



Nominal Modification in Dijim

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Overview

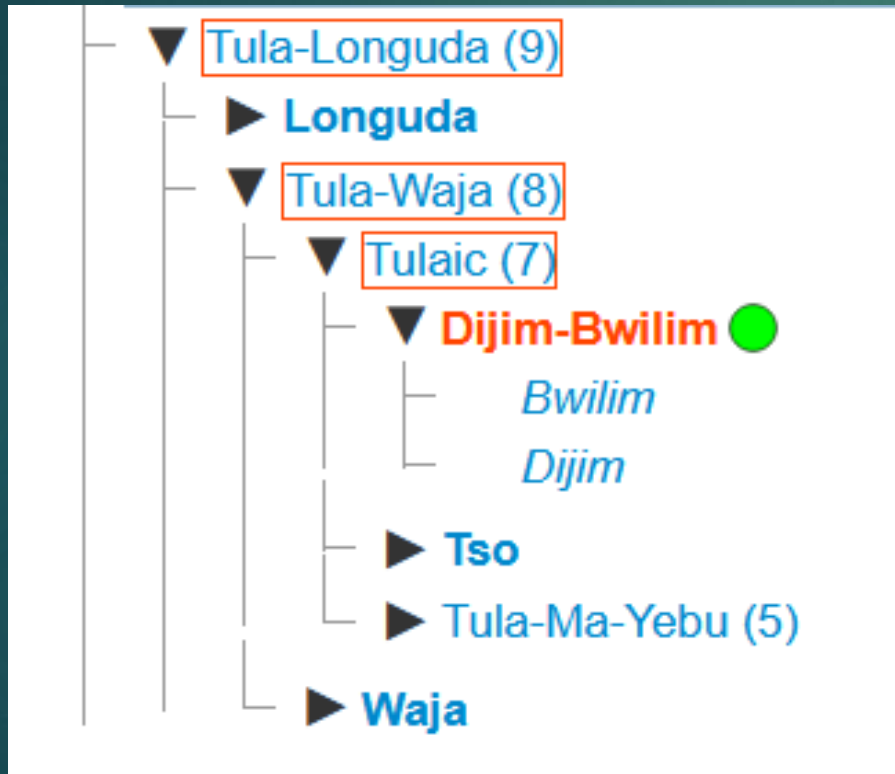
Overview:

Introduction:

- ▶ Classification
- ▶ Location
- ▶ Nominal modification
 - ▶ Structure of NP
 - ▶ N + N, N + NUM, N + DEM
 - ▶ Relative clauses
 - ▶ NP and tones

Introduction: classification

- ▶ Dijim is a Niger-Congo language of the Tula-Waja group:

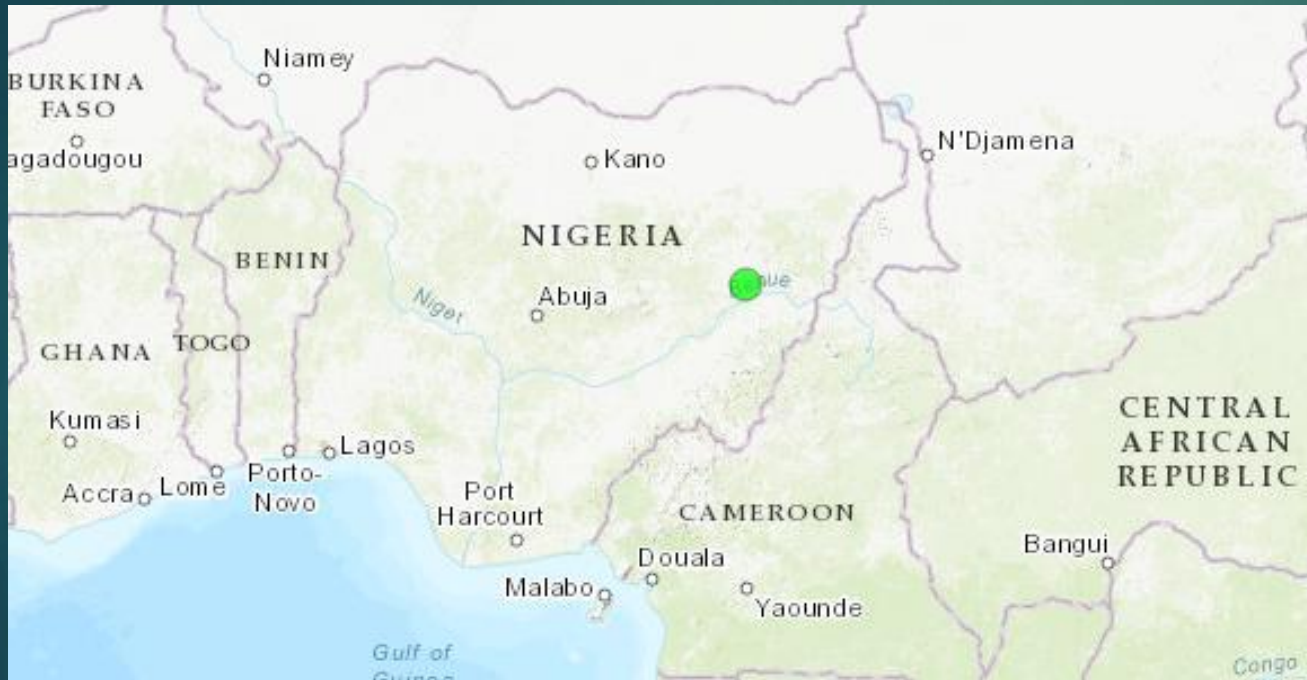


- AdaGram (Van de Velde & Idiatov) : grammar and documentation of Adamawa languages around the Benue River Valley.

Glottolog 4.6 (based on Kleinewillinghöfer 2014)

Introduction: location

- ▶ Dijim is spoken around the Benue River Valley on the border of Gombe and Adamawa states in the north-east of Nigeria.



- Dijim is spoken in:
- Mwana (Tari) – Adamawa State
- Cham (Kindiyo) – Gombe State
- Mona (Bwilim) – Gombe State

Introduction: nominal modification

- ▶ Dijim nouns can be modified by nouns, relative clauses, possessive pronominals, numerals, demonstratives, definite marker *h* and quantifiers.
- ▶ Most of the modifiers follow the head: [HEAD + MODIFIER].
- ▶ Only the quantifier *àgí* ‘some’ comes before the head: [àgí + HEAD]

Introduction: the structure of NP

- ▶ The maximum structure of a noun phrase comprises:

[HEAD + (LK) + (LK) + REL + (LK) + NUM + GEN + N]

- (1) dùn-tè (t-é) t-é ↓kútá-í t-é sù t-à nìdw-í
 bull-T T-DEM T-LK be.big-T T-LK two T-GEN chief-T
 ‘these two big eggs of the chief’

Note: The use of demonstrative is optional in the presence of a linker.

Introduction: nominal modification

- ▶ Nominal modifiers agree with their head nouns in gender. Nouns and relative clauses modifying a noun, show double agreement:
 - ▶ An agreement prefix on a linking element
 - ▶ A final agreement suffix on the modifiers.

(2) b̀̀bwé:-ŋ k-ó ↓yúlúw-úŋ
 locus.bean-K K-LK be.black-K
 ‘a locust bean tree that is black’

Introduction: demonstratives

▶ The stem of the demonstrative modifier is *é:* ‘this’.

▶ Proximal: *é:* ‘this’

(3) *kəlè:* *w-é:*
 bird.W W-PROX.DEM
 ‘this bird’

▶ The stem of the demonstrative *é:* can take one or more distal suffix(es).

(4) *kəlè:* *w-é:-r é:*
 bird.W W-DEM-DEM
 ‘that crocodile’

Introduction: demonstratives

- ▶ Both forms of the noun for thing, *dʒí* ‘thing’ and *nú* ‘thing’ use a special stem *ú*: ‘this’.

