

READING

ON

THE IGBO VERB

edited by

p. akujūobi nwachukwu

Dedicated to Chidozie Ogbalu

For His Indefatigable Efforts in Promoting
the Cause of Igbo Studies

pilot edition

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THE WOODEN BOOK

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FOREWORD

The place of language teaching and research in West African universities has had a fascinating and curious history. Right from the founding of the older universities till the mid 'sixties it was fashionable to teach, learn and be associated with English and French. A certain amount of technical linguistics was taught, especially in the area of phonetics, but the teaching was done in departments of English and French studies and by native speakers of these languages. Furthermore, the illustrative material used in these courses was taken from English and French to the complete exclusion of the indigenous languages of the area.

Attitudes in the universities have now changed and, fortunately, in favour of the indigenous languages. The process of change began about twenty years ago with the inauguration of the West African Languages Survey, which was later, in 1965, formally replaced by the West African Linguistic Society. The impact which these two bodies left on the universities was incalculable. First, the number of teaching and research centres for indigenous language work more than doubled by the end of the decade. Second, existing Institutes of African Studies broadened the scope of, and reinforced, their language research programmes. And, third, undergraduate enrolment in linguistics and African language courses increased to levels never before anticipated.

The more distinguished of these students who proceeded to do higher degrees are now back in institutions of higher learning teaching and continuing the research work on African languages which they engaged in during their post-graduate training. The essays assembled here are by some of the distinguished products of the gradual but sweeping revolution in language-teaching attitudes which started in West African universities in the 'sixties. Each of the authors is a native speaker of the Igbo language and chooses, here, to focus attention on a complex but neglected aspect of Igbo morphology, syntax, or semantics. They all steer a middle course in their presentations while utilizing the results of research -

in general linguistic theory, they also see the need to avoid the kind of excessive formalism which intimidates the non-specialist language teacher.

The history of Igbo linguistic studies has not been markedly different from that of other West African languages. With rare exceptions, until relatively recently, the bulk of technical linguistic descriptions of the Igbo language that has appeared in easily accessible volumes like this has not been written by native speakers. The publication of these essays marks a new phase in the development of Igbo studies. If there is any validity in the notion "native-speaker's intuitive knowledge of his language" - as, indeed, I think there is - then this volume should fill an important gap.

One of the most easily identifiable features of the Igbo language is its great width of diversity. It is obvious from reading the essays that the authors speak different dialects. It is an achievement on their part that they not only show an awareness of this diversity but also -and, perhaps, more important- they consciously strive to evolve a standard for the language. The variety of dialects cannot be wished away. They will continue to be spoken in the villages in spite of ourselves and provide rich sources of native idiom for the creative writer. But if the Igbo language is to serve the aims of national development and objectives of modern education adequately, then it is imperative that a standard (possibly a synthesis of the better-known of the dialects) be consciously evolved. The publication of this volume should go a long way in helping to draw attention to the underlying unity of the Igbo language.

A collection like this has long been overdue. It should be welcome to university students of Igbo studies and students of African languages in general. It should also contribute to our understanding of how grammars work and the universal properties of language. Above all, I expect it to have an impact on teachers and textbook writers who have the will to interpret some of the generalisations in the essays into usable material for teaching.

We should all be grateful for the emergence of a virile group of youths like the contributors whose essays appear in this book.

Prof. L. A. Boadi, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Acknowledgement

The inspiration for this book came from the Director of Culture in the Ministry of Information, Culture, Youth and Sports, Owerri, Imo State of Nigeria in the person of Mr. Gaius Kemjika Anzka, himself a linguist. He not only sold the idea of this and other volumes to us, but also used his good offices to make funds available for a number of meetings at Owerri and a seminar at the Ugwuata Lake Motel, where the papers contained here were first presented in May 1979. For this reason, we are grateful to the government of Imo State for this and other pioneering efforts in the promotion of Igbo studies. The authors are specially grateful to Mr. Anzka for his initiative. More volumes on Igbo studies are expected to follow the publication of this book. We would like to register our deep sense of appreciation to Chief Sam Igwe Eko, Igwu-omeregha of Alayi for his appreciation of our financial problems and the immediate assistance which he offered on the spot.

The authors are also grateful to Prof. L.A. Boadi of the Department of Linguistics & Nigerian Languages for writing the foreword to this book and to Victor Manfronti of the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Nigeria, Nsukka for all his technical advice, general editorial assistance and for all the useful suggestions which have made possible the rather overdue publication of this book at this period of galloping inflation in Nigeria when most publishers are very reluctant to get committed to a job of this kind.

Finally we are grateful to the following: Mr. Obidiah Lneanya of Akankpisi, Nri for his secretarial assistance to us during our Ugwuata Lake Motel seminar, to the late Mr. Okefor of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Nigeria and later of Anambara State College of Education, Awka for helping with the typing of the earlier versions of the chapters of this book. We could not have published this book without the painstaking efforts of Miss Gertrude A. Opara, who retyped the entire manuscript and brought it to this camera-ready stage under supervision.

. . . This will serve as a pilot edition against further revision and expansion for more conventional publication.

We hope that, given the positive reception of this effort, many more such volumes can be launched. At least two are already under way: one volume on Phonology and another on Sociolinguistics; in this manner, we can look forward to grass-roots research research efforts on a widening scale.

Introduction.

Igbo is one of Nigeria's three major and official languages; its elevation to the status of an official language means that lots of resources are to be invested in its development and growth by both the Federal and State governments. It is taught in academic departments in a number of Nigerian universities principally in Nsukka, Ibadan, Lagos, Ekiti and Port Harcourt and in many Colleges of Education - those at Owerri and Awka which award B.Ed in Igbo, and others include those at Nnewi and Eha Amuru which aspire to do likewise.

One of the great problems facing all the three languages is the dearth of trained manpower and teaching materials. While the articles commissioned for this volume may appear highly theoretical for the practical teaching of Igbo, we have no doubt that the foundation of better language teaching is deeper grammatical analysis. This collection is therefore a contribution to national language policy objectives.

This book is unique for a number of reasons; it is the first in-depth study of a single aspect of the Igbo language: the verb. Written by native-speaker linguists, it is in many respects a pioneer work. Furthermore, the tone-marking convention used in this book breaks with the tradition set up by Green and Igwe in their 1963 DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF IGBO. We shall return to this subject below.

The choice of the Igbo verb as the first focus of indepth attention should not surprise anybody familiar with the language. The centrality of the verb in any language is an acknowledged fact, but, perhaps, in few languages is this as striking. Igbo is a verb-centred language; it has even been described as a verb-language (Nwachukwu 1970). This typological feature of Igbo is adumbrated below in chapter 2 where it is shown that there are very few, if any semantically empty function words in the language such as are found in Indo-European languages. Igbo prepositions are verb-forms, and so many nominal constructions (Noun Phrases and Prepositional Phrases) of Indo-European languages are only possible in Igbo with definite verb-forms. This topic is being focalized here in the hope of some response from scholars working in typologically related languages. I have no doubt that typological linguistics has a contribution to make towards a more-adequate definition of language universals.

This volume contains ten chapters on various aspects of the Igbo verb: each contributor takes as his/her theme a particular aspect of the Igbo verb in which he/she has particular interest or specialised knowledge. Inevitably, their fields overlap, and occasionally their views conflict, for they approach the subject from various backgrounds of training and orientation. The authors were not asked to present a coordinated view nor to produce a consensus grammar on the Igbo verb. The main requirement for this volume has rather been new depth of analysis attained.

Thus, Rev. Sister Uwalaka (Ph.D) sets the stage in chapter 1 by posing the problem of exactly what constitutes the Igbo verb - a pertinent question in view of the fact that the Igbo verb could be said to fall into two neat divisions: those with only one nuclear constituent the CV- stem- and those with two nuclear constituents - the CV- stem followed by an inherent nominal complement or meaning specifier with which the verb-stem must be cited in any lexicon.

This issues raised above lead naturally to chapter 6 in which Nwachukwu, under the heading of transitivity, suggests the term inherent-complement verb (since adopted by the standardisation committee of the society of Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) as an appropriate label for the second group of verbs just mentioned. He goes on to show how this sub-category of verbs can be tested for transitivity. The important point emerging from both chapters is that not all nominal compliments coming after Igbo verbs are object compliments put in another way, inherent-complement verbs are not necessarily transitive. These two chapters should be read together on this issue.

In chapter 2, the problem of classification of Igbo verbs is also taken up: three criteria are examined viz: morphological, semantic and syntactic. Verbs can be classified on the basis of their morphemic shapes or on the basis of the meanings expressed by each sub-groups such as stative versus non-stative, motion verbs, copulas et cetera, provided that these semantic labels have corresponding syntactic reflexes or correlates.

The last criterion, the syntactic, is undoubtedly the most important test of any general scheme. Under this heading a distinction is made between auxiliaries and full verbs, between transitive and intransitive verbs-and the unmarked subclass. A small section of this chapter is also devoted to Causative verbs, which in Igbo are compounds of the verb ime 'to do' and any semantically compatible verb-stem.

Chapters 3 and 4 share a concern with verb morphology. In chapter 3 Dr. Emenanjo rightly observes that the process of word derivation in Igbo is unidirectional and always class-changing: unidirectional in the sense that the verb is the only source of new words in Igbo, at least from purely synchronic evidence; and the output of such a derivational process is always a form/word belonging to a different class from its nuclear or base form.

In chapter 4 Dr. Nwachukwu makes the point that the salient distinction in Igbo morphology is not between inflectional and derivational affixes as in English, but between inflectional and non-inflectional affixes. Thus, under non-inflectional affixes we have derivational affixes (including prefixes, interfixes and suffixes), extensional affixes (serves to widen the scope of the meaning of its verb) and enclitics. Each set of affixes is marked out from the other by its distribution.

Chapter 5, "Non-finite Forms of the Igbo Verb" by Dr. Oji, can be seen as concluding this aspect of our study of Igbo morphology. But its emphasis is on the grammatical functions of nomino-verbals (infinitives and gerunds) rather than on their formation, although he does show that reduplication is the process that gives rise to gerunds in Igbo.

By far the most detailed study of Igbo auxiliaries yet made is that presented in chapter 7 by Dr. Emenanjo who treated the topic in his Ph.D thesis. The study is enriched with a good amount of cross-dialect data, and shows the cross-fertilisation of etymology with abstract analysis.

Rev. Sr. Uwalaka tackles a different kind of problem in chapter 8, where she selects a small semantic class, verbs of motion, for detailed examination.

Two subtypes are isolated: direction-of-motion and manner-of-motion verbs, each of them calling for reference to certain deictic elements in the field of discourse as a necessary condition for their accurate semantic reading in sentences. The deictic categories referred to above are the source of motion, the path through which motion takes place, and the goal (destination) of motion. Cast in a Case grammar mould, the chapter concludes with the claim to have specified "the place of deixis in the characterisation of some Igbo motion verbs".

The concluding pages of this volume concentrate on the delicate problem of selectional restrictions holding between verbs and their nominal complements. Written by Mr. G.M.K. Anka, for whom the topic was a postgraduate research subject, the two chapters clearly bring out one of the major differences between Igbo and English: the fact that a group of semantically equivalent verbs will each select different NP complements as objects. The author argues that "there are about seventeen verbs meaning 'to buy' in Igbo but each has a limited number of articles of buying with which it can be associated". The phenomenon is not restricted to any specific dialects, it is a pan-Igbo cultural cum linguistic feature which a foreigner is likely to overlook. It operates on the basis of semantic clusters. In the first part of the chapter, the verbs meaning 'to buy' are examined in detail, in the second part the parameters of weight and measure of the items to be bought are admitted as additional principle of selectional relevance.

This brief resume can only suggest the many theoretical ramifications of these articles. In spite of the variation in dialect-base and mode of presentation, which is to be expected in a book of this nature, the reader will find uncountable echoes from one treatment to the other, which suggest the rewarding nature of such a study.

TOPE-MARKING CONVENTION.

The tone-marking convention used in this book marks a break with Green and Igwe (1963) tradition whereby all low tone and downstep syllables are fully marked, leaving only hightone syllables unmarked.

The convention used here is very similar to that found in Swift, Ahaghotu and Ugorji (1962) and Nwachukwu (1976) and (1983) whereby only the first of a sequence of syllables on the same pitch level is marked, leaving the subsequent ones unmarked until a different pitch level is reached. But it differs from the above convention in this important respect: it employs only two symbols, the acute accent for high and the grave for low tones. Since this convention marks only differences and not sameness, two consecutive high tone marks are used here to stand in the relation of high followed by downstep as in *íde* in place of *idé* (in Green and Igwe) meaning 'to write'. This makes this convention identical with that of Welmers, even though they have different history and origin. It is this convention that we shall increasingly use in future publications.

P. Akyjyobi Nwachukwu.

Some Problems Related to Igbo Verbal Studies

UWALAKA, A. A.

Igbo verbal studies seen in its right perspective is in deed the study of the language. The centrality of the verb in every language is now recognized by linguists. The verb as Chafe (1970:95ff) rightly observes is semantically present in all but some marginal utterances of every language even though the verb may be deleted in surface structure -"the semantic influence of the verb is dominant, extending itself over the subservient accompanying nouns", and over other elements in the sentence. For Fillmore (1968:23) any sentence of any language "in its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases (NP), each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship". Once the centrality of the verb is assumed in a linguistic study, then the problems which relate to the verb will be seen to touch the very core of the study of the language in question.

Perhaps the most important problem relating to Igbo verbal studies is the question of how one decides what constitutes the Igbo verb. This is rather a surprising and yet a very crucial question in any serious study of Igbo. It is self-evident that when asked for any concept that could be expressed by a verb in other languages, the native Igbo speaker almost invariably furnishes a verbal element with its accompanying nominal element. This is because many Igbo verbals select specific nominals. The linguist is thus faced with the problem of deciding whether the verbal element or the verbal plus the nominal element constitutes the Igbo verb. The corollary of this is of course the question as to whether the verbal constitutes a single semantic unit with a following NP in all cases or whether each constitutes an independent semantic unit. In our discussion we shall use/term "predicates" as a cover term for the different groups of Igbo verbs.

Listed below are some Igbo predicative elements:

íga' íjha'	"to walk"
íthá' ytha'	"to blame"
ídha' adha'	"to fall"
ícoq'	"to look for or desire"
íci'	"to take"
íkóú'	"to create/make"
ígbá' oqo'	"to run"
ígbú'	"to kill"
íma' mma'	"to be beautiful"
ínwé'	"to have"
ífu'	"to be lost"
ízú', ízú' ahíá'	"to buy, to trade"
ízú' ohi'	"to steal"
íru'	"to soften/to threaten, as of rain"
íwé'	"to take"
íla'	"to go away"
íló'	"return"

The comparatively small number of clear-cut predicative elements in Igbo has led Emenanjo (1975:45) to suggest that the "Igbo verb obligatorily co-exists with a noun - the complement. In the underlying structure the verb and its noun complement are so mutually obligatory and inseparable that they always function as one semantic unit - the verbal complex". This assertion seems to me an over-simplification of a rather complex question. Let us look closely at the ways in which some of the predicates listed above are used in Igbo sentences.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 1. | Ùbá' zúru' ohi' | Ùba steal -rV (past) ¹ (stealing) |
| | | "Ùba stole" |
| 2. | Ùbá' zúru' ohi' jí' | Ùba steal -rV past stealing yam. |
| | | "Ùba stole yam" |
| 3. | Éze' zúwa' ahíá' | "Eze buy-wa (prog) ² market. |
| | | "Eze is trading/Eze is buying things" |
| 4. | Éze' zúwa' ahíá' ekwá' | Eze buy -wa (prog.) market cloth |
| | | "Eze is trading in cloth". |
| 5. | Ùgho' gbúru' madhú' | Ugho kill -rV (past) person |
| | | "Ugho killed someone" |
| 6. | Ùgho' gbúru' egwó' | Ugho kill -rV (past) snake |
| | | "Ugho killed a snake" |
| 7. | Ónye' yzú' kpúry' mma' | Blacksmith make -rV (past)knife |
| | | "The blacksmith made a knife" |
| 8. | Ónye' yzú' kpúry' egbá' | Blacksmith make -rV (past) gun |
| | | "The blacksmith made a gun" |
| 9. | Ádha' lóro' ahíá' | Adha return -rV (past) market |
| | | "Adha return from the market" |
| 10. | Ádha' lara' Abá' | Adha leave -rV (past) Aba |
| | | "Adha left for Aba". |

There is no doubt that some Igbo predicative elements are analysable as V + N complexes in the way suggested by Emenanjo, i.e. in the deep semantic structure such verb-nominal collocations constitute inseparable semantic units. Consider sentences 1 through 4. It cannot be the case that the NP which follows the verbal element in either 1 or 3 is the direct object of the verb.

On the other hand the NP occurring after each of the predicative elements in 9 and 10 does not function as a true object, since any attempt to pronominalize these will yield the deviant sentences:

- *Adhá lóro yá "Adha come back from it"
 *Adhá lara yá "Adha left for it"

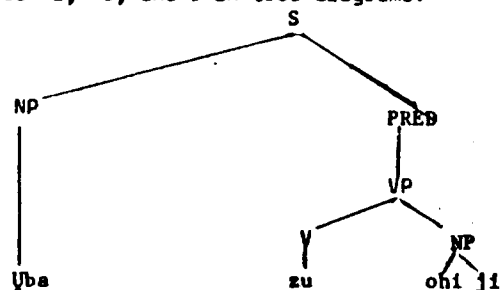
Since the NPs that follow such predicates as those in 9 and 10 are neither cognate objects nor direct objects, they can be analysed as adverbials.

This explains why such an NP can be left unspecified in grammatically well-formed sentences:

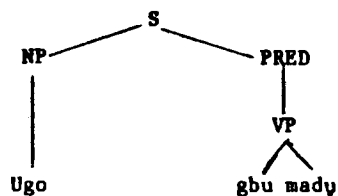
11. Adhá élqá "Adha has returned"
 12. Adhá élaala "Adha has gone/left"

Since such NPs as áhja in 9 and Ába in 10 are sentence adjuncts, they constitute independent units in deep structure. It follows that such Igbo predicates, which take locative - adverbial objects, consists of only a V in the deep semantic structure.

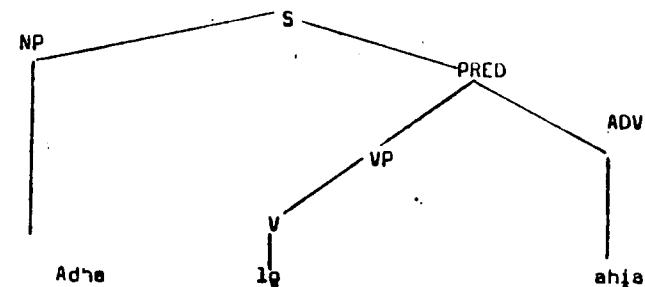
We shall summarize our discussion so far by representing the structures underlying sentences 2, 5, and 9 in tree diagrams:
 (2)



(5)



(9)



The Igbo Verb and the Lexicon:

Following his claim that the Igbo verb is obligatorily associated with the noun complement in the deep structure, Emenanjo (1975: 44) goes on to suggest that "without any exception, every Igbo verb is always used and should be cited in the dictionary with the noun complement". We have now/ever demonstrated that this claim is untenable. By our analysis only verb-cognate object complexes are to be entered together in the lexicon, since apart from these all the other verbs in the language consist of only a V in the deep structure and therefore they are to be entered in the lexicon as such.

One advantage in treating verb-cognate object as a unit in the lexicon is that it would go a long way towards solving the problem of the homophonous verbs that abound in the language. Consider sentences 14 through 17.

14. Adhá mára mma' Adha be beautiful -rV (present) beauty
 "Adha is beautiful"
 15. Adhá mára ose/áñàrà Adha plant -rV (past) pepper, garden egg
 "Adha planted pepper/garden eggs"
 16. Adhá mára imi/òpí Adha blow -rV (past) nose, pipe
 "Adha blew her nose/ a pipe".

Towards a Classification of Igbo Verbs

NWACHUKWU, P. A.

1.0

Introduction

The verb is the most important and prolific category in Igbo. The Igbo language does a lot of things with the verb: it employs a verb-form where many other languages (e.g. Indo-European languages) would use semantically empty function morphemes. For example, we say in Igbo:

1. (a) Ógù ka Diké (na) ogologo. Ogu surpasses Dike in height:
(b) Ibé Kácha ha niile (na) ogologo. Ibe surpasses them all in height.
Ibe is the tallest of them all.

In other words comparative morphemes in English (taller than) are replaced by the verb-form ka e kácha.

2. (a) Si Aba dọ́ Owerri tere áka. Start Aba reach Owerri is far;
From Aba to Owerri is far.
(b) Uny ga-amá ya' si (te) n'okwu gný ya. You will know him from his words.
(c) O ná emévo ónwe ya site n'ínú' oke máí. He disgraces himself going through drinking much wine.
He disgraces himself by drinking too much of wine.

- 3 (a) Ékworo m gí mee yá. I regard you and did it:
I did it for your sake.

4. (a) Richse íhé bya gawá Eat finish thing come/before you go:
Finish eating before setting out.
(b) Anyị́ kwughe íhé banyere agwa We are saying that going into
qjqq gí. behaviour bad your:
We are talking about your bad behaviour.

Each of the underlined words translates or is the equivalent of an English preposition, and each of them is a verb-form of an existing Igbo verb. Furthermore, the Igbo verb is unique in the sense that it is the only category that accepts inflection.

It is only in certain dialects of Igbo, mostly but not exclusively, in the West Niger Igbo area that nouns are inflected for number. In Ibozo, the following distinctions are made:

òkpoghó	eg.	girl/women
ìkpoghó	pl.	girls /women
òkòlobíá	eg.	young man
ìkòlobíá	pl.	young men

Similarly, derivation in Igbo starts and ends with the simple CV-stem. For example, from

-má	'do'	we have
òmumé	doing,	behaviour
mémémé	festival,	ceremony
ímumé	doing	(gerund).

As a matter of fact, the category verb stands out as the most prolific category in Igbo: the simple CV-stem of the verb is the base from which other lexical categories in Igbo are derivable; in other words, morphological processes in the language are unidirectional, always starting from the simple CV-stem and giving rise to other lexical categories, but never reversible in the opposite direction. This is why the language is often described as a verb-language.

But in spite of this clearly defined situation, the Igbo verb has not been seriously studied, a fact which is due to the late start of Igbo scholars in language studies.

Green and Igwe (1963) contains a good number of chapters on Verbs (from chapter XIV page 64 to the end of the book), but copious as this obviously is, it is devoted to paradigms of verb-forms and the various sentence types in which they function. Apart from their distinction between auxiliaries and non-auxiliaries, there is no serious attempt at classifying. Emenanjo (1978) is mainly concerned with the structure of verb-forms and verb phrases. Like Green and Igwe before him, he gives a lot of useful examples of different verb-forms in different sentence types.

Although he devotes one section of chapter 10 to verb classes (cf. 10. 17) his main concern here was to highlight the syntactic differences between Active and Stative verbs.

Qji (1978) in an unpublished Ph. D. thesis of the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies gives a formal and semantic study of The IGBO VERBAL PIECE. Like the two previous books mentioned above, this study is about the structure of the verbal piece, a systemic term which is more embracing than the term, Verb Phrase. As the author points out, the study concentrates on the forms and meanings of the verbs" (cf - Qji 1978: 4). He, however, discusses, though not in detail, the following verb classes: auxiliaries, stative and non-stative verbs, and causatives.

About auxiliaries, Qji rightly adds the verb jí as one of them, but his own jí and mine are different. Two semantically different verbs are involved:

jí auxiliary

jí full verb.

The following are illustrative examples:

4. (a) Ó jí erí aný: He eats meat.
- (b) Ó (jírí) erí aný He used to eat meat.
5. (a) É jí m yá aka: I am holding it.
- (b) Ó jí erí éze tagbuó yá: He bit him to death.

These two semantically distinct verbs are being treated as one in Qji's analysis. Similarly, I reject his treatment of -chó as an auxiliary. The verb chó is a verb of purposive action which takes a full sentential complement introduced by kà or an infinitive complement. In Nwachukwu (1976): chó along with other verbs of similar meaning and syntactic characteristics are described as verbs of 'forward-looking aspect' where forward-looking refers to inter-clause time relationship.

Examples:

- 7 (a) Ányí chọrọ ka ányí gaa n'ogè
Ányí chọrọ ịgá n'ogè. We want to go in time.

2.00 Parameters of Classification.

Linguistic forms are generally classified on the basis of their syntactic characteristics. In a tone language, such as Igbo, the syntactic criteria will also include the tonal features of the linguistic forms in question. However, it has now become the practice to include semantic considerations in subcategorising linguistic forms, especially where such semantic characteristics have corresponding syntactic reflexes.

To the above criteria, one can also add a morphological one. On the basis of structure alone, a class of Igbo verbs stands out very clearly from the rest. This class is made up of verbs which exist in the language only in their reduplicated forms; the following are examples:

-zuzu	from	izuzu	to behave foolishly
-shishi	"	ishishi	" group about
-mimi	"	imimi	" move stealthily.
-gugu	"	igugu	" embrace, fold in one's arms.
-chichi	"	ichichi	" move slowly.
-kwukwu	"	ikwukwu	" rumour
-lili	"	ilili	to struggle with difficulty.
-titi	"	ititi	" delay
-ruru	from	iruru	to soften.

What is interesting about these verbs is that very often the simple CV-stem of each of them does not seem to exist. They therefore constitute a unique class by themselves.

In view of the fact that tonal classification cuts across both the syntactic and semantic classes, it is more appropriate to start with it.

2.1 Tonal Classification of Verbs -

Many dialects of Igbo outside the Central area have a two-way classification of their verbs, whereas others have a three-way classification. A three-way tonal classification of simple CV-verb stems is given here since it is more inclusive:

Tone Class 1	-rí	(from irí)	eat
	-nwú	(from inwú)	die
	-gbú	(from igbú)	kill
	-ńú	(from inńú)	drink
	-rá	(from irá)	leak, drink, eat.
	-gbá	(from igbá)	run.
	-rá ahú	(irá ahú)	be difficult
	-gú	(from igú)	read.

This is a class of verbs the CV-stem of which is on a high tone.

Tone Class 2

By contrast, the simple CV-stem of this class is on a low tone:

	-dà	(from ida)	fall
	-zà	(from iza)	sweep
	-fú	(from ifu)	go out/ away
	-bí	(from ibi)	live
	-zú	(from izu)	to meet some one
	-fú	(from ifu)	be lost, get missing

For most dialects of Igbo, except those in the central area, this two-way classification covers all verbs; however, for some dialects of the central Igbo area, there is need for a third class of verbs. These are verbs which behave tonally like class 1 in certain verb-forms, and in others like class 2. In their citation form they are exactly like tone class 1 verbs thus:

Tone class 3:

	-bá	from ibá	to come.
	-jà	from íjà	to go
	-gà	from ígà	to go.
	-lọ	from ílọ	to return
	-hú	from íhú	to see
	-nú	from ínú	to hear
	-kwú	from íkwú	to talk
	-mè	from ímè	to do

2.2 Complex/Compound

The two terms, compound and complex, are used in free variation here: they denote the verbs the stem of which are made up of the following:

- (I) two CV-stems - as in
12. (a) gbúda` (from ígbúda`) (gbú + da) cut down
 (b) méma (from íméma) (mé + má) to correct
 (c) médo (from ímédo) (mé + dó) to correct,
 treat well
 (d) tígbu (from ítígbu) (tí + gbú) to beat to death
- 13 (II) a CV-stem + suffix as in
- (a) méche (from íméche) to finish / complete
 (b) zàche (ízàche) to finish / complete
 (c) jéfu (from íjéfu) to be able to go.

As Emenajo (1978: 135) rightly observed, in theory there is no limit to the number of elements (roots and suffixes) that can be found in a complex verb form, but in practice the number actually occurring is generally between two and five, with two-to three-morpheme complex verbs being very popular. We do not intend to treat this class in any detail here, although we would like to make a number of general statements about their tone pattern: As a general rule, the tone pattern of complex verbs can be determined from the tonal class of the constituent morphemes.

LEXICAL CLASSES

3.0.0

The classification of Igbo verbs into different lexical classes should, as much as possible, be based on syntactic criteria; it is only when formal criteria fail to provide an unambiguous classification that semantic considerations can be admitted.

3.1. AUXILIARIES + NON-AUXILIARIES

The first obvious distinction to make is between Auxiliaries and Non-auxiliaries or full verbs. As Emenajo (1978: 126-7) has rightly pointed out, auxiliaries differ from full verbs in this essential respect - they are never used alone; their presence entails the presence of a bound verb complement which has been described as participle (cf Emenajo, 1978 and Green and Igwe 1963). However, in order to better appreciate the functions of Igbo auxiliaries, one needs to study the functions of English auxiliaries.

Emenajo (1978) records seven auxiliaries so far known in Igbo; these are.

- (i) na/di` (progressive and habitual marker)
 (ii) di` (progressive negative marker (ǝnicha)
 (iii) ga` (future marker)
 (iv) ma` (future negative marker)
 (v) ga` ka` (perfective marker)
 (vi) ga` ke` the unfulfilled
 (vii) ga` ka` the unfulfilled.

This number can be re used to five if we analyse ga-ka both as an auxiliary and modal verb; the following sentences illustrate the fact:

12. (a) Ógu` ga` eje` ahía. Ogu will go to market
 (b) Ógu` ga` eje` ahía (Ogu will have)
 (c) Ógu` ga` ejeriri` ahía (has) to go to market.
 must)
 (d) Nneanna` gaara/yara` mbia.abia
 'Nnenna would/should have come. (the implication is that she did not come).

- (e) Nnenna geara/gara ìbya Nnenna should have come.
(the implication is that she did not)

Examples 12 (d) and (e) are interesting for the type of structure they reveal: each of them is the consequent of an unfulfilled conditional construction, (note that a conditional construction is made up of two parts - the if - clause or antecedent and the consequent) consequently each of them (d and e) can be extended by the addition of an appropriate antecedent, thus:

- (f) Nnenna gaara abya ma a si na ò nùtara
Nnenna would have come if she had heard (of it)

Very often, however, the consequent of an unfulfilled conditional construction is used to express the meaning of 'nearly' in Igbo.

- (g) I gaara ìmery ya ahy. = You would have wounded him;
You nearly wounded him.

- (h) Ò gaara ya mmevò He nearly exposed him.
Ò gaara ìmévò y

The dual role of ga as a modal auxiliary should be taken into account in determining the number of auxiliaries in Igbo.

To the number given by Emenanjo one should add another auxiliary, ji, which is very popular in Mbaise. In this area, na no longer expresses a progressive meaning because its dialects have a suffix -gna/ghe which performs the function. Rather, na expresses desires and intentions (simple futurity) whereas ji expresses habit:

13. (a) Ana m eri ji I am going to eat yam.
(b) I want to eat yam (as opposed to something else).
(b) Ò na ahyi mai He wants to drink wine.
(c) Ò ji eri ji He eats yams (as of habit)
(d) Ò ji ahyi mai He drinks.
(e) Ha ji eme nshi They are poison makers.

3.2. The Copules.

A copule is a type of relator or relational verb providing a link between the subject of a sentence and its complement. In English, French and Latin the 'verb to be' is a typical copule. In classical Latin or Greek, the "verb to be" does not take an object, but a complement: "It takes the same case before it as after it."

'Ille beatus est' He is blessed/lucky
Magister bonus est The master is good.

In these Latin sentences both ille and Magister are in the nominative (subjective) case as the predicative adjectives, beatus and bonus.

In Igbo, there are three such copules.

In wu/by, di & na.

Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

16. (a) Ò di ndu It is alive.
(b) Ò di mkpa It is important
(c) Ò di eferé It is light.
(d) Ò di ma It is fine.
(e) Ò di ike. It is hard, tough.
(f) Ò di alyiq/nrué It is soft.

It will be observed that what follows di is a nominal that always translates English adjectives. Let us call them Predicative Nominals or Noun phrase. Therefore this copule occurs in the syntactic frame:

[- predicative Nominal -]

On the other hand wu / by is found in the following type of constructions:

17. (a) Ò bu /wu Okeké It is Okeke
(b) Ò bu ihe gma It is something good.
(c) Ò bu aru It is an abomination.
(d) Ò bu nsogbu gi It is your problem.

Note that the nominals which follow the copula *wy/by* are not the equivalent of English adjectives. Thus, *wy / by* occurs in the following frames:

[— NP]

The remaining copula - *nq* always takes a locative phrase, thus:

18. (a) Ógù nq n'ú'lq. Ogu is at home.
 (b) Ógù nq ya
 (c) Éghu nq n'ime y'lq. A goat is in the house.

An Overlap of functions

Between *dí* and *nq*, there is an overlap of functions or complementarity: both copules can be followed by a locative (prepositional phrase) complement:

- 19 (a) Égo dí n'akpa á: There is some money in my pocket.
 (b) Akwykwq gí dí n'élú oché: Your book is on the table.
 (c) Ntú dí gí n'isi: Dust is on your hair.
 Your hair is dusty.

Generally speaking *nq* tends to take animate whereas *dí* tends to take inanimate subjects. However, there are some dialects that do not seem to make this rigid distinction.

STATIVE and NON-STATIVE VERBS.

Within the sub-category of full verbs, one convenient and useful subdivision is between Stative and Non-stative verbs. This division is a well-known one in language studies and it happens to be appropriate to the study of the Igbo verb. Because classification is in general not hierarchic, we should expect one verb to belong to more than one class, a phenomenon known as cross-classification.

3.3.1. Stative Verbs

Stative verbs are verbs which refer not to an activity but to a state or condition. The idea of duration is an integral part of their meaning, a fact which explains why stative verbs do not require the progressive form to express duration. Thus, we say (a - c) but not (d - f).

