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ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVALISATION IN SOME LANGUAGES OF THE
WESTERN DELTA OF NIGERIA

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The first part of this study¹ concerns a class of verbs termed quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie which refer to specific qualities, inherent or fleeting, usually predications of the NP associated with the verb in particular sentences. It demonstrates the similarity in the behaviour of these and other verbs in these languages as well as highlighting what sets these verbs apart from the others.

The second part of the study focusses on some forms derived from these verbs and regularly used as adjectival qualifiers or adverbial modifiers. The forms concerned are considered first in terms of their derivation and then in terms of the kinds of structures in which they feature.

Finally, examples are provided from neighbouring languages to show that the process involved in the derivation of the forms discussed is not only productive in each of the two languages concerned, but in others also.

La première partie de cette étude porte sur une classe de verbes qu'on appelle verbes de qualité, en okpe et en uwie, qui font référence à des qualités précises, inhérentes ou passagères, en général des affirmations prédicatives de la proposition nominale associée avec le verbe dans certaines phrases. Ceci démontre d'une part la similitude de ces verbes entre autres, dans ces langues, d'autre part les caractéristiques qui distinguent ces verbes en question des autres.

La deuxième partie de cette étude porte sur quelques unes des formes dérivées de ces verbes, qui sont habituellement utilisées comme des qualificatifs adjectifs ou adverbiaux. Ces formes en question sont d'abord examinées en fonction de leur dérivation propre, ensuite en fonction des genres de structures où on les trouve.

Enfin, des exemples tirés de langues avoisinantes démontrent que le processus de dérivation des deux formes examinées est un processus productif qui engendre le même processus non seulement pour les deux langues en question, mais aussi pour d'autres.

0. SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Okpe and Uvwie are Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo family as per Greenberg (1963). Each is spoken by a group known under the

same name. Both languages are Edoid languages commonly referred to as 'dialects' of Urhobo even though some recent studies such as Elugbe (1975) and Omamor (1976a) clearly show that there is no serious linguistic basis for so describing them. Elugbe (1979) groups them under the southwestern branch of Edoid along with Eruwa, Isoko and Urhobo.

Literature in Okpe and Uvwie is virtually non-existent although aspects of both their phonology and grammar have been the focus of a number of studies including Hoffmann (1973) and Omamor (1973,1981,1983,1985).² Neither of the two languages is known to have a standard orthography although some attempt is currently being made to establish one for Okpe and produce books and other materials that will facilitate the teaching of the language at primary school level in the appropriate areas of Bendel State. The orthography in which materials from the two languages are presented here is therefore largely impressionistic.³

The decision to handle the two languages together stems primarily from the fact that they are two Nigerian languages with which the present writer is most familiar as native speaker. As with some of the other studies referred to earlier, there has always been an additional assumption that the broader scope provided by consideration of data from more than one language may be of some theoretical advantage. Some of the earlier studies have also thrown up striking similarities in the underlying behaviour of the two languages concerned. The point has, however, been made elsewhere in Omamor (1985) that the question as to whether or not this last assumption eventually turns out to be valid has never been the main point, since studies of the kind in question make a wide range of facts about such lesser-known languages available to many more researchers in the field.

1. QUALITY VERBS IN OKPE AND UVWIE

The available data on Okpe and Uvwie reveals the existence in these languages of forms derived from a class of verbs which, following Omamor (1976b:503) are termed quality verbs. As the label itself suggests, these verbs usually refer to a fleeting or characteristic quality which they predicate of the NP with which they co-occur in specific sentences. Examples of such verbs include:

<u>Okpe</u>		<u>Uvwie</u>	
rhi	'be tall'	renmu	'be tall'
seri	'be long/far'	cheri	'be long/far'
gbon	'stink/be rotten'	von	'stink/be rotten'
gbe	'be dirty'	gbe	'be dirty'
bi	'be black'	bi	'be black'

Such verbs characteristically feature in simple sentences as illustrated below:

Okpe:

1. **Ọ́má sí ná ò rhír hí**
Woman Det. she be tall + past
'The woman is tall.'
2. **Ámí ná ò djèré nè**
Water Det. it be hot + past perf.
'The water has heated up.'
3. **Íkún ò ò m̀ìrhín rín**
Story yours it be sweet + past + perf.
'Your story is sweet, i.e. interesting.'

Uvwie

4. **Àrhì nè r̀émúnù**
Woman Det. be tall+past
'The woman is tall.'
5. **Àmì nè tú r̀è**
Water Det. be hot + perf.
'The water has heated up.'
6. **Íkún è m̀ìrhì nì**
Story yours be sweet + past
'Your story is sweet, i.e. interesting.'

