

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

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INTRODUCTION

Duka¹ is a class language. The nominal phrase is of particular interest because of the way in which the concord elements function in the phrase.

This paper² first outlines the basic structure of the phrase and gives details of the concord system with its free and bound concord elements. It then describes the various types of nominal phrase.

1. BASIC STRUCTURE

The nominal phrase in Duka comprises five elements:

A head,	
preceded optionally by	a pre-expansion (PE)
and/or	a pre-outer expansion (POE)
followed optionally by	a post-expansion (PostE)
and/or	a post-outer expansion (PostOE)

The head always occurs. One or more expansions may also occur though usually not more than two expansions occur in any one nominal phrase.

The nominal phrase is always marked by a feature of concord. This feature is realized in different ways, depending on the structure of the nominal phrase and varying with different types of head and expansion.

The nominal phrase may have more than one head. On this basis, simple and complex nominal phrases are distinguished. The simple nominal phrase has a single head. The complex nominal phrase has more than one head.

In general, the expansions of the nominal phrase do not vary in their structure whether

¹ The Duka (in Hausa, Dukanci) language is spoken by some 30,000 people around Rijau, north of Kontagora in the North-Western State, Nigeria. It is a member of the Benue-Congo group.

² This paper was first read at the 9th Congress of the West Africa Linguistic Society at Freetown, in March 1970. It is based on material collected by Miss Esther Cressman and Miss Donna Skitch of the U.M.S. who have studied Duka since 1964. These texts were processed by computer under the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation (grant CS-934). This provided an exhaustive concordance of all morphemes in the 150 pages of text. John Bendor-Samuel of the Institute of Linguistics, Nigeria (a branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., and associated with Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), assisted Miss Cressman and Miss Skitch in the subsequent grammatical analysis and is responsible for the presentation in this paper. Miss Cressman and Miss Skitch are responsible for the Duka examples. In general, the analysis is limited to the data presented in the texts but Mr Ayuba Maje has contributed examples of some constructions. The reference numbers refer to the texts and the symbol A to examples from Ayuba Maje.

the nominal phrase is simple or complex. Some expansions however, do not occur with certain types of head and this is noted in the description of the expansions.

The basic structure of the nominal phrase may be displayed as in Fig. 1.

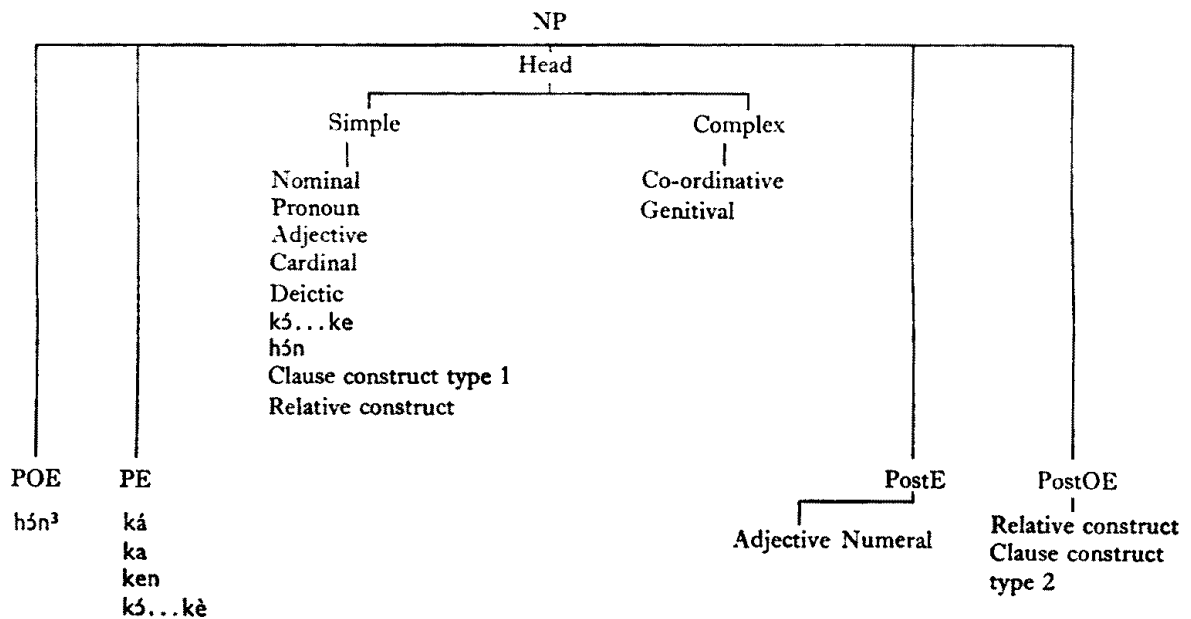


Fig. 1

2. NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

2.1. THE CONCORD SYSTEM

The nominal concord system⁴ is a feature of the total nominal phrase. Every nominal phrase is marked by a concord feature or features. The particular pattern of the concord in any one phrase is stated as a feature of that type of phrase. Thus a noun phrase of type 11 (see 3.1) with a PostOE type 1 has the concord feature realized by the occurrence of the free concord element after the head of the nominal phrase and initial in the PostOE. The concord element is marked by low tone.

The selection of the specific concord element in any one phrase is determined by the class of the noun which is the head of that phrase or to which the head refers. There are two types of concord elements: free concord elements and bound concord elements. These occur as two sets of elements which are clearly relatable to each other. It will be noted that there is a close phonological relationship between the free and the bound concord element.

The majority of nouns occur with a pair of concord elements – one in the singular and the other in the plural. The concord elements are therefore arranged to reflect the most common pairing, with odd numbers denoting classes which occur with singular forms and even numbers with plural forms as follows:

³ The acute and grave accents are used to symbolize high and low tone respectively. Mid tone is left unmarked. All examples are written phonemically.

