

LEXICALISATION STRATEGIES IN ÒGBAHÚ
DIALECT OF ÌGBÒ, NIGERIA

BY

GEORGINA OBIAMAKA MADUAGWU

B.A. (Hons) Linguistics (Ibadan) M.A. Linguistics (Ibadan)

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ABSTRACT

The Ògbahù dialect of Ìgbò, a Nigerian language, has hitherto not been subjected to any indepth morphological study. This study therefore investigates reduplication, compounding, nominalization, ideophones, personal names as well as negation, as major aspects of lexicalization strategies in the morphology of Ògbahù dialect of the Ìgbò language. The aim of the study is to establish a systematic theory of word formation and word structure for Ògbahù dialect.

Data were collected with the aid of Ibadan 400 wordlist of basic items as well as some other data prepared by the present researcher. The data were collected from informants who are monolingual and bilingual native speakers of the dialect. These informants supplied the Ògbahù/Ìgbò equivalent. The data collected were subsequently analysed against the background of Alec Marantz' reduplication (affixation) theory as well as Francis Katamba's two level structure of morphology-phonology interface model for descriptive adequacy.

The nature of word formation processes and the way in which these processes interact with phonology, syntax and the lexicon were attested to in the Ògbahù dialect. A number of phonological and tonological processes like vowel harmony, assimilation, tonal reduction, tonal raising, among others are shown to be triggered by morphological rules. These rules are found to be ordered with respect to each other, with some of the rules constraining the behaviour of succeeding ones in significant ways. The study shows that reduplication should be treated like other morphological processes of affixation, contrary to the claims in earlier works on Ìgbò morphology. Furthermore, it is revealed that reduplication as an affixational process has a defined form for the duplicate.

This systematic account of word formation and word structure of Ògbahù dialect is significant for its pedagogical value. It gives further insight to the enrichment of dialectology. It is also significant for the teaching and better understanding of the Ìgbò language.

Keyword: Lexicalisation strategies, Morphology, Ògbahù-Ìgbò, Reduplication (Affixation) theory, Morphology-Phonology interface model.

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by

Mrs. Georgina Obiamaka Maduagwu

in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages,
University of Ibadan.

22/08/06

.....
Date

Francis O. Egbokhare

.....
Supervisor

Francis O. Egbokhare

B. A. (Benin), M.A., Ph.D (Ibadan)
Professor, Department of Linguistics and
African Languages,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

Most humbly dedicated to the

TRINITY GOD,

GOD THE FATHER,

GOD THE SON

AND

GOD THE HOLY SPIRIT.

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CONVENTIONS

C	-	Consonant
V	-	Vowel
<i>ŋ</i>	-	Syllabic nasal
<i>ŋ̃</i>	-	Nasalised vowel
T	-	Tone bearing segment
S	-	Tone
T	-	Tone
H	-	High tone
Unmarked	-	High tone
L	-	Low tone
IS	-	Downstepped high tone
Ḥ	-	Falling glide tone
/ /	-	Phonemic slashes
[]	-	Phonetic bracket
+	-	Word boundary
[ˀ]	-	High tone
[-]	-	Downstepped high tone
[ˁ]	-	Low tone
V	-	Verb
N	-	Noun
<i>inf.pref.</i>	-	Infinitive prefix
<i>pref.</i>	-	Prefix
<i>suf.</i>	-	Suffix
<i>aux</i>	-	Auxiliary

V ₁	-	Final vowel before word boundary
V ₂	-	Initial vowel after word boundary
SPE	-	The Sound Pattern of English
LP	-	Lexical Phonology/Morphology
nom.	-	nominalization
LI	-	Level I
LII	-	Level II
LHR	-	Lefthand Head Rule
RHR	-	Righthand Head Rule
NP	-	Noun Phrase
VP	-	Verb Phrase

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The present study

The present study draws attention to reduplication, nominalisation, compounding, ideophones, personal names as well as negation as major aspects of lexicalisation strategies in the morphology of the Ìgbò language in general and Ògbahù dialect in particular. The term 'lexicalisation' is used here in a sense synonymous with word formation. Word formation generates lexical items, which are commonly called words, for the lexicon of a language.

1.2.1 Ìgbò lexicalisation

Ògbahù dialect is one of the many dialects of Ìgbò language. Williamson (1989) in Bendor-Samuel (1989) classified the Ìgbò language as belonging to the Igboïd group of the Benue-Congo languages. The Ògbahù dialect is spoken by a people known by the same name in the Ògbahù Local Government Area (LGA) of Anambra State, Nigeria. Ògbahù LGA is situated on the right bank of the River Niger, about two kilometers south of Onitsha. People from Ógwu Ànjọcha, Ógwu Ikeple, Mpùtù, Ùmùnankwọ, Obēágwè, Óssòmàlà, Ógbakùbà, Akìlì Ózìzọ, Akìlì Ogidì, Àtànì, Óhjtà, Ódekpè, Amiyj and Óchuchè Ùmùdū speak the dialect and their speech form is generally homogeneous. Ògbahù dialect is mutually intelligible with all other Ìgbò dialects. Ògbahù has been spelt Ógbarù in many documents on Ìgbò due to the influence of the Onitsha dialect where 'r' replaces 'h' as in 'àrù' for 'àhù' 'body', 'ràpù' for 'hàpù' 'leave' and 'énwèrọ' for 'énwēhọ' 'does not have', etc. Although some researchers

have written on reduplication in Ìgbò, to our knowledge, the Ọgbahù dialect has not been the subject of any systematic study. Previous writers on reduplication in Ìgbò view the phenomenon only in terms of CV verbal reduplication (repetition) followed by the prefixation of an appropriate vowel to form a gerund. Most of the studies concerned are not indepth, with some merely touching on the topic, without clearly defined or theoretical inclination. These include Green and Igwe (1963), Williamson (1972), Dunstan and Igwe (1978) and Emenanjọ (1978). The Standard variety of Ìgbò is used as a case study in virtually all these works, i.e. apart from Dunstan and Igwe (1978) whose focus is the Ọh̄ŭh̄ŭ dialect of Ìgbò. The most outstanding of these works are Williamson (1972) and Dunstan and Igwe (1978). Williamson's reduplicating vowels appear to differ from the present analysis in certain respects. In her analysis for example, when the verb:

1a -bè 'cut'

is reduplicated, we have:

1b ọ̀bìbè 'cutting';

when the verb:

2a -bà 'enter'

is reduplicated, we have:

2b ọ̀bìbà 'entering'

The reduplicating vowel is i/ì. On the contrary, however, in the present analysis of Ọgbahù reduplication, the reduplicating vowel for verb stems with labial consonants is u/ù as exemplified below:

3a. - bè 'cut'

b. ọ̀bùbè 'cutting'

4a. - bà 'enter'

These are discussed later in the body of this work. Furthermore, Dunstan and Igwe (1978) point to the occurrence of [z] / [ʒ] and [s] / [ʃ] in the *ÒṢṢṢ* dialect of Igbò. According to them, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] are allophones of the same phoneme /s/, while the voiced alveolar fricative [z] and the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ] are allophones of the same phoneme /z/. The implication according to them is that in CV reduplication, if the V of the CV is the close front unrounded vowel *i*], then the /s/ and /z/ become their palato-alveolar counterparts [ʃ] [ʒ] respectively. Below are some examples taken from their study:

- 5a. -sì 'cook'
 b. òʃiʃi 'cooking' (reduplication of – sì)
- 6a. -sì 'smell'
 b. òʃiʃi smelling (reduplication of – sì)
- 7a. -zì 'teach/show'
 b. òʒiʒi 'teaching/showing (reduplication of – zì).

This does not happen in *Ògbahù* reduplication, especially as *Ògbahù* does not have [ʃ] and [ʒ] among her consonants. These consonants do not have to be part of the consonant repertoire of *Ògbahù* as Dunstan and Igwe claim.

1.2.2 Previous studies on Ìgbò derived nouns and negation

Although virtually all the grammars of Ìgbò (Green and Igwe (1963), Williamson (1972), Dunstan and Igwe (1978) and Emenanjo (1978), among others) to which I have had access in the preparation of this work devote some attention to nouns, the nominal derivation which forms a major aspect of the present study has not before now been subjected to a sufficiently systematic and comprehensive treatment. Perhaps, the most intensive of all the analyses consulted is that of Williamson (1972). But then, this study (as well as other studies consulted) point to two major weaknesses. Williamson treats only two processes of nominal derivation in Ìgbò. These are prefixation and reduplication plus prefixation. Williamson's (1972) examples of nouns derived through prefixation include the following:

- 8a. ákwá 'cry' (n.) from – kwá 'cry' (v.)
- b. àsí 'lie' (n.) from – sí 'tell/say' (v.)

Her examples of nouns derived through reduplication plus prefixation processes include:

- 9a. òtítí 'beating' (n) from – tí 'beat' (v.)
- b. ògígá 'passing' (n.) from – gá 'pass' (v.)

Secondly, her treatment was superficial, more of a list than a discussion. For instance, in her treatment of reduplicated free cognate nouns, Williamson (1972: xlv), the derived nouns are merely listed. The morphological, phonological and semantic behaviour of these nouns are neither examined nor discussed in detail.

The limitation of Williamson's (1972) work is understandable since one cannot expect any extensive analysis in the circumstance in which her account of word formation in Ìgbò appeared – as an introduction to a Dictionary. The present work intends to describe the Ògbahù derived nouns from the point of view of an overall morphological, phonological and semantic analysis.

Furthermore, as with previous studies on Ìgbò nominal derivation, several Ìgbò grammarians have written on negation in Ìgbò, but none, to our knowledge, on Ògbahù dialect. For instance, Green and Igwe (1963) briefly discuss the use of the negative suffix '-ghì' to effect negation. Emenanjò (1978) simply casts a cursory glance on negation in Ìgbò under Ìgbò sentence types and verb forms and slightly touches on the realization of the tone pattern of Ìgbò negative verbs.

Oluikpe (1979) briefly discusses negation in the Ngwà dialect of Ìgbò (spoken in Abia State), using a transformational approach. Nwachukwu (1983) only mentions the negative suffixes. Although various Ìgbò grammarians have shown interest in negation in Ìgbò, the topic has not received the depth of treatment that it deserves. The grammarians have either merely devoted small sections to negative constructions in their books or articles, or if one or two of them have written considerably on the subject, the material did not involve any detailed discussion. In this study, the point will be made among others, that the negative morpheme in Ògbahù is a discontinuous one, consisting of four allomorphic variants whose choice is syntactically determined:

Á . . . hò (for indicative and infinitive negatives).

Á . . . na (for plural imperative negatives).

Á . . . nà (for present perfective negatives).

Í . . . na (for singular imperative negatives).

1.3 Methodology

The choice of the Ọgbahù Ìgbò dialect as subject of this study is informed by the need to study the various Ìgbò dialects for the enrichment, teaching and better understanding of Standard Ìgbò and Ìgbò dialectology. This need was confirmed by Oluikpe (1979:2) in his study of the Ngwà dialect of Ìgbò, when he said:

If the Ìgbò language should cope with the demands that would be made on it as either an official language or a medium of literary expression, we need to develop a pan-Ìgbò dialect with an enriched vocabulary... The only feasible approach that would help us evolve our "dream" dialect in the shortest possible time is the one based on the following procedure:

1. a comprehensive survey of Ìgbò dialects;
2. a description of the various dialects of the language based on the most representative speech pattern of the dialect;
3. segmentation of the common-core from all the dialects described, and
4. standardization of the variants-grammatical and lexical.

The data for this study derive from four sources viz:

- i. fluent monolingual and bilingual adult native speakers of Ọgbahù (bilingual in English/other Ìgbò dialects and Ọgbahù) who are between the ages 22 and 60 years,
- ii. fluent monolingual and bilingual adult speakers of other Ìgbò dialects
- iii. Standard Ìgbò literature and
- iv. the present writer (who is a native speaker of Ọgbahù).

Informants from the different localities that speak Ògbahù were interviewed. Furthermore, for comparative purposes, some data were also taken from other Ìgbò dialects like Òlọ, Òwèrè and Ètiti (Imo State); Achj, Údì and Agbaànj (Enugu State); Mkpa, Ìsuikwuatọ and Ùmùahjà (Abia State); Nnewi and Òraifitè (Anambra State) and current Standard Ìgbò literature. The data were collected with the informants fully aware of the recording. The Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan's four hundred-word list of basic items as well as some other data prepared by the present writer were used, with the informants supplying the Ògbahù/Ìgbò equivalent. The present writer's data were confirmed with the informants. The Ògbahù data were collected from Ògbahù speakers residing in the neighbouring Onitsha locality, as well as those residing in Ògbahù. Both samples collected in Onitsha and Ògbahù were compared for possible interference from other Ìgbò dialects, especially Onitsha, but no such interference was detected. All the data were described and analysed.

CHAPTER TWO

SEGMENTS AND SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES OF

ÒGBAHÙ

2.1 Ògbahù syllable structure

In Ògbahù, as in other tone languages, the syllable normally carries the tone. Vowels and syllabic nasals are syllabic and tone bearing. They can therefore constitute syllables. A non-syllabic consonant plus a vowel (in that order) also constitute a syllable. A summary of the above syllable structure can be represented with the formula:

$$(C) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ \underset{\cdot}{N} \end{array} \right\}$$

where C stands for a non-syllabic consonant and $\underset{\cdot}{N}$ stands for a tone-bearing segment. In $\underset{\cdot}{N}$ position within the tone-bearing unit, there can either be a vowel (V) or a syllabic nasal ($\underset{\cdot}{N}$). Below are examples of

the syllable structures:

V – CV	10.	ó-nù/ó-nù/	'neck'
	11.	ù-dé/ù-dé	'pomade'
	12.	h-kù/Ṣkù	'wing'
CV	13.	dí /dì/	'husband'
	14.	chí /tʃí/	'God'
V	15.	ó /ó/	'he/she/it'
Ṣ	16.	mí /Ṣ/	'I/me'

2.2 Consonants and vowels of Ògbahù dialect

There are twenty-five consonant phonemes in Ògbahù dialect. Standard Ìgbò (SI) has the following three consonants

/ʃz/

in addition to these (hence SI has twenty-eight consonant phonemes).

The twenty-five consonants are:

/p b kp gb t d tʃ dʒ k g kʷ gʷ m n ɲ ŋ ŋʷ f s z ɣ j w
h l/.

Ògbahù also has eight oral vowel phonemes:

/i ɪ e a ɔ o u u/

and no nasal vowel phonemes such that Ògbahù vowels with any nasalisation are only phonetically nasalised.

2.3 Vowel harmony in Ògbahù

Vowel harmony operates in Ògbahù. The eight vowels of the dialect are divided into two broad groups as shown below:

Set I	Set II
i u	{/ɪ/ ʊ /u/
e o	a ɔ /ɔ/

Note: sub-dotted forms are letters for their respective pairs.

The vowels in set I co-occur with one another while those in set II co-occur with one another, a few cases of the violation of the harmony notwithstanding. Examples of violations of vowel harmony in Ògbahù are:

17. àfè 'dress
18. álò 'counsel'
19. ádù 'bitter kola'

Usually, as in examples (17) through (19), the vowel 'a' of set II appears to be neutral to the harmony or be violating the harmony since it co-occurs with its own set (as in ákù 'wealth', átó 'three' etc.) as well as with vowels of set I. This particular violation of the vowel harmony does not seem to be evident in Standard Ìgbò, since in Standard Ìgbò, for example, we have:

20. èfè 'dress'
21. èlò/èrò 'counsel'.
22. àdù 'bitter kola'

in contrast with (17) through (19) above. Based on Stewart (1967), the set I vowels have the feature [+ATR], while the set II vowels are [-ATR]. Examples are:

23. élgo 'money' (set I vowels [+ATR])
24. ázù 'fish' (set II vowels [-ATR])

Ògbahù may be in the process of neutralizing the ATR value of the low vowel in harmony. This is evidenced in Ògbahù examples (17) through (19) of mixed root whereby 'a' is neutral. In that case therefore, the other Ìgbò dialects are seen to be more conservative than Ògbahù.

2.4 Consonant phoneme contrast

p/b

- 25a. í!pa 'to carry (baby)'
b. í!ba 'to grow rich'

b/d

- 26a. ílbe 'to cry'
b. ílde 'to write'

t/d

- 27a. ñtútú 'needle'
b. ñdúdú 'fork'

d/dʒ

- 28a. dí 'husband'
b. dʒí 'yam'

tʃ/t

- 29a. íltʃa 'to be white'
b. ílta 'to chew'

dʒ/tʃ

- 30a. dʒú 'be full'
b. tʃú 'fetch (water)'

	k/g	
31a.	íkè	'bottom'
	b. ígè	'to listen'
	g/g ^w	
32a.	ìlga	'to pass'
	b. ìlg ^w a	'to tell'
	k ^w /g ^w	
33a.	ìlk ^w e	'to agree'
	b. ìlg ^w e	'to grind'
	kp/gb	
34a.	àkpà	'bag'
	b. àgbà	'jaw'
	f/s	
35a.	ífè	'to worship'
	b. ísè	'to draw'
	s/z	
36a.	ìlsɔ	'to pound'
	b. ìlzɔ	'to trade'
	ɾ/ŋ	
37a.	ìlɾa	'to plant (seeds)'
	b. ìlŋa	'to roast (corn)'

j/h

- 38a. ólji 'cold'
b. ólhi 'thief'

w/b

- 39a. wèlí 'take'
b. bèlí 'cut'

l/n

- 40a. lá 'drink'
b. ná 'leave (for home)'

All the nasals contrast:

m / n / ŋ / ŋ^w

- 41a. mé 'do'
b. né 'look'
c. ŋé 'give'
d. ŋé 'cross (a fence)'
e. ŋ^wé 'have'

2.5 Vowel phoneme contrast

i/í

- 42a. sí 'cook'
sí 'say'

i/e

43a. lí 'climb'

b. lé 'sell'

e/a

44a. kè 'divide'

b. kà 'mark (v.)'

a/ọ

45a. sá 'wash'

b. sọ 'like'

ọ/o

46a. dọ 'pull'

b. dó 'please / settle'

o/ụ

47a. só 'grow'

b. sụ 'pound'

ụ/u

48a. kwụ 'plant'

b. kwú 'speak'

u/í

49a. dú 'lead'

b. dí 'husband'

2.6 Ògbahù tones

Tone, like consonants and vowels, forms part of the Ògbahù phonological system. The two level tonemes of Ògbahù are High, which is unmarked as in:

50. isi 'head'
 H-H

and Low, which is marked with a grave accent /`/ as in:

51. ìsì 'blindness'.
 L-L

There is in addition, a downstep feature marked with a raised exclamation mark // or a hyphen /-/ as in:

52. ìl̀sì / isì 'to cook'.
 H-D H-D

As a matter of convention, the high tone is usually left unmarked in Ìgbò. Only the low and downstep tones are marked. But, in the present study, all tones are marked for easy explanation. Hence example (50) repeated as (50i) becomes

50i. ìsì 'head'
 H-H

and example (52) repeated as (52i) becomes

52i. ìl̀sì / isì 'to cook'.
 H-D H-D

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

... morphology is the study of word structure, and words are at the interface between phonology, syntax and semantics. Words have phonological properties, they articulate together to form phrases and sentences, their form often reflects their syntactic function, and their parts are often composed of meaningful smaller pieces. In addition, words contract relationships with each other by virtue of their form,

(Spencer and Zwicky 2001:1)

Following linguists like Spencer and Zwicky (2001) (among others) therefore, the centrality of the word in linguistics remains undoubtably unquestionable. Hence the concern of this study is on the lexicalisation strategies in the morphology of Ògbahù dialect of the Ìgbò language. The lexicalisation strategies to be discussed include, reduplication, nominalisation, compounding, ideophones, personal names as well as negation in Ògbahù.

3.1 Theoretical discussions on reduplication

There are controversies surrounding the definition of reduplication. These controversies have resulted in the emergence of two major schools. The first school referred to as the traditional school (e.g. Sapir 1921, Green and Igwe 1963, Williamson 1972, Dunstan and Igwe 1978 and Emenanjo 1978) views reduplication as repetition or extension. It claims that, for instance, to have a reduplication of a CV base, the CV is repeated or extended thereby resulting in a CVCV

derivand. Also the transformational analysis which views reduplication as being derived through transformational rules belongs to this school. The second (e.g. McCarthy 1981, Marantz 1982, Broselow and McCarthy 1983) views reduplication as a morphological process of affixation. According to this second school, reduplication is in essence, the affixation of a morpheme template (in the shape of a CV – skeleton) to a stem. Usually, a morpheme has a specification of its semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological properties in the lexicon. But, one thing that is peculiar with reduplication as an affixation process, in this view, is that the skeletal CV-template introduced by the affix is underspecified. It is not fully specified. The reduplicative morpheme (affix) has its syntactic and semantic properties specified, but the phonological part of the entry is left incomplete. It is phonologically underspecified.