The verb in each of (1) through (6) above predicates a certain characteristic or quality of the NP associated with it in the appropriate sentence. The NP associated with such verbs must feature in one form or another in the surface structure of simple sentences involving these verbs.

In all significant respects, the class of verbs termed quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie behaves in much the same way as most other verbs in these languages. Hoffman (1973) and Omamor (1973) indicate some of the ways in which verbs in Okpe and Uvwie behave. For instance, the studies in question show clearly how verbs in the two languages are inflected for tense and aspect as well as the process by which verbal nouns, or what Hoffmann describes as infinitives in Okpe, are derived from verb stems.

It is clear that, from the point of view of tense and aspect and the formation of verbal nouns, what we have termed quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie do not behave any differently from other verbs in these languages. In other words, these verbs combine with the markers associated with the various tenses and aspects attested in these languages in the same way as other verbs, to yield verbal nouns and tense forms of the kinds highlighted in the 1973 studies.

The following table of quality verbs in different tense forms in the second or third person singular and the verbal nouns derived from these verbs provides some illustration of the behaviour of these verbs relative to the grammatical processes involved.

TABLE OF VERBAL NOUNS, AND SOME TENSE FORMS IN THE SECOND OR THIRD PERSON SINGULAR OF SOME QUALITY VERBS IN OKPE AND UVWIE

Verb Stem	Verbal Noun	Imperfective	Past Tense	Future	Terminative Perfective
<u>OKPE</u>					
seri 'be long/distant'	èsèrò	ó sèré	ò sèrí	ò nò sèrí	ò sèrí nè
fún 'be clean/white'	èfún	wù á fuàn	wù fún-rún	wù ná fuòn	wù fún nè
gbaun 'be strong'	ègbaun	wù á gbaán	wù gbaùn-rún	wù ná gbaùn	wù gbaùn nè
lohò 'be soft'	èlohò	ó lohó	ò lohórí	ó nò lohò	ò lohó nè
rhonmu 'be good/beautiful'	èrhómù	wù é rhómé	wù rhómúrún	wù nè rhómù	wù rhómù nè
fu 'swell/be swollen'	èfuó	wù é fuè	wù fùrhúrú	wù nè fuó	wù fù(rhú) nè
<u>UVWIE</u>					
cheri 'be long/distant'	èchèrómù	é chèrì	ò chèríni	ò móò chérì	ò chèríni rè
fún 'be clean/white'	èfúnómù	gwè á fùn	ù fún-nù	ù móò fuòn	ù fúnù rè
gua 'be strong/hard'	ègüámù	gwè á guà	ù guáni	ù móò guá	ò guáni rè
vón 'be rotten/deteriorate'	èvón-mù	gwè á vòn	ù vón-nì	ù móò vón	ù vónì rè
lohò 'be soft'	èlohómù	á lohò	ò lohónì	ò móò lohò	ò lohónì rè
rhonmu 'be good/beautiful'	èrhómòmù	gwè é rhómù	ù rhómúnù	ù móò rhómù	ò rhómúnù rè
furhu 'swell/be swollen'	èfùrhómù	gwè é fùrhù	ù fùrhúnù	ù móò fùfhù	ò fùrhúnù rè

The similarity between the syntactic behaviour of quality verbs and other verbs in Okpẹ and Uvwie relative to the formation of verbal nouns and the various tense forms provides ample confirmation of the verbal status of this class of items. Unlike other verbs, however, these verbs tend to have related forms which are regularly used as either adjectival qualifiers or adverbial modifiers.⁴ The fact that the same thing does not appear to apply to any other class of verbs in the two languages under study represents the one feature that sets this class of verbs apart from all other verbs.

The next major section of this study will focus on the forms in question. They will be considered from the point of view of their structure, grammatical function, the kinds of structures in which they commonly feature and other points of interest.

2. QUALITY VERBS IN OKPẸ AND UVWIẸ AND THE PROCESS OF REDUPLICATION

2.0 The data which provided the motivation for the present study and those involved in the actual preparation of the study itself centre around some forms in Okpẹ and Uvwie which display partial structural resemblance to quality verbs in the two languages and whose uses and interpretation portray them as semantically related to the same class of verbs. These forms can be regrouped into two sets, one of which represents partial or total reduplications of specific quality verbs, while the other looks like the same reduplications plus tonal changes and an added prefix vowel. In what follows, some attempt will be made to account for the morphemic structure of the items concerned and highlight the grammatical uses to which they are put while providing illustrations of the kinds of sentences in which they tend to occur and other points of interest.

