Ghana Journal of Linguistics

Vol. 9 No. 2   **2020**

GHANA JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume 9 Number 1

2020

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The *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* is published by the Linguistics Association of Ghana.

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LOCATIVE-SUBJECT ALTERNATION CONSTRUCTIONS IN KIWOSO

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Abstract

Locative subject alternation constructions show variation within and across languages in terms of subject agreement pattern and the type of predicates involved. In Kiwoso, the preverbal locative DPs with and without locative morphology are best analysed as canonical subjects, as evidenced by the subject diagnostics, such as subject-verb agreement and its occurrence as a subject of passive verb and relative verb clauses. The examined examples demonstrate that the postverbal subject neither behaves like canonical subject nor shows features of canonical object in that it cannot passivize in alternation constructions or appear on the verb as an object marker (i.e., cannot be object marked). However, there is strong evidence to suggest that the preverbal locative (subject) DP in Kiwoso locative-subject alternation constructions is a grammatical subject. As in most languages, locative-subject constructions in Kiwoso serve a pragmatic-discourse function of presentational focus. The locative subject argument of the locative-subject alternation constructions is interpreted as a topic, whereas the postverbal thematic subject of these sentences is understood as focus. The postverbal subject provides information which is usually discourse new in relation to preverbal locative DPs. The data examined from Kiwoso challenges the view that formal and semantic locative inversions cannot co-exist in a single language.

1.0 Introduction

Bantu languages exhibit a great deal of morphosyntactic variation. A well attested domain of variation is locative inversion, particularly the so-called formal locative inversion (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Buell 2007). The formal locative inversion is an area which has been extensively studied from both typological and theoretical viewpoints across languages (see Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Machobane 1995; Demuth

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& Mmusi 1997; Zeller 2013, Guérois 2014; Marten & van de Wal 2015). In these constructions, the locative DP takes subject position, and the DP denoting logical subject occurs in the postverbal position.

It has also been established that locative inversion constructions vary considerably cross-linguistically in relation to the status of the preverbal locative DP and the predicate types that participate in these alternation constructions (see Marten & van de Wal 2015). This paper aims to contribute to the existing body of literature in this area by examining locative-subject alternation constructions, using fresh data from a less-known Bantu language, Kiwoso.

Kiwoso is an eastern Bantu language spoken predominantly in Kilimanjaro region, Tanzania. In the Languages of Tanzania Project conducted in 2009 (LoT 2009), it was reported that Kiwoso is spoken approximately by 81,000 people who are scattered in different districts of the Kilimanjaro region. The native speakers of Kiwoso are mainly found in Moshi (rural), Hai, Siha, and Moshi (town) districts. Maho (2009) classifies Kiwoso as one of the languages under zone E, code number 60 (Chagga group). Kiwoso is specifically coded as E621D (Maho 2009).

Although formal locative inversion has been widely researched, evidence suggests that studies on semantic locative inversion constructions in Bantu languages are scarce. On the one hand, formal locative inversion constructions and semantic locative inversion constructions are structurally similar in that both exhibit variations in terms of agreement morphology and thematic restrictions across Bantu languages (see Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Demuth & Mmusi 1997; Marten et al 2007). On the other hand, the two constructions are different in that, in formal locative inversion, the locative subject argument is morphologically marked, while in the semantic locative inversion, the locative subject argument has no morphological marker (Buell 2012). The present paper aims to provide a unified analysis of formal and semantic locative inversion constructions by examining locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso. It has been argued that the two types of alternations are significant in terms of information structure or pragmatic-discourse effect (Mallya 2016; Marten & Gibson 2016).

Buell (2007:108) postulates that formal and semantic locative inversion constructions are similar; hence they cannot co-exist in a single language. His conclusion is based on the similarities observed between Herero formal locative inversion and Zulu semantic locative inversion. Buell (2007:111) states that formal locative inversion and semantic locative inversion in Herero and Zulu, respectively, share four syntactic characteristics, namely word order, subject agreement that varies according to the preposed locative, ability to suppress an agent, and inability to suppress an unaccusative theme. Buell (2007:111) adds that Herero formal locative inversion and Zulu semantic locative inversion are also semantically similar in that the two

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constructions denote impersonal reading when the agent is suppressed. Based on the five factors, Buell maintains that formal locative and semantic locative are equivalent, hence occupy the same slot in the locative inversion typology, thus cannot co-exist in a single language. The present paper seeks to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic interfaces of locative-subject alternation constructions, but most importantly, using fresh data from a less studied Bantu language, Kiwoso, to show the co-existence of the two variants.

Generally, locative-subject alternation constructions are the type of inversion constructions which encompass both formal and semantic locative inversions. In Bantu languages, locative-subject alternation constructions show two types of alternates, namely the alternate with subject argument taking locative morphology, and the other type with subject argument without locative morphology (see Guérois 2014; Mallya 2016). The former has been termed as the formal locative, while the latter has been referred to as semantic locative (Buell 2007).

This paper covers several aspects related to locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso. Section 2 focuses on the general morphology and syntax of locative nouns in Bantu. Key aspects of locative inversion constructions are presented in section 2.1. In this part, properties of the preverbal locative subject and the postverbal thematic subject are highlighted. In order to prepare readers to follow discussions on locative-subject alternations presented in this paper, section 3 provides the morphosyntactic pattern of locative nouns in Kiwoso. This is followed by the core subject of this paper, which is the discussion on locative-subject alternations presented in section 4. In section 4, the status of the preverbal locative nouns and the postverbal DP in Kiwoso is unveiled. The class of verbs that participate in locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso and the information structure of locative-subject alternation constructions is also presented in section 4. Section 5 provides the conclusion based on the data discussed in this paper.

2.0 Morphosyntactic properties of locative nouns in Bantu

This section presents a general overview of locative nouns in Bantu. Some key information on the morphology of locatives is highlighted to enable readers to easily follow the discussion on locative inversion in the next subsection, and the locative-subject alternation constructions (as presented in section 4), which is the core theme of the present paper.

Generally, locative marking in Bantu is part of the noun class system. There are three locative noun classes that have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, namely *pa, referring to proximate or specific location, *ku-, denoting distal or non-specific location, and *mu-, referring to inside location. The three prefixes are assigned classes

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16, 17 and 18, respectively. The three prefixes trigger agreement on verbs, as Bemba examples in (1) demonstrate (Marten 2010:3).

(1) a. ***Pà-ngándá pà-lì àbà-nà***
         16-9house 16-be 2-children
         'There are children at home.'

     b. ***Kú-ngándá kwà- lí-ìs- à áb-ènì***
         17-9house 17-RecPast- come- FV 2-guests
         'Visitors have come to the house.'

     c. ***Mù-ngándá mù- lé- ímb- á ábà-nà***
         18-9house   18-PROGR-sing- FV 2-children
         'The children are singing in the house.'

The existing evidence suggests that not all languages exhibit a three-way locative noun class prefix system on derived nouns. Languages such as Kiswahili use an invariant locative suffix *-ni* to derive locative nouns. However, the three-way distinction between classes 16-18 is still obtained on nominal modifiers and verb agreement in Kiswahili. Examples in (2) are illustrative (Carsten 1997:400).

(2) a. ***nyumba-ni   kwangu ni   ku-zuri***
         9house-LOC   17myCOP 19good
         'My place is nice.'

     b. ***nyumba-ni   mw-angu m-na- nukia***
         9house-LOC 18-my   PRES-smell good
         'Inside my house smells good.'

     c. ***nyumba-ni pa-ngu pa-na   wa-tu   wengi***
         9house-LOC 16my   16be   2people 2many
         'There are many people at my place.'

Furthermore, studies indicate that, in some other Bantu languages, both prefix and suffix are used together to derive locative nouns. For example, in siSwati, locative noun class 25 (*e-*) and the suffix *-(i)ni* are used jointly to derive locative nouns, as shown in (3) (Marten 2012:434).

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(3)   *e- ndl- ini*
            25- house-LOC
            'At the house.'

Generally, a majority of Bantu languages exhibit prefixes, suffixes or both as a strategy for changing ordinary nouns into locatives. In many Bantu languages, agreement pattern is mostly marked by the locative prefixes regardless of the strategies employed to derive the locative nouns.

2.1 The general overview of locative inversion in Bantu

Before embarking on the discussion about locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso, it is worth highlighting the general morphosyntactic properties of locative inversion constructions in Bantu. The discussion presented in this section is mainly based on the so-called formal locative inversion. This inversion type has been widely studied across Bantu languages compared to, for example, semantic locative inversion. Generally, locative inversion is one of the grammatical changing relations constructions in Bantu. This inversion varies considerably across Bantu languages and even within individual languages. In locative inversion, a locative DP occurs in the preverbal position, whereas the thematic subject DP appears postverbally. A classical example from Chichewa is provided in (4) and (5) (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989:3).

(4)   a.   *Chi- tsime chi-li ku-mu-dzi*
          7-well   7SM-be   17-3-village
          'The well is in the village.'

      b.   *Ku-mu-dzi ku-li chi-tsime*
          17-3-village 17-be   7-well
          'In the village is a well.'

(5)   a.   *A-lendo-wo   a-na- bwer-a   ku-mu-dzi*
          2-visitor-2those 2SM-REC PST- come-IND 17-3-village
          'Those visitors came to the village.'

      b.   *Ku-mu-dzi ku-na- bwer-a'a-lendo-wo*
          17-3-village 17-REC PST- come-IND 2-visitor-2 those
          'To the village came those visitors.'

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Example sentences in (4a) and (5a) alternate with (4b) and (5b), respectively. In the examples, on the one hand, the locative DP *kumudzi* 'in the village' in (4b) and (5b) precedes the verb and it triggers agreement on the verb. On the other hand, the logical subject DPs *chitsime* in (4b) and *alendowo* 'those visitors' in (5b) remain in the postverbal position. It is clear that locative inversion constructions in Bantu languages and cross-linguistically involve positional reordering of the subject and the locative DP, as demonstrated above. The present paper examines the properties of the locative DP with and without locative morphology, and the logical subject in postverbal position in Kiwoso locative-subject alternation constructions.

As it has been mentioned in the introduction, the status of the preverbal locative DP and the postverbal thematic subject is one of the key debates surrounding studies on locative inversion across Bantu languages. Evidence suggests that, in the majority of these languages, the locative DP is the subject in that it is involved in subject-verb agreement (see examples 4b and 5b), and it undergoes passivization and relativization. However, the thematic subject lacks object properties, as it cannot passivize (6) or be object marked (7) (i.e., an object marker appearing on the verb), as Chichewa examples demonstrate (Bresnan & Karneva 1989:14-15).

(6)   a.   ***Ku-mu-dzi ku-na- bwer-a'a-lendo-wo***
             17-3-village 17-REC PST-come-IND 2-visitor-2 those=
             'To the village came those visitors.'

      b.   * ***A-lendô-wo   a-na- bwér-édw-á ndíku-mu-dzi***
              2-visitor-2those 2SM-REC.PST-come-PASS-IND by 17-3-village
              'The visitors were come by to the village.'

(7)   * ***Ku-mu-dzi   ku-na- wá-bwér-a a-lendô-wo***
             17-3-village   17-REC-PST- 2OM-come-IND 2-visitor-2those
             'To the village came them, those visitors.'

It is generally accepted that preverbal locative DP is a grammatical subject in many Bantu languages, as Chichewa examples demonstrate. This is also the case in Kiwoso, as detailed in section 4. With regard to the properties of postverbal subject, it is also widely agreed that across Bantu languages it is neither the canonical subject nor typical object, as evidenced in the examples presented in this paper from Chichewa and Kiwoso. The following section highlights the morphosyntactic pattern of locative nouns in Kiwoso before getting on with locative-subject alternation constructions, the actual focus of the present paper.

3.0 Locative nouns in Kiwoso: an overview

Similar to many other Bantu languages, Kiwoso is characterized by a noun class system (see Mallya 2016 for an overview of Kiwoso noun classes). The nouns in the class system are distinguished from one another based on noun class prefixes which also determine agreement with modifiers, as (8) indicates. As mentioned in section 2, nominal classes in Bantu include the locative nouns which are traditionally assigned classes 16, 17, and 18. For the majority of Bantu languages, the prefixes of the respective classes control agreement with the locative nouns and that of other dependents, as demonstrated in section 2. Example sentences from Kiwoso are provided in (9).

(8) a. ***wa-na   wa- le- fik- a   wa- ka-da- a   muda***
       2-child   2- PST- arrive-FV   2- did- fetch-FV 9water
       'Children arrived and did fetch water.'

    b. ***shi-liko shoose shi-le- dook- a***
       8-spoon 8all   8- PST-break- FV
       'All spoons broke.'

      Although most of the Bantu languages exhibit the traditional locative classes (16-18), in some other Bantu languages, the locative system has changed in different ways. For example, locative nouns in Kiwoso are exclusively marked by the suffix -*(e)n*. However, agreement with other dependent elements of the locative nouns is marked invariantly by the locative class 17 prefix *ku-*. This is illustrated in (9).

