

5 Nominal and Adjectival Compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

As noted elsewhere, the combinations noun plus adjective, and noun plus demonstrative (núnḡò), require tone-lowering on the noun, and are thus suggestive of compounding. In this section, I discuss phenomena that are more obviously compounds in nature.

A number of formulae for tone patterns are distinguished in the sections below, using “x” for a compound initial of variable word-class, “a” for adjective, “n” for noun, “v” for verb, and Ppl (as usual) for Participial suffix. A macron (e.g. in “ \bar{x} ”) means that the constituent in question has the same tones that it has in isolation. A grave accent (“ \grave{x} ”) means that all tones in the relevant constituent are dropped to low. An acute accent (“ \acute{x} ”) means that all tones are raised to high, and a circumflex (“ \hat{x} ”) denotes an overlaid H(H...L) stem-wide tone pattern.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (\bar{x} n̄)

In this type, both initial and final preserve their lexical tones (xxx). The only tightly constructed compounds of this type are those with final $b\hat{a} : ^n$ ‘owner’ of (or its Pl $n\acute{a}m$), see §5.xxx.

In some of the remaining examples, the “compound” [X Y] seems to be logically equivalent to a descriptive or partitive possessive construction [X mà Y]. When the final is a noun like ‘day’ or a measuring unit like ‘liter’, Possessive mà seems to be generally omitted, resulting in a rather loose compound-like sequence.

- (xx1) a. $b\grave{o}n-k\grave{u}n-\emptyset$ $n\acute{i}n\acute{i}r^ne$
 name.L-put-VblN day
 ‘the day of the name-giving ceremony’ **2004.3.19**
- b. [$n\grave{u}n$ $s\grave{e}r\acute{e}$] $l\acute{i}:t\grave{u}r\grave{u}$ $t\acute{u}r\acute{u}$
 [oil.L liquid] liter one
 ‘one liter of liquid oil’ **2004.3.20**

When tone-dropping applies to such a compound, it affects all of its components. For example, the compound in (xx1.b), above, appears as relative-clause head with all-L tones in (xx2).

- (xx2) [[$n\grave{u}n$ $s\grave{e}r\grave{e}$ $l\grave{i}:t\grave{u}r\grave{u}$ $t\grave{u}r\grave{u}$]
 [[oil.L **liquid.L**] **liter.L** **one.L**]
 $\grave{u}-r\acute{u}$ $m\grave{i}$ $\hat{o}:-\emptyset$ $k\grave{u}^n$] $y\acute{o}kk\grave{o}$
 2Sg-Dat 1SgS.L give.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def] where?

‘Where is the one liter of liquid oil that I gave you?’

In (xx3.a), the noun substitute *mâ:n* ‘such-and-such’ is used as a kind of **partitive** for the preceding noun. This can be expanded further by preposing a noun denoting a unit of counting, in which case all three nouns have their individual tones (xx3.b).

- (xx3) a. *hínnè* *mâ:n*
 amount such-and-such
 ‘such-and-such an amount’ **2004.3.20**
- b. *nǐ:* *hínnè* *mâ:n*
 day amount such-and-such
 ‘such-and-such a number of days’

In (xx4), we see that *nǐ:*, *hínnè*, and *mâ:n* drop their tones in tandem, when the phrase is followed by a demonstrative. This suggests that (xx3.b), above, is a nonhierarchical structure morphosyntactically, similar to appositional constructions, with all three elements subject to simultaneous externally-induced modification.

- (xx4) [*nǐ:* *hínnè* *mâ:n*] *núnò*
 [**day.L** **amount.L** **such-and-such.L**] Dem
 ‘that such-and-such a number of days’ **2004.3.20**

5.1.2 Compounds of type (\grave{x} \bar{n})

In this pattern, the compound initial drops its tones to all low, symbolized by the acute accent on \grave{x} . The compound final has its normal tones, but the initial drops its tones to all-L. This is the same tone pattern we get with [noun + adjective] sequences, but here the leftmost constituent is the modifier rather than the (semantic) head.

This compound type is highly productive. The final is the logical head, denoting the referent, while the initial characterizes this referent in some manner (location, ethnicity, salient feature, or the whole with reference to a part).

- (xx1) a. *tòrò-ñě-m*
 mountain.L-woman-Pl
 ‘mountain women’ (women from villages in the hills, *tóró*) **2004.3.3**
- b. *tèŋè-ñě-m*
 Teŋou.L-woman-Pl
 ‘Teŋou women’ (women of the Dogon division Teŋou, *tèŋé*) **2004.3.3**
- c. *èñè-bé:*
 chicken.L-excrement

‘chicken excrement’ (èñé) **2004.3.17**

- d. màlfâ:ⁿ-gó:
rifle.L-dance
‘rifle dance (=hunter’s dance)’ (màlfâ:ⁿ) **2004.3.20**
- e. tîwⁿ-è-bòró
tree.L-rear
‘tree root(s)’ (tîwⁿ) **2004.3.27**
- f. kù:ⁿ-nùrⁿó
head.L-pain
‘headache’ (kù:ⁿ) **2004.3.27**

An uncharacteristic **partitive** sense is seen in (xx2).

- (xx2) sùkòrò kílô:
sugar kilo
‘a kilo of sugar’ **2004.5.1**

5.1.3 Compounds with final Verbal Noun, type (x̣ ñ)

A VblN can take an “incorporated object” or similar nominal complement as a compound initial. In such cases, the initial is L-toned, has generic sense, and is unmodified. The VblN has its normal tones. The construction therefore belongs to the more general type [x̣ ñ] described above (§5.xxx). An alternative, which can be used with a more general range of NP types, is the possessive pattern [NP mà VblN]. Both constructions occur in the passage in (xx1).

- (xx1) bé nùmò-bíré, [bà:ñà-lǒw-Ø],
3PIP hand.L-work, [bowl.L-carve-VblN],
[màná: mà lǒw-Ø], ...
[mortar Poss carve-VblN], ...
‘Their trade (=occupation), carving wooden bowls, (and) the carving of wooden mortars, ...’ (bà:ñá, lǒwó-) **2004.3.15**

Many compounds with final VblN have specialized senses (xx2).

- (xx2) a. dî:ⁿ-nà-ýⁿ
place.L-spend.night-VblN
‘(animals’) place for spending the night’ (dî:ⁿ, ná:-) **2004.3.16**
- b. jè:n nî:-kùn-Ø≡î:

gear.L water.L-put-VbIN≡it.is
 ‘It is gear (=bags) for putting water (in).’ (ní : , kúnó-) **2004.3.16**

c. gò:rò-těwⁿ-∅
 kola.L-chew-VbIN
 ‘chewing kola nuts; price of kola (small gift of money)’ (gó:rò,
 tětⁿé-) **2004.3.20**

d. cìnè-yǎŋ-∅
 shadow.L-look-VbIN
 ‘mirror’ (cì-cìné, yàŋá-) **2004.3.20**

e. nùwⁿò-dǐŋ-∅
 death.L-sit.down-VbIN
 ‘mourning period, wake’ (nùwⁿó, dǐŋé-) **2004.3.21**

A compound with final Verbal Noun followed by dót : - ‘arrive (at), reach’ often means ‘(the age of) VP-ing’, denoting a maturation stage or similar milestone. In (xx3), the underlying phrase is [àyà-úrò] tǎŋá- ‘(bride) move to husband’s house’, with a tonal locative úrò ‘in the house’ (§8.xxx).

(xx3) [nîŋ ké] ñě-n àyà-úrò-tǎŋ-∅
 [now Topic] woman husband.L-house.L-transfer-VbIN
 dót : -yà-∅ dèy
 reach-Perf-3SgS if
 ‘Now, when the woman attains the age for moving to her husband’s house
 (i.e., for consummating a long-since arranged marriage), ...’ **2004.3.20**

In (xx4), the Verbal Noun is itself **iterated** within the compound. The leftmost occurrence is treated as a compound initial and takes L-tone.

