TONE IN IGBO SYNTAX

(Studies in Igbo Linguistics Vol. 2)

by

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This monograph is long overdue; I know that my students, especially the sandwich ones, have been expecting it since I introduced them to the importance of tone in Igbo syntax in 1988. Being mature students and teachers themselves eager to improve their professional efficiency, they appreciate a course which offers them additional knowledge. This is the case with Descriptive Analysis of Igbo or Topics in Igbo Syntax. I am happy to offer them this pilot edition of the monograph in English, the Igbo translation will follow. It provides a back-up reading material for a number of Igbo and linguistic courses, including Ling 381 - Features of African Languages.

It is my hope that teachers of Igbo who have formed the habit of marking every syllable and tone in the language will change their mind after reading this monograph. The aim of this monograph is to make teachers and students more aware of the deep involvement of tone in Igbo grammar.

Department of Linguistics & Nigerian Languages,
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to all those who assisted me in the preparation of this monograph. First, I would like to thank all the students I taught in the sandwich programme for reminding me from year to year of the debt I owe to the Igbo language and people, a debt which can be paid only by putting my knowledge and ideas of Igbo down in writing. This and other publications yet to follow are due to their inspiration. I have always enjoyed teaching them because of their mature approach to the subject and their eagerness to know more.

Secondly I am grateful to my postgraduate student, Boniface Monday Mbah for assisting voluntarily with the editorial work and for very many useful discussions on Igbo grammar and linguistics generally. Along with Mr. Mbah comes Cletus I. Ojobor, my typographer and typesetter for a number of publications in the pipeline. I am very much impressed by their willingness ever to help and pray that our working relationship will grow to our mutual benefit.

1.0 Introduction:

This is a manual on tone, it demonstrates the significance of tone in Igbo Syntax. Our discussion will proceed from the general features of tone languages to the more specific issue of the role of tone in Igbo syntax. In this manual we introduce to our readers viable, alternative way of tone-marking that is different from the convention of Green and Igwe (1963).

Why do we need a tone-marking convention?
We need a convention to help us reduce the number of strokes on our written or printed page. This is why Green and Igwe (1963) adopted a tone-marking convention.

1.1 The Green and Igwe Convention:

Who are Green and Igwe? M.M. Green and G.E. Igwe in 1963 wrote the first and still the most comprehensive grammar of Igbo in existence, the title of the book is 'A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo' published jointly by Oxford University Press (OUP) London and Akademie Verlag, Berlin.

The Green and Igwe convention says:

(i) Leave all high-tone syllables unmarked;
(ii) Mark all low tone syllables;
(iii) Mark all downsteps (steps).

Example:

- Osisi   H H H (no marks)
- ọchichiri  L L L (all marked)
- ọgọ   H S (step marked)
- ọbọ   H S (step marked)
- ọlekà  L H S (L and S marked)
There seems to be statistical evidence to the effect that high tones are more in number in Igbo words and phrases than low and step tones, so a lot is saved by leaving high's unmarked.

This convention in effect uses all the three tones in Igbo — high, step and low. Moreover it employs the horizontal stroke called macron to indicate the downstep or simply the step. Macron is never a simple symbol to write or print. Therefore we avoid using it in our own system which I am about to introduce to you.

1.2 The PAN Convention:

The writer of this manual is P. Akujogobi Nwachukwu (PAN). The convention so-called is one that I have adapted from the publications of William and Beatrice Wemler of UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles).

(i) In principle, we mark every syllable, high, step and low.
(ii) in practice we mark only contrasting pitches or tones, leaving sameness unmarked
(iii) in practice we use only two symbols — the high (°) and the low (§) to indicate the three tone contrasts; we do not use the obnoxious macron to indicate downstep. The reason is this: a downstep is a slightly lowered high tone, which is always preceded by a high and never by a low tone. Therefore any two consecutive high tones are always interpreted in our system as high followed by step.

Examples: ęgo  H S  money
           ębo  H S  proper name
           ęlu  Ditto  abomination
           ọleka  L H S  proper name

Onyeuchi  L H S  Level  Proper name

The following are examples showing the two systems in contrast:

Green & Igwe       PAN
Osisi  : Osisi  H H H  tree
achića  : achića  L L L  bread
ejje  : ejje  H L H  drama
Oleka  : Oleka  L H S  Proper name
Ebiringga  : Ebiringga  H H H L L  Proper name
Dirwenu  : Dinwenu  H S Level  Lord
Dirwenu  : Dinwenu  H S S  Lord

Using this convention, one does not have to guess whether a particular word begins on a low or high pitch.

The Concept of Level:

We can use the term 'level' to describe any sequence of non-contrasting tones, but we must use it whenever a high tone immediately follows a downstep. The reason is simply that a downstep sets up a new pitch level for all high pitches immediately following it; in other words a high tone that immediately follows a downstep is of the same pitch level as that downstep. By the thoughtful decision not to mark high tones in Igbo Green and Igwe are re-inforcing the above principle.

Thus, the tone pattern of a clause such as the following:

ndi bi n'ahya  PAN

ndi bi n'ahya  G&I

must be rendered as H H S Level level or H H S same same.
It is not H S S S because the pitch is not terracing down, i.e. it is not a case of two or more consecutive steps. It is not H S H H because to say so is to deny the fact that the high tone after the step does not contrast with it. In this tonal context, the use of level or same becomes mandatory because it is the only correct way of describing the pitch sequence. In the two systems under discussion, all high tones after a downstep are left unmarked.

More Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G&amp;I</th>
<th>PAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>osisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or H same same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>achicha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L same same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ògùbùkà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dinwenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dinwenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dinwenu anyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Dinwenu anyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What our system marks is contrasts, we leave same-ness unmarked. Observe that in (5) above we have two consecutive downsteps which are marked because they are contrasting.

A Caveat for Teachers:

Some teachers have argued that they mark every syllable, and I have countered by arguing that the practice is not to be encouraged because it is bound to lead to one or two problems — that of giving double value to the same symbol within the same system or failing to make a necessary distinction. How could one tone-mark every syllable in the phrase 'Dinwenu anyi' without contradicting himself or failing to make a necessary distinction. Let us see this in practice.

    òtú nwa, uche di, òtú di

Dinwenu anyi Find out what is wrong here and discuss it

Dinwenu anyi There is also something wrong with this marking

Dinwenu anyi (G&I) There is nothing wrong with this marking

Dinwenu anyi (PAN) There is nothing wrong with this marking

The same problem of accurate tone-marking would confront a teacher arguing for marking every syllable in the following example:

    ùló anyi (G&I)
    ùló anyi (PAN)
    H S S Level.

It is advisable and indeed better to adopt one of the two conventions discussed in this introduction. It is necessary to be familiar with both of them and to be consistent in using one of them in our writing. The question of marking every syllable in a piece of written Igbo is not defensible and the practice should be abandoned.

In the rest of this manual, we shall use the PAN convention. Nobody is being forced to use it, but we have no doubt that some people will prefer it to the Green and Igwe convention. I believe that it is a better convention for marking poetry because it shows us at a glance what the contour of a line of poetry or sentence looks like. In shorts, it shows the rhythm of the sentence or expression at a glance.
1.2 Introduction: Tone Languages

That Igbo is a tone language is known by virtually every secondary school student; it is also known that tone alone differentiates the meanings of words which are spelt the same way. Every student is likely to rattle off the now famous quartets

\[\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ákwá} & \text{H H} & \text{'cry'} \\
\text{ákwá} & \text{L L} & \text{'bed, bridge'} \\
\text{ákwá} & \text{L H} & \text{'egg'} \\
\text{óké} & \text{H L} & \text{'cloth'} \\
\text{óké} & \text{H H} & \text{'male'} \\
\text{óké} & \text{L L} & \text{'share'} \\
\text{óké} & \text{L H} & \text{'rat'} \\
\text{óké} & \text{H L} & \text{'boundary'} \\
\end{array}\]

Most students in tertiary institutions - Colleges of Education, Technology and Universities know that although there are three distinctive tones in Igbo, High, Downstep (step) and low tones, only two of them, high and low, are basic or fundamental; the third, the downstep, is a grammatical tone; we can tell where it is to be found - in other words its occurrence is predictable.

This chapter is not on the lexical functions of tone; rather its focus is on how tone is exploited by the Igbo people to make a good number of grammatical distinctions: tone is at the core of Igbo grammar; and any accurate account of so many syntactic phenomena in Igbo must take tone into account. Before we go on to discuss the various syntactic functions of tone, let us generally characterise tone languages.

