe.'

Ca. 8.2.3. Correlated NP as Complement.

When the NP correlated with the -ra/E suffix occurs as a Complement, it follows immediately after the verb (as an indirect object). Whether the NP functions are 'dative-benefactive' or as 'dative-recipient' it depends on the features 'registered' in the verb. Consider the following examples.

The relevant NP is marked by //.

(72) (a) /Ce/ kà m bya: 'Wait for me to come.'
     (b) /Cère/ kà m bya. 'Exercise patience in waiting for me to come.'

(73) Ėni dèèrè /Ojhi/ akwukwọ. (i) 'Eni wrote a letter for Ojhi.' (B.) (ii) 'Eni wrote a letter to Ojhi.' (R.)

(74) Eze kwùùrù /m/ okwu. (i) 'Eze spoke for me.' (B.)
     (ii) 'Eze spoke to me.' (R.)

(75) Eze gààràx/nne yà/ ozi. 'Eze ran an errand for his mother.' (B.)

(76) Òbí gbùùrù /hànà/ eghu. 'Obi slaughtered a goat for them.' (B.)

(77) Anyì kwèèrè /unà/ èkèele. 'We said a greeting to you (pl.).' (R.)

(78) O lùùrù /m/ nkhume. (i) 'He threw a stone down for me.' (B.) (ii) 'He threw a stone to/at me.' (R.)

Sometimes two NPs may be correlated to the suffix. In such instances the 'dative-benefactive' precedes the 'dative-recipient' and both occur before the direct object, as in the following examples where the NPs are marked out by //.
(79) Ọbị ụghara /m ụnwere ozị. 'Ọbị ran an errand on my behalf for my mother.'

(80) ìdúrhù ụghara /Ezẹ nwunyere ụghara akị. 'Adha bought a scarf for Ezẹ's wife on his (Ezẹ's) behalf.'

(81) Ọbị ọghara /ọghara hna/ ọghara. 'Ọbị has become, as far as we are concerned, a type of chief to/for them.'

(82) Ọ dịghara /m hna/ ikhe. 'He has become, as far as I am concerned, a strong man for/to them.'

Sentences like (81) and (82) involving the verbs ụghara and ọghara usually imply sarcasm.

If the verb of the clause is an inherently three-place verb, only the first complement is correlated with the suffix, as in the following instances.

(83) Ezẹ ọghara /Qjih ọghara/ Ọbị ozị. 'Ezẹ gave a message to Ọbị on behalf of Qjih ọghara.'

(84) Ezẹ ọghara /m/ ya ihynen mere. 'Ezẹ has told him on my behalf, what happened.'

When the correlated Complement NP is predicated and thematized, it occurs outside the clause in which it belongs, as in (b) of (85) and (86) where it is marked by //.

(85) (a) Ọ meærə /gị / ya. 'He did it for you.'
     (b) Ọ wụ /gị / kà o meærə ya. 'It was you that he did it for.'

(86) (a) Ọ kwuuru /m/ okwu. 'He spoke for/to me.'
     (b) Ọ wụ /m/ kà o kwuuru okwu. 'It was I/me that he spoke for/to.'
Pronominalization of Complements and Ambiguities

Pronominalization can cause ambiguities. This applies both when the -ra/E suffix is not involved and when it is involved. Thus (87) can have two meanings.

(87) O zì m Eze.  (i) 'He will show me to Eze.'
     (ii) 'He will show Eze to me.'

This applies to Complements when -ra/E is involved. Consider the following.

(88) (a) O leère /m (anyà)/ Eze. 'He inspected me/us for Eze.' /'He inspected Eze for us/me.'
     (b) O leère /m (anyà)/ ya. 'He inspected me/us for him.' /'He inspected him for me/us.'

(89) (a) O leère /gì (unù)/ Eze. 'He inspected you (sg/pl) for Eze.' /'He inspected Eze for you (sg/pl).'
     (b) O leère /gì (unù) ya. 'He inspected you (sg/pl) for him.' /'He inspected him for you (sg/pl).'

(90) (a) O leère /ya (hùnà)/ Eze. 'He inspected him/them for Eze.' /'He inspected Eze for him/them.'
     (b) O leère /ya hnu. /'He inspected him for him (another).
           /He inspected him (other) for him.'
           /hùnà ya. /'He inspected them for him.' /
           /'He inspected him for them.'

Such instances provide fruitful sources of quibbling in Igbo.

More Ambiguities

When, as indicated above, the subject NP is correlated
with the -ra/E suffix and thus functions either as 'Agentive', 'Dative-Benefactive', or 'Dative-Recipient I', or even 'Dative-Locative', and these functions are not made explicit in the ways already shown, grammatical (and therefore semantic) ambiguity arises. This is particularly so when two or more -ra/E suffixes co-occur. Such ambiguity does not often arise when the correlated NP is a Complement, as this is expressed obligatorily. Consider the following examples.

(91) Obi zúru akwa. (i) 'Obi bought a cloth.'
     (ii) 'Obi will buy a cloth by himself.'
     (iii) 'Obi will buy a cloth for himself.'

(92) (a) Obi garà ahya. (i) 'Obi went to the market.'
     (ii) 'Obi will go to the market by himself.'
     (iii) 'Obi will go to the market for himself.'
     (b) Obi garà ahya. (i) 'Obi went to the market by/for himself.'
     (ii) 'Obi used to go to the market.'

Compare (91) and (92) with (93) and (94) respectively.

(93) Obi zúru m akwa. (i) 'Obi bought a cloth from me.' (for/by himself)
     (ii) 'Obi will buy a cloth for me.' (by himself).

(94) (a) Obi garà m ahya. 'Obi will go to the market for me.'
     (b) Obi garà m ahya. 'Obi went to the market for me.'
The ambiguities observable in (91) to (93) are due to the phonological identity of the -rA/E 'case' and the -rA/E 'past tense' suffixes, in the first place, and in the second place because these caluses are considered in isolation. In situational contexts such ambiguities are hardly noticed; and where there is a likelihood of it happening various specifying expressions relevant to case function or to tense are incorporated in the utterance.

Ca.8.2.6. **Contrasting the -rA/E 'case' and the -rA/E 'tense'**

The only phonological characteristics the two types of suffix have in common are their form and the behaviour of their vowels. They are distinct from each other in the following ways.

(i) The 'tense' suffix can be duplicated or triplicated, the 'case' suffix occurs once only in any given environment.

(ii) When duplicated or triplicated, the initial occurrence of the 'tense' suffix is usually abbreviated to a vowel, the 'case' suffix is never abbreviated whenever it occurs.

(iii) When a duplicated or triplicated form of the 'tense' suffix is combined with a verb form that has the 'Intensive' vowel suffix, both the double and triple forms lose one unit each, being replaced in the verb form by the vowel suffix. The 'case' suffix does not give place to the vowel suffix.

(iv) When both suffixes co-occur, the 'tense' suffix precedes the 'case', and is abbreviated if there is only a single occurrence of it. But if there is more than one, then one
occurrence, the initial one, is abbreviated.

(v) The 'case' suffix can occur in the two units of a Compound Complex verb form, while the 'tense' suffix can only occur in the second unit of it, as in (95) where the 'case' has single and the 'tense' suffix has double underlining.

(95) (a) 0 /wèrèũyũ/ madhù. 'He took some more people.'
(b) 0 /lerèzuũyũ/ anya. 'He looked more to satisfy himself.'

(vi) Whereas the 'case' suffix can occur outside the verb form, the 'tense' one cannot.

(vii) The 'case' suffix can occur in the Imperative clause, the 'tense' cannot.

(viii) The 'case' suffix can causativize stative verbs while the other cannot.

(ix) The verb phrase in which the 'tense' suffix occurs in a Complex Clause Type II can be transformed into a type of adjective, but a similar verb phrase with the 'case' suffix cannot be so transformed, as in (96) and (97).

(96) E sìrì anù ĕsi. 'The meat was cooked.'
   → anù e sìrì ĕsi. 'meat which was cooked.'
   → ęsìrìęsi anū 'cooked meat'

(97) E sìrì m anù ĕsi. 'The meat was cooked for me.'
   → anù e sìrì m ęsiri. 'meat which was cooked for me'
   → ęsìrìimesiri anū ę 'cooked for me meat'

These nine facts alone are sufficient to show that the two suffixes are grammatically so distinct that their phonological
similarity is not strong enough to justify regarding them as one and the same element being used for different purposes.

Ca.8.2.7. The 'Dative-Recipient' with -si suffix

The 'Dative-Recipient' correlated with the suffix -si may be distinguished from that which is correlated with -ra/E, by calling it 'Dative-Recipient' II. The two differ from each other in that while the 'Dative-Recipient' I depends very much on the features 'registered' in the verb to distinguish it from the 'Dative-Benefactive' when the -ra/E suffix occurs, the 'Dative-Recipient' II is overtly and clearly distinguished by the occurrence of the suffix -si, and it cannot have a 'benefactive' sense at all. Furthermore, except in very limited instances to be pointed out, the NP which, with the suffix -si, realizes the 'Dative-Recipient' II normally occurs as a Complement.

The vowel of the suffix neither harmonizes nor is it assimilated to that of the preceding or following syllable. The suffix has not been mentioned or discussed anywhere else by anyone before now.

Only in seven verbs does the suffix have the ordinary function of indicating, without overtones, the participant affected by the 'action' denoted by the verb. These are:

(98) irēsī 'to sell to'
(99) imēsī 'to be pleasing to'
(100) ikwēsī 'to be suitable to', 'to befit'
(101) īkpaśi 'to make overtures to'
(102) ig'ōsì 'to show to' (Onitsha dialect)
(103) iròsì 'to play (with) to'
(104) igwùsì 'to play/joke with (to)'

With other verbs the suffix also implies hostile or inimical 'action'. Examples of these are:
(105) imēsì (ihyne) 'to give ill-treatment:to'
(106) ìkhāsì (anya) 'to be haughty to'
(107) ilisì ('og'ù) 'to fight against'
(108) igbūsì ('ogbuù) 'to bear malice to'
(109) irnōsì (irno) 'to be unfriendly to'
(110) ikhōsì (bùkà) 'to quarrel with/take legal action against'
(111) iğhāsì ('ugha) 'to tell a lie against'
(112) iwēsì (iwe) 'to be angry with'

When the correlated NP occurs as a Complement it follows immediately after the verb and before the direct object, unless a 'Benefactive' NP also occurs, in which case the Dative-Recipient II must occur second after the verb, as in (117) and (118). In (113) to (116) the Dat-Rec. II is enclosed in //.
(113) O rèsìrì /Ezè/ akwukwo. 'He sold books to Ezè.'
(114) O gwùsìrì /m/ egwu. 'He played/joked with me.'
(115) Òbì wèsìrì /hnà/ iwe. 'Obi was angry with/against them.'
(116) O ghàsìrì /yà/ ògha. 'He told a lie against him.'

In the following examples the 'Dat-Rec' II occurs after the 'Benefactive' NP.
(117) Ezè rèsìrìm /Obì/ akwà. 'Ezè sold a cloth to Obi for me.'
(118) O wesi'i ri unù /Eze/ iwe. 'He was angry with Eze for your sake.'

With the two verbs imasi and ikwesi, the Dat.-Rec. is the only Complement that occurs, and may be followed by a prepositional phrase indicating the manner, as in (119) and (120).

(119) O masiri /m/ na mma. 'It is pleasing to me in beauty.'
(120) O kwesi /gi/ n'ommume. 'It befits you to do (it).'

With ikwesi, when the NP correlated with the -si is also the subject of the clause, no Complement occurs, but the reflexive phrase 'n'onwe+pronoun' may occur, as in (121).

(121) /O/ kwesi (n'onwe yá). 'It is fitting (in itself).

With imasi and other verbs, when the correlated NP is also a subject, the phrase 'onwe+pronoun' occurs as Complement.

(122) /Hná/ masiri onwe hna. 'They are pleasing to themselves.' '
'They like each other.'

But with other verbs the direct object also occurs along with the reflexive Complement. This is obligatory.

(123) I mesiri /onwe g i ihyne ojoo. 'You did something wrong to yourself.'
(124) Unù lusiri /onwe unù ojù. 'You fought against yourselves.'

The suffix -si (like the -rA/E) cannot occur without an NP to which it is correlated. If it thus occurs, the clause is ungrammatical. Consider (125) (c).

(125) (a) O re're akwá. 'He sold cloths.'
(b) O resiri m akwá. 'He sold cloths to me.'
Another function of the suffix which needs to be pointed out especially is that it turns non-affective verbs into affective verbs, as in the list (99) - (112).

Ca.8.2.8. The Comitative Case

The Comitative Case is represented in a clause by the suffix -rl and a correlated NP which must be either a plural noun in form or in meaning, or be a conjoined expression. Thus the Comitative case has the additional function of realizing the notion 'plural'.

Consider these examples. The correlated NP is marked by //.

(126) /Hnâ/ gwuri egwu. 'They are playing with each other.'
(127) /Anyi/ kpari yka. 'We are conversing together.'
(128) /Nna hna/ wari oha. 'Father and company are dividing up the farmland.'
(129) /Obi na Ojhi/ naka kpari ububo. 'Obi and Ojhi are telling stories to one another/are chatting.'

The plural idea which the case also indicates is not limited to the subject of the clause, but applies also to the object, and, in the case of 'action' verbs, to the verb as well. Thus when the subject is singular in form or meaning, the object must be plural in form or meaning, as in (130) to (132).

(130) Ezè nà awari /nkhu/. 'Ezè is splitting pieces of firewood.'
(131) 'Adha nà əkparisi /uq'ì. 'Adha is picking the leaves of the fluted pumpkin.' (Here the ə suffix indicates that object NP is plural)

(132) 'Obi nà eweri /hna/. 'Obi is taking (each of) them.'

Each of the sentences (126) to (132) can have the additional meaning of doing something of mutual benefit to the 'actors' if the subject is plural, or one doing something to his benefit, if the subject is singular.

The suffix often occurs with the 'locative' -tA suffix, and this had led Professor Carnochan to take them together as one 'aspect' (See 'Aspects', p. 112)

(133) Hna nà /əzurita/ ahyā. 'They trade mutually together.'
(134) Hna nà /əbharita/ mbha. 'They are threatening each other.'

Ca.8.2.9. Co-occurrence of -rl with -si and -ra/E

The Comitative and the Dative Cases can co-occur as follows: the Comitative with the Dative-Recipient' II, and the Comitative with the Dative-Benefactive, as in (135) and (136) respectively.

(135) 'Obi nà Òjhì nà əmesirita ənwe hna ihyne Òjo. 'Obi and Òjhì mutually ill-treat one another.'

(136) 'Obi nà Òjhì nà əgburiri . osisi m. 'Obi and Òjhì between them cutting my sticks for themselves thereby depriving me of their benefit.'

Ca.9. The 'Locative' Cases

The suffixes connected with the 'Locative' cases are given in Ca.4. They are represented here under their categories and
with their semantic senses as follows:

I. **Locational**

(a) **Adessive**: (i) -sa 'on/upon', 'at/by'
    (ii) -kwasa 'upon/onto'
    (iii) -gidhe 'against', 'on/upon'
    (iv) -rə 'all over' (spacial)

(b) **Inessive**: The preposition 'na' in its meaning as 'in', 'inside' is used, although it can also mean 'at', 'on', 'by'. However, often the phrase 'na' 'inside' is used for the inessive sense of 'na'.

II. **Directional**

(a) **Ablative**: (i) -la 'away from and towards'/ 'to'
    (ii) -ahna 'away from', 'aside'
    (iii) -lahna/-ləhna 'away from to beyond'

(b) **Allative**: (i) - tà 'to/towards' (downwards)
    (ii) -dhaŋ 'to/towards' (downwards)
    (iii) -g'o 'to/towards' (upwards)
    (iv) - tà 'to various directions'
    (v) - tà 'to/towards' (along any axis or in any direction)

(c) **Illative**: (i) -IghA/-I 'into'
    (ii) -bhəx 'into'

(d) **Elative**: (i) -IsI 'out of'
    (ii) -fux 'out of'

(e) **Prolative/Prosecutive**: (i) -du 'along' (external)
(ii) -jhex 'along' (external)
(iii) -mix 'along' (internal)

The starred forms are cognate with free verbal forms with which also they share the same phonological shapes. They have not before now been regarded as suffixes, but they are here regarded as such forms, because, unlike other verbs, those verbs with which they are cognate can add them on as suffixes. Thus we get the following forms:

(1) ilālā 'to go towards'
(2) idhādhā 'to fall down to'
(3) ibhabhā 'to enter right in'
(4) ifūfu 'to go further out'
(5) ijhējhe 'to go along', 'to keep going along'
(6) imim 'to go deeper into'

These forms, (1) to (6), are not reduplicated forms of verb roots, but consist of Prefix + Verb root + Verb root (the latter functioning as suffix, and is capable of being added to any other verb root than the one with which it is cognate). If they were reduplicated verb roots, the second vowel in each case (apart from (4) and (6)) would have been different from the third ones which, in reduplicated verbs (See pp. 37f.), represent the root vowels. Compare (1) - (3) and (5) with the following reduplicated verb forms:

(7) ililā 'to carry something too long' (ilā 'to pull out')
(8) idhīdha 'falling' (gerundial infinitive of idha 'to fall')
(9) ibhubha 'entering' (gerundial infinitive of ibha 'to enter')
Verbs with u/u and i/i as root vowels do not have vowel alternation when reduplicated, so there is no difference, phonologically, between the forms we have in (4) and (6) and reduplicated forms of ifù 'to go out' and imì 'to go/be deep', respectively.

Of the rest of the suffixes, the majority of them have nowhere been mentioned before as suffixes. The list consists of -kwásà, -rà, -ahna, -lahna, -làïììì, -tù, -g'o, -tà, -IsI, and -du.

Those which have hitherto been mentioned (along with others representing other grammatical categories) have been treated as lexical elements or 'meaning modifying suffixes'. This view of the suffixes of the language is the outcome of limiting attention to the verb form alone when considering such elements, instead of investigating them within the context of the clause or sentence as a whole. When this is done, it is seen that these elements have grammatical functions from which they derive their lexical, or possible lexical, meanings.

The prepositional phrase 'na-NP' has a vital role to play in the realization of the cases indicated by the suffixes, and so is given due recognition in what follows.

First the general characteristics of 'Locative' cases as they affect the organization of the clause are discussed. Then the following suffixes are discussed separately in some detail: -ahna, -lahna, -tA, -IsI and -du.
Ca.9.1. **The Forms of the Locative Case Suffixes**

Only three of the Locative Case suffixes undergo phonological changes in accordance with vowel harmony. These are -tA which is either -ta or -te; IghA which can be -igha or -ighe, and in addition can be abbreviated to -I (-i/-i); and -IsI which is either -isi or -isi. The vowels harmonize but are not assimilated to a preceding vowel.

Ca.9.2. **Structure of Locative Clauses**

As stated earlier, only instances of clauses with overt case suffixes are considered in this work. It will be helpful to give again the basic form of a Locative Clause. It is as follows:

\[(11) \text{NP}_1 + (V+affix) \pm \text{NP}_3 + \text{NP}_2 + (\text{prep} + \text{NP}_4)\]

The facts about the Locative Clause are as follows.

(i) Any or all of the last three elements may not occur if they have already occurred in a previous clause, or somewhere earlier in the discourse. Consider (12) and (13).

(12) Q. ̀unà akwhàsala edè wa ahyihya n'elu?  'Have you heaped leaves on the coøyams?' ('You (pl) poured+on+Perfective coøyam the leaves on top?')

A. (i) Anyì akwhàsala.  'We have heaped (it on it)'.
(ii) Anyì akwhàsala yà hnu.  'We have heaped it on it.'
(iii) Anyì akwhàsala yà hnu n'elu.  'We have heaped it on top of it.'

(It should be observed that A (ii) and (iii) can only be used
as answers when the respondent is being emphatic in his response. The same is true of (13) (A) (ii) and (iii).

(13) Q. Ì sutele Òbi aka n'isi? 'Have you (accidentally) hit Òbi on the head?' ('You (sg) hit+to+Perfective Òbi hand on head?')

A. (i) Èsutele ì (ya). 'I have hit (him).' (I have hit+to him).

(ii) Èsutele ì ya h nú. 'I have done it to him.'

(iii) Èsutele ì ya h nú n'isi. 'I have done it to him on the head.'

A (ii) and (iii) suggest deliberate instead of accidental action, because they are emphatic in the circumstance.

(ii) The form given in (11) above applies equally to both 'locational' and 'directional' cases, as (12) and (13) show. Thus the difference between a 'locational' case and a 'directional' one is not, for Igbo, "determined by the movement or non-movement character of the associated verb", as Fillmore suggests, but lies in the occurrence of 'locational' or 'directional' suffixes. For in the language any verb whatever can take 'locational' or 'directional' suffixes according to the type of Locative case present in the clause. Take, for instance, the verb ìhnú 'to see' to which 'locational' and 'directional' suffixes are added in (14) (a) and (14) (b), (c) respectively.

(14) (a) Èzè hşsára Òbi m'mekpáhú n'isi. 'Èzè's observation brought trouble on Òbi.' ('Èzè see+on+Past Òbi
trouble on head)

(b) Eže ḥṃàghàrà nà ya òbiùfu n'obi. 'Eže's observation brought pain to his father's heart.'
(i.e. caused him sorrow) ('Eže see+into+Past father his heart-pain into heart')

(c) Eže ḥṃàghàrà nne ya okhe ivù n'ànu. 'Eže's observation relieved his mother of some burden.'
(i.e. took away burdensome responsibilities from her.) ('Eže see+away+Past mother his big burden on body')

Take again inè 'to be at,' 'to sit', in (15). The literal translations of the sentences are enclosed in ()

(15) (a) Nọsà òdhù n'oco. 'Take a seat on the chair.' ('Sit+on seat on+chair.')
(b) Nọgídhe òdhù n'oco. 'Sit tight on the chair.'
('Sit+on+intensity seat on+chair.')
(c) Nọghà n'oco. 'Get up/away from the chair.'
('Sit+away+from seat on+chair.')
(d) Nọghà n'oco. 'Sit in the chair.' (implying either an enclosed seat, or a seat with some people already seated on it but there is still some room for another person) ('Sit+in+towards seat on+chair.')

(iii) A Locative clause requires the occurrence of a locative prepositional phrase, 'na+NP' which usually occurs at the end of the clause, but may be deleted if the context warrants the deletion, or if the Locative has an 'abstract' sense, as explained below (Ca.9.4, page 302).
Consider these examples. The prepositional expressions are enclosed in ( ) to indicate their optionality.

(16) Ezè we'tarà akwukwo (n'ebè ̀ a) (n'ebè ahnu). 'Ezè brought a book (here) (there).'</n>  
(17) O lùìghère nkhumè (n'ime míri). 'He threw a stone in (to the water).'</n>  

(iv) When the Dative-Locative occurs, there are three possible syntactic structures to choose from: (a) a structure in which the dative-locative occurs immediately after the verb, followed by the direct object of the clause, and then the locative prepositional phrase (if not deleted); (b) or a structure in which the dative-locative occurs as a 'genitive' or 'adnominal possessive' in the prepositional phrase, which then has to occur obligatorily. A third alternative, (c), is to let the dative-locative remain in its position next to the verb, and to allow a possessive pronoun agreeing with it in person and number to occur in the prepositional phrase. (I am using the term 'dative-locative' in order to distinguish the elements concerned from the Dative-Benefactive and Dative-Recipient I and II which select different case suffixes from the dative-locative. Anderson', apparently accepting the definition of the dative by Fillmore (and which I have rejected for Igbo), uses the term 'dative locative' with reference to the NPs associated with 'affective' verbs — such as 'please', 'like', 'think', and 'know'. But such NPs are associated with other suffixes in Igbo, than the locative suffixes. So 'dative-
locative' is used here in this context.

Examples of the (a) construction are as follows:

(18) Dibya mèsàrà /Ezè/ ogwhù (n'ukwu). 'The doctor put some medicine on Ezè ('s foot).'
    ('Doctor do+on+Past Ezè medicine on foot.')

(19) Ezè gbûtèrè /̀ubhe/ mmà (n'ukwhù). 'Ezè, in the act of cutting, hit the pear-tree (at the base).'
    ('Ezè cut+to+Past pear-tree knife on base).

(See also (14)).

If construction (b) is chosen, then (18) and (19) become (20) and (21), respectively.

(20) Dibya mèsàrà ogwhù /n'ukwu ̀Ezè/. 'The doctor put medicine on Ezè's foot.'

(21) Ezè gbûtèrè mmà /n'ukwhù ̀ubhe/. 'Ezè, in the act of cutting, hit the base of the pear-tree.'

Adopting construction (c), (20) and (21) become (22) and (23), respectively.

(22) Dibya mèsàrà /Ezè/ ogwhù /n'ukwu yà/. ('Doctor do+on+Past Ezè medicine on foot his.')

(23) Ezè gbûtèrè /̀ubhe/ mmà /n'ukwhù yà/. ('Ezè cut+to+Past pear-tree knife on base its.')

However, constructions (b) and (c), both contrast with (a), and also contrast with each other. The type of contrast which obtains is set out as follows, using (24), (18), (20) and (22) as examples.

(24) Dibya mèsàrà /Ezè/ ogwhù. 'The doctor treated Ezè.'
The question of the connection between dative-locative and 'possession' evidenced in the clauses (18) to (21) will not be discussed in this work interesting as it is, because it will lead us rather far out of the course demarcated for this work.

(v) In the examples above the dative-locative occurs as a Complement. That is, it is 'objectivized'. When this happens, then the part of the referent of the dative-locative NP which is affected by the action represented by the verb occurs as a PrepPhrase (which is deletable). If the dative-locative occurs but is neither 'objectivized' nor 'subjectivized' it occurs as PrepPhrase at the end of the clause, and no other locative expression can occur after it and function as a constituent element of the clause. But the dative-locative can occur as a PrepPhrase only if the referent of the NP is inanimate. Thus while (25) is grammatical, (26) is not.

(25) Eze gbutere mm Everywhere /n 'ubhe/ 'Eze, in the act of cutting with a knife hit the pear-tree.' ('Eze cut+to+Past knife
Consider also these examples.

(27) (a) O weàhnàrà /teblù/ akwukwo /n'elù/. 'He took a book away from (off) the top of the table.'
(b) O weàhnàrà akwukwo /nà teblù/. 'He took a book off the table.'
(28) (a) O weàhnàrà /nwatà/ nkìtà /n'ìhy/. 'She took the dog away from (off) the child.'
(b) O weàhnàrà nkìtà /nà nwatà/. 'She took the dog off the child.'
(29) (a) O tììghèrè /ehynì/ nnu /n'omì/. 'He put salt into the mouth of the cow.'
(b) O tììghèrè nnu /n'ehynì/. 'He put salt into the cow.'

However, if 'n'Ezè in (26), 'nà nwatà' in (28) (b), 'n'ehynì' in (29) (b) have non-animate meanings, then the clauses would be perfectly grammatical, meaning respectively, 'The doctor gave treatment with dignity'; 'She took away the dog when it was a puppy'; 'He put salt into the beef'.

(vi) When the dative-locative and the subject of the clause are co-referential, a reflexive expression takes the place of the dative-locative in the Complement position, as in (30) to (32).

(30) /Ezè/ kùtàrà /onwe yà/ mìkpara (n'ìsi.) 'Ezè, in the act of hitting, hit himself on the head with a staff.'
(Eze hit+to+Past self his staff on head.)

(31) /Anyị/ tērărà /onwe ānyị/ unyị n'ihnu. 'We painted our faces all over with charcoal.' (We paint+over+Past self our charcoal on face.)

(32) /I/ gà ĕkụisi /onwe gị/ eze n'onụ. 'You will knock your teeth out of your mouth.' (You will knock+out (of) self your teeth in mouth.)

(vii) When no dative-locative is involved in the clause, and only 'geographical' location is implied either as a result of the occurrence of a locational suffix or a directional one, the PrepPhrase which occurs realizes a simple locative case, and is not the 'extension' of a dative-locative.

Consider the following examples.

(33) Weahna ǹkhumè /n'uzọ/. (Ablative) 'Take the stone away from the path.'

(34) Kutùo ugifị /n'ålà/. (Allative) 'Knock the orange down to the ground.'

(35) Kug'o yà /n'ezu oco/. (Allative) 'Lift him up on the chair.'

(36) Fetaa ajhà /n'ebi dum/. (Allative) 'Throw the sand everywhere.'

(37) C'igha hñà /n'olulọ/. (Illative) 'Put them into the bottle.'

(38) Wyisia hñà /nà ạkpà/. (Elative) 'Pour them out of the bag.'

(39) Ọ nà ọkwuduihe okwụ /n'uzọ/. (Prolative) 'He was going
on talking as he went along the road.' ('He is fact
speak+along+along word on road.')

(40) Ọ nọmì /n'ime ahyàk/. (Prolative) 'He is (somewhere)
deep inside the market.'

(41) Dhokwàsa yà /n'elu igbè/. (Adessive) 'Put it on the
top of the box.'

(42) Bhyàgidhe yà /nà mèbirìajhà/. (Adessive) 'Press it
against the wall.'

In all these examples, the PrepPhrase specifies a
definite or exact location. That is, they state the 'static'
position or the terminus towards which the motion (in the case
of directional locative suffixes) is tending. When, however,
the PrepPhrase implies mere direction the noun occurs without
the preposition. This applies only to instances where
directional suffixes occur and the noun represents a goegraphical
location and not an object.

The following examples are ungrammatical.

(43) ọDhòsa ya /àlà/. (Put it on the ground.)

(44) ọTìghe ya /ìgbe/. (Put it in the box.)

(45) ọBhyàgidhe yà /ìmbèrìajhà/. (Press it on the wall.)

The following are grammatical.

(46) Vùte yà ebe à. 'Bring it this way, carrying it.'

(47) Wetùo yà àlà. 'Lower it.'

(48) Vùshìna yà ụzó. 'Carry it away from the passage.'

(viii) There is no change of sequential order when the dative-
locative and following elements are pronominalized, if emphasis
is not involved.

Consider (49) and (50).

(49) (a) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /ígbe akwykwọ n'imè./ 'Adha put books into the box.'
(b) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /yà akwykwọ n'imè./ 'Adha put books into it.'
(c) Àdhâ tiìghèrè /yà hnu n'imè. 'Adha put it in it.'

(50) (a) Òbì kùtàrà /Eze mkpara n'isi./ 'Obi hit Eze on the head with a staff, accidentally.'
(b) Òbì kùtàrà /yà mkpara n'isi./ 'Obi hit him on the head with a staff, accidentally.'
(c) Òbì kùtàrà /yà hnu n'isi./ 'Obi hit him with it on the head, accidentally.'

(The forms, and the sequence, of pronouns are given under Pronouns above, p.218-223)

When the pronoun representing the dative-locative is emphatic it occurs following the one representing the direct object, if the dative-locative refers to a first or second person, as in (51) and (52).

(51) (a) Òjhì kùtàrà /m yà/ n'isi. 'Ojhi hit me with it on the head.'
(b) Òjhì kùtàrà /yà mú/ n'isi. 'Ojhi hit me (emph.) with it on the head.'

(52) (a) Òjhì kùtàrà /gì yà/ n'isi. 'Ojhi hit you with it on the head.'
(b) Òjhì kùtàrà /yà gi/ n'isi. 'Ojhi hit you (emph.)
with it on the head.'

Except in such emphatic instances illustrated by (51) (b) and
(52) (b), the dative-locative always precedes the direct object.

Ca. 9.3. Dative-locative, Accusative and Instrumental

With the exception of the three-place verbs such as si, 'tell/say',
gwa 'tell', zni 'show/teach', nye 'give/offe',
z'u 'buy', other verbs require the occurrence of a case suffix
(grammatical or local) in order that a dative case NP Complement
might occur. The dative case occurring might be the 'Bene-
factive', the 'Recipient', or the 'Locative', as already stated
in various places above. In the case of the dative-locative,
as shown above, the NP might occur as a PrepPhrase. When,
however, the dative-locative is represented by an NP and not
by a PrepPhrase, it occurs next to the verb (as do the Bene-
factive and the Recipient). This is very important, because
in categorizing Complements in terms of 'direct' and 'indirect'
objects, an 'indirect object' might be regarded as a 'direct'
object if the syntactic consequences of the presence of the
locative suffixes are ignored.

As a general principle, the locative suffixes (like the
'grammatical' suffixes) are not correlated at all to the direct
object (or the Accusative Case NP) in the language, but only
to the 'Indirect Object', to the Subject (in instances of
subjectivization), or to the 'PrepPhrase Complement'. This
is the reason why these suffixes cannot be taken as mere
lexical elements augmenting the meaning of a verb. Incomplete
translations into English of Igbo clauses with locative suffixes, have not helped to see this fact.

Consider the following examples. (The correct translations which reveal their 'incompleteness' will be put in brackets ( ), while the usual translations given to them will not be so enclosed.)

(53) O zîtèrè ozi. 'He sent a message.' ('He sent to ... a message.')

(54) O wekàrà akwykwè. 'He brought a letter.' ('He took to ... a letter.')

(55) O mûtàrà nwa. 'She bore a child.' ('She bore to ... a child.')

(56) O tîtèrè nnu. 'She put in salt.' ('She put into ... salt.')

(57) O vùshnàrà osìsi. 'He carried away the log.' ('He carried away from/to ... a log.')

(58) O fiśirì ìkpà. 'He unpacked the bags.' ('He packed out of ... the bags.')

In none of these instances is the NP correlated with the suffix stated, but if stated it might be a locative PrepPhrase or a Dative-locative (with further consequences to the clause, as already given). The reason for not stating the NP is that the situational context or the occurrence of the NP earlier in the discourse makes it unnecessary to do so.

Another consequence of disregarding the grammaticality of the suffixes is the confusing of the 'direct object' with the 'instrument' involved in the action represented by the
verb, thus confusing the Accusative with the Instrumental Case. Again, the situation has not been helped by dependence on English translations of Igbo clauses. Consider (59) and (60) in which (a) and (b) have the same translation whereas their syntax differs in Igbo.

(59) (a) O kùrù Eže aka. 'He hit Eže.' ('He hit Eže hand.')
(b) O kùtārā Eže aka. 'He hit Eže.' ('He hit + to Eže hand.')

(60) (a) O gbùrù agwọ mmà. 'He cut the snake with a knife.'
('He cut the snake knife.')
(b) O gbùtèrè agwọ mmà. 'He cut the snake with a knife.'
('He cut + to snake knife.')

In (a) of (59) and (60) the second Complements function as Instrumental Case, but in (b) they function as Accusative Case. The evidence for this is that while (a) can be transformed into another type of Instrumental construction, (b) cannot and becomes unacceptable when it is done.

(59') (a) O weèrè aka kù Eže. 'He hit Eže with the hand.'
('He took hand hit Eže.')
(b) xo weèrè aka kuta Eže. ('He took + Benefactive hand hit + to Eže'.)

(60') (a) O weèrè mmà gbu agwọ. 'He killed the snake with a knife.' ('He took knife cut snake.')
(b) xo weèrè mmà gbute agwọ. ('He took + Benefactive knife cut + to snake.')

These examples indicate that when case suffixes are present
an Instrumental NP cannot occur. If an expression indicating 'Instrumental' occurs, it does so as PrepPhrase and occurs as a second PrepPhrase after the 'locative PrepPhrase' (if present) as in (61) and (62).

(61) Ọbì kütàrà̀ Èzè aka n'isi /n'amàghị ama. 'Ọbì hit Èzè on the head inadvertently.'

(62) Ọbì gbùtèrè agwọ mmà (n'izadorù) /n'ùjọ. 'Ọbì cut the snake on the tail out of fear.'

The 'Manner' PrepPhrase can occur also in a clause with an 'Instrumental' NP, and in the same position as above, as in (63).

(63) Ọ kùrù Èzè aka (n'isi) /n'iwe/. 'He hit Èzè on the head with the hand out of anger.'

The correlation of elements in an Igbo clause and the functions of such elements both when locative suffixes occur and when they do not occur are exemplified below in (64) to (67):

(64) Ọ kùrù Èzè aka. 'He hit Èzè with the hand.'
    (Acc) (Inst)

(65) Ọ kùrù Èzè aka n'isi n'iwɛ.
    (Acc) (Inst) (Loc) ('Mann')

   'He hit Èzè on the head with the hand out of anger.'

(66) Ọ tiìghèrè Èzè aka n'anya n'iwɛ.
    (Dat) (Acc) (Loc) (Manner)

   'He put his hand into Èzè's eye out of anger.'

(67) Ọ tiìghèrè (ómwe yà) aka n'anya n'iwɛ.
    (Dat) (Dat) (Acc) (Loc) (manner)
C a.9.1. 'Abstract' Use of Locative Cases

Although the Locative cases are said to be 'concrete' vis-a-vis the 'grammatical' cases, they can be quite abstract in meaning, sometime far more abstract in meaning than the grammatical cases, as some of the illustrations below will indicate. What Anderson said of English is applicable too to Igbo. He said, "It is in many cases relatively easy to indicate in an informal way the common relation underlying a 'concrete' or 'spacial' use and an abstract use of a particular subtype of locative, and to show that the semantic difference between them can be attributed to the content of the associated verb and/or NPs."

Consider the following examples.

(68) Omume ya vuterere nsnogbu /n'alà hna/. 'His behaviour caused trouble in their village.' ('Behaviour his carry+to+Past trouble in land their.')

(69) Ihyne o kwurù gbàsàrá m/(n'ahu)/. 'What he said concerned me.' ('Thing he said hit+on+Past me (on body)')

(70) O diigharà /n'orno/. 'He participated in the work.' (He be+into+Past in work.)

(71) O mahnala /n'izù ahyá./ 'He has given up trading.' ('He move+away+Perfective in+to+buy market.')

(72) Hna ánwuisiert /n'omwuy/. 'They have died out.' ('They died+out-of+Intensive+Perfective in death')

In these examples the suffixes, the verbs in which they occur, the correlated NPs, all combine to give the clauses the 'abstract' meanings which they have. And lack of appreciation of their 'concrete' and 'special' basis, will severely limit the understanding of them. For instance, there is no movement involved in the verbs in (70), (72) and (73), yet directional suffixes are found in them.

**Ca.9.5. The Suffix -ahna**

In the use of the suffix, when the source of the movement is not expressed, that is, when no dative-locative NP co-occurs with it, any correlated PrepPhrase which also occurs can be ambiguous. It can represent the source or the goal. The same applies if no correlated PrepPhrase occurs either.

Consider the following examples.

(1) (a) Hna ēvuahnala yā. 'They have carried it away (from/to).'
(b) Hna ēvuahnala yā n'ūzo. 'They have carried it away from/to the road.'

To be explicit about the source and the goal, one of the verbs si 'to originate from'/'to begin from', wa 'to begin from', is used to introduce a place noun after which the clause with -ahna can occur, as in (2).

(2) 0 /sīle ŋa ā/ vuahna yā nā ŋa ahnū. 'He has moved it
from here to there.' ('He has begun from place this (and) carried+away it to place that.')

Ca.9.6. The suffix -lahna

The suffix -lahna occurs in some other dialects as -nari. Semantically, it means 'away from to a remote place/point'. It is more frequently used with 'abstract' reference than with 'concrete'. Consequently it is used in a type of 'Comparative Construction' (See p.490 below): and in this use it may be accompanied by a PrepPhrase which indicates the 'Manner'/ 'Instrumental'/'Quality' involved in the 'action'/'state' denoted by the verb, as in the following examples.

(1) Eze agbalahna /m/ /n'osu/. 'Eze has run further/faster than I can.'

(2) Eze evulahna /g/ /n'ivu/. 'Eze has carried more loads than you.'