⁴ The Duka system shows some similarity to the Dakarkari noun class system as described by Hoffman in his article 'An outline of the Dakarkari noun class system and the relation between prefix and suffix noun class systems' in *LA CLASSIFICATION NOMINALE DANS LES LANGUES NEGRO-AFRICAINES*.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

Concord elements

Class	Bound	Free	Class	Bound	Free
1	-#-	wé	7a	-o-	yó
2	-#-	é	7b	-#-	yó
3a	-o-	ó	8	-#- or εγε ⁻⁵	é
3b	-#-	ó	9	-əm-	mó
4	-əs-	sé			
5	-ər-	dé			
6	-ət-	tó			

The most common singular/plural pairs are:

1/2	3/2
3/4	3/6
5/6	5/4
7/8	5/8
	7/4

Class 9 is not paired. Nouns occurring with class 9 concord elements do not exhibit a singular/plural contrast. In this class are found nouns referring to masses, liquids and uncountable objects.

It should be noted that some nouns which do not have a singular/plural contrast occur with other classes besides class 9.

It is interesting to note that persons occur with the pair 1/2 and animals with the pair 7/8.

Borrowed words usually occur with classes 3 and 5 in the singular and 4 and 6 in the plural.

Example: the most common singular/plural pairs

1/2	nèá	woman	càmpó	man
3/4	sá	tatoo	kán	cry
5/6	ba	bag	hó	nose
7/8	wó	dog	hyo	guinea corn
3/2	tato	father	ino	mother
3/6	tó	ear	káánté	shoe
5/4	saw	load	shênd	clay bowl
5/8	yísh	eye	εer	arrow
7/4	'yo	tree	tá	bow
9	hó	water	gwèrè	thread

2.2. FREE CONCORD ELEMENTS

The free concord elements always occur in the same form. The tone of the element may, however, vary, depending on the structure of the nominal phrase as described above. In general it would seem that the tone of the free concord element is low when it precedes the

⁵ Only a few nouns now occur with εγε-. In the 150 pages of text eleven instances occurred comprising the following five different nouns: càtécán 'butterflies', wó 'dogs', hyo 'guinea-corn', kwábò 'pennies', rìr 'a substance used in making pounded floors'. There seems to be fluctuation from speaker to speaker. εγε- only occurs preceding the noun.

head of the nominal phrase and when it occurs as the first element of post-outer expansions. It is, however, mid when the free concord element follows the head of the nominal phrase in other structures.

The free concord element also functions as a third-person pronoun in all constructions where third-person pronouns occur. In such instances the free concord element carries high tone.

2.3. BOUND CONCORD ELEMENTS

The bound concord elements consist of either a consonant which may be preceded by ə or a vowel.

The bound concord elements do not have their own tone. Their tone is always determined by the syllable which precedes them in the construction in which they occur, or by some feature of the construction concerned.

If a bound concord element follows a syllable which ends with a vowel it becomes phonologically fused with the preceding syllable. It is marked with the tone of the preceding syllable. The bound concord element, o, tends to lose its syllabicity and be realized as [w] (example 1). When a bound concord element consisting of a consonant follows the vowel it occurs without the preceding ə (example 2).

If a bound concord element follows a syllable ending in a consonant it has the following tones: following a high or low tone it is marked by low tone (examples 3 and 4), following a mid tone it is marked by mid tone (example 2).

When the bound concord element occurs initially in the utterance it is marked by mid tone (example 5). If the bound concord element is a consonant it is preceded by ə.

The substitute bound concord element, ən, occurs in the following constructions referring to a noun which has a zero bound concord element:

- (1) When in an NP 22a and 22c (examples 6 and 7).
- (2) In an AP type 1 in a NP 21 (example 8).
- (3) In a clause construct type 1 when that construct is functioning as head of a nominal phrase (example 9).
- (4) Following the pre-outer expansion (example 10).
- (5) In an AP type 2 (example 11).

Examples

- | | |
|---|--------|
| (1) yà-ò-fṣ-ó cá yo
[yàw-fṣw]
A tiny snake thin | CC 011 |
| (2) gaag o-kírì èt-mən ⁶
[kírìt mən]
bind a string on stomach
'have patience' | CA 001 |
| (3) mār-əm wóṣntè wá
death has come to him | CB 003 |
| (4) wá nómḡg èm-séngè
he made effort | NO 024 |

⁶ In all examples the bound concord element is written with a hyphen linking it to the noun to which it is grammatically related. It is written in a full form even though it is phonologically fused with the preceding syllable.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

- | | | |
|------|---|--------|
| (5) | o-hur ò má Mòksò ɔ
the house of Mokso it
'the house of Mokso's' (emphatic) | A |
| (6) | ríy yò èn-wé
thing of his | A |
| (7) | yò má èn- wá
of his | CO 039 |
| (8) | én-wé ne
with him | A |
| (9) | gét-èt dáámètè me èn-tì èn-hyo
animals troubled me with eating guinea-corn | NI 002 |
| (10) | a géstè kápp hón èn-ká bó ɔ
we looked all to the extent of this town
'we looked all over this town' | FS 101 |
| (11) | èn-hón dú
to the extent of you
'by yourself' | A |

2.4. CLASS CHANGES

Under certain limited circumstances nouns may occur with more than one concord pair. When such nouns occur with pair 3/6 this occurrence carries the meaning of 'big'. Similarly, when such nouns occur with the pair 5/4 this carries the meaning of 'small'.

Examples

3/6	o-taar	large stone	ət-taar	large stones
5/4	ər-taar	small stone	əs-taar	small stones

In stories when animals are personified the concord elements may change to the pair 1/2.

Example

o-ún	monitor lizard (normally pair 7/8)	
Ám-ún	dekərə ka hɔ mɔ. Wé saptərə ét-kóm.	FO. 065
	Mr Lizard took that water. He washed hands.	

3. THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

All simple nominal phrases are referred to as NP type 10.

Different types of simple nominal phrase are set up on the basis of the different elements which occur as head.

Sections 3.1-3.9 describe nine different types of simple NP which are referred to as NP types 11-19.

