

Igbo

Encyclopedia article, prepared jointly with E. Ézè.

Facts about the World's Major Languages; an encyclopedia of the world's major languages, past & present, edited by J. Garry & C. Rubino, 322–30. H.W. Wilson, Bronx, New York [ISBN 0824209702].

BIBLIOGRAPHIC CORRECTION: In view of perpetually inflated, conjectured and undocumented casualty stats of the Biafran-Nigerian war, I should record that we mistakenly let the house editors delete our manuscript reference to, and quotation marks surrounding, the phrase "between half a million and a million" originally cited from p. 412 of J. de St. Jorre, *The Nigerian Civil War* (Hodder & Stoughton, London 1972, ISBN 034012640X). Here is a fuller quotation from that page:

"The pursuit of Nigerian unity killed between half a million and a million Nigerians. [FN1: There are no official figures and, since accurate records were not kept by either side, a reliable estimate of casualties may never emerge. My figure is a consensus of informed opinion and I personally feel that something around 600,000 — for total deaths — may be nearest the mark.] (The Spanish and American civil wars exacted a similar human price.)"

Grabbing a bag of third-hand authorities, Chínúá Àchébé canonised "over two million" as the Biafran score in the genocide olympics (*There Was a Country: a personal history of Biafra*, Allen Lane, London 2012, ISBN 9781594204821, pp. 228, 312 fn. 1), but such extrapolations ignore inherited inaccuracies (S. Àlùkò, "How many Nigerians? An analysis of Nigeria's census problems 1901-63", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3 [1965], 371-92; R. Údò, "Population and politics in Nigeria", *The Population of Tropical Africa*, edited by J. Caldwell & C. Òkónjò, Heinemann, London 1966/1968, 97-105) pumped up by oil-rent "prebendalism" (per [Richard Joseph](#) ISBN 9780521341363) and enhanced by pronatal ideology that flips the biblico-darwinian imperative "be fruitful and multiply" into a less reliable short-run expectation of multiply and be fruitful (e.g. K. Oyèédìran, "Fertility desires of Yorùbá couples of Southwestern Nigeria", *Journal of Biosocial Sciences* 38 [2005], 605-24).

On Biafran mortality, we should have simply quoted [Thierry Hentsch](#) who coordinated Red Cross relief throughout the war:

Combien de réfugiés ont-ils finalement péri? **Personne ne les a dénombrés**, mais chacun le sait: trop. Il serait donc impossible et indécent de vouloir faire le compte des vies épargnées. Il suffit de savoir que chaque dose de médicament, chaque gramme de protéine avait plus de valeur qu tout l'argent dépensé au cours de ces deux ans et demi de guerre.

[How many refugees eventually died? **Nobody counted them**, but everybody knows the number was too many, and that to pretend to count the lives saved would be impossible and obscene. All we need to know is that every dose of medicine, every gram of protein was more precious than all the money spent waging this war for two and a half years.]

(Boldface added here.)

Source: *Face au Blocus; la Croix-Rouge internationale dans le Nigéria en guerre 1967-1970* (Librairie Droz/Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, Genève 1973), p. 253.

Tone correction: LHL tones printed on the language name "Igala" on pp. 24 (fn. 15) and 31 should be HHL, as already noted for my dissertation (above).

ÌGBO

Éjike Ezè and Victor Manfredi

Language Name and Autonym: Ìgbo [formerly spelled “Eboe” or “Ibo”].¹

Location: Ìgbo is the second most populous indigenous language of southern Nigeria.

Family: Ìgbo belongs to the Niger-Congo family. Greenberg (1963) classified it in the Kwa group along with six other big clusters: Àkán, Gbè, Yorùbá-Ìgálà, Nupe-Èbìrà, Èdó and Ìdòmà. Williamson (1989a) redrew this picture, reducing “Kwa” to Àkán and Gbè, and shifting the rest including Ìgbo to an enlarged “Benue-Congo” group (the aggregate that includes Bantu). Williamson’s evidence does not go beyond lexicostatistics—a shortcut method rejected by orthodox comparativists.

Related Languages: The Ìgbo-speaking area is surrounded by dozens of closely related Niger-Congo languages, representing at least five large subgroups: Edoid (to the west), Defoid (to the northwest), Idomoid (to the north), Lower Cross (to the east and south) and Ijò (to the south).

Dialects: Ìgbo has dozens of geographic dialects. Williamson (1989b: 92f.) holds that the oldest linguistic division stranded the southwest periphery, including Èhwùdà [“Ahoada” or “Ekpeye”] and Ògbakırì [“Ikwerri”], but her conclusion may be an artefact of lexicostatistics that mix together innovations, archaisms and borrowing (Ònwùejíogwù 1975). Judging by sound change and morphosyntax, the oldest division is between a contiguous northern area, and a southern area that is still self-contiguous except for the old Ágbò [“Abwor”, “Agbor” or “Ika”] Kingdom at the western end (Manfredi 1989). All northern dialects denasalized [cn] clusters—still found as such in Ágbò—while many southern dialects including Ówéré and Nḡhà [“Ngwa”] (but not Ágbò) developed them to aspirated stops (Armstrong 1972; Ladefoged *et al.* 1976). Many southern dialects (including Ágbò) glottalized *t* and *d* before expanded pharynx vowels (Ánòkà 1985). Northern dialects have more auxiliary verbs, and fewer verb-inflecting suffixes, than do southern dialects (Èmènanjò 1984)—indicating a shift in the north from agglutination to a more isolating morphosyntactic type. Northern dialects also developed a new perfective suffix *-gea /-gu /-go /-gwo /-wo* (from a verb meaning ‘finish’) vs. southern *-(o)le* (related to Bantu *-ile*) and a new type of *wh*-question (described below, cf. Goldsmith 1981). This picture is consistent with ecological and oral evidence that northern Ìgbo started to develop on its own in hilly terrain between Ùlù [“Orlu”], Óka [“Awka”] and Nsúkà [“Nsukka”] after southern-Igbo speakers had dispersed to cultivate lowland forests that are today oil-palm savannah (Ònwùejíogwù 1972; Áfàìgbo 1981).

Number of Speakers: Official census figures since the 1960s have been controversial but subregional trends projected from four million Ìgbo speakers in 1921 and five and a half million in 1953 suggest an estimate of 20 or 25 million in the year 2000. Ìgbo is also widely spoken as a second language in the Niger Delta and the Cross River Basin. Probably between half a million and a million Ìgbo speakers died after the two *coups d’état* of 1966 and during the civil war of 1967–1970.