(xx4) a. cèm-[tà-yⁿ]-[tà-ýⁿ]
 pointed.object-[shoot-VbIN]-[shoot-VbIN]
 ‘arrow(s) (and bow)’ **2004.3.2**

b. cè : -[wò-y]-[wò-ý]
 thing-[kill-VbIN]-[kill-VbIN]
 ‘lethal weapons (things that kill)’ **2004.3.2**

In (xx5), below, removing the ‘it is’ clitic, the long word is cèj-∅-cèj-ú (syncopated from cèj-ù-cèj-ú. This in turn is the regular Verbal Noun of cèj-ú cèj-é-, with cèj-é- ‘cut’ preceded by its own Verbal Noun (in the fashion of a cognate object). The compound initial cèj-ú- has shifted to L-tone (cèj-ù-), and

has lost its suffixal vowel by Inter-Word u-Apocope (§3.xxx). The combination cèj-Ø-cèj-ú functions as an **adjective** modifying cě: ‘thing’.

- (xx5) cè: cèj-Ø-cèj≡î:
 thing.L cut.VbIN.L-cut.VbIN≡it.is
 ‘something for cutting (i.e., a knife)’ (from cèj-ú-cèj-ú plus ≡ỹ)

A similar adjectival function is carried out by compounds of ní: ‘water’ and a VbIN (‘sitting’, ‘running’), modifying the noun dǐ:ⁿ ‘place’, in the passage (xx6).

- (xx6) jìrⁿê: [bùrò-ní: jín]
 wet.season.Loc-HL [pond.L-water like]
 [dǐ:ⁿ nì:-dìŋ-Ø]≡î: là: dèy
 [place.L **water.L-sit-VbIN**]≡it.is Neg if
 [séwndè jín] [dǐ:ⁿ nì:-jǒw-Ø]
 [water.spring like] [place.L **water.L-run-VbIN**]
 [émé kò búró] kó sà:-rá-Ø,
 [1PIP Dem pond] NonhO have-Neg-3SgS
 [émé tùmó kùⁿ] kó sà:-rá-Ø
 [1PIP stone Def] NonhO have-Neg-3SgS
 ‘Except for spots where water stands (“sits”) during the rainy season such as (seasonal) pond water, (regarding) places with running (=flowing) water such as springs [topic], our ponds don’t have any and our stone hills don’t have any.’ **2004.4.5**

5.1.4 Compounds with final -sà:-rá ‘fact of not having X’ (x̣ ñ)

Ordinarily, a Verbal Noun cannot be formed from a quasi-verb like sà- ‘have’. However, the negative form sà:-rá- ‘not have’ (§11.xxx) can be used, without derivational suffixation, as a compound final. The tone-dropping on the initial identifies this as a compound of [x̣ ñ] tonal type, rather than as a factive complement. In (xxx), from a text describing how elders adjudicate disputes, tǒyⁿò-sà:-rá ‘not having truth’, i.e. ‘being in the wrong’, is opposed to tǒyⁿó ‘truth’, i.e. ‘being in the right’, which occur in parallel as direct objects of ‘give’. For the literal phrasing “give truth to X” and “give not-having truth to X,” cf. French *donner raison à* and *donner tort à*, respectively.

- (xx1) [[tǒyⁿó sà:-rá-n kùⁿ] lè]
 [[truth have-Neg-Ppl.Sg Def] Dat]
 [tǒyⁿò-sà:-rá kùⁿ] ó:-jè-bà dèy, ...,
 [**truth-have-Neg** Def] give-RecPf-3PIS if, ...,
 [[ìnè tǒyⁿó bā:ⁿ kùⁿ] lè] tǒyⁿó ó: mèyⁿ ↑, ...

[[person.L truth owner Def] Dat] **truth** give and, ...
 ‘When they have ruled against (“have given not-having-truth to”) the one
 who is in the wrong, ...; he acknowledges being in the right to the person
 who is in the right and ...’ **2004.5.5**

Another instance of L-toned initial plus $-sà : -rá$ is (xx2).

(xx2) [[kó kâ:ⁿ] mà nèwⁿè-sà:-rá] èmĕ-n kò:-ró
 [[Nonh too] Poss **usefulness-have-Neg**] 1Pl-Dat be.Nonh-Neg
 ‘We have none of such uselessness (=useless things).’ **2004.4.6**

A rival expression of the semantic type ‘lack of X’ consists of the substantive
 noun (L-toned) plus tĕyⁿ ‘lack or insufficiency’, apparently here a nominal
 compound final, but related to the adjective tĕyⁿ ‘small’.

5.1.5 Compounds of type (\bar{x} ñ)

In this type of compound, the initial has its regular tone (I indicate this as \bar{x} with a
 macron indicating no change in tones). The final is a noun with overlaid descending
 H(H...L) tone. The schematic formula is therefore [\bar{x} ñ], where the circumflex
 suggests the word-level descending tone. This has an interesting similarity to
 inalienable possessives (affecting certain kin terms), which also have a [\bar{x} ñ] tone
 pattern when the possessor is a (nonpronominal) noun or (other) NP (§6.xxx). It is
 worth exploring the possibility that there is a deep similarity between this type of
 compound and inalienable possession (specifically, the relationship between the
 propositus and the referent in kinship expressions like ‘my father’). Some other
 compound types described in this chapter have similar tone patterns: agentive
 [\bar{x} v̂-Ppl] compounds (§5.xxx), and bahuvrihi [\bar{n} â] compounds (§5.xxx).

In (xx1), the initial is a place name, defining the origin or residence of the
 person(s) denoted by the final.

- (xx1) a. dómno-ñĕ-m
 D-woman.HL-Sg
 ‘the women of Domno (village)’ **2004.3.3**
 [from ñĕ-m ‘women’]
- b. úró-úrⁿ-ùm
 house-child.HL-Pl
 ‘the children of the house’ **2004.3.1**
 [from úrⁿ-ùm ‘children’]

Further examples are in (xx2). I include (xx2.b) (‘guitar song’), whose final is
 already F-toned lexically.

- (xx2) a. àná-óyò-n
village-chief.HL-Sg
'the chief (Hogon) of the village' (òyò-n)
- b. kònî :ⁿ-nûŋ
guitar-song.HL
'guitar song (song accompanied by native guitar)' (nûŋ) **2004.3.20**
- c. nùmó-gô:
hand-granary.HL
'granary built by hand' (gô:) **2004.3.27**
- d. kárgù-gô:
brick-granary.HL
'brick granary' (gô:) **2004.3.27**
- e. kú :ⁿ-dû:
head-load.HL
'load carried on head' (dû:)

When tone-dropping applies to such a compound, as before a modifying adjective or demonstrative or as relative-clause head, both initial and final drop their tones. Two of the compounds in (xx1), above, are shown in tone-dropped form in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. kù :ⁿ-dù: mî dé: -rà jì :ⁿ
head.L-load.L 1SgS.L carry-Habit Past
'the head load that I was carrying'
- b. kònî :ⁿ-nùŋ núŋò
guitar.L-song.L Dem
'that guitar song'

This [x̄ n̄] compound type competes directly with the [x̄ n̄] type. More than a little arbitrariness seems evident in the division between the two sets of compounds whose initial is èjù 'field, bush' (as compound initial often 'wild X').

- | (xx4) | compound | gloss |
|------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. [x̄ n̄] | èjù-námñù | 'wild sesame' (< námñù) |
| | èjù-ní-níw ⁿ è | 'wild cat' (< ní-níw ⁿ é) |
| | èjù-péllè | 'wild pigeon' (< péllè) |
| b. [x̄ n̄] | èjù-èr ⁿ é | 'wild goat' (= 'gazelle sp.') |

èjù-ìjú	‘wild dog’ (=‘side-striped jackal’)
èjù-nàṅá	‘wild cow’ (=‘African buffalo’)

5.1.6 Nominalized verb-verb compounds (\bar{v} \acute{v} , or \bar{v} \grave{v} \acute{v})

Compounds, functioning syntactically as nouns, that consist of two or more verb stems chained together with no word-internal indication of nominalization may be produced more or less spontaneously.

The final verb undergoes tone-raising to all-H in my textual examples. The initial verb has its usual lexical tone as in chaining. In compounds with three verbs, the medial verb usually drops tones to all-L, resulting in an overall schema [\bar{v} \grave{v} \acute{v}]. Tone-dropping on the second of three verbs also occurs in unnominalized verb chains (§15.xxx), and tone-dropping on the second and subsequent stems is also found in verb-stem iteration (§11.xxx).

In (xx1.a), for example, “sniff-look-and-shit” is a colorful made-up name for Scorpion in a tale, following an episode where Hyena sniffs Scorpion (on a dare) and then defecates after being stung. ‘Defecate’ is normally a cognate-nominal plus verb combination $b\acute{e} : b\check{e} : -$, the verb having R-tone, but in the compound we get $-b\acute{e} : -b\acute{e} :$. In (xx1.b), ‘defecate-and-be cured’ refers to a medical treatment involving a laxative.