2.1 QUALITY VERBS IN OKPẸ AND UVWIẸ AND THEIR REDUPLICATED FORMS

2.1.1 As already pointed out, the reduplicated forms associated with quality verbs in Okpẹ and Uvwie are of two kinds. These two types are shown on the table which follows:

OKPẸ

<u>Verb Stems</u>	<u>Type I Reduplications</u>	<u>Type II Reduplications</u>
rhi 'be tall'	rhiérhì 'rather tall'	òrhiérhì 'tall'
seri 'be long, far/distant'	sèésèrì 'rather long, far/distant'	òsésèrì 'long, far/ distant'
gbon 'be spoilt /rotten/stink'	gbèégbòn 'rather spoilt/rotten'	ògbégbòn 'spoilt/ rotten'
gbe 'be dirty'	gbèégbè 'rather dirty'	ògbégbè 'dirty'
bi 'be black/dark'	biébi 'rather black/ dark'	òbiébi 'black/dark'

fùn 'be white/ clean'	fùáfùn 'rather white/clean'	òfùáfùn 'clean/white
barì 'be red/ripe'	bàábàrì 'rather red/ ripe'	òbúbàrì 'red/ripe'
djèrè 'be hot'	djèédjèrè 'rather hot	òdjúdjèrè 'hot'
fò 'be cold/quiet	fòfò 'rather cold/quiet'	òfòfò 'cold/quiet
gbaun 'be strong/ hard'	gbàágbàun 'rather strong/hard'	ògbúgbàun 'strong/hard'
ghanrìn 'be dear/expensive'	ghàánghànrìn 'rather dear/expensive'	òghúghànrìn 'dear/ expensive'
ku 'be cheap'	kùékù 'rather cheap'	òkuékù 'cheap'
rhomu 'be good/ beautiful'	rhòórhòmù 'rather good/ beautiful'	òrhórhòmù 'good/ beautiful'
biomu 'deteriora- te/be ugly'	bióbiòmù 'rather ugly/ deteriorated'	òbióbiòmùn 'ugly/ 'deteriorated'
kpèṭe 'be short'	kpèèkpèṭe 'rather short'	òkpúkpèṭe 'short'
mìrhìn 'be sweet/ interesting'	mìnmìrhìn 'ra- ther sweet/interesting'	òmumìrhìn 'sweet/interesting'
bèn 'be difficult'	bèènbèn 'rather difficult'	òbèbèn 'difficult'
vberì 'be quick/ easy'	vbèèvbèrì 'rather quick/easy'	òvbúvbèrì 'quick/easy'
fu 'swell/be swollen'	fùéfù 'rather swollen'	òfuéfù 'swollen'
lòhò 'be soft'	lòlòlòhò 'rather soft'	òlùlòhò 'soft'

UVWIEVerb StemsType I ReduplicationsType II Reduplications

renmu 'be tall'	rènrènmù 'rather tall'	ù-rénrèmu 'tall'
cheri 'be long/ far/distant'	chèchéri 'rather long/ far/distant'	ù-chéchéri 'long/far/ distant'
vòn 'be spoilt/ rotten/stink'	vònvòn 'rather spoilt/rotten/stinking'	ù-vònvòn 'spoilt/ rotten/stinking'
gbe 'be dirty'	gbègbè 'rather dirty'	ù-gbègbè 'dirty'
bi 'be black/dark'	bìbì 'rather black/dark'	ù-bìbì 'black/dark'
fùn 'be white/ clean'	fùnfùn 'rather white/clean'	ù-fùnfùn 'white/ clean'
vbarì 'be red/ ripe/fair'	vbàvbàrì 'rather red/ ripe/fair'	ù-vbàvbàrì 'red/ripe/ fair'
tù 'be hot'	tútù 'rather hot'	ù-tútù 'hot'
grèn 'be cold/ quiet'	grèngrèn 'rather cold/quiet'	ù-grèngrèn 'cold/ quiet'
gua 'be strong/ hard'	gùàgùá 'rather strong/hard'	ù-guàgùá 'strong/hard'
ghanrìn 'be 'expensive'	ghànghànrìn 'rather expensive'	ù-ghànghànrìn 'expensive'
ku 'be cheap'	kúkù 'rather cheap'	ù-kúkù 'cheap'

rhomu 'be good/ beautiful'	rhòrhómú 'rather good/ beautiful'	ù-rhórhòmù 'good/ beautiful'
nuren 'deterio- rate/be ugly'	nùnúrén 'rather ugly/ deteriorated'	ù-núnùrèn 'ugly/ deteriorated'
kule 'be short'	kùkùlé 'rather short'	ù-kúkùlè 'short'
mìrhìn 'be sweet/interesting'	mìmìrhìn 'rather sweet/interesting'	ù-mìmìrhìn 'sweet/ interesting'
bèn 'be diffi- cult'	bènbèn 'rather difficult'	ù-bènbèn 'difficult'
vberì 'be quick/ easy'	vbèvbèrì 'rather quick/easy'	ù-vbèvbèrì 'quick/easy'
lọọ 'soft'	lọlọọ 'rather soft'	ù-lọlọọ 'soft'

