THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE IN HAUSA

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by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis describes the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, its constituent elements, their role in the Simple Nominal Phrase and their relationship to each other.

In the first section, the Simple Nominal Phrase is distinguished from other types of Nominal Phrase, and shown to be analysable in terms of a Head, pre-Head Qualifiers, and post-Head Qualifiers. The various types of item - both adverbial and non-adverbial - which can occur in Nominal Phrases are then described in terms of their own structure and their possible occurrence in the Simple Nominal Phrase, as Head or as pre-Head or post-Head Qualifier or as both.

The second section is concerned, first, with Nominal Phrases consisting of Head alone, and then with the possible combinations of various types of Qualifier and of Head, and the co-occurrence in a single Nominal Phrase of various types of Qualifier. Attention is given first to pre-Head Qualifiers, then to post-Head Qualifiers, and then to the co-occurrence - both optional and necessary - of pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers. The possibility of accumulation of Qualifiers in a single Nominal Phrase is also considered, and the sequential order of their occurrence.

The third section examines the operation of Gender and of Number agreements within the Simple Nominal Phrase, and the possibility of interrupting the continuity of Simple Nominal Phrase by certain extraneous items.
In addition to specific conclusions on the role of various types of item and their combination, co-occurrence and accumulation, the general conclusion is reached, that analysis in terms of a Head and pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers facilitates the description of the Simple Nominal Phrase, its constituent elements and their relationship to one another.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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\( \ddot{z} \) - High tone (where \( z \) is any tone-bearing segment)

\( \hat{z} \) - Low tone (where \( z \) is any tone bearing segment)

* - ungramatical (or of doubtful grammaticality)

? - interrogative mark

- - used to draw attention to I.P.H.Q.

+ - plus

[ ] - used to enclose glosses

( ) - used to enclose optional element(s)

= - used to draw attention to the glosses
INTRODUCTION

The systematic study of Hausa has a history that is now more than one hundred years old, Schön's "Grammar of the Hausa Language" having been published in 1862. (1) This has been followed at intervals by a number of other grammars, which have led to the intensive study of Hausa conducted by modern scholars, in particular by Mr. F.W. Parsons (2) to whose deep knowledge of the language I owe an immense debt.

These grammars have inevitably described some of the combinations which go to make up what is here called the Nominal Phrase, such as the combination of Noun with Adjective, Noun with Demonstrative, Noun with Possessive, etc.

Charles H. Kraft, in particular, has dealt with the Nominal Phrase

---


(2) See F.W. Parson's:


(b) The verbal system in Hausa. Afr. u. Übersee, 44, 1, September 1960, 1-36.


and some of its possible realisations at greater length than most\(^{(1)}\) but there has been no full systematic study of the Nominal Phrase as a whole, covering all the various possibilities and questions of possible co-occurrence. This thesis attempts to carry the investigation a stage further.

The thesis is limited to the study of the Simple Nominal Phrase, although a brief reference to other types of Nominal Phrase is made in Chapter 1. It has three main sections consisting of fifteen chapters in all.

Section I deals with the nature of the Simple Nominal Phrase and its constituent elements, the first chapter being introductory and distinguishing the Simple NP from the other more complex types of Nominal Phrase. Chapters 2 and 3 describe the various types of item which occur in the Simple NP. Chapter 4 discusses the parts that individual items can play within the Simple NP.

Section II deals with the structure of the Simple NP. Chapter 5 illustrates the various types of Simple NP, based on the nature of the Head. In Chapters 6 - 11, all the possible combinations and co-occurrences are discussed.

Section III considers other aspects of the Nominal Phrase not covered in the first two sections. The operation of gender and of number agreement are discussed in chapters 12 and 13.

respectively. Chapter 14 deals with the possibility of interruption of the Simple NP by certain extraneous items.

Chapter 15 presents the conclusions of the thesis.

The system of transcription used in the thesis, as far as consonants are concerned, follows the standard orthography; but to represent the vowel length accurately, the method of double vowelling for the long-vowel is adopted. Vowels are tone-marked in all the examples given in the thesis, and it has been found sufficient to tone-mark only the first vowel of each pair where long-vowels are involved, except in the case of a 'falling' tone. Both Compound Nouns and Adverbial Compound are, contrary to the standard orthography, hyphenated. Throughout the thesis, abbreviations are used extensively in referring to items which occur within the Nominal Phrase; and a list of the abbreviations and symbols used is given at the beginning of the thesis.

The thesis is concerned only with the Kano dialect, which was adopted by the Gaskiya Corporation as the standard form of Hausa for publication purposes. It is based mainly on my own speech, as a native of Kano, but a large number of printed Hausa texts have also been examined to check the accuracy of this description.
THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE AND ITS CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

CHAPTER 1

THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The term 'Nominal Phrase' is used here to refer to the grammatical unit that can function either as subject or as direct object of a verb in a Hausa sentence. The subject occurs immediately before the verb and controls both Gender and Number agreements of the pronominal prefix in the 'Verbal Phrase' (description of which is outside the scope of this thesis). The direct object occurs after the C. form of a Grade 1 or Grade 2 verb(1). Any item or combination of items treated as a Nominal Phrase in this thesis, therefore, can play one of these syntactic roles.

In describing the structure of the Nominal Phrase in Hausa, experience has shown that it can be analysed in terms of a 'Head' and 'Qualifiers'. The Head is the nucleus of each Nominal Phrase, the pillar against which all the Qualifiers are assembled. Every Nominal Phrase in Hausa contains either one Head or more than one, and it is on this basis that the distinction is made between the 'Simple Nominal Phrase' and other types of Nominal Phrase.

There are at least four different types of Nominal Phrase in Hausa:

(1) See F. W. Parsons' classification of the Hausa verbs (PER) Afrika und Ubersee 44.1 (1960)
(a) Appositional Nominal Phrase
(b) Serial Nominal Phrase
(c) Clausal Nominal Phrase
and (d) Simple Nominal Phrase

Detailed discussion of the structure of the first three of these types of Nominal Phrase is outside the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to give some examples of each of them for the purpose of contrast, and to consider very generally some of their main features:

1.1 APPOSITIONAL NOMINAL PHRASE

The Appositional Nominal Phrase contains two Heads with nothing linking them together. e.g.

(a) Hàkkàllì màalàm Bállà = [the judge, Malam Bala]
(b) úwar-gíddá Lààdà = [the senior wife, Ladi]
(c) Àlì sàrkìn-kàlasùwà = [Ali, the market inspector]

1.2 SERIAL NOMINAL PHRASE

The Serial Nominal Phrase contains two or more Heads linked together by one of the two 'Conjunctive Particles': dà = [and] or kòò = [or]. e.g.

(a) (yàà Àrí) riigà dà hùulàa = [(he has borrowed) a gown and a hat]
(b) Bàllà dà Inùù dà Àlí (sùn zòò) = [Bala, Inu and Ali (have come)]
(c) (àiì) Bàllà kòò Inùù = [(send) Bala or Inu]
(d) Bàllà kòò Lààdà kòò Àlí (sùnàà zùwà) = [Bala, Ladi or Ali (is coming)]
It is also possible for the Conjunctive Particles to occur initially as well as between the Heads. e.g:

(a) ḏā Ḍālī ḏā Bālāa (sūn zōō) = [both Ali and Bala (have come)]
(b) (āikī) kōo Ḍālī kōo Bālāa = [(send) either Ali or Bala]

1.3 CAUSAL NOMINAL PHRASE

This type of Nominal Phrase has one or more clauses as its Head. e.g:

One Clause as Head

(a) zāa sū gāyha wà 'yān-gāadii ḏā kākēe fādāa (bāa tāa t săo-rātāa shī) [that they will tell the police, as you said (does not frighten him)]

(b) bāa sū zōō bāa ḏā yā jī (ītā tā bāatāa māsā rāī) [that they did not come, which he understood (is what depresses him)]

More than one Clause as Head

(a) sūn gāmāa sūn bār mū (bāa tāa dāamēe nī bā) [that they have finished ahead of us (does not bother me)]

(b) sūnāa zūwāa sūnāa dībāa (bāa ītā tā fī bāa nī hāushī bā) [that they (often) come and take some (of it) (is not what annoys me most)]
The fourth type, the Simple Nominal Phrase ('SNP', sometimes to be referred to simply as a Nominal Phrase or 'NP'), contains only one Head. It may also contain one or more Qualifiers, but these are, unlike the Head, all optional. The Head is the only obligatory element in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, and it can be any of the various items which are described in detail in Chapter 2 and 3.\(^1\) The Head may or may not be accompanied by various Qualifiers which can be either unitary or complex in structure, and which can be either in pre-Head or in post-Head position, or both. The items which can function as Qualifiers are also discussed in detail in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

\(^1\) In order to keep this thesis within reasonable limits, it has been found necessary to ignore Nominal Phrases which can be treated as Simple Nominal Phrases, in that they have a single Head, but where the Head is itself an NP of one of the various types described in this thesis. It is sufficient to note here that such NP's, the structure of which involves "nesting" are of common occurrence in Hausa; but it seems likely that they involve no more than a compounding of the patterns described here. "Nesting" is also a possibility in the case of some types of Qualifier, though this is usually apparent from the description of Qualifier in question (Genitival, Adjectival, and Adverbial Complexes, Adjectival Phrase, Relative Clause, and Adverbial Compound).
As has been stated at the beginning of this Chapter, the Simple Nominal Phrase can occur as Subject of a Verbal Phrase or as Object of the C form of Grade 1 or Grade 2 verb. This may be illustrated by the following examples, where the NP in question is underlined: e.g.,

**Subject**

(a) **Báláa yáa zóo** = [Bala has come]

(b) **líttaafí bh Báláa yáa bátà** = [Bala's book has got lost]
   **líttaafí bh Báláa née yá bátà** = [it is Bala's book that is missing]

(c) **wání fárín líttaafí ná Báláa yáa bátà** = [a certain white book of Bala's has got lost]

**Object**

(a) yáa sàyí **líttaafí** = [he has bought a book]

(b) yáa sàyí **líttaafí bh Báláa** = [he has bought Bala's book]

(c) yáa sàyí **wání fárín líttaafí ná Báláa** = [he has bought a certain white book belonging to Bala]

The following frames could also be used for the identification of the Simple Nominal Phrase:

**Object**

(a) **bàn bár** *{kóowáa}* *{kóomáí} à gidáa bá sái* ...........

[I left nobody/nothing at home except ........... ]
The main concern of this thesis is the Simple Nominal Phrase, and further reference to all other types of Nominal Phrase is unnecessary. An attempt is made to cover everything that occurs within the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, the chief exception being the negative extension of the NP, on which further research is still required. An example of such a negative extension would be:

\[
\text{bàa jàakí-ú Báláa bá = [not Bala's donkey]}
\]

\[
\text{in:}
\]

\[
\text{lítáafí-ú Láadi née yá bátà bàa jàakí-ú Báláa bá}
\]

[It is Ladi's book that is missing not Bala's donkey]

Before describing the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, it is necessary to list and describe the various types of item which can occur in various positions within the NP. This is done in the next two chapters.

In exemplifying NP's in subsequent chapters, the NP's alone will normally be given without citing possible frames of the kind given above, except in certain cases where questions might arise either as to the possibility of their occurrence in natural discourse or as to their unity and validity as NP's.
CHAPTER 2

THE NON-ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The constituent elements of the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase are of two main types, Adverbial and Non-Adverbial. (Adverbial items can occur in Adjunct position as well as in subject or object positions, whereas Non-Adverbial items normally cannot.) In this Chapter, all the Non-Adverbial items occurring in the Simple Nominal Phrase are introduced, with descriptions of their main structural features and an account of such sub-types as are relevant to the theme of this thesis. A list of these items is given first, followed by their descriptions:

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</tbody>
</table>
A simple morphological distinction, of relevance to the consideration of Gender and Number in section III, can be made between:

(a) the great majority of Nouns consisting of a stem and a suffix which may vary for Number, and sometimes also for Gender. e.g:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wandóo</td>
<td>[trousers]</td>
<td>wandúnàa</td>
<td>[trousers]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káuyúe</td>
<td>[village]</td>
<td>káuyúkàà</td>
<td>[villages]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánnúu</td>
<td>[hand]</td>
<td>hánnúwàa</td>
<td>[hands]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ráanáa</td>
<td>[day]</td>
<td>ráanàkúù</td>
<td>[days]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gòonáa</td>
<td>[farm]</td>
<td>gòonàkìì</td>
<td>[farms]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wátàà</td>
<td>[month]</td>
<td>wátànnìì</td>
<td>[months]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masculine Femenine

tsúntsúu tsúntsúwáa = [bird]  tsúntsàayée = [birds]
|záakíí|záakányàa=[lion]|záakóokíí=[lions]|
|àbòokíí|àbòokyáà=[friend]|àbòokái=[friends]|

In other cases the stem and suffix can be isolated by comparison with other related forms, e.g:
Kárffi = [strength], kárffáa/kárffàafáa = [strong]
tsáwóo = [length], tsáwàitáa = [lengthen]

(b) Some Nouns consisting of a stem but having no overt suffix, nevertheless a zero suffix can be postulated on the basis of morphological alternation. e.g:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baasukur = [Bicycle]</td>
<td>baasùkùrọfì</td>
<td>baasùkùrọfì = [bicycles]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwäf = [cup]</td>
<td>kwäfọffì</td>
<td>kwäfọffì = [cups]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táawùl = [towel]</td>
<td>táawùlọffì</td>
<td>táawùlọffì = [towels]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. gooràa = [bamboo]</td>
<td>goorọffì</td>
<td>goorọffì = [bamboos]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóofàa = [door]</td>
<td>kóofọffì</td>
<td>kóofọffì = [doors]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móotchà = [car]</td>
<td>móotchọçì</td>
<td>móotchọçì = [cars]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táasàa = [brass-bowl]</td>
<td>táasọshì</td>
<td>táasọshì = [brass-bowls]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) and a relatively small number of Nouns, which cannot be analysed on purely morphological grounds. Many of these are Proper Nouns. e.g:

Audù, Bâlâa, Bînúwâi, Jábà, Láadì, etc.

Others are Collective, Mass, or Abstract Nouns such as:
kóddìi = [money], màddàrâa = [milk], tàusàyìi = [pity]

These do not have corresponding plural forms. The full details of the singular/plural and masculine/feminine alternations are not relevant here, though some reference to the masculine/feminine alternations is made in Chapter 12.

For the purpose of this thesis, a further distinction also needs to be made on syntactic grounds between two main types of noun, for which the terms 'Dynamic Noun' and 'Non-Dynamic Noun' may be used. The distinction between these two types is based on their syntactic behaviour as described at various points in
this thesis, especially in Chapter 11; but their different behaviour within the Simple Nominal Phrase is paralleled by the following other grammatical differences:

2.1.1 Dynamic Noun

Dynamic Nouns\(^{(1)}\) have the following characteristics:

(a) They cannot\(^{(2)}\) be immediately preceded by a verb other than an Indeterminate Verb\(^{(3)}\) such as *iyà* = [can, be able to].

\[\text{e.g.} \]

(i) yàa *iyà màgànnàa* = [he can talk]
(ii) tàa *iyà hàihìwààa* = [her offspring are praiseworthy]
(iii) sùn *iyà gùyàrààa* = [they are good repairers]

(b) They can occur in the frame '----- nà kèè (yìl)' where *yìl* is optional. \[\text{e.g.}\]

(i) *bì* nà kèè (yìl) = [revision I am doing]
(ii) *bàccìfì* nà kèè *(yìl)* = [sleeping I am doing]
(iii) *fìtìà* nà kèè *(yìl)* = [going out I am doing]

---

(1) Semantically, such nouns refer to an action or a process.

(2) Except in such figurative expressions as:

\[\text{(i) gànnìi yàa kòòrì *jìl* = [seeing is believing]}
\[\text{(ii) yàa màiùdà áikìi wàasààa = [he regards work as his hobby]}

(3) I am indebted to Mr. F.W. Parsons for this term which covers a group of verbs including: *fárrà* = [start], *táddà* = [do once] *díngà* = [continue doing], *ríìkà* = [do repeatedly], *gámmè* = [finish]
(c) They nearly all have plural forms of a distinctive reduplicated pattern with _-e_ suffixes, not found with Non-Dynamic Nouns. e.g:

(i) _gyərə̱gyə̱rə̱_ = [putting things in order]
(ii) _fı̱c̱é-fı̱c̱é_ = [going out too much]
(iii) _kà̱ṟḇé-kà̱ṟḇé_ = [too many receipts]

As regards their internal structure, Dynamic Nouns are of two sub-types, 'Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns' and 'Verbal Dynamic Nouns', which also behave differently in some respects within the Simple Nominal Phrase (see Chapter 11).

2.1.1.1 Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns

The Non-Verbal Dynamic Nouns are those which do not share common stems with verbs. e.g:

bà̱c̱c̱i = [sleeping], fūshī = [anger]
dà̱ṟi̱y̱ā̱a = [laughing] kā̱ṟāa = [squeak, complaint]

There are no verbs having stems _bàc̱-, daar- or daariy-, fūs- and Kaaar-,_ and a relatable meaning. (The verbal stem _fūsaaat-_ = [be angry] is itself derived from, not identical with, the stem _fūs-_ of _fūshī_ = [anger].)
2.1.1.2 Verbal Dynamic Nouns

The Verbal Dynamic Nouns, on the other hand, are those which do share common stems with verbs. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
gyáaráa &= \text{[repairing]} \\
káamhù &= \text{[catching]} \\
sáákà &= \text{[weaving]} \\
tâmbáýà &= \text{[asking]}
\end{align*}
\]

Each of the above shares a common stem with a verb, with corresponding meaning, as in the following Verbal Phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
yàa gyáarà &= \text{[he repaired (it)]} \\
yàa káamhù bàràawò &= \text{[he caught (a thief)]} \\
táa sáákà &= \text{[she wove (it)]} \\
sùn tâmbáýà &= \text{[they asked]}
\end{align*}
\]

The verbal Dynamic Nouns may be further divided into two categories, 'Weak' and 'Strong' Verbal Dynamic Nouns. This distinction is basically a morphological one, but has syntactic significance within the Simple Nominal Phrase (see for example page 199, 11.1 (B)).

**Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun**

The general characteristics of Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns are that:

(a) either they have suffix \_wá\_a, e.g.
\[
\begin{align*}
káshbéwá &= \text{[killing]} \\
gyáaráwá &= \text{[repairing]} \\
máhtáwá &= \text{[forgetting]}
\end{align*}
\]
(b) or they are identical with the pre-object or pre-dative forms of the corresponding verbs, with the same extension possibilities as those verbal forms. e.g:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāshē mācijii} &= \text{[killing (a snake)]} \\
\text{kāshēe shi} &= \text{[killing (it)]} \\
\text{kāshēe māsā mācijii} &= \text{[killing(a snake for him)]}
\end{align*}
\]

Since the syntax of such pre-object or pre-dative forms of the Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns is, in many respects, identical with that of the homonymous finite verbal forms, and is a feature of their verbal rather than their nominal nature, their behaviour is not dealt with in this thesis, except as regards gender.

**Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun**

Strong Verbal Dynamic Nouns, on the other hand, do not have suffix -wāa, nor are they, in most cases, identical with the pre-object or pre-dative forms of the corresponding verbs. e.g:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fitāa} &= \text{[getting out]}, \quad \text{hādīyāa} = \text{[swallowing]} \\
\text{kārbāa} &= \text{[receiving]}, \quad \text{sāakha} = \text{[weaving]}
\end{align*}
\]

2.1.2 **Non-Dynamic Noun**

The general characteristics of Non-Dynamic Nouns are the following:
(a) They can be immediately preceded by a variety of verbs other than an Indeterminate Verb. Some (mainly Abstract Nouns) can also follow an Indeterminate Verb. (1) e.g.

(i) Indeterminate Verb:
+ Abs.: rūwāh yāa cīkā zāaffi
[the water is too hot]
Kāsaḥarin tūurāi bāsū iyā sānyif bā
[European countries can be very cold]

(ii) Other Verbs:
+ Abs.: dā kūn gā ḥāskēe sāi kū ḥītūo
[come out as soon as you see the light]
Bālāa yāa sāmī gīrmāa
[Bala has acquired prestige]
+ Other Nouns: dā kūn gā mūtūm sāi kū ḥītūo
[come out as soon as you see somebody]
Bālāa yāa sāmī dōkli
[Bala has acquired a horse]

(b) They do not (1) normally occur in the frame '———-na kēe (yīl)' e.g. *rābagōy nā kēe (yīl), *Bālāa nā kēe (yīl), *zāaffi nā kēe (yīl)

(1) There are certain cases where Nouns which normally behave as Non-Dynamic Nouns occur (i) immediately after an Indeterminate Verb, and/or (ii) in the frame '———-na kēe (yīl)', e.g. yāyā dōkli [he can ride a horse], or kājārāa nā kēe (yīl) = [chair I am making], where, semantically, they are used to refer to an action or a process rather than anything concrete. In such context, they are to be regarded as Dynamic Nouns.
(c) They do not have plural forms of the distinctive reduplicated pattern with -e suffixes found with the Dynamic Nouns.

2.1.2.1 **Non-Dynamic Nouns** can be further subdivided in a variety of ways, but the only sub-types relevant to this thesis are the following (which are not necessarily mutually exclusive):

**Abstract Noun** (cf. pp. 115, 116) e.g.

- gírmáa = [prestige]
- mhúghántáa = [wickedness]

**Proper Noun** (cf. pp. 115, 116) e.g.

- Báláa = [Bala]
- Kándbo = [Kano]

**Collective Noun** (cf. pp. 257, 263) e.g.

- kúdíi = [money]
- ñáyàbà = [bananas]

**Mass Noun** (cf. pp. 257, 263) e.g.

- mádáráa = [milk]
- náamàa = [meat]

**Common Noun** (though it is not specifically mentioned, a great number of examples of Common Noun are used) e.g.

- dökli = [horse]
- riigáa = [gown]
2.2 COMPOUND NOUN

Compound Nouns have a structure identical with, or closely resembling, that of a phrase - Nominal Phrase or Verbal Phrase. But they are distinguished from the phrase by behaving within the Simple Nominal Phrase as a single, invariable and indivisible unit, with virtually the same syntactic behaviour as a Noun.

There are three main structural types which also have different syntactic behaviour; the main component element of each may be called the 'Core' in comparison with the 'Head' in a Simple Nominal Phrase. viz.:

I. Noun-Based Compound
II. Verb-Based Compound
III. Ideophone-Based Compound

2.2.1 I. Noun-Based Compound

The Noun-based Compound Nouns are those which have a structure comparable to that of an NP in which the Head is a Noun (see Chapter 5, 5.1). In the Compound Noun, the core, which corresponds to the Noun Head, is also a Noun. There are four sub-types which are also syntactically significant (see Tables 2 - 8).

(1) Or occasionally an Adjective (see footnote (1) in page 32).
2.2.1.1 I.A. Noun + Noun

Sub-type (A) are those which consist of two Nouns with nothing linking them together. e.g:

ālhzí-li, máalām-Báláa, yḥaya-Láadi

This type of Compound Noun is distinguished from the Appositional Nominal Phrase mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.1) by the fact that no 'Modal Particle' (see Chapter 14) can intervene between the two elements, whereas they can occur between the two elements of an Appositional Nominal Phrase. e.g:

Cpd.Nn. I.A: "ālhzí kām li (yaa....), but:
Appositional NP: Báláa kām sārkīn-khasūwāa (bhzá yá jée hájí)
[indeed it was last year that Bala, the market inspector, went to Mecca]

2.2.1.2 I.B. Noun + Short Genitival Complex

Sub-type (B) are those which are comparable with a genitival phrase and consist of a Noun core followed by a Short Genitival Complex (see 2.6). The Noun can be of either Dynamic or Non-Dynamic types. e.g:

(a) Dynamic:
   tḥarrīn-shīikāa = [whooping cough, lit. coughing of whooping]
   bḥuḍār-kāl = [final wedding ceremony, lit. uncovering of the head]

(1) One of the main distinctions between this type of Compound Noun and an NP with a Noun Head followed by a Sh.Gen. is that the Sh.Gen. in the latter can be replaced by a Lg.Gen. (e.g. rillā-f sīlikī or rillā tā sīlikī = [silk gown]), but this is not possible in the case of the former, being a single unitary item. Thus there are no such combinations as tḥarrī nā shīikāa, or bḥuḍāa tā kāl, (see also page 195).
(b) Non-Dynamic: rligár-rúwá = [rain-coat, lit. gown of rain/water]
    táurín-kál = [stubbornness, lit. hardness of head]

2.2.1.3 I.C. Noun + Adverbal Complex (d)

Sub-type (C) are those which consist of a Noun core followed by an Adverbal Complex (d) (see 3.3). The Noun core can be of either Dynamic or Non-Dynamic types. e.g.

(a) Dynamic: yáakí-dá-jáahílcí = [adult education, lit. war with ignorance]

(b) Non-Dynamic(1) bábbaá-dá-jákáá = [marabou, lit. a big one with a bag]

2.2.1.4 I.D. Adjective + Adjectival Link + Noun

Sub-type (D) are those which consist of a Noun core preceded by an Adjective accompanied by its Adjectival Link(2) (see 4.4.3.)

E.g.
    fárá-r-wítáá = [sulphur, lit. white fire]
    bábín-jíníí = [unpopularity, lit. black blood]

---

(1) In this case, the core is an Adjective. In view of this, it would be more accurate to speak of Nominal-based rather than Noun-based Compound Nouns; but such forms are very rare as contrasted with those having a Noun core.

(2) The distinction between this type of Cpd.Nn. and the homophonous NP is that, while another Adjective can occur between Noun Head and the Adjectival Link in the NP (e.g. bábbaá jáahílcí dán Báláá = [the big ignorant son of Balá]), nothing can occur between the component parts of the Cpd.Nn., due to the existence of a close nexus between them. Thus no other Adjective can occur in such Cpd.Nn. as bábbaá-čáá = [eldest son].
2.2.2 II. Verb-Based Compound

The Verb-Based Compound Nouns are those which have verbs as the core in the compound. There are three sub-types, which are syntactically significant within the SNP.

Imperative Type
Anomalous Type
Finite Verbal Type

2.2.2.1 II.A Imperative Type

The Imperative Type is that in which the verb core is identical with the Imperative form of the verb. e.g:

(i) የሔዳ- 깨ঞግ፣ = [redness of the sky just before sunset, lit. bewilder the slave-girl]
(ii) ባይامة-ﾆ-มวล në = [pattern tattooed on the cheek, lit. help me (to look) ugly]
(iii) ትን-ﾆ-ﺩለ-ᠮਊ귄= [carbuncle, lit. leave me with the evil one]
(iv) ባሃሯ-ሄ-ሄ-ሄ= [chinaware, lit. fall to the ground and die]

2.2.2.2 II.B Anomalous Type

The second sub-type of Verb-Based Compound Noun is that in which the verb is in an anomalous form, having long final vowel and all low tones. The verb is always of Grade 1, but it can either be followed by a Noun or a Simple Adverb (see 3.1) in the Compound. e.g:
2.2.2.3 II. C. Finite Verbal Type

The third sub-type is that in which the verb is either in the 'Finite' or in the 'Continuous' form. e.g.

kaa-ff-daa-wuyaa = [an orange-cornelian, lit. you are more difficult than a child]

baa-kaa-zuwaa-koogii = [unwashable material, lit. you do not to the river]

2.2.3 III. Ideophone-Based Compound

The third type of Compound Noun is that in which Ideophones, or words of ideophonic structure, function as the core. e.g.

fli-da-sartsə = [euphorbia lateriflora]

kyal-kyal-bnzə = [anything that appears to be more than what it is actually worth]

This type of Compound Noun cannot be literally translated.

2.2.4 At another level, it would be possible to distinguish between Dynamic and Non-Dynamic Compound Noun, and again between Abstract, Proper and Collective Compound Nouns, but this differentiation does not seem to be relevant for the present purpose.
The pronominal forms described here do not include subject pronouns and object pronouns such as náa and shí in náa sán shí = [I have known him], since these are considered as part of the Verbal Phrase and, therefore, beyond the scope of this thesis. Three types of Pronoun are distinguished, viz.:

Disjunctive Pronoun
Interrogative Pronoun
Indefinite Pronoun

These Pronouns are not analysable, but are described by listing as follows:

2.3.1 Disjunctive Pronoun

The Disjunctive Pronouns show syntactically significant variation according to Number, Person, and (in 2nd and 3rd Person singular) Gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 1st Person, nii = [I]</td>
<td>múu = [we]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 2nd Person, Masculine: kái = [you]</td>
<td>kúu = [you]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine: kée = [you]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person, Masculine: shii = [he/she]</td>
<td>suu = [they]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine: itá = [she/it]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.2 Interrogative Pronoun

The Interrogative Pronouns show syntactically significant variation according to Number, and are also differentiated according to whether the reference is General or Specific. In the case of the General Interrogative, there is no Gender distinction, but there are two separate Pronouns for Persons and Things. Gender distinction is shown in the case of the Specific Interrogative, the same form in each case being used to refer to both Persons and Things:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General, Persons: wàa = [who?/whom?]</td>
<td>sù wàa = [who?/whom?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things: mèe = [what?]</td>
<td>——— ——— ——— ——— (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specific, Masculine: wànnëe = [which one?]  
Feminine: wàccëe = [which one?]

2.3.3 Indefinite Pronoun

The Indefinite Pronouns vary according to Number and Gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine: wáanb</td>
<td>sù wáanb = [so-and-so]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine: wáncb</td>
<td>sù wáncb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) It is questionable whether the form sù mèe = [such as what?, or what for instance?] is the true plural of mèe, since the form sù mèe is, normally, neither preceded nor followed by any item marked for Number.
2.4 QUANTIFIERS

What are here treated as Quantifiers are of three syntactical types, labelled Quantifier 1, 2, and 3.

2.4.1 Quantifier 1

Quantifier 1 includes the whole series of cardinal numerals used in counting and calculating, whether they are themselves simple in structure (e.g. َدَيْة = [1], َمُكَ = [3], َجُومَ = [10], ِشَهُرَن = [20], ُدَرَفَ = [100]); or more complex (e.g. َجُومَ َشَلَعَ َمُكَ = [13], ِشَهُرَن َدَهَعَ = [23], or ُدَرَفَ َدَهَعَ ِشَهُرَن َدَهَعَ = [123]).

2.4.1.1 There is one other element of the structure of Quantifier 1, viz. the Enumerator, which optionally(1) precedes the numerals. This is an item such as َجَدَأ in َجَدَأ َدَيْة = [one unit], َكَل in َكَل َكَل َدَيْة = [one headload-of cornstalks], or َدَمِي in َدَمِي َدَمِي َمُكَ = [three bundles-of corn].

2.4.2 Quantifier 2

What are here treated as Quantifier 2 are the following items, which are grouped together because of their comparable syntactic behaviour:

(a) The word َكَدَأ = [few]
(b) The two phrases: (i) َدَرَأ َدَيْهَ = [many, much, etc.]
(ii) َدَرَأ َدَأ َدَأ = [a fair amount]
(c) The Interrogative Quantifier َنَعَ = [how many, how much ?]

(1) After a Mass Noun, however, the Enumerator is essential. e.g. َرَوَأ َرُلَلَ َدَيْهَ = [one pot-of water], not َرَوَأ َدَيْهَ.
2.4.3 Quantifier 3

Quantifier 3, which functions as a distributive, involves either complete or partial reduplication of Quantifier 1 or 2. e.g.

(a) Complete Reduplication: ðkh-ðkh = [three each]
    náwá-náwá = [how much each?]

(b) Partial Reduplication: ishirín-dá-shídá-shídá
    [twenty-six each]

2.5 INDETERMINATE QUALIFIER

The Indeterminate Qualifier comprises only one word, viz.
kázáa = [such and such], whose syntactic behaviour is the main basis for treating it separately.

2.6 GENITIVE COMPLEX

Structurally, the Genitive Complex consists of two parts, (a) Link Element, followed by (b) a Nominal Phrase, e.g.

(1) ná sárkíi = [belonging to the emir]
(2) tá silíkíi = [made of silk]

or (3) -ñ ráanáa = [of sun, (as in háskó-an ráanáa = sunshine)]

The main criterion for treating such items as a single unit are:

(a) their indivisibility in the sense that the Link Element cannot be used apart from the following Nominal Phrase.
(b) their inseparability in the sense that nothing can occur between the Link Element and the NP.

The Genitival Complex is of two structural types, which also have different syntactic behaviour: **Long Genitival Complex** and **Short Genitival Complex**. The Nominal Phrase which constitutes the second element in the structure of either type, can be any of the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Long Possessive</th>
<th>Simple Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>Unitary Adjective</td>
<td>Adverbial Compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound Noun</td>
<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
<td>Adverbial Complex (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>Adjectival Complex</td>
<td>Adverbial Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specifier</td>
<td>Relative Clause (a)</td>
<td>Adverbial Phrase (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate Qualifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or it may be a Nominal Phrase, as described in this thesis, having one of the above in Head position, or, in certain circumstances, a clause. For this last, see Chapter 11 (11.3).

2.6.1 **Long Genitival Complex**

The Long Genitival Complex has the following Link Elements:

(a) **ná** which occurs with reference to Masculine Singular forms,
(b) **tá** which occurs with reference to Feminine Singular forms, and
(c) **nák** which occurs with reference to Plural forms. e.g:

wání ná sīlīkīi = [another (Masc.) one made of silk]
wátá tá sīlīkīi = [another (Fem.) one made of silk ]
wádānsú nák sīlīkīi = [others (in plural) made of silk ]

The main feature of these Link Elements is invariable High tone.
2.6.2 Short Genitival Complex

The Short Genitival Complex has the following Link Elements:

(a) -n which occurs with reference to Masculine Singular forms,
(b) -r which occurs with reference to Feminine Singular forms,
(c) -n which occurs with reference to Plural forms. e.g.:

- n báayáa, as in: ciiw Waiting báayáa = [back-ache]
- r wáthá, as in: tsáiwáfí wáthá = [appearance of new moon]
- n Báláa, as in: d màaakíí Báláa = [Bala's horses]

The Link Element in this type has the same tone as that of the preceding syllable. If the final syllable of the preceding item is Low, as shown in the first of the three examples above, the Link Element also has Low-tone; but if the preceding syllable has High-tone, as in the last two of the three examples above, the Link Element also has High-tone.

The second Link Element -r is sometimes assimilated, as in the following:

rigáš sárkii = [uniform]
móotáš táláka = [poor man's car]
túrbáš Gáaláwáa = [Calawa road]

2.6.3 It is possible to distinguish between the various usages of Genitival Complex with different grammatical and semantic implications, e.g. subjective, objective, possessive, descriptive, etc., but these are not relevant here.
In considering the Ideophone in Hausa, investigation has shown that what have sometimes been treated as Ideophones (on account of their anomalous phonological and/or tonological feature) do not belong to a single syntactical class, but cut across a number of different categories, in that the same individual Ideophones may have syntactic behaviour that is typical of, say, Dynamic Noun and of Simple Adverb. This cross-category behaviour, however, is itself distinctive, and it is therefore convenient to consider together under the heading of 'Ideophone' all those words which have such cross-category behaviour, often combined with anomalous phonological feature, as listed in Appendix A.

Their classification can be made in a variety of different ways; but, for the present purpose, it is appropriate to classify them in the first place on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, relegating to a lower level the phonological categories which are less relevant here; although there is, in fact, some correlation between the syntactic and phonological categories.

Two main types (Type A and Type B) may be distinguished according to whether the ideophones can or cannot function outside as well as inside the Nominal Phrase:

2.7.1 Type A

Ideophones Type A are those which, in addition to their syntactic functions within the Nominal Phrase, can also function outside the NP. Outside the NP, they can function as 'Adjunct' in non-emphatic sentences, although they cannot be "front-shifted"
in emphatic sentences as adverbial expressions can. Discussion of this, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour (within the Nominal Phrase and in other ways), Ideophones Type A can be divided into two sub-types (sub-type A.I. and sub-type A.II.), each sub-type having two further sub-types, giving a total of four syntactic categories. viz.:

Type A.I. (a)
Type A.I. (b)
Type A.II. (a)
Type A.II. (b)

These Ideophones are listed in Appendix A. It is therefore sufficient to give only a few examples of each sub-type here, as follows:

**Type A.I. (a):**
- rli
- düküs
- fål-fål

**Type A.I. (b):**
- cif
- wíf
- fárát

**Type A.II. (a):**
- shàa
- dám-dám
- tūbúràn

**Type A.II. (b):**
- kàšàkkèe
- kwàtsà-kwàtsà
- zákò-zàkò
- birjík
- dábabá
- fîrgígit
- kàya-kàya
- càkwál-càkwál
- tinkìs-tinkìs
2.7.2 **Type B**

Ideophones of Type B are those which function only within the Nominal Phrase. They are very few in number, and can be divided into two sub-types (I. and II.) on the basis of their syntactic behaviour.

**Type B.I.** comprises only the single word *kàčǐbǐs* which is distinguished from ideophones of **Type B.II.** by behaving in some way like those of **Type A.I.** (cf. Chapter 4, 4.4.2).

**Type B.II.** has two further sub-types (a) and (b), viz.:

**Type B.II.** (a):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVCVCVC</th>
<th>CVC (**)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sǔknćtǔm</td>
<td>fāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type B.II.** (b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVCVCVC</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gārānḍān</td>
<td>zir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sign (*) implies that there are other ideophones with the same phonological features in **Type A.**
There are two types of Possessive, Long Possessive and Short Possessive, both analysable in terms of a Link Element and a Pronominal Element. Each of them comprises two syntactically significant sets (a) and (b), differing according to their grammatical reference. viz.:

**Long Possessive:**

Set (a) correlates with a masculine singular or plural anaphor, and has Link Element *nàa/nàa*.

Set (b) correlates with a feminine singular anaphor, and has Link Element *tàa/tàa*.

**Short Possessive:**

Set (a) follows a masculine singular or a plural noun, and has Link Element *-n-* in most cases.

Set (b) follows a feminine singular noun, and has Link Element *-r-* in most cases.

In both cases, the Pronominal Element varies according to the number, person, and gender of its anaphor, as shown in Table 1.

---

1. The term anaphor is used for the Hausa name of a person, thing concept, etc. referred to. Thus, *náash* = [his (one)] can refer to a masculine singular noun such as *dóoklí* = [horse], or plural noun such as *dáwáákíi* = [horses].

2. The Link Element in both Sets (a) and (b) has the same tone as that of the preceding vowel, e.g. *gídá ash* = [his house], but *dóoklí ash* = [his horse].
Various usages of the Possessive (subjective, objective, possessive, etc.) can be distinguished, but they are not relevant for the present purpose.

(1) (a) In both Set (a) and Set (b), the 1st Person forms could be analysed in terms of a Link Element -n- (masc.) and -t- (fem.), and a Pronominal Element -a/-aa, although this is not very satisfactory; and it is probably simpler to treat the link element and the pronominal element as having coalesced in the 1st Person pronouns.