3.1. NP TYPE 11 - NOMINAL AS HEAD

Nouns of all classes, numerals, adjectives of classes 2 and 3, participles and verbal nouns function as head of NP type 11.

The nominal always occurs with a concord element. Concord elements may be bound or free (see section 2) and may occur in various places in the nominal phrase.

The free concord element occurs when the NP includes a pre-expansion, or a post-outer expansion, or functions as first head of NP 22a.

The bound concord element occurs when the NP has no expansion, or includes a pre-outer expansion, or a post expansion. It may occur when the NP includes a post-outer

J. BENDOR-SAMUEL, E. CRESSMAN AND D. SKITCH

expansion. The bound concord element precedes the noun unless it is functioning as head of a NP functioning as subject.

Examples

- | | | | |
|-------------|--|------------------|--------|
| (1) Kàng-ət | jetembərə́ | FS 030 | |
| | corn stalks broke | | |
| (2) Dà ɔ́ | wó wɔ́ɔ́né ən-ców | ò hess ər-gaan | FO 044 |
| | time that you arrive at the road | you take one out | |
| | 'When you arrive at the road, take out one.' | | |

3.2. NP TYPE 12 – PRONOUN AS HEAD

All pronouns function as head of a NP type 12. It may be noted that the free concord elements function as pronouns in exactly the same way as the personal pronouns and occur equally freely in NP 12 and are marked by high tone.

Examples

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------|
| (1) yó ɾɔ | əm-bòòsè | CC 012 | |
| | it was maturing | | |
| (2) é | rangsərə́ wó | CB 001 | |
| | they troubled him | | |
| (3) À hɔ́ɔ́nərə́ sé | réénɔ́ | ò-Kwàntàgòra | KD 012 |
| | one killed them over there | Kontagora | |
| | 'They were killed over at Kontagora' | | |
| (4) əm cónòg | ò-pyáp | DN 004 | |
| | I want black-smithing | | |
| | 'I want to be a black-smith' | | |

3.3. NP TYPE 13 – ADJECTIVE AS HEAD

Adjectives of classes 1 and 2 function as head of NP type 13.

Both the free concord element and the bound concord element occur. The form of the concord element is determined by the noun to which the adjective refers.

The bound concord element precedes the adjective and the free concord element follows the adjective and is marked by mid tone. When the NP occurs initially in the utterance however, the bound concord element occurs finally in the phrase, i.e. after the free concord element. When the NP occurs as the first head of an NP 22a the bound concord element does not occur.

Examples

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| (1) Ámzɔ́m | həssərə́ | ét-gòs ɾɔ | A |
| | Mr Rabbit | took out the big ones | |
| (2) Yár se-əs | ɾɔ | réénɔ́ | A |
| | the green ones | are over there | |
| (3) rək ɾɔ | tò ən-kòòb | nɛ ɾɔ dèèn | A |
| | the small ones of the poor | people are many | |

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

3.4. NP TYPE 14 – CARDINAL NUMERAL AS HEAD

The head of NP type 14 consists of a numeral preceded and followed by the particle á and followed by the free concord element of the noun to which it refers. This construction carries the meaning of a cardinal numeral.⁷

Sometimes é is found in place of the particle á following the numeral.

The second á may be preceded by ən with either high or low tone. If ən is low tone then the tone of the preceding numeral is high. There seems to be some fluctuation in the tone of ən. With one particular numeral, coon 'first', ən is always high.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| (1) | mé kumé á-yoor-á wə á | KI 027 |
| | or | |
| | mé kumé á-yóór-ən-á wə á | A |
| | I find the second one not | |
| | 'If I don't find the second one' | |
| (2) | á coon á yo | A |
| | or | |
| | á coon ən á yo | |
| | the first one | |
| (3) | tómsó á tett é wə wá à kúm əm-yár | ND 013 |
| | also the third one will receive a gift | |

3.5. NP TYPE 15 – DEICTIC AS HEAD

The following deictic particles function as head of an NP type 15:

ká 'that' ka 'this' ken 'certain'

The deictic is preceded by the free concord element of the noun to which it refers. The free concord element is marked by low tone.

When the head of such a NP is followed immediately by a relative construction the free concord element does not occur. It would seem that the free concord element is redundant since a relative construction always commences with a free concord element marked by low tone.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| (1) | ...wə ken gərme hak əs-éér... | CI 018 004 |
| | a certain one does bride service years eight | |
| (2) | é heé ən-hur ɔ̄ ən-wə ka | FN 005 |
| | if they go to house of that one | |
| (3) | ká è máte wannéá à | CT 073 004 |
| | those who gave birth to the young girl dcm ⁸ | |

3.6. NP TYPE 16 – kɔ́...kè AS HEAD

A deictic phrase consisting of kɔ́ followed by a pronoun and kè functions as head of NP type 16.

Kɔ́ is marked by high tone. The free concord element and kè which follow it are both marked by low tone.

⁷ It would seem possible to analyse the cardinal numeral as a type of adjective. It may occur like an adjective in the post-expansion. When occurring as the head of the nominal phrase, however, it is marked quite differently from the adjective.

⁸ 'dcm' denotes the dependent clause marker.

J. BENDOR-SAMUEL, E. CRESSMAN AND D. SKITCH

The form of the free concord element is determined by the noun to which it refers.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------------|
| (1) | kɔ̌ yò kè yò ze... | FD 002 001 |
| | everyone he says
'Everyone says' | |
| (2) | kɔ̌ wə̀ kè wé à kùm hɔɔɔ | KE 007 |
| | everyone will find life | |

3.7. NP TYPE 17 – hɔ̌n AS HEAD

hɔ̌n 'to the extent of, exclusive of' only occurs as head of a NP when that NP is the first head of genitival complex phrase of type 22a or 22b.

All NP type 17 are found to function as head element of an adverbial phrase which is introduced by the particle èn. (Adverbial phrases are frequently found to comprise the particle èn followed by a nominal phrase.)