20. (a) $\begin{matrix} \text{ch} \\ \text{di} \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \text{cha} \\ \text{di} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ycha}$ It is white/clean
 (b) Ó bí ébe á He lives here.
 (c) Q' nq ya He is at home/ in.
 (d)* Q' chagha ycha
 (e)* O bighe ebe a
 (f)* Q' nqgha ya

The Stative verbs in Igbo fall into two inflectional groups: (i) - those that take the -rV suffix and those that do not. Since the latter group is smaller in number, we would like to treat them last.

The rV Stative Verbs.

The majority of Stative verbs in Igbo are characterised by their taking an -rV suffix to express a present state. The co-occurrence of this -rV suffix with verb-forms expressing present meaning was used to argue a case for the non-relevance of tense in Igbo, (cf Emenanjo 1975, Winaten 1973). It has, however, been observed that a large number of Igbo Stative verbs need an -rV form to express their present meaning, (cf Nwachukwu 1976, (a) and (b) and forthcoming). These verbs include -

- 21 (a) -bù íbù Ó búru íbù He/she is fat.
 (b) -pé mpe Ó pére mpe He is small.
 (c) -má mmá Q' mára mmá He/she is beautiful
 (d) -jǒ njǒ Ó jǒrǒ njǒ He/she is ugly.

(e) -kpù ishi.	Ishi kpuru ya	He/she is blind
(f) -pí'anya	Anyá pí'rí ya	He/she is one-eyed.
(g) -rú'ukwú	Úkwú rúrú ya	He/she is lame/deformed.
(n) -da'ógbú/okpi	Ogbú dara yá	He is dumb.
(i) -chí'ntí	Ntí chí'ri ya	He is deaf.
(j) -da'íbi	Ibí dara yá	He has a swollen scrotum.
(k) -nwé:	O' nwé'ere ego	He has money.
(l) -ba'úru	O' bá'ra úrú	It is useful.
(m) -hí'nne	O' hí'ri nne	It is big, sufficient, enough.
(n) -jí	Úkwú/aka jí'ri ya.	His leg/hand is broken : he has a broken leg/hand.
(o) -jú	O' jú'ru e'jú.	It is full.
(p) -fó	O' f'ó'f'ó at'ó	It remains three

Others are:-

-yí'	(iyí')	resemble
-zhi'	(izhí')	to be straight, upright
-hyí'	(ihyí')	not straight, bent.
-chá'	(ichá')	to be ripe, ripen.
-go'	(igo')	to be ripe, ripen.
-ká'	(ika')	to be ripe.
-hye'	(ihye')	to go crooked, deviate, be bad, unjust.
-re'	(ire')	to be rotten.
-khwú'	(ikhwú')	to show early sign of decay, swell.
-khwó'	(ikhó')	
-mághú'	(imághú')	ditto.
-shí'íkhe	(ishi'íkhe)	to be strong.
-su'	(isú')	to shrink, withdraw.

This list is by no means exhaustive; their number only confirms our contention that a large number of Igbo verbs which are Stative in meaning require an obligatory -rV Suffix to express this meaning in the present. There is a corresponding form of the same verb expressing the past state since what is integral to their meaning is duration not permanence.

3.3.2 The Simple CV- Stative Verbs.

These are verbs which express the Stative present meaning in their simple CV- Stems.

They include:

(1) the copulas *dí*, *wú* and *nó* (cf 3.2. exx. 16 - 19)

Of these three copulas, the most versatile is *dí* which (as was observed under example 16) is followed by nominals which always translate Indo-European adjectives. What seems to be the situation in Igbo is this: either a Stative verb is an inherent-complement verb (cf Nwachukwu on "Transitivity in Igbo" for a proper definition); Examples:

ba' úrú	be useful,
kú' ilu.	be bitter
tó' uto	be sweet

or the Stative meaning is expressed by the copula *dí* followed by an appropriate nominal complement. Very often, the same meaning is expressed either way, as in

(a) Ófe a'	tó' uto	This soup is tasty
	t'oró	
(b) Nwóko' a'	dí O'gologo.	This man is tall.
(d) Ó' dí/màre	ímá.	She is beautiful.
(e) Ó'	J'ò'ò' n'jó'	She is ugly
Ó'	dí/pèrè mpé	She is small.

By contrast, there are other stative verbs in the language which are not interchangeable with the copula *dí*. There seems to be no system in the whole phenomenon, consequently it is not possible to predict which inherent-complement verbs do interchange position with the copula in question.

For example one does not say (f) in place (g):

(f) *O' dī' urū (g) O' bera urū.

(ii) Other simple CV- Statives.

In addition to the Copulas, the following Verbs belong to the same sub-class

(a)	-lú/kú ilu	Ogwú ahú kú/lu ilu	That medicine is better.
(b)	-jí nji	O jí nji	He/she is black
(c)	-chá ycha	Akwá ahú chá ycha	That cloth is white.
(d)	-jé njé	Ihe dī' etu a' jé njé	A thing like this is bad.
(e)	-má mmá	Agwa ya má mmá.	His/her manners are good.
(f)	-gó ugo	O' gó ugo	He/she is black
(g)	-bí	Ibe bí n'Abá	Ibe lives at Aba.
(h)	-nú	O' nú ná nné yá	He/she resembles his/her mother.
(i)	nwé	Enye nwényé, ya wéré.	He/ she who owns, let him/her take. 2

3.3.3.

The Stative - Active Verbs

There is a third, small group of verbs which behave both like stative and Active verbs. In discussing these verbs, we have to distinguish between two notions: progression and the result of that progression: we need these two aspects of meaning in order to understand why certain Igbo verbs can be both Stative and active. The verbs in question are:-

vu/bu	(from ibu/ivu)	to carry (as of load)
ku	(from iku)	to carry (as of baby)
kwé	(from íkwé)	to carry (as of baby)
pa	(from ípa)	to carry (by hand)
ti	(from iti)	to wear (as of clothes)
yi	(from iyi)	to wear (as of clothes)

3. The relationship between nwe and nwere, both forms of one and the same verb, is not clear to me.

Ogu nwe moto a: This car belongs to Ogu/is Ogu's
Ogu nwere moto: Ogu owns/has a car.

It seems that nwe expresses the notion of 'belonging to' while the form nwere expresses that of 'own' or 'have'.

Towards a Classification of Igbo Verbs

-sù	(from ísù)	to wear (as of clothes)
-má	(from ímá)	to tie (as of wrappers)
-kpù	(from íkpù)	to wear (as of hat).

As progression/activity verbs, the above can be in both the progressive and imperative forms, thus

24(a) (a) {vughe }
He {nè'evú } nkwy

They are busy gathering palm fruits.

- (b) . Anyí vughe a'ja v'lo.
We are busy gathering mud for building a house.
- (c) . Ade kughe nwé n'afé a.
Ade is caring for a baby this year (and so may not attend School).
- (d) . Í ga kwoghe ya n'azú?
Are you now carrying him/her on the back?
- (e) . Ymú nwáanyí págha oche. = The women are carrying chairs. The women are transferring chairs, (from one place to another.)
- (f) . Biko, cheretú, O (tígha) uwé yá
(ná'etí) úwé ya
Please, wait a little, he/she is busy putting on his/her dress.
- (g) . O' gála maghe akwá. She is yet busy tying her wrappers.
- (h) . O' ná'ékpu ókpu yá
O' kpu'ghe He is busy putting on his cap/ hat.

I have deliberately added the expression "busy ... doing something" to emphasise the process involved in these examples.

Their Imperative Form

As active, process verbs, they have their imperative forms. It is interesting to note that they all form their imperative by the addition of an -rV suffix:

- 25 (a) Vurú ya'lawá! Carry it and go! Carry it home (for yourself)
- (b) Kurú nwé ké m'gaa orú =
Carry the baby so that I may go to work.

- (c) Kwòrò yá n'azú: Carry him on your back!
 (d) Pára yá n'aka: Carry it by hand!.
 (e) Yiri/yiri/syry éfe gí: Put on your dress!.
 (f) Marakwa jgqjí bíá: Do come in George wrappers.
 (g) kpúú okpu phqó ahú: Wear that new hat/cap.

It is not yet clear how to classify the -rV suffix involved here; it is tempting to see it as a benefactive suffix, but that meaning is not consistently borne out by all the verbs involved, for example.

kwòrò: (Carry (a baby) on the back)
 kúú (carry (a baby))

whatever may be the label that we decide to give to these verbs, this morphological characteristic is clear - they form their imperative by the addition of an -rV suffix, where others require an open vowel suffix.

END OF PROGRESSION/ACTIVITY

With these verbs, the end point of the process is a result, a "fait accompli" which has the sense of duration. Accordingly, the verb-forms change from a CV-stem + suffix to a simple CV-stem, like their counterparts in section 3.2.2

The following are illustrative examples:

- 26 (e) Ó vù avò/nkwú: He is carrying/has a long basket/palm fruit on his head.
 (d) Ó kù nwá yá: She is carrying/has her baby (in her arms)
 (c) Ó kwò yá n'azú: She has the baby on her back.
 (d) Ó pá atyá n'aka: He is carrying a jar of palm wine in his hand.
 (e) Ó tí uwé mára mmá: She has a beautiful dress on.
 (f) Há nííle má jgqjí: All of them have George wrappers on.
 (g) Ó kpù okpu ezé yá: He has his crown on (his head).

Other verbs of the same morphological characteristic include:

-Si (isi) to come from, hail from.
 -gba (from igba) to wear.

khwú: (from íkhwú) to wear
 nya (from ínyà) to wear on the neck.

In other words, all verbs of ornamentation belong to this sub-class.

The above list is by no means exhaustive, nor is this morphological characteristic of forming the imperative in an -rV suffix confined to this class of Stative - Active verbs. On the contrary, there are many other verbs that behave this way.

3.3.4

The past form of Stative Verbs

It has been pointed out earlier that what is integral to the meaning of these verbs is duration and not permanence. In real life the state/condition denoted by these verbs can change or cease to exist. For this reason the language has corresponding forms for expressing present and past conditions. Having seen the present forms in foregoing examples, let us look at the past forms:

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>
27 (a)	Ó nwéere égo He is wealthy	Ó nwéere/nwéburu ego He was/used to be wealthy
(b)	Ó bàrà úrú: It is useful	Ó bàrà/bàburu úrú It used to be useful
(c)	Úkwú rýry ye He/she has a deformed leg.	Úkwú rýry/rýburu ye He/she used to have a deformed leg.

From the above three examples, it will be observed that the stative -rV Verbs form their past either by adding an -rV or -buru suffix, all of which express the past.

The other sub-category of verbs which do not express their present also form their past in the same way:

Examples.	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>
28 (a)	Ó nq yá: He is in	Ó nqòq/ nqòq yá He was in
(b)	Ó kù nwá He is carrying a baby	Ó kuru/kúuru nwá He was carrying a baby.
(c)	Ó kpù okpu: He has a hat on.	Ó kpúuru/kpúuru okpu He had a hat on.

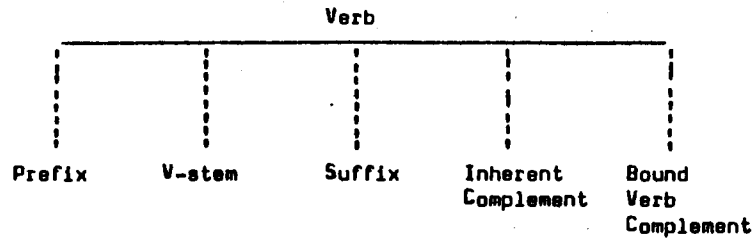


fig. 2.

fig. 2. shows two types of complements - inherent complement which may or may not be cognate, and bound verb complement.

Examples:

- 32. (a) Okwu a bare uru! This is useful talk/discussion.
- (b) Okwu wa ejjola njo ejjo. The discussion has already gone sour.

Each of them can be configurationally represented as follows:

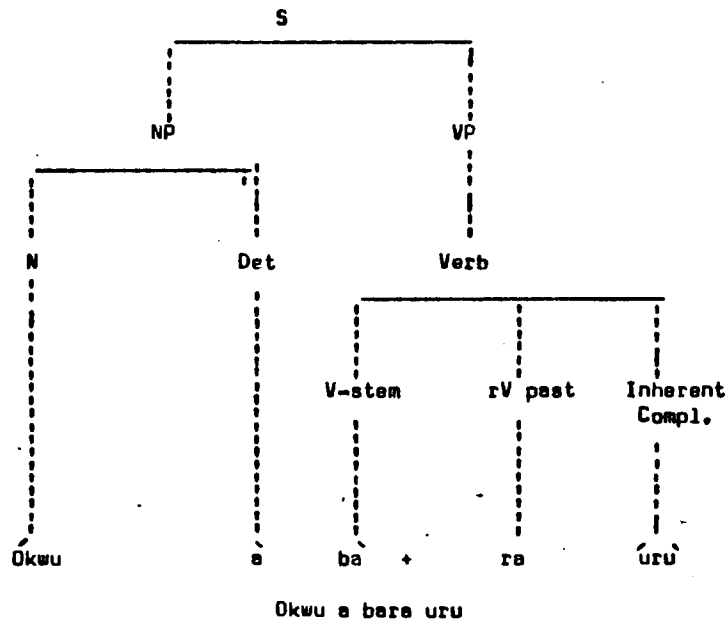


fig. 3

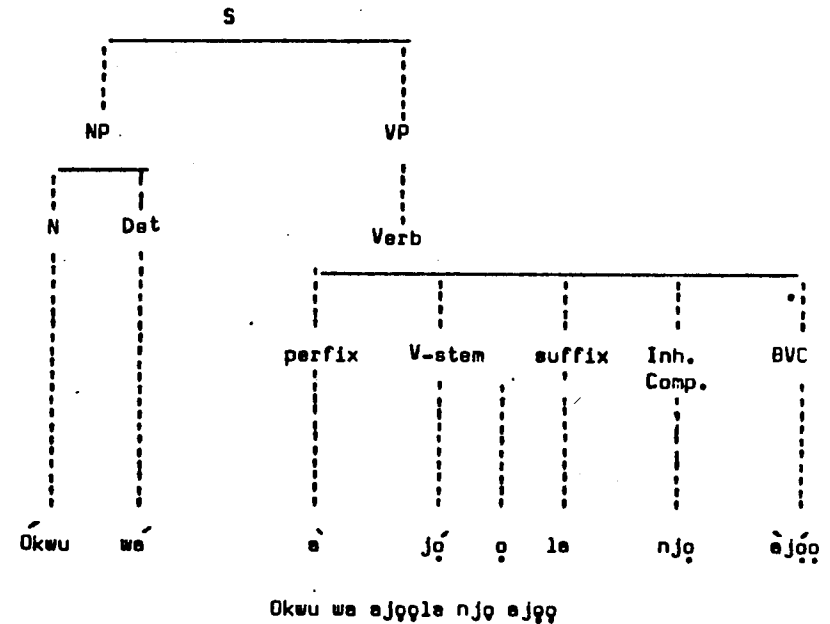


fig. 4

When this distinction is made, it will become clear that the dichotomy between transitive and intransitive verbs is well motivated in Igbo: For example, figs. 3 & 4 show that the two inherent-complement-verbs involved are all intransitive.

Thus we have:

- (i) a transitive sub-group
- (ii) an intransitive sub-group and
- (iii) an unmarked class which can be transitive in one context, but intransitive in the other, (cf Nwachukwu on Transitivity).

4.0 OTHER SUB-CLASSES - CAUSATIVES.

There are other sub-classes of verbs that can be isolated on both syntactic and semantic grounds. One such group is made up of Causative verbs. As Oji (1978) observes, the precise definition of causation still poses a problem to linguists. But we are not delving

In Igbo, causation is brought about mainly by compounding two verbs one of which seems to be always a verb of activity. A typical example is

-mé (from ímé) to do, make, cause.

Thus, any Igbo verb which is a combination of mé and another verb-stem is a causative verb. Examples;

- 33 (a) -méme - cause to become good, correct, rectify.
 (b) -méhyè - cause to become bad, go wrong, offend.
 (c) -mébha - cause to enter, do in, implicate.
 (d) -méfù - exclude.
 (e) -mégbu - cheat.
 (f) -méghe - open
 (g) -méry - defile, desecrate
 (h) -mébí - destroy, spoil.
 (i) -mélù - spoil.

Others are:

- 34 (a) kýgbu - to kill by beating
 (b) kýbè - to break.
 (c) kýhyè - to break.
 (d) kýwa - to break
 (e) kýñè - twist, bend.
 (f) kýsà - to scatter
 (g) kýjí - to break
 (h) kýfú - to loose, cause to miss.
 (i) kýbha - drive in.
 (j) kýmì - drive in deeper.
 (k) kýfè - score, cause to pass by playing/beating.

The above list is only representative.

A lot has been written in English about the analysis of 'kill' as 'cause to become not alive'. Our analysis of causative in Igbo does not follow such a line.

I would rather see the Igbo verb gbú as an atomic verb translatable into 'cause to die' but not derivable from other putatively atomic predicates.

4.1. Complementizable Verbs.

This group comprises verbs which take sentential complements as subject or object. The ability to take a sentence as subject or object marks out a certain class of verbs from others. In the following examples, the NP-sentential complement has been underlined.

- 35 (a) Nè ò' nwúry (anwu) wùtere m. That he/she died pained me.
 (b) Nà ó byáduy n'óge gósiri ná ó byàwara fáa
 That he/she arrived in time shows that he/she set out in time.
 (c) Ányí ga ajúta yá mà ó ga ejé.
 We shall find out from him whether (or not) he will go.
 (d) Ányí choro ka anyi mezie / imeze okwu ahú
 We want to settle that matter.

Observe that the sentential complement in each case is introduced by a conjunction called complementizer (from which the title complementizable verbs is derived). Within this sub-class, different verbs select different complementizers and, consequently, different sentential complement types according to their semantic properties. As was pointed out in section I Only the verbs which select the ka complements (such as choro in (d) above may have the infinitive in its place: there is a transformational link between the infinitive and the full sentential complement in 35 d above. Noun phrase Sentential complementation in Igbo has been studied in detail by Nwachukwu. (cf 1976 e).

5.0 Conclusion.

The aim of this essay is to provide a preliminary framework within which the Igbo verb can be studied.

Within the time and space available, I have attempted to do so. The amount of detail that one includes in a study of this type depends on the degree of delicacy of description that one would like to attain. We have done no more than isolate various lexical classes of verbs on the basis of their syntactic (and sometimes semantic) characteristics. To do more than this would require a book or at least a monograph. It is hoped that this paper will provide the necessary impetus for further and in-depth study of the Igbo verb.

FOOT NOTES

Imádo is a complex verb of Nsykke origin. I have been excited by the fact that in this dialect it is possible to combine a verb-stem and a noun-since the stem do must come from ùdd, Peace.

The relationship between *nwé* and *nwéere*, both forms of one and the same verb, is not clear to me.

Ogu *nwé* motó a: This car belongs to Ogu/is Ogu's
Ogu *nwéere* motó: Ogu owns/has a car.

It seems that *nwé* expresses the notion of 'belonging to' while the form *nwéere* expresses that of 'own' or 'have'.

Verb Derivational Morphology

EMENANJO. E. 'N.

In this paper we would like to look at the fact that the Igbo verbal system in general and the verbs in particular are the only source in the language for creating new words. In a language like English, the nominal and verbal systems can be used as sources from which other words belonging to same or different word classes can be derived. Take for example:

man	noun	manage	(verb)
to man	(vb)	manage-r	(n)
man-ly	(adj)	manager-ess	(n)
		manage-ment	(n)
man-like	(adj)	manage-able	(adj)
man-hood	(n)	manage-rial	(adj)
man-li-ness	(n)	manage-ability	(n)

I.0 In Igbo, it is only from verbs that other words can be derived. The Igbo verb is the only form class from which a useful plethora of cognate lexical items of varying morphological structures and equally of varying syntactic behaviour have been derived and can still be derived, at least, for a good majority of them. In this respect Igbo, a largely agglutinating language, resembles Latin and classical Arabic, both inflectional languages. All serious studies of Igbo grammar have recognised this phenomenon: Abraham (1966), Emenanjo (1971, 1974, 1978) and Williamson (1972), Igwe (1977) Nwachukwu (1975) and Green and Igwe (1963). Where some of these studies merely recognised the phenomenon, others like Abraham's, Emenanjo's, Green and Igwe's and Williamson's, discussed it with varying degrees of

detailed exposition and exemplification. Where Green and Igwe refer to this verb derivational morphology of Igbo as 'cognate clusters', Emenajo (1975, 1978) refers to it simply as 'verbal derivatives.'

2.0. CHARACTERISTICS - VERBAL DERIVATIVES

2.1 Our experience with verbal derivatives shows that Igbo dialects differ feily considerably in the number of derivatives that can originate from any given verb. On the whole, however, the 'Central' dialects seem to be more prolific than the Northern dialects. I suppose this is because of the more complex and richer nature of the phonology of the Central Igbo dialects. With their distinctive aspiration and nasalization and more extensive manipulations of palatalization and labialization these dialects have in-built mechanisms for making finer and richer distinctions than the Northern dialects the phonology of which has become very highly simplified.

2.2 THE PRODUCTIVITY OF VERBS

In all varieties of Igbo such as Onicha, Ohuhu or Standard, not all verbs are equally productive in verbal derivatives. As a rule of thumb, [+ action] verbs are more productive than the [- action] verbs. Among the [- action] verbs, a semantic sub-class of verbs used for expressing existential notions for being, descriptive in nature and translatable into English as adjectives, have the fewest possible derivatives. For the relative productivity of [+ action], and [- action] verbs see Emenajo (1978: 142 - 146).

2.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DERIVATIVES

In a language such as Igbo, it is not surprising that affixation, and

reduplication are the major morphological processes employed in these derivations. In specific terms we have:

(i) Prefixation

i'-cha'	'to be/become white'
g'-cha'	'white', 'light-coloured'
n'-cha'	'whitening + sense of inception'
y'-cha'	'colour', 'colouration'

(ii) Prefixation and suffixation

e'-ri'-m	'fact/possibility of eating'
o'-ri'-i'	'eater' + hab. aspect + bad sense
n'-ri'-f'	'indulgence in eating'
n'-ri'-m	'fact/possibility of eating'

(iii) Prefixation and interfixation and reduplication

e'-ra'-m-e-ri	'eatables, 'food' possibility of eating'
e'-ri-me-e-ri	'a variety of edible things'
n'-ri'-m-ri	'indiscriminating, eating'
	'parasite', 'ringworm'

(iv) Prefixation and full reduplication.

e'-ri'-ri	'gluttony', 'greed for food'
i'-ri'-ri	'to actually eat' 'to always eat'
o'-ri'-ri	'possibility of eating', 'feast banquet' 'celebration'

(v) a miscellany of reduplicated forms, involving prefixation - reduplication, interfixation, and suffixation.

e'-ri'-ri-e-ri	'eaten', 'consumed'
o'-ri'-o'-ri-i	'glutton', 'cheat'
o'-ri'-m-o'-o'-ri-	'great eater, one with a big - appetite'
n'-ri'-i-n-ri-i'	'frequent eating' + bad sense'
n-ri-m-n-ri	'frequent, indeterminate eating + bad sense'.

(v9i) Prefixation and partial reduplication

q̣-chí-cha	'possibility of becoming white'
n-chícha	'leprosy'

2.4 DIACHRONIC MORPHOLOGY AND THE DERIVATIVES

(i) While some derivatives can still be produced on the application of the relevant derivational rules, there are certain processes that have ceased to be productive. A group of these have the following structural pattern:

$V_1 - VR - V_2$

where V_1 = any vowel prefix; VR = verb root and V_2 = vowel of verb root.

é-jq̣-q̣	'bad (ness)'
q̣-jq̣-q̣	'bad (ness)'
ó-ji-í	'black(ness)'
ó-ji-é	'black(ness)'
é-gb-q̣-q̣	'vomit'
é-gu-ú	'hunger/hungry'
q̣-kp̣-q̣	'dry(ness)'
q̣-hu-ú	'new(ness)'

Evidence provided by é-gbq̣-rq̣ 'vomit', é-gu-rú. 'hunger' and q̣-hu-rú 'new(ness)' suggests that this form may have been derived from a form like:

$V_1 - VR \bar{z} -rV$

where $V_1 = E - O -$, and $=rV$ is a suffix for deriving [- concrete] nominals from a semantic class of verbs that is [+ stative]

(ii) In making the observation that certain derivatives like those illustrated above seem no longer productive or belong to a very closed class, it is necessary for us to caution that the lack of sufficient acquaintance with the deep lexicon of Igbo on the part of many of us could lead us to such a conclusion. For example, in Emenajo (1978: 147) it was observed that with a derivative like n̄jem 'a pre-arranged journey, we cannot now tell for certain how it came to be derived', and by

implication that it is an archaic form. But looking through the Igwe list we notice forms with the same pattern:

$N_1 - VR - N_2$

where N_1 = homorganic syllabic nasal, VR = verb root, and N_2 is a syllabic nasal but always m as in

n̄-je-m	'a pre-arranged journey'
n̄-cha-m	'fact/accomplishment of ripening'
n̄-ri-m	'fact/accomplishment of eating'

2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF THE DERIVATIVES.

I think that a more useful and more economical way of classifying the verbal derivatives is by simultaneously and systematically applying the following three criteria:

- syntactic behaviour
- morphological shape
- inherent meaning

(iv) With these criteria, I will recognize the following broad semantic/grammatical classes of Igbo verbal derivatives:

- nomino-verbals
- nominals

The advantage which this classification has over any other is that the facts of the language justify it. Again it prevents the unnecessary atomization of related forms into different sub-classes (as Igwe (1977) has suggested by his labels).

2.6 THE NOMINO - VERBALS

We owe this term to Igwe and Green (1963:167-171).

These are items whose 'formal behaviour is in part that of nouns and in part that of veros'.

The nomino-verbals are:

(a) Infinitives

- (i) simple infinitive: írí 'to eat'
(ii) emphatic infinitive: írírí 'to actually eat'
(iii) the negative infinitive: éríghí 'not to eat'.
(iv) perfect infinitive: írígo 'to have eaten'
 íríla.

(b) Participles

- (i) simple participle èrí 'eating'
(ii) obligative participle ńrí 'must eat'
(iii) negative participle éríghí 'not eating'
(iv) perfect participle éíla / érígo- / 'have eaten'

2.7 THE INFINITIVES

(i) The Simple Infinitive. Morphologically, this is made up of the high tone harmonising vowel prefix I', and the verb-base which may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic or polysyllabic. For high tone monosyllabic verbs, the verb-base is on downstep while for low tone verbs, it is on a low tone. Other verb-bases, extensional suffixes or enclitics can be found in the Simple Infinitive. (In some varieties like Nnewi, the open vowel suffix can be found on the Simple Infinitive.

(i) Ọ̀ dábàrọ̀ mmádù ịpụ̀ọ̀ méwe íhe énwéọ̀ ịsị. 'It is of no use for one to go out and do something worthless'

(ii) The Emphatic Infinitive. Morphologically, this is made up of a low tone harmonizing vowel prefix I' - (or in some dialects a low tone homorganic syllabic nasal) and the monosyllabic

verb root which is fully reduplicated.

- í-ri-ri 'to actually eat'
n-ri-ri 'actually eating'
í-cha-cha 'to actually wash'
n-cha-cha 'really washing'

This derivative does not seem to be known in all dialects of Igbo.

(iii) The Negative Infinitive. Morphologically, this is made up of the harmonizing verbal prefix E- on a high tone, the verb-base and the harmonizing general negative suffix -ghí.

- é-ri-ghí
é-za-ghí

Notice that the first syllable is on downstep or low tone as in the Simple (or affirmative) Infinitive. While this derivative is known and used in all Igbo dialects, in some dialects, the negative indicator is the Negative Imperative suffix = nE, rather than the general negative suffix = ghí

- é-li-na 'not to eat'
é-za-na 'not to sweep'

(iv) The Perfect Infinitive. Morphologically this is the same as the Simple Infinitive to which the perfective suffix is affixed.

- í-ri-go 'to have eaten'
í-za-go 'to have swept'

This derivative does not seem to be universally known in all dialects. It is very commonly used in Onicha and in some Enuani Igbo dialects (and perhaps in others unknown to me) as complement to the verb -kwesi

(li) 'ought to/should have'.

2(a) Ó kwèsìlì ílísìgo nni afù kítas.

'He ought to have finished eating that food by now'.

(b) Ó kwèsìrì írìchaala nri ahụ

(c) Ó kwèsìlì ízàsìgo ụnọ a. 'He must have swept the house'.

2.8 THE PARTICIPLE

(i) The Simple Participle: Morphologically, this is made up in deep structure of a low tone harmonizing open vowel prefix A^- , and the verb-base which may be one or many syllables long, but without any inflectional suffixes. For other details of this particle see Emenanjo (1975, 1978).

(ii) The Obligative Participle. Morphologically, this is made up of a high tone homorganic nasal prefix N^- , and the verb-base, which may be one syllable or many syllables long. Monosyllabic high tone verbs have high tones in this derivative:

n-ri

n-zà

This derivative does not seem to be universally known in all Igbo dialects. Even in dialects that have it, it is only recently that attention has been drawn to it in the works of Igwe (1975) and Nwachukwu (1975). While for Nwachukwu (1975:487-491), this derivative constitutes an 'enigmatic case', for Igwe this is the form of the true and only participle in Igbo. Semantically the meaning of this derivative seems to be unclear in the minds of their users, but one thing is certain in most dialects that use it; there are meaning differences when either *írí*, *èrí* or *nri* is used as complements to auxiliaries.

Data collected from Ohuhu, Emii, Mbieri, and even Mbaise, suggest that this derivative with N^- prefix has an 'obligative' future implication, hence our term 'obligative'. The tonal behaviour of this derivative is worth noting as in

(3) ? Ó gá nri nri ahụ 'He must eat that food'

Note the downstep on the base of the derivative. Certain syntactic features of this derivative need mentioning also. When the NP is a personal pronoun, a participle-Object inversion takes place inverting the positions of these two elements. Thus:

(4) *Ó gá nri yá.

'He will certainly eat it.

(5) Ó gá yá nri.

must.

Among users of the Obligative participle, there is disagreement about whether or not an NP can follow the Obligative participle.

While for some:

(6) Ágá m nri nri

is acceptable, for others it is not acceptable.

(iii) The Negative Participle. Morphologically, this derivative is made up of a harmonizing open vowel prefix, A^- on a high tone, the verb-base and the harmonizing general negative suffix = *ghí*.

e-ri -ghí

a-za -ghí

2.9 FUNCTIONS OF NOMINO-VERBALS. From the above discussions it can be seen that in their morphemic components, especially in their ability to take inflectional affixes, in their inherent tone patterns, and in the ability of some of them to be used as complements to auxiliary verbs or infinitival sentential complements, nomino-verbals are verbals.

- Exx. (7) \dot{Q} gá írì nri 'He is going to eat'
 (8) \dot{Q} gá erì nri. 'He will eat'
 (9) \dot{Q} gá ñrì nri 'He must eat'.
 (10) \dot{Q} chòrò ndì na-érìghí nri. 'He wants those who did not eat'.
 (11) \dot{U} ny ené-èrìle nri ahù? 'Are you (pl) engaged in eating that food?'
 (12) \dot{U} ny eká-elìgo nni afù 'You (pl) should have eaten that food'.
 (13) \dot{O} kwèsìlì ilìsigo nni afù 'He is expected to have eaten up that food (by now)'.

In (7), (8) and (9), a Simple Infinitive, a Simple Participle and an Obligative participle are respectively used as complements of an auxiliary verb. In (10) a negative participle, in (11) a perfect participle and in (12), a perfect infinitive are used as complements of auxiliary verbs. In (13) the perfect infinitive is a reduced sentential complement, and the result of an EQUI - NP deletion. One other verb-like quality of all nomino-verbals is that like verbs they are usually used with their object complements. In (7) - (13) \dot{n} ni/ \dot{n} ri 'food' is used after -ri 'eat', as its object complement.

- 2.10 So far, we have been considering the verbal status of nomino-verbals. Nomino-verbals are also nominals. Some of the nomino-verbals, especially the infinitives other than the perfect infinitive, can be found in NPs as heads of such NPs. See (14) \dot{I} rì nri na-adi' mmá n'ahù. 'To eat is good for the body'.
 (15) \dot{E} rìghí nri anághì àdi' mmá n'ahù 'Not to eat is bad for the body'.

- (16) \dot{I} rìrì nri n'ogè na-adi' mmá. 'To really eat in time is good'.
 The underlined in (14 - 16) are the heads of their different NPs. Yet nominal as they are, they do not trigger off the tone change normal with disyllabic nouns following them in associative constructions. It is the combined nomino-verbal nature of these that explains why this is so.

2.11 As nominals, some nomino-verbal infinitives can be used with the preposition like other nouns in the language.

- (17) \dot{Q} by' n'ísi' òka kà' é jìrì mára yá. 'It is because of his being strong that he is known'.
 (18) \dot{Q} by' síte n'erìghí nri kà' o' jìrì ríá' ahù.
 'It was because of his not eating, that he fell ill'.
 (19) \dot{Q} by' n'írìrì nri kà' é jìrì mára yá. 'It is from eating & eating (and no more) that he is known'.

- (vi) It is pertinent to observe that for Swift et al. (1962: 160), Welmers and Welmers (1968:73) and Welmers (1968: x), derivatives like participles which we have treated as more verbal than nominal because of their ability to co-exist with auxiliary verbs, are treated as verbal nouns and no more because their tonal behaviour is that of nouns. As we have argued in Emenanjo (1970: 117-125) to treat participles as only nouns will be half the truth. They are partially nouns and partially verbs, in short, nomino-verbals. In fact, participles are more verbal than nominal, since unlike infinitives, they can never be heads of an NP.

