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A SURVEY OF EXOCENTRIC COMPOUNDS IN THREE KWA LANGUAGES: AKAN, EWE AND GA

Clement Kwamina Insaidoo Appah

Abstract

Whereas the existence of exocentric compounds is taken for granted in the literature on compounding, there are just a few studies devoted to the nature and types of exocentric compounds cross-linguistically and in African languages in particular, leaving exocentricity in African languages severely under-researched. This paper seeks to contribute to knowledge on exocentricity by exploring the range of exocentric compounds in three Kwa languages – Akan, Ewe and Ga – in the context of the typology of exocentric compounds proposed by Bauer (2008a, 2010) who posited five types – *bahuvrihi*, *exocentric synthetic*, *exocentric co-compounds*, *transpositional exocentric* and *metaphorical compounds*. Appah (2016b, 2017b) argued that three of the five types (*bahuvrihi*, *exocentric synthetic* and *transpositional exocentric compounds*) with various subtypes occur in Akan. The equivalent of Bauer’s metaphorical compounds was subsumed under *bahuvrihi* compounds, while the absence of exocentric co-compounds was argued to be an areal feature, given the observation that co-compounds are rare in Africa (Wälchli 2005). This paper shows that apart from exocentric co-compounds, the rest are found in the languages under discussion to varying extents. All three languages have metaphorical and location *bahuvrihi* compounds, but the status of the possessor *bahuvrihi* type is not certain, except in Akan. Ewe has agentive exocentric synthetic compounds, but not the action and patient types, whilst Ga has none. Again, only Ga does not have transpositional exocentric compounds. Finally, it is observed that all the compounds are nouns, notwithstanding the syntactic category of the constituents. This is another potential areal feature.

Keywords: Akan, Areal feature/Typology, Bahuvrihi, Ewe, Exocentric compounds, Ga, Synthetic

1. Introduction

A principal distinction in the classification of compounds is that between endocentric compounds like *door bell*, which is a hyponym of its head constituent (*door bell* is a type of *bell*) and exocentric compounds, like *killjoy*, which is not a hyponym of either constituent (Bloomfield 1933, Marchand 1969). The received wisdom is that endocentric compounds are very common in the languages of the world. Consequently, they have received a lot of research attention. The same cannot be said about exocentric compounds which are said to be relatively rare (Bauer 2010, Dressler 2006, Guevara and Scalise 2009, Scalise and Guevara 2006). The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to contribute to an area of research on compounding that is relatively underserved cross-linguistically and in African languages in particular by identify and discussing exocentric compounds in three closely related and neighbouring Kwa languages – Akan, Ewe and Ga – within the framework of the categories and terminology proposed by Bauer (2008a:51-52) for discussing exocentric compounds.

Data from the three languages are tested with the view to establishing which of the posited types of exocentric compounds occur in the languages. Contra previous studies (Appah 2016b, 2017b) that suggested that Akan had only three of the five types posited by Bauer, the present study shows that Akan has four (*bahuvrihi*, *exocentric synthetic*, *transpositional exocentric* and *metaphorical compounds*) which Ewe and Ga also exhibit to varying extents.

The section on Akan is based on studies on Akan compounding in its various dimensions and manifestations (cf. Appah 2013, 2015, 2016a, c, 2017a, b, Appah, Duah and Kambon 2017, Appah 2019), based on data drawn from different sources, including an elementary school reader on fishing (Otoo 1946), the Akan translation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and an Akan translation of Plato's apology of Socrates. The Ewe and Ga data were elicited mainly from native-speaker graduate linguistics students as well as faculty at the University of Ghana. Some Ewe data were also collected or confirmed from three studies (Agbadah 2017, Ameka 1991, Ofori 2002) and I crosschecked the elicited data with other non-linguist speakers of Ewe and Ga. Any elicited construct whose existence could not be confirmed at all by any of my consultants were left out of the dataset. However, where there was mixed judgement on some data, I kept the data and explained it in the paper, as the discussion in section 4 will show. Starting with what had been found in Akan (Appah 2016b, 2017b), the approach was to find out if the same or similar construction types would be found in Ewe and Ga as well. For example, for the section on bahuvrihi compounds (section 4.1), the idea was to find out how the following meanings, which are attested in Akan as bahuvrihi compounds, are expressed in Ewe and Ga: *one* who possesses X feature/property/item, *one who does X*, *a place where X happens*, or *a place where X is*

located. Here, X stands for the compositional meaning of the compound and there is no constituent which directly codes the highlighted meaning or, where present, the constituent representing the highlighted portion is interpreted metaphorically or metonymically.

In the rest of the paper, there is a general discussion of exocentricity in the context of compounding in section 2 and a presentation of Bauer's typology of exocentric compounds in section 3, exemplifying the types posited and recent suggested modifications in Appah (2016b, 2017b). Section 4 deals with the types of exocentric compounds in the three languages, and the paper is concluded in section 5, where I show the pattern that emerges from the study in terms of the types of exocentric compounds found in the three Kwa languages as well as the current structure of the typology, based on Bauer's proposal and the suggested subtypes. Thus, one contribution of this paper to research on compounding is the indication that exocentric compounds may not be as rare in the languages of the world as previous studies have suggested. However, this study has to be properly construed as a preliminary survey that provides direction for further study of the phenomenon of exocentricity in the three languages, especially the portions on Ewe and Ga.

2. Exocentricity

The notion of exocentricity has been characterized in various ways (Andreou and Ralli 2015, Bauer 2008a, 2010, 2017, Bloomfield 1933, Plag 2003, Ralli and Andreou 2012, Scalise and Guevara 2006) and claims have been made about whether or not it is an exclusive feature of compounds (Bauer 2016, Bisetto and Scalise 2007, Ralli 2013). For example, in what they call the exocentricity principle, Bisetto and Scalise (2007:363) claim that exocentricity is an exclusive feature of compounds. However, as will become clear from the discussion below, this view is not shared by many, especially researchers with Cognitive Linguistics persuasion.

In the literature on compounding, various types of heads are distinguished – semantic head, formal head, syntactic head, morphological head, etc., which may not necessarily pick out the same element in a compound (cf. Andreou 2014, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, Katamba and Stonham 2006, Scalise 1988, Scalise and Guevara 2006, Scalise and Fábregas 2010, Selkirk 1982). A prominent distinction, and one that is relevant to contemporary studies of exocentricity, is that between semantic head and formal head. The semantic head is the element that shares its lexical conceptual information with the whole compound, so that the compound will be a hyponym of the semantic head (Scalise and Guevara 2006:190). The formal head is characterized as the constituent that shares its lexical category and subcategorization frame with the whole

compound, so that the compound has the same distributional properties as its formal head (Scalise and Guevara 2006:190).¹

Building on the distinction between formal head and semantic head there is growing consensus in recent literature on a concomitant distinction between semantic exocentricity and formal exocentricity (cf. Andreou and Ralli 2015, Appah 2016b, 2017b, Bauer 2008a, 2010, 2016, Plag 2003, Ralli and Andreou 2012, Ralli 2013, Scalise and Guevara 2006). A semantically exocentric compound is one which lacks a semantic head, as in the case of English *killjoy*, which is not a hyponym of either *kill* or *joy*. A formally exocentric compound, on the other hand, is one which lacks a formal head or a crucial formal feature such as the syntactic category. An example found in Marchand (1969) is the noun *blackout*, which is formed out of a verb and a preposition/adverb/particle. Another example is the Akan verb-verb nominal compound *gye-di* ‘faith/belief’ [lit. receive-eat], which is a noun formed from two verbs, so that the syntactic category cannot be said to emanate from the constituents which are both verbs (Appah 2015, 2017a).

Exocentric compounds are generally considered to be marked relative to endocentric compounds because, according to Dressler (2006), not only are they rare in the languages of the world, but they are also limited in the classes of words that they form. For example, it will become clear that all the exocentric compounds in the three Kwa languages under discussion are nouns, notwithstanding the syntactic category of the constituents. Again, the syntactic category of the constituents of exocentric compounds also tend to be quite restricted. In fact, there are scholars who, based on how exocentric compounds are interpreted, have sought to argue that there is no need to posit a separate class of compounds called exocentric compounds (see Bauer 2016, Benczes 2005a, b, 2006, Benczes 2015, Booij 2002). Booij, for example, takes this position when he argues that “what have been called exocentric compounds or bahuvrihi compounds are a specific semantic category of endocentric compounds based on metonymy: a part of an entity is used to refer to the whole entity. This is what is at stake with the classical English example of a bahuvrihi compound *redskin*” (Booij 2002:143). Bauer (2016:466) also suggests the term **non-hyponymic compounds** as an alternative to **exocentric compounds**. However, the problem of formal exocentricity still remains unresolved with this suggestion. I believe that we have to distinguish

¹ Dressler (2006:32-33) illustrates the different heads, arguing that in *pickpocket*, there is no semantic head because the referent of the compound is not named in the compound itself. *Pick* is the syntactic head because it is that which selects *pocket* as its internal argument. *Pocket* is the morphological head because, when the compound is pluralized, the plural marker attaches to *pocket*, as in *pickpocket-s* and not *pick-s-pocket*. However, as discussed in the literature (Bauer 2010, Booij 2007), the problem with Dressler’s position on morphological head is that the position of the inflectional element in a word may be a default in the language and may not necessarily identify a morphological head.

between the fact of the existence of a class of compounds which are not hyponyms of their constituents and how the members of that class are interpreted. In my view, these two issues tend to be lumped, where indeed, the focus is on the interpretation of exocentric compounds, and so what is taken into account is semantic exocentricity, leaving out the question of how to deal with formally exocentric compounds.

Claims about the restrictedness of exocentric compounds seem to find support in the fact that there aren't many studies of exocentric compounds in the languages of the world. Notable exceptions are found for English (Bauer 2008b), Modern Greek (Andreou and Ralli 2015, Ralli and Andreou 2012, Ralli 2013) and Akan (Appah 2017a, b, Appah, Duah and Kambon 2017). The studies on Akan build on what, in my view, is clearly the only veritable cross-linguistic study of the typology of exocentric compounds, that is Bauer (2008a, 2010), which is presented in section 3. The other known attempt at a cross-linguistic study of exocentric compounds (Scalise and Guevara 2006) considers whether the three macro-types of compounds – attributive, subordinate and coordinate – have exocentric versions. Scalise and Bisetto (Bisetto and Scalise 2005, Scalise and Bisetto 2009) also deal with the syntactic category of the input and output as well as their structural types and combinations. However, their studies are somewhat limited in terms of the typological profile and geographical spread of the languages covered, as their studies cover seventeen languages of which only two (Chinese and Korean) are spoken outside of Europe (cf. Scalise and Guevara 2006:204, n. 3).

3. Bauer's typology of exocentric compounds and subsequent modifications

Working with data drawn from about fifty languages of varied genetic affiliation, Bauer (2008a, 2010) breaks new ground in the study of exocentric compounds, providing both a typology and, as he puts it, "a (provisional) terminology for discussing them" (Bauer 2008a:51-52). This section presents Bauer's (2008a, 2010) typology of exocentric compounds as well as suggested elaborations based on data from Bauer's work and others drawn from Akan (Appah 2016b, 2017b). The approach to the discussion here is largely descriptive, as a detailed critical assessment of Bauer's typology and the basis of the proposed modification is beyond the immediate goals of the present paper. For that, the interested reader may consult Appah (2016b, 2017b).

Bauer (2008a, 2010) characterizes an exocentric compound as one that fails the hyponymy test because it fails to display a head element, functions as a member of a word class that is not the word class of the head element or can have a head element of the correct word class but with the wrong denotation. From this premise, Bauer provides a typology of exocentric compounds based on data from the fifty typologically diverse languages. The types he posits are *bahuvrihi*, *exocentric synthetic*,

transpositional exocentric, *exocentric co-compounds* and *metaphorical compounds*. The various types are defined and exemplified below, together with subtypes proposed by Appah (2016b, 2017b).

Traditionally, a synthetic compound refers to an endocentric construction, like English *truck driver* [[truck]_N [[drive]_{V-er}]_N]_N, in which one constituent is derived. Here the affix *-er* on the right-hand constituent corresponds to the external argument of the underlying verb – *drive*. The *exocentric synthetic* compound, according to Bauer (2008a:61) is the kind which, unlike the endocentric synthetic compound, has no morpheme like English *-er*, which corresponds to the external argument of the verb. Rather, as exemplified by French **gratte-ciel** ‘skyscraper’ [lit. scratch-sky], the head verb and its internal argument form a noun that denotes the entity that performs the action. That is, only the verb and its internal argument are present, but the compound as a whole refers to the external argument – that which scratches the sky. Appah (2017b) suggests, based on data from Akan, that the exocentric synthetic compounds can be grouped into two subtypes – action (nominal) and participant exocentric synthetic compounds. The participant exocentric synthetic compounds can also have subtypes, like *agentive*, *patient* and *location*. These will be discussed further and exemplified in section 4.

A *Bahuvrihi* compound is the type that “expresses some salient facet of the denotatum” (Bauer 2008a:56) but is not a hyponym of either constituent. An example is Sanskrit **bahu-vrihi** ‘much rice’ which refers to ‘one who/which has much rice’, although none of the constituents names a person. Based on Bauer’s data, Appah (2017b) suggested two types of bahuvrihi compounds which are named after the missing meaning component, considering the compositional meaning of the compound. The first is the *possessive* type which is the commonest (cf. Andreou and Ralli 2015, Benczes 2015, Ralli and Andreou 2012, Ralli 2013) and its meaning may be schematised as “entity which possesses X”, where X stands for the compositional meaning of the compound. Thus, what is missing in the compound itself is the possessor or the one who has/owns the referent of the compositional meaning of the compound. This is what **bahu-vrihi** exemplifies. The second is the *causer* type which refers to the element that causes the compositional meaning of the compound. It is exemplified by the compound *red eye* ‘cheap whisky/overnight flight’ which does not denote an entity that possesses *red eye* (cf. Bauer 2010:167). Rather, the referent of the compound – cheap whisky or overnight flight – causes the *red eye*. So, the missing meaning component is the causer of the compositional meaning of the compound.

Subsequently,² Appah (2016b) posited a *non-possessive* type of bahuvrihi compounds with a *property* subtype which is made up of compounds that refer to some

² It is worth noting that Appah (2017b) predates Appah (2016b), but the latter appeared before the former.

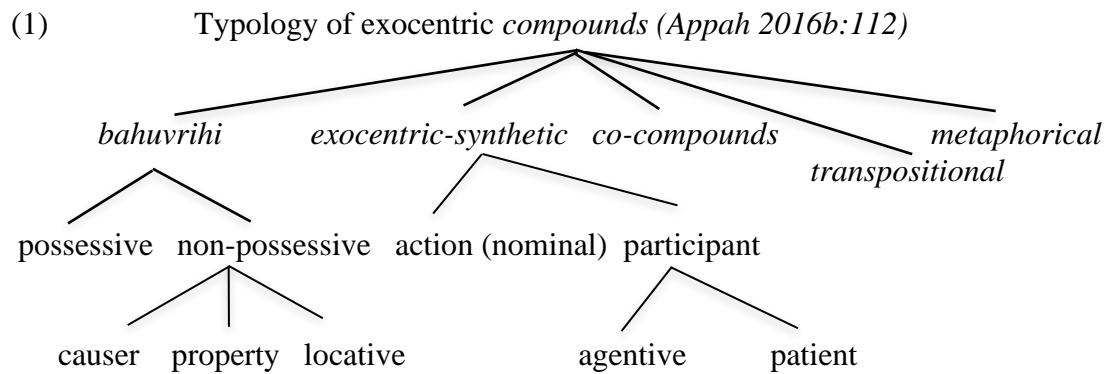
property of the referent of the compositional meaning of the compound, including constructs that fit Bauer's description of metaphorical compounds as provided below. Again, it was argued that the *locative* subtype under the participant exocentric synthetic compound may be properly classified as a subtype of non-possessive type of bahuvrihi compound. Thus, the non-possessive bahuvrihi compounds had three subtypes and the metaphorical compound class as a separate subtype of exocentric compound was done away with, at least for Akan.

A *transpositional exocentric* compound is the type of compound whose word class is not overt in that the compound does not share the word class of either constituent (Bauer 2010:171). The meaning of the transpositional exocentric compound may be transparent. However, it is formally exocentric because it "functions as a member of an unexpected word-class" (Bauer 2008a:64). An example is Swahili *uja-uzito* 'pregnancy' [lit. come-heavy], which is a noun formed from a verb and an adjective (Bauer 2008a:65).

An *exocentric co-compound* is the type of coordinate compound in which two constituents enjoy parity in terms of their importance in the compound "but the compound is not a hyponym of either element" (Bauer 2008a:63). An example is the Chantyal (Sino-Tibetan: Tibeto-Burman) compound *nhe thara* 'dairy products' [lit. 'milk buttermilk'] (Bauer 2008a, 2010, Wälchli 2005). This class is noted to be rare in African Languages (Wälchli 2005).

Finally, a *metaphorical exocentric* compound, according to Bauer (2010), arises where a compound fails the hyponymy test because the head element or the compound as a whole has a metaphorical interpretation (e.g., *dust bowl* 'an area with no vegetation' or *catlick* 'quick wash') or a metonymic interpretation (e.g., *phone neck* 'pain in the neck caused by using a phone', or *bear skin* 'hat won by certain soldiers'). It is worth pointing out that Bauer is quite sceptical about whether the notion of exocentricity is appropriate for the constructs in this group. One reason is that sometimes whether a compound would be deemed exocentric or not is a matter of interpretation (Bauer 2016, Fabb 1998). Also, I find that sometimes there is very little to choose between the interpretation of some compounds classified as metaphorical and others classified as bahuvrihi. For example, it may be difficult to tell what the real distinction is between *red eye* (bahuvrihi compound) and *phone neck* (metaphorical compound) as presented in Bauer (2008a, 2010). That is why, in Appah (2017b), the constructs that fit Bauer's description of metaphorical compounds were treated as a subtype of property bahuvrihi compounds whose members get interpreted by figures of speech, including metaphor and metonymy.

Thus, the state of the research on the typology of exocentric compounds as presented in Appah (2016b), based on Bauer's framework (Bauer 2008a, 2010) is as shown in (1).



The discussion in the next section will lead to another slight modification of the typology of exocentric compounds, where we will drop “non-possessive” as a cover term for all other types of bahuvrihi compounds apart from the possessive type which we will refer to as the possessor type. The current property type too will be reclassified as metaphorical compounds, reverting to Bauer’s recognition of a separate class of metaphorical compounds.

4. Exocentric compounds in the three Kwa Languages

In this section, I present the types of exocentric compounds in the three Kwa languages, based on the framework established in section 3. I begin each subsection with what has been found in Akan and then proceed to show whether the type in question is found in Ewe and Ga as well. Where possible, if a particular type that occurs in Akan is not found in either of the two languages, I indicate how the language in question expresses the meaning that is encoded in the corresponding Akan exocentric compound. Thus, it is shown that for some of the compounds, the two languages have forms that overtly code the meaning that is missing in the corresponding Akan exocentric compounds.

4.1. Bahuvrihi compounds

As noted above, bahuvrihi compound is the type in which a crucial semantic property needed for the interpretation of the compound is outside of the compound. The two principal types identified in Appah (2016b) are the possessive and non-possessive bahuvrihi compounds. In this section, the former is referred to as the possessor type and “non-possessive” as a cover term for the other types of bahuvrihi compounds is dropped. The property type is done away with and its members put in the class of metaphorical compounds. Thus, the subtype of the bahuvrihi compounds discussed below are the possessor and the locative types.

4.1.1. Possessor bahuvrihi compounds

The possessor bahuvrihi compound, refers to the possessor of the compositional meaning of the compound, although there is no constituent that directly refers to the possessor (where possessor interprets as ‘entity with’, ‘entity which has’ or ‘entity characterised by’). What makes this type of compound exocentric is the absence of an overt unit that carries the possessor meaning. For example, the idiomatic meaning of Akan *kòntséntsén* ‘person with a long neck’ (Table 1) is more than the sum of the meanings of the parts, *kón* ‘neck’ and *tséntsén* ‘long’, whose literal meaning is ‘long neck’. So, there is no marker for the ‘possessor of’ or ‘person with’ meaning, although the compound refers to one who possesses a long neck. The same can be said for all the examples in Table 1 because the possessor of the compositional meaning of the compound is not overtly expressed in the construction.

Table 1: Possessor bahuvrihi compounds in Akan

Compound	Constituents	Element gloss	Meaning	Pattern
ìtsìrkèsé	ìtsíf-kèsé	head-big	person with a big head	N-A
ìtsìrkèlènkélè	ìtsíf-kèlènkélè	head-big	person with a big head	N-A
kòntséntsén	kón-tséntsén	neck-long	person with a long neck	N-A
hwènkèsé	hwéné-kèsé	nose-big	person with a big nose	N-A
nánkònhwéáá	nánkón-hwéáá	ankle-thin	person with thin legs	N-A
ànántá	à-nán-(n)á	PL-leg-twin	person with knock knees/valgum	N-N
àsò kèté	àsó-kèté	ear-mat	person with big ears	N-N
tsìrpá	tsíf-pá	head-bald	bald head person	N-V

In terms of the constituents and the relation obtaining between them, within the compound, we see that the Akan possessor bahuvrihi compounds are made up of nouns naming body parts such as *ìtsíf* ‘head’, *àsó* ‘ear’, *àkómá* ‘heart’, and *kón* ‘neck’ which have certain properties expressed mostly by adjectives which tend to be either dimension adjectives, like *kèsé* ‘big’, and *tséntsén* ‘long’ or physical property adjectives like *hyèw* ‘hot’ (Dixon 2004, Osam 1999). The property may also be expressed by a noun and, in one case, by a verb *pá* ‘to skim, remove, wipe off’. Clearly, the Akan examples in Table 1 are not exactly like the Sanskrit *bahu-vrihi*. Rather, the compound refers to the owner of the body part about which some property is predicated. That is why the possessor label has to be interpreted, on occasion, as ‘owner’, ‘one having’, ‘one with’, etc.

Ewe seems to have the possessor types of bahuvrihi compounds, as the data in Table 2 show. However, some consultants indicated that they would normally have a form *tó* ‘person’ which refers to the owner of the compositional meaning of the base

that *tɔ́* attaches to. For example, one consultant indicated that, in place of the compounds in Table 2, rows 3 & 4, he would have the forms with *tɔ́* (as in *nútsɔ́tsɔ́tɔ́* ‘gossip’ and *tàgbɔ́fáfátɔ́* ‘dumb person’). It seems to me, however, that the form *tɔ́* is not always needed since the same consultant acknowledges that compounds like *fòdògā* ‘person with a big belly’ may not need the form *tɔ́* because the intended meaning may be conveyed without *tɔ́*.

Table 2. Possessor bahuvrihi compounds in Ewe

Compound	Element	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
<i>fòdògā</i>	<i>fódó-gā</i>	belly-big	person with big belly	N-A
<i>àfòtíflenge</i>	<i>àfòtí-lēngē</i>	tiny/slim-leg	person with thin legs	N-A
<i>nútsɔ́tsɔ́ē</i>	<i>nú-tsɔ́tsɔ́ē</i>	mouth-sharp	one who insults/gossip	N-A
<i>tàgbɔ́fáfá</i>	<i>tàgbó-fáfá</i>	head-cold	blockhead/dumb person	N-A
<i>tàgbólō</i>	<i>tà-gbólō</i>	head-empty	empty-headed person	N-A
<i>tàgā</i>	<i>tà-gā</i>	head-big	person with a big nose	N-A
<i>ɲòtsílókpō</i>	<i>ɲòtsí-lókpō</i>	nose-bulky	person with a bulky nose	N-A
<i>ɲukúgā</i>	<i>ɲukú-gā</i>	eye-big	person with big eyes	N-A
<i>kpebaye</i>	<i>kpe-baye</i>	hip-flat	person with flat hips	N-A

Some Ga consultants gave the constructs in Table 3 as the Ga equivalents of some of the Akan possessor bahuvrihi compounds in Table 1 above. However, like Ewe, the status of the possessor bahuvrihi compounds in Ga seems to be in doubt because a number of Ga scholars (personal communication) suggest that there are no such compounds since, for them, in all instances of such constructions, there is a suffix *tsɛ̀* (sometimes, *lɔ̀*) that carries the meaning ‘possessor/owner of’ or ‘person characterised by’.

Table 3. Possessor bahuvrihi compounds in Ga

Compound	Constituents	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
<i>yítsò àgbò</i>	<i>yítsó-àgbò</i>	head-big	person with a big head	N-A
<i>gúgòŋ àgbò</i>	<i>gúgòŋ-àgbò</i>	nose-big	person with a big nose	N-A
<i>mùsù àgbò</i>	<i>mùsù-àgbò</i>	belly-big	person with big belly	N-A
<i>nà nè lé gélégé</i>	<i>nà nè lé gélégé</i>	leg-slender	person with thin legs	N-A
<i>tòí pàpà</i>	<i>tòí-pàpà</i>	ear-fan	one whose ears are like fans	N-N
<i>nà àbù àtó</i>	<i>nà àbù-àtó</i>	mouth-ladle	one whose mouth is like a ladle	N-N
<i>nà àtsòtsùròò</i>	<i>nà àbù-tsòtsùròò</i>	mouth-heavy/hanging	One with big hanging mouth	N-A/V

I sought to find out the possibility of using these Ga constructs without the marker *tsɛ̀* and noted that, like Ewe, the compounds without the marker *tsɛ̀* are also acceptable (see the constructions in (2)), except that the consultants thought they would use them only in pejorative contexts as unique identifiers for the referents.

(2) Possessor bahuvrihi compounds illustrated in Ga.

- a. **yítsò-àgbò nì bà-à**
 head big FOC come-PROG
 ‘It is big head (person with a big head) who is coming.’
- b. **Yítsò-àgbó lé nì bà-à**
 head big the FOC come-PROG
 ‘there comes the big head (person with a big head)’
- c. **Mì-nà gúgòh-àgbò yè Legon**
 1SG-see.PAST nose-big LOC Legon
 ‘I saw big nose (person with a big nose) in Legon’

The views expressed about the context in which the Ga possessor bahuvrihi compound may be used accords well with some Ewe speakers’ assessment of the possibility of using the possessor bahuvrihi without the form *tɔ́* which marks possessor. An Ewe speaker points out that some family names have the structure of the possessor bahuvrihi compounds. An example is the family name *Tàgá* ‘big head’, which serves as a unique identifier.

If the constructions without the overt markers are indeed acceptable, as the consultants claim, then it suggests that in both Ewe and Ga the possessor meaning can be conveyed without an affix that carries the meaning ‘possessor’/‘owner’, as the examples in Table 2 and Table 3 respectively show. However, there is a clear preference for the more transparent means of expression with the possessor/owner meaning overtly marked by *tɔ́* in Ewe and *tsɛ̀* (or *lɔ̀*) in Ga.

Finally, in terms of the syntactic category of the constituents of possessor bahuvrihi compounds, we see that all the Ewe examples are noun-adjective (N-A) structures. On the other hand, Akan and Ga have more diverse possibilities in that a compound can have a N-A, noun-noun (N-N) or even noun-verb (N-V) structure.

4.1.2. Location bahuvrihi compounds

A location bahuvrihi compound is the type which usually refers to a location in time or space, but there is no element that names the specific location. In a number of cases in Akan (as shown in Table 4) there may be a constituent that names a location. However, the location named by the constituent tends to be completely different from that which is named by the whole compound.

Table 4: Location bahuvrihi compounds in Akan

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
àfíásé	àfí-àsé	house-under	prison	N-N
dùáásé	dùá-àsé	tree-under	name of a town	N-N
m̀m̀d̀fráásé	m̀-̀m̀d̀frá-àsé	PL-child-under	childhood (time)	N-N
gàès-àsé	gàès-àsé	guys-under	place where guys meet	N-N
àkómásé	àkóm-àsé	ritual.dance-under	location of a ritual dance	N-N
m̀b̀óádúá d̀ò	m̀b̀óádúá-d̀ò	fishing net tree-top	place for keeping fishing nets/location of 'mboadua'	N-N

The Akan location bahuvrihi compounds are N-N structures in which the left-hand constituent mostly names a concrete object such as *àfí(é)* 'house/home', *m̀-̀m̀d̀frá* 'children', *dùá* 'tree', etc., and, in one instance, an activity – *àkóm* 'ritual dance (of the traditional priest)'. The right-hand constituent, on the other hand, is usually a locative/relator noun like *àsé* 'underside/bottom' and *d̀ò* 'top' (Osam, Duah and Blay 2011).³

The Ewe location bahuvrihi compounds refer to the place where the denotatum of the compound happens or is located (Table 5). The right-hand constituents of the Ewe location bahuvrihi compounds are regarded as postpositions (Agbadah 2017). Hence, they are noun-postposition (N-P) compounds, except the last one which has an N-N structure.