(b) The forms ná and tá occur in pause, while -náa and -táa occur in non-pausal position.
Pages 46 - 50 deleted
2.9 UNITARY ADJECTIVE

From the morphological point of view, Unitary Adjective can be analysed in terms of a single stem and a suffix, the suffix varying according to Number and Gender. Three sub-divisions can be made on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, which is paralleled by differences of their internal structure, viz.:
(a) Agential Adjective, (b) Participle Adjective, and (c) Simple Adjective; (cf. (i) Chp. 11, 11.1, pp. 198-199; (ii) Tables 3 and 7).

2.9.1 Agential Adjective

The Agential Adjectives are those which consist of a stem, an Agential Prefix má-, and suffix -ji, -iyá, or -áa (masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural respectively). Those bearing suffix -ji or -áa have HH(L)(L)H tone-pattern, and those bearing -iyá suffix have HH(H)(H)LH tone-pattern. e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong> máshíririćii</td>
<td>máshíririćitáa = [unreliable]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong> máshíririćiyáa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong> máfádaacii</td>
<td>máfádáatáa = [quarrelsome]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong> máfádaaciyyáa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong> mágújíi</td>
<td>mágúdáa = [speedy/fast]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong> mágújíiyáa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) H implies High-tone and L implies Low-tone. H or L enclosed in brackets implies that a syllable carrying that tone in that particular position is found with longer words.
2.9.2 **Participial Adjective**

The Participial Adjectives consist of a partially reduplicated stem involving an augment of the structure -aCC- where C is identical with the final consonant of the stem or its palatal alternant (1), and suffix -ée, -iyáa, or -úu, (masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural respectively); those bearing the suffix -ée having L(L)HH tone-pattern, those bearing suffix -úu L(L)IH tone-pattern, while those bearing suffix -iyáa have L(L)HH tone-pattern. e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong> lhalálatāccée</td>
<td>lhalálatāttíu = [spoiled]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong> lhalálatācciyáa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong> khamámmée</td>
<td>khamámmííu = [captive(s)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong> khamámmíyáa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.9.3 **Simple Adjective**

The Simple Adjectives are analysable as consisting of a simple stem (2) (without agreement) and a suffix which varies according to Gender and Number (but without a prefix), e.g. fár-ii (masc. sing.); fár-áa (fem. sing.); fár-háaréé (Pl.); = [white]. Details of these suffixes are given in Chapter 12 (12.3.1.1), and only a few further examples need be given here:

---

(1) The regular alternations are s/sh, t/c, z/j, d/j; w/y is also sometimes found (cf. háwóó/háyáyyée), e.g. fásásshée = [broken], fitáccée = [deposed], bázájjée = [well spread] and gáadájjée = [inherited].

(2) The reduplicated forms such as fárí-fárí = [rather white], bák-bákí = [rather black] etc., can be included here, the only distinction being that the reduplicated forms cannot occur as Head while others can (cf. 5.8).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inгармàа</td>
<td>Ingàrmúu</td>
<td>[burly (fellow)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rànkanàe</td>
<td>Kànkanànàa</td>
<td>[small]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Màräayàa</td>
<td>Màräayùu</td>
<td>[orphan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gùntùu</td>
<td>Gùntùwùa</td>
<td>[piece]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shùudìi</td>
<td>Shùudìyìa</td>
<td>[blue]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masculine:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Feminine:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dòogòo</td>
<td>Dòogòwùa</td>
<td>[tall]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On tonological, phonological, morphological and semantic grounds, it is possible to distinguish further sub-categories of the Simple Adjective, such as Augmentatives, e.g., fànkàmëemèe/fànkàmëemìyìa = [very broad]; Diminutives, e.g., mìnìnìnìi/mìnìnìnìyìa = [very tiny]; and derivative Adjectives of various kinds, such as: kàkkàrfìa/kàkkàrfìa/kàrìfìaafìa = [strong]; c.f. kàrìfìi = [strength]: but since there is no syntactic behaviour peculiar to any one sub-category as distinct from the others, this distinction has been ignored.
The term Geminate Adjective is here used to refer to certain reduplicated items (mostly analysable as being based on Non-Dynamic nouns) which occur as post-Head Qualifiers (see Chapter 4, 4.3) in the Simple Nominal Phrase. Examples of these are the following:

(a) káshli-káshli, as in: múthlané káshli-káshli (sün wúcè) [people in groups (have passed by)]

(b) bënhú-bënhú, as in: hátsíi bënhú-bënhú a gidánsà [corn in sacks in his house....]

(c) ruwá-ruwá, as in: wáni àbinci ruwá-ruwá (sükè cif) [it is a certain watery food that (they are eating)]

(d) irli-irli, as in: (yàa sàyi) lìttàttàfái irli-irli [[he has bought]different kinds of books]
ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

Adjectival Phrase consists of a Unitary Adjective combined with an Ideophone, an Adverb of Degree (see 3.1.1), an Adverbial Compound, or an Adverbial Complex. There are three structural types which also have different features of syntactic behaviour.

2.11.1 Type (a)

Type (a) comprises those consisting of a Unitary Adjective followed by an Ideophone. e.g.:

- Agt. Adj. + Ideo.: mà'hàukacii túbùràn = [raving mad]
- Ptpl. Adj. + Ideo.: cikákékké màakíl = [full to the brim]
- Simp. Adj. + Ideo.: sáából fil = [brand new]

2.11.2 Type (b)

Type (b) comprises those consisting of a Unitary Adjective followed by an Adverb of Degree. e.g.:


2.11.3 Type (c)

Type (c) Adjectival Phrases consist of a Unitary Adjective followed by any of the following:

(a) Adverbial Compound
(b) Adverbial Complex (a) or (b), both of Locative category
(c) Adverbial Complex (d) soc., Inst.

Thus its structure is: Unit. Adj. + \( \{ \text{Adv. Cpd.} \} \) (Adv. Cx.) e.g.: 
(a) **Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cpd.:** máginii jîkin-bángôô  
[which/who builds on the wall]  
[which is built on the wall]  

(b) **Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(a):** máginii à Kândôô  
[who builds in Kano]  
**Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(a):** kânsâsshéé à tàkàrdéâ  
[which is wrapped in a (piece of)paper]  
**Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(a):** kàkkârféá à ìdô  
[which/who looks strong]  
**Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(b):** màtàflyïi dàgà Kândôô  
[who travels from Kano]  
**Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(b):** tsâgâggéé dàgà kârrû  
[which is torn at the edge]  
**Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(b):** fàrii dàgà gëeëfè  
[which is white on the edge/side]

(c) **Agt. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(d):** màrùbhuccîi dà hànnûn hágû  
[his who writes with left hand]  
**Ptpl. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(d):** lìikâkkêé dà kàakkli  
[which is blocked with wax]  
**Simp. Adj. + Adv. Cx.(d):** tsôohôô dà shìîi  
[who/which is (nicely) mature/old]

Longer Adjectival Phrases, with other words dependent on the Adjective, are also possible. E.g. màrùbhuccîi-à tàkàrdéàà dà hànnûn hágû  
= [who writes letters with left hand].

2.11.4

Essentially there is a close nexus between the component elements of the Adjectival Phrase, and it is this factor which determines
the unity of this item. There are, however, a few circumstances
where an Adjectival Phrase can be discontinuous, e.g., sáabúwár
riğáa fîl = [brand new gown], hðorárren dòokli āinññ = [well trained
horse], etc., these are discussed in Chapter 4 (4.4.4) and 7 (7.8).

2.12 ADJECTIVAL COMPLEX

Adjectival Complex consists of the Agential Copula mài/másu(1)
in complementary distribution, mài being the singular, másu the
plural form; or the corresponding negative pair márás/márásáa,
combined with any of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pr.</td>
<td>Spec.</td>
<td>Lg.Pos.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or with a longer NP with one of the above as Head, or with Unit.Adj(2)
or Adj.Ph. as Head.

Between the Agential Copula and whatever combines with it,
there exists a close nexus, in that nothing can occur between the
two items, not even a pause can interrupt them. Their sequential
order, Agential Copula + NP, is always maintained.

The most common type of Adjectival Complex is that consisting
of the Agential Copula followed by a Noun together with any item
qualifying it, further distinction being made between those where
where the Noun is a Dynamic Noun and those where it is a Non-Dynamic
Noun. This typological distinction also coincides with their
syntactic behaviour; and on this basis, these three main types of
Adjectival Complex may be differentiated:

(1) Where such phrases as bâh hánkálî occurs within an NP, bâh is
comparable to márás, its counterpart being mài/másu and not hkwâi.
It can therefore be treated simply as an alternant to márás/márásáa.
(2) e.g. mài babbâ-h (yâa zâo) = [the owner of the big one (has come)].
(a) **Agt. Cop. + Dynamic Noun:**

- **Non-Verbal Dyn.:** mài màgànàa = [who can talk]
- **Strong Verbal Dyn.:** mài fitàa = [who gets out]
- **Weak Verbal Dyn.:** mài kàamhàwàa = [who catches]
- **Weak Verbal Dyn.:** mài kàamhà kífíí = [who catches fish]

(b) **Agt. Cop. + Non-Dynamic Noun:**

- **Abstract Noun:** mài mùgàntàa = [cruel]
- **Collective Noun:** mài kúcìi = [wealthy]
- **Mass Noun:** mài màdàràa = [milkman]
- **Common Noun:** mài dàfìi = [poisonous]

(c) **Agt. Cop. + Other NP's:**

- **Pronoun:** mài shìi = [the owner of it]
- **Compound Noun:** mài fàrin-jììni = [popular]
- **Specifier:** mài wànnàn = [the owner of this]
- **Indeterminate Qualifier:** mài kàzáa = [owner of such and such]
- **Long Possessive:** mài nàkà = [who looks after yours]
- **Long Genitival Cx.:** mài tà sílikììn = [the owner of the silken one]

2.13 RELATIVE CLAUSE

For the present purpose, it is sufficient to distinguish two types of Relative Clause, labelled (a) and (b):

(1) Proper Nouns do not normally constitute part of such Adjectival Complexes except in such expressions as Màiikàndà, a nickname for someone whose first name is the same as that of the emir of Kano.
Type (a) comprises those introduced by wándà/wàddà/wàdàndà\(^{(1)}\) [which, who, whom, whose], correlated with a masculine singular, feminine singular, and plural antecedent or anaphor.

Type (b) comprises those introduced by dà, with no variation for Number or Gender. e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type (a)</th>
<th>Type (b)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc. wándà</td>
<td>dà</td>
<td>who has come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. wàddà</td>
<td>dà</td>
<td>who has come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. wàdàndà</td>
<td>dà</td>
<td>who have come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not necessary for the present purpose to go into details of the complex structural possibilities of the Relative Clause, involving, as they do, the syntactic behaviour of the Verbal Phrase.

2.14 SPECIFIERS

The termSpecifier is used to cover several forms which are mutually exclusive within the Simple Nominal Phrase. Most of these forms could, perhaps, be analysed in terms of initial wa- plus one or more other elements, but such an analysis does not seem helpful for the present purpose. Moreover, there are certain other forms which could be similarly analysed but which, for the present purpose, are placed under other categories, e.g. wándà, wàndè, wàncè, etc.

There are three sub-categories, namely:

2.14.1 Interrogative Specifier, which has three form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc. Sing.</th>
<th>Femin Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wàndè</td>
<td>wàcè</td>
<td>wàdànnè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= [what/which?]

2.14.2 Indefinite Specifier, which comprises the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc. Sing.</th>
<th>Femin Sing.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wànf</td>
<td>wàtá</td>
<td>wàdànsà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= [a certain (one)]

= [certain people/things;
also another, other]

(1) The tone of wanda, wadda, and wadanda is variable, depending on the degree of emphasis. High-toned are more emphatic than Low-toned.
2.14.3 The Demonstrative Specifier which, with reference to the shape of the items concerned and on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, can be sub-divided into Long Demonstrative and Short Demonstrative each having two further sub-divisions, viz., Near Demonstrative and Far Demonstrative. The various forms are listed below:

2.14.3.1 Long Demonstrative

(a) Near: Singular: —— wannan = [this (with no distinction as regards gender)]
   Plural: —— wadannan = [these]

(b) Far: Singular: Masc.: wancan ] = [that]
   Fem.: waccan
   Plural: —— wadanca = [those]

2.14.3.2 Short Demonstrative

The Short Demonstrative consists of (a) a Link Element -n/-c, followed by (b) a Locative Element -nan/-can, e.g., -h nāh and -h cán in līttāaf1-h nāh = [this book], and līttāaf1-h cán = [that book].

This is treated as a single item on the basis of:

(a) the inseparability of the elements, in the sense that nothing can occur between them;

(b) the fact that neither element can be identified with an item occurring elsewhere:

(i) the link element cannot be identified with the Genitive Link (which always echoes the tone of the preceding
syllable), nor with the Referential (which always has Low tone, (see 2.15));

(ii) the locative element cannot be identified with the Simple Adverbs nan and can (though clearly related to them), since they sometimes have "Low tone which is not found with the Simple Adverbs. (cf. rligán nan = [this gown] rligáč can = [that gown], etc.)

(a) The Near Demonstrative comprises only the single item -n nan which correlates both with masculine and feminine singular and with plural.

(b) The Far Demonstrative has two forms:
1. -c can, which correlates with masculine singular and with plural.
2. -c can, which correlates with feminine singular.

For the tone of the Demonstrative Specifiers, both Long and Short forms, see Appendix B.

2.15 REFERENTIAL

The Referential comprises such elements as -n in litšafón = [the book] or gidáh = [the house].

There are three forms in complementary distribution:

-ñ, occurring with reference to masculine singular, as in the above examples,
-ñ, occurring with reference to feminine singular, e.g.: gōonáñ = [the farm], or mákrántáñ = [the school]
-ñ, occurring with reference to plural, e.g.: gidájéñ = [the houses], or gōonákiñ = [the farms]

The Referential, invariably, has Low tone.
The Diminutive comprises items such as ḍān in ḍān littāafli = [a small book], or ḍān yārdo = [a small boy].

As in the Referential, there are three items altogether:

- ḍān, occurring with reference to masculine singular, as in the above examples,

- 'yār, occurring with reference to feminine singular, e.g.,
  'yār góonāa = [a small farm]
  'yār kāsūwāa = [a small market]

- 'yān, occurring with reference to plural, e.g.,
  'yān yārāa = [small children]
  'yān gidājīe = [small number of houses]

2.16.1 The Diminutive is treated as a separate item distinct from ḍān 'yāa + Gen.Cx. = [son of] because of various syntactic differences; for example, the Diminutive cannot be preceded by a Unit.Adj. in the same NP, nor can the Lg.Gen. be used instead of the Sh.Gen.

2.17 Isolator

What is here treated as Isolator is the single word ḍāyā in such phrases as ḍāyā littāafin = [the other book], ḍāyā gidān = [the other house], or just ḍāyān = [the other one].

It is distinguished from the Quantifier 1 (ḍāyā = [1]), by its meaning and by the fact that it always occurs in pre-Head position, as will be seen later, while Quantifier 1 cannot; and Quantifier 1, in turn, always occurs in post-Head position (e.g. littāafli ḍāyā = [one book]) whereas Isolator cannot. This is discussed in Chapter 4, (4.4.1).
THE ADVERBIAL CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE
SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The Adverbial items occurring in the Simple Nominal Phrase are of five main types:

Simple Adverb
Adverbial Compound
Adverbial Complex
Adverbial Cluster
Adverbial Phrase

most of which have further sub-types. But in describing these items, it is necessary to consider not only the main types and sub-types based on internal structure, but also certain other categories which cut across the sub-types and which have a syntactic as well as a semantic basis. These categories and the abbreviations used to refer to them are as follows:

- Eq. Equative
- Soc. Sociative
- Ins. Instrumental
- St. Stative
- L. Locative
- T. Temporal
- M. Modal
- Via. Viative

Each of these corresponds to some particular pattern or patterns of behaviour. For example, the Sociative Adverbial Complex can follow a Non-Dynamic Noun Head (e.g. wání máalámíi ḏà jàakíi) = [a certain Malam with a donkey]), but the Viative Adverbial Complex cannot.
3.1. SIMPLE ADVERB

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour and, to some extent, also of their internal structure, the Simple Adverbs can be divided into three sub-types:

(a) Unitary Adverb
(b) Reduplicated Adverb
(c) Adverbs of Degree

Unitary Adverb

Unitary Adverbs are all monomorphemic(1) in structure, e.g.,

cán = [there]
dāazú = [a little while ago]
hákà = [thus]
zàuné = [sitting down]
 hàsà = [down / on the ground]
bađí = [next year]

Reduplicated Adverbs

Reduplicated Adverbs, as the name implies, have a reduplicated structure, e.g.,

cán-cán = [far there]
dāazú-dāazú = [only just a while ago]
hákà-hákà = [this sort of size]
zànzuné = [all sitting down]

(1) It could be argued that such Spl. Adv.'s as cîkî = [inside], or gābà = [in front] are in fact not monomorphemic but Co-Radical in that they resemble nouns which are analysable in terms of stem and suffix. But the final vowel of the Adverbs does not alternate with other suffixes as does the final vowel of the corresponding noun, and it is simpler to treat the Adverbs as monomorphemic.
kása-kása = [a little way down]
bàdí-bàdí = [only next year]

It may be observed that in Stative Reduplicated Adverbs, such as zàzzàuné, there is only partial Reduplication as compared with the corresponding Unitary Adverbs.

Adverbs of Degree

Adverbs of Degree are, with a solitary exception, all monomorphic in structure, and can be listed exclusively as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dinun</td>
<td>= [greatly]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwárái</td>
<td>= [very]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sárái</td>
<td>= [completely]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sboší</td>
<td>= [beyond doubt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dà-gàské(1)</td>
<td>= [seriously]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1

In terms of categories, the Adverb of Degree is always Modal, whereas the Unitary and the Reduplicated Adverbs have four categories each, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Unitary Adverb</th>
<th>Reduplicated Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Locative: e.g., cán = [there]</td>
<td>cán-cán = [far there]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báayá = [back]</td>
<td>báayá-báayá = [a bit back]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Temporal: e.g., bàdí = [next year]</td>
<td>bàdí-bàdí = [only next year]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yànzú = [now]</td>
<td>yànzú-yànzú = [just now]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Strictly this should, perhaps, be treated as Adv.Cx.(d), but:

(a) its syntactic behaviour differs from that of Adv.Cx.(d),
and (b) the second element gàské is not identical with a noun or other forms, as in the case of Adv.Cx.(d).
(c) **Modal:** e.g. tiitás = [necessary] tiitás-tiitás = [very necessary] háká = [thus] háká-háká = [this sort of size]

(d) **Stative:** e.g. zàuné = [sitting down] zàzzàuné = [all sitting down] ràbè = [divided] ràrràbè = [all divided]

There is one further feature of the **Locative** and the **Temporal Unitary Adverbs,** in that:

(i) The Locative has two further sub-types, which are referred to as (A) and (B).

**Type A.**

Type A includes all except one of the Loc. Unt. Adv. such as óáñ = [there], báayá = [back], etc.

**Type B.**

Type B comprises the one word háká = [there], distinguished from the Modal Adverb háká = [thus] by its syntactic behaviour as well as its meaning, e.g.,

yáa yi háká = [he has gone that way]

màtsàa háká = [move there]

including contexts where only locative expressions are normally used, e.g.,

yáa màtsàa gàbá = [he has moved forward]

" " cán = [he has moved there]
" " kúsá = [he has moved nearer]
or " " háká = [he has moved (in) that direction]

(ii) The word cán can sometimes occur as a Temporal Unt. Adv., as in:

cán sáí ... = [later]

cán bàdá .. = [later next year]
3.2

**ADVERBIAL COMPOUND**

What are here considered as Adverbial Compounds are of two structural types, which may be analysed as consisting of:

(a) Noun followed by either a Short Genitival Complex or by a Short Possessive; or

(b) a Simple Adverb followed by a Short Genitival Complex or by a Short Possessive.

Their structure may therefore be stated as follows:

\[(\text{Noun}) + (\text{Short Genitival Complex})\]

\[(\text{Simple Adverb}) + (\text{Short Possessive})\]

e.g.

**NOUN**

+ Sh.Gen.: bałkin-kbogfi = [river-side]
+ Sh.Pos.: bāākīnā = [its side]
+ Sh.Gen.: gīndīn-bīshīyā = [under the tree]
+ Sh.Pos.: gīndīntā = [under it]
+ Sh.Gen.: kāmār-Audū = [like Audu]
+ Sh.Pos.: kāmārsā(1) = [like him]

**SIMPLE ADVERB**

+ Sh.Gen.: bāayān-gārii = [outside the city]
+ Sh.Pos.: bāayānaā = [behind him/it]
+ Sh.Gen.: kārkāshīn-tēbūr = [under the table]
+ Sh.Pos.: kārkāshinsā = [under it/him]
+ Sh.Gen.: gābān-sārkī = [in front of the emir]
+ Sh.Pos.: gābānsā = [in front of him/it]

There are three categories of Adverbial Compound, differing in their

(1) In addition to this form, there is an anomalous Adverbial Compound: kāmānnīf = [like me] and kāmāsshīi = [like him] analysable as kāṃāa (Nn) + Sh.Gen. consisting of Gen. Link + Disjunctive Pronoun. This is anomalous in that Dis.Pr. does not normally follow the Gen. Link.
syntactic behaviour:

(a) **Locative**, e.g.: 
- cikín-gídáa = [inside the house]
- báakin-kóógí = [river-side]
- gábán-sárkíi = [before the emir]
- báyánsá = [behind him]

(b) **Temporal**, e.g.: 
- cikín-wádán jíyá = [during last month]
- báyán-sáatíi máh zúwá = [after next week]

(c) **Modal**, e.g.: 
- kánár-Audú = [like Audu]
- cikín-móótáa = [by/in a car]
- kán-dóókíi = [on a horse]

3.3 **ADVERBIAL COMPLEX**

All Adverbial Complexes consist of a particle (h, dágá, tá, dh, or l/yá) and a nominal or adverbial form. On the basis of their internal structure and syntactic behaviour, they can be divided into five main types, referred to as types (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e).

3.3.1 **Type (a)**

Type (a) Adverbial Complexes are those which consist of:

(i) **Locative Particle**: h, followed by:

(ii) any of the following:

- a Non-Dynamic Noun
- a Pronoun
- a Simple Adver (Unitary or Reduplicated)
- an Adverbial Compound
- an Adverbial Cluster

or an NP having one of the above as Head.

---

(1) The term Locative Particle, used by F.W. Parsons, is retained here, although some of the Adv.Cx.'s in which it occurs are in other categories, such as Temporal, Modal and Stative.
The last three (Simp. Adv., Adv. Cpd. and Adv. Cl.) occur as variants (with some positional restrictions) of Simple Adverb, Adverbial Compound and Adverbial Cluster respectively.

Examples of Adv.Cx.(a) are the following:

(a) **Loc. Part. + Non-Dyn.**:

- à gidáa = [at home]
- à shëekára = [(in) a year]
- à mákárántaa = [at school]

(b) **Loc. Part. + Pr.**:

- à shií = [in it (masc.)]
- à fitá = [in it (fem.)]
- à süu = [in them]

(c) **Loc. Part. + Simp. Adv.**:

- **Unit. Loc.**:
  - à dámá = [at the right hand side]
- **Unit. Temp.**:
  - à dëazú = [a while ago]
- **Unit. Mod.**:
  - à hákà = [just like that]
- **Unit. Stat.**:
  - à tšeýé = [standing up]
- **Redp. Loc.**:
  - à kásà-kásà = [a little underneath]
- **Redp. Temp.**:
  - à yânzú-yânzú = [just now]
- **Redp. Mod.**:
  - à sànnú-sànnú = [slowly and gradually]
- **Redp. Stat.**:
  - à zàazzUné = [sitting around]

(d) **Loc. Part. + Adv. Cpd.**:

- à cikin-gidáa = [inside the house]
- à báayán-dëakli = [behind the room]
- à káh-kújdeéraa = [on the chair]

(e) **Loc. Part. + Adv. Cl.**:

- à gëddé dà sáafé = [tomorrow in the morning]
- à jìyà dà almáurùu = [yesterday at sunset]
- à dëazú dà hantsii = [a while ago in the morning]
3.3.2 Type (b)

Type (b) are those consisting of:
(1) Ablative Particle ḍagā, followed by:
(2) any of the following:
   a Non-Dynamic Noun
   a Pronoun
   a Simple Adverb (Unitary or Reduplicated only)
   an Adverbial Compound
   an Adverbial Cluster

or an NP having one of the above as Head. Examples are the following:

(a) Abl.Part. + Non-Dyn.:
   ḍagā kāuyē = [from/round about the village]
   ḍagā gōnāa = [from/round about the farm]
   ḍagā Kāndō = [from Kano]

(b) Abl.Part. + Pr.:
   ḍagā śīi = [from it/him (Masc.)]
   ḍagā ītá = [from it/her (Fem.)]
   ḍagā sūu = [from them]

(c) Abl.Part. + Simp.Adv.:
   Unit.Loc.: ḍagā hákā/cān = [from/round about that far]
   Unit.Temp.: ḍagā yāu = [from today]
   Unit.Mod.: ḍagā hákā = [from this state (gesture)]
   Unit.Stat.: ḍagā tsāyē = [from a standing position]
   Repd.Loc.: ḍagā bāayā-bāayā = [(from) a little way back]
   Repd.Stat.: ḍagā zazzāunē = [from a sitting position]

The Temporal and the Modal Reduplicated Simple Adverbs do not occur in this type of Adverbial Complex.
(d) **Abl. Part. + Adv. Cpd.:**

- dəgə bəayən-gidaa = [from/around the back of the house]
- dəgə kərkəshin-kasəa = [from underground]
- dəgə gəefən-kəqəqii = [from the side of the river]

(e) **Abl. Part. + Adv. Cl. T:**

- dəgə gəbə də səaʃə = [from tomorrow morning]
- dəgə jiyə də əlməurəu = [from yesterday at sunset]
- dəgə qəaçu də əntsii = [(from) a moment ago at mid-morning]

3.3.3 **Type (c)**

Type (c) consists of the Viative Particle tə, followed by the same items as those in types (a) and (b), viz.: Dynamic Noun, Pronoun, Simple Adverb (of Unitary or Reduplicated sub-types), or Adverbial Compound, or an NP having one of the foregoing as Head; but not by an Adverbial Cluster. E.g.:

(a) **Via. Part. + Non-Dyn.:**

- tə təaɡəa = [through the window]
- tə təlləhə = [by telephone]
- tə təsəanii = [by ladder]

(b) **Via. Part. + Pr.:**

- tə ʃii = [through it/him (Masc.)]
- tə ʃta = [through it/her (fem.)]
- tə səu = [through them]

(c) **Via. Part. + Simp. Adv.:**

- **Unit. Loc.:** tə ɗəamə = [by the right]
- **Unit. Stat.:** tə kwənçə = [by lying down]
- **Redp. Loc.:** tə gəefə-gəefə = [through a little way to the side]

The remaining types of Simple Adverb do not occur in this combination.
(d) Via. Part. + Adv. Cpd.:

tá báayán-gidáa = [by the back door]
tá gidán-wáyáa = [by/through the post-office]
tá gëfèn-kógii = [by the river side]

(e) But not: Via. Part. + Adv. Cl. T

*tá gëobé dà sáafé
*tá jiya dà almúrhu
*tá dëazú dà hàntsìi

3.3.4 Type(d)

Type(d) Adv. Cx.'s are those which consist of:

(1) either the Sociative/Instrumental Particle dà, or the Dissociative Particle báa, followed by:

(2) any of the following:

- a Noun (of either Dynamic or Non-Dynamic type)
- a Pronoun
- a Simple Adverb
- an Adverbial Compound

or an NP having one of the above as Head.

Complexes containing the Sociative/Instrumental Particle dà can be either of Sociative or of Instrumental category, those containing the Dissociative Particle, on the other hand, are analysed as being in the Sociative category.

Examples of Adverbial Complex (d) are the following:

(a) Part. + Dyn. Nn.:

Soc.: (fitáa wájé) dà kúukáa = [with cry / crying]
      (áikii) báa húutáawáa = [without a rest]

Ins.: (tsëorátáa sû) dà hárblìi = [by shooting]
(b) **Part. + Non-Dyn.:**

**Soc.:** (wání mútúh) dà dóokíl = [with a horse]
(yáawbo) báà tákálmi = [without shoes]

**Ins.:** (ázáabàa) dà wútáa = [with fire]

(c) **Part.+ Pr.:**

**Soc.:** (yáawbo) dà shﬁ = [with him/it]
(zúwàa) báà shﬁ = [without him/it]

**Ins.:** (rúbhutùu) dà shﬁ = [with it]

(d) **Part. + Spl. Adv.:**

**Ins.:** (rúbhutùu) dà hákà = [this way]

Others do not occur

(e) **Part. + Adv. Cpd.:**

**Ins.:** (rúbhutùu) dà tsákár-dárée = [in the middle of the night]

Others do not occur

3.3.5 **Type(e)**

Type(e) consist of (i) Equative Particle 1/yà (in free variation), followed by: (ii) any of the following:

- a Non-Dynamic Noun
- a Pronoun
- a Long Genitival Complex
- a Long Possessive
- a Long Demonstrative

or an NP having one of the above as Head.
(a) Eq. Part. + Non-Dyn.: 1/yə Bəlàa  
[as (big as/clever as etc.) Bala]

(b) Eq. Part. + Pr.: 1/kái  
[as (big/tall etc. as) you]

(c) Eq. Part. + Lg. Pos.: 1/yə näkà  
[as (big/good etc. as) yours]

(d) Eq. Part. + Lg. Gen.: 1/yə nà jìyà  
[as (big/good etc. as) that of yesterday]

(e) Eq. Part. + Lg. Dem.: 1/yə wànnàn  
[as (big/beautiful etc. as) this]

3.3.6 Type (a) and (b) can be:

Locative, e.g. Type (a): à Kåndo = [in/at Kano]
Type (b): dàgà Kåndo = [from Kano]

Temporal, e.g. Type (a): à dàhazú = [a while ago]
Type (b): dàgà yáu = [from today]

Stative, e.g. Type (a): à tsàyé = [while standing up]
Type (b): dàgà tsàyé = [from/standing position]

Types (a) and (d) can be:

Modal, e.g. Type (a): à hákà = [in this state]
Type (d): dà hákà = [this way]

Type (d), in addition, can be:

Temporal, e.g.: dà həl̄mùr̄u = [at sunset]
Sociative, e.g.: dà dòk̄ii = [with a horse]
  bàh təhəl̄m̄i = [without shoes]
Instrumental, e.g.: dà wík̄áa = [with a knife]

Type (c) can be Viative only, e.g. tá təhəḡa= [through the window]
Type (e) can be Equative only, e.g. 1 wànnàn = [like this one]
The syntactic categories of Adverbial Complexes can be summarised as follows:

(i) **Type (a)** has four categories:
   - Locative
   - Modal
   - Temporal
   - Stative

(ii) **Type (b)** has three categories:
   - Locative
   - Temporal
   - Stative

(iii) **Type (c)** has only one category, viz.:
   - Viative

(iv) **Type (d)** has four categories:
   - Sociative
   - Modal
   - Temporal
   - Instrumental

(v) **Type (e)** has only one category, viz.:
   - Equative

### 3.4. ADVERBIAL CLUSTER

Adverbial Cluster consists of:

(a) a **Unitary Adverb** of Locative, Temporal, or Modal categories in the initial position; followed by:

(b) **one** or less often two of the other Adverbial forms, which may be any of the following:

   - another Simple Adverb (of any category)
   - an Adverbial Compound
   - an Adverbial Complex of either type (b) or (d)
   - an Adverbial Phrase of type (a), (see 3.5.1)

In each case, the second part is (semantically) more specific than
the first. There are also considerable restrictions on the possible combinations:

(i) The first and second constituents are always of the same category, except that a Loc. Unit. Adv. can be followed by a Stat. category form.

(ii) No item (not even a Modal Particle) can occur between the component constituents.

e.g.:

(a) **Unit.Loc. + Unit.Loc.**:

náñ kóofa = [there at the door]
cáñ báayá = [there at the back]

(b) **Unit.Loc. + Unit.Stat.**:

náñ tsáyyé = [there, standing]
cáñ táfé = [there, coming]

(c) **Unit.Loc. + Redp.Loc.**:

cáñ kásá-kásá = [there, a little underneath]
náñ kúrkúsá = [here, quite near]

d) **Unit.Loc. + Redp.Stat.**:

náñ zázzauné = [there, (all) sitting]
cáñ tsáitsáyyé = [there, (all) standing]

(e) **Unit.Loc. + Adv.Cpd.Loc.**:

náñ bhaakín-kásúwáa = [here, near the market]
cáñ báayán-gárii = [there, outside the city]

(f) **Unit.Loc. + Adv.Ph.(a)Loc.**:

cáñ háká dá kásúwáa = [there, to the far side of the market]
náñ gába-gába dá gidánká = [there, a little way from your house]
(g) **Unit.Loc. + Adv.Ph.(a)Stat.**:

nán zàuné déf dà kúu = [there, sitting quite near you]
nán lìiké jìkin-bángóó = [there, stuck to the wall]

(h) **Unit.Loc. + Adv.Cx.(b)Loc.**:

cán dàgà néesà = [right there, from the distance]
cán dàgà sámà = [right there, from the top]

(i) **Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(b)Temp.**:

cán dàgà báayá = [some time afterwards]
cán dàgà fàrshée = [late in the end]

(j) **Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cx.(d)Temp.**:

cán dà dàmínáa = [late in the rainy season]
cán dà yámmá = [late in the evening]

(k) **Unit.Temp. + Adv.Cpd.Temp.**:

gōobé báayán-là'ásár = [tomorrow after mid-afternoon]
bādí fàrkón-ráaníi = [next year early in the dry season]


bāará dà kàakáa = [last year in the harvest season]
jíyà dà sàafé = [yesterday morning]

(m) **Unit.Mod. + Simp. Adv.Mod.**:

**Unit.Mod.**: hákà dáidái = [like this, exactly]
**Redp.Mod.**: hákà sànná-sànná = [this way, gradually]


gōobé dà ránàn báayán-shàá-bíyú
[tomorrow during the day, after twelve o'clock]


cán báayán-gàrrì gàbàn-gídánsárikì
[right outside the city, beyond the emir's house]
3.4.1 On the basis of the categories of their constituents, and their syntactic behaviour, Adverbial Clusters can be divided into four categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Modal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Loc. + Stat., the Cluster is treated as Stative, because it behaves, syntactically, like the Stative Adverbial Cluster rather than the Locative. (c.f. examples (b), (d), and (g) above.)

3.5 **ADVERBIAL PHRASE**

Adverbial Phrase consists of:

(i) either a Simple Adverb (Unitary or Reduplicated), or an Adverbial Complex of Type (a), (b), or (c) in initial position, followed by:

(ii) an Adverbial Complex of either Type (b) or (d).

There are two types of Adverbial Phrase, Type (a) and Type (b), differing in the nature of the first constituent and syntactic behaviour. In type (a), the first constituent is a Simple Adverb, whereas in type (b) it is an Adverbial Complex.

3.5.1 **Type (a)**

The structure of Adverbial Phrase (a) is as follows:

\[
\text{Simp. Adv. } + \begin{cases} 
\text{Adv. Cpd.} \\
\text{Adv. Cx.}
\end{cases}
\]
It can be sub-divided into two categories, Locative and Stative:

(a) **Locative** consists of:

(i) either Un	« or Redp. Simple Adverb (Loc. category in both cases), followed by:

(ii) an Adverbial Complex Type (d)Soc.

(b) **Stative** consists of:

(i) either Un	« or Redp. Simple Adverb (Stative category in both cases), followed by:

(ii) any of the following:

- Ad.Cpd. (a)\\ L
- Adv.Cx. (a)\\ L, (b)\\ L, or (d)Soc.

**e.g.,**

(a) **Locative:**

  - near the market

- nëesà dà gídaa
  - far from home

(b) **Stative:**

- In these cases, the Adv.Cpd. or Adv.Cx. is usually one that could appropriately be dependent on the corresponding verb.

  - fixed to the wall

  - all fixed to the wall
[wrapped in a piece of paper]

[all wrapped in a piece of paper]

[torn on the edge]

[all torn on the edge]

[blockaded with wax]

[all blockaded with wax]

3.5.2 Type (b)

The structure of Adverbial Phrase (b) is as follows:

Adv. Cx. (a), (b), or (c) + Adv. Cx. (d)

It can be sub-divided into two categories: Locative and Viative.

Locative

The Locative consists of:

(i) Adv. Cx. of either Type (a) or (b), Locative category in both cases, followed by:

(ii) Adv. Cx. (d)^Soc.

Viative

The Viative consists of:

(i) Adv. Cx. (c)^Via., followed by:

(ii) Adv. Cx. (d) Soc.
e.g.:

(a) **Locative:**

*Adv.Cx.(a) + Adv.Cx.(d):* à dáamá dà kàasúwáa

[to the right of the market]

à kàsa dà kái

[(living) under you (your flat)]

*Adv.Cx.(b) + Adv.Cx.(d):* dàgà nëesa dà kúu

[quite far from you]

dàgà sàmà dà táagàa

[above the window]

(b) **Viative:**

*Adv.Cx.(c) + Adv.Cx.(d):* tá dáamá dà kàasúwáa

[by the right-hand side of the market]

tá' yámmá dà gàrìi

[to the west of the town]
CHAPTER 4

FUNCTION OF INDIVIDUAL ITEMS IN
THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

As indicated in Chapter 1, the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase can be described in terms of three positions, the pre-Head, the Head and the post-Head positions, one or more of which may be filled in any given NP. The items which occur in these positions are referred to as pre-Head Qualifier, Head, and post-Head Qualifier respectively.

Of the items introduced in Chapters 2 and 3, some can function only as Head, others only as Qualifier, but the great majority can occur both as Head and as Qualifier, with further differences as to whether they can occur as pre-Head or post-Head Qualifier. On this basis, these items can be divided into seven groups, as shown below. Examples are, for the most part, not included here, since adequate examples of individual items are given in Chapters 2 and 3, while examples of typical NP's are given in subsequent chapters.

The number in brackets after each item refers to the type of NP discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 Items Functioning only as Head

There are three items which occur only as Head in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase. These are the following:

Nouns (1)
Compound Nouns (2)
Pronouns (3)

4.2 Items Functioning only as Pre-Head Qualifier

There are two items occurring only as pre-Head Qualifier
This does not mean, however, that the distribution of these two items is identical. The only factor linking them together is the fact that each of them can occur only in pre-Head position; but the types of Head with which they can combine and the types of other qualifiers with which they can co-occur are different, as will be seen later.