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | waà hóks èm-shèèt èn-hɔ̌n dú a | FO 062 |
| | you fut. able sitting by yourself 2nd not pers.
'You will not be able to sit by yourself.' | |
| (2) | táásə̀ à yágé wé èn-hɔ̌n dè èn-wé | CO 022 |
| | do not leave her by herself | |
| (3) | tɛ gət wɔ̌ èn-hɔ̌n dú | KB 014 |
| | may we see you exclusive of you
'May we see you only' | |

3.8. NP TYPE 18 – CLAUSE CONSTRUCT TYPE I AS HEAD

A clause construct⁹ type I functions as head of a NP type 18. The clause is marked by (i) the occurrence of a verb participle as the nucleus of the clause, and (ii) the deletion of the NP functioning as subject of the clause or its transformation as follows. The participle occurs as the first head of a genitival complex NP of either type 22a or 22b. The second head of this phrase is always a pronoun.

Only clause types 11, 12 and 13¹⁰ can occur as clause constructs in this construction.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | gət-èt dáámètè mɛ èn-tè ən-hyo | NI 002 |
| | animals troubled me by eating guinea-corn | |
| (2) | dé rɔ̌ be dè èn-cìr o-áíki | CF 003 |
| | it is place of beginning work | |
| (3) | bɔ̌ hú ès-sɛp tɔ̌ èn-wə wáánè rə̀nə̀rè | A |
| | while singing songs of him so-and-so came out | |

3.9. NP TYPE 19 – RELATIVE CONSTRUCT AS HEAD

A relative construct functions as head of an NP type 19. The structure of the relative construct is exactly the same as its structure as described in section 8.1. The form of the free concord element marked with the low tone which introduces the relative construct is

⁹ The term 'clause construct' is used to denote rankshifted clauses which function as an element of the phrase.

¹⁰ These are verbal clauses, type 11 being a transitive clause, type 12 intransitive and type 13 equative.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

determined by the noun to which the construct refers in exactly the same way as the relative construct functioning as a post-outer expansion.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| (1) | wá dekaré ò jííshè à | FU 021 |
| | they took that was best dcm | |
| (2) | háss tò o cɔnɛ à | FO 155 |
| | take out those which you want dcm | |
| (3) | hɔ-əm ɾɔ éś-baat nɛ dèèn be dè èn-wè nape à | RA 001 |
| | water is with medicine much place of one who knows dcm | |
| | 'Water is medicine for the person who realizes it.' | |

4. THE COMPLEX NOMINAL PHRASE

All nominal phrases with more than one head are termed complex nominal phrases. All complex nominal phrases may occur with one or more expansions in a similar way as simple nominal phrases.

Two types of complex nominal phrase are distinguished: the co-ordinative and the genitival.

All complex nominal phrases are referred to as NP type 20. The co-ordinative complex nominal phrase is termed type 21 and the genitival complex nominal phrase is termed type 22.

Section 4.1 describes the co-ordinative complex nominal phrase and section 4.2 the genitival complex nominal phrase.

4.1. NP TYPE 21 – CO-ORDINATIVE COMPLEX NOMINAL PHRASE

The head of NP type 21 consists of two or more nominal phrases in a co-ordinative relationship.

A NP type 21 seldom occurs as a NP functioning as subject. Where such a construction might be expected it is more common to find a simple nominal phrase functioning as a subject before the verbal phrase in the normal way and this is then followed by an adverbial phrase type 1 after the verbal phrase, see example below. This seems to be especially the case when the verbal phrase includes a verb of motion.

Although the relationships between the nominal phrases within the NP type 21 may generally be regarded as of a co-ordinative character it would seem that in some cases focus is primarily on the first phrase of a pair of phrases. This does not seem to be so much the case when a string of phrases occurs.

It is necessary to distinguish several subtypes of co-ordinative nominal phrases. Subtypes a, b and c are set up.

Example

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| cáári-ò égàtè ó-rék yo nɛ | A |
| a big one got lost with a small one | |
| 'A big one and a small one got lost' | |

4.1.1. NP type 21a

Two or more phrases function as head of NP 21a. The first phrase is a NP type 11, 12 or 22a. The second and successive phrases are adverbial phrases type 1 (AP 1).

Adverbial phrases type 1 have the following structure. The head of the AP is always a NP of types 11, 12, or 22. This phrase is marked by the occurrence of the bound concord

element immediately preceding the head of the phrase. The bound concord element is marked by high tone. Whenever the appropriate bound concord element is zero the substitute bound concord element *ən* occurs. The adverbial phrase type 1 is also marked by the occurrence of the particle *nɛ* in final position in the phrase.

When the NP head is a pronoun and the AP head is a NP class P¹¹ (examples 3 and 4) *nɛ* is omitted. However, when the head of the first NP is a first- or second-person pronoun or a third-person-singular pronoun, NP 21c usually occurs rather than 21a.

When the NP head and the AP head are both pronouns, the tone of the NP head is high. It would seem that the high tone which marks the AP 1, and which normally falls on the substitute bound concord element which introduces that phrase, falls on the preceding pronoun. The substitute bound concord element *ən* may then be marked by either high or low tone (examples 5 and 6).

With a listing of four or more phrases a type of pairing is sometimes found. In this case a nominal phrase is followed by an AP 1 then another nominal phrase occurs followed by another AP 1. Such pairs of NP and AP may continue or the listing may revert to a string of AP 1 and/or NP. Where there are fluctuations of this type the occurrence of an AP 1 seems to indicate a close relationship to the preceding NP (example 7).

Nominal phrases in such strings occur with either a bound concord element preceding the head of the phrase and marked with mid tone or a free concord element following the head of the phrase with mid tone.