In concluding this discussion on nomino-verbals, we would like to end with a few remarks on our choice of labels. For us those designated simple forms, are the unmarked forms, without any inflectional suffixes. It is true that all dialects do not still have the perfect infinitive. Onicha and certain Bendel Igbo dialects and possibly others still have this form. We have, however, included them here in order that the picture may be more complete.

3. NOMINALS

Excluding the nomino-verbals, all other products of verb derivational morphology are treated under the broad heading of nominals. For unlike nomino-verbals, these never contain any inflectional affixes. While some of these nominals can be used alone in a minimal NF, others need other nominals to be truly functional and meaningful. Now, in accordance with their inherent meanings, syntactic behaviour and morphological shapes, we find it useful and economical to set up the following sub-classes of nominal derivatives:

- (a) Agentives
- (b) Gerunds (i) simple. (ii) complex.
- (c) Instrumentals
- (d) Qualifiers (i) nominal qualifiers
(ii) verbal qualifiers
- (e) Factatives.

3.2 THE AGENTIVES: Morphologically these have the structure \bar{O} -VR, where \bar{O} is a low tone harmonizing vowel prefix and VR is the verb-base. The verb-base may have one or more syllables. True de-verbal agentives do not have any inflectional suffixes by my own definition.

While all verbs can have agentives, \bar{O} +action \bar{V} verbs are more productive than \bar{O} -action \bar{V} verbs. With regard to their morphological shape and inherent meanings one can sub-divide the agentives into;

- (i) "neutral" agentives $\bar{o}r\acute{i}$ 'eater'
- (ii) "sarcastic" agentives $\bar{o}r\acute{i}i$ 'horrible eater!'
 $\bar{o}r\acute{i}g\bar{g}$ 'an eater because one cannot be anything else!'
- (iii) "Excessive" agentives $\bar{o}r\acute{o}f\acute{i}$ 'glutton', cheat'
 $\bar{O}r\acute{i}m\bar{o}o\bar{r}\acute{i}$ 'great eater'
 $\bar{O}r\acute{i}m\bar{a}o\bar{r}\acute{i}$ 'one with a big appetite'

3.3 GERUNDS

- (i) The Simple Gerund. Morphologically, this is made up of a low tone harmonizing \bar{O} -prefix, and the simple verb base which is partially or fully reduplicated according to the rule:

-ri	$\bar{o}-r\acute{i}-r\acute{i}$
-je	$\bar{o}-j\acute{i}-j\acute{e}$
-za	$\bar{o}-z\acute{a}\acute{i}-z\acute{a}$

Practically all simple verbs are capable of having gerunds. The gerund is a good diagnostic test for the three tone classes of simple verbs noticed in some central Igbo dialects.

-r\acute{i}	$\bar{o}r\acute{i}r\acute{i}$
-z\acute{a}	$\bar{o}z\acute{a}z\acute{a}$
-t\acute{a}	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \bar{o}t\acute{a}t\acute{a} \\ \bar{o}t\acute{a} \end{array} \right\}$

Where -ri' is a high tone verb, -zà a low tone verb - ta' is neither fully low tone nor high tone. While it has high tone in the citation form, its gerund is not that of a high tone verb nor that of a low tone verb, (See Swift 1962 & Nwachukwu 1976)

- (ii) The Complex Gerund, Unlike the simple gerund which is formed from monosyllabic verbs, the Complex gerund is formed from verb-bases that are more than one syllable long. Unlike the simple gerund which has a low tone vowel prefix 0- a class of these has a high tone homorganic syllabic nasal prefix, N-

-r'icha	: n'-r'icha
-kúzi	: n'-kúzi
-p'uta	: m'-p'uta

- (iii) Instrumentals. This derivative is formed by prefixing a low tone homorganic nasal to the verb root. The agentive prefix is a low tone harmonizing vowel prefix 0- which is in contrast with the instrumental low tone nasal prefix given above. Examples of both types of derivatives:

-gwá jí	'to dig yam'
ógwá jí	'(human) yam digger'
ngwá jí	'instrument for digging yam'
-kpó ala	'to scrape the ground'
ngpó ala	'landscaper'
-tí ala	'to burrow in the ground'
ntu ala	'name of burrowing insect'
-rí azú	'to eat fish'
nrí ázu	'name of insect which attacks crayfish'

-ché máj	'to keep wine'
hché máj	'instrument for preserving palm wine'

- (iv) Qualifiers. This class of derivatives falls into two groups:

(a) nominal qualifiers, and

(b) verbal qualifiers. Under (a) we have two subsets: adjectives and qualifying nouns.

Igbo adjectives are few, being only six in number when their syntactic behaviour is used as diagnostic. They are derived by simple prefixation:

-má	'to be beautiful'
oma	'beautiful'
-chá	'to be clean etc'
ócha	'white, clean'
—	(no attested verbal base)
ókwa	'big'
-jí	'to be black'
ójí	'black'
-jò	'to be bad'
ájò, ójò	'bad'

Qualifying nouns have been erroneously grouped, in popular grammars, along with the true adjectives listed above, simply because they rarely occur independently of other nouns. They are derived from the verb root through prefixation, interfixation and at times reduplication. Often there is no surviving verb in the language showing this process, but it can be inferred from a few favourable cases and general derivational principles.

fikpukpu	'short', cf. -kpó 'to mould into balls'
ógologo	'long, high, tall'
mbadamba, ábadaba	'wide, broad'
óhuru, óhuo	'new'
óchiè	'old'

For syntactic characteristics, see Emenanjo (1978).

(b) Verbal Modifiers

The verbal modifiers found in Igbo are participles and bound cognate nouns; while the former are associated with auxiliaries, the latter are common to all verbs in the function of an emphatic particle or simply an emphasizer. Nwachukwu (1983) describes the latter as the bound verb complement, a term which has been accepted by the Standardization Committee of the S.P.I.L.C. Examples:

Á gá erí yá n'úṣṣṣ. 'It will be eaten in the morning'

Á gá yá nri n'úṣṣṣ. 'It must be eaten in the morning'

Ánụrụ m ya anụ. 'I really/actually heard it'

Ó jèrè ejé. 'He actually went'

The first two examples represent participles (underlined), while the last two represent bound cognate nouns.

(v) Factatives. The last category of derivatives to be discussed is the so called factatives which express the fact of the state or activity inherent in the verb root. Non-Central dialects form factatives with a low tone homorganic nasal prefix, while Central dialects show a high tone.

-gá 'to go'

ngá, n̄ga 'a going'

-rí 'to eat'

nrí, n̄ri 'an eating'

-kpó 'to call'

nkpó, n̄kpó 'a call'

-bátá 'to come in'

mbatá, n̄batá 'an entrance, a coming in, coming in, entering'

-mégbu 'to cheat'

nmégbu, n̄mégbu 'a cheating, cheating'

Conclusion.

This paper has sought to highlight the verb-centrality of Igbo grammar. The verb is the only directly productive source of new words in the language, which is why the derivational morphology of Igbo has been called 'unidirectional'. Secondly, the process of derivation involves rules of affixation, interfixation and reduplication. Thirdly, verbs of activity are more prolific than verbs of state in forming derivatives. The Central dialects have been observed to be more productive of deverbative forms, while many peripheral dialects appear richer in auxiliaries. Perhaps the richer inventory of consonantal contrasts preserved in the Central area is relevant to the greater number of derivatives.

Inflectional and Non-Inflectional Affixes

NWACHUKWU, P. A.

I. Introduction

At this period in the study of the Igbo language, when efforts are being made to achieve a recognizable literary standard, it is important to determine among other things, what the inflectional (as well as the derivational) characteristics of Central Igbo are. But this paper is mainly concerned with inflection; we deal with non-inflectional affixes only for purposes of contrast.

By inflection is meant the changes in the internal structure of a word which determine its grammatical or syntactic function. In other words, inflection yields forms/words the syntactic function of which is pre-determined. Let us take examples from two inflectional languages - Latin or French starting with Verb followed by the Noun.

<u>Latin</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
do	Je donne	I give
das	tu donnes	you (sg.) give
dat	il/elle donne	he/she give
damus	nous donnons	we give
datis	vous donnez	you (pl.) give
dent	ils/elles donnent	they give.

NounLatin.English Translation

Nom. Vir:	<u>Vir</u> est:	It is <u>a man</u>
Acc. Virum:	<u>Virum</u> video	I see <u>the man</u>
Gen. Viri:	Librum <u>viri</u> habeo	I have <u>the man's</u> book
Dative. Viro:	Librum <u>viro</u> dedi	I gave the book <u>to the man</u> .
Ablative Viro:	A <u>viro iniquo</u> me liberat.	He delivers me from <u>the evil man</u> .

Taking the Latin examples first, it will be seen that each of the verb forms in the paradigm (examples) stands for a number of syntactic functions - do for example, stands for first person, singular, present tense, active voice and indicative mood; it contrasts in form with dem, its subjunctive counterpart. The French paradigm on the other hand is less complex because French is less synthetic; the pronoun (in both singular and plural forms) is distinct from the corresponding verb form. But whereas both Latin and French have verb inflection, only the Latin language has an elaborate noun inflection. Noun inflection in English and French involves only a distinction between singular and plural as well as person. Like English, French expresses the indirect object by means of the prepositional phrase to the man whereas Latin would use one form with the appropriate ending or suffix - viro. Thus, each of the forms in our examples performs specific function(s) or expresses a specific syntactic relationship. This is what is meant by the saying that inflection gives rise to words/forms whose syntactic function is predetermined.

The Igbo language is like French and English in this sense that Igbo verbs are inflected for Tense or Aspect, Mood and polarity but unlike them in that the nouns do not undergo any inflectional changes. Before we go on to give Central Igbo inflectional affixes, let us say a word about mood and polarity.

I.1 Mood and Polarity.

In a very detailed and, in some respects, very original article Winston (1973) uses the terms polarity, Mood and Aspect in his description of Igbo verb paradigms. The idea of polarity stems from the fact that Igbo verb inflection falls into two polar opposites or what Green and Igwe (1963) describe as division - the Negative and Affirmative divisions of the verb. These two divisions differ in the following respects:

- (a) the presence of an Obligatory vowel prefix in the Negative and its absence in the Affirmative, except in the perfect Aspect.
- (b) the ability to take different sets of inflectional suffixes and
- (c) the difference of tone pattern between the two division, (cf 4.2 for example).

Winston's use of the term, mood, is different from its traditional use; whereas in traditional terms mood is used to describe large sentence subtypes - such as Imperative mood for sentences which give orders, Interrogative Mood for question sentences, Indicative or Declarative Mood for sentences which make assertions or deny them, Winston uses mood as a semantic label. For example, he has

- (i) the Conditional Mood for conditional constructions,
- (ii) General Mood found in sequential Construction
- (iii) Definite Mood for Factative constructions et cetera.

Although it might be argued that the reality of Igbo grammar calls for the above type of semantic description, I think that he has been forced into it by his failure to admit tense as a category, albeit a very marginal category in Igbo verb inflection. While admitting that aspect rather than tense is a more relevant term for describing the time meaning of Igbo verb-forms, I hold that the recognition of an -rV time suffix (expressing past time meaning) and another -rV stative (expressing present time meaning) is not only well motivated, but also simplifies the description a great deal.

2. Central Igbo: Inflectional.

The word affix, is a collective term for prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. An affix is regarded as inflectional if it is an obligatory element of the verb-form, that is, it needs to be present in a verb-form before it can express the appropriate time meaning. By now the view that there are no verb inflectional affixes in Igbo has been discredited (cf an unpublished original essay submitted by the author to the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan, in 1966, and F.D.O. Winston, 1973 and Igwe 1974).

In Winston's article published in African Language Studies XIV (1973), the category of tense does not have any place in the Igbo language. But Nwachukwu (1976), while admitting the preponderance of aspect in Igbo, as in many other African Languages, recognises one tense - the simple past which is always marked by the - rV- time suffix.

Apart from this simple past tense whatever is left of Igbo verb inflection expresses aspect, mood and polarity rather than tense. In other words, I recognise only one tense suffix in Igbo, the rest of the verb inflectional suffixes are aspect, mood and polarity markers.

3.0 Tense and Aspect Markers in Central Igbo.

These markers are made up of prefixes and suffixes. Apart from the infinitive prefix I - which occurs with the citation form of Igbo verbs, there is only one inflectional prefix - the vowel prefix E - which harmonises and is realised as /e/ or /a/. This prefix never occurs as the sole indicator of tense or aspect in Igbo, rather it combines with different suffixes to indicate different meanings in the language. It is found in:

- (a) all Negative Verb-forms
- (b) the perfective Verb-form, Affirmative.
- (c) Sequential constructions, Non-initiating as a pronominal prefix in Verb-Subject constructions.

Since the use of the open vowel prefix will become clearer as this paper progresses, we need not give any examples at this stage.

3.1 Suffixes.

The majority of Tense/Aspect markers in both central and other dialects of Igbo are suffixes. Of those the most enigmatic in terms of occurrence are the open vowel suffix and, perhaps, the various categories of the -rV suffixes. Let us look at the behaviour of these suffixes and try to identify each of them with a specific tense/aspect meaning. We begin with Affirmative Verb-forms.

3.2 The Imperative Suffix - A (a/e, o/q)

This is the open vowel suffix with four possible realisations according to vowel harmony - viz o/ q & e/a

Examples:

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---------------|-------------------------|
| I. | (a) | Riá/ríe' yá | Eat it. |
| | (b) | Gbuó/gbuó' yá | Kill it. |
| | (c) | Gáe ntí | Listen. |
| | (d) | Báa n' yíq | Get into the house. |
| | (e) | Púq | Get out. |
| | (f) | Píe' yá aka | Feel it with your hand. |

The open vowel suffix also occurs in other types of construction such as the Open Condition Construction, the Sequential Construction as well as in the perfective form of the Verb. It is not easy to pin it down to any specific time meaning. Even in this Imperative Construction it has to be pointed out that some verbs obligatorily take it to form their Imperative, some do so optionally, while some others do not require it at all.

Examples:

- | | | | |
|----|-----|----------------|--------------------|
| 2. | (a) | Kpó/kpó' yá | Call him/her |
| | (b) | pú/fúq ebe e | Go away from here. |
| | (c) | Bíe/bíe' ebe e | Come here. |
| | (d) | Dá/Dá' n' ála | Fall on the ground |

3. (a) Ríe yá but not *Rí yá Eat it.
 (b) Gbúo yá but not *Gbú yá. Kill it.
 (c) Miá yá n'òkú but not *Mí yá n'òkú Dry it over
 the fire.
 (d) lòó yá but not *lò yá Swallow it.
4. (a) Lò ngwàngwa but not *lòò ngwàngwa Come Back -
 quickly.
 (b) Dy/só yá but not *Dyò/sò yá Follow him.
 (c) Hý yá but not *Huó yá See him.
 (d) Ný íhé but not *Nyó íhé Hear/Listen.

The puzzle stems from the fact that the occurrence of this suffix in Imperative Verb-forms is not predictable. Therefore a dictionary entry has to specify for each verb whether it takes this vowel suffix or not, and whether it is optional or obligatory. But once a verb takes this vowel suffix in its imperative form, it consistently does so in all the other forms mentioned in 3.2.

3.3 The Stative Present Suffix -rV₁

This suffix combines with stative verbs to express a stative present meaning. It must be distinguished from -rV past suffix with which it does co-occur. Examples,

5. (a) Obi nwéere égo Obi is wealthy.
 (b) Ada búru íbú. Ada is fat.
 (c) Ibe tóro ogologo. Ibe is tall
 (d) Ó mára mma nwá. She is really a pretty girl.
 (e) Íte shý juru éjú. The pot is full.
6. (a) Ótú anyá pírí yá She/he is one-eyed.
 (b) Úkwú rýrý yá He/she is deformed.
 (c) Ogbú dara Ógu. Ogu is dumb
 (d) Ntí chikwere yá. He is also deaf.

7. These same sentences can be turned into the past thus:

- (a) Obi nwéere égo Obi used to be wealthy
 (b) Ada búru íbú Ada used to be fat.
 (c) Ibe tóro ogologo Ibe used to be tall.
 (d) Ó mára mma nwá She used to be a really pretty girl.

Observe that the underlined forms in above examples are surface forms of the following underlying representative: CV stem + rV₁ + rV₂ which is generally realised as CV₁V₁rV₁, by a general phonological rule which deletes the first /r/ of two consecutive -rVs, (cf Nwachukwu 1976.). In certain dialects of Igbo (in Qhny, for instance) this deletion does not seem to occur.

8. (a) Ótú anyá pírí yá (pírí)
 He/She used to be one-eyed
 (b) Úkwú rýrý yá (rýrý)
 'He/She used to be deformed'

Dr. Ugonna (personal communications) and all my Qly students give the following alternative forms:

- Obi nwéburu égo Obi used to be wealthy
Ó máburu mma nwá She used to be a pretty girl

The -rV suffixes in Igbo are discussed in greater detail in Nwachukwu 1976. Like the -rV past, the -rV stative present is also inflectional and marks out a certain sub-category of verbs in the language.

3.4 The Present Progressive Aspect marker -gh E -gha/ghé

The popular method of expressing the (present) progressive aspect is by the use of the auxiliary na - as in examples 9:

- (a) Ó na-eri íhé He is eating
 (b) Ógu na-azú ahía Ogu is a trader.

But there is another way of expressing the same time meaning by the use of a present progressive suffix as in the following examples:

- (a) Ó ríghé any He is eating some meat
 (b) Ó rэгha ube He is eating some pears.

- 10 (c) Ọ kwughe nnukwu okwu He is talking very much.
 (d) Ọ k'aghe ha'akwa n'otu n'otu. He is giving out a piece of wrapper to each one of them.

In Owerre and Emekuku areas of Central Igbo, the equivalent of -ghe is simply -ga - as in (e) Ọ shiga nri She is cooking
 (f) Ọ ríga ihe He is eating

The inflectional morphology of Igbo verbs will be enriched if forms such as the above are admitted as alternatives to the ng verb-form.

3.5 The Future Aspect with ga

Future time in Igbo is not expressed by means of an inflectional suffix, but with the auxiliary verb ga. But attention must be drawn to the following alternative forms.

11. (a) Ọ ga-abya He will come
 (b) Ọ ga-ibya abya He will come
 (c) Ọ ga-mbia He will come
 (d) Ọ ga-azụ anụ He will buy meat
 (e) Ọ ga-azụ yá He will buy it
 (f) Ọ ga yá nzy He will buy it.

Examples II(a - f) are perfectly acceptable variants within the Central dialect area. The question of treating them as sub-standard does not arise at all. We, as custodians of the emerging literary standard, must be very cautious about what we exclude from the standard, especially now that all the facts are far from being known. It is disquieting to observe in most of our members the attitude to 'what is done is done,' as if decisions taken by a committee are immutable laws of nature. We must all realise that standardisation is never a job that is over and done with; it is an on-going process.

3.6 The Habitual Aspect with na/ji

Like the future, habitual and progressive aspects are not expressed by means of inflection, but with another auxiliary na' or ji.

Of these two, na is the more popular of the two while ji is more restricted in its use to the Mbaise dialects of the central areas. The following are examples:

- 12 (a) Ọgu na/ji akpú ọzụ: Ogu is a blacksmith.
 (b) Ọ na/ji emé aka àbúq' (idiomatic) He steals/pilfers
 (c) Ha na /ji agwọ nahi They are poison makers.
 (d) Nwé ahụ na/ji arọ ụkè (idiomatic) That child is a liar

3.7 The -rV past Suffix

This suffix is the only tense marker in Igbo. Here tense must be distinguished from aspect, for whereas tense is concerned with point of time, and with relating an action, event or situation to the time when it is reported, aspect is concerned with time distribution of an event. Aspect deals with such questions as whether an action or event is completed, starting or on-going et cetera. What we have hitherto regarded as the present progressive tense is present progressive Aspect, and the so-called perfect - TENSE is perfective ASPECT.

At this juncture, it is necessary to point out that there are different types of -rV suffixes and that there is nothing haphazard about their distribution. Since the rV past suffix is a tense indicator, its occurrence is not restricted to verbs of activity only but extends to stative verbs as well, (cf section 3.3 for example).

Examples.

- 13 (a) Ọ gbúru eghu He killed a goat
 (b) Ézuru ha óhi They stole.
 (c) Nwé ahụ nwúrụ anwụ n' ezi-okwú. The child really died.
 (d) Nna yá wúrụ onye nahi His father used to be a poison maker.
 (e) Ọ nara evú akwà. He used to deal in cloths.
 (f) Ọ merurụ ala He committed an abomination.

14. (a) $\text{Ogù nara/jiri akpú yzý}$ Ogu used to be a blacksmith
 (b) $\text{O' nara emé aka 'abýó'}$ He used to steal/pilfer.
 (c) $\text{Hé naàre agwó nahí}$ They used to make poison
 (d) $\text{Nwa' ahù naara/nara aró ukà}$ That child used to be a liar.

3.8 The Perfective Suffix -IA ~ -nA

This is a high-tone suffix with two variants, it is also harmonising. It is the only affirmative suffix that takes the open vowel suffix. The following examples will throw more light on the variation of the suffix.

- 15 (a) $\text{Ibè eriele èla (idiomatic)}$ Ibe is very lucky.
 (b) $\text{Úbèchí tae améne mmé}$ Today is a beautiful day.
 (c) Q' mýgna. She has put to bed.
 (d) I' méene Thank you.
 (e) $\text{Q' lúqla nweanyi' ódq}$ He has married another wife.
 (f) Ógù éfýla/éfýpía Ogu has gone out.
 (g) Ì' bíala! Welcome!

From the above examples, it will be observed that -la/-le becomes -na/-ne whenever the verb-stem contains a nasal or nasalised sound - as in (b, c, d). This type of variation, which is due to phonological factors enriches the morphology of Igbo; it is found in a homogenous central dialect area, it deserves a place in the inflectional morphology of a literary standard Igbo. The fact that it has not appeared in print before should not argue against its recognition, for facts about the Igbo language are just beginning to emerge.

4.0 The Negative Suffixes.

As was observed in section 3.0 all verbs in the Negative take an obligatory harmonising vowel prefix followed by the verb-stem and the appropriate suffix. Very often, the tone pattern of Negative verb-forms is different from that of its Affirmative counterpart. All these facts justify the concept of polarity in Igbo verb inflection. The suffixes include the following:

4.1 The Imperative Negative Suffix -IA ~ -nA.

This suffix is similar to the perfective suffix (cf section 3.7) in having phonologically conditioned variants. Secondly, although the two suffixes look alike, they are different in character and distribution, for whereas the perfective suffix is consistently on a high tone, the imperative negative suffix has no fixed tone, but depends for its tone on its verb-stem. Whereas the one co-occurs with the open vowel suffix the other occurs with the open vowel prefix.

Examples:

- 16 (a) Érìle Don't eat!
 (b) Áfýla Don't go out
 (c) Éméne Don't do, stop it!
 (d) Ánwýna Don't die, thank you!
 (e) Áhýna Don't drink.
17. (a) Ánhýna maí Don't drink wine!
 (b) Érìle any ndý Don't eat fresh meat
 (c) Ánwýchule onwý Don't die prematurely
 (d) Éméne otu shù Don't behave like that
 (e) Áfýla áma tae Don't step out today

It will be observed that unlike the perfective suffix this -IA ~ -nA is on the same tone as its verb-stem.

4.2 The General Negative Suffix -ghí.

I have chosen to describe -ghí/ghí as a general negator because it does duty for the stative present, past and perfective verb-forms.

Examples:

- | | <u>Affirmative</u> | <u>Negative</u> |
|--------|--|--|
| 18 (a) | Q' nò n'ú'í'q'
He is at home | $\text{Q' n'oghí n'ú'í'q'}$
He/she is not at home |
| (b) | Q' wú onye ohí
He is a rogue | $\text{Q' w'ughí onye ohí}$
He is not a rogue |
| (c) | O' nwére ego
He is wealthy | O' nwághí ego
He is not wealthy |

- 19 (a) \dot{O} gèrà áhíà \dot{O} gégíí áhíà
 (He went to market. He did not go to market.
 (b) \dot{O} rírí íhè \dot{O} ríghí íhè
 He ate He did not eat
 (c) \dot{O} zèrà ezíí \dot{O} zégíí ezíí.
 He swept the compound. He did not sweep the compound.
20. (a) \dot{O} ná-èzú ohí \dot{O} nāghí èzú ohí.
 He steals. He does not steal.
 (b) \dot{O} gè-ábíé \dot{O} gégíí abíé
 He will come He will not come
 (c) \dot{O} gèrà ebíá \dot{O} gégíírí ebíá.
 He should have come. He should not have come.
 (d) \dot{O} nàrà enyí méí \dot{O} nēghírí enyí méí
 He used to drink He never used to drink

Apart from this negator, the other negative suffix is the perfective Neg. suffix, *bèghi*.

4.3 The Perfective Negative Suffix *-bèghi*.

Like its affirmative counterpart this suffix is consistently on fixed tones - low-low. I would analyse it into two parts:

- (i) a Neg. perfective marker *-bè*
 (ii) the general negator *-ghí*
 which is on the same tone as the immediately preceding suffix.

This analysis is supported by the existence of *-bèle* in certain dialects of the central Igbo area including that of the writer. Obviously *-bèle* is a combination of *-bè* and *-le* both of them perfective markers - as in 19.

- 21 (a) \dot{O} bíábéle He has not come
 (b) \dot{O} gú alábéle Ogu has not gone.

However, the more popular form is *-bèghi* which seems to be the now standard form.

Examples:

22. (a) \dot{U} nyí áhúbèghí íhè You have not suffered
 (idiomatic)
 (b) \dot{O} rútebèghí ógè ányí jírí hápú He had not arrived by the
 time we left.
 (c) \dot{O} gè érubèghí. It is not yet time.

4.4 Summary: Below is a table of affixes which are considered inflectional in the standard literary dialect.

Imperative	Affirmative - Á (a/e o/ o)	Negative Á íá ~ nÁ
Stative present aspect	-rV ₁	
progressive present aspect	-ghA	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ghI} \\ \text{bèghi} \end{array} \right\}$
The simple past tense.	-rV ₂	
The perfective aspect suffix	Á - É + íÁ nÁ	

These affixes are strictly harmonising - in other words, front vowels harmonise only with front vowels, so do the back ones. This principle is being violated by the present practice whereby front vowels are made to select their harmonising partners from both front and back vowels. There is nowhere in the central dialect zone where people say

gbùé in place of gbúó 'kill'
 rùá in place of rúó 'work'

and so on and so forth. My view is that the grammar of the standard dialect should be based on one homogeneous group of dialects. Since it is based on the central dialects, it should reflect the phonology and grammar of these dialects. There should be no mixing of two different systems. But as far as the vocabulary is concerned, we should adopt an open-door policy. Other dialects of Igbo must be seen as internal sources of enriching the standard dialect.

It will also be observed that of all the inflectional suffixes, only three have fixed tones, these are the perfective suffixes both affirmative and negative and the vowel prefix in all negative verb-forms; apart from these three all others depend for their tone on that of their verb-stem or the immediately preceding suffix.

5.0 Non-Inflectional Affixes. Part II.

Since the first part of this paper has been devoted to inflectional affixes in Igbo, it is only appropriate to say something about the non-inflectional ones. In Indo-European linguistics, the traditional distinction is between inflectional and derivational affixes. But facts from the Igbo language call for a slightly different dichotomy because Igbo affixes do not fall into such a neat classification: Igbo affixes are not simply either inflectional or derivational. Rather, it is more appropriate to talk of inflectional and Non-Inflectional affixes. From the discussions in part I of this chapter we know what inflectional affixes are and what grammatical functions they perform. Let us now devote the rest of this chapter to the non-inflectional ones.

5.1 Categories of Non-Inflectional Suffixes.

I have chosen the label, non-inflectional because it is a convenient cover term for a number of different suffixes. Among these are:

(a) Derivational Affixes.

Derivation is a morphological process like inflection, though different in kind. Whereas inflection gives rise to words which belong to the same word class as their base form, the output of derivation, at least in Igbo, is always words which belong to a different word class from their base-form. For example, from the verb-stem me (citation form ímé to do) one derives the following nominals:

òmumé	behaviour
émume	festival, event.
mmemmé	festival, event, celebration

Each of these derived words is a nominal and therefore belongs to a different word class from their base, which is a verbal.

We need not go into the details of the morphological processes involved in deriving the above nominals, but suffice it to point out that the vowel prefixes involved: /o-, e-, and m-/ are derivational rather than inflectional.

(b) The Prepositional -rV Suffix.

Only one type of suffix is involved here - this is the -rV suffix which has hitherto been described as benefactive. This label tells only half the story. The true situation is that this -rV does the same duty for Igbo which a number of prepositions do for the English language. The following examples will better illustrate the point.

23	(a) Bíkó, gará m'ozí	Please, go on the errand <u>for</u> me
	(b) Nàrá yá ego.	Take money <u>from</u> him
	(c) Há gbáara ya ìzu	They plotted/conspired <u>against</u> him.
	(d) Wèré yá gawá.	Take it along <u>with</u> you.

From these examples, it will be seen that given the appropriate verbs, this -rV suffix can stand for the following English prepositions - for, from, against, and with; it could even stand for a lot more. Only one of these prepositional meanings can be said to be semantically benefactive; this is for. I therefore think that it is more appropriate to describe it simply as prepositional; whatever prepositional meaning emerges from any given sentence will depend partly on the semantic properties of the particular verb involved. Further more, like prepositions in other languages, the -rV suffix always governs its own object.

In an earlier article (cf Nwachukwu 1976) I described it as benefactive; I have now changed my mind and would rather call it the prepositional -rV suffix, which is more accurate.

(c) The Extensional Suffixes.

The above term is borrowed from Emenanjo where it is used to denote those suffixes which have a wide scope of occurrence, (Emenanjo 1975: 88ff.). In other words, they can be found with the infinitive form of the verb as well as with simple and compound verb-forms.

They extend the meaning of any given verb and have generally been described as meaning modifying suffixes. They include the followings:-

- wa/-we - Inchoative/inceptive suffix
Épè acháwala
The oranges have started to ripen.
Lewanụ: Go away, you lot.
- cha/-che - Completive.
Ó rícheale any níle dí obe à
É mèchere há álawá
They finally left.
- gwa - Retaliative
Gí tís m, mụ átigwara gí.
If you beat me I (shall) retaliate.
- kp - associative
Há nííle bíkqtara ǵnú
They all live together.
- ta/-te - Directional.
Wàtè okpú m.
ókpu m.
okpu m.
Bring my hat.
- tu - touch slightly, take piece-meal
Ó detụrụ yá ǵnụ.
He tasted it (a bit of it)

The number of these meaning modifying or extensional suffix is yet to be determined, so is their relationship with existing and erstwhile verbs.

5.2 Enclitics

The following bound forms are often confused as suffixes:

- | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------------|
| -kwa | Bìakwá n'ogè; | Do come in time |
| -ny | Zieny íkè | Do have some rest |
| -ny | Fyóny; | Go out, you people. |

This list is not necessarily exhaustive. With the exception of *ny*, all of them can occur with verbs as with nouns: Since our suffixes occur only with verbs, this small group of items must constitute a different class. We call them enclitics in order to distinguish them from suffixes. This rather important distinction was first pointed out to me by Emenanjo in a conversation. For more examples, see Emenanjo 1978.

5.3 Summary.

The reason for the choice of descriptive labels should by now have become apparent: first, the distinction into inflectional and non-inflectional affixes is motivated by the facts of the Igbo language. Secondly, under the non-inflectional category, it is easy to describe the derivational sub-class and show that it is different from the other semantic-subtypes - such as the prepositional and the extensional suffixes. The distinction into inflectional and lexical affixes would obscure the picture a great deal since lexical is not synonymous with derivational. As Emenanjo (1975: 78) rightly points out, "the lexical affixes do not change the grammatical classes of the elements to which they are affixed", but derivational affixes do, as has been shown in section 5.1 (a). For this reason, the two types of affixes must be clearly distinguished. It is such a distinction that we have tried to bring out by a slightly different method of approach.

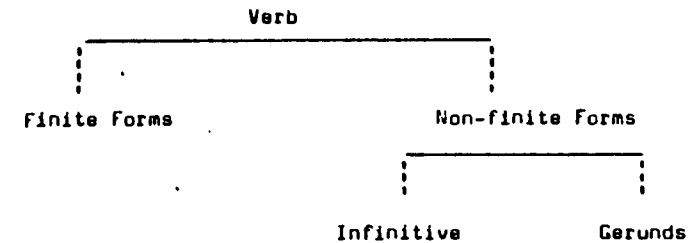
The Need for Standard Nomenclature.

Some of us must have discovered from our studies and research that English descriptive labels and grammatical distinctions do not always fit the Igbo language. This is an important discovery which shows that we are using the facts of Igbo to describe Igbo instead of forcing it into an English descriptive mould. Consequently, we have either had to invent our own new terms or use existing ones in a different way, or re-classify our lexical and grammatical formatives in an entirely different way. This situation therefore calls for a certain measure of standardisation of our terms such that when we use one and the same term, we will not be understanding different things by it. One of the aims of this paper is to draw attention to this important need - at this stage of Igbo language studies.

Non-Finite Forms of the Verb

ỌJÌ, N.

Verb-forms are broadly classified into two: the finite and non-finite forms. This paper is concerned with the non-finite forms of the verb, which are subcategorized into infinitives and gerunds, as the following tree diagram illustrates:



In the study of the non-finite forms, attention will be focussed on the distinctions between the infinitive and the gerund, their semantic and grammatical uses, the formation of gerunds, the syntactic convergence between infinitives and gerunds as well as the semantic differences between them.

The infinitive is defined by the O.E.D. (1933) as "that form of a verb which expresses simply the notion of the verb without predicating it of any subject". It has both nominal and verbal sides. It is a nominal when it performs certain functions of a noun, and a verbal, when it displays certain characteristics (as associated with objects and adverbial modifiers) of a verb.