- (xx1) a. $j\grave{i}\grave{n}\acute{e}-y\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}-b\acute{e} : -b\acute{e} :$ $m\grave{a}$ $d\grave{u}\grave{r}\acute{o} :$
sniff-look.L-excrement-defecate.H Poss tail
‘the tail of “sniff-look-and-shit”, and ...’ ($b\acute{e} : b\check{e} : -$) **2004.4.2**
- b. $s\acute{a}r\acute{a}-b\acute{a}y\acute{a}$ $b\grave{e}$ $j\grave{o}\eta\hat{o} : -\emptyset$ $y\acute{o}\equiv k\grave{o}$
have.diarrhoea-be.cured 3PlS.L heal.Impf-Ppl.Nonh exist=be.Nonh
‘There is (a manner) whereby they (=healers) heal with “have-diarrhoea-and-be-cured”’ **2004.3.27**

When tone-dropping applies to such a nominal, all of the component stems are affected: $j\grave{i}\grave{n}\grave{e}-y\grave{a}\eta\grave{a}-b\grave{e} : -b\grave{e} :$ $n\acute{u}\eta\grave{o}$ ‘that “sniff-look-and-shit.”’

5.1.7 Agentive compounds of type (\bar{x} \hat{v} -Ppl)

The general pattern [\bar{x} \hat{v}] just described is also applicable to cases where the noun compound final is an agentive, i.e. consists of verb stem plus Participle suffix (for humans, Sg -n or Pl -m). The formula is therefore [\bar{x} \hat{v} -Ppl]. The initial is usually a direct object logically, but may be an instrument (xx1.d) or a scene-setting spatio-temporal noun (xx1.e). The tones of the participial verb are consistent with those of ordinary perfective relatives, but in the relevant examples the activities denoted are not limited to the past. I do not hyphenate these examples, since they are still

somewhat clause-like semantically and may be preceded by ìnè ‘person(s) who ...’. They are less lexicalized than the [x̣ ́-Ppl] agentive compounds described below.

- (xx1) a. àsèḡé díḡè-n
 animal.L follow.HL-Ppl.Sg
 ‘one who follows animals’ (díḡé-) **2004.3.9**
- b. ìnè [kàjú wàrà-m]
 person.L [calabash farm.HL-Ppl.Pl]
 ‘people who grow gourd (plants)’ (wàrà-) **2004.3.9**
- c. ùjùwⁿó dánà-m
 mouse hunt.HL-Ppl.Pl
 ‘hunters of mice’ (dàná-) **2004.3.16**
- d. àtî:ⁿ dánà-m
 bird.trap hunt.HL-Ppl.Pl
 ‘bird trappers (=bird-trap hunters)’ (dàná-) **2004.3.16**
- e. [jénéḡé dánà-n], [nù-núwⁿò dánà-n]=î:ⁿ là:ⁿ,
 [metal.trap hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg] [Rdp-day hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg]=it.is Neg
 [dà:ḡá dánà-n]=î:ⁿ
 [night hunt.HL-Ppl.Sg]=it.is
 ‘A trapper (=metal-trap hunter) [topic], he is not a daytime hunter,
 (rather) he is a night hunter.’ (dàná-) **2004.3.16**
- f. ñè-n [î:ⁿ nárⁿá-wⁿà-n kùⁿ]
 woman-Sg [child bear-Caus.HL-Ppl.Sg Def]
 ‘the woman (=midwife) who helps deliver the child’ **2004.3.19**

This compound type is productive in the sense that it can be freely applied to new object-verb combinations. The more lexicalized agentives with incorporated object (or other complement), denoting occupations or other type-defining activities, are expressed by a different agentive compound type [x̣ ́-Ppl] with L-toned initial and H-toned final; see §5.xxx.

For a case where the initial is itself a compound (in purposive-clause function), see àmà-sàw-kúnò yérè-m ‘those who come to give blessings’ in §17.xxx.

5.1.8 Verb-verb or adjective-verb compounds of type (x̣ ̀-ḡ-Ppl)

This pattern, with H(H...)L tone on the participle and L-toned verb or adjective stem as initial, is very rare.

The lexicalized expression in (xx1) denotes a caste of women from distant villages who perform certain social functions in Jamsay villages (e.g. exhorting men to be valiant in hunting). Here both initial and final are motion verbs.

- (xx1) yà: -yérè-m
 go.L-come.HL-Ppl.Pl
 ‘the go-and-come women (a caste)’ (yà: -, yérè-)

There are some tonally similar but nonparticipial compounds, functioning as reduced purposive clauses, that occur before the verbs ‘sit down’, ‘go’, and ‘come’. Example: ñà: -ñê: dîŋé- ‘sit down to eat’ (ñă: ‘meal’, ñé: - ‘eat’). These are described in §17.xxx.

5.1.9 Agentive compounds of type (x̂ v̂-Ppl)

In this type of compound, there is a bare noun with overlaid **stem-wide L-tone**, followed by a verb in participial form (Sg -n, Pl -m) but with **stem-wide H-tone**. The formula is therefore [x̂ v̂-Ppl]. Segmentally, such agentives may be indistinguishable from productive subject relatives with overt object (agentive “Deerslayer” versus relative “one who slays deer”), but the tones are a failsafe distinguishing factor, since in ordinary subject relatives the object NP has at least one H-tone and the participle cannot be all-H tone.

Examples of agentives with **non-cognate incorporated object** (or similar complement) are in (xx1). Note that I transcribe them (unlike subject relatives) as single words. The components are listed in parentheses with their lexical tones after the free translation. This agentive type is usual in connection with occupations or other regular activities that define human roles.

- (xx1) a. tàrà-yá: -m
 collective.hunt.L-go.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘those who go on collective hunts’ (tàrá, yă: - ‘go’) **2004.3.3**
- b. àsègè-dígé-m
 animal.L-follow.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘herders (who follow livestock to pasture)’ (àsègè, dígé-) **2004.3.9**
- c. àsègè-háybé-n
 animal.L-protect.H-Ppl.Sg
 ‘animal custodian’ (àsègè, háybé-) **2004.3.9**
- d. tì-tìrù-yá: -m
 Rdp-mission.L-go.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘those sent on missions or errands’ (tì-tìrù, yă: -) **2004.3.15**

- e. bɛ̀: rù-ǰá: -m
errand.L-deliver.H-Ppl.Pl
'those who deliver messages or sent items' (bɛ̀: rù, ǰǎ: -) **2004.3.15**
- f. ǰɛ̀nɛ̀ ǰɛ̀-kúnó-m
trap.L-put.H-Ppl.Pl
'trap-setters' (ǰɛ̀nɛ̀ ǰɛ̀, kúnó-) **2004.3.16**
- g. ɛ̀ǰù-nú: -n
field.L-enter.H-Ppl.Sg
'those who (regularly) go into the bush' (ɛ̀ǰú, nú: -) **2004.3.16**

If the verb is regularly paired with a **cognate nominal**, the latter is the default compound initial (xx2).

- (xx2) a. ǰò: -ǰó: -n
dance(noun).L-dance.H-Ppl.Sg
'dancer' (ǰó:, ǰǒ: -)
- b. nùŋ-núŋó-n
song.L-sing.H-Ppl.Sg
'singer' (núŋ, nùŋó-) **2004.3.20**
- c. wàrù-wára-n
farming.L-farm(verb).H-Ppl.Sg
'farmer' (wáraú, wára-) **2004.4.4**
- d. bìrè-bíré-m
work(noun).L-work.H-Ppl.Pl
'workers' (bíré, bìré-) **2004.3.15**
- e. ǰàŋ-ǰáŋá-n
plea.L-plead.for.H-Ppl.Sg
'one who pleads (begs for things)' (ǰáŋ, ǰàŋá-)

Occasionally the **initial can be expanded** as [noun + adjective] or as [possessor + noun]. This happens when the resulting complex initial is at least somewhat lexicalized.