Earlier works on reduplication include: Sapir (1921), Moravcsik (1978), Marantz (1982), Broselow and Mc Carthy (1983), Kiparsky (1986), Steriade (1987), Egbokhare (1990), Katambã (1993) and Aaron (1997) among others.

Sapir (1921: 76) states that:

Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of reduplication; in other words, the repetition of all or part of the radical element. The process is generally employed, with self-evident symbolism, to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase in size, added intensity, continuance.

Sapir cites examples of reduplication in English, including the following:

- 53 a. pooh-pooh
- b. goody-goody
- c. wishy-washy
- d. sing-song
- e. brain-drain

According to Sapir (1921), the recurring forms in such reduplications, as listed above, do not serve a grammatical or semantic function; neither do they serve any derivational or inflectional purpose. This claim is a contradiction of his earlier claim (in Sapir 1921:76) reproduced earlier. Actually, the recurring forms in examples (53a) through (e) above serve the functions suggested in the long citation from Sapir (1921:76). In Ọgbahù, just as in Ìgbò language and many other African/Nigerian languages, the recurring forms actually serve grammatical and semantic functions.

According to Moravcsik (1992), reduplication serves certain functions. He cites examples from Papago (Papua New Guinea) where, according to him, the plural forms of nouns are formed through the process of reduplication. Thus, to form a plural noun, a copy of the first syllable of the singular noun is prefixed to the singular noun after lengthening its vowel. Nominal reduplication is thus used to signal plurality:

	Singular	Plural	
54a.	kuna 'husband'	kuukuna	'husbands'
b.	tini 'mouth'	tiitini.	'mouths'

Furthermore, according to him, noun reduplication may also express the meanings 'every X' and 'all X' such as we find in examples taken from Luganda (Uganda):

55a. babiri 'two' → babiribabiri 'every two'

Here the whole word is reduplicated to express the meaning 'every two'. In Ògbahù and other Ìgbò dialects, including Standard Ìgbò, we have similar examples, where the entire word is reduplicated to express the meaning of 'every X' or 'X by X'. In Yorùbá, similar examples exist.

56. Ògbáhù

	Base / Stem		Reduplicated
a.	òfú 'one'	→	òfúòfú 'every one/one by one'
b.	ábùfọ́ 'two'	→	ábùfọ́ábùfọ́ 'every two/two by two'
c.	àtọ́ 'three'	→	àtọ́àtọ́ 'every three/three by three'

57. Standard Ìgbò

	Base/Stem		Reduplicated
a.	ótù 'one'	→	ótùótù 'everyone/one by one'
b.	ábùfọ́ 'two'	→	ábùfọ́ábùfọ́ 'everytwo/two by two'
c.	àtọ́ 'three'	→	àtọ́àtọ́ 'everythree/three by three'

58. Òlù

	Base/stem		Reduplicated
a.	ótù 'one'	→	ótùótù 'everyone/one by one'
b.	ábùfọ́ 'two'	→	ábùfọ́ábùfọ́ 'everytwo/two by two'
c.	àtọ́ 'three'	→	àtọ́àtọ́ 'everythree/three by three'

59. **Ìsúikwúátó**

	Base/Stem		Reduplicated
a.	ótù 'one'	→	ótúótù 'everyone/one by one'
b.	ábùó 'two'	→	ábùóábùó 'everytwo/two by two'
c.	átó 'three'	→	átóátó 'everythree/three by three'

60. **Yorùbá**

	Base/Stem		Reduplicated
a.	òkan 'one'	→	òkòòkan 'everyone/one by one'
b.	èjì 'two'	→	èjèèjì 'everytwo/two by two'
c.	ẹ̀ta 'three'	→	ẹ̀tẹ̀ẹ̀ta 'everythree/three by three'

For his own part, Aaron (1997:49) in his study of Obolo verbal morphology describes reduplication as a root internal, derivational, morphological process. Both full and partial reduplicative constructions abound in Obolo. Partial reduplications in Obolo may or may not be accompanied by vowel changes. According to him, the extensive iterative plurality in Obolo is derived from iterative form through the process of reduplication. Partial reduplication of the verb usually involves prefixation of the initial syllable of the verb stem to the stem. Thus, we find:

chill 'open' → chichill 'open' (contrastive form).

Moravcsik (1978) subcategorizes partial reduplications into initial, final and internal reduplication. He uses this method to indicate which part of the verb form is reduplicated.

Egbokhare (1990) points out that there are three types of reduplication in Emai, total reduplication, partial reduplication and Ci-

reduplication. In Emai total reduplication, the derivand is a complete repetition of the operand, while partial reduplication involves a derivand in which the duplicate is only part of the base. Only words are affected in partial reduplication in Emai and they express aggregation. The Ci-reduplication in Emai affects only monosyllabic verbs. This involves a form in which the consonant of the duplicate is identical with the consonant of the base, but the vowel is not. The close front unrounded vowel [i] is infix and the meaning expressed is 'still + V' (perseverative). His examples include:

61a. tà → tità
 'say' 'still say'

b. gbè → gbígbè
 'beat' 'still beat'

This is similar to what obtains in Yorùbá Ci-reduplication, but the meanings are different. The Yorùbá examples are:

62a. gbé → gbígbé 'carrying'
 'carry'

b. bá → bíbá 'meeting'
 'meet'

c. lọ → lílọ 'going'
 'go'

d. tà → tità 'selling'
 'sell'

The Yorùbá Ci-reduplication examples signal gerundivization.

Steriade (1987:7) is in support of description of partial reduplication as affixation of segmentally empty CV slots because according to her there is evidence for such units in phonology and morphology. She disagrees with the idea of extending the affixation analysis of reduplication to total reduplication.

Katamba (1993) refers to reduplication as a non-concatenative phonological phenomenon. He analyses it as CV template morphology. His view is in agreement with McCarthy (1981) and Marantz (1982) who extended McCarthy's CV-template morphology model for the analysis of Arabic to account for reduplication. It is not surprising therefore, that other scholars like Broselow (1983), Archangeli (1983), Broselow and McCarthy (1983) got interested in highlighting the essence of reduplication in CV template morphology.

It is not generally accepted that reduplication ought to be treated as other morphological processes of affixation. Earlier treatment of the process in terms of transformation or repetition of identical material has been discarded in favour of its treatment as a process of affixation. This view (cf. Egbokhare 1990) was first championed by Marantz (1982:437) who defines reduplication as 'a process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form. This may be analysed as being constructed from the base via affixation of phonemic material. This phonemic material is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form'. In simple terms, reduplication does lead to identity between the duplicate and the stem. But how this identity is achieved (i.e. whether through copy, spreading, transformation or affixation) is the point of difference. Marantz' (1982) position simply is that whereas other processes of affixation attach affixes with phonemic content, reduplication would attach only skeletal material, that is, templates.

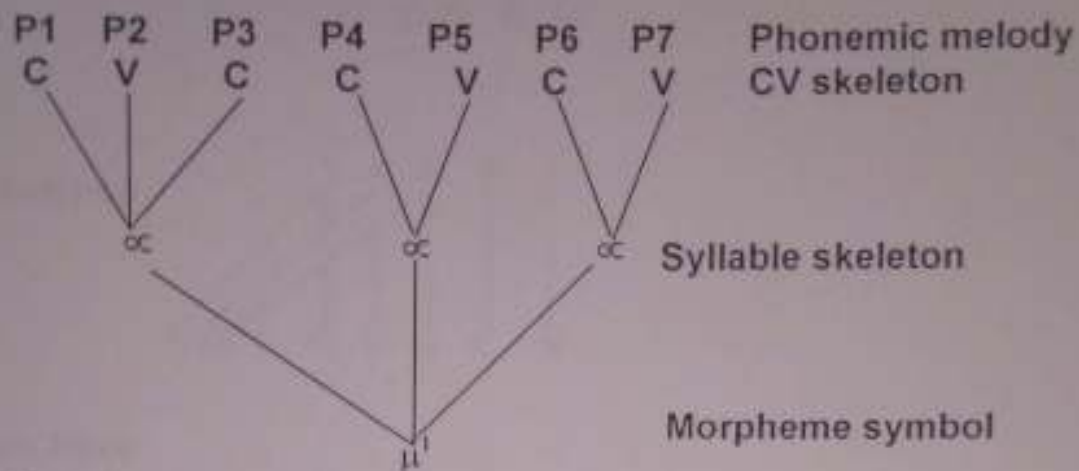
The identity, which ends up being achieved becomes a matter of some autosegmental conventions and processes which 'fill in' the empty templates with phonemic and semantic materials from the stem.

Several problems have been thrown up by this kind of approach to reduplication. We shall only tackle a few of them here. The first relates to what kind of constituent can be reduplicated. In other words, what nature of constituents can be reduplicated? McCarthy (1979, 1981) would only allow constituents such as the syllable, foot, morpheme, etc. to undergo reduplication. Marantz (1982) on his part would in addition allow combinations of consonants and vowels that do not define any phonological constituent to undergo reduplication as well. Of course, there are data advanced in support of both positions. It would however, appear that no matter what the natures of constituents are, reduplication does not create structures that violate the system of a language. That is, reduplication will not for instance, create closed syllables in a language that does not permit them normally. This view of reduplication makes the process a structure-preserving one.

A second problem relates to the distinction often made between different types of reduplication such as syllable, morpheme, CV, etc. The impression is given that there are some reduplications that create or attach forms that do not constitute morphemes. This problem is created because of the phonological treatment of reduplication. The treatment of reduplication as a morphological process of affixation would make them create or attach forms that constitute morphemes, since every morphological process would be expected to create and/or attach morphemes of one kind or the other.

3.1.1 Mechanism of reduplication

The autosegmental approach to reduplication is anchored on a hierarchical view of the morpheme.



(cf. Egbokhare 1990:149)

From the above, materials from any of the levels may be affixed to a stem as illustrated above (cf. Egbokhare 1990:149). It can be seen that the distinction between total and partial reduplication would be a function of the level at which affixation takes place.

3.1.2 How is identity achieved?

Identity of the base and its duplicate is achieved through the mechanism of 'copying over'. Thus, all or part of the phonemic melody of the stem is copied over the duplicate. This is followed by the application of conventions. Copying over appears to be motivated solely by the desire to avoid a violation of association conventions (association lines do not cross).

Thus, instead of:



become



we have



= taktakki

(cf. Egbokhare 1990:151-152)

Egbokhare (1990:152) objects to this procedure as being too powerful and motivated only by considerations of theoretical convenience. The present work agrees with Egbokhare's (1990) views. One crucial sense in which this is valid is that the mechanism has no way of ensuring that only the desired amount of phonetic material and no more is copied. In this sense, it is uneconomical as a strategy. Egbokhare (1990) suggests that affixes be piled up on the base as shown below:

3.1.3 Contributions of autosegmental phonology

In this study, the effective application of autosegmental phonology (a model of generative phonology) will contribute significantly in the establishment of a systematic theory of word formation and word structure for Ògbahù dialect. In other words, the aim of the study will be achieved by means of the autosegmental phonology, 'a direct descendant of the theory of generative phonology' Katamba (1993: 154). Autosegmental phonology will insightfully account for the Ògbahù lexicalisation processes. To the autosegmental phonologist, phonological representations consist of autonomous parallel tiers (levels) of representation. This theory will effectively account for the existence, operation and interpenetration of the different tiers in Ògbahù word formation and word structure. It will be established for instance, that the skeletal tier (CV-tier) could also serve morphological functions. Also, tone will be shown to be independent of consonants and vowels. Likewise, vowel harmony will be presented as an autonomous segment in Ògbahù. It is not a feature of a vowel or consonant, rather it is an independent segment, like a vowel or a consonant in Ògbahù morphology.

3.2 Morphology-phonology interface model

The interface model between phonology and morphology is employed in this study in the analysis of some Ògbahù lexicalisation processes like nominalisation, past tense word formation, grammatical negative word formation, compounding and ideophone formation. The reason is that it provides descriptive adequacy of the data under investigation. In these processes, it will be shown that in Ògbahù, word formation rules of the morphology are directly linked with the

phonological rules grouped together at different levels. The model is normally referred to as either lexical phonology or lexical morphology (LP), Katamba (1993:89). In this model, the lexicon is a core component of the grammar. It consists of individual properties of words and morphemes as well as regular word formation and phonological rules. Word formation rules of the morphology are directly linked with the phonological rules grouped together at different levels. Proponents of this model usually disagree as to the number of lexical strata or levels. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed among them that there should be a minimum number. Some (e.g. Halle and Mohanan (1985) have argued for a four-level morphology. Others (e.g. Rubach (1984), Kiparsky (1985) and Katamba (1989: 259) argue for a two-level structure. The present study is based on a two-level structure of morphology-phonology interface model. The reason for this adoption is for descriptive adequacy of the data. The lexicon has an internal structure organized hierarchically. This is because the rules apply first to the root, to the affixes and finally to the outermost affixes. Word formation (morphology) is achieved by the process of morpheme strata (levels) ordering (to be discussed under Chapter Five in section 5.1.1). The lexicon in addition to being the storehouse for the idiosyncratic properties of the words, also contains word-formation phonological rules. The lexicon contains unpredictable idiosyncratic, phonological, grammatical and lexical information about morphemes and lexical items. This information would be included in the lexicon because of their relevance to the application of semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological rules. Phonologically, the lexicon contains for example, speakers knowledge of how to pronounce words. The lexicon must contain a phonological representation in a distinctive feature matrix of the segments that constitute the word. Phonologically, the lexicon, also consists of

idiosyncratic information which borders on association of phonological elements at different phonological tiers. For instance, in a tone language, like Ọgbahù Ọ̀gbò, it obligatorily reveals the syllables, which are underlyingly linked with particular tones by regular associated principles. It also contains idiosyncracies that are peculiar to specific morphological and phonological rules of a language. For instance, it needs to specify that in Ọgbahù, the nominalizing prefix Á-/É- is a bound morpheme which also has a negative function. The following are some examples:

- nù ífē → nù ífē 'hear something' (affirmative)
 63a. á- + nù ífē → ánùífē (not to hear something)
 'hear' 'thing' 'disobedience' (negative)
- zù ikē → zùikē 'rest (v)' (affirmative)
 b. é – zù ikē → ézùikē 'restlessness' (negative)
 'rest' 'strength'
- gè n̄t̄j → gènt̄j 'listen' (affirmative)
 c. é- + gè n̄t̄j → égènt̄j (not to listen) 'stubbornness'
 'listen' 'ear' (negative)

From the lexicon, we know that in Ọgbahù, the harmonizing vowel prefix á- is affixed to the verb root whose vowel has the feature [-ATR], while the harmonizing vowel prefix é- is affixed to the verb root whose vowel has the feature [+ATR].

Generally, derivational morphemes form new words by changing the meaning of the base to which they are attached as in examples (63a) through (c) above, where affirmative word changes to negative. They also form new words by changing the word-class that

a base belongs to, as in examples (175a) through (d) where nouns are derived from verbs by the addition of the high tone prefix vowel i – to the verbs.

Endnotes to Chapter Three

1. μ here stands for a unit of language (dialect): CV basic stem.
The unit is defined in terms of combination of consonant and vowel which undergoes the process of reduplication.

CHAPTER FOUR

REDUPLICATION IN ÒGBAHÙ

4.0 Introduction

On the basis of formal characteristics, three types of reduplication are identified in Ògbahù. They include the following: full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication with prefixation, total VCV nominal reduplication and reduplication of ideophones.

4.1 Gerund formation

In Ògbahù, gerunds are formed by full /CI-/ CU-/ verbal reduplication with ò-/ò- vowel prefixation. The vowel of the basic CV verb stem is either a close or non-close vowel. In the gerund formation, the CV verbs with non-close vowels exhibit different manifestations from the CV verbs with close vowels. Hence, the discussion of gerund formation as a result of full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication with prefixation will be in two sections: 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

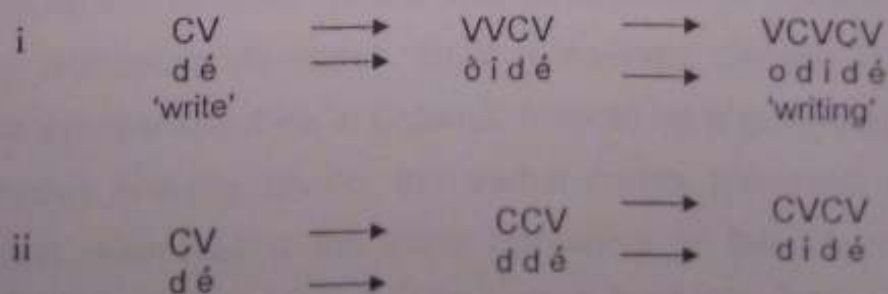
4.1.1 CV verbs with non-close vowels

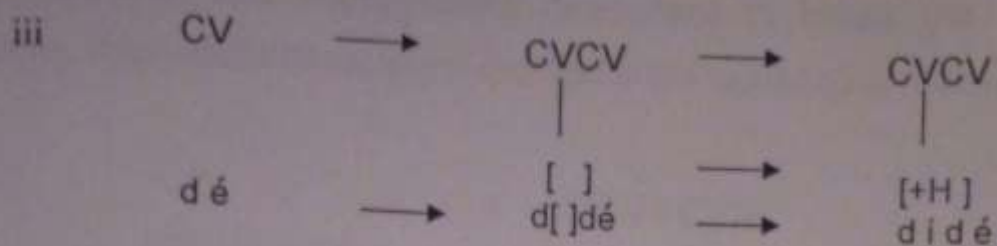
Below are examples of such verbs:

- | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|
| 64a. | -mé | 'do' |
| b. | òmúmé | 'doing' |
| 65a. | -má | 'know' |
| b. | òmúmá | 'knowing' |
| 66a. | -bè | 'cut' |
| b. | òbùbè | 'cutting' |

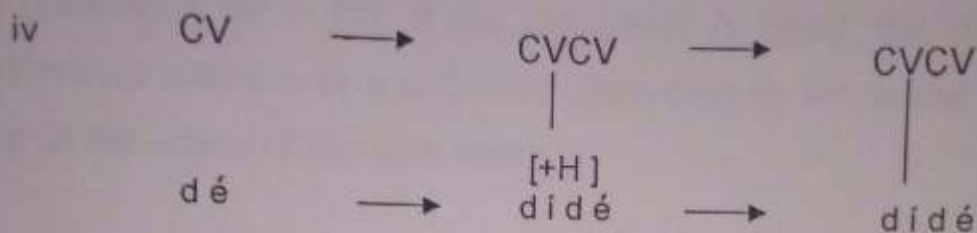
- 67a. -fè 'worship'
 b. òfùfè 'worshipping'
- 68a. -fò 'wash' (of leaves)
 b. òfùfò 'washing' (of leaves)
- 69a. -gá 'pass'
 b. ògígá 'passing'
- 70a. -chọ 'look for'
 b. òchịchọ 'looking for'
- 71a. -sè 'draw'
 b. òsìsè 'drawing'
- 72a. -kọ 'plant' (of cassava)
 b. òkịkọ 'planting' (of cassava)

Ọgbahù syllable structure does not permit consonant clusters. There are alternative analyses of the above Ọgbahù reduplication examples. These are:





and



In the alternative (i) above $CV \rightarrow VVCV$, word – initial vowel cluster is an unacceptable syllable structure in \dot{O} gbahù. In this analysis, it could be postulated that in the /CI- /CU-/ verbal reduplication, to form a gerund in \dot{O} gbahù, we have the ò or ò plus the vowel /U/ in a sequence as a unit morpheme. But, because there is word-initial vowel cluster constraint in \dot{O} gbahù, the C is inserted to break the vowel sequence. In \dot{O} gbahù, we must always have a prefix when we have these gerund forms. Nevertheless, this analysis is not plausible because if we tie the gerund prefix together with the /U/ and claim that they amount to some kind of morpheme, we will run into problems. We will not be able to defend that claim. The syllable structure will be violated because it is an unacceptable syllable structure in \dot{O} gbahù.