1.3 General Characteristics of Tone Languages

A tone language is a language having a lexically significant, contrastive but relative pitch on each syllable (cf. Pike, 1982). Each syllable of a tone language is a tone-bearing unit, (tbu) that is, it carries its own tone, a significant pitch. In Igbo, each syllable has one pitch, for example:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Chúkwu} & \text{H H} \\
\text{Ógù} & \text{H L} \\
\end{array}\]

However, a syllable may have more than one significant pitch or tone only when it is part of a word in construction, that is when in grammatical relation with another word or group of words. Examples:

1. \text{Chúkwù di}  
   \text{God is - God exists}

2. \text{Onyèe ma échi?}  
   \text{Who knows tomorrow?}

3. \text{Chí ì}  
   \text{God is - God exists.}

Thus, there is a one-to-one correspondence between syllable and pitch (tone) in Igbo lexical items.

Level Pitch Register Systems:

Languages are by no means all alike in the type of tonemes they use, nor in the function of these tonemes in their grammatical systems. One very important difference exists between languages which make use of level tonemes and those that make use of glides. A level toneme is one during whose production there is no perceptible change in pitch, resulting in a fall or rise. A gliding toneme on the other hand is one which shows a perceptible change of pitch during the production of the syllable such that there is a rise or fall, or a
combination of rise and fall such as rising-falling, or falling rising. Igbo is a level pitch type of tone language; glides occur only when words are in construction, that is glide formation in Igbo is evidence of grammatical function.

Example:

Chúkwu ma - Chúkwuma

Ogu nwere ego: Ogu who has money...

As lexical items the words are Chúkwu (HH) and Ogu (HL). In those examples we have instances of both falling and rising glides. When a language has a small number of pitch contrasts between level tonemes, the contrastive levels are conveniently called Registers. In other words, the high tone is a register, so are the low tone and downstep. Thus, Igbo is a Register type of tone language. It is also described as a Terrace-type of tone language; this means that the pitch of the voice is highest at the beginning of an utterance and gets progressively lowered as one gets to the end of the utterance. This phenomenon is related to another phenomenon called downdrift which also has to do with the lowering of pitch in a stretch of utterance.

Most languages of Africa and certainly those of Nigeria belong to the Register type of tone languages. In these languages the number of registers or level tonemes is generally small, ranging from two to three or four at most. Igbo, like Yoruba has three tonemes, namely high, downstep and low; for Yoruba it is high, mid and low. In each of these two languages, only two out of the three tonemes are basic. In Igbo, the downstep is non-basic, grammatical and predictable, so is the mid tone in Yoruba. But this is where the analogy ends, for there is a great difference between the Yoruba mid-tone and Igbo downstep: whereas the mid-tone in Yoruba is a lexical tone which occurs freely like high and low tones, the downstep in Igbo is very much restricted in its occurrence; it can only co-occur with a preceding high tone and is never found in a lexeme in syllable-initial position. The midtone in Yoruba can be found in all these positions - initial, middle or final. Therefore the difference in name also correlates with a difference of distribution, which is why downstep and midtone must not be used synonymously nor confused.

Gliding-Pitch Contour Systems:

A pure contour tone language is one with glides as basic tonemes, and which has no level tonemes whatsoever. In such a system, each contrastive pitch unit is a glide. Contour systems differ from register systems in a number of ways:

(1) The basic tonemic unit is a glide and not a level pitch.
2.0  The Role of Tone in Igbo Syntax

In tonal complexity, Igbo is unique in Nigeria and Africa; there is no other African language where tone changes as much as it does in Igbo to indicate grammatical functions. The language has basic word order SVO, it has little by way of inflection, the only category that is inflected in Igbo is the verb. Consequently, grammatical statement about the language consist largely of the variation in the tone pattern of the same lexical items as they function in various construction types. Tone is very deeply involved in Igbo syntax, but Igbo scholars have not examined this deep involvement in any detail. What I am about to present here will be the first systematic analysis of the tonal factor in Igbo syntax: the main function of tone in Igbo is not lexical differentiation; in deed the major function seems to lie in the way Igbo speakers manipulate pitch to show grammatical relationship and functions.

2.1  Tone Classes:

Tone is so important in Igbo syntax that it has become necessary to begin our study with a tonal classification of the major lexical items, nouns and verbs. This tonal classification is necessary because if we are to describe change adequately, we must begin with the 'status quo' before change: if we are to characterise tone pattern change adequately, we must start with lexical or inherent tones and with this as basis describe tone pattern changes that arise from the specific grammatical functions, of the lexical items involved. These lexical classes are as follows:

Tone class 1  H  (monosyllables)

Examples:  jì (jì in Oguta dialect)
            ì, ì, ì, ìwà (in Ìbáise but ìwà)

Tone class 2  H H

Examples:  ànù, ànyì, ànù, ìchì, àkà

Tone class 3  H S

The above is dialect-restricted because there are dialects of Igbo where the same high-step nouns are realised as High-High. Moreover, there are very few minimal pairs based on the contrast between high-high and high-step in a given dialect. Examples:

áìì (a bite)  (Enu Onicha)
áìì (an abomination)  (Enu Onicha)
ágú  ágú  elsewhere
éè  éè  
érò  érò  

The above class is not a very significant one because its members are very small in number; secondly, they behave like members of tone class 2 when in second or genitival or associative relationship (see 2.2 for examples).

Tone class 4  L H

Examples:  àìì, ììì, ììì,  ìììì, àìììì, àììììì

These four tonal classes make up what Green and Igwe (1963) refer to as Tone group 1 (TGI). As one can observe, there is something they have in common: each class ends on a high tone as the following arrangement clearly shows:

TCL 1  H
TCL 2  H H
TCL 3  H S
TCL 4  L H

Note that a downstep is a slightly lowered high tone, that is lowered in pitch in relation to the
immediately preceding high tone; that is why a downstep is possible in Igbo only after a high tone.

The remaining two classes end on a low tone:

Tone class 5\[\text{H L}\] Obi, òtù, égwù, ìọ̀
Abia (Àbyà) Udi
Tone class 6\[\text{L L}\] àla, àgba, ùdu, èvi.

Together these two tone classes make up what is known as Tone Group 2 (cf. Green and Igwe op.cit) As one can see, each class ends on a low tone.

In this classification there are six members, showing an additional class to Nwachukwu, 1983. The new class is the small set of monosyllabic nouns in Igbo, they are always on a high tone. The justification for setting up a class of monosyllables is shown in the following grammatical tone patterns which are peculiar to them.

\[\text{ji} \# \text{chi} - (i) \ jì\ jị̀ \ \text{hi Level} \]
\[\text{(ii) jì chì} \ \text{h s} \ yam of chi : Chì's yam. \]

\[\text{ótù} \# \text{nwá} - (i) \ ótụ̀ \ nwá \ \text{h LH s} \]
\[\text{(ii) ótù \ nwá} \ \text{h s s} \]

\[\text{àla} \# \text{jí} - (i) \ àlàà \ jì \ \text{L LH s} \]
\[\text{(ii) àlà jì} \ \text{L H s} \]

From these examples one can see the justification for setting up a separate class for monosyllables:

the first alternative in each example is due to the fact that a monosyllable is in \(N_2\) position - thus

\[\text{NP} \]
\[\text{N}_1 \quad \text{N}_2 \]
\[\text{ji} \ \text{òghya} \]
\[\text{H} \quad \text{H H} - \quad \text{ji} \ \text{òghya} \quad \text{H H s} \]
\[\text{ótù} \# \text{ànya} - \quad \text{ótù} \ \text{ànya} \quad \text{H L H H L H s} \]

It is the monosyllabic nature of \(N_2\) that induces a change of tone pattern in \(N_1\).

For ease of reference we re-state the six nominal classes as follows:

Tone classes (Nouns)

1. H
2. HH \quad \text{Tone Group 1}
3. HS
4. LH
5. HL \quad \text{Tone Group 2}
6. LL

Verbs

The category verb is one of the two major lexical classes in any language, consequently verbs in the language are classified along tonal
lines just as nouns are. As we know, the verb is the only lexical class in Igbo that undergoes inflection. Inflection produces a number of verb-forms with specific grammatical functions, i.e. verb-forms which express specific time (tense or aspect) meanings. Often the tone pattern of these different verb-forms differs from one form to another. This change, which is associated with different grammatical functions, provides a strong justification for classifying Igbo verbs along tonal lines.

Using the infinitive or citation form of a verb we determine its tonal class. On this basis, there are three tonal classes of verbs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive/Citation Form</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) ́iri</td>
<td>rí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́igbú</td>
<td>gbú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ́dà</td>
<td>dà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ito</td>
<td>tó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tonal contrast between (a) and (b) is clear; verbs in (a) are high tone verbs, while those in (b) are low tone verbs. These two tonal classes are found in all Igbo dialects.