- (xx3) a. ì: ⁿ -bà: yⁿ -íní-rⁿé-n
child.L-newborn.L-bathe-Cause.H-Ppl.Pl
'those who bathe the newborn child (=midwives)' (ì: ⁿ bà: yⁿ,
ìní-rⁿé-) **2004.3.19**

- b. àjùwò-nòwⁿò-gámárⁿá-m
new.mother.L-meat.L-divide.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘those who divide up the meat of (=given to) the new mother’ (nòwⁿó,
 gàmàrⁿá-) **2004.3.19**
- c. bìrè-pòrbà-bírè-m
work(noun).L-communal.L-work(verb).H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘those who work (=do) collective work’ (pòrbá, bìrè-) **2004.3.25**

It is possible to incorporate an **instrumental PP** instead of a simple (object) noun, when the instrument is a defining element for the occupation. The postposition *lè* is already L-toned. The noun undergoes tone-dropping.

- (xx4) a. [mànà-lè]-tá:ⁿ-m
 [plastic.L-Inst]-shoot.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘slingshot shooters’ (i.e., those who shoot with slingshots, mánà)
2004.3.16
- b. dànà-n [màlfà:ⁿ-lè]-tá:ⁿ-n
 hunt-Ppl.Sg.L [rifle.L-Inst]-shoot.H-Ppl.Sg
 ‘a rifle-shooting hunter’ (màlfâ:ⁿ) **2004.3.16**

(xx5) is a rare case where the L-toned initial is a **chained verb**, cf. verb *yò:ró-* ‘stalk, lie in wait for’, which occurred in the immediately preceding discourse.

- (xxx) *yò:rò-tá:-m*
 stalk.L-shoot.H-Ppl.Pl
 ‘(hunters) who stalk and shoot’ **2004.3.16**

5.1.10 Compounds with -î:ⁿ ‘child of’

The human noun ‘child’ (Sg *î-n*, Pl *úrⁿ-ùm*) corresponds to nonhuman *î:ⁿ*, which can mean ‘child’ (of an adult animal) or just ‘juvenile (animal)’, ‘fruit’ or ‘seed’ (of plant), a small object paired with a larger object, a part of a two-part or other complex object, or a diminutive version of a normally larger object. There is ample room for semantic specialization.

The initial always undergoes **tone-dropping**. When the initial ends in a short vowel, VV-Contraction (§3.xxx) may occur (xx1.a), but more often does not (xx1.b). No contraction occurs after a long vowel (xx1.c). Of course there is no phonological change when the initial ends in a consonant (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. final short vowel of initial elided before -î:ⁿ

ìj-î:ⁿ
dog-child
'puppy' (< ìjú)

èñ-î:ⁿ
chicken-child
'chick' (< èñé)

àñ-î:ⁿ
roselle(plant)-child
'roselle seed' (< àñú)

jèn-î:ⁿ
spinning.stick-child
'terre cuite object for holding stick used in spinning cotton'
(the assemblage is called jènè-kárá)

b. no elision of final short vowel of initial

jòṅò-î:ⁿ
hare-child
'juvenile hare' (< jòṅó)

bèrè-î:ⁿ
stick-child
'any of several erect herbs whose stems shed their foliage' (< béré)

nùmò-î:ⁿ
hand-child
'finger; tree branch' (< nùmó)

jìrè-î:ⁿ
eye-child
'eyeball' (< jìré)

jàràwà-î:ⁿ
hoe-child
'metal part of hoe (excluding wooden handle)'

tùmò-î:ⁿ
stone-child
'pebble; gravel' (< tùmó)

sèwè-î :ⁿ
paper-child
'amulet' (for carrying written spells; < séwè)

òṽò-î :ⁿ
chief-child
'nobility, high class' (< òṽ-ñ 'chief')

c. no elision of final long vowel of initial

. nùm-nà : -î :ⁿ
?-mother-child
'small round grinding stone' (< nùm-ná : 'flat grinding stone')

d. initial already ends in consonant

nà : m-î :
cotton-child
'cotton grain(s)' (< nǎ : m)

Some no-longer-segmentable nouns ending in ...î :ⁿ may have originated as diminutive compounds with -î :ⁿ. Examples: gòrⁿî :ⁿ 'knife with curved blade', jípî :ⁿ '*Maerua* tree sp.', kòñî :ⁿ 'native guitar', kòrⁿî :ⁿ 'intestine', mòtî :ⁿ 'pestle' (called 'mortar-child' in e.g. Songhay).

sà : j-î :ⁿ 'bird' is related to the much less common synonym sàjú. Likewise, mén 'bracelet' has a diminutive mè : n-î :ⁿ. Both mè : n-î :ⁿ and sà : j-î :ⁿ show **irregular lengthening** of the first vowel.

A special case semantically is bà : -î :ⁿ 'enemy, rival', literally 'father-child' (presumably in the sense 'father's child', i.e. brother or parallel cousin). Similar compounds occur in some Songhay languages and the pattern is probably regional.

5.1.11 'Man' (-àrⁿá, àrⁿá-), 'woman' (-yǎ : , yà : -, yè-)

As simple nouns, 'man' is ǎ-n (Pl àrⁿ-úm) and 'woman' is ñě-n (Pl ñě-m). Either can be modified by a following adjective, and either can appear as a initial in newly minted compounds: ñè-n tèyⁿ-ín 'small woman', ñè-n t'ànùŋ-ú 'the transfer of a bride (to her husband's house)'.

As compound finals (or arguably modifying adjectives), we get àrⁿá 'male' and yǎ : 'female'. àrⁿá is probably just the archaic form of the stem in ǎ-n (cf. the latter's plural àrⁿ-úm). àrⁿá also occurs in expressions relating to male military bravado: àrⁿá lè 'in fighting mode (armed men)', àrⁿá-kájù 'fearless (warrior)'.

They are used, for example, to specify gender for otherwise gender-unspecified kin terms, or for ethnic terms. Consider the somewhat complex set of forms based on the kin term tîrÉ in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. tîrÉ ‘grandparent’ (unpossessed)
 tírè-n ‘grandparent’ (possessed)
- b. tîrè-ǎ-n ‘grandfather’ (unpossessed)
 tírè-ǎ-n ‘grandfather’ (possessed)
- c. tîrè-ñě-n ‘grandmother’ (unpossessed)
 tírè-ñě-n ‘grandmother’ (possessed)
- d. tîrè-àrⁿá ‘male ancestor’
- e. tîrè-yǎ: ‘female ancestor, ancestress’

Here we see that the regular ‘man’ and ‘woman’ terms are used to distinguish the two genders of ‘grandparent’ (xx1.b-c), while the ‘male’ and ‘female’ compound finals are used in a more abstract sense ‘ancestor’ (xx1.d-e).

Another case of -yǎ: with human reference is àyà-yǎ: ‘(woman’s) co-wife’. This is based on áyà ‘husband; husband’s sibling’, and is therefore equivalent to ‘husband’s sister’. ‘Co-wife’ is the relationship between two women married to the same (bigamous) husband.

-àrⁿá and -yǎ: compound finals are commonly used with names of animals to denote gender: ìjù-àrⁿá ‘male dog’, ìjù-yǎ: ‘female dog’. They are used more abstractly to differentiate similar plant or insect species, or implements. The basis for the distinction is variable; in some cases -àrⁿá is used with the larger or more powerful implement, but with natural species the distinction may be based on shape (long thin = male) or other locally relevant characteristics (informants cannot always explain why one species is ‘male’ and the other ‘female’). For example, ú: ñùm is the general term for herbs of the genus *Cleome*, but individual species can be distinguished as ù: ñùm-àrⁿá and ù: ñùm-yǎ:, respectively. Likewise, námségè is a general term for grasshoppers of the family Catantopinae (division of Acrididae), and more precise terms are námségè-àrⁿá (*Cryptocatantops*) and námségè-yǎ: (*Diabolocatantops*). béré is the general word for ‘stick’, while bèrè-àrⁿá means ‘large ceiling beam’. nùmó means ‘hand’, nùmò-î: ⁿ (“hand-child”) means ‘finger’, and nùmò-àrⁿá (perhaps contracted from *nùmò-î: ⁿ-àrⁿá) means ‘thumb’.