4.3 **Items Functioning only as Post-Head Qualifier**

A relatively high number of items can occur only as post-Head Qualifier. They can be divided into two separate groups, as follows:

(a) Those which can occur only immediately after the Head, and which can accordingly be referred to as the 'Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.)'. They comprise the following:

---

(1) To these should perhaps be added what is probably to be analysed as a kind of [Compound Specifier](https://example.com). This consists of the combination of one or other of the pre-Head Specifiers with **irin**, e.g. **wànbè irin lîttaafî?** = ['what kind of book?']; **wàni irin lîttaafî** = ['a certain type of book']; **wànnàn irin lîttaafî** = ['this kind of book'] etc.
Short Demonstrative
Short Genitival Complex
Short Possessive
Referential

(b) Those whose occurrence is not restricted to the immediate post-Head position. They comprise the following:

Indeterminate Qualifier
Geminate Adjective
Relative Clause (b)
Adverb of Degree
Adverbial Complex (including all its sub-types)
Adverbial Phrase (of either sub-type)

Although each of these items can function only as post-Head Qualifier, their distribution in terms of the types of Head with which they can combine and the types of Qualifier with which they can co-occur may be different.

4.4. **Items Functioning Both as Head and as Qualifier**

The great majority of items can occur both as Head and as Qualifier in either pre-Head or post-Head positions; and they can be divided accordingly into four different groups, as follows:

4.4.1. **Head and Pre-Head Qualifier**

The following two items can occur either as Head or as pre-Head Qualifier:

*Indefinite Specifier (4a)*
*Isolator (13)*

The Isolator occurs as pre-Head Qualifier only with the necessary co-occurrence of the Referential in post-Head position,
e.g., ḏāyā littāafī-ḥ = [the other book]
 ḏāyā bāakō-ḥ = [the other guest];

and where the Isolator is functioning as Head, the occurrence of the Referential in Post-Head position is also obligatory, e.g.,
 ḏāyān yāa ৎsō = [the other one (masculine) has arrived]
 ḏāyān tāa zōo = [the other one (feminine) has come]

4.4.2  Head and Post-Head Qualifier

Each of the following eight items can occur either as Head or as Post-Head Qualifier:

Quantifiers (5)
Long Genitival Complex (7)
Ideophone (9)
Adjectival Phrase (10)
Adjectival Complex (11)
Relative Clause (a) (12)
Simple Adverb (other than Adverb of Degree) (14)
Adverbial Compound (15)
Adverbial Cluster (16)
It is appropriate to add the following points:

(a) kàdán, dà yàwàa and dà dáamáa can sometimes occur after an Adjective Head, but they must be analysed not as Qualifier 2 but as an Adverb of Degree. A further distinction, therefore, needs to be made between the two functions of these forms:

(1) They are analysed as Adverb of Degree when their counterparts in the same context are áinùn, kwáràí, or -n gàské e.g.,

gàjéerée kàdán = [slightly short]
fárii dà yàwàa = [very white]

Here they could not be replaced by dà dáamáa = [few] but only by áinùn or kwáràí = [very]

(2) They are Quantifier 2 when áinùn, kwáràí or -n gàské cannot be substituted in the same context, e.g.,

mùtànàée kàdán (sùn zòo) = [few people have come]
mùtànàée dà yàwàa (sùn zòo) = [many people have come]

Here kàdán and dà yàwàa cannot be replaced by any of the items mentioned above.

(b) Most ideophones can occur either as Head or as post-Head Qualifier, the only exceptions are the following:

(1) Ideophone Type B.I can function as Head only, e.g.,

(náa çì) kàcitìs dà Audù = [I have met Audu accidentally]; but it cannot occur as Qualifier, since kàcitìs cannot follow any type of Head.

(2) Ideophones type A.II(a), A.II.(b), and B.II.(a) cannot function as Head, but they can occur as post-Head Qualifier, e.g.,
Hd. + Ideo.A.II.(a): hâukâa tûbûrân (yá kê yîl)
[he is raving mad]

Hd. + Ideo.A.II.(b): kûukâa rîrls (yá kê yîl)
[he is crying very bitterly]

Hd. + Ideo.B.II(a): ràagôo sûkûtûm (tá sóyoâa)
[she has roasted a whole ram]

But not as Head, e.g.,

*yâa yi tûbûrân
*yâa yi rîrls
*yâa yi sûkûtûm

(3) Ideophones Type B.II.(b) can occur neither as Head nor as Qualifier. They can occur only as second element of Adjectival Phrase (a), e.g.,

fârîî fât; sáabôo fîl

For details about the classification of Ideophones, see Appendix A.

4.4.3. Head and Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier

The following three items can occur as Head, as Pre-Head Qualifier, or as Post-Head Qualifier:

Long Possessive (6)
Long Demonstrative (4b)
Unitary Adjective (8)

There are, however, the following restrictions:

(a) The Long Possessive in Pre-Head position presupposes the co-occurrence of the Referential in Post-Head position
[cf. Chapter 10, 10.2.]

\[\text{nàawá lütáafí-n} = \text{[the book belonging to me]}\]
\[\text{tásà kújèrè-r} = \text{[the chair belonging to him]}\]
\[\text{nàakà tåagiyú-n} = \text{[the caps belonging to you]}\]

(b) The Unitary Adjective in Pre-Head position is always immediately followed by an Adjectival Link: -n masculine, -r feminine, and -n plural (-n/-r/-n). In this case, the final vowel of the Unitary Adjective is short, even if in isolation it is long, and the Adjectival Link has the same tone as the final vowel, e.g.,

\[\text{fáríí dòkli} = \text{[white horse]}\]
\[\text{shùudúh lütáafí} = \text{[blue book]}\]
\[\text{fáráí fáahiyàa} = \text{[white cow]}\]
\[\text{fárhàréñ sháanúu} = \text{[white cattle]}\]

When the Unit. Adj. is in Post-Head Position, there is no Adjectival Link, e.g.,

\[\text{dòkli málhàalàcìì} = \text{[a lazy horse]}\]
\[\text{dòkli hòoràrrèé} = \text{[a well trained Horse]}\]
\[\text{dòkli fáríí} = \text{[a white horse]}\]

(c) Unitary Adjective type (a) (Agential Adjective) can be divided into two further sub-types:

(i) Those whose verbal counterparts are intransitive, e.g., mágùjìì = [swift], máfàdàcìì = [quarrelsome]. These can occur both as Head and as Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier.

(ii) Those whose verbal counterparts are transitive, e.g., mádùnìì = [tailor], mácìyií = [voracious]. These can occur both as Head and as Post-Head Qualifier, but cannot occur as Pre-Head Qualifier.
There is one item which can occur both as Head and as Post-Head Qualifier, and can also occur as what may be termed a 'Discontinuous Qualifier', namely:

Adjectival Phrase (10)

When it occurs not as Head but as Qualifier, there are two possible patterns of syntactic behaviour:

(a) All its constituents may occur entirely in Post-Head position, in which case it functions as Post-Head Qualifier, e.g.,

(i) rligáa sáabúwáa káw = [a brand new gown]
(ii) rligáa kyäkkyáawáa kwárái = [a very good gown]
(iii) rligáa kûnsáshsiyáa à tákàrdáa = [a gown wrapped in a piece of paper]

(b) It may be discontinuous, the two major constituents being separated on either side of the Head. In spite of this discontinuity, the Adjectival Phrases are still treated as a unity, because of their close association, reflected in their Immediate Constituent analysis; as in the following example:

sáabúwáír rligáa káw = [a brand new gown]

can be analysed as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{sáabúwá} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{rligáa} \\
\downarrow \\
káw
\end{array}
\]

It may be noted that the Unitary Adjective which constitutes the main element of Adjectival Phrase is, in this case, always accompanied by its Adjectival Link.
SECTION II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

CHAPTER 5

SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE CONSISTING OF HEAD ALONE

Simple Nominal Phrase, whether in their elemental form consisting of Head alone or in fuller form with one or more Qualifiers, may be classified according to the type of item that functions as Head. In this chapter, the various types of Simple Nominal Phrase are illustrated in their elemental form. The examples are set in appropriate contexts, both in subject and in object position in a sentence, except in the case of Simple NP's of types 1 and 2, with Noun and Compound Noun as Head respectively, where contextualization hardly seems necessary.

5.1 Type 1 - Noun as Head

Both Dynamic and Non-Dynamic Nouns with their sub-types can function as Head of NP Type 1. Examples of such Nouns are given in the following diagram, their glosses being already given in Chapter 2 (2.1).
5.2 **Type 2 - Compound Noun as Head**

Like the Nouns, any item from any sub-type of Compound Noun can occur as Head. Examples of all the sub-types of Compound Noun are given in the flow diagram below, the glosses being given in Chapter 2 (2.2).
COMPOUND NOUN

I.

(A) māalām-Bālāa
    bāhāji-Allī

(B) tārīn-shīkāa
    rūgār-rūwāa

(C) yākī-dā-jāāfīcī
    bābbā-dā-jākāa

(D) fārār-wūtāa
    bākīn-jīnīī

II.

(A) rūdā-khyāngī
    ḍādī-kā-mūtū

(B) rūgā-kāfī
    tūmā-kāsā

(C) kāa-fī-dāa-wūyāa
    bāa-kāa-zūwāa-kōgīī

III. fli-dā-sārtsē
    kīal-kīal-bānsā
5.3  **Type 3 - Pronoun as Head**

Here all the three types of Pronoun can function as Head of NP type 3, although the Disjunctive Pronoun Head can occur only in subject position, e.g.,

(a) **Disjunctive Pronoun as Head:**
   - múu mún gámàa = [we have finished]
   - súu záa sù jée = [they are going]

(b) **Interrogative Pronoun as Head:**
   (i) **in subject position:**
   - wàa yá zóo? = [who has come?]
   - wàa cécè cè tó tó? = [who (fem.) has gone out:]
   (ii) **in object position:**
   - káa gá wàa? = [you saw whom?]
   - káa jí mè = [you heard what?]

(c) **Indefinite Pronoun as Head:**
   (i) **subj.:** wàaán dé yáá dàawó = [so-and-so (masc.) is back]
   (ii) **obj.:** náa gá wàa nè = [I saw so-and-so (masc.)]

5.4  **Type 4 - Specifier as Head**

Both Indefinite Specifier and Long Demonstrative can occur as Head of this type, in either subject or object positions, e.g.,

(a) **Indef. Spec. as Head:**
   (i) **subj.:** wàa ní yáa zóo = [sone/another one has come]
   (ii) **obj.:** yáa híkí wàa ní = [he has sent some/another one]

(b) **Lg. Dem. as Head:**
   (i) **subj.:** wànnàñ yáa fí = [this one is better]
   (ii) **obj.:** yáa zàabi wànnàñ = [he has chosen this one]
5.5  **Type 5 - Quantifier as Head**

(a) **Qt. 1 as Head:** e.g.,

(i) **subj.:** (gùddàa) húdú sùn lsá = [four are sufficient]
(ii) **obj.:** yáa sàyí (gùddàa) húdú = [he has bought four]

(b) **Qt. 2 as Head:** e.g.,

(i) **subj.:** kàdàn sùn dáwóó = [a few have come back]
(ii) **obj.:** yáa sàamí kàdàn = [he has got a few]

(c) **Qt. 3 as Head:** e.g.,

(i) **subj.:** bìyì-ìbìyì sùn ìshéè sù = [two each are enough]
(ii) **obj.:** sùn sàamí úkù-úkù = [they have got three each]

5.6  **Type 6 - Long Possessive as Head**

(i) **subj.:** nàawá yáa káaré = [mine has finished]
táasù táa káryéè = [theirs is broken]

(ii) **obj.:** yáa dàukí táata = [he has taken hers]
táa àrí náakà = [she has borrowed yours]

5.7  **Type 7 - Long Genitival Complex as Head**

(i) **subj.:** ná Audù yáa bátà = [Audu's is missing]
tá jiya táa káaré = [the one of yesterday is finished]

(ii) **obj.:** yáa àrí ná màkàántà = [he has borrowed the school's]
táa sàyí ná hàwàa = [she has bought one for riding]

5.8  **Type 8 - Unitary Adjective as Head**

(a) **Agt. Adj.:** màgùjíí yáa îsóó = [a fast one has arrived]
màfàdàacíí yáa îsóó = [a cantankerous one has arrived]
(b) **Ptpl. Adj.**: lhalhatáccée yáa zóo = [a spoiled one has come]
derááréé yáa gáá = [a prisoner has escaped]

(c) **Simp. Adj.**: fáríí yáa báá = [a white one is missing]
Kánkanëé yáa Isá = [a small amount is enough]

5.9 **Type 9 - Ideophone as Head**

NP type 9 has an Ideophone functioning as Head, but there are the following restrictions:

(a) When in subject position, the Head is always combined with either the **Ref.** or the **Sh.Dem.** in post-Head position, e.g:

+ **Ref.**:
  
  sákó-sákó yáa wárgajée
  [the loose one has (finally) disintegrated]

  kázár-kázár díí táa yi yiáwáa
  [the restlessness is too much]

+ **Sh.Dem.**:

  zákó-zákó há há sún dàáméé shí
  [those prominent ones are bothering him]

  fál-fál díí nán táa báá mútànée tsbóróó
  [this fluttering flame could frighten people]

(b) Only ideophones of type **A.I.(a)**, **A.I.(b)**, and **B.I** (see Appendix A) can function as Head of an NP. e.g:

(i) **In subject position**: (see (a) above)

(ii) **In object position**:

  cñiwn nán yáa háá Audú sákát
  [this illness has denied Audu peace of mind]

  mëe këë sáá shí zúgúm háá?
  [what makes him look so solemn?]

(1) With these verbs, the Direct Object is the second of the two objects.
5.10 Type 10 - Adjectival Phrase as Head

Examples:

(a) Adj.Ph.(a):

mún gá máhaukáció túbúran = [we saw a raving mad (person)]
yáa zaabí cíkákkée màakíl = [he has chosen a completely full
sáabóo fíl yáa bátà = [a brand new one is missing] one]

(b) Adj.Ph.(b):

yáa sàyí mágújíi áínın = [he has bought a very fast one]
hbóraáree sóosái yáa bátà = [a well trained one is missing]
bábbá kwáráí táa núuná = [a very big one is ripe]

(c) Adj.Ph.(c):

yáa bántárá gínánnée jlkín-bángóo = [he has pulled out one
which is stuck to the wall]
kákkárfáá à idó kàm yáa wúcè = [a strong-looking one has
passed by]

5.11 Type 11 - Adjectival Complex as Head

Examples are:

(a) Adj.Cx.(a):

mài màgánà yáa zóo = [(he) who has complaints has arrived]
mún gá mài káamàawáa = [we saw who catches (it)]

(b) Adj.Cx.(b):

mài mádáráá yáa wúcè = [a milkman has passed by]
yáa mún gá mài kúffí = [we saw a rich man today]

(c) Adj.Cx.(c):

mài shii yáa fltá = [the owner (of it) has gone out]
wàa yáá gá mài wánnàñ? = [who saw the owner of this one?]
5.12 **Type 12 - Relative Clause (a) as Head**

Examples are:

(i) **Subj.**:

\[ \text{wàndà yá zòo yàa kòomàa} \]

\[ ((\text{the one}) \text{ who came has gone back}) \]

\[ \text{wàndà ká báa nì yàa bátà} \]

\[ ((\text{that}) \text{ which you gave me is missing}) \]

(ii) **Obj.**:

\[ \text{nàa gá wàndà yá rúbùutáa} \]

\[ [\text{I saw who wrote (it)}] \]

\[ \text{àn kàamà wàndàdà súkà sàatáa} \]

\[ [\text{(some one) has arrested those who stole (it)}] \]

5.13 **Type 13 - Isolator as Head**

Isolator in Head position is always combined with the Referential in Post-Head position, e.g.,

(i) **Subj.**:

\[ \text{càyáà ìì yàa dàawòó} = [\text{the other (masc.) one is back}] \]

\[ \text{càyáà tánì dàawòó} = [\text{the other (fem.) one is coming}] \]

(ii) **Obj.**:

\[ \text{nàa hàngí càyáà} = [\text{I can see the other (masc.) one from the distance}] \]

\[ \text{àn àikì càyáà} = [\text{the other (fem.) one has been sent with a message}] \]

5.14 **Type 14 - Simple Adverb as Head**

Both Unitary and Reduplicated Simple Adverbs can occur as Head.

Examples are shown as follows:
As is clear from the above examples, Temporal (both Unitary and Reduplicated) and Modal Reduplicated Simple Adverb do not occur as Head. The remaining categories which do occur can function both as subject and as object.

5.15 **Type 15 - Adverbial Compound as Head**

(i) **Subj.** wàjèn-gàrrì tàa jìkè shàtàf
[outside the city has got thoroughly wet]

cǐkìn-gìdàa tàa gyàrà ràdàu
[inside the house is repaired beautifully]

(ii) **Obj.** rùwàa yàa jìkà tsàkàr-gìdàa shàràf
[the rain has soaked the middle of the house]

tààòò yàa bààtà bààkìn-kòòìn
[mud has spoiled the reverside]

5.16 **Type 16 - Adverbial Cluster as Head**

When an Adverbial Cluster functions as Head it is usually of Locative category; Adverbial Cluster can occur as Head, but it functions only as subject and never as object of a verb. e.g.:

(a) **Adv.Cl.**, as Head:

(i) **Subj.** càh yàwàmá-yàwàmá tàa bùùshè
[over there to the west is dry]
nah bakañ-kashwaa taa yi masaa neesaa
[here close to the market is too far for him]

(ii) Obj.: wuta taa koona caa kas-kasa
[fire has destroyed a little way down there]

(b) Adv.Cl. as Head:
gbobe baayaa-lasar taa yi nfiisaa
[tomorrow in the late afternoon is too far away]
bhar karchen-daminaa taa koyaa masaa hankali
[last year at the end of the rainy season taught him a lesson]
PRE-HEAD QUALIFIERS IN THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The items which can function as Pre-Head Qualifiers have been mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.2, 4.4.1, and 4.4.3). They may be listed briefly here, as follows:

Specifier: Int.
   Indef.
   Lg. Dem.

Isolator

Diminutive

Long Possessive

Unitary Adjective

While all these items can occur as Pre-Head Qualifier, there are some restrictions on their occurrence, and this is discussed at appropriate points below.

In discussing the Pre-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to consider NP's containing only one Pre-Head Qualifier first, and subsequently those containing more than one.
6.1 Head preceded by one Qualifier

Of the various items which can occur as Head, some can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers listed above, some cannot be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers at all, while others can only be preceded by certain of them, as described below:

6.1.1 The following items, as Head, can be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier:

Dyn.                      Unit. Adj.
Non-Dyn.                   Adj.Cx.: (a)
Cpd.Nn.: I. (b)            (b)
                           (c)

Possible combinations of this kind may be illustrated by the following examples containing a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head:

Int. + Hd.:               Ln. + Lhd.:            = [which book?]
wâne littáaflí?            wâne littáaflí = [a certain book]
wâni littáaflí
Lg.Dem. + Hd.:             wânhâ littáaflí = [the other book]
Lg.Dem. + Hd.:             cCâyâ littáaflí(7) = [a little book]
cCâyâ littáaflí
Lg.Pos. + Hd.:             nââwâ littáaflí(1) = [a beautiful book]
Unít. Adj. (a) + Hd.:     (b) + Hd.:             = [a decorated book]
mâkawâcîn littáaflí
Unít. Adj. (b) + Hd.:     (c) + Hd.:             = [a good book]
kawâtâcîn littáaflí
(kyâkkyâwân littáaflí)

(1) For the final -n see Chapter 4 (4.4.1, and 4.4.3)
It should be noted, however, that a Proper Noun is never preceded by Dim. or Unit. Adj. e.g.,

*dán Báléa (with meaning appropriate to the Dim.)
*Kakkárftn Báléa

Combinations with items other than a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head may be illustrated by a combination of any of the pre-Head Qualifiers in the examples given above with any of the examples of other types of Noun, Compound Noun, Adjectival Complex and Adverbial Compound given in the relevant parts of Chapter 5. A random selection of examples may be given here:


(b) Lg.Dem. + Cpd.Nn.II.: wānnān fàdži-kà-mūtù [this chinaware]

(c) Dim. + Cpd.Nn.III.: dān fli-dā-sārtsè [a little euphorbia lateriflora]

(d) Indef.Spec. + Unit.Adj.: wāni fārī [a certain white one]

(e) Lg.Pos. + Adj.Cx.(a): nāakà māi zāanē+h [your decorated one]

(f) Unit.Adj. + Adj.Cx.(b): bāakōn māi dōkli [an unknown horseman]

(g) Is. + Adv.Cpd.: cāyā cīkin-gidā+h [the other courtyard]

6.1.2 The items which can occur as Head but cannot be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier are:

6.1.3

All the remaining items which can occur as Head can be preceded only by certain of the Pre-Head Qualifiers, as shown in Table 2. They can conveniently be described in three groups as follows:

(a) Lg.Gen., Lg.Pos. and Qt.'s can be preceded by most Pre-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

- Lg.Gen. by all except Lg.Pos.
- Lg.Pos. " " " Lg.Pos. and Unit. Adj.
- Qt.'s " " " Is. " Unit. Adj.

e.g.,

Spec. + Lg. Gen.: wátá tá kàrán-mískli
[a certain velvet one]

Is. + Lg. Pos.: dálá táakà-h
[the other one of yours]

Pos. + Qt.1: nhawá gùdãa úkh-h
[my three ones]

(b) The following are somewhat restricted in their possible combinations, and can be preceded only by the items shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head by Pre-Head Qualifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indef. Pr. &quot; Spec.'s (Int., Indef.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideo. &quot; Spec.'s (nt., Indef.), Dim., Lg.Pos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g.,

Int.Spec. + Indef.Pr.: wàñè wàñè?
[which so-and-so?]

Int.Spec. + Disj.Pr.: wàñè nfü
[who am I (....)?]
Indef. Spec. + Ideo.: \( \text{wáñí ṭhù} \)
[a certain sensation]

Lg. Dem. Spec. + Is.: \( \text{wánná̂n díyá̂h} \)
[that other one]

Is. + Adj. Ph.: \( \text{díyá̂ sááb̪ò fíl díh} \)
[the other brand new one]

(c) Int. Pr. and Spec. (Indef. and Lg. Dem.) in Head position can be preceded only by Dim. and not by any other Pre-Head Qualifier, e.g.,

\[
\text{Dim. + Int. Pr.}: \quad \text{dá̂n wánnée?} = \text{[which little one?]}
\]

\[
\text{Dim. + Indef. Spec.}: \quad \text{dá̂n wání} = \text{[a certain little one]}
\]

\[
\text{Dim. + Lg. Dem.}: \quad \text{dá̂n wánnán} = \text{[this little one]}
\]

6.1.3.1

**Table 2**

Possible Combinations of Head and Pre-Head Qualifiers

Table 2 below shows all the possible combinations of Head and Pre-Head Qualifiers as described in the preceding section:

[All the items which can occur as Head are shown in the right hand margin, and all the items which can occur as Pre-Head Qualifier are shown at the top of the Table. A plus at the intersection of any vertical column and horizontal line indicates that the two items involved can combine, while a blank space indicates that the two items involved cannot combine. Parentheses enclosing a plus indicate the possibility of combination of the two items, but with some additional restrictions which are described after the table.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIFIER</th>
<th>Is. (-n)</th>
<th>DIM.</th>
<th>Pos. (-n)</th>
<th>Unit. Adj.</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>TOTAL COMB.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Dyn.</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Non-Dyn.</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.I(A)</td>
<td>1+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.I(B)</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.I(C)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.I(D)</td>
<td>4+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.II</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Cpd.Nn.III</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Disj.</td>
<td>2+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Int.Pr.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indef.Pr.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spec. (Indef., and Lg.Dem.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Qt. (1,2 and 3)</td>
<td>3+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lg.Pos.</td>
<td>3+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Lg.Gen.</td>
<td>5+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Unit Adj.(a),(b),(c)</td>
<td>4+(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ideo.</td>
<td>3+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Adj.Ph.</td>
<td>1+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Adj.Cx.(a)</td>
<td>4+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Adj.Cx.(b),(c)</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + (+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Is.</td>
<td>3+(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Simp.Adv. (Unit. and Redp.)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + +</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Adv.Cpd.</td>
<td>5+(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Adv.Cl.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 17</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Some of these combinations may be illustrated by the following random examples:

- **Is. + Lg. Pos.**: 
  \[\text{dáýá nàawá-h} = \text{[the other one of mine]}\]
- **Indef. Spec. + Unit. Adj.**: 
  \[\text{wànî fari\text{"i}} = \text{[a certain white one]}\]
- **Pos. + Unit. Adj.**: 
  \[\text{nàawá báki-h} = \text{[the black one of mine]}\]
- **Lg. Dem. + Is.**: 
  \[\text{wánhán dáýá-h} = \text{[that other one]}\]
- **Dim. + Ideo.**: 
  \[\text{dán sákó-sákó} = \text{[a slightly loose one]}\]
- **Unit. Adj. + Lg. Gen.**: 
  \[\text{tsóohúwár tā súlikí = [old silken one]}\]
- **Indef. Spec. + Adj. Ph.**: 
  \[\text{wádcánsú sáabábbîl káw} = \text{[certain brand new ones]}\]

Other examples may be obtained by combining examples of the items concerned as given in Chapter 5.

The further restrictions referred to in introducing Table 2 all involve the necessary co-occurrence of some Post-Head Qualifiers along with certain Pre-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

(i) **Dim.** can precede **Cpd. Nm. I.(D)**, but such a combination requires the co-occurrence of **Rel.(b)** in Post-Head position, e.g.,

\[\text{dán fáríí-jínií dà tā sóomàa súkèe kyàashíi} \]

[a little popularity which she has started to develop that they envy]

\[\text{yár fárár-kásáa dà yá sáyóo táa jíkèe} \]

[little whitewash which he bought has got wet]

(ii) **Dim.** can also precede **Disj. Pr.** Head only with the necessary co-occurrence of **Sh. Dem.** in Post-Head position, e.g.,

\[\text{dán níi díni nāh (náa Isá ráímāa ká?)} \]

[can a little creature (like) me here despise you?]

(iii) **Lg. Dem.** in Pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence
(a) of Ref. when Qt.3 is in Head position, e.g.,
\[\text{wáññáh ūká-ūká-h} = \text{[those three each]}\]

(b) of a Post-Head Qualifier of any kind when Lg.Pos. or Ideo. is in Head position, provided that the co-occurring Post-Head Qualifier can occur after the particular Head, e.g.,
\[\text{Lg.Dem.+Lg.Pos.(Hd.)+Ref.}: \quad \text{wáññáh náaká-h} = \text{[that one of yours]}\]
\[\text{Lg.Dem.+Ideo.(Hd.)+Simp.Unit.Adv.}^M: \quad \text{wáññáh chà hákà (ái...)} = \text{[such a sizzling noise as this...]}\]

(c) of Simp.Unit.Adv.\(^M\) when a Unit.Adj. is in Head position, e.g.,
\[\text{wáññáh fáríi hákà} \ (\text{zái bátà kwá?})\]
[can this white (mark) this size (really disappear?)]
\[\text{Ináa kúkà sàmmí wáññáh káatbo hákà?} \quad \text{[where have you got a big (one) such as this]}\]

(iv) The Is. and Lg.Pos. in pre-Head position require the co-occurrence of a Ref. in post-Head position, e.g.,
\[\text{Is. + Hd.}: \quad \text{dáyá littáafi-h} = \text{[the other book]}\]
But not: *dáyá littáafli
\[\text{Pos. + Hd.}: \quad \text{nàawá littáafi-h} = \text{[my book]}\]
But not: *nàawá littáafli

6.1.4 It has been shown that, of the various items functioning as Head, some of them (viz.: Nouns, most Compound Nouns, Unitary Adjective, Adjectival Complex and Adverbial Compound) can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers; some cannot be preceded by any Pre-Head Qualifier at all (viz., Relative Clause, Simple Adverb and
Adverbial Cluster); while the remainder can be preceded only by certain, but not by all, of the Pre-Head Qualifiers.

6.2 Head preceded by more than one Pre-Head Qualifier

The general statement can be made that, where a Head can be combined with a number of different Pre-Head Qualifiers, any two or more of these Qualifiers can occur in combination with such Head. A Non-Dynamic Noun, for example, can be preceded by any of the Pre-Head Qualifiers (see 6.1), combinations such as the following, therefore, are also possible with such a Noun as Head:–

**Indef.Spec. + Dim. + Hd.**

wání dán littáaffi  
[a certain little book]

**Is. + Lg.Pos. + Unit.Adj. + Hd.**

dàyá nákâ fárámín littáaffi  
[your other small book]

Then it is only necessary to state the following exceptions:

(i) The three sub-types of Specifier are mutually exclusive; and all are also mutually exclusive with the Isolator.

(ii) In general, only one item from any given type of Pre-Head Qualifier can occur with any given Head; but in the sole case of the Adjective, a number of items can occur together either alone or in combination with other Pre-Head Qualifiers, before the same Head, each Adjective being followed by the appropriate Adjectival Link (-n/-r/-n). There appears to be some kind of sequential ordering of such Adjectives, for instance a colour Adjective always occurs last in any sequence in which it occurs, e.g.,

(wání) kbosásshén dóogón fárín dóokli  
[a tall well-fed white horse]

**Not:** *fárín kbosásshén dóogón dóokli  
Or:  *dóogón fárín kbosásshén dóokli
6.2.1

Since the Specifiers and Isolator are mutually exclusive, the maximum number of places to be filled in Pre-Head position is four, and since these Qualifiers are all optional elements in the structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase, any number from one to the maximum of four of these places may be filled. The sequential order, however, is fixed, so that where these four places are filled the first is filled by the Specifier or the Isolator, the second by the Diminutive, the third by the Long Possessive, and the fourth by the Unitary Adjective. This sequential order also remains the same where less than four of these places are filled.

The structure of the Simple Nominal Phrase where the Head is accompanied by only the Pre-Head Qualifiers can, therefore, be summarised as follows:

\[
\left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{Int.} \\
\text{Spec.} \\
\text{Indef.} \\
\text{Lg. Dem.} \\
\text{Is.}
\end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c}
(+\text{Dim.}) \\
(+\text{Lg. Pos.}) \\
\#\text{Unit. Adj.'s}
\end{array} \right) + \text{Head}
\]

The braces enclose the mutually exclusive elements, and the parentheses enclose the optional elements in the structure of the Simple NP. The outside parentheses enclosing all the items, except the Head, indicate that all these items are optional and only the Head is an obligatory element; so that there can be any one of these optional elements, or any two, or any three, or all the four preceding the same Head of a Simple Nominal Phrase.

Some examples of the possible combinations are here given with a Non-Dynamic Noun functioning as Head. Combinations with items other than Non-Dynamic Noun in Head position may be illustrated by a combination of any examples of the Pre-Head Qualifiers as
given in Table 2, with examples of the various other types of items which can occur as Head, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Spec. + Dim. + Hd.:} & \quad \text{wání dán líttáafli} \\
& \quad [a \text{ certain } \text{ little book}] \\
\text{Is. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd.:} & \quad \text{díyá nàawá fárín líttáafli} \\
& \quad [\text{the other white book of mine}] \\
\text{Spec. + Dim. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd.:} & \quad \text{wání dán nàawá Kàrámn líttáafli} \\
& \quad [\text{another little book of mine}] \\
\text{Is. + Dim. + Lg. Pos. + Unit. Adj. + Hd.:} & \quad \text{díyá dán nàawá Kàrámn líttáafli} \\
& \quad [\text{the other little book of mine}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

6.2 Conclusion

In the light of this, the following generalisations can be made:

Pre-Head Qualifiers:

Pre-Head Qualifiers can be grouped under three headings, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine. The figures given below indicate the number of types of Head with which each Qualifier can combine, the figures given in brackets referring to cases where the Qualifier can occur only with the co-occurrence of another Qualifier.

(a) Qualifiers with high combinability:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Int. Spec.} & \quad 18 \\
\text{Indef. Spec.} & \quad 17 \\
\text{Dim.} & \quad 15 + (2)
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Qualifiers with moderate combinability:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lg. Dem.} & \quad 11 + (4) \\
\text{Unit. Adj.} & \quad 11
\end{align*}
\]
Qualifiers with low combinability:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Qualifiers with low combinability:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is. 0+ (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lg. Pos. 0+ (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Head:

Similarly, the items occurring as Head can be grouped under four headings on the basis of the number of Pre-Head Qualifiers with which they can combine:

(a) **Readily combinable:**

- Dyn. Nn. 5+(2)
- Non-Dy. Nn. 5+(2)
- Cpd. Nn. I(b) 5+(2)
- Cpd. Nn. II. 5+(2)
- Cpd. Nn. III. 5+(2)
- Adj. Cx. (b-c)

(b) **Relatively low combinability:**

- Qt. 3+(2)
- Lg. Pos. 3+(2)
- Ideo. 3+(1)
- Is. 3+(1)

(c) **Low combinability:**

- Disj. Pr. 2+(1)
- Indef. Pr. 2
- Cpd. Nn. I(a) 1+(1)
- Adj. Ph. 1+(1)
- Cpd. Nn. I(c) 1
- Int. Pr. 1
- Spec. 1

(d) **Non-combinable:**

- Rel; Simp. Adv.; Adv. Cl.

Furthermore, there is a strict sequential order which applies whenever two or more Pre-Head Qualifiers co-occur in qualification of the same Head.
CHAPTER 7

HEAD WITH ONE POST-HEAD QUALIFIER

The items which occur as Post-Head Qualifier in the Simple NP have been mentioned in Chapter 4 (4.3, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, and 4.4.4). The great majority of them can occur after a given Head without the necessary co-occurrence of any other Qualifier, and most can occur in sequences of two or more in qualification of the same Head, but a few can occur only with the necessary co-occurrence of another Qualifier.

In this Chapter, only NP's containing one Post-Head Qualifier are considered, leaving any co-occurrence of two or more Qualifiers in the same NP to be dealt with in Chapters 8, 9, and 10. It is also convenient to exclude from consideration in this Chapter, NP's having Dynamic Nouns as Head, since they are unusual in some respects. Such NP's are discussed in Chapter 11. Furthermore, Non-Adverbial and Adverbial Qualifiers are dealt with separately, since the latter are less frequently found as Qualifiers except after a Dynamic Noun Head.

Consideration is first given to NP's with a non-Adverbial item functioning as Head, beginning with those having a Noun as Head and then those having a Compound Noun as Head, and so on; NP's having an Adverbial item as Head are then examined, and this account is followed by a table summarising all the possible combinations.

The following list comprises all the various items discussed in this Chapter:
Non-Adverbial Items as Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Dynamic Noun</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound Noun</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitary Adjective</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specifier</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Possessive</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideophone</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival Complex</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitival Complex</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Clause</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolator</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adverbial Items as Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Adverb</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Compound</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Cluster</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Post-Head Qualifiers relevant for discussions in this Chapter are the following:

Non-Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers

| Qt. 1, 2, 3                  | Adj. Cx. (a), (b), (c) |
| Indet. Q.                   | Rel. (a), (b)          |
| Lg. Pos.                    | Ref.                   |
| Lg. Gen                     | Sh. Dem.               |
| Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)    | Sh. Pos.               |
| Ideo.                       |                       |
| Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)      |                       |
Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers

Simp. Adv. (Unit.), (Redp.), (Adv. Deg.),
Adv. Cpd.,
Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (c), (d), (e),
Adv. Cl.
Adv. Ph. (a), (b)

Of the various items which can occur as Head, none can be followed by the whole range of these Post-Head Qualifiers; on the other hand, in contrast with what was said about the Pre-Head Qualifiers, every item functioning as Head can be followed by at least one type of Post-Head Qualifier. Some combinations are subject to certain supplementary restrictions, while others are not so restricted.

7.1 With a Non-Dynamic Noun as Head

Where a Non-Dynamic Noun is in Head position every one of the Non-Adverbial Post-Head Qualifiers can follow the Head, and, of the Adverbial Qualifiers, the following can also occur:

Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (d), (e)

e.g.,

+ Qt. 1: littáafli (gūdāa) dáyá = [one book]
+ Qt. 2: littāttāfāi kāfān = [few books]
+ Qt. 3: littāttāfāi ūkū ūkū = [three books each]
+ Indet.Q. littāafli kāzāa = [such and such a book]
+ Unit. Adj. (a) dōokli mállālmāčī = [lazy horse]
+ Unit. Adj. (b) dōokli ḫorārrē = [well trained horse]
+ Unit. Adj. (c) dōokli fārī = [a white horse]
There are other Adverbial Qualifiers (viz., Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl., and Adv.Ph.) which can occur after Non-Dynamic Noun Head but, since they require the co-occurrence of another Qualifier, discussion of their combinations is deferred to Chapter 10 (10.2).

7.1.1

There are, however, certain supplementary restrictions in connection with some of these combinations, perhaps determined by semantic compatibility, viz.,

(a) Abstract Noun of any subtype and Proper Noun in Head position are not followed by:

Indet. Q., or Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
### (b) Proper Nouns in Head position cannot be followed by:

- **Qt. 1, 2, or 3**
- **Gem. Adj.**

#### e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prop. + Qt. 1</td>
<td>*Báláa ghądáa dáyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prop. + Qt. 3</td>
<td>*Audú bíyú-bíyú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prop. + Qt. 2</td>
<td>*Kándo dá yáwáa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (c) Abstract Nouns are not followed by Adjectival Complex (a).

#### e.g.:

- *mágúntáa mái kísáa*
- *gírmáa mái fítáa*
7.2 With a Compound Noun as Head

In general, Compound Nouns behave syntactically within the NP in much the same way as Nouns; but the behavioural distinction between Compound Nouns which could be classified as 'Dynamic' and those which could be classified as 'Non-Dynamic' (and further as Proper, Common, Abstract, etc.) is not as marked as in the case of Nouns. Thus:

(i) while Dynamic Nouns can be followed by Adv.Cx.(c), e.g., hárbli tá táagáa = [shooting through the window], 'Dynamic' Compound Nouns such as rūfāa-īdō = [theft by charm] cannot.

(ii) while Non-Dynamic Nouns can be followed by Unt.Adj.(a), e.g., dókli mágūjīi = [a fast horse], this is not true of 'Non-Dynamic' Compound Nouns such as bākān-gīț = [rainbow], apart from Compound Noun 1(a) which itself behave like a Proper Noun (e.g. máalām Audū máhaddācīi = [Malam Audu the reciter]).

Again, in almost every syntactic type of Compound Noun, there are items which can be regarded, for reasons similar to those described in Chapter 2 (2.1.1), as Dynamic, and some others which can be regarded as Non-Dynamic, Compound Nouns; but all are followed by the same types of Post-Head Qualifiers. e.g.

In Cpd.Nn.1(b), are items such as ṭāārin-shīfīkā = whooping cough] which can be regarded as Concrete, and zāāfin-hānnūu- [being quick-tempered] which can be regarded as Abstract, Compound Nouns; but they are all followed by the same types of Post-Head Qualifiers.
(iii) Two items from different syntactic types of Compound Noun have different behaviour, irrespective of whether they can both be, say, Dynamic or not. The Compound Noun kārin-màgànnàa = [proverb], for example, can be followed by:

Sh.Pos.: e.g., kārin-màgànnàa-rsà = [his proverb]
Unit.Adj.(c) e.g., kārin-màgànnàa sàabúwàa = [new proverb]

and by several other Post-Head Qualifiers, none of which can follow the Compound Noun yàakìi-dà-jàhìlcìi = [adult education], although both items can be described as Dynamic; the main reason being that the former belongs to Cpd.Nn.I(b) while the letter belongs to Cpd.Nn.I(c).