(9) a. ***duk- en   ko-ke   ku-iho shi-ndo shi-fye***
       9shop-LOC 17-his/her 17-be   8-good   8-many
       'In his/her shop there is many things (products).'

    b. ***n-nd- en   ku- le- dem- o   na wa-ka***
       9-field- LOC   17-PST-cultivate-Passive by   2-woman
       'In/at the field was cultivated by women.'

      Unlike many Bantu languages, the locative prefix *ku-* in Kiwoso cannot be prefixed to ordinary nouns to reclassify them into locative nouns. Instead, ordinary nouns are reclassified into locatives by attaching the suffix *(e)n-*, as shown in Table 1. Note that place names in Kiwoso are inherently locative in the sense that no specific morphology is required to derive locative interpretation, as Table 1 also indicates.

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Table 1: Locative nouns in Kiwoso

underived noun	gloss	derived noun [+ (e)n]	Gloss	Inherent locatives [-(e)n]	gloss
duka	shop	*duken*	at/in the shop	*kinaange*	market
ruko	kitchen	*rukon*	in/at the kitchen	*shuule*	school
nnda	field	*nnden*	in/at the field	*Aruusa*	Arusha
nungu	pot	*nungun*	in the pot	*ntudu*	forest
muda	water	*muden*	in the water	*misa*	church
ruwa	pond	*ruwen*	in the pond	*mmba*	house

In summary, locative marking exhibits cross-linguistic differences. On the one hand, the majority of the Bantu languages employ prefixes of classes 16-18, which also trigger agreement on dependent element. On the other hand, there are few languages including Kiwoso that mark locative nouns through suffixes. For the languages that employ suffixes, one or all of the locative prefixes of classes 16-18 still occur(s) in the agreement system of the respective nouns, as is the case for Kiwoso in (9) and Kiswahili (see Carsten 1997:402). Section 4 examines the locative-subject alternations constructions in order to establish the status of the preverbal locative subject argument and the postverbal logical subject argument.

This paper employed qualitative methodology as it is based on characterizing native speakers' internalized linguistic knowledge that underlies their judgments on the (un)acceptability of sentences expressing locative-subject alternations in Kiwoso. To achieve this, I had to compile locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiswahili. The sentences were given to two native and competent speakers of Kiwoso to translate them into their language (i.e., Kiwoso). The translated sentences were then given to other four Kiwoso native speakers to give their judgments on the extent to which the sentences sound 'good' or 'bad' (acceptability judgements). Further information was obtained through written documents including Mallya (2016) and Kagaya and Olomy (2009). Examples from other languages used in this paper were taken from various sources and they are acknowledged accordingly.

4.0 Locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso

As demonstrated in the introduction, the present paper offers a unified analysis of formal and semantic locative inversions constructions, which in this paper are compositionally referred to as locative-subject alternation constructions. Locative-

subject alternation constructions are widely attested in Bantu languages. The debate about these alternation constructions has revolved around several issues, namely the predicates that participate in the alternations, the status of locative DP as subject, the properties of inverted subject, and the discourse function of the constructions (see Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Bresnan 1994).

In Bantu languages including Kiwoso, locative-subject alternation constructions involve two types of alternates. In the first variant, the subject argument appears with locative morphology (10a). In this type, the locative DPs that function as subject contain the locative suffix *(-e)n* and involve locative prefix *ku-* in the subject-verb agreement, as shown in (10a). In the second alternate, the locative subject argument is not morphologically marked by the locative suffix, thus the bare noun subject determines the subject agreement on verbs, as (10b) demonstrates (see also Guérois 2014; Marten & van de Wal 2015:17).

(10) a. *duk- en ku- le- ch- a wa-ndu*
        9shop-LOC 17- PST- come-FV 2-people
        'At the shop visited people.'

    b. *duka lyi-le- ch- a wa-ndu*
        9shop 9-PST- visit- FV 2-people
        'The shop (is the place where) people visited.'

However, Marten and van de Wal (2015) point out that, in languages such as Zulu, siSwati, and Bemba, semantic locative inversion is impossible. They further argue that for the languages such as Kiswahili where both forms are present, the two constructions are pragmatically different. They maintain that, in the formal locative inversion constructions, the location is stressed, but the semantic locative inversion construction is mainly associated with thetic statements. The present paper examines the two forms of constructions in order to establish their characteristics in relation to the status of preverbal locative subject as well as their discourse-pragmatic function in Kiwoso.

As stated in the introduction, locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso, as is the case in most Bantu languages, involve the reordering of the position of the subject DP and the locative DP which affects the agreement pattern on the verb. In these types of constructions, the preverbal position is occupied by the locative DP, whereas the theme DP occurs in the postverbal position, as shown in (11).

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(11) a. ***wa-na wa- le- id- a duk- en***
　　　　　2-child 2SM-PST- enter-FV 9shop-LOC
　　　　　'Children entered into the shop.'

　　　b. ***duk- en　　ku- le- id- a wa-na***
　　　　　9shop-LOC　　17- PST-enter- FV 2-child
　　　　　'Into the shop entered children.'

　　　c.= ***duka lyi- le- id- a wa-na***
　　　　　9shop 9SM-PST-enter- FV 2-child
　　　　　'The shop (is the place where) children entered.'

　　　　The sentences in (11b-c) are similar in terms of propositional content, but they are syntactically and discourse-pragmatically different. In (11a), an agent argument occurs in preverbal position, while the locative DP appears in the postverbal position. The order is reversed in (11b-c) in that the locative subject DP with locative morphology in (11b) and without locative morphology in (11c) occupies the subject position and exhibits the features typical of the subject. Such transposition is also manifested in the agreement properties. Examples indicate that, whereas in (11b) the verb agrees with the locative prefix *ku-*, in (11c), the verbs agree with the nominal class prefix of the respective noun in the subject position. In example (11a), the preverbal DP *wana* 'children' is understood as an agent argument of the construction, whereas the postverbal *duken* 'in/at the shop' is interpreted as locative complement. On the contrary, in (11b) and (11c), the preverbal subject arguments DPs with and without locative morphology, respectively, are grammatical subjects.

4.1 The status of locative DP in preverbal position

Studies show that the preverbal subject argument of locative-subject alternations constructions in the majority of Bantu languages exhibits subject properties (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Bresnan 1994; Demuth & Mmusi 1997; Marten & van der Wal 2014). This is evidenced in its ability to trigger agreement on the verb (12a) and occurrence in relative clause constructions (12b), as examples from Chichewa in (12) demonstrate.

(12) a. ***ku-mu-dzi　ku-li chi-tsime***
　　　　　17-3-village 17-be 7-well
　　　　　'In the village is a well' (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989:7)

    b.   ***n'pâ- ti [pa-méné p- á- im- á nkhandwe]?***
          COP16-Q 16-REL 16-REL-PRF-stand- IND 9fox
          'In which place is standing the fox?' (Bresnan 1994:94)

However, the available evidence suggests that within Bantu family, in languages such as Tswana and Sesotho, the preverbal DPs are syntactically topic rather than subject for the reason that the preverbal locative phrases in inversion constructions in Tswana and Sesotho do not trigger agreement between the locative phrases and the verb, instead locative phrases exhibit default agreement (Zerbian 2006, Marten 2011). Examples from Sesotho (Zerbian 2006:368) and Tswana (Demuth & Mmusi (1997:4) in (13a) and (13b), respectively, illustrate this.

(13)   a.   ***Mo-tse-ng go tla   ba-eti***
           3-village- 17   come 2-visitor
           'To the village come visitors'

      b.   **Fá-se-tlharé-ng   gó-émé   ba-simané**
           16-7-tree-   LOC 17-stand.PERF   2-boy
           'At the tree are standing boys'

The properties of the preverbal locative DPs in Tswana and Sesotho prompted Zerbian (2006: 361) to argue strongly that the preposed locatives followed by class 17 agreement, as in the examples above, cannot be considered a case of locative inversion in which the preverbal locative functions as grammatical subject in the sentence, instead such sentences have to be considered impersonal (expletive) constructions with a preposed locative expression. The analysis of locative inversion as expletive is based on the absence of subject-verb agreement, which shows instead default agreement. These properties distinguish Tswana and Sesotho locative alternation constructions from the analysis presented in this paper and that in the majority of other Bantu languages, such as Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989) and Cuwabo (Guérois 2014).

The data in Kiwoso show that locative DP occupies subject position and passes various subjecthood diagnostics. For example, locative DP triggers subject-verb agreement (see examples in 11b-c). It also functions as the subject of passive sentences (14) and appears in relative verb clauses (15).

(14)   a.   ***duk- en   ku- le- id- o   na wa-na***
           9shop-LOC   17- PST- enter- Passive by 2-child
           'Into the shop was entered by the children.' (Intended: 'The shop was entered by the children.')

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     b.   ***duka   lyi-le- id- o   na wa-na***
          9shop- 9SM-PST-enter-Passive by 2-child
          'The shop was entered by the children.'

(15) a.   ***duk- en   ko- id- a   wa-na ku-dach-a***
          9shop-LOC   17-enter-FV 2-child 17-leak- FV
          'Into to the shop where children enter leaks.'

     b.   ***duka lya- id- a   wa-na lyi-dach-a***
          9shop 9SM-enter-FV 2-child   17-leak-FV
          'The shop where children enter leaks.'

      The data examined indicate that locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso involve the reversal of grammatical relations in that the locative DP occurs in subject position, as evidenced in the agreement (11b-c), passive verb constructions (14) and relative verb clauses (15). Generally, these characteristics strongly confirm that the preverbal locative DPs in Kiwoso locative-subject inversion constructions are typical subjects. Similar results have been reported in many other Bantu languages, as shown in section 2.1.

4.2 The locative subject prefix as an expletive

The term expletive is a word that is syntactically significant but lacks semantic content. With regard to syntax, expletives are words which are characterized as dummy subjects (Khumalo 2010). Contrary to grammatical subjects, expletive subjects exhibit invariable agreement on the verb (see examples in 13). Demuth and Mmusi (1997) claim that languages that show more than one type of locative prefixes in subject-verb agreement are the only ones that can retain locative reference of the prefixes when the locative subject is dropped. These authors accentuate that, if a language has one productive locative prefix in agreement pattern, such a prefix lacks locative meaning, and it is thus interpreted as an expletive. Other scholars have supported this idea arguing that for Southern Bantu languages such as Swati (Marten 2010), Zulu (Buell 2012), Tswana and Southern Sotho (Creissels 2011) the invariable subject marker of class 17 *ku-* is mostly used as an expletive.

      In this case, the locative nouns in the preverbal position in the southern Bantu languages, for instance Swati, cannot be interpreted as grammatical subjects (Marten 2010). According to Marten, the locative noun in the preverbal position is interpreted as an expletive just because of its inability to trigger agreement on verbs. Generally, in Southern Bantu languages, the locative prefix 17 *ku-* has lost its locative semantics and

most analysis indicates that such a prefix functions as expletive subject marker (Marten 2010; Buell 2012). The findings from the southern Bantu languages are contrary to many other Bantu languages including Kiwoso, as demonstrated in this paper.

Locative-subject alternation constructions examined in Kiwoso indicate that only one locative prefix (*ku-*) triggers agreement on verbs. The sentences examined attest that the prefix *ku-* in Kiwoso has locative reference contrary to the views of Demuth and Mmusi (1997) and the findings from other scholars for Southern Bantu languages, such as Swati (Marten 2010) and Zulu (Buell 2012). The findings establish further that the prefix *ku-* in Kiwoso is semantically significant in that it is used to denote a definite location which can be inferred from the context even when the location is not explicitly mentioned, as illustrated in the example sentences in (16).

(16) a. ***ku- le- ch- a   wa-ndu (kinaange)***
      17-PST- come-FV 2-people (market)
      'There came people at the market.'

   b. ***ku- le- damy-a   wa-ka   (ki-di- n)***
      17-PST-sit-   FV 2-woman (7-chair-LOC)
      'There sat women (on the chair).'

   c. ***ku- ka- a   fuko   (ma-rin-en)***
      17-live-FV 10moles (6-hole-LOC)
      'There live moles (in the holes).'

Example sentences in (16) show that the locative prefix *ku-* in Kiwoso has locative semantic content, thus it has subject argument interpretation rather than impersonal reading (the reading that lacks a grammatical subject). The locative subject prefix *ku-* in (16) is associated with an implicit locative subject that denotes location which is contextually determined and inferred from the shared interaction of interlocutors. Generally, in Kiwoso, the prefix is conceived as a locative argument denoting certain location. Based on the examined sentences, the findings demonstrate that there is no relationship between verbal markers inventories and the interpretation of locative prefixes, contrary to Demuth and Mmusi's (1997) proposal. In Kiwoso, the locative prefix *ku-* appears as concord marker in the verbal morphology and in all other dependent elements. However, the prefix is not inflected in the derivation of locative nouns, as shown in this paper.