(3) Adha amalahna /ug'o/ /na mma/. 'Adha is more beautiful than Ug'o.'

(4) Obi ornumlahna unu /n'ornu/. 'Obi has done more work than you people.'

It should be observed that the NPs which occur immediately after the verbs are not the 'direct objects' of the clauses. They are 'indirect objects', and have 'dative-locative' functions, as the following NPs marked out by // in (5) and (6) below show. The 'direct object' follows after.

(5) Eze evulahna /m/ /oco. 'Eze has carried the chair beyond my reach.' ('Eze carried-away-beyond+Perfective
me chair.

(6) Ọbi ọrilahnala /yá/ nri. 'Ọbi has eaten the food, leaving nothing for him.' ('Ọbi ate+away+beyond+Perfective him food."

Unlike -ahna, the source or the goal cannot be stated in any way within the same clause. These are stated outside the clause. The source is stated by '"isite + NP' (which may express also 'Manner'/'Means'/'Reason') and the goal is expressed by 'iru +NP/PrepPhrase'.

(7) O /sìtèrè n'ulò/ gbalahna ọ. 'From the house he ran away from me.' ('He began from in house ran+away+beyond me.')

(8) O gbalahnarà ọ /site n'ikà m ikhe. 'He ran away from me through being stronger than I.'

Ca.9,7. The Suffix -tA: (1) The NP correlated with.

While Green1 says of the suffix -tA that it has a "sense of motion towards", Dr. Carrell2 who describes it as "a member of the lexical category Adv1" adds that it means "motion towards the speaker". And Welmers says, "/-tA/, indicating action performed in the direction of the subject or speaker, or in his interest."3 Carrell and Welmers are entirely mistaken

in restricting the direction to the subject or speaker. The truth is that the goal of the 'motion' or the direction of the action depends upon where the NP correlated with the suffix occurs in the clause. The NP can be the Subject, a Complement, or PrepPhrase in accordance with the general characteristics of locative suffixes, and depending on the type of verb carrying the suffix (as in (10)-(20)). In the following examples the elements correlated with -tA are marked by //.

(1) Ꙅ kpọtara nwa yā /n'ebē à (ebe à)/. 'She brought her child to this place (here).'

(2) Ꙅ gbàtàrâ /mmunú/ àku /nà ìkù/. 'He shot the bird in the wing with an arrow.' ('He shot+to bird arrow on wing.')</n(x> (3) Ꙅ bìtèrè isi /n'osisi/. 'He hit his head on the tree.' (He hit+to head on tree.)

(4) Ꙅ nwetàrâ ikhe. 'He obtained permission/authority.' ('He had+to power.')</n(x> (5) Ꙅ byàrâ leta /m/ (anya). 'He came and saw/visited me.' ('He came+and looked+to m (eye).')</n(x> (6) Ꙅ zútàrâ Eze akwà. 'He bought cloths from Eze.' ('He bought+to from Eze cloths.')</n(x> (7) Ꙅ bìtèrè /onwe yā/ isi n'osisi. 'He hit his head on a tree.' ('He butted+to himself head on tree.')</n(x> (8) Ꙅ cètàrâ /onwe yā/. 'He recollected himself.' ('He
thought to himself.'

(9) /0/ gbùtərè /onwe yā/ mmà n'okwù. 'He cut himself on the foot.' ('He cut +to himself knife on foot.')

With 'Private verbs' - "verbs that refer to states or activities that the speaker alone is aware of ... those that refer to mental activities and those that refer to sensations'1 - the subject NP is usually the correlated NP.

Consider the following examples. The NP is marked by //.

(10) /Umù/ cètərà ya. 'You (pl) remembered it.'
(11) /0/ kwètərà imè ya. 'He agreed / consented to do it.'
(12) /Anyi/ mətərà ya. 'We acquired knowledge of it/him.'
(13) /0/ mùtala yā. 'He has learnt it.'
(14) /I/ ghọtala okwù m. 'You have understood my meaning.'
(15) /M/ mùtala ọtọ ya. 'I have savoured (the taste of) it.'
(16) /0/ hnutala otù. 'He has found/seen one.'

Similarly when the verb is a 'stative verb' it is the subject NP that is the correlated NP. Such verbs include iđi 'to be', iwi 'to be', ikà 'to be more', ihnà 'to be equal', ihnà 'to be as (much) as', ichà 'to be ripe', ig'ó 'to be black', ivù 'to be big', ikà 'to be old', ija 'to be bad', imà 'to be good'.

Consider these examples.

(17) /0/ dìtala ńdù. 'He has lived so long.'
(18) /0/ mätala mmà. 'It is so beautiful.' 'It has become beautiful.'
(19) /Hnà/ əhńtala. 'They have become equal.'

(20) /Unêne/ 'achatala. 'The banana has become ripe.'

When the 'action' or 'state' denoted by the 'private verb' or the 'stative verb' is for the 'benefit' of another participant, this participant is represented by the Dative-benefactive, and the suffix -ra/E must also occur. Thus we get -tA correlated with the subject of the clause, and the -ra/E with the first Complement.

In the following examples the 'Benefactive' is marked by //.

(21) Obi ṣẹnutarala /Ezê/ nwaanyi. 'Obi has found a wife for Ezê.' (Obi has seen to (himself) for Ezê wife.)

(22) Òcețarala /m/ ihyne. 'He has reminded me of something.' ('He has thought to (himself) for me thing:)

(23) Shyni èvùterele /gĩ/ ivù. 'The cow has grown big for you.' (Cow has grown to (itself) for you bigness.)

(24) Ñutara /m/ ihyne ṑ na ẹkwu. 'Listen and hear for me what he is saying.

It will be observed that the use of -tA with 'private' and 'stative' verbs results in case functions with 'abstract' senses. But this is not limited to the occurrence of these types of verbs, as the following examples show.

(25) 0 kwutele yá. 'He has said it correctly.'

(26) 0 kwutele yá na nthi’m. 'He has made mention of it to my hearing.'

(27) Q kàtala yá. 'He has said it correctly.'/ 'He has guessed it accurately.'
Ewhnetala ya. 'Don't make mention of him.'

O jitele nwá ya. 'He has got his son under control, at last.'

Anyí ritëré ĝtha. 'He won a shield.'

I znitëré ya. 'You taught it correctly/accurately/properly.'

I znitëré hña ya. 'You taught it to them accurately.'

Izniterë hna ya. 'You taught it accurately.'

Observe that iznî in (32) is a three place verb so that 'hña' is directly associated with it and not with -tA.

Expression of 'source' and 'goal' of the direction

The source of the direction implied by -tA is indicated by use of the verbs isi, iwa, igä 'to go' and imài 'to start', and the NP or PrepPhrase which follows these verbs may indicate 'concrete', 'spatial' or 'temporal' meaning.

The goal of the movement is stated by a clause with the verb ịru 'to reach', and the clause will have concrete, spatial or temporal sense as the one with isi, etc. Thus -tA, in this regard, is similar to -ahna, and -lahna.

Consider the following examples.

/Síte nà mbé ahnú ru ñgbú à /àhnúbèghí m ya. 'From that time until now I have not seen him at all.'

/Síte Ụmúahyà ruo Ụba/ wụ ohu mayi lì àbuọ. 'From Ụmúahyà to Ụba is forty miles.'

/Wata ìkha rute ahnù à / otu ñgbò kà m:nùbèrè ya. 'From last year to this year, once only have I seen him.'

/Gàta Ụmùdà Isingwhù ru Òwèrè/, ụzọ dícha mmá. 'From
Umụ́dá Isingwhù to Òwèrè, all the roads are good.'

(37) /Màlìte thà à ru Ñkwó Àchàrà/, anỳì gà 'emécha yà.

'From today to Ñkwó Àchàrà market day, we shall finish it.'

site, gata, and kwhòta are used to introduced 'Reason/Cause' Clauses, and thus indicate again the abstract use of -tÀ.

(38) 0 nyèèrè m aka /site nà o wù enyì m./ 'He helped me because he was my friend.'

(39) /Kwhòta n'ihyne o kwùrù/, nà ǎgakwàghìi. 'On account of what he said, they did not go after all.'

(40) Ànyì 'emekwèghì ya /gàta n'ihyne mèrè./ 'We did not do it again because of what happened.'

site, and gata can be used also with the sense 'through', 'along', 'via', and thus have a 'prolative' sense.

(41) O sîtèrè Àba byà. 'He came through Àba.'

(42) 0 gâtàrà Ọ̀nìṣhà ga Ènùgù. 'He went to Ọ̀nìṣhà via Ènùgù.'

(43) Gàta akhàákha ùlò byà. 'Come along the side of the house.'

Ca.9.7.1. Co-occurrence of -tÀ with other suffixes

-tÀ can co-occur with all other suffixes, and when this happens, its position in the verb form is as follows.

(i) It precedes all categories of suffixes -- the Past Tense (-rÀ/E), the Aspect, Number, Comparison, Reference/Anaphora, Second Person Plural Pronoun, Modality, Insistence and the
Dative-benefactive and Prolative (-du/-jhe) suffixes, as in following examples. The co-occurring suffix is underlined.*
(The full translations are not given.)

(14) O \text{wêtâra} (Past tense) 'He brought.'
(15) O \text{wêtâla} (perfective) 'He has brought (it).'
(16) O \text{wêtawala} (continuative) 'He is bringing (it).'
(17) O \text{wêtâala} (intensive) 'He had at some time brought.'
(18) O \text{wêtarisî} (inclusive) 'He is still bringing.'
(19) O \text{wêtakari} (comparative) 'He brings too much.'
(20) \text{Wêta}_i \text{hmâ.} (Plural) 'Bring the several of them.'
(21) \text{Wêta}_i \text{nî} (reference) 'Bring, then.'
(22) \text{Wêta}_i (pronoun) 'Bring, you people.'
(23) \text{Wêta}_a \text{m} (Benefactive) 'Bring for me.'
(24) I\text{wêtadu} (Prolative) 'To bring along.'

(ii) It may precede or follow the adessive suffixes -sa, -kwasa, as in

(25) (a) i\text{wêkwasâta} 'to put on top of towards'
(b) i\text{wêtakwasa} 'to add on to'
(26) (a) i\text{wêsâta} 'to put on towards'
(b) i\text{wêtasâ} 'to bring and put on'

(iii) It follows all other suffixes, including those case suffixes which are not mentioned under (i) above.

(27) \text{irnôsîta} (Dative-Recipient) 'to bring about by being hostile to'
(28) \text{inýerîta} (comitative) 'to mutually give to each other'
(29) i\text{wêdhîtâ} (allative) 'to bring down to'
(60) iwe\'\'ute (allative) 'to bring down to'
(61) iwe\'\'ot\'\'a (allative) 'to bring up to'
(62) iwe\'\'e\'ata (ablative) 'to bring away to'
(63) iwe\'\'ehnata (ablative) 'to put away towards'
(64) iwe\'\'en\'\'anata (ablative) 'to take away beyond towards'
(65) iwe\'\'is\'\'e\'ata (illative) 'to put into towards'
(66) iwe\'\'is\'\'e\'ata (illative) 'to put into towards'
(67) iwe\'\'e\'isi (elative) 'to bring out to'
(68) iwe\'\'e\'isi (elative) 'to bring out to'
(69) iwe\'\'e\'isni (adessive) 'to put against to proximity of'
(70) igb\'a\'ata (allative) 'to kick in various directions to'
(71) iter\'ata (adessive) 'to paint over to proximity of'
(72) ig\'ani (prolative) 'to go along towards until given up'

Ca.9.7.2. Double occurrence of -tA
-tA occurs with the verb ili 'to get up/off/away' in a compound verb to give the sense 'to be able to', as in the following examples.
(73) Ag\'a\' m /\'evulite/ y\'a. 'I can carry it.'
(74) Q ga /\'arnulite/ ortion. 'He can work.' '/It can do the work.'
(75) Q n\'a /ekwulite/ okw\'i. 'He can talk.'

However, -tA does not always occur, and its occurrence in (73) to (75) can be deleted without losing the sense of 'can' or 'being able to'.

The form -lite ' can be compounded with another verb which already has -tA in it, thus giving a Compound Complex
verb form, as in the following instances.

(76) Q (gs vā /mweatalite/. 'He can bring it, certainly.'

(77) Any i ga /evutelte/ yā. 'We can carry it to anywhere.'

(78) I mē /ekwutelte/ yā. 'You are able to say it correctly.'

'You do say it correctly.'

The verb ilā is a directional verb and the movement is usually to a higher position, so the nouns 'elu' 'height', ọtọ 'uprightness' often occur with it, as in (79).

(79) Wele yā elu /ọtọ. 'Lift it up.'

When therefore it occurs with -tA both have the same goal. Thus (80) is equivalent to (79).

(80) Weelite yā elu /ọtọ.

Consequently when two of -tA occur in one verb form they have different orientations and correlate with different elements. So, for instance, in (78) the first -tA correlated with the subject, while the second one correlates with elu/ọtọ (which is not usually expressed).

Ca.9.7.3. Phonology of -tA

The vowel of -tA becomes /e/ only if the preceding syllable has /i/ or /u/, otherwise the vowel is /a/.

Consider the following.

(81) ilīte 'to get up to'

(82) irūte 'to arrive at'

(83) ìmīta 'to extract to'

(84) inwēta 'to obtain'

(85) ìkpāta 'to bring about'
Ca.9.8.  The Suffix -du

Semantically it gives the sense of 'along'. It often occurs as -du, but this I take as the coalescence of -du-\(\text{wA}\) ('Continuative'), which frequently co-occurs with it. Also it frequently co-occurs with -\(\text{jhe}\) 'along' and -\(\text{ta}\).

Consider these examples.

(1) 0 (si ahya) nā /əlotada\(\text{du}/ (n'\text{ulolo}). 'She is coming along home returning from the market.' (She (begin from market) is fact return+to+along+Continuative (to home).)

(2) Q nā /əmetada\(\text{du}/ yā n'ebé ahmù. 'She is doing it and coming along there.'

(3) Q /gbatadu\(\text{jhe}/ qosō. 'He is coming along running.'

Observe, as in (1), the source is stated with the verb isi, plus NP, and the goal by a PrepPhrase.

Ca.9.9.  The Suffix -I\(\text{si}\)

The suffix -I\(\text{si}\) harmonizes its vowels in accordance with the rules of vowel-harmony. Semantically it implies 'motion from interior to exterior', and thus is the opposite of -\(\text{IghA}\) which implies 'motion from exterior to interior'.

In addition to its case function, it also has a number function in that its use implies plurality either in the subject, or the direct object, and indirectly in the verb.

The source and the goal may be stated as for the other
suffixes described above (as in (1)). Consider the following examples.

(1) O sīle n'ulọ weisie /hnā/ n'ēzi. 'He has taken them out from the house into the yard.' (He begin from in house take+out+Intensive them into yard.)

(2) Ọ cūisiala /eghū/. 'He has driven out the goats.' (He drive+out-of+Intensive Perfecive goats.)

(3) Snāisia efere/(nhthiri)/. 'Wash (the dirt off) the plate(s).!' (Wash+out-of+Intensive plate(s) (dirt)).

(4) Tiisia nwatakiri /uwe/. 'Undress the child.' (Wear+out-of+Plural+Intensive child clothes.)

In (1) to (4) the direct objects marked by // are plural either in form or meaning. In (5) to (7) the subjects are plural.

(5) /Hnā/ afūisiala n'ama. 'They have all gone out to the square.'

(6) /Unā/ wūisia. 'You (pl) jump out.'

(7) /Umūtakiri/ āgbaisiala. 'The children have all run out.'

Often the suffix is used with an abstract sense, as in the following examples.

(8) Hna ānwuisiala. 'They have all died.'/They have died out.'

(9) Ėnwu āgbuisiele hña. 'They have all died.' (Death has killed them out.)

(10) O rēisiele (mma yā). 'It has wholly decayed.' (It has rotted out (its goodness)).

(11) Hna ēfūisiele. 'They have all got lost.'
(12) Ka m kuisie (obi) ume. 'Let me rest.' (Let me breathe out of the heat/chest breaths.)

In this abstract sense it is used with the verb itù 'to throw' and parts of the body to give a number of idiomatic phrases. The direct object of the verb is not stated and the NPs representing the parts of the body function as dative-locative. The infinitive forms of such phrases are given:

(13) itūsisi obi 'to relax', 'to be calm', 'to be gentle/do gently'
(14) itūsisi āhu 'to relax', 'to control oneself'
(15) itūsisi ume 'to rest/relax'
(16) itūsisi aka 'to do without force'
(17) itūsisi nthi 'to listen carefully'
(18) itūsisi onu 'to speak with gentleness'
(19) itūsisi ire 'to use a gentle tongue'

It is also used with the suffix -ki to indicate 'opening out/up', 'uncovering', etc.; and with the verb īghā (as part of a compound verb) 'to leave', to indicate 'undoing what has been done'.

In the following examples the Simple Participial forms of the verbs will be given in order to preserve the basic tones of the components.

(20) ntukisī 'unlocking', 'unrolling', 'unwinding'
(21) nkwa'kisī 'unpacking', 'uncovering'
(22) mfekisī 'blowing open'
(23) mkpákisī 'plying open'
(24) mpi'kisi 'pinching open'

(25) nkwugh'isi 'unsaying', 'recanting'

(26) mmeghi'isi 'unmaking', 'undoing'

(27) nkaghi'isi 'unsaying', 'withdrawing statement'

(28) nkweghi'isi 'dis-believing', 'withdrawing belief'

(29) nnyeghi'isi 'withdrawing offer/gift'

(30) ngaghi'isi 'retracing steps'

Observe that the vowel of -ki is elided to that of -Isi and the structure loses a syllable; and the root vowel of igha is assimilated to that of -Isi, but it retains its low-tone and is not elided either.
In these three sections which follow, three categories of word classes derived from verbs by various processes, including affixation, are discussed. They are Non-finite Verb Forms, Verb-derived Nouns, and Verb-derived Adjectives. They are discussed in the order given above.

Nf.1. Non-finite Verb Forms

There are five subcategories of the Non-finite Verb Forms. They are distinguished as follows:

(i) The Simple Infinitive
(ii) The Simple Participle (or N-Form)
(iii) The Gerund
(iv) The Gerundial Infinitive
(v) The Aorist Participle/Adjective

Nf.1.1. The Simple Infinitive

The Simple Infinitive is derived by inflecting the verb by the addition of the harmonizing prefix i-/i- to the verb stem which may be simplex or complex.

The prefix always has a high tone. The tones of the stem depend on the composition of the stem, that is, on the phonological classes of the components and their sequential order relative to one another. The rules are as follows.

(i) If the stem consists of class I elements (verbs, or verbs plus suffixes), the first syllable of the stem takes a mid-tone relationship with the prefix and every following syllable shares this tone relationship with it, as in (1).
(1) (a) ivū 'to carry/lift'
(b) ivūli 'to lift up', 'to be able to carry'
(c) ivūlite 'to be able to carry', 'to lift up'
(d) ivūrumacha 'to carry quite to destination'

(ii) If the initial element is a class I verb, and the rest of the stem contains a class II element, the initial class I verb takes a mid-tone in relation to the prefix while the rest of the stem takes low tones, including class I elements in it. In the examples in (2) the class II elements are underlined.

(2) (a) ivūbha 'to carry into'
(b) ivūdhatà 'to carry down to'
(c) ivūjufutamachà 'to carry and fill up quite adequately'
(d) ipābhàmirusì 'to carry (by hand) several things deep into the destination'

(iii) If the initial verb element is a class II verb, it takes a low tone in relation to the prefix; and if succeeding elements are class I elements, they too take low tones, as in (3) where the class II element is underlined.

(3) (a) iwe 'to take'
(b) iwēlā 'to take away to'
(c) iwēkari 'to indulge in taking'/'to take too much'
(d) izògbusèchà 'to trample all of several things to death'
(iv) If the initial verb element is a class II verb, and the rest of the stem contains another class II element in it, the initial class II verb takes a mid-tone in relation to the prefix and all succeeding elements take low tones, as in (4).

(4) (a) iẕo̱bi̱ 'to stop raining'
(b) iry̱ō̱ḏẖāṯā 'to bend/cause to bend downwards'
(c) iw̱eḻa̱ṟu̱j̱ẖë 'to put further away towards'
(d) iq̱i̱ḇi̱s̱è 'to break into several bits by pinching'

Class III verbs are never preceded by class I or class II verbs, but can themselves be followed by class I or class II verbs (and by suffixes). The Simple Infinitive form of a Class III verb has high-mid-low tones; but if it is added to, the succeeding elements take low tones. So we get tone-structures as described in (iv). Consider (5) where class II elements only are underlined.

(5) (a) iẕṉūzṉù 'to behave stupidly'
(b) iẕṉūzṉùbhàṯà 'to come in in a stupid manner'
(c) iṯūṯū 'to pick up many things'
(d) iṯūṯūj̱ùm̱àcẖà 'to fill up properly with pickings'

Nf. 1.2. The Simple Participle

The Simple Participle is derived by inflexion which adds a high-tone homorganic nasal consonant to a verb stem. The verb stem may be of a class I, class II, or of class III verb, or it may be a complex form.
The tones of the resulting form depend on the composition of the stem. If the stem is simplex, that is uncompounded, class I items have high-high tones, as in (6); class II items have high-low tones, as in (7); and class III items have high-high-low tones, as in (8).

(6) (a) mme 'doing'
     (b) nri 'eating'
(7) (a) mbha 'entering'
     (b) ntà 'biting'
(8) (a) mfufe 'waving'
     (b) nzuzu 'scrubbing'

If the stem is complex, the following tone structures obtain in accordance with the nature of the composition.

(i) If the form consists of class I elements only, the whole structure takes high tones, as in (9).

(9) (a) mmema 'doing properly', 'repairing'
     (b) memakari 'doing exceptionally well'
     (c) ndhojo 'misplacing'

(ii) If an initial class I verb is followed by a mixed class of elements, a class II element does not occur in third or subsequent position, the elements take the tones appropriate to their classes, high tone for class I elements, and low tones for class II, as in (10).

(10) (a) nludhà 'throwing down'
(b) mvudhâta  'carrying down to'
(c) mvubhâmîru  'carrying deeper inside to destination'

But if a class I element intervenes between the initial class I element and a class II element, the intervening class I takes a low tone while the class II takes a high tone, as in (11). The class II element is underlined.

(11) (a) mmetafnu  'being able to do/get right'
(b) mmejôfu  'doing badly again'

However, if the class II element is itself followed by class I elements, these take high-tones while the class II element takes a low-tone, as in (12).

(12) (a) mmejûfuta  'topping off'
(b) mvurubhâma  'carrying properly to destination inside'

(iii) If the initial verb is a class II verb and is immediately followed by a class I element or elements, the class II verb takes a low-tone while the other elements take high tones, as in (13).

(13) (a) nzâma  'sweeping properly'
(b) nljànhânu  'throwing a little distance away from'

But if a class II element occurs anywhere else in the stem, the initial class II verb takes a high-tone, and the succeeding elements take low-tones, including any class I element (if a class II occurs finally), as in (14).

(14) (a) mwebhâ  'taking inside'
(b) mwebhâmî  'taking deeper inside'
(c) mwebhààfù 'bringing inside further'
(d) mwebhàta 'bringing inside to'

(iv) With class III verbs in initial position, additional elements take tones according to their classes – high-tones for class I and low-tones for class II, as in (15).

(15) (a) ntutùju 'filling up with pickings'
(b) mfufèdhà 'waving/blowing down'

The use of the term 'Participle' here to apply to the form 'N+Verb stem' implies the rejection of the analysis which applied the term to the form 'a-/+e- + Verb stem' which is regarded in this work as an instance of the Aorist verb form in particular clause constructions. See Complex Clauses, pages 58-73 (particularly in its simplex form).

The Simple Participle of a verb stem forms the base for the derivation of various morphological types of nouns and adjectives. See 'Nouns' and 'Adjectives' below.

Nf.1.3. The Gerund

The Gerund is derived by adding the harmonizing prefix o-/-o- to a reduplicated form of the simple verb root. Thus the Gerund is derivable only from simplex class I and class II verb stems. That means it cannot be derived from complex verb stems nor from class III stems.

The tone-structure of the resulting form is as follows: for forms derived from class I verbs, the prefix takes a low-tone while the stem takes high-tones; but for forms derived from class II verbs both the prefix and the stem take low-tones.
Consider (16) and (17) which exemplify class I and class II gerunds, respectively.

(16) (a) ọriri 'eating'  (d) ọbyi bya 'coming'
       (b) ọmume 'doing'    (e) ọjụjụ 'asking'
       (c) ọlile 'looking'  (f) ọrice 'selling'

(17) (a) ọkpụkụ 'covering' (ă) ọkụkụ 'digging'/
       (b) ọlụlụ 'throwing'    (g) ọlụlụ 'planting'
       (c) ọbụbẹ 'perching'   (e) ọfụfụ 'going out'
       (f) ọmumu 'learning'

Nf.1.3.1. Substantivization of the Gerund

Gerunds can be transformed from being verbal-nouns into 'substantival-nouns'. In the case of gerunds derived from class I verbs this involves tone alternation whereby the second syllable takes a low-tone like the first syllable, leaving only the third syllable high. Consider (b) of the following examples:

(18) (a) ọmume 'doing'
       (b) ọmume 'behaviour'

(19) (a) ọdịdị 'being/existing'
       (b) ọdịdị 'character'

(20) (a) ọmumu 'bearing (child)'
       (b) ọmumu 'offspring'

(21) (a) ọji ji 'holding', 'wearing'
       (b) ọji ji 'dress', 'attire'

(22) (a) ọbyuba 'disintegrating'
       (b) ọbyuba 'erosion', 'gully'
However, with forms derived from class I verbs, where the substantival form has developed a derogatory meaning, the normal gerund is used both as verbal and as non-derogatory substantival noun, as in the following instances.

(25) (a) ọriri (i) 'eating' (ii) 'feast', 'celebration'
(b) ọriri 'greed', 'gluttony'

(26) (a) ọjụju (i) 'refusing' (ii) 'refusal'
(b) ọjụju 'bad-mannered refusal'

Gerunds derived from class II verbs do not show tone alternation when used substantivally. Thus in isolation they are ambiguous in meaning, as the following examples show.

(27) ọkpụkpụ (a) 'covering'; (b) 'a cover'
(28) ọtụtụ (a) 'measuring'; (b) 'a measure', 'measurement'
(29) ọkịkị (a) 'creating'; (b) 'creation', 'creature'
(30) ọrịfị (a) 'worshipping'; (b) 'worship'

Nf.1.4. The Gerundial Infinitive

The Gerundial Infinitive is similar to the Gerund phonologically except in one respect, that is, in having the prefix i-/i- while the Gerund has o-/o-; and it differs from the Simple Infinitive by having a reduplicated stem.

Like the Gerund, the Gerundial Infinitive can be derived only from simplex class I or class II verb stem only, and is
distinguished from the Simple Infinitive form of the class III verb by the differences in their tone-structures. The tone-structure of the Gerundial Infinitive is like that of the Gerund: low-high-high for items derived from class I verbs; and low-low-low for those derived from class II verbs, as in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31) (a) ịmume 'to be actually doing', 'to actually do'
(b) iriri 'to be actually eating', 'to actually eat'
(c) igiga 'to be actually going', 'to actually go'
(d) itutu 'to be actually throwing', 'to actually throw'

(32) (a) ịwuwè 'to be actually taking', 'to actually take'
(b) ịzịzu 'to be really complete'
(c) ịfịfụ 'to be actually going out', 'to actually go out'
(d) ìmìmù 'to be actually learning', 'to actually learn'

The English translations of the Igbo items point to the semantic difference between the Simple Infinitive and the Gerundial Infinitive. (See further below, p. 330)

Gerundial Infinitives of class I verbs undergo tone alternation in the same way as the Gerunds of the same class, but in this case substantivization is not involved. The difference involved is one of emphasis, the emphatic form taking low-low-high tones in place of the ordinary, non-emphatic tones of low-high-high, as in (33) and (34). Gerundial infinitives of class II verbs used the same tone-structure, employing phonetic features for emphasis.
The Aorist Participle

The Aorist Participle is derived by prefixing the harmonizing vowel a-/e- to a reduplicated simplex class I or class II stem.

An item derived from a class I verb has high-high-high tones while one derived from a class II verb has high-low-low tones.

Class III verbs and complex verb stems do not have Aorist Participial forms.

The term 'Aorist' is applied to this form because it has the characteristic aorist prefix, a-/e-, and semantically has the aspectual sense of the aorist verb form as discussed under Tense, p. 87 F., AS. 4, p. 120 F. (a feature which is present in all forms derived from the aorist verb form, but which has not hitherto been noticed because this verb form has not received treatment at depth before now). The term is used, additionally, to clearly distinguish this Participle from the Simple Participle, and thereby suggest a fundamental difference between the two types of participle. See further below.

The Aorist Participle is always used as an adjective (except in the case of substantivized items), and means 'capable of being...', 'worthy of being...', 'having the quality of
being... whatever the verb from which the form is derived denotes.

Consider the following examples, (35) representing forms from class I verbs, and (36) representing those from class II verbs.

(35) (a) ag'ug'u 'readable', 'worth reading', 'deserving to be read'

(b) agiga 'worth going to', 'passable'

(c) alulu 'marriageable', etc

(d) emume 'doable', 'practicable'

(e) eriri 'edible', 'fit to eat'

(36) (a) akika 'worth telling', 'deserving to be said'

(b) atutu 'measurable', 'capable of being measured'

(c) edhidhi 'bearable', 'capable of being endured'

(d) elili 'plantable', 'buriable'

The Aorist Participle is included here to complete the list of Non-finite forms derived from verbs. It is classified as an adjective and so dealt with again as Adjective Form 21. See p.470.

Nf.1.5.1. Substantivization of the Aorist Participle

The Aorist Participle can be substantivized in two ways: (a) by using the same form as a noun; (b) or by altering the tones of the form (as in the case of the Gerund and the Gerundial infinitive). The altered form usually has a derogatory sense, implying criticism or condemnation, or some similar sense. This applies particularly to Aorist Participles from
class I verbs in which the possibility of tone alternation is much greater than in those derived from class II verbs. In the following examples (b) represents forms in which there has been tone alternation.

(37) (a) ajuju (i) 'questionable'; (ii) 'a question'
     (b) ajuju 'improper question'; 'ill-fitting question'

(38) (a) egbugbu (i) 'capable of being cut'; (ii) 'an axe'
     (b) egbugbu 'malicious or wicked damaging of life'

(39) (a) elile (i) 'worth watching'; (ii) 'spectacle'
     (b) elile 'bad-mannered or suspicious looking at'

(40) (a) ejije (i) 'imitable'
     (b) ejije (i) 'imitation'; (ii) 'mimicry'

(41) (a) ekwukwu 'speakable'
     (b) ekwukwu 'talkativeness', 'loquacity'; 'irresponsible talk'

(42) (a) emume 'doable', 'practicable'
     (b) emume 'Heinous/wicked deed'

(43) (a) aryiryọ 'worth begging (for)'
     (b) aryiryọ 'begging', 'pleading'

The following examples illustrate forms from class II verbs used with different meanings.

(44) ekuku (i) 'capable of being breathed'; (ii) 'a loud and long shout'; (iii) 'pulsating pain'

(45) amụmu (i) 'worth learning'; (ii) 'knowledge'; (iii) 'pseudo-knowledge'

There are however instances where tone alternation has
taken place in substantivized forms derived from class II verbs, as in the following examples which are the only ones so far discovered.

(46) (a) ehynihynè 'capable of deviating from'
      (b) ehynihynè 'afternoon' (decline of day)
      (c) ehynihynè 'dizzy feeling', 'a feeling of physical dis-ease'

(47) (a) akwhukwhà 'capable of being pushed'
      (b) akwhukwhà 'fatality', 'fate', 'fateful urge'

(48) (a) atütù 'capable of being pecked'
      (b) atütù 'spotty appearance'

(49) (a) agbugba 'capable of being levered up'
      (b) agbugba 'malicious tale', 'harmful gossip'

(50) (a) agwugwa 'capable of changing essence'
      (b) agwugwa 'Illusiveness'

Nf.2. Meaning differences between Non-finite Verb Forms

The meaning differences between the Non-finite forms are briefly stated and illustrated.

All the forms express abstract notions in quite subtle ways which cannot be fully explained here. The Simple Infinitive sets out the abstract notion denoted by the verb as an outcome or a possible outcome; and suggests an element of purpose in the actualizing of the notion, though this depends in part on the verb associated with the infinitive. The Gerundial Infinitive lays stress on the 'actualizing' of the notion, assuming that it is possible of realization, hence
the translations given earlier. The Gerund is noncomittal about the actualization and represents the notion denoted by the verb as a theory. The Simple Participle, on the other hand, represents the 'fact' of the actualization of the notion. And, as has already been explained, the Aorist Participle, is concerned not with 'action' but with quality.

Consider the following examples, using the verb isi 'to cook'.

(51) Q cọrọ /isi/ ya. 'He wants to cook it.'
(52) Q cọrọ /'isisi/ yā. 'He wants the actual cooking of it (not talking about cooking it)'
(53) Q jùrù màkà /'isisi/ yā. 'He asked about the cooking of it.'
(54) Q jì na /nsi/ yā. 'It depends upon getting it cooked.'
(55) Q wù jì /esisi/. 'It is a cookable yam.'

**Nf.3. The functions of the Non-finite Forms**

All the Non-finite forms, except the Aorist Participle, have verbal and nominal characteristics. These are very briefly described and illustrated, with more attention given to the Simple Participle.

Being derived from verbs, the Simple Infinitive, the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Simple Participle often take Complements when they occur. Indeed the first three almost invariably take Complements except in transformationally determined contexts to be illustrated below.

As nominals, all four can occur as subjects, or as objects
or Complements (as well as have one themselves). They can also be modified by nominal modifying elements, such as adjectives, possessive pronouns, deictic elements and nouns. They can themselves function as modifiers of other nominals.

The Infinitives and the Gerund are illustrated as follows.

The forms derived from the verb *izū* 'to buy' are used in all instances.

(a) **As Subjects**

(56) */izū ahya/* nà àto yā ụto.  'To trade ('to buy market')
gives him pleasure.'

(57) */izuzu ahya/* dị iche n'itụ izū ahya.  'To actually trade
is different from planning to trade.'

(58) */ọzūzu ahya/* fütarà eg'o.  'Trading means money.'

(b) **As Complements**

(59) ọ jùrù */izū mọtò/.  'He refused to buy a car.'

(60) ọ jùrù */izuzu mọtò/ mgbè o kwèch'ara'la ọnu.  'He refused
actually to buy the car after he had made an offer for
it.'

(61) ọ kwughĩ */ọzūzu mọtò/, ọ wụ ọkwụkwọ yā.  'He did not
talk about the buying of the car, but about the driving
of it.'

(c) **As Nominal Modifiers**

(62) eg'o */izū ụlọ/  'money for buying a house' ('money to
buy house')

(63) eg'o */izuzu ụlọ/  'Money to actually buy the house with'

(64) eg'o */ọzuzu ụlọ/  'Money for buying the house'
(d) Modified by other elements

In these examples the modified unit is bracketed, and the modifying element put in slants //.

(65) ( İzú ahya) /yā/ nà abhàra yā urù. 'His trading brings him profit.' ('To trade his ...').

(66) ( İzú ahya) /yā/ nà èwe og'è. 'His buying things takes time.'

(67) ( Özuzu ahya) /yā/ wū mà ò nàtàrà eg'o nà bangì. 'His trading will depend upon his getting a loan from the bank.'

Adjectives and other modifying elements can take the place of the pronoun /yā/ in these sentences.

In (56) to (67) the Non-finite forms have complements in each instance of their occurrences. But the Simple Infinitive can lack a Complement when this has already occurred in a previous clause, as in (68), and the Gerundial Infinitive and the Gerund lack it when it has already occurred as the Complement of the finite verb in the same clause, as in (69) and (70), respectively.

(68) Q. Unù còrò /izu akwùkọ/? 'Did you want to buy books?'
A. Ee, anyì còrò /izù. 'Yes, we wanted to buy.'

(69) Q còrò /akwùkọ/  İzù. 'He wanted to actually buy the books.'

(70) Q còrò /akwùkọ/ Özuzu. 'What he wanted for the books was buying them.'

In (69) and (70) /akwùkọ/ 'books' is the Complement of both the finite verb 'còrò' and the non-finite verbs, but having
occurred once, it does not occur a second time.

The Simple Participle is singled out for special attention because this is the first time that the form under consideration has been given this name, which has the effect of pointing out its verbal as well as nominal and other functions. Hitherto it has been the practice to label it 'noun', and no mention has been made of its verbal characteristics and its adjectival functions (which it shares with the other non-finite forms.)

As a verbal form it can take Complements, but often these are deleted, as in (71), where the deletable elements are bracketed.

(71) (a) /mmegeb (madhù)/ adighi mma. 'Cheating (people) is not good.'
(b) /Nnụcha (onụ 'à)/ ràrà ăhù. 'Finishing (this piece of work) is difficult.'
(c) Odì yà /mmegeb (madhù)/ imere m ya. 'He feels that he is being cheated if he does it for me.'
   (It is to him cheating (people/someone) to do it for me.)

It can also function as an adjectival element, as in (72).

(72) (a) onye /nọgbụta (madhù)/ 'a saviour' ('person saving (people)')
(b) ihyne /nkọta (öké) 'an inheritance' ('thing sharing-to share')
(c) ndị /nkụzi (ihynē)/ 'teachers' ('people teaching (things)')
As a verb it can occur with 'na' or 'ga' in a Complex Clause, having similar functions as the aorist verb form which can also occur with the 'na'. The difference is that it gives a notion of 'certainty' to the performance or non-performance of the 'action' denoted by the verb from which it is derived.

Compare (a) and (b) of (73) and (74), the (b) having the Simple Participle form, and (a) the aorist form of the same verb.

(73) (a) 0 ga /abya/. 'He will come.' (vague promise)
(b) 0 ga /mbya/. 'He will certainly come.' (assurance)

(74) (a) 0 nà /cme/ yà. 'He is doing it, as a matter of fact.'
(b) 0 nà yà /mme/. 'He is indeed doing it, I assure you.'

Its verbal nature is further confirmed by the fact that the aorist form of it can occur following it, as is usual in a Complex Clause Type II. Compare (b) and (a) of (75).

(75) (a) 0 ga /abya abya/. 'He will come (emphatic/certain)'
(b) 0 ga /mbya abya/. 'He will certainly come.' (emphatic)

These facts prove conclusively that the analysis and categorization given here of the form under discussion is correct.

Nf.4. Negative Non-finite Form

The negative form of the non-finite forms is derived by prefixing a-/e- to the stem of the verb. The prefix always has a high-tone, and the tones of the stem are as described for the Simple Infinitive. There is only one negative form
for all the subcategories of Non-finites (except the Aorist Participle which has no negative counterpart) derived from the same stem, as in the examples set out below.

(i) Class I Verb imē 'to do'

(i) Positive

(76) (a) imē 'to do'  
(b) imume 'to actually do'  
(c) umume 'doing'  
(d) mmme 'getting done'  
(e) cmume 'doable'

(ii) Negative

(77) (a) cmē 'not to do'
(b) cmē 'not to actually do'
(c) cmē 'not doing'
(d) cmē 'not getting done'
(e) c∅'

(ii) Class II Verb izà 'to sweep'

(77) (a) izà 'to sweep'  
(b) izà 'to actually sweep'  
(c) ozà 'sweeping'  
(d) nzà 'getting swept'  
(e) azà 'sweepable'

(iii) Class III Verb igbugbu 'to wave about'

(78) (a) igbugbu 'to wave about'  
(b) mgbugbu 'waving about'  
  egbugbu 'not to wave about'
  egbugbu 'not waving about'

The exact meaning of the negative non-finite form depends upon the subcategory of positive non-finite which it serves as negative form. Consider these examples.

