

# A RECLASSIFICATION OF THE IGBO =rV SUFFIXES

M. C. Onukawa

School of Humanities, Linguistics/Igbo  
Abia State University, Uturu, Nigeria

The =rV suffixes play quite significant morphological, syntactic and semantic roles in the Igbo verbal system, but their classification in the available literature is not fully satisfactory revealing what they are and do in Igbo syntax. This article, therefore, attempts a reclassification of these suffixes.

The picture emerging from Igbo =rV suffixes does not call for a dichotomy of inflectional and derivational, or inflectional and non-inflectional, or a trichotomy of inflectional, extensional and derivational. The facts of these suffixes suggest a more appropriate and convenient dichotomy of derivational and non-derivational. We further subclassify the non-derivational =rV suffixes into three, namely =rV<sub>1</sub>, =rV<sub>2</sub>, and =rV<sub>3</sub>, based on their syntactic and semantic functions.

Dans le système verbal de l'igbo, les suffixes =rV jouent des rôles morphologiques, syntaxiques et sémantiques assez importants, mais dans les écrits disponibles, leur classement manque de révéler leurs natures et fonctions dans la syntaxe igbo. Cette communication tente un reclassement de ces suffixes. Le classement des suffixes =rV de l'igbo, dans l'ensemble, ne nécessite ni une dichotomie entre suffixes flexionnels et dérivationnels, ou entre flexionnels et non-flexionnels, ni une division tripartite entre suffixes flexionnels, dérivationnels et extensionnels. Nous proposons un classement plus logique et pertinent entre suffixes dérivationnels et non-dérivationnels. Eu égard à leurs fonctions sémantiques et syntaxiques, on peut reclasser les suffixes non-dérivationnels en =rV<sub>1</sub>, =rV<sub>2</sub> et =rV<sub>3</sub>.

## 0. INTRODUCTION

Igbo has various categories of =rV suffixes, i.e., homophonous suffixes consisting of the constant consonant *r* plus a copy of the preceding vowel.

The =rV suffixes are quite enigmatic in occurrence and have been classified according to their observable distinctive meanings and syntactic functions. They have also been given various semantic labels. Numerals are used, in some cases, to distinguish the various =rV suffixes.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. CLASSIFICATION OF THE =rV SUFFIXES IN THE LITERATURE

A review of the available literature on Igbo =rV suffixes reveals that analysts in Igbo studies do not agree on the number and classification of the said suffixes in the language. They also vary in their use of terminology, semantic labels, and other details. Analysts whose works are available include Green and Igwe (1963), Igwe and Green (1964), Carrell (1970), Welmers (1970), Williamson (1972, n.d.), Winston (1973), Okonkwo (1974), Emenanjo (1978), Nwachukwu (1983), Onwumeme (1983-84), and Uwalaka (1988). These works will be reviewed in the above order.

Green and Igwe (1963:54-58) distinguish between two =rV suffixes which they refer to as the *ra* (TIME) suffix and *ra* (NON-TIME) suffix. They state that the vowel of either of these suffixes "reduplicates the preceding syllable except in the negative verb form where it either reduplicates or harmonizes as *ra* or *re*." Their examples include the ones in (1).

- |     |                        |                                          |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (1) | <b>o vùrù abọ</b>      | <b>ra</b> (TIME) suffix                  |
|     | He carried a basket.   |                                          |
|     | <b>o vùrù abọ</b>      | <b>ra</b> (TIME) and (NON-TIME) suffixes |
|     | He picked up a basket. |                                          |
|     | <b>ọ zùrù eghu</b>     | <b>ra</b> (TIME) suffix                  |
|     | He bought a goat.      |                                          |

<sup>1</sup> This article has gained immensely from the useful suggestions of Professor Kay Williamson for which the author is very grateful.

Tones are marked herein using Green and Igwe's (1963) convention whereby all low tones (ˊ) and downstepped tones (ˋ) are overtly represented, leaving only high tones unmarked. The citation form of verbs and morpheme boundaries is marked with hyphen (-) and the citation form of suffixes, except for quoted forms, is marked with an equal sign (=).

- o zùrù mèghu**                      **ra** (TIME) and (NON-TIME) suffixes  
 He bought a goat for me.  
**o zùrù eghu**                        **ra** (TIME) and (NON-TIME) suffixes /  
                                          **ra** (TIME) and **ra** (TIME) suffixes  
 He bought a goat for himself. /  
 He used to buy a goat.