Examples

- | | |
|---|--------|
| (1) ò rə əs-shák ɛm-pòr nɛ ɛn-cèta nɛ | FU 052 |
| you put in beni-seed and salt and pepper | |
| (2) é dorərə dé əm-sàk ɛn-hí tɔ ɛn-yángó | C 1006 |
| they followed it placing on heads of relatives | |
| è ɛn-ká nèá wə wə máɛ à | |
| of that woman who died dcm | |
| ɛn yángó càmpó ɛn-wé nɛ ɛn-hésnɛ nɛ | |
| and relatives of husband of her and nephews | |
| (3) wó hyánàg ɛ ɛn-Àsàbè | A |
| he saw them and Asabe | |
| (4) wó hyánàg mɛ ɛn-Àsàbé | A |
| he saw me and Asabe | |
| (5) tɛ maasərə ɛt-orum té ɛn-wé nɛ | NH 002 |
| we kept on chatting we and him | |
| (6) tɛ maasərə ɛt-orum té-ɛn-wé nɛ | A |
| we kept on chatting we and him | |
| (7) wó kóésəntè ət-gúnd ɛt-kwáánò nɛ | FG 006 |
| he confiscated cloths and dishes | |
| ət-cɔp ɛn-gúnd tɔ má nèá nɛ | |
| clothing and clothes of woman (women's clothes) | |
| ɛt-tɔɔb nɛ tɔ má càmpò | |
| and hats of man (men's hats) | |

¹¹ NP class P comprises (i) nominal phrases with a class N noun as head, (ii) nominal phrases with a class T noun as head, (iii) all NP 22b.

4.1.2. NP type 21b

The head of an NP 21b consists of two or more phrases whose heads are NP class P, in a co-ordinative relationship.

The first phrase is marked by the occurrence of the particle *ne* in final position. The second and successive phrases are AP 1. When only one AP 1 occurs there is no final particle *ne*.¹² If more than one AP 1 occurs each AP has a final *ne*, including the final AP.

Whenever PostOE type 1 (relative construct) occurs in a NP 21b it always occurs after the first phrase and before the second phrase in the construction rather than at the end of the whole phrase, but the dependant clause marker *à* occurs after the second phrase (example 4).

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | <i>kóyátóm é n kóyánfór ne é záámètè nét ne é n</i> | FA 058 |
| | the farmer and the rich man they became man and | |
| | <i>nái é n-wé</i> | |
| | friend of his | |
| (2) | <i>orom-ət Gangu ne é n Isháyà</i> | KF 001 |
| | chatting of Gangu and Ishaya | |
| (3) | <i>əm hyánàg Gangu ne é n Isháyà ne é n Aúdù ne</i> | |
| | I saw Gangu with Ishaya and Audu | |
| (4) | <i>ká nét ne é a hyáne àm-ryó é n nái é n-wé</i> | A |
| | that man whom we saw yesterday and friend of his | |
| | <i>à é jīshèntè</i> | |
| | dcm they came home | |

4.1.3. NP type 21c

The head of a NP 21c consists of a pronoun followed by a NP whose head is a NP class P. It may be noted that this phrase always functions in apposition to a pronoun which is functioning as head of a preceding NP.

The pronouns in the NP 21c and the preceding nominal phrase are usually identical and are limited to the plural set of pronouns. However, the head of the preceding NP may be singular with low tone for emphasis (example 4).

This construction is always marked by the concord element of high tone which falls on the pronoun. It would seem that since NP class N have a ≠ bound concord element the usual high tone which would fall on the bound concord element of the second phrase of the construction falls on the pronoun.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---|
| (1) | <i>te jīg ò-hur té Àsàbé</i> | A |
| | we went home we and Asabe | |
| (2) | <i>wé hyánàg nɔ́ nɔ́ Àsàbé</i> | A |
| | he saw you you and Asabe | |
| (3) | <i>wé hyánàg é é Àyúbà</i> | A |
| | he saw them them and Ayuba | |

¹² It seems that frequently in NP type 21 when a NP class P is involved the final particle *ne* does not occur. It should be noted that this is not generally the case when AP 1 occurs in other constructions.

- (4) kádà ó zé mè gágəne té Málàm KI 031
do not you say I tied we and Malam
‘Do not say that it was I who got together with Malam’

4.2. NP TYPE 22 – GENITIVAL COMPLEX NOMINAL PHRASE

The head of a NP 22 consists of two NP in a genitival relationship of possessed item – possessor.

Three subtypes of genitival NP are set up.

4.2.1. NP 22a

NP 22a is marked by (i) the occurrence of the free concord element of the head of the first NP marked by low tone immediately after the first NP, and (ii) the occurrence of the bound concord element of the head of the second NP immediately preceding the second NP.

This construction may be diagrammed as follows:

NP₁ C₁ c₂ – NP₂.

When the head of the second NP has a ≠ bound concord element ən occurs (examples 1 and 2).

The substitute bound concord element also occurs when the second NP is a complex NP. It is also found if the second NP includes an expansion (example 3).

When two NP 22a follow one another within the same sentence or in successive sentences and the first NP of both NP 22a is identical, then the second NP 22a may occur with the first NP deleted, i.e. it has the structure of C₁ c₂ – NP₂ (example 4).

There are very few restrictions on the occurrence of different types of NP either as the first or the second NP within the genitival nominal phrase. It has been noted that NP 12, 22b and 22c do not occur as the first NP in a NP 22a. NP 17 does not occur as the second NP of an NP 22a but all other types of NP are found (examples 5–7).

When the NP has a NP class P as head and the second NP is a pronoun the free concord element does not occur, but the low tone which marks this construction marks the bound concord element (example 1).

Examples of NP 22a

- (1) wá agbərə́ nèá ən-wá FB 012
he called wife of him
- (2) a bopərə́ yér mò ən-béèré DA 003
we take hold of cutting of rice
- (3) ...hár hó dè wóót, hò dè ən-kàn ò-jók CT 112
until day it arrives, day of doing marriage
- (4) wót ́ ken ceker ò t́m ɔ́ kómáne á, DJ 009
you have not any thought of farming also not,
sé dé ò əm-yér
only of cutting
- (5) wá naperé pyáp ò ən-ḱ yò kè riy yo DN 017
he knows smthing of every thing
- (6) wè ká wé rɔ́ á yoor á wə wè ən-wá
she that she is the second one of him
‘That one is his second one (wife).’