Table 5. Location bahuvrihi compounds in Ewe

Compound	Element	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
àf̀òdzí	àf̀ò-dzí	leg-upper surface	toilet	N-P
kp̀óxā	kp̀ó-xā	fence/wall-behind	latrine	N-P
kp̀ó dzí	kp̀ó-dzí	mound-upper surface	hill top, location of a school	N-P
k̀ódzí	k̀ó-dzí	mount-top	hospital	N-P
núg̀ód̀ò	nú-g̀ód̀ò	thing-behind	toilet	N-P
b̀èmè	b̀è-mè	thatch-inside	where thatch is fetched	N-P
t̀òmè	t̀ò-mè	river/stream-inside	place where water is fetched	N-P
àh̀àmè	àh̀à-mè	liquor/palmwine-inside	place where palm wine is made	N-P
k̀útèf̀é	k̀ú-tèf̀é	death-place	funeral	N-N

These Ewe compounds are regarded as exocentric because of their apparent contemporary non-transparency/compositionality. There are, however, hints about the motivation for their initial formation. One speaker suggested that *kp̀ódzí*, for example,

³ The status of the right-hand constituents is the subject of some debate, whether they are nouns or postpositions. In this paper, I work with the position of Osam, Duah and Blay (2011) that they are nouns without necessarily endorsing their position. The details will not necessarily affect the analysis beyond the fact that the output would be either a noun-noun or a noun-postposition compound.

became the name of the location of a school because schools used to be built on hills or elevated grounds. The same understanding underpins *kódzi* (lit. mount top) which refers to a hospital. Thus, it has to be noted that the Ewe forms cited here have their primary uses as landscape terms which are transparent, before their “secondary” use as the names of institutions and that it is their secondary use as the names of institutions that is at issue, when we refer to their exocentric use. This is consistent with the view that sometimes, whether a compound will be deemed to be exocentric or endocentric is a matter of interpretation (Fabb 1998).

Ga also has locative bahuvrihi compounds, as shown in Table 6, and they are either N-N or N-V compounds.

Table 6. Location bahuvrihi compounds in Ga

Compound	Element	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
tsèí (à)shì	tsèí-shìshì	tree-under	resting place	N-N
kpàtáshì	kpàtá-shìshì	hut-under	kitchen	N-N
gbátsò-nàà	gbátsò-nàà	foretell-room	prophecy room	N-N
sòlèmòtsòshì	sòlèmòtsò-shìshì	Prayer tree-under	Prayer ground	N-N
kpá búṅ	kpá-búṅ	stop hole inside	prison	V/N-N

The foregoing discussion of bahuvrihi compounds in the three Kwa languages shows the pattern in Table 7. Of the two subtypes of bahuvrihi compounds identified for Akan (possessor and location) Ewe and Ga definitely have the location type. The status of the possessor type is not certain, although one cannot rule them out completely because some speakers accept them. What is not in doubt, however, is that Ewe and Ga speakers prefer corresponding more transparent constructions with the forms *tɔ́* and *tsɛ́/lɔ́* respectively marking the ‘possessor/owner of’ meaning overtly.

Table 7. Bahuvrihi compounds in Kwa

Language	Possessor	Location
Akan	✓	✓
Ewe	? ✓	✓
Ga	? ✓	✓

4.2. Metaphorical compounds

As described by Bauer (2008a:65), a metaphorical compound is a type of exocentric compound “which names an entity to which the denotatum of the compound is compared.” That is, a property of the compositional meaning of the compound is

compared to a property of the actual referent of the compound. This is done without an overt marker of comparison. Thus, the compounds are to be interpreted metaphorically or by some other figure of speech like synecdoche (Bauer 2016). For example, the referent of Akan *àbírékyíré ábòdwèsé* ‘crabgrass’ [lit. goat beard] as found in Table 8 is assumed to either look like or be as strong as the beard of a goat – *àbírékyíré ábòdwèsé*.

Table 8: Metaphorical compounds in Akan

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
<i>àbírékyíré ábòdwèsé</i>	<i>àbírékyíré-ábòdwèsé</i>	goat-beard	crabgrass (digitaria)	N-N
<i>à̀nòkóró</i>	<i>à̀nó-kóró</i>	mouth-one	unity	N-Num
<i>hwèntéáá</i>	<i>hwéné-téáá</i>	nose-slim	rosemary, a spice	N-A
<i>m̀móá nán</i>	<i>m̀móá-nán</i>	PL-animal-leg	lost course	N-N
<i>̀̀ntr̀̀bànáám</i>	<i>̀̀ntr̀̀bá-nám</i>	egg plant-mean	weakling	N-N
<i>òd̀wáńkòkòó</i>	<i>òd̀wáń-kòkòó</i>	sheep-red	dog (for the Kwahu people)	N-A

The Ewe compounds in Table 9 fit the description of metaphorical compounds. For example, a wrinkle is characterised as *kèsé-(à)kàbà* ‘monkey tribal mark’. In many African cultures, people are identified by their tribal marks which are made mostly on the forehead or the cheeks of the person. Thus, the wrinkle in the face of a person is referred to by comparing it to that which occurs on the forehead of a monkey, identifying it as a monkey, just as the tribal mark identifies the bearer as a member of the people group that s/he belongs to.

Table 9. Metaphorical compounds in Ewe

Compound	Element	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
<i>kèsé-(à)kàbà</i>	<i>kèsé-àkàbà</i>	monkey-tribal mark	wrinkle	N-N
<i>̀̀nòli xèyí</i>	<i>̀̀nòli-xèyí</i>	ghost-umbrella	mushroom	N-N
<i>à̀nótò</i>	<i>à̀nò-tò</i>	paint or bitumen-ear	dandelion	N-N
<i>kèsé-kúkú</i>	<i>kèsé-kúkú</i>	monkey-hat	mockery	N-N
<i>zānú</i>	<i>zā-nú</i>	night-thing	bribe	N-N
<i>gbèvú</i>	<i>gbè-ávú</i>	bush-dog	ruffian	N-N
<i>zàvú</i>	<i>zà-vú</i>	night-car	deceit	N-N
<i>̀̀nkúgá</i>	<i>̀̀nkú-gá</i>	eye-big	greed	N-A
<i>túkpúí</i>	<i>tú-kpuie</i>	gun-short	juju/charm	N-A

Ga exocentric compounds that are metaphorical in nature, as shown in Table 10, are very much like the Akan equivalents. For example, a location that is difficult to access is referred to by comparing it with the anus of a tortoise which, given the

tendency of the tortoise to hide securely in its shell, is almost impossible to access without extreme inducement or violence, including killing the tortoise.

Table 10. Metaphorical compounds in Ga

Compound	Element	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern
tòò líléí	tòò-líléí	goat-tongue	dandelion	N-N
tòò gbéí	tòò-gbéí	goat-testicles	doughnut	N-N
bàâ drò	bàâ-drò	crocodile-bile	Something that is very bitter	N-N
hálá dúnà	hálá-dúnà	tortoise-anus	a place that is difficult to access	N-N

We observe from the discussion in this section that all the three Kwa languages have metaphorical compounds whose referent vary widely, including, human beings, plants, locations and abstract concepts. In terms of the syntactic categories of the constituents, we see that Ga metaphorical compounds are all N-N combinations. Ewe and Akan, on the other hand, are a bit more diverse in the syntactic categories of the constituents, with two different combinations of word classes for Ewe (N-N & N-A) and three combinations for Akan (N-N, N-A & N-Num). Here numerals are treated as constituting a separate word class.

4.3. Exocentric synthetic compounds

The exocentric synthetic compound was originally characterised as the type in which a verb and its object (internal argument) form a compound that refers to the subject or external argument of the verb (Bauer 2008a). The examples that Bauer provides are all agentive nominals. However, Appah (2016b) distinguishes three different subtypes of exocentric synthetic compounds that may be grouped into two – action/event and participants (agentive and patient). I show how they manifest in the three Kwa languages below.

4.3.1. Action exocentric synthetic compounds

This is the type of exocentric synthetic compounds that refers to an action/event, manner of carrying out the action, the fact of the action occurring, the result of the action, etc. (Appah 2017b, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2005, 2006). Akan examples from the Fante dialect are in Table 11. In these compounds, the internal argument of the verb assumes a generic non-referential function and the meaning of the whole compound can usually be worked out from the meanings of the constituent verb and its argument (Appah 2016b, 2017b, Appah, Duah and Kamfon 2017). However, they are exocentric because they fail the hyponymy test in that the whole compound is not a subtype of

either the nominal constituent or the potential head/selecting element which is a verb (cf. Bisetto and Scalise 2007) because the compound as a whole is a noun (cf. Bauer 2008a, 2010).

Table 11: Action nominal exocentric synthetic compounds in Akan

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
àdzè-sé [!] é ⁴	àdzé-sèè	thing-to destroy	wastefulness	N-V
èdzìbàndzí	èdzìbáń-dzí	food-to eat	(act of) eating	N-V
àdzè-tó	àdzé-tó	thing-to buy	(act of) buying	N-V
àdzè-tón	àdzé-tón	thing-to sell	(act of) selling	N-V
èdzìbànnòá	èdzìbáń-nòá	food-to cook	(act of) cooking	N-V
bàkà-nú	bàká-nú	lagoon-to stir	fishing in a lagoon	N-V
àdzè-sùá	àdzé-sùá	thing-to learn	education, learning	N-V
àsè-kyèré	àsè-kyèré	meaning-to show	interpretation/explanation	N-V

Here, contra previous analysis, I assume that the right-hand constituent of these N-V compound is not nominalized (cf. Appah 2017b). Previous analysts (Anderson 2013, Anyidoho 1990) assumed the prior nominalization of the right-hand constituents of such compounds, making them endocentric, based mainly on a pattern of downstep observed on the first syllable of the right constituents of some compounds of this type. This is exemplified in (3), where the high tone on the second constituent of the compound is downstepped or lower in pitch than the high tone on the preceding syllable.

- (3) *òsé-[!]bó* ‘jubilation’ *from* *òsé* ‘outry’ *bó* ‘make’
àhá-[!]yó ‘hunting’ ” *èhá* ‘hunting’⁵ *yé/yó* ‘do’
ntém-[!]pé ‘haste’ ” *ntém* ‘quickly’ *pé* ‘want’
 (Dolphyne 1988:123)

Proponents of the prior nominalization view argue that it is the floating low tone of a deleted nominal(izing) prefix that exerts a lowering effect on the following high tone. For those compounds that do not show the downstep, like those in Table 11, it is observed rightly that there is no downstep because there is no high tone on the final

⁴ A superscript (!) before a tone-bearing unit (TBU) indicates that the high tone on the TBU is downstepped.

⁵ The word *èhá* should be glossed ‘forest’ not ‘hunting’, as Dolphyne does, because it designates the location where the activity of hunting takes place, rather than the hunting itself (cf. Christaller 1933: 164, 169).

syllable of their first constituents. This way, the phonological condition for the downstep is not met. However, Appah, Duah and Kambon (2017) argue that there are many more places where the structural condition for the application of the purported nominalization-signalling downstep is met and yet the downstep does not apply. Thus, it is suggested that evidence for the prior nominalization of the right-hand constituent is at best weak. Therefore, following Appah (2015), it is argued that the compounds are exocentric and that the nominal syntactic category has to be seen as a holistic property of Akan compounds in general. This no-prior-nominalization view is the point of departure in the present paper.

My consultants did not provide such compounds for Ewe and Ga. I suppose that this is because, in these languages, the right-hand constituents of such compounds are assumed to be nominalized, making them endocentric, much like previous accounts of the Akan N-V compounds. For example, the Ewe compounds in Table 12, which have the same semantic import as the Akan N-V compounds in Table 11, are analysed as noun-noun action nominal constructs in which the right-hand constituents are nominalized through reduplication (Ameka 1999, Ofori 2002).

Table 12: Action nominal in Ewe

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
nú-d̩d̩	d̩-nú	thing-eat	eating	N-N
kpó-títí	tí-kpó	jump-?	jumping	N-N
tsì-kùkù	kù-tsi	fetch-water	testing	N-N
hà-dzìdzì	dzi-hà	sing-song	singing	N-N
vù-fófō	fò-vù	beat-drum	drumming	N-N
dzi-dódó	dó-dzi	plant-heart	endurance	N-N
kókó-fófō	fò-kókó	cook-porridge	pleading	N-N

In the literature on action nominalization, this type of Ewe compound falls under the valency-lowering type in which a transitive verb and its internal argument form a composite whose only argument will be the external argument of the verb (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993:184-85). Here, it is assumed that the verb is first nominalized and the nominalized verb inherits the internal argument of the underlying verb, as argued for in the literature on derived nominals (see Booij 1988, Hoekstra 1986, Lieber 1989, 1992).

4.3.2. Agent(ive) exocentric synthetic compounds

The agentive exocentric synthetic compound refers to the entity that performs the action designated by the compositional meaning of the compound, although there

are no forms that carry the agent(ive) meaning. Akan examples of agentive exocentric synthetic compounds are in Table 13.

Table 13: Agentive exocentric synthetic compounds in Akan (Appah 2017b)

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
kònsúó	kó-ńsúó	fetch-water	one who fetches water	V-N
kòányíná	kó-ányíná	fetch-firewood	one who fetches firewood	V-N
bóótiré	bó-ètíré	plait-hair	one who plaits hair/hair dresser	V-N
díawúó	dí-àwù	cause-death	murderer (this is a surname)	V-N
kúm-kóm	kúm-kóm	kill-hunger	hunger killer (early-maturing maize variety)	V-N
díàbóró	dí-àbóró	cause-wickedness	a malevolent person	V-N

In these Akan compounds, the entity that performs the action designated by the compound is not explicitly mentioned in the compound itself. For instance, the literal meaning of the first example in Table 13 is an action of fetching water, but the compound refers to the entity that carries out the action of fetching the water. See an extended discussion of these compounds in Appah (2016a, 2019).

Ewe also has agentive exocentric synthetic compounds which have the same verb-object constituent order as the corresponding Akan compounds. However, as shown in Table 14, unlike Akan, the verb-object structure is reduplicated to form the word (Ofori 2002:176). Thus, we may call them reduplicative compounds.

Table 14. Agentive exocentric synthetic compounds in Ewe

Compound	Element Gloss	Reduplicated form	Meaning
dù-àtí	eat-wood	dùàtí~dùàtí	wood beetle
lò-àtí	make hollow wood	lòtí~lòtí	wood pecker
dzà-hà	buy-drink	dzè àhà	one who buys drinks (Ofori 2002:179)

Because we did not get any examples from the Ga consultants, we may say, for now, that Ga does not have agentive exocentric synthetic compounds. This might be because, just like bahuvrihi compounds, Ga speakers prefer transparent structures in which all meaning components are formally anchored. Therefore, the relevant compounds will be affixed with the suffix *tsɛ̀/lɔ̀* ‘doer’, as in *gùà-yé-lɔ̀* ‘trader’ [lit. market-eat-person], rather than just *gùà-yé* which would be expected, if Ga were to follow the same pattern as Akan.

4.3.3. Patient exocentric synthetic compounds

The patient type of exocentric synthetic compound refers to the entity that undergoes or suffers the effect of the compositional meaning of the compound. However, there is no overt unit in the compound that carries the meaning, patient or sufferer. This is exemplified by the Akan compound *díàmíá* in Table 15 which refers to the entity that suffers a misfortune rather than the one that causes the misfortune. This example can be compared to the corresponding agentive compound *díàbóró* ‘malevolent person’ in Table 13, whose referent causes the effect of the literal meaning of the compound.

Table 15: Patient exocentric synthetic compounds in Akan

Compound	Constituents	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
<i>díàmíá</i>	<i>dí-àmíá</i>	suffer-state of being helmed in	one who has suffered a misfortune	V-N

The Ewe and Ga consultants did not provide any examples of patient exocentric synthetic compounds and the reason will not be different from the reason given for the absence of agent(ive) exocentric synthetic compounds in these two languages.

Thus, the picture that emerges from the survey of exocentric synthetic compounds in the three Kwa languages is as presented in Table 16. Akan has three subtypes – action, agentive and patient. Ewe has the agentive type whilst Ga has none at all.

Table 16. Exocentric Synthetic compounds in Kwa

Language	Action	Agentive	Patient
Akan	✓	✓	✓
Ewe	-	✓	-
Ga	-	-	-

4.4. Transpositional exocentric compounds

In a transpositional exocentric compound, it is only the word class of the compound that is not overt. This means that the compound functions as a member of a word class that is different from the word class of its constituents (Bauer 2008a).

Akan examples of transpositional exocentric compounds are those in Table 17 in which the composition of two verbs yields a noun (Appah 2017a, b). The two verbs

in each such transpositional exocentric compound may also be found occurring together as verbs in a serial verb construction but the compound that is formed may not be used as a verb and cannot admit internal inflectional marking, such as tense and polarity, because it is a noun (Appah 2017a).⁶

Table 17. Transpositional exocentric compound in Akan (Appah 2017a)

Compound	Form	Gloss	Translation	Pattern
tútá	tú-tá	uproot-fart	a weed	V-V
prèhwé	prè-hwé	tap-see	gossiping	V-V
gyédzí	gyé-dzí	receive-eat	faith/belief	V-V
kámá	ká-má	say-give	intercession	V-V
dzímá	dzí-má	eat-give	intercession	V-V
sóhwé	só-hwé	try-see	tribulation/temptation	V-V
sòmákó	sòmà-kó	send-go	faithfulness in going on errands	V-V

Ewe also seems to have transpositional exocentric compounds that are formed from the composition of two verbs to form a noun. The Ewe examples in Table 18 are drawn in part from Ofori (2002), while the rest were elicited from the consultants. Some of the constituents are reduplicated before they form a compound with the other constituent. We can tell the meaning of these compounds, as noted above. What is missing is the syntactic category that cannot be accounted for in the constituents unless we assume the prior-nominalization of at least one of the constituents.

Table 18. Transpositional exocentric compounds in Ewe

Compound	Elements	Element Gloss	Meaning	Pattern	Source
ḍà/flè	ḍà-flè	cook-buy	cooked food for sale	V-V	Ofori
xòsè	xò-sè	get-hear	faith/belief	V-V	(2002:179)
xòvé	xò-vé	take-come/bring	destiny	V-V	
gbòxí	gbò-xí	breath-block	asthma	V-V	
tsóḍù	tsó-ḍù	take-eat	benefit	V-V	
xòvé	xò-vé	take-come	destiny	V-V	
zòzòvá	zò vá	walk-come	coming by walking	V-V	Ofori (2002:176)
ḍòḍòkpó	ḍò-kpó	taste-see	tasting	V-V	
dòdòkpó	dó kpó	wear-see	examination	V-V	

⁶ It is noted elsewhere (Appah 2015, 2017a) that these compounds provide the strongest evidence for the view that the syntactic category of the Akan compound is a holistic constructional property that does not depend on the syntactic category of the constituents.

4.5. Summary

In this section, I have presented the various types of exocentric compounds that are found in the three Kwa languages, starting from what had been found in Akan (Appah 2016a, b, c, 2017a, b, Appah, Duah and Kambon 2017). It has been shown that all the four types identified in Akan are also attested in Ewe to various degrees, except the action and patient exocentric synthetic compounds. Ga generally seems to have limited number of exocentric compounds with only the bahuvrihi and metaphorical types found in the language.

The pattern that emerges from the survey is summed up in Table 19. The question mark (?) before the tick (✓), as in (? ✓), is meant to capture the fact that the status of the relevant compound (the possessor bahuvrihi compounds) in these languages is not settled.

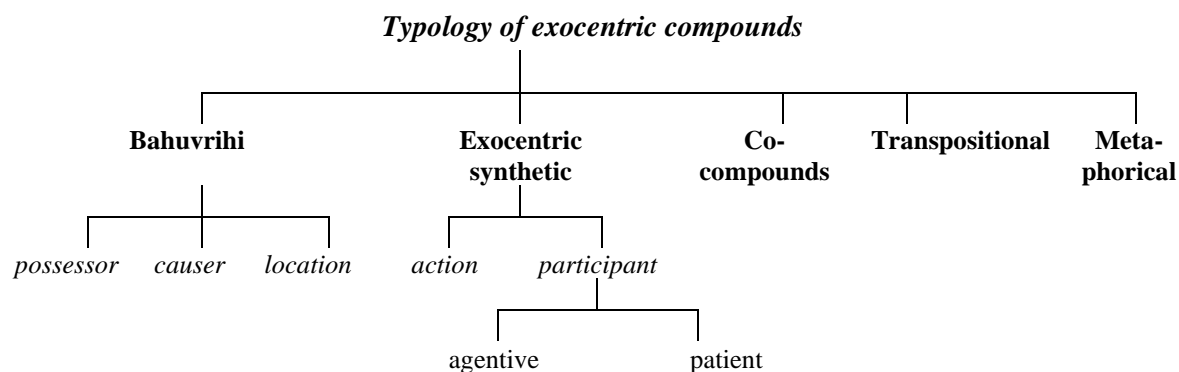
Table 19. Summary of the types of exocentric compound in Akan, Ewe and Ga

Types	Bahuvrihi		Metaphorical	Exocentric synthetic			Transpositional
	Possessor	Location		Action	Participant		
					Agentive	Patient	
Akan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ewe	? ✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓
Ga	? ✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-

5. Conclusion

The study of exocentric compounds in this paper has revealed some interesting patterns regarding the types and their spread in the three Kwa languages as well as the syntactic categories of the constituents. We have seen that of the five main types posited in Bauer (2008a, 2010), four occur in the three Kwa languages. These are bahuvrihi, metaphorical, exocentric synthetic and transpositional exocentric compounds. All three languages have bahuvrihi compounds and their two subtypes – possessor and location – except that some speakers of Ewe and Ga observed that they would use constructions with forms overtly marking the possessor meaning. Also, all the languages have metaphorical compounds. Only Akan and Ewe have exocentric synthetic and transpositional exocentric compounds. Ewe has the agentive, but not the action and patient subtypes of exocentric synthetic compounds.

Giving the foregoing, we can recast the typology of exocentric compounds, based on Bauer's work and the suggested subtypes, as shown on the taxonomic tree below.



One issue that comes out strongly from the survey in this paper is the need for conversation about the best way to gather data on exocentric compounds cross-linguistically. Also, there has to be further refinement of the classification criteria and types of exocentric compounds. Putting the Ewe data in the various classes proved particularly challenging. The data therefore requires further critical study hopefully by someone with native-speaker intuitions about the data. As Ralli (2019:284) observes, “well-based studies are those for which the authors are either native speakers of the language where the investigated data come from, or have extensive work on them.”

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THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN KUSAAL¹

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Abstract

This paper looks at the syntax and semantics of relative clause constructions in Kusaal, a Mabia (Gur) language spoken in the Upper East Region of Ghana. Although extensive work has been done on sister Mabia languages on this topic, little can be said of same in relation to Kusaal. This paper presents a comprehensive discussion on the various elements, functions, and formations of Kusaal relative clauses and, among other things, shows that the language has both in-situ internally-headed relative clauses and left-headed internally-headed relative clauses (Hiraiwa et al. 2017). This is carried out with data collected on fieldwork, in addition to the author's own native speaker intuitions.

Keywords: Kusaal, relative clauses, Mabia (Gur) language, in-situ head-internal relative clause, left-headed head internal relative clause

1. Introduction

Relative clauses are subordinate/embedded clauses that function as modifiers within a noun phrase. Functionally, relative clauses (REL-clauses), together with other noun modifiers, form part of the grammar of referential coherence providing either anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referential identification (Givón 2001:175). The following restrictive REL-clause in Kusaal modifies the definite head noun *dáú* 'man' in

¹ This is a modified version of a paper on 'Relativisation in Kusaal' in SOAS working papers in Linguistics (2018). This version presents additional discussion on the 'Diachronic and Synchronic uses of the morphemes *Ne* and *KA* in Kusaal among other things which were not previously mentioned in the SOAS working papers in Linguistics. This is deemed relevant as readers will benefit from a much more comprehensive analysis of the topic.

(1a-b). The event coded in the REL-clause is assumed to be familiar or known to the hearer, a familiarity referred to as “pragmatic presupposition” (Givón 2001: 176).

(1) REL-clause in Kusaal

a. *Dáú* [*kàné sà dā'* *gbáúŋ lá*]
 man REL PAST buy.PERF book DEF

m̄r lígídí.

have money

‘The man who bought the book has money’

b. *Dáú[-sɔ'] né sà dā'* *gbáúŋ lá*
 man.IDEF.P COMP PAST buy.PERF book DEF

m̄r lígídí.

have money

‘The man who bought the book has money.’

The rel-clause in (1) expresses an event of ‘buying’ where the agent is co-referent with the head noun *dáú* ‘man’ which is modified by the rel-clause. Thus, the subject of the main clause (2) is modified by the rel-clause in (3) and its co-referent noun is the subject. The speaker does not assert the proposition in the relative clause (2); however, s/he presupposes that it is known or familiar to the hearer (3).

(2) Main clause

Dáú lá m̄r lígídí.

man DEF have money

‘The man has money.’ (asserted)

(3) Subordinate clause

Dáú lá sà dā' *gbáúŋ lá*

man DEF PAST buy-PERF book DEF

‘The man bought the book.’ (presupposed)

This paper examines the syntax and semantics of relative clauses in Kusaal. Although extensive research exists on sister Mabia languages on the topic (see Hiraiwa et al. 2017: footnote 3 for a list of languages), much cannot be said of same in relation to Kusaal. This study is to fill the gap by discussing the various functions, formations and elements of relative clauses in Kusaal. I look at in-situ internally-headed relative clauses and left-headed internally-headed relative clauses. I also explore restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses as well as the various noun phrase (NP) positions accessible to relativisation in Kusaal. I will indicate areas where Kusaal patterns with observations made in sister languages and areas where they differ. This is purposely done to show the close relatedness or otherwise of these languages in relative clause formation.

Kusaal is an SVO language in which the verb does not inflect for tense or number. The remoteness of an activity or event is expressed using particles: *sà* for an event that is a day old, *dàà* for an event that is two days and beyond but less than a year and *dà* for an event that is a year old and beyond. As a tonal language, all data and examples are marked for tones. There are two dialects of Kusaal: Atoende and Agole. Both dialects are spoken in the Upper East Region of Ghana. However, while the Atoende dialect is spoken in Bawku West and its surrounding areas the Agole dialect is spoken in Bawku Municipal, Garu-Tempene and adjoining areas. The data used in this work mainly come from the Agole dialect though there are instances where the Atoende dialect is used to clarify some concepts. This is mentioned anytime such a move is taken.

The paper is divided into six sections with the rest organised as follows: after this introduction, section two looks at the syntactic structures of rel-clauses in Kusaal whilst section three provides further insight on other elements of Kusaal relativisation. Section four discusses the accessibility hierarchy showing the possibility of relativising all elements in the scale in Kusaal. Section five gives account of restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses and their respective interpretations in Kusaal, and section six summarises the work.

2. Syntactic structures of relative clauses in Kusaal

Though this paper takes a more descriptive approach to the analysis of relativisation in Kusaal, an insight on the formal structural composition of the relative clause remains indispensable. Such formal explications, where required, will be carried out using the minimalist approach (Chomsky 1995).

Cross-linguistic realisations of relative clauses are generally grouped into two categories based on the structural positioning of the relativised head noun. The types are:

an externally-headed relative clause (EHRC) where the relativised head noun is structurally located outside the relative clause complementiser phrase (CP); and an internally-headed relative clause (IHRC) where the head noun is structurally located inside the relative clause CP (Hiraiwa et al. 2017; Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009). Hiraiwa et al. (2017: 4) add that relative clauses are further divided into three types depending on linear positions of the relative head noun (H). A relative clause is described as left-headed, if H appears to the left of the relative clause, whilst it is said to be right-headed when H appears to the right. It can also be in-situ, when H is located within the relative clause. Hiraiwa et al. (2017) show that Mabilia languages including Buli, Dagbani, Gurene, Dagaare and Kabiye have left-headed IHRCs; in addition, all the aforementioned languages with the exception of Dagaare also have in-situ IHRCs. Kusaal like Buli, Gurene, Dagbani and Kabiye has both in-situ IHRCs and left-headed IHRCs.

In-situ head-internal relativisation in Kusaal:

- (4) *Fún* *sà* *nyē* *dáú-só'* *lá* *àn(é)*
 2SG PAST see-PERF man-IND.P DEF COP.be
m̄ *zúá.*
 1SG.POSS friend
 'The man whom you saw is my friend.'
- (5) *Ádúk* *sà* *nyē* *Ádólúbné* *sū'oe*
 Aduk PAST see-PERF Adolub COMP own-PERF
ná'á-síebá *lá.*
 cow-INDEF.P.PL DEF
 'Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.'

The examples in (4-5) demonstrate the most important properties of head-internal relativisation in Kusaal. The head noun is left in its original position and directly followed by an indefinite pronoun acting as a relative particle. The structure of the in-situ relative clause is as in (6).

- (6) [DP [CP...(COMP)...H-INDEF.PRO (REL)...] DEF]

Left-headed head-internal relativisation in Kusaal:

- (7) *Dáú kà̀nè ká fù sà nyḗ lá àn(é)*
 man REL.P COMP 2SG past see.PERF DEF COP.be
m̄ zúá.
 1SG.POSS friend
 ‘The man whom you saw is my friend.’

- (8) *Ádúk sà nyḗ ná'á̀bà̀nè ká Ádólúb*
 Aduk PAST see-PERF cow.PL-REL COMP Adolub
sū'òe lá.
 own DEF
 ‘Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.’