Igwe and Green (1964) hold about the same view as Green and Igwe (1963), though they discuss the occurrence of the =**rV** suffixes in more detail in their first (1963) work. They state in (1964) that "when both **ra** (TIME) and **ra** (NON-TIME) suffixes are used together as they may be with both tenses of the verb and also with the participle, one of them appears as a vowel which lengthens the stem vowel of the verb" as in (2).

- (2) **o zùrù m anu**  
 He bought meat for (or from) me.

Next, Carrell (1970:113) recognizes two =**rV** suffixes which she labels "the benefactive and assertive suffixes." According to her "Two morphemes, the benefactive meaning-modifying suffix Adv<sub>3</sub>, and assert are listed in the lexicon with the phonological distinctive features for **r** . . . . No other morphemes have been found in Igbo which have their segments totally assimilated to the preceding vowel." Some of her examples which have been orthographically modified are given in (3).

- (3) **o riri nri**                      He eats food.  
**o nwèrè ego**                      He has money.  
**o wàrà àwa**                      It is broken.  
**o zùtààrà yà ji**                      He buys yam for him.

She also states that "when the benefactive and assertive occur in sequence Adv<sub>3</sub> Assert, the first is realized as a vowel segment only." An example is in (4).

- (4) **o zùtàràrà yà ji** > **o zùtààrà yà ji**  
 He bought yams for him.

Welmers (1970) recognizes two =**rV** suffixes which he labels -**rV** (FACTATIVE) and -**rV** (APPLICATIVE).

In the introductory portion of her dictionary, Williamson (1972) records four =**rV** suffixes in Onjcha: -**lu** (-**lu**) (FACTATIVE), -**lu** (-**lu**) (BENEFACTIVE), -**lu** (EMPHATIC), and -**lu** 'from away'. In her other work, Williamson (n.d.) recognizes two =**rV** suffixes which she refers to as =**rV** (PAST) and =**rV** (STATIVE).

Winston (1973) identifies four =**rV** suffixes and distinguishes them as -**rV**<sub>1</sub> 'for oneself', -**rV**<sub>2</sub> 'for (the specified person)', -**rV**<sub>3</sub> (PUNCTUAL), and -**rV**<sub>4</sub> (PAST).

According to Okonkwo (1974:42) "A suffix made up of **r** and the same vowel as the vowel of the verb root is attached to the verb root to form the perfect tense" as in (5).

- (5) verb root: **ta**  
       suffix:    **rà (r + a)**  
       perfect: **tàrà**

The simple deduction from Okonkwo's analysis is that he recognizes just one =**rV** suffix in Igbo which marks what he calls (PERFECT TENSE).

Emenanjo (1978:95-96) recognizes two =**rV** suffixes, one inflectional =**rV** suffix which he labels the (INDICATIVE AFFIRMATIVE) suffix, and one extensional =**rV** suffix which he labels the (APPLICATIVE) suffix.

In Nwachukwu (1983), he recognizes three =**rV** suffixes: =**rV**<sub>1</sub> (STATIVE PRESENT) suffix with examples in (6), -**rV** (PAST) suffix which marks the past tense with examples in (7), and the -**rV** (PREPOSITIONAL) suffix with examples in (8).

- (6) òbì nwèrè ego      Obi is wealthy.  
àda bùrù ibù      Ada is fat.
- (7) o gbùrù eghu      He killed a goat.  
o zùrù ohì      He stole.
- (8) bikò gàrà m̄ ozi      Please go on the errand for me.  
nàrà yā ego      Take money from him.  
wèrè yā gāwa      Take it along with you.

For Onwuemene (1983:84), whose work appears to be modelled on Winston's (1973), there are four =rV suffixes in Igbo. They are =rV<sub>1</sub> the (SUBJECT ADHESIVE) suffix, -rV<sub>2</sub> the (INDIRECT OBJECT) suffix, =rV<sub>3</sub> the (ASSERTIVE) suffix (which he claims is latent in his North Western Igbo), and =rV<sub>4</sub> which he believes is a (TIME) suffix in Qhùhù Igbo but does not occur in the North Western dialects. Some of his examples from (1983:7) are given in (9) and (10).

- (9) CV rV<sub>3</sub> rV<sub>1</sub>  
o vùrùrù abọ  
Qhùhù: o vùrùrù abọ  
Isele Uku: o ò bùùlù m̄ abọ  
He carried off a basket.
- (10) CV rV<sub>3</sub> rV<sub>4</sub>  
ọ zùrùrù jì  
Qhùhù: ọ zùrùrù jì  
Isele Uku: o ò te go jì  
He used to buy yam (in the past).