But there is another class of verbs whose citation or infinitive tone pattern appears deceptive. Consider these following verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation Form</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>́ije</td>
<td>jé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́ikwu</td>
<td>kwú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́inyé</td>
<td>nyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>́iti/íkù</td>
<td>tì/kù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the tonal character of their citation forms, one would classify them as high tone verbs. This is what they are for those speakers of Igbo who belong to the Old Onicha Province, that is the present Anambra and Enugu States; for these speakers verbs are simply either high tone or low tone in both their citation form and root. For these speakers, there are two tone classes of verbs - high tone and low tone verbs. But the situation is not as simple as that for most other speakers found in Imo and Abia States and even parts of Anambra States that have a common boundary with Imo States. The Local Government Areas in question include Agüta - (Umu chu, Achi na) and Onumba (Uga, Aja, Ubah, Aji, Aji, Umu na, Isu, Umu, Oko, Umu). For these speakers there is in between high and low tone verbs a class of verbs which have the tonal features of high tone verbs in the infinitive form, but behave elsewhere like low tone verbs; we refer to them as High-Low tone (HL-) Tone Verbs. Thus, the picture is as follows:
Tone class 1 (TCL1) High gbú, ri, ñjú
Tone class 2 (TCL2) High-Low je, lo, si
Tone class 3 (TCL3) Low dara, bá, zá.

The obnoxious TCL2 is sandwiched between TCL1 and TCL3 each of which can be shown to be stably high or stably low respectively. For purposes of illustration, I shall draw all my examples from the dialect group indicated above where high tone verbs are high in nearly all forms and low-tone verbs low in nearly all forms. My examples are drawn from Mbaise group of dialects for obvious reasons: I am a speaker of that dialect, and they are very close to standard Igbo. Four verb-forms - the imperative, the past, the perfective and the general subjunctive forms of each verb in the affirmative division are used here for illustration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TCL</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ri' rie eat!</td>
<td>riri</td>
<td>ेriela</td>
<td>rie</td>
<td>gbú gbúo kill!</td>
<td>gbúru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá gá run!</td>
<td>gbára</td>
<td>ेgbáala</td>
<td>gbáa</td>
<td>ेde write!</td>
<td>ेdere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mè mè do!</td>
<td>mere</td>
<td>ेmèena</td>
<td>mée</td>
<td>to töö praise!</td>
<td>törö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. dara n'ala fall!</td>
<td>dara</td>
<td>ेdàala</td>
<td>dara</td>
<td>to chè think!</td>
<td>chere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed from the above examples that verbs of TCL1 maintain a consistent high tone on their root in the above four forms; verbs of TCL2 have low tone root in the imperative and past forms only, while reverting to a high-tone root in the perfective and general subjunctive forms. On the other hand, verbs of TCL3 have a consistent low-tone route in all the forms. The obvious conclusion is that this group of dialects has two distinct high and low tone verb classes 1 and 3 with a second class which falls together with TCL1 in the perfective and general subjunctive forms, and with TCL3 in the imperative and past forms. This is why this second class of tonally unstable verbs is sandwiched between TCL1 and TCL3.

The Place of Standard Igbo

As we all know, Standard Igbo advocates and maintains a uniform form for all verbs in the imperative and past forms affirmative, as the following examples show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TCL1</td>
<td>Rie' ihe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL2</td>
<td>Jëe ozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL3</td>
<td>Dàa n'ala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the examples above, one would conclude that there is no need for a tonal classification of Igbo verbs. That, of course, would be a wrong conclusion. What must have happened is that in the 1970s those who undertook to work towards the emergence of a literary standard had a number of disabilities:

(i) they did not seem to know what happens in dialects other than their own, consequently they generalised what they knew to those dialects they did not know. One example of such generalisations is the tone pattern seen above in imperative and past verb-forms;

(ii) they had no clear idea of what a standard aims at, that is the written rather than the spoken form;
(iii) they did not know that the standard dialect in any language reflects the characters of a single dialect or of a group of very closely related dialects. The standard has to be so rooted so that it can draw sustenance from its roots for growth and development.

2.2 Tone in Igbo Nominal Constructions (NPs):

Now that we have sketched the necessary background to our subject, let us go into the heart of the matter. The role of tone in Igbo syntax has not been emphasized in any book that I know of. The reason for this is not far to seek: the grammar of tone changes in Igbo syntax is not everybody's cup of tea. My aim is to begin to make it some people's cup of tea until the subject gradually becomes everybody's cup of tea.

The proper place to begin is with the tone patterns of nominal constructions i.e. NP phrases otherwise known as Genitival or Associative Constructions. The tone rules that we shall come across here are the same tone rules we see operating in other areas of Igbo syntax. In other words, all the tone rules of Igbo syntax are summarised in the so-called associative or genitival tone rules. The construction is an NP - a noun phrase consisting of two nouns juxtaposed to each other as shown below:

\[
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \backslash \backslash N_2
\]

\(N_1\) is the head of construction, while \(N_2\) is the associated or possessive noun as the case might be; put in another way \(N_1\) is the possessees while \(N_2\) is the possessor. Each member of our six nominal classes will have the chance to function in either \(N_1\) or \(N_2\) position.

Examples:

1. \[
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \backslash \backslash N_2 \\
jî' \text{ chi} \quad - \quad \text{ (i) } jî' \text{ chi} \\
\text{H} \quad \text{H} \\
yam \quad \text{(Pers. name)} \quad \text{or}
\]

\(\text{(ii) } jî' \text{ chi} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{S} \)

\(\text{Chi's yam} \quad \text{HS Level} \)

2. \[
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \backslash \backslash N_2 \\
onwu \backslash \backslash \text{ di} \quad - \quad onwu \text{ di} \\
\text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{S} \\
death \quad husband : death of a husband
\]

3. \[
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \backslash \backslash N_2 \\
egôgo \text{ chi} \quad - \quad \text{êgo chi} \\
\text{H} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{money \quad Chi's money}
\]

4. \[
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \backslash \backslash N_2 \\
ôhà/ôrá \text{ chi} \quad - \quad ôhà \text{ chi} \\
\text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{S} \\
\text{vegetable \quad Chi's ôhà - vegetable}
\]

Discussion:

The noun in \(N_2\) position is a Tone class 1 noun, while \(N_1\) has featured all the four classes of Tone group 1. Our observation is as follows:

(i) the associative or genitival relation is marked by a tone change in \(N_2\); the change is in the form of downstep on the final
syllable of \( N_2 \);

(ii) in the case of example (i) where TCL1 nouns are in \( N_1 \) and \( N_2 \) position, there is an optional change in \( N_1 \) such that its inherent tone pattern changes from high to high-step; in this case, the tone on \( N_2 \) is level with the immediately preceding step.

Tone Rules
1. \( H \# H \rightarrow H S \) or \( H S \) Level
2. \( H H \# H \rightarrow H H S \)
3. \( H S \# H \rightarrow H H S \)
4. \( L H \# H \rightarrow L H S \)

Examples with TG2, Nouns

5. \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \# N_2 \\
\hat{o} \text{tu} \ ' \ di \rightarrow (i) \hat{o} \text{tu} \ ' \ di \\
H \ L \ H \\
\text{One} \ \text{husband}
\end{array} \]

(ii) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\hat{o} \text{tu} \ ' \ di \\
H S S \\
\text{One} \ \text{husband}
\end{array} \]

6. \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \# N_2 \\
\hat{a} \text{la} \ ' \ ji \rightarrow (i) \hat{a} \text{la} \ ' \ ji \\
L L \ H \\
\text{or}
\end{array} \]

(ii) \[ \begin{array}{c}
\hat{a} \text{la} \ ' \ ji \\
L H S
\end{array} \]

Discussion:
The noun in \( N_2 \) position remains a monosyllable, while those in \( N_1 \) position each ends on a low tone. As we now know from examples 1-4, \( N_2 \) expresses its genitive or associative function by means of a downstep on its final syllable. But an immediately preceding low tone does not induce a downstep on the following high tone. Therefore the preceding low tone has got to be raised to provide the appropriate tonal environment for a downstep. Here the raising can take one of two possible forms:

(a) the addition of an extra high-tone syllable, giving rise to a rising glide as in alternative (i); or

the raising of the final low tone of \( N_1 \), a raised low tone cannot be as high as the immediately preceding high, so it becomes a downstepped high, as in (ii). Thus, there are tonal changes on either side of the word boundary between \( N_1 \) and \( N_2 \).