The Igbo infinitive can be distinguished from the finite verb form in five ways:

(1) The infinitive has the prefix i/i always attached to it, thus: igwa, -gwa, ibia, -abia, ije, -je, etc.

The first of each pair is the infinitive, while the second is a finite verb form.

(ii) The finite verb asserts, and consequently contains a truth-value; the infinitive cannot assert; it simply gives the idea of the activity (when used as a nominal) like an abstract noun without the relation required by a finite verb. The infinitive gives an idea, not of an activity performed, but of an activity which can be performed. Thus, it is used to answer such questions as:

Kéy' íhé ì gá ìmá? 'What are you going to do?
 ìkọ́ jí. To make yam ridges.

The finite verb, on the other hand, indicates and situates the action according to the categories of person, mood and tense.

The finite verb may consist of one or more forms, the infinitive is always one form with the prefix *i/i* marker as exemplified by the following:

Infinitive	Gloss	Finite Verb Form	Gloss
Íjé'	'To go'	jé	'go'
		gá-éjé	'will/shall go'
		ná-éjé	'is going'
		ká-éjé	'would go'
		gá ná-éjé	'will/shall/be going'
		áká-éjé	'would/should have-been going'

(iii) The finite verb has aspect/tense distinction-present and past: the infinitive has no such distinction.

(iv) Only the finite verb can occur as the verb of a simple clause; the infinitive cannot occur as the only verb of a simple clause. In a main clause, the infinitive can occur as a verbal item if, and only if, a finite verb is the first element in the verb phrase.

The infinitive, unrestricted in respect of the syntactic environments into which it can be inserted, can be used as a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, an interjection and a conjunction as exemplified below.

A representative sample of infinitives which enter into different syntactic positions is taken, for the purposes of this study, from three books written in Igbo: Omanýkọ - a novel; Mbediọqú - an anthology of Igbo folk tales; and Eléjía Na Ihe Ọ mere - a short story. The examples used in this work do not begin to exhaust all the infinitives found in the three books cited.

It was discovered that the infinitives which function as nouns in their syntactic environments are 221, as adverbs, 218; as adjectives, 27, as conjunctions, 1. Those examples included are intended to illustrate the points raised in the sections in which they occur. They include infinitives from each of the three books used; I have followed the spelling used in the publications.

The first group of the infinitives examined is seen in nominal function. This means that the infinitive can be the subject or object of a finite verb, the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a preposition.

1. Infinitives used as subjects

1. *Íkwá akwa apùghị ímé kà ẹ́nwata ná ọ̀zọ́*

'To cry (crying) could not cause them to be back again'

2. *Igbu. any ndị à bụ́ íhe dírí ndị àlá há na nsq*

'To kill those animals was an abomination to their people.'

3. *Íchípùta ẹ̀dè àbùghị ọ̀kụ̀kọ́ yá*

'To bring out cocoyams does not mean planting all of them'

4. *Ísítè na ebe ukwu ya dì rúo ebe ísì ya gá ẹ̀wè*

ùbọ̀chì aséá

'To go from its stand (where it had stood) to where its head lay would take about seven days'

2. Infinitives used as objects of finite verbs

They follow immediately the finite verbs of the sentences.

5. *Mgbe ọ̀tọtụ́ mmaoú hụ̀rụ́ na ọ́ mụ̀tara ízú ná írè ahia . . .*

'When many saw that he had learnt to buy and to sell things . . .'

6. *Ọ́wéé sí mbé na yá ná achú́ ịgá ịjé na mbá*

'He told the tortoise that he wanted to go on a journey to some place'

7. *Gwá yá kà ọ́ghará́ ịjide ya n'aka*

'Tell him so that he will leave to hold it by hand'

8. *Ọ́ chọ́ghị́ ịgwá ọ́há mmadu*

'He did not want to tell many people'

3. Infinitives used as objects of prepositions

In the course of this study, it was discovered that a number of infinitives are governed by prepositions just as nouns or pronouns are. The majority of such usages occur in Omenyko

9. *Tupu ha ékwuo íhe bányere ịjékwuru District Commissioner*

'Before they said anything about going to the District Commissioner'

10. *Ọ́zì d'í n'ụ̀lọ́ n'na' ya d'íka ịgbanwè ụ̀lọ́ atani na ịkpùchì*

éja mbara

'Domestic work like to change (changing) the thatched roof and to cover (covering) the compound wall'

11. *Hà n'ụ̀q' iyí kà ọ́nye ọ̀bụ̀lá'ghará ịlá azy nime okwu bányere Omenụ̀kọ́ ịnyéghàchi Obiefula "warrant"*

'They took an oath so that nobody would fail to pursue the case concerning Omenuko's to give (= giving) back the warrant to Obiefula'

12. *Ọ̀zọ́ kwa ọ́ b'ụ́ n'íh'ụ́ g'ị́ anya kà ányị́ jì wéé sí kà ókwu ah'ụ́ d'íwa echí.*

'Again, it is because of to see (seeing) you that we say that the discussion should be tomorrow'

4. Infinitives used predicatively

Infinitives are also used predicatively. Some of the examples include:

13. *Íhè dí m njo karisịa bụ íhụ nà Óhu mba' na Isii liri ọnwụ.*

'What pains me most is to see that the Óhu Mba na Isii people defied death'

The above sentence shows that the infinitive, *íhụ*, can take the syntactic environment of the subject *íhè* without in any way altering the meaning of the sentence. The sentence can be transposed thus:

14. *Íhụ nà Óhu Mba' na Isii liri ọnwụ (bụ íhè) dí m njo karisịa.*

'To see that the Óhu Mba na Isii people defied death pains me most'

15. *Ọ dighi uto na nti iri íhe dí otu à.*

'It is not pleasant to the ear to hear such a thing'

16. *Kááfi ọlụ há bụ ízà' ezí*

'Their only work was to sweep the compound'

5. Infinitives used as determiners

As a determiner, the infinitive can be used as part of a phrase to qualify a noun or pronoun. When so employed, it enlarges the meaning, but narrows the application, of the noun or pronoun.

17. *Kútere mụ mmiri íkwọ' ákè*

'Bring me water to wash (for washing) hands'

18. *Ágụ' ílá' obodo ébè a mụrụ yá nà agụ' Ómenụkọ.*

'The desire to return to the place where he was born was in Ómenuko (= Ómenuko longed to return to his birthplace)'

19. *Ọ' sí' na yá' gá' emé'ré yá' ọgwù' ínwé'la' ego.*

'He said he would make for him medicine to get money'

20. *Mìgbe íkè' íny' mma' gwùrụ' há'...*

'When the ability to drink wine finished them . . .

(= When they could no longer drink. . .)'

Some infinitives are so attached to the preposition *na* that it is not easy to subcategorize them. They are then never used as either subject or object of finite verbs. Functionally, they are equivalent to English gerunds preceded by prepositions such as: 'by doing, in saying.' The Igbo examples from the books include:

21. *Nwá'tà' na enyéré' yá' ákà' n'izú' nà' n'iré' ahia' yá'*

'The child was helping him by to buy (by buying), and by to sell (by selling) his commodities, i.e., The child was helping him in his buying and selling'

22. *Ọ' nwèrè' úchà' n' íkwú' ọkwú'*

'He had sense by to talk (in talking)'

23. *Élelís' sí' nà' yá' màrà' ọzọ' nke' yá' gá' eji' gbuo' na' abughị' n'agba' agbe.*

'Elelis said that he knew a way he would follow to kill which was not by to shoot (by shooting) the gun'

The infinitive can be used in an independent exclamatory clause but, more often, in a dependent clause. In an exclamatory clause expressing a strong denial or vehement protestation, surprise, anger or wise, the infinitive replaces the verb in the clause. It is generally preceded by an interrogative word or an accentuated nominal.

24. Gíní? Ijé ebe anù kítá!

'What!, to go there now?'

25. Gíní? Íkwú ogbù egó maka ofú ákwa!

'What!, to pay one pound for a piece of cloth!'

26. Ọgbù yá ike nka etu a!

'A man of his age to be so strong!'

27. Múyá, íbídó ìzizì!

'I, to begin first'

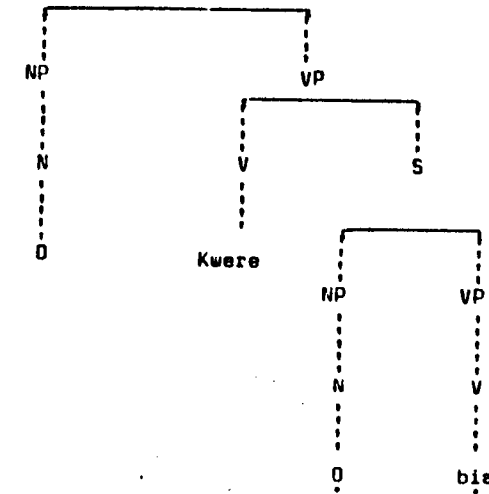
In the last example, the notion of person is indispensable in the sentence and the infinitive, unable to express person by itself, is preceded by a nominal phrase, which does. The nominal does not form a grammatical unit with the infinitive, and it is separated from it in writing by a comma; in speech it is strongly accentuated.

In dependent clauses, the infinitive is subordinated on the following conditions:

- (i) The subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the principal verb. This is true of both transitive and intransitive verbs.
- (ii) The subject of the infinitive is the same person or thing as the object of the principal verb.

28. Ọ́kwèrè íbìá. 'He agreed to come'

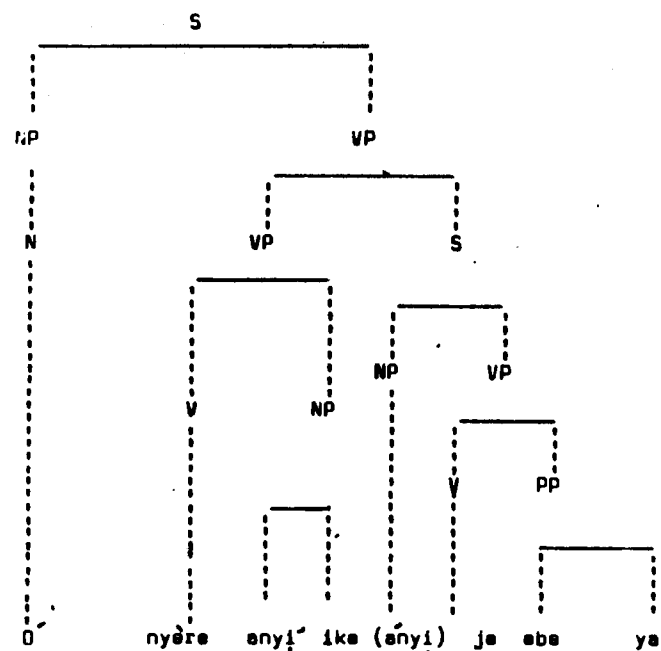
The subject, Ọ, of the principal verb, kwere, is also the subject of the infinitive, ibia. This can be illustrated in the following diagram:



28. Ọ́nyèrè anyí ike íjé be yá.

'He permitted us to go to his house'

The object of the principal verb, nyèrè, which is ányí, is also the subject of the infinitive, íjé. This is illustrated in the tree which follows:



The majority of the infinitives are found to be used together with other verbs. When so used, they either modify the meanings of the other verbs, or serve to indicate purpose, reason or result. The omission of the infinitives in such sentences renders the sentences meaningless. The following sentences illustrate this fact:

29. *Íne ahĩa m' gàrà ígwúsí kpmkpam.*

'All my articles of trade would have gone to perish (would have perished) completely'

30. *Í gàrà iru gí ahý*

'It would have gone to touch (would have touched) you (=you would have felt it)'

In the (a) and (b) sentences above, the infinitives modify the verbs.

31. *Óbìgha na ànyị́ nà ókwu há nà achọ́ ínwé isi*

'Obioha was rejoicing that their word was wanting to have a head' (=Obioha was rejoicing because their plans were coming to a head)'

Note: It is not easy to assign the infinitive, *ínwé, isi* to a functional category. The verb, *íchọ́*, is a transitive verb and must have an object which follows it. One is, therefore, tempted to infer that *ínwé* in the sentence is the object of the verb. But, whatever noun put in place of the infinitive in the sentence fails to make the construction have sense. It seems that, in such a construction, *inwe* and *isi* are inseparable as an idiomatic expression. For that reason, it is reasonable to infer that *inwa (isi)* enlarges the meaning of, and narrows the application of, the verb *achọ́*. Rather *chọ́* is a complementizable verb which can take an infinitive complement.

32. *Ndi ahý áúghị egwu ígá za óku*

'Those people did not fear to answer the call'

The infinitive *ígá* modifies the main verb, *áúghị egwu*

33. *Ó nwéghị ike ílẹ́ ya anya n'ínu*

'He has not ability (was not able) to look him in the face'

(See note above).

Another set of infinitives is used as infinitives of purpose. This set differs from the set that modifies a whole verbal phrase in that, whereas the verb phrase infinitival complement is essential to the understanding of the sentence as a whole, the infinitive of purpose can be deleted without any loss of meaning.

Most of these infinitives tend to explain the why and wherefore of an action; for the reason, they have been subcategorized as infinitives of purpose; e.g.

34. Há Lée'gawa ihú Diìshì

'They then went to see the D.C. (District Commissioner)'

35. Mgbe há jikere ìlégghàchì, Òmènyúkè gwàrè ndị ahụ ka há chere ndị ijè ndị ózọ.

'When they got ready to return, (Omenuko told those people that they should wait for the other travellers'

36. Ọ kpọrọ ná ijụ na m̀e o nwere íhe na nwere íkwú

'He called them to ask them if they had anything to say'

37. Ọ d'ghị mmadụ òbùlè biàrè ìnyèrè ya aka ìlùsì ndị ahụ ọgụ

'There was nobody who came to help him to fight those people'

38. Ngwéré wèè'gbabà n'òtù ọny d' n'akụkụ ọzò izèrè mmírí.

'The lizard scurried into a burrow beside the road to keep away from the rain'

One infinitive is used in a way that neither suggests a purpose or reason of an action nor simply complements the verb phrase.

In one sense, it is an infinitive of reason; in another sense, it is an infinitive of result.

39. Kà mbè'ghará inwé ike ipùta ọzọ idí ndụ

'So that the tortoise will not have power to (cannot) come out again to live'

In this sentence, there is a close relationship between purpose and result as manifested by the infinitive. It would appear that, if the coming out of the tortoise can be equated with his living, his surviving, the infinitive clearly shows the

If, on the other hand, the aim of the tortoise is to come out to live, then the infinitive is a purpose one. In this sense, the tortoise could all as well be alive where he is before coming out; it is no longer a question of surviving on coming out.

The only infinitival conjunction found is used in Omenuko in the following sentence:

40. Ọ d' anyị mmè'karịa anya ihú ntị anyị

'It is better for us than for our eyes to see our ears'

This is an exceptional use of an infinitive as a conjunction. The exception may be accounted for, by the fact that the expression in which it occurs is a proverb.

Some infinitives have been clothed so much with the characteristics of nouns that one hardly perceives their verbal origin. Such are called substantivized infinitives, and they include:

41. Ije' 'to travel/travelling; Íné' 'to write/writing'
Igbakọ 'to add/addition; Íchú 'to hunt/hunting'
Íkọ' 'to tell/telling; Íkpé 'to judge/judging'

In their verbal function, the infinitives occupy positions in sentences according to the type of the verb with which they are used. Causative verbs, such as ime 'to make' and verbs of volition like ichọ are followed by infinitives and non-infinitival clauses.

42.(a) Ágà m emé yá ijé ebe ahụ

'I will make him go there'

(b) Ágà m emé yá kè ó'jee ebe ahụ

'I will make him that he go there'

43(a) Há chọrọ́ ifú onye isí

'They want to see the boss'

(b) Há chọrọ́ ka há fú onye isí

'They want that they see the boss'

Similarly verbs of opinion íché 'to think' and verbs of movement announcing the object of the movement ígbá ọsọ́, 'to run', ílé 'to go', ibíá 'to come' are followed by both infinitives and non-infinitival clauses. But verbs of perception such as ínú 'to hear', ifú 'to see', ímáty 'to feel' are never followed by infinitives.

Thus, (42 a) Ágá m afú ná ọ́ bíárá.

'I will see that he (murt) come'

Not *Ágá m afú yá ibíá

'I will see him to come'

44(a) Ányị nury ná ọ́ gá abíá.

'We heard that he will come'

Not *Ányị nury yá ibíá

'We heard him to come'

45(a) Fá fúrú ka m ná abíá

'They saw when I was coming'

Not *Fá fúrú m íbíá

'They saw me to come'

Formation of Verbal Noun (Gerund)

The basic meaning of the gerund is derived from the lexical meaning of the verb from which it is formed. The type of formation process is dependent upon whether the verb is monosyllabic or polysyllabic.

In the case of monosyllabic verb, formation is by the process of reduplication (which may be partial or complete) and, in the case of polysyllabic verbs, formation is by prefixation only.

Reduplication

Reduplication occurs as follows:

(a) i/i occurs where the vowel of the verb stem is front

(i, í, e or é) as in

-rí orírí 'eating' (olili in Onicha dialect)

-sì ọ́sìsì 'saying'

-de ọ́dídé 'writing'

-za ọ́zízà 'answering'

(b) u/u occurs where the vowel of the verb stem is

back (u, ụ, o or ọ) as in

-gbu ọ́gbúgbu 'killing'

-hụ ọ́hụhụ 'seeing' (ọ́fúfú in Onicha dialect)

-to ọ́tútó 'praising' (otito in Onicha dialect)

-ko ọ́kúkọ 'guessing' (ọ́kíkọ in Onicha dialect)

Nasal Prefixation

In the case of polysyllabic verbs, the gerund is formed by prefixation. By this is meant that either of the nasals /m/, /n/ is prefixed to the root of the verb, and the resulting word is a gerund. /m/ is prefixed to roots beginning with labial consonants, and /n/ is prefixed to the others. The following examples illustrate the process:

Ígbása:mgbásè 'spreading, dismissal'

Íbido:mbido 'beginning'

Ígbakọ:mgbakọ 'adding'

Ibibi mbibi	'destroying'
Isogbu nsogbu	'worrying'
Ikwadebe nkwadebe	'preparing'
Ikuta nkuta	'bringing (a child)'

In most cases, the gerund occupies the same position as the infinitive if it is used as a nominal.

46. (a) Ide akwukwo siri ike
'To write a book is difficult'

(b) Odide akwukwo siri ike

47. (a) Igbakọ ọny ọgụ dī ofeḷe
'To add figures is easy'

(b) Igbakọ ọny ọgụ dī ofeḷe
'Adding figures is easy'

48 (a) Anyi achoro izo anị
'We don't want to dispute over land'

(b) Anyi achoro ozizo anị (izo)
'We don't want disputing over land'

When used with the expression sits na, it expresses certain circumstances of an action marked by another verb of the sentence:

Site n'okwukwe dī etu a ke o siri nwe ego
'By believing like this, he got money'

Site n'omume dī etu a ka mmadu ncha ji we fy ya na anya
'People came to love him because of this type of behaviour'

Although gerunds and infinitives occupy the same syntactic position generally, there is a difference in content between them. Gerunds tend to refer to facts accomplished whereas infinitives almost all the time refer to future activity, and hardly ever to the past, e.g.

49. Idu (infinitive) ha dī mma
'To see them off is a good idea
It will be a good idea to see them off'

(b) Odudu ha dī mma.
'Seeing them off was good/ The fact that they were seen off was good/ It was a good idea to see them off'

50. Ikpo onye isi dī mkpa.
'To invite the boss is necessary'

(b) Okpukpo onye isi dī mkpa
'Inviting the boss was necessary'

51(a) Ije ebe ahụ ga ebe uru.
'To go there will be profitable'

(b) Djije ebe ahụ bara uru
'Going (the fact that someone went) there was profitable'

When, however, the gerunds are expressly used to refer to the future, the action expressed by them is taken for granted. Okpukpo onye isi dī mkpa 'Inviting the boss is necessary' By this sentence is understood that there is a consensus that the boss should be invited. If an infinitive were substituted for the gerund, the sentence would mean a mere suggestion that the boss ought to be invited.

Apart from the difference in the linguistic organisation of the gerund and the infinitive, there is yet the distributional difference between them. The functional range of the infinitive covers the functional range of the gerund, and more.

The gerund only serves as a nominal by naming a state or action, or occurrence of activity; the infinitive, on the other hand, can be equated with most word classes, that is, it can be used where a noun, verb, or verbal phrase, etc. can be used, but not instead of a preposition or a pronoun. And whereas the gerund can take the determiners a, shu, nnunwa, nii 'this, that, this here, that there' the bare infinitive never goes with a determiner.

There is also a tonal difference between the infinitive and the gerund. Tone has a semantic effect on gerunds in that, if a gerund is low-low-high at one time, and at another low-high-high, it will have two different meanings, for example:

52. Onyinye 'giving' Onyinye 'gift', Omume 'behaviour'
Omume 'doing'

On the other hand, tone has a lexical effect on the infinitive. With regard to high tone verbs, a high tone falls on the i/i - prefix of the infinitive, while the radical carries a tone which is high but not as high as the prefix. In other words, infinitives of high tone verbs exhibit the high downstep tone pattern. In regard to low tone verbs, the tone on the i -prefix is high while that on the radical is low.

- 53 This contrasts with the polar tone (L-H and H-L respectively) on the participles of high and low tone verbs respectively.

54. Ije 'togo' ibis 'to come', igá 'to go', ikwú 'to say'

55. ibá 'to cut meat into pieces' ipu 'to go out'

ike 'to share', iro 'to dream' ize 'to protect oneself'

iku (ume) 'to breathe'

Thus, tone marks out these infinitives from the nouns in the language which have the same segmental phonemes as the infinitives. For example: ike, iku, iba, iga, ije, and ibo are lexically distinct from ike 'strength', iku anye 'eyebrow', iba 'a type of food' iga 'chains for prisoners', ije 'travelling' and ibo 'give money at dances' respectively, only because of the tone patterns. Apart from ije 'travelling', the later words have no semantic relationship with the infinitives and, even though ike has same shape and tones as ike 'buttocks', it cannot be said that both have the same history, nor do they have similar enough occurrence patterns to raise any appreciable ambiguity.

Transitivity

NWACHUKWU, P. A.

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Because of the presence of such complements, it has been suggested (cf. Emenanjo 1975) that all Igbo verbs are transitive. This suggestion of Emenanjo is interesting in itself, but more so because a similar suggestion has been made by Awobuluyi (1972) with regard to the Yoruba language.

However, the author of this paper maintains a contrary view: There is enough linguistic evidence in support of the view that Igbo verbs can be analysed into transitives and intransitives: there are patently transitive and intransitive verbs in Igbo, and there are those that can be transitive in one context but intransitive in another. This distinction is shown to be valid even for those verbs which always occur with inherent complements - the sub-group of verbs very easily cited as transitive verbs - because very little studied.

In arriving at our conclusion, we have critically examined the syntactic criteria of transitivity and found them not altogether satisfactory for Igbo verbs. Consequently, we have admitted some semantic or notional criteria and these have generally enabled us take a decision one way or the other.

The aim of presenting this analysis is to elicit reactions to our method. It is also hoped that this paper will enable us look into our individual languages - perhaps the problems presented here are not peculiar to Igbo. If this is so, perhaps, language typology can throw more light on the problem.

2.0

CATEGORIES OF VERBS

The Igbo language has the following sub-categories of verbs (represented in nos. 2 - 3) all of which have one type of object complement or another.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 2(a) <i>Ógu riri</i> | (anu)
(akwé)
(ji)
(azu)
(unéne) | Ogu ate some
meat/eggs, yams
fish / bananas |
| (b) <i>Nna m' gburu eghu</i> | | My father killed a goat. |
| (c) <i>Onye o wula anuona mai</i> | | Everybody has had some wine |
| (d) <i>I ma nwunye ya?</i> | | Do you know his wife? |
| (e) <i>Kéle nu Onye nkuzi unu</i> | | Come on, greet your teacher. |
| (f) <i>Ibe pa atuma mai n'aka</i> | | Ibe is carrying a jar of wine in his hand. |
| (g) <i>O deere m ekwukwo toro m-obi uto.</i> | | He wrote me a pleasant letter. |
| (h) <i>Anyi shuna ndi ohi wa</i> | | We have seen the thieves. |
| (i) <i>Ha zuru ego m.</i> | | They stole my money. |

The verbs used in the above sentences are representative of the sub-group which can be rightly described as transitive:

They are:-

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------|
| <i>riri</i> | (from <i>iri</i>) | to eat |
| <i>gburu</i> | (from <i>Igbu</i>) | to kill |
| <i>anuona</i> | (from <i>inu</i>) | to drink |
| <i>ma</i> | (from <i>ma</i>) | to know |

kelé	(ikele)	to greet
pá	(from ípa)	to carry by hand
deere	(from íde)	to write
àhuna	(from íhú)	to see
zyó	(From ízy)	to steal

They are verbs which can take an NP object drawn from an unlimited set of nominals within the bounds of co-occurrence restrictions.

Furthermore these are verbs denoting actions or states which involve at least two NP's - the NP subject or Agent and an NP object or goal. In other words, the action or state denoted by each of these verbs starts with a subject and ends with an object (subject and object being used here to denote syntactic functions/ relations. Traditional grammar is very often criticised for its notional definitions, the definition of transitivity being one of them. In this regard, Robins (1971) had this to say:

The weakness of semantic definitions is well illustrated here: hit in "I hit you" is syntactically a transitive verb and is often chosen as an example because the action referred to may plausibly be said to "pass across" via my fist to you. But hear in "I hear you" is involved in exactly the same syntactic relations with the two pronouns, and is regarded as a transitive verb., though in this case, the "action", if any action is in fact referred to, is the other way round; and: who does what, and to whom, in the situation referred to by the syntactically similar verb in 'I love you'. In defence of this notional definition one would like to point out that there are two semantic categories of verbs involved in Robin's examples - "hit" - an Action verb, and "see" and "love" - both stative verbs.

We should not unduly emphasize the notion "pass across" which holds good in action verbs but not in stative ones. What matters is that by its very descriptive label transitive verbs always express an action or situation involving at least two NP's, the direction of the action or situation is immaterial. However, even if we decide to ignore the actor/goal aspect of the definition of transitivity, it is nevertheless true that the traditional 'notional' account of transitivity is applicable to most if not all syntactically transitive verbs.

In the study of Igbo verbs, it seems that this traditional definition is necessary and useful where other formal tests of transitivity fail. As was pointed out in the introduction, there is no syntactic transformation which defines a class of transitive verbs in Igbo, as is the case in English. The strictly structural approach does not always work, especially with verbs taking inherent complements.

2. I Ditransitive Verbs

This is the sub-category of transitive verbs which take two object NP's (called direct and indirect objects). Unlike the majority of transitive verbs, which are two-place predicates, ditransitive verbs are three-place predicates; the following are illustrative examples:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 3 (a) | Ó nyere m' ego | He gave me some money. |
| (b) | Ógù gwara ụnyị ezị okwú | Ogu told you the truth. |
| (c) | Anyị ga-agbázii gị ego. | We shall lend you some money. |
| (d) | Ó biiri m' ego oto m' chòrọ | He lent me as much money as I wanted. |

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In Ijaw, the situation is the same (cf Williamson (1966).

By grouping together all verbs of movements as intransitive, we are disagreeing with Ubahakwe's analysis of the verb *je* as transitive in one context but intransitive in another. (cf. Ubahakwe 1976: 53)

- (a) Òkéeke jèrè íjé` (transitive) Okeke went a walk.
 (b) Òkéeke jèrè Kano (intransitive) Okeke went to Kano.

Although there are verbs which are transitive in one context but intransitive in the other, the verb *íjé* 'to go' is not one of them, (see section 3.3)

From the foregoing discussion it is obvious that the distinction into transitive and intransitive verbs is well-motivated in Igbo grammar. The phenomenon is not just limited to surface structures as has been claimed by Emenanjo (1975 and 1978).

3.3. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

Like in many languages of the world, Igbo has a sub-class of verbs which can be used either transitively or intransitively. The following are illustrative.

Examples:

8. (a) *Íhe ukwu mèrè* (intr.) A great thing happened
 (b) *Ó mèrè íhe ukwu* (tr.) He did a great thing.
9. (a) *Ìkpará m agbàjíele.* (intr) My walking stick has broken.
 (b) *Í gbèjíele ìkpará m* (tr.) You have broken my walking stick.
10. (a) *Ófe oma siri n'ókú* (intr.) A pot of good soup is cooking on the fire.
 (b) *Ó siri ófe oma taè* (tr.) She cooked a pot of good soup today.
11. (a) *Ógù dọchiri avọ ahụ ụzọ* (tr.) Ogu blocked the road with that long basket.
 (b) *Avọ ahụ dọchiri ụzọ* (intr.) That basket is blocking the way.
12. (a) *Ụzọ ghere ọny* (intr.) The door is open
 (b) *Ọnyé ghewere ụzọ ọny?* (tr.) Who left the door open?
13. (a) *Ụzọ ụlọ ya mechiri eméchi* (intr) The door to his house is closed.
 (b) *Ụny mechiri ụzọ ụny nílle* (tr.) You closed all your doors.

Pairs of sentences such as 8 (a) and (b) - 13 (a) and (b) in which the object NP of the verbs in (a) becomes the subject NP of the same verb in (b) have been described in Indo-European languages as ergative constructions, (cf. Lyons 1971: 352), ergative being coined from a Greek verb meaning cause, bring about, create.

The Igbo language has a sub-class of such verbs. Their existence in Igbo does not in any-way suggest that "verbs are not rigidly classified as transitive and intransitive" as Ubehakwe (1976) suggests. Rather what we need do is recognise a three-way classification thus:

- (i) a sub-class of transitives
- (ii) a sub-class of intransitives
- (iii) a small sub-set of verbs which can be used transitively or intransitively according to context.

4.0 The problem of Subclassification

The factor complicating the sub-classification of Igbo verbs into transitives and intransitives is the existence in the language of what has been referred to elsewhere (cf. Nwachukwu 1976) as Inherent-Complement-verb. These are verbs the citation form of which always includes a nominal element which may or may not be cognate with the verb.

The following are examples:

14. *ítú* (semantically incomplete)
- " *mai* Pour libation
 - " *ony* burrow
 - " *ony* to summon someone for a case in traditional manner.
 - " *eej/nty* to tell a lie.
 - " *iwu* default in payment of one's contribution.
 - " *ji* to plant yams.
 - " *íkpe* to make indirect reference to someone.

itu	anya	expect.
"	oyi	be cold
"	n'anya	to surprise
15. igbá	(semantically incomplete)	
"	akpe	to mourn
"	ony	to starve
"	ethythy	discriminate, against
"	nguzó	loiter
"	àlè	to spread rapidly
"	afa	to divine
"	aka	to be empty-handed
"	mgba	to wrestle
"	yghale éhíá	to retail
"	òbàrè	to bleed
"	otò	to be naked.

Observe that each of those sets of examples begins with an infinitive form which is semantically incomplete until the appropriate complement is supplied. Note also that there are as many verbs as there are different nominal complements. This is why the complements are described as inherent: each of them is a nuclear constituent of its verb and the verb does not exist without it. They are first and foremost meaning specifiers, secondly they are complements to their verbs and not object NP's even though they all seem to appear within the frame, [- NP.], as real transitive verbs do. But the frame notation obscures the picture a great deal and we need an alternative way of looking at the problem.

In general, Verbs which take inherent complements are intransitive, although some of them are transitive. An inherent-complement-verb is transitive if and only if it takes an NP object in addition. Example

- 17 (a) Ànà m atú anya nné m. (tú anya) I am expecting my mother.
- (b) Ógù bara yá mgba (ba mgba) Ogu wrestled him wrestle:
Ogu wrestled with him.
- (c) É ríri ya amusu (ri amusu) One ate him witchcraft: They practised witchcraft on him.
- (d) Tù yá omu: Sue him (in the traditional way) (tù omu)

Secondly, there is a class of verbs which are transitive, but they select their objects from a limited range of NP objects. Because of this characteristic, they are treated here as inherent-complement verbs.

They include:

itu	ony	make a hole, burrow
"	mai	pour libation
"	ama	clean the streets
"	asi	tell a lie

Their use is illustrated in the following sentences:

- 18 (a) Òkè. túry óny ebe à: A rat made a hole here.
- (b) Túg máì tupu anyì ebído Pour libation before we start.
- (c) Tùkwéani àma n'isi ýtútù Do sweep the streets early in the morning.
- (d) Í tughuru onwé gí n'èsí You kill yourself in lying: You lie very much.

An object is that NP which is directly dominated in deep structure by the node VP; thus, an object, whether direct or indirect, is a VP constituent, as shown in the following fig. 1.