Not all quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie can be reduplicated in the ways suggested by the above examples. There does not appear to be any systematic way of predicting which particular quality verb is likely to undergo the process.⁵ In other words, the distinction which Bolinger (1967) makes between characteristic or inherent and temporary or fleeting qualities does not appear to be applicable here. It is of course possible that further investigations in this direction may provide clues which are not so obvious now. Meanwhile, one way of distinguishing between quality verbs which can be reduplicated in the same way as those shown above in Okpe and Uvwie would be for quality verbs in the two languages to be marked as either plus or minus reduplication in their lexical entries.

Examination of the items listed above shows that the shape of type I reduplications differs significantly from that of their type II counterparts. The differences between the two kinds of reduplications will form the focus of the next section of this study.

2.1.2 The constituent structure of type I and type II reduplication

Type I reduplications in Okpe represent partial reduplications of the basic form of specific quality verbs in the language. Like all reduplicated forms, they are made up of two parts of which the second part corresponds to the original verb stem. The first part of a type I reduplication of a quality verb in Okpe is made up of:

- (i) the initial consonant of the verb stem followed by
- (ii) the lengthened form of the stem vowel of a monosyllabic verb; or
- (iii) the lengthened form of the first vowel of a disyllabic verb stem.

However, when the stem vowel of the appropriate verb is *i* or *u*, the vowel is not lengthened by the process of reduplication. Rather, it becomes non-syllabic, yielding the glides -- [j] for *i*, and [w] for *u* and *u*, i.e. [ɔ] followed by the vowel *e* in the case of *i* and *u* and *a* in the case of *u*. This is the case with:

bi --	bìébi	'be black/dark' --	'rather black/dark'
fu --	fùéfù	'swell/be swollen' --	'rather swollen'
fún --	fùánfùn	'be white/clean' --	'rather white/clean'

Note that the long vowel of any type I reduplication with a lengthened vowel is reduced to the corresponding short vowel unless the vowel concerned is a, e, i (i.e. [ɪ]) or o. In this latter case, the long vowel of the type I reduplication is replaced by the vowel ɹ (i.e. ɔ).

The major difference between Type I and Type II reduplications in Okpè is that all type II reduplications have a low tone bearing prefix vowel - ò for all forms associated with verbs with a closed vowel as vowel stem, and ɔ for those derived from verbs with an open vowel as vowel stem. Also, type II reduplications in Okpè characteristically have a LOW-HIGH-LOW-(LOW) tonal shape such that only reduplications of disyllabic verbs have the last low tone of the pattern.

In the case of Uvwie, type I reduplications are all characterised by a LOW-HIGH-HIGH tonal shape. They are also either total or partial reduplications of specific verbs. They are total reduplications when the verb concerned is a monosyllabic verb and partial reduplications when the appropriate verb is a disyllabic verb.

The partial reduplications of disyllabic quality verbs in Uvwie are structurally made up of the first syllable of such verbs followed by the full form of the original verb stem.

Type II reduplications in Uvwie differ from their Type I counterparts in two ways. The first is that all type II reduplications in the language have a low tone prefix vowel - u for verbs whose stem vowels come from the closed vowel set, and ɹ for verbs with an open vowel as verb stem. The determining vowel in the case of disyllabic verb stems is the first vowel. Secondly, type II reduplications in Uvwie are all characterised by a tonal pattern LOW-HIGH-LOW-(LOW) which is different from the one associated with their type I counterparts and whose last low tone only occurs in reduplications of disyllabic verbs.

The differences between type I and type II reduplications of quality verbs in Okpè and Uvwie are not strictly formal. The two kinds of reduplications perform different functions in the various kinds of sentences in which they feature. The differences in function will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 QUALITY VERBS IN OKPE AND UVWIE, REDUPLICATION AND GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION

2.2.0 The different kinds of functions assumed by the two kinds of reduplicated forms derived from quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie will be discussed on the basis of an examination of some of the various kinds of sentences in which such forms occur in the two languages.

The ways in which sentences such as (7) through (19) below are used and interpreted in Okpe and Uvwie show clearly the functions which the reduplicated forms underlined in each of these sentences assume in the appropriate language. Consideration of these sentences and other sentences involving type I and type II reduplications of quality verbs in both Okpe and Uvwie suggest that these reduplications assume at least three different grammatical functions. Each of these functions will be considered in turn.

