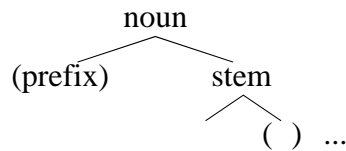


3. The Noun and Noun Phrase

3.1. Noun structure

3.1.1. Basic noun structure. Most nouns in Legbó consist of a prefix and a stem, the latter in turn consisting of one or two (rarely more) syllables:



Approximately 35 out of 569, or 6%, of the nouns in the Legbo lexicon are prefixless including the following:

sìn	‘hair’	nÒnÓN	‘finger’
ddĒn	‘eye’	cOcO	‘small frog (sp.)’
dzè	‘crocodile’	ttEtEE	‘grandfather’
dzŌ	‘snake’	kkàkki	‘pants’
kkwàl	‘boat’	fùfù	‘fufu’
vvŌm	‘thing’	bìlèèdi	‘bread’

Many of the bisyllabic and longer prefixless nouns are reduplications; cf. also kkpakkpa ‘groundnuts’, kkwàkkwá ‘locust tree’, gbòNgbòN ‘can, tin’, koolíkoðli ‘flower’. Others may be historical compounds whose parts can no longer be identified, or they may be borrowings, e.g. jàkpu ‘cassava’, tálátòlo ‘mumps’.

A noun prefix may have the shape CV- or V-, or it may consist of a homorganic nasal N-. Legbó distinguished the following prefixes.

li-	i-	N-	[m-, n-, N-]
lĒ- (~ le-)	E- (~ e-)		
gi-	a-		
gĒ- (~ ge-)			

As seen, the vowels are limited to /i/, /E/ and /a/, round vowels being prohibited in prefixes. As discussed in §XX, prefixal /E/ harmonizes to [e] when followed by /i/, /e/, /u/ or /o/ in the root, e.g. lĒsàl ‘tooth’, lèbèl ‘beard’. While the /l/ of li and le is stable, prefixal /g/ may optionally be lenited to a continuant gh or be dropped entirely, e.g. givála ~ ìvála ‘guilt’, gĒbŌ ~ ĒbŌ ‘arm, hand’. Finally, note that of the 566 prefixed nouns entered into the lexicon, 371 carry L tone, while 187 carry M tone. This leaves only the following 8 nouns with H tone prefixes:

líddaddil	‘rejoicing’	ákkpaN	‘plate’
lídzil	‘food’	líkpaal	‘community’
íkílbí	‘cowry’	áNàlà	‘garden egg’
ékko	‘vegetable (sp.)’	ÉwàwàÉ	‘child-like’

The first two are nominalizations (cf. dzi ‘eat’, ddaddi ‘rejoice’), while others may be borrowings.

Each of the Legbó prefix shapes is illustrated below.

li-	:	litÓl ‘ear’, livOl ‘belly’, lidÈÈl ‘name’, linyumil ‘thorn’
lĒ-	:	lĒbàl ‘axe’, lĒzàNàl ‘river’, lèttoł ‘head’, lèbèl ‘beard’

gi-	:	gìtáá ‘witchcraft’, gìv́alá ‘guilt’, gittù ‘life’, gìbáà ‘marriage’
gE-	:	gĒbO ‘arm, hand’, gĒvĒ ‘foot’, gètti ‘tree’, gèkù ‘hoe’
i-	:	ìwà ‘spirit’, ìzù ‘gourd’, ìtóbo ‘monkey’, ìzŌŌm ‘knife’
E-	:	ĒnŌn ‘person’, ĒtĒEm ‘meat, animal’, èbbi ‘goat’, ènùN ‘salt’
a-	:	àzì ‘blood’, àsi ‘water’, ànààn ‘oil’, aggbà ‘chin’, àjì ‘feast’
N-	:	`mbom ‘cheek’, `nzúN ‘nose’, `nnyŌN ‘maggot’, `NkO ‘nut’

As seen in the following examples, indigenous Legbó names also begin with these prefixes:

li-	:	líddaddìl (m./f.) (‘happiness’)
lE-	:	lĒtŌŌNŌl (m./f.) (‘praise’)
gi-	:	gittù (m./f.) (‘life’)
gE-	:	?
i-	:	icéji (f.), ikkŌ (m.), iccá (m.)
E-	:	elémi (m.), Ēkàma (f.) (< èkà amán ‘our mother’), Ekpa (m.), èbì (f.), ènnì (m./f.)
a-	:	ámŌn (m.), àdìàaha (f.), àggbŌmi (m.),
N-	:	ntŌmO (f.), `Nkáánu (m./f.)

Any other initial vowel indicates that a name has been borrowed from another language, e.g. from Efik: okôn (m.), ùdO (m.), ódùdù (m.); cf. mŌndè (‘Monday’), fláide (‘Friday’).

The above prefixes are frozen relics of a former noun class system which conditioned full agreement—and which can be observed in nearby Upper Cross languages such as Lokaa (Iwara 19XX) and Mbembe (Barnwell 19XX). In some cases these prefixes suggest a former grouping of nouns by semantic features:

First, we have found approximately 20 nouns denoting human beings which take the prefix E- in the singular, and a- in the plural (almost all of them with L tone):

ĒbŌbŌnO	‘native doctor’	pl.	àbŌbŌnO
ècècèna	‘guest, stranger’	pl.	àcècèna (cf. cce ‘expect’)
èdum	‘husband’	pl.	àdum
egbó	‘Legbó person’	pl.	agbó
ĒgŌgŌmO	‘fool’	pl.	àgŌgŌmO
Ēkaala	‘European’	pl.	àkaala
Ēkkà	‘mother’	pl.	àkkà
Ēkkàkkàya	‘carpenter’	pl.	àkkàkkàya (cf. kka ‘carve’)
Ēllà	‘servant, maid’	pl.	àllà
ĒnnĒ	‘in-law’	pl.	ànnĒ
EtatàanO	‘sorcerer, wizard’	pl.	atatàanO
Etatama	‘s.o. of Adadama’	pl.	atatama
ĒtĒtĒĒa	‘blacksmith’	pl.	àtĒtĒĒa (cf. tĒĒĒ ‘burn’)
ètètèla	‘madman’	pl.	àtètèla
ĒttE	‘father’	pl.	àttE
ètùlùkpa	‘senior’	pl.	àtùlùkpa
Ēvaal	‘chief’	pl.	àvaal
èvèvè	‘thief’	pl.	àvèvè
èvóli	‘servant, Igbo’	pl.	àvóli
èvvúà	‘poor person’	pl.	àvvúà
èyòò	‘friend’	pl.	àyòò

As seen, some of these nouns are agentives derived from verbs. However, most agentives are phrasal in natural in Legbó:

	ÈnÒn (ákE) neè ttui àtEÈmì	‘farmer’	(person (who) habitually cultivates farm)
pl.	ànÒn (ákE) banà ttui àtEÈmì		
	ÈnÒn (ákE) nEÈ waal gèdi	‘tapper’	(person (who) habitually taps palmtree)
pl.	ànÒn (ákE) banà waal gèdi		
	ÈnÒn (ákE) È nnEni vvÓm	‘owner’	(person (who) has/owns something)
	ànÒn (ákE) bà nnEni vvÓm		

Others are formed by compounding or use of the associative construction (§3.2.2), e.g. ÈnÒn likwÉ-kOI ‘hunter’ (person of hunting), or by nominalizing the verb with È- followed by an object:

èttùì àtEÈmì	‘farmer’	(cultivator + farm)
ètú gèzù	‘dancer’	(dancer + dance)
ÈkkpÓ ÈttO	‘house-builder’	(builder + house)

The above do not take a plural in a- (nor can the verb stem be pluralized, i.e. *èttuàzì, *è-túazi, *ÈkkÓOzi).

In addition to ‘husband’, ‘mother’, ‘father’ and ‘in-law’, a small set of other kinship terms involve a change of initial consonant in singular vs. plural forms:

gwànO	‘woman’	pl.	bànO
wàdum	‘man’	pl.	bàdum
wàÉ	‘child’	pl.	bÈÉ
wákkà	‘sibling’	pl.	bákkà

To these we can add àgwÈÉyÉ ‘wife’ (pl. àbÈÉyE) which has both undergoes both a prefix and initial consonant change to form its plural, as well as wàawáá ‘grandchild’ (pl. bÈÉ a wàà). Several other kinship terms are derived by means of the above four nouns, e.g. wàÉ a gwànO ‘daughter’, wàÉ a wàdum ‘son’, wákkà a gwànO ‘sister’, wákkà a wàdum ‘brother’, wàawáá ‘grandchild’. Very few human nouns occur with other prefixes, e.g. ikku ‘family, relatives’, `mkpáláwa ‘boy, young man’ (< Efik), gituùtù(wÉ) ‘baby’, iyaà ‘grandmother, old woman’. The noun ttEtE ‘grandfather’ has no prefix (cf. ÈttE ‘father’).

Except for è-bbi ‘goat’ (pl. à-bbi), non-human nouns taking either E- or a- prefixes do not show a different in sg/pl forms, e.g. È-kómi ‘cotton tree(s)’, è-yím ‘onion(s)’, È-ttO ‘house(s)’. This includes the rather sizeable number of (mostly L tone) E- nouns denoting animals:

ècín	‘porcupine’	Èvàm	‘cow’
ekílíkílí	‘weaver bird’	èvòm	‘tsetse fly’
ÈkkwÓ	‘snail’	èvù	‘monkey (sp.)’
ènyì	‘elephant’	Èvva	‘dog’
Eppà	‘hawk’	EwÓwÒN	‘hippopotamus’
ÈsÉ	‘tiger’	Eyá	‘shrimp’
Èttàmà	‘guineafowl’	èyù	‘antelope (sp.)’
ÈtEEn	‘animal, meat’	ÈzÉÉm	‘python’
ètùwán	‘bushcow’	èzì	‘bushpig’

Several animal names consist of compounds (§XX), genitive constructions (§XX), or full sentences: Èvàm likÓÓl ‘rabbit’ (cf. Èvàm ‘cow’, likÓÓl ‘bush’), Èvva-kkO ‘hyena’ (cf. Èvva ‘dog’, kkO ‘lack’), Èvàm esú Emmà ‘puff adder’ (‘he who is able to peck with mouth’).

Nouns designating animals are, however, to be found with all prefixes, as well as prefixless:

Ø-	: dzè ‘crocodile’, dzÒ ‘snake’
li-	: lizol ‘bird’
IE-	: IEkkpànal ‘frog’, lesil ‘electric fish’, IEtÒhOl ‘leech’, lèvûl ‘owl’, IÈwÒbùl ‘toad’
gi-	: gibilèzèzèl ‘bat’,
gE-	: gèbòdò ‘squirrel (sp.)’, gèdèdèyí ‘sheep’, gÈvÉ ‘squirrel (sp.)’, gÈkká ‘crab’, gèzèzèni ‘worm’
i-	: iban ‘fish (sp.)’, ìdÈlÈ ‘vulture’, itì ‘antelope’, itóbo ‘monkey’, ìvvaghan ‘chameleon’, ìwàtà ‘chimpanzee, gorilla’, iyàyàN ‘crayfish’, ifin ‘cricket’, ipinápi ‘mouse’
a-	: àdáa-àdáa ‘baboon’, adzáNì(li) ‘ant (sp.)’, `NkÒkÓni ‘bee’, àNwàaN ‘cat’
N-	: mbÈkum ‘tortoise’, `mbÓN ‘mosquito’, `nddén ‘louse’, `ndòdòwÉ ‘insect’, ndummi ‘sand-fly’ (from dum -bite), nnyànyàN ‘horse’, ntOtÓN ‘rat’, `Nkààm ‘caterpillar (edible sp.)’, `NkikìN ‘shrimp (small sp.)’, àkkoòmba ‘pig’, `nnyÓN ‘maggot, jigger’, `nzùzùN ‘housefly’,

Although human a-/E- nouns show sg/pl distinctions on their prefixes, other animate (and inanimate) nouns have non-alternating prefixes. Plurality can therefore only be marked on modifying elements which allow a sg/pl distinction, e.g. èbbi amma ‘this goat’, èbbi àbEmma ‘these goats’ (§3.XX). This includes subject-verb agreement (§XX), e.g. èbbi E ttÓ ‘a goat fell’, èbbi ba-ttÓ ‘goats fell’, as well as plural marking on the verb (§XX), e.g. E baai èbbi ‘he tied a goat’, E baazi èbbi ‘he tied goats’.

In addition to the semantic correlation of È with animates, several liquids begin with a, e.g. ànààn ‘oil’, àsi ‘water’, àzi ‘blood’, as well as other soft substances, e.g. àkkpÓ ‘rubber’, àkkwàN ‘native bed’, àsO ‘soap’, àvíghà ‘brain’, àzO ‘mushroom’.

We have also noted that a number of body parts and associated concepts take either a li- or IE- prefix:

likukuúl	‘eyebrow’	IÈbáal	‘breast’
lì máal	‘faeces’	lèbèl	‘beard’
lìnyól	‘liver, lung?’	IÈdaal	‘tongue’
limittál	‘saliva’	IÈggwàal	‘breath’
lìNwàl	‘nail’	lèkòdòl	‘neck’
lisáNìlì	‘urine’	lèkul	‘navel’
lisúal	‘feather’	IÈmmÒl	‘flesh, muscle’
lìtìtal	‘rib’	IÈnÒl	‘penis’
lìtÒl	‘ear’	IÈsàl	‘tooth’
livÈil	‘wing’	lèsol	‘face’
livil	‘left side’	lèttol	‘head’
lìvOl	‘belly, stomach’	lèvùl	‘horn’
lìvÒÒl	‘pus’	IÈwÈl	‘voice’

Body parts are, however, to be found with other prefixes, including the word Èkkpa ‘body’ itself. A striking number of primary body parts occur with gE-:

Ø	: sìn ‘hair’, nÒnÓN ‘finger’
gi-	: gittù ‘life’

gE-	:	gÈdO ‘throat’, gEdÒ ‘goiter’, gèkpòólo ‘fat’, gÈmmà ‘mouth’, gepilipa ‘shoulder’, gÈsÉ ‘tail’, gÈtàppa ‘scar’, gÈkO ~ gÈtÈkO ‘bone’, gÈvà ‘sore, wound’, gÈvávà ‘armpit’, gÈvÈ ‘foot, leg’, gewiya ‘hips’, gÈzài ‘rib’, gèzùNà ‘perspiration’,
i-	:	imaaNi ‘heartburn’, ìmìmín ‘marrow’
E-	:	èfi ‘boil’, ènò ‘vagina’, ÈtEEm ‘chest, heart’, ebuì ‘waist (area)’
a-	:	àvíghà ‘brain’, àzì ‘blood’
N-	:	ndodoN ‘smallpox’, `ntÈtÈbÉ ‘grasshoppers (pl.)’, `mbom ‘cheek’, `nzàm ‘back’, `nzúN ‘nose’

Concerning nouns marked by a li- or IE- prefix, all vowel-final roots also take an -l suffix:

lèbàl	‘axe’	lÈkkpànal	‘frog’
lìbÓÓl	‘poison’	lilàmal	‘garbage’
lìdÈÈl	‘name’	lìnyumìl	‘thorn’
lèsol	‘face’	lÈvvànìl	‘earthworm’,
lÈtál	‘kite’	lÈzàNàl	‘river’

We see this particularly clearly in the following cases where there is a related noun taking an other prefix:

lÈbOl	‘handle’	cf.	gÈbO	‘hand’
lèdil	‘palm seed’		èdi	‘palm (tree)’
lèdzil	‘day’		èdzì	‘sunshine’
lÈkàalal	‘English’		Èkaala	‘European’
lÈmmàl	‘door’		gÈmmà	‘mouth’
lìvÈil	‘wing’		gÈvÈ	‘foot, leg’

In addition, there are numerous nominalizations from verbs which show that -l is a suffix:

lìbál	‘question’	cf.	ba	‘ask’
lídzil	‘food’		dzi	‘eat’
lìvèèl	‘song’		vèè	‘sing’
lèbbol	‘death’		bbo	‘die’
lìbbol	‘crying, weeping’		bbo	‘die’
lÈkaal	‘headpad’		kaa	‘carry’
lÈkkaàl	‘message’		kkagha	‘delivery a message’
lÈddÈÈl	‘greeting’		ddÈ	‘greet’
lìtÓÓl	‘harvest’		tÓO	‘harvest, uproot’
lèdzùmàl	‘mention’		dzùma	‘mention’
lÈmmànàl	‘birth’		mmàna	‘be born’
lÈmÓÓNÒl	‘reply’		mÓÓNO	‘return’
lÈnnÈnÈl	‘answer’		nnÈnÈ	‘answer’
lÈdààÈl	‘love, passion’		dàa	‘like, love’

Unpredictable segmental and tonal changes occasionally occur in both noun-noun and noun-verb pairs, e.g. livÈil ‘wing’ (cf. gÈvÈ ‘foot, leg’), lèkkÓil ‘vomit’ (cf. vÓO ‘vomit’). Also, the last nominalization, lÈdààÈl involves both an -È suffix, as in the gerund gÈdààÈ ‘liking’ as well as an -l suffix.

In the lexicon, although there are 16 verb stems of the form CV(V)l, we have found only three nouns which end in coda -l, and do not have a li- or IE- prefix: kkwàl ‘boat’, `Nkul ‘flogging’, Èvaal ‘chief’. The last of these is presumably derived from lÈvaal ‘chieftancy’. By contrast, there are 78 li- or IE- nouns whose stem is -CV(V)l and 29 whose stem is CV(V)CVl. Significantly, none of the other coda consonants, /m/, /n/ or /N/, is found on noun stems with these prefixes. This suggests that suffixal -l may in some cases replace the historical final coda consonant, e.g. lèdùl ‘bite’ (cf. dum ‘bite’), lÈnÒl ‘penis’ (nÒm ‘copulate’). The following seven nouns with a li- or IE- prefix were originally elicited as ending in a vowel, but later discovered to take an -l optionally:

legbó(l)	‘Legbó’	litEha(l)	‘gibberish’
lebilà(l)	‘bundle’	liyòghò(l)	‘cluster’ (fruit)
lídaddi(l)	‘happiness’	lisáNìlì(l)	‘urine’
lÈdzÈlÈ(l)	‘answer’		

However, note, first, that final -l has a tendency to drop in general when occurring in close juncture with a following word, e.g. lèttol sÒ ~ lètto sÒ ‘your head’. Thus, li- and IE- nouns are marked not only by a prefix, but also by an -l suffix. (See also §3.XX for the realization of -l in noun compounding.)

We can conclude from the preceding paragraphs that noun prefixes in Legbó are synchronic reflexes of earlier noun classes. Since round vowels do not occur in prefixes, we suspect that IE- comes from earlier *lu and gE- from earlier *gu- (or *ku-). The latter would correspond nicely to the observation that certain body parts have a gE- prefix which often have *ku- in Bantu languages, e.g. gÈbO ‘hand, arm’, gÈvÈ ‘foot, leg’. In addition, one pair of nouns used in the numeral system also shows an older IE-/a- singular/plural distinction: lÈ-zOl ‘twenty’, pl. à-zO, as in àzO àfON ‘forty’ (twenties + two). In §3.XX we show that there are but a few relics left of noun class concord on possessive pronouns.

3.1.2. Arguments for prefix-stem structure. Although, in most cases, these prefixes are frozen onto the nouns with which they occur, for reference, we list below the arguments that demonstrate that they are still morphological prefixes, not part of the noun stem itself.

Frequency. This group of arguments has to do with the fact that almost all nouns begin with one of a small set of phonetic forms. Below we tally 590 nouns (ignoring compounds) and observe that 555 begin with one of the following V-, CV- or N-syllables:

CV- prefixes:		V-prefixes		N-prefixes	
li-	44	i-	71	N-	74
lÈ-	71	E-	147		
gÈ-	112	a-	29		
gi-	7			∅	35

Only 35 nouns are in the corpus which lack one of the above prefixes.

Shapes. The following distributional observations can be made about the above prefixes as a class: i) They are restricted to one of the indicated syllable shapes: V-, CV-, N- (where N- represents a homorganic nasal). ii) The only vowels found in this position are /i, E, a/, where /E/ harmonizes to [e] when followed by an initial CV stem syllable containing any of the vowels /i, u, e, o/. iii) The only consonants found in prefixes are /l/ and /g/. In addition, the /g/ can optionally be deleted when in a prefix, e.g. (g)È-mmà ‘mouth’, (g)i-ttù ‘life’, but not in stem-initial position, e.g. ègídì ‘beans’ (*èídì). iv) With 8 exceptions (see above), the only tones that are found on prefixes are L and M. Of the 555 nouns with prefixes, 367 have L tone, while 186 have M tone.

Human singular/plural pairs. As seen above, Legbó marks number on a set of human nouns, e.g. ÈnÒn ‘person’, ànÒn ‘people’. All but one of these, emínaakòdì ‘young girl’, have L tone on their È-/à- prefixes.

Related nouns. As also seen above there are several pairs of nouns that are clearly related, but differ in prefix. With respect to one of the above cited pairs, lĚbOl ‘handle’, gĚbO ‘hand, arm’, we note that the noun È-bbÓ ‘branch’, with a third prefix, may also be related. Although it has a geminate /bb/, a compound also exists for ‘branch’, nti-bbÓ, presumably derived from è-tti ‘tree’ + ĚbO ‘arm’. nti-bbÓ would have an irregular transfer of gemination to the second consonant, when reduplicated to form a diminutive, the fortition appears in its etymological place: ntti-bO-bO-wĚ ‘small branch’. ***another example from dico. [CHECK]

Nominalizations. In addition, there are nouns in Legbo which are clearly derived from verbs. As seen in the following examples, these nouns are derived by adding a noun prefix (and suffixal -l, where appropriate):

ggù	‘blow’	li-gùgùl	‘whistle’
dzàNà	‘quarrel’	lì-dzàNàl	‘quarreling’
bbo	‘die’	lè-bbol	‘death’
kaa	‘carry’	lĚ-kaal	‘headpad’
vè	‘sing’	lè-vèl	‘music, song’
mÒÒNO	‘return’	lĚ-mÒÒNÒl	‘a reply’
kwÒOl	‘groan’	lĚ-kwOOl	‘groaning’
mmàna	‘be born’	lĚ-mmànàl	‘birth’
nnĚnĚ	‘answer’	lĚ-nnĚnĚl	‘an answer’
yĚEl	‘call’	lĚ-yĚĚlĚl	‘calling’
dza	‘be good’	gì-dza	‘beauty’
ba	‘marry’	gi-báà	‘marriage’
mana	‘catch’	gĚ-mana	‘an arrest’
bbi	‘be black’	gè-bbi-Ě	‘darkness’
tèe	‘rain’	gè-téwa	‘rain’
dì	‘speak’	gè-dì	‘story, speech’
yìddi	‘fear’	ge-yìddi	‘fear’
yàal	‘paddle’	gĚ-yàlí	‘paddle’
kOm	‘be hot’	gĚ-kOmO	‘heat, fever’
nii	‘give’	ì-nini	‘gift’
kkpONO	‘be tall’	ì-kkpÓNO	‘height’
dèem	‘bathe’	e-dèem	‘bath’
dza	‘be good’	gì-dza	‘beauty’
kùmma	‘worship’	`N-kùmmà	‘honor’
doNNi	‘beg’	n-doNNi	‘begging’
kàam	‘help’	N-kaami	‘assistance’
vaan	‘wrestle’	m-vaan	‘wrestling’

In addition to these frozen nominalizations, Legbo uses the prefixes gĚ-, i- and E- in a number of deverbal derivations. Thus, from the verbs nùm ‘take’ and dum ‘bite’, Legbó can derive:

gè-nùm-è ‘taking’ gĚ-dum-Ě ‘biting’ = gerund (§XX)

i-nù-núm	‘taking’	i-du-dum	‘biting’	= gerund (§XX)
è-núm	‘by taking’	è-dum	‘by biting’	= focused verb (§XX)
ge-nù-núm	‘takability’	ge-dú-dum	‘bitability’	= ability noun (§XX)
e-nù-núm	‘takable’	e-dú-dum	‘bitable’	= ability adjective (§XX)

In Legbó, gE- is a frequent nominalizing prefix, while e- is the general prefixes found on adjectives, many of which derive from or are related to corresponding verbs, e.g. dzubbi ‘be cold’, èdzúbbi ‘cold’, bbi ‘be black’, èbbyo ‘black’ (§3.3).

Allomorphy. The seventh argument will be referred to as “allomorphy”: In two cases, a particular (longer) allomorph is required in a construction when followed by a prefixless noun, but optional when the noun has a prefix. The first of these is the genitive or “associative” marker awa (often shortened to aa or a). As seen in the following examples, an overt associative marker is required when the N2 is prefixless:

lídzil a(wa) dzè	‘food of crocodile’	*lídzil dzè
lídzil a(wa) wàÉ	‘food of child’	*lídzil wàÉ

On the other hand, awa is optional if a prefix is present:

lídzil a(wa) IE-vváníl	~ lídzil IE-vváníl	‘food of earthworm’
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By this criterion, wàÉ ‘child’ is prefixless, even though it has an initial consonant change in its plural, bÉÉ. Similarly, wàdum/bàdum ‘man/men’ and gwànO/bànO ‘woman/women’ require the associative marker. It would seem that the associative marker moves into the prefix slot, if the latter is vacant. A similar phenomenon exists with respect to the locative sequence ‘NkE ì ‘in, on, at’: ì is optional if the noun has a prefix, but obligatory if it doesn’t:

E ttÓ ‘NkE (ì) lèbbòl	‘it fell into a hole’
E ttÓ ‘NkE ì kkwàl	‘it fell into a boat’

Tone. It has already been pointed out that almost all noun prefixes carry a M or L tone. In addition, in the associative construction, N1 of N2, there is a tone change which is observable only when N2 has a L tone prefix: the L of an N2 noun becomes M and, if the stem is M, this M is also raised to H (§XX):

sìn + IE-sàl	sìn IE-sàl	‘hair of tooth’	L-L	M-L
sìn + lè-ttol	sìn le-ttól	‘hair of head’	L-M	M-H
sìn + li-tÓl	sìn li-tÓl	‘hair of ear’	L-H	M-H

The same tone changes take place even if the associative marker is present: sìn a(wa) IE-sàl, sìn a(wa) le-tól. However, if the N2 is prefixless, there will be no tone change:

sìn + a(wa) + wàdum	sìn a wàdum	‘hair of man’	(*sìn a(wa) wadúm)
sìn + a(wa) + nÒnÓN	sìn a nÒnÓN	‘hair of finger’	(*sìn a(wa) nOnÓN)

Note that by this criterion, the initial [w] of wàdum (pl. bàdum) does not count as a prefix, rather it is incorporated into the stem.

Compounding. While not completely productive as a process, there are numerous noun compounds in which a single prefix is followed by two (compounded) noun stems: pref-N1-N2. The original pattern seems to be that the prefix is deleted from the N2, but “re-appears” as a replacement of the prefix of the N1:

lè-sol + e-vvÉm	e-so - vvÉm	‘forehead’	(lit. face center)
È-ttO + `n-zàm	`n-ttO - zàm	‘back yard’	(lit. house back)

Other combinations do not show a literal replacement, but rather maintain the prefix of N1, or a replacement of the N1 prefix, sometimes unpredictably (cf. §XX). That we are dealing with prefixes is clear.

Diminutivization. The diminutivized form of a noun is derived by reduplicating the first CV of the stem, including its tone, and by postposing -wÉ ‘child’ in the singular and -bÉ ‘children’ in the plural: gèkumì ‘fever’ gè-ku-kumì-wÉ ‘small fever’, gè-ku-kumì-bÉ ‘small fevers’. Crucially, the prefix is skipped over. We thus obtain gizù ‘game’ gi-zù-zù-wÉ ‘small game’, not *gi-gi-zù-wÉ. (See next section.)

3.1.3. Reduplicated noun stems. As is clear from the phonological structure of verbs (§XX), only a certain number of consonants may appear intervocalically in native Legbó stems. These include /bb, dd, kk, l, m, mm, n, nn, N, NN/. When other consonants appear in apparent stem-intervocalic position in nouns, this may be due to three factors:

i. *Compounding.* The noun may be a frozen compound involving two historical stems, e.g. Nkátì ‘fence’ (probably from ? + gètti ‘tree, stick, log’), gedubO ‘right side’ (probably from du ‘pound’ + gÈbO ‘hand, arm’, i.e. the right arm is used for such tasks).

ii. *Borrowings.* The noun may be borrowing, e.g. ilaàsì ‘rice’, èlòpìlèN ‘airplane’, bilEÈdì ‘bread’, `mmaNgòlo ‘mango’, kkàkkí ‘pants’, fùfú ‘fufu’, ikObàsì ‘church’ (< Efik).

iii. *Reduplication.* The noun may involve reduplication. Nouns consisting of identical first and second syllables are extremely frequent. Below are some examples:

gèbèbè	‘dust’	kkpakkpa	‘groundnut’
ècècèna	‘guest, stranger’	kkwàkkwá	‘locust tree’
ndodoN	‘smallpox’	eloloN	‘snail (small sp.)’
`nddúddu	‘advice’	ìmímíN	‘marrow’
gedzídzi	‘edible’	nÒnÓN	‘finger’
fùfú	‘fufu’	nnyànyàN	‘horse’
Ègbagbaa	‘funnel’ (cf. gbaa ‘block’)	isisí	‘celebration, feast’
ÈgÒgOmO	‘fool’	`ntùtùli	‘egusi melon’
èggógggo	‘potato’	ttEttE	‘grandfather’
`NgwÒgwÓ	‘promise’	èvèvè	‘thief’
`NkÒkÒni	‘bee’	EwÒwÒN	‘hippopotamus’
kkaikkai	‘locally brewed alcohol’	eyéyèè	‘hiccup’
èkpíkpiná	‘star’	èzòzòN	‘smoke’

As seen, some of the above have bisyllabic stems with two identical syllables, while others are longer (having either a non-shared final consonant or an additional syllable). One pattern that has been discerned concerns deverbal nouns ending in a suffix /-(C)a/ which, exceptionally, does not assimilate to a preceding mid vowel:

ècècèna	‘guest, stranger’	cce	‘expect’
Èkkàkkàya	‘carpenter’	kka	‘carve’
èkpíkpiná	‘star’	kpi	‘?’
akOkOna	‘anger’	kkO	‘hate’
ètètèla	‘madman’	tèè	‘rain’?

ÈtÈtÈÈa	‘blacksmith’	tÈÈÈ	‘burn’
ntùtùNá	‘broom’	tùN	‘toss down’ (cf. taaN ‘sweep’)

The final -a does assimilate in one reduplicated noun, ÈbÓbÓNO ‘native doctor’ (cf. bOO ‘heal’).

In addition, there are a few nouns involving reduplicated CVC and CVCV stems: tëmtëm ‘pigeon (domestic)’, wÓlÓwÓlÓ ‘riot’, ekílíkílí ‘weaver bird’. There also are a few where the noun prefix is also reduplicated: egúm-ègúm ‘hand piano, keyboard’, mkpÓla-mkpÓ ‘elbow’, `Nkòná-`Nkò ‘tick’.

It is noteworthy that of 28 prefixless nouns (other than those with alternating (g)w-/b-) in the lexicon, 14 involve reduplicated stems. This may have to do with the fact that adjectives and ideophones (§3.XX) are often reduplicated, e.g. kíkí ‘small’, gbàgbàgbà ‘spacious’, miNí-mìNi ‘sweet’ (cf. mìN ‘suck’), velevele ‘very quickly’ (cf. vèlè ‘fast’), wúkàlà-wúkàlà ‘rough’ (cf. wukki ‘be rough’).

The one productive process of noun reduplication concerns diminutivization. As seen in the following examples, the first CV of the noun stem is reduplicated, along with its tone:

litÓl	‘ear’	lì-tÓ-tÓ-wÉ	lì-tÓ-tÓl-bÉ
lèttol	‘head’	lè-tto-tto-wÉ	lè-tto-ttol-bÉ
gizù	‘game’	gi-zù-zù-wÉ	gi-zu-zu-bÉ
gèkumì	‘fever’	gè-ku-kumì-wÉ	gè-ku-kumì-bÉ
itóbo	‘monkey’	ì-tó-tóbo-wÉ	ì-tó-tóbo-wÉ
èmùma	‘seed’	è-mù-mùma-wÉ	è-mù-mùma-bÉ
àwìlì	‘gown’	à-wì-wìlì-wÉ	à-wì-wìlì-bÉ
`nzúN	‘nose’	`n-zú-zúN-wÉ	`n-zú-zúm-bÉ

In addition, -wÉ ‘child’ is added as a postposition (pl. -bÉ), and that the prefix is not copied, e.g. litÓl ‘ear’, litÓtÓwÉ ‘small ear’, litÓtÓlbÉ ‘small ears’.

In diminutivization, the reduplicant is strictly limited to a CV syllable with a short vowel, even when a CVV, CVVC or CVVCV stem has a long vowel:

gè-bòò	‘cloud’	gè-bò-bòò-wÉ	gè-bò-bòò-bÉ
È-kàà	‘argument’	È-kà-kàà-wÉ	È-kà-kàà-bÉ
à-móò	‘cup, jug’	à-mó-móò-wÉ	à-mó-móò-bÉ
gÈ-zÈÈ	‘journey’	gÈ-zÈ-zÈÈ-wÉ	gÈ-zÈ-zÈÈ-bÉ
IÈbáàl	‘breast’	IÈ-bá-báà-wÉ	IÈ-bá-báà-bÉ
ÈtÈEm	‘heart’	È-tÈ-tÈEm-wÉ	È-tÈ-tÈEm-bÉ
ìbÈÈn	‘room’	ì-bÈ-bÈÈn-wÉ	ì-bÈ-bÈÈn-bÉ
àNwáàN	‘cat’	à-Nwá-NwáàN-wÉ	à-Nwá-NwáàN-bÉ
Èkaala	‘European’	È-ka-kaala-wÉ	à-ka-kaala-bÉ
àtÈÈmì	‘farm’	à-tÈ-tÈÈmì-wÉ	à-tÈ-tÈÈmì-bÉ
imaaNi	‘heartburn’	i-ma-maaNi-wÉ	i-ma-maaNi-bÉ
IEmÒÒNÒl	‘reply’	IEmÒ-mÒÒNÒ-wÉ	IEmÒ-mÒÒNÒl-bÉ

There are several phonological interactions between the stem and the suffixes -wÉ and -bÉ:

First, -wÉ optionally simplifies to -É after round vowels: ì-zu-zu-wÉ ~ ì-zu-zu-É ‘small calabash’, è-yò-yòd-wÉ ~ è-yò-yòd-É ‘small friend’, gĒ-bO-bO-wÉ ~ gĒ-bO-bO-É ‘small hand, arm’.

Second, stem-coda consonants may become modified or delete. Coda /l/, which, it will be recalled, is a suffix, is obligatory deleted when followed by either -wÉ or -bÉ: lè-ttol ‘head’ lè-tto-tto-wÉ (~ É), lè-tto-tto-bÉ ‘small head(s)’. In careful speech, nasal codas are either pronounced as such. They are, however, more normally realized as a weakened assimilated [N] before -wÉ, with possible deletion and/or nasalization of the preceding vowel. Except in careful speech, they assimilate to [m] before -bÉ:

NgÒm	‘foolishness’	N-gÒ-gÒN-wÉ	N-gÒ-gÒm-bÉ
ìnÒn	‘fowl’	ì-nÒ-nÒN-wÉ	ì-nÒ-nÒm-bÉ
ÈwÒN	‘storm’	È-wÒ-wÒN-wÉ	è-wÒ-wÒm-bÉ

Since the [w] of -wÉ may be absorbed into a preceding round vowel, the diminutive singular of ìnÒn ‘fowl’ may be ì-nÒ-nÒn-wÉ, ì-nÒ-nÒN-wÉ, ì-nÒ-nÒ-wÉ, or ì-nÒ-nÒ-É, but not *ì-nÒ-nÒn-É.

When the first syllable of the stem contains a sequence of non-identical vowels, only the first of these is reduplicated:

lisúàl	‘feather’	li-sú-súà-wÉ	li-sú-súàl-bÉ
livEil	‘wing’	li-vE-vEi-wÉ	li-vE-vEil-bÉ
gÈwai	‘comb’	gÈ-wa-wai-wÉ	gÈ-wa-wai-bÉ
geyuan	‘humor’	ge-yu-yuaN-wÉ	e-yu-yuam-bÉ

This allows us to distinguish between CyV vs. CiV in nouns such as the following:

ÈppyÓN	‘parrot’	È-ppyÓ-ppyÓN-wÉ	È-pppyÓ-pppyÓm-bÉ
gÈppyàmì	‘grass (sp.)’	gÈ-ppyà-pyàmì-wÉ	gÈ-ppyà-pyàmì-wÉ
gè-bbyo	‘blackness’	gè-bbyo-bbyo-wÉ	gè-bbyo-bbyo-bÉ
Ekpiàn	‘chair’	E-kpì-kpiàn-wÉ	E-kpì-kpiàm-bÉ
gèbbiÈ	‘darkness’	gè-bbi-bbiÈ-wÉ	gè-bbi-bbiÈ-bÉ

Just as in the case of vowel sequences, only the first tone of a contour is found on the CV reduplicant. A LH rising tone is realized as L-H on the first two syllables, while a HL falling tone is realized as H-HL:

ifin	‘cricket’	i-fì-fìN-wÉ	i-fì-fím-bÉ
e-ggü	‘catfish (sp.)’	e-ggù-ggú-wÉ	e-ggù-ggú-bÉ
ifum	‘stool’	i-fù-fúN-wÉ	i-fù-fúm-bÉ
geppyôn	‘afternoon’	ge-ppyó-ppyôN-wÉ	ge-ppyó-ppyôm-bÉ
lĒbáàl			

The one LM noun stem in the lexicon, lesòl ‘last year’ does not readily undergo reduplication, but would be expected to reduplicate as le-sò-sò-wÉ, le-sò-sò-bÉ.

Nouns which do not have a prefix undergo the same diminutivization process:

dzè	‘crocodile’	dzè-dzè-wÉ	dzè-dzè-bÉ
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dzÒ	‘snake’	dzÒ-dzÒ-wÉ	dzÒ-dzÒ-bÉ
kkwàl	‘boat’	kkwà-kkwà-wÉ	kkwà-kkwàl-bÉ
ddÈn	‘eye’	ddÈ-ddÈn-wÉ	ddÈ-ddÈn-bÉ
NwÈnÈ	‘book’	NwÈ-NwÈnÈ-wÉ	NwÈ-NwÈnÈ-bÉ

When the noun vvÓm ‘thing’ is reduplicated, it loses its final /m/ and is (optionally) pronounced with L tone: vvÓ-vvÓ-wÉ ~ vvÒ-vvÒ-wÉ ‘small thing’, pl. vvÓ-vvÓ-bÉ ~ vvÒ-vvÒ-bÉ (cf. §XX).

The following reduplications show that w-, gw-, and b- have fused with the stem:

wàdum	‘man’	wà-wà-dum-wÉ	bà-bà-dum-bÉ
gwànO	‘woman’	gwà-gwà-nO-wÉ	bà-bà-nO-bÉ

Bisyllabic noun stems which are already reduplicated form their diminutive by simply adding -wÉ or -bÉ:

cÒcÒ	‘small frog’	cÒcÒ-wÉ	cÒcÒ-bÉ
kkpakkpa	‘groundnut’	kkpakkpa-wÉ	kpakpa-bÉ
ìníní	‘gift’	ìníní-wÉ	ì-níní-bÉ
nnyànyàN	‘horse’	nnyànyàN-wÉ	n-nyànyàN-bÉ
ntOtÒN	‘rat’	ntOtÒN-wÉ	n-tOtÒN-bÉ
`nzùzùN	‘housefly’	nzùzùN-wÉ	n-zùzùN-bÉ
lèdudùl	‘bundle’	èdudùl-wÉ	è-dudùl-bÉ

Similarly, nouns with trisyllabic or longer stems, whether reduplications or not, generally form their diminutive by simply suffixing -wÉ and -bÉ:

ntítìNá	‘broom’	ntítìNá-wÉ	ntítìNá-bÉ
`NkÒkÒní	‘bee’	`NkÒkÒní-wÉ	`NkÒkÒní-bÉ
gèzèzèni	‘worm’	gèzèzèni-wÉ	gèzèzèni-bÉ
gepilipa	‘shoulder’	gepilipa-wÉ	gepilipa-wÉ
getokolo	‘skull’	getokolo-wÉ	getokolo-wÉ
ìsokòlo	‘orange’	ìsokòlo-wÉ	ìsokòlo-wÉ
ipínápi	‘mouse’	ipínápi-wÉ	ipínápi-wÉ
ekkpokolo	‘table’	ekkpokolo-wÉ	ekkpokolo-wÉ
ekìlikìlì	‘weaver bird’	ekìlikìlì-wÉ	ekìlikìlì-wÉ
gibilèzèzèl	‘bat’	gibilèzèzè-wÉ	gibilèzèzè-wÉ
egúmègúm	‘keyboard’	egúmègúm-wÉ	egúmègúm-wÉ
kolíkoðlì	‘flower’	kolíkoðlì-wÉ	kolíkoðlì-wÉ

Non-compound bisyllabic stems reduplicate their first syllable:

ìtóbo	‘monkey’	ì-tó-tóbo-wÉ	ì-tó-tóbo-wÉ
gekòlo	‘hole’	ge-kò-kòlo-wÉ	ge-kò-kòlo-wÉ
gÈyàlì	‘paddle’	gÈ-yà-yàlì-wÉ	gÈ-yà-yàlì-wÉ
lebilà	‘bundle’	le-bi-bilà-wÉ	le-bi-bilà-wÉ
gètènà	‘bridge’	gè-tè-tènà-wÉ	gè-tè-tènà-wÉ
ekkpoma	‘bottle’	e-kkpo-kkpoma-wÉ	e-kkpo-kkpoma-wÉ
àwìlì	‘gown’	à-wì-wìlì-wÉ	à-wì-wìlì-wÉ
EvEnnE	‘ladder’	E-vE-vEnnE-wÉ	E-vE-vEnnE-wÉ
àtEÈmì	‘farm’	à-tE-tEÈmì-wÉ	à-tE-tEÈmì-wÉ

3.1.4. Compounding. Although apparently not a live or productive process, as seen in the previous section, Legbó exhibits a wide range of noun compounds. A noun compound can be defined as containing two stems, the second of which has no prefix. This stands in contrast to the productive associative ('N1 of N2') construction, which is sometimes an alternative:

Compound:	gètti-kkpal	'bark' (i.e. tree-covering)
Associative:	lìkkpal gettí	'bark' (i.e. covering of tree)
Compound:	gètti-nnÒdÒ	'stump' (i.e. tree-stump)
Associative:	gÈnnÒdÒ gettí	'stump' (i.e. stump of tree)

The two equivalents for 'bark' both involve the nouns gètti 'tree, stick' and lìkkpal 'covering, peeling' and those for 'stump' again include gètti plus nnÒdÒ 'part of something, stump'. As N2 in the associative constructions, the L-M of gètti becomes M-H (cf. §XX).

Both gètti and lèkkpal (and the related noun gÈkkpa 'cover') are frequently found in compounds:

gÈkO-tti	'forest'	(lÈkOl 'bush')
ntti-mùma	'tablet'	(èmùma 'seed'; also gètti-mùma)
ntti-wOmá	'fruit'	(wOm 'bear fruit')
lètti-dùl	'stick-bundle'	(ledùl = lèdudùl 'bundle')
gètti-buì	'tree-trunk'	(ebuì 'middle part of body, waist area')
gÈmmà-kkpa(N)	'lip'	(gÈmmà 'mouth')
lÈmmà-kpa(l)	'lip'	(lÈmmàl 'door')
`nttÓ-kkpaN	'roof'	(ÈttO 'house')
gÈzÓ-kkpaN	'sky'	(gÈzO 'top, up')
lìkpÈ-kkpál	'thatch roof'	(ÈkpÈn 'raphia')

As the second element, -kkpa is the only stem that acquires a final -N. (The final -l, on the other hand, is related to the li- or lÈ- prefix; cf. below). In addition, the last three compounds are among the minority where a M tone of one or the other stem changes from M to H.

There are three arguments for considering the second stem (N2) to be the head of the compound. The first is semantic: A 'tree-stump' is a kind of stump, a 'raphia-covering' is a kind of covering, and so forth. The second is reduplication: As seen in §3.1.3, it is the second stem of a compound that undergoes prefixal CV reduplication, e.g. lÈttO-kummà 'ceiling' (ÈttO 'house' + gèkúmmà 'shelter, cover'), i.e. 'house-shelter', becomes lÈttO-ku-kummà-wÈ 'small ceiling' (cf. below). Third, as discussed in the next paragraph, the second stem usually determines the prefix of the overall compound.

There are noticeable changes on the prefix of compounds, both in terms of its segmental identity and its tone. Judging from closely related languages (Mbembe, Lokaa), where the pattern is reported with greater regularity, the apparent inherited situation was that the prefix of the second stem replaces the prefix of the first. A number of Legbó compounds show this pattern:

`nttO-zàm	'backyard'	(ÈttO 'house', `nzàm 'back')
eso-vvÈm	'forehead, in front'	(lèsol 'face' + EvvÈm 'place, center')
getto-kolo	'skull'	(lèttol 'head' + gekòlo 'emptiness')
lÈbO-dùl	'fist'	(gÈbO 'hand' + ledùl ~ lèdudùl 'bundle')
lìkkwÈ-kOOl	'hunting'	(ÈkwÈn 'fire, gun' + lìkOOl 'bush')
lÈsÈ-mmàl	'proverb, saying'	(ÈsÈ 'tiger' + lÈmmàl 'opening')
gÈkkwá-mmàl	'fireplace'	(ÈkwÈn 'fire' + gÈmmà 'mouth')

lĕkkwá-mmàl ‘fireplace’ (ĒkwĒn ‘fire’ + lĒmmàl ‘door’)

This includes compounds where the first stem cannot be identified with certainty:

le-nó-kkpÒl	‘buttocks’	(? + lĒkkpÒl ‘lump’; cf. ènò ‘vagina’)
i-kkí-zÒOm	‘tapping instrument’	(? + izÒOm ‘knife’)
lĕkkpè-mmàl	‘communal house’	(? + lĒmmàl ‘door, opening’)
Ēkkpí-ttO	‘umbrella’	(? + ĒttO ‘house’; cf. Ēkkpa ‘body’)

Compare also lĒ-nnÓ `mbbòl ‘well’ (? + lĕbbòl ‘hole, pit’), which, however, appears to have an m-prefix on the second stem.

In a few cases, the prefix found on the N1 of the compound is not segmentally identical to either input prefix, and/or may carry a tone which is not found on either noun in isolation. This is particularly true in the case where the prefix is N-:

ntti-bbÓ	‘tree branch’	(gĕtti ‘tree’ + ĒbbÓ ‘branch’)
ntti-mùma	‘tablet’	(gĕtti ‘tree’ + èmùma ‘seed’)
gĒmmà-kkpaN	‘lip’	(gĒmmà ‘mouth’ + gĒkkpa ‘cover’)
lĒttO kummà	‘ceiling’	(ĒttO ‘house’ + gĕkúmmà ‘shelter, cover’)

It may be that certain patterns are associated with nouns that occupy N1 or N2 position in more than one compound, e.g. -tti ‘tree’, -kkpaN/-kkpal ‘cover(ing)’. Among the nouns inputting N1 in more than one compound are gĒtà ‘big, old’ and ĒtĒĒn ‘animal’, the latter being shortened to tĒ-):

gĒ-tà-kpón	‘world’	(gĒtà ‘big’ + ekkpón ‘land’)
Ē-tà-nÒn	‘old person’	(gĒtà ‘old’ + ĒnÒn ‘person’)
lĒ-tà-zàNàl	‘sea, ocean’	(gĒtà ‘big’ + lĒzàl ‘river’)
lì-tà-kOOl	‘thick forest’	(gĒtà ‘big’ + likOOl ‘bush’)
gĒ-tĒ-kO	‘bone’	(ĒtĒĒn ‘animal’ + gĒkO ‘bone’)
gĒ-tĒ-kkpaN	‘skin’	(ĒtĒĒn ‘animal’ + gĒkkpa ‘cover’)

Only one compound has been found whose input N2 is prefixless:

àggba nÒnÓN ‘ring’ (gĒggbà ‘charm’ + nÒnÓN ‘finger’)

As seen, both the prefix and the stem tone of gĒggbà changes, perhaps from an earlier, but no longer existent plural *àggbà ‘charms’ in the associative construction: cf. gĒggbà a nÒnÓN ‘charm of finger’.

This last example shows that the N1 retains its own prefix. When N2 has a prefix, only a few compounds show stability of the N1 prefix instead:

`NkO-kwĒn	‘bullet’	(`NkO ‘seed’ + ĒkwĒn ‘fire’)
lĕdùdu-Nilì	‘knee’	(lĕdùdul ‘mound’ + nzìNìlì ‘egg’)
lĒttá-kolo(l)	‘cave’	(lĒttál ‘stone’ + gekòlo ‘emptiness’)

Some nouns used in an adjectival function (§XX) lose their prefix in attributive position, with or without conditioning a change in the prefix of the preceding noun:

lìzĒl koola	‘potting clay’	(lìzĒl ‘sand’ + gĕkoola ‘red(ness)’)
gĕtti dÒ	‘short stick’	(gĕtti ‘stick’ + gĒdÒ ‘shortness’)

Unless there is an unexpected segmental, tonal or semantic modification, it is not clear whether this is a sequence of noun + adjective or a compound:

ÈttO-gbala	‘reception room’	(ÈttO ‘house’ + gbala ‘long’)
èggógggo mbàla	‘sweet potato’	(èggógggo ‘potato’ + ?)
EggÒ bbábbaa	‘cloth (wrapper)’	(EggÒ ‘cloth’ + ?)
EggÒ gàlà	‘rag’	(EggÒ ‘cloth’ + ?)
kkàkki gbala	‘trousers’	(kkàkki ‘pants’ + gbala ‘long’)
kkàkki dO	‘short pants’	(kkàkki ‘pants’ + gEdÒ ‘short(ness)’)

Preservation of the N1 prefix is also observed when the second element of the compound is a verb:

lÈzàNàl-bba	‘riverbank’	(lÈzàNàl ‘river’ + bba ‘block’; or: gÈbbá ‘side’)
lèdzil sòò	‘daybreak’	(lèdzil ‘day’ + sòò ‘dawn, break (of day)’)
lìzÈl ppì	‘clay’	(lìzÈl ‘sand’, ppì ‘plaster (v.)’; cf. gèppì ‘wall’)
Èvva-kkO	‘hyena’	(Èvva ‘dog’ + kkO ‘hate, lack’)
lèttó-ppÒi	‘head-ache’	(lèttol ‘head’ + ppÒi ‘knock’)
gÈmmà-ggùmà	‘yawn’	(gÈmmà ‘mouth’ + ggùmà ‘blow’)
ntti wOmá	‘fruit’	(gètti ‘tree’ + wOm ‘bear fruit’)
gÈkkpà-mìnà	‘bed’	(gÈkkpà ‘cover’ + mìnà ‘lie down’)
̀Nkùmmà-véé	‘big celebration’	(̀Nkùmmà ‘honor’ + véé ‘sing’)

In other compounds the first element of the compound that appears to come from a verb:

gèbbò-ttÓ	‘grave (death-house)’	(bbò ‘die’ + ÈttO ‘house’)
gedu-bO	‘right’	(du ‘beat’ + gÈbO ‘arm’)
bba-ddÈn	‘blind’	(bba ‘block’ ddÈn ‘eye’)

The above deverbals are distinct from their gerund forms gèbboÈ ‘dying’, gèduÈ ‘beating’ and gÈbbeÈ ‘blocking’. Use of such gerund forms in object + verb nominalizations, is quite frequent (§XX). In this productive process, the gÈ- prefix may optionally delete:

tÒO likkÒil	‘snore’	likkÒi (gÈ)tÒÒÈ	‘snoring’	(nausea-reaping)
sEN lìvÒl	‘travel’	lÈvÒl (gÈ)sENÈ	‘traveling’	(country-going)
yei gèkkwé	‘rest’	gèkkwé (gè)yei	‘resting’	(strength-reducing)
dzi gita	‘bewitch’	gita (gè)dziÈ	‘bewitching’	(witchcraft-eating)
dzò ÈtEEm	‘hope’	ÈtEEm (gè)dzòÈ	‘hope’	(heart-keeping)
zOIO àsi	‘pour water’	àsí (gÈ)zOIO	‘baptism’	(water-pouring)

There are some noun stems which Legbo speakers treat as complex, as determined by their pattern of diminutive reduplication (§3.1.3), but whose parts cannot be identified:

̀ntò-fòm	‘fish-net’	̀ntò-fò-fòN-wÉ	̀ntò-fò-fòm-bÉ
̀nsikÒN	‘pipe (smoking)’	̀nsi-kÒ-kÒN-wÉ	̀nsi-kÒ-kÒm-bÉ
n-disa	‘ picture ’	n-disa-sa-wÉ	n-disa-sa-bÉ
jakupü	‘cassava’	ja-kpü-kpü-wÉ	ja-kpü-kpü-bÉ
emínaakòl	‘young girl’	e-mínaakò-kòò-wÉ	e-mínaakò-kòò-wÉ

One irregular compound is the noun ‘woman’ and its plural:

Ètàlágwà	‘woman’	(Ètà ‘old, big’ + ala ‘a little’ + gwànO ‘female’)
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àtàlàba ‘women’ (Ètà ‘old, big’ + ala ‘a little’ +bànO ‘females’)

While ètà-nÒn ‘old person’ (pl. àtà-nÒn) is a compound (cf. ÈnÒn ‘person’, pl. ànÒn), the following may be analyzed either as compounds or as simple juxtapositions:

Ètà wàdum	‘old man’,	àtà bàdum	‘old men’
Ètà gwànO	‘old woman’	àtà bànO	‘old women’

If we assume the fusion of w-, gw- and b- into the stems of such nouns, the above might still meet the criterion for stem-stem compounding. In any case, the above compounds involving Ètà ‘old, big’ are the only ones found where the over number distinction on the N2 is transferred to the N1.

Although there are numerous stem-stem compounds in the language, this process of compoundings is not productive. The productive pattern involves the associative construction ‘N1 of N2’, hence a marker a(wa) which appears between the two nouns. As will be seen in the next section, this potentially causes a tonal change on the N2 prefix (and stem):

È-ttO + a + li-zol	È-ttO li-zól	‘nest’	(lit. house of bird)
È-mmà + a + li-zol	È-mmà li-zól	‘beak’	(lit. mouth of bird)

Note also the compound word àviaNmgbà ‘scissors’, which derives from two verbs: viiha ‘wedge’ and ggba ‘join’.

3.2. Possessives and Associatives

3.2.1. Possessive pronouns. The following are the possessive pronouns as realized with a zero noun head (e.g. e de NgwÓmin ‘it is mine’, e de NgwÓ ‘it is yours’ etc.):

NgwÓmin	‘mine’	aamán	‘ours’
NgwÓ	‘yours sg.’	aabO	‘yours pl.’
NgwÉ	‘his/hers’	aabE	‘theirs’

These possessive pronouns have the following structure:

N-gwÓ-min	cf. àmin ‘me’	a + àman	‘of us’
N-gwÓ-Ó	cf. -(y)Ó ‘you object’	a + àbO	‘of you pl.’
N-gwÓ-E	cf. -(y)E ‘him/her object’	a + àbE	‘of them’

As seen, the singulars have an N- prefix, followed by a gw- or gwO- element, followed by a pronominal element: -Ó and -E are object enclitics (§XX). By contrast, the plural possessors consist of associative a + one of the independent pronouns (§XX) preceded by the associative marker a (§3.2.2). The tonal change of àman ‘us’ to aamán is expected in this construction, whereas the non-change of aabO and aabE is not. These forms were presumably introduced and contributed to the levelling of noun class distinctions in Legbó. Longer associative forms are also possible, using the fuller element awO (cf. below): awO amán/awaamán ‘that of us’, awO awaabO ‘that of you pl.’ and awaabE ‘that of them’. There is no distinction between first person plural inclusive vs. exclusive in Legbó.

When appearing in attributive position, possessors followed the possessed noun;

ÈttO NgwÓmin	‘my house’	ÈttO amán	‘our house’
ÈttO NgwÓ	‘your sg. house’	ÈttO abO	‘your pl. house’
ÈttO NgwÉ	‘his/her house’	ÈttO abE	‘their house’

As indicated, the initial [a] of amán, abO and abE does not need to be long, and will therefore be written short. In addition to NgwÓmin, NgwÓ and NgwÉ, with most nouns, the singular persons may appear in a second form:

ÈttO lÓmin	‘my house’	lÓ-min
ÈttO sÓ	‘your (sg.) house’	s-Ó
ÈttO ayÉ	‘his/her house’	a + àyE

These forms cannot be used in isolation: *lÓmin ‘mine’, sÓ ‘yours sg.’, *aayÉ ‘his/hers’. As indicated, lÓmin consists of a relic prefixal element lÓ followed by the root syllable of the independent pronoun àmin ‘me’. The form sÓ ‘yours sg.’ most like is a relic of another noun class, hence s-Ó (cf. sÉ ‘the’, deriving from ‘his/her’). The third singular possessive aayÉ ‘his/her’ is built on the same associative construction (within tonal change) as the plural possessors.

The acceptability of two different sets of singular possessive pronouns was verified with a large group of nouns, including those beginning with all of the different historical noun class prefixes, including lèttoḷ ‘head’, lèvvul ‘kola’, gizù ‘game’, gètti ‘tree’, gÈbO ‘arm, hand’, itóbo ‘monkey’, ènùN ‘salt’, ÈttO ‘house’, àzì ‘blood’, `nzúN ‘nose’.

The same possessive forms are used whether an invariant noun has singular or plural reference:

itóbo NgwÓmin E ttÓ	~	itóbo lÓmin E ttÓ	‘my monkey fell’
itóbo NgwÓmin ba-ttÓ	~	itóbo lÓmin ba-ttÓ	‘my monkeys fell’
itóbo NgwÓmin ba-ttÓOzi	~	itóbo lÓmin ba-ttÓOzi	‘my monkeys fell’

As seen, the subject-verb agreements indicate whether the subject noun phrase is singular or plural. In addition, the last example contains the pluractional suffix -Ozi (from -azi) to indicate that several actions were involved.

The same variability is observed on most nouns that have an overt distinction between singular and plural form:

Èllà NgwÓmin E mÓÓNO	~	Èllà lÓmin E mÓÓNO	‘my servant returned’
àllà NgwÓmin ba-mÓÓNO	~	àllà lÓmin ba-mÓÓNO	‘my servants returned’
àllà NgwÓmin ba-mÓÓNOzi	~	àllà lÓmin ba-mÓÓNOzi	‘my servants returned’

However, several irregularities were found with certain human nouns, particularly kinship terms, all of them likely relics of past noun class distinctions. The different possible forms of the singular possessors ‘my’, ‘your sg.’ and ‘his/her’ are shown in the following table:

Noun	Gloss	l/s-series	Ngw-series	gw-series
wàÈ (wàà)	'child'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	*NgwÓmin *NgwÓ *NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ *gwÉ / *-E
Ekkà	'mother'	*lÓmin *sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
ÈttÈ	'father'	*lÓmin *sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
Ellà	'servant'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	*gwÓmin *gwÓ *gwÉ / *-E
ÈnnÈ	'in-law'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
wákkà	'sibling'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	*gwÓmin *gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
Eduum	'husband'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ gwÉ / -E
gwànO (gwànà)	'wife'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	*NgwÓmin *NgwÓ *NgwÉ	*gwÓmin *gwÓ *gwÉ / -E*
gwànO	'woman'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	*gwÓmin *gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
ÈnÒn	'person'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ gwÉ / *-E
èyòò	'friend'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	gwÓmin gwÓ *gwÉ / -E
ècècèna	'guest'	lÓmin sÓ ayÉ	NgwÓmin NgwÓ NgwÉ	*gwÓmin *gwÓ *gwÉ / *-E

First, note that wàÈ 'child' and gwànO 'wife' change, respectively, to wàà and gwànà when possessed. They alone do not accept the forms NgwÓmin 'my' and NgwÓ 'your sg.', but rather gwÓmin and gwÓ, which can also be used with certain of the other nouns in the table. In addition, there are the frozen forms (à)wàá yÉ 'his/her child' and àbàá yÉ 'their children'.

The noun gwànO remains as such in the meaning 'woman', but changes to gwànà in the sense of 'wife':

gwànà lÓmin	'my wife'	pl. bànà lÓmin
gwànà sÓ	'your sg. wife'	pl. bànà sÓ
gwànà sÉ/ayÉ	'his wife'	pl. bànà ayÉ
gwànO lÓmin/NgwÓmin	'my woman'	pl. bànO NgwÓmin
gwànO sÓ/NgwÓ	'your sg. woman'	pl. bànO NgwÓ

gwàno ayÉ/NgwÉ ‘his/her woman’ pl. bàno ayÉ

Other realizations, e.g. *gwàna (N)gwÓmin are not possible.

The form gwÉ ‘his/her’ appears acceptable only with Èduum ‘husband’ and ÈnÒn ‘person’, but it is not clear if this isn’t because they end in a nasal themselves. In fact, a major historical question concerns the nature of the NgwÓmin/gwÓmin and NgwÓ/gwÓ distinction. One possibility is that the presence vs. absence of M tone N- represents a different noun class. Another is that N- was used on possessives with a null head, i.e. ‘mine’, ‘yours’. Because of this function there is sometimes a feeling that there may be a distinction between àyòò gwÓmin ‘my friends’ vs. àyòò NgwÓmin ‘my own friends’ (i.e. friends mine). A finally possibility is that N- represents a false segmentation generalized from the final nasal coda found on certain preceding nouns.

The table also shows that Èkkà ‘mother’ and ÈttE ‘father’ cannot occur with lÓmin or sÓ. Both they and several others of these nouns do occur with an encliticized third person singular possessor -E:

ÈkkÈE	‘his/her mother’	pl. àkkÈE
ÈttEE	‘his/her father’	pl. àttEE
ÈnnÈE	‘his/her ancestor’	pl. ànnÈE
èduumE	‘her husband’	pl. àduumE
àgwÈE	‘his wife’	pl. àbbÈE
àyòòE	‘his/her friend’	pl. àyòòE

This -E is asterisked in the table in the case of the irregular forms àgwÈE ‘his wife’ and àbbÈE ‘his wives’. Besides ÈttEE, an exceptional vowel change occurs in Ètta NgwÉ ‘his/her father’ (but not with NgwÓmin or NgwÓ).

In addition to -E, the pronoun sÉ ‘his/her’, which has developed into the definite article sÉ (§XX), is also sometimes used, especially with certain of the above nouns which indicate relations between human beings, e.g. Èllà sÉ ‘his/her servant’, wákkà sÉ ‘his/her sibling’, gwàna sÉ ‘his wife’ (vs. gwàno sÉ ‘the woman’). It is uncertain how widespread it is in this function.

The possessive forms shown in the table can also be used when the modified noun is plural, except that gwÓmin and gwÓ cannot be used with bÈÈ ‘children’ or with ànnÈ ‘in-laws’: àyòò gwÓmin ‘my friends’, àyòò gwÓ ‘your sg. friends’, but *bÈÈ gwÓmin, *bÈÈ gwÓ (rather, bÈÈ lÓmin/NgwÓmin ‘my children’, bÈÈ sÓ/NgwÓ ‘your sg. children’).

As indicated below, the following plural nouns in the table also accept another form bÓmin or mbÓmin for ‘my’:

àkkà bbÓmin	*àkkà mbbÓmin	‘my mothers’
àttE bbÓmin	àttE mbbÓmin	‘my fathers’
*àllà bbÓmin	àllà mbbÓmin	‘my servants’
ànnÈ bbÓmin	ànnÈ mbbÓmin	‘my in-laws’
àduum bbÓmin	àduum mbbÓmin	‘my husbands’
bàno bbÓmin	bàno mbbÓmin	‘my woman’
ànÒn bbÓmin	ànÒn mbbÓmin	‘my people’
àyòò bbÓmin	*àyòò mbbÓmin	‘my friends’

The nouns bÈÈ ‘children’, bákkà ‘siblings’, bàno (bàna) ‘wives’ and àcècèna ‘guests’ do not accept bÓmin or mbÓmin. However, there is considerable confusion on the use of (m)bÓmin, which is on its way out of the language.

The corresponding pronouns (m)bbÓ and (m)bbÉ appear much rarer, but ànÒn mbbÉ ‘his/her people’ is attested. Such pronouns should not be confused with the mid tone forms bO ‘your pl.’ and bE ‘their’, which indicate a plural possessor, e.g. àkkà bO ‘your pl. mothers’, àkkà bE ‘their mothers’. The two kinship terms Èkkà ‘mother’ and ÈttE (Ètta) ‘father’ allow the three plural possessors to appear without a-:

Èkkà amán	~	Èkkà mán	‘our mother’	pl.	àkkà (a)mán
Èkkà abO	~	Èkkà bO	‘your pl. mother’		àkkà (a)bO
Èkkà abE	~	Èkkà bE	‘their mother’		àkkà (a)bE
Ètta amán	~	Ètta mán	‘our father’	pl.	àtta (a)mán
Ètta abO	~	Ètta bO	‘your pl. father’		àtta (a)bO
Ètta abE	~	Ètta bE	‘their father’		àtta (a)bE

Finally, one kinship term, wákkà ‘sibling’, is completely regular in both the singular and plural, i.e. taking the same possessive forms as non-human nouns:

wákkà	IÓmin/NgwÓmin	wákkà amán		
wákkà	sÓ/NgwÓ	wákkà abO		
wákkà	ayÉ/NgwÉ	wákkà abE		
bákkà	NgwÓmin	IÓmin	bákkà aamán	*gwÓmin
bákkà	NgwÓ	sÓ	bákkà aabO	*gwÓ
bákkà	NgwÉ	sÉ/ayÉ?	bákkà aabE	*gwÉ

3.2.2. Associative constructions. When fully marked, the associative ‘N1 of N2’ construction in Legbó is marked by an associative marker (AM) awO + a, followed by a nominal element. When there is the N1 is not expressed, either awO and/or a must be present, optionally undergoing the coalesces indicated below:

awO a wàdum	‘a man’s, that of a man’
awaa wàdum	(coalescence of awO + a)
aa wàdum	(deletion of w + coalescence)
a wàdum	(deletion of awO)

Although the associative construction has a number of functions (cf. below), it frequently expresses a possessive relationship where both the possessed and the possessor are nouns:

ÈttO awO a wàÉ	‘house of child’
ÈttO awaa wàÉ	(coalescence)
ÈttO aa wàÉ	(deletion of w + coalescence)
ÈttO a wàÉ	(deletion of awO)

In the above example, although the full form of the AM can be pronounced in slow, careful speech, vowel coalescence is much more natural. In addition, the [w] may fall, with the AM becoming aa. However, the *a* which follows awO may not fall unless awO does as well, hence *ÈttO awO wàÉ, *ÈttO wàÉ.

When the N2 is consonant-initial, beginning with one of the prefixes, li-, lE-, gi- gE- or N-, similar realizations are observed.

ÈttO awO a lizól	‘nest’ (‘house of bird’)
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ÈttO awaa lizól	(coalescence)
ÈttO aa lizól	(deletion of w + coalescence)
ÈttO a lizól	(deletion of awO)
ÈttO awO lizól	(deletion of a)
ÈttO lizól	(deletion of awO + a)

However, this time we see that not only awO, but also a may be deleted, when the N2 has a prefix.

When the N2 is vowel-initial, beginning with one of the prefixes i-, E- or a-, the same pronunciations are possible as with consonant-initial prefixes. In addition, vowel sequences are subject to various coalescence rules (§XX). Thus, to take one example, the associative phrase ‘house of a friend’ has at least eight different possible realizations:

ÈttO awO a eyòò	‘house of a friend’
ÈttO aa eyòò	(deletion of w + coalescence)
ÈttO a eyòò	(deletion of awO)
ÈttO awO eyòò	(deletion of a)
ÈttO eyòò	(deletion of awO + a)
ÈttO awaa eyòò	(coalescence of awO + a)
ÈttO aweeyòò	(coalescence of a(w)O + (a) + e)
ÈttO eeyòò	(deletion of w or awO + (a) + coalescence with e)
Èttooyòò	(deletion of w or awO + (a) + coalescence of O + e)

As seen, there are nine different possible realizations of ‘house of a friend’, some of which derive from more than one source, as indicated by the (w) and (a) in parentheses). The last pronunciation is heard in fast speech: In it the roundness of [O] fuses with the ATR of [e] to yield [oo]. Other examples of deletion or optional fusing of the AM with a following vocalic prefix:

lídzil a ìnÒn ~ lídzil iinÒn ~ lídzil inÒn	‘chicken-feed’ (food of fowl)
ÈttO a EEnÒn ~ ÈttO EEnÒn ~ ÈttO EnÒn	‘a person’s house’

As was siad, the *a* of the AM awO a is obligatory when the N2 is prefixless: IÈwÈl a wàdum ‘a man’s voice’, gèkkwé a dzè ‘strength of crocodile’, eppya a kkwàl ‘price (market) of a boat’. This *a* is also required in lexicalized associative constructions where the second noun is prefixless, e.g. àsín a ddÈn ‘tear’ (literally, water of eye). An overt marker is also seen before wàdum ‘man’ and gwànO ‘woman’, when these nouns are used in the associative to mark male and female:

wàÉ a wàdum	‘son’	pl.	bÈÉ a bàdum
wákkà a wàdum	‘brother’	pl.	bákkà a bàdum
èbbi a wàdum	‘he-goat’	pl.	àbbi a bàdum
ìnÒn a wàdum	‘cock’	pl.	ìnÒn a bàdum
wàÉ a gwànO	‘daughter’	pl.	bÈÉ a bànO
wákkà a gwànO	‘sister’	pl.	bákkà a bànO
ÈnnÈ a gwànO	‘female in-law’	pl.	ànnÈ a bànO

When a prefix is present, the AM is optional:

ákkpaN a lídzil ~ ákkpaN lídzil	‘plate of food’
EvvÈm a IÈvÒl ~ EvvÈm IÈvÒl	‘center of town’
ikpeNa a gittù ~ ikpeNa gittù	‘sense of life’

Unless the N2 is prefixless, as in àsín a ddÈn ‘tear’ (water of eye), the associative marker tends not to be realized in lexicalized forms:

nŌnŌN gEvĒ	‘toe’	(finger of foot)
àtù edí	‘palm-wine’	(wine of palm)
ÈttŌ lizól	‘bird’s nest’	(house of bird)
ÈttŌ NkŌkŌni	‘bee-hive’	(house of bee)
ÈdzĒ litŌl	‘earring’	(bead of ear)

Although the above are the most common way such lexicalized associatives are heard, it is possible to insert awŌ a in the more literal compounds, e.g. nŌnŌN awŌ EvĒ, àtù awŌ edí, etc.

If an N2 prefix bears a L tone, it will be raised to a M tone in the associative, independent of whether the associative marker is realized or not:

gèbòò	‘squirrel’	:	lídzil a gebòò ~ lídzil gebòò	‘food of squirrel’
ligwàl	‘leaf’	:	izù a ligwàl ~ izù ligwàl	‘odor of leaf’
libŌŌl	‘poison’	:	inini a libŌŌl ~ inini libŌŌl	‘gift of poison’
gèzí	‘rope’	:	lekkpòl a gezí ~ lekkpòl gezí	‘knot of rope’

Longer forms with awŌ are also possible, e.g. lídzil awaa gebòò, izù awaa ligwàl.

If the N2 has a L prefix and a M stem-initial syllable, the L-M sequence will become M-H by an apparent “upstepping” process:

lizol	‘bird’	:	gÈmmà a lizól ~ gÈmmà lizól	‘beak’ (mouth of bird)
gèdi	‘palm’	:	ànààn a gedí ~ ànààn gedí	‘palm oil’
èvaal	‘chief’	:	èkpùàn a eváál ~ èkpùàn eváál	‘money of chief’
gidza	‘beauty’	:	vvŌm a gidzá ~ vvŌm gidzá	‘thing of beauty’

The same tone changes take place when the AM includes awŌ: gÈmmà awaa lizól, ànààn awaa gedí, etc.

The process is only partial, as upstep only affects the first M of a M stem:

gÈkŌmŌ	‘disease’	:	ìzÈi gEkŌmŌ	‘cause of disease’
Èkaala	European	:	ÈttŌ Ekáala	‘house of European’
`Nkkali	‘trick’	:	gidzEle Nkkáli	‘knowledge of a trick’

As seen in the following examples, only the first M of a M-M stem will rise to H, even if the stem begins with a reduplicated CV:

ìkŌkŌlŌ	fish-hook	:	EvvĒm ikŌkŌlŌ	‘place of fish-hook’
ìnini	‘gift’	:	Eppya iníni	‘price of gift’
`nnanna	‘baby food’	:	ìzù nnánna	‘odor of baby food’

However, when the N2 is a diminutive reduplication, both stem M syllables rise to H:

lizo-zo-wĒ	‘small bird’	:	livĒil lizo-zo-wĒ	‘wing of small bird’
gĒ-kŌ-kŌ-wĒ	‘small disease’	:	ìzù gĒ-kŌ-kŌ-wĒ	‘odor of small disease’
à-ka-kaala-bĒ	‘small Europeans’	:	IĒvĒl a-ká-káala-bĒ	‘voice of small Europeans’

Note that there is no tone raising if the N2 is prefixless:

ÈttŌ a wàdum ~ ÈttŌ wàdum	‘a man’s house’	(*wàdum, with M-M)
lídúl a dzŌ ~ lídúl dzŌ	‘snake’s bite’	(*dzŌ, with M)

Note that when occurring as N2, Legbó names, which always have a prefix, do not behave any differently with respect to the (hence optional) AM: gĒbO a Líddaddì ~ gĒbO Líddaddì ‘Liddaddì’s arm’ (cf. líddaddì ‘happiness’). However, if a prefixless name is imported, the AM must be present: gĒbO a Paul, *gĒbO Paul.

Turning to its function, we have seen that the associative is most closely associated with the usual functions of a genitive construction. It may thus express a possessive relation, but also much more:

̀NNwÈnÈ a wàÉ	‘book of child’	(possessive)
lèttol a dzè	‘head of crocodile’	
gĒkàà a bàdum	‘men’s argument’	
ÈnÒn a gidza	‘person of beauty’	(quality)
wàdum a EtÉÉm kákaàN	‘man of courage’	
ÈttO a lĒttál	‘house of stone’	(composition)
ìzÓOn a lizÉl koola	‘pot of clay’	
Esi a egídi	‘bag of beans’	(contents)
amòò a atù	‘jug of wine’	
ndisa a Atàtama	‘picture of Adadama’	
mpána a lĒkOOl	‘troubles of war’	(connection)
Epyya a EggÓ	‘price of cloth’	
libbol a gituùtù	‘crying of babies’	(subject of action)
gĒvÈi a así	‘bubbling of water’	

Concerning action nominals and gerundives, only the subject of a verb can be expressed with an AM: lĒmmànàl a Icéji ‘Iceji’s birth’, gĒwÓNNO a lizól ‘flying of bird’. Rather than using an associative construction, the gerund follows an object with potential prefix deletion to form a compound: EggÓ gĒdEÉÉ ‘cloth-buying’, ègídi gĒkOOnÈ ‘bean-planting’.

In addition to its “genitive” function, the associative is also used to mark relatives, clefts, and (change of subject) consecutives (cf. §XX, §XX):

First, the AM awO a is optionally used following or instead of ákE before the subject of a relative or cleft clause from which an object (or other non-subject element) has been extracted:

lídzil sÉ ákE awO a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	‘the food that the men ate’
lídzil sÉ ákE a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	
lídzil sÉ awO a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	
lídzil sÉ a bàdm sÉ bá-dzi	
e-de lídzil sÉ ákE awO a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	‘it’s the food that the men ate’
e-de lídzil sÉ ákE a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	
e-de lídzil sÉ awO a bàdum sÉ bá-dzi	
e-de lídzil sÉ a bàdm sÉ bá-dzi	

In each set, the first two sentences have both the complementizer ákE ‘that’ and the AM, while the second two sentences have only the AM. Because the subject noun bàdum ‘men’ is prefixless, the a part of awO a must be present:

- **(e-de)* lídzil sÉ ákE awO bàdum sÉ bá-dzi
 *(e-de) lídzil sÉ ákE bàdum sÉ bá-dzi
 *(e-de) lídzil sÉ bàdum sÉ bá-dzi

Had the subject had a prefix, any part of the AM could have been deleted, and both ákE and awO a could be absent completely:

- lídzil sÉ ákE awO a lizól sÉ bá-dzi ‘the food that the birds ate’
 lídzil sÉ ákE awO lizól sÉ bá-dzi (with ákE)
 lídzil sÉ ákE a lizól sÉ bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ ákE lizól sÉ bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ awO a lizól sÉ bá-dzi (without ákE)
 lídzil sÉ awO lizól sÉ bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ a lizól sÉ bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ lizól sÉ bá-dzi

As seen, the AM awO a undergoes the same options and coalescences as in its genitive function. In addition, these last examples show that the subject noun *lizól* ‘bird(s)’ undergoes the expected change from L-M to L-H.

The AM is completely optional when there is no subject noun:

- lídzil sÉ ákE awO a bá-dzi ‘the food that the birds ate’
 lídzil sÉ ákE awO bá-dzi (with ákE)
 lídzil sÉ ákE a bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ ákE bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ awO a bá-dzi (without ákE)
 lídzil sÉ awO bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ a bá-dzi
 lídzil sÉ bá-dzi

We interpret this to mean that the subject marker *bá-* ‘they’ is actually a prefix, hence allows non-occurrence of AM *a*.

The AM also occurs in subject relatives and clefts, but with a difference:

- **lizól sÉ ákE awO a bà ttŌ* ‘the birds that fell’
lizól sÉ ákE awO bà ttŌ (with ákE)
 **lizól sÉ ákE a bà ttŌ*
lizól sÉ ákE bà ttŌ
 **lizól sÉ awO a bà ttŌ* (without ákE)
lizól sÉ awO bà ttŌ
 **lizól sÉ a bà ttŌ*
lizól sÉ bà ttŌ

As seen, in this case the *a* part of the AM cannot occur. Since it is acceptable to say *lizól sÉ aa bà ttŌ*, we derive evidence an *aa* AM may derive exclusive from *awO*, via *w*-deletion, and does not require a following *a* morph.

The AM is required in conjoined (or consecutivized) clauses which have an overt subject noun:

N-wÉli è-de awO a bàdum sÉ bá-zeé-m 'I came and the men saw me'
 N-wÉli è-de a bàdum sÉ bá-zeé-m
 *N-wÉli è-de awO bàdum sÉ bá-zeé-m
 *N-wÉli è-de bàdum sÉ bá-zeé-m

The first two examples have either awO a or *a* as AM before the subject noun bàdum. The second two sentences again show that the *a* part of the AM is required before a prefixless noun.

When there is no overt subject in the consecutivized clause, again awO is optional, while *a* is prohibited:

*N-wÉli è-de awO a bá-zeé-m 'I came and they saw me'
 *N-wÉli è-de a bá-zeé-m
 N-wÉli è-de awO bá-zeé-m
 N-wÉli è-de bá-zeé-m

Again, there is no AM in the absence of an overt subject noun: N-wÉli è-de awO bá-zeé-m 'I came and they saw me'.

There is no AM in serial constructions lacking a complementizer such as è-de: ba-wÉli bà finá-m 'they came and touched me', *ba-wÉli awO bà finá-m.

3.3. Adjectives and ideophones

Legbó is rich in “property terms”, that is, words used to describe what would be expressed by an adjective in English and many other languages: ‘big’, ‘small’, ‘white’, ‘black’, ‘good’, etc. However, these terms fall into at least four different form classes: verb, noun, adjective, and ideophone.

The following table provides a list of the most common such words. The glosses in the first column are intended to be neutral in terms of part of speech. Thus, what is glossed as ‘bad’ stands for ‘be bad’, ‘badness’ and ‘bad’.

Gloss	Verb	Noun	Adjective	Ideophone
bad	IÒ	gÈIÒÓ	ÈIÒó	*
bad	*	gèbia	èbia	*
big, great, fat	kkàm	*	*	kkoNN
big, large	*	gègbógböN	ègbógböN	*
black	bbi	gèbbyo	èbbyo	kkpEmm
cold	dzubbi	gèdzúbbi	èdzúbbi	bbÈmm
deep	dòòNo	*	*	ddöNN
dry	ggù	*	*	ssaa
far	vila	*	èvilávi	*
good	dza	gèdìnà, Èkkà	èdìnà	*
beautiful	dza	gìdza	*	*
hard, strong	kakaNa	gÈkákàaN	èkákàaN	kkaNN
heavy	dOO	*	*	ttùmm
hot (temp)	kOm	gÈkOmO	ÈkOmO	ffèmm
hot (temp)	kkumi	gèkkúmì	èkkúmì	ffèmm
intelligent	kpeNa	ikpeNa	*	*
light (weight)	fÈIE	gÈfÈIE	ÈfÈIE	fÈIEIE
long	dùm	*	Ègbala	ggbÒi
many	kuli	gèkúli	Èkúli	*
messy	dzui	gèdzúi	èdzúi	*
near	fOIO	gÈfÓIÒ	ÈfÓIÒ	*
old	tam	gÈtà	Ètàtàtà	*
red	kool	gèkoola	èkoola	ttòò
rotten	IÒkkO	gÈIÒkkÒ	ÈIÒkkÒ	*
rough	wukki	gèwúkkì	èwúkkì	wúkàlàwúkàlà
short	*	gÈdÒ	ÈdÒ	*
small	vEmmE	gÈvÈmmÈ	ÈvÈmmÈ	kíkù
smooth	kOO	*	*	kOikOi
sour	maaNi	*	*	mmâNN
straight	nnòmo	*	*	ggbONN
stupid	ppène	géppéné	èppéné	ppòm-ppòm
sweet	dìdia	ididía	*	miNímiNi
tall	kkpONO	ikkpÓNO	èkkpÓNO	ggbONN
wet	ddÒmO	*	*	ddÒmm
white	gwene	gègwénè	ègwénè	ffai
wide	dzè	*	*	ppèè, gbàgbàgbà

The adjective èdzúi can only be used with inanimates, e.g. ÈttO èdzúi ‘messy house’, while a related adjective èdzúà can be used with both animates and inanimates: ÈtÈÈn èdzúà ‘dirty animal’, ákkpaN èdzúà ‘dirty plate’.

3.3.1. Adjectival verbs. The second column list what we can refer to as adjectival verbs, e.g. *kkàm* ‘be big’, *bbi* ‘be black’, *dOO* ‘be heavy’, *vEmmE* ‘be small’. As seen all but three of the property terms can be expressed verbally: *gèbia* ‘bad’ (but cf. *lÒ* ‘be bad’), *gègbógböN* ‘big’ (but cf. *kkàm* ‘be big’), and *gÈdÒ* ‘short’. These three only are marked * to show that there is no corresponding verb **bia* or **dO*. In the above table, only those adjectival verbs are given that have at least one other form to go with them, e.g. an ideophone (§3.3.5). Other verbs that are translated with adjectives in English, but which do not meet this criterion, include:

<i>dàn</i>	‘be blunt’	<i>tua</i>	‘be strong’
<i>dum</i>	‘be sharp’	<i>jeghe</i>	‘be tall’ (humans)
<i>mma</i>	‘be sick’	<i>sana</i>	‘be thin, slim’

3.3.2. Adjectival nouns. The third column provides the noun form of the adjective which can appear as N1 of an ‘N1 of N2’ associative construction, e.g. *gèdzúbbi a EttÓ* ‘coldness of house’, *gèkoola a IEZÈI* ‘redness of soil’, *géppèné a wàÈ* ‘stupidity of child’. As seen, most of these begin with a *gÈ-* prefix. (In one case, *gÈkOmO* ‘hotness’, the prefix has a M tone.) The following, however, have an *i-* prefix: *ikpeNa* ‘intelligence’, *ididía* ‘sweetness’, *ikkpÓNO* ‘tallness’. Like all verbs, the adjectival verbs in the first column can form a gerund by prefixing *gÈ-* and suffixing *-È* (or just a L tone if the verb already has two syllables), e.g. *gÈlÓÈ* ‘being bad’, *gèggùÈ* ‘being dry’, *gèdòdNò* ‘being deep’, *gÈdùmÈ* ‘being long’, *gèdzèÈ* ‘being wide’. In column three only those adjectival nouns are listed which are not identical to the gerund of the verbs in the second column. Note that in several cases the only difference would be tonal:

	Adjectival Nouns	Gerund	
‘coldness’	<i>gèdzúbbi</i>	<i>gèdzubbì</i>	‘being cold’
‘lightness’	<i>gÈfÈIÈ</i>	<i>gÈfÈIÈ</i>	‘being light’
‘abundance’	<i>gèkùli</i>	<i>gèkuli</i>	‘being many, abundant’
‘messiness’	<i>gèdzùì</i>	<i>gèdzui</i>	‘being messy’
‘nearness’	<i>gÈfÓIÒ</i>	<i>gÈfÓIÒ</i>	‘being near’
‘rotteness’	<i>gÈlÓkkÒ</i>	<i>gÈlÓkkÒ</i>	‘being rotten’
‘roughness’	<i>gèwúkki</i>	<i>gÈwukki</i>	‘being rough’
‘smallness’	<i>gÈvÈmmÈ</i>	<i>gÈvÈmmÈ</i>	‘being small’
‘stupidity’	<i>géppèné</i>	<i>géppèné</i>	‘being stupid’
‘whiteness’	<i>gègwénè</i>	<i>gègwènè</i>	‘being white’

In all but one case, the adjectival nouns have a H-L stem pattern, while the corresponding gerund has the more general M-L pattern. All of these derive from M tone adjectival verbs. The one exception, *géppèné* ‘stupidity’, which has its H tone on the prefix instead, is also the only adjectival noun to derive from a L tone adjectival verb. Its adjective form, *ppèné* is also tonally irregular.

3.3.3. Adjectives. The forms in the fourth column are identified as adjectives. As seen, they all have an *È-* prefix (M tone *E-* in the case of *ÈkOmO* ‘hot’). These forms appear in both in predicative and attributive functions: *e-de ÈlÓkkÒ* ‘it is rotten’, *genyédze ÈlÓkkÒ* ‘rotten banana’.

Although frequently resembling adjectival nouns, except for prefix, the function is adjectival rather than nominal, e.g. *e-de èbbyo* ‘it is black’. A gerund used in this context would, rather, have the ‘quality of’ meaning: *e-de gèbbyo* ‘it is blackness’, *e-de gÈkOOÈ* ‘it is smoothness’, *e-de géppèné* ‘it is stupidity’. It thus would not make sense for the subject of the copula to be plural: **ba-de gèbbyo* ‘they are blackness’ etc. The same tonal properties characterize both adjectival nouns and adjectives: the H-L stem pattern (*gèwúkki* ‘roughness’, *èwúkki* ‘rough’), the exceptional M prefix of *gÈkOmO* ‘heat’ and *ÈkOMO* ‘hot’. The one exception is *géppèné* ‘stupidity’ vs. *èppèné* ‘stupid’. Note that all four adjectival nouns in the table which exist without a corresponding

adjective have a g̀i- or i- prefix: g̀idza ‘beauty’, ikpeNa ‘intelligence’, ididía ‘sweetness’, ikkpÓNO ‘tallness’. These might, therefore, be alternatively identified simply as “nouns”. On the other hand, two adjectives have been identified for which there is no corresponding adjectival noun: èvìlávì ‘far’, Ègbala ‘long’.

The same adjective forms are also used attributively after a modified noun:

wàÉ ÈlÒÓ	‘bad child’	ÈttO èdzùì	‘messy house’
ÈttO èdzùbbì	‘cold house’	lÈvÒl ÈfÓlÒ	‘nearby town’
ÈkwEn ÈkOmO	‘hot fire’	wàdum èppénè	‘stupid man’
lÈzàNàl Ègbala	‘long river’	ntOtÓN ègwénè	‘white rat’

In this position, the È- prefix may optionally be deleted: wàÉ lÒÓ, ÈttO dzùbbì etc. It may not be deleted after the copula: e-de èkákàaN ‘it is hard’, *e-de kákàaN (cf. lÈttál (è)kákàaN ‘hard rock’). This deletion occurs whether or not the adjective immediately follows the noun it modifies, e.g. ikàtàm (è)bbyo lÓmìn ~ ikàtàm lÓmìn (è)bbyo ‘my black basket’. However, the È- prefix may not be deleted in predicative position, or when the adjective is used without a noun head: e-de èbbyo ‘it is black’ (*e-de bbyo), èbbyo sÉ ‘the black one’ (*bbyo sÉ).

In either predicative or attributive function, adjectives are repeated (fully reduplicated) when the referent is plural:

e-de èbbyo	‘it is black’	ba-de èbbyo èbbyo	‘they are black’
e-de ÈdO	‘he/she is short’	ba-de ÈdO ÈdO	‘they are short’
e-de Ètàmàtàm	‘he/she is old’	ba-de Ètàmàtàm Ètàmàtàm	‘they are old’
ikàtàm (è)bbyo	‘black basket’	ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo	‘black baskets’
wàdum (È)dO	‘short man’	bàdum ÈdO ÈdO	‘short men’
Èllà (È)tàmàtàm	‘old servant’	àllà Ètàmàtàm Ètàmàtàm	‘short servants’

As indicated, in the plural the È- prefix may not be deleted from either of the two occurrences of a repeated attributive adjective: *ikàtàm èbbyo bbyo, *ikàtàm bbyo èbbyo, *ikàtàm bbyo bbyo. Reduplication of the adjective is only required when there is no other mark of plurality in the noun phrase or sentence. Thus, bàdum ÈdO ‘short men’ is also acceptable because bàdum is unambiguously plural. Similarly, ikàtàm èbbyo ba-ttÓ ‘black baskets fell’ is acceptable because of the plural subject agreement marker ba-. By itself, however, ikàtàm èbbyo can only mean ‘black basket’.

A few additional observations about adjectives:

The adjectives ÈfÓlÒ ‘near’ and ÈkkpÓNO are exceptional in appearing only in attributive position: lÈvÒl ÈfÓlÒ ‘nearby town’, wàdum ÈkkpÓNO ‘tall man’, but *lÈvÒl sÉ e-de ÈfÓlÒ ‘the town is near’, *wàdum sÉ e-de ÈkkpÓNO.

The impersonal verb kuli ‘be abundant’, as in e-kuli mán ‘it is a lot for us’ or vvÓm e-kuli bÈ ‘they have things in abundance’ (lit. things are abundant to them) also has an adjective noun g̀èkùlì ‘abundance’. Since the corresponding adjective necessarily occurs with a plural referent it occurs only in reduplicated form: ikàtàm èkùlì èkùlì ‘many baskets’, alternatively ikàtàm kuli-kuli. With nouns which do not have a sg./pl. distinction in referent, ÈkkpÓNO ‘a lot, much, tall’ is used: àsi ÈkkpÓNO ‘a lot of water’, èkkpùàn ÈkkpÓNO ‘a lot of money’.

As seen in the table, the color terms ‘black’, ‘red’ and ‘white’ all have a full paradigm: verb, adjectival noun, adjective, and ideophone. Additional color terms consist of using a fully reduplicated noun whose color refers to the object in question:

Èdán	‘yellow camwood’	Èdán-Èdán	‘yellow, orange’
lìgwàl	‘leaf’	lìgwàl-lìgwàl	‘green’
lìzÈl	‘sand’	lìzÈl-lìzÈl	‘brown’
èzòm	‘grey chalk’	èzòm-èzòm	‘grey’

In addition, ittò ‘red camwood’ also may be used to form ittò-ittò to describe a reddish color resembling red chalk. The above can be used predicatively and attributively: e-de lìgwàl-lìgwàl ‘it is green’, ikàtàm lìgwàl-lìgwàl ‘green basket’. These doubled forms do not undergo further reduplication in the plural: ikàtàm lìgwàl-lìgwàl E-ttÓ ‘a green basket fell’, ikàtàm lìgwàl-lìgwàl ba-ttÓ ‘green baskets fell.’

There is a productive process of deriving both adjectival nouns and adjectives from verbs, with the meaning ‘-able’:

Verb		Adjectival Noun	Adjective	
dzi	‘eat’	gedzídzi	edzídzi	‘edible’
gwa	‘drink’	gEgwágwa	Egwágwa	‘drinkable’
dum	‘bite’	gedúdum	edúdum	‘bitable’
bila	‘climb’	gebíbila	ebíbila	‘climbable’
vÈ	‘kill’	gEvÈvÉ	EvÈvÉ	‘killable’
mÈN	‘swallow’	gEmÈmÉN	EmÈmÉN	‘swallowable’
zÈÈ	‘walk’	gEzÈzÉE	EzÈzÉE	‘walkable’
wÒNNO	‘fly’	gEwÒwÓNNO	EwÒwÓNNO	‘flyable’

As seen, the adjectival nouns take a M tone gE- prefix, while the corresponding adjectives take M tone E-. The first CV of the verb stem is reduplicated. A M verb will produce a H-M tone pattern on the reduplicated stem, while a L verb will produce a L-H-M pattern. The adjectival nouns are perhaps aptly translated with ‘-ability’, e.g. gedzídzi ‘edibility’, gegwágwa ‘drinkability’, and can be used as comparable nominal forms: gEgwágwa a sí sÈ ‘the drinkability of the water’. The derived adjectives, translated with ‘-able’, can be used either predicatively or attributively: e-de Egwágwa ‘it is drinkable’, àsi Egwágwa ‘drinkable water’; e-de EwÒwÓNNO ‘it is flyable’, gÈzÈÈ EwÒwÓNNO ‘a flyable journey’ (e.g. between Calabar and Eket). When used attributively, these derived adjectives may not delete their initial E- (perhaps because it has a M tone): *àsi gwágwa, *gÈzÈÈ wÒwÓNNO. There is no further reduplication when the referent is plural, but the plural suffix -azi may be added: gÈzÈÈ EwÒwÓNNOzi banà sòm aNwÓN ‘flyable journeys are enjoyable’.

In the absence of an adjective, if there is a corresponding ideophone (§3.3.4), the latter may be used either predicatively or attributively: e-de kkoNN ‘it is big’, wàdum kkoNN ‘big man’; e-de gbàgbàgbà ‘it is very wide’, èdeen gbàgbàgbà ‘a very wide road’.

Where there is neither an attributive adjective form nor an ideophone available, or as an alternative, a relativized may be used to modify the noun:

bànQ (ákE)	bà kpeNa èkpeNa	‘intelligent women’	(women (who) are intelligent)
EggÒ (ákE)	È kOO ÈkOO	‘smooth cloth’	(cloth (which) is smooth)

In these examples, the verbs kpena ‘be intelligent’ and kOO ‘be smooth’ are followed by a focused verbal form, èkpén and ÈkÓÓ, formed by prefixing È- (§XX). Alternatively, an ideophone, if existing, can be used in an attributive function: EggÒ kOikOi ‘smooth cloth’ (see next section).

3.3.4. Ideophones. Legbó is rich in ideophones, represented in the fifth and last column of the table. The first criterion for recognizing Legbó ideophones is by their unusual phonological shapes, summarized below:

CCVV	:	ssaa	‘dry’	ffai	‘white’
		ggbÖi	‘long’	ppèè	‘wide’
		ttòò	‘red’		
CCVCC	:	kkoNN	‘big’	ttümm	‘heavy’
		kkpEmm	‘black’	ffèmm	‘hot’
		bbEmm	‘cold’	mmâNN	‘sour’
		ddöNN	‘deep’	ggbONN	‘tall’
		kkaNN	‘hard’	ddÖmm	‘wet’
Redup	:	vÈIÈ-vÈIÈ	‘light’	ppöm-ppöm	‘stupid’
		wúkàlà-wúkàlà	‘rough’	miNí-mìNi	‘sweet’
		kí-kiì	‘small’	gbà-gbà-gbà	‘wide’
		kÖi-kÖi	‘smooth’		

The first group consists of a fortis consonant followed by either a long vowel or Vi sequence, with either M or L tone. To these we can add the ideophones ggbÈÈ ‘belching’ (used with ppò ‘to belch’) and ppàà ‘staring into space’ (used with kkele ‘stare into space’), which do not enter into the adjectival system. Except for such ideophones, the only entry in the Legbó lexicon with a CC onset plus long vowel is kkòò ‘tomorrow’.

The second group consists of a short vowel flanked by two fortis consonants. Most have M or L tone. Other than such ideophones, to which we can add nnàNN ‘slow’ (used with ddaNa ‘to crawl’), NwaNN ‘completely’ and ssamm ‘thank you’, there are no entries in the Legbó lexicon with a CCVCC structure.

The third group is more diverse. As seen, all members consist of some kind of reduplication of one, two or three syllables. These show a variety of tones and are less distinct, phonologically, from other parts of speech which may have reduplicated stems. Other ideophones of this sort include gweegwee ‘fast’ (used with zÈÈ ‘to walk’) and `mkkpaN-`mkkpaN ‘flat’ (cf. ákkaN ‘plate’). This latter form is rare among ideophones in having a prefix, which also reduplicates. It is used with such verbs as sana ‘to be thin’ and tîna ‘reduce in size’.

Although frequently identifiable by their phonological shape, as just indicated, it is more their function that defines what is vs. is not an ideophone in Legbó. First, ideophones can be used in the place of adjectives, as seen in the following pairs of sentences, which are equivalent:

e-de èbbyo	‘it is black’	(copula + adjective)
e-de kkpEmm	‘it is black’	(copula + ideophone)
ikàtàm èbbyo	‘black basket’	(noun + adjective)
ikàtàm kkpEmm	‘black basket’	(noun + ideophone)

Both the adjective èbbyo and the ideophone kkpEmm are seen above after the copula ‘be’, as well as after a noun.

There are two reasons why kkpEmm and other ideophones are not adjectives, however. First, they cannot take the prefix È- (or any other prefix, for that matter). Second, they can modify a verb as easily as a noun. As seen in the following examples, when an ideophone co-occurs with a corresponding adjectival verb, the effect is one of intensification:

e-bbi	‘it is black’	(verb)
e-bbi kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’	(verb + ideophone)
*e-bbi èbbyo		
e-kakaNa	‘it is hard’	(verb)
e-kakaNa kkaNN	‘it is very hard’	(verb + ideophone)
*e-kakaNa ÈkákàaN		

As shown, the corresponding adjectives èbbyo and ÈkákàaN cannot appear in modification of a verb—a major difference between ideophones and adjectives. Note, in addition, that ideophones may also follow their respective adjective:

e-de èbbyo kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’
e-de ÈkákàaN kkaNN	‘it is very hard’
ikàtàm èbbyo kkpÈmm	‘a very black basket’
Ènaan ÈkákàaN kkaNN	‘very hard fufu’

Another property of ideophones is that they are fully reduplicated in the plural. The normal agreements are as follows:

ikàtàm èbbyo E-ttÓ	‘a black basket fell’	(adjective)
ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo ba-ttÓ	‘black baskets fell’	
ikàtàm kkpÈm E-ttÓ	‘a black basket fell’	(ideophone)
ikàtàm kkpÈm kkpÈm ba-ttÓ	‘black baskets fell’	

The same reduplication of an ideophone may occur in its adverbial function, often producing quite subtle distinctions:

e bbi kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’
e bbi kkpÈmm kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’ (here and there, at different times)
ba-bbi kkpÈmm	‘they are very black’ (all in a group, all at once, together)
ba-bbi kkpÈmm kkpÈmm	‘they are very black’ (=best way to say it)
e bbiazi kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’ (at different times)
e bbiazi kkpÈmm kkpÈmm	‘it is very black’ (here and there, at different times)
ba-bbiazi kkpÈmm	‘they are very black’ (individually in a group)
ba-bbiazi kkpÈmm kkpÈmm	‘they are very black’ (individually)

The above attempts to draw out some of the potential shades of meaning between using one vs. two occurrences of an ideophone, kkpÈmm, as well as introducing the -azi pluractional form of the verb (§XX). In actual practice, the indicated semantic differences may be too subtle to maintain.

Used attributively, the reduplication of an ideophone (or adjective) unambiguously signals plurality: ikàtàm kkpÈmm ‘a black basket’, ikàtàm kkpÈmm kkpÈmm ‘black baskets’. Thus, subject-verb agreement must be plural: ikàtàm kkpÈmm kkpÈmm ba-ttÓ ‘black baskets fell’ (*e-ttÓ). However, reduplication is not required if another element marks plurality: ikàtàm kkpÈmm ba-ttÓ ‘black baskets fell’ (cf. ikàtàm èbbyo ba-ttÓ). Thus also with numerals, ideophones and adjectives need not be reduplicated. All of the following variations mean ‘two black baskets’:

ikàtàm (è)bbyo àfON	ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo àfON
ikàtàm kkpÈmm àfON	ikàtàm kkpÈmm kkpÈmm àfON

ikàtàm àfON (è)bbyo
ikàtàm àfON kkpÈmm

ikàtàm àfON èbbyo èbbyo
ikàtàm àfON kkpÈmm kkpÈmm

An adjective and an ideophone also be combined together in attributive position: ikàtàm èbbyo kkpÈmm ~ ikàtàm kkpÈmm èbbyo ‘a very black basket’. The plural ‘very black baskets’ can be formed in any of the following ways:

ikàtàm èbbyo kkpÈmm kkpÈmmm
ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo kkpÈmm
ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo kkpÈmm kkpÈmm

ikàtàm kkpÈmm èbbyo èbbyo
ikàtàm kkpÈmm kkpÈmm èbbyo
ikàtàm kkpÈmm kkpÈmm èbbyo èbbyo

Finally, note that, like adjectives, ideophones may be used without an overt noun head: èbbyo sÉ ‘the black one’; kkpÈmm sÉ ‘the black one’, pl. èbbyo èbbyo sÉ, kkpÈmm kkpÈmm sÉ ‘black ones’.

3.4. Numerals.

Legbó shows signs of a mixed numeral system which perhaps has had different bases at different times in its history. The following shows the numbers from 1 to 20 in Legbó:

wÒni	‘1’	dzÓ ìi wÒni	‘11’
àfON	‘2’	dzÓ àfON	‘12’
àttan	‘3’	dzÓ àttan	‘13’
àannaN	‘4’	dzÓ àannaN	‘14’
àzen	‘5’	dzì	‘15’
àzen àwÒni	‘6’	dzì ìi wÒni	‘16’
àzen àfON	‘7’	dzì aàfON	‘17’
àzen àttan	‘8’	dzì aàttan	‘18’
àzen àannaN	‘9’	dzì aàannaN	‘19’
dzÓ	‘10’	IÈzOI	‘20’

As seen, the numerals 1-5, 10, 15 and 20 are basic, while the other numbers are composite, formed by adding ìi ‘with’ + one of the numerals 1-4. Thus, numerals 6-9 are formed by adding 1-4 to àzen ‘5’, the numerals 11-14 are formed by adding 1-4 to dzÓ ‘10’, and 16-19 are formed by adding 1-4 to dzì ‘15’. Historically, there was a ML preposition ìi ‘with’, which, although only appearing before the consonant-initial numeral wÒni, also shows a tonal effect after L tone dzì in the numerals 17-19, as indicated. Note that the numeral IÈzOI ‘20’ is related to dzÓ ‘10’, the latter possibly undergoing fortition as a result of an earlier class prefix that has dropped out.

Higher numbers are formed by adding or multiplying the above numerals. The decades up to 100 are formed as follows:

dzÓ	‘10’	
IÈzOI	‘20’	
IÈzOI èvulì dzÓ	‘30’	(20 + 10)
àzO àfON	‘40’	(20 x 2)
àzO àfON è-vulì dzÓ	‘50’	((20 x 2) + 10)
àzO àttan	‘60’	(20 x 3)
àzO àttan è-vulì dzÓ	‘70’	((20 x 3) + 10)
àzO àannaN	‘80’	(20 x 4)
àzO àannaN è-vulì dzÓ	‘90’	((20 x 4) + 10)
àzO àzen	‘100’	(20 x 5)

As seen, 40, 60, 80 and 100 in the base form àzO ‘20’ (plural of IÈzOl ‘10’) multiplied by 2, 3, 4 and 5, respectively. The frozen consecutive form è-vulì ‘plus’ is used to add to these dzÓ ‘10’ to each of these to form the numerals 30, 50, 70 and 90. This form, from the verb vuli ‘to remain over’, used in calculations, literally means ‘and remained over’, as in the sentence, me-nii bE àfÓN àfÓN è-vulì wÒni ‘we gave them each two with one left over’ (literally, we gave them each two and one remained over). As seen in the following examples, èvulì is used quite generally for this purpose:

IÈzOl èvulì wÒni	‘21’	IÈzOl èvulì dzÓ àfÓN	‘32’
IÈzOl èvulì àfÓN	‘22’	àzO àfÓN èvulì àzen àttan	‘48’
IÈzOl èvulì dzÓ ì wÒni	‘31’	àzO àzen èvulì dzì	‘115’

The largest single numeral base term in Legbó is the culturally important number lelóól ‘400’, i.e. 20 x 20. Thus, compare the expression E baai lelóól ‘he tied 400’, which means that he has 400 sticks of yam in his yam barn.

Any of the above numerals can be used after a noun: bÈÉ dzÓ ‘10 children’, bàno IÈzOl èvulì wÒni ‘21 women’, ikàtàm àzO ànnaN èvulì dzÓ ‘90 baskets’, ètti lelóól ‘400 sticks’, etc.

Distributive numerals are formed by repeated the numeral in question. The last M of the first numeral is raised to H:

wÒní wÒni	‘one each’	dzÓ dzÓ	‘ten each’
àfÓN àfÓN	‘two each’	dzì dzì	‘fifteen each’
àttán àttan	‘three each’	IÈzOl IÈzOl	‘twenty each’
ànnáN ànnaN	‘four each’	lelóól lelóól	‘four hundred each’
àzén àzen	‘five each’	àzen àwÒní àzen àwÒni	‘six each’

Note that while wÒní wÒni means ‘each’, e.g. n-nii-bE wÒní wÒni ‘I gave them one each’, a tonally distinct form wÒni wÒni is used, with or without a head noun, to mean ‘anyone, anything’ in the negative: (ÈnÒn) wÒni wÒni n`n-zee ‘I didn’t see anyone’.

The ordinal number ‘first’ is formed by means of the nominalization of fèmi èdeen (literally ‘be first’ + ‘road, way’): wàdum ifèmi èdeen ‘the first man’. Other ordinals are formed by means of the associative construction, where (awO) (a) can optionally not appear:

wàdum a afÓN	‘second man’	wàdum a dzÓ	‘tenth man’
wàdum a àttán	‘third man’	wàdum a dzì	‘fifteen man’
wàdum a annáN	‘fourth man’	wàdum a IÈzOl	‘twentieth man’
wàdum a azén	‘fifth man’	wàdum a lelóól	‘four hundredth man’

One can also use a relative construction with bùa ‘follow’ or sì ‘make’ followed by the number:: wàdum (ákE awO) èbùa àfÓN ‘the second man’ (literally man who follows two), bàdum bàsì àttan ‘the third (group of) men’, etc.

Other terms of quantity include the impersonal verb kuli ‘to be abundant, be many’ and its derivatives. The subject of kuli can either be E- ‘it’, ba-‘they’ or vvÓm ‘thing’: vvÓm e-kuli bE ‘they have things in abundance, they have a lot of things’ (literally, things are abundant to them), e kuli mán ‘it is a lot for us’, e-kuli (or ba-kuli) mán ÈlÒsa ‘it is (they are) too much for us’. However, one cannot have a specific noun as subject of kuli: *lídzil sÈ e kuli mán (intended meaning: ‘the food is a lot for us’). The verb also has the expected derivatives gèkùlì ‘abundance’ and èkùlì ‘many’, the latter being used only in the plural and usually reduplicated: ikàtàm èkùlì èkùlì ba-ttÓ ‘many baskets fell’.

The verb kkpONO ‘be plenty, be much’ can, however, be used with a specific subject, e.g. lídzil sÉ E kkpONO mán ÈlÒsa ‘the food is too much for us’.

There does not appear to be any word for ‘few’.

The adjective form èbíńí is used with the meaning ‘all’ in the plural: e-dzi gèdzé (‘NkE) èbíńí (èbíńí) ‘he ate all the yams’. The noun form Ebadá ‘whole’ is used to express ‘a whole yam’: gèdzé gEbadá (cf. gEbadá wÒni ‘one whole’, gEbadá àfON ‘two wholes’ etc.).

3.5. Determiners.

Legbó has a definite article sÉ which occurs with both singular and plural nouns: wàdum sÉ ‘the man’, bàdum sÉ ‘the men’, ikàtàm sÉ ‘the basket(s)’. Definite sÉ derives historically from a third person singular possessive form (§3.2.1) and appears frequently in texts. There also is another form, ákE, which might be translated with ‘the’, and which designates a referent that can be identified by the hearer, e.g. wàdum ákE ‘that man’ (e.g. that particular man that we talked about).

The numeral wÒni ‘one’ is used with singular nouns as an indefinite article: wàdum wÒni ‘one man, a man’, ikàtàm wÒni ‘one basket, a basket’. The resulting indefinite can be used with either referential or non-referential meaning. Thus, n-sokki `NNwÈnÈ wÒni ‘I am looking for a book’ can mean either that I have a specific book in mind or not. wÒni may not be used with plural nouns, e.g. *bàdum wÒni. Instead, mbÓÓ ‘certain, some’ is used with plural, but not singular nouns: bàdum mbÓÓ ‘certain men, some men’, *wàdum mbÓÓ.

In addition to definite and indefinite marking, Legbó formally distinguishes two degrees of proximity from the speaker in its demonstrative system. When used without an overt noun head, amma means ‘this one’ and refers to locations near the speaker, while ámmE ‘that one’ generally refers to locations (relatively) far from the speaker (but see §XX for further precisions concerning these and other demonstratives). These each have a plural form: àbEmma ‘these (ones)’, àbÈmmE ‘those (ones)’.

A fuller set of demonstrative forms is given in the following table.

	‘this’		‘that’	
m-forms	amma àbEmma	ammäna àbEmmäna	ámmE àbÈmmE	ámmÈná àbÈmmÈná
d-forms	adäa abEdäa	adääná àbEdääná	áddE àbÈddE	áddÈná àbÈddÈná
n-forms	annã àbEnnã			

The most frequently used demonstratives are identified as “m-forms”. In the singular, the prefix is a- (with M or H tone, as indicated), while in the plural it is àbE/àbE. The longer forms are used interchangeably with the shorter forms and involve fusion with the morpheme ńná ‘like this/that, thusly’.

The “d-forms” involve the same a- and àbE- prefixes, but have d(d) in the place of mm. are These are the secondary or ‘other’ demonstrative forms. They have a number of uses, which are best translated by the notion ‘other’. For example, gÈbbá ámmE ‘that side’ vs. gÈbbá áddE ‘that other side’ (e.g. the other side of the river). They are clearly related to ÈdO ‘other, again’, which is used as both an adjective and an adverb: `NNwÈnÈ ÈdO ‘another book’, tOOM-E ÈdO ‘send it again!’. In actual discourse, the d-form can be used to change referent, all the while keeping the

notion of ‘this’ or ‘that’. A first speaker one might say *n-yÉÉli`nnwÈnÈ amma* ‘I read this book’ (holding a book), while the second might lift up a different book and say *n-yÉÉli`nnwÈnÈ adàa* ‘I read this book’. A third person could even come in with an n-form: *n-yÉÉli`nnwÈnÈ annã* ‘I read this (still another) book.’ (There is no n-form for ‘that’.) There is thus the following conventional order to using demonstratives:

amma	adàa	annã
ámmE	áddE	

In actual practice, a speaker may stop with the d-form.

It should be noted that the plural forms of demonstratives need only be used if there is no other mark of plurality, e.g. *ècècèna amma* ‘this stranger’, *àcècèna amma ~ àcècèna àbEmma* ‘these strangers’; *ikàtàm amma* ‘this basket’, but *ikàtàm amma ba-ttÓ* ‘these baskets fell’, *ikàtàm àfON amma (~ àbEmma)* ‘these two baskets’. Given the optionality of reduplication to mark plural agreement on adjectives, there are the following four sentences are equivalent:

ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo àbEmma ba-ttÓ ‘these black baskets fell’
ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo amma ba-ttÓ
ikàtàm èbbyo àbEmma ba-ttÓ
ikàtàm èbbyo amma ba-ttÓ

It is only the last that can also be used in the singular: *ikàtàm èbbyo amma E-ttÓ* ‘this black basket fell.’

The corresponding adverbial deictics ‘here’ and ‘there’ are shown in the following table:

	‘here’		‘there’	
m-forms	mma	mmãna	´mmE	´mmÉna
d-forms	ndàa	ndàána	´nddE	´nddÉna
n-forms	nnã	nnãna		

These forms are the same as the demonstratives except that they have a nasal prefix. The same interpretations and general usage holds: *mma* ‘here’ would be used first, then *ndàa*, then *nnã*.

The above m-form adverbials may also be compounded with independent pronouns, most usually with third person *àyE* ‘him/her’ and *àbE* ‘them’:

‘this one’		‘that one’	
àyEmma	àyEmmãna	àyÉmmE	àyÉmmÉna
àbEmma	àbEmmãna	àbÉmmE	àbÉmmÉna
‘this other one’		‘that other one’	
àyEdàa	àyEdàána	àyÉddE	àyÉddÉna
àbEdàa	àbEdàána	àbÉddE	àbÉddÉna
àyEnnã	àbEnnã		

The singular forms have the same interpretation as the m-form demonstratives, i.e. *àyEmma* ‘this one’ (him/her-here), *àyÉmmE* ‘that one’ (him/her-there). The plural forms with *àbE-* are identical to the m-, d- and n-forms in the demonstrative table.

3.6. Pronouns

The pronoun system of Legbó is summarized in the following table.

	Independent		Subject		Object		Emphatic pronouns
	argument	possessive	aff.	neg.	aff.	neg.	
1sg	àmin	NgwÓmin	m-	m	´m	mím	àmíyĚ
2sg	àwO	NgwÓ	a-	a	(y)Ó	yÓ	àwÓyĚ
3sg	àyE	NgwĚ	E-	E	(y)E	yE	àyĚyĚ
1pl	àman	aamán	mE	mĚ	mán	mán	àmáyĚ
2pl	àbO	aabO	ba	bÒ	bO	bO	àbÓyĚ
3pl	àbE	aabE	ba	bĚ	bE	bE	àbĚyĚ

As seen, the independent pronouns all begin with the prefix à- and have a M tone root: àmin ‘me’, àwO ‘you sg.’, àyE ‘him/her’ etc. The independent possessive forms, which were examined in §3.2.1, begin with Ngw for the singular persons, e.g. NgwÓmin ‘mine’, but employ the associative construction with the plural persons, e.g. aamán ‘ours’ (literally, ‘that of us’). Other possessive forms are found in attributive position, e.g. lÓmin, gwÓmin, mbÓmin, all meaning ‘my’ (§3.2.1).

Subject and object pronouns are distinguished according to whether they accompany an affirmative or negative verb. In the affirmative, full subject marking is required before a main verb. Whether an overt subject noun is present or not, these forms are best seen as subject-verb agreement: wàdum sĚ e-wéeli ‘the man arrived’, e-wéeli ‘he arrived’, bàdum sĚ ba-wéeli ‘the men arrived’, ba-wéeli ‘they arrived’, etc. In this grammar, we write the singular affirmative persons m-, a-, E- with a hyphen. The 1sg subject agreement marker m- assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. n-ttÓ ‘I fell’, N-kubba ‘I entered’. The 3sg subject agreement marker E- assimilates to a following ATR vowel, e.g. E-ttÓ ‘s/he fell’, e-kubba ‘s/he entered’. Note that there is no distinction between 2pl and 3pl subject marking in the affirmative. The tone of these markers varies according to aspect, mood and clause type (§§XX-XX).

Negative subject marking is the same in the singular persons, which show the same assimilations as in the affirmative, but which fuse with the following negative marker (cf. §XX):

n`n-ttÓ	‘I didn’t fall’	N`N-kubba	‘I didn’t enter’
aà-ttÓ	‘you sg. didn’t fall’	aà-kubba	‘you sg. didn’t enter’
EĚ-ttÓ	‘s/he didn’t fall’	eĚ-kubba	‘s/he didn’t enter’
mĚ EĚ-ttÓ	‘we didn’t fall’	mĚ eĚ-kubba	‘we didn’t enter’
bÒ aà-ttÓ	‘you pl. didn’t fall’	bÒ aà-kubba	‘you pl. didn’t enter’
bĚ aà-ttÓ	‘they didn’t fall’	bĚ aà-kubba	‘they didn’t enter’

As seen, the plural persons mĚ, bÒ and bĚ are relatively free-standing. There also is an alternative mà ‘1pl’ which can be used in the place of mĚ: mĚ eĚ-tto ~ mà eĚ-tto ‘we didn’t cry’. While the sequences mĚ eĚ ~ mà eĚ ‘we + negative’ may optionally become mè eĚ-, bÒ and bĚ do not coalesce with the following aà-. The tones of the negative marker also vary by mood; cf. irrealis bĚ aàá-kubbà ‘they will not enter’.

Since object marking is not obligatory, the forms given in the table are best seen as pronouns rather than agreement markers. As seen, 1sg, 2sg and 1pl object pronouns are H tone, while 3sg, 2pl and 3pl pronouns are M. Object pronoun forms may also differ according to whether they occur in an affirmative or negative clause. This is largely because of their position: In the affirmative, object pronouns are encliticized to the verb, e.g. e-duí-m ‘he beat me’, n-zee-yÓ ‘I see you’, bá-nùm-E

‘they will take it’. In the negative, the object pronouns are free forms that precede the verb: *mím èè-dui* ‘he didn’t beat me’, *yÓ n`n-zee* ‘I don’t see you’, *yE bÈ ààá-nùm* ‘they will not take it’.

In case two object pronouns occur in sequence after an affirmative verb, the second must be one of the third person pronouns: (y)E ‘him, her, it’, which may be optionally reduplicated to (y)EyE, or bEyE ‘them’ which obligatorily takes this longer form: *ba-nii máni E(yE)* ‘they gave us it’, *n-tOOmi-Ó bEyE* ‘I sent you them’. Similarly, the first object can be a noun: *ba-nii bÈÈ sÈ yEyE* ‘they gave it to the children’, *n-tOOmi àcècèna sÈ bEyE* ‘I sent them to the strangers’. In this case, however, yEyE must be used instead of yE: **ba-nii bÈÈ sÈ yE*.

The full set of object pronoun sequences is given in the following table:

	+ (y)E(yE)	+ bEyE
-’m	’mi-yE, ’m-EyE, ’m-yEyE, ’mi-E	’m-bEyE
-Ó	Ó-yE(yE)	Ó-bEyE
-E	E-yE(yE)	E-bEyE
mán	máni-E(yE)	mán-bEyE
bO	bO-yE(yE)	bO-bEyE
bE	bE-yE(yE)	bE-bEyE

As seen, there is the greatest variety when the 1sg pronoun -’m ‘me’ is combined with 3sg (y)E(yE), e.g. *e-dumí-m-iyE* ~ *e-dumí-m-EyE* ~ *e-dumí-m yEyE* ‘he bit him for me’.

The independent argument pronouns may be used in isolation or in combination with subject or object pronouns. In answer to questions such as *e-de nnÉ* ‘who is it?’, one can answer *e-de àmin* ‘it’s me’, *e-de àman* ‘it’s us’. These same pronouns may co-occur with subject agreement or with an object pronoun:

<i>àmin n-ttÓ</i>	‘I fell’	<i>e-zeé-m àmin</i>	‘s/he saw me’
<i>àwO a-ttÓ</i>	‘you sg. fell’	<i>e-zee yÓ àwO</i>	‘s/he saw you sg.’
<i>àyE E-ttÓ</i>	‘he, she, it fell’	<i>e-zee yE àyE</i>	‘s/he saw him/her/it’
<i>àman mE-ttÓ</i>	‘we fell’	<i>e-zee mán àman</i>	‘s/he saw us’
<i>àbO ba-ttÓ</i>	‘you pl. fell’	<i>e-zee bO àbO</i>	‘s/he saw you pl.’
<i>àbE ba-ttÓ</i>	‘they fell’	<i>e-zee bE àbE</i>	‘s/he saw them’

As seen, the independent pronouns *àbO* and *àbE* can be used to disambiguate a 2pl vs. 3pl subject.

Independent pronouns may not be used without a co-occurring subject or object pronouns: **àmin ttÓ*, **e-zee àmán* etc.

In addition to the above six independent pronominal forms, Legbó distinguishes the following compound pronouns:

pronoun	#	structure	meaning(s)
àma àwO	2	us-you sg.	me & you sg,
àma àyE	2	us-him/her	me & him/her
àma àbO	3+	us-you pl.	me & you pl.; us & you sg./pl.
àma àbE	3+	us-them	me & them; us & him/her/them
àbO àyE	2	you pl.-him	you sg. & him/her
àbO àbE	3+	you pl.-them	you pl. & him/her/them.; you sg. & them
àbE àyE	2	them-him	him/her & him/her
àbE àbE	3+	them-them	him/her/them & him/her

As seen, compound pronouns are formed by combining a plural independent pronoun with either a singular or plural independent pronoun. If the combination includes a first person, the first pronoun will be àma (< àman ‘us’). If the combination does not include a first person, but does include a second person, the first pronoun will be àbO ‘you pl.’. If only third persons are involved, the first pronoun will be àbE ‘them’. These combinations thus follow the universal person hierarchy 1p > 2p > 3p, which is also evident in subject-verb agreement: àma àwO mE-ttÓ ‘you and I fell’ (*àma àwO ba-ttÓ); àbO àyE bÓ à-ttÓ ‘you sg. and him/her didn’t fall’ (*àbO àyE bE à-ttÓ).

The second pronoun serves two functions. First, it tells what other person is involved besides the one expressed in the first pronoun. Second, it indicates whether the compound is a dual, involving two people, or whether it is a plural involving three or more. If only two are involved, the second pronoun will be a singular: àma àwO, àma àyE, àbO àyE, àbE àyE. If three or more people are included, the second pronoun will be a plural: àma àbO, àma àbE, àbO àbE, àbE àbE. In the latter case, nothing is said about how the 3+ people will be distributed, e.g. ‘me & them’ = ‘us & him/her’, ‘you sg. & them’ = ‘you pl. & him/her’.

The above compounds should not be confused with repetitions of the same independent pronoun, used with the sense of ‘only’ or ‘alone’:

àmin àmin	‘me alone, only me’	àman àman	‘us alone, only us’
àwO àwO	‘you sg. alone, only you sg.’	àbO àbO	‘you pl. alone, only you pl.’
àyE àyE	‘him/her alone, only him/her’	àbE àbE	‘them alone, only them’

Examples: àman àman me-zee wàdum ‘we only saw a man’, n-zee wàdum àyE àyE ‘I saw only a man/a man on his own’.

The emphatic pronouns, which resemble the independent pronouns plus an element -yÉ, can also reinforce a pronoun in either subject or object position. Thus, e-zee yE àyÉyÉ can mean ‘he saw himself’, ‘he saw it himself’ or ‘he himself saw it’. e-zee àyÉyÉ can only mean ‘he himself saw’. Emphatic pronouns do not introduce a new referent or argument. Thus, other ambiguities include: ba ppÉIE bE gÈbOO àbÉyÉ ‘they broke their (own) arms themselves’ or ‘they broke their (someone else’s) arms themselves’. Besides their emphatic function, these pronouns can be used to disambiguate 2pl and 3pl subject markers, both ba- in te affirmative: ba-ttÓ àbÓyÉ ‘you yourselves fell’, ba-kubba àbÉyÉ ‘they themselves entered’.

We do not identify the emphatic pronouns as “reflexive pronouns” both because of the noted ambiguities, but also because reflexivity is normally expressed by means of the regular object pronouns:

n-zeé-m	‘I saw myself’	me-zee mán	‘we saw ourselves’
a-zee yÓ	‘you sg. saw yourself’	ba-zee bO	‘you pl. saw yourselves’
E-zee yE	‘s/he saw him/her(self)’	ba-zee bE	‘they saw them(selves)’

As indicated, the 3sg and 3pl objects are ambiguous: the object may be either coreferential ('he saw himself', 'they saw themselves') or non-coreferential ('he saw him', 'they saw them'). This lack of overt reflexive marking applies whatever the type of object, e.g. from possessor raising: m-ppÉIÉ-m gĒbOO 'I broke my arm' (literally, I broke me arm), ba-ppÉIÉ bE gĒbOO 'they broke their (own, someone else's) arms' (literally, they broke them arm). In cases of coreferentiality, the object pronoun disambiguates between 2pl and 3pl, as seen.

There are no logophoric pronouns in Legbó: e-dí se E-ttÓ 'he_i said he_{i,j} fell', e-dí se n-dui-E 'he_i said I beat him_{i,j}'.

3.7. Noun phrase structure

As seen in the preceding sections, modifiers follow the modified noun in Legbó. Beyond this, it is hard to find any hard and fast rules for the sequential ordering of two or more modifiers following the same noun. The following table gives a rough characterization of the ordering of two modifiers after a noun:

	Adjective	Numeral	Possessive	Determiner
Adjective		+	+	+
Numeral	±		+	+
Possessive	±	±		+
Determiner	±	±	±	

In the table a + means that this is the preferred order, while a ± indicates a less preferred one. As seen, the + indications define an unmarked order: Adjective-Numeral-Possessive-Determine. The following two preferences are perhaps strongest:

First, adjectives can be followed by any modifier, e.g. a possessive pronoun, a numeral, or a determiner:

ikàtàm èbbyo àfON 'two black baskets' (~ ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo àfON)
 ikàtàm èbbyo IÓmin 'my black basket'
 ikàtàm èbbyo amma 'this black basket'

Second, determiners can follow any modifier, i.e. an adjective (see 'this black basket' above), a possessive, or a numeral:

ikàtàm àfON amma 'these two baskets' (~ abEmma)
 ikàtàm IÓmin amma 'this basket of mine' (this my basket)

In addition, numerals appear to have the greatest freedom of position. They can occur both before and after adjectives, possessives and determiners:

ikàtàm àfON èbbyo (èbbyo) 'two black baskets'
 ikàtàm èbbyo (èbbyo) àfON
 ikàtàm àfON IÓmin 'my two baskets'
 ikàtàm IÓmin àfON (~ 'two of my baskets')
 ikàtàm àfON amma 'these two baskets'
 ikàtàm amma àfON (~ 'two of these baskets')

However, as indicated in parentheses, the orders possessive-numeral and determiner-numeral sometimes have partitive readings: *ikàtàm àfON lÓmin* and *ikàtàm àfON amma* unambiguously indicate that there were only two baskets; *ikàtàm lÓmin àfON* and *ikàtàm amma àfON* are ambiguous: there may have been only two baskets, or there may have been more. In longer combinations, one has the impression that the numeral is set off by pauses:

bÈÈ lÓmin amma, àfON, ba-kkú kE ÈttO ‘two of these my children are in the house’

Of the other combinations, possessive-adjective, determiner-adjective, and determiner-possessive seem less preferred than the reverse orders:

?*ikàtàm lÓmin èbbyo* ‘my black basket’
 ?*ikàtàm amma èbbyo* ‘this black basket’
 ?*ikàtàm amma lÓmin* ‘this basket of mine’

As seen, there may be exceptions to the unmarked order, Adjective-Numeral-Possessor-Determiner. In particular, as soon as three or more modifiers occur in a noun phrase, the generalizations seem to fall apart. Thus, the following are all acceptable for ‘this black basket of mine’:

<i>ikàtàm èbbyo lÓmin amma</i>	<i>ikàtàm èbbyo amma lÓmin</i>
<i>ikàtàm lÓmin èbbyo amma</i>	<i>ikàtàm lÓmin amma èbbyo</i>
<i>ikàtàm amma èbbyo lÓmin</i>	<i>ikàtàm amma lÓmin èbbyo</i>

Although the noun phrase becomes a bit unwieldy, the ordering possibilities become even greater when all four modifiers co-occur. It is likely, therefore, that the noun phrase can be broken up, with some of the elements acquiring semi-autonomy, as if to mean ‘basket my big-one’ or ‘basket this mine’ etc.

In addition to the above, multiples of the same type of modifier may occur in the following situations:

Adjectives may occur in strings, with a possible scope relation:

<i>gEvÈÈ èbbyo èdzúbbì</i> ‘cold, black pear’	<i>wàdum ÈfÉIÈ ÈdO</i> ‘short, light man’
<i>gEvÈÈ èdzúbbì èbbyo</i> ‘black, cold pear’	<i>wàdum ÈdO ÈfÉIÈ</i> ‘light, short man’

As seen, there appears to be no fixed order, rather there is the potential for different scope relations between the adjectives.

The definite determiners *sÉ* and *ákE* may also co-occur with demonstratives:

<i>ikàtàm sÉ amma</i>	<i>ikàtàm ákE amma</i>	‘this particular basket’
<i>ikàtàm amma sÉ</i>	<i>ikàtàm amma ákE</i>	

In both cases the meaning is ‘this particular or specific basket’, e.g. the one we were talking about.

It is, however, the recursivity of possessives that creates particularly complex and varied noun phrase structures. Strings of associative constructions are possible in Legbó:

<i>`NNwÈnÈ a wàÉ a wàdum</i>	‘book of child of man’
<i>ikàtàm a bákkà a bànO</i>	‘baskets of siblings of women’

The associative tone rule raising a L prefix to M (and a following M stem to H) can apply to either or both nouns in multiple associatives:

`NNwÈnÈ a edúúm a gwànO 'book of husband of woman' (èduum 'husband')
 ikàtàm a acècèna a Eváál 'baskets of guests of chief' (àcècèna 'guests', Évaal 'chief')

In the preferred order, the associative N2 comes in the possessive position, hence following an adjective or numeral:

`NNwÈnÈ èbbyo a wàÉ 'black book of child'
 `NNwÈnÈ àfON a wàÉ 'two books of child'

However, because of the possibility of ambiguity, a determiner on the N1 will come before the N2:

`NNwÈnÈ amma a wàÉ 'this book of child'
 `NNwÈnÈ a wàÉ amma 'book of this child'

Either or any noun in association may be modified:

ikàtàm èbbyo a allà amma 'black basket of this servant'
 gEvÈÈ ÈIÒkkÒ a bÈÈ àttan 'rotten pears of three children'

In certain cases one can also have a modifier on N1 that follows N2, particularly if the number agreement makes the meaning clear: `NNwÈnÈ a wàÉ àfON 'two books of a child', bÈÈ a gwànO àbEmma 'these children of a woman'.

In addition, a possessor may appear, typically in the last associated noun phrase:

ikàtàm a allà IÓmin 'baskets of my servants'
 ÈttO a eyòò NgwÓ 'house of your friend'
 gÈbOO a Ellà sÉ 'arm of his servant'

Special constructions involving ndisa 'picture, photograph' and a containers, e.g. àmòò 'jug, cup' can take a possessive pronoun on N1, followed by N2:

ndisa IÓmin a wàÉ sÉ 'my picture of the child'
 àmòò sÓ a atù 'your jug of wine'

The first sentence above is actually ambiguous: it can also mean 'the child's picture of me'. When both are associative nouns, the inner one tends to be interpreted as within the picture: ndisa a icéji a wàÉ sÉ 'the child's picture of Icheji' vs. ndisa a wàÉ sÉ a icéji 'Icheji's picture of the child'.

The gerund (§XX) and its complement may also be completed by a possessive pronoun or associative construction. Both of two orders are possible:

gèdzé IÓmin gÈwàànÈ EÈ dzai 'my cooking yams is not good'
 gèdzé gÈwàànÈ IÓmin EÈ dzai
 gèdzé gÈwàànÈ a wàÉ sÉ EÈ dzai 'the child's cooking yams is not good'
 gèdzé a wàÉ sÉ gÈwàànÈ EÈ dzai

In the above cases the possessive pronoun or associative noun phrase describes the agent of the action. It is also possible for an associative to represent either a benefactive or a possessor, the latter particularly when the object is inherently relation (e.g. a kinship term or body part):

gÈbOO IÓmin gÈppÈIÈ EÈ dzai	‘breaking my arm isn’t good’
wákkà a wàÉ sÉ gèduÈ EÈ dzai	‘beating the child’s sibling isn’t good’

The above complex forms involve one noun phrase embedded within another. Full noun phrases may be coordinated by means of the conjunction bele ‘and’:

lídzil bele àsi	‘food and water’
gèdzé bele genyédze	‘yams and plantains’
wàdum bele gwànO	‘a man and woman’

Each coordinate may be modified at will: ikàtàm èbbyo èbbyo bele ákkpaN èkoola èkoola ‘black baskets and red plates’, bàdum àzen bele bànO dzÓ ‘five men and ten women’.

When more than two noun phrases are coordinated, bele appears only between the last two:

bàdum, bànO, bele bÈÉ bá-kkú mmE	‘men, women and children were there’
n-dzi ìlààsi, genyédze, bele gèdzé	‘I ate rice, plantains, and yams’

In case the coordinates are animate, bìi may occur before the first noun phrase to indicate plurality:

bìi bàdum bele bànO	‘men and women’
bìi dzè bele ítóbo	‘crocodiles and monkeys’
bìi lizol bele `ndòdòwÉ	‘birds and insects’

One cannot use bìi if either one or both of the conjuncts is inanimate: *bìi Èvva bele gÈkO ‘dogs and bones’, *bìi lídzil bele àsi ‘food and water’,

An alternative to bele is Ètàì ‘and’, a frozen consecutivized form of the verb ta ‘to contribute’: lídzil Ètàì àsi ‘food and water’, (bìi) bàdum Ètàì bànO ‘men and women’.

As an alternative to the compounding of pronouns (§3.6), pronouns may also be conjoined with bele or Ètàì. There does not appear to be any preferred order: àmin bele àwO ‘me and you’, àwO bele àmin ‘you and me’, àman bele àbE ‘us and them’, àbE bele àman ‘them and us’, etc. It does not seem quite correct to use bìi with pronouns (??bìi àmin bele àwo) or demonstratives, even if the latter unambiguously refer to animates: (??bìi) àbEmma bele àbÈmmE ‘these and those’.

Both bele and ètàì may be used to conjoin adjectives as well: e-de èbbyo bele èdzúbbì ‘it is black and cold’, e-de kkoNN Ètàì kkaNN ‘he is big and strong’. One can also conjoin an adjective and an ideophone: e-de kkpÈmm bele èdzúbbì ‘it is black and cold.’

There is no general word for ‘or’ in Legbó statements. However, in questions tÓO ‘or’ can be used between diverse constituents from the sentence and verb phrase on down:

á-wèèl tÓO á sEN	‘will you come or go?’
á-dEEj gèdzé sÉ tÓO á sù-E	‘will you buy the yams or steal it?’
e-zee Èvva tÓO èbbi	‘did he see a dog or a goat?’
e-de èbbyo tÓO èggwénè	‘is it black or white?’

3.8. The irregular noun vvÓm

The noun vvÓm ‘thing, something’ is frequently used as an indefinite argument to the verb:

v̀vÓm EÈ-ttÓ	‘nothing fell’	(literally, something didn’t fall)
E-dzEIE v̀vÓm	‘he is wise’	(literally, he knows something)
e-sí-m v̀vÓm	‘I am injured’	(literally, it did me something)

Given its frequency, it is worthwhile to take note of its potential irregularities.

When followed by a possessive pronoun, there is both a regular and irregular form:

v̀vÓm lÓmin	v̀vÒ lÓmin	‘my thing’	v̀vÓm amán	v̀vàmán	‘our thing’
v̀vÓm sÓ	v̀vÈÈsÓ	‘your sg.’	v̀vÓm abO	v̀vàabO	‘your pl.’
v̀vÓm ayÉ	v̀vàayÉ	‘his/her’	v̀vÓm abE	v̀vàabE	‘their’

In the second form, the final [m] drops from v̀vÓm, and, instead of H, its tone becomes L. As also seen, the expected form v̀vÒ assimilates to the following a- of the possessive pronouns. The same assimilation is noted when a noun follows: v̀vÓm a wÈÈ ~ v̀vàa wÈÈ ‘a child’s thing’, v̀vÓm a iwà ~ v̀viiwà ‘a spirit’s thing’. [check with a CV- prefix: v̀vÓm a livÓl ‘a bird’s thing’ ~ ? (without a).

The form v̀vÈÈsÓ ‘your sg. thing’ is irregular in exactly the same way as the form v̀vÈÈsÉ ‘the thing’ (~ v̀vÓm sÉ). Both involve a H tone /É/ to which v̀vÒ assimilates. Where we expect determiner forms beginning with a-, we find both assimilation of v̀vÒ and shortening of the vowel before the following geminate consonant: [check tones of daa etc.] and plural

v̀vÓm amma	v̀vamma	‘this thing’	v̀vÓm ámmE	v̀vámme	‘that thing’
v̀vÓm adàa	v̀vādàa	‘other’	v̀vÓm ádde	v̀vādde	‘your pl.’
v̀vÓm annã	v̀vānnã	‘other’			

Compare also v̀vÓm ákE ~ v̀vàákE ‘that particular thing’, v̀vÓm awá ~ v̀vàawá ‘which thing’?

Finally, the second alternate is also used with adjectives and ideophones:

v̀vÓm (è)bbyo	v̀vÒbbyo	v̀vÓm kkpÈmm	v̀vÒ kkpÈmm	‘black thing’
v̀vÓm (è)koola	v̀vÒ koola	v̀vÓm ttòò	v̀vÒ ttòò	‘red thing’

One cannot use the adjectival prefix è-, however, if the allomorph v̀vÒ appears before an adjective: *v̀vÒ èbbyo, *v̀vÒ èkoola.

Only the full form is used as the subject of a main clause: v̀vÓm E-ttÓ ‘something fell’ (*v̀vÒ E-ttÓ). However, both alternates are possible when v̀vÓm is relativized:

v̀vÓm awO È-ttÒ	‘something which fell’
v̀vÒ awO È-ttÒ	[v̀vÒttÒ]
v̀vÓm awO a wàdum É dÈÈi	‘something which the man bought’
v̀vÒ awO a wàdum É dÈÈi	[v̀vàa wàdum...]

This suggests that v̀vÒ can be used whenever it is modified by any element within the same noun phrase.