Origin and History

Whichever protolanguage led to Ìgbo was probably spoken near the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers between two and three thousand years ago, contemporaneous with a Nok-type iron technology (Armstrong 1964; Greenberg 1972; Cookey 1980; Williamson 1989b). Proto-Ìgbo speakers must have reached the present Ìgbo-speaking area long before the artistically rich Ìgbo Úkwu burials, which are iconographically related to the Nri Kingdom and which are “about a thousand years old” (Shaw 1970: 262; cf. Ònwùejíogwù 1980).

One synchronically salient gloss of the term “Ìgbo” is “community”, as in personal names like Òdénìgbo ‘The news has spread to the community’ and Ònwuzúrúìgbo ‘Death reaches everyone’ (Ònwùejíogwù 1972: 40f.). The first syllable [i-] is an ancient prefix for the human, plural noun-class, attested in

countless ethnic and place-names across Kwa and in archaic common noun plurals like the Ònìcha [“Onitsha”] forms for ‘men’ and ‘women’ (listed below; cf. Williamson 1976). Some speakers contrast Ìgbo with Óru (or Ólu) to distinguish inland dwellers from communities near the Niger’s banks. The noun Óru/Ólu is transparently related to the verb *-rùl-lù* ‘flood, overflow’—a predicate aptly describing riverine ecology. *Dioscorea* yam, the original Ìgbo staple crop, was probably domesticated in a floodplain setting, where still today the best yields are obtained. By the 18th century, the Óru network had developed a distinct identity as long-distance traders of foodstuffs, ivory, cloth, guns and slaves. According to a characteristic Ìgbo phrase structure for universal quantification, the Ònìcha phrase Ólu nà Ìgbo ‘riverine and inland people’ means, in effect, “the entire ethnolinguistic community” (Ífemésia 1979: 115) or indeed ‘the inhabited world’. If this dichotomy is old, then the

¹Throughout this article, following the first occurrence of an ethnic or place name, we cite its traditionally anglicized spelling (if any) in double quotes and within square brackets.

lexical root *-gbò* may be related to the verb for ‘cover, protect’ as in instrument nouns like *nígbochi* ‘veil’ and *nígbođó* ‘shield’ (Williamson 1972: 150). On these grounds, *Ì-gbo* would etymologically mean ‘people of the covered (forested/sheltered/remote) interior’—a term coined in the Niger Riverbank trade some 300 years ago.

Orthography and Basic Phonology

The current official orthography—basically just a list of 36 symbols in less than a double-spaced typed page of text—was accepted from the *Ọnwụ* Committee by the Eastern Nigerian government in 1961. The main innovation is the rejection of non-Roman symbols and the adoption in their place of a subdot diacritic for vowels, a superdot diacritic for a nonsyllabic velar nasal, and digraphs for 9 consonants. (Eighteen monographic consonants were retained from previous orthographies.) *Ọnwụ*’s 36 symbols, listed below, obviously represent a compromise between the low end of phonological endowment in the *Ìgbo*-speaking area—*Ọnịcha* with 31 segmental phonemes—and the high end—*Ọweré* [“Owerri”] with around 48.² For this reason, no standard variety of the language is defined.

4 “long” vowels	i, e (formerly “e”), o, u
4 “short” vowels ³	ị (formerly “e”), a, ọ (formerly “o”), ụ (formerly “o”)
nonsyllabic velar nasal	ń (formerly “ng”)
9 consonant digraphs	gb, gh, kp, sh, ch, gw, kw, nw, ny
18 consonant monographs	b, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, z (retained unchanged)

The *Ọnwụ* report did not consider tone or word division, and avoided dialect-specific features like aspiration and nasality.⁴ One committee member later justified the exclusion of dialect-specific sounds as “a worthy sacrifice for the development of a de-dialectalised *Ìgbo*” (*Ọgbàlú* 1975: 151). At the other extreme, some literary figures still reject the *Ọnwụ* framework (Nwàđga 1990; *Échèrúó* 1998). A middle road was taken by Green & *Ígwè* (1963), who added consonantal diacritics to

the *Ọnwụ* symbols in order to accommodate the *Ọmàáhyá* [“Umuhia”] dialect (which is phonologically close to *Ọweré*). Green and *Ígwè* used the subdot plus [h] to mark the aspirated velar stop [gh]; we can extend this to the other aspirates [ph, bh, th, dh, ch, jh, kh]. Equally, *Ọnwụ*’s use of plain [h] in the digraph [gh] for the voiced velar fricative (found in many dialects both north and south) can be extended to other dialect-specific fricatives where needed.⁵ *Ánòkà* (1985) employs a plain subdot for the glottalized voiceless alveolar stop [t̚].⁶ Green and *Ígwè* write distinctively nasalized vowels with a superscript tilde [̃]—not above the vowel but on the preceding consonant [čv] where it doesn’t interfere with tone marks; we prefer to write them [vn], following the lead of closely related languages like *Èdó* and *Yorùbá* so as to avoid one more diacritic. Again on the model of *Èdó* and *Yorùbá*, the subdot has wide current usage to indicate a ninth vowel [ɛ̣] in dialects where this sound is distinctive, e.g., *Èhwùdà*, *Ọgbakiri*, *Ágbò*, *Nsúkà*, *Àbànkéléke* [“Abakaliki” or “Izi”] and *Èhugbò* [“Afikpo”].⁷

[̣] and [̤] indicate low and high tone, respectively. Downstep is no tone at all but a “juncture”, specifically in *Ìgbo* it is a nonautomatic pitch drop between high tones (Green & *Ígwè* 1963: 6–7). In *Ìgbo*, downstep is part of the basic structure of infinitives, negatives, perfectives and genitives, and also occurs in a few underived nouns as well as in countless lexicalised phrases.⁸ Following Swift, *et al* (1962), Welmers and Welmers (1968a,b) and Nwáchukwu (1976), we adopt the economy rule that an unmarked syllable shares the tone of the syllable to its left; in this way, any sequence of two high marks with no pause in between indicates a downstep before the second mark, e.g., the tonal melody of the phrase [*òwùwají*] ‘new yam festival’ (lit. ‘splitting’ plus ‘yam.GEN’) is LHH¹H (where [̤] is the phonetic downstep symbol). Williamson (1972) and *Éménanjo* (1978) use a different system, with no high mark at all (i.e. every unmarked syllable is high), every low marked individually, and a macron on the first syllable after a downstep; accordingly they write ‘new yam festival’ as [*òwuwají*].⁹

Some scholars argue that tone-marking is unnecessary in materials destined for a purely monolingual audience “except to resolve ambiguity where context is unclear” (*Ụgoñà* 1980:

²Not counting the syllabic nasal, which is homographic with the corresponding nasal stop. Slightly different numbers of segments are counted by Armstrong (1972: 4), based on slightly different assumptions.

