

ALÓRE

Vol. 16, 2006



ILORIN
JOURNAL
OF THE
HUMANITIES

ISSN 0794-455

ALÓRE-ILORIN JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES

Vol. 16, 2006

ALÓRE

Ilorin Journal of the Humanities
is published through the generous
endowment by Mr. Jan Bakker,
A Dutch Philanthropist with Business
connections in Nigeria.

Focus: Critical Perspectives on a Female Voice from Northern Nigeria.

Rowbotham, S. (1992). *Women in Movement: Feminism and Social Action* (New York: Routledge).

Sofola, Z. (1972). *The Wedlock of the Gods*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers.

Taiwo, O. (1984). *Female Novelists of Modern Africa*. London: Macmillan.

Udenta, U.O. (1993). *Revolutionary Aesthetics and the African Literary Process*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publisher.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF REDUPLICATION IN HAUSA AND STANDARD YORUBA

Bolanle Elizabeth Arokoyo

Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

Introduction

Hausa

is one of the three major languages spoken in Nigeria and it is one of the most widely spoken languages in Africa. According to Frank (1999:1), "territorially, Hausa land comprises an enormous area of that part of the western Sahel which lies adjacent to the Lake Chad Basin." Standard Yoruba is also one of the three major languages spoken in Nigeria. Yoruba speaking states in Nigeria include Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Ekiti, and Lagos among others.

Defining Reduplication

Reduplication is a common morphological process that most languages use in forming words. It occurs when a part or a whole word or phrase is repeated to form new words. Pei (1966:230) refers to reduplication as a morphological process whereby there is a repetition of a radical element or part of it, occurring usually at the beginning of a word, occasionally within the word. Here, the word 'radical' means the part of a derived word which is phonetically and semantically the vehicle of the basic meaning. Pei's definition has not taken into consideration reduplication at the end of the word.

Marantz (1982:437) defines reduplication as "a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation (or infixation) of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the base form". Reduplication,

according to Spencer (1991:13) involves adding material whose identity is partially or wholly determined by the base. Some part of the base is repeated, either to the left, or to the right, or occasionally in the middle. According to O'Grady and Guzman (1996:143), reduplication is a "common morphological process in certain languages which duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast."

Reduplication in Hausa and Standard Yoruba

Reduplication as a morphological process is used in the formation of new words. In this section, we will examine the types and structure of reduplication in the two languages under consideration.

Types of Reduplication

Distinction is made between full and partial reduplication. Total reduplication according to Oyeade (1992:87) involves total copying of the root words without tonal or stress differences while partial reduplication is the repetition of part of the word or phrase. Both types of reduplication are attested in the two languages as shown in the examples which follow:

1. Partial reduplication in Hausa

- | Base | Reduplicated Form |
|---------------------------|---|
| a. b̩̀gu
to hit | → b̩̀b+ b̩̀gu → b̩̀bb̩̀gu
hitting |
| b. kyawa
beauty | → kyak+kyawa → kyakkyawa
beautiful |
| c. z̩̀ng̩̀r̩̀e
to poke | → z̩̀ng̩̀r̩̀e +re → z̩̀ng̩̀r̩̀ere
poking |

2. Partial reduplication in Standard Yoruba

- | Base | Reduplicated Form |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. tà
to sell | → t+ í + tà → títà
Act of selling |

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| b. l̩̀ò
to use | → l + í + l̩̀ò → líl̩̀ò
Act of using |
|-------------------|---|

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| c. rà
to buy | → r + í + rà → rìrà
Act of buying |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|

3. Total Reduplication in Hausa

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| a. maza
quick | → maza+maza → mazamaza
quick quick quickly |
|------------------|---|

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| b. nawa
how | → nawa+nawa → nawanawa
how how how much |
|----------------|--|

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| c. kulun
daily | → kulun+kulun → kulunkulun
daily daily everyday |
|-------------------|--|

4. Total Reduplication in Standard Yoruba

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| a. dara
beautiful | → dara+dara → daradara
very beautiful |
|----------------------|--|

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| b. kíá
quick | → kíá +kíá → kíákíá
quick quick quickly |
|-----------------|--|

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| c. kánmò
fast | → kánmò+kánmò → kánmókánmò
fast fast very fast |
|------------------|---|

The Structure of Hausa and Standard Yoruba Reduplication

Reduplication occurs when a part or a whole word is repeated to form new words. The reduplicated form is attached to the base at different structural positions. In Hausa, the reduplicated form could be affixed at either the prefixal or suffixal positions while it could only be affixed at the prefixal position in Standard Yoruba. Derived words could be reduplicated in both languages.