In a number of frequent combinations, ‘woman’ appears in a special compound-initial form yà: - or yè- (variant yà-) instead of ñě-n (or rather L-toned ñè-n). The known examples are given in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. yà: -gó: ‘women’s dance’

yà:-kû:n	‘unmarried young woman’
yà:-pàní-n	‘widow’ (see variant with yè- below)
yà:-tàgú	‘woman’s shoes’
yà:-lògú	‘funeral tomtom music for woman’

- b. yè-kàná-n, yà-kàná-n ‘newly married woman’
yè-pàní-n ‘widow’ (see variant with yà:- above)

Other stems that might contain a frozen compound initial of this type, but are not synchronically segmentable, include yèsâ: ‘sister’, yà:lěy ‘woman’s wrap (garment)’, and yà:jí: ‘marriage’. yà:-lâ-y ‘marriage (directly arranged by groom)’, is interpreted by my informants as having yǎ:- ‘go’ as initial (and the VbIN of -lá:- ‘choose’ as final), but perhaps the historical source was yà:- ‘woman’.

A parallel male compound initial àrⁿà- is less common (xx3).

(xx3)	àr ⁿ à-kû:n	‘unmarried young man’
	àr ⁿ à-tó: tó:-	‘scold a child’ (noun plus verb)
	àr ⁿ à-lògú	‘funeral tomtom music for man’

Another noun, now unsegmentable, that might contain this initial historically is àrⁿàkǒyⁿ ‘boubou (man’s robe)’. The noun underlying compound initial àrⁿà- is àrⁿá, but it has a specialized sense ‘getting armed (for battle or for the bush)’, in several expressions: compound adjective àrⁿá-kájù ‘fearless’ (tones as in bahuvrihi compounds), adverbial PP àrⁿá lè ‘in fighting mode’, noun-verb combination àrⁿá ùró- ‘(men) get armed (for battle)’, nominal compound àrⁿà-nî:ñé ‘man’s gear for the bush’ (knife, etc.). There is a homonym àrⁿá ‘rain’, with compound-initial form àrⁿà-.

It should be noted that the regular forms for ‘man/men’ and ‘woman/women’ are used in loose compounds with Possessive mà. For example, one text distinguished ñě-m mà jòŋ-jóŋó-m ‘women (=female) healers’ from àrⁿ-úm mà jòŋ-jóŋó-m ‘men (=male) healers’. In the text it is clear that the reference is to the sex of the healers, not to that of those whom they treat (i.e. not ‘healers of women’, ‘healers of men’).

5.1.12 ‘Owner of’ (Sg báŋà or bâ: ⁿ, Pl nám)

báŋà or bâ: ⁿ following an NP with its regular tones means ‘owner of NP’ or ‘one who has NP’. It can also be used with a place name P to mean ‘person from P, resident of P’.

(xx1)	a.	[pé:tàŋà	bâ: ⁿ]≡y ⁿ
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[P **owner**]=it.is
 ‘He is a resident of Petaga (village).’ **2004.3.4**

- b. ú [èjú bâ:ⁿ kùⁿ]
 2Sg [field **owner** Def]
 ‘you-Sg, the owner of the field’ **2004.3.10**

The plural counterpart of báŋà (or bâ:ⁿ) is nám. This (human) Pl morpheme also occurs in gàmà-nám ‘certain ones, some (others)’ (Pl of gámá ‘a certain’), and in nùŋò-nám ‘those’ (§6.xxx and §6.xxx).

- (xx2) a. cèm-[tâ-yⁿ]-[tâ-ýⁿ] nám
 bow-and-arrow **owners**
 ‘those who have bows and arrows’ **2004.3.2**
- b. [[kó kùⁿ] nám kâ:ⁿ nè] yó≡wò-bà
 [[Nonh Def] **owners** also now] exist≡be.Hum-3PLS
 ‘There are also those who are engaged in that (dry-season farming).’
2004.3.9
- c. à:má nám
 Amba **owners**
 ‘residents of Amba (a village)’ **2004.3.11**

As noted above, both the compound final bâ:ⁿ (báŋà) or Pl nám and the variable compound initial NP have their usual tones. In other words, the two elements are tonally autonomous (§6.xxx). When tone-dropping is required, either due to a following adjective or demonstrative, or externally induced (head NP of relative), both elements drop their tones (xx3.b-c).

- (xx3) a. màlfâ:ⁿ bâ:ⁿ
 rifle owner
 ‘one with a gun’
- b. màlfâ: bâ:ⁿ nùŋò-bâ:ⁿ
rifle.L owner.L Dem.L-owner
 ‘this/that one with a gun’
- c. [màlfâ:ⁿ bâ:ⁿ] gô:-n ∴ fú:
[rifle.L owner.L] go.out.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg all
 ‘everyone with a gun who went out (to the bush)’ **2004.3.24**

In (xx4), an occasional epithet for ‘God’, a pronominal possessor (L-toned, as for inalienable noun) takes the place of the compound initial.

(xx4) èmè báŋà ǎ-n
 1PIP.L owner man-Sg
 ‘our Lord’ (= ‘God’) **2004.4.16**

In the sense ‘(someone’s) people, relatives, ancestors’, nám is a simple, alienably possessed noun: émé nám ‘our kin, our ancestors’ (**2004.4.24**). With a preceding NP, Possessive mà is required in this sense (xx5).

(xx5) [émé ànà núŋò] mà nám
 [1PIP village.L Dem] Poss **people**
 ‘the people of our village’ **2004.3.11**

In the sense ‘master (e.g. of slave)’, báŋà is used with inalienable possessor: m̀ báŋà ‘my master’. The plural in this sense is not nám, rather báŋà bé. One term for ‘God’ is èmè báŋà ǎ-n, literally ‘our Master man’.

In a single textual example, bâ: ⁿ occurs at the end of a relative clause (xx6).

(xx6) yèré nàná-m̀ bâ: ⁿ fú:
 come drive.off.Impf-Ppl.Pl **owner** all
 ‘any one of those who come and drive off (=rustle cattle)’ **2004.4.24**

Without fú: ‘all’ (here in distributive function), the phrase yèré nàná-m̀ bâ: ⁿ has singular reference: ‘one of those who come and ...’. In other words, the plural participle yèré nàná-m̀ ‘those who ...’ has partitive function.

báŋà (bâ: ⁿ) and Pl nám also occur in a very limited construction with L-toned initial. The only forms known to me are in (xx7). The demonstratives (xx7.a) are the regular human counterparts of nonhuman núŋò ‘this/that’ (§4.xxx), (nonhuman) anaphoric ɛ̀n-kò (§4.xxx), and proximate ní- (§4.xxx). The combination with numeral ‘one’ (xx7.b) is not common but did occur in a text.

(xxx) a. núŋò-bâ: ⁿ ‘this/that’ (human Sg),
 núŋò-nám ‘these/those’ (human Pl)
 ɛ̀n-kò-bâ: ⁿ ‘that’ (human Sg, anaphoric)
 ɛ̀n-kò-nám ‘those’ (human Pl, anaphoric)
 ǹ-ⁿ ‘this’ (human Sg)
 ǹ-ⁿ ‘these’ (human Pl)

b. t̀-ⁿ ‘one person, someone’ (uncommon) **2004.3.21**

5.1.13 Loose and tight compounds with ná: (‘authentic’, ‘entire’)

The compound final -ná: is probably related to nǎ: ‘mother’. The connection is felt by natives and there are similar ‘mother’ compounds in other languages of the zone.

ná: is occasionally used in loose compounds of the possessive type [NP mà ná:] with Possessive morpheme mà. The sense is ‘true (authentic, genuine) X’, denoting for example the focal referent of a species term rather than a similar-looking one. For further emphasis, the construction may be iterated: [NP mà ná: mà ná:].

- (xx1) a. [[yà:-yéɾè-m mà ná:] mà ná: ké]
 [[go.L-come.HL-Ppl.Pl Poss **true**] Poss **true** Top]
 dómnó yó=kò =>, gùrú yò=kò =>, ...
 D exist=be.Nonh, G exist=be.Nonh, ...
 ‘As for the “go-come” women strictly speaking, there are some in Domno (village), some in Gourou (village), ... **2004.3.3**
- b. [ìnè gàmà-nám] [[nì: lùgó lè] mà ná:]
 [person.L certain-Pl] [[day.L count(noun) Inst] Poss **true**]
 kó jìnè-bà
 NonhO have.Perf.L-3PlS
 ‘Some people [topic], they have a true count of days (=precise schedule) for it (=tanning hides).’ **2004.3.17**
- c. [kò ké], [ñě-m mà gǎnè]
 [Nonh Topic], [woman-Pl Poss between]
 mà jóŋ=í: mà ná:,
 Poss healing=Foc Poss **true**,
 [ñě-m mà jòŋ-jóŋó-m] cé=ỹ
 [woman-Pl Poss healing.L-heal.H-Ppl.Pl] possession=it.is
 ‘That (=purging intestines of child) [topic], it is strictly a (type of) healing among (=performed by) women; it belongs to women healers.’
2004.3.27

The construction is sometimes used with a (possessor) pronominal, where identity is focal (xx2).