(5)	<i>nù</i>	<i>w-ú</i>	(6)	<i>dʒì</i>	<i>w-ú</i>
	thing.W	W-DEM.PROX		thing.W	W-DEM.PROX
	‘this thing’			‘this thing’	

- ▶ The stem of the demonstrative *ú* can take one or more distal suffix(es).

(7)	<i>nù</i>	<i>w-úré</i>	(8)	<i>dʒì</i>	<i>w-úré</i>
	thing.W	W-DEM.DIST		thing.W	W-DEM.DIST
	‘that thing’			‘that thing’	

Introduction: numerals

- ▶ Cardinal Numeral ‘one’ has two forms: *kwan* and *in*.
 - ▶ The form *kwán* only occurs with gender W, while *in* occurs elsewhere and agrees with the gender of the head noun.

(9) kùlò:ŋ k-ín
 crocodile.K K-one
 ‘one crocodile’

(10) gènó: kwán
 elephant-W one
 ‘one elephant’

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Introduction: numerals

- ▶ Cardinal numerals greater than one can be placed in the same class as relative clauses that are introduced by a \varnothing linker
- ▶ Cardinal numerals differ from relative clauses because they do not take agreement suffixes.

(11) kùlò:n-tè t-é ↓yúlúw-í
 crocodile-T T-LK be.black-T
 ‘crocodiles that are black’

(12) kùlò:n-tè t-é sù
 crocodile-T T-LK two
 ‘two crocodiles’

Introduction: genitive construction

- ▶ Nouns can modify a noun in a genitive construction.
- ▶ Genitive construction is marked by the genitive linker *á* which is placed between the head and modifier.
 - ▶ The genitive linker agrees with the gender of the head noun.

(13) hòtò-r d-á ↓díǰím-én

hyena-D D-GEN Dijim-D

‘hyena of Dijim’

Relative construction

- ▶ Dijim has two relative clauses introduced by :
 - ▶ Type 1: by means of the marker $\vartheta \sim \vartheta n$ and a final gender agreement suffix.
 - ▶ Type 2: a number agreement suffix on the verb of a relative clause. It agrees with the head noun in number. The type of construction **does not have the relativizer ϑ and the final gender agreement suffix.**

Type 1 and gender W

- ▶ Type 1 has an exception:
 - ▶ The relative linker does not occur with nouns in gender W
 - ▶ Only a final gender agreement suffix.

(14) kà:r-í ↓yúlúw-í
 g.monkey-W be.black-W
 ‘a monkey that is black’

(15) b̀̀bwé:-η k-ó ↓yúlúw-úη
 locus.bean-K K-LK be.black-K
 ‘a locust bean tree that is black’

Accessibility

- ▶ Relativized noun phrase can function as the subject and object.
- ▶ Example (16) contains a main clause with a subject and object.

(16) **nèb** h-óm k-à-dǝú **kùlónɿ** rè dámár
 people.B DEF-B AFF-3S-kill.PST crocodile with stick
 ‘the people killed a crocodile with a stick’

Accessibility

- Example (17) shows a relativised subject of a clause.

(17) *nèb b-é múktè kùlòŋ-əm rə dámár-əm, k-à yú núté*
 people.B B-LK kill crocodile-B with stick-B AFF-3P give.PST gifts

‘the people [who killed the crocodile] received a reward’

- Example (18) shows a relativised object.

(18) *kùlòŋ k-é nèb b-é múkté-ŋ kè-n nwí bèrà*
 crocodile.K K-LK people.B B-LK kill-K AFF-3S sell.PST because

nàm-tə t-á ñg-ú nèn nòŋ k-á ŋg-əŋ
 animal.T T-POSS 3S.POSS CONJ skin.K K-POSS 3S-K

‘The crocodile [that the people killed with a stick] was sold for its meat and skin’

Strategies for RC [type 1]

- ▶ by means of the marker $\vartheta \sim \vartheta n$ and a final gender agreement suffix.
- ▶ The relativizer $\vartheta \sim \vartheta n$ follows the head noun. A gender agreement marker occurs on the relativizer and at the end of a relative clause, see (19) and (20).