The examples below indicate that the beginning or the end of the word could be copied and attached to the appropriate position in Hausa.

- 5. Base**
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|--------------------|---|-------------------|---|-----------------|
| a. bugu | → | bub+ bugu | → | bùbbùgu | → | hitting |
| b. kyawa | → | kyak+kyawa | → | kyakkyawa | → | beautiful |
| c. zingüre | → | zingüre +re | → | zingürrere | → | poking |
| d. shirme | → | shirme+ me | → | shirmeme | → | confused person |

Total reduplication could be divided into two in Hausa..

- i. The group that occurs without any change in the segment as exemplified in (6) below:

- 6.**
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------|
| a. maza | → | maza+maza | → | mazamaza | → | quick quick |
| b. nawa | → | nawa+nawa | → | navānawā | → | how how |
| c. kulun | → | kulun+kulun | → | kulunkulun | → | daily daily |
| d. wankè | → | wankè+wankè | → | wankèwankè | → | wash wash |

- ii. The group that occurs with change in the tonal segments and final vowel of the reduplicated segments can be shown as in (7) below:

- 7.**
- | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------|---|-----------------|---|-------------|
| a. turà | → | turà + turà | → | türètüre | → | push push |
| b. bugù | → | bugù + bugù | → | bùgèbùgè | → | hit hit |
| c. tabà | → | tabà + tabà | → | tàbètàbè | → | touch touch |

Reduplication here serves to mark a grammatical contrast

Yoruba language, according to Tinuoye (1991:6) attests only morphemal prefixation. This means that reduplicated segments are only copied word-initially i.e. to the left of the root. Only the initial consonant is reduplicated in Yoruba. This can be exemplified as in (8) below:

8. Partial Reduplication in Standard Yoruba

Base

Reduplicated Form

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------|---|-------------|---|---------|
| a. tà | → | t + í + tà | → | títà | → | selling |
| b. pa | → | p + í + pa | → | pípa | → | killing |
| c. ló | → | l + í + lò | → | lílò | → | using |
| d. rà | → | r + í + rà | → | rírà | → | buying |

9. Total Reduplication in Standard Yoruba

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|----------------------------|---|-------------------|---|--------------------|
| a. jagun | → | jagun + jagun | → | jagunjagun | → | warrior |
| b. wolé | → | woléwolé + woléwolé | → | woléwolé | → | sanitary inspector |

- c. kía → kía + kía → kíákíá
quick quick quickly
d. dárá → dárá + dárá → dáradára
beautiful beautiful very beautiful

Comparing Hausa and Standard Yoruba Reduplication

Language is universal. There are features that cut across both languages and there are differences. In this section, we will compare the linguistic features and the grammatical functions of reduplication in the two languages.

Linguistic Features

Tone

Both languages are tonal. In Yoruba, the tone is maintained in both total and partial reduplication while there is tone variation in Hausa. It should be noted that Standard Yoruba attests three tone levels while Hausa however attests two tone levels, high and low. The data in 10 and 11 below will exemplify this:

- 10. Yoruba**
- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| a. | dára
beautiful | → | dára + dárá
beautiful beautiful | → | dáradára
very beautiful |
| b. | fíó
high | → | fíó + fíó
high high | → | fíofíó
very high |
| c. | pá
kill | → | p + í + pá | → | pípá
killing |
| d. | lò
use | → | l + í + lò | → | lílò
using |
| e. | alé
night | → | alé + alé | → | alaalé
every night |
| f. | egbé
group | → | egbé + egbé | → | egbeegbe
every group |

- 11. Hausa**
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | turà → turà + turà → turétüre
push push pushing |
| b. | bugù → bugù + bugù → bugèbugè
hit hit hitting |
| c. | sántal → sántal + sántal → sántalsántal
tall tall tall, well built |
| d. | kyawa → kyák+kyawa → kyàkkyawa
beauty beauty beautiful |

Vowel -i- Insertion

In partial reduplication in Yoruba, only the initial consonant is duplicated and since the language does not permit consonant cluster or geminate consonants, epenthetic vowel 'i' is inserted to break up this cluster. It was noted that this vowel always comes with the high tone. The data below exemplifies this:

12. Base Reduplicated Form

- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | lò → l + í + lò → lílò
to use using |
| b. | bá → b + í + bá → bíbá
to meet meeting |
| c. | gbé → gb + í + gbé → gbígbé
to carry carrying |
| d. | kà → k + í + kà → kíká
to read reading |

Vowel-i insertion in reduplication is not attested in Hausa. This is simply because unlike Yoruba, where only initial consonants are reduplicated, syllables are reduplicated in Hausa.