³The subdotted vowels—which the *Ọnwụ* report called “short” on analogy to English lax vowels in closed syllables—are more accurately described as members of the [-ATR] or expanded-pharynx set. In roots, [a] has the distribution of a subdotted or [-ATR] vowel in all dialects, but in some northern dialects like *Ọnịcha* [a] is neutral to [ATR] harmony in a few noun prefixes.

⁴After the Nigerian Civil War, various nongovernmental bodies have addressed some of these points with tacit official backing (see for example Society for Promoting *Ìgbo* Language & Culture (1977)).

⁵[sh] contrasts with [s] in northern dialects like *Ìgboizò* [“Ibusa”] and *Àbàágana* where it corresponds to *Ọnịcha* [r] as in *áshò* ‘year’, the name *Nshi* and the indicative negative suffix *-shò*, cf. *Ọgbàlú* (1982), *Éménanjo* (1984). The alternative, to simply use [r] in such dialects, would be technically possible but seems overly abstract. Other dialect-specific fricatives may be allophonic. [sh] and [zh] occur only before front vowels and apparently never contrast with [s] and [z] (Green & *Ígwè* 1963: 6). [ʙ] occurs in *Ọnịcha* and some other northern dialects as an intervocalic variant of [f]; *Àzúnóye* and *Ụdéchukwu* (1984) spell it [v], although [bh] would be more accurate. [ph] and [kh], reported in northern dialects like *Àbànkéléke* (Meir, *et al.* 1975) and *Nsúkà*, may be allophonic.

⁶Glottal stop as a syllable onset is an allophone of [t]; if necessary, it can be written with a word-internal apostrophe, as in the *Ọweré* verb *-wè’ é* ‘bring’ (= *Ọnịcha* *-wètà*, *Mbàisén* *-wètè*).

⁷[e] occurs, but redundantly, in some *Ọnịcha* roots and affixes.

⁸Especially in proper names, cf. footnote 14 below. Also note that in proverbs, where some grammatical affixes are conventionally elided, downstep is the sole cue for negation, e.g., *Ìgbo énwé ezè* literally, ‘*Ìgbo* has no king’.

⁹We prefer the Welmers-Nwáchukwu tone-marking to handle downstep in *Ìgbo* because it dispenses with the macron—a diacritic that has proven difficult to write legibly by hand and which, we observe, encourages the mistaken idea that *Ìgbo* downstep is a “mid-tone”. If that were the case, then an immediately following high tone should be *higher* in pitch, but it is not. Syntactic antidownstep (reversal of a preceding downstep) does occur phonetically in all *Ìgbo* dialects, in a variety of contexts, but its predictability means that it need never be marked, even in *Àbànkéléke* and *Ágbò* where it is frequent (Manfredi 1992, *pace* Meir *et al.* 1975).

Table 1: Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Labialized velar	Glottal
Non-Continuants	Voiceless Unaspirated	p	t	tʃ	k	k ^w	(ʔ)
	Voiceless Aspirated	(p ^h)	(t ^h)	(tʃ ^h)	(k ^h)	(k ^{hw})	
	Voiced Unaspirated	b	d	dʒ	g	g ^w	
	Murmured Aspirated	(b ^h)	(d ^h)	(dʒ ^h)	(g ^h)	(g ^{hw})	
	Voiceless Implosive	(p<)	(t<)				
	Voiced Implosive	ɓ					
	Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋ ^w	
Continuants	Voiceless Fricative	f	s	(ʃ)	(ç)		h
	Voiced Fricative	(β, v)	(z)		(y)		
	Trill			r			
	Lateral			l			
	Glide	w		y			

147). The late Prof. D.I. Nwáòga asked: “To what extent is writing an attempt at an exact reproduction of the sounds of a language and to what extent may it be taken as a symbolic system that is quite effective by pointing rather than incorporating the total sense?” (letter, 30/5/90). Our answer: tone marks, too, are “pointing” devices, not acoustic recordings. For example, every Igbo speaker pronounces the third syllable of *ázízá* ‘response’ at a lower pitch than the first syllable (this is the phonetic downdrift phenomenon), but both are marked as high tones because that information is what matters to the lexicon, e.g., to distinguish ‘response’ from ‘broom’ (which is either *àziza* or *ázizá*). Similarly, every Igbo speaker produces the low tone of the gerund prefix ò- at a much higher pitch in *òchíche* ‘waiting’ than in *òchiche* ‘thinking’. Abraham (1967) devised different tone marks for both of these distinctions, but such detail *need* not be written because it doesn’t affect sense, and it *should* not be written because it distracts from sense (Armstrong 1967). On the other hand, to apply Ûgonná’s approach requires a working definition of ambiguity, and indeed of context, usable by a nonlinguist. With the advent of machine-based text processing, the equivalent task would be to devise spell-checking software to insert partial tone marks automatically by referencing an on-line dictionary and a context buffer with limited look-ahead. The great difficulty of such a procedure can only increase as the dictionary grows by coinage and by borrowing across dialects. Compared to these two extremes, full tone marking seems easy.

Depending on the dialect—and not counting coarticulation effects in Cy clusters or nasalized syllables—Igbo has eight or nine vowels¹⁰ and one syllabic nasal that assimilates to a following consonant; between 12 and 24 nonnasal stops; five nasal stops and 6 to 12 continuant consonants (fricatives, rhotics, laterals and glides).

Table 2: Vowels

		Nonback	Back
Oral	High	i, ɪ	u, ʊ
	Nonhigh	i, (ɛ), a	o, ɔ
Nasal		m	

Basic Morphosyntax

Igbo is SVO and prepositional; a noun precedes its modifiers; inflection and derivation are prefixal in nouns, suffixal in verbs. However, each of these points needs to be qualified. As to basic word order, some southern dialects like Èchíè [“Etche”], Àvụ and Òweré depart from VO when they place a direct object in between the future auxiliary -gá with an obligative sense and the lexical verb (Éménanjo 1984: 198).