2.2.1 Adjectival function

Consider the sentences which follow:

Okpe

7. ò dé ówèn òbúbàrì òhú ìnyén-náná
He/she it buy +past cloth red one today
'She bought a red wrapper today.'
8. Àmuán ná ò vuónrín rí èguá ìgbégbè
Town Det. it be full+past Prep. house pl. dirty + pl.
'The town is full of dirty houses.'
9. Òkhuórharì ná òkhuóró rhòórhòmù ómàràn
Man Det. person beautiful like this/that
'The man is a rather handsome (or nice) person.'
10. Òmasì òrhòòrhòmù ó guòlò
Woman beautiful he/she/it look for Imperf.
'It is a beautiful woman that he is looking for.'
11. Òbiébi ònáná wú ná há?
Black this one you(sing) future take/marry
'Is it this black one you will take/marry?'
12. Èfuón rí ò fúnrún djàbò òò nyànji-é vbò
Being clean Rel.it be clean + past cause he/she/it leave it alone
'It is its being clean that made him leave it (behind).'

Uvwie

13. ò dé òhòn vbávbàrì írènrèn nè
He/she/it buy+past cloth red today Det.
'She bought a red wrapper today.'
14. Òhòn vbávbàrì óyìn ó ró rhuòn
Cloth red it be he/she/it tie
'It is a red wrapper that she had on.'

15. Ò rhò òrhùkhùà jò nùnùrén óòbrí évbù wán
 He/she/it take/marry+past man certain rather ugly Prep.town
 theirs
 'She married some rather ugly man in their town.'
16. Ò rhò òrhùkhùà nùnùrén yò óòbrí évbù wán
 He/she/it take/marry+past man ugly certain Prep. town theirs
 'She married a certain ugly man in their town.'
17. Ùrhòhòmù nè óyín mí guònònì
 Beautiful Det. it be I want/desire + past
 'That beautiful one is the one I want.'
18. Kòròkòròò óyín ùguòmù rhórhòmù é jè
 Everybody it be house beautiful Imperf. please
 'It is everyone that a beautiful house appeals to.'
19. Ègbéémú rí ó gbèni súné ò rhò sìn en
 Being dirty Rel.he/she it be dirty+past cause he/she/it/
 refuse it
 'It is its being dirty that made him reject it.'

Examination of the Okpe examples will reveal that the underlined items in (7) through (10) function as epithets in a NP subject, direct-object or object of a preposition. In other words, they behave like typical adjectives in the better-known languages of the world. When (8) is compared with (7), (9) and (10), we discover that the adjective in Okpe agrees with the noun it qualifies in number. This is clearly what accounts for the form which the adjective takes in (8) where we find plural ìgbégbè (as opposed to singular ògbégbè) qualifying èguá 'houses' whose singular form is òguá 'house'.

The subject in (11) seems to be an instance of what Halliday (1967:62) describes as a '... structure deictic head with an adjective realising the head'. We would say that in sentences such as (11) in Okpe, the noun head qualified by the adjective òbíebì 'black' is most probably an indefinite noun present in deep semantic structure but deleted at an intermediate stage in the derivation of the sentence. For such a deletion to take place, the referent of the deleted noun head must be known to both speaker and hearer. The same point was made with respect to similar sentences in Işekiri in Omamor (1976b: 512-13). The point then, as now, is that sentences such as (11) above:

- (a) cannot be uttered without the proper establishment in discourse of a context of situation. In other words, (11) can never occur as the opening gambit in a conversation.
- (b) (11) contains a definite determiner, thus suggesting that the hearer has some clue as to the particular entity the speaker is referring to.

The underlined item in (12) has the same shape as the verbal noun associated with the verb fun 'be clean' in Okpe. èfuon 'being white/clean' in this sentence most probably results from a factive

nominalisation of a simple string that predicates of some unspecified thing that it is clean/white. Such nominalisations preserve the presupposition of the truth value of the sentence that is nominalised.⁶ This aspect of sentences such as (12) is, however, outside the scope of the present study. The point here is that the underlined item in (12) is different from those in the other sentences.

Finally, notice the consonant-initial adjective (ie. type I reduplication) in (9). The ways in which such adjectives are used and interpreted in Okpe suggest that their meaning involves some idea of intensity which is absent from the meaning usually associated with type II reduplications or vowel-initial adjectives such as the ones which feature in (7), (8) and (10) for example. Beyond that, consonant-initial adjectives in Okpe seem to almost invariably require a following *ómàrà̀n* 'It is so like that', as we find in (9).