Vowel Alternation

Full reduplication is divided into two types in Hausa. There is the one that occurs without any change in the segment and one that occurs with change in the final vowel of the reduplicated segments. The second type attests a kind of vowel alternation. These vowels function as grammatical markers.

- 13.
- | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|---|----------|----------|
| a. turà | → turà + turà | → | turètùre | pushing |
| b. bugù | → bugù + bugù | → | bùgèbùge | hitting |
| c. tabà | → tabà + tabà | → | tabètàbe | touching |
- to push to hit to touch

Vowel alternation is however not attested in Yoruba reduplication.

Geminate Consonants

At morpheme boundary in the case of partially reduplicated segments, geminate consonants are attested in Hausa.

- 14.
- | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|---|-----------|-----------|
| a. bugu | → bub + bugu | → | bubbùgu | hitting |
| b. kyawa | → kyàk + kyawa | → | kyàkkyawa | beautiful |
| c. karfi | → kak + karfa | → | kakkarfa | strong |
- to hit beauty strength

Geminate consonants are not attested in Yoruba neither do they occur at morpheme boundary

Words and Phrases

Only simple segments or words are reduplicated in Hausa while both words and phrases are reduplicated in Yoruba. Phrasal verbs are reduplicated as nouns in Yoruba.

- 15.
- | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---|------------|-----------------------|
| a. bo ojù | → bojù + bojù | → | bojúbojú | game of hide and seek |
| | | | " | " |
| b. mú ajá | → mǎjá + mǎjá | → | mǎjá mǎjá | road safety |
| | | | " | " |
| c. jè idí | → jǎdí + jǎdí | → | jǎdíjǎdí | pile |
| | | | " | " |
| d. gbé ọmọ | → gbómọ + gbómọ | → | gbómọgbómọ | kidnapper |
| | | | " | " |
- to cover face take dog eat buttocks carry child

Note that most of the words created would have to be learnt on their own merit since the meaning of the created word most often cannot be deduced from the meaning of the compounded base words.

Functions of Reduplication in Hausa and Standard Yoruba

Reduplication serves different purposes in languages. O'Grady and Guzman (1996:143) say reduplication marks a grammatical or semantic contrast. Some of the functions or roles that reduplication performs are examined below.

Noun Formation

Most nouns are derived in Standard Yoruba through reduplication but this is not the case in Hausa. Nouns are formed from verbs through partial reduplication i.e. the reduplication of the initial consonant of the verb e.g.

- 16. Verbs**
- a. jà → j+i ja → fighting
Nouns
- b. gé → g+i+gé → cutting
to cut
- c. rà → r+i+rà → buying
to buy
- d. gbé → gb+i+gbé → carrying
to carry

Another type is those derived by reduplicating entire verb phrase. This is exemplified below:

- 17. Verb Phrase**
- a. dārān → dārān+ dārān → habitual criminal
to commit a crime
- b. kólé → kólé + kólé → kólékólé
to rob a house
- c. wolé → wolé + wolé → woléwolé
to inspect a house
- d. jagun → jagun + jagun → jagunjagun
to fight a war

Formation of Adjectives

As mentioned earlier, the basic role that reduplication performs is the formation of words. Through reduplication adjectives are formed from nouns in Hausa. The data below will exemplify these.

- 18. Nouns**
- a. muni → mum+muna → ugly
ugliness
- b. karfi → kak+karfa → strong
strength
- c. kyau → kyak+kyawa → beautiful
beauty

Adjectives are however reduplicated from verbs in Standard Yoruba. This is exemplified with data (19) below:

- 19. Verbs**
- a. pe → p+i+pe → long
to be long
- b. padà → p+i+padà → changeable
to alter
- c. pòn → p+i+ pòn → ripe
to be ripe
- d. ràn → r+i+ràn → infectious
to be infecting

Formation of Adverbs

Some Yoruba adverbs are formed through reduplication. The first type of adverbs is derived from nouns and they express time. Here, either partial or full reduplication could be used as the case may be.