Tone Rule

Tone Rule 5
\[
\begin{align*}
\{H \ L\} \ & \# \ H \rightarrow (i) \{HLH \ S\} \\
\{L \ L\} \ & \# \ H \rightarrow (ii) \{H \ S \ S\}
\end{align*}
\]

TCL2 \( H \ H \) Nouns as \( N_2 \)
The diagram remains the same.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
N_1 \# N_2 \\
\text{ji} \rightarrow \text{ji} \ ' \ ohya \\
H \ # \ HH \\
\text{TCL1} \ ' \ ohya \ H H S \\
yam \ ' \ bush \ \text{wild yam}
\end{array} \]

TCL2 as \( N_1 \)
\[ \begin{array}{c}
is \ # \ anya \rightarrow isi \ anya \\
H H H H H H S
\end{array} \]

Observe that the downstep occurs where we expect it, that is in the final syllable of \( N_2 \). However, if \( N_2 \) happens to be a proper noun, then the down-
step shifts from its final to the initial syllable of the same N₂, thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N₁ \quad \downarrow \quad N₂ \\
\text{Isi Anya} & \quad \text{Isi Anya} \\
H H H & \quad H H S \text{ Level}
\end{array}
\]

the eye of Mr. Anya.

Other examples:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nwá # Anya \quad nwá anyá \quad \text{small eye(s)} \\
H H H & \quad H H S \quad \text{small eye(s)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nwá # Anya \quad nwá Anya \quad \text{H S Level} \\
\text{Mr. Anya's child.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
isi # Enyi \quad isi Enyi \\
H H H & \quad H H S \text{ Level}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nwá Enyi \quad \text{small elephant} \\
nwá Enyi \quad \text{child of Mr. Enyi.}
\end{array}
\]

**Focus on Proper/Common Noun Distinction:**

The tone pattern contrast in the above examples is very interesting, the difference is semantically induced: in the NP nwá anyá, 'nwá' is functioning as a type of adjective specifying the common noun 'anya', hence the surface tone pattern HHS. By contrast, when the same noun nwá - child/offspring is used in association with a proper noun, the meaning of possession is realised and there is a corresponding tone pattern change to reflect the ownership, hence the surface tone pattern H S Level.

(More) Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nwá anyá \quad \text{a small eye} \\
nwá Anya \quad \text{Mr. Anya's child}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nkwu uzo \quad \text{road-side oil palm} \\
H H H L
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
nkwu Uzo \quad \text{Mr. Uzo's oil palm} \\
H H L L
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
hu uzo \quad \text{the main road/track} \\
\text{(as opposed to side track)}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
hu Uzo \quad \text{Mr. Uzo's face.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
U Ndu \quad \text{life or fresh meat} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
U Ndu \quad \text{Mr. Ndu's meat.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
Uzo Ndu \quad \text{way to life/salvation} \\
\text{road/way life}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
Uzo Ndu \quad \text{Mr. Ndu's road.} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
Ogu Ndu \quad \text{war for life} \\
\text{war of life}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
Ogu Ndu \quad \text{Mr. Ndu's war.}
\end{array}
\]

**TCL3, H S as N₁**

Nouns of Tone class 3 are dialect-specific, that is they occur in specific dialects. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{égo, agú, anú, ézé, éró} \\
\text{are realised in other dialects as TCL2 - HH. Their}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{lexical tone pattern HS in isolation becomes HH} \\
\text{in construction; this being the case they behave}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{exactly like TLC2 nouns just discussed above. Only}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{one example will suffice to illustrate this point:}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{agú # Oká - agú Oká} \\
H S \quad H H \quad H H S \quad \text{Awka farm land.}
\end{array}
\]

23
TCL4  LH as N₁

NP

N₁    N₂

ôke' # ôhya - ôkeôhya
L H    H H    L H H S

As with the other members of TG1, downstep occurs on the final syllable of N₂, there is no tone change in N₁.

TG2  Nouns as N₁

TCL5  HL

NP

N₁    N₂

ułọ' # aja → ułọ aja
H L    H H    H L H S
a mud house

ôge' # ôrụ → ôgeô rụ

TCL6  LL

NP

N₁    N₂

ala  üro' → alla üro'
L L    H H    L L H S
soil clay - clayey soil

ákpa # ákpu' → ákpa ákpu'
L L    H H    L L H S

Like members of TG1, TG2 nouns in N₁ position produce the same effect on TCL2 HH in N₂ position; the result is a change from inherent HH tone pattern to a grammatical HS tone pattern in construction. The rules for these can be written as follows:

(ii) X S Level for proper nouns or personification
where X stands for each of the Tone classes 1-6. In other words, no change of tone pattern occurs in N₁, all the changes of tone pattern occur in N₂.

TCL3  H S as N₂

NP

N₁    N₂

ji # agú
H    H S    ji agú
H    H S

Nouns of TCL3 behave like those of TCL2 in all contexts. Since TCL3 nouns inherently end on a downstep, we expect no further change in that pattern except when it is a proper noun see (ii); in that case the downstep is realised on its first syllable just as it is with TCL2 nouns. In other words there is no change of tone pattern in either N₁ or N₂ except when N₂ is a proper noun.
Nouns, LH as N2

NP
\[ N_1 \searrow N_2 \]

LH

TCL4  ji # oke \rightarrow ji'oke

H  L  H  H  S Level

2. isi # oke \rightarrow isi oke

H  H  L  H  H  H  S Level

H  S  Level

3. eze' # ok'ek \rightarrow eze'oke

L  H  H  H  S Level

4. ada' # obi \rightarrow ada'obi

daughter Obi Obi's daughter

A look at the foregoing data reveals that in N1 position, there is no tone change except that TCL3 HS changes to HH as one would expect from previous examples. But in N2 position, there is always a change: the inherent LH of TCL3 nouns changes to step level. The rules are as follows:

(i)  X  H  #  L  H  \rightarrow  XH  S  Level

(ii)  H  S  #  L  H  \rightarrow  HH  S  Level.

Explanation:

As we have come to understand, a TG1 noun in N2 position express its associative or genitival relationship by means of tone change from a final H to a final downstep (S). With an inherent tone pattern of LH, this is not possible because the sequence LS is not possible in Igbo. To create the right context for this final downstep, the initial low tone of oke/obi has got to be raised. But raising does not produce a high-tone as high in pitch as the preceding or following high. Therefore LH becomes step level, hence the output grammatical tone pattern of the construction becomes XHS Level as shown above.

TG2  HL and LL Nouns as N1

NP
\[ N_1 \searrow N_2 \]

LH

TCL5  ọdụ # ọkẹ \rightarrow ọdụ ọke

H  L  L  H  H  S  S  Level
tail rat rat's tail

TCL6  ọgba # ọkẹ \rightarrow ọgba ọke

L  L  L  H  L  H  S  Level

jaw rat rat's jaw

As in all previous examples, N2 is a TG1 noun; each member of the group expresses a grammatical relationship by means of tone lowering i.e. from high to downstep. The preceding low tone before this final high tone has got to be raised; when raised it becomes a downstepped high on the same pitch level as the final high. A downstep on the first syllable of oke will induce the final low tone of N1 to be raised; the raising produces another downstep so that the output tone pattern is HSS Level.

For TCL6, exactly the same process is repeated with the same effect; the only difference being that when the final low tone of TCL6 noun is raised, it is just a high tone in relation to the preceding low tone.

Observe that we have two cases of tone change affecting both N1 and N2. The tonal context or environment which induces tone changes on both sides of the word boundary is this

\[ ọdụ # ọkẹ \]

L  L  H

\[ ọdụ # ọkẹ \]

H  L  L  H  \rightarrow  H  S  S  Level

26.
With these we conclude our exemplification of TG1 nouns in \( N_2 \) position.

**TG2 in \( N_2 \) Position**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( jì )</td>
<td>( ụzọ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( H )</td>
<td>( H )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>road-side yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( jì ụzọ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ụzọ's yam )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TG1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( nkwụ )</td>
<td>( ụzọ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( H )</td>
<td>( H )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a palm by the road side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( nkwụ ụzọ )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr ụzọ's palm tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TG3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ẹrọ )</td>
<td>( ụzọ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( H )</td>
<td>( H )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushroom road</td>
<td>road-side mushroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ẹrọ ụzọ )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr ụzọ's mushroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TG4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ọkè )</td>
<td>( ụlọ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( H )</td>
<td>( H )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat home</td>
<td>home/domestic rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ọkè ụlọ )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. ụlọ's rat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the above examples that in all cases the input (lexical) tone pattern equals the output (grammatical) tone pattern. In other words, there is no change except when \( N_2 \) is a proper noun. When this is the case, the tone rule is as follows:

\[
N_1 \quad N_2
\]

\[ X \# \quad HL \rightarrow X \quad LL \]

**Condition:** \( N_2 \) must be a proper name.

As in the previous examples the semantic relation of ownership is signalled by tone lowering in \( N_2 \).
Here \( N_1 \) is inherently on a \( H \ H \) tone pattern, so no raising is \( N_1 \) is required. But in the example that follows, \( N_1 \) is inherently on a \( H L \) tone pattern, therefore this final low tone has got to be raised so that tone lowering may occur in \( N_2 \).