The details of possible combinations with the Compound Noun are so numerous that they cannot be given here, but they are shown in Table 3 below. Only a few combinations are exemplified here. The Post-Head Qualifier in each case is Quantifier 1.

Cpd.Nn.I(b): rìigàr-rúwàa (gùdá) dàyà
[one raincoat]

Cpd.Nn.I(d): fàarà-ràsàa gwàngwànlí dàyà
[one tin of whitewash]

Cpd.Nn.II.(a): fààdì-kà-mùtù gùdàa dàyà
[one piece of china]

Cpd.Nn.II.(b): jàà-gàbà mùtùm ìkù
[three guides]

Cpd.Nn.II.(c): bàà-kàà-zúwàa-kìogìì tùrmììì dàyà
[one bundle of unwashable material]

Cpd.Nn.III.: fìì-dà-sàrtsè gùndìì dàyà
[one root of euphorbia lateriflora]
7.3 With a Pronoun as Head

The three types of Pronoun have different distributional characteristics, in that:

(a) A Disjunctive Pronoun in Head position can be followed\(^{(1)}\) by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Adj.Cx. (a),(b),(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qt.1,2,3</td>
<td>Rel. (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indet.Q.</td>
<td>and by: Adv.Cx.(e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The Interrogative Pronoun can be followed by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Adj.Cx. (a),(b),(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh.Pos.</td>
<td>Rel. (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The Indefinite Pronoun can be followed by the same Qualifiers as the Disjunctive Pronoun, the exceptions being Qt.3 and Adv.Cx.(e) which cannot follow the Indefinite Pronoun. It can also be followed by:

\(^{(1)}\) Combinations of Disj. + Lg.Pos. (e.g. shii nāakh = [the one belonging to you]), or Disj. + Lg.Gen. (e.g. shii ná Audh = [the one belonging to Audu]), or Disj. + Unit. Adj. (a) (e.g. shii māhaddacfi = [the one with nice cooing]), or Disj. + Unit. Adj. (b) (e.g. shii wānkākkē = [the one which is washed]), or Disj. + Unit. Adj. (c) (e.g. shii fārfi = [the one which is white]) could be analysed as either Simple Nominal Phrase or as Appositional Nominal Phrase. They are here regarded as Appositional Nominal Phrases, since waatāhu = [I mean] could be inserted between the Disj. and the following item; although, admittedly, the matter is arguable.
Sh. Pos.  Umt. Adj. (a), (b), (c)
Sh. Gen.
Lg. Pos.
Lg. Gen.

and also by:  Adv. Cx. (d)
Adv. Cl. L. St. (e)
Adv. Ph. (a), (b)

All these combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

Hd. + Ref.:  (a) Disj.: shii d'f'  = [he / him]
(b) Int.: wànnée d'f'  = [which one]
(c) IndF.: wáanè d'f'  = [the so-and-so]

Hd. + Sh.Pos.:  (a) Disj.:  
(b) Int.: wàccé-mèh = [which one of them?]
(c) IndF.: wáanè-mka = [your so-and-so]

Hd. + Sh.Gen.:  (a) Disj.:  
(b) Int.:  
(c) IndF.: wáanè-n Audà = [so-and-so of Audu]

Hd. + Lg.Pos.:  (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119 )
(b) Int.:  
(c) IndF.: wàncè tâ wáanè = [so-and-so of so-and-so]

Hd. + Qt.1:  (a) Disj.: sûu (sûu) biyár = [five of them]
(b) Int.:  
(c) IndF.: sû wáanè sûu úkh = [so-and-so, three of them]

Hd. + Qt.2:  (a) Disj.: sûu (sûu) dâ yàwâa = [many of them]
(b) Int.:  
(c) IndF.: sû wáanè sûu dâ yàwâa = [so-and-so, many of them]
Hd. + Qt.3: (a) Disj.: süu úkh-úkh = [they, in threes]
(b) Int.:
(c) Indr.:

Hd. + Unit Adj. (a): (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
(b) Int.:
(c) Indr.: wáanè máháddáčí = [so-and-so the reciter]

Hd. + Unit Adj. (b): (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
(b) Int.:
(c) Indr.: wáanè carárrée = [so-and-so the prisoner]

Hd. + Unit Adj. (c): (a) Disj.: (see Footnote p. 119)
(b) Int.:
(c) Indr.: wáncè báráwá = [so-and-so the guest]

Hd. + Adj. Cx. (a): (a) Disj.: süu màasú káará = [they who have grievances]
(b) Int.: wàa mài káará? = [who has grievances?]
(c) Indr.: wáncè mài kítsó = [so-and-so the hairdresser]

Hd. + Adj. Cx. (b): (a) Disj.: süu màasú tíkítí = [they who have tickets]
(b) Int.: wàd'année màasú tíkítí = [which ones who have tickets?]
(c) Indr.: wáancè mài dóókí = [so-and-so who has a horse]

Hd. + Adj. Cx. (c): (a) Disj.: shíi mài wánnáh = [he who has this one]
(b) Int.: wàa mài shíi = [who has got it?]
(c) Indr.: sú wáancè màasú shíi = [so-and-so who have got it]

Hd. + Rel. (b): (a) Disj.: màu dá kákké gánní = [we whom you are looking at]
(b) Int.: wàa dá yá zóó = [who has come?]
(c) Indr.: wáanè dá yá múth = [so-and-so who has died]
With a Unitary Adjective as Head

Any of the three sub-types of Unitary Adjective functioning
as Head can be followed by each of the following Qualifiers:

(a) **Non-Adverbial:**

- Ref.
- Sh. Dem.
- Sh. Pos.
- Sh. Gen.
- Qt. 1

    - Unit. Adj. (c)
    - Gem. Adj.
    - Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
    - Adj. Cx. (a), (b)
    - Rel. (a), (b)

(b) **Adverbial:**

    - Simp. Unit. Adv. M
    - Adv. Cl. L, St.
    - Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (e)

Examples of such combinations may be produced by combining one or other of the following Adjectives with any of the Qualifiers given above, subject to semantic compatibility:

(a) **Unit. Adj. (a):**

mágújii / mágújiyáa / mágúdáa = [speedy]
mácínkíi / mácínklyáa / mácínkáa = [one who sews (tailor)]
málálálácíi / málálálácliyáa / málálálatáa = [lazy]

(b) **Unit. Adj. (b):**

wànkkákkée / wànkkákkiyáa / wànkkákkuú = [washed (clean)]
zàánannéé / zàánánñíiyáa / zàánannníu = [patterned]
shàhàrárréé / shàhàrárríiyáa / shàhàrárrúú = [famous]

(c) **Unit. Adj. (c):**

gàjééréé / gàjéérijiyáa / gàjéerrúú = [short]
fářííí / fárááa / fáràaráée = [white]
bàakkóo / bàakkwáá / bàakfríí = [strange(r)]
e.g.,

Hd. + Ref.: mágújí~h = [the speedy one]  
            wànkàkké~h = [the clean one]  
            fàrì~h = [the white one]

Hd. + Adv.Cx.(a):
    mǎdǐnkìi à kàąsúwáa = [who sews in the market]  
    shàhàràrrée à kàąsúwáa = [famous in the market]  
    bààkòò à kàąsúwáa = [strange(r) in the market]

Hd. + Unt. Adj.(c):
    málàaláclyáa tsóohúwáa = [an old lazy one]  
    zààhánninyáa tsóohúwáa = [an old embroidered one]  
    gààjereýyáa tsóohúwáa = [an old short one]

Unitary Adjectives (b) and (c), but apparently not Unt.Adj.(a), can be followed, in addition to the Qualifiers mentioned above, also by: Qt. 3.

e.g.,

Hd. + Qt. 3: (b) wànkàkkúu ììkì-ìkì = [three clean ones each]  
            (b) bààkàkèe biyú-biyú = [two black ones each]

and Unitary Adjective (c) can also be followed by:

Unt. Adj. (b)  
Adj. Cx. (c)

e.g.,

+ Unt. Adj. (b): fàrìì kliwàtáccée = [a well-fed white one]  
+ Adj. Cx. (c): tsóohóò màì shìì = [an old one who has got it]  

Unitary Adjective (a), on the other hand, can also be followed by:

Unt. Adj. (b), e.g.,

màdǐnkìi shàhàràrrée = [a famous (person) who sews]
7.4.1

A distinction needs to be made between two different usages of Unitary Adjective + Sh. Pos.:

(a) with possessive meaning, corresponding to usages of the Possessive in Nn. + Pos. construction, as shown at the end of this section, e.g.,

\[\text{sáabó} \text{–} \text{nsá} = \text{[his new (mas.) one]}\]
\[\text{sáabúwá} \text{–} \text{nsá} = \text{[his new (fem.) one]}\]
\[\text{sáabó} \text{–} \text{ntá} = \text{[her new (mas.) one]}\]
\[\text{sáabúwá} \text{–} \text{ntá} = \text{[her new (fem.) one]}\]

Here the gender and number of:

(i) Adjectival suffix, and
(ii) Link element

is controlled by one antecedent, and the gender and number of:

(iii) The pronominal element

is controlled by a different antecedent, e.g.,

A masc. sg. and B also masc. sg.: sáabónsá
A " " but B is fem. " : sáabóntá
A " " B " pl.: sáabónsú
A fem. " " B " masc. sg.: sáabúwársá
A " " and B also fem. " : sáabúwártá
A " " but B is pl.: sáabúwársú
A.pl. " " B " masc. sg.: sáabàbbínso
A " " B " fem. " : sáabàbbíntá
A " and B also pl.: sáabàbbínso

(b) describing a State or Stage:

Here the gender and number of:
(i) Adjectival Suffix
(ii) Link leement, and
(iii) The pronominal element
are all controlled by a single antecedent; they are, therefore, all three always of the same gender and number,
e.g.,  saab-6-ñ-sa = [(it masc.) brand new]
        saab-ùwá-f-ta = [(it fem.) brand new]
        saab-âbbi-ñ-su = [(they) brand new]

To summarise these two different usages of Unt.Adj. + Sh.Pos. the position may be compared with the corresponding construction with the Noun in the place of Unt.Adj.; as in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>akwàltin Audù</td>
<td>akwàltinsa</td>
<td>sááboń Audù</td>
<td>sáábońsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>kúukán ) Audù</td>
<td>kúukán ) -sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tàffyàr )</td>
<td>tàffyàr ) -sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>hárbih dààmisà</td>
<td>hárbih) -sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kúukán Audù.</td>
<td>kúukán) -sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ná. kaawóó)</td>
<td>(na. kaawoo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>akwàltih kárfèe</td>
<td></td>
<td>sááboń kárfèe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td></td>
<td>sáábońsa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5

With a Specifier as Head

Both Long Demonstrative and Indefinite Specifiers can be followed by the following Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:

Ref.                Qt. 1
Sh. Dem.             Rel. (a), (b)
Lg. Gen.
In addition to these, the Indefinite Specifier can also be followed by a considerable variety of Qualifiers, Adverbial as well as Non-Adverbial, viz.,

(a) Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lg. Pos.</td>
<td>Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qt. 2</td>
<td>Adj. Cx. (a), (b), (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit. Adj.</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Adverbial Qualifiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simp. Unit. Adv. M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cx. (a), (d), (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cl. L, St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Ph. (a), (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these combinations can be illustrated by the following examples:

1. **+ Ref.**
   - **Indef.** : wání-h / wání dhíh = [the other one/someone]
   - **Lg. Dem.** : wáníhí dhíh = [(I mean) that one]

2. **+ Sh. Dem.**
   - **Indef.** : wání dhíh nání = [that other one]
   - **Lg. Dem.** : wáníhí dhíh nání = [that very one]

3. **+ Sh. Pos.**
   - **Indef.** : wání-nkù = [one of you]

4. **+ Lg. Pos.**
   - **Indef.** : wání nàawá = [another one of mine]

5. **+ Lg. Gen.**
   - **Indef.** : wání ná kárfe = [another steel one]
   - **Lg. Dem.** : wáníhí ná báayá = [that one behind]

6. **+ Qt. 1:**
   - **Indef.** : wání gúdáa dýáá = [another single one]
   - **Lg. Dem.** : wándãncán gúdáa úkù = [three of those]

7. **+ Qt. 2:**
   - **Indef.** : wándãnsú kàdání = [a few others]
   - **Unit. Adj. (c) Indef.** : wání sáábóo = [other new one]

8. **+ Gem. Adj.**
   - **Indef.** : wándãnsú ìrìi-ìrìi = [others of various kinds]
It is worth noting that the Indefinite Specifier Head followed by the Short Possessive Post-Head (e.g., wánímba = [one of you]) is, semantically, equivalent to Indefinite Specifier Head followed by the Adverbial Complex (b) dágà cíkínkù (e.g., wání dágà cíkínkù = [one from among you]); i.e. not possessive in meaning, whereas the Long Possessive in the same position (e.g., wání náakà = [one of yours]) is possessive in meaning.
7.6 With the Long Possessive as Head

The Long Possessive in Head Position is, like the Indefinite Specifier, followed by a relatively wide range of Post-Head Qualifiers, viz.,

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref. \quad \text{Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)}
Sh. Dem. \quad \text{Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)}
Qt. 1 \quad \text{Adj. Cx. (a), (b), (c)}
Lg. Gen. \quad \text{Rel. (a), (b)}

(b) Adverbial:

\text{Simp. Unit. Adv.}^M
\text{Adv. Cx. (e)}
\text{Adv. Ph. (b)}

Examples of each of these combinations may be given, as shown below:

+ Ref.: \quad \text{náakā- hà = [the one of yours]}
+ Sh. Dem.: \quad \text{náakā- hà nán = [that one of yours]}
+ Lg. Gen.: \quad \text{tàawa tá síliiklí = [my (fem.) silk one]}
+ Qt. 1: \quad \text{tàawa gúdáa dáyá = [his single (fem.) one]}
+ Unit. Adj. (a): \quad \text{nàwà Màhàddàcìí = [my nice-cooing one (masc.)]}
+ Unit. Adj. (b): \quad \text{tààtà zàànànnìýà = [her embroidered one (fem.)]}
+ Unit. Adj. (c): \quad \text{nààmu fààràrèe = [our white (pl.) ones]}
+ Adj. Ph. (a): \quad \text{tààmu fààrà sàl = [our very white one (fem.)]}
+ Adj. Ph. (b): \quad \text{tààmu jàà aìnùn = [our quite red one (fem.)]}
+ Adj. Ph. (c): \quad \text{tààmu sààbùwàa dàà lìtì = [our nicely new one]}
+ Adj. Cx. (a): \quad \text{nààsù màà màànàà = [theirs which can talk]}
+ Adj. Cx. (b): \quad \text{nààsù mààsù zàànèe = [their embroidered ones]}
+ Adj. Cx. (c): \quad \text{nààsù mààsù fààrìì Kwààràì = [their very white ones]}
+ Rel. (a): \quad \text{nààsù wà Lààndà kà sàníì = [his ones which you know]}

7.7 With Ideophone as Head

Ideophones in Head position are, in general, followed by more than one Qualifier or no Qualifier at all. There are, however, three Qualifiers which can follow certain types of Ideophone as sole Qualifier, viz.,

(a) **Non-Adverbial Qualifiers:**

Sh. Dem. Rel. (b)

(b) **Adverbial Qualifier:**

Adv. Cx. (d)

7.7.1 Sh. Dem. occurs after the following two sub-types:

(1) **Ideo. Type A.I. (a):**

   (i) Sub-type (iv), e.g.,
   
   fàl-fàl dìn nànn (tāa yī yāwàa)
   [this fluttering flame (is too much)]

   (ii) Sub-type (viii), e.g.,
   
   sàkwà-sàkwà-h nān yāa wàrgàjèe
   [the loosely tied one has become unfastened]

(2) **Ideo. Type A.II. (a):**

   (i) Sub-type (i), e.g.,
yuñu dính näñ (táa fáarà tássöo màsà)
[that sensation has started to overcome him]

(ii) Sub-type(iv), e.g.,
(dà súkà jí) kàyàa-kàyàa dính näñ
[(the moment they heard) that rattling noise]

(iii) Sub-type(v), e.g.,
càkwał-càkwał dính näñ (táa táayár màsà dà zúuciyàa)
[that noisy-eating has made him sick]

7.7.2
Rel.(b), as sole Qualifier, occurs only after:
(1) Sub-type(ix), e.g.,
zàkóo-zàkob dà kà sán shì dà sùn (sùn fàadà)
[the prominent ones, which you know he has got, have fallen]

(2) Sub-type(x), e.g.,
hàyàa-hàyàa dà súkà jí (ítà tâ kàawòo sù)
[the noise of the crowds, which they heard, is what brought them]

7.7.3
Adv.Cx.(e), as sole Qualifier, occurs only after Ideo. type B.I,
e.g.,
nàa yì kàcìbìs dà Audà
[I 'bumped into' Audu]

7.8 With Adjectival Phrase as Head

When in Head position, the three types of Adjectival Phrase may have different syntactic behaviours in other respects, but as regards the single Qualifier that can follow the Head, their behaviour is
comparable, in that they can all be followed by the following Qualifiers:

(a) **Non-Adverbial:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Unit. Adj. (b), (c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lg. Pos.</td>
<td>Adj. Ph. (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lg. Gen.</td>
<td>Rel. (a), (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qt.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Adverbial:**

- Adv. Cx. (e)

Examples of these combinations may be produced by combining one or other of the following Adjectival Phrases with any of the Qualifiers given above, subject to semantic compatibility:

(a) **Adj. Ph. (a):**

- såábbó fil = [brand new]
- zàanánnée rádáu = [well embroidered]
- gàjéérée dúkhís = [very short]

(b) **Adj. Ph. (b):**

- kàatùwáa kwàrái = [very big]
- hòborarrée áinùn = [very well trained]
- hàddìíí sòosái = [well constructed]

(c) **Adj. Ph. (c):**

- lànsáshíyáa ò tàkàrdáa = [which is wrapped in a paper]
- yàagággée dàgà kàrbú = [which is torn on the skirt]
- såábbábi dà súu = [which are nicely new]

There are some restrictions, however, viz.:

(a) Of the I.P.H.Q. (Ref., Sh.Dem., Sh.Pos., Sh.Gen.,) Sh.Pos. and Sh.Gen. cannot occur after Adj.Ph. (c).
(b) The Adjectival Phrase is discontinuous when followed by the I.P.H.Q., e.g.,

+ Ref. : Adj.Ph.(a) : sáabóŋ fil = [the brand new one]  
Adj.Ph.(b) : káatuwáŋ kwárái = [the very big one]  
Adj.Ph.(c) : kánsásšíyáŋ tákárdáa = [the one wrapped in a piece of paper]

Of the remaining combinations, the following are some examples:

+ Lg. Pos. : Adj.Ph.(a) : záanánníyáa rádáu tháwa =  
[a very well patterned one of mine]  
Adj.Ph.(b) : hóórárre sòósái náasá  
[a well trained one of his]  
Adj.Ph.(c) : sàabábíí dà súu nátà  
[some nicely new ones of hers]

+ Adj.Cx.(e):Adj.Ph.(a) : záanánnáu rádáu yà wádánnáh  
[very well patterned ones like these]  
Adj.Ph.(b) : hóórárřúu sòósái l náká  
[very well trained ones like yours]  
Adj.Ph.(c) : sàabábíí dà sú ñà nátà  
[nicely new ones like hers]

7.9

With Adjectival Complex as Head

Adjectival Complex Heads are never followed by any Adverbial form, but the following Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can occur after any Adjectival Complex Head:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Qt.1</th>
<th>Sh. Dem.</th>
<th>Rel. (a), (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In addition to this, Adjectival Complex (a) and (b) can both be followed by:

Sh. Pos.
Sh. Gen.
Lg. Gen
A few random examples are here given to illustrate some of these combinations:

+ Sh.Dem.: Adj.Cx.(a): mài thàllàh nàn
[that street vendor]

+ Rel.(b): Adj.Cx.(b): mài dôokâi dà kà bêa mû làbàarli
[the horseman you told us about]

+ Ref.: Adj.Cx.(c): mài shî dînh
[the owner (of it)]

+ Qt. 1: Adj.Cx.(a): mài bûuûwàa dâmî dâyâ
[which can be burnt, one bundle]

+ Sh.Pos.: Adj.Cx.(b): mài mädârâfâkû
[your milkman]

+ Lg.Gen.: Adj.Cx.(a): mài zânâne tâ sîlíkî
[the embroidered one made of silk]

7.10 With a Long Genitival Complex as Head

A Long Genitival Complex in Head position can be followed by any of the following Qualifiers:

(a) Non-Adverbial:

Ref. (1) Indet.Q.
Sh.Dem. Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)

(1) There seem to be some restrictions on the type of Genitival Complex which can be followed by an I.P.H.Q., those in which the final item is a Dynamic Noun can apparently be followed by any of the I.P.H.Q.'s, while those ending otherwise can only be followed by Ref. and Sh.Dem. but not by the Sh.Pos. or Sh.Gen.. In such examples as tâ gônâfàh Audû or tâ gônâfâsh = [the one in Audu's farm, or the one in his farm], the Sh.Gen. and the Sh.Pos. seems to be only a component part of the second item in the Lg.Gen. rather than a post-Head Qualifier following the Lg.Gen. Head.
(b) **Adverbial:**

- **Adv.Cx.** (d), (e)
- **Adv.Ph.** (a), (b)

The following are some random examples of such combinations:

- **+ Indet.Q.:** ná súkʰwáa kâːzâa (sún bátâ)  
  [racing ones such and such a number are missing]

- **+ Adj.Cx.(a):** tá tâatsáa màː tâːi (táa shîgâ gǒonáːr)  
  [a voracious milch one has entered the farm]

- **+ Rel.(b):** tá dâːgâ bâːyâ dâ kâ ːgâːnǐ (táa kǒoːmâː)  
  [the last comer which/whom you saw has gone back]

- **+ Adv.Cx.(d):** (k无私 nā ː lkâːmâː dâ dûːmî  
  [do buy the hot wheaten one]

### 7.11 **With Quantifier as Head**

The three Quantifiers have different pattern of behaviour, in that:

(a) **Quantifier 3** can only be followed by:

- **Ref.**
  and not by any Qualifiers, e.g.,

  ūkû-ukû>k = [the three each]
  hûdû-hûdû>k = [the four each]

(b) **Quantifier 2** can be followed only by:
Ref.


e.g.,

+ Ref. kàdàn dììh = [the few]
da yáwàà dììh = [the great number]

+ Adv. Deg.: kàdàn kwàráì = [very few]
da yáwàà kwàráì = [very much]

(c) Quantifier 1 can be followed by:

(i) Non-Adverbial:

Ref.
Sh. Dem.
Sh. Pos.
Lg. Pos.
Rél. (a), (b)

Lg. Gen.
Unit. Adj. (a), (b), (c)
Ideo.
Adj. Ph. (a), (b), (c)
Adj. Cx. (a), (b)

(ii) Adverbial:

Adv. Cx. (a), (b), (d), (e)
Adv. Ph. (a)

A few random examples of these combinations are given here:

+ Sh. Pos.: fàm dàrí-ńkà = [your £100]
+ Unit. Adj. (a): gùdàa dàyà màklimànçìì = [one sizable one]
+ Ideo.: gùdàa dàyà tàk = [only a single one]
+ Adv. Cx. (b): gùdàa dììyà dàgà kùdò = [two to the south]
+ Adv. Cx. (e): gùdàa dàyà ì wànnàn = [one like this one]
+ Rel. (a): shèekàa ìkù wàndììdà ká báììì = [three nest which you have left]
7.12 With Relative Clauses as Head

Relative Clauses in Head position are not followed by any Adverbial forms. The Non-Adverbial Qualifiers which can follow them are the following:

- **Ref.**
- **Unt. Adj.** (a), (b), (c)
- **Sh. Dem.**
- **Gem. Adj.**
- **Lg. Pos.**
- **Adj. Ph.** (a), (b), (c)
- **Lg. Gen.**
- **Adj. Cx.** (a), (b)
- **Qt. 1**

To exemplify these combinations, a number of examples are given of Relative Clauses which may be combined with any of these Qualifiers depending on semantic compatibility:

- wāndā kā gāníi = [whom/which you have seen]
- wādāndā sūka’ fitā = [who have gone out]
- wāḥdā ḏā yānkā = [which have been killed]
- wādhā tā háihū = [who has given birth to a child]
- wāhād yā zōo = [who has come]

E.g.,

```
+ Sh. Dem.:  gāníi
   wāndā kā/dih nān
   [that which you have seen]

+ Unt. Adj. (b):  wādā ḏā yānkā rāamāmmu’dā nān
   [that lean one which has been killed]

+ Adj. Cx. (b):  wāhād yā zōo māi jāakī
   [he who has come who has a donkey]
```

7.13 With Isolator as Head

Isolator in Head position can be followed only by:

- **Ref.**
- **Sh. Dem.**
Adverbial Heads

The possibilities of combination with Adverbial Heads are much more limited than those described so far; such possibilities as exist are given as follows:
With Simple Adverb as Head

Unitary $^sT$ and Reduplicated $^tM$ when in Head position, are never followed by a Post-Head Qualifier of any kind. Reduplicated $^tM$ too are never followed by any Post-Head Qualifier.

All the other sub-types of Simple Adverb, when functioning as Head, can be followed by:

Ref.

e.g.,

(a) Unitary: Loc.: $\text{gåbå\text{-}h}$ = [the front]

Tem.: $\text{bådî\text{-}h}$ = [the next year]

Mod.: $\text{håkå\text{-}h}$ = [this method/way]

(b) Reduplicated: Loc.: $\text{kåsa\text{-}kåsa\text{-}n}$ = [a little way underneath]

In addition to this, the Unitary $^LM$ and Reduplicated $^L$ can be followed by:

Sh.Dem.

e.g.,

(a) Unitary: Loc.: $\text{cåå åfå nån}$ = [that place]

Mod.: $\text{håkå\text{-}h nån}$ = [that way]

(b) Reduplicated: Loc.: $\text{geef\text{-}geef\text{-}h nån}$ = [that side way]

and Unitary $^L,T,M,St.$ can also be followed by:

Rel.(b)

e.g.,

(a) Loc. $\text{cåå då å kóomåa \ (båå zåå tå fîsshée shî bå)}$
[there where he returned would not save him]

(b) Tem. $\text{bådî då å åmbåtáå \ (zåå tå zåå nèe)}$
[next year which he mentions is coming]
(c) Mod. hàkà dà yà yì (bàlà kyáu)
[what he has done is bad]

(d) Stat. tseydà yà táashì (ítá tá jáawóó másà)
[the standing up which he has done is what brought it on him]

7.16 With Adverbial Compound as Head

An Adverbial Compound Head can be followed by the following:

Ref. Sh.Pos.

e.g.,
+ Ref.: Kóofar-gídáh = [space in front of the house]
+ Sh.Dem.: Kóofar-gídáh nàñ = [this space in front of this house]
+ Sh.Pos.: Kóofar-gídáh ŋùmù = [our front area]
+ Sh.Gen.: Kóofar-gídáh Audù = [Audu's front area]

7.17 With Adverbial Cluster as Head

An Adverbial Cluster in Head position can be followed by the following:

Ref.
Rel. (b)

e.g.,
+ Ref.: căñ hákàh (táa fí búushli)
[that (spot) there, is drier]
(dùubà) căñ fásà-fásàh
[look(for it) there a little way down]
+ Rel. (b): nán kúsá dà kúu dà yà kóomàa táa fií másà
[there, near you, where he has moved to, is better for him]
cañ báayán gàrii dà yà fítá bàà záa tà yì ....
there, on the outskirts of the city, where he has gone, will not]
7.18 **Supplementary Section on Immediate Post-Head Qualifier**

There are special rules applying to the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.'s), in that they are preceded by an epenthetic element /f/ ( /f/ in the case of 1st person Sh.Pos.) whenever they occur after any of the following items:

(a) Any item ending in diphthong -au such as tautau or tsidau
   e.g.: +Sh.Dem.: tautau din nan = [this spider]
   +Ref.: tsidau din = [the tsidau plant]

(b) Any item ending in -r which is preceded by a Low-toned -u,
   such as teebur = [table], fensur = [pencil], etc. e.g.:
   +Sh.Pos.: teebur dinka = [your table]
   +Sh.Gen.: fensur din Audh = [Audu's pencil]
   The alternative to this is to have an anaptyctic vowel -i-,
   instead of the epenthetic element, e.g. teeburin = [the table],
   fensurin = [the pencil] instead of teebur din or fensur din,
   with no semantic difference whatever.

(c) Any item ending in any other consonant, or in -r if not
   preceded by -h, such tawhul = [towel] or bhabur = [motorcycle],
   e.g.: +Sh.Dem.: tawhul din nan = [this towel]
   bhabur din nan = [this motorcycle]

(d) Any item ending with a Proper Noun (or a Proper Noun itself)
   which ends in a diphthong -au or -ai such as Jaatau or
   Wambai; or in a consonant of any kind (e.g. Lawam, Walil, etc.).
   e.g.: +Ref. Wambai din = [the Wambai]

(1) e.g. gantamau din = [my over-grown potatoes (or other vegetables)]
(2) Except the words kyahu = [beauty] and yakh = [permission], e.g./
   which behave like the words ending in ai (see next page), e.g.: kyansah = [its beauty];
   da yaah sarkii = [with the emir's permission]
(3) Or its alternant -a as in kyandir = [candle], e.g. kyandir din,
   or kyandirin = [the candle].
nà Jàtàu cìn = [the one belonging to Jatau]
Làwàn cìn = [the Lawan]
tà Wùdîl cìn = [the one made in Wudil]

(the Proper Nouns ending in pure vowels, or any item with a
Proper Noun ending in a pure vowel as its final element, e.g.,
Audu, Laadi, or Gwamnaa, Hedimastaa, have free variation, in
that they can combine with I.P.H.Q.'s with or without cìn.

(e) Disjunctive Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun, and Relative
Clause, e.g.,

+ Ref.: Disj.: shìi cìn = [I mean him]
Intro.: wàà cìn = [whom?]
Rel.: wàndà yà zòo cìn = [the one who has come]

It is worth noting that any item ending in a diphthong -ai,
not mentioned in (a) (e) above, has a different rule, in that the
final -i is always dropped before the I.P.H.Q., and no apenthetic
element occurs, e.g.,

+ Ref.: dllàalàà = [the brokers]
+ Sh.Dem.: littàtòtà càn = [those books]
+ Sh.Pos.: fàiìlá òtà = [her covering mat]
+ Sh.Gen.: àlhàzà á bànà = [this year's pilgrims]

7.19 Generalisations

As a basis for making generalisations about the possible com-
binations of various types of Head with various types of Qualifier,
it is convenient to tabulate all the possible combinations, as
shown in Table 3. The combinations of Dynamic Noun are included in
the Table for completeness, although the details are not discussed
until Chapter 11.
In the Table, all the items which can occur as Head are shown in the top margin, Non-Adverbial items on the left and Adverbial items on the right hand sides. All the items which can occur as Post-Head Qualifier are listed in the left-hand margin of the Table in two groups, the upper containing the Non-Adverbial and the lower the Adverbial Qualifiers. + at the intersection of any vertical column and horizontal line indicates that the two items involved can combine, while absence of + indicates that the two items involved cannot combine. The figures given on the right hand side and at the bottom of each section of the Table indicate the total number of possible combinations, the outside figure in each case representing the total number of combinations involving both Non-Adverbial and Adverbial items.

### 7.20 Qualifiers

In the light of this Table, Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can be grouped under four headings, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine, although the boundaries between the groups are admittedly somewhat arbitrary. Where two figures are given, the first refers to the Non-Adverbial, the second to Adverbial Heads:

- **(a) Readily combinable:**
  - Ref. \(29 + 6\)
  - Sh.Dem. \(25 + 4\)

- **(b) Relatively high combinability:**
  - Rel.(a) 22
  - (b) 21 + 2
  - Qt. 1 22

- **(c) Moderate combinability:** (see next page)
Adverbial Qualifiers can similarly be grouped under three headings, as shown below; in this case only one set of figures is given, since, as is evident from the Table, Adverbial Qualifiers combine exclusively with Non-Adverbial Heads.

(a) Relatively low combinability:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15</th>
<th></th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simp. Unit.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adv. Ph. (a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cx. (d)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Low combinability:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cpd.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cl.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Very low combinability:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simp. Adv. Deg.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Adv. Cx. (c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simp. Redp.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv. Cx.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From this it will be seen that the highest group of Adverbial Qualifiers barely overlaps with the third group of Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, while the lowest frequency in the case of Adverbial Qualifiers is extremely low.

### 7.21 heads

Non-Adverbial Heads are difficult to group, since there is a gradual cline in the frequency of their combinations with Qualifiers. It is probably simplest to make a three way distinction as follows (where two figures are given, the first refers to the Non-Adverbial, the second to Adverbial Qualifiers):

#### (a) High and Relative / High Combinability:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Non-Dyn.</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns D</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cpd. Nn. (various)</td>
<td>11 - 18 + 2 - 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indef. Pr.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit. Adj.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indef. Spec.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lg. Pos.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lg. Gen.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qtl.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (b) Relatively low combinability:

| Adj. Ph.   | 11       | 1 |
| Cpd. Nn. (IA) | 9 + 5   |
| (IC)       | 9 + 5    |
| Pr. Disj.  | 9 + 1    |
| Int.       | 6 + 2    |
| Adj. Cx. (a) |         |
|           | 8        |
| (b)       |          |
| (c)       | 5        |
| Lg. Dem.   | 6        |
(c) Low combinability:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideo.</th>
<th>Qt.2</th>
<th>Is.</th>
<th>Qt.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 + 1</td>
<td>1 + 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 : 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated earlier in this chapter, possible combinations with Adverbial Heads are extremely limited (see 7.14). In fact, no such Head combines with more than four Non-Adverbial Qualifiers; and the combination of Adverbial Qualifiers with an Adverbial Head is quite impossible.
CHAPTER 8

CO-OCCURRENCE OF TWO POST-HEAD QUALIFIERS

When considering the co-occurrence of two post-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to discuss, first, the co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, then the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier, and finally, the co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers.

8.1 Co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

It can be stated, as a general rule, that where a given Head can be combined with a number of different qualifiers, any two of these qualifiers can co-occur in combination with such a Head. For instance, where a given Head (e.g. a Non-Dynamic Noun) can be followed by a Short Possessive, and the same Head can also be followed by a Unitary Adjective, combination of these two post-Head Qualifiers with the same Head is also possible. e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tāttābārū-ŋsā máhāddātāa} & = [\text{his nice-cooing pigeons}] \\
\text{tāttābārū-ŋsā dāurārrūu} & = [\text{his wing-tied pigeons}] \\
\text{tāttābārū-ŋsā fārāārēe} & = [\text{his white pigeons}] \\
\end{align*}
\]
The following exemplify other combinations:

Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Adj.Cx.:  rifigúnā-ḥ Ḡudā māṣaṭu zàānéē
[Audu's embroidered gowns]

Hd. + Gem.Adj. + Rel.:  áláwáyyb tūrmū tūrmū dē kūkā gānīl
[the white 'calico' in bales which you saw]

Hd. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen.:  rifigūnā gūdā ñākā nā sīlikīl
[three silk gowns]

Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Ideo.:  būhū-ḥ nāh sūkūtūm
[this entire sack]

Hd. + Qt.2 + Lg.Pos.:  (wādánsū 'yān) shāanū u ḡāfān nāmā
[a few cattle of ours]

Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Lg.Gen.: 1 shāanū-ñsā nā nōmāa
[his ploughing oxen]

But there are certain restrictions, viz.,

(i) With the exception of Unt.Adj. and Lg.Gen. no two qualifiers of the same type can co-occur in qualification of the same Head. Thus, for instance:

(a) two Adjectival Complexes or two Relative Clauses of the same or of different sub-types do not co-occur,

(1) Where a Possessive and a Genitival Complex, or two Genitival Complexes, co-occur in qualification of the same Head, their relative order seems to be determined by considerations of emphasis, the item further from the Head being more emphatic. This is shown in the following examples, where the underlined word in the gloss is emphasised:

(a)Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Lg.Gen.:  shāanū-ñsā nā nōmāa = [his ploughing oxen]
(b)Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen.:  shāanū-ḥ nōmāa nāsā = [Audu's ploughing]
(c)Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen.:  shāanū-ḥ nōmāa nā Ḡudū = [Audu's ploughing]
(d)Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Lg.Gen.:  shāanū-ḥ Ḡudū nā nōmāa = [Audu's ploughing oxen]
Same type and sub-type

1. **Rel. + Rel.**:
   *báakii ṭāčandā sukā zōo ṭāčandā sukā fītā
   *báakii ṭāčandā sukā ṭāčandā sukā fītā

2. **Adj.Cx. + Adj.Cx.**:
   *báakii máasú jāakūnāa máasú dāwāakīi
   *báakii máasú áikli máasú màgānāa

   Same type but different sub-types

3. **Rel. + Rel.**:
   *báakii ṭāčandā sukā zōo dā sukā fītā

4. **Adj.Cx. + Adj.Cx.**:
   *báakii máasú jāakūnāa máasú màgānāa

(b) The same rule applies to the combination of two Possessives of any kind and of two Quantifiers of the same or of different sub-types, since these are semantically incompatible.

In the case of **Unit.Adj.** and **Lg.Gen.**, however, the position is as follows:

(a) Several Adjectives of the same or of different sub-types can co-occur after the same Head. e.g.:

(1) **Same sub-types**:

   **Hd.+Agt.Adj.+Agt.Adj.**:
   lēebūṛarīi málāalāštāa márāinātāa
   [lazy discontented labourers]

   rilīgāa hādāddīyāa wāṅkākkīyāa
   [a well-made, clean gown]
(2) Different sub-types:

[well-trained reliable horses]

[an old, clean turban]

[nice-cooing, white pigeons]

(b) Two Long Genitival Complexes, or a Short and Long Genitival Complex, can co-occur in qualification of the same Head, e.g.,

(1) Two Long Genitival Complexes:

(wata) riligaa ta silikii ta audu
[a silk gown of Audu's]

(wadansu) shaanuu naxnomaan sarfii
[some ploughing oxen of the emir's]

(2) Sh. Gen. with Lg. Gen.:

riiga-f audu ta silikii
[Audu's silk gown]

saaanly-f thatsaa ta sarfii
[the emir's milch cow]

(ii) (a) Short Demonstrative, (1) Short Possessive and Short Genitival Complex, all being Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers, are mutually exclusive, since each of them occurs only immediately after the Head.

(b) They are mutually exclusive with the Referential (1).