(79) (a) /Mme yā/ 'ugbu a dì m nàmànu. 'To have it done now is difficult for me.'
(b) /Eme yâ/ ụgbu à ɗi à ịhramahu. 'Not to have it done now is difficult for me.'

(80) (a) ị cèrè nà /omume yâ/ ɗi mfe? 'Do you think doing it is easy?'

(b) ị cèrè nà /eme yâ/ ɗi mfe? 'Do you think not doing it is easy?'

**Nf. 5. Rule of Non-finite Derivation**

The rule for Non-finite derivation is now given as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Non-finite} & \rightarrow \text{Prefix } \{i/i\} + \text{Verb Stem } \{\text{Complex}\} \\
\{a/e-\} & \{\text{Simple}\} \\
\{o/o-\} & \{\text{Reduplex}\}
\end{align*}
\]

Simplex stands for the simple unsuffixed, uncompounded verb root; Complex for suffixed or compounded verb stem; and Reduplex for the reduplicated verb root. The rule does not take account of the tones which will have to be inserted in accordance with the conditions already described earlier.

**Nf. 6. Table of Non-finite Forms**

Using the three verbs ime 'to do', iza 'to sweep' and ịgbugbu 'to wave about', a table of Non-finite Forms is given as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple:</td>
<td>Gerund:</td>
<td>Gerund:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>Infin.</td>
<td>Simple:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>Aorist:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>ime</td>
<td>ọmume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ọmume</td>
<td>mme</td>
<td>eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>ịza</td>
<td>ịzi ịza</td>
<td>ọzi ọzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nzà</td>
<td>azì  azìà</td>
<td>azà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class III verbs use their Simple Participle forms for the functions performed by the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Aorist Participle of Class I and II verbs. The same applies to the Simple Participle forms of Complex stems.

Consider (82) to (84) in which (b) represents the Simple Participle of a class III verb.

(82) (a) /Ornum_emume/  hnâ diká mkpâ.  'Doing them is necessary.'
(b) /Ntutu/ .............  'Picking them up is necessary.'
(c) /Mmebi/ .............  'Spoiling them is necessary.'

(83) (a) /Imume/  hnâ ká mkpâ.  'Actually doing them is more necessary.'
(b) /Ntutu/ .............  'Actually picking them up is more necessary.'
(c) /Mmebi/ .............  'Actually spoiling them is more necessary.'

(84) (a) Ornu /emume/  'work deserving to be done.'
(b) nkuru /ntutu/  'palm-fruits deserving to be picked up'
(c) Ornu /mmebi/  'work deserving to be spoilt.'
CHAP. 14

Derived Nouns

DN.1. Types of Derived Nouns

A number of Igbo nouns are derived from verbs by affixation accompanied, in some cases, by the morphological process of reduplication, or duplication. These processes yield two basic types of nouns: (a) substantival nouns, that is, nouns which identify some concrete or abstract entities; and (b) verbal nouns, that is, nouns which are more or less nominalizations of the 'action' or 'state' denoted by the verb of origin. These basic types are, roughly, distinguished by the fact that the substantival nouns (except some subtypes of 'agentive nouns') do not take Complements, while the verbal nouns are very often used with Complements, thus yielding phrasal nouns of varying lengths determined by the number of post-verb elements.

DN.1.1. Derivational Prefixes

The prefixes involved in the derivation of nouns are the same as those used in the derivation of Non-finite forms, with the addition of the vowel /U/. Thus the complete list is (i) A- (a-/e-); (ii) I- (i-/e-); (iii) O- (o-/o-); (iv) U- (u-/u-); and (v) N- (which is homorganic).

DN.1.2. Derivational and Derivational-cum-Inflexional Suffixes

There are two types of suffixes to be distinguished in the derivation of nouns by suffixation: (a) suffixes which are entirely derivational; (b) suffixes which have inflexional functions in the language but also have, additionally, deriva-
tional functions. (This applies also to suffixes which occur in the derivation of adjectives.) The suffixes in (a) may also have non-inflectional but still grammatical function in the language.

The two types of suffixes are given as follows: (a) -m; (b) (i) -A/E; (ii) -rA/E.

The suffix -m probably derives from the first person singular, emphatic pronoun. See pp. 16 and 17 below.

The suffix -A/E is the 'Intensive' Aspect which as a derivative is assimilated to the vowel of the preceding syllable. But this characteristic has been observed earlier in As.8.10, p. 160.

The -rA/E suffix is the 'Dative-Benefactive' case suffix.

The tones of these suffixes depend on the types of noun in which they occur and the class of the verbs from which the nouns are derived.

**DN.1.3. Derivational infixes**

Infixes occur in derived nouns (and also adjectives) in derivations in which discontiguous duplication occurs. A limited number of such forms are given in (i) to (vi) as being elements which have other grammatical functions in the language. All others are lexical suffixes which take up the positions of infixes when the verbs in which they occur form the bases for derived nouns. The list of lexical suffixes is given in a separate chapter at the end of this work.

The grammatical elements used as derivatives are given as
follows:

(i) -m- (the same as -m above);
(ii) -mA- (probably the conjunction 'ma' 'and')
(iii) -1A/E ('case' suffix -la)
(iv) -rA/E ('case' suffix -rA/E)
(v) -tA/E ('case' suffix -tA)
(vi) -ghA/E ('number' suffix -ghA; or lexical suffix -ghA/E).

The occurrence of these affixes will be illustrated in the examples to be given below.

DN.1.4. Notions carried by various types of derived nouns

It is necessary to say a brief word about the meaning of derived nouns generally, with particular reference to verbal nouns. On the whole, nouns with the prefix, 0-, imply agentivity; those with the prefix A- imply the 'fact or possibility of the action or state' denoted by the verb of origin, and those with the prefix N- imply the 'actualization of the action of state' identified by the verbs on which they are based. Those with the prefix U- (and which may not identify objects) usually represent abstractions. Some of the formations have bad connotations, while some others realize the notion of plurality -either indicating a number of objects, or implying a number of the same type of 'action'. An attempt will be made to bring out the nuances of the forms (where possible) in the translations of the examples.
DN.2. The Rules of Noun Derivation from Verbs

The rules for the derivation of nouns from verbs are now given and exemplified as follows. The order of giving the rules is not important.

DN.2.1. Rule 1:

\[
\text{Derived N.} \quad \text{Prefix (I)} + \text{V.Stem (Duplex)} + \text{Suffix (-rA/E)}
\]

This rule yields substantival nouns. The tones of the resulting words are determined by the class of the verb. On the whole, whatever may be the tone of the affixes, the stem takes a low tone in nouns derived from class II verbs, and a high tone in nouns derived from class I verbs. But this does not always work out this way for all nouns derived from class I verbs, as will be seen in some of the examples. Words that depart from the norm are marked by asterisks *. 

DN.2.1.(a) Prefix + Simplex V.Stem

From Class I Verbs

(1) (a) àjù 'coolness', 'calmness', 'self-control' (ijù 'to cool')

(b) åsì 'rumour', 'report', 'falsehood' (isi 'to say')

(c) ìghò 'protective intervention' (ighọ 'to catch')

(d) àkọ 'sagacity', 'cleverness' (ikọ (àkọ) 'to be clever')

(e) awà 'a slice' (iwa 'to slice', 'to crack/break')

(f) àjù 'a pad' (ijù 'to cool')

(g) ekù 'ladle' (ikù 'to ladle out, scoop out')

(h) ekwe 'a drum/gong' (ikwé 'to sound out')
(2) (a) iwe 'anger' (iwe (iwe) 'to be angry')
(b) ikhe 'strength', 'power', 'authority' (ikho (ikhe) 'to be strong')
(c) ivu 'load/burden' (ivu 'to carry/lift')
(d) ijhê 'a journey/walk' (ijhe 'to go')
(e) iwa 'a non-poisonous type of cassava' (iwa 'to split/slice')
(f) iwu 'a law/regulation' (iwu 'to hurt')

(3) (a) ornu 'farm', 'work' (irnu 'to work/do')
(b) okhe 'male' (ikhe 'to be strong')
(c) owa 'a torch of bamboo strips' (iwa 'to split')
(d) oko 'skin rash' (ikö 'to irritate/scratch')
(e) ôme 'doer' (imé 'to do')
(f) ọke 'watcher', 'a rat' (ike 'to watch for')
(g) ọle 'looker' (ilé 'to look')
(h) ọga 'goer' (iga 'to go')

(4) (a) ụwe 'clothes', 'shirts/blouses' (iwe 'to put over')
(b) ụme 'misfortune', 'tragic loss' (imé 'to happen', 'to do')
(c) ụwa 'echo', 'fissure' (iwa 'to split')
(d) ụtụ 'wood-worm' (itụ 'to bore')
(e) ume 'breath', 'might' (imè 'to do')
(f) umwu 'famine' (imwu 'to wither/die')
(g).ukwu 'leg/feet' (ikwu 'to go with')

(5) (a) nka 'agedness' (ika 'to mature/get hard and firm')
(b) mma 'goodness', 'beauty' (imá 'to be good/beautiful')
From Glass II Verbs

(6) (a) ajù 'dizziness' (iṣù 'to thrash')
    (b) ag'á 'a thorny plant' (ig'á 'to claw')
    (c) ekè 'creator', 'natural habit' (ike 'to create')
    (d) emú 'mockery', 'deceit' (imu 'to walk/do secretly')
    (e) a'jà 'sacrifice' (ijà 'to open out', 'to expose')
    (f) ìkpà 'a bag' (ikpà 'to weave')
    (g) ènyò (ìnyò) 'a mirror' (inyò 'to peep/peer')
    (h) ìbè 'ledge' (ibè 'to perch')

(7) (a) ilì 'grave' (ilì 'to bury')
    (b) ivù 'fatness' (ivù 'to be/become fat/big')
    (c) iwù 'ruin' (iwù 'to go bad')
    (d) iwì 'scales', 'disaster' (iwì 'to shed light, feathery forms')

(8) (a) ìkhè 'a boundary' (ikhè 'to stand fixed')
    (b) ọzà 'a filter' (izà 'to filter'; 'to sweep')
    (c) ìkwhà 'a warning' (ikwhà 'to push')
    (d) ìkè 'a share', 'sharer' (ike 'to share (out)')
    (e) ọkù 'a call', 'a howler' (iku 'to howl')
    (f) ìkọ 'a digger/planter' (ikọ 'to dig/plant')

(9) (a) uzọ 'way/road/path' (izọ 'to tread')
(b) ̀ukà 'a talk/matter' (ìkà 'to say/tell')
(c) ̀urò 'game/play' (ìró 'to play')
(d) ̀uznu 'a noise' (ìznù 'to make a noise')
(e) ̀udhà 'a sound' (ìdhà 'to sound')

(10) (a) ǹkà 'art', 'skill' (ìkà 'to carve')
(b) ǹkù 'wing' (ìkù 'to blow/fan')
(c) ̀mkà 'scissors' (ìkpà 'to clip')
(d) ̀mkà 'need/necessity' (ìkpà 'to clinch')
(e) ̀mkpè 'strip', 'bark', 'husk' (ìkpè 'to tear off')
(f) ̀ncà 'soap' (ìcà 'to cut up/away')

DN.2.1. (b) Prefix+Simplex V.Stem+Suffix-M

(11) (a) ǹjhèm 'a journey' (ìjhe 'to go' - Class I)
(b) ̀aghòm 'a disaster', 'accident' (ìghò 'to change
nature' - Cl.I)
(c) ̀kwàm 'peace', 'return to normality' (ìkwà 'to do/
mend' - Cl.I)
(d) ̀kwèm 'consent' (ìkwè 'to agree')
(e) ̀kpèm/òkpòm+òkhù 'heat' (ìkpè (òkhù) 'to be hot'
- Cl.I)
(f) ̀ryòm 'a poisonous plant (ìryò 'to bend/droop' - Cl.I)
(g) ̀utùm 'a large quantity' (ìtù 'to hack off portions
of' - Cl.II)
(h) erìm 'blood relationship/relatio' (ìrì 'to eat' -
Class I)

DN.2.1. (c) Prefix+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix-A/E

The majority of words of this form have the prefix 0- and
conote 'one who has a (bad) reputation for doing or being' what the verb denotes. And nouns derived from Class I verbs have the same tone-structure as those derived from Class II verbs. There are only two items with the prefix I- which have been found, and they refer to things and not persons. They are listed first.

(12) (a) igbē 'crawling' (of a child) (igbē 'to crawl')
     (b) idhe 'flood' (idhe 'to rush' (of water))

(13) (a) òmè 'reputed (bad) doer' (imè 'to do')
     (b) ìkwe 'one who is always agreeing' (ikwe 'to agree')
     (c) èqeq 'inquisitive person' (èqè 'to look for')
     (d) èzá 'a (bad) sweeper' (èzá 'to sweep')
     (e) ènyò 'a peeping Tom' (ènyò 'to peep')
     (f) ègù 'one given to refusing' (ègù 'to refuse')

DN.2.1. (d) Prefix+VStem (Duplex)+Suffix A/E

Nouns with this form have two usages: they may refer to persons who do or become, in an excessive manner, what the verb denotes. Thus they constitute intensive forms of those forms illustrated in (13). They may, on the other hand, represent the 'nominalization' of the action or state identified by the verb, indicating its excessiveness.

Words from Class I verbs have the same tone-structure as those from Class II verbs: LLHL.

(14) (a) ègagaa 'wanderer, foreigner' (ègaa 'to go')
     (b) èlèlèe 'one who looks excessively', 'a spectacular thing' (èlè 'to look')
(c) òbèbeè 'one who cries too much' (ìbè 'to cry')
(d) òzàzaà 'one who sweeps too often', 'a thing/event that sweeps away mightily' (ìzà 'to sweep')
(e) òkòkoqo 'one who plants much', 'activity that entails a great deal of digging operation' (ìkò 'to dig/plant')

DN.2.1.(e) Prefix+VStem(Reduplex)+Suffix A/E

Items with this form are similar in meaning to those in (1) (c). The only difference lies in the composition of the stem of the verb of derivation, which, for the items exemplified below, is a reduplicated stem. The items have the prefix O-, and LHML tones.

(15) (a) òtutùù 'one in the habit of picking up things'
         (ìtùtù 'to pick up many things')
(b) òbibibí 'one in the habit of spoiling things' (ìbibì 'to spoil')
(c) ònyunyòò 'one who always behaves foolishly' (ìnyùnyò 'to behave foolishly')

DN.2.1.(f) Prefix+VStem(Reduplex)+Suffix rA/E

Items of this form identify objects, and have the tones HLHM.

(16) (a) akùkùrò 'a thorny vine' (ìkùkù 'to go/do sluggishly')
(b) akhùkhùrù 'crust' (ìkhùkhù 'to scape about')
(c) egbùgbìrè 'edge' (ìgbùgbè 'to hang', 'to be slow')
(d) okpùkpùrù 'shell' (ìkpùkpù 'to go about in crouching fashion' (ìkpù 'to turn upside-down, to cover'))
(e) nkìkerè 'shell of nuts' (ikìkè 'to fragment by hitting hard')
(f) mgbùgbọrọ 'peels' (igbọ 'to hack off large portions')
(g) mkpùkperè 'peel', 'bark' (ikpè 'to peel off')

DN.2.1.(g) **Prefix+VStem (Reduplex)**

Items of this form identify objects. They vary in tone-structure of which there are five types: HHH, HHL, LIL, LHL, HLHM. They may have as prefix A-, I-, O-, U-, or N-.

(17) (a) avnụnu 'chaff' (iavnụnu 'to break up into particles')
(b) azịza 'broom' (izà 'to sweep')
(c) ụgbụgbọ 'bark' (igbọ 'to hack off')
(d) ịznụnụ 'dust' (iznụnụ 'to make a great deal of (e.g. noise)')

(18) (a) ebụbे 'awe', 'fear', 'wonder' (iibụbẹ 'to stagger')
(b) abụbụ 'fat', 'grease' (iibụbẹ 'to smudge')
(c) erụrụ 'electric-fish' (irụrụ 'to cause to get soft')
(d) iibụbẹ 'floating dust' (ibụbẹ 'to stagger/float about')
(e) ikpụkpẹ 'skin' (e.g. of banana), 'peel' (ikpè 'to peel off')
(f) ịnzịza 'broom' (izà 'to sweep')

(19) (a) ifufe 'wind' (ifē 'to blow')
(b) iryiryo 'a type of flies' (which flutter) are gregarious, small and fond of succulent foods) (iryIryọ 'to tremble')
(c) ọtụtụ 'many' (iụ 'to pile up') (~ntụtụ)

(20) (a) ọvụmụ 'a type of stinging caterpillar' (iụmụ 'to smart')
(b) ụfụfụ 'foam' (iụ 'to blow with the mouth')
(c) ụrụrụ 'a type of rodent' (iụrụ 'to roam about in congested surroundings')

(21) ọgbụgbụ (okhụ) 'fire-brand' (ọgbụgbụ 'to wave about')

DN.2.1. (h) Prefix+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix rA/E

The items identify 'objects'. Items derived from class I verbs have high stems, but vary in tones in their prefixes and suffixes, particularly when the prefix is A-. Forms derived from class II verbs have low stems, with low suffixes, and prefixes which may be high or low. The lists are given under these two classes of verbs.

From Class I Verbs

(22) (a) ेbere 'mercy', 'compassion' (ibē 'to cry')
(b) ेkperẹ/ekpere 'prayer' (ikpē 'to plead')
(c) ेfere 'lightness' (ifē 'to fly/blow')
(d) ेfere 'plate'
(e) ekere 'a small wooden drum' (ike 'to hit hard')
(f) ेghorọ 'pleading' (ighọrọ 'to howl', 'to plead')
(g) ekherẹ 'fibre of raffia-palm' (ikhẹ 'to tie (up) firmly')

(23) (a) ịfurụ 'flowers' (ifū 'to germinate')
(b) ịkpụrụ 'maggots' (ikpū 'to enter under')

(24) ọwāra 'bamboo strips' (iwa 'to split')
From Class II Verbs

(a) ekwhorò 'jealousy', 'hostility' (ikwhò 'to have regard to')

(b) òwerè 'back-yard' (iwè 'to take')

(c) ógbàrà 'a line', 'a batch' (igba 'to join')

(a) ukhòrò 'fume' (ikhò 'to fume')

(b) unworò 'discarded skin of snake', 'change' (inwò 'to change')

(c) ubìrí 'belch' (ibi 'to cut loose')

(a) iwìrì 'particles' (iwì 'to break up into particles', 'to shell feathery forms')

(b) ihynèrè 'width' (ihynè 'to turn aside, go astray')

(mkhòrò 'hook', 'horn' (ikhò 'to hook/hang up'))

(b) mkpùrù 'shortness of length' (ikpù 'to blunt')
For the derivation of 'verbal nouns', that is, nouns which constitute the 'nominalization' of the 'action' or 'state' represented by the verb of origin, Rule 1 given above is amended at one place. A fourth choice, Complex, is added to the VStem string. But in the development of the rule the choice of VStem is limited to Simplex, Complex, or Reduplex; and the choice of Suffix is between $\emptyset$ and $-M$. So the rule schema for deriving 'verbal nouns' will be as follows:

$$\text{Derived N} \rightarrow \text{Prefix (S) + VStem (Complex) + Suffix (M)}$$

As stated earlier, 'verbal nouns' can have post-verb elements which in consequence form part of the noun, thus resulting in phrasal nouns of varying lengths.

For the purpose here Non-finite Forms are left out of consideration, having been dealt with by themselves. This means that the Simple Infinitive, the Gerundial Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Simple Participle will not be exemplified.

Three verbs only are used for the demonstration, as the formations are tonally regular for the classes of verbs. The three verbs are: Class I $\text{irì }$ 'to eat'; Class II $\text{jà }$ 'to sweep'; and Class III $\text{imùmù }$ 'to grumble'.

I. **Class I Verb:** $\text{irì }$ 'to eat'

(a) **Simplex VStem** + $M$

The prefix takes a low tone, the stem a high tone, and the
suffixed a mid-tone.

(32) `erim + Complement  (i) 'the fact of eating'
     (ii) 'the fact of having eaten'
     (iii) 'the possibility of eating'

(33) (a) `ori + Complement  'eater'  
     (b) `ori any  'meat-eater' (any 'meat')  
     (c) `ori akwha  'egg-eater' (akwha 'egg')  
     (d) `ori ede  'coconut-eater' (ede 'coconut')  
     (e) `ori enwo  'monkey-eater' (enwo 'monkey')  

The Complements in (33) are part of the noun, and this is indicated by the non-lexical tones which the nouns take in (b) to (d) which are Class I, Class II and Class III nouns, but not in (e) which is a Class IV noun.

With the prefix N- low, the stem and the suffix take high tones.

(34) (a) `nirim + Complement. 'the fact/possibility of eating'
     (b) `nirim any  'meat-eating'
     (c) `nirim akwha  'egg-eating'
     (d) `nirim ede  'coconut-eating'
     (e) `nirim enwo  'monkey-eating'

The occurrence of the complements is part of the formation.

The complements retain their lexical tones.

(b) Complex VStem ± M  

The stem may consist of verb roots or verb root plus various types of suffixes, which are underlined in the examples.

(35) `erikotachisiam  'the fact/possibility of completely
eating everything up'

(36) (a) ọrikọtachasi + Complement  'one who completely eats up everything'

(b) ọrikọtachasi ihye dum  'one who completely eats up everything.'

(37) Ọrikọtachasim

In place of this form the Simple Participle occurs, as in

(38) ọrikọtachasi 'completely eating up everything'

II  Class II Verbs

(a) Simplex VStem + M

The stem, the prefix and the suffix (where it occurs) take low-tones.

(39) ìazam + Complement

(i)  'the fact of sweeping'

(ii)  'the fact of having swept'

(iii)  'the possibility of sweeping'

(40) (a) ìọza + Complement  'sweeper'

(b) ìọza ama  'square-sweeper'

(c) ìọza ọzi  'yard-sweeper'

(d) ìọza ulo  'house-sweeper'

(e) ìọza ala  'floor-sweeper'

Observe that the complements retain their lexical tones following the class II verb derived noun. The same applies in (41).

(41) (a) ìnazam + Complement  'the fact/possibility of sweeping'

(b) ìnazam ama  'square-sweeping'

(c) ìnazam ọzi  'yard-sweeping'
(d) ǹzàm ỳlò 'house-sweeping'
(e) ǹzàm àlà 'floor-sweeping'

(b) Complex V Stem \( \pm M \)
Verbs or suffixes added to the verb root take high-tones, or low-tones according to their phonological classes, and the \(-m\) suffix takes a mid-tone.

(l42) (a) ̀ażàkọtachasjìm 'the fact/possibility of sweeping all together'
(b) ̀ażàtùtechasjìm 'the fact/possibility of sweeping all down together'

Observe the toneme-perturbation caused by the occurrence of the class II suffix, \(-tù\), in (b).

(l43) (a) ọzàkọtachasi + Complement. 'one who sweeps all together'
(b) ọzàkọtachasi \( \{ amà \} \) 'one who sweeps all the \( \{ square \} \)
(c) ọzàkọtachasi \( \{ èzi \} \) \( \{ yard \} \)
(d) ọzàkọtachasi \( \{ ỳlò \} \) \( \{ house \} \)
(e) ọzàkọtachasi \( \{ alà \} \) \( \{ floor \} \)

Observe that in (b) and (c) the complements take non-lexical tones as when they are in construction with another noun.

(l44) ǹzàkọtachasìm is replaced by the Simple Participle,
(l45) ǹzàkọtachasi 'sweeping up all together'

III Class III Verb
Class III verbs have reduplicated stems, and for the purpose of verbal noun derivations are regarded as Reduplex.

(a) Reduplex V Stem \( \pm M \)
The tone-structure is LHMM\(^2\) when the prefix A- occurs. \(N^2\) indicates that the element is in further step-down relation to the preceding element.

(46) èììììù ± Complement  
  (i) 'the fact of grumbling'
  (ii) 'the fact of having grumbled'
  (iii) 'the possibility of grumbling'

The tone-structure when the prefix O- occurs is LHL.

(47) (a) òìììù + Complement  'grumbler'
  (b) òìììù mìììù  'grumbler (of grumbles)'
  (c) òìììù òìììù  'whisperer of words'

(48) èììììù does not occur, and is replaced by the Simple Participle form,

(49) mìììù  'grumbling/fact of grumbling'

A form with the tone-structure LHL, and with the prefix N-, occurs in the case of some verbs, but denotes some object, as in (21) above.

(b) Complex VStem ± M

The form with an N- prefix does not occur. With the occurrence of additional elements to the stem, the tones of the prefix A- or O- and the base stem are LHM; and the -M suffix takes a mid-tone.

(50) èìììììù ± Complement  'the fact/etc. of grumbling at another'

(51) èììììùì + Complement.  'one who grumbles at another'
DN.2.(iii) **Nominalized Declarative I Clause**

When the -rA/E past tense suffix occurs as part of a Complex VStem, only the prefix O- can occur. Then class I and class II verb based forms have the same tone-structure; and class III based forms have LHLL tones.

(52) ərì́nì́ anyù 'one who ate meat' ('ate-meat-er')
(53) ọjára ẹzi 'one who swept the yard' ('swept-yard-er')
(54) ọmumùmù mmaa 'one who grumbled' ('grumbled-grumble-er')

This form represents the nominalization of a Declarative Form I Clause, past tense, with the third person singular pronoun O/O as subject. The subject is then transformed to a low-tone prefix. Thus, for instance, we get (55) (b) from (55) (a).

(55) (a) O gbagbùtèrè ele. 'He shot dead and acquired an antelope.'
(b) O gbagbùtèrè ele. 'one who shot dead and acquired an antelope' ('shot-kill-to-Past-antelope-er')

DN.2.(iv) **Nominalized Aorist Participles**

With the reduplicated forms of class I verbs we get a noun form which is similar to the Aorist Participle in being composed of an A- prefix and a reduplicated stem, but which differs from the Aorist Participle in having HLH tones instead of HHH tones. Such nouns may be purely 'substantival', or be 'verbal nouns' too and may take Complements. Forms derived from class II verbs have the same form for the function of an Aorist Participle as well as for the function of derived nouns.
The nouns, like the Aorist Participles, have 'qualitative' meanings. Consider the following examples.

(a) **Class I Verbs**

(56) (a) eriri 'quality/type of eating'
(b) eriri anu 'magnitude of meat-eating'; 'manner of meat-eating'

(57) (a) azuzu 'quality/type/manner of buying'
(b) azuzu ulo 'quality/manner/type of house-buying'

(b) **Class II Verbs**

(58) (a) aziza 'quality/manner/type of sweeping'
(b) aziza ulo 'quality/manner/type of house-sweeping'

DN.2.(v) **Rule 3**

Derive N. \[ \rightarrow D (Prefix(N-)+VStem(Simplex)+Suffix(-A/E)) \]

where D means 'duplicate' the result of the concatenation.

Consider the following examples with ilé 'to look', izà 'to sweep', and itutì 'to pick up several things'.

(i) With a 0 suffix, derivations from class I verbs have LILH tones, those from class II verbs have LLLL tones, and those from class III verbs have LLHLLL (where the mid-tones are of the same level.)

The items indicate either habitual, iterative 'action' or 'state', or more than one 'object'.

(59) mlèhle (i) 'habit of looking' (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of looking' (iii) 'several things to look at'
(60) ̀nzàんزة (i) 'habit of sweeping'; (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of sweeping'; (iii) 'acts of sweeping several places'

(61) ̀нтутутуту (i) 'habit of picking up'; (ii) 'frequent/iterative acts of picking up'

(ii) With the suffix -A/E, items can be derived only from class I and class II verbs. There is only one tone-structure for all, that is LLHML (where the mid-tones have the same level).

The items so derived are similar in meaning to those given in (59) and (60), but more emphatic. In addition they imply attitudinal reaction on the part of the user.

(62) ̀нлеенле (i) 'Habit of looking'; (ii) 'frequent acts of looking'; (iii) 'all sorts of things to look at'

(63) ̀нзаанзаа (i) 'Habit of sweeping'; (ii) 'Frequent acts of sweeping'; (iii) 'all sorts of places to sweep'

DN.2.(vi) Rule 1

This is another rule schema, and is as follows:

Derived N. → (Prefix₁ (A-)+VStem(Simplex)₁ + Infix (-m-)
                  (I-)
                  (O-)
                  (U-)
                  (N-)
             + (Prefix₁ + VStem₁)
             (i.e. (Prefix₁+VStem₁+Infix)+(Prefix₁+VStem₁)

Although potentially every class I verb and every class II verb can yield forms which make use of all the prefixes and all
the infixes, this is not actually the case.

With regard to the infixes, with the exception of -m- and -ma- all the others are grammatical or lexical suffixes occurring in infix positions as a result of the discontiguous duplication of prefix+base, and in consequence of their being in this position their vowels get assimilated to those of contiguous syllables, either to those preceding or those following (but always in accordance with the rule of vowel assimilation), or are harmonized.

In the translations of the items given below it is not at all possible to give the precise nuance of each item as the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb root and that of the infix plus the suggestive meaning of the duplication of the prefix+base gives a rather complex meaning which can be quite untranslatable.

As not all verbs utilize all the prefixes and infixes, various verbs will be used to illustrate the occurrence of the affixes.

(i) With infix -m--; The infix occurs with prefixes A- and N- only.

If the item with the infix -m- has the prefix A- it may be used as an adjective or as a noun. As an adjective it describes an object which has 'the possibility of 'being' or 'being acted upon'" according to the denotation of the verb, and as a noun it has a qualitative reference.

Class I verbs have HHHH tones and class II verbs have HLLL
tones, as in (64).

(64) (a) emele (i) 'having possibility of being looked at'; 'worth looking at'
       (ii) 'a spectacle/a thing to be watched/looked at'

(b) emamāru (i) 'having possibility of being measured'; 'worth/capable of being measured'
       (ii) 'decision'; 'instruction'; 'legislation'

When the prefix is an N-, there are two possible items derivable from a class I verb; one which has the tones LHLLH, and another with the tones LLHLL. Only the latter type of item is derivable from a class II verb, and has the same tone-structure (as in (65)(c)).

The first type of item usually identifies an object (as in (65) (a)), while the second type usually means 'propensity to', 'addiction to'; or in some cases denotes some object (as in (65)(c)(i)).

(65) (a) irimiri 'parasite', 'rust', 'ring-worm' (irī 'to eat')
       (b) irimiri 'propensity to eating'; 'greed'
       (c) nt'amār (i) 'gnats'; 'biter'; 'biting insects';
           (i) 'to bite')
       (d) ml'mr (i) 'propensity to look'; 'moping' (ile 'to look')

(ii) With infix -ma-: The infix occurs only with the prefixes
A- and N-. Items so formed identify objects, and always have the 'plural' notion. The vowel of the infix is assimilated to the following one.

Items with the A- prefix have HHML tones if derived from class I verbs, and HLHL tones if derived from class II verbs.

(66) (a) elemēlē 'a number of things to be observed' (ile 'to look')
(b) agamāaga 'to-ings and fro-ings'; 'frequent going about' (igā 'to go')
(c) enyemēnye 'various types of gifts or givings' (inyē 'to give')

(67) (a) ézùmēzu 'a large body of people met together', 'an assembly' (izù 'to meet/to meet together')
(b) ābhāmaābhā 'excessive roominess' (ībhā 'to enter', 'to take in')

With the O- prefix, items derived from class I verbs have LHLLH tones, and those from class II verbs have ILHLH. Such items normally have eulogistic meanings. The notion of 'plural' is still present even though the item may apply to one thing or person, but it implies 'person/thing that does and does' what the verb denotes, thus indicating 'plural action'.

(68) (a) ọgumọsù 'expert beater/pounder' (isù 'to pound')
(b) ọnyemọnye 'generous person' (inyē 'to give')
(c) ọgbamọgba 'expert shooter' (igbā 'to shoot')
(d) ọgwùmọgwù 'expert drummer'; 'a good drum' (igwù 'to drum')
The infix -m- and the suffix -m which occurred in other rules are probably the first person singular pronoun (m) being used as a formative in these derivations. The justification for saying this is that sometimes they are pronounced emphatically as -mụ- and -mụ, which is the emphatic form of the pronoun. Secondly, there exist negative clauses with the pronoun postposed to the verb which are now used as single words. For example

(68) ịgbàra /acoghịm/ 'to divorce' ('to shoot—For (someone) I do not want: 'insistence')

(69) /ekweghịm/ anaghị afụ ụkà. 'Non-agreement does not cause a quarrel.' (I do not agree does not cause a quarrel)

It is noteworthy too that the -m- and the -m occur with the forms with the A- prefix (except in (65) above), and it is known that whenever the pronoun does not occur before the verb but is postposed to it, the verb must take the aorist form with the prefix a-/e-. And the aspectual meaning of the aorist verb is consistently present in the forms with the A-prefix, including those with the -m- and -m.

The infix -ma- on the other hand is the conjunction 'ma' functioning as a formative. The notion of 'plural' which the items which contain it have come from the conjunction of the two units it links together. Proof that it is the conjunction 'ma' is provided by its use to conjoin nouns in order to derive other nouns from them, as in the following examples.
(70) (a) ˌanumâanu 'animals' ('beast and beast')
(b) ˌonumâonu 'rumour', 'infamy' ('mouth and mouth')
(c) ˌothumôothù 'anyhow' ('how and how')
(d) ˌonyemôonyè 'anyone', 'everyone' ('person and person')
(e) ˌanyamaânyà 'all eyes' ('eye and eye')
(f) ˌukwumûnwkûw 'step by step', 'speedily' ('foot and foot')
(g) ˌnnâmânnà 'every father', 'any father' ('father and father')
(h) ˌolemàdle 'some', 'a few' ('some and some')

(iii) With the rest of the infixes

With the rest of the infixes other nouns are derived which have the tone-structure IIHLL. The form expresses the notion of 'excessiveness', and the items refer to abstract notions, though sometimes they may identify objects which have the excessive quality implied by the form.

The vowel of the infix is assimilated to the following vowel unless the following syllable is a consonant. Only a few examples are given.

(71) (a) alûghâalu 'excessive untidiness'; 'indiscipline' (ilù 'to struggle')
(b) ęgbèghègbè 'excessive weakness' (igbè 'to weaken')
(c) úthîghùñùthì 'excessive height' (îthì 'to stretch')

(72) (a) ifètiife 'inbetween', 'a state of suspension', 'mid-air' (ifè 'to cross over')
(b) əkàtaakà 'excessive size/strength' (iàkà 'to exceed')
(c) ̀ukwhùtùukwhù 'a very large bundle' (ikwhù 'to join')

(73) (a) ̀ebèdeèbè 'excessive broadness' (ibède 'to be broad')
(b) ̀obòdòcòbò 'excessive broadness' (ibòdò 'to be broad')

(74) ̀ibèriììbè 'stupidity' (ibèri 'to behave in a stupid manner')

When the prefix is a nasal consonant, the vowel of the infix is assimilated to the preceding vowel.

(75) (a) ̀mìmìghìmmì 'excessive protruberance' (imì 'to draw out')
(b) ̀mfùrmìfù 'a very serious outcome' (ìfù 'to come/go out')
(c) ̀mgbàghamgbà 'an excessively unwieldy object' (ìgbà 'to lever up')
(d) ̀mkpùrmìkpù 'round-worm' (ikpùrù 'to take with the mouth')

(iv) With verb roots in place of infixes

A number of words occur which have verb roots in place of infixes (underlined in the examples below), and quite a number of them have the prefix N-.

(76) (a) ̀nilikìnlì 'resistance' (ìlì 'to defy'; iki 'to make small')
(b) ̀mkwekemkwè 'swaying' (ikwè 'to nod'; ike 'to divide')
(c) ̀mkwekemkwèhè 'tautness' (ikwèhè 'to tie taut'; ike 'to divide')
(d) inyikinnyi 'heaviness' (inyi 'to be heavy'; iki 'to make small')
(e) mgekengbe 'pendulousness' (igbe 'to weary'; ike 'to divide')
(f) mfekemfe 'scatteredness' (ife 'to shower'; ike 'to divide')
(g) ofekeofofe 'something light' (ife 'to fly/blow'; ike 'to divide')
(h) ofekheofofe 'something light and stiff' (ife 'to fly'; ikhe 'to be strong/firm')

Now follow a list of the more general derivations which apply to the majority of verbs. Where a particular form is not yet in use, it is marked by a star. Bearing in mind the descriptions which have been given of the general meaning of the types of forms the translations to be given below will be approximate. Only eleven class I and class II verbs are chosen, the majority being class I.