In the alternative (ii) above, CCV (consonant cluster) is an unacceptable syllable structure in \dot{O} gbahù. It could be argued that, in the reduplication process above, the verbal nouns (gerunds) are formed by first reduplicating the initial consonant of the CV verb phrase $CV \rightarrow CCV$, then a harmonizing close front vowel i or j is

inserted into this reduplicated consonant to break the consonant cluster that would have been created if the consonant is non-labial

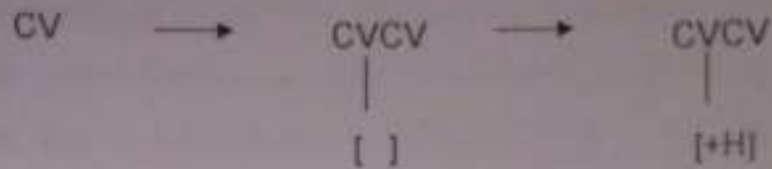
$$\begin{array}{c} C \quad C \quad V \\ [-labial][[-labial]] \end{array} \rightarrow CICV / C[-labial]CV$$

and also if the vowel of the CV verb stem is not a close back vowel *u* or *ɯ* (examples 69 – 72). If the consonant is labial, the close back harmonizing vowel *u* or *ɯ* is infixes according to the vowel harmony group of the vowel of the verb stem:

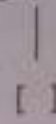
$$\begin{array}{c} C \quad C \quad V \\ [+labial][+labial] \end{array} \longrightarrow CuCV / CɯCV$$

The labiality of the consonant therefore appears to influence the choice of the reduplicating vowel, hence the choice of *u/ɯ* (examples 64 – 68) as opposed to *i/ɨ* (examples 69 – 72)¹. It must be noted also that the reduplicating vowel takes the tone of the verb stem vowel. Rule (ii) fails to account for the nature of the reduplicating vowel in *Ōgbahù*. This, in fact, is not the major problem. This work claims that there are two major problems here. First, it creates an impermissible structure that needs to be repaired by some other process. Also, contrary to the morphological structure of words and morphemes in *Ōgbahù* dialect, it proposes a morpheme that is underlyingly consonantal without a vocalic nucleus. This derives from our earlier claim that every morpheme including reduplicated morphemes has a structure. Such a structure cannot violate the Morpheme Structure Condition (MSC) of the dialect.

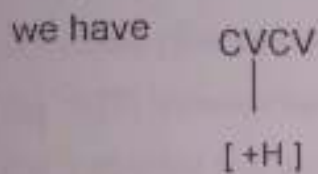
In the third alternative analysis (iii), we have:



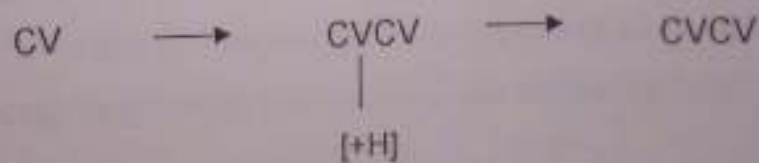
In this analysis, an identical consonant plus an unspecified vowel are prefixed to the basic CV verb stem, resulting in CVCV structure.



Following this, the unspecified vowel or a V- skeleton is inserted, i.e.



This analysis has a problem. One will need to extrinsically constrain the repetition of the vocalic material in the unspecified 'V' slot. This means that the unspecified vowel is then inserted by redundancy rules. This is not necessary in hypothesis (iv) represented below:



hence, our preference for alternative (iv). This alternative appears to have the best chance of accounting for the phenomenon.

In examples (64) through (72) above, the gerunds (i.e. the (b) examples) are formed by the reduplication of the monosyllabic CV verb and the affixation of the gerund prefix vowels ó-/ò- (depending

on the vowel harmony group of the stem vowel and on the labiality of the consonant). The non-close vowels (e, o, a, ɔ) of the verb root have as their reduplicating vowel the close back rounded vowel u/ʊ (depending on the vowel harmony group of the verb stem vowel) if in the CV sequence, the C (consonant) is a labial in the reduplication process (examples 64 – 68). But, if the consonant is non-labial, then the reduplicating vowel will be the close front unrounded vowel i/ɪ (depending on the vowel harmony group of the verb stem vowel) in the reduplicated form (examples 69- 72). Apart from the affixation of the gerund prefix vowel ɔ- /ɔ̄-, two phonological processes are involved in the above CV reduplication to form gerund in Ọgbahù. In the first instance, however, the prefix is 'CV-' with the 'V' partially specified phonetically as [+ high]. The phonological processes are:

- (a) ATR Vowel Harmony and
- (b) Labiality Harmony (or assimilation) between labial consonant and reduplicate vowel. Ọgbahù activates only these two phonological processes.

Other Ọgbò dialects, in addition, articulate a third phonological process:

- (c) Roundness Harmony between stem vowel and reduplicate vowel. The reduplicate prefix changes its vowel quality to [+ round] because the 'V' of the CV verb stem is prespecified as [+ round].

The above processes are further illustrated in the following table:

Table 1

	Ọgbahù	Other Ịgbò dialects
Reduplication	-bè; -sò; -gọ	-bè; -sò; -gọ
(a) ATR Harmony	ci-bè; ci-sò ; ci-gọ	ci-bè; ci-sò; ci-gọ
(b) Labiality Harmony	ci-bè; ci-sò ; ci-gọ	ci-bè; ci-sò ; ci-gọ
(c) Roundness Harmony	bùbè; –	bùbè; –
Consonant copy	– –	ci-bè; cù-sò; cù-gọ
	bìbè; sisò; gígọ	bìbè; sùsò; gùgọ

Usually, reduplication does not create an unacceptable syllable structure in the language.

4.1.2 CV verbs with close vowels

The CV verbs with close vowels include the following examples:

73. a. -tí 'beat '
 b. òtítí 'beating'
74. a. -chí 'rule/reign' (v)
 b. òch{chí 'ruling/reigning'
75. a. -bú 'carry'
 b. òbúbú 'carrying'
76. a. -sù 'pound'
 b. òsùsù 'pounding'
77. a. -zù 'train' (v.)
 b. òzùzù 'training'

78. a. -mù 'learn'
 b. òmùmù 'learning'
79. a. -fù 'miss/lose'
 b. -òfùfù 'missing /losing'
80. a. -gù 'name /lose voice'
 b. -ògùgù 'naming / losing of voice'
81. a. -sì 'smell' (v.)
 b. òsìsì 'smelling'

The above gerunds (examples (73b) to (81b) are formed in Ògbahù by completely reduplicating or doubling the verb stem of a monosyllabic CV structure and then adding a harmonising² low tone vowel prefix ò- or ò- to the reduplicated form. This is seeming evidence that reduplication is a level I and vowel prefixation a level II morphological process (cf. sections 5.1 and 5.2). This happens only when the vowel of the verb stem is the close front vowel i/í or the close back vowel u/ù irrespective of the tones. In these examples, the tones of the derivand (the form which results when a process or operation is applied, e.g. in English language, 'sailed', consists of the operand – the form to which it is applied (i.e. 'sail'), plus a new formative '-ed' which has been added or affixed to it, Matthews (1984: 124)) copy the tones of the operand. This process can be captured by the following rule:

C V → C VCV

C V → CVCV
 s i → s i s i + ò-(gerund prefix) → òsisi 'smelling' (gerund)
 'smell'

C V → CVCV
 b ú → b ú b ú + ò-(gerund prefix) → òbúbú 'carrying' (gerund)
 'carry'

This means in effect, that full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplications in Ògbahù are treated as instances of prefixation in this study. Examples of full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication discussed above are used to signal gerundive nominalisation from monosyllabic monomorphemic verbs. Furthermore, in Ògbahù, as highlighted earlier, the two types of full /CI-/CU-/verbal reduplication (i.e. sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2) are semantically identical, why then are they phonologically different? Some linguistically significant generalization could be lost if we do not relate them to each other. The /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication is achieved through doubling of the monosyllabic CV verb and subsequent prefixation of a harmonic vowel. The prefix vowel must be of the same vowel harmony set as the vowel of the basic CV verb. The fact remains that, by treating reduplication as an affixation process using our reduplication theory, reduplication is the affixation of a morpheme template (in the shape of a CV-skeleton) to a stem,

(e.g. b ú → b ú b ú + ò-(gerund prefix) òbúbú 'carrying' (gerund))
 C V → CVCV
 'carry'

The /CI-/CU-/verbal reduplication is a level I morphological process and it precedes the ò-/ò- vowel prefixation (a Level II morphological process) in Ògbahù gerund formation. Level I precedes Level II. In

other words, the ordering of levels determines the sequencing of morphological processes in word-formation. If this order is reversed, the derivand will be meaningless. This will then contradict the purpose for the whole analysis since morphology and semantic ideas are usually linked. Owolabi (1995: 104) states:

One of the most influential views in contemporary morphology is that morphologically complex words have heads (see Williams (1981), Scalise (1984) and Spencer (1991) among others). In morphology, the term 'head' is used essentially in the same way it is used in syntax where the head of a construction is what determines the syntactic category of that construction. Compare, for instance, the following remark by Scalise (1984: 96) about the head of a morphologically complex word:

The head assigns to the entire word its category by means of a mechanism referred to as percolation.

In agreement with contemporary views in morphology, therefore, the *ò-/ò-* prefix vowel is the head of the *Ògbahù* gerund (a morphologically complex word) since it assigns the category label, gerund nominal to the derivand. Hence the LHR³ is operational in *Ògbahù* gerund formation.

4.2 Total VCV nominal reduplication

In *Ògbahù*, the reduplicated VCV noun is used to express excessiveness/emphasis on the disyllabic noun being reduplicated. Here the entire noun is copied and the resultant word has different meanings.

Examples:

82a. ófé 'soup'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{H} & \\ \text{ófé} & \text{ófé} & \rightarrow & \text{óóófé} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ 'too much soup/full of soup/only soup'
soup soup

83a. égō 'money'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{IH} & \text{H} & \\ \text{égō} & \text{égō} & \rightarrow & \text{égēégō} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ 'too much money/full of money/only money'
money money

84a. ákwà 'cloth'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{L} & \text{H} & \\ \text{ákwà} & \text{ákwà} & \rightarrow & \text{ákwàákwá} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ 'too much clothes/full of clothes/
only clothes'
cloth cloth

85a. ọkà 'maize'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{L} & \text{H} & \\ \text{ọkà} & \text{ọkà} & \rightarrow & \text{ọkọọkà} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ 'too much of maize/full of maize/only maize'
maize maize

86a. àtọ 'three'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{L} & \\ \text{àtọ} & \text{àtọ} & \rightarrow & \text{àtáàtọ} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ '(only) three by three' (three emphasized)
three three

Example (86b) shows that meaning and translation may change with noun type. The numeral is emphasized when reduplicated

87a. isì 'head'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{H} & \\ \text{isì} & \text{isì} & \rightarrow & \text{isìisì} \\ \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & & \text{V}_2\text{V}_2 \end{array}$ 'full of heads/too big a head'.
head head

88a. ọnwụ 'death'

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{H H} \\ \text{ọnwụ ọnwụ} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{H H} \\ \text{ọnwụọnwụ} \end{matrix}$ 'too many deaths'
 $\begin{matrix} \text{V, V}_2 \\ \text{death death} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{V, V}_2 \\ \text{death death} \end{matrix}$

During the juxtaposition of the vowels V_1 and V_2 in the above totally reduplicated VCV nominal constructions, V_1 is assimilated by V_2 , thus $V_1V_2 \rightarrow V_2V_2$. Note that the close front and back vowels i/\bar{i} and u/\bar{u} respectively are not involved in the assimilation process (for instance, examples 162b and 164b in section 4.6), they rather form glides $i/\bar{i} \rightarrow [j]$, while $u/\bar{u} \rightarrow [w]$. It can also be argued here that the reduplication is not total, but partial. This is in the sense that in the VCV noun, only the VC sequence is reduplicated.

Hence:

$*VC + VCV \longrightarrow VCVCV$
 $\acute{e}g + \acute{e}g\bar{o} \rightarrow \acute{e}g\acute{e}g\bar{o}$

It could be argued at this juncture though, that the alternative that proposes 'VC', is not structure-preserving in this dialect in particular and Ìgbò language in general.

For a further explanation of the operation of Ọgbahù total VCV nominal reduplication process, consider the following sentences:

89a. àfè mí wù ófoófè.
 dress my be soup soup
 my dress is soup soup
 'My dress is messed up with a lot of soup/soaked in soup'

b. ófoófè júlù àfè mí.
 soup soup fill-IV (pst) dress my
 soup soup filled dress my
 'My dress was stained/messed up with much soup'

- 90a. Ónụ nwátà wù ófóófé.
mouth child be soupsoup
'The mouth of the child is dirty with much soup'.
- b. ófóófé wù ọnụ nwátà.
soupsoup be mouth child
'The mouth of the child is soiled with much soup'.
- 91a. àhụ ḿ wù égēégō.
body my be moneymoney
my body is moneymoney
'I am too rich'.
- b. égēégō nà-éwù n'òbòdó á.
moneymoney aux-E-reign in town this
moneymoney is reigning in this town
'Money is the most important thing in this town'.
- 92a. imụnọ Ādā wù ákwáákwá.
room Ada be cloth cloth
'Ada's room is littered with clothes'.
- b. ákwáákwá júlú ákpàtí á.
cloth cloth fill-IV(pst) box this
'This box was filled with clothes'.
- 93a. áfjá nīnē wù ọkọọkà táátà.
market all be (pst) maize maize today
'The market was literally filled/brimming with maize today'.
- b. ọkọọkà júlú áfjá táátà.
maizemaize fill-IV(pst) market today
maizemaize filled the market today
'The market was filled with maize today'.
- 94a. Ọ wù isiisi.
S/he be headhead
S/he is headhead
'S/he is skinny /S/he is all head'.

- b. Ísiisi kà ó wù.
 headhead that s/he be
 'S/he is skinny'.
- 95a. Ó nà-èbé ọnwùọnwù.
 S/he aux-E-cry death death
 'S/he is crying for urgent help/assistance'.
- b. Ọnwùọnwù kà ó nà-èbé.
 deathdeath that s/he aux-E-cry
 'S/he is crying for urgent help/assistance'.

Syntactically, the reduplicated noun can be in either subject position (as in the (b) examples above) or object position (as in the (a) examples above). It requires the native speaker's intuitive knowledge to understand the underlying meanings of the above sentences, which are different from their literal meanings. In fact, reduplication here functions metaphorically. It gives the entire utterance an idiomatic meaning. In other words, it adds a figurative or specialized meaning to the entire sentence in each of these examples. It also gives a sort of intensive meaning of the entire sentence. Similarly, in the English language, for instance, words (though not reduplicated words) can be used metaphorically, for example, 'he has a heart of stone'. The semantic implication of this sentence is that he has a heart like a stone, etc. In this sense, words are used to represent something different from the literal meaning. It requires the native speaker's intuition or linguistic competence for one to understand such figurative use of words/language.

The Yorùbá VCV nominal reduplication exhibits certain characteristics worth highlighting. Ogunkeye (2002:295) claims that in Yorùbá, VCV nominal reduplications are realized through the use of certain monomorphemic conjunctors. The meaning of the resultant forms differ depending on the particular conjunctor infixed between

the base and the 'copy' in the reduplication. The conjunctors are: *dé* 'reach', *mó* 'add', *rí* 'see', *kó* 'meet', *bá* 'meet/overtake', *kí* any/ whenever/ whichever etc.'

Examples

- 96a. $\text{om}\text{ọ} + \text{om}\text{ọ} \rightarrow \text{om}\text{ọd}\text{om}\text{ọ}$ (*dé* infix) 'from child to child'.
child child
- b. $\text{om}\text{ọ} + \text{om}\text{ọ} \rightarrow \text{om}\text{ọk}\text{om}\text{ọ}$ (*kí* infix) 'any /useless child'.
child child
- c. $\text{oş}\text{ù} + \text{oş}\text{ù} \rightarrow \text{oş}\text{ùm}\text{oş}\text{ù}$ (*mó* infix) 'from month to month'.
month month

These are some of her examples. Neither in *Ọgbahù* nor in *Ìgbò* as a whole are such distinctions observed. Examples of reduplication from other languages are cited to show that reduplication is a widespread phenomenon. It is universal, though language specific in manifestation.

4.3 Forms that do not reduplicate

It is interesting to discover that in *Ọgbahù*, lexical items/expressions abound, that are not subject to reduplication. These items cannot undergo reduplication, whether partial or full. Any attempt to subject them to reduplication will result in nonsense, meaningless or unacceptable forms. They would need to be marked [-Reduplication] in the lexicon.

Some of these include:

quantifiers (e.g. *nīnē* 'all')

adjectives (e.g. ọ́chá 'white')

interrogative (e.g. èvéeè 'where')

conjunctions (e.g. ká 'that')

preposition (e.g. ná 'on/in')

bound morphemes (e.g. – họ 'not')

complex or non-simple nouns (e.g. óninéányá 'hope/expectation')

Nominal modifiers such as, say, demonstratives:

97. à 'this'

and

98. nwáá 'that' (áhù for Standard Ìgbò) do not get reduplicated. Similarly, another nominal modifier, the quantifiers:

99. niinē 'all' (nīlē, /dúm for Standard Ìgbò) are never reduplicated. Likewise, the nominal modifier, the adjectives:

100. ọ́chá 'white'

101. ọ́má 'good/fine'

102. úkwú 'big'

103. ójī 'black'

do not undergo reduplication. Furthermore, it is observed in our investigation and analysis that interrogatives, for instance:

104. ọ́nyé? 'who?'

105. ánáá? 'how?'

106. gíní? 'what?'

107. èvéeè? 'where?' (èbéeè for Standard Ìgbò)

do not get reduplicated for the utterance to be acceptable or meaningful in the dialect/language. One would want to also say that in Ògbahù the only preposition, i.e:

108. ná 'on/ in/during/without' does not undergo reduplication.

Similarly, the Ògbahù conjunctions:

109. nà 'and/that'

110. n̄t̄à 'then / instead'

111. t̄úpú 'before'

112. kámà 'instead of/rather than'

113. mà 'whether/if'

114. kà '(so) that'

are never reduplicated. Bound morphemes do not get reduplicated in isolation in Ògbahù. Only free morphemes reduplicate in isolation. Examples of the bound morphemes are the negative morpheme:

115. họ 'not' (-ghj in Standard Ìgbò)

and the past tense morpheme:

116. – IV (-rV in Standard Ìgbò)

Finally, some complex or non-simple nouns do not reduplicate while some reduplicate in Ògbahù. The non-simple nouns that can reduplicate include the following:

	N ₁		N ₂		
117.	úgbọ́ 'vehicle'	+	àṅì 'land (low)'	→	úgbọ́àṅì 'car/lorry'
118.	úgbọ́ 'vehicle'	+	énū 'sky (up)'	→	úgbọ́énū 'aeroplane'
119.	únọ́ 'house'	+	àṅì 'land (low)'	→	únọ́àṅì 'low building/bungalow'
120.	únọ́ 'house'	+	énū 'sky(up)'	→	únọ́énū 'storey building'

121. ń̀ǹ + áfíá → ń̀ǹáfíā 'market place/stall'
 'house' 'market'

In each of the examples (117) through (121) above, the two nouns (in isolation) have some semantic correlation with their resultant compound noun. Such compound nouns can be reduplicated just like the total VCV nominal reduplication discussed earlier in section 4.2. Examples of the reduplicated compound nouns are:

	Compound noun		Reduplicated compound noun
117i	ń̀gb̀ànì 'car/lorry'	→	ń̀gb̀ànìń̀gb̀ànì 'car/lorry' (emphasized)
118i	ń̀gb̀énū 'aeroplane'	→	ń̀gb̀énūń̀gb̀énū 'aeroplane' (emphasized)
119i	ń̀ǹànì 'bungalow'	→	ń̀ǹànìń̀ǹànì 'bungalow' (emphasized)
120i	ń̀ǹénū 'storey building'	→	ń̀ǹénūń̀ǹénū 'storey building' (emphasized)
121i	ń̀ǹáfíā 'market place/stall'	→	ń̀ǹáfíāń̀ǹáfíā 'market place/stall' (emphasized)

The above compound nouns, examples (117i) through (121i) are reduplicated to give emphatic meaning. On the contrary, there are non-simple nouns which cannot be reduplicated. These include the following:

121. ụnọ + áfiá → ụnọáfiá 'market place/stall'
 'house' 'market'

In each of the examples (117) through (121) above, the two nouns (in isolation) have some semantic correlation with their resultant compound noun. Such compound nouns can be reduplicated just like the total VCV nominal reduplication discussed earlier in section 4.2. Examples of the reduplicated compound nouns are:

Compound noun	Reduplicated compound noun
117i ụgbọ̀ànị 'car/lorry'	→ ụgbọ̀ànịụgbọ̀ànị 'car/lorry' (emphasized)
118i ụgbọ̀énū 'aeroplane'	→ ụgbọ̀énūụgbọ̀énū 'aeroplane' (emphasized)
119i ụnọ̀ànị 'bungalow'	→ ụnọ̀ànịụnọ̀ànị 'bungalow' (emphasized)
120i ụnọ̀énū 'storey building'	→ ụnọ̀énūụnọ̀énū 'storey building' (emphasized)
121i ụnọ̀áfiá 'market place/stall'	→ ụnọ̀áfiáụnọ̀áfiá 'market place/stall' (emphasized)

The above compound nouns, examples (117i) through (121i) are reduplicated to give emphatic meaning. On the contrary, there are non-simple nouns which cannot be reduplicated. These include the following:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| | N ₁ | | N ₂ | | |
| 122. | òniné +
'looking'
(gerund) | | ányá
'eye'
(noun) | → | òninéányá 'hope/expectation' |
| 123. | áfó +
'stomach' | | ńjọ
'ugliness' | → | áfọńjọ 'wickedness' |
| 124. | ányá +
'eye' | | ùfú
'pain (noun)' | → | ányáùfú 'jealousy' |
| | inf. pref. verb | | prep | | noun |
| 125. | + fù 'see' | | + ná 'at' + ányá 'eye' | → | fúnáányá 'love' |
| 126. | + ká 'surpass' | | + ná 'at' + ányá 'eye' | → | kánáányá 'bravery' |
| 127. | + tú 'throw' | | + ná 'at' + ányá 'eye' | → | túnáányá 'surprise (n.)' |

These nouns have idiomatic connotations. One striking point is the fact that the base forms really have no semantic correlation with the surface forms. Application of reduplication to these nouns would result in unacceptable, meaningless forms. This contradicts the purpose for the whole analysis in particular and theory in general. This is because morphology and semantic ideas are usually linked. There is a semantic side to morphology usually. From the presentation thus far, a conclusion could be drawn. That in effect, is that idiosyncratic non-simple/complex verbal nouns⁴ are not subject to reduplication, while other verbal nouns (simple/ non-simple) undergo reduplication in Ògbahù.