(1) The Referential is often assimilated to the following consonant, e.g., riligat taka = [your gown]. This applies also to the Link Element in the remaining I.P.H.Q.'s e.g., Sh. Dem.: rilig-6 chh = [that gown]; Sh. Pos.: rilig-asaa = [his gown]; and Sh. Gen.: rilig-6 baala = [Bala's gown].
(iii) All reduplicated forms are mutually exclusive. The Geminate Adjective, for example, does not co-occur with Quantifier 3, both being reduplicated forms.

  e.g., *llttāaflī ĭrli-īrli úkù-úkù
        *za̱wāatli tūrmīi-tūrmīi gōmā-gōmā

(iv) Quantifier 3 does not co-occur with the Referential.

(v) Ideophone does not co-occur with:

   (a) any of the Quantifiers
   (b) Indeterminate Qualifier
   (c) any of the sub-types of Unitary Adjectives
   (d) Adjectival Phrase (a), which contains Ideophone.

8.1.1

The co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can be tabulated as shown in the following Table, where * indicates co-occurrence and a blank space indicates non co-occurrence. The sequential order of co-occurrence is not taken into account in this Table, which is concerned only with the co-occurrence of the Qualifiers shown on the left hand margin with the Qualifiers shown at the top of the Table.

From this, it can be seen that the possibilities of co-occurrence of two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers are considerable, the relatively few blank spaces corresponding to the restrictions just described.
Table 4

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8.2. **Co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier**

Adverbial Qualifiers, in general, co-occur more freely with each other than they do with the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers. The relatively few cases where an Adverbial form can co-occur with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier are all shown in Table 5, where + indicates co-occurrence, and a blank space indicates non co-occurrence. The possible co-occurrences can be summarised under the following three headings:

A. **Simple Adverb** co-occurs only rarely with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, Unitary and St., and Reduplicated, not at all.

The possible co-occurrences can be listed briefly as follows:

(i) Unitary with Sh.Gen.
(ii) Unitary with Ref.
(iii) Reduplicated with Ref.

Examples:

(i) *(mù bí tá nàh) gòéfè-gòéfè-hákà táá cíkà sányí*  
[(let'us'go'this'way) beside the river is too cold]

(ii) *cányé-hákà záa kà ñyà cíl?*  
[are you going to eat it raw like?]

(iii) *kóòrí-hákà-hakk duk sún bùushèe*  
[the calabashes about this size (gesture) are all dry]  
*táa sàyí fòyàa-fòyè-hákkà hákà-hákà*  
[She has bought grinding mats about this size (gesture)]  
*(wádánsú) gwándòojí hákà-hákà dá súkà fáaddó jíya*  
[some pawpaws about this size (gesture) which dropped down yesterday]
As can be seen, the only possible generalisation seems to be that Modal Category of both sub-types of Simple Adverb can occur with the Referential, otherwise one must be content with specific statements.

B. **Adverbial Compound**: only the Locative Category form can co-occur with the following:-

- **Indet. Q.**: màáltáá kàzáá cíkínsù bá á sú dá Vàsfôó
  [such and such a number of women among them have no passport]

- **Ideo.**: dúwàtsúú rátátá kàh hànyàr súú súkà hàñàa shí
  [the mass of stones on the road prevented his going faster]

- **Rel.**: dàttlijái cíkínsù dà kà gáníj jíyà sún kóómóó
  [the elders among them whom you saw yesterday have returned]

Adverbial Compounds of other categories do not co-occur with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

C. **Adverbial Complex, Phrase** and **Cluster**, can conveniently be considered together; but only the following categories need to be considered, since forms of the remaining categories do not co-occur with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

- Complex (a)\textsuperscript{L}; (b)\textsuperscript{L}; (d)\textsuperscript{Soc}; and (e)\textsuperscript{Eq}.
- Phrases \textsuperscript{L} and (a) \textsuperscript{at}; and (b)\textsuperscript{L}
- Cluster\textsuperscript{L} and St.

Only the first five of these co-occur with any appreciable number of Qualifiers. The position may be summarised as follows:-
(i) All of these five, with the exceptions shown, can co-occur with each of the following:

- Sh. Pos and Lg. Pos. (not Cx.(a))
- Sh. Gen and Lg. Gen. (not Cx.(a))
- Qt. 1 and 2 (not Cx.(a), and: Cx.(e) not with Qt. 2)

(ii) Furthermore, Complex and Phrase (a) can co-occur with:

- Sh. Dem. (not Cx.(a))
- Ideo. (not Cx.(b))
- Unit. Adj. (not Cx.(e))
- Adj. Ph. (not Cx.(e))
- Rel. (not Cx.(a) or (d))

(iii) In addition, the following individual co-occurrences are possible:

- Cx.(b)
- Cx.(d) with Indet. Q.
- Cx.(a)
- Cx.(b) with Gem. Adj.
- Cx.(d)
- Cx.(a) with Adj. Cx.
- Phr. (a) with Qt. 3.

The following are some random examples:

(i) Hd. + Sh. Pos. + Cx.(b): bààkì-

Ámù dàgà Ikkò sùn sháá wàhálàà

[our guests from Lagos have had a hard time]
Contd.

(i) Hād. + Lg. Pos. + Cx. (a): wātā láimā lā tāwā yā wānnā̀ h tā Hātā
[an umbrella of mine, just like this one, has got lost]

Hād. + Sh. Gen. + Ph. (a) St.: alābè àh Audù cīkè dà nūdī̀ yāà fāādāa rījīyāā
[Audu's wallet full of money has fallen into the well]

[He has bought a farm of Audu's just outside the city]

Hād. + Qt. 1 + Cx. (d): fātākēé mútùm biyār dà jaakūnānṣu sūn zōo
[five itinerant traders with (their) donkeys have come]

(ii) Hād. + Ideo. + Cx. (a): duwāatsuū rātā à kān hānyār sūū sūkā ... [the mass of stones on the road]

Hād. + Adj. + Ph. L: gōnākīi mānyāa nēesa dà gārīi wūyār shā'ānnīi gārēesu
[large farms far from the town are hard to deal with]

Hād. + Adj. Ph. + Ph. St: yāārāa kānānāa ñaukè dà sāndūnāa sūn wūcēë
[small children carrying sticks have just gone by]

Hād. + Cx. (e) + Rel.: fāragārēē i wādānnāñ wahandā zān āikōd màa
[white ones like these which I am sending to you are sufficient for you]

(iii) Hād. + Indet. + Cl L: Wāānè kāzāā nāh kūsā dà múū yāà iyàa
[What's his name here near us is good at making it]
[Itinerant traders in groups with loads of kolas have come]

[a bowl like this one (but) chipped has got lost]

[three sacks each, full of rice are.....]
### TABLE 5

**CO-OCCURRENCE OF AN ADVERBIAL WITH A NON-ADVERBIAL QUALIFIER**

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8.3 Co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers

In general, any Adverbial Qualifier can co-occur with any other type of Adverbial Qualifier. There are, however, certain general restrictions, and a few specific restrictions, as described below:

General Restrictions:

(a) No two Adverbial Qualifiers of the same category can co-occur in qualification of the same Head. For instance, the co-occurrence of two Locative or two Temporal Qualifiers is not possible.

(b) In the case of most Adverbial Qualifiers, no two Qualifiers of the same type can co-occur (whether of the same or of different categories), much less of the same sub-type. However,

(1) Except that it seems possible to have co-occurrence of two Stative Adverbial qualifiers, at least one of which is extended (they may even be of the same extended type). In this respect they resemble Adjectives rather than Adverbs.

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{(i)} & \text{ wàtā mācè zaú̄ne à kájberáa lúllûbô dà kâl} \\
& \text{ [a certain woman sitting on a chair with her face covered]} \\
\text{(ii)} & \text{ wàdãnsú máhãrbáa r̥at̥yă ye dà wàrkîi dàuké dà sãndûnàa} \\
& \text{ [certain hunters dressed in skins and carrying clubs]} 
\end{align*} \]
co-occurrence of two Adverbial Complexes is possible, as shown in the following examples, but Adverbial Complexes of the same sub-type cannot co-occur:

(i) **Adv.Cx.(e)**^Eq with **Adv.Cx.(d)**^Soc:

mìtùm i kài dà bààñuciyàsà
[a man of your age full of youth]

(ii) **Adv.Cx.(b)**^Loc with **Adv.Cx.(d)**^Soc:

mìthànéè dàgà ìèégs dà kàayàn gòóòò
[some people from Lagos with a load of kolas]

(iii) **Adv.Cx.(e)**^Eq with **Adv.Cx.(a)**^L:

kàatòò yà wànnà̀̀h à gidààn Audù̀̀
[a big (person) like this one: in Audu's house]

**Specific Restrictions:**

(a) **Spl. Adv. Deg.** and **Adv.Cx.(c)** do not co-occur with any other Adverbial Qualifier

(b) **Adv.Cl.** does not co-occur with **Adv.Cpd.**

(There are some cases of apparent co-occurrence which have already been treated as Adverbial Clusters (see Chapter 3, § 3.4). They are indicated by a C in Table 6, following, but they are ignored in the generalised statement here).

Apart from the restrictions mentioned above, there are cases of obligatory co-occurrence, viz.:

**Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl., and Adv.Ph.** do not combine with non-Dynamic Noun Head except with the co-occurrence of a Specifier in Pre-Head position (see Chapters 7. 7.1, and 10 10.2). This rule also applies to the co-occurrence of these Qualifiers with other Adverbial Qualifiers, e.g.,
1. Adv. Cl. with Simp. Unit.:

wáni mútúm zàuné nàh kúsá dà múu
[a man sitting just here near us]

But not: *mútúm zàuné nàh kúsá dà múu


wáni mútúm cán káh-dóckli
[a man yonder on a horse]

But not: *mútúm cán káh-dóckli


wáni mútúm kúsá dà múu sàayé dà rigáár sìlikli
[a man near us wearing a silk gown]

But not: *mútúm kúsá dà múu sàayé dà rigáár sìlikli

Within the limits described above, the possibilities of co-occurrence are so numerous that it is unnecessary to set them out in detail. It is sufficient to give a few examples first, and then to tabulate all the possibilities as shown in Table 6, following:

(a) Simp. Adv.\textsuperscript{M} with Adv. Cpd\textsuperscript{L}: e.g.,

wánnée hákà cíkí-ńsh
[which of them with that name]

(b) Simp. Adv.\textsuperscript{M} with Adv. Cx.\textsuperscript{(a)}\textsuperscript{L}: e.g.,

wádánsú gwándüojji hákà-hákà: à ràafín Audù
[some pawpaws this sort of size, in Audu's garden]

(c) Adv. Cx.\textsuperscript{(a)}\textsuperscript{L} with Adv. Ph.\textsuperscript{(a)}\textsuperscript{St}: e.g.,

wádánsú fátaakéed a cíkín dáajli kòdorè dà jéakúnàa
[some itinerant traders (travelling) in the bush driving their donkeys]
(d) **Adv.Cl.** with **Adv.Ph.**(a)\(^{St}\): *e.g.*, 

\[
\text{wání sáurâyíi náñ kúsá dà kúu sáayé dà riiğár silíkli}
\]

[à young man just there near you wearing a silken gown]

(e) **Adv.Cx.**(e)\(^{Eq}\) with **Adv.Cl.**\(^{L}\): *e.g.*, 

\[
\text{wání gídâa yà wánnáh cání báakíin kàasùwáa}
\]

[à house like this one, there, close to the market]

(f) **Adv.Cx.**(e)\(^{Eq}\) with **Adv.Ph.**(b)\(^{L}\): *e.g.*, 

\[
\text{wátá bishiyàa í wánnáh á dáamá dà gidánmù}
\]

[à tree like this one, to the right of our house]

### TABLE 6

Co-occurrence of two Adverbial Qualifiers

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<td>Unt. Redp. Deg.</td>
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8.4  Summary

It has been shown that Non-Adverbial Qualifiers readily co-occur with other Non-Adverbial Qualifiers; and Adverbial Qualifiers co-occur with other Adverbial Qualifiers though with some important qualifications; but the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial is relatively rare.
CHAPTER 9

CO-OCCURRENCE OF MORE THAN TWO POST-HEAD QUALIFIERS
AND THEIR RELATIVE ORDER

In general, where a given Head can be combined with a number of different Post-Head Qualifiers, accumulation of more than two such Qualifiers is also possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.1, 8.2, 8.3). It is, however, unusual to find as many as five such Qualifiers co-occurring in qualifications of a single Head; so, the maximum number of Post-Head Qualifiers in any one NP is normally four.

The most common Simple NP's contain only one or two Qualifiers, but it is also possible to find an NP containing the maximum of four Post-Head Qualifiers, which can be:

either (i) all Non-Adverbial or all Adverbial Qualifiers,
or (ii) a combination of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

As in the case of the co-occurrence of two Post-Head Qualifiers, it is convenient to discuss, first, the cases where all the qualifiers are Non-Adverbial, then the cases where all the Qualifiers are Adverbial, and finally the co-occurrence of some Adverbial with some Non-Adverbial Qualifiers. At the end of each section, consideration is given to the sequential order of the various types ofQualifier involved.

9.1. Co-occurrence of More than Two Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

The Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can conveniently be arranged in seven groups, which are significant from the point of view both of co-occurrence and of sequential order, viz.,

Group B comprises: Qt. 1, 2, 3
       Indet. Q.

Group C comprises: Lg.Pos.
       Lg.Gen.

Group D comprises: Gem. Adj.
       Unit. Adj.
       Ideo.

Group E comprises: Adj.Ph. (a), (b), (c)

Group F comprises: Adj.Cx. (a), (b), (c)

Group G comprises: Rel. (a), (b)

The members of each group are mutually exclusive, except:

(i) Lg.Pos. in Group C can co-occur with Lg.Gen.
(ii) Unit. Adj. in Group D can co-occur with Gem. Adj.

Subject to this restriction and to the restrictions mentioned at
the beginning of this chapter, any Qualifier from any one of these
groups can co-occur with any one, any two, or any three Qualifiers
to the maximum of four in all in a single NP. This means that,
with the exceptions (i) and (ii) mentioned above, the Qualifiers
will all belong to different groups, although there may also be
some further restrictions due to semantic incompatibility, e.g.,

(a) Hd. + Sh.Dem. + Qt.1 + Lg.Gen.:

rēgēnāhā nādī gūdāa bīyū nā sīlīkīi
[those two silkne gowns]
The sequential order of co-occurrence of these Qualifiers depends on the group to which the particular Qualifiers belong, the relative order being A + B + C + D + E + F + G(1) Any Qualifier from group A, for instance, precedes Qualifier of any other group in any sequence of two, three or more Qualifiers, (in the case of Sh.Dem., Sh.Pos., and Sh. Gen, this is self-evident, since they are all I.P.H.Q. inseparably linked to the Head by the link element -n/-r/-n): again, any Qualifier from group B precedes any from groups C-G, but follow those of group A; and so on.

As regards the items in group C and group D which can co-occur, in C Lg.Pos. can either precede or follow Lg.Gen., but in D Unit. Adj. can only follow any Gem. Adj. with which it co-occurs. The sequential order can be represented as follows:

---

(1) The order given here seems to be an adequate generalisation covering the vast majority of possible combinations, though it may be found that occasional less-favourite variations from this pattern could be found.
The following examples illustrate the way in which these rules operate:

1. **Hd. + Ref. + Lg.Pos + Lg.Gen.:**
   
   litāaflį-h nāakā nā sāyārwāa
   
   [the books of yours for sale]

   But not: *litāaflį nāakā-h nā sāyārwāa

   
   littātāfā-h nāïf kāzāa nāakā dā zāa kā sāyār (nākëe sōh
   
   [(I want to see) those books of yours - how many was gâñî?
   
   it that you are selling?]

   But not: *littātāfā-h nāïf dā zāa kā sāyār kāzāa nāakā

   
   rīigā-fsā tā kārān-mîskli sāabūwāa māi āskāa
   
   [his new embroidered gown of velvet]

   But not: *rīigā-fsā māi āskāa sāabūwāa tā kārān-mîskli

   
   cînįδų-sā sūkîtûm kātûwāa kwārāi māi máikōo
   
   [a whole enormous fat leg of beef]

   But not: *cînyāδų-sā māi máikōo sūkîtûm kātûwāa kwārāi
(5) **Hd. + Qt.2 + Gem. Adj. + Unit. Adj. + Rel.:**

átámfóffii dà yāwàà írli-írli kyáawàawáà dà yà zòò dà sùu [many beautiful lengths of dress material with different designs which he brought back with him]

But not: *átámfóffii írli-írli dà yāwàà dà yà zòò dà sùu kyáawàawáà*


rligáà fáràà kyàkkkyàyawàr gàskè màì áiklí dà zál áikàà gidàà [a very good embroidered white gown which he is sending home]

But not: *rligáà màì áiklí dà zál áikàà gidàà kyàkkkyàyawàr gàskè fáràà*

(7) **Hà. + Sh.Dem. + Qt.3 + Lg.Gen. + Rel.:**

sháánù-h náñ bìyú-bìyú ná nóomáà dà súkà sàssàyàà bàrà [those pairs of ploughing oxen which they each bought last year]

But not: *sháánù-h náñ dà súkà sàssàyàà bàrà ná nóomáà bìyú-bìyú*


wáñí dòokl-h súkhwaà ná sáýàrwàa náasà mànàgàrcíi áinùn [a very good race-horse of his (which is) for sale]

But not: *wáñí dòokl-h súkhwaà mànàgàrcíi áinùn náasà ná sáýàrwàa*


wáñí màkkèeri-h ázûrfáà gàjéérée kàkkáuràà fàríi [a short, stocky, light-complexioned silversmith]

But not: *wáñí màkkèeri gàjéérée kàkkáuràà fàríi -n(á) ázûrfáà*
9.2 Co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers

In discussing the co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers, only the following six Heads need to be considered, since with all other types of Head there are only one or two Adverbial Qualifiers capable of qualifying the Head. (See Table 3 in Chapter 7.)

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<td>Cpd.Nn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indef.Pr.</td>
<td>Unit.Adj.</td>
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The co-occurrence of more than two Adverbial Qualifiers after any of these Heads is possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.3). All the examples of Simple Adverb given in this section are of Modal category, since with almost all the relevant types of Head considered here it is the only Simple Adv. that can occur.

Examples of NP's containing more than two Adverbial Qualifiers are the following:


(i) **Non-Dyn. Head:**

wátá m̀àıcë hàkà dàgà Kàndo nàñ kúṣà dà múù
dáuké dà láimàa

[a woman of that description from Kano just here near us carrying an umbrella]

(ii) The same Adverbial Qualifiers can follow such Heads as **Unit. Adj.,** e.g.: wàñì gàjééèë = [a certain short one] or **Indef.Spec.,** e.g.; wàñì = [a certain (person)]

(i) **Non-Dyn. Head**:

wání gidáa hàká káng-hányàà dàgà gábaà yàađe dà sîmintììi
[à house of that description on the eastern side of the road plastered with cement]

(ii) **Cpd.Nn. Head**:

wání tîmáa-káa hàká kâng-shinfíàà dàgà wájén hàfà ciké dà áudùgár-riimììi
[a cushion answering that description at the foot end of the bedding filled with Kapok]

The **Indef.Pr.** and the **Lg.Pos.** can be followed only by three Adverbial Qualifiers each, as follows:


wànnée dàgà cikínsù cán hàkà ráatâyé à kúusàà .....?
..... [which of them over there hanging on the wall ..... ?]


nàawá hàkà i wànnàà dàgà dáamá dà nìì
[mine just like this one, to my right]

9.2.1 Like the Non-Adverbial, Adverbial Qualifiers can be assigned letters by which their sequential order can conveniently be described. viz:

- **V : Simp. Adv.**
- **Y : Adv.Cl.**
- **W : Adv. Cpd.**
- **Z : Adv.Ph.**
- **X : Adv. Cx.**
The relative order of their co-occurrence is:

\[ V + W + X + Y + Z \]

Thus, wherever any two, three, or four Adverbial Qualifiers co-occur, \( V \) precedes all others, \( X \) precedes \( Y \) and \( Z \) but follows either of the other two, and so on.

This sequential order may be illustrated by the following further examples of sequences of Adverbial Qualifiers:

\[ \text{Hd.} + \text{Simp. Adv.} + \text{Adv. Cx.} + \text{Adv. Cl.} + \text{Adv. Ph.} : \]

1. \( \text{wádánsú ákwáatúnàa hàkà-hákà à dáákìn Audù cá́n àrárkàshí́n gá́ddó fàllé fá́m dà kwáádúnàa} \)
   [some suit-cases of this sort of size (gesture) in Audu's room right under the bed, securely padlocked]
   But not: \( *\text{wádánsú ákwáatúnàa fàllé fá́m dà kwáádúnàa hàkà-hákà cá́n àrárkàshí́n gá́ddó à dáákìn Audù}. \)

2. \( \text{wádánsú nùùànnùu hàkà-hákà à rààáfìn Báláá cá́n cíキń rùmbùu fúnshé cíキń àlgàáráà́ràa} \)
   [some ripe ones, this sort of size, in Bala's garden deep in the granary wrapped in hessian]
   But not: \( *\text{wádánsú nùùànnùu cá́n cíキń rùmbùu à rààáfìn Báláá fúnshé cíキń àlgàáráà́ràa hàkà-hákà} \)

3. \( \text{wàtá bàákúwàá hàkà dàá Kúúrá táfē dà 'yán ráákiyà́rta} \)
   [a stranger lady of that description from Kura travelling with an escort]
   But not: \( \text{wàtá bàákúwàá táfē dà 'yán ráákiyà́rta dàá Kúúrá hàkà} \)

(2) Subject to the same qualification as in Chp. 9 (9.1.1) Fn. (1)
Since the Adverbial Compound is mutually exclusive with Adverbial Cluster, as mentioned in 8.3, the sequential order of co-occurrence is:

\[
\]

where \(x\) indicates that the two items so marked are mutually exclusive.

9.3 Co-occurrence of Adverbial with Non-Adverbial qualifiers

In this section, it is convenient to consider, first, the co-occurrence of one Adverbial qualifier with more than one Non-Adverbial, then the co-occurrence of more than one Adverbial with one or two Non-Adverbial qualifiers, and finally, to consider the sequential order of their co-occurrence. Each Adverbial qualifier is considered separately.

9.3.1 Simple Adverb

In considering the co-occurrence of a Simple Adverb with Non-Adverbial qualifiers, only the following Categories need to be considered, since all the remaining categories co-occur only with one or two mutually exclusive Non-Adverbials. :-

- Unitary Stative
- Reduplicated Modal

(A) A Unitary Stative Adverb can co-occur with any one, any two, or all the three of the following Non-Adverbials:

- (a) Unitary Adjective
- (b) Adjectival Phrase
- (c) Relative Clause
Examples:

Hd. + (Unit. Adj.) + (Adj. Ph.) + Unit. Stat. + (Ref.):

(i) riigúnàa fáràréré kyááwàwàn gáské ràätìyé à kúúsàa wàdàndà kà gànnì jìyà ......

[the very beautiful white gowns hanging on the wall which you saw yesterday .....

(ii) dàwàakái hboràrrúu máğùdáa áinùn dàuré à tìrkènsà wàdàndà záa mú hào gòbò

[very fast, well-trained horses in his stable which we are going to ride tomorrow]

(iii) wàdànsú màlàlàmái máhàdràtàà dàlìjàì kùrààì zàùnè à kùwàr-gíddà wàdàndà záa sù yì màsà àddú'åa

[a number of reciter-malams, very respectable gentlemen, sitting by the gate, who are going to pray for him]

(B) The Reduplicated Modal Adverb co-occurs with:

(a) Referential
(b) Short Genitival Complex
and (c) Relative Clause.

Since the Referential and the Short Genitival Complex are mutually exclusive (see 9.1), only a sequence of not more than three qualifiers including the Reduplicated Model is possible. e.g.:

Hd. + \{ (Ref. \} + Redp. M + (Rel.):-
(i) **Ref.:** gwándóójíá héká-héká dá ká gáyaa míni (nákée sóh gánii)  
[I want to see the pawpaws this sort of size which you told me about]

(ii) **Sh.Gen.:** gwándóójíá dáajlí héká-héká dá ká gáyaa míni.....  
[the wild pawpaws as big as this which you told me about]

9.3.2 **Adverbial Compound**

An Adverbial Compound can co-occur with any of the following Non-Adverbials:

(a) Indeterminate Qualifier  
(b) Ideophone  
(c) Relative Clause

The Indeterminate Qualifier is mutually exclusive with the Ideophone (see i.1 (v)), thus, only a sequence of not more than three qualifiers including the Adv.Cpd. is possible. e.g.:

\[
\text{Hd.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Indet.} \\
\text{Ideo.}
\end{array} \right\} + \text{Adv.Cpd.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Rel.}
\end{array} \right\}:
\]

(i) **Indet.:** máátáá kázáá cíkínsú dá ka cèè báa sû dá fásfóó  .....  
[such and such a number of women whom you said had no passport .....]

(ii) **Ideo.:** dúwəatsúú rátáá káh hányàà dá kúkà gánii  .....  
[ever so many stones on the road that you saw ...]

9.3.3 **Adverbial Complex, Phrase and Cluster**

These can be conveniently considered together, since each of them can co-occur with most of the Non-Adverbial
qualifiers, the details of which have already been given in Chapter 8 (8.2 C); and, to avoid repetition, these are not listed here.

The following general statement can be made: Where an Adverbial Complex, Phrase, or Cluster can co-occur with a number of different Non-Adverbial qualifiers, a sequence of any three or four of these qualifiers (including the Adverbial Qualifiers) is also possible, subject to the restrictions described in Chapter 8 (8.1, 8.2, and 8.3), and, of course, subject to semantic compatibility.

Examples are the following:

Adverbial Complex:

   
bàakki kàzàa dàgà Kàndo màalàmài màsànàn gàské (sùn....)
   
   [such and such a number of strangers from Kano, very learned indeed, have ....]

2. **Hd. + Sh.Pos. + Qt.1 + Adv.Cx.(d)** :
   
fàtaakéyàndù múùm bìyàr dà jàakùnàa (sùn kwànnà à rùmfàrkù)
   
   [our five customers with their donkeys slept in your (market) stall]

3. **Hd. + Sh.Gen. + Qt.1 + Adv.Cx.(e) + Rel.** :
   
wàdànçù dàwàakìì n sùkhwàa gùdàa úkù yà wàcìnnàn dà sùkà sàyıà
   
   [three race-horses like these which they bought]
Adverbial Phrase:

   
   ꙅ洸汾Audù ná fàatàa sàábóo kàw cìkè dà kù̀dii (yàa...)  
   [Audu's brand new leather wallet full of money is ...]

   
   jàakùnà-̀̀shù gùdáa úkù kàrfàafàa dàukè dà kàyà́n ítààcè (sùn.)  
   [their three strong donkeys carrying loads of firewood have....]

   
   gòonàkì-̀̀hù gùdáa bìyù ná Audù dàgà dáàmà dà múù (sùn....)  
   [the two farms of Audu's to our right are .......]

Adverbial Cluster:


   gòonàkì-̀̀hù Audù gùdáa bìyù ná álkàmà náh Kòòfàr gàrà̀ (sùn....)  
   [Audu's two wheat farms just outside the town there are ...]


   wàdànsù 'yàn lìttà̀ttàfài kàdàn nàwà ná hàràajìì  
   ná́n cìkì̀n-àkwààttù (sùn ....)  
   [a few tax-books of mine there in the box, are ....]

9.3.4 The co-occurrence of two and of more than two  
Adverbial qualifiers has been dealt with in chapter 8 and in  
9.2 above respectively. In considering the co-occurrence of  
more than one Adverbial Qualifier with one or more Non- 
Adverbial Qualifiers, therefore, it is sufficient to make
the following general statement:

Where an Adverbial Qualifier can co-occur with another Adverbial Qualifier, and the same Qualifier can also co-occur with one or more Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, combinations of such Adverbial Qualifiers with the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, normally to the maximum of four qualifiers in all, are also possible. A Simple Adverb, for instance, can co-occur both with Adverbial Complex and with Adverbial Cluster, and can also co-occur with a Relative Clause; combination of all four in qualification to the same Head, therefore, is also possible.

Within these limits, the possibility of co-occurrence are so numerous that it is unnecessary to set them out in detail. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the possibilities:-

   wání ìkwaàtù gùdàá dáýá fàátò wà dà dákùn Aùdù càn cíkìn sàákò
   [one large suitcase in Audu's room right in the far corner]

   Kánwà iì Àùdù náà nàìùné lùùlùùbè dà fùskàa dà nà gáyàà mákà ..... [Audu's sister sitting there veiling her face, whom I told you about]

   gwándójíi hákà-hákà nùnànnùnù kwáráì à ràáfìn Àùdù
   wàdùndù súkà fàídúù jìyà
   [very ripe pawpaws, this sort of size, in Audu's garden which fell yesterday]
9.3.5 **Sequential order of co-occurrence**

Where the Adverbial and Non-Adverbial qualifiers co-occur in a sequence of two or more, they follow the following sequential order:

(a) Any Adverbial Qualifier follows any Non-Adverbial Qualifier of groups A, B, or C with which it co-occurs; but precedes a Rel. if any.

(b) The Simp. Adv. precedes both Unit. Adj. and Adj.Ph. or Adj.Cx.; it is mutually exclusive with both Ideo. and Gem. Adj.

(c) All other Adverbial Qualifiers follow Adj.Ph.; they are also mutually exclusive with Adj.Cx.

(d) The restrictions between the Adverbial Qualifiers themselves, and between the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers themselves, which were discussed in 9.1 and 9.2 above, also apply in accumulations of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers.

The sequential order of co-occurrence of Adverbial and Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, therefore, may be represented as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
& A \quad B \quad C \quad D \\
& \{ \text{Ref.} \} \quad \{ \text{Qt. } 1, 2, 3 \} \quad \{ \text{Lg. Pos. } + (\text{Lg. Gen.}) \} \quad \{ \text{Ideo.} \} \\
& \{ \text{Sh. Dem.} \} \quad \{ \text{Indet. Q.} \} \quad \text{V} \quad \{ \text{Gem. Adj.} \} \\
& \{ \text{Sh. Pos.} \} \quad \{ \text{Lg. Gen. } + (\text{Lg. Pos.}) \} \quad \{ \text{Simp. Adv.} \} \\
& \{ \text{Sh. Gen.} \} \quad \{ \text{V} \} \quad \{ \text{Unit. Adj.} \} \\
\end{align*}
\]

E \quad W \quad X \quad Y \quad Z \quad G

+ Adj.Ph. + \{ \text{(Adv. Cpd.) } + \text{ Adv. Cx. } + (\text{Adv. Cl.) } + \text{ Adv. Ph.} \} + \text{ Rel.}

F \quad \{ \text{Adj. Cx.} \}

The following examples illustrate the way in which these rules operate:

   
   zannuwaa-h'ata irii-irii sabbii fil cikin-aqwatu
   
   [her various brand new wraps in a suit-case]

   But not: *zannuwaa-h'ata cikin aqwatu sabbii fil irii-irli

   
   wadcansu gwandojiji hak-a hakn nunannuu lugub kunshe cikin kwando dama kana
   
   [some dead ripe pawpaws, this sort of size, wrapped up in a basket that we saw]

   But not: *wadcansu gwandojiji kunshe cikin kwando dama hak-a hakn
dama kana

   
   mutaanee jingim kah-dawakii rirrike da masuu dama kana wucee
   
   [crowds of people on horseback carrying spears who went by]

   But not: *mutaanee kah-dawakii jingim rirrike da masuu dama
   kana...]

   
   gidajee Bala gaada gooma nan jejejere karkasa da kuu
   
   [ten houses belonging to Bala all in a row, just there near you]

   But not: *gidajee nan jejejeree -u(a) Bala gaada gooma
   kasa da kuu

wàdánsú Aузúnaawåa ḏà ráahùmål wā náh Köofár gárí táfè ḏà káayán kánwåa ḏà sükèe són shígówåa

[some Asben people with camels here at the gate of the town bringing loads of potash wanting to enter]


bàakíi kàzåa hàkà cíkin-móótåa ḏà cárñúnnù à hànnù

[strangers such and such a number answering that description in a car with their rosaries in their hands]

But not: *bàakíi cíkin móótåa hàkà ḏà cárñúnnù à hànnù kàzåa


gídàajée dā yàwàa cāh māasú kyåu áinùn dā zàa à sàyår

[many very good houses there for sale]

But not: *gídàajée māasú kyåu áinùn cāh dā yàwàa dā zàa à sàyår


góonáAUDÚ í wànnàn à Kàndo dà yå sàyåa bààrà

[Audu's farm like this one in Kano which he bought last year]

But not: *góoná í wànnàn ṣà(tá) AUDÚ à Kàndo dà yå sàyåa bààrà


rùmfáAUDÚ tá AUDÚ sàábùwåa kùrkúṣá dà tååmù

[the new shed of Audu's very close to ours]

But not: *rùmfáAUDÚ kùrkúṣá dà tååmù sàaabùwåa tá AUDÚ
10. \( \text{Hd.} + \text{Lg. Pos.} + \text{Lg. Gen.} + \text{Adj. Ph.} + \text{Adv. Cl.} : \)

wâni dôoki nàašà nà sükùwáa kyàlkyàwáa áïnùn nání dàuré à tîrkkè

[a magnificent race horse of his there, tethered to a post]

But not: *-- nání dàuré à tîrkkè nàašà nà sükùwáa kyàlkyàwáa áïnùn

9.4

Summary

As a general conclusion of this Chapter, it may be said that:

(i) Where there is an accumulation of post-Head Qualifiers, the maximum number of these qualifiers in any given Simple Nominal Phrase is four, and they can be all Adverbial, or all Non-Adverbial, or a mixture of the two.

(ii) In spite of the great variety of potential co-occurrences of post-Head qualifiers, it is possible to observe a consistent pattern of sequential order in which they normally co-occur, and this applies whether there are two, three or four qualifiers in succession.

(iii) There is a specific position for each qualifier, whether Adverbial or Non-Adverbial, when they co-occur, but in general the Non-Adverbial precede the Adverbial Qualifiers.
CHAPTER 10

CO-OCCURRENCE OF PRE- AND POST- HEAD QUALIFIERS

In this chapter, consideration is given to the possible co-occurrence of pre-Head Qualifiers with post-Head Qualifiers in combination with a single Head. Firstly, the possible co-occurrence of one pre-Head and one post-Head qualifiers is considered, and this is followed by considering the possibility of accumulation of pre-Head and post-Head qualifiers in combination.

10.1 Co-occurrence of one pre-Head and one post-Head Qualifier

Where a given Head can be combined with a number of different pre-Head qualifiers, and the same Head can also be combined with a number of different post-Head qualifiers, any one of these pre-Head qualifiers can, subject to the restrictions mentioned in (ii) below, co-occur with any one of these post-Head qualifiers in qualification of the same Head. For example, $\text{Cpd.Nn.1(a)}$ can be preceded by:

$$\text{Int.Spec.}$$

and the same $\text{Cpd.Nn.}$ can also be followed by any of the following post-Head qualifiers:

- Ref. $\text{Adj.Cx.}(a),(b),(c)$
- Sh.Dem. $\text{Rel.}(a),(b)$
- Lg.Pos. $\text{Adv.Cx.}(b),(d)$
- Lg.Gen. $\text{Adv.Cl}$
- Unit. Adj. $\text{Adv.Ph.}(a),(b)$

Accordingly, where $\text{Cpd.Nn.1(a)}$ is in Head position, the $\text{Int.Spec.}$ in pre-Head position can co-occur with almost any of these
post-Head qualifiers in qualification of the same Cpd.Nn. Head, as shown in the following examples; the sole exception being the Sh.Dem. as explained in (ii) below.

As regards restrictions, the following points need to be made:

(i) Where the pre-Head qualifier is an Adjective, there are no restrictions on its co-occurrence with any of the possible post-Head qualifiers, including Unit.Adj. Subject to semantic compatibility, therefore, any sub-type of Adjective in pre-Head position can co-occur not only with any post-Head qualifier, but also:

(a) with a Unit.Adj. of the same sub-type; e.g.:

(yàà sààìì) màlàlààacìì dòòkkìì màfààdààacìì  
[he has bought a lazy, vicious horse]

(yàà sààìì) hòòrààrèn dòòkkìì kììwàtàaccëë  
[he has bought a well-trained, well fed horse]
(yāa sāyī) fārīn dōkli kātōo
[he has bought a big, white horse]

or (b) with a Unit. Adj. of different sub-type. e.g.:

māfācāacīn dōkli rhamāmmē
[a lean, vicious horse]

hōrārrēn dōkli kātōo
[a big, well-trained horse]

fārīn dōkli málalāacī
[a lazy, white horse]

(ii) Pre-Head qualifiers other than Adjective do not co-occur with a qualifier of the same general type in post-Head position. Thus:

(a) A Spec. in pre-Head position cannot co-occur with a Sh. Dem. in post-Head position; nor with Indet. Q., e.g.,

Sh. Dem.: *wānf liittāafli-h nān
Indet. Q.: *wānf liittāafli kāzāa

(b) The Lg. Pos. in pre-Head position does not co-occur with: Lg. Pos. or with Sh. Pos. in post-Head position.

10.2 Necessary Co-occurrence of Pre-Head and Post-Head Qualifiers

Apart from the potential co-occurrence of pre-Head and post-Head qualifiers described above, there are certain cases of
necessary co-occurrence; that is to say, where either a given qualifier cannot occur in pre-Head position without the co-occurrence of some specific qualifier in post-Head position, or, conversely, a given qualifier cannot occur in post-Head position without the co-occurrence of some specific qualifier in pre-Head position. Qualifiers with this special feature are the following:

(i) **Pre-Head Qualifiers:**
   - Is.
   - Dim.
   - Lg.Dem.

(ii) **Post-Head Qualifiers:**
   - Ref.
   - Unit.Adj.(a)
   - Adv.Cl. L, M, St
   - Simp.Adv. L, M, St
   - Adv.Ph.(a) L, St
   - (b) L

(iii) **Pre-Head or Post-Head Qualifier:**
   - Lg.Pos.

**Isolator:**

The Isolator cannot occur in pre-Head position without the co-occurrence of **Ref.** in post-Head position. Using the same combination of **Cpd.Nn.1(a)** and post-Head qualifiers as in 10.2 above, therefore, the following can be produced by substituting **Is.** for **Int.Spec.**:

- **Unit. Adj.:** dáýá máalàm Áudù-n mà dòogòo
  [the other tall M. Áudù]
  
  But not: *dáýá máalàm Áudù dòogòo

- **Adj. Cx.:** dáýá máalàm Áudù-n mài dóòkìì
  [the other M. Audu the horseman]

  But not: *dáýá máalàm Áudù mài dóòkìì
Diminutive:

The Diminutive can normally occur in pre-Head position without the necessary co-occurrence of any other qualifier, but in the sole case of Dim. + Disj. (Hd.) the co-occurrence of a Sh.Dem. in post-Head position is necessary, e.g.:

dân níi din nàn = [a little creature such as I am]
But not: *dân níi .......