- (xx2) a. émé jìrⁿè-bìrè-bíré-m=í: sǎy,
 1PIP wet.season-work(noun)-work-Ppl.Pl=it.is only,
 [émé ná:], àsègè-mǎŋ-Ø jìrⁿè-bíré,
 [1PIP **true**], animal-raise-VblN wet.season-work(noun),
 [émé òrú mà pàŋá ké] yí-dì:ⁿ=ỹⁿ
 1PIP matter Poss strength Topic] here=it.is

‘That’s just our wet-season workers (=farmers, who often go south after the harvest). (As for) us specifically, (we raise animals and do wet-season farming).’ **2004.3.9**

- b. wó [ènέ mà ná:] jò:-gó ⇒
 3Sg [Logo Poss **true**] know-Impf.Neg
 ‘(He said:) you don’t know me specifically (=you have no idea who I am).’ (jùgó-) **2004.4.4**

- c. [kò màbîl bérè ké] [kó ná: ∴ fú:] nêyⁿ≡yⁿ
 [Dem vehicle in Topic] [NonhP **true** all] blood≡it.is
 ‘Inside the vehicle, the whole thing was (nothing but) blood.’ **2004.5.1**

The 1Sg counterpart (elicited) is má ná:, with 1Sg (alienable) possessor má.

[X mà ná:] can be extended to cases where X is a VP (ending in a bare verb stem), in expressive emphatic function. In (xx3), the speaker issues a stern injunction to a hypothetical farmer to keep working in his field even after the millet has begun to grow well.

- (xx3) [á èju] [káwá mà ná:] bérè-gó-w
 [2SgP field] [be.separated Poss **true**] be.able-Impf.Neg-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg can’t stay away at all from your field.’ **2004.3.6**

In (xx4), the X in [X mà ná:] is an adverbial participial clause based on the lexical form of a verb (§15.2.1.3).

- (xx4) yá:≡y dèy, [yè-kànà-cèrⁿèwⁿé cérⁿéwⁿé-n déy
 yesterday≡it.is if, [woman-new.L-fun have.fun-**Ppl.Sg** if,
 mà ná:] wî-wô:-bà
 Poss **true**] Rdp-be.Hum-3PIS
 ‘If it’s yesterday (=if we’re talking about the past), they used to really perform festivities for the newlywed bride.’ **2004.3.20**

As a noun, ná: can also mean ‘(entire) plant’, as opposed to a smaller focal part such as a fruit. In (xx5), the reference is to the main body of the millet plant (stem, leaves, and perhaps roots) which is laid down in the field as fertilizer after the grain-bearing ear has been harvested.

- (xx5) ñú: [kó ná: ∴ fú:] sá: únó méyⁿ, ...
 millet [NonhP **plant** all] cut lay.down and, ...
 ‘Millet, they cut and lay (in the field) its main plant, and ...’ **2004.3.6**

Tight compounds of the form [noun-ná:], with no linking mà, are more common but are rather lexicalized. With natural-species and especially with implement terms, the usual sense is ‘authentic’ or ‘prototypical’ (xx6.a). In some cases, a formerly

prototypical variety still called by such a compound may no longer be the most common variety. Compounds with -ná: can also be used to denote the entirety (especially of a plant, as opposed to its fruit or other well-known part) (xx6.b). However, an element of authenticity may also be involved in the examples in (xx6.b); for example, there are some ‘false indigo’ plants in the zone, and some types of wood that resemble but do not equal cîr'é (whose wood is prized by blacksmiths).

(xx6)	stem	gloss	compound	gloss
a.	àr ⁿ àkǒy ⁿ	‘boubou’	àr ⁿ àkǒy ⁿ -ná:	‘large boubou’
	bèrú	‘goat’	bèn-ná:	‘the most common breed of goat’
	èmé	‘sorghum’	èmè-ná:	‘a cultivar of sorghum’
	é:r'é	‘peanut’	è:r'è-ná:	‘groundnut’ (one of two types of é:r'é)
	gùgûn	‘melon(s)’	gùgùn-ná:	‘watermelon’
	ñú:	‘millet’	ñù:-ná:	‘ordinary millet’
b.	cîr'é	‘wood type’	cîr'è-ná:	‘tree sp. that provides cîr'é’
	gàrà	‘indigo; dye’	gàrà-ná:	‘indigo bush’

dúr'ó-gúr'ù-ná:-t'êyⁿ ‘long-tailed bird spp.’ is a conjunction of two bahuvrihi compounds, dúr'ó-gúr'ù ‘long-tailed’ and ná:-t'êyⁿ ‘small-bodied’.

Compounds with ná: are generally nonhuman. However, I can cite a human example with Sg suffix -n (xx7).

(xx7)	ámà	òy'ò-ná:-n,	[èné mà céllâl]	dáγá
	God	chief-true-Sg,	[Logo Poss health]	leave.Imprt
				‘(She will say:) “Oh God, true Lord, leave (me with) my health!”’ 2004.4.12

5.1.14 Natural-species compounds with medial -ná:- or -nà-

Another type of compound is X-ná:/nà-X, with -ná:- or -nà- separating repeated occurrences of a morpheme X. The known examples, two denoting insects and one denoting a grass, are given in (xx1).

(xx1)	a.	jón-ná:-jór'ù	‘blister beetle’ (cf. jór'ù ‘blister’)
		són-ná:-sór'ù	‘long-nosed grasshopper’ (<i>Acrida</i>)
	b.	bù: ⁿ -nà-bú: ⁿ	‘tall grass sp.’ (<i>Andropogon</i>)

In the two insect terms (xx1.a), the initial has undergone Post-Sonorant Syncope and Rhotic-Assimilation. The repeated element is independently attested in one case (jórù ‘blister’), but not in the other (-sórù).

For reduplicative adjectival compounds of the type pèyⁿ-nà: -pěyⁿ ‘very old’, with L-toned initial and -nà: -, see §5.xxx.

Compare noun kòró-kàrà-kòró ‘noise, din’ and expressive adverbial wù: -wà: -wú: ‘hurriedly, hastily’ (§4.xxx).

5.1.15 Instrumental relative compounds (‘oil for rubbing’)

The phrasal compounds in this section have the form of relative clauses (of variable frozenness) with impersonal 3PI subject, an L-toned head noun, and an unsuffixed Imperfective participle with Nonhuman Participial -Ø suffix. The L-toned head noun often represents an instrument associated with the activity, but there is no overt case-marking specifying instrumental or other function. I will refer to it as the ‘**oil for rubbing**’ construction. An example is (xx1).

(xx1) [[gùjù bè ìñê: -Ø]
 [[**skin.L** **3PIS.L** lie.down.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]
 kó táná-ŋá-mè] yò=kò
 NonhO become-Caus.Impf-Ppl.PI exist=be.Nonh
 ‘There are people who turn them (=hides) into skins for lying down
 (=sleeping on).’ **2004.3.17**

That the 3PI subject is invariant (and hence impersonal) is demonstrated by passages where the 3PI is mis-matched to e.g. a 3Sg (xx2.a) or 2Sg (xx2.b) protagonist who would be the logical user of the item.

(xx2) a. [émé àn gǎ-n] sàrî: jè:r é gá: kân,
 [1PIP man.L old-Sg] plow bring say after,
 [àsègè kó bè wàrà-wâ: -Ø]
 [**animal.L** NonhO **3PIS.L** farm-Caus.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]
 yé sà-Ø
 exist have-3SgS
 ‘An old man of ours, after he brought a plow (to the village), he had
 animals for farming it (=field), (but he still didn’t use the plow)’
2004.3.7

b. [cè: bè kárⁿâ: làyá] sà:-rá-w tàṅà dèy
 [**thing.L** **3PIS.L** do.Impf other] have-Neg-2SgS happen if
 ‘If it happens that you-Sg have nothing else to do’ **2004.3.9**

Verbs (VPs) may be **chained** (§15.xxx). In (xx3.a), all three actions denoted by verbs are carried out using the instrument (baskets). In (xx3.b), only the second verb

‘put’ involves the instrument (baskets again), though admittedly ‘cut’ and ‘put’ refer to actions that are closely integrated. In other cases, a single verbal idea is expressed by a two-verb sequence, as with the borrowed French stem *utiliser* ‘use’ (not directly inflectable) plus inflectable ‘do’ in (xx3.c). (xx3.c) also shows that **a PP may be included** in the ‘oil for rubbing’ construction.