- (9) *M̄ sà nyḗ bíkà̀nè sà wā'ád lá.*
 1SG PAST see child-REL PAST dance DEF
 ‘I saw the child who was dancing.’

From the examples in (7-8), it can be seen that in left-headed IHRC in Kusaal, the REL-clause occurs adjacent to the head noun. Unlike subject relativisation that requires no complementiser, it is obligatory to have the complementiser in object relativisation. Structurally, left-headed IHRC is represented as in (10) (see Hiraiwa et al 2017: 11).

- (10) [DP [CP...H_j-REL...(COMP)...t_j...] DEF]

Generally, relative clauses in Kusaal can be said to have the following features, which are subsequently discussed in subsections 2.1-2.3.

- i. A head/antecedent NP
- ii. The particles *ne* and *ka* in-situ IHRC and Left-headed IHRC respectively
- iii. An obligatory relative clause marker *kane/bane* for Left-headed IHRC and *so' / sieba* for in-situ IHRC
- iv. Clause final determiner *la*

2.1. Diachronic and Synchronic uses of *Nε* and *KA* in Kusaal

Abubakari (2018) argues that the striking sameness or near sameness between copulas, connectives, complementisers and contrastive focus markers in Kusaal cannot be overlooked. The close phonological and morphological similarities in clausal connectives and focus markers are quite common in the grammar of several African languages with Ghanaian languages being no exception. Fiedler and Schwarz (2005) in their work on five (5) Ghanaian languages: three (3) Kwa and two (2) Gur languages suggest that clausal conjunctions are used in linking together focus constituents and their non-focal parts. They allude the inter-marriage between particles that function both as connectives and focal markers to grammaticalization process in the languages they studied though they are quick to add that the process is still at its inception stages. Data from Kusaal point to the same direction and further show that the grammaticalization process in this language can be said to be in a far advanced stage if not even completed compared to the languages used by Fiedler and Schwarz (2005). The grammaticalization chain (Stassen 1997:85) in Kusaal stretches from two copula verbs *an(ε)* ‘to be’ and *ka’a* ‘to be/have not’ to connectives to complementisers to present day focus markers (Abubakari 2018: 108). I begin by showing the distribution and meaning of *nε* as it is used in coordination, focus constructions and relative constructions and follow same with *ka*. All data and examples below are taken from (Abubakari 2018: 108-111).

2.1.1. The uses of *Nε*

i. Coordination

(11) *Àsùmbúl nε Àvúlúm vúúl nε Àbáá nε Àdàyúúg nε*
 Asumbul CONJ Avulumvuul CONJ Abaa CONJ Adayuug CONJ

Àtámpúá yé lá.
 Atampua matter

‘The story of Asumbul, Avulumvuul, Abaa, Adayuug and Atampua’

ii. Focus Particle

(12) *Àsùmbúl nε Àkúndúg í dà bē* SF
 Mr.Rabbit CONJ Mr. Hyena FOC PAST EXIST.

‘There lived MR RABBIT AND MR HYENA.’ (not Mr Wolf and Mr Spider or any other animal)

- (13) *Àsùmbúl né Àvúlúm vúúl dā' né dǎám.* NON-SF
 Asumbul CONJ Avulumvuul buy FOC alcohol
 ‘Asumbul and Avulumvuul bought ALCOHOL.’ (not water or any other thing in addition)

- (14) *Àsùmbúl né Àvúlúm vúúl dā' dǎám né.* IP FOCUS
 Asumbul CONJ Avulumvuul buy alcohol FOC
 ‘Asumbul and Avulumvuul bought alcohol.’ (not any other activity, this action also evokes surprise)

iii. Relative Clauses

- (15) *Àdúk n(ε) sà tūm tóúm sí'él lá àn(ε) sóm.*
 Aduk COMP PAST work work.NOM INDEF DEF COP good
 ‘The work which Aduk did yesterday was good.’

A pronominal subject NP in the matrix clause of the Relative Clause in (15) uses the emphatic form of the pronoun.

- (16) *Fún sà tūm tóúm sí'él lá àn(é) sóm.*
 2SG.EMPH PAST work work.NOM INDEF DEF COP
 good
 ‘The work YOU did is good.’

Clearly, *nε* has different distributions matching the diverse functions it plays. The conjunction does not have same interpretation or scope as the focus particle. The use of *n(ε)* in relative clauses cannot be directly linked to the conjunction but the emphatic interpretation could have a bearing with the focus marker. It is argued based on the above situations that *nε* as conjunction and as focus marker are different lexical items synchronically though a diachronic relationship can be strongly traced (Abubakari 2018).

2.1.2. The uses of KA

The sentences below are complex constructions in Kusaal. They are aimed at providing a holistic view of the functions of the *ka* morpheme in a single glance. All examples are taken from Abubakari (2018: 111-113).

i. Coordination

- (17) *Bà nà dɔl ká pāām lígídí.*
 2PL FUT follow CONJ reach money
 ‘They will pursue and make money.’

ii. Clause initial linker

- (18) *Ká nànnànnà bē lá, bíís gɔ́síg*
 LINKER now EXIST LA children see.NOM
ká’á ná’ánáá.
 NEG.COP easy
 ‘As we speak/in these present days, taking care of a child is not easy.’

iii. Complementiser

- (19) *Bāñim ká fɔ́ yá’á yúúg, ñ nà kēn ká*
 know.IMP COMP 2SG if delay, 1SG FUT go CONJ
bāsíf.
 leave.2SG
 ‘Be aware that I will leave you behind if you delay.’
- (20) *Bà sà nyē búpúŋ kàn ká bà sà*
 3PL PAST see lady REL COMP 3PL PAST
ĩis ø/ð lígídi lá.
 give ø/3SG money DET
 ‘They saw the lady whom they gave the money to yesterday.’

iv. Ex-situ non-subject focus

- (21) a. *Lì àné dáám kà Àsúmbúl né Àvúlúm vúúl dā'.*
 it COP.be alcoholFOC Asumbul CONJ Avulumvuul buy
 'It is alcohol that Asumbul and Avulumvuul bought.' (not, for instance, water)
- b. *Dáám kà Àsúmbúl né Àvúlúm vúúl dā'.*
 alcohol FOC Asumbul CONJ Avulumvuul buy
 'It is alcohol that Asumbul and Avulumvuul bought.' (not, for instance, water)

In all scenarios, *ka* functions as a clausal connector. In (17) it links two independent clauses, whilst in (18-21) it introduces the subordinate clauses. However, the particle in (21) has undergone some phonological change with respect to tone. Whereas the conjunction, the complementiser as well as the clause initial *ká* are marked with high tones, the particle *kà* after the fronted focused constituent has a low tone. The argument here is that the conjunction *ká* has metamorphosized into an inherently emphatic clause initial *ká* and further into a complementiser which is equally emphatic and restricted in usage to only ex-situ relativized head nouns compared to the default complementiser *yé* in the language. The inherently emphatic *ka* is further reanalysed into a focus marker when it occurs after a fronted non-subject constituent in Kusaal where an interpretation proposed to be a contrastive focus interpretation is encoded instead of mere emphasis.

The proposed grammaticalization of the conjunctions *né* and *ka* into focus particles is not unique to Kusaal since this has been attested as one prominent feature in information structure particles in mostly African languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 95, 331; Heine and Reh 1984:181-2; Stassen 1997:85; Fiedler and Schwarz 2005:137; Boadi 1974). In a more recent observation, Mwinlaaru and Yep (2017) discuss the grammaticalization of demonstrative into focus particles in Lobr Dagara, a dialect of Dagaare. From the table illustrated below, I conclude by suggesting a pattern of desemanticization of focus particles in Kusaal from the copula verbs *àn(é)* 'to be' and the negative polarity copula verb *ka'a'* 'to be/have not'. These particles trigger contrast and or exhaustive focus interpretation when they occur with a focused constituent. They are analysed as focus particles following the chain presented in table (1) below.

Table 1. Grammaticalization Chain

Lexical items	Copula > Conjunction > Complementiser > Focus Particle			
Copula ‘to be’	à̀n(é)	né	né	ń, né
Copula+Neg ‘to be/have not’	ká'á	Ká	Ká	Kà

I opt to gloss *né* and *ká* in relativisation in Kusaal as complementisers. It is important to add that there are some dialectal variations in the use of *né*. Whilst it is predominantly used in the Atoende dialect, it is realized as *n'* in the Agole dialect and at times even silent in casual speech. This will be discussed further in section 2.2 below.

2.2. Asymmetry in relativisation in Kusaal

The asymmetry between left-headed IHRC and in-situ IHRC deserves mention in any discussion on relativisation in Kusaal. In left-headed IHRC the relative pronouns *kà̀nè* and *bà̀nè* are used for marking singular and plural respectively. These pronouns are obligatory indicators of relativisation in left-headed IHRC in Kusaal and cannot be omitted. An additional feature of these pronouns is that they only agree in number but not in person. Person agreement is not characteristic of Kusaal. The stem of the head noun forms a compound with the relative pronoun and number is determined on the relative pronoun that is used. For instance, *bìbà̀nè* ‘the children who’ is composed of *bíís* ‘children’ and *bà̀nè* ‘rel.pl’ and *díkà̀nè* is composed of *dííb* ‘food’ and *kà̀nè* ‘rel.sg’ in (22a) and (23a) respectively.

(22) Subject relativisation (plural)

- a. *M̀* *sà* *nyē* *bìbà̀nè* *sà*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF child- REL.PL PAST
- wá'ád* *lá.*
 dance-PERF DEF
 ‘I saw the children who were dancing.’

- b. **M̄* *sà* *nyē* *bíís* *là* *sà* *wāād*
 ISG PAST see.PERF child DEF PAST dance.PERF

lá.

DEF

Lit.: 'I saw the children who were dancing.'

(23) Subject relativisation (singular)

- a. *Ádúk* *sà* *dī* *díkànè* *ká*
 Aduk PAST eat.PERF food-REL COMP

Ásíbi *sà* *dūg* *lá.*

Asibi PAST cook.PERF. DEF

'I ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

- b. **Ádúksà* *dī* *dííb* *ká* *Ásíbi*
 Aduk past eat.PERF food comp Asibi

sà *dūg* *lá.*

PAST cook.PERF DEF

Lit.: 'I ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.'

The relative pronouns in (22a) and (23a) occur after the head noun of the relative clause in both subject and object relativisation. The other difference between these two forms is that whilst the particle *ká* occurs after the relative pronoun in object relativisation (23a), the same is not the case for subject relativisation in (22a) since object relativisation involves the extraction of the supposed object to the clause initial position of the embedded clause. All forms of non-subject displacements that leave gaps at the extraction sites have the particle *ka* after the moved constituents in Kusaal (Abubakari 2016a).

(24) Non-subject relativisation

- a. *Àdúk sà dī díkànè ká Ásìbì*
 Aduk PAST eat.PERF food.REL COMP Asibi
- sà dūg lá.*
 PAST cook.PERF DEF
 ‘I ate the food which/that Asibi cooked.’
- b. **Àdúk sà dī díkàn Ásìbì sà*
 Aduk PAST eat.PERF food.REL Asibi PAST
- dūg lá.*
 cook.PERF DEF

In in-situ IHRC on the other hand, the “indefiniteness restriction”, which requires that internally headed relative clauses have a definiteness effect (Williamson 1987), strictly applies in Kusaal. The indefinite pronouns, in the table in (2) below, are used in correlation with the status of the relativised head noun. These pronouns are mostly used as suffixes with the stem of the relativised head noun in both subject and object relativisation in in-situ IHRC. Thus, number is generally determined on the pronoun and not on the head noun (Abubakari 2016b).

Table 2: Indefinite pronouns in Kusaal

Indefinite Pronoun	Use	Gloss
<i>sí'á</i>	Generic	any, some
<i>-só', só'</i>	Human	anyone, someone, somebody, whoever
<i>sí'él</i>	Non-human	something, anything, somewhere
<i>sí'ébá</i>	Generic plural	

The complementiser *né* is used in in-situ IHRC. It occurs after the subject of the matrix clause in subject relativisation as in (25-27). However, should the subject of the matrix clause be the same as the head of the relativised NP, *né* follows the indefinite

pronoun *sɔ'* as in (27). As mentioned in the previous section, the complementiser in in-situ IHRC can be realised as either *né* or *n'* depending on the dialect in use. The example in (25a) is Atoende whilst (25b) is Agole.

- (25)
- a. *Àdúk né sà nyē pú'á*
 Aduk COMP PAST see.PERF woman
sɔ' lá k̄ōsɪdné gúúr.
 INDEF.P.SG DEF sell.IMPERF cola nut
 'The woman whom Aduk saw/met sells cola nuts.'
- b. *Àdúk n' sà nyē pú'á sɔ'*
 Aduk COMP PAST see.PERF woman INDEF.
lá k̄ōsɪdné gúúr.
 DEF sell.IMPERF cola nut
 'The woman whom Aduk saw/met sells cola nuts.'
- (26) *Pú'á lá né sà dā' ná'ásíá lá*
 woman DEF COMP PAST buy.PERF cow.INDEF.P DEF
àné ná'ábil.
 COP.be calf
 'The cow the woman bought is a small one/the cow the woman bought is a calf'
- (27) *(Nín)- sɔ' né k̄ū lá àné*
 person.INDEF.P COMP go-home.PERF DEF COP.be
m̄ zúá.
 1SG.POSS friend
 'The person who went home is my friend.'

In both dialects, pronominalised subjects in relative clauses are always the emphatic forms (28a). Abubakari (2016a) argues that the emphatic pronoun in Kusaal can be

explained to occur due to the assimilation of the subject pronoun with the contrastive focus particle *né*.

- (28)
- a. *Fún(é)²* *sà* *nyē* *dáú-só'* *lá*
 2SG.EMPH PAST see.PERF man-INDEF.P DEF
- àn(é)* *m̄* *zúá.*
 COP.be 1SG.POSS friend
 'The man whom you saw is my friend.'
- b. **Fv̄* *sà* *nyē* *dáú-só'* *lá*
 2SG. PAST see.PERF man-INDEF.P DEF
- àn(é)* *m̄* *zúá.*
 COP.be 1SG.POSS friend
 'The man whom you saw is my friend.'

In object relativisation, the complementiser *né* occurs after the subject of the relative clause with the indefinite pronoun occurring on the relativised head noun. Pronouns are also the emphatic forms in the same environments (30).

- (29) *Àdúk* *sà* *nyē* *Àdólúbné* *s̄v̄'oe*
 Aduk PAST see.PERF Adolub COMP own.PERF
- ná'á-síéba* *lá.*
 cow.INDEF.P.PL DEF
 'Aduk saw the cattle that Adolub owned.'

² Whilst Agole drops the *ε* in the emphatic pronoun *fún(ε)*, Atoende does not, hence the realization of the full form which is *f̄v̄+nε=f̄vnε* 2SG.EMPH. 'you'.

- (30) *Àdúk sà nyḗ mán sū'oe*
 Aduk PAST see.PERF 1SG.EMPH own.PERF
- ná'á-síebá lá.*
 COW.INDEF.P.PL DEF
 'Aduk saw the cattle that I owned.'

2.3 Clause final determiner *lá'*

In relative clause constructions in Kusaal, the particle *lá'* is used as a marker of definiteness and it is restricted to clause final position. This particle is the same as the definite article in the language, thus making the relative clause obligatorily definite. Consequently, the head of the relative clause cannot occur with a determiner as shown below in (31).

- (31) [*Bí (*lá) kàné ká Àdólúbsà nyḗ*
 child DEF REL COMP Adolub PAST see.PERF
- *(lá) kūlyá.*
 DEF go-home.PERF
 'The child who Adolub saw has gone home.'

(32) Main clause

- Bííḡ lá kúlyá*
 child DEF go-home.PERF
 'The child has gone home.'

(33) Subordinate clause

- Àdólúbsà nyḗ bííḡ lá.*
 Adolub PAST see.PERF child DEF
 'Adolub saw the child.'

In both the main clause and the subordinate clause, the subject and object NP *bííḡ* 'child' respectively is modified by the definite article *lá* but this is missing on the relativized head *bííḡ* in the relative clause in (31). Unlike in languages like Akan (Saah 2010: 94) where the head of the relative clause can occur with or without a determiner, Kusaal, in conjunction with other Mabilia languages that allow in-situ IHRC, has a clause

final determiner or demonstrative. Examples (35-37) are taken from Hiraiwa et al. (2017:7) to show the predominant use of the clause final determiner in these languages.

- (34) Kusaal
 [DP_{[CP} *Dáú-sɔ'* *né* *kārim* *gbáúŋ*] *lá*
 man.INDEF.P. COMP read.PERF book DEF

sà *kēnā*.
 PAST come-PERF.LOC
 'The/A man who read the book came.'
- (35) Buli
Amoak *nya* [DP_{[CP} *Atim* *ale* *sua* *naa* *buui*
 Amoak saw Atim C own cow REL

**(la)*.
 DEM
 'Amoak saw the/*a cow which Atim owned.'
- (36) Gurene
 [DP_{[CP} *Atia* *n* *da'* *bua* *seka* *da'a* *zaam*]
 Atia C buy.PERF goat REL market yesterday

**(la)* *bɔi* *mɛ*.
 D lose.PERF PAST
 'The/*A goat that Atia bought at the market got lost.'
- (37) Dagbani
 [DP_{[CP} *Ata* *ni* *nya* *yili* *sheli* **(maa)*]
 Ata C see.PERF house REL D

vela.
 nice
 'The/*A house that Ata saw is nice.'

It then follows that Kusaal is consistent with the observation made by Hiraiwa et al. (2017) for the structure in (38) where these languages uniformly have the demonstrative (D) element occurring at clause final position in the relative construction.

(38) [DP[CP....(C)...H-REL.][D] (Hiraiwa et al. 2017: 5)

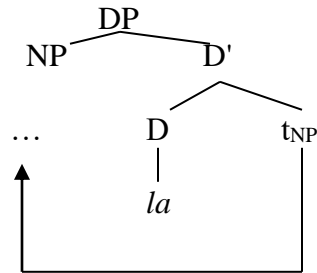
It is interesting to note the recurrent use of the identical morpheme *la* as clausal determiners in Kusaal, Buli, Gurene as well as Dagbani where *maa* alternates with *la*. The clausal determiner is said to “assert the content of the proposition, relating to something that has been said earlier in the conversation” (Hiraiwa et al. 2017: 5-7; see also Lefebvre 1992; 1998; Larson 2003).

(39) *Pú'á lá sá'al Àdúk lá.*
 woman DEF advise-PERF Aduk DEF
 ‘The woman advised Aduk, as I said.’

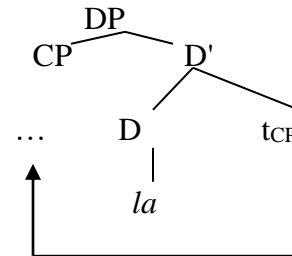
As elaborated by Hiraiwa et al. (2017), the clausal determiner in IHRCs is a determiner for the clausal constituent taking the CP as its complement. Comparing this to the structure of a DP in Kusaal, both the NP and the CP in a determiner phrase and a relative clause respectively move to the specifier of DP (whilst assuming the same extended projection principle (EPP) features for D).

(40)

a. Structure of DP



b. Structure of IHRC



However, anytime the relativised head noun is indefinite, the clause final definite determiner must be absent. The indefinite determiner *sí'à* ‘a certain’ can be used in place of the definite determiner. This determiner cannot fully have the intended indefinite

meaning; it has an interpretation where the indefinite determiner functions as a numeral ‘one’ (also see Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009).

(41) Object relativisation (Definite)

M̄ *dà* *kārīm* *gbáúŋ* *kàné* *ká* *Àsíbi* *dà*
 ISG. PAST read.PERF book REL COMP Asibi PAST

s̄b *lá.*
 write.PERF DEF
 ‘I read the book that Asibi wrote.’

(42) Object relativisation (Indefinite)

- a. *M̄* *dà* *kārīm* *gbáúŋ* *ká* *Àsíbi* *s̄b.*
 ISG. PAST read.PERF book COMP Asibi write.PERF
 ‘I read a book that Asibi wrote.’
- b. *M* *dà* *kārīm* *gbáúŋ* *sí à* *ká*
 ISG. PAST read.PERF book certain COMP
- Àsíbi* *s̄b* *lá.*
 Asibi write.PERF DEF
 ‘I read a certain book which Asibi wrote’ (the book is one)

2.4. Resumptive pronouns and the relative clause in Kusaal

A common strategy employed by some languages in relative clause constructions is the use of resumptive pronouns at the site where the referent of the head NP should have been (Saah 2010: 97; Maxwell 1979; Payne 1997). Sigurd (1989: 107) argues that this method is to “recall the referent in the position where it should have been”. The use of resumptive pronoun in Kusaal relativisation is optional and limited to object relativisation. However, there are always two interpretations anytime the pronoun occurs in relativisation. The resumptive pronoun creates both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations (discussed in section 5). The pronoun, when used, occurs immediately

after the verb representing the relativisation site of its antecedent as shown in (43a). The sentences in (43 and 44) have similar restrictive interpretations respectively with (43a) and (44a) having additional non-restrictive interpretations.

(43)

- a. *Pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *m̀* *sá* *nyē* (ò) *lá*
 woman REL COMP 1SG. PAST see.PERF (3SG) DEF

kū̀sìdné *gúúr.*
 sell.IMPERF cola nut
 'The woman I saw sells cola nuts.'

- b. *Pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *m̀* *sà* *nyē* (ø) *lá*
 woman REL COMP 1SG PAST see.PERF (3SG) DEF

kū̀sìdné *gúúr.*
 sell-IMPERF cola nut
 'The woman I saw sells cola nut.'

(44)

- a. *Pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *dáú* *lá* *tīs* ò
 woman REL COMP man DEF give.PERF 3SG

lígídí *lá* *kū̀lyá.*
 money DEF go-home.PERF
 'The woman to whom the man gave money has gone home'

- b. *Pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *dáú* *lá* *tīs* (ø) *lígídí* *lá*
 woman REL COMP man DEF give (3SG) money DEF

kū̀lyá.
 go-home
 'The woman to whom the man gave money is gone home.'

- (45) *M̄ sà nyē bíbàné (*bà) sà wā́ ad lá.*
 1SG. PAST see chil-REL.PL (3PL) PAST dance DEF
 ‘I saw children who were dancing.’

The use of the pronoun in (45) renders the construction ungrammatical. Moreover, resumptive pronouns do not occur when the antecedent NP is non-human (46-48).

- (46) *Búkàné ká m̄ sá dā́ (*lì) lá*
 goat-REL COMP 1SG. PAST buy-PERF (*it) DEF
àn(é) bútítá’ár.
 COP.be goat-big
 ‘The goat which/that I bought is big.’

- (47) *Búkàné ká m̄ sà tīs (*lì) váánd lá*
 goat-REL COMP 1SG. PAST give (*it) leaves DEF
bēn’ēdné.
 sick
 ‘The goat I gave leaves to is sick.’

- (48) *Fúkàné ká m̄ sá dā́ (*lì) lá*
 dress.REL COMP 1SG. PAST buy-PERF (*it) DEF
àn(é) fútítá’ár.
 COP.be dress.big
 ‘The dress which I bought is big.’

Similarly, the resumptive pronoun does not occur in in-situ IHRC. Anytime a resumptive pronoun is used after the verb in such constructions, the interpretation changes to include a possessive reading as also observed in Gurene (see Atintono 2003: 121).

- (49) *Mán* *sà* *nyē̄* *pú'á* *só* *lá*
 1SG.POSS PAST see-PERF woman INDEF.P DEF

kūōsidné *gúúr.*
 sell-IMPERF cola nut
 'The woman I saw sell cola nut.'

- (50) *Mán* *sà* *nyē̄* *ò* *pú'á*
 1SG.EMPH PAST see-PERF 3SG.POSS woman

só' *lá* *kūōsidné* *gúúr.*
 INDEF.P DEF sell-IMPERF cola nut
 'His wife that I saw sells cola nut.'
 'The particular wife of his that I saw sells cola nut.'

3. Other elements of Kusaal relativisation

3.1. Long-distance dependency

Kusaal allows long-distance relativisation in which case an obligatory pronoun is required for subjects but not in cases involving objects. The relativiser *kàné/bàné* must be used in the highest clause of the embedded clauses and cannot be used in the intermediate clauses.

- (51) Long- distance relativisation (Object)

- a. *Àtibil* *dā'* *gbáúŋ* *kàné* *ká* *m̄* *mī'í*
 Atibil buy.PERF book REL COMP 1SG. know

yé *Àsibi* *kārīm* *lá.*
 COMP Asibi read.PERF DEF
 'Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.'

- b. **Atíbil* *dā̄* *gbáwɛ̀* *m̀* *mī̄* *yé*
 Atibil buy.PERF book 1SG. know COMP

Àsìbì *kā̄rīm* *kà̄nè* *lá.*
 Asibi read.PERF REL DEF

‘Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.’

- c. **Atíbil dā̄* *gbáwɛ̀* *kà̄nè* *ká* *m̀* *kà̄nè*
 Atibil buy.PERF book REL COMP 1SG. REL

mī̄ *yé* *Àsìbì* *kā̄rīm* *lá.*
 know COMP Asibi read.PERF DEF

‘Atibil bought the book that I know that Asibi read.’

(52) Long-distance relativisation (Subject)

- a. *M̀* *nyē* *dáú* *kà̄nè* *ká* *m̀* *mī̄*
 1SG. see.PERF man REL COMP 1SG. know

yé *ò* *bū* *Àsìbì* *lá.*
 COMP 3SG. beat.PERF. Asibi DEF

‘I saw the man who I know beat Asibi’

- b. **m̀* *nyē* *dáú* *kà̄nè* *ká* *m̀* *mī̄*
 1SG. see.PERF man REL COMP 1SG. know.PERF

yé *ò* *kà̄nè* *bū* *Àsìbì* *lá.*
 COMP 3SG. REL beat.PERF Asibi DEF

‘I saw the man who I know beat Asibi.’

- c. **m̀* *nyē* *dáú* *kà̄nè* *ká* *m̀* *kà̄nè*
 1SG. see.PERF man REL COMP 1SG REL

mī̄ *yé* *ò* *kà̄nè* *bū* *Àsìbì* *lá.*
 know COMP 3SG REL beat Asibi DEF

‘I saw the man who I know beat Asibi.’

3.2. Island/subjacency

Relativisation in Kusaal is constrained by island/subjacency effects. It is ungrammatical to have relativisation out of a complex NP or an adjunct clause in Kusaal, which suggests that relativisation is created by movement (see Ross 1967; Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2009).

(53) Complex NP constraint

**M dà kārīm gbáwíj kàné ká m̀ nyē*
 1SG PAST read.PERF book REL COMP 1SG. see.PERF

pú'á kàné ká sɔb̀ lì lá.
 woman REL COMP write it DEF

‘I read the book that I saw the woman who wrote.’

(54) Adjunct Island

**M dà kārīm gbáwíj kàné ká m̀ nyē*
 1SG PAST read.PERF book REL COMP 1SG. see.PERF

pú'á lá ón sɔb̀ lì lá.
 womanDEF 3SG.EMPH. write it DEF

‘I read the book that I saw the woman when she was writing it.’

Extraction of the relative clause is impossible, irrespective of whether the extraction is overt or covert. The same situation applies to instances of A-dependency such as Wh-question and cleft/focus.

(55) Island effect for Wh-movement/Wh-in-situ

**bɔ́ ká fù dà nyē pú'á kàné*
 what FOC 2SG. PAST see.PERF woman REL

sɔb̀ lá?
 wrote.PERF DEF

‘What did you see the woman that wrote?’

- (56) * *fù* *dà* *nyē* *pú'á* *kàné* *sɔ̃b*
 2SG. PAST see.PERF woman REL wrote.PERF
bɔ́ *lá?*
 what DEF
 ‘What did you see the woman that wrote?’

3.3. Tense and particles within relative clauses in Kusaal

Preverbal particles as well as aspectual morphemes are compatible with relative clauses in Kusaal. The temporal preverbal particle *sa*, marking events that are a day old, and future particle *na*, are used as illustrations in (57-58) below.

- (57) Object relativisation (past)
M̃ *sà* *kārim* *gbáúŋ* *kàné* *ká* *Àsíbi* *dà*
 1SG. PAST read.PERF book REL COMP Asibi PAST
sɔ̃b *yúúm* *lá.*
 write.PERF year DEF
 ‘Yesterday, I read the book which Asibi wrote last year.’

- (58) Object Relativisation (future)
M̃ *sà* *nyē* *gbáúŋ* *kàné* *ká* *Àsíbi* *nà*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF book REL COMP Asibi FUT
nɔ̃ki *tisif* *béóg* *lá.*
 take give-2SG tomorrow DEF
 ‘I saw the book that Asibi will give you tomorrow’

The tense particle *sà* in (57-58) occurs right before the verb and the relativiser maintains its usual position that is after the head noun. The fact that these tense particles can occur within the relative clause in Kusaal shows that relative clauses in Kusaal are fully finite.

3.4. Adverb placement

An embedded adverb cannot be placed immediately before or after the relative head noun. The well-formed adverbial distribution is either before or after the end of the entire construction.

