

## 6 Noun Phrase Structure

### 6.1 Organization of NP constituents

The internal structure of NPs is a function of two primary phenomena: a) linear position, and b) tonal independence. As we will see, some [X+Y] sequences of words within NPs require X to drop its tones before Y. Other such sequences allow X (as well as Y) to express its regular tones. However, in this case, when the larger morphosyntactic structure requires tone-dropping (viz., when the NP is the head of a relative), tone-dropping applies simultaneously to X and Y.

The inner portion of the NP whose elements interact with each other in terms of stem-wide tonal interactions will be called the **core NP**. This excludes the universal quantifier  $f\acute{u} : \Rightarrow$ , which induces a stem-final (not stem-wide) intonational (not tonal) effect on the preceding word. The core NP as thus defined includes inalienable but not alienable possessors.

#### 6.1.1 Linear order

NPs not headed by a pronoun, and not containing a relative clause, have the maximal structure in (xx1). Typically there is a noun in position (xx1.c), functioning as lexical head of the NP.

(xx1) Order within NP (first approximation)

- a. alienable possessor NP (followed by  $m\grave{a}$ ) or pronominal
- b. ( $b_1$  and  $b_2$  do not both occur)
  - $b_1$ . demonstrative  $k\grave{o}$  ‘that’ (discourse-definite)
  - $b_2$ . inalienable possessor NP or (L-toned) pronominal
- c. **noun** (most human nouns have overt Sg or Pl suffix)
- d. one or more modifying adjectives (if human, with Sg or Pl suffix)
- e. ( $e_1$  and  $e_2$  do not both occur)
  - $e_1$ . distributive quantifier  $k\hat{a} : ^n$  ‘each’
  - $e_2$ . demonstrative  $n\acute{u}ŋ\grave{o}$  ‘this/that’
- f. (for ordering within f see below)
  - $f_1$ . Pl  $b\acute{e}$  (if noun cannot mark plurality with a suffix)
  - $f_2$ . Definite  $k\grave{u}^n$
  - $f_3$ . cardinal numeral



**house** Def Pl all  
 ‘all of the houses’  
 (preferred to ?...bé kù<sup>n</sup> ∴ fú: ⇒, which however is permitted)

f. mî yésâ: bé lèy (a \_ c \_ \_ f<sub>1</sub> f<sub>3</sub> \_)  
 1SgP sister.HL Pl two  
 ‘my two sisters’  
 (ordering #... lěy bé was rejected)

g. ùrò gàrà kâ: <sup>n</sup> (\_ \_ c d e<sub>1</sub> \_ \_)  
 house.L big.L each  
 ‘each big house’ (uncommon)  
 (more common: ùrò gàrà kâ: <sup>n</sup> ‘a big house too’)

### 6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

**Headless NPs**, those where the head noun is omitted and not replaced by a personal pronoun, are occasionally “headed” by another element in the NP. The examples involve deictic demonstrative núŋò, cardinal numerals, and adjectives.

In this **absolute** function, demonstrative núŋò is the most common of the bunch, since there is no other way to express (deictic) ‘this/that’. Cardinal numerals and adjectives are only occasionally absolute; much more often there is a noun, even a semantically “light” one like ‘thing’ or ‘person’.

Examples, some elicited, are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. núŋò mǐ-n èl-lá-Ø  
**Dem** 1Sg-Dat be.sweet-Neg-3SgS  
 ‘This/That (one) [deictic] does not please me.’ (érù)
- b. lěy yǎ: -yè-Ø  
**two** go-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘Two went.’
- c. bán mǐ-n ó:  
**red** 1Sg-Dat give.Imprt  
 ‘Give-Sg me a/the red one!’
- d. èjú kán-tù: -Ø dèy  
**good** do-Perf-2SgS if  
 ‘if you-Sg do something good (=a good deed)’ (kár<sup>n</sup>á-) **2004.3.15**

Demonstrative kò arguably occurs as a one-word NP in a few examples, but I prefer to take this to be the Nonhuman L-toned preverbal subject pronominal kò.

Nonhuman pronouns (including H-toned kó are often translatable as discourse-anaphoric ‘that’ (xx2).

- (xx2) kò                      gó: -yà-∅                      táṅà:    dèy  
**NonhS.L**                      go.out-Perf-3SgS    happen    if  
 ‘if that (or: it) has come out’ **2004.3.9**

A possessor NP is not used in absolute fashion. A functional equivalent to e.g. English *mine*, French *le mien*, etc., has a semantically light possessed noun cé ‘possession’ as head. This form, presumably related to cě: ‘thing’, also occurs in possessive constructions of the type ‘X is Y’s possession’, i.e., ‘X belongs to Y’ (§11.xxx). cé is an inalienably possessed noun, requiring L-toned possessor pronominals or a possessor NP without Possessive mà (§6.xxx). In (xx3.b), ‘theirs’ denotes the girls’ excision ritual, which is parallel to (and referred to by the same Jamsay name as) the boys’ circumcision, described in the preceding discourse.

- (xx3) a. [mì    cé]                      ñòw<sup>n</sup>ó                      gó: -yè-∅  
 [1SgP.L **possession**]    be.ruined                      exit-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘Mine has been ruined.’
- b. [ñě: -r<sup>n</sup> -ùm    kár<sup>n</sup>à],    àrá    nò: -w<sup>n</sup>ó-n    déy,  
 [female-child-Pl also],    porridge    drink-Caus-Ppl.Sg if,  
 [bè    cé                      kù<sup>n</sup>    ké ⇒]  
 [3PIP.L **possession**    Def    Topic]  
 ‘The girls too, if (the elders) are to give them porridge to drink (=excise them), as for theirs (=the girls’ excision) [topic], ...’ **2004.3.18**

This construction is confined to cases where the referent object is nonhuman. Efforts to elicit a human counterpart, whether alienable (‘boss’) or inalienable (‘father’) were unsuccessful. For example, ‘his boss/father is good, mine is bad’ was always translated with the referent noun repeated e.g. (‘his boss is good, my boss is bad’).

Universal quantifiers are not used absolutely as NPs. However, both fú: ⇒ and cêw can occur with a preceding Nonhuman pronoun kó (with tone dropped to kò) in the relevant sense; (xx4.a) illustrates this for fú: ⇒. The emphatic adverbial sóy ‘all, everything, totally’ can be used absolutely, as a kind of NP substitute (xx4.b).

- (xx4) a. [kò    fú: ⇒]    mǎy<sup>n</sup> -y<sup>n</sup> è-∅  
 [Nonh.L **all**]                      be.lost-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘All (= everything) is lost!’ (mà<sup>n</sup> á- ; likewise with kò    cêw)
- b. sóy                      mǎy<sup>n</sup> -y<sup>n</sup> è-∅  
**all**                      be.lost-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘All (= everything) is lost!’ (mà<sup>n</sup> á-)

### 6.1.3 Detachability (in relatives)

There is a distinction between those postnominal elements that remain with the NP when it functions as relative-clause head, and those that appear at the end of the relative clause.

- (xx1) a. remain within head NP  
 modifying adjective (except, optionally, ɫàɣá ‘other’)  
 cardinal numeral
- b. appear after participle at end of relative clause  
 Definite kù<sup>n</sup>  
 Plural bé (usually)  
 postnominal demonstrative (núŋò and variants)  
 universal and distributive quantifiers

As explained in Chapter 14, the head NP does not move out of the clause, rather its status as head is signalled by tone-dropping. The relative clause ends in a participialized verb with noun-like suffixes agreeing with the head noun, so the entire clause is morphologically nominal. (A second copy of the head noun may appear after the relative-clause proper, following Possessive mà, but this is not relevant to the present point).

Examples with modifying adjectives and numerals that **remain in the head NP** are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [ùrò dáyà] mî wô:-Ø  
 [house.L **small.L**] 1SgS.L be.Hum-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the small house where I am’ (úró, dáyá)
- b. [ñè-m kùròy] yérè-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [woman-Pl.L **six.L**] come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘the two women who came’

Examples with elements that appear at the end of the relative clause, **after the participle**, are in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. bàndî: [má kù:<sup>n</sup>] númò-m kù<sup>n</sup> bé  
 bandit [1Sg on] fall.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl **Def Pl**  
 ‘the bandits who fell on (=attacked) me’  
 (cf. bàndî: kù<sup>n</sup> bé ‘the bandits’)
- b. dî:<sup>n</sup> níŋ ní èné wò:-Ø núŋò  
 place.L this here Logo be.Perf-Ppl.Nonh.L **Dem**

(He said:) “this place where I am ...” **2004.4.4**

- c. ìnè yèrè-n kâ:n  
 person.L come.Perf-Ppl.Sg.L **any**  
 ‘anyone who came’
- d. èjù-nòw<sup>n</sup> ò: -gó: -Ø ∴ fú:  
 field-meat.L catch-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh **all**  
 ‘every/any (kind of) animal that it (=trap) doesn’t catch’ **2004.3.16**

Plural bé sometimes stays within the head NP (xx4).

- (xx4) [ ìnè bè ] â: -m  
 [person.L **Pl.L**] catch.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl  
 ‘the people whom they conscripted’ **2004.4.22**

làyá ‘other’ is an adjective that can appear either within the head NP or after the participle. My examples of the second option, however, involve somewhat frozen relatives of the ‘oil for rubbing’ type (§5.xxx) with impersonal 3Pl subject. In (xx4.a-c), note that làyá induces tone-dropping on the participles, which would otherwise be bâ: -Ø, kâr<sup>n</sup>â: -Ø, and dîngê: -Ø. Tone-dropping applies after Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.xxx), which lengthens the stem-final short vowel in the participles of (xx5.b-c). (xx5.d) is the variant of (xx5.c) with làyá inside the head NP.

