Ágbò & Ẹ́hụgbò: Ìgbo linguistic consciousness, its origins & limits
My dissertation, chaired by S.J. Tambiah, with Ken Hale as the Harvard–external committee member, and Susumu Kuno and Sally Falk Moore as the other Harvard members. Compact edition [400 pp. 8.5 x 11 inches].

No photos were included, but a few representative ones from the fieldwork years (1976–77, 1980–84) are posted on the research page — where can also be found links to the 90 minutes of audio originally distributed together with the thesis as a cassette tape.

Four sections of this work were published in essentially identical form (not separately posted on this page, but offprints are available on request).

Pp. 30–33 together with 46–61 had previously appeared as "Igboid"
The Niger–Congo Languages, edited by J. Bendor–Samuel, 337–58.
University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland, 1989. ISBN 0819173762.

Pp. 61–93 appeared as "Spreading and downstep: prosodic government in tone languages"
The Phonology of Tone; the Representation of Tonal Register, edited by H. v.d. Hulst & K. Snider, 133–84.
De Gruyter, Berlin, 1993. ISBN 3110136058.

Pp. 182–84 appeared as part of "Aspect, V-movement and V-incorporation in Àbẹ"
Studies in Generative Approaches to Aspect, edited by C. Tenny, 85–95.
Lexicon Project Working Papers 24, July 1988. Center for Cognitive Science, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass.

Pp. 188–220 appeared as "Verb focus in the typology of Kwa/Kru and Haitian"
Focus & Grammatical Relations in Creole Languages, edited by F. Byrne & D. Winford, 3–51.
Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1993. ISBN 1556191669.

Pp. 220–41 had previously appeared as "Antilogophoricity as domain extension in Ìgbo and Yorùbá"
Niger–Congo Syntax & Semantics **1**, 97–113.
African Studies Center, Boston University, 1987.

JolanPanNigerian, the 20 year old PostScript face created in order to accommodate Nigerian orthographies (see p. 396 for details), looks grizzly on the screen but prints out smoother. (Not only people get grizzled with age — a consoling thought!)

As to content, much of the *document de travail* has been superceded in recent years, especially due to two steps which I took in response to the intractable mysteries faced by more standard kinds of analysis: **(i)** a shift from the autosegmental–metrical hybridity of Chapter 1, to toneme–free metrics (also here); and **(ii)** a move from the projected lexical conceptual structures of Chapter 2, to compositional lexical syntax (also here and here). In the interim I've also **(iii)** backed off of the strong WYSIWYG morphology conjecture of Chapter 3, to settle for an indispensable minimum of overt structural cueing, consistent with parametric, derivational phases (here) and irreducible to Distributed Morphology — a style of hyper– or meta–phonology *cum* recapitulation of syntactic "debris" (Halle & Calabrese *p.c.*). All these changes were prefigured in the 1991 text, but not so for **(iv)** "scopophobia", a principle of syntax–semantics mapping — Chapter 3 scrupulously avoided QR but offered nothing in its place apart from appeals to intelligent pragmatics. My current interest is **(v)** to combine the foregoing claims in order to treat focus phenomena without cartographic/criterial feature checking (here and here), and in order to capture subject/object and argument/adjunct asymmetry in *wh*–dependencies.

My best luck came at the start of the journey, to compare Ìgbo and Yorùbá while learning about each from eminent southern Nigerian scholars and traditional verbal artists. That happenstance was somehow inevitable for an *alárinsọ* (the efficient translation into Yorùbá, applied to me by my ASUU sister Dr. Yétúndé Olúwafisàn, of the concept of 'peripatetic linguist with theatrical and mendicant airs') working in the then–thriving federal university system at a time of cheap and safe public transportation. Under such conditions, the comparative window opened wide enough to show one nontrivial difference in the relation between sound and meaning. The agenda of topics could have been shorter, though my committee kindly refrained from pointing out this fact. My revered colleague Dr. Frannie Oyèbádé gave me friendly grief about the book's polymathic title, but from my outsider's standpoint I can't imagine engaging with these languages to the needed extent without facing what Chomsky calls Orwell's Problem. Maybe a grammarian can untangle puzzles of ideology and demography in the cognitive science vein (cf. Wallerstein quoted here).

My worst typo is the omission of Kay Williamson's name from the Acknowledgements (p. 13), although her generous mentorship is writ throughout. She was too polite to mention my mistake; when a third party pointed it out in 1994, she gracefully accepted that no *vendetta* was behind the lapse.

The issues raised in veiled terms in section 4.7 ("The poverty of Africanist philology" pp. 309-11) have been discussed more overtly and in much more detail by B. Lawal, "*À yà gbó, à yà tó*—new perspectives on *ẹdan Ògbóni*" (*African Arts* **28.1**, 36-49, 98-100).

Tone correction: LHL tones printed on the language name "Igala" on pp. 24 (*fn.* 15) and 31, due to Banfield (1914, 178) and Armstrong (1965, 78), are probably an anglicism. Ìlọ̀rí (2009) gives the name with MHL, but that's a likely Yorùbáism, because two independent citations by speakers give initial H while mentioning the restriction that "[t]here is no noun in Ígálâ that begins with the mid tone" (Ètù & Mìáchî 1991, 7, cf. Ọmachonu 2012, 22). Loanword change HHL>MHL in Ìlọ̀rí's Yorùbáphonic citation is likely, given that Yorùbá prohibits H on initial onsetless syllables (Ward 1952, 37). Tonal anglicization is common in proper names all over West Africa, e.g.

"**Í ì g b o**" HLL for *Ìgbo* LL [= colonial "Ibo"]

"**Ọ̀ n í ị̀ c h a**" LHLL for *Ọ̀nịcha* LLL [= colonial "Onitsha"]

"**À k á n**" LH for *Àkan* LL

and so on. (The third of these caught me napping in this paper.) One more "Igala" confusion in public record: WorldCat's entry for Ètù & Mìáchî's school text mistypes the medial vowel of the language name as [i], but in fact the authors write it consistently as [a].

Armstrong, R. [1965]. Comparative wordlists of two dialects of Yoruba with Igala. *Journal of West African Languages* **2**, 51–78.

Banfield, A. [1914]. *Dictionary of the Nupe Language*. Niger Press, Shonga.

Ètù, Y. & T. Mìáchî. [1991]. *Ígálâ ékọ̀chẹ, Ọ̀tákáda ejódùdu* [*sic*, typo for "*ẹkẹlẹ*"]; *Ọ̀tákáda àbùné ítíchâ, Teachers' guide* [= book **4**]. Heinemann, Ìbàdàn. ISBN 9781298022.

Ìlọ̀rí, J. [2009]. Noun–plural formation in Igálà [*sic*]. *Current Perspectives in Phonosyntax & Dialectology*, edited by G. Adika *& al.*, 1–15. Department of Gur Gonja, University of Education, Winneba, Ghana.

Ọmachonu, G. [2012]. Ígálà language studies and development. Slides from 12th Igala Education Summit, Kogi State University, Anyigba, 28-29 December.

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Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò:

Ìgbo linguistic consciousness, its origins and limits

A thesis presented

by

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to

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Abstract

Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò are township-based, rural lineage federations of southern Nigeria, on opposite margins of the Ìgbo culture area (Forde and Jones 1950, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1970). They provide windows on Ìgbo ethnicity, understood as linguistic consciousness.

Ethnicity links explicit knowledge (ideology) with implicit knowledge (grammar). This effect is problematic, if grammar is located in biology or psychology as an "I-language" which maps sound and meaning through a parametric subset of Universal Grammar (Chomsky 1986b). But it is expected, if grammar and ideology share a common cognitive ground. That ground is the lexicon: "the supra-individual external memory" which constitutes "the public world of human culture and knowledge in the objective sense" (Koster 1989b).

In southern Nigeria, the creation of standard languages by hubristic missionaries and the colonial/national state has had ethnic effects, illustrating Gouldner's view that

> [I]deology… is the restructuring of an ordinary language… by selectively focusing the ordinary language on certain public projects… by changing the meanings of the ordinary language… by taking certain parts of ordinary language and making them newly problematical [and]… by the invention of new signs. (1976: 81)

One effect of the ideological struggle which accompanied standardization has been the blockage of literacy. Standard Ìgbo is little used in formal education and the public sphere.

> The question… is why an institutionalized school system should constitute for [the] Ìgbo language a source of weakness rather than of strength. (Áfìgbo 1981: 377)

Chapters 1-3 adduce evidence on the unity and diversity of Ìgbo in relation both to its Benue-Kwa neighbors (especially Yorùbá) and to Universal Grammar. The relationship between knowledge of language and encyclopedic/pragmatic knowledge is formulated in terms of aspect, argument selection and the lexicalization of semantic constants. Morpheme-based analyses are developed for tonal prosody; verb serialization, V-V compounding; ditransitivity, antipassive; verb focus, antilogophoricity, tense.

Chapter 4 characterizes Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò as political-economic systems in which lexical representations—functioning as tacit resources and explicit, strategic symbols—affect consciousness. The blockage of Ìgbo literacy reflects 150 years' politicization of the Ìgbo lexicon by state and missionary projects, and Ìgbo-speakers' resistance to these.

The ethnic effect challenges predominant, neo-Kantian assumptions in western sociology and biological reductionism in generative linguistics.

Six oral texts from Ágbọ̀, two from Ẹ́hụgbò and one from Nri are transcribed/translated and reproduced in an accompanying tape. The dissertation with cassette is available at cost (US$20.00 postpaid by air) from the author.

Committee chair: Stanley Jeyarāja Tambiah, professor of Anthropology.

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References

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Audio documentation

Ọ́nụ àtụ

Ọ́jị gbára aka ànọ́: ùdó!

Ọ́jị gbára aka àtọ́: áka dìké!

Ọ́nwụkà Díké, ì fúgo ọjí m wètérenì?

"Ézè ákụkọ ànị"*,

Ónye búlu ụzọ́ kọ́ọ́ n'ànɨ́ à,

Bị̀ǎ, nnà á, tàá ǹke gí!

[Invocation]

[Kola nut composed of four lobes: peace!

Three-lobed kola nut: a strong right arm!

Ọ́nwụkà Díké, do you see the kola I brought?

"Prince among historians",

First tiller of this soil,

Come, sir, for your preeminent share!]

*Ìfemésịa (1984: 43).

Orthography

Ìgbo's official orthography followed Nigerian independence by 2 years, delayed by a century of missionary rivalry. Today, the orthography remains incomplete, reform has barely begun of colonial-era spellings in personal and place names, and nearly all literacy is in the medium of English. The present work aims to be completely orthographic, providing for "dialect" sounds where relevant, as envisioned by Ọ́gbàlụ́ and Émènanjọ 1975. The orthographic principle does not exempt quotations and names, all of which I have respelled in these pages, with tone marks. This practice is standard in the leading African language departments in Nigeria.

Pronunciation is politics. BBC announcers take great pains with Polish surnames, and never miss the diphthong in *Botha*, but it took a year of *intifada* for [Ara'fa:t] to oust ['Ærəfæt] from their scripts. In languages with 'automatic' (i.e. phonemic) orthographies—as opposed to the morphological spelling system of English—a mispelled word is by definition mispronounced. Political confusions are entrenched by the venerable misspelling "Ibo", which is still enshrined in the usage of missionaries, political scientists, museum curators and *The New York Times*.

Conventional place name spellings like "Onitsha" and "Awgu" (Ọ̀nịcha, Ògụ) are noted in Fig. 1 below. Many place name etymologies are obscure; colonial-era spellings guarantee they will remain so. An example is given by Émènanjọ 1981. The town of "Owerri" grew up around a British post where young men were seized for forced labor, hence Òwerí 'Abductor' with [L L H] tones. Thanks to schools and mass media, most Ìgbo speakers, including residents of the town itself, use the [L L L] pattern "Òwere", which is semantically opaque. In this way, history is quietly erased. Ánọ̀ká 1979 lists the pronunciation of settlement names in the present "Anambra" (Ọ̀-má-ḿbala, 'It-floods-[the]-plain', cf. Òkéké 1985: 1) and Ímò States.

The References give conventional spellings of personal names in brackets after the orthographic form; names whose pronunciation I don't know appear in brackets. Here too, there are empirical stakes. In 1983, an anthropologist observed that the conventional spelling of his name *Ọ́nwụejéọ̀gwụ* 'Death-doesn't-go-to-war' is semantically less plausible than *Ọ́nwụejíọ̀gwụ̀* 'Death-doesn't-use-medicine-[to-kill]'. A pronouncing dictionary of prominent Nigerian names has been compiled at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn.

Unlike other parts of Africa, where nonroman symbols are firmly established, Nigeria since 1960 has opted for orthographies with Roman symbols plus diacritics (Williamson 1985). In the current, 1961 Ìgbo orthography, a subdot represents the value [–ATR] in nonlow vowels: ị, ẹ, ọ, ụ = [ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ]. Nonroman symbols are used for subphonemic elements. The [+ATR] counterpart of a is written ə; ə occurs in parts of Savannah Igboid as an allophone of ụ. Another Savannah allophone is ɯ, the [-round] counterpart of ʊ/ụ. ə and ɯ need be written only if surface phonetics are at issue (e.g. in the phonetically-based dialectology in §1.3).[1]

Orthographic **ṅ**, **nw**, **ny** are phonetically either [ŋ, ŋʷ, ɲ] or [ñ , w̃, j̃]. In "Ẹ̀kpẹyẹ" (D. J. Clark's written form of Ẹ̀hwụ́dà), **kp**, **gb**, **bh**, **dh** = [kʘp, gʘb, ɓ, ɗ]; elsewhere **kp**, **gb** = [p<, ɓ]. Following Rivers State orthographies, I rewrite Clark's **bh**, **dh** as **ḅ**, **ḍ**. Ánọ̀ká 1982 writes [t<] as ṭ. Glottal stop [ʔ], which occurs in parts of the Central area for instances of orthographic **t**, can be represented with an apostrophe **'** . Nasality, nasal plosion and some fricatives can be shown by

[1] Nwáchukwu 1983d calls for a return to nonroman symbols like ɛ, ɔ, ɵ, ŋ, first promoted by the Anglican F. G. Adams and the British linguist I. C. Ward, and subsequently adopted by Catholic missionaries.

spelling rules. **Vn** = [Ṽ]; **CnV/CVn** = [C̃nṼ]; **ph**, **bh**, **kh**, **rh**, **sh**, **zh**, **gh** = [ɸ, β, χ, ʁ, ʃ, ʒ, ɣ]. (Íhìọ́nụ́ 1989a argues that **gh** is really a glide; **ph**, **bh**, **kh**, **rh** are restricted to Northern Igboid.) Nasality spreads at least onto an adjacent fricative: **SVn** or **SnV** = [S̃Ṽ].

Extending Green and Ígwè 's proposal to write the voiced (breathy) velar [gʰ] as **gḥ** (1963: 2, *fn.* 6), I write all aspirated stops [Cʰ] with **h** plus a subdot: **Cḥ**, to distinguish them from corresponding fricatives. This solution is extravagant, since most dialects which have the fricatives **ph**, **bh**, **kh** lack aspirated stops, but it is needed not just to distinguish plosive **gḥ** from fricative **gh**, but also to distinguish aspirated **cḥ** from plain **ch**. The Adams/Ward solution to the latter problem, duly incorporated in the Catholic orthography of the 1930's, preserved by Green and Ígwè 1963 (but not 1970), and newly advocated by Nwáchukwu 1983d, is to write the plain affricate as **c**;. However, nonaspirated **ch** has become too well established, and is too strongly reinforced by English **ch**, to expect people to revert to plain **c** at this date.

Tonemarking

Outside the technical literature, there is little tonemarked Ìgbo in print, for two reasons. The first is practical: missionary literacy is not creative. Missionized Ìgbo speakers were given tools designed to decode received texts which had been ineptly translated from English (Àchebé 1976). In any case, converts were attracted to English literacy, not to Ìgbo "scriptures" (Ékèchí 1972, Áfìlìgbo 1981e). The second reason reflects linguistic properties of Ìgbo tone.

Like its Benue-Congo neighbors Ịzọ̌n [Ijaw, Ịbọ] and Ẹ̀fịk-Ìbìbìò, Ìgbo exhibits phrase-level tone alternations which make a given word appear with different pitch patterns in different syntactic contexts, e.g. *èzí* 'compound' [LH], *ímе ézi* 'inside the compound' [HH !HH]. Ìgbo also resembles its fellow Kwa languages Ẹ̀do and Yorùbá in the high 'functional load' of tone contrasts on monosyllabic roots, e.g. *ígbé* 'to cry' [H!H], *íbè* 'to perch'. In such a language, phonological (as opposed to morphological) tone marking may introduce ambiguity, e.g. *ígbékwàsị̀* 'to {cry/perch} repeatedly' [H!HLL]. A lexical tone language with monosyllabic roots and phrasal tone rules forces a less-than-ideal choice between paradigmatic (underlying) and syntagmatic (surface) tone marking: the former is too abstract, the latter too concrete.

There are three possible orthographic conventions for tone: paradigmatic, syntagmatic and junctural. In Yorùbá, the tone-bearing unit is the syllable, and the convention is paradigmatic, syllable-by-syllable. On the other hand, since tone alternations are defined over two sorts of domains, there are two kinds of syntagmatic convention: prosodic, where the unit is the syllable (as in Akan) and syntactic, where the unit is the phrase (as in Ịzọ̌n). The junctural option is at once both syntagmatic, dividing up the linear span, and paradigmatic, introducing a special symbol (such as !) which is neither a consonant nor a vowel.

For Ìgbo, most authors adopt a paradigmatic, syllable-by-syllable method. Green and Ígwè 1963 mark L syllables individually with a grave accent [`] and leave H unmarked, except that the H which immediately follows a downstep juncture (nonautomatic, cumulative pitch declination) bears a vertical stroke [ˈ]. Williamson and Émènanjọ, who between them have produced most tonemarked publications in the language, and Green and Ígwè 1970, replace the stroke [ˈ] with a macron [¯].

Consider the sentences in (1), which have the tone patterns in (2).

1a. Eze jere Anịocha taa. 'Eze went to Aniocha today'

b. Adha agaala ahya. 'Adha has gone to market (and returned)'

2a. [H L L L L L H H HûL]

b. [L H ! H H H H H ! H]

[!] represents downstep. In (1b), all syllables save the first bear H, but two downsteps break up the seven adjacent H syllables into three declining pitch levels, yielding the contour in (3b):

3a. [¯ _ _ _ _ _ ¯ ¯ \ ]

b. [_ ¯ ¯ _ _ _ _ _]

A junctural representation, with full tone marking as found in phonetics texts, is given in (4):

4a. Ézè jèrè Ànị́chá táà.

b. Àdhá ! ágáálá áhy ! á.

By the Williamson-Éménanjọ convention, these examples are written as in (5):

5a. Ezè jèrè Ànịocha taà.

b. Àdha āgaala ahyā.

Ìgbo texts tonemarked by students reveal a major problem with any non-junctural convention which uses a special mark for downstep. Although the macron represents for a phonetic juncture after the immediately preceding syllable, students generally write it as if its domain is the syllable on which it stands. That is, they tend to associate the macron, not with the preceding downstep juncture, but with the pitch level that follows the juncture. Accordingly, in the course of learning the Williamson-Éménanjọ convention, students very often write (5b) as (6):

6. Àdha āgāālā āhy…

In the mind of the writer of (6), the macron has apparently acquired the function of marking a "mid" tone (which is indeed the misleading term employed by Green and Ígwè, as well as by at least one more recent author). But once the syntagmatic convention is reinterpreted as paradigmatic, there is no way to indicate the second downstep on the last syllable of the sentence, without introducing some new diacritic (as in fact done by Abraham 1967). The error is pervasive enough, I believe, to disqualify this system outright.[2]

I adopt a modified form of the syntagmatic, syllable-by-syllable convention of Welmers and Welmers 1968 and Nwáchukwu 1983d, as found in Nwáchukwu (ed.) 1983. In the Welmers-Nwáchukwu system, both H [´] and L [`] are marked, but a given mark is restricted to the first of the maximal sequence of syllables bearing identical tone. An unmarked syllable has the tonal value of the nearest mark to its left.[3] Accordingly, (1a) is written:

7. Ézè jere Anị́ocha taà.

Pitch sequences undergo several processes related to downstep which do not affect the sound-meaning correspondence. An L is downdrifted (automatically lowered) whether an H or an L precedes it, but an H is downdrifted only by a preceding L. Sentence-initial L is raised, instead of the following H being downdrifted (cf. [Elugbe] 1977). Downdrift/downstep lowering effects persist up to the next punctuation mark, where pitch registers are "reset".

In the Williamson-Éménanjọ convention, pitch registers decline before every marked syllable. In the Welmers-Nwáchukwu convention, they decline before every mark, and across all sequences of adjacent syllables bearing L. In the latter convention, therefore, [` `] sequences are redundant, since lowering within a stretch of Ls is subphonemic, but [´ ´] sequences are not redundant, because the lowering of H after H is not automatic. Thus, by the Welmers-Nwáchukwu convention, the second mark in a [´ ´] sequence signals a downstepped H. Accordingly, (1b) is written:

8. Àdhá ágaala ahyá.

Non-Ìgbo words in this study are cited with the tone marking of their own orthography: e.g. the Yorùbá phrase *Ọ̀ọ̀ni Ọba Ifẹ̀* 'the King of Ilé-Ifẹ̀' has the tone pattern HL MM ML. How to tonemark non-Ìgbo words in monolingual Ìgbo texts is, to my knowledge, not yet decided.

[2] For Nwáchukwu 1983d, the comparison of tone-marking systems is a matter of typographic frequency: the preferred system is the one that requires fewer tonemarks for a statistically significant sample of text. Certainly, frequency is related to markedness: the less frequent alternative is more 'marked' in the Praguian sense. However, learnability involves more than markedness. The common learning error in (6) reveals the unlearnability of the macron for Ìgbo.

[3] This convention mimics a well-founded phonetic constraint: the Obligatory Contour Principle (Leben 1973), cf. §1.3.3 below.

Acknowledgements

Ọ́jị ruo ụlọ́, ò kwú onye ché ya.
'When a kola nut reaches home, it says who presented it'

The late K. Ọnwụkà Díké urged me to undertake this study in 1975. Through its long duration, I have been generously supported by my parents Renato Manfredi and Mary Hegarty Manfredi. None of these pages would exist without Díké's vision, and my parents' love and guidance.

My stays in Ágbọ̀, Ẹ́hugbò, Nsụ́ká, Òwerí and other parts of southern Nigeria, in 1976–77 and 1980-84, were made possible by: the late R. G. Armstrong (Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn); M. A. Ọnwụejiọgwụ (Nri Research Project, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Benin); B. M. Àkụ́nné and Obadiah Éneánya (Ọ̀dịnanị Museum, Nri); E. Nwánọ̀lúa Éménanjọ (Alvan Ikeokú College of Education, Òwerí; University of Port Harcourt); Ìchíe Nkáma Ọ́kpanị (Èzíukwu, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò); P. Ákụjụọbì Nwáchukwu (University of Nigeria, Nsụ́ká); G. M. Kẹ́mjìká Ánọ̀ká (Imò State Government) and Dan Ọ̀bídị̀egwù (Longman Nigeria Ltd., Òwerí). At various times over six years, I was also welcomed into the households of: Àwíîsẹ 'Wáñdé Abíḿbọ́lá, Jacob Áwụrọ̀ Àgwábasìmí, M. O. C. Ànìkpò, Òsẹ̀mwegie Ẹ̀bọ̀họn, Ọ̀rínze-Òdíî A. Ẹ̀gwabọ́ Ìdúwẹ̀, Iyàsẹ S. O. Íghodáro and Dr. Irene E. B. Íghodáro, W. D. O. Nwáégbe, Nick Nwáòg̀wụgwụ, Ikennà Nzímirò, Julius Ògbú, Olú Onímbọn-òjé, 'Sopé Oyèlárán, Tái and Sheila Ṣólarin and Susanne Wenger. Through their unlimited kindness, these people formed my primary intellectual and material support network during six years.

In this list, Chief Ìdúwẹ̀ stands out with his unequalled qualities and achievements as a literate, traditional scholar (author of the magnificent *History of Greater Agbor*) and a political leader (the Ólu-otù of Ògbe Ńmụ̀ Déin, from 1971). Though he regretted that I did not stay long enough in Ágbọ̀ to learn the language well, he supported my research during a period that was critical both for him and for Ágbọ̀. I promise to publish his book, befittingly and soon. *Ódiì*! *Ụ̀wẹ ọ́ma, bàbá! Égbe arà jén mbịà tú, kán-mà kẹ ó mèle rú.*

In December 1976, the Ẹ̀bọ̀họn Cultural Centre, Benin City, loaned me a Uher tape recorder; in April 1977, the Institute of African Studies, University of Ìbàdàn, loaned me a Nagra. With these machines I recorded some two dozen texts, of which eight are transcribed here.

In 1974-76, I was introduced to philology and historical linguistics by Calvert Watkins, to anthropological linguistics by Ives Goddard and to generative phonology by Nick Clements. In 1980-81, 'Délé Awóbùlúyì kindly offered me the opportunity to teach in the Dept. of Linguistics and Niegrian languages,University of Ìlọrin, which by then had become the most dynamic such department in Nigeria. In 1981-83, Onígu Otítè welcomed me to the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association. In 1982-84, D. I. Nwáọ̀ga [Nwoga] clarified many linguistic aspects of Ìgbo culture for me, with his renowned philological rigor and imagination. I was "carried" through the ups and downs of 1980-84, and instructed in many languages, by congosis, felosis and chiefisis of Ẹgbẹ́ Ẹlẹ́mu Funfun/Òtu Ḿmanya Nkwụ́ at Ilya Unilọrin, Ilya Ìyárò, Ilya Nigeria Nkassu and Énugú, Ilya AICE and Ilya Pọ̀tápọ̀tá. *Òpẹ ni màá bọ gbó*! In 1984-86, I was habilitated in syntax by John Whitman. In the past six years I've made major overdrafts on the patience of my doctoral committee (Ken Hale, Susumu Kuno, Sally Moore, S. J. Tambiah), without penalty.

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Chapter genealogies

§1.2 expands a paper presented at the Kaduna seminar "Language research and education in Nigeria today", sponsored by the National Language Centre, Federal Ministry of Education in October, 1977; the Ministry reimbursed my airfare between New York and Lagos.

Drafts of §1.3.1-2, and some paragraphs from §3.1, were published in Bendor-Samuel (ed.) 1989: 337-58. The heading "Igboid languages" on p. 342 of that publication is the invention of the editor, substituted for "A maximal subgrouping of 22 Igboid settlements". The S.I.L. logo on that volume, secretly affixed and revealed to the authors only after publication, was let stand over my public protest. Some data in §1.3.1-2 are drawn from *ms.* reports on Ágụatá, Árù, Àzụ́míni, Béńde, Íhìàla, Ọ̀họ́fyá, Ọ̀kígwí, Úgwutà and Ụ̀lụ́ compiled by F. O. Ánụ́gọ́ḿ, E. N. Chúkudị̀le, B. U. Ékwe, B. C. Íheàgwụ, C. E. Íhemagụ̀bá, A. U. Ògboǹnà, H. J. O. Òkééke and P. C. Ójìàkọ in 1982-83 under the supervision of E. 'N. Émènanjọ at Alvan Ikeokú College of Education (these materials were kindly provided by Émènanjọ). Kay Williamson gave me access to D. J. Clark's *ms.* vocabulary of Ẹ̀hwụ́dà, and to materials on Delta Igboid.

I first drafted §1.3.3 and §3.1-2 in 1987-88 while visiting the Groupe de recherche en linguistique africaniste, Université du Québec à Montréal (Jean Lowenstamm, co-director), supported by CSRH grant #411-85-0012 and FCAR grant #87-EQ-2612. §1.3.3, forthcoming in van der Hulst and Snyder (eds.) 1991, incorporates material from talks at Ìlọrin (1980-81), Ǹsụ́ká (1982-83), Port Harcourt (1984), Amherst (1988), the 14th Conference on African Linguistics (Madison 1983), the 4th and 5th Conferences of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (Benin-City 1983, Ǹsụ́ká 1984). Thanks to Yétúndé Láníran for sharing her research.

Chapters 2-3 continue a discussion with E. 'N. Émènanjọ, P. Ákụjụọobì Nwáchukwu and P. Ụ́zọ̀dínmá Íhìọ́nụ́. Prof. Émènanjọ's many works combine empirical richness and theoretical creativity in the service of literacy; I have enjoyed his famed personal and intellectual generosity since 1976. It was an honor to work with Dr. Nwáchukwu at Ǹsụ́ká from 1982-84 as he led both the department and the trade union, and again during his 1986-87 sabbatical at Harvard/M.I.T. Ụ́zọ̀ Íhìọ́nụ́ has been a valued colleague since his 1987 arrival at M.I.T.

Parial drafts of §2.1, §3.1 and §3.3 were first presented at four Niger-Congo Syntax and Semantics workshops (Boston University 1987, M. I. T. 1988/1989, Universiteit van Tilburg 1989) as respectively: "Anti-logophoricity as domain extension in Ìgbo and Yorùbá", "Aspect as

V-incorporation: a wrinkle in V-to-I movement", "Are there triadic verbs in Yorùbá?", "The relation between Aspect and V-movement in Kwa". While reworking these sections I have often called on 'Sopé Oyèlárǎn for his insights. §2.1.5 began in Jill Carrier's 1986 Harvard seminar, which included presentations on Ìgbo transitivity by E. 'N. Émènanjọ and P. A. Nwáchukwu. Parts of §2.1 and §3.1 were presented at a 1987 M. I. T. seminar on complex predicates led by Ken Hale and Richard Larson; an April 1987 M. I. T. Lexicon Seminar; and at the 19th Conference on African Linguistics (Boston University, April 1988). §2.1.4 makes much use of Abraham 1958, a work without equal in Niger-Congo (despite its legendary eccentricities such as translating an Ifá divination chant with a verse by Robert Burns, cf. p. 274*f.*).

Discussion of Haitian in Chapter 3 continues joint work with Rose-Marie Déchaine, some of which was presented at a 1988 seminar led by John Hutchison and Ken Hale; the 19th Conference on African Linguistics, Boston University, April 1988; and the Projet Fon-Haiti, Université du Québec à Montréal, directed by Claire Lefebvre, in July 1988. §3.2.3 was revised, with feedback from John Goldsmith, John Hutchison and 'Sopé Oyèlárǎn, from a draft presented at the Conference on Focus and Grammatical Relations, University of Chicago, May 1990 (organized by Sandy Caskey and Frank Byrne). §3.3 is dedicated to the memory of R. G. Armstrong, who recommended the topic in June, 1976. Research for and writing of §3.3 were supported in part by NSF grant no. BNS-82-14193 to Susumu Kuno, principal investigator.

§4.1 began as a 1985 seminar paper for Susumu Kuno, with the help of Pauline Chíọma Mbáwúike; a draft was circulated at the 6th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (Zaria, August 1985). §4.3 and §4.4 began as seminar papers for S. J. Tambiah in 1986 and 1987. Research support from Sally Moore and travel support from the Harvard Committee on African Studies contributed to Chapter 4. The introduction has its roots in T. N. Madan's 1984 seminar on secularisation. Travel between Europe and Nigeria was partly paid by Perlinger Verlag (Wörgl, Austria) in 1982 and by Fundición Tipografica Neufville (Barcelona) in 1986. The laserprinting of two versions of this work (10/16pt. and 10/20pt.) was made possible by a Frank J. Sulloway scholarship grant, kindly awarded to me by Dean Margot Gill on 1 May, 1991, and with help from Mother Tongue Press of West Newbury, Massachusetts.

Introduction

There are as many languages as types of custom and outlook, yet there must, in the nature of things, be a mental language common to all nations which uniformly grasps the essence of things feasible in social life, and expresses it with as many diverse modifications as the same things have aspects.

Giambattista Vico, *Scienza nuova* 161

Grammar and ideology

Both grammar and ideology are forms of knowledge[1] which divide people as well as link them to each other and to the wider world. They differ in cognitive status: ideology is explicit or discursively explicable; grammatical knowledge is neither.

That ideology is a type of discourse, and hence explicable, follows from the *logos* in its name: there is no *idéologie* without *idéologues* to receive, embody, promote or enforce it. Though oriented towards totality, as "the intellectual reflex of determinate social processes" (Lichtheim 1965: 185), ideology is not everyone's discourse. Nor, some say, is it anyone's. From the elective affinity of Weber's Protestant ethic, to the "free-floating intellectuals" of Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, the critique of ideology in modern Europe has tempered totalizing, Hegelian historicism with the neo-Kantian relativism of the fact/value distinction, leaving ideology as the possession of abstract, 'methodological individuals'.[2] Such relativism, however, poses an obstacle to comparison and analysis (cf. §4.3 below).

By contrast, grammar in the relevant sense is not discursive. It has nothing to do with the prescriptive formulas dispensed by schools and William Safires — authoritarian discourse. Grammar, as speakers' untaught knowledge of the sound-meaning relation (Chomsky 1986b), can be studied only indirectly, by inference of formal universals from empirically-based language description. Speakers' intuitions of their own linguistic knowledge, while uniquely heuristic (Sapir 1933), still require an explicit theoretical framework in order to be elucidated.

Yet despite this difference, grammar and ideology interact, as seen in that type of ideology which I call *linguistic consciousness* — better known as ethnicity.

Ethnicity, race and class

In contemporary North American discourse, *ethnicity* is, among other things, a euphemism for race (Rosaldo 1990). Notably, the New York City electorate has been categorized in Black, Irish, Italian, Jewish and Latin "ethnic" voting blocs (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Nor is this

[1] Here, *knowledge* stands for all mental representations, without reference to 'truth value' in the sense of demonstrable, propositional intension (Tugendhat 1986: 279*f.*). For example:

> 'Consciousness' distinguishes itself from something to which it relates this something is 'something for consciousness'. This being of something for a consciousness ('for an other') is what we call 'knowledge'. (Merleau-Ponty 1961/1976: 54)

[2] Reworking this tradition in an attempt to escape its pessimism, Habermas appeals to "language" in particular to the "communicative ethics" presupposed by "universal pragmatics" as a bridge between the Hegelian and Kantian standpoints (McCarthy 1978: 110*ff.*). But, as Bourdieu remarks:

> [Habermas'] idealization... has the effect of removing in practice from the relations of communication the relations of force which are effected there in transfigured form. This is shown by [his] uncritical borrowing of such concepts as illocutionary force which tend to ascribe to words and not to institutional conditions of their realization the force of words. (1982: 25 *fn.* 4).

segmentation farfetched. Wolf 1982 observes a close historical relationship between race and ethnicity: the contexts of racial ideology are inclusion in a forced-labor economy, as during the transition from mercantile expansion to extractive industry, and exclusion from a competitive labor market, as with the immobile, post-industrial underclass (Williams 1944, Fields 198-). Thus, ethnicity expresses resource competition in a centralized economy, and segmentary incorporation in a labor market. Wolf describes the historical transition in this way:

> The more comprehensive categories [*sc.* ethnic identities, as opposed to racial ones] emerged only as particular cohorts of workers gained access to different segments of the labor market and began to treat their access as a resource to be defended… (1982: 380)

Wolf's analysis predicts that racial categories are commutable into ethnic ones, just in case of expanded access to a central resource. This indeed occurred with the (limited) enfranchisement of Black and Latin voters in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan since the 1960's. Other resource sectors, however, saw no such transformation. Despite decades of liberal efforts in the U.S. to 'ethnicize' access to capital, education, employment, health care and housing, e.g. by setting affirmative action standards for the relevant institutions, these basic services continue to be rationed by the 'free' market on the basis of racial categories.

Nigeria provides another example of the dialectic between race and ethnicity, this time mediated by religion. In its reliance on African forced labor, the Nigerian colonial state was explicitly racist. In administering the Nigerian north, Lugard espoused the racial superiority of the Fulani (Fulfulde-speaking) sultan and emirs — his intermediaries in Indirect Rule — over the 'pagan' (*kafiri*) peasantry (Dudley 1968: 12-22; Smith 1978; Sharpe 1986: 60 *fn.* 4). This policy was explicitly based on the infamous Hamitic Hypothesis (Meinhof 1912, Palmer 1928, cf. Greenberg 1963: 24-30), which accepted and amplified the Muslim Fulani's claim to an exotic, non-African origin. Thus, in the north, the racist assumptions of Indirect Rule were expressed primarily in religious terms. In the south, by contrast, administrative categories were based on shared first language. Ẹ̀lá ([Ellah] 1983: 89-98) recounts how Lugard and his successors Macpherson and Robertson drew linguistic subdivisions in the south, but preserved the boundaries of the linguistically heterogeneous northern emirates.[3] This choice established the major regional contrast in Nigerian politics, which has held ever since.

Eventually, the northern expression of "race" in terms of religion took hold in Hausa-speaking migrant communities of the south. Cohen describes how religion overcame ethnicity as the primary factor in Hausa "social exclusiveness" in Ìbàdàn:

> With the coming of party politics, Indirect Rule collapsed, and the Chief [of Sábó, Ìbàdàn's Hausa-speaking quarter] lost a great deal of…power. …It was this vacuum…that the Tijaniyya [Muslim order] soon filled…by creating a new ritual power structure. …This change in the nature of political organization of Sábó [was a] change from a polity based on the support of the colonial power to a power based on men's religious loyalties… (1969: 162*f.*, 170)

But in the south, for the most part, "race" gave way to ethnicity during the colonial period. In establishing linguistically segregated labor markets and urban residential quarters, the colonial state fostered ethnic monopolies (Ńnọ̀lí 1978). Southern nationalist politicians inherited and extended this system; though they fought racism, they capitalized on the ethnic "regionalism" of

[3] "It is in fact incorrect to describe the Hausa-speaking peoples as a 'tribe'" (Dudley 1973: 82). Hausa became the northern *lingua franca* via the spread of hoe-cultivation of grain (Sutton 1979).

the constitutions drafted for governors Richards (1946), Lyttleton (1954) and Macpherson (1957).[4] Chiefs Àzíkàíwe [Azikiwe] and Awólọ́wọ̀ launched their political parties, respectively the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) and AG (Action Group), from linguistic organizations: the Pan-Ìgbo Federal Union and Ẹgbẹ́ Ọmọ Odùduwà.[5] Especially for Awólọ́wọ̀ (1947: 47-55), ethnicity was a linguistic matter (Arífálọ 1988); but the currency of language was backed by cash. The ethnic parties were financed by direct appropriation from the respective regional government banks, African Continental Bank and National Bank of Nigeria (Ńnọ̀lí 1978; Fálọ́lá and Adébáyọ̀ 1988: 49-51).

Ethnicity as unhappy consciousness

Ethnography's reliance on the concept of ethnic group has been challenged as objectifying an error of scale. Rejecting the standard assumption that "geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity", Barth 1969 defines ethnic categories as "relational, ascriptive identities" which require active "boundary maintenance" while permitting individual "identity change". The rise of "ethnic conservatism" in reaction to the threat of massive identity change, presupposes the same dynamism and puts the lie to "primordialist" political science theories.[6] This is clearly expressed by Cohen:

> The Hausa in Ìbàdàn are more 'retribalized' than the 'Western Ìgbos', not because of their conservatism, as LeVine suggests, and not because of special elements in their traditional culture, as Rouch and others contend, but because their ethnicity articulates a Hausa political organization which is used as a weapon in the struggle to keep the Hausa in control of the [cattle and kola] trade. (1969: 190)

Unfortunately, the alternatives given by these critics do not differ in substance. Barth's dynamic concept of ethnic boundaries relies on the prior identification of "value orientations" which, being themselves incommensurable, simply reintroduce problems of relativism and objectivism at a more abstract level. The same objection applies to Cohen's strategic concept of "ethnic capital", and to Dudley's (1973) game-theoretic interpretation of ethnic conflict. All these analyses clarify the active, instrumental role of ethnic categories, but none makes a new proposal as to what these categories consist of, and where they can be found.[7]

It may be that this impasse represents the limit of Weberian (i.e. social-democratic) Marxism, which "introduced a systematic distinction between philosophy and empirical science" (Lichtheim

[4] Some nationalists in trade unions e.g. Michael Imoudu and the Mádùnagú brothers failed to adopt the ethnic strategy. However, in the 1950's -70's, they were purged from national politics through anticommunist tactics planned and financed mainly from abroad (cf. Cohen 1980).

[5] The Odùduwà dynastic tradition of indigenous 'orientalist' foundation stories, as told by the Òyó *arọ́kin*, are "adaptations of Islamic traditions" (Babayẹ̀mí 1981: 51.) In this respect, some ethnic charters in southern Nigeria resemble the northern type. Awólọ́wọ̀ used these features in his own ethnic politics.

[6] E.g. as espoused by the youthful Geertz, whose conservative defense of cultural ideology has been rehabilitated by his 'postmodern' students (e.g. Rabinow). However, for all the old eloquence and the new chic, uncritical use of ethnic labels in "thick description" still makes for thick anthropologists.

[7] Adopting a global and historical frame of reference, Fried reduces the ethnologist's "tribe" to "a secondary phenomenon, brought about by the intercession of… states" (1975: 114). Specifically, that

> the major locus of tribal formation has been in the period of European colonialism and imperialism. The process of creation of the tribe resembles that of the caste, the minority, and the ethnic group. In some basic cultural senses it also resembles the process whereby "races" are brought into being. (1975: 10)

Wolf, quoted above, provides the alternative analysis which Fried points to in a programmatic way.

1971: 37) — the neo-Kantian fact-value distinction. The limit can be stated as follows: if values can be studied empirically only by being understood subjectively, then although different ethnicities can be compared as ideal types, they remain incommensurable. But if rival ethnicities, viewed as forms of self-consciousness, are analyzable as knowledge, they can be compared once the relevant knowledge has been located.

As an account of ethnicity, the Hegelian Marxist category of "false consciousness" faces other difficulties. In the jargon of the *Phenomenology*, ethnicity is Unhappy Consciousness, an "externalization" of the individual which falls short of totality (1807: VI.B; Lukács 1975: 475*f.*). But this shortfall is not explained; like Herder's Romantic concept of culture, Hegel's national dialectic (at least in its "exoteric" version, cf. McLellan 1969: 19) had as its horizon the "Christian state" of Prussia, whose Protestant monarch was believed to reconcile civil antagonisms.

A statist limitation continues, if more covertly, in later versions of the dialectic. When it vaunts itself as "the practical class consciousness of the proletariat" (Lukács 1971: 205), Leninism takes a covert statist line. In turn, therefore, Frankfurt Marxists diagnosed Leninist ideology as "the false consciousness of the New Class of intellectuals" (Gouldner 1985: 65):

> The Marxist critique of workers' false consciousness is also a fact of *politics*, reflecting the competition between artisans and intellectuals in the 'workers'' movement, and legitimating the latter's claim to special authority in it. (Gouldner 1985: 139)

In other words, Leninism — even in Lukács' elegant, deductive formulation — is voluntarist:

> Lukács' very success in demonstrating the prevalence of reification, of the structural factors inhibiting the formation of political, proletarian class consciousness, meant that he could only appeal to the proletariat to overcome reification by apostrophes to the unification of theory and practice, or by introducing the party as a *deus ex machina*. (Rose 1981: 29)

For Stalinist technicians of "socialism in one country", ethnicity — viewed as the Nationalities Question — was both a political danger and a theoretical embarassment. The Popular Front strategy of the 1930's accommodated nationalism, but at a purely tactical level. In 1950, Stalin supplied theoretical justification for a linguistically segmented Soviet empire, criticizing Marr's doctrine of language-as-superstructure and proclaiming that:

> [L]anguage [belongs to] the forces of production, or more precisely the tools of production, since language, just like these tools, opposes [*gegenübersteht*] society and especially social classes in equal measure. (Karpowitz 1973: 147)

(Cf. Ivič 1970: 102-07.) This was but a sterile reply to the Hegelian formula of *The German Ideology:* "Language is real, practical consciousness" (Marx and Engels 1847/1965: 491). The Stalinist state (and its carbon copies from China to Ethiopia) has only ever succeded in bottling up intra-state ethnicity for a few decades.

Ethnicity as linguistic consciousness

Evidently, analysis of ethnic ideology is distorted by a statist frame of reference. On the other hand, ethnicity does not reduce to knowledge of language (possession of a given language by a competent speaker-hearer), as shown by the persistence of ethnic self-identifications among 'Anglified' white 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants in the U.S. between 1940-60:

> [S]ome form of ethnic self-identification is frequently still reported by many of those who no longer claim any facility at all in their ethnic mother tongues… (Fishman 1971: 335)

Nevertheless, many examples of ethnicity have a robust linguistic component. Accordingly, sociologists in the 1960's and 70's framed the ethnic issue (in their own, distinctively repressive dialect of Newspeak) as

> the circumstances under which language consciousness, language knowledge and language-related groupness perceptions do or do not enter into reference group behavior in contact situations. (Fishman 1971: 333)

Approaching language as "speech"[8], sociolinguists pursued statistical correlations of speech styles with social indices, and compiled situational scenarios of code-switching. As behaviorist constructs, however, these correlations and scenarios suffer from some famous inadequacies (cf. Chomsky 1964). For example, sociolinguistic theories of code-switching do not offer a descriptively adequate account of this phenomenon, stating under what conditions it occurs. Instead, with few exceptions, sociolinguists' anti-generative polemics (e.g. Labov 1971, Bailey 1973) were framed in terms of *method*, rejecting Chomsky's delimitation of the "ideal speaker-hearer" as the source of linguistic data.[9]

From a generative standpoint, the question poses itself in mechanistic terms. How is linguistic consciousness possible at all? Ethnicity, as linguistic consciousness, poses a paradox: how can explicit, historical knowledge (ideology) refer to implicit, synchronic knowledge (grammar)? This relational effect can follow, only if grammar and ideology occupy some common cognitive terrain. My proposal is that the terrain in question is the lexicon. The proposal structures the observations in the following chapters. As a cognitive phenomenon, ethnicity is a source of evidence for lexical entries. As a lexical phenomenon, ethnicity is a source of evidence for the relationship of language to other forms of knowledge.

The Hegelian idea that cultural values are a form of knowledge, while heretical in the predominating neo-Kantian framework of Western sociology, is not unprecedented in recent cultural anthropology. Dumont, for example, has proposed that

> a 'system of values' is…an abstraction taken from a larger system of ideas and values (1980: 238).

Massive support for this view is found, e.g. in the Native American philology of Boas and his students, and in the Indo-European studies of Dumézil, Benveniste and Bataille.

In the present study, I consider a case of linguistic consciousness which has been a thorny practical issue for a century, and remains so today: the interplay of grammar and ideology in Igboid — the dialect area which contains the roots of modern standard Ìgbo (Benue-Kwa, Niger-Congo). Most of my research occurred in Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò, communities which stand respectively at Igboid's western and eastern geographic extremes. It is challenging but inevitable to view the cognitive resources of these localities in relation to their near and distant neighbors.

The first major studies to address the Ìgbo-speaking area as a whole were official reports, all commissioned in response to the deepening administrative crisis in southeastern Nigeria: Meek 1937, Ward 1941, Forde and Jones 1950. Each of these is preoccupied with the supposed

[8] Or, for Hymes 1962, "speaking"; both are subsumed in what Chomsky 1986b calls *externalized language* (E-language), i.e. language which exists independently of the constructs of the mind.

[9] Earlier sociolinguists (e.g. Weinreich 1954) were equally uncomfortable with classical structuralism on this point. Chomsky acknowledges that his terms *competence* and *performance* were confusing; Koster 1989b notes other confusions in the recent concept *internalized language* (I-language, cf. §6.5). Generative studies of code-switching include Woolford 1983, DiSciullo *et al.* 1986, Bokamba 1987.

statelessness, and accompanying cultural fragmentation, of the area. More recent pan-Ìgbo syntheses have had an antithetical concern, as befits the cultural-nationalist perspective. Nzímìro 1962, Úchèńdù 1965, Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1972, Áfìgbo 1981 and Éménanjọ 1981 have all sought to elucidate a "common underlying core" (Éménanjọ's phrase) of language, culture and social organization, for the whole area.[10]

The shift from power politics to cognition is a natural one: the cognitive domain was closed to colonial scholars, who didn't speak the language and rarely consulted those who did.[11] There remains, however, an assumption which is constant for both schools. Cultural-nationalist refutations of colonial stereotypes of 'tribal' fragmentation still tacitly accept from colonial ethnographers and linguists the job of proving the historic unity of linguistic aggregates like the Ìgbo-speaking area. For both schools, this assumption betrays the statist context of ethnographic and linguistic knowledge. Being the immediate intellectual context of research throughout this century, this assumption merits some detailed scrutiny.

Statism in Ìgbo studies

In the present international system of nation-states, which mercantile rivalry and colonization brought to Nigerian soil, the object of ethnography has been identified — more or less implicitly — with the institutions created in the course of indigenous state formation. Nigerian colonial ethnographers, aptly titled "political officers", were concerned to establish the charters of client rulers and to draw administrative boundaries. But the clearer the boundary, the less autonomous its contents. From a critical perspective, the point is not to accept localities and regional aggregates as pre-given units, but to explain how these boundaries arise in conjunction with historical processes on a larger scale and in the longer term (Hopkins *et al.* 1982: 43*f.*).

With the mainstream, developmentalist social-science view of autonomous 'societies', the gain of operational simplicity has exacted a high price of idealization. This price is paid daily by 'marginal' peoples — that is, populations which do not supply national elites. In 1988, for example, after nearly a year of *intifada* and just when Palestinian statehood began to be recognized by bodies like UNESCO, FAO and the EC, a leading Palestinian intellectual indicted statist assumptions as the conceptual glue with which Western officials have stuck the "terrorist" label on self-determination movements, his own included:

> So deeply ingrained is the tendency to funnel society into the mold prepared for it by the nation-state, that we cannot conceive of societies except…as if the teleology of all social entities was the state. …Terrorism in short must be directly connected to the very processes of identity in modern society, from nationalism, to statism, to cultural and ethnic affirmation, to the whole array of political, rhetorical, educational and governmental devices that go into consolidating one or another identity. …Thus the triumph of identity by one culture or state is almost always implicated directly or indirectly in the denial, or the suppression of equal identity for *other* groups, states or cultures.

[10] In addition, Nzímìro 1972 and Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1980 document Ìgbo states, cf. discussion below.

[11] Northcote Thomas was the great exception. Lackner (1973: 135) quotes Colonial Office correspondence by one Flood, dated 19/12/1930, which reports that Thomas

> was a recognised maniac in many ways. He wore sandals, even in this country [= Britain?], lived on vegetables and was generally a rum person.

To justify Thomas' dismissal from colonial government service, Flood goes on to remark (less than grammatically) that it was undesirable

> to have an object like that going about … partly because he was calculated to bring a certain amount of discredit upon the white man's prestige.

> Nationalism exacerbates the processes by offering what appears to be ethnosuicide as an alternative to clamorous demands for equality, for sovereignty, for national self-definition. (Saïd 1988: 54, 58)[12]

During the Nigerian civil war, fought mainly in the Ìgbo-speaking area from 1967-70, the statist tack was a devastating intellectual impediment. At the time, Diamond was one pro-Biafran 'Africanist' who criticized the statist view of ethnicity:

> Recourse to the expanatory principle of "tribalism" is a Western reification which blocks our view of African reality and deflects our attention from our own responsibility. (1970: 27)[13]

Speaking on and for the Federal side, Armstrong — who wrote his doctoral thesis on African state formation — adopted a militant statist position, to inflammatory and paternalistic effect:

> In my view, we [*sc.* the Johnson administration in the U.S.] should sell arms to the Nigerian Government. …The present federal structure, with twelve states and a strong but not dictatorial centre, is what two generations of Nigerian nationalists have been fighting for… (1967: 16*f.*)

This conceptual impediment of statism has roots in colonial administration, which defined the inland region east of the Niger and south of the Benue as stateless. On the contrary, Áfìgbo has shown that the administrative problem was not a lack of precolonial states, but the opposite: a superabundance of bounded political systems which fulfilled various criteria of statehood, but were inconveniently many in number, small in scale, and flexible in structure. The flaw of Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria was not the recognition of chiefs, but "keeping the number of chiefs low, irrespective of the demands of the people for the recognition of more chiefs" (Áfìgbo 1981d: 318). Lugard's "pretense of using traditional machinery" (1981d: 323) destroyed its appointees' accountability to guilds and lineage councils, sparking the 1929 women's anti-tax rebellion.

After crushing the rebellion by shooting peasant women *en masse*, the long-term colonial response to the *embarras d'états* was a further retreat into unreality. Meek's official report on the background of events is a model of bland, diffusionist denial:

> [T]he most characteristic feature of Ìgbo society is the almost complete absence of any higher political or social unit than the commune or small group of contiguous villages, who… regard themselves as descendants of a common ancestor. …Kingship is not and never was a feature of the Ìgbo constitution. Where it occurs it is clearly of exotic origin. (1937: 3, 185)

In practice, such views actually hastened the decline of indigenous aristocrats, ironically clearing the way for the appointment of the neo-feudal Eastern House of Chiefs as the creature of the regional administration, in the hands of Àzíkáíwe's NCNC:

> The Classification of Chiefs Law (cap. 20) of 1959… was prompted by the need to find suitable persons who should be recognized as chiefs and be eligible to sit in the House of Chiefs. Apart from a few traditional office holders a number of persons were *appointed* on political consideration as first class chiefs and into the House of Chiefs. One first class chief was appointed to represent each of the then provinces. To introduce a semblance of democracy into the House of Chiefs, the then Government proceeded to institute an electoral college system of clan heads (second class chiefs)… (Ọdịnkémèlụ 1971: 73)

Under pressure, ex-District Officer G. I. Jones, who was the government's consultant in drafting the Chiefs Law, granted the first class chieftaincy for Ọ̀nịcha Province to Òbí Ọ̀nịcha, passing over

[12] Cf. also the analysis of statism and terorism in Chomsky 1986c.

[13] Diamond's observation applies with equal force today (1991) to the Western media's naïvely 'balanced' portrayal of Gacha Buthelezi's state-sponsored war on the African National Congress, characterising it as "black on black" violence among "rival factions" from different "tribal groups".

Ézé Ǹrí. This decision, contradicting Jones' own knowledge of the precedence relationship between these two monarchs, was clearly desirable for the NCNC leadership.[14]

After the Nigerian Civil War, the official view of Ìgbo kingship was redefined by the federal administrator for the defeated Biafran territory — himself a very utilitarian brand of political scientist — who revived Meek's diffusionist views:

> Consequent on the migration and movement of people into and from the town, Ọ̀nịcha land became a commodity in exchange and a system of corporate offices developed, modeled on institutions borrowed from the Benin Kingdom.[15] (Àsíkà 1971: 233)

> Úgwutà, Ọ̀nịcha and Árù Chúkwu are three communities which to our knowledge... possess a centralized office of kingship in Ìgbo land. Elsewhere in Ìgbo land there were varying title holders of various types but they did not as far as the present evidence go amount to a centralized authority. (Àsíkà 1972: 263)

From 1963 to 1988, Nigeria went from three regions to 21 states on the assumption that political and economic rights can be secured only through control of a redistributive bureaucracy. Ẹ̀lá [Ellah] 1983 shows that, in the Second Republic (1979-83), this assumption may not have been unreasonable, but it was disastrous for the south, especially for the Ìgbo-speaking area, which had the least bureaucratic control proportionate to population.

Statism pervades Ìgbo studies in subtler ways as well. In each of Ottenberg's four books on "an African Society...Afikpo", the title combines two specious idealizations: an equivocal social-science category and a particularly egregious colonial misspelling of Ẹ́hụgbò. The inaccuracy of *Afikpo* cannot have escaped Ottenberg's notice, so its use represents a conscious choice to distance himself from the vocabulary of everyday life, and stick to official (originally colonial) nomenclature. The subtitled phrase *an African society* makes his studies of this peripheral Ìgbo-speaking community seem less particularistic (and hence more marketable), but it adds little (beyond geographical titilation). Both usages reflect intellectual commodification and weaken the link between hypothesis and evidence. In particular, the adoption of "a society" as the unit of analysis permits Ottenberg to elide from 24 months in Ẹ́hụgbò to the supposed nature of the Ìgbo ethnic group as a whole. On this basis, he has maintained his famous thesis of "Ìgbo receptivity to change" (1959), unchanged for thirty years, most recently (1989) describing Ẹ́hụgbò as an "entrepreneurial society".[16]

The present work

This century's uncertain debates on Ìgbo statehood point up the need for a non-circular criterion of ethnic constituency. This problem is no less real in other regions of Nigeria, where statehood was less controversial. The issue is the same: top-down versus bottom-up definition.

If ethnicity as linguistic consciousness is a lexical processing effect, then a more adequate account of large scale social relationships is possible in terms of shared knowledge (Sperber's

[14] Jones acknowledged this decades later in a Cambridge interview with a Nigerian anthropologist.

[15] Similarly, in a December, 1982 conversation in the Lagos suburb of Ìkòyí, Mr. Àsíkà maintained a diffusionist interpretation of Ǹrí kingship, positing an Ìgálà origin.

[16] This bourgeois agenda is packaged in Freudian terms which, whatever they reveal about Ottenberg's emotional state during fieldwork, lead him to wildly misinterpret his material. My first recording session in Ẹ́hụgbò presented a text which falsifies one of Ottenberg's Œdipal claims about boys' initiation (cf. §4.5 and *Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne/Little-child-that-knows-its-mother* in the Appendix).

"epidemiology of representations"). No less than the development of ethnic movements, the foundation and reformation of states is predicated on knowledge, shared and controlled. This book assembles elements of a knowledge-based account of polities in the Ìgbo-speaking area. By hypothesis, the first such element is grammar itself.

The first two sections of chapter 1 introduce linguistic consciousness in the research setting, through an example of dialect relexification in an Ágbọ̀ text. *Òkóròmé ẹ* 'Òkóró Did It' is the name of the initiation play (*égu ọ̀mụmụ*) of an age grade which was formed around 1920. This seems to have been the age grade which did most of the forced labor as long distance "carriers" in the early colonial era.

As E-language (cf. footnote 7 above), the text of *Òkóròmé ẹ* raises the issue of multiple reference. It uses mythological material to comment on the experience of migrant laborers in the new colonial order. The fragmentary recorded performance of 1977 incorporates references to recent village life, including my role as a penniless patron of the arts. As I-language (cf. footnote 8 above), the text evidences dialect relexification, in its irregular position with respect to some isoglosses of phonetic and morphological innovation. Addressing the latter question, §1.3 provides a classification of dialects based on phonetic innovations. One of the relevant isoglosses is tonal, and the analysis proceeds to a formal, metrical analysis of tone in the Benue-Kwa family of Niger-Congo. Following Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud's cognitive approach to phonology, which minimizes the stipulation of phonological rules, I suggest that the primary locus of variation in Igboid sound systems is in the licensing of syllablic and metrical structure, rather than in the inventory of segments or tonal autosegments per se. This suggestion is corroborated by external evidence from the poetics of *Òkóròmé ẹ*: no observed relexification alters metrical constituency, and substitutions with metrical consequences, otherwise possible, are not observed.

Chapters 2-3 bring a cognitive perspective to some parametric issues in Ìgbo grammar, clarifying the role of lexical entries. Proposing a shift from "derivational concepts" to "representational concepts", Koster (1986, 1989b) argues that knowledge of language is located in the lexicon (an information retrieval system) and not in individual psychology (I-language). The claim that all syntactic parameters are lexical directs attention to two sorts of evidence: thematic domains and affixation (function composition in morphology and syntax). As to thematic domains, the M.I.T. lexicon project (e.g. Guerssel *et al*. 1985) has shown that a wide range of transitivity alternations respect a small set of constraints stated over *lexical conceptual structures*. Ìgbo resembles its close neighbors Èdo and Yorùbá in the relative insignificance of the lexical categories P and A, as compared to V and N. It differs from them in at least two general ways: the lexicalization of affectedness, and the headedness of verbal predicators (cf. Íhìǫ́nụ́ 1989, Déchaine 1990). Affixation, i.e. function composition in morphology and syntax, reduces to *head movement* as argued by Travis 1984, Koopman 1984, Baker 1985 and Roberts 1985. The affixes which trigger head movement in Ìgbo account for case and aspectual phenomena, some of which are restricted to particular dialects. Together, these chapters go some way towards specifying the contents of the set "knowledge of Ìgbo".

Chapter 4 analyzes the cognitive component of social relations in the Igboid area in terms of the social component of lexical entries. If ideological representations are stored diffusely in the lexicon, where they are sorted morpheme-by-morpheme, there is no need to posit monolithic *social*

structures, underpinned by an equally paradoxical category: *collective consciousness*. This step avoids Durklheim's pitfall of "hypostatizing 'society' into an entity superior to its members" (Lichtheim 1965: 179). At the same time, it clarifies the outstanding issue in Ìgbo ethnography, clearly posed by Ọ́nwụejíọgwù's (1980) study of Nri Kingdom: the co-occurrence of hierarchical and egalitarian politics in a single social formation.[17]

Hierarchies of gender, age, birth order, descent group, initiation level and affine alliance, authorise a series of sumptuary privileges, mainly: production usufructs, corvée labor, tax and tribute rights.[18] Accumulation of individual property outside of this conceptual system both supports and undermines it in practice. The Ézé Nri — a 'sacred' (and not 'divine') king comparable to the monarchs of the Ọ̀yọ́ and Ẹ̀do kingdoms in the 19th century (Morton-Williams 1967, Babáyẹmí 1981; Bradbury 1969) — was hemmed in by ritual sanctions which left titled elders and propertied 'big men' greater room for action. Meillassoux aptly 1986 dubs these sacred kings *dieux cernés* 'gods under siege'.[19] But the same title system which encircled these kings also relied on them for regulation, in the form of ritual. The picture was further complicated by the strategic relationship between indigenous titles and the state, both colonial and nationalist.

Colonial administrators ignored the constitutional nature of southern Nigerian monarchies, and undermined their religious checks and balances. With revenues (and police support) coming from 'above', sacred kings acquired absolutist status in the colonial polity. Àzíkàíwe identified this contradiction continued in his account of the 1974-75 Ọ̀nịcha market crisis:

> The payment of stipend to the Òbí for nominally heading the Ọ̀nịcha Urban Council as its President, without his performing any positive function, might have influenced him to feel that he was obliged to to[e] the official Énugú line… a classic example of the dilemma of our Paramout Chiefs. (1976b: 6)

From 1971-79, a similar palace siege was played out in Ágbọ̀, with tragic consequences.

The lexical perspective also clarifies the centrality, in the oral civilizations of southern Nigeria, of the *Fá* divinatory system (Yorùbá *ifá*, Ìgbo *áfa*). As analyzed by Abímbọ́lá 1976 and Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1981, these encyclopedic databases have historically supported large scale systems of communication and control, and preserved cognitive achievements (cf. §4.2.1 *infra*).

Multilingual literacy adds a dimension of conflict to the lexicon: some strategic words have been contentiously redefined through missionary mistranslations, both mindless and meddlesome (cf. Nwáọ̀ga 1985, Yái 1989).[20] Ideological and grammatical knowledge connect in the blockage of Ìgbo literacy (cf. Áfìlgbo 1975b). In mass literacy in English, Ìgbo speakers surpass the rest of Nigeria, but mother tongue literacy in the Igboid area reached an impasse early in this century, from which it has never recovered. As Ógbàlụ́ (1974: 10) put it, "…the period from 1929 to 1961 was a blank period in Ìgbo literary history." Ékèchí 1972 shows that this situation was the fruit of missionary rivalry, which created a number of functional polarities. The language of scriptural pseudo-literacy ("Union" Ìgbo, taught by Anglicans, cf. Àchebé 1976) was opposed to that of

[17] On this phenomenon in South and Southeast Asia, cf. Leach (1954, 1960).

[18] At Nri, slaves "were sold but not kept" (Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1976: 6). In other settlements, slave labor was central to horticultural production and symbolic accumulation (Thomas-Émẹ́ágwaàlị 1984, 1985).

[19] Crowther (1871: 125*f.* cited in Henderson 1962: 479*f.*) tellingly compares Òbí Ọ̀nịcha to an *òsú* cult serf. The Òbí's ritual seclusion, and that of his wives, made him materially poor.

[20] The first (1972) edition of Williamson's *Ìgbo-English Dictionary* evoked protests because the nontechnical portions of the lexical entries were drafted by a pair of blithe young evangelists.

secular, practical literacy (English, taught by Catholics), and both of these were distinct from the language of oral commerce ("Waterside" Ọ̀nịcha, employed by Catholics and clerks).

Beginning with Ward 1941, policymakers rephrased this north-south dialect split as a dichotomy between 'central' and 'peripheral' forms of the language. Áfìlgbo accepts Ward's ahistorical view that "the Údì, Nsụ́ká and Ọ̀gụ… dialects are closer to Òwerẹ́ than to Ọ̀nịcha" (1981: 314). Ward's dichotomy has become a factor in ethnic fragmentation. Ógbàlụ́ comments:

> People speak vaguely of the Central Dialect as if it is a Dialect chosen from the centre of Ìgboland or to use the BBC Nigerian-Civil War cliché, Ìgbo heartland. (1974: 11)

By the end of the war, Williamson's Rivers State Readers Project had made common cause with apocalyptic Pentacostal missionaries[21] in promoting linguistic separatism in peripheral Igboid communities. The new boundaries were legitimized, in turn, by Williamson's (1973a) Lower-Niger hypothesis, which divided the Igboid periphery into a half-dozen "languages", based on lexicostatistics — a discredited, shortcut method of classification which computes lexical coherence from rough translations of an English wordlist. The classification in §1.3, based on common phonetic innovations, contains a north-south division as the deepest of three embedded levels of relationship; it reveals no basis for Ward's or Williamson's center-periphery split, which is a social phenomenon, based on relatively recent cultural borrowing and on even more recent administrative policy (cf. Manfredi 1982). The similarities across the periphery, noted by Ward and corroborated by Áfìlgbo, reflect shared archaism, not common innovation, and hence reveal little about internal history.

Why is linguistic fragmentation so important in the politics of this region? It is often, commonsensically suggested that that the historic absence of a single predominant state explains a high level of linguistic diversity in the Igboid area (e.g. Meek 1937: 1). But when has state power ever successfully blocked linguistic change? A more plausible assumption is that the founders of written Ìgbo had no prestige dialect comparable to Standard Yorùbá which is based on the dialect of imperial Ọ̀yọ́ (cf. Àjàyí 1965). This is all the more striking because it was the same Àjáyí Crowther who both established Standard Yorùbá and led the early Anglican missions up the Niger to Àhaba and Ọ̀nịcha. Rather, the Ìgbo case shows that the emergence of a prestige dialect does not follow automatically from the establishment of state power. The Nri kingdom controlled long distance trade and tribute over a wide area for centuries, but it was never linguistically centripetal. Quite the opposite was true: far from imposing their dialect on others, the titled elders of the Nri kingdom employed a secret vocabulary and stylistic pattern called *ólu* 'voice', to encipher their messages outside of the holy city (cf. §4.2.2 *infra*). Furthermore, the mere absence of an standard language of state does not explain the new pattern of linguistic fragmentation in the missionary era.

The lexical hypothesis contrasts with some classic and recent accounts of linguistic consciousness. Boas' (1911) distinction between "primary", unconscious and "secondary", reflexive beliefs excludes in principle any interaction between grammatical and social knowledge. Ethnicity also is unrelated to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Sapir and Whorf address a different problem: the existence in linguistic categories of a *synthetic a priori*. Recent work suggests that this Kantian effect may exist (Hale 1985, Bach 1986), but is not specific to linguistic concepts (Jackendoff 1983) and hence has nothing to do with ethnicity.

[21] Led by the SIL, a Texas church linked to covert U. S. interventions around the world, cf. Wolff 1983.

Bourdieu's notions of habitus and symbolic capital are closer to the lexical hypothesis, but his 1981 study of "the economy of linguistic exchanges" preserves a sociolinguistic focus on speech styles — on behavior as opposed to knowledge. If linguistic knowledge does not differ in kind from "encyclopedic" knowledge, then Sperber's (1975, 1980, 1982) negative view on the relationship between symbolism and linguistic semantics is unwarranted. A similar clarification can be offered to Saussure. In the 1907 manuscript sources of the *Cours de linguistique générale* (Godel 1969: 145), the systematic side of language (*langue*) is described as individual, the accidental side (*parole*) as social. This dichotomy, Chomskian *avant de la lettre*, was reversed in 1908 under the influence of Durkheim 1898 (Doroszeweski 1933, Hiersche 1972), so that Saussurean *langue* came to pose the same problem as Durkheimian *collective consciousness*: where is it? If the answer is the lexicon, the metaphysical problem dissolves.

The ethnicity effect also sheds light on what Chomsky 1986b calls Plato's and Orwell's Problems. What enables speakers to possess knowledge of a natural language, given their limited exposure to linguistic data during language acquisition? What ensures "subservience to the doctrinal system" in the absence of direct coercion, and in the face of "obvious facts" about "the principles of the state religion"? Chomsky doubts that "misuse or control of language is a central feature of [Orwell's] problem", dismissing it as "intellectually [much less] exciting" than the problem of I-language. This study suggests one factor that prevents social actors from formulating autonomous and generalized perspectives comparable to grammatical parameters. The "supra-individual memory", being lexical, is sorted morpheme-by-morpheme, producing the relative opacity of social vs. linguistic knowledge.

Gouldner, in his *Dialectic of Ideology and Technology*, clearly states the strategic role of linguistic knowledge, in the sense suggested above:

> Ideology, then, is that part of consciousness which is focused linguistically on public projects. … [I]t is the restructuring of an ordinary language …by selectively focusing the ordinary language on certain public projects, …by changing the meanings of the ordinary language, …by taking certain parts of ordinary language and making them newly problematical, [and] …by the invention of new signs. (1976: 81)

1

Òkórò did it

Ọ̀hú ọ̀hụ́huụ̀ árí ílu, wẹ́ aà lú ẹ́.
'If "Once-upon-a-time" isn't in a story, they don't tell it'
[Ágbọ̀ formula to begin a story]

Á ǹke ọ dí ǹke ọ dí ó.
Here's just how it is'
[Ẹ́hụgbò formula to begin a story]

Ágbọ̀ (Fig. 1, location 1), at the western edge of Igboid, has long been a major crossroads between Òhimi (the Ágbọ̀ name for the River Niger)[1], Ọ̀ǹịcha (known, along with other riverbank trading towns, collectively as *Óru* or *Ọ̀gbárú*) and Ìdúù (the Ágbọ̀ name for Ẹ̀dó, capital of the Benin Kingdom, now Benin City). During the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70) and for many centuries before that, the Ágbọ̀ Kingdom provided a safe refuge to displaced populations. Today, the surrounding forested plateau is interlaced with sprawling villages, whose citizens are renowned for their skill in hunting, palmwine tapping and yam cultivation, as well as in ecstatic, oracular dance. In recent years, the production of *gárí* (a dry-roasted meal of grated, fermented cassava) for urban markets has become a major source of cash in land-rich villages.

Ágbọ̀ monarchy has many obvious resemblances to the royal institution of the Ẹ̀dó Kingdom: e.g. in the performance of royal ritual (cf. Beier 1963) as well as in the organization and lists of titles in the palace hierarchy. Ǹzímìro 1972 describes similar resemblances in three Ọ̀gbárú city-states, further east in the Ẹ̀dó sphere of influence. At a deeper level, however, Ìdúùwẹ *ms.* observes that the Ágbọ̀ constitution has the form of an Ìgbo lineage federation headed by a sacred ancestor. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980 concurs in this analysis, discerning at Ágbọ̀ an underlying core of ritual and political institutions—such as the *àgbalá ǹze* royal ancestor cult and the *òbú/ọ́fọ́* lineage temple complex—which derive ultimately from the ancient, lakeside town of Ǹri (Fig. 1, location 17).

Between the 13th-18th centuries, Ǹri controlled yam production, long-distance trade and *ọ́zọ* title-initiation over much of the upland region which extends from the Ǹsúká plateau to the Niger basin, east of the Òrimili-Ọ̀máḿbala ["Niger-Anambra"] confluence. An early form of the Ǹri Kingdom was probably responsible for the Ìgbo-Ùkwu bronzes, radiocarbon dated as over 1000 years old (Shaw 1970). The arrival of Ǹri lineages to the west of Òrimili is directly reflected in current place names like Ọ̀gwá Ǹshi ('the council meeting of Ǹri'). Eventually, Ǹri influence was eclipsed by the combined militaristic expansion of Árụ̀ to the east and Ìdúù to the west, spurred by the growing trade in slaves, guns and other high value commodities in the 16th-19th centuries.[2] In this way, Ágbọ̀'s ambivalence between Ẹ̀dó and Ìgbo constitutions balances on a millennium of political sediments which were partly eroded by the riverine trade.

[1] Elsewhere called Òrimili, Òsimiri, Òlimini etc., cf. data (18a) below.
[2] See §4.2.2 below.

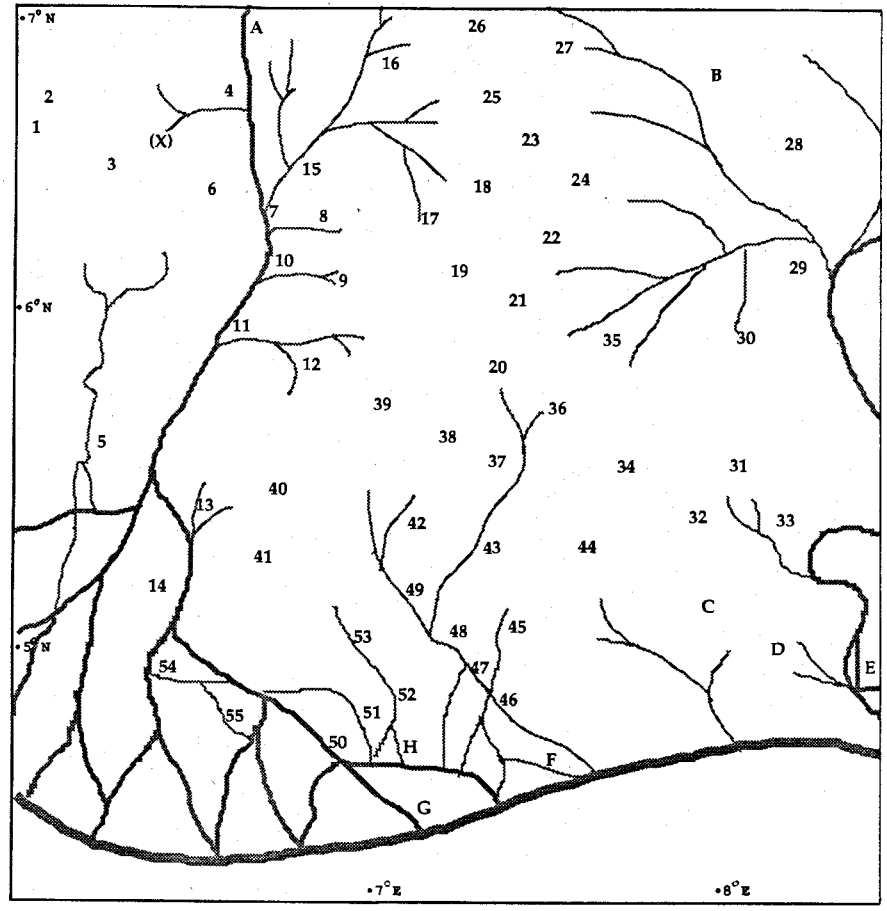


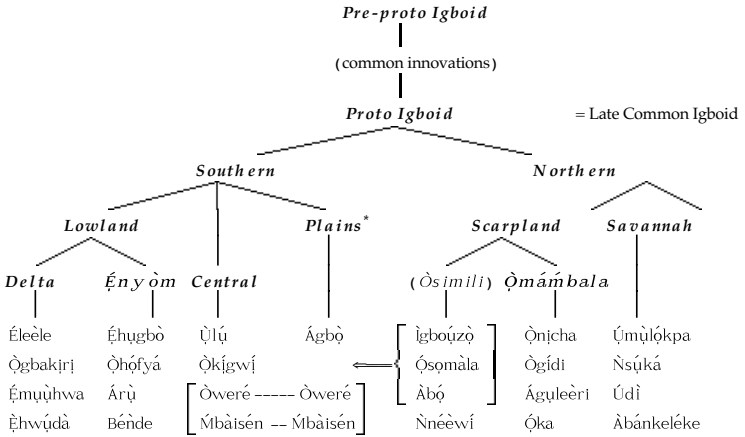
Fig. 1 55 major Igboid settlements referred to in the text

See also Ánọ̀ká 1979. Ethnic names (in parentheses), colonial spellings IN UPPER CASE.
Reference locations (A - H) and (Z) have their main linguistic affiliations <in angle brackets>.

1. Ágbọ̀ (Ìkà) **AGBOR**
2. Ìgbáńkị IGBANKE
3. Ùbulu Úku
4. Ìlá ILLAH
5. Àbọ́* (Úkụànị, Óru) ABOH
6. Ìgboụ́zò (Énuànị) IBUSA, IBUZA
7. Ọ̀nịchá Mmíḷị (Àdó, Óru) ONITSHA
8. Ògídi (Ìdémíḷị)◊
9. Ǹnééwi (Àláédo, Mbàmírịn)
10. Ọ̀ba
11. Ọ́sọmàla (Ọ̀gbárú, Óru) OSSOMARI
12. Íhiàla‡
13. Úgwutà / Úwuntà (Ọ̀gbárú, Óru) OGUTA
14. Égbemà
15. Ágụleèri
16. Ádaànị (Úzọ̀ Ụwáànị)
17. Ǹri NSHI
18. Ọ́ka AWKA
19. Ágụatá (Àgbaélú, Éluọ̀ha)
20. Ńdịzụ́ọ̀gụ
21. Ìsúóchi (Ọ́rụmbà)
22. Ọ̀gụ (Mmakụ) AWGU
23. Údì (Ágbáaja)
24. Ágbanị (Ísienú)
25. Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa (Mbànáanọ́)%
26. Ǹsụ́ká (Ìdẹkẹ) NSUKKA%
27. Ílkém (Úzò égụ́)%
28. Àbánkeléke (Ógụ̀ Úkwu, Ìzíì) ABBAKALIKI, IZZI
29. Ẹ́hụgbò **AFIKPO**
30. Ẹ́kọlị (Ẹ́dḥà) AKOLI, ADA, EDDA
31. Ọ̀hófyá OHAFFIA
32. Bénde (Ìtịm) ITEM
33. Árụ ARO CHUKU
34. Ẹ́bịrịba ABRIBA
35. Ákaezè (Nwáàka)
36. Ọ̀kígwí ([Obowo]) OKIGWE
37. Èkítì ETITI
38. Mbàanọ́
39. Ụ̀lụ́ ORLU
40. Mbieri
41. Òweré (Úraàṭa) OWERRI, OWERRIE, ORATTA
42. Mbàisén
43. Ọmahyá UMUAHIA§
44. Ólokó
45. Mvọsị (Ńgḥwà) MBAWSI
46. Àzụ́míṇị (Ágbata Obì)
47. Ákwụète
48. Òbéèhye (Ńdọ́kị) NDOKKI
49. Òkéhin (Èchíè) ETCHE
50. Ọ̀gbakịrị (**Southern** Ìkwẹ́rẹ) IKWERRI
51. Émụ̀hwa (**Southern** Ìkwẹ́rẹ)
52. Éleèle Àlị́ Míṇị (**Northern** Ìkwẹ́rẹ)
53. Éleèle Élu Àlị (**Northern** Ìkwẹ́rẹ)
54. Ọmọ̀ọ̀kụ (Ógbà) OKUGBA, OGBAH
55. Ẹ̀hwụ́dà (Ẹ̀kpẹyẹ) AHOADA, EKKPAFIA

A. Ídā <Ìgálà> IDAH
B. Ágílà <**Southern** Ìdōmà>
C. Íkọ́d Ẹ̀kpẹ̀nẹ́ <Èfíḳ-Ìbíbíò>
D. Ùyó <Èfíḳ-Ìbíbíò>
E. Óbyò <Èfíḳ-Ìbíbíò> OLD CALABAR
F. Òpóbò <Ìbanị, Ìgbo>
G. Ókoloma <Ìbanị, Ìgbo> BONNY
H. PORT HARCOURT <Ìgbo, Kírịkẹ̀nị̀ OKRIKA>
X. Úgbodú <Ólùkumí>¶

*or Èbọ́ (cf. Ègharevba 1937/1960:40)?
◊Ógbàlụ́ (1982: 99) gives data from the neighboring community of Àbáàgana.
‡In ORLU L. G. A., but linguistically closer to Áwọ Ìdémíḷị (Armstrong 1967) than to Ọ̀lụ́.
§Including Ọ̀hụ́hụn, the basis of Green and Ígwè 1963.
%Ǹbá 1986 also describes Ómọ́ọ́ Úmụ̀mbóo (Ányamèlum) OMOR; Ádaànị (Ógboli) ADANI; Ǹkpólogwu (Ìgbó ọdà) NKPOLOGU; Úbolì (Úbolò) OBOLLO-AFOR; Àkụ and Ùkehe.
¶A Yoruboid enclave totally within the Igboid area, described by Thomas 1914.



Plains is overlapped by *Central* and split by some *Òsimili* dialects.

Fig. 2 A "maximal" subgrouping, by sound change, of 25 Igboid settlements

Summary of phonetic innovations (described in §1.3.1 below)

Cover symbols: C = consonant, V = vowel, T = stop, K = {k, g}, U = {u, ụ}, I = {i, ị}

Southern	sh>h	'market', 'thing'; 'people', 'theft'
Northern	y>I / C _	'market', 'come'
	n>∅ / C_	'name', 'thing'; 'people', 'theft' (*n.b.* also in Ẹ́hụgbò)
Lowland	y>∅ /_ n	'give'
	gh>h(w)	'pass.by', 'bathe' (but Ẹ́hụgbò keeps *-wụ́ 'bathe'), 'open' (Ẹ̀hwụ́dà *-wàté* 'open' shows regular hw>w)
Scarpland	l>n	'house', 'return' (*n.b.* counterfeeds r>l)
	r>l	'work', 'madness', 'ten', *-rV* [zero-aspect suffix]
Delta	d>z /_V [-back]	'husband', 'walk'
	Knụ>Kwnụ	'fire', 'leopard'
	l>ḍ/d	'food', 'ten', 'reach' (/_ [+ATR]); 'house', 'earth' (/_ [-ATR])
	d>r	'food', 'ten', 'reach' (not in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà); 'house', 'earth' (Ẹ̀hwụ́dà has a counterfeeding innovation r>l as in: 'blood' (also in Ọ̀ncha); 'body', 'people')
Ẹ́nyòm	n>∅ / y _	'[1pl.]' (a subset of Northern n>∅ / C _)
Central	TnV>TḥVn	'awake', 'fall' (*n.b.* subsequently denasalized in most places)
Plains	t>ṭ>?>h /_V [-ATR] 1 2 3	'throw', 'back [suff.]', 'lengthen' 1 = Mbàisén (all items); Òweré, Mbieri 'throw, lengthen' 2 = Òweré, Mbieri 'back [suff.]' 3 = Ágbò 'back [suff.]', 'lengthen', (no Ágbò cognate for *tụ́* 'throw'); Mbàisén 'back' in *zún-na-ha* 'steal from' (Ụ̀walâàka 1988: 130)
	dị>rị	'[locative verb]' (*n.b.* possibly related to d>r in Delta)
	b>w	'[copula]' cf. *íwe* 'residence' (Ágbọ̀)
Ọ̀mámbala	sh>rh	'body', 'year' (*n.b.* also in Ẹ̀hwúdà) cf. rh>r in Ọ̀ncha, Ẹ̀hwúdà
	f>bh	'thing', 'one' (*n.b.* not in Ògídi)
Savannah	I>ɯ	'market', 'cow'

As a consequence of this expansion, 16th-17th century Ágbọ̀ sent tribute to Ìdúù (cf. Èghárévbá 1934) and acquired many Ẹ̀dó words and things in return.[3] Ìdúùwẹ (*ms.*) recounts how, some time after Ágbọ̀ had come firmly within Ìdúù's orbit, Nwá Déin (Prince) Kímẹ́ fled to the east, having failed to attain the Ágbọ̀ throne. With some of his maternal relatives from Àlị́-ísìmíẹ̀n, Kímẹ́ founded a string of monarchies including Ọ̀nịchá Ḿmịlị (Fig. 1, location 7, also known as Ọ̀nịchá Ádo) where he is remembered today as Ézè Chímà. Ọ̀nịcha oral historians, cited by Nzímìro (1962: 16*f.*) concur with Ìdúùwẹ's sources in placing these events in the 17th century, although they identify the source of the migration not as Ágbọ̀, but as Ìdúù itself (see §4.2.4 below).

Ìdúùwẹ also tells how, after the British sack of Ìdúù in 1897, Àìguọ́básìmwín the heir to exiled Ọ́bá Òvọ́nràmwẹ̀n Nọ́gbáísí took shelter in Ágbọ̀. There, the British eventually made him District Head, until Ágbọ̀ people drove him out in 1901 (Èghárévbá 1934: 61).[4] In 1901, too, the British established Ágbọ̀ District as the administrative headquarters for the three divisions between Benin and the Niger: Àhabá [Asaba], Ụ́kụànị [Kwale] and Ésān [Ishan].

That Ágbọ̀ did not remain a center of colonial officialdom was largely due to the people's own resistance, especially as directed against the colonists' recruitment of forced labor and the presence of Benin chiefs under British aegis.[5] In 1906, British and Western Nigerian troops repressed a large-scale insurrection at the cost of between ten and sixteen Ágbọ̀ dead (cf. *fn.* 25 below).[6] Ìdúùwẹ notes that, after a 1908 visit, the Governor Sir Walter Egerton remarked on Ágbọ̀ people's open "hostility" to British rule. In 1918, after a fire at Ágbọ̀'s colonial government station, the District was merged into Àhabá ["Asaba"] Division under Lugard's 1914 amalgamation of Northern and Southern Provincial administrations (Ìdúùwẹ *ms.*, Adéwoyè 1977).

Ẹ́hụgbò (Fig. 1, location 29) occupies a cluster of hills and beaches on the right bank of Ẹ́nyòm (the Cross River) at the eastern Igboid boundary, some 250 km. to Ágbọ̀'s east. The settlement of Ẹ́hụgbò dates back millennia to the neolithic transition (Hartle 1966). Today, Ẹ́hụgbò people practice fishing and horticulture side by side. Rich alluvial soil aside, however, much of the

[3] Among them: the word *ósísí* in the meaning 'gun' (Melzian 1937: 149), probably along with the object itself: the Benin Kingdom had a near monopoly on firearms imports. The general Ìgbo word for 'gun' is *égbè*. Throughout Igboid, including Ágbọ̀, *ósísí* means 'tree' or 'stick'; Melzian plausibly speculates that this was the ultimate source for Ẹ̀dó *ósísí* meaning 'gun'. Here as so frequently on the Igboid-Edoid border, borrowing went in both directions; Ágbọ̀ re-borrowed the word with its Ẹ̀dó meaning, while preserving its Ìgbo one.

[4] Àìguọ́básìmwín assumed the Ẹ̀dó throne in 1914 as Ẹwẹ̀ka II. Àgwábasìmí is today a prominent family name in Àlị́-ísìmíẹ̀n, a village with close ties to the Ágbọ̀ palace. Sir Ralph Moor's arrangement to 'store' Àìguọ́básìmwín at Ágbọ̀ was presumably meant to curb immediate demands for the restoration of the Ẹ̀dó monarchy while Ọ́bá Òvọ́nràmwẹ̀n languished under house arrest in Calabar. With Òvọ́nràmwẹ̀n's eventual death in exile and Lugard's amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Provinces (both events taking place in 1914), Àìguọ́básìmwín could be safely rehabilitated as Òvọ́nràmwẹ̀n's heir in keeping with Lugard's policy of indirect rule and tacitly admitting the failure of direct rule in Benin City in the 14 years since 1897 (Burns 1929: 217, cited by Bradbury 1968/1973: 97). That the British *rāj* in Nigeria was a 'theater state' is suggested by Bradbury's locution that Àìguọ́básìmwín was kept "waiting in the wings" (1968/1973: 96).

[5] A nice contrast in this respect is afforded by the town of Òwerẹ́, the capital of the present Ímò State. As noted in the Orthography section, p. 9 above, Òwerẹ́ derived its official prominence, and its very name, from its colonial function as the collection point for African corvée labor.

[6] The site of the colonial military camp, now the 'modern' portion of Ágbọ̀ town, is called either Òrogodó (after the sacred river which flows through it) or Bóji-boji (according to Ìdúùwẹ *ms.*, from the Yorùbá expression - *bọ́ ojú* 'wash one's face without soap', cf. Abraham 1958: 112). The latter name was presumably given by Yorùbá-speaking soldiers, referring to their improvised ablutions in the river.

region is deforested and stony; many young men have joined the migrant labor force, many young women have made distant marriages, or otherwise gone in search of trade or higher education.

In contrast to Ágbọ̀ and Nrì, Ẹ́hụgbò has no monarchy. Titled elders govern collectively through overlapping sanctions of descent, age and initiation (Ottenberg 1971, Úchè 1977). In the 18th-19th centuries, Ẹ́hụgbò warriors enforced the Árụ trade oligarchy through river patrols and inland raids on neighboring areas (Díké 1956 and *forthcoming*; Ụ́kà 1972; Áfìlìgbo 1981c).[7] Ẹ́hụgbò past military prowess echoes in its still rigorous age-grade organization and renowned inter-village wrestling meets. Although often subgrouped with neighboring Ẹ́dhà (e.g. by Talbot 1926, Meek 1937, Forde and Jones 1950), Ẹ́hụgbò has a significant historic link to Árụ (Fig. 1, location 33) through the Ìtịm cluster of aristocratic patrilineages and their Ékwetèni oracle (Ottenberg 1958).

At the end of 1902, just twelve months after the British bombardment of the town of Árụ and the detonation of its riverside Chúku oracle,[8] Ẹ́hụgbò was stormed from a British bridgehead at Ụ̀nwara ("Unwanna").[9] Repeating the Árụ pattern of dominance, the British occupied Ẹ́hụgbò as a District (later Divisional) headquarters and a staging point for inland raids and tax collections.[10] Again during the Nigerian Civil War, Ẹ́hụgbò suffered for its strategic location: some villages lost 75% of their adult males while occupied by federal forces.

Between them, Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò display most of the characteristic features of the Igboid area as a whole. I have already noted Ágbọ̀'s theocratic similarities with Nrì, and its genealogical links to Ọ̀nịcha, as well as Ẹ́hụgbò's genealogical and military ties to Árụ. Apart from this heritage, however, Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò share another significant trait which they possess by virtue of their marginality to the present Ìgbo ethnic formation: the relative neglect of Christian missionaries. In both places, the most visible foreign sect is the Jehovah's Witnesses, which is relatively non-interventionist in social matters (e.g. they tolerate polygyny, ancestral veneration and title-taking), and which has thusfar asserted no role in formal education. Elsewhere in the Igboid area, Anglicans, Catholics, Methodists and U.S. fundamentalists (in roughly that order) have intervened forcefully in daily life, competing in the destruction of shrines and artworks (a task which the Civil War completed); suppression of age grade initiations and wrestling festivals (now nearly as theatrical as the widely televised U.S. 'wrestling' programs); redefinition of birth,

[7] Ánịkpò *ms.* observes that Árụ colonization and control made few inroads in areas under Nrì hegemony.

[8] Àchebé 1964 calques Árụ Chúku 'Árụ of the Chúku oracle' as *Arrow of God*. Sir Ralph Moor, goaded on by the Church Missionary Society and Royal Niger Company, accomplished the physical destruction of the Chúku oracle at the cost of "Europeans, 13 wounded; Natives 27 killed, 140 wounded" in the colonial force (Àsị́ègbú 1984: 257), plus an unknown number of Ìgbo dead in the erroneous (or ingenuous) belief that this would end the inland slave trade, cf. Áfìlìgbo 1972, 1981c. A similar bombardment achieved the subjugation of Ọ̀nịcha (1879) and Úgwutà (1885), cf. Nzímìro 1962. Yet these adventures' avowed humanitarian motive cannot be credited: CMS Bishop Àjàyí Crowther was himself a major shareholder in the West African Company (later the Royal Niger Company, now Lever Brothers/UniLever), which had an interest in eliminating native competition in palm produce trade. Indeed, "Josiah [Crowther] the Bishop's son was put in charge of the company's trade on the Niger" (Flint 1960: 26, quoted in Nzímìro 1962: 32). Thus, missionary and mercantile interests combined in subduing the indigenous middlemen of Ọ̀nịcha, Úgwutà and Árụ by force of arms.

[9] The oldest living pensioner in Ẹ̀nọ́hịa recounted these battles to me vividly in 1977 and again in 1981.

[10] In the historic raiding economy, Ẹ́hụgbò settlements were defensively compact, hilltop citadels, connected by a 'cellular' alarm system of *íkòro* (slit-gongs carved from giant logs). (Recent construction has spread out along the tarred roads.) Unlike the Árụ, who stayed close to the riverbanks, the British built their administrative post at Ẹ́hụgbò on the highest hilltops, where they remain today.

marriage, title and burial ceremonies (a task assisted by the pervasive monetization of exchange), bowdlerization of the lexicon (cf. Nwáọ̀ga 1985) and the restructuring of the calendar.[11]

Though celebrations of Christmas/New Year (and, to a lesser extent, Easter) have taken irreversible hold at both Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò, the public feasts *par excellence* in the two communities remain indigenous: Ágbọ̀'s royal festival Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi, linked to the yam harvest (Beier 1963, Ìdúùwe *ms*, Ìmáhìạgbé 1983), and Ẹ́hụgbò's wrestling festival, linked to male initiation (Ottenberg 1989). (Neither event is strictly annual.) In Ágbọ̀, this resilience is closely tied to palace patronage, which has maintained cultural monuments and sustained the diviners' guilds; in Ẹ́hụgbò, it is the age grade organization, the correspondingly central political institution.

The relative marginality of the two communities of study with respect to this century's evangelical ethnocide in Southern Nigeria allowed a visitor in the 1970's to participate in the commensalities of African religious life, feasts of the earth and the ancestors, more freely than was possible in heavily missionized, core Ìgbo areas. Marginality to foreign religion was also an advantage for a foreign language-learner. In the most thoroughly missionized areas, there is an ongoing purge of the historic meanings of certain words, by taboo or tendentious mistranslation. This process adds a layer of hypercorrection to the speech of aspiring literates. The newest wave of missionaries inundates the periphery of the Igboid area, as throughout the marginal or ethnic "minority" areas of Nigeria. Before and indeed during the Nigerian Civil War, S.I.L. and allied agents of linguistic separatism worked extensively in both the Savannah and Delta Igboid areas (cf. Meir *et al.* 1967, 1975; D. J. Clark 1969, 1971; Williamson 1970a, 1973a). By 1984, however, they had not reached either Ágbọ̀ or Ẹ́hụgbò, to my knowledge.

Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò represent Igboid's typological extremes with respect to both phonology and syntax. In comparing Figs. 1-2, it can be seen that, within Southern Igboid, Ágbọ̀ is the northwesternmost settlement, and Ẹ́hụgbò is the northeasternmost. Perhaps by their spatial proximity to Northern Igboid settlements, Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò have retained features of the protolanguage which are not preserved elsewhere in Southern Igboid. Since 1976, with the generous help of many citizens of these two places, I have learned to converse, albeit haltingly, in their mother tongue. Wherever I go in the Igboid area, my knowledge of Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò is a bridge towards a generally intelligible form of Ìgbo.[12]

From the start, the study was mutual. In the jargon of reflexive ethnography (cf. Dwyer 1979), the Self was "at stake". An impecunious, Bronx-born Harvard linguist in village Nigeria did not fit familiar profiles of white expatriates in the service of western religion and capital.[13] My Ẹ́hụgbò friends tried to resolve this puzzle through rhetorical questions like the following:

1a. Ị̀ bụ ógubè agalamá, yá hù ónye ndù na ọ́ chagarị a, yá hù ónye ọcha nà ọ́ chagarị a?
'Are you the chameleon, who when it sees a black person changes into black, and who when it sees a white person changes into white?'

[11] Árịnze 1982 gives this totalitarian program in its Catholic version. In Nigeria, 'pestacostal' Christian ethnocide is less well documented; see, Hvalkof and Aaby (eds.) 1981 on the S.I.L. in South America.

[12] But, in metrical structure, Ágbọ̀ is more conservative than the rest of Igboid, Ẹ́hụgbò more innovating.

[13] Although never mistaken for an industrialist, I was once denounced to an evangelist as a blasphemer, and was often called a spy. In 1976-77, people could be excused for thinking that a 20-year old white in the countryside was a remnant Peace Corper. Less forgivable were the accusatory misperceptions of some colleagues in the universities of Ìlọrịn, Benin and Nsụ́kà, over 1980-84.

b. Ị̀ bụ ókpuru ijíji gbá ẹ́ká èjé ahyá?
'Are you the fat housefly, who goes empty-handed to market?'

c. Ị̀ bụ ákánkpọ̀ anágí èrí gí èrì? 'Are you the toad, that one does not eat you?'

d. Ị̀ bụ okpógho sị́ nne ẏá nwụ̀hụ́ mà ó li yẹ́ n'ime m̀kpúmè édòbi?
'Are you the pelican, who said that when his mother died, he'd bury her in iron rock?'[14]

My Ágbọ̀ friends explained me with the nickname *ónye-àlị́-wẹ́-chụ-fụ́* '[the]-person-[who]-their-country-chased-out'. Eventually, with a steady income as a federal civil servant, I earned a more flattering title in Ẹ́hụgbò: *ò-mé-m̀gbe-ó-ji-Ì* 'someone.who-provides-when-s/he-has-[something]'.

Linguistic description requires talk about talking. To do this through a second language which is unequally possessed by all participants is inevitably to end up talking to oneself much of the time. Although English is Nigeria's lingua franca, there is small precedent for literal translation into English, and the task of morpheme-by-morpheme analysis is wholly unfamiliar even to highly schooled literates.[15] I therefore spent long hours mumbling over my transcriptions. Small children would laugh as I blurted out in English "I see!", a fieldworker's eureka at some bit of analysis-in-progress, when all I plainly saw was a piece of paper in front of my nose.

On the plus side, my hosts were pleasantly surprised that I could transcribe tone with accuracy and, unlike other foreigners, did not butcher its pronunciation. They esteemed my ability to write their mother tongue, though they sometimes wondered aloud what it was good for: in missionized southeastern Nigeria, the only literacy that counts in practice is literacy in English.

In transposing the language into written form, I was restricted by my lack of grammatical knowledge in the first weeks to the most passive kind of literacy: dictation.

1.1 Dictation

The simplest text to dictate is a list. A list of names is easiest of all, because it requires no translation; although most names have an accessible meaning, the referential value of a name list is not less if the names remain unanalyzed. Thus it is no surprise that, if I did not explicitly request a story or proverb, and was not transcribing casual dialogue, I was often given a list to write down. It seems to me that there is a second reason, apart from my own linguistic limitations, why this is no accident: a list most clearly demonstrates the function of writing as a mind-external storage medium. As its length increases, a list is exponentially harder to remember than any discourse; Bradbury 1959 remarks about Èghárévbá's (1934) Ẹ̀dó king-list that the written version quickly became definitive. Thus, copying lists was not just a manageable task for me, it was also a public experiment in the use of literacy to supplement—rather than replace—a vigorous oral culture.[16]

In Ẹ́hụgbò, three very interesting lists were volunteered. Two of these define the community itself: in terms of residence (25 compact, nucleated settlements) and productive resources (35 landholding matrilineages). Both lists have been stable for some 20 years, as shown by the close

[14] When she died, he found it impossible to fulfil his boast, and had no choice but to carry her corpse around with him in his beak. This picture epitomizes the ambitious procrastinator.

[15] Since 1974, a group of linguists has been coining Ìgbo linguistic metalanguage (*ọ̀kaásụ̀sụ́ Ìgbo*) e.g. *áhịrịokwú* 'sentence', *ǹgwáà* 'verb', *m̀yirịụdaúmé* 'syllabic nasal', *ụ̀da élú* 'high tone', *m̀mékàngwáà* 'participle', cf. Émènanjọ mss. a, b. Needless to say, these terms are not in general circulation, nor does there exist an authoritative Ìgbo dictionary which literates could consult in putting them to use.

[16] This issue returns in Chapter 4 below, particularly in §4.2.1.

similarity between the versions in the appendix, and those collected by Ottenberg. Why such stability? Possession of these lists is intellectual capital: in oral form it accompanies—indeed is a prerequisite of—the achievement of substantial political stature outside the minor lineage.

The third list was partly situational, consisting of the names of 40 household heads of Èzí Ukwu patrilineage, Kpóghirikpó, which I wrote down as they contributed pots of *óhe nsárara* (fish and melon seed stew) and *éńya ụ̀tará jí* (rolled portions of pounded yam) to the Ìkó Nrì Nsí feast on Àhọ/Friday 4 March 1977. Although in principle every household contributes to the feast, many adults are not resident at that time of year, so this list is not comprehensive.

All three lists have some internal structure derived from a degree of cross-classification among bipartite entries. The handful of identical names in the randomly ordered Ìkó Nrì Nsí list reflects the practice of naming a first son after his paternal grandfather, which by recursion forms a closed loop in alternate generations, broken only by the failure of a first son to survive until he produces his own son. By contrast, the lists of settlements and matrilineages possess inherent partial ordering, based either on the hierarchy of spatial inclusion (a settlement's constituent moities or quarters are grouped together) or more abstractly on common origins as reflected in shared components of the names. The settlement list I was given in 1976 differs from Ottenberg's (1968) published version (collected in the 1950's) in two respects, neither of which is likely to reflect any diachronic process. Probably basing himself on the administrative map of the district, Ottenberg omits a number of smaller settlements, and takes Ọ̀zí́zá to be a subunit of Ẹ́hụgbò, whereas in terms of the ritual market calendar it is a coordinate entity.

In Ágbọ̀, I was given three lists to write down. One of these, repeated often, is an indispensable road map: the nine component communities of Àlị-Ísìmíẹ̀n, one of the oldest Ágbọ̀ setttlements. The other two are expert knowledge: the names of local species (or phenotypic varieties) of yams and mushrooms. The settlement list was topical at the time of my visit: several parts of Àlị-Ísìmíẹ̀n have unique roles in the Ọ̀sí Èzí royal festival, based on the chieftaincy titles of their respective heads. In this way, individual titles and their holders virtually 'translate' the individual settlements: Ìdumu Úku is the settlement headed by Àgbásọ́ọ̀gụn, etc. This kind of translation is also present in the other two lists. Some of the species names are descriptive phrases (like the *ụ̀lakpa úgbó* 'farm message' yam); others while untranslatable have a single salient characteristic that functions as an inevitable, virtual gloss (the one thing you need to know about the *dí́lị̀lị̀* mushroom apart from its physical identity is that it is poisonous). If a species has a general English label, this becomes the virtual translation of the Ágbọ̀ term: for example the *ḿbụà* yam belongs to a type widely called *water-yam* on account of its soft consistency, although no word 'water' forms part of the Ágbọ̀ name. All six lists are reproduced in the Appendix.

One kind of list often collected by ethnographers in Nigeria is the 'king list' (cf. Bradbury 1959/1973). In a tantalizing anecdote (which I was unaware of during my stay), Beier describes a phenomenon in the Ágbọ̀ king list which would amount to an information buffer:

> Ágbọ̀ is an old settlement, but its real age is difficult to determine, because the people have a curious custom of keeping their official king list down to the number fifteen. Every time a new Ọ̀bí mounts the throne, the name of the earliest Ọ̀bí is struck off the list. It is no longer recited at the annual festivals and no more sacrifices are brought to his tomb. (1963: 184)

While in Ágbọ̀ I did not hear of such a practice, but it is consistent with the fact, unavailable to Beier, that the king list compiled by Ìdúùwẹ (*ms.*) contains just fifteen names in the third dynasty. The last of the fifteen was Déin Ọ̀bíkà, who was on the throne at the time of Beier's visit. The reported limitation to fifteen, if correct, may reflect the intersection of two concepts. First, as reported by Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980, the spirits of past Ǹrì kings are viewed as forming a lineage in their own right, called Ǹrì-mé-ǹrì, superordinate in status to the component lineages of the community. This special form of the conical clan accounts for the requirement that, after the Ǹrì coronation, the king is undergoes funeral rites:

> The *ézè* was buried in a shallow grave. His wives began to perform the real mortuary rites, which lasted for twenty-one days. He 'rose' from the 'dead' clothed with white cloth and decorated with white chalk *ńzụ*. He had become a spirit (*mmụ́ọ́*) and a living *áḷụsị*. He announced his new name and the people greeted him as Ígwé, the sky, the most high. He had become Ézé Ǹrì. (1980: 88)

The Ágbọ̀ monarchy—unlike that of Ǹrì—is hereditary, in fact primogenitural, so there is no corresponding need to construct a special lineage for kings: it already exists. However, there is a second, widespread belief in the area between Ìdúù and Òhimi (which I am unable to document for Ágbọ̀ specifically) that the maximum number of reincarnations of an individual is sixteen. This number is also central to the *éfa* divination system (Yorùbá *ifá*, Ìgbo *áfa*, cf. §4.2.1 below), which regulates communication with the ancestors.

To summarize. Insofar as every Ágbọ̀ king bears the same title, Déin, the assumption of the kingship can be viewed—may, more precisely, be viewed by the participants—as a ritual reincarnation of the same individual. Supporting this interpretation is the prohibition that no person with a scar or other physical deformity may become king (Ìdúùwẹ *ms.*): it is said that a person transmits his/her scars to the next incarnation, so to allow a deformed king would be to admit that prior kings had been deformed. Taken together with this interpretation, the two concepts would directly explain the limit reported by Beier: only 16 ontologically distinct kings actually exist, hence the list contains 15 names plus the present one.

Dictation played a large role in my introduction to Ágbọ̀. On the instructions of Déin Íkenchúku, I was conducted to the nine villages of Àlị-Ísìmíẹ̀n over the first two weeks of my stay. In each village, I was generously received by the elders and regaled with stories. Since I needed to write down anything I wanted to comprehend, long texts were ruled out in this situation; some very patient elders gave me texts running into hundreds of words. Looking back over these early transcriptions, I am struck by all the mistakes I made.

Following Northcote Thomas' 1911 example in Ọ̀nịchá Ḿmịlị and Ọ́ka, I made a request for *íten* 'proverbs', which are of manageable length for a rank beginner to write down, and are easy to repeat without introducing much variation.

Conventionally at least, all Ágbọ̀ proverbs have the form of quotations. That is, as citations of authority they begin with an optional phrase like *Àsí wẹ̀* 'They say…' or with the single word *Ágbọ̀* abbreviating the clause *Ńdị Agbọ̀ jí éku okú, sí nị…*'Ágbọ̀ people say that…'.[17] As "ready-made surface structures"—Kiparsky's (1975) term for Homeric formulæ—proverbs give rhetorical advantage to the speaker who knows them. Quotational authority lets the speaker omit mention

[17] Thus the categories of proverb, wellerism and folktale (*ílu*) are continuous, cf. Émènanjọ 1982c.

of the features of the immediate context to which the proverb refers, an omission whose effect can range from merely tactful to canny or downright wily.

In other words, I think that the dictation of proverbs was popular in my first days in Ágbò, not just because they were viewed as appropriate for storage in written form, but especially because they allowed the act of dictation to refer to my presence and condition in a politically acceptable if not entertaining way. I had the strong impression, at least, that people enjoyed telling the proverbs to me because there were some important but sensitive subjects connected with me, on which they had something to say. Here are some examples from my notes of September 1976.

Through proverbs, I was told: generosity should be acknowleged (2a); even unequal relationships give mutual benefit (2b); what seems useless to one person is not to another (2c); people should not be judged by their material state (2d).

2a. Ónye kú ihyen wẹ mèn̄ ẹ, yá sị̀ wẹ mẹ́zini ọzọ. — 'A person who mentions what they did for him/her, [in so doing] tells them to do more'

b. Ézè nnwó ihyen ọ-rí-nị̀ ihué; ìhué ǹnwó ihyen ọ-rí-nị̀ ézè. — 'The king has something commoners are good for; commoners have something the king is good for'

c. Nwá ògbuma áá la ògbuma íwì: ọ́ rị ndụ̀, ó zhi ẹ́ ozhi; ọ́ nwuhụ, ò rí anụ a. — 'A witch's child never goes to waste: while it's alive, she sends it on errands; when it's dead, she eats its flesh'[18]

d. Ẹ́sọ̀n ẹ́lẹ́ ọ́rọà, ẹ́lẹ́ ẹ́ra. — 'Poverty is not disease, it is not madness'

In keeping with the imminent, royal Ọ̀sí Èzí festival, and my arrival in the village with a royal instruction to stay out of trouble,[19] many proverbs told on my first day in Àhịma, Àlị́ Ísìmíẹ̀ were apparently chosen to bring the king's authority to my and others' attention:

3a. Égùn áà tụ́ abọ́ màka nị́ n'ahàmá ishí, yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ bu ẹ́. — 'The farm basket fears not, because it is on the middle of the head that they carry it'

b. Ósisi gú ọ́fya, ígùn árịzì ọ́fya. — 'If trees come to an end in the forest, there no more fronds'

c. Wẹ́ tingu egú, ọ̀kpú nị̀ ọ́hyụn nkpnàn azụ́. — 'When they finish dancing, the buttocks are the last place [to stop moving]'

d. Áhụ́nị wẹ̀ díbiẹ̀, á gbukọ̀ éju àlị. — 'If they don't see a herbalist, they won't cut up a puff adder'

As I tended to miss the point, the assembled people (a dozen or so) concentrated their exegetical energy on constructing instances of appropriate usage for each proverb. However, though I had ample help with pragmatics of these texts, the preoccupation with literal translation was mine alone. There were other difficulties. As material for phonological analysis (my main interest at the time), dictated texts raise special problems such as self-correction and tempo changes.

[18] Cf. the Ọ̀ka proverb cited by Thomas (1913 vol. 2: 382), which I conjecturally retranscribe as follows:

i. Ùdene sịlị nwúnyè ya — 'Vulture said to his wife:
"N'íme, ọ dị́ ḿmá, dị́ ọ́ma: — "Pregnancy, it's fine, is good:
"Ọ́bụlụ ọ mụ, ọ̀ nwúrụ, bhà elíe nwa mmá." "If she delivers [and] it dies, they eat the good child.
"Ọ́bụlụ nà ọ́ mụ, ọ̀ dírị, bhà ekúku nwá." "If she delivers [and] it lives, they carry the child along."'

[19] My arrival in Àhịma on 11 September 1976, as the guest of Jacob Àwúrọ̀ Agwábasìmí, took place on the instructions of Òbí Ikenchúku. Two days before, my mentor M. A. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ had brought me to the home of the Ólu Òtú of Ògbe Ńmụ̀ Déin, the Ágbọ̀ historian Òdíî A. Ẹ̀gwabọ́ Ìdúùwẹ.

Variation between speakers and styles was leveled out on my paper, greatly obscuring the phenomena of focal interest: tone and syllable structure.

Tape recordings, begun some weeks later, confirmed these inklings by foregrounding a wide range of linguistic variation.[20] On playback, speakers explained some of the variants in terms of archaism and stylistic register, but these explanations had a stereotypic form (*ókwu ndị ichèn* 'the speech of the elders', *ókwu ndị elu ḿbụ* 'the language of the ancients'). By contrast, speakers showed precise knowledge of variation keyed to locality (geographical dialect). Without making explicit reference to speech sounds, speakers could identify the local origin of a given word.[21] It was therefore notable to find items from different localities in a single text by a single speaker.

Some texts are multilingual in a limited sense: a stylistically distinct passage may use a different language from the rest of the text. For example, the 'choruses' of some Ògisó stories (e.g. *Nwátà-díbiè-nwá-m My-son-the-little-doctor*, in the Appendix) exist in alternative Ẹ̀dó and Ágbọ̀ versions.[22] Other texts show inter-local variation at a smaller scale: in individual lexical items. One example of the latter type lifted the historical curtain on linguistic consciousness in the Igboid region. In retrospect, this example offers evidence that the ethnic effect is located in the lexicon.

1.2 Relexification

In a series of June 1977 recording dates, Ẹ̀bú Èdiọ́n, an *ògbú èbunu*[23] of Àlị́ Írèn, Ágbọ̀ led surviving members of his age grade in reconstructing *Òkórò Mé ẹ* 'Òkórò-did-it'—a 1920-vintage initiation play.[24] The songs of this play, as recreated by him, were set to the music of the *ẹ̀kpịrị* (antelope horn trumpet, of which he was a master player) and two iron gongs (one of them double).

The text of *Òkórò Mé ẹ* is strongly marked by *dialect relexification*. Before presenting the evidence, I will review some definitions and terms. Historical linguistics distinguishes two mechanisms of change: borrowing (describable by August Schmidt's wave model) and common

[20] In content, too, sound recording is heuristic, recalling Jean Rouch's film *vérité*. In Moore's 1988 terminology, documentary events are "diagnostic": the linking of audiences in time and space evokes latent contradictions. People are generally pleased to hear themselves and friends *íme redìo* 'on the air'. In front of a microphone, as texts receive a different kind of attention from artist and audience alike, unexpected material emerges.

[21] For example, nasality and the length of words in different dialects is a subject of impressionistic comment by speakers. Sometimes a group of settlements is labeled with a perjorative reduplication of word which they pronounce uniquely, e.g. the "Wáàwa" settlements, named after a (reduplicated) version of their form of the Standard Ìgbo word *ḿbà* 'no'. I have also heard settlements characterized with epithets like *àgba élú* 'high jaw' and *ólu àla* 'low voice', referring to idiosyncratic tone patterns.

[22] This might be expected in tales of the Benin Kingdom. The historical relationship between Ágbọ̀ and Ìdúù is symbolically central, cf. §4.1.2 below. If the stories were originally composed in Ẹ̀dó, the song could be preserved in that language because its content was redundant with the text, and it might *have* to be preserved if the melody would not accommodate an Ágbọ̀ translation.

[23] The *ògbú èbunu* 'ram killer' title is associated with the guild (or "college", Maine's term applied by Úchèǹdù 1977) of diviners, whose ritual coat is the ram's fleece. Other avocational titles are *òjnéògún*, associated with the college of ironsmiths and *ọ̀knáwiná*, for skin markers, circumcizers and literates.

[24] The dances were not reenacted. Mr. Égẹ̀bí, a kindly and fluent bilingual *ọ̀knáwiná* of Àlị́-Írèn, arranged the recording sessions and guided my transcription. Ẹ́hụgbò age grade initiation plays in the early 1950's are documented by Ottenberg 1975. In 1983, Ímò Television broadcast *Nwá Òkólobo*, a drama from Úmụ̀ Ohéagú in Òwerè Local Government Area. *Nwá Òkólobo* resembled *Òkórò Mé ẹ* in plot, as well as in the role of the antelope horn (called ǹkpám in Òwerè). On Central Ìgbo drama, cf. Ùgoǹnà 1983. My recorded fragments of *Òkórò Mé ẹ* form the first selection on the accompanying cassette tape.

innovation (which defines family trees in the neogrammarian mode). As observed by Meillet 1908, the difference between these diminishes, the more local the change in question. Each borrowing is a potential common innovation; most don't make it (Weinreich, Herzog and Labov 1968).

The borrowed elements *par excellence* are special labels, including names. The term *hyponymy* refers to the situation in which a borrowed vocabulary item coexists with a synonymous indigenous term. More commonly, specialization occurs in one or the other, as with *beef* (< French *boeuf*) and *cow* in English. Other lexical items, especially grammatical morphemes and so-called basic vocabulary, resist borrowing unless the languages are very closely related, at which point a common innovation may be at hand. The term "dialect borrowing" describes the anomalous case of close-range, basic borrowing without innovation.

The upper limit of borrowing is wholesale *relexification*, as in the formation of so-called "creoles".[25] The classic relexification study in a generative framework is Muysken 1981, which observes that relexification occurs when language acquisition takes place in a multilingual context under circumstances of extreme social dislocation—such as experienced by migrant laborers. Although the social conditions are similar, what occurs in *Òkóròmé ẹ* is a bit different: relexification apparently restricted to (or at any rate focused in) a single text. Ẹ̀bú's age grade was initiated to adulthood after their enforced journey as head-load "carriers" to Ụ́kụànị [Kwale], and Àbó, some fifty or more miles away in the Niger delta. Others were sent further still: to Sapele and Warri, and, during World War I, to Cameroun and East Africa. From such punishing hardship, young men of that era developed great physical endurance; in 1976, I saw how as elders they voluntarily maintained a discipline of limited food and water even during vigorous farmwork.

Ẹ̀bú 's generation was the first to mature under British rule. A famous event of their youth, recalled by one and all, is recounted in summary by Èghárévbá 1934 and in detail by Ìdúùwẹ *ms*. Accusing the town of Ọ̀wa of withholding unpaid labor, Ágbọ̀ District Commissioner O. S. Crewe-Read (known in the oral tradition as *Réèdi*) led his police force in 1906 to seize an old man as hostage. Events soon spun out of control and Réèdi shot the old man's son dead when he tried to intervene. Outraged people chased Réèdi to Ọ̀wa-ńtà and finally killed him when his ammunition ran out. In retaliation, the British attacked Ọ̀wa, captured Òbí Ọ̀wa and 15 chiefs and killed all of them. Eventually, other towns including Ágbọ̀ counterattacked, killing 7 Britons.[26]

One chorus of *Òkóròmé ẹ* , which given the foregoing can only be understood as ironic, goes:

4. Ẹ̀bú, njọ̀ sịa yá, élu òyíbó kà ḿmá. 'Ẹ̀bú, go tell him the era of the whites is better'

Insofar as the dialects differ, the sentence in (4) is in Ụ́kụànị. In other sentences of the *Òkóròmé ẹ* text, however, uniquely Ụ́kụànị and Ágbọ̀ morphemes occur in close proximity. As part of its

[25] The term *creole* is etymologically racist. On creolistics, cf. Oyèlárăn 1982, Mufwene 1991 and §3.2.

[26] Ágbọ̀ tradition calibrates contemporaneous events to *ógnè ẹnyí nọ̀ gbú Reèdi* 'the time we killed Read'. Official accounts, cited by Tamuno 1972, Nwáàgbara [Nwabara] 1977, Ékèchí 1984, are silent on Réèdi's aggressive acts, list 10 Ágbọ̀ chiefs executed, and do not mention other British casualties. Nwáàgbara quotes *West Africa* of 14 August 1906, to the effect that the rebellion which led to Réèdi's killing was:

> directed not only against the British government, but also against native chiefs of the Benin City to whom, severally, the different districts of the country had been assigned. (1977: 179)

Nwáàgbara also reports that the same issue of *West Africa*

> cited instances where chiefs were flogged openly before their subjects for trifling offenses. Among these were the cases of the chief [sic] of Ágbọ̀ who failed to attend the court when Crewe-Read was in the district… (1977: 131)

presumed poetic function (i.e. as a projection of the paradigmatic axis on the syntagmatic axis, cf. Jakobson 1968), this linguistic heterogeneity has a historical role. It indexically portrays the carriers' journey to Ụ́kụànị, which is allegorized in the play's drama of exploration and return.

The scenario runs as follows. *Òkóró* 'Young-man'[27] goes hunting, only to find the antelopes immune to his bullets. He learns from them that dancing—an activity hitherto unknown to humans—is the secret of their invulnerability. Òkóró returns home without freshly killed game but with a traveler's wisdom, and tries to introduce *égu* 'song-dance' to his community, but people misconstrue its purpose and use it to mock one another. Many verses of their songs consist of satiric praise-names in genealogical form: *X bụ̀ nwá Y* 'X is the child of Y'.

Below, the prose summary from the action of the play (5, 7, 9) is divided into lines corresponding to Èbú Èdíọn's rhythmic declamation. The sung material from the play itself (6, 8, 10, 11) is divided by musical phrases, and is italicized:

5.	Égu ọ̀mụmụ ohú ẹ̀nyí mụ̀,	One initiation dance we learned,
	kẹ̀ wé dnọ́ mụ̀á ń ịọkọ̀ dà kọ́wa í.	how they learned it is what I'm going to tell you.
	Ónye wẹ kpọ́ Òkóró, ò rú ebe ahụ̀.	Someone they called Okoro, he reached there.
	Ọ nọ̀ sí enu ụtá.	He went up into a hunter's blind.
	Ógnè ó gì rú enu ụtá ahụ̀,	When he reached that blind,
	ánụ ọfịa íile ezú,	all the wild animals collected
	yá wé nọ̀ téme egú.	and they began to dance.
	Mgbadan ábayí ọ̀gbọ́[28],	The antelopes entered a circle,
	yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ téfụ́ ẹka, nọ̀ gbá wẹ osisi.	so he stretched out his arm and shot at them.
	Wé nọ̀ sị́ á, "Kí wẹ àkpọ́ í?"	They said, "What do they call you?"
	Ọ nọ̀sí, ìyá èmé Òkóró.	He said he was [doing] Okoro.
	Wé nọ̀ sị́ á, "Í amàrin ní,	They said, "Don't you know [that]
	ọ́nwụ aá gbu mgbadan èbé ọ rị̀ ọgbọ́?"	death doesn't kill an antelope if it's in a circle?"
	Yá wẹ nọ̀ wé ẹ che:	So they put it [like this]:
6.	*Òkóró, nwá mádụ̀, ìyú mère enwé,*	*Okoro, human being, it is you who*
	ìyú mère enwé, ìyú mère enwé.	*did yourself* [= *got yourself into trouble*].
	Ọ́nwụ aá gbu mgbadan èbé ọ dị́ n'ọgbọ́,	*Death doesn't kill an antelope if it's in a circle,*
	sọ́kpàn ebé ọ kpákọ̀ iró,	*just if it's on the loose,*
	sọ́kpàn ebé ọ kpákọ̀ ùfnụ.	*just if it's at large.*[29]

[27] In Ìgbo *òkóró* means 'young man', as in the compound *òkóró-bịà* 'adolescent', literally 'someone who has come into young manhood'. Cf. *òkóró ukwu* 'giant' (Ìgwè and Green 1970: 166). As a proper name, *Òkóró* also came to be used by non-Ìgbo speakers as an ethnic epithet for Ìgbo-speakers, much like *Àdé* 'crown' is used for Yorùbá-speakers. In Ẹ̀dó, *òkóró* means either 'newborn' or 'prince' (Melzian 1937: 142), the latter meaning presumably derived pragmatically from the sense of 'male heir' (cf. also Ìgbo *ókọ́ọ or ókọ́ọe* 'male', Yorùbá *okó* 'penis'). Note that the tones of the word as a proper noun in Ágbọ̀ are different: *Òkóró*; the final low tone may be the same morpheme which occurs in the so-called 'specific NP' construction, cf. §1.3.3 below. Thus *Òkóró* means "a certain Young Man".

[28] Significantly, the Ágbọ̀ word *ọ̀gbọ́* 'circle' also means 'age grade'. In many other dialects including Ẹ́hụgbò, 'age grade' translates as *ùke*. Cf. the immediately following footnote.

[29] For the carriers' age grade, too, it could be said that "Death does not kill those who are together, just those who are on their own".

7.	Wẹ́ nò sị́ á, "Èé, yá kẹ̀ í nọ́ mé ihyen nị̀,	They said "OK, as you are doing this thing,
	nọ̀dị́ nị́ èyín èzhíme í egu."	stay and we'll teach you dancing"
	Ógènwẹ́ gì zhíme ẹ́ egu nwa *hnḭ́ḭ̀*	They taught him the dance for a *looong* time.
	Èzhíguọ wẹ̀; wẹ́ nò sị́ á:	They had finished teaching; they said:
	"Láma àlị̀ ọ́nụ̀ dezhí wẹ íya!"	"Go back to your country to teach it to them!"
	Ógèn ó gì rú ụlọ̀,	When he reached home,
	ò zhígu wẹ́ íya,	[and] he finished teaching it to them,
	wẹ́ nọ̀ gi ẹ́ gbàmá óbù:	They started using it to tease [each other]:
8.	*Ìyú, Ìyú, Ìyú, ọ̀wanijen.*	*You, you, you, wayfarer!*
	Íjnè-égbùnḭ́-ḿ bụ́ nwá Àkḭ́kà!	*Traveling-doesn't-kill-me is the child of Big-one!*
	Ífebù Ákpatà bụ́ nwá Àkḭ́kà!	*Fatso Ákpatà is the child of Big-one!*
	Ọ̀-gi-ọ́kụ-àchọ́-ḿgba,	*She-who-uses-leg-to-find-a-mate,*
	àrán-wa wẹ́ á ẹnya ikè o!	*they have copulated and split open her hymen!*
9.	Wẹ́ nọ̀ sị́ "Ézhi okú, egu ọ̀nwá à?"	They said "[Is it] true, this one is song-dance?"
10.	"Yéyewò,	"Yéyewò,
	Ọ̀sụ́ Ogeègụma bụ́ nwá Ìyá-mà!	*Sweaty Ogeègụma is the child of He-knows!*
	Ò-tí-ḿpụ bụ́ nwá Gù-mẹ́-dìe!	*He-beats-randomly is the child of Stay-with-me!*
	Ẹ́gẹdí-ùdele achọ́ma Ò-tí-ḿpụ!	*Old-vulture is chasing He-beats-at.random!*
	Ẹ̀hi-edú bụ́ nwá Ụgbọ-mmụ́o!	*Guardian.spirit[30]-leads is the child of Spirit-boat!*
	Ọ́kụ-sị̀rị̀-ụ́kpà àghàma nwa ozù é!	*Bandy-legs is going down his little alley!*
	Èjén-nị mẹ́, èjén-nị mẹ́, àlụ́anị ḿ o!	*I went, I went* [and] *I returned!*
	Ézigbo-ònunu bụ́ nwá Edè-kwé!	*Real-angry is the child of Cocoyam-agrees.*
	Íjèn-égbùnḭ́-ḿ ò rí ọ̀kọkọ́ọ̀ ńdụ̀!"	*Travel-doesn't-kill-me, he eats raw snails"*
11.	*Yó yó yó, àlá ḿ ḷjarè íwe ẹnyi,*	*I'm heading back to Íjarè[31] our home,*
	òbodo wẹ́ sí mụ ẹnyi.	*The town where they gave us birth,*
	Ọ̀bịarụ-ejé ènwó ụ̀lá ẹ́.	*A wayfarer [eventually] has his return.*

Verses (6, 8, 10, 11) contain five Ụ́kụànị̀ items; all but one (12a) have regular Ágbọ̀ cognates:

	Ụ́kụànị̀	*Ágbọ̀*	
12a.	mádụ̀	ìhian	'human being'
b.	mère enwé	mé nwá	'did self [in]' (i.e. get self into trouble)
c.	dị̀ n'	rị̀	'is located at'
d.	bụ̀	wụ̀n	'is' [copula]
e.	ọ̀bịarụ-ejé	ọ̀wanijen	'wayfarer'

(6) and (11), apart from the substitutions in (12a-c) and (12e) respectively, are grammatical Ágbọ̀ sentences. In (8, 10) with their syntax *X is the child of Y*, the variables *X* and *Y* are filled with Ágbọ̀ descriptive epithets—in this case uncomplimentary appellations of citizens of Àlị̀-Írèn.

Notice that, in the pairs in (12a-d), all the Ụ́kụànị̀ forms are metrically longer than their Ágbọ̀ counterparts, as measured in the number of surface syllables or in some other prosodic category such as tone. The prefix of /ìhian/ is elided after a vowel, unlike consonant-initial /mádụ̀/. /mère enwé/ counts three syllables to /mé nwá/'s two. The syllable nucleus of /rị̀/ is desyllabified before a vowel, while that of /dị̀ n'/ is not. The metrical difference between /b/ and /w/ is in the strength of the syllable onset. /ọ̀bịarụ-ejé/, unlike /ọ̀wanijne/, contains a tonal foot.[32] This consistent prosodic contrast may explain why, in translating the songs from Ụ́kụànị̀ into Ágbọ̀ (if that is indeed what happened), these particular Ụ́kụànị̀ forms had to be retained: their Ágbọ̀ counterparts did not fit the musical meter.

[30] *Ẹ̀hị* has the same meaning in Ẹ̀dó (Melzian 1937: 51), corresponding to one meaning of Ìgbo *chí*, cf. §4.6.2 below. The Ágbò name *Ẹ̀hi-edú* 'Ẹ̀hi leads' equals Ìgboụ́zọ *Chí-èdú* 'Chí leads' (= Ọ̀nịcha *Chí-nà-edú*).

[31] Possibly borrowed from the Ẹ̀dó ritual greeting *Ìyárrè*! 'safe arrival' (Melzian 1937: 106).

The carriers' journey was not Ágbọ̀'s only contact with Ụ́kụànị̀ in the early part of this century. For some time before Ẹ̀bú's age grade was sent there, people from Ágbọ̀ to the Niger had formed an anticolonial underground called *Èkuméku* (cf. Ékèchí 1975; Ọ̀nwụejíọgwụ̀ and Òkó[h] 1981, Àsị̀ègbú 1984). It was this underground that fought the battle of Ọ̀wa in 1906. Since then, however, the ethnic distance from Ágbọ̀ to Ụ́kụànị̀ has increased, step-by-step with a steady administrative politicization. Under the system of provinces which was in effect before Lugard's amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, Ágbọ̀ was the seat of a District Commissioner whose jurisdiction included Ụ́kụànị̀. The 1914 reorganization, which trickled down to Ágbọ̀ in 1918, placed a Divisional headquarters in Àhabá, to which a half dozen District Officers (including those for Ụ́kụànị̀ and Ágbọ̀) separately reported. Then, in setting up the 1946 Western House of Chiefs, the relative standing of local monarchs became a regional issue.

In the first regional elections (1951), the Ágbọ̀ vote split between Awólọ́wọ̀'s AG which controlled the Western House of Assembly, and Àzḭ́kàḭ́we's NCNC which controlled the East and formed the main opposition in the West. Regional sovreignty was consolidated in the 1954 (Lyttelton) constitution, giving civil service, taxation and produce marketing authority to the regional governing party (Dudley 1982: 52ff.). Ìdúụ̀wẹ *ms.* reports that, after a 1954 anti-tax insurrection when people stormed his palace and damaged his car, Ézè Ágbọ̀ Òbíkà (1916-67) was forced into open support of the AG regional government. But in the first federal elections (1954), the NCNC won a majority in the West; in retaliation, local AG committees took over local government councils. The 1959 elections were won by the AG with only 5 out of 14 regional seats from the district, but with 22 of 42 seats in the Ḭ̀ká local government council. In recognition of this margin of victory, Òbíkà was made minister without portfolio in the new AG regional government.

In the 1962 Awólọ́wọ̀/Akintọ́lá crisis in the Western House, Òbíkà crossed the carpet to the NCNC, which sought the creation of a new Midwestern Region (extending from the Ẹ̀dó Kingdom to the Niger). This new region was reasonably expected to come under NCNC control. With the Western House dissolved, the Midwest was created in 1963, and Òbíkà served in Ọ̀sadebé [Osadebay]'s Midwest NCNC cabinet. The entrenchment of regional interests, to which the peace of the Western Region was sacrificed in 1965, led quickly to the breakdown of civilian rule. Òbí Ikenchúkwu (1938-79), coronated soon after the start of civil war (1967-70), maintained Ágbọ̀ neutrality while the territory between Ágbọ̀ and the Niger was under Federal occupation.[33] This

[32] As shown in §1.3.3 below, tonal feet in this language are headed by H tone.

[33] In September 1976, Jacob Áwụ́rọ̀ Àgwábasìmí put this to me as follows:

Òbí Agbọ̀ Ézé ẹnyi. Òbí, ógnè wẹ́ gì álụ́ ágá, ọ̀ kpọ́ ndí Ìgbo, ọ̀ kpọ́ ndí Awùsá mmụ́ọ̀.
Ógnè ágа gì egú, ọ̀ hú ghọ̀sị́ ónye kpụ̀kpú ezè nị́ owìwì ognè kẹ̀ ọ́ rị̀.
The Òbí of Ágbọ̀, our king, when they fought a war, he called both Ìgbo and Hausa people to his protection.
When [the] war finished, it showed that someone who harrasses a king is wasting his time.

policy was vindicated by the appointment, as postwar governor of Bendel State, of Brigadier S. O. Ògbèmúdiá, who hailed from the Ágbọ̀-speaking town of Ìgbáńkị̀ (Fig. 1, location 2). Thus, through seven tumultuous decades of colonialism, nationalism and rival regionalism (including secession and civil war), Ágbọ̀'s ancient ties to the rest of the Igboid area were stretched ever thinner, and Ágbọ̀ ethnicity cut free of its ancient moorings.

It is often observed that ethnic categories, in both social-science and political discourses, are circularly defined (Lockwood 1970). Although clearly derivative of political and economic forces, they are invoked as immediate causes of social action when seen from a "top-down" and ex-post-facto perspective, e.g.:

> [T]he preoccupation with property relations obscured ethnic ones … [but] it is *property* that begins to seem derivative, and ethnicity that seems to become a more fundamental source of stratification. Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 16f.)

The mediation of linguistic consciousness, evidenced in *Òkóròmẹ́ẹ*, breaks this vicious circularity.

The Ìgbo ethnic ideology was emergent, in tandem with the creation of the standard language, during the incorporation of the Igboid area into the colonial and national political economy. As a byproduct of regional politics since the turn of the century, the Ágbọ̀ ethnic ideology came to be "stranded" from the rest of Igboid, as just sketched. Correspondingly, Ágbọ̀ fell outside the ambit of a second historical process: the standardization of Ìgbo.

Sometimes, linguistic standardization and political regionalization work hand in hand. The standardization of Yorùbá was overtly political, when, from the 1840's - '70's, Bishop Àjàyí Crowther established as the basis for standardization the dialect of his own ancestral town, the precolonial capital of Òyọ́ (cf. Àjàyí 1960). In the 1950's, Awólọ́wọ̀ laid an explicitly linguistic foundation for his dominant party of the Western Region, the AG, in the cultural union Ẹgbẹ́ Ọmọ Odùduwà (see the Introduction above, and *fn*. 5 therein).

The standardization of Ìgbo was also political from the outset; however, unlike the Yorùbá case, the politics in question was not national but global: the rivalry of Catholic and Anglican missionaries in the partition of Africa. The British *Anschluss* in the East destroyed the pre-existing political structures, the Ńrị and Árụ hegemonies. This left the field open in Ọ̀ǹịcha, the new player on the 'free' mercantile scene. Crowder's C.M.S. could not compete with the Catholics in Ọ̀ǹịcha, and was forced to relocate south (Ékèchí 1972). The rise of competing missionary centers, and hence of several competing literary forms of Ìgbo, influenced standardization criteria. In the East, standardization came to be defined directly in terms of phonology (dialect), and not indirectly as the speech of a known locality (polity). For speakers, such a shift is a great mystification.

For this reason, Igboid dialect phonology is an indispensable precondition for a historical account of ethnicity in the region. For the same reason, the comparative phonology of Igboid has been a highly politicized subject. Since the 1950's, for missionary linguists, and for linguists in government employ, the subject of historical phonology has been a sensitive one, and the course of least resistance has been to rely on the discredited, shortcut technique of lexicostatistics for purposes of classification. The rest of this chapter presents a compact survey of this topic.

1.3 Phonological innovations

The internal history of Igboid, based on shared phonetic change in over 50 localities, is modeled in Fig. 1 above. 15 years ago, based on a substantial fraction of these sources, the first explicit

hypothesis of historical relationships was proposed: the Lower-Niger model (Williamson 1973a, b). Lower-Niger's internal subgrouping was established primarily by lexicostatistics, secondarily by vestigial noun morphology, but only indirectly by the mainstay of historical linguistics: phonological innovation. Williamson's subgroup nomenclature was seen by many as tendentious because it employed a set of ethnic terms which, by the end of the Nigerian Civil War, had acquired new, separatist connotations. Lower-Niger was accordingly criticised by Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1975, Émènanjọ 1976 and others, as historically and phonologically superficial. Lexicostatistics tends to measure center-periphery relationships which are relatively recent in origin, and primarily social rather than linguistic in significance. In the ungainly neologism *Igboid* (introduced by Manfredi 1982), the cacophonous "-oid" suffix functions roughly like "-ic" in *Proto-Germanic*, linking a protolanguage with a modern standard language and ethnic 'nationality'.

Few would disagree that the evidence of phonological change, as uncovered by the comparative method, is much more historical than lexicostatistics is. The problem in Igboid is that the pattern of phonological innovations is so intricate. With the present limited documentation of individual dialects, therefore, Igboid historical phonology depends on several simplifying assumptions, which draw jointly on principles of "comparative" and "internal" reconstruction. Fig. 2 gives a phonology-based subgrouping based on these assumptions, for 25 settlements. (This subgrouping needs to be extended to the remaining 30 settlements in Fig. 1, plus many others.)

The comparative method cannot strictly apply to a dialect cluster like Igboid, because of mutual influence throughout its history. In a situation of perpetual contact, waves of innovation prevent the emergence of distinct subfamily branches. Each correspondence among dialects in principle defines an independent innovation in a network of isoglosses which crosscuts the interdialectal area. Internal reconstruction 'undoes' innovations whose reflexes are not fully regular. This lack of regularity has two sources: relative chronology (different innovations reach different dialects in different orderings), and relative subgrouping (innovations are partial in extent: usually nonintersecting or overlapping, only accidentally coterminous or complementary).

Both kinds of irregularity are explained by the chronology of innovations in each dialect, insofar as these can be reconstructed by hypothesis. Watkins 1962 shows that a historical linguistic study has two logical stages: proto-language reconstruction via the comparative method, and "forward reconstruction" of innovations leading to the attested daughter forms via intermediate common languages. Both relative chronology and relative subgrouping are elucidated by 'forward internal reconstruction', the chronology of innovations in each dialect.

Forward internal reconstruction can be aided what Kiparsky 1973 terms external evidence. For phonological representations, external evidence comes from language history, language acquisition, verbal art and psycholinguistics. For dialectology, demographic and sociological sources are crucial. Demography suggests how groups of speakers have assembled and intersected in the recent past, and sociology describes how linguistic forms carry prestige or authority in various networks. Both types of evidence lessen the indeterminacy of relative chronology in subgrouping.[34]

Even the paradigm case of comparative reconstruction, Proto-Indo European, gives rise to the relative chronology problem with respect to its most archaic innovations. Meillet 1908, following

[34]Inference from dialectology to demography is also possible (Cowgill 1966: 94-95; Williamson 1983).

the neogrammarian critic August Schmidt, argued that the difference between internal reconstruction and the comparative method diminishes as one approaches the point of common origin. All branching models suppress elements of early intersecting waves; subgroups are only *relatively* autonomous. But if, in principle, every reconstructed element can show a different set of correspondences, the limitations of the comparative method for a particular dialect cluster can still be determined empirically, by evaluating alternative subgroupings on internal and external criteria. Accordingly, I propose that a uniform chronology for some innovations can be derived by imposing, to the maximum degree possible, two conditions on the nodes of the hypothetical tree.

13. *tree condition* Only those innovations which define complementary (non-overlapping) nodes are included in the tree, as diagnostic for subgrouping.

branch condition No discontinuous nodes.

These conditions select a subset of observable innovations for tree construction. The tree condition captures the notion of geogaphical separation as a condition for subgrouping. It excludes situations in which one half of a binary separation is defined only negatively ('privatively'), as a remnant group preserving the status quo ante, while only the other half innovates. As opposed to a network of waves, a tree implies a positive ('equipollent') identity for each branch.[35] Evidence of the geographic dispersal of one half of a binary split produced by migration would obviate this condition, designating that half as a 'remnant' or residual node rather than a branch.

The tree condition also excludes a situation in which members of separate branches subsequently undergo a common innovation. But this should not exclude the common situation in which a locality at the edge of one subgroup undergoes an innovation of the adjacent subgroup. The branch condition recognizes that when two branches overlap, one 'splitting up' the other, this may be demographically recoverable and the discontinuous subgroup reconstructed.

The 19 innovations listed in Fig. 2 define the "maximal" subgrouping of Igboid, in that they extract, from the total wave picture, the information most relevant to a cross-sectional subclassification. The maximal Igboid which results is a tree with 4 hierarchical levels. The root node, Proto-Igboid, certainly does not correspond to a homogeneous protolanguage. Proto-Igboid was riven by numerous waves of innovation, none of which led to its own uniquely innovating subgroup. Then, each of the ten non-root nodes of the tree (plus one node, *Òsimili*, which at the present state of analysis has the status of a remnant) are defined either positively or negatively by the innovations listed in Fig. 2 above, and those in Figs. 3-4 below. Sample data supporting these diagnostic innovations, as well as other innovations which are excluded by the tree and branch conditions, are documented in the rest of this section.