D.N.3. Derivations from root verbs

(++ indicates that the form can take complements)
(a) Class I verbs:
(1) iwa 'to split/slice/saw/break/crack'
   1. awa 'a slice'; 'a portion'
   2. aawam
   3. aawam ++ 'fact/possibility of slicing'
   4. aawamawa 'being sliceable'; 'act of slicing'; 'thing to slice'
5. awamāawā 'types of slicing'; 'a number of sliced things'
6. awūwa (Aorist Part.) 'sliceable'
7. awūwa 'slicing' (bad sense)
8. āwāghāawā 'over-slicing'; 'over-sliced object'
9. iwā 'to slice' (Simple Infinitive)
10. īwa 'a type of sweet cassava'
11. īwūwa (Gerundial Infinitive) 'to actually slice'
   (b) īwūwa (Ger. Inf., Emphatic)
12. ːiwāghīːwā
13. ːōwa 'torch of strips of bamboo'
14. ːōwā ++ (agentive) 'slicer'
15. ːōwā ++ (agentive; present/future time sense) 'slicer'
16. ːōwārā ++ (agentive; past time sense) 'slicer'
17. ːōwā (agentive; habitual sense) 'slicer' (bad sense)
18. ːōwāwā 'a great slice'
19. ːōwāwā (agentive) 'one who indulges in slicing'
20. ːwakota (= mwakota) 'slicing together'
21. (a) ːwūwa (Gerund) 'slicing'
   (b) ːwūwa (Gerund: Emphatic)
22. ːwamōwā (agentive) 'great slicer', 'expert slicer'
23. ːwāra 'strip of bamboo'
24. mwā (Simple Participle) '(fact/act of) slicing'
25. (a) mwā (instrumental) 'slicer', 'splitter', 'axe'
   (b) mwā 'act of slicing' (emphatic)
26. mwā
27. mwāwā 'indulgence in slicing'
28. mwamwaa 'habit of slicing'; 'over-slicing'; 'too many things to slice'
29. mwam ++ (¬mwam) 'fact/possibility of slicing'
30. mwamwamwaa
31. mwamwamwaa 'habitual/frequent acts of slicing (bad sense)
32. mwamwamwaa 'act of slicing'; 'thing to slice'
33. mwamwamwaa (instrumental) 'slicer', 'splitter', 'axe', etc.
34. mwamwamwaa (i) as in 33
(ii) variant of mwamwamwaa, llb.
35. mwamwamwaa 'a sliced/split object'; as adj. 'sliced/split'
36. mwamwamwaa (S.Part. + Suff. Benefactive) 'portion sliced off for oneself'
37. xwmwaa
38. waa 'process of slicing'; 'echo'
39. ?xwewa
40. xwewa
41. xwaraw 'course' (e.g. of flood); 'path'; 'lane'
42. xwaraghxwewa.
(2) ichaa 'to ripen'; 'to be/become white/clean'; 'to be/become coloured/light-coloured'
1. xacha
2. xacham
3. xacham ++ 'fact/possibility of ripening'
4. xachamachaa 'capable of ripening'; 'process of ripening'
5. xachamaachaa 'types of ripening'; 'variety of ripe things'
6. achicha (Aorist Part.) 'capable of ripening'
7. achicha 'ripening' (bad sense); 'insanity'
8. āchāghaāchā 'over-ripeness'
9. ichā (Simple Infinitive) 'to ripen'
10. īcha (okhe īcha) 'male lizard'
11(a) īchīcha (Gerundial Inf.) 'to actually ripen'; 'insanity'
    (b) īchīcha (Ger. Inf., Emphatic)
12. xīchāghīchā
13. ēcha (Adj.) 'white'; 'light-coloured'
14(a) ēcha (a dialect for ēcha, 38 below)
    (b) ēcha (i) (stative) 'something is/becomes ripe/etc.'
        (ii) (active) 'something that cleans/whitens, etc.'
15. ēchā ++ (stative/active) as in 14b (e.g. ēchānjā 'a small oil lamp')
16. ēchārarā ++ (stative/active; past time meaning) 'something that ripened/cleaned/whitened, etc.'
17. ēchāaà 'being ripe/making ripe' (bad sense)
18. ēchāchaaà 'beautifully ripe'; 'brilliant cleanness/whiteness'
19. xēchāxēchaà
20. ēchakota (=nchakota) 'ripening together'
21(a) ēchīcha (Gerund) (i) 'ripening'; (ii) 'cockroach'
    (b) ēchīcha (Gerund; Emphatic)
22. ēchamōxōcha 'exquisite ripeness/whiteness'
23. xēchāra
24. nčha (Simple Part.) '(fact/process of) ripening'
25. ˈncha 'something that ripens/cleans/whitens'  
26. ɜˈnchə  
27. ʔɜˈnchaə  
28. ʔɜˈnchəaŋchaə  
29. ˈncham ++ 'fact/possibility of ripening'  
30. ɜˈnchamˈncha  
31. ˈnchamˈnchə 'nondescript ripening'  
32. ˈnchəˈncha 'insanity', 'madness'  
33. ˈnchɪcha 'leprosy'  
34. ˈnchɪcha (=ˈiʃiʃa)  
35. ˈnchərənˈncha (as Adj.) 'ripened/ripe'  
36. ɨnˈnchara (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'becoming ripe/white'  
37. ɨnˈnchara 'terracota', 'brownish-red earth'  
38. ɨˈncha 'colour'; 'process of becoming ripe/clean/etc'; 'whiteness'  
39. ɨˈnchə  
40. ɨˈncha  
41. ɨˈnchara  
42. ɨˈnchəɡhɨˈncha 'excessive colour/ripeness'  

(3) ɨlɛ 'to look'  
1. ɛle 'antelope'  
2. ʔɛlɛm  
3. ɛlɛm ++ 'fact/possibility of looking'  
4. ɛlemele 'capable of being looked at'; 'looking'; 'scene'; 'spectacle'  
5. ɛlemele. 'variety of things to view'
6. elile (Aorist Part.) 'worth looking at'; 'watching'; 'thing worth watching'
7. elile 'looking at' (bad sense)
8. 'élégheèlè 'amazing sight'
9. ilè (Simple Inf.) 'to look'
10. xile
11.(a) ilile (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually look'
    (b) ilile (Ger.Inf.) (Emphatic)
12. xilehilè
13. xole
14 (a) 'ole (agentive) 'looker'
    (b) 'ole 'some'
    (c) 'ole (in interrogative sent.) (=òlekè) 'which?/what?'
15. 'ôle ++ (agentive) 'looker' (bad senè)
16. 'ôlèrè ++ (agent-ive; past-time sense)'looker' 
17 (a) 'oleè (agent.) 'habitual/frequent looker' (bad sense)
    (b) 'oleè/ôlèè (~èlèè) 'where is?'; 'what/which?'
18. 'ôlèleè 'a great spectacle'
19. 'ôleòleè 'inveterate looker'; 'inquisitive person'
20. ôlekòta 'familiar behaviour towards another' (=nlekòta)
21.(a) òlile (Gerund) 'looking' (e.g. òlileanya 'hope/expectation')
    (b) òlile (Gerund); (Emphatic)
22 (a) òlemoòle 'great looker'; 'discoverer'
    (b) òlemoòle 'some'; 'few'
23. xolare
24. nle (Simple Part.) '(fact/act of) looking'
25. nle
26. nle
27. nle 'indulgence in looking'
28. nleel 'habitual/too frequent looking at things'; 'inquisitiveness'
29. nlem ++ (~ nlem) 'fact/possibility of looking'
30. nlemnle
31. nlemnle 'habitual looking' (bad sense)
32. nleel 'act of looking'; 'thing to look at'
33. nile (=ilile)
34. nile (=ilile)
35. nlerenle 'thing viewed/watched'
36. nleere (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'viewing/watching things'
37. nleere
38. nle 'test', 'examination', 'temptation'
39. nule
40. nule e.g. Ùmùule (name of village in Ùmùshya)
41. nulerè
42. nuleghuluùle
(4) iři 'to eat'
1 (a) eri (as adj.) 'plentiful'
   (b) eri 'thread' ('something eaten away/slender')
2. eriì 'blood-relation/relationship'
3. eriì ++ 'fact/possibility of eating'
4. erimeri 'eatable/edible'; 'thing to eat/food'
5. erĩeeri 'variety of eatable things'
6. (a) eriri (Aorist Part.) 'fit to eat/eatable'
   (b) eriri 'string, rope'
7. eriri 'gluttony'; 'greed for food'
8. eririrì
9. irì (S.Inf.) 'to eat'
10. īrì
11. (a) īriri (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually eat'
    (b) īriri (Ger.Inf.; emphatic)
12. īrīghiiri
13. īrī
14. īrī (agentive) 'eater'
15. īrī ++ (agent.) 'eater' (bad sense)
16. īriri ++ (agent.; past time sense) 'eater'
17. īriri (agent.) 'habitual/frequent eater' (bad sense)
18. īrīri
19. īriri (agent.) 'one who indulges in eating'; 'cheat'
20. orikọta 'a rite reconciling enemies through their eating together'
21. (a) oriri (Gerund) (i) 'eating'; (ii) 'feast/banquet'
    (b) oriri (Gerund; emphatic)
22. orimosoriri 'great eater', 'one with a great appetite'
23. oriri
24. nri (S.Part.) (i) '(fact/act of) eating'; (ii) 'food'
25. nri 'pest', 'parasite', 'something that destroys by eating something else'
26. ʔnirì 'indulgence in eating'
27. ´nirimì 'frequent eating/eating of any and everything' (bad sense)
28. ´nirimìnì 'fact/possibility of eating'
29. ´nirimì 'a parasite'; 'ring-worm'
30. ´nirimìnì 'malignant parasite'; 'propensity to eating', 'greed'
31. ´nirimìnì 'habitual eating'; 'eatables'
32. ´nirimì ('= infrared)
33. ´nirimì ('= infrared)
34. ´nirimì ('= infrared)
35. ´nirimìnìnì as adj.) 'eaten/devoured'
36. ´nirimì (S. Part. + Suff. Benefactive) 'act of participating in eating'
37. ʔnirimì
38. ʔuri 'process of eating away something', 'part of a thing which has been eaten away', 'mark left as a result of eating away'
39. ʔuri 'body-painting (women)'; 'material for body-painting'
40. ʔuri 'dance'
41. ʔurirì
42. ʔurirìghurì (5) ifè 'to fly/fan/blow/shower'
1. jefè
2. jefèmì
3. ifèmì ++ 'fact/possibility of flying/etc.'
4. efemefe 'capable of being flown'; 'act of flying'
5. efemefe 'variety of flying things'
5A. efere 'plate (enamel, china)' (i.e. 'light material')
5B. efere 'lightness'
6. efufa (Aorist Part.) 'capable of being flown'
7. efufa 'flying' (bad sense)
8. efeghene 'excessive lightness'; 'thing that is excessively light or unstable/wobbly'
9. ife (S.Inf.) 'to fly'
10. xifex
11(a) ifufa (Ger.Inf.) (i) 'to actually fly'; (ii) 'wind'
   (b) ifufe (Ger.Inf.; emphatic)
12. xifetrifex
13. ofe 'soup' (i.e. 'light liquid')
14. ofe ++ (agen.) 'flier'
15. ofe (agen; present time sense) 'flier'
16. ofe ++ (agen; past time sense) 'flier'
17. ofe (agen; habitual/frequent) 'flier' (bad sense)
18. ofeefex 'a great flight'
19. ofeefex (agen.) 'one who indulges in flying'
20. ofekota (=mfekota) 'flying together'; 'jamming in flight'
21 (a) ofufa (Gerund) 'flying'
   (b) ofufa (Gerund; emphatic)
22. ofemoofe 'great flier'
23. xofere
24. mfe (Simple Part.) '(fact/act of) flying'
25. (a) mfe 'fan/bellows'
   (b) mfe (as adj.) 'light', 'easy'
   (c) mfe (S.Part., emphatic)
26. mfe
27. mfe 'indulgence in flying'
28. mfeemfe 'habit of flying'
29. mfeem ++ 'fact/possibility of flying'
30. mfeemfe
31. mfeemfe 'habitual/frequent acts of flying' (bad sense)
32. mfeemfe 'frequent acts of flying'
33. mfefe 'fan'
34. mfefe 'fan'
35. mfefre (as adj.) 'flown/fanned'
36. mfe (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'to obtain by fanning/blowing'
37. mfer
38. ufe 'act of flying', 'flight'
39. ufe
40. ufe
41. ufer
42. ufegehuufe 'great act of flying', 'great flight'
43. ufer 'wind', 'storm'
(6) ida 'to be'
1. madi
2. madim
3. àdìm++ 'fact/possibility of being'
4. adìmaddi 'capable of existing/being'; 'process of being'
5. adìmaddi 'variety of existing things'
6. adidì 'capable of being/becoming'
7. adidì 'existence'/ 'character' (bad sense)
8. xadighadì
9. iđì (S.Inf.) 'to be'
10. xidì
11 (a) iđidì (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually be/become'
    (b) iđidì (Ger.Inf.) (emphatic)
12. xidighidì
13. xodì
14. ódì ++ (agen.) 'one who is/becomes'
15. ódì ++ (e.g. ódimma 'welfare'; ódìn'ihmu 'the future')
16. ódiri++ (agen: past time sense) 'one who was/became'
17. ódì (agen.) 'one who is/becomes', 'character' (bad sense)
18. xódìdiì
19. ódídìdiì 'one who indulges in being a bad character'
20. ódikọta (=ndikọta) 'reconciliation'; 'unity'
21 (a) ódidi (Gerund) 'being', 'becoming'
    (b) ódidi 'character', 'form', 'appearance'
22. ódímoódidi 'expert in being/becoming'
23. xódiri
24 (a) ondi (S.Participle) 'fact of being/act of becoming'
    (b) ondi (Plural pro-form) 'persons/things'
25. ondi 'some (of people)'
26. `ndi++ (e.g. `ndin`ahu 'parts of the body'; `ndin`azm `past things'; `ndin`ihmu 'things in the future')
27. `ndi (=`ndii) (Interrogative) 'which?/what?'; 'where is?'
28. `ndiiddi 'habitual being/becoming'
29. `ndim++ 'fact/possibility of being/becoming'
30. `ndimndi
31. `ndimndi 'persisting bad character'; 'persisting in being a bad character'
32. ?`nda`ndi
33. `ndiidi (=`ididi)
34. `ndiidi (=`ididi)
35. `ndiirdi 'being/becoming as accomplished fact'
36. ndiri (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'fact of becoming'
37. `ndiri
38. `udi 'form', 'appearance', 'shape', 'likeness'
39. `udi
40. `udi
41. `udiiri
42. `udiighudi

For the following three verbs (class I), only the forms which do not occur are indicated, and by number; and also those forms which occur but have specialized meanings, or add specialized meanings to their ordinary meanings, are given in full. The verbs are: jga 'to go'; ibya 'to come'; ithi 'to elongate/stretch/grow tall/long'

(7) jga 'to go'
The following forms do not occur: 1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, 23, 25, 27, 30, 29, 40 and 42.

The following forms have specialized meanings:

18. ṣgāgāa 'wanderer'; 'traveller'; 'foreigner'
26. ngā 'place' (i.e. 'place gone/come to, destination')
38. ŋga 'going'; 'departure'; 'passage way', 'course'; 'free motion'

(8) ibyā 'to come'

The following do not occur: 1, 2, 10, 12, 12, 13, 25, 26, 30, 37, 39 to 42.

The following have specialized meanings:

17 (a) ṣbyāa 'habitual/frequent comer' (bad sense)
     (b) ṣbyāa develops into ṣbhja 'visitor', 'guest'
32. ṣbyambya 'frequent/habitual coming'; 'visitor'
35. ṣbyar'ambya 'guest', 'visitor', 'nonresident'
38. ṣbya 'coming'; 'arrival'; 'diarrhoea'

(9) ithi 'to elongate'

The following forms do not occur: 1, 2, 3, 10, 18, 23, 30, 37, 39 to 41; and in place of 8, 8b occurs: athīghīthi.

The following forms have special meanings:

13. qthi 'process of elongating'; 'height/length'
32. nth'inthi 'elongating'; 'habit of making long' (e.g. nth'inthi oku 'habit of not promptly responding to an invitation'
35. nth'inthi 'thing that elongates another'; 'stretcher'

Only two class II verbs are set out in full. They are
not tonally comparable with class I verbs as far as the forms derived from them are concerned, but the processes of derivation are the same as for class I verbs, and form the basis for the numbering of the items.

Class II Verbs:

(10) izzu 'to meet'
1. izzu
2. izzum
3. izzum + 'fact/possibility of meeting'
4. izzum izzu 'capable of being met'; 'meeting'
5. izzum izzu (i) 'a variety of things coming together'
   (ii) 'an assembly of people'
   (iii) 'a place where things/people meet'
6. izzu (Aorist Particle) 'fit to meet'; 'capable of being met'
7. izzu
8. izzu 'a large number of things/people met together'
9 (a) izu (Simple Inf.) 'to meet'
   (b) izu 'week'
10. izzu
11. (a) izu (Gerundial Inf.) 'to actually meet'
   (b) izu 'meeting for secret consultation', 'consultation in camera'
12. izzu izzu
13. ozu 'meeting place' (e.g. Ozu Ithem, Ozu Akoli - two separate communities in Umuahya Province)
14. `ózù ++ (agentive) 'one who meets'
15. `ózù ++ (agen., present time sense) 'one who meets'
16. `ózùrù ++ (agen. past time sense) 'one who met'
17. `ózù (agen.) 'one who habitually/frequently meets' (bad sense)
17A. `ózùgbò (= `ózùsù) (Prenominal Adj.) 'all'
18. `xózùzuù'
19. `ózùózuù (agen.) 'one who indulges in meeting others'
20. `ózùkọta (= nzùkọta) 'meeting together', 'place of meeting together'
21. `ózùzuù (Gerund) 'meeting'; (used as in 17A)
22. `ózùmoózù 'one who has a zest for meeting people'
23. Ø
24. nzù (Simple Participle) 'fact/act of) meeting'
25. `nzù
26. `nzuzu
27. `nzùù 'frequent act of meeting' (bad sense)
28. `nzùùnzuù 'habit of meeting' (bad sense)
29. `nzùù ++ 'fact/possibility of meeting'
30. `nzùùnzhù
31. `nzùùnzhùù 'act of meeting'; 'thing met'
32. `nzùùnzuù 'frequent meeting' (bad sense)
33. `nzùù = `izùù
34. Ø
35. `nzùùnùnzuù 'something that completes/meets the full quota'
36. nzùru (S.Part.+Suff. Benefactive) 'to meet on one's
behalf'

37. ø

38. uzù 'point/date of meeting'

39. uzù

40. ø

41. ø

42. ø

(11) ikò 'to scoop/dig/plant'

1. akò

2. akôm

3. akôn ++ 'fact/possibility of digging/etc.'

4. akômâkô 'capable of being dug/planted'; 'thing dug/planted' (pits, crops)

5. akômââkô

6 (a) akûkô (Aorist Participle) 'fit to dig/etc'

(b) akûkô 'shell used for scooping out'

7. ø

8. akôghaâkô 'indifferent sort of digging'

9. ikò (S.Inf.) 'to dig'

10. ø

11. ikùkô (Ger.Inf.) 'to actually dig'

12. ikôghîîkô

13. ø

14. òkô ++ (agen.) 'digger'

15. òkô ++ (agen., present time sense) 'one who digs/is digging'
16. ọkọọ ++ (agen., past time meaning) 'one who dug'
17. ọkọọ (agen.) 'habitual/frequent digger' (bad sense)
18. ọkọọọ 'amazing type of digging'
19. ọkọọọọ (agen.) 'one who indulges in digging'; 'expert in digging'
20. ọkọọta (=nkọọta) 'digging together'
21. ọkọọ (Gerund) 'digging'; 'a dug place'
22. ọkọọọọ 'a great digger'
23. ø
24. nkọ (S.Part.) '(fact/act of) digging'
25. nkọ (instrument) 'digger'
26. ønkọ
27. nkọọ 'frequent digging' (bad sense)
28. nkọọọọ 'habit of digging' (bad sense)
29. nkọọọọọ 'fact/possibility of digging'
30. ønkọọnkọ
31. nkọọnkọ 'frequent digging' (bad sense)
32. nkọọnkọ (same as (31.))
33. nkọọ (= ọkọọ)
34. ø
35. nkọọọọọ 'something dug'
36. nkọọọ (S.Part. + Suff. Benefactive) 'to dig on one's behalf'
37. ø
38. ọkọ 'time of digging'; 'process of digging'
39. øukọ
Suffixes occurring in derived items

Suffixes which occur as formatives in derived items still retain their grammatical meanings, if grammatical suffixes, and their semantic meanings, if lexical suffixes. And they do this inspite of their having to undergo phonologically determined changes in their vowels, where necessary. Thus the Aspect suffix -A/E retains its sense though it is consistently assimilated to the preceding vowel, as in numbers 17, 18, 19, 27, and 28 in the lists. Compare this with Aspect, As.8.10, p. 168. Similarly, the past tense -rA/E (as in 16, 35) and the Case suffix -rA/E (as in 36, 41) are characteristically assimilated, but they add their grammatical meanings to the derived item.

This ability of suffixes to occur in the derived items applies to the derivation of Adjectives and Adverbs as well as to nouns.

The derivation of Adjectives are discussed next.
Derived Adjectives

DA.1. Forms of Derived Adjectives

Derived adjectives have many forms. Some are derived directly from verb roots (Simplex or Complex), and some are derived from verb-derived noun forms. The derivation of each type may involve affixation with or without the processes of duplication, reduplication, or triplication. Some other types are derived transformationally from Verb-Phrases (as in Forms 25 to 27 in the lists below in DA.3).

The regular formations are illustrated in DA.2. with four verbs: three class I verbs, and one class II verb, whose vowels represent the vowel system i/i, e/a, o/o, and u/u. The difference between adjectives derived from class I verbs and those derived from class II lies in their tones; but in some forms there is no such difference (as in Forms 11-13, 15-16 in the lists).

The four verbs used in the demonstration are *ibif, ife*, *ico*, and *iso*.

There are derived adjectives which are restricted to certain types of verbs. These are separately given later in Form I.

DA.2. Examples of regular adjectival derivations

The sign + before an item means that it is derived from a compound verb. Starred numbers indicate forms that may be used as nouns also; and starred forms represent forms which are not in use.
(1) ibi 'to stretch stiffly', 'to lean upon'
1. bim 'straight and stiff' (with sense of finality)
2. bimbim 'straight and stiff' (with sense of length/motion/intensity)
3. +bikhem 'straight, stiff and strong' (with sense of finality/intensity)
4. +xbimkhem
5. (a) biribiri 'generally straight and stiff' (= birii (7a))
   (b) bikhebikhe 'rather straight and stiff'; 'of arrogant stance'
6. ?xbii
7. (a) birii 'straight and stiff throughout'/'all straight and stiff'
   (b) +bikex 'straight and stiff and strong throughout'
8. bibibib 'straight and stiff' (with sense of elongation/movement)
9. bibiriri 'straight and stiff and extending'; 'straight, still and long'
10. ebibi 'capable of being stiffened up'
11. ebibiri 'having a straight and stiff appearance'
12. (a) ebighibi 'excessively straight and stiff'
    (b) ebiribi 'having a rather straight and stiff appearance'
13. ebighibi '...
14. ebimebi 'having possibility of being held straight and stiff'
15. ebiriebi 'stiffened' (e.g. of the arm) (= mbirimbi)
16. (a) e biriri 'straight and stiff' (of a number of objects)
    (b) +ebig'ara 'imposing'
17. (a) ibiribi 'tending toward being straight and stiff'
    (b) ibighibi 'tending towards being rather straight and stiff'
18. (a) obiribi 'straight and stiff like a lance'; 'stately'
    (obi'lance')
    (b) obighibi 'rather lance-like'; 'rather stately'
19. (a) ≠ obighoobi
    (b) ≠ obiroobi
20. (a) ≠ ubiribi
    (b) ubighibi 'rather like a ladder' (ùblibi 'ladder')
21. ≠ ubighuuubi
22. mbimbi 'somewhat stiff'
23. mbirimbi 'leaning' (e.g. Tower of Pisa)
24. biribiri 'of things leaning all round an area'
25. ebīebi (ebighiebi (emph.)) 'cannot be stiffened up/
   leaned up'
   (ii) ifi 'to fly/blow'; 'to ease off'
1. fem 'quite light' (weight); 'easy' (with sense of
   precision)
2. femfem 'very light/easy'
3. +fekhem 'light and firm'
4. +fekhemfekhem 'light and firm' (repetitive, or of more
   than one thing)
5. (a) ferefere 'rather light/easy'
(b) +fekhekhe 'light and firm'

6. fee 'exerting no weight', 'very light'

7. (a) ferii 'extremely light'; 'gentle' (e.g. wind)
    (b) +fewhnoo 'blown clear and clean'; 'very clear' (iwn̄ 'to become clear, have light')

8. fufefe 'blowy'; 'of continuous flying motion'

9. fufere 'having pervading lightness'

10. x efuf 'capable of being blown'; 'capable of easing off'

11. efufere 'rather blowy/light'; 'flimzy'

12. (a) x efeghife
    (b) x efere

13. efegheefe 'very blowy/light'

14. x efemefe 'capable of being blown'

15. efere 'blown'

16. (a) efere 'blowing about'; 'rather light'
    (b) + efekhere 'rather light and firm'

17. (a) x ifeghiife
    (b) ifere 'being of small light pieces'

18. (a) x ofeghife
    (b) x ofere

19. (a) x ofeghoofe
    (b) x oferoofe

20. (a) ufeghufe (contrad form of 21)
    (b) x uferufu

21. ufeghufe 'extremely light/liable to blow about'

22. mremefe 'light/easy'
23. mferemfe 'light'
24. f`er`efer`e 'blown/flown right round'
25. ef`efefe (ef`eghiefe (emph.)) 'cannot fly/be blwon/ease off'
   (iii) ic`o 'to grow high/tall'
1. com 'high/tall' (with sense of finality/precision)
2. comcom 'high/tall' (with sense of progress)
3. +cod`um 'full-grown' (id`u 'to be complete)
4. +cod`umcod`um 'full-grown' (of each stage of process/of many things)
5.(a) corocoro 'rather luxuriant growing'
     (b) +coh`ecokhe 'of about medium height' (ikh`e 'to stand fixed')
6. ccoo 'very high/tall' (with sense of vague limit)
7.(a) corii 'extensively high/tall'
     (b) x+co...
8. cucoco 'high/tall and still extending'
9. cucororo 'having extensive hight'
10. ≠ ecuco 'capable of growing tall/becoming high'
11. ecucoro 'rather tall/high' (critical sense)
12.(a) ≠ ecoghico
     (b) ≠ ecorico
13. ≠ ecogheeco
14. ≠ ecomeco 'having possibility of growth'
15. ecor`eco 'grown up/high' (= ñcor`ono)
16.(a) ecoriri 'rather luxuriant in growth'
     (b) ≠x+ co.....
17. (a) x icoghico  
(b) x icorico  
18. (a) x ocorico  
(b) x ocochico  
19. (a) ocochoco 'grown excessively high/tall'  
(b) ocorooce 'having appearance of having grown too high/tall'  
20. (a) x ucoruco  
(b) x ucochuo (x 21)  
21. ucochuuco 'tending to overgrow'  
22. noconco 'fast-growing high/tall'  
23. noconcro 'having tendency to grow fast'  
24. corocoro 'of an area surrounded by grown things'  
25. ecoco (ecocheeco (emph.)) 'never growing up/high'  
(iv) isu 'to contract/shrink/draw back'  
1. su 'quite shrunk'  
2. sumsum 'very shrunk'  
3. +sukom 'seated in a careless manner' (of person)  
4. +sukom'sukom 'seated carelessly' (of many persons) (iko 'to lie in a mass (of wet thing)')  
5. (a) surusuru 'liable to shrink'; 'rather shrunk'  
(b) +sulishul 'woolly'; 'spongy'  
6. su 'shrinking'; 'soft and yielding'  
7. (a) surii 'very soft and yielding'  
(b) sulii 'very woolly'  
8. susu 'continuously shrinking'; 'contracting';
9.  şusururü 'extremely shrunk'
10*  ş asusü 'shrinkable'
11.  şasururu 'rather shrunk', 'liable to shrink'
12.(a)  şasughuşu 'ragged'; 'over-shrunk'; 'tattered'
       (b)  ş asurisü
13.  ş asughaasu
14*  ş asumaysu 'having possibility of being shrunk'
15.  şasurūsūšu 'shrunken'
16.(a)  şasuriri 'much shrunk', 'much ragged'
       (b)  şasukwuru 'rather contracted' (ikwu 'to put a stopper on')
17.(a)  ş isughisu
       (b)  ş isurisu
18.(a)  ş osughisu
       (b)  ş osurisu
19.(a)  ş osughusu
       (b)  ş osurusu
20.(a)  şusughusu 'extremely ragged'; 'very untidy'
       (b)  şusuruusu 'very liable to shrink'; 'very woolly'
21.(a)  şusughusu (contracted form of 20a)
       (b)  şusuruusu (contracted form of 20b)
22.  şususu 'shrunk'; 'having shrinking characteristics'
23.  şsurumušu 'shrunken', 'contracted'
24.  şsurusuru 'shrunk all round', 'winding round and round'
25.  şasèsu/şasusü (asughiasu (emph.)) 'unshrinking'
DA.3. **Morphological Classification of Derived Adjectives**

The various types of forms, as exemplified through the four verbs, are arranged into morphological classes below. Other types of forms which are not regularly derivable from any type of verb but are restricted to certain verbs are also included in the classification. The numbering of the types is not significant. Each morphological type is termed a Form. The syntactic characteristics of the Forms will be discussed later below, p. 441 ff.

(1) **Form 1**

The structure of this type of adjectives is as follows:

Prefix \{\} + Verb Root (Simplex) * (Suffix) \{\} 

There are only nine items in this Form. They are:

1. *jhn̄u* 'new', 'recent', 'fresh' (*jhn̄u* 'to see')
2. *ochie* 'old', 'ancient', 'antiquated' (*ichii* 'to close/be closed')
3. *oji"i* 'black', 'dark-coloured' (*ijii* 'to be/become dark/black')
4. *jji"i* 'bad', 'ugly' (*ijji* 'to be/become dry')
5. *okpo* 'dry' (*ikpo* 'to be/become dry')
6. *oche* 'white', 'light-coloured' (*ichii* 'to be/become clean, white', 'to ripen')
7. *omai* 'good', 'beautiful', 'nice' (*imaa* 'to be/become good, etc.')
8. *ukwu"u* 'large', 'enormous'
(9) ukwù 'big', 'great'  

With the exception of (5) ọkpọọ (which has not been recorded anywhere else before) and (8) ukwù, the items listed above make up the complete list of adjectives in Igbo as far as a number of writers on the language are concerned. However, Dr. Ida C. Ward\(^1\) recognizes twenty-six items, including those accepted by others, in addition to what she calls 'Demonstrative Adjectives' and 'Indefinite Adjectives of Quantity'. The items she lists fall into various morphological types, according to the present analysis.

In terms of their composition, the items (1) to (9) fall into two sub-types: ọhmu, ochie, ọjie, ọma, ọkpọọ, and ukwù which have vowel suffixes; and ọcha, ọma, and ukwù, which have no suffix. Of the first subtype, two items ochie and ukwù take low tones on the final syllable, while the others take mid-tones.

The low-tone of : ochie and ukwù may be explained as a manifestation of the phenomenon in Igbo whereby, quite often, mid-tones become low-tones if they occur in final positions in words, as in the following examples:

(10) nwokhè (nwaokhè): nwokhè 'man'
(11) enugu (eluugwhu): enugu (eluugwhu) 'hill-top'; Enugu Town
(12) ofisì (ọfaísì): ofisì (ọfaísì) 'head-scarf'
(13) akhuihynè: akhuihynè 'melon seed'

The final vowel of ukwù differs from those of the other

---

four items in the group by being a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable. But this is not unusual, for in some dialects (and in some written materials) we do get ōhnuó and ojíi in place of ōhnuó and ojíe, respectively. And ōhnuó has variant forms too — ōhnuwu, ofuú. However, in the forms in which they are presented here the vowel suffixes represent the 'Intensive' Aspect suffix. This means that we have in these items verb roots which have been inflected aspectually, and then inflected for the derivation of adjectives, the latter being achieved by prefixation. Derivation by prefixation is similar to the process of deriving nouns from verbs. The difference comes in the tone of the prefixes and in the vowel suffix. For whereas in the case of nouns the prefix has a low-tone, in the case of the adjectives it has a high-tone while the suffix takes a mid-tone (or low tone, as explained above). Thus we get, for instance,

(14) ojíe 'Someone/something which becomes black'
(15) djíp 'Someone/something which becomes bad'

The absence of a vowel suffix in ocha, oma and ukwu may be explained in one of two ways: either by saying that the derivation of the adjective is not preceded by an aspectual inflection of the verb roots; or by saying that such inflection took place but that in the process of use the forms have become abbreviated. Cases of such abbreviations exist in the language, as in the cases of (10) to (12) above, and in (16) where the word has been wholly transformed by assimilation and
abbreviation.

(16) ụṣekwụ : ụṣekwụ : /ụṣekwụ/ 'kitchen'
Similarly, (17) represents the abbreviated form ag'ụọ 'hunger'
and is in use in some dialects:
(17) agụ 'hunger'
However the lack of a suffix in each of these items may be
ultimately explained, the fact is that they are now used
without one.

The verbs underlying ọhnuọ 'new' and ochie 'old' are given
above as ihnu 'to see' and ichi 'to close' by deductions from
their semantic suggestions. With ukwu and ukwu however, it
is more difficult to suggest a verb.

(11) Form 2

The structure of the items in Form 2 is as follows:

Verb Root (Simplex) + Suffix (-m)
Items derived from class I verbs have high-tones throughout,
and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones. Such
items have, as part of their meanings, the sense of 'precision',
'exactness' or 'finality' which may be brought out in English
by the word 'quite' followed by an adjective. The process
of derivation is productive.

Consider the following examples.

(1) g'am 'precise', 'exact' (ig'ā 'to split vertically)
(2) gom 'clear', 'eloquent' (igō: 'to sound loud and clear')
(3) snam 'clear', 'clean', 'attractive' (isnā 'to wash')
(4) snūm 'upright', 'tall', 'erect' (isnū 'to cut with
vertical stroke and sharply')

(5) sèm 'brief', 'brisk', 'with minimum time' (isè 'to tug/pull')

(6) snèm 'clean', 'fine', 'neat' (isnè 'to cut neatly', 'to mince/chop up')

(7) snùm 'shallow' (isnù 'to come to a dead end')

(8) kwèm 'straight', 'straight forward', 'direct' (ikwè 'to run on a runner')

Items of this morphological type are regularly formed from verbs which imply 'action', or 'process'. They are more frequently used in the Verb Phrase as 'resultative attributive' elements than as adjuncts in the Noun Phrase, as in (9) and (10). And they are also used as adverbs, as in (11) and (12).

(9) Nkwù còrò /snùm./ 'The palm-tree grew quite straight'.

(10) Ọzọ dị /kwèm./ 'The road is dead straight.'

(11) Kwùọ yà /sèm./ 'Say it briefly'.

(12) Ọ byàrà /kwèm./ 'He came straight.'

The items derived as stated above can be duplicated in use. When thus duplicated, the duplication implies either the extension of the quality throughout the whole of the object represented by the noun being qualified, or indicates that more than one object have the quality referred to, thus indicating plurality in the noun. Consider (13) and (14).

(13) Nkwû còrò /snûmsñûm/. (1) 'The palm-tree grew quite straight all the way.'

(ii) 'The palm-trees grew quite straight.'

(14) Ihnûyâ'dî /snâm'näm/. 'His face is clean throughout.'

(iii) Form 3

The structure of Form 3 items is as follows:

Verb Stem (Complex) \{Verb Root+Verb Root\} + Suffix (-m)

The process is productive.

If a low-tone element occurs in the Verb Stem, the item will have low-tones throughout; but if no such element occurs, the item will have high-tones.

Then the Verb Stem consists of Verb Root + Suffix, the suffix may be the derivational suffix -rI, or a lexical suffix (which, with the base constitutes a class III verb), as in (9) and (10).

The resulting item has the sense of 'precision' as those of Form 2, the difference in the two Forms being the composition of the verb stem.

Consider the following examples.

(1) basam 'flat and wide/open' (iɓâ 'to increase'; ɓâ 'to unfold')

(2) fëkhem 'light and stiff' (ifë 'to fly/blow'; ikhp 'to be firm')

(3) nyakhûm 'sticking', 'adhesive' (iŋâ 'to plaster'; ikhpû
(4)  bó-rim 'weak', 'insubstantial'  (îbọ 'to become weak'; -rI (suff.))

(5)  gbe-rim 'diminuative'; 'of low stature'  (îgbẹ 'to crawl'; -rI (suff.))

(6)  sègbẹm 'limp', 'loose-hanging'  (îse 'to pull';  îgbẹ 'to weaken')

(7)  fọpịm 'soggy', 'messy'  (îfo 'to mash';  ịpị 'to squeeze')

(8)  sàkpùm 'low and spread-out'  (îsà 'to unfold';  ikpụ 'to put over so as to cover')

(9)  rọtọm 'saturated', 'very wet', 'filthy'  (îrọtọ 'to be full of liquid matter')

(10)  kọbọm 'big but empty', 'useless'  (ikọbọ 'to appear substantial but lack any substance')

(iv)  Form 1

The structure of items of Form 1 is

Verb Root₁ + Suffix (-m) + Verb Root₂ + Suffix (-m)

The two verbs involved in the derivation of the items must imply some type of action of another. And either the first part of the item or its second part will have low-tones if a class II verb occurs there.

The first occurrence of -m is often pronounced homorganically with the following consonant, but in the examples given here this feature will be represented in bracketed items only.

Semantically, the items represent the qualities in a dramatized manner, the presence of the suffix -m giving the
sense of 'precision'/'exactness' as in Forms 2 and 3.

The process of formation is productive though limited to verbs of action. Consider the following examples.

1. *bhyànkom* (bhyànkm) 'sunken'; 'dented', 'corrugated'  
   (ibhyà 'to press down'; ikò 'to snap')

2. *sùnkom* (sùnkom) 'undulating', 'bumpy' (isù 'to ram'; ikò 'to snap')

3. *tùnsem* (tùnsem) 'limping' (ìtù 'to pinch/peck'; isè 'to lessen')

4. *kwàngbem* 'bent', 'leaning over', 'crooked' (ikwà 'to glance'; igbè 'to crawl')

5. *samkpùm* 'over-hanging' (ìsà 'to unfold'; 'ikpà 'to cover up')

6. *kpòmkwèm* 'exact', 'precise' (ìkpò 'to hit sharply (as in nailing, pegging)'; ikwè 'to run on a runner')

The process of derivation is not very productive, but a number of items derived by it exist.

(v) **Form 5**

Items which make up this Form have the following shape:

\[
D \ (\text{Verb Stem} \ (\text{Verb Root}+\text{Suffix})) \ (\text{Verb Root}+\text{Verb Root})
\]

where D means 'duplicate what is in the brackets'.

The process of derivation is very productive.

The suffixes which occur in this derivation are the -rA/E 'Benefactive Case', the -rI 'Comitative Case', and the -ghA 'Number' (which, as a derivational element has its vowel...
assimilated to that of the preceding syllable). The suffix can also be a lexical suffix, if the verb is a class III verb.

The derived item has high-tones if it does not contain a class II element, verb or suffix, and low-tones if such an element is present.

The following examples, (1) to (4) have the suffix -rA/E

(1) warawara 'narrow' (iwà 'to split, crack')
(2) fererefere 'light', 'easy' (ifé 'to fly/blow')
(3) kpùrùkpùrù 'blunt', 'rounded' (ikpù 'to become blunt/dull')
(4) kwèrèkwèrè 'straight', 'without impediment' (ikwè 'to run')

In (5) to (8) the suffix -rI occurs.

(5) korìkorì 'dryish', 'fine' (of weather) (ikò 'to dry (up)'
(6) feriferi 'very light', 'flapping', 'apt to blow about' (ifé 'to fly/blow')
(7) bhyàrìbhyàrì 'soft', 'downy' (ìbhyà 'to press down')
(8) bèribèrì 'tremulous', 'shaky', 'fragile' (ibè 'to perch')

In (9) to (12) the suffix -ghA/E occurs.

(9) tughutughu 'voluminous', 'protruding' (ițù 'to pin up')
(10) thighithighi 'lush', 'luzuriant in growth' (ițhì 'to elongate')
(11) ryoghoryoghò 'oscillating', 'nodding' (iryò 'to bend downwards')
(12) jàghàjàghà 'shattered', 'disorderly' (ijà 'to open out/up')
In (13) and (14) class III verbs occur, the suffix being a lexical suffix.

(13) pëtëpëtë 'wet', 'soggy', 'muddy' (ipëtë 'to make wet/soggy')

(14) kòtokòtò 'massed up' (ikòtò 'to lie in a mass')

In (15) to (18) two verb roots are involved.

(15) dapedape 'slight' (in size) (idä 'to pare'; ipë 'to chip')

(16) nyakhunyakhü 'sticky' (inyä 'to plaster'; ikhü 'to scrape')

(17) sulisulü 'spongy' (isü 'to contract'; ili 'to resist')

(18) cakkacaka 'tattered' (icä 'to snip'; ika 'to tear/be torn')

The process of derivation is productive.

(vi) Form 6

The items which come under Form 6 have the same structure as those in Form 5, but differ from the latter in tones. They are either high-low-high-low, or low-high-low-high. They have the first type of tone-structure if they are derived from class III verbs, or derived from verb stems composed of class I verb plus class II verb. And they have the second type of tone-structure if composed of class II verb plus class I verb or suffix.

Semantically, the items represent dramatized description, as the items which constitute Form 4, but without the sense of 'precision', 'exactness', or 'finality' of Form 4.
(1) to (8) are derived from class III verbs.

1. berīberī 'stupid', 'foolish' (ibīri 'to behave stupidly')
2. g'arīg'arī 'complicated', 'spiderly' (ig'arī 'to weave in a complicated way')
3. gorīgorī 'wandering', 'meandering', 'aimless' (igōri 'to go from place to place without apparent purpose')
4. gharīghari 'disorderly', 'lacking form' (ighāri 'to do in a disorderly fashion')
5. righīrighī 'disorderly', 'undisciplined' (irīghī 'to behave in an uncontrolled manner')
6. nyokonyoko 'careless', 'stupid' (inyōko 'to walk in a careless way', 'to stagger about')
7. rikiriki 'excited', 'enthusiastic' (irīkī 'to behave in an excited manner')
8. folōfolō 'untidy', 'disordered' (ifolō 'to do in an untidy way')

(9) to (11) are derived from class II verbs plus the suffix -ri 'Comitative'.