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{àla} \)} & \quad \text{\( \# \) \( \text{ènwe} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{\( \alpha l\)\( \alpha \) ènwe} \)} \\
\text{L L} & \quad \text{L L} & \quad \text{L H L L} \\
\text{land} & \quad \text{monkeys} & \quad \text{land of monkeys}
\end{align*}
\]

Observation

(1) When a \( \text{TCL5} \) noun is in both \( N_1 \) and \( N_2 \) positions, their input tone pattern equals the output tone pattern, except when \( N_2 \) is a proper noun. When this is the case a tone change occurs on either side of word boundary as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{ùkwa ñùzo} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{ùkwa ñùzo} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{ùkwa ñùzo} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{ùkwa ñùzo} \)} \\
\text{H L \# HL} & \quad \text{L L} & \quad \text{H L L L} & \quad \text{Uzo's breadfruit tree} \\
\text{ [+ proper N]}
\end{align*}
\]

Explanation

We have come to know that the possessive marker in Igbo is tone: ownership is marked by tone lowering, hence \( H L \) becomes \( LL \) as in the above example. But how do we explain the change from \( HL \) to \( HS \) in \( N_1 \)?

In all previous examples involving tone lowering in \( \text{TGL} \) nouns (TCLs 1-4), we assumed that low tones had to be raised to downstep so as to make the final downstep in \( N_2 \) possible. (see, for example, our rationalisation of \( \text{\( \alpha d\)\( \alpha \) \( \alpha k\)\( \alpha \) \( \alpha \) becoming \( \text{\( \alpha d\)\( \alpha \) \( \alpha k\)\( \alpha \) \( \alpha \)}} \)).

S Level.

A more plausible explanation is that every case of tone lowering in \( N_2 \) requires a tone raising in the final syllable of \( N_1 \) just in case \( N_1 \) does not end on a hightone. Let us refresh our minds with the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{isi ñùzo} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{isi ñùzo} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{isi ñùzo} \)} \\
\text{H H H L} & \quad \text{H H L L} & \quad \text{Uzo's head}
\end{align*}
\]

In these examples, the inherent tone pattern of \( N_2 \) is the targeted grammatical tone pattern, which therefore remains unchanged.

A very interesting parallel needs to be drawn here, namely that what happens here is a repeat of what happens in relative clauses in the language — whether Subject Relative Clause (SRC) or Object Relative Clause (ORC). Example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{Ogu/Øgu} \)} & \quad \text{nwere egö} & \quad \text{... SRC} \\
\text{H S H H} & \quad \text{S Level S} \\
\text{Ogu who has money} & \quad \text{...}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{Agwọ} \)} & \quad \text{Ogu/Øgu} & \quad \text{gburu} \\
\text{H H H S H LH} & \quad \text{S Level} \\
\text{The snake which Ogu killed} & \quad \text{...}
\end{align*}
\]
From the foregoing, we can see that the noun phrase tone rules have a general application in Igbo syntax. To know them therefore is to know the tone rules of Igbo syntax.

3.0 Other Grammatical Functions of Tone

With a full discussion and exemplification of the function of tone in Igbo Noun Phrase Constructions completed, we have indicated the major function of tone in Igbo syntax. This chapter is therefore on the other important functions that have not so far been discussed. They include the following.

3.1 Tone in Questions and Statements.

That there is a transformational relation between statements and their question counterparts is an empirical assumption in transformational generative linguistics. In Igbo this relation is much more obvious. Whenever a statement has a pronoun as its subject, the only difference between it and its question counterpart lies in tone: the tone of the pronoun subject in statements is high or high low or low high as the case may be, whereas in the corresponding questions, the same pronoun subject is on Low or Low-Low tones.

Examples: Yes/No Question  Ajuju Ee/Mbaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a. n'nychara ihe o kwiru</td>
<td>(b) n'nychara ihe o kwiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. i kwiru ya ekwu</td>
<td>(b) i kwiru ya ekwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. no ya</td>
<td>(b) no ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. A luru ogu n'ahya</td>
<td>(b) A luru ogu n'ahya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Anyi kwere ekwe</td>
<td>(b) Anyi kwere ekwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a. Unu ekwule eziokwu</td>
<td>(b) Unu ekwule eziokwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a. Ha byara abyah</td>
<td>(b) Ha byara abyah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the subject of a statement is other than a pronoun, the difference between it and its corresponding question is twofold: (i) a
structural difference in addition to (ii) the tone pattern difference. Examples

**Statement** | **Question**
---|---
8a. Ogu no n'ulu | b. Ogu o no n'ulu?
Ogu is at home | Is Ogu at home?

9a. Dise na nwunye bi ebe a. - Statement
b. Dise na nwunye ya ha bi ebe a?

10a. Ndị ebe anyị, unu an'anya olù ha.
b. __________________, unu an'anya ______?
Our people, you have heard them.
Our people, have you heard them?

11a. Anya n'okwa ebe a
b. Anya o n'okwa ebe a?

12a. Obi ekwuole ya.
b. Obi o kwuole ya?

Examples 8-12 show that each NP subject is immediately followed by its pronoun copy, thereby changing the structure from

NP VP in Statements to
NP Pronoun VP in the questions.

In each case, the pronoun copy of the subject is on a low or low-low tone pattern. In (11) and (12) we notice that Anya has a HH tone pattern in statements, but a LL tone pattern in questions; this is in addition to its pronoun copy which is also a low tone. Similarly in (12a) Obi has a LH tone pattern in statements, but a LL tone pattern in the corresponding question.

It is thus clear that the low tone in Igbo is a very reliable index of questions; this low tone is always found on the pronoun whether it is the sole subject of the question or a pronoun copy of an NP subject. We refer to the pronouns in 8-12 as pronoun copies because each of them agrees with its antecedent NP in number and person. This agreement in number and person is the norm in standard (literary) Igbo; in certain dialects, such as those of Olu (Orlu) there is a question prefix on a low tone, which therefore does not have any agreement with its antecedent NP, as 13 shows.

13a. Unu odi mmá?
b. Ndị be unu odi mmá?
c. Ndị be unu adi mmá?

Whatever form this vowel prefix takes, a or o/ə, it is never a pronoun copy of the subject but a low-tone question prefix. Questions such as those in 13 may exist in various dialects, but they must not be taken as the standard form of Igbo Yes/No questions.

3.2 Content Questions: Ajuju Njinjuaajuju

The label yes/no questions translates very easily into Igbo as Ajuju Ee/Mbaa, but this is not so with wh- questions. Wh-questions are so called because every question morpheme in English except 'how' begins with wh-. Examples include who, what, when, where, why, et cetera. Igbo question morphemes are not of a uniform phonemic shape, therefore there can be no umbrella label for all of them. The title Ajuju Njinjuaajuju translates as questions with question morphemes and I find it a satisfying descriptive label for a language such as Igbo. What is interesting for our purposes is that both Yes/No (Ee/Mbaa) and content (Njinjuaajuju) have identical features as long as the question morphemes are in the predicate, thus:

14a. Ibe o bi n'ebere
b. Úmuaká ahú ha mere gíni?
phonemic shape and a definite tone pattern. In other words, the imperative verb form in Igbo is unique in shape and tone pattern. Examples:

17a. Gbọ̀ ya
b. Mee ngwa ngwa
c. Gaa n'ala yoo ya
d. Kwuru oto
e. Para ya n'aka
f. Byakwa n'oge
g. Buru onyeisi anyị

Examples 17 a-c show that the phonemic shape of the imperative verb-form in Igbo is

CV-root + an Open Vowel Suffix which we symbolise as E.