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4.3 The status of the inverted subject

It is well known that in locative-subject alternation constructions across Bantu languages the preverbal locative can be omitted or postposed, but the postverbal logical subject cannot, and has to appear immediately after the verb (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Marten 2010). The locative-subject alternation constructions examined in Kiwoso demonstrate that, like the canonical object, the postverbal DP occupies object position. However, the data indicate that the postverbal DP in these constructions lack properties typical of canonical object. For example, in Kiwoso, the inverted subject cannot be used in passive verb constructions or be associated with an object agreement prefix, as exemplified in (17). These properties set the inverted subject apart from the prototypical object relation in Kiwoso.

(17) a. *** *wa-na   wa- le- id-   o   duk- en***
            2-child   2SM-PST- enter- Passive 9shop-LOC

      b. *** *duk- en   ku- le- wa- id- a   wa-na***
            9shop-LOC 17- PST-OM enter-FV 2-child

        Considering the tests employed in the example sentences in (17) (i.e., passive verb constructions and object agreement prefix), it can be concluded that the postverbal thematic subject *wana* 'children' lack object properties regardless of the fact that it occupies the position typical of object relation. Similar results have been reported in several other Bantu languages, such as Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989), Sesotho (Machabane 1995), and Cuwabo (Guérois 2014), to mention but a few.

        Another test employed to establish the object status of the inverted subject is its position in relation to the verb. In Bantu languages including Kiwoso, any canonical object follows the verb; unlike subject argument, it can be omitted and can also be separated from the verb. Similar to other Bantu languages such as Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989), Cuwabo (Guérois 2014) and Lubukusu (Diercks 2011), the inverted subject in locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso lacks the aforementioned features in that it cannot be omitted or separated from the verb, as shown in (18) and (19), respectively.

(18) a.   ***wa-na   wa- le- lal- a   ki-tar- en***
            2- child   2SM-PST-sleep-FV   7-bed- LOC
            'Children slept on the bed.'

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    b. * ***kitar- en***   ***ku- le- lal-***   ***a***
          7-bed- LOC   17-PST sleep-FV
          '*On the bed slept'

    c. * ***kitara ki- le- lal-***   ***a***
          7-bed   7SM-PST-enter- FV
          'The bed (is the place where) slept.'

(19) a.   ***kinaange ku- le- ch-***   ***a***   ***wa-ka***
          market   17- PST-come- FV   2-woman
          'At the market (there) came women.'

    b. * ***ku- le- ch-***   ***a***   ***kinaange wa-ka***
          17- PST- come- FV market   2-woman
          'There came at the market women.'

    c. * ***ku- le- end-a***   ***shuule wa-na***
          17- PST-go-FV   school 2-child
          'There went to school children.'

     The properties of postverbal logical subject exemplified in section 4.3 provide clear evidence that such an element shows the discourse-pragmatic meaning of being focused as part of the entire utterance, that is presentational focus. The same conclusion has been derived in several studies on locative inversion constructions in other Bantu languages, as examples from Chichewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989), Tswana (Demuth & Mmusi 1997), and Cuwabo (Guérois 2014) indicate.

     In summary, this section has presented the morphosyntax of locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso. The data examined demonstrate that Kiwoso exhibit two types of locative-subject alternations. One variant exhibits subject argument with locative morphology and the other one shows subject argument without locative morphology. The co-existence of the two inversion constructions in a single language has also been reported in Cuwabo (see Guérois 2014).

     This paper has shown that the two alternations share similar but not identical interpretations, as section 4.5 clarifies. The sentences examined indicate that the locative DP in preverbal position exhibits properties of the canonical subject, but the postverbal DP lacks object characteristics. The following sub-section discusses thematic constraints of locative-subject alternations in Kiwoso.

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4.4.   Argument structure of the locative-subject alternation constructions

Evidence suggests that predicate types undergoing locative-subject alternations vary considerably across languages and even within a single language (Marten 2006; van der Wal & Marten 2015). However, Marten and van der Wal in particular argue that there is an implicational hierarchy with more marked forms of locative-subject suggesting the presence of more unmarked features. The following table (adopted from Marten and van de Wal 2015:15) summarizes the properties of locative-subject alternations in relation to predicate type restriction for a sample of Bantu languages. Note that information about Kiwoso has been added to illustrate the case in this language.

Table 2: Predicate restriction

Languages	Verbs that participate in locative-subject alternations							
	Unacc.	Unerg.	Trans.	Pass.ditr	Cop.	Pass.tr	Ditrans	Source
Chichewa	√	*	*	*	*	√	*	Bresnan & Kanerva (1989)
Tswana	√	√	*	√	√	√	*	Demuth & Mmusi (1997)
Otjiherero	√	√	√	√	√	√	*	Marten (2006)
Lubukusu	√	√	*	*	√	√	*	Diercks (2011)
Ndebele	√	√	√	*	√	√	*	Marten (2006)
Kiwoso	√	√	*	√	√	√	*	
Chiluba	*	*	*	*	√	√	*	Marten (2014)
Shona	√	*	*	*	√	√	*	Harford (1990)
Sesotho	√	√	*	√	√	√	√	Machabane (1995)
Digo	√	√	√	*	√	√	*	Diercks (2011)
Cuwabo	√	√	*	√	√	√	*	Guérois (2014)

The analysis done in relation to locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso indicates that verbs undergoing alternations in this particular language are not homogenous. The findings demonstrate that the majority of verbs that participate in locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso are intransitive verbs, particularly those denoting prototypical unaccusative properties. However, there is evidence that locative-subject alternation constructions in Kiwoso are not restricted to unaccusative verbs. It has been established that other semantic verb classes such as passive verbs (20), transitive, and passivized-ditransitive (21), as well as unergative (22) verbs can also undergo locative-subject alternation. This is exemplified in (20-22).

(20)   **nungu- n   ku- le- kor- o   kelya**   *passive- transitive*
         9pot-   LOC 17-PST-cook-PASS 7food
         'In the pot was cooked food.'

(21)   **sanduku-n   ku-le- bhik- o   ki-tabu**   *passivized ditransitive*
         locker-   LOC 17-PST-keep-PASS 7-book
         'In the locker was kept a book.'

(22)   **nnde- n   ku- le- dem-   o**   *passive unergative*
         5field-LOC 17-PST-cultivate-PASS
         'In the field was cultivated.'

Generally, the data examined point out that ditransitive verbs cannot undergo locative-subject alternations in Kiwoso, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (23) demonstrates. This is common in the majority of Bantu languages, as Table 1 also indicates.

(23)   * **sanduku-n   ku- le- surum- a   kitabu**   *ditransitive*
         locker- LOC 17-PST-hide- FV   7book
         'In the locker hid a book.'

The data from Kiwoso presented in this paper indicate that there is no relationship between agreement morphology and the thematic structure of the locative inversion constructions. This is because languages such as Tswana and Otjiherero are morphologically different from Kiwoso but closely related in terms of thematic restriction. In Tswana and Otjiherero, all the three locative prefixes are active, and they all trigger agreement on verbs (see Marten 2006). In Kiwoso, the locative prefixes are unproductive except for class 17 prefix *ku-*, which is exclusively used in agreement morphology. The examined data suggest further that the two factors, agreement morphology and thematic restriction, should be treated differently in the analysis of parameters of variations in Bantu locative inversion constructions in particular, and in locative-subject alternations sentences in general.

4.5   Information structure of locative-subject alternation constructions

Locative-subject alternation constructions are not used in free variation. Scholars have established that the two alternates are significant in terms of how information is structured (Marten & de van Wal 2015:13; Marten & Gibson 2016).   For example, it has been ascertained that in many Bantu languages locative inversion constructions are

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discourse-pragmatically significant in that the preverbal locative DP serves as a background topic or scene-setting topic, whilst the postverbal logical subject DP encodes focus and is basically associated with new information (Marten & de van Wal 2015:13; Marten & Gibson 2016).

In Kiwoso, locative-subject alternation constructions indicate different information packaging strategies of sentences that share similar semantic propositions. Information packaging constructions such as locative-subject alternation deviate from the basic word order, thus achieving a specific information structural effect in that in locative-subject alternation constructions the preverbal locative DP is a topic whereas the postverbal subject is a focus, as exemplified in (24).

(24) a. ***ki-tar- en   ku- le- lal- a   wa- na   tubu***
      7-bed- LOC2- 17- PST-sleep-FV 2SM child   *only*
      'On the bed slept children only.' (Intended: 'Only children slept on the bed.')

b. ***nnde- n   ku- le- dem- o   soko tubu***
      5field-LOC 17-PST-cultivate-PASS 9beans only
      'In the field was cultivated beans only.' (Intended: 'Only beans were cultivated in the field'.)

In (24), the postverbal logical subjects *wana* 'children' and *soko* 'beans' modified by *tubu* 'only' are more focal and they indicate narrow focus which differs from presentational focus exemplified in (18), (19) and (20), among others. The locative subject arguments *kitaren* 'on bed' and *nnden* 'in the field' are more topical and involve old information that speakers assume to be familiar to the addressees at the time of the utterance. Generally, in locative-subject alternation, the preverbal locative argument as subject is topicalized, whereas the postverbal argument DP is focalized, denoting new information expressed by the sentence topic. The data examined in this paper attest that, in addition to its presentational focus function, locative-subject alternation constructions can be used in contrastive focus, as (25-26) exemplify.

(25) a. ***wa-na wa- le- end-a   shuule   che misa- n***
      2-child 2SM-PST-go- FV 9school not   9church-NEG
      'Children went to school not to church.'

b. ***wa-na wa- le- end-a   shuule   che wa-ka- n***
      2-child 2SM-PST-go- FV 9school not   2-woman-NEG
      'Children went to school not women.'

(26) a. ***shuule ku- le- end-a   wa-na che wa-ka-   n***
          9school 17-PST- go-FV 2-child not 2-woman-NEG
          'To school went children not women.'

    b. * ***shuule   ku- le- end-a   wa-na che misa-   n***
          9school 17- PST-go-FV 2-child not 9church-NEG
          '*To school went children not to church.'

Examples in (25) and (26a) illustrate that, on the one hand, in the canonical sentences (with agent/theme subject argument) both the agent/theme and the location arguments can receive contrastive focus. On the other hand, in the goal/location subject argument alternate, only the agent/theme argument can be focused. Locative subject DPs cannot receive contrastive focus, as the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (23b) indicates.

5.0 Conclusion

The findings presented in this paper suggest that both formal and semantic locative inversions constructions co-exist in Kiwoso. The paper has demonstrated that, as in many other Bantu languages, locative-subject alternation construction with or without locative morphology is not used in free variation in Kiwoso. It has been established that the two alternates share similar semantic proposition, but they indicate information packaging strategies of sentences. The data examined show that, pragmatically, locative-subject alternation sentences are used in presentational focus in that the preverbal locative DP is interpreted as a topic, hence sets the scene in which the postverbal DP, which is regarded as the focus of the sentence, appears.

The data presented in this paper show that, contrary to other Bantu languages, particularly the southern Bantu, the locative prefix *ku-* in Kiwoso, which is used in agreement morphology, contains semantic content referring to a location in the discourse context. It has been attested that the locative content of the prefix *ku-* is available even when the location is not mentioned, as the example sentences presented in this paper demonstrate.

In relation to the predicate types that participate in alternation constructions, the findings give evidence that all unaccusative verbs alternate in Kiwoso. However, other semantic verb classes including transitives and ditransitives do not undergo locative-subject alternations, as demonstrated in Table 2.

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Abbreviations

DP	Determiner phrase
FV	Final vowel
LOC	Locative
SM (1, 2 etc)	Subject marker class 1, 2 etc.,
NEG	Negation
OM	Object marker
PASS	Passive
PST	Past
* ..	Unacceptable sentence
√	Acceptable construction
1, 2, 3	Number for noun classes 1, 2 …

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ELISION IN ESAHIE

Victoria Owusu Ansah

Abstract

One of the syllable structure changes that occur in rapid speech because of sounds influencing each other is elision. This paper provides an account of elision in Esahie, also known as Sehwi, a Kwa language spoken in the Western North region of Ghana. The paper discusses the processes involved in elision, and the context within which elision occurs in the language. The paper shows that sound segments, syllables and tones are affected by the elision process. It demonstrates that elision, though purely a phonological process, is influenced by morphological factors such as vowel juxtapositioning during compounding, and at word boundary. The evidence in this paper show that there is an interface between phonology and morphology when accounting for elision in Esahie. Data for this study were gathered from primary sources using ethnographic and stimuli methods.