Long Demonstrative:

The Long Demonstrative in pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence of Ref. in post-Head position when any of the following is in Head position:

Qt., Lg.Pos., Unit. Adj., Ideo.

e.g.:

Lg.Dem. + Qt.1 (Hd) + Ref: wàdànnáñ gùdáa góomáà (sùn báta) [those ten are missing]
Not: *wàdànnáñ gùdáa góomà

Lg.Dem.+Lg.Pos.(Hd) + Ref: wàdànnáñ náakàà (sùn ìsá) [those of yours are sufficient]
Not: *wàdànnáñ náakà

Lg.Dem.+Unit. Adj.(Hd)+ Ref: wàdànnáñ fàrààrèë (sùn dàawóó) [those white ones have come back]
Not: *wàdànnáñ fàrààrèë

Lg.Dem.+Ideo.(Hd.) + Ref: wánnáñ tsúrúu-tsùrúu (dà yá yi) [that embarrassment he felt]
Not: *wánnáñ tsúrúu-tsùrúu dà yá yi
Referential:

Ref. can normally occur after a Head without the co-occurrence of another qualifier, but in the sole case of Ideo.(Hd.) + Ref. the co-occurrence of Rel.(b) is also necessary. e.g.:  

làoê-hà da ká gá yáa yi = [the brown study you saw him in]  
Not: *làoê-hà

tsúruu-tsúru-hà da yá yi = [the embarrassment that he felt]  
Not: *tsúruu-tsúru-hà

Unitary Adjective (a)

-Uni. Adj.(a) as post-Head qualifier can occur after any of the three sub-types of Uni. Adj. in Head position only when the Head is also preceded by an Indef. Spec. e.g.:  

Uni. Adj.(a) Hd.: wání mähärbi)mákètácìi = [a cruel hunter]  
Uni. Adj.(b) Hd.: wání shàaràrré màyàlwàcìi = [a well swept roomy one]  
Uni. Adj.(c) Hd.: wání fáríi málâlàlcìi = [a lazy white one]

Certain Adverbial Qualifiers:

The remaining four qualifiers are all Adverbial, and all can occur after a Non-Dyn. only with the necessary co-occurrence of an Indef. Spec. in pre-Head position. e.g.:  

Simple Adverb:

Uni. L, eg: (àiìí) wání yáaròo náñ = [one of the young men there]  
Uni. M, " wání yáaròo hákà = [a young man of that description]  
Uni. St, " wátá túcùnyàa gìrké = [a pot a-cooking]  
Redp. M, " wâdasùu gwândòojìi hákà-hákà = [some pawpaws this sort of size]
Adverbial Compound:

wáñí mútúm kán-dóökìi = [a man on a horse]
wátá gónáa kẽétärën-kõogíi = [a farm across the river]

Adverbial Cluster:

Loc.: wáñí mútúm nán fóofá = [a man there at the door]
Mod.: wátá rìigáa hákà dàidái = [a gown exactly like this]
Stat.: wáñí mútúm nán zàuñé = [a man there sitting]

Adverbial Phrase:

Type (a): Loc.: wáñí gídáa kúsá dà kàasúwáa
[a house near the market]
Stat.: wáñí máagàníi kùnshe à tákàrdáa
[some medicine wrapped in a piece of paper]

Type (b): Loc.: wáñí gídáa à dàamá dà kàasúwáa
[a house to the right of the market]
wáñí gidáa dàgà néesà dà kúu
[a house quite far from you]

Long Possessive:

(i) The Lg.Pos. in pre-Head position requires the co-occurrence of Ref. in post-Head position. e.g.:

nàawá líttáafìì = [my book], Not: *nàawá líttáafìì;
táakà tawádàà = [your ink], Not: *táakà tawádàà

(ii) The Lg.Pos. in immediate post-Head position, with a Noun Head other than Proper Noun, requires the co-occurrence of Spec. in pre-Head position. e.g.:
wáni líttaafli nàawá = [a book of mine]

Not: *líttaafli nàawá

wáni dòokli náaså = [a horse of his]

Not: *dòokli náaså

Note that this applies to Lg. Pos. in immediate post-Head position only; when there is another qualifier between the Head and the Lg. Pos., the Spec. in pre-Head position is not necessary; e.g. líttaafli náan nàawá = [that book of mine], where Sh. Dem. occurs.

10.3 The possible combinations of pre-Head and post-Head qualifiers with various types of Head are conflated in Table 7, where the existence of restrictions on the combinations are indicated by (+). Possible combinations are indicated by + and non-possibilities are shown by a blank space.
# Table 7

Conflation of possible combinations of pre-head and post-head qualifiers with various types of head.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>PRE-HEAD</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>POST-HEAD</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>SPECIFIER</td>
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It is also possible for a combination of several pre-Head qualifiers to co-occur with some post-Head qualifiers, and for a combination of several post-Head qualifiers to co-occur with some pre-Head qualifiers. Combinations such as these can be covered by the following general statements:

(i) Where a given pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with a given post-Head qualifier, and the same pre-Head qualifier can also co-occur with other pre-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these pre-Head qualifiers with that post-Head qualifier are also possible. The following are two examples:

(a) The Indefinite Specifier in pre-Head position, for instance, can co-occur with the Adjectival Complex (b) in post-Head position in qualification of Non-Dynamic Noun Head; e.g:

\[
\text{wáni líttálfí mài ámfàání} = [\text{a useful book}]
\]

and since the Indefinite Specifier can also co-occur with the Diminutive and Adjective in pre-Head position (see Chapter 6, 6.2.1), combinations of all these with the Adjectival Complex (b) in post-Head position are also possible. e.g:

\[
\text{wáni (dán) (kàràmin) líttálfí mài ámfàání} = \\
[\text{a useful little book}]
\]
(b) The **Diminutive** in pre-Head position, on the other hand, can co-occur with the **Referential** in post-Head position in qualification of the **Demonstrative Specifier Head**, but no other pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with the **Diminutive** when **Demonstrative Specifier** is in Head position, there can be, therefore, only one pre-Head qualifier (the **Diminutive**) with this particular Head. *e.g.*

\[ \text{dán wáhnání díh (yáa lsá)} = \text{[this little bit is quite enough]}, \]

but never:

\[ *\text{dán (kàràmín, \ldots etc.) wáhnání díh (yáa lsá).} \]

(ii) Where a given post-Head qualifier can co-occur with a given pre-Head qualifier, and the same post-Head qualifier can also co-occur with other post-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these post-Head qualifiers with that pre-Head qualifier are also possible. The **Lg.Pos.** in post-Head position, for example, co-occurs with the **Spec.** in pre-Head position in qualification of **Non-Dyn.** Head, *e.g.*

\[ \text{wáta rìigáñ tásà} = \text{[a gown of his]}, \]

but the **Lg.Pos.** can also co-occur with **Lg.Gen.**, **Unt.Adj.** and **Adj.Cx.** in post-Head position. Combinations of all these, therefore, can also co-occur with the **Spec.** in pre-Head position. *e.g.*

\[ \text{wáta rìigáñ tásà tá kàràn-mìskìì sáabúwàa mài áikìì} = \text{[a new, embroidered, velvet gown of his]} \]
(iii) Where a given pre-Head qualifier can co-occur with a number of other pre-Head qualifiers and the same qualifier can also co-occur with a given post-Head qualifier which itself can co-occur with other post-Head qualifiers, combinations of all these qualifiers in qualification of the same Head are also possible to a maximum of four in pre-Head position and four in post-Head position.

The isolator in pre-Head position, for example, can co-occur with three other pre-Head qualifiers and it can also co-occur with the referential in post-Head position, but the latter can itself co-occur with many other post-Head qualifiers. So, although short nominal phrases are more common in the language, long phrases such as the following are quite possible:


\[\text{ñúłá̃nsú 'yán náamù bàãkñù sháanù+h ná nóomáa} \]
\[\text{gùdàa bíyú hòoràrrúu dà súu (súñ káašàa)}\]

[a poor couple of recently acquired well-trained ploughing oxen of ours (have 'had it')]

dāyá 'yár tāwá sābúwár rīgār rārāa mài āikìì dà ná sāyáa
[the other little new, white embroidered gown I bought....]


wānì dān nāatā fārīn kwāa nù nā shāā mài lāmbāa dà
tá sāā à kāasúwáa
[a little white, chipped drinking-bowl of hers she put for sale]

(iv) Where a choice has to be made between the two forms of Genitival Complex (Long and Short) since both can occur as post-Head qualifier, the choice is determined by the presence or absence of a Specifier in pre-Head position. Where the Specifier is present, only the Lg. Gen. can occur, but where the Specifier is absent only the Sh. Gen. occurs. e.g.:

1. wānì littāfīì nā āudū = [a book of Audu's]
   But not: *wānì littāafīì āudū

2. littāafīì āudū = [Audu's book]
   But not: *littāafīì nā āudū

(v) Similarly, the choice between the pre-Head Possessive or either a Long or Short Possessive in the post-Head position, is determined by the presence or absence of a Specifier in pre-Head position, or of a Referential in Post-Head position. viz.:

(a) Where the Spec. is present, only the Lg. Pos. in the post-Head position occurs, but where the Spec. is absent only the pre-Head Possessive occurs. e.g.:
1. wání líttaafìì náakà = [a book of yours]
   But not: *wání náakà líttaafìì

2. náakà líttaafìì n = [your book]
   But not: *líttaafìì náakà

d) Where the Ref. is absent, only the Sh.Pos. in post-Head position can occur. e.g.:

   líttaafìì náakà = [your book]
   But not: (i) *líttaafìì náakà,
   or (ii) *náakà líttaafìì

c) Where the Ref. is present, either the pre-Head Possessive, or a Lg.Pos. in post-Head position can occur, and the choice between the two alternatives seems to be semantically determined, e.g.:

   1. Pos.+Hd.+Ref.: náakà líttaafìì n
      [your book (as distinct from others')]

   2. Hd.+Ref.+Lg.Pos.: líttaafìì náakà
      [your book (which we know about)]

(vi) As indicated in Chapters 6 (6.1) and 8 (8.1), Adjectives can occur in pre-Head position and can also occur in post-Head position. The choice of position seems to be a matter of emphasis, post-Head Adjectives being apparently more emphatic than those in pre-Head. c.f.:

   rîigáa fáráa kyàkkyaawáa, with:
   kyàkkyaawár fárár rîigáa
   [a beautiful gown]
It has been shown that pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers can readily co-occur in qualification of the same Head, though with some important restrictions in the case of some of them, e.g. the long Possessive, the Long Demonstrative, the Isolator, and certain Adverbial Qualifiers. Some Qualifiers have two forms, Long and Short or Pre-Head and Post-Head, in complementary distribution, and the choice is determined (a) by the presence or absence of Spec. or Ref., or (b) by semantic factors, especially the question of emphasis.
CHAPTER 11

SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE WITH DYNAMIC NOUN AS HEAD

There are certain special characteristics peculiar to Dynamic Noun Heads, in that:─

(i) some Post-Head qualifiers occur very much more freely after a Dynamic Noun than any other Nominal Head; and

(ii) a clause other than a Relative Clause can occur in an NP in which Dynamic Noun functions as Head.

These two cases are considered in this Chapter.

11.1 Dynamic Noun with Non-Adverbial Qualifiers

In general, all types of Non-Adverbial qualifiers that can combine with a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, both in pre- and in post-Head positions, can also combine with a Dynamic Noun Head; and the same co-occurrences are also possible. The only exceptions are the following:─

(A) A Dynamic Noun Head, unlike a Non-Dynamic Noun, is not followed by these three Non-Adverbial qualifiers:─

    Unitary Adjective (c)
    Adjectival Phrase (c)
    Adjectival Complex (c)

For example, the Dynamic Noun: sáatàa = [theft], or màgánàa = [case]

can be followed by:─.
(i) Unit. Adj. (a), e.g.: mátsánánciyáa = [serious]
or (b), e.g.: kàasàitácciyáa = [enormous]
but not by (c), e.g.: kàatúwáa = [big]

(ii) Adj. Phr. (a), e.g.: shíryáyyiyáa tsáf = [well planned]
or (b), " : mátsánánciyáa áinànn = [very serious]
but not by (c), " : kàyàkkýáawáa dá ítá = [very beautiful]

(iii) Adj. Cx. (a), e.g.: mài táa dá hánkàlìi = [disturbing]
or (b), " : mài záafíi = [hot, painful]
but not by (c), " : mài karfín-hálíi = [brave]

(B) A Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun is not followed by:-

Unitary Adjective (a)

Thus, while a Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun such as mágánàa and a Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun such as sáatàa can both be followed by a Unitary Adjective (a) such as mátsánánciyáa, no such Unitary Adjective can follow a Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun such as:-
kóomàawáa = [returning]
wánkèewáa = [washing]
gyáaràawáa = [repairing]

11.2 Dynamic Noun with Adverbial Qualifiers

As regards Adverbial qualifiers, they occur very much more freely after a Dynamic Noun Head than after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head. In the case of Verbal Dynamic Nouns, this is no doubt associated with their relationship to Verbs, and the
Adverbial forms may, perhaps, be regarded as basically dependent on the Verbal root. This aspect of the behaviour of Verbal Dynamic Nouns could, therefore, be regarded as outside the scope of this thesis; but it is worth making some generalisations here, particularly with regard to the combination of Adverbial qualifiers with Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun.:

11.2.1 Dynamic Noun with one Adverbial Qualifier

In contrast with the limited possibilities after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, virtually any Adverbial qualifier can occur after a Dynamic Noun Head; the only exception being that:

(A) Adverbial Cluster \(^{St}\) does not occur after a Dynamic Noun
(B) Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun is not followed by:
   (i) Simple Adverb \(^{L}\), and \(^{St}\),
   (ii) nor a fortiori by Adverbial Cluster \(^{L}\), which has a Simple Adverb \(^{L}\) in its initial position.

Thus, while 1 - 6 of the following examples are all possible, 7 - 9 do not seem to be possible. :

(1) Weak Verbal Dyn. Nn. + Spl. \(^{L}\), e.g. :
   kóomàwàa cáñ = [returning there]
   kóomàwàa báayá-báayá = [returning a little way back]

(2) Weak Verbal Dyn. Nn. + Spl. \(^{St}\), e.g. :
   (án təashée shì). kóomàwàa kwànçé (yá yí)
   [he has been woken up, but he just went back to bed]
(3) **Weak Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.** , e.g.:-

tsáyáawáa nán kóofá (yá yí)
[he just stood there at the door]

(4) **Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.** , e.g.:-

fitáa wár-wàjé (súkà yí)
[they simply walked out]

(5) **Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl. St** , e.g.:-

táashii tsáyé (súkà yí)
[they just stood up]

(6) **Strong Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.** , e.g.:-

fitáa cán kóofá (záa kà yí)
[you (should) just step outside there]

But not:

(7) **Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl.** , e.g.:-

*đáariyáa cán; or *bácíi gàbá-gàbá,

(8) **Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Spl. St** , e.g.:-

*đáariyáa tsáyé or *bácíi kwàn-kwàncé

(9) **Non-Verbal Dyn.Nn. + Adv.Cl.** , e.g.:-

*đáariyáa nán kóofá or *mágánàa cán cíkíng gídáa

11.2.2 **Dynamic Noun with two Adverbial Qualifiers**

In considering the co-occurrence of two Adverbial qualifiers in combination with a Dynamic Noun Head, it is simpler to summarise all the possible co-occurrences first,
as in the following table, and then to mention certain specific cases and the generalisations that can be made:

TABLE 8

xxxxxxx
TABLE 8  CO-OCCURRENCE OF TWO ADVERBIAL QUALIFIERS AFTER A DYNAMIC NOUN HEAD

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<tr>
<th>2nd. QUALIFIER</th>
<th>SIMPLE ADVERB</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL COMPOUND</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL COMPLEX</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL CLUSTER</th>
<th>ADVERBIAL PHASE</th>
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<td>TYPE(a)</td>
<td>TYPE(b)</td>
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On the basis of this table, the following general observations may be made:—

1. Adverb of Degree, Reduplicated Modal Adverb, and Adverbial Phrase (a)\(^\text{T}\), do not co-occur with any other Adverbial Form.

2. Adverbial Cluster is mutually exclusive with both Adverbial Compound and Adverbial Phrase.

(a) Two different categories of Simple Adverb can co-occur in qualification of the same Head. viz:—

\[
\text{Unit.} \text{T} \text{ with Unit.} \text{L, St, or M, e.g.:—}
\]

(i) \[\text{Hd. + Unit.} \text{L + Unit.} \text{T}, :\]

fitáa wàjé wàrhákà (táà yì wùyáa)
[going out this time of day/night (can be difficult)]

(ii) \[\text{Hd. + Unit.} \text{St + Unit.} \text{T}, :\]

táashíi tsâýé yànzú (hátsàríí née)
[It is dangerous to stand up now]

(iii) \[\text{Hd. + Unit.} \text{M + Unit.} \text{T}, :\]

fitáá hákà gòóbé (sáí dán-gàríí)
[going out in this condition tomorrow is only for the local person]

(b) Two sub-types of the same Adverbial qualifier co-occur in the following cases, provided they belong to different categories:—
(i) Unit. T with Redup. L, and St, (both being sub-types of Simple Adverb); e.g.:

\[ \text{Hd. + Redup. L + Unit. T, :} \]

\[ \text{sàukáa kásà-kásà yànzú (táà yì wùyáa)} \]
[getting downwards at this time can be difficult]

\[ \text{Hd. + Redup. St + Unit. T, :} \]

\[ \text{táashìi tsày-tsàyé gòobé (táà yì wùyáa)} \]
[getting up tomorrow can be difficult (for them)]


Examples are the following:

(1) \[ \text{Hd. + } \{ \text{Adv.Cx.(c)Via + Adv.Cx.(a)M} \} \]

(i) \[ \text{zúwàa tá nàn à móotàa (zài yì wùyáa)} \]
or (ii) \[ \text{zúwàa à móotàa tá nàn (zài yì wùyáa)} \]
[coming by car through this way will be difficult]
(2) $Hd. + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(Adv.Cx.(a)St + Adv.Cx.(c)Via) \\
(Adv.Cx.(c)Via + Adv.Cx.(a)St)
\end{array} \right.$

(i) fitaà â tsàyé tâ kôofân nân (hâtsàríi nêe/cêe)
or (ii) fitaà tâ kôofân nân â tsàyé (hâtsàríi nêe/cêe)
[getting out unbent through this door is dangerous]

zûwàà (Gwàmbè) dàgà Kânòó tâ Misàu (tàa fi sään) àtàkkii
[travelling (to Gombe) from Kano via Misau is easier]

(4) $Hd. + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(Adv.Cx.(b)St + Adv.Cx.(c)Via) \\
(Adv.Cx.(c)Via + Adv.Cx.(b)St)
\end{array} \right.$

(i) shàà dàgà kwàncé tâ bààkìn kwàryàa (bàà zài ëyì dáadîi bá)
or (ii) shàà tâ bààkìn kwàryàa dàgà kwàncé (bàà zài ëyì dáadîi bá)
[drinking direct from a gourd while lying down will be awkward]

(5) $Hd. + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
(Adv.Cx.(c)Via + Adv.Cx.(d)T) \\
(Adv.Cx.(d)T + Adv.Cx.(c)Via)
\end{array} \right.$

(i) shìgâa tâ nân dà àlìmùrùù (hâtsàríi nêe/cêe)
or (ii) shìgâa dà àlìmùrùù tâ nân (hâtsàríi nêe/cêe)
[entering (it) by this (door) at sunset is dangerous]
(6) \[ \text{Hd.} + \left\{ \frac{\text{Adv. Cx.}(c)^{\text{Via}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{Soc}}}{\text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{Soc}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(c)^{\text{Via}}} \right\} \]

(i) shigáa tá kóofàn nán dà dóokíi (bàa záa tà yiwù bá)
or (ii) shigáa dà dóokíi tá kóofàn nán (bàa záa tà yiwù bá)

[entering with a horse through this door is impossible]

(iii) \[ \text{Adv. Cx.}(a)^{\text{M}}, \text{and St} \text{ with Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{T}}, \text{and Ins} ; \text{e.g.}:-\]

(1) \[ \text{Hd.} + \left\{ \frac{\text{Adv. Cx.}(a)^{\text{M}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{T}}}{\text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{T}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(a)^{\text{M}}} \right\} \]

(i) táfíyàa à dóokíi dà àlmúurùù (táa fi Kárftin rágóo)
or (ii) táfíyàa dà àlmúurùù à dóokíi (táa fi Kárftin rágóo)

[travelling on horse-back at sunset is not for a weakling]

(2) \[ \text{Hd.} + \left\{ \frac{\text{Adv. Cx.}(a)^{\text{St}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{Ins}}}{\text{Adv. Cx.}(d)^{\text{Ins}} + \text{Adv. Cx.}(a)^{\text{St}}} \right\} \]

(i) cíi (-ñ àbìncí) à tsàyé dà cóókàlíi (bàa kyáu)
or (ii) cíi (-ñ àbìncí) dà cóókàlíi à tsàyé (bàa kyáu)

[eating (food) with a spoon while standing up is considered bad manners]
3. Apart from these cases, no two Adverbial Qualifiers of the same category co-occur; nor do Adverbial Qualifiers of the same type or sub-type, whether of the same or of different category, except as specified below:

The above general statements are more comprehensive than, and in fact comprehend, the statements made about the co-occurrence of Adverbial Qualifiers after a Non-Dynamic Noun Head, since the occurrence of individual Adverbial Qualifiers after the latter is much more restricted.

11.2.3 Accumulation of Adverbial Qualifiers of different types after a Dynamic Noun Head, and their Relative Order

In general, subject to the restrictions described in 11.2.1 (A) and (B), and to those described in 11.2.2 (a) - (e), any three or four Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur after a Dynamic Noun Head. But when these restrictions are taken into account, there are in fact only four possible patterns of accumulation of different types of Adverbial Qualifiers, viz.:
(a) **Simple Adverb** with **Adverbial Compound**, **Adverbial Complex**, and **Adverbial Phrase**;

(b) **Simple Adverb** with **Adverbial Complex**, and **Adverbial Cluster**;

(c) **Simple Adverb** with **Adverbial Phrase**, and **Adverbial Complex**;

(d) **Adverbial Compound** with **Adverbial Complex**, and **Adverbial Phrase**.

Examples of such combinations, with only one of each type of qualifier, are the following:

(a) 

\[
\text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cpd.}^{L} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^{T} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^{M} + \text{Adv.Ph.}(b)^{Via}
\]

shìgàa cikìn gàríi yàÌà à móòtàà tà yáàmmá dà kààssùwàà (tàà fì kààrìn rààgòò)

[entering the city today by car by the west of the market is beyond a weak person's ability]

(b) 

\[
\text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^{Soc} + \text{Adv.Cl.}^{L} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^{T}
\]

fitàà dà dàwààkìì càn bààyànn gààrìì gòòbè (tàà .......)

[going out with horses up to the outskirts of the town tomorrow ... is .......]

(c) 

\[
\text{Hd.} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^{L} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(c)^{Via} + \text{Adv.Ph.}(a)^{St}
\]

shìgàa nàà tà wàànnàà kòòfàà dàùkè dà kààsyàà (zàà tàà ...)

[entering here by this door carrying luggage will .......]
(d) \[ \text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cpd.}^L + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(d)} + \text{Adv.Ph.}^{(b)} \]

\[
\text{zúwàà cíkìn gàràìi dà àlmùùruù òa kùsà dà òúùtsèn nàñ (táa..)}
\]

[entering the city at sunset through the side of this mountain is...] 

In the case of (b), (c) and (d), the maximum number of Adverbial qualifiers of different types is naturally three, although the co-occurrence of four qualifiers is possible where there is a combination of two Adverbial Complexes. e.g.:-

(b) \[ \text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(d)} + \text{Adv.Cl.}^L + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(c)} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^T \]

\[
\text{fìtàà dà dòòkìì càn bàayàn gàràìi òa wàànìì ààòòfàà gòòbè...}
\]

[going out with a horse up to the outskirts of the city through this gate tomorrow is...] 

(c) \[ \text{Hd.} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^L + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(d)} + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(c)} + \text{Adv.Ph.}^{(a)} \]

\[
\text{shìgàà cìkìi dà dòòkìì tòa wàànìì àòòfàà rììké dà tòàkòobìì...}
\]

[entering inside with a horse through this gate (and) holding a sword ... is ....] 

(d) \[ \text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cpd.}^L + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(d)} + \text{Adv.Cx.}^{(c)} + \text{Adv.Ph.}^{(a)} \]

\[
\text{shìgàà cìkìn rùmùù dà àlmùùrùù tòa tsàànìì òàùkè dà dàmìì}
\]

(kàìì sàǎñáàníýýààr àl'áàdààr àùùdùù cëéë)

[entering the corn-bin in the evening by the ladder and carrying a bundle of corn is a well known habit of Audu's] 

The sequential order in which Adverbial qualifiers normally co-occur after a Dynamic Noun Head is, more or less,
the same as after the Non-Dynamic Noun, and can be expressed by the following formula, where $x$ and $z$ indicate that the two items so marked are mutually exclusive:

\[
\text{Simp. Cpd}^x \text{ Cx. Cl}^z \text{ Ph}^x
\]

The following variations, however, have to be allowed for:

(i) It seems that Simple Unitary $^T$ can occur in any position after a Dynamic Noun Head (i.e. initially, midially, or finally), as shown in examples (a) and (b) above.

(ii) Where an Adverbial Cluster occurs in a sequence in which two Adverbial Complexes also co-occur, the Adverbial Cluster can occur between the two Complexes. An example of this is also to be found in (b) above.

(iii) Adverbial Complex $^V_{\text{via}}$ occurs either first or second in any combination of two Adverbial Complexes in which it occurs, whether the sequence consists of other qualifiers or not. A number of examples of this have been given in 11.2.2 (b) (ii).

More examples of such combinations are the following:

(1) $\text{Hd.} + \text{Adv.Cpd.}^L + \text{Adv.Cx.}(a)^M + \text{Simp.Unit.}^T + \text{Adv.Cx.}(c)^V_{\text{via}}$

\[\text{zúwàà cíkin-gídàa à móttàà yàà tá wànnàà háñyàà (táà .....)}

[visiting the (emir's) house by car today through this road...]

(2) $\text{Hd.} + \text{Simp.Unit.}^S + \text{Adv.Cpd.} + \text{Adv.Cx.}(d)^T + \text{Adv.Ph.}(a)^S$

\[(bàbbàn àikin dôogârah nàn shîinèè):-

táashìì tsàyé kành-dàwàakìì dà Sàllàà rîrrikì̀ dà tákùbbàà dà hànnù

[the main job of these guards is standing up on horses during İd (Salla) celebration holding swords in their hands]
11.2.3.1 It should be added that, there may be some variations in the standard sequential order described above, after a Verbal Dynamic Noun Head:

(a) certain Adverbial forms (which may be regarded as closely dependent on the verbal root within the Dynamic Noun) taking priority in the sequence, or

(b) the relative order of categories, in some cases, being of more importance than the relative order of types of qualifier.

But these are primarily features of the Verb and cannot be dealt with in detail here.

11.3 The Occurrence of a Clause within an NP

There are certain circumstances where a clause other than a Relative clause may occur within an NP in which the Head is a Dynamic Noun. The main verb in the clause can be in the Subjunctive or in any of the General Indicative tenses\(^1\), except the Second Future and perhaps the Iterative ( Habitual)

---

\(^1\) (a) Rarely a Relative Indicative in an emphatic type clause such as gardamar shaanuu shaanuu suka sayoo (sukee yii)

(b) The term General Indicative is here used, as it has
which never seem to occur in a clause dependent on a Dynamic Noun.

The clause can occur:—

(i) immediately after a Short Genitive Link to form a Genitival Complex in dependence on the Dynamic Noun,

or (ii) immediately after the Dynamic Noun without any Link, depending on the type of Dynamic Noun involved.

(a) After a Non-Verbal Dynamic Noun, the clause normally occurs as part of a Genitival Complex, as in (i) above, though pattern (ii) without a Link, is not uncommon. e.g.:

+GP.: gárdámàr (or járdámàa) sùn dáawóo (yákke yìi\(^{(2)}\))
   [he is disputing that they are back]

+NP.: fàrgábář (fàrgábáa) bà sù dáawóo bà (yákke yìi)
   [he is apprehensive that they have not (yet) come back]
(b) After a Verbal Dynamic Noun, pattern (ii), without a Link, is by far the more common. After a Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun, the pattern (i), with the Link, does occur as a variant; but this does not apply to the Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun, after which pattern (ii) is the only possibility. e.g.:-

(i) **Strong Verbal Dynamic Noun + Clause**

**+GP.** : kàrbāa (or kàrbā́f) yāa káawō (mûkà yî)
[we accept his word that he has brought it]

**+NP.** : kàrbāa (or kàrbā́f) bāi zhàgée shî bá (mûkà yî)
[we accept his word that he did not abuse him]

**+FF.** : hàkûrâa (or hàkûrấr) zấi rûbuutâa mânà (mûkà yî)
[we made do with his (promise of) writing to/for us]

**+NF.** : hàkûrâa (or hàkûrấr) bāa zấi rûbuutâa bá (mûkà yî)
[we surrendered (to his insistence) that he will not write]
+Subj.: hàkáירaa (or hàkáירר) sù jée (mùkà yì)
[we reluctantly let them go]

+GC.: kàrbáa (or kàrbáf) sùnàa zùwàa (zàa mù yì)
[we (will) take their word for it that they are coming]

+NC.: hàkáירaa (or hàkáירר) bàa sàa rùbhutáwàa (zàa mù rìkà yì)
[we (should) bear with their failure to write as often as]

(ii) Weak Verbal Dynamic Noun + Clause:

+GP.: tùnàawàa (but not tùnàawáf) yáa màkàrà jìyà (mùkà yì)
[we have (just) remembered that he was late yesterday]

+NP.: tùnàawàa (but not tùnàawáf) bàì zòo bá (mùkà yì)
[we have (just) remembered that he was absent]

+FF.: tùnàawàa (not tùnàawáf) zàa sù zòo màkàràntàà (mùkà yì)
[we have (just) remembered that they are coming to school]

+NF.: tùnàawàa (not tùnàawáf) bàà zàa sù zòo bá (mùkà yì)
[we have (just) remembered that they won't come]

+Subj.: màhtáwàa (not màhtáwáf) yà kùllè kòofàà (yá yì)
[he had forgotten to lock the door,(so the thief entered)]

+GC.: màhtáwàa (not màhtáwáf) yànàa báccìì (mùkà yì)
[we had forgotten that he was asleep, (so we started banging]

+NC.: màhtáwàa (not màhtáwáf) bàà yàa rùbhutáwàa (mùkà yì)
[we had forgotten that he was not writing (it)]
It is worth noting that, NP's with Dynamic Noun as Head and combined with Adverbial or Non-Adverbial qualifiers, as described above, can follow an Indeterminate Verb such as iyà or the Continuous Morpheme nàa as well as occurring in other constructions, as shown in the following examples:

In examples (a) the Dyn.Nn. is preceded by the Indeterminate Verb; while in
(b) it is preceded by the Continuous Morpheme:

**Dyn.Nn. + Non-Adverbial Qualifier:**

(a) + Unìt. Adj. : Audù yàa iyà màgànnàa shìfyáyyìyàa
[Audù can make a well-prepared speech]

(b) + Adj.Cx. : Audù nàa màgànnàa mài tàà dà hàñkàllìì
[Audù is making a disturbing speech]

**Dyn.Nn. + Adverbial Qualifiers:**

(a) +simp. Unìt. L + Adv.Cx.(c) Via + Adv.Ph.(a)St
Audù zài iyà shìgàà nàà tà wàànnàà kòofoàà dàuké dà kàayàà
[Audù can enter here by this door carrying luggage]

Audù nàà zùwàà cìkììn gààrìì dà àlmùùrùù tà kùsà dà dùùtșën nàà
[Audù goes to the city at sunset by the side of this mountain]

**Dyn.Nn. + Clause:**

(a) Audù nàà iyà kàròòáa yà kàawòò míí
[Audù could get it and bring it to me]

(b) Audù nàà kàròòár yà kàawòò míí kùwà dàí?
[Can Audù agree to bring (it) to me?]
11.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, two distinctive features of Dynamic Nouns Head have been observed:

(a) Although in some respects Dynamic Nouns as Head behave like Non-Dynamic Nouns in that most of the Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can occur after them just as they do after Non-Dynamic Nouns, they are distinctive in that Adverbial Qualifiers can occur and co-occur much more freely after them than they do after any other types of Head.

(b) Dynamic Nouns as Head can be followed also by a Clause other than the Relative Clause, whereas this is not true of any other types of Head.
Gender is a system of agreement between various items. It is such an obvious feature in Hausa that it has been dealt with as a matter of course in works on the language, and it has been covered in particular detail by Mr. F.W. Parsons.\(^{(1)}\) Here, attention is given only to the operation of gender within the Nominal Phrase, although some reference to its operation outside the NP is occasionally necessary.

In general, items occurring in the Nominal Phrase may be divided into those which enter into a 'Masculine' pattern of agreement, and those which enter into a 'Feminine' pattern of agreement; and they will here, as is normal, be referred to as being masculine or feminine as the case may be.

Some of the items themselves contain overt markers of their gender, while others do not. A further distinction can be made between items which control agreement within the NP and items whose gender is controlled by some other items; and again, between items which always control the gender of other items and those which only do so in certain circumstances.

Within the Nominal Phrase, the agreement is always controlled by the Head, the gender of such qualifiers as are marked for gender being controlled by the gender of the Head. The ensuing discussion of gender can therefore conveniently be arranged on the basis of whether the various types of item can occur only as Head or as Qualifier, or can occur as either, as shown in Table 9.

**TABLE 9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of the item</th>
<th>Items with Overt Markers of Gender</th>
<th>Items without Overt Markers of Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only as Head</td>
<td>Some Nouns (a)</td>
<td>The majority of Nouns (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indefinite Pronoun</td>
<td>Compound Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative Pronoun (specific)</td>
<td>Disjunctive Pronoun (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disjunctive Pronoun (b)</td>
<td>Interrogative Pronoun (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only as Qualifier</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>Indeterminate Qualifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative Specifier</td>
<td>Geminate Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The I. P. H. Q.'s (other than Sh. Dem. Near)</td>
<td>Adverbial Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Relative Clause (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sh. Demonstrative (Near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either as Head or as Qualifier</td>
<td>Indefinite Specifier</td>
<td>Isolator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long Demonstrative (Far)</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long Genitival Complex</td>
<td>Long Demonstrative (Near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long Possessive</td>
<td>Some Exceptional Unt. Adj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The majority of Unt. Adj.</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
<td>Adjectival Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relative Clause (a)</td>
<td>Simple Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial Compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial Cluster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As far as gender within the NP is concerned, items which function as Head control agreement rather than are controlled. There are cases, however, where the gender of such items may be said to be controlled externally by some factors outside the NP, and specific reference is made to this where appropriate.

12.1.1 Nouns

Nouns fall into two groups, one consisting of nouns marked for gender, the other consisting of nouns not so marked:

(a) Nouns marked for gender are those which have two distinct singular forms, one masculine and the other feminine. e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zdakli</td>
<td>zdakdnyha</td>
<td>Clion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kácCdhyha</td>
<td></td>
<td>[shea-trea]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>málaămii</td>
<td>málaămáa</td>
<td>[learned person]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case, the contrast between the two sets of suffixes -li, -ëe, -fi, and -ìa, -ányàa, -áa, corresponding to the masculine and feminine forms respectively, establishes these suffixes as the markers of gender.

(b) The great majority of nouns, however, are unmarked for gender, having only one singular form, e.g.:
Although these nouns are unmarked for gender in the sense that there is nothing in the shape of the nouns which is a clear indication of their gender, nevertheless they control either masculine or feminine agreement, as indicated by (m.) or (f.) in the following examples:

(i) Noun\(^{(m.)}\) + Unit. Adj.

\[\text{wândóo zànánñée (yáa...) = an embroidered pair of trousers (is...) }\]
\[\text{ráwañìì sáabóó (yáa...) = a new turban (is...) }\]

(ii) Noun\(^{(f.)}\) + Unit. Adj.

\[\text{rìligàa zànánñíyáā (táa...) = an embroidered gown (is) }\]
\[\text{hùlùáa sáabúwáá (táa...) = a new hat (is) }\]

While the Nouns in group (a) have markers, and those in group (b) have no specific markers of gender, some generalisations can be made about the gender of Nouns (more exactly, the gender which Nouns normally control) covering both these groups, partly on the basis of their termination, and partly on the basis of the type to which they belong. These are given in Appendix C, since the details are not relevant here, though some reference will occasionally be made to some of the subgroupings.

As shown in the Appendix, the gender of Nouns in the majority of cases is fixed, but there are certain cases where the gender differs in different contexts, and may be said to
be externally controlled. These are the nouns which have been described as having Common Gender ((B) in Appendix C). Where the referent \(^{(1)}\) is male, the nouns have masculine agreement, and where the referent is female the nouns have feminine agreement.

The operation of gender with a Noun Head may be illustrated by the following examples, some with a Masculine Noun, others with a Feminine Noun. Where a masculine noun is in Head position, all Qualifiers (both pre-Head and post-Head) that are marked for gender will also be masculine, and where a feminine noun is in Head position, they will be feminine. e.g.:

1. **Hd.+Sh.Gen.:** Masc.: máalamíŋh mákárántáa  
   Fem.: máalamáŋf mákárántáa  
   [school-teacher]

2. **Hd.+Sh.Pos.:** Masc.: máalamíŋsù  
   Fem.: máalamáŋrsù  
   [their teacher]

3. **Hd.+Sh.Dem.:** Masc.: máalamíŋcán  
   Fem.: máalamáŋcán  
   [that teacher]

4. **Hd.+Ref.:** Masc.: máalamíŋh  
   Fem.: máalamáŋh  
   [the teacher]

5. **Hd.Unit. Adj.:** Masc.: (wání) máalamfí tsóchóo  
   Fem.: (wátá) máalamáa tsóchuwáa  
   [a certain teacher who is old]

\(^{(1)}\) The word 'referent' is used to mean the person or thing referred to.
In the case of the nouns described at (B) in Appendix C as having Common gender, the gender-marked Qualifiers will be masculine where the referent is male, and feminine where it is female. e.g.:-

1. **Hd. + Sh.Gen.**: Masc.: kâkâ-y Audh
   Fem.: kâkâ-y Audh
   [Audu's grandfather]

2. **Hd. + Sh.Pos.**: Masc.: màasinjâ-yùku
   Fem.: màasinjâ-yìku
   [your messenger]

3. **Hd. + Unit. Adj.**: Masc.: àku wàayâyyée
   Fem.: àku wàayâyyiyáa
   [a clever parrot]

12.1.2

**Pronoun**

There is only one form for:

(i) Disjunctive Pronoun (a) (1st Person singular), nìi = [ I ],
(ii) and the General Interrogative Pronoun, wàà = [ who? ].