Uwalaka (1988) records three =rV suffixes. They are -rV (ASSERTIVE), -rV (PAST), and -rV (BENEFACTIVE).

The table in (11) summarizes the =rV suffixes as recognized by the various analysts, listed under the classification of the suffixes in this article.

| (11)                  | =rV <sub>1</sub>                       | =rV <sub>2</sub>        | =rV <sub>3</sub>                                                                |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Green and Igwe (1963) | -ra (TIME)                             | -ra (TIME)              | -ra (NON-TIME)                                                                  |
| Igwe and Green (1964) | -ra (TIME)                             | -ra (TIME)              | -ra (NON-TIME)                                                                  |
| Carrell (1970)        | -rV (ASSERTIVE)                        | ?                       | r Adv <sub>3</sub> (BENEFACTIVE)                                                |
| Welmers (1970)        | -rV (FACTATIVE)                        | ?                       | -rV (APPLICATIVE)                                                               |
| Williamson (1972)     | -lụ(-lụ)<br>(FACTATIVE)                | -lụ<br>(EMPHATIC)       | -lụ(-lụ) (BENEFACTIVE)<br>-lụ 'from away'                                       |
| Winston (1973)        | -rV <sub>3</sub> (PUNCTUAL)            | -rV <sub>4</sub> (PAST) | -rV <sub>1</sub> 'for oneself'<br>-rV <sub>2</sub> 'for (the specified person)' |
| Okonkwọ (1974)        | -rV perfect                            | ?                       | ?                                                                               |
| Emenanjọ (1978)       | =rV (INDICATIVE)<br>(AFFIRMATIVE)      | ?                       | =rV (APPLICATIVE)                                                               |
| Nwachukwu (1983)      | -rV<br>(STATIVE PRESENT)<br>-rV (PAST) | ?                       | -rV (PREPOSITIONAL)                                                             |
| Onwuemene (1983-84)   | -rV <sub>3</sub>                       | -rV <sub>4</sub>        | -rV <sub>1</sub> (ADHESIVE SUFFIX)<br>-rV <sub>2</sub> (INDIRECT OBJECT)        |
| Uwalaka (1988)        | -rV<br>(ASSERTIVE)                     | -rV (PAST)              | -rV (BENEFACTIVE)                                                               |

The following observations can be made from the works reviewed:

- a. Many analysts recognize no more than two =rV suffixes.
- b. Some analysts give the impression that some of the =rV suffixes mark (TENSE).
- c. Many analysts do not deem it necessary to distinguish the =rV suffixes with numerals.
- d. In those works where the =rV suffixes are distinguished with numerals, no reasons are stated for the order of numbering.
- e. Some =rV suffixes which are clearly functionally the same are classified as different suffixes in some of these works.
- f. In some case different =rV suffixes are identified as one.

## 2. THE PRESENT CLASSIFICATION

### 2.1 BROAD CLASSIFICATION

We observe that the Igbo =rV suffixes are either inflectional, extensional<sup>2</sup> (meaning modifiers), or derivational in function.

The derivational =rV suffix is completely different from the others on the basis of its morphological function of forming words which belong to a different form class from the source word. Some =rV suffix-derived words (nouns) are given in (12).

- |                      |   |         |
|----------------------|---|---------|
| (12) àmàrà (à-mà-rV) | < | -ma     |
| lenience             |   | be good |
| àṣìrì (à-sì-rV)      | < | -sì     |
| gossiping            |   | say     |
| èkpere (è-kpe-rV)    | < | -kpe    |
| prayer               |   | request |
| oburu (o-bu-rV)      | < | -bu     |
| porter               |   | carry   |
| ùsòrò (ù-sò-rV)      | < | -sò     |
| order/arrangement    |   | follow  |

The inflectional and extensional =rV suffixes are more related: each of them can occur in verb forms and sentence types; they even co-occur in some cases.

It is deemed more appropriate and convenient to classify the =rV suffixes into two broad classes: derivational and non-derivational.

The derivational class consists of one suffix and the only derivational =rV suffix as shown in (12). This =rV suffix (=rV<sub>4</sub>) is discussed elsewhere (see Onukawa (1992-93)). The non-derivational class, on the other hand, is made up of the inflectional and the extensional =rV suffixes. We devote the rest of this article to the discussion of the non-derivational =rV suffixes.