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

- (7) kóyánfór nómòg kòbòb dè èm-gèèg ò-hə èt-men FA 057
 the rich man did lack of tying a rope on belly
 'The rich man lacked patience.'
- (8) ò dore wé kápp kóm dè èm 'wəns-əm rú RE 006
 you follow him all limit of strength your
 'Follow him with all your strength!'

4.2.2. NP_{22b}

NP_{22b} has as head of the second NP one of the following:

- (i) A first or second person possessive pronoun (examples 1 and 2).
- (ii) A noun of class N¹³ (examples 3 and 4).
- (iii) An NP_{22a} or 22b which has as its first head a noun of class T¹⁴ (examples 5 and 6).
- (iv) An NP_{22b} which has any noun as its first head (example 7).

This construction is marked by the occurrence of the bound concord element of the head of the first NP between the two NP. It may be diagrammed as follows:

NP₁ - c₁ NP₂.

The bound concord element does not occur when it follows an identical vowel.

The first NP in an NP_{22b} is always an NP₁₁.

Examples

- (1) wò hyán ɔr rú réénɔ èm-mé á à? FQ 021
 you saw associate yours over there inside not?
- (2) ò sukərə é èn-té èn- wóóg-ò rú DG 041
 you paint on inside on patio your
- (3) gén-ər Mòksò KD 149
 war Mokso's
- (4) ò kawneré yóòr Ám-un FU 036
 you came towards beans Mr Lizard's
- (5) wə rərərə ká ino nèá èn-wé wə CT 047
 he told that mother of wife of him
- (6) sékkwə càmpó re NM 015
 older brother of husband my
- (7) wàà hyén kùkè-ət tett èm-pààrè-əm wòbè-əm rú FT 018
 you will see houses three on beginning arrival your

4.2.3. NP_{22c}

NP_{22c} may be described as a transformation of NP_{22a}. This transformation only occurs when the head of the second NP in the genitival phrase is either a pronoun or a noun of

¹³ Class N nouns are limited to names.

¹⁴ Class T nouns comprise the following:

bór	neighbour	nèá	wife
càmpó	husband	nét	friend
heno	younger brother	ɔr	associate
ino	mother	sékkwə	older brother
kóhamat	visitor	tato	father
kómóòn	in-law	wa	child
Kóshoob	co-wife	wáyen	friend
nây	friend		

class T or N. This construction appears to bring the second NP into focus or into contrastive emphasis.

Two different types of transformation need to be distinguished.

Subtype 22c (i)

NP 22c (i) has the same structure as NP 22a with the following modifications:

- (i) The particle *má* occurs following the free concord element of the first NP.
- (ii) The first NP is preceded by its bound concord element as well as being followed by its free concord element.
- (iii) When the second NP is a noun of class T, its bound concord element does not occur (example 2).
- (iv) The only bound concord element to occur with the second NP is the substitute bound concord element, *ən*. This occurs with the third person pronoun. The substitute bound concord element is marked by low tone. This would not be expected since normally the vowels of *má* and *ən* would elide and the tone of the first syllable would be retained (examples 5 and 6).

When the first NP in NP 22c refers to an NP which has already occurred in the same sentence or a preceding sentence, then the NP together with its initial bound concord element may optionally be omitted (example 4).

This structure may be diagrammed as follows:

$$(c_1 - NP_1) \dot{C}_1 \text{ má } \dot{c}_2 - NP_2.$$

Examples

- (1) *ká ceker se sè má rú t́ t̀ kéés wɔ* NF 038
 those thoughts of yours, ears let them forget you
ən- sé ne
 with them
 'Those thoughts of yours, forget them'
- (2) *wé meeré wé ər-byó dè má inu* CI 003
 she made for her granary of mother
- (3) *a haaré réénɔ ̀hur ̀ má Mòksò* KD 136
 we went over there to the house of Mokso
- (4) *lno, yà nómə wɔ ̀n-hí-o pús ɔ kààne ɛ?*
 mother, what made you with head white thus?
 'Mother, what is wrong with you that you have a white head?'
rène ̀ má rú cààne? ɔ ka wárgɛ ̀tè ̀ máre á à?
 how of yours today? it this become like of mine not?
 'How about yours today? Has it not become white like mine?'

Subtype 22c (ii)

NP 22c (ii) may also be described as a transformation of NP 22a, as follows:

- (a) The second NP is front-shifted and occurs before the first NP.
- (b) The particle *má* precedes the front-shifted NP.
- (c) The free concord element of the first NP precedes the particle *má*.

This structure may be diagrammed as follows:

$$\dot{C}_1 \text{ má } \dot{c}_2 - NP_2 \text{ NP}_1 \text{ C}_1$$

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

Examples

- (1) *ká càmpó wə kómó, wə hóóbə wé à,* CQ 058
 that man also, who sought her dcm,
a rɛɛré wé m̀ má àn-wé reegen m̀, pân éér
 one fined him of his fine, pounds eight
nèá pân náss
 the woman pounds four
 'That man also who sought her was fined 8 pounds and the woman 4 pounds'
- (2) *dè má àn-wé gón de* A
 of his war
 'His war'

5. THE PRE-EXPANSION

The pre-expansion (PE) occurs immediately preceding the head of the NP.

The PE is marked by the occurrence of the free concord element of the noun of the head of the NP with mid tone, immediately after the head of the NP. This free concord element only occurs optionally if the post-outer expansion type 1 (relative construct) also occurs. In the material examined the free concord element occurred in half the examples. Since the post-outer expansion commences with a free concord element it would appear that the potential redundancy which the repetition of the free concord element would entail, is avoided.