- (xx5) a. dî:n bè bà: -Ø làyá déy<sup>n</sup>  
 place.L 3PlS.L learn.Impf-Ppl.Nonh.L **other** separate  
 ‘another place apart for (their) learning’ **2004.4.14**
- b. [ cè: bè kâr<sup>n</sup>â: -Ø ] làyá  
 [**thing.L** 3PlS.L do.Impf.L-Ppl.Nonh] **other**  
 ‘something else to do’ **2004.3.9**
- c. dî:n bè dîngê: -Ø làyá  
 place.L 3PlS.L sit.down.Impf-Ppl.Nonh.L **other**  
 ‘another place (for them) to sit’
- d. [ dî:n làyá ] bè dîngê: -Ø  
 [place.L **other**] 3PlS.L sit.down.Impf-Ppl.Nonh  
 [= (b)]

#### 6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

In addition to the order of words within NP's, we must also pay attention to tone patterns. The NP-internal combinations in (xx1) require the item on the left to **drop tones** to all-L. Here, the item on the left is tonally dependent on the item to its right. This will be called **leftward tonal dependence**. "X" is any word with the core NP, excluding possessors.

(xx1) Tone-Dropping within NP

- a. [X + adjective] ("adjectives" includes ordinals)
- b. [X + demonstrative núŋò]
- c. [X + kâ :<sup>n</sup> 'each, any']

For example, ì jù 'dog' with LH tone contour, but L-toned ì jù in ì jù jém 'black dog', ì jù núŋò 'this/that dog', and ì jù kâ :<sup>n</sup> 'any dog'. This asymmetrical tonal independence is **recursive**, as in [[X + adjective] + demonstrative], which ends up as the linear sequence [X.L adjective.L demonstrative], where ".L" indexes tone-dropping to all-L.

In the inalienable possessor-possessed phrase (xx2), if the possessor is a pronoun both the left and right constituents undergo tonal changes. This is **bidirectional tonal dependence**. If the possessor is a noun-headed (i.e. nonpronominal) NP, it has its regular tones, but the (inalienably) possessed noun has the same tonal change as with a pronominal possessor. This is **rightward tonal dependence**.

(xx2) [possessor + inalienable noun]

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| possessor:        | L-toned pronominals (no change on other NPs) |
| inalienable noun: | H(H...)L tone (with any possessor)           |

For example, take the noun 'father', whose lexical form is dĕ : with R-tone, but which appears with overlaid H(H...)L-tone after either a pronominal or NP possessor: mĭ dĕ : 'my father', sĕydù dĕ : 'Seydou's father'. In mĭ dĕ : 'my father', the pronominal appears in a form that is segmentally identical to the H-toned 1Sg pronoun mĭ (used as independent pronoun and in several other non-subject functions), but that has L-tone. There is also a stem bǎ : 'Dad!', used as a vocative but also (as L-toned bǎ : -) as a compound initial for 'father'.

The **universal quantifier** fú : ⇒ has the prosodic effects on the NP-internal item to its left indicated in (xx3). A pronoun normally just drops its tones to all-L, while a nonpronominal word (noun, adjective, demonstrative) undergoes a final-syllable intonational change. This is leftward tonal dependence, but in the nonpronominal cases the tonal effect is local (final-syllable rather than stem-wide). fú : ⇒ itself has its own intonational lengthening (symbol ⇒), but this is lexical rather than combinatorial, and also applies to fú : ⇒ when it has scope over a preceding clause or non-NP constituent.

(xx3) Tonal/Intonational effects of fú: ⇒ ‘all’

- a. pronoun: L-toned, occasionally also dying-quail final intonation (.:)
- b. non-pronominal word: dying-quail final intonation (.:)

Examples: pronominal kò fú: ⇒ ‘all of it/them (nonhuman)’, nonpronominal í jù .: fú: ⇒ ‘all the dogs’. The 1Pl pronoun may even be truncated before fú: ⇒, hence èm pú: varying with èm è fú: ⇒ ‘all of us’. Occasionally, there is some version of dying-quail intonation with a pronoun: kò .: fú: ⇒ ‘all of it’.

The other universal quantifier, cêw ‘all’, almost never has an intonational or tonal effect on a preceding nonpronominal word, but rare textual examples of dying-quail intonation are recorded (ñě-m .: cêw ‘all the women’). A preceding pronoun, however, drops its tones, as it does before fú: ‘all’. Thus kò cêw ‘all of it, all that’, èm è cêw ‘all of us’.

Finally, the NP-internal combinations in (xx4) involve no tonal change in the item on the left. In other words, the two components show **tonal independence**. There are some further distinctions that must be made (xx4.a-c).

(xx4) Tonally Independent NP-internal combinations

- a. **appositional** (symmetrical), undergo tone-dropping in tandem  
[X + cardinal numeral]  
[possessor + inalienable noun]
- b. structure indeterminate (since they are detachable from the head noun in relatives, and since they cannot be followed by modifiers that force tone-dropping)  
[X + Plural bé]  
[X + Definite kù<sup>n</sup>]
- c. **autonomous**; only element on right undergoes syntactic tone-dropping  
[possessor + alienable noun]

In (xx4.a), the left and right elements have their own tones, including at least one H-tone (except for low-level reduction of R to L in numerals ‘2-5’ under certain conditions). This applies when the NP as a whole occurs in a main clause in whatever function (subject, object, etc.), in isolation (e.g. as topic), or in a non-head function in a relative clause. However, when the NP as a whole functions as head of a relative clause, this NP is subject to (externally induced) **syntactic tone-dropping**. In the constructions in (xx4.a), this tone-dropping **applies simultaneously** to both the left and right elements. For example, in (xx5), both parts of inalienably possessed ‘Seydou’s brother’ lose their H-tones, since this NP functions as head of a relative clause.

(xx5) [sàydù dèrè] núw<sup>n</sup>ò-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [S.L brother.L] die.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def  
 ‘the brother of Seydou who died’  
 (elsewhere sàydù dérè)

In the constructions in (xx4.b), above, we cannot determine whether both elements are tone-dropped in tandem. Definite kù<sup>n</sup> is basically L-toned anyway, making the issue of tone-dropping moot. Moreover, kù<sup>n</sup> and in most cases Plural bé are shifted to the end of the relative clause, following the participle.

The only reliably verifiable contrast to (xx4.a) is therefore (xx4.c), viz., the combination of a possessor with an alienable noun (the great majority of nouns are alienable). Here the possessor (an H-toned pronominal, or a nonpronominal possessor NP followed by Possessive mà) is completely autonomous tonally, retaining its normal tones even when the following possessed noun undergoes syntactically controlled tone-dropping (as head of a relative).

For example, in ìjú pèrú ‘ten dogs’, both ìjú ‘dog’ and pèrú have at least one H-tone. As relative head, this NP becomes L-toned: ìjù pèrù gô: -∅ kù<sup>n</sup> ‘the ten dogs who went out’. However, má ìjú ‘my dog’ has a tonally independent possessor pronominal (1Sg má), so when ìjú drops its tones, e.g. before a modifying adjective, the possessor retains its H-tone(s): má ìjù jém ‘my black dog’. A textual example showing this is (xx6), where nám ‘people’ but not 3Pl possessor pronominal bé drops its tones as relative-clause head.

(xx6) [bé nàm] yè-lé è témé-m kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [3PIP people.L] there 2PIS.L find.Impf-Ppl.Pl Def  
 ‘their people (=kin) whom you-Pl will find there’ **2004.5.2**

For more on syntactic tone-dropping data in relatives, see §14.xxx.

## 6.2 Possessives

A distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is necessary. A modest number of kin terms and similar relationship terms are inalienable and have a special morphosyntax suggestive of nominal compounding (§6.xxx, below). cé ‘thing’, a form used in certain possessed constructions only, is also inalienable (contrast the perhaps historically related alienable noun cìgè or cě: ‘thing’). Alienable is the unmarked case, covering all other possessed nouns, from ‘my house’ to more abstract relationships.

### 6.1.1 Alienable possession (P mà Q)

The basic structure of **alienably** possessed NPs, with P as possessor and Q as head noun, is **[[P mà] Q]** if P is a noun or other non-pronominal NP. In this formula, P is itself potentially a complete NP, and of course recursion is possible **[[P mà] Q mà] R]**. The linker mà can be thought of as a Possessive postposition bracketed with the possessor, but there is no prosodic evidence for this bracketing, and mà can only be used when both P and Q are overtly expressed.

**Pronominals** (except Logophoric-Possessive Sg èn'é) have possessor forms without mà. In most cases, the form of the possessor pronominal is identical to that of the independent pronoun (1Pl émé, 2Pl é, 3Sg wó, 3Pl bé, Nonh kó). However, two pronominal categories have special alienable possessor forms (xx1). (For inalienable possession, see §6.xxx, below.)

(xx1)	category	independent	possessor (alienable)
	1Sg	mí	má
	2Sg	ú	á

The special possessor forms are illustrated in (xx2).

(xx2)	há y è	mâ : n	yá :	[ á	às è g é ]
	well	so-and-so	yesterday	<b>[2SgP]</b>	animal]
	[ má	è j ú ]	ñ ù n ù - ñ ó - s à - Ø		
	<b>[1SgP]</b>	field]	be.ruined-Caus-3SgS		
	'Well, So-and-so (vocative), yesterday your animal (=cow) damaged my field.' <b>2004.3.10</b>				

NPs ending in Pl morpheme bé do not take mà (xx3).