- (1a) Ó gá e-lí nní. (Ònịcha)
 3S AUX NOM-eat food.GEN
 ‘S/he is going to eat/have a meal.’
- (1b) Ó gá í-rí rin. (M̀bàisén)
 3S AUX AGR-eat food
 ‘S/he is going to eat, have a meal.’
- (2a) Ó gá a-tá akhụ́. (Èchíè)
 3S AUX NOM-chew palm.kernel.GEN
 ‘S/he is going to chew palm kernels.’
- (2b) Ó gá ákhụ́ a-ta. (Èchíè)
 3S AUX palm.kernel NOM-chew
 ‘S/he must (certainly) chew palm kernels.’

¹⁰A 10th vowel, [ə], occurs in some northern dialects including Nsúká; research has not established whether it is a centralized variant of [ɪ] or a separate phoneme.

Example (2) shows that tone is not just a property of lexical items, but also marks some kinds of inflection (Welmers 1970b; Goldsmith 1976; Clark 1989; Déchaine 1993; Manfredi 1993). In nouns, genitive case is masked in some prosodic contexts; for purposes of this chapter it can be identified as a downstep before the rightmost syllable of a noun that bears only lexical high tone and has at most two syllables. By the tone-marking convention explained above, *akhú* in (2a) has a downstep on the second syllable and is thereby genitive, while *akhu* in (2b) lacks the downstep and so is not. Overall, genitive occurs in the dependent noun of a complex noun phrase, the notional object of a subject-relative clause, the notional object of a nominalized verb (1a, 2a), and the notional object of a perfective verb. This pattern is expected if Igbo has a split-ergative case system (Déchaine & Manfredi 1998).

Still on basic word order, the direct object is not necessarily final in a monotransitive predicate. Most dialects allow a bound nominalization of a transitive verb to follow the direct object, adding an event presupposition as suggested by the italicized part of the gloss of (3b). Descriptively, this nominalized form is the same as the form that occurs in auxiliary constructions like those in (1a) and (2) above. If the direct object is suppressed, the nominalized verb copy is required; the pattern is similar if the verb takes a locative complement. If the verb is intransitive, the nominalized verb copy is required; but there is no corresponding presupposition, e.g., from Mbàisén:

- (3) a. Ó rí-ri ji.
3s eat-TNS yam
'S/he ate (some) yam.'
- b. Ó rí-ri ji e-ri.
3s eat-TNS eat NOM-eat
'S/he ate (some) yam *as expected/contrary expectation*'
- c. Ó rí-ri e-ri.
3s eat-TNS NOM-eat
'S/he ate (something) *as expected/contrary expectation*'
- (4) a. Ó fù-ru n'úẓò.
3s out-TNS LOC-road
'S/he exited to/from the road.'
- b. Ó fù-ru a-fú.
3s out-TNS NOM-out
'S/he exited *from some presupposed place*'

- (5) Ó kù-wa-ra a-kù-wa.
3s knock-split-TNS NOM-knock-split
'It split as a result of being knocked.'

Examples (4) and (5) show lexical prepositions and adjectives (*-fù*, *-wá*) inside inflected verbs (Welmers 1970a; Hale, *et al.* 1995). The only preposition-like item that does not incorporate into the verb in this way is the locative marker *nà*. Notice, however, that *nà* in (4a) is ambiguous between the meanings of 'to' and 'from'—vagueness improbable in a lexical predicate.

The obligatory bound, nominalized verb in (3c) and (4b) led Éménanjo to claim that "all Igbo verbs are transitive" (1975: 166). Indeed, most English intransitive predicates translate into Igbo as full verb phrases including an obligatory, free nominal

complement. The verb root may be cognate with the noun as in (6), but the examples in (7) show that this is not necessary. In the latter case, it is difficult to perceive the semantic contribution of the verb root over and above the complement, hence the label "light verb". The following examples are from Mbàisén:

- (6) a. Ó chì-ri óchì.
3s laugh-TNS laughter
'S/he laughed.'
- b. Ó vù-ru ívù.
3s fat-TNS bulk
'It is big', 'S/he is plump.'
- (7) a. Ó kú ilu.
3s V bitterness
'It is (intrinsically) bitter.'
- b. Ó thì-ri ogologo.
3s V-TNS length
'It is long', 'S/he is tall.'

Attributive adjectives are limited to items for "big", "black", "good" and their opposites (Mádùkà-Dúruñze 1990), e.g., from Mbàisén: *anya ukwu* (eye big) 'greed', lit. 'big eyes'; *ńkwu ocha* (oil palm white) 'palm-wine'; *áfọ oma* (stomach good) 'kindness'. A few attributes are prenominal, as in (8), but most of these are nouns, as seen by the genitive case of their complement—(8a) may be the sole exception. Most attributes are postnominal nouns or relative clauses, as in (9). Examples (8)–(9) are from Mbàisén:

- (8) a. ájọ(ó) hyen
bad thing
'something bad'
- b. ézigbo hyén
goodness thing.GEN
'good/true thing'
- c. ógologo okwú
length talk.GEN
'long discussion'
- (9) a. íshi ikhé
head strength.GEN
'stubbornness' (lit. 'strong head')
- b. áhwán kwéshì-ri e-kwéshì
name.H fit.REL-TNS NOM-fit
'a suitable name'
- c. hyén wé-re anyá
thing take.REL-TNS eye.GEN
'something obvious'

Igbo has no word class corresponding to either the definite or indefinite articles of English, and there is no obligatory marking of number on count nouns. Thus, depending on discourse as well as grammatical context, a count noun like *éwu* 'goat' may be translated either as 'a goat', 'some goats', 'goats (in general)', 'the specific goat in question', or even as a proper noun 'Mr. Goat (the personified character in a story)'. To disambiguate some of these, deictic demonstratives, option-

ally combined with the plural classifier *ndi*, compel a definite interpretation: *éwu à* 'this goat' or 'Mr. Goat here', *éwu ndi à* 'these goats', *éwu ahùn* 'that goat', *éwu ndi ahùn* 'those goats'. As was also the case in older stages of English, the numeral "one" compels an indefinite reading for a count noun: *òfú ewú* means either 'one goat' or 'some goat'.