9. mūrimūri 'twinkling', 'flashing' (imū 'to shine' + -ri)
10. tūritūri 'twinkling', 'flashing' (itū 'to pinch/peck' + -ri)
11. mūrimūri 'tiny', 'minute' (imū 'to pinch a little' + -ri)

(12) and (13) are derived from class I plus class II verbs, and (14) and (15) from class II plus class I verbs.

12. sōdhāsōdhā 'staggering', 'unsteady' (isō 'to hit with the dead end of an object'; idhā 'to fall')
(13) duwhnàduwhnà 'effusive', 'enthusiastic' (idū 'to poke hard'; iwhnà 'to show excitement')

(14) khókpukhókpukpu (humped', 'raised' (ikho 'to rise', 'be inflated'; ikpū 'to go in/under')

(15) tìfutìfì 'restrained' (itù 'to pinch'; ifù 'to fold up')

The process of derivation is productive.

(vii) Form 7

The structure of the items which constitute Form 7 is:

D(verb Root₁ + Verb Root₂ + Suffix (-rA/E))

The items have high-tones throughout if composed of Class I elements. If a class II verb is involved, it occurs initially and has a low-tone, thus giving items which have low-tones only in the initial syllable of each unit of the duplicated form.

The suffix is the -rA/E 'Benefactive'.

Consider the following examples.

(1) fúkparòfúkparò 'collapsible', 'frail', 'weak' (ifù 'to fold up'; ikpò 'to dry' + -rA/E)

(2) waghawaghawara 'rattling' (iwa 'to break up'; igha 'to scatter about' + -rA/E)

(3) kponwurukponwuru 'withered', 'withering', 'drooping' (ikpò 'to dry'; inwù 'to die/wither' + -rA/E)

(4) tüğberetugbere 'slow', 'lethargic', 'lazy' (itù 'to throw'; igbè 'to crawl' + -rA/E)

(5) tùseretìsere 'slight', 'small', 'easy' (itù 'to pinch';
isè 'to lessen' + -rA/E)

(6) vn̄ukerevn̄ukere 'frangible', 'easily crumbled' (ɪvm̄i 'to hatch'; ɪk̄e 'to cut with a sharp-edged instrument'; + -rA/E)

The process of derivation is productive.

(viii) **Form 8**

The structure of items of Form 8 is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{& \text{Reduplicated Verb Root} \} + \text{Reduplicated Suffix (-rA/E)} \\
& \{ \text{Verb Root}_1 + \text{Verb Root}_2 \}
\end{align*}
\]

Items derived from reduplicated class I verbs have high-tones and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones. Items are not derivable from class III verbs which have mixed stems, that is stems made up of base and suffix. If an item is derived from a compound stem made up of class I and class II verbs, it will have low-tones, but if made up of class I verbs, it will have high-tones. The process of derivation is productive.

The items represent the quality being described as being extensive or intensive. To translate them accurately into English an adverb, such as 'extensively', 'greatly', 'intensely', 'very', etc., should be added.

Consider the following examples. (1) to (6) have reduplicated stems, and (7) to (10) have compound stems.

(1) mʊmʊrʊrʊ 'extensively smooth/glossy' (ɪm̄i 'to polish')

(2) wuwarara 'extensively narrow' (ɪwā 'to split')

(3) bhubhororo 'extensively humped' (ɪbh̄o 'to put (load) on
another')

(4) susurururu 'greatly contracted' (isu 'to contract')
(5) dhudhurururu 'very heavy/thick' (idhu 'to bunches of fruits (of palm-trees and plantain))
(6) kpykpyruru 'very blunt/blunted' (ikpu 'to be/become blunt')
(7) gobiriri 'extensively tall' (igbogbogbo 'to sound forth'; ibi 'to lean on/against')
(8) gbehururu 'much bent' (igbe 'to crawl/crouch'; ihu 'to bend')
(9) gobyiriri 'very tepid' (igobyi 'to deviate'; ihyi 'to twist')
(10) kwhenyiriri 'very stubborn'/ 'difficult' (ikwhe 'to tie taut'; inyi 'to be heavy/impossible')

(ix) Form 9

Items which make up Form 9 have the structure
Verb Root\textsubscript{1} + (Verb Root\textsubscript{2}) + Suffix (vowel)

The final vowel in each item is a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Each item of this Form has the additional sense of extensive, intense, persistent, or lasting quality, depending on the semantic features of the verb/verbs underlying it. So an adverb which will bring out this sense is required for an accurate translation of it into English.

Form 9 items are similar in sense and in tone-structure
to those of Form 8. Items consisting of class I elements have high-tones, while those in which a class II element occurs have low-tones. The process of derivation is productive.

Consider the following examples. (1) to (4) contain class I verbs with the suffix -ri, and (5) to (8) have class II verbs with the same suffix. (9) and (10) are derived from class III verbs. And (11) to (14) are derived from compound verbs.

(1) chari 'intensely/very brilliant/clear/white' *(ichā 'to be clean/clear/white/ripe')*
(2) furii 'quite deflated', 'flabby' *(ifū 'to fold up')*
(3) dhori 'very peaceful/quiet' *(idhā 'to become peaceful/quiet')*
(4) whnorii 'very clear/unclouded' *(iwhnā 'to become clear of darkness of shadow')*
(5) dhorii 'very clear'(of liquid) *(idhō 'to become clear')*
(6) bhyanii 'very soft/downy' *(ibhya 'to press down')*
(7) sūrii 'very woolly' *(isū 'to contract')*
(8) pērii 'very soft/tender' *(ipē 'to cut something succulent/soft')*
(9) gorii 'very long', 'trailing' *(igōri 'to wander about')*
(10) pêtēe 'very quiet'/silent' *(iĉētē 'to remain quite quiet', 'to freeze')*
(11) gbēlēe 'very limp/weak' *(igbē 'to weaken'; ile 'to numb')*
(12) gbhyii 'very tepid' *(igbē 'to deviate'; ibhī 'to twist')*
(13) g'unyāa 'much controlled', 'very restrained' *(ig'n 'to
tie firmly';  inyä 'to plaster')

(14) kpulii 'very tough' (ikpù 'to be blunt'; ilî 'to resist')

(x) **Form 10**

The structure of the items of Form 10 is

Verb Root₁ + (Verb Root₂) + Suffix (vowel)

(Suffix)

The only verbs which have been found to occur in the second segment are the verbs ira 'to lick', and ire 'to decay'. And the suffix in the second segment is the -rI suffix. The final vowel is a reduplication of the vowel of the preceding syllable.

Each item in the Form has low-high-mid tones. The items which have so far been discovered are fully listed below, and they are similar in semantic sense as the items of Form 9.

(1) bora 'very tasteless'; 'illusive' (ibó 'to happen unexpectedly'; ira 'to lick/make smooth')

(2) gbura 'very disgusting/tasteless' (igbù 'to disgust'; ira)

(3) phura 'very deadening'; 'lacking sharpness' (iphù 'to deaden'; ira)

(4) whnora 'very clear/unshaded' (iwhnō 'to become clear'; ira)

(5) whnura 'very rotund' (iwhnū 'to prune round'; ira)

(6) turee 'very foul' (of smell) (itù 'to hack'; ire 'to decay')
(7) wnhn̄ri 'generally clear/open' (iwno 'to become clear'; -ri)
(8) b̄ri 'generally bright' (ibà 'to spread/increase'; -ri)
(9) kp̄roro 'very unflinching' (of looking) (ikp̄oro 'to gaze vacantly')

(xi) **Form 11**
The structure of items in this Form is

Reduplicated Verb Root₁ + \{Verb Root₂\} {Suffix₁}

Each item has low-low-high tones, as in the following examples.
(1) b̄b̄erí 'stupid', 'foolish', 'idiotic' (ib̄b̄e 'to behave in a stupid way'; -ri (lexical suffix)
(2) wnhn̄wn̄rì 'troublesome', 'stupid' (iwn̄wn̄no 'to buzz about')
(3) gb̄ḡbara 'insipid', 'tasteless' (īgb̄ 'to disgust'; ira)
(4) wnhn̄wn̄n̄eri 'expansive' (iwn̄ne 'to roam about')

The process of derivation is productive.

(xii) **Form 12**
The structure of items of Form 12 is

D (Verb Root + Suffix (-ra/E))

The items have low-low-high-low tones, and all of them imply, in their meanings, the sense of roundness or circularity, the verbs from which they are derived indicating the manner in which the roundness is achieved.

The process is productive.

Consider the following examples.
(1) gb̄r̄ḡb̄r̄ 'round' (by cutting) (igb̄ 'to cut' + -ra/E)
(2) kerekere 'round' (by dividing) (ike 'to divide')
(3) gwogworogworog 'round' (by rolling up) (igwō 'to roll up')
(4) whnerewhere 'round', 'roundabout' (by roaming about)
   (iwhē 'to roam about')

(xiii) Form 13
The structure of items of Form 13 is
   Verb Root₁ + Reduplicated -rA/E + Verb Root₂ + -m
   (suffix)

Items of this Form are not in frequent use, but do occur.
Two examples only are given. They have high-high-high-low-
low tones.
(1) wereresum 'easy', 'free', 'unimpeded' (iwe 'to poke',
   jsù 'to ram down')
(2) hyererewam 'unexpected' (ihye 'to come from'; iwa 'to
   bestride')

(xiv) Form 14
Items of this Form are derived by the triplication of the
verb root. Those derived from class I verbs have high tones
and those derived from class II verbs have low-tones, as in
the following examples. The items represent the descriptions
as a sequence of 'action'. And the process of derivation is
productive.
(1) bibibi 'stiff' (ibī 'to lean on/against')
(2) ririri 'piercingly bright' (irī 'to creep/crawl')
(3) gugugo 'slow', 'sluggish' (igugō 'to act slowly')
(4) ryiryoryo 'drooping' (iryō 'to bend downwards')
With the exception of Forms 1, 2, 12, and 13, all the Forms so far described can be transformed into Forms 15 and 16. These two Forms are now described.

(xv) Form 15

Items which constitute Form 15 must have four syllables and must have the derivative suffix -rA/E if the verb stem is Complex or Reduplex. If the verb stem is Simplex, the suffix must be -rI which is reduplicated to give the requisite number of syllables. The process is productive and the structure of the items is as follows:

\[
\text{Prefix} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{A-} \\
\text{I-} \\
\text{O-} \\
\text{U-}
\end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Verb Stem (Simplex)} \\
\text{Verb Stem (Compound)} \\
\text{Verb Stem (Reduplex)}
\end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
-rI \\
-rI
\end{array} \right\} + \text{Suffix} \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
-rA/E \\
-rI \\
-rA/E
\end{array} \right\}
\]

The items are derived from forms already derived from verbs by the prefixation of A-, I-, O-, or U- (as in the case of the derivation of nouns) by the addition of the suffix -rA/E, or -rI (which is reduplicated as stated above).

Each item has high-tones throughout irrespective of the class of verb/verbs underlying it, and semantically indicates a quality or state resulting or appearing to result from the performance of the 'action' denoted by the verb of derivation.

In the following examples, items with simplex verb stems are given first, (1) - (10), followed by those with complex (verb root plus verb root, or verb root plus lexical suffix), (11) - (17), and then those with reduplex verb stems, (18) - (25).
(1) acariri 'rather tattered', 'torn up' (îcà 'to cut up' + -rî)
(2) apiriri 'tiny', 'minute' (îpî 'to pinch, squeeze', + -rî)
(3) eperiri 'rather small', 'undersize' (îpē 'to chip/be chipped')
(4) iwiriri 'feathery', 'scaly'; 'liable to disintegrate into feathery bits' (îwà 'to break up into small bits,' 'to moult')
(5) ithiriri 'rather tall', 'inclined to grow tall', (îthî 'to elongate')
(6) ocoriri 'rather lush', 'luxuriant' (in growth) (îcō 'to grow up')
(7) okporiri 'rather dry', 'hard' (îkpō 'to dry')
(8) ucuriri 'rather dark/soiled' (îcū 'to become dark/black')
(9) uzariri 'tasselled' (îzà 'to sweep')
(10) afopiri 'messy' (îfò 'to mash'; ipî 'to squeeze'; + -rA/E)
(11) egbochuru 'bent', 'inclined' (îgbē 'to crawl', ihū 'to bend downwards' + -rA/E)
(12) imibara 'pursed', 'spread out' (îmî 'to purse lips', ibā 'to break up'; + -rA/E)
(13) igboghoro 'pendant', 'pendant' (îgbogho 'to wear hanging loose')
(14) okhokpuru 'humped/hunched' (îkhò 'to swell up', ikpū 'to go in/under')
(15) okpokoro 'disused', 'useless', 'worthless' (îkpō 'to dry/
get hard', ɪkọ́ 'to dry up')
(16) unubahara 'plentiful' (imú 'to push', ɪbè 'to increase')
(17) ɪmikporo 'emiatated', 'dried-up' (imì 'to dry over fire/in sun; ɪkporo 'to get dry/hard')
(18) ɪhyaɪyirì 'twisted'; 'bad-tempered' (ihyì 'to twist/wing')
(19) egbugbere 'slow', 'enterprising' (igbugbe 'to be slow')
(20) ididere 'feint', 'indistinct' (idè 'to touch lightly')
(21) ifufuru 'shrivelled' (ifù 'to fold up')
(22) ocucuru 'rather dark/black/soiled' (icù 'to get dark/black')
(23) ominiri 'protruberant' (imì 'to draw out')
(24) ukukuru 'big', 'hefty', unwieldy' (ikuku 'to carry laboriously in the arms')
(25) yafufara 'rather narrow', 'congested' (ifà 'to wedge into')

(xvi) Form 16

Items which constitute Form 16 have the following structure:

(Prefix (A- ) + Verb Root)₁ + Infix ( -la- ) + (Prefix+Verb (-ta- ) Root)₁ etc.

As in Form 15, items of Form 16 are derived from forms which are themselves derived from verbs by prefixation of vowels. They are thus derived from derived bases. The derived base is repeated in its entirety after the infix element, the infix element being brought in for the purpose of the
derivation of the adjective, in the case of forms based on class I or class II verbs. But in the case of forms derived from class III verbs (which have lexical suffixes), the initial part of the derived form is repeated after the lexical suffix which then functions as an infix. Thus from ikæ 'to exceed', and ikotò 'to lie in a motionless mass' we derive (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) aka-ta-aka 'huge', 'enormous', 'great'
(2) okoto-oko 'massed-up', 'large', 'enormous'

Each item of Form 16 has three characteristics: (a) it has high-tones throughout; (b) progressive or regressive assimilation takes place in the vowel of the infix; progressive if the repeated base does not have a close vowel as prefix, and an open one as base vowel, but regressive if the prefix is a close vowel and the base vowel an open one (as in (3) and (4)).

(3) ure-gha-ure : ureghuure 'rotten', 'filthy' (ire 'to decay')
(4) ithi-gha-ithi : ithighiithi 'excessively tall' (ithi 'to elongate')

(c) each item has five syllables. Dr. Ward, who alone classifies such items as adjectives, writes with four syllables the only two examples of them which she gives, probably because of the vowel assimilation stated above. In this work, however, the items are written as five syllables. There is supporting evidence for doing this from Form 17 below where the repeated base form has a nasal consonant prefix and the vowel of the infix element is progressively assimilated to the vowel of the
verb root, as in (5):

(5) nkaranb 'torn', 'worn-out', 'tattered', 'useless' (iká 'to be torn')

Items of this Form have been hitherto classified as nouns by linguists other than Dr. Ward, because according to the criteria so far used to classify adjectives only the items of Form 1 qualify as adjectives. The fact is that nouns which are similar in structure to adjectives of Form 16 differ from the latter in tones, as in (b) of (6) and (7):

(6) (a) obodoobo 'broad'
(b) òbòòòòòò 'excessive broadness'

(7) (a) ogoloogo 'long'
(b) ògòòòòòò 'excessive length/longness'

The occurrence of the lexical suffixes as infixes is restricted to items derived from the class III verbs which contain them. But the grammatical suffixes -lA, -tA, -rA/E, and -ghá (the first three being 'Case' suffixes, and the last 'Number') which are used as derivatives for Form 16 can occur with any class I or class II verbs from which this type of adjectives is derivable.

The process of derivation is productive, so only a few examples are given in addition to those already given above in (1) - (7).

(8) abadaaba 'wide and flat' (ibáda 'to be wide')
(9) egedegege 'out-standing' (igédè 'to stand out')
(10) ogoloogo 'lank/lean' (igólo 'to be lank')
(11) okoboko 'imposing', 'big but empty' (ikōbō 'to appear substantial but not be so in reality')
(12) achaghaacha 'over-ripe', 'too white' (iĉha 'to ripen/be white' + -ghA)
(13) īrīghīrī 'wiry', 'very thin', 'pointed' (īrī 'to creep'; + -ghA)
(14) oryoghooryo 'exceedingly tall/lofty' (īryo 'to bend over', 'sway' + -ghA)
(15) udeghuude 'wet', 'damp', 'chilling' (ide 'to walk slowly'; + -ghA)
(16) ubaghyuuba 'greasy', 'oily' (ibā 'to leave standing in some liquid'; + -ghA)
(17) ebherereebhe 'thin' (like a slice) (ibhē 'to slice'; + -rA/E)
(18) asaraasa 'wide', 'spread-out' (īsā 'to unfold'; + -rA/E)
(19) ogoroogo 'limpid' (igō 'to be clear'; + -rA/E)
(20) iferiife 'small and light' (ifē 'to fly/blow'; + -rA/E)
(21) ufuruuufu 'burst', 'liable to burst' (ifū 'to burst'; + -rA/E)
(22) yfuruuufu 'folded', 'liable to fold up' (ifū 'to wrap up')
(23) okgpotogkpo 'dry and hard', 'barren', 'stony' (ikpō 'to dry hard'; + -tA)
(24) ereeteere 'messy', 'unsightly' (irētē 'to make wet')
(25) yurutuuryu 'thick', 'of large quantity' (liquid, sound, dust) (irū 'to bake in hot ash')

(xvii) Form 17

The items which make up Form 17 are similar in structure
to those of Form 16, except that a subtype of them can occur without infixes and there is a difference in tones between items derived from class I verbs and those derived from other verb classes. The process of derivation is productive. The structure of the items is as follows.

\[(\text{Prefix}(N) + \text{Verb Root})_1 + (\text{Infix})\{\text{da-}\} + (\text{Prefix+Verb Root})_1\]

When there is no infix, the item derived from a class I verb has high-tones throughout, and one derived from a class II verb has high-low-high-low tones, as in (1) - (3) and (4) - (6), respectively.

1. mpempe 'chipped', 'impaired' (ipē 'to be chipped')
2. mbhyambhya 'depressed', 'deformed' (iphya 'to make flat')
3. njonjo 'gummy' (ilō 'to draw (like gum)')
4. ntāntà 'small' (ita 'to bite')
5. mkpumkpù 'low' (ikpū 'to cover up')
6. njonjo 'flowing', 'lush' (of water, rain) (ijo 'to pour profusely')

When an infix occurs, items derived from class I or class III verbs have high-tones, while those derived from class II verbs have high-tones only on the first syllables.

Consider the following examples.

7. mbadamba 'evenly flat' (ibādā 'to be wide and open')
8. ngolongo 'tall and spare' (igolo 'to be tall and spare')
(9) mgbughunghu 'loose', 'liable to become loose' (igbê 'to slip off'; + -ghA)

(10) mgbeghemgbe 'unsteady', 'loose' (igbê 'to crawl'; + -ghA)

(11) mbelembé 'reduced', 'less', 'easy' (ibê 'to be only'; + -1A)

(12) mgbellemgbe 'low' (of height) (igbê 'to crawl'; + -1A)

(13) nkaran'kà 'torn', 'worn out', 'worthless' (ikà 'to be torn'; + -rA/E)

(14) ncharan'châ 'light-coloured' 'somewhat white/ripe' (ichâ 'to become ripe/white'; + -rA/E)

(15) mpâtëmpë 'matted', 'flattened' (ipâ 'to carry on the palm of hand'; + -tA)

(16) mpo'tompo 'chopped-up' (ipô 'to chop up')

(17) nkar'nakà 'chopped', 'snipped', 'tattered' (icâ 'to snip'; + -rA/E)

(18) mkipümmkpu (mkipü). 'stumpy', 'knobly' 'shortened', 'short' (ikpu 'to be blunt/blunted!)

(19) nkhoronkhô 'entangling' (ikhô 'to hook')

The item (4) ntàntà 'small', is more generally known as ntà, and has an intensive form ntàâà 'very small'. Similarly, ntinti 'tiny', 'little', has an intensive form ntììì 'very tiny'.

Dr. Ward includes the following items of Form 17 in her list of adjectives mkinumkun 'short', ntì 'small' (with augmented forms of it ntìkili, mwantakili) and the variant form of (13), nkirika ('old', 'worn out' (which is given in
Form 19 below), Welmers concedes that *ntà* is an adjective, but includes it with others of Form 1 which he regards as the only adjectives in the language.

It is interesting to observe that the lexical suffix *-da* occurs aspirated if the consonant of the preceding syllable is aspirated. Compare (a) and (b) of the following:

(20) (a) *igôdô* 'to form a crop', 'to stand out'
    (b) *ig'odhô* 'to pile up'

(21) (a) *ogodoogo* 'out-standing'
    (b) *og'odhoog'o* 'piled up'
    (c) *ng'odhong'o* 'high', 'piled up'.

Sometimes items of Form 17 become interchangeable with items of Form 16. Four examples are given:

(22) *obodoobo* : *mbodombo* 'broad'
(23) *ogoloogo* : *ngolongo* 'long/tall'
(24) *abadaaba* : *mbadamba* 'wide and flat'
(25) *acharaacha* : *ncharancha* 'light-coloured'

(xviii) Form 18

The structure of items of Form 18 is as follows:

D(Prefix(N)+Suffix)

The first half of each item has low tones, and the second half high tones, as in the following examples.

(1) *ndorôndorô* 'elastic', 'having a tendency to pull' (*idô* 'to pull')
(2) *îchîrinîchîrî* 'slippery'; 'tending to be slippery' (*îchî* 'to slide')
(3) *ngolôngolo* 'having a tendency to be tall' (*igolô* 'to be
tall')

(4) íthiríí 'having a tendency to shoot up high' (íthí 'to elongate')

The process of derivation is productive, but not as much as (15) - (17).

(xix) Form 19

Items of this Form 19 consist of four syllables made up as follows:

Prefix(N) + Complex Verb Stem (Compound) + Suffix (-rätë)

Items derived from class I or class III verbs have high-tones throughout; those derived from reduplicated verb roots also have high tones. Items derived from a combination of class I and class II verb roots have high tones if the class II verb occurs second, but will have the first two syllables low and the rest high if the class II verb occurs initially.

In the examples, (1) to (3) have reduplicated stems; (4) and (5) have compounds of class I verb roots; (6) and (7) have class III verb stems; (8) and (9) have class II verb roots in third position; and (10) and (11) have class II verbs in second syllables.

(1) nkikara 'tattered'; 'torn up' (nñkíríka) (iθã 'to get torn')
(2) mwuwara 'narrow' (iwa 'to split ')
(3) ncicara 'snipped', 'tattered' (içá 'to snip')
(4) mgbapere 'chipped'; 'tiny' (igbã 'to explode'; ipê 'to be chipped')
(5) ndhufuru 'pierced' (iḏū 'to prick'; ifū 'to burst')
(6) mkpoghor 'hollow' (ikpogho 'to howl')
(7) mgbidiri 'thick' (igbidyi 'to be thick and heavy looking')
(8) ntikhor 'bulging' (itī 'to stand out'; ikhō 'to rise')
(9) ntukuru 'protruding' (itū 'to pin up'; ikū 'to carry in arms')
(10) mkpafara 'restricting', 'congested' (ikpā 'to hold in'; ifā 'to wedge in')
(11) mgbaghère 'half-open' (igbà 'to lever up'; ighè 'to be open')

The process of derivation is productive.

**Form 20**

The items in Form 20 are derived from derived forms with the prefix A- or O- and a reduplicated stem, such that an infix occurs interposed between the first and second parts of the stem.

The infixes which occur are -rA/E- and -ghA/E-. Items derived from class I verbs have high tones, and those derived from class II verbs have their initial syllables high and the rest low. The process is productive.

Consider the following examples.

(1) asyghyzù 'ragged', 'worn out' (izù 'to wear away')
(2) ahīghihyì 'twisted' (jhī 'to twist')
(3) ebiribi 'inflexible', 'stiff' (ibī 'to lean on')
(4) awirīwa 'splintered', 'shredded' (iwā 'to break up')
(5) ezīghizī 'rapid moving' (izi 'to strip off')
(6) apiripi' 'squashed', 'squeezed up' (ipipi 'to squeeze')

When the verb root has the vowel o/o, discontiguous and regressive assimilation takes place such that the vowel of the first part of the reduplicated stem is assimilated to that of the second part of it. But this has been found in instances where the infix -ghA/E- occurs, as in the following examples.

(7) xalughulọ → aloghulọ 'gummy' (ilọ 'to draw like gum')
(8) xekhughukho → ekhoghukho 'smoky', 'dusty', 'stuffy' (ikhô 'to rise')

When the root vowel is not an o/o such a change does not occur, as these examples below show.

(9) Oghuryghu 'dug out', 'tunnelled'; 'narrow' (ighu 'to dig out a narrow passage')
(10) ogurugu 'long', 'elongated' (igu 'to lift upwards')

(xxi) Form 21

Items in Form 21 consist of Aorist Participles (which have been described already under Non-finite Forms, Nf.1.5.) Six examples are given here, two of class I verb origin, and two of class II. (1) to (3) are derived from class I verbs and (4) to (6) from class II verbs.

(1) eθuθuθu 'worth looking for', 'deserving/requiring to be looked for' (ithu 'to look for')
(2) enyinye 'capable of being given', 'worth giving' (inye 'to give')
(3) akpukpa 'worthy of being narrated' (ikpa 'to narrate')
(4) ikọkọ 'plantable' (ikọ 'to plant')
(5)  anühō 'habitable', 'comfortable' ( inhō 'to sit/stay at')
(6)  irẹfẹ (passable) ( ifẹ 'to go across')

As the form is derivable from every verb, the process is very productive.

(xxii)  Form 22

The rule for the derivation of items of Form 22 was given as Rule 4(i) under 'Derived Nouns', p.357, and the form of the derived items described. There it was stated that the items can function as adjectives or as nouns. The process of derivation is productive. A few examples are given here, (1) to (3) consisting of items derived from class I verbs, and (1) to (6) of those derived from class II verbs.

(1)  enəmeme 'having possibility of being done' (iəmē 'to do')
(2)  erimeri 'edible' (iiri 'to eat')
(3)  atumata 'chewable' (ițā 'to chew')
(4)  abhămabhā 'enterable' (ibhā 'to enter')
(5)  enyönényo 'capable of being peered into', 'having possibility of being investigated' (inyo 'to peep/peer')
(6)  ezemézé 'avoidable' (iżeli 'to avoid')

(xxiii)  Form 23

Form 23 consists of the following items only:

(1)  ibrírīkwo 'sudden', 'violent' ( ibi 'to snap'; ikwo 'to lift off with force')
(2)  ikitikpa 'unexpected', 'deep/broad' (of day/night)
(3)  imirika 'soft/tender', 'immature' (imi 'to pinch'; ika 'to tear')
(4) imirikiti 'numerous' (imi 'to be deep' + iktì 'many')
(5) imirikitiimi 'very numerous'
(6) ìfììkìpò 'shrivelled up', 'lacking substance' (ìfììpò 'to shrivel up')

Observe that all except (6) have I- as prefix, and -rA/E as third syllable (except in the case of (2)). The first three syllables have low tones and the rest have high tones, except in (5) where the first two syllables are repeated at the end with their low tones.

(xxiv) Form 2h

Form 2h contains only two items which have three syllables with low tones.

(1) ọgbéde (obele, in Onitsha) 'small', 'young' (of child)
    (igbède 'to wear something heavy and depressing')
(2) ìzùù à (ìzùgùbò) 'all' (ìzù 'to be complete')

(xxv) Form 25

Items of Form 25 are derived from clauses and phrases which have the third person singular pronoun 0/0 as subject. The items which have been found are as follows:

(1) òwèrèanya 'dear', 'intelligible' (ò wèrè anya 'The eye got used to it.')
(2) òtèrèanya/òtèrèakха 'far', 'distant' (ò tèrè anya/akха 'It was far')
(3) ókhèrèaka 'small', 'little' (ò khèrè aka 'It tied the hands')
(4) ìdìmàlà/ìdǐkàlà 'like' (in appearance, size, etc.) (Ọ
The items which make up Form 26 are transformationally derived from Verb Phrases of Complex Clauses Type II by way of the relative clause. Items derived from class II verbs have high tones only on the last syllables. (1) and (2) illustrate the manner of their derivation from a clause with the indefinite third person pronoun as subject to an adjective in (c).

(1) (a) E sirì anu esì 'The meat was cooked.'
    (b) anu /e sirì esì/ 'Meat which was cooked'
    (c) /esìrîsì/ anu 'cooked meat'

(2) (a) E birì anu əbi 'The meat was sliced.'
    (b) anu /e birì əbi/ 'Meat which was sliced'
    (c) /ebîrî/ anu 'sliced meat'

The enclosed elements in (c) of (1) and (2) are the adjectives. Such adjectives can only occur prenominally, as the examples above.

A few more examples are given below, the first three, (3) to (5) being derived from class I verbs, and the next three, (6) to (8) from class II verbs. Such adjectives can be derived from any simple verb root.

(3) àhnùrìahnù 'roasted' (ihnù 'to roast')
(4) ìzùrùazù 'purchased' (ìzù 'to purchase')
(5) êmèrèëme 'done', 'completed', 'accomplished' (imë 'to do')
(6) àlaraàla 'shaven' (îlà 'to shave')
(7) àkpàrààkpa 'woven' (ikpà 'to weave')
(8) èsèrēsè 'ordered' (ise 'to place an order for')

The items which constitute Form 27 are derived from the negative forms of Complex Clauses Type II and consequently are negative in meaning. They can be derived from any verb of the language.

Those derived from class I verbs have high-mid-mid-mid tones, (or high-mid-mid-mid, if the suffix -ghl occurs also), while those derived from class II verbs have high-low-high-low (or high-low-low-high-low, if -ghl occurs).

A few examples are given as follows.

(1) anwùanwù (anwụghianwù) 'deathless', 'undying' (inwù 'to die')
(2) ahnhãnhãnhû (ahnûghîahnhû) 'invisible' (ihnû 'to see')
(3) agwūagwû (agwụghîagwû) 'unending', 'inexhaustible' (igwû 'to finish')
(4) elèele (elôghiele) 'unwatchable' (ilè 'to look')
(5) ebîebî (ebîghiebî) 'unending', 'interminable', 'eternal' (ibi 'to come to an end')
(6) amùamû (amûghîamû) 'unlearnable' (îmû 'to learn')

Unclassed Items

The following seven items cannot be classed owing to their forms:

(1) gboo 'ancient' (of time)
(2) akatakpo 'huge', 'very big'
(3) agadī 'old', 'aged' (compare Efik akang 'aged')
(4) ezi/ezigbo/ezigbom 'genuine', 'good', 'fine' (izī 'to be straight/right')
(5) mpekele 'chipped', 'impaired' (ipe 'to chip'; ikè 'to divide'; + le)
(6) mgbereghu 'inclined', 'hilly' (igbè 'to crawl'; + ṃgwhu 'hill')
(7) èkheesù 'exact' (of position or statement)

Although these items do not fall into any of the morphological classes set out above, some of them are very close to some classes. On the basis of their tone-structures and syllable-structures all of them, except (7) can be fitted into one or the other of the Forms above.

DA.4. Criteria for determining Adjectives in Igbo

Most writers on Igbo grammar are of the view that there are few adjectives in the language, and some have stated this view quite firmly. Consequently writers give only a small list of items which for them constitute the class of Adjectives

for the language. The longest list is that of Dr. Ida C. Ward consisting of 26 items, and the Welmers (who are the most recent writers on the subject of adjectives) have only 8 items, with the words, "There are, then, exactly eight adjectives in Igbo. They constitute four pairs of antonyms."

While Dr. Ward's items fall into several of the morphological classes set out above, including Form 1, seven of the items given by the Welmers fall into Form 1 and one into Form 17.

There are a number of reasons for the failure to recognize not more than a few items as the adjectives of the language. First, the texts (written or elicited from informants) on which linguists have relied thus far have been of the simplest type and dealing with the simplest of situations. Second, there is always the expectation, though unconscious, that there will be a one-to-one correspondence between English adjectives and Igbo adjectives. This is seen in the fact that the items which are usually taken as adjectives of Igbo are those which translate, without difficulty, the English adjectives 'white', 'black'; 'good', 'bad'; 'new', 'old'; 'big', small'; 'tall', 'short'; and similar pairs. Third, the rejection of morphological criterion (though this is not openly expressed) in the determination of adjectives. But this criterion is in evidence in the type of items which so far have been accepted generally as adjectives, that is items of Form 1. What is therefore needed is the extension of the criterion, but
this has not been possible because of ignorance of Igbo morphological processes for the derivation of items of various word classes. Fourthly, there has not been a comprehensive and definitive body of formal criteria for classifying items as being or not being adjectives. The criteria which have so far been tacitly used, but now given express statement by the Welmers in the article referred to above, have been entirely based on the characteristic behaviour of items of Form 1 only, and particularly of oma 'good', ocha 'white', and ukwu 'big'. Thus the procedure is to ask (a) whether the element in question occurs in an NP, (b) whether it occurs post-nominally in an NP, and (c) whether it is tonally invariable in a post-nominal position in an NP. If the word under consideration does these things, then it is concluded that it is an adjective (provided it has a certain phonological shape, like those of Form 1). But if it does not do these things and is not of the assumed shape, then, it is concluded, it is not an adjective.

The procedure used so far suffers from the following defects: it rejects, tacitly, the morphological criterion, and yet indirectly uses it by basing decisions on a limited list of items of a definite morphological shape. It restricts the consideration of adjectives to one type of syntactic construction only, the NP, and does not give recognition to the Verb Phrase in the consideration of adjectives: and in the NP it restricts adjectives to the post-nominal position only. Thus it assumes that all adjectives of the language must have the same syntactic characteristics. However, the
greatest defect is making everything to turn on the tonal
behaviour of the element in question.

DA.4.1. The use of tonal criterion

The criterion that for an item to qualify as an adjective
it must be tonally invariable if it occurs following a noun,
has limited usefulness in the endeavour to determine adjectives.
It can apply only to items which do not have more than two
syllables in their structure, or having up to two syllables do
not have any low tone at all. For it is known that any post-
nominal element of any word class having more than two syllables
will not undergo any tonal change unless the first syllable
only has a low tone. Thus the use of the criterion has applied
so far only to oma, qcha and ukwu.

However, the criterion applies also to items which have
not so far been regarded as adjectives, though consisting of
two syllables like the three words just given. Such items
include items in Form 2 which are derived from class I verbs,
such as gom 'clear', 'eloquent'; the item gboo 'ancient',
'former'; and the Simple Participles used as adjectives (and
not having Complements), as in (3). Compare the elements,
enclosed in //, in (1) with those in (2), (3) and (4).

(1) (a) ihyne //oma/ 'a good thing'
    (b) ihyne //qcha/ 'white thing'
    (c) ihyne //ukwu/ 'a big thing'
(2) olu /gom/ 'an eloquent voice'
(3) (a) ihyne /nle/ 'a thing to see/worth seeing'
The criterion however does not apply to the recognized Demonstrative Adjectives with a single syllable, the words *wa* and *ma*, as in (5).

(5) (a) ihyne /wä/ 'the thing'/'thing under reference'
(b) unu /mä/ (ndi) 'you people yourselves' ('the you people')

From the facts stated above it follows that tonal change or the lack of it cannot by itself determine whether or not an element is an adjective. The function of the mid-tone in the language has been stated in the Introduction, pp. 18f. The function of the mid-tone is not to define word classes but to indicate, where possible, a relation of constituency between contiguous elements.

DA.4.2. The use of Morphological Criteria

As stated above, in restricting the number of adjectives in the language to the morphological type given earlier as Form 1, a morphological criterion is being used without this being openly stated. What is therefore called for is the extension of this criterion to other morphological types whose nature have so far been misunderstood or not understood at all because no study of Igbo morphology has until now been made. It has been shown above how nouns and adjectives are derived from verbs. Furthermore it was also revealed that the
morphological forms of adjectives contribute to the total meaning of the items. This makes it possible to derive several types of adjectives from the same verb root. Thus, for instance, we can get the following forms from the verb *ife* 'to fly/ blow' to indicate the 'quality of being light in weight': fem, femfem, feroferi, feroferi, ferii, efedeefe, iferifee, etc. (forms which hitherto have been called either onomatopoeic words or ideophones, through lack of knowledge of Igbo morphology). There is therefore no justification at all for selecting one morphological type and throwing out all others, or calling them nouns.

Attention to the morphology of Igbo will help in no small way to dispel the untenable view that the language is lacking in adjectives. The truth is that it is very lacking in the type of adjective which linguists have chosen to recognize as such, those of Form I, derived by the least productive of the processes. Giving attention to morphology will not only reveal that they are different morphological types of adjectives, but will also show that there are definite differences between nouns and adjectives derived from the same verb, and the types of nouns are as varied as the types of adjectives. Compare, for instance, the nouns derived from *ife* in DN.3.(5), pp.378F., and the adjectives derived from the same word, in DA.2.(ii). Furthermore, where nouns and adjectives have identical phonological composition, a difference is made by contrastive tone-structure, as was instanced in (6) and (7) under Form 16.
A morphological criterion is as much a formal criterion as a syntactic one though of a different order or level. To deny it a place in Igbo, with its particular nature and characteristics, is to indulge in a linguistic imperialism that cannot be accepted tamely, or in a dogmatism that flies in the face of empirical facts. It has often been stated by linguists that one of the fundamental facts about language is its creativity. This creativity is not limited in its operation to the creation of syntactic structures. Languages create new forms of expression and various classes of forms as they require them, and by rules inherent in them. And what a language lacks in one direction, it makes up for in another. Thus Igbo lacking in the types of adjectives which characterize, say English, creates from verbs the types of adjectives it needs, and by its peculiar morphological and regular processes.

The morphological section of this work here is of interest, in several ways. It shows how the language creates nouns, adjectives and adverbs from verbs. It also provides additional evidence of what Talmy Givon found in Bantu; and supports the claims of transformational grammarians that verbs and adjectives are members of the same deep-structure category.

Talmy Givón writes, "The class adjective is an intriguing grammatical category in Bantu. Many present day Bantu adjectives can be shown to have been diachronically derived from nouns or verbs, and it is still an open question whether
a lexical category 'adjective' existed in Proto Bantu. The number of morphologically underived adjectives in most Bantu languages is extremely small. Verb-to-Adjective derivational channels are still synchronically productive in many Bantu languages."¹ He observes too that a number of English adjectives are derived from nouns or verbs.²

John Lyons writes, "The two most obvious differences between the lexical classes in English traditionally referred to as adjectives and verb both have to do with the surface phenomenon of inflexion..... We have already seen that 'adjectives' and 'verbs' have much in common, and that in many languages (including English) they are correctly brought together as members of the same deep-structure category."³

Jacobs and Rosenbaum write, "quite recently, several grammarians have found some reason to believe that verbs and adjectives are not distinct constituents in deep structures. Rather, it is supposed, both are Verbals and their differences are represented in the lexicon in terms of (+V) for verbs, and (-V) for adjectives."⁴

³ John Lyons: 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', pp.32-6
Finally, Pieter Seuren writes, "Incidentally, since relational constituents such as 'main verb', 'subject', 'object', seem to figure universally in the deep structure of all languages, and since there seem to be also universal restrictions on the occurrence of classes of lexical items in any, or any set of, these positions, there are good reasons for taking the rough classes of 'verb', 'noun', 'adjective' as universal for all languages, inspite of language-bound surface differences in morphological and syntactic rules." 1

These writers in their own ways make reference to morphological facts with reference to verbs and adjectives, thus implying that such facts are not irrelevant.