(xx3)	[ ì j ú	b é ]	ú r ó
	[dog	Pl]	house
	'The house (= kennel) of the dogs.'		

Though Pl bé can follow either a human or nonhuman noun, it is identical in form to the (human) 3Pl pronominal bé, which can be a possessor (bé ú r ó 'their house'). One could argue that the absence of mà after Pl bé in a NP is correlated in some way with the absence of mà after pronominal possessors (including 3Pl bé).

Logophoric-reflexive possessor is singular èn'é mà and plural èn'é bé.

(xx4)	a.	[[ è n ' é	m à	ú r ó ]	è j ù - l á - Ø ]	w á
		<b>[[LogoP</b>	<b>Poss</b>	house]	good-Neg-3SgS]	say
		'He said (that) his (own) house is no good.'				

- b. [[ènέ bé úró] èjù-lá-Ø] wá  
 [[**LogoP** **PI** house] good-Neg-3SgS] say  
 ‘They said (that) their (own) house is no good.’

We have just seen that bé, either as 3PI pronoun or as PI morpheme in a NP, does not allow a following mà, so the lack of mà in (xx4.b) is not surprising. The presence of mà in (xx4.a) suggests that the Logophoric-Reflexive pronoun èné is morphosyntactically noun-like as opposed to being a true pronominal.

Possession, as defined by presence of mà, covers a wide range of semantic relationships, ranging from conventional ownership (as in several examples above), to abstract characterization (xx5.a), to partitive (xx5.b), to a classificatory relationship involving a foreign place name (xx5.c).

- (xx5) a. [jâm mà màlfâ:<sup>n</sup>]≡y<sup>n</sup> má  
 [peace **Poss** rifle]≡it.is yes/no?  
 ‘Were they peaceable (=celebratory) rifle shots?’ **2004.3.20**
- b. [nùŋ bè párá:-Ø], mà bàtá túrú  
 [oil.L 3PIS.L rub.Impf-Ppl.Non], **Poss** box one  
 ‘one box of oil for rubbing’ **2004.3.20**
- c. [támár<sup>n</sup>ášêk mà àná] bállá mèy<sup>n</sup>  
 [Tamanrasset **Poss** village] go.around and  
 ‘(You) go around the town of Tamanrasset (in Algeria) and ...’ **2004.5.2**

The Possessive morpheme mà can also appear in relative clauses of the form (xx6), where the head noun N<sub>x</sub> is repeated after the relative-clause verb. See §14.xxx for further information and examples.

- (xx6) [[... [... N<sub>x</sub> ...]<sub>NP</sub> ... (subject pronominal) Verb] mà N<sub>x</sub>]

In spite of its versatility, Possessive mà gets competition from various types of noun-noun compounds, which are covered in Chapter 5. In many noun-noun compounds, the initial is descriptive or partitive in function, or (if the final is a Verbal Noun or agentive) it denotes a logical complement (usually a direct object). However, there are some cases where a noun-noun compound expresses something close to ownership, as in àḡà-úró ‘husband-house’ (the bridegroom’s house, to which a bride is ceremonially transferred).

### 6.1.2 Inalienable possession

A small number of nouns that I call **inalienable** have the properties in (xx1). The combination of inalienable noun with a nonpronominal possessor NP behaves like one type of nominal compound (see below).

- (xx1) a. H(H...L) tonal overlay when possessed (otherwise lexical tone)  
 b. possessor expressed by:  
     L-toned pronominal possessor  
     or: nonpronominal possessor NP without Possessive mà

The L-toned possessor pronominals are identical in form to the L-toned preverbal subject pronominals (used in relative clauses). Thus 1Sg m̀, 2Sg ù, 1Pl èmè, and so forth (§4.xxx). These contrast with the H-toned possessor pronominals used with alienable nouns (1Sg má, 2Sg á, 1Pl émé, etc.).

When preceded by a possessor NP or pronoun, the inalienable nouns themselves take a stem-wide **H(H...L) tone overlay**, realized as HHL on trisyllables, as HF on bisyllables with bimoraic final syllable, as HL on bisyllables with monomoraic final syllable, and as F on (bimoraic) monosyllables. This falling tone contour contrasts with the rising L(L...H) tone used on the same nouns in **absolute** form (i.e. in isolation without a possessor, as in ‘I have no ...’). I take the absolute form to be lexically basic. The relationship between absolute and possessed forms is exemplified by ‘father’ in (xx2). Two possessed examples are given, with pronominal (xx2.b) and nominal (xx2.c) possessors. Note the absence of Possessive mà in (xx2.c).

- (xx2) a. dǎ:           sà: -rá-m  
           **father**       have-Neg-1SgS  
           ‘I do not have a father.’
- b. m̀           dê:  
    1SgP.L     **father.HL**  
    ‘my father’
- c. séydù       dê:  
    S           **father.HL**  
    ‘Seydou’s father’

The H(H...L) tone pattern is also found with **nominal compounds** of the type [x̄ ñ] (§5.xxx). In both, the leftmost constituent (possessor, compound initial) has its regular tones (except for the special series of pronominal possessors with inalienables), while the rightmost constituent has the H(H...L) tone contour. This provides tangible morphophonological evidence for an abstract grouping of the two constructions. However, the H(H...L) contour also occurs with Perfective verbs in relative clauses, where both the head noun and any preverbal subject pronominal drop to L-tone. A grand synthesis of all of these H(H...L) constructions would be audacious.

The kin terms with inalienable morphosyntax are given in (xx3), below. Those not shown with Sg suffix *-n* do not take *-n* (or Pl *-m*), with the consequence that they can only be pluralized by adding postnominal Pl particle *bé*, as in *èné bé nâ: bé* ‘their (Logophoric or Reflexive) mothers’.

The stems in (xx3.a) show **tonal but no segmental changes**. They are ordered by increasing syllable and mora count. Those in (xx3.b) involve a **change of final vowel** in addition to the tonal change. Those in (xx3.c) require a **human suffix** (Sg *-n*, Pl *-m*) when possessed, except that ‘friend’ has Sg *t ên* (apparently with frozen *\*-n* now part of the stem) and Pl *t ên-ùm*. ‘Grandchild’ (xx3.d) is already HHL and already has a human suffix, so there is no audible change in the possessed form. (xx3.e) illustrates how the compound finals *ǎ-n* ‘man’ and *ñě-n* ‘woman’ are outside of the scope of the overlaid H(H...)L tone contour.

(xx3)	gloss	absolute	H(H...)L possessed form
a. tonal change only			
	‘father’	dě:	dê:
	‘mother’	nǎ:	nâ:
	‘husband’	àṽá	áyà
	‘elder same-sex sibling’	dèré	dérè
	‘father’s sister’	nèr <sup>n</sup> é	nér <sup>n</sup> è
	‘parent/child-in-law’	òw <sup>n</sup> ó	ów <sup>n</sup> ò
	‘(man’s) sister’	yèsǎ:	yésâ:
	‘(woman’s) brother’	àsàr <sup>n</sup> á	ásár <sup>n</sup> à
	‘sister’s child’	léjéwé-n	léjéwè-n (Pl léjéwè-m)
b. tonal and final-vowel changes			
	‘mother’s brother’	lèjé	léjù
	‘father’s brother’	bòró	bórù
c. possessed form has <i>-n</i> (Pl <i>-m</i> ) suffix			
	‘grandparent’	tìr é	tír è-n (Pl tír è-m)
	‘younger same-sex sibling’	òj ó	ój ì-n (Pl ój ù-m)
	‘friend’	t ě : <sup>n</sup>	t ên (Pl t ên-ùm)
	‘comrade’	t ów <sup>n</sup> ó	t ô : -n (Pl t ô : -m)
		[also alienably possessed t ów <sup>n</sup> ó-n and t ów <sup>n</sup> ó-n ; for Reciprocal t ô : -n and t ô : -m, see §18.xxx]	
d. possessed and absolute forms have <i>-n</i> (Pl <i>-m</i> ) suffix			
	‘grandchild’	t ír íw è-n	t ír íw è-n (Pl -m)
e. compounds			

‘grandfather’	tìrè-ǎ-n	tírè-ǎ-n (Pl -à <sup>n</sup> -úm)
‘grandmother’	tìrè-ñě-n	tírè-ñě-n (Pl -ñě-m)

Of the stems that do not take a Sg -n (Pl -m) suffix in the absolute form, one (‘comrade’) has H-tone, and the others (n=13) have a tone pattern with L-tone followed by a single H-tone component on the final mora. This latter tone pattern is well-designed to maximize the distinctiveness of the H(H...)L tone overlay in the possessed form. yèšǎ: ‘(man’s) sister’ is unique for a CvCv: noun stem in having a LR tone pattern (§3.xxx). This suggests that the L...H tone pattern, of most inalienables in absolute form, with H on the final mora, is a specialty of this lexical set. The exceptional noun tów<sup>n</sup>ó is also unusual in that it has both alienable and inalienable possessed forms, e.g. mî tô: -n alongside má tów<sup>n</sup>ó-n ‘my comrade’.

Kin and similar relational terms that are treated as alienable include jú: rò ‘twin sibling’, î-n ‘child’ in the possessed sense ‘son or daughter’, ñě-n ‘woman’ in the possessed sense ‘wife’, tóyó<sup>r</sup>ò ‘namesake’. By definition, these nouns show no tone change after possessors, and take the regular H-toned pronominal possessors, including 1Sg má and 2Sg á.