- Nouns**
- a. òru → òru + òru → every night
night
- b. osù → osù + osù → every month
month

Adverbs

- a. òròru → òròru
every night
- b. osòsù → osòsù
every month

- c. alé → alé + alé → alaale
night night night every night
- d. ojumo → ojumo + ojumo → ojoojumó
day day day every day

The second type is derived from verbs and adjectives. The data below exemplifies this:

21. Verbs Adverbs

- a. dogba → dogba + dogba → dogbadogba
to be equal " equal
- b. de → de + de → dede
soft soft soft soften
- c. kari → kari + kari → karikari
to go round " around

Adjectives

- d. dié → dié + dié → diédié
little little little by little

Adverbs

- e. fele → fele + fele → felefele
thin thin thin thinly

- f. gbefe → gbefe + gbefe → gbefegbefe
easy easy easy easily

Intensifier

Reduplicated segments may show the intensity of a particular action. This is attested in the reduplication of both Hausa and Standard Yoruba. It is achieved via full reduplication in both languages. The data below exemplify this:

22. Hausa

- a. maza → maza+maza → mazamaza
quick quick quick quickly
- b. kadan → kadan+kadan → kàdankàdan
little little little very little
- c. kulun → kulun+kulun → kulunkulun
daily daily daily everyday

23. Yoruba

- a. dara → dara + dara → aradara
beautiful beautiful very beautiful
- b. dié → dié + dié → diédié
slowly slowly slowly very slowly
- c. kía → kía + kía → kiakia
quick quick quick quickly
- d. kánmó → kánmó+kánmó → ánmókánmó
fast fast fast very fast

Degree

Another grammatical function that reduplication performs is to show 'degree'. This is noted with adverbs in Standard Yoruba and adjectives in Hausa. Examples in the two languages are indicated in (24) and (25) below:

24.

- a. dugbe → dugbe + dugbe → dugbedugbe
heavily heavily heavily in a drunken manner
- b. wéré → wéré + wéré → wéréwéré
quickly quickly quickly quickly, fast

- c. *boro* slimly → *boro+boro* → *boroboro* evasively
 d. *bute* easily → *bute + bute* → *butebute* frailly
- 25. Hausa**
 a. *santal* tall → *santal+santal* → *santalsantal* tall, well built
 b. *zungurum* beautiful → *zungurum + zungurum* → *zungurumzungurum* beautiful, sleek
 c. *gungun* thick → *gungun + gungun* → *gungungungun* thick tall
 d. *farkan* big → *farkan+farkan* → *farkanfarkan* big huge

Difference between Attributive and Predicative use of Adjectives

Another grammatical function that reduplication performs is to indicate the difference between attributive and predicative use of some adjectives.

- 26. Yoruba**
 a. *dara* beautiful → *dara + dara* → *daradara* very beautiful
 b. *buru* wicked → *bu+buru* → *buburu* wicked
 c. *dè* soft → *d+i + dè* → *dídè* ripen

Plural Marker

The plural of most abstract nouns in Hausa are formed via reduplication. The plural marker is also added. For example:

27.
 a. *tafiya* travel → *tafiye + tafiye* → *tafiye tafiye* travels
 b. *gyara* repair → *gyare + gyare* → *gyaregyare* repairs
 c. *rubutu* writing → *rubutu + rubutu* → *rubuce rubuce* writings
 d. *kira* call → *kiraye + kiraye* → *kiraye kiraye* calls
 "-ye and -e are plural markers in Hausa." This function of reduplication is not attested in Standard Yoruba.