4.4 Meaning of reduplication

Consider the following examples of full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication in Igbò language:

- 128.a. -bè 'cut'
b. òbùbè 'cutting' (gerund) (Ògbahù dialect)
c. òbùbè 'cutting' (gerund) (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri dialects)
d. ibè òbùbè 'the act of cutting' (Ògbahù)
e. òbùbé 'the act of cutting' (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)

129. a. -fè 'worship'
b. òfùfè 'worshipping' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
c. òfùfè 'worshipping' (gerund) (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)
d. ifè òfùfè 'the act of worshipping' (Ògbahù)
e. òfùfé 'the act of worshipping' (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)

130. a. -fọ 'wash' (of leaves)
b. òfùfọ 'washing' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
c. òfùfọ 'washing' (gerund) (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)
d. ifọ òfùfọ 'the act of washing' (Ògbahù)
e. òfùfọ 'the act of washing' (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)

131. a. -ta 'chew'
b. òtítá 'chewing' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
c. òtítá 'chewing' (gerund) (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)
d. itá òtítá 'the act of chewing' (Ògbahù)
e. òtítá 'the act of chewing' (Ètiti, Òlù and Òwèrri)

132. a. -sè 'draw'
 b. òsìsè 'drawing' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òsìsè 'drawing (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
 d. ìsè òsìsè 'the act of drawing' (Ògbahù)
 e. òsìsè 'the act of drawing' (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
133. a. -kò 'plant (of tubers)
 b. òk|kò 'planting' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òkùkò 'planting (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
 d. |kò òk|kò 'the act of planting' (Ògbahù)
 e. òkùkó 'the act of planting' (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
134. a. -tò 'praise'
 b. òtítò 'praising (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òtùtò 'praising' (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
 d. ìtò òtítò 'the act of praising' (Ògbahù)
 e. òtùtó 'the act of praising' (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
135. a. -tí 'beat'
 b. òtítí 'beating' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òtítí 'beating (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)
 d. ìtí òtítí 'the act of beating' (Ògbahù)
 e. òtítí 'the act of beaing' (Ètítì, Òlù and Òwèrri)

136. a. -bi 'live' (v.)
 b. óbìbí 'living' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. óbìbí 'living' (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
 d. ìbí óbìbí 'the act of living' (Ògbahù)
 e. óbìbí 'the act of living' (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
137. a. -bù 'carry'
 b. òbúbù 'carrying' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òbúbù 'carrying' (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
 d. ìbù òbúbù 'the act of carrying' (Ògbahù)
 e. òbúbù 'the act of carrying' (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
138. a. -zù 'train' (v.)
 b. òzùzù 'training' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òzùzù 'training' (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
 d. ìzù òzùzù 'the act of training' (Ògbahù)
 e. òzùzù 'the act of training' (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
139. a. -chí 'rule/reign'
 b. òchìchì 'ruling/reigning' (gerund) (Ògbahù)
 c. òchìchì 'ruling/reigning' (gerund) (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)
 d. [chì] òchìchì 'the act of ruling/reigning' (Ògbahù)
 e. òchìchì 'the act of ruling/reigning' (Ètítì, Òlú and Òwèrri)

140a. *ibè òbùbè* (from - *bè*) *dì mímā.* } In Ògbahù, the infinitive form
 focus } *ibè* preceding the gerund
 cutting } *òbùbè* is the focus marker.
 'The act of cutting is good'. be good

b. *òbùbé* *dì mímā.* } In Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri, the high
 focus } tone on the last syllable of the
 cutting be good } derivand, *òbùbé* is the focus
 'The act of cutting is good'. } marker

141a. *ísò òsìsò* (from-*sò*) *ó nà-ésò* *dì míkpa.* } In Ògbahù, the
 focus } infinitive form gerund
 following } *òsìsò* is the focus
 'The act of following is important'. } marker
 s/he aux-E-follow be important

b. *òsùsò* (from-*sò*) *ó nà-ésò* *dì míkpa.* } In Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri,
 focus } the high tone on the last
 following } syllable of the derivand,
 'The act of following is important'. } *òsùsò* is the focus marker.
 s/he aux-E-follow be important

Examples (128) through (139) above illustrate instances of both /CI-/CU-/ and total /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication in Ògbahù as well as some other Ìgbò dialects for comparative analysis. Examples (128) to (134) represent instances of /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication while (135) to (139) are cases of total /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication. The (a)'s are the basic -CV monosyllabic monomorphemic verbs i.e. the operand. The present investigation reveals that it is the monosyllabic monomorphemic verb that can undergo this type of reduplication in Ògbahù. The (b)'s are the gerundive nominals formed from the

in the Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri examples. This makes the Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri examples unique in this sense. Though the Ògbahù and the Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri examples are semantically identical, they are phonologically different. In fact this makes the Ètiti, Òlú and Òwèrri examples more productive. Our claim is that reduplication interacts with gerundivization in form and meaning.

In Ògbahù total non-verbal reduplication,
as in:

- | | | |
|-------|------------|--|
| 145a. | dàálú | 'thank you (sg.) /thanks' |
| b. | dàálúdàálú | 'thank you (sg.) very much /thanks thanks' |
| c. | bjà | 'you(sg.) come/come' |
| d. | bjàbjà | 'you (sg.) come (really)/come come' |

reduplication expresses the intensive meaning of the basic word in each example above. There is no surface morphological segment indicating the intensive meaning in the above utterances, rather the reduplication introduces the meaning of intensive through the native speakers competence of the dialect/language. On rare occasions, the basic lexical form could be tripled or more (rather than doubled) in discourse, for emphatic meaning. In such instances, the derivand is formed through the process of repetition and not reduplication (a morphological process). Examples of repetition of the basic word (145a) for instance, are:

- | | |
|---------|----------------------|
| 145ai. | dàálúdàálúdàálú |
| 145aii. | dàálúdàálúdàálúdàálú |

There is really no obvious marker distinguishing the reduplication (a morphological process) from the repetition (a syntactic process). The

distinction is arrived at through the linguistic competence of the native speaker.

Reduplication in Ọgbahù also serves to signal the distributive meaning of the basic non-verbal word as in:

- 146 a. ọ́fú 'one'
 L-H
- b. ọ́fúọ́fú 'every one/one by one'
 L-HD-D
- c. àtọ́ 'three'
 L-H
- d. àtáàtọ́ 'every three/three by three'
 L-HD-D

The distributive function of reduplication in Ọgbahù is shown in the following sentences:

146b₂. wèlínù òlómá ọ́fúọ́fú.
 take you(pl.) orange oneone
 'You (pl.) take one orange each/one after the other'.

146b₃ bǎnù ọ́fúọ́fú
 come you(pl.) oneone
 'You (pl.) come one by one/one after the other'.

146d₂ Wèlínù òlómá àtáàtọ́.
 take you (pl.) orange three three
 'You(pl.) take three oranges each'.

146d₃ bǎnù àtáàtọ́.
 come you(pl.) three three
 'You (pl.) come three by three'.

In the above examples (146a) through (146d), the derivand of a reduplicated L-H sequence is L-HD-D and not L-HL-H. The reason is that the L (low tone) of the duplicate copy is raised to D (downstep tone), apparently influenced by the preceding H (high tone) of the basic word. Subsequently, the last H (high tone) of the duplicate copy is reduced to D because it has to remain on the same level with the preceding tone. The above complete CVC numeral reduplication is used to form words whose meanings are distributive in Ògbahù.

4.5 Reduplication of Ideophones

The expressions ideophones and onomatopoeia have been used interchangeably by scholars. Johnson (1921) refers to the concepts involved as onomatopoeia. Awoyale (1981, 1983 and 1989), Egbokhare (1998) and Rowlands (1970), among others, see them as ideophones. A scholar like Johnson (1921) sees ideophones as adverbs. Doke (1935:118, from Egbokhare 1998) claims that the ideophone is a 'vivid representation of an idea in sound'.

In Ògbahù, ideophones are words used to vividly express and describe actions, processes or states in sound. They are bimoraic. Consider the following Ògbahù ideophones:

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---|
| 147. | túmì
CVŃ | } descriptive pictural words for sounds emanating from the beating of some particular concrete inanimate objects, depending on the object being beaten. |
| 148. | kómí
CVŃ | |
| 149. | dúmì
CVŃ | |
| 150. | gbúmì
CVŃ | |

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|
| 151. | k i t i
CVCV | } descriptive pictural words expressing the manner of an action in sound vividly. |
| 152. | wà l à
CVCV | |
| 153. | y ò ò
CVV | } pictural words describing the manner of some movement in sound. |
| 154. | z i i
CVV | |
| 155. | f à à
CVV | |
| 156. | d i i
CVV | |
| 157. | mò ò
CVV | |
| 158. | wò ò
CVV | |

Examples (147) through (150) above have the syllable structure CVN̄, (151) and (152) are of the CVCV syllable structure, while (153) to (158) are of the syllable structure CVV. The first set of words examples (147) through (150) describe the sound of some object being beaten. The coinage of each word depends on the material/object that is being beaten. They have a peculiar syllable structure which in the disyllabic word allows the syllabic nasal rather than a vowel to end the word. The second set of words, examples (151) and (152), express the manner of an action in sound vividly. Similarly, the last set of words, examples (153) through (158) describe the manner of some movement in sound.

This study is of the view that these ideophones could be described as belonging to a peculiar class of adverbs of manner. Examples (147) to (152) can undergo full reduplication in which the whole CVN̄/CVCV word fully reduplicate depending on the intensity of

the meaning being conveyed. Full reduplications of these words serve to express an intensive meaning and frequency of each basic word. If the basic ideophone is copied more than once, the derivand is viewed as a case of repetition rather than reduplication. This criterion is arrived at through the linguistic competence of the native speaker. Repetition further serves to express a more intensive/emphatic meaning and frequency of the basic word.

Examples of ideophone reduplication:

159. Ó nà-àkú údú gbúmgbúrn.
 s/he aux-E-Beat a type of musical instrument (heavy pot) *gbúmgbúrn*

s/he is beating the heavy musical pot with intense, frequent and heavy sound reminiscent of the beating of a drum.

'He/She is beating *údú* (resulting in) intense frequent heavy sound like the beating of a drum'.

160. Nwá nà-àkú ógené kòríkòrí.
 they aux-E-Beat a type of musical instrument (like a bottle) *kòríkòrí*

they are beating a light bottle – like musical instrument with intense, frequent and light sound reminiscent of the beating of a bottle.

'They are beating *ógené* (resulting in) intense, frequent, light sound like the beating of a bottle'.

Actually, all the ideophones in examples (147) to (158) could be said to have idiomatic connotation. For each of them, reduplication incorporates the meaning of frequency and intensity into the basic word. But, while examples (147) to (152) can be fully reduplicated, examples (153) to (158) can only undergo partial reduplication in which only the first syllable CV of the CVV word is copied:

- 153b. yòò → yòyòò
 154b. zii → zizii
 155b. fàà → fàfàà
 156b. dii → didii
 157b. mòò → mòmòò
 158b. wòò → wówòò

This study postulates some explanation as to why examples (153b) to (158b) manifest a seemingly partial reduplication different from the full reduplication of other ideophones. The view of the present study is that these forms are underlyingly monosyllabic. They have their vowels lengthened in order to meet the condition that ideophones must be minimally bi-moraic in Ọgbahù. They are however monosyllabic and since reduplication results at the syllabic level, only one syllable is reduplicated for them. This particular type of partial reduplication whereby CVV → CVCVV is also attested in Maori (Katamba 1993:183):

161a. nui 'big' → nunui 'big' (pl.)

b. moe 'sleep' close the eyes' → momoe 'keep the eyes closed, sleep together'

4.6 Reduplication and phonological processes in Ọgbahù

Two of the prominent phonological processes that manifest as a result of reduplication will be discussed in this section. These are glide formation and contour tone formation.

4.6.1 Glide formation and reduplication

Glides occur as a result of some total VCV nominal reduplication processes (in rapid speech), depending on which vowels are juxtaposed at the boundary of the resultant reduplicated form.

Glide formation does not seem to operate in the full /CI-/ verbal reduplication processes in Ọgbahù. Below are some examples of glide formation processes in total VCV nominal reduplication:

162a. isi 'head'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{H} & \\ \text{isi} & + & \text{isi} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{HH} & & \\ \text{isiisi} & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} & & \\ \text{isyisi} & & \end{array}$ 'too big a head'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & \\ \text{head} & \text{head} & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1\text{V}_2 & & \\ & & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Glide} & & \end{array}$

163a. iké 'strength/force'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{H} & \\ \text{iké} & + & \text{iké} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{HH} & & \\ \text{ikiiké} & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} & & \\ \text{ikyiké} & & \end{array}$ 'too much strength /force/energy'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & \\ \text{strength} & \text{strength} & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1\text{V}_2 & & \\ & & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Glide} & & \end{array}$

164a. ọlù 'work'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{H} & \\ \text{ọlù} & + & \text{ọlù} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{HH} & & \\ \text{ọlùọlù} & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} & & \\ \text{ọlwọlù} & & \end{array}$ 'too much work'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & \\ \text{work} & \text{work} & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1\text{V}_2 & & \\ & & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Glide} & & \end{array}$

165a. áfù 'half penny'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{L} & \text{H} & \\ \text{áfù} & + & \text{áfù} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{LH} & & \\ \text{áfùáfù} & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} & & \\ \text{áfwáfù} & & \end{array}$ 'half penny half penny'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & \\ \text{halfpenny} & \text{halfpenny} & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1\text{V}_2 & & \\ & & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Glide} & & \end{array}$ $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{half penny} \\ \text{emphasized} \end{array} \right)$

166a. ùdé 'pomade'

b. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{H} & \text{L} & \\ \text{ùdé} & + & \text{ùdé} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{HL} & & \\ \text{ùdùùdé} & & \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} & & \\ \text{ùdwùdé} & & \end{array}$ 'a lot of/much pomade'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1 & \text{V}_2 & \\ \text{pomade} & \text{pomade} & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V}_1\text{V}_2 & & \\ & & \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Glide} & & \end{array}$ $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{pomade} \\ \text{emphasized} \end{array} \right)$

167a. òfù 'one'

b. $\begin{matrix} H & L \\ \text{òfù} & + & \text{òfù} \\ V_1 & & V_2 \\ \text{one} & & \text{one} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} HL \\ \text{òfùòfù} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{òfwòfù} \\ \text{Glide} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{'one by one'} \\ \text{one} \\ \text{emphasized} \end{matrix}$

168a. àsí 'lie(n)'

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{àsí} & + & \text{àsí} \\ V_1 & & V_2 \\ \text{lie(n.)} & & \text{lie (n.)} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} HL \\ \text{àsíàsí} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{àsyàsí} \\ \text{Glide} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{'much lies'} \\ \text{lies} \\ \text{emphasized} \end{matrix}$

In the above examples, we have complete regressive assimilation between V_1 and V_2 such that in the reduplicated form V_1V_2 becomes V_2V_2 (examples (163) and (166)). This occurs only when the V_1 is a non-close vowel and V_2 is one of the close front and back vowels i/i or u/u , in slow speech. But in rapid speech, the assimilated V_1 forms a glide. Furthermore, if the V_1 is a close vowel i/i or u/u , in a V_1V_2 juxtaposition in the reduplicated form, vowel assimilation does not occur, but rather glide formation of the close V_1 occurs in the reduplicated form in rapid speech (examples 164, 165, 167, 168).

4.6.2 Contour tone formation and reduplication

In total VCV nominal reduplication in Ògbahù, contour tones are realized in the V_1V_2 juxtaposed sequence of the reduplicated noun. V_1 forms a contour tone with V_2 , thus is an LH sequence, we have the contour v (rising tone) in the reduplicated form. Similarly, in an HL sequence, we have the contour x (falling tone) in the reduplicated form. These are exemplified in examples (169) through (171) below:

169. L H
 ákwá + ákwá → ákwáákwá → ákwáákwá 'too many clothes'
 v₁ v₂ v₁v₂ [FI] (clothes emphasized)

170. L H
 ókà + ókà → ókòókà → ókòókà 'a lot of maize'
 v₁ v₂ v₁v₂ [FI] (maize emphasized)

171. H L
 àtò + àtò → àtáàtò → àtáàtò 'three by three'
 v₁ v₂ v₁v₂ [FL] (three emphasized)

Endnotes to Chapter Four

1. This is contrary to what obtains in Yorùbá and Emai Ci-reduplication, for instance. In Yorùbá and Emai, though the consonant of the duplicate is identical with the consonant of the base, the vowel is not. Also, the reduplicating vowel is constant, i.e. the close front unrounded vowel [i] remains a high tone even after the reduplication exercise irrespective of the tone of the vowel of the operand.

Yorùbá examples (to form gerundive):

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---|------------|
| a. | mù | → | mímu |
| | 'drink' | | 'drinking' |
| b. | gbé | → | gbígbé |
| | 'carry' | | 'carrying' |
| c. | bá | → | bíbá |
| | 'meet' | | 'meeting' |
| d. | rò | → | rírò |
| | 'think' | | 'thinking' |

Emai examples (to form gerund):

- | | | |
|----|--------|--------|
| a. | tà | títà |
| | 'say' | 'said' |
| b. | gbé | gbígbé |
| | 'beat' | 'beat' |

One could also look at the possibility of comparing Ògbahù /CI-/ verbal reduplication as an insertion process by looking at something like the English bus → buses. The morpheme '-es' is suffixed to the noun 'bus' to form plural. Why is it that in English, you have 'es' as plural sometimes and you have single 's' as plural marker sometimes? Some analyses have proposed that it is because English does not allow the sequence of identical consonants, therefore you then have to break up the sequence of these voiceless fricatives by inserting an 'e'.

2. In Yorùbá and Emai Ci-reduplication, there is no gerundive prefix vowel unlike Ògbahù and other Ìgbò dialects, including the Standard Ìgbò.

3. When the head of a morphologically complex word is on the right hand side of the word, the Righthand Head Rule (RHR) applies. On the other hand, if the head is on the left hand side of the word, the Lefthand Head Rule (LHR) applies.

4. Verbal nouns are nouns formed from verbs or verb phrases. The term verbal noun has been used by earlier Ìgbò scholars of grammar like Green and Igwe 1963; Williamson 1972 and Emenanjo 1978.