The other noun taking inalienable possessors is cé ‘possession, thing’ This is a grammatically specialized noun, probably related to the regular noun cîg<sup>é</sup> or cě: ‘thing’, used in ‘whose (is it)?’ interrogatives and as a dummy NP-head with a possessor when no lexical noun is present. The latter construction is the one that is relevant here (xx4).

(xx4)	form	gloss
	mî cé	‘mine’ (= ‘my possession’)
	ù cé	‘yours’
	wò cé	‘his, hers’
	èné cé	‘his, hers’ (logophoric or reflexive)

cé has a nonpronominal possessor, without Possessive mà, in (xx5).

(xx5)	[ [íné-n	tú <sup>r</sup> ú-n]	cé]			
	[[person.Sg	one-Sg]	<b>possession]</b>			
	jè:ré	ú	tém-né	bè	sâ:	dèy
	bring	2SgO	find-Caus	3PIS.L	do.Perf.HL	if
	‘when they have brought someone’s (trouble) and foisted it on you-Sg’					
	<b>2004.3.24</b>					

In the combination of a nonpronominal NP possessor and a following inalienable noun, both the possessed noun and the final word of the possessor NP have at least one H-tone. When the larger syntactic context requires tone-dropping, both drop their tones simultaneously to all-L, as explained above. This is a general rule that also

applies to compounds with H-tones in both initial and final. For example, inalienably possessed sáydù t ên ‘Seydou’s friend’ drops its tones in (xx6.a), since it is followed by NP-internal modifiers.

(xx6) sáydù t ên ìnè gǎ-n  
**S.L friend.L** person.L old-Sg  
 ‘Seydou’s elderly friend’

**Body parts** and similar terms like ‘name’ are morphologically alienable rather than inalienable in Jamsay: má nùmó ‘my hand’, má bón ‘my name’.

### 6.1.3 Independent pronoun plus mà in subordinated clause

In certain complex morphosyntactic constructions, instead of the usual simple pronominal possessor (with alienable or inalienable noun), we get an independent pronoun followed by Possessive mà. We can tell that it is an independent pronoun (H-toned), rather than an alienable possessor pronominal (also H-toned), because the 1Sg form is mǐ mà (not má mà) and the 2Sg form is ú mà (not á mà), these being the two pronominal categories that have distinct forms as independent pronoun and as alienable possessor.

This combination of independent pronoun plus mà is observable in a special type of ‘before’ clause that also has a number of other unusual features. It has a “verb” form with suffix -wv̀, but this word is treated syntactically as a noun. If a subject, or an object, is expressed, it takes possessor form. The problem arises when both a pronominal subject and an object (whether NP or pronominal) are expressed overtly. The result is of the type (xx1). For examples see §15.xxx.

(xx1) pronoun(subject) mà possessor(object) verb-wv̀ ...

The same thing happens in Verbal Noun constructions, which are widely used as complements. When either a subject or an object is overtly expressed, it takes possessor form. When both a pronominal subject and an object (whether NP or pronominal) are expressed, we get (xxx). For examples see §17.xxx.

(xx2) pronoun(subject) mà possessor(object) verb-VblN ...

The constructions (xx1) and (xx2) seem to represent cases where ordinary possessor morphosyntax has broken down. In a “regular” possessive construction, a VblN clause like ‘our seeing the dog’ would have the structure [our [dog’s see-VblN]]. However, since either 1Pl or ‘dog’ (in the absence of the other) can directly possess the VblN (‘our see-VblN’ and ‘dog’s see-VblN’), the putative [our [dog’s see-VblN]] could create processing difficulties, so that instead of ‘our seeing the dog’ a listener might take ‘our’ as narrow-scope possessor of ‘dog’ (i.e. [[our dog]’s see-VblN]). The use of a special pronominal construction for the outer possessor (the logical subject) obviates this.

#### 6.1.4 Recursive and embedded possession

There are plenty of examples in the texts of multiple, non-conjoined noun-headed NP (i.e. nonpronominal) possessors. Of course, the logical relationships in specific cases may require different bracketings (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [[X Poss Y] Poss Z] ‘the Z of [the Y of X]’  
 b. [X Poss [Y Poss [Z]]] ‘[the Z of the Y] of X’

The type (xx1.a) is more typical, since it is a product of two simple possessor-possessed pairs, one of them embedded. X possesses Y, which in turn possesses Z. This applies to e.g. ‘[X’s dog]’s teeth’, and to complex kinship expressions like ‘[X’s brother]’s wife’. Examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [úró mà dá:rá] mà ìnè gǎ-n kù<sup>n</sup>  
 [house Poss clan] Poss person.L old-Sg Def  
 ‘the oldest man in the clan of the house (=family)’ **2004.3.19**
- b. [[ù dérè] mà ú<sup>n</sup>-ùm] bérè  
 [[2SgP.L elder.sib.HL] Poss child-Pl] in  
 ‘(from) among the children of your elder brother’ **2004.3.20**
- c. [má ìjú] mà kó:  
 [1SgP dog] Poss foot  
 ‘my dog’s foot (=paw)’
- d. [[[ìnè-m mà èjú] mà támbórò] mà bòrò-ká:]  
 [[[person-Pl Poss field] Poss date] Poss debris]  
 mà sèmè-mǔ:-n-Ø] bé ⇒  
 Poss sweep.L-be.together-Caus-VblN] Pl  
 ‘(and) there’s sweeping and collecting (of) the debris of date palms of  
 (=in) people’s fields’ **2004.5.3**

The type (xx1.b), where the external possessor X has broad scope, is typical of situations where ‘Z of Y’ involves descriptive “possession,” perhaps lexicalized, denoting a single entity that is possessed by X. An example would be ‘X’s [house of stone]’. Textual examples are in (xx3), if I have interpreted them correctly.

- (xx3) a. bé [ñě-m mà cì-cèr<sup>n</sup>è-úró]  
 3PIP [woman-Pl Poss Rdp-circumcision.L-house]  
 yó≡kò jì:<sup>n</sup>  
 exist≡be.Nonh Past  
 ‘There used to be their (=the women’s) women’s circumcision  
 (=excision) house’ **2004.3.18**

- b. [[àjùwó mà úró] mà òrú]  
 [[new.mother **Poss** house] **Poss** matter]  
 kò-rú wò-rú gó: dógó=kò  
 Nonh-Inst 3Sg-Dat go.out finish.Impf=be.Nonh  
 'The matter (=state) of being a new mother (in post-partum seclusion) is  
 thereby ended for her.' **2004.3.19**

## 6.3 Noun plus adjective

### 6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

In this combination, which applies to ordinary adjectives ('big', 'black', etc.) and to ordinals ('third'), the noun drops its tones to all-L.

- (xx1) a. úró  
 house  
 '(a) house'
- b. ùrò gàrá  
 house.L **big**  
 '(a) big house'
- c. ùrò lèy-né  
 house.L **two-Ord**  
 '(the) second house'

When the noun is human plural, both the noun and the adjective can take Pl suffixation (xx2).

- (xx2) a. ñè: -r<sup>n</sup>-ùm dáγá-m  
 woman-child-**Pl.L** small-**Pl**  
 '(the) small girls'
- b. pùlò-m jó: -m  
 Fulbe-**Pl.L** many-Pl  
 'many (kinds of) Fulbe.' **2004.3.10**
- c. ñè: -r<sup>n</sup>-ù-m dáγá-m  
 female-child-Pl small-Pl  
 'young girls' **2004.4.13**

However, *íné* ‘person’ is used either in bare-stem form or with the regular suffixes (*íné-n*, *íné-m*) before an adjective. Of course these forms all drop their tones in this construction.

- (xx3) a. *ìnè-n*                      *mòńú-n*  
           *ìnè*                              *mòńú-n*  
           person(-Sg).L              bad-Sg  
           ‘a bad person’
- b. *ìnè-m*                              *mòńú-m*  
           *ìnè*                              *mòńú-m*  
           person(-Pl).L              bad-Pl  
           ‘bad people’

### 6.1.2 Adjective *gàmá* ‘certain’

The adjective meaning ‘(a) certain’ or ‘some’, following a modified noun, is Sg *gàmá* (human or nonhuman), and special human Pl form *gàmà-nám*.

- (xx1) a. [*ùjùbày gàmá≡ỳdèy*]  
           [country    **certain**≡it.is    if]  
           ‘if it’s (=in the case of) certain areas’ **2004.3.6**
- b. [*ìnè gàmà-nám*]  
           [person        **certain-Pl**]  
           ‘some (other) people’

For *gàmá* ‘often’ or ‘maybe’, see the discussions of temporal adverbials and of epistemic modal adverbials in §8.xxx and §8.xxx.

### 6.1.3 Expansions of adjective

#### 6.1.3.1 Adjective sequences

Two adjectives may modify a single noun. This pattern is generally uncommon. When the adjectives refer to distinct entities (e.g. ‘red and black shoes’, referring to the union of the set of red shoes with the set of black shoes), the noun is always repeated in Jamsay. Therefore, in two-adjective sequences both adjectives must be valid for the referent. Where the two-adjective construction does occur, the nonfinal adjective undergoes tone-dropping, as does the head noun (xx1).

- (xx1) *ìjù jèm dùgú*

dog.L    black.L    large  
 ‘a big black dog’ (ɪ́jú, jém)

### 6.1.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

Like other languages of the zone (e.g. Fulfulde, montane Songhay), Jamsay has a number of intensifiers that are used chiefly with adjectives. They do not occur in my recorded texts, but do occur in more lively conversation.