Example

- ká wan càmpó wə wə nóme ər-ryáp à* CS 027
ká wan càmpó wə nóme ər-ryáp à CS 003
 that young man who made marriage arrangements

Three types of PE occur. Only one PE occurs in any one NP.

5.1. PE TYPE 1

PE type 1 comprises the deictic particles *ká* 'that' and *ka* 'this'.

PE type 1 is also marked optionally by the occurrence of the free concord element of the noun of the head of the NP initially preceding the deictic. The free concord element is marked by low tone. There seems to be considerable fluctuation with the free concord elements sometimes occurring and sometimes not. When the NP is functioning as subject it seems that the free concord element occurs approximately 50 per cent of the time, but when the NP is functioning as object it never occurs.

PE type 1 has been found in NP types 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21 and 22.

Examples

- (1) *àmbá dè ka ɔ̀r de nómg f̀r dèèn* NC 032
 but this hoe makes money much
- (2) *ká á yoor á ɔ́ wé r̀ttɛ àm-ràáb* CR 022
 that second one it he is putting poison
- (3) *ká yán-rè àm-regen ɛ́ é r̀ àn-hón* CO 017
 those eating fines, they are different
- (4) *ká yakar M̀ksò ɛ́* KD 140
 those children Mokso's

5.2. PE TYPE 2

PE type 2 comprises *ken* 'certain, another'.

PE type 2 must be marked by the occurrence of the free concord element with low tone immediately before the deictic.

PE type 2 has been found in NP of types, 11, 18 and 22a.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | <i>waà wo ò ken b́ ɔ</i> | FO 033 |
| | you will reach a certain town | |
| (2) | <i>è ken yándèknèn nèt ε háàntè</i> | A |
| | certain ones bringing a man came | |
| (3) | <i>wót ò ken cèkèr ò tóm ɔ kómóné á</i> | DJ 009 |
| | you do not have another thought of farming also not | |
| (4) | <i>əm nákk wè ken kó cáári wè àn-kóyáwpyáp wè</i> | NN 083 |
| | I know a certain great blacksmith | |

5.3. PE TYPE 3

PE type 3 comprises the particles *kó...kè* 'every'.

PE type 3 is marked by the occurrence of the free concord element of the head of the NP between these two particles. The free concord element is marked by low tone.

PE type 3 has been found in NP of types 11 and 22a.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | <i>əm réèstɛ kó sè kè baat se</i> | FN 017 |
| | I ate every medicine | |
| (2) | <i>wá napərə́ pyáp ò àn-kó yò kè ríy yo</i> | DN 017 |
| | he knew forging of every thing | |
| (3) | <i>a àn-nòm ò-zááz kó dè kè hí dè ò-kàsowa de</i> | KA 010 |
| | one makes a racket every day of market | |

6. POST-EXPANSION

The post-expansion (PostE) immediately follows the head of the NP. There are two different types of PostE. Any two PostE may occur in any one nominal phrase.

When more than one PostE occurs, the order of the numeral and adjective seems to fluctuate freely.

The bound concord element of the noun of the head occurs immediately preceding a PostE, or every PostE if more than one occurs.

Example

- | | |
|--|--------|
| <i>àmmá ò dek gɛ-ət rɛk tɔ-ət yoor</i> | FO 042 |
| but you take eggs small two | |

6.1. POST-EXPANSION TYPE 1 – ADJECTIVE

The PostE type 1 comprises an adjective. The PostE follows the head. This construction is marked by the occurrence of the free concord element of the noun of the head after the adjective when the adjective is of classes 1 and 2. The free concord element is marked by

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

mid tone. (Compare examples 1 and 2. Example 2 illustrates an adjective which is not followed by the free concord element.)

The adjective may be accompanied by an intensifier particle. The intensifier particle follows the free concord element and so occurs final in the PostE type 1 (examples 4 and 5).

The PostE type 1 has been found in NP of types 11, 15 and 22a.

Examples

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--------|
| (1) | a | yaasə́ə̀ wé hɔ-əm pús mɔ | FO 149 |
| | | one gave him water white | |
| (2) | | ján-ò cáári rwəənə́ré | A |
| | | fish big came out | |
| (3) | | ká tót-ət rim tɔ tɔ ɔ̀gɔ̀-byémbyààg ɔ̀ hɔmsə́ré | NE 014 |
| | | that scorpion black (name of scorpion) it killed | |
| | | me é-ne kwáw | |
| | | me focus ideophone | |
| (4) | | mágə́nà è ə̀n-yá-ó-Salka pús ε púù | KD 091 |
| | | corn of people Salka white very white | |
| (5) | | ɔ̀gɔ̀-komɔ̀ng-ò rwəənə́ré tómsóne | FO 169 |
| | | a huge ugly old woman came out also | |
| | | ɔ̀gɔ̀-rim ɔ̀ cíp ɔ̀ ə̀n-báà ə̀r-bón | |
| | | a huge ugly black one very black of no goodness | |

6.2. POST-EXPANSION TYPE 2 – NUMERAL

The PostE type 2 comprises a numeral.

The numeral follows the head and may follow or precede a PostE type 1.

The postE type 2 is found in nominal phrases of type 11, 13.

Examples

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| (1) | ətə́ é | rɔ raagne yoor à, | NG 023 |
| | | as they were fools two dcm, | |
| (2) | | Ámzɔm hə́ssə́ré ət-gòs tɔ-ət yoor | FO 156 |
| | | Mr Rabbit took out big ones two | |
| (3) | | ɔ̀ rɔ ə̀n-sheet də ə̀n-ùnguwa-o gààn | FO 004 |
| | | they are sitting of compound one | |
| | | 'They live in one compound.' | |

7. PRE-OUTER EXPANSION

The pre-outer expansion (POE) consists of hɔ́n 'to the extent of' which occurs in initial place in the nominal phrase.

This construction is marked by the occurrence of the bound concord element of the noun of the head between hɔ́n and the other elements of the NP or, if the bound concord element of the noun of the head is ≠, of the substitute bound concord element ə̀n. The bound concord elements are marked by low tone.