These can be said to have Common Gender, since they control masculine agreement where the referent is male, or feminine agreement where the referent is female. In a sung praise-epithet, for instance, boasting about himself or herself:-
(a) a man may say:

\[ \text{Hd. + Lg. Gen.: (sài) nìi ná Audù (kèe iyà....)} \]
[only I, Audù's hero\textsuperscript{in}, am able to...]

(b) a woman using the same praise-epithet may say:

\[ \text{Hd. + Lg. Gen.: (sài) nìi tά Audù (kèe iyà....)} \]
[only I, Audù's hero\textsuperscript{in}, am able to...]

Further examples, with the General Interrogative Pronoun in Head position instead of the Disjunctive Pronoun (a), are the following:-

\[ \text{Hd. + Rel.:} \]

(i) Masc.: \[ wàà wáhdà yá fítá (kákèe màgànnàa) ? \]
(ii) Fem.: \[ wàà wáddà tá fítá (kákèe màgànnàa) ? \]

[about whom who has gone out are you talking?]

All the remaining pronouns have two distinct singular forms, one masculine and the other feminine and, in this case, the whole of the form may be treated as the marker of gender.

(It might be possible to analyse the Indefinite and the Specific Interrogative Pronouns in term of a stem \textit{wá(a)-} followed by a Link and then by \textit{-ne(e)/ce(e)} (cf. 12.3.1.5), but such an analysis does not seem to be particularly helpful for the present purpose.) The forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc. Form</th>
<th>Fem. Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Indefinite Pronoun:</td>
<td>wàánè</td>
<td>wáncè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Disjunctive Pronoun: 2nd Person</td>
<td>kái</td>
<td>kée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>shii</td>
<td>ítá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Specific Interrogative Pronoun:</td>
<td>wàñnee</td>
<td>wàncée</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following are some examples of the operation of gender concord:-

(i) **Indef. (Hd.) + Ref. + Rel.**:

(a) **Masc.** : wáanè-h wàndà kákèe ñàadáa (yaa zoo)
(b) **Fem.** *(4)* : wànce-h wàddà kákèe ñàadáa (táa zóo)

[such and such (a person) you have been talking about has arrived]

(ii) **Disj. (Hd.) + Lg. Gen.**:

(a) **Masc.** : shíi ná Audh (yáa tsúufá)
(b) **Fem.** : ítá tá Audh (táa tsúufá)

[that one of Audu's has grown old]

The gender of all Pronouns is itself controlled externally by the gender of the anaphor.

12.1.3 **Compound Noun**

As regards the gender which they control in other items, the Compound Nouns have the following features:

**Compound Noun I.**

Compound Noun I (having a Noun, or an Adjective, as core) have the same gender as the Noun or Adjective which comprises the core. Thus, in the following examples the Compound Noun functioning as Head in the first of each pair controls masculine agreement like the nouns máalam(i), kârée, jînfi, gárgárii, and the masculine Adjective kâatbo;

*(4)* For the form of **Referential** here, see 12.2.1.2 below
while the second of each pair controls feminine agreement like the nouns malamáa, fitiláa, kdráa, zúcíyáa, and kásáa.

(It is to be noted that this core noun controls the gender of other items (Gen.Cx., Unt.Adj., etc.) within the compound in the same way as in the comparable Nominal Phrase. e.g.: Masc.: -í móótáa, fárín, ján; Fem.: -í kásáa, bákár, fárár.)

(a) Cpd.Nn. I(á) + Ig.Gen.:  
Masc.: málam-Audú ná Wdil = [the M. Audu of Wudil]  
Fem.: málamáa-Láadi tá Fágé = [Malama Ladi of Fage]

(b) Cpd.Nn. I(b) + Unit.Adj.:  
Masc.: (wání) kdrén-móótáa sáuráyií = [a young driver's mate]  
Fem.: (wátá) fitilár-kásáa tsóohuíwáa = [an old mud lamp]

(c) Cpd.Nn. I(c) + Unit.Adj.:  
Masc.: kdatbo-dá-lágée cánée (suka ci)  
[they have eaten under-cooked beans]  
Fem.: kdráa-dá-hálíí múugwáa (ákà yí múśú)  
[they were tiven such a very cool reception]

(d) Cpd.Nn. I.(d) + Sh.Gen.:  
Masc.: fárín-jíní Godú (yáa ísá làaabáarii)  
[Audu's popularity is worth talking about]  
Fem.: bákár-zúcíyá-G Audú (táa yí yáwàa)  
[Audu's bad temper is too much]
(e) **Cpd.Nn. I.(d) + Ref. + Lg. Pos.:**

**Masc.**: ján-gárgáří-h náaká (yáa jiká)  
[your red clay soil is soaked]

**Fem.**: fárár-kásář táká (táa jiká)  
[your whitewash is soaked]

For the I.P.A.Q.'s see 12.2.1.2 below.

**Compound Noun II.**

On the basis of the gender which they control in other items, Compound Nouns II can be divided into three categories:

(a) The first category consists of Compound Nouns which can refer to either a male or a female, and which have Common gender, such as:

- důbá-gáří = [sanitary inspector]
- tättábá-kúnne = [great grandchild]

Where the reference is to a male they control masculine agreement, and where the reference is to a female they control feminine agreement.

(i) **Masculine:**

- **Hd. + Unit. Adj.**: (wání) důbá-gáří yáařbo (yáa shígóo)  
  [a young sanitary inspector has come in]

- **Hd. + Lg. Gen.**: (wání) tättábá-kúnne ná Audū (yáa rású)  
  [a great-grandson of Audu's has died]
(ii) **Feminine:**

Hd. + Unit. Adj.: (wátá) ðùubà-gàrì yáarìnyà (tàa shìgòò)
[a young sanitary inspector has come in]

Hd. + Lg. Gen.: (wátá) tàttàdà-kùnné tà Audù (tàa ràsú)
[a great-granddaughter of Audu's died]

(b) In some cases where the Compound Noun corresponds in meaning to some simple noun, the gender which it controls seems to be determined by analogy with the gender of the corresponding simple noun. *e.g.*:-

(i) The Compound Noun hànà-sâllà controls feminine agreement perhaps by analogy with hùulàa = [hat, cap]. *e.g.*:-

Hd. + Unit. Adj.: hànà-sâllà sàabùwàa (tàa bátà)
[a new hat is missing]

(ii) The compound Noun gàidà-yàayá, perhaps by analogy with tàashà = [brass bowl], controls feminine agreement. *e.g.*:-

Hd. + Unit. Adj.: (tàa sàyí) gàidà-yàayá sàabùwàa
[she has bought a new medium-sized brass bowl]

(iii) The Compound Noun kàa-fì-dàa-wùyàa, perhaps by analogy with the masculine noun dûtse, is masculine, and controls masculine agreement. *e.g.*:

Hd. + Unit. Adj.: kàa-fì-dàa-wùyàa kyàkkùyàawàa (ákà báatà)
[it was a good K.F.D.W. necklace that she was given]
(c) All the remaining Compound Nouns II control only masculine agreement. e.g.:—

\[\text{Hd. + Unit. Adj. : } \text{wáñí bár-ní-dà-múugù káatò (yáa fitòo màsà)}
\[\text{[he has got a big carbuncle on his face]}

\[\text{Hd. + Lg. Gen. : } \text{(wáñí) fàaðí-kà-mùtù nà Láaráí (yáa fáshèe)}
\[\text{[a china of Larai has broken to pieces]}

\[\text{Hd. + Sh. Dem. + Rel. : } \text{rlgàa-káflì náñ dà yá sháa (shìì kèe wáhál dà shìì)}
\[\text{[the medicine he has taken as a precaution is what bothers him]}

**Compound Noun III.**

Compound Nouns III control only masculine agreement, irrespective of the gender of its component elements and of its reference. e.g.:

\[\text{Hd. + Adj. Phr. : } \text{fìì-dà-sártse cànìéé shátaf (yáa fáaðàa riijìyàr)}
\[\text{[a quite green euphorbia-branch has fallen down the well]}

\[\text{Hd. + Ref. + Lg. Poss. : } \text{kììl-kììl-bànzà-h nàatà (záa tè dáúràà)}
\[\text{[she will wear her tinselly dress]}

\[\text{Hd. + Ref. + Rel. : } \text{rùb-dà-cììkìì nà yàkèè yìì (bàà shìì dà àmfàaànìì)}
\[\text{[this prostrate attitude which he adopts is pointless]}

12.2 **ITEMS OCCURRING ONLY AS QUALIFIER**

12.2.1 **ITEMS MARKED FOR GENDER**
12.2.1.1 Diminutive, and Interrogative Specifier

The Diminutive has two singular forms (masculine 的心情 and feminine 'yaf'), where the whole form is the marker of gender.

In the case of the Interrogative Specifier, which again has two singular forms (masculine 什么 and feminine 什么 ), it is probably simplest to treat the whole form as marking the gender. It would be possible, as in the case of other Specifiers, to analyse them in terms of a stem 什么 , with no assignable meaning, and a suffix (masculine —nè, feminine —cè) which would be the marker of gender; but there seems to be no particular advantage in this, especially as the low-toned 什么 is not identical with 什么 element in some other Specifiers. (cf. 12.1.2)

Although these qualifiers occur in pre-Head position, their gender is controlled by the gender of the Head, the masculine form occurring before a masculine Head, the feminine form before a feminine Head. e.g.:

(a) Dim. + Hd. + Ref. :

Masc.: dàf lìttàafì = [the little book]
Fem.: 'yaf kàssùwà = [the little market]

(b) Intr.Spec. (1) + Hd.

Masc.: wànc lìttàafì = [which book]
Fem.: wàcè kàssùwà = [which market]

(1) The first item in the Compound Specifier (See Ch. 4, 4.2) behaves in exactly the same way as the Interrogative Specifier.
12.2.1.2 Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers

The majority of the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers (I.P.H.Q.) can be analysed as containing an \( \text{n} \) or \( \text{r} \) element, which in most cases is the marker of gender. The incidence of these elements may be illustrated by the examples below, in which they are shown first after a masculine and then after a feminine noun as Head.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASCULINE</th>
<th>FEMININE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QUALIFIER</td>
<td>Element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref. :</td>
<td>( \text{h} ) shiràayí( \text{h} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)( h ) áah( \text{h} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.Dem. (Far) :</td>
<td>( \text{n} ) shiràayí( \text{h} ) căh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)( n ) áah( \text{h} ) căh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.Dem. (Near) :</td>
<td>( \text{n} ) shiràayí( \text{h} ) nàh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.Gen. :</td>
<td>( \text{n} ) shiràayí( \text{h} ) Alli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)( n ) áah( \text{h} ) Alli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.Pos. :</td>
<td>( \text{n} ) shiràayí( \text{h} ) ásha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)( n ) áah( \text{h} ) ásha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

" 1st P. : \( \text{náa} \) shiràayíi\( \text{h} \) nà(a) (i)\( t\)áa rûmfá\( \text{a} \)ta(a) = my hut "

On the basis of these and similar examples, it may be said that:

(i) In the Sh.Dem. (Near), there is no distinction of gender, the same form \( \text{n} \) nà occurring after both a masculine and a feminine Head. It is in fact not marked for gender and is listed as such in Table 9 above.
(ii) In the case of the Ref. and all the remaining I.P.H.Q.'s, except the 1st person Possessive, \( \text{-n} \) is the exponent\(^{(1)}\) of masculine gender, and \( \text{-r/-n} \) the exponent of feminine gender, the \( \text{-r} \) and \( \text{-n} \) alternants being in complementary distribution.

(iii) In the 1st Possessive, \( \text{-ná(a)} \) is the exponent of masculine gender, \( \text{-tá(a)/ná(a)} \) (in complementary distribution) the exponent of feminine gender.

The masculine forms in the case of (ii) and (iii) occur after a masculine Head, the feminine forms, whether \( \text{-r} \) or \( \text{-n} \), occur after a feminine Head, their distribution being as described in 12.2.1.2.1 below, where it is convenient to refer to forms containing the \( \text{-r} \) element as \( \text{r} \) forms and those containing the \( \text{-n} \) element as \( \text{n} \) forms.

12.2.1.2.1 Forms of Feminine I.P.H.Q.'s after various types of Head

While all feminine nouns ending in \(-\text{a/-aa}\) are followed by the \( \text{-r} \) form (the \( \text{-ta(a)} \) form of the 1st person Possessive), feminine nouns ending otherwise than in \(-\text{a/-aa}\) (all being in categories (iii) and (iv) as given in Appendix C) are followed by the \( \text{-n} \) form (the \( \text{-na(a)} \) form of the 1st person Possessive). e.g.:

---

(1) 'Exponent' is used here, because it is not a marker of gender in the sense that it distinguishes masculine or feminine form from the opposite.
(a) + Ref.:  
Kândé-h (táa zóo) = [the Kande has arrived]  
Kàmàrú-h (táa fi fí màsà) = [he will be better off in the  
Cameroun]  
Bàucì-h (táa fí) = [Bauci is better]  
Sákkwátó-h (táa kàawóo) = [the river of Sokoto has high tides]  
Làhàdì-h (táa wúcée) = [the Sunday (he promises) has passed]  
sháà bìyú-h (táa yí) = [the twelve o'clock has come]  
Ààh-h (táa ísá) = the 12th is sufficient]  
màagé-h (táa dàawóo) = the cat has come back]  

Note that nouns in these categories ending in -a/-aa are  
followed, regularly, by the -r form. e.g. -

(b) + Sh. Gen.: Làaràbá-r Audù (táa) = [Audu's Laraba has ...]  
Gáánà-r Afírkà tá yàámnà = [the Ghana of West Africa]  
Àànà-r Jíhàr gábhà = [Onitsha of Eastern Nigeria]  
Néejà-r Nàajéeríyà = [the river Niger of Nigeria]  
Táláâtà-r sáatín jiyà = [Tuesday of last week]  
sàafiyâ-r jiyà = [the morning of yesterday]

12.2.1.2.1.1 After an Indefinite or Interrogative Pronoun  
The feminine forms of both the Indefinite and the  
Interrogative Pronouns are followed only by the -n form. e.g.:  

Indefinite Pronoun:  
+ Ref.: wàncé-h (táa zóo) = [the such and such has arrived]  
+ Sh. Gen.: (yá cè) wàncé-h Audù (táa zóo)  
[he said, such and such of Adu's has arrived]  
+ Sh. Pos.: (yá cè) wàncé-hshà (táa zóo)  
[he said, his such and such has come]
+ Sh. Dem.: (yá cè) wànce-h nàni dài (táa zóo)
    [he said, that such and such has come]

Interrogative Pronoun

+ Ref.: wàccé-h (ká gánil) = [which one did you see]
+ Sh. Pos.: wàccé-ñsh (ká gánil) = [which of them did you see]

12.2.1.2.1.2 After a Compound Noun or Genitival Complex

In the case of Compound Noun I or II and the Long Genitival Complex, the form of the I.P.H.Q. is independent of the gender of the Cpd.Nn. or the Gen.Cx. itself, and seems to be correlated with the final component. A masculine final component is followed by a masculine I.P.H.Q.; a feminine final component is followed by a feminine I.P.H.Q. normally the -r form, but the -n form if the final component is one normally followed by an -n form as already described. e.g.:

Compound Noun I.(a):

+ Ref.: hájìyáa-Ládî-h (táa ... ) = [the hajiya-Ladi (has ... )]
+ Sh. Gen.: hájìyáa-Ládî-h Audù (taa..) = [Audù's hajiya-Ladi....]
+ Sh. Pos.: hájìyáa-Ládî-hkà (táa..) = [your hajiya-Ladi....]
+ Sh. Dem.: hájìyáa-Ládî-h nàñ (táa..) = [that hajiya-Ladi...]

Compound Noun I.(b):

+ Sh. Pos.: ríigá-rúwà-hkà (taa..) = [your rain-coat is...]
    úwár-gidá-hkà (táa..) = [your wife is/has....]

where the Compound Noun is followed by the -n form; but in the following the Compound Noun can be followed only by the -r form :-
Compound Noun II:

+Sh. Pos. : kårén-mọtə-rŋkə (yaa...) = [your driver's mate is...]
+Sh. Gen. : ɪthacén-wátə-rŋkə (yaa...) = [your fire-wood is...]

Long Genitival Complex:

+ Sh. Pos. : dhubə-gərə-səň = [their sanitary inspector]
+ Sh. Gen. : hànə-sállə-r Audə = [Audu's bowler hat]

12.2.1.2.1.3 After a Long Possessive or Relative Clause (a)

The feminine form of the Long Possessive and of the Relative Clause (a) is always followed by the → n form of Ref. and Sh. Dem., the only two Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers occurring after them. e.g.:

Long Possessive

+ Ref. : tâte Audə → ń = [the one belonging to Audu]
+ Sh. Dem. : tâte Báuci → ń nān = [that one made in Bauci]
+ Sh. Pos. : tâte sáakə → ń = [the one he uses for weaving]
+ Sh. Gen. : tâte sáakə → ń Audə = [the one Audu uses for weaving]

Relative Clause (a)

+ Ref. : wàddə kā sání → ń = [the one you know]
+ Sh. Dem. : wàddə kā sání → ń nān = [that one which you know]

(1) The Sh. Pos. and Sh. Gen. can only follow a complex ending in a Dynamic Noun. cf. Ch.7 (7.10).
12.2.2. **ITEMS NOT MARKED FOR GENDER**

The remaining items which occur only as Qualifier, are not marked for gender, viz:

- Indeterminate Qualifier
- Geminate Adjective
- Adverbial Complex
- Adverbial Phrase
- Relative Clause (b)

These have the same shape whether they follow a masculine or a feminine Head. e.g.:

(a) **Hd. + Indt.Q.**: Masc.: wánnè kàzàa (yáa zóo néémánkà)
   
   Fem.: wáncè kàzàa (táa zóo néémánkà)
   [such and such came looking for you]

(b) **Hd. + Indt.Q.**: Masc.: (mún gá) gééróo dámli dámli (á wàjé)
   
   Fem.: (mún gá) màiwàa dámli dámli (á wàjé)
   [we saw millet in bundles outside]

(c) **Hd. + Adv.Cx.**: Masc.: (wání) mútúm dá jàákkìi (yáa zóo néémánkà)
   
   Fem.: (wátá) màćè dá jàákkìi (táa zóo néémánkà)
   [some man/woman with a donkey came looking for you]

(d) **Hd. + Adv.Ph.**: Masc.: (wání) mútúm dàhúkè dà kàáyáà
   
   Fem.: (wátá) màćè dàhúkè dà kàáyáà
   [some man/woman carrying a load]

(e) **Hd. + Rel.(b)**: Masc.: (wání) mútúm dá tá gánii
   
   Fem.: (wátá) màćè dá tá gánii
   [some man/woman that she saw]
In these circumstances there are no grounds for treating them as masculine or feminine, and it is best to describe them as not entering into the system of gender agreement.

12.3 ITEMS OCCURRING BOTH AS QUALIFIER AND AS HEAD

12.3.1 ITEMS MARKED FOR GENDER

12.3.1.1. Unitary Adjective

(A) In the Unitary Adjective, the markers of gender are:

(a) the Suffixes: -aa, -ee, -ii, -oo, and -uu being masculine suffixes when in contrast with the feminine suffixes: -iyaa, -niyaa, -aa, and -uwaa in pairs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXES</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agential Adjective:</td>
<td>-ii -iyáa mátsóorácii/mátsóoráciyáa [coward]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participial Adjective:</td>
<td>-ée -iyáa dááfée/dáfaffiyáa [cooked]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) I am indebted ultimately to Mr F.W. Parsons for the analysis given below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIXES</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td>Fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Adjective:</td>
<td>Simple Adjective:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-àa</td>
<td>-iyáa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-niyáa</td>
<td>fárii / fáráa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íi -áa</td>
<td>ìiyaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íi -iyáa</td>
<td>ìiyáa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìe -íiyáa</td>
<td>ìiyáa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ùwàa</td>
<td>kànkànèe/kànkànùwàa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-òo ìwáa</td>
<td>ìkàtòo / ìkàtùwàa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ùù ìwâa</td>
<td>gùrghù / gùrghùwàa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) There are, however, a number of Adjectives which are themselves unmarked for gender, the same form being used in both masculine and feminine agreements. They are of two sub-types:-

Sub-type B(i) includes:
- bùtùlú = [ungrateful]
- fìngì = [dishevelled fowl]

Sub-type B(ii) includes:
- babbá = [big, elder, etc]
- sàakárài = [feckless]
- kàkkàrfáa = [strong], and all the other derivative adjectives of this type, (kìyàkkìyáawàa, tàttàuràa, etc.).
As Qualifier

The gender of Unitary Adjective occurring as Qualifier is determined by the gender of the Head, as in the following examples, where the Unitary Adjective is in post-Head position; with a Noun as Head:

1. Unitary Adjectives with Markers of Gender:

   (a) Noun (Hd.) + Agt. Adj.:

   Masc.: (wâni) kârêe mátsborâcîi (yáa wúcêe)
   Fem.: (wâtá) kâryâa mátsôorâcîyâa (taa wucêe)
   [a nervous dog has passed by]

   (b) Noun (Hd.) + Ptopl. Adj.:

   Masc.: (mun gà wâni) mûtûm tâbâbbée
g   Fem.: (mun gà wâtá) mâcê tâbâbbiyâa
   [we saw a certain lunatic person]

   (c) Noun (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.:

   Masc.: (tâa sàyi wâni) kwâando sàabô
   Fem.: (tâa sàyi wâtá) gidáuniyâa sàabúwâa
   [she has bought a new tin bowl]

2. Unitary Adjectives with no markers of gender

   As Qualifier: occurring after a Head such as a Noun, e.g.:

   Masc.: (wâni) yâordo sàakarâi (yá yi tà kàdê-kàdê)
   Fem.: (wâtá) yâarinîyâa sàakarâi (tâ yi tà kàdê-kàdê)
   [a feckless boy/girl continued drumming uninterrupted]
**Masc.**: (tāa sāyf) másákii bābbā
**Fem.**: (tāa sāyf) kwāryāa bābbā

[she has bought a big working-gourd]

Where the Adjective occurs in pre-Head position, the Adjectival Link (Masculine →ₙ, Feminine →ᵣ) as well as the Adjective has the same gender as the Head. e.g.:

(a) **Masc.**: mágújīnyá dōkli  
**Fem.**: mágújlyāčyá gōdīlyāa  
[a speedy horse/mare]

(b) **Masc.**: kliwātāccēyá dōkli  
**Fem.**: kliwātācciyācyá gōdīlyāa  
[a well-fed horse/mare]

(c) **Masc.**: fārīnyá dōkli  
**Fem.**: fārācyá gōdīlyāa  
[a white horse/mare]

In the case of Unitary Adjective type (B) (which are unmarked for gender) occurring in pre-Head position, while the Adjective itself does not vary, :-

(a) the Adjectival Link has the same gender as the Head, in the case of type B(ii), e.g.:-

**Masc.**: bābbācyā zākārāa  
**Fem.**: bābbācyā kāzāa  
[a big cock/hen]

**Masc.**: sāakārācyā yāarbo  
**Fem.**: sāakārācyā yārinyha  
[a feckless boy/girl]

**Masc.**: kākkārfācyā mūtūn  
**Fem.**: kākkārfācyā mācę  
[a strong man/woman]
(b) the Adjectival Link is -n with a feminine as well as with a masculine Head, in the case of type B(i), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masc.} & : \text{buthlúá́á zákáràa } \\
\text{Fem.} & : \text{buthlúá́á kázåáá } [\text{an ungrateful cock/hen}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masc.} & : \text{fíngí-ú zákáràa } \\
\text{Fem.} & : \text{fíngí-ú kázåáá } [\text{a dishevelled cock/hen}]
\end{align*}
\]

In view of this, it is convenient to set up an -r/-n alternation in the feminine Adjectiveal Link, as in the case of the Genitive Link, and refer the two alternants as the -r form and -n form respectively.

**As Head**

Where the Unitary Adjective is in Head position, the form of the Adjective itself and the gender which it controls in other items in the NP is determined by the gender of the anaphor. Examples of Unitary Adjective which have markers of gender in Head position are the following, where the qualifier is underlined:

(a) **Agt. Adj. (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.**:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masc.} & : \text{(wání) mátsóorácií kázáamíi } (yáa wúcbe) \\
\text{Fem.} & : \text{(wátá) mátsóoráciyáa kázáamáá } (táa wúcbe) \\
& [\text{a dirty coward has passed by}]
\end{align*}
\]

(b) **Ptp. Adj. (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.**:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Masc.} & : \text{(wání) tábábboé tsóohóo } (yáa zóo néémánkà) \\
\text{Fem.} & : \text{(wátá) tábábbiyáa tsóohúwáá } (táa zóo néémánkà) \\
& [\text{an old lunatic has come looking for you}]
\end{align*}
\]
(c) **Simp. Adj. (Hd.) + Simp. Adj.:**

**Masc.:** (wání) bàákóó dógóó (yáa sáuká à gídán Báláa)

**Fem.:** (wátá) bàákúwáa dógúwáa (táa sáuká à gídán Báláa)

[a tall stranger has arrived in Bala's home]

Some examples of unmarked Unitary Adjectives in Head position, are the following:

(a) **Hd. + Sh.Dem.:**

**Masc.:** tàttáurá nú càn (yáa jíkí)

**Fem.:** tàttáurá jó càn (táa jíkí)

[that hard one is well soaked]

(b) **Hd. + Ref.:**

**Masc.:** bábbá bás (yáa fitá)

**Fem.:** bábbá ják (táa fitá)

[the elder one has gone out]

(c) **Hd. + Unit. Adj.:**

**Masc.:** (yáa sáwóo wání) fíngí káátíí

**Fem.:** (yáa sáwóo wátá) fíngí kááthwáá

[he has bought a large dishêvelled one]

12.3.1.2 Adjectival Phrase

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase is the same as that of its initial Unitary Adjective; and its gender is marked by the suffix of that Adjective, as described in 12.3.1.1 (A) above. Adjectival Phrases having in initial position one of the unmarked Adjectives discussed in 12.3.1.1 (B) have common gender.

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase in **Qualifier** position, is controlled by that of the Head, e.g.
Noun (Hd.) + Adj.Phrr.:

(i) Masc.: hädärli bākii sîrîk (yāa gängámôo) 
[a very black looking storm has started to move]

(ii) Fem.: gâuguvâa gâagáârûmâa áînûn (táa táasôô) 
[a very violent hurricane is approaching]

(iii) Masc.: (yāa sâyi) lîttââfî sâabôo kâw 
[he has bought a brand new book]

(iv) Fem.: (án bâa shî) rîjgîa kîûtûhâa da gîské 
[he has been given a very big gown]

(v) Masc.: (yāa ârî) wânî gidáa yàbabôôbêe râdáu 
[he has borrowed a well-plastered house]

(vi) Fem.: (yāa ârî) wâtâ gônâa kîûtûhâa kwàráî 
[he has borrowed a very big farm]

The gender of an Adjectival Phrase in Head position is controlled by that of the anaphor.

Hd. + Unît.Adj.:

(i) Masc.: (wânî) mátsðoráci kwâräi Kâzáami (yāa wúcèe) 
Fem.: (wâtâ) mátsðoráciyâa kwâräi Kâzáamâa (táa wúcèe) 
[a dirty very cowardly man/woman has passed by]

(ii) Masc.: (wânî) tåbâôôbêe túbûrân tsôohôo (yâa zôo nêêmânkâ) 
Fem.: (wâtâ) tåbâôôbîyâa túbûrân tsôohûwâa (táa zôo nêêmânkâ) 
[an old highly insane man/woman has come looking for you]

(iii) Masc.: (wânî) gajéêreé dûkûs båkôô (yâa shêgôô) 
Fem.: (wâtâ) gajéêrâa dûkûs båkûwâa (táa shêgôô) 
[a very short unfamiliar one (animal) has come in]
Adjectival Phrases with common gender can be illustrated by the following examples:

(a) As Qualifier, occurring after a Head such as a Noun; e.g.:-

Masc.: (wání) yáardò sáakárái dà gaské (yá yí tá kádé-kádé)
Fem.: (wátá) yáarinyàa sáakárái dà gaské (tá yí tá....)
[a very feckless boy/girl continued drumming uninterruptedly]

(b) As Head:

+ Lg. Gen.: Masc.: (yáa dínká) bábbá kwárái nà sílikíi
Fem.: (yáa dínká) bábbá kwárái tá sílikíi
[a very big silken one made to measure nas been made for him]

+ Rel.: Masc.: Kákkárféa ánùn wàndà ká sàníi (yáa báthá)
Fem.: Kákkárféa ánùn wàddà ká sàníi (táa báthá)

12.3.1.3 Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive

The marker of gender in the Long Genitival Complex is the Link element ná marking masculine gender, tá marking feminine gender, as in the following:

Masc.: (Hd. + ná...): wání gidáa ná Audú
[a house of Audu's]

Fem.: (Hd. + tá...): wátá góonáa tá Audú
[a farm of Audu's]

Similarly the marker of gender in the Long Possessive is the initial Link element náa/-nàa- marking masculine gender (e.g.:
náasà = [his], nàawá = [mine], táa-/tàa- marking
feminine gender (e.g.: tásasà = [his], tàawá = [mine]), as in:

Masc.: (Hd. + náa..): wání littáafili nàawá
[a book of mine]

Fem.: (Hd. + táa..): wátá gáfákàa tàawá
[a book-case of mine]

Here, as always where the Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive are in Qualifier position, the gender is controlled by the gender of the Head.

Where they are in Head position, their gender is controlled by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:

Hd. + Adj.Ph.:

(a) Lg.Gen.:

(i) Masc.: (yáa ádkí) ná háyàa màntáccée kwáráí
Fem.: (yáa ádkí) tá háyàa màntácciyàa kwáráí
[he took a very reliable one that was for hire]

(ii) Masc.: (náa gà) ná sáyárwàa kyákkyáawàa àìíìùn
Fem.: (náa gà) tá sáyárwàa kyákkyáawàa àìíìùn
[I have seen a very good one that is for sale]

(b) Lg.Pos.:

(i) Masc.: nàawá sákú wà fil (yáa bátà)
Fem.: tàwá sákúwàa fil (táa bátà)
[mine a brand new one (is missing)]
(ii) **Masc.**: (mún gá) náatá rínannée shár
     Fem. : (mún gá) táatá rínanniyáa shár
     [we saw her's which is well dyed]

For the form of I.P.H.Q.'s after Long Genitival Complex and Long Possessive see 12.2.1.2.1.2 and 3.

12.3.1.4 Relative Clause

The gender of Relative Clause (a) is marked by the introductory word, *wódá* and *waddá* marking masculine and feminine gender respectively. e.g.:

**Masc.**: wáhdà yá sáníi (yáa kómáa gárinsù)
**Fem.**: wáddá yá sáníi (táa kómáa gárinsù)
    [the man/woman he knows (has gone back to his/her country]

Where Relative Clause (a) is in Qualifier position, its gender is controlled by the gender of the Head. e.g.:

(i) **Masc.**: gáarúú wáhdà Audù yá gínàa bárá (yáa fáadí)
     Fem. : kántángáa wáddá Audù yá gínàa bárá (táa fáadí)
     [the wall which Audu built last year (has fallen down)]

(ii) **Masc.**: kwándo wáhdà ká gáníi jïyà (ná Láadì née)
     Fem. : gidáuniyáa wáddà ká gáníi jïyà (tá Láadi cée)
     [the bowl which you saw yesterday belongs to Ladi]

Where Relative Clause (a) is in Head position, the form of the introductory word and the gender it controls in other items is controlled by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:
Hà. + Unít. Adj.:

(i) Masc.: wáhdà ká gáníi tsóohóo (máálamíiñ Audú née)
Fem.: wáhdà ká gáníi tsóohúwáa (maálámár Audú cée)
[the man/woman you saw who is old is Audu's teacher]

(ii) Masc.: wáhdà tá sáyáa zàanánnée (yáa húujée)
Fem.: wáhdà tá sáyáa zàanánníyáa (táa húujée)
[the decorated one which she bought has got a hole in it]

For the form of the I.P.H.Q.'s after Rel. (a) see 12.2.1.2.1.3.

12.3.1.5 Specifier

The Near Demonstrative is the only Specifier unmarked for gender; discussion on it, therefore, is deferred till 12.3.2.1.

In the case of the Indefinite Specifier (masc. wáñí, fem. wáta) and the Long Demonstrative (Far) (masc. wáñcàñ / wáñcán(1), fem. wáccáñ / wáccáñ / wáccáñ(1)), it is simplest to treat the whole item as the marker of gender. (It would be possible to abstract a stem wá-/wá-, with no readily assignable meaning, and a suffix, with a further locative element can in the case of the Far Demonstrative; but there does not seem to be any advantage in this, particularly in view of the variation in the tone of wa-.)

When these items occur as Qualifier, they normally precede the Head; nevertheless their gender is always controlled by the gender of the Head. e.g.:

(1) For the tonal variation see Appendix B.
(i) **Lg. Dem. + Nn. (Hd.):**

**Masc.:** wά̀ćcè̀h gidàà (ná wàayée?)
[whose house is that?]

**Fem.:** wά̀ćcè̀h gòonàà (tá wàayee?)
[whose farm is that?]

**Masc.:** (jèeká háu) wά̀ćcè̀h dóokit
[go and ride that horse]

**Fem.:** (jèeká háu) wά̀ćcè̀h móòtàà
[go and ride that car]

(ii) **Indef. Spec. + Nn. (Hd.):**

**Masc.:** wáńù mútùm (yàa zóo mákàrántárìì máá yàáù)
[a certain man came to our school today]

**Fem.:** wátá màcè (táa zóo mákàrántárìì yàáù)
[a certain woman came to our school today]

When in **Head** position, the form of the Indefinite Specifier and of the Long Demonstrative (Far) and the gender which it controls in other items in the NP is determined by the gender of the anaphor. e.g.:

(i) **Lg. Dem. (Hd.) + Lg. Gen.:**

**Masc.:** (bàání) wáncən ná báayánká
[give me that one behind you]

**Fem.:** (bàání) wàccàn tá báayánká
[that one underneath is ripe]

(ii) **Indef. Spec. (Hd.) + Adj. P.**

**Masc.:** (yàa báání) wáncà́n sáábóó kàww
[he has given me another brand new one]
Masc. : wáni nùnnànnéè dà shii (yàa fáadóó  
Fem. : wá́ta nùnnànníyàà dà ìtá (táa fáadóó)

[another nicely ripe one has fallen]

12.3.2. ITEMS NOT MARKED FOR GENDER

The items which have no overt markers of gender have been listed in 12.2 above. As regards gender, the main features common to them all are the following:

(i) When in Qualifier position, they are always invariable whether the Head is masculine or feminine. e.g.:

**With a Noun Head:**

(a) **+ Qt.1:** Masc. : mútúm dàyá = [one man]  
    Fem. : màcé dàyá = [one woman]

(b) **+ Adj. Cx.:** Masc. : mútúm mài kíbbà = [a fat man]  
    Fem. : màcé mài kíbbà = [a fat woman]

(c) **+ Adv. Cx.:** Masc. : mútúm dà káyáà = [a man with luggage]  
    Fem. : màcé dà káyáà = [a woman with luggage]

(d) **+ Adv. Cl.:** Masc. : mútúm nání tsàyé = [a man there standing]  
    Fem. : màcé nání tsàyé = [a woman there standing]

(e) **+ Adv. Ph.:** Masc. : mútúm kúsá dà múu = [a man near us]  
    Fem. : màcé kúsá dà múu = [a woman near us]

(ii) When in Head position, they are of three categories on the basis of the agreement which they control in other items, viz:

...
(a) Those which control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the anaphor. These are the following:

Quantifiers
Adjectival Complex
Isolator.

The following are a few examples:

**Qt.1 (Hd.) + Unít. Adj.:**

- **Masc.**: (gūdāa) dāyā fārīi (yāa bātà)
- **Fem.**: (gūdāa) dāyā fārāa (tāa bātà)
  [one white one is missing]

- **Masc.**: (yāa cāukí) dāyā dōgōo
- **Fem.**: (yāa cāukí) dāyā dōgūwā
  [he has taken one long one]

**Adj.Cx. (Hd.) + Lg.Gen.:**

- **Masc.**: māi kībāh nān nā gidān Audū (yāa sānsū)
- **Fem.**: māi kībāh nān tā gidān Audū (tāa sānsū)
  [that fat one in Audu's house knows them]

- **Masc.**: (án sāi dā) māi zāanēe nā álāwāyyb
- **Fem.**: (án sāi dā) māi zāanēe tā álāwāyyb
  [a decorated one of cotton material has been sold]

**Isol. (Hd.) + Ref.:**

- **Masc.**: dāyārí (yāa zōo)
- **Fem.**: dāyā gió (tāa zōo)
  [the other one has come]
Those which always control feminine agreement outside the NP, although no statement can be made about their controlling gender within the NP; this is because all qualifiers that combine with them are unmarked as regards gender, or contain no initial -n element which can be assigned to either masculine or feminine agreement. These are the following:

Simple Adverb
Adverbial Compound
Adverbial Cluster

e.g.:

**Simp. Adv.** : ái báčí-h dà yákée álkwárfí (záa tá zóo nèe)
[well, the next year he is promising he is coming]

**Adv. Cpd.** : gábán álkwálfí h dà táá và sóh zúwàa (sái án kái shi)
[before the court, which he dislikes, he must be taken]

**Adv. Cl.** : cáí kásá-kásá-h dà yá kómáa (táa fí náh sáńyìi)
[a little way down whither he has chosen to return is colder than here]

(c) Ideophone, which apparently always controls masculine gender within the NP, although outside the NP it controls feminine gender. e.g.:

Hd. + Ref. + Rel. (b):

kásáké-h dà yá kán yí (táa dáamée nì)
[the way he sits so solemnly is bothering me]
háyáa-háyá-n dà sükée yíi (táa hánnà shí báccíi)
[the noise they are making (has kept him awake]
12.3.2.1 The Long Demonstrative (Near) is not marked for gender, having only one form (apart from the tonal variations described in Appendix B), with no variation in masculine and feminine contexts. e.g.:

Masc.: wànnàn lítàáfii = [this book]
Fem.: wànnàn wàsíkàa = [this letter]

When in Head position, however, it can control either masculine or feminine agreement. e.g.:

Head + Rel.(a):

Masc.: wànnàn wàndà kà këe gànii
Fem.: wànnàn wàddà kà këe gànii

[this one which you are looking at]

Accordingly, it is appropriate to distinguish two homonymous forms wannan (masc.) and wannan (fem.), the former used when the reference is to a masculine noun, the latter with reference to a feminine noun, or alternatively to treat wannan as having common gender, like the nouns listed in (B) in Appendix C.

12.4 Conclusion

It has been shown that, of the items occurring in the NP, some have markers of gender, others do not; some have two distinct singular forms correlating respectively with a male or a female referent, or a masculine or a feminine anaphor; others have only one singular form correlating both with a male or a female referent, or a masculine or feminine anaphor; while a third group (three
of the four I.P.H.Q.'s) have three singular forms one correlating with male/masculine and the other two (in complementary distribution) correlating with female/feminine.