The Jamsay intensifiers are frozen reduplications based on CVC or CVCv “stems.” They are H-toned throughout. There are two constructions, one where the regular adjective immediately precedes the intensifier and takes L-tones, and one where the intensifier follows the adjective (and e.g. a ‘be’ quasi-verb if present) and the two show no tonal interaction. The L-toned version could be taken either as a compound (with L-toned initial) or as a sequence of adjectives. (xx1) illustrates the use of intensifier kújúkújú, which is paired with jém ‘black’.

- (xx1) a. jém            kújúkújú=kò  
           black.L        black.Intens=be.Nonh  
           ‘It is jet black.’
- b. jém=kò        kújúkújú  
           black=it.is    black.Intens  
           [= (a)]

(xx2) lists the known reduplicative intensifiers of this type. For ‘white’, the intensifier has the same p...r consonant sequence as the adjective, but aside from this possibly fortuitous example there is no phonological relationship between adjectives and their intensifiers.

(xx2)	gloss	regular adjective	intensifier
	‘black’	jém	kújúkújú
	‘white’	pírú	párápára
	‘red’		bán    búy <sup>n</sup> búy <sup>n</sup>
	‘rotten’	ǒy	dúydúy
	‘sour, salty’	nôm	póy <sup>n</sup> póy <sup>n</sup>
	‘firm’	déŋ	kúykúy
	‘dry, hardened’	măy <sup>n</sup>	káláŋkáláŋ
	‘soft’	yòrú	bódóbódó
	‘long’	gùrú	sélsél
	‘cold’	tôm	pájápájá
	‘thin’	ùñú	wér <sup>n</sup> éwér <sup>n</sup> é
	‘tight’	ěy <sup>n</sup>	géŋgéŋ

'nearby'	é:ŋ	dáŋdáj
'new'	kàná	púl púl

For the adjectives in (xx3), a choice between different intensifiers correlates with distinct senses. In (xx3.b), the intensifier *cétèrè-cétèrè* differs from most other reduplicative intensifiers in its tonal pattern. It seems to have some relationship with the adjective *cèt'é* applied to unusually short animal breeds. Also in (xx3.b), intensifier *dáŋdáj* reappears; it was just seen in (xx2), above, with 'nearby'.

(xx3)	gloss	regular adjective	intensifier
a.	'hot'	ógù	jáw jáw
	'fast'	"	táw t áw
b.	'short'	gǒy <sup>n</sup>	cétèrè-cétèrè
	'short and stocky'	"	dáŋdáj

Slightly distinct patterns are seen in (xx4). For 'heavy', the intensifier is not in reduplicative form; I take it as a crypto-compound *cér<sup>n</sup>é-nénéné*. For 'straight', the intensifier can occur in simple or reduplicative form.

(xx4)	gloss	regular adjective	intensifier
a.	'heavy'	dùjù	cér <sup>n</sup> é-nénéné
b.	'straight'	dém	cót, cót-cót

For 'fat, thick', we do not get a two-part adjective-intensifier sequence. Instead, *dùgù* 'fat, thick' is replaced by *gódógóróm* 'massive'.

For the cases in (xx5), the construction elicited involved a stative (e.g. adjectival) verb rather than an adjective. One of the intensifiers is reduplicative, the other not.

(xx5)	gloss	regular adjective	intensifier
	'be finished'	dògò-	péypéy
	'be wet'	témé-	jóbù

Examples of the adverbial construction are in (xx6). In (xx6.a-b), the intensifier follows a regular inflected form. (xx6.c) shows that *jóbù* can also function as (nonverbal) predicate.

(xx6)	a.	dòg-â: -∅	péypéy
		be.finished-Perf-3SgS	be.finished. <b>Intens</b>
		'It (e.g. sugar) is completely finished (=used up, depleted).'	

- b. tém-â:                    jóbù  
 be.wet-Perf-3SgS    wet.**Intens**  
 ‘He/She/It got soaking wet’.
- c. jóbù=kò  
 wet.**Intens**=be.Nonh  
 ‘It is soaking wet.’

For ‘thin’, the elicited construction again involved an adjectival verb dòṅó- ‘be thin’, but this time it is chained to the intensifier, which functions as (nonverbal) predicate. The intensifier is heard as [kà<sup>n</sup>í :<sup>n</sup>], which I take as kà<sup>n</sup>-í : with the -í : morpheme often used with predicative adjectives (§4.xxx).

- (xx7) dòṅó            mèy<sup>n</sup>            kà<sup>n</sup>-í :≡wò-Ø  
 be.thin    and            thin.**Intens**=be.Hum-3SgS  
 ‘He/She is pencil-thin.’

### 6.1.1.3 ‘Other’ (làṽá)

The adjective làṽá ‘other’ can be added unproblematically to a noun-adjective combination (xx1).

- (xx1) sàddè            èy<sup>n</sup>            làṽá  
 expenditure    major            other  
 ‘other major expenditures’ **2004.3.19**

One can expand ‘other’, but not within the NP. The sense ‘an X other than Y’ is expressed by the NP [X.L làṽá], followed (perhaps after an intervening constituent) by a negative relative clause of the type ‘that is not Y’ (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [ànà            làṽá]    [jów<sup>n</sup>lè=y    là : -Ø]  
 [village.L    other]    [Dianwely=it.is    Neg-Ppl.Nonh]  
 ‘a village that is not (=other than) Dianwely’
- b. [cè :            làṽá]    kúnó-y<sup>n</sup>    [máṅgòlò=y    là : -Ø]  
 [thing.L    other]    put.Impf-1PlS    [mango=it.is    Neg-Ppl.Nonh]  
 ‘We’ll put (in) something that is not (=other than) a mango.’

When the ‘other X’ NP is expanded with a relative clause, làṽá differs from other adjectives in that it can appear at the end (after the participle) or in the usual adjectival position within the internal head NP.

#### 6.1.1.4 ‘Near X’, ‘far from X’

Both ‘near’ and ‘far’ can take locative-adverb complements. The complement immediately precedes the adjective.

é:ŋ ‘near’ has locative PP (or tonal locative) complements in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [ [dî:ⁿ núnò] lè ] é:ŋ=î:  
 [[place.L Dem] **in** **near**=it.is  
 ‘if it’s near this place’ **2004.3.21**
- b. ànà [ní: lè] ê:ŋ-Ø  
 village.L [water **in** **near**.HL-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘a village that is near the water’ **2004.3.21**
- c. éwé [úrò mà dî:ⁿ] é:ŋ=kò  
 market [house Poss place.**Loc**.HL] **near**=be.Nonh  
 ‘The market is close to the house.’

In (xx2), ‘water’ rather than ‘village’ is the subject of ‘near’. The construction is actually a relative clause with ‘village’ as head. Exceptionally, ‘villages’ is treated as (human) plural here, perhaps since ‘village’ is often used in the sense ‘population of the village’.

- (xx2) [ ànà [ní: é:ŋ-ùm] ]  
 [village.L [water **near**-Ppl.Pl]]  
 ‘villages that water is near’ **2004.3.9**

‘Far’ can also take a locative complement (xx3).

- (xx3) úró [éwé lè] wàǵá=kò  
 house [market **in** **far**=be.Nonh  
 ‘The house is far from the market’

In (xx4), wàǵá: is an adverb ‘far away’. It has a locative-adverbial complement, separated from it by an object pronominal.

- (xx4) [ [á jé:n] lè ] kó wàǵá: dáǵá  
 [[2SgP gear] **in** NonhO **far.away** leave.Imprt  
 ‘Leave it (=rifle) far away from your (other) gear!’ **2004.4.4**

#### 6.1.1.5 ‘Good to eat’

Adjectives of evaluation, notably é:rù ‘good’, can be expanded by adding a preceding verb. Two constructions appear to be interchangeable. In one, the verb takes Verbal Noun form (xx1).

- (xx1) a. nò-ý<sup>n</sup>      é<sub>r</sub>≡kò  
**drink-VblN**    good≡be.Nonh  
 ‘It’s good to drink.’ (é<sub>r</sub>ù)
- b. cègùr-ú      é<sub>r</sub>≡kò  
**listen-VblN**    good≡be.Nonh  
 ‘It’s good to listen to.’ (é<sub>r</sub>ù)

In the other construction, the verb appears in bare-stem (infinitival) form as in verb-chains, but it takes causative form (xx2).

- (xx2) a. yàṅà-w<sup>n</sup>á      é<sub>r</sub>≡kò  
**look.at-Caus**    good≡be.Nonh  
 ‘It (=ripe millet in the field) is nice to look at’ (é<sub>r</sub>ù) **2004.3.6**
- b. ñè: -w<sup>n</sup>é      é<sub>r</sub>≡kò  
**eat-Caus**        good≡be.Nonh  
 ‘It’s good to eat.’ (é<sub>r</sub>ù)

## 6.4 Noun plus demonstrative

### 6.4.1 Prenominal kò

A preceding kò can theoretically be the Nonhuman L-toned inalienable possessor form, i.e. in improbable combinations like ‘its father’. In practice, it is used as a general discourse-anaphoric ‘that’ demonstrative with any noun, the vast majority of textual examples involving alienable nouns that cannot take L-toned possessor pronominals. Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. kò              úró  
**Dem**            house  
 ‘that (aforementioned) house’
- b. kò              íné-m  
**Dem**            person-Pl  
 ‘those (aforementioned) people’
- d. kò    nǒṅ              lěy    kù<sup>n</sup>  
**Dem**    neighborhood    two    Def  
 ‘those two (same) neighborhoods’ **2004.4.6**

Demonstrative kò is compatible with a preceding (alienable) possessor modifying the same noun, as in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. á kò úró  
 2SgP **Dem** house  
 ‘that (aforementioned) house of yours’

However, kò is not compatible with an inalienable possessor, suggesting that it still occurs in the same linear “slot” as such possessors (in keeping with its probable original morphemic identity with the Nonhuman inalienable possessor kò). Thus (xx3) was rejected by my assistant.