Keywords: Elision, Esahie, Sehwi, Tone, Deletion, Phonology

1.0 Introduction

This paper provides an account of elision in Esahie, a Kwa language spoken in the Western North Region of Ghana[1]. It discusses the processes involved in elision in Esahie, and the context within which elision occurs in the language. The paper demonstrates that elision is employed in Esahie as a syllable structure repair mechanism. Elision is purely a phonological process but can sometimes be triggered by morphological factors. Indeed, the works of (Abakah 2004a, 2004b), Abdul-Rahman (2013), Abukari (2018), Becker and Gouskova (2016) writing on Akan, Dagbani and Russia respectively, confirm that elision

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[1] Speakers of Esahie in Ghana number about 580,000 and they live mostly in the Western North Region of the country (Ghana Statistical Service Report 2012, 2010 National Population Census). The region is located within the tropical rain forest belt and is endowed with natural resources and has very fertile lands. Linguistically, Esahie is proximate to Nzema, Ahanta, Brosa (Enchi), Chakosi and Sanvi (spoken in La Cote D'voire). Not much documentation has been done on the language. Previous studies in the language include (Andam 2017; Broohm 2017, 2019; Broohm & Rabanus 2018; Frimpong 2009; Ntumy & Boafo 2002; Owusu Ansah 2019)

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is a common feature in most languages for resolving syllable structure anomalies, and it will be insightful to understand how the process operates in Esahie.

Data for this study forms part of a comprehensive data collected for a longitudinal study in Esahie. The data were gathered from primary sources. The primary naturalistic data were elicited from native speakers in Sehwi using ethnographic and stimuli methods. Tools used were the Ibadan Word list, SIL picture story, and participant observation. Twenty people were selected from the data collection. Five respondents were selected from four towns, male and female, because of the impact of gender on speech production. Unstructured interviews were also used as follow ups from the elicitation. The data were recorded using an audio recorder and later transcribed. The transcribed data were crosschecked with four different native speakers for consistency, accurateness and native speaker acceptability.

The analysis of the data is captured within the Autosegmental theory introduced by Goldsmith (1976) as a framework which gives independent representation to segments and suprasegments such as tone. In this theory, phonological features are represented in a graphical way that shows the relationship that exists between the features that make up the sound segments and the supra segments.

The tools used in the Autosegmental theory include the Association Lines which are formal devices that link autosegments on different tiers to each other at the skeletal tier; the skeletal or timing tier which acts as an anchoring device for elements on various tiers; the segmental tier which carries the segments; the feature spreading which are used to show the spreading or assimilation of feature to a sound; the feature delinking which is used to show the deletion of feature from a sound; and the feature tier which carries the various sound features such as Tone, ATR, Nasal, Height, Phonation, etc.

1.1 Basic Tenets of Autosegmental Phonology

The successful operation of Autosegmental theory hinges on a set of principles, including the Universal Association Convention, the Linkage Condition, the Obligatory Contour Principle and the Well Formedness Condition.

1.2 Universal Association Convention

The Universal Association Convention (UAC) states that "when unassociated vowels and tones appear on the same side of an association line, they will be automatically associated in one-to-one fashion radiating outward from the association line" (Goldsmith 1990: 14). The UAC thus helps one to realize the relationship of the elements on each tier to the other. Such relationships are seen after applying the UAC. In other words, the UAC maps tones to the TBU one-to-one, left to right.

1.3 Linkage Condition

Goldsmith (1990: 53) observes that "a segment that is not linked to a position on the skeletal tier will not be phonetically realized". All segments must, therefore, be associated. This condition explains why floating tones are not phonologically realized unless linked to a skeletal position.

1.4 Obligatory Contour Principle

First proposed by Leben (1973), the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) restricts tone association. This principle prevents two identical features from being adjacent to each other. The principle came about due to "the need to streamline some of the descriptive devices of the theory" (Abakah 2004b: 46). In Autosegmental theory, there was indeterminacy in the structural representation of segment and suprasegments. Thus, with the OCP, when sounds appear in succession to each other, they must differ in at least one tone feature. Where adjacent, the tones must be of different values.

1.5 Well Formedness Condition

The Well Formedness Condition (WFC) governs the linking and association of elements on different tiers and requires that each vowel must be associated with at least one tone; each tone must be associated with at least one vowel; no association lines may cross. Thus, the WFC provides sanity in the association of autosegments as associations are not done haphazardly.

1.6 Principles of Autosegmental Theory

The application of the Autosegmental theory is governed by some principles which regulate the theory. They aid in the successful application of WFC by solving any problem that might crop up from its application. The principles are mapping, which means to associate vowels with tones in a one-to-one fashion left to right until one runs out of tones or vowels; dumping, which requires that in mapping, if some tones are still free, that is unassociated, they must be link to the last vowel to the right; and spreading, which also requires that if in applying the mapping principle, some vowels are still free, they also must be link to the last tone on the right.

Tone is an autonomous feature which can survive without the segment, and vice versa. That means that tone is autonomous and should be given independent representation. Aspects of the sounds discussed in the paper occur in prosody, and if we take tone, it can best be explained using the Autosegmental theory. It is in line with this that the Autosegmental theory is adopted to account for the tone and other processes in this paper.

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The paper is segmented as follows; Section 1 introduces the study while section 2 provides a brief account on the syllable structure of Esahie and elision in general. Section 3 discusses the environments within which vowel elision occurs in Esahie. Section 4 focuses on consonant elision, with section 5 dwelling on elision in borrowed words in Esahie. The rest are section 6 which focuses on tonal processes in elision, and section 7 which concludes the discussion.

2.0 Syllable structure in Esahie

In this section I present a brief account on the syllable structure of Esahie. The syllable structures in Esahie are the CV, V and CVC (Owusu Ansah 2019). The V can be either a vowel or a syllabic consonant, i.e., a nasal, or a trill.

(1)   **Syllable types in Esahie**

      CV— **/gó/**   'to dance'
               /bʊ́/   'to whip'
               /dɔ́/   'there'

      V— **/ɔ/, /a/, /o/, /n/, /m/, /r/**

      CVC- **/fɛ́m/**   'to lend'
             /ɲɔ̀.fʊ́n/   'breast'

The syllable types above show that the language has a dis-preference for consonant cluster, i.e., CCV[2] syllables and allows only the alveolar nasal /n/, and bilabial nasal /m/ in coda positions. In the subsequent sections, I discuss the salient elision processes that occur in the language.

2.1 Elision

Elision has been addressed in diverse ways. Matthews (1997: 11) alludes that "elision is a process by which a vowel at the end of a word is lost, or elided, before another vowel at the beginning of a word." Data from Akan and other languages depict that elision extends beyond word final to mid and initial positions. Abakah (2004a: 182) adds to the context when he describes elision as a "phonological process by which a vowel, a consonant and sometimes a syllable, which is an intrinsic property of a morpheme in an isolative style, is dropped in a combinative style".

     Accordingly, in elision, a sound segment, be it a vowel, consonant or a syllable, is lost in different phonological contexts. Most languages employ elision to resolve vowel

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[2] The CCV word structure always has /r/in the second C slot.

hiatus (Orie & Pulleyblank 2002), however, there are differences as to which vowel is elided and the context of elision. In some languages, the first vowel (V₁) is elided, while in others, the second vowel (V₂) is elided. Casali (1997) identifies four contexts in which vowel elision is used to resolve vowel hiatus in Etsako. These are: at the boundary between two lexical words (***dɛ +akpa → dakpa*** 'buy a cup' & ***owa +ɔda → owɔda*** 'a different house'); at the boundary between a lexical word and a functional word, where V₁ elision is more common than V₂. It can also be at the boundary between a CV prefix and a root, where he claims that V₁ occurs; and at the boundary between a root and a suffix, where either V₁ or V₂ can be elided.

Similar to Etsako, Abakah (2004a) shows that in Akan, vowel elision involves the loss of one of two contiguous vowel at word boundary. This occurs when a word that ends in a vowel is followed by another word that begins in a vowel. He explains that if the second vowel in the sequence of V₁ # V₂ is [-Low], then it is obligatorily deleted. However, if the first vowel is [-low], then the first vowel is deleted. Abakah (2004a) further shows that in compounding, word boundary vowel sequence may be deleted simultaneously under the condition that the final syllable of the first free form is CV#, where the C is [+Son] and the V₁ is [+High], with the # V₂ underspecified for tongue height position feature. He explains that regardless of the dialectal variations in Fante, a post sonorant word final vowel deletion must occur intervocalically at the underlying level of representation. Aside from sound segments, Abakah notes that syllables are also deleted in rapid speech in Fante.

At the word final level, Adomako (2015) observes that nasals in Akan, particularly [m], are sometimes deleted in some reduplicants final position. He explains that verb bases of CVN or CVVN structures are of two different morphemic structures in the underlying representation; monomorphemic verb base and bimorphemic verb base. However, while the CVN preserve their 'final' nasals in the reduplicants, the CVVN structure lose them in their reduplicants in the language's effort to satisfy a high-ranking template constraint.

Abdul-Rahman (2013) also shows that in Dagbani, elision affects vowels, nasal consonants or an entire syllable. Also, like other languages, elision in Dagbani occurs at word boundaries but always leftward elision and never to the right, and that the intervening segments to the right are consonants and not vowels. Still in Dagbani, Abukari (2018) shows that in compounding, the commonly deleted segments in compound formation were found to be vowels and CVs.

Elision, especially final nasal elision, is also observed in children's speech. Moran (1993) observes that African American children delete final consonants but mark their presence in a manner that might be unnoticed in a typical speech evaluation. He explains that the children use vowel length for minimal pairs for final consonants that were deleted. Also, in French, Morin (1986) notes that the inflectional affixes /s/ and /t/- to which the final [t] of 3ʳᵈ pers. marker-(e) is added is lost before pause. Also, the loss of plural /s/ (or more generally of inflectional s after nouns and adjectives) is also quite common though it is difficult to determine whether this loss is phonetic or paradigmatic.

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These examples and others not mentioned, confirm that elision is common in most languages. However, little is known about the subject in Esahie. It is in light of this that I discuss the subject of elision in the language. I show in the study that in Esahie, elision affects vowels across words boundaries, in compounding, at the syllable level, in borrowed words, and at the tonal level.

3.0 Elision in Esahie

As a phonological process, both vowels and consonants can be elided in Esahie. This process occurs often to create syllable types that are acceptable in the language. In this study, I group the discussion of elision into two- vowel elision and consonant elision and show how they manifest in the language. I show that through phonological processes such as elision, consonant clusters are simplified at onset and coda positions.

3.1. Vowel Elision across word boundary

Vowels can be concatenated when two independent monomorphemic words are put together. When this occurs, one of the vowels may be elided. In Esahie, when two words are juxtaposed at word boundary, and the first word ends in a vowel [V₁], and the second word begins with a vowel [V₂], one of the words loses its vowel. The choice of the vowel to be deleted is morphologically conditioned. In some morphological constructions, the V₁ is deleted, while in others, the V₂ is deleted. Let us examine instances of occurrence in Esahie.

3.1.1 V₁ Elision in a Perfective construction

Perfective verbs in Esahie are formed by adding a low tone clitic /à/ to a high-toned verb. In a perfective construction where a pronominal[3] is added to the perfective verb, the pronominal loses its vowel in the sequence. Consider these examples.

(2)   a.   **mí**   **à**   **kɔ́**   →   **màhɔ́**
           1SG-SUBJ   PERF   go
           'I have gone.'

_____

[3] Not all pronominals allow their vowels to be deleted in a possessive construction. The 2PL, *ɛmɔ* does not lose its vowel under the same context discussed. This is due to the opaqueness of /ɔ/ which blocks the deletion process.
(1)   **ɛmɔ́** + **èsíré**   →   **ɛmɔ́ èsíré**   'your anthill'
         you + anthill

b. **bɛ́**   **à**   **kírá**   → **bàhírá**
3PL-SUBJ   PERF   put on a cloth
'they have put on a cloth'

c. **wɔ́**   **à**   **sɛ̀tɕí**   → **wàsɛ̀tɕí**
2SG-SUBJ   PERF   destroy
'he has destroyed it'

d. **wɔ́**   **à**   **ànɔ̀má**   → **wànɔ̀má**
2SG-SUBJ   PERF   curse
'you have cursed'

In these examples, a pronominal prefix is added to a perfective marker, and a verb to form the perfective form of the verb. We notice from the examples that the addition of the pronominal prefix to the perfective marker results in a vowel sequence at the word boundary which is impermissible in the language. To resolve the impermissible sequence, the pronominal prefix loses its vowel in the output form. We can understand why the pronominal rather loses its vowel. The construction being formed is the perfective form, hence the perfective marker must be retained in the output to identify the construction as a perfective form. Further to that, the vowel in the pronominal prefix is deleted because per the Lexical Integrity hypothesis (Booij 2009; Lieber & Scalise 2006) segments in the roots are to be protected than those in the peripherals such as affixes, hence when the vowel sequence occurs at the word boundary, the prefix loses its vowel, confirming that syntactic processes do not affect the internal structure of the root word. It is in this context that the pronominal loses its vowel in rapid speech. In addition to the loss of a vowel, we observe other phonological changes in the output. We notice in example (2a) and (2b) that the velar /k/ changes to a glottal /h/ in the output. This occurs because in Esahie, whenever the velar sound /k/ occurs intervocalic, the velar is softened in the intervocalic position, hence the change of /k/ to /h/ in the output forms.