(49) Adverb placement in Kusaal relativisation

- a. *M* *sà* *dī* *díkàné* *ká* *Àsíbi*
 1SG PAST eat.PERF food-REL COMP Asibi
- dūg* *sú'òs* *lá.*
 cook.PERF yesterday DEF
 'I ate the food which Asibi cooked yesterday'
- b. *Sú'òs,* *m̄* *sà* *dī* *díkàné*
 yesterday, 1SG. PAST eat.PERF food-REL
- ká* *Àsíbi* *dūg* *lá.*
 COMP Asibi cook.PERF DEF
 'I ate the food which Asibi cooked yesterday'
- c. **M̄* *dī* *díkàné* *ká* *sú'òs*
 1SG. eat.PERF food-REL COMP yesterday
- Àsíbi* *sà* *dūg* *lá.*
 Asibi PAST cook.PERF DEF
 'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'
- d. **M̄* *sà* *dī* *sú'òs* *díkàné*
 1SG PAST eat.PERF yesterday food-REL
- ká* *Àsíbi* *sà* *dūg* *lá.*
 COMP Asibi PAST cook.PERF DEF
 'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'

- e. **M* *sà* *dī* *dífb* *sú'òs* *kàné*
 1SG PAST eat.PERF food yesterday REL
ká *Àsíbi* *sà* *dūg* *lá.*
 COMP Asibi PAST cook.PERF DEF
 'I ate the food which Asibi prepared yesterday.'

Adverbials can precede the subject in simple clauses as illustrated in (60).

- (60) *Sú'òs* *Àsíbi* *sà* *dā'* *fúúg* *lá.*
 yesterday Asibi PAST buy.PERF dress DEF
 'Yesterday, Asibi bought the food.'

3.5. Stacked relative clauses

Kusaal, like Dàgáárè (Hiraiwa & Bodomó 2004: 62), does not allow stacking of relative clauses compared to other Mabilia languages like Buli and Gureñ where stacking of relative clauses is grammatical (see Atintono 2003; Hiraiwa 2003).

- (61) **M* *dà* *kārim* *gbáúŋ* *kàné* *ká* [*Àsíbi* *dà* *sɔb*
 1SG. PAST read book REL COMP Asibi PAST write
yúum-áyí] [*Áyípókà* *kàné* *dā'* *sú'òs* *lá.*]
 year-two Ayipoka REL buy yesterday DEF
 'I read the book that Asibi wrote two years ago that Ayipoka bought yesterday.'

One possible way of rendering the above sentence is by turning the whole structure into a complex construction as below:

- (62) *M̄ dà kārīm gbáúŋ kàné ká Àsìbì dà*
 1SG. PAST read.PERF book REL COMP Asibi PAST
sɔ̄b yúúm-áyí ká Áyípókà sà dā
 write.PERF year-two CONJ Ayipoka PAST buy.PERF
sú'òs lá.
 yesterday DEF
 'I read the book that Asibi wrote two years ago that Ayuo bought yesterday.'

3.6. Extraposed relative clauses

The canonical form of the relative clause is such that the relative head noun is immediately followed by the relative clause. This adjacency is described by Givoón (2001: 207) as one of the most transparently iconic devices used in directing the hearer's attention to the head noun that is co-referent with the missing argument inside the relative clause. However, another strategy referred to as extraposed rel-clause allows the relative clause to be 'ejected' to the end of the main clause. Kusaal does not allow extraposed relative clauses in both narrative constructions (63) and in casual speech (64-69).

- (63) *Ná'á-s' dà bé ká ò yú'úr b̄ōn Àdúk.*
 chief INDEF.P PAST COP.be CONJ 3SG name call Aduk
 'There lived a chief whose name was Aduk.'
- (64) *Dáú [kàné ká ò búúg sà b̄ōdīg lá]*
 man REL COMP 3SG.POSS goat PAST lost-PERF. DEF
sà kēn sú'òs ná.
 PAST come.PERF. yesterday LOC
 'The man who lost his goat came yesterday.'

- (65) **Dáú lá sà kēn sú'òs ná [kàné]*
 man DEF PAST come.PREF yesterday LOC REL
ká ò búúg sá bōdīg lá]
 COMP 3SG.POSS goat PAST lost DEF
 'A man came in yesterday who lost his goat.'

Another way of rendering (65) is to use (66):

- (66) *Dáú lá sà kēn sú'òs ná óné*
 man DEF PAST come yesterday LOC 3SG.EMPH
ká ò búúg bōdīg lá.
 COMP 3SG.POSS goat loss-PERF DEF
 'The man came yesterday who lost his goat.'
- (67) *Pú'á [kàné ká m̄ dàà yēlíf]*
 woman REL COMP 1SG PAST tell.-2SG
ò yél lá] kēn sú'òs ná .
 3SG.POSS matter DEF come.PERF yesterday LOC
 'The woman I told you about came in yesterday.'
- (68) **Pú'á lá kēn sú'òs ná [kàné ká m̄]*
 woman DEF come yesterday LOC REL COMP 1SG
dàà yēlíf ò yél lá]
 PAST tell.2SG.ACC 3SG say.PERF DEF
 'The woman came in yesterday that I told you about.'

Another way of correcting (68) is by using (69) as below.

(69)	<i>Pú'á</i>	<i>lá</i>	<i>sà</i>	<i>kēn</i>	<i>sú'òs</i>	<i>ná,</i>
	woman	DEF	PAST	come-PERF.	yesterday	LOC
	<i>óné</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>m̀</i>	<i>dà</i>	<i>yēlíf</i>	<i>lá.</i>
	3SG.EMPH	COMP	1SG.	PAST	tell-2SG.	DEF
	'The woman came in yesterday that I told you about.'					

4. The accessibility hierarchy

A topical issue on studies on relativisation in languages cross-linguistically concerns the various positions of the noun phrase that are relativisable. Typological variances exist in languages regarding elements that can be relativised and what cannot. The most recognised parameter used for this judgment is the NP accessibility hierarchy by Keenan & Comrie (1977) and Comrie (1981; 1989). The accessibility hierarchy (AH) shows the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions in simplex main clauses. The AH is shown in (70) where the symbol “>” means “more accessible than”.

(70) Subject > Direct Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

(Comrie 1989: 156)

According to Comrie (1989: 56), if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the accessibility hierarchy, then it can also form relative clauses on all positions higher to the left on the hierarchy. From the accessibility scale above, the subject represents the easiest relativisable element compared to all others. It also means that it is easier to relativise the direct object than it is to do the same for the non-direct object. Cross-linguistically, the possessor appears to be the most difficult and a language that can relativise the possessor NP can relativise all other elements on the scale which is the case in Kusaal. Kusaal shows no grammatical restrictions on elements that are relativisable as far as the hierarchy is concerned. In possessive relativisation, the possessee noun phrase is left in-situ with a resumptive possessive pronoun.

4.1. Possessor relativisation

- (71) *M̄* *sà* *nyē* *pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *m̄*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF woman REL COMP 1SG.

dà *kā̀rīm* *ò* *gbáúŋ* *lá.*
 PAST read.PERF 3SG.POSS book DEF
 'I saw the woman whose book I read'

It is also possible to relativise the non-direct object, the object of locative, the object of the postposition, and the object of comparison in Kusaal.

4.2. Non-direct object

- (72) *Pú'á* *kà̀nè* *ká* *dáú* *lá* *tīs*
 woman REL COMP man DEF give.PERF

lígídí *lá* *kū̀lyá.*
 money DEF go-home.PERF
 'The woman to whom the man gave the money is gone home.'

4.3. Locative relativisation

- (73) *M̄* *dā'* *péóg* *kà̀nè* *ká* *Àsìbì* *nōk*
 1SG. buy.PERF basket REL COMP Asibi take.PERF

bórbè *nīŋ* *lá.*
 pineapple put.PERF DEF
 'I bought the basket in which Asibi put the pineapple.'

4.4. PP relativisation

- (74) *Gádúg kàné ká Àsìbì gbīsìdi lì zúg lá*
 bed REL COMP Asibi sleep.PERF it head DEF

àn(é) gád-títá'ár.
 COP.be big.bed

'The bed on which Asibi slept is big.'

4.5. Comparative relativisation

- (75) *Dáú kàné ká Àsìbì wá'á t'v'g lá kpí-yá.*
 man REL COMP Asibi long pass DEF die-PERF

'The man who Asibi is taller than is dead.'

Other Mabia languages where the possibility exists for possessor relativisation high down to subject relativisation include Dagaare (Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2004) and Gurene (Atintono 2003: 121-122). In addition, languages like Akan (Saah 2010) and Ewe (Dzameshie 1983; 1995) show the same flexibility in relativisation.

5. Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is semantically captured in the following lines from Permuter & Soames (1979: 267-268).

A restrictive clause restricts predication to the class of individuals specified in the relative clause. An appositive relative clause does not. When the clause is appositive, the predication is made of all those individuals specified by the head NP; it is further asserted that this set of individuals is the same set of individuals specified by the relative clause.

Adding to this, Givón (1993: 107) asserts that restrictive relative clauses are the prototypical types of rel-clauses and the most common cross-linguistically. This reason perhaps explains why studies including Givón (1993) and Comrie (1981) are silent on non-restrictive relative clauses also referred to as appositive relative clauses (Permuter & Soames 1979: 267-268; Saah 2010: 101). Givón's assertion aptly applies to the case in Kusaal where unlike a restrictive relative clause; a non-restrictive relative clause has

limitations regarding the form of the relative head noun it may occur with. It is impossible to have non-restrictive relative clauses with proper nouns as head nouns in Kusaal as illustrated in the examples below.

(76) Non-restrictive relative clause

**M̃* *dà* *nyē̄* *Àsìbì, kàné* *dà* *sɔ̄b*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF Asibi REL PAST write.PERF

gbáúŋ *lá.*
 book DEF
 ‘I saw Asibi, who wrote the book’

If a relativiser is used with a proper noun, it receives a restrictive interpretation.

(77) Restrictive Relative Clause

M̃ *dà* *nyē̄* *Àsìbì kàné* *dà* *sɔ̄b*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF Asibi REL PAST write.PERF

gbáúŋ *lá.*
 book DEF
 ‘I saw the Asibi who wrote the book.’

Both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations however can be obtained with normal noun phrases. The example in (78) can be interpreted as restrictive in the sense that one woman is selected among a set of other women. It can also be interpreted non-restrictively in which sense it is adding more information about the woman who is already known by both interlocutors in the discourse (see Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2004). This is because of the presence of the resumptive pronoun, which triggers the non-restrictive interpretations.

(78) Restrictive/non-restrictive interpretation

M̄ *sà* *nyē* *pú'á* *kàné* *ká* *m̄*
 1SG. PAST see.PERF woman REL COMP 1SG

kārīm *ò* *gbáúy* *lá.*
 read.PERF 3SG.POSS book DEF
 'I saw the woman whose book I read'
 'I saw the woman, whose book I read'

(79) *Ón/mán/fún* *kàné* *kūl* *Ghánà*
 3SG.EMPH./1SG.EMPH/2SG.EMPH. REL go-home Ghana

yúúm *kàné* *gáád* *lá* *mī'í* *ti* *téŋ* *yél-à.*
 year REL PAST DEF know 2PL.POSS land matter-PL
 'He/I/You, who went home to Ghana last year, know(s) about our
 country.'

6. Summary

In summary, this paper has shown that relativisation in Kusaal can be either in-situ IHRC or left-headed IHRC similar to sister languages such as Buli, Gurene, Dagbani and Kabiye' observed by Hiraiwa et al (2017). It has further been established that the use of resumptive pronouns is restricted to object relativisation in which instance both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations are generated. In addition, the stacking, as well as the extraposition, of relative clauses is not allowed in Kusaal. Kusaal does not have any restrictions as far as elements that are relativisable are concerned when using the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977).

Abbreviations

C/COMP	complementiser
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copular
CP	complementiser phrase
D/DEF	definite determiner
D/DEM	demonstrative

EMPH	emphatic
FUT	future
H	head noun
IMPRERF	imperfective
INDEF.P	indefinite pronoun
LOC	locative
PAST	time depth particle
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
REL	relative pronoun
SG	singular

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CONCEPTUAL BLENDING PATTERNS IN SELECTED NIGERIAN TELEVISION TALK SHOWS

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Abstract

Several studies on Nigerian television talk shows have examined the interactions of participants by investigating turn-taking patterns, paralinguistic cues, interactional patterns and communicative strategies, and mental and context models of the discourses. Scant attention has been paid to the conceptual blending patterns that can be found in television talk shows with a view to highlighting how mental spaces are created in the minds of the participants and are reflected by their use of metaphors. This paper seeks to fill this gap by examining the conceptual blending patterns observable in selected television talk shows in Nigeria so as to show how thought processes, as revealed by utterances, lead to the formation of strong opinions and positions by change agents. The conceptual blending framework is utilised to identify how several inputs blend to form an emergent structure that is most times revealing of ideology. Processes such as ‘Theme-Event-Process-Action’, ‘Theme-Action’, and ‘Theme-Process/Action-Process’, were realised by participants’ contributions to the discourse and helped to show how they really viewed the matter on hand. Their striking uses of metaphors showed that positions adopted in the interactions held in television talk shows are indeed conceptualised. Several argumentative moves and framings were deployed to create mental spaces using metaphors such as the following: The *BringBackOurGirls* campaigners are charlatans; Nigeria is a disputed project; the Nigerian Constitution is an apartheid constitution and a slave master; and Senator Sani Yerima is same as Shekau, the Boko-Haram terrorist leader. These go a long way in showing how participants on the selected Nigerian talk shows conceptualised the happenings discussed.

Key words: Metaphors, Conceptual Blending Theory, Television talk shows, Ideologies, Cognition

1. Introduction

Talk shows are speech events where a host(s) guides a participant(s) through a pre-determined topic. Television talk shows in Nigeria abound, with hosts and their participants discussing issues revolving around the economy, security, education, politics, and other matters arising. Talk show hosts in Nigeria often have to employ different strategies that help them achieve their aim for the discourse. They moderate the interaction, regulate turns by means of asking questions and selecting the person that gives the response, and sometimes perform repairs that aid the discourse to be channelled in the right direction. Participants, on the other hand, often attempt to engage with the discourse using strategies that help them maintain their own preferred topic, mitigate the threat to face, and contribute to the success or otherwise of the discourse. Several scholars have attempted to describe some of these happenings on the Nigerian television talk shows. Olutayo (2010) examines the role of turn-taking by hosts and their participants on the talk show. Sunday and Oji (2015) investigate the place and usage of paralinguistic cues by both hosts and participants in some Nigerian talks shows, and the effects on both parties. Oji (2019, 2018a, 2018b) focuses on how to account for expressions of ideology in talk show discourses, the mental and context models employed by participants in the talk show discourse, and the interactional patterns and communicative strategies interactants employ in the speech event. It is, therefore, pertinent to examine television talk shows in Nigeria with a view to highlighting how conceptual blending patterns are formed through examining how mental spaces are created in the minds of the participants and are reflected by their use of metaphors. To properly interrogate this phenomenon, the critical discourse analysis framework is a veritable tool.

The use of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the examination of ideologies and their impact on the society have been considered from various perspectives. One of such perspectives is the socio-cultural approach, prominently illustrated by Fairclough. His approach to CDA is based on a three-dimensional framework, namely, description, interpretation and explanation. In this model, he showed that “the connection between the text and social practice is seen as being mediated by discourse practice” (Fairclough, 1995). Another perspective to the study of CDA is the socio-cognitive approach. This socio-cognitive approach whereby discourse and social structure are mediated by social cognition, is, according to van Dijk (2002), defined as “the system of mental representations and processes of group members”. The socio-cognitive approach to CDA is well supported, given that scholars believe that the creation of knowledge about social

objects, identities, and processes, which are in turn brought to discourse, are actually constructed in the minds of the individuals engaged in the interaction (van Dijk, 1995; Chilton, 2004, 2005). However, as Hart (2007) observes, conceptual approaches to discourse have not been featured in the socio-cognitive approach to CDA. He therefore suggested that since Cognitive Linguistics (CL) has tools with which CDA can effectively deal with issues of conceptualisation, there should be a merger of the two with appropriate conceptual framework. The reason for this is that “CL like socio-cognitive CDA, explores the relation between language, cognition and society. This is an important framework for this study; hence a conceptual approach to socio-cognitive CDA, namely, the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) is utilised to show the role of conceptualisation by the use of metaphors in the promotion of ideologies and inequalities in selected Nigerian TV talk shows.

Hart (2007) shows that CBT is a theory of meaning construction which accounts for some of the conceptual operations performed during discourse. The theory is also known as Conceptual Integration and derives from two traditions within cognitive semantics, namely, Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Mental Spaces Theory, which were principally initiated by Gilles Fauconnier. Evans (2006) holds the view that the main thrust of CBT is that ‘meaning construction typically involves integration of structure that gives rise to more than the sum of its parts’. He adds that the process of conceptual integration or blending is a general and basic cognitive operation which is central to the way we think. Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner developed the blending theory as a consequence of their research programs. In accounting for this origin, Evans (2006) argues that Fauconnier had developed the Mental Spaces Theory in order to account for a number of traditional problems in meaning construction, while Turner approached meaning construction from the perspective of his studies of metaphor in literary language. Since frameworks developed by either of them could not fully account for some of the linguistic phenomena observed, they both decided to come up with a theory that could adequately account for why in many cases, meaning construction appears to derive from structure that is apparently unavailable in the linguistic or conceptual structure that functions as the input to the meaning construction process. That gave birth to the CBT by the both of them in order to tackle this problem of not being fully able to account for mental spaces that are constructed during discourses.

Hart (2007) observes that ‘in the case of metaphor, mental spaces constructed during discourse undergo a specific conceptual blending operation whereby they are manipulated in an integrated network, producing inferential structure. The blending theory, therefore, makes it possible to fully account for the workings of metaphors in discourses.

The importance of metaphor to CDA is seen in Hart's (2007) take on what its function is. He notes that 'metaphors are linguistic and conceptual phenomena which should be of particular significance in CDA.' He further observes that some scholars contend that 'ideology involves a systematically organised presentation of reality' and on the basis of that, metaphors are to be regarded as ideological in so far as they 'define in significant part what one takes as reality'. Therefore, since CDA has as one of its concerns, the formation of a coherent view of reality, it suffices that metaphors be examined, as they help in promoting the understanding of reality. To achieve this, the blending theory serves as a reference point for fully accounting for how metaphors contribute to the construction of mental spaces wherein the expressions, whether explicit or implicit, would aid the understanding of ideological propositions by participants in the talk show event. When talk show hosts ask questions, participants likely create mental spaces in their cognitive domains, constructing frames that lead to the use of metaphors in their responses. This study, therefore, examines how it is possible to account for the use of metaphors by participants, as a result of the cognitive activity of the construction of mental spaces during the interactions.

2. Methodology

This study utilised four talk show excerpts from three television talk shows, namely, Focus Nigeria on Africa Independent Television (AIT), Head to Head on Silverbird Television (STV), and Kakaaki on AIT. These shows and particularly the excerpts were purposively selected for having interactions that reflected the creation of mental spaces during the discourse. They also possessed some linguistic categories that are metaphorical in nature. The excerpts were taken from shows aired between 2014 and 2015 – a crucial time in Nigeria's history, given the rise of insurgency and other unrest at the time – and were downloaded from the television stations' website. The excerpts were transcribed using transcription notations of Conversation Analysis (Ten Have, 1999). Afterwards, using the principles of the Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) that would show what mental spaces are created, the blending process achieved, the emergent structure and the process of elaboration that leads to making an inference or conclusion on the basis of the metaphors used by participants in their interaction, a cognitive/critical discourse analysis was carried out on the data. Diagrams, using the CBT framework, were drawn to represent the mental spaces and how the blending pattern resulted to the positions adopted by the participants, given their use of metaphors. These help to show how participants conceptualise ideologies or form very strong opinions and communicate them.

3. Theoretical framework

The Mental Space Theory holds that words do not refer directly to entities in the world but rather prompt for the construction of mental spaces, which contain certain elements. This is further defined by Fauconier and Turner (1996). They view mental spaces as ‘small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They are interconnected, and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold.’ Those packets which are constructed during discourse as we think and talk apparently include whatever entities, objects, actions and processes that are referred to explicitly or implicitly in discourse. And in any stretch of discourse, a number of interconnected mental spaces may be constructed, where, according to Fauconier (1994), “linguistic expressions will typically establish new spaces, elements within them, and relations holding between the elements.”

Here, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory cannot fully account for those spaces that are implicitly referred to, since only two inputs are provided for and without being present in the text, there cannot be an accounting. In order to tackle this problem of not being fully able to account for mental spaces that are constructed during discourses, the blending theory is brought in. Hart (2007) observes that, ‘in the case of metaphor, mental spaces constructed during discourse undergo a specific conceptual blending operation whereby they are manipulated in an integrated network, producing inferential structure. The blending theory therefore makes it possible to fully account for the workings of metaphors in discourses.

The importance of metaphor to CDA is seen in Hart’s (2007) take on what its function is. He says that ‘metaphor is a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon which should be of particular significance in CDA.’ He goes further to observe that some scholars contend that ‘ideology involves a systematically organised presentation of reality’ and on the basis of that, metaphors are to be regarded as ideological in so far as they ‘define in significant part what one takes as reality’ (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). Therefore, since CDA has as one of its concerns, the formation of a coherent view of reality, it suffices that metaphors be examined, as they help in promoting the understanding of reality. To achieve this, the blending theory serves as a reference point for fully accounting for how metaphors contribute to the construction of mental spaces wherein the expressions, whether explicit or implicit, would aid the understanding of ideological propositions by participants in a talk event. The blending theory stipulates that blends arise in networks of mental spaces. However, unlike the Metaphor theory that has just two inputs – the source and the target

domains, the basic blending network consists of four mental spaces: two input spaces, a generic space, and the blended space. Fauconier and Turner (2006) also note that “a blended space can have multiple input spaces.” In addition to these, there are also background frames recruited to build these mental spaces. Each of these input spaces are further discussed below.

3.1. Input space

That ‘a new space is set up when utterances concern objects or events that require different background assumptions’, is the view of Coulson (2000). Hart (2007) argues further, stating that, ‘metaphorical utterances in discourse are of precisely this kind; they involve spaces which contain elements belonging to two different (potential) scenarios with different background frames or assumptions. As metaphorical discourse unfolds, then, a space is created for each scenario. These spaces are input space1 and input space2.’ He adds that during the process of integration, the two-input space share counterpart connections between elements, which are represented in the notation by solid lines.

3.2. Generic space

Fauconier and Turner (2006) note that there is a generic space which maps onto each of two inputs. They postulate that ‘the generic space contains what those two inputs have in common at any moment in the development of the conceptual integration network’. In further elaborating on this, Hart (2007) mentions that the generic space may also be projected back to from the blended space and not just the elements in the generic space projecting onto the counterpart elements in the input spaces. He argues that structure in the generic space should thought of in terms of theta roles, that is, semantic categories, which structure the ideational representation in discourse of a given scenario. The focus of the generic space then would be in relation to ‘who did what to whom, where, and how’.

3.3. Blended Space

However, the number of inputs a blend has, they eventually get to be projected into the blend space. The two typical inputs are therefore mapped onto a single slope by means of conceptual blending operations (Fauconier and Turner, 2006). This is highlighted by Fauconier and Turner (1996) in these words: “In blending, structure from two input spaces is projected to a separate space, the ‘blend’. The blend inherits partial structure from the

input spaces, and has emergent structure of its own.” They also inform that ‘generic spaces and blended spaces are related because blends contain generic structure that was captured in the generic space. (Fauconier and Turner, 2002). Hart (2007) explains that emergent structure is unique to the blend. This is so because “the blended space contains structure which is not copied there directly from the input spaces but which rather is a product of blending operations.”

3.4. Emergent structure

There are three blending processes by which the emergent structure is constructed. They are composition, completion, and elaboration. These processes make it possible for elements not in the two inputs to be generated at the blend space.

3.5. Composition

“Composition of elements from the inputs makes relations available in the blend that did not exist in the separate inputs,” notes Fauconier and Turner (2006). Adding further insight to this process, Hart (2007) opines that, “counterpart elements can be composed to produce two separate elements in the blended space...in the case of metaphor, a special kind of composition occurs, referred to as fusion. Here, counterpart elements in the input spaces get projected into the blended space creating a single compound element.”

3.6. Completion

Completion is said to bring additional structure to the blend (Fauconier and Turner, 2006). Fauconier and Turner (2006) observe that “blends recruit a great range of background conceptual structure and knowledge without our recognizing it consciously and in this way, composed structure is completed with other structure”. However, only relevant structure gets projected or recruited onto the blend. This is what is referred to as selective projection. It is selective in that only structure that is relevant to the speaker’s intention is projected onto the blend while leaving out other extraneous structures which may be there but not useful for the context. Hart (2007) categorises selective projection as that which contributes to the ideology of metaphor. In his words, “where selective projection in conceptual blending networks is a pragmatic phenomenon, integration networks are constructed according to speakers’ communicative (and rhetorical) intentions. In other words, ideologically, speakers may choose to recruit particular structure in order

to promote a certain perception of reality.” This study explores the ways by which speakers’ structures are selectively projected to account for ideologies in discourse.

3.7. Elaboration

Of the three processes, Elaboration is the most significant, as it is the running of the blend (Hart, 2007). It however utilises imaginative mental simulation according to principles and logic in the blend. It is usually characteristic of cognitive work performed within the blend according to its own emergent logic. For Hart (2007), this process of elaboration shows the importance of conceptual blending for CDA in the sense that metaphor, as a function of emergent structure in the blended space, gets to be seen as ‘cognitively real’. It therefore becomes obvious how metaphors that surface at the blended space can be accounted for as well reveal ideologies in discourse. In the analysis for this study, it is seen how these cognitive structures are revealed through the blended theory by means of emergent structures in the blended space.

It is important to note that the seven steps above, which form the basis for a conceptual blending, are similarly presented as rhetorical steps by Quintilianus in *Institutio Oratoria* and other traditional rhetoricians. They apply with equal force to television talk show events, where participants negotiate meaning through their discourses.

4. Analysis

4.1. Conceptual blending patterns in the Nigerian TV talk shows

Conceptual blending patterns are observable in the selected Nigerian talk shows. Using talk shows as *Kakaaki* and Focus Nigeria – both on African Independent Television (AIT), and Silverbird Television’s (STV) *Head to Head*, the selected episodes are analysed critically. In an episode on *Kakaaki* that features Dr. Oby Ezekwesili and her partner Ms. Wonu Folami, the act of abduction of the Chibok girls in Nigeria by the Boko Haram insurgents is metaphorically described as a tragedy. Dr. Ezekwesili is represented as P(E) and Ms. Wonu as P(W).

Excerpt 1

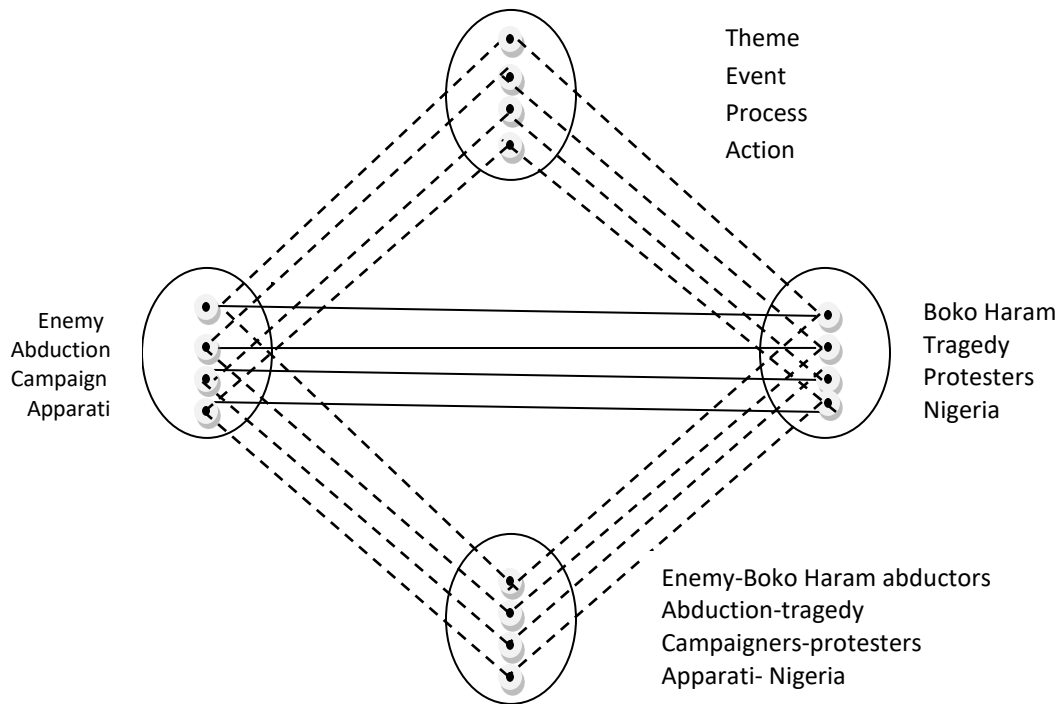
P(E): ...I believe in Nigeria (.) I believe that this nation will overcome this tragedy but it requires every one of us standing together in purpose and using our Chibok girls as the symbol of that new Nigeria.