- (xx3) #ù kò dê:  
 2SgP.L Dem father.HL  
 #‘that (aforementioned) father of yours-Sg’  
 (compare the grammatical ù dê: ‘your father’)

### 6.1.2 Postnominal núṅò

A **deictic** demonstrative sense ‘this, that’ is expressed by adding Nonhuman núṅò, human Sg nùṅò-bâ: <sup>n</sup>, or human Pl nùṅò-nám (§4.xxx) to the noun. For the forms, see §4.xxx. A preceding modified noun drops its tones to all-L, showing that núṅò patterns in this respect as an adjective.

- (xx1) a. ùrò núṅò  
 house **Dem**  
 ‘this/that house’ (deictic)
- b. á ñè-ì-n nùṅò-bâ: <sup>n</sup>  
 2SgP female-child-Sg.L **Dem.L-owner.Sg**  
 ‘this girl (=daughter) of yours-Sg’ **2004.3.20**

### 6.5 Noun plus cardinal numeral

Cardinal numerals **do not induce tone-dropping** on a preceding noun (or other preceding NP constituent such as an adjective).

- (xx1) a. úró nù:y<sup>n</sup>  
 house **five**  
 ‘five houses’
- b. [ùrò èjú] nù:y<sup>n</sup>  
 [house.L good] **five**  
 ‘five nice houses’

In (xx1.b), ùr̀ò has L-tone because it is followed by an adjective, not because of the phrase-final numeral.

When a combination like (xx1.a-b) functions as head NP in a relative, both the numeral and the preceding lexical-toned word drop their tones in parallel (§14.xxx). In general, [noun + numeral] combinations appear to be syntactically appositional (symmetrical) rather than hierarchical (asymmetrical).

Cardinal numerals do not combine with Pl bé. However, if the modified noun or noun-plus-adjective combination would otherwise (i.e. in the absence of the numeral) end in (human) Pl suffix -m, this suffix is retained in the presence of the numeral. Likewise, a noun with (human) Sg suffix -n keeps it before túrú ‘1’ (which itself has human Sg form túrú-n).

- (xx2) a. ínέ-m      nù:y<sup>n</sup>  
           person-Pl   **five**  
           ‘five people’
- b. [ínè-m      mòñú-m]      nù:y<sup>n</sup>  
           [person-Pl.L    bad-Pl]      **five**  
           ‘five bad (nasty) people’
- c. d̀òỹ-ñ      túrú-ñ  
           Dogon-Sg   **one**-Sg  
           ‘one Dogon’

When a cardinal numeral follows a combination of noun plus demonstrative (whether the latter is pre- or postnominal), the expression is interpreted as **nonpartitive**. That is, the group in question is either ostensibly indicated (xx3.a) or discourse-definite (xx3.b).

- (xx3) a. [g̀-̀g̀n              núŋ̀ò    nù:y<sup>n</sup>]      éwé-̀ỹ  
           [Rdp-watermelon.L    **Dem**    **five**]      buy.Impf-1PIS  
           ‘We’ll buy those five watermelons.’
- b. [k̀ò      g̀-̀g̀n              nù:y<sup>n</sup>]      éwé-̀ỹ  
           [**Dem**    Rdp-watermelon    **five**]      buy.Impf-1PIS  
           ‘We’ll buy those (aforementioned) five watermelons.’

For partitive sense, an **explicit partitive** construction must be used. This construction includes an initial “locational” with postposition gǎǹǹ ‘between, among’ containing the demonstrative. The noun in question is resumed within the core clause that follows (xx4).

- (xx4) [g̀-̀g̀n              núŋ̀ò    mà    gǎǹǹ],  
           [Rdp-watermelon.L    **Dem**    Poss    **between**],  
           [g̀-̀g̀n              nù:y<sup>n</sup>]      éwé-̀ỹ

[Rdp-watermelon **five**] buy.Impf-1PlS  
 ‘We’ll buy five of those watermelons.’  
 [lit., “Among those watermelons, we’ll buy five watermelons.”]

## 6.6 Plural (bé)

The Plural particle *bé* is related to 3Pl pronoun *bé*, and it is part of Logophoric Pl pronoun *èné bé*. However, *bé* has fairly low text frequency in Pl function in nonpronominal NPs. Most native Dogon human nouns can take Sg *-n* and Pl *-m*, and the suffix preempts the need for a Plural particle. However, most inalienable kin terms do not have Sg *-n* or Pl *-m* suffixes, and rely on *bé* to express plurality. Thus *mì yésâ*: ‘my (man’s) sister’, plural *mì yésâ*: *bé* ‘my sisters’. Other examples of nouns with Pl *bé* are *jàmsăy bé* ‘Jamsay (people)’ and borrowed nouns like *conseiller bé* ‘councilors’ and *aventurier bé* ‘adventurers’.

For nonhuman nouns, plurality is an optional category and is usually not expressed. However, Pl *bé* is available when the speaker chooses to express plurality overtly: *ì jú bé* ‘the dogs’, versus simple *ì jú* ‘dog(s)’.

- (xx1) a. [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà àtî:] mà tǒg kù<sup>n</sup> bé  
 [[Nonh Def] Poss bird.trap] Poss kind Def **Pl**  
 ‘those types of bird traps’ (tǒgú) **2004.3.16**
- b. [jè:n bè jèrê:-Ø]≡ȳ ⇒,  
 [gear.L 3PlS.L keep.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]≡it.is  
 [bè:né kù<sup>n</sup> bé]≡ȳ  
 [shoulder.bag Def **Pl**]≡it.is  
 ‘It’s the gear that they keep, it’s shoulder bags (that they put it in).’  
**2004.3.17**

*bé* can precede a cardinal numeral, or a universal quantifier (‘all’).

- (xx2) a. *mì yésâ*: *bé* *lèy*  
 1SgP sister Pl two  
 ‘my two sisters’
- b. *mì yésâ*: *bé* *·*: *fú*:  
 1SgP sister Pl all  
 ‘all (of) my sisters’

When a plural [noun + *bé*] sequence is combined with postposition *lè* (dative, instrumental, locative), the usual expression is [noun + *bè-rú*]. The more transparent

[noun + bé 1è] was accepted by informants in elicitation, but I did not observe it in recorded texts. bè-rú is identical to the 3Pl dative form ‘to them’.

- (xx3) [nǎ: -r<sup>n</sup>-ùm dē: bè-rú] yǎ:  
 [female-child-Pl father.HL **Pl-Dat**] go  
 [î-n kù<sup>n</sup>] jàŋá-bà  
 [child-Sg Def] request.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘They will go and ask the girls’ fathers for the child (=the bride)’ **2004.3.20**

When a plural NP with bé is relativized, bé appears **at the end of the relative** rather than after the head noun. This is seen in (xx4), which is based on the NP ì jù bé ‘(the) dogs’.

- (xx4) ì jù gô: -Ø kù<sup>n</sup> bé  
 dog go.out.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def **Pl**  
 ‘the dogs who went out’.

Another function of bé is in conjunction phrases, of the type [[X bé ⇒] [Y bé ⇒]] meaning ‘X and Y’ (where X and/or Y may be singular or plural). Here the vowel of bé is normally prolonged with no drop in tone, especially on the first occurrence; this is indicated by the symbol ⇒. See §7.xxx for details and examples of NP conjunctions.

## 6.7 Definite (kù<sup>n</sup>)

This particle is very common at the end of nonpronominal NPs. It is similar in function to English definite *the*. In other words, it is a non-emphatic discourse-anaphoric (or otherwise definite) determiner.

Definite kù<sup>n</sup> is common, for example, in tales where two or three animal protagonists are established as discourse referents at an early point and are then referred to repeatedly as the action unfolds.

(xx1) occurs in the middle of a tale. Mouse has been previously introduced, and is reestablished as local topic by a definite NP after Cat has taken center stage briefly (probably in error). Another discourse referent millet beer, is introduced and is subsequently referred to in definite form. The passage also contains a headless adverbial relative clauses ending in kù<sup>n</sup>, with scope over an unexpressed head noun like ‘time’.

- (xx1) [nǎ: túrú ké] nì-nìw<sup>n</sup>é yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>—,  
 [day one Topic] Rdp-cat go and,  
 [ùjùw<sup>n</sup>ó kù<sup>n</sup>] [èné yâ: -Ø kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 [mouse **Def**] [Refl go.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh **Def**]  
 [nǎ: túrú ké] kòñó nò: -Ø,

[day one Topic] millet.beer drink.Perf.L-3SgS,  
 [kòǎ́ nọ́: m̀ỳ<sup>n</sup>] hâ1 yǎ́: m̀ỳ<sup>n</sup>  
 [millet.beer drink and] until go and  
 [kòǎ́ kù<sup>n</sup>] kó à:-∅  
 [millet.beer Def] NonhO catch.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘One day [topic], Cat went and—, the Mouse<sub>x</sub>, when he<sub>x</sub> went (to the field),  
 one day he<sub>x</sub> drank some millet beer; he<sub>x</sub> drank the millet beer, to the point  
 that the millet beer grabbed him<sub>x</sub> (=made him<sub>x</sub> drunk).’ **2004.4.1**

kù<sup>n</sup> is not compatible with the stronger deictic demonstratives based on núŋò. It can be used after a possessed noun when discourse-anaphoric status is indicated (xx2). The nose in question had been referred to as èné mà kí<sup>n</sup>é earlier in the same text, without kù<sup>n</sup>.