(19) $n\grave{e}b$ $b\text{-}\acute{o}n$ $\downarrow y\acute{u}l\acute{u}w\text{-}\acute{u}m$ $k\text{-}\grave{a}\text{-}b\acute{u}t\acute{e}r\acute{o}$ $r\grave{e}$ $bw\acute{a}t\acute{e}:$
 people-B B-LK be.black-B AFF-3S-die.PST with sickness
 ‘the women who are black, died of sickness’

Strategies for RC [type 1]

- (20) nèb b-é ↓yúlúw-úm k-à-bútóró rè bwáté:
 people-B B-LK be.black-B AFF-3S-die.PST with sickness
 ‘the people who are black, died of sickness’

Note:

- ▶ the form *-ən* is used by the older people
- ▶ the form *-ə* mostly used by the younger ones

Strategies for RC [type 2]

- ▶ Type 2: a number agreement suffix on the verb of a relative clause. It agrees with the head noun in number. The type of construction does not have the relativizer \varnothing and the final gender agreement suffix, but rather takes a number agreement suffix: *-gU* ‘SG’ and *-lgi* ‘PL’

(21) rìy-àŋ kútá:-gú k-à-yár
 tree-K be.big-SG AFF-3S-fall.PST
 ‘the tree that is big, fell’

(22) rì-tè kútá:-ígí k-à-yár-á
 tree-T be.big-PL AFF-3S-fall.PST-PLUR
 ‘the trees that are big, fell’

Semantic classes

- The set of verbs which occur with the type 3 number markers express property concepts and they can be classified into Dixon's (2010) semantic types as follows:

(23)	(a)	ńá-gú/ńá-ígí	'be good (SG/PL)'	VALUE
	(b)	bwí-gú/bwí-ígí	'be bad (SG/PL)'	
	(c)	fí-gú/fí-ígí	'be new (SG/PL)'	AGE
	(d)	kùtá-gú/kùtá-ígí	'be big (SG/PL)'	DIMENSION
	(e)	kúsí-gú/kúsí-ígí	'be dry '(SG/PL)'	PHYSICAL PROPERTY

The relative linker \varnothing

► The relative linker \varnothing

- The relative linker may have been grammaticized from the proximal demonstrative \acute{e} :
- In non clause final position, the proximal demonstrative is reduced to \varnothing .

(24) rìy-àŋ k-ó ↓kútâ:-ŋ k-à-kórá
 tree-K K-DEM.PROX be.big-K AFF-3SG.SBJ-break.PST
 ‘this big tree is broken’

(25) rìy-àŋ k-ó ↓kútâ:-ŋ k-à-kórá
 treeK K-LK be.big-K AFF-3SG.SBJ-break.PST
 ‘the tree that is big, is broken’

NP and tones

- ▶ Head nouns in noun phrases can be classified into two tonal classes according to their tonal behaviours in NP:
 - ▶ Type 1: changes tones to LL
 - ▶ Type 2: no tonal changes
 - ▶ Suffixes in NP seem to assimilate or dissimilate the tones of a preceding syllable with some exceptions.

(26)	No changes		Changes	
a.	hòtór	‘hyena’	bwíntâr	‘lizard’
b.	hòtó(r) dá ↓díǰímón	‘Dijim’s hyena’	bwìntà(r) dá níyèn	‘a man’s lizard’
c.	hòtór dé:	‘this hyena’	bwìntàr dé:	‘this lizard’
d.	hòtó(r) dá ↓yúlúwún	‘black hyena’	bwìntà(r) dá ↓yúlúwún	‘black lizard’
e.	hòtó(r) dín	‘one hyena’	bwìntàr dîn	‘one lizard’

Merci!