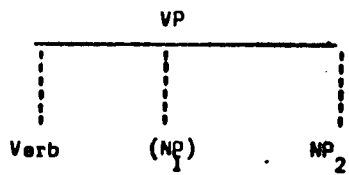


fig. 1

Hence the test frame is [- NP]'

But an inherent complement or a bound verb complement (BVC), that is Emenanjo's BCN, is a Verb Constituent thus:

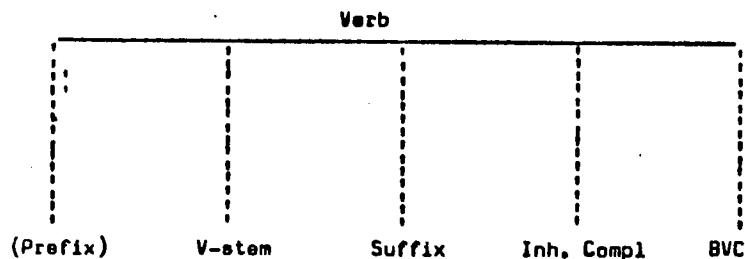
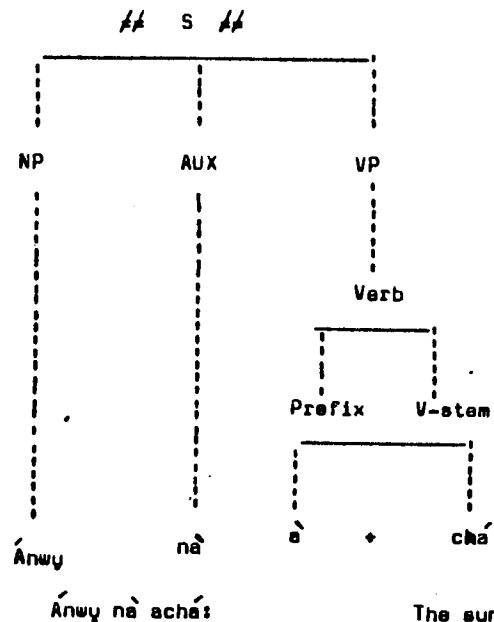


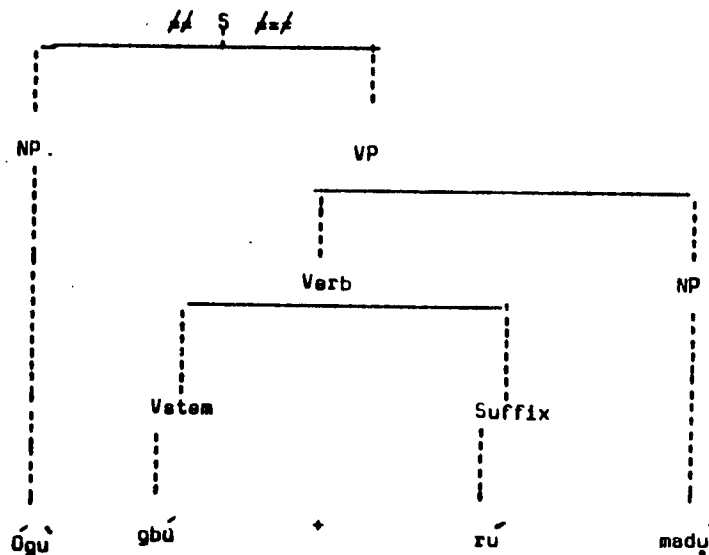
Fig. 2

Configurationally, the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs can come out as clearly as the following tree diagrams shown:



The sun is shining.

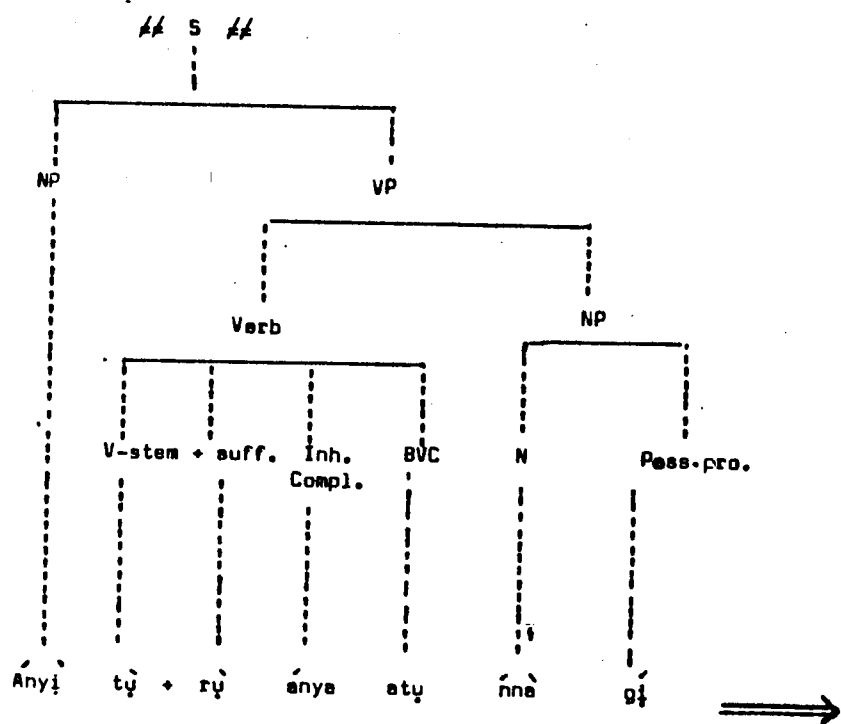
Fig. 3



Ógù gbù ru' madù'

Ogu killed a person: Ogu committed murder.

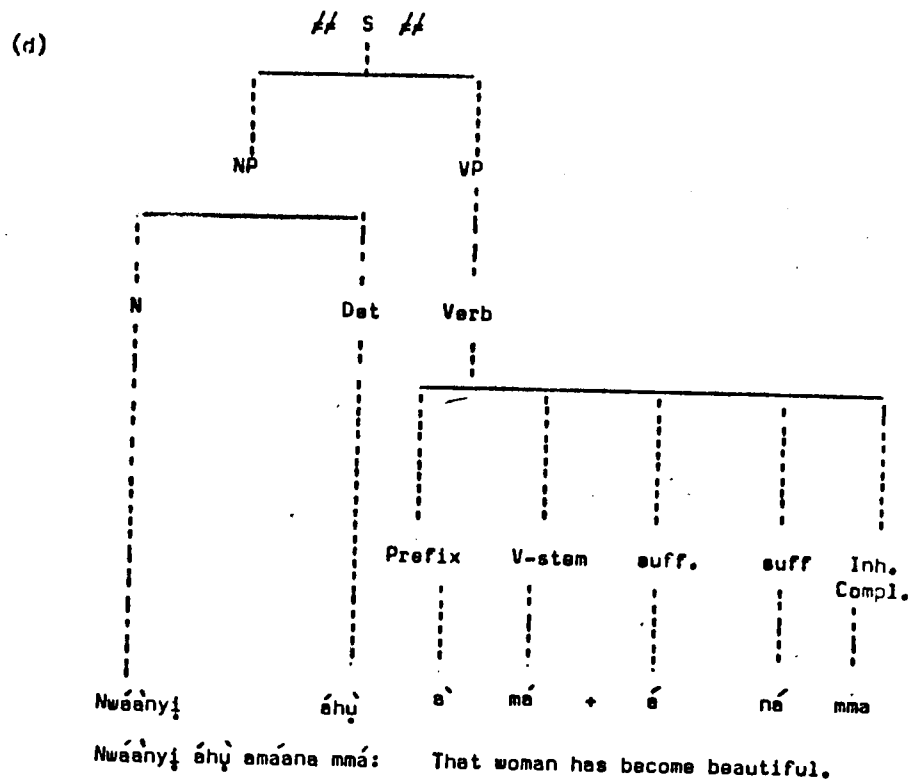
Fig. 4.



Anyi turu anya nna gi atu: We really expected your father.

Fig. 5.

Note that the above example contains an inherent complement, a direct object and a bound verb complement (an emphazier).



Nwaanyi shu amaana mma: That woman has become beautiful.

The structural differences between transitive and intransitive verb, be they inherent-complement verbs or not, have been brought out in the fore-going tree diagrams. The point needs to be emphasized: Verbs are not necessarily transitive because they take inherent complements, rather inherent complement-taking verbs, like other verbs, need to be analysed to determine whether they are transitive or not. By a combination of structural and notional approach we have come to the conclusion that the term transitivity is very relevant for an adequate description of Igbo verbs. From our description one important distinction has emerged - the distinction between Object and Complement.

An object is an NP dominated by the node VP, in other words, an object is a VP- constituent. A Complement may be an NP or not, it may be an inherent nominal (NP) complement or a bound verb complement which merely adds emphasis to the meaning of its verb, Whereas an object is a VP constituent, both inherent (nominal) and bound verb complements are verb constituents. Moreover, an inherent (nominal) complement has to be specified in the lexicon as part of its verb, but a bound verb complement need not since it is only needed for emphasis.

Notes and References.

I am very grateful to Professor Kay Williamson for her thorough reading of an earlier version of this paper and for very useful suggestions which have improved its quality. I am also indebted to other colleagues, Emenanjo, Sr. Uwalaka and Tim Umeasigbu all native- speaker linguists and participants at the COLLOQUIUM ON LINGUISTICS and NIGERIAN LANGUAGES held at the University of Port Harcourt from March 22 - 24, 1979 for their insightful comments.

2. Awobuluyi (1972) has argued, among other things, that subclassifying Yoruba verbs for transitivity provides no more than a highly superficial and grossly inadequate classification. His most convincing reasoning is that transitivity is an unnecessary and misleading term for describing Yoruba verbs because 'all but a negligible couple of verbs' in Yoruba are transitive. The situation in Igbo is rather different: the language has a sub-class of verbs that are always transitive and another set that are always intransitive. In between those two sub-classes is a smaller group of unmarked verbs.

The Status of Auxiliaries

EMENANJO, E. 'N.

In Igbo the number of auxiliaries, their phonological shapes and, to some degree, their syntactic behaviour vary from dialect to dialect. While Onicha¹ and some Enuani Igbo² dialects may have as many as six or seven auxiliaries, most varieties of Standard Igbo have three.

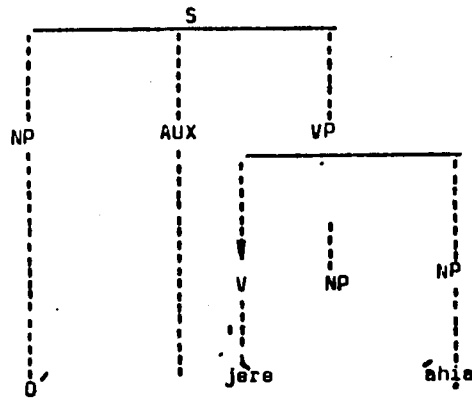
ONICHA	IGBOYZO	CENTRAL	STANDARD	FUNCTION/MARKER
-na	-na	-ji (-na	-na	progressive marker
-di	-di	-ji (-na	-na)	progressive: negative
-ga	-go	-ga)	-go	future
-ma	-me	-ga)	-ga)	future: negative
-ka-ga	-dika	-ga-ka	-ga)	Unfulfilled
-ka ^β	-	-	-ka	persistence

1.0 FEATURES OF AUXILIARIES.

In all languages it is useful to divide verbs into:

(i) those with 'an inherent semantic content ('referential meaning') and without specifically grammatical function'. and (ii) 'those without referential meaning but with specifically grammatical function'.⁴ While class (i) verbs are sometimes called 'lexical verbs' or 'full verbs, free verbs, true verbs', class (ii) verbs are sometimes called 'auxiliary verbs' or 'auxiliaries'. Igbo Auxiliaries are verbs because they can take inflectional affixes which is the strongest diagnostic test for verbs.

Unlike full verbs, however, which can be the only verbals in sentences, as in (1), auxiliaries cannot be found alone. They are always obligatorily used with some nomino-verbal complement as in (2).



'He went to the market.' figures 1.

In terms of feature specifications, full verbs are [+V, -Aux] where Auxiliaries are [+V, +Aux]

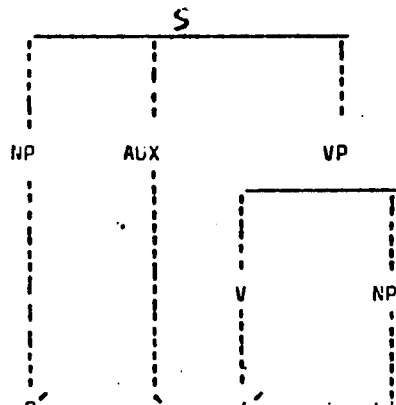


Fig 2.

2 (a) O na eje ahia: 'He is going to the market.'

(b) O ga ije ahia 'He is going to go to the market'

- (c) O gaare eje ahia. 'He should have gone to the market'.
- (d) O ga nje ahia. 'He must go to the market'.

While (1) has no auxiliary, but a full verb, (2) has a number of auxiliaries which are all complemented by different nomino-verbals dominated by V in figure 2. The dependent nature of the auxiliary in an utterance is confirmed by the fact that whenever there is need to emphasise the meaning of the sentence by a cognate verbal qualification, this element (called elsewhere the Bound Cognate Noun (BCN)), is derived from the verb rather than from the Auxiliary.

- 3. (a) O na eje ahia eje: 'He is really going to the market'.
- (b) O ga ije ahia eje: 'He is going to really go to the market.
- (c) O gaare eje ahia eje: 'He should have really gone to the market.
- (d) O ga nje ahia eje: 'He must really go to the market'.

(i) Unlike full verbs, auxiliaries are irregular in another way: They are not amenable to verb derivational morphology. For where some full verbs can have as many as thirty odd verbal derivatives, auxiliaries can only have two verbal derivatives-the simple participle and the Infinitive. Thus, unlike regular and full verbs, auxiliaries are irregular verbs defective in verbal derivatives.

- (ii) Whereas full verbs can take a very wide range of suffixes and enclitics, auxiliary verbs cannot. As Winston (1975: 134) has observed: "An Auxiliary base is similar to an ordinary base, but has an Auxiliary stem in place of the ordinary initial stem, has not other stem, and has only a small range of possible suffixes".
- (iii) Whereas full verbs can be -nominalized, auxiliaries cannot.

(iv) Lastly, while full verbs can select their complements, as well as their Subjects and Indirect Objects, auxiliaries cannot select any of these, since their meanings and syntactic behaviour are grammatically conditioned.

2. THE AUXILIARY -NÀ

2.0 While -nà is the most common form written in the literature, there is the phonological variant -lâ, which is used in places like Oru, Awqamma, Uquta, Egbema, Unyahia, among other places. Instead of -nà, some dialects in the Ngwa area of Imo State and Ndokwa areas of Bendel State use -dî, while in parts of Owerri, Urate and Mbaise areas, -ji is used.

2.1 THE SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF -NA.

Belmers and Belmers virtually refuse to give auxiliary status to -na. Or if it is an auxiliary, it is complemented by an element, which though derived from a verb, is more nominal than verbal.¹⁵ Syntactically -na is an auxiliary since it cannot be used alone. It obligatorily requires some nomino-verbal complement to be meaningful. This nomino-verbal is usually a participle never an infinitive, though in some varieties of Ngwa, an Infinitive can be used as complement to the progressive marker -dî.

- (a) Ó ná erú grú 'He is Working'.
 (b) Ó là erú grú 'He is Working'.
 (c) Ó jì erú grú 'He works'.
 (d) Ó jè erú grú 'He works'.

According to Winston (1975: 134), an auxiliary like -na always functions in a 'complex base'. 'A complex base consists of an auxiliary base followed by some other form, depending on the particular auxiliary employed but mostly a participle or a short form'.

For Nwachukwu (1975), auxiliaries function in 'complex verb forms' which are made up of the auxiliary and some complementing word, whose shape varies with the auxiliary and/or with the meaning to be expressed. The complement of -na is a participle. This may be:

- (i) the simple participle as in (4), or (ii) a participle inflected for negation.
- (5) Àchqghí m ndí na-ábiaghí n'ogè: 'I don't want those who did not come on time'. or (ii) inflected for 'completiveness'
- (6) Àdà' q' ná' abíala?: Is Ada now coming? Has Ada continued to come?.
- (7) Ùny anána èmème?. 'Have you continued to do?

(well done; keep it up.

(taken from Nwachukwu P.A. 1976:465).

- (8) Ibè q ná' èjéle shíá ya? 'Has Ibe continued to keep up with his trading?.'
- (9) Ó ná' echírí' ewú' àgá' shíá. 'He used to take goats to the market'.

(taken from G.I., 146, 170)

What (5) - (9) illustrate is that the participle that complements -na can also be found with Inflectional suffixes. Thus, in what is called a 'complex verb form' or a 'complex base' or an "Auxiliary complex", the Inflectional suffix can be found either on the Auxiliary alone as in 2 (c), or on the participle alone as in (5) - (13), or on both the auxiliary and the participle as in (7). Winston (1975: 153) observes that 'it is normal for inflectional suffixes to be attached to the Auxiliary base in Complex bases, not to the participle or other second component'. Because for Winston there is something abnormal about Inflectional suffixes occurring on participles, he could only find one example, our (9), in the texts used for his analysis.

As our examples, (5) - (9) have demonstrated there is nothing abnormal about participles having inflectional suffixes.

- (10) ǝ' gá elígo yá (i) 'Leave him, he would eat it'
 (11) (a) ǝ' gá elígo yá (ii) He must have eaten it'.
 (c) ǝ' ká élígo yá: 'He has not yet eaten it'.

2.2 SYNTACTIC FUNCTION OF -NA.

Whatever was the diachronic history of -na, it is now no longer a regular verb with full lexical meaning, but an auxiliary verb with an inflectional function and meaning in the language comparable to that of inflectional affixes, especially suffixes and tonal morphemes. In the overall grammar of Igbo, -na is a modal auxiliary which marks the aspect that has been variously called 'present Habitual' by Abraham⁶, 'Incompletive' by Welmers and Welmer⁷, 'Durative',⁸ 'Imperfective'⁹ and 'progressive',¹⁰ by Emenanjo, 'Habitual' and 'progressive past' by Nwachukwu¹¹ and 'Continuative (unbroken or habitual) by Winston¹². In fact, the auxiliary -na is one of the inflectional elements that clearly indicate that in Igbo, the phenomenon of aspect is much more prominent than the phenomenon of tense. -na indicates two different but closely related things:

- (a) Habitual/Customary/Iterative
 (b) Temporary.

2.3 HABITUAL All dialects of Igbo seem to use -na and the other dialectal equivalents (-la; -ji, -je, -di) for this purpose. The habitual or customary action that is being referred to can be in the present or past time. 12. Nuóké a' na-azú ahíá n' Àbá.

'This man is trading at Aba.

13. Nuóké a' na-azú ahíá n' Àbá m̀gbe m̀ m̀àura yá:

'This man was trading in Aba when I knew him!.

In(12) the reference is to a customary or habitual action which is still continuing. In (13), although the habitual action has stopped, at the time it was taking place it was regarded as uncompleted. What is important in (12) and (13) is the duration or progression of the habitual action, not its completion.

2.4 TEMPORARY Not all dialects use -na for this purpose. Some Central dialects use the suffix -ghE/gE, for expressing a 'present progressive' or 'on-going action' (Nwachukwu 1975:88). Most other dialects use -na for this same purpose. Used in this manner, -na refers to temporary situations, activities or happenings.

(14) ǝléé'Ada? ǝ' ná agú akwýkwọ: Where's Ada? 'She is reading'.

(15) ǝléé' íhe ǝ' ná emé? Áná m̀ achú akwýkwọ m̀.

'What (on earth) are you doing?' 'I'm looking for my book.

(16) ǝ' bú gíní' ná ahíá? ǝ' nwèrè ndí ná ály ọ̀gụ.

'What is happening?' 'Some people are fighting'.

(14) - (16) indicate that the temporary situation marked by -na includes within its time-span, present moment stretching from a limited period into the past and into the future. Thus, the progressive aspect generally has the effect of surrounding a particular event or moment by a 'temporal frame' which can be diagrammed simply thus: past present future i.e. within the flow of time there is some point of reference from which the temporary indicated by the verb can be seen as stretching into the future and into the past. With the progressive present the point of orientation is normally identical with 'now', the present moment of real time.

But in the progressive past some other definite point of reference must be assumed. Often, this point is made explicit by the suffix,

-(a)ara or by an adverbial phrases or clause.

(17) ǃ'naara azú ahjá n'Àbá. 'He used to be a trader at Aba.

(18) ǃ'na' azú ahjá n'Àbá' mgba ehú. 'He used to be a trader, then at Aba.

2.5 As far as temporary meaning goes, -na indicates all the three different shades of duration possible within English¹³.

- (i) Simple duration which should be distinguished from the non-durative instantaneous present.
- (ii) Limited duration that should be distinguished from the unrestricted present.
- (iii) Uncompleted happening that should be distinguished from the instantaneous present.

Irrespective of the nature of the duration, the important thing about the progressive is that the action is not complete, and it does not specify either the time of beginning or that of completing the action.

2.6 In concluding the discussion on the semantic import of the progressive, it has to be said that it covers both customary and temporary meanings since whether continuing or customary, the action is viewed as begun but still uncompleted at the time referred to. For it can be used either to refer to an action going on now, at the moment of speaking, like English, 'He is sweeping', or to express a 'customary', 'habitual' or iterative action like, 'He sweeps the house', or in conjunction with a reference to some other time, the verb form may also refer to an action taking place formerly -

like, 'He was sweeping the house', or to a customary action at the time like 'He used to sweep the house'¹⁴.

2.8 -NA AND POLARITY. In all dialects, -na is neutral as to polarity. In the surface structure, tone pattern alone with or without the General Negative suffix indicates the difference between Affirmative and Negative.

19. (a) Àdà' na' azú ahjá. 'Ada is a trader'.
 (b) Àdà' ana' azú ahjá. 'Ada is not a trader'.
 (c) Àdà' anághí' azú ahjá. 'Ada is not a trader'.
 (d) Àdà' anérog' azú ahjá. 'Ada is not a trader'.

Where 20 (a) is Affirmative, (b) - (d) are Negative. The difference between (b) - (d) is that the general Negative suffix is deleted in (b) but present in two different dialectal forms in (c) and (d). But in all the negative forms, the negative inflectional tonal morpheme of downstep is the same on the stem of the auxiliary where, in the affirmative, it is a low tone characteristic of the affirmative stative verb form.

20. In some dialects, however, mostly in the Onicha-Qka areas of Anambra State, and in parts of Bendel State, -na is used mostly for progressive Affirmative, while the verb -dì 'be at' has developed into a progressive Negative marker. 20 (a) Àdà' na' abjá ebe à: 'Ada is coming here'.
 (b) Àdà' edí(ro) abjá ebe à 'Ada is not coming here'
 'Ada does not come here).

2.8 THE PROGRESSIVE AND VERB FORMS. Because of its inherent meaning of duration and because of the aspectual emphasis in the Igbo verbal system, -na can co-exist in the same sentence with a number of other inflectional morphemes which may either mark tense, aspect, polarity or a combination of any two or more of these.

- (a) Ada na'eri gari . 'Ada is eating gari'
 (b) $\text{Ada anaghị eri gari}$. 'Ada does not usually eat gari'.
 (c) $\text{Ada anaghịrị eri gari}$. 'Ada was not eating gari before, (but now she does'.)
 (d) $\text{Ada na'ara eri gari}$. 'Ada used to eat gari (but she has stopped'
 na'ara .
 (e) $\text{Ada ka na eri gari}$. 'Ada still eats gari'.
 (f) $\text{Ada ka ga na eri gari}$. 'Ada will, still continue eating gari'.
 (g) $\text{Ada ga na eri gari}$. 'Ada will continue to eat gari'.
 (h) $\text{Ada agaghị na eri gari}$. 'Ada will not be eating gari'.
 (i) Ada ana eri gari . 'So Ada is eating gari'.
 (j) $\text{Ada ana erile gari}$. 'So Ada has now come to long last to eat gari'.

(a) is the unmarked progressive affirmative, while (j) is the marked progressive affirmative; (b) is marked for negation, (d) for past time, (c) for negation and past time, (e) for persistent-progressive Affirmative, (f) for persistent-Future progressive Affirmative (g) for future progressive Affirmative, (h) for future-progressive Negative and (k) for progressive-perfective Affirmative.

3.10 In (b), -na co-exists with the general Negative marker, in (c) with the negative and past time markers, in (d) with the past marker in (e) with the persistence marker, in (f) with the persistence and Future markers and so on.

Topicalization is only possible with full verbs like -chọ, 'want', -bịa 'come', or -ga I 'go',

3.00 THE AUXILIARY -GA

This auxiliary is common to most, if not all dialects of Igbo. In its phonological shape, however, it varies from -ga in a good number of dialects to -ya in Okpe etc., -ma in Arọchukwu, Azumini etc., -da in Okigwe, etc., -gha in Amagbịa, etc.; -ja in Isuochi etc., -je in Okija, Arọndizugwu, etc, and -ji in Enugwu-Ezike.

3.1 THE BASIC FORM AND MEANING OF -GA. For Nwachukwu (1975:233), -ga is not quite an auxiliary like -na, because unlike -na 'it can function in a non-auxiliary capacity, that is, as the only verb of an independent clause in the language'. Thus where for him, -na has the feature specifications $\left[+V, +\text{aux.} \right]$, -ga has the specifications $\left[+V, \pm\text{aux.} \right]$. Since -ga can be used as a non-auxiliary in one capacity [i.e. -aux] and as an auxiliary in another (i.e. +aux). The stand of Nwachukwu is largely the same as that of Green and Igue (1963) who reserve the term Auxiliary for -na alone, since in every stem which functions in the normal way. The truth about -ga, 'go', as Welmers and Welmers (1968:73) have rightly observed, is: 'The verb form ga in the future is undoubtedly related to the verb iga 'go'; the usage is strikingly similar to that of English 'going to' as a future marker'. This means that in Igbo there are two homonyms:

$\text{-ga I 'go' } \left[+V, -\text{Aux.} \right]$ Full lexical verb -ga 2 'will be-at'
 $\left[+V, +\text{Aux.} \right]$ Modal Auxiliary, Future marker.

- (22) (a) Ọ ga ahia ahụ . 'He went to that market'.
 (b) Ọ gera ahia ahụ . 'He went to that market'.
 (c) Ọ gaara ahia ahụ . 'He used to go to that market.'

- (1) $\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ ahija ah\u0304}$ 'He is going to go to that market'.
 (2) $\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{r}}\dot{\text{a}} (\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ ahija ah\u0304})$ 'He should have gone to that market'.
 (3) $\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{r}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ ahija ah\u0304}$ 'He wants to go to that market'.
 (4) $\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{r}}\dot{\text{a}} \dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{a}} \text{ ahija ah\u0304}$ 'He has come to go to that market'.
 (22), we have -ga I. It is a $\bar{\text{L}} + \text{action}$, + transitive $\bar{\text{V}}$ verb whose
 indirect or direct object is ahija ah\u0304 'that market'. In (24), we have
 -g\u0304ara. This is a $\bar{\text{L}} - \text{action}$, - transitive + Aux $\bar{\text{V}}$ verb, which takes the
 infinitive verbal derivative as one of its three possible obligatory verbal
 complements. Thus where (22) has the structure:

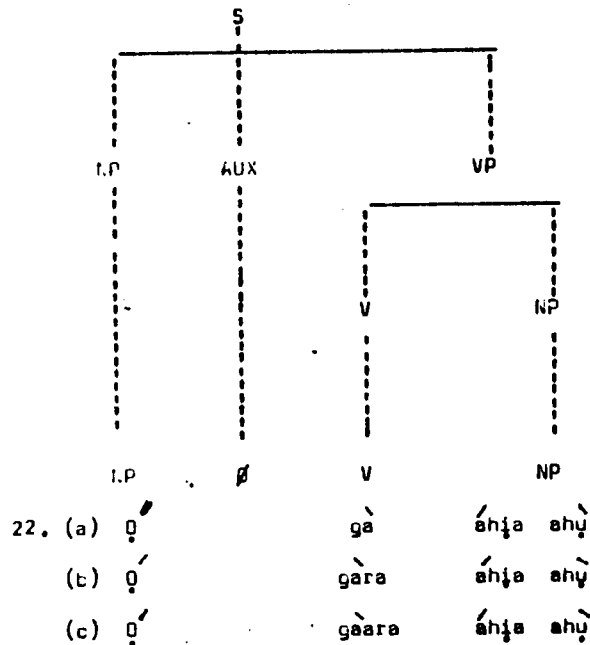


fig. 3.

(23) has the structure:

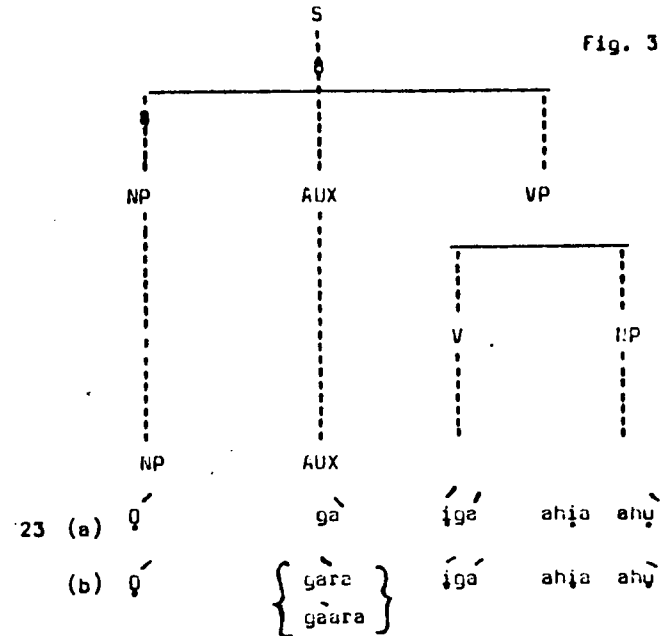
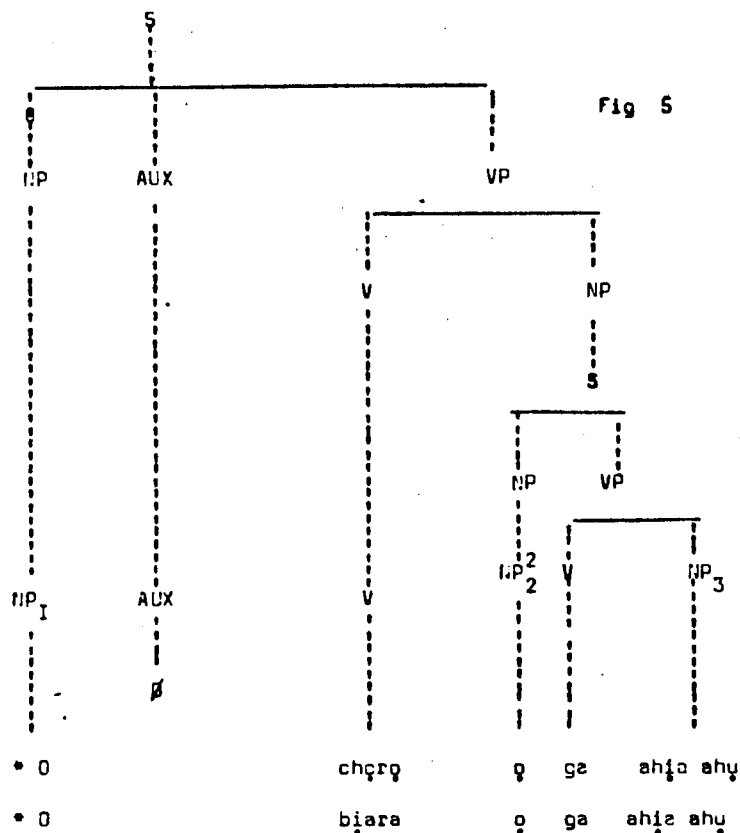


Fig. 3

fig. 4.

3.2. If we look again at (23) and (24), we will notice that an infinitive immediately follows the verb. Yet the sources and functions of these infinitives are different in (23) and (24). Where the Infinitive in (23) derives from its own sentence and is dominated by the Verb node of that sentence, the infinitive in (24) is dominated by an NP node and is the result of an Equi-NP deletion. So that where the Infinitive in (23) is the obligatory nomino-verbal complement of an auxiliary verb in the deep structure, the Infinitive in (24) is a reduced sentential complement of a semantic class of verbs which takes Infinitival complements in their surface structure. Thus where the underlying structure of (23) is figure 4 that of (24) is figure 5.



Since NP₁ = NP₂; by EQUI - NP deletion and Infinitivization we have nb

25. (a) *o choro igá ahia: o biara igá ahia.*

It is because the sources and syntactic functions of the Infinitives in (23) and (24) are so different that it is possible to topicalize the Infinitive phrase in (24) but not in (23).

25. (a) *igá ahia ahụ ka o choro* 'To go to that market is which he wants'
 (b) *igá ahia ahụ ka o biara* 'To go to that market is why he has come'.

26. (a) **igá ahia ahụ ka o ga*
 (b) **igá ahia ahụ ka o {gàrà, gaara.}*

- 27 (a) *Ahịa ahụ ka o ga* 'It was to that market that he went'.
 (b) *Ahịa ahụ ka o gàrà* 'It was to that market that he went.'
 (c) *Ahịa ahụ ku o gaara.* 'It was to that market that he used to go...'

but not with auxiliary verbs like -ga₂. Hence the aberrant structures in 26.

3.3 The essence of our discussion so far has been to prove that there is an auxiliary -ga in Igbo, different from the regular verb -ga 'go'. It is from the regular verb that derivatives like the Infinitives in (23) and (24) have come... The auxiliary and the regular -ga can co-occur in the same sentence as in (23) and (24). That there is diachronic or even synchronic relationship between ga and -ga₂ is nothing surprising, if we take into account diachronic and synchronic facts from other languages. In the Kru language family, Marchesse¹⁵ has conclusively shown that auxiliaries are not only very closely linked to verbs, in fact, auxiliaries have developed from full verbs. Having developed into auxiliaries, both auxiliaries and full verbs continue to be used, with the full verbs retaining their original referential meanings and the auxiliaries serving a different function of merely providing aspectual or modal information about the main verb. Marchesse has further shown that in the Kru languages the auxiliaries used as markers of future have developed from either of the motion verbs 'come', in Eastern and Western Kru, or 'go' in Western Kru. What Marchesse has noticed about the Kru languages has also been observed in Chi-Bamba, a Bantu language, by Givón¹⁶ (1970:195) where: "Fairly recently both *uku-ya* 'go' and *uku-ia* (come' have joined the modality system ... adding to it two dimensions which cannot be simply predicated from the meanings of 'come' or 'go' as verbs.