3.1.2 *V₁ Elision in Possessive Constructions*

The possessive construction in Esahie is marked with a possessive pronoun attached to a noun. In situations where the nouns begin with a vowel, a sequence of vowel is created at the word boundary. When this happens, the vowel of the possessive pronoun (V₁) is lost in a V₁ # V₂ sequence. Study the examples in (3) below:

(3)   a.   **wʊ́**   **àlíɛ́**   →   **[wàlíɛ́]**
2SG   food   'your food'

b.   **mí**   **àdʑàpàdíɛ́**   →   **[màdʑàpàdíɛ́]**
1SG   property   'my property'

_____

c.	**yɛ́**	**àpíná**	→	**[yàpíná]**
	2PL	bat		'our bat'

d.	**wʊ́**	**æ̀síwá**	→	**[wæ̀síwá]**
	2SG	betrothed		'your betrothed'

We observe from the data that the pronouns drop their vowels in the output form. In example (3a) **wʊ́ +àlíɛ́ → [wàlíɛ́]** 'your food', /ʊ/ is lost in the output. The loss of the vowel is due to the impermissible vowel sequence at the word boundary. Again, we notice, as did in the perfective form, that the output preserves the integrity of the root word in consonance with the lexical integrity principle. V_1 elision in a possessive construction is illustrated below in figure 1.

Underlying form   **Deletion stage**   **Output form**

SkeletalTier   x x   x xxx   x x   x x x x   x x xx x

Segmental Tier w ʊ + a l ɪ ɛ   w ʊ + a l ɪ ɛ   w a l ɪ ɛ
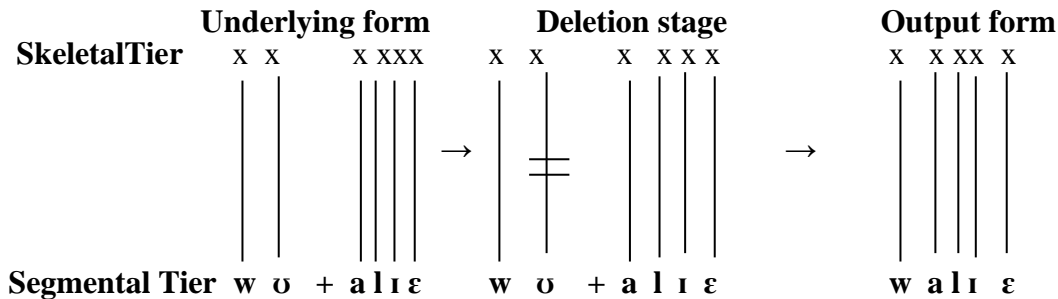
Figure 1: V_1 Elision in a possessive construction

Similar elision of vowel at word boundary is also observed in Akan. In Akan, (Abakah 2004a, 2006) it is reported that in both a possessive construction or compounds at word boundary, a V_1 or V_2 is deleted as exemplified (4) below.

(4)	a.	**mɪ # asɪw**	→ **maasɪw**	'my in-law'

	b.	**ɔkɔtɔ # ɔbɔn**	→ **ɔkɔtɔbɔn**	'crab hole'

Also, in Dagbani, a Gur language, vowel elision occurs, but while in Esahie and Akan, the elision is bi-directional, [V_1 or V_2]. In Dagbani, Abdul-Rahman (2013: 222) shows that vowel elision is unidirectional where the vowel is always deleted at the leftward position as shown in *sa.a* 'rain'+ *tahən.ga* 'shouting' → *sa.ta.hənga* 'thunder'.

3.1.3 V2 Elision in Compounds

Compounds are formed by combining two or more independent words to get a new word. As stated earlier, when two words are juxtaposed to form a compound word, and the first constituent ends with a vowel (V₁), and the second constituent begins with a vowel (V₂), the second constituent loses its initial vowel. Consequently, in the sequence of V₁ #V₂ across syllable boundary in a compound, the V₂ is elided as shown in example (5).

(5)   **Input**   **Output**

	Input			Output
a.	**dùá**	#	**ɔ̀bá**	**dùàbá**
	tree		offspring	'fruit'
b.	**àhìní**	#	**èfíé**	**àhìnìfíé àhìŋvíé**
	chiefs		house	'palace'
c.	**bàkɑ̃́:**	#	**ɛ̀bóín**	**bàkɑ̃̀:bóín**
	tree		outer cover	'tree bark'
d.	** æ̀nìdʑí**	#	**àdíɛ**	**æ̀nìdʑìdíɛ**
	happy		thing	'happiness'
e.	**pɛ́**	#	**àdíɛ**	**àpɛ́díɛ**
	to like		thing	'will'

We find in the above examples that the second constituents lose their initial vowels in the output form. In all the examples in the data, we notice that V₂ is deleted, while the V₁ is maintained. A careful look at the tonal pattern of the inputs show that the first constituent of the compound word has a final H [V₁] tone whereas the second constituent has an initial L [V₂] tone. However, we notice in the output that the initial L tone of the second constituent is lost. We therefore conclude, based on the data at our disposal, that in a compound construction, where there is V₁#V₂, with the V₁ being H tone, and the V₂ as L tone, the L of the V₂ is deleted. When the V₂ is deleted, its L tone is left floating. The floating L tone then re-associates with the vowel to the left which has a H tone and docks on it to become HL.[4] This is similar to what happens in Fante (Abakah 2004a, 2004b), as in Fante the V₂ is deleted when it is a low vowel preceded by a high vowel at syllable boundary. However, in Fante, the floating tone causes a downstep in the H tone it precedes. V₂ elision in Esahie is captured by the following illustration in figure 2 below.

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[4] Section 6.1 offers more details on how the floating tones behaves.

_____

d u a # a b a   **d u a # a b a**   **d u a b a**

CVV   VCV   CVV   V CV   C V V C V
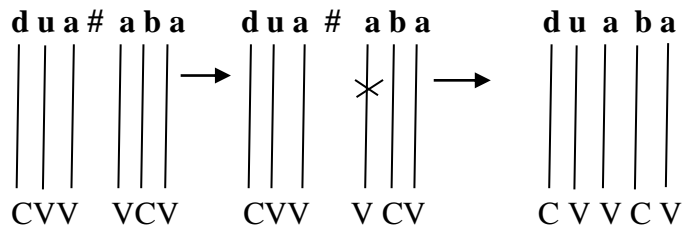
Figure 2: V₂ elision in a compound word

3.1.4 Syllable Loss

Another instance of elision in Esahie compounding involves syllable loss. In some compounds, a syllable is deleted in the output form. Consider the following example.

(6)		**Underlying**	**Surface**	**Meaning**
	a.	**æ̀dʑá #Kwàkú**	**æ̀dʑá:kú (æ̀dʑeeku)**	'male name'
	b.	**ǹzá: # fùfúé**	**ǹzà:fúé**	'palm wine'
	c.	**pàpá # Kòfí**	**pà:kòfí**	'male name'
	d.	**Náná # Òséí**	**nà:séí**	'male name'

We notice from the data the loss of a syllable in the output form. Again, the compounding process involves two phonological processes. First, there is a loss of the first syllable of the second stem, after which there is a compensatory lengthening. Apparently, the loss of the syllable is compensated for by lengthening the final vowel of the first stem. In example (6a), *æ̀dʑa + kwaku*, the first syllable of the second stem is truncated to [*ku*] before it is attached to the first stem resulting in *æ̀dʑaku*. Afterwards, the final vowel of the first stem is lengthened to surface as *æ̀dʑaaku*. Following tongue root harmony, the [-ATR] vowel /a/ is changed to [+ATR] /e/ resulting in *æ̀dʑeeku*. Again, we notice that the syllable loss is bi-directional in Esahie. In example (6a and 6b), it is the first syllable of the second stem that is elided, but in example (6c), it is the second syllable of the first stem which is lost. This syllable loss is illustrated in figure 3 below:
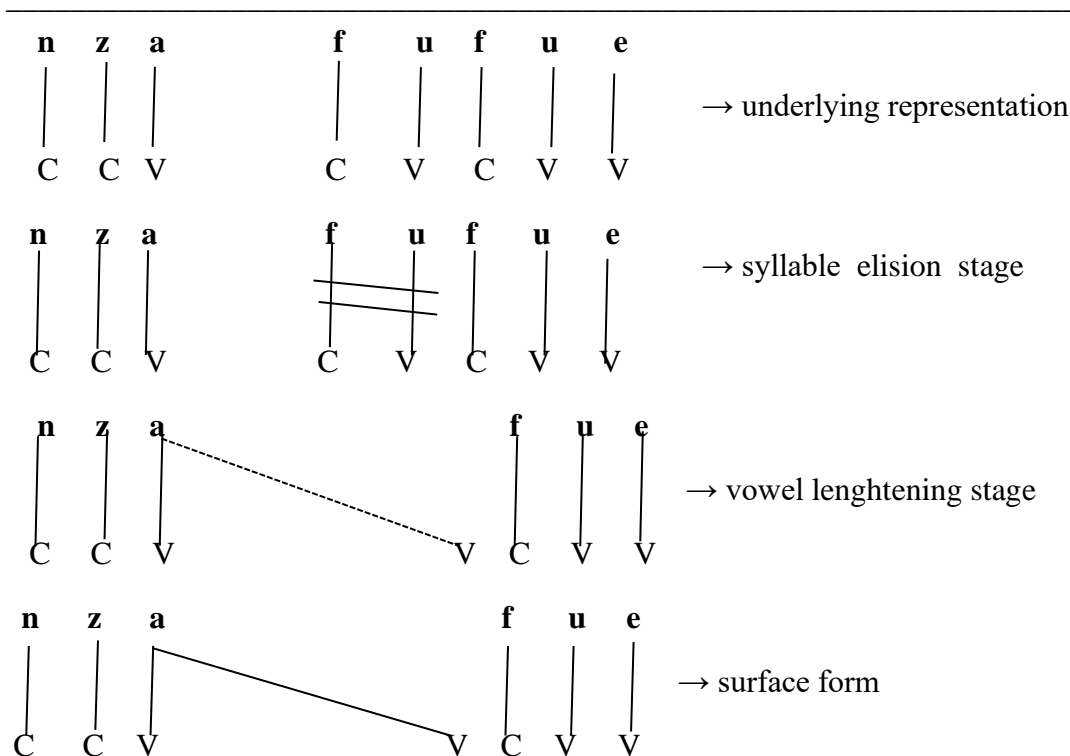
Figure 3: A representation of syllable loss.

Abakah (2004b) reports that in all dialects of Akan, intervocalic consonant that occurs in human names and kinship terms are deleted in a CVCV syllable structure as in:

(7)   a.   **papa + kwasi** → **paakwesi**   'male name'

        b.   **nana + mansa** → **naamansa**   'female name'

        c.   **kofi + nimo**   → **koonimo**   'male name'

Although the data in example (7) is like that of Esahie, it must be noted that the context of elision varies. While in Akan it is always the second syllable of the first stem which is deleted, in Esahie, the elided syllable is not position specific. It could be the initial stem of the second constituent as in example (6a) or the second stem of the first as in example (6c). Given similar context, one cannot conclude that the elision in Esahie is just intervocalic loss. While one can argue that in example (6a) it may be the loss of the consonant /kw/, the same cannot be said of [fu] in [*fufue*] in example (6b) where there is

_____

a complete syllable loss. This is because the syllable loss is accompanied by a lengthening of a vowel. Thus, it is appropriate, therefore, to call this process as it occurs in Esahie as syllable loss followed by compensatory lengthening, as that will capture all similar cases. Similar to Esahie, in Dagbani, some parts of the syllable are truncated when they co-occur with other word forms. For instance, in a noun-adjective sequence, the second syllable of the first constituent is lost in the compounding process. The deleted syllable is always a CV with either a lateral or a glottal onset consonant as exemplified below.

(8)   a.   **ku.li** + **pal.li**   ⇨   **ku.pa.li**
            funeral   raw   'fresh funeral'

        b.   **su.li** + **yo.li**   ⇨   **su-yo.li**
            anger   bad   'bad anger'

                                          (Abdul-Rahman 2013: 226)

       In addition to the segmental changes in Esahie discussed, there are tonal processes that are triggered by the elision of the segments, and these will be discussed in section 4.

3.3 Pre-Sonorant High Vowel Elision

Another occurrence of vowel elision in Esahie is at a pre-sonorant position. In Esahie, anytime a [+High] vowel occurs before a sonorant, the vowel is elided. This takes place in a CVCV word where the C$_2$ is a [+Sonorant, -Lateral, -Nasal, -Continuant], (CVRV) that is the liquid /r/. The V$_1$ invariably deletes resulting in a CRV sequence. Study the examples in (9) below.