CHAPTER FIVE

PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURING OF PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES IN ÒGBAHÙ

5.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the phonological and morphological structuring of (non-reduplicating) affixes in Ògbahù. Words that comprise affixes and stems are referred to as derived lexical items. The next section will characterize non-derived lexical items in the dialect in order to better situate the discussion of derivation of words in Ògbahù and the levels at which these derivations take place.

5.1 Underived lexical items

Underived lexical items are single (free) morphemes which 'appear in the lexicon with the phonological, grammatical and semantic properties with which they surface' (Katamba 1989:259). Ògbahù examples include the following:

- 172 a. ázù 'fish'
b. ònù 'mouth'
c. òné 'mother'
d. mmánù 'oil'
e. ónú 'neck'

No word-formation rule of any kind is applied to produce the above words. The same phonological, grammatical and semantic properties which they have underlyingly in the lexicon are what they possess in the surface structure. The implication therefore, is that the meaning,

pronunciation and grammatical properties of these words should be listed in the lexicon.

5.1.1 Level ordering

Level ordering is a hypothesis derived from Siegel's (1974) 'ordering hypothesis'. The ordering hypothesis was then later incorporated into LP alongside stratal phonology. In the SPE model, the characteristics and manifestations of affixes are viewed from the perspective of boundary length. But, in LP, these are described in terms of level ordering (or the ordering of strata). Affixes are attached at different strata in the lexicon. Based on the affix ordering generalization, phonology or morphology of Level I precedes that of Level II. The possible number of levels differs from language to language and also from one lexical concatenation to the other even within a single language. The affix ordering generalization of Ọgbahù shows that Level I affixes are attached before any Level II affix. This is evidenced in the /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication with ò-/ò- vowel prefixation to form gerund, examples (64) to (81) of Chapter Four. The /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication in gerund formation is a level I morphological process and has been extensively treated in Chapter Four. A close study of our data reveals that LI affixes are nearer the verb root than LII affixes with regards to function and position.

5.2 Level II

In morphology-phonology interface model, the word could be likened to an onion. The root of the word is the core and level I is the inner layer, level II is the outer layer and post-lexical stratum is the skin on the outside. Unlike the underived forms listed in section 5.1, Level II consists of bound morphemes, which do not occur

independently, but are attached to other forms in order to be meaningful. In this section, we shall discuss Level II bound morphemes. They either function as past tense marker, or verbal nominal markers or negation markers, etc. in Ọgbahù.

A linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form is a simple form or morpheme (Bloomfield, 1933:161). Morphemes which can occur as separate words are referred to as free forms while those which cannot occur (i.e. never occur alone) are called bound forms. Crystal (1991:224) points out that some morphemes are realized by more than one morph according to their position in a word or sentence. Such alternative morphs are called allomorphs or morpheme variants. Where there is no formal feature to mark a morpheme, the morpheme is generally said to have a zero morph, which is symbolized as \emptyset . The zero morph is exemplified in the reduplication examples (145b) and (145d), repeated as 145bi and (145di) below:

145bi. dàálùdàálù 'thank you(sg.) very much/thanks thanks'

145di. bíá|á 'you(sg.) come (really) come come'

The basic word for (145bi) is *dàálù* 'thank you(sg.)/thanks', while the basic word for (145di) is *bíá* 'come'. In each of the examples (145bi) and (145di) reduplication examples, reduplication expresses the intensive meaning of the basic word. There is no surface morphological segment indicating the intensive meaning in the above utterances, rather the reduplication introduces the meaning of intensive through the native speakers competence of the dialect/language. The empty morph is set up to handle cases where a formal feature in a word cannot be allocated to any morpheme, and the portmanteau morph handles cases where a formal feature can be

allocated to more than one morpheme. These concepts hold exactly the same meaning in LP analysis.

In Ògbahù, three classes of affixes in this level are highlighted. We arrive at these classes on the basis of their phonological, morphological and semantic properties. In SPE, an observation is made concerning the interface between phonology and morphology. The SPE deals with the differences in the behaviour of affixes in terms of boundary length. Siegel (1978) uses the terms Class I and Class II respectively to refer to these, distinguishing them in terms of their phonological and morphological properties. But, in the present study, the criteria for level affix or level ordering are based on the hierarchically organized strata or levels defined on the basis of the properties of Ògbahù affixes under investigation.

5.2.1 Class I of Level II

This class contains harmonizing vowel prefixes /i-/ [-;é-/à-];ó-/ò-;ù-/û-;ó-/ò-;ù-/û-/ and the homorganic syllabic nasal prefix /ŋ-/ . When class I affixes are attached to the verb base by the morphological rule of prefixation, nouns are derived. The criteria for the classification or categorization of the derived nouns in this study will be based on the kind of processes observed in the data under study, as will be shown in the course of the discussion.

5.2.2 Classification of derived nouns

Derived nouns are classified in this study on the basis of their syntactic/morphological and/or semantic behaviours. From the available data, it is observed that the derived nouns have been formed from words or groups of words which themselves belong to other grammatical classes which include verb phrases, nominal

phrases and sentences. Derived nouns in Ógbahù are classified as follows:

- a. Verbal nouns (formed from verbs or verb phrases).
- b. Nouns formed from nominal phrases.
- c. Nouns formed from sentences.

However, the discussion in this work will be limited to only verbal nouns and nouns formed from nominal phrases as sentential nouns fall outside the scope of morphology-phonology interface model of the present study.

5.2.2.1 Nominalization

Derived nouns formed from verb phrases (verbal nouns) appear to be more in number, compared with derived nouns formed from other grammatical structures. This is not surprising, though, due to the centrality of the verb in language. Verbal nouns are formed by various morphological/phonological/syntactic/semantic processes. They may be formed by the addition of the following prefixes to the verb phrases:

- i. á-; é-; í-; ð-; ó-; ô-; Ñ-
- ii. ò-; ò̃-; ù-; ú-

Notice that all the prefixes in (i) have a high tone. On the contrary, all the prefixes in (ii) have a low tone. After the addition of these prefix morphemes to verb phrases, the tone of the prefix morpheme usually has impact on the neighbouring tones in the derived noun. Thus, the tones may change in the context of use. There is also a change in the meaning of the resultant derived noun, as will be shown in the discussion that follows.

5.2.21a Verbal nouns with high-tone prefixes

Vowels á- and é- prefixes have a negative effect on certain verb phrases in the nominal derivational process. In this case, a harmonizing high tone vowel á- or é is prefixed to verb-complement constructions to produce nouns with negative connotation. By this is meant that the derived meaning of the verbal noun is the negation of the meaning of the verb. The prefix vowel agrees with the verb stem vowel in terms of vowel harmony (vowel assimilation). The morphological process of prefixation triggers off the phonological process of vowel assimilation. The nominalizing prefix has a negative quality. Below are some examples:

- 173a. á- + -nù ífé → ânūīfē 'disobedience'
 hear thing
- b. á- + -sò ányá → ásõānyā 'disrespect'
 respect/fear eye
- c. é- + -gè ñtj → égérítj 'non-attentiveness'
 listen ear
- d. é- + -zù iké → ézúiké 'restlessness'
 rest strength

Also, the vowels á-; é-; ó- are prefixed to verb phrases of the $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ structure (where C_1V_1 is the verb stem and C_2V_2 is the -IV nominalization suffix) to derive verbal nouns. Some examples of nouns derived through this process include:

	C_1V_1	C_2V_2	Verb stem	Derived noun
174a.	á- + ká	lá	-ká	ákálá 'mark (n.)'
	mark(v.)-nom.suf.			

- b. e- + kwólò kwò ékwólò 'envy (n.)'
envy(v)-nom.suf.
- c. ó- + ghè lè -ghè óghèlè 'opening'
be opened-nom. suf.

The above derivation will proceed thus:

Lexicon	ghe	ghe
Level I (suffixation)	ghe - ɪ	ghe - ɪ
Vowel harmony	gheli	gheli
Level II (prefixation)	o - gheli	-
Vowel harmony	o - gheli	-
Assimilation	o - ghele	-
Surface representation	oghele	gheli

In the above derivation exercise, *-ghè* is the verb stem. The first stage of the nominal derivation is the *-ɪ* suffixation, a Level I morphological process. This triggers the phonological process of ATR vowel harmony, whereby the vowel of *-ɪ* becomes *ɪ* in order to agree with the [+ATR] vowel harmony group of vowel *è* of the verb stem. The next stage of the derivation is the *ó-* vowel prefixation which is a Level II morphological process. This in turn triggers the phonological process of ATR vowel harmony, whereby *óghèlɪ* becomes *óghèli*, because vowel *ó* belongs to the opposite vowel harmony group [-ATR]. Vowel assimilation, the last stage of the derivation follows immediately. Vowel *è* of the verb stem assimilates vowel *ɪ* of the suffix. Hence *óghèlɪ* becomes *óghèlè* 'opening'. This order of derivation is preferred to any other. The reason for this preference is that a particular derivation is registered and another does not occur as a form in the dialect. For instance, *ghèlɪ* 'opened' can be meaningful, but not **óghè*.

In the derived nouns, the nominal prefix vowel \acute{o} - is the head since it is category-changing, changing verbs to nouns. In other words, the LHR is applicable in the nominal derivation.

Assimilation is a level II phonological process which is subject to the principle of strict cycle and will apply only to forms generated at Level II. This accounts for the fact that it applies to nominalized forms but not to past tense forms. The -IV suffix here is not a past-tense suffix, but a level I nominalization suffix which undergoes full assimilation.

Furthermore, verbal nouns could be formed by the vowel \acute{o} - prefixation to the verb phrase of the verb-preposition-noun construction. Consider the following examples:

- | | nom. | V | P | N | → | N |
|-------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| | prefix | | | | | |
| 175a. | \acute{o} | + f \acute{u} | + n \grave{a} | + \acute{a} ny \acute{a} | → | if \acute{u} n \acute{a} ny \acute{a} 'love' |
| | | 'see' | 'at' | 'eye' | | |
| b. | \acute{o} - | + t \acute{u} | + n \acute{a} | + \acute{a} ny \acute{a} | → | [t \acute{u} n \acute{a} ny \acute{a} 'surprise(n.)/
wonder(n.)' |
| | | 'throw' | 'at' | 'eye' | | |
| c. | \acute{o} - | + k \acute{a} | + n \acute{a} | + \acute{a} ny \acute{a} | → | jk \acute{a} n \acute{a} ny \acute{a} 'bravery' |
| | | 'surpass' | 'at' | 'eye' | | |
| d. | \acute{o} - | + b \acute{a} | + n \acute{a} | + if \acute{e} | → | [b \acute{a} niif \acute{e} 'usefulness' |
| | | 'enter' | 'in(to)' | 'thing' | | |

In the above examples (175a) through (d), the prefixation of the nominalizing prefix to the verb phrase triggers off the lexicalisation process of nominalization. The phonological processes of vowel assimilation and tonal assimilation are level II processes applicable on the derivand, i.e. the derived noun. The low tone of vowel \acute{a} of the preposition (P) component assimilates to the high tone of the first

vowel of the noun (N) component of the verb phrase in examples (175a) through (c). But, in (175d), the low tone vowel \underline{a} of the preposition (P) component assimilates completely to the first vowel of the noun (N) component of the verb phrase resulting in the loss of both the vowel and tone of the P (which are also phonological processes). These derived nouns are idiosyncratic since the meaning of each derivand is idiomatic and non-transparent from the individual parts of the verbal noun. The transparency and predictability of each of the derivands are not correlated with its structural transparency.

Nouns in \dot{O} gbahù could also be formed by prefixing the vowel \dot{o} to verbs. Here are some examples:

- 176a. \dot{o} - + lù → \dot{o} lù 'work (n.)'
work(v.)
- b. \dot{o} - + kwù → \dot{o} kwù 'fishing'
'fish(v.)'
- c. \dot{o} - + nwù → \dot{o} nwù 'death'
'die'
- d. \dot{o} - + b̀ → \dot{o} b̀ 'vengeance'
'revenge'

Common nouns are produced as a result of this prefixation process in example (176a) to (d) above. Vowel harmony plays a very significant role in the prefixation process of nominalization in \dot{O} gbahù (as well as Standard \dot{I} gbò and other \dot{I} gbò dialects investigated). The nominalizing prefixes belong to the same vowel harmony group as the vowels of the operand. In other words, there is partial regressive assimilation of the prefix vowel by the vowels of the operand in terms of vowel harmony.

In addition, the syllabic nasal /ŋ-/ could be prefixed to disyllabic or complex verbs to produce nouns. The nominalizing syllabic nasal prefix seems to have the meaning of 'process of xing'. Below are some examples:

- 177a. m̄- + binité → mbinité [m̄binité] 'rising'
'rise'(v.)
- b. m̄- + pùtá → mpùtá [m̄pùtá] 'coming out'
'come out'
- c. m̄- + bipùtá → mbipùtá [m̄bipùtá] 'printing out'
'print out' (í is [+ATR], ù and á are [-ATR])
- d. m̄- + wépùtá → mwépùtá [m̄wépùtá] 'bringing out'
'bring out' (é is [+ATR], ù and á are [-ATR])
- e. n̄- + tùdà → ntùdà [n̄tùdà] 'throwing down'
'throw down'
- f. n̄- + dúfù → ndúfù [n̄dúfù] 'leading astray/
'lead astray/mislead misleading'
- g. n̄- + zipù → nzipù [n̄zipù] 'sending out'
'send out' (í is [+ATR], ù is [-ATR])
- h. n̄- + kùzì → nkùzì [n̄kùzì] 'teaching'
'teach' (ù is [-ATR], í is [+ATR])

i. $\acute{n}\text{-}$ + $gh\acute{o}t\acute{a}$ → $\acute{n}gh\acute{o}t\acute{a}$ [$\acute{n}gh\acute{o}t\acute{a}$] 'understanding'
'understand'

The high tone syllabic nasal / $\acute{N}\text{-}$ / prefix is homorganic with the following consonant beginning the operand. This is partial regressive assimilation in terms of place of articulation. The immediately following consonant assimilates the syllabic nasal. However, there are exceptions or violations to the vowel harmony rule as shown in examples 177c, d, g and h above, where vowels from both vowel harmony sets co-occur. The seeming exceptional status of these words is due to the fact that they fall outside the domain of vowel harmony. Vowel harmony operates within simple words, but these are compound words made up of pref (/ $\acute{N}\text{-}$ /($m\text{-}$) + vb ($-bi\text{-}$) + vb ($-p\acute{u}\text{-}$) + extensional suf. ($-t\acute{a}$) (example 177c for instance). In this compound word, vowel $-i\text{-}$ of the verb $-bi\text{-}$ belongs to the [+ATR] vowel harmony group, while vowel $-u\text{-}$ of the verb $-p\acute{u}\text{-}$ and vowel $\acute{a}\text{-}$ of the extensional suffix $-t\acute{a}$ belong to the [-ATR] vowel harmony group. Yet they all co-occur in the word $m\acute{b}ip\acute{u}t\acute{a}$ 'printing out', because vowel harmony operates within simple words, not compounds.

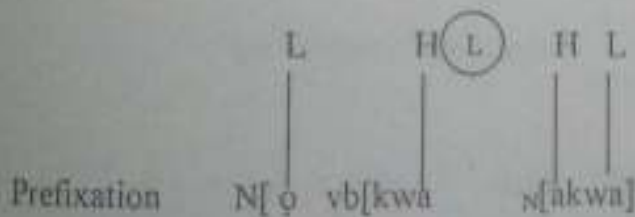
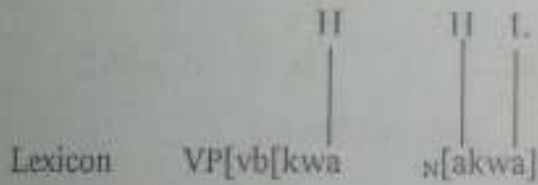
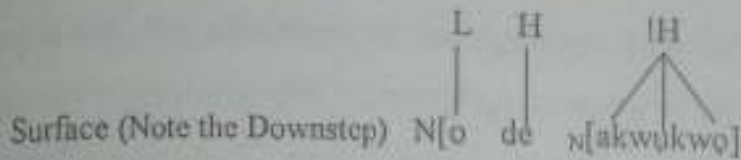
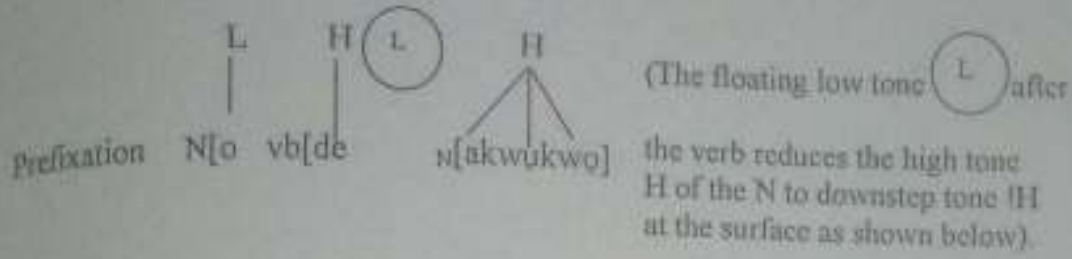
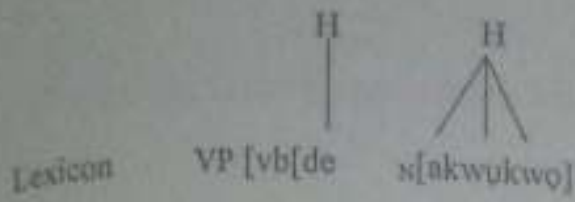
5.2.21b Verbal nouns with low-tone prefixes

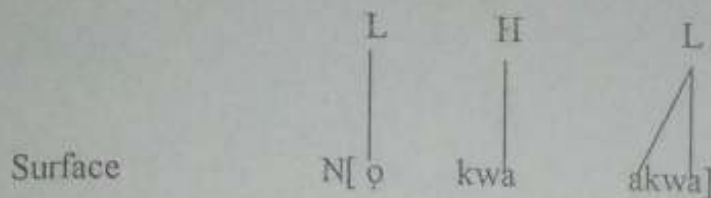
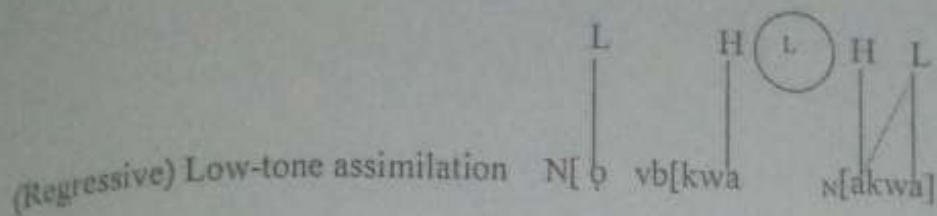
Another way of forming verbal nouns is by adding a harmonizing low tone vowel prefix $\acute{o}\text{-}$ or $\acute{\phi}\text{-}$ to the transitive verb-complement constructions, as shown in the examples (178a) to (e) below:

- 178a. \dot{o} - + $\underset{V_1}{d\acute{e}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\acute{a}kw\acute{u}kw\acute{o}}$ → $\dot{o}d\acute{a}\acute{a}kw\acute{u}kw\acute{o}$ 'writer/clerk'
'write book'
- b. \dot{o} - + $\underset{V_1}{g\acute{u}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\acute{a}kw\acute{u}kw\acute{o}}$ → $\dot{o}g\acute{u}\acute{a}kw\acute{u}kw\acute{o}$ 'reader/student'
'read book'
- c. \dot{o} - + $\underset{V_1}{gb\acute{a}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\acute{e}gw\acute{u}}$ → $\dot{o}gb\acute{e}\acute{e}gw\acute{u}$ 'dancer'
'dance(v.) dance(n.)'
- d. \dot{o} - + $\underset{V_1}{kw\acute{a}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\acute{a}kw\acute{a}}$ → $\dot{o}kw\acute{a}\acute{a}kw\acute{a}$ 'tailor'
'sew cloth'
- e. \dot{o} - + $\underset{V_1}{b\acute{u}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\acute{a}b\acute{u}}$ → $\dot{o}b\acute{u}\acute{a}b\acute{u}$ 'singer'
'sing song'

The nominalizing prefixes here have an agentive function. In other words, semantically, the derived nouns here are agentive nouns. The morphological process of vowel prefixation triggers off the phonological process of vowel assimilation (vowel harmony) and tonological process of tonal reduction. In examples (178a), (b) and (c), the high tone of V_2 is reduced to downstep, while in (178d) and (e) the high tone of V_2 is reduced to low due to the influence of the prefix low tone. The \dot{o} - and \dot{o} prefixes are also earlier discussed under reduplication of verb phrases. The agentive morpheme is a discontinuous morpheme made up of a low-tone \dot{o} - prefix and a (floating) low-tone suffix, which attaches to the verb. The prefix is low-toned with a floating low-tone component which combine as prefix to

the verb. The derivation of the downstepped noun object (complement) proceeds thus:



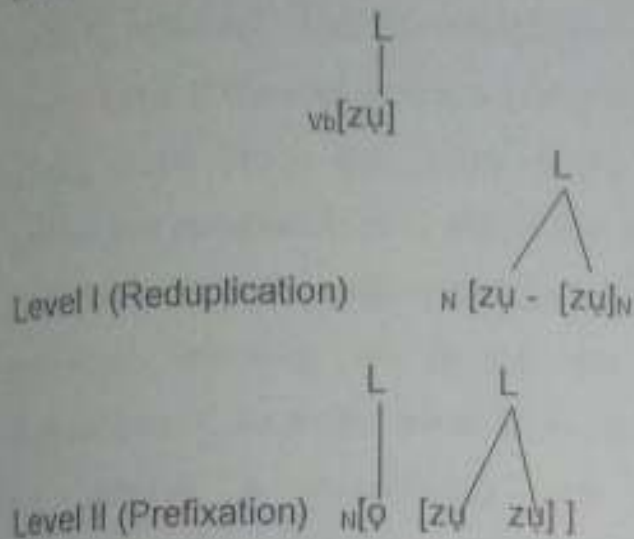


In essence, the affixation of the agentive morpheme (a morphological process) triggers off the tonological process of tonal reduction. When the vowels ù- and ù- are prefixed to verbs, nouns are produced as shown in examples (179a) to (e) below. In English, similar nouns are formed from adjectival phrases by -ness suffixation.