When the examples (13) through (19) from Uvwie are compared with the ones from Okpe discussed above, we find that the underlined items in (13), (14), (16) and (18) match the ones in the Okpe examples (7) through (10) from the point of view of grammatical function. Thus, the underlined items in (13), (14), (16) and (18) function as adjectival qualifiers in the same way as their counterparts in the Okpe examples.

nùnúrén 'rather ugly' in (15) involves the idea of intensity mentioned above in relation to consonant-initial adjectives or type I reduplications in Okpe. Sentences in Uvwie involving other adjectives whose meanings incorporate the idea of intensity indicate that all such adjectives tend to be type I reduplications with a LOW-HIGH-HIGH tonal shape that distinguishes them from ordinary adjectives or type II reduplications in the language whose tonal shape is usually HIGH-LOW-LOW. Comparison of (15) with (13), (14), (16) and (18) confirms this. Note in this connection that both ordinary adjectives and those whose meanings involve some notion of intensity in Uvwie are consonant-initial. In other words type II reduplications in Uvwie shed their prefix vowel when they occur as adjectival qualifiers. The only structural difference between the two sets of adjectives in the language then being the tonal shape characterising each. The function of prefix-bearing reduplications in Uvwie will be taken up later. The underlined items in (17) and (19) parallel the ones in the Okpe examples (11) and (12) in all significant respects. The result is that the statements made with respect to the Okpe items hold true *mutatis mutandis* for their Uvwie counterparts. The latter will therefore not be discussed further here.

The next set of sentences show that beyond the adjectival function performed by reduplications of quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie, the forms concerned sometimes take on an adverbial function. This will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Adverbial function

When the next set of examples are compared with the earlier ones, we find that although both type I and type II reduplications in Okpe and Uvwie can function as adjectival qualifiers of all kinds, there are sentences in which only one or the other of them assumes the function of adverbial modifier.

OKPE

20. Á rhè èkuákuà kùékù àmuán òrévá
 One sell+Imperf. thing pl. rather cheap town second
 'Things are sold rather cheaply in the second town.'
21. ímé djàbò rí óò rù bìébì ómàràn?
 what cause REL. he/she/it do rather black this way?
 'Why does it look so black?'
22. ò bón òguá ná rhòórhòmu
 He/she/it build+past house Det. rather beautiful
 'He built the house rather beautifully.'

UVWIE

23. Má rhé kùkú óòbròò
 one sell+Imperf. rather cheap over there
 'It is sold rather cheaply over there.'
24. Èmé mí súné rhí ó ró rù vbàvbárí émòòn?
 what Rel. cause it REL. it? do rather red like this/that
 'Why is it so red?'
25. ò rúnù kùkúlé dàmà.
 He/she/it do+past rather short too much.
 'It looks a little too short.'

Consideration of the ways in which these and other similar sentences in Okpe and Uvwie are used and interpreted, clearly indicate that the underlined items in each language which are type I reduplications of specific quality verbs modify the VP rather than any particular NP in the sentence. It is in this sense that we say that these items function similarly to adverbials in the better known languages of the world. The available data does not reveal one instance in which type II reduplications assume this same function in either Okpe or Uvwie. We therefore conclude that adverbial function is restricted to just type I reduplications of quality verbs in these two languages.

The other grammatical function which reduplications of quality verbs sometimes assume in sentences of Okpe and Uvwie seems to be a purely predicative one. This is discussed in the section which follows.

2.2.3 Predicative function

Some of the sentences in the data show that predicative function in attributive sentences in Okpe and Uvwie is quite often assumed by type II reduplications of quality verbs in those two languages. Consider in this connection the following sentences:

OKPE

26. Òmási ná òrhórhòmù
 Woman Det. beautiful
 'The woman is beautiful.'
- 27.(a) Òrhán ònáná òsésèrì
 Stick/tree this one long
 'This stick/tree is long.'
- (b) Òrhán ònáná ò sèerí
 stick/tree this one he/she/it be long+Imperf.
 'This stick/tree is long.'

UVWIĘ

28. Àrhì nè ùrhóhòmù
 Woman Det. beautiful
 'The woman is beautiful.'
- 29.(a) Íruó ònàné ùbénbèn
 Work this one difficult
 'This job is difficult.'
- (b) Íruó ònàné bènì òmàmò
 Work this one be difficult very much
 'This job is very difficult (indeed).'

In the examples (26), (27(a)), (28) and (29(a)) above, the underlined type II reduplications constitute the VP in each sentence. Predication in these sentences is thus shown by the appropriate reduplicated forms. There is no evidence that the same role is ever assumed by type I reduplications of quality verbs in Okpẹ and Uvwie. We therefore conclude that the predicative function sometimes assumed by reduplications of quality verbs in these two languages is performed solely by what we have termed type II reduplications in this study.