(9)   **Underlying**   **Surface**   **Meaning**

       a.   **tìnàbírɛ́**   **tìnàbŕɛ́**   'seat'

       b.   **nɛ̀tírɛ́**   **nɛ̀tŕɛ́**   'dust'

       c.   **tènvìrɛ̀má**   **tènvrɛ̀má**   'tongue'

       d.   **ànwúró**   **ànwŕó**   'town'

       e.   **ŋgùrùmá:**   **ŋgrùmá:**   'okro'/ 'okra'

       From the examples, we observe the elision of a pre-liquid [+high] vowel in a CVRV syllable structure. The data further show two types of pre-liquid [+high] vowel elision. In example (9a-c), the high vowels are [-ATR, front] vowels, while that of

example (9d-e) are [+ATR, back] vowels. In both cases, the elision of the vowel reduces the word to a CRV structure. This word type is still considered as disyllabic because /r/, as a liquid, absorbs the syllabicity of the lost vowel including bearing the floating tone of the deleted vowel. The elision process is captured in figure 4.

Underlying form   Deletion stage   Output form

Seg't Tier **n ɛ t ɪ r ɛ   n ɛ t ɪ r ɛ   n ɛ t r ɛ**
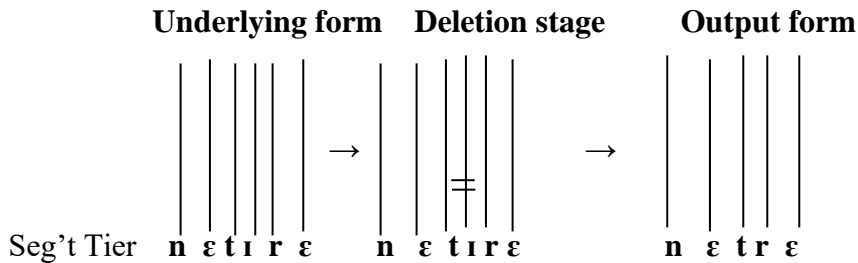
Figure 4: Pre-sonorant High Vowel Elision

The subject of pre-liquid elision also finds epression in Fante, a coastal dialect of Akan (Abakah 2004a). However, in Fante, the vowels which surround the liquid must be identical as exemplified in (10) below:

(10) a. **mɪ +ara**   →   **mara** →   **maa**   'I emphatically'

b. **obi+ara**   →   **obiara** →   **obiaa** 'everybody'

c. **biribi**   →   **biibi**   'something'
(Abakah 2004a: 200-201)

4.0 Consonant Elision

Aside from vowels, consonant elision is also observed in Esahie as in many languages (Fagan 1990; Moran 1993; Morin 1986). In Esahie, consonant elision occurs when a nasal consonant is found in word final position. The syllable structure of Esahie allows nasals in coda position. However, when an alveolar nasal /n/ follows a [+high] vowel in the word final position, the final nasal consonant is deleted. This occurs after the nasal consonant has regressively assimilated the [+high] oral vowel that precedes it to nasalise it. Consider the following examples in (11).

(11)	**Underlying**	**Surface**	**Meaning**
a.	**àwòsín**	**àwòsɪ́**	'darkness'
b.	**àmbáín**	**àmbáɪ̃**	'bat'

_____

c.	**ɛsóín**	**ɛsóĩ́**	'elephant'
d.	**bèsín**	**bèsĩ̄**	'back'
e.	**èbíín**	**èbíĩ̃**	'feces'

A close examination of the data shows the elision of a final nasal consonant. In example (11a) the final nasal consonant in *àwòsín* is lost in the output form, while the [+high] vowel is nasalized to get *àwòsĩ́* 'darkness'. The derivation involves two ordered phonological processes of nasalization before elision. First, the nasal consonant regressively spreads its nasality property onto the final vowel causing it to be nasalized. Subsequently, the nasal consonant is lost resulting in the surface form. This phenomenon is also present in the French derivation of *bõ*. In French, the word [*bon*] becomes [*bõ*] after it has gone through an ordered process of nasal assimilation and final consonant elision. The final nasal elision can be represented as follows in figure 5.

Nasal Tier[-nasal] [+nasal] [-nasal] [+nasal] [-nasal] [+nasal]   [+nasal] [+nasal]
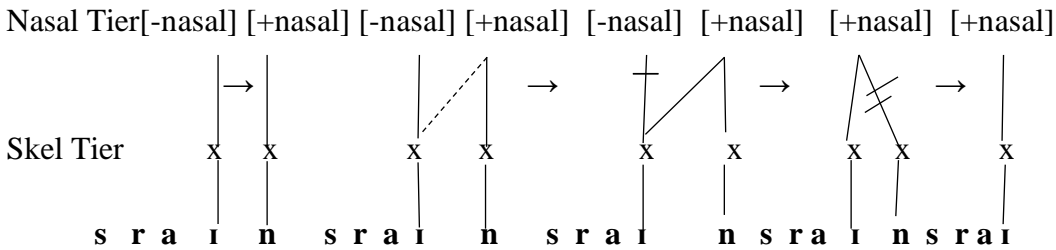
Figure 5: A representation of final nasal elision

It will be recalled from the syllable structure (cf. section 2.0) that the alveolar nasal /n/ is allowed at the coda. Hence, the deletion of nasal consonant in this structure stems from the nasalisation of the preceding vowel. Akan also deletes consonants in the word final position in some context. Adomako (2015) notes that in a CVVN, the final nasal which is [m], is sometimes deleted in some reduplicants final position. He explains that the morpheme-final bilabial nasal is deleted when reduplicating bimorphemic verbs that end in bilabial nasal as in example (12) below.

(12)   **ɕɥɛm → ɕɥɪ-ɕɥɛm**   → 'to investigate'

He notes further that [m] deletion in the reduplicants of the bimorphemic base is an instance of the emergence of the unmarked, and also to satisfy the requirement for an open reduplicant for bimorphemic bases which is stronger than preserving the reduplicant-final nasal. Dagbani also exhibit final nasal elision, but where Esahie will

delete an alveolar nasal at the word final position, Dagbani deletes a bilabial nasal at the word final position in a compounding process as shown in (13) below.

(13)   **kpam** 'oil' **bʲɛ.ɤʊ** 'bad' ⇨ **kpabʲɛ.ɤʊ** 'bad'/'dirty oil'

<div align="right">(Abdul-Rahman 2013: 226)</div>

While both languages delete final nasal consonant, the consonant that is deleted in Esahie is an alveolar nasal /n/, whereas that of Dagbani is a bilabial nasal /m/.

5.0 Elision in borrowed words

According to Bussmann (2006: 55), linguistics borrowing or loanwords is the "adaptation of a linguistic expression from one language into another". Thomason and Kaufman (2001: 37) on the other hand refer to it as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features". Esahie also borrows words from other languages, especially the English language to fill lexical vacuum or for prestige. The borrowed words come with their own syllable structure which may conflict with that of Esahie. When this happens, the borrowed words with impermissible syllable structure undergo some repair strategies. One of these strategies is elision. The elision in the borrowing process is to allow the borrowed words conform with the syllable structure of Esahie. The elided segment may be a consonant or a vowel. In the sections that follows, I discuss the elision of consonants and then vowels in borrowed words.

5.1 Consonant Elision in borrowed words

Esahie does not allow consonants in the coda position unless for the nasals /n, m/. Due to this, borrowed words from English with non-nasal coda must be re-syllabified. The re-syllabification is done either by insertion or by consonant elision. In the case of consonant elision, the C_1 or C_2 may be elided. There is no rule governing the choice of C_1 or C_2 deletion. The choice of consonant to be deleted is randomly selected by the native speakers, probably following their inherent phonotactic knowledge. Let us examine the data in example (14) below.

(14)   **English**   **Esahie**

    a.   **/fækt/**   **[fæ.dɪ]**   'fact'

    b.   **/tæk.si/**   **[ta.zi]**   'taxi'

    c.   **/æsk/**   **[aː.zi]**   'ask'

_____

       d.   **/peɪst/**   **[pe.sɪ]**   'paste'

      We notice from the data above that in (14a and 14b) it is the C_1 which is deleted, while in (14c-14d) it is the C_2 that is deleted. The elision of the consonant triggers other processes. The re-syllabification process involves four rules, namely— consonant elision, vowel insertion, re-syllabification, and intervocalic voicing. In (14a) for instance, the English borrowed word /**fækt**/ has a final CC. The C_1 is first deleted leaving a final /t/. Esahie does not permit /t/ in the coda so a vowel is inserted to become/**fætɪ/.** The word, after insertion, becomes disyllabic, and is further re-syllabified for /t/ to become onset following the onset maximization principle — /**fæ.tɪ**/. Finally, through voicing assimilation, /t/ becomes /d/ resulting in /**fæ.dɪ**/ being realised by the natives. This process is illustrated in figure 6 below.
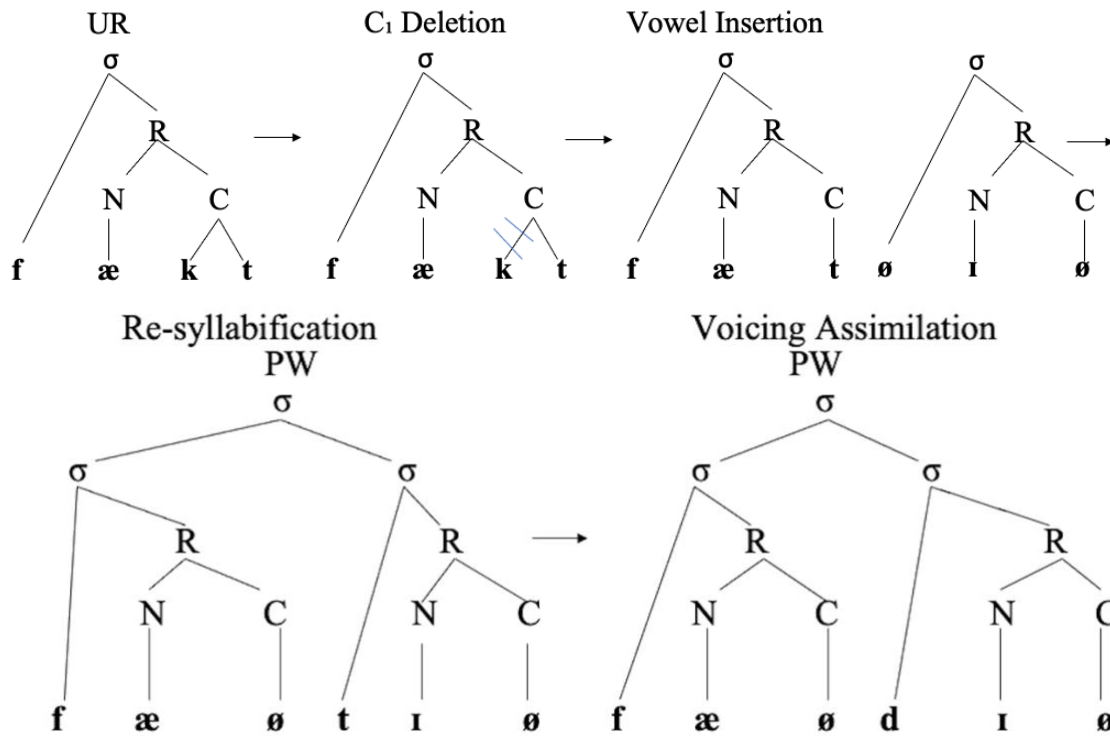

Figure 6: Consonant Elision in English borrowed words

5.2 Vowel elision in borrowed words

The vowel distribution of the Esahie disallow the [front, high], vowels /i, ɪ/ at word-initial position. Based on this, when English words with the initial [front, high] vowel are borrowed into Esahie, these vowels are elided. Consider the words in example (15) below.

(15)		**English**	**Esahie**	
	a.	/ɪn. ˈsist/	[n.zi.sɪ]	'insist'
	b.	/ɪn. ˈstɛd/	[n.zɪ.dɛ:.dɪ]	'instead'
	c.	/ɪn. ˈspɛktə/	[n.zɪ.pɛ.da]	'inspector'

In these examples, the vowel /ɪ/ is elided as discussed earlier. This results in the word beginning with the alveolar nasal /n/. We notice in the data, for instance in example (15a) /ɪn ˈsist/, that the initial vowel /ɪ/ of / ɪn- ˈsist/ is elided because Esahie does not accept the vowel at the initial position. The elision of the initial vowel causes the nasal /n/, which is a sonorant to become syllabic. The syllabic nasal then assimilates the onset voiceless fricative of the second syllable /s/ to become voiced /z/. Following the similar rules of consonant elision, vowel insertion and re-syllabification, the CC at the coda of the second syllable is restructured resulting in the word being realised as *[nzisɪ]*.

As mentioned earlier, there are tonal processes that are caused by the elision of the segments, and these are discussed in the next section.