### 2.2 SUB-CLASSIFICATION OF THE NON-DERIVATIONAL =rV SUFFIXES

We believe that, from their meanings and roles they perform in verb forms, it is proper to subclassify the non-derivational =rV suffixes into three with the numbers 1-3. It is our view that Igbo has the non-derivational =rV suffixes in (13).

- (13) =rV<sub>1</sub> assertive suffix (inflectional)  
 =rV<sub>2</sub> previous suffix (inflectional)  
 =rV<sub>3</sub> applicative suffix (extensional)

<sup>2</sup> We owe this term to Emenanjo (1978).

### 2.2.1 In defense of our numbering

The grouping and numbering presented in this article deviate somewhat from what is contained in familiar grammar books and analyses of Igbo. Our numbering is based on some considerations with regard to the occurrences of the =rV suffixes given in the following paragraphs.

In all cases where the =rV suffixes co-occur (e.g., the indicative affirmative sentence type), the co-occurrence must be either

=rV (ASSERTIVE) and =rV (PREVIOUS), or

=rV (ASSERTIVE) and =rV (APPLICATIVE).

For this *prominence* of the =rV (ASSERTIVE) in these co-occurrences of the =rV suffixes, we number it =rV<sub>1</sub>.

The =rV (PREVIOUS) cannot be suffixed alone to a verb. It must occur with the =rV (ASSERTIVE) suffix (=rV<sub>1</sub>). For this obligatory co-occurrence with the *most prominent* =rV suffix, we number it =rV<sub>2</sub>.

Though the =rV (APPLICATIVE) suffix co-occurs with the =rV (ASSERTIVE) suffix (=rV<sub>1</sub>), their co-occurrence is not obligatory. This is considered as *less degree of attachment to the (prominent) =rV<sub>1</sub>* and therefore is numbered =rV<sub>3</sub>.

The sentences in (14)–(17) justify the claim for this numbering.

- (14) o gbùrù (gbù-rV<sub>1</sub>) òke  
he kill-rV(ASSERTIVE) rat  
He killed a rat.
- (15) o gbùrù (gbù-rV<sub>2</sub>-rV<sub>1</sub>) òke  
he kill-rV(PREVIOUS PAST)-rV(ASSERTIVE) rat  
He used to kill a rat.
- (16) o gbùrù (gbù-rV<sub>3</sub>-rV<sub>1</sub>) m òke  
he kill-rV(APPLICATIVE)-rV(ASSERTIVE) me rat  
He killed a rat for me.
- (17) o nà-ègburu (gbu-rV<sub>3</sub>) m òke  
he AUX-PFX-kill-rV(APPLICATIVE) me rat  
He kills/is killing a rat for me.

In (17) the function of the =rV<sub>1</sub> has been shifted to the auxiliary verb *na* and =rV<sub>3</sub> is left as the only (=rV) suffix on the verb.

### 2.2.2 In defense of our ordering of the =rV suffixes

The indication of which =rV suffix comes before the other is so committing that many analysts tend to avoid it. We will use some sentences involving other suffixes to account for our ordering of these suffixes in (18) and (19).

- (18) o gbùtèrè (gbù-tè-rV<sub>1</sub>) òke  
he kill-te(DIRECTIONAL)-rV(ASSERTIVE) rat  
He killed a rat and brought it forward (home).
- (19) o gbùwèrè (gbù-wè-rV<sub>1</sub>) òke  
he kill-wa(INCEPTIONAL)-rV(ASSERTIVE) rat  
He began to kill.

In (18) and (19) the suffixes *-te* and *-we* occur before the =rV<sub>1</sub> (ASSERTIVE) suffix. We believe that the other =rV suffixes and other suffixes which occur with the =rV<sub>1</sub> (ASSERTIVE) suffix also occur in this position (i.e., they also precede the =rV<sub>1</sub>). This therefore accounts for our regarding the first =rV suffix in a sequence of two, as either =rV<sub>2</sub> or =rV<sub>3</sub> depending on the meaning expressed.



- (27) -rV SUFFIX    **q n̄m̄r̄m̄ (n̄m̄-rV<sub>1</sub>) ebe à**  
 STATIVE    he stay-rV(ASSERTIVE) place this  
 He stayed in this place.

Some analysts have not identified the unique role of this suffix in the Igbo verbal system as to classify it appropriately. This is because the suffix is often associated with 'tense' and 'aspect' in Igbo, for instance Nwachukwu (1983:66). According to him "The stative present suffix -rV<sub>1</sub> combines with stative verbs to express a stative present meaning." Two examples are in (28).