- 179a. ù- + jú → ùjú 'fulness'
'be full fulness'
- b. ù- + lé → ùlé 'rotteness'
'be rotten rotteness'
- c. ù- + bá → ùbá 'plentifulness/abundance'
'be plenty abundance/plentifulness'
- d. ù- + fù → ùfù 'painfulness /pain (n.)'
pain(v.) pain(n.)

e. $\hat{u}- + s\hat{o} \rightarrow \hat{u}s\hat{o}$ 'sweetness'
 'be sweet sweetness'

Verbal nouns may also be formed from verbs by full /C1-/C2-/ verbal reduplication of a monosyllabic verb of the structure CV, and then adding the harmonizing vowel prefixes \hat{o} -/ \hat{u} - according to the vowel harmony group of the verb root vowel. Consider the following illustration, for instances:



The evidence shows that either prefixation is a level II morphological process or it is a Level I morphological process hierarchically organized to follow the Level I morphological process of reduplication. This is seeming evidence that reduplication is a Level I and prefixation a Level II morphological process. This subject has been extensively treated in Chapter Four under Reduplication and therefore need not be repeated here. The nominalizing prefixes are Level II prefixes.

5.2.3 Class II of Level II

This class consists of the $-[i]/-[u]$ (-rV in Standard Igbo) past tense suffix which is attached to the verb root. In Standard Igbo, Òwèrri, Òlú and Ètiti dialects, the past tense suffix is -rV (-r followed by a full copy of the vowel of the verb stem vowel), but in Ògbahù it is $-[i]/-[u]$. The $[i]/[u]$ (vowel) component of this suffix must come from the same vowel harmony set as the vowel of the verb root to which the suffix is attached. That is, assimilation in terms of vowel harmony, occurs here. If the root vowel is either the close front or back vowel i/j or $u/ɯ$ respectively, the vowel of the $-[i]/-[u]$ suffix copies it, i.e. assimilates completely to it. But, if the root vowel is any other vowel, then the past tense suffix vowel becomes either i or j depending on the vowel harmony set of the root vowel. Here partial vowel assimilation of the suffix vowel to the root vowel occurs. Once again, we observe a morphology and phonology interface. The morphological process of suffixation triggers off the phonological process of vowel assimilation (vowel harmony).

Examples:

	Simple present	Simple past
180 a.	sí 'cook'	sìli 'cooked'
b.	sí 'say'	sìlì 'said'
c.	zú 'steal'	zùlù 'stole'
d.	zú 'buy'	zùlù 'bought'
e.	bé (ákwa) 'cry'	bèli (ákwa) 'cried'
f.	jé 'walk/go'	jèli 'walked/went'
g.	ná 'depart/go away'	nàlì 'departed/went away'
h.	bó 'lie against'	bòli 'lied against'
i.	bọ 'dig (up)'	bọlì 'dug' (up)

j.	tó 'praise'	lólí 'praised'
k.	kwá 'push'	kwáǎí 'pushed'
l.	bá 'enter'	báǎí 'entered'
m.	sò 'follow'	sòǎí 'followed'
n.	zù 'meet'	zùǎí 'met'

From the above examples, the morphological process of suffixation, which attaches the -[ǎ]/-[ǎí] suffix to the verb root is in operation. The low tone of the vowel of the -[ǎ]/-[ǎí] suffix assimilates the high tone of the vowel of the verb root, thus changing it to a low tone in the simple past tense forms. The morphological process of suffixation has triggered off a phonological process of tonal assimilation. The -[ǎ]/-[ǎí] past tense suffixation is a level II affixation and so does not undergo full vowel assimilation, which is a level II process (as evidenced in example (180e) to (m) above).

5.2.4 Class III of Level II

This class consists of the negative affixes (morpheme). The negative morpheme in Ògbahù dialect consists of four allomorphic variants:

- ǎ... hǎ (for indicative and infinitive negatives)
- ǎ... ná (for plural imperative negative)
- ǎ... nǎ (for present perfective negative)
- ǎ... ná (for singular imperative negative)

Each of these variants consists of discontinuous morpheme – a negative prefix ǎ-/ǎ- and a negative suffix -hǎ/-ná/-nǎ which together constitute the negative morpheme. In Ògbahù, Standard Ìgbò and some other Ìgbò dialects discussed earlier, the structure of the negative morpheme is the same. In all these dialects, as well as Standard Ìgbò, the negative morpheme is discontinuous in nature.

The only difference is that the negative morpheme in these other dialects of Ìgbò and Standard Ìgbò is not represented by identical phonemic segments. Thus, whereas *Á-họ/ Á-na/Á-nà/í - na* constitute the negative morpheme in *Ògbahù*, *Á-ghí/Á-nÁ* constitute the negative morpheme in Standard Ìgbò. It will be observed that '*Á-họ*, and *Á na, Á-nà, í - na*', as well as '*Á-ghí* and *Á-nÁ*' are allomorphic variants of the Ìgbò negative morpheme.

Á...họ allomorphic variant

The following indicative and infinitive negative sentences exemplify the operation of the *Á họ* negative affixation. We use the verb roots, *bí* 'live', *zà* 'sweep', *kọ* 'plant', *dé* 'write', and *gwù* 'count' as examples to discuss the indicative negatives.

5.2.4.1 Indicative negatives

181a. *Ébíhọ mī n'Ábá.* (verb root -*bí*- 'live')
 neg pref.-live-neg suf I in Aba
A - họ
 'I did not live in Aba'.

b. *Ágwùhọ mī.* (verb root-*gwù* - 'count')
 neg pref. - count - neg suf I
A - họ
 'I did not count'.

c. *Ányí ázàhọ ỳnọ.* (verb root - *zà* - 'sweep')
 neg pref -sweep-neg suf house
A - họ
 'We did not sweep the house'.

5.2.4.2 Infinitive negatives

Examples:

Affirmative	Negative
<p>162a. Ínwē égō dī nǐjǒ. <small>Inf.Pref-have money be bad</small> 'To have money is bad'.</p>	<p>Ènwēhǒ égō dī nǐjǒ. <small>A-have-hǒ money be bad</small> 'Not to have money is bad'.</p>
<p>b. Íbù ibù dī mímā. <small>Inf.Pref.become fatness be good</small> 'To become fat is good'.</p>	<p>Èbùhǒ ibù dī mímā <small>A-become-hǒ fatness be good</small> 'Not to become fat is good'.</p>
<p>c. Òbì chòlǐ jǐdà ógbènyè. <small>Obl want-IV(pst) Inf.pref-fall poverty</small> 'Obi wanted to be poor'.</p>	<p>Òbì chòlǐ ádàhǒ ógbènyè. <small>Obl want-IV(pst) A-fall-hǒ poverty</small> 'Obi did not want to be poor'.</p>
<p>d. Ízā áfà dī mímā. <small>Inf.Pref-answer name be good</small> 'To answer name is good'.</p>	<p>Ázāhǒ áfà dī mímā. <small>A-answer-hǒ name be good</small> 'Not to answer name is good'.</p>

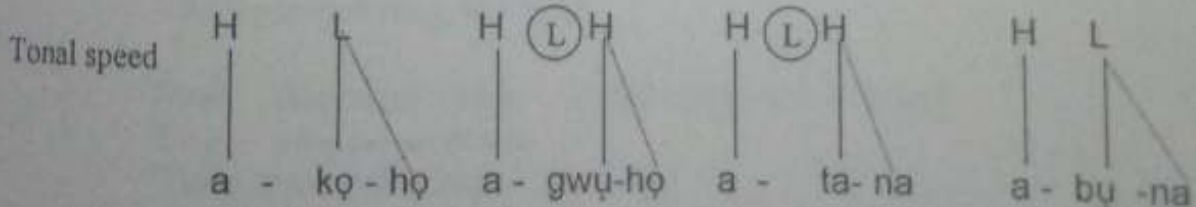
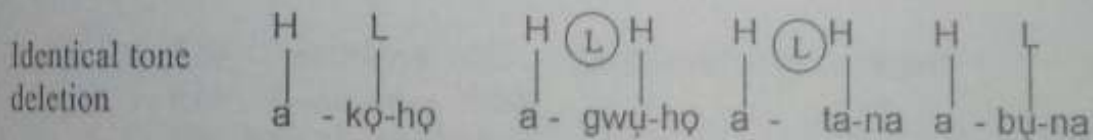
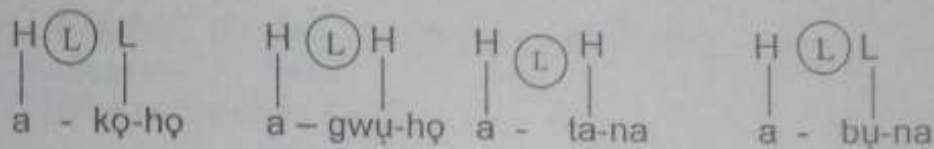
The processes observed above are similar to those of the indicative negatives previously discussed. The morphological process of affixation precedes the phonological processes of vowel assimilation (vowel harmony), low tonal assimilation and tonal reduction in the formation of the infinite negatives.

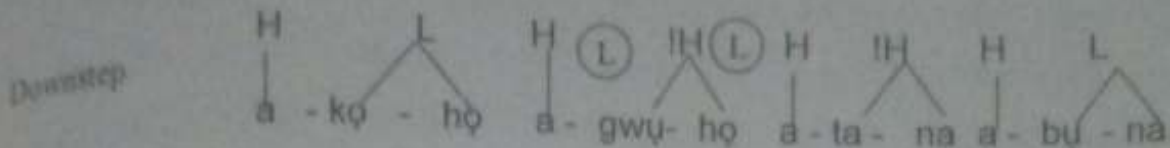
Á... na negative morpheme marks the plural imperative negatives in Ọgbahù. Below are some examples:

- 183a. Ọ̀nụ̀ égbūnā́ éwú à. (verb root-gbú - 'kill')
 You (pl.) A-kill-na goat this
 'You (pl.) do not kill this goat'.
- b. Ọ̀nụ̀ átānā́ ánụ̀ à. (verb root -tá - 'eat/chew')
 You (pl.) A-eat-na meat this.
 'You (pl.) do not eat this meat'.
- c. Ébṑ nà Ọ̀bí, ọ̀nụ̀ átānā́ ánụ̀ à. (verb root -tá- 'eat/chew')
 Ebo and Obi, you(pl.) A-eat -na meat this
 'Ebo and Obi, do not eat this meat'.
- d. Nwá́ élīnā́ jí táátà. (verb root-li- 'eat')
 they A-eat-na yam today
 'Let them not eat yam today'.
- e. Nwá́ ákwūnā́ ósè. (verb root - kwụ - 'plant')
 they A-plant-na pepper
 'Let them not plant pepper'.
- f. Ọ̀nụ̀ ábū̀nà́ ábụ̀. (verb root - bụ - 'sing')
 You (pl.) A-sing-na song
 'You (pl.) do not sing'.

Here again, in the derivation of the above plural imperative negatives, the morphology/phonology interface is glaringly evident. Like in the derivation of the indicative and infinitive negatives discussed earlier, the 'Á-' negative prefix is assimilated to the vowel of the verb root in terms of vowel harmony following the morphological process of affixation. The negative suffix vowel does not undergo assimilation in

the negative derivation. But, the high tones of the root and suffix vowels respectively are reduced to downstep tones in the process, while the low tone of the root vowel (if the root vowel has a low tone) assimilates the tone of the negative suffix vowel. Thus, both vowels are low in the derived plural imperative negative. The high tone of the negative prefix vowel is constant even after the affixation process. The morphological process of affixation precedes the phonological processes of vowel assimilation, tonal assimilation and tonal reduction. Notice that the suffixes *-hɔ* and *-na* bear identical tone with that of any preceding stem. This is evidence that they are toneless suffixes. It is postulated therefore, in this analysis, that the prefix is high-toned with a floating low-tone component which combine as prefix to the root. In other words:





Surface $\acute{a}k\phi h\phi \quad \acute{a}gw\phi h\phi \quad \acute{a}t\bar{a}n\bar{a} \quad \acute{a}b\bar{u}n\bar{a}$

5.2.4.4 Present perceptive negatives

Á ... ná negative morpheme marks the present perfective negatives in Ọgbahù. Examples are given below:

- 184a. $\acute{E}s\bar{i}b\bar{e}n\bar{a} \quad m\bar{e} \quad \acute{n}\bar{i}$. (verb root – sí- 'cook')
 A-cook-perf-na I food
 'I have not cooked food'.
- b. $\acute{A}z\bar{a}b\bar{e}n\bar{a} \quad m\bar{e} \quad \acute{u}n\phi$. (verb root – zà – 'sweep')
 A-sweep-perf-na I house
 'I have not swept the house'.
- c. $\acute{E}z\bar{e} \quad \acute{e}z\bar{u}b\bar{e}n\bar{a} \quad \acute{o}h\bar{i}$. (verb root – zú - 'steal')
 Eze A-steal-perf-na steal
 'Eze has never stolen'.
- d. $\acute{A}n\bar{y}\bar{i} \quad \acute{a}k\bar{u}b\bar{e}n\bar{a} \quad m\bar{i}g\bar{b}\bar{i}l\bar{i}m\bar{i}g\bar{b}\bar{a}$. (verb root-kú - 'ring')
 We A-ring-perf-na bell
 'We have not rung the bell'.
- e. $Nw\bar{a} \quad \acute{a}b\bar{u}b\bar{e}n\bar{a} \quad \acute{a}b\bar{u}$. (verb root – bù – 'sing')
 they A-sing-perf-na song
 'They have not sung'.

The affirmative perfective marker is *á-* (V) *ná*, while the negative perfective marker is *Á – bè-* and the negative suffix is *– nà*. The affix *– bènà* consists of the negative perfective marker *– bè -* and the negative suffix *– nà*, i.e. *bè + nà*. The negative prefix and the perfective prefix coalesce. In the derivation of the *Ògbahù* present perfective negatives, a number of morphological and phonological processes are observed. In the morphological process of affixation of *Á – bènà* to the verb root, certain phonological processes are triggered off. The negative prefix vowel is assimilated to the vowel of the verb root in terms of vowel harmony. The negative prefix vowel is *á-* or *é-* depending on the vowel harmony group of the root vowel. If the root vowel has the feature [+ATR], then, the negative prefix vowel is *é-*, but if the root vowel has the feature [-ATR], then the negative prefix vowel is *á-*. Furthermore, the tone of the verb root vowel undergoes either tonal raising or reduction. If the tone of the root vowel is high, it is reduced to downstepped high in the derived perfective negative word. However, if the tone of the root vowel is low, it is raised to downstep tone in the derived perfective negative word.

5.2.4.5 Singular imperative negatives

Í ... *na* negative morpheme marks the singular imperative negatives in *Ògbahù*. The following are examples:

185a. *Ísūnā ákwà nwáà.* (verb root – *sū* – 'wash')
 You (sg.)-wash-na cloth that
 'You (sg.), do not wash that cloth'.

b. *Íbūnā íbú.* (verb root – *bú* – 'carry')
 You (sg) carry-na load
 'You (sg.), do not carry load'.

c. [zàná ǔnò. (verb root - zà - 'sweep')
 You (sg.)-sweep-na house
 'You (sg.), do not sweep the house'.

d. [kòná ákpù. (verb root - kò- 'plant')
 You (sg.)-plant-na cassava
 'You (sg.), do not plant cassava'.

Like the plural imperative negatives discussed earlier in 5.2.4.3, in the derivation of the above singular imperative negatives, there is the operation of morphology/phonology interface. Similar processes occur in the two and therefore need not be repeated here. The only different is in the negative prefixes. Whereas Á- is the negative prefix of the former, í - is the negative prefix of the latter. The í negative prefix can be either i - or [- depending on the vowel harmony group of the vowel of the verb root. In other words, the vowel of the verb root assimilates the negative prefix vowel in terms of vowel harmony. There is partial vowel assimilation of the negative prefix vowel to the verb root vowel. In the derivation of the singular imperative negatives, following the morphological process of affixation, the phonological process of vowel assimilation appears to be in operation. If the verb root vowel has the feature [+ATR], the singular imperative negative prefix vowel will be í-, but if the verb root vowel has the feature [-ATR], then the negative prefix vowel will be [. The tonal assimilation and tonal reduction are exactly the same as in the derivation of the plural imperative negatives previously discussed. The morphological process of affixation has generated the phonological processes of vowel assimilation, tonal assimilation and tonal reduction.

COMPOUNDING IN ỌGBAHÙ

6.1 Overview

Compounding is an important lexicalization strategy in Ọgbahù as well as some other languages of the world like Yorùbá, English, Malay, German, etc. Compounds, the products of compounding processes, raise the issue of the interpenetration of morphology, phonology, the lexicon, syntax and semantics. Generally, linguists view a compound as a word made up of two or more bases, which are both words that can occur elsewhere as independent words (occasionally, a compound, in addition, may also consist of bound morpheme as in examples (187a) to (d)). For instance, the Ọgbahù compound word *úgbóénù* 'aeroplane' contains the words *úgbó* 'vehicle' and *énù* 'top' which can occur as words in isolation. Similarly, the Malay compound word *mata-hari* 'sun' is a word which consists of two words: *mata* 'eye' and *hari* 'day' (Spencer and Zwicky, 2001:66). Also, in English, the compound word *ice-cream* consists of two words *ice* and *cream* which can occur independently as words in their own right (Matthews 1984:33). Another example of English compound noun is *greenhouse*, (Katamba 1993:291). This compound is composed of two words *green* and *house* which occur elsewhere as independent words. The German compounds *Haustür* 'housedoor' (consisting of two words *house* and *door*) and *Bierfass* 'beer keg' (consisting of two words *beer* and *keg*) further illustrate the nature of compounding lexicalisation strategy (Wolff 1984: 52 – 53). In addition, the Yorùbá compounds (Ogunkeye 2002:150) *omọ́alé* 'a bastard' (comprising of two independent words *omọ́* 'child' and *alé* 'concubine') and *báábá iyá* 'a worthless father' (comprising of two independent words *báábá* 'father' and *iyá* 'suffering') support the

claim in this work that compounding as a lexicalisation strategy is not restricted to Ògbahù.

How do we distinguish between compound words (i.e. lexical items) and phrase (i.e. syntactic units)? The major difference between compound words and syntactic phrases is that whatever internal structure a compound has, that structure is inaccessible to the rules of syntax. Hence the claim by Williams (1981b), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) that all words are syntactic atoms. It is established by linguists (Williams 1981b, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, Katamba 1993 etc.) that the internal structure of compound words is created using the syntactic rules of the language which generate syntactic phrases. Furthermore, it is usually not possible for syntax to access that particular internal structure. But, syntax can access the internal structure of phrases. Syntactic rules treat compounds as indivisible units, similar to affixed words. Syntactic rules can manipulate the components of a phrase but not those of a compound word. Therefore, compounds differ from phrases which are syntactic units capable of undergoing syntactic operations.