All affixes on nouns are prefixes (Williamson 1972; Ànagbòdògu 1987), cf. (10). In (10), the gloss DEF.GEN indicates the "specific construction". In verbs, by contrast, all affixes whether derivational (11) or inflectional (12) are suffixes—assuming that the items glossed as AGR in (13) are not prefixes but rather phrasal proclitics marking subject agreement (Èzè 1995). Note, however, that the orthography mostly writes these proclitics as part of the verb word.

- (10) a. ò-gwú ú ji (Ònìcha)
 AGT-dig DEF.GEN yam
 '[human] digger of yams'
 b. ò-gwú ú ji (Ònìcha)
 INST-dig DEF.GEN yam
 'digging tool for yams'
 c. ò-bú íbu (Ònìcha)
 ò-vú ívu (Mbàisén)
 AGT-carry load.DEF.GEN
 '[human] load carrier'
 d. m-bú íbu (Ònìcha)
 m-vú ívu (Mbàisén)
 INST-carry load.DEF.GEN
 'beast of burden'
- (11) a. -lá-cha (Ònìcha)
 -nú-cha (Mbàisén)
 drink-thorough
 'drink up'
 b. -kú-pù-tá (Ònìcha)
 -kú-fù-tá (Mbàisén)
 scoop-out-towards
 'ladle out [a liquid]'
- (12) a. Ó lí-li íni. (Ònìcha)
 Ó rí-ri rin. (Mbàisén)
 3s eat-TNS food
 'S/he ate, had a meal.'
 b. Ó nà e-lí nní. (Ònìcha)
 3s PROG NOM-eat food.GEN
 Ó rí-ghe rin. (Mbàisén)
 3s eat-PROG food
 'S/he is eating.'
 c. Ó lí-go nní. (Ònìcha)
 Ó rí-ele rín. (Mbàisén)
 3s eat-PERF food.GEN
 'S/he has eaten.'
- (13) a. Ànyị e- lí-rọ nni. (Ònìcha)
 Ányị e- rí-ghi rin. (Mbàisén)
 1P AGR eat-NEG food
 'We didn't eat.'
 b. í- lí nni (Ònìcha)
 í- rí rin (Mbàisén)

AGR eat food

'to eat a meal'

- c. É- lí-na nni! (Ònìcha)
 É- rí-le rin! (Mbàisén)
 AGR eat-NEG food
 'Don't eat!'
 d. Ányị é- lí-go nní. (Ònìcha)
 Ányị e- rí-ele rín. (Mbàisén)
 1P AGR eat-PERF food.GEN
 'We have eaten.'

Questions are formed by a range of strategies including movement, tone change and affixation. Yes/no questions involve either a low-toned subject clitic as in (14), or else a periphrastic strategy where the whole sentence is preceded by *Ò* (*bu kwa...*, abbreviating an embedding clause 'Is it the case that...?' as in (15).

- (14) a. Ì je-kọ ọlụ? (Ònìcha)
 L.2s go-PROG work
 'Are you en route to work?'
 b. Ì jìjhe ọrun? (Mbàisén)
 L.2s go.PROG work
 'Are you en route to work?'
- (15) a. Ọ kwa í jè-kọ ọlụ? (Ònìcha)
 Q 2s go-PROG work
 'Is it the case that you are en route to work?'
 b. Ọ kwa í jìjhe ọrun? (Mbàisén)
 Q 2s go.PROG work
 'Is it the case that you are en route to work?'

Content (or *wh*-type) questions impose the same L tone on subject AGR if basic word order is preserved (16a), but not if the question word is fronted (16b–d). If the subject is questioned, there is no fronting (17). If the question word is sentence initial and is also a complex phrase, the sentence has the tones of a relative clause; (17c) shows this for subject questions, and (18) shows it for object questions with a lexical subject, cf. (9b) above.

- (16) a. Ì rí-ri gírí? (Mbàisén)
 L.2s eat-TNS what
 'What did you eat?'
 b. Òléé hyen i rí-ri? (Mbàisén)
 which thing 2s eat-TNS
 'What did you eat?'
 c. Gíní kà í ì-li? (Ònìcha)
 what that 2s eat-TNS
 'What did you eat?'
 d. Kèdú ife i ì-li? (Ònìcha)
 what thing 2s eat-TNS
 'What did you eat?'
- (17) a. Gírí mè-re Úgh wu? (Mbàisén)
 what do-TNS Úgh wu
 'What happened to Úghwu?'
 b. Ònyé gà-ra áhya? (Mbàisén)
 L.person go-TNS market

'Who went to the market?'

- c. Kèdú ife mé-lụ Ugwú? (Ọnịcha)
 what thing DO.REL-TNS Úgwu.GEN
 'What happened to Úgwu?'
 (lit. 'What is the thing that happened to Úgwu?')

- (18) a. Ọléé hyen Uché rí-rí? (M̀bàisén)
 which thing Úché.H eat-TNS
 'What did Úché eat?'
 (lit. 'Which is the thing that Úché ate?')
- b. Kèdú ife Uché ì-li? (Ọnịcha)
 what thing Uché.H eat-TNS
 'What did Uché eat?'
 (lit. 'What is the thing that Úché ate?')

Contact with Other Languages

In the last 400 years, peripheral Igbo-speaking communities have borrowed words and social institutions from neighboring Èdó, Ìgálà and Èfik-Ìbibio among others. Èdó loans like *idumu* 'village ward', *osisi* 'gun' and numerous personal names and chieftaincy titles were adopted in Ágbò, which, in turn, influenced Ọnịcha and other northwestern riverine Igbo settlements through the Ụmụ Èzè Chímà lineage of a 17th-century Ágbò emigrant, Nwádéin Kimè (Èjiọfọ 1982; Ìjèọma 1984; Ọhádiké 1994). In the 19th century, some of these Àniọcha and Óru towns inflated the Ágbò link to a more prestigious, direct descent from the Èdó ("Benin") Kingdom, which, in Igbo, is called either *Idúu* or *Ádó*. (A case of reverse adoption, from Igbo to Èdó, is the *ikeńga* 'cult' of the right hand, cf. Bradbury 1961) Throughout the 18th century and until the Fulani *jihad*, the Ìgálà Kingdom influenced northern Igbo religion, notably in the *ọmábe* masked ancestral dance (Boston 1960a,b; Shelton 1971). From the Cross River Basin came politically powerful oracles and male initiation groups. Ọkọnkọ and Èkpe male title societies, and the associated Èkpo masked ancestral dance, derive from the Èkpe ('Leopard') Society of the Ekoi, Èfik and Ìbibio-speaking area. These institutions spread through the eastern Igbo-speaking area via the Árụ ["Aro"] oracular and slave-trading network between the 17th and 19th centuries (Green 1958; Áfaigbo 1987; Díké & Èkèjìubá 1990).