The (b) sentences of (27) and (29) are stylistic variants of their (a) counterparts. There is a sense in which the (b) sentences confirm that the predicative function in the (a) sentences rests solely on the reduplicated forms. When (28) and the sentences of (29) are compared with all the other sentences from Uvwie which feature in the immediately preceding sections, we find that when a type II reduplication takes on adjectival function in this language, it does so less its prefix vowel. Thus ù-rhórhòmù becomes rhórhòmù. In their full form, type II reduplications in Uvwie only perform a predicative function such as in (28) and (29). Sentence (17) cited in the discussion of adjectival function illustrates the kind of structure in which type II reduplications in Uvwie occur as a structure deictic head, i.e. less the noun. Okpẹ is different from Uvwie in this respect since type II reduplications never drop their vowel prefixes in order to function as adjectival qualifiers.

The adjectival function performed by the reduplications discussed in the preceding sections represents the basic role of

these forms; the other functions are secondary. The reason for this is that they occur most commonly as adjectives of one kind or the other. This fact suggests that the reduplications result from a rule of Adjectivalisation. Since the literature on adjectives suggests a relationship between sentences with adjectives and those with relative clauses involving verbs such as what we have termed quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie, it seems to make good sense to examine the relationship between such sentences in the two languages.

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADJECTIVALISED QUALITY VERBS AND RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH SIMILAR VERBS

A comparison of sentences with relative clauses involving quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwie with others involving adjectivalised quality verbs functioning as epithets reveals that not only do such clauses perform the same function as NP's involving adjectivalised quality verbs, they also tend to mean the same thing when the same verb features in both types of structures. The examples which follow illustrate this.⁷

OKPE

- 30.(a) Ọ há èrhú rí ó bàárí
He/she/it take past+cap.Rel. it be red+past
'He took a cap that is red.'
- (b) Ọ há èrhú òbúbàrí
He/she/it take+past cap red
'He took a red cap.'
- 31.(a) Ọ vbọ hà ámì ríófòrí há wò òó
He/she/it NEG take+Imperf. water Rel. it be cold+past
take bathe NEG.
'She does not bathe with water that is cold.'
- (b) Ọ vbọ hà ámì òfófò wò òó
He/she/it NEG+take+Imperf. water cold bathe NEG.
'She does not bathe with cold water.'

The underlined constituents in each of the two sets of sentences above mean the same thing and perform the same function of qualifying the preceding NP with which they constitute the direct object of the main verb in the sentence. Literature on the subject assumes that pairs of constituents such as those underlined in the (a) and (b) sentences above result from rules operating on a complex NP within a simple sentence such that for the sentences of (31), for instance, we would have something close to what follows:

32. [ámì [ámì ọ fọrí]] by Relativisation -->
NP S
[ámì rí ọ fọrí] by Adjectivalisation -->
[ámì ọfófò].

Since not all quality verbs can be adjectivalised there is need to distinguish those which can from those which cannot. This

could be done with the aid of the features [+ADJ (ectivalisation)] and [-ADJ (ectivalisation)] being associated with appropriate verbs in the lexicon.

4. SUMMARY OF QUALITY VERBS IN OKPE AND UVWIĘ

In the preceding discussion of quality verbs in Okpe and Uvwię in relation to their reduplicated forms and grammatical function, attention has been drawn to the evidence indicating the various functions performed by the two kinds of reduplications. For instance, evidence has been provided to show that type II reduplications in Okpe commonly function as adjectival qualifiers in addition to occurring as predicators in attributive sentences, whereas when type I reduplications occur as adjectival qualifiers in this language, as also in Uvwię, their meaning necessarily involves some notion of the intensity. We have shown, however, that in Uvwię, although it is type II reduplications that actually occur as adjectival qualifiers, they do so less their associated prefix vowel, which they do not shed when they take on the function of predicator in attributive sentences. Type I reduplications in both languages have been shown to function as adverbial modifiers although examples were provided of strings in which they feature as adjectival qualifiers and appear to require a following *ómàrà̀n* 'this/that way' in Okpe and *émóò̀n* in Uvwię with an identical meaning. Attention was also drawn to sentences in both languages in which type II reduplications occur as structure deictic heads with specific pragmatic constraints. Finally some attempt was made to outline the relationship between sentences with relative clauses and others with appropriate adjectives.

5. QUALITY VERBS AND THEIR REDUPLICATED FORMS IN SOME OF THE LINGUISTIC NEIGHBOURS OF OKPE AND UVWIĘ

The available data clearly shows that the two types of reduplications identified in Okpe and Uvwię not only occur in some of the neighbouring languages, they also tend to assume the same kind of functions in languages. The following table illustrates the form of these reduplications in specific speech forms.