6.0 Tonal elision in Esahie

The vowel elision discussed in sections 3 and 4 triggers tonal processes. This section discusses the changes that tones undergo when the segment is elided. Among these changes are tone re-association, tone spread, and tone deletion. The tone is independent so when the TBUs are gone, the tone remains to behave separately (Goldsmith, 1976).

6.1 Tonal elision in V₂ elision

We recall in example (5a), (cf. section 3.1.3) *dùá* + *ɔ̀bá* becoming *dùàbá* 'fruit'**,** a loss of V₂ in the compound word. After the deletion of the V₂ segment, several tonal processes take place. When the segment is elided, a floating L tone is left in its place. The floating L tone then re-associates with the vowel to the left which has a H tone and docks on it to become HL. Since derived nouns in Esahie have a LH tonal output regardless of the tonal input (cf. Owusu Ansah & Akanlig-Pare ms), the low tone then spreads onto the H. The H tone is subsequently delinked leaving the L tone to yield a LH tonal output. This is represented in figure 7 below.

_____

	Input	Tone Association	Tone Deletion	Output

Tonal Tier L H L H → L H L H → L H L H → L H

Skeletal Tier x x x x → x x x → x x x → x x x

Seg'tal Tier **du a b a** **du a b a** **dua ba** **du a b a**
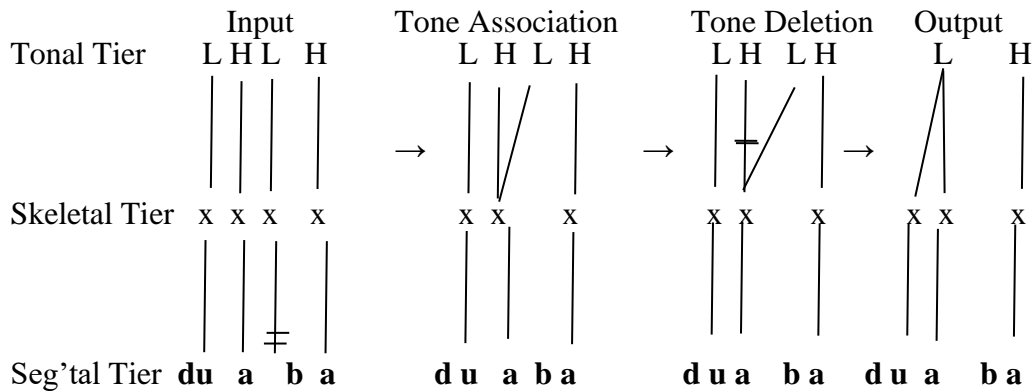
Figure 7: Tone Elision in V₂ Segment

Because the vowels /u, a/ in the output both bear L tones, they are linked together in compliance with the Obligatory Principle (OCP) in the Autosegmental theory that forbids tones of the same value to be adjacent. In the case of V₂ in the perfective construction, the tone is deleted with the vowel. This is because even if the tone survives and re-associates with another segment, it will be deleted because of the expected tonal output.

6.2 Tonal Elision in V₁ elision

In section 3.1.2 on V₁ elision, we observed that the pronominals loses their vowels in the output as in *wʊ́+àlíɛ́→ [wàlíɛ́].* The loss of the vowel will leave the H tone to be floating. This floating H tone is associated with the initial vowel of the noun to realise a HL tone. To satisfy the LH tonal condition of the output form, the H floating tone from the V₁ which is associated with the initial L tone of the second word is delinked. This is shown in figure 8 below.

	Input	Vowel deletion	Tone Association	Tone Deletion	Output

   H L H H → H L H H → H L H → H L H → L H

Skel Tier x x x x → x x x x → x x x x → x x x x → x x x

Seg't Tier **w ʊ a l ɪ ɛ** **w ʊ a l ɪ ɛ** **w a l ɪ ɛ** **w a l ɪ ɛ** **w a l ɪ ɛ**

Figure 8: Tone Elision in V₁ Segment

7.0 Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated the operations of elision in Esahie. It has shown that vowels, consonants, syllables, and tones can be elided in the language. We observed that vowel elision is very productive across word boundary in perfective constructions, possessive constructions and compounds in Esahie. In a $V_1\#V_2$, the vowel that is deleted across word boundary varies. We find that in the possessive and perfective constructions, the deleted vowel is always V_1, whereas in a compound the deleted vowel is always V_2. Following the discussions, I conclude, based on the data at our disposal, that in the perfective and possessive construction in Esahie, with a $V_1\#V_2$, the V_1 is deleted, whereas in a compound construction, V_2 is invariably deleted.

Again, we also noticed that to preserve the tone of the deleted segments, several tonal processes such as tone re-association, tone spread, and tone deletion take place after the deletion of the segments. In V_1 elision, the floating H tone left behind after the vowel elision is associated with the initial vowel of the noun to realise a HL tone. To satisfy the LH tonal condition of the output form, the H floating tone from the V_1 which is associated with the initial L tone of the second word is delinked. In the case of compounds, after the deletion of the V_2 segment, the floating L tone re-associates with the vowel to the left which has a H tone to become HL. Derived nouns in Esahie have a LH tonal output regardless of the tonal input, hence, to satisfy the LH tonal condition of the output form, the floating low tone then spreads onto the H of the V_1. The H tone is subsequently delinked leaving the L tone to yield a LH tonal output for the compound word.
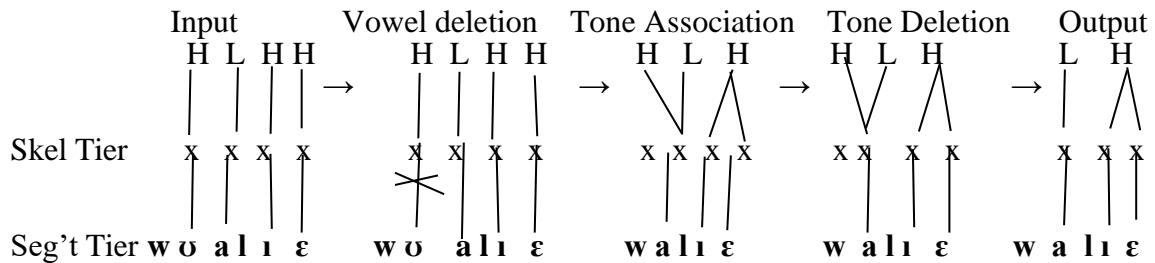
The study has further shown that consonants can be elided at word final positions in Esahie, when an alveolar nasal /n/ follows a [+high] vowel in the word final position. This occurs after the nasal has regressively assimilated a [-back, +high, -ATR] vowel to be nasalized. This elision is ordered for the nasal consonant to regressively spreads its nasality property onto the final vowel causing it to be nasalized. Subsequently, the nasal consonant is deleted. The study further reveals that to meet the syllable structure requirement of Esahie, borrowed words with impermissible syllable structures such as consonant clusters, or non-nasal coda are re-syllabified through elision.

Finally, with regards to the vowel to be deleted at the word boundary, the choice of vowel to be deleted in a $V_1\#V_2$ context has been explained to be morphologically conditioned. However, to offer more insight on the choice of vowel to be deleted, I will recommend a morphosyntactic analysis in the future to comprehensively account for this. Ultimately, the evidence in this paper confirms that there is an interface between phonology and morphology when accounting for elision in Esahie.

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Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
C	Consonant
C_1	First Consonant
C_2	Second Consonant
H	High
HT	High tone
L	Low
LT	Low tone
LTS	Low Tone Spread
N	Noun
PW	Phonological Word
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PRFX	Prefix
Seg't	Segmental
Skel	Skeletal
UR	Underlying Representation
V	Vowel
V_1	First Vowel
V_2	Second Vowel

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DEFINITENESS IN CHIYAO

Julius Taji

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to examine the linguistic devices used to express definiteness in Chiyao, a Bantu language of Southern Tanzania, Southern Malawi, and north-western Mozambique. The analysis is guided by the familiarity theory of definiteness, and is based on the data collected through audio-recording of traditional narratives which were later transcribed to identify utterances with definite NPs. Findings establish three main strategies of signalling definiteness in the language, which include morphological, morphosyntactic, and use of bare nouns. The morphological indicators of definiteness include subject and object markers while the morphosyntactic indicators include demonstratives, locative particles, possessive determiners, genitive expressions, and relative clauses. Bare definiteness is mainly expressed by nouns of inalienable possession, including those denoting body parts and family relations. These findings enrich the existing literature on definiteness in Bantu languages and inform future typological and comparative studies on this subject.

Keywords: Bantu, Chiyao, Definiteness, Familiarity theory, NP

1.0 Introduction

Definiteness is a grammatical category that indicates whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee (Lambrecht, 1996). According to Lyons (1999), a definite NP[1] indicates that both the speaker and hearer are aware of the entity being referred to by the NP. This suggests that, with definite NPs, there is a sense of familiarity with the referent and awareness sharing among interlocutors. There are cross-linguistic variations regarding how languages express

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[1] In this paper, the following abbreviations have been used: 1,2,3 etc. = Noun class; Assoc. = Associative; CAUS = Causative; DEM = Demonstrative; DIST = Distal; FUT = Future; GEN = Negative/negation; IND = Indicative; INF = Infinitive; LOC = Locative; NP = Noun phrase; NPP = Nominal pre-prefix; NON_PROX = Non proximal; OM = Object marker; PFV = Perfective; PL = Plural; PART = Particle; PROX = Proximal; PST = Past; SG = Singular; POSS = Possessive; PRS = Present; SM = Subject marker.

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definiteness. However, the most common ways include use of definite and indefinite articles such as the English articles *the* and *a*, use of affixes, and use of other determiners such as possessives and demonstratives (Lambrecht, 1996; Lyons, 1999). In addition to these, a significant number of languages employ word order, numerals, and case-marking particles as strategies to express definiteness (Lambrecht, 1996).

In Bantu languages, various methods of expressing definiteness have been reported. Among such methods include the use of nominal pre-prefix (NPP) as in Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971) and Bemba (Givón, 1978); modification by a relative clause, as in Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971); use of demonstratives, as in Northern Sotho (Mojapelo, 2007); use of object markers, as in Northern Sotho (Mojapelo, 2007) and isiXhosa (Visser, 2008); and the co-occurrence of the subject marker and the nominal pre-prefix, as in Runyankore-Rukiga (Asiimwe, 2014).

This paper seeks to enrich the existing literature on definiteness in Bantu languages by discussing different strategies for expressing definiteness in Chiyao. The language under discussion, Chiyao, is a cross-border Bantu language spoken in Southern Malawi, north-western Mozambique, and Southern Tanzania. The language is classified as P21 in Guthrie's (1948) classification, and is part of the Ruvuma Bantu branch in Nurse and Philippson's (1980) classification. The next section addresses the theoretical underpinning of the study so as to provide a framework for the discussion that will follow in the subsequent sections.

2.0 Theoretical underpinning

The analysis in this paper is grounded on the familiarity theory of definiteness as proposed by Christophersen (1939) and further discussed by Karttunen (1968) and Heim (1982). This theory holds that definite NPs function to signal that the intended referent is already familiar to the audience at the current stage of the conversation. In this regard, in order for an NP to be interpreted as definite, the speaker and the addressee must share some knowledge of the referent. Following some scepticism as to whether every NP must have a referent, Karttunen (1968) further developed the theory to include discourse referents as among the elements that are referred to by definite NPs. Further associating definiteness with discourse, Heim (1982:195) argues that an NP is familiar in a text if it is coindexed with another NP that precedes it in the same text. The familiarity theory of definiteness is relevant to the present discussion as the discussion is based on materials from narrative discourse. The Chiyao extract in (1) below illustrates the idea of familiarity as a prerequisite for definiteness.

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(1) **Va-a-pali   bwana   na   bibi   kalakala   ko.**
2-PST-exist   9.husband   and   9.wife   past   DEM.
Va-temi-nji   pa-nga-pata   mw-anache
2SM-stay.PST-PL 16LOC-NEG-get   1-child
'There was a husband and wife in the past. **They** stayed without getting a child.'

In the first sentence in (1) above, the narrator introduces the characters through the NP *bwana na bibi* 'husband and wife.' This NP is new to the addressee since it has never been mentioned before and thus it is indefinite. But in the second sentence, the NP is not fully mentioned; instead, it is coindexed through a subject marker *va-*. This is because at this stage, both the speaker and the addressee have some knowledge of the referent. The referent of the subject marker *va-* in the second sentence is therefore definite since both interlocutors are already familiar with it at the stage it is mentioned.

In the next section, I present a brief review of the strategies for expressing definiteness in some selected Bantu languages before narrowing the discussion to focus on Chiyao in the subsequent sections. The aim is to bring to light the common methods of expressing definiteness among Bantu languages and later on determine how Chiyao conforms to or diverges from these methods.