While Igbo predominates in the home, English is more widely used in commerce, mass media and formal education—even between or among Igbo speakers themselves. Rapid urbanization in Nigeria in the past half century has also brought Igbo speakers into more settings where English bilingualism is the default communication strategy. However, negative attitudes toward language mixture are common, and prescriptive views are often voiced.¹¹ Èzè (1997) shows that Igbo-English contact phenomena take two main forms: code switching and lexical borrowing. Code switching can occur either at a sentence boundary or within one sentence:

- (19) *It's an opportunity* [S PRO ì-gwá gị màka yá].
 AGR-tell 2s about 3s
 'It's an opportunity to tell you about it.'

- (20) Ọ̀ bù a big disappointment to everyone.
 3s be
 'He/she/it is a big disappointment to everyone.'

Most lexical loans from English are "nonce borrowings" (Poplack 1993), i.e., spontaneous uses of an unintegrated lexical item from one language in the discourse of another, as in (5), rather than stable expansions of the Igbo lexicon: *Anyị jì-cha paper anyị*. (1P hold-complete paper 1P) 'We have all of our papers'.¹²

Common Words

	Northern	Southern (if different)
man:	nwóké	(nwá) nwokhé, pl. ụmụ nwókhé
	ókènye, pl. ikènye	(nwá) nwokhó, pl. ụmụ nwókho
woman:	nwáayi, ọnyenyè	(nwá) nwáanyi, pl. ụmụ nwáanyi
	òkporó, pl. ikporó	
water:	m̀m̀l̀l̀	mírin, míni
sun:	ánwụ, ánya anwụ	
three (counting):	itọ	àtọ, àtọ
fish:	ázụ	ázun
yes:		
(to a question)	ée, èèyi	
yes:		
(to a statement)	ìya	
yes:		
(to a command)	óo	
no:	é'è, mbà, wáa	Ọ̀ díghị (lit. 'It's not [so]'), m'̀m̀
bird:	ínụnụ	
dog:	ńkítá/ńchítá	
tree:	osisi	óshishi

Efforts to Preserve, Protect, and Promote the Language

To date, there is no clearly defined 'Standard Igbo' (*ìgbó Ìzugbé*), despite prescriptive efforts throughout colonial times (Dennis, *et al.* 1923; Adams 1932; Ward 1936, 1941, cf. Àchebé 1976; Émènanjọ 1995). As Schön remarked over a century ago, a project of standardizing Igbo by translating received English texts—rather than by collecting "a native literature of stories, proverbs and sayings"—is doomed to "inaccuracies, inconsistencies and contradictions" (1861: 1–3). Published oral texts from different locales include Green (1958), Ègúdu and Nwàọga (1971), Émènanjọ (1977), Ụgónnà (1980, 1983), Àchebé and Ụdéchukwu (1982), Àzúnonye and Ụdéchukwu (1984) and Àmádiúme (1995). Ógbo (1994) observes two supra-dialectal varieties in spontaneous writing and cosmopolitan speech. One of these reflects forms current in the northern

¹¹For example, Àhụkàfina (1990: 179) quotes a radio announcer as describing the mixture of Igbo and English as "linguistic sabotage". The term "saboteur" was a potentially dangerous accusation during the Nigerian civil war, hence its use by language purists is particularly emotive in the Igbo context.

¹²For the example of 'paper', Igbo already has an indigenous neologism: *ákwukwọ* (literally, 'leaf').

cities of Ònicha and Ènugwú ["Enugu"]; the other represents especially the large rural communities of Mbàisén and Òmàáhyá in the southern area.

After two centuries of effort, continued low rates of literacy in Ìgbo call for historical explanation. Àchebé accuses "egoistic schoolmen" (1984: 95), while Áfàìgbo (1981) blames colonial policies encouraging labor migration and English-medium schools. Mission schools turned confessional rivalry into policy conflict; most northern literacy was carried out by Catholic authorities, while southern literacy was largely in the hands of Anglicans. Since the civil war, the state sector has sponsored little Ìgbo publishing besides examination textbooks. At war's end, several peripheral dialects were given idiosyncratic orthographies, hindering harmonization (Wugo 1970; Clark 1971; Meir, *et al.* 1975). To date there are two linguistically adequate Ìgbo dictionaries: Welmers and Welmers (1968)—a Peace Corps primer with 2,500 entries drawn from a variety of dialects—and Williamson (1972) with 5,000 entries from Ònicha. Èchèrúó (1998) updates and modifies the unpublished compilation whose preface was published as Abraham (1967). In recent decades, efforts to preserve and promote Ìgbo have diminished in step with infrastructural collapse in state-sponsored schools and colleges, and also more generally as a result of diminished leverage by Ìgbo-speaking political brokers over resources from the national state.¹³ Thus in the near-to-medium term, pro-Ìgbo linguistic activism will depend on the economic and intellectual capital of Ìgbo speakers in the private sector, including the Nigerian diaspora overseas.¹⁴

Select Bibliography

- Abraham, R.C. 1967. *The Principles of Ìgbo; Archival Edition of Typescript*. Occasional Publication 5, Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn.
- Àchebé, C. 1976. "The Bane of Union: An Appraisal of the Consequences of 'Union Ibo' for Ìgbo Language and Literature." In *Ariju* 1: 33–41.
- _____. 1984. "Editorial and Linguistic Problems in 'Áka Wetà'; A Comment." In *Ùwá Ndị Ìgbo; A Journal of Ìgbo Life & Culture* 1: 94–95.
- Àchebé, C., and O. Ùdéchukwu. 1982. *Áka Wetà; Ègwu A Gùlù Agù ná Ègwu E Dèrè Edé*. Òkike Magazine, Ñsùkà.
- Adams, R.F.G. 1932. *A Modern Ìgbo Grammar*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Áfàìgbo, A.E. 1981. *Ropes of Sand; Studies in Ìgbo History & Culture*. Ìbàdàn: University Press Ltd.