AGBARHU and AGBON

	<u>Verb Stem</u>	<u>Type I Reduplications</u>	<u>Type II Reduplications</u>
bí	'be black /dark'	bìebi	óbiébi
ku	'be cheap'	kuèkú	ókuékù
fún	'be clean/ white'	fùàfún	ófùáfún
krẹ	'be short'	krèkrẹ	ókrèkrẹ
yonvbin	'be good/ beautiful'	yònyónvbin	óyónyònvbin
mionvbin	'deteriorate/ be spoilt'	miònmiónvbin	ómiònmiònvbin
gbe	'be dirty'	gbègbé	ógbégbè

UGIENVBIN

bi	'be black/ dark'	bièbí	óbièbí
ku	'be cheap'	kuèkú	ókuèkú
gr̄en	'be tall/ long'	gr̄èngr̄en	ógr̄èngr̄en
sheri	'be far/ distant'	shèshéri	óshèshéri
yonvbin	'be good/ beautiful'	yònyónvbin	óyònyónvbin

The reduplications shown above can be accounted for in terms similar to those discussed earlier for Okpẹ and Uvwie. We find here, as there, that each type of reduplication has a characteristic tonal shape that distinguishes it from the other. Type II reduplications also have the characteristic prefix vowel they were shown to possess in Okpẹ and Uvwie.

The following sentences clearly suggest that the reduplicated forms of quality verbs in Agb̄on, Agbarh̄u and Ugienvbin function in the same way as in Okpẹ and Uvwie:

AGBARHU

33. Ayi nà óyònyónvbin
Woman Det. beautiful
'The woman is beautiful.'
34. Ùwènvbin yònyónvbin ó tòn vbiyò
House beautiful/good he/she/it build+past
'It is a rather/really beautiful house that he built.'
35. Ómiómìònvbin nà wọ chà riyọ?
Ugly Det. you future take/marry?
'Is it this ugly one you will take/choose/marry?'
36. Á shé kuèkú òbóyìn
One sell+Imperf.+d.o. cheap over there
'It sells/is sold rather cheaply over there.'
37. Ó vbà krèkrè
He/she/it appear/seem short
'It looks rather short.'

UGIENVBIN

38. Óbrúrhén ógrègré -- 'a short stick'
ètè óshèshéri -- 'a distant place'
àmwán ófùànfún 'a white/clean cloth'
àjì óyònyónvbin -- 'a beautiful woman'
39. Àjì nà óyònyónvbin
Woman Det. beautiful
'The woman is beautiful.'
40. Á shé kuèkú ètè ófà
One sell+Imperf.+d.o. cheap place another
'It sells/is sold rather cheaply elsewhere.'

41. Ọ́ rú krèkré
 He/she/it do Imperf. rather short
 'It looks rather short.'

(33) from Agbon and Agbarhu illustrates predicative function while (34) exemplifies adjectival function.⁸ (35) represents an instance in which the adjectivalised verb occurs as a structure deictic head while (36) and (37) involve type I reduplications functioning as adverbial modifiers. Other sentences examined show type II reduplications functioning as adjectival qualifiers. In the case of the examples from Ugienvbin the items cited as (38) involve type II reduplications functioning as adjectival qualifiers. (39) shows a type II reduplication active as predicator while (40) and (41) have type I reduplications in the role of adverbial modifiers.

These examples clearly indicate that in Agbon, Agbarhu and Ugienvbin type II reduplications typically function as adjectival qualifiers or predicative elements while type I reduplications occur most typically as adverbial modifiers. (34), however, suggests that type I reduplications in Agbon and Agbarhu can also function as adjectival qualifiers. In such cases their meaning involves the same notion of intensity noted with respect to Okpe and Uwie.

The picture emerging from this brief description of the structure and grammatical function of quality verbs and their reduplicated forms matches the earlier one described for Okpe and Uwie. We therefore conclude that the syntactic processes involved in the process of adjectivalisation via reduplication and those surrounding the presence of reduplicated forms in sentences of Okpe and Uwie are not only productive in these languages, they occur in other neighbouring languages with similar results.

NOTES

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²This statement notwithstanding, there is evidence that speakers of these languages from time to time produce all kinds of materials on these languages.

³The orthography, however, takes cognizance of the recommendations of the Panel set up by the Bendel State Government to report on the question of an adequate orthography for the languages spoken in the state.

⁴A similar statement was made with respect to the same kinds of verbs in Isekiri in Omamor (1976b).

⁵See footnote (4) above.

⁶Bamgbose (1975) discusses some of the differences between factive nominalisations of this kind and true relative clauses in Yoruba.

⁷Uvwie has strings which parallel the ones cited here for Okpe and to which the comments made here would apply with equal validity.

⁸The indications are that when type I reduplications function as adjectival qualifiers in Agbon, Agbarhu and Ugienvbin, their meaning invariably involves a notion of intensity termed 'emphasis' by some native speakers.

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