Nigeria is also portrayed as ‘not being a weakling’ that cannot stand up to the insurgents’. Rather than view the campaigners as enemies, they suggest that the government join forces with them to fight the ‘common enemies’, the terrorists.

Excerpt 2

P(E): ...If we encourage citizens to go pleading with terrorists what are we doing↑ We must show that we are a strong nation. Nigeria is not a weakling (.) Our government possesses the apparati to be able to go against our common enemies...I want the enemy taken out↑ and our girls brought back↑

Fig. 1 Conceptual blending network for Excerpts 1 and 2



Going by the expressions made by Dr. Ezekwesili, four mental spaces are constructed which enter into a conceptual integration network, as shown above. At the base of the network is the emergent structure which has been realised as a result of the fusion of

the four counterpart elements in the two input spaces. The emergent structure of this process creates a scenario where the abduction of the Chibok girls is to be seen as a tragedy that has befallen Nigeria and is an ongoing event as long as they have not been rescued. The perpetrators of the dastardly act are perceived as terrorists and the common enemy; and they are the Boko Haram insurgents. As such, there arises the need to continue protesting, putting up a fight as it were, by the BringBackOurGirls campaign, thereby creating the process through which the event is to be tackled.

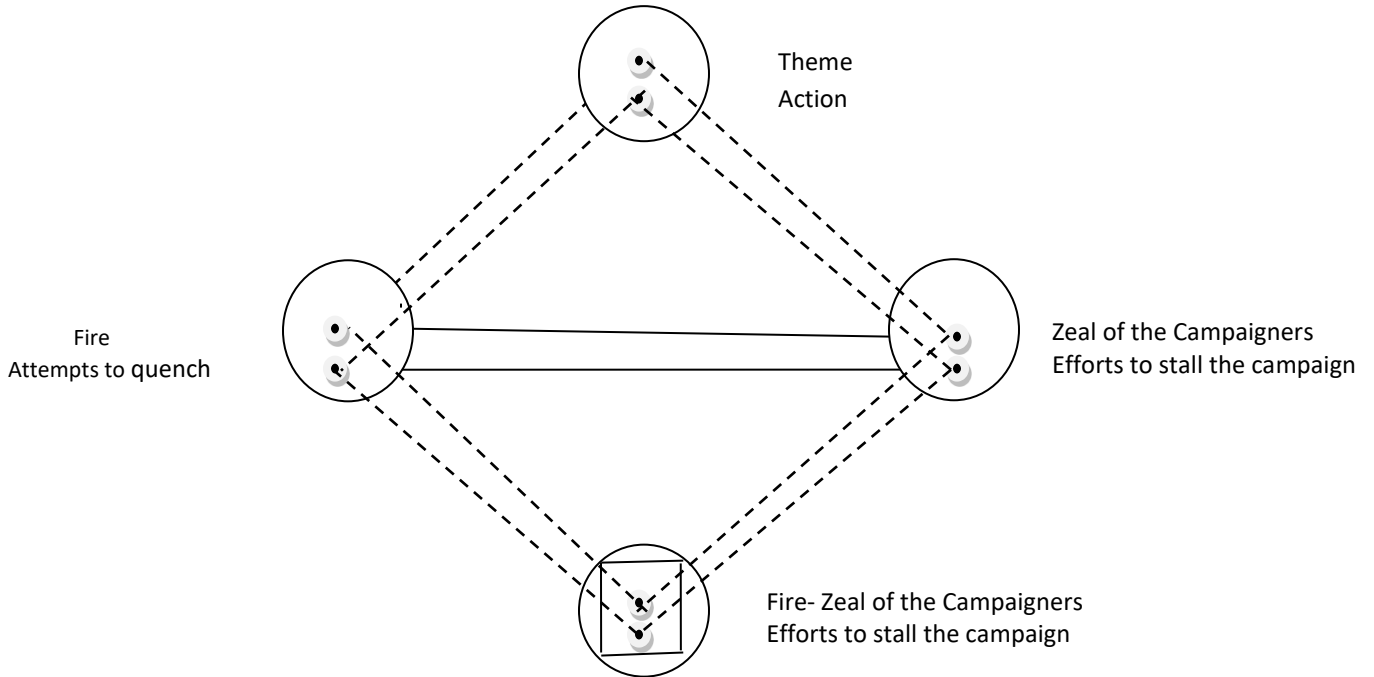
However, the process of elaboration enables one to infer that since the BringBackOurGirls campaigners' actions are limited to that of protesting, the onus lies on the government who is said to have the 'apparati', to overcome this tragedy. The conceptualisation of the government as the only one with such apparatus necessitates that it takes action to overcome the insurgents and rescue the girls. Why the action has not been taken up until 143 days of the girls' abduction raises questions as to the motive of the government, the supposed apparatus it possesses to rescue the girls, and what lies in store for the Chibok girls.

In excerpt 3, there is the construction of two mental spaces whose counterpart elements are fused through composition, and by means of elaboration, inferences are drawn.

Excerpt 3

P(E): No matter what has been attempted on us in order to quench the fire of the advocacy for these girls, it just has refused to die simply because it is borne out of compassion.

Fig. 3 Conceptual blending network for “attempts to quench the fire of the advocacy”



Two mental spaces are here created by the construct ‘attempts to quench the fire of the advocacy.’ The ‘fire’ and ‘quench’ elements in input space1 are reflective of a conceptual frame for putting out the fire of a burning item. Ordinarily, such a frame presupposes good action since people do not close their eyes to a burning house, car or person. However, a conceptual frame is here constructed where such ‘help’ in ‘quenching’ or putting out the fire is rejected; unwanted. The attempts to do so are called into question. Through the blending process of completion, the emergent structure shows that the attempts to quench the fire are actually not good-intentioned but rather, efforts to stall the campaign. Elaboration of this network therefore necessitates the inference that the campaigners who have zeal and are determined to protest till the end – when the girls are rescued – would have to buckle up, make the fire burn even more and not be easily outwitted by forces wanting to push them into silence. No wonder the fire is borne out of compassion. And that also creates a mental space that shows that as long as the campaigners

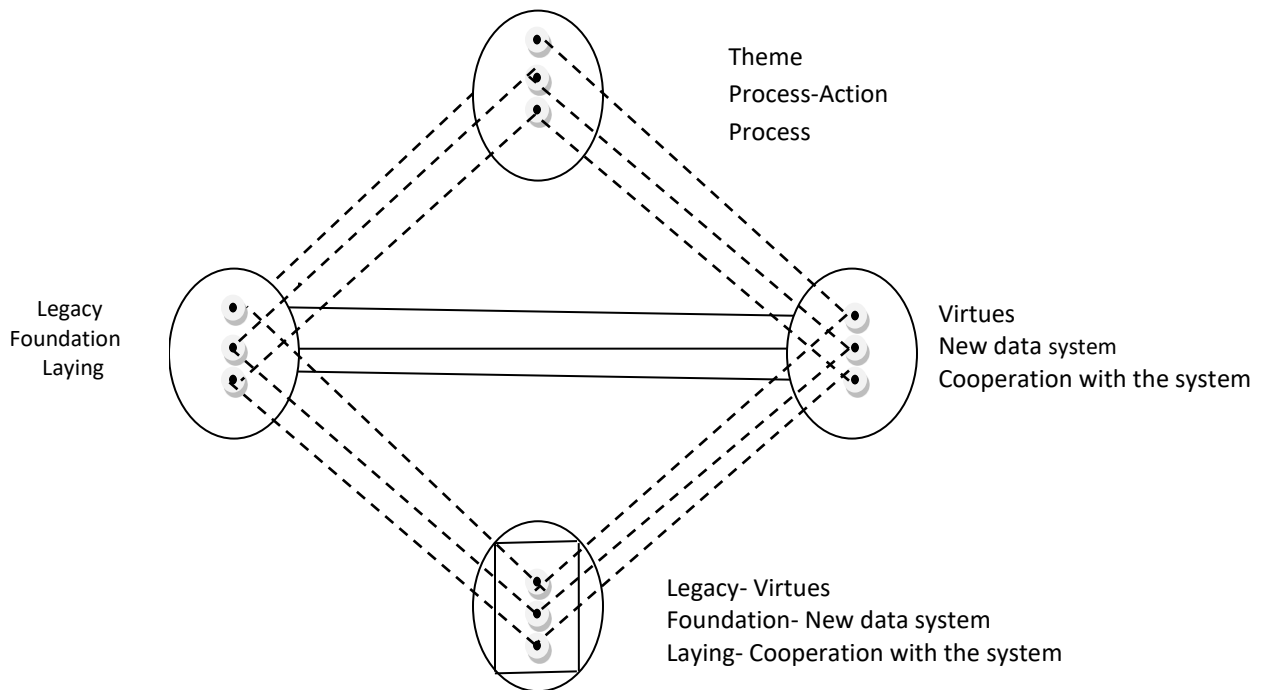
are alive their compassion remains with them, there would be no end to BringBackOurGirls campaign until the girls are rescued. Furthermore, that attempts to quench the fire are realised as efforts to stall the campaign raises questions on the genuineness of the government. Further inference would lead to the conclusion that rather than hush the campaigners, the government should be re-assuring them and working towards rescuing the girls. Otherwise, the government could be accused of being responsible for the missing Chibok girls.

In another episode, that of the Corp Marshall of the FRSC on AIT’s Focus Nigeria, two mental spaces are also constructed in the promotion of ideologies. Despite the hassles that Nigerians face in obtaining the new number plate and especially the new driver’s license, the Corp Marshall insists that it is for their own good, unless they prefer mediocre service. But he would not oblige them that.

Excerpt 4

P: The legacy I’m laying is a foundation I sincerely believe will be a game changer for Nigeria.

Fig. 4 Conceptual blending network for ‘The legacy I’m laying is a foundation’



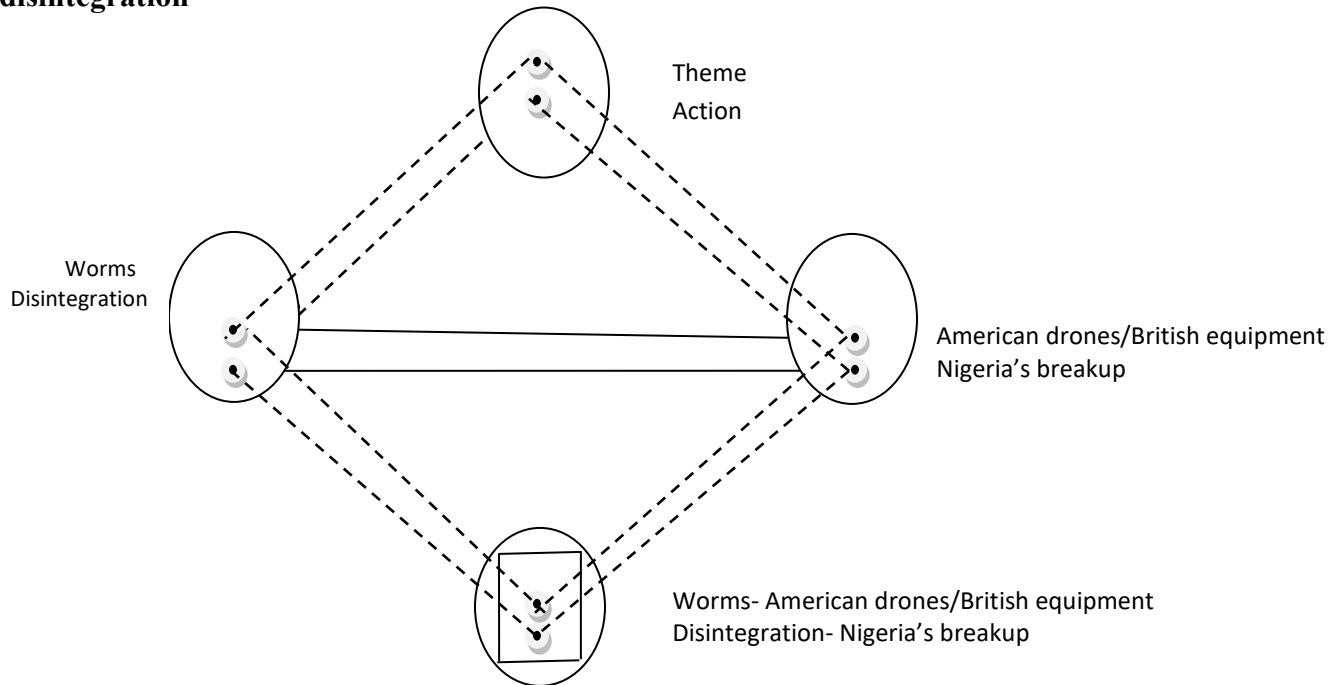
In this blending network, the emergent structure realises ‘legacy’ as virtues, ‘foundation’ as the new data system, and the act of ‘laying’ as cooperation with the system. The conceptual frame of building a house is employed here. The frame of dutifully accomplishing a task and receiving honour and a reward for legacies left afterwards is also constructed. With these frames in mind, it is known that building a house takes time, effort and resources. The metaphor of foundation and the new data system therefore interact cohesively. The process of laying a foundation is rigorous, articulate and time-consuming, given that it has to be gotten right at that point, for a beautiful house to be the end product. Correspondingly, the new data system is constructed as that foundation which must be built, though with care, but through many rigours. Hence, Nigerians must be part of the laying of the foundation. Here, elaboration provides for a measure of reasoning. Therefore, Nigerians are expected to be reasonable and give their support and cooperation to this all-important stage of the building process. One implication is that it would cost their time, however, for the virtues to be reaped, not only by the Corp Marshall when he exits the stage, but also by Nigerians. Then comes the need for patience in obliging and cooperating with the FRSC system since in the long run, Nigerians would not have to spend so much time queuing to obtain a driver’s license. Should Nigerians want to operate contrary to the supposed legacies, the Corp Marshall implies that they prefer mediocre services which he is unwilling to oblige them. He therefore leaves them no choice but to cooperate with him.

Max Gbanite, a participant on ‘Focus Nigeria’s – Abducted Chibok Girls, Matters Arising’, creates two mental spaces that depict his ideological scheme and perceived notion of the supposed help to be rendered Nigerians in their fight against insurgency. The excerpt below depicts this position.

Excerpt 5

M: People coming to help us is OK but the most important thing is that our security agencies and those in Government must shine their eyes to make sure that *these people coming in to help us do not insert worms in our system that can bring about disintegration that has been already projected.*

Fig. 5 Conceptual Blending Network for ‘worms in our system that can bring about disintegration’



From the mental spaces constructed as shown in the two input spaces, Max conceptualises the actions of the American and British governments in a negative light. Worms are known for causing disintegration. The ideology of Max here expressed in this conceptual blending network is that the foreign governments are not here to help but to bring about the breakup of Nigeria that they have been projecting. The worms they are capable of inserting are therefore the equipment they have brought into Nigeria – the drones by the American government, and other unspecified equipment by the British. Such a frame presupposes a destructive intent rather than the supposed ‘help’ that they want to render.

The emergent structure in this network is therefore realised as American drones, and the British equipment are capable of causing disintegration which would ultimately lead to the breakup of Nigeria as a country. He therefore advises ‘our security agencies and those in government to shine their eyes’, that is, be very careful and more observant of the activities of these foreign bodies in our environment.

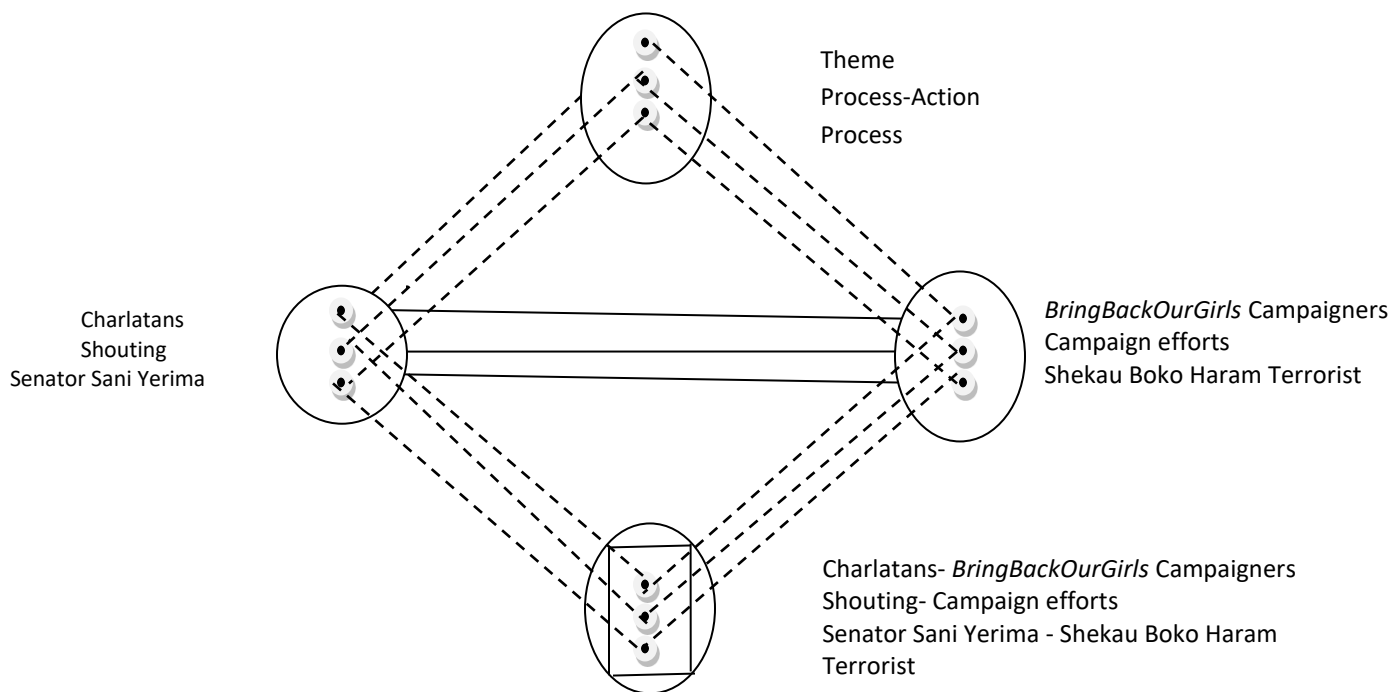
On ‘Head to Head’s National Conference - the Way Forward’. The participant Mr. Tony Nnadi equally conceptualises his ideology of the happenings in the country. He opines that issues bedevilling the country have not been genuinely looked into and as such holding a National Conference without addressing those, would be futility. He condemns the actions of the BringBackOurGirls’ group, labelling them ‘Charlatans’. The next excerpt conveys his position.

Excerpt 6

P: Those *Charlatans who are going about shouting bring back Chibok girls* did not see any correlation between what *Sani Yerima* (.) *Senator of Federal Republic* is doing and what *Shekau* that went to Chibok to take girls he was advertising on CNN for sale (.) for marriage (.) The two were pursuing Sharia (.) one chopping off hand (.) the other chopping off head (.) one buying 13 year old (.) the other taking 16 year old.

The network that follows describes the conceptual blending processes derived from this participant’s interaction.

Fig. 6 Conceptual blending network for ‘Charlatans who are shouting bring back Chibok girls correlation between Sani Yerima and Shekau’



The three mental spaces that the participant constructs fuse to realise an emergent structure that portrays his ideology. First, the BringBackOurGirls Campaign group is seen as Charlatans - a group that is nothing short of fraudulent and unrealistic in their bid to help Nigeria become better. Despite all that the group does to impress Nigerians as to their devout calling to the call of the Chibok girls, the participant dismisses their effort as mere charlatanism. He therefore conceives their campaign effort as 'shouting' – making noise in the ears of people. The frame of shouting depicts an unserious activity and that is what he aptly likens the activities of the campaign group. Furthermore, he attempts to justify his position by stating that the group should have called into question the move made by a Senator of the Federal Republic in 'taking' a 13-year-old as wife. He wonders why the group does not 'shout' about that. The process of elaboration in this conceptual blending network enables us to infer that the participant is awfully displeased with the Senator's action that he likens him to the Boko Haram terrorist leader- Shekau. He presupposes that they both are in the action of 'abducting' girls without a legal backing or right and as such should both be dealt with, rather than the campaign group focusing attention on what seems unrealistic.

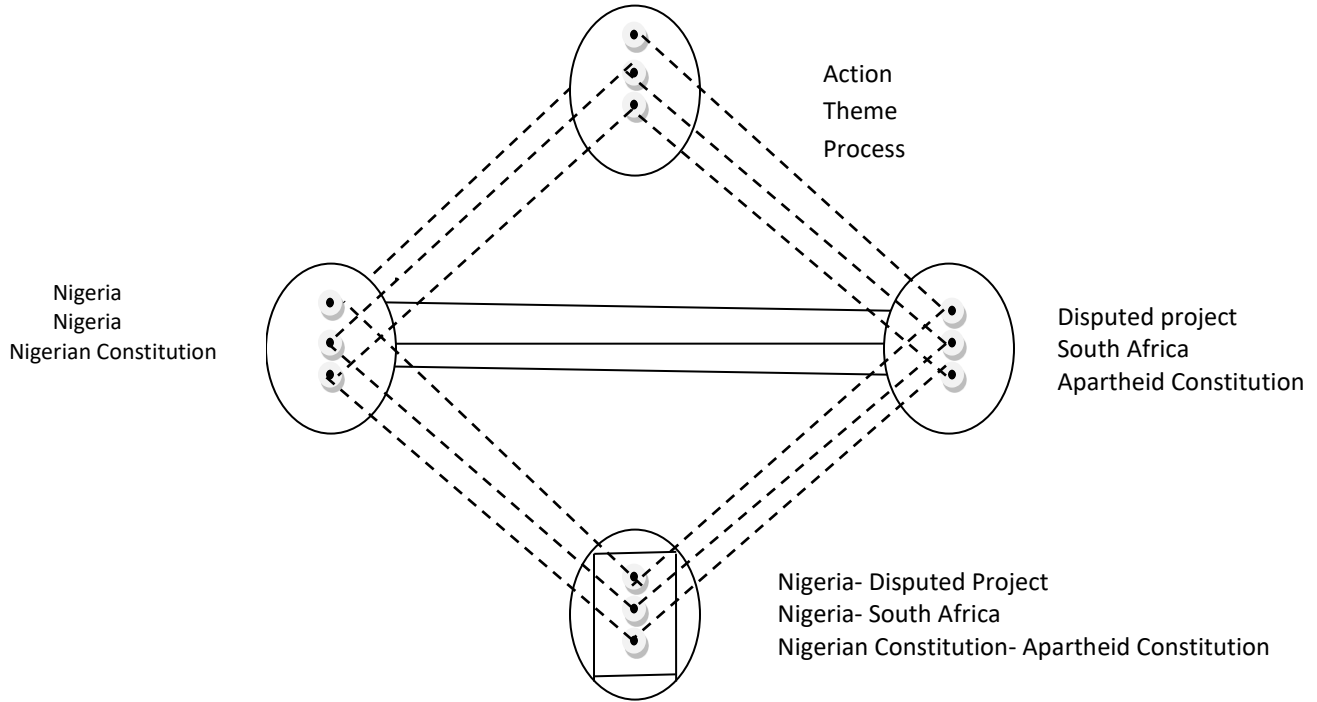
The participant, Tony Nnadi, creates another mental framework for describing and comparing Nigeria to South Africa in their then apartheid state, his focus being on the ills of the Nigerian constitution. The next excerpt shows this:

Excerpt 7

P: What to do is simply to have that knowledge that *Nigeria is a disputed project* and to call a meeting of those who are working to leave the union so that they could recommit to the union and *South Africa was confronted with that kind of a situation under their apartheid constitution* that was imposed by a minority to seize the assets of the majority for a long time. *The only way left for Nigeria now is to acknowledge that this constitution cannot carry us to the next bus stop* especially the election that has been advertised for 2015. So because South Africa suspended elections for the period it took them to discuss complete *replacement of their apartheid constitution* and it took them 5 years from where they had the 1994 elections that brought Mandela. What were they trying to solve? An apartheid that confiscated the assets of a majority in the hands of a minority. *Nigeria is exactly in that situation...*

The participant reels out a number of similarities between the Nigerian constitution and the then South African constitution. He endeavours to make a vivid portrayal of his ideology regarding his view that Nigeria has an apartheid constitution. He even describes Nigeria as a disputed project, thereby invoking the frame of a project that should be delivered upon but chaotic in nature. The following conceptual blending network depicts the process for an emergent structure for this excerpt:

Fig. 7 Conceptual Blending Network for Excerpt 7:



From this blending network, Nigeria is seen as a disputed project. The frame of a project suggests that more effort is required to make its deliverability succeed. Team work cannot be downplayed for a project to be truly successful. The participant therefore hints that the state of the country with each region seeking its own interests disallows the success of this project called Nigeria. It is therefore a disputed project, and unless definite steps are taken by its citizenry to correct matters, there would be no way forward for the country. He

also creates a mental space of Nigeria as South Africa. South Africa used to be governed by an elite few and had the majority of its people in want. Nigeria is also seen as governed by a few hands that have channelled its vast resources to some quarters, made decisions for the entire populace without recourse to their concerns and real needs. That was exactly the case in South Africa. The participant also goes on to create a mental space of the Nigerian Constitution as an apartheid one. Having compared the Nigerian situation to that of South Africa, he conceives the problem to be with the constitution. He says Nigerians should acknowledge that the constitution cannot carry us to the next bus stop. Since South Africans had to make a complete replacement of their apartheid constitution before things started to turn out well, it follows that Nigerians have to get rid of their apartheid constitution as well for their ‘project’ – the country, to get going right.

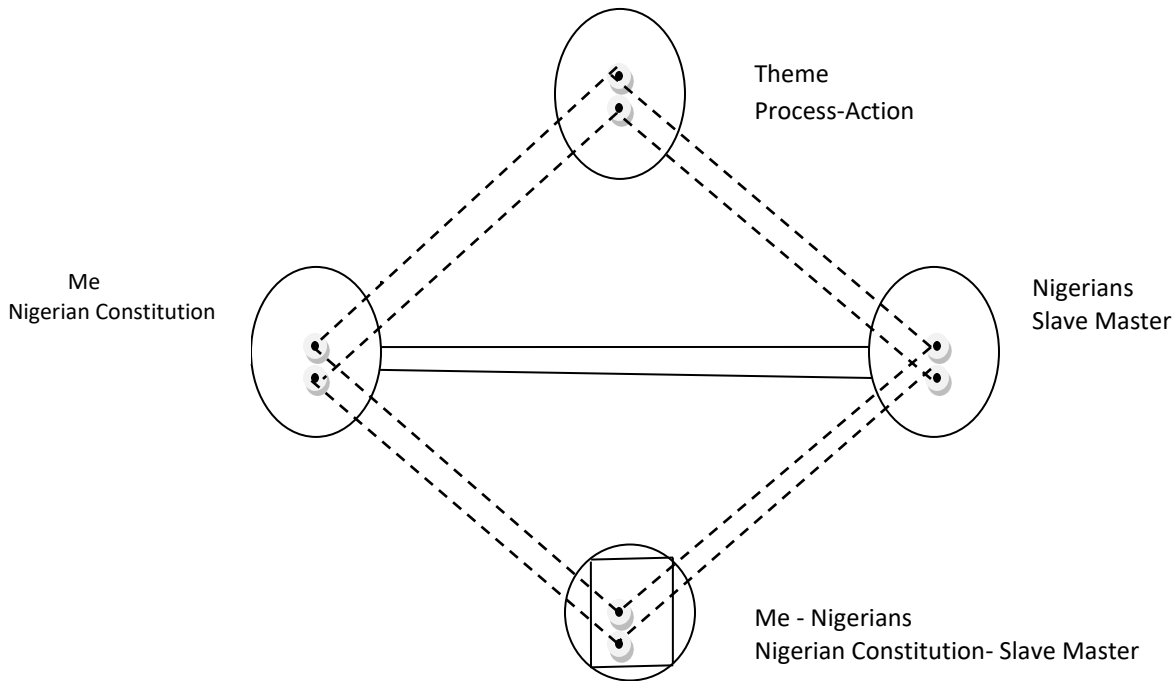
The participant in another argumentative move projects the ideology that the Nigerian Constitution is a slave master. This reasoning is explicit in the following excerpt upon which the next conceptual blending network is drawn.

Excerpt 8

H: Are you aware that there is not part of this country that is not richly blessed in terms of natural resources?

P: That makes the matter worse because if being so richly blessed↑ they sat over my head to define what belongs to who without my participation because it was between Gowon and Murtala Mohammed and er: all of the succession of those who made all of the decrees they compounded in 1979 and 1999 to call constitution. What we are saying simply is that they have imposed their will and *enslaved me* in black and white.

The participant metaphorically represents Nigerians as ‘me’, that is himself. Since there was no convergence of a National Conference before the Nigerian Constitution was created and amended in 1979 and 1999 respectively, he presupposes that the ruling lords and their succession of rulers made all of the decrees and compounded them to serve as constitution. Of note, though, is the fact that he assumes that the constitution is an imposition on ‘him’, that is, Nigerians, and as a result is enslaving. A conceptual blend for this is created by fusing the inputs and selectively projecting them into an emergent structure.