The picture of Igboid in Fig. 2 is based on changes in grammar[36], in contrast with Williamson's (1973) lexicostatistic classification (summarized in Fig. 5). The conclusion which I draw from this contrast is that lexicostatistics does not measure (in Mary Haas' phrase) "the prehistory of languages". This is self-evidently true, as lexicostatistics counts shared retentions equally with shared innovations (Williamson, p.c.). Applied to dialect clusters, lexicostatistic

[35] There is no necessary assumption that a tree is *limited* to binary separations, but a ternary split would require three-way complementarity.

[36] (taking the term grammar in its wide sense, e.g. 'comparative grammar' includes phonology)

measures will tend to follow center-periphery patterns which have been superimposed on older relationships. That the lexicons of peripheral communities are divided in these two polar directions is neither surprising nor particularly historical. It is a matter of *Wörter und Sachen*, i.e. of borrowing across linguistic boundaries as a practical fact.

Apart from reconstructed phonology, the common linguistic heritage of Igboid speakers can be seen in morphology and syntax (cf. Chapters 2-3 below). Counting lexemes is less useful in characterizing this heritage, since one cannot exclude the occurrence of words in a community by their absence from short, English-based wordlists (which are rarely administered by balanced bilinguals).[37] There is an additional problem: before assuming that peripheral dialects had borrowed particular words from their external neighbors, it would be necessary to show that the forms in question obey the common innovations of the second language. Thus it is very doubtful whether lexicostatistics offers a shortcut to external classification, either.

The present-day sound systems, rich and diverse,[38] and linked by a large number of correspondences, can be accounted for by means of a smaller number of underlying segments (14), assuming a proto-syllable structure with up to three onset positions (15a). Alternatively, keeping to binary licensing structures (cf. Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1987, Charette 1988, Nikiema 1990, Guerssel 1991a), one can posit a potential bisyllabic structure for surface C(n)yV clusters, with a governed, empty nucleus, as in (15b).

14.

p		t	ch	[< kI]	k		kw	[< kU]	kp
b	(ḅ)	d	j	[< gI]	g		gw	[< gU]	gb
m		n	ny	[< yn, ny]	ṅ	[< wn]	nw	[< ṅU]	(nm)
f		s	sh	[< fy, sy]			hw	[< fw]	
		z			gh	[< w?]			
		l	r						
			y				w		
			i				u		

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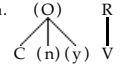
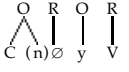
a

15a.



b.



The alternative structure in (15b) has the possible advantage of accounting for the ambiguous behavior of the /y/ as sometimes vocalized (cf. Émènanjọ 1971, Williamson 1984b, Kamany *ms.*).

*n was segmental, as shown both by its pre-Igboid origin in *CVnV sequences (Williamson 1973c) and by the nasal plosion and aspiration outcomes in Southern Igboid. The order C(n)(y) is reconstructed in preference to C(y)(n) because one outcome is Cḥy. But, since y is also included in the category C, both *yn and *ny are both predicted by (15a), with distinct outcomes: *yn simplified to n and was subseqently lost in many Northern dialects (e.g. *ífe* vs. *ínye*, *íhnye* 'thing'), while in the same dialects *ny wasn't (e.g. *nyé* 'give'). *ny simplified to *n* in Lowland, and to *n* or *y* in Ẹ́nyòm

[37] The concept 'basic vocabulary', intended to sidestep this, lacks independent validity (Bennett 1983).

[38] Òwèrè is said by Ladefoged et al. 1976 to have the richest system of stops in the world.

(cf. 'give' and '[1pl.]'). *yny sequences would have degeminated by the OCP once the *n* was either deleted or autosegmentalized.

Shared innovations in Igboid include consonant and tone shifts as part of wider-scale changes in syllabic and metrical structure which worked their way across the Benue-Kwa group of Niger-Congo over millennia. A major syllabic change bisects Igboid into Northern and Southern dialect areas (§1.3.1). Ágbọ̀ is the northernmost member of Southern Igboid, while Ẹ́hụgbò is among the southernmost Northern Igboid settlements. A multitude of more local consonant shifts were triggered by the basic innovation. The vowel changes discussed in §1.3.2 divide between those which affect the majority of dialects, and hence precede Late Common Igboid; and those which affect only isolated dialects, and hence postdate the innovations of the "maximal" subgrouping. A processs of tone shift, reflecting large scale changes in metrical structure, runs from west to east (§1.3.3); it is implemented least in Ágbọ̀, and most in Ẹ́hụgbò.

1.3.1 Consonant innovations

Palatalizations and rhotacism One possible outcome of a *Cy sequence is palatalized. Different treatments of *fV and *fyV are seen in respectively in (16a) and (16b):

		Proto-Igboid	Ágbọ̀	Àbọ́	Ìgboǫ́zọ̀	Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa	Ọ̀nịcha	Mbàisén	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà
16a.	soup	*ófe	ófe	ófe	ófe	ófwe	óbhe	óhe	[mẹ́lẹchị]39
	name	*ẹ́fnà	éfàn	áfà	áfà	áfwà	ábhà	áhwàn	áwà
b.	market	*áfya	áfya	áfịa	ásha	áshua	ábhya	áhya	áya
	thing	*ífnye	íhyen	ífe	ífe	íkhe	íbhe	íhyen	íye

Fig. 3 (below) proposes a fine-grained chronology of inovations in these labial palatal clusters.

Velars (17a-b) palatalized in several branches, and hence in the period before Late Common Igboid. There is a historical clue that velar palatalization is relatively recent in Ọ̀nịcha. In the 1877 treaty between Ọ̀nịcha and Great Britain, witnessed by Crowther and reproduced by Àzḭ́kàíwe (1976b: 52f.), the chieftaincy title now pronounced Àjíé is given as "Agei", i.e. unpalatalized. Alveolar and labial (17c-f) palatalizations are mostly restricted to Ẹ̀hwụ́dà. A few cases (17d, f)attest an original CyV cluster; others (17a-e) are simple CV contexts, not all of which have obvious front vowels, e.g. 'white', 'throw away'. 'Old' probably has a CVV root.

		Ágbọ̀	Òweré	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà	other
17a.	tomorrow	éki	échi	échi	échi	
	white	ọ́chna	ọ́cha	ọ́cha	ụ̀sáà	ùkhá (Ọ̀gụ)
	old	óchnè	ókhì	óchiè	únukê 'adult'	óchìe (Ẹ́hụgbò)
b.	yam	gí	jí	jí	ìyí	ìjí (Úgwutà)
	snail	éjù	éjù	ńjùna	éjù	égì (Àzụ́mḭ́nị), éjì (Ọ́maḥyá)
c.	ear	ńtnì	ńthì	ńtì	ẹ́tẹ̀	ńchì (Ǹsụ́ká), ńsnì (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	throw.away	túpù	túfù	túfù	chúwọ̀	
d.	[locative V]	rì	rí	dí	z(h)í	dú (Ọ́ka), dyí (Ụ̀lụ́) lí ("Énuànị"), rụ́ (Mbàanọ́)
	bound -rV40	ri/rị	re/rẹ	lị/lụ	ji/jị	

39Ẹ̀hwụ́dà w<*f is attested in ụ́wọ 'belly'<*ẹ́fọ, wé 'fly'<*fé and wù 'hurt/swell/be.fat'<*fù.

e.	send	zhí	zhí	zí	yí	
e.	offer (kola)	[bè]	kḥó	ché	?	Ìkó 'feast', cf. òchichi 'kola dish' (Ẹ́hụgbò)
f.	come	byá	byá	bía	já41	já (Áfa Ǹsụ́ká)

Williamson's reconstructed *sh clearly reflects an *sy* cluster. An open question is the relationship of this palatalization to Ọ̀mámbala rhotacism. Either we have two parallel changes, *s>r and sh>rh, or the palatals represent an intermediary stage: *sy>sh>rh>r. Rhotacism feeds r>l in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà.

		Òweré	Ágbọ̀	Ọ̀gbakịrị	Àbọ́	Ìgboǫ́zọ̀	Ògídi	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà
18a.	body	àhụ́	ẹ̀hyụ́	èhnḭ́	ẹ̀sụ́	àshụ́	àrhụ́	àrụ́	ẹ̀lḭ́
	people	ọ̀han	ìhnya	ọ̀hna	ọ̀sa	?	ọ̀rha	ọ̀ra/ḭ̀ra	ụ̀la
	slave	óhù	óhù	ọ́hnì	ósù	?	órhù	órù	úlù
	die	nwụ́	nwụ́hụ	nwụ́	nwụ́sụ	nwụ́shụ	?	nwụ́	ńụ́lụ
	R. Niger	42	Òhimi	Òsumini	Òsimili	Òshimili	?	Òrumili	Òlimini
	choose	họ̀	[hán]	họ̀	[sá-lị]	shọ̀	họ̀	rọ̀	ọ̀lọdọ 'sort, kind'
b.	whiteant	áhụhụ	?	?	ẹ́sụsụ	áshụshụ	árhụrhụ	árụrụ	ẹ́hụ

In most of the rhotacism cases where a nasal is reconstructed (but not all, cf. 'reach'), the expected Ẹ̀hwụ́dà *l* is glottalized to ḍ, cf. (19b). But nonrhotacized *l* didn't glottalize in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà, cf. 'return home', 'arrive home': the *l* in these morphemes corresponds to *y* both in Òweré (cf. 'house') and in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà. In Ẹ̀hwụ́dà 'house', however, glottalization is found. The reflexes of 'house' indicate a complex syllable, parallel to '[2nd weekday]'.

		Ọ̀nịcha	Àbọ́	Ágbọ̀	Ẹ́hugbò	Òweré	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà	Éleèle	other
19a.	return home	ná	lá	lá	lá(jezù)	lá	lá, yá	làá	
	arrive home	náta, nọ́43	lụ́a	lụ́a (<lọ́a?)	wá	yọ́	lọ́sị	?	lọ́ta (íhìàla)
	house	ụ́nọ̀	ụ́nọ̀	ólọ̀	úlò	ụ́yọ̀	ụ́dọ̀	ọ́rò	ụ́nwọ̀ (Ọ̀ba) úlụ̀ọ (Ìsúóchi, Ágụatá) úrọ̀ (Àzụ́mḭ́nị)
	[2nd weekday]	óyè	óliyè	óriè	óriè	óryè	úḍyè	úriè	
b.	earth	ànị/àna	ànị	àlị	àlị	àla	àḍị/ẹ́lẹ̀	àlị	èlị (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
c.	ten	ìlí	ìlí	ìrí	ìrí	ìrí	ḍì	ǹdíí	ǹrí (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	food	ńni	ńli	ńni	ńri	rín	bḭ́dí	ńdi	wíri (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	reach	lú	lú	rú	rú	dú	ḍú	dùú	
	what?	gḭ́nḭ́	gḭ́	kḭ́	gḭ́nḭ́	gḭ́rḭ́	?	?	

Spirantization This change is regular in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà, sporadic elsewhere. Cf. also 'ear' and '[locative V]' in (17) above. This distribution suggests a wave in the Common Igboid period.

40a toneless suffix occurring in the verbs 'know' and 'wait for'.

41The Ẹ̀hwụ́dà infinitive of this verb is ùjá with a [+ATR] prefix, recalling the blocking role of palatal consonants in Akan ATR harmony (Boadi 1963).

42It is not clear if the Òweré forms Oramirikwa/Ụlamụkwa-oche/Oramụrụkwa/Oramiriụkwa 'the river god', given by Ọ̀kpáraọcha (1976: 8, 36, 39, 59), belong here.

43Williamson 1972 reports the verb *nọ́* for older Ọ̀nịcha speakers.

		Òweré	Ẹ̀hwú́dà	other
20a.	difference	íchè	ísè	íchnè (Ágbọ̀) cf. 'white' in (17a) above
	day	ụ́bọ̀chị	ụ́bọ́hụ	ḿbòsị (Ọ̀nịcha)
	darkness	ùchíchí	?	èhi (Ọ́mahyá), òki (Ágbọ̀)
	sand	ájḭa	ụ́za	ájna (Ágbọ̀), ádaànị (Úgwutà)
	go/walk	jḭé	zé	jné/jnó (Ágbọ̀), zné (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
				cf. ògbánze 'spirit child' (Ǹsụ́ká), ézè 'chief'
				also cf. ózọ [title] (Ọ̀nịcha), zọ̀ 'step on/trample'
b.	headpad	ájụ	ẹ́zị̀	ábhụn (Ụ̀lụ́), ávụ (Ìsúóchi)
c.	husband	dí	ìzí	ǹdí (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	sit.down	nọ̀dí	nàz(h)í	dàzúrụ (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	lie.down	jḭíyè	nà	díné (Ọ̀nịcha, Ágbọ̀), díyè (Àbọ́), dḭyè (Íhìàla)
				jì̀ná (Árụ̀), zùmé (Ẹ̀hụgbò)

Labializations CwV reflexes have several sources. KPnV simplifies to KwnV (cf. below). Some Cw reflexes before nonround vowels may come from bisyllabic structures: kwa < kawi (21) or CwV < CuV (22). The b : w correspondence in (21) is also seen in (27).

	Àbọ́	Ágbọ̀	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ̀hwú́dà	Òweré	Ẹ́hụgbò
21.	kwá	ọ̀knáwìná	bì	àbíì	ǹka	ìbìrìbí [akpú]
	'circumcise'	'circumciser'	'mark.skin'	'body.marks'	'sculpture'	'diced [cassava] bits'

Òhiri-Aníchè 1985 reports a series of labialized coronal stops, which are glottalized in Ǹbieri and correspond to affricates elsewhere. She reconstructs *tIO and *dIO clusters, but several of the forms in (22) strongly suggest *tUO and *dUO, whose affrication and palatalization recalls the regular treatment of words like *tutor* and *duty* in Received British English.

		Údì	Ẹ́bịrịba	Àbọ́	Àbánkeléke	Ọ́mahyá	Ǹbieri	Ágbọ̀	Ẹ́hụgbò
22a.	be.sweet	tḭ́ọ	twọ́	sọ́	tzọ́	chọ́	tọ́	sụ̀ọ́	dḭ̀ụ́ọ́
	grow/be.long	tḭ́o	twó	só	tsé	chó	tọ́	té/[hnḭ́]	súe
b.	rain (v.)	?	dwò	zụ́é	dzè	jò	dò	zò	zò
	be.bad	?	dwọ́	jọ́	dzọ́	jọ́	jọ́	jọ́	jọ́
	(an)other	?	ọ̀dwọ́	ọ̀zọ́	ọ̀dzọ́	ọ̀jọ́	ọ̀dọ́	ọ̀zọ́	ọ̀zọ́

The major source of CwV is *KU. In Delta, labialization crosses a segmental *n* in *Knụ (23d, h). In Ẹ̀hwú́dà, KwU>h(w)U.

		Àbọ́	Ẹ̀hwú́dà	Òweré	other
23a.	ladle	ékọtọ	ékwu	ékwu	éku (Ọ̀nịcha), éku (Àbánkeléke)
	speech	óku	ékpọ	ókwu	óku (Ágbọ̀), ópfu (Àbánkeléke)
b.	waist	úkù	?	úkḥwù	úknù (Ágbọ̀)
c.	leg	úkụ	úh(w)ụ	úkwụ	ókụ (Ágbọ̀), úhwụ (Úgwutà), óchị (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
d.	fire	ókụ	échị	ókhụ	óknụ (Ágbọ̀), ópfụ (Àbánkeléke)
					békwnụ (Ọ̀gbakịrị), kwụ́kwù (Àzúmíni)
	hang	?	kwụ́	kḥwụ́	knụ́ (Ágbọ̀)
	palm kernel	ékụ	ókwụtá[44]	ákhụ	épfụ (Àbánkeléke)

[44] ọ́h(w)ụ 'palm fruit' represents a different root which lacks a nasal, cf. ọ̀sụ́kwụ 'soft palm kernel', ẹ́kwụ 'palmfruit' (Ẹ̀hụgbò), ékwú 'palm plantation' (Ọ̀gbakịrị).

e.	hill	úgu	ébu	úgwu	úwu (Úgwutà), úgu (Bénde)
	frond	ígurù	úgwù	ígwù	ípogù/ígù (Ẹ̀hugbò), ígù (Mbàisén)
f.	thorn	ógù	ógwuù	ógḥwù	óbvù (Àbánkeléke), ígniì (Ọ̀mọ̀okụ), ógnù (Ágbọ̀)
g.	drug	ọ́gụ̀	ẹ́jḭ̀	ọ́gwụ̀	ágụ̀ ísní (Éleèle),
					cf. Ágụ̀ 'god of divination' (Árụ̀), Ágwụ̀ (Ǹri)
h.	count	gú	gwú	gḥú	gwnú (Ọ̀gbakịrị), gú (Ọ̀nịcha)
	leopard	ágụụ̀	ógwú[45]	ágḥụ	ágnú (Ọ̀gbakịrị), ágụ́ụ́ (Ọ̀nịcha)

In (24a-c), both ṅ = nw and nw = nw sets are consistently w in Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa, while Úgwutà has w, ṅ, or nw. A unified account is *wn>ṅ and ṅU>nwU (as a subcase of KU>KwU); in some locations, nasal cluster simplification preceded velarization, producing *w*. A different simplification was possible in Úgwutà, cf. *úwu* 'hill'. Alternatively, Williamson 1973b has *wn>nw and *ghn>ṅ, but these two outcomes are not separate. (24c) suggests *mUV>nwV as in *mụ́ọ 'child' (literally 'begotten-one'). (24d) suggests that *ṁm simplified to either ṅ or m. (24e) suggests *wnV>mUV as in *wnụ́ọ́ 'child' (literally 'dead-one'). On the interaction of these changes, cf. §4.2.6 below.

		Àbọ́	Ẹ̀hwú́dà	Òweré	other
24a.	smoke (n.)	ẹ́ṅụlụ̀	[úmẹ̀lẹ́chí]	ọ́nwù̀rụ	ávụ̀lụ (Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa), rụ́nwụ̀rụ (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	die	nwụ́sụ	ṅ́ụ́lụ	nwụ́	wụ́hụ (Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa), wụ́ (Úgwutà)
b.	sun	áṅụ̀ụ̀	[ẹ̀l-] áṅụ́	[ányа] anwụ́	ánwụ (Ágbọ̀, Ẹ́hụgbò, Ómahyá)
	bee/mosquito	ẹ́ṅụ̀ụ̀	[ọ̀gbẹ́nyẹ̀]	áṅụ	ẹ́ṅụ (Ágbọ̀), ẹ́nwụ (Ẹ́hụgbò), ánwụ́ (Ọ̀nịcha)
	drink (v.)	[lá]	-ṅ́ụ́	-ṅ́ụ́	mu (Yorùbá)
c.	child	nwá	ụ́ṅọ́	nwá	ṅá (Úgwutà), wá (Àlúụ̀), ńnwọ (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
			ṅá-ná 'brother'		cf. ọ̀mọ́ (Ẹ̀dó), ọmọ (Yorùbá)[46]
	children	úmụ̀	[ùmẹ̀lẹ́dẹ́ẹ̀]	ụ́mụ̀	ńmụ̀ (Ágbọ̀), cf. ń-dị 'people'
	beget	-mú	-mú	-mú	cf. á-mụ̀ 'penis' (= instrument-of-begetting)
d.	breath	úmeleè	íṅé	úmerén	úṅme (Àbánkeléke), ínwe (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	good	ọ́ma	ụ́ma	ọ́ma	ọ́ṅma (Àbánkeléke), ọ́ṅma (Ńkwère)
	goodness	ṁma	ùmá	ṁmá	ṁmọ́ (Íhìàla)
	be good	má…	mánụ…	má…	
e.	ancestral spirit	ṁmọ̀	?	mụ́-ọ́	mụ́-ọ́ (Ọ̀nịcha), mọ́-ọ́ (Íhìàla), ṁmọ (Ágbọ̀)
	ancestral mask	[ólu]	ṅá-la	má-nwụ́	m̀-mụ́-ọ́ (Ọ̀nịcha), m̀-mọ́-nwụ́ (Íhìàla), m̀-má-nwụ́ (Ǹri), cf. má 'spirit' (Ẹ̀hụgbò)

Labiovelar simplification Ladefoged *et al.* 1976 show that KPnV is unstable, delabializing before round vowel, develarizing elsewhere (sporadically) in Central:

		Ágbọ̀	Ụ̀lụ́	Ọ́kígwḭ́	Òweré	Ọ̀nịcha	other
25.	stone	m̀kmú́mḛ́	ǹkḥwú́mè	ǹkwú́wó	ǹkhú́mè	m̀kpúmè	m̀phú́mè (Ọ̀gụ)
	drag	kmú	phú́n		phú	kpú	kpnú́ (Ọ́mọ̀okụ)
							pú́ (Éleèle), kwú́ (Ǹdele)

Williamson observes that nasalized *ḅ (= gb = [ɓ]) simplified to m. This is seen below:

[45] Cf. Ẹ̀hwú́dà *ágí* 'leopard mask, handsome person'.

[46] In many Benue-Congo languages, the word for 'child' is either *mọ*, *mụ* or *mu*, cf. Williamson and Shimizu eds. (1968: 66*f.*). Further, the claimed mụ ∅ n w / __ V alternation is attested synchronically in Ẹ̀hụgbò as follows: *ómù* 'single [classified thing]', *ónwaànị* 'one single [classified thing]'.

		Bénde	Nsúká	Ẹ́hugbò	Òweré	other
26.	blood	ḿgbèǐ	ḿmeí	ḿmeé	[ọ̀bhara]	mée (Ákaèze)
	time			mgbe	ùbè (Ẹ̀hwúdà)	

*w delabialized to gh, y or h (27a-b). This was fed by simplification of *bn>w or m (27c-d).

		Ọ̀nịcha	Ágbọ̀	Òweré	Ẹ̀hwúdà	other
27a.	goat	éwu	éhu	éghu	[ágụ̀lụ ezhí]	éghu (Nsúká)
	pluck	wọ́ta	ghọ́	ghọ́?a	wọ́	ghọ́ta (Nnéèwí), họ́ta (Ẹ́hụgbò)
	bathe	wú	wú	ghú	húya	hú (Ọ̀họ́fyá)
	pass.by	gá	ghá	gá	họ́	há (Ẹ́hụgbò)
b.	war	áya	ágha	ágha	áwaà	áha (Árụ)
	fry/be.cooked	ghé	ghé	ghé	wé	
c.	residence	bé	íwe	bé	-bé	cf. íwe éshi (Úgwutà)[47]
	enmity	[ílo]	íwe	[íron]	íbè	
	[copula]	bú	wún	wú	bú	ghú (Ìsúóchi)
	two, double	náàbọ	ẹ̀bọ́	láàwọ	bíḭ̀bọ́	láàwọ (Ọ́mahyá)
d.	[inceptive Asp]	ba	mẹ	wá	wẹ	bhe (Ìsúóchi)
	navel	ótùbo	ótumẹ̀	ótùmẹ, ótìbhon	?	ótùwẹ (Bénde)

Glottalization Ánọ̀ká 1982 observes that in the Òweré-Ḿbàisén area, t is glottalised in [-ATR] syllables (Òweré has a glottal stop in some items.) He reports the following minimal triplets:

28.	ọ̀tí	'[parasite]'	ọ̀thí	'distance'	ọ̀tḭ́	'[bird]'
	ụ̀tú	'weevil'	ụ̀thú	'obstinacy'	ụ̀tṵ́	'contribution'
	ǹtá	'smallness'	ǹthá	'left side'	ǹtá	'junior mate'

Òhiri-Aníchè (1985: 27) adds that Ḿbieri glottalization occurs with [+ATR] vowels as well (cf. 22a above). The restricted distribution in the other areas would then be due to deglottalization. Ḿbieri ṭ corresponds to Ágbọ̀ *s* or *h*, and to Àbọ́ *t* or *s*.

		Ọ̀nịcha	Ágbọ̀	Ḿbieri	Ḿbàisén	Àbọ́	Ẹ́hụgbò
29a.	throw	tṵ́	[má]	tṵ́	tṵ	tṵ́ụ̀ẹ	tṵ́
	grow.be long	tḭ́	hnḭ́	?	thḭ́	?	tḭ́
	a.little [suff.]	tụ	[no cognate]	?ū	thụ	tụ	?
b.	back/towards [suff.][48]	ta	hẹ/ha	?e/?a	tẹ́/tá	sẹ/yẹ	té/tá
	vagina	ọ́tụ̀	[ọ́hyụ] [49]	ụ́?ụ̀	ọ́tṵ̀	ọ́sụ̀[50]	ụ́tṵ̀

Aspiration Carnochan 1948 observes the complementarity of nasalized spirants and aspirated stops in Ọ́mahyá. Williamson (1973b: 6) derives both outcomes from *CnV, noting that Armstrong 1967 finds nasality with aspiration in Íhiàla. As recorded by Elugbe 1969, the *CnV proto-sequence is preserved as stop plus nasal plosion in Ágbọ̀; Williamson reports the same in Ọ̀gbakịrị.

[47] Cited by Nzímìro (1962: 79, 82).

[48] Found also in the compound verb 'wake up', cf. (30a) immediately below.

[49] This to my knowledge means 'anus' or more generally 'ass', as in the expression -rán ọhyụ 'copulate'.

[50] This the form reported in Àhaba [Asaba] by Thomas (1913 vol. 5: 120); the forms given by Armstrong 1967 and Williamson 1968 are either anatomically distinct from the vagina or periphrastic. The avoidance is presumably due to politeness, and the regularly expected form would be *ọ́sù*.

		Àbọ́	Ọ̀nịcha	Ágbọ̀	Ọ̀gbakịrị	Íhiàla	Ḿbàisén	Òweré
30a.	awake	té-shi	té-ta	tnḛ́-hi	tné	thén-ta	thḛ́-ta	thḛ́-?e
	fall	dà	dà	dnà	dnà	dhàn	dhà	dhà
b.	human (n.)	málụ̀	ǹmádụ̀	[ìhian]	bádnụ̀	mádhụ̀n	mádhụ̀	mánụ̀[51]
	life	ńdụ̀	ńdụ̀	ńdnụ̀	bụ́dnụ̀	ńdhụ̀n	ńdhụ̀	ńdhụ̀

In (30b) appear two reflexes which are unexpected from a stop-plus-nasal source: Òweré nV and Àbọ́ lV in the word 'human (n.)'. These forms could be explained if the root 'live' was originally *-lnụ̀: the */l/ could have strengthened to /d/ after the ń- prefix in the related word 'life', and this /d/ could subsequently have generalized to the word 'human (n.)'. This story is contradicted by the Ọ̀gbakịrị form for 'life', only on the questionable assumption that the bụ́- prefix is original.

Syllabic OCP effects: 'de-reduplication' and VV simplification The first of two identical syllable onsets is regularly deleted (31a). Abíḿbọ́lá and Oyèlárán 1975 describe similar effects in Yorùbá; it is striking that both languages have CV reduplication (in deverbal nouns) feeding $C_iV_jC_iV_j$ simplification. Less regularly, tautomorphemic VV sequences simplify (cf. 31b).

		Ọ̀nịcha	Òweré	Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa	other
31a.	tree	óishi	óshishi	óoshi	úshi (Ẹ̀hwúdà)
	bone	ọ́ụkpụ	ọ́kpụ́kpụ	ọ́ụ́kpụ	úkpó (Ẹ̀hwúdà)
b.	belly	ábhọ	áfọ	áfwọ	áfụọ (Bénde)
	tooth	ézé	éze	?	ézḭ̃é (Bénde), ézeè (Àbọ́)

The reconstruction of a complex rime for 'belly' is indirectly justified by the irregular consonant correspondence displayed in Fig. 4. Irregular tone justifies the complex rime of 'tooth', cf. data (36).

1.3.2 Vowel innovations

The changes described below are either common innovations (in terms of Fig. 2 above), or else restricted either to isolated words or to individual localities (and not to entire subgroups).

Root vowels are historically more stable than prefix vowels, which have a dependent harmonic status. Many prefix vowels have shifted to agree with root vowels in either height or backness. Ẹ̀hwúdà preserves a large number of prefixes which have elsewhere lowered before low root vowels. In one example (32b) Ẹ̀hwúdà shows the reverse process, prefix raising. (32c-d) show backing and fronting of prefix vowels, respectively.

		Ẹ̀hwúdà	Ágbọ̀	Ọ̀nịcha
32a.	madness	íḍá	éra	ála
	blood	ụ̀bala	[ébeké]	ọ̀bara
b.	message	úzīī̀	ózi	ózi
c.	festival	ógwu	égu	égwu
	animal	ónụ	ánụ	ánụ
d.	flood	íjīī̀	ùgi	?
	gourd	ẹ́bà	?	ọ́bà

Lowering (33a), fronting (33b) and backing (33c), but not raising, are attested in roots; as in (32), vowel harmony is preserved.

[51] Cf. Émènanjọ (1984: 118).

Fig. 3: Development of Pre-proto Igboid *f, *fn, *fy, *fny, as in *ófe 'soup', *éfnà 'name', *áfya 'market', *ífnye 'thing'
N.b.: below, *ny* denotes a sequence of segments; in the orthography, *ny* is the digraph for [ɲ].

	Àbọ́	Ọ̀njcha	Ìgboǔzọ̀	Ògídi	Ùbulu Uku	Àbánkeléke	Ụ́mụ̀lọ́kpa	Ǹsúká (a)
a.	y>Ø/n_	y>Ø/n_	y>Ø/n_			y>Ø/n_		
b.					C>Ø/_ny			
c.			f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y
d.	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI	Cy>CI
e.						I>ɯ	I>ɯ	I>ɯ
f.								
g.							shɯn>kh	shɯn>kh
h.	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_
i.		f>fw				f>fw	f>fw	f>fw
j.		fw>ph				fw>ph		fw>ph
k.		ph>bh/V_						
l.								w>Ø/h_
	f, f, fI, f	bh, bh, bhI, bh	f, f, shI, f	f, f, shI, shI	f, f, shI, ny	ph, ph, shɯ, ph	fw, fw, shɯ, kh	h, h, shɯ, kh

	Ǹsúká (b)	Ẹ́hụgbò	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà	Àzụ́míni (a)	Àzụ́míni (b)	Òweré	Ọ̀kǰgwǰ́	Ágbọ̀
a.					y>Ø/n_	y>Ø/n_		
b.	C>Ø/_ny							
c.	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y	f>sh/_y
d.	Cy>CI							
e.	I>ɯ							
f.							shy>zhy/V_	
g.		sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h
h.	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_					
i.	f>fw	f>fw	f>fw	f>fw	f>fw/_n	f>fw/_n	f>fw/_n	
j.	fw>hw	fw>hw	fw>hw	fw>hw	fw>hw	fw>hw	fw>hw	
k.								
l.	w>Ø/h_	w>Ø/h_	h>Ø/_C	w>Ø/_n	w>Ø/h_	(w>Ø/h_)		w>Ø/h_
	h, h, shɯ, y	h, h, hy, hy	w[1], w, y, y	hw, hn, hy, hy	f, hn, hy, hn	f, h(w)n, hy, h(w)n	f, hwn, zhy, hny	f, fn, fy, hny

[1] Clark reports 'soup' in Ẹ̀hwụ́dà as mẹ́lẹchị, but w<*f is attested in ụ́wọ 'belly', wé 'fly (v.)', wụ̀ 'swell/hurt

Fig. 4: Development of Pre-proto Igboid *syụ, *snya, *snywọ (<*snyụ-ọ?), *snyi, *syi
as in *ẹ̀syụ́ 'body', *ọ̀snya 'people, village', *ásnywọ̀ 'year', *ósnyi 'theft', *Òsyi-mirni 'River Niger'
N.b.: fricative lenition (g) in Fig. 4 corresponds to (g) in Fig. 3; onset simplification (b) in Fig. 4 corresponds to (h) in Fig. 3.

	Àbọ́	Ògídi	Ọ̀njcha	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà	Ǹsúká	Ágbọ̀	Ọ̀gbakǰrǰ	Àzụ́míni
a.	y>Ø/s(n)_		y>Ø/C_i		(y>Ø/_i?)	y>Ø/C_i[1]	y>Ø/C_i	
b.	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_			n>Ø /C_…[-ATR]
c.		sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	s>sh/_yI sy>sh	sy>sh	s>sh/_y	sy>sh
d.		sh>rh	sh>rh	sh>rh				
e.			rh>r	rh>r				
f.				r>l				
g.					sh>h/_C	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h
h.	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_	n>Ø/C_
i.		f>fw				f>fw	f>fw	f>fw
j.	s>sh/_i					s>sh/_i	s>sh/_(n)i	s>sh/_i
	ẹ̀sụ́	àrhụ́	àrụ́	ẹ̀lǐ	ẹ̀shǐ	ẹ̀hyụ́	ẹ̀hyǐ	àhụ́
	ọ̀sa	ọ̀rha	ọ̀ra	ụ̀la	ọ̀sha	ìhyna (pl. form)	-hna[2]	ọ̀han
	ásụà	árhọ̀	árọ̀	álà	áfọ̀	áhwà	-hnwọ[2]	áhwọ̀
	óshiì	órhi	óri	[not cognate]	óshi	óhni	-shni[2]	óhin
	Òsumili	Òrhimili	Òsimini	Òlimini	[?]	Òhimi	Òshimini	[?]

[1] Applies after line (4c)

[2] Prefix vowel and root tone not copied from source.

(continuation of Fig. 4)

	Ḿvọsị	Ụ̀lụ́	Ọ̀kǰgwǰ́	Òweré	Ọ́mọọ̀kụ	Íhiàla	Ẹ́hụgbò	Águatá
a.[1]	y>∅/s_i	y>∅/C_i	y>∅/C_i	y>∅/C_i	y>∅/C_i		y>∅/C_i	
b.	n>∅ /C_...[-ATR]	n>∅ /C_...[-ATR]	n>∅ /C_...[-ATR]	n>∅ /C_...[-ATR]	n>∅ /C_...[-ATR]		n>∅/C_	n>∅/C_
c.	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh	sy>sh
d.				shn>rhn	shn>rhn			
e.				rh>r	rh>r			
f.							shy>zhy/V_	
g.	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h	sh>h
h.	hwọ>fọ	hwọ>fọ	hwọ>fọ	hwọ>fọ	hw>h	hw>h	hw>h	hw>h
i.				(h>w/_u)[2]	h>hw/_U			
j.			s>sh/_(n)i	s>sh/_(n)i	s>z/V_			
	àhụ́	àhụ́	àhụ́	àhụ́	ẹ̀hwụ́	àhụ́	ụ̀hụ́	àhụ́
	ọ̀han	ọ̀han	ọ̀han	ọ̀han	-rna[3]	ọ̀han	ọ̀ha	ọ̀ha
	áfọ̀	áfọ̀	áfọ̀	áfọ̀	-họ[3]	áhọ̀	áhọ̀	áh(y?)ọ̀
	óhin	ósin	óshin	óshin	-sni[3]	óhin	óhi	óhi
	Òsimirin	Òsimirin	Òshimirin	Òshimirin	-zi[3, 4]	Òhimirin or ḿmirin òhuhu	Òsimini	Òhimiri

[1](4a) did not apply to the verb *snyí 'leak' in Central dialects.

[2]Cf. ówù 'slave' (Thomas 1914: 64).

[3]Prefix vowel and root tone not copied from source.

[4]Matched by znǐ 'leak (v.)', with the following comparanda: zí (Ọ̀gbakịrị), hyí (Òweré), shí (Àbọ́), rí (Ọ̀nịcha), and just possibly lù (Ẹ̀hwụ́dà, 'throw inside (of water)').

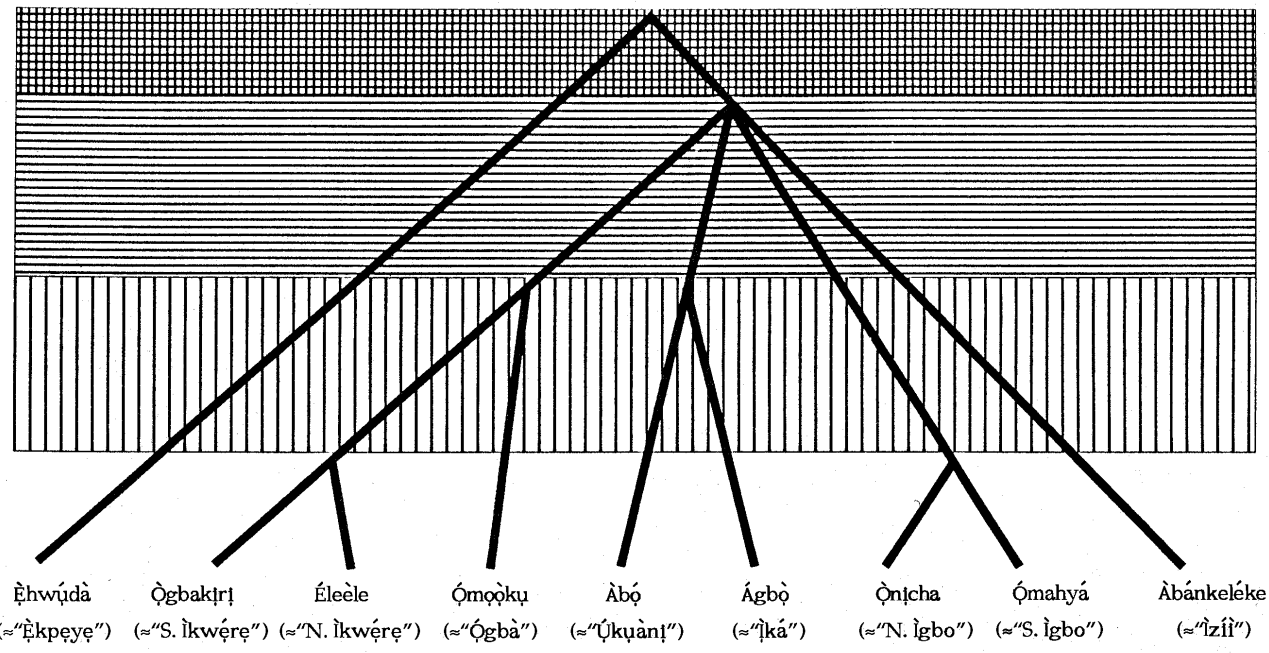


Fig. 5. My schematization of Williamson's (1973a, b) "Lower Niger" classification, to be contrasted with my Fig. 2 above.

The parenthesized ethnic names are used by Williamson, who recognizes four degrees of lexicostatistic relationship, defined as follows:

Level 4	"indisputable" separation	— all connecting percentages below 70
Level 3	"not particularly close"	— all connecting percentages below 85
Level 2	"fairly close" separation	— some percentages below 85 and some above it
Level 1	"indisputable" parts of the same language	— all connecting percentages above 85

		Ẹ̀hwṵdà	Òwerέ	other
33a.	dry up	mέ	mí	mí (Ágbọ̀)
	defecate	nyọ́	nyṵ	nyṵ (Ọ̀nịcha)
b.	arrow	àchíị̀	àkṵ	àkṵ (Ọ̀nịcha)
	clear [forest]	chí	sṵ	sṵ (Ágbọ̀)
c.	day	ṵ́bọh(w)ù	ṵ́bọ̀chị	ḿbọ̀sị (Ọ̀nịcha)
	mind/heart	óbù	óbì	óbì (Ágbọ̀)

Vowel merger Williamson 1984 shows how an underlying ten vowel system is reduced in various Benue-Kwa languages through merger. Unlike lowering, merger is not constrained by vowel harmony. Cf. also (29b).

		Ágbọ̀	Òwerέ	Àbọ́	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ̀hwṵ́dà	other
34a.	time	ǹgbẹ	ǹgba/ǹma	ǹgbe	ǹgbe	úḅè	
	vulture	ùdẹlẹ	ùdela	ùdene	ùdene	ọ̀dẹlẹ	
b.	orange	ẹ̀lumẹ́	òlomá	òlomẹ́	òlomá	[álédè]	
	doctor	díbiẹ̀	díbyà	díbiẹ̀	díbi̩a	díbyọ̀	díbhè (Ìsúóchi)
c.	thing	íhyẹn	íhen/hwén	ífe	íbhẹ	íy̩ẹ̀	íhe (Ẹ́hụgbò)
	pepper	ósẹ̀n	ósèn	ósè	ósè	ésẹ̀	ósòn (Ọ́mahyá)
	shame	íhyerén	íhwerén	[ẹ́kpṵ]	íbhẹlẹ́	íwené	íhyerén (Ọ́mahyá)

ẹ : a and ẹ : e correspondences can be seen between Ágbọ̀ and Òwerέ, while Àbọ́ and Ọ̀nịcha have e for the first set (34a). In (34c), Ágbọ̀, Ọ̀nịcha and Ẹ̀hwṵ́dà ẹ comes from *e which follows a nasalized continuant. (Árụ̀ has generalized the environment of this rule to any continuant.) Òwerέ suffixes like 'back' have an e/a alternation controlled by the adjacent root value of [ATR]; this presupposes *ə>e. Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ̀hwṵ́dà however, underwent *ə>ẹ, and in Àbọ́ *ə>e. The Ọ̀nịcha facts are derived by *ə>e and ẹ>a, the latter fed by *ə>ẹ in affixes.

Williamson posits *ə>ẹ>a in noun prefixes, to explain non-harmonizing forms like *àkpó* 'palate' (Ọ̀nịcha). Examples of prefix *ẹ>a abound, e.g. (35a). Examples of root lowering, as in (35b), are isolated. The prefix raising in Ọ̀gbakịrị 'earth' is an innovation, according to Williamson.

		Ẹ̀hwṵ́dà	Ágbọ̀	Òwerέ	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ́hugbò	Ọ̀gbakịrị
35a.	eye	ẹ́nyẹ̀ẹ̀	ẹ́nya	ányа	ányа	ẹ́nya	ányaà
	sacrifice	ẹ̀ja	ẹ̀ja	àja	àja	ẹ̀ja	?
	earth	àdị̀/ẹ́lẹ̀	àlị	àlị	àni̩/àna	àlị	èlị

1.3.3 Tone typology and innovations

Tone shift In the dialects other than Ọ̀nịcha below, rightward tone shift has taken place at the word levels (cf. also 'navel' in 27c above); it is a common Igboid innovation.

		Ágbọ̀	Àbọ́	Ọ̀nịcha	Ẹ́hugbò	other
36.	bird	ńnụnṵ	ńnụnṵ	ńnṵnụ	ńnụnṵ/ńnụnṵ	ṵ́nṵ (Ẹ̀hwṵ́dà)
	tortoise	ḿbekwù	[ọ́kpala ọ̀sà]	ḿbèkwu	ḿbekwù	ḿbèkḥwurun (Íhìàla)
						ńnabè (Òwerέ)
	man	ókényè	ókeè	ókènye	ókeé	ókeì ("Énuàn̩ị")
	cloth	ẹ́kwaà	ẹ́kwaà	ákwà	(ẹ̀kṵ)	
	tooth	ézé	ézè	ézé	éze	ézi̩é (Bénde)

A derivational example of rightward tone shift, in all dialects, is *ṵ́kwarà* 'coughing', with low tone on the suffix, cf. *-kwà* 'cough (v.)', with low tone on the root.[52]

At the phrase level, (37) shows that downstepped high tone is affected by to tone shift, but the data show that the tone shift interacts with a process that relates downstep and low tone, as well as with a process that deletes a tone bearing unit.

37.	Ọ̀nịcha	Áchị	Àzṵ́mị́nị	Àbọ́	Ẹ́hugbò
head HH + goat HH	ísi ewú	ísi éwu	ísi éwu	ísi ewuù	ísy ewù
gate HH̄ + road HL	ọ́nṵ ụzọ̀	ọ́nụ ùzọ	ọ́nṵ ùzọ	ọ́nụ ụzọ̀	ọ́n' ụzọ̀
tail HL + cow HH	ọ́dụ̀ éfí	ọ́dṵ́ éswi	ọ́dṵ́ ehí	ọ́dṵ́ efìì	ọ́dw éhì
tail HL + pig HL	ọ́dụ̀ ézì	ọ́dṵ́ èzi	ọ́dụ èzi	ọ́dṵ́ ezhìì	ọ́dw ézì

In order to clarify the complex correspondences in (37), both syntchronically and diachronically, it is necessary to view phrase-level downstep in a wider comparative context, in terms of an explanatory representation of tonal domains. The rest of the chapter is devoted to this task.

Spreading and downstep Since its origin in two studies of Ìgbo, autosegmental phonology has endured a conceptual tension between automatic and rule-governed spreading. Williams' (1971) Tone Mapping rule ensures that toneless morphemes receive tonal specifications, but skips over tonal morphemes and melody-final floating tones. Goldsmith's (1976) Well Formedness Condition associates all tones automatically, left-to-right and one-to-one, spreading the melody-final tone onto toneless positions, or linking extra tones onto the final tone-bearing position. Halle and Vergnaud 1982 remark that the WFC does not exclude rules of tone spreading, so that the tone mapping framework, being thoroughly rule-governed, is mechanically simpler.

Economy aside, automatic spreading has been challenged by two sorts of claims: nonmorphemic, surface floating tones (in so-called Grassfields Bantu languages, cf. Voorhoeve 1971, Hyman 1972, Tadadjeu 1974) and phonetic default tones on surface toneless elements (in Yorùbá, cf. Akinlabí 1982). To accommodate these cases, Pulleyblank 1983 does away with automatic spreading altogether.

Arguments against rule-governed spreading have, by comparison, been few. There are different views of what is at stake in giving up the WFC. Depending on the content attributed to association lines, their manipulation by phonological rules is a more or less significant departure from the original goals of the theory. If association lines simply encode "synchronization" (Halle and Vergnaud), crucial reference to linking is a straightforward way of stating phonotactic constraints (thus Hayes 1986). But if association lines denote constituency relations, i.e. predictable locality domains, it is inconceivable that they are formally autonomous of the features or elements which they connect.

The status of association lines also has consequences for the Obligatory Contour Principle (Leben 1973). Odden 1986 restricts the OCP to underlying representations, so as not to force identical tones to "collapse into a single tone" across morpheme boundaries. Clark 1989, continuing her 1978 account of tones as "pitch change markers", eliminates the OCP even in the lexicon, so that the relative pitch of sequential H tones is encoded in the number of underlying identical autosegments. On the other hand, if the OCP holds both in the lexicon and in phrasal phonology,

[52] This observation is possibly complicated by the form *ṵ́kwálà*, reported by Armstrong 1967 for Àbọ́.

then association lines reflect independently determined constituency relations. Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1985, 1987) theorize government among syllable constituents (rimes and onsets) and within the segment (heads and operators). In their framework, *rules* of spreading are not statable; the distribution of surface floating and default elements is constrained by structure preservation, minimality and proper government (Charette 1988, Nikiema 1988, Kaye 1989).

The next section ("Tone and locality") critiques rule-based tone typology. While every logical combination of {H, L} tones spreads automatically in some Benue-Kwa language, tone spreading is nonrandomly parameterized. H-spreading excludes total downstep but does not conflict with partial downstep. L-spreading excludes partial downstep but is a prerequisite of total downstep. A language with two types of L tone, spreading and non-spreading, has both types of downstep. The spreading of both H and L tones contradicts downstep altogether. These implications are understandable if both spreading and downstep are represented in terms of prosodic government by tonal elements, following Bamba's (1984) claim that downstep is the effect of metrical constituency on the pitch realization of tone elements.

The subsequent section ("Prosodic government") establishes prosodic government domains in two languages which have been analyzed in terms of rule-governed spreading. Prosodic government predicts the tonal effects of syntactic structure, effects which are handled in extant analyses by diacritic tones and association lines. These cases, together with the typology, constitute arguments against rule-governed spreading. A concluding comment ("Typology and the prosodic residue") draws the cases together in support of the hypothesis that prosodic phonology requires, not a level of representation intermediate between syntax and phonology, but a theory of the different subtypes (lexical, phrasal, metrical, tonal, syllabic…) of the government relation.

As will be seen in the following sections, the phonetic forms inside square brackets are not in orthographic form: they follow the convention that every tone value is marked and downstep is marked by the raised exclamation point [!].

Tone and locality in Benue-Kwa[53] Goldsmith's WFC predicts tone contours at the right margin of an association domain, just if the number of underlying tones exceeds the number of available tone-bearing units. But, in some languages, phonetic tone contours occur in other positions, or are restricted to certain tone combinations:

38.

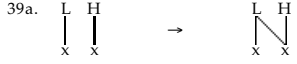
Yorùbá (Awóbùlúyì 1964)	Ẹ̀dó (Ámáyó 1976) western forms of Ìgbo	"central" Ìgbo	ɣɔmalá?-Yamba (Hyman 1985)	ɣekoyó (Clements 1984)
H spreads onto L *L spreads onto H*	*H spreads onto L*		*some Ls spread onto H*	*L spreads onto H*

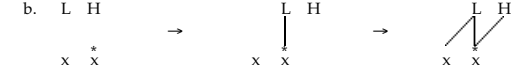
This range of options might suggest a parametrized association convention, by which certain tones have the inherent property of spreading onto tone-bearing positions. Two of the cases in (38) could be handled this way. In Ẹ̀dó and western Ìgbo, L never spreads. In ɣekoyó, apparent H 'spreading' is produced by a flop rule across word boundaries, and never results in a falling tone contour.

[53] Benue-Kwa is the largest constituent of Niger-Congo. Members familiar to tonologists include Àbɛ ['Abbey'], Akan, Gbè, Yorùbá, Ẹ̀dó, Ìgbo, Ẹ̀fìk-Ìbìbìò, Ịzọ̀ǹ, Tiv, Yala-Ikom, ɣɔmalá÷-Yamba ['Bamiléké-Dschang'], ɣekoyó ['Kikuyu'], Shona, Tonga, Zulu. Greenberg (1963: 39 *n* 13) observes a lack of evidence for subgrouping between Kwa and Benue-Congo. Williamson 1989a, following the lexicostatistics of Schadeberg 1986, suggests a division in between Gbè and Yoruboid (see Capo 1985 for a critique).

Parametrized association has difficulty with Yorùbá's three tones {H, M, L} because, while H spreads onto L, and L onto H, neither H nor L spreads onto M. (M never spreads.) Akinlabí 1982 suggests that M is a default tone which arises after spreading applies, but this says nothing about ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, a language in which L tones divide into two classes, respectively spreading and non-spreading.

To account for ɣekoyó, Clements and Ford 1979 propose another kind of parametrized association, which they dub accentual. Dispensing with a L-spreading rule like (39a), they treat the formation of word-final LH contours as a WFC effect, by positing a pre-cyclic tone shift or initial tone association rule (ITAR). In (39b), the first tone links to the star [*] diacritic, and the other linkings follow from the WFC:

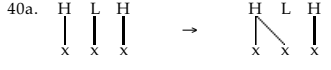
39a. 

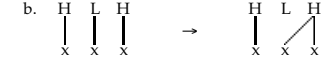
b. 

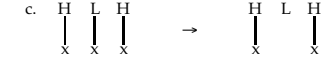
Maintaining the essence of (39b), Clements' (1984) account of ɣekoyó tone assignment still requires several stipulations, including a highly marked inventory of lexical tone melodies, as well as rules of leftward H tone association and falling tone simplification. And the ITAR plus WFC can't handle Ẹ̀dó and Yorùbá, languages with contour tones which are non-final in a monomorphemic association domain.

If spreading-induced contours are not tone association effects, two possiblities remain: they result from language-specific rules, or else they attest inherent properties of those elements which spread, as these properties are licensed by the phonological context. In comparing the alternatives, the relation between spreading and downstep is relevant. John Stewart has provided many rich ideas in this connection.

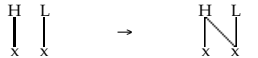
For Stewart (1965, 1971, 1983) "downstep" describes the lowered phonetic register of a high tone preceded by a low tone. Lowering is cumulative and persists throughout the tone phrase, but is reversed at syntactic pauses. The triggering L need not surface; if it doesn't, the downstep is "non-automatic". If there is no synchronic evidence for a L tone, downstep is triggered diacritically. L-delinking, which yields non-automatic downstep (marked by a macron), can be expressed by one of the rules in (40). What varies is the direction of assimilation, and the survival vs. elision of the original L-bearing unit:

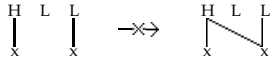
40a. 

b. 

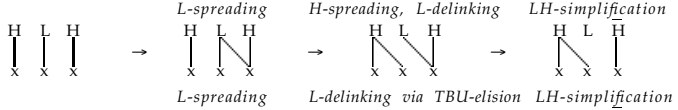
c. 

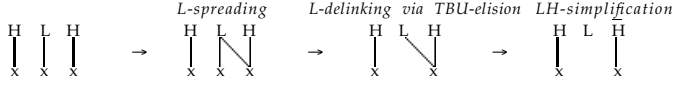
All the rules in (40) involve two assumptions: a tone automatically delinks from a timing unit which is affected by spreading or elision, and floating tones do not automatically reassociate. In Akan (Schachter and Fromkin 1968), L is delinked either by rightward or by leftward H-spreading (40a, 40b), or by TBU elision (40c). In "central" Ìgbo, elision is not found, and H-spreading is leftward (3b). Yorùbá, Ẹ̀dó and western Ìgbo attest elision (40c) and—in other contexts—non-delinking, rightward H-spreading (41a). Ámáyó observes that H-spreading is bled by elision: H does not spread across a floating L tone (41b).

41a. 

b. 

Other combinations of spreading and delinking are more problematic. (41a) flatly contradicts (40a). L-delinking (40a-c) bleeds L-spreading (39a), but there is a conceivable feeding relationship by which spreading feeds delinking so as to mimic the effect of (40a) and (40c).[54] In (42), the "early" application of the L-spreading rule functions as a diacritic for subsequent delinking, i.e. for non-automatic downstep.

42a. 

b. 

One can exclude the derivations in (42) by stipulating that L-spreading and L-delinking cannot cooccur in one grammar. However, this is falsified by Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba and Yorùbá, but in an interesting way. In Yorùbá, the downstep which results from L-delinking (known in the literature as "the assimilated low tone") is limited in domain to one syllable: subsequent syllables with the same tonal value as the downstepped tone can exceed its pitch level.[55] In Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, automatic downstep is perseverative but is not triggered by all surface L tones, and some non-automatic downsteps are *total*.

The phenomenon of total downstep, found in Ɣekoyó and Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, challenges Stewart's claim that the downstep trigger is always a floating L tone. Total downstep lowers a H tone all the way to the level of a L tone in the same position. A following L tone is lower still. Thus the tonal sequence in (43), where total downstep is marked by a double macron, would have the phonetic interpretation shown.

43. [H, H̿, L] [¯ - _]

[54] Rightward L-spreading cannot trigger downstep of the type in (40b).

[55] Lániran 1991 provides instrumental descriptions of several highly marked pitch phenomena in the Yorùbá terraced-tone system, as compared to systems of the Ìgbo type.

If an abstract L tone was responsible for total downstep, it would possess properties distinct from both kinds of concrete L tones which are found in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba: one kind spreads onto a following H without downdrifting it, as in (44a), while the other kind downdrifts a following H tone (by the interval of a partial downstep), but without spreading onto it, as in (44b).[56]

44a. [H, L, H] → [H, L, LH] [¯ - /]

b. [H, L, H] → [H, L, H̄] [¯ - ¯]

Type (44a), and not (44b), is found in Ɣekoyó; the total downstep trigger in that language is distinct from both. Accordingly, Clements and Ford propose that the trigger for Ɣekoyó total downstep is not floating L but floating "super-L", a non-surfacing type of low tone. But they do not explain why total downstep is restricted to phrase-level phonology, although partial downstep (in other languages) can occur morpheme-internally. This distributional asymmetry suggests that the triggers of the two downstep types are not formally comparable.

In two instances, Stewart 1965 recognized the arbitrariness of floating L tone as the trigger of partial downstep: lexical downsteps where no alternation occurs, and syntactic downsteps for which no low tonal morpheme is motivated (see also Fromkin 1976). Among generative Bantuists (Voorhoeve *et al.* 1969; Voorhoeve 1971; Williamson 1970, 1986; Hyman 1972, 1976), the main justification for nonmorphemic floating tones (many of which are diacritic downstep triggers) is historical reconstruction. Notwithstanding Kiparsky's (1974) caveats, some autosegmentalists imported this abstract notation wholesale. Pulleyblank 1983 treats Hyman and Tadadjeu's (1976) floating tones like observational data.

To summarize, downsteps of several kinds arise in several distinct tonal and syntactic configurations. It is impossible to account for downstep alone, or the relation between spreading and downstep, across the languages in (38) by means of rules, without using tones or rules diacritically. The remaining possibility is that every instance of spreading and downstep reflects inherent, parametric properties of tone elements, subject to universal prosodic constraints. This alternative premise correctly predicts the co-occurrence of downstep, total and partial, with the full set of possible spreading phenomena, both intra- and cross-linguistically, for the languages in (38).

Spreading and downstep differ with respect to locality. In most languages, the lowering effect of a downstep (whether partial or total) persists over a potentially unbounded phonetic span. The downstep found in Yorùbá is "local" (non-perseverative). Spreading, by definition, is constrained by adjacency on the relevant tier. Stewart 1981 observes that partial downstep is in complementary distribution with the spreading of a low tone onto the domain of a following high tone. This is borne out for the five types in (38), as shown by the fuller typology in (45):

45.

Yorùbá	Ẹ̀dó/western Ìgbo	"central" Ìgbo	Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba	Ɣekoyó
	partial downstep	*partial downstep*	*some partial downsteps*	
local downstep			*some total downsteps*	*total downstep*
H spreads onto L	*H spreads onto L*		*some*	
L spreads onto H			*Ls spread onto H*	*L spreads onto H*

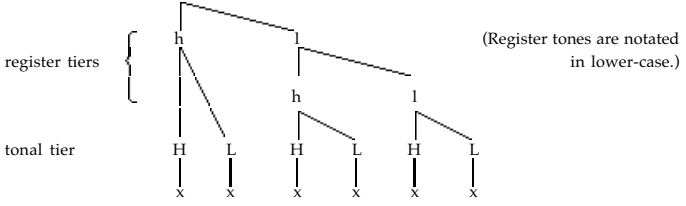
[56] Tadadjeu (1974: 284 *fn.* 1) reports that L-spread is optional and restricted to utterance final position.

In the terminology of Hyman 1978, a L tone can affect a following H tone either "horizontally" (by spreading onto it) or "vertically" (by inducing partial downdrift). (45) suggests that both kinds of assimilation cannot be triggered by the same token of L tone. In addition, (45) shows that total downstep correlates with L-spreading. In all, (45) has three sets of implications:

46. Total downstep contradicts H-spreading and requires L-spreading.
47. Partial downstep contradicts L-spreading (but does not require H-spreading).
48. Perseverative downstep contradicts the joint presence of H-spreading and L-spreading.

To express these in terms of tone rules minimally requires a distinction between tonal and register tiers of tonal autosegments (Manfredi 1979, Huang 1980, Clements 1981, Inkeles *et al.* 1987):

49.



(Register tones are notated in lower-case.)

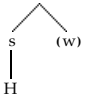
But the register tone hypothesis only restates the problem at the level of feature geometry: it attributes two nonintersecting sets of properties to identically-named autosegments, depending on which tier they occupy. If (49) represents partial downstep, what prevents the spreading of tonal-L between "tonal feet" (i.e. between register domains)? And how could a representation like (49) account for the two types of tonal-L (spreading and non-spreading) which cooccur in ɣɔmalá?-Yamba?

Alternatively, suppose that tones have a single set of properties, all local and invariant, while long distance, relational phenomena like downstep reflect the interaction of tone and metrical structure (Bamba 1984, 1988). In a kindred vein, Clements and Ford argue that, if the accentual character of ɣekoyó "tone shift" is accepted at face value,

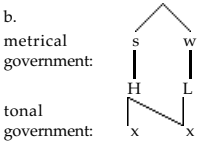
> …we would immediately want to take the further step of attributing underlying (or rule-inserted) accent to *all* lexical tone languages. This is because it would make no sense to argue that Kikuyu had fixed initial accent simply on the basis of the hindsight afforded by tone shift, while denying fixed accent to such typologically similar tone systems as those of Ewe, Igbo or Akan. (1979: 198)

Accepting the logic of this statement, I will now show that (46) - (48) can be restated as a single relationship between between tonal and metrical structure. Bamba proposes that the H element in a downstep system projects an [s] node which automatically entails a following [w] position, cf. (50a). I.e., it is a *metrical governor*. Correspondingly, a spreading H can be characterized as a *tonal* governor, projecting two positions on the tone-bearing level, as in (50b). In charm-and-government phonology, elements which create contours by spreading domain-internally are said to project two skeletal x-slots (Prunet 1986, Nikiema 1988). This double-projection property is analogous to syntactic government: the co-occurrence of metrical and tonal government in (50b) can be likened to a verb which both governs (θ-marks) and overtly Case-marks its internal argument, as in (50c).

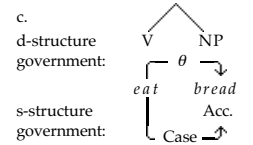
50a.



b.

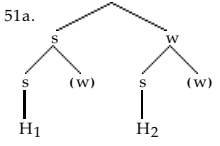


c.

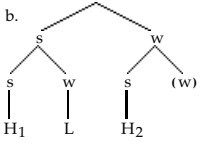


The OCP dictates that phonetically distinct H tones belong to different metrical feet, so that a [HH̄] sequence looks like (51a). An L tone intervening between H_1 and downstepped H_2 occupies the weak position of the first foot, as in (51b). But (51a) respects the OCP even if there is no intervening L tone (the weak position being optional), because the two H tones are not strictly adjacent. Conversely, adjacent H-bearing syllables in the same pitch register must belong to the same metrical constituent, as in (51c). The OCP rules out (51d), with distinct H tones sharing a single foot:

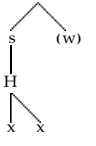
51a.



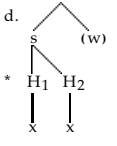
b.



c.



d.



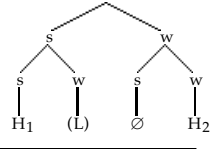
Assuming (50-51), the generalizations in (48b-c) follow from the definition in (52):

52. *minimality condition* Each domain has a unique governor.

(52) explains why, across downstep systems, L-spreading is more restricted than H-spreading. In an automatic downstep configuration like (51b), (52) excludes the spreading of L onto H_2, since this would require L to govern (tonally) into the second foot—the metrical domain of H_2. Note that (52) does not exclude the co-occurrence of L-spreading and partial downstep in the same *language*, just in the same constituent. In other words, if H is the metrical governor, L-spreading (tonal government) can occur only within a sub-metrical domain, in which by definition H does not govern, as in (20a) below.

This government asymmetry between L and H, essential in all downstep systems, is most vivid with total downstep. Total downstep lowers a H tone to the pitch of a L tone. In (53), this is represented as $[_{w}\, H_2\,]$: a [w] metrical position directly dominating H_2. For pitch interpretation, the timing unit bearing H_2 is equivalent to one bearing L. That is, the tonal content of a weak position is metrically "invisible".[57]

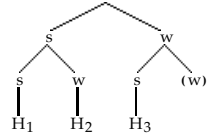
53.



[57] Compare the process of vowel reduction in "stress" languages (i.e. languages in which metrical structure is a projection of syllable weight): a vowel in weak metrical position gets the phonetic interpretation of a schwa. In other words, metrically weak positions are opaque with respect to projected features. This constraint is analogous to syntactic visibility (Fabb 1984, Roberts 1985).

(53) shows that a total downstep is immediately preceded by [$_s$ ∅]: an empty [s] position.[58] If the [s] position before a total downstep was occupied by a H tone, such as H_1 as in (54), a partial downstep (on H_3) could immediately follow a total downstep (on H_2):

54.

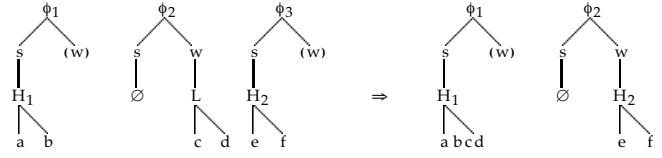


But (54) is ill-formed. The interpretion of (54) would require a greater pitch drop between metrical feet than occurs in (51a-b) and (53), making tones function as covert accents. To put the matter more simply: downstep, whether total or partial, is by definition a relationship *between* metrical feet, so the relation between H_1 and H_2 in (54) cannot be downstep of any kind.

In Ỵekoyó, *all* downsteps are total. Clements and Ford (1978, 1979) observe that the surface tone preceding downstep is always H. Their downstep displacement rule (55a) is represented in (55b):

55a. [H ! L_Q] ∅ [H_Q !] (X_Q = the maximal sequence of X elements)

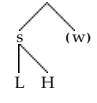
b.



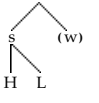
The prosodic change in (55b) is driven by considerations of well-formedness. The left side of (55b), which arises in phrasal contexts, is phonetically uninterpretable. Unless there was a systematic possibility for a "super-low" L in this position (which is not the case), the [$_w$ L] in the second foot would require a zero pitch drop between ϕ1 and ϕ2—otherwise the pitch change between adjacent feet would be diacritically determined by the tones, robbing the metrical hypothesis of content.

(53) suggests that what permits total downstep is a parametric loosening of the bijective mapping between tones and metrical positions found in "pure" partial downstep languages (where H directly projects [s], and [w] is optional). If either H or L can be immediately dominated by either [s] or [w], two new possibilities arise: [$_w$ …H…] and [$_s$ …L…]. This would allow two different tone elements to share one (branching) metrical position. The four logical options are given in (56):

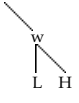
56a.



b.



c.



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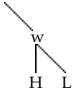
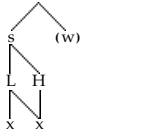


[58] [$_s$ ∅] an empty, strong position is a marked type of constituent which occurs in a very restricted set of prosodic contexts, cf. below. By contrast, weak positions are optional except phrase-finally, where the notation [$_w$ ∅] indicates a weak position which is both obligatory and empty, cf. (57b).

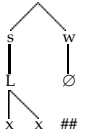
Most of these are independently ruled out. If only [s] can tonally branch, (56c-d) are excluded, which is quite natural given that [$_w$ H] is phonetically identical to L, so that both [$_w$ LH] and [$_w$ HL] would be level in pitch. Two possibilities remain: [$_s$ LH] (=56a) and [$_s$ HL] (=56b). The fact that only (56a) ever occurs is another clue about the relationship of tonal and metrical government.

In Ỵɔmalá?-Yamba, Tadadjeu 1974 and Hyman 1985 observe a contrast between two types of L tone: a phonetically raised L which spreads onto the following H (but doesn't downdrift it), and a nonraised L which induces partial downdrift on the following H (but never spreads onto it).[59] Two types of L also contrast in the context "L _ ##": one maintains steady pitch while the other drops off. Suppose that in both contexts, the former type of L tone is the left member of a branching [s] as in (57), and the latter is immediately dominated by [w] as in (58).

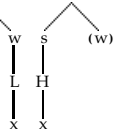
57a.



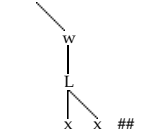
b.



58a.



b.

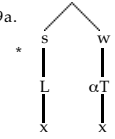


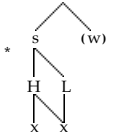
A raised, potentially spreading L tone (= a tonal governor) is immediately dominated by [s]; but an [s] position must also contain a H tone, since H is the metrical governor. Because the LH sequence shares the same foot, there is no downdrift between them, cf. (57a). A sentence-final L can be directly dominated by [s] if and only if the following weak metrical position is empty, cf. (57b): although H metrically governs L, [[$_s$ L] [$_w$ ∅]] is nevertheless well-formed because L is metrically stronger than ∅. This theorem gives a principled basis to the frequent observation that the {H~L} contrast is neutralized sentence-finally. In the same way, the fact that L-spreading is restricted to utterance-final position in Ỵɔmalá?-Yamba (cf. *fn.* 55 above) seems to depend on the fact that there is no following constituent to be metrically governed by the H tone onto which L spreads. In Ỵekoyó, too, LH tone contours are apparently restricted to phrase-final position. The parallel restrictions in the two languages follow from (52).[60]

[59] Contra Hyman (1985: 79 fn. 20), I describe the phonetic lowering of an LH sequence in configurations like (64c) as downdrift (i.e. automatic downstep), so as to preserve a uniform cross-linguistic representation of phonetically and phonologically identical phenomena. The fact that downdrift does not occur after all surface L tones in all languages does not warrant its dismissal as an "old concept".

[60] Voorhoeve's idea (adopted by Hyman) is that L-dropoff is blocked by a word-final, floating H tone. My analysis in (57b) is not completely different. Condition (60a) below licenses nonbranching [$_s$ L] just in final position, since an L tone is metrically stronger than zero, but a non-final [$_s$ L] must be part of a branching [$_s$ LH] constituent. There is, however, an important difference between the two approaches: Voorhoeve's floating H is totally abstract: it never surfaces.

There is no evidence, however, that a non-branching [s] can dominate a nonfinal L, as in (59a). There is also no phonetic distinction between two types of HL sequences, corresponding to the prosodically distinct LH sequences in (57-58). Such a distinction would require some HL sequences, but not others, to exhibit spreading.[61] In fact, no H-spreading occurs in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba or Ɣekoyó, so [$_s$ HL] is excluded, cf. (59b).

59a. 

b. 

The ill-formed representations in (59) have in common a L tone as the rightmost daughter of a [s] node, i.e. nonfinal L immediately preceding a weak position. Such a restriction is reminiscent of the exclusion of "super-heavy" CVVC syllables, in which both rime and nucleus branch (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1987, Charette 1988). In both cases, a metrical governor is lacking adjacent to a weak position.

Since tonal elements are potentially both tonal and metrical governors, there is an asymmetry in the constraints which hold at the respective levels. While metrical structure is never fully autonomous of submetrical domains, be these projections of tone or syllable weight (or both, for a language like Kishambaa)[62], the correspondence of tonal and metrical domains can be more or less close. The proposal that metrical domains extend the properties of tonal elements as governors and governees resembles the idea that syntactic government domains can be hierarchically extended, providing a unified account of local and long-distance dependencies (Kayne 1984, Koster 1987).

(52) has the corollaries in (60). With respect to metrical structure, tonal elements universally respect the constraint in (61), cf. fn. 37 above. A bijective relation between metrical and tonal governors obtains parametrically, cf. (62).

60a. *metrical projection theorem* A [s] position immediately dominates a metrical governor.
b. *metrical locality theorem* A [w] position is strictly adjacent to a metrical governor.
61. *tone visibility constraint* Tonal government is not possible from a [w] position.[63]
62. *prosodic domain parameter* A [s] position *uniquely* dominates a tonal governor: {yes}, {no}.

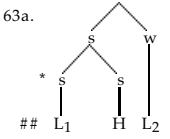
In pure partial downstep systems like Ìgbo and Ẹ̀dó, the value for (62) is {yes}. In these systems, there are three formal possibilities for an initial L tone. The first, adjunction under a strong position as in (63a), is ruled out by (62). Instead, as proposed by Bamba (1988), an initial L can adjoin under a weak position, as in (63b). Alternatively, an initial L could belong to a unique foot projected by an initial [$_s$ Ø] constituent, as in (63c). Initial L tone is phonetically raised in Ẹ̀dó

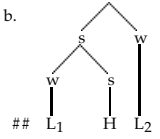
[61] Stewart's (1983) contrary claim concerns diacritic H-spreading which feeds L-delinking as in (40a).

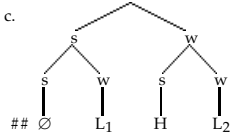
[62] In Kishambaa, there is downstep between all lexical and phrasal H tones, except if a H-bearing domain arises as the result of spreading (Odden 1982). A metrical account of Kishambaa, preserving the OCP, would make every [s] position a co-projection of an underlying H-tone and its rime.

[63] (61) implies that both L and H are metrically strong in Yorùbá, a claim which is possible only in a three-way system with {H, M, L}. I cannot develop this claim in the present space, but see Lániran for striking evidence that L is strong in Yorùbá.

(Elugbe 1977), Ìgbo and Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, but not in Kishambaa (Odden 1986: 364 *fn.* 11). This systematic difference might correspond to the representational distinction between (63b) and (63c), both of which are well-formed in principle.

63a. 

b. 

c. 

(62) also raises the question of what counts as a tonal governor. In pure partial downstep systems, the only candidate is H (the metrical governor). Two variants of partial downstep are distinguished by the presence/absence of tonal government. In Ẹ̀dó and western Ìgbo, H is the tonal governor, spreading onto [$_w$ L] as in (50b). A string of syllables linked to a single H tone has the phonetic tendency to rise in pitch. In "central" Ìgbo, no tone spreads (in the localistic sense: any tone contours involve the docking of a tonal morpheme): therefore, metrical government entirely supplants tonal government, making (62) vacuously true.[64] With the revised parametrization in (64) below, this indeterminacy of (62) is removed.

In Yorùbá, both H and L tones spread, apart from one context. Given (52), this shows that metrical domains are in general not formed. The exception arises via the elision of a L-bearing timing unit: the "floating L" becomes the weak branch of a metrical constituent, and a downstep is produced. This result is confirmed in both Yorùbá and Ẹ̀dó, as already observed in (41b): H-spreading fails to occur just across an "assimilated" (i.e. floating) low tone. This is a minimality effect: spreading does not cross metrical constituents, cf. (52) above.

In total downstep systems, tonal and metrical domains are fully distinct: the metrical governor is H and the tonal governor is L. H does not project a strong metrical position: some H tones occur in weak positions, and some L tones occur in strong positions (both initially and non-initially). But total downstep systems still satisfy (60): a nonfinal [s] dominating a L tone must branch to [$_s$ LH], cf. (57a). Nonbranching [s] nodes need not contain H just in case the corresponding [w] position is weaker tha L, cf. (57b), where [$_s$ L] governs an obligatorily empty, sentence final [w] position. (61) is also respected in total downstep systems: no spreading is possible from a weak metrical position.

The typological array in (45) attests the independently varying parameters in (64), subject to the constraints in (52), (60) and (61).

64a. *metrical government parameter* The metrical governor is {H}, {L}, {Ø}.[65]
b. *tonal government parameter* The set of tonal governors is {H}, {L}, {H, L}, {Ø}.
c. *prosodic domain parameter* (revised) Tones freely occupy metrical positions: {yes} {no}.

(64a) determines the basic type of tonal licensing for metrical government domains. The value {H} yields downstep, {L} yields upstep and {Ø} yields neither. (64b) accounts for the fact that local tone spreading varies cross-linguistically among four logical possibilities. Closely related

[64] The syntactic analogue is a language in which structural Case is completely abstract.

[65] As noted in *fn.* 63 above, the possibility of both {H,L} as metrically strong is probably instantiated in the three-tone system of Yorùbá. (64a) remains valid as it stands just for two-tone systems, for reasons which are intuitively clear: a two-tone system cannot have both tones metrically strong.

languages/dialects differ with respect to (64b), and the learner can determine the setting from the simple, positive evidence of intra-morphemic contour tones.

A "mixed" system such as Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, in which only some L tones exhibit spreading, is evidence for the independence of the tonal and metrical parameters. The tonal governor is {L}, but tonal government from a weak metrical position is ruled out by (61). Further, as attested by both Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba and Ɣekoyó, (52) prevents spreading in a nonfinal [$_s$ LH] constituent, so the actual cases of L-tone spreading are a subset of a subset of the total number of L tones: [[$_s$ LH] [$_w$ ∅]]. Stating this in the form of a spreading rule obscures the generalizations which hold for each of the sub-relations on which it is jointly based, and which have independent, highly valued empirical consequences in other contexts.

(64c) restates (62) in a more general fashion, with the markedness value reversed. A *yes* value for (64c) has three major consequences: H may be dominated by [w], L may be dominated by [s], and [s] may branch. The distinguishing phonetic alternation of a total downstep system, H ∅ L in weak position, can also be observed from simple positive evidence. Total downstep intrudes marginally in many partial downstep systems: downstepped H in final position is phonetically low in Ḿbàìsén (Ụ̀waláàka 1982), Ìzíì (Meir *et al.* 1975) and Ẹ́hụgbò (Manfredi 1979). The possibility of branching [s] can be induced from the contrast between two kinds of L tone: [$_w$ L] which downdrifts but does not spread, and [$_s$ L] which spreads but does not downdrift. This contrast, supported by two concomitant phonetic cues, is also easily learnable.

A *yes* value for (64c) licenses total downstep. The fact that an [s] position may branch to LH implies the separation of tonal and metrical domains. Once the domains are separate, (52) requires the learner to identify a governor for each. H must remain the metrical governor, because all weak positions are phonetically nonhigh. This makes L the only candidate for tonal governor in a total downstep language.

A *no* value for (64c) makes a metrical foot a pure projection of H, as in (50a): every H is linked to [s], and every L to [w]. Nothing requires every [w] to link to a L tone however, so partial downstep is possible with either *yes* or *no* values of (64c), but *no* excludes total downstep. *No* is the unmarked value since positive evidence for this setting is less straightforward.

The next section compares prosodic government domains in the associative constructions of a "Semi-Bantu" language and Ìgbo.

Prosodic government in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba and Ìgbo

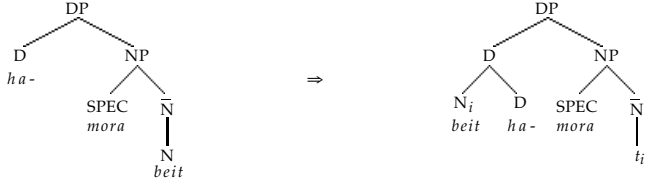
Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba ("Dschang-Bamiléké") is discussed by Tadadjeu 1974, Hyman and Tadadjeu 1976, Pulleyblank 1983, Hyman 1985. Their principal data are drawn from the "associative" construction, a complex nominal resembling the Semitic construct state. Although the associative construction is sometimes translated by an English DP like *the feather of the/an eagle*, restrictions in phrasal expansion and definiteness make it semantically closer to an English nominal compound like *eagle feather*. One difference from a compound is the presence of a morpheme between the two nouns. But unlike a possessive morpheme or other determiner, the associative morpheme does not imply definiteness. In other words, as in the construct state, the dependent noun in an associative construction is not independently referential.[66]

[66]This nonrererentiality contrasts with N incorporation as analyzed by Baker 1985, e.g. in examples of the general form *I* [$_V$ *book*$_i$-*gave*] *John that one*$_i$.

The associative morpheme is an agreement prefix on the dependent noun, coindexed with the head. Welmers 1963 reconstructs the associative morphemes of proto Niger-Congo as *à* and *ká*. In many daughter languages, its phonetic shape has undergone reduction; some reflexes lost their segmental content but kept the tone. In some languages, agreement morphology is purely vestigial, raising the issue of abstractness. In Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, associative prefix agreement is productive.

For a prosodic account of this construction, the crux is its syntactic licensing. As a nominal clitic, the associative morpheme on the dependent noun spells out a relation between two nominal heads. The best-understood licensing relation is thematic, as defined in X-bar theory (Chomsky 1981), but it is not obvious that this is the appropriate one. For Borer 1983, the Hebrew construct state is a thematic, phrasal projection (but note that Borer 1987, 1989 cites it as an example of word formation in the syntax). Another possibility is that the licensing projection is not thematic but "functional". Responding to some recent proposals by Fassi-Fehri (see 1987), Ritter 1988 analyzes the construct state as a projection of the determiner, essentially as in (65).[67]

65.



'the' 'teacher' 'house' 'the teacher's house'

Yet, Ritter must invoke more than head movement to account for the surface order; the unanswered question is why the head noun *beit* 'house' doesn't incorporate to the right of the proclitic *ha-* 'the', yielding an ungrammatical output **ha-beit mora*. My suggestion is that this indeterminacy cannot be resolved because head movement is the only re-ordering mechanism available within a phrasal (i.e. X-bar) schema.

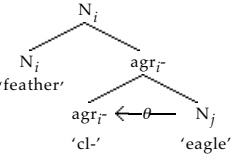
Higginbotham 1985 offers another model of licensing, neologistically called "autonymous" *θ*-marking, to handle the noncategorial (or syncategoremic) meaning of prenominal adjectives. Since *a big butterfly* may not be big in absolute terms, there are evidently two kinds of semantic composition between the adjective and the noun. The basic relation is *θ*-identification, as in all predicative constructs: one knows that the properties of bigness and of being a butterfly intersect in the same individual. The extra relation is independent of the head-complement configuration of X-bar theory, on which both Borer 1983 and Ritter 1988 rely. Suppose that autonymous *θ*-marking is a local relationship between thematic heads: an X^0 category can *θ*-mark the head which governs it. Discussing the similarity of adjective and adverb licensing, Travis 1988 embeds this proposal in an incorporation structure, following Baker 1985: Y^0 autonymously *θ*-marks X^0 in the structure [$_{X^0}$ X^0 + Y^0], where X^0 governs Y^0.

I adopt Travis' idea for associative constructions as follows. In (29), the base-generated incorporation of N_j is mediated by an agreement chain between N_i and the clitic. N_j autonymously *θ*-marks its governor N_i (perhaps via the interediate governor agr_i). Following Lieber 1981, I

[67]On the categorial identity of possessive morphemes as determiners, cf. Fukui 1986, Abney 1987.

assume that an affix governs its subcategorized complement. In this structure, unlike the noun incorporation structures discussed by Baker 1985, the referential index of 'eagle' cannot percolate.

66.



incorporation (syntactic affixation): N$_i$ governs N$_j$

affixation: agr$_i$ governs N$_j$

Hyman states that, depending on the agreement class of the head noun, the associative clitic is lexicalized in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba as / è- /, / á- / or / é- /. A propos the underlying form of these morphemes, he astonishingly remarks that "the segmental information is, as far as I have been able to determine, totally irrelevant for the study of tone" (1985: 78, *fn*. 3). But, just as in Hyman's (1980) description of the Àbọ dialect of Ìgbo, this assertion obscures syllable-based generalizations about tone association domains (cf. Manfredi 1983a). Two important observations relate to the segmental form of these morphemes: / á- / always acquires the quality of the preceding vowel (whether or not a consonant intervenes), while the syllabic features of / è- / almost never surface (Hyman 1985: 78, *fnn*. 4, 7). In keeping with the second observation, the two clitics can be represented as in (67):

67. class 1, 9 agreement prefix [L] class 7 agreement prefix [H / x / a]

The floating L in (67) is a morpheme, and as such is learnable, given appropriate alternations. The same cannot be said of the nonmorphemic floating tones posited by Voorhoeve and Hyman (and carried over without argument by Pulleyblank); to these I now turn.

As remarked above, Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba shows four distinct surface tone patterns on bisyllabic nouns. (Tadadjeu and Hyman cite them on the segmental base [lətɔŋ].) The first tone in each pattern is L. Three of the four contrasts are manifested exclusively on the second syllable; in one word, the initial L is predictably raised. Tadadjeu distinguishes the four by positing one morpheme-final, lexical floating tone, justified by appeal to historical reconstructions.

The first observation about this tone quadruplet is that it is only *near*-minimal, because it is composed of two lexical nouns and two infinitives. The latter are unquestionably bimorphemic, presumably formed by syntactic affixation as in (68).

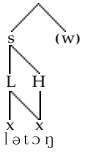
68a. [L / x / lə- [V [H / x / tɔŋ]]]
'to' 'call'

b. [L / x / lə- [V [L / x / tɔŋ]]]
'to' 'reimburse'

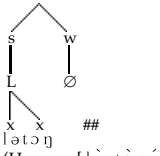
The lexical nouns may be analyzable as prefix + root, since there are no high tone-initial nouns.

Applying the metrical representations in (57-58), phonetically motivated as discussed above, it becomes clear that the syntactic and lexical /lə- prefixes differ prosodically:

69a. 'feather'

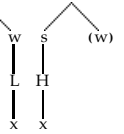


b. 'navel'



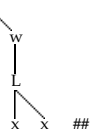
(Hyman: [lə-tɔ́ŋ])

70a. 'to call'



(Hyman: [lə-tɔ́ŋ])

b. 'to reimburse'



The two lexical nouns begin with a metrically strong position, but the infinitive prefix is weak. The generalization in (71) cannot be translated into a floating tone notation.

71. *clitic prosody hypothesis* Syntactic affixes are metrically weak.

Concerning the verb root 'call', Hyman does not indicate underlying tone consistently. At the end of his discussion, he cites the verb with lexical H tone (1985: 64, data 28a), disregarding his initial hypothesis of a final, floating L tone (1985: 48, data 1c). The floating L seems to be needed just to trigger his rules of "L-metathesis" and "!H-lowering". In a footnote (1985: 78, *fn*. 8), he justifies the floating L on morphological grounds, as an independent suffix which is present on a "nominal" infinitive [lə-tɔ́ŋ-]. This form contrasts with a "verbal" infinitive, otherwise identical, that lacks the suffix. The two infinitives select different concord for their complements: Class 1 Genitive concord is [ ], while the corresponding Accusative concord is [á]. Disregarding the nominalizing suffix, the phrases are as in (72).

72a. *'to call me (Acc.)'* [lə-tɔ́ŋ [á- ɣá]] → [lətɔ́ŋɔ́wá]

b. *'to call me (Gen.)'* [lə-tɔ́ŋ [- ɣá]] → [lə-!tɔŋ ɣǎ]

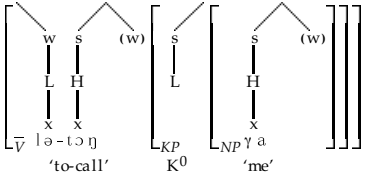
The phonetic output in (72a) is evidently straightforward, with rounding harmony spreading from the verb to its complement. In the output of (72b), the total downstep between L tones, and the spread of L onto the final syllable, must be accounted for. But an associative construction 'bird horn' lacks the L-spread:

73. *'bird horn'* [ǹ-dɔ́ŋ [- sáŋ]] → [ǹ!dɔ̀ŋ sáŋ] *[ǹ!dɔ̀ŋ sǎŋ]

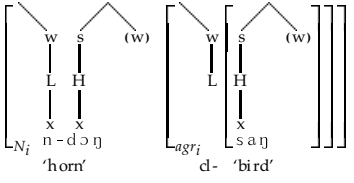
The phonetic discrepancy between (72b) and (73) raises a descriptive problem for Hyman. He posits a final floating L tone equally on both [lə-tɔ́ŋ-] and [ǹ-dɔ́ŋ], in the latter case presumably not on morphological grounds. But the two floating L tones do not have consistent phonetic consequences: both cause the preceding H tone to be downstepped (in his account), yet only the former triggers a rising tone on a class I complement. Moreover, he cites no syntactic or semantic difference for the twin types of infinitives.

In the framework developed in the preceding section, the difference between (72b) and (73) is not tonal but prosodic: a spreading L tone must occupy a [s] position. Given the generalization in (71), there is no way to preserve Hyman's "nominal infinitive" hypothesis. Rather, the phonetic difference reflects a property of the complement. There are a number of possible stories; for the present discussion, nothing much hinges on the choice, once it is clear that the "nominal infinitive" hypothesis does not justify a phonological floating tone suffix on a noun like 'horn'. The contrast between 'strong' and 'weak' pronouns is widespread in the Benua-Kwa family (cf. Oyèlárǎn 1970, Manfredi 1987), and the prosody of the object pronoun in (72b) makes it plausibly a strong metrical constituent. For concreteness, I represent the strong pronoun as a Kase Phrase, headed by an X^0 category (n.b. not a syntaxtic affix) which is metrically strong:

74a.

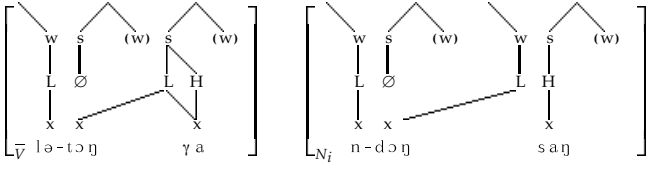


b.



The representations in (74) yield the correct phonetic outputs with two additional assumptions. At the accentual level, the OCP merges [$_s$ L] [$_s$ H] ⇒ [$_s$ LH], because the output is a well-formed configuration in this language, and the input is not, cf. (57a, 64c) above. At the timing level, the tonal prefix of the dependent category flops onto the final timing unit of its governing category, causing the already associated H tone to delink, creating total downstep (i.e. [$_s$ ∅]), cf. (75):

75.



I claim that the apparent leftward tone flop in (75) is the consequence of bringing the governee into the prosodic domain of its governing category. I portray this process informally as in (76a). Other data exemplify the reassociation in (76b). The two domain changes are not contradictory.

76. *prosodic cliticization*

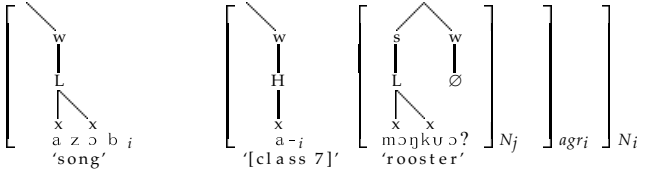
a. *domain allocation* An unassociated element acquires as its association domain the adjacent timing unit of its governing category.

b. *domain expansion* The association domain of the governing category expands to include one timing unit of the governee.

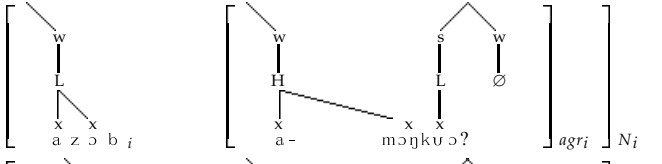
In the rest of this section, I show that (76) explains the phonetic alternations in the associative construction. The problem is to account for all possible tonal/metrical permutations of the structure in (66), where each noun ranges over the four patterns in (32-33), and the clitic is either of the elements in (67). Of the (4 x 4 x 2 =) 32 possibilities, 'bird horn' in (71) is one; I will consider four more. The example 'rooster song' combines a bisyllabic head noun of the prosodic shape [$_w$ L] with a bisyllabic [$_s$ L] dependent noun, linked by the class 7 (á-) prefix. Prosodic cliticization (76b) occurs in both cycles; in the outer cycle (40c), the reality of this process is attested not just by tone but by the forced spread of vowel features.

77. 'rooster song'

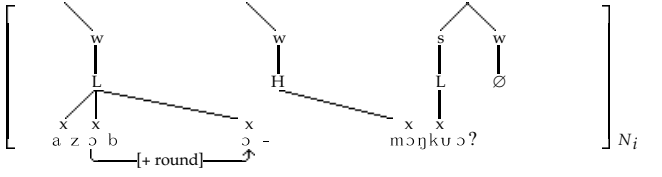
a.



b.



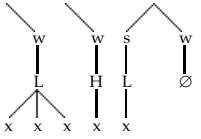
c.



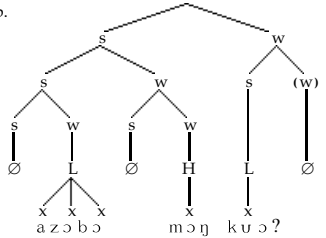
(77) shows three changes from UR: one on each level of representation, *except* on the tonal level: there are exactly zero tone rules involved, if 'tone rule' means a stipulation that affects the tonal tier. On the metrical level, (77a) shows that the H tone prefix occupies a weak position, in accordance with (71). On the timing level, (77b) and (77c) show the cyclic effects of prosodic cliticization (76b). The claim that this process is prosodically driven is supported by the fact that it is mirrored on the segmental level, by vowel assimilation. This parallelism of tonal and segmental reassociation under syntactic government is not accidental, as would be claimed by separate tone and vowel harmony rule. All other aspects of the representation, notably the tones, remain stable, subject only to the OCP. Phonetic interpretation requires that the three domains in

(78a) are metrically connected. This yields the superstructure in (78b), which is equivalent to the pitch interpretation notated by Hyman as in (78c):

78a.



b.



c. [à z ɔ̀ b ɔ̀ m ɔ̀ ŋ !k ʊ̀ ɔ̀ ʔ]

In (78a), well-formedness (cf. 60b) requires the projection of empty strong positions. Since a [$_w$ L] position directly precedes [$_w$ H], a [$_s$ ∅] position is interpolated between them as in (53), yielding a total downstep in (78b). Empty metrical positions cannot occur in lexical items; their appearance in phrasal contexts is forced by the conjunction of (60) and (61).

The rest of the Tadadjeu-Hyman data follow in the same way. The derivations in (81-83) are evidence for Bamba's (1984) proposal that the OCP respects prosodic structure. This can be formulated as in (79a), which can be viewed as a special case of (79b):

79a. The OCP requires both categorial identity and strict localty (metrical adjacency).

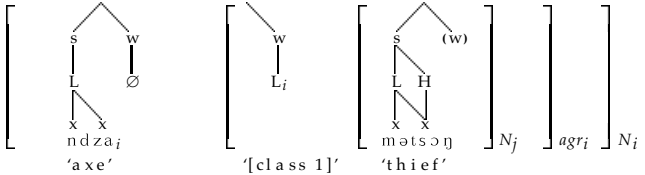
b. Structure-preservation: metrical governors are conserved.

In (81c), two L tones separated by a [$_w$ ∅] do not trigger the OCP. Identical tones in successive [s] positions are not metrically adjacent, but identical tones in adjacent branches of different feet are: [$_w$ L], [$_s$ L] ∅ [$_s$ L] in (81d) and [$_w$ H], [$_s$ H] ∅ [$_s$ H] in (83d). In (82c), [$_s$ H], [$_w$ H] ∅ [$_s$ H]. (79) wrongly predicts the merger of [$_w$ L], [$_s$ L] in the first cycle of (81). This merger does in fact occur, but only after the docking of [$_w$ L] in (81c). My proposal is (80):

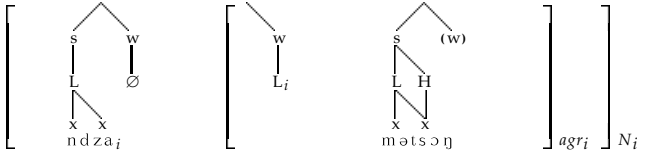
80. The OCP affects only pronounceable elements, i.e. those with non-null association domain.

With these assumptions, the remaining derivations yield Hyman's cited phonetic outputs.

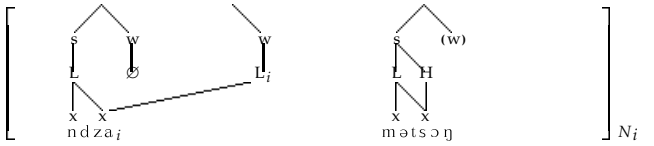
81a.



b.



c.



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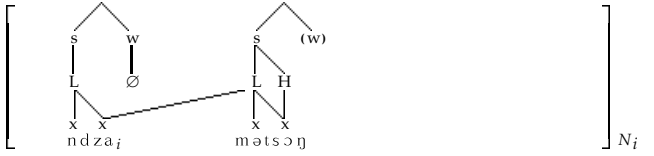
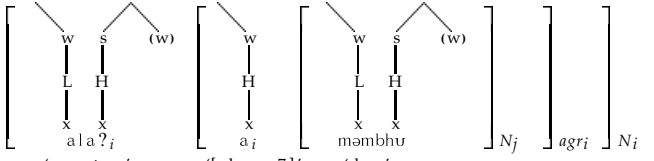
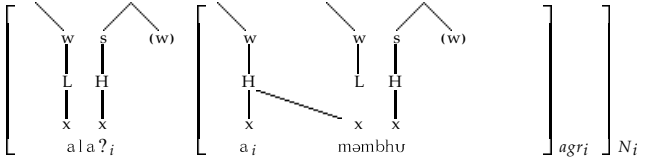


e. [ǹ d z à !à m ə̀ t s ɔ̌ ŋ] 'thieves' axe'

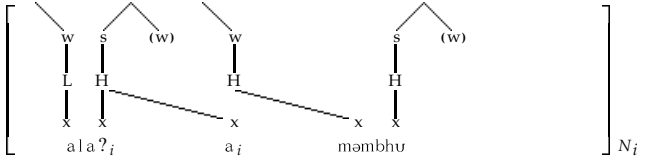
82a.



b.



c.



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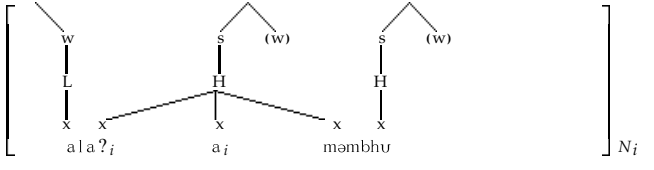
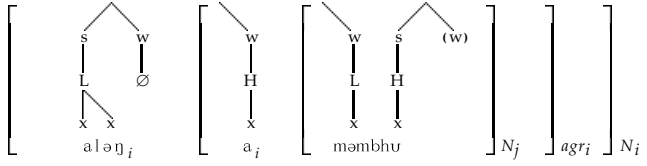
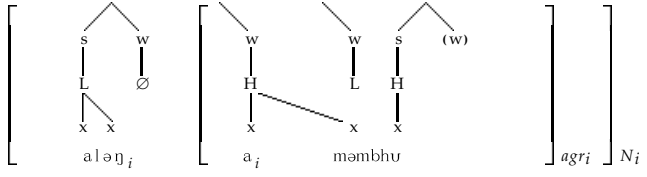


e. [à l á ʔ á m á m !b h ʊ́] 'dog country'

83a.



b.



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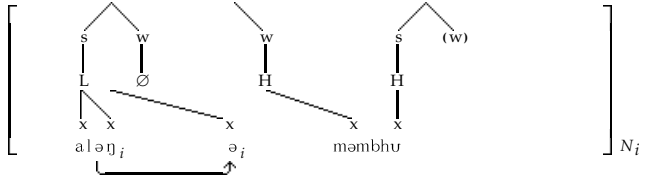

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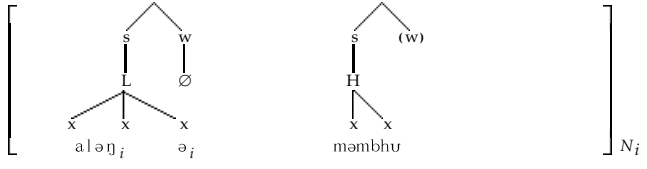
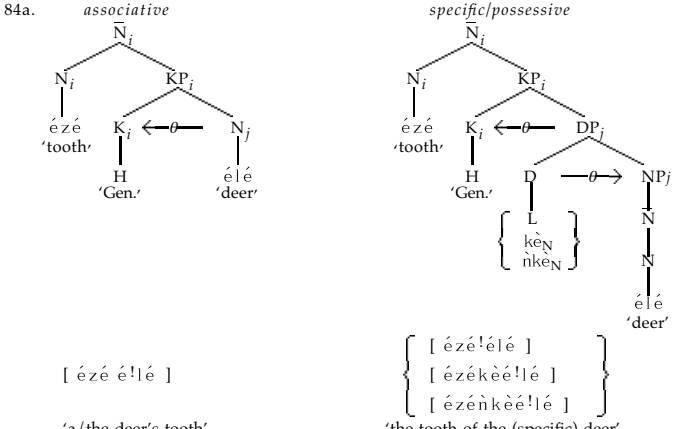


e. [à l ə ŋ à ! m á m b h ú] 'dog stool'

Ìgbo[68] has both an "associative" construction and a related construction, first described in Ward 1936, which has been dubbed "specific" insofar as the dependent noun bears the independent referential value of a specific entity. In the specific construction, if the dependent noun is personal, its thematic relationship to the head noun is possessor. Cf. (84):

[68] Within the Ìgbo-speaking area, there is parametric varition with respect to (64b); as indicated in (38), H tone spreads automatically onto L tone in western dialects. There is also metrical variation, most evident in the extreme eastern forms of the language spoken in the Cross River basin. In this section, I will stick to the standard language. A reminder: in this section only, tone marking is not orthographic: every syllable bears a tone mark, either H or L, and downstep is indicated [!].

84a.



[é z é é ! l é]

'a/the deer's tooth'

{ [é z é ! é l é] [é z é k è é ! l é] [é z é ǹ k è é ! l é] }

'the tooth of the (specific) deer'

Over the past three decades, most analyses of Ìgbo attributing some kind of autonomy to tonal representation (Welmers 1963, 1970; Voorhoeve *et al.* 1968; Williams 1971; Hyman 1976; Goldsmith 1976; Émènanjọ 1978; Clark 1982, 1989; Williamson 1986; Íhìọ́nú 1988) hold that the associative morpheme is a H tone. Two problems remain. First, there has never yet been a non-arbitrary account of the observed tonal effects of this morpheme. This is a matter of predicting a tonal change on either noun, both or neither, depending on their inherent tonality and morphological structure. Second, as is glaringly apparent in a licensing framework like government-binding theory, there is the fundamental question of how the H tone gets there in the first place.

Take the latter problem first. As with the associative construction in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, it is not that the associative morpheme needs to be licensed; rather, this morpheme licenses the dependent noun. The open question is the syntactic category of the associative morpheme. The proposal given in (66) for Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba cannot be maintained for Ìgbo, because Ìgbo nounclass morphology is purely vestigial, and the Ìgbo associative morpheme does not display any agreement alternations—unlike the Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba morpheme, cf. (67). An alternative proposal is given in (84a): the Ìgbo associative morpheme is a K^0 (Case) element which governs its complement, the dependent noun, in a KP (Kase Phrase), cf. Fukui 1986. Recall from (64c) that every H tone in Ìgbo projects a strong metrical position, so that the syntactic representation of the K^0 morpheme is [$_s$ H]. The automatic nature of the relationship between H tone and [s] position means that, in a language for which the setting of the parameter in (64c) is {no}, there is no informational loss if a morpheme composed of a single H tone element has no metrical structure in the lexicon.

The KP hypothesis is contentful to the extent that it has consequences for the rest of the grammar. In fact, it captures an important syntactic generalzation. As pointed out in different ways by Voorhoeve *et al.* 1968, Williams 1971, and Clark 1981, the noun complement of a perfective verb is also licensed by a H tone morpheme. If Ìgbo perfective verbs are intransitive (as argued in Capters 2 and 3 below), then every instance of the H tone morpheme spells out inherent (i.e.

genitive) Kase. Although Williams (1971: 481) explicitly discounts the idea of unifying the two morphemes, this conclusion is forced by Lieber's constraint that homophonous, distinct lexical entries, are possible in a morpheme-based framework just if they

> share *only* phonological representation… [and] have neither category, nor semantic representation, nor any argument structure or diacritics in common. (1981: 179)[69]

The two H tone morphemes share the categorial property of selecting a noun complement, and are both right-branching; this forces the learner to assign them to an identical lexical entry.[70]

Thematically, there is no difference between the associative constructions of Ìgbo and Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba—or, for that matter, with the Semitic construct state (Borer 1987, 1989): the dependent noun has no independent referential value, and the semantic range of the construction accordingly includes idiosyncratic (i.e. lexical) compounds. I propose that the K^0, inherently nonreferential, inherits the referential index of its governor, so that the "autonymous" θ-marking of N_i by N_j, is mediated by $K^0{}_i$.

(84b) in turn differs from (84a) in the referential value of the dependent noun. The most straightforward way to represent this, following Abney 1987, is to say that the complement of K^0 is a DP, where the D is spelled out either as a tonal morpheme or as the possessional noun (ǹ)ke 'portion; the one of' (from the verb -*kè* 'allocate, divide'). Most determiners in the language follow the NP, but the pre-nominal position of (*ǹ*)*ke* is made more plausible by the fact that *ǹke* is itself a noun, so that its complement is expected on the right.

Beginning with the associative construction, the tone alternations exhibit phenomena which are closely parallel to those seen in Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, in particular the effects of prosodic cliticization as in (76). The effects of one further constraint are notable in the data:

85. *metrical projection constraint* A metrical constituent must be linked to (a) or (b):
   a. a timing unit (i.e. via a nonzero tone);
   b. a zero tone (if the language allows zero tones).

In a pure partial downstep language like Ìgbo, since zero tones are not licensed, cf. (64c), the relevant case is (85a). (85a) is vacuously satisfied by the representation of a purely tonal morpheme in the lexicon, since metrical structure is redundant for such a morpheme and no constituent can be said to exist. In a language such as Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba, in which tones are freely

[69] A potential counterexample, suggested to me by Lisa Selkirk, is the English suffix with the phonetic alternants [-s, -z, -əz], which stands for three different morphemes: Noun plural, Noun possessive and 3sg nonpast Agreement. But this example actually shows the validity of Lieber's constraint: if they are three separate morphemes, it is because they are in complementary syntactic distribution: respectively K, D and I. The three morphemes thus share only phonetics, and have neither syntax nor semantics in common, as required. Williams 1971 argues that an anti-homophony constraint is inappropriate for tonal morphemes since tones comprise a very small "alphabet" of phonological units, but this simply begs the question of whether the lexicon is morpheme-based or word based.

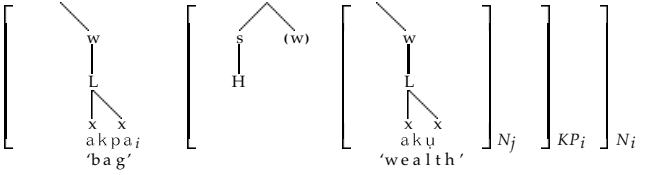
Another questionable instance of homophony concerns Ìgbo Infl. Green and Ígwè 1963, Winston 1973 and Nwáchukwu 1976 posit a handful of Ìgbo inflectional morphemes, each spelled out by a toneless -*rV* (where *V* copies last vowel of the stem). However, Welmers 1973, Émènanjọ 1976, Ézikeọjịàkụ 1979 and Ụ̀waláàka 1981 observe that -*rV* homophony leads to underanalysis, since the nonpast -*rV* occurs only with noneventive verbs (cf. §3.1 below).

[70] At a deeper level, the Ìgbo H tone, like English -*en* (Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989), is a clitic: it spells out an internal argument position and absorbs structural Case. It may not be accidental that both English -*en* and Ìgbo [$_s$ H] are detransitivizing as well as aspectually perfective.

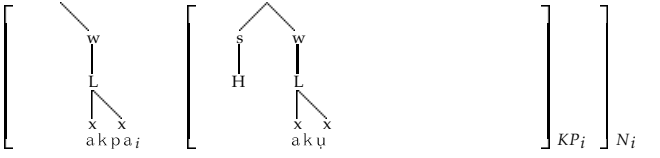
distributed in metrical positions (subject to independent constraints), (85) also rules out the presence in the lexicon of metrical structure on tonal morphemes composed of a single tone element. It is thus interesting to observe a generalization such as (71), which permits the metrical structure of these elements to be determined post-lexically on a morphological basis in such a language.

Postlexically, (85) affects the association domain of the K^0 morpheme. Contrast two examples. In (86), both nouns bear L tone throughout. KP is governed by N_i, and K^0 is not governed by N_j, so (76) predicts that the [$_s$ H] morpheme cliticizes to its left; this in fact occurs, cf. the outer cycle (86c). No tone association is required on the inner cycle (86b): the associative morpheme satisfies (85a) by linking through its [w] position to the already associated initial L tone of N_j.

86a.



b.



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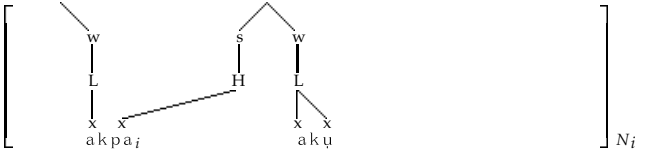
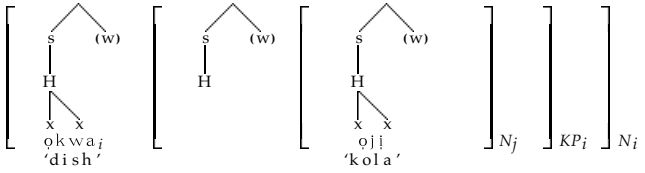


d. [àkpáàkụ̀] 'bag of riches'

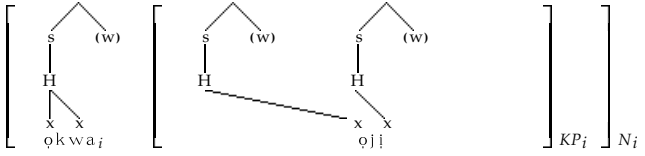
Now consider an example in which both nouns bear H tone throughout. In (87), cliticization occurs in the inner cycle (87b), causing a downstep between the two skeletal points. There is no other way for the associative morpheme to satisfy the metrical WFC (85a).[71]

[71] Unlike what occurs in Ɣɔmalá÷-Yamba, vowel sasimilation in Ìgbo is regularly regressive, so the flop of vowel features seen in (87c) says nothing about prosodic government; certainly it does not indicate that N_j governs N_i. The cross-linguistic difference in assimilation is doubtless related to the difference in syllable structure; there are essentially zero closed syllables in Ìgbo.

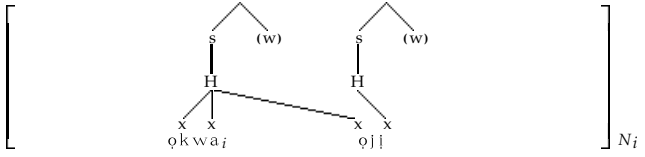
87a.



b.



c.

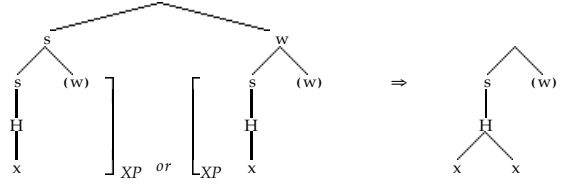


d. [ọkwọ́ọ́!jí] 'kola dish'

The absence of downstep between N_i and KP is due to an independent fact about Ìgbo (and other pure partial downstep languages, but which doesn't hold, for example, in Kishambaa, cf. Odden 1982): consecutive words respectively ending and beginning with H tone are not separated by downstep. This can be stated as a parametric condition on prosodic domains, cf. (88a). Its relevant effect is sketched in (88b); some examples are given in (88c), vs. (88d) where no violation occurs.[72]

88a. *prosodic rhythm parameter* Timing units separated by a maximal projection (XP) can be metrically distinct iff tonally distinct: {on}, {off}

b.



c. [$\overline{N}$ ónyé [$_{AP}$ ọ́má]] 'good person' [ónyọ́ọ́ma] *[ónyọ́!ọ́ma]
person good

[$\overline{V}$ í-!tá [$_{NP}$ ọjí]] 'to chew kola' [í!tọ́ọjí] *[í!tọ́!ọjí]
to-chew kola

[$\overline{D}$ [$_{NP}$ ọjí] áhụ̀] 'that kola' [ọjyááhụ̀] *[ọjyá!áhụ̀]
kola Det

[72] For an approach to these problems which does not assume the OCP, cf. Clark 1989.

d. [$\overline{N}$ óbì [$_{AP}$ ọ́má]] 'good heart' [óbyọ́ọ́ma]
person good

[$\overline{V}$ í-chè [$_{NP}$ ọ́jí]] 'to present kola' [íchọ́ọ́jí]
to-present kola

[$\overline{D}$ [$_{NP}$ óbì] áhụ̀] 'that heart' [ọ́byàáhụ̀]
heart Det

The alternations in (86-87) are the tonal effects of the associative morpheme, but a number of independent phenomena also occur in associative constructions. Notable among these is a process which Clark 1980 calls "smoothing": the initial L tone of an LH nominal complement delinks, creating a [!HH] contour, after H, cf. (89). The forms in (90) show that this change is unrelated to the associative morpheme. (90a) shows that no associative morpheme follows an infinitive, or else we would find a downstep before the second syllable of 'kola'; yet LH smoothing occurs in that context, cf. (90b):

89a. [ọ́kwá [´[ụgbá]]] 'oil-bean dish' [ọ́kwụ́!ụgbá]
dish K oil.bean

b. [àkpà [´[ụgbá]]] 'bag of/for oil-bean' [àkpụ́!ụgbá]
bag K oil.bean

90a. [í-!tá [ọjí]] 'to chew kola' [í!tọ́ọjí] *[í!tọ́ọ!jí]
to-chew kola

b. [í-!tá [ụgbá]] 'to chew oil-bean' [í!tụ́ụgbá]
to-chew oil.bean

Finally, as Williamson succinctly observes, "[t]he tones of the Specific construction operate identically with the Associative if an initial H of N_2 is replaced by L" (1986: 188). This replacement follows directly from the representation in (84b) with [$_w$ L] occupying the D position, given (85a). To satisfy metrical well-formedness, the L tone must take over the association domain of the initial tone of the dependent noun. (If the dependent noun is L-initial, the effect is vacuous, and the specific form is identical to the associative.)

The "third" monosyllabic tone class in Igboid A number of dialects attest a third underlying tone class of monosyllabic verbs, in addition to the two tone classes (H and L) found in other dialects and in standard Ìgbo. Williamson 1983b shows that the lexical membership of the three classes is consistent across Igboid in all those dialects which have them; and in dialects with just two classes, all potential members of the third class belong to the H class. Although three classes can be derived mechanically with floating tones, this would imply at least four logical possibilities, but only three are ever attested. The metrical analysis developed above suggests a more constrained analysis. [$_s$ L] being ruled out independently by (64a): L cannot be a metrical governor. The three remaining possibilities are [$_w$ L] and [$_s$ H] and [$_w$ H]; the third of these, while possible, is marked and merges with one or the other of the first two, depending on the context. In this section, I will account for data from the literature on Ḿbàìsén and Ọ̀gbakịrị.[73]

[73] Émènanjọ (1981) describes three tone classes of monosyllabic verbs in Òwerẹ́, whose tonal behavior is closely similar to, but not identical to, that found in Ḿbàìsén.

In Ḿbàìsén, as described by Swift *et al.* 1962, Nwáchukwu 1983a, the tonal behavior of the three verb classes combined with various derivational and inflectional morphemes is shown in (91). Each of the verbs 'fall', 'walk' and 'eat' represents a tone class. Ḿbàìsén (among other dialects) has phonetic lowering of sentence-final downstepped H. In (91), the forms in square brackets give the lowered pronunciation.[74]

91.

		'fall'	'walk (to)'		'eat'	
a.	*imperative*	dhàá	jḥèé		ríe	
	indicative (3sg. subject)	ọ́ dhàra	ó jḥère		ó ríri	[ó rìrì ##]
b.	*participle*	ádḥà	èjḥé		èrí	
	infinitive	ídḥà	íjḥé	[íjḥè ##]	írí	[írì ##]
	negative imperative	ádḥàla	éjḥéle	[éjḥèlè ##]	éríle	[érìlè ##]
	negative indicative (lexical subject)	ádḥàghị	éjḥéghi	[éjḥèlè ##]	érígh i	[érìghì ##]
	negative indicative (3sg. subject)	ọ̀ dhágh ị	ò jḥéghí	[ò jḥéghì ##]	ò rígh í	[ò rígh ì ##]
c.	*gerund*	ọ̀dḥidḥa	òjḥijḥé		òríri	

The first set of forms (91a) shows a two-way split in tonal behavior. In the imperative, formed with a H tone suffix, the root is pronounced low in both the 'fall' and 'walk' classes, but high in the 'eat' class. In the indicative, formed with the toneless *-rV* suffix, the same split is found.[75] Sentence-finally, where the downstepped H in the indicative of the 'eat' class is subject to phonetic lowering, the three classes are pronounced the same.

The second set of forms (91b) shows a different two-way split. Except for the 3sg indicative negative, the 'fall' class has L tone on the root, while in both the 'walk' class and the 'eat' class the root has H. In the 3sg indicative negative, the expected prefix H tone is displaced onto the root, and the expected root tone (L for 'fall', H for 'walk' and 'eat') is displaced onto the negative suffix. As in (91a), a sentence-final downstepped H is phonetically lowered, superficially merging the three classes in that context.

In the gerund (91c), formed by reduplicating the stem consonant plus a high vowel, the three classes are phonetically distinct. The tone of the gerund can be described as follows: the root in (91c) bears the same tone that the root has in (91b), while the high vowel infix of (91c) bears the same tone that the root has in (91a).[76]

The analysis now proceeds. First consider the fact that, in sentence-final position in Ḿbàìsén, a downstepped H tone is pronounced L. In metrical formalism, such a H tone would be represented as weak: [$_w$ H]. Weakened H, while not generally possible in a partial downstep system, is strictly speaking not ruled out by the parameters in (64). Rather, it is possible only in final contexts; nonfinally, it leads to ill-formedness as shown in (54). Nevertheless, the weakening of H in final position is not found in all partial downstep systems; it can be expressed as a domain condition:

[74] Forms in square brackets have phonetic, not orthographic tone marking: every syllable bears either [´] or [`], and downstep is marked [!]. For part of Èzínàíhìte Ḿbàìsén, P. A. Nwáchukwu (p.c.) notes tonal variation in the 'fall' class which, while important, goes beyond the scope of the present discussion.

[75] Indicative is Émènanjọ's term for the *-rV* verbform, dubbed "factative" by Welmers 1968. This suffix is discussed by Winston 1973 and Nwáchukwu 1976b; cf. also §3.1.2 below.

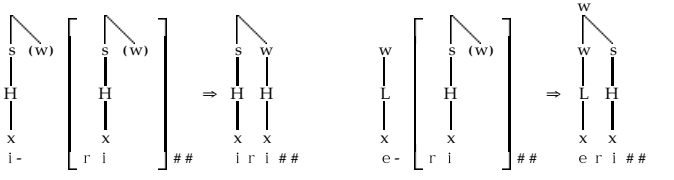
[76] Émènanjọ 1975a and Williamson 1984b describe the gerund in detail.

92. *minimal foot parameter* A minimal prosodic domain contains both a governor and a governee: {on}, {off}

The observation is that a sentence-final H, if metrically strong, thereby violates (92), since there is no subsequent tonal material for it to govern. A paraphrase of the parameter is therefore as follows: "You {can/can't} end a sentence with a [s] position."

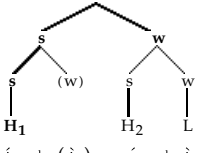
To satisfy (92), a sentence-final H must incorporate in the preceding [w] position. There are two possibilities. If the penultimate tone is also H (i.e. if the final H is downstepped), then there is an unoccupied, governed [w] position which is available for the final H. If the penultimate tone is L, then the sentence-final H must adjoin to it. These possibilities are shown in (93), which represents the sentence-final pronunciation of the infinitive and participle of 'eat'. In each case, the left side of the arrow violates (92), the right side satisfies it.

93. *final H incorporated into preceding* [$_w$ ∅] *final H adjoined to preceding* [$_w$ L]



By definition, a nonfinal H tone cannot violate (92), because there is always a subsequent [w] position. In other words, the licensing of nonfinal empty [w] position is unexceptional in partial downstep systems. This can be seen in (94). In the example, parentheses indicate phonetic elision of a rime along with its L tone. Despite the loss of its immediate governee, the tone labeled H_1 does not violate (92), because its metrical government domain extends along the path indicated in boldface, to include a governee.

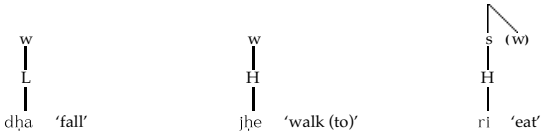
94.



í c h (ì) ọ́ c h ị́ [í c h ! ọ́ c h ị́] 'to laugh'

The above discussion of (92-93) shows that [$_w$ H] is possible in Ḿbàìsén, in at least one (fairly restricted) context. [$_w$ L] and [$_s$ H], by contrast, are freely available in any partial downstep system, apart from the parametric occurrence of minor restrictions like (92). The fourth logical possibility, [$_s$ L], is ruled out absolutely for all partial downstep systems, including all dialects of Ìgbo, by the metrical government parameter (64a). Since [$_w$ H], while marked, is not ruled out in principle in Ḿbàìsén, one can ask if it arises anywhere else, other than in sentence-final position after H. Another potential instance of [$_w$ H] in Ḿbàìsén is the third lexical tone class. The metrical analysis of the three lexical tone classes follows:

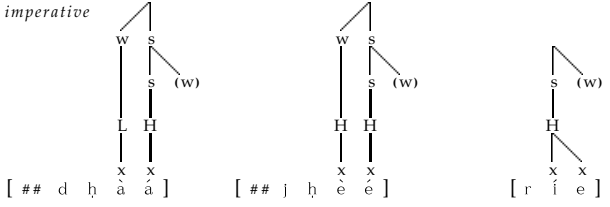
95.



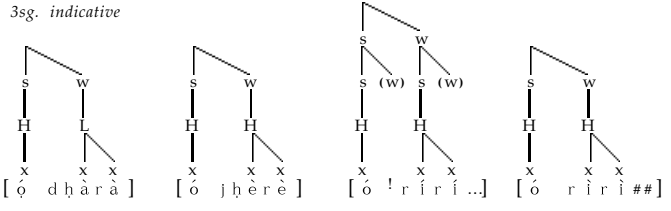
[$_w$ H] is possible for a monosyllabic lexical item, since prosodic domains are not defined in such a context; but, because H is the metrical governor in a partial downstep language, [$_w$ H] is metrically marked. This is interesting, because in dialects like Ọ̀nịcha which have just two tone classes of monosyllabic verbs, the 'walk' class is merged with the 'eat' class, not with the 'fall' class. In other words, the metrical account of the third class treats it as a species of H rather than of L, and dialects which lack the third class show that this is the correct generalization.[77]

Consider again the forms in (91a). In Ḿbàìsén, with either a H tone suffix (as in the imperative) or no tonal suffix (as in the indicative) verbs of the 'fall' and 'eat' classes retain their inherent tone, respectively L and H. But in the same context, a verb of the 'walk' class is phonetically low. If 'walk' verbs are underlyingly [$_w$ H], this lowering can be compared to the sentence final lowering of [$_w$ H], characteristic of Ḿbàìsén. In other words, the lowering of the 'walk' class verbs roots in the imperative and indicative might be viewed as a second consequence of the well-formedness parameter in (92), independent of the fact of phrase-final lowering which suggested it in the first place. To examine that possibility, consider the metrical representations of the indicative and imperative, given in (96).

96a. *imperative*



b. *3sg. indicative*



In the imperative (96a), both the 'fall' class and the 'walk' class begin with a [w] position, while the 'eat' class begins with a [s] position. But the parameter in (92) rules out a stray initial

[77] Ǹnééwi, which is geographically between Ọ̀nịcha and Ḿbàìsén, has a vestigial third tone class. In Igboid there are the three verbs 'to be', which in Ǹnééwi have the following shapes: *nọ́* 'be.at', *dú* 'be.describable as', *wú* '[copula]'. Émènanjọ (1981: 257) reports a three-way tonal contrast among these verbs in the 3sg indicative negative: *ọ́ nọ̀họ*, *ọ́ dúhọ̀*, *ọ́ wúhọ* (orthographic tone marking).

[w]. The simplest way for an initial [w] to satisfy (92) is to adjoin to the following [s]. The representations in (95) and the independent parameter in (92) account for the fact that the 'fall' and 'walk' classes pattern together in the imperative.

In the 3sg. indicative (96b), the clitic subject bears H tone, which metrically governs the prosodic domain of the verb. The tonal difference between the verb classes arises because the two classes which are metrically [w] (i.e. 'fall' and 'walk') form the immediate sister to the [s] poition of the subject, while the class which is metrically [s] (i.e. 'eat') must thereby constitite a separate domain, i.e. a downstep intervenes between the clitic subject and the verb. As noted, this downstep is lost sentence-finally, as already discussed.

In the forms in (91b), 'walk' and 'eat' pattern tonally together against 'fall'. Evidently the metrical distinction between [$_w$ H] and [$_s$ H] is not crucial in these forms, although (96) shows that it is crucial in the forms in (91a). This difference can only be understood in terms of the different affixes involved in the two cases. The forms in (91b) involve suffixes, one toneless and one composed of H tone. While some of the forms in (91b) involve toneless suffixes, all of them involve prefixes.

In the participle, the prefix tone is opposite (or 'polar') in category (H or L) to that of the root. (This excludes the so-called 'obligative' participle, which Émènanjọ 1981 shows to be a true nominal.) The other forms in (91b) all involve a prefix which bears H tone; this is true even for the 3sg indicative negative, once it is seen that the prefix tone is displaced onto the root in this form. The negative forms all have a toneless suffix, either *-ghị/ghi* and *-la/le*.

The Ìgbo participle, which roughly translates English *-ing*, is fully productive; however, unlike the Ìgbo infinitive and gerund, it is not a free form.[78] Green and Ígwè (1963: 170*f*.) observe that a participle is always the complement of an auxiliary verb (although in western dialects, Émènanjọ 1981 notes, the main verb complement of some auxiliaries is prefixless). This observation includes the so-called Bound Verb Complement, as well as the Perfective verb base. The obligatorily dependent status of the participle offers a way to understand the polar (contextually determined) tone of its prefix, versus the inherent tone of the prefixes of the other derivatives (the infinitive prefix bears H tone, the gerund prefix bears L tone, etc.).

On the hypothesis that the participle prefix is underlyingly toneless, then, given that the participle is not a free form, it follows that the surface tone of the participle prefix is not determined in isolation. Rather, it must be determined in its minimal prosodic domain, which includes the syntactic governor. This is so because a prosodic domain requires a syntactic constituent. Although the last statement is not universally subscribed to (cf. Nespor and Vogel 1986), it is the null hypothesis (cf. Giegerich 1985). This explains why it is just the participle, the one verbal derivative which is not a free form, which exhibits tone polarity.[79]

[78] This fact led Nwáchukwu 1976a to reject the term participle (rightly). Its use has, however, acquired the force of tradition in Ìgbo grammar, possibly because the form often translates English *-ing*.

[79] The literature describes another verbal derivative which is not a free form: the bound verb complement (BVC). This terminology does not challenge the prosodic generalization just stated, however, since the BVC is homophonous with the participle, i.e. the BVC prefix also exhibits tone polarity. Indeed, as remarked in the previous footnote, Nwáchukwu 1976a already described the Ìgbo 'participle' as a bound verb. One reason that the participle and the BVC may have received different names in the literature is that they can cooccur in a single predicate; but in a syntactic framework which allows for head movement, the BVC can be thought of as a resumptive lexicalization of the verb trace, cf. §3.1.2.

Accordingly, the tone polarity of the participle prefix can be understood as follows. It has been observed that the so-called participle always complements a finite auxiliary. And in Ìgbo, a finite auxiliary always appears in the factative form; this fact is important because, in Ìgbo, an auxiliary verb can have no tonal suffix.[80] And if, by hypothesis, the participle prefix is toneless, this means the root tone of the Aux is always adjacent to the root tone of the participle. Now the Aux syntactically governs its complement, the participle. It would seem reasonable, in this circumstance, to require that the Aux should prosodically govern the root of the participle. It remains to consider how such a requirement might be met, for the three verb classes, to explain why the participle prefix must bears the tone opposite to that of the root.

If the verb root of the participle is [*w* L], the prefix is H. If the prefix were L, then the OCP would merge the prefix and the root into the domain of a single tone. But this would prevent the Aux from prosodically governing the verb root of the participle, since the participle prefix now shares the prosodic constituent of the root. The only remaining possibility, which guarantees that the participle root has its own prosodic constituent, is that the participle prefix must bear H tone.

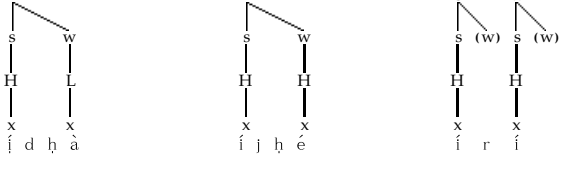
If the verb root of the participle is [*w* H], the prefix is L. If the prefix were H, it might be [*w* H] or [*s* H]. If the prefix were [*w* H], the OCP would merge its tone with that of the root, blocking prosodic government by the Aux as in the preceding paragraph. And if the prefix were [*s* H], this itself would prosodically govern the root, forming a minimality barrier to government by the Aux. The only remaining possibility, which guarantees that the participle root has its own prosodic constituent, is that the participle prefix must bear L tone.

If the verb root of the participle is [*s* H], the prefix is L. If the prefix were H, it might be [*w* H] or [*s* H]. If the prefix were [*w* H], the OCP would merge its tone with that of the root, blocking prosodic government by the Aux as before. If the prefix were [*s* H], the OCP would also merge its tone with that of the root, blocking prosodic government by the Aux. The only remaining possibility, which guarantees that the participle root has its own prosodic constituent, is that the participle prefix must bear L tone.

The above reasoning is frankly speculative. If it is conceptually flawed, there is a phonological approach available in a system like Clark's (1989), which employs the mechanism of default tone insertion. However, a purely phonological approach can never explain why the phenomenon oftone polarity occurs just in a syntactically bound form.

For the remaining forms in (91b), the H prefix directly licenses the lexical tone of the root, as in these infinitive forms, all of which satisfy (92) without further comment:

97.



[80] Auxes are stative (i.e. non-eventive) verbs, and like some stative main verbs they do not require the -rV suffix unless they denote past time; this is discussed in §3.1.2.

In sentence-final position, the phonetic effect of (92), as represented for 'to eat' in (93), is correctly predicted for 'to walk'. If, on the other hand, the infinitive is non-final, the pitch of the final syllable will remain downstepped H, for both 'to walk' and 'to eat'.

In the 3sg. negative indicative, a prefix H tone displaces the stem tone, which in turn surfaces on the suffix; this can be captured by any autosegmental analysis. As in other Kwa languages, this rightward tonal displacement is triggered by the clitic subject (cf. Ámáyó 1976).

The three distinct tonal shapes of the gerunds in (91c) can be predicted if the reduplication process has a metrical formulation, viz: reduplication copies tonal material iff it is metrically strong; otherwise, the L tone of the prefix spreads onto the reduplicated syllable.

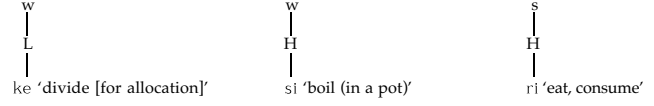
The lexical tonal classes in Ọ̀gbakịrị are similar to those of Ḿbàisén; what differs are the individual verb affixes and the phonetic outputs. In Ọ̀gbakịrị, the three classes are phonetically distinct in all contexts. Wórùkwó 1983 cites four forms of the infinitive: with null complement, with a bound verb complement that adds emphasis (hence the gloss 'really'), with a lexical complement (here the noun *wírí* 'food'), and with both kinds of complement.[81]

98. Ọ̀gbakịrị

	ékèé	*to divide [for allocation]*	èsíì	*to boil*	èrí	*to eat, consume*
	ékèé ekèé	*to really divide*	èsí esìì	*to really boil*	èrí erí	*to really eat*
	ékèé wíri	*to divide food*	èsí wíri	*to boil food*	èrí wíri	*to eat food*
ékèé wíri èkeé		*to really divide food*	èsí wíri esìì	*to really boil food*	èrí wíri eri	*to really eat food*

The behavior of these three tone classes follows from the same underlying forms posited for Ḿbàisén in (95) above, assuming a domain condition something like (100):

99.



100. *minimal base parameter* A derivational base prosodically governs its affixes: {on}, {off}

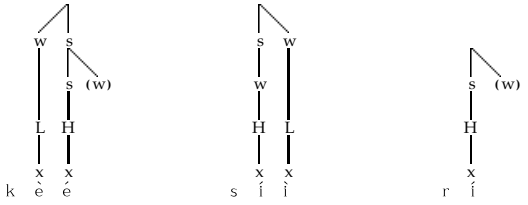
(100) requires that, in derived forms, the base contains a metrical goveror. The 'eat' class of verbs, with an underlying [*s* H], satisfies (100) with no further comment. For the 'divide' class, with an underlying [*w* L], the minimal way to satisfy (100) is by suffixing a [*s* H], to which the root [*w* L] adjoins. The most interesting case is the 'boil' class, with its marked, underlying [*w* H]. The question is what additional structure will give a metrical governor.

I will assume, as throughout this work, that phonology respects structure preservation, so there is no possibility of changing the tone or metrical strength of the root. This leaves two possibilities: suffix [*s* H] or [*w* L]. If [*s* H] is suffixed, the result is a sequence of [*w* H] [*s* H]. But this still does not satisfy (100), because this [*s* H] would not be adjacent to a prefix, and hence could not govern it. The other possibility is to suffix [*w* L]. Recall from the discussion of Ɣɔmalá?-Yamba that [*w* L] is the only element which can be governed by [*w* H]. Accordingly, as the metrical governor of [*w* L],

[81] Any lexical complement must precede the bound verb complement (BVC) if any. The same restriction holds in Ḿbàisén, and indeed throughout Igboid (except in Ágbọ̀, where there is no BVC). On the syntax of the BVC, cf. Émènanjọ 1975a, 1984; Nwáchukwu 1985, 1987c; Íhìọ́nụ́ 1989a and §3.1.2 below.

the [$_{w}$ H] can project a higher [s] position, satisfying (100). The well formed lexical bases of the three tone classes are given in (101).

101. *bases*



Prosodic typology

A natural question is how the prosodic typology of Benue-Kwa, as sketched above, relates to other languages. Before Bamba proposed that tone was sensitive to metrical structure, metrical formalism was restricted to the analysis of stress languages. In autosegmental theory, pitch accent languages like Japanese and some Benue-Congo languages were represented by means of accentual diacritics on tone melodies (cf. Haraguchi 1975, Clements and Goldsmith (eds.) 1983).

There is a typological generalization about metrical structure which strongly suggests that Bamba is correct. Informally, "tone languages" seem to have one of two typological properties: either their basic syllable structure is CV (as in the Kwa languages), or their basic word structure is monosyllabic (as in Chinese). In a functional sense, this means that tone languages do not "need" metrical structure to attach to syllabic constituents, either because all syllables have nonbranching rimes (i.e. are monomoraic) as in Kwa, or because all words are prosodically nonbranching (as in Chinese). In all these languages, metrical structure is "available" to attach to tones.

"Stress" languages, on the other hand, have both of the opposite properties: a wide variety of surface syllable types (e.g. CV, CVC, CVV, and possibly others) and polysyllabic words. In all these languages, that is, metrical structure is unavailable to attach to tones. But, as argued by Jibril 1984, there is no reason to suppose that "stress" languages lack tone features. It would be a strange world indeed if some human languages possessed phonological features which were unknown in other human languages. It is more reasonable to suppose that "stress" languages have tone features, but since these features cannot attach to metrical structures, the result is what has been called intonation, i.e. "semantic" control of pitch. Conversely, it would be strange to think that "tone" languages were simply deprived of metrical structure. What would it mean to say that a speaker of a tone language did not "possess" metrical structure as part of her knowledge of language? How about those people who are bilingual in a "tone" language and a "stress" language? Do they keep different sets of phonological features in different parts of their brains?

The alternative to this conceptual nightmare is the position adopted by Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1985, 1987), among others, namely that there is a universal inventory of phonological elements, among which are numbered tones, and a universal "syntax" of these elements, including the principles underlying syllable structure and metrical structure. What differs from one language to another is not the inventory of these elements and principles, but the parameters which govern their interrelationship. Accordingly, I propose the following parameter

to account for the difference between "stress" languages and "tone" languages, consistent with the metrical analysis of Benue-Kwa tone as presented here:

102. *prosodic linking parameter* The units to to which metrical structures attach are: {tones}, {rimes}

In the formulation of (102), the choice of "rimes" instead of "syllables" reflects the consensus that syllable onsets are metrically irrelevant.

Obviously, a parameter like (102) is just the beginning. Prosodic typology has to account for phenomena like pitch accent, stress timing vs. syllable timing etc. But the limitations of (102) should not obscure its basic claim: that phonological typology can be explanatory, i.e. can be cognitively based. In the same vein, I will conclude my discussion of tone with some comments on the role of explanation in the relationship between phonology and syntax.

Prosody and syntax

Wherever notions like the foot or the phonological phrase are of interest in the formalization of phonological processes, they turn out either to be relationally defined or to coincide with syntactic structure.
— Giegerich (1985: 10)

The above analyses of a range of nominal and verbal constructions in Ɣɔmalá-Yamba and Ìgbo lack the arbitrariness of earlier proposals. In my analyses, rules are eliminated, representations are constrained by universal principles, and language particular phenomena are captured in a small handful of parameters with independent empirical content. In implementing these cognitive goals, it has been necessary to make a number of proposals concerning the relationship between tonal and metrical elements. The role of metrical structure is central in determining tone association domain, and syntax is clearly relevant in this connection. In retrospect, it is not surprising that tonologists could not explain the "associative construction", since they had never proposed a syntax for the "associative marker".

In recognition of the syntactic nature of tone domains, I have called the metrical effects of syntax on tone association *prosodic*. Many rule-based accounts of tone languages also posit prosodic domains, but here Occam's razor comes in. An analysis with both rules and prosody is less explanatory than one with just prosody.

At another remove, there is the question of where prosody comes from. Nespor and Vogel 1986 claim that prosodic domains are a form of representation *sui generis*, while Clark 1989 has argued that prosodic domains are none other than syntactic phrases. I agree with Clark on this point. Where I differ with Clark is in the nature of the relationship between tone and syntax: for her, syntax directly triggers the application of tone rules, whereas I have shown that many tone rules express—in a completely stipulatory way—the mediating effect of metrical structure, which has a principled basis. However, Clark and I agree that there is no need to construct a special, prosodic level of representation, in the manner of Nespor and Vogel, to account for tone association. Surveying metrical phonology in stress languages, Giegerich also reaches a negative conclusion regarding the existence of prosodic structure as an autonomous derivational level.

The strands of the overall argument converge in the phenomenon of prosodic cliticization (76) and in the a kind of prosodic OCP effect in (88a). I have called the latter effect rhythmic in homage to Liberman and Prince; it requires a certain degree of prosodic contrast at a major

constituent boundary. Since tone projects metrical structure, it is the metrical structure which adjusts. In both phenomena, it is necessary to state a direct relationship between syntax and metrical structure. Something would be lost in attributing prosodic effects like (76) and (88) to the mediation of a special prosodic constituent structure.

In postulating the *simultaneous* presence of different subtypes of the government relation (phrasal, metrical, tonal, syllabic…), phonology becomes an important source of syntactic information, just as syntax can be seen to motivate phonological processes. This conclusion leads to considerations of Ìgbo syntax, just as I was led to study Ìgbo syntax by my pursuit of an understanding of Ìgbo tone. Or, as Chief Àgbáṣọ́ọ̀gụn of Ìdumu-Úku, Ágbọ̀, put it one day in 1977, with the following proverb:

103. Ị́ hụ anú, ị́ achụ́kẹme ẹ́. Ị́ámárin hụ́ ị asẹ̀kà gbú. Kẹ́ ọ́kụ rị èrén ẹ́, ị́ámárin o!
'If you see an animal, you take off in hot pursuit. You don't know [in advance] which [animal] you can kill. Whether it is wounded in the leg, you don't know!'

2

Lexical domains

Now as before in two articles a *and* the, *the whole construction of the Latins was contained; so their whole rection is by prepositions nearhand declared.*

Ben Jonson, *English Grammar* 1636

Throughout the 1960's and 70's, the research program of generative grammar was driven by the concept of rule systems. While far from novel (cf. Kiparsky 1979 on Pāṇini), this concept did depart from the classical European idea of grammar as *construction* and *rection*[1], as well as from the commonsense notion that to know a language is to know its words. But over the past decade, in both syntax and phonology, the generative framework has turned away from rule-based formalism to recover essentials of the classical and commonsense viewpoints.

In the resulting picture of knowledge of language, lexical entries are central in two respects. Argument structure—the array of thematic relations which license underlying phrase structure (d-structure)—is not an autonomous representation. Rather, it reduces to the selectional and predicational content of lexical categories (V, P, A, N). Syntactic type ('basic word order') is further determined at the surface (s-structure) by functional categories (I, C, K, D).[2]

Chapter 3 is concerned with the interaction of lexical and functional categories. This chapter considers the contribution of lexical categories to d-structure type.

From transformations and constraints to principles and parameters

For Chomsky 1965, the "syntactic base" or phrase structure component of a grammar consisted of rules establishing language-particular relationships of selection, constituency and ordering among a universal set of categories (1) and lexical features (2).

1. {Sentence, Noun Phrase, Auxilary, Predicate Phrase, Verb Phrase, Prepositional Phrase, Noun, Verb, Preposition, Modal, Determiner, Adverbial, Adjective…}

2a. N(oun) → {±Common, Abstract, Animate, Human, Count, Definite…}

b. V(erb) → {±Progressive, Transitive, Abstract Subject, Animate Object…}

The output of the base in a given language—its set of deep structures[3]—was further subject to a list of transformations: operations of deletion, adjunction, substitution and restructuring, which together yield the effect of category movement. It was observed, however, that not every formally possible transformation was empirically attested in the capacity of speakers to alter base structures in grammatical sentences. Accordingly, investigators addressed the problem of constraining the evidently superabundant 'expressive power' of the transformational component (Ross 1967; Emonds 1970; Chomsky 1970, 1973, 1977).

By the end of the '70's, a gestalt shift had occurred, from a concept of transformational movement, appropriately constrained, to one of local dependency, appropriately licensed (Brame

[1] In Medieval terms, *concors* and *rectio*, cf. Hjelmslev 1928, 1939 cited by Uriagereka (1988: 2ff). The modern equivalents of these terms are *agreement* and *government*, respectively.