Botha (1968) (cf. Wolff 1984:59) claims that 'the form in which an Afrikaans noun will appear as first constituent of an N + N combination is totally idiosyncratic'. Had Botha made a proper distinction between what is lexicalised and what is not, he would have discovered some very interesting characteristics of compounds. Lexicalised compounds may be morphologically analyzable and semantically compositional, they have a fixed sense. This fact is advertently overlooked by Botha. Lieber (1980:31), on the other hand, in contradiction to Botha's theory proposes 'that the form in which a German noun will appear as first constituent of an N + N combination is not idiosyncratic' and cites her examples in support of her view. Her examples include:

186.	a. Vaterland	'homeland'
	b. Väter sitten	'customs of our fore-fathers'
	c. Buchbinder	'bookbinder'
	d. Bücherregal	'bookshelf'
	e. Augapfel	'eyeball'
	f. Augenarzt	'eye doctor'
	g. Kindbett	'confinement'
	h. Kinderbette	'child's bed'

Her lexicon has entries for *Vater* and *Väter*, *Buch* and *Bücher*, *Kind* and *Kinder*, etc. Her conclusion is that since first constituents in these examples (186a) to (h) correspond to entries in her lexicon, in other words, since these items are readily available for word-formation, they can be combined with just any other noun to form compounds. Unfortunately, even in German, it is observed that this is not usually the case, (Wolff 1984:62). Similarly, as will be shown later in section 6.4, in *Ògbahù*, it is not usually the case that a noun in the lexicon can be combined with just any other noun to form a compound. Moreover, in *Ògbahù*, a dialect of *Ìgbò*, the form in which a noun will appear as first constituent of an N + N combination is not totally idiosyncratic as claimed by Botha (1968).

Another controversial issue among linguists is the question of the presence of an affix in a compound. Bloomfield (1933) claims that in German *Mannes-* represents a genitive and *Kinder-* is a plural (affixes within compounds). This point also contradicts Allen's (1978) theory which claims that no affixes may occur within compounds. Hence, it is justifiable to postulate that rules of affixation (derivation) should be included in the word formation component of the grammar.

Some linguists (e.g. Sapir 1921, Lees 1960, Marchand 1969 and Levi 1978, among others) claim that morphological structures originate from syntactic structures. For instance, Sapir (1921:111) views 'composite words in all likelihood are nothing but syntactic sequences that have shrunk together and away from other sequences or isolated elements in the flow of speech'. In agreement with Sapir's claim, Lees (1960), Marchand (1969) and Levi (1978) used this in their various lexicalisation strategies to relate or derive complex morphological structures from underlying syntactic structures. However, just as complex lexical items that originated as phrases abound, expectedly, principles abound governing both the organisation of the different parts of a word and the organisation of words into phrases. Nevertheless, there are also differences. The point being emphasized here is the semantic implication of these arrangements. If there were no differences, the question arises as to why speakers do not use syntactic constructions in preference to complex morphological constructions. Also, it is pertinent to know why utterances do not consist primarily of complex lexical items that convey information so much more concisely. Is it a mere stylistic difference?

In this study, Ògbahù compounds are shown to be paraphrased syntactic constructions, but the two are not the equivalent of each other. Linguists are of the view that lexical items, simple or complex, name categories or members of categories, while phrases describe them. According to Downing (1977), the difference is a functional one. The best reasonable option to take therefore is that functionally different structures are generated by different means.

From the foregoing discussion, therefore, it would be appropriate to infer that, the presence or absence of inflectional /derivational elements within morphologically complex structures

could be a formal correlate to the functional difference. For instance, the presence or absence of elements which express grammatical relationships between the constituents of such structures could be analysed as a general principle similar to that which obtains for the syntax of words. The present study accounts for all Ògbahù compound data, following this principle and the assumption that new words are made from items listed in the lexicon. Certain criteria should be met by a form in order to be qualified for listing in the lexicon. A criterion is that the relationship between sound and meaning of a form should be synchronically arbitrary. The second condition is that the forms in question should be able to participate in productive word formation process. If their phonetic form and their meaning are derivable by rule, they need no listing, (cf. Wolff 1984: 73).

6.2 Headedness of compounds

Headedness is an important concept in the analysis of Ògbahù compounding. This is particularly necessary in the examination of Ògbahù compounds with regards to the morphology – syntax interface and morphology – phonology interface. To the generative morphologists like Williams (1981a, 1981b), Selkirk (1982) and Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), using X-bar syntax, words have heads just like phrases have heads in syntax. Briefly, in the X-bar syntax theory the representation of a syntactic category has two elements. These are the category type (the first), e.g. NP, VP, N, etc. and the level (the second), represented by the number of bars above the category, e.g. \bar{N} , $\bar{\bar{N}}$, N (cf. Chomsky, 1970; Jackendoff, 1977; Selkirk, 1982: 4 – 9 among others). A head has two properties. The first is that it assigns its category features to the constituent of which it is the head, for instance, the head of an NP is a noun, the head of a VP is a

verb, etc. the second property is that it is one level lower in the X – bar hierarchy than the constituent of which it is the head.

Ògbahù compounds belong to the word-class noun. Each consists of at least two constituent bases belonging to the categories noun, verb or adjective. Compounds are generally classified under two criteria. Do they have a head? If the answer is in the affirmative, then what is the word-class of the head and also does the head appear at the left or at the right of the compound? This issue is later discussed in section 6.3 (Structure and interpretation of Ògbahù compounds) and in section 6.4 (Types of Ògbahù compounds).

6.3 Structure and interpretation of Ògbahù compounds

Most Ògbahù compounds are endocentric compounds (i.e. head compounds). The distinction between endocentric and exocentric (i.e. headless compounds) compounds is sometimes a matter of interpretation. In fact it is of little relevance. English compounds are endocentric and recognized to have heads systematically on the right (cf. Bloomfield, 1933; Marchand, 1969; Williams, 1981; Selkirk, 1982). Vietnamese and French have endocentric compounds with the head on the left (Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky, 2001). The righthand-rule (RHR) is not a universal principle that regulates compounding in all languages. In English language, for instance, the head of a compound is normally on the right, examples, greenhouses, mouthfuls, inspectorgenerals etc. On other hand, in a language like Italian, (Scalise, 1984: 125), the head of a compound is on the left (LHR). Also, the French language has left-headed compound nouns. French examples are:

Singular

187. a. une chemise de nuit 'nightdress' (the two nouns are joined by **de**)
b. un timbre – poste. 'postage stamp' (the two nouns are not linked by any marker)

Plural

- c. des chemises de nuit 'night dresses.'
d. des timbres – poste 'postage stamps'

In the French examples above (187a) to (d) (cf. Scalise, 1984:125), the RHR is not applicable in the plural formation. This is because the plural inflection is attached to the first noun in each compound. This is a violation of the rule which could be argued to be language –specific.

Moreover, in English language, there is an exception to the RHR. A few endocentric compounds have lefthand heads in English. These are usually nouns, which form their plural by adding the plural morpheme to the noun in first position. Some examples (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:84) include the following:

	Singular	Plural
188a.	coat of mail	coats of mail
b.	mother-in-law	mothers-in-law

Furthermore, particle verbs (compounds composed of a verb followed by a preposition or adverb) in English constitute examples of LHR. These English compounds have their heads on the left. Some examples are: phone in, lay off, lock out, etc.

In the noun compounds of the Romance languages (like Italian and French) and English, examined so far, it would not be inappropriate to generalise. This is to the effect that inflectional affixes

are often attached to the head irrespective of the position of the head in the compound, whether on the right or on the left. Ògbahù (a dialect of a non-inflectional language) endocentric compounds have heads which are usually on the left of the compound (examples 189 and 190). The meaning of a compound is usually somehow compositional. In Ògbahù, semantically, the major component (head) of the compound is on left (as in examples 189 and 190), hence the LHR applies. From the syntactic point of view, the head is the dominant constituent of the entire compound word. It determines the syntactic category of the entire compound. The syntactic category of the head dominates the whole compound word. It represents the core meaning of the compound. Also it is of the same word class as the compound.

Quite often, semantically, an endocentric compound indicates a sub-grouping of the particular class of entities which its head denotes. For instance, the Ògbahù compounds $\overset{N_1}{\acute{u}n\grave{o}}\overset{N_2}{\acute{a}kw\grave{u}kw\grave{o}}$ ('house books/school' is a kind of house). In the compound $\overset{N_1}{\acute{u}n\grave{o}}\overset{N_2}{\acute{a}kw\grave{u}kw\grave{o}}$, the first word $\acute{u}n\grave{o}$ 'house' (noun) N_1 is the head of the compound and it is on the left. The second word $\acute{a}kw\grave{u}kw\grave{o}$ 'book' (noun) N_2 functions as a modifier of the head which specifies the meaning of the head more precisely. Hence the LHR is applied in this lexicalisation process. The semantic restrictions on compounding in Ògbahù come usually in terms of the individual meanings of the parts, as well as the relationship that exists between the different parts that make up the compound. This view is contrary to earlier works on compounding like Fabb 1984, Spencer 1991, Katamba 1993 and Spenceer and Zwicky 2001 among others. To these morphologists, semantic restrictions on compounding should be seen only in terms of the relationship that exists between the different parts that make up the compound.

6.4 Types of Ògbahù compounds

In Ògbahù, the major grammatical categories: Noun (N), Adjective (A), Verb (V), participate productively in the lexicalisation strategy of compounding. Ògbahù compounds belong to the word-class noun. Each compound consists of at least two constituent bases that are members of the major grammatical categories. The possible combinations of these categories include the following examples:

$N_1 + N_2 \rightarrow N$

189a. ákwùkwò + òní → ákwùkwòní 'vegetables'
 'leaf/book' 'food'

b. áńú + òfíá → áńúòfíá 'animal'
 _{V₁} _{V₂} _{V₁V₂}
 'meat' 'bush'

c. ùnò + ákwùkwò → ùnòákwùkwò → ùnàákwùkwò 'school'
 _{V₁} _{V₂} _{V₁V₂} _{V₂V₂}
 'house' 'book'

d. ónyé + óhí → ónyéóhí → ónyóóhí 'thief'
 _{V₁} _{V₂} _{V₁V₂} _{V₂V₂}
 'person' 'theft/robbery'

Each of the noun compounds N (examples 189a to d) is made up of N_1 (first noun) followed by N_2 (the second noun). These are endocentric left-headed compounds. The first word (N_1) of the compound is the head, modified by the second word (N_2) of the compound. These compounds obey the LHR. The phonological process of vowel assimilation occurs between the last vowel (V_1) of the first word and the first vowel (V_2) of the second word. V_2 assimilates V_1 . But, the tone of V_1 is retained. The low tone of the assimilated V_1 forms a low-rising tone with the high tone of V_2 in the

resultant compound. The compounding lexicalisation strategy contributes extensively to the word stock of Ọgbahù.

The next possible combination follows:

190 N + A → N

a. $\begin{matrix} \text{áfè} \\ V_1 \\ \text{'dress'} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{óyí} \\ V_2 \\ \text{'cold'} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{áfèóyí} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{áfóóyí} \\ V_2V_2 \end{matrix} \text{'sweater'}$

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{ónyé} \\ V_1 \\ \text{'person'} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{óchá} \\ V_2 \\ \text{'white'} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{ónyéóchá} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{ónyóóchá} \\ V_2V_2 \end{matrix} \text{'European (person)'}$

c. $\begin{matrix} \text{ónyé} \\ V_1 \\ \text{'person'} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{ójíí} \\ V_2 \\ \text{'black'} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{ónyéójíí} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{ónyóójíí} \\ V_2V_2 \end{matrix} \text{'African (person)'}$

d. $\begin{matrix} \text{únò} \\ V_1 \\ \text{'house'} \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} \text{énū} \\ V_2 \\ \text{'high'} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{únòénū} \\ V_1V_2 \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{únèénū} \\ V_2V_2 \end{matrix} \text{'storey building'}$

Each of these endocentric noun compounds consists of a noun followed by an adjective, in that order. The noun component, that is, the first member of the compound is the head, which determines, in essence, the syntactic category of the entire compound. The second word of the compound, that is, the adjective, modifies the first word (N) describing the kind of the first component word of the compound. Thus, the lefthand head rule (LHR) is in operation in this compounding process.

A compound can be described in terms of directionality, being directional in two senses. One sense is about the RHR/LHR of the head, i.e. the position of the head. The other sense is the question of the interrelationship of the component parts of the compound (Spencer and Zwicky 2001:70), in other words, the semantic relation that exists between the parts of the compound. The present study

employs these senses as criteria for determining the status and nature of Ògbahù compounds and their component parts. Presented with the available data, this appears to be the most logical and convincing way of accounting for the Ògbahù compounding processes.

It will be most appropriate at this juncture, to distinguish between Ògbahù endocentric noun compounds and noun phrases. This is done in order to justify the position of the present study that Ògbahù compounds are LHR. Therefore, consider the following examples of Ògbahù noun phrases (NPs):

- 191a. ósísí 'tree'
 V_2
- b. ákwùkwò 'paper/book/leaf'
 V_1
- c. $\overset{N_1}{\text{ákwùkwò}}\overset{N_2}{\text{ósísí}}$ (NP) 'leaf of tree'
 V_2V_2
- d. ágbùgbò 'bark'
 V_1
- e. $\overset{N_1}{\text{ágbùgbò}}\overset{N_2}{\text{ósísí}}$ (NP) 'bark of tree'
 V_2V_2
- f. àhù 'body'
 V_1
- g. $\overset{N_1}{\text{àhù}}\overset{N_2}{\text{ósísí}}$ (NP) 'body of tree'
 V_1V_2
- h. m̀gbòlògwù 'root'
 V_1
- i. $\overset{N_1}{\text{m̀gbòlògwù}}\overset{N_2}{\text{ósísí}}$ (NP) 'root of tree'
 V_1V_2

- j. $\underset{V_1}{\text{áká}}$ 'hand'
- k. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ákáósisí}}$ \rightarrow $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ákóosisí}}$ (NP) 'hand/branch of tree'
- l. $\underset{V_1}{\text{ágáná}}$ 'branch'
- m. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ágánáósisí}}$ \rightarrow $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ágánóosisí}}$ (NP) 'branch of tree'
- n. $\underset{V_1}{\text{òdòdò}}$ 'flower'
- o. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{òdòdòósisí}}$ (NP) 'flower of tree'
- p. $\underset{V_1}{\text{énū}}$ 'top'
- q. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{énúósisí}}$ (NP) 'top of tree'
- r. $\underset{V_1}{\text{úkwù}}$ 'waist'
- s. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{úkwùósisí}}$ (NP) 'waist/lower part of tree'
- t. $\underset{V_1}{\text{ikè}}$ 'buttocks'
- u. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ìkèósisí}}$ \rightarrow $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ìkòósisí}}$ (NP) 'bottom of tree'
- v. $\underset{V_1}{\text{ónū}}$ 'mouth'
- w. $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{ónúósisí}}$ (NP) 'mouth/tip of tree'

In naming parts of tree (as in examples (191a) through (w) above), Ọgbahù draws from other semantic domains. For instance, *enùòs/sí* 'top of tree', the word *enù* 'top' is from *top* as a spatial form, like 'top of house'. Also, *ákáòs/sí* 'hand/branch of tree', *ónùòs/sí* 'mouth/tip of tree', *úkwùòs/sí* 'waist/lower part of tree' *ikòòs/sí* 'bottom of tree' etc. are drawn from names of human body parts.

In examples (191a) through (w) above, the first word (N_1) in the noun phrase qualifies, describes or extends the meaning of the second word (N_2). In the $N_1 + N_2$ (N – N) genitival relationships, N_2 is the head. Since the head is on the right, the RHR applies in the structure of the NPs. But the reverse is the case for the Ọgbahù noun compounds, where the LHR applies. Based on the RHR/LHR dichotomy therefore, a major distinction between phrases and compounds is established in Ọgbahù. Thus, the noun phrase (N – N) genitival relationship obeys RHR, while compounding of two nouns to derive a new one (noun compound) obeys LHR.

Below are examples of another set of Ọgbahù noun phrases:

- | 192. | N_1 | N_2 | → | NP |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>mímánù</i>
'oil' | <i>àpápá</i>
'groundnut' | → | <i>mímánùàpápá</i> 'groundnut oil' |
| b. | <i>mímánù</i>
'oil' | <i>àkwù</i>
'palmnut' | → | <i>mímánùàkwù</i> 'palm oil' |
| c. | <i>mímánù</i>
'oil' | <i>ánwù</i>
'bee' | → | <i>mímánùánwù</i> 'honey' (bee oil) |
| d. | <i>mímánù</i>
'oil' | <i>ázù</i>
'fish' | → | <i>mímánùázù</i> 'fish oil' |

e.	mímánù 'oil'	ánù → 'meat'	mímánùánù 'meat oil'
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These NPs (examples (192a) through (e) above) are formed with one basic form added to several forms. Here, the N_1 in each of the NPs qualifies, describes or extends the meaning of the N_2 . In this $N_1 + N_2$ NP, N_2 is the head, qualified by N_1 . This noun phrase structure obeys the RHR i.e. the Righthand Head Rule. The phonological process of vowel assimilation is triggered by the N – N genitival noun phrase collocation in these examples. For instance, in examples 191c, e, k, m and u, V_2 completely assimilates V_1 when N_1 and N_2 combine to form a noun phrase. Morphologically complex words, particularly Ògbahù endocentric compounds are recognized to have heads systematically on the left. They obey the LHR (examples 189 and 190). This is also shown in nouns derived from verbs, whereby the vowel prefixes and the syllabic nasal prefixes (prefixal heads, examples 173 through 179) which change the verbs to nouns are on the left of the derivand (noun). In addition, the category-changing gerundive vowel prefixes ò-/ò- (examples 64 – 81) are on the left of the gerund. Hence the LHR is applicable in Ògbahù gerundive nominalization.

Furthermore, reduplication can participate in the Ògbahù lexicalisation strategy of compounding. Some gerundive nominals derived through reduplication combine with underived nouns (names of human body parts) to form noun compounds. These are shown in examples (193a) through (d) below:

193 N₁ + N₂ → N

a. òniné + ányá → òninéányá → ònináányá 'hope/expectation'

$\begin{matrix} V_1 \\ \text{'looking'} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} V_2 \\ \text{'eye'} \end{matrix}$
 $\begin{matrix} \text{gerund} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{verb-né} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{underived} \\ \text{noun} \end{matrix}$

b. òkìkà + ányá → òkìkàányá 'bravery'

$\begin{matrix} V_1 \\ \text{'surpassing'} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} V_2 \\ \text{'eye'} \end{matrix}$
 $\begin{matrix} \text{gerund} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{verb-ká} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{underived} \\ \text{noun} \end{matrix}$

c. òjújú + áfó → òjújúáfó 'satisfaction'

$\begin{matrix} V_1 \\ \text{'filling'} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} V_2 \\ \text{'stomach'} \end{matrix}$
 $\begin{matrix} \text{gerund} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{verb-jú} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{underived} \\ \text{noun} \end{matrix}$

d. ògwúgwú + áfó → ògwúgwúáfó 'non-satisfaction'

$\begin{matrix} V_1 \\ \text{'finishing'} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} V_2 \\ \text{'stomach'} \end{matrix}$
 $\begin{matrix} \text{gerund} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{verb-gwú} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{underived} \\ \text{noun} \end{matrix}$

In each of the above examples (193a) through (d), the gerund is the N₁ while the underived noun is the N₂ of the compound. Each resultant compound noun is idiosyncratic since its meaning is idiomatic and non-transparent from its individual component nouns.

The transparency and predictability of the derivand are not correlated with its structural transparency. These compounds could be described as exocentric or headless compounds. The reason for this position is that neither the N_1 nor the N_2 component of the compound percolates or dominates the meaning of the compound. Each is independent of the other. The phonological process of vowel assimilation is triggered by the morphological process of compounding at word boundary. The V_1 of N_1 is completely assimilated by the V_2 of N_2 following the compounding process.