Fig. 8 Conceptual blending network for ‘constitution...enslaved me’

In this blend, two different scenarios in Input spaces one and two are fused to become a compound element – assuming the same meaning. ‘Me’, that is, the participant as an individual, is to be understood as the entirety of Nigerians. The participant employs the argumentative move of victimisation to make Nigerians see that he is representing their interests and him, them, have been enslaved by virtue of not being consulted before the compounding of the constitution. The Nigerian constitution which is a booklet is also given the frame of a hard, harsh and imposing slave master – attributes of an animate to an inanimate object. By virtue of the leaders’ decrees and self-will imbedded in the constitution, it therefore serves as good as a slave master. The imaginative and logical process of elaboration in the blend allows the inference that since the slave trade era is long gone, Nigerians should join in the fight to disregard the current constitution while being dogged in their quest for a change of the constitution through the National Conference.

On ‘Kakaaki’s Ember Month Campaign - Driving Behavior and Issues of Safety’, the participant talks about the enlightening campaign as a preaching work. He invokes the imagery of a devoted gospel activity where what is preached is not about the Koran or the

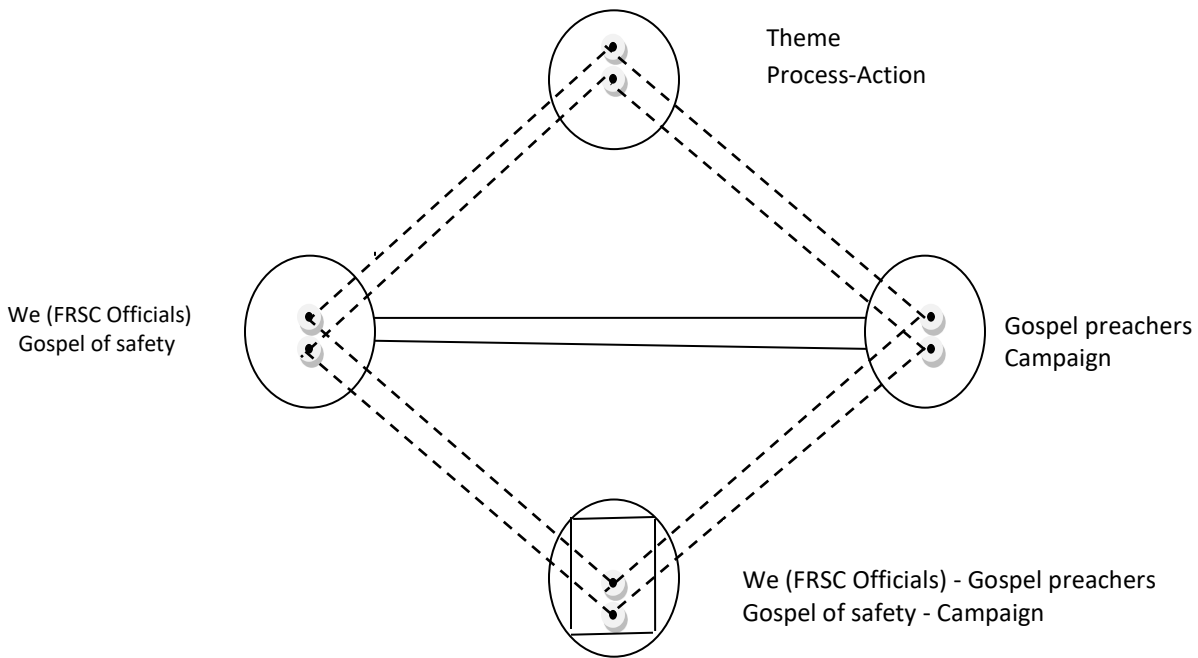
Bible but the gospel of safety. He thereby emphasises the road safety ideology by painting the lifesaving nature of this gospel and showing that the FRSC would be dedicated to its course as do preachers of the gospel of God.

Excerpt 9

P: The advocacy has to do with motor park rallies *we* do. It has to do with visits to er: religious houses (.) churches (.) mosques. It has to do with visits to government departments and private departments (.) large organisations for the purpose of er: *preaching the gospel of safety*.

A blend for this can be represented thus:

Fig. 9 Conceptual blending network for ‘preaching gospel of safety’



The scenarios created of the FRSC officials as gospel preachers implies that the road safety men are determined in their desire to get to as many people as possible, as gospel preachers endeavour to do. The gospel of safety thus is the campaign message which

they would doggedly preach to motorists all over the nation. As the gospel about God as written in the Holy Books, and proclaimed by his preachers have the possibility of bringing salvation to those who hear and take heed, so the gospel of safety as written in the FRSC codes and proclaimed by the FRSC ‘preachers’ would bring safety, avoidance of accidents and loss of lives and vehicles to motorists who would hear and take heed. These two different scenarios are thereby fused to become a linking component- the saving of lives, although achieved through different means - to project the road safety ideology.

5. Findings

From the foregoing analysis, it can be seen that that the selected episodes of the different talk shows Kakaaki, Focus Nigeria, and Head to Head all contained conceptual blending patterns as a result of the mental spaces conceptualised by the participants on the programme. In Kakaaki, for example, four mental spaces are created that represents the Boko-Haram as a tragedy. Two mental spaces are also created that equated the zeal of the BringBackOurGirls campaigners to fire. Following this, the effort by the government to stall the campaign is equated with quenching a fire.

Furthermore, in Focus Nigeria, the FRSC officials – in an episode – are metaphorically represented by the participant as gospel preachers, and their road safety campaign is represented as a gospel of safety, in two mental spaces. Additionally, the discourse of the chief of the FRSC brought about a creation of two mental spaces where the new data system is viewed as a foundation, and legacies – those he sought to leave behind – are virtues.

In Head-to-Head episodes, a greater number of mental spaces were created – about 11 – compared with the other two talk shows, Kakaaki and Focus Nigeria. The participant in one of the episodes considered the BringBackOurGirls campaigners as charlatans; Nigeria is a disputed project; the Nigerian Constitution is an apartheid constitution and a slave master; Senator Sani Yerima is same as Shekau, the Boko-Haram terrorist leader, among other framings. Several argumentative moves and framings were deployed to create these mental spaces that have been identified and go a long way in showing how participants on the selected Nigerian talk shows conceptualised the happenings discussed.

6. Conclusion

Nigerian television talk show participants in the selected episodes are found conceptualising ideologies by use of metaphors, as shown in the blended patterns. This

shows that a lot happens in the cognitive domain before they play out as words, as has been argued by scholars (van Dijk, 1995; Chilton, 2004, 2005; Hart, 2007). Recognition of this fact should help media practitioners, especially those that anchor talk show programs, in their management of the issues raised. Knowledge of how conceptual blending is applied during interactions can help them realise the need to craft questions that would enable them get to the root of their discourse and adequately inform their audience. It also should help them avoid pitfalls of making unnecessary comparisons through the use of metaphorical expressions. This study has helped to show what leads to positions taken and adopted at such speech events.

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DISCOURSE INTONATION PATTERNS IN THE NON-INTERROGATIVE UTTERANCES OF SELECTED EDUCATED NIGERIAN SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Anthony Olabiyi Adejuwon

Abstract

Previous studies on English intonation have concentrated on its rule-governed patterns; people's spontaneous utterance intonational choice characteristics are inadequately explored. This study investigated the interactionally-motivated intonation patterns of selected educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE) to determine the conformity of their spontaneous speech intonation patterns with their interactional context. David Brazil's Discourse Intonation (DI) model provided the theoretical framework. Thirty-two excerpts were purposively sampled from the spontaneous utterances of 17 purposively selected electronic media participants (Group A) and 15 focus group discussion participants (Group B). Structure and centrality to the messages of the excerpts informed the selection of the analysed non-interrogative tone units. Data were collected using textual analysis, FGD and questionnaire. Frequency and analysis of variance were used for quantitative analysis. The participants' non-interrogative tone-unit intonation patterns largely ran counter to DI, with 7 excerpts (41.2%) from Group A and 5 (33.3%) from Group B largely conforming to DI ($p = 0.642$), even when they did not necessarily obey formalised rules. Statistical p-value, being above 0.05, showed no statistically significant difference in the mean between the two groups. The selected ENSE's intonational choices ran contrary to DI. ENSE's natural speech intonational choices are generally inconsistent as they follow no specific set of rules.

Keywords: Discourse intonation; Non-interrogative utterances; Educated Nigerian speakers of English; Natural speech; Formalised rules

1. Introduction

English, a stress-timed language, is predominantly intonational because a syllable is stressed to render the word in which it occurs prominent within the tone unit, or to categorise the sentence in which the word containing the stressed syllable occurs in terms of sentence type. Stressing a syllable in a word may also be intended to indicate a particular meaning which the sentence in which the word occurs is meant to convey. On the other hand, Nigerian languages are tone languages; tone languages only employ a limited amount of superimposed intonation (Cruttenden, 1986: 10). This limited use of intonation in Nigerian languages makes its elaborate use in English a problem for Nigerian speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL).

Works on English intonation (Udofot, 1997 and 2007; Jowitt, 2000; Okon, 2001; Adesina, 2005; Akinjobi and Oladipupo, 2005 and 2010; Atoye, 2005 and Melefa, 2001) and the West African Examinations Council's (WAEC, 2013-2016: 210) provision for the teaching of English intonation have so far concentrated on its rule-governed patterns. Most English Language Teaching (ELT) textbooks therefore present just a small set of intonation rules which allow a description of only a tiny part of intonation choices made in language as a whole (Cauldwell and Hewings, 1996: 333). The rules are, as such, inadequate to reflect the detailed intonation choices made in natural speech. Language, as a natural phenomenon and a means of communication, is dynamic and it changes in order to keep pace with the society. It can therefore not be restricted to a finite set of rules as people tend to express different shades of meanings and attitudes with varying intonation patterns understood by the interlocutors within the context of their interaction, but which are often not rule-based. This paper, therefore, investigates the interactionally-motivated intonation patterns of selected educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE) to determine the conformity of their spontaneous speech intonation patterns with the context of their interaction.

2. Discourse Intonation (DI) Model

Discourse Intonation (DI) model, which is a relatively new approach to the teaching and analysis of everyday speech, helps in enabling learners of English "to make their meanings and intentions clear to a listener" (Brazil, 1994: 2). This model, originated by David Brazil, is particularly useful in this age when there is increasing interest in research on the relationship between intonation choices and the speaker's communicative intention. More than a few researchers, according to Clark et al. (2007: 359), have, in recent years, "turned their attention to the role of intonation in discourse". This paper adopts the tone system of speaker choice variable in the DI model as its theoretical stance as a result of the currency of DI, its wide acceptance and intimate relevance to naturally-occurring speech.

Tune, which Brazil (1997) calls tone, is described as pitch movements distinguished by their particular direction or contour (Coulthard, 1985: 101). Brazil (1997: 9-10) identifies five tunes, that is, fall, rise, fall-rise, rise-fall and level as the “complete set of possibilities”. However, central to the choice of tune is the proclaiming/referring (P/R) opposition “that is realised by the two tunes most frequently found in many kinds of discourse, the ‘fall’ and the ‘fall-rise’” (Brazil, 1997: 68). The fall portrays its tone unit as “something freshly introduced into the conversation” while the fall-rise depicts the tone unit it governs as “what we are talking about” (Brazil, 1997: 68-69). In other words, a falling tune is a proclaiming tune, whereas a rising tune is a referring tune. The graphic symbols \searrow and \nearrow are therefore replaced with the letters “p” (proclaiming) and “r” (referring) respectively (Brazil 1997: 69).

3. Methodology

The participants for this study were made up of thirty-two educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE). The spontaneous utterances of seventeen of the participants (Group A) were recorded during discussion programmes and within-news interview sessions on the electronic media (Nigerian Television Authority – NTA, Africa Independent Television – AIT, Channels Television and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria – FRCN) while the interactionally-motivated utterances of the remaining fifteen participants (Group B) were recorded during focus group discussion (FGD) conducted by this researcher. The two sets of participants were selected to determine whether the domain of interaction could have an impact on the intonational choices of ENSE. The difference in the numbers of the participants in the two groups was due to the fact that the Group A participants were more constrained to use the non-interrogative tone units as they responded to the questions posed to them by their interviewers. A text containing seventeen excerpts (Excerpts A1 to A17) was prepared from the utterances of the Group A participants and another text of fifteen excerpts (B1 to B15) was prepared from the utterances of the participants in Group B (See Appendices A and B). The underlined portions of the excerpts are the analysed tone units.

All the participants had educational qualifications ranging from National Certificate in Education (NCE) to university degrees, being senior government officials, university lecturers, medical doctors, etc. Educated Nigerian English which constitutes the most socially acceptable is claimed to be spoken mainly by university graduates (Gut, 2005: 154). However, Adejuwon (2011: 51) has discovered that obtaining a university degree in English Language does not necessarily make one better in the use of English intonation than those who learn this prosodic feature of speech

elsewhere. What matters is the intensity or quality of the training coupled with the training facilities as well as the readiness or interest of the learner.

The data collected were analysed on the basis of the identification and the quantification of the intonation tunes used by the study sample. The precise intonation tunes used by the study participants were identified and the frequency of their occurrence was determined. The italicised symbols *p* (for proclaiming tune) and *r* (for referring tune) were adopted instead of the falling arrow (↘) and the rising arrow (↗) respectively to indicate the tunes placed on the analysed tone units used for illustration in the data analysis section. This is in consonance with Brazil's (1997: 69) shift from the use of the arrows to the use of the symbols *p* and *r*. The auditory approach was the main method used to identify the intonation patterns of the participants. It was found more reliable for the analysis of the data used for this study because the recordings were not devoid of extraneous sounds (or noise) which the instrumental approach could not sieve from the actual data. The researcher played back and listened to the recorded utterances of the study sample. The instrumental approach was applied only to the portions of the data that were recorded in relatively quiet environments and these were played back to the *sfs/wasp* software on the computer for acoustic analysis. Some of the visual representations or spectrograms thus generated are used in the tone-unit examples for the analysis. These tone units were extracted from the excerpts.

STATA version 11 (a statistical software package for data analysis created by Statacorp in 1985 but released for use in 2013), which allows command and minimizes error, was employed to do a univariate (descriptive/qualitative) analysis of the data. This brought out the frequencies and percentages of the occurrences of both the proclaiming (falling) and the referring (rising) tunes in the utterances of the participants. The conformity of the study sample with the DI model was thereby determined. The percentages of the participants' use of the proclaiming and the referring tunes (summary data) thus generated were subjected to ANOVA for inferential (quantitative) analysis. This brought out the level of statistical significance in the mean between the two groups.

4. Data Analysis

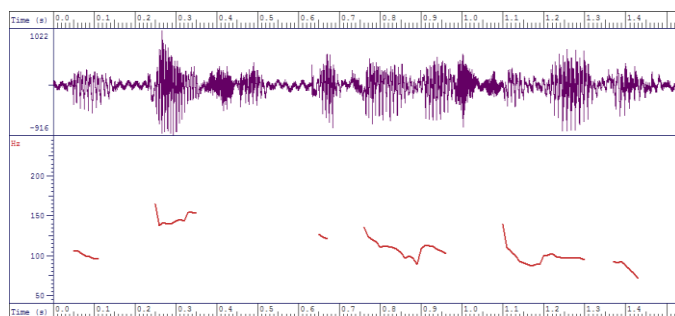
4.1. Group A Participants' Intonational Choices in Non-interrogative Tone Units

Going by the intonation patterns of the participants under study, it is clear that DI is still a strange model in the English intonation of educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE). We had complete conformity with DI in only 4 excerpts (Excerpts A2, A7, A9 and A13).

The proclaiming tune was employed in producing the lone non-interrogative tone unit in Excerpt A2. This non-sentence-final tone unit is obviously a prelude to a question which ordinarily should elicit information from an expert and this makes the

choice of the proclaiming tune by the participant to conform to DI. Excerpt A7 contains 1 non-sentence-final and 1 sentence-final tone units which were both spoken with the proclaiming tune. The participant here was expressing a personal opinion; hence, the choice of the proclaiming tune for both tone units is in line with DI. The 4 analysed tone units in Excerpt A9 are divisible into 3 non-sentence-final and 1 sentence-final tone units. The proclaiming tune was placed on 25.0% of the tone units while 75.0% received the referring tune. The pattern here can be said to conform to DI as the tone units with the referring tune obviously establish common grounds between the speaker and his interviewer while the one bearing the proclaiming tune apparently provides information. At the same time, the excerpt complies with the grammatical intonation rules as the tone units taking the rising tune are non-sentence-final while the one with the falling tune is sentence-final. Excerpt A13 is composed of 1 non-sentence-final and 1 sentence-final tone units which were both produced with the referring tune. The 2 tone units state a fact that is known to both the speaker and his interviewee. The choice of the referring tune is therefore in line with DI.

For instance, the only tone unit in Excerpt A2 (Figure A1) was produced with a terminal falling pitch:



// p In terms of putting this together/...

Figure A1: SFS screen capture of “In terms of putting this together ...”

The final tone unit in Excerpt A13 (Figure A2) was produced with a rising pitch at the end:

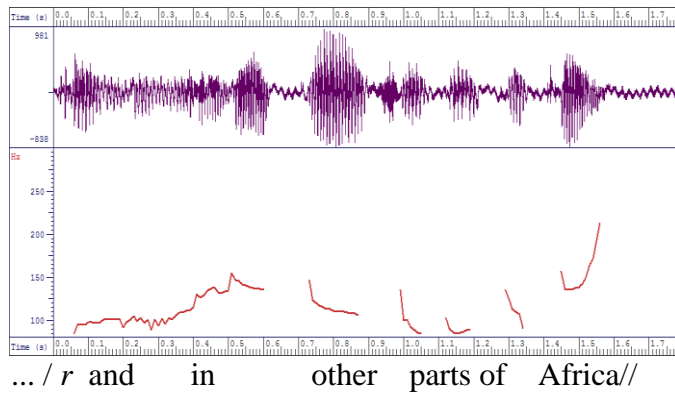


Figure A2: SFS screen capture of “... and in other parts of Africa”

Above average conformity with DI was recorded in 3 excerpts (Excerpts A5, A10 and A17). The participant who produced Excerpt A5 placed the proclaiming tune on all the 6 tone units constituting the excerpt (3 non-sentence-final and 3 sentence-final). The choice of the proclaiming tune by the participant here is largely in consonance with DI as he was apparently giving information to his interviewer. It is only the third tone unit (Figure A3) that can be said to constitute shared knowledge because it states what people (obviously including the interviewer) used to know in the past and as such should take a referring tune, like its introductory phrase, instead of the proclaiming tune placed on it:

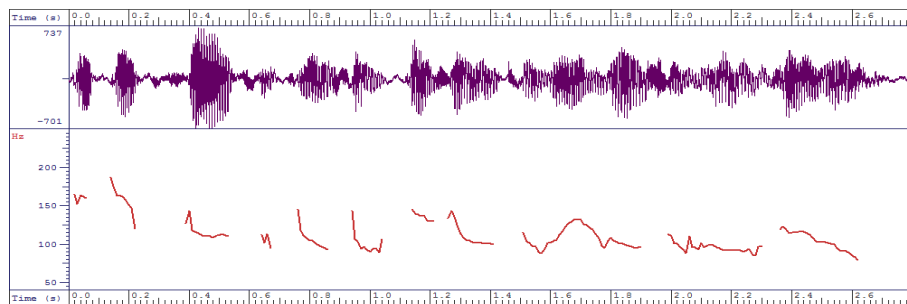
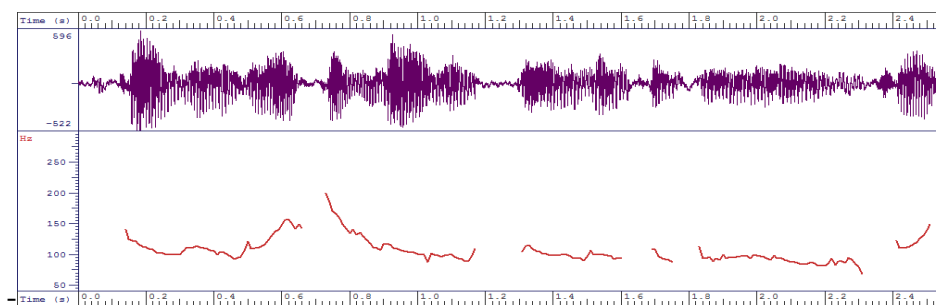


Figure A3: SFS screen capture of “... people thought it was impossible to do this in Nigeria”

The 6 non-interrogative tone units in Excerpt A10 include 4 non-sentence-final and 2 sentence-final tone units. The participant, who was apparently giving information with no presumption of common grounds between him and his interviewer, rightfully used the proclaiming tune to produce 5 tone units, but placed the referring tune on the remaining 1. As a government functionary, he was privy to the fact that the President

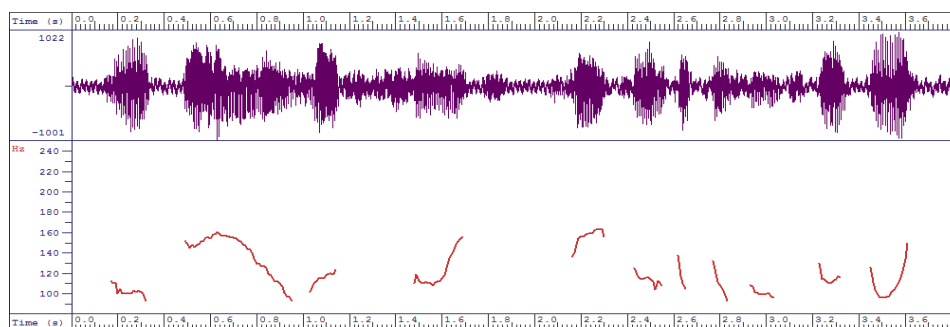
had given certain directives. His choice of the rising tune on 1 of the tone units (Figure A4), a non-sentence-final tone unit, is therefore grammatical rather than discoursal:



// r It has been directed by the President and Commander-in-Chief/...

Figure A4: SFS screen capture of “It has been directed by the President and Commander-in-Chief”

The speaker of Excerpt A17, who was obviously expressing his opinion on a national issue, uttered 60.0% of the 5 tone units (1 non-sentence-final and 4 sentence-final) with the proclaiming tune while the remaining 40.0% were said using the referring tune. The first 2 tone units and the last 1, which were produced with the proclaiming tune, are in accord with DI. Placing the referring tune on 2 of the tone units, which were also intended to pass information, renders the intonation tune choice for the affected tone units contra-DI. One of the 2 tone units (Figure A5) with the terminal rising pitch is:

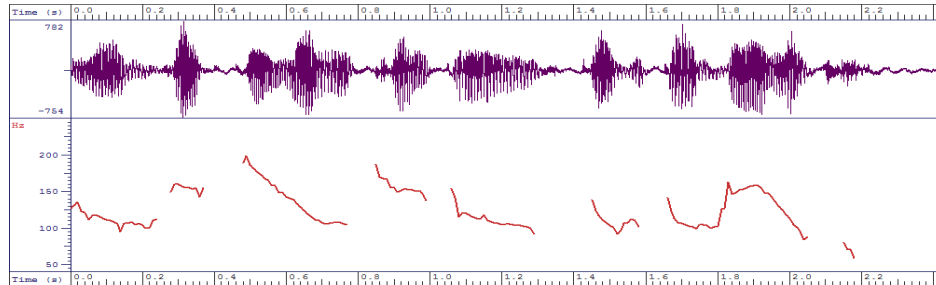


// r Our foreign reserve shrinks due to importation of spare parts//

Figure A5: SFS screen capture of “Our foreign reserve shrinks due to importation of spare parts”

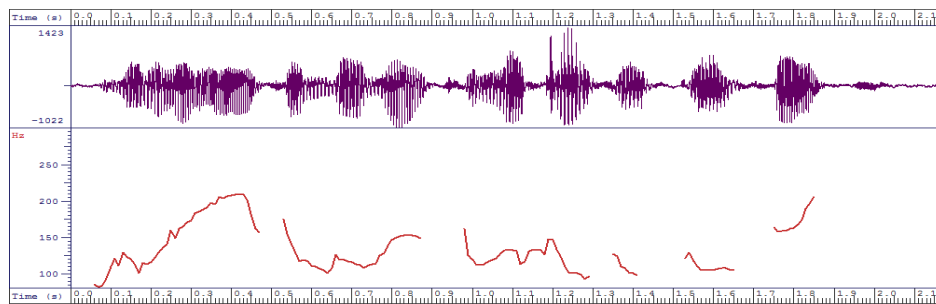
An average agreement with DI was recorded in 1 excerpt (Excerpt A12) while a below average compliance with DI was the case in 1 excerpt (Excerpt A14). The choice of the proclaiming tune in the last 2 (1 non-sentence-final, 1 sentence-final) of the 4 analysed tone units in Excerpt A12 is obviously in accord with DI because these

tone units are actually conveying information. There is, however, a mix-up of tunes in the remaining 2 tone units (Figures A6 and A7) as the one that is referring to a shared knowledge (Figure A6 – a sentence-final tone unit) was spoken with a proclaiming tune while the one that is introducing new information (Figure A7 – a non-sentence-final tone unit) was produced with the referring tune:



... / p the objective of a company is profitability//

Figure A6: SFS screen capture of “... the objective of a company is profitability”



... / r the moment you begin to look at your profit/...

Figure A7: SFS screen capture of “... the moment you begin to look at your profit”

Meanwhile, 8 out of the 17 excerpts (47.1%) were not in accord with DI (Excerpts A1, A3, A4, A6, A8, A11, A15 and A16). Only 1 of the 8 tone units in Excerpt A1 (the only one with the referring tune) conformed to DI. The speaker of Excerpt A3, who was introduced by her interviewer as a graduate of English, simply used the grammatical intonation rules set in ELT textbooks (known as Systemic Intonation or SI) to place the referring tune on the 3 non-sentence-final tone units and the proclaiming tune on the only sentence-final tone unit in the excerpt. She was however supposed to give expert information to someone who was supposedly finding out about her business with the use of the proclaiming tune all through.

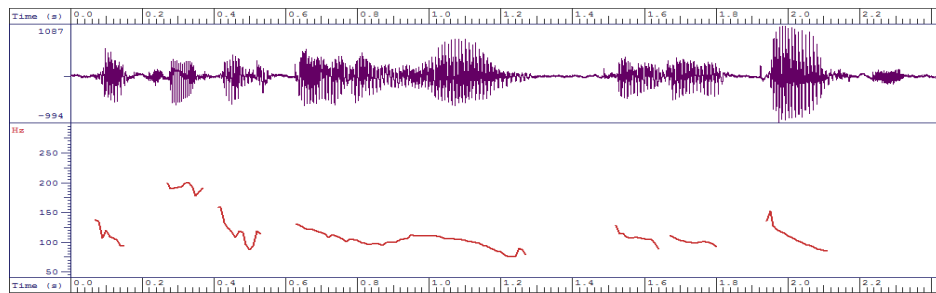
As is the case in Excerpt 1, we have an indiscriminate deployment of the proclaiming and the referring tunes in Excerpt A4. The use of the referring tune on the first tone unit is apparently in agreement with DI, but this cannot be said about the

proclaiming tune choice in the second tone unit. If the content of the first tone unit is a known fact, that of the second, which is the purpose of the first, should not be a secret. The third tone unit ought to take a proclaiming tune to comply with DI instead of the referring tune used by the participant because she was actually emphatically expressing her mind. The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh tone units are apparently stating the obvious, especially with the overt use of the expressions: “as usual” and “everyone knew”. They therefore ought to have been uttered with the referring tune to conform to DI instead of the proclaiming tune placed on them. The haphazard use of the two intonation tunes is further brought out in the last three tone units analysed in this excerpt. All of them are expressing common knowledge and therefore should take the referring tune to be in agreement with DI. Only the ninth tone unit bears the referring tune while the eighth (non-sentence-final) and the tenth (sentence-final) tone units were uttered with the proclaiming tune. Like Excerpt A1, the intonational choices in this excerpt are neither in agreement with DI nor rule-based intonation patterns.

Excerpt A6 is obviously referring to a common ground. From the question that follows and the answer given by the interviewee, it is apparent that the speaker here knew that his co-interlocutor was aware of the fact conveyed in the only tone unit in that excerpt. To conform to DI therefore, the tone unit should have been said with the referring tune rather than the proclaiming tune employed. The speaker of Excerpt A8 was apparently giving her personal opinion, which means she was giving information, but she used the referring tune on 2 of the 4 tone units. These 2 tone units are non-sentence-final. Moreover, 1 of the 2 tone units on which she used the proclaiming tune is a sentence-final tone unit. This means that she mostly adhered to SI, instead of DI, while she inadvertently used the proclaiming tune on a non-sentence-final tone unit. From the context of interaction in Group A’s text, the contribution of the speaker of Excerpt A11 constitutes shared knowledge between him and his co-interactant. The use of the proclaiming tune on the 5 tone units in the excerpt is therefore not in consonance with DI.

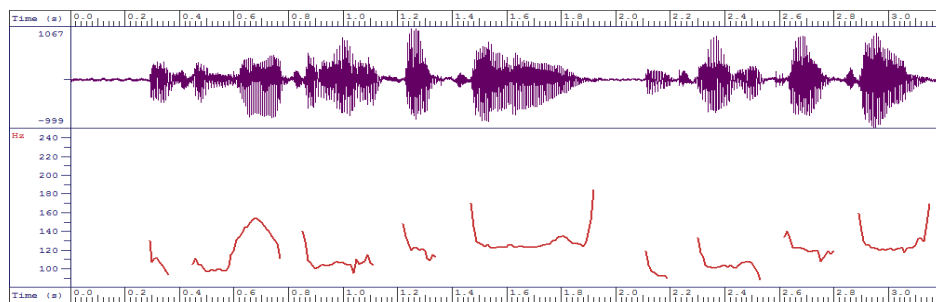
The participant in Excerpt A15 also mixed up the tunes in his production of the 6 tone units constituting the excerpt. The first 2 tone units are clearly stating a common ground between the speaker of the utterance and his interviewer, based on a report they saw together. The choice of the proclaiming tune for them is therefore alien to DI. The 4 tone units said with the referring tune are actually offering suggestions (information); the choice of the referring tune by the speaker is therefore out of place in DI. Only 30.0% of the 10 tone units in Excerpt A16 conform to DI in terms of intonation tune choice while 70.0% do not. From the context of this excerpt, the speaker here saw the first 2 tone units as conveying a common fact which all Nigerians knew about, especially with his overt statement that “and I know Nigerians are proud of us”. His choice of the proclaiming tune is therefore not in agreement with DI. The participant’s

choice of the referring tune on the first of the next 2 tone units is contrary to DI, while the use of the proclaiming tune on the second one is in conformity with DI. Also, the remaining 6 tone units were employed to give specific information on the plight of the speaker's constituents (i.e. people of his constituency) as their Representative. The use of the referring tune on the first 4 of these tone units is therefore inappropriate in DI while the choice of the proclaiming tune in uttering the last 2 is in conformity with DI. The haphazard use of intonation tunes by the participants is exemplified in Figures A8 and A9 from Excerpt A15:



/ p I think we depend on oil/ p from the report/...

Figure A8: SFS screen capture of “I think we depend on oil, from the report”



/ r we should go into manufacturing/ r into agriculture/...

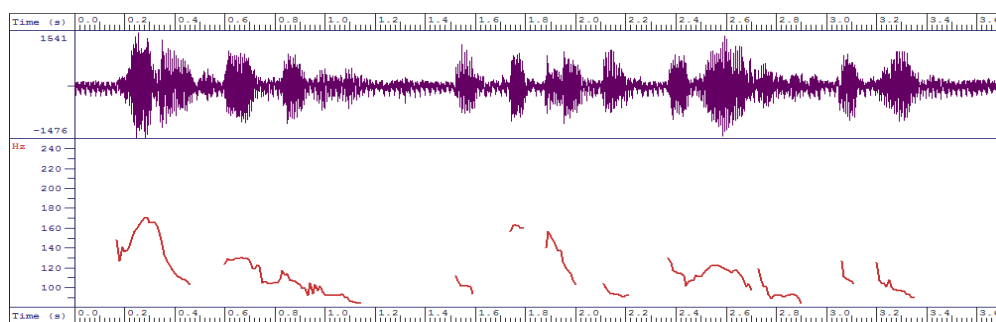
Figure A9: SFS screen capture of “... we should go into manufacturing, into agriculture”

If we add the excerpts that are in total accord with DI and those with above average conformity with DI, we only have 7 out of 17 excerpts (41.2%) that largely subscribe to DI. It means then that a vast majority of educated Nigerians are not aware of, and do not use, DI in the aspect of non-interrogative tone units. This is attributable to the novelty of the DI approach and the fact that it is not yet promoted in the English Language syllabuses in the Nigerian educational system, especially at the pre-tertiary

levels. Even at the tertiary level, only the English language major students are minimally exposed to DI through mentioning it as just the discourse function of intonation without any detailed discussion of its principles in the classroom.

4.2. Group B Participants' Intonational Choices in Non-interrogative Tone Units

It is clear that DI is thus far a strange model in the English intonation of educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE). Complete conformity with DI was recorded in just 2 (Excerpts B9 and B14) of the 15 excerpts from the utterances of the Group B participants. The choice of the proclaiming tune by the participant to produce all the 3 (1 non-sentence-final and 2 sentence-final) analysed tone units in Excerpt B9 subscribes to the DI model as the participant obviously saw his contribution as an informative response to the request for information in the preceding excerpt. This is made glaring in the participant's conclusion of the excerpt as his own view. The participant in Excerpt B14 (Figure B1) uttered his 2 non-interrogative tone units with the proclaiming tune, though 1 is sentence-final and the other is non-sentence-final. He was explaining his earlier question in order to disambiguate it, thereby giving information. His choice of the proclaiming tune is therefore in consonance with DI:



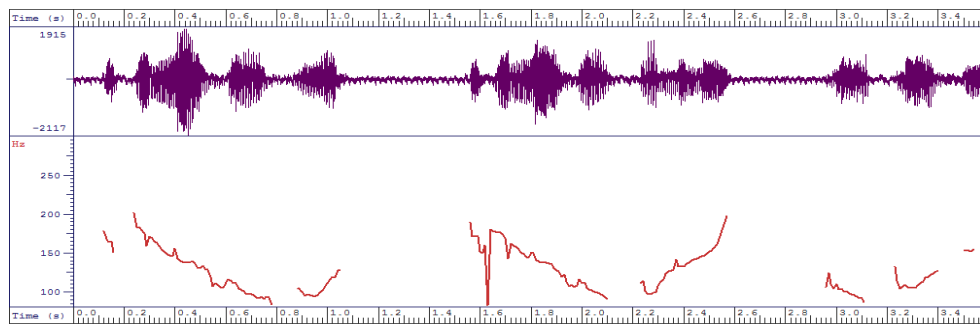
//p When I say government/ p I'm talking about federal and the state levels//

Figure B1: SFS screen capture of “When I say government, I’m talking about federal and the state levels”

Above average conformity with DI was recorded in 3 excerpts (Excerpts B5, B12 and B13) while below average compliance with DI was the case in 4 excerpts (Excerpts B2, B3, B7 and B10). The production of 6 out of the 7 tone units in Excerpt B5 (representing 85.7%) with the proclaiming tune, irrespective of the sentence-final (3) or non-sentence-final (4) status of the tone units, makes the excerpt to be mostly in tune with DI. Having been asked for his opinion on how Boko Haram could be eradicated, the contribution of the participant here could be considered as information-

giving. This view is reinforced by the participant's use of expressions such as "I don't think..." and "I think..."

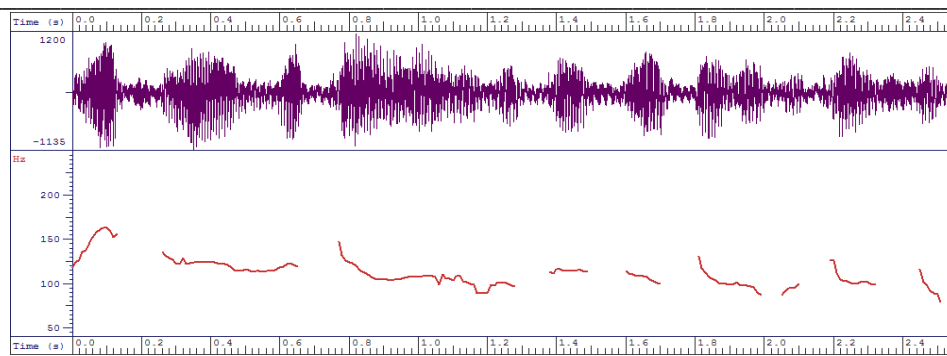
The choice of tunes in Excerpt B12, which comprises 7 tone units, mainly agrees with the DI model as the 5 tone units with the proclaiming tune are actually seen to be giving information. This was also lexically indicated by the participant with his introductory tone unit "To me...". The Northern Nigerian participant here saw the FGD as an opportunity to inform the public that Boko Haram was not an Islamic sect, contrary to the belief of many Nigerians. The participant in Excerpt B13 (Figure B2) was obviously drawing from some common ground between him and his interviewer who was a fellow Northern Nigerian. He therefore spoke almost all his tone units, including 3 sentence-final tone units, with the referring tune in a manner of "I'm just confirming what you know":



/ r people lost their job/ r people lost their family/ r their places//

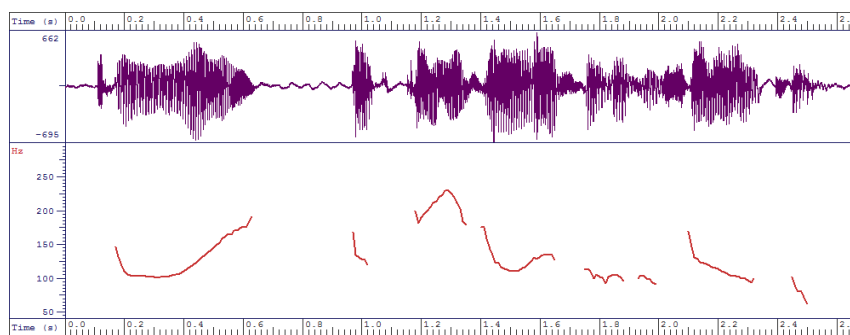
Figure B2: SFS screen capture of "... people lost their jobs; people lost their family, their places"

The participant who produced Excerpt B2 (one of the below-average conformity excerpts) chose the proclaiming tune to say 6 analysed tone units (out of 9) which were meant to confirm some common grounds. The excerpt is, as a result, largely contrary to DI as 66.7% of the tone units in the excerpt run counter to DI with respect to the tune placed on them. The first of the 6 tone units (Figure B3), for instance, merely echoes what has been stated by a previous discussant in Excerpt B1. Yet, it was ended with a falling pitch:



.../ p which means Boko Haram is against western education//
Figure B3: SFS screen capture of “... which means Boko Haram is against western education”

Six out of the 15 excerpts (40.0%) are completely not in accord with DI (Excerpts B1, B4, B6, B8, B11 and B15). For instance, the analysed tone unit in Excerpt B8 (Figure B4) had the proclaiming tune placed on it by the participant. Being a tone unit which merely summarises the contents of Excerpt B7, the participant’s use of the proclaiming tune to produce it renders this tone unit not conforming to DI. A preceding tone unit to the analysed non-interrogative tone unit (“Okay”) which bears the referring tune lends credence to this claim:



// r Okay/ p it causes unrest in the society//
Figure B4: SFS screen capture of “Okay, it causes unrest in the society”

An addition of the excerpts that are in total accord with DI and those with above average conformity with DI would give us only 5 out of 15 excerpts (33.3%) that largely subscribe to DI. Relating this to the findings in the analysis of Group A’s non-interrogative tone-unit intonation patterns, it is emphatically clear that a vast majority of ENSE are not aware of, and do not use, DI in the aspect of non-interrogative tone units with only 12 of a total of 32 (37.5%) non-interrogative tone-unit excerpts for both

groups conforming to DI. In addition to the reasons earlier adduced for ENSE’s non awareness and non use of DI, it is also a fact that in most elementary schools in Nigeria, only one tutor teaches all subjects without taking cognisance of specialisation. Also, many secondary schools lack competent teachers of English; they therefore make do with graduates of cognate disciplines in the humanities.

4.3. Analysis of Variance of the Overall Study Population’s Non-interrogative Tone-unit Intonational Choices

It would be recalled that the Group A participants largely conformed to DI in the intonational choices of 7 out of their 17 (41.2%) non-interrogative tone-unit excerpts whereas the participants in Group B recorded considerable conformity with DI in the intonation patterns of 5 out of their 15 (33.3%) non-interrogative tone unit excerpts. The table below shows the analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicating the level of statistical significance in the mean between the two groups.

4.3.1. Analysis of variance of Groups A and B

Analysis of variance					
Sources	Sum of square	Degree of freedom	Mean of square	F-cal	P-Value
Between	0.051	1	0.051	0.221	0.642
Within	6.934	30	0.231		
Total	6.985	31			

P = 0.05

It is observable from the ANOVA table above that the significance level is 0.642 ($p = .642$), which is above 0.05. Therefore, there is no statistically significant difference in the mean between Groups A and B. Most of the remaining 10 Group A excerpts, 8 out of 10 (Excerpts A1, A3, A4, A6, A8, A11, A15 and A16), were not in accord with DI while average agreement with DI was recorded in 1 excerpt (Excerpt A12) and below average compliance with DI was the case in 1 excerpt (Excerpt A14). Only 4 of the 10 Group B excerpts (Excerpts B2, B3, B7 and B10) considered not-conforming with DI recorded below average conformity while a larger number, 6 excerpts (Excerpts B1, B4, B6, B8, B11 and B15), were completely not in agreement with DI. This indicates that domain of interaction, whether on the electronic media or in ordinary

face-to-face interaction, does not effect any significant difference among educated Nigerian speakers of English in terms of their non-conformity with DI in non-interrogative tone-unit patterns. ENSE are therefore basically the same in their non-conformity with DI in non-interrogative tone-unit intonational choices.

5. Conclusion

It has been found out, through the data analysis, that there is no marked difference between the two groups' (i.e. Groups A and B) intonation patterns as both groups were found to be mainly the same in their non-conformity with DI as regards their intonational choices in non-interrogative tone units. The study revealed a remarkable gap between the natural speech intonation patterns of the selected ENSE and their interactional context. The intonation patterns of both groups of participants in the non-interrogative tone units largely ran counter to the Discourse Intonation (DI) model, even when they did not necessarily obey formalised rules. Therefore, educated Nigerian speakers of English (ENSE) generally lack consistency in their natural speech intonational choices with regard to non-interrogative tone units. It is recommended that the discourse intonation principles be included in the English Language syllabuses and that English intonation be taught to elementary school pupils and learners at other levels by experts in English phonology to enhance its proficient use.

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APPENDIX A

Group A Participants' Intonation Patterns

- A1.** //↘ Nigeria is very much a transitional society//↘ We are moving towards modernity/ ↘ we are not yet there// ↘ We are a very traditional society// ↗ We are trying/ ↗ what I think Jonathan got his finger on it by saying/ ↘ his was a transformational leadership//↘ I've not seen enough transformation/↘ but it's an aspiration/↘ a transit/ ↗ from what used to be/ ↘ to where we are today//↘ The Nigerian universities are in various stages of lack of preparedness/↘ but there are some high quality institutions like the one I'm associated with now//
- A2.** //↘ In terms of putting this together/ ↗ what are the materials/ ↗ what are the tools you need in actually putting this together//
- A3.** // ↗ I need a hammer/ ↗ I need a scissors/ ↗ I need a screw driver/ ↘ I need chemical glue// ↘ This is what does the wrapping//
- A4.** // ↗ NEMA and the Federal Government have met/ ↗ time and time/↘ and time again/↘ looking for ways of finding a solution// ↗ But I dare say/↘ as usual/↘ not much has been done so far/↘ because everyone knew that there was going to be flooding/↘ especially in the northern part of the country// ↘ We seem to know what to do/ ↗ but how to enforce/ ↗ or implement/ ↘ whatever we decide to do/↘ is always the problem// ↗ It's not enough to continue to sit down/↘ people are losing property/ ↗ children are being washed away/↘ houses are washed away//↘ And it's unfortunate/↘ that it is at this point in time/↘ we are still meeting/↘ and talking/↘ when the disaster is already here/↘ and another one is looming//
- A5.** //↘ I guess it's ever increasing/↘ and majorly/↘ it's because of awareness// ↗ A few years ago/↘ people thought it was impossible to do this in Nigeria/↘ but now the belief is there/↘ that we do it here// ↗ Therefore/↘ the patronage also is ever increasing//
- A6.** //↘ Dynamo Kiev have somehow threatened the other teams in Europe//↘ Do you think people expect anything good from Dynamo Kiev this time around//

- A7. // \ I think the only positive thing we can expect from Dynamo Kiev/ \ perhaps/ \ is for them to rack up as many points as possible//
- A8. // \ I think the reason why there is a bottleneck in the way African theatre/ \ or Nigerian theatre/ \ isn't advancing to that Broadway level/ \ is because we don't have a model that works/ \ and we haven't figured out how to create value//
- A9. // \ Yes/ \ but all the groups/ \ the producers/ \ the theatre practitioners/ \ the venue builders/ \ must take off at the same time//
- A10. // \ The collaboration here is to highlight the role that even the military can play this time/ \ given the national emergency// \ It has been directed by the President and Commander-in-Chief/ \ that all efforts must be made/ \ to be able to cover this area in a specific time period/ \ and the best crop of logistics for this type of operation/ \ when it comes to the nitty-gritty/ \ is the military//
- A11. // \ The issues remain community-based/ \ to a large extent// \ Federal government does not go to allocate land in states// \ It is the state governments that do that// \ The state governments do not go to communities to generate the trash// \ It is these communities that have the duty/ \ to ensure that they take charge of their environment//
- A12. // \ Yes// \ Ultimately/ \ the objective of a company is profitability// \ But you see/ \ in business/ \ the moment you begin to look at your profit/ \ without looking at the good of your stakeholders/ \ there would be discord//
- A13. // \ You are trying to create food security in Nigeria/ \ and in other parts of Africa// \ But these are roles/ \ that some people think/ \ can best be secured/ \ by the government of the day//
- A14. // \ First of all/ \ in the part of Nigeria I come from/ \ they say/ \ a hungry man is an angry man// \ The moment you are able to ensure that your people are fed/ \ fifty to seventy percent of the problems are solved//...// \ Don't forget/ \ the moment your next door neighbour is unable to feed/ \ you have a security issue// \ Coming to the involvement of the government/ \ I haven't seen a much more concerned government/ \ in trying to get food security for our people/ \ than this current government//

- A15.** // \ I think we depend on oil/ \ from the report/ \ we depend on oil basically//
 \ So/ \ we should go into manufacturing/ \ into agriculture/ \ into other
 \ areas/ \ so we would be able to make sure that we also earn income from
 \ them//
- A16.** // \ At House of Representatives/ \ we have done our part// \ We have done it
 \ well/ \ and I know Nigerians are proud of us// \ For you to know that we have
 \ done our own part/ \ we go to the constituencies through the committees//
 \ My people are not having food/ \ roads are not good/ \ hospital not
 \ working/ \ educational system in shamble/ \ power is not okay/ \ and we keep
 \ on having crimes here and there//
- A17.** // \ Mr President should stop the importation of any spare part// \ Save our
 \ foreign exchange// \ Our foreign reserve shrinks due to importation of
 \ spare parts// \ This will create job for our people/ \ and also will create
 \ capacities all over the country//

APPENDIX B

Group B Participants' Intonation Patterns

- B1.** // \ Boko Haram simply means/ \ if you want to put it literally/ \ we can say it's
 \ anti-book// \ But the main idea of Boko Haram is anti-western education//
- B2.** // \ What I'll like to say/ \ though the meaning of Boko Haram is book is
 \ forbidden/ \ or book is bad/ \ which means Boko Haram is against western
 \ education// \ But looking at those that have been attacked by these people/ \ this
 \ sect called Boko Haram/ \ can we really say only the educated have been
 \ attacked// \ They go to parks/ \ they bomb people/ \ they go to different
 \ locations// \ Though they go to schools as well/ \ but we cannot say only the
 \ educated have been attacked//
- B3.** // \ It's a recent development// \ But if you check the history of Boko
 \ Haram/ \ you'll know that everything/ \ from the Maitatsine of those days/ \ it
 \ has always evolved/ \ because they have leaders// \ The government will
 \ capture one/ \ and they keep succeeding/ \ and it's now what it is// \ The name
 \ Boko Haram may be recent/ \ but the history has been a long thing coming//

- B4.** // ↗ To me/ ↘ I'll say this is just the beginning/ ↘ if care is not taken// ↘ There are innocent lives that have really gone for this/ ↗ just like the students that were kidnapped/ ↘ then the recent bombing that happened in Abuja// ↗ We can see that so many people lost their lives/ ↗ and the issue of the vehicles that were burnt/ ↗ people that were selling/ ↘ so many things// ↗ Even economically/ ↘ we are down// ↗ The more they are destroying/ ↘ the more the economy of Nigeria is going down//
- B5.** // ↗ To stop Boko Haram in the country/ ↗ government should engage in dialogue/ ↘ and negotiation// ↘ I don't think it's by military might/ ↘ because when you are physical with them/ ↘ I think there'll be a lot of casualties/ ↘ and mayhem in the country//... ↘ the solution lies in the hands of the government// ↘ They should wake up// ↘ They know what to do/ ↘ I don't need to tell the government what to do//
- B6.** // ↘ Insurgency is a rebellious act against the government// ↗ It is a rebellious act against the government//
- B7.** // ↘ Who are insurgents// ↘ Like I once mentioned before/ ↗ we have militants from Niger Delta/ ↗ we have OPC from western part of Nigeria/ ↘ we have Boko from northern side of Nigeria/ ↘ and the Ibos who are the Biafrans// ↗ It's like I said/ ↘ anybody who has decided to rebel against a constituted authority is an insurgent//
- B8.** // ↗ Okay/ ↘ it causes unrest in the society// ↘ Is it a recent development//
- B9.** // ↘ Yes/ ↘ because we are known to be the happiest people on earth// ↘ Insurgency in Nigeria is just developing recently/ ↘ and what is causing it is probably some linkage with some Islamic ideology// ↘ That's my own point of view//
- B10.** // ↘ Sure// ↘ To me/ ↘ number one effect is reduction in population in the northern part of the country// ↘ In economics/ ↘ under investment/ ↘ I was made to understand that population has a role to play in a community's GDP// ↘ Number two/ ↘ the economy of the country is fluctuating// ↘ God has blessed us with a lot of natural resources/ ↘ not only oil// ↗ We have timber/ ↗ we have tin/ ↘ farm products// ↘ Most of these things come from the North//

- B11.** // ↗ To the best of my understanding/ ↗ insurgency is any rebellion against the authority/ ↘ or against the state/ ↘ that is/ ↘ against the government// ↗ Any act of aggression against the people/ ↗ against the authority/ ↘ it is an insurgency//
- B12.** // ↗ To me/ ↘ insurgents are not Muslims/ ↘ they are not Christians// ↘ These are the people who have no fear of God// ↘ These are the people who are enemies of this country// ↘ These are the people who are enemies of the northern part of the country// ↗ These are the people who are sponsored by some people who are outside the North/ ↗ who are outside the country/ ↘ who are all-out to destroy the progress of the northern part of the country//
- B13.** // ↗ Yes/ ↗ it has a lot of effect/ ↗ economically/ ↗ social life/ ↗ in every aspect of life// ↘ It has affected people's life// ↗ It caused death/ ↗ people lost their job/ ↗ people lost their family/ ↗ their places// ↗ They lost everything// ↘ They became refugees in their own country// ↗ So/ ↘ it's a great tragedy in the country//
- B14. A:** // ↘ Is the government sincere in their fighting against insurgency// ↘ When I say government/ ↘ I'm talking about federal and the state levels//
- B15. B:** // ↗ The federal government/ ↗ actually/ ↗ based on how I look at everything/ ↘ they are not putting enough resources// ↗ Even if they are doing that/ ↘ I think they are not doing well// ↘ We are still expecting more from them// ↘ We need more than hundred percent from them//

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BILINGUALISM AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COLORS

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Abstract

The reality of humans spans beyond spoken language into varieties of extra linguistic avenues such as colors, clothing, pictures and inscriptions through which they express themselves. Color system is a general concept across cultures even though distinction through names and ascribed meaning(s) to each color vary per culture. This research investigated the strong statements about identity and attitude that bilinguals can make through their choice of colors depending on how conducive they find their linguistic community. Comparison was made between Chinese-English bilinguals in the US and Yoruba-English bilinguals in Nigeria using Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory of sociolinguistics (EVT). Findings revealed that Chinese-English bilinguals had an overwhelming positive evaluation of their native language while Yoruba-English bilinguals had a more positive evaluation of English. Also, the importance of an individual's language within their immediate environment can influence their evaluation of such language. Respondents utilized colors, as a universal concept, to reveal implicit information such as attitude and perception. The study concludes that language attitude can be largely presumed upon cognitive perception of a language based on influencing societal factors, and that EVT is very much applicable to beyond ordinary spoken utterance analysis of language.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Color System, Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, Symbols, Language Attitude

1. Introduction

There is no gain saying that bilingualism as a concept, and especially as a practice throughout the globe is now more a norm than an exception. Edwards (2013) claims this is true of many societies in the world today. Bilingualism is a nebulous concept, but it can be, on the surface, viewed as the ability to use two languages, while multilingualism is the concept of having more than two languages (Adegbite, 2003). Bilingualism is influenced by various factors that range from the physiological to the psychological and even to external factors such as politics, economics, etc. It is therefore not out of place to regard bilingualism and multilingualism as “highly complex and multidimensional linguistic, psychological, and social behaviors” (Butler, 2013). In explicating the concept of bilingualism, closely related to a language is the accompanying culture. In this sense, it is impossible to separate a language from the culture which it conveys (Sapir, 1929). Garcia (2011) opines that “a language divorced from its culture is like a body without a soul”. In other words, languages rely on the underlying culture to make meaning.

Language itself is a complex concept to define. It is often viewed from the linguistic (spoken) perspectives alone. However, language is more holistically defined as a combination of signs (Saussure, 1916). These signs include varieties of spoken and non-spoken methods by which humans communicate. Examples of non-linguistic methods include: colors, clothing, gestures, inscriptions, etc. This study relies on the cultural significance of language and the universality of colors to study the perspective and attitude of bilinguals to their languages and culture(s). Color terms exist in all languages and convey meanings in significant forms (Suntharesan, 2016). These forms might be overt or subtle. However, the color system of each society is a reflection of the culture of that society. It is used for communication between individuals. For example, red in some cultures is an expression of danger; white implies peace and tranquility in some cultures; black is used to show mourning in some societies. Individuals collectively understand the signification of symbols within their society, so color systems are undoubtedly language systems. It can be inferred from all the above that the color system is a language form by which speakers of a language can express themselves. To a large extent, the same way as spoken utterance, gestures, and signs, attitudes, perspectives, feelings, emotions can be inferred through the color system.

Bilinguals have the command of at least two languages and so they perhaps, or perhaps not, view the world from two perspectives. Whichever the case may be, bilinguals are not cultural floaters and so they can view colors from at least one cultural angle. This universality of the concept of color makes it even a more reliable concept to measure the

non-linguistic expressions of humans (Suntharesan, 2016). Bilinguals usually have differing perspectives and attitudes to the languages in their repertoire which usually stem from extra-linguistic factors such as culture, politics, economic opportunities, etc. As a universal language, colors would therefore be able to convey bilingual attitude and psychological system.

1.1. Bilingualism: Language and Culture

Culture consists of all the things that a person needs to know or believe to be able to behave in a way that is acceptable to members of a particular community or society (Goodenough, 1975). In other words, language exists in a manner that is intertwined with culture. This is fair enough to say, since language cannot exist in a vacuum and so must continually operate in a 'transfusion' with culture (Fairclough, 1989).

The understanding of the interaction between language and culture is necessary to understand the magnitude of the complexity of a typical bilingual mind. Butler (2013) categorizes bilingualism based on diverse points of focus. (1) Relationship between proficiencies in two languages (Balanced/Dominant- Peal and Lambert, 1962): according to Baker (2003), a balanced bilingual can use his or her multiple language for different purposes, with different interlocutors, and in different environments. Dominant bilingualism on the other hand is when an individual decides to master the diverse use of only one language usually influenced by the usage, domain and value of that language (Moradi, 2014). This balance in the proficiency of language is also affected by factors such as the age of the speaker, and the context of acquisition of languages. (2) Organization of linguistic codes and meaning units (Compound/ Coordinate/Subordinate- Weinreich, 1953). Moradi (2014) defines compound bilingualism as having two different linguistic codes within one system of word meaning. This single system is used for both languages; two distinct word labels or verbal expressions, for instance, might have a similar underlying representation across two languages (Heredia and Cieslicka, 2014). Coordinate bilingualism implies that the linguistic codes of a bilingual are stored in distinct systems used for operation (Bertram, Schreuder, and Bayeen, 2000). Subordinate bilingualism refers to having two linguistic codes, but only one unit of meaning (Moradi, 2014). In other words, a second language or any other subsequent ones are learned through the first language. Summarily according to Heredia and Cieslicka (2014), the learning contexts and acquisition opportunities of languages determine their storage- independently or dependently on another language.

(3) Age of Acquisition (Early/Simultaneous/Sequential/Late- Genesee, Hammers, Lambert, Wallace, Mononen, Seitz, and Stark, 1978): this categorization is within individual multilingualism. This means an individual might be exposed to more than one language from birth and thus acquire them simultaneously or be exposed to a second and possibly additional languages later as he grows (Cenoz, 2013). (4) Effect of L2 learning on retention of L1 (Additive/Subtractive- Lambert 1974): this distinction is made at the societal level of language use. According to Cenoz (2013), additive bilingualism implies the addition of another language to a bilingual's repertoire while the first language is unhindered in development. In subtractive bilingualism however, a new language learnt replaces the first language. An important factor that affects such differentiation is being bilingual in languages that are demographically strong with a high status and a weaker language (Kramsch, 2010). (5) Functional ability (Receptive/Productive- Fishman, 1965): the distinction in the functional ability is defined in an individual's varying or similar use of multiple languages (Baker 2007; Engen and Kulbrandstad, 2004). Bilingualism is receptive or productive based on an individual's use in diverse domains, among different interlocutors and contexts (Serpa, 2014) or as Fishman in Baker (2007) puts it: "when, where, and with whom people use their two languages". (6) Language status and learning environment (Elite/Folk- Fishman, 1977): Elite bilingualism implies a voluntary choice to learn a new language with social prestige which leads to additive bilingualism; folk bilingualism on the other hand is associated with subtractive bilingualism and refers to the condition where individuals acquire a subsequent language and tend to lose a prior one because it has a low prestige in the environment of the individuals (Martin-Jones, 2007). (7) Cultural identity (Bicultural/L1 monocultural/L2 accultural/Deculturated- Hamers and Blanc, 2000): this has to do with the maintenance of the culture associated with a language. It might mean the acquisition of a language without its accompanying culture, or the acquisition of another language and culture which results in the loss of the culture of a prior language.

It is assumed that humans learn languages right from infancy, so it is often common to have early simultaneous bilinguals. When a child learns two languages together, such a child can be regarded as a simultaneous bilingual. McLaughlin (1984) would maintain that it is improper to categorize the languages of such a child as first and second languages. Since both languages are acquired at the same time, then it is only proper that they both be regarded as first languages. In Nigeria, a former British colony which is multilingual with 527 different languages (the Ethnologue, 2017), children acquire, right from their childhood, English language together with their native language(s) (Adegbite, 2003). Sequential bilingualism involves the acquisition of another language after one has been

established. McLaughlin (1984) posits that the languages are clearly differentiated in this case so the added language can be regarded as the second language while the initial language is regarded as the first. Liddicoat (1991) explicates that simultaneous bilingualism does not necessarily imply more proficiency over sequential bilingualism, but still depends on other factors such as prestige of the acquired languages, continuous contact with the languages, etc.

1.2. Color Perspectives

Color as a system plays a great role in communication in various cultures. Going by Danesi (2004), “colors are, in effect, signs that we use to represent whatever we deem appropriate”. Therefore, colors carry important messages when talking about culture or in the context of religion (Adegbite, 2003). While some colors have relatively similar meaning across a lot of languages such as white which means purity or peace (Suntharesan, 2016), other colors can have different interpretations across cultural lines (Adegbite and Adeniyi, 2014). Red, for instance might mean war and slaughter in one culture, but mean vitality and entertainment in another. Valberg (2001) and Bohon, Hermann, Hansen, and Conway (2016), in summary, posit that color categories are not universal but are shaped by specific or respective cultures.

As noted earlier, similarities of cultures vary from those that are very similar to those which are largely dissimilar. Adegbite and Adeniyi (2014) quote psychological views that reveal that colors can express the inner spirits of a person. Although color perceptions are quite subjective, effects are proven to have universal meaning. There are basically two-color categories according to Berlin and Kay (1969): warm and cool. Warm colors evoke emotional effects ranging from warmth and comfort to anger and hostility. Colors in this category are red, orange and yellow. Colors in the cool category are blue, purple and green and these colors are said to portray calmness, but sometimes evoke mild feelings of sadness or indifference.

1.3. Significance and Scope of Study

Linguistic expressions are part of a larger system of language usage (Saussure, 1916). For this reason, interpretation of non-verbal expressions must be done using tools that take into consideration much more than ordinary spoken utterance. More to this is that spoken utterances greatly vary across cultures in terms of form, expression and functions. There is perhaps no single variety of spoken words that cuts across all cultures and

languages of the world. For this reason, there is need to look into concepts which are general in communication to be able to do an analysis that would objectively apply to all cultures. Bilinguals do not possess simple language systems that monolinguals possess. According to Kroll and McClain (2013), they must constantly negotiate within two languages and maintain inhibitory control of linguistic interference that is not relevant. Analyzing a bilingual's attitude, for instance, through pure linguistic tools might therefore generate bias results that favor a language over another. If, however, a universally neutral tool as in color system is used in analysis, there is an excellent chance of having a viable result. Even though several societies have varying number of colors based on the terms with which they refer them according to their perception of colors, this research is viable because the two societies involved have similar knowledge of the color terms used. From the above, it can be affirmed that an analysis of the selected participants' bilingual's color system or preference will aid inferences about their perception and attitude to each of the languages in their repertoire and by extension, each accompanying culture or society.

The bilingual mind continues to shuttle within a complex ball of two languages even though the individual perception of each of the languages and its culture might vary. This study examines how the attitude of bilingual speakers to each of the languages, and their accompanying cultures, in their repertoire can be determined using their color preferences. The importance of this study is not only to provide meanings to the color terms but to also show that choice of colors does not just stem from an abstract connection of the brain to visual cues, but is as a result of conscious and unconscious association of the meaning of colors to their corresponding language.

Owing to language contact throughout the world, many bilinguals exist with varying types of languages in their linguistic repertoire. This study is limited to a contrast between Chinese- English bilinguals in Syracuse University, USA and Yoruba-English bilinguals in Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. For a more plausible analysis, the study examines respondents who are students of English language in both institutions.

1.4. Aim and Objectives

To describe the perceptions of the bilingual mind of Yoruba-English and Chinese-English bilinguals using the universal concept of color, this study will:

- a. analyze colors across various lines of preference by Yoruba-English and Chinese-English bilinguals,

- b. interpret colors in the context of geographical location, language acquisition and identity (gender, race, and age), and
- c. describe language attitudes of respondents in terms of analyzed colors.

1.5. Research Hypotheses

- a. Females will be more disposed to bright colors while males would have more preference for dark colors.
- b. Chinese-English bilinguals, being in the United States, will manifest more positive attitude towards English than Chinese.
- c. Yoruba-English bilinguals, being in Nigeria, notwithstanding their acceptance of English (which is the language of social mobility) will have a positive perception and pride for their native Yoruba language.
- d. Choices of colors to represent each language will reflect the awareness of respondents, who are students, of the color representation system in English as it applies to their languages i.e., Yoruba and Chinese (Mandarin).

1.6. Research Methodology

The study adopts a purposive sampling technique, and the analysis is quantitative, qualitative and descriptive. The criteria for the selection of respondents were location, language repertoire, and academic qualification. Chinese-English bilinguals who resided in a foreign language community (USA) were selected to be contrasted with Yoruba-English bilinguals who resided in their native language community (Ile-Ife, Nigeria). For a balance in their academic qualifications, undergraduates were selected in both contexts. The research instrument used for this study is a survey. Subjects were selected, 130 each, from Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria and Syracuse University, USA. The 130 respondents for each group of students were further split into 65 for females and 65 for males in each category. These subjects are Yoruba-English bilinguals in Nigeria, and Chinese-English bilinguals in the United States. The survey included questions that elicited biographical information as well as information as regards perception of colors. Nine major (9) colors namely: White, Grey, Black; Red, Orange, Yellow; Blue, Green, and Purple were grouped into three, based on Adegbite and Adeniyi (2014). The personal and research data were analyzed using statistics tools- EpiData and SPSS.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes the framework of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). This framework examines the distinctiveness and peculiarity of a group in situations especially outside the group. It therefore takes into consideration an individual's identity which derives from their knowledge and self-consciousness of their membership of a social group (Tajfel 1978). According to Adriosh and Razi (2016), Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) gives an insight into the importance and prestige associated to local languages and cultures as against other languages in a multilingual context. Through this, individuals' conception and attitude to their language(s) can be determined and utilized, on a larger scale, to project and evaluate the survival of languages and cultures in a multilingual context. According to Phinney (2003) cited in Adegbite (2016), Ethnolinguistic Vitality or Identity Theory represents a primary aspect of an individual's world view. In other words, a person's view of their language(s) and/or culture against that of others determines their language knowledge, preference and use.

An important aspect of this theoretical framework is language attitude. Defined as the subjective evaluation of language varieties and their speakers (Myers-Scotton, 2005), language attitude can be examined within an individual or a group. Various factors influence the attitude, positive or negative, of speakers of a language to that language in relation to others within a multilingual context, and these factors such as number of speakers, institutional support, language mobility strength, permeation by foreign languages, and domains of use generally dictate the cognitive basis of ethnolinguistic vitality (Adriosh and Razi, 2016).

In this study, color system which is a universal concept in social communication is analyzed in relation to language use and expression. As in Trudgil (2000) and Van Dijk (2009), language cannot be analyzed independent of its social context and other sociolinguistic contexts which must be taken into consideration. This study thus requires analyzing language as a form that is socially located within culture. In analysis therefore, there is consideration of the social background of interlocutors since it is believed that the analysis of the code itself and the cognitive process depends on the understanding of this fundamental social factor. In evaluating the choice of colors and languages which shows group identity in this research, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) is fitting for analysis. Considered variables also include social factors such as class, age, gender, etc.

2. Analysis and Findings

Demographic Information of Subjects

A total of 260 surveys were analyzed. 130 (50%) of the respondents were Yoruba-English bilinguals and the other 130 (50%) were Chinese English bilinguals. Chinese in this case encompassed all recognized 'varieties' of Chinese. Furthermore, there were 130 (50%) females (65 Chinese and 65 Yoruba) and 130 males (65 Chinese and 65 Yoruba). 193 (74.2%) of the respondents were aged 18-21 years; 10 (3.8%) were 15-17 years; 51 (19.6%) were between 22-25 years while 6(2.3%) were between 26-30 years. The predominance of ages 18-21 among the respondents was because respondents were selected from the University. Most of them were either first- or second-year undergraduates so the ages are normal and expected.

Out of the 130 (100%) Chinese bilinguals in the United States, 125 (96.2%) had been in the United States for 5 years or less, 3 (2.3%) had been in the United States for more than 5 but less than 10 years while 1(0.8%) had been in the United States for more than 10 years but below 15 and the same number had been in the United States for more than 15 years. The fact that a lot of the Chinese-English bilinguals were in the United States to study and were still in their starting years was a major reason why an overwhelming 125 (96.2%) had only been in the United States for less than 5 years. In fact, most of them had been in the US for just 1 or 2 years.

Of all the respondents, 137 (52.7%) (the Yoruba-English bilinguals being the overwhelming majority in this category) acquired English between ages 1-5; 97(37.3%) learned English between ages 6-10; 24(9.2%) learned it between ages 11-18 while 2 (0.8%) learnt it after 19 years. While 5 (1.9%) failed to report how many languages were in their repertoire, 197(75.8%) spoke 2 languages while 58 (22.3) spoke 3 languages (which included different local and foreign languages such as Igbo, Cantonese, French, Arabic, etc. The Yoruba-English bilinguals were in a society where English is used as language of governance and official communication which explains why all of them were simultaneous bilinguals. However, the Chinese mainly used their native languages in China without any access to English till they came over to the United States or were sent to English schools in China. This explains why majority of the Chinese learned English after age 6. The research was conducted on bilinguals which automatically translates to all respondents speaking 2 languages, at least.

2.1. Favorite Colors

The favorite colors selected by respondents were analyzed along the lines of ethnicity and also the lines of gender.

Table 1. Favorite Colors

Gender		Favorite color									Total	
		White	Grey	Black	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green	Purple		
Male	Nationality	Nigerian	16	3	15	10	2	1	13	3	1	64
		Chinese	15	7	15	4	4	1	12	5	1	64
		Total	31	10	30	14	6	2	25	8	2	128
Female	Nationality	Nigerian	8	5	4	5	2	4	13	4	8	53
		Chinese	14	6	12	6	2	2	10	3	2	57
		Total	22	11	16	11	4	6	23	7	10	110
Total	Nationality	Nigerian	24	8	19	15	4	5	26	7	9	117
		Chinese	29	13	27	10	6	3	22	8	3	121
		Total	53	21	46	25	10	8	48	15	12	238

A total of 238 (91.5%) respondents selected one out of the 9 provided colors as their favorite color, 22 (8.5%) selected either the 'other' option or failed to respond. Most of those who selected the 'other' option were females and 16 of the 22 who selected 'other' chose color Pink. The other two listed colors were Peach and Gold, each selected by two respondents.

In summary, out of the 128(100%) colors selected by males, white was the most selected with 31(24.2%) respondents. Black- 30 (23.4%), blue-25(19.5%) and red-14(10.9%) were also frequently identified as favorite colors. Orange-6(4.7%), yellow-2 (1.6%), and purple-2 (1.6%) were the least identified favorites. In the female category a total of 126 selected a color out of the provided options or wrote another in the 'other'

category. Out of the 110(100%) that chose one of the provided colors, 23 (20.9%), 22 (20.0%), 11(10%), and 11(10%) selected blue, grey and red respectively. Pink was selected 16 times (12.6% of the 126 who selected a favorite color). The least selected colors were yellow and orange: 6(5.5%) and 4(3.6%) respectively. The colors were then divided into two categories:

- a. **Bright:** White, Red, Orange, Yellow, Purple, Peach, Gold and Pink.
- b. **Dull:** Grey, Black, Blue, and Green.

In the male category; out of 128 (100%) respondents, 55 (43%) selected a bright color while 73 (57%) selected a dull color. Amidst females however, out of the 130(100%) overall respondents (those who selected out of 9 provided colors or wrote in the 'other' category), 73 (56%) chose bright colors while 57 (44%) selected dull colors. From the forgoing, even though the gap is not overwhelming, it can be concluded that females had more preference for bright colors than males.

Analysis was then done in terms of nationality. In Nigeria, 30 (46%) of 64 male respondents selected bright colors while 34 (54%) chose dull colors. Amidst the females; out of the 65 respondents, 39 (60%) chose bright colors while 26(40%) preferred a dull one. This shows that in the Nigerian context, females have more preference for bright colors and males, for dull ones. In China however, 25 (39%) of 64 male respondents selected bright colors while 39 (61%) chose dull colors. Amidst the females; out of the 65 respondents, 34 (52%) chose bright colors while 31 (48%) preferred a dull one. By implication, Chinese males preferred dull colors to bright ones, but Chinese females do not show such clear preference. Even though there is relative preference for bright colors at 52% to 48% for bright and dull colors respectively, Chinese females make it too close to call.

2.1.2. Language Attitude

Before surveys were designed, the researcher had personal consultations with respondents and non-respondents who were natives of the respective cultures about their thoughts on the signification of colors in their respective cultures. The consultations were not in research or official conditions, but casual situations to ensure the viability of responses. These consultations influenced the design of the survey which also included questions regarding their knowledge of the signification of various colors in their respective cultures to double check the previous consultations. Assertions about the signification of colors in the two selected societies are therefore based on overwhelming responses to empirical enquiries and consultation of a wide spectrum of individuals from

the respective cultures of the selected respondents. The selected basic colors had largely the same connotation across the two cultures. The only slight diversity was in the use of color red by the two cultures respectively. Although the connotation of love was general to the two cultures, the Yoruba perceived red to signify danger in addition, while the Chinese perceived red to also symbolize Happiness and Pride.

Table 2. Mother Tongue Color

		Color (MT)									Total	
		White	Grey	Black	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green	Purple		
Nationality	Nigerian	Count	52	0	11	35	0	1	17	10	4	130
		% of Total	20.0%	0.0%	4.2%	13.5%	0.0%	0.4%	6.5%	3.8%	1.5%	50.0%
	Chinese	Count	13	4	3	91	4	7	7	1	0	130
		% of Total	5.0%	1.5%	1.2%	35.0%	1.5%	2.7%	2.7%	0.4%	0.0%	50.0%
Total	Count	65	4	14	126	4	8	24	11	4	260	
	% of Total	25.0%	1.5%	5.4%	48.5%	1.5%	3.1%	9.2%	4.2%	1.5%	100.0%	

There were 260 (100%) total respondents. Out of 130 (50%) Nigerians, 52 (20%) selected white as the color to represent their mother tongue, 35 (13.5%) selected red while 17 (6.5%) selected blue. White, yellow, blue, green and purple reflected a positive attitude as respondents interpreted them to mean purity/dignity, brightness, calmness, fertility and royalty respectively. However, the bulk of the 35 (13.5%) and 11 (4.2%) that selected red and black respectively presented the Yoruba language, their MT, as being dangerous or harmful to their acquisition of English language or as backward and crude in development.

Out of the 130 Chinese respondents, 91 (35%) selected red to symbolize pride, love and happiness for their language and culture. 13 (5.0%) respondents selected white which symbolized peace and purity while 7 (2.7%) respondents selected yellow and blue each to symbolize brightness and calmness respectively. Purple and green were least significant and was selected by none and one person respectively. However, 4 (1.5%) and 3 (1.2%) Chinese-English bilinguals selected grey and black to symbolize their Mother Tongue, Chinese, as being a hindrance to their learning English language or to their progress in life.

Table 3. Second Language Color

		Color (2nd)									Total	
		White	Grey	Black	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green	Purple		
Nationality	Nigerian	Count	42	0	10	30	0	2	36	4	4	128
		% of Total	16.3%	0.0%	3.9%	11.7%	0.0%	0.8%	14.0%	1.6%	1.6%	49.8%
	Chinese	Count	21	6	13	8	19	8	43	8	3	129
		% of Total	8.2%	2.3%	5.1%	3.1%	7.4%	3.1%	16.7%	3.1%	1.2%	50.2%
Total		Count	63	6	23	38	19	10	79	12	7	257
		% of Total	24.5%	2.3%	8.9%	14.8%	7.4%	3.9%	30.7%	4.7%	2.7%	100.0%

In total, 84 (65%) Nigerians selected colors that symbolize a positive attitude of peace, fertility, calmness and royalty while 46(35%) selected colors i.e. red and black that symbolize danger and backwardness. However, some selected the two colors to mean beauty and love for their Language. On the flip side, 123(97%) of Chinese-English bilinguals selected colors that symbolized a positive attitude of pride, dignity, brightness, calmness and fertility towards their native language. Only 7(3%) had a negative attitude of Chinese symbolizing uncertainty and backwardness. The discovery here is that a very negligible 3% of Chinese had a negative attitude towards their MT while a significant 35% of Yoruba-English bilinguals had a negative attitude towards their native language.

Out of 129 Chinese-English bilinguals, 102(79%) selected colors that symbolized dignity, warmth, fertility and globalization for English while 27(21%) regarded it as evil, uncertain and dangerous. Worthy of being noted is that when it came to the second language, English, Chinese-English bilinguals switched from their meaning of red for the MT which was pride and used red to rather symbolize danger. While it is the case among both bilinguals that they had positive attitude towards English, Chinese-English bilinguals still had more resistance to English than Yoruba-English bilinguals showed.

Table 4. Third Language Color

			Color (3rd)								Total	
			White	Grey	Black	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green		Purple
Nationality	Nigerian	Count	8	0	4	4	0	3	10	1	2	32
		% of Total	12.9%	0.0%	6.5%	6.5%	0.0%	4.8%	16.1%	1.6%	3.2%	51.6%
	Chinese	Count	5	1	5	1	2	6	4	1	5	30
		% of Total	8.1%	1.6%	8.1%	1.6%	3.2%	9.7%	6.5%	1.6%	8.1%	48.4%
Total	Count	13	1	9	5	2	9	14	2	7	62	
	% of Total	21.0%	1.6%	14.5%	8.1%	3.2%	14.5%	22.6%	3.2%	11.3%	100.0%	

A total of 62 (100%) claimed to speak a third language. Among Yoruba English bilinguals, the attitude towards their third language such as French, German, Igbo, Hausa, etc. was generally positive. Those who selected red meant it to symbolize their love for the third language. Only about 4 (7%) of the total 62 had reservations about their third language to either be a language of underdevelopment or evil. Those 4 respondents meant indigenous Nigerian languages such as Igbo and Hausa. The Chinese-English bilinguals generally had a positive disposition to their third languages such as German, Korean, Japanese, Spanish, etc. Only about 2(7%) who selected grey and black had an uncertain disposition to their third language. Others who selected black meant it to mean ‘a secret power’ that they possessed in their repertoire.

3. Discussion of Findings

Literature suggest that relationship between color and language is complex and that such perception may be shaped by relativistic and universal forces (He, Li, Xiao, Jiang, Yang, and Zhi, 2019). This supports the present study in that while speakers generally had a positive evaluation of colors such as white, they differ in their evaluation and subsequent assignment of other colors such as red and black to their languages. According to the Whorf

hypothesis, the repertoire of a people can have an impact on their cognition (Whorf and Carroll, 1956). Although, not much has been done on the evaluation of speakers' language based on their knowledge of the color system, many scholars have researched the relationship between color perception and language as well as color perception and cognition (Kay and Kempton, 1984; Davidoff, 2001; Winawer, Withoft, Wu and Boroditsky (2003); Roberson, Davidoff, Davies and Shapiro, 2005). For example: Winawer et al. show there is an on-line effect of verbal coding on color discrimination. We can infer the application of this finding in the current research where the evaluation of respondents' languages is based on their perception of the colors in the color system of their native environment.

Some of the formulated hypotheses at the beginning of this study were confirmed while others were nullified. In terms of preference for colors, it was confirmed that males generally had more preference for dull colors than females who mostly preferred bright colors. However, this assertion was not overwhelmingly true in the case of Chinese females who had a very tight margin between their preference for bright colors and that for dull colors. White and Blue were emphasized as colors that had popularity of preference across the two genders in the two cultures.

As opposed to the hypothesis, Chinese English bilinguals, though in an English Language environment actually had an overwhelmingly more positive attitude to Chinese than they did to English. A major reason for this would be the earlier stated fact that majority of these respondents are sequential learners of English language and so learnt English after their Chinese had been fully established. In addition to this, majority of the Chinese-English bilinguals had had to use Chinese in all domains back in China without having any need for English whatsoever. This has helped in building their commitment to the language and pride in it. Another factor to note is that a lot of the Chinese-English bilinguals learned English only in an academic environment and basically have to use the language because they are in the United States for their Education. They thus see it as a language which they have to learn by force to be able to function in the American society. Lastly, China practices a communist system of government and their native language plays an important role in communication and survival in the society. This is unlike the case with Nigeria where native languages are subordinate to English in official and government functions.

Despite being in the native Yoruba environment, Yoruba-English bilinguals had a higher preference for English language than they did for their native Yoruba. Many of them perceive Yoruba language to be a language of backwardness while others perceived it to be a hindrance to learning English. They saw English to be a language of Globalization

and that of Pride and Dignity. The reason is not farfetched: all Yoruba-English respondents were simultaneous bilinguals and coupled with this fact is that they lived in a society where English is the language of Social mobility. In other words, fluency in English is more desirable than fluency in Yoruba language. Also because of the level of education of the masses, a lot of people believe that competence in Yoruba prevents competence in English language hence the thought of Yoruba as a danger to the acquisition of English. Even though the Yoruba language conveys the culture and tradition of the Yoruba people, English controls the class placement of individuals in Nigeria as a whole. This situation is not exclusive to Nigeria alone, but similar in Anglo-West African states. In fact, it is the case in many other African countries.

In general, although there existed some diversity, respondents showed a great awareness of the symbolism of colors. They were even able to manipulate this symbolism across divides as in Chinese-English bilinguals who selected Red to mean Pride when it was for the MT and selected the same Red to mean danger when it was for English. Indeed, color system turned out to be a viable and largely accurate way of knowing the attitude of bilinguals to their different languages and society.

4. Recommendations

This study makes a comparison between Chinese-English bilinguals in an English language environment and Yoruba-English bilinguals in a Yoruba environment. In further studies, comparison could be made between the same set of bilinguals e.g. Yoruba-English bilinguals in Yoruba environment versus Yoruba-English bilinguals in English language environment. The result of such study can be compared with this study to see if a similar group of bilinguals can have different linguistic attitudes based on their location. Also, more bilingual groups can be compared to further strengthen the argument that is presented in this study.

In addition, further studies depending on the cultures or societies being compared, and the colors being utilized might require the use of visual aids in addition to surveys and personal conversation/observation. The methodology of this study is viable for the results obtained therein because respondents were aware of the colors that were utilized and have good knowledge of the signification of these colors in their societies. This is largely because the utilized colors were devoid of complex shades which would have complicated respondents' knowledge of the color system, and as such required the use of pictures or other visual aids for respondents to identify the shades of colors.

5. Conclusion

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory is very much applicable to beyond ordinary spoken utterance analysis of language. This study shows that colors are indeed a universal concept and can be used to express not only explicit information but also implicit information such as attitude and perspectives of individuals. Social context affects perception about language, and language is not valued only based on its linguistic or semantic components. The attitude of people to language is, a lot, determined by their allegiance to the underlying culture of that language as well as the usefulness of the language in terms of upward mobility in its resident social community.

Age and mode of acquisition of languages also play a part in a person's attitude towards different languages. Simultaneous bilinguals shift between their two languages depending on which one is more viable in culture and for social growth, but sequential bilinguals (especially those who acquire the second language at teen-age or above) have preference for their first language. This is ideally the case for sequential bilinguals unless there is a traumatic reason for a switch, or the first language is no longer relevant for opportunities which the bilingual craves. Even at that, there is bound to be a sentimental attachment to the first language.

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A SURVEY OF EXOCENTRIC COMPOUNDS IN THREE KWA LANGUAGES: AKAN, EWE AND GA

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THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN KUSAAL

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CONCEPTUAL BLENDING PATTERNS IN SELECTED NIGERIAN TELEVISION TALK SHOWS

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References made in the notes or in the text should, for the most part, conform to the American Sociological Association (ASA) Style Guide, 5th edition, including the author's last name, the date of publication and the relevant page number(s), e.g. (Bodomo 2004:18-9).

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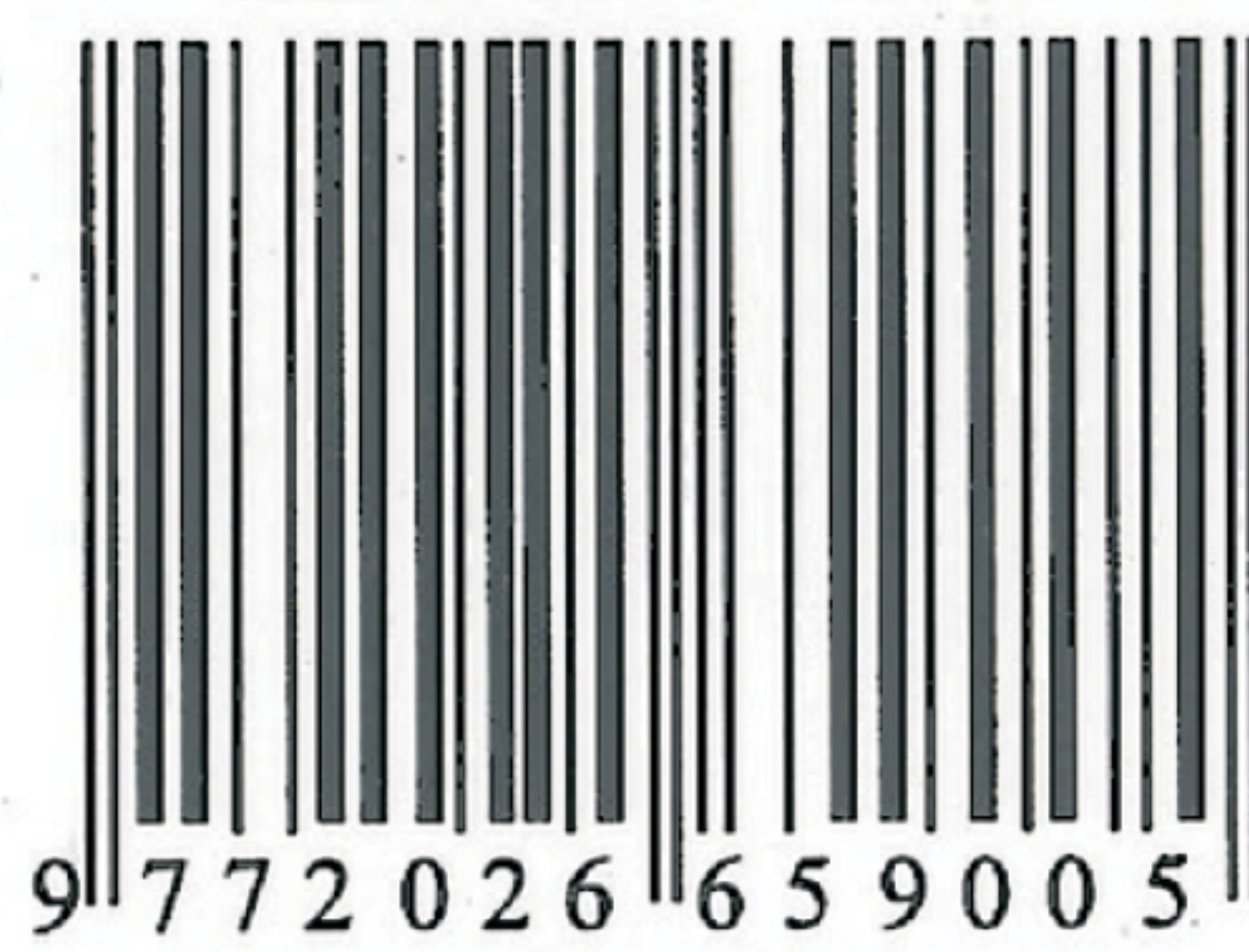
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