

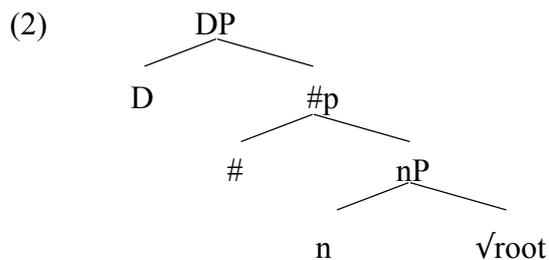
## Relabelling Adjunction: A modification analysis in Ògè

In this talk, I show that plural marking is not obligatory in Ògè because it lacks agreement; rather, it belongs to the group of languages that syntactically mark plural with the use of plural morphemes: *òtóchuru*, *uwo*, and *-rin* as shown in (1);

- |                            |             |                  |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| (1) a. Òtochúrú (ígé) éswé | b. úwó éswé | c. íghé uwan-rin |
| PL     DEM house           | PL   house  | DEM child+PL     |
| ,those houses'             | ,houses'    | ,these children' |

The distribution of the plural morphemes as indicated in (1) varies; *òtóchuru* have a wider position of occurrence because it can be followed optionally by the demonstrative in (1a); *uwo* is obligatorily followed by a noun while *-rin* is a 2nd person pronoun which is used to mark plural on a noun through suffixation.

Based on Wiltschko (2008)'s formal syntactic typology of plural marking sketched in (2); I argue that rather than a head in the nominal extended projection such as Num or Div(ision), which a standard pluralizer (e.g., English *-s*) realizes; the plural morphemes in Ògè are adjoined to the nP projection.



This is because nouns in Ògè show general number, which means when the plural morpheme is absent, there is no singular denoting feature present but I assume that when the plural morpheme is present, the modified noun bears a plural feature which must be valued by the plural feature on the plural morpheme. Following Zeijlstra (forthcoming), I assume that the plural morphemes in Ògè inherently have the feature set  $\{[N, uN]\}$ , while the modified noun is of feature set  $\{[N]\}$  with an unvalued plural feature.

Here, it is assumed that selection is involved in adjunction; it is the adjunct that needs to stand in particular configuration with its modifée, not the other way around. For instance, if a plural morpheme (in Ògè a plural morpheme needs a noun to be grammatical in all contexts) bears  $\{[N],[uN]\}$  and merges with a feature set  $\{[N]\}$  which it modifies, it is the  $\{[N]\}$  feature of the NP and the  $\{[uN]\}$  feature of the plural morpheme that cannot percolate up. The only feature percolating up is the  $\{[N]\}$  feature on the plural morpheme.