DA.4.3. The use of Syntactic Criteria

To advocate attention to morphology in considering adjectives in Igbo is not to abandon the use, or minimize the value, of syntactic criteria. On the contrary, both types of criteria are needed. Syntactic criteria have the following values in Igbo, as far as distinguishing adjectives is concerned: (a) they sort out adjectives into syntactic classes. For, contrary to prevalent views about Igbo adjectives, they do not all have the same syntactic characteristics, (and this includes those items of Form 1 which have been recognized as adjectives); while some occur only as adjuncts in NP's, others can occur, either as adjuncts in NP's or as Complements in VP's. And among those which can occur in NP's, while some can only occur post-nominally, others can only occur pre-nominally, and 1 Pieter A. M. Seuren: Operators and Nucleus, p.69
others still can occur either pre- or post-nominally but the change of position is accompanied by meaning-emphasis change. (b) Syntactic criteria test the validity of classifications made on morphological basis. This applies both to adjectives and to nouns. For, from discoveries made in the process of researching for this work, it was observed that some words which have consistently been labelled as nouns do function often as adjectives. (c) In addition, syntactic criteria lead to a recognition of four important, but so far neglected facts of the language; that some words have dual functions in the language, functioning as nouns and also as adjectives in different constructions. Examples of such words are *ufodù 'some', òtùtu 'many', òzọ 'another' the use of which is illustrated as follows:

(1) (a) /ufoɗu/ byàrà. 'Some came.'
(b) /ufoɗu/ mādhù byàrà. 'Some people came.' (emphatic)
(c) Madhù /ufoɗu/ byàrà. 'Some people came.' (unemph.)

(2) (a) O znirì m /òtùtu/. 'He showed me many.'
(b) O znirì m /òtùtu/ eghù. 'He showed me many goats.'
(c) × O znirì m /eghu/ òtùtu/. 'He showed me many goats.'

(3) (a) We tà /òzọ/. 'Bring another.'
(b) We tà eghu /òzọ/. 'Bring another goat.'
(c) × We tà/òzọ/ eghù. 'Bring another goat.'

The class of Numerals would be included in the list of dual-functioning elements.

The second fact is that items which have hitherto been
taken as 'Interrogative words' function as adjectives. These are òle, ìdàjì, òle, and cũngù. Consider the following examples:

(4) /òle/ onye mère yà? 'Which person did it?' ('Which person who did it?')

(5)(a) Onye /òle/ mère yà? 'Which person did it?' (Unemph.)
    (b) /òle/ onye mère yà? 'Which person did it?' (emph.)

(6) /ìdàjì/ onye mère yà? 'Which person did it?' ('Which person who did it?')

(7) /cùmjù/ onye mère yà? 'Which person, possibly, did it?'
    ('Which person, possibly, who did it?')

The word òle can also be used as a noun, as in (8).

(8) o nyèrè gì /òle/? 'How many did he give you?' ('He gave you number (undefined)?')

The third fact is that by using syntactic criteria, words which do not qualify as adjectives on the basis of tonal, or morphological character (as set out in Forms 1 to 27) nevertheless qualify as such on the basis of their syntactic behaviour. These words include reference elements or Demonstrative Adjectives, and some quantifiers (not numerals), as follows:

(9) à 'this/these' (proximate)

(10) nàa 'this/these' (proximate, emphatic)

(11) wà 'this/these' (proximate, emphatic, oblique, insinuative)

(12) ahmù 'that/those' (remote)

(13) wà 'that/those', 'the' (remote, oblique)
(14) ma 'the' (remote/proximate, emphatic, used with pronouns only)
(15) nǔhnu 'other' (remote)
(16) mǔhnu 'other' (remoter than (15))
(17) niye 'other' (remoter than (16))

All these occur only post-nominally, while of the Quantifiers
(18) and (19) occur only post-nominally, (20) to (23) pre-
nominally, and (24) either pre- or post-nominally.
(18) dum 'all'
(19) niīle 'all'
(20) rùrùra 'all', 'general', 'comprehensive'
(21) òwhmu 'whole', 'entire'
(22) akañhù 'part'
(23) afù 'half'
(24) nañi 'sole', 'only'

The fourth fact is that the process is going on whereby
while adjectives are being 'substantivized', nouns are being
'adjectivized'. Without the application of syntactic criteria
to elements in constructions, these facts cannot be known.
This two-way process will be discussed below in DA.5.2. and
DA.9.

The criticism of the syntactic criteria so far used by
writers is twofold: it is rigidly restricted to the NP, and
even there, only the items which occur post-nominally are
regarded as adjectives. In this work the NP and the VP are
both taken into account, and so are the pre- and the post-

nominal positions in NP's.

DA.5. **Syntactic Classification of Adjectives**

Igbo adjectives fall into two main syntactic classes:
(a) those which characteristically function as adjuncts in NPs;
(b) those which can occur as predicatives, in VP's or as
adjuncts in NP's.

These two classes are given in terms of the Forms given
above, items being specifically mentioned if morphologically
unclassed, or behave differently from others of their
morphological class.

(a) Adjectives functioning as adjuncts:

These comprise the following:

(i) òma, ocha, ukwu, øjojø and ajojø in Form 1.

(ii) òdm, 'only' (emphatic), kpom 'only', gbom 'genuine',
'excellent', in Form 2, plus ezigbon 'genuine', 'exquisite'.

(iii) ezi 'good', 'nice'; gbọo 'ancient', 'former', ìkheesù
'exact'.

(iv) Items of Forms 21, 26; ìbìríkwo, ìkìtíka, in Form 25;
àsùsù/àsìgùsù, in Form 24; items in Form 25, except
ùkheérẹka; plus ebiri 'numerous', 'much'.

(v) Demonstrative Adjectives (as listed in DA.4.3. (9) to
(17)); Interrogative Adjectives (as in DA.4.3. (4) to
(7)).

Quantifiers (as listed in DA.4.3. (18) to (24)), except ìbìhmì,
and ìkààhì.

(vi) 'Adjectivized nouns' (see DA.5.2. below, p. 441)
(b) **Adjectives functioning as Adjuncts or Predicatives**

These comprise -

(i) *ochi̯e, oji̯e, ọhnuọ, ọkpọọ, and ukwu, in Form 1;*

(ii) *nnuku - 'big', 'much', 'plentiful'; akatakpo, agadi, mpekelo, and mgberekwu ('Unclassed Items', p.424f)

(iii) *all items of Form 2, except those given in (a) (ii) above.*

(iv) *Items of Forms 3 to 20, 22, and 27.*

(v) *Items given in Form 23, and Forms 24 and 25, except those given in (a) (iv) above;

(vi) *Numerals.*

DA.5.1. **Positional Classification of Adjectives**

On the basis of their positions in the NP relative to the head-word, adjectives fall into three positional classes:

(a) those which occur only in pre-nominal position;

(b) those which occur only in post-nominal position; and

(c) those which can occur either in pre- or in post-nominal position. However those which can occur in either position normally occur in post-nominal position, but occur in pre-nominal position for emphasis.

(a) **Adjectives occurring only in pre-nominal position**

The items which occur only in pre-nominal position are:

(i) *ajọọ 'bad', 'wicked' (emphatic form of ọjọọ), in Form 1;

(ii) *gbom/ezigbom, in Form 2; ezi, ọzuzu/ọzugbo; ikitikpa, imiri̯a, imiri̯iti̯i̯, imiri̯iki̯iti̯i̯, and a̯iri̯i̯kpa, in Form 23;

(iii) *items in Form 25, and those of Form 26;*
(iv) the numeral otù, 'one', chu 'twenty', mnu 'fourhundred';
(v) 'adjectivized nouns';
(vi) Interrogative Adjectives, except öle;
(vii) ounnu, akaňhu, afu, rurùra.

(b) Adjectives occurring only post-nominally

Adjectives which occur only post-nominally consist of
(i) ojiẽ, ohu, ukwu, ukwu, ḍma, ḍcha, and ḍjo, in Form 1;
(ii) gboo; dam 'only', in Form 2;
(iii) Numerals other than those mentioned in (a) (iv) above;
(iv) Demonstrative Adjectives;
(v) dm, níle; ḍзо.

(c) Adjectives which can occur either pre- or post-nominally

Adjectives which can occur pre- or post-nominally include
(i) ochie, in Form 1; agadī.
(ii) all other items not included in (a) or (b) above.

Some illustrations of each positional class are now given.

(a)

1 /ajp/ mădhù 'a wicked person' (Form 1)
2 /gbom/ álá 'an excellent piece of land' (Form 2)
3 /ezi/ okwu 'true word'/'truth'
4 /ozùù/ ebè 'all places' (Form 24)
5 /otù/ onye 'one person' (Numeral)
6 /imiriša/ ji 'immature jam' (Form 23)
7 /oninmalà/ ụlọ ịke à! 'Such a big house this is!' (Form 25)
8 /ag'í/ nwokhè 'a lively man' (Adjectivized Noun)
(b)

(9) ìkpu /ohnuo/ 'a new hat' (Form 1)
(10) ìbú /dam/ 'two only' (Form 2)
(11) akwụkwọ /ató/ 'three books' (Numeral)
(12) onye /mby/ 'the first person' (Numeral, Ordinal)
(13) ebe /ahny/ 'that place' (Demonstrative Adj.)
(14) mgbè /niile/ 'every time' (Quantifier)

c)

(15) (a) mgbè /ochie/ 'olden times', 'former time' (Form 1)
(b) /ochie/ mgbè 'former time'/'rather earlier time'
(emph.)

(16) (a) osisi /ogoloogo/ 'a tall tree' (Form 16)
(b) /ogoloogo/ osisi 'a tall (emph.) tree'

(17) (a) onye /mkpumkpű/ 'a short person' (Form 17)
(b) /mkpumkpű/ onye 'a short (emph.) person'

(18) (a) akwa /feriferi/ 'a light cloth' (Form 5)
(b) /feriferi/ akwa 'light (emph.) cloth'

In the matter of some adjectives occurring characteristically before or after the noun they qualify, Igbo is somewhat like French, as the following French examples show:

(19) /un beau petit/ tapis 'a fine small carpet'
(20) /grand/ flacons 'large bottle'
(21) le /pauvre/ Jacques 'poor Jacques'
(22) un hôtel /confortable/ 'a comfortable hotel'
(23) chaussures /noires/ 'black shoes'

But Igbo goes beyond French in having adjectives which can
either occur pre-nominally or post-nominally (as in (15) – (18) above), though with meaning-emphasis change. This is in line with what Talmy Givón observed in Chi Bemba. He writes, "Adjectives appear in 'stacked' chains of restrictive modifiers, and shifting their relative order within the chain results in the characteristic meaning-emphasis change:

(24) abaana basuma baakalaamba baboomba saana 'good big children work a lot (as against small ones)'
(25) abaana baakalaamba basuma baboomba saana 'good big children work a lot (as against bad big ones)'

Thus, while in English this contrast with adjectives is achieved by intonation (with adjectives rigidly ordered in pronominal position), in ChiBemba the same is done by reordering. Consider the following examples in Igbo.

(26) eghu/ukwu ojiê/ 'a big black goat (not small black goat)'
(27) eghu/ojiê ukwu/ 'a black big goat (not a white big goat)'

But, in Igbo the reordering is not only among 'stacked' adjectives only, but also between adjective and head-noun, as in (15) to (18).

DA.5.2. 'Adjectivized Nouns'

A number of nouns in the language have come to be used as adjectives, while still functioning as nouns in certain contexts. By 'adjectivized nouns' is not meant nouns which have what might be described as possessive relationship with a preceding noun. For 'adjectivized nouns' always precede
the other noun which they qualify. Words which function in this way include: nwa 'child', nne 'mother', ezè 'chief, king', okhe 'male', npa 'father', adha 'daughter', dimkipa 'grown-up', agha 'war', and many others.

Consider the following examples of their use.

(1) /nwa/ ylò 'a small house'
(2) /nne/ nwaanyi 'a motherly woman', 'a gentle woman'
(3) /ezè/ nwokhe 'a dignified man'
(4) /okhe/ evulè 'a strong man'
(5) /npa/ ehyi 'a mature cow'
(6) /adha/ eghu 'a young she-goat'
(7) /dimkipa/ onyè 'a strong/grown-up person'
(8) /agha/ mādhù 'numerous people'
(9) /iberiiibe/ mādhù 'a foolish person' (iberiibe 'foolish-ness')

The second noun in each of the examples is not the possessor of the first noun, as would be the case in such instances as (10) and (11) where the first nouns are the heads of the NP.

(10) nwa /nne/ 'the child of a mother'
(11) ezè /alà/ 'the chief of the land'

Ambiguities in constructions like those in (1) to (9) can only arise when the constructions are taken out of syntactic context.

DA.6. Predicative Adjectives

As was observed earlier, the treatment of adjectives in
Igbo has before now been restricted to the NP. The occurrence of adjectives in VP's will now be considered.

The nearest approach to considering adjectives in verb-phrases was made by Dr. Ward (whose views were later repeated by the Helmers in the article referred to earlier). The said: "A large number of nouns are used after the verb di (to be) or another verb to express an adjectival idea."

(1) Ji dì okù. 'The jam is hot.'
(2) Akwà dì inyi. 'The cloth is dirty'.
(3) Ji jèrò njọ. 'The yam is bad.'
(4) Ogwu mìrù inu. 'The medicine is bitter.'

All the above examples of verb+noun can be and are frequently used to do the work of an attributive adjective. Such phrase is in the nature of a relative adjective clause (without a relative pronoun)

(5) Ji dì okù 'hot jam' (jam which is hot)
(6) Akwà dì inyi 'dirty cloth' (cloth which is dirty)

It should be observed that Dr. Ward talks about "verb+noun" used to "express" an adjectival idea, but not of "verb + adjective", which is what is to be considered here.

It should also be observed that not every "verb + noun" expresses an adjectival idea, but "certain verbs + certain nouns". This requires a subcategorization of the verbs and nouns of the language. It is not possible to do this here, but it can be briefly stated that the verb-phrase (or more accurately, one of the types of verb-phrases) which expresses an adjectival
idea is made up of "stative/process verb + stative/abstract noun of quality".

Contrast (a) and (b) of (7) which have different subclasses of nouns, and consider (8) and (9) which have different subcategories of verbs from (7).

(7) (a) Jà dî /ajha/. 'There is sand in the jam' (Jam contains sand)
    (b) Jà dî /ikhe./. 'The jam is hard.'

(8) Àgwà yà /màrà/ mma. 'His behaviour is good.'
(9) Mkwù /thírì/ uthì. 'The palm-tree is tall' (...grew to be tall)

In (7) we have jài which is one of the 'verbs to be' which exist in the language; in (8) an example of a subclass of 'stative verbs'; and in (9) an instance of a 'process verb'. In the last two sentences, the notion contained in the verb is 'nominalized' and forms the Complement of the verb.

Nouns such as ikhe 'strength/power', in (7), mma 'goodness/beauty', in (8), and uthì 'growth/height', which are abstract and qualitative in sense overlap with adjectives in their distribution, not only in the NP, but also in the VP, as will be demonstrated below with regard to the VP only. When such nouns, and adjectives, occur as Complements of 'stative verbs'/'process verbs' they have 'attributive' functions which may be 'depictive' or 'resultative', as Halliday defines these terms: "In intensive clauses (i.e. "Clauses with 'ascription' process type...")... the process is itself merely one of ascription;
here therefore the participant being characterized is simply what we may call an 'attribuant': his role, that is to say, is that of bearing the attribute in question. For this reason the attribute is obligatory in intensive clauses; and the structural element by which the attribute is expressed is thus referred to as 'intensive complement', Cint. The sense of 'intensive' here is 'having, by definition, the same referent as another element in the clause... It has been shown that the feature 'attributive' must be represented, more delicately, as a system of depictive/resultative. In intensive clauses, where the 'process' is one referred to as 'ascription', the only role of the subject is that of attribuant and the attribute is thus obligatory. In extensive clauses, on the other hand, the role of attribuant is always combined with another participant role (goal in effective, actor in descriptive) and the attribute is thus always optional."¹

DA.6.1. Adjectives in Intensive Clauses

There are nine verbs 'to be' in Igbo, but only four of them can take 'intensive complements' or attributive complements' (whether adjectives or abstract nouns of quality). The four verbs are (6) to (9) in the following list:

(1) iyT 'to be like' (comparative)
(2) ino 'to be in/at/on' (locative)

(3) ibe 'to be only' (paucal)
(4) jhnà 'to be equal' (comparative)
(5) ìwù 'to be' (identifying, equating)
(6) imè 'to be' (attributive)
(7) idà 'to be more than' (comparative)
(8) jhnà 'to be equivalent to', 'to be as much as' (comparative)
(9) idì 'to be' (attributive'; 'locative'; 'existential')

Attention will be restricted here to the verb idì. To
be accurately used, this verb needs to be recategorized into
(i) idì (locative); (ii) idì (existential); and (iii) idì
(attributive). (i) and (ii) uses of the verb are briefly
characterized as follows: (i) idì (locative) implies that the
subject of the clause is 'located at/on/in', and so takes a
locative prepositional phrase as complement; or implies that
the subject 'contains something', or 'is contained in' and
consequently takes a concrete noun as complement.

Consider the following examples.

(10) Akuwùkwù /dì n'īgbe/ 'the book is in the box'
(11) Ese /dì n'a rọ/ 'Ese is in a dream'
(12) Ahyà /dì n'Eche/ 'There is a market on Eche day.'
(13) Igbe /dì akwu kwù/ 'The box contains books.'
(14) ìfì /dì manù/ 'The yam contains oil.'

With idì (locative), where the subject is an abstract
noun, as in (15), the subject functions as the 'attribute' and
the complement as the 'attribuant', as in (15) to (16).

(15) Iwè dì Ese. 'Ese is angry.' (Anger is contained in Ese)
(17) Tihe di Adha. 'Adha is energetic.' (Energy is contained in Adha.)
(18) Yikp di Obi. 'Obi is poor.' (Poverty is contained in Obi.)

Similarly, a prepositional phrase complement of idii can have attributive sense, as in (19) and (20).

(19) Chyni di n'ivu. 'Theft is illegal.' (Theft is in law.)
(20) Ckwu di n'ikpe. 'The matter is controversial.' (The matter is in judgement.)

(11) idii (existential) is used intransitively, (i.e. it does not have a complement), as in the following instances:
(21) Chukwu di. 'God is.'
(22) Nn di. 'My father is/exists/is alive.'
(23) Eg'ii di. 'There is money.'
(24) C'ii di. 'There is time.'
(25) Adi. 'I am/I exist.'

With idii (attributive), only predicative adjectives, or abstract nouns of quality can occur as complements with attributive functions. Adjectives are illustrated first, and then nouns (to show the overlap of adjectives and abstract nouns in their distributions).

In the following examples of attributive adjectives (26) to (30) are items of Form 1 (which have all been generally accepted as adjectives) which can occur as predicatives; and (31) belongs to Form 17 (and has also been accepted as an adjective). The rest belong to other Forms.
(26) Ezè dì /ojiè/. 'Ezè is black.'
(27) Akwà dì /ochiè/. 'The cloth is old/worn out.'
(28) Uzù dì /ghmýg/. 'The road is new.'
(29) Amù dì /okpyò/. 'The meat is dried.'
(30) Eg'ê dì /ukwu/. 'The money is much.'
(31) Ulù dì /ntà/. 'The house is small.'
(32) Akà yá dì /sikhem/. 'His arm is quite stiff.'
(33) Ò dì /kejirikejiri?/. 'Is it brittle?'
(34) Òbì dì /ogoloogo/. 'Obi is tall.'
(35) Ahyà dì /wnorii/. 'The market is open/unshaded.'
(36) M'âni dì /gigége/. 'The oil is liquid.'
(37) Òfè dì /gbùgbùra/. 'The soup is insipid.'
(38) Ò dì /ekwúc kwu/. 'It is unspeakable.'

In the following examples abstract nouns occur as
attributive complements.
(39) Òbì dì /ikhe/. 'Obi is strong.' ('Obi has strength.')
(40) N'ì dì /aryo/. 'The food is soft.' (Food has softness)
(41) Akwà dì /ùcha/. 'The cloth is white/clean.' (Cloth has
whiteness/cleanness.)
(42) Umù dì /ameígwu/. 'You people are lazy.' (You (pl.)
have laziness.)

In (26) to (38) and (39) to (42) we have intensive
complements functioning as 'depictive attributes', in intensive
clauses. In the two sets of examples, there is no syntactic
means of differentiating the adjectives from the abstract nouns.
In such a situation it becomes necessary to have recourse to
morphological criteria. However, there is a syntactic test which can be applied to complements of intensive clauses like those above to discover whether they are adjectives or nouns. It might be called 'the reversal of functions test'. By this the positions of the subject and the complement are reversed. When this is done, it is discovered that while abstract noun complements can function as subjects and still have attributive functions or senses, adjectives cannot function as subjects, thus the reversal makes the clause ungrammatical.

Consider the application of the test to (26), (28), (34) and (35).

(26') Ṫ Ojiê dì Eze. ṫ 'Black is Eze.'
(28') Ṫ Chnuq dì uzu. ṫ 'New is the road.'
(34') Ṫ Ogoloogô dì Obi. ṫ 'Tall is Obi.'
(35') ṫ Wnori dì ahya. ṫ 'Open/unshaded is the market.'

The application of the test to abstract nouns yields the same type of clause which was exemplified in (15) to (18) above. That means that a locative clause results and is often set out in full by the addition of a locative prepositional phrase. The test, applied to (39) to (42) gives the following clauses. (The alternative and extended clause is put in brackets ( ).)

(39') Ikhe dì Obi. (Ikhe dì Obi (n' ahyu).) 'Obi is strong.'
(Strength is in Obi/Strength is in Obi (in body).)
(40') Nnye dì nri n'ahu. 'The food is soft.' (Softness is in food in body')
(41) ùchà dì akwà n'ùhù. 'The cloth is white/clean.' (White-ness/cleanness is in cloth in body.)
(42) Umeñgwù dì unù. (Umeñgwù dì unù (n'ùhù))' 'You are lazy.'
(Laziness is in you/Laziness is in you in body.)

DA.6.2. Adjectives as Complements of 'process verbs'

In clauses with 'process verbs' (that is verbs which express processes) both adjectives and abstract nouns can occur as complements with attributive resultative functions. But adjectives are distinguished from nouns by the fact that while the nouns can occur only as 'cognate objects' or 'nominalizations' of the verbs and only when these verbs occur, adjectives are not so restricted. This provides another criterion for distinguishing abstract nouns from adjectives.

Consider the following instances of noun complements in (1) to (9).

(1) Àdhà màrà /mà/. 'Adha is beautiful.'/Adha became beautiful.'
(2) Èzè tìrí /ùtí/. 'Èzè is tall.'/Èzè is tall-grown.'
(3) Àbù tòrò /ùtò/. 'The song was nice.'
(4) Òbì vàrù /ivù/. 'Obi is fat.'/Obi grew fat.'
(5) Úzì jòrò /njò/. 'The road is bad.'/The road became bad.'
(6) Akwà rìrì /ùrì/. 'The egg is rotten.'/The egg became rotten.'
(7) Akwà chàrì /ùchà/. 'The cloth became white/clean.'
(8) Nrí rìyòrò /nryò/. 'The food is/became soft.'
(9) Nthù thù yà jìri /nji/. 'The hair of his head became black.'
Contrast the fore-going examples with the following ones where adjectives are used as complements in place of nouns, particularly compare, (2), (3) and (4) with (10), (11) to (13), respectively. In the latter four adjectives are substituted for nouns as complements.

(10) Ezè thirí /irighiirí/. 'Ezè grew very slender.'
(11) Bù tòrò /uneghuune/. 'The song was very delicious.'
(12) Obi vùrù /uduhuudu/. 'Obi grew very massive.'
(13) Cè tòrò /phuraa/. 'The soup tasted insipid.'
(14) Ìdhì còrò /obiribi/. 'Adhẹ grew tall and stately.'
(15) Jì ghere /gwokogwoko/. 'The yam cooked too soft.'

In (14) and (15) the 'cognate nouns' of the verbs ìco 'growth', ùghe 'cooking', respectively, could be substituted for the adjectives, and will change the meaning of the clauses accordingly.

DA.7. Adjectives in 'subjectivized' expressions

An additional factor which has made it difficult for linguists to recognize more than a handful of items as the adjectives of the language is the assumption (resulting from lack of knowledge of Igbo transformational processes) that everything that occurs in initial position in a clause is a noun and also a subject of the clause. This may be true of certain types of clauses, but certainly not all. We saw in DA.6.1. above that adjectives cannot occur as subjects of the verb ị́dị́ (or indeed of any other verb). There are, however, certain constructions in which, owing to transformational
deletions, adjectives can occur in initial positions, but not necessarily as subjects of those clauses. This happens when an element or a set of elements is transposed to the beginning of a clause in order that something might be said about it. The process of transposition affects elements which are not the subjects of the clauses in which they occur. It operates as follows.

(i) If the element to be transposed is a noun complement or object, or adverbial adjunct, it is transposed to the initial position and the rest of the clause is relativized and added to it as an adjunct before the expression which predicates something about it can occur, as in (2) which represents transformations of (1). The transposed element is underlined.

(1) "Obi zuru akwa eci. 'Obi bought a cloth yesterday.'

(2)(a) /Akwa Obi zuru eci/ mara mma. 'The cloth Obi bought yesterday was nice.'

(b) /Eci Obi zuru akwa/ wu ahya. 'Yesterday (when) Obi bought a cloth was a market day.'

(ii) If the element to be commented upon is the verb, it is left in its position and the gerundial form of it occurs in initial position. Thus from (1) we get (3).

(3) /Ozu zuru akwa eci/ were Eze iwe. 'The fact of Obi buying the cloth yesterday angered Eze.' ('Buying (which) Obi bought cloth yesterday angered Eze.')

(iii) If the expression concerned is the verb-phrase, the verb is left in its position and a Non-finite form of it, with the
complement(s) occurs in initial position. Here the Infinitive
is chosen for simplicity. Thus we get (4) from (1).

(4) /Izu akwa eci Obi zuru/ were Ezere. 'The fact of Obi
buying a cloth yesterday angered Ezere.' ('To buy cloth
yesterday Obi bought angered Ezere.')

When the clause has an attributive complement, this may
be an adjective or an abstract noun, as discussed above, and
this is transposed to occur with the Non-finite form of the
verb which must be id or some process verb. Thus, for
instance (5) is transformed to (6), and (7) to (8).

(5) Akwa jiri nji. 'The cloth is/became black.'

(6) /Iji nji akwa jiri/ amasighi ya. 'The fact that the
cloth was/became black did not please him.' ('To be/
become black cloth is/became pleased not him.')

(7) Akwa di qhnu. 'The cloth is new.'

(8) /Idi qhnu akwa di/ masiri ya. 'The fact of the cloth
being new pleased him.' (To be new cloth was pleased
him. ')

Attention will now be limited to (6) and (8) and sentences
of this type. Further transformational operations can be
performed on these sentences as follows.

(a) First the initial infinitive verb form can be deleted, so
that (6) becomes (9), and (8) becomes (10).

(9) /Nji akwa jiri/ amasighi ya. 'The fact of the cloth
being/becoming black did not please him.'

(10) /Qhnu akwa di/masiri ya. 'The fact of the cloth being
new pleased him.'

(b) Next, the verb in the enclosed part of the sentence can be deleted also. This, then, turns (9) into a simple sentence quite unrelated to the original one in (6) above, as (11) shows.

(11) Ṇji akwà amasighi ya. 'The (colour/type of) blackness of the cloth does not please him.'

But this further transformational operation is blocked in the case of (10), and if carried out yields an ungrammatical sentence, (12).

(12) x Chnuo akwà masiri ya. x 'New of cloth pleased him.'

For (8) to be grammatical and also retain its semantic meaning, only the Non-finite or the finite form of the verb, but not both, can be deleted, as in (13) below and in (10) above.

(13) /Idi ohnuo akwa/ masiri ya. 'The fact of the cloth being new pleased him.'

The ungrammaticality of (12) is due to the fact that ohnuo is an adjective, and a post-nominal adjective in an NP. As adjectives which occur characteristically in pre-nominal position in an NP do not occur as predicatives, except in the case of those items of Form 23 given in DA.5.1. (a) (ii), they are not involved in the transformational operation being discussed here.

For all adjectives which can occur as predicatives the rule applies, that in the clause affected by transposition and subjectivization either the Non-finite verb or the finite verb, but not both, may be deleted, if the transformation is not to
alter the semantic sense of the original contraction. Furthermore, when the finite verb is deleted and the Non-finite is retained, the word nke is usually interposed between the adjective and the noun immediately following it.

Consider the following examples.

(14) (a) Osisin dì ogoloogo. 'The tree is tall.'
(b) Ìdì ogoloogo osisi di' dì yìjo. 'That the tree is tall is frightening.'
(c) Ògoloogo osisi di' dì yìjo. 'That the tree is tall is frightening.'
(d) Ìdì ogoloogo nke osisi di' yìjo. 'The fact of the tree being tall is frightening.' (To be tall of tree is fear.)

Now the element or elements which function as subjects in these transformed sentences are considered. It will be observed that where the transposition affects a complement or complements only, it is the complement that can alone function as the subject of the sentence, as in (2) (a) and (b) where úká and úkú are subjects, though having the rest of the original clause as adjuncts. But where the transformation operation involves the VP, necessitating the bringing in of a non-finite verb, it is the whole of the original clause, now transformed, that functions as the subject, as in (3), (4), (6), (8), (9), (10), (13) and (14). Thus in these constructions from which the Non-finite verbs have been deleted it is not the first word in the remaining expression that is subject, but all
that is left, as in (9), (10) and (14)(c). In the last two
adjectives are thus left in initial positions but remain there
connected with the verb i'di which follow later, and cannot
be deleted. This is syntactic evidence that in such
constructions what occurs in initial position is not a noun
but an adjective.

Therefore the following statement which regards some
morphological types of adjectives as nouns is rejected: "These
examples show how the grammatical behaviour of this class of
words is that of nouns, though with a restricted range. They
do not seem, for instance, to occur as subjects of a verb
unless they are qualified, as in (15) Pyarii o dì di mmì."¹

It will be noticed that (15) is similar to (10) and (14)(c).
The subject is not 'Pyarii' but 'Pyarii o dì' which is
transformationally subjectivized.

DA.3. Adjectives and Pronominialization

Adjectives qualify pronouns in Igbo. This happens when
the noun which is qualified by an adjective is pronominalized.
Demonstrative adjectives and Quantifying adjectives are commonly
found qualifying pronouns, as in the following examples.
(1) anyì /nìnle/. 'all of us' ('all we'/ 'we all')
(2) hna /dùm/. 'all of them' ('all them')
(3) /Gì ahìmù/ m hìnìkwarìanì éci? 'What about you then whom
I saw yesterday?' ('That you I did see yesterday?')
(4) ìtìì /ya ìkùlù/. 'Bring the other one.' ('Bring other
it.')

The usage applies also to descriptive adjectives, as in (b) of the following examples.

5 (a) Cìta /osisi ogoloogo/. 'Bring a collection of long sticks.'
(b) Cìta /hna ogoloogo/. 'Bring a collection of them that are long.' (Bring a collection of long them/ them long.)

6 (a) Zùta /eghu oma ahmà/. 'Buy that fine goat.'
(b) Zùta /ya oma ahmà/. 'Buy it, the fine one.' (Buy that fine it.)

7 (a) Òdhà kpàrà /geregere manù/. 'Òdhà bought fluid oil.'
(b) Òdhà kpàrà /geregere ya/. 'Òdhà bought some fluid one of it.' (Òdhà bought fluid it.)

8 (a) Anyì zùtèrè /ajọ ag'ụ/ n'ụzọ. 'We met a fierce leopard on the way.'
(b) Anyì zùtèrè /ajọ ya/ n'ụzọ. 'We met a fierce one of it on the way.' (We met a fierce it on the way.)

The translation of some of the phrases by the 'of' construction is an attempt to render them in acceptable English. In Igbo, there is no need for them as there is no sense of 'genitive' in them.

DA.9. **Substantivization of Adjectives**

As nouns can be adjectivized in the language, so adjectives can be substantivized. The substantivization of the Aorist Participle was discussed in NF.1.5.1., pages 336-8. The process of adjectivization and of substantivization is going
on all the time, and undoubtedly has been in operation for a
long time. The tragedy of Igbo is that the study of it has
been fitful and limited, with the consequence that interesting
features of it have been left unobserved, with the further
consequence that some of these features now present very great...
problems for anyone interested in them. Such is the subject
of this section. It is not intended therefore to discuss it,
but to illustrate it.

A number of words now used as nouns, and also as adjectives,
are regarded here as having been used first as adjectives, from
observation of present trends. Some are given now. They all
fall into one or the other of the morphological types given
earlier many of which are not yet in use as nouns. The
adjectives are given as (a) and their substantivized forms as (b).

1 (a) akwukwu 'grindable'
    (b) akwukwu 'leaf', 'book', 'paper', 'education', etc.

2 (a) emememe 'doable'
    (b) emememe 'custom', 'tradition', 'usage'

3 (a) erimeri 'edible'
    (b) erimeri 'eatables', 'food'

4 (a) ekehrerekeke 'parcelled'
    (b) ekehrerekeke 'parcelled corn-meal'

5 (a) ebehereebhe 'sliced'
    (b) ebehereebhe 'sliced cassava'

6 (a) oboghoro 'hollow'
    (b) oboghoro 'a hollow', 'gully', 'pit'
(7) (a) okpokoro 'empty', 'hollow'
         (b) okpokoro 'wooden case', 'table' (from using a wooden case as table)
(8) (a) mgberegwHu 'inclined', 'steep'
         (b) mgberegwHu 'a gradient', 'steep hill'

DA.10 Adjectives and Conjoining

(1) Normally adjectives are 'stacked' (that is, occur one after another without any conjunction) before or after the noun they qualify, depending upon their positional classes. Thus we get (1) and (2):

(1) /imiriikiti ajgo esiriise/ okha. 'numerous foul cooked corn'
(2) eghu /oji gma nile ahnu/ 'All those black beautiful goats' (goats black beautiful all those)

Sometimes they occur stacked before and after the noun, as in (3) and (4).

(3) /oloriri udughuudu/ yl o /ochi e ukwu n'nyu/ 'that other old, tall and massively big house' ('tall massive house old big other')
(4) /ezigbo mgaramwa/ akwa /cha oghnogho/ 'fine, narrow, white, new piece of cloth' ('fine, narrow cloth white new')

When any of the adjectives in the series requires to be specially emphasized, and can occur as a predicative, it is isolated and predicated with idi and added as a relative VP, or constitute a separate and independent clause. Thus (5) and (6) are derived from (4).
(5) /ezigbo mwarəna/ akwa /ocha di ohuwa/ 'Fine narrow white cloth which is new'

(5) /C wu ezigbo/ akwa /ocha ohuwa/ di mwarəna/ 'It is fine white new cloth and is also narrow'

However, an independent clause can occur, as in (6) only if there is a preceding clause, as in (6).

(ii) Adjectives can be conjoined only when they occur in subjectivized expressions, as discussed in DA.9 above, and are the types which can occur as predicatives. Thus we get (7) and (8).

(7) /Ogoloogo na ochie/ akwa di egbochighi ihyne o buła. 'The fact of the cloth being long and old is no hindrance.'

(8) /Okpo na ukwun/ o di di m yto. 'Its being hard and big makes me happy.'

(iii) Another type of adjective conjoining is one which affects only a single adjective which is repeated, the second occurrence of it differing from the first in tones. This applies only to those adjectives which can occur prenominally because the noun to be qualified occurs after the conjoined expression. Furthermore, such adjectives must have at least three syllables in their structures. The second occurrence of the adjective has a high tone only in the initial syllable.

Such a conjoining of adjectives indicates that the noun qualified by the conjoined expression has a plural meaning (if it is not plural in form).

Consider the following examples.
(9) /afajara nà afajàra/ ụlọ 'untidy rooms/houses'
(10) /nkaranaka nà nkàranàka/ akwà 'several pieces of worn out cloth'
(11) /ojiè nà ojiè/ eghù 'several black goats'

It must be added that such conjoined expressions also imply critical attention to the quality depicted by the adjectives.

DA.11 Adjectives and time-references

Although the majority of adjectives are derived from verbs directly or indirectly they do not have any tense, or time-reference as such. However, some types of derived adjectives have suggestions of time when used. These are Simple Participles (when used as adjectives, as in (1)), Aoriest Participles (that is Form 21 adjectives), adjectives of Form 22, as in (3), and adjectives of Form 26, as in (4). The first three imply when used, reference to the future, and the fourth reference to the past, because it is derived from a past tense clause. Consider (1) to (4).

(1) Ọ wụ ọrụ /mme/. 'It is work to be done/requiring to be done'
(2) Ọ wụ ọrụ /emume/. 'It is work capable of being done/worth being done'
(3) Ọ wụ ọrụ /emememe/. 'It is work intended to be done'
(4) Ọ wụ /emememe/ ọrụ. 'It is work already done.'

DA.12. Adjectives and Number

Adjectives derived from the plural verbs ịdị 'to take
several of a thing', ipié 'to collect a number of things' have
the implication that the noun they qualify is plural in
meaning and may be so also in form, as in (1). And the type
of adjective conjoining described in DA.10 (iii) above indicates
plurality in the noun.

(1) /akwkykwo/ acici 'books capable of being collected and
taken away'

DA.13 Adjectives and Negation

Adjectives of Form 27 which are derived from negative
verb-phrase have negative meaning. Other types of adjectives
are negated by making them the complements of the negative
form of the verb idí, or the negative form of a process verb
(in the case of resultative attributive adjectives, as in (2).)

(1) (a) òbí ìì /mkpumkpu/ (positive) 'Obi is short.'
    (b) òbí /adì mkpumkpu/ (negative) 'Obi is not short.'
(2) (a) òbí thiri /ogoloogo/ (positive) 'Obi is tall-grown.'
    (b) òbí /athì ogoloogo/ (negative) 'Obi is not tall-
grown.'

DA.14. Comparison of Adjectives

There are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives
in the language. For the expression of comparative and
superlative degrees the Comparative Sentence Construction has
to be used (See 'Comparative Construction pp.472f'), as in the
following examples.

(1) òzë dì ojiê. 'Eze is black.'
(2) òzë dì ojiê kari/karià òbì. 'Eze is blacker than òbì.'
(3) Ezè dikārinĩ ojï. 'Ezè is very/excessively black.'
(4) Ezè kiríchārā hñá n'idí ojï. 'Ezè is the blackest of them.'

Although adjectives have no 'comparative' and 'superlative' forms yet the language recognizes different shades or degrees in the same quality and sets it out in different ways where this is possible. Thus, for instance, we get

(5) akwa /cham/ 'brilliant cloth'
(6) akwa /ocha/ 'white cloth'
(7) akwa 'charichari/ 'somewhat white cloth'
(8) akwa /achaghaacha/ 'excessively white cloth'
(9) akwa /chariĩ/ 'very brilliant cloth'

DA.15. Colour Adjectives

Colour adjectives are derived from nouns or noun-phrases by duplicating them, as in the following instances.