- _____. 1987. "The Ìgbo and their Neighbours in the Pre-colonial Period." In *The Ìgbo & their Neighbours*, 29–52. Ìbàdàn: University Press Ltd.
- Àmádiúme, S. 1995. *Ìlù Ndị Ìgbo; A Study of Ìgbo Proverbs*. Ènugwú: Fourth Dimension.
- Ànagbòḍḍu, P.N. 1995. "A Grammar of Ìgbo Nominalizations." Dissertation, University of Port Harcourt.
- Ánòkà, G.M.K. 1985. "The Phonology of the Three *t*'s of Ìgbo." In *West African Languages in Education*, edited by K. Williamson. *Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* 27, 99–105. Vienna: Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie.
- Armstrong, R.G. 1964. *The Study of West African Languages*. Ìbàdàn University Press.
- _____. 1967. "A Note on Marking Ìgbo Tones." In *The Principles of Ìgbo; Archival Edition of Typescript*, 1–2. Occasional Publication 5, Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn.
- _____. 1972. *A Comparative Wordlist of Five Ìgbo Dialects*. Occasional Publication 5, Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn.
- Boston, J.S. 1960a. "Notes on Contact between the Ìgàlà and the Ìgbo." In *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2: 52–58.
- _____. 1960b. "Some Northern Ìgbo Masquerades." In *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 90: 54–65.
- Bradbury, R.E. 1961. "Èzòmó's ikègà obò and the Benin cult of the hand." In *Man* 165: 129–138.
- Clark, D.J. 1971. *Reading & Writing Èkpeye*. Rivers Readers Project, Ìbàdàn & Port Harcourt.
- Clark, M.M. 1989. *The Tonal System of Ìgbo*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Cookey, S.J.S. 1980. "An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction of Traditional Ìgbo Society." In *West African Culture Dynamics*, edited by B.K. Swartz & R.E. Dummett, 327–346. Mouton, The Hague.
- Déchaine, R.M. 1993. "The Syntax of Ìgbo Tone." In *Predicates across Categories; Towards a Category-neutral Syntax*, 497–520. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Déchaine, R.M., and V. Manfredi. 1998. "SVO Ergativity and Abstract Ergativity." In *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 27: 71–94.
- Dennis, T.J., *et al.* 1923. *Dictionary of the Ìgbo Language: English-Ìgbo*. C.M.S. Bookshop, Lagos.
- Díké, K.O., and F.I. Èkèjìubá, 1990. *The Àrù of Southeastern Nigeria, 1650–1980*. Ìbàdàn University Press.
- Èchèrúó, M.J.C. 1998. *Dictionary of the Ìgbo Language*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

¹³Today, the two main ethnolinguistic interest groups in Nigerian politics are the Hausa-Fulani and their "middle-belt" clients on the one side (who now dominate the army), and Yorùbá speakers plus aggrieved "southern minorities" from oil producing areas on the other (Òmórúyì 1997). Some oil is produced from wells in Ìgbo-speaking areas in the present Ìmò, Delta and Ábja states, but a larger share has come from Ògoni, Ìzòn ("Ijaw") and other non-Ìgbo speaking territory—all of which has been lumped into the category of "Southern Minorities" since the Nigerian civil war.

¹⁴But privatized policy has its own risks. Èchèrúó (1998)—an Ìgbo-English dictionary compiled by a professor of English literature—suppresses tone marks, citing two erroneous grounds: (i) only words "in isolation from other syntactical processes" can constitute lexical items, and (ii) downstep is not found within lexical items. Counterexamples include lexicalized phrases like *nwánné* (H-downstep juncture-H), which is the ordinary gender-neutral kin term for 'sibling' (etymologically, 'mother's child', with a downstep of genitive case), as well as many personal and place-names that are no longer analyzable as phrases, e.g., Ñsùkà (L-H-downstep juncture-H) and Ñnééwí (L-H-downstep juncture-H-H), cf. Èmènanjò (1984). Minimal pairs abound like *ísí* (H-downstep juncture-H) 'to boil' versus *ísi* (H-H) 'head'. Another unilateral decision in Èchèrúó's dictionary is to convert the vowel diacritic from the subdot (officially adopted in 1961, and currently used by nearly all neighboring and historically related languages in Nigeria) to an umlaut (once used in a few tiny, neighboring languages in the Cross River Basin). His explicit reason is to separate Ìgbo from "a script group to which, by the very nature of its sound system, it does not belong" (1998: x), but this sounds like rationalizing. Neither of these steps has been accepted by Nigerian language professionals.