If the POE is followed by a NP 22 then the substitute bound concord element ə̀n occurs after it rather than the bound concord element of the noun head.

The POE is found in NP of types 11, 15 and 22a.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | é hokmərə́ é h́ón ò-wár
they rubbed them to the extent of the body
'They rubbed them all over their body.' | CN 058 |
| (2) | é zé a ǵéstè kápp h́ón àn-ka b́ó ɔ
they said, we looked all to the extent of this town
'They said, "We looked all over this town". | FS 101 |
| (3) | kà kómɔng wə kutərə́ wə h́ón m̀ò
that old person showed him the extent of knowledge of
àn-wó kwé
him all | FT 049 |

8. POST-OUTER EXPANSION

There are two types of post-outer expansion (PostOE), the relative construct and the clause construct type 2.

Both types of PostOE occur final in the NP.

Only one PostOE may occur in any NP.

8.1. POST-OUTER EXPANSION TYPE I - RELATIVE CONSTRUCT

The PostOE type I consists of a relative construct. A relative construct has the structure of a clause of type 11 with the following modifications:

(i) The NP functioning as subject or object or the adverbial phrase may be deleted and in its place the free concord element of the head of the NP or to which the head refers occurs in initial place in the clause construct.

(ii) This construction is marked by low tone on the free concord element and by the occurrence of the particle à finally in the construct.

(iii) The verb phrase is either a simple verb phrase in the dependent past form or a complex verb phrase type 3 in the future or progressive forms.

The PostOE I occurs in NP of types 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21 b and 22.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| (1) | à kútá me wá dé, àm nep nét wə rɔ
may one show me him I know man who is
àn-òòs àn-ká ge tɔ à
removing those eggs dcm
'May I be shown him, that I may know the man!...' | NL 006 |
| (2) | ò hobənə́ əs-cé sé ò hette əm-tɔnd à
you look for sticks that you will do roofing dcm
(with which) | DB 007 |
| (3) | wá gaarə́ h́r wə wə b́ósse à
he married a different who had become dcm
one mature | CP 014 |
| (4) | ə regé yò ken kúsk yò é hyané á,...
If a certain one remains which they saw not | CI 010 |
| (5) | ...saw t̀ò má nèá t̀ò wá rɔtte àt-jègè à
belongings of a woman with she does cooking dcm
which | CI 010 |

THE NOMINAL PHRASE IN DUKA

8.2. POST-OUTER EXPANSION TYPE 2 – CLAUSE CONSTRUCT TYPE 2

The PostOE type 2 consists of a clause of type 11 which occurs finally in the nominal phrase.

The clause is marked by two features:

- (i) The verb of the clause is found in the subjunctive.
- (ii) The clause is introduced by the free concord element of the noun which is the head or to which the head of the phrase refers. The free concord element is marked by low tone.

The construction may be compared with the PostOE 1 (relative construct). It will be noted that both constructions are introduced with the free concord element marked by low tone. Type 2, however, has the verb in the subjunctive whereas type 1 is marked by the occurrence of the particle à and the verb though restricted does not occur in the subjunctive.

The PostOE type 2 has been found with NP of type 11. This construction only occurs very infrequently.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| (1) | maà kúm 'wɔns m̀ òm nékáté | KI 046 |
| | I will find strength that I go (with which I go) | |
| (2) | hyo è àn-yánéné wɔ àm-bù é? | |
| | guinea corn of what you are pounding? | |
| (3) | hyo è òm cíwát àm-kyé | KE 012 |
| | guinea corn that I make beer (with which I make beer). | |

9. CO-OCCURRENCES OF EXPANSIONS

The majority of nominal phrases comprise a head with or without a single expansion. This expansion may be of any of the four types already described. The most frequent expansions to occur are the post-outer expansion type 1, the pre-expansion type 1 and the post expansion type 1. Two expansions may occur in the nominal phrase but not commonly. The pre-expansion may occur with one of the post-expansions or post-outer expansions.

Occasional instances of three expansions have been found. Examples of combinations noted to date include the following:

- | | | |
|-----------|------|----------------------------|
| POE | with | PE1 and PostOE 1 |
| PE type 1 | with | PostE 1, 2 and PostOE 1 |
| PE type 2 | with | PostE 1 |
| PE type 3 | with | PostOE 1 |
| PostE 1 | with | PostE 1 and 2 and PostOE 1 |
| PostE 2 | with | PostE 1 and 2 and PostOE 1 |

Although theoretically other combinations would be possible and it is possible to elicit others, the occurrence of such combinations seems sufficiently rare for it to be regarded as alien to the system as a whole.

Examples

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------|
| (1) | POE with PE 1 and PostOE 1 | |
| | hón èn ká rè tò a rɛɛ à | FW 046 |
| | even to the of that eating which we did dcm | |
| | extent | |
| | wó cíig á à? | |
| | are you not filled? | |
| | 'After all that eating that we did, aren't you full?' | |

J. BENDOR-SAMUEL, E. CRESSMAN AND D. SKITCH

- (2) PE 2 with PostE 1
 ká dà de ò ken ján-ò cáári ɔ haanəré FB 027
 that time a certain fish big came
- (3) PE 3 with PostE 1
 kó yò kè ríy yo yò wá nóme à KE 180
 every thing which he did dcm
- (4) PostE 1 with PostE 2
 àmmá ò dek ge-ət rek tɔ-ət yoor FO 042
 but you take eggs small two
- (5) PostE 2 with PostE 2
 wə mɔtərə́ é kɔr-ət ɔpp-ət yoor FU 033
 he removed them baskets ten two
 'He removed 12 baskets'
- (6) PostE 2 with PostOE 1
 àmmá rēng-əs ɔp sè é bóse à FA 056
 but months ten which they cut off dcm
 (decided upon)
- é hóks àm-wòòs á
 they able to reach not
 'They weren't able to hold out for the ten months that they had chosen'