- (28) **q màrà mma nwā**    She is really a pretty girl.  
**òbí nwèrè ego**    Obi is wealthy.

He also states that "The -rV past suffix is the only tense marker in Igbo" (1983:69). His examples for this include those in (29).

- (29) **o gbùrù eghu**    He killed a goat.  
**ezùrù hà ohi**    They stole.

Uwalaka (1988:53) disagrees with Nwachukwu's claim that Igbo has an '-rV present suffix' but inherits his other problems. She labels this suffix 'assertive suffix' and states that "perhaps the most significant fact about the -rV assertive suffix is that it does not occur with all groups of Igbo verbs. From the data available to us, it appears that only process verbs, verbs of quality and some small subsets of experiential verbs take the -rV assertive suffix" (1988:54). Her examples include those in (30) and (31).

- (30) **àdha mà-rà**    **mmā**  
 Adha be~beautiful-rV(ASSERTIVE) beauty  
 Adha is beautiful.
- (31) **q̄h̄ja à r̄è-r̄è**    **q̄kh̄y**  
 bush this burn-rV(ASSERTIVE) fire  
 This bush is burnt.

Uwalaka (1988) also labels the =rV suffix that occurs with other verbs in similar constructions as -rV (PAST). Her examples in this case include those in (32) and (33).

- (32) **ùghò gbù-rù**    **agwọ**  
 Ugho kill-rV(PAST) snake  
 Ugho killed a snake.
- (33) **àdha wè-rè**    **iwe**  
 Adha anger-rV(PAST) angry  
 Adha was angry.

She thereby agrees with Nwachukwu that two different =rV suffixes occur in their two sets of examples.

It is our view that 1) the =rV suffixes in the sentences in (34) and similar constructions used by these analysts and elsewhere, are one and the same suffix, i.e., the =rV<sub>1</sub>, and that 2) the =rV<sub>1</sub> (and other =rVs) do not mark 'tense' (or even aspect) in Igbo. The fact is that while playing its 'assertive' role, the =rV<sub>1</sub> is controlled by the various semantic nuances of the verbs, hence its output translates into English as 'past tense' in other semantic classes of the verb except in the OVS stative. Since English is the language of exposition and one in which 'tense' is a prominent verbal category, some analysts are lured into considering this suffix as a 'tense' marker.

- (34) **q màrà (mà-rV) mmā**  
**o gbùrù (gbù-rV) ewu**

<sup>5</sup> The *r* of the first =*rV* suffix has been subjected to syncope, leaving a sequence of two vowels on the surface. Some speakers of the Ohuhu dialect retain this *r*.

- Based on the foregoing discussions on the  $=rV_2$ , it seems awkward to say that  $\phi$   $zùrù$  **ewu**,  $\phi$  **gbùrù ewu**, and similar constructions have two instances of the  $=rV_1$ . A better explanation would be that the  $=rV_2$  is different from the  $=rV_1$ . Since it only occurs with the  $=rV_1$ , the co-occurrence is, in fact, a 'test frame' for differences in function.

The **-by** suffix is an inflectional suffix which is used in Onjcha and related dialects as well as some dialects spoken around Q̄l̄u (e.g., Ihtenansa). The suffix occurs with the **=rV<sub>1</sub>** ((=l̄u/=l̄u) in Onjcha) to indicate a past time previous to that indicated by the **=rV<sub>1</sub>**. It therefore corresponds to the **=rV<sub>2</sub>**. (44)–(48) give examples of this in Onjcha.

- It is pertinent to point out that though the **=bu** suffix corresponds to the **=rV<sub>2</sub>** in function, it is not an **=rV** image. This suffix is actually a reflex of the noun **m̥bu** 'first, before, formerly'. Emenanjo (1979:15) also believes that **=bu** 'used to' is related to **m̥bu** and uses them as part of his evidence to show that some suffixes are related to nominals if not nominal in origin. Williamson (1972:liii) notes that **=bu** indicates a past time previous to that indicated by **-lu/-lu** (cf. **m̥bu** 'first, previous').

- We support this claim further by observing that *=bu* and *mbu* cannot occur in the same construction; hence Qnjcha speakers will not say the sentence in (50) or similar constructions.

- The equivalents of (44)–(48) have the  $\mathbf{rV}_1$  and  $\mathbf{mbu}$ . They are represented by (51).