(1) uhyeũhye 'red' (uhye 'cam-wood')
(2) nanũũnu 'reddish-brown' (nanũ 'oil')
(3) nthũũthũ 'grey' (nthũ 'ash')
(4) nũũũũũ 'white', 'greyish-white' (nũũ 'white/greyish white chalk')
(5) ahỹỹỹỹỹỹ ahỹỹỹỹỹỹ 'green' (ahỹỹỹỹỹỹ 'fresh leaf')
(6) umỹũũũũũũ umỹũũũũũ 'soot-coloured' (umỹũ 'soot')

DA.16 The sequential order of Adjectives and other modifiers

The ordering of adjectives and other noun modifiers relative to the head-noun is given below. The shifting of the
Positions of adjectives in 'stacks' for the purpose of emphasis is not taken notice of, except in the case of adjectives that take pre-nominal position in order to achieve the emphasis.

The ordering is set out in two sections; (a) Pre-Head Ordering, and (b) Post-Head Ordering. In the first the ordering is given from the remotest to the nearest, and in the second, from the nearest to the remotest.

(a) **Pre-Head Ordering**

(V) **Interrogative adjectives:** ọcle, ndị́, and ụmọ.

(IV) **Quantifiers:**

(i) Pre-nominal Numerals: otu, chu, mma

(ii) Pre-nominal Non-numerals: ọzụsa/ọzụgbọ, otụtụ, ịchịkịtị/ịchịkịtịmị/ịkịtị, ebiri, acha, ifọdy, ọchụ, afụ, ọchọlu, mma, ọchịmala, ọchịrechu.

(III) **Descriptive Adjectives**

(i) Pre-nominal Adjectives: ọzi, ezìgbo, ọzigbọ, ọgbọ, ajụgụ, adjectives of Form 26.

(ii) Positionally emphatic adjectives: e.g. ochie, ọkpọgụ, etc.

(II) **Idejectivized Nouns**: e.g. okhe, ụma, mme, ene, aghụ.

(I) **Head-Noun**

Two illustrative examples are given.

(1) /Ọcle ọtu ezìgbo okhe nwokhe/ anyị ga ụdụga? 'Which one dependable brave man can we send?'

(2) /Ndị́ chu ogoloogo ụdụgụ osisi/ di ụsị ebe ụkwa? 'Where
are the twenty tall and gigantic trees that were here last year?

(III) and (II) can sometimes change positions.

(b) Post-Head Ordering

(I) Head-noun

(II) Modifying noun (Non-possessive function)

(III) Descriptive adjectives (of all types that can occur post-head)

(IV) Interrogatives: ọle?, ọnye?

(V) Modifying Nouns/Pronouns (posessive functions)

(VI) Numerals (cardinal and ordinal; dual)

(VII) Demonstrative Adjectives

(VIII) Quantifiers: dùm, mìle.

(IX) Relative Clauses

If all the elements occurred, the ordering given above would obtain where there is no element emphasized. But if emphasis occurred the following changes can take place:

(a) (VII) and (VIII) can change positions;

(b) (V) and (VII) can change positions;

(c) so also can (IV) and (V); (IV) and (VI); (IV) and (VIII);

(d) (III) and (IV); (II) and (V); (II) and (IX) never change their positions.

All the elements do not have to occur in a given NP; consider (3) and (4).

(3) /Ulọ akwukwo ọma hñá ãtọ ahnù dum ndi Isingwùhụ mụrụ ụkha/ I  II  III IV VI VII VIII IX

âdhàsiala. 'All those three beautiful school buildings
of theirs which the Isingwhu people built last year have all fallen down.'

(4) Uno sì/ulọ ahya ukwu atọ nile ọnye furu eg'ọdhara?

'Whose three big market-stalls which cost money all fell down, did you say?'

DA.17. **Final observation**

From what has been presented above it will be seen that the class, Adjectives, is a complex but interesting class. A simplistic approach to it is bound to be frustrating and unrewarding. The criteria and the procedure adopted before now in dealing with the class have been stated and criticised, and it has also been stated that multiple criteria rather than a single criterion more adequately handle the class, and lead to quite interesting discoveries. These criteria include morphological form, tonal behaviour, and syntactic characteristics. The use of morphological criteria reveals that there are varied morphological types of adjectives, the forms often imparting special semantic nuances to the items concerned. The tonal criteria reveals that some morphological types behave tonally differently from other types. The application of syntactic criteria, which validates analysis made on the basis of other criteria, shows that adjectives fall into syntactic classes: those that occur only in NP's and those that can occur either in NP's or in VP's, functioning as complements in the latter. They reveal also that while some are positionally fixed to the pre-nominal and others to the post-nominal positions in NP's,
some others can shift their positions from post- to pre-nominal position for purposes of emphasis. Furthermore, it has been shown above that certain transformational operations in the language can make adjectives occur in initial positions in a sentence without their being the subjects of such sentences, necessarily. And, unlike nouns which may be freely conjoined with one another, adjectives are conjoined only under limited circumstances.

The class has been very exhaustively dealt with in this work, and outside it there is very little on the subject.
Derivation of Adverbs

(1) Rule 4, given in DN.2.(vi) above, p. 358, is used for the derivation of adverbs by the addition of a -rA/E affix to the first verb root before the occurrence of any other element and the repetition of the verb root. Thus we get the rule for deriving adverbs as follows:

\[ \text{ADV.} \rightarrow (N + \text{Verb Root}) + rA/E + \text{Verb Root}_2 \]

The fourth syllable is high and the rest low.

(1) 'nyirî kînyî 'stubbornly', 'reluctantly' (inyî 'to be heavy')

(2) 'nyirî kînî 'with resistance' (ilî 'to resist')

(3) 'mkwerënêkwe 'in a swaying manner' (ikwe 'to nod')

(4) 'mkwe rënêkwe 'tautly' (ikwe 'to hold/tie taut')

(5) 'îferekemfé 'in a scattering manner' (ifê 'to shower')

(6) 'înyôrôkonnyô 'in a staggering manner'; 'arrogantly'; 'stupidly' (inyôkô 'to be arrogant/stupid')

(7) 'înîrájamfa 'in a disorderly manner' (ifâ 'to wedge in'; id 'to open out')

(8) 'înyôremannyê 'from hand to hand' (inyê 'to give')

(9) 'înyôromannyô 'in a bending manner' (iryô 'to bend')

(10) 'înyôromankwe 'without assurance'; 'half-heartedly' (ikwe 'to agree')

This process of derivation is very productive.

(ii) These adverbial forms are derived from the type of forms given as 23 in the lists of verb-derived adjectives. But they constitute only one type of derived adverbs. The other types
consist mainly of adjectival forms used with altered tones, but this tone alteration affects only class I verb derived adjectives. Tone alterations can also occur, in both class I and class II verb derived items as a result of emphasis, but this is not taken into consideration here. Similarly, variation in tones is introduced if the adverb is derived from an adjective which is derived from compound verbs consisting of a mixture of class I and class II verbs. Again, this type of forms will not be considered.

Adverbial forms derived in ways similar to the derivation of some morphological types of adjectives are illustrated with the verbs ife 'to fly/blow' and isu 'to contract/shrink/draw back'.

(a) ife

(1) fem/fem 'with a swift motion'; 'suddenly'
(2) femfem 'in a continuous/intermitent flying manner'
(3) ferim 'with a fluttering/scattering motion'
(4) fererena 'in flying fashion'; 'with speed'; 'swiftly'
(5) ferii 'with prolonged flight'
(6) furere 'flying/fluttering on and on'
(7) furere 'with continuous flight'
(8) fekpururum 'flying and alighting over' (ikpu 'to cover with')
(9) fekpurukpum 'flying and alighting over suddenly/precisely'
(10) mfemfemfe 'with flying, on and on'
(b) ịsụ

(1) ụmụ 'with a sudden withdrawing motion'
(2) ụmụ 'with continuous/intermitent withdrawing motion'
(3) ụmụ 'withdrawing completely and suddenly'
(4) ụmụ 'in a withdrawing and contracting manner'
(5) ụmụ 'withdrawal contracting on and on'
(6) ụmụ 'progressively contracting/withdrawing' (in intervals)
(7) ụmụ 'continuous contracting/withdrawing'
(8) ụmụ 'in slumping manner' (ikọ 'to lie in a mass')
(9) ụmụ 'slumping and staying down'
(10) ụmụ 'continuously becoming contracted'

(iii) The use of some of the derived forms is illustrated as follows:

(1) O kwere nkwa /nkwere'mankwe/. 'He made the promise half-heartedly.'
(2) Nnumi fere (ufe)/fem/ fela. 'The bird flew (flight) swiftly, and flew away.'
(3) Eripeeni fere (ufe) /fu ferere/ si Lagos ruo London. 'The aeroplane flew nonstop from Lagos to London.'

The word class of Adverbs, and the variety of expressions used by the language to express adverbial notions, are not dealt with in this work. The examples of derived adverbs given above are intended to show that it is not true that "there is no lexical category of Adverbs in Igbo represented by free forms", as Dr. Carrell alleges.¹ What is rather true is that

the system by which the language creates these forms has until
now remained undiscovered and therefore unknown, as is the
case with the formation of adjectives.
There are two major types of Comparative Constructions in Igbo.

(i) Comparative Nominal Clause Construction - in which no verb is present.

(ii) Comparative Verbal Clause Construction - which must have a verb.

Nominal Clause Type: This is discussed briefly as follows.

It has two subtypes: (a) ḍìkàlà/ǹmàlà+(Adj.)+Noun+ǹkè+Demonstrative Adj. (a/ahmù);
  (b) othu/ikwu+(Adjective)+Noun+ǹkè+Der. Adj. (a/ahmù).

Such comparative constructions are exclamatory constructions.

Consider the following examples.

(1) ḍìkàlà ụlọ ǹkè a! 'What a house this appears to be!'
(2) ǹmàlà ụlọ ǹkè ahnù! 'What a big house that is!'
(3) othu/ikwu ọgwogboro ụlọ ǹkè a! 'How gigantic this house is!' (4) othu/ikwu ụlọ ǹkè ahnù! 'Such a house that is!'

Sub-type (b) can be transformed into a verbal clause as in (5) and (6).

(5) Othu ogwogboro ụlọ ǹkè a dì! 'How gigantic this house is!'
(6) Ikwu ụlọ ǹkè ahnù hwa rmụụ! 'What a (type of) house that (which) they built!'

Both in sub-type (a) and sub-type (b) (with an adjective), only adjectives which can occur pre-nominally are permitted.
Verbal Clause type of Comparative Constructions are now discussed. The notion of comparison can be realized by the use of the following elements:

(a) comparative verbs (as listed below)
(b) comparative particles with any verb
(c) comparative suffixes with any verb

(a) The comparative verbs are:

(7) ibe 'to be only' (comparative-pausal)
(8) ithẹ 'to be as much as'; 'to be equivalent to/same as'
(9) ithẹ 'to be equal'; 'to be enough/sufficient'
(10) iṣẹ 'to be more/greater than', 'to supersede'
(11) ighẹ 'to be superlative' (used, as second verb, in compound verbs)

(b) The particles which occur in comparative constructions are:

(16) iku 'like/...'
(17) iku 'as/like', 'as if/though'
(18) iku 'as/like'; 'as if/though'
(19) iku/iku 'as/like'; 'as if/though'
(20) tutu 'before' (time)
(21) tum/tutum/tum 'until' (time)
(22) ta 'much more'; 'far beyond' (It can also occur as...
(c) The following suffixes occur in comparative constructions:

(23) -ri (It is always used with the verb ëkà in (18) above)
(24) -ri ((22) above)
(25) -cha 'much/more'
(26) -chusi 'much more', 'most'
(27) -ty 'a little (less/more)'
(28) -lahna 'much more', 'far beyond/above' (See C.S.S. p. 302)
(29) -lahna 'more', 'beyond/above'

The following adjectives always have the notion of comparison when used:

(30) ònìkàlä/Òdìmàlä 'similar', 'such as'
(31) ònìhìkàlä/Ònhìmàlä 'as (+quality)...as'
(32) òkhìhìrèkà 'smaller', 'less/little'

The sense of comparison is present in the following antonymous pairs of adjectives:

(33) (a) ñtà/ñtàa/ñtìì 'small/little'
    (b) õkãwù/Òkwùì 'big/large'
(34) (a) òmà 'good'
    (b) òjòò/aòò 'bad'
(35) (a) ònhìjì 'new'
    (b) òchìè 'old'
(36) (a) òjìì 'white'
    (b) òjìì 'black'
(37) (a) ògòlòogò/Òkìhàlììkà 'long/tall'
    (b) ìììkììììkìììì 'short'

The following noun and noun-phrases have the sense of comparison in use.
There are two major types of Verbal Clause Comparative Constructions:

(a) thematically undifferentiated type (called Type I)
(b) thematically differentiated type (called Type II)

The terms involved in the comparison are thematically undifferentiated where two (or more) such terms occur. The terms (or term when the comparison is absolute) occur as the subject element of the clause, and may be conjoined by conjunctions, as in the following examples. The terms are marked by //.

(1) //John nà Bob// hì akhalaakha. 'John and Bob are of the same height.' ('John and Bob are equal tall.')

(2) //John, Bob, na Obi ka akhalaakha. 'John, Bob and Obi are taller.' (John, Bob and Obi are more tall.)

(3) //Nà Jon à Bob kàríkì akhalaakha. 'Both John and Bob are very tall.' ('...and John and Bob are much tall.')

(4) //Obi na ìfì di ìchì. 'Obi and ìfì are different (from each other).' ('Obi and ìfì are difference.')

When the comparison is against an absolute and unexpressed standard (as in (3)), usually one term alone occurs, and as the subject of the clause, as in (5) and (6).
(5) /ɔjhi/ jokariri njọ. 'Ọjhi is very ugly.' ('Ọjhi be-bad-more badness.')

(6) /ɔjhi/ jọgbùrù ọnwe yà na njọ. 'Ọjhi is superlatively ugly.' ('Ọjhi be-bad-kill himself with ugliness.')

Type I occurs with the verbs ihọ, iká (and compound verbs with iká as a member), when the standard is not expressed, or compound verbs with ọgbù as second member; and with the noun ichे, when the contrasting term is not present.

CC.2.2. Comparative Verbal Clause Construction, Type II

In the Comparative Verbal Clause Construction Type II, the terms in the comparison are thematically differentiated. There are four sub-types of this, distinguished as Sub-type A, B, C and D.

(a) Sub-type A:

The terms occur in the same verbal clause. The superordinate term functions as the subject of the clause, while the subordinate term, which is also 'the standard of comparison', occurs as the complement. The quality, state, or activity being compared, if expressed, follows the element representing the subordinate term, and may take one of the following forms:

(i) a prepositional phrase; (ii) an infinitive phrase; (iii) an 'Inverted Verb Phrase' (that is a verb-phrase in which the sequence 'verb plus complement' has been inverted to 'complement plus verb'), as in (2) (d) and (3) (c) below; (iv) an abstract noun as in (2); (v) an adjective, as in (3).
The comparative verbs which can occur in this Type II, A,
are ikä (and compound verbs with ikä), icọ, and iyị.

In the following examples the abstract noun and the
adjective are underlined, the terms are enclosed in //, and
what is being compared is enclosed in ( ), which also indicates
that its realization is optional, in an appropriate situation.

(1) /Ezech/ kà /Obi/. 'Ezech is greater than Obi.' ('Ezech is
more than Obi. !)

(2) (a) Ezech kà Obi (n' idí akọ). 'Ezech is greater than Obi in
being wise/clever.'

(b) Ezech kà Obi (idí akọ). 'Ezech is greater than Obi in
being wise/clever.'

(c) /Ezech/ kà /Obi/ // n'akọ // Ezech is greater than Obi in
being wise/clever.'

(d) Ezech kà Obi (ako adì). 'Ezech is wiser/cleverer than
Obi.'

(e) Ezech kà Obi (ako). 'Ezech is wiser/cleverer than
Obi.'

(2) (b) and (c) are derived from (2) (a) by deletions; and (e)
is derived from (d) by the deletion of the following verb.

These deletions are very frequent with Comparative Constructions.

(3) (a) /Okpu/ kà /akwa/ (n' idí ohmuọ). 'The hat is newer
than the cloth.'

(b) Okpu kà akwa (idí ohmuọ). 'The hat is newer than
the cloth.'

(c) Okpu kà akwa (ohmuọ adì). 'The hat is newer than
the cloth.'

(d) ọchọ pụ gwa ọchọ (kwaọchọ). 'The hat is newer than the cloth.'

(In (3) the word kwaọchọ is an adjective of Form 1.)

(4) ọdụ ha yiri /me jà/. 'ọnụ is like/resembles her mother.'

(5) /ghị/ cọrọ ọnụ. 'Ghị is older than ọnụ.'

(b) Sub-type B:

The sub-type B involves one word, the word iche 'difference'. It takes either the verb ịdị, or ifụ. The superordinate term occurs as subject and the subordinate term occurs as a prepositional phrase. If the matter being compared is expressed, it occurs as a prepositional phrase also, and follows the subordinate element.

(6) (a) /ọbị/ dị iche /n'ọnụ/ (n'udị). 'Ọbị is different from ọnụ in appearance.'

(b) /ọbị/ furụ iche /n'ọnụ/ (n'ikwụ okwu). 'Ọbị is different from ọnụ in manner of speech.' ( 'Ọbị went out difference from ọnụ into-speak word.')

(c) Sub-type C:

In sub-type C, the terms in the comparison occur as subjects in two separate verbal clauses linked together by one of the comparative particles. The verb phrase is the same in both verbal clauses, with the state, quality, or activity being compared occurring as the complement. The latter element (with or without the verb) may be (and often is)
deleted from the second clause. The 'standard' is the subject of the second clause. In the following examples the terms are enclosed in //, and the deletable elements enclosed in ( ).

(7) //Eze// di mkpumkp (dika) //Obi// (di (mkpumkp)).

(ka)
(manà)

'Eze is short as Obi (is (short)).'

(8) //Ulọ a/ di ochie (manà) //ike ṣog/ (di (ochie)).

(etc.)

'This house is old like the other one (is (old)).'

(9) //Adha/ marà mma (dika) //Udho/ (marà (mma)).

(etc.)

'Adha is beautiful as Udho (is (beautiful)).'

In place of the particles the noun othu/othù or ikwu (both meaning 'manner', 'way') may occur, as in (10).

(10) //O/ thiri ogoloogo (othu/othù) Obi thiri (ogoloogo).

(ikwu)

('He (is) tall as Obi (is), (tall).')

(grew)

Observe that when othu/ikwu occurs the verb cannot be deleted from the second verbal clause. When the verb is deleted, the word ṅke must be interposed between othu/ikwu and the subject now left without a verb. Thus (10) becomes (11).

(11) O thiri ogoloogo othu /ike/ Obi. 'He is tall like Obi.'

('He grew tall as in the manner of Obi's.')

Apart from the deletions which may take place in the second verbal clause, the entire construction, of the Sub-type C form, can undergo other transformational operations such as
deleting the complement of the first clause and converting
the verb-phrase of the second clause into a prepositional
infinitive phrase (as in (12)), and also deleting the complement
of the first clause and the verb-phrase of the second, as in
(13). (12) and (13) are transforms of (7) above.

(12) Eze dika Obi n'idimkpumkp. 'Eze is like Obi in being
short.' (i.e. Eze is as short as Obi.)

(13) Eze dika Obi. 'Eze is like Obi.' / 'Eze is similar to
Obi.'

In the following examples the comparison of activities
is involved instead of the comparison of state, or quality.

(14) Eze muru akwukw m'ana Ojh (muru (akwukw)). 'Eze is
as learned as Ojh (is (learned))' ('Eze learned book
as Ojh (learned (book)).')

(15) (a) Anyi m'uru ornu dika unu (m'uru (ornu)). 'We
worked like you did.' ('We worked work like you
(worked (work)).')

(b) Anyi m'uru dika unu m'irnu ornu. 'We worked like
you, in working.

(c) Anyi m'uru dika unu. 'We worked like you'.

(d) **Sub-type D:**

In Sub-type D construction, the terms in the comparison
occur as subjects in two different verbal clauses which are
linked together by the verb ikara (with or without suffixes)
which may be followed by othu/ikwu, or ka. Deletions can
take place in the second clause as in Sub-type C.
(16) (a) Eze thiri ogoloogo ka Obi thiri (ogoloogo).
'Eze grew tall more than Obi grew (tall)'.

(b) Eze thiri ogoloogo kari ka Obi thiri (ogoloogo).
'Eze grew tall much more than Obi grew (tall)'.

(c) Eze thiri ogoloogo karia ka Obi thiri (ogoloogo).
(as (b)).

(d) Eze thiri ogoloogo karihaa ka Obi thiri (ogoloogo),
'Eze grew tall very much more than Obi grew (tall)'.

(17) Eze thiri ogoloogo (ka) (Obi).

Eze grew {taller (than Obi)};
{much taller (than Obi)};
{very much taller (than Obi)}.

(18) Eze thiri ogoloogo (ka) othu/ikwu Obi thiri (ogoloogo).
(etc.)
'Eze grew tall more than Obi grew (tall)'.

The construction type exemplified in (17) requires the noun following ka/kari/etc., to undergo tonal change if it has HH or LH tones, as in the case Obi becoming Obi*. If kari/karia/karihaa (or ika + comparative suffix) occurs, the following clause may retain its verb, or verb plus complement. In that case the noun does not undergo any tonal change, as in (19).

(19) Eze thiri ogoloogo /karia Obi thiri (ogoloogo)/.

The types of construction represented by (17) and (19) can be transformed into Sub-type A, above, in two ways: (a) by deleting the verb-phrase of the first clause, and realizing
the state, quality, or activity being compared in the manner stated under Sub-type A. Consider (2c).

(2c) Ezè Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ Ôbi ʾnʾithᵣ ᵐᵣᵣᵣᵣ. 'Ezè is much taller than Ôbi.'

(b) Ma/kari/etc., may be compounded with the first verb, the complement of the first clause deleted, and the verb-phrase of the second clause transformed into a prepositional phrase, as in (21).

(21) (a) Ezè Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ Ôbi Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ ᵐᵣᵣᵣᵣ. 'Ezè grew taller
(b) Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ ᶡᵣᵣᵣᵣ ᵐᵣᵣᵣᵣ. 'Ezè grew. taller
(c) Ṣₕₕᵣᵣᵣ ᶡᵣᵣᵣᵣ ᶡᵣᵣᵣᵣ ᶡᵣᵣᵣᵣ. (in growing taller)
        (in height.)
        (in growing taller (lit. 'height'))

CC.3. Exclamative Verbal Clause Comparative Construction

There is an Exclamative type of the comparative verbal clause construction, as there is one of the nominal clause type. It may be of any of the four structural types described above, but the simpler type will be used in the illustrations.

Its distinguishing characteristics are: (i) it must be a Declarative Form II verbal clause (See Intro., p.48f.); (ii) the verb must contain the verb ikᵣ, 'to be more than', and if the verb is ikᵣ itself, it must the an additional ikᵣ, as in (b) of (2). (3) and (4).

Consider the following pairs of examples. (b) is Exclamative.
(1) (a) "Ug'o mira mma. 'Ug'o is beautiful.'

(b) "Ug'o amaka mma! 'Ug'o is so beautiful!"

(2) (a) "Okpu adikari ochie. 'This hat is very old.'

(b) "Okpu adikarika ochie! 'This hat is so very old!'

(3) (a) Eze ka m inwe ihnu obodoobo. 'Eze has a broader face than I.'

(b) Eze akaka m inwe ihnu obodoobo! 'Eze's face is so much more broad than mine!' ('Eze is so much more than I to have face broad!')

(4) (a) Ivu a kiriri arnu. 'This load is rather heavy.'

(b) Ivu a akarika arnu! 'This load is so heavy!'

Observe that where the first ikä has a suffix the second ikä occurs after the suffix, as in (2) (b) and (4) (b) above.

OC.4. The Comparison of Qualities

As shown earlier, the comparative construction involves more than one verbal clause (at least two, the limit to which the discussion is restricted in this work, for simplicity) which by the operation of deletions and other transformational devices can be reduced to a single verbal clause with a complex structure.

When qualities are compared, the comparative verbal clause construction involves only abstract nouns of quality, or adjectives which can occur as predicatives. As was found when adjectives were being considered, these two classes of words overlap in their distribution, particularly in the VP. As the comparative construction involves verb-phrases we find
that abstract nouns of quality and predicative adjectives can occur in the same environment. So we find nouns and adjectives occurring in the same place in the following examples. (a) contains nouns, and (b) adjectives. They are distinguished by //.

(1) (a) Œ ka ya /ikhe/. 'It is stronger than it.'
(b) Œ ka ya /oghny/. 'It is newer than it.'

(2) (a) Nke à di /ndj/ karìa ṉke ahnù. 'This is worse than that.'
(b) Nke à di /ochic/ karìa ṉke ahnù. 'This is older than that.'

(3) (a) Ôbi kà Ôjhì /uba/. 'Ôbi is wealthier than Ôjhì.'
(b) Ôbi kà Ôjhì /nta/. 'Ôbi is smaller than Ôjhì.'

In view of this overlap between abstract nouns of quality and predicative adjectives, the statement of Professor Carnochan is not entirely correct. He writes, "It may not be without interest to point out that it is the noun and not the adjective that is used for comparison:..."¹ And as pointed out on page 484 above, it is not only nouns and adjectives that are used for comparison, prepositional phrases and infinitive phrases are also used.

GC.5. Degrees of Comparison

There is a system of Degrees which can be abstracted from

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Igbo Comparison. It is based on the verb *ika* with the suffixes ~ri, -cha, and -chasi, and the verb *igbu*, given on pages 481-2 above. With these elements, the system of degrees which emerges is as follows:

(i) **Positive**; (ii) **Comparative**: (a) lower, (b) higher; (iii) **Superlative**: (a) lower, (b) higher.

The system of Degrees combines with another one which is called here the system of **Magnitude**. It has three terms, Neutral, Minimal and Maximal (realized by the suffixes ~tu and ~ri, respectively). When the two systems thus combine we get the following:

(I) **Positive Degree**: (a) Neutral Magnitude - V(verb) only
(b) Minimal Magnitude - V++tu
(c) Maximal Magnitude - V++ri/V+gbu/V+cha

(II) **Comparative Degree**:

(i) Lower (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka
(b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka++tu
(c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka++ri

(ii) Higher (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka++ri
(b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka++ri+tu
(c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka++ri++ri

(III) **Superlative Degree**:

(i) Lower (a) Neutral Magnitude - (V)+ka+cha
(b) Minimal Magnitude - (V)+ka+cha+tu
(c) Maximal Magnitude - (V)+ka+cha+ri
In Superlative, Higher, alternatives for -richa in the three magnitudes are -chasi and -gbu.

In translations, the minimal suffix may be translated by 'a little', 'somewhat'; and the maximal by 'far', 'very much more'.

Later below the suffixes -tu and -ri will be discussed a little more, and also the suffixes -lahna and -lahma. Now the system set out above will be illustrated with the verb ika (uncompounded with any other verb, as nothing is gained by such compounding, and since any other verb is merely added preceding ika). The verb idii is used for the Positive Degree; and the adjective ojiie 'black' is compared.

(I) Positive Degree:
(1) Neutral Eze dì ojiie. 'Eze is black.'
(2) Minimal Eze ditu ojiie. 'Eze is a little black.'
(3) Maximal (a) Eze diri ojiie. 'Eze is (so) very black.'
   (b) Eze digburu onwe ya n'idii ojiie. 'Eze is excessively black.'
   (c) Eze dihdi ojiie. 'Eze is (so) very black.'

(II) Comparative Degree: (1) Lower
(4) Neutral Eze ka Obi ojie. 'Eze is blacker than Obi.'
(5) Minimal Eze katu Obi ojie. 'Eze is a little blacker than Obi.'
(6) Maximal Eze kari Obi ojie. 'Eze is by far blacker than Obi.'
(11) Higher
(7) Neutral Eze kariji Obi ojie adi. 'Eze is much blacker than Obi.'
(8) Minimal Eze karihulu Obi ojie adi. 'Eze is a little much blacker than Obi.'
(9) Maximal Eze karihli Obi ojie adi. 'Eze is by far much blacker than Obi.'

(III) Superlative Degree: (1) Lower
(10) Neutral Eze kachha hna ojie. 'Eze is the blackest of them.'
(11) Minimal Eze kachhatu hna ojie. 'Eze is somewhat the blackest of them.'
(12) Maximal Eze kachhari hna ojie. 'Eze is by far the blackest of them.'
(11) Higher
(13) Neutral Eze karicha hna ojie. 'Eze is much the blackest of them.'
(14) Minimal Eze karichatu hna ojie. 'Eze is by a little more the blackest of them.'
(15) Maximal Eze karichari hna ojie. 'Eze is by far much the blackest of them.'
CC.5.1. Other use of the comparative kari

The comparative kari is sometimes used as an adversative particle, with the sense 'rather than'. It is thus similar in use and meaning to thuma 'rather than' (which in turn is similar in use to khama 'instead of'). The element which it introduces can occur at the beginning or end of the verbal clause.

Consider the following examples.

1. O dì ochie /kari. (karia)/ (ya) idì) ohnuò. 'It is old rather than new.'
2. /Kari/ (ya) idì) ohnuò, o dì ochie. 'Rather than being new, it is old.'

'ya' may be deleted alone or along with the infinitive. The difference between kari and karia is that the latter has the 'intensive' aspect suffix. thuma can be substituted for kari without any alteration in the meaning of the clause, as in (3).

3. (a) O dì ochie /thuma/ ((ya) idì) ohnuò. 'It is old rather than new.'
   (b) /Thuma/ ((ya) idì) ohnuò, o dì ochie. 'Rather than being new, it is old.'

CC.5.2. The suffixes -tu and -ri/ri

The suffixes -tu and -ri have been defined semantically by Green as follows: "-tu: 'diminutive', 'polite'; ... ri: 'emphatic, contrastive, sense of time long past.'"¹ Behind

¹ Green: op. cit., p.96, 97.
these meanings, which they can have in some contexts, lies their basic grammatical function of expressing 'comparison'. Thus -tu means 'dimunitive' or 'polite' because it expresses 'minimal magnitude', as in (1); and -ri has the meanings given to it (and much more) because it expresses 'maximal magnitude'. They are used in comparing states, qualities, and also activities. And it is because of their use in comparing activities that they have been given mere semantic interpretations. (Neither suffix harmonizes with its vowel.)

(i) -tu Consider the sense of -tu in (1).

(1) Nyetu m ya. (i) 'Give it to me for a little time.'
   (ii) 'Just give it to me' (with the sense, 'It will take you only a little time to give it to me."
   (iii) 'Just give it to me. I shall not keep it long.'
   (iv) 'Please, give it to me.'

(ii) -ri/ri Unlike -tu, -ri can occur as a particle following a noun or pronoun, or an adjective, and the weight of comparison falls on the element with which it occurs. It always takes a low tone, causing tone-perturbation if the preceding syllable has a low tone, and it always occurs finally in a verb or in an NP. Consider the following examples.

(2) (a) Obi /gára/ Aba. (i) 'Ezi went to Aba a long time ago.'
   (ii) 'Ezi did as much as to go to
(iii) 'Of all things that Esé should do, he went to Aba.'

(b) /Esé ri/ g'irá Aba. 'Of all people, Esé went to Aba.'

(implying that it was either unusual for him to do so, or that he was somehow not qualified to do it.)

(c) Eze g'irá /Aba ri/. 'Esé went to Aba of all places/ that is so far away.'

CO.3. The suffixes -lahna and -lāhna

The suffix -lahna (variant -nari) has been discussed under 'Case', in Co.2.5., p.307. -Lāhna (-nari) is grammatically and semantically similar to -lahna, except that it has the further sense of 'to the disadvantage of', the disadvantage applying to the complement of the verb which carries the suffix. It causes teneke-perturbation in the verb.

Consider the following examples. (a) contains -lahna, (b) contains -lāhna.

(1) (a) g'balāhnará m n'ag. 'He ran faster than I did.'

(b) g'balāhnará m n'ag. 'He ran faster than I did and so escaped from me.'

(2) (a) g'vulāhnará m n'iva. 'He grew fatter than I.'

(b) g'vulāhnará m n'iva. 'He grew fatter than I to my disadvantage.'

(3) (a) iñe like /dilāhnará m g'ap m'idī ojif. 'This cloth is blacker than the other one.'

(b) iñe like /dilāhnará m g'ap m'idī ojif. 'This cloth
is regretfully blocked that the other one. (implying that the other one would have been better if it were more block.)

-ohn can be substituted for by the verb Ḗ in ( ) of (1) to (3) above, but not for -ohn in (b).

30.6. Critical comment.

There are two statements in Dr. Carrell's *x* which call for some critical comment in the light of what has been presented above. The first of the statements is: "Igbo has no special adjective form or adjective modifier to indicate comparison, such as -er in English... Comparisons and superlatives are translated by the verb ka, with the general meaning 'to surpass', in normal declarative sentence constructions."¹

This statement should be amended to take cognisance of the fact that while adjectives are not inflected for comparison, and the verb Ḗ is used for comparison, the verb is not used in the same form for both comparative and superlative degrees, but is inflected, as shown earlier, for the various dimensions of the comparative and superlative. This is evident even in two of Dr. Carrell's examples:

(1) ike ḡ/ka/ike f. 'Your strength surpasses my strength.'

(2) O more ike/kareh̄ añ maker t o ndi ḡzo nile. 'He

¹ Carrell: O postcit, p.3.
has strength surpassing completely all the other animals. / He was the most powerful animal."

However, Dr. Carrell could not have recognized the fact of inflexion because, with the exception of about three suffixes, she treats the suffixes of the language as 'meaning modifying suffixes'.

Another point worth commenting on is the translation of the verb ically as 'to surpass', which has become popular with the linguists. This translation misses the grammatical importance of the verb, and is consequently misleading. It is so misleading that even Dr. Carrell avoids it in another inflected form of the verb, as is evident in the second of her statements.

She writes: "Although Igbo verbs are not inflected for number, some verbs are restricted to plural noun subjects. For example, kariri 'be plentiful.'

(3) Nkita/kariri/ na nkwu. 'Dogs are plentiful in the garden.'

(4) Umu/kariri/ na nkwu. 'Children are plentiful in the garden.'

The translation of kariri by 'be plentiful' does not arise from the verb itself but is deducable from the number of the subject noun (which may be overt, as in uma in (4), or covert, as in ukita in (3)). In any case, the verb ically, and all inflected forms of it for the expression of degrees (including

kariri) are never restricted to any noun/pronoun subject, whether singular or plural. Thus we can have, for instance,

(5) Ọ kariri ụkwuụ. 'It is much too big.'/'It is rather big.'
(6) Ha kariri ụkwuụ. 'They are much too many/big.'
(7) Ọ maka kariri mma. 'It is rather beautiful.'

Finally, it is not correct to say that Igbo verbs are not inflected for number. See 'Number', for instance, N.5., N.6.
Modality and Modulation

Mod.1. The category of Modality in Igbo

Nowhere before has modality as a category been mentioned in connection with Igbo for the reason that there is nothing in the language, exactly corresponding to the modal auxiliaries which exist in English. But the same notion is expressed in Igbo in ways different from English, and so the use of the term 'modality' is not to be construed as implying the existence of the same forms or lexical units in Igbo as in English.

Professor Halliday distinguishes Mood and Modality in the following terms: "Mood represents the organisation of participants in speech situations, providing options in the form of speaker roles. The speaker may inform, or command; he may confirm, request confirmation, contradict, or display any of a wide range of postures defined by the potentiality of linguistic interaction." Modality is a form of participation in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of its status and validity in his own judgement; he intrudes and takes a position.... Modality is related to the general category that is often known as 'speaker's comment'.... Modality is then the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. It is external to the content, being part of the attitude.

1. 'Notes of Transitivity and Theme in English': JL 3, 1967, p.199.
taken up by the speaker: his attitude, in this case, towards his own speech role as a 'declarer'.

He goes on to make the observation: "There is no single place in the clause where modality is located. It is a strand running prosodically through the clause; and this is further enhanced by the fact that...it may be realized also by the intonation contour, or tone."  

In Igbo modality is realized by a variety of forms which includes verbal phrases with specific tone-structure, auxiliary verbs (properly so called), particles (affixal and non-affixal), and certain auxiliary verbs (see VC.11(c), p.60F).

By bringing these varied expressions together and analysing them, a system of modality emerges.

**2. The system of Modality**

In stating the system of modality in Igbo, the terminology of Professor Halliday is adopted, with some modification.

The system of modality in Igbo consists of the following terms:

(i) **Probable**; (ii) **Possible**: (a) Possible; (b) Virtually certain; (c) Certain.

Simultaneous with the Probable/Possible runs a system of toning which indicates modification or lack of it in the

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2. Ibid.
Modality. It has the following terms: (a) Neutral, (b) Undertone - deduced/tentative; and (c) Overtone.

These systems are realized in a complicated, but interesting way, but they will not (for reason of space) be discussed in detail. Only an outline can be presented, as follows below, of declarative sentences.

Mod. 3. The realization of PROBABLE

(I) Neutral
   (a) *j'gas + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1))

(1) *(gà /gà 'eme/ ya) (gà /gà ime/ ya). 'He will (probably) do it.'

(II) Undertone
   (i) deduced
      (a) clause + mà e lèghi anya, (as in (2))
      (b) clause + mà + subjunctive clause, (as in (3))

(2) *mèrè ya, *mà e lèghi anya. 'He presumably did it.'
(3) *g'màrè ya /mà o mee ya/.'He was informed so that he would, presumably, do it.'

   (ii) tentative
      (a) *g'c'umà + Declarative III Clause (as in (4))
      (b) *V + -mò in Declarative III Clause (as in (5))
      (c) *à'mà/mà + VP in Decla. III Clause (as in (6))

(4) *dhekwe eg's, /g'c'umà, Ôbi êmee ya/.'Have some money ready then, in case Ôbi would do it.'
(5) *dhekwe eg's, /Ôbi êmemò ya/. (same meaning as (4))
(6) *dhekwe eg's, (Ôbi êmà) mee ya./* (same meaning as (4))
(III) Overtone
(a) ɨgğ + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1) above, but with more forceful utterance.)
(b) ɨmà + Finite Verb (as in (7))
(7) ɪ ɨmala ɪ yà, /p ɪ mà ɪ eme/ yà. 'If you made sure you told him, he would do it.'
(c) Declarative III Clause (as in (8))
(8) țibí ɪ eme ya. 'Obi (would do it) predictably.'
(would have done it)

Mod.4. The realization of POSSIBLE
(I) Neutral
inwe ikhe + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (1))
(1) 0 mwe ɪ ikhe bya /íbyà. 'He can come.' (i.e. 'It is possible he will/can come. ')

(II) Undertone
(i) Deduced
(a) ɨgğ + Verb 'to be' (as in (2))
(b) ikhe kwe + Declarative I/II clause (as in (3))
(c) kà + Subjunctive Clause (as in (4))
(2) (a) 0 /gà əwù/ yà (0 gà ɨwù ya.) 'It could be so.'
(b) 0 /gà ədí/ ìnọỌ. 'It could be so.'
(c) 0 /gà ɪ eme/ ìnọỌ. 'It could happen like that.'
(3) (a) /ikhe kwe/, 0 gàrà. 'Perhaps he went.'
(b) 0 gàrà, /ikhe kwe./ 'He went, perhaps.'
(4) 0 córọ /kà 0 bya./ 'He wants him to come, if possible.'
(ii) tentatives
(a) ocụrụ + Declarative II Clause (as in (5)(a))
(b) ocúru ma + Indirect Interrogative Cl. (as in (5)(b))
(c) V + thà/NP + thà, in Interrogative Cl. (as in (6))
(d) cumó+N/cumóthà+N, in Interrogative Cl. (as in (7))

(5) (a) /Ocúru gi èwèta yà/. 'One wished that you could have brought it.'
(b) /Ocúru mà ì wètàrà yà/. (meaning same as (5)(c))
(6) /Ì wètàràtha yà/? 'Is it possible that you brought it?'
   /'Could you have brought it?'
(7) (a) /Cumó onye wètara yà/? 'Who could have brought it?'
(b) /Cumóthà onye wètara yà/? (same meaning as (a), but
   more forceful.)

