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EDITORIAL NOTE

Dear readers of Ghana Journal of Linguistics,

We are pleased to announce the publication of our latest issue of GJL! This issue is noteworthy as it marks our third for this year with our regular issue 6(1) having been published in June and our special issue 6(2) published earlier in December. In the current issue, 6(3), we are proud to have four strong articles representing a diverse range of areas of linguistic interest.

In the first article, by Kwasi Adomako, entitled "Morphophonological Analysis of Akan Female Family-Name Formation," the author uses an Optimality Theory framework to analyse morphophonological processes in the derivation of some female family-names in Akan. In the article, Adomako identifies, describes, and analyses the underlying morpheme utilised in Akan female family-name formation and documents how, why and when it manifests differently among the major dialects of Akan.

The second article, by Abraham Kwesi Bisilki, and titled "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Kinship Terms in Likpakpaln (Konkomba)", is a synchronic descriptive study of kinship terms in Likpakpaln, a Gur member of the Niger-Congo phylum, spoken mainly in the northern parts of Ghana. Based on the data analysed, Bisilki argues that kinship address forms in Likpakpaln can be categorised into three major types: agnatic, matrilateral and affinal, of which matrilateral and affinal kinship addresses are by complementary filiation.

The third article, by Mohammed Ayodeji Ademilokun, is "Aspects of Yoruba Lingual-Cultural Retentions in Abimbola Adelakun's *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs*". In this article, Ademilokun focuses on the use of lexical transfer, literal translation, coinages, code-mixing, proverbs, incantatory discourse, Yoruba Muslim discourse features, Yoruba advertising poetry and lineage praise poetry in the text. Ademilokun argues that these elements serve to nativise the literary text by giving it a distinctly Yoruba flair.

The fourth and final paper of this issue is "Noun Classification in Esahie" by Obed Nii Broohm. In his paper, Broohm provides a description of the nominal class system in Esahie (Central-Tano, Kwa, Niger-Congo). Based on the data, he argues that the morpho-syntactically vestigial noun class system of Esahie is number-based. Further, he provides an account of how morpho-phonological information influences the noun form classes of Esahie.

The papers of this issue are a testament to the wide variety of theoretical approaches and diverse research areas pertaining to linguistics found in Africa. In this vein, GJL continues to serve as a hub of scholarship, providing an avenue for the publication of double-blind peer-reviewed studies on language, linguistics and all interrelated disciplines. We hope that our readers find this issue intellectually stimulating and informative as we continue to explore and gain a deeper understanding of linguistic phenomena from innovative perspectives.

Finally, we at Ghana Journal of Linguistics (GJL) would like to thank authors, readers and the entire membership of the Linguistics Association of Ghana (LAG) for another great year of scholarship in African Linguistics. This issue marks my second full year as Editor-In-Chief of the Ghana Journal of Linguistics, having been appointed by the Executive Board of the Linguistics Association of Ghana on January 1, 2016. I would like to thank LAG's Executive Board, our Editorial Board, Editorial Committee and most especially our Consulting Editor, Professor E. Kweku Osam, whose sage wisdom has facilitated the running of the journal. I would also like to thank the membership of LAG as a whole for their trust in me to maintain the high standards set by our founding Editor-in-Chief, the late Professor Emerita M.E. Kropp Dakubu.

I look forward to many further issues of GJL showcasing and highlighting the long tradition of rigorous interdisciplinary linguistic scholarship that Africa has to offer.

Ọbádélé Kambon, PhD
Editor-in-Chief – Ghana Journal of Linguistics

Accra

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MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AKAN FEMALE FAMILY-NAME FORMATION

Kwasi Adomako

Abstract

This paper examines the morphophonological processes in the derivation of some female family-names in Akan, a Niger-Congo (Kwa) language through the addition of a male source name and the female morpheme /**-baa**/. About three main kinds of family-names can be identified in Akan: (i) those usually given to females only, (ii) those gender-neutral, and (iii) those given to males but out of which female counterpart names can be derived. The current paper examines the third type and claims that even though different realizations of the female morpheme are observed, namely **[-wa(a)]**, **[-ma(a)]**, and **[-a]** to attach to the male source names, there is only one morpheme in the underlying presentation, that is, **/-baa/, /-bea/,** and **/-ba/** for the Asante, Akuapem, and Fante dialects respectively, out of which these three variants are derived. This underlying morpheme manifests differently among the major dialects, which could be one of the points of distinction among them. To account for its different cross-dialectal realizations, it is shown in this paper that the underlying morpheme-initial consonant /-b/ specified for [+consonantal, +labial, −continuant] may acquire nasality at the surface level as in **[-maa]** through nasal place assimilation. The same consonant may lenite to labial glide [w] intervocalically and surfaces as **[-waa]**; or may even elide completely in the same context and be realized as [-a]; the underlying segment is systematically neutralized in the Asante dialect. In the Akuapem dialect, on the other hand, this underlying morpheme-initial segment is invariably fully preserved at the surface representation. The case of the Fante dialect resides in the middle of the continuum; i.e. it is non-systematic. The initial segment may or may not be preserved within the same contexts. Based on these observed variations it is concluded that while the other two dialects, especially the Akuapem, can preserve both the place and stricture features values of the underlying

morpheme-initial /-b/ of the female morpheme, the Asante dialect only preserves the value for the former, and systematically neutralizes that of the latter. This observation is formalized within the Optimality Theory.

Keywords: Akan, family-name, morphology, phonology, derivation.

1. Introduction

In the Akan custom, every child is given at least two personal names: the *kradin*, lit. 'soul name' i.e. 'day-name' and *abusuadin* 'family-name'. The former name is usually determined by the day on which one was born. The family-name, on the other hand, is given by the father's family. There are other formats in naming a child in the Akan traditional societies which shall be briefly mentioned in section 2 of the current paper. This paper examines the family-name of Asante,[1] Akuapem (both Twi speakers), and Fante speakers of the Akan ethnic groups in Ghana with particular focus on those female family-names which are derived from male names through the suffixing of **/-báá/, /-béá/,** or **/-bá/**, the 'female' morpheme. The present paper analyses the morphological and the phonological processes of deriving such names and claims, on the basis of language-internal evidence, that unlike in the Fante dialect, the female morpheme in the Twi dialects is not **-bá** from **ɔ̀bá** 'offspring/child', but rather **-báá** originally **ɔ̀báá**[2]**,** which has only one meaning; 'female', which does not include the 'offspring/child' extended meaning, against earlier opposing views in the existing literature particularly Christaller (1933).

These derivational processes present one imperative way of distinguishing among the three major dialects of Akan. The difference between the two Twi dialects in this

[1] By Asante I do not refer exclusively to the ethnic group Asante, but by extension all other speakers of dialects of Akan which are often grouped under the Asante dialect in the literature, namely Bono, Kwawu, Akyem, etc. for literary purposes.

[2] My attention was drawn to the idea that even the morpheme **ɔbaa** 'female' itself seems to be derived from **ɔba + (ba)wa** through the deletion of the intervocalic **b/w**; and the male counterpart, **ɔbarima** could also be derived from **ɔba + ni(ni) + ba** through the application of an additional rule that changes **n** in **ni** to **r** in **ri** (see Boadi 1984 for the discussion of a similar rule in the formation of **Araba** 'Female Tuesday born' in Fante) by the Editor of this journal; my sincerest gratitude to him.

formation is phonological, i.e. while in the Asante dialect some phonological alternations including intervocalic softening or lenition, nasal assimilation, etc. are observed, these processes do not apply in the Akuapem dialect at all. Fante, on the other hand, presents a different case; the lenition process is non-systematic. The same applies to the nasal place assimilation rule as compared to what obtains in the Asante dialect. Among the central aims of the present paper is to shed light on how learners of Akan can acquire this female family-name formation process in Akan. It will be observed that lenition is the most prominent phonological rule in the derivation process especially in the Asante dialect. It will be explained that the need for a rise in sonority on the scale results in the lenition process. It is claimed, in this paper, that in optimality-theoretic terms, there are some crucially-ranked markedness constraints in the Asante dialect such as *V#CV that bans the initial plosive /b-/ from the surface level of representation. This same constraint, however, is completely demoted in the case of the formation of the names in the Akuapem.

The data for this study was collected from a list of registered undergraduate students offering BA (Twi) and BA (Fante) programmes in the Department of Akan-Nzema Education, College of Languages Education, University of Education, Winneba, between 2011 and 2015. The list comprises over 500 Akan family-names, which were purposively sampled for this study. The author purposively selected only female Asante, Akuapem and Fante family-names which are derived from their male counterparts. Where the author realized that not enough names were identified on the registered list of students, supplementary list of names was elicited from some students; this happened especially with the collection of the Fante family-names. To complement the list of family-names used in this study, I consulted some existing literature such as Christaller's (1933) Akan Dictionary and J.B. Crayner's (1988) book entitled, *Yeehiahyia oo*! lit. 'We have met (once again) oo!'. The latter book was very useful, especially for the collection of the Fante data. There were challenges with the orthographic convention of names where sometimes one name appears to end in variant forms as follows; <-waa>, <-aa>, and <-a> as in the following examples; **darkowaa, darkoaa**, and **darkoa** all representing the same name with the same phonetic realization. In such cases, I listened to some informants to settle on the common phonetic realizations of such names and in some other times, I resorted to my intuitions as a native speaker for such decisions.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows; section 2 presents brief background information about the Akan people and also their traditional naming practice. In section 3, an overview of the *female*/*diminutive* morpheme in Akan is provided where a separation of the *female* morpheme from the *diminutive* morpheme will also be argued for. I will

briefly introduce the theoretical framework employed in this paper here also. The data presentation, discussion, and formalization are presented in section 4. In section 5 I summarize and conclude the discussions made in the paper.

2. The Akan people

Akan is a member of the Kwa (Tano Central) subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family, spoken mainly in Ghana and some parts of Côte d`Ivoire, both in West Africa. The language is spoken by the ethnic group called the Akan people in six out of the ten administrative regions in Ghana as their L1 (first language). According to Agyekum (2006), its dialects, which are mutually intelligible, include Asante, Akuapem, Akwamu, Fante, Akyem, Agona, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, Wassaw, Kwawu, and Bron. Out of these, the three major dialects, which have received literary status in Ghana, are Akuapem, Asante, and Fante. The first two major dialects together constitute the Twi group. Statistically, together with its non-L1 speakers, it is estimated that far more than 50% of Ghana's over 24 million population[3] either speak or understand the language. This arguably makes the Akan language the most widely used language in Ghana today for several purposes/functions.

2.1. Akan naming practices

According to Ossei-Akoto (2008), the Akan child is named after the day on which s/he was born in addition to a family-name that is given him or her by the father's family. This system of naming is unique to the Akan people though this practice has been adopted by several other ethnic groups in modern Ghana. Similarly, Agyekum (2006) also makes the same claim and in addition discusses other types of names such as event names, circumstantial names, birth number names, etc. Further references on the Akan naming practices are from Boadi (1984), Ansu-Kyeremeh (2000), Obeng (1997, 2001), Adomako (2015), among others. Brempong (1991) also talks briefly on this naming practice and the etymology of some Akan names including day-names; however, he fails to discuss the etymology of these names though he mentions them. In the present paper, however, I

[3]From the 2010 Population and Housing Census conducted, it is now estimated that Ghana's population is about 24.6 million.

discuss how one type of the Akan family-name is derived and not necessarily the naming practice itself.

3. The female vs. diminutive morphemes in Akan

The earliest existing literature on diminution/female morphemes in Akan includes Christaller (1933), Boadi (1984), Dolphyne (2006) and Appah & Amfo (2011). These works have attributed the original meaning of the diminutive morpheme **ba** to the full form **ɔba** 'offspring/child', which has extended meanings 'small, female, affection, etc.,[4] a claim this paper supports and of which expatiation would be made later on in the paper. However, it is worth noting that this present paper is not on diminution, but rather on the female family-name formation. A clearer distinction will be made from a similar female morpheme **báá** from the underlying word/morpheme **ɔ̀báá** 'female' in subsection 3.1.

Christaller (1933) also makes a distinction between /-**bá**/ 'diminutive', derived from **ɔ̀bá** 'offspring, child' and /-**báá**/ 'woman, female' derived from **ɔ̀báá** (1933: 1-2). However, he posits that, "it denotes also female gender" (1933: xxi). It is argued in the present paper that this assertion of the extended meaning of the morpheme is correct for whole formation processes in the Fante female family-names, but only partially so for the other two major dialects of Akan. To Christaller, one derives female names from the diminutive morpheme by simply adding /-a/ to it as he puts it, "…to indicate the female, when joined to a final **a, wa** is …usually contracted into **aa**…" (1933: xxiii-xxiv). This statement is about the result of an intervocalic deletion of the liquid formed as a result which will produce the **-aa**. In section 4, this liquid formation process through female family-name formation will be discussed. This process is usually termed *lenition*.

In discussing the formation of Akan female family-names, Christaller posits that "[f]emale names may be derived from male names by adding the word 'béá [originally from ɔ̀béá] or the termination (ba,) wa or ma, or by lengthening a final 'a'…" (1933: 602). Christaller's statement is not clear on the following grounds: first, the underlying form he posits is that of the Akuapem dialect which does not change its form in the formation of female (family) names at all hence, it does not have the so-called terminated forms. Second, the terminated forms he mentions seem to be associated with only the Fante dialect as the

[4]The assertion of the implicitness and the extension of the 'female' meaning is emphasized by Braun (2009:152) when she opines that "the Twi diminutive morpheme **-wa/-ba,** which originally comes from the noun **ɔba** 'child' differs from the Ewe and the Fon morphemes in that it renders the meaning 'female' additionally to the meanings 'young' and 'small'…".

surface representation. Unless this statement is interpreted to mean that he was referring to the two separate dialects and how they form female names, it will be difficult to understand. Similarly, Boadi (1984) also posits that the morpheme –**bá**, which he asserts is found in all Volta-Comoe languages, stands for female or diminutive. However, just like his predecessors, he also mixes the two separate morphemes up by claiming that –**ba** is sometimes realized as –**bea** in the Akuapem dialect (Boadi 1984: 438).

If -**bá** is the underlying form, then by the statements above especially by Christaller (1933) and Boadi (1984), the implication is that the morphemes -**bea** and -**ba** are both from a common underlying morpheme/word, probably from **ɔ̀bá**. This position raises some empirical issues as follows; (a) hypothetically how is **-baa/-béá** derived from an 'underlying' -**ba**? Is it through insertion? If yes, what then motivates such an a-insertion? Is it a templatic i.e. maximality constraint/requirement? Or (b) Is it a product of compensatory lengthening? And if yes, for what does this compensation require? A reversal postulation i.e. a claim of shortening or reduction of an 'underlying' **–baa/-bea** into **-ba**, on the other hand, might rather have more phonetic and phonological motivations. That is, articulatorily it is common and more economical for speakers to shorten a linguistic construction rather than to lengthen it except that the latter has some phonological appeal such as the satisfaction of some maximality or templatic requirement, which in this case does not seem to be the case. The question then is: what would motivate such a deletion? To avoid all these problems, two independent morphemes will have to be posited and clearly so from diachronic evidence or their etymology i.e. /**ɔ̀bá**/ 'offspring, diminutive' and /**ɔ̀báá**/ or /**ɔ̀béá**/ 'female'.

Appah & Amfo (2011) also make similar assertion that in the Asante dialect, female family-names are derived from the two separate underlying forms, though they admit they do not know how in some instances the reduced form ensues as they opine,

> …Asante and Akuapem make use of suffixes from two sources for female names:(1) from **(ɔ)ba**, the origin of the diminutive and (2) from **ɔbaa** [sic], the Akan word meaning 'female'. The Akuapem equivalent of **ɔbaa** is **ɔbea**,…We arrive at –**waa** from -**baa** through the same, yet not fully understood, the process by which the diminutive suffix becomes -**wa** from **(ɔ)ba** (2011: 91).

While the view about the postulation of a common underlying form for the Akuapem female family-name formation is supported, an alternative analysis for the same process for the Asante dialect will be provided. It will be shown in this paper that just as in the Akuapem dialect, Asante also has only one underlying morpheme for deriving a female

family-name, which is **ɔbaa** 'female'. Hence, its different realizations are purely phonological and not lexical. The discussion of the diminutive and feminine morpheme-**wa/-ba** in Akan can also be referred from Dolphyne (2006: 85–86), though very briefly. In this present paper, an attempt will be made to provide data to emphasize their distinction both in form and in function and subsequent separation as a way of providing an alternative view to this assertion.

3.1. Test for the independence of the *bá* and *báá* morphemes

This distinction between the diminutive and female morphemes in terms of their form and meaning/semantic properties is straightforward in the Akuapem dialect i.e. /**ɔ̀bá**/ 'offspring/child' and /**ɔ̀béá**/ 'female'. The same distinction is also made in the Asante dialect in **ɔ̀bá** vs. **ɔ̀báá**. In the Fante dialect, however, the form/**bàsíá**/,[5] which refers to 'female', is not employed as the female morpheme in such derivation, as it seems it rather collapses the meanings of the two morphemes into one form, i.e. /**bá**/ 'female, diminution'. This is why there are expressions such as the following;

(1) **ɔ̀bààbàsíá** 'woman'

The instantiation of the distinction between 'female' and 'diminution' in the Twi (Asante) dialect is made in the following nominal derivation in which the two morphemes co-occur.

[5] The compositional meaning of the word **bàsíá** is not clear. Christaller (1933) does not know the etymology of the word **ɔ̀bàsíá**, but suspects it might have come through a proverbial construction, for which the earliest entry, according to him, was recorded in 1844 in constructions such as '**àkàtàásíá**', which is phonetically realized as [**àkætǽǽsíá**] in the Twi dialect, etc. One of the earliest attempts to explain the composition of this word seems to have been made by Welmers (1946:49) when he glosses **bá** as young/child and the –**síá** in **basia** just as a bound morpheme.

(2) Compounding of **ɔbáá** and **ɔbá** morphemes

/ɔbáá/ 'female' + /**bá**/ 'diminutive'

↓

ɔbaaba compounding

↓

ɔbaawa ***b***-lenition

↓

[àbààwá] Surface representation (SR) 'a female servant, maidservant'

3.2. Why the call for separate morphemes?

One important question is why are the female counterparts of the day-names or *Kradin* i.e. soul names seem to use the 'offspring' morpheme **bá** while the family-names or *Abusuadin* employ the 'female' morpheme **báá /béá** among the Twi speakers.

Akradin lit. 'soul names' are very important names in the socio-cultural life of the Akan people. Among the Akan people, it is believed to be the name given to a person based on the day on which a person bids farewell to his/her Creator or the Supreme Being before sojourning or transiting to the earth from the spiritual world. That is why the female morpheme /**báá**/ is optional in *Abusuadin*, but /**bá**/ is invariable in all female *kradin* 'day-names'. It is worth emphasizing that the goal of this paper is not to answer or explain why some *abusuadin* are derivable while others are not, but to discuss how those that are derivable are derived in the language. I suppose future research would be able to provide a more adequate answer to this question.

I claim, following Christaller (1933), that while the Twi speakers employ the female morpheme -**báá**/-**béá** for the formation of female family-names and -**ba** for other names, Fante speakers use the morpheme -**bá** for all female personal names i.e. day-names and family-names. That is, Akan does not have a common morpheme for forming the two personal names i.e. day-name and family-name from male names as postulated in some existing literature, a point this paper will attempt to further expatiate.

3.3. The proposal

I present a proposal for accounting for the female family-name in Akan below.

(3) **bá**–when [+animate] *kradin* = 'offspring', not diminution, could implicitly mean 'female'.

(4) **bá**–when [−animate] = 'diminution', redundantly not 'offspring/female'

(5) **báá/béá**–selects for only [+animate] i.e. *abusuadin* 'female'.

Except one can convincingly argue that the underlying form **ɔbáá** 'female' is derived from **ɔbá** 'child/offspring', we cannot posit a common form and function for these two separate morphemes as the morpheme for the formation of female family-names among the Twi dialects of Akan.

Fante speakers, it is hypothesized, collapse (3) & (4) in their form and meaning,[6] which is semantically more economical but morphologically poor. This lends support to an earlier observation by Appah & Amfo (2011: 91) that, "…in Fante names, the diminutive –ba (and what appears to be its intervocalic variant –wa/–ma) conflates the meanings of feminine and small". Twi speakers, on the other hand, make use of the two distinct forms and their respective functions.

It is therefore concluded that the glossing format; 'female/diminution' is more appropriate for the Fante case only and not for Twi speakers. This paper will not belabour this issue much since it focuses on the morphological and phonological processes in the formation of the surface forms and not on the etymology of these names.

3.4. Theoretical Framework

In formalizing the discussions that will be made in the present paper, namely lenition and nasalization, I will employ the generative phonological tool; the Optimality Theory (henceforth OT) (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993; McCarthy & Prince 1994; McCarthy 2002). The OT is a generative phonological theory that is guided by certain assumptions that linguistic grammar is embodied in an infinite universal set of violable

[6] It is worth pointing out that in Crayner's (1988) list of some indigenous Fante family-names, we observe exceptional derived female names such as Oforiwaa *Oforiwa, Adomakowaa *Adomakowa, etc. which look more like Asante than Fante as shall be seen in the section 4.

constraints. These constraints are organized in a hierarchical order and are ranked; a particular ranking defines a particular grammar. Hence, every language has its unique set of ranking since there are no two languages that are the same. In other words, in OT, language A differs from language B based mainly on the variation in the rankings of the 'same' set of constraints by the two languages. The two main types of constraints are faithfulness constraints and markedness constraints.

Sometimes an output form may be required to map onto an input form in similitude (faithfulness constraints), while some other times the grammar would enforce some structural changes in an output form (markedness constraint) so that certain well-formedness requirements would be met in a particular manner. At all times these two sets of constraints are in conflict, and to ensure one of the several possibilities (output forms), which are termed *candidates*, emerges as the *optimal* or the most *harmonic* forms or the *surface* form. These surface forms, according to Kager (1999: xi), "… reflect resolutions of conflicts between competing demands or constraints." In the present paper, constraints from both the markedness and faithfulness sets of constraints will be employed for the analysis of the two main phonological processes observed in the formation of female family-names in Akan.

4. Akan Female Family-Name Formation

This section presents the data on the morphological as well as the phonological processes involved in the formation of female family-names from their male counterparts in Akan. It begins the discussions by briefly looking at some categories of family-names in Akan, specifically among the Twi speakers of Akan. Two major categories of family-names will be discussed, namely what would be non-derivable family-names and derivable family-names. The former will look at names that are usually given to either females only or those that are given to both males and females. The latter will focus on how female family-names are derived from the male counterparts, which will be the focus of this paper.

4.1. Non-derivable Asante family-names

By non-derivable Akan family-names, we refer to those family-names to which a female morpheme cannot be attached to derive a female version. Some of these names can be given to both males and females; others are exclusively female. I begin by looking at those names that are given to both males and females.

It is worth pointing out that Ossei-Akoto (2008) classifies these names into exclusively male and exclusively female family-names. However, upon careful study, one realizes that virtually all the so-called exclusively male family-names can be given to females as well, therefore raising serious doubts about such classification. In this paper, I refrain from such classification and rather assume sex-neutral label for such names.

Again, it is worth noting that it should not be surprising to find female versions of this *abusuadin*. At first these non-derivable names were exclusively given to males in Akan, however, presently females are often given these per the naming practice in Akan. That is, once they do not have their female equivalents and a father who bears any of these names wants to name his child after him, the female child would eventually bear these names. Therefore, it is difficult and inappropriate for one to label the following names as exclusively male as Ossei-Akoto (2008) has sought to do. Below are some examples of these names.

(6) Common family-names for both male and female

a. **Boama**
b. **Dankwa**
c. **Konadu**
d. **Agyeman**
e. **Bonsu**
f. **Adusɛe**
g. **Ahen**
h. **Adom**[7]
i. **Sintim**
j. **Prempɛ**
k. **Pinaman**

In (7) below, examples of some family-names that are exclusive to female Akan (Twi) speakers are provided.

[7] The female family-name Adomaa exists, however one should bear in mind that it is possible this name might have been derived from Adoma rather than Adom.

(7) Common female family-names

a. **Abrafi**
b. **Frema**
c. **Afrakoma**
d. **Birago**
e. **Bema**
f. **Biraso**
g. **Akyiamaa**
h. **Bommo**

Again, the argument rages on as to whether these names have been derived from their male counterparts. However, unlike the names in (6), one can confidently posit that these names are exclusively female as it would be very odd, if not impossible, to find any male in the Akan society bearing any of these names. Again, it is worth restating that naming of a child in the Akan culture is a sole prerogative of the father and his family. This is not to say that a male child cannot be named after a female. When a male child is to be named after a female, usually a male counterpart of that female name, if available, is given to that male child. For a detailed discussion of these naming practices in Akan, see the references above. Below, I provide some of the non-derivable female family-names.

From the above, it then becomes very difficult for non-natives to categorically state which names are exclusively male and which are exclusively female. However, since this paper focuses primarily on the morphology and phonology of the formation of derived female *abusuadin*, I will not delve deeper into these name classifications as this falls outside the scope of the current paper. As was pointed out earlier, I will focus on that female *abusuadin* which have been derived from their male counterparts in the subsequent subsections.

In the subsequent sections, derivable female family-names whose derivation is done through suffixation of the female morpheme **-baa**, **-bea**, **-ba** shall be considered. I shall discuss the morphology and the phonology of such derivation and shall claim that all derived female family-names are systematically suffixed with /**-baa**/ or /**-bea**/ in the underlying representation in the Twi dialects, which manifests itself in about three different realizations at the surface representation in the Asante dialect specifically. However, in the Fante dialect, the underlying morpheme /**-ba**/ surfaces non-systematically depending on the context.

4.2. Derived Asante female family-names

In this subsection, we look at the morphological and phonological rules through which some female family-names are formed from their male counterparts. Some of the phonological processes to be discussed will include *b*-softening or lenition, nasalization, and syllable reduction. The morphological rule to be studied, on the other hand, will be compounding of the female morpheme **baa, bea, ba** to the underlying male names in the derivation process. Before the discussions commence, it is necessary to explain what is meant by the expression, 'derived female family-name' as was done in the preceding subsection.

By the term *derived female family-name*, we simply refer to the female family-names which have been formed from their male source names through compounding them with the female morpheme /-**baa**/ or /-**bea**/ for the Twi speakers and /-**ba**/ for the Fante speakers.

4.2.1. *b*-softening or lenition

Lenition or *b*-softening is used here simply to refer to the process whereby a stop plosive, specifically *b*, becomes a liquid in a particular environment. Boadi (1984) employs the term; *liquid formation*, for this process in Akan, though Boadi (2009) refers to this same process as *lenition*. As has been pointed out already, the female morphemes Twi speakers employ to form female family-names out of male family-names are /–**báá**/ and /–**béá**/ in the Asante and Akuapem respectively. It is worth noting that the derived female family-names have the following template: 'male family-name + baa/bea'. These derived forms represent the output female family-names after the application of the necessary morphological and phonological rules. As a convention in this paper, those forms in the centre column are the output forms after the compounding process, the derived forms represent the output forms or the surface representation. In (8) below, the *b*-softening or lenition process will be illustrated with examples from Asante Twi.

(8) Underlying initial /-b/ lenites to [w] intervocalically

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form
a.	àgyèí + báá	adʑeibaa	àdʑèìwáá
b.	òfòrí + báá	oforibaa	òfòríwáá ~ fòówáá
c.	àmòàkó + báá	amoakobaa	àmɔ̃ãkɔ̃wáá~ àmɔ̃ãkɔ̃ãã
d.	tùtú + báá	tutubaa	tùtúwáá~ tùtúáá
e.	kùsí + báá	kusibaa	kùsíwáá
f.	ɔsɛ̀é + báá	ɔsɛebaa	sɛ̀ɛ̀wáá
g.	dànsó + báá	dansobaa	dànsúwáá
h.	nyántàkyí + báá	ɲantatɕibaa	ɲãńtætɕìwáá
i.	kyèí + báá	tɕeibaa	tɕèíwáá ~ tɕèéwáá
j.	kùmí + báá	kumibaa	kùmíwáá
k.	ɔhéné + báá	ɔhenebaa	ɔhĩńĩwáá
l.	àsànté + báá	asantebaa	àsãàntíwáá~ àsãàntúáá
m.	òdúrò + báá	odurobaa	dùròwáá~òdùráá[8]
n.	àdú + báá	adubaa	ædúwáá
o.	àfrànɛ́ + báá	afranebaa	àfrãnɛ̃́wáá

(9). Rule 1: Lenition or *b*-softening rule in the Asante:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{lab} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \end{bmatrix} \# \_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \end{bmatrix}$$

From (9), we realize that there is no feature change between the underlying form and the surface form but only change in feature values in their respective feature matrices. For example, while the value for the feature [cons] in the underlying form is a plus, it is a minus in the surface segment. Conversely, while the value for the feature [cont] is a minus in the underlying form, it is plus for the surface representation. However, both the underlying form and the surface form have the same value for the feature [lab], which is a plus. The rule in (9) applies in all such contexts in the Asante dialect. That is, an underlying

[8]From my personal investigations, forms such as [**òdùráá]** and [**tɕìráá]** are common among the Kwawu ethnic group, while the Asante counterparts are [**dùròwáá]** and [**tɕìréwáá]** respectively.

morpheme-initial /b-/ surfaces as the glide [w] after vowels. The intermediate (i.e. post-compound) level forms at which this lenition rule fails to apply in this context never surfaces in the Asante dialect, but as shall be seen later in this paper, are the forms expected to surface in the Akuapem dialect and to some extent in the Fante dialect as well.

4.2.1.1. Formalisation of lenition in the Asante female family-name

To account for the lenition process discussed above, it was observed that in terms of features, one observation was obvious, namely that the labial place feature is maintained throughout the derivation processes. That is, the input [labial] feature never surfaces as non-labial in the output form. This is accounted for by positing a faithfulness constraint IDENT-IO. We will have two forms of this constraint; one that demands correspondence between the input and the output in terms of place feature, and the other that demands correspondence in terms of manner, which is this case is the feature [continuant]. The former has to outrank the latter in that as was concluded from the discussion of the examples in (8), there is always a correspondence between the input and the output in place feature but not in manner feature. These constraints are therefore defined as follows.

(10) **IDENT-IO(Cont)**: Correspondents in input and output have identical value for the feature [cont]

(11) **IDENT-IO (Pl)**: Correspondents in input and output have identical place features. (cf. Kager 1999: 132)

The constraint in (11) is undominated since all output forms, whether the lenition rule applies to them or not, must satisfy this high-ranking constraint because the labial place feature must be preserved in all candidates than to preserve the manner of articulation contrast. It has to dominate IDENT-IO(cont).

A constraint to ban the initial C of the underlying –CVV morpheme **–baa** from the surface representation is needed. This constraint will ensure that the consonant is neutralized and as has been discussed already, such neutralization is achieved through lenition. The context of the application of the lenition rule is crucial in the formulation of this featural well-formedness constraint. The context, as we have seen, is when the target consonant is preceded by a morpheme-final vocalic segment at morpheme boundary. We will formulate this constraint *V#CV, where C is specified for [+cons, +lab, -cont] and define it as follows.

(12) ***V#CV**: An initial C specified for [+cons, +lab, -cont] is prohibited when preceded by V at morpheme boundary.

This markedness constraint has to be dominated by the faithfulness constraint IDENT-IO (Pl) since preserving the place feature of the input C is more crucial than neutralizing its manner feature. Therefore, the consequence of violating IDENT-IO(Pl) will be costlier than to violate *V#CV.

There also has to be a constraint that penalizes a candidate that resorts to deletion in order to satisfy *V#CV instead of altering values of some features as was seen to be the case in the Asante dialect. This anti-deletion constraint is MAX and it is defined as follows.

(13) **MAX-IO**: Every segment of the input has a correspondent in the output.

A relatively high-ranking of MAX-IO will ban segment-deleting candidates from emerging as optimal. It has to outrank *V#CV since deletion is not a strategy to avoid that well-formedness constraint, but it is to be dominated by IDENT-IO(Pl).

Tableau 1: Analysis of intervocalic lenition or b-softening in the Asante

/**ofori + baa** /	IDENT-IO(Pl)	MAX-IO	*V#CV	IDENT - IO(cont)
a. **oforibaa**			*!	
b. ☞**oforiwaa**				*
c. **oforimaa**			*!	
d. **oforiaa**		*!		

(14) Ranking: IDENT-IO(Pl), MAX-IO »*V#CV » IDENT-IO(cont)

Candidate (d), which resorts to deletion in order to satisfy a relatively high-ranking *V#CV, is the least harmonic candidate for fatally violating a higher-ranked MAX-IO, though it satisfies the undominated constraint in this ranking; IDENT-IO(Pl). Candidates (a) and (c), though are faithful to the input, falls out of the competition as a result of the violation of the crucially-ranked constraints; *V#CV that bans the [-cont] stop in CV syllable when preceded by a V at morpheme boundary in the output a constraint satisfied by the optimal candidate (b). Though both candidate (a) and candidate (c) violate once only one constraint and also satisfy IDENT-IO(cont), a constraint violated only by candidate

(b), the low ranking of IDENT-IO(cont) makes its violation the least offensive in this tableau, hence the preference for (b) as the optimal candidate over both (a) and (c).

4.2.2. Nasalization rule

In the formation of female family-names in the Asante dialect, whenever the base male name is nasal final, the female morpheme-initial /-b/ tends to surface as bilabial nasal [m] in the derived female name. There are few exceptions to this nasal assimilation rule which shall be discussed later in this section. This nasal assimilation process is exemplified in (15) below.

(15) Underlying initial /-b/ assimilates to [m] after nasal stop

	Base forms	Compound form	Nasal assimilation	Derived form
a.	sàpɔ̀ǹ + báá	sapɔnbaa	sàpɔ̀m̀máá	sàpɔ̃̀mã́ã́
b.	áḿpɔ̀ǹ + báá	ampɔnbaa	àm̀pɔ̀m̀máá	àm̀pɔ̃̀mã́ã́
c.	àmòátéń + báá	àmòátéńbáá	àmʊ̀átíḿmáá	àmʊ̃̀ã́tĩ́mã́ã́
d.	àmòàníń + báá	amoaninbaa	àmʊ̀àníḿmáá	àmʊ̃̀ã̀nĩ́mã́ã́
e.	kwàátéń + báá	kwaatenbaa	kwàátíḿmáá	kʷàátĩ́mã́ã́
f.	bóátéń + báá	boatenbaa	bʊ́átíḿmáá	bʊ́átímã́ã́
g.	frìm̀pɔ́ǹ + báá	frimpɔnbaa	frìm̀pɔ́ḿmáá	frìm̀pɔ̃́mã́ã́
h.	àgyàpɔ́ǹ + báá	agyapɔnbaa	àʥàpɔ́ḿmáá	àʥàpɔ̃́mã́ã́
i.	bòàhèǹ + báá	boahenbaa	bʊ̀àhìm̀máá	bʊ̀àhĩ̀mã́ã́
j.	àkyéáḿpɔ̀ǹ + báá	akyeampɔnbaa	àtɕíáḿpɔ̀m̀máá	ætɕĩ́ã́mpɔ̃̀mã́ã́
k.	gyáǹ + béá[9]	ʥanbea	ʥàm̀méá	ʥàmĩ́ã́
l.	bòsòm̀péḿ + báá	bosompembaa	bʊ̀sʊ̀m̀pímmáá	bʊ̀sʊ̀m̀pĩ́mã́ã́
m.	pìpíḿ + báá	pipimbaa	pìpímmáá	pìpímã́ã́
n.	bóákóḿ + báá	boakombaa	bʊ́ákʊ́mmáá	bʊ́ákʊ̃́mã́ã́

It can be seen from the examples in (15) that at the SR, all the pre-nasal vocalic segments get nasalized before they trigger the nasal i.e. the final nasal of the female name is deleted hence, the realization of only one [m] in the surface forms. Of particular interest

[9] This is originally a Bɔno name with Akuapem female morpheme. It undergoes manner assimilation process discussed in Rule 2 in its derivation contrary to what actually obtains in a typical Akuapem female family-names formation process. This seems to be the Asante version of the Akuapem form ***gyanbea***.

is the fact that the same /m/ is what is usually observed in the orthography. This observation is schematized in the following linear rule.

(16). Rule 2- Nasal assimilation rule in the Asante:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \\ -\text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{lab} \\ -\text{cont} \\ +\text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nas} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \#\ \_\_\_\_$$

From (16), first, we observe that there is an additional feature; [nasal] which is added to the previous features we employed for Rule 1. This will enable us to account for the nasal feature assimilation we observed in the examples in (15). Second, upon a careful look at Rule 2, one observes that both the underlying form and the surface form share all features and values together in their feature matrices except in the value for [nas] which is a minus in the underlying form and a plus in the feature matrix of the surface form. From OT perspective, as we shall soon see, the output form that changes input /b/ to [m] demonstrates maximal faithfulness to the input.

4.2.2.1. Formalisation of nasal assimilation in the Asante female family-name

By employing the same set of constraints as previously in tableau 1 for the present analysis, a suboptimal candidate is likely to emerge as the harmonic candidate since this section analyses a different phonological process; nasalization. This will be illustrated in the following Tableau 2.

Tableau 2: Analysis of nasal assimilation in the Asante

/ sapɔn + baa /	IDENT-IO(Pl)	MAX-IO	*V#CV	IDENT - IO(cont)
a. sapɔnbaa			*!	
b. ☻ sapɔmmaa			*!	*
c. ☞sapɔnwaa				*
d. sapɔwaa		*!		*

From Tableau 2, candidate (c), which is a suboptimal candidate, emerges as the most harmonic candidate for satisfying all the important constraints in the ranking hierarchy at the expense of candidate (b). To address this, we will need constraints that will account for the nasalization process that the expected optimal candidate has undergone. These constraints should ensure that /-b/ agrees with the preceding morpheme-final nasal in terms of nasality, hence the feature [nas]. These constraints could be taken from Agreement family of constraints. The two additional specialized constraints from the Agreement family that will be needed are defined as follows.

(17) **AGREE(nasal)**: Segments agree in terms of manner feature [nasal].

(18) **AGREE(pl)**: Segments agree in terms of place feature.

The two constraints in (17) and (18) have to be dominated by IDENT-IO(Pl), but they must dominate IDENT-IO due to the fact present in tableau 1 where the input morpheme-initial /b/ never surfaces in the Asante dialect. And also owing to the fact that irrespective of the neutralization process this initial stop undergoes, its labial place feature is invariably preserved in the output forms.

4.2.2.2. Re-analysis of nasalization in the Asante female family-name

In this subsection, the tableau analysis that was made in tableau 2 where a suboptimal candidate emerged is reconsidered with the introduction of two additional constraints.

Tableau 3: Re-analysis of nasal assimilation in the Asante

/ sapɔn + baa /	IDENT-IO(Pl)	AGREE(nas)	AGREE(pl)	IDENT -IO
a. sapɔnbaa		*!	*	
b. ☞sapɔmmaa				**
c. sapɔnwaa		*!	*	*
d. sapɔwaa		*!		*

(19) Ranking: IDENT-IO(Pl), AGREE(nas), AGREE(Pl) »IDENT-IO

From tableau 3, both candidates (a) and (d) fall out of the competition for fatally violating highly-ranked AGREE(nas), which demands the morpheme-final nasal /n/ and the morpheme-initial /-b/ share the nasal feature at the juncture. Candidate (c) on the other hand, also incurs a fatal violation mark for the other type of the AGREE constraints; AGREE(Pl) that enforces sharing of place feature between the two morphemes. Though candidate (b) violates IDENT-IO twice; one for labializing the morpheme-final alveolar nasal /n/ of the male family-name, and one for nasalizing the female morpheme-initial /b/, it emerges as the optimal candidate due to the fact that this violation is of minimal effect to affecting its optimality.

4.2.3. Exceptions to the nasalization rule

It is not in all contexts in the formation process that the expected nasalization rule applies in the Asante dialect. There are few exceptional cases to the nasalization rule stated above in (16) above. This is where the postnasal /b/ is realized as [w] and not [m] as would be expected. This is illustrated in (20) below.

(20) Failure of nasalization in the Asante

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived	Ill-formed
a.	**àfúm̀ + báá**	**àfúm̀báá**	**æ̀fúm̀wáá**	***afummaa**
b.	**twúm̀ + báá**	**twúm̀báá**	**tɕɥúm̀wáá**	***twummaa**
c.	**àgyèkúm̀ + báá**	**àgyèkúm̀báá**	**æ̀dʑèkúm̀wáá**	***adʑekummaa**
d.	**àním̀ + báá**	**àním̀báá**	**æ̀ním̀wáá**	***animmaa**
e.	**àdútwùm̀ + báá**	**àdútwùm̀báá**	**æ̀dútɕɥùm̀wáá**	***adutwummaa**
f.	**àníǹ + báá**	**àním̀báá**	**æ̀ní̃ǹwáá~ æ̀ní̃ĩwáá**	***animmaa**

The ungrammatical forms to the extreme right are the expected forms per Rule (2); however, they never surface in the Asante Twi dialect. In the examples above, it is observed that the liquid formation process becomes the last step in the derivation and not the subsequent expected homorganic nasal assimilation.

In order to account for such exceptions, we may have to resort to some diachronic facts to determine whether the base forms are actually nasal-final in the underlying representation or vowel-final, following the claims in some existing literature that all final

nasals in Akan were diachronically followed by high vowels (cf. Abakah 2004, etc.). If this claim holds for the personal name formation in Akan, then one can explain phonologically that in the derivation process, perhaps the glide formation rule applies before those 'elided' final vowels are deleted at the intermediate level, hence the realization of the sequence of the nasal and labial glide at the surface representation in the examples in (20). However, the question that arises from this postulation then is, why do these examples behave differently from the very similar ones discussed in (15)? This is an open issue and the explanation for this failure might reside in the etymology of these names which would be outside the domain of morphophonology.

From hindsight, it may look simple for one to challenge the invariability of the lenition or *b*-softening rule claim made so far in this paper citing the facts of these exceptional cases. However, by positing that there are two independent rules that usually apply in Asante, we are able to account for the invariability of the lenition rule, but it is the nasalization rule which is non-systematic in its application. By this, it can be posited that two main phonological processes apply in the Asante female family-name formation, namely; (a) lenition and (b) nasalization. And that while (a) is systematic irrespective of the context, (b), on the other hand, may fail to apply though the environment would be there for its application.[10]

4.2.4. Reduction in the female morpheme *-baa*

There are instances of irregularities in the formation of female family-names in the Asante dialect where the initial consonant of the female morpheme is deleted, thereby reducing the full underlying morpheme to either [-aa] or [-a] at the surface representation. This is exemplified in (21).

[10] Could this failure be classified as an instance of underapplication of nasalization, after a similar process of failure of palatalization rule in Akan reduplication? (cf. Marantz 1982, McCarthy & Prince 1994, 1995, among others).

(21)	Base form	Compound form	*b*-deletion	Derived form	Ill-formed
a.	àdòmá + báá	àdòmábáá	àdòmá-áá	àdòmā́-ā́	*àdòmáwáá
b.	yànkyérà + báá	jàntɕíràbáá	jàntɕírá-áá	jàntɕírá-á	*jàntɕìráwáá
c.	gyìmá + báá	ʤìmábáá	ʤìmà-áá	ʤìmā́-ā́	*ʤìmàwáá
d.	àmpònsá + báá	àmpònsábáá	àmpònsá-áá	àmpɔ̀̃nsā́-ā́	*àmpɔ̀̃nsā́wáá
e.	ànsá + báá	ànsábáá	ànsá-áá	ànsā́-ā́	*ànsā́wáá

In the formation of the female family-name in (21) above, we posit a deletion of the morpheme-initial /-b/ after the compounding stage. This deletion process then results in a marked structure of the sequence of three vowels $–V_1\#\ -V_2V_3$ in a personal name in the surface representation (except in some syntactic constructions such as the completive form of say, **hunu** 'see' in **ɔhunuuiɛ** 's/he saw (it)'). Such sequence has been observed to be permitted in Akan personal names only at the juncture of two separate personal names said in a fast speech, and even that, such a sequence is as a result of compensatory lengthening (cf. Adomako 2015). This sequence can be of the same vowel quality, as in the examples above (under '*b*-deletion'), or of two different qualities between the V_1- and the remnant $-V_2V_3$ of the female morpheme. As a repair mechanism for this, either one of the remnant vowels will further be dropped when they are of the same quality as the V_1. On the other hand, where the quality of the V_1 is different from the remnant vowels, the V_2 will coalesce with the V_1 at the juncture. Example of such cases for the latter is in the formation of **tɕɪra-a** from **tɕɪrɛ + baa.**

To account for this in OT, the same set of constraints employed in our analysis in subsection 4.2.1.1 will be needed here. However, unlike in that analysis which focused on feature value change, this time around the focus here in on structural well-formedness and the strategy to ensure that has been observed to be the deletion rule. To allow deletion to take place, MAX-IO, which was highly-ranked in the previous tableau, needs to be demoted significantly so that its violation will not significantly affect the optimal candidate. And just as has been seen in (21), deleting only the initial /-b/ will result in a marked V#VV sequence in a singleton personal name. The constraint to penalize such illicit sequence, in this case, will be *VVV. This constraint has to rank above MAX-IO for the fact that deleting the initial consonant is less costly than allowing the sequence. I define *VVV as follows.

(22) ***VVV**: A sequence of three or more contiguous vowels within a morpheme is prohibited.

The use of the morpheme to define the domain of the prohibition of the sequence is in reference to the fact that at the surface level, though the claim in this paper thus far is that these female family-names are bi-morphemic in the underlying representation, they surface as one morpheme.

4.2.4.1. Formalisation of morpheme –*baa* reduction in the Asante female family-name

In this subsection, the cases of the reduction of the female morpheme –baa in forming some Asante female family-names. I will need to re-rank some of the constraints used in 4.2.1.1 to account for this process as below.

Tableau 4: Analysis of the reduction of the female morpheme –baa in the Asante

/ ansa + baa /	IDENT-IO(Pl)	*V#CV	IDENT -IO(cont)	*VVV	MAX-IO
a. ansabaa		*!			
b. ansawaa			*!		
c. ☞ansaa					**
d. ansaaa				*!	*

(23) Ranking: IDENT-IO(Pl), *V#CV»IDENT -IO(cont) »*VVV» MAX-IO

From tableau 4, both candidates (a) is the worst among the possibilities in the tableau because of its fatal violation of the highly-ranked *V#CV, though that is the only constraints it violates. Candidate (b) follows (a) in being ruled out of the competition for incurring a fatal violation mark for the crucially-ranked constraint; IDENT-IO(cont), a constraint that enforces the output forms to maintain the input value for the feature [continuant]. The competition for the optimality then falls between the candidate (c) and the candidate (b), both of which employ deletion to avoid violation *V#CV. By so doing, these two are the only candidates that violate the anti-deletion constraint MAX-IO. Though candidate (c) violates MAX-IO twice *vis-à-vis* once by its closest competitor; (d), it emerges optimal at the expense of (c) for satisfying a deciding constraint; *VVV which candidate (c) violates albeit once.

4.3. Female family-name formation in the Akuapem

In the Akuapem dialect, basically, a straightforward as well as a systematic formation pattern is observed in its female family-name. That is, it goes through the morphological process of affixation. However, all the three additional phonological processes so far discussed to apply in the Asante are deactivated in the Akuapem case. In other words, the derivation process in Akuapem is basically morphological i.e. simple compounding. I exemplify this in (24).

(24) Underlying initial /-b/ surfaces as [b]

	Base form	Derived form	Ill-form[11]
a.	ɔfɛ́è + béá	ɔfɛ̀ìbíá	*ɔfɛɪwɪa
b.	àgyèí + béá	ædʑèíbíá	*ædʑeiwɪa
c.	sákyì + béá	sætɕìbíá	*sætɕiwɪa
d.	àsá + béá	àsàbíá	*asawɪa
e.	àdú + béá	ædúbíá	*aduwɪa
f.	àdò + béá	àdʊ̀bíá	*adʊwɪa
g.	àgyèkúm̀ + béá	ædʑèkúm̀bíá	*ædʑekummɪa
h.	gyáǹ + béá	dʑáǹbíá	*dʑanwɪa/dʑammɪa

From the examples above, the phonological processes, namely lenition, nasal assimilation, and syllable reduction, which we observed applied in different contexts in accounting for the formation of the female family-names in the Asante, do not apply at all in the Akuapem case. For example, the lenition rule fails to apply in (24a) – (24f), while the nasal place assimilation also does not apply in (24g) – (24h). The only common process the two dialects share is the compounding of the two morphemes. This non-application of

[11] It is worth noting that the ill-forms in the Akuapem derived female family-names are possible and acceptable names in the Asante dialect; the initial plosive of the second morpheme would have undergone the lenition or liquid formation process in that context as have been discussed earlier in this paper. One exception to this generalization is the female family-names such as **Oforiwaa** ***Oforibea** that exist among Akuapem speakers. It is plausible to posit that this name might have been wholly adopted directly from the Asante stock as the male counterpart **Safori**, and not **Ofori**, is rather common among Akuapem speakers just as was hypothesized that [**dʑammĩã**] might have originated from the Bono's [**dʑammãã**] and adapted into Akuapem as [**dʑanbɪa**] and then finally back to Bono as [**dʑammĩã**].

those phonological rules makes the Akuapem process phonological poor, its formalisation, though becomes straightforward which I do in the following subsection.

4.3.1. Formalisation of the Akuapem female family-name

In accounting for the female family-name formation in Akuapem, one has to simply re-rank the last two constraints of the ranking in (14). That is, IDENT-IO(cont) has to outrank *V#CV. The output in Akuapem, unlike in the Asante dialect, is systematically faithful to the input. I present the analysis showing candidates that do not apply lenition and nasal assimilation are rather preferred in Akuapem in tableau 5 below.

Tableau 5: Analysis of the Akuapem female family-name formation

1. / sætɕi + bɪa /	IDENT-IO(Pl)	MAX-IO	IDENT - IO	*V#CV
a. ☞sætɕibɪa				*
b. sætɕiwaa			*!	
c. sætɕiwɪa			*!	
d. sætɕiɪa		*!		
2. /ædʑekum + bɪa/				
a.☞ædʑekumbɪa				
b. ædʑekummɪa			*!	
c. ædʑekumwaa			*!	
d. ædʑekumɪa		*!		

(27) Ranking: IDENT-IO(Pl), MAX-IO » IDENT-IO »*V#CV

In Tableau 5, IDENT-IO has been left non-specified for any feature in order to be able to account for the different cases of mismatch between the segments in the input and those of the output. For example, the analysis in 1 of Tableau 5, IDENT-IO could refer to the manner feature [continuant], while in 2 it can also refer to the feature [nasal]. In summary, by promoting the Input-Output faithfulness constraints while demoting the structural well-

formedness constraint(s) at the same, it will result in the emergence of faithful outputs, which is the case in Tableau 5. The optimal outputs in both analyses truly reflect the forms in Akuapem.

In the following subsection, a similar formation process in the Fante dialect will be briefly discussed. Unlike the case of Akuapem, lenition and nasalization rules apply non-systematically in the Fante dialect. This is expatiated in subsection 4.4.

4.4. Female family-name formation in Fante

The derivation of the female family-names in Fante presents another interesting scenario. Three contexts in the formation processes are discussed in this subsection. The first context is where the female morpheme occurs before high vowels. The second is where the female morpheme occurs before non-high vowels. The third context is where the same morpheme is preceded by non-vowel sonorants.

Just like the lenition example that was considered for the Asante dialect, it is observed the same process in the Fante dialect as well. However, unlike the Asante example, the Fante case seems to be highly context-defined. That is, it systematically applies whenever the final vowel of the source male family-name is specified for [+high]. The morpheme-final vowel of the underlying male family-name is underlined for emphasis.

(28) Underlying initial /-b/ lenites to [w] when preceded by [+high]

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form
a.	èdú +bá	èdúbá	èdu̲wá
b.	sèkyì + bá	sèkyìbá	sètɕi̲wá
c.	gyèsí + bá	gyèsíbá	dʑèsi̲wá
d.	kwèńtsí + bá	kwéńtsíbá	kʷèńtsi̲wá
e.	dádzìè[dáádzì]+bá	dádzèbá	àdààdzi̲wá
f.	bùdù + bá	bùdùbá	bùdu̲wá
g.	òbósù + bá	òbósùbá	òbósu̲!wá
h.	sègú + bá	sègúbá	sègu̲wá
i.	áyéńsú+ bá	áyéńsúbá	ájéńsu̲wá
j.	kwèénú + bá	kwèénúbá	kʷèénu̲wá
k.	pèńtsí + bá	pèńtsíbá	pèńtsi̲wá
l.	áfènyí + bá	áfènyíbá	áfɛ̀ɲi̲wá

m.	**èsíèdú + bá**	**èsíèdúbá**	**èsíèdu̲wá**
n.	**àmàm̀fí + bá**	**àmàm̀fíbá**	**àmàm̀fi̲wá**
o.	**bèényí + bá**	**benyinbá**	**bèéɲi̲wá**

From the examples in (28), we see clearly the lenition process which we observed in the Asante data applies here as well. That is, before a morpheme-final V, morpheme-initial /-b/ lenites to [w]. The difference between the two cases, however, is that in the Fante, the preceding vowel is specified for [+high] while it was not specified at all in the Asante case. From the Fante data, this context systematically triggers the lenition process. However, there are other contexts in which the process still applies where though the preceding V is non-high as can be seen in the following examples in (29) below.

(29) Underlying intervocalic /-b/ lenites to [w] when preceded by [-high]

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form	Ill-formed
a.	**édúà + bá**	**eduaba**	**édʊía̲wá**	***eduaba**
b.	**bàá + bá**	**baaba**	**bàa̲wá**	***baaba**
c.	**sáà + bá**	**saaba**	**sáa̲wá~sáàbá**	
d.	**àm̀péà + bá**	**ampeaba**	**àm̀pìa̲wá~àm̀pìàbá**	
e.	**èsáńdɔ̀ + bá**	**esandɔba**	**èsáńdɔ̰wá**	***esandɔba**

More complicated is the case where the lenition process fails to apply in very similar contexts as described above in (29) i.e. before non-high vowels. I provide examples in (30) for illustration.

(30) Failure of lenition

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form	Ill-formed
a.	**m̀bòrɔ́ + bá**	**mborɔbá**	**m̀bòrɔ̰bá**	***borɔwa**
b.	**àpàá + bá**	**apaaba**	**àpàa̲bá**	***apaawa**
c.	**yámóà + bá**	**yamoaba**	**jámóa̲bá**	***yamoawa**
d.	**m̀bèá + bá**	**mbeaba**	**m̀bìa̲bá**	***mbeawa**

The third case in Fante where nasal assimilation seems to follow that of the Asante in (31), but at the same time in similar context fails to apply as can be seen in the following examples in (32). It is worth pointing out that the examples in (31) do not seem usual of the Fante dialect of Akan which does not usually apply nasal place assimilation. If anything

at all, we would expect Fante names to behave like those in (32). I suppose a detailed investigation into this phenomenon will be required to explain this particular pattern. The question is, are there really three separate female morphemes in Fante at the lexical level?

(31) Nasal assimilation in Fante

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form	Ill-formed
a.	**ɔ̀bɛ́ń + bá**	**ɔbenba**	**ɔ̀bɪ̃̀mã́**	***ɔbenba**
b.	**ǹtsɛ́ń + bá**	**ntsenba**	**ǹtsɪ̃̀mã́**	***ntsenba**
c.	**áhèǹ + bá**	**ahenba**	**àhɪ̃̀ǹmá**	***ahenba**
d.	**kwàáńsá + bá**	**kwaansaba**	**kʷàánsɪ̃́mã́**	***kwanseba/kwansewa**

(32) Failure of nasal assimilation in Fante

	Base forms	Compound form	Derived form	Ill-formed
a.	**nyáǹ + bá**	**nyanba**	**ɲã́n̠bá**	***nyamma**
b.	**gyàǹ + bá**	**gyanba**	**dʑàn̠bá/dʑààbá**	***gyamma**

From the examples above on the Fante female family-name formation, it becomes complicated to phonologically account for the derivational process in the Fante dialect.

It is therefore concluded, based on the discussions made thus far, that the *b*-softening process, which leads to glide formation, is very robust and systematic in the Asante dialect, while it is virtually non-applicable in typical Akuapem derived female family-names. I use the qualification ‘typical’ in reference to an earlier explanation that what seemed to be the exceptional case of the non-application of the lenition rule [**oforiwaa**] seems not to be a derivation from a typical Akuapem male family-name. In Fante, however, it is non-systematic; in the same context, it sometimes applies while it fails to apply in some other times.

In sonority theory, it can be concluded that the sonority of initial *b*-increases through both the glide formation and the nasal assimilation in the Asante dialect and to some extent, in the Fante dialect as well.

What is of interest though is how the glide formation ensues: a stop becoming a glide intervocalically is well attested cross-linguistically and therefore phonologically straightforward to explain, but a stop becoming a glide before a nasal consonant is what is not phonologically easily attested other than one espousing markedness reduction theory.

As has been indicated already in the present paper, diachronic information will be essential in explaining such phenomenon generally.

5. Conclusion

This paper has analysed the formation of some female family-names among the Akan people of Ghana. It has been shown that in the derivation process, three major phonological processes ensue in addition to the systematic morphological process of compounding. These phonological processes are lenition or b-softening, and nasalization. In deriving or forming a female family-name, an underlying /-**báá**/, which has two main contextually-defined variants or allomorphs [**-waa**] and [**-maa**] in the Asante dialect, has been posited in this paper. It has been concluded that the underlying morpheme-initial plosive /b/never surfaces in the Asante dialect. And with regard to the Akuapem dialect, the same morpheme-initial stop has been shown to resist any such phonological alternations hence, the morpheme-initial /b/never changes. Finally, for the Fante dialect, it was concluded that the neutralization or otherwise of the initial stop is optional and highly context-defined. It has also claimed in this paper that contrary to the common view in existing literature postulating a common underlying female morpheme for deriving female personal names i.e. both day-names and family-names in Akan, the underlying /-**baa**, -**bea**/ and /-**ba**/ have independent forms as well as functions in the Twi dialects. It is only in the Fante dialect that posits a common underlying form for the derivation of names that indicate 'female' and 'diminution'.

Having said all these, it is worth pointing out that there are some female family-names such as **Akyiamaa [ætɕí'ɑ́ɑ́mɑ́ɑ́]**, which are not derived from an underlying **Akyiaa [ætɕí'ɑ́ɑ́]**; itself an exclusively female name. From this, the learnability implication is that the learner cannot tell from hindsight, given any male family-name, what the derived female counterpart would be. On the other hand, determining a male family-name from a given derived female family-name is comparatively more straightforward. However, that also comes with its challenge, namely that there are also few male family-names which resemble derived female family-names in form. Some of these names are **Asianowaa, Nsowaa, Twenewaa** etc. among Twi speakers, which are not necessarily derived from the underlying names ***Asiano, *Nso(n), *Twene,** etc. Similarly, there are also Fante male names such as **Entsiwa, Obuesiwa,** which are not derived from ***Entsi, *Obuesi** respectively. There are two possible cognitive implications for the patterns discussed so far: (a) how does the learner know which male family-names are derivable and which ones

are not? (b) How then does the learner distinguish between family-names which bear the allomorphs [-**waa**], [-**maa**], [-**a**] in Twi on the one hand, and [**-ba**], [**-ma**], [-**wa**] in the Fante, on the other hand, as truly derived female family-names and those that carry similar allomorphs but are not necessarily derived family-names (both male and female names)? A possible solution to these problems may reside perhaps in the lexicon. It has to do with the lexicon- memorization. In the lexicon, all those derivable family-names might be specified for [+derivative] while those that cannot be derived are assigned the feature value [−derivative].

So far what I have attempted to do in this paper is to simply provide an account for some female family-names which are derived from the [+derivative] male family-names in Akan. Thus, it will be a straightforward task for the learner to determine a possible male family-name source from a derived female family-name than the other way around. This is so because as was shown earlier in this paper, there are a lot of family-names which are [+derivative]. However, given any Akan male family-name that is [+derivative] out of which a female counterpart is to be derived, there is a continuum of challenge in accounting for how the female morpheme-initial/-b/ manifests itself among the three major dialects. While the Akuapem dialect presents the most straightforward task on the one end of the continuum, the Fante dialect, at the other end of the continuum, presents the most complicated challenge for doing so. The Asante dialect, on the other hand, occupies the midpoint.

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP TERMS IN LIKPAKPALN (KONKOMBA)

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Abstract

This study, synchronically, describes and explicates the phenomenon of kinship terms in *Likpakpaln*, a Gur member of the Niger-Congo phylum, spoken mainly in the northern parts of Ghana. It focuses on the addressive usage of kinship terms. I use observation (both participant and non-participant) as a principal ethnographic data collection technique, supplemented by the semi-structured interview, informal conversation and my native speaker introspection. The analysis of data is informed by Dell Hyme's ethnography of communication as a theoretical frame. Based on the data analysed, I argue that kinship addresses in *Likpakpaln* can be categorised into three major types: agnatic, matrilateral and affinal kinship address forms, of which matrilateral and affinal kinship addresses are by complementary filiation. I also show that communicative ends have a significant influence on the vocative usage of kinship terms in interlocution among the *Bikpakpaam* (the Konkomba people). I further argue that the repertoire of *Likpakpaln* kinship addresses and the pattern of usage of these kinship addresses in communicative interactions is greatly tied to the *Bikpakpaam* kinship structure and social universe. Finally, I observe that there is a perceptible level of intercultural intrusion on the kinship address terms used among the *Bikpakpaam*.

Key terms: Sociolinguistic analysis, kinship terms and *Likpakpaln*

1. Introduction

The arena of address terms is one that has enjoyed flourishing scholarly attention in sociolinguistic investigations (Dickey, 1997: 255; Afful, 2006a: 275). The significant interest level shown in address terms seems to find a unanimous justification by many

researchers that address terms play a very important role in human communication and society. For instance, Mashiri (1999: 93-94), in a study of terms of address among the Shona of Zimbabwe, maintains that terms of address serve as conduits of communicating the values and expectations of groups, individual beliefs, fears, hopes and attitudes. On a similar note, Bonvillain (2000: 83-89), establishes that address terms play a crucial function in communication, social interaction and cohesion. Deriving from the foregoing claims is the fact that studies on address terms have, consistently, proved useful in providing a panoramic view into the nature of societies and cultures. Following this, one cannot, but further concur with Afful (2006b: 76) that address terms are an important feature of the interface between language and society. Thus, address terms are a focal resource in sociolinguistics, the study of relations between language and society.

Nonetheless, it has been observed that whereas there are an admittedly ever-increasing number of studies on address terms, a majority of such studies are based on Anglo-American, Euro-Asian and Latin American milieus. On the contrary, a relatively few of such works explore address phenomena in African contexts and, for that matter, Ghana (Afful, 2006a: 277). As by Afful, the body of sociolinguistic research on Ghanaian languages is partitionable into two: those on Akan and those on non-Akan, of which the literature on Akan is seen to be far more enhanced than that on the non-Akan linguistic systems. The present study, by being pitched on the *Likpakpaln* linguistic culture, adds to the non-Akan wing of the literature.

It is also no exaggeration to say that there are, scarcely, available studies specifically on address terms among the *Bikpakpaam* (speakers of *Likpakpaln*/the Konkomba people). The apparent rarity of linguistic documentation on address terms relating to the *Bikpakpaam* ethno-linguistic group is, probably, a reflection of the attested under-documentation of their language and culture (Maasole, 2006; Schwarz, 2009). Whereas there is little researched about the *Likpakpaln* language and culture, many of the speaker communities, including Kpassa and Sibi (all in the Nkwanta North District of Northern Volta, Ghana) where data for the present study were collected, are becoming highly cosmopolitan, a situation being triggered by modern urbanization and globalization trends.

In response to the afore-highlighted situation, this study is staged as a documentation of Kinship terms (KTs) as an address phenomenon in *Likpakpaln* while also contributing to the expansion of relevant knowledge on address systems in African linguistic contexts. Given its positioning, the study, as well, carries relevant implications for trans-ethnic and intercultural communication in the rapidly ever globalising world.

Additionally, the present paper also registers its own voice in the ever-evolving theoretical discourse surrounding Brown's (1965) famous Invariant Norm of Address (INA). Brown's Invariant Norm of Address has been described as a re-statement of a claim earlier made by Brown and Ford (1961) that the major determinants of address choices are status and intimacy (Quin, 2008: 409). As argued by Brown, the Invariant Norm of Address is to constitute a culturally universal principle about addressing. This principle is more elaborately stated as: the linguistic form used for an inferior in dyads of unequal status is used in dyads of equal status among intimates and that the linguistic form used for a superior in dyads of unequal status is used in dyads of equal status among strangers. The position of the present study is that whereas one cannot underestimate the role of status and intimacy variables in the choice of address terms, communicative intentions also significantly regulate address choices in interlocution. Beyond this, it is also made clear in the present study that address terms are quite versatile and the same address category can be contextually manipulated into communicative functions deemed typical of some other address types.

2. Theoretical Framework

This study is situated in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964/1974). Consequently, it draws on the inspiration that any investigation of the problems of language must call to attention the need for fresh kinds of data and also attention to the essence of investigating directly the use of language in contexts of situation so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity. Further, such an approach must take as context a community, investigating its communicative habits as a whole. That way, any given use of channel and code takes its place as but part of the resources upon which members of the community draw (Hymes, 1964: 3).

It is communication that must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described. The same linguistic means can be organised for quite differing communicative ends while it is also true to say that the same communicative ends may be served by significantly varied linguistic forms. Facets of the cultural values and beliefs, social institutions, roles and personalities, history and ecology of a community must be examined together in relation to communicative events and patterns as focus of study (Hymes 1964: 3). This aspect of the ethnography of communication is particularly relevant to my present task, as the study tries to examine how one category of address terms (Kinship addresses) can be communicatively organised

and used towards different communicative goals. As well, the study explores how communicative intentions/goals can influence speakers to deploy kinship address forms in conversation. In doing so, I also pay attention to how socio-cultural values, beliefs, norms and practices of speakers are interlaced with the phenomenon of kinship addresses (KAs).

Also, this study takes a theoretical basis in Hymes' (1974) model of the ethnography of communication. In this theoretical paradigm, Hymes proposes that every communicative event has eight crucial factors to consider: setting (S), participants (P), Ends (E), act sequence (A), key (K), instrumentalities (I), norms of interaction and interpretation (N) and genre (G). The linkage between this study and Hymes' model is to the extent that the present study pays attention to how participant relationships and communicative ends/goals determine kinship address choices and usage in *Bikpakpaam* communication.

3. Methodology

Field work for this study lasted 6 months in all. The field sessions were September to December, 2013 and June to August, 2014. The field settings included Kpassa and Sibi, all in the Nkwanta North District of Northern Volta, Ghana. These communities are among the most well-known traditional settings of the *Bikpakpaam* where authentic data that reflect the *Bikpakpaam* people's knowledge of their language and culture can be ascertained. I use observation (both participant and non-participant) as the main data instrument in sociolinguistic ethnographies (Levon, 2013: 196; Wardhaugh, 2006: 249) and complement this data method with the semi-structured interview, the informal conversation and my native speaker introspection. This also aided an analysis of the phenomenon from both etic and emic points of view. The interview engaged 8 purposively sampled participants (4 male and 4 female), aged 40 and above. In addition to a-40-year minimum age threshold, the purposive selection also required that a consultant was a native speaker of *Likpakpaln* and should have continuously resided in the local community for, at least, the past 20 years. The interviews were mostly used to elicit a catalogue of *Likpakpaln* kinship terms (LKTs) and to also ascertain whether or not there were definite overt social norms that mediated the usage of Kinship address (KA) in *Likpakpaln*. Informal conversation served chiefly as a mechanism for cross-checking and further probing of data and information gleaned. The observation took place in 26 communicative contexts, covering interactional domains such as family settings, market contexts, funeral occasions, arbitration sessions at chiefs' palaces, marriage dispute resolution proceedings and religious ceremonies (table 1 represents the communicative domains and frequencies of

observation). The 26 observations were beside the other opportunistic scenarios that I took advantage of. The domains for observation were carefully chosen to ensure that the data was representative of varied participant and social domains of language use. 312 instances of actual usage of KAs in natural discourse were recorded and analysed within the ethnography of Communication (Hymes, 1964/1974). For each kinship address instance recorded, I further inquired and noted down the actual kinship relationship between the interactants. Attention was also paid to the relative ages of interlocutors in the particular exchanges recorded.

Table 1 Distribution of Observed Communicative Domains

Domain	**Frequency of Observation**
Family	8
Funeral	5
Market	4
Chief's palace (arbitration)	3
Marriage dispute resolution	2
Religious ceremony	4
	Total = 26

4. The *Bikpakpaam* Lineage and Clan System

The *Bikpakpaam* are, historically, an acephalous voltaic people in northern Ghana, among whom are other ethnicities such as the Lobi, the Gurunsi, the Kusasi, the Sissala etc. As a Voltaic people, the *Bikpakpaam's* original location in Ghana is in the western part of the Oti River system where they spread over an area up to 50km wide and 175km from north to south (Middleton & Tait, 1958; Tait, 1961; Barker, 1991). In the Oti plain area, Saboba is often regarded as the traditional centre of the *Bikpakpaam*. As a true representation as this may be, the *Bikpakpaam* are also currently well represented in many other parts of Ghana (see Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada [GH], 1996) where in several cases they have indigenised and hold sway in certain settlements. Kintampo and Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo and the Nkwanta Districts in Northern Volta are some of the areas where *Bikpakpaam* are well represented in population terms. The *Bikpakpaam* are located in latitude 7.94653 and longitude 1.02319. Simons and Fennig (2017) in

Ethnologue: Languages of the world estimate that the *Bikpakpaam* population in Ghana alone is 831000.

The *Bikpakpaam* is a highly segmentary tribe in socio-politico outlook (Middleton & Tait, 1958: 1). The society is segmented into clans and lineages founded on unilineal descent groups. In the *Bikpakpaam* social sphere, a lineage is an agnatic descent group and between lineages of one clan, an agnatic relationship is assumed (Tait, 1961: 72). Each clan is a system of lineages, which in themselves are genealogical structures. Under the superordinate clan, there is the major lineage, decomposed into two or three minor lineages and the minor lineage into a number of nuclear lineages. Again, the major lineage consists of agnatic kin descended from an apical ancestor, three or four generations from the surviving compound head. In a similar fashion, a minor lineage is two or three generations between an apical ancestor and the living compound head. A nuclear lineage, on the other hand, is an agnatic group from an apical ancestor in the father or grandfather of living compound heads.

A *Bikpakpaam* clan can be unitary, compound or contrapuntal, the latter being attributable to disjunctive and expansionistic migrations Barker, 1991). The traditional residential style in the *Bikpakpaam* clan system is one clan per district. In other terminologies, the district, in this sense, is a parish or a hamlet. A member of the *Bikpakpaam* society speaks of his/her clan referentially as doyaab and addressively as **N-doyaab**. This term cognates in Tait (1961) as dejaa.

In spite of the fact that it is patrilineal ties that receive emphasis among the *Bikpakpaam*, the individual's concomitant relations with matrilateral and affinal kin cannot also be ignored. The existence of these relationships is crystallised in a number of matrilateral as well as affinal rights and duties imposed on a member of the *Bikpakpaam* society (Barker,1991:9). For instance, one may say that there is a very weak form of avuncularism among the people where a sister's son can be called to assist on the farm of the mother's brother.

Although socio-cultural paradigms continue to drift, the *Bikpakpaam* lineage and clan system is yet to see any considerable metamorphosis.

5. Kinship Terms: The Referential Versus the Addressive

Among the multiplicity of definitions targeted at explaining address terms is the view that an address term is a word or phrase that is used for the person being talked to or written to, Yule (2006), cited in Esmae'li (2011). Yule's definition, though simplistic, tends to be more appealing as it caters for both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication.

Other definitions of address terms as feature in Afful (2006a), Oyetade (1995) and Keshavarz (2001), among others, seem to have a limitation by circumscribing address terms solely to oral, face-to-face interaction. Another view by Bonvillain (2000: 83) has it that address terms, also known as terms of address include several linguistic types and forms that can be used to name, refer to or address a participant in a communicative situation.

A distinction is struck between the referential and the vocative or address functions of linguistic expressions. While such a distinction is well asserted in the literature, it is also admitted that there is no absolute transparent relationship between referential and vocative usage. Address and reference tend to share a lot of tendencies, a situation which throws a great challenge at any attempt to set the two clearly apart. For instance, just as it is impracticable to attempt to determine the way a given individual is normally referred to, so it is with trying to figure out the usual way that a person is addressed. Both reference and address for an individual vary according to the speaker and convey the speaker's relationship to the addressee or the referent. Again, in many cases, a term that is used in reference to a person is also maintained as an address to him/her. For example, a child's parent may refer to him as *John* when talking to the child's teacher and still retain *John* in an address context to the child at home.

On the obverse side of this argument, addresses and references are parameterised on a number of points. First and foremost, the same speaker may use separate forms in reference and in address to the same person. For instance, a Ghanaian student may refer to his teacher as *Mrs. Akoto*, but address her as *Madam*. Again, the referential meaning of a word may be at variance with its addressive interpretation such that a referentially denigratory term can become neutral in an address respect. Afful (2006b: 86) instantiates the case of the Akan derogatory form, *kwasea* (stupid) in an address rendered as *Kwasea Boy* among a student clique at the University of Cape Coast (UCC), Ghana. He also demonstrates how otherwise apparently derogatory English forms like *Naughty Boy* and *Foolish Man* feature as acceptable addressives in verbal exchanges of student in-groups at UCC. As shown by Afful, these descriptive phrases, in their denotation as insults, are divested of such meaning in communicative encounters and, thus, are invested with some tinge of neutrality.

It probably stands to say that the only functional means to perceiving the thin line between the referential and the vocative usage of linguistic forms is when the phenomenon is subjected to a synchronic, socio-pragmatic analysis (see Dickey 1997). Nonetheless, in a basic sense, a word assumes an addressive or vocative status when it is used to directly

call a co-participant in communication, but referential when it serves as a reference label. In this sense, therefore, the vocative usage of a term is how it is used in a context to call an intended decoder/recipient of a message while the referential sense relates to how the person being talked about is termed. Illustratively, this means that if A communicates to C about B, the set of terms A uses to denote C will stand as addresses/addressives whereas A's terms denoting B will most likely serve as referential items.

KTs, as a set of linguistic expressions, function both as referential and address terms in communication. It is the addressive usage of kinship terms that this study is slanted towards.

6. The Lexicon, form and Context of *Likpakpaln* Kinship Addresses

KTs are linguistic expressions that are used for relations, whether of consanguineous or complementary filiation ties. They are indicative of the relationship between a person and his relatives (Yang, 2010: 738). In a related sense and for suitability to the research context of this study, I explain kinship addresses as nominal vocatives that are mainly used to call one's relatives in speech.

Likpakpaln kinship addressives (LKAs) are generally nominal forms. In this sense, therefore, *Likpakpaln* kinship terms have a categorial semblance with Akan (Akan is a majority ethnolinguistic group in Ghana) honorific terms, except that the latter further incorporates (a few) pronominal items (Agyekum, 2003: 370). The repertoire of LKAs is open-ended only in the sense of lexical borrowing. This means that membership of the repertoire does not easily lend itself to addition either by derivation or other processes, except through borrowing as a result of intercultural contact. Thus, one can say that it is basically by lexical borrowing that the stock of LKAs is susceptible to linguistic and cultural dynamism. A KT in *Likpakpaln* has two related forms for referential and addressive usages respectively: either a base or a stem form, prefixed with a syllabic and pronominal clitic **N-**, which I analyse in an address situation as the genitive, *my*. The vocative form of a kinship term in *Likpakpaln* invariably necessitates prefixing the **N-** pronoun to the item involved. For example, the item **N-ti** (my father) is not in an addressive sense without being preposed with **N-**. Consequently, a KT without the **N-** assumes a referential status. Hence, the terms, **Ti** (father), **Na** (mother), **Ninkpan** (sister) and **Yaaja** (grandfather) are the forms used in reference as against **N-na** (my mother), **N-ninkpan** (my sister) and **N-yaaja** (my grandfather) which constitute the addressive forms. This structure of LKAs is analogous to forms Dickey (1997: 262) describe as kinship terms with possessive modifiers. Usually, if the base of a kinship term begins with a bilabial, the **N-**

pronominal prefix undergoes a homorganic nasal assimilation when attached to a KT with a bilabial initial, resulting in an **M-** as in **M-beil** (my elder brother), **M-puul** (my aunt, i.e. father's sister/paternal aunt). A KT, whether as an addressive or referential form can be suffixed with – the class 2a **-tiib** [1]to mark plurality (see Winkelmann, 2012: 473-5 for *Likpakpaln* noun classes).

An interesting observation, from the data for this study, is that one cannot rely on only the form of a kinship term to determine its communicative function as an address or a reference term. It is noted that whereas kinship terms in address contexts constantly go with the **N-/M-** prefix, such forms also occur in some referential usages. The conversational exchanges below evince the foregoing communicative reality with the use of *Likpakpaln* kinship terms:

1. A: **Hey! U-bu wei, a-cha la chee?**
Hey! CL.1-child DEM 2SG-go.PROG where LOC
'Hey! This child, where are you going to?'

B: **N=na ntum mi ke n**
GEN;SG=mother send.PRF 1SG.OBJ CONN 1SG.SBJ
ti-daa ti-waan.
to-buy.IPFV CL.21-thing
'My mother/my mum has sent me to buy something.'

2. A: **N=na, kpe sa sambal ya wii!**
GEN;SG=mother, look.PRS 2SG.POSS plate DEF crack.PRF
'My mother/my mum, look, your plate is cracked!

B: **N=kan. Fu ya nka li fi lir**
1SG=see.PRF. Yesterday DEF CONN 3SG.SBJ TRM fall.PRF
ki-tiŋ.
CL.12,15-ground
'I have seen it. It fell on the floor/ground yesterday.'

[1] Likpakpaln kinship terms in their root/base forms are placed under noun class 1a and in class 2a when in their plural, but referential form.

As can be observed, in 1 above, B uses **N-na** as a reference term while in 2 the same form, **N-na** is used addressively by A. However, the absence of the **N-/M-** pronominal clitic in a kinship term, irrespective of context, is invariably suggestive of referential usage. One can, therefore, postulate that the determination of referential and addressive uses of *Likpakpaln* KTs rests on both the linguistic (morphological) form and communicative context. This can be schematically represented as: form + context = function of a KT.

Every *Likpakpaln* kinship address used in a communicative encounter inherently indexicalises the relative social personae of the interactants as well as suggest the type of relational bond existing between them. This phenomenon with LKAs is in tandem with a resounding argument in the literature that terms of address are extremely important conveyers of social information and reflect interpersonal relationships (Qin, 2008: 409-410). Social information here can be about individuals in a dyad or aspects of the socio-cultural cosmology. Generally, a LKA will include, in its composite semantic interpretation, age, gender and type of kin relationship between the addresser and the addressee. It must, nevertheless, be noted that the age and the relational meanings suggested in a kinship address is not to always be taken literally on every occasion of use. For example, a woman is supposed to address each of her father-in-law's wives as **N-chapii** (an address term for husband's mother), regardless of the relative age of the addressee to the addresser. This also happens, as in other cultures, when adults/parents sometimes invert addresses with children so that a child is addressed by a parent as *father*, *mother* etc. (Aliakbari & Toni, 2008; Mashiri, 1999). The relational semantic also commonly assumes a non-literal sense in a context of extension of a kinship address to a non-relative.

The set of linguistic expressions that serve as kinship addresses (KAs) in *Likpakpaln* are very much tied to the kinship system of the speakers. This linguistic reality is, once again, in line with the age-long theoretical notion that language use is socio-culturally determined (Wardhaugh, 2006: 221-224) whereas culture also finds expression through language. By their status as linguistic items, address terms have been shown to have their roots in the socio-cultural context of society (Oyetade, 1995; Aliakbari & Toni, 2008). Every LKA form chosen in a given context affirms one of three possible kinship relations: agnatic, matrilateral and affinal relation types. This falls in with the *Bikpakpaam* social dispensation whereby every individual born into the community, by default, acquires three categories of kin. These include paternal relatives, matrilateral relatives and affinal relatives. Although the *Bikpakpaam* operate a unilineal agnatic system of descent (Zimon, 2003: 429), the social order also places on the individual the responsibility of giving a certain threshold of social recognition for his/her matrilateral and affinal kin.

Delineating LKAs into three, namely, agnatic, matrilateral and affinal finds plausibility in the fact that every KA in the *Likpakpaln* repertoire non-neutrally point to a particular kind of relationship that is bounded within three kin types, although the matrilateral and the affinal KAs can be regarded as complementary since they are supposed to be meant for the non-descent members of an addresser. As will be discovered in the following section/s, LKAs, whenever they are employed in speech, are largely marked for these separate kin groups to the ego. This feature of bifurcation in *Likpakpaln* kinship terminologies is more clearly pronounced in the distinction that they mark between matrilateral and agnatic relatives. I diagrammatically represent the classification of LKAs as in the figure below:

7. Types of Likpakpaln Kinship Addresses

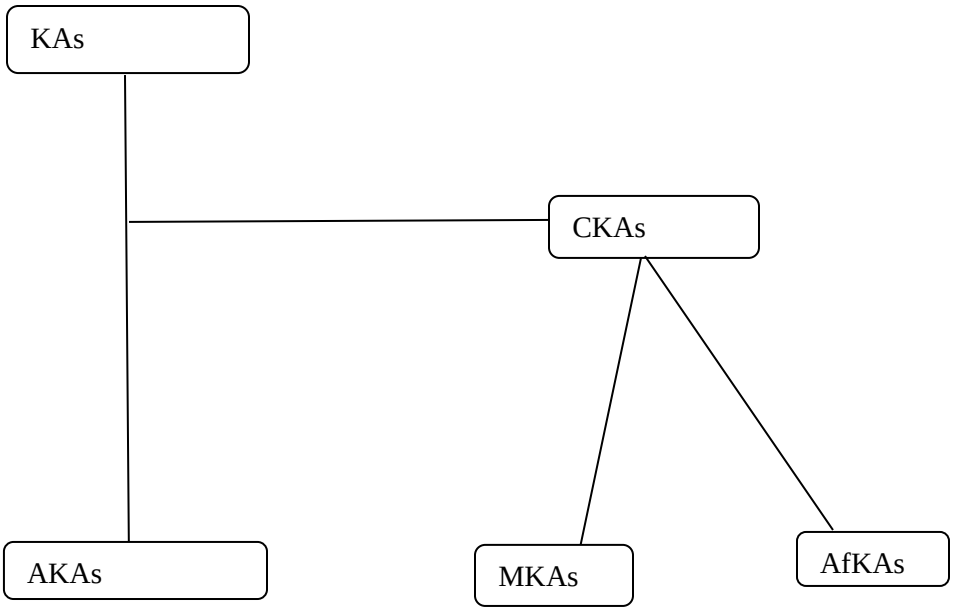

Figure 1: *Likpakpaln* Kinship Addresses

7.1. Agnatic Kinship Addresses (AKAs)

AKAs are the vocatives that reflect a patrilineal relationship between interlocutors. Given the strong patrilineal inclination of the *Bikpakpaam* society, one will further define AKAs as the KAs proper that are employed in address to members of one's descent. This category of KAs was observed to be the most commonly used among the *Bikpakpaam*. This can be attributed to an aspect of the social philosophy and practice among the *Bikpakpaam*. In the *Bikpakpaam* society, the legitimate kin to dwell among are one's paternal relatives and it is usually considered weird and deviant for one (particularly men) to take up a long-term residence with uterine or affinal relatives. It is, nonetheless, worthwhile indicating that the [2]*Bikpakpaam* practise virilocality and so women are expected to live in their husbands' communities. This situation finds enforcement in a kind of strict patrilineal territoriality among the *Bikpakpaam*. This finds corollary in Tait (1961: 73; Barker 1991: 7) that, as far as the Bikpakpaam habitation is concerned, one clan occupies one district and that patrilocal maximal lineages reside in contiguous hamlets. Ideally, one may only go to one's matrilateral kin when the occasion demands and so do married men keep visits to their affinal kin sparingly. This social norm and residential pattern naturally restricts the frequency of interlocutory engagements between matrilateral and affinal relatives as compared to such engagements with agnatic kin. It appears that the influence of kinship notion and practice on the use of LKAs is in compliance with the refrain in several related investigations that terms of address are significantly affected by history, social relationships and traditional ethics (Quin 2008; Yang 2010; Ismae'li 2011). Further still, this is reminiscent of Hymes' (1964) tenet that communicative events and patterns are best examined in relation to cultural values, beliefs, social institutions etc.

AKAs are not employed in a unidirectional mode in *Bikpakpaam* communication. In a verbal interaction, AKAs are sometimes used reciprocally in trans-gender and in cross-generational fashions between participants. Addressing among the *Bikpakpaam* lacks accompanying strict social sanctions. However, from a general point of view, the younger agnatic kin of a clan tend to more frequently address their elderly relatives with AKAs than the vice versa. There is infrequent use of AKAs in verbal engagements occurring between agnatic relatives in the same age ranks, even when such interlocutions are trans-gender. Traditionally, the use of AKAs in dyads between age mates may only be a deliberate recipe to a certain desired communicative effect. What rather happens in some instances is for

[2] In figure 1, KAs = kinship addresses, AKAs = agnatic kinship addresses, CKAs = complementary kinship addresses, MKAs = matrilateral kinship addresses and AfKAs = affinal kinship addresses.

some youths to resort to forms like **Braa/Brada** (bro./brother) and **Sista** (sister) as a mark of respect/politeness or unfamiliarity. These forms (which originate from English) may be used in isolation or used to precede the addressee's FN as in **Braa Mukanjo**, **Sista Nakool** etc. as can be noticed in the following exchanges:

3. A: **Braa** **Jangboja, ndopua.**
Bro. Jangboja, good morning
'Bro. Jagbonja, good morning.'
B: **Monica,** **lafei** **bi?**
Monica, health be.there
'Monica, how are you?

4. A: **Braa,** **u-nachipuan** **u=ti=si=na** **yin** **si.**
Bro., CL.1-young man who=LOC=stand.PROG=FOC call.PROG 2SG.OBJ
'Bro., the young man standing over there is calling you.'
B: **Yoo,** **aa=ni=li-tuln**
Ok, 2SG=and=CL.5-work
'Ok, thank you.'

The form, **Braa** can be used either in isolation or together with FN while **Brada** is often used alone. It is observed that when this pattern of KA + FN is used for a youth, there is a dignifying/respectability effect on the addressee. **Braa** in isolation may suggest politeness or lack of familiarity with the addressee's personal name while **Brada** in isolation is mostly indicative of unfamiliarity with addressee's name. This English-source address forms are clearly on ascendancy in African communities. [3]Afful (2006b) and Mashiri also confirm the use of similar addresses among the Fante of Ghana and the Shona of Zimbabwe respectively. Table 1 below provides a list of AKAs:

[3] Among the *Bikpakpaam*, people are seldom addressed with the last name(LN) or with the formal full name as in first name, plus last name (FNLN). The use of FN is the order of the day. LN and FNLN patterns usually occur in non-traditional contexts like in school, at the hospital, in church etc.

Table 2: Agnatic Kinship Addresses (AKAs)[4]

Kinship Address	Addresser - Addressee	English Gloss
Nyaaja	C ⟹ FF	Grandfather
Nti	C⟹ F	Father
Ntikpel	C⟹FBe	Uncle
Ntiwaa	C⟹FBy	Uncle
Mpuul	C⟹FZ	Aunt
Mbeil	B⟹Be	Elder brother
Nnaal	B⟹By	Younger brother
Mbeil	Z⟹Ze	Elder sister
Nnaal	Z⟹ Zy	Younger sister
Nninkpan	B⟹Z	Sister
Nninja	Z⟹B	Brother
Njapuan	F⟹S	Son

[4] The kinship addresses in Tables 2, 3 and 4 may not be exhaustive of the repertoire in *Likpakpaln*. However, all those that appeared in the research data are represented. The kin notations used in the tables were derived from Raciunaite-Pauzuoliene (2013: 103) and are interpreted as follows: F-father, B-brother, S-son, H-husband, e-older/elder, ss-same sex, M-mother, Z-sister, D-daughter, W-wife, y-younger and os-opposite sex. A combination of symbols expresses possession (e.g., MZ means mother's sister and FBe means father's brother younger than father). A double pointing arrow (⟺) suggests that both addresser and addressee can exchange the kinship address.

Mbisal	F⟹D	Daughter
Mpubil	FZ⟹C	Nephew/Niece
Nyaabil	F ⟹SC	Grandchild

In *Likpakpaln*, there are no separate AKAs for immediate and distant lineage or clan members. AKAs in *Likpakpaln* remain the same, for both immediate and distant relatives. For example, the addresses, **Ntikpel** (my elder paternal uncle) and **Ntiwaa** (my younger paternal uncle) are invariant for both immediate and non-immediate male paternal siblings of one's father. This address culture mirrors an aspect of the communalistic character of the *Bikpakpaam* society where every child belongs to every adult clan member and every adult clan member a parent to every child in the clan. In this regard, Tait (1961: 74) has this to say about the *Bikpakpaam*: "To any child the elder is my father; any child of the lineage is my child to the elder."

Another unique discovery around LKAs is that parents hardly address their own genetic children with the exact address forms that reflect the parent-child relationship as in **Mbisal** (my daughter) or **Njapuan** (my son). Parents prefer to use such addresses to the children of other relatives other than their own. When one decides to address one's own child with a KA, one will usually resort to non-literal usage of address such as addressing a child with **Ntiwaa**, **Nti**, **Mpuul**, **Nna** etc. This amounts to a pattern describable as reversative addressing since, at the moment of address, parents seem to invert their address positions with their children. Otherwise, FN is the commonest address form from parents to their genetic children.

7.2. Matrilateral Kinship Addresses (MKAs)

MKAs are the terms that are used in address to one's mother's patrikin or mother's agnates. The term **Nweitiib** is the hyperonym that collectively addresses or refers to all of one's matrilateral kin as the form, **Weitiib** is invariably the reference form for such relations. Among the *Bikpakpaam*, the use of KAs in communication is more stable and regular in matrilateral relationships than happens in agnatic relationships. This is to say that matrilateral relatives, across generations and gender tend to more regularly observe the use of appropriate KAs in their interactions than agnatic relations do. For instance, whereas

uterine kin in the same ranks will still prefer to address one another with KAs, same generation agnatic kin rarely use KAs, with the most prevalent address form being the exchange of FN. It is likely that this address situation is underpinned by a relatively reduced level of familiarity (conditioned by the *Bikpakpaam* social norms) among matrilateral kin. It was observed that with the exception of one's direct matrilateral grandparents (i.e. parents of one's mother) who will normally address one by FN, all other matrilateral kin will prefer to address one with an appropriate MKA, with the vice versa being the case. Table 3 provides a list of *Likpakpaln* MKAs, built from the research data.

Table 3: Matrilateral Kinship Addresses (MKAs)

Kinship Address	**Addresser- Addressee**	**English Gloss**
Nyaaja	DC⟹ MF	Grandfather
Nyaaja	BZC⟹ MFB	Grandfather
Nwei	ZC⟺MB	Uncle
Nnakpel	ZC⟹ MZe	Aunt
Nnawaa	ZC⟹ MZy	Aunt
Nwei	MBS⟺FZC	Cousin
Nnabo	MZC⟺MZC	Cousin
Nnawaa	MBD ⟹FZC	Cousin

As can be noted from Table 3, *Likpakpaln* matrilateral KTs have a feature of skewing as it lumps relatives of different generations with the same label. For example, the kinship address used for one's mother's brother (MB) is the same for one's mother's brother's son (MBS). It has been established that this nature of kin terms is common with ethnicities with strong patrilineal systems (Schwimmer 2001), a description that the

Bikpakpaam social system is prototypical of. Also, as with the *Likpakpaln* agnatic kin terms, uterine kin terms do not discriminate between immediate and distant relatives.

7.3. Affinal Kinship Addresses (AfKAs)

Affinal kinship addresses (AfKAs) are a set of addresses that portray a marital relationship between interlocutors. Observation and data revealed that females (women) more often use AfKAs to males (men) than the reverse happens. It means, then, that a husband's kin exact more AfKAs from the wife than a wife's kin do from the husband. Again, this in-balance in the pattern of kinship address usage is partly explainable in the *Bikpakpaam* type of marital residence, patrilocality. Whereas a wife usually will spend the rest of her life in the midst of her husband's relatives, it is the norm that a husband infrequently mingles with the wife's relatives. This limits communicative opportunities that would warrant the exchange of AfKAs between husband and his wife's kin. Although it is socially and culturally very approving for the individual (whether male or female) to address the kin of his/her spouse with the appropriate AfKAs, the *Bikpakpaam* have no known mechanism in place to exact compliance to this expected verbal behaviour from members of the community. One may never address one's spouse's relatives in the ascending generations with a bare FN, but an instance of a violation of this norm may not also lead to any comment or open rebuke.

The use of AfKAs among the *Bikpakpaam* is more of a mark of politeness in deference to one's affinal relatives. In the *Bikpakpaam* tradition, respect between an individual and his/her affinal kin may not always be mutual. It is customary for wives and husbands as individuals to show more meekness and greater respect towards the kinsmen of their spouses. This hypothesis has a backing in the *Bikpakpaam* philosophy that: Ukpakpanja achoo san waawumbɔr (A man's in-law is his God). Thus, the use of AfKAs by an individual to the kin of his/her spouse is mostly motivated by negative politeness. Table 4 below catalogues *Likpakpaln* AfKAs.

Table 4: Affinal Kinship Addresses (AfKAs)

Kinship Address	Addresser - Addressee	English Gloss
Nchoo	H ⟺ WF	Father-in-law/Son-in-law

Nchoo	H ⟺ WM	Mother-in-law/Son-in-law
Nchoja	W ⟹ HF	Father-in-law
Nchapii	W ⟹ HM	Mother-in-law
Mpuu	H⟹W	Wife
Nchal	W⟹H	Husband
Nyɔn	W⟺HW	Rival
Nchakpel	W⟹HBe	Brother-in-law
Nchawaa	W⟹HBy	Brother-in-law
Nchiin	H⟺WB	Brother-in-law
Nchiin	H⟺WZ	Sister-in-law
Nnatɔ	H⟺WZH	Brother-in-law

As a consistent feature of *Likpakpaln* KTs, AfKAs do not mark distinction between close and distant relatives. For instance, the addressing term, **Nchoja** for husband's father (HF) is the same for husband's father's brother (HFB) of any generation. Also, a notable address mannerism in relation to AfKAs among the *Bikpakpaam* is that couples almost never address each other with the forms **Mpuu** (my wife) and **Nchal** (my husband), which terms would depict the exact kinship relationship between them. The most regular way of addressing between couples is reciprocal FN. Some wives may also, in exchange for FN, address their husbands with occupational titles like **Fiita** (fitter), **Teila** (tailor), **Tiicha** (teacher) etc. The use of teknonyms from wives to husbands is also visible among the *Bikpakpaam*. In this particular addressing style, a husband is addressed by wife with a form that defines him as 'father of his child'. In the *Bikpakpaam* case, it is usually the first child's name that is adopted in this descriptive address from wife to husband. Examples of this

address pattern include: **Mbɔti Ati** (Mborti's Father), **Abena Ati** (Abena's Father), **Njɔfuni Ati** (Njɔfuni's Father) etc.

There is also an evolving address paradigm of some couple using **Mama** (mum/mummy) and **Daddi/Dada** (daddy/dad) in address to each other (i. e., wife addresses husband as **Daddi** and gets **Mama** in return), though not always in a reciprocal form as some husbands, in such address situations, still keep FN for their wives. This innovation in *Likpakpaln* kinship terminologies is a mark of Westernism in the socio-cultural context of the *Bikpakpaam* as happens in the Akan address system (Agyekum, 2006:229). So far, couples who were discovered to patronise this novel form of addressing fulfilled some or all of these variables: Christianity, exposure to urban life and attainment of some level of formal education.

8. Functions of Kinship Addresses

Convincingly, address terms have been shown to carry several functions in communication and society generally. In the view of Quin (2008: 409), terms of address open communicative acts and set the tone for the interchanges that follow. For Leech (1999), they signal transactional, interpersonal and deitic ramifications in human relationships. Similarly, Afful (2006b: 89) argues that by terms of address, students attempt to construct and reflect individual and group social identities. However, a trajectory that is innovative with this study is to look at how a single address category (in this case, kinship address terms) can communicatively be manipulated to assume functions typical of other address types. Further to this claim, this study also makes the point that the choice and use of an address form can determine as well as be determined by the communicate intent of an addresser.

8.1. Kinship Addresses as Identifiers

Identification is a common function that is known of address terms. This role of address terms seems to be more closely related to personal names, a sub-class of address terms. One of the reasons for naming in our cultural contexts is so that we can differentiate (Agyekum, 2006: 207) and a name refers specifically to its bearer.

A primordial communicative significance of *Likpakpaln* KAs is their (KAs) resourcefulness in identifying participants in a communicative encounter when used non-fictively. This identity can be from an intra-clan or an inter-clan perspective. In the

Bikpakpaam society, an individual simultaneously has three categories of relatives (see section 5) in the midst of numerous clan divisions. Given this social arrangement, the choice of a kin term for an addressee helps identify his/her lineage or clan line. For example, if it is known that A's mother belongs to clan x, the use of the address form, **Nwei** to B by A will reveal that B is a member of clan x. In the same way, when B is in the company of A's clansmen, the use of the address form, **Nwei** alone suffices to identify and single out B as the one being addressed.

In their use for an identification motive, KAs are also commonly combined with FN, in which case the particular address takes the structure of KA + FN. This happens when the addresser can gauge that FN alone is inadequate in identifying an intended recipient. Among the *Bikpakpaam*, it is ubiquitous for the same FN to have multiple bearers in the community or even in the same household. This is especially the case with Christian/English, Islamic and Akan day names that have become very common among the *Bikpakpaam*. When this happens, one functional way to avoid and resolve addressee ambiguities is for an addresser to add a KA to the addressee's FN as in **Nwei Magmanbi**, **Ntikpel Timunaan**, **Nnawaa Ubaneen** etc. For this kind of addressee identification strategy (KA + FN) to work, the addresser must have kinship tie/s with addressee/s. The following exchanges exemplify KA + FN usage:

5. A: **Kwame, bi-chaam funi ki ban**
Kwame, CL.2(PL)-visitor arrive.PRF CONN look.IPFV
si a=do
2SG.OBJ 2SG;POSS=house
'Kwame, visitors are awaiting you in your house.'

A: **N=nabo Kwame, n tike bi-chaam**
GEN;SG=cousin Kwame, 1SG.SBJ QUOT CL.2(PL)-visitor
ban si a=do
look.IPFV 2SG.OBJ 2SG;POSS=house
'Kwame, my cousin, visitors are awaiting you in your house.'

B: **Ma ba-nyi ke mme chee nka a=len.**
1SG;NEG PST-know that 1SG there that 2SG=talk.PRF
Aa=ni=lituln
2SG=and=CL.1-work

'I didn't know that I was the one you were talking to. Thank you.'

In 5, A had to do an address repair in A's second utterance by adding a KA to B's (addressee's) FN in order to sufficiently identify B as the recipient. In the company of other *Kwame* FN bearers, B did not know he was the one being addressed until a MKA, **Nnabo** was added.

8.2. Kinship Addresses as Solidarity Terms

KAs provide a very potent means of creating and sustaining solidarity among members of the *Bikpakpaam* community. This is seen among some clansmen using certain KA forms reciprocally as a mark of intimacy and to drum home a sense of belongingness. The AKA form, **Ntiwaa** was seen to have such a use among the *Binajuub* clansmen at Sibi. It is usual for any two members, particularly males to trade the form, **Ntiwaa** upon meeting each other. This symmetrical address exchange is mostly accompanied by noticeable feelings of elation, warmth and oneness. Other forms that were commonly used that way include the MKA form, **Nnabo/Nnayɔ** and the AfKA form, **Nnatɔ.** The dyads below exemplify the solidarity use of KAs.[5]

6. A: **N=tua!**
GEN;SG=uncle
'uncle!'

B: **N=tua!**
GEN;SG=uncle
'uncle!'

A:	**N=tua,**	**ka**	**ti**	**lan-ji**	**ba**	**din?**
	GEN;SG=uncle	CONN	1PL.SBJ	FUT-eat	what	today
	'Uncle, what are we going to eat today?'					
B:	**N=tua,**	**n**	**kpe**	**a=bɔ.**		
	GEN;SG-uncle,	1SG.SBJ	look.IPFV	2SG=on		
	'Uncle, I'm looking up to you.'					

[5] The conversation in 5 above was recorded at the Binajuub community, Sibi during a funeral festivity. Both A and B are members of the Binajuub clan and are also cousins, i.e. A's mother and B's mother are sisters.

7. A: **N=natɔ!**
GEN;SG=brother-in-law
B: **N=natɔ!**
GEN;SG=brother-in-law
A: **N-gien chee?**
CL.22,23-sleep there
'How is your health'
B: **Lafei bi, N=natɔ**
Health be-there GEN;SG=brother-in-law
'I'm fine, brother-in-law'

Every *Likpakpaln* KA can possibly be adopted for a solidarity effect between individuals or groups, especially in communication between same generation interlocutors. An already existing camaraderie between interlocutors can inform their use of a KA to reinforce this bond. The other way around, a sense of solidarity can be initiated by using a KA either to a relative or a non-relative. For example, the use of the form, **Nnatɔ** (whether literally or non-literally) somewhat naturally engenders a feeling and attitude of solidarity between the addresser and the addressee. In their typical use as solidarity terms as in 6 and 7 above, *Likpakpaln* KAs assume the outlook of Gang and play names (see Agyekum, 2006: 225 for gang and play names).

8.3. Honorific Use of Kinship Addresses

Honorifics are linguistic markers or forms that signal respect (Bonvillain, 2000: 89). Making reference to the views of other writers, Agyekum (2003: 369) refer to honorifics as specialised address and deference forms used to show politeness. Honorifics also point to aspects of social identity and reflect social asymmetries. *Likpakpaln* KAs are sometimes used as reverential titles, in which case they attain honorific status. Some elderly people by virtue of their achievements and exemplary life styles in the community may come to deserve a high level of respect. One way of expressing this respect is for the other people to address such an individual with either **Tina** (our mother), **Titi** (our father), **Tiyaa** (our grandmother) or **Tiyaaja** (our grandfather). Prefixing a KA with the plural genitive, **Ti-** (our) elevates the status of the addressee as the parent of all. This honorific use of *Likpakpaln* KAs is akin to the use of **bóbö** (elder paternal uncle) among the Chinese. As

noted by Bonvillain (p. 88), the use of the Chinese **bóbö** implies a deferential and exalted status of the addressee, worthy of extreme respect and the concomitant humbling of the speaker.

The honorific usage of *Likpakpaln* KAs is also extended to supernatural beings in the *Bikpakpaam* religious circles and activities. In prayer, God is sometimes addressed as **Titi Uwumbɔr** (God our father) and in libation an ancestor/ancestress is addressed honorifically as **Tiyaaja/Tiyaa** + name of ancestor or ancestress. In an honorific mode, a KA can be used alone or in combination with the personal name of the addressee. An honorific usage of a KA in *Likpakpaln* may also have a laudatory under-tone as it dignifies the addressee.

8.4. Emotive Use of Kinship Addresses

The emotive use of language refers to the use of language to appeal to people's feelings or emotions (Ofori, Asilevi & Quansah, 2013: 27). In this case, I consider the emotive function of language in a positive sense where KAs are used to trigger positive feelings and attitudes that elicit desirable responses. It also incorporates the use of KAs as a mark of approval for a deserving act or conduct.

Some of the emotive uses of *Likpakpaln* KAs include their functions as persuasive, affectionate/endearment and commendatory devices in communication. A careful observation reveals that KAs have a persuasive force that can skilfully be drawn on by an addresser to elicit behavioural compliance from an addressee. In a broader perspective, persuasion is any form of discourse that serves to influence thought, feeling and conduct. One way that *Likpakpaln* speakers achieve persuasion with KAs is to extend to an addressee an address form that elevates his/her status relative to the addresser. The following dialogue between a mother and her 5-year old son exemplifies this:

8. A:	**Foo**	**n-nyɔk**	**ki**	**nyɔ**
	Take.PRS	CL.3-medicine	and	drink
	'Take medicine and drink.' (mother giving medicine in a cup to her sick son)			

B:	**Maa**	**lan-nyɔ**
	1SG;NEG	FUT-drink
	'I won't drink!	

A:	**Ah!**	**N=yaaja,**	**fo**	**ki**	**nyɔ**	**ka**
	Ah!	GEN;SG=grandpa	take.PRS	and	drink.PRS	CONN
	a=wun	**nsɔŋ**[6]				
	2SG.POSS=body	cool				

'Ah! Grandpa, take it so that you'll get well'.

KAs are also commonly used among the *Bikpakpaam* as endearment/affectionate and commendatory expressions. This is mostly from parents to children and from husbands to wives. However, in such instances, there is a precondition of a pleasurable mood, especially on the part of the addresser. The endearment/affectionate and commendatory uses of KAs also mainly see the use of the addresses in a non-literal sense. For example, a husband may, as a mark of affection or commendation address his wife as **Mpuul** (a KA for paternal aunt), **Nyaa**, **Nnawaa** etc.

9. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed kinship terms as a category of addressives in *Likpakpaln*. I also put forth the proposal that, per their addressive usage, *Likpakpaln* kinship terms can be delineated into three, namely: agnatic kinship addresses, matrilateral kinship addresses and affinal kinship addresses. This categorisation is dependent on the kind of kinship ties that are constructed by the *Bikpakpaam* social system. Also, more importantly, I have shown that in addition to the popular claim in the Invariant Norm of Address (Brown, 1965) that the choice of addresses in communication is solely based on status and intimacy, communicative intentions can also significantly influence address choices. Further, I intimate that the same address type (in this case kinship address terms) can be contextually manipulated into varied communicative functions. This observation ties up with a focal point in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964) that the same linguistic form can be organised for quite varied linguistic ends. Finally, I hint that some innovative tendencies are creeping into the *Bikpakpaam* address system, a situation that marks intercultural influence on the *Bikpakpaam* linguistic culture.

[6] After speaker A's second utterance in 8, her sick son (B) now grabs the cup and begins to sip the medicine.

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ASPECTS OF YORUBA LINGUAL-CULTURAL RETENTIONS IN ABIMBOLA ADELAKUN'S UNDER THE BROWN RUSTED ROOFS

Mohammed Ayodeji Ademilokun

Abstract

Previous studies on nativisation of English in African literary productions have focused on literary works of first and second generation African writers such as Amos Tutuola, Chinua Achebe, Niyi Osundare among others, with little critical attention paid to nativisation of English by new Nigerian writers. This essay adds to the discourse on the subject of language in African literature by examining the language of Abimbola Adunni Adelakun, a new generation Nigerian writer, in *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs.* Through a close reading of the text and insights from Systemic Functional Linguistics, this paper elucidates the various Yoruba lingual-cultural features used by the new generation Nigerian writer for the promotion of Yoruba identity in the text. Data analysis revealed that Adelakun used lexical transfer, literal translation, coinages, code-mixing, proverbs, incantatory discourse, Yoruba Muslim discourse features, Yoruba advertising poetry and lineage praise poetry to nativise the literary text by giving it a Yoruba coloration. The study concludes that Adelakun's use of the English language further enhances the African identity and shows that new generation writers are also committed to linguistic nationalism in their prosecution of their literary enterprise.

Keywords: lingual-cultural, retentions, Abimbola Adelakun, nativisation, linguistic nationalism

1. Introduction

All over the world, the issue of identity is taken seriously by people. The European Americans for instance consider themselves different from and in fact superior to Black Americans. Also in the United Kingdom, the people of Great Britain view themselves as different from the Irish, Scotts, etc. The African continent on its own has pressed aggressively to establish a comprehensive identity for itself in various spheres; cultural, economic, political, etc. The African experience in this regard has been particularly unique considering the fact that Africa as a continent has a completely subjugated past and history. Since the 1814 partition of Africa among the Western powers at the Berlin Conference, Africa has had its essence and history distorted and suppressed. Thus, upon the independence of the African states from their colonial rulers, especially between 1952 and 1960, it has been an uphill task for African nations to re-assert their identities. One domain in which Africans have striven hard to foreground African identity or identities is literature, especially written literature. There is indeed justification for the deployment of literature as a tool for re-assertion by Africans. Literature, as a field of knowledge, reflects and sheds light on every part of the life of a people. Adedoyin (2001:212) captures this succinctly by defining literature "as a bundle of materials, written and oral, which utilize language, plot, characters, settings, etc. to give and illustrate what actually the life of the people looks like". Therefore, since literature indexes everything about a people, it is a potent resource for expressing the peculiarities of such people. This exactly is the reality tapped into by African writers in their compositions.

2. Language as a Tool for Identity Formation in African Writings

The issue of which language is most appropriate for African literary writing has always been contentious. Nkosi (1981) confirms this reality when he asserts that "The problem of the medium of expression in African literature has been a major issue among the African intellectuals". Coker and Ademilokun (2013) affirm that the issue of language continues to be a much debated one even up to the present times. There are different strands of argument on the issue. While some believe that the English language, being the legacy left by the colonialists is the most appropriate medium for the expression of African literature, some believe that the continued use of the language is a further perpetuation of the cultural hegemony of the former colonial lords. Of course, the advocates of the former

have their reasons. One major reason for the suggestion of English as a medium for African writing is that the language cuts across many African peoples unlike the indigenous languages that are mostly specific to certain ethnic groups or at most countries. Another potential reason over the years for the suggestion of English as tool for composition of African writings is the elitist status of the language. Very many people will want to opine that the international status of the language makes it the best option for African writing. Adedoyin (2001) informs that scholars and African writers who see nothing wrong with the use of English in African writing belong to the conservative school.

For those who oppose the adoption of English as medium of expression in African literature, the belief is that the use of the language will not in any way contribute to the development of the literature and culture. The opinion of this group of scholars is summed up in Wali's (1963:14) declaration that "any true African literature must be written in African languages". Several other African scholars and writers share Obi Wali's sentiments. In fact, a Kenyan writer and a great African voice, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was vehement in his opposition to English as medium of expression in African literature, prompting him to adopt Kikuyu as his creative medium. Wole Soyinka at some point also shared the views of Wali and Ngũgĩ. He advocated for the adoption of Swahili as the language of African literature. Although till date, no African language has been chosen as the medium for African literature, what is evident is that African scholars and writers have always been mindful of the need to establish a unique identity for African writing.

The reality however is that foreign languages, especially English and French, persist as media of expression in African writings. Apart from Ngugi who wrote a few of his works in Kikuyu, most African writers, including Soyinka who expressed complete disinterest in the use of the foreign tongue in African literature, write in foreign languages. But does this status-quo mean that there are no retentions of Africanity in the language use of these writers/scholars? A great deal of studies has shown that even though African writers are constrained to write in foreign languages such as English and French, there are African linguistic and cultural preservations in their language use. In actual fact, Soyinka (1988) opines that since it is difficult to write African literature in indigenous languages, the English language must be tamed to reflect the smell and contours of the environment of its use. What Wole Soyinka advocates can thus be described as domestication or Africanization of the English language in African literary writing. Indeed, very many African writers have done well to Africanise the English language in their writings. Chinua Achebe for instance uses the English language in a way in which retentions of African linguistic and cultural tropes are kept. Wole Soyinka, Niyi Osundare and numerous others

have continued to use the English language in a peculiar manner in African literature. Ayoola (2012: 195) attests to this reality in the following words:

> With the international acclaim received by Nigerian-born authors such as Chinua Achebe, Flora Nwapa, Wole Soyinka, Buchi Emecheta, Cyprian Ekwensi, Chukwuemeka Ike, Naiwu Osahon, Elechi Amadi and many more, Nigerian *(African)* authors have continued to use English with uncommon innovativeness, style and panache (Word in italics mine).

However, as is evident from Ayoola (2012), Adedoyin (2001) among others, much of the research on domestication of English by African writers is skewed towards Nigerian literary icons of the first and second generations. Several studies have been carried out for instance on the language of Chinua Achebe (e.g. Adedoyin, 2001; Ayoola, 2012), showing that the author nativises the English language by using Igbo proverbs and idioms, local expressions, among many others. Also, scholars have examined the use of proverbs and Yoruba adages and parlances in Wole Soyinka's works (e.g. Adejare, 1992; Syal, 1991). Other iconic Nigerian writers whose nativised linguistic styles have received scholarly attention include Niyi Osundare (see Coker 2013), Gabriel Okara and Amos Tutuola.

However, not much attention has been given to how the tradition is sustained or perhaps improved upon in the writings of new-generation Nigerian writers. It is important to examine dimensions of domestication of English in new Nigerian writings to find out whether there are similarities or differences in the old and new styles of nativisation by veteran Nigerian writers and the young ones given the generational difference and the new realities in the world of the latter. Apart from Coker and Ademilokun (2013) and Ayeleru (2011), there is not much research on nativisation of English by new Nigerian writers. While Coker and Ademilokun (ibid) compared domestication of English in Shade Adeniran's *Imagine This* and Doreen Baigana's *Tropical Fish*, Ayeleru (ibid) did a comparative reading of Adelaide Fassinou and Abimbola Adunni's *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs*. This paper seeks to add to the literature in this regard by examining the language style of indigenisation in Abimbola Adelakun's *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs.* While it is acknowledged that Ayeleru examined some aspects of her nativisation of English in the text, the full range of domestication of English was not exhausted in the study due to its comparative orientation. Furthermore, the present study intends to add

more linguistic dimensions to the analysis of *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs.* Nativisation of English in Adelakun's *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs* particularly deserves attention because of the synchrony of the language of the text with the nature of its theme, characters and to a great extent setting, which actually reflect traditional Yoruba life and living.

3. Under the Brown Rusted Roof: A Synopsis

Abimbola Adelakun tries to represent traditional Yoruba cultural practices and family in the text. The African tradition of polygamy which is popular in Yoruba culture receives attention in the text in a manner in which its pros and cons are presented to readers. The major characters in the text, Alhaji Arigbabuwo and Bàbá Ń'sàlẹ̀, typically represent the Yoruba ideals of polygamy and the patriarchal nature of the Yoruba world. Being set in Ibadan, a typical traditional Yoruba city, the text captures the politics of polygamy among the Yoruba and its pains. The politics manifests clearly in the intricacies implicit in the relationships among the various wives and their polygamous husbands, especially Alhaji Arigbabuwo. The text which is a narrative fiction draws on some aspects of Nigerian history as the plot relates to certain happenings in Nigeria at some stage of its development.

The language of the text clearly depicts the physical, cultural and psychological settings of the text, which is the city of Ibadan marked by prevalent polygamy, political volatility and relative poverty, especially in certain rustic parts such as the agboolés (extended family compounds) represented in the text. Owing to the dynamic interaction of the provincial and the metropolitan in Ibadan, which makes features of provincial language use manifest in urban settings in the town, the text clearly indexes a significant aspect of the linguistic nature of the town. The language bears vivid taints of Yoruba discourse patterns and mannerisms which are used to proudly by the writer to mark out the type of English language used by a significant number of the Yoruba of Ibadan.

4. Analysis and Discussion

Although *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs* is Abimbola Adelakun's debut novel, she exhibits great panache in nativising the English language used in the work. The language of the text presents the author as an unusual member of the young generation of writers in view of her deep awareness of Yoruba discourse features which she uses to colourise her text and give it indelible Yoruba identity. Adelakun exhibits profound grasp

of the cadences of her indigenous language which she brings to bear in her use of English in creating her debut novel. Notable among the patterns of lingual-cultural colourisation evident in the text are lexical transfer, hybridisation, literal transliteration, Yoruba Muslim discourse patterns, coinages, code-switching, Yoruba incantatory discourse and Yoruba advertising poetry. Below, we explore the above-listed styles of nativisation of English deployed by Abimbola Adelakun in *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs.*

4.1. Lexical Transfer

One way by which Adelakun stamped Yoruba identity in her text is through the direct transfer of Yoruba words into the English language. Varga et al. (2011) remark that the transfer of foreign lexical items into a language, which can be called borrowing or loan words, simply echoes the view that "no language is an island" and that it arises as a result of contact between languages. Lexical transfer is a style that many African writers often use to nativise their English language in their literary productions owing to its practicality in preserving indigenous thoughts and ideations. Adelakun in consciousness of the fact that there are certain concepts and ideations in Yoruba lingual-cultural world which she captures in her text, which lack replication in the English language, intentionally used those Yoruba words to preserve their meanings. This can be seen as a conscious strategy used by the author to synchronise the language of the text with the ideological grounding of the text which is the celebration of typical Yoruba life in the historic Yoruba city of Ibadan. There are many examples of such lexical transfers in the text, some of which are:

- *Ẹ̀ẹ̀dẹ̀ (11)*
- *agboolé (11)*
- *olórí burúkú (11)*
- *agbomolà (12)*
- *gàrí (14)*
- *ewédú (14)*
- *ìyálé àgbà* (17)
- *agbádá (18)*
- *akọ̀wé (25)*
- *àtùpà (30)*

- *àbùlà (30)*
- *àmàlà (30)*
- *òṣùká (33)*
- *òyìnbó (35)*
- *ìyálés (42)*
- *alálobò (44)*
- *ìyá àgbà (45)*
- *àbíkús (50)*
- *oòrí* (52)

The above words are all Yoruba words used by the writer to give a lucid Yoruba colour to the English used in the literary text. Although Adelakun might be understood to have used some of the words given the fact that they do not have any equivalences in the standard English, e.g., "agbádá", "òṣùká", "gàrí", "ewédú", "alálobọ̀", and they may be difficult to translate to English, there are some that have English equivalents which she ignored. For example, "oòrí" is generally known as shea butter in most contexts of English language use just as "akọ̀wé" is generally acceptable to be given in English as "secretary". But Adelakun intentionally uses the Yoruba words even though she presents their English equivalents in appositive relationships with them, showing further that the use of the Yoruba words is intentional. The use of lexical transfer in the text can thus be seen as not only motivated by the need for preservation of meaning but also an expression of outright linguistic and cultural patriotism which is common among many African writers who believe that even though for political reasons English cannot be avoided, it should be laden with indigenous expressions and concepts.

4.2. Literal Translation

Perhaps the most prevalent style used by Adelakun to make the language of her novel reflect the indigenous language of the Yoruba depicted by the setting and characters of her work is literal translation. Literal translation is the direct conveyance of the meaning of an expression in a source language into its closest form in the target language bearing the features of language use in the target language. Barbe (1996:332) views literal translation simply as a word for word translation which however "can only rarely reproduce the sense or meaning" of the source or original text. This linguistic practice is conditioned by the sheer inability of many speakers to reconstruct their thoughts in their

source language into the natural expressive patterns in the target language due to inadequate facility in the target language, possible unavailability of equivalents in the target language, stylistic choice and the sheer fact of cultural differences between the source language culture and the target language culture. The English language spoken by the characters in the text and the omniscient narrator smacks of direct translation from Yoruba to English. This strategy can be said to be a practical way by which the writer reflects the nature of the linguistic landscape of the setting of the text (the melding of the provincial and the metropolitan in the city) and the English language awareness level of the characters in the text, which reflects the linguistic community of lowly educated or uneducated people in traditional rural parts of Ibadan. Abimbola generously translates from Yoruba to English in her work, translating sentences, wise sayings, greetings, proverbs, among others. Examples of translated sentences in the text are:

- She had started using cream like her peers. (23)
- Today makes it exactly ten days since this seating sent me to Alhaji Chief Iyiola (27)
- I opened my mouth in surprise and I could not close it. (28)
- That was how I saw it o. (28)
- Who is your father in this Ibadan? (29)
- Don't hear him wrongly. (29)
- He and his mother sat in the falling darkness, talking about small things. (30)
- My life! (31)
- God will look down on us and make our lives too better (47)
- I was told your body is not good. (34)
- Thank you, your end will be good. (35)

The above listed sentences are normal or common Yoruba expressions translated into the English language. The expressions definitely do not conform to the standard English variants as they have been directly translated from Yoruba to English. For example, "She had started using cream" is from the Yoruba everyday expression "Ó ti bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí lo o kriimu" while the next is "È ní ni ó pé ọjọ́ kẹ̀wá tí ìjókò yi rán mí lọ sí Alhaji Iyiola". All the other examples also sound exactly the way they are produced in normal Yoruba discourse. It is significant that most of the expressions are produced directly by the characters in the text

except "He and his mother sat in the falling darkness talking about small things", showing the nature of English language used in their setting, a typical rural Yoruba community. The exception which was produced by the authorial voice is also significant. It speaks about the sheer interest and involvement of the author in Yoruba culture and language, even though it might also have been a conscious stylistic choice intended to produce humour. There are also few Yoruba phatic expressions translated into English in the text:

- I greet this seating (26)
- This our seating will not be spoilt (36)
- May this meeting not break up (143)
- May the person coming in not break it up (143)
- Baba, may you live long for us and may your elderly status never be destroyed (230)
- I greet everybody (243)

The above expressions reflect an important aspect of Yoruba culture which Adelakun uses to give a vivid Yoruba colour to her language and work. Greeting is a fundamental aspect of Yoruba culture which is held sacrosanct, as it is considered inappropriate for individuals not to offer greetings properly in any physical contacts or communicative contexts. However, in presenting greetings in the literary work, Adelakun directly translates typical Yoruba greetings to English. The expression "I greet this seating" with the SPC structure conforms with the Yoruba source expression "Mo kí ìjóko yí" which also has an SPC structure, even though the nominal group that occupies the complement position differs from that of English as it is typical of modifiers to occur after the headword in Yoruba. There are also many instances of direct translation of Yoruba proverbs into English in the work:

- It is yet with the mouth that the foot crushes the palm-kernel that lies on the footpath *(Ẹnu l'à tè lẹ́sẹ̀ fi ń pa èkùrọ ojú ọ̀nà*) (25)
- Where I am going is not far, it is the number of detours that I will make that are plenty. (*Ibi tí mo ń lọ ò jìnnà, ibi tí mo yà l'ó pọ̀*)
- …where we call the head, nobody puts it on the ground and attempts to walk with it…. (*ibi tí a bá pè l'órí, ẹnìkan ì fi ibẹ̀ tẹ́lẹ̀*) (28)
- …one that hears only a side of a matter and pronounces judgment is a worthless elder… (*Ẹni tí ó bá gbọ́ ọ̀rọ̀ ẹnìkan dájọ́, àgbà òṣìkà ni*) (29)

- We will not say that because the child will die, we should give him his father's scrotum to play with (*A à níí sọ pé nítorí kí ọmọ máa kú, kí a wá fún un ní ẹpọ̀n bàbá ẹ̀ láti fi ṣeré*) (38)
- This is a matter that farts in one's mouth and also puts salt into the mouth at the same time (*Ọ̀rọ̀ yìí yasó sí ni lẹ́nu, ó tún fiyọ̀ sí i lẹ́ẹ̀kan náà*) (38)
- It is when we use the right hand to wash the left, that our hands are thoroughly cleaned *(Nígbà tí a bá fi ọwọ́ ọ̀tún fọ tòsì ni ọwọ́ máa ń mọ́ sáká*) (39)
- There is no way that the monkey's head was shaped that the gorilla is not (*Kò sí bí ọ̀bọ ṣe ṣe orí tí ìnàkí ò ṣe*) (41)
- If you let your eyes look down, you will see your nose (*Tí a bá dẹ ojú, a máa rí imú*) (45)
- To catch someone is to catch someone; to point someone out is to point someone out but what is greeting an Ijaye man in front of Ogunmola's house? (*Amúni ń jẹ́ amúni; afinihàn ń jẹ́ afinihàn, èwo wáá ni kí a kí ọkùnrin Ìjàyè nílé Ògúnmọ́lá*) (55)

The above listed proverbs are just a minute fraction of Yoruba proverbs translated into English by Abimbola Adelakun. The direct translation as shown by their presented Yoruba versions is a conscious ploy to give a full Yoruba colour to the proverbs even though they are used in an English literary discourse.

4.3. Coinages

Another significant feature of the nativised English of Adelakun is the use of coinages. According to Abdullahi-Idiagbon and Olaniyi (2011: 79), coinages or neologisms are identified as new terms created for new experiences, especially where the speaker of the new language either experiences dearth of correct standard lexical item to express himself or uses a word or an expression to satisfy the communicative purpose of his immediate environment". Therefore, coinages can be simply viewed as words or phrases used for the expression of new or different experiences. Below are examples of coinages in the text:

- The most senior wife (17)
- Water pot (11)
- co-wive (86)
- 'andco'. (110)

The expressions above are all coinages which do not occur in Standard English as used for meaning-making in the literary text. The expressions are derived through the manipulation of existing English words to represent certain thoughts and concepts which do not exist in the English culture but which the author wishes to stretch the English language to accommodate without lexical transfer. For example, the MH nominal group "The most senior wife" represents a reality which British or American English does not cater for, since there is nothing like that in the culture. But since in the Yoruba and African cultures, there is the reality of someone being senior among a number of wives, the expressed is coined to reflect that reality. Similarly, the word "co-wife" is a coinage used to reflect the reality of polygamy common in Africa but which is not found in the culture that birthed standard English. The coinage is also a product of linguistic need as it expresses an African idea of the relationship between or among women that are married to the same man.

The MH-type nominal group, "Water pot" is also a peculiar Nigerian/Yoruba lexical innovation since the idea of keeping water in a clayey pot in order to make the water become relatively cold is African, without any resonance of it in in the English culture and British English. The last example of coinage given above, "andco", is intentionally used by the author to preserve the natural linguistic norm among the Yoruba people depicted in the literary text. Although the word may not be satisfactorily linguistically analysed as an English word, it is however generally used in both English and Yoruba conversations of the Yoruba of Nigeria. The writer could have used the English word "uniform" in its stead but decided not to perhaps due to the multiplicity of meaning in the latter.

4.4. Code-mixing

Adelakun also frequently deploys code-mixing in the literary text. According to Essien (1997: 271), code-mixing is the formation of an expression through linguistic items from two different languages. The omniscient narrator and characters in the literary text freely code-mix English and Yoruba. Of course, through this, one can say that Adelakun

paints a picture of naturally-occurring language use among Yoruba speakers since they often typically code-mix for various reasons such as lack of adequate English equivalent for some Yoruba words, mental laziness and stylistic preference, among others. Below are instances of code-mixing in the novel:

- Fasila entered the ẹ̀ẹ̀dẹ̀ and stood there (12)
- Iya, I could not get the agbọmọlà leaf (13)
- You want to turn the child into an olóríburúkú (14)
- How can she beat you because oil from àkàrà stained your book? (23)
- Tell us why you are shedding tears like ebòlò vegetables (43)
- That evening, the olóbìnrin-ilé met once (59)

As can be seen from the examples above, Yoruba words are frequently inserted into English expressions and sentences in the novel. The most lucid for this stylistic decision by the author may not be unconnected with the difficulty or impossibility of finding English lexical equivalents for the words as in the cases of "agbomola", "ebolo" and "olobinrin-ile" in the examples above. Of course, there is also the intention of the author to mark Yoruba identity through the linguistic choice.

4.5. Proverbs

Proverbs are wise sayings that address the heart of discourse in any given context truthfully and objectively (Adedimeji, 2009). Coker and Coker (2008:49) state that "Yoruba proverbs are replete in philosophy and ethics". This explains the premium placed on proverbs among the Yoruba, as they are used to giving philosophical tones to important issues. Adelakun exhibits unusual candour in using Yoruba proverbs more unlike her generation of Yoruba speakers as she generously deploys Yoruba proverbs in her work. Apart from the examples of proverbs cited under translation, there are other numerous proverbs used by the writer:

- What's scalding your hands so much that you need to put it down… (62)
- … if a person is crying, the person can still see (70)
- If the farm is not far, how can the okro become overripe (72)

- If you don't want a long pointed stick to be driven into your eye, you start shouting about it from a distance (73)
- A matter cannot be so hard that we would use a knife to cut through it. (75)
- The wind has blown and we have seen the anus of the chicken (80)
- We cannot fear the vagina so much that we fuck it at the sides (82)
- Everything in this world may change but 'this is the way I will do my thing' does not change (91)
- When a child is cutting a tree in the forest, it is only an elder that knows which direction it would fall (110)
- The vagina says she can trust the penis in all things but it can never see her and look away (123)

The above listed proverbs are used to engage critical issues in the text and give a clear Yoruba colour to the work. For instance, the proverb on page 62 indicated above was used by Motara, Alhaji Arigbabuwo's first wife to scold Kudi, the mother to Mulika, who was impregnated by Motara's son, Rafiu. The proverb was used by Motara to interrogate why Kudi would violate the Yoruba principle of greeting first in any physical or communicative contact. Similarly, as other proverbs do, the proverb "When a child is cutting a tree in the forest, it is only an elder that knows which direction it would fall" is used to draw attention to the critical fact that the young cannot think, imagine and discern as much as the elderly. The proverb was actually used by Baba n' sale, who represents the most elderly male figure in the text.

While many of the proverbs are generally used to engage salient issues, some are also used to portray the Yoruba culture and people's tendency to engage in lewd talks. Many of the proverbs have sexual associations showing that the Yoruba are free to draw from sexual images in order to interrogate issues. For instance, the proverb "We cannot fear the vagina so much that we fuck it at the sides" invokes intense sexual sensibility. The two most important words in the proverb "vagina" and "fuck" are vulgar words which in the general sense are expected to be avoided or at least substituted with euphemistic forms in a public civil discourse in the modern society, but are used explicitly in the literary discourse of Adelakun. Another example is found in the last proverb in the proverbs listed above. What this points to is that the traditional Yoruba discourse which Adelakun imposes on her English literary discourse does not shy away from invoking sexual imagery in communicative events.

4.6. Incantatory Discourse

Drawing greatly from Yoruba orature, as evidenced in her copious use of Yoruba proverbs, Adelakun further "Yorubanises" her discourse by using Yoruba incantations in her work. According to Olaosun (2011), who cites Oduyoye (1998:203), incantations are powerful or potent speeches or invocations that are used to wrought either positive or negative circumstances on their targets for particular reasons. Ilesanmi (2004) simply describes incantation as Yoruba poetic form that is "mythic and cultic in expectations". The Yoruba world is such with a deep traditional orientation, where there is belief in metaphysical powers. And to invoke such metaphysical powers and forces, it is believed that one must be able to use the appropriate language which is "ọfọ̀", incantation. Therefore, incantation is an integral part of Yoruba discourse since religion and traditional spirituality are synonymous with the Yoruba. As a cultural ambassador, Adelakun reflects this cultural propensity in *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs.* Below are some incantatory expressions in the text:

- The curse of the okro does not work against the antelope (71)
- It is wàhálà that kills the door; swinging to and fro kills the ẹran ọ̀jẹ̀, anybody that took my goat wants wàhálà on his head. (79)
- The bush rat only lifts his hand in vain
  No one lifts his hands to beat faeces
  No one lifts his hand to beat urine … (102)
- Ọ̀rúnmìlà àgbọnnirègún, father of Ifá
  Ifá Olókun who turns problems into joy
  Front of ọpón ifá, you can hear
  Back of ọpọ́n ifá, you can hear … (152)
- It is the water lily that tops a river and a man, a woman when they are making children, I will top them all. No matter what, *àkàlàmàgbò* will still live for a thousand years … (237)

The above expressions are incantations used by some characters in the text to perform certain spiritual acts such as praying for themselves and protecting themselves against evil forces, wishes and thoughts. The interesting fact about the use of the incantations in the text is that Adelakun does not only use them to nativise her literary discourse but also

exudes confidence in their potency. For example, on page 102, she presents a scenario where a popular politician in the text Ẹ̀rù ò bodò subdues another politician, Chief Olatunbosun, through his metaphysical prowess enacted through incantation. Therefore, one can surmise that Adelakun as a die-hard cultural ambassador commits herself to the projection of the material and non-material aspects in the literary text. The fourth example given above under incantations also betrays the author's intentional projection religion and its discourse in the text. The text is a chant rendered by an Ifa priest, whom a character in the literary text, Lamidi, had taken his son, Mufutau, to for spiritual assistance. Ifa is one of the most popular Yoruba religions practiced within and outside of Nigeria. So, Adelakun exponences this part of Yoruba culture in her work through the reference to the Ife priest and the Ifa incantation produced by the priest.

4.7. Yoruba Muslim Discourse

Another discourse pattern used by Adelakun to give a Yoruba colour to her work is Yoruba Muslim discursive style. Religion is popular among the Yoruba who constitute the characters in the text and they are divided along religious lines into Christians, Muslims and Traditionalists. However, as Opeloye (2011) shows, even the Muslim Yorubas still infiltrate their religious practices with Yoruba traditional practices, making them to have multiple identities. Since language is tied to culture (religion inclusive), this multiplicity of identity also manifests in the language of the Yoruba, especially Muslim Yoruba, as there are certain features of Arabic and Islamic discourse which are appropriated in the everyday discourse of Muslim Yorubas. Below are examples of such expressions in the text:

- Ina lillahi wahinali ilahi rojiun (57)
- Barika (114)
- Aliamdulilahi (114,188, 248)
- Alahuakabar (123, 157)
- Barika Allahu (138)
- Awusubilahi (190)

The above listed expressions are Arabic expressions typically used by Muslims in different circumstances for the communication of various meanings. However, among the Yoruba Muslims, they are pragmatically appropriated mainly for exclamatory purposes in

relation to the matter at hand. These kinds of expressions and more often occur in the natural language of many Yoruba Muslims such that they have become popular to the extent that some non-Muslim Yoruba speakers use them. Adelakun thus intentionally gives representation to this discursive style of Yoruba Muslims in her desire to represent the reality of language use among the Yoruba of Ibadan, the setting of her text, and perhaps to reveal the impact of Islam on Yoruba Muslims' language use. While "aliamdulilahi", "Barika Allahu" and "Barika" are used by certain characters in the text to express their instantaneous emotions about certain positive circumstances in the text, "Alahu Akbau" and "Awusubilahi" are used to react to scary and unfortunate circumstances as typical of the Yoruba.

The expression "Inalilahi wahinali ilahi rojiun", which is the natural statement of every Muslim at the mention of the death of any human being, is also used to reflect the religious influence on the language of the Yoruba. To show lucidly that the words have been appropriated into Yoruba discourse, the author gives the forms of the words as used among Yoruba Muslims as different from the standard forms of the words. For example, the word "awusubilahi" is a typical traditional Yoruba variant of "ahusubilahi" common among the non-elite Yoruba Muslims.

4.8.Traditional Yoruba Advertising Poetry (*Ewì Ìpolówó*)

The author also imbues the literary work with traditional Yoruba identity by employing traditional Yoruba advertising poetry in the work. Poetry is an important aspect of Yoruba orature and language performance which foregrounds both the utilitarian and aesthetic dimensions of language. One feature of Yoruba discourse is traditional advertising poetry (*ewì ìpolówó*). According to Osundare (2002), *ewì ìpolówó* is an indigenous form of advertising among the Yoruba that is done through hawking. Olateju (2009: 157) states that "Just like the modern forms of advertising on the electronic, print and other media, the essence of *ìpolówó* is to bring commodities being advertised to the consciousness and reach of consumers". It is a discourse genre that enriches and transmits Yoruba language and culture to the world. In her cultural romanticism, Adelakun uses advertising poetry *(ìpolówó*) in her debut novel. Below are examples from the text:

- Ẹ ra àkàrà ẹ túkọ wò. (Buy àkàrà to taste ẹ̀kọ.) (85)
- É ra ẹja, ẹ sebẹ̀ (Buy fish and cook stew)
  Ẹja dé, ọbẹ̀ dé. (Fish is here, stew is ready to be made) (10)

The above examples of the traditional Yoruba advertising poetry add to the Yoruba identity projected through the theme, setting and language of the text. Apart from the lyrical quality of the expressions which are foregrounded in the expressions, the regularity of the patterns in the latter example shows that Yoruba discourses also deploy structural parallelism for fictional purposes like discourses in other languages. The similarity of the structure of the two independent clauses and the repetition of "de" which translates to "arrives" or "comes" highlight the stylistics of advertising poetry in traditional Yoruba settings. Through the brief exemplification of advertising poetry in the text, the author gives a Yoruba mark to the text just as she preserves traditional advertising poetry of the Yoruba.

4.9. Lineage Praise Singing (*Oríkì*)

An important aspect of Yoruba orature used for the nativisation of *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs* is the use of lineage praise texts. An important aspect of Yoruba culture is the rendition of family, township and onomastic praise poetry. Such poetic texts whenever rendered edify the Yoruba culture and makes the individuals concerned proud of themselves. Sogunro (2014) describes *oríkì* as Yoruba panegyric poetry which is an important part of the culture and the daily life of the Yoruba, especially the older generations. Adelakun gives her English literary discourse taints of this traditional African and Yoruba poetic performance in order to project Yoruba language and culture. For instance, many times in the text, individuals are praised through lineage praise poetry. Below are instances of such in the text:

- *Ọmọ abíkan* (Scion of Abikan)
  Ọmọ aṣòwò ní wúrà lẹ́rù (One trader who has gold and goods*)*
  Ọmọ t'orí ọ̀jẹ̀ re Idá (One who because of profit goes to Ida)
  M'érin ní Mojà (One who captured an elephant in Moja) (15)

- *Máa wolẹ̀ , máa rọra* (Watch your steps, move gently.)
  Ọmọ ajísegírí (The son of Ajísegírí)

Máa rọra (Move gently)
Ẹkùn ta gìrì gbéra rẹ̀ níjà (The leopard jerks his body to defend himself)
Máa wolẹ̀, máa rọra (Watch your steps, move gently.)
Agbọnragìjì, adúró d'ogun (One who shakes himself vigorously and waits for war to advance)
Máa wọlẹ̀, máa rọra (Watch your steps, move gently.) (224)

In the first example above is a genealogy praise poem which Chief Arigbabuwo's mother, Ìyá Àgbà, uses to praise a new baby that his daughter-in-law had. The lineage associated with the praise poem is Abíkan which is given in the first line. It is significant that "ọmọ" (child of) keeps occurring at the beginning of the lines of the lineage poem showing that the individual is consistently being praised in line with his affinity with the lineage. The style also gives some lyrical effect to the text. The lineage praise text features structural parallelism which is also used to confer lyricism and rhythm on the text. This is demonstrated in the lines: One trader who has gold and goods / One who because of profit goes to Idá/ One who captured an elephant in Mojà, which are all nominal groups with the MHQ structure.

The second instance of praise poetry in the text is a personalised one. The Yoruba culture, being one which acknowledges "bigmanism" and celebrates those considered very successful or wielding some influence, allows for the creation and chanting of personalized praise poetry for such personalities. This is the cultural nuance demonstrated by Adelakun in the text as the powerful politician in the setting of the text, simply given as *Baba*, itself an honorific word, is praised profusely through the *oríkì*. A close look at the text shows that it also contains structural parallelism as the expression: "Watch your steps, move gently" occurs three times in the poem. This enhances the lyricism of the poem, making it sound appealing to the ears. There is also the association of the personality of the *Bàbá* with that of leopard in the poem, giving the *Baba* the sterling attributes of a leopard.

There are indeed many other related poetic performances in Adelakun's literary discourse in *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs* through which she projects certain Yoruba cultural ideations, indexes aspects and features of Yoruba discourse and transposes such features into the English language. For example, there are cultural songs/chants performed at funerals among the Yoruba in the text, there are songs used at social functions in

contemporary Yoruba society and those used by children while playing with their peers (see pages 53, 54 and 196).

5. Conclusion

Literature being an embodiment of the culture and thoughts of a people reflects the realities in human societies and human tendencies. And since language is the purveyor of literature, it also becomes an agent for the distillation of the peculiar cultural, societal and individual tendencies of a people. Abimbola Adelakun has demonstrated in her work a commitment to the deployment of literature for the promotion of her Yoruba cultural identity through the nativisation of the language of her text to bear peculiar lingual-cultural features and discursive styles of the Yoruba. She has further demonstrated that, just as many earlier and iconic African literary writers have shown, the language of a literary production is a huge weapon for the glorification and stamping of linguistic and cultural identities, and the sensitisation of the audience to the ideals of lingual-cultural patriotism/nationalism. The author shows that even though there are claims of the erosion of indigenous knowledge among the youth in the Nigerian society, especially in the areas of language and culture, some members of the younger generation are still aware of the potency of their indigenous languages and cultures for their personal, societal and cultural edification. Therefore, using the words of Coker (2013:203), who examined cultural romanticism in Osundare's poetry, Adelakun's debut novel "attests to the viability of the agency of literature for cultural preservation".

It is remarkable that Adelakun does not only employ in her text strategies for nativising the English language that have been established in the literature through considerations of works of writers such as Achebe, Soyinka and Osundare, but also recreates other pertinent features of Nigerian English in the Nigerian society. The elaboration of incantatory language, Yoruba Muslim lexis, traditional Yoruba advertising poetry and lineage poetry mark Adelakun's creation of domesticated English in her work different from earlier samples from writers and scholars earlier mentioned.

To sum up, this study posits that through the deployment of lingual-cultural discourse features such as lexical transfer, literal translation, coinages, code-mixing, proverbs, incantatory discourse, Yoruba Muslim discourse, Yoruba advertising poetry and lineage praise singing, Adelakun renews the English language, creates a vivid Yoruba identity for her literary discourse and presents such identity to the international world. Therefore, one can surmise that while the present inevitability of the use of English for

various purposes in the African world persists, the desire to stamp unique African identities on English language by African writers has not shrunk, as even the new generation of African writers indexes their African identities through their expressive resources.

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NOUN CLASSIFICATION IN ESAHIE

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Abstract

This paper offers a description of the nominal class system in Esahie (Central-Tano, Kwa, Niger-Congo). It contends that, though the noun class system of Esahie per se is morpho-syntactically vestigial, hence differing from other African languages (e.g. most Bantu languages) where noun classes can be assimilated with GENDER, in Esahie, NUMBER, as a syntactic feature, triggers agreement, rendering the class system in Esahie a number-based one. On morpho-syntactic grounds, six distinctive noun form classes are established for Esahie. This paper also provides an account of how morpho-phonological information influences the noun form classes of Esahie. As argued for Akan (cf. Bodomo and Marfo 2006), morpho-phonological information is equally relevant for understanding the choice of one number affix over the other in Esahie. The present work presents yet another piece of evidence in support of the view (cf. Ameka and Dakubu 2008, Aboh and Essegbey 2010, and Güldemann and Fiedler 2017) that unlike the Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages, which have been attested to have a functional class system, the Central-Tano languages, to which Esahie pertains, have a relatively fairly decayed and less-conservative inflectional system. Comparing Esahie to Akan, however, data discussed in this paper seems to suggest, prima facie, that Esahie has suffered a relatively stronger deal of morpho-syntactic decay in the inflectional system of the nominal domain. Data used in this work is collected largely through elicitation from native speakers.

Keywords: Esahie, Kwa, Central-Tano noun class system, number, gender.

1. Introduction[1]

The present work deals with noun classification in Esahie (Kwa, Niger Congo), a highly under-described Ghanaian language. It argues that though noun classes in Esahie by themselves are syntactically inactive, NUMBER, as a syntactic feature, triggers agreement to an extent, making the Esahie class (declension) system a number-based one. On morpho-syntactic grounds, six distinctive noun form classes are established for Esahie. In the interest of word formation and language acquisition, respectively, this work also considers the productivity and learnability of the noun form classes posited for Esahie. Drawing inspiration from what has been argued for Akan, a sister (Central-Tano) language, in Bodomo and Marfo (2006), the present work further provides an account of how morpho-phonological information influences the noun (form) class system of Esahie. Finally, the paper examines the issue of whether or not class assignment is semantically-driven, showing that, unlike (some dialects of) Akan, which show an agreement system that is sensitive to the inherent conceptual and semantic (nominal) feature of ANIMACY (cf. Osam 1996), in Esahie class assignment appears to be invariably arbitrary.

Noun classification has been an area of long-standing interest in African linguistics. The works of Carstens (1991), Osam (1993), Schuh (1995), Ikoro (1996), Creissels (2000), Bodomo and Marfo (2006), Dorvlo (2008), Carstens (2008), Bobuafor (2013), Agbetsoamedo (2014), and Fiedler (2016), to mention but a few, help in appreciating how noun classification has been variously discussed among scholars of African linguistics. Heine et al. (1982) observe that two out of every three African languages have a system of noun classification, but not in the same way among languages or groups of languages.

Prototypically speaking, if nouns of a particular language can be categorized based on a system of concord and/or affixal markings triggered by the nouns, or the language is observed to have a kind of Gender(-like) system where selection of markers are determined or controlled by certain inherent features (semantic, conceptual, and/or formal) of a lexical noun (head/controller) nouns, that language may be argued to have a noun class system. What does not necessarily count as Gender is the marking on the noun itself, i.e. the prefixes or suffixes found in different languages. This marking is the noun form class, and reflects also a classification of nouns, but not Gender. Thus, in a language like Swahili, all

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nouns having the same marking in the singular and in the plural (*m-/wa-* for example) belong to the same declension class. Here, the changes of the noun form are triggered by number and gender etc. The crucial point is that one cannot necessarily determine the Gender (agreement) system of a language by only looking at the noun form.

In this work, we consider what underpins both the noun form (declension) classes and Gender (agreement) system in Esahie. The rest of the paper is organised as follows. First, a general overview of noun classification system among African languages is given (section 2.), juxtaposing the Bantu and Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) languages, on one hand, which have been argued to show a vibrant system, against the other Kwa languages, such as Akan, which show a residual system (section 2.1). I then proceed to focus on Esahie, showing how morpho-phonological information feeds into its system (section 3.), grouping nouns into classes based on similarity in number affixation (section 4.). While number agreement within the Esahie DP is discussed in section (5), the relationship between noun classes and (grammatical) Gender is interrogated (in the light of Kwa) in section (6), while conclusions are drawn in section (7).

2. Noun Class System in African Languages

As Schuh (1995) rightly points out, the usage of the terminology 'noun class' with respect to African languages has usually been understood in two senses. In one, it has been used to refer to "a single set of morphological concords which may show up as affixes on noun stems, affixes on modifiers, and pronominal referents to nouns", whilst in the other, it refers to 'a paired set of morphological concords' (Schuh 1995: 125) where one member of the pair refers to singular and the other member is its plural equivalent. Throughout the paper, 'noun class' will refer to the latter concept.[2]

[2] **Abbreviations**

AM = Agreement marker	CMPL = Class marker plural	FUT = Future tense
ATR = Advance Tongue Root	CONJ = Conjunction	LSM= Lexical Subject Marker
C = Consonant	DEF = Definiteness marker	INDEF = Indefiniteness marker
CM = Noun class marker	DEM = Demonstrative	INT = Interrogative
LOC = Locative	L = Low tone	LINK = Linker
MRK = Marker	NEG = Negative	NP = Noun Phrase
NUM = Numeral	ORD = Ordinal	PRON = Pronoun
3PL = 3 Person Plural	PRSPROG = Present progressive	PST = Past
PFX = Prefix	PSTPROG = Past progressive	QTF = Quantifier

One of the remarkable features of the Niger-Congo phylum, as pointed out by Williamson and Blench (2000), is its elaborate noun classification system that facilitates number marking through affixation (usually prefixation, and sometimes suffixation). This system usually triggers agreement between the governing noun and other elements in the sentence.

The Niger-Congo phylum presents interesting data with respect to noun classification, in that, whilst some (especially the proto-Bantu(-like)) languages show a fully functional system, others (especially the Kwa) languages show (to a large extent) a vestigial system. We shall first look at the Bantu languages, and then the G-T-M (Ghana-Togo-Mountain) languages (Kwa, Niger-Congo), both of which show an active system, using Swahili and Sɛlɛɛ as representatives of the two groups, respectively.

Bantu languages have been described as having the most grammaticalized classification system, typically with about 15-20 different noun class distinctions. Prefixes, sets of class specific agreement markers and, to some extent, particular semantic content of a given class distinguish Bantu noun classes (cf. Maho 1999). Swahili, for instance, has a conventionally numbered class system, with class prefixes predominantly taking the CV-form. Because Bantu classes are additionally distinguished by distinct agreement morphology, the Swahili classes 1 and 3, as well as 9 and 10, have the same class prefix, but a different agreement morphology. The table below gives an overview of the classes, the kind of concord exhibited in each class, and the semantic content that characterizes each group.

Table 1: **Swahili noun classes** (Crisma et. al 2011: 254)

Class	Class Prefix	example	Concord	Referential Concord	possessive Concord	'meaning'
1	M	mtu 'person'	a/yu	ye	wa	People
2	wa	watu 'people'	wa	o	wa	
3	M	mti 'tree'	u	o	wa	Trees, plants
4	mi	miti 'trees'	i	yo	ya	
5	ji/∅	jicho 'eye'	li	lo	la	Round things, liquids, masses, augmentatives
6						

RED = Reduplicant
1SG = 1 Person singular
2SG = 2 Person singular
3SG = 3 Person singular
SM = Subject marker
NCS= Noun Class System
G-T-M(L) = Ghana Togo Mountain
DIM= Diminutive affix
DP= Determiner Phrase

7	Ki	**kiti** 'chair'	ki	cho	cha	Artefacts, tools, manner, diminutives
8	Vi	**viti** 'chairs'	vi	vyo	vya	
9	n/∅	**ndege** 'bird'	i	yo	ya	Animals, loanwords
10	n/∅	**ndege** 'birds'	zi	zo	za	
11	U	**ubao** 'board'	u	o	wa	Long things, Abstracts
15	ku	**kuimba** 'to sing'	ku	ko	kwa	Infinitives
16	(pa)	**mahali** 'place'	pa	po	pa	Locatives
17	(ku)		ku	ko	kwa	
18	(mu)		mu	mo	mwa	

From the table, we notice that agreement morphology in many classes differs from the noun class prefix, although, except for class 1, the different agreement markers of each class can be related (morpho-phonologically) to one underlying form. We also see that nouns denoting humans typically show "animate agreement", i.e. concord and (sometimes) referential and possessive concord of class 1/2, irrespective of the class of their noun class prefix.

In Swahili, and Bantu in general, modifiers and arguments in DP inflect for the gender and number features of the head noun:

(1) a. **ki-kombe** **change** **cheupe**
7cup 7my 7white
'my white cup'

b. **vi-kombe** **vyangu** **vyeupe**
8-cup 8.my 8.white
'my white cups [Carstens 2008: 160]

(2) a. **m-toto huyu m-dogo**
1-child 1this 1-small
'this small child'

b. **wa-toto hawa wa-dogo**
2-child 2.this 2-small
'these small children' [Carstens 2008: 160]

From the Swahili examples above, we observe that in Bantu noun classes and number participate in various gender-like agreement relations inside the DP. Inside the DP, a gender-like agreement is realized with adjectives and most determiners and quantifiers.

Finally, is the question of whether Bantu nouns classes are semantically-driven, to which Bantuists share divergent views. Some opine that noun classification is built around a semantic core, and that class assignment is semantically motivated (cf. Moxley 1998; Palmer & Woodman 2000; Hendrikse 2011; Selvik 2001; and Sagna 2008). Nouns of classes 1 and 2 are the best examples that can be used to corroborate this view, as they include almost exclusively nouns referring to humans, although not all such nouns are found in classes 1 and 2.

Opposed to this, is the view held by Carstens 2008 *inter alia*, that assumes that noun class assignment is an arbitrary lexical quality, implying that it has to be learned during language acquisition and does not reflect any underlying semantic categorization. This view finds grounds in the fact that there are many 'exceptions' to semantic generalizations, even the most robust ones.

In the subsequent section, we shall deal with the NCS phenomena as it works across the Kwa sub-family (to which Esahie belongs) of the Niger-Congo phylum, so as to show its semblance with the Bantu system, as well as to put the Esahie noun classification system in its rightful typological perspective.

2.1. Noun Classification in Kwa

Aboh (2010), in an introductory remark on the morpho-syntax of the Kwa DP, contends that most (Kwa) languages have completely lost their noun class system and, as a consequence, make no distinction between singular/plural forms. Interestingly however,

while some languages (including Akan) show an almost-lost system, others (particularly the GTM languages such as Sɛlɛɛ) in contrast show a fully developed one.

In this section, I give a closer look at the noun classification system (NCS) of the Kwa languages, by first drawing a distinction between those that show a functional system, such as Sɛlɛɛ[3], as earlier hinted, and those that exhibit a somewhat inactive system, such as Esahie.

2.1.1. Noun Classification in G-T-M

Contrary to what has been argued that a majority of Kwa sub-family languages tendentially lack an active NCS, the G-T-M languages, as we shall see, have a system similar to what we earlier saw in Bantu with data from Swahili. For Sɛlɛɛ (G-T-M), Agbetsoamedo (2014: 80) proposes eight classes. The table below gives a general overview of the various classes and their respective agreement markers that are used to indicate concord both within and outside the DP.

Table 2: **Noun class markers and agreement targets in Sɛlɛɛ** (adapted from Agbetsoamedo 2014: 80)

Noun Class	**Prefix**	**Example**	**AAM**	**Obj. Pro**	**Def.**	**Dem**	**Num**	**Int. Pro**
1	**o-/ ɔ-/∅**	**o-tii** ‘person’	**ku-/a-**	**nwu/nwɔ**	**wɔ**	**wɔ-**	**o-**	**ɔ-**
2	**ba-**	**ba-pɛ** ‘plant’	**ba-**	**ma**	**ba**	**ba-**	**ba-**	**ba-**
3	**ka-**	**ka-futu** ‘stomach’	**ka-**	**kã**	**ka**	**ka-**	**ka-**	**ka-**

[3] Later in the discussion, we shall look at Tutrugbu, another G-T-M language, comparing its NCS to Esahie.

4	**si-/se-/sɛ -**	**sɛ-lɛɛ** 'Santrokofi language'	**si-**	**sĩ**	**se**	**se-**	**e-**	**sɛ-**
5	**di-/li-/ni-/le-/lɛ-**	**di-si** 'head'	**di-**	**ni**	**le**	**le-**	**ni-**	**lɛ-**
6	**n-**	**n-nɔnyi** 'oil'	**n-**	**mi**	**be**	**be-**	**n-**	**m-**
7	**ku-ko-/kɔ-**	**kɔkpaku** 'fishes'	**ku-ko-/kɔ-**	**kũ**	**ko**	**ko-**	**ku-**	**ku-ko-/kɔ-**
8	**a-**	**a-fɛɛfɔ** 'air'	**a-**	**nya**	**ya**	**ya-**	**a-**	**a-**

Agbetsoamedo notes, among other things, that Sɛlɛɛ nouns trigger agreement on their syntactically dependent elements within and outside the DP. More specifically, she points out that in Sɛlɛɛ, determiners, numerals and interrogative pronouns agree with their controller nouns, adding that adjectives, on the contrary, do not generally show agreement, but occasionally one of two or three adjectives in an NP may take an agreement marker. While in examples (3) and (4), we observe agreement between the head the noun and its modifying determiners, in example (5), we observe agreement between the head noun and its modifying numerals.

(3)	**ko-leele**	**ko-mle**	**o-bè**	**kanto**	**ma-fuo**
	7-harmattan	7-this	1-time	rain	LSM.FUT-can

ɔ-nɔɔ
3SG-fall
'This harmattan season[4], the rain can (really) fall.'

(4)

ba-tii	**ba-mle**	**la-tóò-si**		**o-bè**	**lele**	
2-person	2-DEM	LSM.DP-PRF-gather		1-time	more	
ku	**ba-sankó**	**ba-wo**	**ku**	**Yesu**	**ɔ-ya**	**Maria**
and	2-woman	2-some	and	Jesus	1-mother	Mary
ku	**Yesu**	**ba-suɔtɔ-bi**	**lɛma**			
and	Jesus	2-man-DIM	3PL.POS			

'These people were gathering every time with some women and Jesus' mother Mary and Jesus' brothers […].'

(5)

a.	**ka-fusuka-nwii**		b.	**n-fusu**	**n-nyɔ**
	3-rat	3-one		6-rat	6-two
	'one rat'			'two rats'	

Like Bantu noun classes, the class system in Sɛlɛɛ also shows a certain amount of semantic consistency. In the table below, Agbetsomedo (2014: 106) provides a semantic underpinning for Sɛlɛɛ noun classification.

[4] Harmattan is a very dry and humid weather season that usually begins in January.

Table 3: The semantics of classes (adapted from Agbetsoamedo 2014: 106)

Class	Frequency	Prefixes	Semantics
1/2	26.6%	o-/ ɔ-; ba-	Human terms (identity, kinship).
		∅-; ba-	Mostly derived human referents, some animals, Borrowed nouns.
5/8	28.7%	di-/li-/ni-/le-/lɛ-; a-	Animal offspring; body parts, Food and Other things with round/circular, oval or concave shape.
7/8	10.1%	ko-/kɔ-/ku-; a-	Long things with flat surfaces, farm and farm-related concepts
1/4	15.7%	o-/ɔ-; se-/sɛ-/si-	Domain of some human experience, some plants (edible and non-edible)
3/6	16.4%	ka-; n-	Most external body parts, mass nouns, location/places
3/7	1.1%	ka-; ko-/kɔ-/ku-	Diminutives; 'fish' and 'ant'
7/6	0.7%	ko-/kɔ-/ku-; n-	Limbs: hand and leg
1/8	0.7%	o-/ɔ-; a-	Running stone and corn

Notwithstanding the seeming semantic features and cultural undertones that correlate with the classes, as shown in the table, Agbetsoamedo (2014) finally takes the position that the motivation for the assignment of a majority of nouns to their respective classes is generally arbitrary.

As has been suggested for Swahili by Schadeberg (2001), the singular-plural pairing of classes of Bantu, (and by extension G-T-M languages), could be explained as a lexical derivational relationship involving semantic notions of individuals and groups, while in terms of grammatical category, class/gender, rather than number, is the relevant feature.

Below are some preliminary generalizations on some shared similarities between the Bantu (i.e. Swahili) and G-T-M (i.e. Sɛlɛɛ, Kwa) class systems.

a. Both Bantu and GTM (Kwa) have a gender-like NCS.
b. Both Bantu and GTM have a comparatively high number of distinctive classes/genders.
c. Both Bantu and GTM express number in gender-particular prefixes.
d. The agreement system in both languages is fairly active.
e. Phonologically, most class/agreement markers take the CV-form.

Having shown the semblance between the Bantu and GTM (Kwa) languages, with both showing a functional system, we shall now take a look at another sub-group of Kwa languages that show a residual or inactive system, namely the Central-Tano sub-group, using Akan as a starting point. The choice of Akan finds justification on grounds that, apart from the fact of Akan showing a vestigial class system (making it similar to Esahie, as we shall see), genetically, Akan is also closely related to Esahie, at least because they both belong to the Central-Tano sub-family.

2.1.2. NCS in Akan

In this section, we take a cursory look at what has been described regarding noun classification in the Akan literature, to take some cues. In general, there are two positions on the status of NCS in Akan, and we shall discuss them in what follows.

In the first, it is argued by Osam (1993), Aboh (2007), and Ameka (2008), and shared by Appah (p.c.), that, in synchronic Akan, the NCS as syntactically active system is lost. In an attempt to account for why other Akanists may misguidedly conclude that Akan has an active noun class system, Osam first identifies among other possible grounds,

one, Akan's genetic affiliation to (what is now known as) the G-T-M languages which show an active system, two, morphological evidence in the form of prefixes borne by both singular and plural nouns, and finally, morpho-syntactic evidence in the form of number agreement. To corroborate his stance, however, Osam appeals to evidences of morphological decay that is observed in the loss of singular noun prefixes, frozen plural nouns, and the complete loss of nominal prefixes. In the examples below, for instance, we observe that the nouns in their singular are zero-marked, as evident in (6).

(6)

Stem	**Singular**	**Plural**	
ant	**tɛtea**	**n- tɛtea**	
pig	**prako**	**m-prako**	
name	**dzin**	**e-dzin**	(Osam 1993)

He however, adds that nouns that show this behaviour tend to be either non-human animate or inanimate nouns, and that human nouns hardly lose their prefixes, implying some sort of restriction.

Osam also resorts to evidences of morpho-syntactic decay seen in frozen forms of adjectival prefixes and loss of number prefixes borne by adjectives. Regarding frozen plural adjectives, he shows that there is no noun-adjective class agreement in synchronic Akan. He explains more specifically that, when both noun and adjective are marked for plural, the form of the marker borne by the adjective is not dependent on the form of the marker borne by noun. This lack of agreement is shown below in (7).

(7)

	Singular		**Plural**	
a.	**a-tar**	**tuntum**	**n-tar**	**e-tuntum**
	SG-dress	black	PL-dress	PL-black
	'black dress'		'black dresses'	
b.	**kyen**	**kakraba**	**a-kyen**	**n-kakraba**
	drum	small	PL-drum	PL-small
	'small drum'		'small drums'	(Osam 1993)

From example (7) we notice that a plural noun can be modified by an adjective that has a different plural prefix. In (7a), for example, the plural noun has a nasal prefix, but the adjective's prefix is a vocalic one. Similarly, the noun in (7b) has a vocalic prefix but its

modifying adjective has a nasal prefix. Still on the issue of morpho-syntactic decay, Osam turns to the loss of number prefixes (expected to be) borne by adjectives as additional evidence. He shows that apart from the inconsistent concordial relation between the noun and adjective plural prefixes, as witnessed from example (7) above, not all Akan adjectives take the plural marker. This is exemplified below in (8)

(8)

Singular	**Plural**	
atar hahar 'light dress'	**n-tar (*a-)hahar** 'light dresses'	
dua dudur 'heavy log'	**n-dua (*c-)dudur** 'heavy logs'	(Osam 1993)

As further evidence of the extent of decay in the Akan class system, Osam considers singular adjectives. He observes that all adjectives have lost their prefixes in the singular and as a result, there is no agreement between a singular noun and the adjective that modifies it as shown in (9).

(9)

Noun	**Adjective**	**Gloss**	
o-panyin	**(*o-)tsen**	'tall elderly man'	
ɔ-dan	**(*:ɔ-)kɛse**	'big building'	
o-dwan	**(*o-)ketewa**	'small sheep'	(Osam 1993)

Finally, Osam appeals to the pervasive loss of verbal concord in Akan as further grounds for his position. He argues that, unlike Bantu where the choice of a noun controls the choice of the agreement marker on the verb, the case of Akan is different. Osam explains that, the fact that most dialects of Akan have lost the agreement system leaves Akan with hardly any verbal concord. Despite admitting that the Fante and Bron dialects show traces of a frozen verb agreement, Osam demonstrates that even in Fante, the choice of a noun does not control the choice of the (number) agreement marker on the verb as demonstrated in (10).

(10)

a. **a-bowa**	**no**	**o-bo-wu**	b. ***a-bowa**	**no**	**a-bo-wu**
SG-animal	the	3SG-FUT-die	SG-animal	the	3SG-FUT-die
'The animal will die'					(Osam 1993)

One would have expected that since the subject of (10) bears the *a*-prefix, the same *a*-prefix would be selected for the verb to show agreement. However, in (10a), the agreement on the verb is the *o*-prefix. Changing this to the expected *a*-prefix renders (10b) ungrammatical. Premised on these basis, Osam concludes that though Akan might have once had a syntactically active noun class system, synchronically speaking, the system is lost.

In the other view, Bodomo and Marfo (2006) opine that Akan still has a class system. They argue that distinctive noun classes based on number affixation can be established for Akan. Accordingly, they group nouns into classes based on the similarity of both the singular and plural affixes. They explicate that the Akan noun class systems based mainly on an interface between the morphological and phonological components of the grammar. More specifically, they show that (ATR) vowel harmony and assimilation are very crucial phonological phenomena that dictate the choice of a particular number affix.

However, they seem to have concentrated only on the morpho-phonologically relevant aspects, ignoring other aspects one would have considered as being very critical, namely, the morpho-syntax of the Akan NCS. As a result, they are completely silent on whether the Akan NCS is a morpho-syntactically active one. For instance, they fail to look at agreement phenomena within and outside the Akan DP. As Creissels (2013) rightly points out, regarding noun classification in the general Niger-Congo family, it is impossible to isolate morphological elements whose sole function is to express number. It appears that the main reason why Bodomo and Marfo (ibid) argue for an active system is because of the syntactic feature of number, which could be considered as merely an abstract feature. Assuming without admitting, that number was not just a superficial feature as far as noun classification itself is concerned, they still fail to show whether or not number triggers agreement with other elements within and outside the DP. Moreover, the singular-plural pairings put forward in Bodomo and Marfo appear to be arbitrary and unpredictable, a point they accept. Still on number marking, as Osam (1993) rightly points out, Akan has suffered a substantial deal of morphological decay resulting in the partial loss of (singular) noun prefixes, complete loss of nominal prefixes, and the incidence of frozen plural nouns. Looking beyond the deficiency observed with respect to number marking, Osam further observes that synchronic Akan hardly has any verbal concord.

A critical look rather shows that the agreement system of Akan is one that could be fittingly described as weak(-ened) and highly restricted. That notwithstanding, as we shall

see (section 6.0), it would be inaccurate to classify Akan as an entirely gender-less (i.e. no agreement) language.

The two positions arrived at regarding the status of the Akan NCS cannot be seen as contrasting as a result of the fact that, different methodological and analytical approaches are adopted in both, one being purely morpho-syntactic in scope, and the other being purely morpho-phonological. While Osam (1993) focuses on showing that NCS in synchronic Akan is a morpho-syntactically decayed one, Bodomo and Marfo (2006), on the other hand, focus on how morpho-phonological information feed into selection of one number affix over the other. The point of agreement maintained by both, however, is that, the Akan NCS is a number-based one. Overall, the two positions arrived regarding the status of the Akan NCS could be conveniently described as "two sides of the same coin".

Having seen what obtains in Akan, a closely related sister, we shall now return to Esahie to, first, discuss some general phonological issues (which actually apply generally across Kwa) that are crucial to our understanding of the Esahie NCS (section 3.0), then proceed to look at the Esahie NCS itself (section 4.0). We will first consider some general grammatical properties of Esahie, so as to understand some of the analyses rendered in this work. We shall first take a look at Esahie and its language family, and proceed to give a brief grammatical introduction of the syntax, phonology and finally its morphology.

3. General Overview of Esahie

Esahie has been alternatively referred to as Asahyue, Sanvi and Sehwi, and coded in Ethnologue as [ISO 639-3: sfw]. Esahie belongs to the Northern Bia family of the Central-Tano subgroup (Dakubu and Dolphyne, 1988). Esahie is genetically close to Aowin and Nzema and falls in the same language family with Anyi as shown in the Kwa language family tree in Figure 1 below.

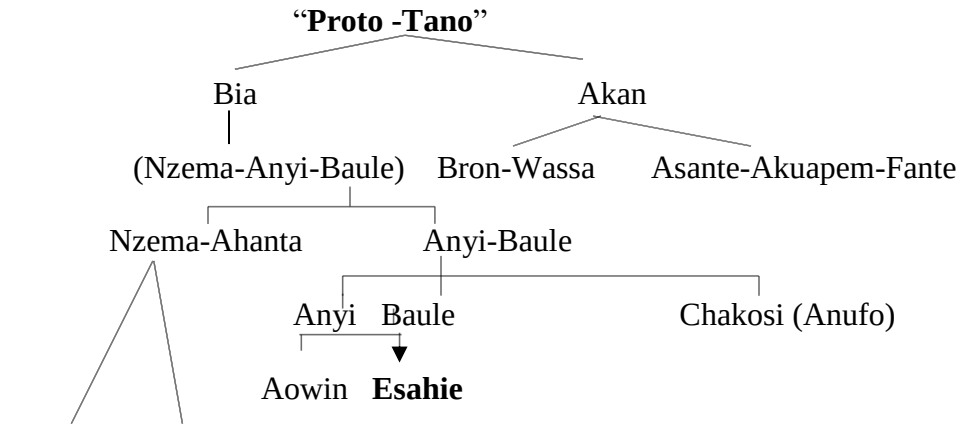


Figure 1: ***Kwa language family tree*** *(Dakubu and Dolphyne 1988: 56)*

Figure 1 shows that under the Bia language group, the first split was between Nzema and Ahanta, on one side, and Anyi and Baule, on the other side. Thereafter, Anyi, Baule, and Chakosi split from each other. Anyi then also split into Anyi (Aowin) and Sehwi (Esahie).

Ntumy and Boafo (2002) identify two varieties of Esahie. The first one is the *Anhwiaso variety*, which is spoken in the extreme east of the area, that is, east of the River Subraw in towns like Sehwi-Anhwiaso, Sehwi-Bekwai, and Asawinso. The second one is the *Wiawso variety*, which is the major variety in use, in the wider area, westwards of the River Subraw.[5]

Syntactically, Esahie, like Akan, and indeed many other Kwa languages (cf. Aboh and Essegbey 2010), is a strictly SVO language. Being a nominative-accusative language, the (A) argument[6] precedes the verb and the (P) argument[7] follows the verb in a simple transitive clause. The S argument of an intransitive clause also precedes the verb, as exemplified in (11).

(11) a. **Salo po-le ataadɛɛ ne**
Salo wash-PAST dress DEF
'Salo washed the dress'

[5] The data for this work will be drawn mainly from the latter variety.
[6] Agent
[7] Patient.

b. **Salo la-le**
Salo sleep-PAST
'Salo slept'

Morphologically, it would be most suitable to categorize Esahie as typologically isolating, in consonance with what has been observed generally for Kwa (cf. Aboh and Essegbey 2010). As such, one characteristic feature of Esahie is that it has a fairly limited inflectional morphology. Consequently, lexical DPs are not inflected for case, but only for number, as is seen in example (12).

(12) a. **tɕía a-hye e-bote**
dog PERF-catch SG.rabbit
'A dog has caught a rabbit'

b. **ebote a-hye tɕía**
rabbit PERF-catch dog
'A rabbit has caught a dog'

3.1. Phonological features of the Esahie Language

As Frimpong (2009) points out, Esahie is one of the many tonal languages of Ghana. On the tonology of Esahie, she observes two basic contrastive tones in Esahie: a high tone, denoting a relatively high pitch, and a low tone, denoting relatively low pitch. In what follow, I will briefly discuss some other phonological phenomena that apply at the morpheme/word boundaries, including vowel harmony and assimilation.

3.1.1. Vowel Harmony (VH)

The most relevant phonological information is the *advanced tongue root* (ATR) vowel harmony principle. Esahie has ten vowel phonemes. The two sets of vowels are distinguished by the feature [ATR]. In virtue of the vowel harmony principle, the **ten** vowels of Esahie fall into **two** phonetically distinctive classes, i.e. a vowel is either produced with an advanced tongue root or an un-advanced tongue root.

a. Set I: [+**ATR**]: [**i, u, e, æ, o**]
b. Set II: [**-ATR**]: [**ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, a, ɔ**] (cf. Frimpong 2009)

Following the distinction, all stem vowels are required (or at least expected) to be of a common ATR feature specification. Unless a stem is underlyingly disharmonic, ATR harmony in Esahie is **stem-controlled**. Affixes are usually underspecified for ATR, such that, if the vowel(s) of the stem is [+ATR], one of the following vowels of the affix /**i, u, e, æ, o**/ will be selected. If, on the other hand, it is [–ATR], the vowels selected will be one of these: /**ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, a, ɔ**/. Take for instance, the words **ɛtɪna** 'cloth' and **ebote** 'grass cutter'. Phonologically, we can observe (ATR) VH at work in the selection of the singular prefix for both words. The rule below explains the differences between the prefix in **ɛ-tɪna** and **e-bote**:

- $V_{Pfx[\alpha ATR]} \rightarrow [\alpha ATR] / \_\_\_\_ V_{STEM[\alpha ATR]}$

3.1.2. Assimilation

Another pervasive phenomenon in Esahie morpho-phonology is assimilation, most commonly, homorganic nasal assimilation (*henceforth* HNA) and consonant mutation. Esahie consonant mutation may occur as a case of voicing assimilation (*henceforth* VA) or glottalization. As an exemplification of these phenomena, let's discuss the case of plural formation. The most productive plural marker is the morpheme /N/ which has an unspecified place of articulation when it precedes a consonant. It has a zero place of articulation and agrees in place with the consonant following it. The nasal can become a bilabial (as in (13)), a labio-dental, an alveolar, a palatal (as in (14)) or a velar (as in (15)) before a bilabial, a labio-dental, an alveolar, a palatal or a velar, respectively. This is exemplified below:

(13)	**pure**	→ **N + pure**	→	**mbure**
	squirrel.SG	PL+ squirrel		'squirrels'
(14)	**ʧɪa**	→ **N + ʧɪa**	→	**ɲdʒɪa**
	dog.SG	PL + dog		'dogs'
(15)	**kɛndɛm**	→ **N + kɛndɛm**	→	**ŋkɛndɛm**
	basket.SG	PL + basket		'baskets'

Apart from HNA, we also observe VA from the data above. In example (13), the nasal spreads its voicing onto the voiceless bilabial stop /b/, causing it to assimilate into a voiced sound. Similarly, in example (14) a voiceless velar stop becomes voiced as a result of the presence of a nasal. Unlike what obtains in HNA and VH, VA shows a regressive directionality since it is the affix that is the trigger.
The rules below account for both phenomena which are triggered by the plural formation, respectively.

- HNA: $\mathbf{N_{[\propto Place]} \rightarrow N_{[\propto Place]} - / \_\_\_ [C_{[\propto Place]}]_{word}}$
- VA: $\mathbf{C_{[-voi.]} \rightarrow [+voi.]/ N-\_\_\_}$

3.1.3. Lenition

Lenition in Esahie is morpho-phonologically conditioned, and usually involves a voiceless velar stop mutating into a glottal fricative when it occurs intervocalically. With regards to nouns, it typically occurs (at morpheme boundary) when the plural prefix /a-/ is attached to nouns beginning in a voiceless velar stop.

(16)	**ko**	→	**/a/ + ko/**	→ **ahoɛ**
	war.SG		PL+ war	wars

This rule below explains the data above:

- **Rule**: / k/ → /h/ [+voi]/____ [+voi]

Lenition is, however, not general in Esahie. There are cases where /k/ is not glottalized intervocalically. For pluralization, nouns that appear to be borrowed from Akan tend to block this rule. This accounts for why **kuaniɛ** 'farmer' which selects the plural marker /a-/ has its plural form as **akuafʊɛ** 'farmers', and not **ahuafʊɛ**.

In spite of all of these general features established so far, Esahie still remains a highly understudied Kwa language, on which virtually no morphological investigation has been performed so far, hence the need for the present study.

4. Noun Form/Declension Classes in Esahie

Drawing inspiration from on what has been argued for Akan, a sister (Central-Tano) language, in Osam (1993) and Bodomo and Marfo (2006), six (6) distinctive noun form classes (declension classes) can be established in Esahie. In setting up various noun form groupings for Esahie, this work primarily puts nouns into classes based on the morphological similarity of both the singular and plural affixes. This criterion of classification implies that nouns belong to one and only one class, whether in the singular or plural. The singular-plural pairing in the classes can be explained as a grammatical-inflectional relationship involving the grammatical category of number. The defining criterion for the grouping is based (predominantly) on similarity in plural affixes borne by the noun.

The motivation for this criterion lies in the fact that though the nouns may vary in terms of the kind of singular marker(s) they select, for the plural most of these nouns eventually select a common marker(s), suggestive of the fact these nouns form a natural class. Another motivation for this criterion is that it reduces the overall number of classes to a smaller set. As we shall see, the largest class of Esahie nouns are zero-marked in their singular, implying grouping them according to the singular affixes might be a bit problematic.

Table 4: **Noun Form/Declension Class Table**

	Stem	**Singular Form**	**Plural Form**	**Productivity**
Class 1		(V-)	N-	**Very High**
a. A-/N-	**-bɔŋgye**	**abɔŋgye** 'goat'	**mmɔŋgye** 'goats'	
	-kɔ	**akɔ** 'fowl'	**ŋgokɔ** 'fowls'	
	-tadeɛ	**atadeɛ** 'dress'	**ndadeɛ** 'dresses'	
	-nomaa	**anomaa** 'bird'	**nnomaaa** 'birds'	
	-tɛkra	**atɛkra** 'feather'	**ndɛkra** 'feathers'	
	-kwaadu	**akwaadu** 'banana'	**ŋgwaadu** 'bananas'	

	-koa **-kɔlaa** **-brandeɛ** **-pena** **-fialɛ**	**akoa** 'slave/servant' **akɔlaa** 'child' **abrandeɛ** 'young man' **apena** 'bat' **afialɛ** 'hide out'	**ŋgoa** 'slaves/servants' **ŋgɔlaa** 'children' **mmrandeɛ** 'young men' **mpena** 'bats' **ŋvialɛ** 'hide outs'	
b. E-/N-	**-kra** **-woo** **-tena** **-bote** **-nwomee**	**ɛkra** 'cat' **ewoo** 'snake' **ɛtɪna** 'cloth' **ebote** 'rabbit' **ɛnwomee** 'ghost'	**ŋgra** 'cats' **nwoo** 'snakes' **ndɪna** 'cloths' **mmote** 'rabbits' **nnwomee** 'ghosts'	
c. **Ø/N-**	**-pure** **-kɛndɛɪn** **- ʧía** **-brasua** **-brenzua**	**pure** 'squirrel' **kɛndɛɪn** 'basket' **ʧía** 'dog' **brasua** 'female/lady' **brenzua** 'male/guy'	**mbure** 'squirrels' **ŋgɛndɛɪn** 'baskets' **ɲʤía** 'dogs' **mmrasua** 'females/ladies' **mmienzua** 'males/guys'	

	-boaen	boaen	mmoaen	
		‘sheep’	‘sheep’	
	-wanzane	wanzane	nwanzane	
		‘deer’	‘deer’	
	-sunzum	sunzum	nzuzum	
		‘spirit’	‘spirits’	
	-dadeɛ	dadeɛ	nnadeɛ	
		‘cutlass’	‘cutlasses’	
	-bakaa	bakaa	mmakaa	
		‘tree/stick’	‘trees/sticks’	
	-boka	boka	mmoka	
		‘mountain’	‘mountains’	
	-bowie	bowie	mmowie	
		‘bone’	‘bones’	
	-bowie	bowie	mmowie	
		‘thorn’	‘thorns’	
	-safoa	safoa ‘key’	nzafoa	
		pɛtɛ	‘keys’	
	- pɛtɛ	‘vulture’	mpɛtɛ	
		kwakuo	‘vultures’	
	-kwakuo	‘monkey’	ngwakuo	
		braa	‘monkeys’	
	-braa	‘woman’	mmra	
		sewaa	‘woman’	
		‘aunty’	nzewa	
	-sewaa	bɛɛn	‘aunties’	
		‘bed’	mmɛɛnn	
	-bɛɛn	kanea	‘beds’	
		‘light’	ŋganea	
	-kanea	kuro	‘lights’	
		‘town’	ŋguro	
	-kuro	paen	‘towns’	
		‘elder’	mbaen	
	-paen	perɛgoo	‘elders’	
		‘nail’		

	-perɛgoo **-taluwa** **-soa** **-soe** **tɕɪrenmʝvua** **-**	**taluwa** 'lady' **soa** 'insult' **soe** 'ash' **tɕɪrenmʝvua** 'egg'	**mberɛgoo** 'nails' **ndaluwa** 'ladies' **nzoa** 'insults' **nsoe** 'ashes' **ndɕɪrenmʝvua** 'eggs'	
Class 2		**(V-)**	**A-**	
a. ***V-/A-***	**-lɛn** **-mama**	**ɛlɛn** 'canoe' **ɔmama** 'prominent person'	**alɛn** 'canoes' **amama** 'prominent person'	**Low**
b. ***Ø-/A-***	**-koɛ** **-sɔfo**	**koɛ** 'war' **sɔfo** 'pastor'	**ahoɛ** 'wars' **asɔfo** 'pastors'	
		(V)-_niɛ	**A-_ fʊɛ**	
c. ***A-/A-*** Identi-fication-al/ Occupation al	**-wie** **-sande** **-safo** **-ware** **-agudi** **-maɲɔ**	**awieniɛ** 'thief' **asandeniɛ** 'an ashanti' **asafoniɛ** 'one from Asafo' **awareniɛ** 'married person' **agudmiɛ** 'athlete/player'	**awiefʊɛ** 'thieves' **asandefʊɛ** 'ashanti people' **asafofʊɛ** 'Asafo people' **awarefʊɛ** 'married people' **agʊdɪfʊɛ** 'athletes/players'	

	-sosi -ɲɪsi -fiase	amaŋɔnie 'politician' asosinie 'a deaf person' aɲɪsinie 'a blind person' afiaseniɛ 'prisoner'	amaŋɔfʊɛ 'politicians' asosifʊɛ 'deaf persons' aɲɪsifʊɛ 'blind persons' afiasefʊɛ 'prisoners'	
d. **Ø-/A-** Identificational/ Occupational	-kua -nɛɛsɪ -de -polisi -hyɛnka -kuna -dwadi -sigya	kuaniɛ 'farmer' nɛɛsɪniɛ 'nurse' deniɛ 'wealthy person' polisiniɛ 'police officer' hyɛnkaniɛ 'driver' kunaniɛ 'widow' dwadiniɛ 'trader' sigyaniɛ 'bachelor/spinster'	akuafʊɛ 'farmers' anɛɛsɪfʊɛ 'nurses' adefʊɛ 'wealthy people' apolisifʊɛ 'police officers' ahyɛnkafʊɛ 'drivers' akunafʊɛ 'widows' adwadifʊɛ 'traders' asigyafʊɛ 'bachelors/ spinsters'	
Class 3				
+kinship		**V-/Ø-**	**/ Ø- _ -mɔ**	**Low**
a. ***V-/A-mɔ***	-liemaa	aliemaa 'sibling'	aliemaamɔ 'siblings'	
b. ***Ø-/Ø_-mɔ***	-sewaa -wɔfa	sewaa 'aunty' wɔfa 'uncle'	sewaamɔ 'aunties' wɔfamɔ 'uncles'	

	-nana **-baba** **-ye** **-niɛ** **-sia**	**nana** 'grand..' **baba** 'father' **ye** 'wife' **niɛ** 'mother' **sia** 'inlaws'	**nanamɔ** 'grand….s' **babamɔ** 'fathers' **yemɔ** 'wives' **niɛmɔ** 'mothers' **siamɔ** 'inlaws'	
Class 4		**(V)-_-niɛ/-Ø**	**N-_fʊɛ**	**Low**
–niɛ/N-	**-kremo**	**kremoniɛ** 'muslim'	**ŋgramofʊɛ** 'muslims'	
–Ø/N-	**-saman**	**saman** 'ancestor'	**nzamanvoɛ** 'ancestors'	
Class 5				**Low**
Singularia Tantum		**ɛ-_-lɛ**		
a. **ɛ-/-** No plural	**-sɛn** **-hɔɪn**	**ɛsɛn** 'funeral' **ɛhɔɪn** 'farmine'		
b. **ɛ-_-*rɛ/-*** (**deverbal**) No plural	**-wʊnzɛ** **-kuro** **-dwudwo** **-sɪrɪ**	**ɛwʊnzɪrɛ** 'pregnancy' ***ɛhurolɛ*** 'love' ***ɛdwudwolɛ*** 'speech' ***ɛsɪrɪlɛ*** 'the act of laughing'		
c. ***Ø_-nɛ/-*** (derived	**-nzaa,** 'alcohol' – **nʊ̃** 'to drink'	***nzaanõnɛ*** 'alcoholism'		

Compounds)	**-sona** 'person', **-hũ** 'kill'	***sonahũnɛ*** 'the act of murdering'		
Class 6: Mass				**Low**
			Pluralia Tantum	
a. */N-*	**-frama** **-futro** **-kyn** **-gua**		**ŋvrama** 'air' **ŋvutro** 'dust' **ngyn** 'salt' **ŋgua** 'life'	
		Singularia tantum		
b. /V-	**-yia** **-tẽẽn** **-mo**	**eyia** 'sun' **esraen** 'moon' **atẽẽn** 'roads' **ɛmo** 'rice'		
b. */Ø-*	**-sɪŋ** **-troo** **-hãĩ** **-wʊɛ**	**sɪŋ** 'fire' **troo** 'soup' **hãĩ** 'light' **wʊɛ** 'honey'		

As indicated earlier, morpho-phonological information enhances our understanding of the Esahie number-based classes, which are shown below. Data shown in the table were

collected through elicitation from native speakers. In all a total of 120 nouns were collected, out 100 were chosen for the table for the convenience purposes. The table has five columns each spelling out some information about the noun such as its stem, productivity and noun class. Productivity of a class is determined based on two parameters: the number of nouns contained in it[8], and the presence of neologisms[9]. On these grounds, three levels of productivity are distinguished, namely low, high and very high. In what follows, I provide a description of the classes shown in table 4.

CLASS 1*.a & 1.b:* ***V-/N-***

This class is common in Esahie. Plural formation in this class is easy even for the learner, because the pattern followed is very regular. Indeed, neologisms are integrated through the pattern observed in this class.[10] In the singular, nouns in this class take a vowel prefix but take a (homorganic) nasal prefix in the plural. Nouns in Class 1 are instantiations of the morphological schema below:

(17) a. **[[V-$_{Pfx}$]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$** **[[N-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$**

b. [[**ɛ-**]$_i$ [**kra**]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [ɛkra] ‘cat’ [[n-]$_i$ [**kra**]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [**ŋgra**] ‘cats’

cat

Subclass 1.c: **Ø/N-**

This sub-class seems to contain the largest number of members and in fact constitutes the commonest and most productive in Esahie. The only difference with this sub-class is that nouns here in their singular are zero-marked. The loss or absence of the nominal prefix on the singular forms of nouns in this class is a strong indication of the morphological decay in this language. This decay is discussed in detail later in section 4.1.

The plural of nouns in this class are instantiations of the schema below, similar to the plural forms of class 1 which also take a (homorganic) nasal prefix.

[8] The average numerical strength of each class is used in setting out these levels. Out of the 100 tokens, any class that 30 and above tokens are considered as VERY HIGH, any class that contains 15 and above (but below 30) as classified HIGH, while groups that contains 15 tokens or below.

[9] Some of sources of the neologisms include *student register* and *politics*.

[10] For instance, *gumu* ‘eating together by students in the hostel’ takes the marker /n-/ in the plural to form “ŋgumu”.

(18) a. **[[N-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$**

[[N-]$_i$ [**braa**]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [**mmraa**] 'women'

↓

'woman'

b. **[[N-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$**

[[N-]$_i$ [**soa**]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [**nzoa**] 'insults'

↓

'insult'

CLASS 2 ***(a): V-/A-***

Members in this class take a vowel prefix in the singular and the prefix /a-/ in the plural. This class seems to have only a few members, and most of these appear to be borrowed from Akan. In the plural, members of this class are instantiations of the schema below:

(19) **Singular** **Plural**

a. [[ɛ-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$ b. **[[a-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$]$_{Nj}$**

[[**ɛ**-]$_i$ [**lɛn**]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [**ɛlɛn**] 'canoe' [[a-]$_i$ [lɛn]$_N$]$_{Nj}$ ⟷ [**alɛn**] 'canoes'

↓

'canoe'

Members of sub-class 2.b are similar to those in Class 1, with a plural formation which follows the schema for forming plurals of Class 1 nouns. However, like Class 1 (c) nouns, their singular forms are a zero marked.

Members of sub-class 2.c appear to be 'double-edge' affixed in the plural. From a semantic perspective, we could analyse the items in this class here as '**identity**' or '**occupational**' nouns. This semantic information is derivative of the word formation phenomenon at work here, where the derivational affix consistently forms animate nouns from (inanimate) noun stems, with the meaning: 'person whose profession has to do with the noun base's referent'. Nouns in this class are instantiations of the schema below:

(20) **Singular** **Plural**

a. **[([a]$_i$) [Stem]$_{Nj}$[-niɛ]$_k$]]$_{Nj}$** b. **[[a]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$[-fʊɛ]$_k$]]$_{Nj}$**

[[**dwadi**]] [-**niɛ**]]] ⟷ 'trader' [[a] [**dwadi**]] [-**fʊɛ**] ⟷ 'traders'

↓

'trade'

As shown in (20a) above, in the singular, forms in this class may (not) take the prefix /a-/ and the derivative suffix *–nie*, similar to the English derivative *–er*. It is noteworthy that while the English derivative *–er* mostly attaches to verb bases, the Esahie derivative **-nie** selects for nouns instead.

CLASS 3*: (V)-/(A)-_-mɔ*

Semantically, this class involves kinship nouns, and is one of the noun classes in Esahie that appears to have 'double-edge' affix positioning in the plural. This class of Esahie nouns can be sub-classified into two, obligatory or optional singular prefix marking in the singular. In the plural, however, nouns in the class always select the suffix *-mɔ*. They typically follow the schema in (21):

(21) a. **[[Stem]$_{Ni}$ [-mɔ]$_j$]$_{Ni}$** b. **[[Stem]$_{Ni}$ [-mɔ]$_j$]$_{Ni}$**

[[niɛ] [-mɔ]] ⟷ [niɛmɔ] 'mothers' [[sia]] [-mɔ] ⟷ [siamɔ] 'inlaws'

mother in-law

CLASS 4: *(−nie)/N−__−fʊɛ*

Members of this class are similar to the noun forms in Class 3, except for the optionality of the suffix *−nie* and the homorganic nasal prefix attached in plural formation in this class. The schema below captures pluralization in this class:

(22) **[[N-]$_i$ [Stem]$_{Nj}$[-fʊɛ]$_k$]]$_{Nj}$**

[[**kremo** [-*fʊɛ*]]] ⟷ [**ŋgramofʊɛ**] 'muslims'

'Islam'

CLASS 5: *ɛ-_-lɛ*

This class of Esahie noun forms do not mark the singular-plural distinction; i.e. it is a 'single-sided' class whose members only come in the singular (i.e. singularia tantum). Based on the fact that most of the nouns here are derived from a parent verb, and also that the prefix it selects is always used in the singular, this class is conceptually and morpho-syntactically viewed as consisting of only singular forms. For instance, **ɛhurolɛ** 'love' and **ɛwʊnzɛlɛ** 'pregnancy' originate from the verbs **kuro** 'to love/like' and **wʊnzɛ** 'to

impregnate' respectively. The prefix /**ɛ-**/ and the suffix /***-lɛ***/, which are used together in this class are usually derivational for the purpose of nominalization,[11]

CLASS 6: ***/N-,A-, Ø-***

This class contains one set of pluralia and two sets of singularia tantum respectively. However, the nouns here are not deverbal, contrasting with some of the noun forms in Class 5.

The pluralia tantum, triggering number agreement on the verb and other concord phenomena, are marked with a homorganic nasal, as most plurals in Esahie. The singularia tantum are like mass nouns, mostly triggering singular agreement in the syntactic context. Morphologically, they either take a vowel ([**a-**] and [**ɐ-**]/[**ɛ-**]) or surface as bare stems (zero affixation).

Having elaborated on the various singular-plural markers that exist in Esahie, as shown in table (4), we shall now pay attention to other morpho-syntactically relevant issues. More specifically, we shall consider issues bordering on morphological and morpho-syntactic decay in order to evaluate the morpho-syntactic strength of the Esahie NCS in general.

4.1. Noun Class System in Esahie

Although the noun class system in Esahie itself is syntactically inactive, number, as a syntactic feature, to some extent triggers agreement. First, we shall test the strength of the Esahie noun class system in the light of agreement marking. There are hardly distinct affixes that show up on nouns, nor morphological sets that mark agreement between nouns and their governing domain. The contrast with Tutrugbu (another G-T-M language, showing a syntactically active and rich system) is striking and points to the paucity of inflection marking in Esahie.

	Esahie		**Tutrugbu (GTM)**	
(23) a.	**Baba ne wɔ awuro**	(24) a.	**a-nyɛ́-ɛ́ á-lɛ́ bɔ-pɑ́ mɛ**	
	man DEF be.at home		CM-man-DEF AM-be.at CM-house inside	
	'The man is at home'		'The man is at home'	

[11] Both affixes here are derivational.

b. **Mania ne-mɔ wɔ sua-n**	b. **Ba-nɔ ba-lɛ bɔ-pa-m**
People DEF-PL be.at house-inside	CM-person AM-be.at CM-house-inside
'The people are in the house'	'The people are in the house'
	(Essegbey 2009)

From the example (23), we notice that the Esahie rendition of the construction lacks any overt form of class and agreement marker. On the contrary, in the Tutrugbu[12] version in (24a), ***a-*** is used to cross-reference the subject on the verb when it is singular. Similarly, in example (24b), Tutrugbu uses ***ba-*** when it is plural in addition to the class marker, whilst Esahie shows no class nor agreement marker.

	Esahie	**Tutrugbu (GTM)**
(25)	**Yamaa he te me-dɛɔɔ**	**o-hui ɔ-lɛ o-lo-nú mɔ-yɛ**
	rope this be 1.SG-POSS	CM-rope AM-this RP-??-be 1SG-POSS
	'This rope is mine'	'This rope is mine'
(26)	a. **Kuku he te me-dɛɔɔ**	b. **ki-tsikpi (é)lɛ ki-li-nú mɛ-yɛ́**
	pot this be 1SG-POSS	CM-pot AM-this RP-??-be 1SG-POSS
	'This pot is mine'	'This pot is mine' (Essegbey 2009)

In the two Tutrugbu examples above, we observe that the nouns, the demonstratives and the verbs all bear class markers, agreement markers, and subject-verb agreement markers, respectively. What distinguishes the Esahie sentences, however, is their conspicuous lack of these class/agreement markings, both inside and outside the DP, in contrast with the case of Tutrugbu. The above observations corroborate the claim that noun classes in Esahie per se are morph-syntactically vestigial.

As Ameka (2008) rightly notes, there is an interesting split as far as plural formation and nominal classes are concerned in Kwa. In his explication, he shows that both Akan and its Tano relatives each have several pairs of singular and plural prefixes, and that while there is usually number concord, there is generally however, no class concord. He argues, for instance, that anaphors and modifiers of the languages within the Tano fraternity never show agreement with a head noun, while Ewe with the rest of Gbe and Ga-Dangme use the bare noun stem in the singular and a generalized suffix or clitic for the plural.

[12] Though Essegbey (2009) argues that ***a-*** and ***ba-*** are generalized agreement markers, the case of Esahie cannot be likened to it, because at least, in Tutrugbu these markers are overtly expressed.

4.1.1. Morphological Decay in Esahie

4.1.1.1 Loss of Singular Noun Prefixes

One notable feature of the Esahie NCS is its morphological decay[13] evidenced by the pervasive loss of noun prefixes in some singular nouns. Recall that in classes (1c) and (3b) in Table 4, we found a high number of nouns that were zero-marked in the singular. Recall that we mentioned earlier that the Akan NCS has also suffered some deal of morphological decay (cf. Osam 1993). In example (27), we compare the degree of this kind of morphological decay in Esahie and Akan.

(27)

	Esahie	**Akan**
Gloss	Singular	Singular
Squirrel	**pure**	**o-purow**
Dog	**tɕía**	**ɔ-kraman**
Lady	**brasua**	**ɔ-baa**
Sheep	**boaen**	**o-dwan**

We notice that all the Esahie examples are zero-marked while their Akan counterparts are overtly marked.

4.1.1.2 Frozen Nominal Forms

Another piece of evidence that points to pervasive morphological decay in the Esahie NCS is the high incidence of frozen noun forms. Again, we shall compare Esahie with Akan in example (28) with respect to this phenomenon.

(28)

	Esahie		**Akan**	
Gloss	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
Building	**sua**	**sua**	**ɛ-dan**	**a-dan**
Stone	**nyɔboɛ**	**nyɔboɛ**	**e-boɔ**	**a-boɔ**

[13] Although this work does not consider diachronic data (for purposes of unavailability of literature) in the discussion of this phenomenon of decay, a similar argument could be made for Esahie once we can establish that this phenomenon also obtains in other (sister) Kwa languages. For instance, inferences could be drawn from Akan, on which Osam (1993) establishes that, diachronically, there used to be a fully functional system.

Rope	**yamaa**	**yamaa**	**a-homan-homa**	
Food	**alie**	**alie**	**a-duane**	**n-nuane**
Day	**kyia**	**kyia**	**ɛ-da**	**n-na**
Farm	**boo**	**boo**	**a-fuo**	**m-fuo**
Land	**aseɛ**	**aseɛ**	**a-saase**	**n-saase**
Leaf	**nyaa**	**nyaa**	**a-haban**	**n-haban**

We observe that while all the Esahie examples maintain the same form in both singular and plural (i.e., they are syncretic[14]), the Akan equivalents are distinctively marked in both contexts.

4.1.2. Morpho-syntactic Decay in Esahie

The fact that the system in Esahie is a vestigial one is supported also by the morpho-syntactic behaviour of nouns and their modifying adjectives. We shall first appeal to evidence from frozen adjectival forms, and proceed to look at this kind of decay beyond the scope of the DP.

4.1.2.1 Frozen Form of Adjectival Prefixes

In this section, we consider the form of adjectives when they modify singular and plural nouns.

	Singular	**Plural**
(29)	**boaen bile**	**m-moaen bile**
	sheep black	PL-sheep black
	'Black sheep'	'Black sheep'

	Singular	**Plural**
(30)	**bia tɛɛ**	**m-mia tɛɛ**
	chair faulty	PL-chair faulty
	'Faulty chair'	'Faulty chairs'

From examples (29) and (30), we notice that the form of the modifying adjectives remains the same irrespective of the form of the head noun. In these examples, there is no noun-adjective agreement.

[14] See Broohm and Rabanus (forthcoming) for a more detailed discussion.

4.1.2.2 Loss of Verbal Concord

In this section, we consider the agreement between head nouns and verb, in order to ascertain whether the choice of a noun controls the selection or choice of the agreement marker on the verb.

(31)	**a-kɔ**	**ne**	**ø-ko-wu**	(32)	**sua**	**ne**	**ø-ko-bu**
	SG-fowl	DEF	AM-FUT-die		building	DEF	AM-FUT-break
	'The fowl will die'				'The building will collapse'		

Unlike the Akan example in (10) which we saw earlier, where agreement markers (though not concordial in form), in the form pronominal clitics, were used to show agreement between the head noun and verb, in the Esahie examples (31) and (32), no such markers are found.

At this point, we shall return to our earlier argument that the Esahie NCS is number-based one. Remember we have argued earlier that, while noun classes in Esahie by themselves are syntactically inactive, number (plural), as a syntactic feature, to some extent triggers agreement, despite the pervasive morpho-syntactic decay show.

In what follow, we shall take another look at number agreement in Esahie, limiting ourselves to what obtains in the DP, to find out whether there is still any special agreement (morphology) at all.

5. Number Agreement in Esahie

Number (plural) marking may occur on the head noun, nominal modifiers (such as adjectives), as well as demonstratives. In the examples that follow, we shall see how this works.

(33) a.	**Bakaa**	**hé**	b.	**m-makaa**	**hé-mɔ**
	stick	DEM		PL-stick	DEM-PL
	'This stick'			'These sticks'	

In example (33a-b), we observe that both the head noun and the demonstrative agree in number, albeit using different markers. In the examples that follow we shall attempt to

introduce other modifiers (demonstratives) into the DP, to be able to better appreciate how number concord generally works within the DP.

	Singular (**Ø**-marked)	**Plural** (nasal-marked)
(34)	a. **boaen tenden hé** sheep tall DEM 'This tall sheep'	b. **M-moaen n-denden he-mɔ** PL-sheep PL-tall DEM-PL 'These tall sheep'
(35)	a. **bowie kwekwa~kwekwa hene** bone dry~RED DEM 'That dry bone'	b. **m-mowie ŋ-kwekwa-kwekwa hene-mɔ** PL-bone PL-dry-RED DEM-PL 'Those dry bones'

	Singular (V-marked)	**Plural** (nasal-marked)
(36)	a. **e-woo pri he** SG-snake big DEM 'This big snake'	b. **n-woo m-bri he-mɔ** PL-snake PL-big DEM-PL 'These big snakes'

In the examples (34b-35b) above, we observe agreement among the controller nouns, the modifying adjectives, the demonstratives. More importantly, we notice that while the demonstrative appears to invariably select ***–mɔ*** in the plural, irrespective of the form of marker borne by the head noun, the adjective, if it is marked, usually shares the same marker and marker distribution with the head noun (controller).

6. Noun Classification and Gender: Esahie versus Akan

As explained earlier, noun classification may manifest itself in the form a gender(-like) system, where selection of markers is determined or controlled by certain inherent features (semantic, conceptual, and/or formal) of a lexical noun (controller) nouns.

In this section, we consider the inherent semantic feature of ANIMACY in Kwa languages, as akin to (grammatical) GENDER as attested in Romance languages (such as French and Italian). This implies that if the agreement system of a language shows strong sensitivity to the feature of animacy, that language would be analyzed as a gender-sensitive language. In what follows, we examine the extent to which inherent properties of Esahie nouns are crucial in our understanding of the Esahie agreement system. Again, we compare Esahie with Akan.

For Akan, Osam (1996) shows that nouns are (to an extent) sensitive to the concept of ANIMACY. Thus, in some dialects, agreement could be triggered by the inherent conceptual and semantic feature of animacy. This animacy-based agreement system controls the selection/choice of nominal affixes for the various noun form classes (as shown in, Table 5), as well as the selection/choice of pronominal forms in agreement relations in Akan (as we shall see later).

Table 5: **Animacy in Akan Noun Form Classes** (based on Osam 1996: 154)

Affix	**Semantic feature**	**Example**	**Exceptions**
o-/ɔ-	ANIMATE	**o-panyin** 'elder' **ɔ-hɔho** 'visitor' **ɔ-kɔdeɛ** 'eagle'	Yes
e-/ɛ-	INANIMATE	**ɛ-boɔ** 'stone' **ɛ-dan** 'house' **e-tuo** 'gun'	No
Double plural marked	**+HUMAN**	**a-hen-fo** 'chiefs' **n-saman-fo** 'ghosts' **m-banyin-fo** 'men' **m-panyni-fo** 'elders'	No

From the above, we observe that the role of animacy as (an inherent semantic feature) in the selection of nominal prefixes in Akan is one that cannot be overemphasized. The fact that two out of the three classes show no exception further buttresses the point. Let us now return to Esahie.

Table 6: **Animacy in the Esahie Noun Form Classes**

Affix	**Semantic feature**	**Example**	**Exceptions**
e-/ɛ-	**ANIMATE**	**ɛ-kra** 'cat' **e-woo** 'snake' **e-bote** 'rabbit' **ɛ-nwomee** 'ghost'	**Yes**
-mɔ	**ANIMATE (+KINSHIP)**	**ye-mɔ** 'wives'	**Yes**
Double plural marked	**ANIMATE (+HUMAN)**	**a-kua-fuɛ** 'farmers' **a-dwadi-fʊɛ** 'traders' **ŋ-gramo-fʊɛ** 'muslims' **a-sigya-fʊɛ** 'bachelors/spinsters' **a-kuna-fʊɛ** 'widows'	Yes

Comparing Esahie to Akan, we observe that though animacy plays a role in the selection of nominal affixes, the existence of exceptions for each group of noun form classes, as shown in table 6, gives an indication that the role of animacy is not very strong in Esahie, relatively speaking. What this means is that one could equally argue that the selection of such nominal affixes is arbitrary.

We shall now look at how the inherent/semantic feature of animacy manifests itself in the pronominal system in the context of agreement relations (anaphora agreement), again comparing Esahie with Akan (Twi).

Akan

(37)	a.	**abɔfra no**	**bɛ-yera**	b.	**Dua no**	**bɛ-yera**
		Child the	FUT-be.lost		Tree the	FUT-be.lost
		'The child will get lost.'			'The tree will get lost.'
						(Osam 1996:157)
(38)	a.	**ɔ-bɛ-yera**		b.	**ɛ-bɛ-yera**	
		AGR.ANIM-FUT-be.lost			AGR.NONANIM-FUT-be.lost	
		'S/he will be lost.'			'It will be lost.' (Osam 1996:158)	

We notice that agreement pattern is reflected in the pronominal clitic on the verb in (38a) is triggered by the feature of animacy of the noun in (37a). A similar phenomenon is observed between (37b) and (38b). Juxtaposing both cases, we notice a distinction in the 3rd person pronoun paradigm with respect to animacy. We shall now return to Esahie to see whether or not same can be said for Esahie.

Esahie

(39)	a.	**adoma ne**	**ko-muni**	b.	**dadeɛ ne**	**ko-muni**
		baby the	FUT-be.lost		cutlass the	FUT-be.lost
		'The baby will get lost.'			'The cutlass will get lost.'	
(40)	a.	**o-ko-muni**		b.	**o-ko-muni**	
		AGR.ANIM-FUT-be.lost			AGR.NONANIM-FUT-be.lost	
		'S/he will be lost.'			'It will be lost.'	

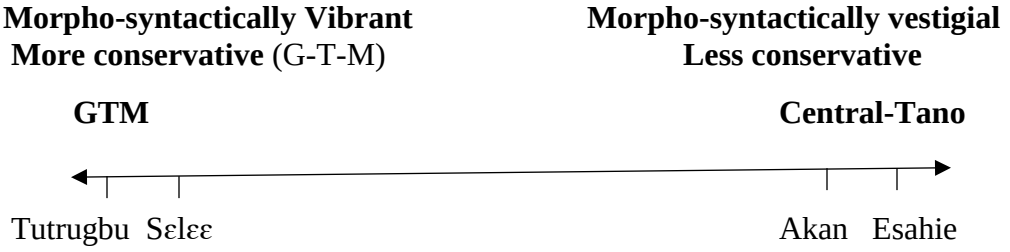
We observe from (39) and (40) that in Esahie, animacy, as an inherent semantic feature fails to trigger any kind of agreement. Instead, what obtains are cases of syncretism[15] as the form of the pronominal clitic remains invariable despite the change in value of animacy feature.

[15] Broohm and Rabanus (forthcoming) deal extensively with this.

7. Conclusion

As I hope to have shown, typologically, Esahie behaves just like her Central-Tano relatives such as Akan, wherein though noun classes themselves are syntactically inactive, number, as a syntactic feature still triggers concord to an extent. Comparing Esahie to Akan, the data discussed in this work point to the fact that Esahie has suffered a relatively stronger deal of morpho-syntactic decay in the nominal inflection system. The relatively pervasive loss of number (singular) markers, the higher incidence of frozen nominal forms, and the complete loss noun-verb agreement corroborate this point.

We could therefore conclude that, unlike Akan, there is no gender in the Esahie class system. Based on the data discussed in this work, the general typological picture of the Kwa NCS is depicted in the continuum shown in the diagram below.



It has also been made clear that the role of semantic information in setting up nouns classes in Esahie is insignificant, noting rather that, nouns generally appear to be idiosyncratically assigned to one class or the other. In class 3, for instance, where class membership is triggered by a word formation rule, the role played by morpho-syntax interface is made evident. As argued for Akan (cf. Bodomo and Marfo, 2006), morpho-phonological information is equally relevant for understanding the choice of one number affix over the other in Esahie. Evidence from Esahie NCS, like that of many other African languages, provides grounds for grammatical interplay of various phonological, morphological, syntactic, and conceptual processes, as many theories suggest.

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ASPECTS OF YORUBA LINGUAL-CULTURAL RETENTIONS IN ABIMBOLA ADELAKUN'S UNDER THE BROWN RUSTED ROOFS

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NOUN CLASSIFICATION IN ESAHIE

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LANGUAGE EXAMPLES: All examples **must** be in a Unicode font and **Bold**. Times New Roman that comes with Word 2010 (but not earlier versions) is Unicode and may be used for occasional words cited in the text, if diacritics are few. More extensive examples with glossing and translation should be in **Doulos SIL**, although **Charis SIL** is acceptable. **Doulos SIL** and **Charis SIL** can be downloaded from www.sil.org. All such examples should be indented and numbered.

Glossing should follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. These may be found at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php

Note that glossing alignment should be done by the use of the TAB key rather than the space bar.

Translations of examples should be in single quotation marks.

QUOTATIONS from other authors should be used sparingly. Any quotation less than two lines long should be within double quotation marks ("…") and not separated from the text. Quotations within quotations should be within single quotation marks ('…'). Longer quotations may be set out as a paragraph, indented .5″ on both sides. The source reference should come immediately after the quotation or in the sentence immediately before it. Paragraphs should be spaced at Exactly 14 pt and the first line of paragraphs should be indented .5″.

FIGURES, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS should be created in such a way that they will fit legibly into a print space of 7.5″ by 5.9″, and the same for PHOTOGRAPHS. Margins of the paper should be 1″ from Top, 3″ from Bottom, and 1.25″ on the left and right.

FOOTNOTES (not endnotes) should be numbered consecutively throughout the paper. They should not contain full references.

CITATIONS of references in the notes or in the text (citations within the text are preferred) should include author's last name, the date of publication and the relevant page numbers, eg. (Chomsky 1972: 63-5). There should be a separate list of References, in which all items cited in text and notes are listed in alphabetical order according to the surname of the first author. For further information on format please see the Preferred Format for References.