- (51) o gbùlù/gbùrù (gbù-rV<sub>1</sub>) òke (nà/là) mbụ  
 he kill-rV(ASSERTIVE) rat at first  
 He killed a rat before.



This phenomenon is not isolated; Igbo has reflexive verbs i.e., verbs which depict actions whereby either the object or the subject can be the patient. If a sentence containing such a verb has an object, the object is the patient as in (59), but if there is no object, the action goes back to the subject and it becomes the patient as in (60).

- (59) **uchè sàrà ezè àhụ**  
 Uche bathe<sup>^</sup>rV(ASSERTIVE) Eze body  
 Uche bathed Eze.

- (60) **uchè sàrà àhụ**  
 Uche bathe<sup>^</sup>rV(ASSERTIVE) body  
 Uche bathed himself.

Since Winston's (1973) -rV<sub>1</sub> 'for oneself' and -rV<sub>2</sub> 'for (a specific person)' can never co-occur, it seems to strongly suggest that they are instances of the same suffix.

The =rV<sub>3</sub> introduces only the meaning 'for' not 'from' or 'to'. The verb -zụ 'buy' has 'from' as part of its semantic content. Something is bought from someone but usually the person from whom an item is bought is not overtly stated unless it is required. To gloss the verb -zụ as 'buy from X' (where X is +human) may give further clarification as in (61) and (62).

- (61) **ọ zù-rù jì**  
 he buy<sup>^</sup>from<sup>^</sup>X-rV(ASSERTIVE) yam  
 He bought some yams from X. / He bought some yams.

- (62) **ọ zù-rù m jì**  
 he buy<sup>^</sup>from<sup>^</sup>X-rV(APPLICATIVE)-rV(ASSERTIVE) me yam  
 He bought some yams from X for me. / He bought some yams from/for me.

Sentence (62) shows that the 'from' and 'for' meanings introduced by -zụ and =rV<sub>3</sub>, respectively, refer to two different indirect objects. Since the one to which 'from' refers is not overtly shown, both 'from' and 'for' now refer to the only surface indirect object. This results in ambiguity. The two different indirect objects can be overtly represented as in (63).

- (63) **ọ zù-rù m uchè jì**  
 he buy<sup>^</sup>rV(APPLICATIVE)-rV(ASSERTIVE) me Uche yam  
 He bought some yams from Uche for me.  
 He bought some yams from Uche in my interest.

It should be pointed out here that the 'for' meaning introduced by the =rV<sub>3</sub> does not necessarily point to the fact of physical possession or consumption of the direct object by the indirect object (or the subject) but to the fact of the satisfaction of whatever is the interest of the indirect object (or the subject). In (63) the indirect object pronoun **m** 'me' has both interest of 1) receiving the yam, and 2) Uche making some sales of this yam.

All that has been said so far about -zụ 'buy (from X)' applies also to other "three-place predicate verbs" (Nwachukwu 1983:103). These verbs connote some prepositions (from, to) and because of this they obligatorily take an indirect object underlyingly.<sup>6</sup> Take as examples -zì ọzì 'send a message (to X)', -nà 'receive (from X)', -nye 'give (to X)', and -gbazì 'borrow (from X)'.

- (64) **ọ nàrà (nà-rV<sub>1</sub>) ego nà ọbọsụ**  
 he receive<sup>^</sup>from<sup>^</sup>X-rV(ASSERTIVE) money in bus  
 He received some money from X in the bus. /  
 He received some money in the bus.

<sup>6</sup> The =rV suffix in a sentence like **ọ nàrà m ego** 'he received some money from me' is the =rV<sub>1</sub> (not the =rV<sub>3</sub>), the presence of the indirect object notwithstanding.



- Onwuemene, M. C. 1983-84. The latency of the -rV<sub>3</sub> suffix in N.W. Igbo. *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria* 2:5-10.
- Uwalaka, M. A. A. N. 1988. The Igbo verb. A semantico-syntactic analysis. Wien: Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien.
- Welmers, William E. 1970. Derivation of the Igbo verb base. *Studies in African Linguistics* 1.1:49-59.
- Williamson, Kay, ed. 1972. *Igbo - English dictionary*, based on the Onitsha dialect. Benin City: Ethiopian Publishing Company.
- . n.d. A tentative scheme for Igbo verb forms. Unpublished manuscript.
- Winston, F. D. D. 1973. Polarity, mood and aspect in Ohuhu Igbo verbs. *African Language Studies* 14:119-79.