(III) Overtone (assertive)
   (a) Declarative III Clause (as in (8))
   (b) ñga+Past + Finite/Infinitive Verb (as in (9))
(8) Òbi ìme yà. 'Obi could/might/ought to have done it.'/
   'Obi could/might/ought to do it.'
(9) (ì guàrà Òbi), /ò gàrá (ìme yà)(ìme yà)./ '(If you had
   told Òbi), he could/might have done it.'

Mod.5. The realization of VIRTUALLY CERTAIN
(I) Neutral None.
(II) Undertone
   (i) deduced: auxiliary verb gá/ghá + Finite Verb,
   in Declarative Clause, as in (1).
(1)(a) Òbi gá mè yà. 'Obi would certainly have done it.'
(b) Òbi ghá mè yà. 'Obi would certainly have done it,
   instead or preferably.'
(Observe that in these examples not only that auxiliary verbs are used, their tones and the form and tone of the following verb depart from the norm for complex declarative clauses.)

(III) Overtones: ama/ema + Declarative I/II Clause, as in (2).

(2) (a) (I gbara Obi), /ama (mma) ya mere ya. 'If you had told Obi, he would certainly have done it, I assert.'
(b) (I gbara Obi), /ama (mma) ya mere ya. '(same meaning as (a) but reinforced with aspectual senses.)

Mod.6. The realization of CERTAIN

(I) Neutral: (a) Simple Tense Verb in Declarative I Clause, (as in (1)(a)).

(b) igi + Finite/Infinitive Verb, as in (2)(b).

(II) Undertone: deduced/tentative

(a) igi + ind + Finite Verb in Declarative I complex Cl.

(b) (igha)+Negation+Insistence + ind + Finite Verb, as in (3).

(2) O /sì inà ème/ ya. 'He must be getting on doing it.'
(3) (O /ghaghì ìnà ème/ ya) (O haghì ìnà ème ya.) 'He must be getting on doing it.' ('He leaves not+insistence to be actually do it./He is equal not + insistence...')

(Observe that the difference between (a) and (b) above is that
while (a) uses a positive expression, (b) uses a negative one.

(III) Overtone

(a) \( \text{ig} \text{g}/\text{im} \) + Simple Participle, as in (h).

(b) \( \text{ig} \text{g}/\text{im} \) + Finite Verb in Complex Clause Type II, as in (5).

(c) \( \text{ign} \text{g}/\text{im} \) + Negation + Insistence + Infinitive Verb, as in (6).

(d) (I) (a) and (b) above, with forceful utterance.

(h) (a) 0 ga yà mme. 'He will certainly do it.'

(b) 0 na yà mme. 'He is certainly doing it as a matter of fact.'

(5) (a) 0 ga ème yà eme. 'He will certainly do it.'

(b) 0 nà ème yà eme. 'He certainly does do it.'

(6) (a) 0 ghaghì imè ya. 'He must do it.' / 'He's got to do it.'

(b) 0 haghì imè ya. (same meaning as (a)).

Mod.7. The suffixes -mò and -thà/thà

In the realization of Modality, only two suffixes are found which have a direct part in the category. These are -mò and -thà, the latter having the possibility of occurring also as a non-affixal particle. These have already been illustrated in Mod.3. (5), and Mod.4. (6) and (7), respectively. Both of them are low-tone elements and cause tone-perturbation if preceded by syllables with low tones. But they differ in use in that -thà/thà occurs only in interrogative sentences whereas -mò does not occur in such sentences. Only -mò has been mentioned before, and by M.M. Green, in her article where
she defines it semantically as "sense of 'lest'"; a sense which is derivative from its grammatical function.

Mod. 8. Modulation

Professor Halliday distinguishes between Modality and Modulation, saying, "... the auxiliaries must, can, etc. express various types of modulation of the process expressed in the clause; modulation in terms of permission, obligation, and the like. They are part of the thesis - part of the ideational meaning of the clause. Although by and large the same verbal auxiliaries are used for 'modulation' as for modality, there are some rather fundamental differences between the two."

The differences which Halliday points out between Modulation and Modality in English are not relevant to Igbo. However, in the language, there is a difference between modulation and modality, with regard to how they are expressed. Whereas modality uses a variety of expressions and forms, modulation is based on the use of one specific word, the verb jga 'to go'.

In the realization of modulation in Igbo, no new grammatical affix is involved, so for brevity the system will be stated (in the terms used by Halliday) and just illustrated. The system involves the following broad terms:

I. Inclination; II. Ability; III. Permission; IV. Necessity - (i) Obligation; (ii) Compulsion.

These are now illustrated as follows:

Mod. 8.1. Inclination

(a) Willingness (weak volition)

(1) ònyé /gà àgbazniighe/ m ìkpu? 'Who'll lend me a hat.'

(2) /Agà m àgbazniighe/ gi. 'I'll lend you.'

(3) ò /gà àgbazniighe/ gi. 'He'll lend you.'

In requests, the interrogative form of a *ga*-construction is considered to be still more polite than the imperative construction, even when the latter contains elements which can have polite senses. Consider (4) and (5).

(4) Nyètúrù mi aka. 'Please, help me.'

(5) ò /gà ènyètúrù mi aka? 'Will you please/would you please help me?'

(b) Insistence (strong volition) (with third person subject)

(6) ò /gà ewère/ yà. 'He'll take it.' '/He'll insist on taking it.'

(7) ò /gà ewère yà ewère/. (same as (6) but implying certainty).

(8) ò /gà yà mwere/. (same as (6) but implying absolute certainty).

(c) Intention (intermediate volition) (with first person subject)

(9) /Agà m ižù/ yì. 'I'll buy this house.' '/I intend to buy this house.'

Mod. 8.2. Ability

(10) /Agà m èmelite/ yì. 'I can do it.'
(11) Ọ /gà èmelite/ yà. 'He can do it.'

(12) I /gà èmọ́ yá. 'You can do it.'

(13) Enwere m ikhe/ ime yá. 'I can do it.'

- lite and -fà are interchangeable, and are equivalent to ime ikhe 'to have strength/power/authority'. On -lite, see CA.5.7.2., p. 307-8)

Mod.8.7. Permission

(14) Unù /gà èmú/ anwùrù n'ebé à mà unu có. 'You can smoke here if you want to.'

(15) Nwa Ọjọ́ /gà è étùry/ m ozi? 'Can your child run an errand for me, please?' (Can your child have your permission to run an errand for me, please?)

(16) Ọ /mwere ikhe/ iga. 'He has permission to go.'

Mod.8.4. Necessity

(17) Ọ /gà ọ́wú/ mmé èdetà òta à. 'It will be Mother who wrote and sent this letter.'

(18) Hmà /gà ọ́mà czù/ ikhe ògbi à. 'They must be resting now.'

(b) Characteristic behaviour

(19) E tiighe mmà nà mirì, Ọ /gà ègbaznè/. 'If salt is put into water, it will dissolve.'

Mod.8.10. Obligation/Compulsion

(20) Ọ mè yá. 'He's got to do it.' / 'He must do it.'

. 'He is to do it.'

(21) Ọ /gà ème/ yá. 'He will do it.' / 'He'll have to do it.' / 'He's got to do it.'
(22) Ọ /gà yà mme/. 'He's bound to do it.' /'It is absolutely necessary for him to do it.'

(III) **Obligation only**

x(23) Ọ̀ dì mkpà ime. 'It is necessary to do.'

x(24) Ọ̀ dì rì yà ime. 'It is his obligation to do it.'

With the exception of (13), (16), (20), (23) and (24), the verb ọ̀gà occurs in all the examples illustrating the realization of Modulation. This fact makes it quite obvious that the expression involving this verb, and which is frequently given as the expression of 'future' in Igbo, is not as simple as is supposed. (See, for instance, Tr.4, p. 170)
Anaphora

1. Limitation in the use of the term Anaphora

It is not intended to discuss all the elements in the language which can come under the topic 'Anaphora' which includes the pronouns, the deictic elements (or demonstrative adjectives) and such pro-nouns as *nkè 'the one', ndi 'the ones', and onye 'the person'. The discussion is restricted to three elements: kwA/-kwA, di/-di, and ni/-ni.

These three elements are grammatical elements and not just semantic ones as M.M. Green thinks, giving them the following meanings: "-di, Emphatic or softening; -kwA(-kwe) Repetitive, persuasive; -ni Colloquial, cordial."

They always refer to a preceding sentence or clause or to a following one (in which case they are cataphoric). This fact has not hitherto been realized because the elements frequently occur without the antecedent being expressed.

All three can occur as suffixes in verbs, or as independent particles following non-verbal elements. In the latter case they take the same tone as the last syllable of the preceding word.

2. kwA/-kwA

Its vowel harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable and it precedes -di or -ni when it co-occurs with either of them.

Its functions are stated and illustrated as follows:

(a) It is **additive** in function (and therefore pluralizing, particularly as far as the verb is concerned — see N.6.1.(iv)).

(1) O mwere moto, /nwekwe/ redi. 'He has a car, and has also a radio.'

(2) O ghoro ugi, /ghokwa/ akhubkee. 'He picked oranges, and also picked coconuts.'

(3) Adha esiele m, Nnenna /esikwe/. 'Adha has cooked food, and Nnenna has cooked also.'

(b) It is **co-ordinative** as well as additive, but it co-ordinates verbal clauses and not NP's, as in (1) to (3) above.

(c) It gives a clause a **concessive or adversative** force if the clause expresses a meaning which is in some respects contrastive with that of the antecedent.

(4) O juru inyere m aka n'omny nke m, /enyekwere/ yaa na nke ya. 'He refused to help me with my work, but I helped him with his own, however.'

(5) Anyi acoghira igaa eci, /mechaakwa/, anyi aga. 'We had not really wanted to go yesterday, but afterwards, however, we went.'

(6) Othu i kwuru /dikwa/ mma, ma i meleghii mpoo. 'What you said was alright though, provided you actually acted it out.'

(d) It gives a clause a **consequence or result** meaning if the antecedent is a conditional clause (as in (7) and (8)), or a comparative clause (as in (9) and (10)).
(7) Unu lezie anya meryo anyi ahu, anyi /elezikwe/ anya megwara. 'If you deliberately hurt us, we shall in consequence deliberately retaliate.'

(8) Onye chyni cimara osọ, ya /gbawakwa./ 'If the cow should chase anyone, he had better run away.'

With this consequential force, -kwA can occur (and very frequently does so) in consequence clauses whose antecedents are not expressed. In (9) to (13) such clauses are given with the possible antecedents enclosed in ( ).

(9) Byakwa (dika i kwere nkwha)! 'Be sure then to come (as you promised).'

(10) Wetarara m ya (othù n gwara gi). 'Be sure then to bring it to me (as I told you to do).'

(11) Cukwu gızikwee gi (n'ihyne i mèèrè hna). 'May God, therefore, bless you (for what you did for them).'

(12) Bjikve m ogu (n'ihyne hke à)! 'I am amazed (at such a thing)!

(13) O rikwe ji (ihyne hnrì mee). 'He will surely eat yams (whatever might happen).

(e) It has an inferential meaning when it occurs in an interrogative clause with a comparative clause as the antecedent. The antecedent is often deleted, but is enclosed in ( ) in the following examples.

(14) (Othu hke à ihnu di gi), dìkwà gi mmì? ('How you look!') I infer that you are not alright, are you alright?'

('How this one face is to you, it is then to you good?')
(15) Unù ṛụkwere èru, ((othu) Ike à unu ọtịrịla ngwaNgwa)?
'Did you really get there (since you have returned so soon)'

(f) It has emphatic force when it occurs as a non-affixal particle, giving emphasis to the preceding element. Compare (a) and (b) of (16).

(16) (a) Obi tụrụ eg'o, Eze /atykwara/. 'Obi contributed some money and Eze contributed also.'
(b) Obi tụrụ eg'o, /Eze kwà/ atykwara. 'Obi contributed some money and Eze too contributed also.'

(g) It expresses unfulfilled expectation. For this it occurs twice in the same verb, has as antecedent a 'reason'/cause', or comparative clause (which may not be expressed). And the clause in which it occurs must be an interrogative clause, as in (17) and (18), or a negative clause as in (19) and (20).

(17) Anyị /gakwàkwa/ ızụ ihe (ịhe 'o ụtọrọle)? 'Shall we rest at all now that he has arrived? Weshan't any more.'

(18) Ṣ'/nokwàkwà/ hụn ya (dikà o kwàra)? 'Will you see him at all again as he said? You won't after all.'

(19) Unù /agkwàkwàaghị/ ịbyà? 'Won't you really come after all?'

(20) C /nokwàkwàghị/ ẹme ya. 'As a matter of fact he doesn't do it any more, contrary to expectation.'

The use of such clause can also imply a feeling of regret on the part of the speaker.
(h) It expresses **repetition of the same action** when it occurs twice in the same verb in other types of sentences than those given in (17) to (20).

(21) /mekuekwo/ yă. 'Do it yet again.'

(22) Ọ ọji anyi /mekuekwe/ yă, ọji /mekuekwe/ yă. 'He said that we should do it yet again and we did it yet again.'

**An.3. ọji/-ọji**

The vowel of ọji/-ọji does not harmonize. And it occurs finally in the verb structure when it occurs as a suffix.

Its occurrence presupposes an antecedent even when this is not expressed, as frequently happens.

(a) It expresses **consequence, result, reason, or conclusion** in whatever type of clause it occurs.

Consider the following examples.

(23) Ọji ga ndu unu na anyi ga ụbọchị /'ụthụthụ ị/. An ọji /'ụchụrụ'. 'We told you that we would come this morning. We have therefore come.'

(24) O ọji n atọta yă ọchụkwọ, anyị /'azụazụ ọtụ/ yă ọchụkwọ. 'He asked me to buy a book for him, so I bought a book for him.'

(25) Ọ ọchịrị ịwu, ọ /rieni/ yă ịwu. 'He fell foul of the rule, so he was fined.'

(26) Ya /ụmụ/ dika e ịaere anyị, ọ /nwaani/ ihụme a ịhụme. 'If then he comes as is expected, it will be rotten, then, what will be done.'
(27) Unu eeg yì /ụnyi/ unu ya. 'If you want it, it will then be given to you.'

(28) Abụọ na abụọ /ụnyi/ ụnọ. 'Two and two are surely four.'

(29) Thyez obua gi /ụtara μ/ wù na i gaghị ihyị. 'What your statement means, therefore, is that you will not come.'

In the following examples the antecedents are not expressed, but presupposed.

(30) /Mẹni/ ya. 'Then, do it.'

(31) /Nụọnyị/ m ya. 'Give it to me, then.'

(32) /Ndéewo ni/. 'Thank you, then.'

Any notion of 'cordiality' in its use is derived and not basic to its meaning and use.

(b) It has an emphatic sense when it occurs outside the verb structure, as in (b) of (33), and (34).

(33) (a) Anyị kwụrụ ya eci. 'We said it yesterday.'

(b) Anyị kwụrụ ya /eci ni/. 'We said it yesterday (and not on another day).' 

(34) (a) Umu weta ra ya. 'You brought it.'

(b) /Umu ni/ weta ra ya. 'You people (and no one else) brought it.'

(c) It can occur twice in the same verb in the imperative clause, and consequently have both a result and an emphatic sense.

(35) Gànjị! 'Go, then (if you must),'

(36) Lẹnjị anyị. 'Look, then (if you want to see)!'
The vowel of di/-di does not harmonise.

(a) It is used in the same way as ni/-ni but differs from it in semantic sense, in that it can imply warning, threat, advice, or regret consequent upon the meaning of the antecedent. The antecedent may or may not be expressed.

Consider the following examples.

(36) Motè nà 'abya. /Zolidia/ n'uzo. 'A car is coming, so you had better get out of the way.'

(37) Ebe ọ gwara'la gi mèè yà, /média/ yà. 'Since he has told you to do it, you had better do it, then.'

(38) /Byài/ kà m jùg gi. 'Come now (while you are about) let me ask you (something).'  

(39) Ikhe /agwudila/ yà (nà ya emèbèghì ihyne ọ wàle). 'He is already tired, then, (when he has done nothing at all yet).'

(40) Ọ sì unu abyàla, unu /agadi/? 'He told you not to come, and yet you went?' (implying unbelief)

(b) It is emphatic when it occurs outside the verb, as in (41).

(41) (a) Èzè còrò /ya di/. 'Èzè wanted it (emph) (and nothing else).'</a

(b) /Èzè di/ còrò ya. 'Èzè (emph)(of all people) wanted it.'

(c) It can occur twice in a verb in the imperative clause, thus having result and emphatic senses.

(42) /Gàdidi/ lèe mà ò lọtala. 'So go (emph.) and then see
The devices for achieving emphasis in Igbo include the following:

(i) Phonetic features of lengthening, extra loudness;
(ii) Alteration of tones of syllables;
(iii) Syntactic devices:
   (a) Transposition with or without Predication:
   (b) Extraposition
   (c) Substitution
   (d) Reordering (of adjectives; of adjective and head-noun)
(iv) Morphological elements:
   (a) Prefix
   (b) Suffixes
   (c) Non-affixal particle

Of these, (i) will not be dealt with, (ii) and (iii) will be briefly stated and illustrated, and (iv) will receive more attention because it falls within the subject of the work.

Emphasis by alteration of tones

Emphasis by tone alteration takes the form of lowering or raising the tones of syllables. But this affects only verbs in certain types of clauses where such alterations will not change the basic meanings of the clauses. So this is limited to Declarative I and Declarative III clauses when they have class I verbs, Negative clauses with class I verbs, and Imperative clauses. In some positive clauses, the tones are
raised, as in (1) and (2) and lowered in others as in (3); but in the negative ones they are lowered.

In the following examples (a) is neutral and (b) emphatic; the element involved is enclosed in //.

(1) (a) /gãra/ ahya. 'He went to the market.'
(b) /gãra/ ahya. 'He went (emph.) to the market.'

(2) (a) /Mee/ yä. 'Get it done.'
(b) /Mee/ yä. 'Get it done (emph.)!

(3) (a) Anyi /emè/ ya. 'We should have done it.'
(b) Anyi /emè/ ya. 'We should have done (emph.) it.'

(4) (a) Unu /erûtele/. 'Don't come near, you people.'
(b) Unu /erûtele/. 'Don't come near (emph.), you people.'

In this type of clause, the tones are lowered only if the verb is in final position, as in (4).

Em.3. **Emphasis by Syntactic devices**

(i) **Transposition and Predication:**

If the element (in a clause) that is to be emphasized is the subject, it is merely predicated with 'O wì' 'it is'. But if it is not the subject, it is transposed to the initial position of the clause and predicated (although the predicating elements are often deleted). If the element in question is a verb, a non-finite form derived from it is used in the operation, as in (8). The operation can be performed only on declarative sentences. When non-subject elements are transposed, the particle ka follows before the rest of the sentence can occur.
Consider (6) to (8) which are transforms of (5).

(5) Eni zụrụ akwụkwọ. 'Eni bought a book.'

(6) /Ọ wụ Eni/ zụrụ akwụkwọ. 'It was Eni (who) bought a book.'

(7) /(Ọ wụ) akwụkwọ/ ka Eni zụrụ. 'It was a book that Eni bought.'

(8) /(Ọ wụ) ozuzu/ ka Eni zụrụ akwụkwọ. 'Eni bought (emph.) the book.' ('It was buying that Eni bought the book.')

(ii) **Extraposition**

By this an initial nominal clause is shifted to the end and its place taken by the pronoun 'Ọ/Ọ' 'it', as in (b) of (9).

(9) (a) /Nị unụ hmụrụ yà/ jụrụ yà anya. 'That you saw him perplexed him.'

(b) /Ọ/ jụrụ yà anya/ nà unụ hmụrụ yà/ 'It perplexed him that you saw him.'

(iii) **Substitution**

There are two forms of substitution for emphasis: in one, the element to be emphasized is replaced by a pronoun in the clause, and then occurs, preceded by the particle 'mbụ' outside the clause (as in (10)(b) and (c)); in the other, the element in question (and which is normally the subject of the clause) occurs first, then its place in the clause is taken by a pronoun, as in (11)(b).

(10) (a) EZE/ nọ n'ụlọ. 'Eze is at home.'

(b) /Ọ/ nọ n'ụlọ, /mbụ Eze/. 'He is at home, is Eze.'

(c) Eze nọ /ya/, /mbụ n'ụlọ. 'Eze is there, that is at home.'
(11) (a) /Ebe a dum/ Ṽu yuló yuló. 'All of this place is full of houses.'

(b) /Ebe a dum/, /q/ Ṽu yuló yuló. 'All of this place, it is full of houses.'

(iv) Reordering of Adjectives

On the reordering of adjectives for emphasis see DA.51. (15) to (18), (26) and (27).

Em.4. Emphasis by Morphological elements

(i) The use of prefix

The use of prefix (in addition to tones) for emphasis affects only pronouns, see N.8.2. (8) to (13), pp. 221-222 and the adjective õjôô which is the emphatic and prenominal form of õjôô 'bad'.

(ii) The use of suffixes

The suffixes principally concerned in emphasis by the use of suffixes are -hta and -ghl. Others which can also have emphatic senses in addition to their normal functions are -di, -ni,-kwa. These latter have already been discussed in their appropriate places, under 'Anaphora'. The first two are now to be discussed.

(a) -hta

Its vowel does not harmonize. It occurs only with the verbs na and ga in Complex Clauses. In these contexts it is interchangeable with -ghl, as in (1) and (2). Semantically, it implies 'INSISTENCE', 'ASSURANCE', or 'CERTAINTY', with 'URGENCY'.

(1) (a) Ọ (/máhta/) ëme yá. 'He is indeed getting on doing it.'
(b) Ọ (/[gànà]/) àbya ügbu à. 'He will come right now, be assured.'

(b) -ghî

Its vowel harmonizes with that of the preceding syllable. Although it is commonly (but erroneously) regarded as a 'negative suffix', it can occur in negative and positive verb forms. It has the semantic sense of 'INSISTENCE/CERTAINTY'.

Its use in positive sentences of different types is now illustrated.

(a) Complex Declarative Clause:

(2) Hnà /nàlàghî/ eme othu èmèmme à ììme (tufu unì amàlîte iné ya). 'They had already been having this kind of celebration, for certain, (before you people began to have it.)'

(3) Nwa yà /nàghî/ ècotala. 'Her child is certainly growing up.'

(b) Complex Imperative Clause (Ordinary)

(5) /Gàlàghî/ mëe yà. 'Do get it done.'

(6) /Nàlàghî/ èmc yà. 'Do keep on doing it.'

(c) Imperative Clause (Insistence)

(6) /Mëwàghî/ ya. 'Go on doing it, then.'

(7) /Jìdhàghî/ ya. 'Catch it, then.'

(c) Subjunctive Clause

(8) Ya /rateleghî/, (anyì àgawa). 'As soon as he has arrived,
The occurrence of the -ghI suffix in negative verb forms may fulfil two functions at once. It may serve as a tone bearer and also add its peculiar sense of 'insistence' to the verb. It serves as a tone bearer when the subject of the clause is a pronoun and has a final low tone syllable and thus causes the prefix of the verb to take a low tone too, or the subject is a mono-phonemic pronoun element (and has a low-tone) which causes the verb not to have a prefix at all. In these conditions another element is brought in to bear the mid-tone or 'low-tone (in the case of class II verbs) required for the tone-structure of the negative verb form. Then -ghI is usually brought in for this function but additionally imports its characteristic meaning into the verb. However, if the verb is compounded, then -ghI need not be brought in at all. The same applies if the conditions stated earlier do not exist.

Compare (a) of (10) and (11) with (b), (c) and (d).

(10) (a) /Unu ぐ�ghI/ hna. 'You did not see them.'
(b) /Unu ぐ�/ hna. 'You (emph.) did not see them.'
(c) /Eze ぐ�/ hna. 'Eze did not see them.'
(d) /Unu ぐ�ghI/ hna. 'You did not see all of them.'

(11) (a) /O zaghI/ ulg. 'He did not sweep the room.'
(b) /O ぐ�/ ulg. 'He (emph.) did not sweep the room.'
(c) /O ぐ� zaghI/ ulg. 'He did not sweep the room.'
In (b) to (d) there is no need at all to add -ghI to the verb, such an addition being otiose, unless the particular meaning of the suffix is necessitated by semantic consideration. Unfortunately, however, what began as a structural necessity, as evidenced in (10) (a) and (11) (a), has been extended in use, so that -ghI is now commonly used in written Igbo to indicate a negative construction, whether it is structurally necessary or not (as in (12)). In spoken Igbo, on the other hand, the rule is firmly observed where people are not conscious of the written style. It is because of the generalized use of the suffix for all negative verb forms that people talk about it as a 'negative suffix', but the examples given in (1) to (9) above prove this analysis to be mistaken.

(12) (a) /Eže ahmùghI/ hna. 'Eze did not see them.'
(b) /O zac'hâghI/ yl. 'He did not sweep all the room.'

In spite of the generalized use of the suffix, it has its distinctive meaning wherever it occurs, whether in a positive or in a negative verb form.

Three other points about the suffix are now stated. The first is that the verb in which it occurs can be nominalized, as in (13).

(13) Q wù /okwùchàl'ghI okwu/. 'He is one who must talk a matter to a complete finish.' ('He is talker-complete-perfective-insistence-matter.')

The second point is its position in a verb relative to a
co-occurring -ra (past tense), -ra (Beneactive), and -la (perfective). With the past tense and perfective aspect suffixes, -ghl precedes when it is under focus, but follows them when it is not. Compare (a) with (b) of (14) and (15).

(14) (a) /meregхи/ ya. 'He used not to do it, I insist.'
(b) /meghīre/ ya. 'He used not to do (emph.) it, I insist.'

(15) (a) /meghī/ ya. 'He never began to do it, I insist.'
(b) /meghīle/ ya. 'He never began to do (emph.) it, I insist.'

When -ghl co-occurs with the -ra (Beneactive), it follows -ra if the correlated NP of the case suffix is also the subject of the clause, but precedes if the correlated NP of the suffix is a complement. Compare (a) with (b) of (16).

(16) (a) /meregghi/ qrmy. 'He did not, I insist, do his own share of the work.'
(b) /mehi/ m qrmy. 'He did not, I insist, work for me.'

The third point is that the negative clause in which -ghl occurs can have an imperative sense as much as that which has the perfective suffix -la (as in As.5.3., pp.29f.). The difference between the two types of clauses is that while the clause with -la in it orders that the activity should not be begun at all, or, having been begun, to be terminated, the one with the -ghl suffix insists on the activity not being done at all, as in (17).
(17) (a) i meghi ya. 'Don't do it at all.'
(b) Emelé ya. (i) 'Don't begin to do it.' / 'Don't do it.'
(ii) 'Stop doing it.'
(iii) The use of a particle
The particle which is used for emphasis is diidi. It has not been listed anywhere else before. It always occurs in a conditional clause and in a final position in the clause. It emphasizes an unreal, hypothetical, or unfulfilled condition.

(18) ùnu byàra ngwangwà /díidi/, ànù garà ejhekwhu yì. 'If you had come early (emph), you would have met him.'

Compare (18) with unemphatic (19).

(19) ùnu byàra ngwangwà, ànù garà ejhekwhu yì. 'If you had come early, you would have met him.'
Lexical Suffixes

Lexical suffixes are fewer in number than grammatical suffixes, and have the following characteristics.

(a) They cannot be freely added to any verb root like grammatical suffixes but are restricted to the particular roots to which they are attached and with which they form unique items.

(b) In some cases (to be pointed out in the lists below) the initial syllable to which the suffix is attached can be separately glossed, but in other cases this is not possible, thus the whole item remains unanalysable.

(c) Where the item is analysable, the initial syllable may be a verb root or a form derived from some semantically corresponding noun, as will be indicated later where this is the case.

(d) The suffixes always have low tones whether in the infinitive form of the item or in its Simple Participle form. The only exceptions are the suffixes -bc (iv), -kpo and -hny which have high tones.

(e) With the exception of -kpo (ix), -kpo (x) and -hny (xvi), which retain their vowels unharmonized or assimilated, and -rl (xiii), which harmonizes, all other suffixes have their vowels assimilated to that of the preceding syllable.

(f) No other element can be interposed between the suffixes and the roots to which they are attached, without destroying the meaning of the item. This means the suffixes and their stems
form a semantically unified unit. So the resulting items constitute a subclass of class III verbs having the tone-structure HML in the infinitive or Simple Participle form. 

Lex. 2. List of lexical suffixes

In what follows the list of lexical suffixes is given. Where the items, with each suffix are restricted, these are fully listed, as far as known, but where the items are extensive, only examples are given, and attention is drawn to the fact, as in the case of (vii).

It should be added that some of the items to be given are derived from a combination of two verb roots which have now coalesced and become an integrated unit. In such cases the second verb functions as a suffix.

(i) -bà
   (1) iyàbà 'to be splayed' (iyà 'to claw/draw with claws' + ibà 'to be languid')
   (ii) -bè
   (2) idèbè 'to walk slowly' (idè 'to stalk' + ibè 'to perch')
   (3) ighèbè 'to walk cautiously and slowly' (ighè 'to go quietly away' + ibè)
   (4) ihèbè 'to lie/stand precariously', 'to be weak' (ihè 'to carry in the arms', 'to lever up', + ibè)
   (5) irebè 'to be flabby, placid, flaccid' (ire 'to sway about', 'hover', + ibè)
   (6) iyèbè 'to be fragile, insecure' (iyè 'to hold, drag gingerly from the extreme of' + ibè)
(7) isèbè 'to be limp or loosely attached' (ise 'to drag/pull' + ibè)

(iii) -bo

(8) ikòbò 'to be empty though seeming substantial.'

(9) ikpòbò 'to be big but lack substance', 'to be bogus'

(10) irobo 'to be weak/lacking in energy'

The root kp- is semantically related to ikò 'to hit so as to produce a hollow sound, which itself is related to ikò 'a cup'; okogboro 'big and hollow'; ìko 'a hollow type of musical instrument'.

The root kpo is semantically, at least, related to ikpo 'a dog-bell, cow-bell', okpo 'a pod'. And both kpo- and kp- are found combined in okpokoro 'big, filled-out', 'big and hollow'.

(iv) -bo

(11) irobo 'to move lethargically (iro ' + ibò 'to become weak', 'to lose taste/quality of')

(12) itùbo 'to wither/faint', 'to become weak' (itù 'to roll up' + ibò)

(v) -dà/è; -dí/i; -dó/q; -du; -dà/è/q

(13) íbàdá 'to spread out flat' (íbà 'to break up' + -dà)

(14) ígbàdá 'to be exposed and flat' (ígbà 'to appear' + -dà)

(15) ikwèdè 'to be exposed and flat' (ikwè 'to appear' + -dè)

(16) ibódè 'to be/make broad/wide', 'to spread out'

(17) igòdè 'to stand out prominently' (of land, forehead, etc)

(18) igídè 'to do with much force and noise'
(19) igbidi 'to be thick and heavy'
(20) igidi 'to be full, thick and heavy' (e.g. bullet, cannon)
(21) igodo 'to stand out' (cf. ogodo 'shin')
(22) ibodo 'to be/open wide' (e.g. of eyes)(cf. obodoobo 'broad', obodo 'village, town')
(23) igbodo 'to be motionless, dull, lifeless'
(24) igwodo 'to lie in a large mass', 'to be plentiful'
(25) igbodo 'to hang in drooping mass'
(26) igwudo 'to stand in a thick, motionless mass.' (e.g. a column, pillar)
(27) igbudu 'to look heavy and dull'

In the following items, the suffix is aspirated following an aspirated or nasalized syllable.
(28) ig'tadha 'to sit/stand/walk/crawl with legs wide apart'
   (ig't 'to separate' + -dha)
(29) ig'todho 'to clamber' (ig'to 'to get up laboriously' + -dho)
(30) ig'todho 'to crouch', 'to walk pompously'
(31) irmudho 'to be plump' (of fruit)

These -dha/-dho suffixes are not to be confused with the verbs idho 'to become clear' and idha 'to fall' which retain the quality of their vowels irrespective of what precedes them, as in the following examples, (32) - (34).
(32) igbadho 'to become clear' (of water, eyes, senses)
(33) igwudho 'to recover from a black-out', 'to recover senses'
(34) igbudha 'to cut down'
(vi) -ge
The suffix -ghA/E stands apart from other lexical suffixes not only because many more verbs are found with it (of which only examples can be given here), but also because every occurrence of it implies a state rather than an action even if the root to which it is attached is an 'action' verb. Furthermore, it very frequently occurs in the formation of adjectives and it expresses the sense of 'excessiveness'. (See Adjective: Forms 16, 17 and 20). It possibly derives from the verb igha 'to exceed/go beyond', or from the Number suffix -ghA 'repetitive/iterative' - N.6.1.(i), p.209)

Consider the following examples.

(35) irege 'to be slender and flexible' (ire 'to sway about'; ige 'to trickle')

(vii) -ghA/E

(36) ibāgha 'to be greasy', 'to be spread widely' (iβā 'to spread')
(37) idāgha 'to be too small' (iβā 'to pare')
(38) ilāgha 'to be excessively tall' (ilā 'to go up')
(39) ibēgha 'to be rather unstable, weak'
(40) igbēgha 'to be rather pendulous'
(41) iwhēgha 'to be rather broad, wide, expansive'
(42) igbīgha 'to be rather thick and dull'
(43) ikpīgha 'to be rather thick (like a club "okoi")'
(44) igwēgha 'to be rather small and weak', 'to look mean and miserable'
(45) ikwēgha 'to be too small, minute'
(46) igbogho 'to be too open-mouthed', 'to be gaping'
(47) ikogho 'to be big but hollow'
(48) ifogho 'to be gaping'
(49) igbogho 'to be loose and pendulous'
(50) ikogho 'to be bent, crooked'
(51) iwhogho 'to be cracked, impaired', 'to be nasal (of sound)'
(52) idughu 'to be bulky'
(53) idughu 'to be bulky and heavy'
(viii) -ka/è; -ki/i; -ko/kè

Items with -ku/ù have not been found.

(54) idaka (anya) 'to gaze'
(55) igbakà 'to carry something too big for one'
(56) ikpaka 'to be bushy', 'to be untidy in form or arrangement'
(57) itakà (ihnu) 'to frown', 'to look serious'
(58) ikwakà 'to straddle'
(59) idékè 'to walk very slowly'
(60) igbekè 'to wear loose and hanging'
(61) ikpekè 'to lack substance', 'to be like a skull'
(62) irekè 'to thrash about', 'to be proud/act proudly'
(63) iteke 'to plunge into wet substance'
(64) ili'ikà 'to be firmly glued on, tethered'
(65) iriki 'to act excitedly'
(66) iriki 'to be quite heavy', 'to carry something quite heavy'
(67) iriki 'to be concealed and very quiet', 'to be unobtrusive'
(68) itsìki 'to be very tiny' (cf. ntâkiri 'small')
In the item *itāki* 'to talk in a whisper', the -ki is not to be confused with -ki in (67) and (68). It is derived by abbreviation, elision and assimilation from *itākāighā* 'to whisper into'.

(69) *igbokō* 'to wear proudly'; 'to wear a pendant'
(70) *igwokō* 'to stand/do in an imposing manner'
(71) *inyōkō* 'to behave in a stupid manner'
(72) *idōkō* 'to stand still (of a pool)'
(73) *igwōkō* 'to sit as though lame'
(74) *irōkō* 'to be messy, untidy'

(ix) -kpo

-kpo retains its vowel unchanged by what precedes it; it has a high tone, and consequently takes a low tone if the verb root is low as in (75) and (79). In sense it implies explosive noise.

(75) *idhākpo* 'to make explosive noise due to falling'
(76) *igbākpo* 'to explode loudly'
(77) *iwākpo* 'to make things bang together by forcing a passage among them'
(78) *išūkpo* 'to explode by striking'; 'to collapse'
(79) *ibikpo* 'to make a lot of noise'
(80) *ifnākpo* 'to make loud shrieking noises'

(x) -kpō

The suffix retains its vowel, and in sense implies concavity. Only three items have been found with it so far, and they have more or less the same meaning, differing only in the verb root
which indicates the manner in which the concavity of the thing is produced.

(81) iriŋkpó 'to fold/be folded so as to look blown out'
(82) itiŋkpó 'to hit so as to balloon out'
(83) igbákpó 'to be like/become like a blister'

(x) -kpó
(84) itiŋkpó 'to hop like a grasshopper', 'to do slowly and laboriously'

(xii) -le/-lo/-ló
(85) igèlè 'to be slender, slim'
(86) ibèlè 'to be soft, elastic'
(87) iriŋló 'to be untidy'; 'to do untidily'
(88) igèló 'to be long and slender'
(89) ikhóló 'to lack stamina', 'to be worn out'
(90) igèló 'to be rather tall and slim'

(xiii) -ri/-rì

The vowel of this suffix harmonizes with that of a preceding syllable. It implies duration or length.

(91) ig'ári 'to do/weave in a complicated manner'
(92) izári 'to trail about', 'to be like tassels'
(93) ikèri (anya) 'to look about with keen observation'
(94) igèrì (osù) 'to run swiftly'
(95) igèrì 'to wander about almost interminably'
(96) inri 'to make continuous nasal noises'; 'to buzz about'
(97) itùri 'to roam about'
(98) igèrì 'to echo far and wide'
(99) idürì 'to sit/be still'
(100) igírí 'to do/happen with much excitement'
(101) ikírí 'to freeze (up)', 'to lie low and unobserved'
(xiv) -rò/-rè

The vowel harmonizes, and the suffix implies something unsubstantial.

(102) ibóró 'to be/make watery or thin'
(103) igwóró 'to do haphazardly, carelessly'
(104) igbóró 'to howl'; 'to plead'
(105) ikóró (anya) 'to look about unprofitably'
(106) ikpóró (anya) 'to look vacantly'
(107) ifnèré 'to flit about', 'to behave light-heartedly'
(108) itèré 'to besmirch'; 'to shine brilliantly (of sun)'
(xv) -tà/-tè; -tò/-tò

The suffix suggests something done or happening from place to place or point to point. Consequently, it suggests the 'case' suffix, - tà 'to/towards'.

(109) ifátà 'to do disorderly' ('to force into one place and then into another')
(110) irétè 'to make a mess here and there'; 'to soil from place to place'
(111) ifótè 'to shower/splash from place to place'
(112) ipótè 'to besmirch from place to place'
(113) ikótè (isi) 'to have a big head'
(114) ifótè 'to bubble'
(115) ipótè 'to be soft or plump and lifeless in every part'
(116) ikpőtő 'to be concaved'
(117) ifőtő 'to mash up', 'to squeeze from place to place'
(118) igőtő 'to lay or drop down carelessly'
(119) ikőtő 'to lie in one messy heap'
(120) ijőtő 'to scramble for (of many hands)'
(121) ipőtő 'to cut up something soft'
(122) irőtő 'to muddy up'
(xvi) -hny
(123) irnähny 'to sleep'
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