[2] Functional heads are complement-taking elements, free or affixal, some triggering SPEC-head agreement (cf. Fukui 1986; Abney 1987, 1988). Hale 1988 describes them as semantically either referential (e.g. I=tense, D=definiteness) or relational (e.g. C=subjunctive, K=locative).

[3] In Chomsky 1956: the set of P-markers, which describes the class of "kernel" sentences.

1976, 1978, 1979). The shift was marked by increasingly general claims about possible phrase structures: X-bar theory (Jackendoff 1977, Emonds 1985, Chomsky 1986a, Fukui 1986, Abney 1987).

Consider an example. Applied to the sentence in (3), a transformation fronting a questioned constituent yields both grammatical outputs (4) and ungrammatical ones (5).[4]

3. You saw [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ John] [$_{\bar{D}}$'s [$_{NP}$ car]]] being seized by the IRS.

The questioned constituent can be a possessive determiner phrase (DP) like [*John's car*] in (4a), or it may be just the determiner [*John's*], with the head noun [*car*] "pied piped" along, as in (4b). Or, with minor morphological fixes, [*car*] can be questioned and moved by itself, cf. (4c).

4a. [$_{DP}$ *What*] did you see being seized by the IRS?
b. [$_{DP}$ *Whose car*] did you see being seized by the IRS?
c. [$_{NP}$ *What*] did you see of John's being seized by the IRS?

But, as shown in (5), [*John*] or [*John's*] by itself cannot be both questioned and moved:

5a. *[$_{NP}$ *Who*] did you see the car (of) being seized by the IRS?
b. *[$_{NP}$ *Whose*] did you see (the) car being seized by the IRS?[5]
c. *[$_{NP}$ *Who*] did you see (*his*) car being seized by the IRS?[6]

Ross 1967 dubs the restriction in (5) the Left Branch Condition. The possessive determiner [*John's*] forms the left branch of the right-branching phrase [*John's* [*car*]]. From this structure, which Ross calls a syntactic "island", constituent extraction is evidently blocked.

There are two indications that a locality constraint is behind the ungrammaticality of (5), rather than some inherent problem with forming *wh*-questions from possessive NPs. Grammatical (4b) minimally differs from ungrammatical (5b) in the "pied-piping" of *car* along with *whose*. Stressed, *in situ wh*-questions exist for for either [*John's*], [*car*], or [*John's car*], with no perceptible difference in grammaticality:[7]

6. You saw *whóse* car being seized by the IRS!? answer: [*John's*]
You saw John's *whát* being seized by the IRS!? answer: [*car*]
You saw *whát* being seized by the IRS!? answer: [*John's car*]

Transformational rules are formulated in two parts: structural description and structural change. The modular framework aims to eliminate construction-specific information from the structural description of a rule, and achieve the same effect by appealing to independent principles of wellformedness. Then, one can abstract away from the structural description in constraints like the Left Branch Condition. On the DP analysis, assuming a directional version of bounding theory such as Kayne's (1983) connectedness condition or Koster's (1986a) global harmony condition, the phenomena in (5) are accounted for as Subjacency violations.

[4] (3) anachronistically frames observations by Ross 1967 in the X-bar schema of Abney 1987.

[5] French has grammatical examples equivalent to (5b), e.g. (from Kayne 1975: 335, 112):
i. De qui as-tu fait disparaitre la voiture? 'Whose car did you make disappear?'
ii. Voilà la fille dont je connais le père. 'There's the girl whose father I know'

[6] The Ìgbo equivalent of (5c), with a resumptive pronoun at the extraction site, is grammatical:
i. *Ònyé kà ị hùn-rụn mótò *yá*, mgbe ndị gọmentì jidhe-re yá wụ motò?*
who Comp 2sg see-Asp car 3sg time people state seize-Asp 3sg BE-rel car
Literally: '*Who* did you see *his/her* car, when government people siezed it, the car?'

[7] Unlike Ìgbo and Yorùbá, English has *in situ wh*-elements only with special constituent focus as in echo questions. This is probably related to the fact that English signals focus by extra word-stress.

The remaining part of a rule—the structural change—reduces to the free option of movement, whether this applies to phrases (Move-*wh*, Move-NP) or to individual words (Move-X^0). The general possibility, encompassing all these instances, has been dubbed Move-α. Move-α is the last residue of derivational formalism in the modular theory of the 1980's.

With rule systems no longer available for the purpose, cross-linguistic variation can be captured only by parametric differences in wellformedness conditions, formulated module by module (e.g. bounding theory, Case theory). This shift in mechanics has focused attention on 'local typology'—the parametric study of closely-knit groups of languages.

Parametric syntax faces the central goal of generative theory: to account for language learnability in terms of simple, positive evidence. For example, a few simple, independent differences in inflection (agreement and case) underly many complex differences in the distribution of null and pleonastic arguments, across the Romance, Germanic and Semitic language families (cf. Jaeggli 1982, Rizzi 1982, Borer 1984, Roberge 1986, Koster 1986b, Fassi-Fehri *to appear*). Closely related languages also differ systematically in the formation of derived words across phrase boundaries (head movement, cf. Koopman 1984, Torrego 1984, Travis 1984, Baker 1985, Roberts 1985, Weerman 1989, Lema and Rivero 1990). Such differences hold at a relatively superficial level of representation (s-structure).

Another parametric, s-structure phenomenon is binding: the licensing of referential dependencies (Reinhart 1983, 1986; Bouchard 1984; Koster 1986a). Although it interacts with agreement and Case (and ultimately with informational constraints of discourse, cf. Kuno 1987), binding also depends on thematic information, since what is anaphoric about arguments is their interpreted thematic content (Williams 1988, Bouchard 1988). One way to understand this is to reduce binding parameters to differences in the inventory of nonreferential lexical items (pronouns, reflexives…), whether these have the form of phrases (XPs), or of clitics (X^0 affixes), cf. Vikner 1985, Everaert 1986, Pica 1987, Yang 1988.

Cross-linguistic differences also affect underlying phrase structure. In licensing null argument positions, Chinese is systematically more permissive than Romance, Germanic and Semitic (cf. Huang 1982, Whitman 1987). The universal status of some phrase structure constituents (and consequent "subject-object asymmetries") has been called into question by "free word order" languages like Warlpiri, Japanese and Navajo (cf. Hale 1983, Saito 1985, Fukui 1986, Speas 1989). Neither phenomenon can be accounted for by s-structure parameters. And since, by hypothesis, d-structure is a "direct representation of GF-θ" (Chomsky 1981: 43), there are conceptual problems with parametrized phrase structure. To achieve a "typology of the base" that accommodates the range of configurational differences in natural language, Hale (1980, 1983) has argued that phrase structure parameters originate in the lexicon.

Other kinds of parameters have been proposed. As already noted, the derivational approach postulates multiple levels in the grammar, each with a cluster of specific properties, and linked in a general "architecture" by specific blocs of rules. In addition to d-structure and s-structure, a number of levels have theoretical currency. These include Logical Form (May 1977, Huang 1981, Pesetsky 1982), NP-structure (Riemsdijk and Williams 1981, Williams 1986) and Phonetic Form (the "surface structure" of Marantz 1986). While multilevel architecture has enjoyed the status of the null hypothesis, Koster 1986a argues that one need not appeal to multiple levels (and their

parameters) since their properties (quantifier scope, reconstruction, rebracketing) are all available at s-structure. As I will show in the rest of this chapter, the standard account of predicate argument structure is subject to the same criticism.

Origins of thematic structure

Lexical conceptual structure is "a representation of those aspects of the meaning of a lexical item which characterize a native speaker's knowledge of its argument structure and determine the syntactic expression of its arguments" (Levin 1985: 4). It treats the meanings of individual words as the interface between linguistic knowledge and cognition in the broadest sense.[8]

In orthodox theory of the past three decades, lexical semantics has led a submerged—even underground—existence (cf. Newmeyer 1980, Goldsmith *ms.*). Most recently, in keeping with the derivational heritage, lexical semantics has been viewed, not as a deep source of explanation for syntax, but as yet another autonomous level of representation: predicate argument structure (Stowell 1981, Williams 1981, Marantz 1984, Carrier 1985, Zubizarreta 1987, Grimshaw 1989). The constituent elements of this structure are thematic grids (θ-grids) of argument roles drawn from an ordered list ("thematic hierarchy"). A derivational concept of argument structure is shared by unorthodox generative theories, including Relational Grammar (Perlmutter 1978) and Lexical-functional Grammar (Bresnan ed. 1982). Jackendoff 1983 takes a modified representational position, employing the psychological schema of "preference rules" in the cognitive annotation of lexical entries. This section argues for a fully representational (and non-psychological) approach.

θ-roles account for syntactic relationships between two sorts of categories: θ-assigners i.e. predicates (probably all the lexical categories V, P, A, N), and arguments (typically nouns and clauses). A given θ-assigner may license several alternative θ-grids. For example, English *give* may license two object-like NP arguments (7a), or else one direct object plus one prepositional ("indirect") object (7b). Either object may appear as the subject of the passive verb *be given* (8a-b). But the other possible constituent orders are ill-formed, cf. (9).

7a. Anne gave [$_{NP}$ Lucienne] [$_{NP}$ a book].
b. Anne gave [$_{NP}$ a book] [$_{PP}$ to Lucienne].
8a. [A book] was given [to Lucienne].
b. [(To) Lucienne] was given [a book].
9a. *Anne gave [a book] [Lucienne].
b. *[A book] was given [Lucienne].[9]

To account for these facts, it is conceivable to derive one θ-grid from another, but this raises the problem of learnability. To the extent that rule systems are arbitrary, they must be learned, but language acquisition is not explicable in terms of rules (Wexler and Culicover 1983, Roeper and Williams eds. 1987). Alternatively, if θ-roles derive from lexical conceptual structure, then it might suffice to learn the meaning of words to know the θ-grids in which they can enter. English *give* seems to have two θ-grids. Instead of deriving one from the other, both might derive from a 'common origin' in the conceptual structure) of *give*. This hypothesis resolves some difficulties in argument structure accounts of double object constructions.

[8] Fillmore 1965, Gruber 1965, Verkuyl 1972, Jackendoff 1974a,b, Hale & Laughren 1983, Carter 1984, Guerssel *et al.* 1985, Rappaport & Levin 1985, Hale & Keyser 1986, Guerssel 1986, Tenny 1987 *inter alia.*

[9] As is well known but little understood, (9b) is grammatical for many British and Canadian speakers, some of whom also accept (9a) if both objects are pronominal: *Anne gave it her.*

It has been observed that *presént* and *donate* differ from *give* in failing to license a double object construction (10), although like *give*, they both license a prepositional dative, cf. (11).

10a. *Casey presented [$_{NP}$ the Contras] [$_{NP}$ drug money].
b. *Reagan donated [$_{NP}$ the homeless] [$_{NP}$ his jellybeans].
11a. Casey presented [$_{NP}$ drug money] [$_{PP}$ to the Contras].
b. Reagan donated [$_{NP}$ his jellybeans] [$_{PP}$ to the homeless].

Further, *presént* differs from both *donate* and *give* in licensing a *with*-construction:

12a. Casey presented [$_{NP}$ the Contras] [$_{PP}$ with drug money].
b. *Reagan donated [$_{NP}$ the homeless] [$_{PP}$ with jellybeans].[10]
c. *Anne gave [$_{NP}$ Lucienne] [$_{PP}$ with a book].

The argument structure approach assumes that, in a polyadic predicate, the verb θ-marks both "direct" and "indirect" arguments—the latter by means of a preposition which comes in for Case reasons. But it is not easy to see how this analysis could capture the thematic similarity between the two instances of triadic *presént* in (11a) and (12a), while explaining the syntactic difference between prepositional *donate* in (11b) and double-object *donate* in (12b). To claim that *with* is a semantically empty Case-assigner when it appears in construction with *presént*, but that the same possibility is not available for *donate*, is to use θ-roles diacritically. Since some instances of *with* are unarguably thematic, the only alternative is to suppose that, in both (11) and (12), the prepositions are autonomous θ-assigners. I pursue this idea.

The *with*-construction in (12) is reminiscent of one variant of the "locative alternation" for verbs like *spray* and *load* (Fillmore 1968, Carter 1984, Rappaport and Levin 1985):

13a. Anne sprayed [$_{NP}$ the wall] [$_{PP}$ with paint]
Anne loaded [$_{NP}$ the wagon] [$_{PP}$ with hay]
b. Anne sprayed [$_{NP}$ paint] [$_{PP}$ on the wall].
Anne loaded [$_{NP}$ hay] [$_{PP}$ onto the truck].

The observation is that the *with* variants in (13a) imply a 'totally affected' object (every part of *the wall* was painted, *the wagon* was full), but that the locative variants in (13b) do not. Following Verkuyl 1972, Tenny 1987 shows that total affectedness is not primarily a property of arguments (*the wall*, *the wagon*) but rather a property of events (of *paint-spraying*, *hay-loading*). An event is "delimited" if the direct object is totally affected.

If delimitedness is also relevant for predicates like *presént*—i.e. if (12a) but not (11a) entails that all the *Contras* were paid off—then the failure of *donate* to license a *with* variant (12b) might follow from the meaning of *donate*. This supposition is plausible, if one compares the entries of the three verbs in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In (14), I reproduce the first OED definition (slightly abridged) for each. *Donate* in (14a) has just one internal argument, the thing given, while *presént* in (14b) has two, the thing given and the recipient. Both verbs contrast with *give* in (14c), which the OED interprets as inherently delimited (or "totally affecting", in Tenny's definition).

14a. *presént* "to bring [something/someone] into the presence of [someone]"
b. *donate* "to make a donation or gift of [something]"
c. *give* "to make [someone] the recipient of [something]"

[10] The second OED entry for *donate* cites an equivalent example from 1862:
i. Soldiers returning from the Mexican wars were donated with warrants for land.

Assuming (14), the only way for *donate* to take an indirect object as in (11b) is combined with a preposition. The requirement of semantic compatibility between the verb and the preposition does not reduce the preposition to a mere extension of the verb, as claimed by Stowell 1981. The definition of *donate* in (14b) makes no mention of a recipient, yet there is a recipient in (11b). This recipient is therefore uniquely projected by the preposition *to*. *To* is an autonomous θ-assigner.

(14) has other consequences. Unlike *presént*, and *give*, the meaning of *donate* does not include a locative directional component, so we expect *donate* to be compatible with a wider range of Goal-taking prepositions than either *presént* or *give*. This is confirmed by the ability of *donate*, but not *presént* or *give*, to combine directly with a benefactive preposition such as *for*:

15a. Reagan donated [NP his jellybeans] [PP for the homeless].
b. ?Casey presented [NP drug money] [PP for the Contras].
c. ?Casey gave [NP drug money] [PP for the Contras].

The empirical claim in (15) concerns semantic composition. (15b-c) are marginal insofar as the PP composes with *presént* or *give*, respectively. Accordingly, (15b-c) are fully saved by the presence of an overt recipient NP, which forces the *for* phrase to be interpreted as a sub-constituent of the Theme, in a complex NP [*drug money for the Contras*]:

16a. Casey presented [NP Ollie] [PP with [NP drug money [PP for the Contras]]].
b. Casey gave [NP Ollie] [NP drug money [PP for the Contras]].

The contrast of (15) vs. (16) further suggests that *presént* and *give*, unlike *donate*, lexically license a Recipient argument which is however not a Beneficiary.[11] Of the three, only *donate* combines directly with *for*. On the other hand, both *presént* and *give* can directly introduce a recipient argument, without a "dative" preposition like *to*; but this is not true of *donate*. These observations lead one to suppose that the polyadicity difference between the semantically similar verbs *give*, *donate* and *presént* reduces to their different compatibility with other θ-assigners such as *with*, *for* and *to*. In other words, polyadicity reduces to selection.

Down with the thematic hierarchy!

This idea requires that specific θ-role labels like Goal and Theme be dispensed with. At first approximation, the thematic properties of the Vs and Ps in (7-12) can be listed as follows:

17.

	Goal	Theme	compatible θ-assigners	example
presént	+		*with*	(12a)
		+	*to*	(11a)
donate		+	*to*, *for*	(11b, 15a)
give	+	+		(7a)
		+	*to*	(7b)
with		+		
for	+			
to	+			

(17) attributes two argument structures each to *give* and *presént*. Unlike *give*, *presént* does not license a double object, so it is necessary to stipulate that it selects either a Theme or a Goal, but not both at once. Yet, on the hypothesis that predicates have at most one lexically unsaturated internal argument position (Déchaine 1989), it is *give* and not *presént* that is exceptional. Kayne 1983b and Baker 1988a have proposed that English *give* in double object constructions contains a zero

[11] Larson 1988 claims the opposite: that *give* licenses a Beneficiary (optionally), cf. below.

preposition. Positing such an entity, Baker derives the Goal̂ Theme order of the double object from the minimality condition on proper government (1988a: 235f., cf. Chomsky 1986a). By (temporarily) adopting the zero P hypothesis, we can restate the representation of *give* with a unitary argument structure, so that (17) partially simplifies as (18):

18.

	Goal	Theme	compatible θ-assigners
presént	+		*with*
		+	*to*
donate		+	*to*, *for*
give		+	*to*, ∅
with		+	
for	+		
to	+		
∅	+		

In (18), verbs are annotated for compatible θ-assigners, while prepositions are not. Since the annotations stand for inherent semantic properties, this amounts to the plausible idea that verbs are semantically richer than prepositions. A given verb is θ-compatible with a relatively small number of prepositions, compared to the number of verbs with which a given preposition is θ-compatible. In other words, verbs semantically select prepositions.

Now observe that the choice of internal argument for each verb in (18) follows from the choice of semantically compatible preposition. If a verb is annotated for either *to* or ∅, it licenses a Theme; if *with*, it licenses a Goal. Therefore, (18) can be restated more simply:

19.

	internal argument	compatible θ-assigners
presént	+	*to*, *with*
donate	+	*to*, *for*
give	+	*to*, ∅
with	Theme	
for	Goal	
to	Goal	
∅	Goal	

Marantz 1984 suggests that at least some specific θ-role names be dispensed with, given appropriate semantic information about the θ-assigner. Suppose that prepositions lexically distinguish Theme and Goal arguments by semantic selection, so that there is no need to label the internal argument position of these categories. Then, unpredictable information about argument structure reduces to the presence or absence of a lexically unsaturated (i.e. open) internal argument position, in the meaning of a word. Since all the words in (19) are transitive, they all have a lexically open internal argument. This reduces (19) to (20):

20.

	open internal argument	compatible θ-assigners
presént	+	*to*, *with*
donate	+	*to*, *for*
give	+	*to*, ∅
with	+	
for	+	
to	+	
∅	+	

(20) claims that the properties which distinguish the syntactic behavior of the three verbs reduce to semantic selection. Argument structure—in the sense of θ-role labels—adds nothing to this account, so long as prepositions are treated as autonomous θ-assigners.

Following Fischer 1971, Hale and Keyser 1986 propose that syntactically inert "lexical constants" may fill argument positions. In all the examples they consider, a lexical constant has the effect of reducing syntactic valency: e.g. intransitive *eat* derives from transitive *eat* by the presence of the lexical constant FOOD. The definitions in (14) suggest that the conceptual representations of *presént* and *donate* contain, as lexical constants, the derivationally related nominals DONATION and PRESENCE. These constants differ in autonomy with respect to their related verbs. Both *presént* and *presence* derive from the verb (*be*) *présent*. *Donate*, on the other hand, is a back-formation from the noun *donation*. This difference suggests that, if the two verbs differ in transitivity, the determining factor is derivational.

Suppose *presént* has two lexically unsaturated internal arguments, one inherited from PRESENCE (the lexical constant, itself argument-taking). *Donate* has one internal argument, and does not inherit a second. Since *give* like *presént* exhibits a transitivity alternation, it plausibly also has two internal arguments. But *give* also resembles *donate*, in being ineligible for inheritance (in this case because *give*, being underived, has no lexical constant).

Finally, all three definitions in (14) share the approximate semantic property of causation. I represent lexical causation with an embedding predicate *affect x*, rather than with the semantic operator CAUSE. An abstract CAUSE element figures in lexical decomposition analyses, e.g. McCawley (1968), Jackendoff (1983). Hale and Keyser (1986, 1987) argue that the affixation of CAUSE, a lexical head that selects a proposition (= a predicate plus its external argument), unifies the following three alternations:

inchoative↔causative	*active intransitive↔causative*	*middle↔transitive*
The glass broke.	The horse jumped (over the fence).	This bread cuts easily.
John broke the glass.	John jumped his horse (over the fence).	John cut the bread.
[y BREAK]	[y JUMP]	[y develop a linear separation…]
[x CAUSE [y BREAK]]	[x CAUSE [y JUMP]]	[x CAUSE [y develop a linear separation…]]

For Hale and Keyser, a unified account is possible because all three types of transitives share the general conceptual structure [x CAUSE [y undergo CHANGE-OF-STATE]]. Further, this analysis correctly predicts that many noncausativizing verbs (e.g. *sing*) lack the change-of-state property. But mysteriously, some verbs (e.g. *die*) which involve a change of state fail to form a causative.[12]

[12]Hale and Keyser 1990 reinterpret CAUSE as a "pure" relation, i.e. a totally abstract verb (cf. Walinska 1986, Larson 1988). Their analysis of *give*, and of denominal *shelve* and *saddle*, appeals to head-movement in "lexical syntax":

(i)a. [x $\varnothing_V$ [y *give* [*to* z]]] e.g. Mary gave a book to John.
b. [x $give_i$ [z_j [[t_i t_j] y]] e.g. Mary gave John a book.
(ii)a. [x $\varnothing_V$ [y $\varnothing_V$ [$\varnothing_P$ *shelf*]]] e.g. Mary put a book on the shelf.
b. [x $shelve_i$ [y t_i [$\varnothing_P$ t_i]]] e.g. Mary shelved a book. cf. $shelf_N \rightarrow shelve_V$
(iii)a. [x $\varnothing_V$ [y $\varnothing_V$ [$\varnothing_P$ *saddle*]]] e.g. Mary put a saddle on the horse
b. [x $saddle_i$ [y t_i [$\varnothing_P$ t_i]]] e.g. Mary saddled the horse. cf. $saddle_N \rightarrow saddle_V$

The empty heads in (4) - (6) recall the abstract and unconstrained 'higher verbs' of generative semantics. Thus, Hale and Keyser 1990 'syntacitize' lexical conceptual structure. Whether their new approach contradicts the earlier, semantically-based analyses of Guerssel, Hale and Keyser, Laughren et al., or merely supplements them, they clearly introduce more derivational strata into the architecture of the grammar strata which I am attempting to do without.

§2.1.3 argues against the lexical representation of external arguments, thereby ruling out a CAUSE operator, which embeds a complete proposition including an external argument. Problems with semantic decomposition by a CAUSE operator came to light early in generative semantics (cf. Fodor 1970). *Affect x*, by contrast, is syntactically motivated: Tenny's (1987) Aspectual Interface Hypothesis limits the syntactically relevant properties of lexical representations to aspectual notions, key among which is affectedness:

- *Aspectual Interface Hypothesis*: "Only the aspectual part of cognitive structure is visible to the syntax."
- An *affecting verb* "describes a situation or happening that can be delimited by its direct argument."
- A *delimitor* "is an event participant that may be cast in linguistic terms as measuring out an event."

In these terms, the above alternations are aspectually constrained: an anticausative must be "delimited". Delimitedness also governs alternations with locative verbs (Rappaport and Levin 1985), psych verbs (Belletti and Rizzi 1986) and object control (Mulder 1990).

The preceding considerations suggest that the syntactically relevant properties of the definitions in (14) can be formalized as follows:

21a. *presént* [affect x [come to be at location y, y = PRESENCE of z]]
b. *donate* [affect x [come to be in state y, y = DONATION]]
c. *give* [affect x [RECEIVE y]]

Upper-case expressions in (21) stand for undecomposed semantic atoms, interpreted by cross-referencing the corresponding, independent lexical entries—the words *presence*, *donation*, and *receive*. (Two of these are lexical constants in the sense that they fill argument positions.) In just this sense, *give* is a derived verb, but its derivation is strictly semantic.

Presént, but not *donate*, inherits an internal argument, because the constant PRESENCE that fills the *y* argument in (21a) is argument-taking, but DONATION in (21b) isn't. (21a) correctly groups *presént* with the locative alternation verbs mentioned. (21b) predicts that *donate* can take a recipient argument only in combination with another θ-assigner such as *to* or *for*. These prepositions do not reduce to thematically redundant Casemarkers, as claimed by Stowell (1981), Baker (1988), Larson (1988), Hale and Keyser (1990). *Give* is different again in that it has a direct internal argument which is not licensed by inheritance, and not filled by any constant: the *y* argument in (21c). All three verbs, as lexical causatives, license one internal argument by the predicate *affect x*.

(21c) gives *give* two direct internal arguments. This is a marked representation, as it departs (minimally) from the constraint of one direct internal argument per predicate. It is the maximal departure, given the general availability of the aspectual predicate *affect x*. Such a compositional approach to double objecthood has a semantic advantage over the Kayne/Baker postulation of a zero θ-assigner: it accounts for double object idioms that involve affectedness (e.g.: *give Anne a kiss*), which lose their idiomatic readings in the prepositional dative (**give a kiss to Anne*), cf. Tenny 1987, Larson 1988 for discussion.

The next step, to account for the facts of compatibility annotated in (20), is to specify the lexical entries of prepositions. I provisionally adopt the representations in (22):

22. *to* [come to be in location x]
for [be in state x, x = BENEFIT of y]
with [be ACCOMPANED-BY x]

If prepositions have predicational structure as in (22), then selectional annotations between verbs and prepositions can be eliminated. In the proverbial "best" theory, all predicates (including prepositions as well as verbs) combine freely, and syntactically open positions in predicates combine freely with arguments, unless blocked by semantic selection.

Finally, reconsider the transitivity alternations in (7-16). Both *give* and *presént* (but not *donate*) license either of two linear orders, which are expressed in terms of θ-roles as Theme$\hat{\text{u}}$ Goal and Goal$\hat{\text{u}}$ Theme. It should not be an accident that just these verbs, but not *donate*, contain two internal argument positions, as represented by the variables in (21).

Tenny argues that the surface order of polyadic predicates has an aspectual basis. The delimiting (totally affected) argument is projected as the complement of the verb. The remaining internal argument is licensed either directly (for *give* with the order Goal$\hat{\text{u}}$ Theme) or by a semantically compatible preposition (for *give* with the order Theme$\hat{\text{u}}$ Goal, and for *presént* with either order). Thus, transitivity reduces to selection plus aspectual properties.

If, as the above suggests, there are no language-particular rules of grammatical relation changing, then comparable differences of transitivity among individual predicates will be found both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically. An approach grounded in lexical conceptual structure must explain both in a unified way. In fact, such a result is both desirable and possible, as shown by some examples from the Kwa languages, contrasted with their English counterparts.

Like English *presént* and *donate*, Yorùbá *fún* and *bùn* (usually glossed as 'give' and 'presént', respectively), fail to license a double object (23a). Like all three English verbs in (21), neither *fún* nor *bùn* forms an anticausative or a middle (23b).

23a. *Olú fún [$_{NP}$ mi] [$_{NP}$ owó]. *Olú bùn [$_{NP}$ mi] [$_{NP}$ owó].
give 1sg money presént 1sg money

b. *Owó fún mi. *Owó bùn mi.
money give 1sg money presént 1sg

Like the English complex expression *presént with* (cf. 12), *fún* and *bùn* both license a Goal argument directly, and a Theme argument indirectly, as the complement of ní:[13]

24a. Olú fún [mi] [ní owó]. 'Olu gave me money'
give 1sg have money

b. Olú bùn [mi] [ní owó]. 'Olu presented me with money'
presént 1sg have money

As a serializing language, Yorùbá is evidently freer than English to combine multiple θ-assigners in a single, complex predicate. *Fún* and *bùn* can appear either as the initial verb in a kind of "anti-dative" (24), or as the second verb in an instrumental dative (25):

25a. Olú mú [owó] [fún mi]. 'Olu handed me (some) money'
take.hold.of money give 1sg

b. Olú fi [owó] [bùn mi]. 'Olu presented me with (some) money'
use money presént 1sg

[13] Oyèlárán (1989a, 1990) analyzes *ní* in (24) as a marker of "antifocus", and not as the verb 'have'. I regard *ní* here as a lite verb 'have' whose internal argument is "transfered" (in the terminology of Grimshaw and Mester 1988) to the governing verb, cf. §2.1.4 below.

Just as in the English *spray/load* alternations (cf. 13) and the alternants of *presént* in (11) vs. (12), the alternative surface patterns of *fún/bùn* in (24) vs. (25), differ in affectedness.

The big difference between the Yorùbá θ-assigners in (24-25), and their English counterparts, is that the former are all independent verbs. This claim is controversial: in examples like (24), *ní* is usually described as a some kind of Case-marker or Preposition. Similarly, *fi* and *mú* are often described as Case-markers (or "object markers", cf. Lord 1982, 1989), just when they occur as the first verb of a serial construction. But such ad hoc labels suffer from underanalysis, since all three morphemes occur independently as main verbs:

26a. Olú ní iṣu. 'Olu owns yams'
have yam

b. Kò ní fi [ti ẹlò míràn]. 'S/he won't use what belongs to anyone else'
NEG Asp use REL someone other (Abraham 1958: 211)

c. Ó mú ẹrú méta. 'S/he captured 3 slaves'
3sg take.hold.of slave three (Abraham 1958: 428)

Evidently, the order of θ-assigners within a single VP is freer in Yorùbá than in English. In English, the verb always precedes the preposition. But *fún/bùn* can come either first as in (24), or second as in (25). This can be restated in terms of selection. English verbs are annotated for prepositions in the manner described for (17-20) above, but the reverse is not true. If, in the Yorùbá lexicon, all predicates have the same potential degree of annotation for each other, this would explain the symmetry in the possibilities of linear ordering. To say that English distinguishes verbs from prepositions, means that the annotations of θ-compatibility, i.e. the properties of semantic selection, among these entries are asymmetrical. In Yorùbá, selectional properties between predicates are relatively more symmetrical, as in (27):[14]

27. (Yorùbá)
fún [extrinsically come to be in the possession of x]
bùn [extrinsically, as a GIFT, come to be in the possession of x]
ní [POSSESS x]
fi [USE x]
mú [TAKE HOLD OF x]

The representations in (27) directly account for the above observations that *fún* and *bùn* are neither ditransitive, affecting nor inchoative. There is no way to translate the representations in (27) in terms of a CAUSE element à la Hale and Keyser 1986.[15] (27) also contradicts Baker's (1989) argument-sharing template for serial constructions, which must assume triadic *fún* and *bùn*. I will show in §2.1.4 that Baker's template—which crucially relies on a thematic hiearchy—necessarily both undergenerates and overgenerates the range of Yorùbá serial constructions.

Next, consider a few Ìgbo predicates. *Nyé*, the closest Ìgbo equivalent to English *give*, is syntactically the mirror image of English *donate*: it licenses a double object construction (28a), but not a dative construction (28b) (regardless of what material intervenes between Theme and Goal). Also like *donate*, *nyé* can occur dyadically, as in (28c-d).

[14] The lexical property of *extrinsic* change of state in (27), formulated originally by Guerssel 1986, is explicitly introduced in (115) below. Guerssel's proposal solves the puzzle of noncausative *die*: although *die* is a change of state, it is inherently intrinsic, therefore it cannot causativize.

[15] Or, for that matter, with an empty lexical head à la Hale and Keyser 1990 (cf. *fn.* 12 above).

28a. Àdhá nyè-re [Ézè] [égo]. 'Adha gave Eze money'
give-ØAsp money

b. *Àdhá nyè-re [égo] (…) [Ézè].
give-ØAsp money

c. Nwá ichí, nyé ḿ! Águụ́ egbúne ḿ!
child *ichi* give-Imper 1sg hunger neg.kill.Imper 1sg
'Ichi boy, give me [something]! Let hunger not kill me!'
[= ritual formula quoted by Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 81)]

d. Ónye chi yé nyère, ònyé aná ya ya.
person spirit 3sg.Gen give-ØAsp person-Indef neg.take.from.Imper 3sg 3sg
'The person whose chí gives her/him [something], let someone not take it from her/him'
[= proverbial refrain of a popular song performed by Warrior]

Ìgbo *sí* most nearly resembles English *tell*: both take a double object, where the second object is clausal (29a). However, *sí* is usually translated as English *say*, which doesn't occur take a double object (29b). Further, the Ìgbo verb *gwá*, which most closely translates English *tell*, is unlike *tell*—and like *nyé*—in that it doesn't strictly require two internal arguments (29c).

29a. Àdhá sị̀ (ḿ) [nà udḥó kà ḿmá]. 'Adha said (to me) that peace is best'
say 1sg Comp peace surpass goodness

b. *John said me [that money talks].

c. Bịá, kà ǹ gwa í! 'Come, let me tell you'[16]
come-imper Comp 1sg tell 2sg

Represented in terms of argument structure, these cross-linguistic differences appear quite arbitrary.[17] I propose the following lexical representations:

30. (Ìgbo)
a. *nyé* [affect x [come to possess y (y = POSSESSUM)]]
b. *gwá* [affect x [come to HEAR y (y = MESSAGE)]]
c. *sí* [affect x (x = ADDRESSEE) [come to HEAR y]]
d. *nà* [-F] [be located at x]
e. *nà* [+F] Comp

In (30a-c), the predicate *affect x* functions as in the English verbs in (21). The optional constants POSSESSUM, MESSAGE and ADDRESSEE account for the dyadic variants of the verbs. In (30d-e), the feature [±F] distinguishes prepositional *nà* from the homophonous complementizer.

Observing the relatively greater frequency of double object verbs in the Ìgbo lexicon compared to that of English, Nwáchukwu (1987c: 10-14) correlates this property with the fact that Ìgbo has just

[16] It might be thought that *nyé* in (28c) and *gwá* in (29c) are basically ditransitive, with a null Theme:

i. [TOPIC]$_i$ Nwá ichí, nyé ḿ [e]$_i$ … ! '*Ichi* initiate, give me [that thing]!'

ii. [TOPIC]$_i$ Bịá, kà ǹ gwa í [e]$_i$! 'Come, let me tell you [about it]!'

However, (28c) and (29c) are well-formed in 'out-of-the-blue' contexts. While there may be a discourse asymmetry between Themes and Goals, it is not optimal to encode this in the lexicon (cf. Baker 1987).

Some points for further study of these verbs can be noted here. The verb *gwá* is not found in Southern Igboid east of the Niger, where its nearest equivalent is a compound (applicative) verb *kà-rị* 'say-to'. There may also be some internal complexity to the verb *nyé*: in some dialects (e.g. Ẹ́hụgbò) the corresponding verb is simply *ní*, suggesting that *nyé* could have been historically derived with a lexical "open vowel suffix": *nyé* < *ní* + *e*. As discussed below, the open vowel suffix denotes a delimited event (e.g. a resultant state).

[17] Similar cross-linguistic puzzles of "lexicalization" are discussed by Talmy 1985.

one preposition: *nà*, which has a broader semantic range than any English preposition. This is presumably what Nwáchukwu means when he calls Ìgbo a "double object language", but even with a functional trade-off between polyadicity and the inventory of prepositions, it is still mysterious why *nà* can license an Instrument or a Theme, but not a Goal. In addition, such a wholesale trade-off says nothing about the dyadic potential in Ìgbo of some canonically triadic verbs such as *nyé* 'give' in (28c-d) and *gwá* 'tell' in (29c).

(30) suggests an indirect explanation for Nwáchukwu's generalization, one which is not so global as to exclude the dyadic behavior of canonical triadic verbs observed in (28-29). The absence of an open class of prepositions correlates in Ìgbo with the absence of an open class of adjectives. As a universal matter, these two categories, P and A, differ from the other major lexical categories V and N, in that the latter may, but the former may not, be directly referential—i.e. in composition with a referential category such as Infl or Det. For the sake of discussion, call the latter lexical categories (V and N) 'primary', and the former ones 'secondary'. The near-absence of secondary lexical categories in Ìgbo implies that polyadicity is for the most part possible in that language only in the format of an double object construction, which by hypothesis must be a subcase of the expression [*affect x* [… *y*]].

This line of reasoning leads to a prediction, which is correct and yet mysterious if it was a matter of a simple 'trade-off' between prepositions and double objects. Despite the existence of double-objects*sí* 'say' in Ìgbo, one doesn't expect to find an Ìgbo double object verb corresponding to English *speak*, even though there is a surface parallel between *speak something to John* and *say something to John*. Speaking is, in Vendler's famous aspectual taxonomy, an activity, i.e. it implies no resultant state, hence it is not affecting. This implies that more is involved in the phenomenon of pervasive double-objecthood in Ìgbo, than the lack of a Goal-selecting preposition. Conversely, the meaning of *sí* in (30c) is close to that of English *inform*, which takes a double object (addressee plus clausal object, e.g. *inform John that his car is being towed*). There is no English verb **inspeak*, and no corresponding Ìgbo verb (a double object counterpart of *kwú* 'speak'), for one and the same reason: there can be no predicate of the form *[*affect x* [*speak y*]].

Both directly and indirectly, the above discussion supports the claim that 'adicity' (argument licensing) originates directly in conceptual structure, not via a mediating level of argument structure. There is no need to annotate lexical entries with diacritics that trigger grammatical function changes. Instead, it is the meanings of individual words which license syntactically relevant properties: the presence of a lexical constant vs. an open internal argument position; argument inheritance and semantic selection. These notions are taken up in following sections. I briefly turn to some consequences for the overall architecture of the grammar.

Obsolescent UG

I have already described two innovations in generative theory of the past decade: the reduction of rules to modular parameters, and of grammatical relations to conceptual structure. These steps radicalize the government/binding theory in a way recently surveyed by Koster.

Koster 1989b holds that the content of the lexicon, as "the main ingredient from the public record in language", is the sole determinant of language-specific properties. By contrast, grammatical universals reflect language-independent "computational and conceptual" properties of the initial state of the mind-brain. Chief among the latter is "the configurational matrix", a

domain-independent relation which underlies the dependencies of binding (c-command), bounding (subjacency) and predication (Williams' "c-subjacency"). By Koster's (1986a) Thesis of Radical Autonomy, all language-particular factors which extend or restrict these syntactic domains are accidental properties of lexical categories, at the root of such syntactic effects as connectedness, opacity, L-marking. Koster rejects Chomsky's assumption that syntactic knowledge resides in the biology or psychology of individuals, in the form of a parametrized Universal Grammar (UG):

> [T]here are no human minds disjunct from the public record. [Specifically,] …there is no reason to assume that the structures of the initial state are preinterpreted for language. Language only results from the application of the structures in question to meaningful elements of the public record. (1989b: 3, 6)

One putative UG parameter is the direction of canonical government. A language is said to be either "head-initial" or "head-final", i.e. (lexical) categories govern either to the right or left, cf. Kayne 1984, Koopman 1984, Travis 1984 (following Greenberg's universals). Koster denies this:

> [A] language does not have a canonical government configuration. In some languages, like Japanese, the direction of government of the various lexical heads is uniform, while in other languages, like Dutch, some lexical heads govern in one direction and others govern in the opposite direction. (1986a: 173)

If this critique goes through, then—abstracting from the domain-independent configurational matrix—there is nothing for UG parameters to account for. Grammar reduces to domain-specific information in the public record, i.e. to the lexicon. But the lexicon stores more than grammar.

The boundaries of linguistic knowledge in lexical entries

The union of lexical semantics and morpheme-based syntactic typology constitutes "knowledge of language" in the sense of Chomsky 1986b. But such knowledge does not exhaust the content of lexical entries. As Koster 1989b observes, any lexical compilation, as a sample of "non-personal, supra-individual external memory", necessarily includes much cultural (encyclopedic) knowledge. If the syntax of a word may be largely determined by the content of its lexical entry, one can still ask: what portion of the entry is syntactically relevant, what else is there in the entry, and do these two sub-entries interact? Or, how distinct is the acquisition of linguistic knowledge from the learning of other cultural information?

For functional categories (word classes without thematic content), the syntactically relevant portion of the lexical entry is exhaustive. The cultural storehouses are the thematic word classes V and N. Two examples. U. S. citizens in the late 20th century command an ever expanding repertoire of predicates which paraphrase 'kill' (*attrit*, *blow away*, *bump off*, *chill*, *collaterally damage*, *dust*, *hit*, *ice*, *liquidate*, *off*, *send to Kingdom Come*, *smoke*, *snuff*, *take out*, *terminate*, *waste*, *whack*…). An upwardly mobile subclass of this same citizenry is defined, and define themselves, by possession of more esoteric knowledge, comprising of commodity names with desirable status connotations (e.g. *Swatch*™ is a desired type of Swiss watch, *Cuisinart*™ is a desired type of French blender, *Corona*™ is a type of Mexican beer, *Infiniti*™ is a desired type of Japanese car…).

In short, the heart of the "language and culture" problem is the relationship between thematic and encyclopedic knowledge. The strongest claim, which essentially restates the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, is that the two are identical. For a grammarian who posits predicate argument structure, this has the daunting consequence that the list of θ-roles is limited only by context. There is some support for this view: the major systematic attempt to set an upper limit on the list of

semantic roles (Ostler 1979) stopped counting after 48. On the other hand, individuals differ in the possession of some encyclopedic knowledge. Does knowledge of physics or fishing affect a person's grammar? Probably not. Perhaps then, as argued by Hale 1986, there is a universal distinction between "philosophy" and lexico-semantics.[18] But even so, if the two interact, there may be systematic consequences for either one, or for both.

Chapter 4 presents some cultural content of the Ìgbo lexicon, much of which was politicized over the past century by missionaries and governments, during the introduction of literacy, the 'standardization' of Ìgbo, and the promotion of linguistic separatism on the Igboid periphery. In other words, language policy was an effective vehicle for cultural aggression and social control. These impacts, which underlie the ethnic effect itself, can be explained if linguistic resources like lexical-semantic representations are analyzed as a *subset* of cultural knowledge.

The rest of this chapter examines the lexical semantic basis of phrase structure in the Benue-Kwa languages, as recently debated by Ụ̀waláàka (1981, 1982, 1983), Émènanjọ 1984, Nwáchukwu (1985, 1987c), Baker (1985, 1988b, d, 1989a, b), Oyèlárǎn (1989a, 1990), Íhiọ́nụ́ (1988a, 1989).

2.1 Polyadicity and incorporation in Benue-Kwa

The Benue-Kwa linguistic continuum extends across southern, eastern and central Africa (the Benue-Congo portion), through southern Nigeria to south-central Côte d'Ivoire (the Kwa portion). Until the classification of Greenberg (1963: 8) is superceded, the Kru languages form part of this continuum, extending its western edge into Liberia. Since Christaller (1875: 69-73), no phenomenon of the Kwa languages has been more studied than serial constructions. Serial constructions provide evidence for the role of lexical representations in syntax.

A parametric typology of Benue-Kwa serial constructions reveals some mistaken assumptions in the literature. Intensive studies of individual languages often take accidental correlates of the construction type as fundamental properties. Large-scale surveys have tended to underanalyze verb morphology, relying on loose translations for structural hints.

Many analyses assume that 'true' serial constructions must refer to a single event. Restating this in terms of morphology, they claim that only one verb per serial construction can bear inflection. Yet, Yorùbá counterexemplifies the first point, and Ìgbo the second, as described below in §2.1.4 and §2.1.5 respectively. It is also widely assumed that, in a given language, a particular semantic relation can be expressed either by a serial construction, or by a V-V compound, but not by both (cf. Lord 1975). Again, counterexamples are found in Yorùbá: the "splitting verbs" which are lexical compounds but which have the surface form of serial constructions.

Such contradictions tell against the claim that there is a monolithic serialization parameter, as made (most recently) by Baker 1988c, 1989a. Rather, the language-particular range of serial constructions reflects the interaction of independent properties, including thematic and categorial patterns in the lexicon, and the inventory of inflectional morphemes. Because any construction must satisfy the full range of licensing conditions, it is actually surprising if a particular subset correlates consistently across languages.

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[18] For formal semanticists like Montague and his followers, the standard approach is to append "philosophy" (i.e.logico-semantic interpretive models à la Frege, Tarski and Quine) to syntactic categories. This locates conceptual structure "after" syntax; for a critique, cf. Bach 1986.

My general claim is closely modeled on that of Awóyalé 1988: serial constructions are freely-formed V-bar adjunctions, constrained by lexical-semantic properties of the individual verbs, and by morphological requirements of surface syntax. In addition, the compositionality of phrase structure requires that lexical properties satisfy a more general constraint: if an event is referred to, then the category denoting that event is the head of the adjunction structure as a whole. It follows that, depending on the choice of predicates, both subject-sharing and object-sharing effects are possible in serial constructions, as alternatives or as compatible effects. Contra Baker 1989, object sharing is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for verb serialization.

A useful spinoff of the above claim is a highly constrained, modular analysis of V-V compounds in Ìgbo. Specifically, V-V compounding alters the surface shape of otherwise well-formed serial constructions according to the general principle of head-movement: the ECP. Iff the first verb of a V-V compound denotes the event, this implies (in Awóyalé's phrase structure) that it governs the underlying position of the second verb. V-V compounding in Yorùbá, and V-N compounding in both languages, has a different type of licensing: they are possible just if the second element of the compound spells out a lexical constant in conceptual structure.

On the general hypothesis of this chapter, the locus of parametric variation between Ìgbo and Yorùbá with respect to serialiation and compounding cannot be phrase structure. Rather, two sources of variation are open in principle: the content of lexical categories, and the inventory of functional categories. In fact, both are at play. As a practical matter, this chapter is mainly concerned with lexical categories; however, some discussion of functional categories is inevitable at various points, anticipating (and duplicating) fuller discussions in Chapter 3.

2.1.1 The tension between thematic structure and Case

If adjacent languages vary the configuration of polyadic predicates, two modules of grammar are potential sources for this: *θ*-theory (or conceptual structure) and Case-theory. In many ways, Ìgbo occupies the typological center of Benue-Kwa, and the explanatory tension between these two modules is key to its analysis. Both V-V compounding (31) and verb serialization (32) are productive in Ìgbo. The phenomena co-occur in (32b).

31a. Àdhá tì-gbu-ru Ézè. 'Adha beat Eze to death'
beat-kill-ØAsp OR '… beat Eze severely'

b. Àdhá gbà-ju-ru mótò (fúèl). 'Adha fueled [the] car (with petrol)'
pour-fill.up-ØAsp car petrol

32a. Àdhá jì-(ri) ḿmà ékḥwú bḥa-a jí. 'Adha peeled yams with (i.e. while holding) a kitchen knife'
hold-ØAsp knife kitchen-Gen peel-Asp yam

b. Àdhá jì-(ri) ḿmà gbú-dà ósisi. 'Adha cut down [the] tree with (i.e. while holding) a machete'[19]
hold-ØAsp knife cut-fall tree

[19] Ụ́zọ̀ Ihiọ́nụ́ points out that (32b) is ungrammatical if the V-V compound is replaced by the simplex verb *gbú* 'cut'/'kill'. I would predict that this ungrammaticality is removed or mitigated if the object is animate. If such a contrast exists, it would reflect the syncategoremic selection of the meaning of the verb *gbú*: from an aspectual point of view, a 'cut' tree is not a delimitor, whereas a 'cut' person is. *gbú* means 'cut [with a knife]/carve' both etymologically (Crowther 1882: 16*ff*., 48; Thomas 1913 vol. 2: 23*f*., 144*ff*.; vol. 5: 21) and synchronically in: *gbú mmà* 'cut with a knife' (Ụ̀waláàka 1981b: 181), *gbú-dà* 'cut down [to the ground]', *gbú-tù* 'cut down [for use]', *gbú ichi* 'cut forehead initiation marks'. Crowther also cites [*g*]*bí*, presumably the protoform that underwent backing of *i*>*u* in labial syllables, cf. data (33c) of chapter 1. Possible cognates, Ẹ̀do *gbẹ́n* and Yorùbá *gbẹ́*, both meaning 'carve', have front vowels.

The choice of serialization vs. compounding is not free, but depends on the semantics of the predicate. Unless the verbs in (31) are compounded, the construction could only refer to consecutive events, as in (33a), or else is flatly ungrammatical, as in (33b). The two verbs in (32a) cannot be compounded, nor can the complex predicate in (32a) be expressed by a simplex verb plus prepositional phrase, as in (34).

33a. Àdḥá tì-rì Ézè íhe (wè-é) gbú-o ẏá. 'Adha beat Eze and (then) killed him'
beat-ØAsp thing take-Asp kill-Asp 3sg-Gen

b. *Àdḥá gbà-ra fúèl jú-o mótò.
pour-ØAsp petrol fill-Asp car

34. *Àdḥá bḥà-ra jí nà ḿmà ékḥwú).
peel-ØAsp yam Prep knife kitchen-Gen

Lord 1977 denies that the sentences in (32) are examples of verb serialization, a label which she restricts (apparently *a priori*) to action-result sequences. Nevertheless, Lord (1982: 288 ex. 29) describes a fully parallel construction in Ìdọmà as serial. And the so-called object marker *jì* exists as an independent verb meaning 'hold'. Ìgbo is therefore a *partially* serializing language.

To distinguish serialization from incorporation (V-V compounding), Baker (1988b,d) appeals to Case theory. In a serial construction, both lexical heads are potential structural-Case assigners. In (35a), *mú* 'take' assigns structural Case to *ọwọ́* 'hand', and *jẹ* 'eat' assigns structural Case to *ịyán* 'pounded.yam'. In a V-V compound, only one lexical head may assign structural Case; the other assigns inherent Case (if this is an option). In (35b), *is-* 'cause' assigns structural Case to *bashanyana* 'boys', and *rat-* 'like' assigns inherent Case to *joala* 'beer'.

35a. Ajé mú ọwọ́ jẹ ịyán. 'Aje ate pounded yam with [his] hand'
take hand eat pounded.yam (Yorùbá)

b. Banna ba-rat-is-a bashanyana joala. 'Men make the boys like beer'
men Agr-like-cause boys beer (Sesotho, from Machobane 1990)

In Sesotho, incorporated lexical heads are affixes, while in Ìgbo they may be either affixes or full verbs (Lord 1985). By Baker's hypothesis, *θ*-assigning affixes project full phrase structure, so this parametric difference is not syntactic but morphological. In Benue-Congo languages with rich object agreement like Kinyarwanda, a compound verb can assign two Structural Cases in a complex predicate such as a benefactive construction, cf. Baker 1990.

V-V compounding aside, all serializing languages still do not have the same range of constructions. Lefebvre 1988b reports that the second verb of a Fɔ̀n serial construction (36a) must independently form an anticausative, cf. (36b); otherwise, a complex predicate cannot be formed by *θ*-role composition, and the construction refers just to a sequence of events, cf. (37).[20]

36a. Kɔ̀kú sɔ́ àtí xò Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú hit Àsíbá with a stick'
'take' stick hit

b. Àtí xò Àsíbá. 'A/the stick hit Àsíbá'
stick hit

37a. Kɔ̀kú sɔ́ àtí hù Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú took a stick and [then] killed Àsíbá'
'take' stick kill 'Kɔ̀kú took a stick in order to kill Àsíbá'
['*Kɔ̀kú killed Àsíbá with a stick']

b. *Àtí hù Àsíbá.
stick kill

[20] Lefebvre's gloss of sɔ́ as 'take', and her lexico-semantic analysis, are critiqued in §2.1.4 below.

This restriction fails in Yorùbá: (35a) is grammatical, even though *jẹ* 'eat' cannot anticausativize:

38. *Ọwọ́ jẹ iyán.
hand eat pounded.yam

Baker 1989b stipulates this difference by stating that structural Case assignment is obligatory in Fɔ̀n, optional in Yorùbá. The failure of the Fɔ̀n verb *hù* 'kill' in (37a) to license a single-event serial construction is then explained by the fact that, unlike *xò* 'hit', *hù* cannot be anticausative (i.e. cannnot "retract" its structural Case in accordance with Burzio's generalization), cf. (37b) vs. (36b). And it is semantically plausible that a verb that means 'kill' is inherently causative, so its hypothetical anticausative version would be nonsense. But the same consideration does not apply to a verb meaning 'hit'. The object of 'kill' is necessarily affected, but the object of 'hit' is not.

Baker's Case parameter can be extended to Ìgbo. If every transitive Ìgbo verb assigns both an obligatory structural Case and an optional inherent Case (Nwáchukwu 1987c), then two transitive verbs can form a syntactic compound under two scenarios:[21]

39. Two Ìgbo verbs form a (syntactic) V-V compound if either (a) or (b):
  a. The 'direct argument' of both verbs is the same (as in 31a).
  b. i. The underlying 'direct argument' of V_1 gets Inherent Case from V_2, (as in 31b), *and*
  ii. the V_2 can undergo "ergative Case retraction".

Concerning (39b-ii), the ability of the ergative verb *jú* 'fill/be full' to optionally assign inherent Case is independently shown by (40):

40a. Mótò ju-ru (nà fúèl). 'The car (i.e. the tank) is full (of fuel)'
car fill-ØAsp Prep petrol

b. Mótò ju-ru (nà mádḥù). 'The car (i.e. the seating) is full (of passengers)'
car fill-ØAsp Prep human.being

Now consider the two verbs in an example of Ìgbo serialization, (32a) above. The second verb does not undergo the ergative alternation:

41. *Jí bḥà-ra (nà ḿmà ékḥwú).
yam peel-ØAsp Prep knife kitchen-Gen

Therefore the formation of a compound verb **jí-bḥa* is ruled out.

The equivalence of (39a) and (39b) as sufficient conditions for V-V compounding suggests that, while structural Case assignment in Ìgbo is obligatory, inherent Case assignment is optional. So Ìgbo fits into Baker's typological array as in (42):

42.		*Structural Case*	*Inherent Case*
	Yorùbá	optional	
	Fɔ̀n	obligatory	
	Ìgbo	obligatory	optional
	Sesotho	obligatory	obligatory

[21] Lord 1975 and Ẹ́ménanjọ (1975a, 1979a) observe that many Ìgbo V-V compounds are lexicalized; but lexical compounds have the same structure as those formed by affixation in the syntax. Either the second member is a bound form, or two free forms combine idiomatically, as in this example (contrast with (32a) above):

i. Àdḥá rì-gbu-ru Ézè. 'Adha cheated Eze'
eat-kill-Asp

Ìgbo has a few unanalyzable bisyllabic verbs, but it has zero V-V compounds whose first member is bound and second member free. The first member of any compound is its syntactic head.

There are several conceptual problems with (42) as a parametrization of serial constructions. First, it relies on Baker's (1989a) argument-sharing account of the thematic licensing of serial constructions as complex predicates, which requires a phrase-structure parameter (i.e. a language-particular template defined at d-structure). This kind of parameter is implausible if, as Baker assumes, d-structure is a 'pure' projection of thematic structure.

Second, to account for the linear order of verbs in his argument sharing template, Baker is forced to invoke the Tematic Hierarchy, a construct which is problematic because it encodes non-localistic relationships among arguments in polyadic predicates, cf. Déchaine 1989.

A third reason to question (42) concerns the status of Case features in the lexicon. If Case is a licensing principle of s-structure, then the annotation of lexical entries with Case features is diacritic. If θ-assigners can be freely marked with Case features, empirical generalizations which link thematic and Case properties (e.g. Burzio 1986) are rendered circular.

For these reasons, I pursue a thematic account of the language types in (42). §2.1.2 reviews some lexical parameters of Kwa as a whole. §2.1.3 proposes constraints on the format of lexical conceptual structures, which dispense with a thematic hierarchy. §2.1.4-§2.1.5 eliminate polyadicity from the lexical entries of Yorùbá and Ìgbo.

2.1.2 How to be a Kwa lexicon[22]

Since Koelle 1854 and Westermann 1927, the Kwa languages (including Kru) have been recognized as a typological subgroup of Niger-Congo. There is a list of syntactic properties, both positive and negative, which, while individually not unique to Kwa, consistently pattern together there. (43) lists some properties of lexical (V, P, A, N) categories in Kwa. The rightmost column captures Kwa lexical categories by feature redundancy, assuming the standard syntactic features.

	positive traits	*negative traits*	*feature analysis*
43a.	verb serialization	few prepositions	[- N, α V]
b.	many stative verbs	few adjectives	[β N, + V]
c.	classifier phrase anaphors and *wh*-expressions *John*$_i$ *saw* [*his*$_i$ *body*]$_i$ [*What person*]$_i$ [t$_i$ *came*]?	no lexical NP-movement (i.e. no morphological anaphors, no reflexive/reciprocal distinction)	* [+ N, - V + anaphoric + overt]
d.	cognate objects *John laughed laughter.*	no syntactic NP-movement (i.e. no passive, no raising)	* [+ N, - V + anaphoric - overt]

In Kwa, unlike English, neither prepositions nor adjectives form large, open classes syntactically distinct from verbs.[23] The features in (43a-b) define two overlapping archi-categories—call them P/V and V/A. By transitivity, these form a single category P/V/A which covers a wide range of eventive and stative predicates.[24]

[22] Apologies to Williamson 1984, who applied this self-help metaphor in a diachronic context.

[23] Welmers 1973 shows that Adjective is not a major category of Ìgbo. Ìgbo verbs translate English adjectives and prepositions, cf. Nwáchukwu 1976. Haitian, apart from adverbs (*pre* 'nearby', *vè* 'approximately') and bare nouns (*alantou* 'vicinity', *anba* 'underside', *bò* 'side'), has just a handful of prepositions: *ak* 'with', *pa* 'by', *pou* 'for', *san* 'without', *sou* 'on'. The item *nan* 'in/at' may well be a verb meaning 'be.in/be.at'.

[24] The ideophone is a P/V/A predicate of sound-symbolism, see Awóyalé 1980 and Mádùká 1984.

In languages satisfying both (43a) and (43b), i.e. languages where prepositions and adjectives are minor, closed classes, the lexical opposition P/V/A vs. N might be represented with a single feature [±N]. If the major-class lexical features reflect the distribution of basic semantic properties such as substantive and predicative (Chomsky 1974; 1981: 48) or argument and functor (Reuland 1986: 47), then the difference between a lexicon with two such features (the familiar [±N, ±V] lexicon) and a "one-feature lexicon" is a matter of redundancy. In a one-feature lexicon which satisfies the biconditional relation [+V]⇔[-N], there is an implication that all predicates are nonsubstantives, and vice-versa.[25]

The category N in Kwa is subject to a restriction of its own: it is never A-bound. That is, there are no lexical or syntactic anaphors, i.e. no elements, covert or overt, with the features [+N, -V, +anaphoric]. There are just phrasal anaphors, of the form *X's body* (see §3.2 below) Following Bouchard 1984, we expect overt and covert anaphors to pattern together, i.e. the absence of a class of X^0 reflexives predicts the absence of passive and raising. Also in line with the absence of NP-movement, are the claims by Awóbùlúyì 1972 and Éménanjọ 1984 that all verbs are underlyingly transitive, in Yorùbá and Ìgbo (respectively).

Thus, the two basic typological traits of Kwa lexical categories, expressed in standard features, are [+V]⇔[-N] and *[$_N$ + anaphoric]. These may be related at a deeper level, currently obscure.

2.1.3 Selection vs. argument sharing

Larson 1988 points out that a serial construction like (35a) translates in English by secondary predication: *Aje ate pounded yam* [*with his hand = by hand = manually*]. Given the freedom of occurrence of multiple PPs and APs in languages like English, a plausible consequence of the lexical P/V/A category in Kwa is free serialization. As with other cases of free syntactic concatenation, the problem is how to rule out ill-formed combinations. The optimal claim is that the constraints on serialization in a given language are based solely on the morphological and semantic selectional properties of the lexical items concerned.

Apart from inherent syntactic category, morphological selectional constraints concern the status of a lexical item as a bound or free form, and the direction of affixation (prefix or suffix). Closely related languages may differ in the status of an item as bound or free. For example, Éménanjọ 1981 observes that some aspectual morphemes which are verbal suffixes in Southern Igboid (e.g. Òweré) are auxiliaries in northern Igboid (e.g. Ìgboụ́zọ̀), with Ǹnéèwì in an intermediate position. The respective Yorùbá morphemes, however, are all auxiliaries (Oyèlárán 1989b).

44.

	Ìgbo			Yorùbá
	Òweré	Ǹnéèwì	Ìgboụ́zọ̀	(Standard)
anticipated	gà	yà	gà	yíò
habitual	jì	nà	nà	(má)a
progressive	–ga	nà	nà	ń
prior	–na–a–na	–bu–lu	tè[26]	kọ́kọ́
perfective	–é–la	–ná	–gé–a	ti
negative	–hụn	–họ	–shọ	(k)ò

[25] Hale (1988, 1989) reports that Warlpiri nouns systematically translate English adjectives and prepositions, hence its redundancy is the inverse of that found in Yorùbá.

[26] The 'prior' auxiliary *tè* in Ìgboụ́zọ̀ may be related to the Yorùbá verb *tètè* 'be early'.

In (44), suffixes are preceded by a hyphen. Independent of morphology (c[ategory]-selection), lexical items can differ in semantic selectional properties. There are at least two kinds of semantic restriction which one word can impose on another. On the one hand: restrictions of predication, for example the requirement of an agentive subject for predicates which inherently involve intentional action. Just such a restriction distinguishes the verbs *swim* and *float*. Consider the following:

45a. #The book swam.
b. The book floated.
c. #The rock floated.
d. While fishing, I dropped my book in the river and watched it "swim" downstream.
e. On the movie set, a styrofoam "rock" floated in the Martian canal.

Because books aren't animate, (45a) violates a predication restriction of agentivity. By comparison, (45b) is well-formed, since *float* does not impose this restriction. Indeed, it has been argued that, at a deeper level, the external argument of *float* is no external argument at all, but an internal argument (cf. Burzio 1986). That *float* imposes some semantic restriction on its internal argument, is shown by (45c). Both phenomena are based in knowledge about the world (the activity of swimming cannot be predicated of books, nor the state of floating of rocks), but there is still an asymmetry in the two kinds of violations, as shown by the "saved" versions in (45d-e). To save the predication violation in (45a), the verb *swim* is altered, cf. (45d), whereas to save the semantic restriction in (45c), the noun "rock" is altered, cf. (45e).

Metaphysical considerations affect pragmatic restrictions, since knowledge about the world is mediated by "philosophy". Hale 1973 (cited in Hale 1986: 234) reports that some Navajo speakers limit subject-object inversion to [+human] subjects, on the grounds that humans are "the possessors of language, and therefore of the power to control events."

The restriction in (45a) I will call p(redicate)-selection, as distinct from s(emantic)-selection, the selection of an internal argument which is violated in (45c). P-selection holds between lexical categories of the form XP (or X^{max}), e.g. NP (subject) and VP (predicate). S-selection, on the other hand, holds between an X^0 head and its complement.[27]

46. S(emantic)-selection of the complement of a lexical head.
P(redicate)-selection of the external argument of a lexical projection.

Now consider some examples where s-selection and p-selection interact. (46a) predicts that a predicate can be ambiguous as to whether it violates s-selection or p-selection. For example, the phrase [*ate the book*] is interpretable in two ways. S-selection may be satisfied literally, at the cost of pragmatic plausibility, as in (47a). These pragmatics are ameliorated in (47b). Or else, *eat* can metaphorically acquire a wider s-selection, as in (47c).

47a. #John [ate the book].
b. Ollie's shredder "ate" the president's compromising letter.
c. At the bookstore, John ordered 1,000 copies of Nixon's book. When it didn't sell, the head buyer made him "eat" the book (= the loss was deducted from his pay.)

[27] Chomsky (1986: 13) groups p-selection and s-selection together as L(exical)-marking. Baker 1988c adds a third, intermediate type, which is both indirect (selecting sister of $\overline{V}$) and VP-internal, cf. (71b). I will show that Baker's 'indirect θ-marking' which blurs the distinction in (46) is unnecessary.

Eat in (47b) means 'consume/absorb (e.g. a financial loss)'. This metaphorical extension is systematic: in many languages (including Ìgbo and Yorùbá) the verb which translates English *eat* also means 'consume, enjoy, embezzle'. This effect is different from what obtains with *swim* in (45), which is circumscribed by stylistic intent and idiosyncratic context.

To recognize both s-selection and p-selection, predicts that subjects of unaccusative verbs (external arguments which originate as the (internal) sister of V^0) are selectionally licensed in both ways. This prediction is borne out in examples like (48). (48a) can be interpreted either pragmatically, by understanding *Bill* as *Bill's body*, cf. (48b), or else metaphorically, by understanding *rotted* as *malingered* or *dissipated*, cf. (48c):

48a. #Bill rotted.
b. "Bill" (i.e. Bill's corpse) rotted for years after his death.
c. Bill "rotted" (away) in graduate school.

The claim that s-selection is limited to internal arguments, predicts that unergative verbs (e.g. *laugh*) will not be ambiguous in this way. (49a), to my intuition, is a pure pragmatic violation. (49b), which is metaphorically licensed, actually supports the prediction, since *laugh* in that example means something more like like *emit a chuckling or chattering noise*—in other words, the verb has become unaccusative, like *groan*, cf. (49c).

49a. #The chair laughed.
b. The chair "laughed" (as it skidded along the polished wooden floor).
c. The chair "groaned" (when the elephant sat on it).

A selectional story about Romance causatives

Chomsky (1988: 12ff.) discusses an interesting example of s-selection. In Spanish, animate objects must be introduced by *a*, cf. (50a). Italian does not have this restriction, cf. (51a). Both languages have a so-called '*a* causative': a complex predicate in which the embedded subject is marked by the morpheme *a*. In the *a* causative, the embedded subject (or "Causee", cf. Marantz 1984) is always animate. The two languages differ with respect to the embedded object. In Spanish, the embedded object of an *a* causative cannot be animate (50b vs. 50c), but either animate or inanimate embedded objects are fine in corresponding examples in Italian (51b,c).

50a. Juan acusó *a* Pedro. (*Juan acusó Pedro.) 'Juan accused Pedro'
b. Juan hizo arreglar el carro *a* Maria. 'Juan had Maria fix the car'
c. *Juan hizo denunciar *a* Pedro *a* Maria. ['Juan had Maria accuse Pedro']

51a. Giovanni accusò Piero. 'Giovanni accused Piero'
b. Giovanni ha fatto riparare la macchina *a* Maria. 'Giovanni had Maria fix the car'
c. Giovanni ha fatto accusare Piero *a* Maria. 'Giovanni had Maria accuse Piero'

Evidently, Spanish verbs s-select [–animate]. From this, together with the grammaticality of (50a) in which *a* appears before *Pedro*, it follows that this *a* is a real preposition, rather than a "dummy case marker" (as has been claimed in many analyses). A mere case marker, which by definition can impose no semantic restriction on its complement, must therefore fail to save a s-selectional violation between verb and object. Of course, someone wishing to maintain that *a* is a mere Case marker could complicate the statement of the restriction as follows: Spanish verbs do not permit complements which are both [+direct] and [+animate]. But this disjunctive statement, like the "curly brackets" of generative phonology, simply restates the problem diacritically.

On the other hand, by the Predicate Opacity Condition of Williams (1980, 1988), if *a* is a "real" preposition, one expects it to prevent an animate object from violating the [–animate] s-selection requirement of the verb. Which in fact it does, since (50a) is grammatical.

The next question is why (50c), with two occurrences of *a*, is ungrammatical. Consider two possibilities. If the same thematic structure underlies both (50c) and (51c), the only difference is Case assignment. In Spanish, the [–animate] constraint forces the complex verb *hacer-denunciar* to assign inherent Case to the embedded object *Pedro*, so (50c) is out because the verb cannot assign inherent Case a second time to the embedded subject *Maria*.

The Case solution runs into trouble in Italian. From a Case viewpoint, there is nothing wrong with (51c), but in the *a* causative, Burzio observes that "[a]nimate embedded objects are allowed only with a handful of verbs" (1986: 309). With most verbs, the *a* causative with animate embedded object is nearly as ill-formed in Italian as in Spanish, cf. (52a), while the nearly synonymous *da* causative is well-formed, cf. (52b).

52a. ??Giovanni ha fatto aiutare Piero *a* Maria. ['Giovanni had Maria help Piero']
b. Giovanni ha fatto aiutare Piero *da* Maria. 'Giovanni had Piero helped by Maria'

Kayne 1975 (cited by Burzio 1986: 268) observes an even stronger contrast in French, for verbs like *matraquer* 'bludgeon' which require an animate object:

53a. *Jean a fait matraquer ce garçon *à* Marie. ['Jean had Marie bludgeon that boy']
b. Jean a fait matraquer ce garçon *par* Marie. 'Jean had that boy bludgeoned by Marie'

To maintain the Case analysis, one would have to claim that *fare-accusare* (51c) assigns both structural and inherent Case, while *fare-aiutare* (52) and *faire-matraquer* (53) assign just structural Case. But this is completely arbitrary, since what differs is the structural Case assigner (*accusare* vs. *aiutare/matraquer*), while the presumed inherent Case assigner (*fare/faire*) stays the same.

More doubt is cast on the Case analysis, as opposed to s-selection, by other examples cited by Burzio 1986: French (54a)—originally noticed by Ruwet and Wehrli—and Italian (54b):

54a. Jean fait téléphoner *à* Paul *à* Marie. 'Jean had Marie phone Pierre'
b. Fa stringere la mano *al* direttore *a* Maria! 'Make Maria shake the director's hand'

If there was a general problem with double assignment of inherent Case, neither of these sentences should be grammatical. But Burzio observes that double datives "are not always ungrammatical, and …to the extent that they are not, they are unambiguous" (1986: 243). In other words, the constraint violated by (50c) and (52a) is not structural, but thematic.

Abandoning the assumption that prepositions simply transmit Case from the verb, leaves the premise that there is a thematic difference between (50c) and (51c). This means that causative *a* is an autonomous θ-assigner, roughly like English *to* in (22).[28] In fact, a selectional relation must be assumed to exist between *hacer/fare/faire* and *a*, in the derivation of the *a* causative. On the other hand, (50a) shows that not all tokens of *a* are selected (licensed) in the same way. In particular, the preposition in (50a) is not selected by the verb alone; rather, it appears to be "co-selected" by the animate object and the verb which rejects animate objects, as a kind of predicate opacity effect. Although it is not clear why the licensing of *a* works this way in Spanish nevertheless, by hypothesis, it is not a Case phenomenon. It remains to pursue the consequences of this hypothesis.

[28] For a rather casual argument to the contrary, cf. Zubizarreta (1987: 114).

Suppose that (50c) is ill-formed because the complex predicate contains two tokens of the same *θ*-assigner (*a*), licensed (selected) in two different ways. This situation, which violates something like the converse of Chomsky's Uniformity Condition (1986b: 97f.), does not not exist in (54a-b), because the same kind of selection occurs in both *a* phrases. In (54a), the first *à* is selected by *téléphoner* and the second by *faire*. In (54b), the first *a* is selected by *stringere la mano* and the second by *fare*. In both cases, the verb selects the preposition, so no thematic constraint is violated.[29]

This leaves the contrast between grammatical (51c), marginal (52a) and ungrammatical (53a). Here, it will not do to appeal to a uniformity constraint on the thematic selection (s-selection) of prepositions, since there is only one preposition in each sentence. Rather, by Burzio's testimony quoted above, the weight of explanation rests on the "handful" of verbs which permit animate embedded objects as in (51c). According to Burzio, the majority of Italian data, together with Kayne's French examples, resemble the Spanish situation (50c) quite closely. Both Italian and French *a* causatives respect the same constraint which all transitive verbs respect in Spanish: they select [-animate]. Why the constraint is more general in Spanish than in the other languages is an open question; for now, it is enough to observe that a selectional constraint is at the bottom of things. One can speculate that causatives like *fare-accusare* permit an animate object, just because it is somehow "dehumanized" by the meaning of the verb. To test this idea would require the complete list of such verbs, but the parallelism of the animacy constraint in Italian (52) and French (53) makes the selectional account the null hypothesis, so the effort of looking would be repaid.

The rest of this chapter explores the hypothesis that distributional restrictions on predicates in serial constructions reflect the distinction between s-selection and p-selection, as expressed in a version of Lexical Conceptual Structure which maximizes the formal difference between these two. Baker does not need this distinction, because he claims that the typology of serial constructions is determined mainly by Case. In their different ways, both Baker and Larson hold thematic structure constant, while varying Case-assignment parameters. After presenting and critiquing their Case-based accounts of polyadicity, I pose the alternative, which holds Case assignment constant and varies the thematic content of lexical entries. The study of complex predicates in Yorùbá and Ìgbo shows that selectional properties of lexical entries underly generalizations which cannot be stated in a Case-based approach.

Linearization

For Baker 1988c, the possibility of verb serialization is given by a d-structure parameter:

55. The structure $[\overline{V} \ldots V \ldots \overline{V}\ ]$ is allowed.[30]

(55) enables two or more verbs to co-project an asymmetrically multiple-headed VP, within which they "share" internal arguments.

In languages which lack (55), Baker allows lexical heads to differ individually in the Case-assignment property, cf. (56a). In languages which have (55), Baker constrains its scope by a global condition on Case assignment, cf. (56b).

[29] The linear order of the verbs and their arguments in these causatives is not at issue here; both the Case and the thematic hypotheses have to account for the fact that *hacer/fare/faire* is not adjacent to the embedded subject, in contrast to the English version *have Mary phone John*.

[30] In Baker 1989a, (55) is subsumed in a more general option, cf. (152) below.

56a. Kinyarwanda *-ir* [applicative] has structural Case features…
Chichewa [dialect A][31] *-ir* [applicative] has no structural Case features. (Baker 1988d)

b. Verbs with a Case to assign must assign it in Fɔ̀n and Haitian
but not in Yorùbá and Sranan. (Baker 1989b)

The distribution of verbs in the phrase structure in (55) is governed by the Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH, Baker 1985), and the thematic hierarchy:

57. Goals compose with the verb before patients (Larson 1988).
Instruments compose with the verb after patients (Marantz 1984). (Baker 1989d)

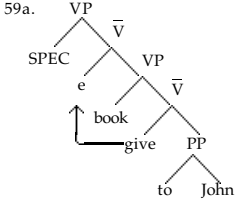
(57) leads to a universal argument structure representation for GIVE:[32]

58. GIVE [Agent [Theme [Goal]]]

Oddly enough, no instance of *give* conforms fully to (58). In the English and Ìgbo double object constructions (7a) and (28a), the Goal precedes the Theme. (Yorùbá lacks a double object construction.) In the English prepositional dative (7b) and the Yorùbá serial dative (24), the order of *θ*-roles is as in (58) but there are two lexical heads. (Ìgbo lacks a prepositional dative.) In the Yorùbá antidative (23), the order is Themeû Goal and there are arguably two lexical heads. (English and Ìgbo lack an antidative.) For those who assume universal (58), therefore, the problem is how to linearize it. Larson and Baker face this problem somewhat differently, although they both appeal to Case theory.

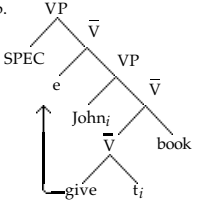
Larson 1988a derives the English double object and prepositional dative constructions from (58) by the following steps. He first assumes that *give* originates next to the Goal argument, in the "innermost" constituent. Then, by the Single Complement Hypothesis (1988a: 380-81), he postulates an empty lexical head, projected above a triadic *give*, to which the verb raises, bringing both internal arguments within the verb's government domain. Larson relates the prepositional dative (59a) to the double object (59b) by NP-movement within the lower VP, so that a single lexical entry gives rise to both Themeû Goal and Goalû Theme surface orders:

59a.



⇒ Move-NP (= Passive):
[Demote subject θ-role
Suppress inherent Case]

b.



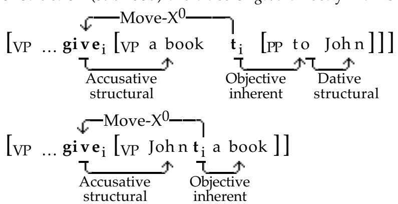
Larson (1988: 343) likens V-to-empty-V raising to the V-to-empty-Infl raising proposed by Koopman 1985. But if V-to-empty-V raising is an instance of Move-X^0 (Larson 1998b: 343, *fn.* 9), it violates the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984): the higher V, lacking lexical content, is no proper governor. English also has a "rule R" (Chomsky 1981: 256) of Infl-to-V lowering, which ensures the "V-visibility" (Roberts 1985a) that Larson invokes, and which is regarded as making

[31] Baker's, "Chichewa dialect A" refers the central Malawi form of the language described in Mchombo 1978, Bresnan and Mchombo 1987, Bresnan and Kanerva 1989.

[32] In the argument structure literature, universal semantic predicates are written in all upper case. I use upper case notation only for lexical constants, which have their own independent entries, as above.

V-to-Infl superfluous (Pollock 1988, Lema 1988). Why doesn't rule R lower Infl "all the way", instead of the two processes converging on the empty lexical head?

To derive the different linearizations of *give* from Case theory, Larson posits both a structured, polyadic predicate and an empty lexical head. But, if Case is realized at s-structure (or—even assuming a more involved scenario of Case checking at various representational levels—at least somewhere in the syntax), one may question the diacritic marking of Case properties in the lexicon. In fact, Larson's Case analysis is covertly thematic, since it relies on the distinction between inherent ("semantic") and structural Case. After V-to-empty-V raising, the trace of *give* in the prepositional dative construction (59a=60a) transmits inherent Case via *to*, while in the double object construction (59b=60b) the trace of *give* directly marks *book* with inherent Case:

60a.
b.


Although Larson's V-to-empty-V approach makes crucial use of the triadic property of a single lexical head *give*, as expressed in the argument structure formula in (58), this thematic representation is not sufficient. The dative⇔double object relation also hinges on the relationship between two contentful heads: a verb and a preposition. Larson ascribes the lack of a double object construction for verbs like *donate* to the non-redundancy of the prepositional θ-role, cf. (61a). This contrasts with the situation for *give*, where the verb assigns its own Goal role (61b) and the thematic contribution of *to* is redundant, so that "its grammatical contribution effectively 'reduces' to Case marking" (1988a: 370). *Spare* (61c) fails to form a prepositional dative because "*to* is semantically incompatible with the role *spare* assigns to its third argument" (1988a: 375).

	internal θ-grid of V	⇔	*θ-grid of* to	*dative*	*double object*
61a. *donate*	Theme, Beneficiary	complementarity	Goal	+	
b. *give*	Theme, (Beneficiary), Goal	redundancy	Goal	+	+
c. *spare*	Theme, Beneficiary, *Goal	mismatch	Goal		+

Although the idea of thematic licensing in (61) is plausible, the θ-grid format fits it badly. Larson makes the Beneficiary role optional for *give*, recognizing that it is compositionally determined. In (62), *give* (*to*) denotes a simple transfer of location, cf. (63):

62a. John gave his Mastercard to the cashier.
b. John gave the cashier his Mastercard.
63a. John handed his Mastercard to the cashier.
b. John handed the cashier his Mastercard.

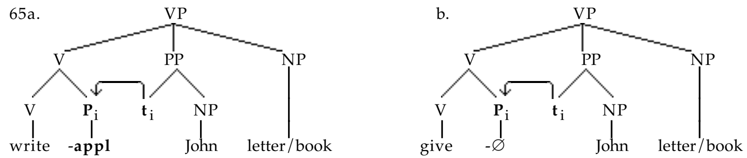
But the facts are less symmetrical. The possibility the Beneficiary role arises just in the prepositional dative (64a = Larson 1988: 340 ex. 9b). If the Beneficiary role forms part of the argument structure of *give*, what blocks it in the double object construction (64b)?

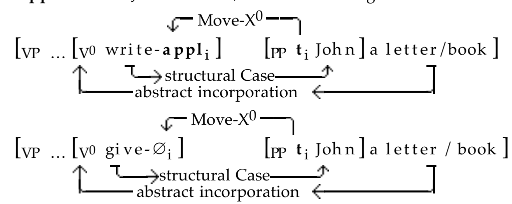
64a. Beethoven gave his Fifth Symphony to the world.
b. ??Beethoven gave the world his Fifth Symphony.

The failure of (64b) suggests that the Beneficiary is projected by the preposition, not the verb.

Larson offers explicit thematic grids for *donate* and *give*, but not for *spare* (61c). I have used the notational device "*Goal" to represent his observation of "semantic incompatibility" between verb and dative preposition. But this device, like the "optionality" of the Beneficiary role of *give*, just reveals the formal arbitrariness of θ-role labels.

(61) shows that, over and above the empty head generated by the Single Complement Hypothesis for purposes of verb raising, double objects are licensed by two thematic relations. Baker (1988c) provides a syntactic treatment of this idea. The Benue-Congo construction corresponding to the English double object involves two overt lexical heads: a free form (verb) and an *applicative* affix. Baker 1988a analyzes this affix as an incorporated preposition:



66a.
b.


Building on Marantz' (1984) analysis of applicatives, Baker reformulates inherent Case as abstract noun incorporation, similar to Larson's "V̄-reanalysis": the verb plus its structural (applied) object form a constituent with the capacity to Case-mark a second complement. This makes double object constructions "zero applicative" verbs (1988a: 285)—structurally parallel to applicatives, except that the incorporated preposition is morphologically zero. Baker thereby derives the triadic nature of English double-object *give* in essentially the same way as the complex Benue-Congo verb *write-appl*:

67.	Chicheŵa	*write+appl*	} structural Case + abstract incorporation
	Chicheŵa	*give+∅*	
	English	*give+∅*	
	English	*give…to*	structural Case + prepositional transmission of inherent Case

Baker's proposal is closer than Larson's to the view in Chomsky (1955: 494, ex. 247) that the deep structure of *give* is *Mary* [*gave to John*] *a book*, with underlying Agentû Goalû Theme order.

The analysis of *give* as an applicative verb creates semantic problems. The thematic range of non-zero applicatives is wider than that of double object constructions (zero applicatives); on Baker's analysis this is a mystery. In *write John a letter*, even if the letter is not sent, there is an

implicit Recipient. *Mail John a letter* is grammatical iff *John* is Recipient and not Beneficiary. By contrast, a benefactive applicative such as *write a book for John* doesn't entail that the book is sent, but the double object version lacks this freedom: *write John a book* is very odd unless understood metaphorically (a truly voluminous letter). **Write a book to John* is simply ungrammatical.

Alternatively, the representation of *give* in (21c) explains the semantic restriction on the double object, in line with Tenny's (1987: 229f.) aspectual analysis for the double-object version of *send*. The argument adjacent to the verb is obligatorily affected, thereby ruling out **send Tokyo a letter*. (21c) lexically decomposes English *give* into an aspectual prefix (*affect x*) and a thematic predicate (*receive y*). The *affect x* prefix in (21c) is required in the representation of any lexical head which θ-marks two internal arguments. In non-zero applicatives, affectedness does not come into play, because there are two lexical heads.

Baker (1988c, exx. 3a and 22) notes a third applicative type, glossed 'on behalf of/instead of'. Baker (1988a: 470f. *fn.* 31) cites a fourth type: a "reason applicative" which translates (to me slightly quaint) English sentences like *The baby cried for hunger*. In still other cases, the applicative object can be locative or instrumental. Despite this semantic range, Baker (1988a: 251ff.; 1988c *fn.* 3) observes a lexical gap. English constructions like *The athlete ran for the spectators* are impossible to translate as applicatives in Chichêwa (and in many other Benue-Congo languages). Unlike Larson's hypothesis about the lack of double object *donate* (61a), Baker's account for the applicative gap is framed in terms of Case assignment:

> [T]he possibility of an applicative construction is directly dependent on the ability of the verb root involved to assign Case. When it does, applicatives can be formed freely and productively in the syntax; when it does not, there is no grammatical output derived by syntactic Preposition Incorporation. (Baker 1988a: 258)

Baker (1988a: 246) dubs this correlation of structural Case with the applicative affix, which forces Goalû Theme order in (50) and (51), Marantz' Generalization. The nonoccurrence of the reverse order is predicted if we can say why prepositions, which are potentially structural Case assigners, nevertheless do not assign the Theme role to their direct argument. The situation in English is different: the order of internal arguments in the prepositional dative is the reverse of the double object because non-null English prepositions don't incorporate.

Baker (1988a,c; 1989b) also discusses languages (including Kinyarwanda and Sesotho) in which applicative objects need not occur adjacent to the verb. In these languages, there is independent evidence that the applicative affix is a structural Case assigner, so that an applicative construction can translate examples like *The athlete ran for the spectators*. This can only be true if the intransitive verb inherits the structural Case of the affix. In such languages, for a verb that is already transitive, the [V + *appl*] word assigns two structural Cases.

An incorporation analysis does not extend to the Yorùbá serial dative or antidative, since each Case assigner in that language is an independent verb. But there are nevertheless ordering constraints among lexical heads in Yorùbá serial constructions (cf. Awóyalé 1988), for which there are two possible explanations. They may, like Marantz' Generalization, be based on a Thematic Hierarchy, in which case every head must form part of a single complex predicate to which the Hierarchy applies. This idea underlies Baker's (1988d) argument-sharing proposal for Yorùbá serial constructions, which parallels Larson's θ-role matching analysis of English. But Awóyalé

shows that ordering regularities of constituents in Yorùbá serial constructions extend beyond what can be expressed in terms of co-argumenthood, and hence beyond the scope of a Thematic Hierarchy.

To escape this conclusion, Baker excludes from the rubric of serial constructions, and from his d-structure parameter (54), any combination of verbs which refers to more than one event. On the other hand, if single-event serial constructions follow from semantically-based principles without the need to posit a d-structure parameter, nothing prevents these principles from generalizing to multi-event serial constructions. The next section pursues this alternative.

2.1.4 Are there triadic verbs in Yorùbá?

To explain "Why serialization?", some have appealed to the restricted nature of prepositions in serializing languages (e.g. Sebba 1987, Awóyalé 1987, Larson 1988b). Déchaine 1989b takes the opposite tack, asking "Why not serialization in English?", and seeks the answer in terms of the nature of prepositions in languages which lack serial verb constructions. Both views, highly modular, are orthogonal to Baker's parametric analysis of serialization.

Loosening the Projection Principle by a d-structure parameter, Baker claims that multiple verbs which refer to a single event (his "serial constructions proper") are licensed by the possibility of argument sharing within a recursive $\overline{V}$. A finer-grained version of (55) is (68):

68. $[_{VP} \dots [_{\overline{V}} V_1 \dots [_{\overline{V}} V_2 \dots]]]$ (cf. Baker 1988c, 1989a)

(68) is not an adjunction structure, because neither $\overline{V}$ segment counts as the head of the whole. Baker's analysis of (69) is sketched in (70).

69. Bàbá mi ra èwù bùn mi. 'My father bought me a garment'
father 1sg buy garment present 1sg (= Baker 1988c from Oyèláràn 1982)

70. father Agent of V_1 and V_2 $[_{VP} \dots [_{\overline{V}}$ buy garment $[_{\overline{V}}$ present 1sg $]]]$
Theme of V_1; Theme of V_2; Goal of V_2

The projection of (70) requires three types of θ-marking, listed in (71).

	level	type of θ-marking	θ-marked position	interpretation
71a.	VP	*external,predicational*	external argument of VP	*father* = $\text{Agent}_{1\&2}$
b.	$\overline{V}$	*indirect,internal,predicational*	sister of lower $\overline{V}$	*garment* = Theme_2
c.	V^0	*direct,internal*	complement of V_1	*garment* = Theme_1
			complement of V_2	*1sg* = Goal_2

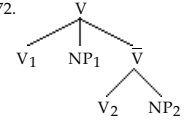
Each verb in (70) directly θ-marks its complement (in Yorùbá: to the right). V_1 directly θ-marks the NP *garment*, and V_2 directly θ-marks the NP *1sg*. *Garment*, which stands between the two verbs, is shared by them because it is also indirectly θ-marked (to the left) by the lower $\overline{V}$. Baker characterizes indirect θ-marking as predicational, although it is distinct from another type of predicational θ-marking: the assignment of a θ-role to the external argument. The single VP, shared by both verbs, is predicated of a single external argument, and therefore (under conventional assumptions) both verbs mark this external argument with a subject θ-role—in the example, Agent.

Of the three relations in (71), the crucial one for Baker is indirect θ-marking, because this allows V_2 to share the middle argument with V_1, so that they are interpreted as a single event. The sharing of an external argument follows from internal argument sharing.

In (69) V_1 must be dyadic and V_2 triadic. The resulting $[_{VP}…V_1…V_2…]$ is triadic, with one shared internal argument and one shared external argument. In effect, Baker treats the two verbs *buy…present* as the discontinuous lexicalization of a single, polyadic predicate with the applicative meaning: *buy-for* [*as a present*]. (68) is thus a syntactic template which permits polyadicity with multiple heads of the same lexical category. It is a permissive rather than a restrictive parameter: its presence in a grammar adds a class of formal possibilities without subtracting any other class. (68) is therefore not strictly a serialization parameter, because it does not preclude alternative polyadic structures, e.g. $[_{VP}…V…P…]$ or $[_{VP}…V$+affix…], which are generally less available in serializing languages.

Nor does (68) accurately predict the class of possible serial verb constructions. It requires that multiple-event serial constructions do not exhibit internal argument sharing, and that serial constructions which do not exhibit internal argument sharing will never denote single events. Both consequences are factually incorrect. (72) restates (68) in two-dimensional form. Baker's list of thematic well-formedness conditions for (68/72) is paraphrased in (73).

72.



73a. One argument of V_1 is assigned outside the higher $\bar{V}$.
b. One argument of V_2 is assigned outside the lower $\bar{V}$.
c. If V_1 is {unaccusative, unergative} then so is V_2.
d. NP_1 is lexicalized iff it is the Theme of both verbs.[33]
e. NP_2 is lexicalized iff V_2 is triadic.[34]

(74) gives the full set of possibilities generated, and ruled out, by (73), with sample glosses:

	V_1	V_2		
74.	unergative	unergative	[*rejoice walk*]	'walk happily'
	unaccusative	unergative	* (by 73d)	
	unergative	unaccusative	* (by 73d)	
	unaccusative	unaccusative	[*ripen rot*]	'ripen to the point of rotting'
	unergative	transitive	* (by 73d)	
	unaccusative	transitive	* (by 73d)	
	transitive	unergative	* (by 73e)	
	transitive	unaccusative	[*hit* NP_1 *fall*]	'knock NP_1 down'
	transitive	transitive	[*hit* NP_1 *kill*]	'strike NP_1 dead'
	transitive	triadic	[*take* NP_1 *cut* NP_2]	'cut NP_2 with NP_1'
			[*take* NP_1 *give* NP_2]	'give NP_1 to NP_2'
	triadic	unergative	* (by definition, 73e)	
	triadic	unaccusative	* (by definition)	
	triadic	transitive	* (by definition, 73e)	

I will now show that (74) is both too permissive and too restrictive.

Object gapping

(74) overgenerates because it allows argument sharing between two transitive verbs, where the second verb is not anticausative. Baker 1989b cites the following example:

75. Amba naki Kofi kiri. 'Amba struck Kofi dead'
hit kill (Sranan, Sebba 1987)

[33] NP_1 can also be the Instrument of both verbs, but an Instrument in a *take…cut* construction has certain Theme-like properties.

[34] Including the "triadic ergatives" of Fɔ̀n (Lefebvre 1988a) and Haitian (Massam 1987).

Baker comments: "Sebba is careful to show …that *kiri* 'kill' is an obligatorily agentive verb." Accordingly, he analyzes (75) as an instance of his one-event serialization template:

76. Amba Agent of V_1 and V_2 $[_{VP}…[_{\bar{V}}$ hit Kofi $[_{\bar{V}}$ kill $]]]$
Theme of V_1 Theme of V_2

But Baker himself observes that Sranan *kiri* can occur intransitively as a passive, so *Kofi* is the *external* argument of *kiri* and there is no internal argument sharing. Passives are not found in Kwa, and Yorùbá has no single-event example like (75), although Baker predicts that it does.

Kwa languages translate (75) in one of two ways, neither of which fits the argument sharing template: multi-event serial constructions (in Yorùbá), or single-event V-V compounds (in Yorùbá, Ìgbo). But (76) is impossible in Kwa, so Baker's template is too permissive.

In Yorùbá, two or more transitive verbs which share a direct object, with a gap after the noninitial verb(s), are obligatorily interpreted as a sequence of events:

77a. Bọ́lá se ẹran tà.[35] 'Bọla cooked some meat and [then] sold it'
cook animal sell (= Baker 1989a, from Lord 1974)

b. Ajé wá aṣọ rí jí gbé wọ̀. 'Aje looked for some clothes, found them,
seek cloth see steal take wear stole them and put them on' (Awóyalé 1988)

Because of this multi-event interpretation, Baker exempts examples like those in (77) from his template, and treats them as "covert coordinations" with the following structure:

78. $[_{VP}…[_{\bar{V}}V_1…]\ [_{\bar{V}}V_2…]]$ (Baker 1989a: 546)

(78) rules out internal argument sharing in multi-event serial constructions. Thus, some other explanation must be found for the object gaps in (77a-b). Oyèláràn (1982, 1989b) suggests a discourse constraint against redundancy. Whatever explanation is given for gapping in (77), is also available for the data handled by the argument sharing template. The reverse is not true, and the template wrongly predicts 'single event' examples like (75) for Yorùbá.

In fact, neither Sranan nor Yorùbá conforms to Baker's model of serialization (68). The existence of passive in Sranan makes "indirect θ-marking" unnecessary. Argument sharing is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for serialization in Yorùbá. Sranan does fit Baker's model of covert coordination (78): a coordinate event interpretation is triggered for a dyadic (nonergative) V_2 only if its object is lexicalized, either as an NP or as a pronoun:

79. Amba naki Kofi kiri en. 'Amba struck Kofi and killed him'
hit kill 3sg (Sranan, Sebba 1987: 109, cited by Baker 1989a: 547)

But (77) shows that this requirement for coordinate events does not exist in Yorùbá. And Baker's conclusion that the two templates (68, 78) generalize in one parameter ("serializing languages allow double-headed VPs" 1989a: 549, cf. 519 ex. 10), fails to explain why Yorùbá lacks single-event serial constructions with a gap after a non-initial transitive verb.

The other way in which Kwa languages translate (75) is with V-V compounds, which—like these Ìgbo examples—are potentially idiomatic:

[35] Abraham (1958: 274, 509, 628) cites some middle uses of *tà*:
i. Ifá tà ní Òfà. 'Ifá [divination] sells (i.e. is popular) in Òfà'
ii. Ọjà eléyìí tà ní Ìbàdàn. 'This market [commodity] sells (i.e. is in demand) at Ìbàdàn'
On semantic grounds, however, it is clear that *ẹran* is not the external argument of *tà* in (77a).

80a. Àdḥá kù-gbu-ru Ézè. ‘Adha knocked Eze dead’ OR
hit-cut/kill-∅Asp ‘Adha whammed Eze on the head’

b. Àdḥá rì-gbu-ru Ézè. ‘Adha cheated Eze’
eat-cut/kill-∅Asp

That Ìgbo ‘cut/kill’ as the second member of a V-V compound has a nonliteral meaning follows if the first verb of a V-V compound must, and the second verb cannot, denote the event of the complex whole. The derived meaning of *gbú* in this stative context is roughly ‘perform to the patient’s extreme disadvantage’.

Unlike Sranan ‘kill’, Yorùbá ‘kill’ does not serialize in a ‘single event’ construction. To form a complex predicate, Yorùbá ‘strike/kill’, like Ìgbo ‘cut/kill’, forms a V-V compound. In Yorùbá, ‘strike/kill’ forms the left-hand member, while in Ìgbo it occurs on the right. In Yorùbá but not in Ìgbo, V-V compounds “split” around an object (cf. Awóbùlúyì 1969):

81a. Ajé pa Olú. ‘Aje killed Olu’
strike/kill

b. Ajé pa Olú kú. ‘Aje killed Olu dead as a doornail/reduced Olu to insignificance’
strike/kill die

Another splitting compound of *pa* is *pa-jẹ*, literally ‘kill-eat’, with an idiomatic meaning ‘slaughter (for human consumption)’ (82a). With a non-human subject, the same two verbs have either a single-event or a multiple-event interpretation (82b):

82a. Ajé pa eran jẹ. ‘Aje slaughtered an animal (i.e. killed it for consumption)’
kill animal eat

b. Ìkookò pa eran jẹ. ‘[A] hyena ate up an animal’ OR
hyena kill animal eat ‘[A] hyena killed and [then] ate an animal’

Pa also occurs in a large number of compound verbs with a more abstract, causative meaning (Bámgbóṣé 1983; Awóyalé 1981, 1988: 14). One such is *pa-dé* ‘shut’:[36]

83. Ajé pa ìlẹ̀kùn dé. ‘Aje shut the door’
door be.covered

There are no serial constructions corresponding to (75). But (75) is licensed by the template.

Obligatorily dyadic V_2

Baker’s template also undergenerates. In a single-event serial construction with two internal arguments i.e. [V_1 NP_1 V_2 NP_2], the template requires that V_2 be triadic. What counts as evidence of triadicity? For Baker, a verb translating ‘hit’ which occurs as V_2 of a serial construction is necessarily triadic, whether the argument structure is [Agent [Theme [Goal]]] or [Agent [Instrument [Theme]]]. But Yorùbá happens to have a lexical gap for triadic ‘hit’. *Bà*, which Abraham 1958 translates ‘impinge on’, occurs dyadically with a Theme subject (84a) but not an Agent subject (84b).

84a. Ọfà-á bà mí. ‘[An] arrow hit me’
arrow-Agr hit 1sg

b. *Ajé bà mí.
hit 1sg

[36]From the above range of facts, Sopé Oyèlárán (p.c.) concludes that the verb *pa* by itself means ‘change the state of x’, i.e. ‘convert x’ (in the non-missionary sense), as in the following example:

i. Ajé pa Olú bí ejò àì-jẹ. ‘Aje treated Olu like an inedible snake’
convert how snake not-eating [i.e. cut him into small pieces]

From another angle, this meaning reduces to the aspectual *affect x*, independent of lexical content.

The facts in (84) are consistent with two possibilities. Either *bà* is dyadic (inchoative) or it is dyadic/triadic (inchoative/causative) alternating. Now consider the potentially triadic cases. *Bà* occurs in serial constructions with an Agent subject plus an apparent Instrumental NP_1 argument in (85a); or else the NP_1 may be more like a Theme (in the Gruber/Jackendoff sense of the passive participant in motion along a path), as (85b).

85a. Ajé fi ọwọ́ bà mí. ‘Aje slapped me’ [i.e. hit me with his hand]
use hand hit 1sg

b. Ajé ta ọfà bà mí. ‘Aje shot me with an arrow’
shoot arrow hit 1sg

But the contrast between these two predicates in the *ní* construction, given in (86), belies the apparent triadicity of *bà* in (85).

86a. Ajé bà mí ní ọwọ́. ‘Aje slapped me’
hit 1sg have hand

b. *Ajé bà mí ní ọfà.
hit 1sg have arrow

Pending an account of the *ní* construction in terms of affectedness and possession (presented later in this section), (86) suggests that what is triadic in the examples in (85) is not *bà* itself but rather the serial predicates as a whole. In particular, it seems that, unlike *ọwọ́* ‘hand’, *ọfà* ‘arrow’ is not licensed by *bà* at all in (85b), but rather by *ta* ‘shoot’. The conclusion is that *bà* is dyadic, at least in (85b), and therefore the serial constructions in (85b) is not licensed by Baker’s template, showing that the template is too restrictive.[37]

Similar considerations obtain in Fɔ̀n (a member of Gbè, cf. Capo 1985), where Lefebvre 1988a also assumes that instrumental serial constructions involve a triadic V_2. But she observes that, if V_1 is either *sɔ́* or *zé* (both of which she glosses as ‘take’), and V_2 is dyadic, a single-event

[37]*Bà* has a non-affecting, locative counterpart with the opposite tone: *bá*:

i. Ajé bá mi ní ilé. ‘Aje found [i.e. encountered] me at home’
meet 1sg at/on house

In Akan, Campbell 1989 reports six eventive ~ stative, H ~ L tone doublets, including *bɔ́* ‘hit’ ~ *bɔ̀* ‘touch’ which may be cognate with the Yorùbá pair *bà* ‘hit’ ~ *bá* ‘meet’ (although the tones are reversed, an occurrence which is not unprecedented in comparison across Kwa, and which would plausibly have a metrical basis). A cursory search of Abraham 1958 yields 21 other Yorùbá doublets which stand in an affecting/non-affecting or a causative/inchoative relationship:

bí	‘give birth to’	bì	‘push’
dí	‘block up/immobilize’	dì	‘close up’
dé	‘cover’	dè	‘tie up’
fá	‘scrape’	fà	‘pull’
fó	‘float’	fò	‘jump’
kí	‘greet’	kì	‘praise’
jó	‘scorch, set fire to’	jò	‘be alight, burn for cooking/illumination’
lọ	‘twist’	lọ̀	‘grind’
mí	‘breathe’	mì	‘shake’
má	‘be clear/clean’	mà	‘know’
ná	‘expend’ (money)	nà	‘extend’ (one’s arm)
pé	‘say’	pè	‘call, summon’
ré	‘cut = cause to separate’	rè	‘fall off (i.e. after separating)’
ró	‘emit sound’	ró	‘tell news, grumble’
ṣẹ́	‘break’	ṣẹ̀	‘commit offense’
ṣán	‘eat without sauce’	ṣàn	‘rinse clean’
tẹ́	‘spread out’	tẹ̀	‘press down’
tí	‘hit’	tì	‘push/lean on’
tọ́	‘be straight/correct’	tọ̀	‘follow’
wọ́n	‘be expensive’	wọ̀n	‘measure’
yọ́	‘melt’	yọ̀	‘be slippery’

interpretation will be available iff V_2 independently undergoes the anticausative alternation (Burzio 1986). (Examples (36-37) are repeated from above.)

36a. Kɔ̀kú {sɔ́/zé} àtɪ́ xò Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú hit Àsíbá with a stick'
'take' stick hit

b. Àtɪ́ xò Àsíbá. 'A/the stick hit Àsíbá'
stick hit

37a. Kɔ̀kú {sɔ́/zé} àtɪ́ hù Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú took a stick and killed Àsíbá'
'take' stick kill 'Kɔ̀kú took a stick in order to kill Àsíbá'
['*Kɔ̀kú killed Àsíbá with a stick']

b. *Àtɪ́ hù Àsíbá.
stick kill

Instead of Baker's phrase structure parameter, Lefebvre proposes that one-event serial constructions are derived in the lexicon by matching or overlapping parts of the conceptual structures of the two verbs. The idea is very similar to argument sharing, but it pushes the licensing conditions "one step back" back in the derivation, from d-structure to the lexicon.

For Lefebvre, then, the success of a one-event serialization '*take…hit*', and the corresponding failure of '*take…kill*', follows from the fact that, while *take* is a verb of change of location, *kill* denotes a change of state. To maintain this story for 'teach' and 'show', she must say that these predicates are metaphorical motion verbs, as opposed to metaphorical verbs of change of state. A priori, this seems to be exactly backwards; however she has no other choice, given her claim.

87a. Kɔ̀kú {sɔ́/zé} Flànsɛ́ hɛ́lɛ́ Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú taught French to Àsíbá'
'take' French teach

b. Flànsɛ́ hɛ́lɛ́ Àsíbá. 'French becomes known to Àsíbá'
French teach

88a. Kɔ̀kú {sɔ́/zé} Flànsɛ́ kplɔ́n Àsíbá. 'Kɔ̀kú explained French to Àsíbá'
'take' French show

b. Flànsɛ́ kplɔ́n Àsíbá. 'French becomes clear to Àsíbá'
French show

Even less plausibly, in extending this analysis to Haitian, Lefebvre 1988b must claim that *koupe* 'cut' involves a change of state in ungrammatical (89a), but a change of location in grammatical (89b). This proposal is diacritic: one is dealing with two homophonous verbs which differ unpredictably in their lexical semantics. The difference between a knife and an axe as the instrument of cutting is not directly relevant to this contrast, because *take knife* can serialize with the V_2 *filanje* 'lacerate' (89c), as observed already by Sylvain 1936:

89a. *Jak pran kouto koupe pen an. ['Jak cut the bread with a knife']
'take' knife cut bread Det

b. Jak pran rach koupe tapi a. 'Jak cut the carpet with an axe'
'take' axe cut carpet Det

c. Jak pran kouto filanje jam li. 'Jak lacerated his leg with a knife'
'take' knife lacerate leg 3sg

Lefebvre's claim notwithstanding, it doesn't seem possible that cutting carpet is a change of location, any more than cutting bread is. Rather, what underlies the contrast is a difference between intentional/unmediated and unintentional/mediated action. (89b-c) are grammatical just because there is no thematic connection between the subject *Jak* and the verbs *koupe/filanje*. The same difference is relevant in Yorùbá, where instrumental serial constructions are freely available,

but an anticausative subject like 'arrow' in (86b) can't be identified as an Instrument, i.e. can't be thematically linked to the subject.

These considerations lead to the rejection of thematic matching à la Larson and Baker (or its equivalent, overlapping of lexical conceptual structures à la Lefebvre) as a licensing mechanism for serial constructions. In one way or another, all these analyses rely on a matching operation to license predicates with multiple θ-assigners. For Lefebvre, this leads to the implausible claim that instrumental serial constructions inherently involve a change of location, i.e. that the conceptual element of motion is shared by the individual verbs.

(87) - (89) show that this consequence is semantically implausible or at best arbitrary, i.e. the criterion of motion is employed diacritically. Further, as Baker 1989b points out, Lefebvre's matching hypothesis makes no use of the fact that the verbs which can serialize after Fɔ̀n sɔ́/zé and Haitian *pran* must be able to occur independently in an ergative/anticausative. In Fɔ̀n, the relevant forms are (36b, 87b, 88b). In Haitian:

90a. *Kouto a koupe pen an. ['The knife cut the bread']
knife Det cut bread Det

b. Rach la koupe tapi a. 'The axe cut the carpet'
axe Det cut carpet Det

c. Kouto a filange jam li. 'The knife lacerated his [= Jak's] leg'
knife Det lacerate leg 3sg

A more accurate generalization is that the ability of a verb like *koupe/filanje* to undergo the ergative alternation is determined by the unintentional status of the event. In other words, the grammatical "ergatives" in (90b-c) are actually 'inanimate agentives', i.e. actions whose Agent is [–animate]. The flavor of this interpretation is preserved in the examples in (91):

91. The axe cut the carpet (when it fell off the table).
The knife slipped and sliced my leg (before I knew what was happening).

In (91) too, responsibility for action is implicitly "disavowed" by the speaker, and imputed to an inanimate object operating under a force beyond the speaker's control (e.g. gravity, momentum). In this light, (89a) and (90a) fail because the predicates as a whole pragmatically imply intentional action, while (89b-c) and (90b-c) succeed because they don't.

Lefebvre may have been originally misled to ascribe a motion component to the meaning of Fɔ̀n sɔ́ and Haitian *pran* because these verbs may serialize with verbs of motion, e.g.:

92a. Kɔ̀kú sɔ́ àsɔ́ yì àxì. 'Kɔ̀kú took [the] crab to market'
'take' crab go market

b. Emil pran poul ale nan mache a. 'Jak brought chickens to the market'
'take' chicken go Loc market Det

But there is no need to posit a motion component in the meaning of sɔ́ and *pran*, if the assumption of LCS matching is given up. In examples where sɔ́ and *pran* collocate with a motion verb, it is sufficient to derive the motion component from the motion verb (e.g. *go*), without repeating it in the lexical entry of sɔ́ and *pran*. In the translations *take something to market/porter qqch. au marché*, we suppose that the idea of motion comes from the verb and not the preposition, but this is a fact about the lexicalization of motion in English/French (as suggested by Talmy 1985), and it need not be carried over to the analysis of Haitian and Fɔ̀n.

Lefebvre observes that "sɔ́ cannot select an abstract complement like *Flànsɛ́*", so that a sentence such as (93) is ungrammatical.

93. *Kɔ̀kú sɔ́ Flànsɛ́.
'take' French

In this way, Lefebvre posits a selectional difference between *sɔ́* and *zé* (although she glosses them the same). But her specific proposal, that *sɔ́* requires a nonabstract complement, creates another problem, because *sɔ́* successfully θ-marks *Flànsɛ́* in serial constructions with 'teach' and 'show' (cf. 87a, 88a above). At that point, Lefebvre opts to stipulate that, in such examples, *Flànsɛ́* "has to be selected by [teach/show] and not by the Take verb", effectively reducing the so-called 'take' verb to a mere causative operator. Why isn't any other verb equally possible in this function? If the thematic-selectional properties of the 'take' verb are not relevant in a serial construction, then why resort to lexical-semantic derivation? The only reason to adopt lexical conceptual structures is to derive the selectional properties of a morpheme from its meaning. Lefebvre's assumption, that there exists a cross-linguistic class of 'take' verbs, is an unfortunate holdover from the 'creolist' tradition. The alternative, which avoids these difficulties, is to represent the selectional properties of a morpheme directly in its meaning. Notice that this is impossible, if *sɔ́*, *zé* and *pran* are all glossed as 'take' and represented as denoting "change of location".

Hounkpati Capo (p.c.) translates *zé* more accurately not as 'take' but as 'take hold of', roughly synonymous to Yorùbá *mú*. In other words, *zé* by itself has nothing to do with a change of location; rather, it s-selects something which can acquire a possessor. Thus, instead of Lefebvre's proposed LCS, given in (94), a truer representation of is given in (95):

94. "zé" [x CAUSE [y undergo a change of location]] (Lefebvre 1988b)

95. zé [TAKE HOLD OF x]

Along the same lines, the other verbs glossed by Lefebvre as 'take' (*sɔ́*, *pran*) are more accurately represented as in (96a); *zɛ́*, another serializing verb in Fɔ̀n, is represented in (96b):

96a. Fɔ̀n sɔ́ [HOLD x]
Haitian pran [TAKE HOLD OF x]

b. Fɔ̀n zɛ́ [USE x]

Now, Lefebvre's observation that *zé* but not *sɔ́* can select *Flànsɛ́* as an internal argument plausibly follows from the selectional difference *take hold of* vs. *hold*, without a diacritic, cf. *J'apprends le français*/#*Je prends le français* (in the intended sense). Of course, if *sɔ́* and *zé* are not synonymous after all, this casts doubt on the claimed equivalence of the two verbs in examples (87a) and (88a).

Further, (96) suggests that the failure of instrumental serial constructions in (37a, 89a, 90a) has nothing to do with the selectional properties of *sɔ́* and *pran*. As Lefebvre observes, the Fɔ̀n verb *hù* does not undergo anticausative shift, i.e. it is obligatorily affecting, cf. (97a). The verb *xò*, on the other hand, has no such restriction, as in (97b):

97a. hù [affect x [come to be in the state y, y = DEAD]]

b. xò [come SHARPLY INTO CONTACT WITH x]

The Haitian situation evidently differs. Haitian *koupe* and *filanje*, unlike Fɔ̀n *hù*, permit an inanimate subject, but only under a special pragmatic interpretation—which is fully paralleled in English. *Koupe* and *filanje*, like English *cut* and *slice*/*score*, are affecting, and therefore allow inanimate subjects just if the subject can be interpreted as autonomous. As in (91), instruments like knives and axes can appear to act autonomously under certain circumstances, such as the influence of gravity. (Ògún á gbé wa o! Àṣẹ!)

98. koupe [affect x [come to be in the state y, y = LINEARLY SEGMENTED]]
filanje [affect x [come to be in the state y, y = SLICED/SCORED]][38]

The distinction in (96) betwen 'use' and 'hold' is paralleled across the Kwa languages, in slightly different ways depending on the lexicalization of aspect:[39]

99a. Yorùbá fi [USE x]
mú [TAKE HOLD OF x, not necessarily with both hands]
gbé [affect x [come to be in state y, y = SUSPENDED], x HEAVY]

b. Ẹ̀do yá [USE x]
rhié [TAKE HOLD OF x, by means of 1 HAND]
mú [affect x [come to be in state y, y = SUSPENDED], x HEAVY]

c. Ìgbo jí [HOLD x]
wè [TAKE HOLD OF x]

In light of (96), consider another failed serial construction in Fɔ̀n, observed by Lefebvre:

100a. *Àsíbá sɔ́ kɔ̀fú gbà.
'take' glass break

b. Kɔ̀fú gbà. 'The glass broke'
glass break

Maintaining that serial constructions are licensed by matching lexical-semantic material, Lefebvre 1988a suggests that the ungrammaticality of (100a) reflects a clash between a *change-of-state* component in *gbà* and a *change-of-location* component in *sɔ́*. But *sɔ́* has no such component. Nor is Baker's (1989b) Case-based explanation available: *gbà* successfully anticausativizes. cf. (100b).

There are parallel facts in Yorùbá, cf. (101a), although the idea that *fi* entails a semantic "change of location" is wholly implausible (and is rejected by speakers).

101a. *Ajé fi aṣọ náà ya.
use cloth Det tear

b. Aṣọ náà ya. 'That cloth tore'
cloth Det tear

That there is no inherent problem with a causative interpretation of *ya*, is shown by (102):

102. Ajé ya aṣọ náà. 'Aje tore that cloth [e.g. by ripping it with his hands]'
tear Det cloth

In fact, (101a) can be fully salvaged by introducing an implicit, intervening cause:

103. Ajé mú aṣọ náà ya. 'Aje [indirectly] brought about the tearing of that cloth'
take.hold.of cloth Det tear [e.g. by leaving it in a state where it could be torn]

Parallel to (103) is (104), where Ajé is only an indirect agent, and *Olú* is an involuntary agent:

104. Ajé mú Olú ṣẹ Sopé. 'Aje made Olu offend Sope'
take.hold.of offend

---

[38] Cf. the nouns *filè* 'fillet' and *filè kouto* 'knife grinder [= person]' (Valdman 1981: 203).

[39] "Inchoative stativization" (Guerssel 1986), e.g. *take hold of* → *hold*, is productive in Yorùbá, cf. the minimal pairs in *fn.* 36. In some serial constructions, Igbo *jí* compositionally means 'use', cf. (32) above. An affecting variant of *jí* occurs in the compound *jí-dẹ* 'sieze, arrest'; independently, it means 'hold':

i. É-jì m égó. 'I hold money' [i.e.'I've got some cash on me']
Agr-hold 1sg money

ii. É-jì m ọfọ́. 'I hold the ancestral staff (while speaking)'
Agr-hold 1sg ancestral staff [i.e. 'I speak with ritual authority']

These acceptable examples show that the problem with both (100a) and (101a) is essentially pragmatic. (100a) is ruled out because it is physically impossible for a bottle to be the instrument of its own breaking, just as (100b) is ruled out because it is impossible to use a piece of cloth to tear itself. In both cases, some additional instrument must be supposed.

Significant generalizations are therefore missed in both Yorùbá and Fɔ̀n if, as both Baker and Lefebvre hold (in slightly different ways), the second verb in a so-called instrumental serial construction is necessarily triadic, and expresses its selectional properties through the intermediate representation of argument structure labels. It remains to consider alternative proposals for how the semantic licensing of serial constructions accounts for word order.

The order of heads

In Baker's argument-sharing template, the order of verbs depends on the θ-roles of their complements. Since Goals are stipulated to be "lower" than Themes in his Thematic Hierarchy, and since the d-structure template is right-branching, Theme$\hat{u}$ Goal order is possible, but Goal$\hat{u}$ Theme is not. In fact, while Theme$\hat{u}$ Goal order occurs in dative/benefactive examples like (69), Goal$\hat{u}$ Theme order is also possible, as in "antidative" serial constructions like (105):

105a. Olú bùn mi ní owó. [ní owó → lówó] 'Olu presented me with money'
present 1sg have money (= Baker 1988d from Oyèlárán 1982)

b. Olú — Agent of V_1 and V_2 — [VP … [$\bar{V}$ present 1sg [$\bar{V}$ have money]]]
Goal of V_1; Goal of V_2; Theme of V_2

The analysis in (105b) is impossible in Baker's template: it violates the Thematic Hierarchy, and *ní* is not triadic. Yet (105a) is well-formed, so Baker must give it a different structure—for example, a double object, with *bùn* triadic and *ní* a "dummy" Case-assigner.

However, *ní* occurs independently as the verb 'have', cf. (106), so to claim that *ní* is a verb in (106) but not in (105) is at best a diacritic solution.

106. Olú ní owó. [ní owó → lówó] 'Olu has money/is rich'
have money

Certain instrumental serial constructions also violate the triadic V_2 requirement, e.g.:

107a. Ajé mú ọwọ́ jẹ iyán. 'Aje ate pounded yam by hand/with his hand'
take.hold.of hand eat pounded.yam

b. Ajé — Agent of V_1 and V_2 — [VP … [$\bar{V}$ take.hold.of hand [$\bar{V}$ eat pounded.yam]]]
Instrument of V_1; Instrument of V_2; Theme of V_2

For argument sharing to license (107), *mú* 'eat' must be "optionally triadic". But this optionality weakens the predictive content of argument structure representations, and loses the apparent generalization in (107) that V_2 acquires its Instrument in composition with V_1.

Another class of counterexamples to a triadic V_2 requirement is causative serial constructions:[40]

108. Ajé rán mi ra ẹja. 'Aje had me buy [some] fish'
send 1sg buy fish

[40] Déchaine 1987 discusses similar examples in Haitian, arguing that they are monoclausal.

Of course, (108) is no counterexample to Baker's template if, instead of the serial structure in (109a), it has a non-serial structure such as object control, cf. (109b).

109a. Ajé — Agent of V_1 — [VP … [$\bar{V}$ send 1sg [$\bar{V}$ buy fish]]]
Theme of V_1; Agent of V_2; Theme of V_2

b. Ajé — Agent of V_1 — [VP … [$\bar{V}$ send 1sg [XP PRO buy fish]]]
Theme of V_1; CONTROL; Agent of V_2; Theme of V_2

But against this control analysis, and in favor of a structural parallel between serial causatives (108) and instrumental causatives (107), Yorùbá has a construction semantically intermediate between the two types: the "dehumanized" causatives in (104). Another example is in (110):[41]

110a. Ajé mú mi ra eja. 'Aje made me buy [some] fish'
take.hold.of 1sg buy fish

b. Ajé — Agent of V_1 and V_2 — [VP … [$\bar{V}$ take.hold.of 1sg [$\bar{V}$ buy fish]]]
Instrument of V_1; "Instrument" of V_2; Theme of V_2

In (110b), the θ-criterion does not does not permit one argument to bear two θ-roles, so the lower Agent is "demoted" to Instrument. The small clause structure in (109b) has no such implication. And, as it is generally recognized that the so-called "Agent θ-role" is a bundle of semantic properties, there is no need to derive the subtle difference between (109) and (110) both structurally and compositionally. That serial constructions are licensed, not by a d-structure template (or its lexical equivalent), but by selectional properties alone, makes it possible—indeed necessary—to eliminate diacritic homophony from the lexicon.

Against diacritic homophony: *fún*

Certain serial verb constructions correspond directly to verb+preposition constructions in non-serializing languages. Conceivably, every item which functions sometimes as a verb and sometimes as a 'preposition' might be said to possess two homophonous lexical entries. This is the tack taken by Abraham 1958. In Yorùbá, one such item is *fún*.

Consider the difference between (111) and (112). In (111a), in construction with the transitive verb *mú* 'take hold of', *fún* means 'give'. It has roughly the same meaning in construction with *ní* 'have', with the reverse word order in (111b).

111a. Ajé mú ìwé fún Olú. 'Aje gave Olu a book'
take.hold.of paper 'give'

b. Ajé fún Olú ní ìwé. = (111a)
'give' have paper

But in (112), with the intransitive verb 'rejoice', *fún* is interpreted as 'on behalf of' — corresponding to the preposition *for* in the English translation:

112. Ajé yọ̀ (AYỌ̀) fún Olú. 'Aje was happy for Olu'[42]
rejoice JOY 'for' [e.g. he rejoiced on hearing of Olu's good fortune]

[41] A similar construction occurs in Ẹ̀dó with *ya* 'use' as V_1:

i. Èdógún yá mwẹ́n wìnná. 'Edogun put me to work'
use 1sg work

The capitalized noun *AYỌ̀* 'joy' in (112) is a syntactically inert, i.e. an overt lexical constant. (112) has no counterpart *ní* construction corresponding to (111b).[43]

If *fún* is ambiguous between verb and preposition, then its two lexical entries might resemble (113a) and (113b)—which match *fún*'s twin entries in Abraham's dictionary:

113a. fún$_1$ GIVE [Agent [Theme [Goal]]] e.g. (111)
b. fún$_2$ ON BEHALF OF [Beneficiary] e.g. (112)

To posit both (113a) and (113b), makes the Yorùbá lexicon look like the surface structure of English, and thereby leaves as unrelated the serialization property of Yorùbá. The alternative, which unites the two phenomena, is that *fún* has just one lexical entry.

Suppose *fún* is always dyadic. Beneficiaries are equatable with Goals (Jackendoff 1983), so the reduction of the two *θ*-grids in (113) to a single, dyadic grid has just two possible outcomes:

114a. [Theme [Goal]] b. [Agent [Goal]]

(114a) is at least partly equivalent to triadic (113a), since predication ensures that an Agent is projected if neither internal argument is externalized.[44] However, (114a) has no possible relationship to the construction in (112), which lacks a Theme. This defeats the attempt to unify the two entries of *fún*. The remaining possibility is to represent *fún* as in (114b).

On standard assumptions about argument structure, (114b) looks bizarre. In its most widely adopted version (Marantz 1984, Baker 1985, Larson 1988, Speas 1989), the Thematic Hierarchy maintains that there is no localistic relationship between Agent and Goal. However, this objection holds only insofar as the Thematic Hierarchy is irreducible. And, as already suggested, there is reason to believe that *θ*-role labels are not semantic atoms.

It is generally recognized that Agent-hood is a derived, complex notion. The label of Agent denotes an animate Causer. Its surface licensing by predication (p-selection) is held to depend on the presence of an internal Theme (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1981). Conversely, the failure of a Agent to project externally correlates with the externalization of a Theme. Guerssel (1986: 75f.) has expressed this idea in terms of a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic change of state, stating this in the framework of Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) as follows:

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[42] Abraham (1958: 677) gives the verb as *ya AYỌ̀*, which would mean 'overflow [with] joy'. The underlying form is conjectural because the vowel of the verb root is phonetically elided.

[43] Awóyalé (1988: 5) observes that a *ní* construction like (111b) is not ruled out for all intransitives; it can be formed with unaccusative verbs like *kéré* 'be small':

i. Ajé kéré ní ọkùnrin. 'Aje is small for a male'
be.small have man

The generalization in the *ní* construction may be that the preceding verb needs a syntactically active direct object. If *kéré* 'be small' is unaccusative, then there is a syntactic direct object, *Ajé*, which externalizes to the subject position. But the lexical constant of *yọ̀ AYỌ̀* in (112) is unavailable for this purpose, as shown by the meaning difference between (112) and the *ní* construction in (ii). Without the constant, *yọ̀* is not strictly intransitive; without benefactive *fún*, there is an adversative reading of a direct, syntactic object, cf. (iii).

ii. Ajé fún Olú ní ayọ̀. 'Aje made Olu happy'
'give' have joy

iii. Ajé yọ̀ Olú. 'Aje gloated at Olu' [i.e. over Olu's misfortune]
rejoice

[44] Déchaine (1987, 1989b) proposes approximately (114a) for the Haitian morpheme *bay*, which in many ways recalls the ambiguity of Yorùbá *fún*.

115a. [I]f the LCS of a predicate involves intrinsicality, then the semantic role undergoing the change is external. If it involves extrinsicality, then it is internal.
b. Introduce an agent… if and only if the change denoted by the verb is extrinsic.

(115) allows *fún* to be represented as in (116):

116. fún [extrinsically come to be in the possession of x]

The task is to account for all instances of *fún* in terms of this LCS. One way to satisfy the extrinsicality requirement is if (116) p-selects (is predicated of) the internal variable of some other predicate. For example, the concatenation of *mú* (99a) and *fún* (116) yields (117):

117. $[_{IP}$ SPEC$_i$ … $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ mú$_i$ NP$_j$ $[_{V_j}{}^{max}$ fún$_j$ NP$_k$ $]]]$.
take-hold-of x extrinsically-come-to-be-in-the-possession-of y

(117) is fully localistic. The predication relation (p-selection) is shown by coindexing each V^{max} with its external argument. The most external argument SPEC$_i$ is construed in relation to the most internal argument NP$_k$ only indirectly, via a "predication chain" mediated by NP$_j$. The possibility of embedding *fún* within the thematic domain of *mú* follows from the fact that *fún* can be predicated of the internal argument of *mú*.. In Baker's argument-sharing analysis, by contrast, SPEC$_i$ is *θ*-marked as the Agent of both verbs.

Although by hypothesis there is no Agent role in the lexical representation of *fún*, (117) shows that an agentive interpretation of [SPEC, IP] arises from *mú*. In (117), the extrinsic property of *fún* is also satisfied by *mú*. In this way, *fún* shares a predication chain with an Agent. This relationship is explicit, if the conceptual structure of *mú* more like (118):

118. mú [< manually > affect x [come to be in state y, y = SUSPENDED]]

The angled brackets in (118) contain adverbial material which is salient iff the external argument has the requisite property of having hands. This conditional optionality allows for examples like (119), with subjects which lack the "handedness" property:

119a. Oorú mú mi. 'I feel hot' (literally: 'Heat grips me')
heat take.hold.of 1sg

b. Ọ̀bẹ yĭĭ mú. 'This knife is sharp' (i.e. 'its edge catches')
knife this take.hold.of

If, on the other hand, *fún* is the initial verb of a serial construction, (111b) shows that there is still a well-formed result in construction with *ní*. If *ní* is not merely a Case-marking, functional head, but rather a thematic head with s-selectional properties (as it is in (106), in which it independently means 'have'), then it is available to license one argument in constructions like (105) and (111b), with apparently triadic *fún*.

In the absence of a preceding verb, the only way to satisfy extrinsicality in (116) is for *fún* to spontaneously affix a causativizing operator, as in Guerssel's analysis of "lexically-induced causativization". If Tenny's (1987) aspectual constraint on diathesis is observed, spontaneous causativization can be viewed as the prefixation of the aspectual operator *affect x*, as in the representation of English *give* in (21) above. This can be represented as in (120).

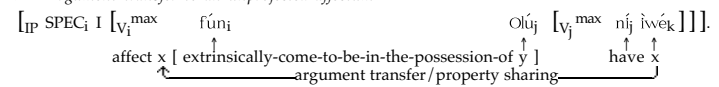
120. *Lexically induced causativization of fún*

$[_{IP}$ SPEC$_i$ I $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ fún$_i$…
[affect x [extrinsically come to be in the possession of y]]

(120) resembles English *give* in (21), insofar as both representations contain two variables, but only one lexical head. Unlike (21), however, the *x* variable (affectum) in (120) is not governed by a lexical head. It therefore cannot project an argument position in the syntax. But the Projection Principle requires that every variable be syntactically realized or otherwise identified (e.g. if it is filled by a constant, which possibility does not arise for the *x* variable in (120) which is not an underlying variable). This contradiction is resolved as follows.

(111b) shows that the affectum *x* is indeed projected in the syntax, albeit indirectly, by the internal variable of *ní*. This indirect form of projection is depicted in (121).

121. *Argument transfer to an unprojected affectum*



In (121), *ìwé* 'book' as the internal argument of *ní* 'have' is identified with the unprojected affectum in the conceptual structure of its governor *fún*. For the mechanism of this effect, I borrow the term "argument transfer" from Grimshaw and Mester's (1988) analysis of lite verbs. More abstractly, the discontinuous projection of thematic material within an extended lexical government domain is an example of "property sharing" . As Koster (1986a: 41) points out, the sharing of thematic content among syntactic positions violates one half of the bijective *θ*-criterion (Chomsky 1981), but this half must be dispensed with for independent reasons (e.g. to allow the binding of NP-trace).

Argument transfer from the *ní*-phrase to the complement of *affect* is partly analogous to the expression of an Agent in an adjunct, prepositional *by*-phrase in the English passive construction. However, there is a difference: the Agent of a passive predicate in English is "implicit" (presupposed but optional), while the transferred *affectum* in (121) is obligatory. This might be expected, since an Agent is an external argument, therefore p-selected and not subject to the (core) Projection Principle, while the *affectum* as an internal argument is s-selected. This difference underlies the contrast in (122).

122a. The city$_i$ was destroy-ed$_i$.

b. *Ajé fún Olú.

The optionality of a *by*-phrase Agent is related to valency retraction in the passive verb, as expressed by morphology. I. Roberts 1985 accounts for this directly with the suggestion that English passive morphology (*-en*) is argumental in itself—like an incorporated object, as proposed in recent refinement of Roberts' proposal (Baker *et al.* 1989). Morphological retraction/incorporation is lacking for the Yorùbá example: the valency of *fún* in (111b/121) is unreduced. If, as in (122b), the affectum is not projected, the result is ungrammatical.

Oyèlárǎn 1989a shows that the *ní* of (111b/121) is not the homophonous locative preposition. Yorùbá has PPs headed by locative *ní*, cf. (123a). The *ní*-phrase of (123a) can be focused by *wh*-movement, cf. (123b), but the *ní*-phrase of (111b) cannot, cf. (124):

123a. Mo bá ìwé ní ilé. 'I found (the) book at home'
1sg meet book on/at house

b. [Ní ilé]$_i$ ni [mo bá ìwé t_i]. 'It is at home that I found (the) book'
on/at house Comp 1sg meet book

124. *[Ní ìwé]$_i$ ni [Ajé fún Olú t_i]
have paper Comp 'give'

There is, however, a certain similarity between the implicit argument of the *by*-phrase and the complement of *ní* in argument transfer constructions like (111b). Implicit arguments are projected in a "characteristic PP" (Koster 1986a: 115), and the *ní*-phrase is also characteristic in the sense that—as observed by Oyèlárǎn (1989a, 1990)—the choice of the morpheme *ní* in argument transfer constructions is invariant across a wide semantic range of verbs.

In Oyèlárǎn's data, the complement of *ní* ranges over the semantic roles of possessum, instrument, and location, depending on the selectional properties of the preceding verb. If this list of roles is really open-ended, i.e. if *ní* imposes no s-selection of its own, it would be indeed contentless to claim that it is a verb meaning 'have'. Instead, the contribution of *ní* to licensing could be nonthematic: Oyèlárǎn and others treat it as some kind of case-marker—although at the cost increasing the list of homophonous *ní* morphemes, perhaps diacritically. This is an empirical issue, and *ní* constructions provide evidence of s-selection which distinguish between the hypotheses of argument sharing and argument transfer, in favor of the latter.

***Ní*: argument sharing vs. argument transfer**

In the terminology of relational grammar, sentences like (111b) and the (b) examples of (125-27) below have the flavor of "possessor raising": *ní* introduces a possessum argument.

125a. Ọ̀rọ̀ náà mú ara ta mí. 'The matter burns me up'
affair Det take.hold.of body burn 1sg

b. Ọ̀rọ̀ náà ta mí ní ara. = (125a)
affair Det burn 1sg have body

126a. Ọlọ́wọ́ gbà ìyàwó òtòṣì. '[A] rich man seduced [a] pauper's wife'
rich.man take wife pauper

b. Ọlọ́wọ́ gbà òtòṣì ní ìyàwó. = (126a)
thief steal pauper have wife

It is potentially relevant that *ara* 'body' in (125) is inalienably possessed, and that kinship terms such as *ìyàwó* 'wife' in (126) are inherently relational. But (111b) and (127) show that this is not a necessary feature of *ní* + possessum.

127a. Olè jí owó Ajé. '[A] thief stole Aje's money'
thief steal money

b. Olè jí Ajé ní owó. = (127a)
thief steal have money

Without argument transfer, *ní* + possessum is still expected on grounds of s-selection, if *ní* means 'have'. However, Oyèlárǎn's other data challenge the claim that *ní* s-selects its complement, making them relevant to the choice between argument sharing and argument transfer.

Ẹgba 'whip', the complement of *ní* in (128b), bears the role of instrument. The abstract noun *ìye* 'number' in (129b) bears the role of manner, which is evidently related to instrument, since both are s-selected by *fi* 'use' in the corresponding (a) examples.

128a. Olùkọ́ fi ẹgba nà mí (ní orí). '[The] teacher whipped me (on the head)'
teacher use whip flog 1sg on/at head

b. Olùkọ́ nà mí ní ẹgba (ní orí). = (128a)
teacher flog 1sg have whip on/at head

129a. Àwọn èrò náà fi iye kéré. 'The crowd is small in number'
3pl crowd Det use number be.small (i.e. as opposed to bodily size)
b. Àwọn èrò náà kéré ní iye. = (129a)
3pl crowd Det be.small have number

But Oyèlárán has pointed out to me that not just any instrument is possible as the complement of *ní*. Consider the difference between (130) and (131):

130a. Olè fi ọbẹ gún ọba. '[A] thief stabbed the chief with [a] knife'
thief use knife stab chief (from Madugu 1985)
b. Olè gún ọba ní ọbẹ. = (130a)
stab chief have knife

131a. Ajé fi ọbẹ gé iṣu. 'Aje cut [a] yam with [a] knife'
use knife cut yam
b. * Ajé gé iṣu ní ọbẹ.
cut yam have knife
c. Ajé gé iṣu pẹ̀lú ọbẹ. = (131a)
cut yam be.along.with knife

By argument-sharing, both *gún* 'stab' and *gé* 'cut' are triadic with [Agent [Instrument [Theme]]], in the (a) examples. By my alternative, *ọbẹ* 'knife' is s-selected by *fi* 'use' in the (a) sentences, while in the (b) sentences it is indirectly licensed by argument transfer. Since argument transfer depends on lexically-induced causativization by the prefix *affect x*, as in (120), the failure of (131b) is a matter of affectedness. A knife is affected in the process of stabbing, being 'stuck' or immersed in the stabee; in cutting, it is unaffected. On Baker's hypothesis, the failure of (131b) is unexpected. (A similarly unexpected phenomenon was observed in (86b) above.)

To take a more minimal contrast, (131) differs from (132) in the relevant way.

132a. Ajé fi ọbẹ gbá iṣu. 'Aje slapped [a] yam with [a] knife'
use knife slap yam
b. Ajé gbá iṣu ní ọbẹ. = (132a)
slap yam have knife

Again, the argument sharing hypothesis expects no grammaticality difference between (131) and (132), whereas the hypothesis of argument transfer predicts the grammaticality of (132) on the basis of the semantic fact that a knife is affected by the action of slapping a yam.

In the remaining class of examples cited by Oyèlárán, *ní* introduces a location argument, potentially counterexemplifying the hypothesis that *ní* 'have' s-selects its complement. However, s-selection is arguably present in these cases as well. In (133b), the complement of *ní* is not a bare NP but a gerund, which additionally specifies Miami as *Olú*'s point of origin (Source). This gerund, as the complement of *ní* 'have', therefore denotes a property which *Olú* possesses as he arrives: an (abstract) possessum.

133a. Olú ti Miami dé. 'Olu arrived from Miami'
start.from arrive
b. Olú de ní à-ti-Miami. 'Olu arrived, having started from Miami'
arrive have ing-start.from-Miami

Other examples show *ní* in construction with the verb *rán*. *Rán* is usually glossed as 'send', apparently triadic, but a better translation might be 'dispatch x as a message/messenger'.

134a. Ọ̀gá rán Olú {re/sí} Alabama. 'The boss sent Olú to Alabama'
master dispatch approach
b. Ọ̀gá rán Olú ní Alabama. = (134a)
master dispatch ?
c. *Ní *Alabama* ni Ọ̀gá rán Olú *t*.
? Comp master dispatch
d. Ọ̀gá rán Olú ní obì. 'The boss sent Olú for kola nuts'
master dispatch ? kola.nut

Ní in (134b) might be the locative preposition, glossed as 'on/at' in (123) and (128) above. But Oyèlárán 1990 shows that, unlike the PPs in (134d) and (123b), *ní Alabama* in (134b) cannot be focused by *wh*-movement. In neither (134b) nor (134d) does *ní* select a location *per se*. In (134d), its complement is the Goal of the errand, while in (134b) it is the point of arrival (Goal).

This leaves the possibility that *ní* in (134c) and (134e) is the verb 'have'. If so, then its complement, if s-selected, must be either a possessum or, in the context of argument transfer, an affectum. *Alabama* in (134c) cannot be an affectum, since locations are canonically non-affected (e.g. **Send Tokyo a letter*, cf. Tenny 1987). Affectum is implausible on other grounds as well: it is *Olú* who is affected, as the causee in the act of sending. The remaining possibility is possessum; otherwise there is no s-selection, *ní* is a mere case-marker, and *rán* is triadic, thus weakening the overall argument against polyadicity and argument sharing.

Metaphoric possession is plausibly involved in (134e), since *rán…ní* specifically means 'send someone to *obtain* something'. The case for possession in (134c) is weaker, although perhaps it goes through on the premise that to be "at *P*" means to "possess the location *P*".

The above observations support the general claim that *ní* 'have' s-selects its complement, either directly as a possessum, cf. (111b), (125b), (126b), (127b), (133b), or indirectly as an affectum in an argument transfer construction (i.e. a lexically-induced causative), cf. (128b), (130b), (132b). Among the numerous examples cited by Oyèlárán 1990 in support of the claim that *ní* is a mere case marker, there are two in which the thematic contribution of *ní* is difficult to pin down. In the abstract manner phrase of (129b) and the goal phrase of (134c), the semantic structure of *ní* is unclear as between location and possession. The solution of these problems depends on the semantic content of morphemes like *rán* and *iye*. The alternative, that *ní* has no semantic content in these constructions, will be hard-pressed to account for the failure of examples like (86b) and (131b).

Benefactive *fún* and lexical constant effects

The last instance of *fún* to be accounted for by the unitary lexical representation in (116) is the alleged benefactive preposition in (112) = (135a). (Below, lexical constants are capitalized.)

135a. Ajé yọ̀ (ÁYỌ̀) fún Olú. 'Aje was happy for Olu' [i.e. rejoiced on Olu's behalf]
rejoice joy 'for'

b. $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ yọ̀$_i$ (ÁYỌ̀)$]$ $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ fún$_i$ NP$_j$ $]$
be-in-the-state x, x = JOY extrinsically-come-to-be-in-the-possession-of x

The lexical constant *AYỌ̀*, optionally overt here, is not an available subject for *fún Olú*. So what does *fún* p-select? Since p-selection ranges over maximal projections, it is possible that *fún* p-selects the entire V^{max} projected by *yọ̀*. Since *yọ̀* is coindexed with the subject, by transitivity *fún* is coindexed with SPEC, I. Semantically this is the right result. The transfer denoted by *fún* in

(135a) is not a transfer of joy; *Olú*'s own happiness is not entailed. Rather, what is transfered is agenthood, with reference to the act of rejoicing, from *Olú* to *Ajé*.

Subject control of benefactive *fún* in (135) derives from the non-argument status of *yọ̀*'s lexical constant. This element is not abstract; it is syntactically active in (136):

136. Ajé yọ̀ AYỌ̀ pọ̀rọ́. 'Aje was deliriously happy'
rejoice joy be.plentiful

Elimelech 1981 and Oyèlárǎn *ms.* discuss three ways that lexical constants are overtly morphologized. First, it may be a cognate noun, as in *yọ̀* (*AYỌ̀*); *rín ẸRÍN* 'laugh' differs only in that the constant is obligatorily overt, but it is inseparable from the verb root, cf. (137c).

137a. Ajé rín ẸRÍN. 'Aje laughed'
laugh laughter

b. Ajé rín ẸRÍN fún Olú. 'Aje laughed for Olu' [i.e. to cheer him up]
laugh laughter 'for'

c. * Ajé rín Olú ní ẸRÍN.
laugh have laughter

d. Ajé fi Olú rín ẸRÍN. 'Aje derided Olu'
use laugh laughter

Second, an overt constant may be a bound element which is independently a full verb, e.g. *nàRÓ* 'straighten upright' ↔ *nà* 'straighten out' + *ró* 'stand'. In some dialects, the causative alternant is a splitting verb (138f); non-splitting causative *nàRÓ* assigns Genitive case (138e).

138a. Ajé nàRÓ. 'Aje stood straight up'
straighten.upright

b. Ajé gbé ìwé yẹn nàRÓ. 'Aje stood that book up (on its end)'
take book that straighten.upright

c. Ajé gbé e nàRÓ. 'Aje stood it up'
take 3sg.ACC straighten.upright

d. Ajé nàRÓ ìwé yẹn. 'Aje stood up that book'
straighten.upright book that

e. Ajé nàRÓ rè. 'Aje stood it up'
straighten.upright 3sg.GEN

f. Ajé nà ìwé yẹn ró. [= nonstandard version of (138d)]
straighten book that stand

Third, an overt constant may be a noncognate nominal. This may be bound, e.g. *jóKÒÓ* 'sit down', or free , e.g. *ró AṢỌ* 'put on [female] clothing' ↔ *ró* 'stand up' + *aṣọ* 'cloth':

139a. Bọ́ṣẹ̀ ró AṢỌ. 'Bọṣẹ got dressed'
stand cloth

b. Bọ́ṣẹ̀ ró AṢỌ fún Àìná. 'Bọṣẹ wore an outfit for Aina' [i.e. to please her]
stand cloth 'give'

c. Bọ́ṣẹ̀ ró Àìná ní aṣọ. 'Bọṣẹ dressed Aina' [≠ Bọṣẹ wore an outfit for Aina]
stand have cloth

d. Bọ́ṣẹ̀ fi aṣọ ró Àìná. 'Bọṣẹ dressed Aina'
use cloth stand

Nearly synonymous *wọ AṢỌ* 'get dressed', has no idiosyncratic gender feature. In construction with *fún*, *wọ AṢỌ* is ambiguously benefactive-intransitive or causative (140b); *ró AṢỌ* is not (139b). With *ní* (139c, 140c) and *fi* (139d, 140d), both verbs are unambiguously causative.

140a. Ajé wọ AṢỌ. 'Aje got dressed'
enter cloth

b. Ajé wọ {AṢỌ/aṣọ} fún Olú. 'Aje wore an outfit for Olu'
enter cloth 'give' OR 'Aje dressed Olu'

c. Ajé wọ Olú ní aṣọ. 'Aje dressed Olu' [≠ Aje wore an outfit for Olu]
enter have cloth

d. Ajé fi aṣọ wọ Olú. 'Aje dressed Olu'
use cloth enter

The interpretive contrast between (139b) and (140b) follows if the first entry is unambiguously *ró AṢỌ*, while the second one is ambiguously *wọ aṣọ* or *wọ AṢỌ*. The semantic opacity of *ró AṢỌ* results from the transitivity effect of the overt constant, cf. (141b).

141a. ergative ró 'stand' [come to be in state x, x = UPRIGHT]

b. intransitive ró AṢỌ 'get dressed (fem.)' [affect x, x=CLOTH [come to be in state y, y=UPRIGHT]]

(141b) with two lexical constants is both causative and idiomatic; if *aṣọ* was syntactically active, *ró aṣọ* would mean 'cause cloth to stand up'. By contrast, the ambiguity of *wọ aṣọ* plus *fún* in (140b) as affecting or unergative benefactive follows from its competing analyses as a transitive with an open variable (142a), or intransitive with two lexical constants (142b).

142a. transitive wọ̀ 'enter' [come to be in location x, x = INSIDE y]

b. intransitive wọ AṢỌ 'get dressed' [come to be in state x, x = [INSIDE y, y = CLOTH]]
= DRESSED

The concatenation of (142b) with *fún*, yielding a benefactive interpretation, works as in (135); the concatenation of (142a) with *fún*, yielding a causative interpretation, works as follows:

143. $[V_i^{max}$ wọ$_i$ aṣọ$_j$ $[V_j^{max}$ fún$_j$ Olú$_k]]$.
affect x [come-to-be-in-location y, y = INSIDE z extrinsically-come-to-be-in-poss'n-of x]

The causativizing effect of a lexical constant is also seen with *sun* 'flow' + *ẸKÚN* 'tears' in (144a). This effect fails to occur with detransitivized verbs as in (144b-c).

144a. [V [V sun] [N ẸKÚN]] 'cry'
flow TEARS

b. [V [V jẹ] [N ÒUN]] 'eat [intransitive]' as in 'eat a (canonical) meal'
eat THING

c. [V [V sọn] [N OWÓ]] 'settle one's debt'
pay MONEY

For *jẹ* 'eat' (144b) and *sọn* 'pay out' (144c), a lexical constant detransitivizes the verb, just as in English (Hale and Keyser 1986). With inchoative *sun* 'flow' in (144a), the lexical valency is fully saturated by the constant TEARS. Because a constant cannot externalize (as a subject), the only possible predication extends the valency of 'flow' in the familiar aspectual way:[45]

145a. inchoative sun 'flow' [move by means of FLOWING]
$[V_i^{max}$ sun$_i$ ẸKÚN]].

b. intransitive sun ẸKÚN 'cry' [affect x, x = TEARS [move by means of FLOWING]]

[45] Brousseau *ms.* reports similar facts in Fɔ̀n:
[V [V jè] [N DÉN]] [V [V blá] [N NÙ]] [V [V sú] [N ÀXÒ]]
fall sweat tie mouth close debt
'perspire' 'fast' 'pay amount that is owed'

The mechanism of argument transfer, seen in the lexical causatives in (143) and (145), permits a unitary lexical entry for *fún* as in (116), as opposed to an analysis which treats some instances of *fún* (as in ex. 112) as closet prepositions. The preposition analysis is ruled out in any case by *wh*-extraction evidence which groups *fún* with verbs, e.g. *fẹ́* 'love/want', as against the genuine preposition *ní* 'on/at'. Both *fún* and *fẹ́* are proper governors which strand:

146a. Ajé yọ̀ fún Olú. 'Ajé was happy for Olú'
rejoice 'give'

b. [Tá]$_i$ ni [Ajé yọ̀ fún t_i]? 'Who was Ajé happy for?'
what FOC 3sg be.joyful 'give'

147a. Bọ́sẹ̀-ẹ́ fẹ́ Olú. 'Bọ́sẹ̀ loves Olú'
love

b. [Tá]$_i$ ni [Bọ́sẹ̀-ẹ́ fẹ́ t_i]? 'Who does Bọ́sẹ̀ love?'
Who FOC love

Instead of stranding, prepositional *ní* extracts, pied-piping its object, cf. (148b). On the insertion of the preverb *ti* 'start from', cf. Carstens 1986 and Ṣónaiya 1987.

148a. Olú bá ìwé ní ilé. 'Olu found (the) book at home'
meet book on/at house

b. [Ní ibo]$_i$ ni [Olú ti bá ìwé t_i]? 'Where is it that Olu found (the) book?'
on/at where FOC start.from meet book

Consequences for projection

If argument sharing is rejected as the special licensing mechanism of serial constructions, what remains to do the same job is selection. With allegedly triadic verbs such as English *give*, *present* and *donate*, and Yorùbá *fún* and *bùn* , the diacritic use of *θ*-role labels and the Thematic Hierarchy can be replaced by localistic appeal to selectional relations. In (149), argument variables—whether open or filled by constants—encode selectional properties.

149. Verbs of state and intrinsic process

a. *stative* (including *locative*)

gọ̀	'be stupid'	[be in state x, x = STUPIDITY]
kéré	'be small'	[be in state x, x = SMALLNESS]
wà	'be somewhere'	[be in state/location x, x = EXISTENCE (SOMEWHERE)]
yọ̀ (AYỌ̀)	'rejoice'	[be in state x, x = JOY]

b. *unergative*

bú	'roar'	[intrinsically emit x, x = ROAR]
hó	'boil'	[intrinsically emit x, x = BUBBLES]
mí	'breathe'	[intrinsically emit and intake x, x = AIR]
rìn	'walk'	[intrinsically move by means of x, x = LEGS]

c. *non-alternating inchoative*

họ̀n	'appear'	[intrinsically come to be in state x, x = VISIBLE]
kú	'die'	[intrinsically come to be in state x, x = DEAD]
tán	'come to an end'	[intrinsically come to be in state x, x = NONE LEFT]
wá	'come'	[intrinsically come to be in location x, x = HERE]

d. *intrinsic transitive*

bá	'meet'	[intrinsically come to be in the presence of x]
dé	'arrive.at'	[intrinsically come to be in location x]
wí	'say'	[intrinsically emit x (x LINGUISTIC)]
mà	'know'	[intrinsically posess x (x a NAME or PROPOSITION)]

150. Verbs of non-intrinsic process: *inchoative/causative alternating*

dí	'obstruct'	[come to be in state x, x = IMMOBILE]
fọ́	'break'	[come to be in state x, x = SHATTERED]
ṣí	'open'	[come to be in state x, x = UNOBSTRUCTED]
ya	'tear'	[come to be in state x, x = RAGGED]

151. Verbs of extrinsic process

a. *affecting*

bẹ́	'cut off'	[affect x [come to be in state y, y = DETACHED]]
dì, dè	'block, tie up'	[affect x [come to be in state y, y = RESTRAINED]]
jẹ	'eat'	[affect x [come to be in state y, y = CONSUMED]]
kọ́	'build'	[affect x [come to be in state y, y = BUILT]]

b. *extrinsic transitive*

fún	'give'	[extrinsically come to be in the posession of x]

c. *ditransitive*

[no exx. in Yorùbá] [affect x [… y]] (where *y* is not filled by a constant)

Yorùbá apparently lacks syntactically ditransitive verbs, i.e. verbs with two open lexical variables as in (151c). Some verbs are affecting without being ditransitive, cf. (151a). A lexical entry of Yorùbá has at most one open internal position. If a verb is lexically affecting, as in (151a), the *x* variable of *affect x* exhausts the limit; any other internal argument must be filled by a lexical constant. If the verb is non-affecting, it may contain an open internal position, as in (149d), (151b); but it need not, as in (149a-c). Or, as in (150), both possibilities may occur.[46]

[46](150) compares directly to the English causative/inchoative pair in (i):

i-a. The door opened. [come to be in state x, x = UNOBSTRUCTED]

b. John opened the door. [affect x [come to be in state y, y = UNOBSTRUCTED]]

Non-alternating inchoatives (149c) resemble their English equivalents, e.g. *die* in (iia). As Guerssel argues, this type of change of state is underlyingly intrinsic; affixation of *affect x* is accordingly ruled out on the basis of contradictory selection of *x*, as in (ii-b):

ii-a. Bill died. [intrinsically come to be in state x, x = DEAD]

b. *John died Bill. *[affect x [intrinsically come to be in state y, y = DEAD]]

That some inchoatives can be superficially transitive in inherent complement constructions (*die a patriot's death*) reflects the potential syntactic activity of lexical constants, cf. (136).

Dé 'arrive.at' (149d) is fully transitive; its nearest English counterpart *arrive* is only marginally so, cf. (iii-a). Both verbs being intrinsic changes, neither one causativizes.

iii-a. Bill arrived (home). [intrinsically come to be in location x]

b. *John arrived Bill (home). *[affect x [intrinsically come to be in location y]]

Inherent causatives (148a), which are the extrinsic change counterpart of inchoatives, are exemplified by English *eat*, cf. (iv-a). The open internal variable may be lexically filled by a canonical or pragmatically determined entity, as in (iv-b), cf. Hale and Keyser 1986.

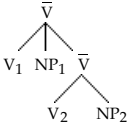
iv-a. John ate an apple. [affect x [come to be in state y, y = CONSUMED]]

b. John ate alone that night. [affect x, x=DINNER [come to be in state y, y = CONSUMED]]

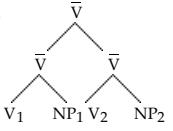
The absence of ditransitive verbs is not just a negative property: (149-51) show that it correlates with a high frequency of lexical constants. Some constants are audibe, as in (135-45). A serializing language is one in which s-selectional constraints are lexicalized (as constants) to a high degree.

This approach contrasts with Baker's serialization parameter. Baker 1988c adopts a semicircular definition of "serial constructions proper" as just those structures which satisfy the argument sharing template (68/72/152a). Baker 1989a adds a structure (152b) to accommodate multi-event serial constructions, but all single-event serial constructions conform to (152a).

152a. Baker 1988c/1989a *single-event*



b. Baker 1989a *multi-event*

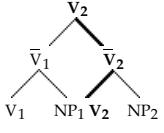


I have reviewed some Yorùbá counterexamples to (152). (84), (104), (107) and (108) are single-event serial constructions which lack the argument-sharing property and hence are not licensed by (152a). Further, Yorùbá lacks single-event serial constructions comparable to Sranan (75), which satisfies (152a), and multi-event serial constructions comparable to Sranan (79), licensed by (152b). Baker elides over these differences, and he has no choice but to do so, inasmuch as his parameter forces Sranan and Yorùbá into the same syntactic type.

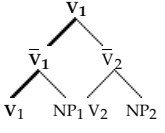
In both the permissive and restrictive sets of counterexamples to (152a), the culprit is Baker's innovative relation of "indirect, internal θ-marking"—which permits the direct, internal argument of V_1 to be an internal argument of V_2. This kind of argument sharing (as opposed to the sharing of an argument external to both verbs) is possible only in a configuration with a ternary-branching $\overline{V}$ constituent. Strict binary-branching, by contrast, allows just the kinds of thematic relations which are attested in Kwa serial constructions.

The only way that (152a) translates into binary-branching is as an adjunction structure. The two possibilities for adjunction, respectively leftward and rightward, are given in (153a) and (153b). Baker's template corresponds to a right adjunction, since the highest $\overline{V}$ is directly projected by V_1. On semantic grounds, however, Awóyalé 1988 has proposed that both directions of $\overline{V}$-adjunction are found in single-event serial constructions in Yorùbá, as follows:

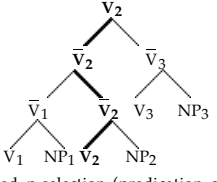
153a. *modality-event*



b. event-state



c. modality-event-state



These structures permit just two types of θ-marking: those I have called p-selection (predication of an XP by an XP) and s-selection (selection of an XP complement by an X^0 head). Baker's "indirect, internal" θ-marking is ruled out in (153) because there is no NP_n (complement of V_n) which is "connected" (in the sense of Kayne 1983) to a V_{n+1}. (153) requires that the semantic composition between V_{n+1} and NP_n is mediated by V_n. In (153b), V_2^{max} p-selects, not NP_1, but $\overline{V}_1$, as in (135).

V_2 cannot p-select NP_1 in (153a) because NP_1 is not external to V_2^{max} (the highest instance of $\overline{V}_2$). In (35a/107a), 'hand' cannot be the external argument of 'eat'; to maintain argument sharing, Baker must analyze 'eat' with an optionally instrument role, but this requires that NP_1 be an internal argument of V_2. $\overline{V}$-adjunction requires a distinction of headedness: one verb must be the head of the polyvalent verbal projection, leaving the adjunct(s) in the status of modifier(s).

Awóyalé's semantic claim is that, in a single-event construction, the head of the projection denotes the event. For a non-head (an adjunct), he recognizes two possible types of non-event signification: modality (e.g. instrument) and state (e.g. result). (153a), headed by V_2, has the interpretation of modality plus event, as in an instrumental serial construction, while (153b), headed by V_1, instantiates the semantic relation between an event and a state, as in a resultative serial construction. If both modality and state are signified, they adjoin to a central event as in (153c), with the event compositionally closer to the modality term than to the state term. In this way, a semantic template (modality-event-state) correlates with the permutations of a syntactic configuration ($\overline{V}$ adjunction), through the headedness relation.

Awóyalé implies that multiple-event serial constructions have the configuration of coordinate $\overline{V}$s. This follows from two properties. Object-gapping requires that a gapped NP_2 be c-commanded by its NP_1 antecedent, as obtains in the event-state structure.[47] 'Same-subject' requires that V_2^{max} p-selects the external argument, as in the modality-event structure. Neither adjunction structure meets the two requirements simultaneously, hence a coordinate structure is forced.

As opposed to argument-sharing, the structures in (153) embody Awóyalé's view that

> an account of verb serialization…must look beyond the argument structure of individual verbs to some principle or principles which relate these argument structures to each other. … The 'lexical' approach seems to imply that verb serialization is required just in order to license a complex argument structure. The approach we take to these issues is different: it is the verbs themselves that are licensed in the formation of complex predicates. (1988: 6, 8)

I conclude this section with further evidence for the dual adjunction types.

Eventhood and extraction

Baker's argument-sharing template provides just one configuration for all single-event serial constructions: (152a). But there is evidence of a configurational difference between semantic subtypes. One form of *wh*-extraction in Yorùbá, verb focus (misnamed 'predicate cleft'), is sensitive to the semantic difference between dative and instrumental serialization. (See §3.2 below.) Awóyalé's dual configurations in (153a,b) predict the observed extraction difference.

(154b-c) show dislocation of a focused object or subject NP to the left of the element *ni*.. (In §3.2.3, the position of this focused element is argued to be SPEC, CP.) As described for Kru languages by Koopman 1983, subject trace is lexicalized with a resumptive clitic, cf. (154c).

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[47] Oyèlárán (1989a, 1990) regards object gapping as a discourse phenomenon; with the verb *fi* 'use' it is particularly free. In (ii) below, the antecedent is not even syntactically active:

i. Mo fi (*í) sí ibẹ̀. 'I put [it] there'
1sg use 3sg to there (Abraham 1958: 211)

ii. Àjàó jeun títí ó fi (*í) yó. 'Àjàó ate until he was full'
eat.thing until 3sg use 3sg become.full (George [Madugu] 1975: 94)

Awóyalé (p.c.) reports similar phenomena with the verb *rí* 'see'.

154a. Ajé ra ìwé. 'Aje {is buying, bought} a book'
buy paper

b. *Ìwé* ni Ajé rà *t*. 'It is a book that Aje {is buying, bought}'
paper Comp buy [i.e., he didn't buy shoes]

c. *Ajé* ni ó ra ìwé. 'It is Aje that {is buying, bought} a book'
Comp 3sg buy paper [i.e., it wasn't Olu who bought it]

Verb focus involves the *wh*-extraction of a nominalized, reduplicated gerund, which is distinct from the verb itself, since the latter does not gap. Manfredi and Lániran 1988 propose that the morphological base for reduplication is a Bound Verb Complement (BVC).[48] The BVC can be thought of as the "spreading" of the lexical content of the verb onto a clitic position which may be aspectual in nature (cf. Tenny 1987: 210 ex. 25b), spelling out the "Davidsonian" event position in the argument structure. 'Sopé Oyèlárǎn points out to me that the nominalized BVC is visible *in situ*, in certain intransitive, echoic constructions:[49]

155a. Ajé lọ ì-lọ ì-yà, kò lọ *lí-lọ* kan. 'Aje went on a side trip, he didn't go [just] one going'
go going turning Neg go going one

b. Ikú-t-àrùn ń kan [i]lé-e é *ré*… 'Death'n'disease [were] haunting his house'
death'n'disease PROG reach house-of 3sg going [ré ← rí-rè]

In ordinary examples, the BVC is invisible *in situ*, perhaps to permit structural Case assignment to a lexical complement (cf. Roeper and Keyser 1988, §2.1.5 and §3.1.2 below). It is visible *in situ* just if the event acquires argumental status, in a context like (155); otherwise, it is *wh*-extractable.

In (156a), the BVC focus version of (154a), *rí-rà* 'buying' appears in [SPEC, CP]. Or else, the nominalized VP *rí-rà ìwé* 'book-buying' as a whole may be focused, if a copy of the object is in situ, (156b). Oyèlárǎn 1989b observes that an aspectual Aux may be included in the VP gerund, (157b).

156a. *Rí-rà* ni Ajé ra *t* ìwé. 'It is a buying that Aje {is buying, bought} a book'
Nom-buy Comp buy paper [i.e. he didn't steal it]

b. *Rí-rà-wé* ni Ajé ra *t* ìwé. 'It is book-buying that Aje {is buying, bought} a book'
Nom-buy-paper Comp buy paper [i.e. he didn't go yam-selling]

157a. Ajé {máa/ń} ra ìwé. 'Aje is buying books' (unambiguously nonpast)
Prog buy paper

b. *Mí-máa-ra-ìwé* ni Ajé máa ra *t* ìwé. 'It is continuous book-buying that Aje does/did'
Nom-Prog-buy-paper Comp Prog buy paper [i.e. not just occasionally]

In a serial construction, *wh*-movement is possible for any subject or object NP, or the BVC of the first verb. But the serial subtypes distinguished as in (153) differ with respect to the *wh*-movement of the nominalized BVC of a non-initial verb (e.g. V_2). This is possible in an instrumental serial construction like (158) = (153a), but not in dative serial constructions like (159) = (153b).

158a. Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé iṣu. 'Aje used a/the knife to cut a/the yam'
use knife cut yam

b. *Iṣu* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t*]. 'It's yam that Aje used a knife to cut'
yam Comp use knife cut

c. *Gígé* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t* iṣu].
cutting Comp use knife cut yam

d. *Gígé iṣu* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t* (*iṣu*)].
cutting yam Comp use knife cut yam

[48] This term was originally coined for the corresponding Ìgbo form, by Nwáchukwu 1983.

[49] (155b), a line from an Ifá poem, is cited by Oyèlárǎn 1990 from Abímbólá (1976: 160).

159a. Ajé mú àpótí fún mi. 'Aje gave a/the box to me'
take.hold of box give 1sg

b. *Èmi* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t*]. 'It's me that Aje gave the box to'
1sg Comp take.hold.of box give

c. * *Fífún* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t* mi].
giving Comp take.hold.of box give 1sg

d. * *Fífún mi* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t mi*].
giving 1sg Comp take.hold of box give 1sg

It is often said that (159c-d) fail because here *fún* is really a preposition. (A similar claim is made for Haitian *bay*. cf. Piou (1982: 146f.), Déchaine (1988a: 41-46). Such a view entails the absurd consequence that *dé* is a preposition in (160c), but not in (160d):[50]

160a. Ajé bá mi dé ilé. 'Aje came home along with me'
accompany 1sg arrive.at house

b. *Ilé* ni [Ajé bá mi dé *t*]. 'It is home that Aje came to along with me'
house Comp accompany 1sg arrive.at

c. * *Dídé* ni [Ajé bá mi dé *t* ilé].
arriving Comp accompany 1sg arrive.at house

d. *Dídé ilé* ni [Ajé bá mi dé *t ilé*].
arriving house Comp accompany 1sg arrive.at house

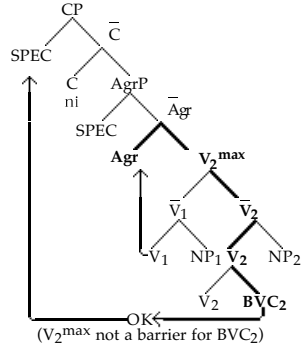
A government-based explanation for the BVC-extraction asymmetry is available in the *Barriers* framework (Chomsky 1986a). The idea is that the extraction difference for BVC_2 between dative and instrumental serial constructions follows from the different directions of $\overline{V}$-adjunction in (153), a difference which Awóyalé motivates semantically.

First, consider what a difference in the direction of $\overline{V}$-adjunction will *not* affect. No matter the direction, the BVC of the first verb will always be extractable, because (as argued by Roberts 1985 and Déchaine 1990b, extending Koopman 1984) this verb is always visible to Infl (which in Yorùbá contains subject Agr, but not tense—cf. Manfredi 1988 and §3.1.3 below). V-visibility is satisfied by head movement of V_1 to Agr, voiding the barrier.

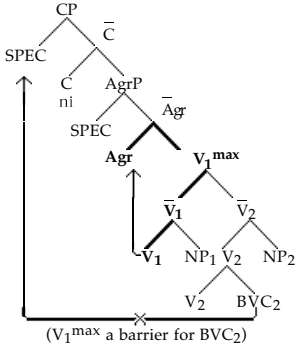
By contrast, (159c) and (160c) show that the BVC_2 is nonextractable just if $\overline{V}_2$ is an adjunct, as depicted in (161b). In (161a), which depicts (158c), $\overline{V}_2$ is not an adjunct, and there is no barrier for BVC_2. Awóyalé proposes that an adjoined $\overline{V}$ does not constitute a separate event, but modifies the event of the head $\overline{V}$. In a dative, the modifier comes on the right, while in an instrumental it comes on the left. This suggests that, if the BVC discharges the Davidsonian event position in the argument structure, the BVC in an adjoined (non-head) $\overline{V}$ is not "event-connected" to the maximal predicate. In (161b), the maximal predicate is a barrier to the extraction of BCV_2, but not of the complement NP_2, because the event/non-event distinction is relevant just to Davidsonian arguments (i.e. the BVC) but irrelevant to lexical NP objects.

[50] The paradigms of *fún* and *dé* differ: in (160) but not (159), BVC_2 is extractable just if a double of NP_2 comes along, cf. (160d). In general, doubling (or resumptive) strategies save island violations by 'strengthening' the path between landing site and extraction site. Perhaps complement doubling is exceptionally possible with *dé* because its complement selection is exceptionally strong. Compared to *dé*, *arrive* (a near equivalent) is only marginally transitive: *John arrived home*, but **…arrived Boston*.

161a. *instrumental* (e.g. 158c)



b. *dative* (e.g. 159c, 160c)



Discussion of the BVC continues in the following section, and in §3.2.3.

2.1.5 Are there intransitive verbs in Ìgbo?

All Ìgbo verbs are transitive.
Émènanjọ (1973/1975a: 166)

I now turn from the freely serializing, sporadically compounding syntax of Yorùbá to the corresponding Ìgbo phenomena: partial serialization plus the free formation of V-V compounds. The goal is to represent this correlated difference so as to account for the contrasting pattern of transitivity in the two languages: Yorùbá's lack of double object structures, and Ìgbo's lack of surface intransitives. The claim is that this typology stems from the thematic patterning of lexical entries (s-selection), interacting with functional (e.g. inflectional) elements.

Relevant properties are listed in (162). Both Ìgbo and Yorùbá serialize modality-event constructions (162a). For event-state constructions, Yorùbá serialization and Ìgbo V-V compounding (162b) are near-complementary options: Yorùbá does have some non-splitting, intransitive V-V compounds (162c). V-N compounds occur in both languages (162d), but with a surface difference. In Ìgbo, the N (which Nwáchukwu 1985 dubs an inherent complement) has its own phrasal projection, separated from the verb by any other internal argument. That is, the Ìgbo inherent complement is a 'splitting noun', recalling the splitting verb in Yorùbá. Double object and applicative structures occur in Ìgbo, but not in Yorùbá (162e).

162.

	(a) *modality-event serialization*	(b) *event-state serialization*	(c) *V-V compounding*	(d) *V-N compounding*	(e) *double objects*
Yorùbá	+	+	[intransitive or splitting]	[intransitive]	–
Ìgbo	+	–	+	[splitting]	+
		partial serialization		*ditransitivity*	
		↑ V-incorporation		↑ morphologized affectedness	

The differences in (162) boil down to two fundamental properties of Ìgbo: 'partial serialization' and ditransitivity. The next subsections review the empirical basis of (162) and show how these

twin properties reflect the presence of two options in Ìgbo grammar: V-incorporation (driven by the requirement of visibility to a dummy Infl) and the morphological spellout of affectedness. The consequences of lexical aspect for surface transitivity and Casemarking can be understood in terms of Tenny's (1987) general hypothesis that aspect is the interface of lexical and syntactic properties. §3.2.2 below shows how the tonal morphology of Case supports the present analysis.

Partial serialization and V-incorporation

Like Yorùbá, Ìgbo serializes instrumental constructions, and constructions of manner and accompaniment, as in these examples from Ụ̀waláàka 1982 and Íhìọ́nụ́ 1988:

163a. Àdhá jì-(ri) ḿmà ékḥwú bḥa-a jí. 'Adha peeled yams with (i.e. while holding) a kitchen knife'
hold-∅Asp knife kitchen-Gen peel-OVS yam-Gen

b. Ó jì–ri Íkḥe za. 'S/he answered forcefully'
3sg hold–∅Asp strength answer-OVS (covert)[51]

c. Égbe vù ọkúkọ̀ da–á. 'The kite [predatory bird] swooped down with a chicken'
kite carry hen fall–OVS

But resultative, dative and benefactive constructions, which serialize in Yorùbá, have the surface form of V-V compounds in Ìgbo:

164a. Àdhá gbà-ju-ru móto̍ (fúèl). 'Adha fueled [the] car (with petrol)'
pour-fill.up-∅Asp car petrol

b. Ó bì-nye -re Adḥá akwà. 'S/he lent Adha [a piece of] cloth'
3sg borrow-give-∅Asp cloth

c. Ó nè e-thé-re ányị egwu. 'S/he {is dancing/usually dances} for us'
3sg Prog/Hab ing-raise-Appl 1pl-Gen dance

To represent this difference, Ìgbo V-V compounding can be viewed as covert serialization, whose resemblance to Yorùbá serial resultatives, datives and benefactives is obscured by the effects of V-incorporation (à la Baker 1985).

Déchaine 1990b accounts for the presence of syntactic V-incorporation in Ìgbo, and its absence in Yorùbá, by appealing to *V-visibility*: the requirement that a verb must be governed by (visible to) Infl in order to assign structural Case (Roberts 1985a,b,c) or, perhaps equivalently, to receive a referential interpretation (Hale 1988). V-incorporation is forced in Ìgbo by the status of Ìgbo Infl as an X^0-governor (an affix), versus the XP-governing Infl of Yorùbá (an Aux). In Yorùbá, every verb is visible insofar as it is in a V^{max} governed by Infl (the high tone subject Agr morpheme). In Ìgbo, V_1 is always visible because it is syntactically affixed to Infl as a result of V-to-I movement (cf. Koopman 1984). Any other verb is governed by Infl, hence visible, only if it occupies the X^0 head of V^{max}. A non-head, non-initial verb is not visible to Infl *in situ*, so it must affix to the head verb.

This picture is complicated by the absence of overt tense or agreement morphology in Ìgbo. As discussed in §3.1.2, tense interpretation arises indirectly, mediated by aspectual categories. In the absence of an aspect morpheme or a base-generated Infl element (an Aux), the initial verb bears a default reduplication of *-r-* (in some dialects, *-l-*) plus the verb's final vowel (in some dialects, redundantly [+high]). As a default element, *-rV* is glossed by me as '∅Asp'.

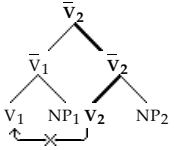
A noninitial verb in a serial construction (including multi-event ones, unhelpfully dubbed 'consecutive' in some of the 1970's literature) bears a high-toned, 'open vowel' suffix (Green and

[51] Nwáchukwu 1976a and Ọ́gwụ̀élẹ́ka 1978 discuss the non-occurrence of the OVS with some verb roots.

Ígwè's term). This suffix marks events as delimited: it follows from (153) that any non-initial verb in a serial construction includes the verb which denotes the event. Because syntactic Aspect, unlike Tense, is sensitive to lexical properties (Verkuyl 1972, 1988), not every initial verb bears *-rV*, and not every non-initial verb bears the other suffix; the selection of examples in (163) illustrates this point. In most southern Igboid dialects, the OVS forms part of the perfective suffix (cf. §3.2 below). At some stage, the OVS was probably an object pronoun.

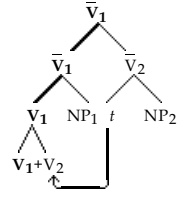
With these morphological provisions, the visibility-based account suggests why V-incorporation succeeds in resultative/dative/benefactive constructions (which have Awóyalé's right-adjoining, event-state structure of (153b)) but not in constructions of instrument/manner/accompaniment (with the left-adjoining, modality-event structure of (153a)). Evidently, V-incorporation fails in the latter class of constructions because V_1 does not govern V_2, violating Travis' (1984) Head Movement Constraint.[52]

165a. *modality-event*



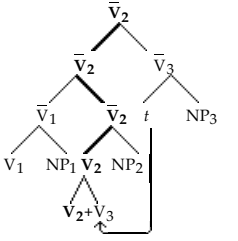
no V-incorporation:
V_1 doesn't govern V_2

b. *event-state*



V-incorporation:
V_1 governs (trace of) V_2

c. *modality-event-state*



V-incorporation:
V_2 governs (trace of) V_3

Ken Hale (p.c.) points out that the pattern of government I am assuming in (165) may not be consistent with Chomsky's definition of government in adjunction structures: "α is dominated by β only if it is dominated by every segment of β. … α excludes β if no segment of α dominates β." (1986a: 7, 9). Chomsky is considering two kinds of adjuncts: X^0 and XP, neither of which is in question in (165). On reflection, however it seems to me that the relation of exclusion actually does obtain in (165c) between V_2 and either V_1 or V_3, since neither one is dominated by any segment of V_2. Even by Chomsky's definition, therefore, V_2 governs the other two verbs in (165c). Exclusion arises only if government between V-bars is in question, but that kind of government doesn't seem to have consequences for the present analysis. However this definition works out, the verb of a right adjunct incorporates into a head verb (165b), but a head verb fails to incorporate into the verb of a left adjunct (165a). If V_1 governs V_2 in the former but not the latter, incorporation is predicted.

In Ìgbo as in Yorùbá, both configurations can cooccur in a single complex predicate, with a modality-event-state interpretation (165c). Some Ìgbo examples are given in (166):

166a. Ó jì-ri ósisi ti-gbu -o ḿmadḍụ̀. 'S/he clubbed someone to death'
3sg hold-ØAsp stick strike-cut/kill-OVS human.being (Nwáchukwu 1987d)

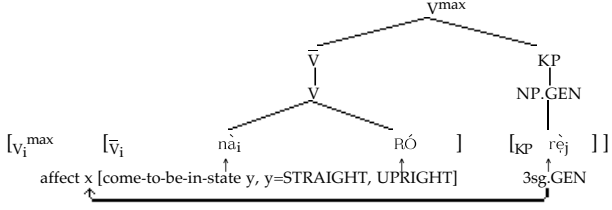
b. Ó jì-ri ńgàjj ri-ju -o afǫ́. 'S/he ate her/his fill with a spoon'
3sg hold-ØAsp spoon eat-fill-OVS stomach

[52]Which Baker 1985 reduces to the ECP; Lema and Rivero 1990 dispense with Travis' locality condition. Rightward incorporation of V_1 by V_2 is ruled out in (165a,c) by global harmony.

In this way, Awóyalé's semantically-driven $\bar{V}$-adjunction analysis of Yorùbá serial constructions clarifies Ìgbo's parametric status as a partially serializing language.[53]

By Déchaine's hypothesis, V-incorporation is not an option in Yorùbá because Infl in that language is an XP-governor—cf. the rich system of modal and aspectual auxiliaries and the corresponding absence of modal or aspectual affixes (Oyèlárán 1982b, 1989c). V-V compounds do exist in Yorùbá but, unlike their Ìgbo counterparts, they are not formed syntactically. Lánírán and Ṣónaiya 1987 argue that transitive V-V compounds—'splitting' verbs—are lexical items with the surface form of serial constructions, cf. (81-83), (138f). The V_1 of a splitting verb is always an affecting verb such as *bà* 'touch', *gbà* 'take' or *pa* 'hit'. (The splitting verb phenomenon is thus the inverse of V-incorporation in Ìgbo.) Surface V-V compounds—those which don't 'split'—are restricted to lexicalized intransitives. This follows because, lacking head movement, the only licensed position for a dependent verbal element in a Yorùbá compound is the lexical constant.

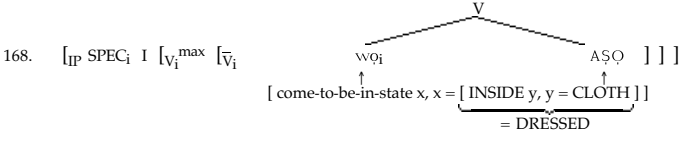
§2.1.3 gave the mechanics of such a structure: free serialization and the absence of ditransitive verbs correlate in Yorùbá with a high frequency of semantic constants identifying internal argumental variables of lexical entries, cf. (149-51). For many verbs (e.g. 135-45), the constant is phonetically spelled out in a V-X compound, where X ranges over the categories V and N. Nonsplitting V-V compounds like *nà-RÓ* 'straighten upright' are simultaneously causative and antipassive, assigning Genitive case to a syntactic 'causee' object as in (138e) above. This follows from the hypothesis that the right-hand compound member (*RÓ*) is projected (thematically licensed) by the constant (STRAIGHT) of the left-hand member (*nà*)'s lexical entry, as in (167):



The genitive complement of *nà-RÓ*, its notional object, is thematically licensed by argument transfer, as the affectum of the causative V-V compound, cf. (121).

The transitivity of V-N compounds

Intransitive causatives like (167) are absent in Ìgbo, where the second member of a V-V compound is not projected from a constant. V-N compounds show a corresponding difference in the transitivity. For a Yorùbá V-X compound, if X=N then the verb is intransitive. There are two types. An active intransitive like *wọ ẸṢỌ* 'get dressed' (140), literally 'enter clothes', projects as in (168).



[53]In Winnebago structures like (165a), V_1 incorporates into V_2 as a preverb (Craig and Hale 1988: 331).

An affecting intransitive like *ró ASỌ* 'get dressed [in female clothing]' (139), literally 'cause cloth to stand', projects as in (169).

169. $[_{IP}$ SPEC$_i$ I $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ $[_{\overline{V}_i}$ ró$_i$ ASỌ]]]

affect x [come-to-be-in-state y, y =UPRIGHT], x=CLOTH

As the right-hand element of the compounds in (168) and (169), *ASỌ* absorbs the structural Case assigned by the verb root, in the manner of an object clitic, cf. Kayne 1984. Thematically, it is licensed as a lexical constant, i.e. a fixed member of the lexical entry.

Nwáchukwu 1985 shows that the N of a V-N compound in Ìgbo heads its own phrase. Such nouns, which Nwáchukwu calls inherent complements, are the analogues of Yorùbá 'splitting' verbs: lexically integral but syntactically independent. There is also a semantic parallel: as with Yorùbá splitting verbs, Ìgbo inherent complements involve a 'lite', affecting verb root. I will show that the inherent complements of these roots are arguments—specifically, overt lexical constants licensed by argument transfer.

Nwáchukwu states that an inherent complement "does not qualify for either a [C]ase or a theta role" (1987c: 78) and again, "I[nherent] C[omplement]s are not arguments" (1987c: 134). From this claim he exempts those "ICs which are also patients or themes… In all such instances, the meaning of the verb root and the IC is compositional" (1987c: 78). This loophole was explicitly included to accommodate my earlier observation (1987b, quoted by Nwáchukwu 1987c: 73) that at least some ICs are obviously direct objects. What remains to be seriously investigated is the possibility that *all* ICs are direct objects. If a lexical decomposition analysis exists for them all, then Nwáchukwu's claim of IC nonargumenthood is untenable, because it has no phenomena to analyze. Otherwise, if noncompositional, nonargument ICs do exist, then one is left with Nwáchukwu's template to license them. This recourse is undesirable in principle: template morphology is more of a problem than a solution. And, there is prima facie evidence that the first choice is the correct one.

Nwáchukwu's claim that inherent complements are not (in general) arguments predicts that the presence of an inherent complement has no consequences for transitivity. Íhìọ́nụ́ 1989 shows that this prediction is false: in fact, there are no inherent complement verbs which also take a double object, although nothing in Nwáchukwu's analysis rules out this possibility.

170. V (Appl-NP) { DO ; IO DO ; IC ; DO IC ; IO IC ; *IO DO IC } (BVC)

abbreviations:

Appl-NP	applied affix+object
IO	indirect object
DO	direct object
IC	inherent complement
BVC	bound verb complement

The restriction in (170) is arbitrary if the inherent complement is not a syntactic argument; but it is predicted if the inherent complement is just the syntactic direct object. Apparent counterexamples, to which Nwáchukwu gives the analysis of [V DO IC] (notionally conforming to their English glosses), are readily reanalyzed as [V IO IC], cf. (171-72) immediately below. Let us therefore pursue the hypothesis of syntactic licensing for all ICs.

Inherent complements differ from other direct objects only in the strength of their s-selection by the verb. Verb roots which take an inherent complement are semantically 'lite', effectively reversing the selectional relationship between verb and complement. In a kind of recoverability effect, an inherent complement—as a lexical constant (invariant argument) which supplies thematic content to the verb—must project in the syntax. This can be seen with the two most productive lite verb roots cited by Nwáchukwu (out of an open list of eight such roots): *tụ́* and *gbá*.

With abstract inherent complements such as *ỤJỌ́* 'fear' or *ỊNKÍTỊHỊ̀* 'silence' as in (171), the thematic relationship to the respective verb roots is admittedly not obvious:

171a. Àdḥá tụ̀-rụ Úgwu (nnukwu) ỤJỌ́. 'Adha feared Ugwu (greatly)'
?-ØAsp [NP great fear]

b. Àdḥá gbá-ra Ugwu (ezigbo) ỊNKÍTỊHỊ̀. 'Adha (thoroughly) ignored Ugwu'
?-ØAsp [NP true silence]

However, the thematic opacity of abstract nouns is insufficient grounds for a syntactic template analysis. No one would deny that *talent* is the syntactic object of *show* in *John shows talent*, although it exhibits semantic opacity of the same order as *ỤJỌ́* 'fear' in (171a).

One way to test the thematic content of the lite verb roots is by substituting concrete arguments, such as *ỊNKÚMÈ* 'stone' and *ỤTÁ* 'bow':

172a. Àdḥá tụ̀-rụ Úgwu (ọtụtụ) ỊNKÚMÈ. 'Adha threw (many) stones at Ugwu'
?-ØAsp [NP multiplicity stone]

b. Àdḥá gbá-ra Ugwu (okḥe) ỤTÁ. 'Adha shot a (big) bow at Ugwu'
?-ØAsp [NP massive/male bow]

Although both roots in (172) take double objects, and the right-hand object (*ỊNKÚMÈ*,*ỤTÁ*) is clearly affected in both examples, the semantic treatment of the inner object (*Úgwu*) is not parallel.[54] With *tụ́* (172a), *Úgwu* denotes the direction or goal of the stones, whereas it does not fill a similar role for bow, with *gbá* in (172b): the bow does not end up any closer to *Úgwu* than it started. Rather, if *Úgwu* is a goal in (172b), it is the goal of the projectile shot by the bow. Thus the interpretation of *Úgwu* as a goal arises secondarily, in a more general antibenefactive reading. The representations in (173) capture this difference, while preserving the other similarities which have been previously noted.

173a. $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ $[_{\overline{V}_i}$ tụ$_i$ NP] ỊNKÚMÈ]

affect x [come-into-contact-with y], x = STONE

b. $[_{V_i}{}^{max}$ $[_{\overline{V}_i}$ gbá$_i$ NP ỤTÁ]]

affect x [move.ANTIBEN y], x=BOW

[54] My earlier discussions (1987b, 1989a) missed this difference, erroneously glossing *ụtá* as 'arrow'.

The aspectual projections in (173), with the affectum (here, the IC) licensed by argument transfer, superficially resemble abstract incorporation (Baker 1985). Baker claims that, like a noun overtly incorporated in a verb (as in Iroquoian languages), an abstractly incorporated nominal composes semantically with a governing verb as its direct internal argument, licensed by inherent Case.[55] In turn, the entire, discontinuous 'syntactic word' [V+IC] compositionally assigns its own internal *θ*-role, a semantic Goal, to the structural Case-marked argument adjacent to the verb.

As in §2.1.4, my approach differs from Baker's in avoiding appealing to Case theory to license thematic relations. Following Tenny 1987, I replace thematic roles and the Thematic Hierarchy with an aspectual account of the projection of conceptual structure into syntax. The representations in (173) are identical to those proposed for the Yorùbá *ní* construction, except that there is no overt counterpart to *ní* 'have'. This difference potentially indicates a degree of arbitrariness in (173), since there are two selectional relations but just one overt *θ*-assigning category. However, just as I argued that Yorùbá *ní* imposes s-selection on its complement, there is at hand a selectional basis for the Ìgbo inherent complement: the thematic 'liteness' of the verb root. The empirical scope of the licensing of (173) is narrower than the scope of abstract incorporation, since it is restricted to lite verb roots. This implies that every [V+IC] combination constitutes a separate lexical item, without giving up the claim that the IC is aspectually licensed as an affectum (affected direct object).

The claim that both *tụ́* and *gbá* are affecting verbs receives direct support from the existence of anticausative variants of these roots:

174a. ÓYI tù-rụ Adḥá. 'Adha felt cold' (literally: 'Cold struck Adha')[56]
cold strike-ØAsp

b. Ụ́ran tù-rụ Adḥá. 'Adha felt sleepy' (literally: 'Sleep struck Adha')
sleep strike-ØAsp

175a. CHÍ gbá-ra. 'Day dawned' (literally: 'Daylight moved [into view]')
daylight move-ØAsp

b. ÌMMÍLÍ nà a-gbá. 'Water is running/runs'[57]
water Prog/Hab Nom-move (i.e. moving [through a pipe, out of a tap])

Here a syntactic difference emerges: anticausative *tụ́* is dyadic (174), while anticausative *gbá* is monadic (175). (174) has a psychological interpretation and displays the 'psych-verb' type of subject/object inversion (e.g. *Sincerity frightened John*). Similarly, (171a) has an antipassive variant (176a), which itself has a 'psych'-type anticausative (176b), fully parallel to (174).

176a. Àdḥá tụ-rụ Ụ̀JỌ́ Ugwú. 'Adha was afraid of Ugwu'
strike-ØAsp fear Ugwu-GEN

b. Ụ̀JỌ́ Ugwú tụ-rụ Adḥá. 'Fear of Ugwu struck Adha' OR
fear Ugwu-GEN strike-ØAsp 'The idea of Ugwu struck Adha as frightening'

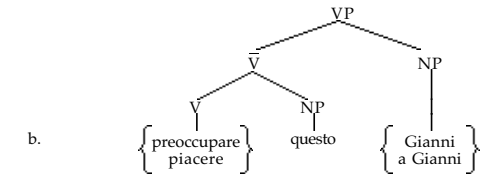
The alternants of *tụ́ ỤJỌ́* in (171a) and (176a-b) follow from the triadic representation in (177a). This recalls Belletti and Rizzi's (1986: 3) analysis of Italian psych-verbs of the *piacere/preoccupare* class in (177b), save for the compositional order of the internal arguments.

[55] By happy accident, the label I[nherent] C[omplement] stands mnemonically for inherent Case.

[56] Compare Yorùbá *Otútù-ú ń pa mí* 'I feel cold' (literally 'Cold is striking me'), and the calque in Nigerian Pidgin English: *Cold de beat me*.

[57] The gloss of (174b) includes an implicit, deictic locatum, also seen in (179b) and (182g), (183d-e).

177a. [V_i^{max} [$\bar{V}_i$ tụ́$_i$ Àdḥá] ỤJỌ́ Ugwú]
affect x [come-firmly-into-contact-with y], x = FEAR-of-Úgwu



Nwáchukwu 1985, 1987c cites another collocation with *tụ́*, whose behavior challenges the hypothesis that the triadic pattern of *tụ́ ỤJỌ́* in (171a) underlies both the antipassive in (176a) and the anticausative in (176b). *tụ́ ANYA* 'expect' has the antipassive pattern (178a) but not the triadic pattern in (178b):

178a. Ézè tụ-rụ ÁNYA Ugwú. 'Eze expected Ugwu'
strike-ØAsp eye Ugwu-GEN

b. *Ézè tụ-rụ Úgwu ANYA.
strike-ØAsp Ugwu-ACC eye

Nwáchukwu states that this is the only example of its type, out of a dozen or so examples of *tụ́*. In his transformational analysis, it is a sole exception to his rule of Inherent Complement Movement, easily handled by a rule feature. But in the representational framework adopted here, *tụ́ ANYA* is a genuine problem, since (178b) is a possible projection of the constituent morphemes.

There is, however, a fact about *tụ́ ANYA* which has not been utilized thusfar: that its inherent complement is inalienably possessed (a body part). As in binding theory (e.g. Guéron 1984), inalienable possession entails referential nondistinctness encoded in thematic structure. This directly rules out the presumptive structure of (178b), assuming that a causer and a (nonreflexive) affectum must be referentially distinct. An interesting minimal pair arises in this connection, comparing *tụ́ ANYA* in (178b) and *tụ́ ANYA* in (179).

179. Ézè tụ-rụ Úgwu n'ÁNYA. 'Eze surprised Ugwu'
strike-ØAsp Ugwu-ACC in eye

In (178), ÁNYA is in a separate predicate, headed by the locative preposition. As in (178), ÁNYA is inalienably possessed in (179); what differs is the possessor. On the standard assumption that the possessor, as a binder, must c-command its possessee/bindee, the observed data follow: *Ézè* is the possessor of *ÁNYA* in (178), *Úgwu* is the possessor of *ÁNYA* in (179).

Apart from *tụ́ ANYA*, there are other examples of anticausative *tụ́* and *gbá* in which the subject is not the inherent complement, and which are not psych-verbs, but which involve inherent possession, as in (180). The crucial property in these examples which allows them to be analyzed as anticausative is the thematic identity of subject and object.

180a. Àdḥá tụ̀-rụ ÍME. 'Adha became pregnant'
strike-ØAsp insides [literally: 'Adha's inside [was] struck (i.e. by semen)'[58]]

b. Àdḥá gbá-ra ỌBARA. 'Adha bled'
move-ØAsp blood [literally: 'Adha's blood moved (out of her body/into view)']

In (180a), the logical subject is perhaps the implicit argument, semen. In (180b), the logical subject is blood. In both, the surface subject is *Àdḥá*, the possessor of the IC affectum.

There is class of dyadic predicates with *gbá*, exemplified in (181), where the inherent complement is clearly not the affectum. Noting that these examples (more fully listed in (184g) below) all involve intentional activity, and extending the analysis of inherent possession in (178-80), one can treat predicates like those in (181) as triadic, with the implicit affectum 'body'.[59]

181. Àdḥá gbá-ra ỌSỌ. 'Adha escaped/ran away/ran fast (as if pursued)'
move-ØAsp escape[60]

b. Àdḥá gbá-ra ỌHỤHỤ. 'Adha hurried'
move-ØAsp shaking

In other words, *-gbá* in these examples is not so much anticausative as reflexively affecting, as in (182a), which has the exact flavor of Jackendoff's famous English example in (182b):

182a. Àdḥá moved [herself, i.e. intentionally] in a hurry/on the run.

b. John rolled [himself, i.e. intentionally] down the hill.

In the skeletal lexical entries in (183-84), Nwáchukwu's examples with *tụ́* and *gbá* are analyzed compositionally in terms of the aspectual predicate *affect x* plus independently attested lexical properties. (A much longer list of examples is given in Thomas 1913, vol 2.)

183. tụ́ [affect x [come firmly into contact with y]]

a. *triadic*

tụ́ ỊMKPỌRỌ́ 'imprison'
handcuffs/stocks[61] [affect x = HANDCUFFS [come firmly into contact with y]]

tụ́ ỌMỤ 'summon (by means of ritual palmfrond)'
palmfrond [affect x = PALMFROND [come firmly into contact with y]]

tụ́ ỊKPE 'gossip about (someone)', i.e. direct criticism at them
criticism [affect x = CRITICISM [come firmly into contact with y]]

b. *affectum = body part*

tụ́ ÁNYA 'expect', i.e. turn one's vision toward (takes Genitive object)
eye [affect x, x = EYE(SIGHT) [come firmly into contact with y]

c. *prepositional IC locatum = body part*

tụ́ n'ÁNYA 'be.surprising'
in eye(s) [come firmly into contact with EYE(S) of y]

tụ́ n'ỌNỤ 'baffle, cause to gape'
in mouth [come firmly into contact with MOUTH of y]

58This literal gloss is rendered awkward by the fact that the anticausative variant of the English verb *strike* requires an instrument subject, while the instrument of the Ìgbo verb *tụ́* is implicit. A better paraphrase might be 'Semen struck Adha's inside' or 'Semen struck Adha on her inside'.

59*àhụ́* 'body' occurs as an overt classifier in expressions like *àhụ́ úfụ* 'suffering' [literally 'body of pain'].

60Cf. the agentive noun *ọ̀sọ́* 'wanderer, lost child, foundling' (Thomas 1913 vol 2: 345). Íhìọ́nú 1988 observes that the sentence in (176a) can also mean, idiomatically, 'Adha is a refugee'.

61 *Ịmkpọrọ́* is literally a rod; the word also means 'drum stick', cf. Thomas (1913 vol. 2: 292). Colonial handcuffs (*ìmkpọrọ́ aká*) were made with an iron rod, cf. Thomas (1913 vol. 5: 96).

d. *anticausative* (= *optionally "psych"-ergative and antipassive*)

tụ́ ÉGḤWÙ 'be afraid'
terror [affect x, x = TERROR [come firmly into contact with y]]

tụ́ ỤJỌ́ 'be afraid'
fear[62] [affect x, x = FEAR [come firmly into contact with y]]

e. *implicit affectum*

tụ́ AMA 'sweep street/town square' (cf. *to brush carpet*, French *balayer*)
street/town square [affect x, x = BROOM [come firmly into contact with y, y = STREET]]

f. *anticausative, implicit affectum, IC = body part*

tụ́ ỊME 'become impregnated/be pregnant'[63]
inside (womb) [affect x, x = SEMEN [come firmly into contact with y, y = WOMB]]

g. *implicit locatum* (*optionally overt for some verbs*)

tụ́ MÁI (n'àla) 'pour libation (on ground)'
wine on ground [affect x, x = WINE [come firmly into contact with y, y = GROUND]]

tụ́ ỤKWE 'dance the *ùkwe* dance'
[type of dance] [affect x, x = ỤKWE DANCE [come firmly into contact with y, y = GROUND]]

tụ́ ỌNỤ 'burrow'
hole/mouth [affect x, x = HOLE [come firmly into contact with y, y = GROUND]]

tụ́ ỤTỤ́ 'pay fine/levy'
fine/levy [affect x, x = FINE [come firmly into contact with y, y = COLLECTION PLACE]]

184. gbá [affect x [move]]

a. *affecting and optionally triadic* (*antibenefactive*)

gbá ỤTÁ 'shoot a bow (at someone/thing)'
bow [affect x, x = BOW [move (ANTIBEN y)]]

gbá EGBÈ 'shoot a gun (at someone/thing)'
gun [affect x, x = GUN [move (ANTIBEN y)]]

gbá ỊNKÍTḤỊ̀ 'be quiet/ignore (someone) i.e. by directing silence towards them'
silence [affect x, x = SILENCE [move (ANTIBEN y)]]

b. *triadic, affecting, implicit beneficiary = SELF*[64]

gbá ÀKỤ 'buy livestock'
livestock [affect x, x = LIVESTOCK [move.BEN y, y = SELF]]

gbá OHÙ 'buy slaves'
slave [affect x, x = SLAVES [move.BEN y, y = SELF]]

62*Ụjọ́* is a nominalization of *jọ́* 'be bad', so one expects it to mean 'badness/bad result', parallel to abstract nouns such as *ụchá* 'brightness' and *ụlá* 'departure [for home]', or to result nouns such as *ụbá* 'wealth resulting from natural increase' (as opposed to *àkụ* 'wealth resulting from exchange'), *ụfọ́dụ* 'remainder', *ùtụ́* 'tribute, contribution', *ụ̀wá* 'echo'. In analyzing *tụ́ ỤJỌ́* as a psych-verb, the noun *ụtọ́* '(appealing) tastiness' may offer a guide, since tastiness is a subjective impression produced by an external quality; the same relation holds between fear and badness. Following this line of argument, *ÉGḤWÙ* may be closer in meaning to 'terrifyingness' (terribleness in the etymological sense) than to 'terror', cf. *dí egḥwù* 'be terrific/terrifying', and the English expression *John is a (regular) terror*.

63Cf. *dí ime* 'be pregnant'.

64I suspect that these verbs simply mean 'trade in livestock/slaves', reducing to the type in (184c).

c. *dyadic, affecting*

gbá AFA	'perform divination'
divination.implements	[affect x, x = DIVINATION IMPLEMENTS [move]]
gbá ÀJA	'consult a diviner'
sacrifice	[affect x, x = SACRIFICE [move]][65]
gbá MBỌ	'try (to do something)'
effort	[affect x, x = EFFORT [move]]

d. *implicit locatum*

gbá ÀMA	'betray, i.e. reveal information'
information	[affect x, x = INFORMATION [move INTO VIEW]]

e. *anticausative, affectum = body part, implicit locatum*

gbá AKA	'be emptyhanded' (Full hands are immobilized, empty ones not.)
hand	[affect x, x = HAND [move IN PLAIN VIEW]]
gbá ỌNỤ	'starve' (Hungry mouths gape.)[66]
mouth	[affect x, x = MOUTH [move IN PLAIN VIEW]]
gbá ỌBARA	'bleed' (i.e. emit blood)
blood	[affect x, x = BLOOD [move INTO VIEW]]

f. *anticausative, IC = locatum*

gbá IGWÈ	'ride on a bicycle'[67]
iron/bicycle	[move on a BICYCLE]
gbá MOTỌ̀	'ride a car/bus/truck'
car/bus/truck	[move in a CAR/BUS/TRUCK]
gbá ỤGBỌ	'ride a car/bus/truck'
boat/train/plane	[move in a BOAT/TRAIN/PLANE]

g. *reflexively affecting, affectum* = BODY, *IC = manner of motion*

gbá ÀKWỤLA	'be a prostitute'
prostitution	[affect x, x = BODY [move in manner of PROSTITUTION]]
gbá EGWU	'dance (generic)'
dancing	[affect x, x = BODY [move in manner of DANCING]]
gbá ỊNGUZÓ	'loiter'
loitering	[affect x, x = BODY [move in manner of LOITERING]]
gbá ỌHỤHỤ	'hurry'
shaking[68]	[affect x, x = BODY [move in BUSTLING manner]]
gbá ỌSỌ	'escape, run away, run fast (as if pursued)'
escape (cf. *fn* 60)	[affect x, x = BODY [move in manner of ESCAPE]]

Anticausativized inherent complements are not restricted to predicates with *tụ́* and *gbá*. Éménanjọ 1984 draws attention to a large class of "ergative complement verbs", so-called because the inherent complement freely undergoes the anticausative (or 'ergative') alternation, e.g.:

[65] Abíọ̀mbọ́lá 1976 and Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1981 describe the diviner as communicating with the invisible world, on behalf of the client and through the mediation of the god of divination (Èsù, Ágwụ̀), so as to recommend a course of action involving sacrifice. The ultimate initiator (causer) of a sacrifice is the client, as opposed to the officiating priest whose activity is described by the predicate *chụ́ àja*.

[66] Cf. the Nigerian Pidgin English expression, from Fẹ́lá Aníkúlápó Kútì's 1975 *Kalakuta Show*:

i. Hungry de run for im face. 'S/he is starving'

[67] Ìhì ọ̀nụ́ 1988 makes it clear that this verb means to ride *on* a bicycle as a passenger, as on the handlebars or cargo rack, rather than to ride the bicycle while propelling it (= *nyá ígwè*). In previous versions of the LCS analysis, I have consistently missed this point.

[68] Cf. *hụ́* 'shake, chase [an animal] away [by shaking something], placate [a crying child, by shaking it]' (Green and Ígwè 1963: 23).

185a. ỤKWARÀ na-ákwà Ézè. 'Eze is coughing' OR 'Eze has a cough'
cough Prog/Hab-ing.cough

b. Ézè na-ákwà ỤKWARÀ. '(= 185a)'
Prog/Hab-ing.cough cough

186a. ỊMMÍRÍ nà-ézò. 'It is raining/It rains'
water Prog/Hab-ing.rain

b. Ọ́ nà-ézò MMÍRÍ. '(= 186a)'
3sg Prog/Hab-ing.rain water

Ụ̀walá̰àka (1981a,b) gives a Case Grammar analysis of these as optionally ergative verbs of involuntary, unintentional or spontaneous events. (These are apparently the very predicates which display 'quirky' case in rich case languages like Icelandic.) She derives (185a) from (185b), treating the animate experiencer *Ézè* as an underlying object, but nothing in her analysis stops both alternants from being base-generated. Ụ̀walá̰àka's other examples are listed in (187a). Nwáchukwu (1987c: 115f.) adds the examples in (187b).

187a. bá MAMỊ́RỊ 'urinate involuntarily' [as in fright]
flow piss

bá ỊSHỊ́ 'expel faeces involuntarily' [as in fright]
flow shit

gbú MMÀ 'cut [oneself]' [i.e. accidentally]
cut knife

ghé ỊGHÉRE 'yawn'
open yawn

kpù ỊSHI 'be(come) blind'[69]
cover blindness

kụ́-ji AKA 'break [one's] arm'
hit-snap arm/hand

rí-shi IMI 'involuntarily ooze [mucus] from the nose'
crawl-pass.via nose

rò ỤRAN 'feel sleepy'
soften sleep

wé IWE 'feel angry (at)'
anger anger

b. kpọ́ UTỤTÚRÚ 'belch'
pierce ?belch[70]

má UZHERÉN 'sneeze'
throw sneeze[71]

mé IHWERÉN 'feel shy/ashamed'
do shame[72]

Ụ̀walá̰àka observes that the class of optionally ergative verbs in (187), which displays the alternation in (185), includes involuntary events (activities and accomplishments)—to the

[69] Although this inchoative predicate has an alternative, stative interpretation, it is underlyingly eventive: in Ìgbo, one is blind after having been 'covered' by blindness.

[70] Possible roots for this reduplicated nominal: *tù* 'unhusk [e.g. a coconut]' (Green and Ígwè 1963: 228), *tú* 'stick into [e.g. a feather into a cap]' (Ígwè and Green 1970: 175).

[71] Cf. *zén* 'fall down, collapse, crumble [e.g. an adobe house]' (Green and Ígwè 1963: 233).

[72] *Íhwerén* 'shame' may be etymologically closer to 'ridicule', since its root is the verb *hwén* 'to mention [someone] in their absence' (Green and Ígwè 1963: 234). If so, then the predicate *mé IHWERÉN* acquires the meaning 'feel shy/ashamed' in the same way that *tụ́ ỤJỌ́* means 'be afraid of', cf. *fn*. 62 above.

exclusion of states and processes (e.g. *ká NKA* 'grow old'), for which intentionality is irrelevant. A few of her examples ('cut oneself', 'break one's arm') involve events which qualify as unintentional just because they are reflexive; in the context of intentional action, the same predicates (*gbú MMÀ* 'cut with a knife', *kụ́-ji* 'break by snapping') are nonreflexive (absent an overt anaphoric expression such as *ònwé yá*).

If the anticausative alternation externalizes the undergoer of a change of state, which is lexically an internal argument, then (185b) and (186b) are anticausative (or 'ergative') and all the predicates in (187) similarly undergo the anticausative alternation, contra Nwáchukwu (1987c: 113*f.*). As unintended (involuntary or spontaneous) events, these predicates do not p-select an external 'causer' argument, even if the 'undergoer' remains internal. This restriction is not, however, a fact about human language; rather it reflects facts of nature: the unintentional nature of coughing, raining etc. In the familiar aspectual representation, all the predicates in (187) qualify as ergative, since they allow the externalization of an IC affectum. Nwáchukwu's requirement that an ergative predicate should involve the deletion of an external causer obscures the more basic role of the affectum, and loses the idea that the semantic role of Causer (animate Instigator) is derived rather than underlying.

Nwáchukwu (1987c: 98*ff.*, 112*ff.*) restricts the term ergative (i.e. anticausative) in Ìgbo to simplex predicates like *shí* (which he glosses as 'cook') and complex predicates like *kụ́-wá* 'split open by knocking'. These verbs display the following alternations:

188a. Ézè shi-ri ánụ n'ọ́kụ. 'Eze cooked meat'
'cook'-ØAsp meat on fire

b. Ánụ$_i$ shì-ri t$_i$ n'ọ́kụ. 'Meat is cooking' (≠'Meat cooked')
meat 'cook'-ØAsp on fire

189a. Ézè kụ-wa-ra ọ́bà. 'Eze split open [the] gourd by knocking it'
knock-split-ØAsp gourd

b. Ọ́bà$_i$ kụ-wa-ra t$_i$ a-kụ́-wa. '[The] gourd is split open as a result of knocking'
gourd knock-split-ØAsp Nom-knock-break (≠'The gourd split open…')

Nwáchukwu (1976b: 125) observes that the anticausative alternant in (188b) has the tense interpretation of a stative verb: nonpast.[73] Nwáchukwu (1987c: 115) further holds that this stativity is also criterial for nonpast interpretation of the ergative alternant in (189b), viewed as a kind of syntactically-formed adjective. The two cases are not parallel, however. The intransitive form in (188b) is neither stative (≠ 'Meat is cooked' as opposed to raw) nor resultative (≠ 'Meat is cooked' [i.e. done]). The nonpast interpretation of (188b) is clarified by the observation that the meaning of *sí* is much closer to 'boil' (or archaic English *seethe*, i.e. heat in bubbling water) than it is to 'cook'. One can *sí mmíílí* 'boil water' in Ìgbo, but one can't *cook water* in English. Accordingly, *sí anụ* means 'boil meat', i.e. heat it in boiling water, as opposed to roasting it directly on or in fire (*hụ́n*). Thus, the antistative, quasi-progressive effect in (188b)—which Nwáchukwu (1987c: 112) describes as limited to "only very few" verbs, citing no other example—is the result of lexical blocking by s-selection. Meat can't attain a state of boiling; hence *ánụ* is interpreted as an adjunct.

By contrast, what is found in (189b) is genuine inchoative stativization—a very productive process in Ìgbo, as in Yorùbá and many other languages (cf. *fnn.* 36, 38 above). As recognized by

[73] Unlike Welmers 1968, Éménanjọ 1973, Ézikeojìakụ 1979 and Ụ̀walááka 1981, Nwáchukwu (1976) follows Winston 1973 in positing homophonous "stative" (nonpast) *-rV* and "past" (eventive) *-rV* suffixes.

Welmers 1968, Éménanjọ 1973, Ézikeojìakụ 1979 and Ụ̀walááka 1982, the tense interpretation of a stative verb plus the *-rV* suffix (a dummy Infl, formed by partial reduplication of the verb and marking zero overt Aspect) as nonpast is predictable. Since inchoatives, as processes, are excluded from the class of 'unintentional event' ergatives in (185-87), the failure of inchoative stativization and its nonpast tense effect for these verbs is predicted, without denying their ergative syntax.

Nwáchukwu describes *-wá*, which he glosses 'break', as "strictly speaking an unergative verb, since it never governs an object". He thereby claims that *ọ́bà* is not the object of *wá* in the V-V compound in (189a). This introduces a problem: how does *kụ́-wá* come to mean 'split open by knocking' (or, less accurately, 'break by hitting')? Nwáchukwu posits a lexical rule:

190. "Causative Root + Unergative Root → Ergative" (Nwáchukwu 1987c: 99)

However, even if the stipulation in (190) were responsible for (189b), it is descriptively false. If (190) was correct, and *wá* is intransitive (unergative), they why can't an indisputably unergative verb such *nwụ́* 'die' combine with an indisputably 'causative' verb such as *gbá* 'shoot'? This particular compound is impossible in Ìgbo (191a), although a minimally different compound with *gbá* and the affecting transitive *gbú* 'cut/kill' is fine (191b):[74]

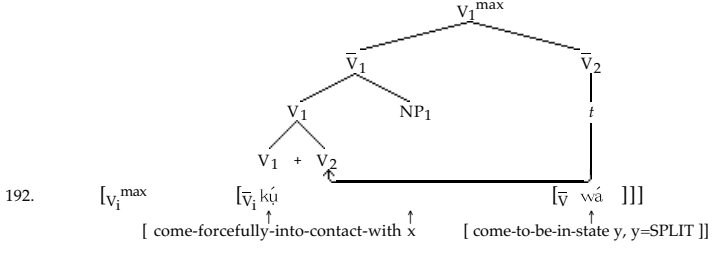
191a. *Ézè gbá-nwụ-ru Úgwu.
shoot-die-ØAsp

b. Ézè gbá-gbu-ru Úgwu. 'Eze shot Ugwu dead'
shoot-cut/kill-ØAsp (Lord 1975)

In fact, (190) is unnecessary because the premise that *wá* is inherently intransitive is false. Contrary to Nwáchukwu's assertion quoted above, a transitive variant of *wá* is commonplace, as in expressions like *wá ọjị* 'split up a kola nut [by separating its lobes]' and *wá ji* 'split apart a tuber of yam [as in the harvest ritual]'. Why then is it not possible to say *wá ọbà* (as if to mean 'split the gourd')? Evidently, gourds (unlike kola nuts and yams) don't split unless they are first knocked (*kụ́*), struck (*tí*) or stepped on (*zọ̀*). A linguistic coding of real world pragmatics—rather than grammar—seems to be responsible for the pattern of data. (On this point, cf. now van Voorst 1991.)

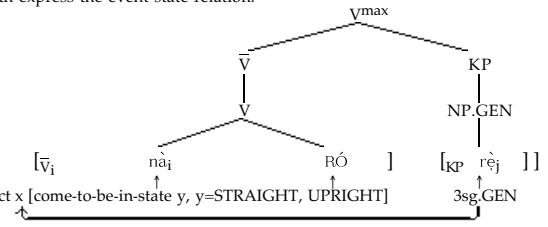
Rejecting (190), the remaining hypothesis, in fact the null hypothesis for (189) is that *wá* 'split' alternates between affecting and inchoative (anticausative), while *kụ́* 'knock' is transitive. Projected together in an underlying serial construction, these yield both the interpretation and the surface form of (189a) compositionally, by V-incorporation:

192.



[74] Yorùbá *pa-kú*, the approximate equivalent of Ìgbo **kụ́-nwụ*, is grammatical, cf. (81b) above.

Although they differ in grammatical structure, the Ìgbo syntactic V-V compound *kụ́-wa* is semantically parallel to the Yorùbá lexical V-V compound *nà-RÓ* 'stand upright' in (167), repeated below. Both express the event-state relation.



167. $[V_i^{max}\ [\bar{V}_i$ nà$_i$ RÓ $]\ [KP$ rè$_j$ $]\ ]$

Each transitivity variant of (192), respectively affecting in (189a) and stative (derived from inchoative) in (189b), corresponds semantically to a transitivity variant of (167), respectively affecting in (138e) and inchoative in (138a), repeated below:

138a. Ajé nàRÓ. 'Aje stood straight up'
straighten.upright

e. Ajé nàRÓ rè. 'Aje stood it up'
straighten.upright 3sg.GEN

In both languages, despite the structural differences in V-V compound formation—as expressed in the typology in (162)—the two possible outcomes are predictable compositionally, from the combined properties of the two verb roots, without need of a lexical rule.

The remaining question posed by (162), is whether semantic compositionality holds for all Ìgbo V-V compounds formed syntactically (i.e. by V-incorporation as in (165) above).

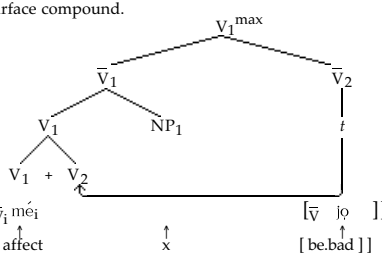
The transitivity of V-V compounds

Ìgbo V-V compounds, as described by Ígwè and Green 1970, Lord 1975, Émènanjọ 1984 and Nwáchukwu 1987c, fall into three logically possible classes, depending on whether the first or second member is a bound element, or neither (i.e. both are free).

The type with bound V_1 is marginal if it exists at all. The closest candidates I can find are certain examples headed by a lite V *mé*, which as an independent verb is glossed as 'do' or 'make'. *Mé* combines with any intransitive verb. Of the *mé* compounds cited by Nwáchukwu (1987c: 91), many are transitive, affecting verbs with fully compositional semantics (193a). Other examples (possibly a majority) are weakly idiomatic, e.g. (193b), having both compositional and extended, non-compositional interpretations. The compounds in (193c) evidently involve the intransitive (and therefore nonaffecting) version of *mé*, meaning not 'make' but 'act' or 'behave'.

			compositionally	*non-compositionally*
193a.	mé-bì	'make'-'be.spoilt'	'spoil'	
	mé-zù	'make'-'be.complete'	'complete'	
b.	mé-fù	'make'-'be.lost'	'expend'	'spend, sell off'
	mé-ju	'make'-'be.full'	'fill'	'fulfill'
	mé-vọ	'make'-'be.visible (appear)'	'expose'	'disgrace'
	mé-su	'make'-'become.aroused'	'arouse'	'stir up a crisis'
	mé-zi	'make'-'be.straight'	'straighten'	'repair, correct'
c.	mé-hyè	'behave'-'be.crooked'	[*'make crooked']	'offend, go astray'
	mé-jọ	'behave'-'be.bad'	[*'make bad']	'treat badly' (i.e. act badly towards)

In all the transitive readings, *mé* is an aspectual operator *affect*, projecting as in (194). Syntactic head movement is predicted, since V_1 governs V_2 (the semantic relation between V_1 and V_2 is event-state), yielding the surface compound.



194. $[V_i^{max}\ [\bar{V}_i$ mé$_i$ $[\bar{V}$ jọ $]]]$

In a second, well-attested class of Ìgbo V-V compounds, V_2 is a strictly bound form (a suffix). Émènanjọ (1976, 1979, 1982) shows that aspectual suffixes (called "extensional" by Welmers 1968) constitute an open class largely cognate with, although often not synchronically identical to, free verbs. Such verb-suffix compounds are semantically compositional, generally conveying aspectual information. In this respect, they share many of the properties of English V-particle constructions (195) or aspectual auxes and adverbs (196) that translate them:

195.	bè-ká	'cut'-'come.apart'	'cut up'
	rí-cha	'eat'-'be.finished'	'eat up'
	fé-larị	'fly'-'go.away.from'	'fly away'
	kwú-gide	'speak'-'sieze'	'speak against'

196a. Ọ́ gwụ́-*ba*-go. 'It has *begun to* finish'
3sg finish-begin-Perf [cf. *bà* 'enter']

b. Ọ́ gwụ́-*cha*-go. 'It is/has *thoroughly* finished'
3sg finish-thoroughly-Perf [cf. *chá* 'be ripe/clean']

c. Ọ́ gwụ́-*sị*-go. 'It is/has *completely* finished'
3sg finish-completely-Perf [?no cognate free verb]

d. Mé-rùbé-*sị*-kene-*godu*-lu m kalama à.
do-vigorously-completely-kindly-first-Appl 1sg bottle Det
'*Kindly* shake this bottle *thoroughly* for me *in preparation*'

The aspectual nature of V-V compounds in which V_2 is bound, e.g. (198a), is clarified by comparing it with a compound in which V_2 is free (198b), and with a serial construction (formed, that is, from two free verbs, where V_2 cannot incorporate) in (198c):

198a. Ó wè-te-re ite. 'S/he brought [a] pot'
3sg take-towards-ØAsp pot

b. Ó bù-la-ra ite. 'S/he carried [a] pot back home'
3sg carry.on.head–return.home–ØAsp pot

c. Ó wè-re ite bjá. 'S/he came with [a] pot'
3sg take-ØAsp pot come-OVS (covert)

A third class of compounds is formed from event-state serial constructions, by joining free, transitive + ergative verbs as exemplified in (189) and (192) above. These compounds are fully compositional (semantically transparent), as the following examples show.

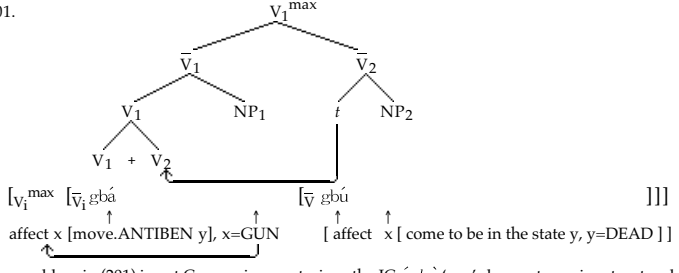
199a.	tí-lụ̀	beat-spoil	'bruise'	(Lord 1975: 31)
b.	kụ́-wa	hit-break	'break by hitting'	(Nwáchukwu 1987c: 102)
	tí-wa	beat-break	'break by beating'	
	dọ́-wa	pull-break	'break by pulling (tear)'	
	gbá-wa	affect.move-break	'break, burst'	
	bí-wá	knock-break	'break by knocking'	
	kpọ́wa	split.open-break	'break by splitting open'	
	kpèwá	pull.apart-break	'break by pulling apart'	
	nyàwá	split-break	'break by splitting'	
c.	kụ́-ji	hit-split	'split by hitting'	(Nwáchukwu 1987c: 102)
	tí-ji	beat-split	'split by beating'	
	dọ́-ji	pull-split	'split by pulling'	
	gbá-ji	bend-split	'split by bending'	
	kpà-ji	clip-split	'split by clipping'	
	gbú-ji	cut-split	'split by cutting'	
	sọ́-ji	knock-split	'split by knocking'	
d.	kụ́-bì	hit-snap	'snap by hitting'	(Nwáchukwu 1987c: 92)
	kụ́-bhya	hit-depress	'depress by hitting'	
	kụ́-kpọ	hit-burst	'burst by hitting'	
	kụ́-zhen	hit-crumble	'crumble by hitting'	

Lord (1975: 33) observes that, in some compounds (subject to dialectal and idiolectal variation) the inherent complement (IC) of V_1 is ruled out. For example, the V_1 of compound *gbá-gbu* 'shoot to death' is *gbá egbè* 'shoot a gun (at)', cf. (184a) above, but the IC *égbè* 'gun' cannot surface, cf. (191b):

200. Ọ́ gbà-gbu-ru Ézè (*égbè). 'S/he shot Eze dead'
3sg shoot-kill-ØAsp gun

This fact follows directly from the representation in (201): there is only one affectum per event.

201.



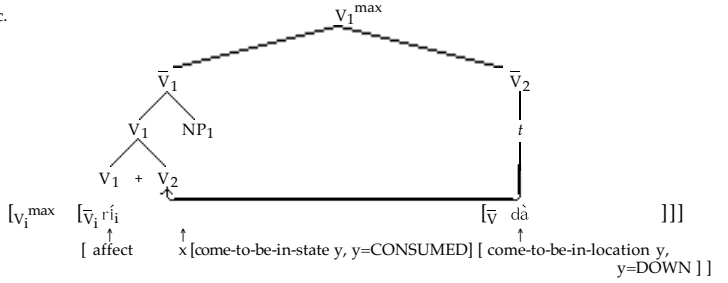
The problem in (201) is not Case assignment, since the IC *égbè* 'gun' does not require structural Case. Rather the problem is aspectual. It is clear by inspection that after head-movement there can be only one affectum, i.e. only one direct internal argument, in (201). Since adjacency is necessary for direct-argumenthood, only the affectum of V_2 can project, while the affectum of V_1 (*égbè*) must remain implicit—even though it could receive inherent Case.

Émènanjọ 1984 cites several V-V compounds which challenge a V-incorporation analysis with respect to transitivity. In (202) as in (201), the affectum (direct argument) of V_1 (affecting *rí* 'eat') must be implicit. This is actually less surprising than the suppression of the inherent complement in (201), since a lexical constant which is not an inherent complement need not project, in general. How (202) differs from (201) is in the apparent causativization of V_2, the inchoative *dà* 'fall'.

202a. rí-dà 'eat/consume'-'fall' 'eat [someone] out of house and home' (i.e. consume all their consumable property)

b. Úmụ́ńnà na e-rí-dà mḿadụ̀. 'Kinfolk impoverish one'
kinfolk Hab ing-eat-fall human.being

c.



NP_1 is p-selected by V_2 (as external argument). But (202) seeems to violate the Projection Principle: the affectum of V_1 (probably *àkḥụ* 'wealth')[75] is suppressed. Here, as for inherent possession, I appeal to thematic nondistinctness: the external argument of V_2 is the (alienable) possessor of the affected (consumed) wealth. After V-incorporation, V_2 'inherits' the affectum of V_1. The lexical causativization of *dà* 'fall' is "affix-mediated" (Marantz 1984) by V_1's aspectual operator *affect* x.

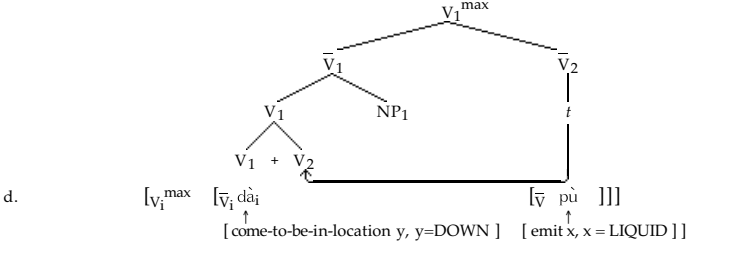
A second example from Émènanjọ 1984 involves lexical causativization of *dà* 'fall' as V_1:

203a. dà-pu 'fall'-'leak' '(cause to) spring a leak'

b. Ìté à gà á-dà-pu. 'This pot will spring a leak'
pot Det Pros ing-fall-leak

c. Ézè ga á-dà-pu ité à. 'Eze will spring a leak in this pot (e.g. by dropping it)'
Pros fall-leak pot Det

d.



Intransitive *dà-pu* in (203b) arises directly by V-incorporation, since the individual verbs are respectively inchoative and unergative. The problem concerns (203c), which is affecting although the head verb *dà* by itself does not independently have this potential, at least in the standard language (it does in Ágbọ̀). I offer the following tentative suggestion.

Burzio 1981 assumes that the sole argument of an inchoative verb originates as its lexical complement. Heretofore it was sufficient to treat these verbs as intransitive; suppose, however,

[75] For example, a semi-facetious title given to Ìgbo wives is *Ò-rí-àkḥụ* 'consumer of wealth'.

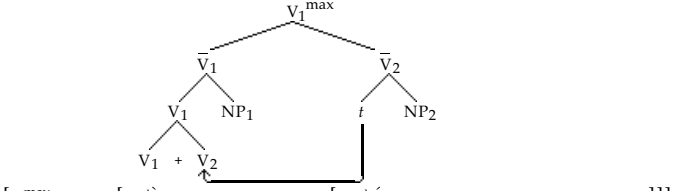
that one posits an underlying internal argument: NP_1 in (203d). Since *dà* 'fall' by itself is an intrinsic change of state, its sole argument necessarily externalizes. In a compound like (202), however, aspectual effects are observed. If, in (203) as in (202), V_2 can "inherit" the internal argument of V_1 as a result of V-incorporation, then NP_1 forms part of a derived lexical domain. The interpretation of NP_1 as an affected argument therefore arises, not from lexical affectedness, but compositionally in the syntax, yielding the 'causativization' in (203c).

Example (204) is of nearly the same type, except that there is no anticausative variant. This difference is expected, since V_2 is underlyingly transitive, cf. (204c):

204a. dà-gbú 'fall'-'cut/kill' 'suffocate' (= kill by felling, or perhaps by falling on)

b. Ọ́ ga á-dà-gbú ḿmadụ̀. 'It will suffocate someone'
3sg Pros ing-fall-kill human.being

c.

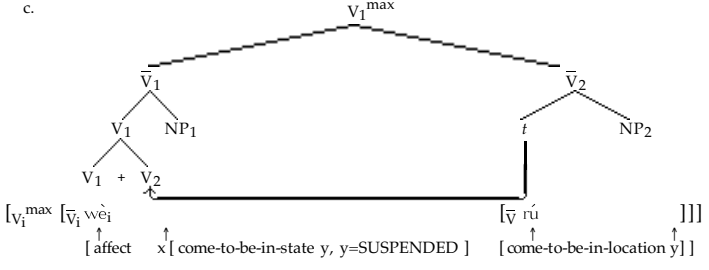


A final example from Émènanjọ 1984 is given in (205).

205a. wè-rú 'take'-'reach'

b. Ézè wè-ru-ru ányá yá àla. 'Eze watched carefully'
take.hold.of-reach-ØAsp eye 3sg ground (i.e. paid attention)

c.



wè-rú in (205) resembles *gbá-gbu* in (200) insofar as each verb has its own internal argument; it differs in that neither one is suppressible. The question is how to license both surface NPs.

For NP_1, V-incorporation poses no problem: it is an affectum both before and after the head-movement of V_2. And, as for NP_2, there is also no problem since—by contrast with what happens in (200)—it is not an affectum. The problem concerns the Case of *àla* which, not being an affectum is ineligible for Inherent Case by my previous assumptions.

My suggestion is that *àla*, as a locatum, is licensed much like the corresponding Yorùbá examples in §2.1.4 above, e.g. (134b). The difference is that there is no preposition in (205b). However, it is relevant that *àla* 'ground' and its counterpart *élu* 'sky/visible sphere' are frequently used like the English adverbs *down* and *up*, with the apparent syntax of adjuncts (e.g. no Kasemarking: **élú*):

206. Ézè kpọ-rọ ọ́nyà élu, Àdḥá kpọ̀-rọ ọ́nyà ala.
pierce-ØAsp trap sky pierce-ØAsp trap ground
'Eze set [his] hunting snare on high [i.e. in a tree], Adha set hers on the ground'

In the present example, the Projection Principle requires that *rú* 'reach' express an internal argument, so I am left with the proposal that, in (205), *àla* is thematically licensed as an argument, but Case-licensed as an adjunct.

From aspect to Case (an excursus on the lexical content of functional heads)

Unlike the Case-based parametrization in Baker 1989b, I have shown that configurational differences between Ìgbo and Yorùbá are derivative of thematic structure and morphology if aspect is represented explicitly. Such a deduction is desirable, since it permits a general analysis of certain ill-understood Case-phenomena in Ìgbo, in particular the antipassive perfective.

As with the V-V compound resultatives in standard Yorùbá, the perfective verbform assigns Genitive case (in all Ìgbo dialects). It is therefore not surprising to observe that, in southern Igboid, the perfective is built on the Open Vowel Suffix, an element with nominal properties which appears as a kind of default object in the absence of a lexical complement. The perfective affix, which assigns Genitive case, contains so-called open vowel suffix, a kind of aspectual object. In consequence, the perfective is detransitivizing, specifically antipassive.

Conversely, Émènanjọ 1984 claims that every verb which bears the *-rV* suffix must have some complement, whether an object NP (direct or prepositional) or a Bound Verb Complement. If there is no lexical object, the BVC is obligatory (207b); if both occur, the predicate is emphatic (207c).

207a. Àdḥá rì-ri jí. 'Adha ate yam'
eat-ØAsp yam

b. Àdḥá rì-ri erí. 'Adha ate [something, as expected]'
eat-ØAsp BVC

c. Àdḥá rì-ri jí (éri). 'Adha (really) ate yam'
eat-ØAsp yam BVC

But with a perfective verb, i.e. a verb lacking an aspectual *-rV* suffix, the BVC is optional and functions as an emphasizer, whether or not a direct object is present:

208a. Àdḥá é-ri-e-le jí. 'Adha has eaten (of) yam'
È-eat-OVS-Perf yam-Gen

b. Àdḥá é-ri-e-le (*eri). 'Adha has eaten (something)'
È-eat-OVS-Perf BVC

c. Àdḥá é-ri-e-le (jí) éri. 'Adha has really eaten (of yam)'
È-eat-OVS-Perf yam-Gen BVC

Ụ̀walá̀ka 1982 shows that the OVS on the second verb in single or multi-event serial constructions is not a 'consecutive marker', cf. (209) - (210).

209a. Àdḥá jì-(ri) ḿmà bḥá-a jí. 'Adha peeled yams with a knife'
hold-ØAsp knife peel-OVS yam

b. Àdḥá gà-ra áḥya zụ́-ọ úwe. 'Adha went to market and bought clothes'
go-ØAsp market buy-OVS dress

210. Àdhá gbà-(a)-ra ọ́sọ bịa. 'Adha came running/on the run'
gba-∅Asp-∅Asp race come-OVS (covert)[76] OR 'Adha is [here as] a refugee'

Íhìọ́nụ́ 1988 makes the crucial observation that serials like (210) are "extendable" by a second *-rV* suffix, realized as a double vowel (by the syllabic application of the OCP, as exemplified in data (31a) of Chapter 1), but that this is not the case for consecutives like (211).

211. Àdhá gbà-(*a)-ra ọ́sọ bịa. 'Adha ran and came'
move-∅Asp escape come-OVS (covert)

Nwáchukwu (1976b, 1984) observes that, apart from serial constructions, extended forms like (210) are limited to past tense statives, as in (212a), cf. (212b).

212a. Ó nwè-e-re égo. 'S/he was rich' (Standard Ìgbo)
3sg have-∅Asp-∅Asp money

b. Ó nwè-re-re égo. 'S/he was rich' (Ọ́mahyá dialect)
3sg have-∅Asp-∅Asp money

Then, Íhìọ́nụ́'s observation implies that the first verb of the depictive serial (210) is morphologically stative, while the first verb of the consecutive (211) is not. The meaning of (210) is therefore something like 'Adha was running (in a running state) when she came'.

Some Ìgbo grammarians (Green and Ígwè 1963, Winston 1973, Nwáchukwu 1976b) distinguish two or more accidentally homophonous suffixes of phonetic shape *-rV*, based on their apparent cooccurrence in examples like (212b). It is possible, however, to simplify this picture. Guerssel 1986 shows that Berber statives are systematically related to inchoatives; in Ìgbo, inchoatives like (213b) can be derived affixationally from statives like (213a):

213a. Ó nwè-re égo. 'S/he is rich'
3sg have-∅Asp money

b. Ó nwè-be-re égo. 'S/he was getting rich'
3sg have-Inch-∅Asp money

Notice that the value of the *-rV* suffix in (213b) is Past, which is what is predicted for a nonstative verb. (The nonpast version of (213) requires a progressive auxiliary.) The obvious generalization from (213b) is that, in (212) as well, the 'inner' aspectual suffix (the first *-rV*) is itself inchoative, yielding a Past interpretation with a second, 'outer' *-rV*.

There is one other instance of *-rV*, governing its own object in applicative constructions. As in (212a), it simplifies to a long vowel before another *-rV*.

214. Ó jé-e-re m ubì. 'S/he went to the farm for me'
3sg walk-Appl-∅Asp 1sg farmland

There are, additionally, a number of examples of nonapplicative *-rV* in Ìgbo agent nouns, where it has the argument-absorbing function of a clitic (as argued by Borer 1984). The following examples, from Green 1958, seem to have in common an implicit internal argument.

215a. ọ́-yọ́-rọ [e_i] ubì 'person who returns [home]$_i$ <from> the farm'
← yọ́ 'return [place] from somewhere'

b. ò-gbú-tù-ru [e_i] á-má-ghị àbọ [e_i] 'person who slaughters [an animal]$_i$
← gbú 'cut/kill' [animal] + -ù 'for-use' + àbọ 'butchering' [and] knows not its$_i$ butchering'

c. ò-me [e_i]-gbu-ru nwánné 'sibling cheater'
← mé-gbú 'cheat' (< mé 'make' + gbú 'cut/kill') + nwánné 'sibling'

[76] Nwáchukwu 1976a and Ọ́gwụ̀élèka 1978 discuss the non-occurrence of the OVS with some verb roots.

In (215), *-rV* appears to absorb an argument whose absence otherwise violates the Projection Principle. In (215a), the reason for the *-rV* seems clear: since a nominal cannot govern two complements (by assigning Inherent Case, for example), the semantic role of one is absorbed. In (215b), one can speculate that the single object cannot be syntactically expressed in the double predicate because it bears different Cases in the two. In (215c), the implicit argument is, perhaps, the thing done in order to cheat the sibling.

Further examples of argument absorption by *-rV* are found in Achebe 1964:[77]

216a. ò-gbá$_i$-zù$_j$-lú òbodo$_j$ (*ọ́sọ$_i$) 'runner throughout the town'
← gbá ọ́so 'run' + zù 'assemble en masse' + òbodo 'town' [= an ancestral mask]

b. ò-gbú$_i$-zù-lú (*anụ$_i$) 'killer of everything' (*animal)
← gbú 'cut/kill' + zù 'assemble en masse' [= highest sacrificial title]

c. ọ̀-gụ-lụ arụ́ 'finisher-off of [a person's] body'
← gụ́ 'finish' [= a disease]

In (216a-b), the *-rV* again absorbs an implicit direct object, while in (216c) it absorbs the inherent, malefactive possessor of the direct object.

Burzio's generalization in the Ìgbo lexicon

The typology of predicates which has been reviewed in this section offers a more radical view of what in the generative literature has come to be called Burzio's generalization. Burzio 1981 observes that the lexical distinction between 'ergative' intransitive verbs like *arrivare* and non-ergative intransitives like *telephonare* has a dual correlation: respectively, with a selectional difference between two auxiliaries, *essere* and *avere*, as well as with the possibility vs. impossibility of the partitive clitic subject *ne*. He proposes that both correlations derive from an underlying structural difference: between intransitives whose subjects originate as lexical objects (the ergative class) vs. those whose subjects are always VP-external.[78] Developing Burzio's proposal and some of his observations, Hale and Keyser 1986 argue that English unergatives have the potential to project lexical objects (e.g. *talk one's head off*), but that ergatives do not (**arrive the hell out of the bus station*).

Although Burzio's structural account naturally explains the distribution of *ne* under the independently necessary assumption that *ne* is an object oriented clitic, this assumption itself is more than a little mysterious. The same complaint could be made about his account of auxiliary selection: it is perhaps intuitively clear why *essere* should be selected by a derived subjects, and *avere* by a base-generated one, rather than the reverse (*avere* being thematically 'stronger' in some sense); however, nothing forces this selectional difference to be derived in just the way claimed.

In Ìgbo, a language without NP-movement (e.g. passive), there is a surface difference between two verb classes which in notional lexico-semantic terms correlate roughly with Burzio's two classes of Italian intransitives. All Ìgbo verbs have surface complements (in the zero-aspect or *-rV* form); where they differ is in the relationship between that complement and the verb root. For one class, comprising states and activities, the complement is either cognate to the root (*bù íbù* 'be fat', *chị́ ọ́chị́* 'laugh') or bound to it by some kind of inverse selection, in a kind of lite verb construction

[77] In Àchebé's dialect, the regular reflex of the *-rV* suffix is *-lu / -lụ* (depending on the harmony class of the adjacent root vowel).

[78] This claim is compromised by the current VP-internal subject hypothesis, but only notationally.

(*tụ́ ụ̀ị́ọ́* 'be afraid', *gbá ọnụ* 'starve'). For the other class, comprising achievements, no such restriction is to be seen, and the basic complement of the *-rV* form is a bound element derived from the root directly in the syntax (*byá* (*àbyá*) 'come', *dḥà* (*ádḥà*) 'fall'). It is striking that ordinary transitive verbs fall in the latter class, just in case their lexical object should be suppressed (*rí* (*èrí*) 'eat [something expected]').

Although Ìgbo and Italian differ syntactically in many respects, including the selectional properties of clitics and auxiliaries, it is striking (and, in general, confirms Burzio's analysis) that they should show a comparable lexical-semantic difference. In Ìgbo, with its rich variety of intransitive verb complements, the difference between the intransitive classes is related to the direct object position much more clearly and directly than it is in Italian or English.

Confining the matter to lexical projections, this gives the following, revised picture for the two classes, where co-indexing marks a lexical dependency among morphemes, and disjoint indexing marks its absence:

217a. *transitives including ergatives*

b. *intransitives* (= *unergatives*)

3

WYSIWYG morphology

['wɪz•i•wɪg] *n.* an *oríkì* (praise epithet) for an easily learnable computer interface in which every element of the visual display represents an element of information in direct analog of its final output form; acronym for *W(hat)-Y(ou)-S(ee)-I(s)-W(hat)-Y(ou)-G(et)*.

One idea which is latent—if not exactly leading—in Chomsky's discussions of the Projection Principle (1981) and Principle of Full Interpretation (1986b) can be called WYSIWYG morphology. This is the simple, presumably null, hypothesis that the structure of a string directly equals the total configurational (i.e. projected) properties of the morphemes present therein. The WYSIWYG idea has been variously implemented by Brame 1980, Borer 1984, and Manzini and Wexler 1987, among others. WYSIWYG explicitly informs Chapters 1 and 2; in this chapter, it is the guiding thread through a range of constructions in Ìgbo and its Kru and Benue-Kwa neighbors. The same question recurs throughout: what does surface morphology contribute to interpretation?

Chapter 1 implicitly appealed to the WYSIWYG principle, so as to constrain the analysis of tonal morphemes. The effect was to rule out floating tones—elements without morphological category—and the tone rules which they serve to trigger diacritically, from the analysis of word- and phrase-level pitch alternations. Chapter 2 applied a WYSIWYG perspective to complex predicates. Serial and double-object constructions, and V-V/V-N compounds were all represented as extended thematic domains, compositionally derived through the concatenation of lexical categories. In all the above analyses, three constraints on representations proved to be central:

- Marantz' 1984 restriction of s(emantic)-selection to internal arguments, and a related restriction of p(redicate)-selection to external arguments;
- Lieber's (1981) constraint against homophonous elements sharing the same syntactic category; and
- Tenny's (1986) aspectual constraint on the projection of lexical properties (here formalized in terms of Hale's Lexical Conceptual Structure).

While it is hard to imagine a morpheme-based account of projection which does not hold some version of these constraints, it is also easy to find counterexamples. On closer examination, however, these are not as devastating they first appear. For the most part they simply beg the question, by confronting the constrained analysis with the relatively stipulative and probably unexamined account which is implicit in the counterexample.

The three [tu]'s of English are often cited as knock-down counterevidence to Lieber's proposal on homophony. However, as they do not share syntactic category, they are not excluded. What about the two [pɛʏr]'s? If *pair* is a noun just like *pear*, then they are a counterexample; but if *pair* is a classifier—a referentially deficient noun—then the facts may be consistent with the constraint. At least, it is worth checking whether other problem cases have similar special characteristics. Less trivial are potential homophones involving 'functional' categories: *for* (preposition/complementizer), *to* (preposition/infinitive prefix), multiple *-ing*[1]. Without Leiber's constraint,

[1] Abney 1988 gives an insightful, unitary analysis of the English ACC-*ing* and POSS-*ing* gerundives, deriving their difference from the options of affixation to VP vs. IP.

these issues aren't even posed. To evaluate the WYSIWYG framework, therefore, the consequences of the non-WYSIWYG alternative—especially the loss of generalization—must be recognized.

To exclude diacritic homophony, the hallmark of underanalysis, some kind of WYSIWYG principle is indispensable. In the Benue-Kwa languages, where many inflectional and derivational morphemes are composed of just a single vowel, of a tone, or of a toneless syllable reduplication, a hypothesis such as Lieber's is indispensable fuel for analysis.

This chapter considers three examples of how functional categories (respectively: aspect, Comp, person/number) work in the grammar of Ìgbo and its neighbors. First, some general remarks.

The function of functional categories

In direct consequence of the theory of head movement/incorporation—starting with Emonds 1970 and unpublished work by McA'Nulty, and continuing with Koopman 1983, Travis 1984, Baker 1985 and Chomsky 1988—it seems inevitable that syntactic analyses in the 1990's will represent an ever larger set of grammatical morphemes (tense, person, number, case, negation, modality, aspect, degree…) as syntactic heads projecting their own phrase-level structures. The 'arrival' of this perspective in the *Barriers* framework (Chomsky 1986a) gave a central role to the IP and CP projections. Not long thereafter, however, it was noticed (e.g. by Weerman 1988) that the phrasal projections of functional heads—as compared with the more familiar lexical phrases—raise a conceptual problem of licensing. Why is head-to-head movement of a lexical category into one or more functional categories obligatory, across a wide variety of instances, to a much greater extent than the corresponding type of movement to a lexical category (e.g. N-incorporation into V)?

I believe the answer, at base, to be that lexical and functional categories inherently differ in optionality, and thus so do the licensing relationships into which they enter. Considered individually, lexical categories are optional elements in the sense that each is drawn from a large, open morpheme-class (the set of animate nouns, of stative verbs etc.). As a practical matter, functional categories (e.g. complementizers, tense and agreement elements, casemarkers and determiners) present the inverse picture. As closed-class elements, they have a quasi-obligatory status—at least in a given construction. Certainly there are some limited choices to be made among functional elements (e.g. past vs. nonpast tense, definite vs. indefinite determiner), but even these are partly constrained by constructional factors (e.g. tense harmony in embedded clauses, the 'definiteness effect' in predication). As the limiting case, at least some functional elements (especially Comp, Agr and morphological case)—whether null or overt in a given language—are virtually invariant and obligatory across construction types.

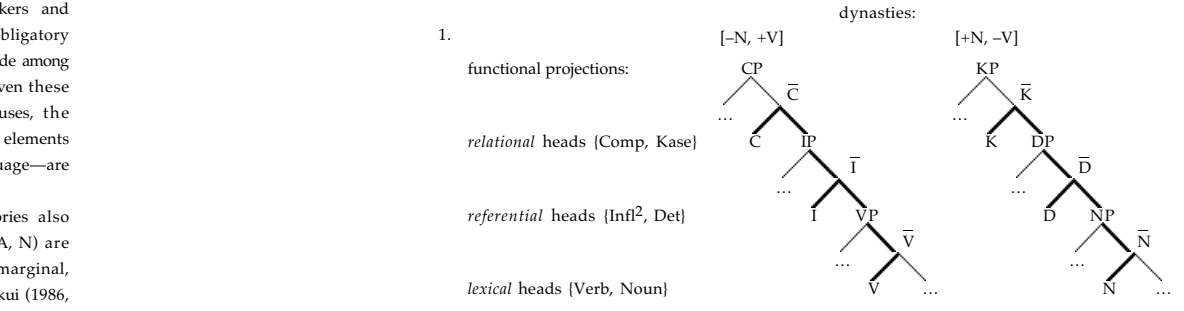
There is a second, possibly contradictory observation: lexical and functional categories also differ with respect to cross-linguistic variation. The four major lexical categories (V, P, A, N) are relatively universal: there are no languages without V and N. Although P and A are marginal, closed categories in Kwa, they aren't totally absent from Kwa lexicons. By contrast, Fukui (1986, 1987) claims that Japanese completely lacks Infl, Comp and Det elements, and that the restricted applicability of "*wh*-movement" in that language follows from the parametric absence of these morpheme categories. A second instance: closely related Romance languages differ in the featural content of the functional element of agreement (cf. Jaeggli 1982, Roberge 1986, Roberge and Vinet 1990). To date, by far the most sweeping program of typological explanation in terms of the interaction of functional elements is sketched by Fassi-Fehri (1991a, b).

Why should obligatory elements be so variable, and optional elements so stable, from one language to another? This paradox of distribution and function between the two types of categories—a paradox undoubtedly related to the difference in optionality among individual morphemes of the respective types—poses a potential dilemma for parametric research. Cross-linguistic differences in functional categories are as readily expressed in terms of the presence/absence of an element, as they are in terms of variation in an element's form and/or function. For example, there probably exists no direct evidence which could decide between an analysis involving a null Determiner with default content (to be specified), and one where the D-projection is simply absent. Larson's (1988) postulation of null lexical heads triggering head movement in the double object construction has been criticized as diacritic (cf. §2.1.1 above); the same criticism cannot be made for functional heads, if they are truly universal (cf. Whitman *et al*. 1990).

In the generative grammatical tradition, the postulation of a universal set of categories—a set which is maximally inclusive in principle, though necessarily based on a incomplete cross-linguistic survey at any given stage of research—is a familiar and time honored epistemological stratagem. To avoid the potential circularity of this move, however, requires some claims as to the 'functions' of the various functional categories. Such claims would motivate null functional elements and simultaneously explain the obligatoriness of head movement into them.

Hale (1988, 1989) makes a specific proposal in this direction. Extending proposals by Brame, Fukui and Abney among others, he defines a set of four functional heads (C, I, K, D) as representing the semantic functions of "reference" and "relationality", respectively for verbal and nominal projection systems. Marrying this account to the locality-based grammar of Kayne 1984 and Koster 1986, the licensing relations among heads at the three levels can be viewed as the formation of 'dynasties'—Koster's term for extended government domains—along paths projected by the lexical features [αN, –αV] in Hale's functional domains. The resulting picture is given in (1).

1.



Hale's proposal motivates and clarifies some observed relationships between lexical and functional heads, especially within the verb system (the [–N, +V] dynasty). Fabb (1984) and

[2]Primarily Tense, as the referential category which selects verbs. In Chomsky 1981, Infl also includes (subject) Agreement, while Chomsky 1989 gives Agreement its own functional projection(s). There is a third possibility, explored by Fukui (1986): that agreement is not a category (one or more functional heads) but rather a structural relationship: that between a head and its specifier. Except as noted below, I follow Fukui.

Roberts (1985a,b,c), for example, have characterized the connectedness between V and I in terms of a well-formedness relationship of 'visibility': a V is a licit *θ*-assiger iff it is governed by (= visible to) Infl. Assuming a minimality condition on government, visibility requires that a *θ*-assigning verb be connected, via its maximal projection, to an Infl. V-to-I movement expresses this connectedness by means of word-formation. In Hale's terms, the basis for a visibility condition is not *θ*-theory, since a non-finite verb still presumably *θ*-marks its object. Rather, a verb requires Infl just in order to be referential. Some consequences for the typology of the Kru/Kwa languages are explored in §3.1.

Another potential instance of Hale's licensing framework for functional categories is the oft-observed correlation between focus and other *wh*-dependencies, both of which are localized in the specifier position of CP. If, by hypothesis, Comp has a relational function, then its specifier is the expected position for an element which is constructionally linked to a larger constituent, be that a contrastive discourse (for focus) or a NP (for relative clauses). See §3.2 below. Similar considerations hold for the functional elements in the nominal system, D and K, although it is less than clear what counts as a determiner, and what kind of nominal inflections count as Kase.

Given (1), it is the relatively obligatory "functions" of functional elements which motivate the postulation of zero morphemes in particular languages or constructions which lack overt elements in these functions. Relevant examples discussed below are null Comp in Vātà and Haitian, and null Infl in Haitian and Ìgbo. It remains to observe that a willingness to countenance zero functional heads does not undercut the WYSIWYG hypothesis. There is a similarity between non-diacritic licit instances of a zero lexical category (e.g. a trace) and a zero functional category (e.g. a null Comp). The former is licensed by thematic structure, which is locally recoverable (hence the centrality of a condition like the ECP). The latter is licensed by the "function" of a complementizer, which is also recoverable, although not on the basis of thematic information. The licensing of empty categories by recoverability is familiar terrain (cf. in particular Roberge 1986). In §3.2.3 below, I suggest that the null Comps of Vātà and Haitian are licensed by operator-variable (*wh*-) binding from the domain of a higher verb. As suggested by Déchaine 1991, null Infl (or perhaps null Tense) in Haitian and Ìgbo is licensed directly by the referential content of the verb.

Consider then the Kru/Kwa inventory of functional elements and their correlated grammatical properties (to be compared with the corresponding chart for lexical categories in §2.1.2).

	positive traits	*negative traits*	*feature analysis*	
2a.	'factative' constructions or temporal ambiguity	no Tense affixes	[- N, + V]	[+ F]
b.	optional WH-movement	no *for*-Complementizer, no ECM	[- N, - V]	
c.	embedded subject/object clitics contrast with N^0 pronouns	no φ-Agreement	[+ N, + V]	
d.	'associative' constructions	no obligatory Determiner, no obligatory Possessive marker	[+ N, - V]	

The right hand column of (2) gives Abney's (1988) extension of lexical features to functional categories. Each UG lexical category has a corresponding functional category, differing only in the feature [± F]: [+F V] = Infl, [+F P] = Comp, [+F A] = Kase, [+F N] = Det. Fukui 1986 proposes that parametric differences are in general restricted to [+F] elements.

§3.1 spells out some motivation for (2a), which in addition to Kwa obtains in the neighboring Kru languages (cf. Marchese 1979, Koopman 1984). §3.2 exemplifies (2b). §3.3 discusses (2c), a generalization which is seen most clearly in Yorùbá and is partly obscured in Ìgbo by the form of Case assignment. (2d) was tangentially shown at the end of §1.3, in the discussion of prosodic government construct states. With Hale's proposal that Determiners are the nominal counterparts of Tense elements, both being the syntactic projection of referential (or deictic) features, it could be that a single parametric property of Kwa underlies both (2a) and (2d): the feature of definiteness, lexically "inherent" in both Nouns and Verbs, is not syntactically projected.

3.1 Aspect as V-movement

Koopman 1984 observes that some languages of the Kru/Kwa continuum, like most Germanic languages, have deep OV syntax and verb-second phenomena (on Germanic, cf. now Weerman 1988). This surface similarity is complicated by the fact that the two language families differ in the inventory of functional categories. Germanic languages have overt tense and subject-agreement morphemes, while in Kru/Kwa, morphemes with strictly temporal reference are lacking; additionally, some Kru/Kwa languages lack overt subject Agr—at least for nonpronominal subjects.

The factative effect[3]

In a language such as Ìgbo, where both Agr and Tense are parametrically zero, a sentence with no overt aspect morpheme induces the so-called "factative" effect (Welmers 1973).[4] Factativity is a default tense interpretation: [+past] for eventive verbs and as [–past] for noneventive (i.e. stative) verbs. Aspectless verbs in Ìgbo display default morphology: the so-called *-rV* suffix (and, in some dialects, L tone), as already seen in §2.1.5. In the absence of an overt Asp, factative morphemes fill empty Infl, making it pronounceable and a proper governor to license head movement. Insightfully, perhaps prophetically, Wescott 1962 applies the label "definite aspect" to the Ìgbo factative.

The factative effect is not general across Kwa. In Àbɛ and Yorùbá, eventive verbs are temporally ambiguous, while in Akan temporal ambiguity is found with stative verbs (Christaller 1875: 58). Yorùbá like Ìgbo lacks tense morphemes, as observed by Oyèlárǎn 1982:

> TNS (tense) is not a term within AUX or within any other auxiliary symbol in Yorùbá phrase structure. It is therefore not a grammatical category of the language.

Unlike Ìgbo, however, a (H tone) subject Agr morpheme projects Yorùbá IP, accounting for the absence of factative constructions: proper government for X^0 movement always obtains. In Yorùbá, aspectually unmarked eventive verbs are always ambiguous between past and nonpast readings; this is expected since verb movement can occur without a default Infl. Following Hale 1988, one can say that the Yorùbá verb reaches Infl without discharging its Davidsonian event argument in a referential feature. In neither Ìgbo nor Yorùbá is the perfective Asp temporally ambiguous.

Àbɛ falls aspectually between Ìgbo and Yorùbá: eventive verbs are ambiguous between past and perfective (i.e. present perfect). Unlike Ìgbo and Yorùbá, it lacks a perfective morpheme. Suppose

[3] Amazingly, factativity has not yet been noticed in the semantics literature. Hornstein (1990: 216 *fn.* 25) repeats Enç's (1981) citation of Comrie's apocryphal, inaccurate data with "tenseless" main verbs ambiguous between past and nonpast in Ìgbo as well as Yorùbá. In fact, such ambiguity arises in Yorùbá but not in Ìgbo, though neither language has a past tense morpheme. Reichenbachian frameworks of tense interpretation have not yet come to grips with this basic observation. See now Déchaine 1991.

[4] Factatives also occur in Haitian, as observed by Damoiseau (1982: 28-30). Following French grammarians, Koopman calls the Kru factative "perfective", although it is not a present perfect.

that Àbɛ lacks an Infl node, so that Verb-second occurs in Asp. When no overt Asp morpheme is projected, an eventive verb is ambiguous between past and perfective (i.e. present perfect). This is close to the eventive ambiguity found in Yorùbá, except that the relevant feature is not [past] but whatever underlies perfectivity, perhaps a feature like [delimited] (cf. Tenny 1987). All these Kwa languages have exceptionless verb-second order in main clauses.

Finally: like Ìgbo, Kru languages such as Vãtà project Infl with no obligatory constituents; the factative morpheme in most dialects is simply a low tone (recalling the low tone plus *-rV* in Ìgbo). Koopman 1984 argues that V-to-I movement in Kru is blocked by the presence of an Aux. But Marchese (1979: 147*f.*) observes that negative imperfective morphemes are never Auxes in the required sense, i.e. that negative imperfective Asp always fails to block V-to-I movement. Why should this be? In other words, what drives V-to-I movement?

Aspect and V-visibility

Following Fabb 1984, Roberts (1985a,b,c) accounts for aspectual auxiliaries in terms of visibility: a verb is a licit *θ*-assigner iff it is *visible* to Infl. As mentioned directly above, a category is visible if it belongs to a dynasty of governors which agree in [aN, -aV], and which includes a member which is referential. In this way, the thematic content of the verb acquires potential reference.

Roberts 1985a analyzes auxiliaries as verbs which, lacking *θ*-grids, cannot be visible to Infl at s-structure; conversely, *θ*-role assigners must be. Modern English aspectual and modal Auxes are s-structure constituents of Infl: they "invert" by raising to Comp in root questions (*Has John left?*, *Can John leave?)* and occur outside negation (*John has not left*, *John can not leave*). In Germanic languages with "rich" agreement, main verbs raise to Infl (and Comp) in the absence of an Aux, and Roberts accordingly suggests that V-to-I movement is required by visibility, because a main verb *in situ* is not visible to affixal Agr. That is, agreement is parametrically *morphological* in verb-second languages, but *syntactic* in Modern English with its comparatively impoverished agreement system. Roberts observes (1985a: 31, *fn.* 8) that this framework needs elaboration for English aspectual verbs which, unlike modals, display *φ*-feature agreement (*has*, *is*) and occur with non-finite (participial) affixes (*-ing*, *-en*). That is, aspectuals unlike modals are morphologically governed by Infl. He suggests that aspectuals but not modals resemble main verbs in a crosscutting property: selection, i.e. the ability to license a d-structure complement. Roberts 1985b places aspectuals in the VP as modifiers, hence governed by Infl at d-structure and in the domain of affix-hopping:

(3) Modern English verb classes (after Roberts 1985a)

	s-structure		*d-structure*	
	θ-assigner	under Infl	under Infl	selects complement
main verbs	+	–	–	+
aspectuals	-	+	–	+
modals	-	+	+	–

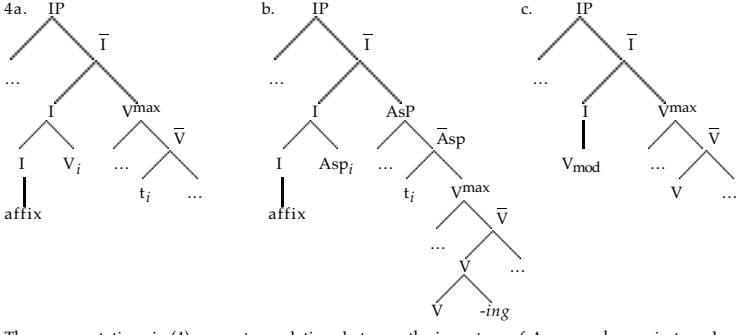
(3) requires English aspectual Auxes to move to Infl from the VP. For concreteness, assume that Asp is a functional category with its own d-structure projection. Since Asp is not a lexical category, by the Projection Principle it cannot directly and exhaustively dominate thematic content. But if Asp raises to Infl head-to-head, it becomes morphologically governed in the affix hopping domain.

A formal implementation of Welmers' factative idea suggests itself in the context of visibility-driven V-to-I movement. Suppose, in the spirit of the *Barriers* framework, that parametric

variation in aspectual constituency of Infl yields structural constraints on movement. This requires us to assume that aspect morphemes, like main verbs, are subject to head movement, rather than base-generated in Infl as argued by Koopman 1984. The logic of X′ theory requires in turn that there be a category Asp(ect) which heads its own projection, call it AsP, which is intermediate between the lexical V-projection and the Infl domain. For concreteness, I adopt the phrase structure proposals of Fukui 1986, essentially as follows:

- Functional projections are "closed" at the two-bar level iff the functional head contains a F(unction)-feature which assigns Kase to the Specifier position; otherwise, they are closed at the one-bar level, and;
- Lexical projections iterate A-positions at the one-bar level.

(4a) represents V-to-I as head-movement (adjunction, or syntactic affixation). This view differs from Koopman's 1984 concept of V-to-I as substitution (NP-type movement). Koopman motivates V-to-I for reasons of Nominative Case assignment, parallel to standard views of Passive as driven by "Case retraction". For Roberts, the motivation is the Projection Principle: a main verb in second position directly and exhaustively dominated by I could not discharge its lexical content (*θ*-grid). In (4b), V^{max} is selected by Asp, which moves to I thereby voiding the barrierhood of AsP for I-to-V government, yielding V-visibility. In (4c), as proposed by Roberts, uninflected V_{mod} neither selects the main V nor is it governed by Infl (which it substitutes).



The representations in (4) suggest correlations between the inventory of Asp morphemes in tenseless Kru/Kwa, and word order differences. Language-particular restrictions on head movement of the verb from predicate-final position to 'second position' follow from differences in the parametric choice of category which serves as the functional head of S. Nor should this be surprising, since it is increasingly recognized that variation in the morphological constituency of Infl has parametric consequences for word order (cf. Koster 1986b, Pollock 1987, Lema 1988, Fassi-Fehri 1991a,b).

The Kru/Ìgbo factative phenomenon concerns the appearance of a default affix on the verb in second position, just in case I = ∅ *and* Asp = ∅. The apparent insertion of 'dummy' or resumptive Kase-bearing elements which save ECP violations is well known with possessors and Prepositional objects, i.e. the Kase in question may be either Genitive (*Who do you suspect that I don't like his face*?) or Accusative (*What do you regret that I said Bill sold it to Jane*?). In Yorùbá, analogous effects occur with *wh* extractions of locative phrases like *níbo* 'whereat?', except that the

resumptive element is not a Kase (in argument position) but a Kase-assigner (*ti*), cf. Carstens 1986, Ṣónaiya 1987. At a further typological remove is English *do*-insertion. Factative morpheme insertion, viewed as a type of categorial 'support', differs from these more familiar examples in three ways. (i) It involves licensing by a functional head (Infl) rather than a lexical one (V or P). (ii) The ECP is invoked not by *wh*-movement but by X^0 movement. (iii) It is Nominative rather than Accusative or Genitive which is assigned by the dummy.

These three *differentia specifica* are all expected, within the following scenario:

5. Factative morphemes fill empty Asp (making it pronounceable and a proper governor) in order to license head movement through the intervening maximal projection AsP, permitting the verb to raise to Infl for reference/visibility.

(5) explains why the presence of a nonlexical aspect morpheme (negation, future or imperfective in Kru, all of these plus perfective in Ìgbo) is sufficient to block the appearance of the factative morpheme: a filled Asp provides a 'head movement escape hatch' for the Verb on its way to Infl. The factative morpheme itself, however, has no semantic content; when the verb raises to Infl , what triggers the relevant tense interpretation is the so-called "Davidsonian" event argument, rather than any Tense morpheme. Notice that (5) is excluded, if aspect morphemes are base-generated in Infl, as Koopman standardly assumes.

Asp is embedded inside Infl, not the reverse. Unlike Tense or φ-feature agreement, Aspect shares a semantic property with the lexical predicate it embeds. Tenny 1987 has characterised this property in terms of event structure. Evidently, an event can be inherently delimited (e.g. *died*), or it can be delimited by lexical or by functional material (respectively: *went home* or *has gone*). Interestingly, of the three possibilities, languages vary only with respect to the third type of delimitedness. Àbɛ, for example, has no perfective morpheme. Suppose that a feature [+delimited] is involved in all three cases. Then the "predicate-internal" property of Aspect, as opposed to Tense (which is strictly external), is reflected in the fact that Tense morphemes are always affixes, but Aspect morphemes can in principle be either affixes or words (i.e. Auxes).

3.1.1 Kru

In both Kru and Àbɛ are observed both O V and V O surface word orders. In both languages, however, there is evidence that the d-structure complement of V is projected to its left. Gerunds and control complements provide prima facie evidence for deep O V order in Kru:

6. (Vātà)
   a. Kòfí nị́ị̀ saká lī-lì — S O V-ING — 'Kofi's rice eating'
      's rice eat-ing
   b. N nị [kā saká lī kā] mlị̄. — S Aux [$_{XP}$ O V] V — 'I will go eat rice'
      1sg Fut for rice eat for leave

Similar evidence in Àbɛ is presented by Tellier 1987.

As described by Marchese and Koopman, surface order in "finite" clauses has a V-2 pattern. In the factative construction, the order is always V O, for both eventive and noneventive verbs:

7. (Vātà)
   a. N lì saká. — S [V + particle] O — 'I ate rice'
      1sg [eat+ `] rice
   b. N gblị̀ nā… — S [V + particle] O — 'I know that…'
      1sg [know + `] Comp

As already mentioned, Koopman 1984 hypothesises that surface V O order correlates with the lack of a d-structure Infl that can assign Nominative Case (i.e. an "Aux"), thus V-to-I movement resembles NP-movement in passive (which is also "Case-driven"). This raises two questions.

First, what Case-assigning feature distinguishes the set of 'weak' Infls (which require V-movement) from the set of 'strong' Infls (which prevent V-movement)? This is vital if we would avoid a circular definition of this feature, based solely on the occurrence of V-to-I movement (or its lack). I do not believe that this question has yet received an answer.

The second question, neutral with respect to the answer given to the first, is more theory-internal. If V-to-I movement is motivated by weak Infl (as Koopman proposed), then is it subject to the Head Movement Constraint? That is, can we say that even a weak Infl governs the Verb trace, and if so what is the configuration of the complex Infl which contains the Verb, and why doesn't a strong Infl also license head movement? Alternatively, to escapoe this contradiction, the question can be asked in reverse: if V-movement is blocked by a strong Infl (which is the only other possibility), what prevents this movement?

Pollock 1987 holds that V-to-I movement of lexical verbs in English is blocked by "non-rich" (i.e. weak) Agreement, assuming that only strong agreement (as in French) can projecting the θ-grid of an incorporated Verb. Apart from the problematic use of "richness" to describe French Agr, since this "richness" is still not sufficient to license the kind of subject "pro-drop" (found in other Romance languages with essentially the same freedom of V-to-I movement), and noting that neither Àbɛ nor the Kru languages exhibit any morphological agreement whatsoever, Pollock's percolation hypothesis can nevertheless be adapted to the present problem, intuitively as follows.

If a "strong" Infl has significantly more of a certain property [+*p*] than a weak Infl does, then by standard assumptions about percolation (e.g. Lieber 1980), the presence of [+*p*] in the head of an incorporation structure will prevent the incorporated element from projecting its own [+*p*]. Concretely, a "full-fledged" Aux will block the incorporation of a Verb, while a "defective" Aux will, assuming that the first two categories share some property [+*p*] which is lacking in the third. Once again, we must be careful not to define this property in a circular manner.

In the languages at hand, [+*p*] is neither of the category Agr nor Tense, since neither of these is morphologically present. In other words, if these morphemes are absent, then their functional projections (called AgrP and FP in Chomsky 1988) are equally lacking. Although Fukui has argued that zero elements can head functional projections (1986: 179 *fn*. 20), this possibility is construction-specific and not parametric; otherwise, it would be necessary to hold that empty elements are proper governors, so as to allow these heads to trigger incorporation. Such a situation seems self-evidently unlearnable.

I propose that both questions about Koopman's generalization are answered if the F(unctional)-feature in question is [delimited]. This feature is defined by Tenny 1987 as a property of predicates, either inherently (*eat an apple*) or through thematic composition (*walk to the store*). By definition, both perfect and perfective (or completive, cf. Welmers 1973, Johnson 1981) aspect are [+delimited]. It then follows that only a [+delimited] auxiliary blocks V-movement in Kru.

Koopman says that V-to-I movement occurs unless Infl contains an Aux. This complementarity is seen in (8). "Particles" occur with V O order (8a-b), while "Auxes" occur with O V order (8c-e).

8. (Vātà)

a.	N lì saká. 1sg [eat+`] rice	S [V + particle] O	'I ate rice'
b.	N lē saká. 1sg [eat+IMPF] rice	S [V + particle] O	'I am eating rice'
c.	N ká saká lī. 1sg FUT rice eat	S Aux O V	'I will eat rice'
d.	N lā saká lī. 1sg PERF rice eat	S Aux O V	'I have eaten rice'
e.	N ní saká wà. 1sg NEG rice want	S Aux O V	'I do not want rice'

Marchese 1979, however, shows that maintaining the Aux/particle dichotomy independently—on grounds other than word order—is not a straightforward matter. Consider the following:

9. (Neyo, Eastern Kru; tone marking uncertain in source)

a.	Ma ne wa yo la. but 1sg.NEG PAST child bring	S Aux O V	'But I didn't bring the child'
b.	Né mla dili-no. 1sg.NEG.IMPF drink raphia-wine	S [V + particle] O	'I don't drink raphia wine'
c.	E ne fe ka. 1sg NEG strength have	S Aux O V	'I am not strong'

If complementarity holds, then the NEG morpheme in (9a) is an Aux, while the impefective NEG morpheme in (9b) is not. According to Marchese (1979: 147*f.*, my trans.),

> utterances referring to habitual or generic actions do not form an auxiliary-type negative. Conversely, all utterances with a factitive or perfective verb in the affirmative take an auxiliary-type negative. …In several languages, the non-auxiliary form is also used for utterances describing durative actions, i.e. in the imperfective.

Two questions now arise, one descriptive and one theoretical. Descriptively, (9c) is indeed "factative" in the sense given to this term by Welmers 1973. The verb 'have' is lexically stative, so that the factitive (unsuffixed) form has a nonpast interpretation. And as predicted, the order of (3c) is O V. The first question is, therefore, whether this generalization holds for other Auxes, apart from the negative. In particular, one should never expect to find a perfective Aux with V O order. Marchese (1981: 16) cites a minimal pair which is interesting from this standpoint:

10. (Dewoin, Western Kru)

a.	Ọ nà kwiẹ wǫ́lǫ̀ tọ. 3sg PERF clothes wash stop	S Aux [$_{XP}$ OV] V	'S/he has stopped washing clothes'
b.	Ọ nà gwè kwiẹ wǫ́lǫ̀. 3sg PERF finish clothes wash	S AuxV [$_{XP}$ OV]	'S/he has finished washing clothes'

Aspectually speaking, (10a) and (10b) are a near-minimal pair. While 'stop' is clearly the main verb in (10a), the main verb of (10b) is arguably 'wash' rather than 'finish'. In this case, the s-structure of (10b) is closer to (11), consistent with the complementarity hypothesis:

11. [$_{IP}$ s/he [$_{I}$ PERF + finish] [$_{VP}$ clothes wash]]

But even if the above is correct, there is a second question: whether Koopman's complementarity hypothesis can be maintained in terms of the Case-assigning property. Otherwise, some other motivation for V-to-I movement, besides Nominative Case assignment, needs to be found.

Given Marchese's description, the only way to maintain that OV vs. VO complementarity is determined by Case-assigning ability, is to explain why, across the Kru language family, durative morphemes lack the ability to assign Case, while perfective morphemes (as well as factative—i.e. inflectionally null—negatives) have this ability. In other words:

12. Why should the Aux vs. particle (or [± Case-assigner]) distinction be aspectually based? Alternatively, if Case is not the motivating property for V-movement, then aspect itself must have some movement correlate.

In addition to lacking motivation for the Aux/particle distinction, the complementarity hypothesis as stated by Koopman lacks an account of Infl as the projection of some syntactic feature, or complex of features. Anachronistically, we can ask what is the head of IP. This turns out not to be a simple matter. In matrix clauses, the morphological constituents of Infl, namely Tense and (Subject) Agr, are both lacking throughout the Kwa languages, as a parametric matter. A careful reading of Koopman and Marchese suggests the same for Kru.

Recall the surface constituents of Infl in Vātà and Gbadi (Koopman 1984: 30):

13a. Vātà: [(NEG) {Aux, V} (l- (a-)) ([+ Tns]) (REL)]

b.Gbadi: [(NEG) {Aux, V} (clitic) ([+ Tns]) (la) (FOC) Q]

Which of these is responsible for the IP projection at d-structure? There is good reason to regard NEG as aspectual (irrealis), and Focus/Relative markers are likely copular, thus members of the category V. In any case, both are optional.

From Koopman's description, both the adverbial particle *l-* 'still' and the polarity item *à-* 'ever' (cf. (15)) are clearly affixes on the Imperfective and NEG Auxes. And they are optional.

Kru Agr is zero by Koopman's own argumentation. There is a tradition of analysis which treats subject clitics as agreement markers, but since these are not obligatory, they do not suffice to project IP. This leaves Tense as the only candidate for the head of IP.

The Vātà 'tense' system (Koopman 1984: 30) is so rich that it appears to be adverbial, with meanings like 'today', 'eventually' and 'long ago' (this was also Welmers' view). Barring coincidence, there is apparent underanalysis of the tones of these elements, since both past (*tà*) and future (*wà*) 'same day' elements bear L tone, while 'one day or more' bears M tone in both past and future (*dā* and *kā*), and 'remote' past and future both bear raised-M tone (*wa* and *kẹ*).

In Gbadi, the sole 'tense' elements (*nẹ* and *a*) are both [+past]. But, fatally for the hypothesis that [+Tns] projects IP, they are optional in the factative construction (cf. also Koopman 1984: 39, *fn.* 2). The factative (cf. Marchese 1979: 132*ff.*) is marked by a tonal alternation in the main verb stem, generally an L tone. This L tone triggers a [+past] interpretation for nonstative verbs as in (14):

14. N lì saká. S [V + particle] O 'I ate rice'
1sg [eat+`] rice

So do we say here that IP is projected by an L tone?

In principle, there is nothing to prevent a tonal morpheme, as a dependent affix, from projecting a functional category such as IP. (Another potential example is the Yorùbá H tone subject marker, which occurs in complementary distribution with Aux.) However, the L-tone morpheme in question is not restricted to Infl, thus falsifying the hypothesis that the L-tone projects IP. In the following examples, the L tone appears on the Verb in VP-final position:

15. (Vātà, Koopman 1984: 32)

a. À nị-l-à saká lì. S Aux O V 'We have not yet eaten rice'
1pl NEG-still-ever rice [eat+`]

b. À nị-à-wa saká lì. S Aux O V 'We have never eaten rice'
1pl NEG-ever-remote.past rice [eat+`]

Conclusion: the only obligatory element in (13) is either Aux or V, but since V does not appear in Infl at d-structure, there is actually no obligatory d-structure constituent of Infl. This conclusion would be just as troubling for a head-movement account of V-to-I, as for Koopman's NP-movement account, because head-government still requires the presence of a morpheme to govern the V-trace.

As already mentioned, there is an alternative account of V-movement in Kru available, following Marchese's insightful observation that V-movement is correlates with imperfectivity. This alternative can now be confronted with the Àbɛ facts.

3.1.2 Àbɛ

Unlike Kru, Àbɛ shows V O order regardless of whether or not an Aux occurs:

16a. Mɔ̀ dí sáká. S V O 'I ate/have eaten rice'
1sg eat rice

b. M ɛ̄ dí sáká. S Aux V O 'I (habitually) eat/ate rice'
1sg Impf eat rice OR 'I am [in the process of] eating rice'

c. M á dī sáká. S Aux V O 'I am going to eat rice'
1sg arrive eat rice

d. Ǹ gɛ̄ dí sáká. S Aux V O 'I did not eat/have not eaten rice'
1sg Neg eat rice

e. Mɔ̀ gɛ́ dí sáká. S Aux V O 'I do/did not habitually eat rice'
1sg Neg.Impf eat rice OR 'I am not [in the process of] eating rice'

f. Mɔ̀ gɛ́ ɛ̄ dí sáká. S Aux V O 'I am not going to eat rice'
1sg Neg arrive eat rice

g. Mɔ̀ n é dí sáká… 'I am/was [in the process of] eating rice…
1sg Prog Impf eat rice [when something happens/happened]'

h. Mɔ̀ ɲá ā dí sáká. 'I am just about to be eating rice'
1sg Prog.Impf arrive eat rice

Vowel elision has occurred in (16e), vowel assimilation and palatalization in (16h), between aspect morphemes which may on those grounds be considered to form a complex aspect-word. Otherwise the morphemes are readily separable. The future Aux in (16c, f and h) is the verb 'arrive'. Why does V-movement takes place exceptionlessly, regardless of Aux?

O V order is observed only in 'infinitival' constructions like 'begin to eat':

17a. Ǹ dá [sáká dí]. S V [O V] 'I (have) started to eat rice'
1sg begin rice eat

b. Ǹ gɛ̄ dá [sáká dī̃]. S V [O V] 'I didn't start/haven't started to eat rice'
1sg NEG begin rice eat

The lack of complementarity in (16) is incompatible with Koopman's hypothesis about V-to-I movement. Interestingly for the alternative (aspectual) hypothesis about V-movement, there is no perfective Auxiliary in the language. The glosses in (16-17) show that every example with a perfective (present perfect) interpretation also has a [+past] eventive interpretation. This ambiguity is systematic, to the best of my knowledge, in both affirmative and negative sentences.

A traditional analysis of the bracketed construction in (17) calls *dí/dī́ í* an infinitive (N'Guessan p.c.). One could alternatively regard it as a participle heading a nominal compound, to be glossed 'rice-eating'. Let us however follow Tellier in assuming that the lower verb in (17) is not nominalized. Because of the absence of ECM phenomena (which are missing in Kwa languages quite generally), it is possible to analyze OV cases like (17a) as deriving from a serial predicate as in (18), where the higher verb, which selects for a VP complement, is affixed to the lower one:

18. [[sáká dí]-dá] $[_{VP_j}\,[_{VP_i}$ rice eat] begin] 'start eating rice'

The verb 'begin' moves to second position, leaving behind a trace governing the lower verb 'eat'.

There is no reason not to regard examples like (17) as monoclausal in Àbɛ, because there is never an overt embedded subject without a complementizer, and 'control' of the lower verb by the matrix subject is automatic. In this situation, postulating PRO-plus-infinitive is unmotivated.

A number of tonal alternations are visible in (16). These can be accounted for if 'Mid' is derived by an accentual process which lowers one of two adjacent H tones (in these examples, within the Aspect domain) under the government relation. It is therefore not (19) but (20):

19. $[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,]\,] \rightarrow [_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{M}\,[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,]\,]$

20. $[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,]\,] \rightarrow [_{\alpha}\,\overline{\mathrm{H}}\,[_{\alpha}\,\mathrm{H}\,]\,]$

The macron in (11) indicates accentual lowering of a toneme, thus a 'local downstep' which is restricted to exactly one tone-bearing unit. (A similar process in Bantu languages has been called 'Meeuwsen's Rule', and I will adopt this label for convenience.)

Notice that Meeuwsen's Rule applies in two directions: leftward from V to Asp (16b, d and probably f); rightward from Asp to Aux (16c and probably also h) and not at all in (16g). The direction would follow from the relation of government, under the "affix = head" notion of morphology, if V is incorporated into Asp, and if the Asp word itself can be recursively built of Asp morphemes. In (16b,d,f), the moved verb downsteps the Asp to which it suffixes. In (16c), the reverse order indicates that it is 'arrive' which functions as an affix in its aspectual meaning (crucially, it is also a main verb, as indicated in the gloss). In (16h), there are two morphemes in Asp: Prog and Impf; plausibly, Prog modifies Impf, and hence downsteps it.

In the initial version of this study, (17) was taken as evidence for Meeuwsen's Rule applying within the VP projection, assuming that [begin [to eat]] is a complex predicate. But I am now convinced by Marco Haverkort that the lowering effect in (17) is due, not to the trace of the moved verb, but to a sentence-final negative high tone. This tone is also seen in negative WH-questions, where it is borne by an interrogative element [e], producing irrealis aspect predicate-internally:

21a. Mâ bū á gẹ̄kū é? 'What arrived/has arrived at market?'
WH-thing arrive market IRR

b. Câ gɛ̄ dí sáká gɛ̄ é? (*gɛ̄, *gɛ́) 'Who didn't eat/hasn't eaten rice?'
WH NEG eat rice NEG IRR

Wh-extraction creates an island, so that Aspect is trapped within the lexical projection.

The final high tone seen in these contours also appears, apparently optionally, in negative clauses with a final NP which ends in a nonhigh tone.

22. Mɔ̀ gā á gẹ̄kú / gẹ̄kū. 'I didn't arrive/haven't arrived at market'
1sg NEG arrive market

If this phenomenon is related to variable binding, reminiscent of effects discussed by Haïk 1988, the subject-WH counterpart of (17) should show the Meeuwsen-type lowering, thus predicting (23). [Note: (23) has not been observed, but is hypothetical for the time being.]

23. Cá dá sákā dī é? 'Who (has) started to eat rice?'
WH begin rice eat

In serial constructions, aspectual elements are obligatorily doubled as in (24):

24a. M á bō̩ sákā ó lō̩ Yàpí. 'I will give rice to Yapi'
1sg **FUT** take rice **IMPF** give

b. Yàpí gó ō̩ ọ́ sẹ́ gé ē yí. 'Yapi won't be able to go'
NEG FUT have power **NEG FUT** go

c. Mà gó ō̩ ọ́ sẹ́ gó ō̩ bọ́ sákā gó ō̩ lọ́ Yàpí. 'I won't be able to give
1sg **NEG FUT** have power **NEG FUT** take rice **NEG FUT** give rice to Yapi'

The doubled aspect-word is an exact copy in negative sentences (24b-c), although not in affirmative sentences, e.g. (24a). If serial constructions are complex predicates composed of adjoined lexical projections, then aspect copying shows that Verb movement is required by something other than Nominative Case assignment, for a single instance of Aux in second position would suffice to Casemark a single subject. If subject agreement were operating in this language, one might argue that each verb in a serial construction has to bear the same φ-features, perhaps as a condition on same-subject interpretation. But the agreement option is not morphologically exercised in Àbɛ .

I propose that the "serial aspect copying" in (24) is forced for the same reason that verb movement is exceptionless in the language: there is no [+delimited] aspect morpheme, and serial constructions contain multiple lexical projections, each of which contains a token of this aspect feature (whether inherently or compositionally).

Welmers 1977 (cited by Marchese 1982) records a similar fact in Western Kru:

25. Ọ ò mū sāyè pi-ì mŭ. 'He's going to cook meat' (Dewoin)
3sg IMPF **FUT** meat cook-'NOM' **FUT**

I would be surprised only if such doubling occurred with a [+ delimited] (i.e. perfective) aspect morpheme. If so, then some sort of Infl to Asp lowering would be the remaining possibility.

3.1.3 Ìgbo

In Ìgbo, Émènanjọ 1981 identifies Aux-like items which mean 'before, previously' (cf. data (44) in Chapter 2.) However, in no dialect is Tense an obligatory constituent of Infl.[5] Rather, if no Asp morpheme projects in a sentence, the factative interpretation arises: past if eventive, nonpast if noneventive. And, factativity, like overt aspect but unlike tense, interacts with transitivity.

Ìgbo dialects vary in the surface patterns of elements occupying argument positions. For some speakers, every indicative verb must have a complement, whether an object or a Bound Verb Complement. If both occur, the predicate is emphatic. This gives a paradigm like (26).

[5] A case might be made for obligatory subject Agr in dialects like Ómahyá (Green and Ígwè 1963) with its 'subject tone flop' rule made famous by Goldsmith 1976. However, this claimed subject Agr like the Yorùbá "HTS" is invariant for all categories of person and number, hence involves no φ-feature.

26a. Ézè ri-ri jí. 'Eze ate yam'
eat-ØAsp yam

b. Ézè ri-ri e-rí. 'Eze ate (something = unspecified edible entity)'
eat-ØAsp BVC

c. Ézè ri-ri jí é-ri. 'Eze really ate yam'
eat-ØAsp yam BVC

With a perfective verb, the BVC is emphatic/optional, whether or not an object is present, cf. (27):

27a. Ézè e-rí-e-le jí. 'Eze has eaten (of) yam'
Agr-eat-OVS-Perf[6] yam-Gen

b. Ézè e-ri-e-le (*e-ri). 'Eze has eaten (something = an entire meal)'
Agr-eat-OVS-Perf BVC

c. Ézè e-rí-e-le (jí) é-ri. 'Eze has really eaten (of yam)'
Agr-eat-OVS-Perf yam-Gen BVC

Further discussion of the aspectual properties of the BVC can be found in §3.2.

Some eventive verbs do not occur obligatorily with the open vowel suffix in the perfective, and this minimal contrast further clarifies the function of the OVS as an aspectual delimitor.

28a. Ézè a-hụ́-la yá. 'Ézè has seen her/him/it'
en-see-Perf 3sg.Gen

b. Ézè a-hụ́-ọ-la yá. 'Ézè has already (once) seen her/him/it'
en-see-OVS-Perf 3sg.Gen (Nwáchukwu 1976a: 70)

29a. Ì nú-na [hwén mé-re nì]? 'Have you heard what happened'
hear-Perf thing Rel.happen-ØAsp Rel

b. Ì nú-ọ-na [hwén mé-re nì]? 'Have you yet heard what happened'
hear-OVS-Perf thing Rel.happen-ØAsp Rel (Nwáchukwu 1976a: 81)

30a. Ézè a-gá-la ahyá. 'Ézè has gone to market'
en-see-Perf market.Gen

b. Ézè a-gá-a-la ahyá. 'Ézè has gone to market and returned'
en-see-OVS-Perf market.Gen (Winston 1973: 176; Nwáchukwu 1976a: 81)

Some verbs apparently do not take the OVS; and at least some of these non-OVS verbs have what looks like a frozen form of the OVS in their internal lexical structure:

31a. Ézè a-gwá (*-a)-la yá. 'Ézè has told her/him'
en-tell -OVS-Perf 3sg.Gen (Williamson 1984d: 2)

b. Ézè e-nye (*-e)-le yá. 'Ézè has given her/him [something]'
en-tell -OVS-Perf 3sg.Gen

c. *gwá* 'tell' < *gún* 'sing/count' + OVS '[delimited]'

d. *nyé* 'give' < *ní*[7] 'give' + OVS '[delimited]'

For yet other verbs, there is apparently a choice in some dialects between forming the perfective with the OVS or the *-rV*. Notice that these verbs independently have the potential to be stative, and that the OVS perfective converts them into delimited events:

[6] The southern Igboid perfective suffix with its harmonic alternants *-(é)le/-(ó)le/-(á)la/-(ǫ́)la*, analyzes as two morphemes. The harmonizing OVS *-é/-ó/-á/-ǫ́* semantically signals a delimited event in (30). The OVS occurs in a number of other verb forms, all of which assign Genitive ("associative") Case to the direct object: imperatives, subjunctives and noninitial verbs in a serial construction. The toneless, perfective morpheme *-le/-la* also occurs in the negative imperative. In most of northern Igboid, the perfective suffix is *-g(w)o* (in Ẹ́hụgbò, *-wo*), probably the aspectual verb *-g(w)ú* 'finish' plus the "open vowel suffix" *-ó*. Note also that Meinhof *et al.* (1932: 45) describe a perfect suffix *-ile* in Proto-Bantu.

[7] *ní* is actually the synchronic form of the verb 'give' in Ẹ́hụgbò.

32a. Ézè e-bú-ru-le jí. 'Ézè has carried/been carrying yams'
en-carry-∅Asp-Perf yam.Gen (Williamson 1984d: 3)
b. Ézè e-bú -o-le jí. 'Ézè had carried yams'
en-carry-OVS-Perf yam.Gen (Williamson 1984d: 3)
33a. Ézè á-nọ̀-ọ́-la ǹgá à. 'Ézè has stayed/been staying here'
en-be.at-∅Asp-Perf here.Gen (Williamson 1984d: 3)
b. Ézè á-nọ̀-ọ́-la ńga à. 'Ézè had stayed here'
en-stay-OVS-Perf here.Gen (Williamson 1984d: 3)

3.1.4 Yorùbá [notes]

If future constructions are examples of irrealis aspect (thus Oyèlárǎn 1982) rather than of Tense (as usually assumed in extensional semantic studies, cf. Johnson 1981), Yorùbá has no Tense elements whatsoever. Awóyalé (1983, 1988) and Oyèlárǎn 1989 suggest that the H-tone which appears between subject and verb, and in certain infinitival control structures—called HTS in the literature—is subject Agr. This would explain the absence of factative temporal interpretation [+event] → [+past], since Infl is not empty. If Yorùbá Infl is projected by the HTS, but there is neither factative construction nor tense morphemes, this argues decisively against any UG claim that Tense must reside in Infl. Rather, since aspectless Yorùbá sentences are temporally ambiguous, the feature [αpast] is not projected; but the fact that temporal interpretation is still possible means that the feature is present somewhere, say in the Event position of the verb's argument structure.

3.1.5 Finite verbs in Indo-European

With the exception of Yorùbá Agr, Kru and Kwa are parametrically similar in having neither Tense nor Agreement as a morphological constituent of Infl. This contrasts with the situation in either Germanic or Romance, for example, where both elements are certainly present. However, although subject agreement in Indo-European is quite ancient, Tense morphology is widely regarded as an innovation in the family, which had originally just aspect. Kury|owicz (1964: 130) has argued that the daughter languages differ in the autonomy of Tense with respect to Aspect; he postulates the following morphological difference between Greek and Latin:

34a. Greek [Root + Aspect] + Tense Autonomous aspect, modified by Tense
b. Latin Root + [Aspect + Tense] Aspect as a modifier of autonomous Tense

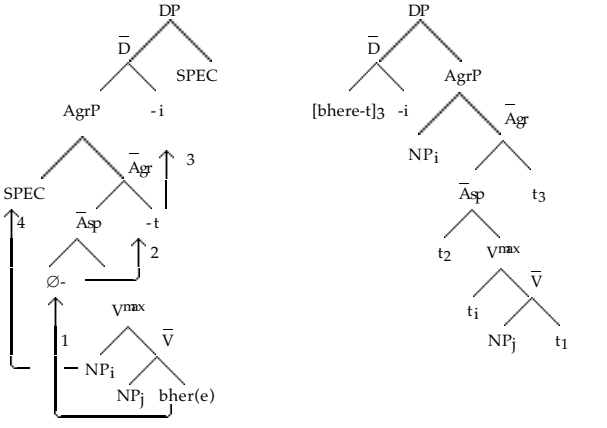
In Indo-European, a verb is 'finite' if it bears subject person Agr (Kury|owicz 1964: 24). It is this Infl type which underlies the standard view of infinitives as containing a Caseless null subject. However, in most IE branches (though not necessarily in the protolanguage), the form of the subject desinence depends on (is selected by) the aspectual category of the verb (Kury|owicz 1964: 124). This dependency argues that aspect is morphologically inside agreement. (As one is a prefix and one a suffix, there is no phonological "mirror principle" evidence which bears on this issue.) Leaving aside "injunctive" forms, and without speculating on the function of the root-final thematic vowel (e), 3sg. inflected forms of the verb / b h e r - / 'carry' would have the following structure:

35. imperfective: 's/he carries' aorist: 's/he (has) carried'
[∅ + Root] + primary desinence [augment + Root] + secondary desinence
[bher(e)] -ti [e-bher(e)] -t

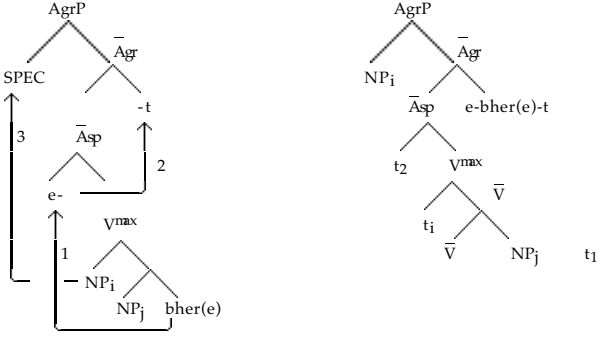
Watkins 1969 further analyses the primary desinence *-ti* as composed of 3sg. (secondary) agreement *-t* plus a deictic particle *-i* with the semantic or pragmatic value "hic et nunc". That is, the imperfective is marked for Tense, a deictic or referential category, by a morpheme which also functions as a Determiner; the aorist is marked for aspect; and both forms carry agreement.

Head-movement can derive the surface VSO order said (by Kury|owicz 1964: 132) to be typical of *-t-i* verbs, and SOV order otherwise, with two assumptions. First: the minimal assumption that an affix projects its complement directionally, i.e. that the Agr suffix *-t* is right-headed, and the Asp prefix *-e* (in 36b) is left-headed. In (36), I have projected Specifier positions for AgrP, although these are string-vacuous in effect. Second: the *-i* particle in (36a), like other Kase-marking determiners, projects an *obligatory* (nonvacuous) Specifier position, on the side opposite its selected complement. The extraposed surface position of AgrP in (36a) indicates that, within a DP, this maximal projection is a potential argument, as befits its essentially nominal character.[8]

36a. imperfective: 'NP$_i$ carries NP$_j$'



b. aorist: 'NP$_i$ carried NP$_j$'



[8] To maximize the congruence of syntax and morphology, the trees in (36) are three-dimensional.

3.2 "Verb focus" in the typology of Kwa and Haitian

In this section, I attempt to establish the following, mutually implicated points.

Moved verb-focus (also known as 'predicate cleft') is a species of XP-movement. That is, despite various claims by Piou 1982a, Koopman 1984, Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990, Lefebvre 1990, Lefebvre and Larson 1990, it is not an X^0 dependency (i.e. head-movement, in particular the movement of V^0 into some Comp position). Across the languages which have this construction, the category of the moved, focused constituent is demonstrably either nominalized-VP (in Yorùbá, Gbè and Ìgbo) or nominalized-V^0 (in Vātà and Haitian). Ìgbo also exemplifies a second verb focus construction in which the nominalized-V^0 is a bound form and hence necessarily remains *in situ*. For a free nominal form, whether Nom-VP or Nom-V^0, movement is the general option, though some *in situ* forms occur under special conditions.

Second, the deverbal nominal which appears in verb focus (whether moved or not) is thematically licensed as the aspectual, "event" argument of the verb (discussed most fully and recently by Tenny 1987). Syntactically, it corresponds to the "abstract object clitic" posited by Roeper and Keyser 1991. If the nominal remains *in situ*, it exhibits various transitivity effects, as befits an object clitic.

Third, if it is a free form, and unless it is licensed *in situ* by a VP-internal modifier, the event nominalization moves to [SPEC, CP] (the position of a moved focus). There, it is licensed by Kase in one of two possible ways (cf. Fukui 1986):

- by ECM from a "canonical" copula (a copula whose topic precedes it) that binds a null complementizer (Haitian *se*);
- by SPEC-head agreement with a null complementizer (in Vātà);

or else by some combination of these two mechanisms:

- by an overt complementizer (Ìgbo *kà*) optionally preceded by a canonical copula (*wụ́*);
- by a complementizer (Yorùbá *ni*) which in some elliptical examples looks like an "inverse" copula (a copula whose topic follows it, cf. Ruwet 1974, Moro 1990).

The above considerations go some way towards accounting for the surface patterns of "verb focus" in Kwa/Kru and Haitian, in a morphology-driven *Barriers*-type syntactic framework.

From this account, a number of reanalyses follow in the individual languages—reanalyses which are independently desirable. Some of these concern the morphology of the focused verb:

- the intransitive (antipassive) nature of the Ìgbo perfective;
- the transitive status of the obligatorily reduplicated 'intransitive' in Gbè;
- the definiteness of the topicalized gerund in Vātà;
- the extraction asymmetry of instrumental and resultative serial constructions in Yorùbá;
- the relationship between lexical and syntactic V→N conversion in Haitian;

Other consequences of the analysis concern the morphology of cleft constructions:

- the surface status of the Yorùbá complementizer *ni* as an inverse copula;
- the status of Haitian *se* as a canonical copula (and not a noun);
- the status of Haitian *ki* as a subject resumptive (and not a complementizer);
- the presence of Comp (*nị́*) and canonical copula (*dụ́*) in the internal structure of Ìgbo *wh*-words.

From a Euro-American viewpoint, 'predicate cleft' is exotic, as shown by the pitfalls of its translation. In Germanic and Romance, as in Kwa/Kru and Haitian, focus-movement—as opposed to topicalization—has the form of a *wh*-dependency or cleft (cf. Higgins 1973, Cinque 1983, van Haaften *et al*. 1983). However, despite the general availability of a [SPEC, CP] landing site for focused elements in Germanic and Romance, verb focus in those languages is not achieved by any type of category movement; nor is it marked by a cognate object *in situ*, as happens most regularly in Ìgbo. Thus, attempts to translate the Haitian example in (37a) either with a clefted gerund (37b) or with an *in situ* cognate object (37c) fail spectacularly:[9]

37a. Se pati li pati. (leave.Nom 3sg leave)
b. *It is leaving that s/he left. ?*It is leaving that s/he did.
c. *S/he left a leaving. *S/he left a departure.

(37a) translates successfully in English either by contrastive stress (38a), or with an emphatic adverb (38b).

38a. S/he *left* (despite being expected to stay).
b. S/he really/certainly/indeed left.

The grammaticality contrast in (37) suggests that the property which permits moved verb focus in Kwa/Kru and Haitian is predictable from the lexicon as a whole: cross-category redundancy (cf. Voorhoeve 1981, Hutchison 1990). This property is absent in Romance/Germanic, not in the sense that gerunds or zero-affix nominalizations are lacking there (they aren't), but in the deeper sense that the "mixed" lexical categories of adjective (standardly [+V, +N]) and preposition ([-V, -N]) are well established in those languages, are marginal in Kwa and Haitian, and stand in the way of 'event-connectedness' between verbs and nouns in languages which have them. Category change in deverbal nominals in Romance/Germanic involves flipping two lexical features: [+V, -N] ⇒ [-V, +N], while in Kwa/Kru and Haitian it flips only one: [+V] ⇒ [-V], with [±N] being redundant. (Alternative feature representations for the major lexical categories, to be considered in due course, can state this basic typological difference more perspicuously.)

Koopman (1984: 184 *fn*. 1) cites anecdotal reports of 'predicate cleft' in Italian and Hungarian. To the list can be added Hebrew (cf. Ornan 1969) and especially Chinese (the "A-not-A" type of yes/no question described by Huang 1982: 277-85). Baltin 1991 presents a unified account of the Vātà and Chinese constructions, framed (as is Larson and Lefebvre's 1990 account of Haitian) in terms of the derivational level of Logical Form. Crucially, Baltin assumes (following Koopman) that both constructions are instances of head movement. The contrary assumption, argued for in this paper, leads to the independently desirable result that only s-structure need be consulted in order to assign logical interpretations to 'predicate cleft' constructions in particular, and to focus constructions in general. If defensible, my result goes along with other arguments that LF is unnecessary in the architecture of the grammar (Williams 1986), or more radically that grammar does not have a derivational architecture at all (Koster 1987). For these reasons, the question of nominalization in 'predicate cleft' is far from pedantic.

A final summary point: the typological similarity between Kwa/Kru and Haitian (vs. Germanic and Romance) with respect to verb focus casts doubt on the notion that there is a language

[9] *In situ* cognate objects occur in English, but with an adverbial effect which is distinct from verb focus. This explains why they must be modified, e.g. *Henry died a *(painful) death*, cf. Massam (1990: 182).

type uniquely composed of "creoles". In the conclusion of this section, it is suggested that the enduring appeal of the "creole" view, recently popularized by Bickerton, derives not from grammatical theory and the study of "I-language" (intensional or mental grammar in the sense of Chomsky 1986b) but from the study "E-language" (extensional language as individual behavior) and from the sociology of knowledge, race and class. That is, "creole languages" exist only insofar as we assume, contrary to observational data, that there is a unique linguistic correlate to the category of "creole person", which is to say a slave in an ethnocidal setting.

3.2.1 The verb focus type of *wh*-movement

Discussing Yorùbá in particular, Manfredi and Lánírán 1988 claim that the 'predicate cleft' construction, a type of verb focus or emphasis involving a *wh*-dependency, is not a species of verb movement as claimed by Koopman 1984. Rather, as has been long established in the descriptive literature on that language (e.g. in Bámgbóṣé ed. 1972), predicate cleft involves movement of a nominal argument which denotes the event of the verb. Adjacent to the verb at d-structure (by hypothesis), the event argument occupies one of two s-structure positions. In Yorùbá and Vātà it is fronted to [SPEC, CP], exceptionlessly or nearly so. Hutchison (1989, 1990) shows that, while movement is the favored option for verb focus in Haitian (the other language cited by Koopman, following Piou 1982a, as exemplifying "the *wh*-type of verb movement"), the event nominal can remain *in situ* within the VP under special conditions. In Ìgbo, both moved and *in situ* types freely occur, depending on the status of the nominalization. If it is a free form (gerund), it moves to [SPEC, CP]. If it is a bound form, it predictably stays *in situ* (V-to-I movement creates surface non-adjacency between the verb and the complement, but the latter remains adjacent to the verb's trace). The same critique applies to various non-movement (i.e. construal) versions of the Piou/Koopman V^0 analysis (e.g. Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990, Lefebvre 1990, Larson and Lefebvre 1990).[10]

Like the Piou/Koopman analysis, the analysis of the clefted element as an underlying nominal complement superficially involves a "copy" of the verb. But, pace Piou/Koopman, there is a change of syntactic category which must be accounted for somehow or other. Koopman's moved "verb" mysteriously loses its tone and thematic content, leaving behind a fully toned and θ-assigning "copy". For Manfredi and Lánírán, on the other hand, it is the "copy", appropriately nominalized, which moves from one NP-position to another (iff it is a free form; otherwise it stays *in situ*). Admittedly, the language-internal evidence for nominalization of the clefted element is fairly subtle in Haitian, and far from overwhelming in Vātà, but there is no excuse for ignoring the evidence of nominalization in Yorùbá, which is represented in a rich descriptive tradition, and which Koopman nevertheless dismisses in a footnote, or for failing to exercise intellectual curiosity with regard to other Kwa/Kru languages where nominalization is also clear. And, the blatant awkwardness of any straightforward translation of this construction into Indo-European languages should have signalled the theoretician that word-for-word glosses in French or English would not convey the essence of the matter, no matter one's *Sprachgefühl*. In retrospect, it seems clear that the typological similarity between Germanic and Kru with respect to V-to-I movement was a boon to Koopman in her ground-breaking theoretical work, but that the lack of an equal resemblance with regard to 'predicate cleft' was correspondingly an impediment to understanding.

[10] This critique does not affect Koopman's "NP type of verb movement" already discussed (in §3.1).

Mufwene 1987 shows that nominalization is fundamental to 'predicate cleft' in many African and Caribbean languages. As he observes, the empirical issue is whether there exist any predicate clefts which do not involve nominalization. I report below that, in Kwa/Kru and Haitian at any rate, the answer (so far at least) is no. In Godie (Vātà's close neighbor), Yorùbá, Gbè and Ìgbo, the nominal status of the clefted predicate is shown by an overt nominalizing affix. In Vātà there is no such affix, but the effect of V→N conversion is nevertheless marked by overt morphology (cf. Koopman's own description and that of Marchese 1978). The only controversial case is Haitian, where, although there is no overt nominal morphology in predicate cleft, there is syntactic evidence for the nominal status of the clefted element.

The analysis of moved verb focus as involving nominalization clarifies its typological relationship with *in situ* verb focus, where the event argument also has nominal properties and is clearly distinct from the verb. While *in situ* verb focus is a marginal option in most of Kwa/Kru and in Haitian, it is the *main* option in Ìgbo. In offering a unified analysis of the moved and *in situ* variants of verb focus, the nominalization hypothesis also makes verb focus relevant to the larger question of what permits or requires syntactic movement (in this case *wh*-movement). By contrast, the Piou/Koopman V^0 analysis obscures this typology and raises two conceptual problems:

39a. Unlike other instances of category movement, whether XP-movement to a Kase position, or head-to-head (X^0) movement, the focused "verb" leaves no gap.

b. Unlike other instances of category movement, the focused "verb" always undergoes a derivational process which removes some properties of a full verb.

In the face of this refractory evidence, a V^0 analysis must maintain that there really is a gap, and deny that the fronted element undergoes some kind of category change. As to the first point, Koopman (1984: 170) suggests that the expected gap is filled by a resumptive verb, lexicalizing the trace to satisfy the ECP. But this is implausible in Vātà: the supposed "resumptive" copy is the sole token of the full lexical verb in the sentence. On the second point, Koopman (1984: 155) admits that

> [t]he focused verb merely consists of the segmental specifications of the verb, without its tonal specifications. …The focused verb cannot be accompanied by any of its complements, indicating that the focused verb is somehow exempt from the θ-criterion.

That is, the focused element differs from a lexical verb in both form and content. If the verb *in situ* were really resumptive, it is mysterious why it is the moved element—and not the supposed resumptive (lexicalized trace)—which is reduced both phonetically and semantically.

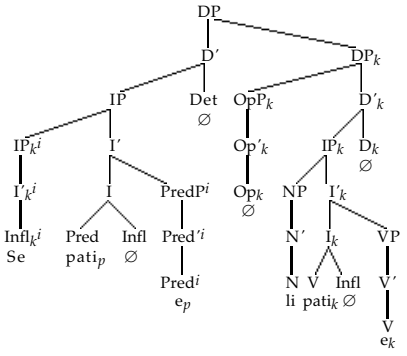
In various nonmovement versions of the V^0 analysis (e.g. Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990, Lefebvre and Larson 1990), these problems remain. The evidence of category change remains unaccounted for, while the structural difficulties are if anything greater. If a predicate cleft like (40a) involves a V^0, it must have a different structure from a nominal cleft like (40b).

40a. Se pati li pati. 'S/he *left*'
leave 3sg leave

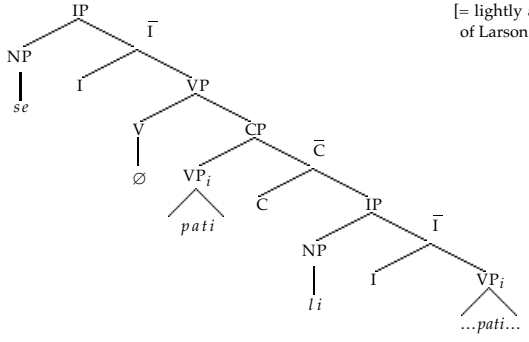
b. Se pen li manje. 'It is bread that s/he ate'
bread 3sg leave

For Koopman 1984, there were few constraints on what could appear under S''. For Chomsky 1986a, however, V^0 can neither move to [SPEC, CP] nor be base-generated there. To preserve the *Barriers* assumptions, therefore, Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990 treat (40a) as a kind of extraposition with a "sentential pronoun" (*se*), cf. (41a). Lefebvre and Larson 1990 make (40a) look more like other focus clefts, but only by implausibly generating *se* in an NP position, cf. (41b).

41a. [= simplified version of ex. (14) from Lumsden and Lefebvre (1990: 224)]



b. [= lightly adapted from ex. (34b) of Larson and Lefebvre (1990: 7)]



(41a) depicts a major structural difference between predicate cleft (40a) and other *wh*-dependencies such as NP clefts (40b). (41b) draws a closer structural parallel between the two types of clefts, but still treats the syntactic dependency of 'predicate clefts' as unique, sui generis, handled by a special 'rule' of LF-construal.[11]

Alternatively, if the clefted 'predicate' is nominal, then (40a) and (40b) have similar structures. (40a) would correspond to (42a), and (40b) would correspond to (42b):

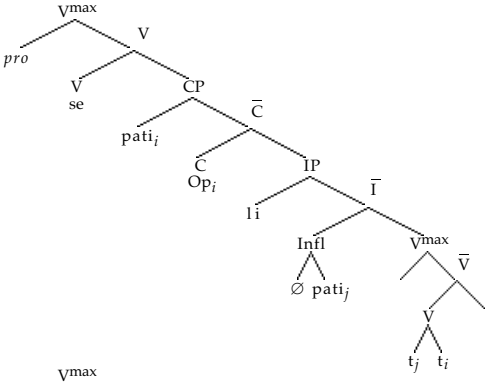
[11] Awóbùlúyì 1978 views all focus (*wh*-) constructions as NPs (DPs); thus, he equates the basic structure of the object relative in (i) with that of the object focus construction in (ii):

i. Ẹran$_j$ ni Bọ́lá sè t$_j$ tí ó sì tà t$_j$. 'It is the meat that Bọ́lá cooke and then sold'
meat Comp cook rel 3sg then sell [i.e. no other meat]

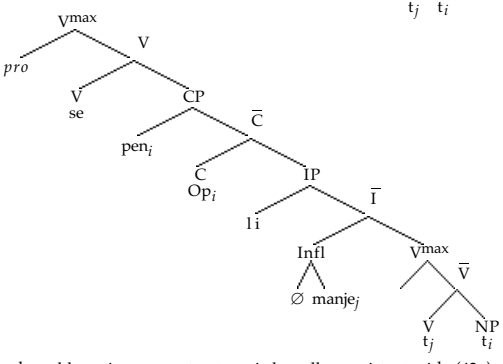
ii. Ẹran$_j$ ni Bọ́lá sè t$_j$ tí ó tà t. 'It is meat that Bọ́lá cooked and sold'
meat Comp cook rel 3sg sell [i.e. not yam]

Awóbùlúyì's proposal, effectively a more radical version of the analysis in (6a), is criticized for Yorùbá by Owólabí 1982, and for Haitian by Koopman (1982b: 221-24).

42a.



b.



(41b), though problematic as an s-structure, is broadly consistent with (42a). Even (41a) has a few points in common with and (42a). All three structures are agnostic as to the origin of the surface subject (inside or outside VP). All three are consistent with V^0-movement to null Infl.[12] Both (41a) and (42a) require empty operator binding to license the potentially unbounded dependency between the clefted element and the lowest VP. But on this last point, a difference emerges.

The claim that Haitian *wh*-movement involves a null operator in Comp was made by Koopman (1984: 183) for non-subject extraction, so there is independent motivation for null Comp in predicate cleft. Below I argue for a null Comp in Haitian subject extraction as well, contra Koopman 1982b. Independent motivation does not exist for the corresponding ∅ element in (41a): the higher null Det.

This leaves the basic difference between (41a) and (42a), which is slightly blurred by the compromise representation in (41b). Maintaining the nominalization analysis allows an identical structure for all focus clefts. This permits the generalization that the focus interpretation arises compositionally from the pragmatics of *se* as a "canonical" copula (Ruwet 1974), i.e. a copula whose

[12] In Haitian, Ìgbo, Vãtà and (apparently) Gbè, null Infl is "factative": eventive predicates are interpreted as [+past], noneventives as [-past] (Welmers 1973, Ézikèójìàkụ 1979, Damoiseau 1982, Koopman 1984). In Yorùbá, Infl is non-null, there is no V-to-I and no factative effect (Déchaine 1990).

topic (a nonfocus) precedes it, and whose focus follows it. Further, a subpart of (42a-b) is relevant to other *wh*-dependencies—relatives and *wh*-questions—in Haitian and (modulo the lexicalization of Comp) many other languages. In different ways, both (41a) and (41b) obscure all of these points.

To deny (7a), for example by maintaining (41a) or (41b), entails loss of generality with respect to form (typology of long-distance dependencies) as well as interpretation (compositional meaning of focus constructions). Thus, the conceptual cost of a V^0 analysis by construal as in (41a) or (41b) is not less than that of Koopman's original V^0 movement analysis (which at least had the virtue of simplicity). To maintain (42a), and with it the numerous consequences listed above, I must show that any special syntactic properties of predicate cleft, compared to other instances of *wh*-movement, follow from independent parameters. The two main parameters are: the form of deverbal nominalization (§3.2.2) and the licensing of [SPEC, CP] (§3.2.3).

3.2.2 Nominal morphology of the event argument

For Kwa/Kru and Haitian, the main parameter relevant to verb focus is the deverbal morphology of the focused nominal element. Its surface position *in situ* (the position of t_i in (42a) above) or in [SPEC, CP] depends mainly on its status as bound/free. This in turn depends on the form of nominalization (conversion or affixation) and its domain (the affix may select either X^0 or XP).

Ìgbo

In Ìgbo, the nominal element in the most well known verb focus is formed by X^0-affixation. The prefixed, bound verb complement (hereafter BVC) occurs in situ, at the end of the verb projection. For eventive verbs only, there is an additional possibility: a reduplicated gerund in [SPEC, CP].[13] In this section, I will concentrate on the BVC type, since the gerund type is more fully exemplified in Yorùbá; it is significant, however, that both types are possible in Ìgbo.

For the transitive, eventive verb *bú* 'carry [on the head]', the BVC *è-bú* can cooccur with the cognate object *íbu* 'load' (43a), or with a noncognate NP such as *ńgwongwo ọrụ́n* 'farm implements' (43b). If there is an applicative (here, benefactive) object, the BVC also bears the applied affix (43c). (N.b.: in some dialects, this verb is pronounced *vú* (*ivu*); the BVC is correspondingly *è-vú*.)

43a. Ézè bu-ru íbu è-bú. 'Eze really carried a load [on his head]'
carry-ØAsp load Nom-carry

b. Ézè bu-ru ńgwongwo ọrụ́n è-bú. 'Eze really carried farm implements [on his head]'
carry-ØAsp impedimenta work-Gen Nom-carry

c. Ézè bu-u-ru m íbu è-bú-ru. 'Eze really carried a load for me [on his head]'
carry-ØAsp-ØAsp 1sg load Nom-carry-ØAsp

The applied affix in (43c) is the same toneless stem reduplication—in this dialect *-rV*—which marks the otherwise bare main verb in (43a-b). As shown by its lack of a consistent tense interpretation for eventive and noneventive verbs (cf. 56a below), the *-rV* affix has no inherent lexical content, but is simply the spellout of a null head. (I notate this head as ØAsp in the gloss.) In (43a-b), the null head is Infl, and *-rV* marks V-to-I movement. In (43c), two *-rV* reduplications cooccur because there are two instances of movement to a null head. As described by Green and Ígwè (1963: 57) and confirmed by Nwáchukwu (1982, 1987) and Íhịọ́nụ́ 1988, an *-rV-rV* sequence reduces in most dialects to *-V-rV*. Thus we have [bù-u-ru] in (43c), from underlying /bù-ru-ru/.

[13] The clefted gerund type of verb focus has not been reported in the Ìgbo literature. However, Ụ́ Íhịọ́nụ́ informs me of examples like (i-ii), where the gerund is formed with high front vowel prefix bearing L:

(i) Ì-rí-rí kà Ézè rí-rí ákpụ ahụ̀. 'Eze really ate that ákpụ'
Nom-Redup-eat Comp eat-ØAsp fermented.cassava Det

(ii) Ị́-tʃí-ta kà Ézè ta-ra ụgbá ahụ̀. 'Eze really chewed that oilbean'
Nom-Redup-chew Comp chew-ØAsp oilbean Det

The surface discontinuity in (43) between the verb and BVC reflects V-to-I head movement. In the Ìgbo "factative" construction, which lacks any overt aspectual morphology, Infl is realized as a dummy reduplication of the verb. (In the "Central" dialects, this reduplication has the form *-rV*.) Following Íhịọ́nụ́ 1989, BVC-stranding at the right edge of the VP can be represented as in (44a). With a applicative verb, there is multiple head movement and a complex BVC formed not from the inner V^0 but from the outer V^0 (which includes the lexical *-rV*), as schematized in (44b).

44a. *d-structure* $[_{\bar{I}}$ *-rV* … $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ V^0 BVC $]]]$
s-structure $[_{\bar{I}}$ V^0_i*-rV* … $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ t_i BVC $]]]$
↑——head movement——┘

b. *d-structure* $[_{\bar{I}}$ *-rV* … $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ *-rV* $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ V^0 BVC $]]]]]$
s-structure $[_{\bar{I}}$ V^0_i*-rV* … $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ t_i*-rV* $[_{\bar{V}}$ NP $[_{V^0}$ t_i $]]$ BVC $]]]$
↑————————┘ ↑————————┘

In either case, the BVC complements the verb below the word level—another way of saying it is bound—so it can't move from its d-structure position. (The same behavior occurs with Germanic prepositional particles, cf. example (55) below.) The V^0, a free form, moves to Infl to come within the scope of a referentialprojection, thereby stranding the BVC in final position within the $\bar{V}$.

The BVC takes a 'polar' tone prefix (L for a H verb, H for a L verb), which is syntactically significant: all free deverbal forms in the language (infinitive, gerund, agent noun…) involve affixes with inherent tone which does not depend on the tone of the verb root.

If the lexical object is suppressed, Émènanjọ 1984 observes that the BVC becomes obligatory, and loses the emphatic interpretation. Instead, it stands for an unspecified s-selected object (the "semantic constant" of Fischer 1971, as adopted by Hale and Keyser 1985).

45a. Ézè bu-ru è-bú. 'Eze carried [something carriable on the head]'
carry-ØAsp Nom-carry [*implication*: something he was expected to carry]

b. *Ézè bu-ru.
carry-ØAsp

In null lexical object in constructions like (45a), the BVC has the extra discourse implication of a null topic, above and beyond the verb focus seen in (43a). As noted in the gloss, the suppressed object of *-bú* 'carry' (45a) is an *expected* one. (I am grateful to Ụ́zọ̀ Íhịọ́nụ́ for clarifying this.)

Even for stative, notionally intransitive verbs such as *bù íbù* 'be fat' (in some dialects: *vù ívù*), the BVC functions just as in (45a): it substitutes for the lexical object; however, as an event argument, it introduces an inchoative interpretation (46b). Both Émènanjọ (1984: 33 *fn.* 3) and Nwáchukwu (1987: 20*f.*) observe a degree of surface complementarity between the BVC *è-bu* 'being fat' and the cognate object *íbù* 'fatness'. (46a) with the cognate object, and (46b) with the BVC, are not synonymous, but an emphatic reading occurs only with both complements present. The applicative is also possible with this verb, whether eventive or not, cf. (46c-d).

46a. Ézè bu-ru íbù. 'Eze is fat'
be.fat-ØAsp fatness

b. Ézè bu-ru e-bu.[14] 'Eze became fat'
be.fat-ØAsp Nom-be.fat

[14] Nwáchukwu (1987: 20) cites the BVC as *èbú*, a tone pettern which is specific to his part of Mbàlsén.

c. Ézè bu-u-ru m íbù. 'Eze is fat for my benefit'
be.fat-ØAsp-ØAsp 1sg fatness

d. Ézè bu-u-ru m e-bu-ru. 'Eze became fat for my benefit'
be.fat-ØAsp-ØAsp 1sg Nom-be.fat-ØAsp

Unlike what occurs with *bú* 'carry' (43a), the free object of *bù* 'be fat' cannot cooccur with a BVC, for example in an attempt to focus the verb:

47. *Ézè bu-ru íbù e-bu.
be.fat-ØAsp fatness Nom-be.fat

Instead, the focused form of a factative (ØAspect), stative verb can be produced only by adding a VP-internal nominal modifier to the cognate object, yielding adverbial force. In (48), the nominal modifier *ézɪgbo* 'genuine' signals verb focus by adding the adverbial meaning 'really'.

48. Ézè bu-ru ézɪgbo ɪbù. 'Eze is really fat'
be.fat-ØAsp genuine fatness

Although Nwáchukwu states that "the BVC fills the empty patient theme slot with intransitive verbs while retaining its emphatic meaning" (1987: 18), the second part of this description is falsified by examples with stative (noneventive) verbs like 'be fat' in (46b). Nwáchukwu himself shows that an intransitive stative verb can be focused (emphasized) by the BVC only in the perfective aspect, which independently induces an inchoative (eventive) meaning. The aspectual difference accounts for the emphatic interpretation of (49b).

49a. Ézè é-bù-rú-le ɪbù. 'Eze has been fat'
en-be.fat-Delimited-Perf fatness

b. Ézè é-bù-ó-le è-bu. 'Eze has really become fat'
en-be.fat-Delimited-Perf Nom-be.fat

The aspectual contrast of emphatic (49b) with unemphatic (46b) shows that the BVC has an emphatic (verb focus) reading only if it cannot lexicalise another argument: either the direct object (when it stands for an *expected* object as in (45a) above) or the inherent complement (as in (46b) above). This demonstrates the licensing of the BVC as an "event argument".

The specifically *nominal* status of the BVC is also shown morphologically: by its function as the complement of various auxiliaries, and as the base of the perfective verb form. In both constructions, a lexical object receives Genitive Case, which is spelled out by a high tone (in the "associative" construction). The BVC is labeled by Ìgbo grammarians as the "participle" just if it occurs as the complement of an aspectual or modal auxiliary (50a).[15] If it bears a perfective suffix as in (50b), it is called the "perfective verb base" (Émènanjọ 1978, 1981).

50a. Ézè na e-rí akpụ́. 'Eze usually eats/is eating [of] akpụ'[16]
Hab/Prog-Ø Nom-eat fermented.cassava-Gen

b. Ézè e-rí-e-le akpụ́. 'Eze has eaten [of] akpụ'
Nom-eat-Delimited-Perfective fermented.cassava-Gen

Note that, in both instances, the verb assigns Genitive Case to its θ-marked internal argument. That is, an Ìgbo perfective verb is intransitive (antipassive). The high tone spellout of the Genitive results in tonal downstep on the object, e.g. *ákpụ→ákpụ́* in (50). The same tonal alternation is found in the genitive ("associative") NP, e.g. (51a). In an ECM construction with the verb *mà* 'know' in (51b), θ-assigning to the left and assigning no Case, the BVC is also called a "participle".

[15] Nwáchukwu 1976 has cogent reservations about using the term *participle* to describe a bound form.

[16] In northern dialects, the habitual aux *nà* is ambiguous between habitual and progressive readings.

51a. ụ́tḥàra ákpụ́ 'cassava fufu' [= pounded food made of *ákpụ*]
pounded.food fermented.cassava-Gen

b. Ézè ma-ra ákpụ è-rí. 'Eze knows how to eat akpụ'
know-Ø fermented.cassava-Acc Nom-eat (literally: knows akpụ -eating)

A factative (Ø Aspect) verb assigns Accusative (structural) Case, with no tonal spellout:[17]

52a. Ézè ri-ri ákpụ . 'Eze ate akpụ'
eat-ØAsp fermented.cassava-Acc

b. Ézè ri-ri ákpụ è-rí. 'Eze really ate akpụ'
eat-ØAsp fermented.cassava-Acc Nom-eat (i.e.: he didn't leave it uneaten)

The fact that *è-rí* is known in the grammatical tradition by three or more different labels does not alter its formal and categorial identity in all the above contexts. As stated above, I follow Lieber in constraining homophony in a morpheme-based lexicon to those lexical entries which

> share *only* phonological representation… [and] have neither category, not semantic representation, nor any argument structure or diacritics in common. (1982: 179)

Unlike the factative (53a), the perfective does not require a surface object, (53b):

53a. Ézè ri-ri *(e-rí). 'Eze ate (something = an entire meal)'
eat-ØAsp Nom-eat [*implication*: something he was expected to eat]

b. Ézè e-rí-ele (è-rí). 'Eze has (really) eaten'
Agr-eat-event-Perf Nom-eat

That the interpretation of the Ìgbo BVC is sensitive to Aspect, is not surprising in comparison with Ẹ̀fɪ̀k, a neighboring Benue-Kwa language for which Cook 1989 observes a particularly close morphological relationship between focus and Aspect.

To summarize, the BVC is optional and has the verb focus interpretation under two conditions:

54a. The base verb assigns Accusative Case to an overt internal argument.
b. The base verb assigns Genitive Case (whether or not the internal argument is overt).

Otherwise the BVC is obligatory and correspondingly lacks its focus reading.

The only hope to account for these effects is with a syntactic representation that expresses the interaction of aspect and transitivity. Because the BVC is a bound form, Nwáchukwu 1987 claims that it originates adjacent to the verb, "inside" the direct object. The d-structure adjacency of the verb and the BVC is obscured by the verb's head movement to Infl, cf. (44). Developing this analysis, Íhɪ̀ǫ́nú posits an underlying OV order, although Ìgbo is overwhelmingly VO on the surface. A similar problem in English is discussed by Koster 1989 (following Emonds and others), and is motivated by similar data: though the verb's lexical complement occurs on its right, aspectual particles, prepositional idiom chunks and resultative adjuncts are obligatorily VP-final:

55a. She called him up. *She called up him.
b. John took his students to task. *John took to task his students.
c. She hammered it flat. *She hammered flat it.

Íhɪ̀ǫ́nú's (1989) analysis of Ìgbo as underlyingly OV accounts tor the order of internal arguments:

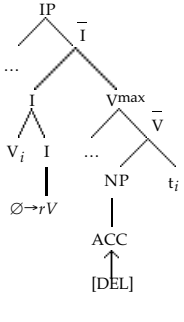
56. V (Appl-NP) { DO / IO DO / IC / DO IC / IO IC / *IO DO IC } (BVC)

abbreviations
Appl-NP applied affix+object
IO indirect object
DO direct object
IC inherent complement
BVC bound verb complement

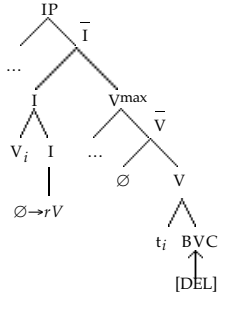
[17] My Case-based account identifies the category of all morphemes (in particular the "associative morpheme"), and provides a nonarbitrary analysis for observed tonal effects, cf. Chapter 1.

Adopting Íhìọ́nú's proposal, an explanation for the aspectual effects of the BVC can be constructed in terms of Tenny's (1987: 210) hypothesis that aspect determines "the mapping between cognitive (thematic) and syntactic structure" through the property of delimitedness (total affectedness). In (57), I notate the argument which functions as the aspectual delimitor as [DEL].

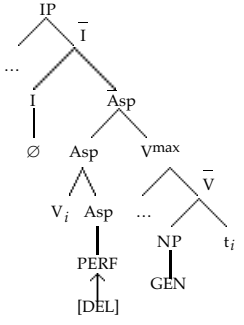
57a. *transitive factative* e.g. (43a, 52a)



b. *lexically intransitive factative* e.g. (45a, 53a)



c. *perfective (antipassive)* e.g. (43b, 53b)



The BVC is nonemphatic in (57b) because there is no other delimitor. If a BVC is projected in either (57a) or (57c), with a delimitor already present, it would be interpreted as emphatic (= verb focus).

2.2 Vātà and Haitian: V→N conversion

Koopman 1984, following Piou 1982a, claims that predicate cleft is formed by V^0 movement to a position outside S′ (IP). Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990 rephrase the Koopman's analysis. But, as noted, Koopman herself cites two reasons to doubt that the moved element in Vātà is V^0: loss of lexical tone and loss of *θ*-grid. A nominalization account expects these two properties.

There is further evidence for morphological conversion in Vātà predicate cleft. Koopman shows that most inflectional elements are "particles in Infl" which block V-to-I movement, i.e. they are XP-governors: Auxes which select VP. The one exception is "generic/imperfective" aspect, which applies to V^0 and which does not block V-to-I. "Generic/imperfective" is the only aspect which is not formed with an aux (XP-governor). And "generic/imperfective" is the only verb form which involves deletion of lexical tone features (although the deletion is partial, cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1982, Kaye 1989). So it is plausible that an operation which deletes tone affects V^0.

Vātà XP-nominalizations ("gerunds") have no loss of lexical tone, *θ*-marking ability or the ability to assign structural Case). In Vātà, a lexical complement is projected to the left:

58. [$_{DP}$ Kòfí [$_{\overline{D}}$ ń'ì [$_{NP}$ [$_{VP}$ sa̍ká pī] -lì]]]
'Kofi's rice-preparing'
's rice-ACC prepare Nom
(Koopman 1984: 20)

(58) shows that morphological conversion is not the only nominalizing process in Vātà. Why doesn't Vātà form verb focus nominalizations with the gerund, since the gerund is focused in Gbè and Yorùbá? Well, maybe it does. Certainly, predicate cleft can involve a gerund in other Kru languages: Godie (the immediate western neighbor of the Dida dialect cluster, which contains Vātà, cf. Marchese 1978: 4-10; Kaye 1982) as well as Tepo (the westernmost Ivoirian Kru language). Marchese cites the following Tepo example from Dawson 1975:

59. [Mu-mu-ẽ] n di mu. 'You will certainly go'
go-go-ing 2sg Fut go Marchese (1978: 182)

For Vātà, Koopman (1984: 154) gives a near-minimal contrast between verb focus (60a) and a topicalized gerund (60b):

60a. [Ngɔ̄nʊ̄] ǹ wà nā ǹ kà ngɔ́nʊ́ à? 'Do you want to *sleep*?'
sleep.Nom 2sg want Comp 2sg Fut.aux sleep Q (Koopman's italics)

b. [Ngɔ́nú-lì]$_i$ mí ǹ wà t_i à? 'Is it sleeping you want?'(Koopman's trans.)
sleep-Nom it 2sg want Q 'Sleeping, is it what you want?'(a more literal trans.)

The gerund in (60b) is apparently topicalized and coindexed with a clefted, focused pronoun (*mí*). This suggests that the Vātà gerund is inherently definite, like the English "poss-*ing*" to which Koopman (1984: 21) explicitly compares it. The Yorùbá gerund, by contrast, can't take a possessor.

In Vātà as noted, the "clefted verb" loses its lexical tone and surfaces with mid (= default tone). There are no unclefted verbs which lose their tone. True, the lexical tone of a verb is simplified in the "imperfective/generic" form (Charette 1982: 248, Koopman 1984: 19), but the deletion is not total: simplified tone is not the same as tonelessness, which occurs only in predicate clefts.

There are other differences between the clefted and the "imperfective/generic" forms. In the latter, a high root vowel is lowered, whereas this lowering takes place in the clefted form only if the *in situ* verb is also "imperfective/generic" (Koopman 1984: 155). A third difference: Koopman notes that the clefted form loses its ability to *θ*-mark—but the "imperfective/generic" retains its *θ*-grid. Thus, numerous properties distinguish the "clefted verb" from any real verb, in Vātà.

In Haitian, unlike Vātà, there is no phonological indication of V→N conversion of the clefted element. Nevertheless, there is a variety of syntactic evidence. Filipovich 1987 shows that V→N applies freely in the lexicon just to intransitive verbs. For example, transitive *bwote* 'move' (like French *transporter*) in (61a) has a lexically intransitive form (like French *déménager*) as in (61b).

61a. Jak bwote chèz yo ale deyò. 'Jak moved the chairs outside'
move chair Det.pl go outside

b. Jak bwote ale nan Dorchester. 'Jak moved (i.e. his household) to Dorchester'
move go in

Filipovich (1987: 108*f.*) observes that V→N conversion is blocked, just if the object is expressed:

62a. *bwote chèz yo
move-Nom chair Det-pl

b. bwote Jak la 'Jak's moving (done by himself)'
move-Nom Det

No such constraint exists for the affix-mediated nominalization in (63):

63a. bwot-ay chèz yo '[the] moving of the chairs'
move-Nom chair Det-pl

e. bwot-ay Jak la 'Jak's moving (done by anyone)'
move-Nom Det

Appealing to Filipovich's generalization, Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990 point to the fact that even transitive verbs can occur in predicate cleft constructions, as evidence that the clefted form is not nominal. But this conclusion does not follow. For one thing, lexical intransitivity is not at stake in syntactic V→N conversion. Unlike what occurs in predicate clefts, the lexical operation is not semantically regular. Many derived nouns have an unpredictable, concrete meaning:

64.

danse	'(to) dance'	danse	'(a) dance'
dormi	'sleep'	dormi	'nap' OR 'sleep-salt in the eyes'
krache	'spit'	krache	'spittle' [saliva]
manje	'eat'	manje	'food'

By contrast, the nominal form in predicate cleft has a semantically regular, abstract (process) meaning, even for intransitive verbs. Lumsden and Lefebvre assume that the only possible analysis of the clefted instance of *manje* in (65) is the noun 'food'; they do not envision the additional possibility that it might be a productive nominalization roughly translatable as 'eating'.

65. Se manje li mange pen. 'S/he *ate* bread'
Cop eat.Nom 3sg eat bread

With regard to the latter possibility, Hutchison 1989 shows that Filipovich's constraint does not prevent other cases of nominalization in the syntax. Apart from predicate cleft (66a), there is also no transitivity restiction in the light verb construction (66b) and in the nearly synonymous "copy complement" construction (66c). Damoiseau (1982: 11) also cites nominalized *achte* and *bat* in the examples in (66d-e):

66a. Se te achte Mari te achte flè a. 'Mari *bought* these flowers'
Cop past Nom.buy Det past buy flower Det (Lefebvre and Lumsden 1990)

b. Jak pral fè yon ti achte/manje/dòmi/chante.
Asp do a little buy-Nom/hit-Nom/eat-Nom/sleep-Nom/sing-Nom
'Jak is going to do some shopping//eating/sleeping/singing'

c. Jak pral achte yon ti achte.
Jak pral manje yon ti manje.
Jak pral dòmi yon ti dòmi.
Jak pral chante yon ti chante.

d. Li pa nan achte kounyeya. 'S/he is not "into" buying (things) right now'
3sg Neg at buy-Nom now

e. Li bat li yon bat ki pa ti kras! 'S/he struck him/her a blow, not a tap!'
3sg hit 3sg Det hit-Nom *pro* Neg small bit

Filipovich cites *achte* as a verb which does not undergo V→N conversion in the lexicon, but it nevertheless appears in nominal form in (66b-d). This fact motivates the claim that *achte* is also nominal in the predicate cleft construction (66a), i.e. that (66a) has a structure like (42a).

Although Lefebvre and Lumsden cite the ability of the clefted element to occur with the overt tense element *te*, e.g. *te achte* in (66a), as selectional evidence that the clefted element is of the category V^0, Fauchois 1982 shows that *te* is equally possible with clefted nouns, e.g.:

67. Se te dlo yo ki te konn ap touye moun. 'It was these rivers that could kill people'
Cop past water pl *pro* past Mod Asp kill person (Fauchois 1982: 6)

In fact, there is no reason to suppose that *te* is a tense element, since Haitian also derives past tense readings with no overt 'past' morpheme via a factative effect (Damoiseau 1982, Déchaine 1991). As in many Kru languages (Welmers 1977), the Haitian 'past' morpheme appears to be an adverb, rather than a member of the inflectional category Tense (like English *-ed*).

Finally, the intransitivity involved in V^0 nominalization may well be a surface phenomenon. In addition to "object drop" as in (27b), Haitian has productive ergative formation (= "subject drop") as in (68), cf. Massam 1988.

68a. Jak koupe pen an. 'Jak cut the bread'
cut bread Det

b. Pen an koupe. 'The bread is/has been cut'
bread Det cut

The morphology of Haitian thus makes it unnecessary to maintain all these distinct types:

69. '*predicate cleft*'
Se te achte Mari te achte flè a. 'Mari *bought* these flowers'
Cop past Nom.buy Det past buy flower Det (Lefebvre and Lumsden 1990)

70. *redoublement verbale*
Limen li limen lanp lan… 'As soon as s/he lit the lamp…'
light-Nom 3sg light lamp Det (Piou 1982b: 153)

71. *XP clefts*
a. '*derived nominal' cleft*
Se desann dlo a ap desann. 'This water is *overflowing*'
Cop overflow-Nom water Det Asp overflow (Fauchois 1982: 6)

b. *NP cleft*
Se te dlo yo ki te konn ap touye moun. 'It was these rivers that could kill people' (Fauchois 1982: 6)
Cop past water pl *pro* past Mod Asp kill person

c. *PP cleft*
Se avek li mwen mache tou. 'It is also with her/him that I go'
Cop with 3sg 1sg proceed also (Fauchois 1982: 5)

Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990 imply that only in the type in (69) can the clefted element be accompanied by a Tense element; but this is not correct, as shown by (71b). They state two other *differentiæ specificæ* for the construction in (69), which are descriptively correct:

72a. No determiner or possessor can appear in the predicate cleft.
b. No resumptive verb (*fè* 'do' or *ye* 'be') can appear in the lower clause of a predicate cleft.

The point which Lumsden and Lefebvre do not consider is that these differences need not distinguish different structures, since they are based on independent thematic properties. Take (72a). With a syntactic nominalization, the potential possessor (external argument) is identical to the subject of the base verb, whereas the subject of a lexical nominalization could be thematically independent. In other words, (72a) follows from the Projection Principle, not from a structural difference. For (72b), a thematic condition is plausibly also at work: only a complete predicate can be pronominalized, and a predicate cleft with a nominalization of a transitive verb doesn't qualify, because the verb has overt arguments other than the event.

In sum, the clefted element in Haitian is not a verb. In fact, it displays the same thematic restriction as its Vātà counterpart: no θ-grid (other than possessor, which as an external argument is licensed indirectly). The failure of the "clefted verb" to retain a lexical complement, far from showing its verbal status as claimed by Lumsden and Lefebvre, is evidence for morphological conversion to N. In other words, the morphology of Haitian does not make it necessary to assign "predicate cleft" and "derived nominal cleft" to distinct structures (41a) and (41b). The single relevant difference between the Ìgbo bound verb complement and the (syntactic) Haitian/Vātà V→N nominalization is that the former is a bound form, and hence unavailable to undergo *wh*-movement (clefting).

Vātà attests a contrast similar to that between predicate cleft and "redoublement verbale". Koopman observes the presence of nominal morphology the latter type, which she calls a "verbal relative" and directly compares to the Haitian construction in (70). In the Vātà "verbal relative", "the preposed verb is obligatorily accompanied by a genitive 'subject' NP":

73. [$_{DP}$ Kòfí [$_{\bar{D}}$ nɩ́ɩ̀ [$_{CP}$ [$_{N}$ yī] [$_{IP}$ ɔ̍ yi̍-wá] -ɓɔ̍]] 'Hardly had Kofi arrived…'
's arrive 3sg arrive-Tns -Rel (Koopman 1984: 156)

In describing *redoublement verbale* as a relative construction, with a genitive subject, Koopman identifies two nominal properties of the "sentence initial verb". Yet she is apparently aware that the typological wall between "predicate cleft" and "the verbal relative" is not particularly solid:

> In W[est] African languages, at least as far as Kru and Kwa languages are concerned, verbal relatives seem to be more wide…spread than predicate cleft. The presence or absence of predicate cleft varies even in closely related languages. (1986: 257, *fn* 20)

For the V^0 analysis of predicate cleft, such variation must be mysterious, and the formal parallels between 'verbal relatives', 'redoublement verbale' and predicate cleft can have no significance.

The nominalization analysis predicts that the event argument can be fronted via *wh*-movement (as in Yorùbá and Vātà) or left *in situ* (as in Ìgbo). Haitian comes close to freely having both types: Hutchison 1989 shows that the verb focus element in Haitian, which he terms a "copy nominal", can occur *in situ* just if it is modified in some way. This gives paradigms like the following:

74.	Se dòmi [Jak dòmi]. cop sleep sleep	'Jak really slept'	moved	OK
75a.	Jak dòmi [yon ti dòmi]. sleep Det little sleep-Nom	'Jak took a little nap'	modified *in situ*	OK
b.	Jak fè [yon ti dòmi]. do Det little sleep-Nom	'Jak took a little nap'		
c.	Dòmi [dòmi ou]! sleep sleep-nom 2sg	'Sleep your sleep!'		
76.	*Jak dòmi dòmi. sleep sleep-nom	['Jak slept sleep']	unmodified *in situ*	*

These facts form a typological bridge from Vātà, where movement of the nominalized verb is obligatory, to Ìgbo where it is impossible. Similar facts can be observed in Yorùbá.

Yorùbá

In Yorùbá, the focused nominal is a reduplicated gerund, formed not from V^0 but from VP (optionally including any lexical complements of the verb, as well as any VP-operator such as an aspectual aux). In Yorùbá serial constructions, the nominalization can be formed from any projection of V including the maximal, polyvalent VP, so that several verb roots can be nominalized together.

(78) shows clefting of a focused object or subject NP. As described for Vātà by Koopman 1983, subject trace is lexicalized with a resumptive clitic *ó*, cf. (78b).

77. Ajé ra ìwé. 'Aje {is buying, bought} {a book/ books}'
buy paper

78a. Ìwé$_i$ ni [Ajé rà t$_i$]. 'It is {a book/ books} that Aje {bought/is buying}'
paper Comp buy [i.e., he didn't buy shoes]

b. Ajé$_i$ ni [ó$_i$ ra ìwé]. 'It is Aje who {bought/is buying} {a book/books}'
Comp 3sg buy paper [i.e., it's not Olú]

Verb focus involves the *wh*-extraction of a reduplicated gerund, which is distinct from the verb itself since the verb does not gap. Like English "Acc-*ing*", the Yorùbá gerund prefix selects an entire VP, optionally including an Accusative complement, but not a possessive subject ("poss-*ing*"). Manfredi and Láníran 1988 propose that the base for reduplication is a bound verb complement. In fact, the nominalized BVC is visible *in situ*, in certain intransitive, echoic constructions:[18]

79a. Ajé lọ ì-lọ ì-yà, kò lọ *lí-lọ* kan. 'Aje went on a side trip,
go going turning Neg go going one he didn't go [just] one going'

b. Ikú-t-àrùn ń kan [i]lé e é *ré*… 'Death and Disease [were] haunting
death'n'disease PROG reach house of 3sg going his house' [ré ← rí-rè]

In ordinary examples, the nominalized verb is invisible *in situ*, although Awóbùlúyì 1972 argues that it is underlyingly present, nonetheless.

[18](79a) was pointed out to me by 'Sopé Oyèlárăn. Oyèlárăn 1990 cites (79b) from Abímbọ́lá (1976: 160).

In (80a), the BVC *rí-rà* 'buying' appears in [SPEC, CP]. In (80b), the nominalized VP *rí-rà ìwé* 'book-buying' is focused as a whole; in that case a copy of the object remains in situ. Oyèlárăn 1989b observes that an aspectual Aux may be included in the VP gerund, cf. (81b).

80a. [Rí-rà]$_i$ ni [Ajé ra t$_i$ ìwé]. 'It is a buying that Aje {is doing, did} to
Nom-buy Comp buy paper {a book/books}' [i.e. he didn't steal it/them]

b. [Rí-rà-wé$_i$ ni [Ajé ra t$_i$ ìwé]. 'It is book-buying that Aje {is doing, did}'
Nom-buy-paper Comp buy paper [i.e. he didn't go yam-selling]

81a. Ajé {máa/ń} ra ìwé. 'Aje is buying {a book/books}'
Prog buy paper (unambiguously nonpast)

b. [Mí-máa-ra-ìwé$_i$ ni [Ajé máa ra t$_i$ ìwé]. 'It is continuous book-buying that Aje
Nom-Prog-buy-paper Comp Prog buy paper does/did' [i.e. not just occasionally]

With the relative Comp *tí*, the Yorùbá gerund has the semantic range of the Vātà "verbal relative" and the Haitian *redoublement verbale* ('Sopé Oyèlárăn p.c.; cf. Bámgbóṣé 1975):

82. [Rí-rà (ìwé)] tí [Ajé ra ìwé]… 'Once Aje bought books…/
nom-buy paper Rel buy paper The fact that Aje bought books…'

Because the gerundive prefix selects an entire VP, optionally including a VP-operator such as an aspectual aux, it can pied-pipe a lexical complement. But there is no NP gap in this instance. Nor is it remotely possible to gap the VP, leaving a *pro*-verb corresponding to English *do*:

83. *[Rí-ra-ìwé$_i$] ni [Ajé ṣe$_i$].
nom-buy-paper Comp do

Lefebvre and Lumsden appeal to a similar failure of a *pro* verb in Haitian, to argue that Haitian predicate cleft is distinct from nominal cleft, cf. (38b) above. But this argument is dubious in light of the fact that the same restriction arises in Yorùbá where the clefted element is clearly nominal.

In Yorùbá, all the verbs of a serial predicate can be nominalized and clefted together:

84a. Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò. 'Aje accompanied them to Ejigbo'
accompany 3pl arrive

b. Bí-bá-dé (Èjìgbò) ni [Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò]. focus: V_1+V_2 (NP_2)
ing-accompany-arrive Comp

Baker 1989 argues from examples like (84b) that serial constructions involve a multiply-headed VP. And aspect in Yorùbá, as an aux, morphologically selects VP. (In Ìgbo, aspect selects X^0.)

Manfredi and Láníran 1988 observe that Yorùbá serial constructions differ in the ability to focus individual verbs. Any verb in (84a) can be focused (nominalized and *wh*-extracted) along with its lexical complement (direct argument):

85a. [Bí-bá wọn] ni [Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò]. focus: [V_1 NP_1]
ing-accompany 3pl Comp

b. [Dí-dé Èjìgbò] ni [Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò]. focus: [V_2 NP_2]
ing-arrive Comp

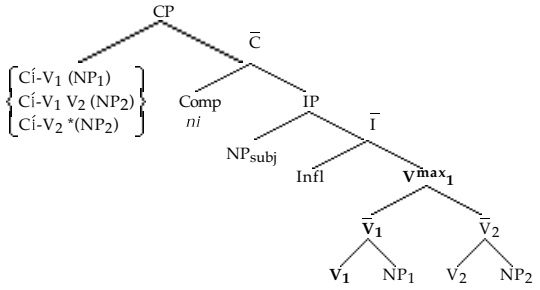
But if, as in (85), the first verb semantically "heads" the serial construction, a non-initial verb cannot be focused without pied piping its lexical complement:

86a. Bí-bá ni [Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò]. focus: V_1
ing-accompany Comp

b. *Dí-dé ni [Ajé bá wọn dé Èjìgbò]. focus: V_2
ing-arrive Comp

Adopting Déchaine's (1990) projection of serial constructions as bivalent VPs (which draws on analyses by Awóyalé 1987), and anticipating the analysis of Comp in §3.2.3, (87) clarifies the unique failure of verb focus in (86b), compared to the other examples (84b, 85a-b,86a):

87.



The generalization is that a well-formed *wh*-dependency with a gerundive nominalization must be licensed by extended government (in the sense of Kayne or Koster). As the complement of V_1, the constituent [V_2 NP_2] is connected to the maximal projection ($V^{max}{}_1$), and from there to the position [SPEC, CP], but V_2 by itself is not.

Why don't the other languages permit Accusative complements to be clefted in verb focus? I have suggested that this is not a matter of the landing site, but of the selectional type of the nominalizing morpheme: XP-governor in Yorùbá, X^0-governor in the other languages.

The paradigm of *dé* differs from that of *fún*. The gerund *fífún* is not extractable, whether or not its accusative complement comes along, cf. (89).

88a. Ajé mú àpótí fún mi. 'Ajé gave a/the box to me'
take.hold of box give 1sg

b. *Èmi* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t*]. 'It's me that Ajé gave the box to'
1sg Comp take.hold.of box give

89a. * *Fífún* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t* mi].
giving Comp take.hold.of box give 1sg

b. * *Fífún mi* ni [Ajé mú àpótí fún *t mi*].
giving 1sg Comp take.hold of box give 1sg

In general, doubling (or resumptive) strategies save island violations by 'strengthening' the path between landing site and extraction site. Perhaps complement doubling is exceptionally possible with *dé*, licensing its extraction, because its complement selection is exceptionally strong, making it a sufficiently strong constituent to count as connected to [SPEC, CP].[19]

But in an instrumental construction, *wh*-extractions of the gerund is possible from $\overline{V}_2$, cf. (90).

90a. Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé ìṣu. 'Ajé used a/the knife to cut a/the yam'
use knife cut yam

b. *Ìṣu* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t*]. 'It's yam that Ajé used a knife to cut'
yam Comp use knife cut

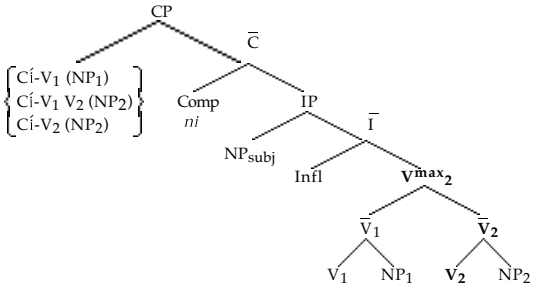
91a. *Gígé* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t* ìṣu].
cutting Comp use knife cut yam

b. *Gígé ìṣu* ni [Ajé fi ọ̀bẹ gé *t* (*ìṣu*)].
cutting yam Comp use knife cut yam

The pattern in (91) follows from the structure in (92). (92) differs from (87) only in the direction of $\overline{V}$-adjunction , a difference which Awóyalé motivates semantically.

[19] Compared to *dé*, English *arrive* is only marginally transitive: *John arrived home. *John arrived Boston.*

92.



The different directions of $\overline{V}$-adjunction in (53) vs. (58) do *not* affect the extractability of the gerund of V_1. This is so because the first verb is always visible to Infl (which in Yorùbá contains subject Agr, but not tense). V-visibility is satisfied by head movement of V_1 to Agr, voiding the barrier.

Gbè (e.g. Èvè, Fɔ̀n, Ajá completes the typology of V-focus, since it has V→N conversion *in situ*: an intransitive verb is obligatorily 'reduplicated' if it complements an auxiliary, cf. (93) from Fɔ̀n:

93. Ùn Qò yì-yì wɛ̀. 'I am leaving'
1sg be.in leave-leave PRT (from Fabb 1990)

Gbè also has gerundive (VP) nominalization in predicate clefts.

3.2.3 The focus licensing of [SPEC, CP]

A secondary parameter concerns the licensing of [SPEC, CP]—the landing site of a moved focus. All logical possibilities are found: a null complementizer (in Vàtà), a canonical copula that binds a null complementizer (in Haitian), an overt complementizer optionally preceded by a copula (Ìgbo), and a complementizer which in some elliptical examples looks like an "inverse" copula (Ruwet 1974), i.e. a copula whose topic follows it (in Yorùbá). In both Haitian and Yorùbá, the copula of focus constructions has been described as an "assertion marker", which is just a copula with a null topic:

94. Assertive (presentative) copular constructions

Haitian	*null topic plus copula*	$\varnothing_{TOPIC}$	Se	Jak.	'It's Jak'
Ìgbo	*expletive (clitic) topic plus copula*	$Ọ_{3sg\,=\,TOPIC}$	wụ́	Adṇa.	'It's Adha'
Yorùbá	*inverse copula plus null topic*	Olú	ni	$\varnothing_{TOPIC}$.	'It's Olu'

In Haitian, there is thus no need to distinguish "*se* présentatif" from "*se* copule" (Piou 1982a), nor to disinguish copular *se* from the *se* which appears in predicate cleft. All are instances of *se*, a verb whose external argument is a (possibly null) topic, and whose internal argument is a focus.

This parameter also has systematic consequences for the morphology of *wh*-expressions. All Yorùbá *wh*-expressions, and a subset of *wh*-expressions in Ìgbo, may occur either clefted or *in-situ*. In Vàtà and Yorùbá, the cleft structure is used for *wh*-questions as well as focus, but Haitian *wh*-questions have no copula. If there is some licensing factor in a focus construction which has the same pragmatic effect as the *wh*-element, it is the copula. Why *in-situ wh*-questions are possible just in both Ìgbo and Yorùbá is that the "*in-situ* able" *wh*-words in these languages are inherently focused: they morphologically incorporate the *ni* element or some other focus morpheme.

This typology of verb focus, moved vs. *in situ*, gybes with some predictions by Fukui 1986. Fukui accounts for the presence of *wh*-movement in English, and its absence in Japanese, in terms of the

inventory of functional heads (C, I, D…): present in English, absent in Japanese. A [+F] head induces *wh*-movement by projecting a SPEC position with its agreement features. SPEC may also be licensed by ECM: structural Case-marking by a lexical category (V). Fukui generalizes the two licensing types in the label Kase. The biunique relationship between SPEC and Kase, expressed in Fukui's Functional Projection Theorem (95a), reflects a deeper property of the agreement relation (95b):

95a. A functional head projects to the X'' level iff there is Kase to be discharged to its specifier position. (Otherwise, it projects only to X'). (1986: 79)

b. If *X*, a functional head, agrees with *Y*, then there is no *Z* such that *Z* ≠ *Y* and *X* agrees with *Z*. (1986: 83)

Predicate cleft shows the two kinds of Kase licensing: SPEC-head agreement and ECM, suggesting that it involves movement to a specifier position. If a language has an "event" nominalization which is a free form, it undergoes *wh*-movement under either of two conditions: if there is a Comp with agreement features (as in Yorùbá) or if there is a higher lexical category for ECM (such as the copula *se* in Haitian). If, as in Ìgbo, the event nominalization is not a free form, there is no movement.

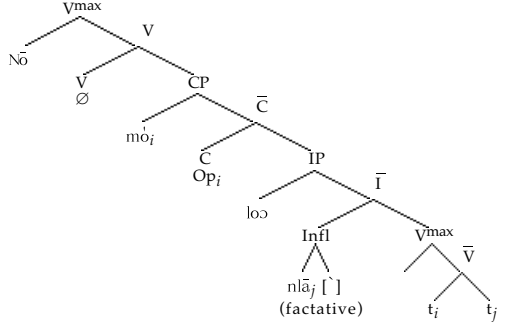
This leaves two types unaccounted for: Vātà, with zero Comp and no copula; and Romance/Germanic, which has appropriate landing sites but no predicate cleft. For Vātà, Marchese observes that a null copula is implied in focus constructions. (96a), where the parenthesized material is optional, she translates as (96b), but a more literal rendering would be (96c) representing a structure like (97).[20]

96a. Nō (mɔ́) lɔɔ nlāà. (Marchese 1978: 181)
wine 3sg child drink

b. C'est du vin$_{FOCUS}$ que l'enfant a bu. It's wine$_{FOCUS}$ that the child drank.

c. Wine$_{TOPIC}$, (it is it$_{FOCUS}$) the child drank.

97.



It is a deep typological feature of Benue-Kwa as a whole (i. e. Greenberg's Kwa/Kru plus Benue-Congo) that relatives, *wh*-questions and focus clefts are morphologically related through the presence of a copula-type morpheme. In Kru, Marchese 1982b reports that it has the form *no*, *ne*, *nɪ* or *lɪ*. In Kĩkŭyũ, it has the form *ne* , cf. this paradigm from Bergvall 1988b:

[20] Koopman gives a very similar example with a focused gerund, cf. (60b) above.

98a. Ne-nj-oe mwanakɛ orea Kamau ɔ-ɔn-irɛ. 'I know the young man Kamau saw'
Cop-1sg-know young-man that 3sg-see-Asp

b. Ne mwanakɛ orea Kamau ɔ-ɔn-irɛ. 'It is that young man (that) Kamau saw'
Cop young-man that 3sg-see-ASP

c. Noo Kamau ɔ-ɔn-irɛ? / ne + o /→[noo] 'Who did Kamau see?'
Cop.who 3sg-see-ASP

d. Kamau ɔ-ɔn-irɛ oo? 'Kamau saw who?'
3sg-see-ASP who

Vātà belongs to the subset of Kru languages reported by Marchese in which the marker of contrastive focus is null. In most of Kwa/Kru, the focus morpheme is overt, either in second position (after the position of contrastive focus, including moved *wh*-questions), or sentence-final (for "assertive focus"). In second position, the focus morpheme plausibly licenses an argument in [SPEC, CP]. The Yorùbá focus morpheme, *ni*, has exactly the distribution of its Kru relatives: second position for contrastive focus, sentence final in assertive focus. In addition, *ni* occurs in Yorùbá *wh*-words in situ. And, like its congener in Kĩkŭyũ, Yorùbá *ni* also serves as a copula. In Ìgbo, the position of contrastive focus is preceded by an optional copula and followed by overt Comp. As in Yorùbá, Ìgbo *wh*-words containing *nị́* can occur *in situ*. Although Ìgbo *nị́* does not occur in Comp, it does occur sentence-finally in subject relatives. In Haitian, contrastive focus is preceded by an overt copula (*se*) and folowed by a null Comp. Structurally, these options are closely congruent, right down to the extraction asymmetry:

			SPEC	copula	SPEC	Comp *subj/other*	extraction site *subj/other*
99.	Vātà				NPj	∅	…ɔ̀/tj…
	Yorùbá				NPj	ni	…ó/tj…
	Ìgbo	TOPi …	(proi	cli bụ̀)	NPj	´/kà	…tj…
	Haitian	TOPi …	VP NP/proi	se	CP NPj	∅	IP …ki/tj…

In both Vātà and Yorùbá, the cleft structure in (99) is general to focus constructions, *wh*-questions and relative clauses (Yorùbá relative Comp is *tí*). In both Ìgbo and Haitian, the *pro* in (99) is topic-bound, and the focused argument ([SPEC, CP]) is referentially distinct from the topic, as shown. In Ìgbo, the copula is optional, while it is obligatory in Haitian in the focus construction. In Ìgbo, any argument in IP except the BVC can appear in [SPEC, CP]. In Haitian, the "focused verb", like any other focused argument, *must* appear in [SPEC, CP], unless it is modified in situ.

In all four languages, there is a subject/object asymmetry in focus/*wh* extraction. In Ìgbo, this is reflected in a difference between two *wh*-Comps: H tone for subjects; otherwise *kà*. In the other three languages, subject extraction is licensed by a resumptive spellout: Haitian *ki*, Vātà ɔ̀ (Koopman 1984: 37), Yorùbá *ó*. I now turn to details of this general picture.

Yorùbá

In Yorùbá, the morpheme *ni* occurs on the surface as a "presentative" or "assertive marker" as in (100a)—analyzed in (100b)—or as what Ruwet 1974 calls an "inverse" copula, i.e. an equative verb the property that the NP to its left is focused, as in (100c). Abraham (1958: 435, 608) describes the discourse constraint that a topic is barred from the position ot the left of *ni*, cf. (100d).

100a. John ni. 'It's John'
Cop

b. TOPi …[John ni proi]
Cop

c. Òrẹ́ mi ni John. 'John is *my friend*'
friend 1sg-Gen cop

d. #John ni òrẹ́ mi.
cop friend 1sg-Gen

(100d) might be pragmatically appropriate in response to a question such as: "Who is your friend?", although (100a) would be more appropriate (less redundant) in that context.

Abraham relates the surface copula *ni* to the complementizer an underlying focus cleft construction (101a), which embeds either the canonical copula *jẹ́* (101b) or the *pro-verb ṣe* 'do' (101c):

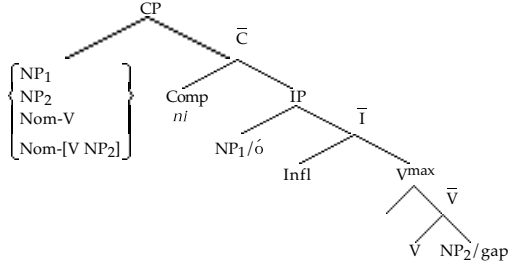
101a. [Òrẹ́ mi]$_i$ ni John {jẹ́/ṣe} t$_i$. 'My friend is what John {is/does}'
friend 1sg-Gen Comp {BE/DO}

b. John jẹ́ òrẹ́ mi. 'John is my friend'
BE friend 1sg-Gen

c. John ṣe òrẹ́ mi. 'John is [= functions as] my friend'
DO friend 1sg-Gen

The general structure of focus clefts, and the source of the "presentative" copula, is (102):

102.



As shown in (102) above, there is no difference in the possible elements which can be clefted in the relative construction (with *tí*) and the focus construction (with *ni*). Manfredi and Láníran 1988 suggest that the only structural difference between relatives and the focus/*wh* type is the presence of an additional transparent domain in the former:

103a. [$_{NP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$ [$_{COMP}$ tí] …t$_i$ …]] relative clause

b. [$_{CP}$ NP$_i$ [$_{COMP}$ ni] …t$_i$ …] "focus" construction

c. [$_{CP}$ WH$_i$ [$_{COMP}$ ni] …t$_i$ …] *wh*-question

At a deeper level of analysis, the form *tí* is analyzable as Comp plus H-tone—the Nominative Agr element that may directly signal the presence of an empty operator in the subject position.

Haitian[21]

In Haitian, the licensing morpheme for clefts is the copula *se*, which selects either the NP in [SPEC, CP] (as in the clefts) or an ordinary NP or DP.[22]

Citing examples like (104a), Lumsden and Lefebvre 1990 observe that the 'past' morpheme *te* can occur in the focus position, doubling its occurrence in the IP.

[21]This section reflects joint work with R-M. Déchaine and P-M. Darbouze.

[22]Corne (1981: 118f.) describes Seychellois *se* as a "French influence" and claims that it is not a copula but a nonpast, nonnegative focus marker. Nevertheless, he gives an example which is copular:

i. Larâzma, se larâzma. 'A deal is a deal'

104a. Se te achte Mari te achte flè a. 'Mari *bought* these flowers'
Cop past Nom.buy Det past buy flower Det (i.e. she didn't steal them)

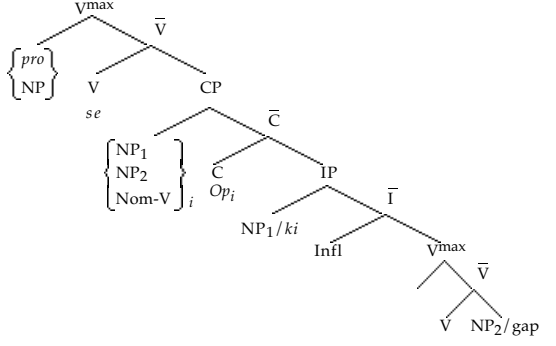
b. Se te dlo yo ki te konn ap touye moun. 'It was these rivers that could kill people'
Cop past water pl *pro* past Mod Asp kill person (Fauchois 1982: 6)

c. Se pa t janm la mwen t ap ye. 'It wasn't my leg that it was'
Cop Neg past leg Det 1sg past Asp BE (Fauchois 1982: 6)

But (104b-c) show that *te* is equally possible with a focused noun, indicating that it is an adverbial (lexical) element, rather than a functional head (such as a "Tense" marker). As to the negation following *se* in (104c) Fauchois (1982: 7) holds that it locally licensed by the copula *se* (although, for semantic reasons, the possibility of negated *se* is not independent of negation in the IP).

The structure of Haitian clefts is as in (105):

105.



(105) represents Haitian cleft constructions as licensed by a succession of local relations between heads: [$_{Vmax}$…*se*…[$_{CP}$…C…[$_{IP}$…I…[$_{Vmax}$…V$_1$…]]]]. The copula *se* takes either an NP or CP complement. The focused element is in [SPEC, CP], where it is Casemarked by ECM from *se* (like *It's John Mary saw*). By Spec-Head agreement between [Spec, CP] and C, the empty operator in C (posited by Koopman 1984: 183) is able to govern Infl, creating extended head-government.

***Ki* is not in Comp**

Based on the data in (106), Koopman (1982b: 228) argues that *ki* is not in subject position but in Comp. Her proposal, if defensible, would challenge (105).

106a. Ki-moun ki pou te vini an? 'Qui devait venir?'
who past come Det 'Who had to (was obliged to) come?'

b. *Ki-moun ki te pou vini an?
who past come Det

c. Ki-moun ki pou pa t vini an?[23] 'Qui [n'] aurait pas dû venir?'
who Neg past come Det 'Who should not have (wasn't expected to) come?'

Koopman's analysis was required by the (then-current) indexing treatment of Comp-trace phenomena in English and French, e.g:

107. the woman who$_i$ (*that) t$_i$ arrived la femme {qui/*que} est ariveé

But her argumentation that Haitian *ki* is in Comp does not follow through. Rather, in respect of *wh*-extraction of a subject, Haitian is more like Koopman's analysis of Vãtà and Yorùbá with a

[23]The example printed in Koopman 1982b (*Ki-moun ki pa t vini an?*) is presumably a typo for (106c).

resumptive subject (in SPEC, IP), than it is like the analysis of French and English in (107) with an indexed Comp properly governing an empty subject.[24]

Comparing (106a-b), Koopman observes that *ki* must precede *pou*, and then asserts that this *pou* is a complementizer and not a modal because it precedes negation. This refers to the observation by Koopman and Lefebvre (1982: 75) that modal *pou* may either follow or precede *te* and negation:

108a. Ki- moun ki pa t pou vini an? 'Qui n'avait pas dû venir?'
who Neg past come Det 'Who didn't have to (wasn't obliged to) come?'

b. Ki- moun ki pou pa t vini an? [not translated by K&L]
who Neg past come Det

But although they do not indicate a meaning difference between the two sentences in (108), Koopman and Lefebvre (1982: 79) observe that the two orders are not synonymous, specifically:

> …*pou* a perdu une partie de son sens d'obligation quand il apparaît sous S'.

In the *Barriers* system of functional categories, Koopman and Lefebvre's evidence underdetermines the conclusion that *pou* in (108b) is in Comp. A modal can also raise to Infl. For example, Roberts 1985 has argued that only a verb governed by Infl can assign a θ-role; and a modal which occupies Infl is not governed by Infl. This would account for the "weaker" semantics of *pou* (108b). Employing the terminology of Ross 1969, *pou* is either a deontic VP-operator, or an epistemic IP-operator.

A similar ordering effect occurs in English although no raising of a modal is involved. In (109a), the expression *be supposed to* is a deontic modal, and it is preceded by negation. In (109b), with the reverse order, the deontic reading is excluded and *be supposed to* is an epistemic predicate.

109a. When alone, John is not supposed to drink. [=John is {*thought, obliged} not to drink]

b. When alone, John$_i$ is supposed [t$_i$ not to drink]. [=John is {thought, *obliged} not to drink]

The order modal~~û~~ negation proves nothing about the position of *ki*, since complementizer *pou* occurs after nouns only in purpose clauses like those in (110), cf. Koopman and Lefebvre (1982: 70, 77):

110a. M gen [$_{NP}$ yon bagay pou m montre ou]. 'I have something to show you'
1sg have Det thing 1sg show 2sg

b. Ki [$_{NP}$ sa pou n te dwe fè]. 'What [was there] for us/you to have done?'
what that 1/2pl past Mod do i.e. 'What ought we/you to have done?'

In (110), *pou* is plausibly a preposition and not a compementizer. But, even granting the assertion that *pou* in (108b=106c) is in Comp, their quoted observation about its non-deontic interpretation in that position undermines Koopman's deontic translation of *pou* in (106c), while still assuming that it is in Comp. Either (106c) is not deontic, or else *pou* in (106c) is the modal and *ki* is not proved to be in Comp.

Based on its scope difference before or after *te*, Sterlin 1988 has claimed that epistemic *pou* moves from V to Infl, although she also preserves Koopman's hypothesis that *pou* ends up in Comp ("*pou* modal en position de complémenteur"). Sterlin's best evidence that *pou* does not remain in Infl involves *pou* before overt lexical subjects, i.e. the reverse of the order *ki pou* seen above. Citing minimal binding contrasts as in (111), Sterlin constructs an explanation in terms of Case.

111a. Jak vle [$_{CP}$ pou l vini]. 'Jak wants (her/him) to come'
want Comp 3sg come *opaque binding domain*

b. Jak vle [$_{IP}$ l vini]. 'Jak wants her/him to come'
want 3sg come *transparent binding domain*

[24]For objections to the indexing approach to *that-trace*, cf. Koster 1986.

If *pou* is in Comp and *li* (phonologically reduced to *l*) is a pronoun, the obligatory disjoint reference between *li* and *Jak* in (111b) follows from the fact that embedded subject *li* is brought within the binding domain of *Jak* by Exceptional Case Marking (just as in the English translation). Since there is no ECM in (111a), there is no domain transparency and *li* is free to refer to *Jak* or anyone else.

Even if the pronoun/anaphor distinction of Chomsky 1981 applied to Haitian, there is an alternative to Sterlin's analysis that *pou* is in Comp. If *pou* in (111a) is a preposition, forming a complex predicate [$_{VP}$ *vle* [$_{PP}$ *pou* …]], there is still a Case difference with (111b). A parallel difference occurs in English, where the status of the preposition (*near*, *behind*) is unquestioned:

112a. John$_i$ saw a snake near him$_{i/j}$. (Lakoff 1968, Kuno 1987)

b. John$_i$ saw him$_j$.

113a. John$_i$ watched behind him$_{i/j}$.

b. John$_i$ watched him$_j$.

Déchaine and Manfredi 1988 argue that the 1981 binding theory cannot be maintained for Haitian, because of the absence of lexical anaphors in that language (as in many Kwa languages, cf. Awóyalé 1983). Reflexives are phrasal, composed of possessive pronoun plus nonreferential classifier:[25]

114a. tèt$_i$ li$_i$ 'himself/herself' (*tèt* = nonreferential classifier)
head 3sg

b. tèt$_i$ li$_j$ 'his/her head' (*tèt* = referential N^0)
head 3sg

115a. kò$_i$ l$_i$ 'himself/herself' (*tèt* = nonreferential classifier)
body 3sg

b. kò$_i$ l$_j$ 'his/her body' (*tèt* = referential N^0)
body 3sg

As a result, the form *li* is generally ambiguous between bound and free interpretations, e.g.:[26]

116a. Jak$_i$ wè l$_{i/j}$ nan glas la. 'Jak saw himself in the mirror' OR
see 3sg Loc mirror Det 'Jak saw him/her/it in the mirror'

b. Jak$_i$ blese l$_{i/j}$. 'Jak hurt himself' OR 'Jak hurt him/her'
injure 3sg

c. Jak$_i$ benyen l$_{i/j}$. 'Jak bathed himself' OR 'Jak bathed him/her'
bathe 3sg

d. Jak$_i$ abiye l$_i$ two bwòdè. 'Jak got dressed up too fancy' OR
dress 3sg too fancy 'Jak dressed him/her up too fancy'

The alternative to standard binding theory, which accounts for the ambiguity in (116), follows Williams 1989 who reduces binding theory to θ-theory. For the problem at hand, these observations add plausibility to the idea the binding difference between *vle* and *vle pou* is thematically based, and does not require Sterlin's supposition that *pou* is in Comp.

To summarize: if (108b) shows raising of *pou*, and *pou* retains its deontic modal sense, it is not rasied to Comp, but to Infl, in which case, *ki* can still be in SPEC, IP. Or else, if *pou* in (108b) is base-generated in Comp, it cannot have the meaning of obligation, and *ki* (like *bagay* in (110)) is in a higher clause, i.e. it is not extracted from subject position. In other words, (108) and (110) either do not show that *ki* is in Comp, or else they have nothing to do with subject extraction.

[25]The Kwa languages have no reflexive/reciprocal distinction; in Haitian the reciprocal is not lexical but phrasal: *yonn…lòt*.

[26]Only some of the verbs in (116) freely permit phrasal anaphors. *Wè* and *blese* accept both tèt$_i$ li$_i$ and kò$_i$ l$_i$; *benyen* accepts only kò$_i$ l$_i$ and *abiye* takes neither. Carden and Stewart 1988 cite different facts.

The copula *se*

Following Fauchois 1982, I hold that the copula *se* selects nominals as its internal and external arguments. If diacritic homophony is rejected, then the *se* morpheme which appears in moved verb focus should manifest the same constraint, so one expects that only nominals can be focused. Hutchison 1990 provides supporting evidence for this assumption, describing a systematic constraint on the complement of *se*: its complement cannot be interpreted as a process:

	(i)		(ii)	
117a.	Jak se timoun.	'Jak is a child'	Jak timoun.	'Jak acts childishly'
	Jak se doktè.	'Jak is a doctor'	Jak doktè.	'Jak practices medicine'
b.	Jak se (yon) parese.	'Jak is a lazy one'	Jak parese.	'Jak is lazy'
	Jak se *(yon) malad.	'Jak is a sick person'	Jak malad.	'Jak is sick'

In (117-i), where *se* is present, its complement is interpreted strictly as a substantive. In (117-ii), where *se* is absent, Hutchison regards the complement of *se* as a verb. Hutchison makes the further, important observation that the semantic contrast between nouns (117-i) and denominal verbs (117-ii) is preserved under focus. If the noun is focused, it is clefted and its trace is lexicalised as the *pro*-predicate *ye* (118-i); if the denominal verb is focused, nothing happens to the verb, but its root nominal is clefted (118-ii):

	(i)		(ii)[27]
118a.	Se timoun Jak ye.	'A child is what Jak is'	Se timoun Jak timoun.
	Se doktè Jak ye.	'A doctor is what Jak is'	Se doktè Jak doktè.
b.	Se (yon) parese Jak ye.	'A lazy one is what Jak is'	Se parese Jak parese.
	Se *(yon) malad Jak ye.	'A sick person is what Jak is'	Se malad Jak malad.

Hutchison's conclusion that *parese* and *malad*, which translate English adjectives, are stative verbs is relatively uncontroversial; in parallel fashion, he regards *timoun* and *doktè* in these examples as denominal verbs of activity. Alternatively, one could adopt a small clause analysis, as originally advanced for Hebrew by Rapoport 1985 and extended to Haitian by Rapoport (1987: 245ff.). Or else one could posit a default or null 'lite verb', with roughly the semantics of English *do*, interpolated in between the two nouns thus: *Jak ∅ timoun* and *Jak ∅ doktè*. Whichever analysis of (117-18) one chooses is consistent with the basic claim that the complement of *se* is nominal, as claimed by the representation of predicate cleft in (41a)—but not (41b).

Other than the nominalized verb, an NP can be focused from subject or object position (119-20). A focused object leaves a gap; a focused subject leaves a resumptive element *ki*, unless the subject is emphatic *X menm* as in (119b). The examples in (119-20) are from Fauchois 1982.

119a. *pro* Se [lougawou]$_i$ *Op* ki$_i$ manje timoun nan. 'It's a werewolf who ate the child'
Foc werewolf 3sg eat child Det
subj

b. *pro* Se [yo menm]$_i$ *Op* t$_i$ te ap bay mwen. 'It's them [who] were giving [to] me'
Foc 3sg Emph past Asp give me
subj

120a. *pro* Se [on ti dyare]$_j$ *Op* li genyen t$_j$. 'It's a little diarrhea [that] s/he has'
Foc a Dim diarrhea 3sg have
obj

b. *pro* Se pa [nenpòt jan]$_j$ *Op* ou kapab sèvi li$_j$. 'It's not everyone [that] you can serve'
Foc Neg any person 2sg able.to serve 3sg
obj

[27] I omit translation of (118-ii), which can be directly computed from their counterparts in (117-ii).

Throughout (119-20), *pro* is a discourse-bound topic. A topic can also be overt in this position; in that case, Fauchois shows that a topicalized object can precedes a focused subject (121), and a topicalized subject can precedes a focused object (122).

121. [Dyare a]$_j$ se [mikwòb]$_i$ *Op*$_i$ ki$_i$ ba li t$_j$. 'As for diarrhea, it's germs
diarrhea Det Foc germ 3sg give 3sg that gave [it to] him/her'
obj *subj*

122a. [Moun nan]$_i$ se [ou menm sèl]$_j$ *Op*$_j$ li$_i$ konnen t$_j$. 'As for that person, it's only you
person Det Foc 2sg Emph only 3sg know [that] s/he knows'
subj *obj*

b. [Nou menm]$_i$ se [sa]$_j$ *Op*$_j$ nou$_i$ bezwen t$_j$. 'As for us, that's what we need' OR
1/2pl Emph Foc that 1/2pl need 'As for you (pl.) that's what you (pl.) need'
subj *obj*

Marchese gives a parallel example, with topicalized subject plus focused object (here a locative) in Godie, the Kru language adjacent to Vàtà:

123. [Dʊ̄gàl͡ī]$_i$ [wúlú]$_j$ *Op*$_i$ ʊ̄$_i$ kʊ̀ t$_j$. 'Intelligence, it's the head that it's in'
intelligence head 3sg be.in (Marchese 1978: 183)
subj *obj*

By maintaining Piou and Koopman's assumptions of *ki* as a Comp (discussed above), Déprez and Vinet 1991 are forced to taxonomize *se* as both a "subject pronominal" and an "assertion particle", i.e as projecting simultaneously both as X^{max} and as X^0.[28] By this diacritic homophony, Déprez and Vinet can generate *se* either in "subject position" (canonically filled by XPs) or as "the head of an Assertion Phrase" (limited, by definition, to X^0s).

On such a highly flexible analysis as theirs, one may legitimately ask what excludes the ungrammatical examples in (124a), whose well-formed counterparts are given in (124b). The examples in (124b) are, after all, just as assertive as the well-formed ones in (125) which contain *se*.

124a.	*Jak se pati.	*Jak se bel.	*Jak se nan lekòl.
	left	beautiful	at school
b.	Jak pati.	Jak bel.	Jak nan lekòl.
	left	beautiful	be.at school
	'Jak left/is gone'	'Jak is fine'	'Jak is at school'
125.	Jak se yon doktè.	Jak se tankou sè m.	Jak se pou mwen.
	BE one doctor	BE like sister 1sg	BE for 1sg
	'Jak is a doctor'	'Jak is like my sister'	'Jak is for me'

On the view that *se* is simply a copula (X^0), this puzzle does not arise: there is no reason to expect it to occur in (124b), since these examples already contain independent predicates.

There is, however, one selectional difference between the copula *se* and ordinary verbs. Déprez and Vinet observe that, while pronominal subjects are possible for all the examples in (124-25), complementarity between lexical and pronominal subjects arises in negative copular sentences:[29]

126a.	Jak se frè m.	*Jak pa frè m.	Jak se pa frè m.
	BE brother 1sg	NEG brother 1sg	BE NEG brother 1sg
	'Jak is my brother'		'Jak is not my brother'
b.	Li se frè m.	Li pa frè m.	*Li se pa frè m.
	3sg BE brother 1sg	3sg NEG brother 1sg	3sg BE NEG brother 1sg
	'He is my brother'	'He is not my brother'	

Déprez and Vinet account for these facts with an implicit stipulation which I spell out in (127):

[28] The idea of postulating two *se*'s, "assertive" and "pronominal", seems to have been lifted, without attribution, from by Fauchois 1982. It would be nice if speaker-linguists got credit for their work.

[29] The judgements in (126) are theirs; the glosses mine (Déprez and Vinet don't view *se* as a copula).

127. Following a lexical subject, *se* projects as an X^0 (as an "assertion particle"); otherwise, *se* projects as an X^{max} (as a "subject pronominal").

(127) apparently restates the authors' intuition, as French speakers, that any overt (lexical) subject of *c'est* must be left-dislocated. However, there is no guarantee that this property extends to Haitian *se*. More importantly, (127) is entirely stipulative, merely restating the problem in (126).

To try and improve on the arbitrariness of (127), I begin by pointing to two relevant facts from the literature, facts which do not find themselves among Déprez and Vinet's rather skewed selection of examples. First, Fauchois (1982: 15*f*.) reports the following contrast—a contrast which, given their liberal use of Fauchois' analysis, Déprez and Vinet must know of:

128a. *Li se pa yon bòs.
3sg BE NEG one artisan

b. Li se pa bòs. 'He is not an artisan'[30]
3sg BE NEG artisan

Here we see that the very same string [… *li se pa* …] which is impossible in (126b) and (128a), where the lexical complement is variously modified, is possible in (128b), just if the lexical complement is bare. That is, the ill-formedness of [… *li se pa* …] apparently depends not on the status of the subject, but on the occurrence of a specified lexical complement. Another specified complement which triggers ungrammaticality is *frè m* in (126b). A specified N is referential; following Roberts (1985b: 440), I assume that a N which is not referential is not an argument, so that (128b) falls together with cases like predicate *timoun* in (118-ii).

Second, notice that alongside *Li pa frè m* (from 119b), there is also (129) parallel to (118-i):

129. Se pa frè m li ye. 'It's not my brother that he is'
NEG brother 1sg 3sg do

A reasonable question is how, or if, (129) differs in meaning from *Li pa frè m*. A reasonable answer is that the two differ in discourse structure (i.e. pragmatic meaning). Specifically, I claim that *frè m* is a focus in (129), but a topic in *Li pa frè m*. This goes along with the following mini-discourses:

130a. Se pa frè m li ye. Li se konpè m. 'It's not my brother (focus) that he is. He's my pal.'

b. Li pa frè m. Se Michèl. 'It's not him who is my brother (topic). It's Michèl [who is].'

I conclude from this contrast that negation is inherently focused, and that this focus is associated with the closest nonreferential element (i.e. an element with no independent focus, be it of the category N or V).[31]

These two observations suggest a selectional account of the contrast in (126). Suppose that topics, inherently definite, are therefore referential (pronouns are nonreferential by definition). Now, as a canonical copula, *se* selects a complement which is a Focus, and additionally selects a subject which is a (potentially null) Topic. Consider the s-structure of the relevant examples.

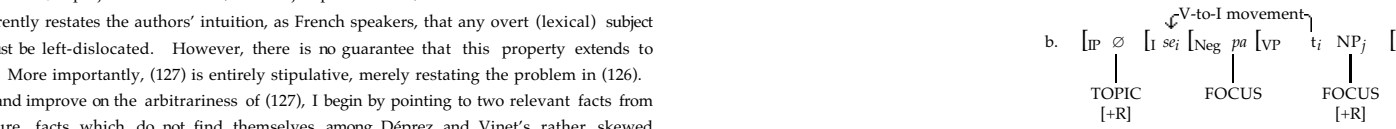
(131b) represents the V-to-I movement of *se* in (131a).[32] At s-structure, as a consequence of V-to-I movement, *pa* is a potential complement of *se*. Observe that both head-positions in the *se* chain are adjacent to focused elements (or indeed complemented by them, depending on one's assumptions regarding the attachment of *pa*), thereby satisfying its selection requirements.

[30] According to Michèl DeGraff (p.c.), (128b) is ungrammatical, *pace* Fauchois, unless *se* is omitted. This judgement obviously affects my analysis, but (I believe) more in execution than in concept.

[31] Negation is inherently "associated with" focus in the semantics literature, e.g. Jackendoff, Rooth.

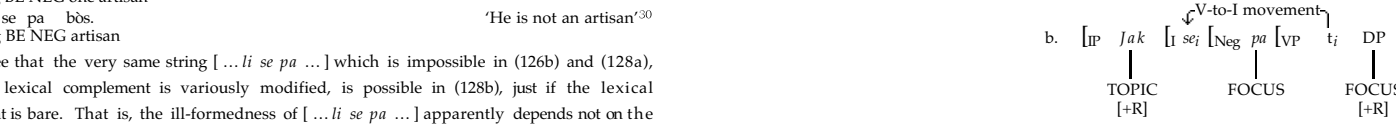
[32] As already noted, I treat negation as a VP adverb or adjunct, and so do not represent verb movement through a supposed NegP as done, for example, by Pollock 1987.

131a. Se pa frè m li ye.
BE NEG brother 1sg 3sg be

b. 

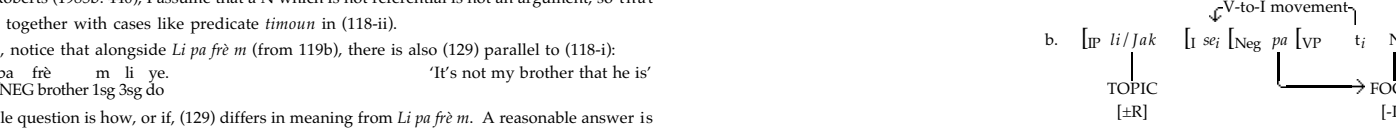
(132b) represents the structure of grammatical (132a), (133b) of grammatical (133a), and (134b) of ungrammatical (134a). Well-formed (132) has the same pragmatic structure as (131).

132a. Jak se pa frè m.
3sg BE NEG brother 1sg

b. 

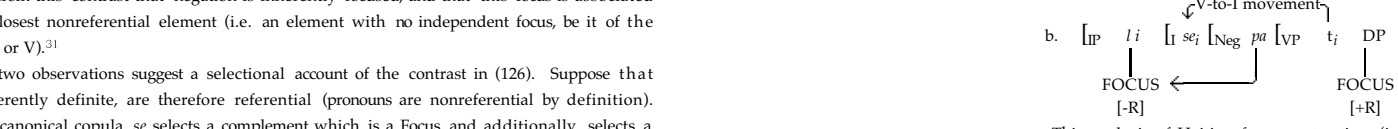
(133) is also well-formed, as the inherent focus of *pa* is attracted to the bare noun predicate *bos*.

133a. Li/Jak se pa bòs.
3sg BE NEG artisan

b. 

In the ill-formed example (134) observe that, with a referential internal argument and a nonreferential external argument, by hypothesis the inherent focus of *pa* is attracted to the subject, thereby violating the selectional requirement of *se*.

134a. *Li se pa frè m.
3sg BE NEG brother 1sg

b. 

This analysis of Haitian focus constructions (including but not limited to clefts) appeals just to independently attested pragmatic facts: the selectional properties of *se* as a canonical copula and those of negation as a focus assigner. The alternative account by Déprez and Vinet simply restates the problem of copular *se plus negation* as a categorial stipulation (reconstructed in (127)), while saying nothing about the pragmatic force of *se* clefts.

Ìgbo

In Ìgbo, any free argument (i.e. not the BVC) can be focused by means of a cleft construction. In Yorùbá, all *wh*-elements can occur *in situ*, but Ìgbo has two morphological *wh*-series , only one of which can occur *in situ*. I will call the class that must occur in Comp *inherent copula* elements, and the class which has free occurrence *inherent focus* elements. In the former type, Ìgbo resembles

Haitian; in the latter, Yorùbá. The two classes can be represented by *kẹ̀dú ife* and *gíní*, both translating 'what?'. The former is generally characteristic of Northern Igboid, the latter of Southern Igboid, but today at least both classes of elements occur more widely.

135a. Kẹ̀dú ife únù-ú mè-re? 'What did you do?'
what.BE thing 2pl-´ do-ØAsp

b. Gíní kà únù-ú mè-re? 'What did you do?'
what Comp 2pl-´ do-ØAsp

Historically and perhaps synchronically as well, *kẹ̀dú* is composed of (*n*)*kẹ̀* 'the one' + *dú* 'copula'. *Gíní* is synchronically opaque, historically [*wh*.thing + FOC]. Compare: *gí* 'what.thing' (Igboúzọ̀), *kí* 'what.thing' (Ágbọ̀) *kí* 'what.thing' (Yorùbá); as well as *ni* (Yorùbá) and *ne* (K‰k'y'). In many Ìgbo dialects (including Ágbọ̀, Ńbàisén and Ẹ́hụgbò), the focus morpheme *ní* occurs independently at the end of a subject relative clause or the *Kẹ̀dú* type of *wh*-question:

136a. Kẹ̀dú ife mé-re nị́? 'What happened?'
what.BE thing happen-ØAsp FOC

b. Gíní mè-re? 'What happened?'
what happen-ØAsp

There are a number of differences between the two expressions. First, *gíní*, but not *kẹ̀dú ife*, appears within the projection of COMP (135a vs. b). Second, as observed by Welmers 1973, Robinson 1974, Goldsmith 1981 and Nwáchukwu *ms.*, most *wh*-questions require the same H tone affix found in relative clauses. This morpheme appears as a suffix on the subject of an object relative (135a-b), or as downstep on the verb of a subject relative (136a). This is not, however, true of *gíní* subject questions (136b). A third asymmetry between the two expressions relates to *in situ* object position:

137a. Ùnu me-re gíní? 'What did you do?'
2pl. do-ØAsp what

b. *Ùnu me-re kẹ̀dú ife?
2pl. do-ØAsp what.BE thing

Nwáchukwu captures the impossibility of (137b) by base-generating *kẹ̀dú* sentence-initially. All four cited authors account for the nonrelative form of (136b) by treating subject *gíní* as nonextracted. Both of these stipulations can be derived from the (historically-based) analyses of the two expressions: *gíní* as inherently focused, and that *kẹ̀dú ife* as predicational (inherently copular).

Observe that ordinary focus constructions are clefts like (135b) with relative ´ tone:

138. (Ọ́ bù) égo kà únú chọ́-rọ. '(It is) money that you're looking for'
3sg BE money Comp 2pl-´ seek-ØAsp

Clefts are questioned with the same low tone seen in (137):

139. Ọ̀ bụ égo kà únú chọ́-rọ? 'Is it money that you're looking for?'
3sg BE money Comp 2pl-´ seek-ØAsp

The reason (140a) is bad can now be related to the badness of (140b), which would be doubly predicated, given the etymology of *kẹ̀dú*. (141), however, is good, and synonymous with (135b).

140a. *Kẹ̀dú ife kà únú mè-re?
what.BE thing Comp 2pl-´ do-ØAsp

b. *Ọ̀ bụ kẹ̀dú ife kà únú mè-re?
3sg-BE what.BE thing Comp 2pl-´ do-ØAsp

141. Ọ̀ bụ gíní kà únú mè-re?
3sg-BE what Comp 2pl-´ do-ØAsp

(140a-b) are instances of 'strong crossover'. If the formal representation of *kẹ̀dú ife* is [WH$_i$ one$_i$ BE thing], then (140a) has a logical translation like (142), with an impossible coindexation:

142. *For which x$_i$, one$_i$ BE thing, you did x$_i$?

In (135a = 143a), however, what appears in object position is the relative trace of 'thing', bearing a referential index distinct from that of the WH expression, so there is no crossover effect. The two indices i and j are equated by the copula. In (135b = 143b), on the other hand, there is no crossover for a different reason: *gíní* is a simple NP, and the sentence contains only one binding path.

143a. For which x$_i$, one$_i$ BE thing$_j$ [that you did t$_j$] ?

b. For which x$_i$, x$_i$ a thing, you did x$_i$?

As for the 'relative' tone of (135b), it may be that it reflects a general "anaphoric" property of INFL in an operator-binding domain (Haïk 1988), so that there is no obligation to analyze a cleft like (135b = 143b) as relativized.

For focus, there are two options: in-situ, inherent focus items, and the *wh*-cleft. For topicalization, the options are freer. A topicalized NP can appear to the right (144a, 146) or left (145a) with respect to the corresponding focus constructions (144b, 145b).

144a. Ọ́ gwụ́(-la) bụ̀ ákụkọ ḿ. '[That's how] my story [=TOP] ends'
3sg finish-Perf BE story 1sg (Émènanjọ 1982: 42)

b. Ọ́ bụ̀ ákụkọ ḿ gwụ́(-la). 'It is my story [=FOC] that finished'
it BE story 1sg finish-Perf-Rel

145a. ńnị ọ bụ̀ 'that food [=TOP]'
food 3sg BE (Ẹ́hụgbò)

b. Ọ́ bụ̀ ńnì. 'It is food [=FOC]'
it BE food

146. Á-fú-a-na ḿ ya bụ̀ ókeì. 'I have seen that man [=TOP]'
pro-see-Delimited-Perf 1sg 3sg BE man (Mónyé 1984: 18)

3.2.4 A WYSIWYG typology of verb focus

The above considerations yield a two-dimensional typology of verb focus in Kwa/Kru:

(147)

		types of [- definite] *nominalization*	
		Nom selects V^0	*Nom selects* VP
		$V^0 \rightarrow N^0$ conversion	[*aff*-$_{+N}$ [V^0]] [+ bound]	[*aff*-$_{+N}$ [V^{max}]] [– bound]
morphemes which license wh-cleft	∅ Comp	Vãtà		
	(copula)[33] + ∅ Comp	Haitian		
	(copula) + Comp		Ìgbo	(Ìgbo - cf. *fn. 13*)
	Comp = {copula, rel[34]}			Yorùbá

3.2.5 The *wh*-type of focus constructions

Both the syntax and the semantics of focus constructions are highly disputed. It may be, as claimed by Cinque 1983, that there are no semantics of focus, just "pragmatics"—this may account for the difficulty of translating focus constructions. However, this negative conclusion regarding focus interpretation still leaves open the question of whether focus has a unique syntactic character. Cinque expresses doubts as to the cross-linguistic uniformity of "topic" constructions, a heterogeneous

[33] The copula *se* occurs in focus constructions but not in other *wh*-clefts (questions, relatives).

[34] In Yorùbá, the nominalized V (or VP) has the same distribution in relatives, with the *tí* Comp, as in verb focus. *Tí* contains high tone subject Agr; the subject resumptive in Ìgbo clefts is just a high tone.

category within which he includes focus. However, Cinque's own analysis suggests that he is too pessimistic in at least this respect. Focused constituents in Romance and Germanic, and also in Kwa, if "moved", share the basic properties of *wh*-elements. Marchese 1980 expresses this as "the focus nature of relatives"; in a government-binding perspective, it becomes "the relative nature of focus".

Continuing Ross 1967, Higgins 1977, Prince 1981 among others, Cinque distinguishes among two basic "pragmatic" constructions in which a referential element appears to the left of a coreferent, syntactic argument position. Before defining these constructions, I reproduce examples of each in Italian, Dutch and German, in (148-50). The mnemonic labels HT and CD are explained in (151).

Throughout, I have departed from the English translations in the sources and followed my own intuition in tailoring the translations to serve double duty as English examples in good standing. By convention, coreference is indicated by italics (which entail no descriptive claims as to intonation).

148. Italian (Cinque 1983)[35]

HT (Speaker A: As a child, you had no appetite. …)
…*Tuo fratello*, invece, *lui* sì che [*e*] aveva sempre fame.[36]
'*Your brother*, however, *him* yes, *he* was always hungry'

CD (Speaker A: My brother and I are going to the party. Speaker B:…)
…*Tuo fratello*, hanno invitato [*e*], non te. '(It is) *your brother* they invited [*e*], not you'

CD (Speaker A: My brother and I are going to Nigeria tomorrow. Speaker B:…)
…*A tuo fratello*, non *gli* hanno ancora dato il visto.
'*To your brother*, they still haven't granted a visa [*e*]'

149. Dutch (van Haaften *et al.* 1983)

HT *Een kabouter*, Jan zocht tevergeefs naar *hem*. '*A gnome*, Jan looked in vain for *one*'

CD *Een kabouter*, *daar* zocht Jan tevergeefs naar [*e*].'*A gnome* was what Jan looked for [*e*] in vain'

150. German (van Haaften *et al.* 1983, cited by Cinque 1983)

HT *Der Hans*, mit *dem* spreche ich nicht mehr. '*That Hans guy*, I'm not talking to *him* any more'

CD *Den Hans*, *den* habe ich gesehen. '*Hans*, I saw [*e*]'

A striking thing about these data is that, across the four languages (including English), the examples of CD display several minor differences with respect to the occurrence of empty categories, clitics or determiners; but the corresponding variation in HT is not as great.

Abstracting somewhat from Cinque's analysis, these two types correlate with two pragmatic functions, which I label *new topic* and *contrastive focus*. Syntactically, CD also exhibits two clusters of syntactic properties which are absent in HT:

		pragmatics	wh-*diagnostics*	*connectedness* (*property sharing*)
151.	hanging topic (HT)	new topic	–	–
	cleft dislocation (CD)	contrastive focus	+	+

The term *wh-diagnostics* (due to H. van Riemsdijk), is shorthand for a cluster of four properties: a Comp, a gap, subjacency and cyclicity (cf. Riemsdijk and Williams 1986: 100). This term may introduce a red herring into the typology: the (standard) assumption of syntactic movement in CD. For this reason, instead of *connectedness* (originally due to Higgins, and further defined by Kayne 1984), I employ Koster's (1987) term *property sharing* for the licensing of a discontinuous syntactic dependency. This change is calculated to sidestep the issue of category movement. Koster's

[35] The discourse contexts in (103) are slightly simplified from Cinque's original examples.

[36] In this example, there are actually two referential dependencies: between *tuo fratello* and *lui*, and between *lui* and [*e*]. The latter is an instance of CD; the former is the relevant one for HT.

framework achieves substantially the same results as standard government-binding theory (or perhaps better ones) without appealing to syntactic movement in any form. In other words, the fundamental distinction in (151) can be re-expressed as in (152):

		pragmatics	*licensing*
152.	hanging topic (HT)	new topic	accidental discourse coreference
	cleft dislocation (CD)	contrastive focus	syntactic dependency

Although Cinque disavows such an inference, I take the parallelism of CD in Romance and Germanic as a correspondence between the pragmatic type *contrastive focus* and syntactic (cleft) licensing. If not accidental, the generalization may extend to other language families, modulo parametric differences in clause structure, binding etc. The Kwa evidence in this respect is positive.

3.2.6. On the (ir)relevance of Kwa to "creoles"

> *creole* A person of Negro descent born in the Western hemisphere, as distinguished from a Negro brought from Africa. Also called "Creole Negro". < French *créole*, < Spanish *criollo*, < Portuguese *crioulo*, Negro born in his master's house, from *criar* 'to bring up', < Latin *creāre* 'to create, beget', < Indo-European **ker-* 'to grow', extended form **krē-* in suffixed form **krē-yā-* 'to cause to grow'. *American Heritage Dictionary*

Koopman's discussion of predicate cleft constructions in Kru languages drew on Piou's analysis of Haitian. In turn, recent discussions of focus constructions in Haitian have been inspired by Koopman's Kru study. Evidently there is a close connection in practice between Kwa/Kru and Haitian. Is there a theoretical basis for this apparent grammatical similarity?

It is widely asserted that "creoles" form a typological class, although there is strong disagreement over why the supposedly defining features of this class are shared with "non-creoles", e.g. in the Kru and Kwa families (for discussion of the "creole" features of Yorùbá, cf. Oyèláràn 1982c). The disagreement has been framed as one of "substrata" (a historical relationship) vs. "universals" (a relationship based on principles of grammar). But these two positions are not really opposed: the latter position is either trivially true, since all the languages in question are natural languages, or else it is ideological, based on a prior grouping of "creoles" by nonlinguistic criteria.

Koopman 1986 points out that the two camps are not equally committed to the assumption that "creoles" form a typological class. The proponents of "universals" (call them bioprogrammers) point to a list of similarities among "creole" languages, but insofar as the identifying properties are not restricted to "creoles", then the only thing the bioprogrammers have shown is that every "creole language" is a natural language. They have asserted but not shown that the class of "creole languages" has linguistic significance, e.g. that it represents unmarked parameter settings. Therefore, to reject the hypothesis of "creole" bioprogramming is not to abandon explanations based in universal grammar, simply to reject the notion that human language has an "unmarked" state.

To be meaningful in a discussion of grammar or "I-language" (Chomsky 1986b), the term "creole language" must refer to properties which reduce *neither* to universals nor to historical relationships (e.g. "relexification"). Unless and until some strictly linguistic properties are demonstrated to hold of "creole" languages and no others, the "creolist" hypothesis is circular and the self-described "creolist linguist" is a specialist in an apartheid ideology or "Department of Colored Languages".

Its etymology (given above) shows that the term "creole" is not primarily linguistic, although it is used to refer to certain E-languages. In this respect, "creole" is like other terms such as *vernacular* (< Latin *vernāculus* 'domestic' < *verna* 'slave born in the household' - Oxford Classical Dictionary). Originally and primarily, "creole" describes a social situation: the status of culturally assimilated slave-descendants. The concept of "creole" forms part of the ideology of slave-owning households engaged in extractive and agrarian commodity production in the 16th-19th Centuries. This ideology has been maintained and richly elaborated in present-day Caribbean society:

> 'Passing' from one status position to another means negotiating the public signification of the social structure along several dimensions. … It is the double or triple articulation of the systems of status symbolization which makes Caribbean society one of the most complex social systems on earth. But this complexity and, especially, the role of the race-colour or 'ethnic' signifier within this complex, should not permit us to reinterpret this as a system of cultural pluralism. For the positions between black and white form a single spectrum: the complex cultural connotations of 'African' and 'European' and 'creole' are hidden composites of the system of social notation. Once again, these concealed cultural elements are not 'pure'. 'African' does not mean African, but the highly modified, adapted and transformed cultural patterns, relations and institutions of New World blacks. We have suggested that the formative context for these institutions is not Africa but slavery (even where African 'survivals' and influences remain profound). (Hall 1977: 171*f.*)

The question is: why should theoretical linguists rehabilitate a term laden with racist baggage?

In the absence of some unique grammatical content for the term, the only remaining explanation for its use by linguists is ideology—something from which linguists are not aloof. It is pointless to pretend the word "creole" does not exist. But linguists are not professionally obliged to provide this antique term with a new, "scientific" basis, and if none exists they should admit as much.

The social science analogy to "creolist" linguistic bioprogramming is sociobiology. Some social scientists elevate the behavior of *homo economicus* to an evolutionary principle (consciously or unconsciously), or others (consciously) refuse to do so. In the same way, linguists can propound an innate (or "biological") basis for the category of "creole languages", or they can criticize same.

But usually, they choose to believe they are doing neither, and this is also in the nature of ideology. In contrast to the theoretical constructs, the ideological usages of linguists or sociologists are derivative. As historian Sterling Stuckey puts it:

> The final resolution of the names controversy is not likely to come until African peoples as a whole have won freedom, a development inevitably linked to their status in America.(1987: 244)

3.3 Antilogophoricity as domain extension

Important syntactic differences within Igboid and Benue-Kwa concern Case assignment mechanisms; Fukui's (1986) unification of Case and functional categories allows a simple and general parametric account. Logophoric effects in pronominal binding exemplify Koster's (1986) grammar-independent mechanism of domain extension; "a pronoun is a pronoun is a pronoun", but its Condition B domain is extended to include a matrix verb of propositional assertion. The set of "logophoric" contrasts which is possible in a given dialect depends on independent facts about Case absorption (pro-drop).

3.3.1 Logophoricity and binding

Logophoricity occurs in the pronominal systems of Ìgbo and Yorùbá, eastern Kwa languages with significant syntactic differences but residual phonetic and morphological similarity. An analysis

which captures both the differences and similarities would illuminate the syntactic typology of Kwa, both internally (e.g. vs. Àbɛ—western Kwa—cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1987) and in comparison with the rich agreement systems of Benue-Congo.

Logophoricity, along with other "perspectival" phenomena, has been brought to bear on binding theory by Kuno (1972, 1987). I propose to explain logophoric effects in Ìgbo and Yorùbá by combining two innovations in binding theory: Roberge's (1986) recoverability-based account of the clitic licensing of *pro*, and the Kayne (1984)/Koster (1987) idea of percolation projection/extended locality domain. My proposal can be compared to Pulleyblank's (1986) account of Yorùbá antilogophoric clitics as operator-bound variables (described below). The same framework carries over directly to Ìgbo, enabling the difference in logophoricity phenomena between these languages to be captured in an independently needed parameter concerning Case assignment.

In logophoric constructions, the subject (Source) argument of a matrix verb of speaking is the obligatory antecedent of a given embedded, nonreferential expression, which in most cases has the phonetic shape of a pronoun or a reflexive. Logophoricity resolves certain ambiguities in indirect discourse. For example, in the English sentence *Mary told Sue she was exploited*, the pronoun *she* is three-ways ambiguous: between *Mary*, *Sue* and some third female person identified in the preceding discourse. In other languages, the ambiguity is partly resolved by rendering the corresponding sentence in two constructions, logophoric and nonlogophoric. The logophoric construction (in the simplest case) would have the interpretation $Mary_i$ *told* Sue_j $she_{i/*j,*k}$ *was exploited*, such that the element which translates *she* is obligatorily bound by the matrix subject. In the nonlogophoric construction, *she* takes the complementary range of reference: disjoint with respect to *Mary*, but otherwise free, i.e. potentially coreferent with the entities identified by the indices {j, k}[37]

There are different ways to characterise the complementarity of the logophoric vs. nonlogophoric sets of indices, in this example {i/*j,*k} vs. {j, k/*i}. One idea might be to exploit the complementarity of Conditions A and B (Chomsky 1981). Although this move is possible in languages where the logophor is morphologically reflexive (e,g, *zibun* the Japanese "long-distance reflexive"), it does not work in Ìgbo and Yorùbá, where both the logophoric and the nonlogophoric expressions are morphologically pronominal (respectively a lexical pronoun and a pronominal clitic). Alternatively, a covert distinction could be introduced between ordinary pronouns and a special entities, call them "logophoric pronouns". Still another possibility is to directly encode discourse function in lexical representations, for example a feature [±logo]. But it is prudent to suppose that the language learner makes full use of the available morphological information, so that, even in logophoric constructions *a pronoun is a pronoun is a pronoun*. In the languages to be discussed, logophoric expressions are exclusively drawn from the class of so-called 'independent' pronouns, while the non-(or anti-)logophors are always pronominal clitics. If any binding properties are involved in logophoric constructions, and if logophors have the shape of pronouns, perhaps the learner will not treat this as an accident.

In fact, the anaphor/pronominal distinction need not enshrine a direct correspondence between morphology and binding domains. Bouchard (1984: 128) revises the Avoid Pronoun principle of Chomsky 1981 as an "elsewhere condition" between pronominal and anaphoric elements. It can be

[37] Matrix verbs of hearing select the nonsubject (Goal) argument as antecedent, e.g. $Mary_i$ *heard from* Sue_j *that* $she_{j/*i,*k}$ *was exploited.* Significantly, this is not so in every language with logophoric effects.

paraphrased: a pronoun which appears where an anaphor is possible (*n.b.* the Agr↔*pro* relation counts as anaphoric—Bouchard 1984: 38) is interpreted as [+Bound] in that anaphoric domain.[38]

This default explains two kinds of asymmetrical distribution of morphological pronouns and reflexives—on which Avoid Pronoun by itself says nothing. If domain complementarity of Conditions A and B breaks down, it is only in one direction. On pragmatic grounds (Zribi-Hertz 1980: 161), morphological pronouns may appear in certain contexts where binding structurally requires an anaphoric element: *Hugo*$_i$ *est content de lui*(*-même*)$_i$ 'Hugo is satisfied with himself'. But, apparently, there are no corresponding examples of morphological reflexives appearing in [–Bound] contexts. Similarly, if the anaphoric *wh*-variable is lexicalized by Case spellout (an option permitted in popular varieties of French), a resumptive element appears which, though [+Bound], nevertheless has the form of a pronoun: [$_{NP}$ *le gars*$_i$ [$_{CP}$ t_i [$_{\overline{C}}$ *que* [$_{IP}$ *je pense à lui*$_i$]]]] 'the guy that I think about [him]', cf. the null variable bound by the Case-marked, WH-operator in SPEC, CP as required in literary French: [$_{NP}$ *le gars*$_i$ [$_{CP}$ *à qui*$_i$ [$_{\overline{C}}$ ∅ [$_{IP}$ *je pense* x$_i$]]]].

What prevents this result from applying directly to the appearance of [+Bound] lexical pronouns in logophoric constructions, is the fact in Kwa languages both the logophor and the antilogophor are morphological pronouns, i.e. [–anaphoric] in Chomsky's terms. This means that logophoric constructions in these languages are not examples of a pronoun spellout occurring in the Condition A domain, rather the antilogophoric constructions are examples of Condition B applying in a wider domain than expected. Nevertheless, an elsewhere condition is still involved, because the set of possible antecedents for the logophoric, lexical pronoun is, for a given domain, the complement of that for the antilogophoric pronominal clitic.

Put another way: if the logophoric pronoun and antilogophoric clitic are both morphologically pronominal, then Condition B is the relevant interpretive principle for both. On this assumption, the only way to account for the noted complementarity of interpretation is to assume that the local domain to which Condition B refers—governing category—is *extended* just for the antilogophoric expression so as to include the logophoric antecedent, from which it then becomes referentially free. Schematically, extending the binding domain of the clitic in (153a) from α to β, induces an effect of "antilogophoricity" with respect to the next higher subject NP$_i$. The independent pronoun is then logophoric (i.e. [+Bound]) in β by default, along the lines suggested by Bouchard.

153a. [$_\beta$ NP$_i$ said that [$_\alpha$ clitic$_j$ VP]] Condition B domain of *clitic* = β (extended domain → antilogophoric effect)

b. [$_\beta$ NP$_i$ said that [$_\alpha$ pronoun$_i$ VP]] Elsewhere condition: *pronoun* must be bound in β (default interpretation → logophoric effect)

Under this general approach, and contrary to most of the literature, there is nothing special about logophoric pronouns, rather it is the antilogophoric clitic—and its extended locality—which requires explanation. Elevating this idea to a hypothesis, is to predict independent consequences of domain extension, which follow without additional stipulation, and determine if they in fact occur. My claim here is that the mechanism of domain extension *alone* accounts for logophoricity effects in these two related languages, relying on independent parametric differences in their binding systems. A consequence is that binding theory need not refer to a logico-semantic representational level (LF), since these facts at least can all be accommodated at s-structure.

[38] "Surface non-nominative pronouns are ambiguous between [-reflexive] and [+reflexive]" (Kuno 1987:280).

That logophoric phenomena are products of binding theory, given the appropriate formulation of domain (whether at s-structure or at LF), can be called the configurational hypothesis. Kuno 1987, on the other hand, denies that binding theory is primarily a matter of domain; rather, for him, domain effects arise indirectly from functional principles. Despite this difference, Kuno's view shares with the configurational hypothesis an appeal to economy: either functional phenomena receive a configurational explanation, or vice-versa, but the two are not independent. A third view is possible: Clements 1979 claims that ö ë logophors are morphologically (i.e. lexically) distinct from pronouns; accordingly, their referential values are computed independently of the binding conditions, presumably on the basis of direct functional marking in the lexical entry of coreference with the speaker θ-role. This view is mystifying, however, to the extent that the logophors morphologically resemble extant pronouns. The possibility of underanalysis must be excluded, otherwise a feature [±logo] would be purely diacritic.

The ö ë logophors *yè* '3sg' and *yèwó* '3pl' differ minimally from the pronouns *yé* '3sg' and *wó* '3pl'. Either the apparent morphological relationship is illusory; or else the ö ë learner computes logophoric effects from a baseline of binding theory. The logophor *yè* is not used in bound variable examples like *John*$_i$ *saw the person who criticized him*$_i$ (G. N. Clements, p. c.). As John Whitman has pointed out to me, this leaves the null hypothesis that the core phenomenon is pronoun binding.

Before turning to Kwa, I will briefly review Kuno's account of logophoricity in English.

English

Kuno (1972; 1987: 109, 147ff.) describes a functional restriction on English pronoun binding that supplements (and, ultimately, replaces) structurally-based binding conditions by ruling out certain cases of coindexing, as follows. Full NPs in logophoric complements are blocked from coindexing with [+logo] pronouns in the main clause, even if this would be otherwise allowed:

154a. That he$_i$ was the best boxer in the world was repeatedly claimed by Ali$_i$.

b. ??That Ali$_i$ was the best boxer in the world was repeatedly claimed by him$_i$.

By widely held assumptions, coreference of *him* with *Ali* in (154b) should not violate binding condition B, because the 'covert reflexive' seen in sentences like (155) is independently possible.

155. John$_i$ saw a snake near him$_{i,j}$.

And because *Ali* in (154b) is neither c-commanded nor preceded by *him*, the marginality of that sentence is not due to condition C. Kuno explains the contrast in (154) with reference to the corresponding "direct discourse representations" in (156).

156a. "I$_i$ am the best boxer in the world," Ali$_i$ repeatedly claimed.

b. *"Ali$_i$ is the best boxer in the world," he$_i$ repeatedly claimed.

(156b)is not a possible direct discourse,so Kuno's antilogophoric condition marks (154b) as marginal.

In the same vein, consider the reversal of potential binders between (157a-b), in relation to the direct discourse versions in (158), where parallel—albeit stronger—judgements obtain:

157a. John$_i$ said to Bill$_j$ that there was a picture of himself$_{i/*j}$ in the post office.[39]

b. John$_i$ heard from Bill$_j$ that there was a picture of himself$_{?j/??i}$ in the post office.

158a. John$_i$ said to Bill$_j$, "There is a picture of me$_{i/*j}$ in the post office."

b. John$_i$ heard from Bill$_j$, "There is a picture of me$_{j/*i}$ in the post office."

[39] The special reading, under which the picture is a self-portrait taken by John or Bill respectively, is excluded here by the phrase *in the post office*.

Despite the general preference for subjects as antecedents of reflexives, the preferred antecedent of *himself* in (157b) is *Bill*. This implies that what causes the binding domain to extend outside the picture NP is not a subject opacity condition, but a domain extension of Condition A from a logophoric complement to a speaker/Source antecedent (Kuno 1987: 96, 126).

3.3.2 Kwa binding domains

Even without logophoricity to contend with, Kwa pronominal systems would be challenging to standard binding theory because these languages have essentially no lexical anaphors comparable to English *herself/himself* etc.[40] This puts the relevance of Condition A, as an autonomous principle of grammar, into question. Instead, anaphors (which, in Kwa, ambiguously translate both reciprocals and reflexives) are phrasal, of the form [X's N], where X is pronominal and N is a referentially defective lexical item which independently denotes some inalienable possession (typically, 'head' or 'body', cf. Awóyalé 1983). Similar facts in Haitian, a language with many resemblances to the Kwa family, suggest that condition A effects are derived—in this language type, and perhaps more generally—by the induced opacity of the domain of phrasal anaphors.[41]

The parametric absence of condition A in Kwa has many consequences. Koster's 1987 account of long-distance reflexives correctly rules out Kwa anaphors from the class of potential logophors for the same reason that other 'phrasal' or morphologically complex anaphors (like Dutch *zichzelf*) do not extend their domains. Anaphors are irrelevant for the logophoric effects below, although it should be kept in mind that domain extension and domain contraction are two sides of the same coin: syntactically induced transparency/opacity. Opacity (domain contraction) is induced by a nonreferential phrasal head. What about the mechanism of transparency (domain extension)?

It is oft observed that many Kwa complementizers are synchronically homophonous with, and diachronically identical to, verbs of speaking. Clements 1979, following Westermann, notes this about *be* 'say', the ö ë indirect discourse complementizer. The thematic structure of a 'say' complementizer might be the 'escape hatch' through which domain extension occurs. This bridging of binding domains would be predicted, if binding were computed on thematic structure à la Williams (1987a-b). A similar idea about logophoric Comp is couched by Koopman and Sportiche 1987 in terms of the theory of control. But Comp is not present in all logophoric constructions. *Pé*

[40] An exception is the Ìgbo morpheme *nwà/nwá*. Although *nwà* is a bound form in the emphatic reflexive *yá nwà* '3sg. self', reflexive *nwá* is an unemphatic, independent form in Ágbọ̀. As shown by the free form *ènwé* in Ụ́kụàlị, *nwá* is probably congnate to *ònwé* 'self' (literally: owner), which is the head morpheme of the phrasal anaphor in the standard language. Bound morphemes like *nwà/ònwé* like their 'head' and 'body' counterparts in many languages are noun classifiers (or specifiers, cf. Reinhart 1987) which induce opaque binding domains. In fact, *nwá* 'child' occurs nonreferentially, as a classifier, in other expressions such as *nwá ndụ* 'vigorous person' (lit: child of life'), *nwá ḿba* 'cat' (lit: child of a cat') and *nwá ntɲntɲ* 'small quantity'.

i. Ò$_i$ mé nwá$_i$ (ẹ́). 'S/he did her/himself [in]' (Ágbọ̀)
3sg do self 3sg.Gen

ii. Ìyá$_i$ mè-re enwé$_i$. 'S/he did her/himself [in]' (Ụ́kụàlị)
3sg do-rV self

iii. Ó$_i$ mè-re [ònwé yá]$_i$. 'S/he did her/himself [in]' (Standard Ìgbo)
3sg do-rV self 3sg

iv. Ó$_i$ mè-re yá nwà$_i$. 'S/he did *her/himself* [in]' (Standard Ìgbo, contrastive focus)
3sg do-rV 3sg self

[41] Haitian phrasal anaphors, like those of Yorùbá, are generally ambiguous between referential-literal and nonreferential-anaphoric readings ('his body' vs. 'himself'). θ-driven binding might explain the correlation of domain contraction with the nonreferential reading (Déchaine and Manfredi 1990).

(the 'say' Comp in Yorùbá) is always zero if the main 'say' verb is *ní*. In Ìgbo, the factive Comp *nà* is optional after all 'say' verbs. In both languages, the Comp is obligatory just the matrix verb is one of metaphorical speech (e.g. 'think'). This suggests that the logophoric effect is not triggered by a particular Comp, but by embedding under a category with the thematic content of *speech*.

Across Kwa, the morphemes involved in logophoricity contrasts, whether clitics or independent (N^0) pronouns, are virtually all cognate; the clitics are distantly related to Bantu AGR affixes. The '3sg' set includes *ó* (Àbɛ), *ó* (Yorùbá), *ó/ọ́* (Ìgbo) as clitics; *ǹ* (Àbɛ), *yé* (È Ìe), (*n*)*yá* (Ìgbo) as independent pronouns. For '3pl': *wó* (õ ë), (*à*)*wọn* (Yorùbá), *wẹ̀* (Ágbọ̀), *nwó* (Òṇịcha Ìgbo), *wó/wọ́* (Ẹ́hụgbò Ìgbo). The question then is whether related morphemes have parallel binding properties; and, if they differ, whether the differences are random ones.

In Ìgbo and Yorùbá, at least, the following holds: logophoricity effects emerge from a contrast between clitics and N^0 pronouns, with the latter receiving logophoric readings in the relevant contexts. That is, clitics are antilogophoric wherever the contrast is relevant. What makes this interesting for the problem of relating configurationality to functional constraints is the fact that, in each language, the clitic/N^0 opposition is not restricted to logophoricity but has other syntactic determinants. The proverbial "best theory" would establish the distribution of the two sets of elements in each language apart from logophoricity, and derive the slightly different logophoric effects in each language by one mechanism—without ignoring that these elements possess specific binding properties. In terms of learnability, it seems plausible that the referential values of these elements in matrix clauses are cognitively prior to their values when embedded logophorically, so that the latter would be analytically based on the former. This is the structure of my argument.

The first problem is to account for the clitic/N^0 contrast, independent of logophoricity. There is every reason to assume that clitics are coindexed with small *pro*, subject to condition B, in matrix sentences. Turning to the functions of these elements in indirect discourse, the null hypothesis is that the clitics are 'antilogophoric' as a result of extending their Condition B domain to include an 'accessible' NP of a [+logo] matrix clause. (Accessibility is defined in §3.3.3.) Independent pronouns would then receive logophoric readings, coindexed with these [+logo] controllers, perhaps by default. Depending on the language, the motivation for this default might differ.

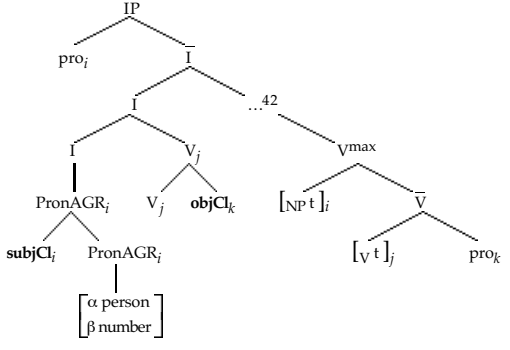
"Clitic = small *pro*" is not proposed in current studies of logophoricity in Kwa. Empty operator-null variable chains are appealed to, both by Pulleyblank 1986 for Yorùbá and by Koopman and Sportiche 1987 for Àbɛ, in their very similar accounts of antilogophoric clitics. Below I point out empirical problems with the variable analysis in Yorùbá; there are also theoretical objections.

In reviewing the literature on clitics, both Roberge 1986 and Whitman 1987 argue that empty operator-null variable chains should be restricted to so-called null argument languages like Mandarin, which entirely lack *φ*-feature agreement and yet license empty argument positions such that these arguments are recoverable *only* from discourse. Null argumenthood is exemplified in a sentence like *You saw x*, where *x* is null and topic-bound, and there are no Agr features. A true antilogophoric variable in their terms, would be *x* in *Mary said that you saw x*, where *x* has no AGR spellout is disjoint in reference from *Mary*. But Romance languages do not have unrecoverable null-arguments: agreement features always appear, either directly on the verb or as a clitic (apart from null complement phemonena which create intransitives, like *John ate*). As Roberge shows, syntactic properties of *pro*-drop vary within Romance according to the richness of AGR (cf. Guerssel 1987).

Topic-bound null arguments of the Mandarin type are unattested in Kwa languages. Kwa clitics and pronouns agree with their antecedents in person and number (gender and animacy are not morphologized). Object agreement on the verb is completely absent; any subject agreement in Infl is quite abstract, lacking person and number features. Compared with the obligatory noun class concord in Benue-Congo, Kwa noun class and concord morphology is only vestigial (cf. Welmers 1973). The Agr portion of Kwa Infl, when present at all, is maximally unspecified.

If, parametrically in Kwa, Tense = ∅ and the featural content of Agr is restricted to pronominal antecedents, Roberge's (1986: 198) representation of subject and object clitics in Romance can be modified for Kwa as follows:

157.



In (5), V-to-I movement has taken place. The subject clitic (subjCl), governed by its antecedent, is indirectly licensed by the featural content of pronominal agreement (PronAGR); the object clitic is directly licensed by the empty category it governs (before head movement of the verb).

Yorùbá

Following tradition, Pulleyblank 1986 identifies the Yorùbá independent or 'strong' pronouns (e.g. *òun* '3sg', *àwọn* '3pl') as N^0 pronouns, and the 'weak' pronouns (*ó* '3sg', *wọn* '3pl') as clitics. The respective genitive clitics are *rẹ̀* '3sg', *wọn* '3pl', and the object clitics -*Ý* '3sg'[43], *wọn* '3pl'.

Pulleyblank further proposes that all the clitics except 3sg govern *pro*, while 3sg governs a null variable (cf. Huang 1984). Because logical variables are not licensed by agreement, this stipulation would account for the failure of the 3sg clitic to show obligatory number agreement in subject or possessor positions with overt A-bar antecedents. But the fact that all clitics including 3sg show obligatory number agreement in all other contexts, including direct object A-bar chains, means that the variable proposal simply pushes the problem from s-structore to LF. It also introduces a nonparallelism between the 3sg and 3pl clitics, which is falsified by even very elementary binding facts. There is no way for Pulleyblank to account for logophoric effects in the 3pl, without claiming that the 3pl clitic also governs a variable—and then two null variables, bound by empty operators, would paradoxically have to be distinguished in terms of φ-feature agreement—a purely diacritic use of radical underspecification!

[42] The phrasal projection of Aspect elided; see §3.1 above.

[43] A repetition of the vowel of the verb, which bears M tone if the verb bears H, otherwise M.

Finally, even restricting attention to the 3sg clitic, the attempt to represent its antilogophoricity as variable binding at LF incorrectly excludes certain nonlogophoric antecedents which intervene between the empty operator and the variable. Thus, Pulleyblank's proposal is both unmotivated (stipulative) and empirically falsified. The alternative, employing the concept of domain extension, treats both 3sg and 3pl clitics as pronominal, and makes correct predictions for intervening, nonlogophoric antecedents. The isolated failure of 3sg number agreement, on which Pulleyblank's proposal rests, has an independent explanation in terms of Case assignment.

Consider, first, matrix A-positions: only clitics can appear there:

158a. Ó rí Tọ́lá.[44] 'S/he saw Tọ́lá'
3sg see

b. Wọ́n rí Tọ́lá. 'They saw Tọ́lá'
3pl see

c. *Òun/Àwọ́n rí Tọ́lá.
3sg 3pl see

d. Tọ́lá rí (i). 'Tọ́lá saw her/him/it'
see 3sg

e. Tọ́lá rí wọn. 'Tọ́lá saw them'
see 3pl

f. *Tọ́lá rí òun/àwọn.
see 3sg 3pl

As in (158d), the 3sg object clitic—a copy of the final vowel of the verb—is optional after a monosyllabic H tone verb. Since this "object deletion" is phonologically conditioned, it has no bearing on null argumenthood, although it is relevant to Accusative Case spellout.

If *ó* identifies a variable and not small *pro* then, just as in Mandarin, *ó* constructions involve null arguments, not empty categories; but this contradicts the fact in (158a,d) that they are licensed by person/number features. It might be argued that *ó* is unambiguously '3sg' even though not licensed by a φ-feature bundle, since this content can always be recovered by default from the absence of the other clitics with their specific feature contents. This would amount to a kind of underspecification in the pronominal system, reminiscent of *signe zéro* in structuralist analyses (e.g. Benveniste 1946). If, on the other hand, *ó* governs *pro*, its φ-feature licensing in (158) is no surprise. Either way, a version of the Avoid Pronoun principle (possibly in the more general form proposed by Bouchard) must be posited, so as to rule out (158c,f).

Lexical (or 'strong') pronouns are required in A-bar positions, as in the "focus" construction:

159a. [CP Òun$_i$ ni [IP ó$_i$ wá]]. 'It is s/he that came'
3sg Comp 3sg come

b. [CP Òun$_i$ ni [IP Tọ́lá rí [t]$_i$]]. 'It is her/him/it that Tọ́lá saw'
3sg Comp see

c. [CP Òun$_i$ ni [IP Tọ́lá rí ìyá rẹ̀$_i$]]. 'It is s/he whose mother Tọ́lá saw…'
3sg Comp see mother 3sg

This requirement may be explained by 'Sopé Oyèlárán's observation (p. c.) that the strong pronouns are inherently deictic, since deixis and focus probably share a semantic property.

[44] Yorùbá data, including those from Pulleyblank 1986, are from the standard language.

The obligatory Nominative and Genitive clitics in (159a,c) are resumptive; this ECP effect is paralleled in the Kru languages, cf. Koopman 1984. As Pulleyblank observes, while these resumptives may show agreement with a plural antecedent, agreement is not necessary:

160a. [NP àwọn$_i$ [CP t$_i$ tí [IP wọ́n$_i$ / ó$_i$ wá]]]… 'those who came…'
3pl Comp.REL 3pl 3sg come

b. [NP àwọn$_i$ [CP t$_i$ tí [IP Tọ́lá rí ìyá wọn$_i$ / rẹ̀$_i$]]]… 'those whose mother Tọla saw…'
3pl Comp.REL see mother 3pl 3sg

Pulleyblank appeals to the lack of obligatory agreement on resumptive clitics in A-bar chains, to support the broader claim that the 3sg clitic *always* governs a variable, and not *pro*. But resumptive agreement is not always optional. WH-type dependencies like (159-160) are not the only contexts where resumptives are found, and (as 'Sopé Oyèlárǎn points out to me) the resumptive clitics which must follow subject relatives show obligatory number agreement:

161a. [NP Àwọn$_i$ [CP t$_i$ tí [IP Tọ́lá rí [t]$_i$]]], wọ́n$_i$ já'de. 'Those who Tọ́lá saw, left'
3pl Comp.REL see 3pl exit

b. *[NP Àwọn$_i$ [CP t$_i$ tí [IP Tọ́lá rí [t]$_i$]]], ó$_i$ já'de.
3pl Comp.REL see 3sg exit

To cover all the facts so far, it might be suggested that the 3sg clitic is actually homophonous between two distinct categories, variable and *pro*. That is, in terms of Sportiche's (1986) approach to lexicalization, these two categories, while structurally distinct, could conceivably be lexicalized together in some languages. But then, the nontrivial question would remain how to predict when number agreement actually occurs. The purported variable shows obligatory agreement in (161) but not in (160), so there is no bijective correspondence between the values [αvariable] and [–αAGR]. To save the story, the type of derivation of the variable would have to be taken into account: a resumptive variable being [–AGR] only when its operator is local—i.e. in (159-160) but not in (161). But this condition would completely divorce agreement from clitic licensing such that, if some 3sg clitics are instances of a variable, variable and *pro* are essentially merged, leading back to the original problem posed by matrix clitics which are clearly licensed by AGR, cf. (158).

This negative result leaves two logical possibilities: either the 3sg clitic always governs a variable, leaving (158) unexplained; or else it always governs *pro*. On the latter assumption, something must be said about the failure of number agreement in (160). This phenomenon, diachronically related to the loss of Benue-Kwa concord morphology, is widespread in Kwa.[45] As to its synchronic status, my best guess is that default singular agreement is restricted to nominative/genitive A-bar chains because the singular clitic is really the spellout of NomAGR/Genitive Case in these island contexts. It seems reasonable to think that the *φ*-features of an antecedent would be inaccessible to an AGR/Case morpheme in an island. This hypothesis would still predict the obligatory number agreement in (161), because although the plural clitic is in subject position, the antecedent is directly adjacent.

[45] Émènanjọ 1978 observes a failure of subject clitics to show number agreement with a left dislocated, topic binder, in some Ìgbo dialects (cf. i), versus obligatory agreement in the standard language (cf. ii):

i. Ńne gí nà ńnà gí, ọ dị́ ńmá? 'Your mother and father, they're fine?'
mother 2sg and father 2sg -Gen 3sg+Q BE goodness

ii. Ńne gí nà ńnà gí, hà dị́ ńmá? 'Your mother and father, they're fine?' (Standard)
3pl+Q

Now consider the logophoricity of the clitic/pronoun contrast in embedded subject position:

162a. Olú$_i$ wí pé [ó$_{j/*i}$ wá]. 'Olú said that s/he [≠Olú] came'
say Comp 3sg come

b. Olú$_i$ wí pé [ọ̀un$_{i/*j}$ wá]. 'Olú said that he [himself] came'

163a. Àwọ́n$_i$ ní [wọ́n$_{j/*i}$ wá]. 'They said they [others] came'
3pl say 3pl come

b. Àwọ́n$_i$ ní [àwọ́n$_{i/*j}$ wá]. 'They said they [themselves] came'

(*N.b. ni* 'Comp' ≠ *ní* 'say'. Unlike its near-synonym *wí*, *ní* does not take the indirect discourse complementizer pé. The logophoric effects are independent of which 'say' verb occurs.)

The 3sg referential patterns in (162) follow either if the 3sg clitic governs *pro*, or if it identifies a logical variable. If it is *pro*, and *pro*'s locality domain as defined by binding Condition B is extended to include the Source (accessible Subject) argument of a logophoric matrix clause, then by Bouchard's elsewhere condition the lexical pronoun *ọ̀un* will be [+Bound] by the matrix subject. If, on the other hand, the 3sg clitic represents a logical variable, it must be free in its maximal scopal domain (Condition C), which includes the logophoric subject; but the lexical pronoun remains.

The Condition B account of 3pl logophoricity in (163) works in exactly the same way as for the 3sg. But it is not clear how Condition C account can say anything about (163), since Pulleyblank explicitly states that "[i]n all but the third singular case, the interpretation of the empty category is purely pronominal" (1986: 51). This means that the 3pl clitic *wọn* is pronominal for Pulleyblank, leaving him no way to account for the logophoric effect in the plural. He inexplicably doesn't mention these elementary data.

The two hypotheses can be compared over a fuller range of facts. We can ask whether the domain of logophoric antecedents is based purely on c-command, as the variable hypothesis would predict, or a more specific structural relation such as government, in accordance with pronominal domain extension. (164a) shows that, to be included in the condition B domain of the clitic, an NP must meet two conditions, which for descriptive purposes can be treated as separate: locality and accessibility. These two conditions receive a unified treatment in the domain extension framework: an accessible NP is one directly connected to the extended domain, namely the "dynasty" of governors which includes the governor of the pronoun (cf. Kayne 1984, Koster 1987). While the clitic's extended condition B domain is equal to β, not every NP within this domain is accessible, i.e. is "part" of the extended domain. *Olú*, which is lexically governed by *mother*, is inaccessible to domain extension, insofar as extension respects thematic connectedness. Therefore, in (164a) *Olú* is a possible antecedent of *ó*, while *mother* is not. Condition C will not get the same result: if *ó* stands for a variable, bound by an empty operator at the beginning of the sentence, this variable should be *Olú*-free, because *Olú* occurs in the Condition C domain between the operator and its variable—yet the fact is that *ó* is not *Olú*-free.

164a. [β [ìyá$_i$ Olú$_j$] ní [α ó$_{j,k/*i}$ wá]]. 'Olú's mother said s/he [≠Olú's mother] came'
mother say 3sg come

b. [β [ìyá$_i$ Olú$_j$] ní [α ọ̀un$_{i/*j,*k}$ wá]]. 'Olú's mother said she [=Olú's mother] came'

For (164b), the elsewhere condition correctly predicts that the referential range of the pronoun is the strict complement of the clitic's: *òun* must be bound in the same domain where *ó* must be free.

Another issue is the maximum size of the domain which can contain a logophoric antecedent. The data in (165) and (166)—reproduced here from Pulleyblank (1986: 62) including a slight but crucial inaccuracy— would require that the domain in which *ó* is free includes all arguments which intervene between *ó* and the purported sentence-initial empty operator:

165a. $\varnothing_m$ [Dúpẹ́$_i$ rò pé Ṣẹ́gun$_j$ sọ pé Tolú$_k$ rò pé ó$_{m/*i,*j,*k}$ wá].
think Comp say Comp think Comp 3sg come
'Dúpẹ́ thought that Ṣẹ́gun said that Tolú thought that (s)he [=someone else] came'

b. $\varnothing_m$ [Dúpẹ́$_i$ rò pé Ṣẹ́gun$_j$ sọ pé Tolú$_k$ rò pé òun$_{i,j,k/*m}$ wá].
'Dúpẹ́ thought that Tolú said that Ṣẹ́gun thought that (s)he [=any of them] came'

166a. $\varnothing_m$ [Dúpẹ́$_i$ rò pé Ṣẹ́gun$_j$ sọ fún Tolú$_k$ pé ó$_{m/*i,*j,*k}$ wá].
think Comp say to Comp 3sg come
'Dúpẹ́ thought that Ṣẹ́gun told Tolú that (s)he [=someone else] came'

b. $\varnothing_m$ [Dúpẹ́$_i$ rò pé Ṣẹ́gun$_j$ sọ fún Tolú$_k$ pé òun$_{i,j/*k,*m}$ wá].
'Dúpẹ́ thought that Ṣẹ́gun told Tolú that (s)he [=Dúpẹ́ or Ṣẹ́gun] came'

Actually, the potential reference of the clitic *ó* is wider than what Puleyblank reports in (165a) and (166a). First, take an example with just two potential logophoric antecedents:

167a. Olú$_i$ sọ pé Merí$_j$ wí pé ó$_{i,k/*j}$ wá. 'Olú said Mary said that s/he [≠Mary] came'
say Comp say Comp 3sg come

b. Olú$_i$ sọ pé Merí$_j$ wí pé òun$_{i,j/*k}$ wá. 'Olú said Mary said that s/he[=Mary or Olú] came'

(167a) goes along with (165) to show that thematic accessibility is required for an argument to be contained in the extended Condition B domain of the clitic *ó*. If this domain were based on the logical relation of c-command (i.e. operator scope)—as Pulleyblank claims—it is inconceivable that it would be restricted to the subject of the immediately higher indirect discourse verb (i.e. *Mary*). Yet this restriction, which follows from domain extension, through a thematic relation, actually obtains: *Olú*, which is the subject of a still higher verb, is a possible antecedent of *ó*, precisely because it is outside the thematic domain of the lowest indirect discourse verb. If there are more than two such verbs, as in (165), the domain extension of *ó* is still limited to the lowest one, thus *ó* = {i, j, m/*k}, not {m/*i,*j,*k} as he has it. If binding domains are defined at s-structure and not at LF (cf. Reinhart 1987), this kind of locality-based restriction is to be expected.

As to (167b), notice that either *Olú* or *Mary* is a potential antecedent of *òun*. This means that the complementarity of the pronoun and the clitic breaks down just in case there is multiple indirect discourse embedding. In such a pragmatically marked configuration, the pronoun has wider-than-expected coreference possibilities. While Bouchard's elsewhere principle does not predict this wider range (any more than it predicts the Zribi-Hertz's examples of non-complementarity already cited: *Hugo*$_i$ *est content de lui*(*-même*)$_i$), it is consistent with it.

Now consider Pulleyblank's data in (166). As in (164-165), the inaccuracy concerns the possible antecedents of the clitic *ó*. Pulleyblank reports that *Tolú* is also not a possible antecedent of *ó*, but in fact it is: the correct referential set for *ó* in (166a) is {k, m/*i,*j}, not {m/*i,*j,*k} as Pulleyblank has it. This is significant, because it bears directly on the question of whether the set of possible

antecedents for the clitic is determined by Condition C, as Pulleyblank claims, or by Condition B in a thematically extended domain. Since *Tolú* is governed by *fún*, a quasi-prepositional lexical element, it is not within the clitic's thematically extended domain, hence it is a potential antecedent for *ó*.

This concludes my comparison of the global-logical (Condition C plus empty operators) and local-thematic (Condition B plus domain extension) accounts of Yorùbá logophoric effects. Now consider some facts which bear on the parametric difference between Yorùbá and Ìgbo. In Yorùbá, the morphological contrasts found in embedded subject and object positions are parallel; the logophoricity effects in (168-169) are like those in (162-163):

168a. Olú$_i$ wí pé Merí$_j$ rí-(i)$_{k/*i,*j}$. 'Olú said that Mary saw 3sg [≠Olú, ≠Mary]'
say Comp see 3sg

b. Olú$_i$ wí pé Merí$_j$ rí òun$_{i/*j,*k}$. 'Olú said that Mary saw him [=Olú]'

169a. Àwọ́n$_i$ wí pé Merí rí-wọn$_{j/*i}$. 'They said that Mary saw them [themselves]'
3pl say Comp see 3sg

b. Àwọ́n$_i$ wí pé Merí rí àwọn$_{i/*j}$. 'They said that Mary saw them [others]'

This symmetry of the embedded subject and object positions is not replicated in Ìgbo.

But, while the positions are symmetrical in terms of the binding properties of the elements which occupy them, the morphemes themselves are not freely distributed with respect to each other. (170a-c) show that an embedded clitic treats any pronominal in its binding domain like a name, from which it is disjoint. But when two lexical pronouns share the same condition B domain, the result (170d) is simply ungrammatical. This follows because, by the elsewhere condition, both instances of *òun* must find an antecedent in the extended domain of the corresponding clitic, which means that they are coreferent, but this contradicts condition B.

170a. Olú$_i$ wí pé ó$_j$ rí-(i)$_{k/*i,*j}$. 'Olú says that 3sg [≠Olú] saw 3sg [someone/thing else]'
say Comp 3sg see 3sg

b. Olú$_i$ wí pé òún$_i$ rí-(i)$_j$. 'Olú says that he [=Olú] saw 3sg [someone/thing else]'

c. Olú$_i$ wí pé ó$_j$ rí òun$_i$. 'Olú says that 3sg [≠Olú] saw him [=Olú]'

d. *Olú wí pé òún rí òun.

This suggests a way to derive the symmetry of *pro*-drop in subject and object positions: given the elsewhere condition, pronouns are barred in all matrix A-positions (apart from contexts of contrastive stress) just because domain extension cannot occur in matrix clauses:

171a. Ó$_i$ rí-(i)$_{j/*i}$. '3sg saw 3sg [someone/thing else]'

b. *Òún rí-(i).

c. *Ó rí òun.

d. *Òún rí òun.

To summarize: the Yorùbá 3sg clitic is pronominal, licensed in A-positions by obligatory person and number agreement with its antecedent (regardless of whether the dependency is syntactic or located in discourse). The clitic also shows obligatory number agreement in subject relatives (9), but not in subject/possessor A-bar chains (8); this split is consistent with the pronominal hypothesis, since the subject and possessor positions are ECP islands, from which syntactic agreement features

are not accessible. The full set of referential possibilities for both singular and plural clitics, in subject and object positions of logophoric complements (162-170) can be explained, if the [+pronominal] binding domain of a clitic in a logphoric complement is *extended* to include the thematically connected (accessible) argument of the matrix clause containing the indirect discourse verb. Given domain extension for the clitic, the referential potential of the lexical pronoun in logophoric complements is set by the elsewhere condition: the complement of the clitic's impossible antecedents in the extended domain. (164), (167) and the corrected version of (166a) show that logophoric domain extension does not include lexically governed arguments (Genitive or Accusative), and is constrained by subjacency. Numerous examples show that a complementizer of 'speaking', connecting the matrix clause and the embedded discourse, is not required in order for domain extension to occur; in fact, with certain verbs of speaking (e.g. *nì*) the indirect discourse Comp is actually prohibited. What triggers domain extension, therefore, is thematic in nature: the embedding of an IP under a verb of speaking.

While Ìgbo logophoricity effects closely parallel those found in Yorùbá, there is a parametric difference: Ìgbo shows a subject/object asymmetry with regard to the clitic/pronoun distinction, which is ultimately related to a difference in Case assignment. As would be expected if it is Case-related, this asymmetry holds uniformly in Ìgbo, in both embedded and matrix clauses, suggesting that the binding mechanism of matrix clauses operates as well in logophoric complements. This would make the domain extension account the null hypothesis for that language.[46]

Ìgbo

Ìgbo grammarians like Émènanjọ 1978 recognize the following categories of pronominals:

		'independent'		'dependent'
		'strong'	'weak'	
172a.	3sg.	àyá	yá	ó/ọ́
b.	3pl.	àhá	há	é/á...há

The strong forms can be considered inherently focused, i.e. contracted from the focus construction *Ọ́ wụ́ ya/ha* 'It is 3sg/3pl'. As phonological clitics, the dependent forms each have two vowel harmony variants; I take them to be syntactic clitics as well, leaving the weak, independent forms to answer the label of N^0 pronouns. This establishes the following parallels with Yorùbá: 3sg clitics = *ó/ọ́* (Ìgbo), *ó* (Yorùbá); 3sg lexical pronouns = *yá* (Ìgbo), *òun* (Yorùbá). Because of subject inversion in the 3pl forms, I restrict discussion here to 3sg.

As in Yorùbá, Ìgbo lexical pronouns are required in A-bar positions, e.g. in the focus/relative construction. Note that the relative subject in (173a) lacks a complementizer and is antecedent-

[46]Typological comparison in another direction can be signalled here. The Dogrib "disjoint anaphor" *ye*-(Saxon 1983) seems to be an anaphor only insofar as this is convenient for Huang's 1983 definition of governing category. On the basis of Saxon's data, Dogrib *ye*- could be equated to the Yorùbá pronominal clitic, except that the domain extension of Condition B is specifically in logophoric contexts in Yorùbá, while in Dogrib the domain is apparently extended unconditionally for *ye*. Thus, the Yorùbá version of *John hunts with his father* is ambiguous just as in English, if the Genitive clitic *rẹ̀* translates *his*. If, on the other hand, the lexical pronoun is used (in the emphatic reflexive phrase *tì òun* 'his own'), *òun* is obligatorily coreferent with *John*. In Dogrib, the same sentence is ambiguous when *his* is translated by the pronoun *we*-; with the clitic *ye*-, *his* is unambiguously disjoint from *John*. This comparison, if just, is challenging to the domain extension hypothesis, precisely because no predicate of speaking is required for the antilogophoric effect. For further discussion of Dogrib *ye*, and comparison to Navajo *bi*, see Saxon (1989, 1990, 1991).

governed, thus it is not an island like its Yorùbá counterpart in (159). The expletive and copula are optional in the pronominal object relative, cf. (173b):[47]

173a. Ọ́ wụ́ ya$_i$ [$_{IP}$ [t$_i$] bá-ra]. 'It is (s)he that came'
3sg-EXPL BE 3sg come.REL-ØAsp

b. (Ọ́ wụ́) ya$_i$ [kà ḿ hụ́-rụ [t$_i$]]. '(It is) her/him/it that I saw'
3sg-EXPL BE 3sg Comp 1sg see.REL-ØAsp

[159]a. [$_{CP}$ Òun$_i$ nì [$_{IP}$ ọ́$_i$ wá]]. 'It is (s)he that came'
3sg Comp 3sg come

b. [$_{CP}$ Òun$_i$ nì [$_{IP}$ Tọ́lá rí [t]$_i$]]. 'It is her/him/it that Tọ́lá saw'
3sg Comp see

It will be noticed that the 'focused' pronoun occurs to the right of the Ìgbo copula *wụ́*, with the expletive *ọ́* clitic in subject position. But in the Yorùbá focus construction, cf. (159a-b) reproduced here, the opposite situation obtains: there is no expletive, and the focused pronoun is on the left of the focus morpheme (see §3.2 above). This difference suggests that the clitic/pronoun contrast in Ìgbo is reducible to a difference in Case assignment, where the pronoun must receive structural Case.

Unlike the situation in Yorùbá, the clitic vs. lexical pronoun contrast in Ìgbo is affected by Accusative and Genitive Case assignment. In a matrix clause, only the clitic is possible as the subject (an Avoid Pronoun effect) and only the pronoun is possible as direct object, or as possessor:

174a. Ọ́$_i$ hụ̀-rụ ya$_j$. '(S)he saw 3sg [someone/thing else]'
3sg see-ØAsp 3sg-ACC

b. *Yá hụ̀-rụ yá. *Ọ́ hụ̀-rụ ọ́. *Yá hụ̀-rụ ọ́.

175a. Ákwụkwọ yá. 'Her/his book'
book-NOM 3sg-GEN

b. *Ákwụkwọ ọ́.

(174-175) show that the Ìgbo clitic cannot, and the pronoun must, bear either Accusative or Genitive. That is, Ìgbo *pro*-drop (in Roberge's sense) is limited to subjects; *pro*-drop in Yorùbá, by contrast, is general for both subjects and objects, as shown in the previous section.[48]

[47]Unless noted, data in this section are from Nwáchukwu's Óbòámá dialect of western Èzínàíhìte Ḿbàìsén. Èzínàíhìte, the basis for Swift et al. 1962, differs from standard Ìgbo in allowing antilogophoric *ó/ọ́* '3sg' and *ú́mụ* '3pl' in nonsubject positions. In other dialects, logophoric contrasts arise only for embedded subjects.

[48]Case morphology can be read directly off the tonal phonology. Genitive is realized tonally on a H-initial noun only after H. It causes a monosyllabic noun like *yá* to be downstepped as in (174a). Accusative, by contrast, is purely structural, with no special tonal effect: the Accusative form of *yá* in (173a) is not downstepped. This is not obvious, however, because the final low tone of the verb causes *yá* to be downdrifted. A phonetic difference appears in those dialects, including Èzínàíhìte, with a class of verbs (including *rí* 'eat') which retain their H tone in the Accusative-assigning verb form:

i. Ó rí-ri ya. [¯ - - -] 'S/he ate it'
3sg see-ØAsp 3sg-ACC

ii. ériri yá [¯ - - -] 'her/his rope'
rope 3sg-GEN

The pronoun is downstepped in (ii) but not in (i). As discussed in Chapter 2 and in §3.4, this analysis implies that perfective verbs, which have the tone pattern in (iii), assign Genitive, not Accusative:

iii. Ó rí-e-le yá. [¯ - - - _] 'S/he has eaten [of] it'
3sg eat-OVS-Perf 3sg-GEN

The correlation of perfective morphology with intransitivity is widespread, cf. English *-en*.

There are, however, two classes of exceptions to the subject *pro*-drop hypothesis. First, observe that apparent matrix pronominal subjects occur in conditionals:

176a. Yáᵢ hụ yáⱼ/*ᵢ… ‘If (s)he sees 3sg [someone/thing else]…’
3sg see 3sg-ACC

b. *Ọ́ hụ ọ́… *Ọ́ hụ yá… *Yá hụ ọ́…

To maintain the overall generalization, it seems reasonable to say that the conditional subject in (176a) receives structural Case. This speculation is supported by the existence of (177), the fuller paraphrase of (176a) in which the conditional subject is embedded by the factive Comp under a matrix copula with expletive clitic subject:

177. Ọ́ wụ [C nà [IP yáᵢ hụ yáⱼ]]… ‘If it is [the case] that (s)he sees 3sg [someone/thing else]…’
3sg-EXPL BE Comp 3sg see 3sg-ACC

(177) suggests that the embedded subject of a conditional receives Exceptional Case Marking from *nà* (a Comp which is homophonous with a lexical category: the locative Preposition).

The other class of exceptions to the Case generalization for Ìgbo *pro*-drop is indirect discourse. In logophoric complements, unlike matrix clauses, object *pro*-drop is possible (in Èzínàíhìte Mbàisén, but not in the standard form of the language). This possibility introduces a difference between Ìgbo and Yorùbá indirect discourse complements.

For the interpretation of the clitic/N^0 pronoun contrast in logophorically embedded subject position, the Ìgbo examples in (26) are identical to their Yorùbá counterparts, described above in (10). But this identity breaks down in embedded object position, in two respects. For the 3sg clitic, there is a difference in agreement features, compare the glosses of (27a) and (16a). In Yorùbá, the clitic is always unmarked for animacy, e.g. the embedded object of (16a) may be either animate or inanimate. In all dialects of Ìgbo, subject *ó/ọ́* is always unmarked for animacy (this is often disambiguated by the selectional properties of the subject). In Èzínàíhìte, object ó/ọ́ is possible just in logophoric complements, and is always [+animate], cf. (179a). In Standard Ìgbo, object *ó/ọ́* is not possible in any context, so the question does not arise.[49]

For the lexical pronoun, there is a structural difference, compare the sets of indices in (179b) with those in (168b). The Yorùbá embedded object pronoun *òun* in (168b) is *strictly* logophoric: it can refer only to the matrix subject, cf. 168b). In Ìgbo, however, the embedded object pronoun *yá* is *ambiguous* between the main clause subject and some other discourse antecedent, cf. (179b):

178a. Ógùᵢ sị (na) óⱼ/*ᵢ bịa-ra. ‘Ógù said that (s)he [*Ógù] came’
say Comp 3sg come-∅Asp

b. Ógùᵢ sị (na) yáⱼ/*ᵢ bịa-ra.[50] ‘Ógù says that he [Ógù] came’
say Comp 3sg come-∅Asp

[49]But *ó/ọ́* as complement of the copula *dí* is found in several dialects, e.g.:

i. Gị́ dị ọ́? ‘What is it/What is the matter?’ (Ìgboọ́ụzọ̀)
2pl BE 3sg

ii. Kị́ rị́ ọ? ‘What is it/What is the matter?’ (Ágbọ̀)
2pl BE 3sg

[50]The Comp can be deleted from …*sị́ nà yá*… ‘say that 3sg’ (or from its counterpart …*sị́ nà há*… ‘say that 3pl’), yielding …*sị́ ayà*… (or …*sị́ ahà*…). Nwáchukwu (1982: 48, 60 *fn.* 2) describes the forms *áyà* and *áhà* as “emphatic…anaphora in reported speech”; in terms of the analysis developed here, they are inherent-ECM pronouns (i.e. inherent Accusative, subject pronouns).

179a. Ógùᵢ sị (na) Meríⱼ hù-rụ ọ́ₖ/*ᵢ,*ⱼ. ‘Ógù said that Mary saw her/him [*Mary, *Ógù]’

b. Ógùᵢ sị (na) Meríⱼ hù-rụ yáᵢ,ₖ/*ⱼ. ‘Ógù said that Mary saw 3sg [*Mary]’

[168]a. Olúᵢ wí pé Meríⱼ rí-(i)ₖ/*ᵢ,*ⱼ. ‘Olú said that Mary saw 3sg [*Olú]’
say Comp see 3sg

b. Olúᵢ wí pé Meríⱼ rí òunᵢ/*ⱼ,*ₖ. ‘Olú said that Mary saw him [Olú]’

The embedded clitic *ọ́*, whether in subject or object position, strictly obeys condition B in its extended binding domain, just as with the Yorùbá clitic (163a ≅ 178a, 168a ≅ 179a). The restriction that the Ìgbo object clitic is [+animate] seems related to the fact that object clitics are excluded from matrix clauses, so that there is no Avoid Pronoun effect for objects. Indeed, what is operative in embedded object position, as rightly pointed out to me by Jack Martin, is a kind of “Avoid clitic” effect, and since clitics are never required to be antiligohoric with respect to an inanimate antecedent, the object clitic is always animate.

The Ìgbo lexical pronoun *yá* in downstairs subject position has two readings: [+Bound] with respect to the logophoric antecedent in the extended domain, and [–Bound] outside this domain. The [+Bound] reading follows, just in the corresponding Yorùbá example, from the elsewhere condition: the logophoric subject is the only antecedent in the condition B domain of the corresponding clitic (163b ≅ 178b). The [–Bound] reading shows that the Ìgbo object pronoun is more than just an elsewhere form.[51] The presence of the [–Bound] reading means that, apart from the lack of gender agreement in Ìgbo, (179b) is synonymous, in its range of ambiguity, with the English sentence *John said that Mary saw him*. Nevertheless, only the elsewhere condition, and not Condition B, applies to *yá* in subject position, where it is just [+Bound], cf. (179a). The puzzle therefore is: why *yá* should be interpreted like a regular, non-logophoric pronoun, just in embedded object position. Intuitively, this cannot be unrelated to the fact that, in matrix object position, *yá* and not *ó/ọ́* is required for Case reasons. In other words, although object *pro*-drop is apparently not obligatory in logophoric complements, the absence of object *pro*-drop in matrix clauses is still relevant for the interpretation of embedded object *yá*.

3.3.3 Clitics, Kase and binding

I take these two cross-linguistic differences as reflecting the same subject-object asymmetry which has already been observed, in matrix clauses, in Ìgbo but not in Yorùbá, cf. (175) vs. (171). If the presence/absence of this asymmetry can be captured in a Case parameter, a further test for domain extension becomes possible: whether the two differences in the interpretation of (168) and (179) can be predicted. The parameter would somehow preserve the Case restriction on Ìgbo pronouns in a uniform way in both embedded and matrix clauses, while allowing object clitics only in embedded clauses. To do this requires a hypothesis on the relationship between Case and agreement, since clitics are locally licensed by agreement features, whereas pronouns, while sharing the agreement features of their antecedents, are locally licensed by Case (just like other lexical nouns).

Fukui (1986: 54) unifies Case and agreement features under the label Kase. For him, Case is assigned by lexical categories, while agreement is a property of the Specifier-head relationship which arises only within the projection of a functional category, since only functional categories have Specifiers. Thus, by Fukui’s Functional Projection Theorem (1986: 79), a Specifier position is licensed by Kase: either by Spec-head agreement, as for a matrix subject, or by lexical Case (for

[51]The importance of embedded object *yá*’s ambiguity was pointed out to me by D. Sportiche.

ECM). If subject clitics are the spellout of agreement features which license *pro*, this means that they fall together with lexical Nominative Case as instances of F(unctional)-Kase.

ECM contexts, such as the subject position of Ìgbo conditionals, will therefore never have clitic subjects, since what is assigned by ECM is S(tructural)-Kase; these will be just the contexts in which pronoun subjects are possible despite subject *pro*-drop. The cross-linguistic difference already observed in focus/relative constructions is therefore predictable. In Ìgbo, these constructions fall together with the other ECM cases, because Comp and the copula are morphologically separate, and focused/relative arguments receive S-Kase from the copula, whose own subject is expletive, cf. (173a). In Yorùbá, any focused/relative argument can only occur external to Comp (e.g. *ni* or *tí*, cf. 159-161), and there can be no expletive subject.

The object clitic has a problematic status in Fukui's system. As a clitic, it is licensed by φ feature agreement (F-Kase); but as the antecedent for *pro* in argument position, it is licensed by lexical government, therefore it receives S-Kase. The only possibility in Fukui's tightly constrained system is that, following Kayne's idea of Case absorption (cited in Borer 1984: 36), object clitics represent the intersection of the two different kinds of Kase. Both may "overlap" in the clitic, giving the French/Yorùbá-type object *pro*-drop, with a clitic. Or else, the two kinds may "split", giving object doubling as in Spanish (*Lo$_i$ vimos a Juan$_i$*, literally 'Him$_i$-we saw John$_i$'). The substruction of Kase features is given in (180):

	F-Kase (φ-features)	S-Kase (lexical government)	
180. {Nominative arguments, subject clitics}	+	–	
{object clitics}	+	+ ⇒ ∅	(S-Kase absorption)
{object doubling}	+	+	(no absorption)
{Accusative arguments}	–	+	

(180) predicts that clitic doubling as double (or "dummy") Kase marking is restricted to objects. This prediction is correct: Roberge (1986: 191) shows that subject doubling never involves double Kase marking. Clitic doubling in a possessive construction stands formally in-between subject and object doubling. Extrapolating from (180), the prediction is that possessive clitics double only in those languages where Genitive Kase is assigned lexically. This seems to be true.

For example, there is a parametric difference between English and French Genitives. Possessives in both languages are Specifiers; the φ-feature licensing of French possessives is particularly clear, since they show gender agreement (*son livre*, *sa lettre*). In English, where Fukui shows that both possessive and Genitive are licensed by the functional head with the form ['s] (*John's book*, *his book*), possessive doubling is impossible (**John's his book*). But in French, where the Genitive is licensed by the quasi-prepositions à and *de* (*le livre* à/*de Jean*)—lexical categories which can be thought of as transmitting the government relation from the lexical N—doubling of the possessive clitic by an overt argument is possible (*son$_i$ livre* à *Jean$_i$*), cf. Tremblay 1988.

	F-Kase	S-Kase	
181. {English Genitive arguments, English possessive clitics}	+	–	
{French possessive clitics}	+	+ ⇒ ∅	(S-Kase absorption)
{French possessive doubling}	+	+	(no absorption)
{French Genitive arguments}	–	+	

In the asymmetrical partitioning of licensing properties among subject and object clitic forms in (180), as in the possessive/Genitive split in (181), a logical possibility is missing: absorption of F-Kase by S-Kase. And it is precisely F-Kase absorption that seems to occur in Ìgbo, or any other language with subject *pro*-drop but not object *pro*-drop. The complete version of (180) follows:

	F-Kase	S-Kase	
182. {Nominative arguments, subject clitics}	+	–	
{object clitics}	+	+ ⇒ ∅	(S-Kase absorption)
{object doubling}	+	+	(no absorption)
{object pronoun}	+ ⇒ ∅	+	(F-Kase absorption)
{Accusative arguments}	–	+	

Based on (182), the parametric difference between Ìgbo and Yorùbá is the type of Kase absorption:

		absorption of:
183.	Yorùbá	S-Kase
	Ìgbo	F-Kase

(183) excludes matrix object clitics in Ìgbo, because F-Kase can't be assigned there. It is therefore interesting that ECM from Comp (or a matrix 'say' verb) to logophorically embedded subjects is apparently optional, since either a clitic or a pronoun can occur there, cf. (178). It is difficult to understand how Case assignment could be optional, so something else must be going on. The logophoric effect in embedded subject position suggests that what prevents ECM from applying is a failure of locality: F-Kase absorption evidently requires that the suppressed φ-features are recoverable. If the antecedent is in the same extended domain as the φ–features, recoverability is ensured by binding: the Accusative pronoun in (178a) is bound by the matrix subject, so F-Kase absorption is not blocked. A non-local antecedent for the embedded subject (i.e. in the preceding discourse) will not suffice to ensure φ-feature recoverability, therefore the clitic is not absorbable.

In an ECM context, the φ-features in question are on the embedded Infl, whereas the S-Kase is assigned by the matrix Comp. In embedded object position, by contrast, both kinds of Kase are assigned by the verb. Now consider the data. In Èzínàíhìte Ìgbo, the dialect reported on in this paper, embedded object clitics are found just when their agreement features are unrecoverable, i.e. not found in the extended domain. In Standard Ìgbo, embedded object clitics are never possible, in other words the parametrically available type of absorption (of F-Kase by S-Kase) is never blocked. This suggests that domain extension in fact never occurs for embedded objects in the Standard form of the language, just for ECM contexts (i.e. for embedded subject position). In other words, the parameter which distinguishes Standard from Èzínàíhìte Ìgbo is domain extension which includes two object positions. If ECM is viewed as an automatic instance of domain extension, from a lexical category (the matrix verb) to a functional category (the embedded IP), then what is parametrized is the ability of domain extension to include embedded objects, which entails the merger of two lexical government domains. In other words, the antilogophoricity of an embedded subject clitic is guaranteed by ECM (lexical-to-functional domain extension) plus φ-feature recoverability. The antilogophoricity of an embedded object clitic requires that domain extension cross a "lexical barrier" between the lower and upper predicate. This means that logophoric effects in general arise from two interacting parameters, one thematic and one Kase-based, as in (184):

		absorption of:	*θ*-subjacency
184.	Yorùbá	S-Kase	lexical domain extension
	Èzínàíhìte Ìgbo	F-Kase	lexical domain extension
	Standard Ìgbo	F-Kase	

The consequence of (184) for Èzínàíhìte is that a 3rd person Accusative clitic can escape absorption only if its agreement features are unrecoverable in its binding domain. For matrix object position, only the absorption parameter will be relevant (185a), while for embedded object position, the two parameters will interact (185b):

185a. For matrix objects, the *φ*-features of the Èzínàíhìte clitic are always recoverable, since it can't have a local antecedent (Condition B); therefore the clitic's Kase features are always absorbed by the pronoun.

b. For embedded objects, the *φ*–features of the Èzínàíhìte clitic are unrecoverable iff
(i) the clitic is free from the matrix subject, *and*
(ii) it contains some additional feature, apart from the person and number.

To satisfy (185b-ii), the embedded object clitic must be [+animate]. This additional feature is forced because the antecedent excluded by domain extension is a speaker, and therefore [+animate].

(186) shows that the Kase requirements of embedded subjects and objects are independent:

186a. Ógùi sị̀ (na) ọ́j hụ̀-rụ yái,k/*j. 'Ógù said that (s)he [*Ógù] saw 3sg [*Mary]'

b. Ógùi sị̀ (na) yái hụ̀-rụ yáj/*i. 'Ógù said that he [Ógù] saw 3sg [*Ógù]'

c. Ógùi sị̀ (na) ọ́ j hụ̀-rụ ọ́k. 'Ógù said that (s)he [*Ógù] saw her/him [someone else]'

d. Ógùi sị̀ (na) yái hụ̀-rụ ọ́j. 'Ógù said that he [Ógù] saw him/her [*Ógù]'

This independence remains, even if the matrix clause contains a potential antecedent for the embedded subject clitic, i.e. a lexically governed argument such as *Mary* in (187). As seen in (187a,c), the embedded object clitic must remain distinct from the antecedent of the embdded subject.

187a. Ógùi gwa-ra Mèríj (sị̀) nà ọ́j hụ̀-rụ yái,k/*j. 'Ógù told Mary that (s)he [*Ógù] saw 3sg [*Mary]'
ọ́k yái,j,m/*k.

b. Ógùi gwa-ra Mèríj (sị̀) nà yái hụ̀-rụ yáj,k/*i. 'Ógù told Mary that he [Ógù] saw 3sg [*Ógù]'

c. Ógùi gwa-ra Mèríj (sị̀) nà ọ́j hụ̀-rụ ọ́k/*i,*j. 'Ógù told Mary that (s)he [*Ógù] saw her/him [someone else]'
ọ́k ọ́m/*i,*j,*k.

d. Ógùi gwa-ra Mèríj (sị̀) nà yái hụ̀-rụ ọ́k/*i,*j. 'Ógù told Mary that he [Ógù] saw her/him [*Ógù, not Mary]'

Finally, consider an example in which the clitic appears to be locally bound:

188a. Ógùi á-nọ́-ghị̀ nà ńsòɡbú, dị́ kà ọ́i,j chè-re. 'Ógù was not in trouble, as (s)he thought [to be the case]'
É-BE-Neg in problem BE Comp 3sg believe-ØAsp

b. */??Ógù á-nọ́-ghị̀ nà ńsòɡbú, dị́ kà yá chè-re.

Kuno has pointed out to me that (188) is paratactic, like the similarly ambiguous English example cited by Reinhart 1983: *John will be late, he said*. The only relevant binding condition is therefore condition B. The slim acceptability of (188b) relies on a stressed interpretation of *yá* forcing it to cross over Ógù to a prior discourse topic (thus supporting the idea of topic-linkage for the pronoun, rather than for the clitic as Pulleyblank proposed for Yorùbá).

3.3.4 Against lexical binding features

If the behavior of the object clitic in Èzínàíhìte was an isolated phenomenon, and the "core" of logophoricity was restricted to embedded subject position, as in Standard Ìgbo, it might be proposed that the clitic *ó/ọ́* bears a diacritic feature [–logo] marking it disjoint from an NP 'speaker'. In support of this idea are some ö ë data from Clements 1979, showing that if the matrix verb is one of hearing, the object and not the subject is the antecedent of the logophor *yè*. In no dialect of Ìgbo, however, does a predicate of hearing undo coreference of *yá* with the matrix subject:

189a. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà ọ́j,k gà-awụ́ ezè. 'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that 3sg [not Ógù] would be king'
hear-ØAsp in-voice Comp 3sg FUT-BE king

b. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà yai/*j gà-awụ́ ezè. 'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that he [Ógù] would be king'

And in Èzínàíhìte, the facts in object position are the same for a matrix 'hearing' verb:

190a. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà ọ́j gà-emé yái,k/*j ezè.
ọ́k yái,j,m/*k
'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that 3sg [not Ógù] would make 3sg [someone/thing else] king'

b. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà yái gà-emé yáj,k/*i ezè.
'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that he [Ógù] would make 3sg [not Ógù] king'

c. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà ọ́j gà-emé ọ́k/*i,*j ezè.
ọ́k ọ́m/*i,*j,*k
'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that 3sg [not Ógù] would make her/him [someone else] king'

d. Ógùi nụ-rụ n'ólu Chìkéj nà yai/*j gà-emé ọ́k/*i,*j ezè.
'Ógù heard from Chíkéj that he [Ógù] would make her/him [someone else] king'

Sportiche 1986 suggests an analysis with non-diacritic lexical features. He distinguishes overt pronominal and anaphoric elements by two features specifying relationship to an antecedent: c-command [±bound], and locality/antilocality within the governing category [±local]. This yields four possibilities, which might be lexicalized in different languages as follows:

		English	Japanese	Yorùbá	Ìgbo
191a.	[+ bound, + local]	reflexives, reciprocals	zibun	ara rẹ̀	ònwé yá, yá nwà
b.	[+ bound, - local]	pronouns used as variables	zibun	òun	yá
c.	[- bound, - local]	pronouns used referentially	kare	ó	ó/ọ́
d.	[- bound, + local]	---[52]			

English morphologically conflates lines two and three, which together constitute a category with the properties of condition B. Sportiche observes, however, that Japanese *zibun*, as a 'long-distance reflexive', conflates lines one and two, leaving line three to *kare*. He further speculates that Fulfulde has a distinct class of morphemes for each line; Ìgbo and Yorùbá might be so viewed as well. But we have seen in that *yá* in embedded object position is ambiguous between the speaker and a distinct discourse antecedent, hence it is not [+bound].

3.3.5 Subject inversion in Ìgbo

Though logophoricity contrasts do not extend to the 1st and 2nd persons, the clitic/pronoun contrast is consistent in the singular. However, of the four clitic subjects in (192), only 1sg and 3pl invert.

[52]The gap is explained by the fact that "natural languages do not seem to impose locality requirements not involving c-command" (Sportiche 1986: 370).

192.	*pronoun*	*clitic*	*noninverted Nom*	*inverted Nom*	
1sg.	mṹ		mṹ egbúole		'I have killed'
		ḿ	ḿ gbúole	égbúole ḿ	
2sg.	gḭ́		gḭ́ egbúole		'you sg. have killed'
		ḭ́/ḭ́	ḭ́ gbúole		
3sg.	yá		yá egbúole		'3sg. has killed'
		ó/ọ́	ó gbúole		
1pl.	ányị̀		ányị̀ egbúole		'we have killed'
2pl.	ụ́nụ̀		ụ́nụ̀ egbúole		'you pl. have killed'
3pl.	{há, ụ́mụ[53]}		{há, ụ́mụ} egbúole		'they have killed'
		hà		égbúole hà	

The 'discontinuous' pronominals é/á…ḿ '1sg' and é/á…hà '3pl' have been analyzed by Goldsmith 1981b and Íhịọ́nụ́ 1985 as resulting from syntactic movement. The inverted 1sg form is ambiguous between 'PRO [arb] have killed me' and 'I have killed', cf. (194).

With an Aux, the "inverted" order is possible only for 1sg, which loses its inherent H tone.

193a. Ágà m e-gbú. 'I'll kill [something = TOPIC]'
Á-go 1sg È-kill

b. Há gà e-gbú. 'They'll kill [something = TOPIC]'
3pl-go È-kill

Suppose that what happens with Aux is really no inversion at all, but failure of the clitic to raise to subject position. Then (193a) falls together with the ECM facts already discussed, with one condition: a clitic can receive ECM from an AUX iff it cannot desyllabify. This condition is related to the syllabic morphology of Case. The difference between 1sg and 3pl in this respect reduces to the difference between the segments /m/ and /h/. Because /m/ is a potential syllable, the 1sg morpheme doesn't desyllabify as a clitic; this is not true for /h/ or for /y/ in the 3sg. The 2sg and 3sg being purely vocalic, with no Onset, do not desyllabify in this context.[54] In support of this idea, obseve that the Subject-Aux paradigm in (193) is exactly paralleled by the Accusative paradigm:

194.		*pronoun*	*clitic*	*Acc*	
	1sg.		ḿ	égbúole ḿ	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed me'
	2sg.	gḭ́		égbúole gḭ́	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed you sg.'
	3sg.	yá		égbúole yá	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed him/her/it'
	1pl.	ànyḭ́		égbúole ányị	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed us'
	2pl.	ụ́nụ̀		égbúole ụnụ̀	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed you pl.'
	3pl.	há		égbúole há	'PRO$_{arb}$ have killed them'

3.3.6 Logophoricity and control together

Koopman and Sportiche 1987 propose that logophoricity is licensed by control relations. The following facts (extracted from Nwáchukwu 1978) seem consistent with this hypothesis:

195a. Ógù$_i$ chọ-rọ (sḭ́) kà yá$_{i/*j}$ ga-a ahyá. 'Ógù wants to go to market'
want-ØAsp say Comp 3sg go-SJV market

b. Ógù$_i$ chọ-rọ (sḭ́) kà ọ́$_{j/*i}$ ga-a ahyá. 'Ógù wants her/him [*Ógù] to go to market'

[53]The lexical 3pl pronoun *ụ́mụ*, unlike its 3sg counterpart *yá*, is limited to logophoric complements.

[54]Although they do in others, e.g. as subject clitics in Ágbọ̀.

These examples also fall into line with earlier logophoric cases in which an embedded subject pronoun is [+Bound] in the extended Condition B domain of the clitic.

In this light, consider some additional facts, pointed out to me by Ákụjụọobì Nwáchukwu:

196a. Ógù$_i$ má-nye-re Chìké$_j$ (sḭ́) kà ọ́$_{j/*i,??k}$ bịa. 'Ógù tried to persuad Chìké that he [Chìké] come'
push-give-ØAsp say Comp 3sg come-SJV

b. Ógù$_i$ má-nye-re Chìké$_j$ (sḭ́) kà ya$_{i/*j}$ bịa. 'Ógù tried to persuade Chìké that he [Ógù] should come'

c. Ógù$_i$ má-nye-re Chìké$_j$ ya$_j$ bịa. 'Ógù forced Chìké to come'

d. *Ógù má-nye-re Chìké ọ bịa.

-nyé the derivational suffix is the incorporated verb 'give', which yields an abstract ditransitive verb from a concrete transitive verb 'push/throw'.[55] Compositionally, *má-nye* has two readings as an optional control verb 'try to persuade' taking a subjunctive (nonfactive) complement (196a,b), and as an obligatory control verb 'force' taking a cause and a factive complement (196c).[56] The difference between the two readings, and, in particular, between the two binding patterns, apparently depends on the presence or absence of the subjunctive complementizer *kà*.

The embedded pronoun subject in (196b) is unambiguously coindexed with the matrix subject, a predictable logophoric effect. But in (196a), in contrast with (187a), the embedded subject clitic is not ambiguous, rather it is preferably coindexed with the matrix object. This suggests that *má-nye* 'try to persuade' does indeed control its complement. That is, (196a) requires control in *addition* to binding, again suggesting that logophoric effects are distinct from (and irreducible to) control.

3.3.7 French oblique clitics

Antilogophoric phenomena have been observed with two French pronominal clitics: *en* and *y*. These are the only two clitics in the language which pronominalize prepositional phrases containing nonclitic pronouns (*de lui* and *à lui* respectively). They are therefore candidates for domain extension, by the hypothesis of this section, and their antilogophoric behavior (labeled as such by Ruwet 1990) constitutes strong independent evidence for the analysis proposed in this chapter.

The basic contrast, observed by Lamiroy 1990 and further analyzed by Ruwet (1990: 51-54) is given in (197-198). The step-by-step extension of the condition B domain of *en* is shown in (199), from (Ruwet 1990: 64). Ruwet's antilogophoricity condition (1990: 56) is quoted in (200).

197a. Émile$_i$ pense que Sophie l'$_{i/j}$ aime. 'Émile thinks that Sophie loves him'
each think that 3sg love

b. Émile$_i$ pense que Sophie est amoureuse de lui$_{i/j}$. 'Émile thinks Sophie is in love with him'
each think that be infatuated of 3sg

c. Elle en est toute de suite tombée amoureuse. 'She fell for him right away'
She of.*pro* be all of succession fallen infatuated

d. *Émile$_i$ pense que Sophie en$_i$ est amoureuse.
each think that of.*pro* be infatuated

[55]Applicative *nyé* compares to *fún* (Yorùbá). The difference is that *nyé* does not serialize like *fún* but incorporates as a 'verb extension' (as also in many Bantu languages), cf. discussion in §2.1.5 above.

[56]Changes of factivity with different complementizers are observed by Nwáchukwu (1982: 52):

i. À-má-ghḭ́ m (sḭ́) nà ó zú-ru ohi. 'I don't know that (s)he stole [something]'
È-know-Neg 1sg say Comp 3sg V-ØAsp theft

ii. À-má-ghḭ́ m (sḭ́) mà ó zú-ru ohi. 'I don't know whether (s)he stole [something]'
Comp

198a. Le précepteur$_i$ d' Émile$_i$ pense que Sophie en$_{i/*j}$ est amoureuse. 'Émile's teacher thinks that
the teacher of thinks that of.*pro* is infatuated Sophie is in love with him'

b. Émile$_i$ serait très malheureux si Sophie en$_{i/j}$ disait du mal. 'Émile would be crushed if
would.be very sad if of.*pro* said of.the bad Sophie spoke ill of him'

199a. Anne$_i$ dit à Marie$_j$ que Paul en$_{*i/?j}$ est amoureuse. 'Anne told Marie that Paul
say to that of.*pro* be infatuated is in love with her'

b. Anne$_i$ dit de Marie$_j$ que Paul en$_{*i/j}$ est amoureuse. 'Anne told Marie that Paul
say of that of.*pro* be infatuated is in love with her'

200. Si *en* ou *y* se trouve dans une proposition exprimant un contenu de conscience CC$_i$, *en* et *y* ne peuvent être coréférentiels du N'' qui représente le sujet de conscience SC$_i$ de CC$_i$.

In even more striking confirmation of the logophoric basis of the phenomenon, Pica 1991 demonstrates that the condition B effect is much weakened if the matrix predicate changes from one of intention (*vouloir*) to one of disregard (*vouloir bien*).

201a. Chacun$_i$ veut qu'on parle de soi$_i$. 'Everyone wants to be talked about'
each want that one speak of self

b. *Marie$_i$ veut qu'on en$_i$ parle.
want that of.3sg speak

c. ?Marie$_i$ veut bien qu'on en$_i$ parle. 'Marie doesn't mind that one talks of her'
want well that of.3sg speak

3.4 Ergative tonal morphology: Accusative and Genitive in Ìgbo

> [*W*]*e are talking in strictly abstract terms when we discuss* [*C*]*ase assignment in Ìgbo since Ìgbo nouns are never inflected.* (Nwáchukwu 1987c: 78)

The fact that Ìgbo has no passive reduces trivially to the fact that its lexicon contains no passivizing morpheme, i.e. no morpheme that blocks θ_S-percolation (in the analysis of Burzio 1981). But one is left to wonder if this property of the language is accidental (as it could perfectly well be on Burzio's two-parameter account of passive). Is there anything about Ìgbo verb morphology which rules such a morpheme out of existence?

In confronting this question, it is interesting to observe that the perfective of Ìgbo transitives is antipassive: it does not assign Accusative Case, and requires a Genitive Case-assigner (a tonal preposition or perhaps a Kase element) to license the internal argument:

202a. Ézè ta-ra ánụ. 'Ézè ate (some) meat'
chew-ØAsp meat-ACC

b. Ézè á-tá-a-la anụ́. 'Ézè has eaten [of] meat'
[$_{\text{prefix}}$]-chew-OVS-Perf meat-GEN

Both the aspectual and the Case differences between (202a-b) are expressed tonally; the perfective form in (202b) additionally contains a special prefix (which is nominal to some extent, given its occurrence on the bound verb complement). The perfective in (202b) bears two high tone marks (corresponding to two H tonal autosegments). The first ˊ on the verb in (202b) is the lexical high tone of the root *-tá* which has been deleted in the indicative form in (202a) and which is shifted in (202b) onto the toneless prefix *a-* (→ *á-*) by regular tone mapping principles. The second ˊ on the verb in (202b), which surfaces on the root *-tá*, is not part of the root and is independent of the perfective affix, which is toneless (thus Williams 1971); it is a tonal morpheme (syntactico-semantically comparable to English *of*) which can be identified as the Genitive Case-assigner responsible for the shift of the lexical high tone of *ánụ* onto the second syllable (→ *anụ́*).

This antipassive analysis challenges Burzio's Generalization, however, since the verb in (202b) is apparently [+θ_S, -A]. How is this possible, and what does it mean to say that Ìgbo has antipassive but no passive?[57] A possible answer to both questions suggests itself: Ìgbo morphology does not distinguish between Nominative and Accusative Case[58]; it is therefore impossible to say that its morphology is not actually 'ergative', and this ambiguity means that the lexicon could not contain two morphemes, passive and antipassive, since they would be nondistinct. And, though I know of no discussion of the matter, an antipassive is plausibly not a violation Burzio's Generalization if its morphology is ergative, since by definition it is not [-A]. In this connection it is interesting to observe that antipassives do not occur in morphologically nominative-accusative languages, where indeed they would violate Burzio's Generalization. Apart from antipassive morphology, many types of verb diathesis alternation in Ìgbo must be described in ergative terms, as analyzed in §2.1.5.

Some historical background can perhaps explain why this analysis of Ìgbo tonal morphology should be controversial as it is.

Welmers had already described at least one Ìgbo suffix as toneless; Williams 1971 proposed that all of what had previously been described (by Ward, Welmers and Williamson) as CV suffixes bearing high tone in Ìgbo are really toneless morphemes, unspecified on the tonal tier and subsequently concatenated with a High tone affix in a subset of verbforms. The unexceptional existence of toneless morphemes follows, on grounds of symmetry with respect to tonal morphemes, in any theory which grants formal autonomy to tones and tone-bearing units.

Williams shows that a grammar of Ìgbo using autosegmental tone formulas is more highly valued than one in which the domain of tone association is the syllable, because the same formulas also predict phrase-level tone alternations in adjacent NP arguments, both Subject and 'Object'. Morpheme-based association domain is required because, in Ìgbo, verb derivation affects not just the tone of the verb, but also the tone of adjacent arguments.

203a. Ézè si-cha-ra ńrì. [¯ _ _ _ _ - -] 'Eze cooked all the food'
cook-completely-ØAsp food

b. Àdḥáà si-cha-ra ńrì. [- \ _ _ _ - -] 'Adḥa cooked all the food'
(in Ọ́mahyá dialect; elsewhere 1b':)

b.' Àdḥá sì-cha-ra ńrì. [- ¯ _ _ _ - -] 'Adḥa cooked all the food'

c. Ézèé sí-cha-ra nrí… [¯ / - - - - -] 'Eze, who cooked all the food…'

Four surface alternations, seen in (203), can be described as follows:

204. *Indicative Lowering* síchara → sìchara
Subject Concord Low Tone Flop Àdhá → Àdhá̀à
High Tone Relative Complementizer Ézè → Ézéé
'Object' Downstep ńrì → ńrí

[57] Greenlandic Inuktituk is a syntactically nominative-accusative, and morphologically ergative, language which permits both passive and antipassive (Marantz 1984: 150-2).

[58] Proto-Benue Kwa, probably had a full system of subject and object agreement morphology (called concord in Bantu linguistics). Standard Ìgbo has lost all productive agreement morphology, although some dialects preserve subject agreement vestigially. Within Bantu, object agreement is lacking in some languages like Kiswahili, but rich subject agreement is universal for these languages.

Indicative Lowering, on its face, is a candidate to be represented as a tone formula (or melody). But, confronted with a formula composed of a just a single tonal autosegment (L), the mechanism of a formula seems unnecessary. A simpler move for the learner would be to analyze the Indicative L tone as a morpheme.

Subject Concord Tone Flop, first formulated in Goldsmith 1976, is easily represented as an autosegmental tone rule, as in (205):

205. $T_i \quad T_j$

$x]_{NP} \; [_V x$

But (205) overstates the facts. Tone flop is restricted to configurations where a verb which lacks a segmental prefix bears indicative L tone. On syntactic grounds, I argued in §3.1.2 that the L tone is a default Infl morpheme, licensing head movement of the verb, so that the problem reduces to the association domain of tonal Infl. In Ọ́mahyá, its domain includes both the verb and the subject, whereas in other dialects its domain is just the verb.

High Tone Relative Comp is an example of an alternation handled by Williams (1971: 474) and Goldsmith 1976 as part of a complex tone formula:

206. $[\quad H_{Pref} + T_{Root} \quad + \varnothing_{Suff} \quad]_{Indic.\ Rel.}$

But the initial H of (206) can be more restrictively analyzed as a separate morpheme with independent syntactic motivation, namely Relative Comp, spelled in Ìgbo with a High tone. Welmers had already seen the next step: treating the head of a relative like the head of any associative construction, which is followed by a H tone agreement morpheme. In other words, the H "prefix" is nothing other than the associative morpheme. As to Williams' representation of suffix tone, a zero does not have to be indicated; it is simply the absence of any tonal morpheme. Nor does Root tone have to me indicated in the formula, since it is given in the lexical representation of the verb. So out of all the stuff in (206), the only necessary part is the information that subject relative clauses have the same structure as associative constructions. But, that much is predictable from the syntax.

Another loss of generality in Williams' tone mapping approach is his refusal to identify the associative morpheme with the trigger of identical tone alternations in the notional 'objects' of some verb forms. This is because tone mapping leads him to identify the latter with the High tone found on toneless sufixes in the applicable verbforms. But the latter is a spurious generalization, as should be clear from the fact that he has to resort to an extremely powerful mapping algorithm, using a variable, which in any case produces the wrong results. He does not provide empirical data for his two predictions, data which he acknowledges would be crucial. His theory fails both tests.

First, failure to identify the trigger of object tone alternations (cf. 207) with the high tone of the imperative and perfective verbs leads Williams to expect object tone alternations after imperatives even if an inherently Low-toned suffix intervenes; but the forms in (208) are counterexamples, there is no object tone alternation after an imperative plus low-toned suffix. 'object' tone alternation is also blocked by an incorporated applicative phrase, cf. (209).

The second prediction follows from his mapping algorithm (1971: 478, ex. 53): before an inherently L toned suffix, all toneless suffixes are predicted to bear the tone of the Root; this is counterexemplified in (210).[59]

207. 'Object' tone alternation (ánụ→ánụ́)

a. Kè-é anụ́! 'Share (some) meat (singular addressee)!'
share-imperative meat

b. Kè-wé anụ́ 'Begin to share meat (singular addressee)!'
share-inceptive-imperative meat

208. Low-toned suffix -nị̀ 'plural addressee' blocks 'object' tone alternation (ánụ→*ánụ́)

a. Kè-é-nị̀ ánụ! 'Share meat (plural addressee)!'
share-imperative-plural. meat

b. Kè-wé-nị̀ ánụ! 'Begin to share meat (plural addressee)!'
share-inceptive-imperative-plural meat

209. Applicative object (ré ḿ) blocks 'object' tone alternation (ánụ→*ánụ́)

Kè-é-re ḿ anụ! 'Share meat for me (singular addressee)!'
share-imperative-applicative meat

210. Inherently low-toned suffix -*bò* 'ever' blocks 'object' tone alternation (ánụ→*ánụ́)

a. ónye kè-ré-bò ánụ… 'whoever shared out meat…'
person share-Asp-ever meat

b. ónye kè-wé-bò-ro ánụ… 'whoever began to share out meat…'
person share-inceptive-ever-Asp meat

Indeed the only form which supports Williams' claim at all is the so-called Conditional, reported by Green and Ígwè (1963: 79)

211. Ányị kè ánụ́… (ánụ→ánụ́) 'If we *begin to* share out meat…'
1pl share meat (emphasis added)

But the empirical status of (211) is shaky. Nwáchukwu 1966 denies the existence of a non-periphrastic Conditional form in the language.[60] Even if someone actually uttered (211), its analysis is unclear. There is no overt inceptive morpheme (toneless *we*) which could explain the the inceptive meaning (*begin to*) in Green and Ígwè's gloss. It is therefore likely that the example in (211) was extracted from a text, so it could well be elliptical. Conclusion: (211), which is the only empirical support for Williams' second claim, does not have the same undisputed status as examples (207-210), which contradict that claim.

This chapter forms a unit with Chapters 1-2, in describing Ìgbo speakers' untaught knowledge of their unique language. The basic assumption throughout—an assumption borne out by what I judge to be relative success of the individual analyses—is that Ìgbo speakers resemble each other and differ from each other, and resemble each other and differ from speakers of neighboring languages such as Ẹ̀dó and Yorùbá, not in the possession/recognition of principles or rules of grammar, but in the possession of particular lexical representations. There is a certain contrast between the consequences of differing knowledge with respect to the so-called 'lexical' (open-class) morphemes and 'functional' (closed-class) morphemes. This contrast reflects the special role of functional morphemes in licensing s-structure. By virtue of this contrast, functional morphemes are more difficult for non-speakers to learn, and equally they constitute more challenging material for

[59] I am grateful to P. A. Nwáchukwu for the crucial data in (56-59).

[60] Éménanjọ (1981: 68) confirms that a surprisingly large number of Ígwè's data are denied by speakers of Ígwè's own Ọ́mahyá dialect. As a missionary, Ígwè evinces prescriptive traits bordering on dogmatism.

linguistic analysis. It is certainly no accident that all three chapters have hinged on the grammatical a morpheme composed of just a high tone.

Whatever the ultimate merit of the individual syntactic solutions posed in the above pages, it is inevitable than analyses of the syntactic properties of inflectional and derivational Ìgbo morphemes—including purely tonal elements—will play an ever greater role.

The next (and final) chapter engages the role of linguistic knowledge in consciousness, through a series of studies of pragmatics. There are two sides to this picture: the effects of linguistic knowledge in practice, and the effects of practice on linguistic knowledge. Both sides are included in the metaphor of *accumulation*, which—as any dictionary can tell you—is ambiguous (in English) between an action and a result interpretation. The same ambiguity inheres in the social-science notion of unintended consequences: the ideas of the past, while actively built up for specific purposes, nevertheless—as any Marxist can tell you—weigh down the brains of the living.

4
Symbolic accumulation

Chapters 1-3 discuss the form and content of knowledge of Ìgbo. Following the tradition of generative grammar, this knowledge has largely been abstracted from use contexts. Even so, each chapter has posited links between mental representations and practical activity. These links can be briefly reviewed, as a preface to wider discussion of pragmatics.

The (fragmentary) text of *Òkóròmé ẹ* (§1.2 and cassette selection #1) illustrates how Ẹ̀bú Èdíọ́n and his age grade used knowledge of word structure and phonetic form in the process of dialect relexification. This process reflects the self-consciousness of an artistic setting (the *égu ọ́mụ́mụ́* 'initiation play') and a historical context of violent dislocation (British colonial rule), at a time (1920's) when the linguistic boundary between Ágbọ̀ and Ụ́kụ̀ànị was more permeable than now. The relevant knowledge is clarified by philological background in §1.3.

The relationship, within lexical entries, between knowledge of language and encyclopedic knowledge, is addressed in Chapter 2. Standard "argument structure" theory (an elaboration of *θ*-theory) conceals this relationship in a diacritic, derivational formalism which creates puzzles for the analysis of ditransitivity, verb serialization and V-V compounding. Alternative hypotheses are developed concerning aspect, argument selection, and the projection of semantic constants, which redivide the work of pragmatics and lexical semantics. To wit: external arguments are uniquely selected by so-called 'functional' categories in conformity with pragmatic requirements; internal arguments are uniquely selected by lexical categories. Both types of selection ultimately reflect real-world knowledge, but only the selection of internal arguments is mediated by the projection relation from lexical representations to syntax.

Chapter 3, on the relation between morphology and pragmatics, adds detailed support to Baker's (1987) conjecture that there are no morphemes with "purely" functional content—i.e. independent of compositional factors. Yet such elements abound in descriptions of Niger-Congo languages, e.g. 'focus markers', 'logophoric pronouns'. Even 'tense', standardly defined as morphological reference to event time vis-à-vis speech time, is not instantiated (apart from adverbs) in Haitian or most Kwa/Kru languages. All such descriptions suffer from underanalysis and fail to treat the pragmatic force of these constructions as compositional, mediated by grammatical structure. Alternatives are presented. In a subset of tenseless languages (e.g. Ìgbo, Vãtà and Haitian, but not Yorùbá and Àbɛ), an eventive verb receives past temporal reference in a "factative", default Infl (§3.1). Across Niger-Congo, in Haitian and perhaps universally, focus constructions which are not licensed *in situ* are *wh*-dependencies, thematically linked to discourse topics by copulas (§3.2). Logophoric effects in Ìgbo and Yorùbá arise from a contrast between pronouns and pronominal clitics with respect to "domain extension" (§3.3).

This chapter turns to the role of lexical items as sites of symbolic accumulation. In addition to denotative meanings discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, lexical representations include a wide range of connotations and other entailments. Though fairly intractable to formal analysis, this dimension is central to linguistic consciousness and the ethnic effect. Studies of lexical symbolism (§§4.1-2) are followed by discussion of issues of equality and power which they raise (§§4.3-4). The chapter concludes with observations on the pragmatics of lexical change (§§4.5) and philology (§§4.6-8).

4.1 Lexical shift: motion verb empathy

Ụ̀waláàka (1981, 1983) analyzes some Ìgbo motion verbs in the framework of Fillmore's case grammar. This section presents an alternative account, framed in terms of speaker *empathy* (Kuno and Kaburaki 1975, Kuno 1987). The distinction between pragmatics and conceptual structure also clarifies the meaning of the derivational suffix *-te/-ta* (Òwerẹ́ *-'e/-'a*, Ágbọ̀ *-hẹ/-ha*).

4.1.1 Deixis vs. functional syntax

For Fillmore (1966, 1969, 1970, 1971), what distinguishes verbs of *coming* and *going* is *deixis*—'pointing'—i.e. a referential appeal to the context of speaking (cf. Gonda 19--). Following classical grammar, European structuralists attributed the property of deixis to the grammatical categories of article (e.g. "demonstratives") and pronoun (Frei 1944, Benveniste 1946, Jakobson 1956). Extending this tradition, Fillmore posits a deictic component in certain verbs:

> [C]*ome* and *bring* indicate motion toward the location of either the speaker or the addressee at either coding time or reference time, or toward the location of the home base of either the speaker or the hearer at reference time… [or], in discourse in which neither speaker nor addressee figures as a character, motion toward a place taken as the subject of the narrative, toward the location of the central character at reference time, or toward the place which is the central character's home at reference time. (1971: 61, 67)

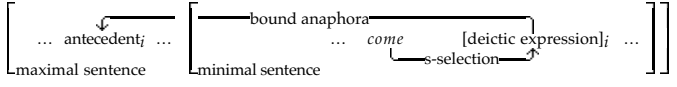
Gruber proposes a similar constraint, framed in more strictly syntactic terms:

> [C]*ome* takes [=selects as its object] a deictic category that refers to the place of any person mentioned in a sentence in which the sentence with *come* is embedded. (1965/76: 298)

In other words, Gruber deictically links the locative object of *come* to a c-commanding argument outside the minimal sentence, even if both the object and its antecedent are syntactically null.

Gruber's configurational condition is plausible if—as traditionally held—deictic expressions such as *there* have a deep resemblance to bound anaphoric pronouns, which require a c-commanding antecedent (Reinhart 1983, 1986). What is novel in deixis *à la* Gruber is the linked dependency of the verb to the deictic expression. This can be schematized as in (1):[1]

1.



The two authors' lexical entries for *come* make somewhat distinct predictions. Both Fillmore's and Gruber's definitions are consitient with the acceptability of (2a), since *there* can be interpreted as the location of the c-commanding antecedent *John*. Gruber's definition also correctly excludes (2b): the second instance of *there* is crucially not c-commanded by *John*, so that the second instance of *come* is not deictically linked. Notationally, the second *there* bears a referential index {*k*} which is disjoint from the non c-commanding, inaccessible antecedents.

2a. [John$_i$ wanted [Bill to come there$_i$]].

b. #[John$_i$ wanted [Bill$_j$ to come there$_i$]], but [I came there$_k$ instead]. (# = anomaly)

Fillmore's definition can exclude (2b) only if the change of subject in the second conjunct, from *John* to *I*, indicates a change in "the central character at reference time". This might follow, in one of two ways. There could be a priority for deixis to a speaker/hearer (*1*), over deixis to a third person (*John*). Or else, *any* change in grammatical subject might change the "central character".

Now observe that the first type of solution says nothing about the marginality of (3):

3. #[John$_i$ wanted [Bill$_j$ to come there$_i$]], but [Ann came there$_k$ instead].

[1] Gruber's entry for *come* (1965/76: 299) refers to the external argument of the matrix S; the schema in (1) suppresses its generative-semantic abstractness, which violates current doctrine on locality.

Thus, to handle (3), Fillmore needs to refer to syntactic position, adding the essence of Gruber's analysis: an intervening subject (*Ann*) breaks the c-command relation between *John* and *there*.

A purely configurational approach runs into trouble with other data, however. To license examples like (4a), which are unproblematic for Fillmore's pragmatic approach, Gruber must posit an underlying performative clause which abstractly embeds it as in (4b):

4a. I will come there in an hour.

b. I say to you$_i$ [that I will come there$_i$ in an hour].

However, as argued by Fauconnier 1985 among others, the generative-semantics type analysis of performatives as abstract predicates (cf. Ross 1970) obscures the distinction between linguistic and pragmatic presupposition. Accordingly, the analytic strategy in (4b) is untenable in principle.

To summarize: Fillmore's approach, which encodes pragmatic factors in lexical semantics, is *not structural enough* to account for (3), but Gruber's approach, which appeals to grammatical structure, is *not pragmatic enough* to account for (4a). Evidently, both Fillmore and Gruber share an assumption which prevents a unified account of the phenomena in (3) and (4). At different degrees of formalization, neither Fillmore nor Gruber has a principled basis for distinguishing between syntactic and pragmatic components of lexical meaning.[2]

Another possibility, in fact the only remaining one, is that the special interpretation of verbs like *come* is constrained by principles which systematically distinguish perspectival ("functional", pragmatic) from syntactic-semantic (grammatical) factors. Citing observations by Vicki Bergvall (p.c., 1981), Kuno 1987 offers the following definition, formalized in terms of *empathy*:

> *X comes to Y* if the speaker is closer to Y than to X such that X moves toward the speaker (as well as toward Y), or if Y is the hearer [and the speaker adopts Y's frame of reference for some reason]. Empathy is the speaker's identification with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that [s/]he describes in a sentence. …The speaker's empathy with *x*, E(*x*), ranges from 0 to 1, with 1 signifying total identification with *x*, and 0 signifying total lack of identification. (1987: 225, 206, emended)

Accordingly, the special "functional" requirement of *come* can be concisely restated as in (5).

5. X *comes to* Y if E(Y) > E(*X*).

Given (5), the principle in (6) predicts the observations in (6).

6. *Descriptor Empathy Hierarchy*: E(*x*) > E(f(*x*)). (Kuno 1987: 207)[3]

[2] Fillmore's "semantic cases" and Gruber's "prelexical categories" inspired the theory of lexical-semantic roles (*θ*-roles) behind Chomsky's (1981) Projection Principle. Chapter 2 observed that *θ*-theory (including its most elaborate version: argument-structure theory) fails to distinguish the s(emantic)-selection of internal arguments from the p(ragmatic)-selection of external arguments. *θ*-theory inherited this mélange from generative semantics. Reinhart 1983b, drawing on Kuno's binding papers of the 1970's, separates two strands of binding theory, syntactic and pragmatic. Historically, therefore, Kuno's empathy analysis of deixis continues the interpretivist critique of abstract syntax, while Chomsky's *θ*-theory limits that critique.

[3] Though Kuno doesn't speculate on the basis of (6), the SPEC DP is plausibly more 'prominent' than the NP position which complements D. This suggests that principle (6), along with Kuno's other principle (i) which concerns [SPEC, IP], reduces to the more general (and more structural) statement in (ii).

i. E(subject) > E(nonsubjects). (Kuno 1987: 211)

ii. E(SPEC) > E(complement).

Insofar as the specifiers of DP and IP are inherently positions of topichood (as opposed to [SPEC, CP] which is a position of focus, see §3.2 above), (ii) accords with another of Kuno's principles:

iii. E(discourse topic) ≥ E(nontopics). (Kuno 1987: 210)

The link from (ii) to (iii) explains the transitivity of empathy relationships in different domains: information structure ("descriptor" empathy), s-structure (subjecthood), and discourse (topichood).

7a. John's student came up to him and complained about the lecture.

b. #John came up to his teacher and complained about the lecture.

(8a) shows that (6a) satisfies the empathy requirement of *come*; (8b) shows that (6b) doesn't.

8a. E(*John*=*him*) > E(*student*(*John*)).[4]

b. E(*John*) > E(*teacher*(*him*=*John*)).

With this background, consider some Ìgbo motion verbs found in daily greetings.

4.1.2 Greetings: phatic vs. informational

In "face-to-face society"—where individuals perpetually check each other's location and condition by eye and voice contact—elaborate spoken greetings are employed. Some of these, like English *Hi* and *Good morning*, have little informational content which is not redundant in context. Jakobson 1960, following Malinowski 1923, characterizes such utterances as "phatic", serving mainly to establish and maintain an open channel of communication. Equally phatic are the Nigerian greetings in (9). To the extent they are analyzable, most have the form of imperatives.

9. Ọ̀-wụ́n (nị-ní)! (Ágbọ̀, said to junior)[5] Ká-à! (Ọ̀họ́fyá, Ẹ́hụgbò)
3sg-BE if.you.please(?) become.old(?)-Imper

Dó! (Ẹ̀dó) Jọ̀-ọ́-kwa![6] (Ẹ́hụgbò)
pay.homage.Imper walk-Imper-well

Ǹ-dòó![7] (Ágbọ̀) Í-jé! (Ǹmakụ)
contin-be.peaceful.Imper 2sg-walk

Ǹ-dó-è-wó![7] Dó-è-jé! (Ǹsụ́ká)
contin-be.peaceful.Imper-ing-annoy(?) be.peaceful.Imper-ing-walk

Other greetings have the form of yes/no questions whose only possible answer is 'Yes', as in (10), or of *wh*-questions with obligatory answers, as in (11):

10a. Ì e-tnẹ́-hi-ọ? 'Have you gotten up?' (Ágbọ̀)
2sg pro-wake-up-Delimited [a.m., addressed to someone obviously awake]

b. Ị bọ-ọ́-la chí? 'Have you dawned the day?' (Òwerí)[8]
2sg dawn-Delimited-Perf daylight-Gen [a.m., addressed to someone obviously awake]

c. Chì a-gbá-wo tàá? 'Has the sun risen today?' (Ẹ́hụgbò)
daylight.Q pro-move-Perf today [uttered in broad, a.m. daylight]

11a. Ńmụ ẹ́ká ahụ̀? 'Those small children?'(Ágbọ̀)
children ungrown-Gen that/those [answer: Wẹ̀ hụ́ à. 'They are there [at home]']

b. Kẹ̀dụ́ kà éke sì a-nyụ́ n'anyanwụ́? 'How does python move in the sun?'(Ọ̀nịcha)
wh-be Comp python pass pro-do in sun [answer: Ìhu nà azụ́. 'Front and back']

c. Ị dị agáá ee? 'How the hell are you?' (Ẹ́hụgbò)
2sg BE how Exclamation [answer: Ádị́ m mmá. 'I'm good']

[4] The referential value *him*=*John*, given by binding theory, is not the only possibility. On the reading *him*≠*John*, the empathy requirements in (7) are not met in (6a), which is correspondingly infelicitous.

[5] Juniors usually initiate greeting exchanges with seniors; this greeting is typically a response, consistent with the conjectured meaning 'It is [so]'. It can also be used preemptively.

[6] In casual speech, the initial consonant of this greeting is frequently dropped.

[7] The *ń*- or *ǹ*- prefix in these examples is not productive, but the variant with high tone is found in many dialects. The conjectured value [+continuous] is can be compared with the progressive aux *ń* in Yorùbá.

i. Ǹ-jẹ̀! 'Keep on going!' ii. Ń-gwá! 'Be quick [about it]!'

(The English glosses notwithstanding, these forms have the force of polite encouragement.)

[8] This greeting is also ritually, not necessarily in the a.m., to "wake" a shrine's invisible inhabitants. Other such formulas include 'praise names' (*áhá òtutu*, Yorùbá *oríkì*) and phrases like that in §4.2.2.

Phatic questions have the logic of "an offer you can't refuse": the wholly predictable response establishes the communication channel from the other direction. However, the phatic function does not explain the occurrence, in canonical greeting exchanges, of questions with nonstereotyped, nonredundant answers. *Informational* greeting questions, illustrated below, are more common in Igboid communities than the phatic stereotype predicts.[9] Consider the pragmatic entailments of some motion verbs in informational greetings.

4.1.3 Heading to and passing through

A common Ágbọ̀ greeting exchange, performed on the occasion of departure, is given below. The two discourse participants are represented by the (a) and (b) examples respectively.

12a. Èlé ebé ì jne-kọ̀? 'Where are you going [to]?'
wh place.Gen-rel 2sg walk-Contin

b. È-shí-(mẹ) ḿ ugbó![10] 'I'm heading [off] for the farm!'
pro-head.for-Incep 1sg farm.Gen

13a. Jné kẹ̀ Í! 'On your way, then!'
walk the.one 2sg.Gen

b. Óoo! [extra high pitch = acknowledgement] 'OK!'

The participants in this exchange use different verbs to refer to the same activity. *jné* 'walk/go (towards)' is used by stationary speaker (a). Speaker (b), in motion, uses *shí* 'head.for' (cf. the noun *ísh*í 'head'). The obligatory aspectual *-kọ̀* in (12a), versus optional *-mẹ* in (12b), shows that *jné* is eventive, and *shí* noneventive (stative). The moving (b) speaker could conceivably use *jné -kọ̀*, but the stationary (a) speaker can't use *shí*. The asymmetry of *shí* with respect to speakers (a) and (b) can be represented by annotating its lexical entry with an obligatory empathy value of 1:

14. shí 'head.for' [be in state x, E (x) = 1, x = HEADED.TOWARD y] (Ágbọ̀)

The empathy notation in (14) does not limit *shí* to first person subjects; in fact, there is no such restriction, as shown by these examples (quoted from Ọ̀rịmíchèn 1974):

15a. Wẹ́ shì-kọ da a-lụ́ aghá. 'They are heading [off] to battle'
3pl head.for-Contin Purpose pro-fight war

b. Ọ̀ má á shi ibe-ká-nì. 'S/he threw it in this direction'[11]
3sg throw 3sg head.for over.here

What prohibits *shí* in (12a) is *empathy clash*. Apparently, it is impossible to pose a question with a predicate of E = 1, as this would require total identification with the interrogee.[12]

Formally, the empathy notation in (14) is a diacritic, but semantically it is not arbitrary. One suspects a deeper relationship between the empathy value of *shí* and its conceptual structure.

[9] A neophyte Northamerican visitor resented constant stopping in the road to brief the world on his daily itinerary, until one day he intentionally failed to greet a friend's mother. The ensuing scandal assured that greeting courtesies weren't omitted again. *Ńnẹ, gbàghárị ḿ o*!

[10] The exchange in (12-13) could also be initiated by (12b), uttered out-of-the-blue. In Ẹ́hụgbò and much of southern Igboid, the verb which is equivalent to Ágbọ̀ *jne-kọ̀* in (12a) as well as to *shí-(mẹ)* in (12b) is a reduplicated form of *jé(n)*: *jí-je(n)*. This reduplication which is the regular way to form a gerund in Yorùbá seems to be unavailable for other verbs in Ìgbo (P. A. Nwáchukwu, p.c.).

[11] Quasi-prepositional, serial *shí* in (15b) compares with the Yorùbá quasi-preposition *sí* 'towards', indicating that the semantic component of 'motion towards' is archaic, and that 'pass via' as in the Òwerí example in (17) is an innovation. Cf. also Nwáòsú (1983: 14).

[12] i. *Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy* (Kuno 1987: 212)
The speaker cannot empathize with someone else more than with her/himself.

A priori, that is, one doubts that a predicate in the semantic range of 'walk' or 'eat' might be specified "E(x) = 1". Intuitively, the denotation 'head for' entails a purposive directionality which matches the empathy requirement of "total identification".

In this light, it is interesting that the cognate of Ágbọ̀ *shí* in other dialects differs in two respects: it lacks *both* the empathy diacritic, *and* the component of direction:

16. shí 'pass.from/via' [pass from/via x] (Òwerẹ́)
17. É-shì -(ri) m Égbu yọ-gha-a. 'I returned [home] from/via Egbu' (Òwerẹ́)
pro-pass.via-∅Asp 1sg return-pass-OVS

The Ágbọ̀ counterpart of Òwerẹ́ *shí* is *ghá* 'pass via', cf. (18).

18. À-ghá ḿ Àbá lụa. 'I returned [home] from/via Aba' (Ágbọ̀)
pro-pass.via 1sg return

Another facet of this difference involves the predicate 'come from' (often used in the sense of genealogical origin, like 'hail from'). In Òwerẹ́, this is expressed in a serial construction whose second member is *byá* 'come (to)', and whose first member is either *shí* or *hí*, cf. (19).

19. Ànyị́ (s)hì -(ri) Égbu bya. 'We came from Égbu' (Òwerẹ́)
1pl pass.from/via-∅Asp come

Ágbọ̀ has the same serial construction, but first verb can only be *hí*, cf. (20):

20. Ẹ̀nyị́ hi ìdúù byá. 'We came from Ìdúù [=Benin City]' (Ágbọ̀)
1pl originate.from come

hí and *shí*, apparently synonymous in Òwerẹ́, may have a common historical origin, since the phonetic innovation *sh>h* is general in southern Igboid, to which both Òwerẹ́ and Ágbọ̀ belong (cf. Fig. 4, §1.3.1 above). The nonsynonymy of *hí* and *shí* in Ágbọ̀ would indicate a lexical split at some stage, and the question would be whether Ágbọ̀ *shí* or its homophonous Òwerẹ́ counterpart represents the etymological meaning. The cognate noun *íshi* 'head' and the Yorùbá 'preposition' *sí* 'towards' both suggest that the semantic shift took place in Òwerẹ́. If *hí* and *shí* began as independent morphemes, the case for semantic shift of *shí* in Òwerẹ́, where they are now synonymous, is also clear. Some evidence for the latter scenario is the Òwerẹ́ noun *íhì* 'cause/reason', as in the prepositional phrase *n'íhì na…* 'because' (lit: 'for the reason that'). If *íhì* is cognate to *hí*, then *hí* etymologically means 'originate from'.[13]

The hypothetical semantic shift of *shí* in Òwerẹ́ and the other non-Ágbọ̀ settlements, from 'head for' to 'pass via', may be causally related to a demographic, ultimately ecological, difference between Ágbọ̀ and other Igboid communities. Ágbọ̀ occupies relatively fertile, moderately populated land. By comparison, settlements east of the river Òsimili [Niger] have undergone 'horticultural involution', converting farmland to residential compounds. There, one does not today find the concentric relationship between a village and its farmland, which Jones (1945, 1949b, 1961) presented as the Ìgbo ideal type, and which Henderson 1972 observed vestigially in pre-Civil-War Ọ̀nịcha.[14] To the north and east of Òwerẹ́, for example, most farmland is held in small, dispersed individual parcels with a short fallow cycle, close to domestic compounds (cf. Lagemann 1977). By contrast, much of the farmland in Ágbọ̀ is held in common by

[13] A noun like *íhì* '[the] cause' does not exist in Ágbọ̀, where 'because' translates by means of a related verb root *hài* '[to] cause': *Yá hài kẹ…* 'That is what causes that…'.

[14] The paradigm case of this kind, with virtual one-to-one mapping of lineage segments and contiguous farmland areas, is described in the Tiv-speaking area by Bohannan (1954).

major lineages and shared out by titled elders in the major lineage assembly (*ọ̀gwá*) to farmers, in use-blocs at some distance from the village ward (*ìdumu*).

With road construction by forced African labor in the early colonial era, residential quarters abruptly moved from circular to linear format, obscuring the concentric schemes drawn by Henderson and Jones. Even in those areas which Forde and Jones 1950 described as having compact villages, such as the Cross-River area, residential compounds gradually gravitated to the sides of the tarred roads throughout the 1960's; this process was much accelerated by the rebuilding process after the Civil War. However, there is still vestigial evidence of precolonial patterns. In Ágbọ̀, for example, important compounds (e.g. Chief Àgbásọ̀gụn's palace in Ìdumu-Úku, Àlị-Ísìmíèn) did not relocate to the colonial roadside; today they stand apart from the rest, connected by long footpaths.

It is conceivable that this demographic shift—away from a hypothetical stage at which most Igboid settlements had the land use pattern which still prevails in Ágbọ̀—motivated a semantic shift of *shí*: from 'head for' in the protolanguage, to 'pass via' in non-Ágbọ̀ dialects. In Ágbọ̀, daily horticultural journeys follow an out-and-back pattern with respect to inhabited areas, such that a farmer has a consistent orientation to the community. The decline of this pattern in other areas might have motivated a reanalysis of the verb *shí*, from 'heading [out and back]' to 'passing [via here and there]'. After the change, the dialect difference with respect to this verb remains broadly linked to a political-economic difference in land use.

Why should this isogloss fall between Ágbọ̀ and the rest of Igboid? The Ágbọ̀ kingdom includes the only Southern Igboid-speaking settlements on the west bank of Òsimili [Niger]. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀'s genealogical studies (1970, 1980), confirmed by the present dialect classification (Fig. 1, p. 28 above), show that, Ágbọ̀ aside, the Igboid settlements to the west of Òsimili are most closely related to settlements of the Ọ̀mámbala [Anambra] river basin on the Niger's east bank. Thus, despite the lesser intensity of land use throughout the west bank, it is not surprising that only Ágbọ̀ retains the etymological meaning of *shí*. All the other west bank settlements have the innovated meaning which they inherited from their east bank origins.

Regardless of the value of this speculation, the difference in the meaning of this verb among the two sets of dialects needs to be represented. In a manner analogous to English *come*, the empathy annotation gives a simple account of the meaning of Ágbọ̀ *shí* and the corresponding, pragmatic restriction observed in (12-13).

Other empathy puzzles arise for the motion verbs *lá* 'return' and *lụ́a* 'arrive home'.

4.1.4 Returning and arriving home

On someone's departure for home, the following Ágbọ̀ greeting exchange might be heard:

21a. Ị́ a-lá-ma? 'Are you returning [to where you left from, i.e. home]?'[15]
2sg pro-return-Incep

b. Éee! À-lá-ma ḿ! 'Yes! I'm off for home!'[16]
yes [extra high tone] pro-return-Incep 1sg

[15] To denote the "final" departure of a visitor from afar, the question is:

i. Ị́ la-kọ a-lá-kọ? 'Are you going [finally]?'
2sg return-Contin ing-return-Contin

[16] Alternatively:

i. È-shí ḿ mmụ̀ọ́! 'I'm heading home!'
pro-head.for 1sg inside.house

22a. Kèlé wẹ́ o! 'Greet them [i.e. when you reach home]!'
greet 3pl emphasis

b. Óoo! 'OK!' [extra high pitch; acknowledgement]

Unlike the paradigm in (12-13), here speakers (a) and (b)—respectively stationary and mobile—do not differ in the choice of verb. *lá*, unlike *jné*, specifies the trajectory of motion: the endpoint for *lá* must be the point of departure, whereas for *jné* it cannot be, so *jné* cannot describe a trip home.[17]

On arrival home, an Ágbọ̀-speaking traveler might be greeted, and respond, as follows:

23a. À-lụ́a à! 'Welcome'
pro-arrive.home pro

b. Óoo! À-lụ́a ḿ! 'OK! I'm home!'
[acknowledgement] pro-arrive.home 1sg

As in (21), both speakers in (23) use the same verb. The first puzzle with the verbs in (21) and (23), discussed by Ụ̀waláàka (1981, 1983), is not a matter of inherent empathy (as it is with *shí*), but rather of contextual s-selection, i.e. specification of the goal (endpoint) of motion. The relevant effects concern the interpretation of null vs. overt objects. First, consider (24).

24a. Úchè la-ra ụ́yọ̀. 'Uche returned homewards'
return-∅Asp house

b. Úchè yọ-rọ ụ́yọ̀/ayọ́. 'Uche arrived home'
arrive.home-∅Asp house/BVC

As the internal argument of both -*lá* and -*yọ́*, *ụ́yọ̀* is unambiguously the goal. For *lá*, this is to be expected, if—as Ụ̀waláàka claims, developing Fillmore's analysis of predicate deixis—the verb inherently refers to the "home base" of the subject. An inherent reference to 'home' as a goal is also plausible for *yọ́*, since this verb is the root of the noun 'house/home', cf. the comparative data in (25), repeated from §1.3.1.

25.	Ọ̀nịcha	Àbọ́	Ágbọ̀	Ẹ́hugbò	Òweré	Ẹ̀hwụ́dà	Éleèle	other
return	ná	lá	lá	lá	lá	lá, yá	làá	
arrive home	nọ́[18]	lụ́a	lụ́a (<*lọ́a?)	wá	yọ́	lọ́sị	[?]	lọ́ta (Íhiàla)
house/home	ụ́nọ̀	ụ́nọ̀	ólọ̀	úlò	ụ́yọ̀	ụ́dọ̀	ọ́rò	ụ́nwọ̀ (Ọ̀ba) ụ́rọ̀ (Àzụ́mịnị) ụ́lụ̀ọ (Ìsúóchi, Ágụatá)

The reverse situation holds with *áhya* 'market': as the complement of both verbs, it receives the unambiguous interpretation of source:

26a. Úchè la-ra áhya. 'Uche headed [homewards] from the market'
return-∅Asp market

b. Úchè yọ-rọ áhya. 'Uche arrived [home] from the market'
arrive.home-∅Asp market

[17]Even then, one would more appropriately use the verb *ghá* 'pass via', cf. (18) above.

The opposition of the two verbs is maintained in the nouns *ụ̀-lá* (Ágbọ̀) 'a return [home]', *í-jnè* (Ágbọ̀)/*ǹ-jḥe-m* (Ọmahyá) 'journey [abroad]' and *ọ́-wa-ni-jne* (Ágbọ̀)/*ọ̀bịarụ-ejé* (Ụ́kụànị)/*ónye ijè* (Standard Ìgbo) 'wayfarer'. The text of *Òkóròʼ Mé ẹ* concludes.

i. Ọ̀bịarụ-ejé ènwó ụ̀lá ẹ́. 'A wayfarer [eventually] has his/her return'

At Ǹri, the expression *ụ̀lá ḿmụọ*, literally 'the return of the ancestral spirits [to earth]', is the name of an all-night vigil, one of nine stages in the *ọ́zọ* title (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 83).

[18]*nọ́*, which is restricted to older speakers (cf. Williamson 1972), underlies the Ọ̀nịcha greeting *Ǹnọ́ọ̀*! 'Welcome!' just as Ágbọ̀ *lụ́a* underlies *Àlụ́à* 'Welcome!', cf. (23a).

This effect is understandable as pragmatic entailment, since a market is not usually someone's home. If there was a chance that *Úchè* lived in the market, one would expect *áhya* to receive the same interpretation as *ụ́yọ̀*, namely goal, for both verbs.

However, this expectation is not fulfilled. Consider a pragmatically neutral object like the place name *Àbá*. Here, available judgements are inconsistent. The Òweré speaker who I consulted has a split between the two verbs, with *Àbá* interpreted as the goal of *lá* and the source of *yọ́*. Ụ̀waláàka 1983 judges *Àbá* to be ambiguously source or goal of either verb.

27a. Úchè la-ra Abá. 'Uche returned towards [home which is at] Aba'
return-∅Asp Ụ̀waláàka: *also* 'Uche returned [towards home] from Aba'

b. Úchè yọ-rọ Abá. 'Uche arrived [home] from Aba'
arrive.home-∅Asp Ụ̀waláàka: *also* 'Uche arrived [home] to Aba'

For my consultant, at least, the interpretation of *Àbá* as the indirect, prepositional object of these verbs in (28) is the reverse of its interpretation as the direct object in (27):

28a. Úchè la-ra n'Abá. 'Uche returned [homewards] from Aba'
return-∅Asp at

b. Úchè yọ-rọ n'Abá. 'Uche arrived [home which is] at Aba'
arrive.home-∅Asp

The data in (28) suggest that the ambiguity of the examples in (27) for Ụ̀waláàka may have to do with the optionality of the preposition (orthographically *nà*, *n'*) with verbs of motion in Ụ̀waláàka's dialect (Ḿbàisén). This is independently shown by examples like the following:

29. Úchè jḥe-re (n') ọ́rụn. 'Uche went to the farm [to work]' (Ḿbàisén)
walk-∅Asp at farmwork

The readings in (27) and (28) follow compositionally from the representations in (30). The interpretation of *yọ́ Àbá* as 'arrive [home] from Aba' indicates that the constant HOME is itself argument-taking, perhaps as spelled out in (30b). Of course, (24b) equally shows that HOME can be overtly projected by the noun *ụ́yọ̀*, recalling an effect which was much observed in §2.1.5. In that case, there is no other internal argument, nouns being intransitive.

30a. lá 'return (to)' [come to be at location x, by reversing direction][19]

b. yọ́ 'arrive home (from)' [come to be at location HOME (from location x)][20]

In (28), the preposition introduces an *additional* location, interpreted as distinct from the verb's internal argument, whether or not that internal argument is syntactically projected. The ambiguity of (27a/b) for Ụ̀waláàka would then reflect the latent presence of the preposition.

[19]Cf. the V-V compound *lá-bḥà* (return-enter), which means 'go to bed, turn in for the night'.

[20]*yọ́* can also refer to reincarnation, understood as arrival home to the visible world (*ụ̀wa*) viewed as the 'home' of the lineage, vs. *byá* 'come' which can refer to the first appearance of a species on earth (cf. 'The Pelican and the Vulture' in the Appendix).

The Ágbọ̀ cognate form *lụ́a* can refer, not just to change of location, but to metaphorical motion such as the receding stack of yams in a storeroom. In an Ágbọ̀ storyteller's closing refrain (i), the opposition *jné/-lụ́a* depicts narrative as a cyclical journey. An Ágbọ̀ prayer for travelers (ii) paraphrases this opposition slightly, with *lụ́a* replaced by the phrase *rú olọ̀* 'reach home'. The same pairing as in (ii) occurs in the Yorùbá prayer in (iii), in which the null object of 'arrive' is construed as 'home'.

i. Kẹ̀ ẹnyí jne o, kẹ̀ ẹnyí jne, kẹ̀ ẹnyí jne o, kẹ̀ ẹnyí lụa! 'Let us go [and] arrive home!'

ii. Nị́ i jne, nị́ i ru olọ̀! 'May you go [and] may you reach home!'

iii. A jọ lọ, a jọ dé! 'Let us go together [and] arrive [home] together [i.e. safely]!'

Now consider what happens if the verbs are suffixed with *-'ẹ/-'a*.[21] For both *-lá-'a* and *-yọ́-'a*, my Òwerí consultant interprets an overt object *Àbá* as the source of motion, not the goal:

31a. Úchè la-'a-ra Abá. 'Uche returned [home] from Aba'
return-back-ØAsp [≠'…to Aba']

b. Úchè yọ-'a-ra Abá.[22] 'Uche arrived [home] from Aba'
arrive.home-back-ØAsp [≠'…to Aba']

These data suggest that *-'e/-'a* is an intransitive predicate which introduces a lexical constant locatum argument with an empathy value of 1. This can be represented as in (32).

32. *-'e/-'a* 'back' [come to be in a LOCATION of E = 1][23]

There is independent evidence for (32). The Ìgbo lexicon abounds with pairs of verbs minimally distinguished by the suffix *-ta* or its [-ATR] variant *-te*, (= Òwerí *-'a/-'e*), e.g.:

33.

-bḍà	'enter'	-má	'know'
-bḍà-ta	'come inside'	-má-ta	'find out'
-chè	'think about'	-nwé	'have, possess, own'
-chè-te	'remember'	-nwé-te	'obtain'
-chị̀	'collect, herd together'	-rò	'think'
-chị̀-ta	'fetch'	-rò-te	'remember'
-chọ́	'look for, seek, want'	-vú	'carry [on the head]'
-chọ́-ta	'find, discover'	-vú-te	'carry back [on the head]'
-fụ̀	'go out'	-wè	'take hold of'
-fụ̀-ta	'come out, mean'	-wè-te	'bring'
-kpá	'gather [e.g. wild plants]'	-zụ́	'trade [in a market commodity]'
-kpá-ta	'gather and bring back'	-zụ́-ta	'buy'

Two observations about (33) are relevant to the problem in (31). Notice first that the derived (suffixed) verb is always eventive, even if the base verb is stative (noneventive), e.g. *nwé-te* 'obtain' vs. *nwé* 'possess'. This justifies the inclusion of a change of location component in the conceptual structure of *-'a*. (For abstract predicates like 'think' and 'know', the change of location is metaphorical, amounting to a change of state.) By compositionality, this change of location/state is added to the meaning of the derived verb.

[21] Phonetically [ʔɛ/ʔa]. In most dialects, this suffix has the form *-tẹ/-ta*, cf. (29b) in §1.3.1.

[22] Ẹ́hụgbò *wá-ta*, the cognate of the Òwerí verb *la-'a*, also assigns the source interpretation to its object. E.g., from the Ẹ́hụgbò text 'The Child that Knows its Mother' in the Appendix:

i. Yá je ntutù, je àkpọ́rọ nne ẹ́ ihu wa-ta-je ubì.
3sg go continuously go meet mother 3sg.Gen face return-back-go farm
'It kept on going [until it] met its mother face to face, [on her way] coming home from the farm'

[23] In his study of Ómahyá verbal affixes, Winston glosses *-ta* as 'motion towards speaker' (1973: 133 *et passim*), which is nearly the proposal in (32) except that empathy need not be restricted to the speaker. For example, motion toward the speaker is not required in (i).

i. Úchè vu-te-re ńkụ. 'Uche carried [some] firewood back'
carry-back-ØAsp firewood [i.e. to his/her house, probably for someone to use]

Éménanjọ hints that *-ta* has a benefactive component, e.g. *chọ́-ta* 'find out for' (1975: 105), *zụ́-ta* 'buy for' (1982b: 164). However, the morphological benefactive is formed with an *-rV* suffix (phonetically reduced to [*-V*] before another *-rV*, cf. Nwáchukwu 1985, Ìhiọ̀nụ́ 1989). So, for example, a beneficiary is only loosely and pragmatically entailed in (i), while it is explicitly denoted in (ii).

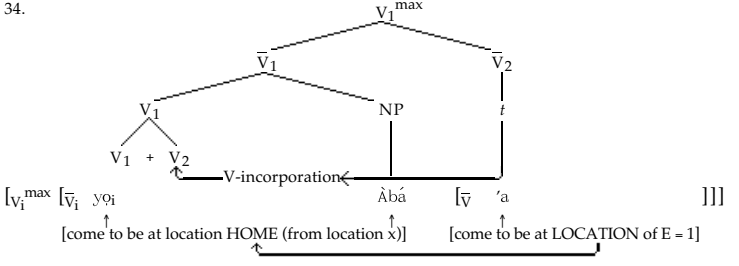
ii. Úchè vu-te-e-re m ńkụ. 'Uche carried [some] firewood back for me'
carry-back-ØAsp-ØAsp 1sg firewood [-for me to use *or* instead of my carrying it]

(ii) is ambiguous, like *John baked a cake for Mary*; (i) isn't, like *John baked Mary a cake*.

The second observation about (33) is that affixation of *-ta* has no effect on the transitivity of the base verb. *fụ̀-ta* remains intransitive like *fụ̀*, requiring a PP complement; *kpá-ta* remains transitive like *kpá*. This follows if *-ta* (= Òwerí *-'a*) is itself intransitive, since then it cannot introduce an internal argument to a compound of which it is a member.

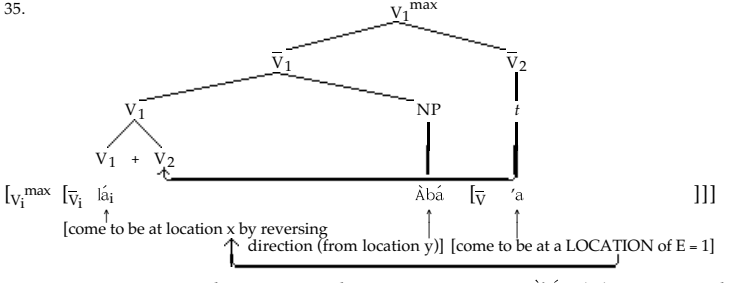
However, the examples in (31) exhibit a subtle interaction, not found in (33), between the affix and the head. As in (33), affixation of *-'a* in (31) does not affect transitivity, but the interpretations of the complement *Àbá* contrast between affixed (31a) and unaffixed (27a). There is but one possible source for this effect: semantic composition. The affixation of *-'a*, a change-of-location affix (defective verb), to the change-of-location verbs *lá* and *yọ́*, entails the composition of the two predicates. In (31b), represented in (34), this composition is largely redundant, since the constant HOME has nearly the same force as the value E(x) = 1.[24]

34.



The problem for compositionality arises in (31a). Given the interpretation of *Àbá* as source of motion, in contrast to its interpretation of goal in (27a), the empathy value of the internal argument of *-'a* has the effect of an implicit argument, saturating the internal argument of *lá*. However, since *lá* remains transitive, the internal argument Àbá evidently receives a secondary semantic role, as represented in (35) by the extra component (*from location* y).

35.



A variety of 'stories' might be told about the secondary licensing of *Àbá* in (35). I appeal to the component of *direction* in the meaning of *lá*. Jackendoff (1983) posits a basic notion of *PATH* in all events of motion, as well as in various states of orientation and extension which are derivative of

[24] On the incorporation structure of V-V compounding, see §2.1.5 above; on the identification of internal arguments by lexical constants in compounds, see also §2.1.3.

such events (Jackendoff 1990: 43*f.*). Intuitively, indeed, there is a close relationship between *PATH to X*, *PATH from Y* and *PATH from X to Y*.

My approach to syntactic licensing differs from Jackendoff's. Jackendoff projects phrase structure autonomously from lexical structure; I posit a close relationship between the two—the projection relation—which represents syntactic affectedness and selection as lexical domains. Jackendoff preserves Gruber's idea that the basic semantic relations are *location* and *motion*; I treat *change-of-location* and *change-of-state* predicates as equivalent, except that the former, lacking total affectedness, fails to display the causative/inchoative alternation in syntax (cf. Guerssel 1986, Tenny 1989). Jackendoff departs from Gruber by adopting Chomsky's (1970) Lexicalist Hypothesis, which rules out generative semantics (*cause-to-die* → *kill*). I adopt a morpheme-based lexicon and allow syntactic word-formation (incorporation), consistent with syntactic locality (minimality). Jackendoff's grammar is rule-based, I assume a government-based, principles-and-parameters framework. These issues cannot be resolved on the basis of (35), but see Chapter 2.

On surer ground is the more general claim of this section, that the pragmatic factor of empathy—rather than deixis as conceived in traditional, structuralist or generative semantics—contributes to the interpretation of some Ìgbo motion verbs. The next section considers a different kind of pragmatic entailment by lexical items.

4.2 Textual resources and strategic symbols

To unlock a society, look at its untranslatable words.
S. Rushdie, *Shame* (1983: 111)

The ethnic effect indicates a systematic, social relationship between knowledge of language and self-consciousness. By hypothesis, this relationship is mediated in the lexicon, on the premise that individual lexical entries bridge the domains of implicit and explicit knowledge. Then, the diffuseness of lexical structure (which sorts entries either word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme) is available to explain the relative opacity of ideological effects vs. grammatical ones (as noted by Chomsky 1986b under the heading of Orwell's Problem).

That lexical entries contain knowledge of the world is uncontroversial (except for extreme neo-Platonic realists like Katz 1981, 1990). It is not even excluded by the Saussurean doctrine of arbitrariness, which limits itself narrowly to the sound-meaning relation:

> *Arbitraire* ne doit jamais s'entendre du rapport entre signe et chose signifiée (contenu de conscience), rapport étranger à la langue, non étudié par Saussure…
> (Godel 1969: 255, emphasis in original)

The live issue is the range of lexical mechanisms actually involved in the ethnic effect. At the present, preliminary stage of inquiry, any answer must unfold example-by-example rather than in a principled manner. Since, as discussed in Chapter 6, most standard assumptions rule out such interactions altogether, it is nonetheless interesting if any mechanisms exist at all.

Pragmatic entailments, discussed in the preceding section, are a strong candidate. They are more accessible to consciousness than are semantic details like s-selection (transitivity) and affectedness. At the same time, the interaction of pragmatics (formalized in terms of empathy) with the lexical semantics of certain Ìgbo verb roots is both robust and regular, as shown by the affixation paradigm in (33) above. In principle, too, these entailments have a historical dimension, as conjectured for the apparent loss of pragmatic annotation by the verb *shí* in nearly all dialects, in apparent correlation with an ecological/demographic trend.

There are other potential mechanisms by which lexical items affect consciousness, as implicated in apparent collective beliefs and in observable practices. Care is required in defining these formally, and assessing them empirically. For example, the strong claim that a speaker of language L is committed to the existence of all ontological elements in the lexical entries of L is certainly false. Etymology's literal realism has its limits; Gramsci observes that

> language is at the same time a living thing and a museum of fossils of life and civilizations. When I use the word "disaster" no one can accuse me of believing in astrology, and when I say "by Jove!" no one can assume that I am a worshipper of pagan divinities. (1971: 450)

Gramsci's etymological scepticism is not total, however. It arises in the course of a lengthy critique of a Soviet sociology text (Bukharin 1921) which, like other authoritarian expressions of the Marxist movement, took pains to deny the historic foundations of Leninist philosophical concepts—in this case, the non-metaphysical usage of "immanence". On the contrary, Gramsci points out that Renaissance rationalists like Giordano Bruno did employ "immanence" in a secular context, and that this usage was actually transmitted to Marxism through classical German philosophy. Bukharin's "immanence" descends from Bruno's. The same Gramsci quote continues:

> These expressions are however a proof that modern civilization is also a development of paganism and astrology. …[P]resent language is metaphorical with respect to the meanings and the ideological content which the words used had in preceding periods of civilization.(1971: 450)

Gramsci's point is that an etymology can be simultaneously opaque (as a matter of subjective salience) and yet valid (as a matter of objective history). The tension between these two propositions reflects the difference between two kinds of linguistic archaeology: traditional *Wörter und Sachen* studies of proto-Indo-European society (notably by É. Benveniste, G. Dumézil and M. Gimbutas), and Foucault's critical account of *Les mots et les choses* (which showed that the ideological concept of "human sciences" began only in the 17th century).

Gramsci's examples show that, even with a firm historical foundation, there are still two big steps between etymology and belief/consciousness. An etymological exercise is only as rigorous as the linguistic equation of claimed cognate elements; this first step in reconstruction must be established independent of any socio-cultural implications. In addition, there must be a mechanism by which the etymological meaning is placed into consciousness.

On the question of rigor, there are two possibilities. On the one hand, African cognates in Europe have often been denied, for blatantly ideological reasons. Bernal 1987 recounts how, in the mid-19th century, Indo-European studies were purged of Phoenician and Egyptian etymologies, the better to portray "Aryan" culture as independent of Semitic and African sources. Particularly anathema, to scholars imbued with European Romanticism and nationalism, were any claims of Egyptian antecedents of Greek political and religious vocabulary.[25] At the root of this irrationalism was Christian racism: before Hitler burned Jews, the Roman Inquisition burned Giordano Bruno as an Egypto-pagan animist.[26]

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[25] Many of the Aryan alternatives were implausible, but that was beside the point. Bernal 1987 offers Egyptyian etymologies for *basileús* 'chief', *wánax* 'master', *minotaur*, *Aphrodíte*, *Apóllōn*, *Ártemis*, *Orpheús*, *Rhadamánthys*, and convincingly discounts Greek folk etymologies for these items.

[26] Critiquing the standard hero-story of heliocentric science vs. terrocentric religion, Blumenberg argues that "Bruno's Copernicanism was not part of the substance of the charges that were brought against him" (1975/1987: 371); cf. also Yates 1964, 1973, cited by Tambiah 1990. Bernal's argument explains this discrepancy: Bruno radicalized Copernicanism by taking it back to its Egyptian source.

Conversely, the etymological path from sub-Saharan Africa to the ancient Near East is littered with blatantly invalid "cognates". For example, Wescott (n.d., reprised in Adétúgbọ̀ 1973: 202*ff.*) debunks the handful of etymologies proposed by Archdeacon Olúmidé Lucas (1948) in support of an Egyptian origin for Yorùbá religion. Not that an ancient Egyptian source for the ancestral culture of West African forest-dwelling peoples can be ruled out in advance, but no remotely plausible linguistic trace of such a source has yet been found.

Yet the Oriental idea thrives all the same. In 1976-77, I was often told by Ìgbo-speaking Christians that the name *Ìgbo* itself is "a corruption of *Hebrew*". The notion finds a place in every popular work of *Ìgbo* studies, even if only to be rejected (as by Nwáòsú 1983: 37*f.*). E.g.:

> Ụ̀fọ́dụ chère na ńdị Ìgbo si n'Ọwụ́wa Anyanwụ́ wéé bàtá n'àla nké à há bì yá ùgbú à. Ụ̀fọ́dụ chère na há sì n'*Ancient Egypt* (Ífìpt mgbe gbóo) wèré bịa nà há bụ ndị Híbrù ńdị ná-esòghị́ ụmụ̀ *Israel* ńdị ọ́zọ gbapụ̀ n'ala Ífìpt ógè *Moses* dùru há gáfèé Òsimiri Náịlụ̀. (Ógbàlụ́ 1981: 7, tonemarks added)
>
> [Some think that Ìgbo people originated in the East from where they entered this land they now inhabit. Some think that they came from Ancient Egypt, that they are those Hebrews who didn't follow the tribe of Israel which others drove out of Egypt when Moses led them across the Nile River.]

Why were adventurers, missionaries and imperialists so anxious to "explain" West African civilizations as echoes of the Mediterranean/Middle-East? And why does this Orientalist construct persist among the catechized Ìgbo-speaking elite? Áfìlgbo 1965 argues that the administration of indirect rule required exotic ideological charters for the African elite who would stand, in place of foreign overlords, as a local 'master race' of Aryan-surrogates fulfilling the colonizers' own desires for legitimacy.[27] Although such charters were short-lived as official doctrine, by the 1960's they had acquired subjective value for the colonized:

> [M]ost educated Ìgbo have seen their historical vicissitudes in this century as paralleling only those of the Jews since the days of the exodus. What is important from the practical point of view, however, is that this widespread, though probably unhistorical, ideological feeling of oneness with the Jews, which as we have seen goes back to the ex-slave boy Equiano in the eighteenth century, provides some clue to understanding of Ìgbo psychology, motivation and drive. (Áfìlgbo 1981g: 182)

Chatterjee 1986 identifies a similar inversion of colonial ideology in Indian nationalism. He distinguishes between the "problematic" of post-colonial ideology—how to change from being the object of social relations to become the subject—and its "thematic"—e.g. the historically constructed racial/ethnic types of East and West.

> At the level of the thematic…, nationalist thought accepts and adopts the same essentialist conception based on the distinction between 'the East' and 'the West', the same typology created by a transcendent studying subject, and hence the same 'objectifying' procedures of knowledge constructed in the post-Enlightenment age of Western science. (1986: 38)

In the Ìgbo case, Áfìlgbo 1980 finds that the thematic of an exotic, Hebrew identity remained constant in shifting from the object value of a decadent Near Eastern racial/cultural remnant, in the view of colonist Palmer, to the subject value of righteous status of biblical underdog, in the minds of the colonized. The Biafran episode further entrenched the latter valuation, as tellingly reflected in Òjúkwu's choice of the Russian word *pogróm* (pronounced by most Ìgbo speakers like the English

[27] The same mindset underlay Lugard's promotion of the Fulani Emirs in terms of the Hamitic hypothesis, as noted in the Introduction. Greenberg 1963 decisively refuted the linguistic foundation of the Hamitic hypothesis, along with a similarly Romantic view of the Bantu languages held by Guthrie.

word *prógram*) to describe massacres of Ìgbo-speaking Nigerians in May and September of 1966 (cf. Òjúkwu 1969 *passim*). (Russian and Polish Jews suffered Cossack *pogróms* in the 1880's.)

Ìgbo elites' embrace of Middle Eastern and Middle European Jewish ancestors, first imported by British Christians, is a paradigm example of false consciousness. The success of pseudo-etymology in this case underlines the corresponding chance of failure of the real thing. Many formally educated Ìgbo speakers have avowed surprise (or dismay) upon hearing from me that their language is closely related to both Ẹ̀dó and Yorùbá.[28] *Even if* a validly etymological meaning plays a role in synchronic grammar—e.g. as claimed in chapter 2 for the lexical decomposition of "inherent complement" verbs—there is no necessary conscious effect, since knowledge of language is implicit. An etymology's current relevance to speakers' beliefs can be guaranteed only by a mechanism which puts lexical entries directly into consciousness.

The rest of this section shows, with both positive and negative examples, that such a mechanism exists—a mechanism which relies on two related properties of lexical items: their role as textual resources and as strategic symbols. That oral texts are central to the ethnic effect, makes all the more remarkable some recent doctrines on memory and textual authority, which ignore or devalue the oral component of intellectual property.

4.2.1 Goody vs. śruti

Goody has recently restated and expanded the "literacy hypothesis" of Goody and Watt 1968. The original version reclaimed an evolutionary approach to cognition and consciousness:

> We can no longer accept the view that anthropologists have as their objective the study of primitive man, who is characterised by a 'primitive mind', while sociologists, on the other hand, concern themselves with civilized man, whose activities are guided by 'rational thought' and tested by 'logico-empirical procedures'. The reaction against such ethnocentric views, however, has now gone to the point of denying that the distinction between literate and non-literate societies has any significant validity. This position seems contrary to our personal observation… (1968: 28)

Goody's newer studies divide between "the impact of writing on human societies" (1986) and "the interaction between distinct oral and written cultures" (1987). The latter branch of inquiry has yielded a clear statement on the role of writing as a support of social inequality:

> All over the world, the techniques of writing have been used to acquire, that is, alienate, the land of 'oral' peoples. It is a most powerful instrument, the use of which is rarely devoid of social, economic and political significance, especially since its introduction usually involves the domination of the non-literate segment of the polulation by the literate one, or even the less literate by the more. Where writing is, 'class' cannot be far away. (1987: xv)

This idea of writing as a "means of alienation" recalls Goody's (1971) discussion of cavalry power as the "means of destruction" in West African state formation.

On the other side, Goody has been obliged to make more specific his negative claims with regard to oral culture, in order to compare it with "written [i.e. literate] culture". His recent statements, much amplified from the early articles, entrench the basic dichotomy with which Goody and Watt began, correlating literacy with cognitive capacities and achievements.

> [W]hat I am trying to explain is not logical operation on a day-to-day level, since it never occurred to me that this was absent on oral cultures, but why they do not have the 'logic' of philosophers. Not why they cannot add (they can) but why they do not have mathematicians and mathematics, not whether they analyze language (they do) but whether they have grammars and gramnmarians (*in sensu strictu*), not whether they have poetry, but whether they have literature (that is written literature). (1987: xvi)

[28] But see the mostly impeccable Ìgbo/Yorùbá cognates offered by Nwáòsú (1983: 13*f*).

Each of these claims teeters between empirical falsity and trivial, circular truth. Nonliterate people can add and subtract. What if they also multiply and divide, and posit various numerologies? Unless they do so on paper, there is no risk that Goody will esteem it as "mathematics" (of which he offers no definition, leaving the matter up to the reader's literate prejudices). Similarly, there is no logical way for nonliterate people to have grammar "in sensu strictu", if literacy is part of the definition of this strict sense (about which, again, Goody makes us guess). Worst of all is the circularity of the statement that non-literate cultures do not have "literature (that is written literature)". Since Goody doesn't say what he is prepared to admit as a counterexample, and rules out most by definition, implicit or otherwise, it is easy for him to ignore threatening cases, or blithely to dismiss them.

In the field of religion, Goody's unconcealed bias towards a technological reduction of literacy to *writing*, and his notorious predilection for the evolutionist "implications" of technology, blind him to ethnographic facts. However, there is no denying the geographical uniformity, temporal fixity, conversion appeal, and "universalist", "ethical" force, of oral religions such as the West African *òrìṣa* religion, as in its oral recension in the Ifá divination texts. Goody can avoid these observations only by clinging to a dated, narrowly localistic framework of Africanist ethnography, wholly consistent with his own positivistic premises:

> [W]e define a religion, not only by its characteristics as a sect or church… but as Kikuyu religion or Asante religion. In other words we define a religion in terms of the practices and beliefs of a particular group of territorially bounded individuals a tribe or a kingdom. … The reason for this state of affairs is obvious. Literate religions have some kind of autonomous boundary. … Contrast the situation in societies [formerly] without writing. You cannot practice Asante religion unless you are an Asante. (1986: 4-5)

The logical circularity is as obvious in this statement as it is in Goody's non-observations on mathematics, grammar and literature. It assumes what it wishes to prove, namely that nonliterate culture is inherently bounded by ethnicity, as if ethnic units were given in advance of analysis or were immune to historical processes (including the spread of an oral tradition). With Goody's assumptions, nonliterate religious institutions are unimaginable, so he cannot reasonably claim to be testing their possibility against the historical record.

Goody's devaluation of orality is thoroughly falsified by Abímbọ́lá's detailed studies of the Ifá corpus of sacred oral poetry. The individual Ifá poems (called *ẹsẹ*, literally 'lines'), magnificent and numerous, have been orally composed, accumulated, transmitted and conserved over centuries. By maintaining these poems' rigorous authority through time and space, the priesthood of Ifá diviners (*babaláwo*) helped foster the ideological unity of modern Yorùbá speakers (now numbering over 20 million), as well as the striking resilience of the Yorùbá branch of the West African *òrìṣà* religion in its Western Hemisphere diaspora (where, despite the ethnocidal Atlantic slave trade and forced Christian conversion on plantations, it lives as Candomblé, Lucumí and Santería).

Pace Goody, the historical impact of *ẹsẹ Ifá* has paralleled that of sacred written texts (like the Torah) in chartering religious institutions, and that of secular written texts (such as Dante's œuvre) in setting a prestige dialect. Even in the European case, neither sacred nor secular written authority by itself sufficed to standardize language beyond a schooled elite. That was a matter for the state, and the administrative role of writing is not the issue here. But it is precisely the other kinds of efficacy, of religious and secular charters, which Goody wants to deny in the oral case.

Outside of Africa, Goody's argumentation is more sophisticated, perhaps, but no less circular. He is plainly aware that the Hindu Vedic poems are oral texts which possess a degree of fixity and authority that his thesis would reserve for written doctrines—and are thus a potential counterexample. Accordingly, he devotes a chapter of his 1987 book to argue, against the Hindu tradition, *either* that the Vedas are "the product of… a literate culture", *or* that they are "a written tradition passed on largely by oral means".

For the latter (and stronger) hypothesis, Goody has no direct evidence, and he lets it drop. Otherwise he would place himself at odds, not just with some received ideas about Vedic literature, but with the foundations of Hindu philosophy. The Vedas ('Knowledge') are indigenously classified as *śru-ti*, 'the action/instrument of hearing, or something heard' (cf. Renou 1966: 238), as opposed to *smṛ-ti*, 'the action/instrument of remembering, or something remembered'. This inverts literate expectations: *smṛ-ti* refers not to the oral tradition, as something transmitted by memory, but to written interpretations of things "previously experienced" (Dasgupta 1922: 239). Writing is 'memory', memorization is 'hearing':

> The Vedas are more a record than an interpretation of religious experience. While their authority is final, that of the expression and the interpretations of the religious experience is by no means final. The latter are said to be *smṛti* or the remembered testimonies of great souls. (Rādhākrishnan 1975: 66)

This leaves the weaker hypothesis, which doesn't deny that the Vedas were composed orally but asserts that they display the "cognitive style" of a "literate culture", e.g. "'rational' procedures" and "'logical' systems" like "binarism" and "generalized, decontextualized authority". However, Goody's restriction of this supposed cognitive style to literate cultures is the very claim which the Vedas threaten to falsify, and for which an independent case is never made. Since the conclusion follows trivially from the premises, it is uninteresting.

To save the weaker hypothesis, Goody forces himself to contemplate a literate origin for Ifá, although his argumentation on this point (1987: 303 *fn.* 5) is disappointingly casual, and deeply flawed. He cites Morton-Williams' (1966) speculation that the Ifá numerological system of 2^8=256 chapters (*Odù*) was adopted at some unspecified remove from "a system of geomancy originating in antiquity in the near East". Morton-Williams' "[i]ndications of an Arabic origin for the basic procedure of Ifá divination" consist of proposed Arabic etymologies for the words *Ọ̀rúnmìlà* (the system's founder-divinity) and *Ifá*.

Morton-Williams' exotic derivations, while more credible than those of Archdeacon Lucas, are nevertheless beside the point. A putative external origin for the names of the system and its patron divinity, for the binary numerology which organizes the chapters, and even for the physical objects manipulated in the course of divination (e.g. the *ọpọ́n* 'divination tray', the *ọ̀pẹ̀lẹ̀* 'divination chain'), do not imply an external origin for the poems (*ẹsẹ*) themselves. Diffusionist quibbles aside, it is the mode of composition and "cognitive style" of these texts which is at issue—and each of the 256 chapters contains many *ẹsẹ*, some quite lengthy.

Ẹsẹ Ifá are neither Philip Glass ditties composed-by-numbers, nor New Age performance art improvised on Ouija Boards. None of the known *ẹsẹ Ifá* has a demonstrable external origin, Arabic or otherwise; if they did, it would be surprising that one *Odù* is devoted to unflattering accounts of the arrival of Islam in the Yorùbá-speaking area (Abímbọ́lá 1973: 57*ff.*). External origin is also not supported by comparison with divination systems practiced in the Èdó and Ìgbo-speaking areas,

called *Ẹfa* and *Áfa* respectively. As documented by Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1981, the materials, numerology and cosmology of Áfa divination at Ǹrì closely resemble those of Ifá, but there is no formal or substantive similarity in the texts, although this would be predicted if they had a common source.

This leaves a "cognitive style" argument which is even weaker than the one devised for the Vedas. Goody would have to claim that oral Ifá was authoritative just because it was inspired by the (numerological, material) divination apparatus of a distant, literate culture. To find such an argument convincing, one must suppose that "cognitive style" inheres more in physical objects than in texts, and that content of texts is irrelevant to their authority.

Prudently hedging his bets, and tacitly acknowledging Ifá's relevance as a counterexample, Goody also tries to dismiss its centrality as a resource and its coherence as a text:

> [I]t would be difficult to see it as an intrinsic part of the thought of all Yorùbá, since great care was taken to prevent the 'secrets' from spreading. Knowledge, ritual knowledge, was distributed in a deliberately uneven and restricted fashion, but in any case could not really be considered as a single corpus, knowable by a single individual.
>
> (1987: 296)

Both parts of this assertion are false, with the trivial exception that no one person could know the whole of Ifá. Nor is the error surprising, because Goody explicitly bases his claim on an assumed similarity between Ifá and the "Bagre myth" of northern Ghana—a text which Goody himself recorded and published. However, he cites no empirical resemblances between "Bagre" and Ifá, leaving the impression that he believes all African oral texts (or "utterances" as Goody prefers to call them, reserving the buzzword *text* for literate productions) are *inherently* alike.

On Ifá itself, Goody mentions Bascom's pioneer encounter with an (anonymous) *babaláwo* at Ilé-Ifẹ̀ over 1937-38 (published in 1969). Had he consulted the considerable Nigerian scholarship on Ifá of the 1960's and '70's, produced by literate Yorùbá speakers and published by Nigerian and British academic presses, he would have read (*inter alia*) that

> many Yorùbá men and women get to know a good many of the 'secrets' of Ifá divination, so that these secrets are, in fact, no more than open secrets. …
>
> The priest of Ifá also learns more by attending weekly, monthly and yearly meetings of Ifá priests in his area. During these meetings, competitions in chanting *ẹsẹ Ifá* are held. Whenever a priest of Ifá chants a complete sentence from an *ẹsẹ Ifá*, his colleagues are supposed to answer him with the word *han-in*, and if he misses another sentence, his colleagues will protest that he is perturbing the divinatory system. The protest may take the form of grumblings in the first instance to warn him that he is making a mistake. But if the priest persists in his mistake, more violent means including shouting him down or sending him out of the assembly may result. (Abímbọ́lá 1973: 43, 48*f.*)[29]

Goody's erroneous beliefs about Ifá show the futility of transfering literate ideas of intellectual property to nonliterate settings, especially insofar as this tends to sensationalize the concept of secrecy. By contrast, I now turn to describe a genuine example of "secret language": the *ólu* argot of titled elders in the Ǹrì Kingdom. *Ólu* provides another illustration of the general mechanism by which etymology affects consciousness, namely the strategic role of lexical symbolism. In turn, discussion of *ólu* raises the wider issue of how Ǹrì hegemony was sustained by manipulation of a lexically-based, symbolic code.

[29] A well-documented example of public Ifá performance and correction is the late Awótúndé Awórìndé's 1965 chanting of *ìyèrẹ̀ Ifá*. Five distinguished scholars, four of them Yorùbá-speaking, spent a decade transcribing and translating the 75 minutes of call-and-response chanting in this text an effort whose scale begins to suggest the magnitude and status of the Ifá canon.

4.2.2 Ólu

> *The 'supernatural' aspects of African government are always puzzling and often exasperating to the European administrator.* (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940: 19)

The royal town of Ǹrì (settlement 17 in Fig. 1) is linked to excavations at nearby Ìgbo Úkwu of an elaborate burial containing ivory, iron, beads, textiles, ceremonial pottery and exquisite bronze castings (cf. Shaw 1970). The burial is radiocarbon dated as over a thousand years old.[30] Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀'s studies of Ǹrì, which contextualize these finds, are the outstanding works on Ìgbo ethnography and precolonial history. His analysis of the relationship between ritual and politics has the great merit of placing at center stage the role of symbolism in a theocratic "system of communication and control". I will briefly summarize his main findings, before turning to a linguistic dimension of Ǹrì control: *ólu*, the argot of the Ǹrì political elite.

In contrast with the trading states which developed along the River Òsimili [Niger] and its delta, and on the River Ẹ́nyòm [Cross], the inland hegemony centered at Ǹrì was remarkable for having no element of militarism, and for not employing slave labor.[31] Indeed, middleman and productive activities were secondary to Ǹrì regional intersts. Critiquing Northrup's (1972) analysis of early Ìgbo trade, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 59) remarks that Ǹrì kingdom—at its peak in the 16th century—was based on a "service" economy of ritual monopolies in surrounding settlements. Within this regional framework, individual communities specialized in the production and trade of various food, craft and luxury commodities, eventually including European goods. The regulating presence of itinerant Ǹrì in these settlements was absorbed into their lineage structure, leaving traces like the name *Ọ̀gwáshì* (←*Ọ̀gwá-Ǹshi* 'the Ǹrì assembly') on the west side of Òsimili.[32]

The Ǹrì phenomenon makes no sense in the Africanist dichotomy of states vs. "acephalous" societies. However, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀'s Ǹrì study notes the difference between hegemony and violence. The Ǹrì example is strongly consistent with Gramsci's theory that hegemony, while not a sufficient condition for the formation of a state, is nonetheless a necessary condition. The aspect of hegemony is conspicuously lacking in the definitions of "state" offered by Radcliffe-Brown (1940: xiv) and (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940: 14), who focus on territory, and on the use or threat of violence ("the command of organized force"). These definitions are, accordingly, falsified by Ǹrì.

Ǹrì hegemony comprised monopolies in the regulation of calendars, markets, oaths, taboos,, political titles (mainly *ọ́zọ*) and the medicine against yam pestilence. These ritual perquisites

[30] Lawal's (1973) objections to this date are answered by Shaw 1975, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ and Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1977.

[31] Ǹrì people did not participate in slave trading, but Ǹrì monarchs sanctioned slave status outside the sanctuary of Ǹrì town. In the mid-19th Century, after abortive efforts to repel the Árụ̀ militarily, Ézé Ǹrì Énwéleàna negotiated immunity from Árụ̀ raids for itinerant Ǹrì people (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1972: 50; 1980: 26-30, 59-61). By a nicely ironic twist, Árụ̀ oligarchs borrowed a Ǹrì monicker and styled themselves *Ụ́mụ̀ Chí Ukwu* 'Descendants of the sky god'. If the Árụ̀ also used a secret argot in negotiating their severe brand of trade and diplomacy, it was supported by the Cross-River ideographic code known as "nsibidi", observed by Matthews in 1917 (Áfìlìgbo 1981c: 234*f.*). The role of "nsibidi" in the slave trade is indirectly confirmed by its widespread preservation by Western Hemisphere African descendants (see R. F. Thompson 1973: 227-68).

[32] Cf. sh>rh>r in data (18), §1.3.1. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ observes: "Even in Ǹrì town Díodò villages pronounce it 'Ǹshi', while Ágụ-Ukwu villages pronounce it 'Ǹrì'. (1972: 41)" In Fig. 1, Ọ̀gwáshì Úku is between Ùbulu Úku (settlement 3) and Ìgboọ́ụzọ̀ (settlement 6). The Árụ̀ adopted the colonization pattern of the Ǹrì ritual elite, exporting lineages and founding new settlements like Árụ̀-Ǹdizùogụ (?= 'The Árụ̀ who all show up in battle'). Many Árụ̀-derived lineages in these places bear the name Chí Ukwu, cf. the preceding footnote and the list of names in Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghìrikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò, in the Appendix.

were interrelated both conceptually and materially—recalling Tambiah's (1981) performative analysis of ritual as composed of mutually sustaining "inner" and "outer" frames of meaning and action. A case in point is the semantic and pragmatic relationship between taboo and abomination.

Paraphrasing Ǹrì elders, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 49) distinguishes *ǹsọ́* 'taboo' from *álụ̀* 'abomination' as respectively principle vs. action. This logical relationship has a clear etymological basis. *Ǹsọ́*, from *-sọ́* 'avoid', is ritual prohibition. *Álụ̀*, from *-lú* 'pollute', is the defilement which results from violating *ǹsọ́*. Major *ǹsọ́* and *álụ̀* are qualified with the word *àna* 'earth', indicating that such defilement can be cleansed only at the shrine of the earth. Literally, the violator of *ǹsọ́ àna* has polluted the 'land', i.e. an entire community. In many Igboid areas (e.g. in Ágbọ̀ but not in Ẹ́hụgbò), *àna* (or its cognates *àla*, *àlɪ*, *ànɪ* etc.) is used to refer to a major lineage, i.e. as the inhabitants of a discrete 'land'.

Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 52-54) details an Ǹrì classification of 105 *ǹsọ́*, major and minor. Some *ǹsọ́* apply to specific categories of citizens (married women, non-titled men, *ọ́zọ*-titled men, Ézé Ǹrì); some are valid for all of these groups. (63 *ǹsọ́* still remained in force at Ǹrì in 1972.) An oral version of this system was presumably what Ézé Ǹrì used in order to define *ǹsọ́* for the whole kingdom. Correspondingly, Ézé Ǹrì controlled the ritual cleansing of *álụ̀* for each *ǹsọ́*, by exercising a monopoly over the earth cult (*àjá Àna*) of abomination-cleansing sacrifices (*ìkpù álụ̀*, literally covering the abomination).[33]

In the related functions of regulating *ǹsọ́* and *álụ̀*, Ézé Ǹrì derived special legitimacy from his position at the apex of the *ǹsọ́* system where, as a result of initiation, he was represented as

> a spirit (*ǹmmúọ́*) and a living *álụsɪ́* … [who] exists on the threshold of the living and the dead … hemmed round by taboos. (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 88)

Àjá Àna 'Earth sacrifice'—the ritual sanction for *ǹsọ́* and *álụ̀*—is one of a list of *álụsɪ́*, invisible 'forces/divinities' controlled by Ézé Ǹrì through his priests.[34] Others included:

Èké, Óyè, Àfọ, Ǹkwọ́	the four days of the market week *ífzù*	(cf. *zù* 'be complete')
Ágwụ̀'	the 'Herbalism/Divination' divinity	(cf. *ọ́gwụ̀* 'medicine')
Ìdéḿmilí	the 'Pillar [i.e. uphill source]-of-Water'	
Ìfejíọkụ́	the 'Cult-of-Yam-Fertility'[35]	

[33] Ǹrì monopoly in this regard at Úgwutà is independently confirmed, with respect to the cleansing of incest abominations, by Nzímìro (1962: 142).

[34] In Ágbọ̀, *-jà* denotes the ceremonial action of cutting up cooked meat; hence, *àja* means 'sacrifice' in the sense of blood sacrifice. Not all *álụsɪ́* are anthropomorphic, hence the 'force/divinity' equivocation in English. The word *álụsɪ́* (Ẹ́hụgbò *érụsɪ́*), found throughout the Igboid area, may be cognate to Yorùbá *òrìṣà* 'divinity', which it translates closely. The Yorùbá word has also been borrowed by many western Igboid and *ólu* settlements, e.g. Ágbọ̀ *òlìsẹ*, Ọ̀ǹịcha *òlìsa* (cf. Ẹ̀dó *òsà*, *òìsà*).

[35] < *fè* 'worship' (= Ágbọ̀ *hèn*, cf. Ẹ̀dó *òhẹ́ẹ̀n* 'priest'); *jí* 'yam' (= Úgwutà *ìjí*, Ẹ̀hwúdà *ìyí*, cf. Yorùbá *iṣú*); *k(w)ú* 'make leafy growth' (Green and Ígwè 1963: 230). *k(w)ú* in this sense may be related to *kwụ́* 'hang'. Échèrúo's (1979) suggestion that *jí ọkụ́* here means 'hot', roasted yam, though semantically improbable, is the readiest parsing for many modern speakers. *Jí* includes many varieties of *Dioscorea* (Ókeìgbo 1980). Most of the West African yam zone lies in Nigeria. Starting in the 19th century, cassava replaced yam as the staple in closely settled areas like Ọ̀ǹịcha and Mbàìsén, though it retains prestige. In places like Ágbọ̀, yam is now a major cash crop. Yam cultivation is highly ritualized. Yam seeding, planting, weeding and staking are labor-intensive; tubers are vulnerable to insects; yields are ample only under ideal conditions. Yam is harvested in *ọ́nwụ ásaà* 'the seventh month', i.e. six months after planting. The yam growth cycle is the basis of the Ìgbo calendar, as represented in the *álụsɪ́* cult of the year (*Árọ̀* not to be confused with Árụ̀, settlement no. 33 in Fig. 1, which is usually misspelled in the colonial fashion as "Aro").

Ǹrì authority over these and other *álụsɪ́* cults was ultimately based on the monarch's claim, as the focus of the sky cult (*ígwé*), to represent the sun god *Chí Ukwu* . Recent monotheistic reinterpretations of *chí* and *Chí Ukwu* (cf. §4.6.2 below) are contradicted by the subjective meanings of these terms expressed by nonliterate nonchristians. For example, in praying to *Chí Ukwu*, Ǹrì elders break a kola nut while pointing it to the sun and addressing the epithets *ányaanwụ́* 'the orb of the sun' and *àgbàla* 'life force' (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 31*f.*).[36]

Ǹrì ownership of *álụsɪ́* cults is commemorated in myth. The four market days are said to have been visitors sent to earth by *Chí Ukwu*. They remained *incogniti* until Ézé Ǹrì discovered their names by a clever trick.[37] Similarly, in time of famine, Ézé Ǹrì received the first yam and palm oil from *Chí Ukwu* after sacrificing his first son.

Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ speculates that Ǹrì reliance on surplus from its ritual service monopolies of *álụsɪ́* cults was a long-term adaptative response to declining agricultural yields in the eroded scarplands around Ǹrì. Manipulation of the *álụsɪ́* system required Ǹrì elders to migrate to outlying setlements and found Ǹrì lineages there. From this process, two benefits accrued: subsistence for the emigrants themselves, and tribute for those who remained in Ǹrì.[38] By cross-checking genealogies collected between 1966-72, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ has documented Ǹrì lineages in 22 major Igboid settlements; nearly all of these are also listed as Ǹrì outposts by Leonard 1906. This indirect evidence indicates that, by the end of the 16th century, Ǹrì agents were collecting fees and tribute from more than half of the present Igboid area, through a network which covered many of the land-based trade routes.

By contrast to ritual prohibitions (*ǹsọ́*), civil laws (*ìwú* ←*wú* 'set up, build') are established by "lineage leaders" reflecting decisions in each communitiy, and enforced "by fines or social ostracism" (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 49). As a non-militaristic state, Ǹrì wielded greater power in other settlements by manipulating *ǹsọ́* than it could ever have done by setting and enforcing *ìwú*. Ézé Ǹrì could pronounce a ritual curse of anathema on a local market, effectively ending trade in the towns served by that market; it was thus unnecessary to besiege these towns directly—a feat which would have been impossible anyway. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1972: 48*f.*) aptly compares Ǹrì ritual power in this respect to the Roman Pope's power of excommunication, which had political clout throughout Europe before the Protestant Reformation, and in the remaining Catholic countries thereafter. Much as the Holy Roman Empire gave christian Europe a common ideological charter, Áfìlìgbo (1980: 317) argues that the Ǹrì system effectively "synthesized Ìgbo culture".

In the 18th-19th centuries, Ǹrì influence was partially displaced by the Árụ̀ oligarchy, as inland trade routes were re-directed via water transport towards new Atlantic coastal supplies and markets. The area under Árụ̀ control and colonization expanded up the Ẹ̀bọ́ínyi river, westward from the Ényòm [Cross] river basin into the central plateau and across the southern palm belt to the Ímò River (Cookey 1972; Ékèjiụbá 1972; Áfìlìgbo 1981 b,c,d; Ànìkpò 1984; Díké *to appear*). In 1911,

[36] In Cuban rumba: El Sol que allumbra la Tierra. The original Igboid word for 'sun' was either *ánwụ* or *áńụ*. The phonetic change *e>a* in most dialects, plus secondary labialization of velars before rounded vowels, caused the word for 'bee' (originally *ẹ́ńụ*) to sound like 'sun', cf. data (24) in §1.3.1 above, repeated in §4.2.5 below. The lexical distinction was subsequently reestablished by rephrasing 'sun' as 'eye/orb of the sun'.

[37] While the four visitors slept in his house, Ézé Ǹrì sent a rat to chew on their baskets, one after another. As they called to wake each one in turn, the four secret names were revealed.

[38] In its adaptive dimension, this ancient Ǹrì demographic pattern resonates strongly in recent patterns of Ìgbo outmigration and home remittance as a response to land hunger.

Ǹrì hegemony was further curtailed by British desecration of the reigning Ézé Ǹrì Ọbálìké, a step which was believed to be essential in the colonial/missionary subjugation of the "Lower Niger hinterland" (cf. §4.2.3). Despite these factors of decline, still in 1967 Ézé Ǹrìjìọfọ́ II received yam and livestock tribute from neighboring settlements in the calendrical ritual *Ígú Arọ̀* (Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù 1980: 74 *fn.* 15). And in February 1975, five years after the Nigerian Civil War disrupted rural production and exchange, Ǹrì prerogatives over *Árọ̀* 'the *álụsi* of the year' and *ìfejíọkú*.'the *álụsi* of yam' were explicitly recognized by tribute delegations from some settlements (Nwáńkwọ 1977).

The ritual status of Ǹrì people was symbolized by *ích*ì facial scars, in the form of neatly parallel, arched and radiating lines, cut in the childhood initiation *ọ́zọ ichí*. *Ích*ì marks can be seen on thousand-year-old Ìgbo Úkwu bronzes, in flat panels of woodcarvings and sections of wall paintings, and on the faces of living elders in Ǹrì and neighboring settlements. If *Ích*ì marks portray rays of sunlight, their inscription on the brows of Ǹrì males indexically marks patrilineal descent from the divine king Érì of the Ọ̀mámbala settlement Ágụlerì. Érì himself descended from the sky; his first son Ǹrì left Ágụlerì to found the sacred kingship with the cult of the sun god *Chí Ukwu*.[39]

Ólu, 'secret language' of the Ǹrì elite, was an essential instrument of ritual/economic monopoly:

> The chief external officials were the *ích*i-titled men. Ǹrì itinerant agents, ritualists and traders went to the older Ìgbo settlements… A secret language was developed and used only by Ǹrì men so that information could pass between the political elite in the Ǹrì palace and the Ǹrì men outside. (Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù 1980: 168)

Literally, *ólu* means 'neck' (Ọ̀nịcha *ónu*, cf. Ẹ̀dó *ùrhù*, Yorùbá *ọrùn*); by extension it refers to vocal vibration in the larynx.[40] The specialized meaning 'secret language' reflects a symbolic opposition with other body part terms, as these denote different aspects of speech. For example, *àgba* 'jaw' can non-literally refer to pronunciation: the phrases *àgba élú* 'low jaw'and *àgbá àla* 'high jaw' may be used to label unfamiliar intonation patterns.[41] *Ólu* implicitly contrasts with *úrho* 'tongue' (Ọ̀nịcha *íle*, Òwerẹ́ *íre*, Ọ̀gbakịrị *lúlô*, Ẹ̀hwụ́dà *íḍô*), as the latter is represented in domestic ritual.

Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù describes five components of the Ǹrì "personality cult", which together represent "*íke ḿmadụ̀*, the concept of individual achievement". For an individual, these entities correspond to the collective *álụsị* just discussed. Each is represented by a small, carved wooden icon.

> Every adult Ǹrì in the past had these five cult objects placed on the altar of his ancestors and sacrifices were offered to them as occasion demanded. (1980: 49*ff*)

Apparently paraphrasing an Ǹrì source, Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù defines *úrho* as "the powerful tongue that can persuade people and reduce into submission the hearts of people". The opposition between *ólu* and *úrho* represents the difference between secret speech (concealed inside the neck) and public eloquence (visible like the tongue in the speaking mouth). In effect, this symbolism distinguishes between speech as a representational instrument (Bühler's *Darstellungs-funktion*) and a conative instrument (*Appellfunktion*). Bühler's third, emotional *Ausdrucksfunktion* is symbolized by *óbì* 'heart'. This association is implied by Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù's definition of *úrho* quoted above: the

[39]Throughout West Africa, facial scars identify maximal descent groups. The cognation of *ích*i and *chí* needs to be checked in a dialect which preserves a reflex of /CnV/ clusters, cf. §4.2.6.

[40]'Voice' translates more specifically as *ụ̀da ólú*, literally 'sound of the neck; *ụ̀da ólú* is used in a technical sense to refer to tone, i.e. contrastive pitch controlled in the larynx (Nwáchukwu *et al*. 1986, v. 1: 129).

[41]Caucasians are said to speak through the nose (*ímì*). It is unlikely that European languages are perceived as specially nasal; instead the reference may be anatomical, or else the greater frequency of consonant sounds in European languages may detract from the impression of open, vocoid sounds.

effective use of the tongue can suppress the emotional reactions ("hearts") of others. As mentioned in §1.1, *óbì* can also refer to the 'deep' meaning of a proverb: the speaker's nonliteral intension. On a different dimension, both *ólu* and *úrho* are symbolically opposed to *ọ́nụ*, which is literally 'mouth' or 'entrance', metaphorically 'meaning' or 'price'. Itinerant Ǹrì were called the "eyes and ears of Ézé Ǹrì" (Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù 1980: 16), not his tongue/mouthpiece.[42]

In August 1977, it was quietly arranged for me to record a handful of sentences in the *ólu* format from an elderly *ích*i-titleholder at his Ǹrì home. Data (36-51) below transcribe selection #2 on the accompanying cassette tape. The speaker chose to portray fragments of hypothetical, secret conversation between *ích*i-titled Ǹrì elders negotiating with a non-Ǹrì stranger. Two further sentences (52-53) were dictated, but not recorded, on the same occasion. These materials exemplify the basic principle by which *ólu* is related to the ordinary spoken language.[43]

36. Ábọ̀lìgó me-ú-lụ Ọ̀tọ̀mọ́lụ, Chí-nwù-fé, ọ̀ na-amá-kwa ònwé.yá?
[name].Rel touch-∅Asp [name] [name].Imper 3sg.Q Prog-know-also self 3sg.Gen
'The man who is nearby, observe him, is he comprehending [what we are doing]?'

37. Nwá àjú Òkéké jì enwé.yá na-èmé,
[classifier] asking [name] hold self 3sg.Gen Prog.doing
Ábọ̀lìgò ọ na-emé èkwé yá ná Mmụta-úfú?
[name] 3sg Prog-doing responding 3sg.Gen at [name]
'The question [this] man is asking, is [this] man putting his understanding deep?'
[i.e. 'Is he comprehending what we are doing?']

38. Í nwé-nụ nà… Ejé-enú nà-emé kà ọ ya mé ḿ isi abọ́.
2sg have-please Comp going-up Prog-doing Comp 3sg Fut do 1sg.Gen head farm.basket.Gen
'You have [the *Ólu* sentence] that… Misfortune is about to make me into a corpse'

39. Ǹmụtá Ànwụnya,
[herbalist's praise name ← name of a type of medicine]
Ábọ̀lìgò, ó mé-rọ… agị…ǹke ọ tụ́ ḿ jì yá ma ònwé.yá!
[name] 3sg do-Neg [?] the.one 3sg strike 1sg.Gen use 3sg know self 3sg.gen
'[This] herbalist, [this] man, let him not force me to reveal anything to him!'

40. Chí-nwù-fé nà ífe e jì emé èjé-enú. 'Observe what is done by way of tricks'
[name].Imper Comp thing pro hold doing going-up

41. Ábọ̀lìgò á-yá-rọ ama ònwé.yá? 'Can [this] man be deceived?'
[name] Q-Fut-Neg knowing self 3sg.Gen

42. Ọ̀ dụ́-ụ́ mma nà Ábọ̀lìgò mé-tụ-tụ Ọ̀tọ̀mọ́lụ; ọ̀ ye ínwó-kwa ọmalị?
3sg BE-Neg goodness Comp [name] touch-Cond [name] 3sg-Q Fut to.have-again good.result
'It is not good that [this] man should be nearby; can it possibly be beneficial?'

43. Mè m-me-jé m̀-me-jé, me èjé-enú, nà ejé-enú nà-emé ḿ isi Ǹkénú.[44]
1sg Prog-do-go nom-do-go do going-up Comp going-up Prog-doing 1sg.Gen head [bird].Gen
'Let me go on and do some tricks, because tricks are making me into an unfortunate creature'

[42]The other "personality cults" represent *ìkénga* 'power of the right hand', *írhu* 'face' i.e. charisma, *ụ́kwụ n' íjè* 'traveling feet' i.e. migrant enterprise, and *ụ́mụ́ ọ̀kụ* which refers to a wooden storage bowl which depicts the accumulation of *ọ̀kụ* '(non-self-reproducing) riches' (= Ẹ̀hụgbò *èkụ*). In Ẹ̀hụgbò, the word *èkụ* also denotes 'cloth' (= Ọ̀nịcha *ákwà*), perhaps as the (non-reproducing) wealth item *par excellence*.

[43]The examples, produced spontaneously after a ganeral request, attest the verbal skill of the speaker, who included a tongue-twister (example 43) that may be further twisted in my transcription.

[44]*Ǹkénú* is literally 'the one of above', 'the high-up one'. The *ǹkénú* bird portends misfortune because it nods its head as if confirming bad news while rendered speechless by grief.

44. Ǹmụtá Ànwụnya,
[herbalist's praise name ← name of a type of medicine]
Í fụ-rọ̀ na ọ́ lị̀ fá ọgbá n'ònwé ǹyé? Chí-nwù-fé! Chí-nwù-fé! Chí-nwù-fé!
2sg see-Neg Comp 3sg BE [?] running at self 3sg.Gen [name].Imper [name].Imper [name].Imper
'[This] herbalist, don't you see he's understanding [us]? Watch! Watch! Watch [him]!'

45. Ọ̀ na-emé ọ́kwa ya ná Ǹmụta-úfú? 'Is he asking his question with inside knowledge?'
3sg.Q.Prog-doing cry 3sg at [name]

46. Nwátịtị̀ me-tụ́-lụ Ọtọ̀mọ́lụ, ná èmé isi abọ́,
little.bit.Rel touch-∅Asp [name] Prog.Rel doing head farm.basket.Gen
ọ́ nà-emé-kwa kà ọ na-emé isi Nkénu.
3sg Prog-doing-also Comp 3sg Prog-doing head [bird].Gen
'The little boy who is nearby, skinny as a corpse, he's acting like an unfortunate creature'

47. Ìtíìgwé e-mé-ma-kwụ-lụ ònwé yá. 'Let a strong man not fully know himself'
strong.one Neg-do-know-Compl-Imper self 3sg.Gen [i.e. become angry and use his strength]

48. Óó zù é dị̀! 'That's enough [examples of *ólu*]!'
3sg complete Perf Emph

49. Ányị̀ è-mé-je ọgbá ífe Oyè Tọ́ọ nà ífe Oyè Nímò.
1pl pro-do-go trading.Gen thing [2nd market day] 2½k and thing [2nd market day]
'Let's go trade something at "Thruppence Market" and at the *óyè* Market of Nímò'

[… untranscribed material …]

50. Òkéké, jè-é wè-té nwa ncha. 'Òkéké, go bring [some] money'
[name] go-Imper take-towards [classifier] whiteness

[… untranscribed material …]

51. Ọ̀ọ́ íhye na-èmé na Ǹri. 'That's what goes on in Ǹri'
3sg.BE thing.Rel Hab-doing at

For two dictated examples (52a,b), I was given translations into ordinary spoken Ìgbo (53a,b):

52a. Ábọ̀ligó na-éme onye ájụ bụ̀ ónye na-éme ekwe-díke.
[name].Rel Prog-doing person asking-Gen be person Prog.Rel-doing wanton-ness

b. Ákpọ̀lụ́m nà-e-mé-te ọgbá n' Èké.
[name] Prog-touching trading at [main market day]

53a. Ónye jú-lụ ajụ̀jú bụ̀ ónye orí. 'The person asking [the] question is a thief'
person ask-∅Asp.Rel question be person theft.Gen

b. Mányа nà-abyá n' afya. 'Wine is arriving [for sale] at the market'
wine Prog-coming at market

Some argots or "secret languages" (cf. van Gennep 1908) involve word games which derive an opaque surface form by morpho(phono)logical operations of metathesis and epenthesis. Casciani 1948 describes some examples from old Parisian argot:

54a.	*metathesis*	Lou-ton	←	Toulon	'[place name]'
		ser-ver	←	verser [des larmes]	'pour [with tears]', i.e. 'cry'
b.	*infixation*	brod-anch-er	←	broder	'embroider, embellish'
		dor-anch-er	←	dorer	'gild'

Such processes don't occur in the *ólu* examples. The surface difference between *ólu* and ordinary spoken Ìgbo is achieved, not by special morpho(phono)logy, but by extensive idiom formation.

Idiomaticity is non-compositional semantics (Kiparsky 1975) or mutual contextual polysemy (Weinreich 1969) in phrases and compound wordss. For Weinreich, it is the main device in the expansion of the general lexicon ("complex dictionary"), as the limiting case of periphrasis—the expansion of a lexical item like [$_V$ *sit*] into a phrase like [$_{\overline{V}}$ *take a seat*]. The reverse process, idiom interpretation, parses a phrase as a simplex lexical item, e.g. [$_{\overline{V}}$ *kick the bucket*] → [$_V$ *die*].

It can be verified by inspection that idioms, as opposed to word games, are the predominant feature of socially restricted slangs and argots. Examples from 1890's New York City:

55a.	*metaphor*	autumn bawler	'a parson'	(from Asbury 1927: 375-79)
		annointed	'flogged'	
		barking irons	'pistols'	
		Billy Noodle	'a soft fellow who believes all the girls are in love with him'	
		diving bell	'a rum shop in a basement'	
		diver	'a pickpocket'	
		stretch	'a year [i.e. in jail]'	
b.	*metonymy*	black box	'lawyer'	
		rumbeak	'a judge who can be bribed'	
c.	*rhyme*	Cain and Abel	'a table'	

The greater productivity of metaphor as opposed to metonymy is expected, because metonymy needs to identify a salient and canonically associated object or part of the denotatum.

In the above sample of *ólu*, there are three types of idioms—three levels of semantic noncompositionality. At the upper extreme of idiomaticity, names replace ordinary NPs and predicates.[45] For example, *Ábọ̀ligò* and *Ákpọ̀lụ́m* stand for *ónye* 'person' and *mányа* 'wine', while *Chí-nwù-fé* (literally 'Daylight shines out') and *mé-tụ Ọtọ̀mọ́lụ* (literally 'touch *Ọtọ̀mọ́lụ*') substitute for *né-lu anya* 'watch out' and *dị̀ ǹsó* 'to be nearby', respectively.

How do these substitutions qualify as idioms, and of what type? Before the recording, the *ólu* speaker offered that there was a metaphorical relationship between the names and their idiomatic interpretations. He said that *Ǹbụta-úfú* was the name of a very tall person, so that its *ólu* interpetation 'depth [of understanding]' is not completely arbitrary. To be sure, this limited degree of semantic motivation does not dispense with the need for rote learning of the substitutions, but such iconicity as does exist might aid a Ǹri person learning the system, and such knowledge would still be difficult for a non-Ǹri person to obtain. Even if the non-initiate knew the named individuals, this would not help very much in deciphering *ólu* sentences, since there is no deterministic path from personal characteristics to idiomatic meanings.

The path from 'a tall man' to 'depth of understanding' might be folk etymology. Lexical coinage from proper-names is rare in ordinary language; examples cluster in the fields of politics and technology, more metonymic (e.g. *angstrom*, *chauvinism*, *reaganomics*, *sandwich*, *watt*—all entities named after their originators) than metaphoric (*quisling*…).[46] I made no effort to confirm all the speaker's claimed metaphoric links for the first class of *ólu* idioms. However, two of them are independently confirmed by oral history:

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[45] At least some of these names are *áfá òtutu* 'praise names', derived by metaphor and metonymy. I have not followed up the intenal analysis of these forms.

[46] Marantz 1990 cites examples of lexical coinage from names, including:

i. Elmer [*George Bush*]*ed* his way through a series of retractions.

However, the degree of lexical coinage in (i) is quite marginal. Examples on this pattern are analytic, since *to George Bush* is immediately defined as 'to produce *a series of retractions*'. This crucial redundancy is missing from the *ólu* coinages in question, whose information structure is closer to (ii):

ii. Elmer *George Bushed* his ex-buddy Joe.

Without context, it is impossible to know from (ii) whether Elmer kidnapped Joe (à la Noriega), carpet-bombed him (à la Saddam), or eased him into retirement (à la Marcos, Duvalier, Pinochet). Similarly in (36), the *ólu* denotation of the predicate-name *Ọtọ̀mọ́lụ* is underdetermined by the linguistic context, even for a listener who is otherwise acquainted with the real-world person named.

> In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, during the lifetime of Ǹmụtá-Ànwụnya (the renowned traditional medicine man and diviner in Ǹrì), the Ụ́mụ̀ Ánụ̀tá major lineage… had segmented into three minor lineages, but all were under the leadership of Ǹmụtá-Ànwụnya. … As Ǹmụtá-Ànwụnya was growing older and losing his vitality he was not able to cope with the administration of the various temples in Ụ́mụ̀ Ánụ̀tá. … The lineage members of Ụ́mụ́ Ǹrì Álìké, which had produced an Ézè Ǹrì a generation before Ǹmụtá-Ànwụnya, were impatient and could not wait for the old man to arrive. The head of Úmú Ǹrì Álìké, called Chínwùfé, decided to perform the sacrifices, which were the responsibility of Ǹmụtá-Ànwụnya, without obtaining permission. When the old man arrived, he found to his astonishment that Chínwùfé had done his job. Enraged, he struck his *ọ́zọ* spear-staff into the ground and cursed: "The head is head, the tail is tail, since the tail separates, let it always be on the run." Since then the minor segments of the major lineage Ụ́mụ̀ Ánụ̀tá have had their own leaders. (Ọ̀nwụejíọgwù 1098: 146*ff.*)

This stereotypic picture of the two elders corresponds closely to the idiomatic, *ólu* usage of their names, denoting 'herbalist' and 'look out for [someone]!', in the data. I take this correspondence as corroborating the speaker's general view of *ólu* etymologies of this type.

In a second type of *ólu* idiom, the metaphor is less specialized, more accessible to an outsider (analyst or eavesdropper). The predicate *mé isi abọ́* 'do head of farm basket' is interpreted 'be corpse-like', probably because the sturdy, rectangular *ábọ* basket, with its thick wooden base, resembles a bier or casket. The nominal expression *nwá ncha*, literally 'the white [individual]', stands for *égo* 'cowrie', i.e. 'money'. Cowrie shells, the most general form of pre-British currency in the Igboid area, are bright white in color. The NP *ísi Nkénu* '[a] head of the *Ǹkénú* bird' means a grief-stricken person, for metaphoric (and proverbial) reasons given in footnote 46 above.

Like the name type of idioms, common noun *ólu* idioms are metaphors. Unlike them, however, they utilise productive word formation devices of ordinary language, such as noun classifiers. A classifier is a noun with no inherent reference, which overtly signals a lexical, derivational relationship. As classifiers, the nouns *ísi* 'head' and *nwá* 'child' mean 'type of individual' and 'individual' respectively, as in the ordinary-language expressions *ísi ọkpụ́kpụ* 'dummy' (literally 'bone-head' or 'bone-headed individual'), and *nwá Bèkéè* 'Caucasian' (literally 'child of the Europeans').[47] The *ólu* phrase *èjé-enú*, literally 'going up', means 'tricks', perhaps in the same way that the English phrase *send up* means 'parody'. Nevertheless, despite the regular morphology and partial semantic motivation of this second type of *ólu* expressions, they are semantically noncompositional, impeding decipherment.

The mildest idiomaticity is periphrasis without lexical coinage; in the above, a frequent example is the reflexive expression *má ònwé yá*, literally 'know him/herself', which in *ólu* means (perhaps ironically) 'understand what is being done to one [by others]'. A second, favored type of periphrasis is the recursive formation of relative clauses, e.g. *Ábọ́lígó na-éme onye ájụ́* '[This] man who is acting [as] a person who is asking'. (The predicate *àjụ́* of the second relative is reduced,

[47] Classificatory kinship terms are formed with *nwá* and its plural *ụ́mụ̀*, cf. data (58) in §4.2.5 below and Ónwụejíọgwù (1980: 135, *fn.* 15). The classifier expression *ísi ọkpụ́kpụ* is a bahuvrihi (exocentric) compound which denotes [someone [who has a head [of bone]]]. Here, the modifier *ọkpụ́kpụ* 'bone' (< *kpú* 'mould') is a metaphor of stupidity, like English *knucklehead*).

In Ágbọ̀, *ísi ọkpụ́kpụ* denotes '[an] elder'. Noting my puzzlement, people explicitly derived this meaning as a bahuvrihi [someone [of the age grade [whose hair [is white]]]], where 'head' denotes hair and 'bone' denotes white color. My doubts about this spontaneous metaphorical analysis were reinforced on the day I left Ágbọ̀, crossed east of the Niger and sincerely referred to an old man as *ísi ọkpụ́kpụ*! (This intended honor was not appreciated.) For a speculative account of the meaning 'elder', cf. §4.2.4 below.

presumably, from *ná àjụ́*). Recursive relative clause formation is a predictably favored device for encryption in *ólu*. The free recursiveness of relative clause formation in natural language is one of the classic arguments against modeling grammar as a finite-state automaton (Chomsky 1955: 517*f.*; 1957; 1959). In addition, as shown by Kuno 1975, certain kinds of multiple embedding yield parsing difficulties, essentially by stacking elements of the same category. Such difficulties are greater for those seeking a literal interpretation, than for those who expect to encounter multiple embedding as a strictly formulaic device. Thus, not only does the multiple embedding strategy facilitate the productive generation of *ólu* sentences by *íchi* initiates, but it hinders their parsing by non-initiates.

A third example of this type combines periphrasis with strong contextual selection: *mé-tụ ọgba* 'touch trading', when predicated of palmwine, means means 'come to market'.[48] Periphrasis can also be achieved by means of a noun classifier, as in the *ólu* expression *nwá àjụ́*, literally 'some asking', which is equivalent to the word *ájụ̀jụ́* '[a] question'. Mere periphrasis, while not impossible for a non-initiate to parse, still complicates the task of someone who is not expecting it.

In sum, the high-status *ólu* argot of the Ǹrì political elite, like the low-status argots of modern urban enterprises around the world, reflects productive word-formation processes used self-consciously to limit access to information. Status—high or low—is strictly irrelevant to a phenomenon which uses tacit linguistic knowledge to control strategic, explicit knowledge. This use, being purposive, involves an element of self-consciousness which goes beyond that associated with normal "stylistic" usages (or *registers*, to use the argot of sociolinguists).

The consciousness in question is not strictly ethnic, since knowledge of *ólu* divides initiates from non-initiates, not Ǹrì people from non-Ǹrì. In practice, however, *ólu* was a device by which the Ǹrì Kingdom maintained a hegemony conceived in ethnic terms as an opposition between "Ǹrì" and "Ìgbo" (cf. Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1980: 30, *fn.* 31 and §4.6.1 below). Thus, the *ólu* example shows that the derivational workings of the lexicon need not be consciously known—in the manner of a linguist—in order for lexical knowledge to become a political resource, contributing to the ethnic effect.

4.2.3 Ḿkpụkpụ kà ńká

Another type of strategic textual symbol is the magical formula. Tambiah's performative theory of ritual (1968, 1973, 1981) holds that the magical property of a text is inheres neither in a Malinowskian "coefficient of weirdness", nor in erroneously believed, efficient-causal effects of "medicines" as proposed by Evans-Pritchard. Rather, Tambiah argues that

> [m]agical acts, usually compounded of verbal utterance and object manipulation, constitute 'performative' acts by which a property is imperatively transferred to a recipient object or person on an analogical basis. (1973: 61)

In this way, magical acts constitute another potential example of the general pragmatic mechanism of linguistic consciousness. Consider a three-word Ìgbo magical text.

I was fortunate to join in the celebration of the annual Ìkó Nrì Nsí 'Feast of the Medicinal Food' at the Èzí Ukwu lineage of Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò on Àhọ/Friday 4 March 1977. This ritual marks the start of the agricultural year. Libation and food sacrifice are offered by the oldest male at the patrilineage ancestor shrine.[49] Each resident household in the lineage contributes *ẹ́nya ụtara* (round portions of pounded yam used in public feasting) as well as a pot of fish stew containing balls of ground *èghwúsi* melon (*Colocynthis vulgaris*, cf. Ókeìgbo 1980: 16). Since I professed some literacy

[48] On *ó-gba* 'trading', cf. the lite verb *gbá* 'cause to move' in the sense of 'trade', in data (184b), §2.1.5.

[49] This exact action (in the ward of Ǹgbóḿ?) in 1952 or '60 is pictured in Ottenberg (1968, facing p. 78).

in Ìgbo, I was asked to record the contributing household heads, who numbered 40. All the stews were mixed together, and served out with the yam. Then, as evening fell, "Ọ̀kìrì" Chúkwu Ìkpọ́ the head priest of Ékwetèni riverside oracle led the following call-and-response chant:

56. Ḿkpụkpụ, ḿkpụkpụ, ḿkpụkpụ kà ńka!
seniority seniority seniority surpass longevity

The chant in (56) became the theme of a joyful dancing procession which made several circuits of the compact, hilltop village, passing each time over all its paths, before dispersing.

This text illuminates the relationship between etymology and pragmatics. The word *ḿkpụkpụ*, which I gloss 'seniority', is at best a marginal lexical item in the synchronic Ẹ́hụgbò lexicon. A participant translated the chant into English for me as "Old age is very fine!", expressing the force of (56) as an incantation to ensure that each participant attains the ideal state which Nwáọ̀ga 1984 describes as *ńka ná nzere*: "a life of fulfillment" combining longevity with socially valued achievements. (On *nzere* see §4.2.8 below.)

A more literal interpretation of (56) is suggested by comparing the Ẹ́hụgbò word *ḿkpụkpụ* with the Ágbọ̀ expression *ísi ọ́kpụkpụ* 'elder', i.e. 'member of a senior age grade' (cf. *fn.* 51 above). If this comparison is correct, then the chant states that seniority, attained by initiations and titles is 'better', more important, than reaching old age without such titles. As a status measure, initiation surpasses age. The same morpheme is probebly seen in the lexical item *ụ́mụ̀ ọ́kpṵ́*, which names a title society for *ụ́mṵ́ áda* 'lineage daughters':[50]

> An *àdá* who is advancing in age but has not performed it [*ụ́mụ̀ ọ́kpṵ́*] suffers from inferiority complex for she is not well treated if she is around [her natal lineage] and is always taunted.
> (Ọ́gbàlú *n.d.*: 28)

For most present-day Igboid speakers, including speakers of Ágbọ̀, the word *ọ́kpụkpụ* in a neutral context simply means 'bone'. However, there is other evidence that one meaning of *ọ́kpụkpụ* is 'seniority'. Ìfeméṣịa (1979: 87) cites the following proverb:

57. Nwátà na-ébù n'úlù, ókenyà aná-àká n'ọ́kpụkpụ.
child Prog-fattening in flesh elder Prog-surpassing in bone
'While the youth grows bigger in the flesh, the elder grows stronger in the bone'

Ìfeméṣịa paraphrases his literal translation of (57) as implying that "status has never been equated with stature". However, the opposition of flesh and bone does not correspond in any obvious way to youth and old age. Perhaps bone represents hidden strength, as opposed to the visible strength of fleshy muscle, but this is not the only possibility. The word *úlù* (in many dialects *úrù*) means 'flesh', dynamically as the part of the body which develops with maturation (<*rú* 'produce') and in the static sense of 'soft tissue on the bone'. By extension, however, it also commonly means 'profit' in the sense of surplus or visible gain. Therefore, a plausible but nonliteral interpretation of (57) is that, while youths grow in physical strength, elders grow in the authority derived from the seniority of initiation status, despite their declining physique.

There is a piece of evidence which might explain the noted ambiguity of *ọ́kpụkpụ* between 'seniority' and 'bone'. According to Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 82), the Nrì *ńli nwaḿmadụ̀* title confers an *álọ́* staff "with a round head".[51] *Álọ́* refers to a family of metal staffs "symbolizing the power that

[50] At Nrì, the status of *nwá ọ́kpṵ́* seems to be directly linked to marriage (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 132*f.*).

[51] *Ńli nwaḿmadụ̀* is the highest title for *nwá ḿmadụ̀*, someone whose father is alive. In Ágbọ̀'s *Òkórò Mẹ́ẹ* (§1.2), the phrase *nwá ḿmadụ̀* is glossed as *òkóro* 'youth'.

the lineage received from *Chú Ukwu* during the time of creation" (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 39). The name of the specific type *álọ́ ọ́kpụlụkpụ* (tone conjectural—not given in source), probably refers to the rounded shape of the staff head as something 'moulded' (<*kpṵ́* 'mould, forge'), just as human bones are said to have been moulded at the time of creation by *Chú Ukwu*. The question is whether the notion of 'seniority' connoted by this staff has more than an accidental association with the modifier *ọ́kpụlụkpụ*. If so, the connection might be that the process of initiation is viewed as a kind of moulding (as in the English expression *to mould character*). This would motivate a synchronic derivation 'bone' → 'seniority'.

Diachronically, the word *ókenyà* (=Ágbọ̀ *ókẹ̀nyẹ*, pl. *íkẹ̀nyẹ*) 'mature man, elder' in (57) may be derived from the verb *ká* (*nka*)'grow old' (cf. the vowel shifts ə>ẹ, ə>a and ẹ>e in §1.3.1). Armstrong 1967 cites a related, Àbọ́ form *ọ̀káshị* 'old'. The verb probably derives from *ká* 'surpass', i.e. in age, so there may be an element of playfully intentional ambiguity in the *ká* in (56).

Another derivative of *ká* (*nka*) 'grow (old)' occurs in the phrase *ụ́mụ̀ áká* 'young children' (=Ágbọ̀ *ńmụ̀ ẹ́ká*), literally 'individuals/descendants/children who aren't grown old', formed with classifier*ụ́mụ̀* (=Ágbọ̀ *ńmụ̀*). This interpretation was not offered by speakers; they glossed the form *áka* either as 'young'—despite the fact that it doesn't have this meaning in any other expression—or else as the noun *áka*/*ẹ́ka* 'hand'. Supporting the latter suggestion, an Ágbọ̀ person suggested that 'children of the hand' means 'one's own children', hence 'young children' in the sense of dependents under one's control and care, cf. the Ágbọ̀ phrase *úgbo ẹ́ká* 'one's own farm', lit. 'farm of the hand'. However, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ gives independent evidence that *áka*/*ẹ́ka* can mean 'ungrown':

> If a male dwarf, *áka Nrì*, or a female dwarf, *Àdá Nrì*, knocked at one's door and said '*Ézè* wants you', the person obeyed without delay. In the past if Ézé Nrì wanted to summon leaders of other towns or wanted to settle a dispute, he sent Nrì men accompanied by one of his palace dwarfs. The presence of a Nrì dwarf in an Ìgbo village was a matter of great concern and anxiety. (1980: 90)

A dwarf, *áka*, is therefore literally someone who is not physically grown, despite their age.

Another expression derived from *ká* (*nka*) 'grow (old)' is the name of the mythical Ágbọ̀ figure *Ǹkáńka Òfíìn*, translated to me as 'Yaws Widow' (see the story 'My son the little doctor' in the Appendix). Literally, it means 'Old-Person-with-Yaws'. Also in Ágbọ̀, *Ọ́lọ̀ Ákán*, literally 'Old House', is the name of the royal burial ground (Ìdúụwẹ *ms.*), cf. *áká ilẹ́* 'last year'.[52]

In sum, the incantation in (56) opposes chronological age (or as in (57) physical maturation, an index of age) and 'seniority' (initiation status). It remains to explain the chant's pragmatic force.

The chant climaxed the 'Medicinal Food' ritual, which comes at the turning of the agricultural calendar, in the dry season before yam planting. The key celebrants were the eldest lineage male, who offers ancestral libation and food on behalf of the contributing households, and the chief oracle priest, who led the chant. The latter person doesn't hold office by age, but through a combination of descent (as *ámadí* Árụ̀ descendants cf. §4.2.9) and initiation. The ritual, like many others, combines human nourishment with *égwu* 'song/dance'. What remains to be explicated, in order to link the text with the context, the song with the food, and hence to represent the pragmatic force of this particular ritual, is an assumption linking age/seniority with agriculture/fertility.

Meillassoux (1972, 1976), drawing on Engels' (1872) theory of the family, analyzes social reproduction in agricultural society as an economic contract between elders and youths:

[52] Cf. Ẹ̀hwụ́dà *ụ̀kánị* 'olden days'.

> La reproduction du cycle agricole entraîne une *solidarité* nécessaire et pratiquement indéfinie entre les producteurs se succédant dans ce cycle: les notions d'*antériorité* et de *postérité*, qui marquent la place des producteurs dans le cycle agricole, président à la hiérarchie sociale entre *aînes et cadets*, protecteurs et protégés, adopteurs et adoptés, hôtes et étrangers, du moment qu'ils se situent dans ces mêmes relations. … "Père" signifie en effet non pas géniteur, mais *celui qui vous nourrit*, vous protège et, en contrepartie, revendique votre produit et votre travail. … La famille, cellule de production, devient le lieu de développement d'une idéologie et de rites où dominent le respect de l'âge, le culte des ancêtres, de la fécondité, célébrant sous diverses formes la continuité du groupe et réaffermissant sa hiérarchie. (1976: 77*f.*)

The symbolic contract is between the dead, as the source of fertility, and their living beneficiaries.

Critical discussions of this analysis, notably Rey 1973, question whether the economic contract between elders and youths is exploitative, either as unequal exchange (not every youth who labors on the farm reaches elderhood) or even as surplus value (elders extract bridewealth and other payments from the youths).[53] In response, Meillassoux distinguishes class exploitation, based in unequal production relations (e.g. property in farmland) from unequal access to means of reproduction (food and wives). The chant in (56) raises a different issue: the representation of age.

The Ńri Nsí ritual combines two different kinds of symbols: semantic and pragmatic. Pragmatically, in one great idealized token of commensality, the ritual action represents exchange of agricultural and fishing surplus among patrilineage members. *Selon* Meillassoux, patrilineal ancestors—invisible lineage members—enter this exchange because over the long haul current elders owe their reproduction to them and not to the youths—although it is equally true that, in terms of production, it is youths who feed elders. Appropriately, the oldest male is the one to offers the ancestors palmwine-yeast (probably, as in other contexts, representing semen) and food.

Semantically, the chant states the ambiguous status of elderhood. In the Ẹ̀dó kingdom, Bradbury 1969 describes an inherent contradiction between "patrimonialism" ("tiered hierarchies of offices") and "gerontocracy" (authority by chronological age). Aside from ascribed inequalities of gender and slave status[54], Ìgbo society is often cited as an exemplar of two potentially contradictory principles: egalitarianism and achievement. In Ìgbo ideology, these two principles have a semantic meeting point: achieved initiation status (titles) are represented in terms of age, as 'seniority'. A clear example of this meeting is the Ágbọ̀ monarchy. One morning in March 1977, I saw Íkenchúku, the youthful Ọ̀bí of Ágbọ̀, dressed for tennis, crossing the public palace courtyard. A youth, waiting near the entrance, said that his father, an elderly chief, had sent for the king. The Ọ̀bí, flashing a grin to the onlooking palace guards (*ìchasun*), replied that he would not go, and was not obliged to go, as he was "older" than everyone else in the kingdom, the old chief included.

Ẹ́hụgbò, not a monarchy, also shows a tension between patrimonialism and gerontocracy. As reported by Ottenberg (1971: 26), Árụ̀-derived *ámadí* lineages—which cluster in the downstream, southern villages of the cluster—form a landowning aristocracy from which high title-holders are almost exclusively drawn. The chant in (56) vaunts the *ámadí* status in a context where, all things being equal, gerontocracy would have its strongest claim: agricultural reproduction. I assert that, even though the etymological meaning of *ḿkpụkpụ* may not be accessible to the participants, the chant is interpretable by them in this context.

[53] An additional dimension suppressed here is the articulation of "precapitalist", lineage production relations with global capitalism, cf. Rey (ed.) 1976, O'Laughlin 1977.

[54] Thomas-Émeagwaàlị 1984 assembles and interprets evidence of slave-based production in the Igboid area; Ámadíùmé 1987 presents critical discussion of Ìgbo gender inequality.

Although I have been unable to consult Tovey 1929, I am reliably informed that a chant closely similar to (56) was pronounced by the Ézé Ǹri in 1911, in the event where was forced to abrogate his control over *ǹsọ́* within the Ǹri Kingdom. If this is true, the above analysis would apply (very speculatively) as follows. As recounted in the preceding section, Ǹri hegemony rested in the ritual representation of the Ézè as a living ancestor, someone who has already died. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ quotes an observer of the initiation of Ézè Ǹrijimofọ́ II in 1936:

> The Ézè was buried in a shallow grave. His wives began to perform the real mortuary rites, which lasted for twenty-one days. He 'rose' from the 'dead' clothed with white cloth and decorated with white chalk *ńzụ*. He had become a spirit (*ǹmṵ́ọ́*) and a living *álụsị*. He announced his new name and the people greeted him as *ĺgwé*, the sky, the most high. He had become *Ézé Ǹri*. (1980: 88)[55]

Ónwụejíọgwụ̀ shows how the lineage system represents the Ézé Ǹri at the apex of a double 'conical clan'. Just as Ǹri lineages are superior to all other settlements, through their collective descent from Érì, there is a special Ǹri "lineage" with only one visible member: Ǹri-mé-Ǹri comprises only past and present Ézé Ǹri. This authority of this 'hyper lineage', based on the gerontocratic principle (=*ńka*), negates the title system (=*ḿkpụkpụ*), just as the title system negates gerontocracy among living people. By forcibly pronouncing (56)—if indeed this happened—Ǹri Ọ̀bálìké thereby renounced the special status of Ǹri-mé-Ǹri, becoming just a big chief among others.

Citing Jordan 1949, Ónwụejíọgwụ̀ notes (1980: 175*ff.*) that this outcome was the goal of British administrators, who were cajoled and eventually persuaded by the fanatical Bishop Shanahan that Ǹri sacred kingship was the main obstacle to colonization. Ironically, it took only a few years for the British to discover that, having divorced political and spiritual authority, they had made the administration of the Ìgbo-speaking area harder and not easier. After the British campaigns against Ǹri and Árụ̀, the Igboid area became literally ungovernable, as shown most dramatically by the women's anti-tax, anticolonial insurrection of 1929.

In attempting to explain (56) as a strategic symbol in Ẹ́hụgbò, I have drawn on archaic lexical knowledge observed in Ágbọ̀ in 1976, and on contemporary and historical material which Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ collected in Ǹri in the 1960's and 1970's. Such far-flung knowledge was inaccessible to Ẹ́hụgbò participants in Ńri Nsí, whose sole access to the etymological meaning of (56), concentrated in the opaque lexical item *ḿkpụkpụ*, was through ritual performance pragmatics.

I did not discuss the topic of Ńri Nsí with Ẹ́hụgbò people in any depth, and any Ẹ́hụgbò person may find the above remarks superficial, and/or wrong in detail. This judgement will not, however, erase the problem for analysis, namely how Ẹ́hụgbò speakers like the oracle priest of Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó can use the chant in (56), despite the apparent fact that it is semantically opaque (as shown by the participant's translation "Old age is very fine!").

The above analysis of ritual meaning as emergent from the pragmatic use of textual resources corroborates Bloch's important observation that

> ritual communication… unlike that manifested in the cognitive system of everyday communication[,] does not directly link up with empirical experience. (1977: 297)

If I am correct, and the reference of *ḿkpụkpụ* is determined pragmatically not semantically, this counts as another example of the mechanism by which etymological meaning reaches consciousness.

[55] Acording to Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 95, *fn.* 14) this description substantially agrees with accounts of the intiation of Ǹri Ọ̀bálìké in 1898, as reported by Jeffreys (1934).

4.2.4 Chíìma and Kímẹ́

The next example is negative, a case where etymological meaning has been lost, apparently beyond recovery. The loss is predictable from phonological and morphological factors.

As recounted by Àzíkàíwe (1930, 1933, 1970) and Èjiọfọ́ 1982, there is a tradition of origin whereby Ọ̀nịchá Ńmili (settlement 7 in Fig. 1) and nine communities on the west bank of the river Òsimili [Niger] claim to derive their ruling, royal lineages from descendants of an Ẹ̀dó warrior whom they call "Ézè Chíma". (Ézè is conventionally translated as 'king', but cf. §4.2.8.) Chí-mà (pronounced Chíìmà), an Ìgbo personal name conventionally translated as 'God-Knows', may abbreviate a fuller sentence such as Chí-mà-élu-nà-ala 'God-Knows-Everything', or Chí-mà-úchè, 'God-Knows-[Human]-Thoughts' (cf. Ụ̀báhàkwé 1981: 20).

The Ézè Chíma claim of Benin origin is superficially plausible, because the palace organization of Ọ̀nịchá Ńmili and the others attests features of the Ẹ̀dó palace, which exercised its influence throughout the west bank of Òsimili at various times. These features, massively documented by Nzímìro 1972, include most of the names on long ranked lists of titles of "political elite (*ńdiíchiè*)", in three hierarchical grades. However, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1972, 1980) observes three problems with accepting the Ézè Chíma tradition at face value. There is no corroborating tradition of outmigration from Ẹ̀dó. Many elements of the palace organization, including the central rites of initiation, are unmistakeably derived from Nri. And the name Chíma does not remotely resemble an Ẹ̀dó name. He remarks that all three problems are resolved by an alternative hypothesis, which posits not one but four layers of long-distance influence in the present Ézè Chíma area.

First, as discussed in §4.2.2, there is corroborated genealogical evidence that Nri lineages were established west of Òsimili, including part of the Ágbọ̀ Kingdom, perhaps 700 years ago. The basic cosmolgical features of Nri ritual hegemony are still strongly visible in this area.

Second, Egharevba (1934: 31) reports Ẹ̀dó campaigns to Ágbọ̀ and the Ézè Chíma area in the reign of Ọba Èhẹ̀ngbudà (1578-1608). The Ẹ̀dó word for the river Niger, *Òhimwi*, is nearly identical to the Ágbọ̀ name *Òhimi*, whereas the Ézè Chíma communities call it *Òsimili*, cf. data (18b) in §1.3. This suggests that the primary Igboid link with Ẹ̀dó occurred at Ágbọ̀.

Third, Ìdúùwẹ *ms.* describes the flight from Àlị́-Ísìmíẹ̀n, Ágbọ̀ of prince Kímẹ́, a failed contestant to the Ágbọ̀ throne in the late 1600's. Ìdúùwẹ's account deserves to be quoted *in extenso*.[56]

> Around 1698, [Adigwe] succeded [Ọgwade] his father as Ézé Agbọ̀. Before the installation, Kímẹ́ the son of [Ọsẹẹ̀]'s senior daughter had hoped to become heir to the throne, as succession was not rigidly hereditary from father to senior son. [Adigwe]'s mother was contemptuously beaten in the farm when she went to pluck [ujuju] leaves for soup, and died the following day as a result. Kímẹ́ was charged for sending his servant Ẹ̀bú to flog the old mother, but [Adigwe] set Kímẹ́ free and punished Ẹ̀bú by hanging.
>
> Kímẹ́ continued to plot against [Adigwe], and the people of Àlị́-Ísìmíẹ̀n revolted under the pretense that their daughter's son Kímẹ́ was cheated and that [Adigwe] should abdicate. They attacked the *òbí ezè* 'palace' and the *ọ̀gwá* 'senate house', removing the *ọ̀fọ́* 'ancestral staff' of Àlị́-Ogbe-Ńmụ̀-Déin 'royal lineage'. This infuriated the Ọ̀gbe-Ńmụ̀-Déin, who raided Àlị́-Ísìmíẹ̀n in return. Kímẹ́ himself was hotly pursued, but Àkụmázị́ people stopped the avengers while he fled to a hiding place at Ọ̀bịọ̀. At last the *ọ̀fọ́* was recovered but he refused to return to Ágbọ̀ under any threat. ... In Ágbọ̀, Kímẹ́'s exodus is rmarkably commemorated during the annual Ọ̀sí-Ézi festival.

The name Kímẹ́ abbreviates Kí-mẹ-èkúzi 'What am I to say again?', a question stylizing a father's satisfaction in producing an heir. A discourse variant of this name is borne by the present

[56] As elsewhere in this work, I place in square brackets words whose tones I don't know.

Ágbọ̀ prince Kí-Agbọ̀-ekúzi 'What is Ágbọ̀ to say again?'[57] If palatalization of proto-Igboid *KI (data 17a in §1.3.1) applied to Kímẹ́, the predicted outcome in the Ézè Chíma area would be Chímè or Chíma. Both forms are attested: one of the nine villages of Ìsele-[Mkpitime] is named Ọ̀gwá Chímè ('Chímè's meeting', Èjiọfọ́ 1982: 345). There is no regular way to derive Chímè from Chíma. Palatalization also forces morphological reanalysis: Ágbọ̀ *kí* or *kị́* 'what?', palatalized to *chí*, does not correspond to any *wh*-word. In the Ézè Chíma area 'what?' is either *gị́* (Ànịọcha) or *gíníḿ*. Evidence of morphological reanalysis is the application of 'subject tone flop': Chíma→Chíìma.

Àlị́-Ísìmíẹ̀n, the large village federation behind the Ágbọ̀ royal lineage, and which Ìdúùwẹ identifies as Kímẹ́'s maternal home, has some interesting features in common with Ọ̀nịcha and the Ézè Chíma communities. They all share a structure of nine component wards or quarters: *ọ̀gbe itenéí / éboítenáníḿ* (Henderson 1972, Èjiọfọ́ 1982). Further, Henderson (1972: 483) notes that most Òbís of Ọ̀nịcha have hailed from Ọ̀gbé Ọ̀zala; Ọ̀zara is also the name of a ward adjacent to Àlị́-Ísìmíẹ̀n, directly behind the palace, which Ìdúùwẹ describes as the ritual kingmakers of Ágbọ̀. (The *r:l* correspondence in Ọ̀zara/Ọ̀zala is regular, cf. data (19c) in §1.3).

Fourth, Egharevba 1934 and Ìdúùwẹ *ms.* record Ẹ̀dó campaigns throughout the Ágbọ̀ and Ézè Chíma area during the reigns of Ọ́bás Érésòyèn (1735-1750) and Ákẹ́ngbúdà (1750-1804).

Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ argues that the present-day "Ézè Chíma" traditions, as reported by Àzíkàíwe and Èjiọfọ́, telescope these four sedimented layers of influence into one, which bears the name of the royal Ágbọ̀ emigrant, but which is identified as an Ẹ̀dó migration, probably because of the prestige of the Ọba of Benin. The puzzle, then, is the loss of the etymological connection between Ágbọ̀ and Chíma. To be sure, there are indirect references to Ágbọ̀ in the "Ézè Chíma" traditions; for example, Henderson (1972: 79) reports that two of the royal immigrants to Ọ̀nịcha are referred to as Ụ́kpalị Ezèéchí (Chíma of Ágbọ̀) and Ékénsu (Chíma of Àbọ́). But why should the name Kímẹ́ be reanalyzed so as to obscure its Ágbọ̀ origin?

Much blame for the present etymological opacity of "Ézè Chíma" can be laid at the doors of phonology (palatalization, vowel shift) and morphology (the difference in *wh*-words, the application of subject tone flop). There is no possible path to the etymology of Kímẹ́ which relies strictly on the grammatical knowledge (including phonological knowledge) possessed by speakers in the "Ézè Chíma" area. Grammar being a relationship between sound and meaning, recoverability is destroyed by a drastic alteration of underlying sound units, either in paradigmatic shape (phonology) or syntagmatic segmentation (morphology).[58] That these changes resulted from cross-dialect borrowing, rather then from dialect-internal innovation, explains why such opacity arose in the space of a few hundred years.

4.2.5 má, mánwụ́ and mụ́ọ́

The next example also involves apparently unrecoverable etymology. Again, the main culprit is historical phonology, but this case is more clearcut because the opacity holds within, not across, individual dialects. For that very reason, the etymology is certainly much older. The data below, from §1.3 above, support the derivations 'dead-one'>'ancestral spirit' and 'begotten-one'>'child'.

[57] This question was posed by his father Íkenchúku, who remained momogamous and for a long time heirless, over the objections of titled elders of the royal lineage Ọ̀gbe Ńmụ̀ Déin.

[58] E.g. few English-speakers can gloss the word *poke* (< French *poche* 'sack, pocket') in the phease *buy a pig in a poke* (= Haitian *achte chat nan makout*) a phrase which they nonetheless use meaningfully.

		Àbọ́	Ẹ̀hwú̠dà	Òweré	other
58a.	smoke (n.)	ẹ́ṅụ̀lụ̀	[ụ́mẹ̀lẹ́chi]	ọ́nwù̠rụ	áwù̠lụ̀ (Ụ́mù̠lọ́kpa), rụ́nwù̠rụ (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	die	nwú̠sụ	ṅ́ụ̀lụ	nwú̠	wú̠hụ (Ụ́mù̠lọ́kpa), wú̠ (Úgwutà)
b.	sun	á́ṅụ̀	ẹ̀l-á́ṅ́ụ́	ányа anwú̠	ánwụ (Ágbọ̀), Ẹ́hụgbò, Ọ́mahyá)
	bee/mosquito	ẹ́ṅụ̀	[ọ̀gbẹ́nyẹ̀]	á́ṅụ	ẹ́ṅụ (Ágbọ̀), ẹ́nwụ (Ẹ́hụgbò), ánwụ́ (Ọ̀nịcha)
	drink (v.)	[lá]	-ṅ́ụ́	-ṅ́ụ́	mu (Yorùbá)
c.	child	nwá	ú́ṅ́ọ́ ṅá-ná 'brother'	nwá	ṅá (Úgwutà), wá (Àlú̠ụ̀), ńnwọ (Ọ̀gbakịrị) cf. ọmọ (Yorùbá)[59]
	children	ú́mụ̀	[ù̠mẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ́ẹ̀]	ú́mụ̀	ńmụ̀ (Ágbọ̀), cf. ń-dị̀ 'people'
	beget	-mú̠	-mú̠	-mú̠	cf. á-mụ̀ 'penis' (= 'instrument-of-begetting')
d.	breath	úmeleè	íṅ́é	úmerén	úṅme (Àbánkeléke), ínwe (Ọ̀gbakịrị)
	good	ọ́ma	ú́ma	ọ́ma	ọ́ṅma (Àbánkeléke), ọ́ṅma (Ńkwère)
	goodness	ḿma	ù̠má	ḿmá	ḿmọ́ (Ihìàla)
	be good	má…	mánụ…	má…	
e.	ancestral spirit	ḿmọ̀	[?]	mú̠-ọ́	mú̠-ọ́ (Ọ̀nịcha), mọ́-ọ́ (Ihìàla) ḿmọ (Ágbọ̀)
	ancestral mask	[ólu]	ṅá-la	má-nwú̠	m̀-mú̠-ọ́ (Ọ̀nịcha), m̀-mọ́-nwú̠ (Ihìàla), m̀-má-nwú̠ (Ǹrì), cf. má 'spirit' (Ẹ́hụgbò)

The five groups of lexical items show the interaction of several phonetic innovations. Much further evidence would be necessary to establish the precise innovations and their historical interrelationships. Below, I propose a set of derivations for illustrative purposes. However, it should be noted that some of the tentative reconstructions presupposed by these derivations are themselves confirmed by external evidence: in particular: 'bee/mosquito' as 'drinker', 'child' as 'begotten-one' and 'ancestral-spirit' as 'dead one'.

(58a)	*-wnú̠- 'smoke (n.)'	CnV > CV	wn > ṅ	ṅU > nwU
	*wnú̠- 'die'	CnV > CV	wn > ṅ	ṅU > nwU
		-wú̠-	-ṅ́ụ́-	-nwụ́-
(58b)	*á́ṅụ 'sun'			ṅU > nwU
	*ẹ́ṅụ 'bee/mosquito'			ṅU > nwU
	*ṅ́ụ́ 'drink'			
	ṅ́ụ́, -ṅ́ụ			-nwụ́
(58c)	*mú̠-ọ 'child'	mUọ > ṅọ > ṅa		ṅọ > nwọ > nwa
	*ń-mụ̀ 'children'			
	*mú̠ 'procreate'			
	mú̠, -mụ̀[60]	ṅá wá[61]		-nwọ́, nwá

[59] The word for 'child' is either *mọ*, *mụ* or *mu* in many Benue-Congo languages, cf. Williamson and Shimizu eds. (1968: 66*f*.). The claimed mụ → nw / __ V alternation is exemplified synchronically in Ẹ́hụgbò: *ọ́mụ̀* 'single [classified thing]', *ọ́nwaànị* 'one single [classified thing]'.

[60] **mú̠* 'procreate' belongs to the same class of metrically 'weak' H tone verbs as **jné* 'walk', hence the existence of derivatives with phonetic L tone is expected, cf *íjè* 'journey' etc.

[61] This attested form has no nonarbitrary derivation within the proposed pattern of innovations, and hence constitutes either crucial counterevidence to the reconstruction *mú̠-ọ, or else reflects an independent innovation which presumably has consequences in other data.

(58d)	*-ṅmá 'good'	ṅm>m		
	*-ṅmé- 'breath'	ṅm>m	ṅm > ṅ	ṅm>nw
	-ṅmá, -ṅmé	-má, -mé	-ṅé	-nwé

(58e)	*wnú̠-ọ́ 'ancestral spirit'	wnUV>mUV		
	*-wnú̠-ọ́- 'ancestral mask'	wnUV>mUV	mUọ > ṅọ > ṅa	mụọ > mọ > ma
		-mú̠-ọ́	-ṅá-	-mọ́-, -má-

In support of the semantic claim is that the protoform of 'ancestral spirit' is *wnú̠-ọ́, literally 'dead one', just as 'child' appears to derive from *mù̠-ọ́, 'begotten one', can be cited the independent occurrence of the 3sg clitic pronoun *ọ́*, usually found in subject position, in complement position in Èzínàíhìte Mbàisén (cf. §3.3.2). 'Dead-one' is also consistent with speakers' interpretation of *mù̠ọ́*; Àchebé (1975: 163), for example, glosses *àní ḿmọ* as 'the abode of [his] dead fathers'.

The word 'ancestral mask' is derived in several intersecting ways. The Ẹ́hụgbò noun *má* 'spirit' (possibly also from the root for 'ancestor' *wnú̠-ọ́—*má* seems to include nonancestral spirits as well) is found in the Òweré form *má-nwú̠*, which is then literally 'dead spirit' or 'dead ancestor'. On the other hand, *m̀-mú̠-ọ́*, the more archaic of the Ọ̀nịcha forms for 'ancestral mask', bears a low tone nasal prefix which gives it a literal interpretation that can be rendered as 'the.one.of-ancestral.spirit', i.e. the symbolic representation of an ancestor.

Both devices, prefixation and suffixation, occur in *m̀-mọ́-nwú̠* 'ancestral mask' (Ihìàla) which is therefore '[[the.one.of-[ancestral.spirit]]-dead]'. This analysis is not necessarily undermined by the Ǹrì form *m̀-má-nwú̠*, which can be parsed identically since there is independent evidence for postlabial ọ > a unrounding, e.g. in (58c) ṅ(w)ọ́ > ṅ(w)á 'child'.[62]

Now, if 'ancestral spirit' is etymologically 'dead-one', the most abstract parse of the Ihìàla form *m̀-mọ́-nwú̠* contains *nwú̠* 'die' twice: '[[one-of-[dead-one]]-dead]'. The affixation of the second token of *nwú̠* would then be unmistakeable evidence that first token of *nwú̠* (in *-mọ́* obscured by phonetic change) is completely opaque to Ihìàla speakers.

4.2.6 Ìchíè

The referent of the word *Ích*i has been described in §4.2.2: the special facial marking of the Ǹrì aristocracy, who derive their legitimacy as descendants of the sun divinity *Chí Ukwu*. There is also a verb *chí*, which describes initiation in the *ọ́ẓọ* title (cf. §4.2.8 below). *Ọ́ẓọ* initiation was controlled by Ǹrì, and at Ǹrì (but not elsewhere) the childhood initiation which involved the cutting of *ích*i, called *ọ́ẓọ ịchí* 'the *ọ́ẓọ* of *ích*i', was a prerequisite for the adulthood *ọ́ẓọ* initiation, called *íchí ọẓọ* 'to achieve *ọ́ẓọ*' (Ọ́nwụejíọgwù 1980: 78, 83). (On *Ọ́ẓọ*., cf. §4.2.8.)

According to Green and Ígwè (1963: 228), the verb *chí* in the phrase *chí ọẓọ* 'achieve *ọ́ẓọ*' contains an aspirated stop; this uncontroversially indicates an stop+nasal cluster in the protolanguage (cf. data (30) in §1.3). By contrast, the word *chí* 'daylight', as in *Chí Ukwu*, has no aspiration/nasality in any dialect. Unfortunately, I do not know the pronunciation of the words *íchi* and *ìchíẽ* in any dialect which retains this aspiration or nasality, so I cannot tell whether they are cognate to each other, to the word for 'daylight', or to the verb root in the predicate *chí ọẓọ*. (It happens that the *ọẓọ́* title is predominantly found in areas which lack aspiration/nasality, so

[62] A feasible alternative would be to derive *m̀-má-nwú̠* > *m̀-mọ́-nwú̠* by vowel rounding, which would support inverse derivations of 'child' ṅ(w)á > ṅ(w)ọ́, thereby giving up the morphological motivation of the suffix, and hence greatly weakening the etymology of 'child' as 'begotten one'.

relevant data may be difficult to find.) I assume here that *ích*ị and *ìchíẹ̀* are not etymologically related, since the latter but not the former root contains a historic */Cn/ cluster. This assumption allows me to derive *ìchíẹ̀* is from the verb root of *cḥí ọ́zọ* as the frozen plural of the personal noun class, which normally bears an *ò-/ì-* 'sg./pl.' prefix.[63] An apparently related noun *óchiè*, in Ẹ́hụgbò and elsewhere, simply means 'old [person]'; that it too contained a nasal is shown by the Ágbọ̀ forms *chnè* 'be elder/eldest', *ńdị ichnè* 'elders'.[64]

It can be observed that the title *ìchíẹ̀* differs in meaning between areas which practice the *ọ́zọ* title, such as Nrị, and areas which don't, such as Ẹ́hụgbò. At Nrị, *ìchíẹ̀* designates a type of male ancestor, represented on the *íru ḿmụ́ọ́* ('face of the ancestors' or altar of the *òbú* ancestral shrine, cf. Yorùbá *ojúbọ* 'ancestral altar', literally 'eye/face of sacrifices') in one of two forms, *ókponsi íchiè úkwu* 'great *ìchíẹ̀*'s staff' or *ókponsi Ích*i*è ńtà* 'small *ìchíẹ̀*'s staff':[65]

> A dead person is *nmụ́ọ́*. If he was good and popular on earth he becomes *ónye íchiè* that is a canonized father. (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1975: 7)
> A good man is a man who is upright in his dealings with men he does not pervert the truth, justice or the peace of Nrị. He breaks no taboos and does nothing of which the ancestors will disapprove. He has wealth and children and good health, which are the markers of his success, and above all he takes the *ọ́zọ* title. If such a man dies he becomes *ìchíẹ̀ úkwu*, a great ancestor. If he has all these things but dies without the *ọ́zọ* title he becomes *ìchíẹ̀ ńtà*, a small ancestor. (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 41)

Accordingly, only an *ọ́zọ* title-holder "may own the temple of *ìchíẹ̀ úkwu*" in his lineage (Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 84).

In at least some areas which do not confer the *ọ́zọ* title, *ìchíẹ̀* refers to a living person of the highest achievable status. At Ẹ́hụgbò, for example, the *ìchíẹ̀* title can be taken only by someone who has already initiated in all the ranked title associations, thereby becoming *Ò-mé-zù-e* 'Person.who-completed-all'. *ìchíẹ̀* is thus the highest achieved title in Ẹ́hụgbò.

ìchíẹ̀ in Ọ̀nịcha adds a component of state hierarchy to the idea of achieved status which exhausts the meaning of the word in Ẹ́hụgbò and Nrị:

> "*Ńdị ìchíẹ̀*" means the chosen titled men who rule the kindreds constituting Ọ̀nịcha, for and on behalf of the Òbí of Ọ̀nịcha. (Àzịkàíwe 1976: 1)

Here, emphasis should be placed on the word "chosen", i.e. appointed by the Ọ̀nịcha monarch (the Òbí).[66] Nzímìro defines *ńdị ìchíẹ̀* at Ọ̀nịcha as "the political elite" (1972: 123) and the *ńdị ichè* at Úgwutà as "the political executive council of the Òbí" (1962: 123) comprising appointed chiefs (*òrirínzere*), lineage heads (*ọ̀kpára*) and priestly officers. This element of appointment may not be present in the Ézè Chímà area to the west of Ọ̀nịcha (cf. §4.2.4 above) where, according to Èjịọfọ́ (1982: 81), "Title taking is called *íchí ḿmụọ*—being ordained into the spirit society". Ágbọ̀ has neither *ọ́zọ* nor *ìchíẹ̀* titles; however, as already noted, Ágbọ̀ elders are referred to as *ńdị ichèn* ← *-chèn* 'be older than'.

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[63] If it turns out there is no aspiration/nasality in the title *ìchíẹ̀*, in dialects with this feature, then my premise is mistaken. Íhìàla is one such dialect, and Armstrong 1967 cites an Íhìàla form *chííhị* 'king/chief', however, this is probably not the Ìgbo word in question but rather the local pronunciation of the English word *chief*, since f > h is a phonetic innovation in Íhìàla, and the [H¯L L] surface tone pattern is expected in the borrowed form of a stressed, consonant-final English monosyllable. Thus, disconfirming evidence remains to be found.

[64] The palatalisation in the Ágbọ̀ form indicates a probable *CniV structure for the verb root, otherwise we would expect *-knè* in Ágbọ̀, just as Ágbọ̀ has *éki* 'tomorrow' instead of *échi*, etc. (cf. §1.3.1).

[65] The symbol of the female ancestral counterpart is called *ókponsi ụmụ́ áda*.

[66] On the title *Òbí*, cf. §4.2.7 immediately below.

Why should the meaning of *ìchíẹ̀* differ, from one settlement to another, according to the presence or absence of the *ọ́zọ* title, or of the *Òbí* title, in a given settlement? It is an attractive hypothesis to regard the word *ìchíẹ̀* as semantically constant, but varying in referential meaning according to pragmatic/encyclopedic factors. Such change, primarily extralinguistic in origin, is often misleadingly included in discussions of semantics (e.g. Ullmann 1962).

Consider an English example. Before movies and television, the noun *screen* meant something like 'partitioning surface' (< Dutch *scherm* 'protection'). Today, however, all screens do not protect: prudent people sit far from the TV set, and buy special lead screens to filter out radiation from unshielded computer monitors. The reference of *screen* to luminous (and dangerous) image display devices arose as a direct result of technological, i.e. pragmatic change. Despite CRT technology, however, we still speak of *smokescreens*, *window screens*, *fire screens* and *Meiji lacquer screens*. The issue is whether the protective function implied in these lexical items remains the default meaning of *screen* in this film and video age.

In the same way, the etymology of *ìchíẹ̀* bears directly on the separation of the semantic and pragmatic components in its meaning. Assuming that *ìchíẹ̀* is nasalised or aspirated in dialects where this is possible, then the closest cognate verb in many dialects is *cḥiè*. If *cḥiè* is in turn related to the predicate *cḥí ọ́zọ*, then the latter expression means literally 'to become "old" [i.e. senior] by taking the *ọ́zọ* title'.

Alternatively, the verb *chí* (or *cḥí*, depending on dialect) may have a more abstract meaning, denoting the change of state 'become closed off [at the endpoint]' (as in the compound verbs *mé-chi* 'shut, close off [e.g. a doorway]', *kwụ́-chi* 'stop up [e.g. a bottle]'); in that case, *chí ọ́zọ* is an inchoative, inherent complement verb which as a causative would mean 'become filled with respect to age', or as an anticausative would mean 'fulfil the [requirements of] *ọ́zọ*' (cf. the discussion of inherent complement verbs in §2.1.5).

Either way, the symbolic connection of status and age would go along with the idea that *ìchíẹ̀* denotes the status of someone who is 'senior' by virtue of being 'fulfilled [with respect to initiation]'. The specific interpretation of 'seniority' will therefore vary predictably according to the specific details of initiation in the seniority/title system in each community. This semantic interpretation goes along with a morphological analysis: the form *cḥiè* comes to have the general denotation 'be elder' or 'be fulfilled' from the generic interpretation of a null syntactic complement, spelled out perhaps by the 3sg clitic pronoun *yá* (which by vowel coalescence predictably comes out [e] in this context).

The assumption that age is the 'currency' of status, so that seniority is fulfillment *par excellence*, is quite a general, underlying one in Ìgbo society, as described in the preceding section (§4.2.3). The specific differences arise in local contexts. At Nrị where the title-system is sharply focused on *ọ́zọ*, the status interpretation of *ìchíẹ̀* is generic: someone who was "good and popular on earth"; of course, this general requirement cannot be fully met until after death, hence the signification 'good ancestor'. The achievement of *ọ́zọ* status triggers the focal meaning of *ìchíẹ̀*, namely *ìchíẹ̀ úkwu* 'great *ìchíẹ̀*'. At Ẹ́hụgbò where there is no single, focal title like *ọ́zọ*, *ìchíẹ̀* denotes the culminating title, taken by someone who has fulfilled all other title requirements.

This analysis needs to be tested with details of title nomenclature morphology and of the organization of status systems, in more different communities throughout the Igboid area. It is a

promising area of investigation, since (as noted by Forde and Jones 1950 and every subsequent investigator) the specifics of title initiation vary widely from one part of the Igboid area to another—even leaving aside the coruptions and elaborations of titles which have played so great a part of colonial and neocolonial politics. Before one can speak of a 'title system', the titles themselves must be regarded as more than a laundry list of names, but rather as a semantic-pragmatic manifold wherein inherited lexical-semantic resources are played out against the practical realities of status. The process of symbolic accumulation, at the core of the title system, occurs at the intersection of semantic and pragmatic domains.

If this analysis is headed in the right direction, then the interpretation of *ìchíẹ̀* counts as an example of the interaction of semantics and pragmatics. I know of no research on ritual mechanisms which would directly provide a pragmatic component for *ìchíẹ̀*, comparable to that described for *Ńkpụ́kpụ kà ńká* (§4.2.3). Evidence of such mechanisms should nevertheless be sought in the fabric of *ìchíẹ̀* consecration, whether this takes place before or after the death of the individual.

The above discussion has shown an irreducible pragmatic component in the meaning of the word *ìchíẹ̀*, stemming from the real world conditions of 'fulfillment', part of encyclopedic knowledge (culture in the relative sense) as opposed to lexical semantics (culture in the absolute sense). In both Ǹrì and Ẹ́hụgbò, representing nearly the extremes of "plus and minus hierarchy" in terms of title systems which recognise an *ìchíẹ̀* title, the term denotes a 'terminal' status achievement. The proposal is that any interpretive difference from one place to another arises primarily with respect to the *other* available initiation statuses, as these happen to be defined in each community, for good historical reasons of which the lexicon knows nothing.

4.2.7 Òbí and òbú (òwú, òvú)

The word which varies among the above phonetic forms across the Igboid area also varies in meaning between two extremes: 'king' and 'lineage temple'. In Ẹ́hụgbò, for example, *òbú* is the lineage shrine which serves a maximal patrilineal section in a compact village. Its shaded veranda, a favored relaxation spot for initiated males, attracted the colonial label *rest house* (adopted by Ottenberg). In Ǹrì, too, *òbú* is a lineage shrine, but one which differs in architectural structure and social access: an *òbú* is constructed in each independent residential compound, so that each compound's *òbú* is in effect the private reception hall of the compound head. In Ùkpó, not far from Ǹrì, *òbí* can refer metonymically to the entire house of the individual compound head, not just to the shrine chamber which it contains (Ézéàkụ 1983: 74).

Collective *òbú* exist by virtue of housing appropriately "senior" ancestral staffs. Depending on the status of the householder, the *òbú* will contain relatively more or less important staffs (*ọ̀fọ́* and *álọ̀*). In Ágbọ̀, however, the public temple of the lineage *ọ̀fọ́* is the *ọ̀gwá*, the senate house of a village ward (*ògbe*), while *òbí* refers strictly to the palace, and metonymically to the monarch who inhabits it.[67] In Òwerẹ́, where *òbí* refers to the lineage temple of a domestic compound, the *mbarị* shrine is described as the *òbí* of the divinity *Àla* 'Earth' (Ọ̀kpáraọcha 1976).

The Ágbọ̀ palace and the Òwerẹ́-area *mbarị* shrine can be compared in three other respects. Both are filled with sacred sculptures (cf. Beier 1963). Second, it may be no coincidence that both buildings, palace and *mbari*, are said to contain multicolored snakes: in Ágbọ̀, one of the praise names of the Òbí is *ágwọ ekèlíkà* 'multicolored snake' (Ìdúùwẹ *ms.*), while one of the sculptured

[67] The same metonymy occurs in English, e.g. *The White House rejected peace proposals*.

images in *mbarị* is the [*ọrịra*] snake is addressed, perhaps hypocharistically, as *ágwọ ọma* 'good snake', "[b]ecause of its multicolored skin" (Ọ̀kpáraọcha 1976: 29). Third and most strikingly, both buildings shelter sacred individuals, though of different social status: respectively the *òbí* 'monarch' and the *òsú* 'cult serf'. The symbolic parallelism between *òbí* and *òsú*, insightfully discussed by Henderson (1972: 272-74) is also evoked in a remark by Ífẹ̀kà 1973 (quoted by Àzĺkàíwe 1976b: 4) describing the Òbí of Ọ̀nịcha as a "sacrificial victim".[68]

Thus, the word *òbí* (and related forms) shows two types of ambiguity: semantic and pragmatic. In the meaning 'lineage temple', the specific type of temple depends pragmatically on the demographic pattern and lineage hierarchy of the settlement in question. Pragmatic ambiguity with respect to 'temple' can arise only in moving from one community to another.

Semantic ambiguity arises for *òbí* only in settlements like Ágbọ̀, where it refers either to a sacred structure or to its defining occupant (the monarch). To disambiguate, the Ágbọ̀ palace is periphastically called *Òbí Ezè* 'the King's *òbí*. The unmarked interpretion of *òbí* in Ágbọ̀ is undoubtedly the monarch. The etymology of *òbí* probably includes the verb *bí* 'dwell, inhabit'. As suggested to me by Hounkpati Capo, the most straightforward derivation for the form *ò-bí* is therefore as an agent noun, i.e. 'dwell-er' (cf. *ò-gbú* 'kill-er' etc.). This would argue that 'palace' or 'shrine' as in the 'dwelling [of a king, of a divinity]' is the secondary meaning, based on a metonymy which is much less common than the reverse direction already suggested (from edifice to occupant).

At the present rudimentary stage of analysis of Ìgbo deverbal morphology, the question of which is semantically primary, 'dweller' or 'dwelling' cannot be resolved. On pragmatic grounds, it is perhaps easier to see the meaning of 'king' as secondary, since there is a close geographic correlation between this meaning and a specific type of palace organization, found only between Ágbọ̀ and Ọ̀gbárú (riverine) communities, whereas the meaning of 'temple' is found throughout Igboid. On the other hand, the metonymy from a shrine's occupant to the shrine itself is also attested for the noun *chí* (cf. Ǹzímìro 1962: 123).

Although not yet realised here, the goal of this analysis has been to maintain a basic unity in the concept of *òbí* across the entire Igboid area, by distinguishing semantics and pragmatics, and taking both into account. The only alternative is to accept an arbitrary homophony between the two 'senses' of *òbí*; thereby treating all of the above facts as accidental, and failing to represent the sacred dimension of Ágbọ̀ kingship.

4.2.8 Ézè, Ǹze, òlínzele/òrírínzele, ǹzénze, ọ́zọ

Under British Indirect Rule, Áfìgbo (1965, 1981) describes a basic contradiction in the official treatment of Ìgbo chiefs and monarchs. Christian missionaries flouted and undermined the sacred sanctions which Ǹrì had synthesized into a nonviolent, regional hegemony (§4.2.2), while colonial officers tried to recruit once-sacred titleholders into noisy, bilingual district courts. Those who particularly flourished in this New World Order were pliant and self-seeking semi-literates.

After the violent collapse of Indirect Rule in Owerri and Calabar Provinces in 1929 (Gailey 1970), came humiliations of Direct Rule at the hands of capricious District Commissioners and

[68] *Òsú* denotes a transgressing individual who takes sanctuary in a sacred grove, thereby acquiring servile status and permanent attachment to that shrine (a status transmitted to one's descendants). The etymology of *ò-sú*, almost certainly an agent noun, is at present unclear, but perhaps at some level it could be related to the verb *rú* 'reach', thus 'reach-er', given the r/s isogloss (cf. §1.3.1).

marginally bilingual Court Clerks.[69] Then, in the run-up to flag independence, ethnic competition with the Northern and Western Regions which still practiced Indirect Rule encouraged the revival and wholesale invention of chieftaincy titles. As eventually codified in these titles by Government Anthropologist (and former "*nwá* D. C.") G. I. Jones, in a rapid "reinvention of tradition", *ézè* became one of the most controversial words in the Ìgbo lexicon.

Ìfemésịa (1979: 53) questions the antiquity of proverbial statements like the following:

59a. Ìgbo e-nwé-rọ̀ ézè. not-have [king]
b. Ìgbo é-chí ezè. not-crown [king]'

Today, these expressions are quoted approvingly to condemn the neo-feudal pretensions of modern-day power seekers. The factual premise behind such a populist interpretation of the proverbs has been forthrightly affirmed by Àchebé:

> From *having no kings* in their recent past the Ìgbo swung round to set an all-time record of four hundred "kings" in Imo [State] and four hundred in Anambra [State]! (1983: 48, my emphasis)

However, one can accept the sentences as authentic oral texts and still reject the "kingless" premise—a premise to which Ìfemésịa rightly objects, given Shaw's and Ánọ̀zíe's excavations at Ìgbo Úkwu, and Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀'s ethnography at nearby Ǹrí. Given the absence of obligatory determiners (including quantifiers and number inflection) in Ìgbo, each sentence in (59) is ambiguous with respect to the scope of negation over the inherently plural subject NP. This ambiguity is shown in the English and logical translations given in (60). (Generic aspect, which remains uniform for all both interpretations, is not represented in the logical notation.)

	conventional interpretation	*alternative, literal interpretation*
60a.	'The Ìgbos have no kings' ¬ ∃ x king (x), have (Ìgbos, x)	'All the Ìgbos do not have a unique king' ∀ y Ìgbos (y), ¬ ∃ x king (x), have (y, x)
b.	'The Ìgbos crown no kings' ¬ ∃ x king (x), crown (Ìgbos, x)	'All the Ìgbos do not crown a unique king' ∀ y Ìgbos (y), ¬ ∃ x king (x), crown (y, x)

Certainly, the conventional interpretation is contradicted by the archaeological and historical record. The alternative interpretation, on the other hand, allows that *ézè* titles were anciently known in the Ìgbo-speaking area, while excluding the possibility that any one such title ever had general authority over the whole.

However, there is a further difficulty with (60), which concerns the term *ézè* itself. Many titles in the Ìgbo-speaking area involve the word *ézè* in a meaning other than 'king'. These examples belong to semantic fields, most important among which is that of priesthood. Examples include *ézé ànị́/ézé àjá ànị* 'priest of sacrifices to the Earth deity' (Ìfemésịa 1979: 35); *ézè álụsi* 'chief priest of a divinity'; *ézè mmụ́ọ́* 'ancestral priest'. In a second group of examples, *ézè* implies wealth, as most clearly in the personal name *Ézé-àkụ* literally 'Ézé of wealth', and the Ẹ́hụgbò matrilineage praise name *Ọ̀gbagị ézè* which in context (*íkwu* 'matrilineages' are the main landholding corporations in Ẹ́hụgbò) means something like 'Ọ̀gbagị the land-wealthy matrilineage'. A final semantic field of *ézè* involves pre-eminence, without any connotation of wealth. *Ézè-jí́* '[the title of successful yam farmers in Ḿbàisén]' has the Ẹ́hụgbò equivalent *Dí-jí́* literally 'master/expert of yam [cultivation]' (cf. §4.2.9).[70]

[69] The absurdity of these courts is portrayed in the Ímò Broadcasting Corporation's witty television serial of the late 1970's: *Íchéòkụ* 'The Parrot' (< *chè* 'think, remember', *òkụ* 'call').

[70] Elsewhere, the pragmatically equivalent title is *Ògbú-jí́* (literally 'yam killer', cf. Ókeìgbo 1980: 21).

A well-meaning attempt to unify these three meanings with 'king' might fix upon the notion of 'priest' as a semantic common denominator. Clearly, however, this *a priori* strategy can only work if the content of 'priest' is left sufficiently vague, for example in the range of 'expert'. Even so, there remains a problem, since the vague equation of priest = king does not meaningfully hold in Ǹrí, as Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ carefully points out:

> After the coronation of Ézé Ǹrí, which involved his 'death' and 'resurrection', he is regarded as a spirit. He does not offer sacrifices because sacrifices are offered to spirits, which he is believed to be. All palace sacrifices are offered by his subjects to Ǹrí-Mé-Ǹrí, the spirits of the past Ézé Ǹrí. He appoints a chief priest to be in charge of all rituals connected with the palace and the community. The priest is rewarded by taking the traditional parts of the animals offered, which would have been the Ézè's share. (1980: 91)

A more serious attempt at semantic explanation of the semantic range of *ézè* would begin with an etymology of the word itself. Although Ìgbo lexicography has never flourished, available published materials contain at least two verb roots which are superficially plausible etyma. Both Green and Ígwè (1970: 180) and Ìfemésịa (1979: 51) gloss the verb *zè* as 'avoid,… revere', raising Durkheimian hopes for deriving 'priest' as 'sacred person'. On the other hand, Green and Ígwè (1963: 233) list an additional gloss 'be luxuriant', which might plausibly underly the form *ézè* 'big' as recorded in Àbánkeléke by Meir *et al.* (1975: 255).

Neither of these derivations, however, takes us any great distance towards unifying the range of meanings listed above. Having thus exhausted the obvious etymological leads, the only remaining option is to investigate the semantics of other words apparently derived from the same root. These obviously include *ǹzéǹze* and *ǹze*(*le*).

In Ẹ́hụgbò, *ǹzéǹze* refers to the status of a person with children, as opposed to unmarried/childless *nwáàta*.[71] This suggests a notion of lineage seniority, which is perhaps closest to the meaning of 'ancestral priest', but not particularly close at that.

Thomas 1914 (v.4: 40ff) describes *òlí-ǹzele*, literally 'consumers of *ǹzele*'as hereditary or elected titles; Ìfemésịa (1979: 89) defines *ǹzele* as 'what is due to [titled men]', i.e. as privileges of office. This is consistent with the reference of *ǹze* at Ọ̀nịcha:

> "*Àgbalá ǹze*" means feathered titled caste and includes *ọ́zọ* title-holders as members of the Àgbalá Ǹze Society. Àzíkàíwe (1976: 1)

Henderson's gloss of *àgbalá ǹze* as "servants of *ǹze*" (1972: 254), if literally correct, indicates that the equivalence of *àgbalá ǹze* and *òlí-ǹzele* is pragmatically rather than semantically based. Ìdúùwẹ *ms.* translates Ágbọ̀ *àgbala* as "royal spirit"; Henderson (1972: 259) describes *ǹze* as referring to the *ọ̀fọ́* of the founding ancestor, hence a royal lineage cult; Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 167) reports that, at Ǹrí, *Àgbalá Ǹze* is an oracle controlled by the Ézè (cf. the Ágbọ̀ word *ịgbagba* 'divination medicine-bundle'). The meaning of *àgbala* as 'servant' could therefore be derived as 'devotee of the oracle of *ǹze*', a role which is also consistent with the high status reported by Àzíkàíwe. However, the meaning of *ǹze* remains less than clear.

There is always the possibility that phonological changes have obscured the etymology of *ézè*: potential cognates may not have exactly the same phonetic shape. There are three Igboid isoglosses which appear promising in this regard: j/z/d^w, e/ẹ and ẹ/ọ. The verb meaning 'walk'

[71] Nwá-àta (cf. *nwá* 'child', *ńtà* 'young') may also be *ẹ́-nnà*, someone who hasn't completed adolescent initiation (cf. §4.6.3'). Ìgbáákị has a different metaphor for adolescent initiation: *íhien èjén ìhian*, literally 'thing(s) going to people', cf. *Kẹ̀ wẹ́ mé egu Igbankị* / *How they do the Ìgbáńkị festival* in the Appendix.

has at least six phonetic variants within Igboid: *jé/zé/jnẹ́/jọ́(kọ̀)/dwọ́/dọ́*.[72] Another permutation of these isoglosses is *-zọ́*, a possible nominal derivative of which is the Ọ́mahyá expression *ọ́zọ akwà* 'place for selling cloth' (Green and Ígwè (1963: 226). With a low tone, there is the verb *zọ̀* 'step on' and the derived noun *ụ́zọ̀* 'path, road, way'. Also with low tone are the nouns *í-jè* 'journey', *ǹ-jem* 'pre-arranged journey', *ǹ-je-n-je* 'aimless wandering' (Émènanjọ 1978: 142), *ǹ-je* (Ẹ́hụgbò, cf. "The-Child-that-Knows-Its-Mother" in Appendix).[73]

Accordingly, I propose that the high tone *zọ́* variant of the verb 'walk' is the root of the noun *ọ́zọ*, the name of the central title of the Ǹrì system. By this derivation, the *ọ́zọ* title would denote the person who 'goes' (into sacredness) by 'walking' (with a cotton thread around his ankle, with a [ngụagịlịga] staff in hand, with a bell being rung before him as he goes).

Similarly, I propose that the noun *ézè* derives from the metrically weak high tone verb *zé* (or *jé*) 'walk', and came to refer to a 'priest' or highly initiated person by denoting the someone who walks *to* (or *with*, in the *way* of) the ancestors. This etymology would be semantically paralleled by the priestly title (found in Ẹ́hụgbò and elsewhere) *ò-jé-lá mụ́ọ* literally 's/he who goes to the ancestors and returns'. The specific meaning 'king' would be pragmatically derived as 'priest of the royal ancestors' in a conical clan lineage structure such as Ǹrì, come to stand as the ancestors of the entire community (*òbodo*). The meaning 'rich person' would be metonymic with respect to the material surplus accumulations of 'priests' or 'kings'. (This hypothesis rules out the reverse derivation—from 'rich person' to 'king'.) Finally, the meaning 'expert' would arise directly from 'walk' in the sense of 'journey of experience'.

Henderson's (1972) study of Ọ̀nịcha draws an implicit, pragmatic link between *ọ́zọ* and *ézè*: by glossing the former as 'the king in every man', he views *ọ́zọ* as a mini-kingship title which is available to all adult men of sufficient means. This interpretation draws empirical support from the fact that, in very many if not all of the communities which confer the *ọ́zọ* title, *ézè* is a one of a number of alternative names for the title. However, such an apparent 'extended' usage of *ézè* to mean *ọ́zọ* is equally consistent with the opposite, bottom-up, trajectory suggested by my proposed etymology: if *ézè* is so closely related to *ọ́zọ*, it is not because the latter is an extension of the former, but because the former is a specialization of the latter. Of course, speakers may invert this relationship, in the manner suggested by Henderson, if the terms are semantically opaque—as undoubtedly they are in this instance.

4.2.9 dí, Dẹ́in, dí ányị, dí ọkpá, dí àla and áma dí

A final example of semantic-pragmatic interaction is *dí*. The conventional translation of this noun —as 'husband'—fails to make sense in a long list of lexicalised phrases and compounds containing *dí*, including the titles *dí-bịè/dí-byà* 'diviner', *dí jí* 'expert yam farmer' (cf. *jí* 'yam'), *dí m̀kpa* 'strong man' (*m̀kpa* 'grip'), *dí ntá* 'expert hunter' (*ǹta* 'hunting'), *dí ọkpá* 'sacred elder/lineage head' (*ọkpára* 'heir, eldest patrilineal descendant'[74]), (*nwá-*)*dị ịkén* 'strong person/adventurer' (*íken* 'strength') and *nwá dí* co-lineal' (*nwá* 'descendant'). Other forms containing this morpheme include

72 Cf. Ẹ̀hwụ́dà *dọ́-ka* 'walk like an old person (with small shuffling steps).

73 The existence of both high and low tone variants of this root, in derived contexts, is fully predicted by the analysis of *j(ọ)é* as bearing metrically weak lexical H tone, cf. exx. (91) - (97) in §1.3 above. N.b. also that *zọ̀* 'walk' (n.b. with low tone) is attested in Gbè (Capo 1991).

74 In other dialects: *ọ́kpala/ọ́kparan/ọ́pharа*, *ọ́kpanị* (Ẹ́hụgbò), *ákpana* (Ẹ̀hwụ́dà), probably from the verb *kpá* 'collect': the noun may refer to the 'heir' as the 'collector' (i.e. inheritor) of the lineage *ọ̀fọ́*.

(*nwá-*)*dị àla* 'aristocratic, autochthonous or naturalized citizen' (Ǹzímìro 1972: 23*f*., cf. *àla* 'earth, land, community') and the synonymous *áma dí* (*áma* 'street, town').[75] Again, Nwáòsú (1983: 37, 41*f*., 53) describes one Dí Ìgbo as the first son of Ìkénga and the "master" or "patriarch" of the Ìgbos, or alternatively as "king of the world". The morpheme *dí* may also be present in assimilated form in the affectionate kin term *déède* 'elder linage male', used in Mbàisén and vicinity'.

In all the above examples but one (*áma dí*), the head noun *dí* occurs on the left, as in the construct state (cf. §1.3.3 above). The occurrence of *dí* on the right is not unique to *áma dí*, however, as shown by the Ágbọ̀ lexical item *nẹ́-dị* 'father' (cf. *nẹ́* 'mother' = standard Ìgbo *ńne*). (The unexpected word order in these two examples may be vestigial of an older, head-final syntactic configuration.) But even taking this different word order into account, though *nẹ́-dị* 'father' might plausibly be 'husband of mother', *áma dí* is not 'husband of street'. Thus, as head noun of a complex lexical item, whether on the left or on the right, *dí* is semantically anomalous if it means 'husband'. Rather, the meaning 'husband' is certainly derived.

The semantic range of the above examples combines notions of ability and high status, much as English *master* ranges between the technical (e.g. *master artisan*) and the social (*slave master*). Equally striking is the corresponding range in the Haitian *bòs*, which in addition to 'master' means artisan in expressions like *bòs ebenis* 'carpenter', *bòs fòjon* 'smith'. Two further examples go in the same direction. In many Ìgbo-speaking communities, an intimate friend may be greeted *dí ányị* (cf. *ànyí* '1pl'), with the same playful irony of status inversion as attends certain uses of Yorùbá *Ọ̀gá mi*!, or Spanish *Sí señor*!. (Yorùbá *Ọkọ̀ mi*! 'My husband!' is limited to wife-taking in-laws.)

In Ágbọ̀ there is a proper noun *Dẹ́in* which names the ancestor of the royal lineage or some segment thereof (Ǹzímìro 1972, Henderson 1972), and is also a title of the monarch (*òbí*)—in fact it is the main form of address to him, alongside more descriptive praise epithets like Nwá *Tùtú* 'Demonic Child' (cf. Ìdúùwẹ *ms*.). Although *Dẹ́in* is not synchronically analysable, a plausible derivation with respect to both form and meaning is from *dí* 'master' + *ẹ̀yín* '1pl'.[76]

If *dí* primarily denotes 'master', then the meaning 'husband' is straightforward in the marriage context. Indeed, nothing apart from translation convenience requires the Ìgbo lexicon to have a direct equivalent for English *husband* at all: 'master' may simply be the semantic content of the Ìgbo term which refers to a woman's spouse.[77] On this view, there is no semantic anomaly in the multiple examples of *dí*, just a matter of pragmatic application in different fields of 'master-y'. The only semantic discrepancy is cross-linguistic: between English *husband* as 'domestic property manager' (cf. *animal husbandry*, *to husband one's resources*) and Ìgbo *dí*, which refers not to property but to skilled activity (in divining, hunting, farming…). While proto-Germanic society defined the household head as controller of productive and reproductive resources, proto-Igboid society defined the genealogical equivalent in terms of authoritative knowledge, i.e. as a 'commander'.[78]

Further: there may not be much to be gained by substituting one English equivalent for another, choosing 'master' over 'husband' as the gloss of *dí*. English *master* is also an inaccurate translation,

75 In some towns, *nwádíànị* also has the narrower meaning 'daughter's/sister's child' (Ézéàkụ 1983: 87-89).

76 No such analysis is available in Àbọ́ and Ọ̀nịcha, dialects which borrowed the word from Ágbọ̀ as Déi/Déì (predictably denasalised), presumably as part of the Ézè Chíìma movement (cf. §4.2.4).

77 Approximately the same use of 'master' to denote 'husband' occurs with the Hebrew word *baal*.

78 The theory of domestic command in Ẹ́hụgbò was explained to me by Ọ́kpanị Nkáma in December, 1983.

insofar as it entails a status concept which is absent in *dí*. A *master* may be a possessor of skills, but it may also be an unskilled person with the unrestricted right to command others. The latter idea is expressible in Ìgbo, but the qualifying criterion is genealogical age, rather than marital status (this may be why wives are ideally much younger than their husband). Some indirect evidence: in standard Ìgbo, 'father' translates as *ńnà*, but in Ágbọ̀ (where, as already noted, father is *nẹ́dì*), *ńnà*means 'master' in just the required authoritarian sense, as in the expression *ńnà ńtiẹ́n* 'master of [a] dog'—a dog's controller, not its genitor! The notion of 'master over humans', as entailed both in *dí ányị* (ironically) and also in *Déin*, is more explicitly rendered in Northern Igboid as either *dí nwélụ* (Williamson 1972) or *dí nwénie* (Thomas 1913: 162), literally a 'master who owns [someone]'; here again, however, what is referred to by *dí* is not ownership in the absolute sense, but the combined ability-and-authority to direct the labor power of others productively.

In other words, there is a cross-cultural distinction between English *master* and Ìgbo *dí*, posing a problem for translation in either direction which cannot be resolved in isolation from the comparison of status systems in different types of political economy, where labor power and authority are combined in contrasting ways. Similar kinds of contrasts emerge in recent debates on cross-cultural parameters of slavery (e.g. Meillassoux ed. 1975, Watson ed. 1980).

This kind of comparison has also been as a crux for critical sociologists like Louis Dumont (and no less for his many critics, including Meillassoux 1973). However, while Dumont takes his analysis of caste ideology back to lexical semantic categories, and away from practices, the above discussion points in the opposite direction, in keeping with the asymmetry between knowledge of language and pragmatics. A detour to Dumont is therefore relevant.

4.3 Questions of equality: an excursus on Dumont and comparison

Through a series of examples, the preceding section has shown how considerations of pragmatic entailment, and problems of translation, lead to incommensurablity in the comparison of social types. While semantic analysis may be able to operate in a closed space of lexical denotations, composed of universal elements of lexical conceptual structure (as worked out in chapter 2), the representational space of pragmatics is open to context. This openness certainly affects the translation of Ìgbo status vocabulary: the interpretation of lexical items such as *ńkpụmkpụ*, *ìchíẹ̀*, *ézè*, *òbí*, *dí* requires extralinguistic, locally specific assumptions about the conditions of seniority, fulfillment, initiation, habitation and expertise/mastery. If translation occurs in a cross-cultural setting, these assumptions need to be spelled out somehow; however, if (as often happens) translation occurs within a single cultural mileu, extensive calquing (glossing by means of direct lexical equations) can take place without risk of pragmatic infelicity.

An Ìgbo-English bilingual can meaningfully speak of a *king of yam* or *husband of yam* only to others who have access to encyclopedic knowledge regarding the status of horticultural expertise/mastery, as entailed by the phrase*ézè jí*, *dí jí*. (Effectively, most such people are themselves Ìgbo-English bilinguals.) From a monolingual Euro-American standpoint, however, in the absence of certain felicity assumptions, such translated phrases are pragmatically anomalous. To interpret the examples in question, one must have recourse to certain auxiliary hypotheses about the speakers, roughly: that "they" are more egalitarian than "us", so that "their" *ézè*, though glossed as 'king', is less absolutist than "ours", and applies to any "initiated" status including that of expert cultivator. Similarly, it must be assumed that "their" *dí*, whether glossed as 'husband' or

'master', is more economic than "ours", because "their" households are units of production as well as reproduction, or their production is more artisanal, respectively. And so forth.

This pragmatic approach to translation contrasts with the structuralist account of comparison developed by Louis Dumont, beginning with his *Homo Hierarchicus*. Dumont's analysis of caste and kingship ideologies in the Orient and Occident defines such contrasts in terms of an abstract systemis representation which is hardly accessible to most speakers/social actors. In effect, Dumont restates pragmatic translation difficulties in semantic terms, in a rarefied metalanguage of comparative sociology and/or comparative philology.

As affirmed by the subsequent *Homo Aeqalis* and *Essays on Individualism*, Dumont's oeuvre responds to positivistic Western sociology of the 1950's and 1960's which reduced caste, feudalism and class to 'stratification'. Dumont aimed to replace this Occidental monism with a dualistic conception that recognises caste and Euro-American style inequality as incommensurable values. In particular, he asserts that an absolute value of hierarchy is the irreducible and totalizing element of Indian civilization. This value is culturally defined as the Brahmanical, Vedic ideology of purity and pollution which orders four abstract, pan-Indian *varṇa* ('colors') and thousands of concrete, local, endogamous *jāti* ('birth groups'). By contrast, Dumont holds that the West operates with economically-conceived individuals, equal to one another as a matter of ideological abstraction, but quite unequal ('stratified') in their shares of political and economic goods. Both systems operate with inequality, but systemic consequences are strikingly different in each case.

As defended and restated by the English godfather of French structuralism, Dumont's position on hierarchy vs. class is that the former is a relation of complementarity while the latter is marked by competition. And as a structural matter, the complementarity extends to all aspects of the inter-*varṇa* or inter-*jāti* relationship, in which

> political, economic and ritual relatins are external, [while] kinship relations are exclusively internal. (1960: 7)

Elaborating, Leach distinguishes structural, caste domination from the

> dominance asserted by *individual* members of an aristocracy upon *individual* members of the lower classes [emphasis added].

In support of this distinction, Leach observes that an aristocracy

> is invariably a numerical minority [while] a dominant caste… usually is… a majority element in the total population. (1960: 10)

Apart from the (empirically uncertain) appeal to demography, Leach's restatement reduces to the assertion that class domination is a matter of "individuals", and caste domination isn't.

Dumont himself, confronting anomalies in *jāti* hierarchy (e.g. as noted Tambiah 1972: 833), backed away from Leach's extreme formulistic view, and admitted that "complementarity remains confined to the universe of discourse" (1971: 77). Indeed, Dumont also does not exclude *jāti* from that universe: he holds that the *varṇa* system is an "old model" of the "*jāti* ideology" (1971: 73). He concludes from these claims that ideology is not simply a matter of discourse, but is 'structural' for Indian society in some more fundamental sense which is lacking in Euro-American stratification. In effect, the category of ideology itself does not have the same significance in East and West.

To justify such extended significance for conceptions which are primarily stated in ancient religious texts (both oral and written), Dumont assigns analytical primacy to ideology. This position disqualifies direct political and economic comparison of social types, as in the Marxist and

Parsonian traditions as well as in Anglophone structural-functional anthropology, on the assumption (disputed by Tambiah 1972: 834) that politics and economics are inherently non-ideological. *Homo Hierarchicus* thereby transforms ideology from a functional (determined) to a structural (determining)—and therefore structurally relative—domain in social theory. Another way of putting this is to say that Dumont endowed 'religion' (specifically, Vedic Hinduism) with the full abstractness of the category 'ideology'—a sweeping hypostasis.

As already pointed out, one interesting consequence of this move is to make the immense historical unity of India (or even of South Asia) a single anthropological datum, as it had not been since the comparative legal scholarship of Sir Henry Maine. Another consequence is to break with the tacit sociology of (self-) interests which reigns both in individualist sociology (in which camp Dumont would lump both Marx and Parsons) and in the anthropological personification of lineages as corporate social actors (a sin committed by "English empiricism" but not by Evans-Pritchard, according to Dumont 1966/1970: 354*f.*, *fn.* 23b). In the terminology of Polanyi and his followers, the category of ideological interests recognized by Dumont differs from these hegemonic frameworks in being 'substantive', that is 'embedded' and 'instituted' in a historical frame. In the argot of critical Marxism, Dumont can be said to have denied the transparency of ideology to individual practices.

These steps have the desirable effect of revaluing the exercise of comparison, which had become disused in the construction positivistic, neo-Weberian typologies of tradition and modernity; and of delegitimizing one-sided, Eurocentric evolutionism. However, Dumont cannot be followed uncritically. First, there is a problem with how he defines the historical frame. Affirming, perhaps unintentionally, the philological and antiquarian values of Indologists, he gives greatest weight to ancient, textual evocations of caste ideology. The texts provide a key to social relations which, although powerful, is nonetheless *partial*, in two senses. The key is partial it fits with difficulty the whole regional variety of caste configurations (e.g. North vs. South India). It is also 'partial' in the more idiomatic sense that it privileges Vedic, Brahmanical conceptions over those of other social actors. Further, in denying 'ideological transparency' in the case of India, Dumont concedes it in the West, when he speaks of

> the economic point of view which predominates in modern ideology [and] subordinates relations between men (including political relations) to relations between men and things (property, productivity and the like). (1976: 77)

This is a limited concession to Marx and Polanyi: while comparison of India with the West is thereby highlighted, local comparisons within the subcontinent are rendered invisible.

There are other comparisons obscured by Dumont's dualistic view of caste ideas. Endogamous, artisanal caste systems have been described in combination with agrarian slavery outside of South Asia, e.g. in the former Soninke empire region of present-day Mali (Pollet and Winter 1968, 1971), and elsewhere in the western sahel: Maure (Hamès 1969), Futa Toro (Diop 1971), Serer (Diop 1972, Gosselin 1974) and Wolof (Cruise O'Brien 1975: 27*f.*). Such comparisons are not superficial: Meillassoux (1986: 107) notes a common element in Indo-European and West-African caste systems: the distinction between "born" (or "twice-born", e.g. Sanskrit *dvija*) and "non-born" (Fulfulde *rimaïbe*). In addition, the famous status/power disjunction, which Dumont regards both as the veritable 'phoneme' of caste and as unique to India, has been observed by Bloch 1978 in Madagascar.

These impediments of dualism aside, Dumont makes a fundamental contribution when he argues that caste principles are, in Bourdieu's terminology, "structuring structures". While social segments

exist in the form of endogamous ranked occupational groups, Dumont relativizes their interests to the *varṇa* hierarchy: the opposition of purity and pollution reduces neither to the relation between noble and serf, nor to the dialectic of master and slave. This is a gain, in Dumont's terms, because it evens the comparison of Orient and Occident, previously carried out in an ethnocentrically individualist and economistic framework. In addition, by breaking with the narrowly localistic, empiricist perspective of Anglo-American anthropology, Dumont brings renewed attention to historical "continuities" in the relationship between political and religious functions and functionaries (as, for example, Tambiah 1976, 1977 does for the Theravada Buddhist states).

Finally, Dumont's notion of ideology was immediately understood as a gain for symbolic anthropologists like Leach who wished to generalise the autonomy of 'culture' (ritual and mythology) and social structure. But, as pointed out by Bloch 1978, recognizing the autonomy of these two categories (in Bloch's terms, rank and power) still carries the challenge of relating them to each other, nonreductionisically, unless one is to surrender the task of analysis to the ancient texts. Unlike Barnett et al. 1976, I do not find Meillassoux 1973 "parodistic" in stressing the autonomous reality of clientship (among artisanal groups) and proletarization (of the agrarian labor force) in South Asian political economy. Nevertheless, even if caste categories both "misrepresent" production relations, and are still irreducible to them, it remains necessary to show how the two systems are related. Such an account can be framed in various ways: in historical-evolutionary or (more abstractly) in processual terms, or dialectically in terms of 'practice', but in any case it must avoid treating ideology as monolithic.[79]

In the same spirit, the late Pierre Clastres polemicized against Marxist anthropologists who discover state formation and class contradiction in every local trading network. The State is an important analytical construct, but it is not universal, and the same can be said for ideology. For instance, the anarcho-Marxist writers Castoriadis and Lefort have insisted on treating ideology as specifically capitalist (cf. Thompson 1984, Lefort 1986); their accounts of ideology promise to respect its autonomy vis-à-vis politics and production—to which it is nevertheless linked. Lefort and Augé, as critical French marxists, are not innocent of linguistics. They both make crucial reference to 'practice' in defining this elusive link, by constraining political or economic practices through symbolic mechanisms modeled on 'grammar'.

Once ideology, politics and production are linked by means of a grammar of symbolic intelligibility, comparative differences across social types are no longer simply differences in essence (e.g. caste vs. feudalism vs. class as phenonmena sui generis). Even analyses in terms of modes of production identify an essential feature, such as a production relation, for each mode. This move can only proliferate modes and explain nothing.

Functionalist sociology, from Durkheim to Parsons, stresses ideology's integrative function by showing how it expresses the complementation of roles in the political economy. Orthodox Marxist analysis makes almost the same point when it describes ideology as false consciousness 'masking' contradictions in these roles, or even as 'inverting' reality in its ideological representation. The

[79] Bloch and his colleague Jonathan Friedman construct evolutionary explanations from local tendencies reproduced over the long run. They do not differ from functionalists like Parsons in expecting ideology to induces acceptance of other aspects of 'the system'; where they differ is their class conception of that system. By relying on local units of arbitrary extent, all these systems theories (and their Althusserian kin, even moreso) reduce in the final instance to aesthetic combinatoires.

relevant difference between these two pespectives is that functionalism takes the individual role, with its corresponding ideology, as the unit of analysis, while Marxism treats roles within social relationships, and ideology as the supra-individual reprsentations which span the relationships.

This leads to a tension in Marxist analyses between ideology as respectively class-specific or hegemonic. The composite position is reconciled in the "dominant ideology thesis" of Marx and Engels, which has been developed by Gramsci and Lukács as an open dialectic of class struggle. There is a difficult prior step in these theories, however, namely the mechanism by which a class-specific ideology becomes hegemonic. In *History and Class Consciousness*, this mechanism is an "idealist notion of a collective meta-subject" which overcomes reification and achieves "open-ended totalization" (Jay 1984: 413, 349).

The twin totalitarianisms of fascism and Soviet communism have made the concept of totality problematic. As shown by Jay, Sartre ducked this issue in the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* by placing totalization in the future tense. The Frankfurt school saw the question pessimistically, as one of individual vs. mass psychology, and esthetics. Lefort draws on both traditions when he describes ideology as a "gap… between discourse and power" (Thompson 1984: 28) created by the multiple presence of extraneous discourses of the state, the firm, the school, the church:

> Social division and temporality are dissimulated by the incantation of familiarity and the management of novelty. (Thompson 1984: 32)

These theorists all assert that the mecanism of ideology is specific to capitalist society (including state capitalism). What about the recurrent references to precapitalist ideologies in the works of Marxist anthropologists such as Bourdieu and Godelier? For Bourdieu 1982, the notion of ideology in both kinds of society is tied to the legitimating function of symbolic capital and the class- or status-based constraints of the linguistic "habitus". (The presence or absence of a market and a state apparently do not affect this process.)

To address Dumont's problem, however—and *a fortiori* to include other ideologies, apart from the pair of Western class and Indian caste—a more differentiated mechanism of ideology is needed. Such a more general system is developed by Augé, who describes the relationship between witchcraft beliefs, lineage structure, production and exchage in terms of a "vertical structural unity" (1975: 399) which escapes the circularity of functionalist layer cakes. Augé links three kinds of concrete relationships with two sets of structural conditions/representations (1975: 401):

59.

ecological (people-nature) relationships	productive (person-nature and person-people) relationships	religious (people-people) relationships
material conditions		
coherent representations		

Augé calls the representations "ideo-logic", linking individual and social orders through the conceptual basis of personhood, and the powers and afflictions of mind, body and such practices as productive labor, inheritance and exchange. Compared to actual ideologies, which are found in texts, odeo-logic is "virtual". Each local conjunction of particular conditions and representations (fitting the above schema) is governed by its particular ideo-logic. By overlapping technical and communicative rationality, the schema in (59) is inherently more dynamic than Habermas' absolute dichotomy between the two. Technical relationships are also symbolic, and symbolic representations are not devoid of technically relevant, encyclopedic knowledge about the world.

The case examined in Augé's book is the dual ideology of witchcraft. A witch is viewed by individual inhabitants of the lagoon region of Côte d'Ivoire as being either "powerful and famous" or "isolated and despised". The difference arises from the position of the witch in the individual's matrilineage or patrilineage, respectively. (A witch from ego's village who falls into neither lineage is subject to ambiguous valuation.) Augé derives this ideological difference from the same set of representations. The matrilineage is associated, in this conceptual "syntax", with the notion of *wani* 'spirit', while the father's matrilineage is linked to *sɛkɛ* 'blood', and the patrilineage to *ã wa* 'flesh'. [Tones are not given in the source.] Augé shows how individual ideologies are constituted by the transmission of these properties through the régime of restricted exchange.

For Augé, a single coherent set of reprsentations constitutes the social order's intellectual and institutional relationships, as in (59), by establishing symbolic differences which organize exchange. The precise socio-economic relations are defined in turn by conditions of material force. This analytical framework is three-dimensional, since the two sets of organizing principles are mutually autonomous. There is no fundamental difference between Augé's approach, and an analysis in terms of semantics and pragmatics, as in the previous section.

What is important here for Dumont's problem is the nondualistic concept of ideology which includes both individual practice and collective representations. This concept can be applied to the specific issue of hierarchy. Bloch for example has described a Madagascar 'caste system' which, like the Hindu case, places the priestly function 'higher' than the king. He shows how the insitutionalization of power through ritual "tends to separate out the person of the power holder into the roles of priest and of politician" (Bloch 1978: 335). In other words, the incommensurability of ideologies is not a phenomenon sui generis, as held by Dumont, but results from the pragmatic dependency of strategic symbols.

Dumont's dualism is a critical reaction, or overreaction, to systems-theoretic model building which devalues ideology. His contribution is most attractive when viewed against the backdrop of classical and neoclassical Western sociology. When Tönnies and Parsons examine comparative social morphology, for example, it is not mainly for the direct comparison of Western capitalist society with other attested forms of organization. Instead, contemporary social stratification is their focus, and comparison illuminates it in ways corresponding to the different explanatory program of each theorist. Regarding stratification in capitalist society, Tönnies defines *class* in contrast with the historically residual ordering principle of *estate*.[80] Parsons reductively demonstrates the universality of social *valuation* as the principle that links *ranking*-structure with individual *motivation-to-action* in an ordered system. In both these discussions, comparison is one-

[80] Weber takes this further into abstraction with a set of analytical distinctions characterizing the historical emergence of market-orientation. Every social order exhibits the co-present trio of (mainly) implicit *class* interests with respect to control over production, explicitly recognized *statuses* defining consumption privileges, and partisan control of legal *power*. One gain of this approach is a general theory of the motivation of the individual, sensitive to the historical context in which she acts. But while genuine historical comparisons remain possible e.g. the idea of a "transition" between ancient/medieval and modern types of class struggle it should be noted: (1) that class as an emergent category is thereby extended beyond the context of capitalism, and (2) that status in all forms of society is reduced to a residual category "hinder[ing] the strict carrying theough of the market principle". Weber allows, perhaps, for a typological entity such as 'caste society', but only as a limiting case of 'society' where "unconnected" ethnic communities are hierarchically integrated by "a comprehensive societalization" within a single "dominion".

sided and placed in the service of categories which abstractly bridge the comparanda: feudalism and caste serve as points of reference, not as systems to be explained in their own right.

By contrast with mainstream political sociology, Dumont's impulse is to regain comparison as a real object of social theory; this tendency is consistent with the Marxist position that capitalism is but one possible system, not the measure of all (a position which Marx himself did not carry through consistently). Dumont's realization of this comparative claim is, nevertheless, hindered by an ahistorical overstatement of 'relational invariance' in the structuralist definition of the comparative types: especially in the idiosyncratic definition of 'hierarchy' as the encompassment of power (*artha*) by status (*dharma*). Put another way: Dumont's impasse is to have constructed a theory of caste society which is externally comparative but internally homogeneous. But from Béteille and Bailey's South Indian counterexamples to Dumont's hierarchical ideal can be constructed a model of caste which is internally comparative as well, and which therefore allows undeniable points of similarity with European feudalism (as observed by Meillassoux 1973) to be expressed. First, consider the sociological view of feudalism to which Dumont replied.

Midway in the course of the 'bourgeois-democratic revolution' from feudalism to capitalism, a historic compromise was reached in the form of the Prussian *Ständestadt*, where secular nobles (historically *soldiers*) had separate political representation alongside 'clerical nobles' (*priests*), as ruling estates (*Herrenstände*) in opposition to the *peasants*.[81] This social order, prefigured in ancient Rome, was seen as standing midway between Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, 'community' (or 'traditional collectivity') and 'association' (or 'class society'), with characteristics of each. The three traditional estates (*Stände*), which to Tönnies represented archetypical and interdependent "collectivities", also functioned as parties in the *Ständestadt*—in which role they became "societal collectivities" in the sense that the state represents society as a whole. In general, however, estates receive their identity from substantive internal uniformity as opposed to classes which are constituted by common interests in opposition to other classes—a relational rather than a substantive identity. Thus there is an element of relationality in Tönnies' account of the *Ständestadt* which does not belong to his idea of estates per se, which follows Medieval organic conceptions (not to be confused with Durkheim's use of the organic metaphor). Tönnies observes that the principle of estate organization no longer suffices to describe all contemporary groupings (such as parties and classes), yet there is a strong residue in European society of status consciousness related to birth and to occupations which fall outside of the capitalist division of labor.

Tönnies, like Weber, consciously belongs to the Marxist intellectual tradition, but with something extra. In the name of scientific (or, in Tönnies' words, "pure") sociology, both theorists sought universal categories rather than historical contrasts. Thus the comparative enterprise is thwarted because the historical reality described by Tönnies is essentially mixed. In the *Ständestadt*, merchants and skilled artisans constitute a separate, urban estate (*Bürgerstand*), but with the growth of capital the bourgeoisie expands and becomes the most differentiated of all social strata—a process aided by the rise of economic individualism. In the same way, the proletariat and lumpenproletariat arise in the historical guise of 'fourth and fifth estates'.[82] At

[81] A relic of this stratified representation is seen most in present-day legislatures with their upper and lower chambers. For example, the U.S. Senate is essentially the estate of white male millionaires.

[82] Beyond the primary three, Tönnies has two kinds of 'middle estates': retail traders and the salariat.

this historical moment, therefore, the politically organized *Stände* were the ideal type of interest group, defined with a *correspondence* of economic, political and ideological criteria. But abstractly understood, a class exhibits noncorrespondence of these elements because it is economic by nature. As the role of capital increases, the correspondence of occupation with status begins to erode at the top of the social order. Class oppositions manifest themselves at the two extremes of the social order, in different ways: at the top, in a thorough differentiation of the category of the self-employed into rentiers, proprietors, tenants, master craftspeople, entrepreneurs and (sic) administrators; at the bottom, in the polarization of wage-earners from subsistence workers (e.g. peasants) and non-workers (e.g. women and the lumpenproletariat).

Tönnies is led by his categories to a direct and unproblematic comparison of feudal Europe and Indian caste. Since European estates were variously based on descent (e.g. aristocracy) and occupation (priesthood, peasantry, artisanat), it seemed reasonable to extend the concept to castes, which exhibited both features at once, and to regard the Indian system as the Ur-Aryan origin of the European phenomenon, thus transforming the category into an ideal type based on the harmonious division of labor.[83] This proposition was seemingly confirmed by the fact that the two most characteristic institutions belonging to *Gesellschaft*, namely capitalism and the state, were conspicuously absent from the Orientalizers' evocation of the Indo-European home with Romantic stereotypes of India (especially by Max Müller).

Tönnies recognized the rise of individualism in capitalist society as essential to the development of 'association' over 'collectivity'. This shows the potential of his framework for a certain type of dualistic comparison. Like any Marxist, he recognized "that in present-day society, occupational estates have a questionable existence" — i.e. they are incompatible with the effects of capitalism on the division of labor. On the other hand, he like Weber and other academic Marxists was troubled by the historical failure of class consciousness — the ideal type of an interest on which pure 'association' would form — to fully supplant the medieval categories of occupational estate. Thus contemporary Europe, rather than a point of comparison, seemed bound to remain a mixed, transitional reality for "more than a century".

Parsonian functionalism employs abstract, universal categories to an extreme, indeed pathological degree. Stratification is a general property of both *order* and *action*, although individual assignment to a given rank may determined by ascription (= kinship, which he calls 'birth') or by a laundry list of achieved factors: personal qualities, achievements, property, authority, power. To the comparativist, it is the sociocultural definition of each of these categories which is truly interesting, but to Parsons they are all self-evident empirical indices; what matters is their relative weight in a particular social system (1940: 176).

One might imagine that an insightful treatment of capitalist society would stress the role of property in social stratification, but Parsons downplays this while stressing the couplet of occupation/income as the primary ranking criterion (1940: 178*f.*). It is tempting to explain this analytical preference by observing that occupation is the primary subjective ranking category of individuals living in capitalist society. The "theory of social stratification" thus looks like our ideology of same. Castes and classes are equated as occupational groups, differing simply in the

[83] Tönnies assumes that castes developed from clans, which Maine viewed as primordial groups at the opposite pole from the modern state, based on blood (ascribed status) rather than territory (contract).

means of individual recruitment. This is the tradition of analysis which led Dumont to characterise the category of "the individual" as an impediment to comparitive sociology.

The fundamental feature of caste in Dumont's framework, the veritable 'phoneme of Indian society', is the status/power relation: the "encompassment of *artha* by *dharma*." In practical terms, this means the ritual superiority of *brahman* to *kṣatriya*, alongside the temporal superiority of the latter over the former, with the additional notion that ritual considerations predominate in matters of status. Through the *varṇa* system, an ideological totalization, this structure is supposed to extend throughout the subcontinent.

Dumont acknowledges local variation (1970: 80, 367), but the question is the precise significance of this variation for the comparative type he wishes to establish. In much of South India, as studied by Béteille, Srinivas, Gough and Bailey, the *kṣatriya* and *vaiṣya* categories are effectively absent at the local level. Until monetization and market processes became important in land tenure, the *brahmans* were the major landowners (primarily as a result of royal grant). Now many former tenant-cultivator *jāti*, although classified as *śudra*, are nevertheless landlords, and challenge the ritual status of *kṣatriya* groups. Agricultural labor continues to be performed by people in the *harijan* or '*adi-dravida*' category; but regional and national politics and markets have altered the local balance of power in even this respect.

In such settings, rather than speak of one status system governed by *varṇa*, the aforementioned ethnographers of South India have resorted to various Weberian formulations separating out ritual, political and economic status (or power; indeed the two categories appear to merge at the local level in a generic *dominance*). Of the three, ritual status appears the least relevant to social dynamics at the community level (*panchayat*), also in larger contexts (where the 'non-Brahmin' political party has been very successful). The three dimensions of status have corresponded more or less closely, depending on the historical situation. Apart from the quasi-mythical Vedic past, the only time when the *varṇa* theory was a persuasive model of Indian society was during its revival under British colonial rule. But before and after that time, considerably more individual/group mobility, as well as systemic flexibility, have existed than Dumont's model can interpret.

The problem posed by the status/power couple is not erased by confining analysis to a particular locality. Rather it raises the issue of the units of comparison. Classical *varṇa* theory is most persuasive in a state structure, whether Vedic or colonial. This means that stratification, while based in civil society, is affected by polity. But if the existence and type of the state is important, this limits the possibility of comparison without comparable political regimes. The problem is inherent in the systematic ambiguity in the word 'society': as a structural/morphological type or as a concrete, bounded polity whose ideal is the nation-state. Because of this ambiguity, political sociology and structuralism are simply impediments to comparison.

4.4 Rituals of power

Tambiah takes a different tack from Dumont. Rather than framing his totalising social analysis in terms of dualistic comparison, he ties regional complexes of ideas to predominant ritual processes. In Buddhist South Asia, particularly in Thailand, Tambiah views polities as "galactic", comprising a "pulsating mandala" of relative prominence among individual states within a regional political order. One moment of this pattern was centripetal, driven by the "twin motors" of intensive peasant extraction and taxation of interregional trade (1976:128). But there was

another, centrifugal moment: when "incremental centralization" of administration reaches its "logistical limits", the only way to rescue divine kingship from the involution of ritual factions is to launch frenzied, "heroic" local raids, a step which only raises the temperature of instability.

The political-economic and symbolic connection among southern Nigerian states is not galactic but—as illustrated most clearly in the above discussion of "Ézè Chíìma" states —'sedimentary', telescoping at least four layers of formation. There was a long period of Nri hegemony, involving non-militaristic manipulation of the agricultural calendar (the sky cult) and the code of taboos and abominations (the earth cult). There were multiple episodes of Ẹ̀dó́ military expansion to collect tribute. There was the shift of trade from overland to riverine routes, which opened new opportunties for state formation. And there was a second outburst of militarism to monopolise trade routes. By the 18th-19th centuries, southern Nigerian states overflowed each other's spheres of influence based on the propulsive rhythm of a 'single engine': trade monopoly. Sedimentation is the 'total' social fact of royal ritual in this region.

Feeley-Harnik 1985 notes the attention paid, by sub-Saharan Africanists (Fortes, Richards, Beidelman, H. Kuper, de Heusch…), to the "social construction" of indigenous concepts of wealth and force. While such concepts are also the focus of the comparative Hinduists Dumézil and Dumont, Feeley-Harnik shows how the Africanist studies go beyond presenting religious ideology to try and explicate its political role. This postulation of political linkages in turn raises historical as well as sociological questions concerning the introduction or appropriation and transformation of custom as a means of domination (1985: 282). These institutional analyses of 'religion as politics' are significant for the problem of ritual textuality, because they have posed the question of who is speaking through a ritual text. The answers offered by 'institutionalists' are not envisioned by interpretivists, whose picture of social texts is essentially two dimensional, a flat surface to be read from a privileged standpoint.

Feeley-Harnik cites an example of institutionalist argumentation. In reply to Gluckman's 1954 thesis of ritual rebellion as cathartic legitimization, Beidelman 1966 considers the possibility that Swazi *ncwala* texts which seem to diminish the king's authority are actually central to the constitution of that authority, as emanating from a nonperson, "stranger-king". Gluckman supposes a transparent subjecthood of the 'rebellious' ritual discourse, and ascribes the ritual's cohesive function to its status as anti-structure.[84] In seeing contradictory meanings in the central *ncwala* symbol, Beidelman denies this transparency; his is a theory of symbolically 'opaque' ritual language, expressing underlying ideological tensions rather than conscious sentiments. Beidelman's analytical move therefore places the 'surface' ritual text in an explanatory relationship with a symbolic substructure constituted by historical, institutional processes such as state formation.

Kuper's 1973 discussion of animal symbolism in the same rite amounts to a synthesis of the two positions on ritual textuality, transparent and opaque, when (in the summary of Feeley-Harnik 1985:281) she characterizes Swazi interpretations of the event as

> reinvigorat[ing] a king who epitomizes and stands outside and against Swazi society, a primordial wild thing that is ultimately brought under the control of the people.

In other words, when Swazi people symbolically equate the king with a wild bull, they simultaneously both affirm the Otherness of his power [Beidelman: the "estrangement" of his

[84] Without Turner's metaphysical connotations for this term.

person] and assert the need to control it. The discursive 'Subjecthood' of the king's subjects is maintained in Kuper's analysis, in that they possess an active voice in the ritual text; but at the same time their active participation is incorporated (or coopted) in the reconstitution/legitimation of power relationships which continue to dominate them after the ritual's conclusion. Thus it is not so much a question of moving from structure to anti-structure and back again, as it is of recreating institutional constraints through the symbolic incorporation of all sides of the social relationships involved (e.g. royalty, chieftaincy, priesthood, peasantry). This is what happens in 'sedimentary' Nigerian social formations, as well.

Before taking up some examples, consider a final analytic perspective: action-oriented theories of ritual language. Two opposed positions dominate recent literature on speech-pragmatics. First is the theory of speech acts developed by Anglophone 'ordinary language' philosophers (initially Austin 1962 and Searle 1969, more recently Bach and Harnish 1979) and quickly adopted by linguists in the generative semantics tradition (Ross, Lakoff, Sadock). Although motivated by considerations of sentence-meaning, typologies of speech acts have also been taken up in analyses of social action. Speech acts have been extensively used as raw empirical templates by linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists dealing with long, complex recordings of dialogue (e.g. Labov and Fanshel 1977). Virtually identical typologies have been elevated to a 'transcendental' level by cultural Marxists in the critical Frankfurt tradition of sociolgy (Habermas 1976/1979 in particular—cf. Weiner 1981).

Such wide-ranging applications of the speech act concept might seem to ensure its acceptance as a basic component of communication theory. Unless, that is, all these applications can be shown to share an assumption about communication which is inbuilt into the speech-act concept itself. Such an assumption is what sociologists refer to as the basic postulates of interactionism. A striking similarity between the linguistic and sociological traditions of speech act theory is the Wittgenstinnean appeal to "rules of the language game", "constitutive rules" (Searle) and "regulative validity claims" (Habermas). Observations such as these provide initial misgivings about speech act theory as an indispensible element in the analysis of ritual—a domain where game theories and their interactionist assumptions have already played out naively psychologistic, voluntaristic and consensual.

A number of vigorous critiques of speech act theory exist in its home disciplines, by philosophically-oriented linguists (Fillmore 1971; Ducrot 1972, 1984; Katz 1975, 1977; Katz and Langendoen 1976; Katz and Bever 1976; Lyons 1977; J. D. Fodor 1977), linguistic anthropologists (Levinson 1983) and sociologists (Bourdieu 1982). Not all these critiques are equally radical, nor do they all envision the same alternatives. While the uses of speech act theory in different disciplines bear a family resemblence to each other, the various critiques divide into two: critiques of interactionist methodology (by sociologists), and of performative semantics (by linguists).

Critics of speech act theory generally accept the competence/performance distinction, even when (as with Bourdieu) they are not very clear on the nature of that distinction. Katz and Bourdieu end up saying much the same thing, even though Bourdieu is unaware of the support his arguments could receive from Chomskyan interpretivist semantics, since he identifies Chomsky with de Saussure on the basis of the equations competence = *langue*, performance = *parole*. For sociologists like Bourdieu, and equally for Chomskyan linguists, the force of a promise or a request

lies not in the meaning (intended or otherwise) of the sentence which is uttered to make that promise, not to linguistic competence. Rather the force of a promise resides in the event of its being uttered, the utterance which contains that promissory sentence being a form of activity which belongs to 'linguistic performance'.

> [a] pragmatic theory deals with the various mechanisms real speakers use to exploit the richness of the context in order to produce utterances whose meaning in the context diverges predictably from the meaning of the sentences of which they are tokens. … The correlation in context, that between tokens of sentences and their utterance-meaning in the context, is determined both by the grammatical structure of the sentence type to which the token belongs and [by] the special features of the context (such as the knowledge and beliefs of the speaker and the audience.(Katz 1977:15, 19)

Bourdieu berates Austin for employing an "intellectualist philosophy" which "reduces an action to an act" (1982:13), just as he rails against those like Habermas who substitute the speaking Subject of discourse for the social actor operating through mechanisms of "symbolic domination" (1982:105).

Generative grammarians' negative assessment of Austin does not mean that they are opposed to the notion of discourse rules, so long as these come within a theory of pragmatics as just defined. Linguists' computational models of pragmatic inference (or 'super-interpretation', in the terminology of Gunji 1982) have begun to explicate Grice's vague insights. Fodor describes Grice's selective concept of speaker-intention, as opposed to a theory of joint speaker-hearer intention such as held by true intentionalists like Austin.

> First, only certain effects in the hearer are stipulated as relevant. …Secondly, and more importantly, success in the production of these effects is not presupposed; Grice rests his analysis on the intentions with which speakers utter sentences …a theory of 'utterer's meaning (Fodor 1977:23, emphasis in original).

Fodor and Gunji also show that what produces a Gricean implicature not the maxims themselves but the violation of one or more maxim. As opposed to Searle's idea of positive 'felicity conditions', Grice when explicitly interpreted is actually describing conditions of infelicity: when someone asks "Where is John?" and "No class today" is the reply, the latter is semantically ill-formed unless the additional, pragmatic assumption is made that John belongs to the class in question. Speakers are capable judging the sentence both acceptable and unacceptable, depending on the posibility of the pragmatically-driven assumption.

In sum, problems of textual performativity challenge structuralist analyses of ritual by raising certain embarrassing questions. When Lévi-Strauss (1971: 600) describes the mute manipulation of objects as ritual 'speaking', this textual analogy can be accepted only after it is specified who is speaking and what the speaker intends to convey. When Greimas and Jameson invoke "transcoding" as the source of symbolic efficacy in discourse, this semiotic postulate may describe something universal about how symbols are used, but it does not go any distance toward explaining the effect of any symbolic utterance; to do that, one must know the semantics of the sentences in the utterance, and the difference between these semantics and the utterance's discourse effect.

In Ẹ̀dó, the noun ìguẹ̀ denotes the activity of performing a sacrifice for one's own head, the seat of personal destiny; the festival named ìguẹ̀ refers to the time when every male citizen sacrifices to his head and the heads of the members of his household, beginning with the royal head and household. The difference, however, is that everybody else performs his own sacrifice, but the king has his done to him by others. Given the semantics of the noun, the pragmatic implicature is that the destiny of the king is identical to that of the community which annoints him.

Although one of countless palace rituals, Ìguẹ̀ became the focus of royal legitimation during the 19th century (Bradbury 1969). Bradbury argues that it was during that period of military and bureaucratic expansion that the Ẹ̀dó king (whose title is Ọ̀mọ̀ N'Ọ́bá) began to be overshadowed by the *ẹ̀ghàèvbò N'óré* 'Town Chiefs' (i.e. those chiefs who are not direct palace dependents). These are men of great wealth, acquired through official patronage, with large popular followings. The Ọ́bá would grant such men offices which made them indispensible to the annual reconsecration of his head. Not only did the payment of the steep title fees and the provision of sacrificial expenses keep chiefly wealth under control, but it linked the chiefs' well-being to that of the Ọ́bá. As the Empire grew, however patronage was no longer restricted to royal sources. The Town Chiefs acquired the status of an "opposition" (Bradbury's term) within the state as they began to have independent dealings with European 'factors'. While the "sacrosanct quality" of the titles did not diminish, their holders were no longer royal dependents.

Bradbury's interpretation of Ẹ̀dó political economy explains much of the textual composition of the Ìguẹ̀. All the songs and chants refer to the activity of renewing the Ọ́bá's sacredness. The Subject of these texts is those who consecrate the Ọ́bá: although the royal doctors do the actual work, it is the Town Chiefs who are taken to be its real authors. This explains why, although its ingredients are 'secret', the medicine for the Ọ́bá's head is produced and annointed publicly in the midst of the festival, directly in front of the assembled Town Chiefs. The preparation of the medicine requires blood sacrifice, numerous herbs, and secret materials from "Úhẹ̀" (the Yorùbá-speaking town of Ilé-Ifẹ̀, from which the current Ẹ̀dó dynasty is said to derive). The royal doctors sing "Have you brought [X ingredient], have you brought [Y ingredient]?" These questions, whose unspoken answer is affirmative, are asked in full view of the present ingredients (thus violating Grice's Cooperative Principle). Their pragmatic implicature seems to be: "The Ọ́bá's sacredness is fully sanctioned by Úhẹ̀ and the Town Chiefs."

Toward the end of the festival, as the Ọ́bá performs a public priestly dance at the palace gate, he is entreated to remain in this world: Áà yó Ẹ̀bọ̀ "Don't go to [the invisible spirit world]!" The Subject of this text is the entire citizenry, who throng to the palace to chant this three-word refrain to the endless repetition of a two-bar, four-hand conga riff. The chant and drumming are very soft, as if to avoid drowning out the Ọ́bá's silent tapping on an ivory bell. Apart from a single other excursion into the town, the Ọ́bá's *èkpọ́nmwẹ̀n* 'procession of thanksgiving' for the successful completion of his initiation, Bradbury reports that late 19th century Ọ́bás were closely restricted to the palace. As a spirit, the Ọ́bá is publicly invisible, unable to participate directly in the civil society. The pragmatic implicature of the song seems to be twofold: that the Ọ́bá is once again a spirit, portrayed in-between the sun and the moon on the Ìguẹ̀ program. Otherwise why ask him not to leave this world? His appearance in public produces a close conjunction of spirit and human worlds, similar to that produced by an oracular priest in trance possession. This is a time when the gods' blessings can be received. On his return from the palace gate to the royal courtyards, people begin to recite praise poetry, and when he reaches the first building he is cheered three times. The next day, all citizen household heads can sacrifice to their own heads with the assurance that a new year's destiny can begin. The following dawn, their children carry the embers of last year's fires to the outskirts of town and bring back the freshly sprouted *ẹ́wérẹ́* leaves as confirmation of the new year's beginning.

The Ágbọ̀ Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi Festival is named after 'Friends Outside', an expression which is interpreted as referring either to the markedly friendly public atmosphere of the season, or to the fact of Ẹ̀dó intervention in an 18th century succession dispute, and thus to the legitimation of the occupant of the Ágbọ̀ throne. In contrast with the Ìguẹ̀, the festival consecration of the Ágbọ̀ king is performed: (i) on his entire body not only his head; (ii) by the association of diviners-doctors in the villages which lie directly behind the palace; (iii) the annointing is done in private, without the presence of chiefs. These doctors are received and feasted like dignitaries.

Another contrast: the royal public dance evokes the king's possible journey from human to spirit worlds. It differs in scale but not in style from the dances of the town chiefs and their entourage to the palace, dances which have preceded the king's emergence. The Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi does not establish the king as a spirit. Instead it is a season when the collective spirits of the ancestors (àgbalá ǹze) return to the world of the living to bestow blessings, and to be fed with sacrifices. The sacrificial function is clearly related to the festival's synchronization with the new yam harvest. Instead of a spirit, the Ágbọ̀ king is regarded as a living ancestor, bearing the *ezè* title cf. §4.2.8 above.

The textual Subject of the Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi songs is the general population, not a group of chiefs or palace specialists as in Benin. In fact, the first singing of these texts cannot occur in the capital: it must begin in the nearby village of Ìdumu Úku. And the Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi songs are banned on any other occasion, public or private: why should this be so? As described by Ìmáhìagbe 1983, the songs' content offers an interesting example of symbolic opacity. One festival song refers to the absence of the ancestors from the world, when the pragmatic fact of their presence at precisely the only time when the song is allowed to be sung. The same song characterizes the royal procession through the streets as "topsi-turviness", not the most natural attribute of a stable kingship. And some of the songs can be characterised as deeply pathetic in tone. The symbolic contestation of these lyrics is confirmed by the restrictions on singing: at any other time of the year, they could be seditious; during the festival, they bring out the more evenly balanced power relationship between the monarchy and the lineage system (the latter being symbolcally represented by the ancestors, since each lineage's collective dead return to it en masse, and by the age grade wrestling which is organized by descent).

The medium-sized town of Ìgbánkè[85] is historically part of the Ágbọ̀ periphery, and was made the seat of one of the rotating Native Courts established for Agbor District under British Indirect Rule in 1901. But Ágbọ̀ and Ìgbánkè fought an armed conflict in 1895, and one-by-one Ìgbánkè's nine lineage wards appealed to the colonial power for reaffiliation the bordering Benin (Ẹ̀dó) District, beginning with the predominant ward (Ákị̀) in 1916. Ìgbánkè thereupon became especially strategic in the local rivalries under colonial and neocolonial administration. The town participates in the royal festivals of both Ẹ̀dó and Ágbọ̀ with, however, an important difference: whereas official Ìgbánkè representatives attend the Ìguẹ̀, along with delegations from all the tributary domains, Ìgbánkè participation in the Ọ̀sẹ́ Ézi is symbolically reversed: the king of Ágbọ̀ goes to them.

As described by Chief Ìgbinédíọn in his festival narrative (in the Appendix), the semantic themes of the Ìgbánkè festival are four. In sequence: the ending of new yam and other seasonal produce restrictions (as in Ágbọ̀); ritual precedence (temporal order and political seniority) among lineage segments of the town; the authority of the Nwáobu priests within Ìgbánkè as well as over the king of Ágbọ̀; and age grade initiation. The agricultural, lineage and age grade foci are all

[85] Ìdúùwẹ asserts that the spelling Ìgbánkè is a 1946 neologism, designed to hide former slave status.

present in the Ágbọ̀ festival, thus the distinctive element is the Nwáóbu cult, which is ritually superior to the kingship – the inverse of the Ẹ̀dó situation.

The Ìgbánkè festival, like those of Ẹ̀dó and Ágbọ̀, exemplifies two dimensions of state ritual: a political institution reflecting the historically 'sedimentary' process of legitimation; and a communicative event in which institutional context determines the pragmatic implicatures of ritual texts. There is no assertion that state rituals are unique in this regard, but perhaps the conjunction of these two dimensions is more clearly recognizable when a symbolic order concerning the legitimacy of high officeholders is reproduced in a temporally restricted, recurrent and monumental event. The Ọ́bá of Ẹ̀dó is annually powerless unless publicly renewed by his own appointees. The songs which accompany the Ágbọ̀ king's public display of 'seniority' and opulence speak of mortality and tragic loss. The Ágbọ̀ king carries tribute to the priests of Nwáóbu in his own tributary state. These propositions strike a Westerner as less than royal politics. They reveal the contingency of the symbolic order on processes of ritual renewal.

4.5 Anti-Œdipus-Ottenberg

Intellectual racism is liberal.
— Sembene Ousmane

Corresponding, perhaps, to the royal festivals of the Bendel State monarchies described in the preceding section, are two Ẹ́hụgbò institutions: the yam harvest festival, which represents control over food production, and the age-grade initiation which reproduces the political system. Whereas in the Ǹrì and Ẹ̀dó-based monarchies, these two institutional domains are united in the *ézè/ọ̀ba* title, in Ẹ́hụgbò they are dispersed in a variety of local power centers. Although Ottenberg admirably described the demographics and political dynamics of the age grade system, in a pair of substantial book-length studies (1968, 1971), his forays into psychologistic explanation of Ẹ́hụgbò institutions are marked by linguistic ameteurism (1975) and self-indulgence (1989). With his 1989 study, Ottenberg jumps on the bandwagon of reflexive ethnography by psychoanalyzing himself through a rambling application of Freudian concepts to Ẹ́hụgbò boyhood intiation.

The most egregious example of author's projection (cathexis?) in Ottenberg's 1989 book is his misogynist misinterpretation of a symbolically heavy act in the course of initiation: the boy's stomping on a bathing calabash gourd in front of his mother. As interpreted by Ottenberg, this is an act of aggression towards and separation from the mother (1989: 6, 176, 190). However, as made clear by the long text on the subject which I accidentally collected from a noted Ẹ́hụgbò ritualist (see *Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne/Little-child-that-knows-its-mother* in the Appendix), the stomping of the gourd is the breaking of the *ọ̀gbáǹje* cycle of children who die before they reach adulthood. The mother performs this stomping after childbirth, and the son reenacts it. The repetition during initiation may also reference the initiate's 'rebirth', although this is speculative.

Another case of pop psychologizing is Ottenberg's repeated claim that yam is a "phallic symbol". The closest I came to indigenous ideas on the subject was during the New Yam feast at Ẹ̀ǹọ́hịa Nkálụ, which I was privileged to witness in 1977 and which Ottenberg 1989 pictures on the third to last plate before p. 169. He never discusses this image, but I can confirm that the nubile young women in the ritual are dressed as yams, addressed as such, describe themselves as such and act as such when, at the conclusion of the preparation of the yam medicine by *éleri jí* (the 'yam eating' priest), they disperse to yam barns in the domestic compounds. No phallic symbols, they.

A direct confession of what Ottenberg is up to comes on pp. 130*f*. where he opposes "vernacular psychology" to what he himself practices: psychology of the unconscious. In other words, it is wrong to hold his study to ordinary standards of evidence, since the object of analysis is not explicit knowledge nor even explicable meaning. This also explains why he takes such evident delight in revealing the 'secret' knowledge which he obtained by undergoing boys' initiation himself. Like the good psychoanalyst he imagines himself to be, he is interested in getting beyond the mere beliefs of his subjects by first exposing them, but ends up just exposing himself.

4.6 Translation and lexical revisionism

Each settlement preserves different texts as the "inner semantic frame" for political ritual action (Tambiah 1968). The present status of these resources has been affected by standardization and other prescriptive factors. In the historical context of literacy, the experience of Ìgbo speakers has varied at the hands of missionary, colonial and national agents (Ékèchí 1972; Áfìlgbo 1972, 1981), affecting the content of oral traditions (Nwáọ̀ga 1985, cf. Yái 1989).

Over 150 years, the framework of accumulation shifted from control over agricultural/artisanal surplus to mercantile capital, then to bureaucratic monopoly (Thomas-Émeágwàlị 1984, Ànịkpò 1984, Ǹzímirò *in press*). Prior régimes were incorporated in later ones (Òtítè 1973, Meilassoux 1975, Ǹzímirò 1979). 19th century commercial "big men" adopted the symbols of sacred kings, for which they subsequently acquired colonial charters (Henderson 1972, cf. Bradbury 1968). In the nationalist period, these symbols were adopted by state brokers.

Symbolic incorporation has a politicizing effect (Ǹzímirò 1984). During the 1979 federal election campaign, the Ágbọ̀ monarchy was nearly destroyed by a dispute over land expropriation. In the 1983 campaign, an Ìgbo vice-chancellor exchanged television sets for "chieftaincy" titles (Ọ̀ká-òmé I, etc.) in dormitories, polarizing the university. In Ẹ́hụgbò, where sacred kingship was absent and commercial capital rare, state symbolic appropriation has been comparatively limited.

4.6.1 ìgbo

Welmers (1975: 186-90) lists numerous vestigial noun class prefixes in Igboid. The ethnic names *Ìsú, Ìzíì, Ịkà, Ìkwẹ́rẹ, Ìgbo* all bear an ì- prefix which is very probably cognate with the personal plural nounclass seen in relic forms such as *ìkólobịà* 'young men' (Ọ̀ǹịcha). Thus the word *Ìgbo* is morphologically plural, at least from a diachronic point of view.

In an acute discussion of names, Ọ́nwụejíọgwù (1972: 40f.) cites data which show that, even synchronically, the term *Ìgbo* has the inherent, semantic plurality of a collective:[86]

[86] Ọ́nwụejíọgwù gives an additional example which is a common noun:

i. ófì-Ìgbo 'palm oil', literally 'oil for the community; all-purpose oil'

I am skeptical of this one etymology, although on present knowledge it can't be definitely ruled out. The word *ófìgbò* is restricted to settlements west of the river Niger; in Ágbò the root is nasalised: *ófìgbòǹ*. This nasality raises a problem. If Ọ́nwụejíọgwù is correct, there is no principled way to explain the absence of nasality in the word *Ìgbo* in dialects where proto-Igboid nasals are otherwise preserved (e.g. Òweré). An alternative is at hand: the words *ófìgbòǹ* 'palm oil' and *Ìgbǫ̀ǹ* 'Igbo' occur in Ẹ̀dó (Melzian 1938: 137, 85) with a nasalised final syllable, and there is no apparent way to derive 'palm oil' from 'oil for the community' in Ẹ̀dó. (In Ẹ̀dó, nasalised nonhigh vowels are redundantly [ATR], so the final vowel is predictably [ɔ̃] not [õ].) This suggests that *ófìgbòǹ* in western Igboid (including Ágbò) is borrowed from Ẹ̀dó. Those Igboid settlements without syllabic nasality predictably dropped this feature in borrowing the word. (Or, the word was borrowed before the loss of nasality in Northern Igboid.) My negative conclusion on (i) detracts nothing from Ọ́nwụejíọgwù's main argument, which is supported by the many names in (60). It strengthens it by removing the anomalous common noun from the pattern; compounding with the word *Ìgbo* is restricted to proper nouns.

60a. *personal names* Òdéni-Ìgbo ‘The news has spread to the community’
Nwá-Ìgbo ‘Child of the community’
Ífe-dí-Ìgbo ‘That which is in the community’
Ọ́nwụ-zuru-Ìgbo ‘Death is common to the whole community’
Ìgbo-kwé ‘The whole community has consented’
Ìgbo-egbúne-mí ‘The community should not kill me’

b. *place names* Ìgbo-Úkwu ‘The great[er] community’
Ágụlụ́-Ụzọ́-Ìgbo ‘Ágụlụ́ the junction town leading to all communities’

But the matter doesn’t end with inherent plurality. There is a second semantic component to the word Ìgbo. As is well known, many of the Igboid settlements along the river Niger, as well as all of the settlements further to the west, reject the term Ìgbo as a self-designation. As reported by Nzímìro 1972, riverine settlements such as Ọ̀nịcha, Úgwutà, and Ọ́sọmàla call themselves *ńdị orú* ‘people of the riverbank’, in contrast to *ńdị Ìgbo* which it is then tempting to gloss as ‘people of the interior’, ‘people of the forest’ (cf. Jeffreys 1934), or even ‘people of the plateau grassland’ (Nwáòsú 1983: 41; the plateau was deforested). Then Yorùbá word *igbó* ‘forest, grove’ may be a cognate.[87]

Ìdúùwẹ̀ (*ms.*) cites an Ágbọ̀ proverb which encapsulates the riverine/inland distinction:

61. Óru à-sụ́ Ìgbo, Ìgbo a-sụ́ Ìká. ‘The Óru speak Ìgbo, [therefore] the Ìgbo speak Ìká’
ing-speak ing-speak

Though I have not discussed this proverb with Chief Ìdúùwẹ, I believe it recites two parts of a syllogism: the minor premise and the conclusion. The unstated major premise is mutual intelligibility between Ìká (including citizens of the Ágbọ̀ Kingdom as well as other speakers of essentially the same dialect) and Óru. The proverb appeals to the logical inference of transitivity: if A=B (e.g. with respect to the possession of similar linguistic competence), and in addition B=C, then C=A. Needless to say, this proverb does not count as evidence of mutual intelligibility, among communities categorized as “Ìgbo” and “Ìká”. Multilingualism is not necessarily (or usually) symmetrical; indeed, many Ágbọ̀ speakers have some knowledge of the Ọ̀nịcha dialect of Ìgbo, but the reverse is not true to any significant degree. What is relevant in this proverb, in the present context, is simply its three-way categorization of speech communities: Ìká-Óru-Ìgbo, which implies an ethnic map [inland west of River Òhìmi]-[riverine Òhìmi]-[Inland East of Òhìmi].[88]

In the 18th century, the Óru/Ìgbo ecological dichotomy acquired multiple political-economic connotations, as a matter of pragmatic/encyclopedic knowledge. Quoting from Ísichè [Isichei] (1976: 19), Nwábụ̀ézè 1985 affirms her view that:

[87] The tone difference in the root is not necessarily a problem, since there are some Yorùbá roots which have the opposite tone of their likely Ìgbo cognates, e.g. *tì/chí* ‘shut’ *mọ̀/má* ‘know’, *etí/ńtị̀* ‘ear’. Even synchronically in Ìgbo there are verb-noun pairs which differ in root tone, e.g. *jé* ‘walk, travel (by foot)’, *íjè /ńje* ‘journey’ (cf. Yorùbá *àjò* ‘journey’?), *lụ́* ‘defile’, *álụ* ‘abomination’ (cf. Ẹ̀dó *àwùà* ‘taboo’, Yorùbá *èèwọ̀* ‘taboo’?), *rú* ‘produce’, *úrù* ‘flesh, profit’ (cf. Yorùbá *rú* ‘sprout/offer’?), *zí* ‘send’, *ózí* ‘message’. As observed in *fn.* 65 above, this synchronic tone alternation in derived contexts follows from the interaction of tone and metrical structure as analyzed in §1.3.3. N.b.: Yorùbá *igbó* ‘forest, grove’ (MH) is distinct from Yorùbá *ìgbó* ‘marijuana’ (LH), although one suspects a metaphor comparable to the English terms *grass* and *herb*.

[88] One praise-name of the Òbí of Ágbọ̀ corroborates this three-way classification, inasmuch as it implies that the eastern border of the Ágbọ̀ kingdom coincides with the river:

i. Ò-gí-àzụ́n-gbome-Òhìmi ‘[The person who] borders [on] the Niger with his back’
3sg-use-back-border (i.e. because his military domain extends that far)

As with the proverb in (61), the epithet in (i) is not to be taken as a literal rendering of politics in the region, so much as a clue to the ethnic partitioning of the map from an Ágbọ̀ point of view.

> The division between the riverain and upland Ìgbos is that between ‘slave-dealing, kingdom-associated peoples’ and ‘slave-providing, kingship-lacking populations.’ ‘The *ólu*, with their well-watered farms and protein-rich diet, despised the Ìgbo for their food and water shortages, and their role as slave suppliers.’ (1985: 11)

He goes on to suggest how this status difference became entrenched in the 19th century:

> At the time of the advent of modern government in Ìgboland, slaves and their descendants formed a large element of the societies of most Ìgbo communities. They even outnumbered (and still do) the freeborns in some of the riverain communities, notably those in the Ọ̀gbárú district where I come from. This had resulted from the stoppage of export trade in slaves from the 1830’s… which meant that, since the internal trade did not thereby cease, the slaves had then to be absorbed within the communities. … As a result of the large increase in the number of slaves, the societies of the affected communities had become polarised. (Nwábụ̀ézè 1985: 12*f.*)

Two recent changes would account for the present opacity of the ‘forest’ part of the meaning. First, much of the upland area was deforested by agricultural land-hunger (Lagemann 1977). Deforestation may also have been compelled by the charcoal requirements of iron smelting (cf. Goucher 1981). The species from which suitable charcoal could be produced are among the slowest growing, and hence hardest to replace. The most deforested areas between the Niger and Cross rivers are just where ancient ironworks have been excavated by Ánọ̀zíje and others (e.g Ọ́ka, Léèja).