- Ègúdu, R.N., and D.I. Nwáòga. 1971. *Poetic Heritage; Ìgbo Traditional Verse*. Ènugwú: Nwánkwọ Ífejika.
- Èjiòfọ, L.U. 1982. *Ìgbo Kingdoms; Power & Control*. Òñicha: Africana Publishers.
- Èmènanjọ, E.'N. 1975. "Aspects of the Ìgbo Verb." In *Ìgbo Language & Culture 1*, edited by F.C. Ógbàlú, & E.'N. Èmènanjọ, 160–173. Ìbàdàn: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1977. *Òmálinze; A Book of Ìgbo Folk-tales*. Oxford University Press, Ìbàdàn.
- _____. 1978. *Elements of Modern Ìgbo Grammar*. Ìbàdàn: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1984. *Auxiliaries in Ìgbo Syntax*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- _____. 1985. "Language Engineering in Present-Day Ìgbo." In *West African Languages in Education*, edited by K. Williamson. *Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* 27, 85–95. Vienna: Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie.
- _____. 1995. "Issues in the Establishment of Standard Ìgbo." In *Language in Nigeria; Essays in Honour of Ayọ Bámbgbósé*, edited by K. Owólábí, 213–29. Ìbàdàn: Group Publishers.
- Èzè, E. 1995. "The Forgotten Null Subject of Ìgbo." In *Theoretical Approaches to African Linguistics 1*, edited by A. Akinlabí, 59–82. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- _____. 1997. "Aspects of Language Contact: A Variationist Perspective on Code Switching & Borrowing in Ìgbo-English Bilingual Discourse." Dissertation, University of Ottawa.
- Goldsmith, J. 1976. "Autosegmental Phonology." Dissertation, M.I.T., Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- _____. 1981. "The Structure of *wh*-questions in Ìgbo." In *Linguistic Analysis* 7: 367–393.
- Green, M.M. 1958. "Sayings of the Òkọnkọ Society of the Ìgbo-speaking People." In *Bulletin of S.O.A.S.* 21: 157–173.
- Green, M.M., and G.E. Ígwè. 1963. *A Descriptive Grammar of Ìgbo*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1963. *The Languages of Africa*. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____. 1972. "Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins." In *Journal of African History* 13: 189–216.
- Hale, K., U. Íhìonú, and V. Manfredi. 1995. "Ìgbo Bipositional Verbs in a Syntactic Theory of Argument Structure." In *Theoretical Approaches to African Linguistics 1*, edited by A. Akinlabí, 83–107. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- Ífemésia, C.I. 1979. *Traditional Humane Living among the Ìgbo; An Historical Perspective*. Ènugwú: Fourth Dimension.
- Íjèoma, J.O. 1984. "The Evolution of Kingship among the West Niger Ìgbo Chiefdoms, with Particular Reference to Benin Influence." In *Íkenga* 6: 34–46.
- Ladefoged, P., M.A. Úwaláàka, K. Williamson and B.O. Elugbe 1976. "The Stops of Òweré Ìgbo." *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement* 6: 146–163.
- Mádùkà-Dúruñze. O.N. 1990. "Ìgbo Adjectives as Morphologised Relatives." In *Studies in African Linguistics* 21: 237–51.
- Manfredi, V. 1989. "Igboid." In *The Niger-Congo Languages*, edited by J. Bendor-Samuel, 337–358. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- _____. 1992. "The Limits of Downstep in Ágbò Sentence Prosody." In *IRCS Report* 92–37, edited by M. Liberman & C. Maclemore, 103–115. Institute for Research in Cognitive Science. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- _____. 1993. "Spreading and Downstep: Prosodic Government in Tone Languages." *The Phonology of Tone; the Representation of Tonal Register*, edited by H. van der Hulst & K. Snider, 133–84. Berlin: Mouton/de Gruyter.
- Meir, P., I. Meir and J. Bendor-Samuel. 1975. *A Grammar of Ízì, An Ìgbo Language*. Normal, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators.
- Nwáchukwu, P.A. 1976. *Noun Phrase Sentential Complementation in Ìgbo*. Dissertation, University of London.
- Nwáòga, D.I. et al. 1990. *The Nwágú Ánéke Research Project Proposal*. Institute of African Studies. Nsùkà: University of Nigeria.
- Ógbo, O. 1994. "Saving the Ìgbo Language." In *Uwá Ndị Ìgbo; A Journal of Ìgbo Life & Culture 1*: 103–04.
- Ógbàlú, F.C. 1975. "Ìgbo Spelling." In *Ìgbo Language & Culture 1*, edited by F.C. Ógbàlú, and E.'N. Èmènanjọ, 138–59. Ìbàdàn: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1982. "Towards Standard Ìgbo: The Case of the Àbààgana Dialect." In *Ìgbo Language & Culture 2*, edited by F.C. Ógbàlú and E.'N. Èmènanjọ, 98–101. Ìbàdàn: Oxford University Press.
- Òhádíkè, D.C. 1994. *Ànioma; A Social History of the Western Ìgbo People*. Ohio University Press.
- Òmórúyì, O. 1997. "The Mistake of 1914: North-South Anomalies in Nigerian Federalism." In *Wilberforce Conference on Nigerian Federalism*, edited by P. Èkèh, E. Ònwudíwe and E. Osaghae. Ohio: Central State University.
- Ònwuèjìogwù, M.A. 1975. "Some Fundamental Problems in the Application of Lexicostatistics in the Study of African Languages." In *Paideuma* 21: 6–17.
- _____. 1980. *An Ìgbo Civilization: Nri Kingdom & Hegemony*. London: Ethnographica.
- Poplack, S. 1993. "Variation Theory and Language Contact." In *American Dialect Research*, edited by D. Preston, 251–286. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Schön, J.F. 1861. *Ókwu Ìgbo; Grammatical Elements of the Ìgbo Language*. London: Watts.
- Seligman, C.G. 1930. *The Races of Africa*. London: Butterworth.
- Shaw, T. 1970. *Ìgbo Úkwu: An Account of Archaeological Discoveries in Eastern Nigeria*. London: Faber.
- Shelton, A. 1971. *The Ìgbo-Ìgàlá Borderland; Religion & Social Control in Indigenous African Colonialism*. Albany: S.U.N.Y. Press.
- Swift, L.B., A. Àhàghotù and E. Ùgójì 1962. *Ìgbo Basic Course*. Washington: Foreign Service Institute.
- Ùgoñnà, N. 1980. *Ábù na Ègwuregwu Òdinalá Ìgbo*. Íkejà: Longman.
- _____. 1983. *Mmónwù, a Dramatic Tradition of the Ìgbo*. Lagos University Press.
- Ward, I.C. 1936. *Introduction to the Ìgbo Language*. London: Heffers.
- _____. 1941. *Ìgbo Dialects & the Development of a Common Language*. London: Heffers.
- Welmers, W.E. 1970a. "The Derivation of Ìgbo Verb Bases." In *Studies in African Linguistics* 1, 49–59.
- _____. 1970b. "Ìgbo Tonology." In *Studies in African Linguistics*, 255–78.
- Welmers, B.F. and W.E. Welmers. 1968a. *Ìgbo: A Learner's Dictionary*. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A.

- _____. 1968b. *Ìgbo: A Learner's Manual*. Los Angeles: U.C.L.A.
- Williamson, K., ed. 1972. *Ìgbo-English Dictionary, Based on the Ònìcha Dialect*. Ethiope, Benin City.
- _____. 1976. "Noun-class Prefixes in Proto-Lower Niger." Presented at the 12th West African Languages Congress, Ilé-Ife.
- _____. 1989a. "Niger-Congo Overview." In *The Niger-Congo Languages*, edited by J. Bendor-Samuel, 3–45. Lanham, Maryland: American Universities Press.
- _____. 1989b. "Linguistic Evidence for the Prehistory of the Niger Delta." In *The Early History of the Niger Delta*, edited by E.J. Alagoa *et al*, 65–119. Hamburg: Buske.
- Wugo, S.A. 1970. "Òkwukwō kè m̀bom̄ nù Ìkwere." Rivers Readers Project, Rivers State Government, Port Harcourt and Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn.