

**REDUPLICATION IN  
NOMINAL ATTRIBUTIVE  
MODIFIERS (NAM) IN ÒGÈ**

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# Structure of the talk

- Introduction
- NAM reduplication in Ògè
- NAM reduplication in Standard Yoruba (SY)
- Theory of labelling (Zeijlstra forthcoming)

# 1. Introduction, NAM in Ògè

(1) a. Ìkári áchọ hò.

DET cloth white

‘The cloth is white.’

a'. Ìkari ópú sìn.

DET dog black

‘The dog is black.’

b. ìkári í-hò-hò áchọ

DET NML-white-white cloth

‘the white cloth’

b'. ìkári í-sìn-sìn ópú

DET NML-black-black dog

‘the black dog’

# Introduction, NAM in Standard Yoruba

(2) a.        **Aso gbó.**

cloth    old

‘cloth is old.’

a’.        **Ilé ga.**

house tall

‘house is tall.’

b.        **aso gbí-gbó**

cloth    NML-old

‘an old cloth’

b’.        **ilé        gí-ga**

house    NML-tall

‘a tall house’

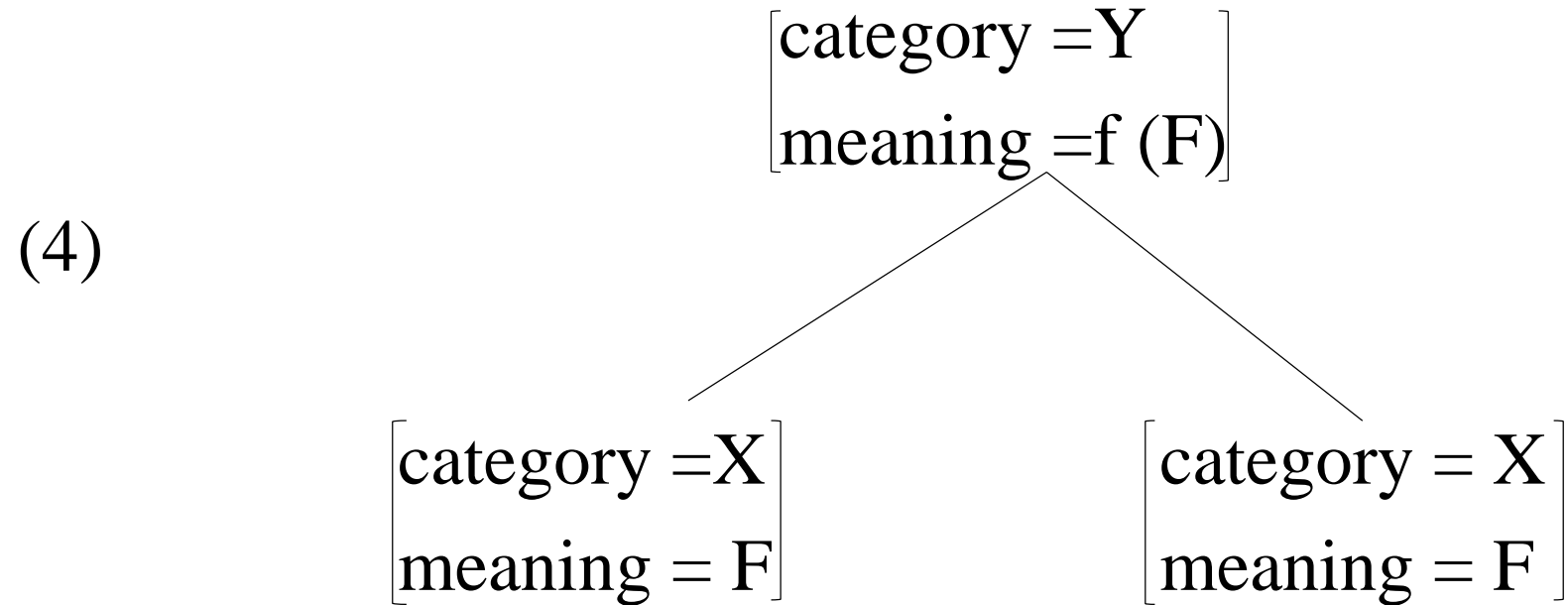
## 2. The nature of NAM reduplication in Ògè

	(3)	Base	Red	Gloss
a.		hò	hò-hò	‘white’
b.		sìn	sìn-sìn	‘black’
c.		chọ	chọ-chọ	‘red’
d.		gọ	gọ-gọ	‘old’
e.		yẹn	yẹn-yẹn	‘sweet’
f.		tun	tun-tun	‘new’
g.		gò	gò-gò	‘dry’

### 3. Morphological Doubling Theory

- Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) (Inkelas and Zoll 2005)
- the inputs to a morphological doubling construction are morpho-semantically identical
- exactly two roots combine to form another category of word

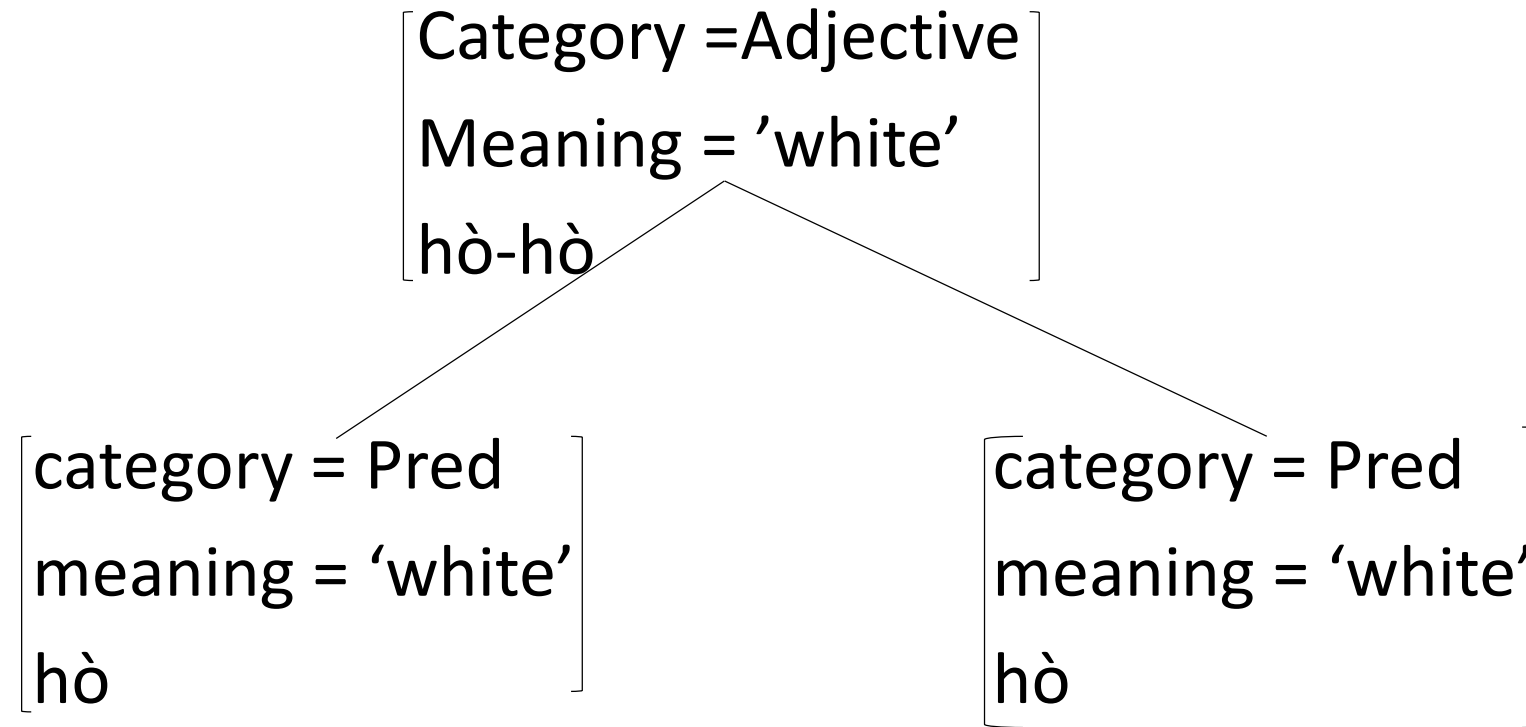
# Morphological doubling schema



Inkelas and Zoll (2005)

# Morphological derivation of NAM in Ògè

(5)





# Ògè NAM in predicative construction

(6) a. **Ìkàri áchọ hò.**  
DET cloth white  
‘The cloth is white.’

b. **\*Ìkàri áchọ hò-hò**  
DEM cloth white-white  
Int. ‘The cloth is white ‘

c. **Ìkàri ópú sìn**  
DET dog black  
‘The dog is black.’

d. **\*Ìkàri ópú sìn-sìn**  
DEM dog black-black  
Int. ‘The dog is black‘

# Notes on NAM in Ògè

- NAM in Ògè is fully reduplicated
- The reduplicated form is derived through compounding
- the base form of the reduplicant occurs in predicative constructions
- in attributive position, the modifier has to be nominalized with a derivational prefix [í]

## 4. Nominalization in Ògè

(7)	PF <sub>x</sub>	Base	Red	Gloss
a.	í-	hò	í-hòhò	‘white’
b.	í-	sìn	í-sìnsìn	‘black’
c.	í-	chọ	í-chọchọ	‘Red’
d.	í-	gọ	í-gọgọ	‘old’
e.	í-	yẹn	í-yẹnyẹn	‘sweet’
f.	í-	tun	í-tuntun	‘new’
g.	í-	gò	í-gògò	‘dry’

# Nominalization in Ògè

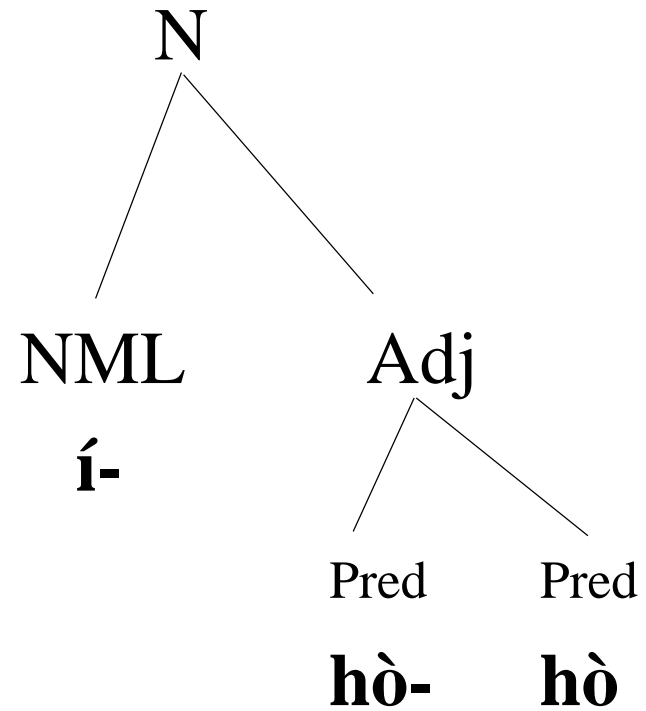
(8)	Ògè	Gloss	Ògè	Gloss
a.	pù	‘kill’	íne-    í-    pù-ẹne	‘murderer/killer’
			person-NML-kill-person	
b.	chẹ	‘sweep’	íne-    í-    chẹ-éshín	‘sweeper’
			person-NML-sweep-floor/ground	

**Verbs are also prefixed with the high toned vowel [í] when they are in gerundive form;**

(9)	Ògè	Gloss	Ògè	Gloss
a.	gwuọ	‘drink’	í-gwuọ	‘drinking’
b.	pu	‘kill’	í-pu	‘killing’
c.	va	‘come’	í-va	‘coming’

# Internal structure of Ògè NAM.

(10)



# Notes

- verbs are prefixed with [í] when in gerundive form
- NML is the head of the NAM
- NAM is a noun in Ògè
- NAM can occur in isolation in the DP without the noun it modifies

# NAM IN ISOLATION

(11) a. **Sade dà í-chọchọ.**

Sade buy NML-red

‘Sade bought the red one.’

b. **Bose ju í-yẹnỵen.**

Bose eat NML-sweet/delicious

‘Bose ate the sweet one.’



## 5. Functional Properties of NAM in Ògè

- (12) a. **íkáři í-hò-hò áchọ** a'. **ìkári í-sìn-sìn ópú**  
DET NML-white-white cloth DET NML-black-black dog  
'the white cloth' 'the black dog'
- b. **íkáři í-chò-chò áchọ** b'. **ìkári í-gọ-gọ ópú**  
DET NML-red-red cloth DET NML-old-old dog  
'the red cloth' 'the old dog'

# Functional Properties of NAM in Ògè

(13) a. **\*íkári hò áchọ**  
DET white cloth  
Int. ‘the white cloth’

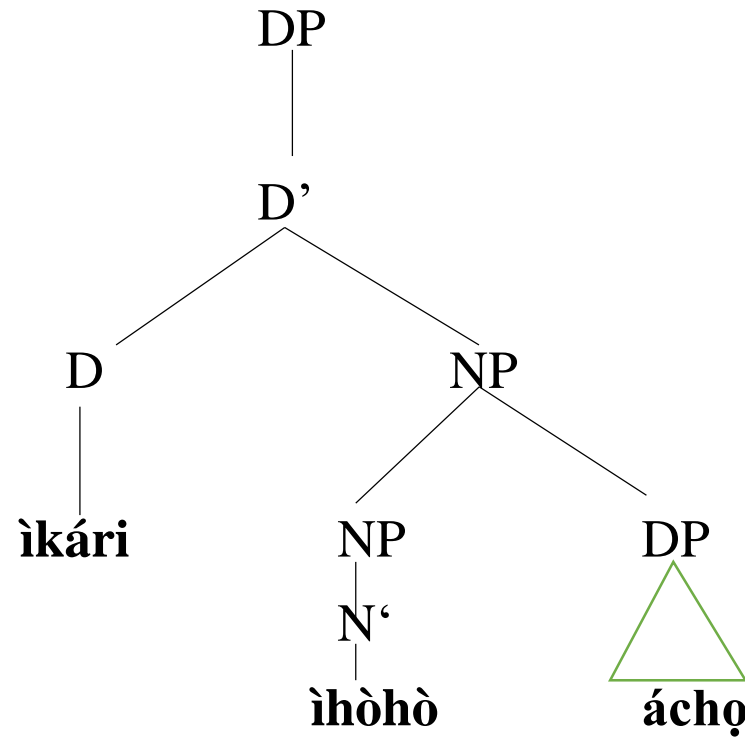
b. **\*íkári í-hò áchọ**  
DET NML-white cloth  
Int. ‘the white cloth’

a'. **\*ìkari sìn ópú**  
DET black dog  
Int. ‘the black dog’

b'. **\*ìkari í-sìn ópú**  
DET NML-black dog  
Int. ‘the black dog’

# Structure of NAM as a complex NP.

(14)



# Notes on functional properties of reduplicated form

- the base form cannot be used attributively (**13a&a'**)
- monosyllabic adjectival predicates are derived to attributive modifiers

# Summary:

- the two inputs to a morphological doubling (reduplication) are morpho-semantically identical. (Inkelas & Zoll 2005, Inkelas 2008)
- no uniformity in the semantic function associated with the output of morphological doubling.
- NAM in Ògè is restricted to the pre-nominal position.

# NAM Reduplication in Standard Yorùbá (SY)

(15) a. **asọ gbí-gbó**

cloth NML-old

‘an old cloth’

a'. **ilé gí-ga**

house NML-tall

‘a tall house’

b. **ọ̀nà fí-fe**

street NML-wide

‘a wide street’

b'. **gànga jí-jìn**

well NML-deep

‘a deep well’

## 6. Nature of NAM Reduplication in SY

(16)	Base	Red	Gloss
a.	gbó	gbí-gbó	‘old, being old’
b.	ga	gí-ga	‘tall, being tall’
c.	gbẹ	gbí-gbẹ	‘dry, being dry’
d.	fẹ	fí-fẹ	‘large, being large’
e.	jìn	jí-jìn	‘deep, being large’

The reduplicated form is derived by the affix of a [Cí] prefix to the base.

# Predicate cleft constructions in SY

(17) a.    **Pí-pa        ni        Sade pa    ejò.**  
          NML-kill FOC Sade kill snake  
          ‘Sade [FOCUS killed] the snake.’

          b.    **Gbí-gbó    ti        asọ gbó dùn mi.**  
              NML-old REL cloth old hurt 1SG  
              ‘The fact that the cloth is old hurt me.’

- only nominal expressions can front



# Base form of NAM in Predicate constructions in SY

(18) a. **Aso yẹn gbó.**

cloth DEM old

‘That cloth is old.’

a'. **Ile mi fe.**

land 1SG large

‘My land is large.’

b. **Ilé yíí ga.**

house DEM tall

‘This house is tall.’

b'. **Eja naa gbẹ.**

fish DET dry

‘The fish is dry.’

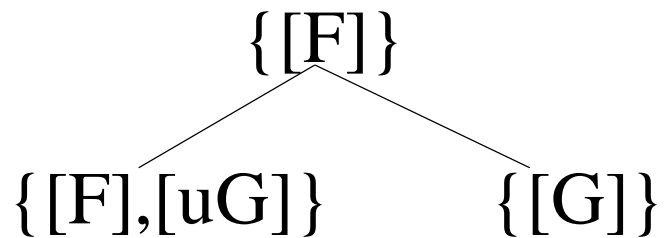
# Summary

- NAM in SY are partially reduplicated (although, this is not exhaustive)
- the reduplicated form is derived by the affix of a [Cí] prefix to the base, where the ‘C’ is a copy of the first consonant of the base form followed by the fixed high toned vowel [í] (Pulleyblank 2008)
- the base form of NAM has a restricted distribution which is post-N position and in predicate constructions
- NAM in SY are nominal expressions (Welmers 1973, Awobuluyi 1978, Ilori 2006).

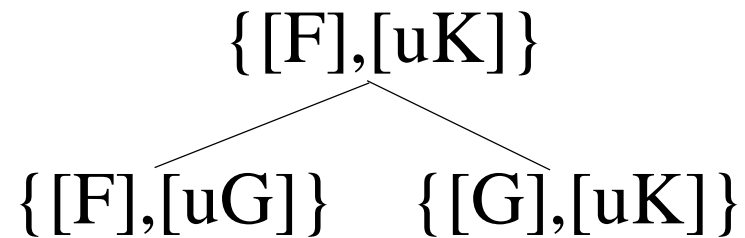
# Projection by selection approach

Rule 1: If  $\alpha$  merges with  $\beta$ , and  $\alpha$  carries a feature  $[uX]$  and  $\beta$  carries a matching independent feature  $[X]$ , neither  $[uX]$  on  $\alpha$  nor  $[X]$  on  $\beta$  percolates; all features that do not stand in such an  $[X]$ - $[uX]$  sisterhood relation do percolate (Zeijlstra, forthcoming)

(19) a.



b.



# Projection by selection approach

- Rule 2:  $\alpha$  merges with  $\beta$  iff at least one featural dependency is resolved as a result of this merger (Zeijlstra, forthcoming)

# DP-internal selection in Dutch

(20) a. **Het mooi-e huis/ Een mooi-Ø huis**

The beautiful-DEF.SG.NEUT house/

A beautiful-INDEF.SG.NEUT house

‘A / the beautiful house.’

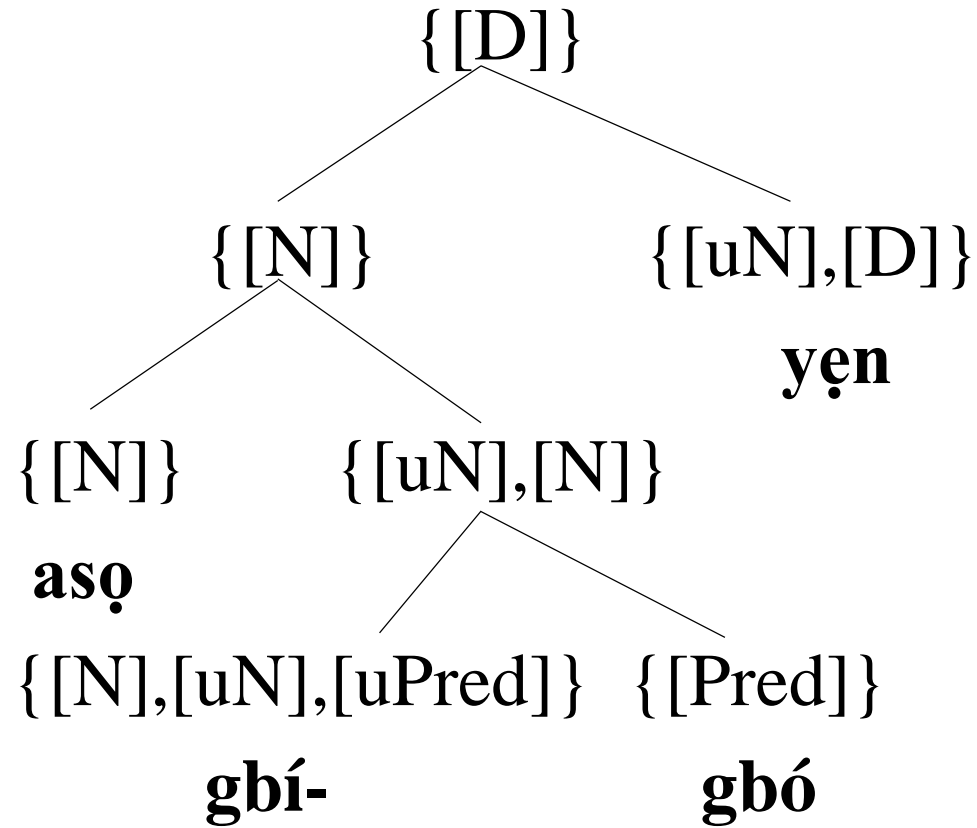
b. **Het / een huis is mooi\*(-e)**

The / a house is beautiful

‘The / a house is beautiful’

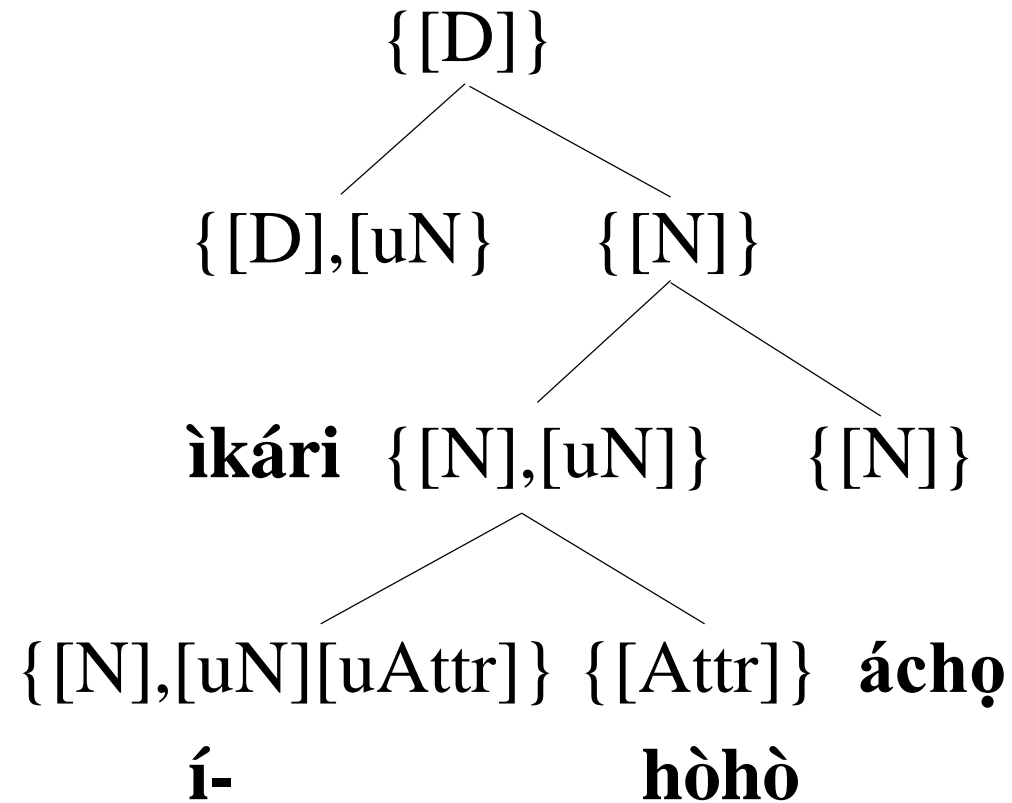
# DP-internal selection in NAM in SY

(21)



# DP-internal selection in NAM in Ògè

(22)



# Syntactic assumptions

all features have been reduced to categorical features, percolation lines are nothing but percolations of interpretable (or independent) features



# Syntactic assumptions

- the prefix [í] is underlyingly feature set {[N],[uN],[uAttr]}
- the prefix [gbí] is feature set {[N],[uN],[uPred]}
- the base form of the reduplicated NAM in SY is feature set {[Pred]} while the base form of the reduplicated NAM in Òge is feature set {[Attr]}
- the prefix [í] & [Cí] are the head of the reduplicated NAM whose feature must percolates up in the derivation

# Summary and Conclusion

- ❖ in both languages, NAM is derived from predicatively used adjectives
- ❖ prefix [í] in Ògè derives fully reduplicated predicates into nominal modifiers

# ÒGÈ KINGDOM





# FIELD TRIP TO ÒGÈ



1/16/2018

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