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Rogers Krobea Asante

Coordination in Nkami

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*Undergraduate Writing in a Second Language Context:
Analysis of English Intra-Sentence Issues*

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*The morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic realisation
of definiteness and specificity in Swahili*

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*Event and Actors Representation in Selected Nigerian
Daily Newspapers*

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Dear esteemed readers of the Ghana Journal of Linguistics,

It is with great pleasure we announce the publication of this latest issue of GJL! This issue marks our first of 2018 and we are pleased to have four solid double-blind peer-reviewed articles representing a wide range of linguistic research.

The first article, “Coordination in Nkami” by **Rogers Krobea Asante**, discusses the syntactic phenomenon of coordination in Nkami, a lesser known Guang (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language of Ghana using synchronic natural data. In his article, **Asante** describes coordination strategies of Nkami and the number and types of coordinators in the language. He goes on to present data on the morpho-phonological make-up and distributional abilities of Nkami’s coordinators, the types of syntactic structures for coordination allowed within the language as well as the semantic effect(s) that the coordinators have on coordinate structures. Additionally, he addresses a few constraints that govern coordination in Nkami. Finally, he discusses the multi-functionality and source concepts of the coordinators. In his findings, **Asante** observes that Nkami employs both syndetic (overt) and asyndetic (covert) strategies for coordination, however the latter has a more restricted distribution, occurring primarily in narratives and pithy sayings for stylistic effect. The author introduces the term Serial Adjective Construction to describe an asyndetic strategy whereby adjectival modifiers in a sentential construction modify the same referent. On the other hand, he refers to a corresponding syndetic strategy that occurs when adjectives qualify different referents within the same construction as Coordinate Adjective Constructions. **Asante** then situates Nkami within its areal milieu comparing and contrasting it with regard to other related languages showing that like other closely related languages, Nkami employs distinct “and-coordinators” for both phrasal and clausal coordination. In conclusion, the author finds that almost all of Nkami’s coordinators are multi-functional, and they may be diachronically derived from more lexical or less grammatical concepts.

The second article, by **John Agor**, is titled “Undergraduate Writing in a Second Language Context: Analysis of English Intra-Sentence Issues.” The article is a descriptive study, which examines challenges with regard to intra-sentence writing in English, focusing on undergraduate students in public educational institutions in Ghana. In his research, **Agor** administered a short English language test to final-year undergraduate students studying English in the four tertiary institutions represented. The test included various English-language errors in order to ascertain whether or not

final-year students would be able to identify errors within sentences provided. Further, students were to rewrite the sentences to remedy errors identified. The author devised analysis tables in order to determine facility indices of the items and to examine the students' implicit and explicit knowledge of the language features investigated. In his findings, **Agor** establishes that undergraduate English students in Ghana have a wide range of degrees of familiarity with specific intra-sentence writing issues. Furthermore, implicit knowledge with respect to issues under study exceeds students' explicit knowledge values by far. Moreover, the author finds similar quantities of intra-sentence writing challenges from students of each of the institutions investigated. The article has pedagogical implications with regard to the content of communication skills programmes – particularly for students majoring in the study of English.

The third article, by **Gerald Eliniongoze Kimambo**, is entitled “The morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili.” As conveyed by the title, this article investigates the realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili. Previous literature on the subject of how definiteness and specificity are realised in Swahili tends to primarily focus on the morphological domain with little attention to the syntactic domain. **Kimambo**, however, argues that both definiteness and specificity lie at the intersection between morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic domains. The author situates his study in Lyons' (1999) semantic model while describing the manner in which definiteness is realised in Swahili highlighting notions of ‘familiarity,’ ‘identifiability,’ and ‘uniqueness (as well as inclusiveness).’ Further, **Kimambo**, exemplifies how specific and non-specific entities are realised in Swahili. As such, the article provides a more holistic treatment of the realisation of definiteness and specificity in the language.

Finally, “Event and Actors Representation in Selected Nigerian Daily Newspapers” by **Asiru Hameed Tunde, Ogutu Emily, and Daniel Ochieng Orwenjo** makes use of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework and operationalises aspects of van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic model and Halliday's (1985) transitivity system. In the paper, the authors argue that newspaper reportage of Nigeria's 2011 presidential election did not simply inform the public about the outcomes of the election, but rather served to influence how the readership thought about events and statements reported. **Tunde, Emily and Orwenjo** emphasise that representations made in the newspaper reports were demonstrably ideological and judgmental. In these reports, the presidential aspirants were selectively included or excluded, genericised or specified and were presented with different levels of voice projection. Other linguistic tools are utilised in the paper such as individualization, assimilation, collectivization, functionalisation, and appraisal. In this article, **Tunde, Emily and Orwenjo** observe that representations

of social actors serve to ultimately polarize the reportage and to lace it with bias. The authors conclude from their analysis that the incumbent president (Goodluck Jonathan) was typically accorded a more positive representation and a higher degree of voice projection than other presidential aspirants.

These articles exemplify GJL's commitment to serving stakeholders by continuing to providing a hub for diverse linguistic scholarship. It is our fervent hope that GJL readers will find issue 7(1) engaging, intellectually stimulating and informative as we continue to promote the dissemination of top quality peer-reviewed research from throughout Africa.

This year, in addition to the regular issues, we look forward to a guest-edited special issue on the emerging research area of Areal Semantics. The Guest Editors of the special issue are Prof. Felix K. Ameka, Prof. Maria Koptjevskaja Tamm and Dr. Jonathan Brindle. The articles to be included were selected from several that were presented at the School of Languages Conference (SOLCON), which took place at the University of Ghana in 2015. We are excited about this issue and we look forward to its forthcoming publication here at the Ghana Journal of Linguistics.

Finally, as always, we at Ghana Journal of Linguistics (GJL) would like to thank authors, reviewers, readers and the entire membership of the Linguistics Association of Ghana (LAG) for their continued support. Additionally, I would like to thank LAG's Executive Board, our Editorial Board, our Editorial Committee and most especially our Consulting Editor, Professor E. Kweku Osam, whose guidance is invaluable. We look forward to future issues of GJL as we continue to showcase the rich tradition of rigorous interdisciplinary linguistic scholarship from Africa and the African world.



b d l Kambon
Editor-in-Chief – Ghana Journal of Linguistics

Accra

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COORDINATION IN NKAMI

Rogers Krobea Asante

Abstract

In this paper I comprehensively discuss the syntactic phenomenon of coordination in Nkami, an endangered, less known Guang (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language of Ghana, based on synchronic natural data. I discuss issues including Nkami's coordination strategies, its number and types of coordinators, morpho-phonological make-up and distributional abilities of the coordinators, allowable types of syntactic structures for coordination, and the semantic effect(s) of the coordinators on coordinate structures. In addition, some constraints governing Nkami's coordination, and the multi-functionality and source concepts of the coordinators are also discussed. Among other things, it is observed that Nkami employs both syndetic (overt) and asyndetic (covert) strategies for coordination though the latter is highly restricted, occurring chiefly in narratives and pithy sayings. Nkami employs a Serial Adjective Construction (or an asyndetic) strategy when modifiers (adjectives) in a sentence modify the same referent, while a Coordinate Adjective Construction (or a syndetic) strategy is used when the modifiers qualify different referents within the same sentence. Like regional languages, Nkami has clearly distinct *and*-coordinators for phrasal and clausal coordination. Lastly, almost all the coordinators in Nkami are multi-functional, and are diachronically derivable from more lexical or less grammatical concepts.

Keywords: Coordination, coordination strategies, linguistic properties of coordinators, multi-functionality and grammaticalization of coordinators, semantics of coordination

1. Introduction¹

The purpose of this paper is to offer an expository account of phrasal and clausal coordination in Nkami, an endangered Guang (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language of Ghana. Coordination is one of the commonest morphosyntactic means of joining identical words (phrases), clauses and sentences together (cf. Dik 1968, Welmers 1973, Sanders 1977, Payne 1985, Mithun 1988, Stassen 2000, Wälchli 2003, Haspelmath 2004, 2007). Haspelmath (2004, 2007: 1) characterizes coordination as “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.” The set of possible units that may be coordinated (called coordinands)² include words, phrases, subordinate clauses, full clauses or sentences, as the following exemplify accordingly:

- (1) a. I *sing* and/or *dance* every day.
- b. *My father* and *my grandmother* are rich.
- c. I realized that *she was sick* but *she didn't open up*.
- d. *My father schooled at Tongji University* but *his wife went to University of Ghana*.

Usually, the individual clauses linked together in coordination are grammatically independent; hence, they do not exhibit overt signs of grammatical dependency. As a result, the coordinands of clausal coordination are normally considered as the least grammatically integrated compared to other types of multi-verb constructions and clause combinations such as serial verbs, relative clause, complement clause, and adverbial clause constructions. Two or more clauses (sentences) may be eligible for coordination if they share the same mood, (i.e. are imperatives, interrogatives or declaratives), and/or perform an identical function (cf. Dik 1968, Haspelmath 2004, 2007). Coordination is also often examined in terms of the number, types and position of connective devices (called coordinators) a language possesses. English, like most European languages, for instance, has only one *and*-coordinator, which occurs in medial position, for both phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination, as (2a) and (2b)

¹ This paper is a thoroughly modified version of an aspect of a doctoral dissertation on the grammar of Nkami. The database for this study comprises spontaneous spoken and elicited texts gathered from about a hundred speakers of diverse backgrounds in a period of one year in Amankwa, the language community. The annotation and verification of data were carried out in collaboration with a team of two adult Nkami speakers, Kwadwo Akuamoah and Kwaku Ketewa, and several other language consultants. I wish to thank the Endangered Language Documentation Project (ELDP) for sponsoring the Nkami Documentation Project that has culminated into this paper. I also wish to thank the Editor and anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions. As usual, for the people of Nkami, this work is yours.

² The terminologies used in this paper are mainly from Haspelmath (2004, 2007).

illustrate accordingly.

- (2) a. Mary **and** John visited their grandma.
 b. Mary visited her grandma **and** John visited his grandpa.

However, many languages of Africa (cf. Welmers 1973, Abdoulaye 2004, Lefebvre 2004) have distinct coordinators for phrasal and clausal coordinative conjunction, as the Ewe data in (3) illustrate (Dzameshi 1988/1989: 73-74).

- (3) a. Yao **kple** Abla wo dzo
 Yao and Abla they leave
 'Yao and Abla have left.'
 b. Eyram mlo anyi eye Selom no anyi de aba dzi
 Eyram lie ground and Selom sit ground on bed top
 'Eyram lay down and Selom sat on the bed.'

Thus, unlike English, Ewe employs two distinct coordinators, **kple** and **eye**, for phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination respectively. For all the examples seen so far, there is only one coordinator that conjoins the coordinands together. These languages are referred to as monosyndetic languages (cf. Haspelmath 2004, 2007). However, there are cases in some other languages where a coordinator associates with each coordinand. For instance, in order for phrasal conjunction to be acceptable in Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan, each of the coordinands (i.e. **maladija** 'tent', **jamena** 'stove', **denk'a** 'gun' and **leka mama** 'dog food') is required to be associated with the coordinator '**il**', as (4) shows (Kibrik 2004: 539).

- (4) Maladija 'il jamena 'il denk'a 'il leka mama 'il
 tent with stove with gun with dog food with
 'a tent, a stove, a gun, and dog food'

Languages like Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan that employ this latter strategy are called polysyndetic languages (cf. Haspelmath 2004, 2007).

Moreover, apart from these examples of syndeton, there also exists cases of asyndetic (zero) coordination where the coordinands are merely juxtaposed without any overt coordinator(s), as (5) illustrates with data from Vietnamese (cf. Watson 1966: 170, Payne 1985: 26, Payne 1997: 338).

- (5)a. NP coordination
 Nháng tiráp [tilêt, callóh, acoq]
 we prepare basket spear knife
 'We prepare baskets, spears and knives.'

b. Clausal coordination

do [chô tôq cayâq, chô tôq apây]
 she return to husband return to grandmother
 ‘She returns to (her) husband and returns to (her) grandmother.’

Thus, Vietnamese extensively employs asyndetic coordination strategy for both phrasal and clausal coordination, as (5a) and (5b) exemplify.

Further, among other things, coordination may also be looked at in terms of the morpho-phonological and syntactic properties of the coordinators, allowable types of syntactic structures for coordination, multi-functionality and source concepts of coordinators, semantic effect(s) of coordinators on coordinate structures, and the rules governing ellipsis in coordination (cf. Ross 1967, Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968, Sanders 1977, Schachter 1977, Payne 1985, Wälchli 2003, Haspelmath 2007). Consequently, in order to provide a good account of coordination in Nkami, we rubricise the rest of our discussion into six sections based on the following parameters: Section 2 – coordination strategies, Section 3 – linguistic properties of the coordinators, Section 4 – allowable syntactic structures for coordination (phrasal versus clausal coordination), Section 5 – semantics and diachronic lines of the coordinators, Section 6 – coordination and elliptical rules, Section 7 – summary and conclusion.

Among others, it will be shown that Nkami employs both syndetic (overt) and asyndetic (covert) strategies for coordination though the former is highly limited, surfacing mainly in pithy sayings and narratives. Secondly, just like the majority of the world’s languages (cf. Payne 1985, Mithun 1988, Stassen 2000, Haspelmath 2004, 2007), Nkami employs the monosyndetic NP-coordination strategy by way of a medial connective. Moreover, whereas Nkami employs a Serial Adjective Construction (or an asyndetic) strategy when modifiers (adjectives) in a sentence modify the same referent, a Coordinate Adjective Construction (or a syndetic) strategy is used when the modifiers qualify different referents within the same sentence. The paper also shows four distinguishing features between the two multi-verb construction types, (asyndetic) coordination and (linking) SVC, in Nkami with regards to the following parameters: intonation break, negation marking, subject marking, and the number of allowable adverbials belonging to the same sub-semantic type in a sentence. Further, like other languages of Africa (cf. Welmers 1973, Abdoulaye 2004, Lefebvre 2004), Nkami has distinct coordinators, **na** and **ni**, for phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination respectively. Moreover, Nkami shows evidence of the three major semantic types of coordination (Haspelmath 2004, 2007): conjunction (conjunctive coordination or ‘and’ coordination), disjunction (disjunctive coordination or ‘or’ coordination), and adversative coordination (‘but’ coordination). Other sub-semantic domains such as animacy, conceptual closeness or naturalness, emphasis and inclusion (cf. Mithun 1988, Stassen 2000, Wälchli 2003, Haspelmath 2007) do not play any significant role(s) in coordination in Nkami. Lastly, almost all the coordinators in Nkami are multifunctional, and are traceable to more lexical or less grammatical concepts.

2. Coordination Strategies in Nkami³

Nkami speakers employ the two main types of coordination strategies to connect structures in coordination: syndetic coordination, where an overt coordinator is employed to join the coordinands in coordination, and asyndetic coordination, where the coordinands are merely juxtaposed. Looking at syndetic coordination first, like all other languages, Nkami has a closed set of coordinators. They include the conjunctive coordinators, **na** and **ni** ‘and’, the adversative coordinators, **mɔɔsu** and **mɔ** ‘but’, and the disjunctive coordinator **bɛɛ** ‘or’. In example (6) are coordinate sentences showing the use of the coordinators in contexts.⁴

- (6)a. **Nei na Kɪtɪwɔ yɔ Meikpɔɪnie**
 Mum and Ketewa go Meikpɔ yesterday
 ‘Mum and Ketewa went to Meikpɔ yesterday.’
- b. **Akuamoah le-na edalo ni ɔ-fu sɔ kããɛ**
 Akuamoah PRF-get money and 3SG-take buy car
 ‘Akuamoah has acquired money and (he) has bought a car.’
- c. **ɔ-yɔ asɔri mɔ/mɔɔsu mu ŋu-lo bu ɔkwa**
 3SG.HAB-go church but his head-inside have hardness
 ‘She goes to church (she is a Christian), but she is wicked/ungenerous.’
- d. **Ampomaa bɛ-nna afra bɛɛ ɔkpɔɔwɔ?**
 Ampomaa FUT-cook fufu or food.NAME
 ‘Will Ampomaa prepare fufu or cooked-yam?’

In the data above, **na** conjoins the NPs, **nei** ‘mum’ and **Kɪtɪwɔ**, in (6a), **ni** conjoins the two clauses (sentences), **Akuamoah le-na edalo** ‘Akuamoah has acquired money’ and **ɔ-fu sɔ kããɛ** ‘he bought a car’, in (6b), **mɔ/mɔɔsu** ‘but’ joins the clauses, **ɔ-yɔ asɔri** ‘she goes to church’ and **mu ŋu-lo bu ɔkwa** ‘she is wicked/ungenerous’, in (6c), and **bɛɛ** ‘or’ connects the two clauses, **Ampomaa bɛ-nna afra** ‘Ampomaa will prepare fufu’ and **Ampomaa bɛ-nna ɔkpɔɔwɔ** ‘Ampomaa will prepare cooked-yam’, in (6d). Notice that

³ Nkami bears most of the linguistic features of regional languages. It is a tongue root (ATR) harmonic language, it exhibits both lexical and grammatical functions of tone, it is an SVO language, it portrays prototypical features of serial verb constructions (SVCs), its morphological processes are prominently expressed through affixation, compounding and reduplication, and its verbal properties are represented by prefixes and verbal particles (cf. Asante 2016a, b).

⁴ I use the following abbreviations: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; CDP = correlative disjunctive particle; COMP = complementizer; COND = conditional marker; CONJ = conjunction; DEF = definite article; DEM = demonstrative; FUT = future; HAB = habitual; NEG = negation; OBJ = object; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PRF = perfect; PROG = progressive; PST = past; PURP = purposive marker; REL = relative marker; SG = singular; SVC = serial verb construction.

Nkami is a monosyndetic language because in all the coordinate structures above, the coordinator occurs only once. It is also largely medial syndetic because the coordinators typically occur in between the coordinands (see Section 4 for more details). On the other hand, in addition to the above-mentioned coordinators, there also exists the correlative disjunctive particle (CDP), **oow... oow** ‘whether... or’, which may be considered as a bisyndetic coordinator, as (7) illustrates.

- (7)a. **Afra oow, adzogu oow, me-e-dzi**
 fufu CDP food.NAME CDP 1SG-FUT-eat
 ‘Whether fufu or adzoku, I will eat.’
- b. **ε-baale oow, ε-m-maale oow, ani-bu mu**
 3SG-good CDP 3SG-NEG-good CDP J 1PL-be.LOC there
 ‘Whether it is good or not, we are there (living).’
- c. **o-dzi ebrabu oow, oŋwei oow, ɔkabiji oow, ma-a-kpa mu**
 3SG-be Akan CDP Ewe CDP Nkami CDP 1SG-NEG-like 3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whether he is an Akan, Ewe or Nkami, I don’t like/love him.’

Notice that whereas the coordinators are two in (7a-b) because the coordinands are two, they are three in (7c) because the coordinands are also three.

Conversely, asyndetic coordination is not as dominant as syndetic coordination in Nkami. It is generally employed for stylistic purposes; as a result, it usually occurs in pithy expressions and narratives, as exemplified in (8a-b) and (8c) respectively.

- (8)a. **oyebi oo-bie ŋwa, a-ma-bie atʃitʃiri**
 child 3SG.HAB-break snail 3SG-NEG.HAB-break tortoise
 ‘The child breaks (the shell of) a snail, (but) she does not break (that of) a tortoise.’
- b. **ɔ-kpa mmirise asũ, kpa ŋnebi asũ**
 3SG.HAB-like adults matter like children matter
 ‘He likes both adults and children.’
- c. **fesi ni kotoko bu mi, mialo be-mum-bu mi**
 first FOC porcupine be.LOC here now 3PL-NEG-be.LOC here
 ‘Before there were porcupines here, (but) now they are not here.’
 (nkami_huntingoverview_03:52/55)

Sentences (8a and b) are examples of pithy constructions that are covertly connected. For instance, (8a) has an underlying disjunctive coordinator, **mɔ** ‘but’, linking the two clauses **oyebi oobie ŋwa** ‘the child breaks a snail’ and **amabie atʃitʃirie** ‘she does not break a tortoise’. Note that **oyebi** ‘child’ serves as a metonym of the *human being*, as the interpretation of the whole sentence in (8a) is analogous to something like ‘do not bite off more than you can chew’.

Here, it must be observed that though the above constructions in (8) do not have overt coordinators linking their component parts, they are not serial verb constructions for the following four reasons, among others. First, unlike SVCs in Nkami (cf. Asante 2016a), the component parts of asyndetic coordination are signalled by intonation breaks, as indicated in writing by the commas in (8). Secondly, in SVCs negation is always marked once on the first verb although its scope covers the entire SVC, as (9) illustrates.

- (9)a. **Kofi mun-so kaase sa mu ɔsi**
 Kofi NEG-buy car give POSS father
 ‘Kofi didn’t buy a car for his dad.’
- b. ***Kofi so kaase mun-sa mu ɔsi**
 Kofi buy car NEG-give POSS father
 ‘Kofi didn’t buy a car for his dad.’

Whereas (9a) is admissible because the negative morpheme, **mun-**, is prefixed to the first verb, **so** ‘buy’, (9b) is infelicitous because **mun-** occurs on the second verb. However, observe that because the constructions in (8a, c) are examples of coordination via covert strategy, the negative morphemes can be attached to the verbs in the second part of the constructions. Thirdly, unlike SVCs where subject marking is typically represented only once on/before the first verb, in asyndetic coordination each of the component parts may have overt subject markings (whether shared or not), as shown in (8a, c). Lastly, observe that although it is possible for an asyndetic coordination to have two contrasting temporal adverbs, as shown in (8c), where both **feesi** ‘first/before’ and **mralo** ‘now’ occur in the same construction having scope over the first and second conjuncts respectively, it is never the case in SVCs. Thus, an entire SVC may have only one temporal adverb, which occurs at either sentence-initial or final positions, with semantic effect over the entire construction. This is illustrated as follows:

- (10)a. **inie Kofi so kããse sa mu ɔsi**
 yesterday Kofi buy car give 3SG.POSS father
 ‘Yesterday, Kofi bought a car for his father.’
- b. **Kofi so kããse sa mu ɔsi ene**
 Kofi buy car give POSS father today
 ‘Kofi bought a car for his father today.’
- c. ***inie Kofi so kããse sa mu ɔsi ene**
 yesterday Kofi buy car give 3SG.POSS father today
 ‘Yesterday Kofi bought a car and presented it to his father today.’

Thus, whereas the SVCs in (10a-b) are acceptable because they have only one temporal adverb, (10c) is unacceptable because both parts have distinct temporal adverbs, **inie** ‘yesterday’ and **ene** ‘today’.

3. Linguistic Properties of the Coordinators

This section examines some linguistic properties of the coordinators with emphasis on morpho-phonological properties.⁵ As we may have noticed above, Nkami has preference for monosyllabic coordinators. Apart from **mɔɔsu** and, to some extent, **oow... oow** ‘whether ... or’, all the other coordinators, **na** ‘and’, **ni** ‘and’, **bɛɛ/bɛ** ‘or’, and **mɔ** ‘but’, may be considered as monosyllabics. The second thing worthy of note is that the majority of the coordinators have an initial nasal consonant. This appears to be common among Tano-Kwa languages. For instance, Akan also has **nanso/nso** ‘but’, **anaa** ‘or’, **na** ‘and’ and **ni** (**ne** in orthography) ‘and’ (cf. Frimpong 2007). Note the similarity between Akan’s conjunctive coordinators, **na** and **ni**, and their counterparts, **na** and **ni**, in Nkami. However, while Akan employs **ni** to conjoin phrases and **na** for clauses, Nkami does the reverse, as we observe in (11-12).

(11) Nkami

- a. **Kofi na Ama ba ni**
Kofi and Ama come here
‘Kofi and Ama came here.’
- b. **Kofi ba ni ni ani-yɔ**
Kofi come here and 1PL-go
‘Kofi came here and we went.’

(12) Akan

- a. **Kofi ni Ama ba-a ha**
Kofi and Ama come-PST here
‘Kofi and Ama came here.’
- b. **Kofi ba-a ha na ye-ko-e**
Kofi come.PST here and 1PL-go-PST
‘Kofi came here and we went.’

The adversative coordinator, **mɔ** ‘but’, appears to be a shortened form of **mɔɔsu** ‘but’. Synchronically, both exist to perform the same function, as (13) exemplifies.

- (13) **Kofi kpa ni mɔ/mɔɔsu ma-a-kpa mu**
Kofi like 1SG.OBJ but 1SG-NEG-like 3SG.OBJ
‘Kofi likes me but I don’t like him.’

This notwithstanding, there seems to be a slight semantic difference between the two forms. It appears that **mɔɔsu** is more emphatic than **mɔ**. So, all things being equal, it is more likely for a speaker to select **mɔɔsu**, rather than **mɔ**, in (13) if her dislike for Kofi

⁵ See Section 4 for some more syntactic properties of the coordinators.

is relatively high, and vice versa, if her dislike for him is relatively low. As we shall see in Section 6, almost all the coordinators have some other functions, and are traceable to lexical or less grammatical forms in the language.

Haspelmath (2004: 27) observes that generally ‘and’ words are shorter (and rarely longer) than ‘or’ words, as the following data show.⁶

| | | | |
|------|------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| (14) | | ‘and’ | ‘or’ |
| | German | und | oder |
| | Russian | i | ili |
| | Hausa | da | koo |
| | Iraqw | nee | laqaa |
| | Persian | =ò | ya... ya... |
| | Lavukaleve | o | ve |
| | Dargi | ...-ra ...-ra | ya(-ra)... ya(-ra)... |

True to Haspelmath’s (2004) observation, Nkami seems to conform to this tendency as the ‘and’ coordinators, **ni** and **na**, are shorter than the ‘or’ word, **bɛɛ**. Again, Nkami conforms to Ohori’s (2004) observation that whereas conjunctive coordination often differentiates between NP coordinands and clausal coordinands, disjunction less often does so. Thus, whereas Nkami employs two distinct coordinators, **na** ‘and’ **ni**, for phrasal and clausal conjunction respectively, no such distinction is observed in disjunction, as the language has only one disjunctive coordinator, **bɛɛ**.

Like other functional words in the language, the coordinators are rarely the target for English-Nkami code-mixing. However, based on native speakers’ hunch, the adversative coordinator, **mɔɔsu/mɔ**, stands the greatest chance of being replaced/switched with the English counterpart ‘but’. For instance, they contend that while (15d) may be acceptable by Nkami-English bilingual speakers, all the others cannot be admissible.

- (15) a. ***Nei and** **Kitrwa** **yɔ** **Meikpɔinie**
Mum and Ketewa go Meikpɔ yesterday
‘Mum and Ketewa went to Meikpɔ yesterday.’
- b. ***Akuamoah le-ja** **edalo and** **ɔ-fu** **sɔ** **kããɛ**
Akuamoah PRF-get money and 3SG-take buy car
‘Akuamoah has acquired money and he has bought a car.’
- c. ***Ampomaa bɛ-nma** **afra or** **ɔkpɔdwu?**
Ampomaa FUT-cook fufu or food.NAME
‘Will Ampomaa prepare fufu or cooked-yam?’

⁶ It has been observed that a possible reason for this trend is that the conjunctive coordinators are more prominent in discourse than their counterparts for adversative and disjunctive coordination (cf. Haspelmath 2004, Ohori 2004).

-
- d. *ʔɔɔ-yɔ* *asɔɪ* *but* *mu* *ŋu-lo* *bu* *ɔkwa*
 3SG.HAB-go church but her head-inside have hardness
 ‘She goes to church (she is a Christian), but she is wicked/ungenerous.’

This phenomenon is also consistent with Matras’ (1998) observation that adversative coordinators are most likely to be borrowed followed by the disjunctive coordinators and then conjunctive coordinators, as schematised in the borrowing hierarchy below (cf. Haspelmath 2004: 27).

- (16) Borrowing hierarchy of coordinators
 ‘but’ > ‘or’ > ‘and’

4. Which Syntactic Structures can be Coordinated?

This section looks at the types of syntactic structures that can be coordinated in Nkami. In different words, does Nkami allow coordination of independent clauses, or phrases, or simple words, or all of the aforementioned? Nkami allows all of the aforementioned categories to be coordinated, but with some restrictions. As we saw before, like other African languages (Welmers 1973), Nkami employs distinct conjunctive coordinators for phrasal and clausal coordination. Consequently, a distinction between phrasal and clausal coordination in Nkami is in order.

4.1 Phrasal Coordination

Some linguists (cf. Radford 1988) distinguish between word-level and phrase-level coordination. However, as rightly observed by Dzameshi (1998) for Ewe, since simple words could qualify as full phrases, I do not make such a distinction. *Na* ‘and’ is the only coordinator that is solely employed for phrasal coordination in Nkami, and it can only be used to conjoin identical phrases. For instance, whereas it can conjoin the pair of noun phrases in (17a-c), it cannot be used to conjoin a noun phrase and an adjectival phrasal in (17d).

- (17)a. *Nkamifɔ* *na* *Nkonyafɔ* *tʃu* *abusua* *ɔkɪlɪ*
 Nkamis and Nkonyas come.from family one
 ‘Nkamis and Nkonyas come from one family.’
- b. *oyebi* *amu* *na* *mu* *ɔsi* *ba-a-yɔ* *ndɔlɔ*
 child DET and POSS father 3PL-PROG-go farm
 ‘The child and his father are going to farm.’
- c. *m-fu* *sa* *wu* *na* *mu*
 1SG-take give 2SG.OBJ and 3SG.OBJ
 ‘I gave it to you and him.’

- d. **oyebi amu na tuntu ba-a-yo ndulo*
 child DET and black 3PL-PROG-go farm
 ‘The boy and black (colour) are going to farming.’

Taking (17b) as an example, since *oyebi amu* ‘the boy’ and *mu oɔɪ* ‘his father’ are both noun phrases, the coordinator, *na* ‘and’, can be used to link them to form an acceptable phrasal conjunctive coordination in the language. However, because the two phrases in (17d) belong to different categories, i.e. *the boy* ‘noun phrase’ and *black* ‘adjectival phrase’, they cannot be connected with *na*. Apart from noun phrases, verbal and adverbial phrases may also be conjoined by *na*, as in:

- (18)a. *yɔ na wu-ye-tɕma abɪa amu su*
 go and 2SG-DDP-sit chair DET on
 ‘Go and sit on the chair.’
 b. *ɔ-bo asumi basa.basa na gidigidi*
 3SG-do work RED.recklessly and quickly
 ‘He did the work very quickly and recklessly (without caution).’

Thus, the conjunctive coordinator connects the verbal phrases, *yɔ* ‘go’ and *wu-ye-tɕma* ‘you (go) sit’, in (18a), and the adverbial phrases, *basabasa* ‘recklessly’ and *gidigidi* ‘quickly’. Note, however, that though the majority of informants see (18b) to be acceptable, there are many others too who are either sceptical or see it to be unacceptable. In isolation, adjectival phrases may be conjoined, as shown in (19a). However, when they are used attributively to modify nominals, they fail to be conjoined by the phrasal conjunctive coordinator, *na* ‘and’, as (19b) shows.

- (19)a. *tuntu na timi*
 black and short
 ‘dark and short’
 b. ?*wo-o-ŋu ɔŋɪmi timi na kugɔ amu?*
 2SG-PRF-see man short and red DET
 ‘*Have you seen the *short and fair-skinned man*?’
 ‘?Have you seen the *short man and the fair-skinned man*?’

As we notice from the italicized part of the English translation in (19b), if the speaker intends to ascribe the attributes, ‘short’ and ‘red/fair’, to the same person, as in ‘short and fair-skinned man’, then, (19b) is infelicitous. However, if the two adjectives refer to two different individuals, as in ‘short man’ and ‘fair-skinned man’, then, it may be acceptable. To make the second interpretation more acceptable, the definite article, *amu* ‘the’, is placed after the first adjective, *timi* ‘short’, as in:

- (20) **wo-o-ŋu** **ɔ̃nɪ** **timi** **amu** **na** **kugɔ** **amu**?
 2SG-PRF-see man short DET and red DET
 ‘Have you seen the short man and the fair-skinned man?’

As we shall indicate in Section 6, since coordination in Nkami does not allow identical items in parallel structures, the modified NP, **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’, in (20) occurs only once earlier in the sentence before **timi** ‘short’; and so, it is not repeated before the second adjective, **kugɔ** ‘red’. Consequently, it must be mentioned that the person modified by the adjective, **kugɔ** ‘red/fair’, can only be of the male gender. In different words, (20) cannot index: ‘Have you seen the short *man* and the fair-skinned *woman*?’ Moreover, notice that although both **timi** ‘short’ and **kugɔ** ‘red/fair’ provide attribution to the same entity, **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’, the position of **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’ is fixed in (20). That is, **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’ can only occur before the initial adjective, **timi** ‘short’, in the initial coordinand. Postposing it to the position immediately before the second adjective, **kugɔ** ‘red’, in (21a), for instance, renders the entire sentence ill-formed.

- (21)a. ***wo-o-ŋu** Ø **timi** **amu** **na** **ɔ̃nɪ** **kugɔ** **amu**
 2SG-PRF-see short DET and man red DET
 ?‘Have you seen the short man and the fair-coloured man?’
 b. **wo-o-ŋu** Ø **Timi** Ø **na** **ɔ̃nɪ** **kugɔ** **amu**
 2SG-PRF-see short DET and man red DET
 ‘Have you seen *Short* and the fair-coloured man?’

However, when the postposition of **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’ is done concurrently with the omission of the definite article, **amu** ‘the’, occurring after **timi** ‘short’, as shown in (21b), the sentence would be acceptable, but with a different interpretation. Thus, in (21b) **Timi** ‘Short’ is used as a name of a person, and not as an adjective. Hence, **Timi** ‘Short’ no longer modifies **ɔ̃nɪ** ‘man’ in its current usage; only **kugɔ** ‘red’ does. Furthermore, the person by name **Timi (or Timitimi)** ‘Short’ does not need to be of the male gender; i.e. **Timi** could refer to either a man or a woman, unlike in (20) where both **timi** and **kugɔ** ‘red/fair’ must describe a man.

Still on (19b), if the speaker wants to convey the first reading ‘Have you seen the *short and fair-skinned man*?’ , where both adjectives, **timi** ‘short’ and **kugɔ** ‘red’, modify a single individual, then, what I dub as a ‘Serial Adjective Construction (SAC)’ is required. SAC here simply refers to any construction that has a sequence of two or more adjectives in contiguity, which modify the same single referent. Thus, the modifying adjectives are not intervened by any overt coordinator(s), as (22) shows.

- (22) **wo-o-ŋu** **ɔŋɪ** **timi** **∅** **kugɔ** **amu?**
 2SG-PRF-see man short CONJ red DET
 ‘Have you seen the *short and fair-skinned man*?’
 ‘*Have you seen the *short man* and *fair-skinned man*?’

Put differently, Nkami employs an SAC (or an asyndetic) strategy when the modifiers (adjectives) in a sentence modify the same referent, while a coordinate adjective construction (or a syndetic) strategy is used when the modifiers qualify different referents within the same sentence, as in (20).

Moreover, in some languages such as Akan and English verbs in a series may be conjoined to express separate but conceptually related events, as (23) exemplifies.

- (23) Akan
kɔ **na** **bra** ‘Go and come.’
 go and come

However, such combinations are not acceptable in Nkami since the second verb in the series must always be prefixed with a subject pronoun, as (24) indicates.

- (24) **yɔ** **na** **wɔ-ba** ***(yɔ na ba)**
 go and 2SG-come
 ‘Go and come.’

If one decides not to prefix the subject pronoun to the second verb, then, the phrasal conjunctive coordinator, **na** ‘and’, must also be elided; in which case, a serial verb construction is derived, as in:

- (25) **yɔ** **ba** ‘Go and come.’
 go come

Though the two imperatives in (24) and (25) are both glossed ‘go and come’ in English, based on the hunch of native speakers, (25) conveys a more integrated relationship between the actions ‘going’ and ‘coming’ than (24). A relatively shorter time is perceived in the realization of the two actions in (25) than in (24). Moreover, (25) may generally be seen as one composite event expressed by two separate verbs, indicating the sub-parts of the entire composite event; while (24) expresses two entirely separate events in a sequence. An evidence to show that (24) expresses two separate events is based on the fact that the second person singular pronoun, **wɔ** ‘you’, could be replaced by other personal pronouns, as (26) illustrates.

English and Yoruba exemplifying the two strategies respectively.⁷

(29)a. [*Addo visited grandma*] **and** [*she gave him a gift*].

b. Yoruba (Payne1997: 338)

[**mo mú ìwé**] [**mo sí wá ilé**]
 I take book I and come house
 ‘I took a book and I came home.’

Whereas the English coordinator, *and*, comes between the two coordinands in (29a), in Yoruba the coordinator, ‘and’, is placed after the subject, **mo** ‘I’, of the second coordinand. As indicated earlier, Nkami agrees with the general tendency since the archetypical position of its coordinators is the position between the two coordinands. In what follows is an examination of the distribution of the clausal coordinators in turn. Consider example (30).

(30) **Kofi dũ bantŕi nr Ama dũ abulo**
 Kofi plant cassava and Ama plant corn
 ‘Kofi planted cassava and Ama planted corn.’

As indicated before, like most African but unlike most European languages such as English, Nkami has a clausal conjunctive coordinator, **nr**, which is distinct from the phrasal conjunctive coordinator, **na**. **Nr** only occurs between two clauses in coordination, as shown in (31). It neither appears at sentence-initial nor sentence-final positions. In sentence-initial position a different form, **nà** (with a low tone), is used, as (31) illustrates.⁸

(31) **nà mu nei bu bile nr o-lo-sũ ɔlu amu?**
 and POSS mum be.LOC where FOC 3S-PROG-cry DEM DET
 ‘And where is his mother and he is crying like that? (Where is his mother for him to be crying that much?)’

Generally, when **nà** is used at the beginning of an utterance, it implies that the interlocutors have a common knowledge of a scene, circumstance or situation which calls for the utterance. A speaker will typically utter (31) when they have sensual access to the child; that is, they may be seeing and/or hearing the child cry. **Nà** is usually used in interrogative sentences, as in (31). In some instances too, it may also be used by a

⁷ See Haspelmath (2004, 2007) also for a cross-linguistic typological discussion on possible syntactic positions of coordinators.

⁸ Akan has an identical form with an identical function(s). It, thus, could be a possible loan from Akan to Nkami.

speaker based on an implicature derived from a preceding proposition(s), especially in narratives. In (32a) is one of such uses employed by **ɔbirise Kimpo**, a hunting consultant, in the middle of a narration about the role dogs play during hunting; while (32b) sought to know from him if there were elephants in Nkami at a particular point in time.

- (32)a. **nà m-kplɪ fã lɔ amɔ kɛ e-dzi esa**
 and PL-dog part inside DET as.for 3SG.INANM-be grass
su titiriw...
 on mainly
 ‘And as for dogs (-hunting), it is mainly on the desert... (that they are used).’
 (Nkami_hunting overview 03:00-03:03)
- b. **nà ɔlɔ bɪ amɔ nɪ atrɔbɔɔbu mɪ?**
 and DEM time DET FOC elephant be.LOC here
 ‘And at that time, were there elephants here?’

These syntactic observations made about **nɪ/nà** can largely be made about **mɔ/mɔɔsu** ‘but’ and **bɛɛ** ‘or’ as well. In addition to serving as medial connectives, as in (33), they may also be used at sentence-initial position when the participants have a common knowledge about a situation, or when an implicature is derived from preceding proposition(s), as (34a) and (34b) show.

- (33) Prototypical position of **mɔ/mɔɔsu** ‘but’ and **bɛɛ** ‘or’
- a. **mɪ ɔsɪ bu edalɔ bebiree mɔ/mɔɔsu**
 1SG.POSS dad have money many but
ɔ-mun-fu anɪ-yɔ sukuu
 3SG-NEG-take 1PL-go school
 ‘My dad has a lot of money but he did not take us to school.’
- b. **wu-bɛ-ba mɪ bɛɛ wu-bɛ-yɔ mu?**
 2SG-FUT-come here or 2SG-FUT-go there
 ‘Will you come here or (you will) go there?’

- (34) **mɔ/mɔɔsu** ‘but’ and **bɛɛ** ‘or’ in sentence-initial position⁹
- a. **mɔ/mɔɔsu ɛ-mun-dzi hwi, ɛ-bɛ-bɔ yeyire**
 but 3SG.INANM-NEG-be nothing 3SG.INANM-FUT-do well
 ‘But it is nothing (all the same, don’t worry), it shall be well.’

⁹ Normally, the front high vowel, /i/, is inserted at word-initial position before the bilabial nasal consonant of **mɔ** and **mɔɔsu**, becoming [mi] and [miɔɔsu] respectively, when they are used in sentence-initial position.

- b. *bɛɛ wɔ-ɔ-lɔ?*
 or 2SG-PROG-be.sick
 ‘Or are you sick?’

Furthermore, only *bɛɛ* ‘or’ can occur at sentence-final position, as shown in (35). The semantic implication of this usage is discussed in the next section.

- (35) *wu-bɛ-dʒi ɲa yɔ owi su bɛɛ?*
 2SG-FUT-be first go sun on or
 ‘Will you first go to toilet or... (go and bath)?’

Regarding the correlative disjunctive particle, *oow... oow* ‘whether... or’, it can be used to connect both phrases and clauses, unlike the other coordinators, as (36a) and (36b) illustrate accordingly.

- (36)a. *nantwie oow, ɔkplako oow, mɛ-ɛ-wi*
 cow CDP pig CDP 1SG-FUT-chew
 ‘Whether beef or pork, I will eat.’
- b. *wɔ-ɔ-lɔ oow, wu-nɛ-lɔ oow, wu-bɛ-yɔ*
 2SG-PROG-be.ill CDP 2SG-PROG.NEG-be.ill CDP 2SG-FUT-go
ntɕu-lɔ
 water-inside
 ‘Whether you are ill or not (you are not sick), you will go (and fetch) water.’

Moreover, unlike the other coordinators, however, the position of the correlative disjunctive coordinator in both phrasal and clausal coordination is fixed: it always follows each of the coordinands in coordination, which it forms a phonological word with.

5. Semantics and Diachronic Lines of the Coordinators

Apart from the syntactic function of conjoining clauses and/or phrases, the coordinators play an important semantic role of characterizing the relationships between the coordinands in coordination. Coordination in Nkami, like in many languages, may be rubricised into three main categories: Conjunctive, Disjunctive and Adversative coordination, based on the semantic effect of coordinators upon their coordinands. Let us look at them in turn.

5.1 Conjunctive Coordination

Conjunctive coordination (also conjunction or ‘and’ coordination) in Nkami generally conveys the notion of inclusiveness or supplementation. Often, the expression

in the second coordinand is seen as an addition to the one in the first coordinand. Two coordinators, **na** and **ni**, are respectively used for phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination in Nkami. Let us see **na** before **ni**.

- (37)a. **Amankwa-bu** **na** **Adeɛmera-bu** **be-dʒi Nkami-fuɔ**
 NAME-IDENT and NAME-IDENT 3PL-be Nkami-IDENT
 ‘The people of Amankwa and Adeɛmera are Nkamis.’
- b. **Kofi na Ama be-yɔ ndulo**
 Kofi and Ama 3PL-go farm
 ‘Kofi and Ama will go to farm.’

As we observe in (37a), the use of **na** connotes the idea of inclusion, where people of two different towns, **Amankwa** and **Adeɛmera**, are put into one identical ethnic group, **Nkamifuɔ** ‘Nkamis’. Similarly, the two personal names, **Kofi** and **Ama**, are linked together with **na** in (37b), as either performing the event ‘going to farm’ collectively (and/or at the same time) or separately (and/or at different times). In different words, the sentence in (37b) necessarily does not have a *collective* or *together*-interpretation (cf. Stassen 2000); a *together*-interpretation is only one of its potential interpretations. Secondly, neither of the two participants, **Kofi** and **Ama**, in the construction is backgrounded and that both participants have equal ‘structural rank’ (cf. Stassen 2000). Furthermore, the two NPs in coordination in Nkami are typically subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which forbids NP-extraction from such constructions (cf. Ross 1967, Stassen 2000). For instance, a coordinand of the coordinate NP in (37b) cannot be extracted for ex-situ focus, as (38) illustrates.

- (38) ***Kofi ni na Ama be-yɔ ndulo (amu)**
 Kofi FOC and Ama 3PL-go farm FOC
 ‘KOFI (not John, for instance) and Ama went to farm.’

Thus, the extraction of Kofi, a coordinand of the coordinate NP, for focus in (38) results in an ungrammatical sentence.¹⁰ Besides being used as a phrasal conjunctive coordinator, **na** may be extended to give ‘comitative’ interpretation. Thus, speakers will give you the same sentence in (37b) when asked to provide the equivalent of ‘Kofi will go to school with Ama’, although given (37b) in isolation without any context, no speaker will provide the comitative ‘Kofi with Ama’ rather than a conjunctive ‘Kofi and Ama’ interpretation. Thus, it appears that, synchronically, Nkami speakers have no formal means for coding comitative meaning (i.e., accompaniment); they substitute the

¹⁰ This is, however, admissible in some languages such as Akan, as (1) illustrates.

- (1) **Kofi na ne Ama kɔ-ɔ afuo=m no**
 Kofi FOC and Ama go-PST farm=inside FOC
 ‘KOFI (not John, for instance) and Ama went to farm.’

ordinary coordinate phrase when requested to translate a comitative phrase such as ‘Kofi with Ama’. This position is at variance with the popular position that comitative markers typically perform the additional function of a conjunctive coordinator, and that the former usually develops into the latter, especially in African languages (cf. Stassen 2000, Haspelmath 2004, 2007).

In the case of the clausal conjunctive coordinator, **ni**, it links two clauses whose events are performed by the same or different entities. For instance, in (39a) two distinct persons, **Kofi** and **mi** [m-] ‘I’, respectively perform the events of ‘giving money’ and ‘buying a book’. On the other hand, there is subject sharing in (39b), as the same person, **mi** ‘I’, carries out both events of ‘selling alcohol’ and ‘selling charcoal’.

- (39)a. **Kofi sa mi edalo ni m-fu so owli**
 Kofi give 1SG.OBJ money and 1SG-take buy skin/book
 ‘Kofi gave me money and I used it to buy a book.’
- b. **m-sɔ nta ni m-sɔ dʒanunum**
 1SG-sell alcohol and 1SG-sell charcoal
 ‘I sell alcohol and (I sell) charcoal.’
- c. **Kofi ɔɔ-dɔ mi ni mi mo mi-dɔ mu**
 Kofi 3SG.HAB-love 1SG.OBJ and 1SG.OBJ also 1SG-love him
 ‘Kofi loves me and I also love him.’

Note that the events carried out, or the state of affairs involved in the two propositions, can be performed simultaneously or at different times. For instance, in (39a) there is a general understanding that the event in the first clause ‘giving money’ occurs prior to the event in the second clause ‘buying a book’. However, in (39c) where the emotive verb, **ɔɔ** ‘love’, is used in both propositions, it is generally understood that the situation in both clauses happens concurrently. Just like in many other languages, the use of the conjunctive coordinator in Nkami may generate an interpropositional (logical) relation of ‘conjunction’ (cf. Payne 1997, Haspelmath 2007), between the two conjoined propositions. A coordinate construction in Nkami is true iff (if and only if) both propositions in coordination are true. So, for instance, (39c) can only be true if it is true that ‘Kofi loves me’, and ‘I also love him’. Thus, (39c) is false if either of the propositions is false.

Apart from functioning as a clausal conjunctive coordinator, **ni** also functions as a relative marker, a focus marker and a proximal predicative demonstrative (PPD) in verbless clauses. Consider the following sentences showing the various indexes of **ni**.

- (40) a. **Ni** as a clausal conjunctive coordinator
ɔɔmi amu bu Ghana ni ɔɔfi amu bu China
 man DET be.in Ghana CONJ woman DET be.in China
 ‘The man is in Ghana and the woman is in China.’

b. **Nɪ** as a relative marker

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| ɔɲɪɪ | nɪ | [wɔ-ɲu | mɔ] | amɔ | bɔ | China |
| man | REL | 2SG.SUBJ-see | 3SG.OBJ | REL | be.in | China |

‘The/that man you saw is in China.’

c. **Nɪ** as a focus marker

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| ɔɲɪɪ | nɪ | wɔ-ɲu | mɔ | amɔ |
| man | FOC | 2SG-see | 3SG.OBJ | FOC |

‘It is a man you saw (not a woman).’

d. **Nɪ** as a PPD

| | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|
| ɔɲɪɪ | amɔ | nɪ |
| man | DET | PPD |

‘This is the man.’

e. **Nɔ** as a DPD

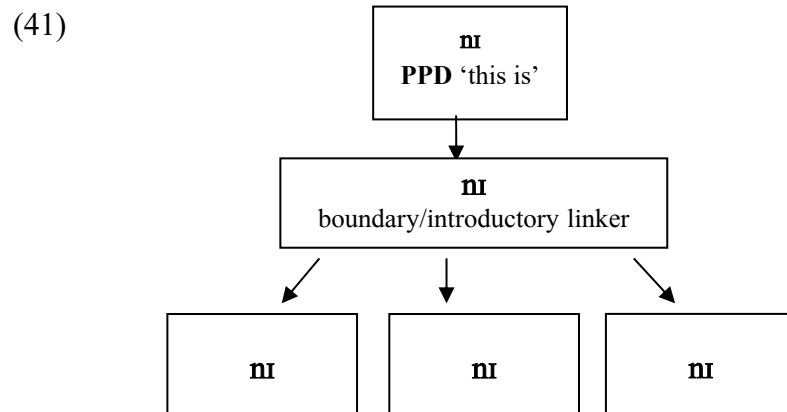
| | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|
| ɔɲɪɪ | amɔ | nɔ |
| man | DET | DPD |

‘That is the man.’

(Asante and Ma 2016: 53-54)

Thus, **nɪ** functions as a clausal conjunctive coordinator in (40a), a relative marker in (40b), a focus marker in (40c) and a proximal predicative demonstrative (PPD) in (40d). And here, the explanation offered by Asante and Ma (2016: 53-55) for establishing the diachronic source of the relative marker in Nkami goes for the conjunctive coordinator as well; thus, it may be prudent to suggest that the clausal conjunctive coordinator, as well as the relative and focus markers, diachronically derived from the proximal predicative demonstrative. That is, judging from the four distinct functions of **nɪ** in (40a-d), one may not be far from right to contend that the reference of **nɪ** is more abstract and less grammatical when employed as a clausal conjunctive coordinator, a relative marker and a focus marker in (40a-c), than its reference in (40d) as a proximal predicative demonstrative. Thus, the first three functions of **nɪ** are similar in the sense that, at the underlying level, it appears to be used as a ‘boundary/introductory linker’. However, as a proximal predicative demonstrative, **nɪ** is used in opposition to **nɔ** in verbless clauses (40e) to express the deictic reference of entities. Thus, one can use **nɪ** to designate the location of entities in the real world when it functions as a proximal predicative demonstrative, as (40d) exemplifies. However, when **nɪ** functions as a boundary linker, it is not deictic, and hence, cannot be used to designate the location of entities in the real world as it does in (40d). Moreover, whereas **nɪ** contrasts **nɔ** when used as a demonstrative, it is not contrastive as a ‘boundary/introductory linker’. In other words, it will not be admissible to substitute **nɪ** with **nɔ** in (40a-c) to express deictic contrast. In sum, looking at the four distinct functions of **nɪ**, clausal conjunctive coordinator, relative marker, focus marker and proximal predicative demonstrative, it may be right to suggest that the first three functions derived from the proximal predicative demonstrative as a boundary/introductory linker before specializing into their

respective functions, as (41) schematises.



Finally, it may be necessary to note that Nkami is not the only known language whose conjunctive coordinator performs such functions. For instance, Stassen (2000) illustrates cases in some languages where the NP-coordinator seems to be a specialization of the function of a general focus-marking particle, as (41-42) exemplify with Manam and Kabyl (Stassen 2000: 17-18):

- (41) Manam (Austronesian, Melanesian)
- a. **moane-be** **aine** **di-pura**
 man-and woman 3PL-arrive
 ‘The men and the women arrived.’
 - b. **wabubu-lo-be** **i-pura**
 night-at-FOC 3SG-come
 ‘It was at night that he came.’

- (42) Kabyl (Afroasiatic, Berber)
- a. **agerfiou** **d’** **oubarer’**
 raven and fox
 ‘the raven and the fox’
 - b. **netsa** **d’** **agellid’** **en** **temourth** **agi**
 3SG FOC king of country this
 ‘It is him who is the king of this country.’

5.2 Disjunctive Coordination

Regarding disjunctive coordination (disjunction or ‘or’ coordination), speakers may use the disjunctive coordinator, **bεε/be** ‘or’, to state alternative propositions in Nkami. The use of **bεε** in coordination provides options or alternatives to interlocutors. There are two main types of disjunctive coordination in Nkami. The first one provides

limited options to interlocutors in discourse, as (43) exemplifies.

(43) Limited options

- a. **wu-be-yo** *Shanghai* **bee** *New York?*
 2SG-FUT-go Shanghai or New York
 ‘Will you go to Shanghai or New York?’
- b. **n-tʃi** **a** **klalɪ** **amu** **li** **mi** **bee** **mu**
 1SG-watch COND grasscutter DET pass here or there
 ‘When I watch (watching), the grasscutter passed here or there.’

In (43a), for instance, there are two available options to the addressee, ‘going to Shanghai’ or ‘going to New York’. The addressee is therefore expected to choose between the two options. When **bee** is used in this sense, it may generate the logical relation of ‘disjunction’. Thus, the truth of either one or both propositions in (43b), for instance, makes the entire coordinate construction true. The construction in (43b) is, however, false if neither of the propositions is true, i.e., if the grasscutter did not pass any of the two locations stated.

Furthermore, **bee** may be used to provide unlimited alternatives to interlocutors when it occurs at sentence-final position, as (44) illustrates.

(44) Unlimited Options

- wu-be-yo** **Shanghai** **bee...?**
 2SG-FUT-go Shanghai or
 ‘Will you go to Shanghai or ...?’

As we observe in (44), the speaker provides unlimited alternatives to the addressee including the one stated, ‘Shanghai’, and ‘any other city in the world’, since the proposition in the second coordinand is unspecified. Note, however, that if there is a pause after the first coordinand before the disjunctive coordinator, represented by a comma in writing as (45) illustrates below, then, the unlimited interpretation will not hold.

(45) Limited Options

- wu-be-yo** **Shanghai,** **bee...?**
 2SG-FUT-go Shanghai or
 ‘Will you go to Shanghai or ... (you will not go)?’

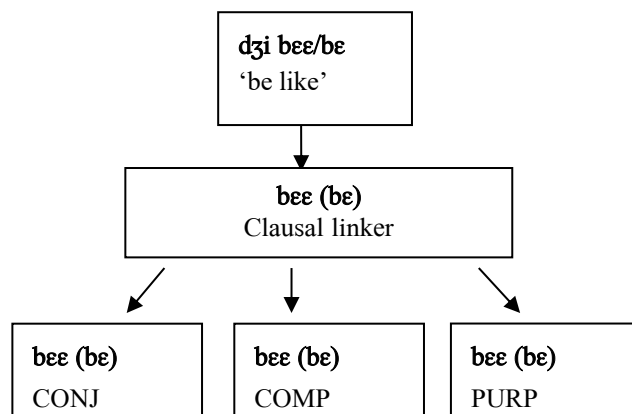
Thus, as the English translation shows, although the second coordinand of the sentence in (45) is not provided, the addressee has only two available options; that is, ‘going to Shanghai’ or ‘not going to Shanghai’, and not ‘going to Shanghai’ or ‘going to any other city’, as (44) connotes.

Like the phrasal conjunctive coordinator, **ni**, **bɛɛ** is also multi-functional. In addition to being a disjunctive coordinator, it also functions as a preposition, a complementizer, a purposive clause linker, among others. These functions are exemplified in (46) below (Asante 2016b: 244).

- (46)a. **Kofi bɛ-yɔ Shanghai bɛɛ London?** Coordinator
 Kofi FUT-go Shanghai CONJ London
 ‘Will Kofi go to Shanghai or London?’
- b. **Kofi yɔ bɛɛ ɔ-lɔ-yɛ-dɪ** Purposive
 Kofi go PURP 3SG-PROG-PDP-sleep
 ‘Kofi went (in order to go and) to sleep.’
- c. **Kofi ŋu [bɛɛ ɔ-lɔ-dɪ]** Complementizer
 Kofi see COMP 3SG-PROG-sleep
 ‘Kofi saw him sleeping (John saw that he was sleeping).’
- d. **Kofi mu ɸnesilo dʒi bɛɛ/bɛ akpãã** Preposition
 Kofi POSS face be like bat
 ‘Kofi’s face is like a bat.’

In (46a) **bɛɛ** functions as a disjunctive coordinator, connecting the two conjuncts ‘Shanghai’ and ‘London’. It functions as a complementizer in (46b) by introducing the complement clause, **ɔlɔdɪ** ‘he is sleeping’; and it functions as a purposive clause linker, introducing the purpose clause, **ɔloyɛdɪ** ‘he is going to sleep’. Lastly in (46d) it co-occurs with the copula verb, **dʒi** ‘be’, to perform a function that may be couched as ‘prepositional’, since it designates the physical similarity between the comparee of comparison ‘Kofi’s face’ and the standard of comparison ‘dog’. Following closely from the arguments put forward by Asante (2016b: 244) for establishing the diachronic source concept for the complementizer, **bɛɛ**, in Nkami, in all three cases in (46a-c), **bɛɛ** appears to serve as a ‘clausal introducer/linker’. Thus, similarly to the argument adduced for the diachronic source of the clausal conjunctive coordinator above, the use of **bɛɛ** as a clausal introducer/linker appears to be more abstract and more grammatical than its use as a preposition (or an inherent complement) of the phrasal verb, **dʒi bɛɛ/bɛ** ‘be like’, in (46d). As a result, it may be appropriate to suggest that the disjunctive coordinator, complementizer and purposive clause linker (PURP) diachronically derived from the phrasal verb, **dʒi bɛɛ/bɛ** ‘be like’, first as a clausal linker before specializing into their respective functions, as (47) schematises.

(47)



5.3 Adversative Coordination

In adversative coordination (or ‘but’ coordination) there is a seemingly contrast or conflict between the propositions expressed in the first and second coordinands. Nkami employs *mɔsɔ/mɔ* in adversative coordination, as shown in (48).

- (48)a. **n-tie** **Accra** *mɔ/mɔsɔ* **n-tʃu** **Nkami**
 1SG-live Accra but 1SG-come.from Nkami
 ‘I live in Accra but I come from Nkami.’
- b. **anɪ-fu** **akisitɔ** **bebiree** **le-kãã** **Afram** *mɔ*
 1PL-take taboo many PRF-touch Afram but
ɔ-da **anɪ** **yɔ** **bã**
 3SG-hit 3SG.POSS body fence
 ‘We have desecrated Afram but he continues to protect us.’

Sentence (48a) conveys the meaning that ‘in spite of the fact that I live in Accra (and it appears to you that I am from Accra, I am not), I actually come from Nkami’. A similar interpretation goes for (48b) where one would assume or expect that because of the desecration of Afram (god), he would forsake them, but he does not as he continues to protect them. In both sentences there is a general acceptance of the truths of the first propositions (by the interlocutors), and the second propositions only seek to counteract the derived assumptions (not the truths) from the first propositions by the addressee/hearer.

Unlike the previous coordinators, the adversative coordinator, *mɔ* ‘but’, has fewer functions. It is isomorphic with a morpheme that is similar in function with the English adverbs ‘also’ and ‘too’. As noted above, when *mɔ* is used as an adversative coordinator, it indicates contrast, as (49a) further illustrates. On the other hand, there is a sense of inclusiveness when used as an adverb, as (49b) illustrates.

(49)a. **Mɔ** as an adversative coordinator

Kofi ɔɔ-kpa nta mɔ Yaw ma-kpa
 Kofi 3SG.HAB-like alcohol but Yaw NEG-like
 ‘Kofi likes (drinking) alcohol but Yaw does not like it.’

b. **Mɔ** as an adverbial

Kofi ɔɔ-kpa nta, ni Yaw mɔ ɔɔ-kpa
 Kofi 3SG.HAB-like alcohol and Yaw also 3SG.HAB-like
 ‘Kofi likes alcohol, and Yaw likes it too.’

Moreover, when used as a coordinator, as in (49a), **mɔ** immediately precedes the subject of the second clause (here, Yaw); however, as an adverbial, it follows the subject of the second clause and before its predicate. The isomorphism between the inclusive adverb ‘also/too’ and the adversative coordinator ‘but’ is not restricted to Nkami. It also shows up in Akan, as (50) exemplifies.

(50) Akan

a. **Nso** as an adversative coordinator

Kofi pɛ nsa nso Yaw m-pe
 Kofi HAB.like alcohol but Yaw NEG-like
 ‘Kofi likes alcohol but Yaw does not like it.’

b. **Kofi pɛ nsa nsoso Yaw m-pe**

Kofi HAB.like alcohol but Yaw NEG-like
 ‘Kofi likes alcohol but Yaw does not like it.’

c. **Nso** as an adverbial

Kofi pɛ nsa, ɛna Yaw nso pɛ
 Kofi HAB-like alcohol and Yaw also HAB.like
 ‘Kofi likes alcohol, and Yaw likes it too.’

In fact, as we observe in (50b), unlike Nkami, the adversative coordinator, **nso** ‘but’, in Akan may engage in a morphological process, namely, reduplication (becoming **nsoso**), which is common with adverbs in the language. Similarly to the arguments put forward for the two other coordinators above, since **mɔ**, as an adverbial, is more lexical and less grammatical than its function as a coordinator, we may assume that the latter derived from the former.

Here, it may be worthy to note that the development of the adverbial ‘too, also, as well’ into a coordinator is quite pronounced in many of the world’s languages. For instance, in her cross-linguistic typological study on the origin of coordinators, Mithun (1988) shows that NP-coordinators grammaticalize from “varied sources including ..., or sentence adverbials with the original meaning ‘also, too, as well’, or ‘furthermore, then, moreover’” (cf. Stassen 2000). The difference, however, is that whereas the adverb ‘too, also’ has developed into an adversative coordinator in Nkami (and Akan), it developed into conjunctive coordinators in these languages.

6. Coordination and Elliptical Rules

As we have seen in many of the data above, the independent coordinands in coordination may be realized in their full or reduced forms. Observe further below that whereas (51a) has the object NP, *afra* ‘fufu’, explicitly stated in both clauses, it is only stated once in the first clause in (51b).

- (51)a. ?*Kofi* *ɔɔ-kpa* *afra* *ni* *Ama* (*mɔ*) *ɔɔ-kpa* *afra*
 Kofi 3SG.HAB-like fufu and Ama (also) 3SG.HAB-like fufu
 ‘Kofi likes fufu and Ama (also) likes fufu.’
- b. *Kofi* *ɔɔ-kpa* *afra* *mɔ* *Ama* *ma-kpa*∅
 Kofi 3SG.HAB-like fufu but Ama NEG-like
 ‘Kofi likes fufu but Ama does not like (it).’

This section, therefore, seeks to explain the mechanisms speakers use to code this and other reduced forms through what has come to be known as ‘compression’ or ‘coordination reduction’ rules (cf. Sanders 1977, Schachter 1977, Baker 1978, Payne 1985, Dzameshi 1998, Haspelmath 2007). We will restrict ourselves to the following coordination reduction rules, conjunction reduction, reciprocation and anaphoric substitution, in that order in the following paragraphs.

The rule schema for conjunction reduction requires that for a compound sentence to be reduced to a simple sentence, the various coordinands in the compound sentence should share a ‘similar structure’. By ‘similar structure’, Jacob and Rosenbaum (1968) refer to constituents that are of the same type with identical syntactic function. Thus, the conjunction reduction rule prohibits identical materials in parallel structures (coordinands); so, whenever there is repetition of shared constituents in parallel structures, the repeated materials in the second coordinand are omitted. For instance, both coordinands in (52a) have the phrase *yɔ ndulo* ‘go to farm’. However, since the language does not prefer identical elements in coordination, the second occurrence of the phrase, *yɔ ndulo* ‘go to farm’, is omitted, as (52b) shows.

- (52)a. *Kofi* *yɔ* *ndulo* *ni* *Ama* (*mɔ*) *yɔ* *ndulo*
 Kofi go farm and Ama also go farm
 ‘Kofi went to farm and Ama went to farm too.’
- b. *Kofi* *na* *Ama* (*bɛ*)-*yɔ* *ndulo*
 Kofi and Ama 3PL-go farm
 ‘Kofi and Ama (they) went to farm.’

When the conjunction reduction rule applies in (52b), the subject of the second coordinand is preposed to the position before the main (and only) verb, *yɔ* ‘go’. The subject that undergoes the movement, *Ama*, forms an NP compound subject with the

subject of the first coordinand, **Kofi**. Evidence to show that the subjects of the two coordinands in (52a), **Kofi** and **Ama**, now form a compound subject in (52b) is based on the fact that the main verb may inflect for the third person plural subject pronoun, **bɛ-** ‘they’, to co-reference the NP compound subject, **Kofi** and **Ama**, in person and number. Also, observe that since the language formally distinguishes between phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination, the clausal coordinator, **ni**, in (52a) is replaced with the phrasal coordinator, **na**, in (52b).¹¹

Note also that the application of the conjunction reduction rule may bring about ambiguity. In cases where participants (subject arguments) of identical events, as in (53a) where both **Kofi** and **Ama** participate in the event of ‘going to Kumasi’, form a compound subject through the application of the conjunction reduction rule, the resultant sentence may be potentially ambiguous, as (53b) shows.

- (53)a. **Kofi beyɔ Kumasi ni Ama (mɔ) bɛ-yɔ Kumasi**
 Kofi FUT-go Kumasi and Ama (also) FUT-go Kumasi
 ‘Kofi will go to Kumasi and Ama will (also) go to Kumasi.’
- b. **Kofi na Ama bɛ-yɔ Kumasi**
 Kofi and Ama FUT-go Kumasi
 ‘Kofi and Ama will go to Kumasi together OR
 Kofi and Ama will go to Kumasi separately.’

Thus, the derived sentence in (53b) has two interpretations: ‘Kofi and Ama will go to Kumasi together’ or ‘Kofi will go to Kumasi separately and Ama will go to Kumasi separately’. Contextual knowledge is required to disambiguate them.

Another means by which Nkama achieves syntactic reduction in coordination is through the ‘reciprocal formation rule’. The reciprocal formation rule also prohibits repetition of shared constituents in parallel clauses. So, when there is repetition of identical elements in a coordinate construction, the reciprocal pronoun, **amu yu** ‘themselves (each other)’, may be introduced to replace the repeated element(s). This is exemplified in (54).

- (54)a. **Kofi dɔ Ama ni Ama dɔ Kofi**
 Kofi love Ama and Ama love Kofi
 ‘Kofi loves Ama and Ama loves Kofi.’
- b. **Kofi na Ama (bɛ)-dɔ amu yu**
 Kofi and Ama (3PL)-love them self
 ‘Kofi and Ama love themselves (each other).’

In (55b) the identical constituent, **Ama dɔ Kofi** ‘Ama loves Kofi’, is omitted and its position is filled by the reciprocal pronoun **amu yu** ‘themselves (each other)’.

¹¹ See Haspelmath (2007), for instance, for arguments against the conjunction reduction rule.

Remember also that when the subject of the second constituent, **Ama**, moves leftward to join **Kofi** to form the compound subject, '**Kofi and Ama**', in (55b), the phrasal coordinator, **na** 'and', substitutes for the clausal coordinator, **ni**.

Next, like the conjunction reduction and reciprocal formation rules, the anaphoric substitution rule prohibits shared constituents in parallel coordinands. However, instead of omitting one of the shared constituents or introducing the reciprocal pronoun to replace repeated element(s), the anaphoric substitution rule replaces an identical constituent with a special form, which is usually a pronoun or a particle. The anaphoric substitution rule in Nkami is similar to that of English, as both languages replace repeated noun phrases with pronouns. Consider (55) below.

- (55)a. **Kofi ma-tilifu jamileku ni Kofi ma-kã**
 Kofi NEG-fear God and Kofi NEG-listen
jamileku asũ
 God word
 'Kofi does not fear God, and Kofi does not listen to God's word.'
- b. **Kofi ma-tilifu jamileku ni a-ma-kã mu asũ**
 Kofi NEG-fear God and 3SG-NEG-listen 3SG.POSS word
 'Kofi does not fear God, and he does not listen to his word.'

Thus, the repeated NPs, **Kofi** and **jamileku** 'God', in (55a) are respectively replaced with the anaphoric 3SG subject pronoun, **a-**, and the 3SG possessive pronoun **mu** 'his'.

7. Conclusion

This paper has discussed the syntactic phenomenon of coordination in Nkami, an endangered lesser-known Guang (Niger-Congo, Kwa) language of Ghana, based on synchronic natural data. It has discussed a wide range of issues including coordination strategies in Nkami, number and types of coordinators in Nkami, linguistic properties of the coordinators, allowable types of syntactic structures for coordination, semantic effect(s) of the coordinators on their coordinate structures and the multi-functionality and possible diachronic source concepts of the coordinators. Additionally, some constraints governing Nkami's coordination and the source concepts of the connectives were also discussed. Among other things, it has been observed that Nkami employs both syndetic (overt) and asyndetic (covert) strategies for coordination, though the former is highly restricted occurring chiefly in narratives and pithy sayings. Secondly, just like in the majority of the world's languages (cf. Stassen 2000, Haspelmath 2004, 2007), Nkami employs the monosyndetic NP-coordination strategy by way of a medial connective. Moreover, whereas Nkami employs a Serial Adjective Construction (or an asyndetic) strategy when modifiers (adjectives) in a sentence modify the same referent, a Coordinate Adjective Construction (or a syndetic) strategy is used when the modifiers qualify different referents within the same sentence. The paper also showed four distinguishing features between the two multi-verb construction types, (asyndetic)

coordination and (linking) SVC, in Nkami with regards to the following parameters: intonation break, negation marking, subject marking, and the number of allowable adverbials belonging to the same sub-semantic type in a sentence. Moreover, we also saw that Nkami has clearly distinct connectives, **na** and **ni**, for both phrasal and clausal conjunctive coordination respectively, just like in other African languages (cf. Welmers 1973, Abdoulaye 2004, Lefebvre 2004). Also, almost all the coordinators in Nkami are multifunctional and derivable from more lexical or less grammatical concepts. Further, Nkami shows evidence of the three major semantic types of coordination (Haspelmath 2004, 2007): conjunction (conjunctive conjunction or ‘and’ coordination), disjunction (disjunctive coordination or ‘or’ coordination), and adversative coordination (‘but’ coordination). Other sub-semantic domains such as animacy, conceptual closeness or naturalness, emphasis, inclusion, etc. do not play any significant role(s) in coordination in Nkami (cf. Mithun 1988, Stassen 2000, Wälchli 2003, Haspelmath 2007). Lastly, we also saw that three mechanisms that Nkami speakers employ to achieve syntactic reduction in coordination are conjunction reduction, reciprocation and anaphoric substitution.

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UNDERGRADUATE WRITING IN A SECOND LANGUAGE CONTEXT: ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH INTRA-SENTENCE ISSUES

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Abstract

This descriptive study investigates English intra-sentence writing challenges of undergraduate students in public educational institutions in Ghana. To achieve this, analyses of responses given in a short English language test administered to final-year undergraduate students studying English in four tertiary institutions are presented. The items constituting the test derived from intra-sentence deviations that featured prominently in 500 essays written by 250 undergraduate students between 2015 and 2017. The items involve topics that undergraduate students are assumed to have covered during their pre-tertiary education but which are areas of challenge to them. Test item analysis tables were devised to determine facility indices of the items and to ascertain the students' implicit and explicit knowledge of the language features investigated. The study reveals that students pursuing undergraduate programmes in English Departments in Ghana have varied degrees of familiarity with defined intra-sentence writing issues. Additionally, the students' implicit knowledge weightings of the topics investigated far outstrip their explicit knowledge values. Finally, the study suggests that the quantity of intra-sentence writing challenges of students from each of the institutions investigated is fairly congruent. These findings have pedagogical implications for the contents of the communication skills programmes mounted for all fresh undergraduate students in Ghana.

Keywords: L2 context, student writing, intra-sentence, implicit knowledge, explicit knowledge.

1.0 Introduction

In Ghanaian tertiary institutions of learning, the business of knowledge production and dissemination is carried out mainly through the medium of English. In view of this, a certain appreciable level of familiarity with writing in English is required of all entrants no matter their intended fields of academic or professional pursuits. Therefore, tertiary institutions of learning in Ghana have constantly ensured that all their students attain the required degree of proficiency in English writing (Agor, 2014:178). Yet, another motivation for this resolve comes from both the nature of the multilingual context of Ghana and the status accorded the English language within the borders of the country. Ghana, a post-colonial country with about forty-five indigenous languages (Dakubu, 1988:10) formally adopted English as her sole official language on attainment of independence from Britain in 1957. (Refer to Sackey, 1997 for a historical perspective of the development of English as a second language in Ghana). So, although the English language was implanted into the multilingual community of Ghana, it has become the language for educational placement and career advancement in the country.

In spite of the assurance that applicants who are offered admission into undergraduate programmes in public tertiary institutions in the country have satisfied the English language requirement for entrance, some researchers and examiners, including Dako (1997:261), Owusu-Ansah (1997:23), and Sackeyfio (2008:3), have held the view that English (oral and written) competence demonstrated by students in tertiary institutions some time past (in the 1940s and the 1950s) was higher than the levels demonstrated about half a century later. Unfortunately however, no empirical study supports this comparison yet. For example, the studies published on undergraduate students' use of English in Ghana including Tandoh (1987), Yankson (1994), Dako (1997), Dako, Denkabe, and Forson (1997), Gogovi (1997), Odamtten, Denkabe, and Tsikata (1997), Adika (1999), Arhin (2009), and Hyde (2014) investigated proficiency levels at a point in time; they did not compare students' levels of competence in the language at different points in time. In other words, there is no study, so far, that has evaluated written English proficiency levels of students in tertiary institutions in Ghana on an era (e.g. 1951-1970; 1971-1990; 1991-2010) basis.

So, no empirical study supports this comparison yet: the view that English competence demonstrated by students in tertiary institutions some time past was higher than the levels demonstrated today. In recognition of this lack, Anyidoho (2002:59) asks: "Was proficiency in English among pupils and students in some time past higher

than it is now?” She explains that without such evidence, it would be argued that “the so called ‘falling standard’ in English exists in the imaginations of the older generations of Ghanaians, who ... always view their own performance ... to be better than that of the succeeding generation” Anyidoho (2002:59). So, comparisons of students’ performance cannot be made at this present time because the available relevant data are insufficient for this task. To be able to make informed comparisons in the future about undergraduate students’ levels of competence in English, it is imperative to continuously monitor and to keep records of their use of aspects of the language so that adequate data for such comparisons in the future would be guaranteed.

Therefore, the ultimate aim of this study is to investigate intra-sentence writing issues of students in selected public tertiary institutions in Ghana. The rationale is to add to the repertoire of empirical research on undergraduate students’ levels of proficiency in English writing. This undertaking is consonant with University of Ghana (1969:78) which instructs that “a complete reappraisal of the language study and language use” be made “in the total educational system in Ghana”. This assertion is contained in the statutory instrument that established the University of Ghana Language Centre in 1970. The instrument also mandates the Language Centre to embark upon a certain amount of remedial work to enable undergraduate students to use the English language with the expected degree of proficiency. The contents of the remedial English language programme are to derive from empirical research on students language use. One latent purpose is to reenergize the interest of language acquisition researchers in students’ use of English at the tertiary level of education.

In order to achieve the ultimate aim indicated above, the following three objectives were pursued.

- i. To scrutinise 500 undergraduate essays and to extract sentences that contain intra-sentence deviations for further investigation.
- ii. To administer a short test to verify whether the deviations recognised in the 500 essays could be confirmed or refuted as undergraduate students’ actual intra-sentence writing challenges.
- iii. To compare performances of the students on the test on an institution basis, on an individual basis, and on a gender basis.

Five research questions guided the realisation of the objectives listed above.

- i. What are the actual English intra-sentence writing issues that challenge students pursuing undergraduate programmes in English Departments in public tertiary institutions in the country?
- ii. Is the number of intra-sentence writing challenges of students representing the four institutions fairly congruent?
- iii. Do the students investigated have the same level of familiarity with the defined intra-sentence writing issues?
- iv. Does the explicit knowledge of the students investigated correspond with their implicit knowledge in terms of defined intra-sentence writing issues?
- v. In the context of second language learning, which gender (male or female) is likely to outperform the other in the more linguistic side of English?

2.0 Studies on Language-Learner Writings

For the past two and a half decades or so, issues about students' writings have received a huge amount of attention by many researchers in language teaching across the world. Some of the discussions on student writing border on the effectiveness or otherwise of correcting students' grammar errors in second language writing classes (Ferris, 1995 1999; 2004; 2006; 2007; Ferris & Roberts, 2001; Ferris, Liu, Sinha, & Senna, 2013; Truscott, 1996; 1999; 2007; and Bitchener, 2008). Some key questions that have been asked relate to categories of corrective feedback and how these can be administered to achieve results (Bitchener & Knock, 2010a; 2010b; Ellis, 2010; Ellis, Sheen, Murakami, & Takashima, 2008; Sheen, 2010; and Ferris, 2010).

Yet, other issues raised in this regard concern one of the most important stages of the writing process, *editing*. In other words, the issue of how to successfully equip second language learners with the requisite knowledge and skills to edit their own writings is of great concern to both researchers and practitioners. In recent years, there has been the growing view in language teaching circles that the point in teaching grammar to second language learners is mainly to aid their writing. So, some of the discussions on student writing border on whether English grammar should be taught inductively or deductively, whether it should be taught explicitly or implicitly, and whether grammar teaching should be intensive or extensive (Ellis, 1994; 2002a; 2002b; 2005a; 2005b; 2006a; 2006b; DeKeyser, 2003; Sheen, 2006; Swan and Welter, 2006). The huge level of interest shown in various aspects of learner writing implies recognition of the fact that the stages involved in student writing, which include

generating ideas, drafting, revising, and editing (errors of grammar, usage, mechanics, etc.), are all worth investigating.

To put the current study in perspective, the rest of this section reviews some studies conducted in Ghana on university students' proficiency levels in English. Tandoh (1987) investigates the written English of undergraduate students in University of Ghana using end-of-term examination essays and essay-type assignments written in 1985 as her data. Specifically, the samples for her study were obtained from first-year and final-year students of the then Faculties of Agriculture, Arts, Science, and Social Science. Instances of structures containing deviations identified in her study are categorised under four main headings namely, *the sentence and the clause, the phrase, vocabulary and expression, and spelling and punctuation*. Tandoh explains that she selected samples from first-year and final-year students 'so that any contrast might appear sharper' (Tandoh, 1987:17). The findings of her study show that out of 98,756 words read from samples written by the first-year students, 6,693 (or 6.77%) errors were detected. In the case of the final-year students, 100,047 words were read and 6,128 (or 6.12%) errors were detected. Tandoh explicates that in only three of the six groups investigated did the final-year students write less erroneous English than the first-year students (Tandoh, 1987:24) and concludes that "being at Legon does not necessarily bring about any improvement in a student's standard of English" (Tandoh, 1987:112). This observation, confirmed by Adika (1999: 8), is consistent with Agor (2014: 187).

Situated in the Error Analysis conceptual framework, Yankson (1994) investigates English writing challenges of Ghanaian and Nigerian university students and observes that concord is a major problem area for second-language learners of English in Ghanaian and Nigerian universities. Yankson's study reveals that the proficiency levels of the university students he studied were below expectation. He asserts that some errors, particularly concord errors, tend to elicit very unfavourable responses from both native and non-native speakers alike. According to Yankson (1994: xi), such errors reflect badly on the speaker's personality. Included in his work are actual malformed syntactic structures authored by the students, and he gives adequate lessons on English concord to help improve proficiency levels of students in universities in West Africa.

Dako (1997) assesses some aspects of language competence as contained in examination scripts written by final year Literature students in the English Department of a tertiary institution in Ghana. She argues that throughout their years of formal

training in English, be it at the primary, the secondary, or the tertiary level, students have had inadequate practice in the use of English, inadequate training in writing skills, and inadequate “corrective” influences from the teacher. As a result, among other inadequacies, their rate of mechanical errors is high and their active vocabulary not sufficient for the level of expression expected of a graduate in English (Dako, 1997:263). She observes “... a graduate in English in a tertiary institution in Ghana exhibits linguistic insecurity, reflected in limited structural diversity, inadequate vocabulary variation and use” (Dako, 1997:274). In Dako’s (1997:274) view, to prepare students for the requirements of the job market, be it in teaching or in the public service, or any other field, the educational system, including the universities, must attempt to enhance students’ confidence in writing skills.

Gogovi (1997) investigates the usage of intensifier + verb collocation in English among post-diploma degree English major students of a tertiary institution in Ghana and compares performances between male and female students. The study, according to Gogovi (1997: 51), reveals general poor performance of both male and female students. Gogovi (1997:51) explains that the students responded to all the items on the questionnaire and that gave the false impression that the students found the task easy. The findings suggest beyond doubt that the post-diploma degree English major students of that tertiary institution had a weak grasp of intensifier + verb collocation in English. The sad thing, according to Gogovi, was that the students were unaware of the complexities of this area of their English studies and it appeared there was no immediate hope of addressing the deficiency.

Adika (1999) investigates written texts of the 1996-97 batch of first-year students of a tertiary institution in Ghana. The study aimed at describing and accounting for aspects of discourse-level problems in the expository writing of first-year students. The researcher’s primary motivation for focusing upon written texts derived from the concerns Ghanaians had expressed over the low standard of written English in Ghanaian schools. In all, 179 texts were collected from four categories of first-year students. An integrative analytic framework was applied in the analysis of the expository texts in order to detect discourse-level infelicities. The study reveals five main areas of discourse infelicities that stem from weak handling of information relationships leading to a breakdown in communication in certain parts of the text. The five main areas identified relate to composing effective introductions, developing relevant content to suit theme-rheme relationship, anaphoric reference, conjunctive relations, and advanced labelling. To help both students and teachers to deal with these

discourse-level problems, the researcher proposes practical guidelines in the form of evaluative grids. These have the potential of facilitating how teachers evaluate students' expository discourse as well as how they help students in the general enterprise of text creation.

Agor (2014) conducted a thirteen-week pedagogical intervention in a tertiary institution in a second language context where two classes of Level 400 students were constituted based on the students' own preferences to study *Syntax of English* or *Linguistics and Language Teaching*. An entry-behaviour test was administered the first day of lectures to both classes, in part, to establish their actual English writing needs. Specific topics in English grammar that university students are assumed to have covered in high school but which pose problems to them formed part of the contents taught the experimental group. The control group was taught the normal traditional contents. By the end of the semester, the two groups were tested. The results indicate that the difference between the exit- and the entry-behaviour mean marks of the control group ($34.8\% - 31\% = 3.8\%$) is marginal but that of the experimental group ($89.4\% - 30.6\% = 58.8\%$) is huge. The study concludes that if actual English writing needs of ESL/EFL students are injected into their syllabus contents, standards in English writing among non-native learners will be enhanced.

All the studies described above indicate the proficiency levels in English writing of students in tertiary institutions in Ghana. Each of the studies describes the students' level of proficiency in a specific aspect of English studies at a point in time. To be able to make informed comparisons in the future about undergraduate students' proficiency levels at different points in time, it is important to continuously investigate and to keep records of their use of the language on the various campuses.

3.0 Method

Data for the current study were sourced from final-year undergraduate students studying English in four public tertiary institutions in Ghana. Data were not accessed from private institutions because this study focuses on students in public institutions only. For the sake of anonymity, the four public tertiary institutions where data were sourced for the study have been named Institution 'A', Institution 'B', Institution 'C', and Institution 'D'. The study was conducted in two parts: a preliminary investigation and the main study. The preliminary investigation evaluated 500 essays written by 250

final-year undergraduate students between 2015 and 2017. In these student essays, ten intra-sentence writing issues were identified as the students' most prominent areas of challenge. This preliminary investigation stemmed from the quest for a search for specific English intra-sentence deviations that undergraduate students may not notice in their writings. The main study probed the students' familiarity with the ten language features identified during the preliminary investigation. Two hundred students (henceforth referred to as respondents) participated in the main study.

3.1 Respondents and Data Collection Instruments

The respondents from each institution numbered fifty: 25 male and 25 female. They were all Ghanaian and ranged between ages 23 and 44. Each of them gave consent to serve as a respondent in the study. The fifty students that represented each institution were the first twenty-five men and the first twenty-five women who consented to participate in the main study. The number 25 was significant in terms of the size of each cohort because the cohort with the least number of female had 25 women, and the current researcher wanted to uphold the idea of gender balance. All the respondents were functionally bilingual in English and at least one indigenous Ghanaian language.

Two main instruments were used to elicit information from the respondents: a questionnaire and a short test. The questionnaire investigated the personal and linguistic background of the respondents. The short test probed their English intra-sentence writing problem areas. The test items were attached to the questionnaire described above. The test consists of ten short sentences that are unacceptable in formal written English. All the ten short sentences are unacceptable in formal written English because they are either grammatically malformed or semantically unclear. Each of the ten sentences constituting the test is followed by two spaces numbered 'a' and 'b'. In the space 'a', the respondents were required to state whether each of the sentences is correct or incorrect in formal written English. In the space 'b', they were to rewrite the sentence correcting all errors they could detect. The questionnaire and the test were administered during lecture hours. The ten sentences contained in the test administered have been included in this paper as an appendix.

3.2 Data Analysis Techniques

Two main techniques were used to analyse the data sourced. Test item analysis tables were devised for analysing the responses supplied by the respondents. The test item analysis tables made it possible to determine figures for facility index, implicit linguistic knowledge, and explicit linguistic knowledge. Facility index refers to the easiness or difficulty level of each test item from the point of view of the respondents. It is simply the percentage of respondents who gave the right response to the item. Facility indices, also known as difficulty indices, run from 0 to 1.00 (Jacobs and Chase, 1992:16). The larger the index the easier the item; the smaller the index the more difficult the item.

A distinction is usually made between two types of linguistic knowledge: implicit knowledge and explicit knowledge. As characteristic of many concepts in second language learning and language teaching, the implicit/explicit categorisation has engendered some expected definition controversies (e.g. Robinson, 1994:161-165; Ellis, 1994:167-169). As a result, some later studies (e.g. Ellis, 2005b:216; Ellis, 2006a:95) have rather used the categories ‘procedural’ and ‘declarative’ to refer to the concepts intended to be conveyed by the terms ‘implicit’ and ‘explicit’ respectively. But because a definitional debate does not appear to be relevant at this point, the original implicit/explicit terminology which is far more familiar to the target practitioners would be maintained in this paper.

A language learner’s implicit knowledge of a language feature refers to a category of linguistic knowledge of that language feature which the learner has acquired but which the learner cannot set out in any tangible form. It relates, somehow, to the person’s intuitive, subconscious, tacit, or procedural linguistic knowledge of that language feature. A learner’s implicit linguistic knowledge is deeply rooted in his/her verbal behaviour and is difficult to articulate because the learner may not even be aware of what s/he knows. In the same vein, a learner’s explicit linguistic knowledge of a language feature refers to a category of linguistic knowledge of that language feature which the learner has learnt and can set out in a tangible form. It relates, somehow, to the learner’s conscious, articulable or declarative linguistic knowledge of that language feature. A learner can articulate, store, retrieve, and distribute his explicit linguistic knowledge. Krashen (1982:10) uses the terms ‘acquired knowledge’ and ‘learned knowledge’ in place of implicit and explicit knowledge respectively. Ellis (1994:167)

operationalizes the distinction between implicit and explicit knowledge in terms of ‘whether the learner is aware of what s/he knows and can articulate it’ or not.

As part of the item analysis procedure, ratings for the respondents’ *implicit knowledge* and explicit knowledge (*editing skills*) relating to the lexical, syntactic, or semantic rules applicable to each test item have been determined. For the purpose of the analysis, the respondents from each institution and their scripts were named 1, 2, 3, up to 50. The test item analysis tables made it possible for the current researcher to see the general performance of the members of each group at a glance. It also made it easier to recognise, by mere inspection, the items that were easy and those that were difficult for each respondent and for each institution. Besides, the test item analysis table designed and used provided information about the scoring and grading of the test, and also determined whether the test items were able to sort the students who had fewer intra-sentence writing difficulties from those who had huge English writing problems. Observations relating to all these have been briefly presented in the results section and interpreted in the discussion section.

The second set of techniques deployed was basic statistical procedures. These were used in analysing the scores obtained by the respondents and these have been presented in the section that follows. The rationale for accessing and processing the data was partly to get empirical information that would provide evidence of the current state of English intra-sentence writing proficiency levels on the campuses of tertiary institutions in the country.

4.0 Analysis

Responses to the questionnaire and the short test administered were retrieved from all the 200 respondents. The test component of the responses was carefully scored by the current researcher. First of all, the ten sentences contained in the test were analysed grammatically and included in the next section. This grammatical analysis brings out clearly the reasons why each of the sentences contained in the test is morphologically, syntactically, or semantically unacceptable in formal written English and, therefore, needed to be modified by the respondents. Secondly, the responses supplied by the respondents to the questions and the scores they obtained were analysed using the techniques described in the preceding section. The scores obtained by members of each group are shown using tables. Also, information on gender distinction from the performance of the respondents has been included in a later section. Even

though the test analysis tables have not been physically included in this paper because of want of space, observations that emerged from them and conclusions arrived at have been sufficiently included in the discussion section.

4.1 Grammatical Analysis of the Sentences Constituting the Test Items

The Structuralist approach has been adapted for this analysis because the contents and strategies for teaching the English language at the pre-tertiary levels in Ghana are primarily based on Structuralist views.

Sentence 1: ?The Almighty God who started with you he will end with you.

This is a dislocated construction. There are two main types: right dislocation and left dislocation. According to Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985:1310), right dislocation involves placing a pro-form earlier in the sentence while the noun phrase to which it refers is placed finally. For example, *He will end with you, the Almighty God who started with you*. Quirk et al. (1985:1310) refers to this phenomenon as postponed identification perhaps because the ‘antecedent’ of the pro-form performing the function of complete subject is rather postponed to occupy final position. But the structure we have in Sentence 1 is an instance of left dislocation. Left dislocation is the reverse process of right dislocation. In left dislocated constructions, the noun phrase is positioned initially and a reinforcing pronoun stands ‘proxy’ for it in the relevant position in the sentence (Quirk et al. 1985:1310). The dislocation in Sentence 1 is, therefore, caused by the presence of the pronoun ‘he’.

Quirk et al. (1985:1310) make it clear that dislocated constructions are restricted to informal spoken English. They explain that such utterances are usually spoken with divided focus. This implies that dislocation is unacceptable in formal situations, particularly, in formal written English. So, the acceptable alternative structure to Sentence 1 is *The Almighty God who started with you will end with you*.

Sentence 2: ?The lecturer said he will travel tomorrow.

This sentence is unacceptable in formal written English. The author of the sentence was unable to clearly use either direct speech or indirect speech and ended up creating a verb-verb concord deviation usually called sequence of tenses error. Sequence of tenses has to do with the consistency of finite verbs within and beyond the clause with respect to the features of tense, number and person. This item was included in the test to assess the students' ability to handle structures relating to direct speech and indirect speech. The students were expected to rewrite Sentence 2 as any one of the following:

The lecturer said he would travel the next day. (Indirect speech)

The lecturer said 'I will travel tomorrow'. (Direct speech)

The lecturer said 'he (somebody else) would travel tomorrow' (Direct speech)

Structurally, Sentence 2 above consists of two clauses: a matrix clause and an embedded clause. The matrix clause consists of three clausal elements. The subject element is '*the lecturer*'; the verb element is '*said*'; the object element is '*he would travel the next day*'. The object element is an embedded nominal clause and its finite verb '*would*' (not *will*) establishes a concordant relationship (past tense) with the finite verb '*said*' in the matrix clause. According to Campbell (1962:37), if the reporting verb is in the past, the verb in the subordinate nominal clause must be changed into the past. But if the reporting verb is in the present, the tense of the verb in the subordinate nominal clause must be maintained.

From another perspective, the reporting verb '*said*' and the verb in the reported clause '*will*' are inconsistent in tense: '*said*' refers to past time and denotes past tense, but '*will*' refers to future time and indicates present tense. According to Quirk et al. (1985:1026), "whenever the time reference of the original utterance no longer applies at the time the utterance is reported", it is necessary to change the tense form of the verb. In the same vein, when the time reference of the mental activity no longer applies at the time the mental activity is reported, it is necessary to change the tense forms of the verb (Quirk et al. 1985:1026). They indicate that such a change of verb forms in indirect speech is termed backshift and the resulting relationship of verb forms in the reporting and the reported clauses is known as sequence of tenses. Brewton, Kinnick, Peterson, and McMullan (1962:412) had earlier described the error of inconsistency of

tenses in indirect speech as unnecessary shift in tense. Furthermore, Yankson (1994:23) explains that “like most of our West African languages, English also maintains the sequence: verb/present–verb/present, verb/past–verb/past within clauses in a sentence.” On the issue of the change of the adverb ‘*tomorrow*’ to ‘*the next day*’, Campbell (1962:38) explains that, when dealing with indirect speech in English, writers need to “change adverbs and demonstrative adjectives and pronouns expressing nearness into ones expressing distance if the time and place of the speaker reporting the speech are different from the time and place of the original speech”. This is why ‘*tomorrow*’ in Sentence 2 changes to ‘*the next day*’.

Sentence 3: ?One of the people who tells lies about lecturers has been exposed.

This sentence is ungrammatical. The deviation in this sentence is known as discord of number in an embedded clause and was included in the test to assess the students’ knowledge of concord rules and their ability to put this knowledge into practice. This type of deviation usually occurs when the writer does not realise that the subject of the post-modifying clause is a relative pronoun. The alternative form that the students were expected to produce was *One of the people who tell lies about lecturers has been exposed*.

Structurally, the sentence consists of a matrix clause ‘*One of the people has been exposed*’ and an embedded relative clause ‘*who tell lies about lecturers*’. This relative clause has both a subject ‘*who*’ and a finite verb ‘*tell*’. It is important to state here that it is the finite verb that changes its form to establish agreement relations with its subject. Unfortunately, however, the number of the subject ‘*who*’ is temporarily indeterminate because, usually, the subject ‘*who*’ can count as singular and can also count as plural depending on its antecedent. The antecedent of the pronoun ‘*who*’ in Sentence 3 is ‘*people*’ a plural noun. Therefore, the subject ‘*who*’ in the sentence under discussion, counts as plural and requires the plural form of the verb ‘*tell*’.

The rule applicable to Sentence 3 is straightforward. When the subject is a relative pronoun, the verb agrees with the antecedent of the pronoun. Buscemi, Nicolai, and Strugala (1998:235) declare, “...you can have problems with agreement if you do not understand the number of the subject or if you choose the wrong word as the subject”.

Sentence 4: ?Either the directors of education or I are to blame.

This construction is ungrammatical because it violates the principle of proximity concord. This type of concord deviation occurs when a writer fails to recognise a closer noun phrase as the controller of the finite verb in the clause. The principle of concord applicable in this situation is what is referred to as proximity concord. This refers to agreement of verb with a closely preceding noun phrase head in preference to agreement with the noun phrase head that appears first in the clause. Yankson (1994:xi) says, many subject-verb agreement errors “may be attributed to the principle of proximity, ... Another principle, notional concord, can also create errors when applied wrongly”. Therefore, the students were expected to rewrite Sentence 4 as *Either the directors of education or I am to blame*. The rule applicable here is simple and clear. When one of the two subjects joined together by ‘or’ or ‘nor’ is singular, but the other is plural, the verb agrees in number and person with the closer subject.

Sentence 5: ?After considering the proposal for two hours, it was rejected by the directors.

This sentence is unacceptable in formal written English. It is structurally defective and semantically unclear; it sounds awkward and absurd. This item is an example of unattached non-finite clauses and the deviation is known as dangling modification. The sentence was included in the test to assess the students’ ability to detect and correct dangling modifiers in what they write and what they read. Quirk et al. (1985:1121) state that “it is considered to be an error when the understood subject of the clause is not identifiable with the subject of the independent clause”. Certainly, it is not ‘*the proposal*’ that was considering the proposal. The implied subject of the clause is presumably ‘*the directors*’. So, a modifying unit (for example, an adverbial phrase or an adverbial clause) must clearly and sensibly modify a word in the sentence. When there is no word that the modifying unit can sensibly modify, the modifying unit is said to dangle.

There are several ways of correcting the deviation. One way is to maintain the non-finite clause and to introduce the independent clause with ‘*the director*’ as subject. For example, *After considering the proposal for two hours, the directors rejected it (eventually)*. Another way is to invert the ordering of the two clauses as follows: *The directors rejected the proposal after considering it for two hours*. So, it is important that students observe that non-finite clauses should always be attached to the subject of the superordinate clause.

Sentence 6: ?The meeting was held to arrange for the football match in the office.

This sentence is syntactically acceptable but semantically unclear; it is an instance of misplaced modification. Certainly, the football match is not meant to be played in the office. The modifying phrase ‘*in the office*’ is misplaced. A modifying unit should clarify or make more definite the meaning of the word it modifies. Therefore, if the modifying unit is placed too far away from this word, the effect of the modifier may be either lost or diverted to some other word. The best way of correcting misplaced modification is to relocate the modifying unit closest to the word it modifies. So, the sentence was to be rewritten as *The meeting was held in the director’s office to arrange for the football match*. Misplaced modification may lead to ambiguity. Quirk et al. (1985:652) confirm this when they state that ‘the misplacement of adverbials is particularly serious where the result happens to be a perfectly acceptable and comprehensible sentence, but not with the meaning that was intended’.

Sentence 7: ?It is strange that the shooting of the armed robbers provoked the politicians.

This sentence is semantically unclear because it conveys two different meanings. Who did the shooting and who were shot? It is not clear whether it was the armed robbers who did the shooting or the armed robbers were rather shot? The deviation in this sentence is known as ambiguity. The item was included in the test to assess the students’ ability to detect and correct ambiguities in their own writings and in the writings of others. The students were expected to rewrite the sentence in such a way that the sentences they construct will convey only one clear meaning. Below are some of the several ways to disambiguate the sentence:

It is strange that the shooting by the armed robbers provoked the politicians.
It is strange that the shooting at the armed robbers provoked the politicians.

Ambiguities occur very often in English. They may either be intentionally planned or they may occur unintentionally. Intentional ambiguities are intended to achieve desired results. They usually reveal careful planning and artfulness. But unintentional ambiguities are considered deviations and are unacceptable in formal written English.

Sentence 8: ?I think our son is now matured to marry.

This sentence is unacceptable. The form of the predicative adjective used ‘*matured*’ is the source of the error. The category of the word ‘*mature(d)*’ as used in the sentence is adjective. Therefore, the error in the original sentence is known as category restriction rule deviation because, in English, adjectives do not express tense; the word category that expresses tense is verbs. The students were expected to rewrite the sentence as *I think our son is now mature to marry*. Only 22% of the total respondents were able to rewrite the sentence correctly. The rest may not have noticed this deviation.

Sentence 9: ?All the students were compelled to vacate from the hall.

This sentence is grammatically unacceptable. This is a case of redundant preposition. The preposition ‘*from*’ which has been inserted between the verb ‘*vacate*’ and its object ‘*the hall*’ is the source of the deviation. The verb ‘*vacate*’, as used in the original sentence, requires a direct object, not an object of preposition. There should be no intervening preposition between the verb and its object. Therefore, the students were expected to rewrite the sentence as *All the students were compelled to vacate the hall*. Very often, the occurrence of redundant prepositions results from false analogy. For example, on the analogy of the structure *The students were ejected from the hall*, some second language learners of English wrongly compose structures like Sentence 9.

Sentence 10: ?I thought a good university degree would enable me get a good job.

This sentence is ungrammatical. There is an omission of the obligatory preposition ‘*to*’ that follows the object of the verb ‘*enable*’. So, the source of the deviation is that the verb ‘*enable*’ requires an obligatory preposition ‘*to*’ immediately after its object ‘*me*’, but only 35 out of the 200 students realised this. This item was included in the test to assess the students’ knowledge of the use of the verb ‘*enable*’. The students were expected to rewrite Sentence 10 as *I thought (that) a good university degree would enable me to get a good job*. The sentence consists of three clausal elements: the subject element ‘*I*’, the verb element ‘*thought*’, and the object element ‘*that a good university degree would enable me to get a good job*’. The object element is structurally a nominal that-clause. The conjunction ‘*that*’ is put in parenthesis here

to indicate that it is droppable. In Sentence 10, the conjunction ‘*that*’ was omitted to see if the students would insert it in their modified sentences. However, none of the 200 final-year university students altered this part of the sentence, and they should be commended. Quirk et al. (1985:1049) state that, when the ‘that-clause’ is direct object or complement, the conjunction ‘that’ is frequently omitted leaving a zero-that clause.

4.2 Analysis of Student Responses

The contents of the responses that the 200 students provided were carefully examined, graded, and analysed. This subsection presents statistical analyses of the scores they obtained. The scores obtained by members of each cohort are shown using tables. The analyses are presented on an institution basis.

4.2.1 Institution 'A'

The distribution below shows the scores obtained by 50 final-year students of the English Department of Institution 'A' administered by the present researcher. The results indicate that none of the students scored 25% or less. The lowest mark recorded by this cohort is 30% and only one student obtained that mark. The highest mark recorded is 85% and only one student scored that mark. Find below a tabular presentation of the data.

| Mark (x) | Frequency (f) | fx | Cumulative Frequency (cf) |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 30 | 1 | 30 | 1 |
| 35 | 2 | 70 | 3 |
| 40 | 4 | 160 | 6 |
| 45 | 6 | 270 | 14 |
| 50 | 9 | 450 | 24 |
| 55 | 10 | 550 | 32 |
| 60 | 6 | 360 | 38 |
| 65 | 5 | 325 | 43 |
| 70 | 3 | 210 | 46 |
| 75 | 2 | 150 | 48 |
| 80 | 1 | 80 | 49 |
| 85 | 1 | 85 | 50 |
| Total | 50 | 2740 | |

Table 1: Tabular Presentation of Institution 'A' Scores

From the distribution above, the most frequently occurring score (mode) is 55% and the real average mark obtained by the group (mean) has been calculated as follows:

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum(fx)}{\sum(f)} = \frac{2740}{50} = 54.8\%$$

4.2.2 Institution 'B'

The distribution below shows the scores obtained by 50 final-year students of the English Department of Institution 'B'. The lowest mark recorded by this group is 30% and only one student obtained that mark. The highest mark recorded is 85% and only one student obtained that mark. Below is a tabular presentation of the observation.

| Mark (x) | Frequency (f) | fx | Cumulative Frequency (cf) |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 30 | 1 | 30 | 1 |
| 35 | 2 | 70 | 3 |
| 40 | 3 | 120 | 6 |
| 45 | 5 | 225 | 11 |
| 50 | 7 | 350 | 18 |
| 55 | 12 | 660 | 30 |
| 60 | 10 | 600 | 40 |
| 65 | 4 | 260 | 44 |
| 70 | 3 | 210 | 47 |
| 75 | 1 | 75 | 48 |
| 80 | 1 | 80 | 49 |
| 85 | 1 | 85 | 50 |
| Total | 50 | 2765 | |

Table 2: Tabular Presentation of Institution 'B' Scores

The most frequently occurring mark from the distribution above is 55%. The arithmetic average has been calculated as follows:

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum(fx)}{\sum(f)} = \frac{2765}{50} = 55.3\%$$

4.2.3 Institution 'C'

The distribution below shows the scores obtained by 50 final-year students of the English Department of Institution 'C'. The lowest mark recorded by this group is 30% and only one student obtained that mark. One student obtained 90%, the highest observation. The range of 60 indicates that the students have varied degrees of competence in relation to English intra-sentence writing skills. The following is a tabular presentation of the distribution.

| Mark (x) | Frequency (f) | fx | Cumulative Frequency (cf) |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 30 | 1 | 30 | 1 |
| 35 | 3 | 105 | 4 |
| 40 | 4 | 160 | 8 |
| 45 | 4 | 180 | 12 |
| 50 | 5 | 250 | 17 |
| 55 | 7 | 385 | 24 |
| 60 | 9 | 540 | 33 |
| 65 | 6 | 390 | 39 |
| 70 | 4 | 280 | 43 |
| 75 | 3 | 225 | 46 |
| 80 | 2 | 160 | 48 |
| 85 | 1 | 85 | 49 |
| 90 | 1 | 90 | 50 |
| Total | 50 | 2880 | |

Table 3: Tabular Presentation of Institution 'C' Scores

From the distribution above, the most frequently occurring mark is 60%. The real average mark obtained by the group has been calculated as follows:

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum (fx)}{\sum (f)} = \frac{2880}{50} = 57.6\%$$

4.2.4 Institution 'D'

The distribution below shows the scores obtained by 50 final-year students of the English Department of Institution 'D'. Nobody scored below 30%. The lowest mark recorded by this group is 30% and two students obtained that mark. The highest mark recorded is 85% and only one student obtained that mark. Find below a tabular presentation of the data.

| Mark (x) | Frequency (f) | (fx) | Cumulative Frequency (cf) |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 30 | 2 | 60 | 2 |
| 35 | 2 | 70 | 4 |
| 40 | 4 | 160 | 8 |
| 45 | 6 | 270 | 14 |
| 50 | 7 | 350 | 21 |
| 55 | 9 | 495 | 30 |
| 60 | 7 | 420 | 37 |
| 65 | 6 | 390 | 43 |
| 70 | 4 | 280 | 47 |
| 75 | 1 | 75 | 48 |
| 80 | 1 | 80 | 49 |
| 85 | 1 | 85 | 50 |
| Total | 50 | 2735 | |

Table 4: Tabular Presentation of Institution 'C' Scores

From the distribution above, 55% is the mode mark. The arithmetical average (mean) has been calculated as follows:

$$\text{Mean} = \frac{\sum(fx)}{\sum(f)} = \frac{2735}{50} = 54.7\%$$

5.0 Results

The analyses in the preceding section were evaluated to see whether the English intra-sentence writing challenges of the respondents vary from institution to institution, and the findings are summarised in the succeeding paragraph. Also, figures stemming from the test item analysis tables showing disparities in the respondents' implicit and explicit linguistic knowledge of the language features they were tested on have been indicated in this section. Additionally, information showing variations in performance between the male and the female respondents have been included in this section.

The highest scores recorded from Institutions 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' were 85%, 85%, 90%, and 85 respectively. The average scores were 54.8%, 55.3%, 57.6%, and 54.7 respectively. The lowest scores were 30%, 30%, 30%, and 30% respectively. The highest scorer obtained 90% and came from Institution 'C'. The average marks recorded from the four institutions range between 54.7% and 57.6%, and this is very close to the mean score of 55.6%. So, the range of the average scores recorded from the various institutions ($57.6 - 54.7 = 2.9$) is minimal.

Indices for all the 10 items from all four institutions indicate that the figures for implicit knowledge are higher than figures for explicit knowledge. For example, the implicit knowledge figures from Institutions 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D' in respect of test item 5 are 13, 15, 77, and 10 respectively but figures for explicit knowledge in respect of the same item are 1, 2, 7, and 0 respectively. Even with the test item that the respondents found easiest, figures for the two concepts are far apart. For all the items put together, the implicit knowledge figures from Institutions 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D' are 71.4%, 67%, 71.4%, and 66.2% respectively whereas figures for explicit knowledge are 35.8%, 41.2%, 43.8%, and 41% respectively.

In the area of gender variations, the highest scores recorded from male students studying English at Institutions 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' were 85%, 85%, 90%, and 85% respectively. The highest scorers from all the institutions happened to be male. The highest scores recorded from the female students were 80%, 80%, 85%, and 80% respectively. The average scores obtained by the male respondents were 55.0%, 55.4%, 58.2%, and 55.1% respectively. The average scores obtained by the female respondents were 54.6%, 55.2%, 57.0%, and 54.3% respectively. The lowest scores recorded from the male respondents were 35%, 30%, 35%, and 30% respectively while those obtained by their female counterparts were 30%, 35%, 30%, and 30%.

6.0 Discussion

This section is propelled by the five research questions stated in the introduction section. In response to the first research question, the study identifies and confirms ten intra-sentence writing areas that undergraduate students in public tertiary institutions in Ghana do not essentially notice. These problem areas are *left dislocation*, *sequence of tenses*, *discord in an embedded clause*, *principle of proximity concord deviation*, and *dangling modification*. The rest are *misplaced modification*, *ambiguity*, *category restriction rule deviation*, *redundant prepositions*, and *omission of a preposition*.

From the point of view of the students investigated, the ten areas of challenge listed above were the most confusing intra-sentence writing issues to them. Figures from the computations made in this study indicate that only 4% of the 200 final-year English students recognised, for example, that Test Item 5 is structurally unacceptable and semantically unclear and therefore needed to be ameliorated. Also, only 10% of them noticed that Item 7 is semantically unclear and needed to be disambiguated. The post-test content discussions revealed that the respondents did not notice the deviations because their attention had never been drawn to these linguistic features. One implication of this revelation for pedagogy is that, in their institution-wide communication skills enhancement courses, undergraduate students should be given the opportunity to revisit contents that involve the topics listed above.

The second research question relates to whether or not the intra-sentence writing challenges observed are comparable on an institution basis. In other words, is the range of scores observed in any one of the institutions similar to that observed in the others? It is noted that, at the institutional level, the general performance of the four cohorts is comparable. At least, one participant from each institution scored 85% or more, and the lowest scores recorded from all the four institutions is 30%. Additionally, the average marks recorded are very close. So, the difference in the overall performance from the various institutions is marginal and this indicates that the level of intra-sentence writing challenges in English among students from the four institutions is fairly congruent.

Another key observation is that each of the cohorts investigated consisted of members who could be described as heterogeneous in relation to their knowledge of the ten language features identified and investigated. This suggestion answers the third research question. In each cohort, the respondents obtained scores ranging from 35% to 85%. Indeed, in all the four institutions, some respondents obtained 30% and in one

institution a respondent scored 90%. The wide range of scores recorded in this regard reflects the students' varied levels of familiarity with the issues investigated. So, in terms of their familiarity with English intra-sentence writing skills, the respondents had different levels of competence.

The fourth research question asks whether the explicit knowledge of the students investigated corresponds with their implicit knowledge in terms of the ten English intra-sentence writing issues investigated. Indices from the test item analysis tables indicate that the explicit linguistic knowledge held by undergraduate students studying English as a major or a combined subject in respect of the ten topics investigated does not correspond with their implicit knowledge of the same topics. Their representative indices with regard to implicit and explicit knowledge of the topics investigated are 0.69 and 0.40 respectively. It was expected that, as intermediate second language learners of English who acquired and learnt the language mainly in the formal setting, undergraduate students would ensure that their implicit knowledge on the one hand and their explicit knowledge on the other hand essentially coincide.

Ellis (2005b:215) asserts that "instruction needs to be directed at developing both implicit and explicit knowledge". This principle emanates from aspects of such works as Bialystok (1978), Krashen (1981), Swain (1985), Schmidt (1990), Long (1991), Ellis (1994), Larsen-Freeman (1997), DeKeyser (1998), and Celce-Murcia (2002) and should therefore be adhered to in teaching English as a second language in the outer circle contexts. In other words, ample opportunities should be created for second language learners to gain both procedural and declarative competence of language features.

The final research question has to do with gender disparities. The current study suggests that there are variations in familiarity with English intra-sentence writing skills between the male and the female respondents. On the whole, the male respondents obtained an average score of 56.92% whilst their female counterparts recorded an average score of 52.5%. This result confirms established gender proficiency variation in English grammar. According to Howatt (1984:134), girls were better than boys at the more expressive aspects of English; boys, on the other hand, excelled at the more linguistic side of English. Indeed, the demand of the second part of each of the test items was "more linguistic than expressive" and that was where the male respondents out-performed their female counterparts.

From one perspective, the variation in scores obtained on the test was to be expected. The anticipation stems from the fact that the respondents were offered

admission to their current institutions from different categories of high schools and this diversity is usually reflected in their performance at the tertiary education level. High schools in Ghana have implicitly or explicitly been categorised based on various criteria. One such criterion has to do with the quality of facilities available in the school and the general academic results the students obtain in their final external examinations. So, the wide range of scores observed in the four tertiary institutions may be, to a large extent, a direct consequence of the kind of pre-tertiary institutions attended by the respondents. This observation is worth investigating further.

However, from another perspective, it is surprising that the potential intra-sentence writing issues recognised in the 500 student essays have eventually been confirmed through the responses they gave in the test administered to them as actual problem areas of final-year undergraduate students. This is surprising in three ways. First, the ten areas of challenge involved topics that the students themselves were assumed to have covered in high school. Second, the respondents were final-year undergraduate students who, in the first year of their undergraduate programmes, had studied Communication Skills or Academic Writing in order to essentially improve, among other things, their English editing skills. So, having studied these courses for one year in their respective institutions, the respondents were least expected to encounter difficulty in responding to the ten items constituting the test. Third, the respondents were studying English as a major subject or as a combined subject, and so it was difficult to defend some of the responses they supplied and scores some of them obtained on the test. This observation is consonant with Dako et al. (1997:62) who indicate that the 182 final-year English major students from two public universities they studied did not have adequate grammatical knowledge of the language they claimed to be majoring in.

7.0 Conclusion

This paper sought to investigate English intra-sentence writing challenges of students studying English in tertiary institutions in Ghana. This task, as indicated in the introduction, is essential for future comparative studies and is consistent with University of Ghana (1969:78). The current study reveals that final-year undergraduate students studying English as a major or a combined subject in tertiary institutions in Ghana have varied degrees of familiarity with intra-sentence writing issues. The majority of the respondents fell within the average performance bracket, but a few of them proved to have either excellent knowledge of the topics investigated or weak knowledge of those contents. The study suggests that this trend cuts across the tertiary institutions in the country.

As indicated in the preceding section, the grammar topics involving these sentence level deviations were expected to have been taught and learnt at the pre-tertiary levels of education. But until standards in English at those levels improve, the tertiary institutions have the obligation to resolve the challenge at the tertiary level. Although these intra-sentence level issues are being addressed through the English language enhancement programmes mounted in all the tertiary institutions in the country, the fact that the writings of undergraduate students still contain such infelicities serves as a reminder of the need to devise innovative ways of dealing with the situation. One of these ways is to include in the course contents the authentic and reliable English writing problem areas of students. In this way, the students should be motivated to learn from their own linguistic deviations and, possibly, their interest in the programme would be sustained. Secondly, it is recommended that, at the high intermediate and advanced levels of second language learning, efforts should be made to ensure that learners' implicit knowledge of linguistic features correspond with their explicit knowledge. Furthermore, at all levels of education, female learners should be encouraged to 'de-suggest' their fears and anxieties in pursuing the linguistic aspects of English so that the gender disparity observed would be bridged. Finally, with students studying English as a major or a combined component of their undergraduate programmes, intra-sentence deviations should be highly intolerable.

8.0 References

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8.0 Appendix

Test Items

In the space provided for each question:

- a. state whether the sentence is correct or incorrect in formal written English (1 mark).
- b. rewrite only the incorrect sentence correcting any errors you detect (for 1 mark).

1. The Almighty God who started with you he will end with you.
a.
b.
2. The lecturer said he will travel tomorrow.
a.
b.
3. One of the people who tells lies about lecturers has been exposed.
a.
b.
4. Either the Directors of education or I are to blame.
a.
b.
5. After considering the proposal for two hours, it was rejected by the directors.
a.....
b.....
6. The meeting was held to arrange for the football match in the office.
a.....
b.....
7. It is strange that the shooting of the armed robbers provoked the politicians.
a.....
b.....

- 8. I think our son is now matured to marry.
 - a.....
 - b.....

- 9. All the students were compelled to vacate from the hall.
 - a.....
 - b.....

- 10. I thought a good university degree would enable me get a good job.
 - a.
 - b.

9.0 List of Tables

- 1. Tabular Presentation of Scores, Institution 'A'
- 2. Tabular Presentation of Scores, Institution 'B'
- 3. Tabular Presentation of Scores, Institution 'C'
- 4. Tabular Presentation of Scores, Institution 'D'

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THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC REALISATION OF DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY IN SWAHILI

Gerald Eliniongoze Kimambo

Abstract

This paper studies the realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili. Available literature on the realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili focuses mainly on the morphological domain and only marginally on the syntactic domain. Nevertheless, definiteness and specificity lie at the interface between morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic domains. Grounded in Lyons' (1999) semantic model, this paper descriptively shows how definiteness is realised in Swahili by considering the notions of 'familiarity,' 'identifiability,' and 'uniqueness (as well as inclusiveness).' In addition, it shows how specific and non-specific entities are realised in the language. The paper thus offers a more holistic perspective on the realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili.

Keywords: Morpho-syntactic, Semantic-pragmatic, Definiteness, Specificity

1. Introduction

1.1 Definiteness and specificity in Bantu

This section explores the realisation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Bantu to enable the reader to understand how the realisation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Swahili concurs with or differs from that of other Bantu languages. The realisation of these notions in Bantu generally involves the interplay of morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic processes. Literature on Bantu reveals that definiteness and specificity are realised mainly through pre-prefixes, subject markers, object markers, demonstratives and the context of interaction (Alnet 2009; Mojapelo 2013; Petzell 2003; Progovac 1993; Riedel 2009; Visser 2008). This section explores what each of these elements realise in selected Bantu languages.

To begin with, pre-prefixes are word-initial elements that precede noun class markers in the nominal domains of most Bantu languages (Petzell, 2003). The use of pre-prefixes is somewhat complex. Pre-prefixes do not seem to fulfil one common function across all Bantu languages, rather they interact with other elements to realise

definiteness and/or specificity. For instance, in Kinande [D42] (Maho)¹, the presence or absence of pre-prefixes distinguishes specific from non-specific readings but does not distinguish definite from indefinite readings. Likewise, Gambarage (2013), Petzell (2003) and Visser (2008) report that pre-prefixes realise specificity in Nata [E45], Kerewe [E24] and isiXhosa [S41] respectively. However, in Kagulu [G12], Petzell (2003) shows that pre-prefixes interact with syntax and semantics as well as with the context of interaction to realise definiteness, specificity and topicality, as in the following examples.

- (1) *Nikutandika masasi ga wana.*
 ni- ku- tandika masasi ga wana
 SM.1SG PRES² spread 6-bed of 2-child
 ‘I make the children’s beds.’
- (2) *Awana wang’hakonga kulila...*
 a- wana wa- ng’ha- kongga kulila
 PrPr2- child SM2 COND start 15-cry
 ‘If the children start to cry...’ (Petzell, 2003:7)

According to Petzell, in (1), *wana* ‘the children’ are introduced in the discourse context. In (2), *awana* ‘the children’ are mentioned for the second time. Petzell says that the pre-prefix *a* shows topicality, and *awana* ‘the children’ “anaphorically” refers to *wana* ‘the children,’ who were previously mentioned in (1). In my view, the anaphoric reference depicted in (2) leads to definiteness via familiarity (cf. Lyons, 1999). Considering Lyons’ semantic framework, therefore, not only does the pre-prefix in (2) denote topic in Kagulu (according to Petzell) but also definiteness. Regarding specificity, Petzell reports that a pre-prefix is used when the noun in question is specified. According to Petzell (2003), definiteness and specificity are realised by pre-prefixes in Kagulu because such elements are used for things that are familiar to both the speaker and the hearer or for things that are specific in the context of interaction. A similar observation was made by Hyman and Katamba (1993) for Luganda. According to these scholars, pre-prefixes in Luganda are associated with definiteness, specificity and focus.

Subject marking and the subject position can also denote definiteness. In Northern Sotho [S31c], for instance, Mojapelo (2013) reports that the subject marker

¹ In referring to these Bantu languages, I use Maho’s (2009) updated list of Guthrie’s (1967) classification of Bantu languages.

² In this paper, COND = condition, fv = final vowel, OM = object marker, PrPr = pre-prefix, prf = perfect, prs = present, pst = past, SG = singular, and SM = subject marker.

(SM) is related to definiteness. According to her, this element is never used for indefinite entities in the language. In addition, indefinite nouns are not allowed in the subject position in Northern Sotho. In Mojapelo's data, when a simple definite subject was moved to the initial position of a clause, it co-occurred with a definite determiner.

Object markers also denote definite and/or specific entities in Bantu. To begin with isiXhosa [S41], Visser (2008) demonstrates that the presence and absence of an Object Agreement (OA) marker denotes specificity and non-specificity respectively. This means (in)definiteness distinctions are not arrived at via object marking in isiXhosa.

As regards Sambia [G23], Riedel (2009) reports that, when the object in question is a proper name in a simple clause, it must be object marked, as shown in (3) below.

- (3) a. *Nzawona Stella.*
 N- za- **mw-** ona Stella
 SM1 Perf **OM** see Stella
 'I saw Stella.'
- b. **Nzaona Stella* (Riedel, 2009:44)

Likewise, kinship terms such as *father* and unique titles when used as proper names must be object marked in Sambia. Moreover, Riedel notes that terms referring to those with high status (such as *askofu* 'bishop') are often object marked in Sambia. Otherwise, the construction becomes ungrammatical, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. *Nzawona tate.*
 N- za- **mw-** ona tate
 SM1 Perf **OM** see father
 'I saw father.' [Kinship term]
- b. *Nzawona askofu.*
 N- za- **mw-** ona askofu
 SM1 Perf **OM** see bishop
 'I saw the bishop.'
- c. **Nzaona askofu* (Riedel, 2009:45)

In my opinion, objects such as those in (3) and (4) receive OMs in Sambia because they are *unique* in their respective contexts. In (4a), for instance, 'Stella' is a uniquely identifiable person in the context of interaction (cf. Givón 1978; Lyons 1999).

In line with Visser (2008), proper nouns and pronouns are generally considered definite since both the speaker and the hearer assume their *identifiability*. Similarly, studies on object marking in Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987), isiZulu (Zeller 2012), Nata (Gambarage 2013), Nyaturu [F32] (Hualde 1989), Kiluguru [G35] (Marten & Ramadhani 2001), Kirimi (Hualde 1989), Kivunjo [E62b] (Bresnan & Moshi 1990) and Shona (Mugari 2013) indicate that object marking interacts with definiteness in these languages.

Concerning Swahili, Riedel (2009) says that object marked and non-object marked entities can be (in)definite or (non-)specific. Riedel (2009:51) claims further that, in Tanzanian Standard Swahili, specificity always requires object marking. According to Riedel, if an object is specific, it is obligatorily object marked. If it is non-specific, it is not object marked. Such a conclusion was also reached by Cann, Kempson and Marten (2005) and Woolford (1999). However, to Hinnebusch and Kirsner (1980), Kimambo (2018), and Seidl and Dimitriadis (1997), object marking in Swahili is associated with definiteness. What is more, midway between this diversity of viewpoints, Keach (1995) holds that object marking realises both definiteness and specificity for inanimate objects in Swahili.

Demonstratives are also used for definite referents in Bantu. They have in common the property of pointing to a particular referent. Their canonical positions within NPs differ from one language to another. Whereas in some languages they occur pre-nominally, in other languages they occur post-nominally or both pre-nominally and post-nominally (Dryer 2005). The difference between pre-nominal and post-nominal demonstratives is that, whereas the former function akin to the English definite article, the latter function as demonstratives-proper (Dryer 2005; Van de Velde 2005). Studies such as Alnet (2009), Gambarage (2013), Iribemwangi and Kihara (2011), Nurse and Philippson (1977) and Iorio (2011), respectively, report that demonstratives are used for definite referents in Maore [G40], Nata [E45], Gĩkũyũ [E51], Kimochi [E62a], and Bembe [D54].

In summary, these languages realise definiteness and specificity via the interplay of linguistic and extra-linguistic mechanisms. Linguistically, pre-prefixes, subject markers, object markers and demonstratives play key roles in (in)definiteness and/or (non-)specificity distinctions in Bantu. When these elements are used in a clause, the noun becomes definite and/or specific. Yet, these elements do not fulfil similar roles in all of the Bantu languages; for instance, while pre-prefixes realise specificity in isiXhosa, such elements interact with definiteness in Luganda. Moreover, while OMs realise specificity in isiXhosa and in Nairobi Swahili, such morphemes interact with definiteness in isiZulu and in Sambia. Extra-linguistically, the context of interaction plays a significant role in (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity distinctions in Bantu.

Literature on definiteness and specificity in Swahili focused mainly on their morphological realisations (Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997; Riedel 2009), and less attention was paid to syntactic realisations (Vitale 1981). However, as mentioned previously, the realisation of definiteness and specificity lies at the interface between morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic domains (Zamparelli 2005). Employing Lyons' (1999) semantic framework, this paper describes the realisation of definiteness and specificity in Swahili to enable the reader to understand how, on one hand, Familiarity, Identifiability, Uniqueness (and Inclusiveness) are used to indicate definiteness in Swahili, and on the other hand, how specific and non-specific entities are realised in the language.

2. Theoretical framework

This paper employs Lyons' (1999) semantic framework to study the realisation of (in)definiteness in Swahili. Lyons (1999) defined (in)definiteness in terms of *familiarity*, *identifiability*, and *uniqueness* (and *inclusiveness*). The following definitions show how (in)definiteness is understood in this study.

Regarding *familiarity*, a referent is definite if both the speaker and the hearer are familiar with it, while a referent is indefinite if only the speaker is familiar with it (Lyons 1999:3). Concerning *identifiability*, a noun phrase is definite if the hearer can identify it in the context of interaction (although it does not necessarily need to be familiar to him/her), while a noun phrase is indefinite if the hearer cannot identify it in the context of interaction (Lyons 1999:5ff).

Considering *uniqueness* (and *inclusiveness*), an entity receives the interpretation of definiteness when the hearer can associate it with a given description, because it is the only one that exists. Uniqueness is not absolute, but is pragmatically understood (Lyons 1999:7). For instance, before the marathon starts, one says 'the journalists are eagerly waiting to talk to *the winner*.' In this case, the winner is neither familiar nor identifiable but is pragmatically understood since there will be only one 'unique' winner (cf. Abbott 2006:126). If they are many, *the winners* would be definite via *inclusiveness*.

As for specificity, a noun phrase is specific if the speaker has a particular referent in mind, and it is non-specific if the speaker has no particular referent in mind.

3. Data presentation and discussion

3.1 Definiteness in Swahili

Lyons distinguishes between grammatical definiteness and semantic/pragmatic definiteness. Grammatical definiteness is realised via special overt morphological markers of definiteness such as articles in English and French, whereas semantic/pragmatic definiteness is realised via the context of interaction, as in Swahili

and Northern Sotho; these languages do not have articles. In the light of Lyons' (1999) semantic framework, the following subsections show how definiteness is arrived at in Swahili in terms of familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness.

3.1.1 Familiarity

Recall that a referent is definite if both the speaker and the hearer are familiar with it (Irmer 2011; Lyons 1999). Familiarity is established in Swahili via linguistic and/or extra-linguistic means. Linguistically, this happens through anaphoric reference, and extra-linguistically, it happens through associative inference and encyclopaedic knowledge; these are demonstrated below:

i) *Anaphoric reference*

Anaphoric reference involves co-referring to a particular referent in the discourse by using linguistic elements (Fishman 1978; Mojapelo 2013). Since Swahili does not have articles, it uses demonstratives, pronouns, full NPs, SMs and OMs to fulfil this purpose. To begin with, three types of demonstratives are used in Swahili to refer to a particular referent that has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse: *h-* (for a proximal referent), *h-o* (for a medial referent) and *-le* (for a distal referent). The following Swahili example translated from Lyons (1999:3) is illustrative³.

- (5) *Mwanamke mrembo na mwenye nywele nyeusi, mwanamume mtanashati mwenye miwani nyeusi waliingia ndani. Muda si mrefu nikamtambua mwanamke yule. Wale watoto ni kama nilishawahi kuwaona pia.*

‘An elegant, dark-haired woman, a well-dressed man with dark glasses, and two children entered the compartment. I immediately recognized **the woman**. **The children** also looked vaguely familiar.’ (Lyons 1999:3).

In the example above, two important observations can be made. First, Swahili uses post-nominal demonstratives such as *yule* ‘that’ for anaphoric reference, as in *mwanamke yule* ‘the woman.’ Second, it uses deictic demonstratives such as *wale* ‘those’ to denote topicality, as in *wale watoto* ‘the children.’ Ashton (1944), Dryer (2005), Lyons (1999) and Perrot (1951) argue that deictic demonstratives in Swahili

³ Four Swahili native-speaking translators who were teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam during the time of data analysis verified the data presented in this paper.

are similar to *the* in English, and they usually occur in the subject position. Their argument concurs with Mojapelo (2013) and Zeller's (2008) observation that the subject position is the locus of topicality in Bantu. The subject position thus favours definiteness in Swahili. The anaphoric and deictic uses of the demonstratives depicted in the Swahili example above co-refer to *mwanamke* 'the woman' and *watoto* 'the children' who are familiar to the hearer by virtue of being previously mentioned in the preceding discourse. Semantically, therefore, both pre-nominal and post-nominal demonstratives denote definiteness in Swahili.

Another element used for making anaphoric reference is the Subject Marker (SM). In Swahili, the SM co-refers to a uniquely definite referent in the discourse. It is used when the subject being referred to is familiar to the hearer. Consider the following example.

- (6) *Paulo_i alisafiri. Aliporudi nyumbani, a_ilimkuta mke_j wake a_jmejifungua mtoto.*⁴

'Paul travelled. When *he* returned home, *he* found his *wife* had borne a child.'

In this example, the subject markers *ai-* 'he' and *aj-* 'she' refer to the full nouns 'Paul' and 'his wife' respectively since these nouns have been previously mentioned in the discourse. This anaphoric function of the Swahili SMs in (6) is identical to the function of pronouns in English. If familiarity has already been established, the SM can be used for the subject, as in the second sentence in (6). Besides using SMs, Swahili of course also uses proper nouns such as *Paul* to refer to a person who is unique in the discourse context. In such a situation, the proper noun is immediately followed by the SM as in *Paulo alisafiri* 'Paul travelled' in (6).

Personal pronouns are also used for anaphoric functions in Swahili. They denote grammatical person (Lyons 1999). They always refer to uniquely definite entities in the discourse. For instance,

- (7) *Rozi alifurahia mpira. Yeye ni mwanamichezo.*
'Rose loved the ball. *She* is a sportswoman.'

In (7), the use of the personal pronoun *yeye* 'she' points to the unique individual, *Rozi* 'Rose.' The personal pronoun does not point to any other person. Besides performing this function, pronouns such as *sisi* 'we,' *nyinyi* 'you/plural' and *wao* 'they' can occur before nouns to function as deictic demonstratives, as in the following examples.

⁴ In this example, I use the subscripts *i* and *j* to indicate the SMs' anaphoric references to the antecedents *Paulo* 'Paulo' and *mke* '(his) wife' respectively.

- (8) a. **Sisi** walimu tutajitahidi kwa kadiri ya uwezo wetu.
'We teachers will try the best we can.'
- b. **Nyinyi** wanafunzi msome kwa bidii.
'You learners should study hard.'
- c. **Wao** Watanzania wataherehekea mwakani.
'They/them Tanzanians will celebrate next year.'

In (8), *sisi* 'we,' *nyinyi* 'you (plural)' and *wao* 'they/them' point to the teachers, learners and Tanzanians respectively. Such functions are similar to that of deictic demonstratives in Swahili. Besides functioning as independent pronouns, personal pronouns in Swahili can denote topicality like deictic demonstratives do, as in (8). This argument strongly supports the widely accepted notion that personal pronouns point to particular definite referents.

ii) *Associative inference*

Definiteness in Swahili can also be realised through *associating* a given object with something that has been mentioned in the discourse. In this situation, Lyons (1999) says that anaphoric reference in combination with general knowledge enables the hearer to understand the object being referred to. The following Swahili examples translated from Lyons (1999) show this situation.

- (9) a. *Ilinibidi nikodi **teksii** kutoka kituoni. Tukiwa njiani, **dereva** aliniambia kulikuwa na mgomo wa mabasi.*
'I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way, the driver told me there was a bus strike.'
- b. ***Wamewasili** sasa hivi **kutoka New York**. **Ndege** ilichelewa masaa matano.*
'They have just got in from New York. The plane was five hours late.'
- (Lyons 1999:3)

In (9a), *dereva* 'the driver' is definite because the hearer can associate it with *teksii* 'taxi.' In this context, the speaker assumes that the hearer is aware that normally a taxi has a driver. Likewise, in (9b), *ndege* 'the plane' is definite since the hearer can associate it with *-wasili kutoka New York* 'got in from New York.' Akin to (9a), the

speaker assumes that the hearer is aware that a long distance journey – say from New York to Johannesburg – involves a plane. Pragmatically, therefore, both *dereva* ‘the driver’ and *ndege* ‘the plane’ in (9a) and (9b) above are definite. Note that there are no morphemes marking definiteness in the Swahili examples above. The hearer relies on both the previous mentions of the associated entities and the general knowledge of the contexts to construe what is being referred to in the discourse. The contexts of interaction provide the definite readings of the nouns above.

iii) *Encyclopaedic knowledge*

Encyclopaedic knowledge (as used in this paper) involves situational and the general knowledge types. The following examples show that definiteness is understood in relation to knowledge of the immediate situation.

- (10) a. *Tafadhali fungua **dirisha**, nahitaji hewa safi.*
 ‘Please open *the window*. I need fresh air.’
- b. *Weka haya mataulo masafi **bafuni** tafadhali.*
 ‘Put these clean towels in *the bathroom* please.’
- c. *Nasikia **waziri mkuu** amefanya tena mambo ya hovyoo leo.*
 ‘I hear *the prime minister* behaved outrageously again today.’
 (Lyons 1999:3)

All the examples in (10a-c) show that definiteness can be realised through shared knowledge of the immediate situation in which the interlocutors are. In (10a), *dirisha* ‘the window’ is in the immediate environment that the speaker and the hearer can both see. *Bafu* ‘the bathroom’ in (10b) is definite due to the assumption that normally a house has a bathroom. In this situation, the visibility of *bafu* ‘the bathroom’ is not germane to the understanding of what is being talked about since the situation is still immediate. In (10c), *waziri mkuu* ‘the prime minister’ is definite because it is assumed that the hearer knows that the person being talked about is the leader of their country. It should also be noted that previous mention is not mandatory for the hearer to understand the definiteness readings of such entities. Instead, he/she relies on his/her knowledge of the situation to understand what is being talked about. As for general knowledge, Examples 10d and 10e are illustrative.

- d. ***Simba** ni mnyama hatari.*
 ‘*The lion* is a dangerous animal.’

- e. *Dunia ni duara.*
'The earth is round.'

These examples show that whereas Swahili uses bare nouns in the encyclopaedic context, English uses the article "the" in the same context to denote general knowledge. Accordingly, *Simba* 'the lion' and *Dunia* 'the earth' in (10d) and (10e) above are generic referents.

3.1.2 Identifiability

The speaker can use a particular form of expression to direct the hearer towards a definite object. It is not necessary that the hearer should be familiar with the entity being described. The object should simply be identifiable in the context of interaction. For instance, in the classroom context where the teacher is writing on the board and wants to clean a section from it, without turning around, he/she asks Paul – a student who has just entered – *Nipe dasta* 'Pass me the duster.' Paul looks around and finds *dasta* 'the duster' (cf. Lyons 1999). In this setting, Paul did not know that there was a duster during the time of the teacher's utterance, but with the help of the words *nipe dasta* 'pass me the duster' and of the classroom context (encyclopaedic knowledge), he could identify it in their immediate context. The teacher assumed that Paul could identify *dasta* 'the duster' in the classroom context by matching it with his mental image of *dasta* 'the duster.'

3.1.3 Uniqueness and inclusiveness

Lyons (1999) noted that definiteness does not necessarily consider identifiability. Sometimes an object is definite but the hearer cannot identify it if asked to do so. In this case, we need to consider uniqueness (see also Abbot 2006). Uniquely definite entities can be realised in Swahili through linguistic elements and extra-linguistic information.

Linguistically, Swahili can use Relative Markers (RMs) – especially when they modify head nouns. I illustrate this in the following examples.

- (11) a. Paulo alivaa jaketi *ambalo alilinunua muda huohuo.*
'Paul wore the jacket *that he just bought.*'
- b. Gari *nitakalolinunua* litakuwa la familia nzima.
'The car *that I will buy* will be for the whole family.'

In (11a), the relative clause *ambalo alilinunua muda huohuo* ‘that he just bought’ offers the context for the definite interpretation. The relative clause helps the hearer to exclude any other jacket that Paul has. Accordingly, *jaketi* ‘the jacket’ is unique in the discourse context; it is the only one Paul had just bought. Likewise, in the second example, *nitakalolinunua* ‘that I will buy’ is a post-modifying relative clause that specifies only the car that will be bought by the speaker (cf. Radden & Dirven 2007). Likewise, the car is unique in this discourse context.

The *-o- of reference* in (11a) and (11b) uniquely refers to *jaketi* ‘the jacket’ and *gari* ‘the car,’ respectively, by virtue of being previously mentioned and modified by the relative clauses. The Swahili *-o- of reference* is also referred to as *kihusiano* (Loogman 1965:105) or *o-form PRO* (Barrett-Keach 1985:46). Semantically, this referential element denotes definiteness in Swahili (cf. Haddon 1955; Perrot 1969; Polomé 1967). In addition, Lipps (2011) says that the *-o- of reference* indicates the topic in Swahili. Recall that the Bantu description provided in Section 1 indicates that the topic position favours definiteness (see also the next section for additional data from Swahili).

Extra-linguistically, native Swahili speakers can utilise available contextual information (via encyclopaedic knowledge) to refer to a unique entity in the context of interaction, as in the following example.

- (12) *Nilikuwa harusini muda sio mrefu. Bibi-harusi alivaa nguo zenye rangi ya bluu.*
 ‘I’ve just been to a wedding. *The bride* wore blue.’
 (Lyons 1999:7 *emphasis added*)

In this example, the speaker has used *bibi-harusi* ‘the bride’ in the initial position of the second sentence because he/she assumes that the hearer understands that normally a wedding has a bride. Thus *bibi-harusi* ‘the bride’ is definite not because the bride is familiar or identifiable to the hearer, but because she is *unique* in the wedding context. This means although the hearer is not familiar with *bibi harusu* ‘the bride’ and would not be able to identify her if he/she comes across her a day later, *bibi-harusi* ‘the bride’ is uniquely definite in the wedding context. Lyons also notes that for plural and mass nouns, definiteness is realised via *inclusiveness*. The following examples are adopted from Lyons (1999:10) and translated for illustration.

- (13) a. *Tumetoka kumwangalia Yohana akishindana. Malkia aligawa zawadi.*
 ‘We have just been to see John race. The queen gave out *the prizes*.’
- b. *Tunatoa zawadi mbalimbali, na washindi watakaribishwa London.*
 ‘We are offering several prizes, and *the winners* will be invited to London.’

In (13) above, *zawadi* ‘the prizes’ and *washindi* ‘the winners’ are not unique in the descriptions given. The reference is to all the prizes and all the winners (Lyons 1999). Since the uniqueness criterion does not apply to plural and mass nouns, each group of objects (in bold text) is definite via inclusiveness. Note also that the definiteness readings of the Swahili objects above are not overtly marked by any morpheme. Their definite readings are understood based on the knowledge of their immediate contexts of interaction.

3.1.4 Word order

Word order can also be used to realise definiteness in Swahili.⁵ Syntactically, Swahili has an SVO canonical order. This order can be altered due to several reasons, one of which is to realise definiteness, as in the following examples.

- (14) a. *Wanakijiji wa-me-jeng-a **shule**.* (SVO)
Villagers they-prf-build- school
‘The villagers have built *a school*.’
- b. ***Shule**, wa-me-i-jeng-a wanakijiji.* (OVS)
school they-prf-it-build villagers
‘The villagers have built *the school*.’

Example (14a) shows the Swahili canonical SVO order, whereas (14b) shows the derived OVS order. Vitale (1981) says that topicalisation can trigger the movement of an object from its canonical final position (cf. 14a) to the derived initial position (cf. 14b). Note that topicalisation lies “at the interface between syntax, semantics and discourse-pragmatics” (Valenzuela & McCormack 2013:103). In Example (14b), the topicalised *shule* ‘the school’ is associated with given information, definiteness and emphasis. This observation concurs with that of Allen (1983), Lowrens (1981) and Zerbian (2007) that the topic position favours definiteness.⁶

3.1.5 Inherently definite noun phrases in Swahili

⁵ Word order is also reported to distinguish definite from indefinite entities in Polish (Ekiert 2007; Świątek 2014) and Turkish (Dikilitas & Altay 2011). Whereas a referent in the clause final position is indefinite in these languages, the same referent in the clause initial position is definite.

⁶ Duarte (2011:83) also reports that in Changana – a Bantu language spoken in Mozambique – when an object is moved to the beginning of a sentence, it receives the Changana definite particle ‘a’ and therefore becomes definite. Accordingly, Duarte remarks that the initial position realises definiteness in Changana.

Drawing on Croft's (2003:130) proposed hierarchy that shows reference to person and definiteness in (15) below, personal pronouns and proper names are inherently definite (cf. Lyons 1999; Rezai & Jabbari 2010; Riedel 2009 and Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997) and are used in Swahili for definite entities, as instanced in (16).

(15) First/second person pronouns > third person pronoun > proper names > human common noun > non-human animate common noun > inanimate common noun

(16) ***Petro alimuona Paulo.***
Petro SM1-PST-OM1-see-FV Paul
'Peter saw Paul.'

The proper names in the example above are definite since they refer to *unique* individuals in the discourse context. By mentioning Peter and Paul, the speaker refers to only the two people satisfying the description given since the hearer is familiar with them. Swahili personal pronouns also perform this function.

In addition, Swahili uses demonstratives to realise definiteness. Swahili demonstratives can appear pre-nominally or post-nominally. Lyons (1999) notes that pre-nominal and post-nominal demonstratives in Swahili perform distinct pragmatic functions. Whereas post-nominal demonstratives distinguish distance and make anaphoric reference, pre-nominal (or deictic) demonstratives (such as *h-*, *h_o* and *-le*) show that the referent is the current topic. Pre-nominal demonstratives function akin to the definite article in English (Ashton 1944; Dryer 2005; Perrot 1951).

In summary, this section has looked at the realisation of definiteness in Swahili based on Lyons' criteria of familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness. Regarding familiarity, definiteness can be established in anaphoric contexts by using demonstratives, SMs, personal pronouns and RMs. Concerning identifiability, the context of interaction can be used extra-linguistically to realise definiteness. Likewise, RMs, proper names and personal pronouns can be used for uniqueness and inclusiveness, in addition to the context of interaction. Furthermore, word order can be used to realise definiteness, in particular by moving the object noun to the beginning of the clause (topic position). In the following section, I describe the realisation of indefiniteness in Swahili.

3.2 Indefiniteness in Swahili

An indefinite object is neither familiar nor identifiable to the hearer. In addition, it is neither unique nor inclusive in the description given. It occurs in the first mention environment, especially when the speaker introduces it for the first time in the discourse. Such an entity can be either specific or non-specific. An NP is specific when the speaker

has a particular referent in mind, while it is non-specific when the speaker does not have a particular referent in mind (Lyons 1999). The following example shows how indefiniteness is indicated in Swahili.

- (17) [First mention context]
- a. *Lucy ameokota kitu.*
'Lucy has picked up *something*.'
- b. *Paul amenunua shati.*
'Paul has bought a shirt.'

The first mention of *kitu* 'something' in (17a) and *shati* 'a shirt' in (17b) above realise indefiniteness. Note that there are no special markers of indefiniteness in Swahili. The language does not grammaticalise indefiniteness. According to Krifka (1995), Swahili uses the post-nominal numeral *-moja* 'one' to introduce an indefinite entity into the discourse context, and then more information about the entity follows. Considering the realisation of specificity, note that the objects in (17) above are ambiguous between specific and non-specific readings. It is not clear whether the speaker has a particular *kitu* 'thing' or *shati* 'shirt' in mind. The ambiguity between specificity and non-specificity can be resolved by adding subsequent sentences, as in the following examples.

- (18) a. *Lucy ameokota kitu. Nilikitupa jana.* [+spec]
'Lucy has picked up *something*. I threw it away yesterday.'
- b. *Paul amenunua shati. Utashangazwa na rangi yake.* [+spec]
'Paul has bought *a shirt*. You will be surprised by its colour.'
- (19) a. *Lucy ameokota kitu. Nitakwenda kujiridhisha ni nini.* [-spec]
'Lucy has picked up *something*. I will go to find out what it is.'
- b. *Paul amenunua shati. Natamani kufahamu rangi yake.* [-spec]
'Paul has bought *a shirt*. I would like to know its colour.'

In (18), the speaker has specific referents in mind. The specificity readings in these examples are clearly understood when considering the subsequent sentences. Thus the object NPs *kitu* 'something' and *shati* 'a shirt' are specific because the speaker can describe them if asked to do so. On the contrary, in (19) the speaker does not have particular referents in mind and cannot describe them if asked to do so. Likewise, the

non-specificity readings in (19) are understood via considering the subsequent sentences. Such sentences provide the context for (non-)specificity distinctions in Swahili.

4. Conclusion

Swahili realises pragmatic definiteness at the interface between morphology, syntax and the context of interaction. Morphologically, Swahili uses subject markers, object markers, deictic demonstratives, anaphoric demonstratives, possessives, personal pronouns and proper nouns. Syntactically, it uses relative clause post-modifications for uniqueness and word order permutations (for definiteness in general). With respect to realising indefiniteness, first mention contexts have been noted to fulfil this function. As for specificity, Swahili simply relies on the context of interaction. Therefore, whereas definiteness is realised at the interface between morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic domains, specificity is pragmatically inferred in Swahili.

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EVENT AND ACTORS REPRESENTATION IN SELECTED NIGERIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract

The 2011 Nigerian presidential election newspaper reports were not just to inform the public about the outcomes of the election. The representations in the newspaper reports were ideological and, by implication, judgmental. The main actors (presidential aspirants), were also represented differently. In this paper, we interrogate some linguistic tools that were used in the ideological presentation of the election and the main social actors. In other words, the paper examines whether the main social actors are included or excluded, genericised or specified; and the level of voice projection accorded to them. The study is anchored on Critical Discourse Analysis framework and it operationalises some aspects of van Leeuwen (2008) socio-semantic model and Hallidayan transitivity system in examining social actor differential representations and process types in the newspaper reports. These linguistic tools (*exclusion, inclusion, individualization, assimilation, collectivization, functionalisation, appraisal and voice projection*) are very pertinent because they serve as the very foundation on which further context analysis of the discourse could be based. The study observes that social actors representations and voice projection in the data do not only polarize the reportage but also lace it with bias. It also shows that the incumbent president was given more positive representation and voice projection than other aspirants.

Keywords: Representation, social actors, CDA

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1.0 Introduction

Apart from the general and elementary views of language as a means of communication and passing information, the negotiation and construction of meaning in our world come under the social functions of language. That is why Gee (2001:1) in his opinion, argues that language is not just about giving and receiving information but to ‘scaffold the performance of social activities’ and ‘to scaffold human affiliation within cultures and social groups and institutions’. These functions are connected because social groups and institutions can shape social activities.

Among the powerful institutions that can shape social activities are the government and the media. The media is generally believed to possess the power to shape the agenda of political actors, just like political actors can also influence what is to be communicated through the media to the public. This role comes to manifest when the media is able to set the stage for political news, manage their agenda, and source and control the information to be communicated to the public (Devaney, 2013). The sourcing and constructing of news are both linked to the opinions and ideology of the media organizations or owners. Similarly, as a result of setting the agenda of political issues and activities, the range of perspectives and arguments are streamlined because the attention of the public would now be focused on the set agenda.

Therefore, the media may have a great impact on political processes such as campaign and elections because it can inform and influence attitudes and perceptions of the electorate. In other words, when media repeatedly exposes text recipients to representations transported in texts, under similar conditions of reception, they may inadvertently or otherwise help to align their representations with that of the text producer and build an advantage for the latter’s in-group (Koller, 2012). In the case of elections, this action can consequently influence its outcome. The media, as a social institution, is therefore expected to be neutral and objective in its presentation of political processes such as elections. The objectivity should not be limited only to the processes but should also cover the participants that are involved. However, in Nigeria, media is still being perceived as a ready tool to be used by powerful institutions (Ojo & Adebayo, 2013). In that case, the media representation of events such as the 2011 presidential election newspaper reports and other political activities in the country may not be neutral but imbued with certain underlying ideologies and power play which, in turn, could impact the outcomes of political events. According to Hampl (2015:56) “the representation of social actors could indicate in what way particular parties, camps, or individuals are portrayed in discourse”. It is not out of place to mention that presidential election, being the most important in the country, attracts many interests, hence the scramble for representation by different political actors to determine what is to be communicated in the media. This also lays credence to Devereux’s (2009) submission that media is a contested vacuum and not everybody in the

contest is of equal power. Chilluwa (2011), in his assessment of media power, also asserts that the press may conceal truths that need to be told in some particular representations and may also legitimize a particular label or identity in the interest of certain people or government. The Nigerian political landscape in 2011 and up till date could be said to be a fertile ground where media has enormous power and control over the electorates.

Several studies on social actor representations have been carried out and many of them are anchored on van Leeuwen's system networks of the representation of social actors and Hallidayan Transitivity in Systemic Functional Linguistics (see Post 2009; Sahragard & Davatgarzadeh 2010; Rashidi and Rasti, 2012; and Amer 2017). In Nigeria, there are few studies that have been conducted which specifically examine representation of social actors in media studies. Such studies include Alo (2008) which takes account of representation of people in the news in the Nigerian print media; Osunsanwo (2016) also examines role allocation in the media representation of participants in electoral discourses in Nigeria. The study centres on the use of activation and passivation to either assign agency or obscure agency to social actors. By implication, some social actors are activated as agents while others are represented as patients. The present study is however different from the previous studies because its focus is on the different linguistic tools that are used in the representation of the presidential aspirants which ultimately show the ideological leaning of the newspaper reportage.

2.0 Theoretical framework

This study adopts the Critical Discourse Analysis framework. Critical study of language was motivated as a result of the underestimation of language as a tool in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power (Fairclough, 1989). The critical approach therefore, aims at increasing consciousness about how language can contribute to the domination of some group over others. These ideas are absent in mainstream linguistics because it (mainstream linguistics) is an *asocial* way of studying language therefore, it has nothing to say about relationships between language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1989).

For instance, in Sociolinguistics, though there is a degree of recognition for the social aspect of language, such as how social variables determine language use, little attention is given to language and power. Fairclough further notes that, from a critical perspective, pragmatics is *individualistic* because action is thought of as emanating from the individual. Pragmatics does not specify the extent to which action/utterance is constrained by and derives its individual identity from social conventions. These are some of the reasons why Fairclough believes that mainstream linguistics is *asocial* and there is a need for a critical study of language. What then is the foundation of CDA?

The foundation of CDA can be traced to Critical Linguists' idea of language as an integral part of social processes (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, Trew, 1979). Critical linguists set up an argument for Critical Linguistics based on the assumption that 'there are strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structures and social structures. This possibly led the way for other scholars like Fairclough (1989) and van Dijk (1993) to also view language as a social practice and the need to reveal the dialectical relationship between language and society. Similarly, Strauss and Feiz, (2014) admit the same opinion that, CDA is a broad, interdisciplinary methodological approach to language and society which centres on discourse as social practice. That is, discursive practices are social in nature and social practices are inherently built on and around discourse.

Some of the main approaches that have greatly influenced the framework of CDA are the approaches from its main proponents. These approaches are Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach, Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach and van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach. For this study, a socio-cognitive approach is more related to identifying the different representations of the social actors in the Nigerian 2011 presidential elections. What this translates to is a textual construction of the major social actors involved in the elections. According to Koller (2012), 'in socio-cognitive terms, text producers communicate particular SCRs of social actor groups, including beliefs and/or knowledge about them, the attitudes towards and expectations of them that ensue from beliefs and/or knowledge, and the emotions that accrue to them'.

3.0 Methodology

For this study, a multistage sampling technique was adopted. This is because it involves different stages owing to the large number of daily newspapers in Nigeria. Also, each paper has several news articles and there is therefore the need to narrow down our selection to the needed news articles. As a result, the initial stage had to do with random sampling of two national daily newspapers from each of the most populated states in the zones; Lagos, Kano, Benue, Bauchi, Rivers and Anambra. The outcome gave us twelve national daily newspapers. The second stage was to random sample one newspaper from each city. These newspapers were selected from the national dailies that were kept by the national libraries in each of the states selected for this study. The total numbers of the newspapers are six. The last stage adopts a non-probability purposive random sampling whereby two (2) election news articles (the lead articles and one other news article) were selected from the newspapers. The total sample consists of (twelve) news reports of about six thousand and nine (6009) words selected from six (6) different newspapers in the country. The thematic focus of the all the sampled articles is an account of the voting processes, counting and the announcements of results by some electoral commissioners from some states of the federation. The selected newspapers are: Punch, Nigerian Tribune,

The Guardian, New Nigerian, Daily Trust and This Day. The table below indicates the number of words in each of the articles used.

| Sources of the News Articles | Punch | Nigerian Tribune | The Guardian | New Nigerian | This Day | Daily Trust |
|------------------------------|------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Number of Words | 421 387 | 561 310 | 160 910 | 811 615 | 419 773 | 432 210 |
| Subtotal | 808 | 871 | 1070 | 1426 | 1192 | 642 |

4.0 Findings

4.1 Representation of the social actors

The representation of social actors is not arbitrary or trivial (Coeseemans, 2013). It contributes to the creation of a frame of interpretation. This is important because it helps in the search for patterns of unquestioned meaning and ideological aspects of news discourse. This is because social actors may have '*inclusion or exclusion*' (van Leeuwen, 2008:29) patterns in any representation depending on the interests and purposes of such representation. When social actors are excluded in news reports, it may be for strategic reasons or it may be assumed that readers are already familiar with such details or that such details are irrelevant. The same opinion is held by Sahragard (2010:76) that 'some exclusions may be innocent, details which readers assume to know already or which are deemed irrelevant to them; others impose certain ideologies on the readers...' Therefore, ideology is at stake when social actors are excluded based on strategic reasons. In a similar perspective, 'social actors can be utilized for the purposes of being an instigator of action, an agent of action, a beneficiary of action or one affected by action (Van Leeuwen, 2008:7). In case of exclusion, the actors are either *suppressed* which makes them totally absent from the news reports or they *are backgrounded*, that is they are not mentioned but could be inferred as a result of the shared background knowledge. However, newspaper reports of a presidential election may not record any case of exclusion, either suppression or backgrounding.

The representation strategies can be in the form of '*individualization and assimilation*' (van Leeuwen 2008: 37). In CDA, '*individualization and assimilation*' strategies are of paramount importance because our society places much significance on personality and group affiliations. Individualization occurs in news discourse when social actors are referred to as individuals taking cognizance of their personalities in the society. On the contrary, assimilation (collectivization and aggregation) occurs when social actors are represented as groups.

In this study, we will narrow our social actors' representation to the major contenders for the presidential position. They are the ones mentioned in all the news reports; Jonathan, Buhari, Ribadu and Shekarau.

Consider the following examples on individualization:

- a) *Jonathan won convincingly.*
- b) *Jonathan maintained a comfortable lead.*
- c) *Jonathan still clinched the mandatory 25 percent, (Guardian April 18, 2011).*

The above examples show Jonathan being referred to as an individual personality. Also, he is represented the most, quantitatively, in the headlines. Out of the 12 headlines, Jonathan is mentioned 8 times. He is represented as a distinct individual while other contestants are marginalized and assimilated as 'others' in the headlines.

Also, the form of *assimilation* that is present in the data is '*collectivization*' and it occurs in form of party affiliation. This is presented in the examples below:

- d) *The PDP led comfortably in...;*
- e) *The PDP defeated other political parties;*
- f) *The PDP also took its winning magic to...;*
- g) *PDP had a smooth sail...;*
- h) *PDP also won with a wide margin...; (The Punch, Monday, April 18, 2011)*

Other political parties are represented as follows:

- i) *ACN trailed behind...;*
- j) *CPC suffered defeat...;*
- k) *CPC got...; ACN had...; (The Punch Monday April 18, 2011)*

In the news reports, '*collectivization*' helps to positively portray the Goodluck Jonathan's party (PDP). The positive representations can be found in the form of verbs used in examples d-h. For the opposition parties, they are collectivized with neutral verbs (*got, had*) and verbs that portray them as losers (*trailed, suffered*).

Another strategy for representing social actors in news reports is referred to as '*functionalization*' (Van Leeuwen, 2008); a subdivision of *categorization*. *Functionalization* means the 'representation of social actors in terms of something they do, an occupation or role in society' (Coeseemans, 2012: 190). It deals with the ways the main contenders are introduced in the news reports. Consider the following examples from the data:

- l) *Early results from some polling centres across the country showed President Goodluck Jonathan and Major-General Muhammadu Buhari (retd) in a tight race in the presidential election... (Sunday Punch April 17, 2011).*
- m) *....President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party PDP had won this year[']s] presidential election...*
- n) *His closest rival, General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)... (Daily Trust, Monday April 18, 2011)*

In the above sentences *l-n*, Goodluck Jonathan is introduced as the 'President' owing to his current political office while Muhammadu Buhari is represented as 'Major-General' because of his past position as a former Head of State. This representational strategy may not be neutral because it may remind the people the roles the Military played in Nigerian Democracy in the past with several coups which plunged the country into civil war and ethnic conflicts. Referring to Muhammadu Buhari as '*General*', could trigger people's consciousness to his antecedence. (He aborted the Second Republic which was headed by President Shehu Shagari) Therefore, for him to be contesting for the same position under a democratic setting might presuppose that he is a dictator, and that can inform a kind of apathy from the press. If compared to what happened in the 1999 and 2003 presidential elections where Olusegun Obasanjo, also a *General* in the army, contested for the post of presidency and won, the scenario differs. Olusegun Obasanjo was fondly called '*Chief*' during and after the election; perhaps to make Nigerians forget the roles of the military in the June 12, 1993 election which was annulled by the then Military Head of State.

Finally, '*functionalization*' may have evaluative connotations which may be ideological and when this happens, it is termed '*appraisement*' (Leeuwen, 2008). Let us look at the example below:

- o) *A confident President Goodluck Jonathan... (Sunday Punch April 17, 2011).*

The example above shows a positive representation of Goodluck Jonathan. The example shows that he is being appraised as '*confident*', an adjective that evaluates him to be a *better* candidate and possibly the *most preferred*. In contrast, the newspapers are all silent in terms of appraisement of the other major contestants. More importantly, this form of appraisement is positive compared to evaluation that portrays the negative face of Goodluck Jonathan.

4.2 Transitivity in the Newspaper Headlines

Transitivity system, according to Halliday (1985), is explained in terms of processes and participants. It is a semantic system that explains the world of experience into a set of process types (Wang, 2010). Transitivity is also seen as a grammatical system by which ideational meaning is represented in the clause by the type of process and participants which accompany the process (O'Halloran, 2003: 17). Performing a transitivity analysis requires the identification of certain patterns in the use of the processes. Participants and Processes analysis is a form of representation with ideological clues for analysts. This is because the several semantic choices available to a speaker in recounting his experience of the world and the participant types can be manipulated. When the patterns of transitivity are identified, meanings which are emphasized in terms of the experiential, relational and expressive can be identified.

The processes include '*material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential.*' The selection between these process types may highlight or background agency and consequently, leave the attribution of causality and responsibility unclear (Min, 1997). Relevant in the present study are *material, mental and relational processes*. Consider some examples of the processes below:

Material processes are concerned with the process of 'doing' something. It portends that an action has been done by some entity and it is realized through an action verb, an actor and the goal of the action. An actor is the logical direct subject, and a goal is the logical direct object, usually a noun or a pronoun (Zhuanglin, 1988). *He (actor).... concluded (mental process) that Nigerians (goal) had shown (material process) more interest and commitment in the 2011 elections (goal) than they (actor) did (material process) in previous ones (goal).*

Mental processes are processes of feeling, thinking and seeing. There are two participants involved here, the *Senser* and the *Phenomenon*. Mental process does not carry out action but it represents inner feelings of 'perception (hearing), affection (fearing) and cognition (knowing)'. *He (Senser) recalled (mental process) his involvement in elections conducted in 1999, 2003 and 2007 (Phenomenon).*

Relational process is a process of being. It establishes relationships between two entities, and it can be divided into two: *identifying relation and attributive relation*. Attributive relation shows the qualities that an entity possesses and it has a '*carrier*', '*process*' and '*attribute*' while identifying relation means that an entity and another is uniform and it has *identified, process and identifier*. Jonathan, Buhari (carrier) ((are) process) in tight race (attributes).

Tables 1 and 2 below present the material and relational processes in the headlines of the news reports.

Table 1: Material Processes in the Headlines

| Actor | Processes | Goal |
|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Labour</i> | <i>rates, lauds (Material)</i> | <i>election, voters</i> |
| <i>Hurricane Jonathan</i> | <i>knocks out (Material)</i> | <i>Buhari, others</i> |
| <i>Jonathan</i> | <i>cruises, reaches out (Material)</i> | <i>victory, opponents</i> |
| <i>Jonathan</i> | <i>floors (Material)</i> | <i>Buhari, Ribadu</i> |
| <i>Jonathan</i> | <i>sweeps (Material)</i> | <i>presidential poll</i> |
| <i>Bakare, Obasanjo, IBB, Okotie</i> | <i>laud (Material)</i> | <i>peaceful election</i> |
| <i>Jonathan</i> | <i>wins (Material)</i> | <i>the big prize</i> |
| <i>Jonathan</i> | <i>sweeps (Material)</i> | <i>South-West</i> |

Table 2: Relational Processes in the Headlines

| Carrier | Process | Attribute |
|----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| <i>Presidential Poll</i> | | <i>Massive turnout, generally peaceful</i> |
| <i>Trend in Nigeria Politics</i> | <i>(is)</i> | <i>wind of change</i> |
| <i>Jonathan, Buhari</i> | <i>(are)</i> | <i>in tight race</i> |
| <i>Jonathan!</i> | <i>Hail</i> | <i>to the Chief!</i> |

In the tables above, material and relational processes feature in the news reports. There is no instance of mental process in the headlines. Generally, transitivity offers a systematic choice among different processes. The presence of material and relational processes in textual configuration of the newspaper reports' headlines suggest some choices out of many other transitivity processes. There are many ways of capturing or representing experience in language. The material and relational processes are privileged or preferred to others in the headlines. These choices are perhaps strategically motivated options from other possible processes.

Part of the possible interpretation for the motivation for representing experiences using material and relational processes is to examine the explicit or implicit agent role and the circumstances associated with the processes. In the tables above, in relation to circumstances associated with the process, the action of 'winning' is mostly attributed to Jonathan and that is why it is conspicuously placed as the main actor in the headlines. The attribution of agency to Jonathan in seven places out of twelve headlines is not

ideologically neutral. Meanwhile, there is a case where the agency attribution was shared in the headlines, such as ‘*Jonathan, Buhari in a tight race*’. There is also an instance of agency deletion in the headline ‘*Violence, Fraud mar presidential poll*’. Similarly, having more material process mostly favoured in the headlines has underlying agenda; perhaps to concretize the action of the main actor and consequently portray him as the winner even when the results have not been announced.

To further examine the processes in the news reports, we decide to include the lead paragraphs since we could not examine the whole articles. We believe that lead paragraphs mostly contain the main message in an article. The lead paragraphs are numbered serially from 1-12.

4.2.1 Transitivity in the Lead Paragraphs of the Newspaper Reports

1. President Goodluck Jonathan, the presidential candidate of the PDP, broke into the stronghold of the opposition CAN, in the South-West, in yesterday’s presidential election. (Sunday Vanguard, April 17, 2011)

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| <i>President Goodluck Jonathan, the presidential candidate of the PDP</i> | <i>broke into</i> | <i>the stronghold of the opposition CAN, in the South-West, in yesterday’s presidential election</i> |

2. Results of Saturday’s presidential election so far released by the Independent Electoral Commission on Sunday showed President Goodluck Jonathan having an unassailable lead (The Punch, April 18, 2011).

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|--|--|
| <i>by the Independent Electoral Commission</i> | <i>so far released/ showed/ having</i> | <i>Results of Saturday’s presidential election/President Goodluck Jonathan/ an unassailable lead</i> |

3. President Goodluck Jonathan of the People’s Democratic Party, (PDP) has won last Saturday’s presidential election, defeating his closest rivals Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change, (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress, (ACN). (Nigerian Tribune, April 18, 2011)

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| <i>President Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party, (PDP)</i> | <i>has won</i> | <i>last Saturday's presidential election, defeating his closest rivals, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change, (CPC) and Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress, (ACN).</i> |

- 4 With results officially declared by state collation officers in 35 states and the Federal Capital Territory, (FCT) last night, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party, (PDP) had won this year's presidential election with 21.5 million votes and a quarter of the votes in all of them except Kano, Borno and Bauchi States. (Daily Trust, April 18, 2011)

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>by state collation officers/President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party, (PDP)</i> | <i>officially declared/had won</i> | <i>With results/ this year's presidential election with 21.5 million votes and a quarter of the votes in all of them except Kano, Borno and Bauchi States.</i> |

- 5 Congress for Progressive Change, CPC presidential running mate, Pastor Tunde Bakare, former President Olusegun Obasanjo and former military president, Ibrahim Babangida, weekend, joined several other Nigerians in commending the smooth conduct of the presidential elections by INEC (Vanguard, April 18, 2011).

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| <i>Congress for Progressive Change, CPC presidential running mate, Pastor Tunde Bakare, former President Olusegun Obasanjo and former military president, Ibrahim Babangida,</i> | <i>Joined/commending</i> | <i>the smooth conduct of the presidential elections by INEC</i> |

6. Dr. Goodluck Jonathan is the president-elect only awaiting official confirmation from the (INEC) today, going by the results that were announced yesterday by the Resident

Electoral Commissioners (RECs) in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, (FCT) (This Day, April 18, 2011).

| Carrier | Process | Attributes |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Dr. Goodluck Jonathan</i> | <i>Is</i> | <i>the president-elect</i> |

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|--|--|
| <i>by the Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) in the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory</i> | <i>only awaiting/that were announced</i> | <i>official confirmation from the (INEC) today</i> |

7. Early results from some polling centres across the country showed President Goodluck Jonathan and Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (retd.) in a tight race in the presidential election conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission across Nigeria on Saturday. (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| <i>President Goodluck Jonathan and Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (retd) the Independent National Electoral Commission across Nigeria on Saturday</i> | <i>showed/ conducted</i> | <i>Early results from some polling centres across the country</i> |

8. With the collation of the Presidential election results which took place last Saturday still going on last night in Abuja, the ruling People's Democratic Party appeared to have swept the polls across the country.

| Senser | Mental process | Phenomenon |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>the ruling People's Democratic Party</i> | <i>appeared to have swept</i> | <i>the polls across the country</i> |

9. The Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC) appears to have overcome most of the logistic lapses witnessed during the National Assembly elections... (New Nigerian, April 17, 2011)

| Senser | Mental process | Phenomenon |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>The Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC)</i> | <i>appears to have overcome</i> | <i>most of the logistic lapses witnessed during the National Assembly elections</i> |

10. This is the tune played to herald the appearance of the United States Presidents at any public occasion and its first line is ‘Hail to the Chief we have chosen for the nation’. The original line of this song, written by Sir Walter Scott was ‘Hail to the chief who in triumph advances...’

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|--|---|---|
| <i>This is the tune/its first line/ The original line of this song/ Sir Walter Scott</i> | <i>Played to herald/is/ written/was</i> | <i>the appearance of the United States Presidents at any public occasion/ ‘Hail to the Chief we have chosen for the nation’/ ‘Hail to the chief who in triumph advances...’</i> |

11. The presidential election in which Nigerians yesterday decided the fate of President Goodluck Jonathan of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), General Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Malam Nuhu Ribadu of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Governor Ibrahim Shekarau of the All Nigeria People’s Party (ANPP) and about sixteen others, was marred by violence, in the form of a bomb blast, and mob attacks.

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| <i>The presidential election...and sixteen others</i> | <i>was marred</i> | <i>by violence, in the form of a bomb blast, and mob attacks.</i> |

12. The Presidential election yesterday recorded an impressive turn out of electorate in the Southern part of Kaduna metropolis with the commencement of verification exercise as scheduled.

| Actor | Material process | Goal |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--|
| <i>The Presidential election</i> | <i>Recorded</i> | <i>an impressive turn out of electorate in the Southern part of Kaduna metropolis with the commencement of verification exercise as scheduled.</i> |

The analysis above on lead paragraphs reveals the preponderance of material process than other processes. Material process, as it is, and the representation of Jonathan as the ‘Actor’ further indicates that the actions represented in them help to concretize the victory for Goodluck Jonathan. The quantification of the processes is presented in Figure 1.

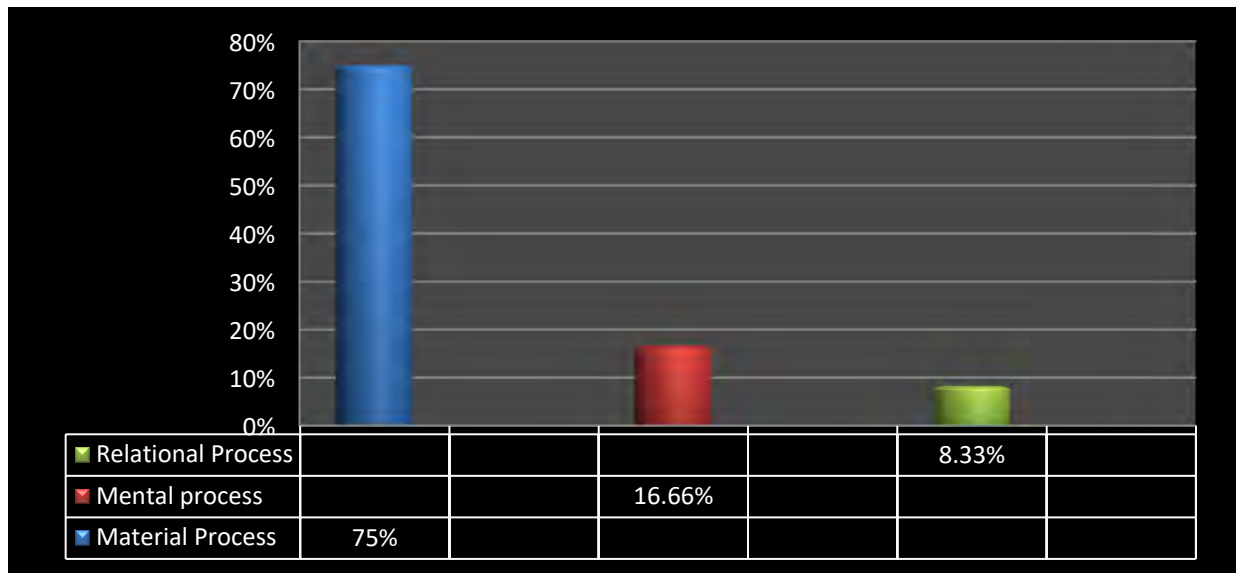


Figure 1: Processes in the Lead Paragraphs of the Newspaper Reports

The chart above indicates that material process in the lead paragraphs is 75%, followed by mental process 16.66% and relational process with 8.3%. The result is similar to the processes in the headlines. Material process is predominant; hence it performs a similar function of highlighting the agent role.

4.3 Voice Projection

In news discourse, journalists are saddled with the responsibility of determining what to be included or excluded in their reportage. In the process, some actors are given more voice projection than others. Voice projection comes in the form of quotation. It gives the readers the opportunity of being informed about what was said by the actors and the context of the utterance. It also deals with how voice is carried to an audience. While some actors are positively represented, others are negatively contextualized by denying them voice projection.

According to Fowler (1991) quotation is a discursive mechanism that is potentially a powerful ideological tool for manipulating readers' perception and interpretation of events and issues in news reports. Despite being a powerful ideological tool, the purposes it serves, either direct or indirect quotation, in news reports vary from adding credibility, personalising a story, inviting readers to be identified with the quoted individual or distancing the writer from the propositions made in the quotation (Gravells, 2014). This idea of quotation is a proto-typical form of what Fairclough (1995) refers to as direct discourse, hence (DD) in discourse representation.

Fairclough is also of the view that discourse representation has tendencies of reflecting the ideological affinities of the producers of news. His conception of discourse representation is influenced by Leech and Short (1981) who examined how speech and thoughts are represented in novels. They name their model as speech presentation and it is divided into five categories, namely: Narrative Report of Speech Action, (NRSA); Indirect speech, (IS); Free Indirect Speech, (FIS); Direct Speech, (DS); and Free Direct Speech, (FDS).

Let us look at the following instances and patterns of voice projection in the data. The examples show the level of voice projection associated with the major actors in the election namely: President Jonathan and General Buhari.

- a. He (Jonathan) said, *"I'm indeed happy that we are consolidating democracy. Democracy must be built on a solid foundation. Foundation of which democracy is built on is the power of the ballot paper. If the ballot paper means nothing, then there is no democracy. Nigeria is now experiencing true democracy where we the politicians have to go to the people because the power belongs to the people."*
- b. *"The power does not belong to the politicians. It belongs to the people as expressed in ballot boxes. People have shown high degree of commitment so you can describe it as a new dawn in our political evolution."*
- c. *"I promised I would contest the election as an incumbent president and I would not influence the electoral process. And that has been demonstrated in previous elections."*

- d. *“I don’t know whether it will go into run-off. But I pray that we don’t go into such because of its implications. Nigeria is a very big country to conduct another round of election.”*
- e. *“If I lose, I will leave because that is what we are talking about.”*
- f. *“One of such planes came earlier this (Saturday) morning to Katsina airport, and our people were driven away from the airport before the consignment was off loaded and driven straight to the Government House,” he said. (Buhari) (Sunday Punch, April 17, 2011)*

In the above quotations, one of the aspirants (Jonathan) was quoted extensively in five places, from example ‘a’ to ‘e’ while the other aspirant (Buhari) was quoted just once. Jonathan’s quotations are extensive because they are not short quotations or what Bell (1991) calls ‘scare quotes’ where few words are quoted to emphasise the speaker’s point. Buhari was quoted once with minimal quote. This possibly portends that Buhari is not well quoted in the news reports. According to Kuo (2007:285) ‘the relationship between quotation and power relations is found not only in who gets quoted but also in how quotation is presented’. That is, the social position or power determines how well a person is quoted because a powerful person is quoted more verbatim than the less powerful person. Ideologically too, the extended quotations may give salience to the message rather than the actor.

The quotations from *a-e* are all positive representation of the actor (Jonathan) while the only one attributed to the main opponent is a negative representation. Therefore, we could say that all the positive quotations attributed to Jonathan resemble what Fairclough (2000) refers to as the ‘image-making rhetoric’. This is an attempt to self-portray oneself in positive light and it can be seen as a characteristic of a new-generation politician. In the quoted samples, Jonathan tries to self-portray himself positively. The choice of selecting those particular positive accounts for quotation by news writer may not be neutral but to illuminate positive portrayal of Jonathan.

On the contrary, the other aspirant was not given much speech projection by allowing him to speak for himself through an extended direct quote like Jonathan; he was given minimal direct quote in the data. The ideological implication of this strategy is to foreground the actor rather than the message and this can also be a way of marginalizing him. For instance, van Dijk’s (1991) study shows that media often marginalize ethnic minorities in the coverage of ethnic affairs through its choice of sources and quotation patterns. Teo (2000) also supporting this idea posits that quotation patterns further make the less privileged powerless because their opinions are less quoted. Therefore, Buhari as the main opponent is marginalized or suppressed in terms of speech projection which could have made him more relevant in the news reports.

The Figure 2 below shows the percentages of quotations by the main presidential aspirants in the data.

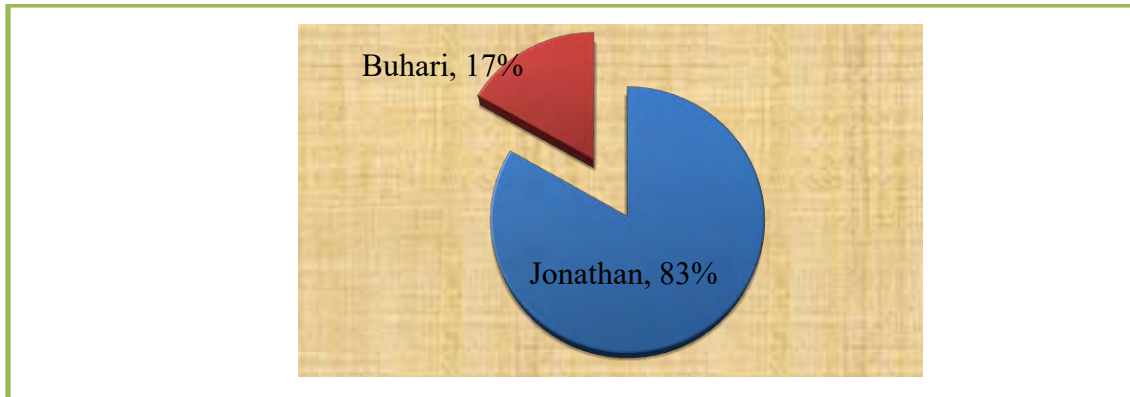


Figure 2: Voice Projection Percentages in the Newspaper Reports

The figure above indicates that Jonathan was more quoted than Buhari. What makes Buhari to be quoted less than Jonathan could be as a result of what the reporter wants or his interest. Kuo (2007: 281) opines that ‘the choice of quotation patterns is by no means objective or neutral and presentation of speech in the news tend to be loaded with ideological biases’. Even though quotation ensures accuracy of what the quoted person said and to distance the journalist from the opinions quoted, it has power potentials that journalists can wield. To Broersma (2010), well-chosen quotations and the attribution of speech can increase the credibility of stories and journalism’s claim to truth. This further supports the idea that quotations could be selective depending on the focus or interest of the writer. Their selective quotations may represent the parts of speech which they deem significant and which serve their ideological aims.

A similar position is held by Davis (1985) that the pattern of quotation in news discourse is not neutral but mediated and loaded with ideological bias. This is borne out of the fact that the same words used by a newsmaker can be interpreted differently by different reporters based on their different social affiliations and diverse views.

A study conducted by Ghannam (2011: 3) concludes that the placement of quotation in a discourse is also important. He is of the opinion that when a quote is presented at the beginning of news reports, it highlights the information and presents it as important. On the other hand, when quotation is presented at the end of news reports, it would be ‘less noticeable and therefore carry less weight’. This decision of placement depends on the ideology of the newspapers. In the present study, though we did not consider the placement of the quotations, we believe that the choice of placement of

quotation will perform the same ideological function like how and how often the actors are quoted as shown in this study.

5.0 Conclusion

Studies in media and political discourses have been conducted by many researchers. Alo and Ogungbe (2009) argue that 'language, in news reports, is not a mere instrument of communication but it is imbued with power; it is action-oriented; it has the ability to influence or control reader's [sic] thoughts and actions'. In this study, we have been able to detect how media stance or bias is embedded in social actor's representation through some aspects of van Leeuwen's actor representation model. Thus, the electoral discourse was shaped to have some ideological influence on the readers of the newspaper concerning the outcomes of the elections. This finding further supports Makamani (2010) who examines hate language in political discourse in Zimbabwe. He contends that language can be used for manipulative purposes, for image building and forging identities. The identity so forged in the present study is to discursively portray a particular aspirant as winner while others are presented as losers. Idiagbon (2010) also examines the language use in selected Nigerian Presidential election campaign speeches, using the framework of CDA. The study reveals the strategies used in manipulating linguistic facilities in order to win the mandate of the electorates. The strategies include many concepts from CDA, such as topicalisation, mood system, passivisation, presupposition, connotation, tone and style. The study discovers that campaign speeches are reflections of many ideological differences because of party politics, individual interests, emotions and sentiments. This further underscores the importance of CDA in the analysis of media and political discourses.

In the present study, a particular group is presented positively while others are represented negatively. This was done by polarizing the arguments in the newspaper reports as evident in the analysis. The analysis on the social actors' representation indicates that the representation was biased because the ruling party and President Jonathan were more favourably portrayed in the newspaper reports than others. The social actors that are given more *inclusion* and *voice projection* are, in most cases, *individualized* and positively presented. On the other hand, other social actors that are *excluded* in the headlines and represented with minimal *voice projections* are *assimilated* in the newspaper reports. This clearly shows the level of bias in the representation of the social actors. Also, the prevalence of *material process* in the representation of Jonathan as the '*Actor*' further indicates that the actions represented in them help to concretize the victory for Goodluck Jonathan.

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**THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC-PRAGMATIC
REALISATION OF DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY IN SWAHILI**

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**EVENT AND ACTORS REPRESENTATION IN SELECTED NIGERIAN
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and how such exposure impacts on their literacy development at their onset of schooling.

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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>

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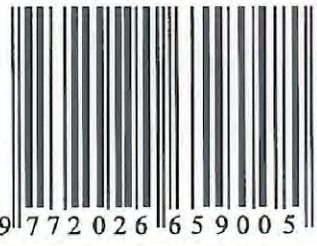
QUOTATIONS from other authors should be used sparingly. Any quotation less than two lines long should be within double quotation marks (“...”) and not separated from the text. Quotations within quotations should be within single quotation marks (‘...’). Longer quotations may be set out as a paragraph, 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.

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