- (xx3) a. cè: bàrá jǎ: bè tóŋô:-∅ kùⁿ
 thing.L **gather deliver** 3PIS.L **dump**.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def
 ‘what they gather, deliver, and pour out (millet ears) with (=i.e., baskets)’ **2004.3.6**
- b. céjé cè: bè kúnô:-∅
cut thing.L 3PIS.L **put**.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘what they cut (millet ears) and put in (i.e., baskets)’ **2004.3.6**
- c. cè: [ní: lè] *utiliser* bè kárⁿâ:-∅
 thing.L [**water for**] **use** 3PIS.L **do**.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘what they use for (containing) water.’ **2004.3.13**

In the constructions given above, the imperfective verb has only one argument, represented by the L-toned noun. However, it is often the case that the verb has **two arguments**, often a direct object (=patient) and an instrument, the latter being the head. In this case, the direct object immediately precedes *bè*, and takes its regular tones (i.e. it does not undergo tone-dropping). The instrumental head noun *N_i* can be incorporated in either of **two ways**. First, it can be added in the form [*mà N_i*] after the remainder of the construction. This (uncommon) construction is structurally equivalent to a “headless” relative clause followed by [*mà N_i*] containing the only occurrence of the head noun, a pattern attested, but fairly rare, in other relative clauses (§14.xxx). The second construction, considerably more common, is to prepose the instrumental noun in L-toned form to the remainder of the construction, which can be thought of as a postnominal modifier (i.e., an expanded adjective). This is essentially just an expansion of the type illustrated above, with the extra direct object noun following the L-toned head.

Both the instrumental [*mà N_i*] add-on option, and the preposed L-toned instrumental option, are exemplified in (xx4). This is from a longer passage listing several earthenware (pottery) products made by women of the blacksmith caste. The instrumental nouns are bolded in the interlinears.

- (xx4) [[ní: bè ìnê:-∅] mà wè:rÉ] bé mǎ̀ ⇒,
 [[water 3PIS.L bathe.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] **Poss bowl**] 3PI build.Impf,
 [pè:rè jîré bè sùmô:-∅] bé mǎ̀
 [**small.bowl.L** eye 3PIS.L wash.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] 3PI build.Impf
 ‘Earthenware bowls for bathing, it’s they [focus] who make them; small earthenware bowls for washing the face, it’s they [focus] who make them.’
2004.3.13

The pattern with preposed L-toned instrumental noun, like that headed by pé:rè ‘small bowl’ in the preceding example, is by far the more common. Further examples are in (xx5). cě: ‘thing’ can be used a default head (xx5.b).

- (xx5) a. kó nì:ñè jèr-ú bè jèrê:-Ø
 NonhO **gear.L** harvest-VblN 3PlS.L harvest.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘the gear for harvesting it (=millet)’ **2004.3.6**
- b. cè: ñú: kúnó bè dàrà:-Ø
thing.L millet put 3PlS.L sling.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘what they put millet in and sling over their shoulder (i.e., shoulder bag)’
2004.3.6
- c. sèyⁿ [làg-ú bè láyâ:],
axe.L [hit-VblN 3PlS.L hit.Impf]
 sîrù [cěⁿ-yⁿ bè cê:ⁿ]
knife.L [slaughter-VblN 3PlS.L slaughter.Impf]
 ‘an axe for striking (animals), a knife for slaughtering (them).’ **2004.3.16**
- d. [pòsòŋ tǒy bè tô:-Ø] éwé-w̄
[poison.L sowing 3PlS.L sow.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] buy.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will buy some poison for spreading (i.e. in powder form).’
2004.3.8

The [mà N_i] extension is (rarely) also used when there is only one NP complement. In (xx6), the extension may have been favored by the presence of the universal quantifier cêw, which is preferentially adjacent to the noun that it has direct scope over.

- (xx6) [nì: [ká: lè] bè nǒ:-Ø] mà ní: cêw
 [water.L [mouth Inst] 3PlS.L drink.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] **Poss water** all
 ‘all of the drinking water’ **2004.4.5**

The construction is stretched to its outer syntactic limits in (xx7), from a passage describing various items that must be offered to the bride at the time she is ceremonially transferred (in a large and boisterous parade) from her own home to her husband’s. The final ‘oil for rubbing’ is straightforward, but it is preceded by a much more complex instance of the construction.

- (xx7) [wó kù:ⁿ] [yîrù pîrù] bè gòró mèyⁿ
 [3SgP head.Loc.HL] [**garment.L white.L**] **3PlS.L** cover and
 [yè-kàná wó bè táná-ŋâ:-Ø kùⁿ] mà
 [woman.new 3SgO 3PlS move-Cause.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def] Poss
 [yîrù bè gòrô:-Ø kùⁿ]
[garment.L 3PlS.L cover.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def]

jǎ:-bè, [nùŋ bè párá:-Ø] jǎ:-bè
 take.Impf-2PIS, [oil.L 3PIS rub.on.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] take.Impf-2PIS
 ‘You-Pl will take a garment for covering her on her head and (=while) taking
 her (to her husband’s home) as a newlywed, (and) you will take oil for
 rubbing.’ 2004.3.20

Instead of a simple sequence based on [noun.L object they.L VERB.Impf] (‘a garment for covering her’), the phrase headed by ‘(white) garment’ is elaborated by chaining the VP ending in ‘cover’ with a second VP denoting the transfer of the bride. The 3Sg pronominal denoting the bride, who is the logical object of ‘cover’ as well as of ‘transfer’, is expressed only in the ‘transfer’ VP. This gives us a schematic pattern (xx8).

(xx8) [[on her head] **[garment.L white.L]** they.L cover and]
 [as-newlywed her they.L transfer.Impf]

The two cases of L-toned preverbal 3Pl subject bè in this part of the construction actually are of different natures. The first, following ‘white garment’, is the impersonal and invariant 3Pl mentioned above, while the second is an ordinary 3Pl pronoun referring to the people accompanying the bride in the parade.

(xx8) is then complicated further by adding a [mà NP] phrase, with Possessive mà plus a repeat of the NP functioning as head of the relative (here, ‘white garment’, simplified to ‘garment’). Such head repetition is common in relative clauses, but all my other examples of the [mà NP] add-on involve just an unmodified noun following mà (§14.xxx). The expected form of the add-on in (xx7) would therefore have been just mà yìrú with the noun ‘garment’. However, the speaker elaborated this by including repetitions of 3Pl subject bè, the verb gòró- ‘cover’ (now in unsuffixed Imperfective rather than chained bare-stem form), and Definite kùⁿ. The final structure as seen in (xx7) is therefore (xx9), where the two occurrences of the head are bolded.

(xx9) [[[on her head] **[garment.L white.L]** they.L cover and]
 [as-newlywed her they.L transfer.Impf]]
 of **[garment.L]** they.L cover-Impf]

Though productive and expandible, as the last example shows, the construction lends itself to lexicalization, since it often denotes a common implement or container. In some cases, it seems best to write the combination as a single hyphenated word. For example, (xx10.a) could be parsed literally as ‘heart for fighting (with)’, but has a lexicalized sense denoting a personality trait. ‘Slingshot’ (xx10.b) contains 3Pl subject bè and unmarked Imperfective tâ:ⁿ – ‘shoot’. The initial is mánà, whose basic sense is ‘plastic’, most often referring to the lightweight shopping bags found in markets, though it can also mean ‘slingshot’.

(xx10) a. cènè-jéy-bè-jèyê:-Ø

heart.L-fight(noun)-**3PIS.L**-fight.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
'combativeness, aggressiveness' (e.g. of cobra) **2004.3.5**

- b. mà-nà-bè-tâ:ⁿ-∅
plastic-**3PIS.L**-shoot.Impf-Ppl.Nonh
'slingshot'

5.1.16 Other phrasal compounds

Phrases and sentences, sometimes morphologically reduced, can be used as nouns. Some examples follow.