The consistent tone pattern is LH, thus the representation is

\[ \text{[CV+E]} \text{ Imp. Verb.} \]
\[ L \quad H \]

In 17 d-f, the suffixes are not the open vowel suffix: in (d) & (e) the suffix is rV and in (f) it is kwa a clitic. Nevertheless, the tone on each and everyone of them is high, thereby confirming our claim that the imperative verb-form always ends on a high tone. The regular imperative morpheme is the open vowel suffix, symbolised as E, but there can be other types of suffixes depending on the type of verb and desired meaning. For example, a subset of stative verbs in the language form their imperative verb-forms by adding the rV; while any verb can take an extensional suffix instead of the open vowel suffix to express its desired meaning. Whatever may be the nature of the suffix its tone must be high.
The Subjunctive Verb-Form

The phonemic shape of Igbo subjunctive verb-forms in nearly all cases is identical with that of the imperative form. The only difference between them lies in their different tone patterns. Let us put them side by side so as to highlight the similarity of phonemic shape and difference of tone-pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18a. Kà únu sie anyụ</td>
<td>Únu sie anyụ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H H H</td>
<td>H L LH H S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Kà anyị chere ya</td>
<td>Anyị chere ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Kà m dáà n'ala sekpuolu ya</td>
<td>M dáà n'ala sekpuolu ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Kà ha jee n'oge</td>
<td>Há jee n'oge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One striking difference is the presence of the conjunction kà in all the subjunctive expressions and its absence in their imperative counterparts. Secondly, the tone pattern of the verb in the imperatives is a uniform - LH for every class of verbs. By contrast, the same verb in the subjunctive has a HH tone pattern for Tone classes 1:2 verbs, but LH for Tone class 3 verbs. (Tone class 3 verbs are low tone verbs which are known for their tonal stability).

Conditional Constructions

The traditional distinction in English is between, open, improbable and unfulfilled conditions exemplified as follows does not obtain in Igbo.

Open Condition: If he comes, we shall see.
Improbable Condition: If I were you I would be happy.
Unfulfilled Condition: If he had begged, I would have pardoned him.

In Igbo, only two types can be formally distinguished, namely the open condition and the unfulfilled condition. It seems that both the improbable and the unfulfilled conditional sentences fall together in the language.

Our interest here is on the Open Conditional constructions in Igbo: in such sentences the verbs have the same HH tone pattern as in subjunctive sentences. Examples:

Anyị jee n'oge, anyị alọta n'oge
H
I nwee nnukwu ego, I gote ezigbo moto.
Onye ruo, o rie.
Únu maa uzọ, únụ azụta ezigbo ahya.

In both the antecedent (if) clause and the consequent (main) clause the verb has a H H tone pattern just as in subjunctive sentences. This is not surprising for both types of construction express an open or unrealised meaning.

From the foregoing, it seems to be the case that the subjunctive in Igbo should include open conditional constructions in addition to purpose constructions. (cf. Nwachukwu 1976, 1982).

3.3 Tone in Relative/Adverbial clauses:

A relative or adjectival clause is a construction that specifies, definitises or defines a noun; it performs the same function as adjectives, it is therefore a sentential adjective, i.e. an adjective in the form of a sentence or clause. Examples:

la. Men who are married to difficult women are never happy.
lb. Women who are married to difficult men are never happy.
2a. ndị nwoké lụrụ nwaanyị ọjọọ nê na nsogbu
b. ndị nwaanyị lụrụ di ọjọọ nê na nsogbu.

The above two examples contain a relative clause each. In 1(a&b) the relative clause is introduced by a wh-morpheme otherwise known as a relative clause marker; 2(a&b) are roughly Igbo working approximations of 1(a&b). In each of them there is no word/morpheme that can be described as a relative clause marker. What is it then that tells us that we have a relative clause construction in Igbo? It is tone. Let us examine these tonal features more closely.

The relative clauses in 2(a) & (b) are as follows:

(2a) ... lụrụ nwaanyị ọjọọ
     S Level L L H H S
(b) lụrụ di ọjọọ
     S Level-L-S

Each of the above is a verb phrase or a predicate phrase consisting of a finite verb and its object (complement). Therefore this type of relative clause has no head or marker; so much for its structural feature(s). Its tonal features are as follows:

(i) the verb of the clause is always on a downstep; this means that the immediately preceding morpheme must end on a high tone because the only appropriate context for a downstep is a preceding high tone, thus, H S or S S (downstep is inherently a high tone)

If the immediately preceding morpheme ends on a low tone, the low tone must be raised or it acquires an extra high tone thereby resulting in a rising glide thus

\[ \text{2(b)} \quad \text{[nwaxnyi]} \quad \text{lụrụ di ọjọọ} \]
\[ \text{H S-Level S} \]

3. Ogú nwere ego
   H S S Level S
   Ogú
   H LH

One can tentatively say that for there to be a downstep on the root verb, the immediately preceding item must end on a high tone. The type of relative clause so far described is subject relative clause (SRC).

Object Relative Clause:

Igbo object relative clauses have very similar tonal features with subject relative clauses but a different structural feature from them, they are represented by the following examples:

3. Mọtọ ogú
   H LH {gọtere} bù volvo
   Ogú
   H S

The object relative clause above is as follows:

Ogú/Ogú gọtere/gọtere ...

Its tonal features are exactly what obtains in subject relative clause except for the fact that the verb of the clause is not mandatorily on a downstep. But whether or not the verb of the clause is on a downstep, the immediately preceding item must end on a high tone, that is an inherent low tone before such a verb must become high itself or have an extra high tagged on to it to form a rising glide.

The structural feature of the above clause is NP Verb ... i.e. an NP subject followed by its transitive verb. This transitive verb that takes an object is without an object in the
logical position; the logical position of an object is immediately after its verb - that is the verb that assigns grammatical function (of object) to it. The object of the verb is motó now moved to sentence-initial position where it acquires emphasis.

These tonal and structural features are what mark out relative clauses from other construction types in Igbo; we do not have any morpheme such as wh- words in English to tell us that what we are dealing with is a relative clause construction. Thus tone pattern is a key feature that distinguishes relative clauses in Igbo. It is therefore difficult to characterise the relative clause in Igbo without due regard to the tonal factor. As an additional piece of evidence, consider the following examples:

4a. Ògù bi ëbe à.
   H L L H H L

b. Ògù bi ëbe à ...
   H S S Level L

The tone pattern of 4(a) forces us to put a full stop at the end of the construction because it can only be a complete sentence. By contrast the tone pattern of 4(b) forces us to the conclusion that the sentence is not complete since what we have is only a complex nominal construction - a relative clause. It is thus obvious that no grammarian can adequately characterise Igbo relative clauses without due reference to the centrality of tone in the construction.

3.4 Tone in Polarity Distinction:

The term polarity is due to Denis Winston (1973), he used it to reflect the fact that Igbo verb inflection involves two separate and distinct paradigms or divisions: the affirmative and the negative, each associated with a separate set of inflectional markers often accompanied with different tones pattern. There is no common negative marker in Igbo which can negate any verb-form regardless of its tense or aspect meaning; rather what we have is a situation where each affirmative verb has a corresponding negative form.

The polarity distinction is based on the fact that affirmative verbs are marked by a set of inflectional affixes which are different from those that mark negative verb-forms. In addition, there is also a difference of tone pattern between an affirmative verb and its corresponding negative form. Examples:

1. Imperatives:

   Affirm.
   Ha' rí'le ihe  (TCL1 vb)  Haéríle ihe
   Jèènù fáa/gbóo (TCL2 vb)  Èjéla fáa/gbóo
   Zàá ézì (TCL3 vb)  Àzáà ézì

The tonal difference is clear: TCL1 & 2 verbs have their root/stem on a low tone in the affirmative, in the negative the same verbs have their roots on a high tone; verbs of TCL3 maintain the same low tone root in both the affirmative and negative divisions. In addition the negative verb forms have a high-tone, open-vowel prefix, which their affirmative counterparts do not have. The schema is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[CV+E] verb</td>
<td>[A+CV+La] verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>L H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H S Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCL3</td>
<td>[CV+E] verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[A+CV+La] verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H L L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Present Stative in Factative Sentences:

1a. Ogù bi ebe à
   Ogù ébìghí ebe à
   H S S
   L

1b. Ìbè nwere égo
   Ìbè énweghí égo
   H S Level
   L L

1c. Úkwù rùrù ya
   Úkwù arúghí ya
   H S Level
   L L

In the above examples only stative verbs are used, that is why we can unequivocally talk of the present time or the stative present. The difference of tone pattern and phonemic shape is very obvious as in the previous set of examples, root verbs are on low tone(s) in the affirmative, but on high tone in the negative, and the open vowel prefix on a high tone is there to emphasize the phonemic difference between the two verb forms.