6.5 Conclusion

Linguistic theories, like other scientific theories are used and discarded and sometimes revisited in search of the most appropriate model suited for the data in question. In this chapter, Ògbahù compounds are investigated. This is done with a view to establishing the process of compounding as a lexicalisation strategy of Ògbahù. The interaction between the lexicon, morphology, syntax, semantics and phonology, using morphology-phonology interface model is discussed. The peculiar nature/characteristics of Ògbahù compounds reveal that although compounding is a universal lexicalisation strategy, compound-building rules depend on the particular language in question, in other words, they are language-specific. In Ògbahù, the LHR is applicable. It is shown also in the analysis, that aspects of the components of the compound at the juncture of combination are visible to syntactic, morphological, phonological or semantic rules. Furthermore, the answer to the likely question of the difference between compounds and syntactic phrases/units is presented in this work. Undoubtedly, similarities and differences abound. The differences further contribute to the justification for the autonomy of morphology. Compounds and syntactic phrases are constructed by

similar phrase-structure rules. Both are governed by the same syntactic rules. The difference between the two basically is that compounds are not subject to syntactic rules and their component parts are not subject to syntactic operations either. Syntactic phrases (NPs) obey RHR in Ògbahù. In addition, the meanings of compounds (particularly exocentric idiosyncratic ones) should be listed in the lexicon. This is because of their semantic non-transparency unlike the syntactic phrases.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ÒGBAHÙ PERSONAL NAMES

7.1 Introduction

The derivation of personal names constitutes a major lexicalisation strategy in Ògbahù. The Ògbahù personal names consist of both underived lexical items (like the proper nouns, *á dá* 'daughter', *é zé* 'king', *dibjà* 'herbalist/medicine man' etc) and derived lexical items, particularly noun compounds. These nominal compounds are generated by the lexicalisation process of compounding. They are highly productive. Their morphology and meanings reveal some interesting insights into the general Ìgbò cultural milieu. Hence this chapter focuses on the discussion of Ìgbò personal names, which are nominal compounds, as a lexicalisation strategy in Ògbahù. Earlier works on Ìgbò personal names include Wieschoff (1941), Ezeanya (1967) and Ubahakwe (1981). None of these specifically dealt with the Ògbahù dialect. They were sketchy, fragmentary and not detailed. Wieschoff (1941) article was more of a dictionary of Ìgbò names. Ezeanya's (1967) work was also like a dictionary, but of Ìgbò Christian names, giving their scriptural and English equivalents and feast days in the church's calendar as applicable. Ubahakwe's (1981) work is an improvement on the two. However, it is more of a presentation of a list of Ìgbò names and their English equivalents (meanings). The present study is a discussion of the Ògbahù personal names in terms of the lexicalisation process of compounding viz-à-viz the interpenetration of morphology, phonology, the lexicon, syntax and semantics.

7.2 Structure and interpretation of Ọgbahù personal names

Most of these compounds are endocentric. They are left-headed. The syntactic category of the head percolates the entire compound word. It determines the grammatical category of the resultant compound. The meaning of these compounds is usually compositional. Morphologically, the components of each compound are concatenative. Each compound is made up of either two or more words. In addition, a word in the combination may have a bound morpheme affixed to it in the derived compound as in examples (205a), (c) and (d).

7.3 Types of Ọgbahù personal names

The major grammatical categories: Noun (N), Adjective (A) and Verb (V) contribute specifically in the compounding process of the Ọgbahù personal names derivation. These compounds belong to the noun word class.

Below are some examples of their possible combinations:

- 194.
- | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|------------|---|----------|---|
| | N_1 | + | N_2 | → | N | |
| a. | Ádá | | ọhà | → | Ádáọhà | → Ádọọhà 'The daughter of all the people' |
| | v_1 | | v_2 | | v_1v_2 | → v_2v_2 |
| | 'daughter' | | 'people' | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| b. | Ádá | | òbí | → | Ádáòbí | → Ádóòbí 'The daughter of the compound' |
| | v_1 | | v_2 | → | v_1v_2 | → v_2v_2 |
| | 'daughter' | | 'compound' | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| c. | Ágū | | nwá | → | Ágūnwá | 'strong child' |
| | v_1 | | | | | |
| | 'leopard' | | 'child' | | | |

- d. $\begin{matrix} \acute{A}g\ddot{u} \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ nwaànyị → $\acute{A}g\ddot{u}nwaànyị$ 'strong woman'
'leopard' 'woman'
- e. $\begin{matrix} \acute{E}z\grave{e} \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ nwaànyị → $\acute{E}z\grave{e}nwaànyị$ 'queen'
'king' 'woman'
- f. $\begin{matrix} \grave{I}z\grave{u} \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ Chùkwú → $\grave{I}z\grave{u}chùkwú$ 'God's plan'
'plan' 'God'
- g. $\begin{matrix} \acute{I}ké \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ Chùkwú → $\acute{I}kéchùkwú$ 'God's strength/power'
'strength/power' 'God'
- h. $\begin{matrix} \acute{O}g\grave{e} \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ Chùkwú → $\acute{O}g\grave{e}chùkwú$ 'God's time'
'time' 'God'
- i. $\begin{matrix} \grave{O}g\grave{o} \\ v_1 \end{matrix}$ Chùkwú → $\grave{O}g\grave{o}chùkwú$ 'God's gift'
'gift' 'God'

The compounding process is highly productive in the N + N collocation of the derivation of $\grave{O}gbahù$ personal names. The examples (194a) through (i) above confirm this claim. These are endocentric compounds. Semantically and syntactically, they are left-headed. This is because the N_1 is qualified by the N_2 . The N_1 (i.e. the first word) of the compound is the head. The N_2 (i.e. the second word) of the compound modifies the N_1 . The LHR is operational in this compounding process. The phonological process of vowel assimilation and tonological processes of tonal reduction and tonal raising are products of some of these compounding processes. For instance, in examples (194a) and (b) above $V_1+V_2 \rightarrow V_2V_2$ in the

compound. V_2 assimilates V_1 completely. The tones are not affected in example (194a). But, in example (194b), though $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2V_2$ (i.e. V_2 assimilates V_1 completely), there are in addition, the tonological processes of tonal raising (the low tone of V_2 is raised to downstep tone, apparently triggered by the V_1 high tone) and tonal reduction (the high tone of the last vowel of N_2 is lowered to downstep tone, influenced by the V_2 downstep of the compound). Also, the tonological process of tonal raising is operational as a result of the compounding process in examples (194c) and (d) where the downstep tone of V_1 is raised to high tone, possibly triggered by the high tone of the first syllable in the compound.

Consider the following examples of another set of possible combination:

195. $N + V \rightarrow N$

a. Chúkúwú ká → Chúkúwúká 'God surpasses/God is greater'
 'God' 'surpass'

b. Chúkúwú dī → Chúkúwúdī 'God is alive/present'
 'God' 'is alive/is present'

c. Chúkúwú dù → Chúkúwúdù 'God leads'
 'God' 'lead'

d. Chí kwádó → Chikwádó 'God supports'
 'God' 'support(v.)'

e. Chí nyè → Chinyè 'God gives'
 'God' 'give'

f. Chí nwè → Chinwè 'God owns'
 'God' 'own'

Each of the above endocentric personal name compounds, examples (195a) to (f) consists of a noun followed by a verb in its syntactic collocation. These types are usually restricted to *Chukwu* or *Chi* forms. The first component of each compound, that is, the nominal member, is the head of the compound. It percolates the entire compound word, hence determining the syntactic category of the compound. The second member of the compound, that is, the verb component, describes or gives specification to the noun component. The Lefthand Head Rule (LHR) is obeyed in this compounding process of personal name derivation.

The following examples illustrate another pattern of possible combination:

196. N + A → N
- a. $\underset{V_1}{\text{ózí}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\text{ómá}}$ → $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{Ózíómá}}$ 'good message (Gospel)'
 'message' 'good'
- b. $\underset{V_1}{\text{úkwù}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\text{ómá}}$ → $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{Úkwùómá}}$ (good leg) good luck'
 'foot/leg' 'good'
- c. $\underset{V_1}{\text{úzò}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\text{ómá}}$ → $\underset{V_2V_2}{\text{Úzòómá}}$ 'good way'
- d. $\underset{V_1}{\text{úzò}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\text{úkwù}}$ → $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{Úzòúkwù}}$ → $\underset{V_2V_2}{\text{Úzùúkwù}}$ 'big way'
- e. $\underset{V_1}{\text{ádá}}$ $\underset{V_2}{\text{úkwù}}$ → $\underset{V_1V_2}{\text{Ádáúkwù}}$ → $\underset{V_2V_2}{\text{Ádúúkwù}}$ 'big daughter'

- c. Chúkwú dj ńdụ → Chúkwúdjńdụ 'God is alive / living'
 God is Life
- d. Chúkwú ji ńdụ → Chúkwújńdụ 'God holds life'
 God holds life
- e. Chúkwú nwè ńdụ → Chúkwúnwèńdụ 'God owns life'
 God owns 'Life'
- f. Chì kèli ùwà → Chikèliùwà 'God created the world'
 God created world

The above endocentric personal name compounds (examples 197a to f) are derived by the concatenation of three words, each of which can occur elsewhere as independent words. The first member (the leftmost member) of the compound is a noun N_1 , followed by a verb V which is in turn followed by a second noun N_2 . The N_1 is the head of the compound while the V and N_2 together express the function of the N_1 . They modify N_1 . The authority/supremacy of God is being acknowledged in these names. The names portray the cultural beliefs of the Ògbahù people. To them there is an Almighty God, the Creator, Owner and Controller of the entire world.

7.4 Social and cultural setting for Ògbahù personal names.

Some Ògbahù personal names can also be coined being influenced by the particular social or cultural background of the individuals bearing such names. Four types of such personal names are presented in examples (198) through (201) below.

198a.

- a. $\dot{\text{ò}} + \text{bjà} + \text{bèlì} \rightarrow \dot{\text{Ò}}\text{bjàbèlì}$ 'She has come to eat'
she - come - will eat (Someone born to enjoy life).
- b. $\dot{\text{ò}} + \text{dá} + \text{wùzò} \rightarrow \dot{\text{Ò}}\text{dàwùzò}$ 'She is beautifully created'
she-constructed-good/beautiful stature
- c. $\acute{\text{á}} + \text{ná} + \text{échèlì} \rightarrow \acute{\text{Á}}\text{náéchèlì}$ 'Someone that is being put
imp.pron. - aux - be thinking in good remembrance/ someone
that should always be remembered
for her good'.
- d. $\acute{\text{m}}\text{má} + \text{búlùzò} \rightarrow \acute{\text{M}}\text{mábúlùzò}$ 'Goodness precedes (evil)'
goodness - precede 'A good person'.
- e. $\dot{\text{ò}} + \text{dózí} + \text{àkù} \rightarrow \dot{\text{Ò}}\text{dóziákù}$ 'Someone (woman) that
she - carefor - wealth takes care of wealth'.
- f. $\dot{\text{ò}} + \text{lí} + \text{àkù} \rightarrow \dot{\text{Ò}}\text{liákù}$ 'Someone (male/female) that
s/he - eat - wealth eats/enjoys wealth'.

These personal compound names (examples 198a through f) above, reflect the social as well as the cultural image of $\dot{\text{Ò}}\text{gbahù}$. $\dot{\text{Ò}}\text{gbahù}$ people specifically are identified among the $\dot{\text{Ì}}\text{gbòs}$ by these names. These names are particularly given to women. They are some $\acute{\text{á}}\text{fá èkèné}$ 'greeting names' for the women. Women are greeted by these names at any time of day or night. The names are preferred for use to the English/borrowed greeting words (good morning, good afternoon, thank you etc). Men also have theirs, as shown in examples (199a) to (i). Examples (198a) to (d) are given to the individual female child by the family head at her naming ceremony. She can also pick it up on

her own later in life as she chooses. It could be the name of a particular dead family member that she reincarnated (according to their cultural beliefs). Examples (198e) and (f) are usually given to married women in the society, depending on the value placed on a particular wife by her husband's family. If their assessment of her is favourable (especially for the older wives), then she merits the name *Òdóziákù* i.e. example 198e. But, if the husband's family or even the larger *Ògbahù* society consider her as parasite or not contributing to the wealth of the family (particularly the younger wives), she is greeted as *Òllàkù*, i.e. example 198f. Nevertheless, a man can also be greeted by the *áfā èkèné* 'greeting name' *Òllàkù*. He could have acquired it from his ancestor through reincarnation. He may have reincarnated from a female ancestor.

Also, consider the following examples:

199. a. *áká + jí + àkù* → *Ákájíákù* 'hand that holds wealth'
 hand + hold + wealth (He has much wealth).
- b. *àkù + káljǎ* → *Àkùkáljǎ* 'the wealth is too much'.
 wealth + is too much
- c. *ńnà + bụ + ényí* → *Ñnàbụényí* 'father is elephant' (his
 father + is + elephant father is huge like an elephant).
- d. *ọ + gbátùlù + ényí* → *Ọgbátùlùényí* 'He shot down elephant'
 he + shutdown + elephant (He is a powerful hunter).

- e. ò + gbú + éfí → Ògbúéfí 'He is a cow killer'
 he + kill + cow (He is a very rich man).
- f. nwá + kà + ibè + á → Nwákāibèā 'A child that is greater
 child + surpass/ + mate + his than his mates'.
 is greater
- g. ò + mèsìlì + òchá → Òmèsìlìòchá 'He that did everything'
 he + do completely (pst) + all (A great achiever/
 accomplisher).
- h. àkù + ònà + á → Àkùònàá 'His father's wealth'
 wealth + father + this (son of a wealthy man).
- i. ònà + nyè + lì + ùgò → Ònànyèlìùgò 'His father gave him eagle
 father + give + pst + eagle (feather) (feather) i.e. honour.' (His
 father is very wealthy and hence sponsored his
 chieftaincy ceremony bills).

Examples (199a) through (i) above are some Ògbahù compound personal names for men. The men are greeted by these names. These are chieftaincy title names. The untitled men who bear such names must have inherited or acquired the names through reincarnation. The names are usually taken at chieftaincy ceremonies. These names reflect the social status or personality of that particular man. His achievement is recognized and acknowledged. They are highly respected in the society and they assist the *Ígwè* 'king' in the administration of the people. However, the untitled men bearing such names are usually despised and humiliated. They are not recognized in the society. Examples (198) and (199) above are names by which people, men and women are greeted.

Nevertheless, there abound, some other aspects of Ògbahù society and culture reflected by some other Ògbahù names. These include examples (200) and (201) below:

200a. nwáányì + bụ + ifé → Nwáányìbụifé → Nwáányìifé
 woman + is + something 'woman is (something) important'.

b. nwáányì + òjì + nímá → Nwáányìòjìnímá → Nwáányìnímá
 woman + is + good 'woman is good'.

c. nwáányì + bụ + úlù → Nwáányìbụúlù → Nwáányìúlù → Nwáányìúlù
 woman + is + gain(n.) / profit(n.) 'There is gain/profit in woman'.

d. nwáányì + bụ + nwá → Nwáányìbụnwá → Nwáányìnwá
 woman + is + child 'A woman (female child) is also a child'.

Ògbahù, being a male dominated society, every family would normally want to have at least one male child. But, if the reverse is the case in a particular family, such names as in examples (200a) through (d) above could be given to such female children of that family by the family head. The family gives such names as a sort of consolation to themselves. To them, a female child is just as important as her male counterpart. Usually, those female children excel more than some of their male counterparts in some other families in the society. The social stigma attached to such names, however, remain indelible on those female children and their family perpetually. Hence some drop such names later in life. The last but not the least set of the Ògbahù socio-cultural personal names are examples (201a) through (d) below:

201a. ọ̀zọ́ + é + mé + ná → Ọ̀zọ́émēnā 'Another (evil) will not occur'.
 another (evil) + neg + do + neg
 pref. suf

b. Chùkwú + hàá → Chùkwúhàá 'Let God leave (him)/Let God leave him to be alive'.
 God + leave

c. áfà + mí + é + fù+ ná → Áfámífùnà 'My name will no be lost (forgotten)'.
 name +my +neg +lose +neg
 pref. suf.

d. òbí + é + chì + ná → Òbíéchinà 'The compound will not be closed' (The family line should/will not be terminated/the family lineage should continue).
 compound + neg +close + neg
 pref. suf.

The compound personal names in examples (201a) through (d) above are reminiscences of the geneological history of that particular family that bears such personal names. Example (201a) is a unisex name, but more often it is a name given to a male child that survives (stays alive) following series of child (especially male) deaths in that family. The last three names, examples (201b) to (c) have similar semantic connotation. The only difference is that they are names given to only male children in such circumstances.

7.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, therefore, personal names in Ògbahù are not mere labels for identification. They constitute a special class of noun compounds in Ògbahù, derived by a concatenation of words of at least two components. The morphology and meanings of these nouns reflect the cultural milieu of the Ògbahù people. Furthermore, the names are not just a concatenation of words. They have both socio-cultural and semantic implications underlying them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

8.1 Conclusion and claims

In this study, six major aspects of lexicalisation strategies in the morphology of Ògbahù dialect of Ìgbò language are presented. These are, reduplication, nominalisation, compounding, ideophones, personal names and negation. The major claim of this work is that reduplication should be treated like other morphological processes of affixation, contrary to the claims in earlier works on morphology, particularly Ìgbò morphology. Furthermore, it is the view of the present study that reduplication as an affixational process, has a defined form for the duplicate. Hence, copying over would then be driven sequentially on the basis of available materials. It is also claimed here that reduplication has the different functions, though not exclusively, of signalling intensification, gerundive, emphasis, prefixation, distributive, nominalisation, augmentative, figurative and exaggerative meanings in Ògbahù dialect in particular and in Ìgbò language in general. In addition, there are data to prove that reduplication interacts with gerundivization in form and meaning. Also, this study proposes three types of reduplication in Ògbahù dialect and Ìgbò language. These are, full /CI-/CU-/ verbal reduplication with prefixation, total VCV nominal reduplication and reduplication of ideophones. The occurrence of forms that do not reduplicate is also established. The justification for the analysis of reduplication as affixation in the present study includes the following claims:

1. It has proved to be more productive;
2. It provides a much more restrictive account of the process than the older treatments did;

3. This analysis i.e. affixation analysis captures the facts about Ìgbò and
4. This enables us to write the most economical grammar of Ògbahù dialect.

Furthermore, this study presents the interaction between morphology, phonology, syntax and the lexicon. The interface of morphology and phonology model is undertaken for descriptive adequacy. From the evidence of the interaction between morphology and phonology, phonological rules are triggered by morphological processes. Also, in Ògbahù (just as in Standard Ìgbò), underived lexical items are free morphemes. This study establishes two levels of phonological and morphological rules. These are, Level I and Level II. The claim in this work is that /CI-/CU-/verbal reduplication, -IV nominalization suffixation and compounding are Level I, while Level II consists of three classes of affixes, namely, classes I, II and III. Class I consists of the harmonizing nominalization vowel prefixes /i-/ [-; é-/ á-; ó-/ ô-; ù-/ ù-; ò-/ ô-; ù-/ /ù-/ and the homorganic syllabic nasal prefix /ŋ-/-. Class II consists of the -[l-]tù past tense suffix, while class III consists of the negative affixes (morpheme). The negative morpheme in Ògbahù dialect consists of four allomorphic variants:

Á...hò (for indicative and infinitive negatives).

Á... na (for plural imperative negative).

Á ... nâ (for present perfective negative).

Ì... na (for singular imperative negative).

Each of these variants consists of a discontinuous (non-concatenative) morpheme – a negative prefix \dot{A} - / \dot{I} - and a negative suffix -h \dot{q} / -na/ -n \dot{a} which together constitute the negative morpheme. A number of phonological and tonological processes are shown to be triggered by morphological rules. These include, phonological processes of vowel harmony assimilation, tonal reduction, tonal raising, tonal copying, tonal deletion, consonant and vowel elision, among others. The rules themselves are found to be ordered with respect to each other, with some of the rules constraining the behaviour of succeeding ones in significant ways. The ordering of strata (levels) determines the sequencing of morphological processes in word-formation. Level I rules precede level II rules. The output of each lexical stratum of derivation is a word. The inventory of lexical items of a language is the output of the morphological and phonological rules of the different levels put together. It is also established in the present study, that the peculiar nature/characteristics of \dot{Q} gbah \dot{u} compounds reveal that although compounding is a universal lexicalisation strategy, compound-building rules are language specific. For instance in \dot{Q} gbah \dot{u} , they are LHR. It is further claimed that in \dot{Q} gbah \dot{u} , the meanings of compounds should be listed in the lexicon. This is because of their semantic non-transparency. The present work is also of the view that most personal names in \dot{Q} gbah \dot{u} constitute a special class of noun compounds, derived by a concatenation of words of at least two components. The morphology and meanings of these nouns reflect the cultural milieu of the \dot{Q} gbah \dot{u} people. These personal names have both socio-cultural and semantic implications underlying them.

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