What Givón is saying in effect is that the full motion verbs 'come' and 'go' have now developed into modals, or the modality markers -yaa- and -saa-, with their own peculiar syntactic behaviours and meanings different from those of the regular verbs of 'come' and 'go'. Evidence from the Kru languages and ChiBemba confirm that verbs of motion have been sources for future markers. In the Germanic languages, in Swahili and Colloquial Arabic 'will' has evolved into a future time-marker. The verb 'go' serves as a future-time auxiliary in English, the Romance languages and Hebrew. There is thus nothing strange about Igbo having -ga₁ and ga₂ which, related as they may be, are really two different morphemes with different meanings, lexical and syntactic functions.

3.4 THE SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF -GA

Although Umlers and Umlers have argued that -ga, like -na, is "the true verb" in the verb form in which it occurs, with the following element as just an ordinary verbal noun, for us, -ga is an auxiliary like -na. But where in most dialects -na takes only a participle as complement, -ga can take one of three types of nomino-verbal complements as in:

Like a true auxiliary it requires a nomino-verbal complement.

- 28 (a) Àdà' gá' abíá. 'Ada will come'.
 (b) Àdà' gá' íbíá. 'Ada is going to come'.
 (c) Àdà' gá' mbíá. 'Ada must come'.
 29 (a) Àdà' gààrà abíá. 'Ada would have come'.
 (b) Àdà' gààrà íbíá. 'Ada was to have come'.
 (c) Àdà' gààrà mbíá. 'Ada should have come'.

- 30 (a) Àdà' agághì abíá. 'Ada will not come'.
 (b) Àdà' agághì íbíá. 'Ada is not going to come'.
 (c) Àdà' agághì mbíá. 'Ada will certainly not come'.
 31 (a) Àdà' agáraghì abíá. 'Ada would not have come'.
 (b) Àdà' agáraghì íbíá. 'Ada was not to have come'.
 (c) Àdà' agáraghì mbíá. 'Ada should not have come'.

In (28) - (30), we can see that -ga can be complemented by a participle in (a), and infinitive in (b) and an obligative participle in (c). While the use of the simple participle can be said to be common to All Igbo dialects, the use of the infinitive and/or the obligative participle is really localized to some dialects which are mostly but not exclusively in the Central Igbo areas. In dialects where only the simple participle is used, the meaning expressed is neutral about obligation or imminence. It just refers to a simple future time. Obligation and imminence in such dialects are indicated by suffixes, enclitics or other syntactic cues. In dialects where both the simple participle and the infinitive are used, the infinitive seems to be used for expressing obligation and imminence and the participle, for simple future. In dialects where the three different types of nominal complements are used, the participle expresses simple future; the infinitive, imminence; and the obligative participle, obligation. I have not recorded examples of dialects which use any two of the following combinations only: simple participle and obligative participle or infinitive and obligative participle only.

3.5 OTHER SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF -GA. Like -na, it can be inflected for past time as in 29.(a) and (b), and (31); for negation as in (30) and (31); for past time and negation simultaneously as in (31).

3.6 **-GA AND POLARITY.** In all dialects, -ga is neutral as to polarity. For in the surface structure the tone pattern on the base of the auxiliary, to which the general Negative marker may be optionally suffixed, indicates the difference between Affirmative and Negative.

- 32 (a) Àdà' gá' azú' ahíá 'Ada will trade'
 (b) Àdà' agá' àzú' ahíá 'Ada will not trade.'
 (c) Àdà' agághí' àzú' ahíá 'Ada will not trade'.

Where 32 (a) is Affirmative, (b) and (c) are Negative. The difference between (b) and (c) is that the general Negative marker -ghí is present in (c) but deleted in (b). Yet in both (b) and (c), the auxiliary base has a downstep negative tone pattern different from the low tone stative tone pattern in (a).

In some dialects, however, notably in the Onicha - Oka areas of Anambra State and in parts of Bendel State in addition to using tone pattern of the General Negative suffix to indicate the future Negative, there exists a different auxiliary verb -ma, for this purpose, so that instead of (32)(b) or together with it, the following (32 (d)) can also be used with the same meaning:

32 (d) Àdà' mǎ' azú' ahíá 'Ada will not trade'. In the dialects that use -ma, this auxiliary is potentially negative in meaning, hence it is never used with the general Negative suffix = rǒ = (=hǒ) in these dialects. Note that the downstep on the verb-base of this auxiliary in 32 (d) is the same as that in 32 (b) and (c).

3.7 **THE FUNCTION OF -GA.** From the beginning of Igbo grammatical studies, -ga has always been regarded as a marker of 'future'. Yet where earlier studies would regard this future as tense or mood we would regard it as an 'aspect'.

In terms of its semantic implications, for Welmers and Welmers (196b:73), the verb form with-ga is used for referring "to future" rather than intentions', something not yet begun". For Winston (1975:151) ga future' also expresses "probability or expectation" in addition to "literal future time".

3.9 In the future aspect, more verb forms are possible than in the progressive. Where the number of future verb forms might vary from dialect to dialect, the following are among the most common ones:

- (33) (a) Simple-Future: Affirmative
 (a) Àdà' gá' abíá' echi 'Ada will come tomorrow'
 (b) Àdà' gá' wí'bíá' echi 'Ada is going to come tomorrow'
 (c) Àdà' gá' m'bíá' echi 'Ada must come tomorrow'.
 (b) Simple-Future: Negative
 (34) (a) Àdà' agághí' àbíá' echi 'Ada will not come tomorrow'
 (b) Àdà' agághí' í'bíá' echi 'Ada is not going to come tomorrow'
 (c) Àdà' agághí' m'bíá' echi 'Ada will certainly not come tomorrow'.
 (c) Future-Progressive: Affirmative
 (35) (a) Àdà' gá' ná' abíá' ebe à 'Ada will continue coming here!
 (36) Future-Progressive: Negative
 Àdà' agághí' ná' àbíá' ébe à: 'Ada will not continue coming here'.
 Note that in the future-progressive only the participle can be used as complement of the progressive auxiliary which comes immediately before.
 (e) Future-perfective: Affirmative.
 (37) Àdà' gá' azú'tala anú. 'Ada will (already) have bought meat'.
 (f) Future-Perfective: Negative
 Àdà' agághí' àzú'tala anú 'Ada will probably not have bought meat'.

The meanings in (37) and (39) express probability or expectation rather than literal time. For (37) will usually be said to a man buying meat but whose wife would already have bought some meat in the market because of, say, the cheapness of meat on that day.

- (g) Progressive-Future-Perfective: Affirmative
 39. Àdà' gè nà àzútala aný, ò búghí íhe òzò.
 'Ada will probably have already been buying meat and nothing else'.

- (i) Progressive-Future-Perfective: Negative
 40. Àdà' agéghí nà àzútala aný, ò bú' íhe òzò.
 'Ada will probably not have yet been buying meat, but something else' (i.e. she must have been buying something else other than meat).

- (j) Persistent-Future:
 41. (a) Àdà' kà' gò abíá. 'Ada will still come'.
 (b) Àdà' kà' ga íbíá. 'Ada is still to come'.

- (k) Persistent-Future-Progressive
 42. (a) Àdà' kà' ga nà abíá. 'Ada will still continue to come'.

The persistent-future does not seem to have corresponding negative forms without resorting to periphrasis.

- (l) Future-Past: Affirmative
 43. (a) Àdà' gaàre abíá. 'Ada would have come'.
 (b) Àdà' gaàre íbíá. 'Ada was to have come'.
 (c) Àdà' gaàra mbíá. 'Ada ought to have come'.

- (m) Future-Past: Negative.
 44. (a) Àdà' agáraghí àbíá: 'Ada would not have come' but she did.
 (b) Àdà' agáraghí íbíá: 'Ada was not to have come' but she did.
 (c) Àdà' agáraghí mbíá: 'Ada ought not to have come' (but she did).

The use of =(a)-ra to mark past time noticed about -na in 2.13 (d) is also possible with -ga as (49) and 50) above. 3.0 However data from some other Igbo dialects suggest that the markers of Future-Past, may, in fact, be a different -ga which only happens to be a homonym with the future marker. In some dialects this morpheme is either -ha, or -na, or -ke or and can be used with or without any other suffixes. It is this fact that prompted me in my earlier analyses to give it a status, with a syntactic function:

Unfulfilled marker different from the future. Note this sample taken randomly from a number of dialects:

45. Àdà' nà abíá mà' é sị nà í bíaghí. 'Ada would have come if you hadn't come'.
 45 given in Umuchom, Ideato is also used in Mbaano, Agyata, Uga, Umuihi, and parts of Oly, among other places.
 46. Àdà' nà agafe n'ulé ahụ nke óma. 'Ada should have passed well in that examination'.
 46. can be heard in Dikenafai, Okwele, Umudi, Nkwere, Umuna, Okwe, Obaazy - Mbieri, and parts of Bende.
 47. Àdà' { ká } abíá(go) taà. 'Ada should have come today (but she didn't)'

(47) is heard in a good part of the Onicha areas and in parts of Bendel state.

48. *Aja kaara ɨbja* 'Ada would have come (but didn't)'
 49. *Ada akaghi ɨbia.* 'Ada would not have come'.

48 can be heard in Umuze in Anambra State among other place in Igboland.

In spite of semantic relationship between 'will' and 'would' in English, the opposition in Igbo is between 'will' and 'would have'. This fact, among others suggest that one is quite justified having two instead of one -ga auxiliary thus:

- ga¹ 'future marker'
 -ga² 'unfulfilled marker'

Whether or not we include Future-Past among the future verb forms, -ga 'future' really marks a larger number of verb forms than -na. In other words there are more verb forms in the Future Aspect than in the Progressive.

4.0 THE AUXILIARY -KA

Unlike -na or -ga, it is difficult to trace the verbal antecedent of this auxiliary. Yet as the following examples will show, it is irregular like other auxiliaries. Again, like them it can take inflectional suffixes as in 51(a - d). In syntactic behaviour, this auxiliary is also different from others which only take nominal-verbals as complements. This auxiliary can take a participle as in 50(a). It does not seem to take an Infinitive. It can also function in what looks like a serial construction with it as the first verb in the series, since verbals following it in this construction never have any prefix as in 50(a) and in 51(b) - (d). Although this auxiliary is more common in the Onicha areas, it has come to be known and used in areas outside Onicha. For want of a better term, this auxiliary is termed a 'Persistence marker' with a gloss like 'still'.

50. (a) *Ń ka`ng ebo ahɨ* 'He is still there'.
 (b) *Ń ka`nu eche ya.* 'He is still waiting for her'.
 (c) *Ń ka`ge eche ya.* 'He is still going to wait for her'.
 (d) *Ń ka`ge na`echu ya.* 'He is still going to continue waiting for her'.
51. (a) *Ń ka` abiaro.* 'He has still not come'. (i.e. He has not yet come).
 (b) *Ń karɔ`bia.* 'He has still not come'. (i.e. He has not yet come).
 (c) *Ń kaghi`bia.* 'He has still not come'. (i.e. He has not yet come).
 (d) *Ń kaghi`biela.* 'He should still not have come' (i.e. He should not have come').

In 53) -ka is used in the affirmative, while in (54) it is used in the Negative - in 50 (a) and 51 (b) - (d), this auxiliary is followed by verb forms without verbal vowel prefixes in fact, in what look like serial constructions.

4.2 Although at the beginning of the discussion of -ka we pointed out that its verbal origin is not clear in Igbo, there is evidence from some other languages that "sense-verbs" are sources for modality morphemes for example in ChiBemba, in particular, and Bantu, in general. Arguing the case that modals in ChiBemba and Bantu arise often from verbs, Givón uses the following evidence that most of these verbs, reveal the presence of senses such as 'imminence', 'insistence' and 'persistence' among others. And -ka reveals or glosses as 'persistence' in Igbo.

5.0 CONCLUSION: This paper has touched on a number of issues about Igbo auxiliaries. While some of these issues like the auxiliary complements are specific to the Igbo language, some of them like their verbal origin, and modality status and function have universal linguistic significance. There is still a number of other issues concerning Igbo auxiliaries. But we shall leave these for another occasion or perhaps another person.

NOTES

1. Onicha is the dialect spoken in Onitsha Inland Town. For a discussion of the verbal in this dialect see Emenajo (1975).
2. Inuanj is a wcover term for the igbo dialects spoken in three of the Igbo-speaking local government areas of Bendel State; Ika, Aniocha and Oshimili.
3. 'Central' is a cover term for the dialects of Igbo spoken in the Owerri Province especially in Owerri, Umuhia and Orlu areas. For descriptions of some Central Igbo dialects see:
 - Green and Igwe (1963).
 - Swift, et al. (1962).
 - Nwachukwu (1976).
 - Welmers, and Welmers (1968).
 - Winston (1975).
4. Twaddell (1963).
5. Welmers and Welmers (1968:75).
6. Abraham (1967).
7. Welmers and Welmers (1978).
8. Emenajo (1978:156 -171).
9. Ogbaly and Emenajo eds. (1975).
10. Emenajo (1978: 173 -8).
11. Nwachukwu (1976 b).
12. Winston (1973).
13. Welmers & Welmers (1978).
14. Leech (1973).
15. Marchese (1978).
16. Givon (1969:193 -200).

Motion Verbs: a Semantic and Syntactic Analysis

UWALAKA, A. A.

I.0 Introduction: This paper is a tentative attempt to describe Igbo motion verbs. These verbs are sub-categorized into direction-of-motion verbs. It is suggested that the deictic categories of person, place and time are relevant to the description of some Igbo motion verbs. The analysis presented here assumes a case grammar base.

I.1 We shall define motion verbs as verbs which denote activities that result in a change of location of some entity. Motion as conceived here involves a physically defined movement from an original location which we shall refer to as source to a new location which we shall term goal. In other words Igbo motion verbs are obligatorily associated with the Source and Goal cases.

Listed below are some verbs which we shall refer to as motion verbs in Igbo:

(A)	íbiá	"to come"
	ígbá	"to go"
	íjhe	"to go"
	íshí	"to go from/go through"
	írú	"to reach"
	íháfú	"to leave"
	ílọ́	"to come back/return."
	ílé	"to go away/ to leave"
	ífú	"to go out"

(B) ị́jé/ị́jhé ị́jhe	"to walk"
ị́gbá ị́gwè	"to cycle/to travel by bicycle"
ị́gbá moto	"to travel by car"
ị́kwọ́ moto/ ụ́gbọ	"to drive a car/canoe"
ị́gbá ụ́gbọ elú	"to travel by air"
ị́kwọ́ ụ́gbọ elú	"to fly a plane"
ị́bè ị́gberé	"to crawl"
ị́nyu elú	"to climb"
ife' (ufe)	"to fly"
ị́gbu mirí	"to swim"

Classification of Igbo motion verbs:

A close examination of the verbs listed above reveals a need to subdivide them into two groups. The verbs in sub-group (A) can be conveniently described as lexically simple. This is because these verbs are only associated with the notion of movement from one location to another. With regard to the means or manner of the movement, these verbs are neutral. On this ground, therefore, we shall term such verbs "direction-of-motion verbs". Compared to the verbs in sub-group (A), sub-group (B) type of motion verbs are lexically complex, since these verbs are associated not only with the notion of motion but an understanding of the particular manner, means or medium involved¹. Sub-group (B) type of motion verbs will therefore be referred to as "manner-of-motion" verbs.

We shall now examine the ways these two sub-groups of Igbo motion verbs feature in sentences to identify the syntactic correlates of this semantic distinction.

Direction-of-motion verbs as they occur in Igbo sentences:

1. Chioma gàrà áhịa n'ùtútù`
Chioma go -rV (past) market in morning
Chioma went to the market in the morning
2. Chioma bìàrà ỳlẹ̀
Chioma come -rV (past) home
'Chioma came home
3. Chioma bìàrà
Chioma come -rV past
Chioma came
4. Chioma rùru Abá n'ogè
Chioma reach -rV (past) Aba in time
Chioma reached Aba in time
5. Chioma háfùrụ Oweré táá
Chioma leave -rV (past) Owerri today
'Chioma left Owerri today
6. Chioma shírí Aba eci
Chioma come - from/through Aba yesterday -rV (past)
 - (i) 'Chioma came from Aba yesterday.
 - (ii) 'Chioma came through Aba yesterday.

Since motion is a form of action, the subject NP of each of the sentences 1 - 6 is specified as Agent, the instigator of the action denoted by the verb. As we already noted, all motion verbs are obligatorily associated with the Source and Goal cases. It would appear therefore that the three cases Agent, Source and Goal, should be given overt expression in sentences involving direction-of-motion verbs.

However, the data in (1) through 6 show that the Agent NP co-occurs with only one of the locative NPs. This is therefore pointer to the fact that the two locative NPs, Source and Goal, do not co-occur in simple sentences with direction-of-motion verbs. This fact accounts for the deviance of 7 or 8 and does not consider the fact that from, to, etc are real verbs in Igbo.

- 7 * Adhá Ọwéré gara Abá
 Adha Ọwerrí go -rV (past) Aba
 Adhá went from Owerri to Aba.
- 8 * Adhá Mbáísé rùru Ọwéré
 Adha Mbaise reach -rV (past) Owerri
 Adha left Mbaise and reached Owerri.

In 7 and 8 there is an attempt to give overt expression to the Source and Goal cases in simplex sentences with direction-of-motion verbs and this results in ungrammatical sentences. That the locative Source and Goal NPs cannot co-occur in simplex sentences involving Igbo motion verbs derives of course from the fact that Igbo does not have a rich stock of prepositions². Therefore while in a language like English, the two locative NPs, introduced by the appropriate prepositions would co-occur in simplex sentences with similar verbs of motion, in Igbo this is not possible. Commenting on this aspect of Igbo syntax, Nwachukwu (1976: 229) states "..... Igbo is a much more "verb" language than, say, English. Where the English language employs such function words as "to", "from", "with", et cetera, Igbo uses definite verb forms."

Sentences 1 - 2 and 4 show that a sub-set of Igbo direction-of-motion verbs obligatorily select the Goal NP complement in order that the sentences in which they feature may be complete and meaningful. This observation appears to be contradicted by sentence 3 in which the Goal NP is deleted in surface structure. Sentence 3, however, can only be appropriately uttered in a discourse situation in which the reference place is part of the shared knowledge of the interlocutors. Besides, the verb "íbiá" always involves deictic reference, which we shall discuss in the appropriate section. Another sub-set of Igbo direction-of-motion verbs take the source NP complement in surface structure. This fact is exemplified by sentences 5 - 6. Notice, however, that the locative complement NP of the verb "íshí" is ambiguous as between the Source and the Path cases. Sentence 6, is therefore interesting since it introduces another kind of complement, the Path complement, also associated with motion verbs. As Fillmore³ (1971: 50) rightly points out, the Source and Goal cases do not exhaust the complement possibilities of motion verbs.

Another point that needs mention is that a cross section of Igbo direction-of-motion verbs, i.e. some that select the Source NP as in 5 and 6 and some that require the Goal NP as in 4 usually co-occur with the temporal complement NP in simplex sentences. This does not imply that other sub-groups of Igbo verbs do not co-occur with the temporal complement nor does it imply that sentences with this sub-set of Igbo direction-of- verbs are not meaningful unless the temporal complement is present. However, it is the case that in simplex sentences involving the verbs in question, the temporal complement has the effect of introducing a sense of completeness to the fact being stated.

This may be explained by the fact that generally the verbs in question feature more in complex sentences in combination with other direction-of-motion verbs, (we shall return to this point in the next section). When therefore these verbs occur in simplex sentences, they tend to co-occur with the temporal complement. The point to note is that the kind of abruptness or sense of incompleteness that tends to characterize these verbs when they do not take the temporal complement does not appear to characterize sentences with other direction-of-motion verbs when they occur in sentences without the temporal complement. In other words, whereas the co-occurrence of the temporal complement is optional in 1 - 3, it appears to be required in 4 - 6.

2. The deictic⁴ motion verbs *íbiá* and *ígaí* *íló* and *ílá*

It is to be noted that the correct semantic interpretation of sentences involving some Igbo direction-of-motion verbs call into play a whole array of factors which properly belong to the presuppositional structure of these sentences. The direction-of-motion verbs involved include "*íbiá*" to come" "*íga*" to go", on the one hand, "*ílá*" "to leave/ to go away" and "*íló*" 'to return' on the other. Our claim is that the semantics of these verbs is such that they are best characterised as deictic verbs hence sentences in which they feature have deictic anchorage. The phenomenon of deixis itself refers to those aspects of linguistic interpretation which are relative to the identity of the interlocutors, their spatial, temporal and social orientation. The categories of deixis which appear to be relevant to the interpretation of sentences with Igbo deictic direction-of-motion verbs include person, place and time deixis.

Person deixis involves the category, participant, which is further sub-categorised into speaker and addressee. The aspects of the category of place deixis which will feature in our description of Igbo deictic-motion verbs, are the location of the speech participants and the reference place i.e. the place which serves as a reference point in the utterance. Finally, with respect to time deixis, the relevant distinctions will be coding time or time of utterance and reference time or the point or period which serves as the temporal focus in the utterance.

WE shall now present some illustrative sentence with Igbo direction-of-motion verbs: sentences which demonstrate the interplay of the categories of person, place and time deixis in the determination of the speech act conditions, conversation rules and semantic interpretation associated with the Igbo verbs "*íbiá*", "*íga*", and "*íló*" and "*ílá*":

9. *Ábị́àrà m áhị́à eci*
a-come -rV I market yesterday past
I came to the market yesterday.
- (b) *Ágàrà m áhị́à eci*
a-go -rV I market yesterday
'I went to the market yesterday
10. *Í bị́àrà áhị́à eci*
You come -rV (past) market yesterday
'You came to the market yesterday
- (b) *Í gàrà áhị́à eci*
You go -rV (past) market yesterday
'You went to the market yesterday
11. *Àdhá bị́àrà áhị́à eci: Adhá come -rV (past) market yesterday.*
Adhá came to the market yesterday .

It would appear that the three categories of deixis: person, place and time, play a role in the semantic interpretation of sentences with the verbs "ibia" and "iga". Much of the discussion that follows, however, will centre round the verb "ibia" since it makes very great demands on the addressee. Thus, an understanding of (9 a) involves an understanding that the addressee was in the market when I came there yesterday. Similarly (10 a) presupposes that the speaker was at the reference place at the reference time when the addressee came there, there is also a possibility that both speaker and hearer are located at the reference place when either (9 a) or (10 a) is uttered. Finally in interpreting (11 a) one assumes that the speaker was at the market when the subject of the verb "ibia" came there. It is only in the contexts outlined above that each of the (a) sentences of (9 - 11) could be appropriately uttered. If on the other hand the appropriateness conditions for any of these sentences are not satisfied then the sentence in question would be deviant. It would then be more appropriate to utter the (b) counterpart of each of the (a) sentences of 9 - 11. Note that the (b) sentences in which the verb "iga" occurs indicate motion to a location away from speaker and hearer at coding time.

Now consider sentences 12 - 13:

12. Àdhá bìàrà Adha come -rV (past)
 'Adha came.
13. Àdhá bìàrà ùlq` Adha come -rV home (past)
 'Adha came home.'

Sentence 12 involves the understanding that the place to which the subject NP comes is the location of the speech participants.

Sentence 13 seems to involve more than one interpretation, either that the destination complement of the verb "ibia" is the home of the subject NP as well as that of the interlocutors or it is the home of the subject NP and the speaker but not the hearer. Sentence 13 can therefore be said to be ambiguous since it presupposes either of two things. Thus, the phenomenon of deixis, in some cases, introduces a peculiar kind of ambiguity in sentences with Igbo deictic verbs. This kind of ambiguity is even more prominent when the first person plural pronoun occurs as the subject NP of some sentences with the deictic verb bìàrà, sentence (15) uttered perhaps on a sarcastic note (because of the added meaning of the enclitic "ni") is ambiguous since its subject NP is ambiguous as between the inclusive and exclusive readings. The same is true of 16.

Our observations so far would give the impression that all Igbo sentences involving the verb "ibia" will necessarily have deictic anchorage, but there are perfectly acceptable sentences with the verb "ibia" which do not seem to have deictic implications. Consider 17 and 18.

17. Àdhá bìàtà àhĩa m̀gbe òsò súru
 Adha come -ta (towards) market when run erupt
 "Adha was on her way to the market when people started running".
18. Àdhá ébiwala miri éga ido`
 Adha a-come- WE (progressives- 1a perfective) water-rain
 Adha was already on the way before it started raining."

It seems to me that sentences 17 and 18 are neutral to the identity and location of the speech participants at the time of utterance. There does not therefore seem to be any special context under which either 17 or 18 could be appropriately uttered.

The deictic motion verbs: 'ila' "to leave/to go away" and 'ilo' "to return"

Whereas the complexities associated with the verb "ibia" is accounted for in terms of the three deictic categories: person, place and time;

the complexities associated with the verbs "ila" and "ilo" seem to be accounted for in a somewhat different way. Consider sentences 19 through 24.

19. Úcè lara ỳlq̃ Uce leave -rV (past) home (G)

"Uce left for home"

20. Úcè lara ah̃ja (S) Uce leave -rV (past) market.

21. Úcè lara Abá (S/G) Uce leave -rV (past) Aba

(i) Uce left Aba" (ii). "Uce left for Aba"

22. Úcè lq̃rq̃ ỳlq̃ (G) Uce return -rV (past) home

"Uce returned home".

23. Úcè lq̃rq̃ ah̃ja (S) Uce return -rV (past) market

"Uce returned from the market".

24. Úcè lq̃rq̃ Abá (S/G) Uce return -rV (past) Aba.

(i) "Uce returned from Aba" (ii) "Uce returned to A Aba".

Sentence 19 - 24 certainly furnish us with particularly interesting data.

All these sentences are structurally similar. The meaning content of the verb in each of the sets 19 - 21 and 22 - 24 remains constant as the English glosses show. However, the complement NP of the verb in each case is

assigned a different case role as indicated. Thus, in sentence

19, the complement NP which accompanies the verb "ila" is understood as

filling the Goal case role.

In 20, the complement NP that follows the same verb is assigned the Source, case role, while in 21, the complement NP is ambiguous as between

Source and Goal. The verb "ilo" follows the same pattern of

behaviour as the verb "ila".

Thus, the complement NP of the verb in 22, is the Goal NP, in 23, it is the Source NP, while in 24 the complement NP, as in 21, is ambiguous since it can depict either the Source or the Goal case. What needs to be accounted for, therefore, is the principle which underlies the assignment of the appropriate case roles to the complement NPs of these verbs. We shall take up this question in the next section.

Accounting for the complexity involved in the interpretation of the locational NPs that accompany the verbs "ila" and "ilo"

It appears that the correct semantic interpretation of Igbo sentences involving the verbs "ila" and "ilo" requires the deictic category, place. The category of place deixis itself appears to have a number of sub-categories. In the data under consideration, the two aspects of place deixis that appear to be relevant are the home base and the location of the speech participants at the time of utterance. A correct interpretation of the locative complement that follows either of the two verbs, appears to take account of whether the reference place can serve as a home base for the speech participants, i.e. the speaker and the addressee or the home base of the other person referred to in the utterance. If the locative complement NP of the verbs "ila" and "ilo" identifies the home of the participants in the utterance as in 19 and 22 then this place NP unambiguously fills the Goal case role, i.e. this place NP is the destination NP. If on the contrary the locative complement NP names a place that would not normally serve as a home base, the complement NP is unambiguously the source NP, in which case the motion identified by the verb is motion from the place NP occurring in the sentence. If on the other hand, the place complement of any of the two verbs

As we noted earlier in this paper, manner-of-motion verbs differ semantically from direction-of-motion verbs in that the former, but not the latter, involve the notion of means or medium of movement. One obvious syntactic correlate of this semantic distinction is that when manner-of-motion verbs are used in simplex sentences, none of the locative cases, Source and Goal associated with motion verb surfaces, whereas a direction-of-motion verb, depending on its sub-class, would take either the Source or the Goal NP. Sentences 37-45 demonstrate, however, that we need to distinguish further subgroups of Igbo manner-of-motion verbs. Thus, 37 and 38 contain verbs which allow the medium or means involved in the motion denoted by the verb to surface in the sentence. Note that this medium or means surfaces just in case it is not the typical body-part NP that is presupposed by the particular manner of motion verb.

Compared with these other manner-of-motion verbs like those occurring in 40 through 45 do not allow the means or medium associated with them to surface in simplex sentences. This may be accounted for by the fact that the kind of motion described by these verbs does not usually involve external means or medium other than the body part NP presupposed by these verbs. The verb "íḡá" / "íjné" appears to be exceptional in optionally allowing a surface manifestation of its associated body-part NP, as in 39. Finally a sub-set of Igbo manner-of-motion verbs tolerate a patient NP which then co-occurs with their Agent NP. Notice that for some such verbs with a complex V + NP structure to co-occur with the Patient NP, the cognate NP part of the predicate would be obligatorily deleted as in sentence 45; whereas others only optionally allow their cognate object NP to be deleted when they co-occur with the Patient NP. Sentence 44 is

illustrative of this fact.

Manner-of-motion verbs and the Source and Goal cases:

Sentences 46 through 51 illustrate the ways the language makes it possible for the Source and Goal cases to be given overt expression in sentences with manner-of-motion:

46. Anyị́ shírí Aba gbara igwè: We come from -rV (past) Aba bicycle
 I. "We cycled from Aba" II. "We cycled through Aba"
47. Anyị́ shírí n'Àbá gbara igwè: We come from -rV (past) ride bicycle
 "We cycled from Aba."
48. Anyị́ bidhoro n'Àbá gbara igwè: We start -rV (past) in Aba ride -rV
 (?) bicycle.
 "We started cycling from Aba / We cycled from Aba."
49. Anyị́ gbára igwè rúo Ábá: We ride -rV (past) bicycle reach Aba:
 "We cycled to Aba".
50. (a) Anyị́ gbaruru Aba n'igwè: We ride-reach-rV (past) Aba in bicycle
 "We reached Aba by bike".
 (b) Anyị́ gbaruru igwè (na) Abá: We ride-reach-rV (past) bicycle reach Aba:
 "We cycled to Aba"
51. Anyị́ gbára igwè bía Ábá: We ride -rV (past) bicycle come Aba;
 "We came to Aba by bike".
52. Anyị́ shírí n'Àbá gbara igwè rúo Òwèrri:
 We come-from in Aba ride bicycle reach Owerri;
 "We cycled from Aba to Owerri".
53. Anyị́ shírí n'Àbá gbaruo igwè Òwèrri:
 We come from in Aba ride-reach bicycle Owerri:
 "We cycled from Aba to Owerri".

Sentences 46-47- & 49- 51, all of which are complex sentences, show that to express the Source and the Goal cases, manner-of-motion verbs have to combine with direction-of-motion verbs in a serial verb construction. An important distinguishing characteristic between the two groups of verbs with regard to the expression of the Source and Goal cases is that, whereas a combination of two direction-of-motion verbs in a serial construction suffices to express the Source and Goal cases, when a manner-of-motion verb co-occurs with a direction-of-motion verb in series, only one of the locative cases is expressed. This point is exemplified by sentences 46-47.

From the examples above, it is clear that it is the verb "íshí" which usually combines with manner-of-motion verbs to enable the Source case associated with these verbs to be given overt expression. It would appear that while direction-of-motion verbs could optionally co-occur with the verbs "íshí" and íháfù (the two verbs in the language which always take the source NP complement), manner-of-motion verbs appear to be limited to co-occurring with only one of these two verbs. This explains why a sentence like 54: 54. Anyí háfùrù Abá gbara igwè: We leave -rV (past) Aba ride bicycle "We left Aba ride bicycle " , even if it is not a completely unacceptable Igbo sentence, is definitely odd. Since the verb "íshí" combines freely with the two sub-groups of Igbo motion verbs to express the Source case role, we can conclude, therefore, that basically the verb "íshí" is the unmarked Igbo verb for the expression of the Source case role. We have noted that the locative complement NP of the verb "íshí" is ambiguous with regard to its case role assignment since it could depict the Source or the Path case role.

It seems, however, that when the verb "íshí" combines with, manner-of-motion verbs, its locative complement is often introduced by the preposition "na" which then effects a disambiguation of this complement NP. In this case, the complement NP can only be assigned the Source case role, as in 47.

Further, sentence 48 illustrates that it is possible for a manner-of-motion verb to combine with an appropriate non-motion-action verb to express the Source case. This may of course involve an extra semantic effect. Note that when a manner-of motion verb co-occurs with verbs such as we have in 48, the locative Source NP is obligatorily introduced by the "na" preposition. It is this that accounts for the deviance of

55. *Anyí bídhorò Aba gbàrà igwè: We start rV (past) Aba ride bicycle.

"We cycled from Aba/ We started cycling from Aba."

What has been said above with regard to the co-occurrence of manner-of-motion verbs with non-motion-action verbs to express the Source NP may give the impression that the other subgroup of motion verbs i.e. direction-of-motion verbs, could not occur with non-motion-action verbs to make possible the expression of the Source case.

56. Anyí bídhorò n'Àbà bìàwà: We start -rV (past) in Aba come-wa (prog)
We started coming from Aba.

57. Anyí bídhorò n'Àbà l'wà: We start -rV (past) in Aba return wE -
(progressive)

"We started returning from Aba".

58. *Anyí bídhorò n'Àbà bìsàrà: We start from Aba come -rV (?)

"We started coming from Aba".

59. Anyị bidhoro n'Abá gbawa igwé:

We start from Aba ride -rV (progressive) bicycle;

"We started cycling from Aba".

Sentences 56 - 57 show that direction-of-motion verbs, like manner-of-motion verbs, can combine with appropriate non-motion-action verbs to express the Source case role, but that the two sets of verbs differ in their tense and aspect requirements, when they occur in this environment. Thus, while direction-of-motion verbs take the -wE progressive marker as in 56 - 57, manner-of-motion verbs occurring in the same environment take either the -rV suffix as in 48 or the wE progressive suffix as in 59.⁷ Note that sentence 58 is deviant because the tense and aspect marker requirement of direction-of-motion verbs, when they co-occur with verbs such as "ibidho" is not met.