In so far as items are marked for gender, the gender of the Head always controls agreement within the Simple NP, the gender of the Qualifiers being controlled by that of the Head. The gender of the Head is, in the case of most Nouns, a feature of the Noun itself, while in the case of other items it is determined by the gender of the referent or anaphor, though there are special rules covering the gender of Compound Nouns. Only in the case of the I.P.H.Q.'s after Cpd.Nn I or II or after Lg.Gen. Head is the gender of the Qualifier independent of the gender of Head itself, but, apparently, correlated with the gender of the final component of the Head.

Of the items not marked for gender, some (Disj.(a), Lg.Dem.(Near), Is., Qt., Adj.Cx.) can control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the referent or anaphor. Others (Simp.Adv., Adv.Cpd., Adv.Cl.) control feminine agreement, while Ideo. controls masculine agreement within the NP but feminine agreement outside the NP.
CHAPTER 13

THE OPERATION OF NUMBER WITHIN THE SIMPLE NOMINAL PHRASE

The rules for the operation of Number agreement within the Nominal Phrase are very similar to those for the operation of gender agreement; and the main features will be discussed in general terms, a detailed account being given only of the distinctive features. Items occurring in the NP can again be classified according to whether they are marked for Number or not, and according to whether they occur only as Head or as Qualifier, or can occur as either, as shown in the table below:

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of the item</th>
<th>Items with Markers of Number</th>
<th>Items without Markers of Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only As Head</strong></td>
<td>The Majority of Nouns(i)</td>
<td>Some Nouns (ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Pronouns</td>
<td>The Majority of Compound Nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compound Noun (I)(a)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(bii)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only As Qualifier</strong></td>
<td>Interrogative Specifier</td>
<td>Geminate Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>Indeterminate Qualifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Referential</td>
<td>Adverbial Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Possessive</td>
<td>Adverbial Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Genitival Complex</td>
<td>Relative Clause (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Demonstrative (Far)</td>
<td>Short Demonstrative (Near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either As Head or as Qualifier</td>
<td>Indefinite Specifier</td>
<td>Isolator</td>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long Demonstrative</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Long Possessive</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
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<td>Long Genitival Complex</td>
<td>Simple Adverb</td>
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<td>Unitary Adjective</td>
<td>Adverbial Compound</td>
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<td>Adjectival Phrase</td>
<td>Adverbial Cluster</td>
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<td>Adjectival Complex</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relative Clause (a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main points of contrast with the situation as regards gender are as follows:

(a) The breakdown of **Noun** and **Compound Noun** according to whether or not they are marked for number, differs from their breakdown as regards gender.

(b) All **Pronouns** can be regarded as marked for Number, since there is a clear cut distinction between singular Pronouns on the one hand and plural Pronouns on the other.

(c) Both **Long Demonstratives** are marked for Number.

(d) **Adjectival Complex**, although not marked for gender, is marked for Number; forms with **mái** as initial element entering into singular agreement, while those with **máasú** as initial element inter into Plural agreement.

The details of the contrast between singular and Plural forms of marked items are, in most cases, given in
chapter 2, and need not be set out here. For Nouns and Adjectives see 13.2 below.

13.1 In general, Number-marked items functioning as Head control either Singular or Plural agreement within the Nominal Phrase, as the case may be. Only in the case of certain Nouns does the same Head control sometimes Singular and sometimes Plural agreement. Items functioning as Head, which are not marked for Number, apart from Nouns, normally control singular agreement, the only exceptions being mentioned in 13.3 below.

As a corollary to the above, all Number-marked items functioning as Qualifier have the same Number as the Head.

13.2 Nouns and Unitary Adjectives

The relationship between singular and plural forms of Nouns and Adjectives is so multifarious that it cannot be dealt with here, and it is sufficient to say that the great majority of Nouns and Adjectives have two distinct forms, one Singular and one Plural; the plural form normally being marked by a different suffix with or without a different tone pattern and/or some type of reduplication. It is only necessary to deal here with a small number of Nouns which are not marked for Number. :-

13.2.1 Nouns not marked for Number

There is a small number of Nouns which may be said to have 'Common Number', having only one form but controlling
Singular and sometimes Plural agreements. These are:

(a) **Collective Nouns** such as:

- j̄ámá'̣a = [group of people]
- kúdfi = [money]
- ʰáyəbə = [bananas]
- t̄hmáátər = [tomatoes]

and:

(b) **Mass Nouns**, such as:

- mádáráa = [milk]
- náamàa = [meat]
- rúwáa = [water]

Mass Nouns control only Singular agreement, while Collective Nouns can control Singular or Plural agreement, depending on the anaphor. e.g.:

**Singular Agreement**

(a) **Collective Noun + Adjectival Complex:**

j̄ámá'̣a mài yəwə (táa tə₂ərə ə gidən Bələa)
[a lot of people have gathered in Bala's house]

(yəa səyəə) t̄hmáátər mái yəwəa
[he has bought a lot of tomatoes]

(b) **Mass Noun + Unitary Adjective:**

mádáráa täfəsəshiyəa = [ hot milk ]
náamàa sojəiyə = [ roast meat ]
k̄unúu tsinkəkkə = [ watery gruel ]
Plural Agreement

(a) Collective Noun + Adjectival Complex:

(yáa táarà) jàmá'àa màasú yáwàa (kóo inàa cikín gàrin)
[he has gathered a lot of groups of people everywhere in the town]

(b) Collective Noun + Quantifier 1 + Unitary Adjective:

àlbàsàà ghdàa bíyú fàráarée
[two white onions]

àyàbà sàálàa bíyú dànyúú
[two raw bananas]

kúdii fám bíyú sàábàbbíi
[money two pounds all new]

13.3 Items not marked for Number

13.3.1 As Head

A list of all the items for Number has been given in Table 10 above, and the Number which they control when in Head position has been described in 13.1 above. There are, however, certain special rules applying to the Compound Noun and the Quantifiers. viz:-

13.3.1.1 Compound Noun

While the great majority of Compound Nouns are not marked for Number, a small group under Compound Noun I are so marked. :

Compound Noun I

Under Compound Noun I, sub-types (a) and (bii), which have a Proper and a Concrete Noun respectively as the core
of the compound, are marked for Number in the sense that these can be either in singular or in plural form and, consequently, the compound noun itself is either singular or plural, controlling either singular or plural agreements as the case may be. e.g.:-

(i) Sub-type (a) + Unit. Adj.: 

Sing. Agreement: máalām-Audū máhāddācii (yāa zóo)  
[Malam Audu the reciter has arrived]

Pl. Agreement: su-máalām(1)-Audū máhāddātāa (sún zóo)  
[Malam Audu the reciter and company have arrived]

(ii) Sub-type (bii) + Unit. Adj.: 

Sing. Agreement: rligār-rūwāa sāabūwā (tāa bātā)  
[a new rain-coat is missing]

Pl. Agreement: rligūnān-rūwāa shabbabbii (sún bātā)  
[new rain-coats are missing]

The remaining sub-types of Compound Noun I, which have either Dynamic or Abstract Nouns as the core of the compound, are not marked for Number, and control only singular agreement in other items within the NP. e.g.:

(i) Cpd.Nn. I with Dyn.NN. core:  

+ Unit. Adj.: tharin-shifkā múughū (yaa....)  
[a serious whooping-cough is/has....]

(1) It is arguable, however, that su máalām Audū is not strictly a plural form of máalām Audū, but a special type of pluralised NP consisting of su + one of a number of different types of NP with the meaning:- 'X and others like him/it'.
(ii) Cpd. Nn. I with Abst. Nn. core:

+ Adj. Cx.: taurín-kái mài tsánání (yáa...)

[strong stubbornness is ...]

Compound Nouns II and III

Compound Nouns II and III are not marked for Number, since each of them has only one form which is invariable.

But:

(i) Compound Noun II can control either singular or plural concord, depending on whether one or more items are referred to. e.g.:

**Singular Cpd. Nn. II + Unit. Adj.**:

Sub-type (a): bâr-ní-dá-múugù bûuléelëe (yáa fitóo mášá)

[he has got a big carbuncle on his face]

" (b) fâadí-kà-mútù sáabóó (yáa fáshëë)

[a new china-ware has got broken]

" (c) (yáa sàami) rigàa-kááì hadádííëëe

[he has got a well-made preventative]

" (d) (yáa sàyi) wàni báa-kàa-zúwàa-kògíí fârìì

[he has bought a white unwashable cloth]

**Plural Cpd. Nn. II + Unit. Adj.**:

Sub-type (a): bâr-ní-dá-múugù bûuláa bûulùa (sûn fitóo mášá)

[he has got big carbuncles on his face]

" (b) fâadí-kà-mútù sàaabábbëëi (sûn fáshëë)

[new china-ware have all got broken]
Sub-type (c): (sún sàssàami) rigàa-káfì hàdéddàùu
[they have got well prepared preventative]

" (d) (yàa sàyi) wàdàànsú báà-kàà-zúwàà-kbòggì fàràarée
[he has bought some white not washable material]

(ii) Compound Noun III, on the other hand, controls only
singular concord in all the items that follow or
precede it; in other words it is always singular. e.g.:-

Cpd. Nn. III + Adj. Ph.:
(a) fìì-dà-sàrtse kòorrèe fàtàù (dúk yàa fírrfítòò à iyaakar
goonar)
[nicely green fìì-da-sartse plants have come out on
the sides of the farm]

(b) (yàa sháafà) kylàl-kylàl-bànzà sàáboó káw (à sóorrâyèèn dúkà)
[he has plastered all the rooms with new shining-plaster]

13.3.1.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are not marked for number and in general they
all control only Plural agreement. e.g:

(a) Qt.1 + Unit. Adj.: gùdàá bìyù fàràarée (sùn bàtà)
[two white ones are missing]

(b) Qt.2 + Unit. Adj.: ('Connor) kààdàn fàràarée (sùn bàtà)
[a few white ones have got lost]
dà yáwàà bììakìì (sùn bàtà)
[a lot (of them) who are strangers
have got lost]
There are two exceptions to this rule. viz.:

(a) (gudaa) daya = [one], can naturally control only singular agreement. e.g:

(i) + Unt. Adj.: gudaa daya farii (yaa is6) [one white one has arrived]

(ii) + Iq. Gen.: gudaa daya taa Audu (taa iso) [one which belongs to Audu has arrived]

(b) kadan can control singular agreement where the anaphor is a Mass Noun. e.g:

+ Unt. Adj.: yaa sayi dan kadan nunannee (e.g. tumaatur) [he has bought a small quantity, ripe]

'yar kadan tafasashiyaa (yaa kaw6o) (e.g. madaraa) [he has brought a small amount, boiled]

13.3.2 As Qualifier

When in Qualifier position, the items unmarked for Number are invariable whether the Head is singular or plural. e.g:

(a) Hd.+Indet.Q.: Sing.: littaafli kazaa = [such and such a book]

Pl.: littatatatfai kazaa = [so many books
(b) **Hd.+Adv.Cx.** : Sing.: bàakọ dàgà Kàndò = [stranger from Kano]
    Pl.: bàakii dàgà Kàndò = [strangers from Kano]

(c) **Hd.+Rel.(b):** Sing.: kídàhà dà ká ji= [drumming that you heard]
    Pl.: kàcè-kàcè dà ká ji = [drumming that you heard]

13.3.2.1 All three types of Quantifier normally follow a plural Head. e.g:

**Hd. + Qt.1:**  dàwàakìi gùdáa gòomà = [ten horses]
**Hd. + Qt.2:**  'yàn dàwàakìi kàdàn = [a few horses]
**Hd. + Qt.3:**  dàwàakìi úkù-úkù = [three horses each]

But there are two obvious exceptions, viz.:

(a) dàyá and gùdáa dàyá = [one] can follow only a singular Head. e.g:  dòöàkìi (gùdáa) dàyá = [one horse],
    but not: -  *dàwàakìi (gùdáa) dàyá*

(b) The Quantifiers can follow some items not marked for Number, such as the Collective or Mass nouns, which never nevertheless can control singular Number outside the NP; in this case they may be said to occur after a singular Head. e.g:

(i) **Collective Nn. + Qt.2:** jàmà'aa dà yàwà (táa/sún tàarú)  
    [a lot of people (have gathered)]

(ii) **Mass Nn. + Qt.1:** fùràa kwàrryàa biyú (táa ìsá)  
    [two bowls of gruel is enough]
There are, however, certain cases where Quantifier 1 occurs after a singular Head,

(a) with specialized meaning; e.g:

(i) särkii göomà (ta ganii) = [she (is so old that she) has lived through the reign of ten kings]

(ii) (yáa sàyí) jàakii göomà = [ha has bought ten donkey-loads]

(b) or with special overtones of great quantity. e.g:

dóckli göomà (née à tirkèsà) =
[there are as many as ten horses in his stable]

13.4 Conclusion

As in the case of gender agreement, some items occurring in the NP are marked for Number, others are not. In so far as items are marked for Number, the Number in Qualifiers is controlled by the Number of the Head, though certain items in Head position can control either singular or plural agreement.

Items not marked for Number normally control singular agreement, though there is variation in the case of Compound Nouns and Quantifiers.
The foregoing chapters have been concerned with the types of item that can occur in the Simple Nominal Phrase and the relationships between them. This chapter considers the nexus between the items within the Nominal Phrase, i.e. to what extent and in what positions other extraneous items can occur within the Nominal Phrase.

So far as can be discovered, the only items which can occur within the Nominal Phrase, apart from those discussed in the previous chapters, are:

(a) the Stabilizer, Masc. nee, Fem. cee (with polar tone, i.e. with tone opposite to the tone of the preceding syllable) = [is/was/are/were etc.], which sometimes seems to be little more than an emphasising particle; and

(b) the six Modal Particles, fá, kđo, máa, kám, kümá, dái, and kůwá/kwá. It is impossible to give a precise account of their meaning, but the glosses given with the examples below give some indication of this.
Both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles are enclitic, i.e. they follow an item to which they refer, neither and none of them can occur in the initial position. All can occur at the end of an NP, but since we are here concerned with the interruptibility of the NP, this need not be discussed further. They never occur before the Head, i.e. not between the Pre-Head Qualifiers, and not between the pre-Head Qualifiers and the Head.

14.1 Thus the occurrence of both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles is only in the post-Head segment (apart from the special cases described in 14.2 below), and can be summarised as follows:

(a) In an NP with a Discontinuous Qualifier, both the Stabilizer and the Modal Particles can occur either immediately after the Head or after the final element of the Discontinuous Qualifier. e.g:

(i) Immediately after the Head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Stab.} & : \text{wáni Kárámín yáarbo née Kwárái } \\
& (\text{ya'kaawoo}) \\
& [\text{it is a certain very small boy who has brought (it)}]
\end{align*}
\]
Part: wáni kàrámin yáarbo kòo kwárái
(yáa wúcèe)

[indeed, a certain very small boy
has passed by]

(ii) After the final element of the Discontinuous
Qualifier:

_ Stab.: _ wáni kàrámin yáarbo kwárái nèe
(yá káawòo)

[it is a certain very small boy
who brought (it)]

Part: wáni kàrámin yáarbo kwárái kòo
(yáa wúcèe)

[indeed, a certain very small boy
has passed by]

(b) Where the Head is followed by an Immediate Post-Head
Qualifier, they can, naturally, only occur after the
I.P.H.Q. Again, where an Isolator or a Possessive
occurs anywhere in the Pre-Head segment, they can only
occur after the post-Head Referential, which necessarily follows the Head. e.g.:

(1) \( \text{Hd.} + \text{I.P.H.Q.} \)

(i) \( \text{Hd.} + \text{Ref.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(yáárd-'h née \ldots\)

[it is the boy \ldots\]

(ii) \( \text{Hd.} + \text{Sh.Dem.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(yáárd-'h cáh née \ldots\)

[it is that boy \ldots\]

(iii) \( \text{Hd.} + \text{Sh.Pos.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(yáárd-'hkb née \ldots\)

[it is your servant

(iv) \( \text{Hd.} + \text{Sh.Gen.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(yáárd-'h Audù née \ldots\)

[it is Audu's servant \ldots\]

(2) \( \text{Iso.} + \text{Hd.} + \text{Ref.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(dáyá yáárd-'h née \ldots\)

[it is the other boy \ldots\]

(3) \( \text{Pos.} + \text{Hd.} + \text{Ref.} + \text{Stab.} \): \(náškà yáárd-'h née \ldots\)

[it is your son \ldots\]

In any of these examples the Stabilizer could be replaced by a Modal Particle. ¹

(c) Where the Head is followed by any qualifier other than the I.P.H.Q., they can both occur either immediately after the Head (and so before the pre-Head Qualifier) or at the end of the NP. e.g.:

(1) \( \text{Spec.} + \text{Hd.} + \{\text{Stab.} + \text{Qt.1}\} \): \(\text{wání lítíáaflí née gùdáà dáyá} \)

or:

\(\text{wání lítíáaflí gùdáà dáyá née} \)

[it is a certain one book]
The two alternatives seem to be mainly in free variation, but with certain qualifiers (such as Adj.Cx.) one position is perhaps more usual than the other.

(d) Where there is more than one post-Head qualifier in a given NP, the Stabilizer or a Modal Particle can occur either at the end of the NP or at any point between the qualifiers. In the latter case, all the items within the Nominal Phrase occurring before the Stabilizer or Modal Particle are emphasized, in contrast with those occurring after them, the immediately preceding item being particularly emphasized. e.g.:—
In addition to the above, the Modal Particles, but not the Stabilizer, can also occur between the component elements of the following items, provided these items are in Head position:

- Qt.1, (where it is accompanied by its Enumerator)
- Lg. Gen.
- Adv. Cl.
- e.g.: -
(i) sháanú ni Audù née kām ná tëatsáa (súkà shígá góonár)
   [it was certainly Audu's milking cows which entered the farm]

where they co-occur continuously between the Short and the Long Genitival Complexes; or

(ii) sháanú ni Audù née ná tëatsáa fá fárärée (súkà shígá góonár)
   [it was Audu's milking cows, which are white, which indeed entered the farm]
where they are separated by the Long Genitival Complex, with another optional qualifier, the Unt Adj., following.

14.4 Thus, there is fairly close nexus between the items in the Nominal Phrase, the Stabilizer and Modal Particles being the only items which can break the continuity of the NP as described in the previous chapters. And even these can only occur at certain specific points, namely, never before the Head and only between the Head and a non-immediate post-Head qualifier, or between any two post-Head qualifiers, or, in certain cases, between the component elements of the Head itself or of a Discontinuous Qualifier.
CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters, it has been shown that the Simple Nominal Phrase in Hausa can be analysed in terms of a Head and Qualifiers. Of the various types of item found in the Simple NP, some can function only as Head, some only as Qualifier, and some both as Head and as Qualifier, and it is convenient to make a further distinction between Adverbial and Non-Adverbial items.

The Head is the only obligatory element in the structure of the Simple NP, and the presence of one or more Qualifiers is optional. Every Simple NP, therefore, consists of at least the Head; and various types of Simple NP can be differentiated by reference to the type of item occurring in Head position.

The Qualifiers are of two main types, pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers, referring to the position in any given NP in which they occur. Further sub-division of post-Head Qualifiers can be made on the basis of whether the Qualifiers can only occur immediately after the Head or can follow other Qualifier, as well as by reference to whether they are Adverbial or Non-Adverbial. The pre-Head Qualifiers are all Non-Adverbial.

On the basis of the number of different types of Qualifier with which they can combine, the items occurring as Head can be variously categorised as readily combinable, non-combinable, or as having high, relatively high, relatively low, or low combinability.
In the same way, the pre-Head Qualifiers can be categorised as having high, moderate, or low combinability, on the basis of the number of different types of item in Head position with which they can combine. The post-Head Qualifiers can similarly be categorised as being readily combinable, or as having high, relatively high, moderate, relatively low, low, or very low combinability, although the boundaries between these categories are not clear-cut.

In general, post-Head Qualifiers occur much more freely after a Non-Adverbial than after an Adverbial Head. In fact, in no case are there more than four Non-Adverbial Qualifiers with which an Adverbial Head can combine; and the combination of Adverbial Qualifier with Adverbial Head is quite impossible.

On the other hand, the co-occurrence rules for Qualifiers are somewhat different. Non-Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur readily with other Non-Adverbial Qualifiers, and Adverbial Qualifiers can co-occur with other Adverbial Qualifiers though with some important qualifications, but the co-occurrence of an Adverbial with a Non-Adverbial Qualifier is relatively rare.

Where there is an accumulation of Qualifiers, whether in pre-Head or in post-Head position, the maximum number of Qualifiers in either position in any given Simple NP is normally four; while pre-Head Qualifiers are all Non-Adverbial, accumulated post-Head Qualifiers can be either all Adverbial, or all Non-Adverbial, or else a mixture of the two.] There is also a consistent pattern of sequential order in which the Qualifiers normally co-occur, and which applies equally whether there are two, three, or the maximum of four qualifiers in succession.

Accumulation of pre-Head Qualifiers and post-Head Qualifiers in the same NP is also possible (but with some important co-occurrence restrictions in the case of some Qualifiers such as the Long Possessives,
Long Demonstratives and Isolator, and certain Adverbial Qualifiers) and the maximum number of Qualifiers of either type is four. Thus the longest Simple NP in terms of its constituent elements would be one containing four pre-Head Qualifiers, the Head, and four post-Head Qualifiers.

There are two distinctive features in the case of a Dynamic Noun Head, namely:
(a) the Adverbial Qualifiers occur and co-occur much more freely after it than they do after any other type of Head, and
(b) a clause other than a Relative Clause can occur after it but not after any other type of Head.

As regards gender agreement, some items occurring in the Simple NP have markers of gender, others do not. In so far as items are marked for gender, the gender of the Head always controls agreement within the NP, the gender of Qualifiers being controlled by that of the Head. After a Compound Noun Head, however, the gender of the Immediate Post-Head Qualifiers is, apparently, independent of the gender of the Head itself, but correlated with the gender of the final component element of the Head.

The gender of the Head is, in the case of most nouns, a feature of the noun itself, while in the case of other items marked for gender it is determined by the gender of the referent or of the anaphor, though there are special rules covering the gender of Compound Nouns.

Of the items not marked for gender functioning as Head, some can control either masculine or feminine agreement depending on the gender of the referent or of the anaphore, others control feminine agreement only, while Ideophones control masculine agreement within the NP but feminine agreement outside the NP.
The situation as regards Number agreement is comparable. Some items are marked for Number, others are not, and the Number in the Qualifiers is controlled by the Number of the Head, although there are certain items which, functioning as Head, can control either singular or plural agreement. Items not marked for Number normally control singular agreement, but there is variation to this rule in the case of Compound Nouns and Quantifiers.

As regards the unity of the Simple NP, there is fairly close nexus between the constituent elements, the Stabilizer and Modal Particles being the only two extraneous items which can break the continuity of the Simple NP. Even these can only occur at certain specific points (other than after the final component in the NP), namely between the Head and a non-immediate post-Head qualifier, or between any two post-Head qualifiers, or, in certain cases, between the component elements of the Head itself or of a Discontinuous Qualifier, but never before the Head.

In general, it can be said that, analysis in terms of a Head and of pre-Head and post-Head Qualifiers of various kinds facilitates a coherent account of the Simple Nominal Phrase in Hausa, and of its constituent elements and their grammatical relationship to one another.
APPENDIX A

IDEOPHONES

The following list, though not exhaustive, includes the great majority of Hausa ideophones in regular use. The classification is based mainly on external behaviour, as explained after the list, but it is a convenient basis for the description of the behaviour of ideophone within the Simple Nominal Phrase. Within each main category, individual items are grouped according to their phonological feature.

_R_ indicates that the structure involves total reduplication, the second half being identical with the first half, apart from the normal assimilation of a nasal to the following consonant. Where the two halves of such reduplicated consonants are separated by a hyphen, there is normally the possibility of repetition of the basic element a number of times, e.g.: fâl-fâl-fâl-fâl, or tinkis-tinkis-tinkis-tinkis, etc. This does not, however, apply to Ideophones of type A.I.(a) (10) where the tones of the two items are different.

(R) indicates that there is partial (but not total) reduplication.

The sign (*) implies that there are other ideophones with the same phonological features in other syntactic categories, and absence of (*) implies that there are no other ideophones of
the same phonological features elsewhere. Glosses are not given, they are not essential and, in any case, it is difficult to give them without the citation of complete sentences.

**Type A.I. (a)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>(1) CVV (*)</th>
<th>(4) CVC-CVC^R</th>
<th>(9) CVCV-CVCV^R</th>
<th>(11) CVCV-CVCVV^R(*)</th>
<th>(12) CVCV-CVCVCCV^R</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buu</td>
<td>bul-bul</td>
<td>baja-baja</td>
<td>mayaa-mayaa</td>
<td>buyaa-buyaa</td>
<td>balaw-balaw</td>
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<td>face-faca</td>
<td>muzu-muzu</td>
<td>hayaa-hayaa</td>
<td>bazam-bazam</td>
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<td>fata-fata</td>
<td>rugu-rugu</td>
<td>mayaa-mayaa</td>
<td>bazar-bazar</td>
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<td>(5) CVC-CVC^R</td>
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<td>tsamoo-tsamoo</td>
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<td>falaw-falaw</td>
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<td>(6) CVCV-CVCV</td>
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<td>rigijaa</td>
<td>nasha-nasha</td>
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<td>jina-jinaa</td>
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<td>(7) CVCCVCCV</td>
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<td>galahee</td>
<td>rugu-rugu</td>
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<td>kanee-kanee</td>
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<td>(8) CVCCVCCV</td>
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<td>galahoo</td>
<td>sako-sako</td>
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<td>kayaw-kayaw</td>
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<td>buzuz-buuzu</td>
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<td>watsar-watsar</td>
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<td>(1) ( \text{CVC} ) (*)</td>
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<td>(11) ( \text{CVCVC} )</td>
<td>(13) ( \text{CVCVC}^\text{(R)} )</td>
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<td>( \text{CVCVC} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>dalala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>zugum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsaf</td>
<td>kirin</td>
<td>birjik</td>
<td>nashasha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsay</td>
<td>sibil</td>
<td>cancak</td>
<td>sadada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsam</td>
<td>sidik</td>
<td>dandak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsit</td>
<td>sitik</td>
<td>dandras</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) ( \text{CVC} ) (*)</td>
<td>silik</td>
<td>fantsam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>tilik</td>
<td>jingim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuf</td>
<td>tulik</td>
<td>kandam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) ( \text{CVCV} )</td>
<td>sibil</td>
<td>kunzum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maza</td>
<td>garaw</td>
<td>lambaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakat</td>
<td>saway</td>
<td>sambal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farat</td>
<td>tantsay</td>
<td>sintum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) ( \text{CVGCCV} )</td>
<td>tartay</td>
<td>kengyaran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ( \text{CVCC} ) (*)</td>
<td>tarway</td>
<td>kyangyaran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) ( \text{CVCC} ) (*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laboo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsamoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type A.II. (a)

(1) CVV (*)
    caa
    fiiu
    fuu
    kii
    kwaa
    shaa
    suu
    yuu
    zuu

(2) CVCCVC
    damdam
    kankam
    kankam
    tantam
    tsantsam
    Kyalkyal

(3) CVCCVC
    tuburan

(4) cvcvv-cvcvv
    kayaa-kayaa

(5) cvcvc-cvcvc
    cakal-cakal
    cakwal-cakwal

(6) CVCCVC-CVCCVC
    dingis-dingis
    tinkis-tinkis

Type A.II. (b)

(1) CVVC (*)
    bat
    cur
    fal
    kaw

(2) CVVC
    kaw
    kwal
    sal
    shar

(3) CVVC
    bashar
    kacar
    katsam
    kwaram
    kwatsam

(4) CVVC-CVVC-CVVC
    sakwaf
    sharaf
    washar
    watsar
    zakal

    buguzum-buguzum
    bagazam-bagazam
Type B.I

This comprises only the single word kacibis (CVCVCVC)

Type B.II. (a)

(1) CVCVCVC  (2) CVVCVCVC  (3) CVC (*)
  sukutum  garandan  rak
tak

Type B.II. (b)

CVC (*)
  fat, fil, kwal, wur, zir

(i) Type A.I. (a) can function as 'Adjunct', can follow yi as object, and can follow yánàa.

(ii) Type A.I. (b) can function as 'Adjunct', can follow yi as object, but cannot follow yánàa.
(iii) Type A.II. (a) can function as Adjunct, cannot follow yi as object, but can follow yanaa.

(iv) Type A.II. (b) can function as Adjunct, cannot follow yi as object, and cannot follow yanaa.

(v) Type B.I cannot function as Adjunct, can follow yi as object, but cannot follow yanaa.

(vi) Type B.II. (a) cannot function as Adjunct, cannot follow yi as object, nor can they follow yanaa. They can only occur as post-Head Qualifier.

(vii) Type B.II. (b) cannot function as Adjunct, cannot follow yi as object, nor can they follow yanaa. They cannot occur as post-Head Qualifier, but can only occur as second element of Adjectival Phrase (a).
THE TONES OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES

The tones of the Demonstrative Specifiers are largely semantically controlled, each item having different tone patterns associated with:

(a) different meanings, viz.: deictic (demonstrative) or anaphoric (referential), and

(b) position in relation to the speaker and person addressed.

This is shown in the following table, where \( \text{di-form} \) refers to cases where epenthetic element \( \text{di} \) is used, as described in Chapter 7 (7.18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Lg. DEM.</th>
<th>SHORT DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
<th>( \text{di-form} )</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H tone final</td>
<td>L tone final</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wánnáh</td>
<td>rílgá-h náh</td>
<td>dóoki-h náh</td>
<td>diñ náh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gári-h náh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wánnán</td>
<td>rílgá-h náñ</td>
<td>dóoki-h náñ</td>
<td>diñ náñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gári-h náñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wánnán</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wáccáh</td>
<td>rílgá-h cáñ</td>
<td>dóoki-h cáñ</td>
<td>diñ cáñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wáncáñ</td>
<td>gári-h cáñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wáccáñ</td>
<td>rílgá-h cáñ</td>
<td>dóoki-h cáñ</td>
<td>diñ cáñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wáncáñ</td>
<td>gári-h cáñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wáccáñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wáncáñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in the table, in 1 and 4 the locative element (-nan and -can) has Low tone when the preceding vowel has High tone, but has Falling tone where the preceding vowel has Low tone.

In 2, 3, 5, and 6, the locative element has High tone in all cases.

The link element (-n/-c) has tone opposite to the tone of the locative element, that is:

(a) it has High tone where the locative element has low tone, and

(b) it has low tone where the locative element has High or falling tone.

These rules apply not only to the Short Demonstrative, but also to the di-form, and to the Long Demonstrative if analysed as consisting of wa- + link element + locative element.
APPENDIX C

THE GENDER OF HAUSA NOUNS

The following generalisations can be made about the gender of Hausa nouns, partly on the basis of their termination, and partly on the basis of the type to which they belong:

(A) Feminine nouns have the following structural, or other, features:

(i) Nouns ending in vowel -a/-aa are feminine, apart from certain exceptional nouns and strong Verbal nouns, which are masculine (see (C)iv below). e.g:

\[
\begin{align*}
góonáa &= \text{[farm-land]} \\
gúndá &= \text{[type of woodboring insect(s)]} \\
móotáa &= \text{[motor car, or lorry]} \\
múrà &= \text{[common cold]} \\
táwádáa &= \text{[ink]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) All nouns, without exception, having any of the following suffixes are feminine:

(1) This is, in effect, an amplification of the rules given in Abraham, and by F.W. Parsons.
Suffix | Example | Gloss
--- | --- | ---
-íyáa | fálkiyáa | woman itinerant trader
-liyáa | bátúrlíyáa | white woman
-nilýáa | báráuniyáa | woman thief
-úwáa | tsúntsúwáa | female bird
-úwáa | gúrgúwáa | lame woman

(iii) Some groups of nouns are feminine irrespective of their termination. These are the following:

(a) Proper names of female persons, e.g:

Làaràbáa | Táláath
Kàndé | Jímmái
Láadi | Innáu
Indóo | Táwál

(b) Proper names of countries, towns and rivers, e.g:

(1) Countries:

Gáana | Tóogo
Dàhòmè | Kàmarú
Máall | Sùudáàn

(2) Towns:

Kúurá | Dámáatúru
Azàrè | Ríirúwái
Báucí | Anclaú
Kàndò | Wûdíl

(1) Here may be included the word màçè = [woman] (an allomorph of màatáa), though it is not a proper name.
(3) Rivers:

Néejà  Bunsùurù
Gàaqéere  Biniwàì
Watàrî  Mìshü
Sàakkwàtô  Tómàs

(c) Names of days of the week (probably by analogy with ráanà = [day], which is feminine). e.g:

Àsàbàr = [Saturday]  Tàlàatàa = [Tuesday]
Làhàdi = [Sunday]  Làaràbàa = [Wednesday]
Lìitìnih = [Monday]  Alhàmìs = [Thursday]

(d) Names of times of the day. e.g:

Àwàlahàa = [mid-morning]  Shàà biyù = [12 o'clock]
Àzàhàr = [early afternoon]  Màɡàribàà = [sunset]

(e) The following nouns which include some loan words (possibly by analogy with Hausa words).:

Àngàrnà = [hard potash]
Àrààdà = [thunder]
Àsàhì = [1½]
Lìntàrkìi = [electricity]
Sòoci = [vest]
Kwàmìtíi = [committee]
Gwàmmàtíi = [government]
Àsìbìtíi = [hospital]
Bàràríkì = [barracks]
Tìtífìsìí = [T.T.C. (Teacher Training College)]
Làaùbùrààrèe = [library]
Màahóò = [free gift]
Mèedìl = [middle school]
Bùllànn = [a type of robe]
(B) The following nouns are feminine if the reference is to a female, but are masculine if the reference is to a male; in other words, they have Common Gender.:-

(i) Those ending in vowel -a/-aa:

- ágbolà = [stepchild]
- bánzáa = [useless (person)]
- ééditàa = [editor]
- fàrkáa = [paramour]
- kádàagà = [crocodile]
- màasinjà = [messenger]
- kàakàa = [grand-parent]
- léebùrà = [labourer]
- líkìhà = [doctor]
- sá'àa = [(person) of about one's own age]
- tálàkà = [common person]

(ii) Those ending otherwise:

- màagé = [cat]  àkú = [parrot]
- báinì = [a finch]  àyú = [manatee]
- tàlótàló = [turkey]  bàa'ú = [a finch]
- ùngàlù = [vulture]

(C) Masculine nouns have the following structural, or other features:
(i) Nouns ending in anything other than vowel -a/-aa are masculine. These are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Termination</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-be</td>
<td>lāabulée</td>
<td>curtain(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-be</td>
<td>zaurbe</td>
<td>entrance-porch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ii</td>
<td>abóokii</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ii</td>
<td>hadárii</td>
<td>rain-cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óo</td>
<td>baakóo</td>
<td>guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óo</td>
<td>ciwbo</td>
<td>illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-úu</td>
<td>hánnúu</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-úu</td>
<td>sábúlóu</td>
<td>soap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ái</td>
<td>fáifái</td>
<td>dish covering mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ái</td>
<td>kíndái</td>
<td>laundry basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áu</td>
<td>tsidáu</td>
<td>tsidau-weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áu</td>
<td>táutáu</td>
<td>spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-áu</td>
<td>kyáu</td>
<td>beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hr</td>
<td>téebhr</td>
<td>table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-C</td>
<td>táawul</td>
<td>towel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwáf</td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwál</td>
<td>coal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kyált</td>
<td>cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Proper names of male persons irrespective of their terminations are masculine. e.g:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Báláa</th>
<th>Chindò</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Məahé</td>
<td>Audh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Síntəlí</td>
<td>Mámmən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Names of the months of the year are masculine, probably by analogy with $\text{wátàa} = \text{[month]}$, which is masculine. 

\begin{align*}
\text{Tágón-Fárkóo} & = \text{[the 3rd month]} \\
\text{Gàmbón-Wátàa} & = \text{[the 5th month]} \\
\text{Rájàb} & = \text{[the 7th month]} \\
\text{Ràmàlààmà} & = \text{[the 9th month]} \\
\end{align*}

(iv) The exceptional nouns ending in vowel -à/-aa referred to in (A)i above. These include:

(a) the following nouns:

\begin{align*}
\text{àdàdà} & = \text{[rectangular hut]} \\
\text{àkàrà} & = \text{[biscuit]} \\
\text{báabáa} & = \text{[indigo]} \\
\text{bàkáa} & = \text{[bow]} \\
\text{bàakáa} & = \text{[a circular mat]} \\
\text{báawáa} & = \text{[slave]} \\
\text{bàayáa} & = \text{[back]} \\
\text{cinnàakàa} & = \text{[biting ant]} \\
\text{dàatàa} & = \text{[tomato solanum]} \\
\text{dàawàa} & = \text{[corn]} \\
\text{dûmàa} & = \text{[cucurbitaceae]} \\
\text{fàatàa} & = \text{[hope]} \\
\text{gàbáa} & = \text{[front]} \\
\text{gàutàa} & = \text{[tomato solanum (bitter)]} \\
\text{gîrmàa} & = \text{[bigness]} \\
\text{gídàa} & = \text{[house]} \\
\text{gûdàa} & = \text{[lump]} \\
\text{gùgàa} & = \text{[well-bucket]} \\
\end{align*}
and (b) some Strong Verbal Dynamic Nouns, including the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dúukáa</td>
<td>[beating]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fáddaa</td>
<td>[quarrel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyáaráa</td>
<td>[repair]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hàukáa</td>
<td>[madness]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káalá</td>
<td>[gleaning]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kídáa</td>
<td>[drumming]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúukáa</td>
<td>[crying]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwáanáá</td>
<td>[spending the night]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméémáa</td>
<td>[searching]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gdoráa = [gourd]
káráa = [stalk]
káatáa = [small, shallow calabash]
káayáa = [loads]
kúmfáa = [foam]
kúnunàa = [heat]
kúdáa = [fly]
láadáa = [wages; reward]
màamá = [breast]
náamáa = [meat]
rúwáa = [water]
samáa = [stick]
sáráa = [residue]
súnunáa = [name]
tsúufáa = [becoming old]
tsúmmáa = [rags]
wỳnyàa = [difficulty]
wátàa = [moon]
yáatsíí = [finger]
(v) The pre-object and pre-dative forms of Weak Verbal Dynamic Nouns. e.g:

(1) kāamā = [catching], as in:

(i) kāamā máclijii yāā yī wūyāa?
[can catching snake be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]

(ii) kāamā shī yāā yī wūyāa ?
[can catching it be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]

(iii) kāamā máśā máclijii yāā yī wūyāa?
[can catching a snake for him be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]

(2) kāshē = [killing], as in:

(i) kāshē máclijii yāā yī wūyāa ?
[can killing a snake be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]

(ii) kāshē shī yāā yī wūyāa ?
[can killing it be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]

(iii) kāshē máśā máclijii yāā yī wūyāa ?
[can killing a snake for him be a difficult thing (to do) ? ]