è:-mí-té:ré 'time when millet begins to develop ears' is from é- 'see', 1Sg mí, and té:ré- 'show'. The "syntax" here is somewhat opaque, but it can be taken to have a literal meaning 'see (it) and show (it) to me'. It reflects the curiosity among Jamsay farmers as to the timing of the first appearance of millet ears (seed spikes) during the growing season. Of course the ears appear first in a few plants within a field, and in one field before another field, so there is much interest in the first reports of ear development.

5.1.17 Unclassified nominal compounds

Belonging to no obvious tonal "type" of compound is the form in (xx1).

(xx1) jîré-lîgîjù 'bush sp.' "eye-rubbing"

This consists of jîré 'eye' without tonal change, plus a final in the form of a nominal (not separately attested) that is identical segmentally to the Verbal Noun lîgîj-ú 'rubbing (eyes)'.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi ("Blackbeard") compounds (ñ â)

In **bahuvrihi** compounds (cf. *Blackbeard*, *blueblood*, etc., denoting persons), the initial is a noun and the final is an adjective or numeral. The compound as a whole describes a person or other entity who is characterized by the denotatum of the initial noun as modified by the adjective or numeral. The bahuvrihi can be used as an adjective (modifying a preceding noun), or as a noun (perhaps there is an implicit but unexpressed preceding noun.)

In bahuvrihi compounds, the initial noun has its **regular lexical tone**, and a **H(H...)L tone pattern** is overlaid on the adjective or numeral. The formula is therefore [ñ â], where the symbol "a" represents "adjective/numeral." This is the same

tone pattern we see with [\bar{x} \hat{n}] and agentive [\bar{x} \hat{v} -Pl] compounds (§5.xxx-xxx), and also in relative clauses with unsuffixed Perfective verb. The bahuvrihi as a whole may be added, as an adjective (or subject relative), to a head noun denoting the actual referent of the expression.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final

Examples of bahuvrihi compounds with an ordinary adjective as final are in (xx1). The initial has its regular tones. The final has the H(H...)L tone overlay. The type is productive.

(xx1)	gloss	nonhuman	human Sg
	‘belly-fat’ (=potbellied)	bèr é-dúgù	bèr é-dúgì-n
	‘leg-crooked’ (=bowlegged)	kó:-gôn	kó:-gónì-n
	‘leg-crooked’ (=knock-kneed)	kó:-pírígù	kó:-pírígì-n

Compare underived adjectives dùgú ‘fat, thick’, gôn ‘crooked, bent’, and pírígú ‘crooked’.

‘Fearless’ may be of the same type: àrⁿá-kájù (Sg -kájì-n), cf. àrⁿá ‘male’ (noun ǎ-n ‘man’, Pl árⁿ-ùm). The abstractive noun is àrⁿà-kájú, where -kájú could be a frozen VbIN (-káj-ú).

A bahuvrihi compound functions prototypically as an adjective, modifying a preceding noun, which takes the usual pre-adjectival L-tone (xx2). It may also be used absolutely, as a noun (or headless adjective).

(xx2)	ìnè	[kó:-kórò-m]
	person.L	[foot-fresh .HL-Pl]
	‘fresh-footed ones’ (i.e., vigorous workers or athletes; kòró)	

5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final

A bahuvrihi compound can also be formed with a numeral as final, cf. English *three-cornered*. Compounds of the specific form X-túrù- based on túrú ‘one’ often mean ‘person(s) of a single (=the same) X’ (this does not apply to e.g. ‘one-eyed’). X-túrù- has a (human) Sg form X-túrì-n.

(xx1)	a.	[[pòn-sǔŋ]-túrù-m]	cêw
		[[pants-rope]-one.HL-Pl]	all
		‘all those who have one (=the same) belt cord’ (i.e., who are of the same family; túrú) 2004.3.1	

- b. [mírⁿé-tâ:n]
 [voice-three.HL]
 ‘(person) of three voices’ (man’s nickname; tǎ:n) **2004.3.6**
- c. é [ìnè [mà:-ká:]-túrù-m kùⁿ]
 2Pl [person.L [door]-one.HL-Pl Def
 ‘you-Pl who are of one door (=of the same family) (túrú) **2005.4.6**
- d. jìré-túrì-n
 eye-one.HL-Sg
 ‘one-eyed person’ (túrú)

The **predicative** counterpart of these constructions is exemplified in (xx2). Note that it can be conjugated by adding pronominal subject suffixes. In predicative function, the numeral has its lexical tones, with no H(H...)L tone overlay, hence túrú- for ‘one’.

- (xx2) [úrⁿ-ùm kùⁿ ∴ fú:] nǎ: túrú-bá,
 [child-Pl Def all] mother **one-3PIS.**
 [úrⁿ-ùm kùⁿ ∴ fú:] bă: túrú-bá,
 [child-Pl Def all] father **one-3PIS.**
 ‘All of the children are of one (=the same) mother; all of the children are of one father.’ **2004.3.18**

5.2.2 Non-bahuvrihi noun-adjective compounds

In another type, the noun undergoes **tone-dropping**, while the adjective keeps its lexical tone. In other words, the tones are like those of simple noun-adjective sequences where the adjective modifies the noun. Here, however, a distinct referent is described, using the overt noun as exemplar.

- (xx1) gloss nonhuman human Sg
 ‘grass-fresh’ (=green) òyò-òrú òyò-òrí-n

5.2.2.1 Other compound adjectives

‘Yellow’ is expressed as yòrò-pìrⁿé, a special case of an existing noun-noun compound denoting a bright yellow flour made from the fruit of the néré tree. The human Sg form is yòrò-pìrⁿé-n.

‘Blue’ can be expressed either by búlòbúlò (mentioned above) or by the compound yàrùmànà-jèjú, literally ‘sky.L-body’.

There are no simple adjectives meaning ‘right’ and ‘left’. ‘Right hand’ and ‘left hand’ are expressed by compounds with initial *nùmó* ‘hand’. In *nùmò-ñǎ*: ‘right hand’ the final is *ñǎ*: ‘meal’ (one eats with one’s right hand). Considering the activity most often associated with the left hand, it is perhaps just as well that the final in *nùmò-bàná* ‘left hand’ is synchronically obscure. The forms *nùmò-ñǎ*: and *nùmò-bàná* can be added to another noun in modifying function: *bé tì-tòwò* *nùmò-ñǎ*: *lè* ‘on their right shoulders’ (*tì-tòwò* ‘upper shoulder’). The word for ‘left-handed person’ is the noun *bárgâ-n* (Pl -m).

5.2.3 Reduplicative adjectival compounds with medial -ná: -

Some adjectives have a reduplicative compound pattern consisting of L-toned stem, -ná: -, and regular-toned stem. Example: *pěyⁿ* ‘old’, *pěyⁿ-ná: -pěyⁿ* ‘very old, ancient (person)’. The construction did not occur in texts. Direct elicitation did not permit reliable identification of the set of adjectives that allow this compound; my assistant accepted a number of proposed forms but seemed hesitant about some. Since the sense of the compound is intensive (‘very ADJ’), it competes directly with other intensifying constructions, including that with *èjí: ⁿ* ‘very’ and that with lexical intensifiers (§6.xxx).

The type *pěyⁿ-ná: -pěyⁿ* ‘very old’ is probably related to the reduplicative nominal compound type with -ná: - or -nà- medial, found in a handful of flora-fauna terms (§5.xxx, above). Tonally, the closest parallel is with *bù: ⁿ-nà-bú: ⁿ* ‘tall grass sp.’, of type *x̂-nà-x̄* (*x̂* = L-toned, *x̄* = lexical-toned). By contrast, *jón-ná: -jórù* ‘blister beetle’ and *són-ná: -sórù* ‘long-nosed grasshopper’ have H-toned initials and -ná: -.

5.2.4 Compounds of adjective plus -lóyó ‘very’

Among several ways of expressing ‘very A’ with A some adjective, there is a combination A-lóyó (with L-toned adjective). This combination is uncommon in texts, but is attested in (xx1).

- (xx1) [wàkàtì [kó gǎnnè] kûn-Ø kùⁿ]
 [time.L [Nonh between] be.in.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def]
 [wàkàtì gùrù-lóyó≡y lǎ: -Ø]
 [time.L long.L-very≡it.is Neg-3SgS]
 ‘The time that is between them, it isn’t a particularly long time.’ **2004.3.6**

There is some phonological and semantic similarity with -làyá (§12.xxx), but informants rejected an identification of the two.

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