To express the Goal case, a manner-of-motion verb combines in a serial verb construction with any appropriate direction-of-motion verb. In this case, manner-of-motion verbs are not limited to co-occurring with a particular direction-of-motion verb, rather there is a wide collocational range between the two sub-groups of motion verbs when the Goal case is to be given overt expression. Another possibility of expressing the Goal case in sentences involving manner-of-motion verbs is provided by sentence 50 in which a manner-of-motion verb combines with an appropriate direction-of-motion verb not in a serial verb construction but in a V-V compound construction. The compound verb thus formed then takes a locative Goal NP complement. Furthermore, sentences 50 (a, b) are interesting, since they show that when a manner-of-motion verb appears in a V-V compound construction,

its cognate NP which, in this case, is the same as its associated means NP, can optionally precede or follow its locative Goal NP. Notice that when the cognate NP of the manner-of-motion verb follows the locative Goal NP., the cognate NP is obligatorily introduced by the "na" preposition as in 50 (a). On the other hand, when the cognate NP precedes the locative Goal NP, the latter is optionally introduced by the "na" preposition. Notice besides, that 50 (a) and (b) differ in their semantic readings and this correlates with the syntactic facts presented above. Finally 52-53 demonstrate that to have the source and goal NPs in the same sentence, a manner-of-motion verb has to co-occur with two direction-of-motion verbs.

We shall next turn to the question of the ordering of the two sub-groups of Igbo motion verbs when they feature in the type of sentences we have been examining. It is clear from the sentences under examination that when manner-of-motion verbs and direction-of-motion verbs co-occur to express the Source case role, the relevant direction-of-motion verb occurs as first member in the serial verb construction, as in sentences 46-47. To express the Goal case, the reverse is the case, for the manner-of-motion verb involved occurs as first member in the series. This is illustrated by 49-51. Finally when the Source and the Goal cases are to be expressed in one and the same sentence, a direction-of-motion verb which takes the Source NP occurs first and is followed by a manner-of-motion verb which in turn is followed by a direction-of-motion verb which introduces the Goal NP.

Conclusion

We have in this paper identified two semantic sub-groups of Igbo motion verbs and have tried to show their different syntactic characteristics. We have also examined the place of deixis in the characterization of some Igbo motion verbs. What has been presented above is by no means exhaustive. There is no doubt that further investigation, especially in the area of the deictic implications of some Igbo motion verbs, will be quite revealing.

NOTES

1. See Fillmore 1971: 48
2. There does not seem to be agreement among linguists as to the number of prepositions in Igbo. However, all the linguists who have worked on the language accept the "na" preposition.
3. For a more detailed discussion of deixis see Fillmore (1966; 219 - 227), (1971), (1972).
4. Nwachukwu P.A. (1979: 11-12) postulates that motion verbs such as "īla and "īlɔ" have an underlying prepositional Phrase (pp) complement though the preposition may be optionally deleted in surface structure. He states "It seems to be a universal fact that verbs of movement take a prepositional phrase as complement, examples from English and French and Ijaw support this claim."
5. Larry M. Hyman has argued that what we have in Igbo as in Fa?fe is consecutivization and not serial verb construction. This topic is reserved for another paper.
6. The -rV suffix occurring here is pointer to the fact that there is still more to be discussed about the -rV suffixes occurring in Igbo. It is a prepositional (benefactive) -rV.
7. The point being made here is an indicator that tense and aspect markers play a role in the sub-classification of Igbo verbs. This therefore would need further investigation.

Selectional Restrictions: Verbs Meaning 'to buy'

ANOKA, G. M. K.

INTRODUCTION:

Strong selectional restrictions have been observed in Igbo VP s. The restrictions are essentially semantic in that what verb goes with which lexical item is determined by the inherent meaning of the verb. This strict selection imposed on the noun-verb collocation governs semantic clusters of object nouns. For instance, there are about seventeen verbs meaning 'to buy' in Igbo but each has a limited number of bought articles with which it can be associated. Each verb, therefore, will be cited with its feature specifications which determine its selectional possibilities.

It may be helpful to introduce the restrictions in Igbo with illustrations, not equivalents, drawn from English, of the type of phenomenon being discussed. It should be unnecessary to point out that the English illustrations serve only as reference points since there is no one-to-one correspondence between English and Igbo.

In English, the referential meaning of 'to cause to die', can generally be expressed by the verb, 'to kill', whatever the means used or whatever the purpose. But there are many other verbs which may be glossed as 'to cause to die'. 'To kill' is the term with the general meaning of the class and the other verbs are more specific with regard to means, motive, etc., and, of course, are more limited in collocational range.

In a loose sense, 'to kill' is like the greatest common denominator of the following verbs:

murder, execute, assassinate, crucify,
electrocute, hang, drown, behead,
decapitate, smother, suffocate, strangle.

The verb 'to kill' is neutral with regard to premeditation and manner of causing death, but the other verbs of kindred meaning have the two qualifications which make them more specific than the umbrella verb, 'to kill'. For instance, "X killed Y" does not tell us whether the action was socially approved, legally ordered, premeditated or accidental or by what means Y was killed.

Some subdivision is possible among the verbs in question, but 'to kill' may be regarded as embracing all the verbs and is usable by a native speaker of English to do duty for any of them. With the exception of 'to kill' all the other verbs meaning 'to cause to die' either specify a particular manner of causing death or imply a value judgement on the action.

Igbo has many dialects; the existence of selectional restrictions on the noun-verb collocation holds true in all the various dialects, although details may differ. The examples in this discussion are taken from Mbaise dialect of Imo State. Because Mbaise is fairly central to the Igbo-speaking area and because the dialect approximates to the evolving standard Igbo, it is considered suitable for a study of the Igbo verbs. The discussion is not a dialect study; however, there is need to relate texts to their environment as J.F. Mitchell once pleaded (Hesperis, 1957)

Zú is the stem of the verb which means 'to buy' in Igbo. There are many other verbs which may equally be glossed 'to buy', but each of these verbs collocates only with certain specific lexical items. The group of verbs glossed 'to buy' are often compounded with other verbs and morphological affixes which further determine their co-occurrence restrictions. Since morphological accretions are common to all verbs, not only those meaning 'to buy' or 'to sell' it will suffice to explain the working of these suffixes with the single verb-form, zú that is also the common denominator of the group of verbs meaning 'to buy', Igbo is an agglutinative language and as Ida Ward observed, it is:

•• particularly rich in compound verbs. Two or more verbs can be joined together, each having its own meaning and each contributing to the meaning of the compound. There are in addition in Ibo a number of suffixes, each having a particular significance which can be added to almost any verb to specialize or widen its meaning. They serve to indicate notions which in many languages are expressed by prepositions and adverbs, and may be compared with English usage of verb + adverb, e.g.

(a) take away, give away, throw away ...

(b) put up, put out, put down ...

The suffixes are lexical and not inflexional. However, the vowel prefixes (a - e) are inflexional, cf.

Ha' ázúgla jí?
Unu eríéla nrí?

'They have bought yams.'
'Have you (plural) eating?'

As has been pointed out by M. M. Green,

Verb and suffix react mutually from a semantic point of view and are also influenced by the context. The suffixes cannot be considered in isolation except for purposes of analysis.

The discussion is based on 'Standard' Igbo, but also includes reference to the Onicha (Onitsha) dialect. Both the Standard and Onicha (usually) employ the same tones in relation to the same meanings. Tone-pattern has necessarily been indicated to avoid ambiguity but it should be noted that it changes with context. Examples:-

zùrúnny 'please, buy' as in
Bikó, zùrúnny ñké a' (Please, buy this one'.

(The above address is singular;
"zùrúnny" is the Plural as in

'Good people, come and buy meat.' Ndi oma bia zùrúnny
ony.

The suffixes are discussed in three major groups, viz:

- (a) Imperatives (including the above entreaties):
- (b) Tense suffixes, which are relevant because of the variation of tense peculiar to this group;
- (c) Compounded verbs where other verbs have been added to zù for wider range of meanings.

The prefixes that concern the paper are:

- (a) inflectional prefix (e - e.-);
- (b) infinitive prefix (i - i -);

- Zy is the stem of the verb 'to buy'. Its meaning in context is modified by the affixes it takes. It never appears alone except in repetitions of the kind

Zy gini? 'buy what'

as a follow up to an earlier

Ì sí nà Ógù na-azù gini? 'What do you say Ogu is buying'

Here the vowel prefix attached to zy is due to the auxiliary verb na. Other examples are:-

(a) Í nà-azù azù He is buying fish.

(b) Í gá azù ñké mäsiri gi
You will buy the one you like.

The only other prefix which concerns the discussion is the infinitive prefix (i - i -) e.g.

Íke izù any ágwula. m.

'I am fed up with/tired of buying meat'

(ii) Ángò m n'izù otù óny ahía kemgbe

'I am still buying one item since long.'

Much like the associated verbs in English meaning 'to cause to die' each of the Igbo verbs with the referential meaning 'to buy' has a different collocational range. -Zù for instance, can govern nearly all objects of buying while -wu collocates with names of very few objects.

In fact, -zy is a kind of token for all such verbs as:

-pá, -mà, -ty, -gù, -kò, -kpó,
-pó, -wù, -bè, -chà, -pù, -fó,
-wù, -lù, -kpá, -kpó, -gbá.

All of these may be glossed 'to buy' and zy can be made to do duty for all of them: but for a competent native speaker, each verbal form is limited in the number and type of complements that it can take. In order to examine the co-occurrence possibilities, the verbs are subdivided into three groups.

- (i) Common mode: -zy.
- (ii) Mode of buying verbs: -pa -ma -ty -gy -kọ
-kpo (-po) -wu -be -cha
-py -fo.
- (iii) Special verbs. -wu -lu -kpo -gba.

GROUP I (COMMON MODE)

"Zy" can co-occur with nearly all objects of buying except ohu 'slave':

(1) * Zùtára m' ohù ahụ dị mmá.

'Buy me a slave of strong build'

The following, however, are permissible:

(2) Zùtá anụ

'Buy some meat'

(3) Zùtá akị bákéè

'Buy some coconuts'

(4) Zùtá akí. 'Buy some palm kernels'

(5) Zùtá azụ. 'Buy some fish'

(6) Zùtá ala. 'Buy some land'

(7) Zùtá ji óriri. 'Buy some yams for eating'

(8) Zùtá mkpúrú jí. 'Buy some seed yams'

(9) Zùtá igwe. 'Buy a bicycle'

(10) Zùtá ụgbọ. 'Buy a vehicle'

Yet sentences (2 - 10) although permissible in Igbo, rarely occur because other verbs are used more appropriately in many cases.

One is reminded of the bare correctness of the English sentence,

'President Kennedy was killed' compared to the greater acceptability of 'President Kennedy was assassinated'.

Selectional Restrictions: Verbs 'to buy'

-zú has a few special meanings such as:

(11) Jámike nà-azụ ahịa.

'Jamike is trading'

To say that Jamike is shopping, one has to say,

(12) 'Jámike nà-azụ íhé.

'Jamike is buying things'

The inclusion of the word ahia, 'market' in the predicate excludes a non-habitual or professional reading of -zy:

(13) Jámike nà-azụ ahia okpòrókó.

'Jamike deals in stockfish'

(14) Jámike na-azụ ahia akwà.

'Jamike trades in cloth'

To hire people's service could also be expressed with -zy:

(15) Jámike zùrụ ndị mmíri.

'Jamike hired some rain makers'

This is why -zy is also used to refer to 'bribe' as in:

(16) Jámike zùrụ ndị ikpé.

'Jamike bribed the jury/ bought the jury over'

(17) Jámike zùpiara ndị ikpé anya

'Jamike bribed the jury heavily'.

Literally, 'bought out the sight of the jury, i.e. bought over the jury so completely that they became unable to see reason'

(18) Jámike zùchiri ndị ikpé ọny.

'Jamike bribed the jury heavily'

i.e., he bought over the jury so completely that they could not say the truth.

-Zú therefore, is used in very many senses and collocates, like 'to kill' in English, with a very wide range of predicate

terms in addition to various metaphorical extensions of meaning. No other verb 'to buy' has such a range.

GROUP II (MODE VERBS)

In this group are verbs which indicate modes of selling or buying, measuring or transporting the articles bought, including their quantity.

I. -Pa'

-Pa' may be glossed as 'to buy' but it has the other referential meaning of 'to lift or carry', which seems to be its more literal or original denotation. It is normally associated with large quantities and bulky items such as bags of rice, beans, garri, crates of tobacco, bales of cloth, and by extension of meaning, cars.

(19) *Ō' papútara úgbọ́ atọ́.* 'He bought three vehicles'

(20) *Jámike papútara ygbọ́ ndụ*
'Jamike bought a brand new car'

(21) *Gáá' para ygbọ́ ọ́zọ* 'Go and buy another brand new car'

(22) *Nwúnyè m' pátara otù n'ukwu àkete ọ́zù*
'My wife bought a large basket of fish'

(23) *Ápátara m otú àkpa ọ́sè*
'I bought a sack of pepper'

(24) *Nwánnè m' nwányị pátara otú àkpa ákpụ́ a kwọ́rọ́ akwọ́*
'My sister bought a bag of cassava flour'

(25) *Ápátara m otú àkpa ákiékére*
'I bought a sack of groundnuts'

(26) *Àdà pátara àkpá ẹ́gwusị*
'Ada bought a sack of melon seeds'

(27) *Bíkó, patara m' otú àkpa ọ́kà ma ọ́nụ́ yá dí nná*
'Please, buy me a sack of maize if the price is reasonable.'

(28) *Éjiri m naiřà atọ́ pata otú àkpá ọ́romá*
'I bought a bag of oranges for three naira.'

The above examples show -pa' forms co-occurring with terms of large quantity. It indicates, too, the intention of redistributing or reselling; otherwise, the speaker would be implying disapproval, as in

(29) *Ì n'ukwera na Adá páchara otú àkpa ọ́'gà erí n'ọ́nụ́ náńi ya?*
'Did you hear that Ada bought a whole bag of rice for herself alone just for eating'

Some nouns cannot co-occur with -pa' even to indicate bulk buying as in the following:

(30) **Jámike pátara otú ọ́bodobo àlǎ kářiři ákari ná naiřà asátọ́.*
'Jamike bought a very large piece of land for eight hundred naira'

(31) *Ō' pátara uwe kářiři ákari*
'He bought many books'

(32) **Ō' pátara akwúkwo kářiři ákari*
'He bought many books'

(33) **Àdà pátara otú éhí búru ibù*
'Ada bought a fat vcow'

(34) **Àdà pátara ọ́kúkọ́ irí*
'Ada bought ten fowls'

(35) **Àdà pátara anwùrụ́ ẹ́ gwèrè eqwé kářiři ákari*
'Ada bought a large quantity of snuff'

(36) **Ka' anyị t'ukọ́ọ́ ego' pata otú nkítá búru ibù*
'Let us contribute money and buy a large dog'

(37) **áńyí tỳkqò' ego' pata nkítá írì nà abúq'*

'Let us contribute money and buy ten dogs'

(8) **Pátanu obu àku irí'*

'Please, buy ten head of livestock'

This sentence is acceptable:

(39) *Wèré ogu nàírá isé jèé pára otú ígbe (ogosi) anwùru n'áhía*

'Take a hundred naira and buy one crate of tobacco from the market'

(40) **wèré ogu nàírá isé jè pára akwỳkqò anwùru olé i nwère*

ike n'áhía,

'Take a hundred naira and buy any number of leaves of tobacco you can from the market'

The two last examples point to the fact that cost is not relevant in determining the co-occurrence possibilities of 'pa'. It seems that example (39) above is acceptable because of the collective term igbe (crate), while (40) is rejected because it contains no such noun. But it is not a matter of collective nouns alone, because the following sentences, although they have collective terms, are unacceptable because they do not imply large quantities:

(41) **Jàré kqò' abúq' patara m' otu' íkó gárf'*

'Buy me a cup of gari for two kobo'

(42) **Pátara m' otú áka nchà n'ime ahíá*

'Buy me a bar of soap in the market'

(43) **Pátara m' otú íkó àyara n'áhía*

'Buy me a cup of salt from the market'

Selectional Restrictions: Verbs 'to buy'

(44) **Pátara m' otú éfure òromá n'áhía*

'Buy me a basin of oranges from the market'

(45) **Wèré nàírá ishíi je pára otú ólolo (aba) mánya qkú.*

'Take six naira and buy a bottle of spirit'

In contrast to (45) however, (46) is acceptable:

(46) *Wèré kqò' irí patara m' otú ùdu mánya nkúq'*

'Take ten kobo and buy me a pot of palm wine'

To establish quantity, it would seem that a term of standard measure is necessary in the sentence in order to make it acceptable sentence with -pá. The normal standard measures seem to be:

(47) (a)	<i>àkpa</i>	'bag, sack or bale (for stockfish)'
(b)	<i>ígbe</i>	'box or crate'
(c)	<i>ákpàti</i>	'box or crate'
	<i>ògosi</i>	'crate (tobacco only)'
(c)	<i>ùdu</i>	'pot or gallon measure'
	<i>ìte èbele/nkwu</i>	'calabash or gourd'
(d)	<i>ùkwu</i>	'bundle'
(e)	<i>ùyo</i>	'sheaf'
(f)	<i>èkete (n̄kata)</i>	'basket'

The syntagmatic pattern is therefore as in (48).

The rule on collocations of -pá forms is tentative because bulky, expensive objects which mark upward mobility and which are not collective mass entities are accepted as collocates of -pá. E.g.

(49)	<i>ùgbò</i>	'vehicle'
	<i>h'ígwè</i>	'bicycle'
	<i>n̄jí ákwè</i>	'sewing machine'

(48)

VP		
V	NP	
-pa'	N Quantity	N Commodity
(a) akpa	(gàrì (òsikápa (n̄nu (àgwa (àyara (ósè (òkà (òkpòròkò	'rice' 'salt' 'beans' 'crayfish' 'pepper' 'maize' 'stockfish'
(b) igbè, akpàti, akpati, ògòsì	(n̄chà (n̄tu(li) (m̄anya òkú (n̄shi egbà (n̄wùry	'soap' 'nails' 'spirits' 'gunpowder' 'tobacco'
(c) ùdu ìte èbèlè ìte ùkwu	(m̄anya	'palm wine'
(d) ùkwu	(n̄kú	'fire wood'
(e) ùyò	(nkú	'firewood'
(f) àketa/n̄kata	(òjì (àzù (òkùkò (ògèzi	'kolanut' 'fish' 'fowl' 'guinea fowl'
(49) E.g.	ùgbo ìgwè n̄jì akwè	'vehicle' 'bicycle' 'sewing machine'

-pa' may also be used in relation to large unit parts of big animals; perhaps, as notional large mass entities, or because of their status as consumption items.

- (50) ùkwù, ohí 'a leg of a cow'
 íshì ehì 'a head of a cow'
 ùkwù, elé 'a leg of an antelope'

Unless in a really humorous sense one may not associate -pa' with parts of small animals as chicken.

Therefore, the following are unacceptable complements of -pa'.

- (51) ùkwù òkúkò 'a leg of chicken'
 íshì òkúkò 'the head of a chicken'

In some part of the Igbo-speaking area, a synonym of -pa' in the sense of 'to carry' can also serve as synonym of -pa' 'to buy'; this is the verb -bu or -vu (depending on dialect). Selectional restrictions remain the same with this verb as with -pa'. For example, the following sentences mean the same thing in various parts of Igboland:

- (52) (a) Jamike pátere akpá gèrì (Southern and Standard Igbo)
 (b) Jamike bùtere akpé gèrì. (Onicha dialect)
 (c) Jamike vuteru akpa garì (Northern Dialects: Udi/
 Nwukka/Abakaliki)
 'Jamike bought a bag of garì'.

II -Ma' -Ma may be glossed as

- (a) 'to buy'
 (b) 'to measure'.

The (a) sense is clearly derived from the (b) sense. And the (a) sense acceptably collocates with nearly all referential terms of commodities that are sold by measures such as cigarette tins and bowls. Liquids are excluded but all grains are included in the list of objects, as they can be related to *-mà* in its (b) sense. E.g.

- (52) *Màtá gàrí* 'Buy some garri'
 (53) *Màtá anwùrụ é gwèrè egwá.* 'Buy some snuff'
 (54) *Màtá nshi egbè* 'Buy some gunpowder'
 (55) *Màtá osè.* 'Buy some pepper'
 (56) *Màtá akpụ a kwòrọ akwó* 'Buy some cassava flour'
 (57) *Màtá égwusị* 'Buy some melon seeds'
 (58) *Màtá okè é kwòrọ akwó* 'Buy some corn flour'
 (59) *Màtá àyara* 'Buy some crayfish'
 (60) *Màtá nnú* 'Buy some salt'
 (61) *Màtá òskápá* 'Buy some rice'

The sentences that follow are unacceptable because the objects of the verb *-mà* are not measured in cups and bowls in Igbo markets:

- (62) **Màtá akị békéè* 'Buy some coconut'
 (63) **Màtá eny* 'Buy some meat'
 (64) **Màtá òlá.* 'Buy some land'
 (65) **Màtá jí óriri* 'Buy some yams for eating'
 (66) **Màtá igwè.* 'Buy some bicycles'
 (67) *Màtá akwụkwọ anwùrụ* 'Buy some tobacco leaves'

Although some commodities can be measured in cups and bowls, they are not associated with *-mà*; this affects liquids but also

other items, e.g.

- (68) **Màtá many okú* 'Buy some kerosine'
 (69) **Màtá amany ugbo* 'Buy some petrol'
 (70) **Màtá irighiri ezú* 'Buy some piece of fish'
 (71) **Màtá mmiri.* 'Buy some water'

An exception to the preceding rules is the special syntagmatic relation which *-mà* enters into with *édé òkíkọ* 'cocoyams for planting', which are not measured in cups or bowls but in large baskets, and they are sold in heaps or smaller collections if they are specifically for eating. Care is taken when cocoyams are being bought for planting so that they do not touch salt; perhaps, this is the reason for measuring cocoyams for planting in baskets, hence sentences such as the following are correct:

- (72) *Màtara m edè ótú nàírà ka m jee kọrọ*
 'Buy me one naira worth of cocoyams for me to plant.'
 (73) *Í māráchaa edé nàírà irí, Ì ga-ákpòchákwa yá?*
 'If you buy ten naira worth of cocoyams would you be able to plant them all?'
 (74) *Mànyé nwunyè gí edè ó'je kọrọ*
 'Buy cocoyams for your wife to go and plant'.
 (75) *Ámàtara m édé òkíkọ*
 'I bought cocoyams for planting.'
 (76) *Jámike máfara édé; O nwékwághị ike kọchaa há.*
 'Jamike bought too much cocoyams; he is unable to plant all'

Later on in the paper, the paradigmatic choice between *-mà* and *wù* will be discussed.

Mà seems quite universal in Igbo even in Onicha dialect

where a verb *-si* 'measure' is used almost synonymously with *-mā*

As Onicha is a market town par excellence this is hardly surprising.

III *-Tụ̀* *Tụ̀tá* is fairly universal in Igbo dialects.

-tụ̀ may be glossed as:

- (77) (a) 'to point at' as in *tụ̀tá aká*;
 (b) 'to pinch' as in *tụ̀tá mbọ́*
 (c) 'to measure' as in *tụ̀tá há* 'measure them';
 (d) 'to buy' as in *tụ̀tá garí* 'buy gari'

-Tụ̀ as in buy is derived from its other referential meaning, 'pinch'. *-Tụ̀* implies, therefore, purchase of a very small quantity and in sentences, *-tụ̀* is reinforced with *nwa* 'little or diminutive'.

-Tụ̀ can itself be said to be a diminutive of *-mā* since *-tụ̀* co-occurs only with terms that *-mā* collocates with, although not with all of these.

- (78) *Tụ̀tá nwa garí* 'Buy a small quantity of gari'
 (79) *Tụ̀tá nwa osè ányị wàrè sie nri éhíhíè*
 Buy a small quantity of pepper for us to cook our lunch with'
 (80) *Wèrè kọbọ́ abụ́tá tụtá nwa otú íkọ́ ụkwà ányị rie.*
 'Take two kobo and buy a (small) cup of breadfruit seeds for us to eat'
 (81) *Tụ̀tá nwa òsíkápa kọbọ́ irí ányị sòró ibè gbáa Keresiméèsi.*
 'Buy a small quantity of rice for ten kobo so that we can join others in celebrating Christmas'
 (82) *Tụ̀tá nwa otú íkọ́ àgwá ányị wàrè kpachuru.*
 'Buy a (small) cup of black-eyed beans for us to manage with'
 (83) *Tụ̀tá nwa ákídị́ kọbọ́ abụ́tá.* 'Buy a small quantity of beans for two kobo'

- (84) *Tụ̀tá nwa akpụ́ a kwòrọ́ akwọ́* 'Buy a small quantity of cassava flour'
 (85) *Tụ̀tá nwa à òkà á kwòrọ́ akwọ́ kà ányị wàrè mezurú nké fọ́rọ́ áfọ́*
 'Buy a small quantity of corn flour to augment the little we have left'
 (86) *Tụ̀tá nwa nnú kà á wàrè shifù nrí*
 'Buy a pinch of salt for us to complete the cooking'
 (87) *Ègọ́ fọ́dụ́, tụtá nwa àlibó ányị rie.*
 'If some money is left over, buy some small quantity of yam flour for us to eat'

The following sentences are not acceptable:

- (88) **Tụ̀tá irighiri azụ́ kọbọ́*
 'Buy a kobo worth of pieces of fish'
 (89) **Tụ̀tá nwa àyara.*
 'Buy a small quantity of crayfish'
 (90) **Tụ̀tá nwa ọkwọ́rụ́*
 'Buy a little quantity of okro'
 (91) **Tụ̀tá nwa ụdọ́*
 'Buy a small piece of rope'
 (92) **Tụ̀tá nwa eriri*
 'Buy a small piece of string'
 (93) **Tụ̀tá nwa obere okpòrókó*
 'Buy a small piece of stockfish'
 (94) **Tụ̀tá nwa mmiri*
 'Buy a small quantity of water'
 (95) **Tụ̀tá nwa akwọ́kwọ́ nrí ntakirí*
 'Buy a very small quantity of vegetables'
 (96) **Tụ̀tá nwa ọ́bagwụ́* 'Buy a small duckling'
 (97) **Tụ̀tá nwa anyị nama* 'Buy a small piece of beef'

IV. - Gy can be glossed as:

- (92) (a) 'to sing' as in gúṣ 'sing a song'
 (b) 'to read' as in gúṣ akwýkwý 'read a book'
 (c) 'count' as in gúṣ ha 'count them'
 (d) 'buy' as in gúṣ mkpýrý jí 'buy seed yams'

The meaning 'to buy' is derived from referential meaning, 'to count'

As 'buy', -gy excludes all market objects that are uncountable, though it does not include all the countable.

In fact, mkpýrýjí 'seed yam' is known to the researcher and his informants to be the only universal member of the class of terms that co-occurs with -gy. The only other member of the class is akíríka 'mats for thatching roofs', restricted to those areas where they are used.

(99) Biko, gýta nkpýrý jí a gá ákọ ná mbára (íkpa/águ).

'Please, buy some seed yams to be planted in the farm'

(100) Jámike gýtare jí òkíkọ.

'Jamike bought yams for planting'

(101) Gýtare m akíríka náíra írí ká m wèré wáchífi yọ.

'Buy me ten naira worth of mats to thatch the roof of my house'.

It seems -gy is neutral to quantity, hence:

(102) Ágýtara m abọ (ykpá) jí ásaá a' gá-ákọ ákọ

'I bought seven basketsful of yams for planting'

(103) Jámike gára gá gýrý mkpá (ékwé) jí írí ọ gá-ákọ ná a'fọ a.

'Jamike went and bought ten stokes of yams he will plant this year.'

The following sentences are unacceptable because of wrong complement of -gy:

- (104) *Gýta anú 'Buy some meat'
 (105) *Gýta akí bákéé 'Buy some coconuts'
 (106) *Gýta azù 'Buy some fish'
 (107) *Gýta àla 'Buy some land'
 (108) *Gýta jí óríri 'Buy some yams for eating'
 (109) *Gýta ygbó 'Buy some cars'
 (110) *Gýta anwýrý égwàre egwé 'Buy some tobacco leaves'
 (111) *Gýta akwýkwọ anwýrý 'Buy some snuff'
 (112) *Gýta ènyo. 'Buy some mirrors'
 (113) *Gýta ede 'Buy some cocoyams'
 (114) V. -Kọ The referential meanings of -kọ include,
 (115) (a) 'plant' as in kọọ ede 'plant cocoyams'
 (b) 'till' as in kọọ uybo 'till the farm'
 (c) 'scoop' as in kọọ yró 'scoop out clay'
 (d) 'buy' as in kọọ nchá 'Buy some soap'

- Kọ 'to buy' is derived from -kọ which is glossed as

'to scoop'. Therefore, only objects which can be scooped can be associated with -kọ. Some such objects are:

(116) (i) nchá shí' nkítá (nchá àkpána/nchá ògíli)
 a local, semi-solid soap'

(ii) òrí (agbýdì) 'shea butter'

(iii) ákpý a yòrọrọ ayọ 'wet, sifted raw cassava'

The four lexical items above can co-occur with -kọ as follows:

(117) Kọta nchá shí' nkítá ká m wèré sýchaa nkíríka akwá ní'le dí' ebe.
 'Buy some soap for me to wash all the rags here'

(118) Kòtára m' nchà shí nkítá kòbò 'Buy me a kobo worth of soap'

(119) Wàré ego fódúrú kòrò nchà shí nkítá jàé sachaa úwè a jí kòbò ugbó.

'Take the remainder of the money and buy soap and wash the clothes in which you tilled the farm'

(120) Kòrò nchà kòbò wègàrà Jámike.

'Buy two kobo worth of soap and take to Jamike'

(121) Éjíkwalá kòbò irí kòròché nchà shí nkítá.

'Do not spend ten kobo on soap alone'

(122) Wàré kgbò kgrò órí tée ebe aka ná-egbú gí mgbu.

'Take a kobo, buy some shea butter and massage into your painful hand'.

(123) Kòtá órí kòbò irí ka'ányí wàré chere qdàchí

'Buy up to ten kobo worth of shea butter for us to keep against eventualities'

(124) J' kptachara orí otú nàirà í jì emé gíní?

'Why did you buy as much as a naira worth of shea butter; what are you going to do with it?'

(125) Ára o' di gí í jì akòrò órí nàirà abúó?

'Are you crazy as to buy two naira worth of shea butter?'

(126) Ákòrò m' orí nàirà abúó m' gè-erégharí érégharí.

'I bought two naira worth of shea butter to resell'

-kò does not necessarily collocate with all products of oil.

Therefore, the following are unacceptable:

(127) *Kòtára m' many akíékere. 'Buy groundnut oil for me'

(128) *Kòrò èlú ákí. 'Buy palm kernel oil'

(129) *Kòrò many mú anya. 'Buy fresh palm oil'

-kò cannot be used as 'buy' for other objects than the discussed types, so the following are unacceptable.

(130) *Kòtá anú 'Buy some meat'

(131) *Kòtá anwùrú. 'Buy some snuff'

(132) *Kòtá mkpúrú jí 'Buy some seed yams'

(133) *Kòtá nshí egbè 'Buy some gunpowder'

(134) *Kòtá atúrú. 'Buy some sheep'

(135) *Kòtá gèríf 'Buy some garri'

No variants of -kò meaning 'to buy' are known in Igbo dialects.

V1 -Kpó or -Pó

-kpó may be glossed as either 'to scoop up dry particles' or 'to buy'.

Examples:

(136) (a) Kpòchéá ahíhe. 'Clean away rubbish'

(b) Kpòtá égwusi kòbò 'Buy a kobo worth of melon seeds'

The (b) meaning derives from the (a) one. -kpó does not fall into any neat lexical restriction category because the use depends mostly on knowing how the article being bought is taken away from the seller. Yet although -kpó is applied only to weres which are dry and in particles that one could scoop up, it does not always apply to such. In practice, -kpó co-occurs with terms referring to objects that are displayed and sold in small heaps, either on a mat or a table. One has to know how a commodity is sold to approach certainty in stating the co-occurrence possibilities of kpó 'buy', "it" relates only to objects that are bought in small quantities and that are dry and can be scooped.

If a person is buying up to a cupful, then, ma would be used.

Those terms that can co-occur with kpó which refer to objects not measured in cups or bowls include:

- (137) (a) írighiri azù 'pieces of dried fish
(usually left over)
- (b) ùbè 'pears'
- (c) ùbè-agbá 'wild pears'
- (d) ègwúsi 'melon seeds'
- (e) àyara 'crayfish'
- (f) ñnu 'salt' (in grains)
- (g) ọ́jì 'kolanuts'
- (h) ósè 'pepper'
- (i) mwùwù 'small type of fish'

The following which could be displayed in heaps, but not usually sold so, cannot be related to -kpó for reasons shown:

- (138) (a) ánwùrù e'gwèrè egwé 'snuff' because the scent
would wear off were it
exposed to the air.
- (b) ñshi egbè 'gunpowder' because dampness
in the open may affect it,
- (c) àgwa 'black-eyed peas' because
one needs at least a cupful
to have enough to cook.

The same reason applies to the following:

- (d) òsikápa 'rice'
- (e) m̀kpùrù ọ́kà 'maize grains'
- (f) g̀arí 'garlic'

- (g) ́úkwa 'breadfruit seeds'
- (h) àlìbò 'yam flour'

The objects of kpó, which are always in small heaps, have fixed prices. No bargaining is expected and it is, moreover, usual to ask the prices as a matter of politeness not for information.

A typical dialogue runs thus:

- (139) Buyer: Nwoke, ole ole?
'Man, how much each?'
- Seller: Kòbò, kòbò
'A kobo each.'
- Buyer: Ee! Mady ga ata ego n'ony
'What? One is going to chew coins!'
- Seller: Olee ka ì chọrọ ikporo?
'How many heaps do you want to buy?'
- Buyer: Anọ. Kpnyekwa aka.
'Four. Don't forget to augment them!'