C. -rv Past Verb-Form:

1. Há gbùru éhi
   Há egbùghí ehi
   H S Level
   L L

2. Ìbè kwuru ókwu
   Ìbè ékwùghí okwu
   H S Level
   L L

3. Úchè zara ezi
   Úchè {azaghí} ezi
   H S Level
   L L

Once again the difference of tone pattern and morphemic shape is obvious, the tonally stable verb in (3) belongs to Tone class 3. They are the traditional low tone verbs which are the most tonally stable verbs in Igbo. But in spite of this stability, it can change from low tone in the affirmative to high in the negative.

D. Perfective Verb-Forms

Úchè erìêla ihe:
   Úchè erìbìghí ihe
   L H

Obì ékwùola okwu:
   Obì ekwùbìghí okwu
   S Level

Dìkè adààlù le:
   Dìkè adàbìghí ule
   H L
   H S

With this verb form Tone classes 1 & 2 root verbs are on high tone in both the affirmative and negative forms, but the stable low tone verb is the one that changes from low tone in the affirmative to a high tone in the negative. The fact that a vowel prefix appears in both divisions of the verb can be misleading: the prefix in the affirmative perfective has a low tone before high tone verbs, but high tone before low tone verbs, in other words it is not tonally stable. By contrast the prefix in the negative verb-form is, consistently on a high tone, it is therefore tonally stable.

By now the picture is clear; the formal difference between an affirmative verb-form and its corresponding negative form can be stated as follows:

[CV+Suffix Affirm] [A+CV+Suffix Neg]

The tonal difference has also been pointed out in previous examples, namely that root verbs change—often from a low tone in the affirmative to a high one in the negative. These two features constitute the peg on which we hang the polarity distinction in Igbo.

3.5 Tone Manipulation in Polar (Yes/No) Questions:

The use of tone to distinguish between statements and corresponding questions has already been illustrated in 3.1. Under the polarity distinction we need to revisit the subject of the
role of tone in yes/no or polar questions. Consider the following sentences in both the affirmative and the negative.

Q byara n'ogè (Affirm. Statement)
He came in time.

Q byara n'ogè? (Affirm. Question)
Did he come in time?

Q byagwu n'ogè q byagwu n'ogè
He did not come not in time Did he not come in time

Anyi byara n'ogè Anyi byara n'ogè?
We came in time Did we come in time?

Anyi abyaghi n'ogè Anyi abyaghi n'ogè
We did not come in time Did we not come in time

Unu byara n'ogè. Unu byara n'ogè?
H L Low H L LOW H L
You came in time Did you come in time?

Unu abyaghi n'ogè Unu abyaghi n'ogè
L H S Level L HH High S Level L

Observe how tone is manipulated in both the affirmative and negative divisions of the verb.

In the affirmative statement, subject pronouns generally have high or high-low tone pattern; the verb generally low-low tones pattern. In the corresponding question, tones change: the subject pronoun changes to low or low-low pattern, while the verb also changes from low-low to high step tone pattern. In the Negative Division as in the affirmative the contrast of tone pattern is once more between the statement and its corresponding question: in the statement, a pronoun subject has high or low-high tone pattern, and the verb-root is on a downstep; but in the corresponding negative question, the same pronoun subject has a high or high-high tone pattern, and there is no change of tone in the root verb. Thus, the tonal contrast being discussed here holds between the divisions and within the divisions: it hold between affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts; within the divisions it is between statements and questions. In these examples the carriers of tonal contrasts are pronouns and verbs, and nouns of tone pattern HH or LH which change to LL in affirmative polar questions (cf. 3.1). The essence of this section is to once more emphasize the use that Igbo speakers make of pitch or tone contrasts to indicate different sentence types. This tonal manipulation typifies how Igbo speakers do things with pitch.

3.6 Tone in Igbo Purpose Clauses:

The traditional meaning of purpose clauses/constructions is assumed here, namely a construction (generally a subordinate one) which expresses purpose or plan or intention. In Igbo it is generally introduced by the conjunction or complementizer kà or simply the infinitive of the verb where the necessary conditions have been met.

Examples:

1. Anyi na-aryo kà udó di
   We are praying that peace be:
   We are pray for peace.

2. Gbánnụ mbọ ka anyị hụ echị
   Make effort that we see tomorrow:
   See that we meet (and discuss) tomorrow.

3. Nhụ ogwu ka gbakee
   Drink medicine so that you recover:
   Drink your medicine so as to recover.

4. Unụ byara (ka unu hụ) ya
   (ihụ)
   You came (so as) to see him

5. Chibata akwụ ka mmiri ghara jụma ha
   Gather bring in clothes so that rain fail to beat them:
   Bring in the clothes lest they become wet with rain.
In the above examples the purpose clauses are those introduced by kà. The interesting example here is (5), which expresses fear or what we do not want to happen; for want of a better word, we describe it as a negative purpose clause. The above example (5) is but one way of expressing such a meaning in the language, there is an alternative and more popular way of doing the same as is shown in (6).

6. Chìbàta akwà mm̄irī āmàa hà.
   Bring in the clothes lest they become wet with rain.

Observe the structural difference between (5) & (6): in (5) the diagnostic conjunction is present, in (6) it is absent; in (5) there is the verb gharfa 'leave out', omit which acts as a negator and is followed by the infinitive of the verb āmàa (to drench/make wet). All these aspects of meaning are encapsulated in the verb and its low tones - āmàa - in (6). What an amazing economy of words! In other words, it is the verb with its unique low-tone pattern that expresses the meaning hitherto expressed by a conjunction and a finite verb. When the subject of this negative purpose clause is a pronoun, the tone pattern employed becomes even more interesting.

7. Mèchì ònụ ụ nwọ
   Shut (your) mouth lest you die/or else you die.

8. Chìkpì nkìta ọ tâgbọọ ejeiętị ānyị
   Drive out the dog lest it should bite to death our (church) agent

9. Ānyị rie ihé ānyị ādachie ụzọ,
   Let us eat lest we collapse on the way.

10. Kà m̀ zùrù iké mú ānwọ
    Let me rest lest I die

11. Lèmàa anyà hà èmegbọ ọgbó
    Be careful lest they cheat you.

Let us examine the structure of each of these examples in addition to the peculiar tone pattern of the subject and verbs of these negative purpose clauses, (the second clause in each example). Each example consists of two clauses juxtaposed to each other without any conjunction; what provides a link is the tone pattern of the subject and verb of the second (following) clause; this subject always ends on a high tone, and the following verb always has a low-tone prefix that spreads this low tone to the root verb no matter the number of syllables it consists of. This fact explains why the pronoun subjects ānyị in (9), m̀ in (10) and hà in (11) are all on high tone(s).

By contrast the pronoun subjects ụ in (7) and ọ in (8) all end on a low tone. Why is this so? Are these counter examples that prove our rule?

These pronoun subjects, like their counterparts in 9-11 are on high tone; the extra low tone is a reflex of the low tone prefix which we expect to find in the following verb and which spreads that low tone to the entire verb form. The reason why ụ́/ and ọ́/ behave this way should be well known by now from the following examples which contain perfective verb-forms.

12a. Ọgù abyàla
12b. Ibe abyàla
12c. Ọ byàla
12d. I byàla

The low-tone prefix present in the verb in (12) a-b is absent in c-d, because the immediately preceding pronoun subject is vocalic and monosyllabic. The conditioning factor is vocalicity - i.e. the fact that the pronoun is simply a vowel; in (10) the pronoun is also monosyllabic, but the syllable is CV and not simply V. Consequently the following verb is ānwọ and not nwọ as in (7). Thus the final low tone of the glide in (7) and (8) is
therefore a reflex of the low-tone prefix which rightly belongs to the verb. We are therefore correct when we assert that all pronoun subjects in the negative purpose clause are on high tone(s) and the verb always on low tones.

The above tonal feature is found even when the subject of the clause is a noun. Examples:

13a. Were nwayọ nwa nị ọtụtụ ((n)nwa nwa)
Take gentleness lest child wakes:
Be gentle or else the baby wakes up.

b. Ya mēcheye onwu a na akwu bọ ya
He shut his mouth lest Alá goddess strike him
down.

c. Ádụla isi mkpu mmadụ anwọ
Don't swear a false Oath so that person may not die:
Don't swear a false Oath so that nobody may
die.

3.7 The Situation in Other Dialects:

The type of purpose construction reported here is not unique to the dialects found in old Imo State and adjoining parts of old Anambra State. It is found in other parts of the Igbo-speaking areas in exactly the same form but with different tone pattern. Instead of verb forms with low tones, we have verb-forms with high tones as in the following examples 13 repeated here.