The second change is not ecological but social. The term *óńye Ìgbo* ‘Ìgbo person’ acquired negative prestige as coastal and riverine dwellers—who non-forest dwellers and hence non-Ìgbo by the etymological definition—obtained high status as intermediaries in long distance trade, including the slave trade. For example, Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ (1980: 41) quotes a proverb, cited by Jeffreys (1934) and still used at Nri, which is not riverine nor was it a slaveholding kingdom:

62. Ọ̀fọ́ ànyí jì e-lí Ìgbo. ‘[It is] *ọ̀fọ́* that we use to eat the Ìgbo’[89]
1pl hold ing-eat

Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ points out that the verb *lí* ‘eat’ in this context refers to the consumption of benefit or profit. By extension, with an animate, malefactive direct object, the verb may be translated ‘cheat’ or ‘exploit’—a fuller Ìgbo translation of which is the compound verb *rí-gbu* (or *lí-gbu* in the Nri dialect), cf. §2.1.5. The proverb refers to the use of descent-based authority, as symbolized by the ancestral *ọ̀fọ́* staff, to control the exchange of surplus among the Ìgbo and to exact tribute.

Recent discussions of Nigerian ethnicity (Ńnọ̀lí 1978, Ellah 1983) have shown how the linguistically-based equation Ìgbo person = speaker of Ìgbo is rooted in the ethnic politics of this century, as precticed by British colonial administrations and their nationalist successors.

4.6.2 chí, ícha, Chí Ukwu

Just as the Roman Inquisition suppressed Copernicus’ heliocentric cosmology, Christian missionaries have been at pains to suppress the idea that *Chí*, the high god of the Ìgbo-speaking peoples of Nigeria was none other than *Ánya anwụ́* the orb of the sun’. Nonetheless, as described in §4.2.2, the sun was indisputably the center of the Nri cosmology which synthesized Ìgbo religion starting at least a thousand years ago (cf. Ọ́nwụejíọgwụ̀ 1980: 31*f.*; Áfìlìgbo 1980: 317).

Many states promoted a sky cult which ‘encompassed’ the pre-extant earth cult (to adopt the Dumontian vocabulary of hierarchy). The Ígwe-ká-àla ‘Firmament-surpasses-earth” oracle of Ụ́mụ́nnẹ̀ọha, as discussed by Áfìlìgbo, Échèrúo and others, is a local case in point, but the same symbolic move is well attested in the states of Ẹ̀dó and Òyọ́ (cf. Bradbury 1973, Babáyẹmí 1979).

[89] *Ọ̀fọ́* branches (*Detarium senegalense*, Ókeìgbo 1980: 27 and the second Fig. 31) segment without split-ting; this may explain the use of short *ọ̀fọ́* wands on ancestral shrines to represent lineage segments.

On the other hand, the etymological meaning of *chí* is opaque to members of the missionized Ìgbo-speaking elite. For example, Échèrúo recently penned the following reflection:

> What we have is *chí*, probably one of the most complex theological concepts ever devsed to explain the universe. It is a concept which both accounts for the individual and the general law of the Universe, explains Good and Evil, tragedy and good fortune, order and conflict, character and destiny, free will and metaphysical order. There mat be parallels in this idea with Christian thought. In fact, one Catholic priest who discussed the subject with me went so far as to suggest that perhaps Chi is Christus, the intermediary, an African anticipation of the revealed Saviour and mediator. (1979: 24)

Even for organic, literate village intellectuals, the definition of *chí* has been relativized to that of Chúkwu, reversing the linguistic derivation .[90] Here is a clear example of this inversion:

> To the Igboman God is "Chu-kwu" which literally means God who talks commands. … Secondly there is "Chi" which is a personal god or providence or fate which comes from Chukwu to each individual and returns back to God at each person's death. "Chi" at a person's death cannot properly return back to God without the specific rites and ritualistic firing of guns which traditionally are referred to as second burial. There is some similarity between the bible in its aspect of having two resurrections in the twentieth chapter of the book of Revelation and the Igbo superstition of second burial. (Nwáòsú 1983: 14)

4.6.3 ńnà and ẹ́nà

Although in most dialects, *ńnà* is usually translated 'father', I noted in §4.2.9 that the Ágbọ̀ term for 'father' is *nẹ́di*, literally 'mother's master'. Also in Ágbọ̀, *ńnà* refers to master in the sense of owner, like the owner of a dog (*ńnà ńtitén*). At Ẹ́hụgbò, while *ńnà* (like *pàpá*) denotes 'genitor', there is a related word *ẹ́nà* which refers to a male non-initiate. It is not clear if one word derives from the other, but male initiation is regarded as an absolute prerequisite for marriage, so every *ńnà* is no longer *ẹ́nà*. Given the suppression by Christian converts of the greater part of initiation ceremonies in most Igboid areas apart from Ẹ́hụgbò, it is unlikely that these questions can ever be answered. There are today undoubtedly more Ìgbo speakers who can discourse learnedly on the Virgin Birth than can accurately describe the initiation process in their own community.

4.6.4 nwúnyè and mgbá

Not only is there a semantic problem with the translation of *dí* as 'husband' (cf. §4.2.9), but there is no one symmetrical term which designates 'wife' throughout the Igboid area. In some dialects, 'wife' is *nwúnyè* (in Ẹ́hụgbò: *nyé*) but in others, someone's wife is referred to periphrastically with the avoidance term *ónye ebé*, literally 'person of the place'; Ágbọ̀ has a gender-neutral term *mgbá* 'spouse', cf. §4.6.4. There is one widespread term which is conventionally given as the Ìgbo equivalent for English *wife*: *nwúnyè* (= Ágbọ̀ *nwụ́yẹ̀n*; Ọ́mahyá *nwíẹ̀*; Ẹ́hụgbò *nyé*; Ẹ̀hwúdà *únúnweè*); two or three qualifications must be noted, however.

First, *nwúnyè* (and congeners) is not the unique term; there is also an avoidance term for someone's wife: *ónye ebé*, literally 'person of the [husband's] place' (in a virilocal marriage). And, in various phrases descriptive of marriage, *nwúnyè* is replaced by the word 'woman': *nwáànyị* (= Ágbọ̀ *òkpohó*; Úgwutà *nwányà*; Àbọ́ *ónyenyè*; Ọ́mahyá *ónye erén*; Ẹ̀hwúdà *ùnyómà*) E.g. *íwé nwányà* 'to take a woman' (Úgwutà), *ílụ́ta nwáànyị* 'to marry a woman', *íbú mmanya nwaànyị* or *íbú nkwụ nwaànyị* 'to carry palmwine to [the lineage of] a woman', *àkụ nwáànyị* 'bridewealth'.

Second, in some localities, the term *nwúnyè* has the specific connotation of a bride who has been taken with the combined ritual of the Christian church and the state, and with a substantial bridewealth payment to her family. Ìdúùwẹ *ms.* describes the distinction between the virilocal *nwúyẹ̀n* and the uxorilocal *mgbá* forms of marriage as that between the payment of a monetary bridewealth and the provision of bride service. He cites the following proverb (tone conjectural):

63 Nwá wẹ́ kwa dí, wẹ̀ ré áre. 'A child married off to a husband, is sold'

Hence, certainly, the general Igboid use of the verb *lụ́* 'work' to denote the process of marriage, e.g. *lụ́-ta nwaànyị* . Cf. "the *eya* (big dowry) and *egwa* (small dowry) systems of marriage in the Eastern Delta" (Cookey 1972: 8, *fn.* 30, correcting Jones 1963: 51-53).

Third, I am informed by B. Ńmadụ̀íké that *mgbá* refers, at least in parts of southern Igboid, to copulation, hence perhaps the meaning of 'spouse' in Ágbọ̀.

4.7 The poverty of Africanist philology

The question is too large for me to chew.
Ossie Davis

The above sections have suggested how certain Ìgbo lexical items support collective representations of locality, seniority, gender and authority, and how this process is obscured by the philological standards which prevail in the literature. As in previous chapters, it is worthwhile to link these issues with the wider contexts of Kwa and Niger-Congo.

Consider the following excerpt, which paraphrases a recent academic exchange:

Africanist A The term "Ògbóni" referring to the famous Yorùbá "secret society" is actually a misnomer. The correct name divulged to myself and Africanist B (also in attendance) during our fieldwork last year in Ìjẹ̀bu Òde is "Òsùgbó". Secondly, according to the same Ìjẹ̀bu consultant, the brass *ẹdan* figures which Denis Williams' 1974 book describes as representations of *Onílẹ̀*, literally "Owner-of-the-Earth", are actually representations of *Onílé*, "Owner-of-the-House" [i.e. of the Ilédî or Ilé Awó, i.e. the Ògbóni Lodge]. Williams' mistake persisted in later work (e.g. Dobbelmann 1976).

Africanist C Do you mean that these uses of *Ògbóni* and *Onílẹ̀* in the literature are not true reports of the usage of informed participants who are assuredly not readers of Williams or Dobbelmann? Or are these uses relative to particular places or times or situations, but are not general throughout the current Yorùbá-speaking area? Or did your 1988 consultant wish to reinterpret oral or written usages, as quoted to him, to make a philosophical point? Or was he correcting your pronunciation of Yorùbá words?

Africanist B Denis Williams' book introduced the error of substituting *Onílẹ̀* for *Onílé*.

Africanist C Are you aware of S. O. Babáyẹmí's description of the ideology of the Òyó Empire in the 18th Century, which depends on an opposition between the political principles of Earth, represented by the Olóògbóni judiciary, and Sky, represented by the Aláàfin (king)? Do you deny the centrality of Earth symbolism in the ritual and oral literature of Ògbóni groups?

Africanist A Our consultant called the bronze objects in question *Onílé* not *Onílẹ̀*.

[Note: Although two Yorùbá-speaking scholars were present, neither one intervened.]

The above exchange is symptomatic of an impasse. Compared with area-based disciplines which have to engage with longstanding traditions of literacy (e.g. European, Middle-Eastern, South Asian and East Asian studies), current African(ist) studies do not generally accord great philological care to linguistic representations of knowledge. Instead, knowledge-representations in African studies typically amount to freely interpreted indirect speech—statements of the form "The X people say/think that Y is Z"—a practice critiqued by Sperber:

> Ethnographers maintain a fiction according to which all the representations synthesized in their interpretations are genuine and truthful descriptions kindly provided by the people. [However,] … anthropologists have neither the authority nor the competence to act as spokesmen [sic] for the people who have tolerated their presence. (1985: 22, 5)

Certainly, in no other branch of area studies could the following lament appear in 1990:

[90] Note however that the derivation of the name *Chúkwu* from *chí* + *úkwu* 'great', universally accepted by linguists, may be challenged by the Ọ̀gbakịrị form *Chíkwu* (Ékwụlọ 1975: 26).

> [I]t would be immensely beneficial to the cause of sound African Art research and scholarship if in our work more proper native names were employed in the identification of African art objects instead of the current practice of putting them in parentheses or leaving them out altogether. In the same vein, many indigenous terms that embody important artistic and esthetic concepts should be given prominence in our studies. To leave out these African names and terms, for whatever reason, is to make future research in African art difficult if not impossible. But, perhaps, a much worse repercussion would be the creation of an African art field in which African thought and language no longer are considered relevant in understanding African art.
> (Abíọ́dún 1990: 85*f*.)

Part of the problem concerns the rudimentary state of language studies in the Niger-Congo language family. With a few notable exceptions, the formal study of Kwa languages was restricted to nonspeakers until the 1960's. Even in 1990, the majority of linguistic research in Niger-Congo is controlled by missionaries—whose agenda is not informed by humanistic values of respect.

However, mere ignorance does not explain the semantic *aporia* of the above exchange. Building on a formidable tradition of literacy begun by Samuel Àjàyí Crowther, who established the modern Yorùbá orthography in 1875 (see Àjàyí 1960), Yorùbá happens to possess one of the outstanding dictionaries of any Niger-Congo language. Abraham 1958 gives the following entries:

ẹdan	Brass images … of human beings male and female: they are replicas of a pair of idols [sic] known as *ẹdan-mónlẹ̀* ['*ẹdan* which rest on the earth'] … usually found in the centre of the shrine in every Ògbóni house …
ògbóni	**A**. colleague… v. *ọ̀gbéni* ['respected Sir'].
Ògbóni	**B**. The Ògbóni Secret Society. … *Ọmọ Ìyá* is an Ìjèbu cult similar to *Ògbóni* and has branches throughout Yorùbá land. … In 1914, an attempt was made to form a purged Ògbóni Society: the principal mover was an Anglican priest, the Revd. T. A. J. Ògúnbìyí who aimed at founding a Christian Ogbóni society. A ban was placed on the name 'Christian' by two Anglican Bishops Tugwell and Olúwọlé. This society has been banned by Muslims, the Anglicans and the Catholics.
Orò	… The worshippers form a guild called *Òṣùgbó*: in the days of the independence of Abẹ̀òkúta, the members of this guild formed a majority in the political council known as the Ògbóni Council. …
Òṣùgbó	The Orò cult (this term being applied especially to its practice among the Ògbóni of Ìjèbu). …

In other words, the standard Yorùbá dictionary contains descriptions sufficient to trivialize the reported debate. It is obvious from Abraham's entries that the indirect quotations, by Africanists A and B from an Ìjèbu elder, do not establish anything like their assertion that Òṣùgbó is the "real" name of Ògbóni. Rather, the history of missionary and colonial persecution/proscription of the *olóògbóni*, to which Abraham refers (see also Morton-Williams 1960), suffices to explain why someone might disavow the word Ògbóni in the context of a (recorded?) interview with foreigners. Further, if Abraham is correct that the guild of Orò worshippers, called Òṣùgbó in Ìjèbu, takes political precedence over other Òlógbóni, then the reported Ìjèbu nomenclature follows; but the more extravagant claims do not.

'Wọlé Ṣóyínká's novel *Ìsarà* distinguishes between Òṣùgbó and Ògbóni. Indeed, the two words may not be as exclusive as our Africanists believe: as indicated by the common root *-gbó* 'be(come) old' (also found in Ìgbo), a common semantic thread of 'elderhood' is present in both names.

Similarly, Abraham reports an association between *ẹdan* and the earth. This observation would not be relevant, if the two Africanists' were simply reporting an association between a particular *ẹdan* and *ilé* (the Ògbóni house). But they go much further, to maintain that the latter association *excludes* the former one. However, this obliges them to a wholly implausible conjecture: that Denis Williams *confused* the Yorùbá words *ilé* 'house' and *ilẹ̀* 'earth'—an error which is

beneath the competence of the youngest Yorùbá-speaking child—when he cites a statement that an *ẹdan* in is described as *Onílẹ̀*. Consider what Williams actually wrote:

> A large bronze claimed by the Olúwo in an Ìbàdàn cult house to be Onílẹ̀ and worshipped there as such, fig. 167, is identical with one in the Nigeria Museum identified by Morton-Williams as Ajàgbó, a terrible spirit standing in a close relationship to the Earth Goddess, whose image is used by the Ògbóni to detect a member who has revealed a secret or otherwise acted treacherously. … But in many shrines Onílẹ̀ is merely a concept symbolised in a certain object rather than an anthropomorphic rendering, and it is possible that like the High God in Yorùbá cosmology, Onílẹ̀ is never anthropomorphised but [the figure is] regarded simply as a focus in the temple in which the spirit of the Earth-Principle is localised. In the sanctification of the shrine, Ilẹ̀, the Earth-Principle itself, is buried in the floor of the shrine and the Onílẹ̀, which could be any object at all, is placed on it as a focus marking its existence: it may be a pebble, a cowrie shell, a figurative bronze-casting. The pattern is constant through many Yorùbá cults and has led European observers from the earliest contacts erroneously to believe that worship is attached to such objects in themselves. … Associated with this burial are certain natural substances symbolising the four elements of the Ògbóni system: Olórun (the Sky, God), Ilẹ̀ (the Earth-Principle), blood (judgement) and human being, represented respectively by powdered chalk, pure black mud from the river, powdered camwood, and powdered charcoal … Important in Ògbóni imagery is the image of the spirit of Èlukú-Orò, the spirit that rises from the earth. Symbolising the union of Heaven and Earth on which all human existence is based, [is] this pair of figurines, male and female, connected at their heads by a chain. (Williams 1974: 235-38)

Even if Williams could be accused of linguistic incompetence, his book was vetted (and tone-marked) by a Yorùbá-speaking historian—S. Bíọ̀bákú—who himself published a study of Ògbóni in 1949. By contrast, neither Africanist A nor Africanist B can pronounce simple Yorùbá words without embarrassing errors of pronunciation, especially with regard to lexical tone. This does not inspire confidence in their ability to distinguish *ilé* and *ilẹ̀* in an oral interview.

Unlike Africanist art critics and museum curators—whose main interest has been in objects, not ideas—Williams does not try to reduce Ògbóni symbolism to a one-to-one correspondence between words and things. Rather, he notes a variety of physical representations of the Earth Principle, of which the bronze figure in question is one. He also suggests that this picture fits with some independent evidence: the associations with Ajàgbó and Èlukú-Orò. (Williams also provides independent illustration of the link between Ògbóni and Orò, noted by Abraham.) By criteria of empirical adequacy and conceptual clarity, therefore, Africanists A and B add nothing substantial to Williams; not that no questions remain, but their intervention is a red herring.

Africanists need to clarify *whose* representations are the object of study. (Mis)representations of African knowledge by non-African scholars are interesting, but it is solipsistic to suggest that they are all that exists. Otherwise, Africanists mimic Lévi-Strauss' celebrated indifference

> whether … the thought processes of the South American Indians take shape through the medium of my thought, or whether mine takes place through the medium of theirs. (1969: 13)

From a cognitive point of view, there is need for minimal scientific standards —beginning with observational adequacy)—in representing *African* knowledge. That this knowledge is not *univocal*, but varies in time and space and according to social standing and discourse context, does not lift the need to distinguish between African and non-African perspectives, and above all between speakers and non-speakers . The first step is to insist on philological standards of evidence.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has critically reviewed some Western Africanists' appropriation of oral civilization, and explored alternatives with reference to the Ìgbo case. If writing is a technology of the intellect, it is not "*the* technology of the intellect" (Goody and Watt 1968: 1, emphasis added).

Oral composition, argot formation and ritual incantation are *differentia specifica* which literate cultures possess, if at all, only vestigially. These differences may explain why, for the most part, oral information is used by literate nonspeakers without due philological care.

As Pierre Clastres argued with respect to the state, the premodern polity is more than an absence which evolution waited to fill. Ancient Ǹrí polity, brilliantly documented by Ọ́nwụejíọgwù, was a large-scale formation which lacked the technological monopoly on violence (Goody's "means of destruction"). By Gramsci's definition of the state as "hegemony plus coercion", Ǹrí was half a state, but not the expected half. For all its influence and achievements across a large area, Ǹrí wasn't militarist. Instead, Ǹrí relied on manipulation of *álụsị* cults by a migrant, oral intelligentsia, recruited by *Ích*i initiation and possessing the "secret language" *ólu*.

Just as Clastres argued a dimension of freedom is lost, with the onset of the violent state (cf. also Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 428*ff*.), a dimension of consciousness is *destroyed* by the development of writing. Goody himself (1986) shows that writing first developed in four institutional domains:

> The word of God; the word of mammon; the state, the bureau and the file; the letter of the law.

How hard is it to imagine that these innovations did not entail corresponding losses?

Philology feeds pedagogy. Like the creation of economic capital by "enclosure" movements (Thompson 1968, Cooper 1981), schooling involves the expropriation of powers and resources from one, dispersed agency to another, concentrated one (Illich 1971 and Freire 1985). It is therefore no accident that the blockage of Ìgbo literacy—compared to other major linguistic groups in West Africa—corresponds to the relative "freeing" of Ìgbo labor power over the past 150 years.

To explain this blockage, it is not enough to cite conflicting missionary and state interests in the translation and training of African peasants (Fabian 1986). Such explanations reduce African history to the activities of imperial and colonial agents, with passive African responses. Instead, it is worth considering that Ìgbo speakers themselves worked to sabotage Ìgbo literacy, precisely because the literacy offered by missionaries and state agents was ethnocidal, entailing the destruction of oral, cognitive resources upon which people's daily survival relied. As a prerequisite, however, the failure of literacy as the resistance of oracy is thinkable only if the oral is understood as something more than a lack, and as contributing to consciousness.[91]

Ńnọ̀lí 1978 has shown how, through the colonial and nationalist eras in Nigeria, ethnicity emerged alongside various forms of class consciousness articulated by the modernizing elite. Relative to urban workers—especially office workers in the state sector, whose major qualification is literacy—the peasantry has demonstrated less of both types of consciousness. A plausible reason for the differential ethnicity of literates is suggested by the cognitive view of ethnicity as linguistic consciousness. Lexical resources have been strategic in various ways described above, missionary schooling having made the form and content of lexical entries into a central arena of struggle with and among indigenes.

[91] A similar debate has gone on "within English Marxism" (Thompson 1978, Anderson 1980). Did class formation proceed "from above" or "from below"? Was the source of proletarian consciousness the working class, or the "vanguard" party led by petty-bourgeois intellectuals? Gouldner 1980 reviews Marxists' attempt to reconcile their "scientific" discourse of control over peasant and industrial movements, with the "critical" discourse of their own verbal "labor power".

Appendix: Lists and texts

The following lists were dictated to me in 1977.

Àlị́-Ísìmíèn Idumu Iteṇẹ́í/ The nine quarters of Àlị́-Ísìmíèn (Ágbọ̀) listed by Chief Àgbásọ́ọ̀gụn Douglas Ápaokuezè, Ìdumu-Úku

quarter		*war-chieftaincy title*	*current title-holder*
Ìdumu-Úku	['Great-quarter']	Àgbásọ́ọ̀gụn	Douglas Ápaokuezè
Àlị́-Íjèmisí		Ẹ̀kpaníkén	Augustin Ńmẹ̀rì
Àlị́-Ọ́gọ̀ and Àlị́-Íjèmátà		Àlázà	Ọ́rịahị̀
Àlị́-Írèn			
Àhịma			
Ìdumu-Ẹ́nọ́	['Four-quarters']		
Ńmụ́-Kwemḿ	['Children-assent.to.me']		
Àlị́-Ímòkwḗḿ			

Chief Àgbásọ́ọ̀gụn noted that the chieftaincy titles listed for three of the quarters of Àlị́-ísìmíèn have special roles in the installation of the Òbí of Ágbọ̀ as well as in the Ọ̀sị́ Èzí royal festival.

Gí ndịọhụ Ágbọ̀/ Some yam species in Ágbọ̀ listed by Jacob Àwụ́rọ Agwábasìmí, Àhịma

úmí ọ́ghọ	'heavy and smooth'
òkpẹn-yẹn ógìî	'black òkpẹn-yẹn'
òkpẹn-yẹn ọ́chan	'white òkpẹn-yẹn'
òɡidi	
ụ̀lakpa úgbó	'farm message' [a type of red yam]
ómi	'heavy-one' [a prestige type]
áhákunẹ̀	[a prestige type]
ásụ́kụ	[a commercial type]
ẹ̀rẹfu	
òrí	'eater'
ḿbụà	[a water yam]
ọ̀kḭ́ká	'long-one'
úku	'big'

Éru ndịọhụ Ágbọ̀/ Some mushroom species in Ágbọ̀ listed by Julius Ògbú, Ìdumu Úku

ékùru	[grows on fallen trees]
úgu èni	'hill of ?' [found only in deep forest]
kpékpegede	[to find it, you call "kpékpè éru erú"]
ákpa m̀gbadan	'antelope droppings'
ụ̀gbụ ḿgbà	
dḭ́lị̀lị	[poisonous]
éru esùki	[heavy and smooth]
hóho	
éru ọsụ́	'sweet mushroom'

Ẹ́kpụ̀ Ḿbà Ẹ́hụgbò/ **The federated communities of Ẹ́hụgbò listed by** Ǹkáma Ọkpáníị, Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó

Ẹ́hụgbò (**major market:** Èké)

Ìtịm
- Ǹkálụ
- Áma Ụrọ́
- Ǹgbóm
- Ẹ̀nọ́hía
- Kpóghirikpó

Úgwu Ẹgụ́
- Áma Izù
- Úgwu Ẹgụ Elú
- Úíbaḿ*
- Èzí Ụzọ́*
- Ẹ̀vụ́ma*
- Áma Ògwugwu*

Ọ̀ha Ísú
- Áma Ẹchára
- Ụ̀kpá
- Ǹgódo
- Áma Chí
- Áma Ǹgbala
- Égegburú
- Úhu Ọhụ̀ụ*
- **[Ibi]**
- **[Evuma]**

Ḿkpoghoró (Áma Ẹbo Úkẹ̀ka)
- Ńdibé
- Ńdibé Nwa Chí*
- Áma Nkwọ́*
- Áma Ogólogó*
- Áma Ẹkwụ́*
- Áma Ngwụ̀*
- Áma Ụzụ́*

Ọ̀zízá (**major market:** Àhọ)
- Órà
- Áma Ikpò
- Áma Ẹtá
- Áma Orìe
- Áma Ịkà*
- Áma Ọ̀zara
- Íma Amá

The above list differs from the one published by Ottenberg (1968: 157). An asterisk marks units not given by Ottenberg. Units in brackets are given by Ottenberg but not by Ǹkáma Ọkpáníị. Ottenberg does not indicate tone, and marks vowel quality inconsistently, using the 1930's vintage Roman Catholic ("New") orthography.

Ǹkáma Ọkpáníị lists Ọ̀zízá as a coordinate group with an independent market cycle, while Ottenberg lists it as an Ẹ́hụgbò subgroup, possibly based on administative maps. In 1977, neither I nor Ǹkáma Ọkpáníị had access to Ottenberg's list. According to Úchè (1977: 2), the recently created paramount chieftaincy title of Ẹ́hụgbò, called *Ọ̀máka Ẹja-Àlị́*, will rotate among all five segments (which Úchè describes as "village groups"), including Ọ̀zízá.

It may be no accident that, in Ǹkáma's list, three of the five subgroups contain seven units. The number seven is propitious, signifying completion: one month contains seven four-day weeks; and yam harvest comes six months after planting, referred to as occurring in the seventh month.

Ẹ́hà Íkwu díganʼ Ẹ́hụgbò/ **Names of the matrilineages in Ẹ́hụgbò listed by "Òkiri" Chúkwu ịkpọ́, Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó**

- Íbe Ụtàra
- Íbe Àlị Ọcha
- Íbe Ẹwa Mkpọ́ Orìe
- Íbe Àjísú
- Íbe Ánụ̀má
- Íbe Ọnụ Orìe
- Íbe Ezeké
- Íbe Ewalị̀
- Íbe Ẹkwọ̀rọ
- Íbe Èjíḿ
- Íbe Ugọ́nyà
- Íbe Àwụ́ Ịságha Orìe
- Íbe Ọrụmálị̀
- Íbe Chi Ùgo
- Íbe Urì
- Íbe Obùrufia
- Íbe Enyí
- Íbe Ọmáka
- Íbe Ẹhàgha
- Íbe Ụkọ́gụ̀
- Íbe Édò
- Íbe Ẹ̀fụ́ Ụgbàla Orìe
- Íbe Ugu Ẹ̀kụ
- Íbe Ụmá
- Íbe Ọkwụ̀
- Íbe Enyí
- Íbe Ọmàghá
- Íbe Osìḿ
- Íbe Òdụ́m
- Íbe Amalá
- Íbe Izìzé Orìe
- Íbe Ugbo Ẹ̀ga
- Íbe Ǹgbirimẹ́
- Íbe Ụdụ
- Íbe Ùgwúrá
- Íbe Ọ̀gbaghị

No list of matrilineages is given by Ottenberg, although his estimate of "about thirty-five" (1968: 95), presumably obtained from Ńnàchí Ẹ̀nwo, is confirmed by this list.

Household heads of Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò listed by attendance at Ìkó Nri Nsí, Àhọ/ **Friday 4 March 1977**

- Òkó Ọnụ́
- Chúkwu Èlechí
- Ògwú Nkáma
- Ọ́bị̀la Ọ́kpára
- Àzụ́ Àlúù
- Òkó Chúkwu
- Úchè Ágá
- Ótì Élerí
- Ẹwa Okó
- Ìnyáng Mbè
- Òtú Úde
- Òkó Ḿgbọ
- **Jimmy** Ézè
- Ìnyáng Álù
- Òkìrì Íkpọ́
- Chúkwu Akpọ́
- Ẹ́gwụ́ Chukwu
- Úchè Alúù
- Chúkwu Akpọ́
- Ńdụ̀kwé Éfere
- **Heaven** Ọ́kpaníị
- Òkó Nnàchí
- Ẹwa Chúkwu
- Okó Nwáchí
- Nwachí Okó
- Íbiám Chukwu
- Ńdụ̀kwé Ògwú
- Ẹwa Okó
- Ǹkáma Ugó
- Ńdụ̀kwé Ológú
- Ńdụ̀kwé Ọmikó
- Ńdụ̀kwé Nkáma
- Ǹkáma Ọkpáníị
- Òkó Ẹgwụ́dụ̀
- Ẹ́gwụ̀ Ézè
- Ẹ́gwụ̀ Ézè
- Òkó Ndụ̀kwé
- Úchè Ókìrì
- Ẹwa Ọ́ká
- Ụ̀wá Chúkwu

Transcribed, recorded texts

The audio of these texts is included in the accompanying C-100 cassette. Apart from the first selection, all selections on the tape are unedited, real-time recordings. All these recordings, together with various others from Ágbọ̀, Ẹ́hụgbò Nri and Nsụ́ká which are not yet translated, have been remastered on reel-to reel tapes and deposited at Harvard Audiovisual Services, Boylston Hall, and will be placed at the Universities of Ìlọrin, Ìbàdàn, Lagos, Benin, Ńsụ́ká, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Yaoundé, the Colleges of Education at Ọ́ka, Òwerí and Wari, the Ọ̀dịnaníị Museum (Nri), the Nigerian National Language Centre (Lagos) and Labo Gbe (Garome, Bénin).

These texts are as close as possible to "spontaneous". That is, I never suggested particular topics or requested particular texts, nor did I approach particular people to record. Rather, those who offered texts either selected themselves or were nominated by others, and the choice of material was entirely theirs. The one time I deviated from this practice and conducted an interview-style recording session, the narrator was discomfited the result rushed. Preliminary transcriptions and translations were done within a few hours or days of the recording, with a younger friend or relative of the narrator as indicated. Some uncertainties remain in the translation; as most of these were overlooked at the time, I have been unable to rectify them. Major analytical difficulties in the texts, especially as regards the identification of particular morphemes, are boldfaced; their position in the English translation is indicated by a bracketed material plus question mark. I have left the translation fairly literal, to partially compensate for the absence of morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

Tone marking, like the rest of the transcription, is as close to the underlying representation as I can determine, for each dialect. But I have made no attempt to approximate more standard or familiar forms of the language. In some cases, these two practices may be contradictory, i.e. where the dialect form appears to be derived from the standard by some assimilation process. In such cases, I have opted for the less abstract form. Sung material is italicized in the transcription. In the songs, there is a clear rhythmic basis for line division. Non-italicized material (prose) is divided into lines by sentences, with a corresponding line-by-line English translation. In most of the texts, I have divided the prose into paragraphs, based on discourse topics; for each, I have supplied a subheading (in English).

The first selection on the tape, not transcribed below, is a composite recording made during the reconstruction of the age grade initiation drama *Òkórò Mé ẹ* by Ẹ̀bú Èdíọn (Àlị Írèn, Àlị Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀). A representative sample of the *Òkórò Mé ẹ* synopsis and lyrics are transcribed/translated in §1.2 above. The ninth selection, of Ólu Nri, is transcribed/translated in §4.2.2. A selection of *ègede* (diviner's dances) led by Ḿmọmà of Àhịma (recorded in 1980) — referred to at various points in the above chapters — is included at the end of the tape (cf. *fn.* 9 below). The main chorus of each song is transcribed and translated in the table of contents; I leave detailed translation and analysis of Ḿmọmà's brilliant*ègede* solos to another occasion.

Kẹ̀ wẹ́ mé egu Igbankị̀ / How they do the Ìgbáńkị festival

(19 June 1977) by S. A. Ìgbinédiọn (Ìdumu Írù, Ìgbáńkị, Ágbọ̀),
transcribed and translated jointly with S. A. Ìgbinédiọn
and Samuel Ẹ́gbu (Àhịma, Àlịísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀).

Fixing the date

Kẹ̀ wẹ́ èmé egu Ìgbánkị̀.
Íme egu ényi ahụ̀n nị́ ényi se ẹ̀ka ru ụ̀nwá, ènyí se ẹ̀ka ńdè mé egu.
Ézè Ígbọ̀n, yá bú ụzọ́ ákànǹ ẹnyi ègbé egú.
Íhien hụ ọ kà wụ̀ ìfon ẹtọ́.
Mgbe ézè Ígbọ́n-tò ka egú égbe à, ézè Ákị̀ àchú ẹ̀ja obodo.
Àchú ẹ̀ja obodo nwa, ènyí íle chan kèbe rimé gi ọ̀hụ́ụ́
Ézè Ákị̀ achúgu ẹ̀ja obodo, ènyí wụ̀ ńdị̀ Ìdumu Írù ákà égu.
Ẹ̀nyí akà ógèn ìsẹ́. Ógèn ìsẹ́ nwá zu, ágbáma wẹ́ ḿmọ́.
Ọ́kwàn kẹ̀ ẹnyí bìdón egú.
How they do Ìgbáńkị festival.
In this festival of ours, in which we may soon arrive, we can start doing the festival.
The king of Ígbọn[-tò][1], he is the first to tell us to perform the festival.
What he announces is three months [56 calendar days].
When the king of Ígbọn-tò announces the festival's performance,
the king of Ákị̀[2] offers the [new yam] community sacrifice.
That community sacrifice is made, before all of us begin to eat new yam.
When the king of Ákị̀ has offered the community sacrifice, we the people of Ìdumu Írù[3]
announce the festival.
We announce 5 weeks [16 days]. When that 5 weeks comes, they start to invoke the ancestors.
That's when we begin the festival.

New year sacrifices

Èzí onye káhụ iwe ẹ̀nyí hụ àkpọ́ Ògelé,
ọ̀ hú ègbú ọ́kpa, ọ̀ kpọ́ ndị ichè íbe wẹ́.
Ègí wẹ̀ hán ime ẹrẹ̀n.
Ò rú amàsị ọkwàn áhụ̀, dámàdó ìdumu, kẹ̀ ónye gì bé ugbó ẹ̀ka, àkị́n wẹ̀ ọ́gị.
Èsí wẹ̀ ọgwá onye ché wẹ́, yá wụ̀ ónye kẹ̀ ḿmọ́.
Àghá rị́ nǹ a, èbú mánya.
Ónye nwó ọ̀gwá, ónye ché nwa èbúhẹ mánya.
Ọ́gị nwa, ègí wẹ̀ ghọ́ mmọ́.
Àsǹ wẹ̀, "Mgbé nị̀ aká ilé, áhụ̀a ílé! Ẹ́ḷẹ́ èmé ahụ̀a áhụ̀a! Ẹ́ḷẹ́ ẹ̀nyí hụn ahụ̀a hú wẹ sị̀lẹ nǹ kà mẹ́!"
Àrán wẹ̀ mánya nwa, àtá wẹ̀ ọ́gị nwa.
Égu wẹ̀ kẹ Ígbọn-tò, èmé mbeghẹ hú wẹ gì arụ́a ohi okí.
Ńdị Mmụ̀ọa èmé mbèghẹ̀è, wẹ́ gì arụ́a ohi okí.
Ẹ̀nyí wụ̀ ńdị̀ Ìdumu Írụ̀, ụ́kwàn kẹ ẹnyí èmé, hú e gì arụ́a nẹdi ẹnyí lẹ̀ ńne ẹnyí.

[1] A maximal lineage in Ìgbáńkị.
[2] A maximal lineage in Ìgbáńkị.
[3] A maximal lineage in Ìgbáńkị.

[At] the compound of the eldest person among us we call Ògelé,
he kills a cock [and] calls the elders of their [i.e. his] neighborhood.
They use that to appease misdeeds.
When the evening of that day arrives, the whole village,
everyone who has his own farm,[4] they offer kola.
They go to the public temple of their lineage [respective] elder,
that is the person nearest to the ancestors.
The divisor there carries palmwine.
The person who controls the lineage temple, that senior person brings the wine [to the altar].
That kola, they use to pray to the ancestors.
They say, "This time next year and every year! It is not just one year [each]!
It is not we who [are to] see the year that we cannot complete!"
They drink that wine, they chew that kola.
Their festival, that of Ígbọn-tò , makes pottage of water yam,
which they use to serve the eldest people.
The people of Ḿmụ̀ọa[5], make water-yam pottage [which] they use to serve the eldest people.
We the people of Ìdumu Írù, it is breadfruit that we prepare,
which is used to serve our fathers and mothers.

Procession to Ògbogbo chalk mine

Ọ́ rị́ izù hú ẹ̀nyí nwa bìdón egu, ńdị̀ hè Nwáóbu èjén wẹ̀ Ohyuhyu.
Wẹ́ jọkọ̀ nǹ Òhyuhyu, ónye hè Nwáóbu ilé, fẹ̀ẹ̀fẹ̀, àkwádèmé wẹ̀.
Èkpú wẹ̀ ụ́wụ̀.
Wẹ́ ègbé egú esó wẹ̀.
Ńdị̀ bú ẹkpẹ̀ìn íyí wẹ̀ bú, èjén-me wẹ̀.
Wẹ́ rùe Ígbọn-tò, ńdị̀ ihyu Ògugu, ńdị̀ ilé chá ghàkọ alị̀ jén, ewúzu, égbèmé wẹ̀ égu.
Ézè Nwáóbu ilé rị̀ Akị̀, ìyá èbú ụzọ́ agháfè.
Íhyen hà nǹ o gì èbú ụzọ́ agháfèé, ò nwó ihyen òhú ndị hé Nwaóbu àkpọ́ wẹ̀ ùsúùn.
Mẹ́nị ọ ghàfe ní, ńdi hé Nwaóbu ọ̀zọ́ a rà bayí Ògbogbo.
Á hụ́n bughàfẹ̀lẹ usúùn, ńdi hé Nwaóbu họ̀dụ ní kèbe sóme ẹ́.
Mgbe ẹnyí ru ebụa wa àkpọ́ Ògbogbo, ègbemé wẹ̀ égu, kẹ̀ ikpohó kè Íkenyè,
ńdị̀ má gba ụkpụkpẹ̀, ńdị̀ ma gbe egú ichèn íchèn.
Ńdị̀ hé Nwaóbu ewé ègede nwá àlị̀.
Wẹ́ abụ̀ ẹ́bụ̀, wẹ́ ègbé, wẹ́ èwú.
Ọ̀ nọ́ ọbẹ́lẹ, ńdị̀ hé Nwaóbu èsíwẹ̀ ẹká ògugú àlị̀, wẹ́ ilé gù ńzụ́.
Wẹ́ jọkọ̀ nǹ, kẹ̀ wẹ́ gì ediẹn, kẹ̀ wẹ́ gì gú iyí,
kẹ̀ wẹ́ gì gú iyí, kẹ̀ wẹ́ gì wụ ónye ochè, yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ gì bú ụzọ́.
Ónye àzụ́ bé íbe wẹ̀ ọ́kụ arí, wè jọkọ nǹ ọhùn, kè ikpohó kè Íkenyè, wẹ̀ kpọ́ wẹ̀:
"Ìyárè, Ìyárè, Ìyárè, Íjen ẹwẹrẹ́, Ìyárè!"
It is a week [later] that we [of Ìdumu Írù] begin the festival,

[4] I.e. every adult male.
[5] A maximal lineage in Ìgbáńkị.

the priests of Nwáóbu[6], they go to Òhyuhyu.
They proceed to Òhyuhyu, every priest of Nwáóbu, all of them to the last, they get ready.
They put on [cotton] wigs.[7]
They dance along behind then [i.e. each other].
Those who carry the cult parcel that they carry, they keep going.
When they reach Ígbọn-tò, the people in front of Ògbogbo,
all the people that left from the village, they wait, [then] they start to dance.
The priest of all Nwáóbu is [the one] at Ákì, he is the first to move past [the crowd at Ògbogbo].
The reason that he is the first to go past [is that] there is one thing the Nwáóbu priests call ùsúùn.[8]
If it does not pass by, no other Nwáóbu priest will enter Ògbogbo.
The one who carries ùsúùn has passed,
before the remaining Nwáóbu priests [can] follow along behind him.
When we reach that place they call Ògbogbo, they start to dance,
men and women alike, those who know acrobatics, those who know various dances.
The Nwáóbu cult members take up ègede[9] and beat the ground [with their feet].
They sing, they dance, they shout.
In a little while, the Nwáóbu priests head for the pit in the earth where they dig chalk.
When they are going, whether they use age or they use the order in which they professed the cult,
whether the order that they professed the cult, or who is the elder, so they proceed.
A follower keeps his feet from the next person [in the line],
they go along that way, both men and women, they call to each other
"Arrive safely, arrive safely, arrive safely, lucky [i.e. safe] journey, arrive safely!"[10]

Home sacrifices

Wẹ́ jen lụ́á, ńdị hé Nwaóbu àgbásá.
Ọ́kwàn áhụ̀n wẹ́ gì nị́ rú ụlọ̀, ńdị àghá wẹ àhị́n-manị wẹ́ gi.
Wẹ́ hịn-manị wẹ́ gi, gí nwa ya kẹ̀ wẹ gì da áwànị Nwáóbu gi nke ọ́kwàn.
Wẹ́ meguọlẹ ọhụ̀n, ńdị aghará, ńdị hé Nwaóbu arí abàn-zí mmụlọ̀, á nọ̀dí wẹ̀ ọgwá.
Ògwá nwa kẹ̀ wẹ́ anò *tnǐǐǐǐ*, dè rú izù.

[6]Literally 'Descendant-of-the-collective-temple'. Nwáóbu shrines bear a family resemblance to Òweré *mbarị* houses (Ọ̀kpáraọcha 1976), Ẹ̀dó shrines of Ólokún, and Ọ̀ṣun shrines of Òṣogbo. According to Ọ̀kpáraọcha, Mbarị houses are principally dedicated to Àla 'Earth goddess' and Ámadí-ọ̀ha 'Thunder god'(*lit.* 'Freeborn-of-the-people'); Àla is further described as the mother of various streams. Interestingly for a comparison with Nwáóbu, he cites the name of the Earth goddess as "Àla, or Òbí àla" (p. 8). Even more interesting in comparison with this Ìgbánkị text is a connection between the Òweré new yam festival and the chief *mbarị* divinities:

> The ceremony for the eating of the new yam is connected with Àla, the god of the earth; but it is also connected with Ámadíọ̀ha. (Ọ̀kpáraọcha 1976: 59)

[7]Woven by post-menopausal women.

[8]Presumably a sacred medicine bundle.

[9]Paired diviner's drums (approx. 15 x 40 cm.), loosely covered with the skin of the puff adder (éju àlị), tuned a minor third apart. In Ẹ̀dọ, the same instrument is called Ìghede, although contra Melzian (1937: 85) only one end of the drum is skinned. By extension, the term ègedé díbiẹ̀ 'diviners' ègede' refers to the event of choral music and ecstatic, acrobatic dancing which accompanies ègede drumming. The role of the puff adder in Nwáóbu recalls the sacred python (éke Amadíọ̀ha) in mbarị of the Òweré area, as well in the river temples of the Ìdémmịlị region around Ǹrí.

[10]The two phrases are functionally synonymous, Ìyárè being an Ẹ̀dọ expression.

Ḿkpámkpá izù nwá, ẹ̀nyí nwa ènwó ihyen ẹ̀nyí àkpọ́ ìbubu.
Ẹ̀nyi esíme nni ìbubu.
Kẹ̀ ikpohó ọwụ̀lẹ́ ghà lẹ́ ebọn, èsí wẹ̀ dí, ọ́ ghá kẹ̀ íwe di ẹ nwa sihẹ nní hụ wẹ gì arụ́a nẹdi wẹ.
[And][11] Ọ́kwàn, yá kẹ̀ ńdị àghá ẹ̀nyí èjén dè hú iyí.
Wẹ̀ méguzi ọhụ̀n, ò nwó ọ̀kịn wẹ́ gì ején-zi dà rú ogbè ẹ́ká ebe ẹ̀nyí mbú,
ọ́kwàn kẹ wẹ́ àkpọ́ "ọ́kwàn wẹ̀ ébé àgbọn".
Ígbájen-me wẹ bè lẹ́ àgbọn, ńdị ìdumu Írù eríme ojuju mgbe ọ́hụ̀n.
Ò rúe ọkwàn áhụ̀n, égu àgụ́ọ.
Ńdị hé Nwaóbu ilé èsí da hú ògugu.
Kẹ̀ wẹ́ ru iwe onyé, ónye ènwó sịlị̀ ẹ̀bụ́ọ́, hú ènwó sịlị̀ ẹ̀bụ́ọ́, hú ènwó ogbe aknú,
hú ewè ọgụ̀n ná Nwaóbu, àtụ́ wẹ̀ nzú ilé èzí, ọ́ yí wẹ̀ ọ́gị, àláma wẹ̀.
È méguọlẹ ọhụ̀n, egu àgụ́ọ.
When they have gone and come back, the Nwáóbu priests disperse.
When they reach home, the divisors begin to roast yam for them.
When they are roasting yam, that very yam is the one they will split and give to Nwáóbu that day.
When they finish that, the [?][12], the Nwáóbu priests are not to go back indoors,
they stay in the lineage temple.
It is the lineage temple that they stay in for a *loooong* time, until [it] arrives a week [4 days].
In the space of that week, we ourselves have a food we call ìbubu.
We start cooking ìbubu food.
All the women who have left their [natal] families, go to their husband's place,
from their the husband's place cook and bring the food they use to serve their fathers.
That day, our divisors go to sacrifice at the river.
When they finish that, there is a time they go out again to reach where we first resided,
they time they call the time they cut àgbọn [leaves].[13]
Beginning from when they cut àgbọn [leaves],
the people of Ìdumu Írù started eating ójuju leaves from that time.
When that day comes, the festival is over.
All the Nwáóbu priests go praying.
When they reach someone's house, someone who has a shilling or two, or a coconut,
or takes some [? medicine] to receive Nwáóbu, they annoint every person
in the compound with chalk, s/he gives them kola, they head home.
When that has been completed, the festival is over.

Sacrifice at Ágbọ̀

Ézè Ágbọ̀, Ézè Ágbọ̀ Obíkà, ẹ́ka a làlá, ọ́kwàn wẹ́ èjén ìhyu, èbulu kẹ ó búhẹnị ndị hé Nwaóbu.
Èbulu nwá, kpá izù wẹ́ jen ìhyu, yá kẹ̀ Ézè Nwáóbu ègbú ẹ́.
Ọ̀kpọ́ ebọn wẹ ilé, égì wẹ agholnị a mmọ́.
Màkẹ nị́ ò tnịnwó mgbe Nwáóbu gì kpụkpú ẹ́ òsín.
Yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ nọ̀ sị a, áhụa áhụ̀a, yá ébú èbulu , èjén dà ghọ́ Nwaóbu rí Ìgbánkì,

[11]The speaker, fluent in English, inserts the English word *and*.

[12]Maybe a false start.

[13]I.e. for thatched roofing.

kẹ̀ ọtịtọ ámárin ní wẹ́.
È rúe tanì, yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ rị̀ emé.
The ruler of Ágbọ̀, Òbíkà[14] , continuing from [the time of] his reign [*lit.* 'hand'] on down,
the day they go to [sacrifice at] the grave [of the royal ancestors],
it is a ram that he brings to give the Nwáóbu priests.
That ram, a week after they go to "the Face", the chief priest of Nwáóbu slaughters it.
He calls all his family, and they use it to invoke the spirits for him.
Because there was a time that Nwáóbu troubled him [i.e. Òbíkà], before.
So they told him, every year, he should carry a ram, go and give them,
to go and pray to Nwáóbu at Ìgbánkì, so that [?misfortune] will not affect [*lit.* know] them.
Up to today they are doing it.

Boys' initiation

Ímegu nwa, ò nwó ihyen ẹ̀nyí àkpọ́ ihyen èjén ihyén.
Yá sẹ̀kà ńde mé egú, ò nwó ndị rị́ òtu ógbè.
Àghá wẹ̀ ógbè pụ.
Ńdị kẹ̀ lẹ ní bà osín èjé-ihyén, ábán wẹ̀ á.
Wẹ́ sẹ̀kà ńde mé ọhụ̀n, kẹ̀ ńdị ìkpohó, ọ̀ wụ̀ ńdị mụ̀ lẹ nwá òsín, mụ̀ẹ lẹ nwá ìbụzọ̀,
wẹ́ ilé chan ején-zi ogbè da ghọ́zi mmọ́.
Ànásòmé wẹ̀ isílì ohú òhú, yáázi ndị nwa ǹkẹ́, hụ́ èjen-zi ihyén.
Rị̀ kẹ̀ óku egu ẹ̀nyí ahụ̀n háàn.
When that is finished, there's something we call going into manhood [*lit.* 'thing going to thing'].
It can be about [the time] to do the festival, there are those "outsiders".
They pass outside and away [i.e. they are exempted from work].
Those who have never before entered initiation, they enter it.
[It is] when they can do that, that the women, that is those who bore a child before,
[those who] bore a first child, all of them to the last go out, to pray again.
They receive on their behalf a shilling [each],
that is for their child who is going into manhood.
[That] is about where the story of our festival ends up.

[14]1916-1967.

Nwátà díbiẹ̀ nwá m / My son the little doctor

(1 October 1976) by S. A. Ìgbinédiọn (Ìdumu Írù, Ìgbáńkị, Ágbọ̀)
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Seven sons, seven occupations

Ò mégu, òkpohó òhú hụ́, ẹ́fàn wẹ̀ àkpọ́ á wụ̀ Ndìdi.
Òkpohó nì, ńmụ̀ ẹsáà kẹ̀ ọ́ mụ̀hẹ.
Ò rú akpọkìn ohú, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ kpọ́ nmụ̀ á ẹ̀sáà ẹsáà,
sínị onye ọwụ̀lẹ dè kwú ihyen hụ ọ sẹkà de rụ́n elu nì.
Ńmụ̀ ẹ́ wẹ̀ zùú, hụ́ wụ̀ ónye chèn rí nị à sí: úgbo kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da arụ́n.
Hụ́ bán ẹ̀bọ́ sị: áfya kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da azụ́.
Hụ́ bán ẹ̀tọ́ sị: ósisi kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da agbá.
Hụ́ bán ẹ̀nọ́ sị: égu kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da égbé.
Hụ́ bán ìsẹ́ sị: mgbá kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da agbá.
Hụ́ bán ìsíìn sí: ẹ́kwụ kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da egbú.
Hụ́ bán ẹ̀sáà sí: díbiẹ̀ kẹ̀ yá sẹkọ̀ da emé.
It happened [that] there was one woman, the name they called her was Ǹdìdi ['Patience'].
This woman, seven [male] children she bore.
It reached one day, that she called her chidren, saying that every one should say
what he could do [for work] [in] this world.
When her children gathered, the one who was eldest of them said:
farmland was what he could work.
The one who came second said: market was what he could trade.
The one who came third said: [hunting] gun was what he could shoot.
The one who came fourth said: dancing was what he could perform.
The one who came fifth said: wrestling was what he could do.
The one who came sixth said: palm nuts was what he could cut.
The one who came seventh said: divination was what he could do.

Ǹdìdi is seized by Ọ́ba Ògisó

Ńnẹ̀ wẹ́ nì, ò púkẹmekẹ̀ kẹ̀ ọ́ bịà.
Ḿmá ǹ wụn ọ́ mà tịn rú Ọba Ògisó ẹhyú.
Ò rú akpọkịn, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ sí afyá rí èzí Ògisó.
Ò rú afya rí èzí Ògisó, yá kẹ̀ Ogisó nọ̀há èhyú ẹ́,
yá nị̀ onwóne òkpohó nị̀ ẹ̀nwụ́ẹlẹ á,wẹ́ lama iwe Ògisó.
Ónye òkpohó ọwụ̀lẹ ábán-ẹlẹ iwe Ọ́ba Ògisó, àgbụ́ wẹ̀ ụ́là yí ẹ́ ọkụ, árí apụ̀zí èzí.
Éki èzí, ńmụ̀ áhụ̀ ní nné wẹ́, éjén afya ọ́ lụ̀a ní.
Ìyá nwa, ó tịn rú iwe ẹ, ọ̀ sị̀ nị̀ Ọba Ògisó ànwụ́ọlẹ nné wẹ́.
Their mother, it was very beautiful that she [had] matured.
The beauty she possessed eventually reached the hearing of Ọ́ba Ògisó.
One day, she headed for the market at Ògisó's [palace] frontage.
When she reached the market at Ògisó's [palace] frontage, Ògisó heard about her,

[15]I apologize for the numerous rough spots towards the end of the transcription and translation.

so he and his female servants seized the woman
and they took her and headed back to Ògisó's house.
When all the women had entered Ògisó's house,
they loosened[16] rings and put them on her feet, [so that] she could not go outside again.
When day had darkened,
the children did not see their mother [who] went to market but did not return.
That one [*i.e.* one child] eventually reached the house
and said that Ọ́ba Ògisó had seized their mother.

The eldest son goes to Ògisó

Yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ nọ̀ sí nwa onye chèn, "Ìlyú bíá dè ején!"
Ónye chèn jọ́kọ̀, ọ́ nọ̀ werí ọ̀pya, ọ́ nọ̀ werí anyú.
Ò rú iwe Ọ́ba Ògisó, Ọ́ba Ògisó nọ̀ sị á "Kí ị bịa de emé?"
Ọ̀ sí ugbo kẹ̀ yá àrụ́n, ọ́ nọ̀ ghọsí ẹ ọfyá.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sụ́ ugbó, ọ̀ rị ọgbọdọ áhụ̀a ẹtọ́.
Ọ́ lakọ, Ògisó èghọ́n ọ̀pya, ọ̀ ghọ́n anyú.
Ó wè ldúù, ọ̀ sị ịyáalá, ọ́ hụ̀n ní nnẹ ẹnyá, o.
Ọ̀ rú olọ̀, àsí wẹ̀ nnẹ wẹ́, ọ̀ sí wẹ́ nỊ̀ ịyá ahụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ kẹ̀ tá ètọ́.
So they said to the eldest child, "You come on and get going!"
The eldest started going, he took up a machete, he took up an axe.
He reached Ọ́ba Ògisó's house, Ọ́ba Ògisó said to him "What did you come to do?"
He said that it was farmland that he worked [so] he showed him the forest.
He started clearing farmland, and remained at it for three years.
When he started home, Ògisó [?took ?broke] the machete and the axe.
He took [i.e. addressed] Benin, he said he was going, for he hadn't seen his mother.
He reached home, they said [what about] their mother,
he told them that he hadn't seen her for three years.

The second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth sons go to Ògisó

Hụ́ bán ẹbụ́ọ́ nọ̀ jén-me. Ọ́ wèrí àtịn-tịn.
Ò rú èbụ́an, Ọ́ba Ògisó sị á kí ịyá àrụ́n, ọ́ nọ̀ sí afya.
Ọ́ sịnị wẹ́ ghọsịzi ẹ afyá.
Ó gìsịkwa áhụ̀a ẹtọ́ àzụ́ afya nwa, ọ̀ lụá ahụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ ẹnya.
Ọ̀ lakọ́, Ògisó èjú ẹ́.
Ọ̀ rú olọ̀, ọ̀ sí nmụ́ ínẹ́ ahụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ ẹnya o.
Hụ́ bán ètọ́, nwa àgbá osisi nọ̀ jén-me. Yá kẹ̀ ó wèrí osisi ẹ.
Ò rú èbụ́an, "Kí ị àrụ́n?" Ògisó jụ á.
Ọ̀ sí osisi kẹ̀ ịyá àgbá, ọ̀ sí "Éléwẹ ọfyá!"
Hụ́ bán ètọ́ hụ àgbá osisi, ọ̀ rị ọgbọdọ áhụ̀a ẹtọ́, ó nwò ní anụ họ̀dụ nỊ́ ọfyá,

[16] In the predicate *gbụ́ ọ́là*, if the verb *gbụ́* is the same morpheme which Green and Ígwè (1963: 227) translate as "become loose (as of string round parcel)", then *ọ́là* (which the narrator translates "rings") may denote the leg spirals of copper wire depicted in Basden (1921: plates facing p. 88, 96). Alternatively, *ọ́là* might be the wide brass disks illustrated in Thomas (1913 vol. I: plate 17b facing p. 80), also seen in Basden (1921: plate facing p. 112). The ambiguity seems to be inherent in the word: Crowther (1882: 84) translates *ọ́là* as either brass (in the form of a ring) or copper (on the leg, presumably in the form of spirals).

kẹ̀ ezìn, kẹ̀ utun, kẹ̀ íhyen ilé.
Ọ́ nọ̀zi áhụ̀a ẹtọ́ nwa, Ògisó èjú ẹ́, ọ́ hụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ ẹnya.
Hụ́ bán ẹnọ́, hụ́ egbé egú, ọ́ nọ̀ jén-me.
Ò rú èbụ́an, ọ̀ sí a nị égu kẹ̀ ịyá égbé.
Àkpá wẹ̀ égú, àgbá wẹ̀ ụ́gbà, ò zíe wẹ́ egú, ọ̀ rị ézè égú, ó gbé elu, ó gbé àlị,
ọ̀ rị ọgbọdọ áhụ̀a ẹtọ́, gbé!: ọ́ hụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ ẹnya, ọ̀ lụá mmakalaka.
Hụ́ bán ìsén èjén-me, hụ́ àgbá mgbá.
Ògisó sị á, kí ịyá àrụ́n, ọ̀ sí a nị mgbá kẹ̀ ịyá àgbá,
ọ̀ sí "Ọ̀ másí o!", kẹ̀ ọ́mada rị a, kẹ̀ nwá ndụ̀ rị a, kẹ̀ **ẹ́ka ighú** rị a.
Ọ̀ tụ́n-gbàmá wẹ́ ilé chan mgbá, yí **ngadná**[17] Ògisó.
Ọ́ rị ọgbọdọ áhụ̀a ẹtọ́, ọ́ hụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ láma.
Hụ́ bán ìsíì, ákịn rị ágbụ́n.
Ò jén-me, ò rú èbụ́an, ọ̀ sí Ògisó nỊ́ ẹkwụ kẹ̀ ịyá mà gbú.
Ọ̀ sí a lèwé àlí ọ̀kịtị.
Ọ́ bán án, ò gbú ẹkụ́, ò jú ẹ́ kụ́, ò jú ẹ́ "drum", ò jú ẹ́ wẹ́ ilé,
ọ̀ rị ọgbọdọ áhụ̀a ẹtọ́, ọ́ hụ̀n ní nnẹ wẹ́ ẹnya, ọ̀ lụá mmakalaka.
The one who came second started going. He took stinginess along.[18]
When he reached there, Ọ́ba Ògisó said what did he work at, he said the market.
He told them to show him the market.
He spent three good years trading in that market, he came back not having seen his mother.
When he started home, Ògisó refused him [his request].
He reached home, he told the siblings that he had not seen their mother.
The one who came third, the child who shot [a hunter's] gun, started going.
He reached there, "What do you work at?" Ògisó asked him.
He said that it was [a hunter's] gun that he shot, he [Ògisó] said "Start looking at the forest!"
The one who came third was shooting [his] gun, and remained at it for three years,
[until] there was no animal left in the forest, whether pig or [?] or anything at all.
He stayed for that three years, Ògisó refused him, he did not see their mother.
The one who came fourth, who danced, he started going.
When he reached there, he said to them that it was dancing that he performed.
They summoned a dance, they made a wide circle, he taught them to dance,
he was the king of the dancers, he danced in the air, he danced on the ground,
he remained at it for three years, [but] nothing: he did not see their mother,
he returned useless.
The one who came fifth started going, the wrestler.
Ògisó said to him, what did he work at, he said wrestling was what he did,
he said "Just fine!", that there were sword-bearers, there were youths, there were [?].
He threw them all, for [the benefit of?] Ògisó.
He remained at it for three years, [but] he did not see their mother, so he headed home.
The one who came sixth, palm kernels [?on] climbing rope.

[17] Thomas (1913 vol 2: 287) glosses *ngada* as 'fork of legs'. It is hard to know if this meaning is relevant.
[18] This suggests that *àtịn-tịn* 'stinginess' is an essential attribute of *homo economicus*.

He started going, he reached there,
he said to Ògisó that it was palm nuts that he knew how to cut.
He told him to start looking at the plantation of palm trees.
He entered it, he cut palmnuts, he pressed palmnuts,
he filled drums with it [palm oil], he filled them all with it.

The seventh son meets the Yaws Widow

À rí wẹ̀ ụ́lọ̀. Hụ́ ntà, nwá bán ẹ̀sáà nọ̀ sí wẹ́ ìyá èjén o.
Yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ jén-me.
Hụ́ jọkọ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ sí ihyen ilé chán ọ́nụ́ èrí.
Ọ́ hụn òkpohó ụzọ̀, ọ̀ yí ẹ́ ihyen oriri.
Ọ́ hụn okenyèn, ọ̀ yí ẹ́ oriri.
Ọ́ hụn nwá ndụ̀, ọ̀ yí ẹ́.
Ọ́ hụn onye kà ẹ́, ọ̀ yí ẹ́.
Yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ jén-me.
Ò jén-bé, ò lé Ǹkáńka Òfíìn.[19]
Ọ́ nọ̀ yíguọ ẹ́ ihyen oriri, ó wè ẹ́ si iyí, ọ̀ wụ́ á.
Ó wè Òfíì dén-mé ẹ́, ó wè udén den-mé ẹ́.
Òfíì ẹnwẹ́.
Ǹkáńka Òfíìn sị á "Èbé nì í jọ́kọ̀?", ọ̀ sí iwe Ògisó.
Ò sí a ẹmụ rì akụ́n nwa Ògisó kà ní o, ọ̀ sí a ńdị dibiẹ̀ ejú èbụán.
ọ̀ sí a, ẹ́ẹ́ gwù ebụán, ọ̀ sí a ǹkún-meńkun-me **ọ̀ nị ịyá wùn-tọ** kụn ọ̀tọ́n ụzọ̀, gbú.
Òfíìn[20] èt́í ime.
Ní o mè ní òfíì[20] égwùn ní àlị, ègbú wẹ́ **gíme** ẹ, ìhyan ebụán.
Ní ihyen èmé nwa nì ịyá bu ụzọ̀ jén-me nì.
ọ́ kụn-ní ẹ kwọ ntìn.
Ò sí a, í rue, ì éwè ẹnyá ru àlị, ébe ń sẹkà ebúte ẹkwụkwọ nwa, mànị ebụán kẹ̀ alí mmaká rì .
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí a "Èe."
Ǹkáńka Òfíìn abàn-yí èbụán.
Àsí wẹ̀ "Ǹkánka Òfíìn, kí í rì emé ebe nì? Pú pù pú!"
Ǹkáńka Òfíìn ebúhẹlẹ ẹkwụkwọ ọ̀tọ́n, ọ́ nọ̀ pụ.
They were [all] at home. The smallest, the seventh child, told them
that it was he who was to go.
So he started going.

[19] *Òfíìn* by itself means 'yaws' (cf. Yorùbá *àfín* 'albino'). People translate *Ǹkáńka Òfíìn* either as Yaws Widow, or Yaws Child, so *ǹkáńka* may be cognate to *ẹ̀ka* ('ungrown') and *-ká* nka 'grow old', cf. §4.2.3 above. The mystical role of the Ǹkáńka Òfíìn character may be related to the Yorùbá idea summarized by Abraham:

> Deformed persons such as an albino (*àfín*), a dwarf or hunchback (*abuké*) etc. are regarded as sacred to Ọbàtálá and so are called *ẹni òrìṣa*, being regarded as made by him. (1958: 502)

[20] In translating the text, the narrator gave the word *òsúùn* 'type of sword' in place of *òfíìn* 'yaws'. Although it is possible that *òfíìn* is a dialect equivalent for *òsúùn*, it is more likely a slip of the tongue. Certainly, the two words are mnemonically related in the story: it was Ǹkáńka Òfíìn who revealed the use of *òsúùn* to gain admission to the diviners' assembly. Regarding the test of being able to stand a sword in the ground, to prove one's status as a diviner, cf. the (non-Ágbọ̀) proverb in (i):

i. Ídurubià hnụ́naa àlị, ó hníe ahà. 'If a diviner can't see the ground, he can't open up the oracle'
(Ékwụlọ̀ 1975: 6*f*., mistranslated there)

As he was going, he cookedeverything that the mouth eats.
If he saw a woman along the way, he gave her something to eat.
If he saw a man, he gave him something to eat.
If he saw a youth, he gave him.
If he saw someone bigger than himself, he gave him.
That's how he started going.
He went a little ways, he looked upon Yaws Widow.
[When] he finished giving her food, he took her to the river and bathed her.
He took Yaws Widow and rubbed her, he rubbed her with pomade.
Yaws Widow got better.
Yaws Widow said to him, "Where are you going?", he said "Ògisó's house".
She told him "Ògisó's eldest child is fevered!", she told him doctors fill up that place.
She said you can't dig there,
she said all manner of stoniness [?prevents it from] standing up in the open, straight.
A sword is [to be] put there.
If the sword did not dig the ground, they would kill him [?on the spot], the people there.
[She said] that the very thing that was [going to] happen
was that she would be the first to go along.
He listened very carefully.
She said to him, when you reach there, look carefully on the ground, where I can place this leaf,
for there is where the empty ground is.
He told her "OK."
Yaws Widow entered there.
They said "Yaws Widow, what are you doing here? Get out out out!"
Yaws Widow placed the leaf on the ground, and she left.

The little doctor son divines for Ògisó

Díbiẹ̀ nwá èrú èbụán, ò kelé wẹ́ "Ògbú èbulu, Ògbú èbulu ni!"
Èkú ẹ wẹ̀, àsí wẹ̀ ẹ́ "Kí í rì arụ́n?"
Ọ̀ sí díbiẹ̀ kẹ á àrụn, àsí wẹ̀ ẹ́ "Chúku ewèhẹgu a ebe nì!"
"Gbú òfíìn ọ̀tọ́n gwùn àlị!"
Ò léhẹme, ò léhẹme, ò gbú òfíìn, ò tụ́hẹ ẹ ime ebe ẹkwụkwọ nwa rị̀.
Ò wú àlị.
"Á á!" Ègbúfụ̀ wẹ ayí ẹ anọ̀dí.
À sí wẹ̀ ní ẹmụ rì akụ́n nwa Ògisó kà ní akụn arí mma.
Ní ị ị **edèdú ẹ́, èlé ẹ́ kpá**.
Nwátá díbiẹ̀ kẹ así wẹ́ "Yes."
Ní ẹfa èzí kẹ̀ wẹ́ àgbáyị ẹ.
Àkí wẹ̀ ìgbagba pụ́hẹ èzí.
Ọ̀ gbámagu ẹfá, Ògisó lẹ̀ ńdị ihu é ánọ̀dí hí ụrán.
Ọ́ bụ̀ma kẹ wẹ́ bù:
Ògbú dibiẹ̀ áwáye, áwáye, áwáye o!
Ògbú dibiẹ̀ áwáye, áwáye, áwáye o!

Ògbú dibiẹ̀ áwáye, áwáye, áwáye o!
Ògbú dibiẹ̀ áwáye!
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí wẹ́ "Ọ̀ hú mmá!", ọ̀ sí Ògisó "Dó!"
"Íhien rí ègbú nị, ní o nwò nwá òkpohó hụ ị nwụ̀ru ẹ íme afyá ebe nì,
ní ọ sẹkà etílkpọ èzí, etílkpọ ụlọ̀ ní ị̀yá gì nwá ẹ́ **knụknù**,
ní nwa ẹ́ nẹlẹ́ hụ ụzọ̀ kẹ ọ́ sẹkà de gbú, ní ọ gì ọ́nwụ á kẹ̀ ọ́ sẹkà da gwá ẹ̀nyị.́"
"Ọ̀ sí nị ị̀yá ghàhá èshí elú."
"Íhien èmé nwa, kẹ̀ éwu, kẹ̀ ọkụkụ, kẹ̀ átụn-rụ́n, kẹ̀ ńtitẹ́, kẹ̀ ḿbekù ,
Íhien ọwụ̀lẹ ọ́wụ̀lẹ , Íhien ọ kwademe ẹ́, kẹ̀ nwá ọ̀kụkụ,
èsí wẹ̀ sí, okne mẹlẹ madụ̀, de butù wẹ́ ilì."
"Nǐ èbuán kẹ̀ ị̀yá bé, hú òkpohó nị̀ yé, ègbúyị ẹ ihyen ilé chan yị ẹ́."
"Àkwáguọ ị̀sị nwá, àghában lama."
"Ìyá àkwáguọ ị̀sị̀ nwá gbà ó, nwa ẹ́ èlí ọ̀tọ́."
Ọ̀ sí ị̀yá èjọ́kọ̀ ó, ọ̀ sí a ẹ́ẹ́ hụkwa èmenwe nwá, nwá nị àdị́n-hịn,
ọ̀ sí a, ọ̀ gụ̀ọguọlẹ ẹ̀hụ́.
That doctor reached there, he greeted them "Ram killer, ram killer all of you!"
[After] they said it, they said to him "What do you work at?"
He said doctor was his work, they said "God has brought him here!"[21]
"Stand the sword upright in the ground!"
He looked and looked at it, he stuck it inside where that leaf was.
It split the ground.
"Wow!" They moved over and gave him a place to sit down.
They said that fever was gripping the eldest son of Ògisó in a bad way.
Can you [?cure] him, Is he not the one to look after [the child]?
It was the small doctor that told them "Yes."
That it was a public oracle that they would consult for him.
They gathered the divination medicine bundle, came out into the open compound
[When] he had begun to divine for him [the eldest son of Ògisó],
Ògisó and the people in front of him sat down and slept.
He began to sing as they sing:
The person who kills a doctor will not progress, will not progress, will not progress!
The person who kills a doctor will not progress, will not progress, will not progress!
The person who kills a doctor will not progress, will not progress, will not progress!
The person who kills a doctor will not progress!
He said to them "Very good!", he said to Ògisó "Greetings!"
"The killing thing is that there is a certain woman you seized in the market here,
that she can slaughter the compound, can slaughter the house
that she is starting from this child [?to finish off everyone else],
that she used this death to be able to tell us."
"It [the oracle] says that she should pass by and go to the next world."
"What is [to] happen, both a goat, and a chicken, and a sheep, and a dog and a tortoise,

[21]This was said sardonically, and not piously.

every single thing, what he was to prepare, also a chick,
to go, a great crowd of people, to bring [them] to a grave."
"That there he will sacrifice, both the woman and all the things with her."
"When that sacrifice has been put together, move on and start home."
"When he puts the sacrifice together and performs it, his son would recover."[22]
He [Ògisó] said that he [the doctor] should get going,
he said he should be curing the child, the child that was an invalid,
he said it had already finished in his body.

The sacrifice and the return

Ọ̀ nụ́kị́ ebége ọ̀nọ́kẹ̀ àkírị, ákpọkịn ẹsáà ézùú,
Ògisó kuku[23] èmé ihyen ilé, ọ̀ sí ńdị ihyú ewè ẹ́ dùrú òkpohó nwa.
Nǐ ndị dé ǹde ején-me, ò nwó ẹkwụkwọ ọ̀hú [?…], ọ́ nọ̀ kẹ́n-me ẹ́,
són-me atnụ e e e e e e [?…] márin íhyen a ilé .
Hú o gì ekú wụ̀n nǐ, ó mè nǐ ewèpụhá wẹ̀ ńne ẹ́, ńne ẹ́ gha amárin nǐ ị̀yá nwa wụ̀n ńwa,
ị̀yá amá ngwa afà yá.[24]
Wẹ́ fụ̀ọ́, òkpohó nwa amázi nị nwa o.
Wẹ́ nọ̀ nwụ́ ẹ́ jén-me, wè agbụn kpụkpụ̀ **ésèn**.
Ábù̀ẹ́ wẹ̀ ẹ́bù̀:
Khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, ghá gǐ ẹ ghǐ vb'èmwá rú!
Khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, ghá gǐ ẹ ghǐ vb'èmwá rú!
Khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, ghá gǐ ẹ ghǐ vb'èmwá rú!
Khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, khú ẹ̀rẹ́è, ghá gǐ ẹ ghǐ vb'èmwá rú![25]
Yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ nọ̀ werí ẹ!
Èrúo oken-mẹlẹ ḿmadụn, díbiẹ̀ nwá nọ̀ kpárị ekwụkwọ,
ọ̀ sí wẹ́ nị ru ụlọ̀.
Á nọ̀ wẹ atúụ́yị ẹ nwáta ekwụkwọ ẹnya, ọ́ nọ̀ wẹ ẹ́wè ẹ́kwụkwọ nì tín-meyị ẹ ẹran ẹ.
Ọ́ nọ̀ láma, **nọ̀ kwágwa** sị̀nị laáma.
Yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ búkị chan ihyen ilé nwa.
Ò gbú ewú, ò húyị ẹ́ èbuán, ọ́ nọ̀ dúkị chan ihyen wẹ ilé fẹ́fẹ́ẹ́fẹ́,
èbúhẹ ihyen wẹ ilé chan họ̀dụ nị, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ kírị, ọ́ nọ̀ sí nnẹ nnà,
È jén-megu, ò nwó ebùlú nị ọ nọ̀ we khẹmẹ́ ógungùn nwá, ọ̀ túpụ̀ á, "Héò!"
[Ọ̀] sí a, "Nwátà díbiẹ̀ nwám! Ìyú mẹ́nị m íhyen nì?"
Ọ̀ sí a, "Ńnẹ, mẹ́ ó!"
"Ìyú sẹkà mẹ́nị m ihyen nì, íhyen i búọ́nị m, bú apụ̀lẹ nǐ, ìyú me ẹ, ìyú nwa m̀bi?"
Ọ̀ sí a, "Mẹ́ o, ńnẹ́!"
Yá nwatà díbiẹ̀ no ẹ́wè nị ńnẹ ẹ́ no ewè rú olọ̀.
Àlí ilé chan, "Àghánǹ o me ẹ́?"

[22]This speech is twice reported: the doctor reports the ancestors' message through the oracle, and the narrator reports what the doctor said to Ògisó.
[23]The Yorùbá auxiliary verb *kúkú*, translated here as 'actually', is widely borrowed into Nigerian English. The narrator has speaking knowledge of Yorùbá .
[24]The expected form for 'his name' is *éfàn á; áfà ị̀yá* would be the form in many other dialects.
[25]This song is in Ẹ̀dó. At the end, the narrator sings an Ágbọ̀ version with a somewhat different meaning.

Àkpọ́tun wẹ̀, éwú wẹ̀, ábùmé wẹ̀ ẹ́bụ̀ èbuán:
Vbò khín? Ọ̀yẹ̀nmwẹ̀n nọ́!
Vbò khín? Ọ̀yẹ̀nmwẹ̀n nọ́!
Vbò khín? Ọ̀yẹ̀nmwẹ̀n nọ́!
Vbò khín? Ọ̀yẹ̀nmwẹ̀n nọ́!
Vbò khín? Ọ̀yẹ̀nmwẹ̀n nọ́![26]
Búpụ̀hẹ́ wẹ̀ mánya, wẹ́ ile chan nọ̀ rán-ma.
"Nwátà díbiẹ̀, ì byá kẹ̀ í jèn!"
Ọ̀ sí wẹ́ nì,"Égbe sẹ̀kà ta nì ùdelé hye ime ochú. Íhyen éseḳà ta **lọgụzi** a. Éwèlẹ́ àdá nnẹ́!"
Yá kẹ̀ wẹ́ nọ̀ nọdí.
Ánọ̀dí, wẹ́ nọ̀ sí, "Kí ihyen mẹ́ denị nwa nwa nì, mẹ́denị nwa ihyen nì?"
Wẹ́ nọ̀ sí, "Íhyen mézinị ìyáré."
Wẹ́ nọ̀ sí, "Ọ̀ másị o!"
Wẹ́ nọ̀ sí a, "Íhyen ménị ẹ, ghá ébe nị èjén, díbiẹ ọ́wụ̀n-lẹ hụ ẹhụ̀ íríí elu nì,
égbukọ̀zí wẹ̀ ẹ́ ómèní ọgụ̀n ẹ́ erè ní."
And wẹ́ sị kẹ̀ íhyen díbiẹ ọ́wụ̀n-lẹ sẹ́kọ̀ de rí, ọ́ sẹ̀kà bí ụlọ́ dé kun ẹ́.
Íhyen gì, íhyen ẹfọ èhyún, yá kẹ̀ díbiẹ sẹ́kọ̀ de rí, **nị́ ọ wụ̀n kwákwà ẹ́**.
Èbụán kẹ̀ ílu nwa rù.

He [?…] and collected [the materials], seven days [?passed], Ògisó eventually did everything.
He told the retainers [*lit.* those in front] to take the woman and lead her out.
As they were going to do it, there was a leaf [?…], he plucked [?] it,
and followed [?so that the woman would] not know everything about him.
What he used it to [?do] was, if they removed his mother,
his mother would not know that he was her son, she would not tell his name.
When they came out, the woman did not recognize [her] son!
They seized her and started off, leading the sacrifices [?] by a rope.
They sang a song:
Drive her, drive her, let her not be doing it here!
Drive her, drive her, let her not be doing it here!
Drive her, drive her, let her not be doing it here!
Drive her, drive her, let her not be doing it here!
That's how they took her [away].
A huge crowd of people reached [the grave], the doctor picked a leaf,
he told them to go home.
They sprinkled a little of the leaf in the boy's eyes,
they took the leaf and squeezed [its juice] for him to drink.
He [*i.e.* they] went home, [?…] said they were going home.
He killed the goat, poured [its blood] there, led together all the things [i.e. animals],
every one of them, brought all the things that were left,
he covered [the grave], he said to his mother,

[26]This song is in Ẹ̀dó. At the end of the tape, the narrator sings an identical Ágbọ̀ version.

[Here narrator inserts background remark:]
When starting out, there was [] he used in tieing up that medicine, he untied it, "Hey, wow!"
[The woman] said to him, "Little doctor my son! Is it you that did this thing for me?"
He said to her, "Mother, [it's] me!"
"Is it you who was able to do this for me, the thing you brought me,
brought and never revealed, you did it, as small as you are?"
He said "It's me, mother!"
So the little doctor started and his mother started and reached home.
All the town to the last [said] "How did he do it?"
They called them all out, they shouted, they started singing there:
What is it? It is happiness!
What is it? It is happiness!
What is it? It is happiness!
What is it? It is happiness!
What is it? It is happiness!
What is it? It is happiness!
When palmwine was brought out, all of them to the last started drinking.
"Little doctor, you came as you went!"
He told them, "The kite can chew what the vulture missed in the prey."
"What can be chewed has [? exceeded one's ability to swallow].
One has taken the mother's darling daughter!"[27]
So they sat down.
When they sat down, they said, "What can me done for this child, who did this thing?"
They said, "Something added to a safe return."
They said, "The thing to be done for him, to a safe return."
They said, "Very good!"
They told him, "What to do for him, every place they go,
every doctor whosoever who is in this world,
they will not kill him if his medicine does not act."
And they said that what every doctor can eat, he can stay at home to meet it.
The thing that is used, the thing that fills the stomach,
that is what the doctor will be able to eat, [that is what will be provided to him].
That's where the story reaches to.

[27]*Àdán nnẹ́* 'mother's daughter' proverbially denotes the most precious of all commodities. In context, thi remark means, in effect, 'The king went too far this time!'

Ńtitẹ́ nị̀ mgbadan / The dog and the antelope

(7 June 1977) by Ọ̀jọ́bụ (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị́ Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀)
transcribed and translated jointly with Julius Ògbú (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị́ Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀).[28]

Ńtitẹ́, yá jẹ́n iwe mgbadan.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí́ a dè ghọ́n-henị ẹ aagá, agará hụn wẹ gì ánọ̀dí́ àlị́.
Yá mgbadán nọ̀ nárị a eghó.
Yá nọ̀ jẹ́n-me ẹ́.
Ò rúe ẹ̀nyasị, yá ńtitẹ́ si iwe ọgọ̀ á wẹ́.
Ò rúe, ò túkùn ẹ́, ò túkùn.
Yá ọgọ̀ á nọ̀ sí́ a, "Ò-túkùn nị́ èfúrukẹ́ í."
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí́ a nị ò-túkùn nị́ èfúru ẹ́.
Ńtitẹ́ èrú mmụ̀ọ̀, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ búru ibè wẹ́.
Ò rúe èbuán, ọ̀ sí́ wẹ́ nị́ èjén iwe ọgọ̀ á wẹ́, nị́ ọgọ̀ á wẹ́ sí́ nị ò-túkùn èfúru ẹ́.
Yá nọ̀ sí́ ebe mgbadán rị̀.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí́ mgbadan, "Ìyú kẹ̀ nọ́ ná egho i gì túyị á agará."
Nị́ ọgọ̀ á wẹ́ sí́ nị ò-túkùn èfúru ẹ́.
Mgbadan sí́ ya àghọ́n-gu á agara.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí́ a, élé ìyú bu nị́ a, élé ìyá kẹ̀ í bulà nị́ a.
Yá wụ̀n hụ́ nì, ńtitẹ́ hụn-ọ mgbadan, ọ̀ chụ́n-me á.
Ńtitẹ́ hụn mgbadan, ọ̀ chụ́n-me á.
Yá wụ̀n hụ́ nì, ńtitẹ́ nọ̀ ńnègbú mgbadan.
It was the dog that went to the antelope's house.
He told him to go and buy him a chair, the chair they use in sitting down.
So the antelope took the money from him. He went off to do it.
When evening arrived, the dog headed for the house of his in-laws.
Reaching there, he squatted down on his haunches, he squatted.
At this, his in-law told him that squatting became him very much [*i.e.* suited him very well].
He said that squatting became him.
When the dog was reaching home, that's when he met up with his mates.
When he reached there, he told them that he had gone to his in-laws' house.
That his in-laws said that squatting became him.
He went to where the antelope was. He said to the antelope,
"It's you who should return the money you used to get him [*i.e.* me] a chair."
[He said] that his in-laws said that squatting befitted him.
The antelope said that he had already bought him the chair.
He [the dog] said to him, "It is not you that brought it, it is not it which you brought him [*i.e.* me]."
That is why, if [ever] the dog sees the antelope, he starts to chase him.
If [ever] the dog sees the antelope, he starts to chase him.
That is why the dog started killing antelopes.

[28] On 13 September 1976, Ọ̀jọ́bụ referred to this story by means of the following wellerism:

Ńtitẹ́, ọ̀ sí́ di nwọ̀ nị́ ẹ́, yá kèlụ́ánị á egho o **sàgí** ghọn-hẹ ẹ agará, nị́ òtúkùn éfùrukẹ́ ẹ́.
'The dog, it said to its master, he should return the money it [?advanced him] to buy it a chair, that [*i.e.* because] squatting suits it.'

Òkpóghó nị̀ udele / The pelican and the vulture

(28 May 1977) by Ọ̀jọ́bụ (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị́ Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀)
transcribed and translated jointly with Julius Ògbú (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị́ Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀).

Òkpóghó, òkpóghó, yá tè bú ụzọ̀ bịá ẹ́ka nnụ́nụ̀.
Wẹ́ nọ̀ sí́ á, yá jẹn-me elú.
Ò rúe elú, [yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀…[29]] ùdelé nọ̀ jẹ́n-me.
Òkpógho nọ̀ sí́ eké jọkọ̀, yá ùdele nọ bú ụzọ̀ jẹ́n-me nì , okpóghó.
[Òkpógho…[27]] Ùdele rú èbuán, ùdele fétú.
Ńdị elu mbụ gbegbegbe mári ùdele, àbịá dè lé ẹ́.
Ónye òhú màri ní á, ẹ́gẹ́dí òhú màri ní á, ọ̀ sí́ wẹ́ egbúlẹnị a, wụ̀n udele.
Mmụ́ á nọ̀ sí́, "Ẹ̀ẹ́?! Ọ̀nwá wụ̀n udele nwá?"
Ọ̀ sí́ wẹ́, "Ẹ̀ẹ́."
Yá ùdelé nọ̀ bịá dè éfétú àlị́.
Yá nọ̀ gumé egú.
Ó gume ẹ́, égbù ní wẹ̀ ẹ́.
Ùdele rú ụlọ̀, òkpóghó sị nị, "Nḭ́ i èjẹ́n, nḭ́ i èjẹ́n!"
Yá ùdelé nọ̀ sí́ a èjẹ́n.
Òkpóghó gì nḭ́ èjẹ́n, ńdị mári òkpóghó, ńdị mári ùdele, ànwụ́hụọlẹ wẹ̀.
À máriguo wẹ̀ nḭ́ ùdele nwá, nḭ́ wẹ ạá gbu ẹ́, nḭ́ wẹ arḭ́ ri ẹ́.
Yá okpógho nọ̀ jẹ́n-me.
Òkpóghó èféri *wụ̀gha-wụ̀gha*.
Òkpóghó èféri, ó béri elu osisi.
Yá nwatà ohú nọ̀ gbáma ọsọ́, sí́ nẹdi ẹ, "Dè lé anụ́ óke unéi! Nḭ́ o béri elu osisi nwa ahụ̀n!"
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí́ a, "Ùdele rọ́ọ́?"
Ọ̀ sí́ a, "Ẹ́ẹ́."
Yá nẹdi ẹ nọ̀ búru osisi, ọ́ nọ̀ yḭ́ ẹ kwásị òkpóghó.
Òkpógho nọ̀ dan.
Yá wẹ nọ̀ ríme ókpogho, wẹ́ nọ̀le rú rizi ùdele.
Ńdị ilé màrin sí́ elé ẹ́, nḭ́ ùdele nị okpóghó, nḭ́ wẹ ạá ri wẹ́,
ńdị márin nḭ́ wẹ ạá ri ùdele, yá wẹ nọ̀ sí́ wẹ egbulé ùdele,
ó gì nḭ́ àbịázi, ńdị máàrin nḭ́ á àgụ́.
Yá wẹ nọ̀ gbú òkpóghó, yá wụ̀n okpóghó nì wẹ́ èrí.
Òkpóghó nị̀ udele bú ụzọ̀ bịá elú.
Wẹ́ ạá te ri wẹ́.
Ńdị márin okpoghó àgụ́, yá òkpóghó nọ̀ bịá dàn bịá, wẹ́ nọ̀ rime ẹ́ o!
Yá ghọ̀ ánụ okpógho wẹ èrí.
Wẹ́ ạá te ri ùdele, wẹ́ ạá te ri okpoghó.
Ọ́nụ́ mụzọ̀, ékèlé ẹ́, wẹ́ ạá bàn-há mụnọ̀.[30]

[29] The narrator here corrects himself.

[30] This last, proverbial line was given as the conclusion to the story on an earler telling, 13 September 1976, during a dictation session which was not recorded.

It was the pelican that was the first to come to [?*or* from] the land of the birds.
They told him to start going to the [visible] world.
When he reached the world, there he started… the vulture started going.
The pelican said that he would not go,
so the vulture was the first to be going, [before] the pelican.
The pelican… When the vulture reached there, the vulture landed.
All the people of the ancient world who didn't know [about] the vulture, came to look at it.
One person who know [about] it, one old person who knew [about] it,
he said the were not to kill it, that is, the vulture.
His children said, "Really?! This one is the very vulture?"
He told them, "Yes."
So the vulture came to land on the ground.
He started to play.
When he was playing, they did not kill him.
When the vulture reached home, the pelican said "You should go, you should go!"
Thus the vulture said for him to go.
[When] the pelican went,
those who knew the pelican, those who knew the vulture, they had died,
those who have known that the vulture, they don't kill it, they don't eat it.
So the pelican started going.
The pelican flew *wùgha-wụgha-wụgha*.
When the pelican reached there, it perched on top of a tree.
So one child started running, [and] said to its father, "Come see the big, strange animal!"
"[That] it perched on that very tree!"
He said to it, "Is it the vulture?"
It said to him, "Nope."
So its father picked up a gun, he shot it at the pelican.
The pelican fell.
So they started eating pelican, [but] they never started eating vulture.
All those who knew that it was neither the vulture nor the pelican, that they don't eat them,
those who knew that they don't eat vulture, so they say told them not to kill vulture,
[but] when it [*i.e.* the pelican] came back, the people who knew it were gone [*lit.* finished].
So they started to kill the pelican, this [very] pelican which they [now] eat.
The pelican and the vulture were the first to come to the world.
They [*i.e.* people] didn't eat them.
When those who knew the pelican were gone,
[and] then the pelican came down, they started eating it!
So it is pelican meat that they are [now, habitually] eating.
They did not [formerly] eat either vulture or pelican.
The door, if you don't salute [i.e. acknowledge] it, you can't go inside the house.

Òjúrùhẹn nị Melú / Òjúrùhẹn and Mèlú

(19 May 1977) by Óbìdákị Ògbú (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀)
transcribed and translated jointly with Julius Ògbú (Ìdumu Úku, Àlị Ísìmíèn, Ágbọ̀).

Mẹ́ wụ̀n Óbìdákị Ògbú.
Ọ̀ hú ọ̀ hụ́hù árí ilu, wẹ́ aá lu é.[31]
Àsị́ wẹ̀ Ogisó ò hụ, Òjúrùhẹn ẹn hú, Mèlú ù hụ.
Ògisó wụ̀n mgbá Mèlú.[32]
Òjúrùhẹn, yá kẹ̀ Mèlú nị́ á bịa de ànà Ògisó mgba.
Yá kẹ̀ ńdị iwe Ògisó nọ̀ sí "Ẹ̀ẹ́?! Hẹ́ẹẹẹẹẹẹẹ!"
Àsị́ wẹ̀ "Ị́ áhùn ní a?"
Àsị́ wẹ̀ ibè wẹ́ ilé gì ihian arán-hin Ògisó ụlọ̀.
Àsị́ wẹ̀ ó mẹ ni ụwẹ́ẹ̀ rọ, Ògisó àchọ́ malị́ á.
Àsị́ wẹ̀ "Ogisó àmáwà kú?"
Ìyá àghá bịamẹ de àgwá Ògisó.
Ògisó nọ̀ sị́ "Ìya."
Yá kẹ̀ Ògisó àkị́n-me wẹ́.
I am Óbìdákị Ògbú.
If it's not in stories, they don't tell it.
They say that there was Ògisó, Òjúrùhẹn and Mèlú.
Ògisó was Mèlú's spouse.
Òjúrùhẹn, [so] Mèlú and he came to make love to Ògisó's spouse [*i.e.* to Mèlú].
So it was that the people in Ògisó's compound said "Really?! Wow!"
They said, "Don't you see it [*i.e.* Do you see what I see]?"
They said their colleague [*i.e.* Mèlú] had someone she was sleeping with in Ògisó's house.
They said, if it was [any of] them, Ògisó would want to know about it.
They said, "Does Ògisó know how to talk?"[33]
So they started off to tell Ògisó.
Ògisó then said, "Aha!"
Ògisó began to watch them.

The parrot warns of Ògisó's first attempt to catch the lovers

Àsị́ wẹ̀ o rúe ọ̀nwahị́ áhù, nẹ́dị Mèlú, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ chán ọ̀hụẹ, yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ̀ gbútùgbọ́nị Mèlú mmụ̀lọ̀.
Àsị́ wẹ̀ o rú ọ̀nwahị́ áhù, Ògisó làlá.
Ògisó hụ ànwụ́ ẹ́hụ, yá kẹ̀ {Ogisó/ọ̀hụẹ}[34] nọ̀ jẹn-mẹ.
Àsị́ wẹ̀ ọ̀hụẹ erú èbuán.
Ọ̀hụẹ éwé ẹ che:

[31] This line is the formulaic introduction to a story in Ágbọ̀.
[32] On the terms *mgbá* 'spouse' and *nwúyèn* 'wife', cf. §4.5.4.
[33] *I.e.*, assuming he observes this affair, why doesn't he say react to it?
[34] Here the narrator says, first *Òjúrùhẹn*, and then (after some hesitation) *Mèlú*, but context (and the subsequent two episodes) show that either *Ògisó* or *ọ̀hụẹ* is intended.

Òjúrùhẹ̀n, mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó![35]
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé![36]
Òjúrùhẹ̀n, mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ò mú úkpẹ́, mú úkpẹ́, nà ò mú úkpẹ́ dèré![37]
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ò mu ada, mu ada, nà ò mu ada dère o![38]
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ògìsó dè, ò dèré èbuán![39]
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

Àsí wẹ̀ Ojúrùhẹn éhé mmà.
Ògisó èrúe èbúan, ọ̀hụẹ arụ́bán.
Ògisó èlé, ò bú ukpẹ́ ghá gbàmá mmụlọ́ ílé.
Ọ́ hùní ihye ànánaì.
Ògisó àhụ́n mmà.
Ọ̀ sí mgbá, "Ònyé nwózi mmà, nwéne ọnwà?"
Ọ̀ sí "Ị ahụtùní mmá nì ụ́lọ́ nì?"
Ọ̀ sí a ọ hụtùní á o!
Ògisó ekín, ò sí àláma.
Àsí wẹ̀ yá kẹ̀ Ogisó nị̀ mgbá a nọ̀ bímẹ.

They say that there reached that day, Mèlú's father "washed" a parrot,[40]
and he placed it aside for Mèlú in [her] room.
They say it reached that [very] day, Ògisó was coming.
Ògisó was getting himself ready, so Mèlú started going.
They say that the parrot reached there.
The parrot took and put it [thus]:

Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

[35] This song is (mostly) in Ẹ̀dó, consistent with the provenance of Ògisó stories in Ìdúù (Benin). I transcribe it with low and high tones marked on each syllable. Ẹ̀bú Èdiọn's version is included at the end, on the accompanying cassette tape. The first line of the song is apparently relexified into Ágbọ̀.

[36] Melzian (1937: 181) glosses the ideophone *regherеghe* as "loud (of shouting)".

[37] According to Melzian (1937: xvii, 175), *dè* and *ré* are suppletive forms of the Ẹ̀dó verb which translates English 'come', cf. the verb *dé* 'arrive' in Yorùbá. Ẹ̀dó *úkpá* 'lamp' = Ágbọ̀ *úkpẹ́*.

[38] The *ẹ̀bẹ̀n* and *ádá* swords are the two ceremonial, state swords of the Ẹ̀dó Kingdom, roughly corresponding in function to the ritual *ọ̀fọ́* and *álọ̀* staffs of the Nri Kingdom. In both cases, the first object of the pair symbolizes ancestral authority, while the second object symbolizes temporal power. The *ẹ̀bẹ̀n* and *ọ̀fọ́* are held by more chiefs than are *ádá* and *álọ̀*, since ancestral principles are more widely diffused in the social order than are executive functions. The *ádá* represents the Ọ́ba's power of life and death over his subjects, and the delegation of this power to any chief to whom the Ọ́ba grants the right to display one among his regalia.

[39] In this line, the Ẹ̀dó word *èvbá* 'there' has apparently been relexified with its Ágbọ̀ counterpart *èbuán* 'there', which happens to be its cognate (or perhaps its borrowed version).

[40] *I.e.* he prepared the parrot as a messenger, by treating it with herbal medicine.

He is carrying a lamp, that he is coming with a lamp.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
He is carrying an execution sword, that he is coming with an execution sword.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ògìsó is coming, he is coming there.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

They say that Òjúrùhẹn turned into a knife.
When Ògisó reached there, the parrot went into hiding.
Ògisó looked, he carried the lamp through all the rooms.
He saw nothing at all.
[Then] Ògisó saw a knife.
He said to his spouse, "Who owns a knife, [who] has this one?"
She said, "Have you never seen this knife [in] this house?"
He said to her [that] he had never seen it!
Ògisó left, he headed for home.
They say Ògisó and his spouse started living together.

The parrot warns of Ògisó's second attempt to catch the lovers

Émèleme ẹ́, ọ̀hị̀hyé àgbázi, Ògisó èjén-me.
Ògisó ànwụ́mẹ ẹ́hụ ó gì jọkọ́ ó.
Ọ̀hụẹ ejẹ́n-mẹ.
Ọ̀hụẹ erú èbé wẹ díné.
Ọ̀hụẹ sí:

Òjúrùhẹ̀n mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òjurùhẹ̀n mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ò mú úkpẹ́, mú úkpẹ́, nà ò mú úkpẹ́ dèré!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ò mú ádá, mú ádá, nà ò mú ádá dèré!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ògìsó dè ó, ò dèré èbuán!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

Ògisó edèrú èbuán, Òjúrùhẹn éhé mkpù ébó, éhé mkpú arị mma.
Ògisó abán-ha ụlọ̀.
Ògisó ewé ukpo ẹ́ àghágbamá mmụlọ́ ilé.
Ògisó elé mkpù.
Ògisó èbúsị mkpù élú.
Ọ̀ sí mgbá, "Ònyé nwózi mkpú nì?"
Ọ̀ sí, "Ị áhụn nί à?" kẹ̀ nẹ́di ẹ́ wehenị ẹ́ ya.
Nί ọ wụn nẹ́di ẹ́ ewèhenị ẹ́ yá o!
Ọ̀ sí "Ị̀ya" nị "Ọ̀ hụ́ mmá!"
Ògisó ekín.

After a short time [*lit*: not to do doing], evening fell again, [and] Òɡisó was on his way.
Òɡisó got ready for going [*lit*: prepared the body he used in going].
The parrot started going.
The parrot reached where they [Mèlú and Ojúrùhẹn] were lieing down.
The parrot said:

Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
He is carrying a lamp, that he is coming with a lamp.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
He is carrying an execution sword, that he is coming with an execution sword.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òɡìsó is coming, he is coming there.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

Òɡisó reached there, [and] Òjúrùhẹn turned into an English [i.e. metal or ceramic] cup, turned into a cup that was beautiful.
Òɡisó entered the house.
Òɡisó picked up his lamp and went through all the chambers.
Òɡisó saw [the] cup.
Òɡisó picked up the cup and held it up [to see].
He said to his spouse, "Who again owns this cup?"
She said, "Didn't you see it [before]?" that her father brought it for her.
That it was her father who brought it for her!
He said to her, "OK" and "Very well!"
Òɡisó went back [to his house].

Òɡisó succeeds on his third attempt, by casting his own spell

Òɡisó erúmẹ mmụlọ̀.
Òɡisó sí, "Nịnà kẹ ịf́ mẹ́ ihyen nì?
Ịyáà nf́ ìkpohó nì, nf́ wẹ̀ gì ẹ́ àghá ụghá?"
Òɡisó gha jẹ́n-mẹ.
Yá kẹ̀ Ogisó nọ̀ chá mmà.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sí, "Ónye nì, rf́ ụlọ́ nì, nf́ mgbá, ùwẹ́ àrán-hi mgbékẹ ọ̀hú, mgbékẹ ọ̀hú kẹ̀ mmà arán-hi!"
Yá kẹ̀ Ogisó gha nwụ́mẹ ẹ́hụ.
Òɡisó ó jẹn-mẹ, ọ̀hụẹ rúe èbuán.
Ọ̀hụẹ ẹ́wé ẹ che:

Òjúrùhẹ̀n mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òjurùhẹ̀n mgbá kẹ̀ Mèlú ó!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ò mú úkpẹ́, mú úkpẹ́, nà ò mú úkpẹ́ dèré!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

Ò mú ádá, mú ádá, nà ò mú ádá dèré!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òɡìsó dè ó, ò dèré èbuán!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

Áá! Òɡisó ebúrumẹ èbé wẹ rì, ọ̀hụẹ ẹ́wé mbụọ, ó wé ẹ dọ́kịká Mèlú nị̀ Ojúrụ̀hẹn, ɡbéi!
Ó wé mbụ́ọ, ó wé ẹ ńakiká ụ̀wẹ́ẹ̀, ɡbéi!
Òɡisó ebúru ebe ọ rì, ọ̀hụẹ árụbán.
Yá kẹ̀ Ogisó nọ̀ rúe èbuán.
Ó gì nf́ rue èbuán,[41] Ojúrụ̀hẹn nị̀ Melú dìne ẹ́hụ́.
Ọ́ nọ̀ sf́ "Ịya!"
Ò búsị ada elú.
Ọ̀ sf́ ǹké ẹ́ èbé ǹwa mgbá.
Ọ̀ sf́ bèke mgbá, nf́ ọ hụn ụzọ̀ gí ọnụ a ɡwa àlị̀ ldúù íhyen ọ rị̀ arụ́n mmụlọ̀ iwe ya wụ̀ Ogisó.
Yá kẹ̀ ọ́ nọ bé hụ okeyèn nwá.
Ó bé ẹ, ọ́ nọ hé ibegwú rị iwe ẹ, ọ́ nọ̀ sf́ wẹ bía.
Íbiegwú a wẹ apụ̀há.
Ọ̀ sf́ wẹ, bu isi e we ẹ́ de búche ẹ ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn ẹ.
Èbú wẹ̀ ísi e, okeyèn nwá, èbú wẹ̀ che ẹ́ ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn.
Ọ̀ sf́ wẹ, bu ozu e chuche ẹ ime ọ̀ɡọ̀dọ.[42]
Yá wẹ nọ bu ozu e chuche ẹ ime ọ̀ɡọ̀dọ.
Ọ̀hụẹ hụ́kwa elé wẹ́.
Èmégu wẹ̀, ụ̀wẹ́ ilé apụ́ wẹ̀.
Òɡisó reached inside the house.
Òɡisó said, "Is this how you are doing this thing?" "Is that the way these women tell lies?"
Òɡisó started going.
So Òɡisó "washed" a kitchen knife.
He placed it on its side.
He said, "May the spouse, may they sleep on [one] side, the [one] side that the knife sleeps!"[43]
So Òɡisó got ready.
Òɡisó started going, the parrot reached there.
The parrot took and put it [thus]:

Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Òjúrùhẹ̀n, spouse of Mèlú!
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
He is carrying a lamp, that he is coming with a lamp.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!

[41] A head-less relative clause, literally: [*The time which*] *he used to reach there.*

[42] The Ágbọ̀ word for 'pond' is ọ̀mf́. In Ẹ̀dó, Melzian defines ọ̀ɡọ̀dọ̀ as an
> (artificial) pond; wide but not deeper than two men's length; there are three in Benin-City, one of them being ọ̀ɡọ̀dọ̀ égún, a pond situated in the Ogbè quarter. (1937: 163)

Ógbè is "the quarter of Benin-City in which the Ẹ̀guàè [palace] is situated" (1937: 138).

[43] The effect of this charm is to immobilize the lovers, so Òjúrùhẹn cannot wake up and hide.

He is carrying an execution sword, that he is coming with an execution sword.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Ògìsó is coming, he is coming there.
Réghéréghé, réghèsùré, réghéréghé!
Regherеghe, reghèsùre, regherеghe!

Alas! When Ògisó was reaching where they were,
the parrot used its claw to scratch at Mèlú and Ojúrùhẹn, [but] in vain!
It took its claw, it took it [and] scratched welts in them, in vain!
When Ògisó reached where it was, the parrot went into hiding.
So Ògisó reached there.
When he reached there, Ojúrùhẹn and Melú were lieing down together.
He said "Aha!"
He lifted the execution sword high.
He said that he should have cut [his] spouse.
He said [he would] not cut [his] spouse, so that she can use her mouth to tell
the population of Benin what she was doing inside his house, that is Ògisó's.
So he cut that man.
When he had cut him, he called the servants in his house, he told them to come.
His servants came out.
He said to them, carry his head and put it in his [*i.e.* Ògisó's] shrine-house.
They carried the head of that man, they carried [it] and put it in the shrine house.
He said to them, carry his corpse and drop it in the [Palace] domestic water tank.
So they carried his corpse and dropped it in the tank.
The parrot was still looking at them.
When the finished doing [it], all of them left.

Mèlú's revenge

Ògisó apú, ètén-hi.
Áá! Ò tén-hi, ìyá suo rí elu ukpò.
Ọ̀hụẹ sí a, "Élé i rị ụran?"
Ní Ògisó ègbúo Ojúrùhẹn.
Ọ̀ sí a, "Ẹ̀é? Àńáńí o mẹ́ ẹ́?"
Ọ̀ sí a nị o bé ẹ, [bú isi ẹ dè ché…][44]
ní ọ sí mmụ́ ńnà íwe ẹ́ bú isi ẹ che ẹ ụlọ́ ọ̀hị, ní bu ozu e che ògọdọ.
ọ̀ sí, "Ìya!"
Ọ̀ sí ọ̀hụẹ, ọ̀ sí a, "Ósọ!", ìyá èjén-mẹ iwe nẹdi ẹ.
Ọ̀ sí a sị nẹdi ẹ buyị oken ntitẹ́ bịa, íme ụlọ́ ọ̀hị.
Yá ahúele.
Ọ̀hụẹ eféri bẹ̀ẹrẹ.
Ọ̀hụẹ làlá.
Ọ̀hụẹ ebúhe oken ntitẹ́.
Ọ̀ sí a, "Sí mmụ́ nì ókorobịá ẹbụ́ọ́ bị̀á!"

[44]The text in brackets represents a false start, corrected by the narrator in the next phrase.

Mmụ́ nì ókorobịá ẹbụ́ọ́ àbịá íme ùhuhi nwá.
Èkwan-dọn wẹ̀ élu ukpó iwe Mèlú, ébéwa wẹ̀ á.
Ébékpọ wẹ̀ élu ukpó iwe, èbéfụ́ wẹ̀ ńtitẹ́ nwa olu, èbú isi ntitẹ́ che ẹ ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn.
Èbúhe wẹ̀ isi ìhian rí nị á, bú é che ime ili nwá.
Èbú wẹ̀ ozu ntitẹ́ che ẹ ògọdọ.
Èbúhe wẹ̀ ózu ìhian rí nị á, èbú wẹ̀ ẹ́ che élu ukpó iwe ọ nọ̀ tíkpọ ime élu ukpó.
Èchénkẹ́ ẹ́, ọ rị́ émeme ọhụn, ọ̀kpa akwán.
Ọ̀kpa akwán, yá kẹ Melú gha we ẹ́ che:
Ògìsó gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà![45]
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ògìso gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ná àwá nì yá kú, ná àwá nì yá giẹ́!
Ná àwá nì yá ròrò í ròrò gbá gbọ̀ ó!
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ògisó sị ẹran rị́ ápụhá.
Ọ̀ sí ọ márin ihye ọ rị́ ekú.
Éki fọn-guọ, Ògisó èt'í abịàn.
Àlị́ ldúù ézù.
Ọ̀ sí wẹ́, "Wẹ́ há ìhian dé àkpọ́ha [Mèlú][46]!"
Ò rúe èbuán, àsí wẹ̀ Mèlú ní, "Ǹgbá í sị ìyú bị̀á!"
Ó wé ẹ che:
Ògìsó gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ògìso gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ná àwá nì yá kú, ná àwá nì yá giẹ́!
Ná àwá nì yá ròrò í ròrò gbá gbọ̀ ó!
Ò gbé mẹ́ àwá mwẹ́n nà!
Ògisó sị wẹ "Ìya!"
Ògisó sị wẹ ní ébúhè ózu e che ẹ ime ògọdọ ní ébúhè isi e che ẹ ime ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn ẹ.
Ní wẹ ru ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn ẹ, ní isi ntitẹ́ rị a, wẹ́ gbu ìyá Ògisó.
Ní wẹ ru ẹ, ní isi ìhian rí a, wẹ́ gbu ǹgbá.
Ní wẹ ru ògọdọ, ní ozu ntitẹ́ rị a, wẹ́ gbu ìyá Ògisó.
Wẹ́ rue, ní ozu ìhian rí a, wẹ́ gbu ǹgbá.
Yá wẹ nọ̀ kúkàfụ́.
Wẹ́ àlá ime ògọdọ, búfụ́á ozu ntitẹ́.
Èshí wẹ̀ ụlọ́ ọ̀hịn ẹ.
Èbúfụa wẹ̀ ísi ntitẹ́.
Ògisó sị wẹ́, élé ìya gbú ọhụn.

[45]An adversative construction, literally: "Ògisó killed that dog of mine dog on me!" This whole song is in Ẹ̀do.
[46]The narrator says *Ojúrùhẹn* here, although *Mèlú* is clear from the next sentence.

Òɡisó felihye ụtụ́.
Àsí wẹ̀ Ogisó nọ̀dí.
Wẹ́ gì ní àsí a nọ̀dí, Òɡisó àlá ime ọ̀ɡọdọ.
Òɡisó gu ọ̀ɡọdọ jén, ɡú ọ̀ɡọdọ lụá.
Ọ́ hùzi ọní ihyen ànánaì ime ẹ.
Áá! Òɡisó sị̀ ỊỊyá, yá amárin ntitẹ́, amárin ìhian?
Yá ɡha sí "ỊỊya!"
Ní oku nì, ní ahùn ní wẹ̀ hún wẹ ɡì dọ́n, èbuán kẹ̀ wẹ́ kụrụ oku.
Yá ɡha lá Ogisó tọ, yá ɡha lá m̀ɡbá tọ.
Èbuán kẹ̀ ń ɡhà jén, èbuán kẹ̀ ń ɡhà lụa.[47]
When Òɡisó left, [Mèlú] woke up.
Alas! When she woke up, she alone was on the sleeping platform.
The parrot said to her, "Is it not you that was sleeping?"
That Òɡisó had killed Òjúrùhẹn.
She said to it, "Is it so? How did he do it?"
It said to her that he cut him, that he said to the boys of his household to carry his head and put it in the shrine house, that he told them to carry his corpse and put it in the domestic tank.
She said, "OK!"
She said to the parrot, she said to it, "Quick!", it was to go to the compound of her father.
She said to it, say to her father to bring a male dog for her, in the middle of the night.
It was off.
The parrot flew straight.
The parrot came back.
The parrot brought a male dog.
He said to her, "Say to two young men to come!"
The two young men came in the night.
They prepared the sleeping platform in Mèlú's place, they cut it and split it open.
They cut and broke the sleping platform in the place, they cut off that dog [at] the neck, and carried the head of the dog and put it in the shrine house.
They brought the human head that was there, and put it into that grave.[48]
They carried the dog's corpse and put it in the domestic tank.
They brought the human corpse that was there, [and] they put it on that bed, where she had broken inside the clay bed.
Just as she was doing that, the cock crowed.
When the cock crowed, so Mèlú started to take and put it [thus]:

Òɡìsó killed that dog of mine!
He killed that dog of mine!
Òɡìsó killed that dog of mine!
He killed that dog of mine!

[47] This line is the formulaic conclusion, to which the listeners respond *Àlụà ó*! 'Welcome!', cf. §4.1.4. In another telling, Ẹ̀bú Èdiọn adds the moral *Òkpohó kà ihian* 'Woman is greater than man'.

[48] *I.e.* the grave formed by the broken clay bed in Mèlú's house.

Gave that dog and wounded it, gave that dog and cut it!
Gave that dog that I thought would be barking!
He killed that dog of mine!

Òɡisó said it was madness that came out [of her mouth].
He said he didn't know what she was saying.[49]
When day finished dawning, Òɡisó struck the gong.
The population of Benin-City gathered.
He said to them, "Choose someone to summon Mèlú!"
When he reached there, they said to Mèlú that "Your spouse says you are to come."
She took and put:

Òɡìsó killed that dog of mine!
He killed that dog of mine!
Òɡìsó killed that dog of mine!
He killed that dog of mine!
Gave that dog and wounded it, gave that dog and cut it!
Gave that dog that I thought would be barking!
He killed that dog of mine!

Òɡisó said to them, "OK there!"
Òɡisó said to them that his [Òjúrùhẹn's] corpse had been put in the domestic tank, that the head had been kept inside his shrine house.
If they reached his shrine house, if the head of a dog was there, they should kill him, Òɡisó.
If they reach there, if a human head is there, they should kill the spouse.
If they reached the domestic tank, if the corpse of a dog was there, they should kill him, Òɡisó.
When they reach there, if a human corpse was there, they should kill the spouse.
So they set out at once.
They jumped inside the domestic tank, and brought out the corpse of a dog.
They headed for the shrine house.
They brought out the head of a dog.
Òɡisó said to them that it wasn't him who killed that one.
Òɡisó flew up and stood [enraged].
They said that Òɡisó should sit down.
Just as they were telling him to sit down, Òɡisó jumped into the domestic tank.
Òɡisó swam through the tank over and back again.
He still saw nothing inside it.
Alas! Òɡisó said, was it that he did not know [the difference between] a dog and a human being?
He said, "OK!" That [concerning] this matter, that they did not see a person that they could believe, there they would end the matter.
So they left Òɡisó alone, and left the spouse alone.
Thats where I went towards, [and] that's where I arrived.

[49] *I.e.* what she was referring to; or, possibly, that she didn't know what she was talking about.

Àkọ́ nà mínÍ / Intelligence in water

(19 June 1977) by "Òjé-lá-mụ́ọ" Éleje Aghá (Ńdị Uchè Úrọ̀, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò)
transcribed and translated jointly with Ótì Úchè (Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò).

Ọ́ bụ́ ónye búrụ ụzọ bìa bụ Mbekwù.
Yá sị́ ọ chọ̀rọ ihie mèri n'ụ̀wa.
Mgbe ọ́ chọ̀rọ ihie mère n'ụ̀wa, yá jé achịrị àkọ́ n'ẹ́ka.
Mgbe ọ́ chịrị akọ́ n'ẹ́ka bụ Mbè, wèrí laje, náánị dafụ̀.
Tà ónye nọ́ elu nkwụ kùgílì é: "Mbè, ị̀ chọrọ na akọ́ bụ̀rụ nke gí ánigi?"
Yá sị̀a "Ẹ́ ẹ́."
Yá sị̀a "Gí chọta a ẹkwụkwọ, wùyí ẹ́!"
Mbè sị̀ "Ẹ̀ẹ́! Ị̀ sị ónye nọ́ ndụ̀ kakwa m akọ́? Ị̀ sị̀ ónye ká m akọ́ nọ̀?"
Yó hizú chịrị àkọ́ njà wụ̀yị ẹ́ mini.
Ónye ámụru àmụ́, nà ọ́ márị àkọ́, ónye híri nné, nà ọ́ márị àkọ́.
Ọ́ bụ́ Mbè chịrị akọ́ njà wuyíe míni, míni ní mmụma gá yá ẹka.
Yá meduwe yé nà mínÍ, yá emeduwe yé, yá sị̀ na mádụ̀ zigi íhe.
Yá chịrị àkọ́ njà wụ̀yị ẹ míni, ọ́ bụ́ á mèri akọ́ gàrị ẹ́ka.
Yá abụ́gụ Mbè wụ̀yịrị ẹ na mínÍ, àkọ́ mọ́gọdị onye ọ́jọ́dị n'obù, díkà ọ́ nọ̀ ísi.
Ọ́ bụ́ Mbé mụtàrị a.

It was the first person to come, was Tortoise.
He said he wanted [to know] what went on in the world.
When he wanted what went on in the world, he went to collect intelligence in his hand.
When he collected intelligence in his hand, that is Tortoise,
took it and headed home, one [bit] fell out.
Then someone on the top of a palm tree called out to him:[50]
"Tortoise, do you want that intelligence should be your own and nobody else's?"
He said to him, "Yes."
He said to him, "When you find a leaf for it, wrap it up!"
Tortoise said, "Oh yeah? You say some living person is smarter that me?
You say someone smarter than me exists?"
He [?went back and] collected that intelligence in a clay dish and threw it in the water.
[Therefore] a newborn baby, he has intelligence, [also] a big person, he has intelligence.
It is Tortoise who collected intelligence and threw it in the water,
water that knowledge pervades [*i.e.* now, as a result].
When he had done it, in the water, when he had done it,
that said [i.e. showed, caused] that people do not take instructions.
When he collected intelligence and threw it into the water,
that is what made intelligence go far and wide.
If it was not for Tortoise throwing it in the water, intelligence would not be
in the heart [= thoughts] of everyone, no matter who, like it is in the head.
It is Tortoise who gave birth to it [= brought it about].

[50] Someone on top of a palm tree proverbially (and actually) sees what others do not, over compound walls. The figure of the person on top of a palm tree also metaphorically describes a status in-between this world and the next, such as occupied by pregnant women, and by people in the transition of dying.

Nwátà nwá-mà-ńne / The child that knows its mother

(19 June 1977) by "Òjé-lá-mụ́ọ" Éleje Aghá (Ńdị Uchè Úrọ̀, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò)
transcribed and translated jointly with Ótì Úchè (Èzí Ukwu, Kpóghirikpó, Ẹ́hụgbò).[51]

[Òzó? Ń kwuyi ẹ ẹbọ́?]
Bụ́rụ nwanyị̀, éénwogụ nwa, wùrụ ńri jẹ́ge ubíÎ.
Mgbe ọ́ nọ̀ n'úbì, yá nọ̀rị árụ ọ́rụ́.
Ákụ́kụ ọ kùrụ n'alị, ńdị kà ọ́bà, pávuru jẹ erie yé yá, jẹ rie nri ọ bụ, rácha ohé.
Égụ agúta nwanyị̀ jẹ́rị ubíÎ, yá sị̀ na ọ́ jẹ̀ erÍenị nrí ẹ.
Yá gàrị chọ́rụ nri ẹ́ m, bị̀a oriri, kà ọ́ọ́ hụsị nri.
Yá kwa ẹkwá, kwá ẹkwá, kwá ẹkwá.
Yá jụ "Ònyé rìrì ńri mu e?
"Íbe mụ eénwogu nwá, énwógu m nwá, ònyé gàarị be ríe ḿ nri é?
"Ọ̀ nọ chọ́ n'ọ́rụ́ m, chùẹ́ ḿ?"
Yá dà íhi ẹ́, vúru na àlá.
Mgbe ọ́ làru úlò è, wụ nri ọ̀zọ́, jẹ́gẹnụ ụbọchí ọ̀zọ́ gara agá,
yá pavukwe rìrié yé yá á. Íbe ọ nọrọ̀ ọ́rụ́.
Yá bịa kwa kwa ẹkwá àbalị ẹtọ́, ónye dibie sị̀ á,
"Gí chịrị ùwele, wùyí e n'abọ a, gí wèrí mmà, wùyí e n'abọ a,
gụ́á madụ̀ ọ́gụ̀, ùwele ẹsáà, ḿmà ẹsáà chịrị á jèé, nà ńdị m na-éri gị nri jè ényò ńdị gí́."
Yá ru ẹ, èwerí nrí ndị ọbà, chị̀rí mmà ẹsáà wụ́sị, chị̀rí ùwele ẹsáà wụ́sị, yá nọ̀rụ árụ ọ́rụ́.
Ńdị na-èrÍkwe nri m bị̀a oriri ẹ́.
Yá sì á nà "Ọ́ bụ́ ónye i gidèri m já bụ nwá gị. Nke í gídegi amági abụ̀ nwá gí́."
Wò ríge nri riduwo e, rùé wụ́ ụlá, ónye aánị sị̀ "Ọ́ díkwagị mma nà ai èmèndegí, Chí nà Ékè."[52]
"Àì erÍduwo nri nwanyị̀ áà izú ḿbụ, àì ríe ńri ẹ ìzu ebụ́ọ́, àì rí ẹ́ nké ẹ̀tọ́."
"Ọ́ dígị mma ai èmèndekwegi ẹ ọ́rụ. Ọ́ nọ̀ n'ánọ̀ égụ aà lá."
Wò kwé, wò chí́rị, wò rụ́ na-àrụ́, ná-àrụ́ , ná-àrụ́, nwáànyị áà bó ọnwaà chí́ m̀,
nọ́ tọ́gbọrụ àlị bụrụ ọ́bà.
Yá egíde ọmụ̀ na ọ́ bụ̀rụ ọ́bà.
Yá egíde ọmụ̀ na ọ́ bụ̀rụ ọ́bà.
Yá egíde ọmụ̀ na ọ́ bụ̀rụ ọ́bà.
Yá egídege wo ẹsáà, ọ́ kwà náànị nke ó gìderi, gíderi ẹ́ ẹhọ.
Yá ètí ẹ́: "Áaaa, ẹ́họ mụ ọ! Áaaa, ẹ́họ mụ ọ! Hábúzoe ḿ, ágbálasigị m!"
Yá sị̀ á, "Nà í kà eje gbala kà ńdị kè únù."
Yá sị̀ á, "Ágbálagị m!"
Yá jìge yá, yá sị̀ á, "Ọ́ bụ̀ í míg̀ị ma nsọ́ ḿ asọ, mà gí́ jìri ḿ rue èzí."
Yá sị̀ á, "Ḿ asọ́gụ a bụ gíní?! Énwogụ m nwa!"
Yá sị̀ á, "Íhe i jì kú m bụ Ọ́bà-nwá-mà-ńne. Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne. Ékúkwe ḿ ihe ọ̀zọ́!"
Yá èkwé.

[51] A very similar story from Ọ́ka is given in Thomas (1913 *vol.* 3: 76-81).

[52] In colonial-era missionary lexicography and in the conteporary discourse of Ìgbo-speaking christian converts, the expression Chí-nà-ékè is asserted to mean "God-the-creator". But Nwáọ̀ga 1984, following Àchebé 1975, shows that this is a tendentious mistranslation of a dualistic expression *Chí nà Ékè* 'Sun.deity and Human.destiny'. Cf. §4.5.2 above.

Yá laje ma-àlá, yá sị́ á nà ọ́ mógụ̀ ọjé-ọkụ, nà ọ́kụ jẹ adụ á.
Yá sị́ á, "Gí ejékwe!"
"Gí yí ihe ọbụlà, nà ọ́ dịgị mma, mà gí nịduyekwe ḿ ozi!
Nà ọ́ bụ́ íhe zári ọ̀ha èzí jà ekwú ḿ bụ̀ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne, mà-ńnà.
Ọ́ bụ̀ nke wó jẹ̀ ná-èkú ḿ."
À ná-èkú ẹ́ ya.
Nwányi è pávuru jà agbá ohù, jẹ̀ débéri ẹ, sị́ na "Ó jékwe ọkụ!"
Ta yejege ohú ọ̀dụdụ ọ́dụ̀, sị́ á "Èkúku ẹ́ ọ̀bà! Èkúku ẹ́ ọ̀bà! Èkúku ẹ́ ọ̀bà!"
Yá kwéyị ẹ́.
Ó kudueri ẹ ya.
Mgbe ó kúdueri ẹ ya, yá nọ̀rụ úbì, Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne sị́ á,
"Gí bịa siberị ḿ mini, ń jà wụ́ ụ̀hụ́, nà ádị̀ m ínyi."
Yá sị́ á, "Káaaa! Gí yá nwa ọ̀bà ǹtà ja ekú mu e mà ámụ̀rụ mụ́ bị́á baà! Èsímerigi ḿ mini!"
Nwátà gábá úlò ja chíṛị ihe ẹ́, sị́ "Ó bụ̀ ụzụ mụ́ lá."
Kà íhe ọ kàdúru nne ẹ́, nà ọ́ bụ̀ gém bụ́ nsọ́ dị́ á n'ụ̀hụ́.
Yá èjéfụ̀tá ogó, ńdị léche uchè jegide ẹ́.
Yá sị́ chá, "Ùke úchè, hàkwá nwà! Ọ́ bụ̀ ḿ bụ̀ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!"
Wò pári á, tụ́kwasị á, "Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne, ọ̀ bụ nghị́ńị́ méri gí?"
Yá sì á,
Óhù n'úlò ekú ḿ Ụ́gbọ́ghọ̀-ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó![53]
Ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó! Ẹ̀chama Díbe ń lajè ńlaje!
Íbe ń jijè ńjije, ń je nje ḿ, jeleke ***èṭụma*** *nje*[54]*, nịeleké è!*
Yá gba ḿ chá chá chá, báfụ̀ n'ụzọ̀ úbì, ná-èlé ndị ubì wátaje nị̀.
Wò sị́ á, "Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne, ì meri agáá n'ibi è?"
Yá sì á,
Óhù n'úlò ekú ḿ Ụ́gbọ́ghọ̀-ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó!
Ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó! Ẹ̀chama Díbe ń lajè ńlaje!
Íbe ń jijè ńjije, ń je nje ḿ, jeleke ***èṭụma*** *nje, nịeleké è!*
Yá hekwárị ndị ubì.
Yá jẹ ntutù, jà kpọ́rọ nne ẹ́ ihu wátaje ubì.
Nne ẹ́ parị abọ́ tuhe, jà báyeri ẹ́.
Yá sì á,
Ńne é, ńne é, kùbénụ ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Ọ̀ha ezí èkú ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Ọ̀ha ógó èkú ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Yá bụ́rụ ohù n'úlò ekú ḿ Ụ́gbọ́ghọ̀-ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó!
Ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó! Ẹ̀chama Díbe ń lajè ńlaje!
Íbe ń jijè ńjije, ń je nje ḿ, jeleke ***èṭụma*** *nje, nịeleké è!*
Yá he nne ẹ́.

[53] In the Ọ́ka version of the story, Thomas (1913 *vol.* 3: 78) has *ọno abwọ akb'ata n'ago*, which is probably *ọ́nụ agbọ a kpàta n'ágú* 'calabash leaf that they collected in the fields'.

[54] The Ọ́ka version has *tómangwè* not translated by Thomas (1913 *vol.* 3: 79).

Yá àgbá ntutùtutututu.
Ńnà á vunwe ọgụ̀ wátaje.
Ńnà á kadụmà ẹ́nya dụ̀ á, yá parị ọgụ̀ túhe ẹ́.
Yá sì á,"Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne, ọ̀ bụ ngíńí?"
Yá sì á,
Ńnà á, ńnà á, kùbénụ ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Ńne é, ńne é, kùbénụ ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Ọ̀ha ezí èkú ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Ọ̀ha ógó èkú ḿ Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne!
Yá bụ́rụ ohù n'úlò ekú ḿ Ụ́gbọ́ghọ̀-ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó!
Ḿ-kpàta-ọ́nụ-ogó! Ẹ̀chama Díbe ń lajè ńlaje!
Íbe ń jijè ńjije, ń je nje ḿ, jeleke ***èṭụma*** *nje, nịeleké è!*
Yá àhụ́e nnà á, gbákwarị rùé n'ubì já dọrụ bụ̀rụ ọ́bà, kè ńdị kè wó bụ̀.
Ọ́ bụ̀ á mèri, yọ́ bụrụ sị́ na eméduerì zụcháta á n'èzí,
gí amụ́gụ nwá, gí meduwo é, jà kọ́a ọ̀bà n'úbì, ná wó bụ̀rụ nwá gí.
Ọ́ bụ̀ a dí a mèri, ndị nwanyị́ mụá nwá, wó rute n'ụzọ̀ úlò,
átúgbụgụ oke òg̀oro ọ́bà, kà wó aàgábugè úlò.
Á nè jụ́ta onye bu ụzọ̀ bịá n'ulò, kà wó eèkwé akarị́ únù.
Ọ́ bụ̀ nsọ́ wó.
Ázọ́jagị a, íke adíg̀ị a zọja ọbà, á nè jụ́ta onye bu ụzọ̀ bịá n'ulò, "Kà í ma àgábatáje."
Yá kwénogụ àzọ́ja, "Nà í nọ̀m nọ́ n'úzọ̀ úlò ka í wúrụ."
Ọ́ bụ̀ ka yá ọ̀nwá garị̀.
[Another? Do I tell a second one for him?]
[There] was a woman, who had no child, who prepared food and set out for the farm.
When she was at the farm, she was at work.
The crop she planted, things like gourds, got up and ate it on her, went and ate that food, and licked up the stew to the last.
Hunger had affected the woman who went to the farm, she said she would go eat her food.
She went and looked for that food of hers, came to eat, [but] she did not see food anymore.
She cried, and cried, and cried.
She asked, "Who ate my food?"
"Since I have no child, I have no child, who would go to eat its food on me?"[55]
"Does it want to chase me away from my work?"
She packed her things, carried them on her head and started for home.
When she reached her house, prepared more food, and started off after another day had passed, it [*i.e.* the gourds] got up and ate it [the food] on her, since [while] she was at work.
She came to tears again, [and this happened for] three days, [until] the diviner said to her,
"If you get some hoes, put them in her [*i.e.* your] farm basket,

[55] An example of the adversative (antibenefactive), where the grammatical possessor of the food (*ẹ́* '3sg') is distinct from the antibeneficiary (*ḿ* '1sg'). In most examples cited in the literature on grammatical relations, these two roles are coreferent (e.g. "who would eat my food on me?"), but the text at hand shows that such an analysis does not hold necessarily, i.e. the antibeneficiary is not just a species of "possessor raising".

if you get some machetes, put them in her [*i.e.* your] farm basket,
count the number of people, seven hoes, seven machetes, collect them and go,
and those people that are eating your food on you, will turn into *your* people."
When she would reach it [*i.e.* the farm], collect seven machetes and set them out [on the ground],
collect seven hoes and set them out, she would stay working.
Those still eating the food would come to eat it.
He [*i.e.* the diviner] said to her that "It is that one you catch that will be your child.
The one you don't catch, won't be your child."
They ate the food, finished eating it, reached [the time that] was departure, one [of them] said,
"It is really not right that we do not help [her], [by] Spirit and Destiny!
She is going home hungry!"
They agreed. They picked up [the tools and] they worked, working, working, working, [until]
the woman surprised this one which [then] slithered out, it fell down and was a calabash.
When she caught this one, it [fell and] was a calabash.
When she caught that one, it [fell and] was a calabash.
When she caught another one, it [fell and] was a calabash.
When she continued catching that one,
she caught one which she seized, seized it on the stomach.
It shouted to her, "Aaaah, my stomach! Aaaah, my stomach!
Let go of me and I'll not run away again!"
She said to it that "You will still run away like the rest of you [did]!"
It said to her, "I'm not running away!"
She continued to hold on to it, it said to her "[The problem] is that you won't know how to
preserve my taboo, if you keep me until you reach home."
She said to it, "What do you mean not respect it?! I have no child!"
It said to her, "What you will be calling me is Calabash-that-knows-its-mother.
Little-child-that-knows-its-mother. Don't call me anything else!"
And she agreed.
When she started heading home, it said to her that it would not go near fire [*i.e.* to cook],
that fire would pierce it.
She said to it, "You won't go [near]!"
[It said,] "If you give me anything at all [to do], it is not good, if you assign me any chore!
That the appellation that the people of the village will call me is
Little-child-that-knows-its-mother, or -father. That's what they'll be calling me."
And they were calling it that.
This woman got up and bought a slave, went and kept him/her,
[and] said that "It [*i.e.* the gourd] must not go to the fire!"
And she was constantly admonishing the slave,
saying "Don't call it Gourd! Don't call it Gourd! Don't call it Gourd!"
S/he [*i.e.* the slave] agreed.
She finished telling him/her.
When she finished telling him/her, [and] she [*i.e.* the woman] was at the farm,

Little-child-that-knows-its-mother said to him/her [*i.e.* the slave],
"You come start heating water for me, I'm going to bathe, because I'm grungy."
S/he [*i.e.* the slave] said to it, "That does it! You tiny little calabash presume to call me,
someone who was born, to come in [and work]! I'm not heating any water for you!"
The "child" went inside the house to collect its things, and said "It is my intention to leave"
[on account of] the thing it had enjoined its mother,
that it was the only thing that was taboo in its body [*i.e.* in its whole make-up].
When it was coming out into the village commons, the watchkeepers went to catch it.
It said to all, "Watchkeeper age grade, let go of me!
It's me, Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!"
They picked it up, and accosted it,
"Little-child-that-knows-its-mother, what's the matter with you?"
It said to him [*i.e.* to them],
The slave at home called me Gourd-leaf-that-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons!
That-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons! I'm off on my return to Ẹ̀chama Díbe!
To where I'm going, where I'm traveling, going far on a [?*long journey, I'm going so very far!*
It ran on and on, and came out onto the farm road,
and saw the farm people on their way coming home.
They said to it, "Little-child-that-knows-its-mother, what are you up to here?"
It said to him [*i.e.* to them],
The slave at home called me Gourd-leaf-that-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons!
That-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons! I'm off on my return to Ẹ̀chama Díbe!
To where I'm going, where I'm traveling, going far on a [?*long journey, I'm going so very far!*
It broke away from the farm people.
It went a ways and met its mother face to face, as she was returning home from the farm.
She lifted down her farm basket [from her head], to grab it [= Nwátà-nwá-mà-ńne].
It said to her,
Mother, mother, started to call me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
The people at home called me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
The people in the village commons called me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
[*But*] *it was the slave at home that called me*
Gourd-leaf-that-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons!
That-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons! I'm off on my return to Ẹ̀chama Díbe!
To where I'm going, where I'm traveling, going far on a [?*long journey, I'm going so very far!*
It jumped past its mother.
It ran along farther and farther.
Its father was just carrying a hoe on the way home.
When its father caught sight of it, he cast his hoe aside.
He said to it, "Little-child-that-knows-its-mother, what's the matter?"
It said to him,
Father, Father, started to call me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
Mother, mother, started to call me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!

The people at home called me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
The people in the village commons called me Little-child-that-knows-its-mother!
[*But*] *it was the slave at home that called me*
Gourd-leaf-that-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons!
That-I-collected-at-the-gate-of-the-village-commons! I'm off on my return to Ẹ̀chama Díbe!
To where I'm going, where I'm traveling, going far on a [?*long journey, I'm going so very far!*
It jumped past its father, ran on until it reached the farm to become round and be a gourd,
[just] as those [other] ones were.
That is what caused it to be, [even] if you have done everything and been well trained at home,
[and nevertheless] if you don't procreate a child,
if [then] you do everything to plant gourds in the farm, that they [will] become your child.
That is also why, when women give birth to a child,
[and] they reach the doorway of the house,[56]
if you don't put down a big empty gourd, they won't [be allowed to] enter the house.
You ask the [name of the] person who first entered the house [?*i.e.* who was previously born]
that they don't want to tell you.
It is their prohibited action.[57]
If she doesn't smash it with her foot, if she is too weak to smash the gourd,
one asks the [name of the] person who first entered the house, "if you want to go inside".[58]
If she doesn't agree to smash [it], "You stay there in the doorway of the house, you stand still."
That's how [far] this one goes.

[56] *I.e.* to go inside, since childbirth takes place *al fresco* in the woman's domestic compound.

[57] On the distinction between *ǹsọ́* and *álụ̀*, cf. §4.2.2 above.

[58] I.e. a condition which is virtually impossible to satisfy. Cf. Ọ̀jọbụ's proverbial close to the story *Òkpóghó nì udele* 'The pelican and the vulture', p. 331*f.* above.
Ọ́nụ́ mụzọ̀, ékèlé ẹ́, wẹ́ aá bàn-há mụnọ̀.
The door, if you don't salute [i.e. acknowledge] it, you can't go inside the house.

References

Conventional spellings of names are given in brackets; other words are corrected without noting the misspelling in the source (I apologize for errors.) Words whose pronounciation I don't know appear in bracketed form only. Some authors (e.g. Ọ́nwụejọ́gwụ̀) appear in both sections, ethnographic/general and linguistic. Alphabetization ignores diacritics: Ọ̀rịmíchèn before Oyèlárăn.

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JolanPanNigerian typeface and PanNigerian keyboard for the Macintosh were created in 1985 by Edward Ọgụejiọfọ and Victor Manfredi, as part of a comprehensive approach by the Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, to the storage and production of texts in a Nigerian language medium. PanNigerian fonts support the full range of text technologies, including manual typewriter, handset letterpress, linotype, analog photocomposition and digital outline laserfonts. A PanNigerian font is one which contains all the characters found in the orthographies of the major Nigerian languages, including especially Hausa, Ìgbo and Yorùbá, with two further requirements. The diacritics, above and below the letter, must be fully legible in all combinations; and the keyboard production of all symbols must be convenient. Most phototypesetting systems do not accommodate tone marks on upper-case letters, and it is usually difficult to obtain exact placement of the tone mark or subdot on characters of all different widths. The PanNigerian system addresses these two problems by reducing the relative height of upper case letters, and by individually defining each combination of a tone mark and/or subdot with a Roman letter. To these specifications, Hermann Zapf redrew the original PanNigerian design on the base of Impressum, a modern Bauer letterpress font which was provided for this purpose by Wolfgang Hartmann (Fundición Tipográfica Neufville, Travesera de Gracia 183, 08012 Barcelona, Spain). JolanPanNigerian is the experimental Macintosh version of PanNigerian, developed for the *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria*. Palatino is the Adobe/MacIntosh version of Hermann Zapf's original Stempel Palatino. JolanPanNigerian is defined in bitmap as well as outline forms using Fontastic/ Fontographer software (Altsys Corp., 269 W. Renner RD, Richardson TX 75080, 214-680-2060). JolanPanNigerian characters are conveniently accessed, with a minimum of keystrokes and employing straightforward key combinations, via the MacKeyméléon keyboard customizer (Logiciel Avenue, 2162 boul. Charest Ouest, Sainte-Foy QC Canada G1N 2G3).

JolanPanNigerian 12

103 PanNigerian characters

ɓɗƙṣ ḿm̀m̄ ńǹn̄ń ƁƊƘṢ ḾM̀M̄ ŃǸN̄Ń Ɲ
áàāâ əəàāâ éèēê ẹ́ẹ̀ẹ̄ệ íìīî ị́ị̀ị̄ị̂ óòōô ọ́ọ̀ọ̄ộ úùūû ụ́ụ̀ụ̄ụ̂
ÁÀĀ ƏƏ́Ə̀Ə̄ ÉÈĒ Ẹ́Ẹ̀Ẹ̄ ÍÌĪ Ị́Ị̀Ị̄ ÓÒŌ Ọ́Ọ̀Ọ̄ ÚÙŪ Ụ́Ụ̀Ụ̄

86 standard characters (52 roman, 10 numerals, 24 punctuation marks)

nanbncndnenfngnhninjnknlnmnonpnqnrnsntnunvnwnxnynzn
NANBNCNDNENFNGNHNINJNKNLNMNONPNQNRNSNTNUNVNWNXNYNZN
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 ‹ ([{ . , : ; ? / \ | + = @ ¨ # * ' ")] } ›

additional characters (partial list)

ṭḅḍṛṃṇɲŋɱɯ ạ ǎəěẹ̌ǐị̌ǒọ̌ǔụ̌ ȧə̇ėẹ̇ i̇ị̇ȯọ̇u̇ụ̇ ãə̃ẽɛ̃ĩɪ̃õɔ̃ ũʊ ʊ̃

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

(To be placed in Original Copy)

The undersigned, appointed by the

Division

Department

Committee Linguistics and Social Anthropology

have examined a thesis entitled

Ágbọ̀ and Ẹ́hụgbò:
Ìgbo linguistic consciousness,
its origins and limits

presented by Victor Manfredi

candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

Signature .....

Typed name S. J. Tambiah (chair)

Signature .....

Typed name Susumu Kuno

Signature .....

Typed name Sally Falk Moore

Signature .....

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Date 24 May 1991

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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William James Hall
33 Kirkland Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

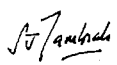
May 16, 1991

The Registrar
Harvard University
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Holyoke Center, Eighth Floor

Re: Victor Manfredi
Linguistics and Social Anthropology - Ad Hoc

This is to inform you that Victor Manfredi has fulfilled all requirements for a Ph.D. in Anthropology. I am sending you a letter from Professor Kuno stating the same for Linguistics.

Yours sincerely,



Stanley J. Tambiah
Professor of Anthropology

enclosure
xc: Victor Manfredi

SJT/rjg

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
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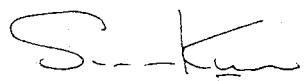
May 7, 1991

Professor Stanley J. Tambiah
Department of Anthropology
William James Hall 420

Dear Professor Tambiah

This is to let you know that Victor Manfredi has fulfilled all the requirements for a Ph.D. in Linguistics.

Sincerely yours,



Susumu Kuno
Professor of Linguistics

cc: Prof. Calvert Watkins, Chairman
Linguistics Department

Date April 22, 1991

HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

CANDIDATES FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT, DIVISION, OR COMMITTEE OF

LINGUISTICS & SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY - AD HOC

DUE ON OR BEFORE MAY 2 1 1991

REPORT ON RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEGREE

NAME	NOT recommended	RECOMMENDED	Special requirements to be met, if any
Manfredi, Victor		✓	

The candidate has fulfilled all requirements on the side of Social Anthropology (Sally Falk Moore and Stanley Tambiah are the Committee Members representing this discipline) Professors Susumu Kuno and Ken Hale (from MIT) are the Members representing Linguistics.

REMARKS

(Signature)

Chairman

S J Tambiah