(xx2) [èné mà kí<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>] lè  
 [Logo Poss nose Def] to  
 ‘(if it comes close) to my (aforementioned) nose’ (in quotation) **2004.4.2**

Like Plural bé, when Definite kù<sup>n</sup> has scope over the head NP of a relative clause, it appears in clause-final position, after the participle. See example (xx4) in the preceding section.

kù<sup>n</sup> is only occasionally used after human pronouns, but the combination is grammatical. Third person wó kù<sup>n</sup> ‘he/she’ can be used to emphasize discourse definiteness, while 2Sg ú kù<sup>n</sup> ‘you-Sg’ is used roughly like ‘you there’ with emphatic force. With nonhuman pronoun, kù<sup>n</sup> occurs in the high-frequency combination kó kù<sup>n</sup> ‘that’, denoting some entity or situation previously introduced into the discourse, often in a resumptive fashion (as topic of a following sentence). See §4.xxx for an example.

## : 6.8 Universal and distributive quantifiers

### 6.8.1 ‘Each X’ (kâ :<sup>n</sup>) and ‘all X’ (cêw, fú:, sóy)

Three forms are relevant here. Distributive quantifier kâ :<sup>n</sup> behaves like an adjective (or compound final), forcing tone-dropping on a preceding noun. It is best glossed ‘each, every’, and occurs most often in simple NP’s consisting just of [noun (+ adjective) + kâ :<sup>n</sup>]. It does not co-occur with determiners (demonstratives, Definite) or with other quantifiers such as cardinal numerals. It must be distinguished from homonym kâ :<sup>n</sup> ‘also, too’ (variant kâ<sup>n</sup>à), which occurs freely after a wide range of NPs (and other constituents) and which has no tonal effect on the preceding word.

cêw and fú: (the latter often pronounced pú: after a nasal) are more emphatic, can be glossed in context as ‘all’ or less often ‘each, every’, and occur at the end of the constituent they have scope over. cêw and fú: do not force tone-dropping on a preceding nonpronominal NP. However, fú: does induce the **dying-quail final intonation** (symbol ∴), i.e. prolongation and exaggerated falling tone, on the preceding word when it modifies a nonpronominal NP. Thus ùr<sup>n</sup>ó ∴ fú: ‘every hole’, roughly phonetic [ùr<sup>n</sup>óòò fú:]. The ∴ effect is usually omitted, but occasionally audible, in pronominal combinations, e.g. [kò (∴) fú:] ‘all of it, everything’.

In addition, both cêw and fú: force **L-tone on a preceding pronominal**: èmè cêw or èmè fú: ‘all of us’. ‘Everything’ is expressed by [kò cêw] or [kò fú:], where kò can be taken as the tone-dropped counterpart of Nonhuman pronoun kó, or (less likely) as the pronominal demonstrative kò. 1Pl émé is often **apocopated** before fú:, with the f then hardening to p after the nasal: èm pú:) ‘all of us’. fú: is sometimes itself prolonged intonationally, especially when functioning more or less adverbially: fú: ⇒. An elicited example is (xx1), where fú: shifts to pú: after a nasal. I have difficulty in text transcriptions determining when the intonational marking ⇒ is justified for fú:.

(xx1) úr<sup>n</sup>-ùm pú: ⇒ yǎ:-yà-bà  
 child-Pl all go-Perf-3PlS  
 ‘The children all went’

íné ‘person’ requires a suffix (Sg -n, Pl -m) when unmodified, and specifically requires Pl -m before cêw and fú:, hence íné-m cêw and íné-m ∴ fú: ‘all people, everyone’. By contrast, this stem appears as ìnè without suffix (and with tones dropped) before kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each’, hence ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each person’. A possibly related quirk is that ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup> is sometimes applied to nonhuman entities in the sense ‘each one’ (xx2).

(xx2) yà:-gò:-ná: [kó lèy] tùl-lá-Ø,  
 woman.L-dance.L-true [Nonh two] one-Neg-3SgS,  
 [ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [ènè mà tògú] déy<sup>n</sup>-déy<sup>n</sup>  
 [person.L each] [Refl Poss kind] distinct-distinct  
 ‘(Calabash dance and) the true women’s dance [topic], the two of them are not the same; each one [topic], its kind (=character) is distinct.’ (túrú)  
**2004.4.14**

Other human nouns keep Sg suffix -n (NB: not Pl -m) before kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each’, as in dòyò-n kâ: ‘each Dogon’ and ñè-n kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each woman’.

(xx3) shows that all three quantifiers can be used in **distributive** sense. The version with kâ:<sup>n</sup> (xx3.a) is clearly predominant in this context (if the noun has no

other modifiers), unless special emphasis is placed on the fact that every single person was given a sheep.

- (xx3) a. [ínè kâ:<sup>n</sup> lè] [pé:jú tút-túrú] ò:-bà  
 [person.L **each** Dat] [sheep one-one] give.Perf-3PlS  
 'They gave each person one sheep.'
- b. [íné-n cêw lè] [pé:jú tút-túrú] ò:-bà  
 [person **all** Dat] [sheep one-one] give.Perf-3PlS  
 [=a]
- c. [íné-n ∴ fú: lè] [pé:jú tút-túrú] ò:-bà  
 [person **all** Dat] [sheep one-one] give.Perf-3PlS  
 [=a]

With nouns denoting unindividuated masses ('sand', 'water', 'millet'), either cêw or fú: can be used (xx4). kâ:<sup>n</sup> would only be used in unusual contexts involving individuation ('each grain of sand', etc.).

- (xx4) a. [kî-ká: kù<sup>n</sup>] [ñú: kù<sup>n</sup> cêw] ñé:-jè-∅  
 [grasshopper Def] [millet Def **all**] eat-Perfect-3SgS  
 'The grasshoppers (=locusts) have eaten all of the millet.'
- b. [kî-ká: kù<sup>n</sup>] [ñú: kù<sup>n</sup> ∴ fú:] ñé:-jè-∅  
 [grasshopper Def] [millet Def **all**] eat-Perfect-3SgS  
 'The grasshoppers (=locusts) have eaten all of the millet.'

In the **universal quantificational** sense 'all', referring to a universe of individuals rather than a mass, cêw and fú: are used.

- (xx5) [úró kù<sup>n</sup> ∴ fú:] nùm-â:-∅  
 [úró kù<sup>n</sup> cêw] "  
 house Def **all** fall-Perf-3SgS  
 'All of the houses collapsed.'

Universal quantifiers cêw and fú: may combine with other quantifiers, such as cardinal numerals (xx6). Here the universal quantifier is emphatic, stressing that the predication applies to every one of the elements in the set defined by the other quantifier.

- (xx6) [bé lèy cêw] bòr<sup>n</sup>ô:-∅  
 [3Pl **two all**] call.Impf-3SgS  
 'He will summon both (=the two) of them.' **2004.4.6**

While *cêw* normally has scope over a preceding NP, clause, or other constituent, it has also been elicited in **adverbial function**. The distinction can be made by observing the linear order of elements in the elicited examples (xx7.a-b).

- (xx7) a. *àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm yérè-m cêw*  
 man-Pl.L come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl all  
 ‘all (of) the men who came’
- b. *àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm cêw yérè-m*  
 man-Pl.L all come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl  
 ‘the men who came as a totality’

(xx7.a) is the usual case where *cêw* has universal quantificational scope over ‘men who came’. In (xx7.b), *cêw* is an adverbial. Its exact sense is difficult for me to assess in the absence of textual examples. For what it’s worth, (xx7.b) was glossed by my assistant, in French, as *les hommes qui sont venus au complet*.

*sóy* ‘all, entirely’ is an emphatic adverbial that can sometimes be glossed as a NP substitute; see §8.xxx. For the sense ‘(not) at all’ see §19.xxx.

#### 6.8.2 ‘No X’

When the verb is negated, *kâ:ⁿ* ‘each’ has a wide-scope interpretation and can be glossed ‘any’ (xx1).

- (xx1) [*cè: kâ:ⁿ*] *bèl-lú-m*  
 [thing **each**] get-Perf.Neg-1SgS  
 ‘I didn’t get anything.’ (*bèr é-*)

That is, [ $\forall X$  [not [I got X]]].

Even with what are ordinarily mass nouns, *kâ:ⁿ* can be used, arguably imposing an individuation on the mass. *fú:* can be added to *kâ:ⁿ* for emphasis, but *fú:* is not directly added to the noun in this wide-scope sense.

- (xx2) a. [*ñù: kâ:ⁿ*] *cèjè-lú-m*  
 [millet **each**] cut-Perf.Neg-1SgS  
 ‘I didn’t cut (=harvest) any millet.’
- b. [*ñù: kâ:ⁿ .: fú:*] *cèjè-lú-m*  
 [millet **each all**] cut-Perf.Neg-1SgS  
 ‘I didn’t cut (=harvest) any millet.’

*fú:* or *cêw* may be added directly to the noun before a negated verb, but here the quantifier has narrow scope (xx3).