14a. Were nwayọ nwa nị ọtụtụ (13 repeated)

H S S Level

Adụla isi mkpu mmadụ anwọ (13c)

H H S S Level

As one can see the only difference lies in the tone pattern of the verb - it is either

[A+CV+(CV)+Suffix] verb
LL LL L

or

[S Level]

In other words the verb form here is either on low or high tones beginning with a mandatory open vowel prefix. In each case the subject of this verb mandatorily ends on a high tone even if inherently it has a low tone ending.

Summarising Conclusion

This monograph has explored the function of tone in Igbo syntax to an extent that has never appeared in print before. This subject was first broached in a SPIILC Seminar of 1978, since then it has formed the introductory section of my course - Topics in Igbo Syntax. From lecture notes, it has grown into a manual that students and staff can refer to.

The features of this monograph are as follows

(i) It gives a principled classification of Igbo nouns and verbs (six tonal classes of nouns and three tonal classes of verbs. The tonal classification of these major lexical items provides the base line from which we can pinpoint and describe tone changes;

(ii) it provides a brief exposition of the two tone-marking conventions in Igbo, arguing that nobody can mark every syllable and every tone without running into the problem of contradiction or underspecification;

(iii) It has been shown that tone is crucial to the characterisation of the following construction types
(1) the distinction between statements and questions, in the two divisions of verb inflection depends on tone;

(2) the distinction between imperative and subjunctive verb-forms depends on tone;

(3) It is not possible to characterise the relative clause construction without due reference to tone.

(4) The polarity distinction in Igbo is anchored on the differences of tone and inflectional affixes. It is within this polarity distinction that tonal contrasts are exploited to show the differences between statements and questions in the affirmative and between the same statements and questions in the negative division.

(5) In purpose clauses, tone is manipulated to express meanings which in other languages such as English are expressed by means of a clause containing an introductory conjunction and a finite verb.

(6) It has been pointed out that the subjunctive verb-form in Igbo is a form with a definite phonemic shape and tone pattern. This tone pattern constitutes the only difference between a subjunctive verb-form and an imperative one.

(7) In statements and questions, polarity distinction, subjunctive constructions, and purpose constructions the main carrier of these tonal differences is the pronoun. Thus, the pronoun is unique in Igbo in the sense that it is the peg on which we hang many grammatical distinctions in the language.

(8) Finally in Noun Phrase Constructions, that is the associative and genitival constructions tone alone signals the following meaning distinctions - the difference between association and ownership, between common and proper nouns appearing in second or N2 position in this construction.

What Igbo speakers do with tone is many and varied, and so far there is no other Nigerian/African language in which speakers do things with tone as much as the Igbo people do. It is thus clear that no grammar of Igbo can be complete without due reference to tone and tonal changes found in various construction types.
The reader of this monograph is no doubt struck by the role of the low tone in Igbo syntax generally and particularly in Igbo questions: we have come to regard the low tone as the unmistakable index of questions in the language (cf. Chapter 3) because every question in standard Igbo must contain a pronoun subject on low tone(s).

Let us extend our analysis of Igbo questions to Igbo question morphemes and phrases.

The following are Igbo question morphemes and phrases:

- `onyé` who?
- `gịnị` what?
- `èbèè (òlììè)` when?
- `ànàáà òlìà` how?
- `èlè` how many?
- `èbèè` what time/when?
- `èbè` where?
- `èbè` how?
- `èbè` which?
- `èbè` why?

We note that with the exception of `gịnị`, every interrogative word in the above list begins with a low tone. Why is this so and what is the relevance of this initial low tone to question formation in the language? Let us go from the known to the unknown.

The two morphemes `onyé` and `ónye` are obviously related in both meaning and form: one begins on a low tone, that is the question morpheme, and the other begins on a high tone, that is the non-question morpheme; they function in mutually exclusive contexts. Although they are both nouns, only one of them can take the definite article `à/ahù`.

- `ónye à/ahù` this/that person
- `ónye òma` a good person
- `ónye òjìì` a bad person

By contrast, `ónye` the question morpheme does not co-occur with any nominal modifier such as the definite article, adjectives and relative clauses; only `ónye` with a nominal modifier can function in statements, whereas `ónye` is limited to question constructions. It is therefore reasonable to assume that what converts an ordinary common noun to an interrogative noun in Igbo is its initial low tone. For example, `èbè` is the common noun meaning 'place, or location, whereas `èbèè` is its question counterpart meaning where.' If we take the analysis right to fundamental details, we can assume it that the noun is `bè` or `èbè`; `bè` is the simple root, where `èbè` is a derivative consisting of a high-tone prefix and the root thus

```
Pref. + root
  è + bè -èbè noun
```

```
è + bè + è -èbèè question
```

So we can see that both the root, the common noun and the interrogative noun are related in meaning and form, that is semantically and morphologically related. Other analogous lexemes in Igbo are `òlììè` and `ànàáà`.

The history of `òlììè` proves the point. This is a lexeme derived from the verb `lé`-look.
Lee, a derivative from this root, is the common cry in a market in session in Mbaise for drawing the attention of buyers and sellers, lee is roughly equivalent to 'look (here)! in English. As one would expect, its question counterpart is ollee/olee meaning where.

In Owere area, including Emelukwu ariri with the same meaning as olee has identical derivational history, coming from the root verb - riri

riri be - is/was etc.

Ari re mm á (General Owere)
We are fine

From Qhafia we have qdiá - how? from Mbaise ndiá - where or how, all coming from another copula dí as in:

Okwu a dí mkpa
This is an important talk.

Each of these question words has been shown to consist of a low-tone question prefix plus root plus suffix. Forms such as ndi (Mbaise)ndee (Udi) ndaa (Okigwe-Isuochi etc) are all derivatives from the copula dí, all showing how question morphemes can be derived from verbs.

4.3 The Case of Kedú

Kedú which can be translated as the direct equivalent of English wh- morphemes what, where, who, when, which etc. is not a question word but a question phrase. It can be analysed as follows

ké + wh- morphemes
dú - a copula verb and variant of
dí 'be'.

In other words, kê is a low-tone question prefix translating all wh- words in English, which has

fused together with the copula dú that is still in use in many dialects of Igbo, especially in Nnewi, Ogidi etc. It is an older form of dí which is fast fading out of the language; names such as Odumegwu must be seen as:

O dú/di m ëgwú
It is to me terrible/frightful

The tone pattern difference between the name and its sentential source is due to the process of deriving names from sentences, which is common in Igbo. Thus O'dú'm egwú becomes Òdumegwú as a proper name.

Kedú is the only Igbo question word or phrase that functions only in sentence-initial position, because of its composite nature - being wh- plus is - it is always followed by a noun as its complement. Examples:

Kedú nna gí?
Wh- your father: where is your father?

Kedú aha gí?
What is your name?

Kedú aha gí ebe à?
Where is your name here?

Kedú ogè i byàra?
What is time you came: When did you come?

Kedú etu ha dí?
Wh- way they are: How are they?

Kedú etu ọ ha n'ogologo?
Wh- manner he is in height:
How tall is he?

Kedú ihe kpatara i jí mée ya
Wh- is thing that caused you do it:
Why did you do it?
It can be seen from these examples that whether kè is translated as what, where, when or how etc depends on the complement noun. This explains why this category of questions in Igbo has two variants - a basic form and a non-basic or cleft form; the cleft form is an emphatic form, as the following examples show:

ô kwuru gínị (Basic non-emphatic)
Kèdụ ihe o kwuru? (Cleft and emphatic)
What is it that he said?
Uchè ọ hụrụ onye? (Basic non-emphatic)
Kèdụ onye Uchè hụrụ? (Cleft and emphatic)

For every basic content (Njinjuajuju) question in Igbo there is a corresponding kèdụ - version - a cleft and emphatic version.

From our analysis of Igbo question morphemes and phrase, it is clear that the low tone is an essential factor in Igbo questions.

Notes

1. The name is Igwe (iron) not Igwe (sky/heaven) personal communication from Rev. G. Egemba Igwe at SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

2. William Welmers and Beatrice Welmers both staff of the University of California, Los Angeles in 1968 published a number of books; see references.

3. The condition is simple - the noun subject in the main clause must be co-referential with the noun subject of the purpose clause; secondly the verb of the main clause must be a verb of purpose, intention or plan. In other words, the meaning it expresses must be an open or unrealised one. Examples:

(a) Ogu, choro ka ya, hu ggi

(b) * * * ịhụ gị

Both (a) & (b) above express the same meaning, and everyone of us must agree that the subject of the infinitive ihu in (b) is the same as ya in (a), which in turn refers to the same person as Ogu the main clause subject in both (a) & (b). Thus, Ogu, ya and the missing subject of the infinitive are all co-referential. The verb choro is a purposive verb.
References