Agreement Marker

Reduplication helps in marking agreement in Hausa but not in Yoruba. In Hausa, an adjective must agree with the noun it qualifies in both gender and number. This is marked via reduplication. The last syllable is reduplicated here. This is exemplified below:

28.
 a. *muni* ugliness → *mum+muna* → *muna+na* ugly (ones i.e. plural)
 b. *karfi* strength → *kak+karfa* → *karfa+fa* strong (ones)
 c. *kyau* beauty → *kyak+kyawa* → *kyawa+wa* beautiful (ones)

Lineage

Base nouns are reduplicated to indicate lineage in Yoruba. The data below exemplifies this:

29. Base Reduplicated Form

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| a. baba
father | → | baba + baba
father father | → | babababa
grandfather |
| b. iyá
mother | → | iyá + iyá
mother mother | → | iyáiyá
grandmother |
| c. ọmọ
child | → | ọmọ + ọmọ
child child | → | ọmọọmọ
grandchild |
| d. ẹgbà
elder | → | ẹgbà + ẹgbà
elder elder | → | ẹgbàẹgbà
elderly ones |

Quantifier

Quantifiers are derived through the reduplication of numerals in both languages.

30. Yoruba

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|----------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| a. mejì
two | → | mejì + mejì
two two | → | mejì mejì
two each |
| b. mejè
seven | → | mejè + mejè
seven seven | → | mejè mejè
seven each |
| c. marun
five | → | marun + marun
five five | → | marun marun
five each |

31. Hausa

- | | | | | |
|----------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| a. goma
ten | → | goma + goma
ten ten | → | goma goma
ten each |
|----------------|---|------------------------|---|-----------------------|

- | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| b. kwabo
one kobo | → | kwabo + kwabo
one kobo one kobo | → | kwabo kwabo
one kobo each |
| c. biyu
two | → | bib+biyu
two each | → | bibbiyu
two each |
| d. hurdu
four | → | hur + hurdu
four each | → | hurhudu
four each |

From the examples given above, we discovered that in Hausa both partial and full reduplication are used while only full is used in Yoruba.

Indicates individuality or Singleness

Reduplication is used to indicate individuality in Standard Yoruba. This is a case where the need to single out person or thing arises. It has the sense of 'each'. This is exemplified below:

32.

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|----------------------------|---|------------------------|
| a. ẹgbẹ
group | → | ẹgbẹ + ẹgbẹ
group group | → | ẹgbẹẹgbẹ
each group |
| b. ilé
house | → | ilé + ilé
house house | → | iléilé
each house |
| c. ẹgbà
elder | → | ẹgbà + ẹgbà
elder elder | → | ẹgbàẹgbà
each elder |

Conclusion

Reduplication is a very productive morphological process in Hausa and Standard Yoruba. The roles that reduplication plays in the two languages seem in-exhaustive. By carrying out a descriptive analysis of reduplication in Hausa and Standard Yoruba, we have been able to examine some features of reduplication peculiar to each of the languages. The features noted in the reduplicative processes of the two languages have a lot to do with the nature of the languages. For

example, Hausa, being a largely inflectional language would explain the presence of vowel alternation which is clearly absent in Standard Yoruba, a non-inflectional language.

We have been able to establish in this study that reduplication is a very important word formation process in Hausa and Standard Yoruba. It is highly productive in the two languages. Most of the words formed would also have to be learnt on their own merit. The most important feature of reduplication in the two languages is that it performs both inflectional and derivational functions in Hausa while it performs only derivational function in Standard Yoruba.

References

- Akinlabi, A.M. & E. E. Urua. (1996). "A prosodic account of reduplication in Ibibio". *Nigerian Language Studies: A Journal of the National Institute for Nigerian Languages* 4: 1-15.
- Diko, I. *Hausa* by T.V. Zaria: The Northern Nigeria Publishing Company Ltd.
- Frank, O. A. (1999). "Aspects of the morpho-phonology of Hausa language." An unpublished Long Essay submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ilorin.
- Lyons, J. (1968). *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Marantz, A. (1982). "Re: Reduplication." *Linguistic Enquiry* 13: 483-545.
- O'Grady, O. W. and V. P. de Guzman (1996). "Morphology: The analysis of word structure." In O'Grady, O. W., M. Dobrovolsky and F. Katamba (Eds.) *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. UK: Addison Longman Limited.
- Oyebade, F. (1992). "Phonology" In Ore Yusuf (Ed.) *Introduction to Linguistics*. Ilorin: University of Ilorin.
- Spencer, A. (1991). *Morphological Theory*. UK: Blackwell.
- Pet, M. A. (1966). *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*. New York: Garden City.
- Tinuoye, O. M. (1991). *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Yoruba Morphology*. Ibadan: Tafak Publications.
- Yusuf, O. (Ed.) (1992). *Introduction to Linguistics*. Ilorin: University of Ilorin.