- (xx3) a. [ñú: .: fú:] cèjè-lú-m  
 [millet **all**] cut-Perf.Neg-1SgS  
 'I did not cut (=harvest) all the millet.'
- b. [ñú: cêw] cèjè-lú-m  
 [millet **all**] cut-Perf.Neg-1SgS  
 'I did not cut (=harvest) all the millet.'
- c. gàmà-nám [kò cêw] bèrè-j-é,  
 some-Pl [Dem **all**] get-Impf.Neg-3PIS,  
 bèl-l-á tájà: dèy  
 get-Perf.Neg-3PIS happen if  
 'Some (tax collectors) wouldn't get all of it (=the full amount owed by a village). If they didn't get (it), ...' **2004.4.22**

That is, in (xxx.a-b), [not [∀ X [I cut X]]].

### 6.8.3 [X yó: ⇒ X] 'from X to X' or 'every/any X'

There is a somewhat archaic construction with repeated noun X flanking a morpheme yó: with rhetorically exaggerated prolongation (symbol ⇒). The construction is stylistically colorful.

(xx1.a) illustrates this for a NP in adverbial function. ár<sup>n</sup>à yó: ⇒ ár<sup>n</sup>à is based on an archaic term for 'year', attested elsewhere as a compound initial and in the tonal locative form àr<sup>n</sup>â: 'in a (certain) year'. The usual term for 'year' is the compound àr<sup>n</sup>à-kújú. In (xx1.b-c), the entire NP functions as head of a relative; the second X dutifully undergoes tone-dropping (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [ár<sup>n</sup>à yó: ⇒ ár<sup>n</sup>à] ñú: bèrè-w dèy ↑,  
 [**year to year.L**] millet get.Impf-2SgS if,  
 [ñú: ké] wá:jíbì=ÿ kó dòr<sup>n</sup>ó-w<sup>n</sup>  
 [millet Topic] obligation=it.is NonhO sell.Impf-2SgS  
 'Every (single) year in which you get (=harvest) millet, (that) millet [topic], you must sell (some of) it.' **2004.3.10**
- b. [nùw<sup>n</sup>ó yó: ⇒ nùw<sup>n</sup>ò] bĕn kùn-ó-Ø,  
 [**death to death.L**] tomtom be.in-Neg-Ppl.Nonh,  
 [sún=ì: là: dèy] [sèyàm kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò-rú kùn-ó  
 [sadness=it.is Neg if] [happiness.L any] Nonh-in be.in-Neg  
 'Every death that tomtoms are not (involved) in, (there is) only sadness, no joy (=festivity) is in them.' **2004.3.21**
- c. [màlfâ:<sup>n</sup> yó: ⇒ màlfâ:<sup>n}] gô:-Ø,  
 [**rifle to rifle.L**] go.out.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh,</sup>

[màlfà:<sup>n</sup> [kó níŋír<sup>n</sup>é] kórsó-sà-Ø]  
[rifle.L [Nonh day] fail-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh]  
[kó bèrê:] gò:-lî-Ø  
[Nonh in] go.out-Perf.Neg.L-3SgS  
‘(Of) all the rifles that went out (to the bush), no rifle among them that  
jammed went out on that day.’ (i.e., all the rifles fired properly)

**2004.3.24**

An example involving a longer noun stem is (xx2).

- (xx2) [cì-cèr<sup>n</sup>è-î-n yó: ⇒  
**Rdp-circumcision.L-child-Sg to**  
cì-cèr<sup>n</sup>è-î-n],  
**Rdp-circumcision.L-child-S**  
[témé-r<sup>n</sup>é mà bèrê:] lá:-lá:≡y dèy,  
[tradition Poss in] first-first≡it.is if,  
là:râ lá:râ:-Ø dèy  
defecation.place defecate.Impf if  
‘Every just-circumcised boy, traditionally, if it’s (=if we’re talking about) the  
past, if he (=boy) was going just outside the village to defecate, ...’

**2004.3.18**

In a text from an elderly woman was an occurrence of [noun + yô:], only half-understood by my younger assistant. It can be construed as having plural reference.

- (xx3) [kù:<sup>n</sup>-bònó kù<sup>n</sup>], [ká:lísì lè], [càrà yô: lè],  
[head.L-tie.in.row Def], [money Inst], [silver Pl(?) Inst],  
[kú:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] kó≡y bònó jǎ:-bà jì:<sup>n</sup> wà  
[head Def] Nonh≡Foc tie.in.row convey.Impf-3PIS Past say  
‘That tie-in-row-on-head (a hairstyle), with coins, with (lots of) silver (coins);  
the head, that (=coins) is what they used to string together (in rows) and take  
(to use in hairstyles), they say.’ **2004.4.19**

#### 6.8.4 Universal quantifier combined with a numeral

To illustrate interactions between ‘all’ and numerals, consider (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [bé nǔ:y<sup>n</sup> cêw] [pé:jú lěy-lèy] bèrè-bà  
[3Pl five **all**] [sheep **two-two**] get.Perf-3PIS  
‘Each (=every one) of the five (people) got two sheep.’  
b. [íné-m nǔ:y<sup>n</sup> ∴ fú: lè]  
[person-Pl five **all** Dat]  
[pé:jú lěy-lèy] ò:-bà

[sheep            **two-two**]            give.Perf-3PIS  
 ‘They gave two sheep to each (=every one) of the five people.’

In the English free translations, ‘each X’ has wide scope, containing the numeral phrase, e.g. “[ $\forall$  X [X get two sheep]] & [ $\exists$  five X].” In Jamsay, distributivity is expressed by iterating the numeral (§4.xxx). A slightly marked free translation of the type ‘All five (people) got two sheep each’ would be closer to the Jamsay construction. cêw and fú: are interchangeable in this construction. Now consider (xx2).

(xx2) [íné-m      nǔ:y<sup>n</sup>    cêw    lè]      [pé:jú túrú]    ò:-bà  
 [person-Pl    five        **all**    Dat]    [sheep    **one**]    give.Perf-3PIS  
 ‘They gave one sheep to each (group of) five people.’

Here the logical structure is “[ $\forall$  G [[G get two sheep]] & [G = five persons]”. Again, fú: could be used as an alternative to cêw. A version with kâ: <sup>n</sup> was rejected.

## 6.9 Apposition

The sequence **core NP plus numeral** is structurally appositional, unlike other superficially similar sequences like noun plus modifying adjective (including ordinals). In the case of [NP + numeral], both the final word in the core NP and the numeral have their regular tones. When the NP in question is head of a relative clause, tone-dropping applies simultaneously to the final word in the core NP (the noun, or a following modifying adjective) and to the numeral. For details and examples, see §6.xxx, above, and §14.xxx.

Apposition is also regular when a pronoun is “modified.” When a **pronoun** (with human referent) is logically the **head of a relative**, it occurs to the left in its independent (H-toned) form, in apposition to a form of ínέ ‘person’ which follows. Only this noun shows the tone-dropping characteristic of relative-clause heads (xx1). I therefore bracket the form of ínέ inside the relative clause, with the pronoun outside the brackets. For more details, see §14.xxx.

- (xx1) a.    ú            [ìnè            wárú            wàrá            bèrè-gó-n]  
           **2Sg**    [**person.L**    farming    farm(verb)    can-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Sg]  
           ‘you-Sg, the person who does not know how to farm’
- b.    mí            [ìnè            ù            jùgó-n̄]  
           **1Sg**    [**person.L**    2SgS            know.Impf-Ppl.Sg]  
           ‘I, the person whom you-Sg know’

The same type of apposition is common when a pronoun is “modified” by a **numeral**. The pronoun often appears in independent form, in apposition to a number-marked form of ínέ- ‘person’, which is directly juxtaposed to the numeral (xx2.a).

When the numeral is *túró* ‘one’, if it is added to the proxy *íné-n* ‘person’ it has Sg suffix *-n* (xx2.b). Numerals, especially ‘one’ and ‘two’, can also be added directly to the pronoun with no suffix (xx2.c-d).

- (xx2) a. *é* [*íné-m lèy*]  
 2Pl [person-Pl **two**]  
 ‘you two, the two of you’
- b. *ú* [*íné-n túró-n*]  
 2Sg [person-Sg **one-Sg**]  
 ‘you-Sg alone’
- c. *ú túró*  
 2Sg **one**  
 [= (b)]
- d. [*émé lèy*] *gámá nîm*  
 [1Pl **two**] some now  
 [*émé lèy*] *mà gǎnnè mà wàḡá ...*  
 [1Pl **two**] Poss between Poss distance ...  
 ‘The two of us, often now, the distance between the two of us (is ...).’  
**2004.5.1**

It is possible to complicate (xx2) by adding the noun *kú:ⁿ* ‘head’ to the equation. In (xx3), below, *kú:ⁿ* is the immediate complement of the numeral. The pronoun *émé* is leftmost, followed by *íné-m*. Arguably this is a three-way apposition between the pronoun, ‘person’, and ‘head’ (note the absence of an overt Possessive morpheme between ‘person’ and ‘head’).

- (xx3) a. *émé íné-m kú:ⁿ nù:yⁿ*  
 1Pl person **head** five  
 ‘the five of us’
- b. *émé [íné-m péré lěy sáyà]*  
**1Pl** [person-Pl ten two plus]  
 ‘the twelve of us’ **2004.5.1**

Apposition between a **pronoun** and a **descriptive NP** is illustrated in (xx4). In (xx4.a), *ú* is clearly an independent pronoun; contrast possessive *á òḡǒ-n* ‘your-Sg chief’. With pronouns other than 1Sg and 2Sg (which have special alienable possessor forms), there is no morphological distinction between apposition and possession. Thus (xx4.b) could theoretically mean ‘our Dogon people’ as well as ‘we (the) Dogon people’.

- (xx4) a. *ú òḡǒ-n*