The syntagmatic pattern is:

- (140) -kpó + ́uzò + object + number
buy + heap(s) + object + number

Examples:

- Kpòtá ́uzò ègwúsi átọ. 'Buy three heaps of melon seeds'
- Kpòtá ́uzò ọ́kwùrù anọ. 'Buy four heaps of okro'
- Kpòró ́uzò írighiri azù abùọ. 'Buy two heaps of pieces of fish'
- Kpòróchaa ́uzò ùbè abùọ f̀g̀d̀ỳr̀ỳ. 'Buy the remaining two heaps of pears'

Kpòròkọọ ọzọ àyara atọ à fọdúrúnú.

'Buy up these two remaining heaps of crayfish'

VII -WU -WU means any of these:

- (141) (a) 'to jump' as in wúfèè 'jump over'
 (b) 'to pour' as in wúnýé mmírí. 'pour in water'
 (c) 'to buy' as in wùrú ube. 'buy pears'

It seems there is a close semantic link between -wú 'to pour' and -wú 'to buy'. This claim is borne out by the fact that -wú only occurs with terms referring to objects that can be poured out or into containers. The objects, however, seem all to be dry; it excludes all liquids like water, wine, oil but also some grains. The following are contexts where -wú occurs:

- (142) Wùrú akí. 'Buy some palm kernels'
 (143) Wùrú ube. 'Buy some pears'
 (144) Wùrú akpu mkpèché. 'Buy some unpeeled cassava'
 (145) Wùrú ose. 'Buy some pepper'
 (146) Wùrú ọjí. 'Buy kolanuts'
 (147) Wùrú akiekere. 'Buy some groundnuts'
 (148) Wùrú nwanru/elile. 'Buy unshelled melon seeds'
 (149) Wùrú ayara. 'Buy some crayfish'
 (150) Wùrú ọka 'Buy some maize (not yet peeled)'
 (151) Wùrú akídi 'Buy some beans'

-WU does not collocate with the following terms:

- (152) (a) any 'meat'
 (b) ncha 'soap'
 (c) akí bèkéé 'coconut'

- (d) àlè 'land'
 (e) jí oriri 'yams for eating'
 (f) jí ọkíkọ 'yams for planting'
 (g) igwa 'bicycle'
 (h) anwury 'tobacco'
 (i) afọ namà 'tripe'
 (j) nshí egbè 'gunpowder'
 (k) anyo 'mirror'

-WU is not specific as to quantity, but it does give an indication. WU co-occurs with terms of money.

(153) Wùtá akpu mkpèché ihe dí kà nke ótu nàíra.

'Buy unpeeled cassava of about a naira'

(154) Í wùta àyara irí kọbọ isé ọ ge ézù.

'If you buy crayfish of about fifty kobo it'll do'

(155) Ì makwa na m wùtu ọka irí kọbọ anọ umu m na nna na awunye ukwu n'ọku tachapụ ya ubochi a mmiri na-ézo?

'Do you know that I bought forty kobo worth of maize and my children and their father sat by the fireside that day it was raining and ate all?'

When -wú collocates with ọjí 'kolanut' it implies a large quantity of fresh kolanuts which are intended for preservation till the scarce season. There is a tendency for -ché 'to preserve' to enter into the syntagm of -wú + 'akete' 'basket' + ọjí + number.

Examples:

(156) Áwùrù m' ekete ójì áto m' gá eché éche.

'I bought three baskets of kolanuts that I wish to preserve'

(157) Wùrùkwa ekete ójì óle ná óle ì gá eché éche ugbu' a.

'Better buy now a few baskets of kolanuts you should preserve'

(158) Échere m' ekete ójì áto m' wùrù n' áfọ́ gára ága.

'I preserved three baskets of kolanuts that I bought last year'.

-wù collocates with áki 'palm kernels'.

VIII -Bè

(159) -Bè can be glossed as:

(a) 'to perch' as in nnùnyù bere n'òsisi

'A bird is perching on the tree'.

(b) 'to cut' as in bèé aný

'Cut the meat'

(c) 'to buy' as in bèta' aný otú nàíra

'Buy a naira worth of meat'

-bè 'to buy' seems to be derived from the homonymous

'to cut'. Thus, all objects, that can relate to "-bè" meaning

'to buy' are objects that can be cut. But as has been seen so

far, knowledge of semantic derivation is only a heuristic guide

and cannot be absolute. It has been cautioned by T.F. Mitchell

that,

a linguistic item or class of items is meaningful not because of innerent properties of its own but because of the contrastive of differential relationships it develops with other items and classes.

The following show acceptable complements of -bè.

(160) Bèta' aný 'Buy some meat'

(161) Bèta' anwùrù 'Buy some tobacco leaves'

(162) Bèta' ukwù ákwà atọ́. 'Buy some three yards of cloth'

(163) Bèta' nchà. 'Buy some soap'

(164) Bèta' afo' nama. 'Buy some tripe'

But even though stockfish, rope and string are cut in the proceeds of buying, they do not co-occur with

-bè 'to buy':

(165) *Bèta'ra m' udo' n' ahie 'Buy me some rope in the market'

(166) *Bèré okporoko. 'Buy some stockfish'

(167) *Bèré eriri. 'Buy some string'

(168) -Bè seems to imply that there is a whole from which a person takes a cut. The cut is assumed to be a reasonable one for both the buyer and the seller. For instance,

(169) Bèta' akwà' e' jí adúrù Áda uwe.

'Buy a piece of cloth for sewing a dress for Ada'

This indication places a limit on what length should be bought. Therefore, "-bè" in relation to cloth, and indeed to all its collocates implies quantitative restrictions which are implied or stated in terms of length, price, or intended use.

For example:

(170) Bèta' aný a' gá' eja' e' shi' ofe otú àbèlì

'Buy some meat for making a soup that will last a day'

(171) Bèta' aný otú nàíra 'Buy a naira worth of meat'

(172) Bèta' otú ukwù ákwà. 'Buy two yards (lit one waist) of cloth'

(173) Bèta' nchà kóbọ́ isé. 'Buy some soap worth five kobo'

(174) Bèta' nchà' gá' ézù íjí ssa úwe orú nná' anýi

'Buy some soap that will be sufficient to wash our master's work clothes'.

IX -cha`

-Cha` may be glossed as

(175) (a) 'to slit' as in chàberé akwà,

'Cut out some cloth'.

(b) 'to buy' as in chàtára m akwà,

'Buy me some cloth'

"Chà" co-occurs only with objects that can be slit: ákwà 'cloth' and ánwùrý 'tobacco leaves' but nothing else in the list of terms we have given in this paper. It does not occur with ánu 'meat' and nche 'soap' which are associated with -be.

For example:

(176) *Chàtára m ánu 'Buy meat for me'

(177) *Chàtára m nche. 'Buy some soap for me'

For the expression, chàtá afo namá 'Buy some tripe' to be correct, a qualification is to be assumed or expressed. The tripe has to be dry in order to relate to -cha. Thus, Igbo accepts:

(178) Chàtá afo namá (kpóro ákpó). 'Buy (dried) tripe'

In general, -chà implies buying a small quantity.

Examples of the contrastive use of -be and -chà:

(179) Chàtára m nwa ibe akwà ka m'ghàkwúnye n' ùwé.

'Buy me a small piece of cloth to join to my dress'.

(180) Bètára m akwà ka m' dýrý úwé.

'Buy a piece of cloth for me to sew a dress'

(181) Chàtára m nwa anwùrý ka m' gwere kpóo teá.

'Buy a small piece of tobacco for me to grind and snuff today'.

(182) Bètára m anwùrý gá ezùrú m' àbelí ató ñkítí

'Buy me some tobacco that will last for me at least three days'

X SOME PARADIGMATIC CHOICES

The various noun object possibilities of -zú, -ká, -má, -tù, -gú, -kò, -kpó, -wú, -be, and -chà have been discussed. Some of the verbs may seem interchangeable on the surface due to overlaps in these objects but there are, nevertheless, rules for making paradigmatic choices between the groups, such as between the measure modes.

Nnu 'salt' can be used in examining some of these choices:

(183) (a) Páta nnú.
(b) Mátá nnú. 'Buy some salt'

(c) Tùtá nnú.

(d) Kpótá nnú.

(a) implies 'a bag'

(b) implies 'a few cups'

(c) implies 'a very little quantity' (a few grains)

(d) implies 'a few heaps'

Both (c) and (d) relate to small quantity but -tùtá is indefinite while -kpótá is more definite because it relates to a number (of heaps).

Another interesting item for examination is ákpú 'cassava' which co-occurs with most of the verbal forms under review. (1) In connected speech relating to buying, it is possible to hear the following.

- (184) (a) Páta ákpú
 (b) Mátá ákpú. 'Buy cassava'
 (c) Tútá ákpú
 (d) Gútá ákpú
 (e) Kótá ákpú.
 (f) Wútá ákpú 'Buy cassava'
 (g) Kpótá ..

(a) implies 'a bag of cassava' of its possible forms.

(c) implies 'a few grains of cassava flour'

(d) implies 'a few tubers of fermented cassava'

This would also have to come from Mbaise, Owerri, Nibano, Mbaitoli-Ikeduru, and Okigwe areas.

(e) implies 'a few balls of sifted cassava'.

(f) implies 'some quantity of unpeeled unfermented cassava tubes'.

(g) implies 'some heaps of sliced cassava'.

The choice between zútá / gútá jí 'buy some yams' is simple, and lies in the intention for which the yams are being bought.

- (185) (a) zútá jí implies 'yams to be eaten'
 (b) gútá jí implies 'yams to be planted'

X1 -Pú or -Kpú

(186) -pú may mean

- (a) 'to scrape' as in Púchaa a'já'nú jí 'Scrape the earth off the yam.'
 (b) 'to draw a line' as in Pú'akara 'Draw a line'
 (c) 'to draw' as in P'láta oché gí nso 'Draw your chair nearer'
 (d) 'to lead' as in Pú'rú yá gáwá (yaba) 'Lead him away'
 (e) 'to buy' as in Pútara ányí otù éhí nà kérésimé sí 'Buy us a cow at Christmas'.

collocates with names of objects namely domestic animals that can be led. Thus,

- (187) Pútá nkítá. 'Buy a dog'
 (188) Pútá gbụáku. 'Buy some livestock'
 (189) Pútá nama 'Buy a cow'
 (190) Pútá ñnyínya 'Buy a horse'
 (191) Pútá aturú 'Buy a sheep'
 (192) Pútá éhí. 'Buy a cow'

The use of -pú has been extended to bicycle and car but not to canoe. Normally, -pú carries an emotive overtone of praise for the buyer.

Examples:

- (193) Adá m' pútara m' otù ígwé' ndú'
 'My daughter bought me a brand new bicycle'
 (194) Jámike áppúpú'tákwala ygbq ózq!
 'Jamike nes bought yet another car!'
 (195) *Jámike pútara ygbq àmara.
 'Jamike bought a canoe'

Except in metaphorical language, -pú is restricted to domesticated quadrupeds, barring pigs; which are impossible to lease.

These, therefore, would be rejected.

- (196) *Pùtára m' otú ézi`
'Buy a pig for me'
- (197) *Uéré nàira`abúq pùtára m' otu torotoro.
'Buy me one turkey with two naira'
- (198) *Uéré nàira`enq pùtára m' otú élé.
'Take four naira and buy me one antelope'
- (199) *Uéré otú nàira` pùtára m' otú ókúkò`
'Buy me a fowl for a naira'

The object of -pú has to be a referential term of an animal bought for slaughter, not really, breeding etc.

The following, therefore, will be rejected:

- (200) *Jámike pùtara éni q gá eré ére.
'Jamike bought a cow which he is going to sell'
- (201) *Pùtára m'gbàkú ka m'reta yá ego.
'Buy me livestock and I will sell it at a profit'

XII -fo -fo may be glossed thus:

- 202) (a) 'uproot' as in fòchás ahíhía n'ubi`
'Uproot weeds in the farm'.
- (b) 'lift' as in fòlié oche ahù, apúla ya epu`
'Lift that chair, don't drag it'
- (c) 'buy' as in fòtára m' manya`
'Buy me a bottle of wine'.

Like -pú discussed earlier, -fo is emotive. It has a strong overtone of pleasure and has only two words it collocates with: They are mánya 'wine' and mmiri 'water'. Water has to be cold to relate to -fo, since cold water is sold for refreshments much like wine, especially in markets and motor parks.

- (203) Gbáa gá fòtere m' manya kà m'nyo anyi m' bíára.
'Run and buy me wine to give to my friend who has come to visit me'
- (204) fòtára m' manya, ó tálé aká anyi áhùbe.
'Buy me wine, it's been a long time we haven't met'
- 205) Gbáa gá fòtere m' mmiri júru oyi; ahia taa`di íché
'Run and buy me ice-water; the market today is different (is going well)'

-fo applies only to water and wine in bottles and does not apply to them in other forms of container.

- (206) *Gáa fòtára m' otú èbele` (agbe) mánya.
'Go and buy me one calabash of wine'
- (207) *Gáa fòtere m' otú ite mmiri.
'Go and buy me a pot of water'

GROUP III (SPECIAL VERBS)

There are groups of verbal forms meaning 'buy' which cannot enter the same slots as either the common mode or the mode verbs discussed above. They are verbs whose origin has become totally obscured.

-Gba In Igbo we say,

- (208) Gbáara m' otù óhù 'Buy me a slave'
 (209) Gbáara m' óbyáky 'Buy me some livestock (for rearing, not for slaughter)'

Only óhù 'slave, and óbyáky 'livestock' are known collocates of "gbá" with the meaning of 'buy'.

-Kpò collocates only with clothing terms, pot, and mat (for lying on).

- (210) Kpòtára m' akwá 'Buy me some cloth'
 (211) Kpòtára m' uwe 'Buy me some clothes'
 (212) Kpòtára m' íte 'Buy me some pots'
 (213) Kpòtára m' ute. 'Buy me some mats'

The following are not permissible:

- (214) *Kpòtára m' àla. 'Buy me a piece of land'
 (215) *Kpòtára m' akí 'Buy me some palm kernels'
 (216) *Kpòtára m' ójí 'Buy me some kola nut'
 (217) *Kpòtára m' azú 'Buy me some fish'
 (218) *Kpòtára m' mmírí 'Buy me some water'

For moulded salt, kpò nnu' and kuu nnu' or kwò nnu' in Onicha dialect are correct.

-Kpá

-kpá only collocates with the referential terms of liquid oil. The following, therefore, are permissible Igbo sentences:

- (219) Kpáa many 'Buy some oil'
 (220) Kpáa otù ába many ókú. 'Buy a bottle of kerosine'
 (221) Kpáa many akíákere. 'Buy some groundnut oil'
 (222) Kpáa èlu ákí. 'Buy some palm kernel oil'

The referential term for solidified oil is excluded from syntagmatic relation with "Kpá". The following are consequently incorrect:

- (223) *Kpáa órí (òkwumá) 'Buy shea butter'
 (224) *Kpáa ábyba áké 'Buy the fat of a python'

-wú

éhi 'cow', nama, 'dwarf cow', and inyinya 'horse' co-occur with -wú 'buy', when their live physical forms are bought for trade.

Examples:

- (225) Jámike wùru náma' ató q' gá eré n' 'Áfọ́ajala.
 'Jamike bought three cows for sale on Áfọ́ajala market day'
 (226) N'Óriá' gára ága, o wùru éhi ígbo abúq' rechaa há n' Áfọ́.
 'Last Orie market day, he bought two cows and sold all on Afór market day'
 (227) Ána' m' achọ́ iwú inyinya n' ónwa à chére ndí òkwúkwy ókọchi.
 'I am contemplating buying horses this month against the dry season spate of second burial ceremonies'

Wild animals and minor domesticated animals are excluded from this relationship, hence the following sentences are incorrect:

- (228) *Wurú ezi' a. 'Buy this pig'
 (229) *Í' ga ewú ókúkò? 'Will you buy a fowl?'
 (230) *Bíá' wùrú elé 'Come and buy antelope'

It is not acceptable to apply -wú to dead éhi, inyinya, nama or to terms referring to parts of them.

-LÚ (nú)

-Lú 'to buy' relates mainly to palm wine but not to any of the other forms of alcohol.

- (231) Gàá' lùlèrè m' mánya dí' ńtọ.
'Go and buy me a sweet wine'
- (232) Lúpùtara m' otú èbèlé mánya.
'Buy and keep for me a gourd wine'
- (233) Ọnyé luru mánya à ná ágbà nà ntí? 'Who bought this sour wine?'
- (234) Lùjúo otú ẹtuma éka èbúọ.
'Buy a two-gallon jar of wine'

The following are unacceptable:

- (235) *Lùlèrè m' manụ 'Buy me some oil'
- (236) *Lùrú mmírí. 'Buy some water'

CONCLUSION

From the examples one can see various restrictions operating between verbs and their object complement. In the foregoing paper we have focused attention on the verbs of buying but the phenomenon is not restricted to such verbs. The following Part II takes up the same restrictional phenomenon from the point of view of dimension and weight in other semantic fields of verbal action.

Selectional Restrictions: Dimension and Weight

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As seen in Part I, verbs meaning 'to buy' in Igbo are semantically loaded. This section examines the phenomenon more generally for other verbs as exemplified in dimensional and weight considerations which restrict verb-nominal co-occurrence relations. A clear way of doing this is by semantic clusters. Ten clusters have been chosen viz: cut, break, rainfall, fall, uproot, pull, sprinkle, pick, pound, dip.

1.0 'Cut' Cluster

- 1.1 -Chà +
- | |
|--------------------|
| N |
| + cuttable |
| + thin edge |
| + light material |
| + sharp instrument |

1. Wéré mmà ékwú chàá ụgy ahụ
'Take a kitchen knife and cut the ụgy-vegetable'
2. Jírí mma ìkpì chàá akwá a.
'Use a pair of scissors and cut this cloth'
3. Ọlé ébe mmè áhụ dí nko dí ka m' chàá nkwurú ányị
'Where is that sharp knife so that I can trim that hedge?'
4. Chàfuó akwụkwọ e jí kée ngwùgwú a.
'Cut the wrapping paper of this parcel open'
5. Chábàrè m' eri isí a
'Cut this hairstyling thread for me'

The following are deviant because the noun object does not possess the appropriate inherent features:

6. Chábié' osisi à. 'Cut this wood'

7. Chábié' igwè áhù.

'Cut that iron'

-Chà could be used to indicate a thin slash in a big wet object e.g. slash a person on the skin, cut a rubber tree for tapping the latex.

- 1.2. -kwa + N
- + cuttable
 - + small pieces
 - sharp instrument
 - + by hand
 - + vegetable

8. Kwáá akwýkwọ nri áhù ọsịsọ

'Cut (by hand) those vegetables (for soup) quickly'

9. Á kwáziri ofe à nke ọma

'This soup vegetable was well cut (by hand)'

10. *Kwáchaá akwýkwọ ọgygy áhù

'Tear that reading book to pieces'

11. *Ákwáala m akwýkwọ o dere m

'I have torn to pieces the letter he wrote to me'

Although ụkází' is a vegetable one cannot use -kwa to describe cutting it to pieces. This is, perhaps, understandable because ụkází' is too hard to be shredded by hand. The same word, akwýkwọ, happens to describe both vegetable leaves and paper (=book leaves) in Igbo, but this does not license the extension of -kwa to ex. (10-11).

1.3 Gbu + N

- + cuttable
- + heavy object
- + by sharp, heavy instrument
- + wet

12. Gbúdà ọjị úkwu áhù

'Cut down that big iroko tree'

13. Ígwè gbúru anyí ehí áhù

'Igwè cut up that cow (beef) badly'

14. *Gbúdà ákpy à

'Cut down this cassava plant'

15. *Gbujíe anjhié ndi áhù

'Cut down those grasses'

1.4 Da + N

- + cuttable
- + into pieces
- + by sharp, heavy instrument
- wet,

16. Bíkó dàjiiere m ọgwè ọsịsị à.

'Please, cut this log of wood to pieces for me'

17. Dájíe agbalagba okpòrókó à

'Cut this log stockfish to pieces'

18. *Dábìsàrà m akwýkwọ nri ọsịsọ

'Quickly cut to pieces the vegetable for me'

- 1.5. Be' + N
- + cutable
 - + with care
 - + 'valuable object
 - + by sharp instrument
 - + thin object
 - + small scale

19. Bèé any' ahù

'Cut the meat to pieces'

20. Bèé éba osisì ndì à

'Cut the branches of these trees'

21. Nuádibìà jiri nwáyò wéé bepúo nwányì ahù áfò

'The doctor carefully cut open the belly of that woman'

22. Anye gbádòc' m, m' ebèé akwà ahù

'When I am composed I shall cut that cloth material'

23. *Bèé nkù tìnyé n'òkù.

'Cut the wood and put on the fire'

1.6. Bò' + N

- + cutable
- + by sharp instrument
- + into established units
- + wet
- + whole object

24. Anyì gbùru ewu, bíà bọ́ọ́ yá

'He killed a goat, come and cut it up'

25. Ònyé gá abọ́ namú à?

'Who will butcher this (dwarf) cow?'

26. *Bíà bọ́ọ́ akwúkwo nrí à

'Come and cut this vegetable'

27. *Bíà bọ́ọ́ okporóko à

'Come and cut this stockfish'

1.7 -Gbò'

- N
- + cutable
- + into large chunks
- + speaker's disapproval
- + flesh

28. Éléhiere m'anya ya agbgbìrì any' há ká gíní

'I was not watching when he cut off so much meat'

29. Lèé ebe ha siri gbòbìrì any' à

'See from where they cut off meat from this piece'

30. *Gbòbìrì ykazi

'Cut off some ykazi vegetable'

31. *Ònyé gbòbìrì nkù à

1.8. -Wá' + 'N

- + cutable
- + heavy object
- + flesh
- (i) if flesh then + care
- + living.

(ii) If not flesh then either fire wood or yam.

33. Dìbìé à na ewá afọ.

'This doctor cuts open the belly (i.e. is a surgeon)'

34. Há wàrà m ábga n'ụkwụ.

'They incised a big boil on my leg'

There are many more members of the cut cluster in Igbo. They all have definite semantic nuances which must specify weight or dimension, among other features.

2.0 'BREAK CLUSTER'

2.1. -Kpa`	+
	N
	+ breakable
	+ thin object
	+ brittle
	+ long
	+ much resistance

35. Kpàjìé mkpìsì ázìza

'Break a broom stick'

36. Kpàjìé nwa aláka ỳha

'Break off a twig of yha tree'

37. *Kpàjìé akwụkwọ

'Break a piece of paper'

38. *Kpàjìé ọjì

'Break an iroko tree'

2.2	-Gba`	+
		N
		+ breakable
		+ medium size object
		+ brittle
		+ long
		+ resistance

39. Gbàjìé mkperá ya.

'Break his walking stick'

40. Gbàjìé ègalaba ósisi ỳha

'Break a branch of yha tree'

41. *Gbàjìé ụtaà

'Break pounded fufu'

42. *Gbàjìé eriri

'Break a thread'

2.3	-Kwo`	+
		N
		+ breakable
		+ heavy object
		+ heavy force
		+ strong resistance

43. N' anyáájì ífufe fere, ósisi ọjì áhụ kwọjiri daá.

'At night when there was a strong wind, the iroko tree broke and fell'

44. Wéré ọgbara kwọjìé yé ọkpụkpụ ázụ

'Take a staff and break his spine'

45. Ueré' ogbara kwòjìe m̀kpìsì' ahù

'Take a stove and break the stick'

2.4 -Zò' [

+
N
+ break
+ medium heavy
+ foot as instrument
+ brittle
-
+ stiff

46. Iwe wee m' agà' m' ézòjì' m̀kpàrè' gí.

'If I am angered I shall break your stick with my foot'

47. Á zòjìrì' Igwè' ébè' è' nà' égwù' égwù'.

'During a game, someone stamped on Igwe's led and fractured it'

48. Zòjìenù' eriri' ùkazi'.

'Try and break ùkazi' thread with your foot'

49. *Ébè' ì' bú' díkè', zòjìe' ogwè' ósisi' è'.

'Since you ate a strong man, break this log of wood with your foot'

Other members of the break cluster include -tí', -gwò', -bè'.

3.0 RAINFAL CLUSTER

3.1 -Vù' [

+
N
+ rainfall
+ very light

50. Mírì' nà' àvù'.

'It is drizzling'

51. Mírì' nà' àvù' anyì' nà' àvù' grù'.

'As the rain drizzled we continued with our work'

52. Mírì' vùrù', ide akwaa.

'It drizzled and flood covered everywhere'

53. Nwé' nsansa' mírì' vùrù' n'ùtùtù'

'A very light rain drizzled'

3.2 -Zò' [

+
N
+ rain fall
+ normal quantity

54. Mírì' zòrò' nwántìntì' kwùsì'

'It rained for a while and stopped'

55. Mírì' ahù' zòrò' m̀ájàrà' m' ahù'

'That rain drenched me thoroughly'

56. Mírì' zòsìrìkè' m̀ è'zò' nà' èkpù' ururù'.

'It rained heavily but the road is dusty'

57. *Mírì' nà' èzòsìkè', ndì' ókènyè' ahù' èngrò' n'ama' nà' èkpé' ikpé'.

'The rain was falling heavily and the elders were sitting

in the open deciding cases

3.3 -Wù' [

+
N
+ rain fall
+ torrential

58. Mírì' ahù' wùrù' awù'

'That rain really poured down'

59. Éluigwé arujúola, ọ̀ gá awú.
'The clouds have darkened, it will pour'
60. Éluigwé dí ọ̀cha, ọ̀ gá awú.
'The sky is clear, it is going to pour'
61. Mírí ahụ̀ nà awú mú nà aaý àchara
'As the rain was pouring down, I was lopping the grass'

4.0 FALL CLUSTER

- 4.1 -Dà
- | |
|------------------|
| + |
| N |
| + fellable |
| + heavy object |
| + agentive cause |

62. Mkpára m dara
'My walking stick fell'
63. Íne kpòrọ́ nwá mpekele mádụ́ ahụ́ yá ada
'That little fellow was tripped and he fell'
64. Ọ́jị́ ahụ́ dara n'anyasị
'The iroko tree fell at night'

- 4.2 -Zé
- | |
|------------------|
| + |
| N |
| + fellable |
| + heavy object |
| + disintegration |

65. Ája yìq' ahụ́ ezeéla.
'The wall of that house has fallen'
66. M̀baa'ja à nwere íke zee. 'This mud might fall'

67. *Nkpara` akwuk'ọ́ sí n'elú zee n'ala
'A leaf fell from the top'
68. *Nwa'akirí yá sí nà azý nné ya bíá zee n'ala.
'His child fell off the mother's back'

4.3. (-Hwó is a member of the fall cluster but it is normally used with '-da' e.g. -hwóda. -Hwó merely emphasises an unexpected fall. More resistance to fall is expected from the subject of -hwó).

5.0 UPROOT CLUSTER

- 5.1 -Fó
- | |
|---------------|
| + |
| N |
| + uprootable |
| + lightweight |

69. Anyị ga efó' àchara.
'We shall uproot weeds'
70. Fópý m̀kpisí a' m̀ka um̀yaka
'Uproot and remove this small stick because of the children'
71. *Jee' fopý' ọ́jị́ ukwu ahụ́
'Go and uproot that big iroko tree'
72. *Foro' oke nkwy' n'ukwu
'Uproot a huge palm tree'

- 5,2 -Rú
- | |
|-------------------------|
| + |
| N |
| + uprootable |
| + heavy object |
| + with great difficulty |

73. *Árúfú m ekpaká ahù abali abúó*

'I was two days uprooting that oil bean tree'

74. *Mádu írí agéghì arúdafulú ojì ahù taa.*

'Ten people cannot complete uprooting that iroko tree today'

75. **Ánà m aga írúda ófè ahù*

'I am going to uproot the soup vegetable plant'

76. **Í rúnýé ákpisí n'ála múárúpú yá*

'If you stick a small stick in the ground I shall uproot it'

6.0 PULL CLUSTER

6.1 -Mì [N
+ pullable
+ very lightweight
+ long]

77. *Mìrí otú ákpúrú ázizè*

'Draw a single broomstick'

78. *Ada mìrí otú erí ísì*

'Ada drew a single hair thread'

79. **Mìrí otú ógwè ósisi*

'Draw one log of wood'

80. **Mìrí otú ígbe*

'Draw one box'

6.2 -Sà [N
+ pullable
+ slender
+ lightweight
+ long
+ bundled]

81. *Séré otú aruru.*

'Draw out one stake.'

82. *Séfúrú m okporo n'úzò*

'Pull the palm rib out of the way'

83. **Súfúrú m ógwè ósisi n'úzò.*

'Pull the log out of the way'

84. **Séputá ígbe álilá ahù*

'Pull out that trunk box'

6.3 -Dò [N
+ pullable
+ slender
+ medium weight
+ long
+ bundle]

85. *Dòrò gby nama*

'Bull the cow's lead'

86. *Dòfù nwá gbaraguara osisi ahù m gbúdaara.*

'Pull that slender shrub which I cut down'

87. **Dòrò ehí.*

'Pull the cow'

6.4 -Pú [N
+ pullable
+ heavy
+ slender
+ long
+ bundled]

88. Ụnụ́ m'ády' ísá, p'úr'ny' ígwè nkú ahụ́
'Five of you pull that log of firewood'
89. Anyị́ d'í' ír'í' p'uf'ee' ehi ahụ́ ỳz'q'
'Ten of us pulled the cow across the road'
90. *P'úr'ny' eriri ab'q'q'
'Draw two threads'
91. *P'úr'ny' efere ofé
'Pull a soup plate'

7.0 SPRINKLE CLUSTER

- 7.1 -f'á' [+
N
+ spreadable liquid
+ by hand
+ into little particles
+ small quantity]

92. f'és'at'ur'ny' m' nwa mány' n'òs'ik'ápa' m'.
'Please, spread some stew on my rice'
93. B'ík'ó' f'è'ere' m' nwa mmír'í' n'y'kwà' ahụ́ s'ír'í' n'ò'k'y'.
'Please, sprinkle some water on that breadfruit on the fire'
94. *Q'á'y' ná' agbá' n'ny'q'q' gaa' f'è'è' yá' mmír'í' kà' q' ny'q'
'The house is on fire go and sprinkle water on it to put it out'
95. *L'è'è' kà' mmír'í' o' f'è'è' s'í' as'q' n'ny'q'
'See how the water he sprinkled has flooded the room'

- 7.2 -v'ý' [N
+ spreadable liquid
+ by mouth
+ into little particles
+ small quantity]

96. Nne', l'è'è' mmír'í' Ada v'ur'ny' m' n'á'ka
'Mother, see the water Ada sprayed on my arm'
97. A' s'í' yá' f'è'è' mmír'í' n'òs'ik'ápa, yá' ezuzur'ú' ga' kp'ur'ny' mmír'í' v'ur'ny' yá; agagh'í' m' er'ik'wa.
'I asked him to sprinkle water on the rice but he stupidly sprayed water with his mouth, I won't eat it'
98. *Mír'í' í' v'ur'ny' n'ala' na' as'q' kòròkòrò
'The water you sprayed on the ground is flooding it'
99. *G'í' v'ur'ny' mmír'í' n'ogb'ìd'ì' é'ja' ahụ́ yá' ad'á'á'.
'If you spray water on that mud wall it will fall'

- 7.3 -Gbá' [+
N
+ spreadable liquid
+ larger units
+ limited direction]

100. Ụ'gb'q' ahụ́ gb'ás'ara' m' mmír'í' n'ò'w'é'.
'That car splashed water on my clothes'
101. Gb'ák'waa' mmír'í' n'ny'q' nd'í' ahụ́
'Be sure to sprinkle water on these fluted pumpkins'
102. Gb'á'á' mmír'í' n'òs'ik'ápa' s'ír'í' n'ò'k'y'.
'Pour water on the rice that is cooking'

103. *Ákúyókò zhù anyakúrúle, gbása yá mmírí ká é tónee yá.

'The paper is stuck, pour some water on it to loosen it'

- 7.4 -Gbù
- | |
|---------------------|
| • |
| N |
| • spreadable liquid |
| • by mouth |
| • larger units |

104. Q'gbùrú ásy há ká gíní

'He spat out sputum as big as what?'

105. Lèeny úwa m; Qbasí gbùrú m mmírí

'Please, look at my dress; Qbasi spat water at me with his mouth'

106. *Uéré ngaji gbùq mmírí n'úkwa àhù

'Use a spoon and sprinkle water on the breadfruit seeds'

107. *Éjí m áka m gbùq mmírí ahù

'I myself poured the water (with my hand)'

- 7.5 -Gbù
- | |
|---------------------|
| • |
| N |
| • spreadable liquid |
| • large quantity |
| • continuous flow |
| • large container |
| • deliberate |

108. Q'wùrú yá otù éfere mmírí n'isi

'He poured a basinful of water on his head'

109. Í lèziri ánya wufuó ìte mmírí à n'ókochí à

'You deliberately poured away a pot of water this dry season'

110. *Q'wùfuru ásy mmírí

'He poured away saliva'

111. *Wùfuó mmírí dí nà ngaji

'Pour away the water in the spoon'

CONCLUSION

From Parts I and II of this contribution one can clearly see that to speak Igbo like a native speaker is to be sensitive to the rather subtle semantic restrictions that exist between verbs and nouns. This very important feature of the language often poses problems for the translator. The concept of nuclear and non-nuclear verbs has been pointed out by Dixon as a universal feature of language. The phenomenon of semantic clusters observed in Igbo supports the hypothesis. In fact, the collocational restrictions in Igbo are much stronger than those Dixon described. In the case of Igbo it is more than a tendency because failure to match a verb with the appropriate noun complement results in unacceptability.

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