3.0 Definiteness in Bantu

The expression of definiteness in Bantu languages generally conforms to Lyons' (1999) proposed strategies for expressing definiteness employed by different languages of the world. The methods include morphological, morphosyntactic and discourse pragmatic. Morphological expression of definiteness involves the use of morphological markers (affixes) which are attached either to nouns or to verbs to coindex definite NPs. The most common of these definiteness markers in Bantu languages are nominal pre-prefixes as well as subject and object markers. The use of pre-prefixes to indicate definiteness has been observed in Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971) and Bemba (Givón, 1978). The examples below are from Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971).

(2) a. **bá-tò**
2-person
'People'

b. **bà-bá-tò**
NPP-2-person
'The people' (Bokamba, 1971:218).

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The presence of the nominal pre-prefix *bà-* in the noun *bàbátò* 'the people' in (2b) induces a definite and specific reading while its absence in the noun *bátò* 'people' in (2a) leads to an indefinite interpretation.

The morphological expression of definiteness through object markers has been recorded in isiXhosa (Visser, 2008) and Runyankore-Rukiga (Asiimwe, 2014). In Both languages, the co-occurrence of an object marker in the verb and a pre-prefix in the object NP signals definiteness. Visser (2008) offers the following examples from isiXhosa.

(3) a. **ii-ntombi   a-zi-hlamb-i   ngubo**
       NPP-9.girl   NEG-10SM-wash-NEG   9.blanket
       '(The) girls do not wash (any) blanket.'

    b. **i i-ntombi   a-zi-yi-hlamb-i   i-ngubo**
       NPP-9.girl   NEG-10SM-OM-wash-NEG   NPP-9.blanket
       '(The) girls do not wash the (specific) blanket.'   (Visser, 2008:17)

Therefore, the object NP *ngubo* 'blanket' in (3a) has an indefinite and unspecific reading due to absence of an object marker and object pre-prefix while its counterpart *ingubo* in (3b) has definite and specific reading due to co-occurrence of the object marker and object pre-prefix.

Some Bantu languages express definiteness morphosyntactically. This involves modification of a noun by a nominal dependent such as a relative clause, a quantifier, a demonstrative or a possessive. A noun phrase containing such modifiers is considered familiar to the hearer. Some examples of Bantu languages in which definiteness is signalled by morphosyntactic devices include Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971) which uses relative clauses, and Northern Sotho and Runyankore-Rukiga, which both use demonstratives (Mojapelo, 2007; Asiimwe, 2014). Asiimwe (2014:201) offers the following examples from Runyankore-Rukigain in which demonstratives are used to express definiteness.

(4) **Ø-torotoor-a   a-zi-o   (e)-n-kwanzi   mu-ana we**
    2SG-pick-FV   DEM-10-MEDIAL   NPP-10-bead   1-child you
    'Pick up those beads you child.'

(5) **A-gi-o   Ø-gaari   mu-gi-taa(h)-sy-e   o-mu n-ju**
    DEM-9-MEDIAL 9-bicycle   2PL-9-enter-CAUS-IMP NPP-18.in 9-house
    '(You) take that bicycle in the house.'   (Asiimwe, 2014:201)

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Referents modified by demonstratives are inherently definite as the hearer can easily identify them. Thus, in the above examples, the demonstratives *azio* 'those' (4) and *agio* 'that' (5) are used to locate the referent within the environment of the speaker and hearer. The demonstratives indicate that the hearer can locate and identify the referent and thus it is definite.

Lastly, as Lyons (1999) observed, languages also express definiteness through discourse-pragmatic devices. In this type of definiteness, the hearer identifies the referent by relying on some discourse clues, for example its earlier mention in the preceding sentence of the same paragraph or conversation. In example (6) below, which is a repetition of (1), the NP *bwana na bibi* 'husband and wife', which appears in the first sentence is co-referenced with a subject marker *va-* in the second sentence. The speaker replaces the full NP with the subject marker in the second sentence because it has been mentioned in the preceding discourse and therefore he/she assumes that the addressee is already aware of it.

(6) **Va-a-pali   bwana   na   bibi   kalakala   ko.   Va-temi-nji**
    2-PST-exist 9.husband and 9.wife past   DEM. 2SM-stay.PST-PL
    pa-nga-pata   mw-anache
    16LOC-NEG-get   1-child
    'There was a husband and wife in the past. **They** stayed without getting a child.'

In addition to the above methods which are based on Lyons (1999), the literature also suggests that word order can induce definite and indefinite readings in Bantu languages. Duarte (2011) observed that, in Changana, when the object is moved to a topic position, it must be preceded by a definite particle *a,* which results in a definite interpretation (7b). On the other hand, when the object is in situ, it is interpreted as indefinite and the definite particle does not occur (7a).

(7) a.   **Maria   a-fundha-Ø   xitchangani**
           Mary   1SM-study-PRES   Changana
           'Mary studies Changana.'

    b.   **a   xitchanganii   Maria   a-fundha-Ø**
           DEF Changana   Maria   1SM-study-PRES
           'Changana, Mary studies.'   (Duarte, 2011:83)

These examples suggest that in Changana, topicalized elements are interpreted as old information and therefore definite. This analysis is in compliance with the view that in Bantu languages, VP-internal material tend to be interpreted as new information

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or focus while preverbal elements (topics) are interpreted as old information (see Bokamba, 1976, 1979; Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987; Machobane, 1987; Demuth & Mmusi, 1997; Demuth & Harford, 1999).

The influence of word order on definiteness is also operational in Swahili. Kimambo (2018) argues that in Swahili, the canonical SVO word order can be altered to signal definiteness. In this regard, the topicalized object receives a definite interpretation just like in Changana, as illustrated in (8) below:

(8) a. **Wa-nakijiji   wa-me-jeng-a   shule**   (SVO)
       2-villager   2SM-PFV-build-FV 9.school
       'The villagers have built a school.'

    b. **Shule,   wa-me-i-jeng-a   wa-nakijiji** (OVS)
       9.school   2SM-PFV-OM-build-FV   2-villager
       'The villagers have built the school.'   (Kimambo, 2018:76)

Thus, the topicalized NP *shule* 'school' in (8b) above is associated with given information, definiteness and emphasis, thus concurring with proposals by Allen (1983) and Zerbian (2007) that the topic position induces a definite reading.

Lastly, definiteness can be expressed covertly, based on the nature of the noun. Nouns that exhibit this type of definiteness are unmarked, and they include nouns with a unique characteristic such as the sun, the moon, and the world. In Runyankore Rukiga, for example, the noun *omukazi* 'woman' is considered unique and therefore definite (Asiimwe, 2014). Similarly, nouns of inalienable possessions such as body parts, and nouns of intimate relations are definite.

The discussion in the preceding section suggests that while there are cross-linguistic methods of expressing definiteness such as the ones proposed by Lyons (1999), individual languages display significant variations in terms of the extent to which these methods are employed. Some languages would have one dominant strategy while others would have several depending on the discourse type. Given this situation, it is insightful to explore how Chiyao expresses definiteness.

4.0 Strategies for marking definiteness in Chiyao

Chiyao employs a wide range of linguistic devices to express definiteness of the NP. They include morphological (through subject and object markers), morphosyntactic (through nominal dependents such as demonstratives and possessives), as well as the use of bare nouns (where the noun is neither morphologically marked nor syntactically modified). These strategies are the focus of the present section.

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4.1 Morphological expression of definiteness

Morphological expression of definiteness in Chiyao is achieved through subject and object markers which are affixed to verb stems to coindex the definite NPs. Each of these strategies is discussed below.

4.1.1 Subject markers

In situations where the subject NP has not been lexically expressed, the subject marker can function to indicate definiteness if the subject was mentioned previously in the same discourse. Thus, in null subject constructions, the subject marker coindexes a referent which is already known to the hearer and thus definite. In this regard, the subject marker is also used to avoid repetition of the subject as the hearer is already aware of it. The Chiyao example below is illustrative of this strategy.

(9) **A-sungula,   a-tati   vao   nga-ni-va-ulaga.   A-jile**
1a-hare   1a-father his   NEG-PST-OM-kill.   1aSM-go.PST
kw-a-sisa   mu-mbugu
INF-OM-hide   18LOC-cave
'The hare did not kill his father. **He** went to hide him inside a cave.'

In (9), the subject marker *a-* in the second sentence is used anaphorically to refer to the antecedent *asungula* 'hare' which has been mentioned in the first sentence. Due to its mention in the first sentence, the subject is assumed to be known to the addressee and therefore definite. The subject marker *a-* therefore coindexes the definite subject *asungula* 'hare' mentioned in the first sentence.

Theoretical support of the definite reading of the subject marker in (9) above can be drawn from Heim's (1982:179) notion of 'file keeping and updating'. She argues that when the speaker mentions a noun for the first time in a conversation, the addressee opens a file for that noun, and as the conversation keeps unfolding, the addressee simply updates it. Therefore, in example (9) above, upon hearing the NP *asungula* 'hare' in the first sentence, the addressee opens a file. But in the second sentence, the addressee simply updates his/her file by associating the subject marker *a-* with the full NP *asungula* 'hare' mentioned in the first sentence.

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4.1.2 Object markers

Studies such as Wald (1973), and Byarushengo and Tenenbaum (1976) have reported that one of the key functions of the object marker in Bantu languages is to express definiteness. These studies establish that the presence of an object marker in the verb implies that its referent is familiar to and identifiable by the hearer. In this respect, the function of the object marker corresponds to the information structure (Seidl & Dimitriadis, 1997). Within the information structure framework, the object marker denotes hearer-old and discourse-old information. As such, entities which denote new information are not likely to be object-marked (Seidl & Dimitriadis, 1997). The object marker in Chiyao seems to conform to the information structure framework in that entities which the hearer is already aware of are object-marked while those which are new to the hearer are not object-marked. Therefore, an object marker is one of the indicators of definiteness in Chiyao, as illustrated in (10).

(10) a. **Basí   ambusánga   tu-jaule   kw-ííkonde**
          Now   friend   1SM-go.IND   17LOC-forest
          tu-ka-u-sóse   m-pííngó
          1SM-FUT-OM-search   3-ebony
          'Now (my) friend, we should go to the forest to find **the** ebony.'

   b. **Basí   ambusánga   tu-jaule   kw-ííkonde**
          Now   friend   1SM-go. IND   17LOC-forest
          tu-ka-sóse   m-pííngó
          1SM-FUT-search   3-ebony
          'Now (my) friend, we should go to the forest to find ebony.'

In example (10a), the ebony being referred to is away from the speaker and hearer's visibility but it entails that the hearer has an idea of what the ebony looks like. This reading is triggered by the presence of the object marker that coindexes the referent *mpííngó* 'ebony'. In this case, the ebony is familiar to the hearer. Upon hearing the utterance in (10a), the hearer can easily recall the image of the ebony in his/her mind. On the other hand, (10b) can be uttered by a speaker to a hearer who has never seen the ebony and does not know how it looks like. The absence of the object marker in (10b) signals lack of familiarity which consequently induces indefinite interpretation.

The influence of object marking on definiteness has been attested in a number of other Bantu languages. In some languages, elements that rank high in the definiteness hierarchy such as pronouns and personal names are obligatorily object-marked (Morimoto, 2002:297). Bresnan and Moshi (1993:52) report that in Kichaga, the object

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marker is required when an object NP is an independent pronoun. This is because pronouns are inherently definite. Similarly, in Kiyaka, personal names, which are also inherently definite, take an obligatory object marker, as shown in (11) (Kidima, 1987:180).

(11) a. **Tu-n-telelé   Maafú**
         2SM-OM-call.PST   Maafú
         'We called Maafú.'

    b. ***Tu-telelé   Maafú**
         2SM-call.PST   Maafú
         Int: 'We called Maafú.'   (Kidima, 1987:180)

A similar pattern has been observed in Kihung'an (Morimoto, 2002:298) and Zulu (Wald, 1979). In both languages, the presence of the object marker results into definite reading. The example from Kihung'an in (12) is illustrative.

(12) a. **Kipese   ka-swiim-in   kit   zoon**
         Kipese   SM-buy-PST   chair   yesterday
         'Kipese bought a chair yesterday.'

    b. **Kipese   ka-ki-swiim-in   kit   zoon**
         Kipese   SM-OM-buy-PST   chair   yesterday
         'Kipese bought the chair yesterday.'   (Morimoto, 2002:298)

These examples from different languages suggest that signalling of definiteness through object markers is a phenomenon that is not limited to Chiyao, but is widespread across Bantu languages.

4.2 Morphosyntactic expression of definiteness

Morphosyntactic expression of definiteness involves modification of a noun by a nominal dependent. In Chiyao, the nominal dependents that are used to signal definiteness include demonstratives, locative particles, possessive determiners, genitive expressions, and relative clauses. These strategies are detailed below.

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4.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can mark definiteness in quite a number of languages (Lyons, 1999). According to Van de Velde (2005), in languages that do not have articles, including Bantu languages, demonstratives perform the function similar to definite articles in languages which have articles. In this way, the demonstrative is used to refer to a referent which is identifiable to both speaker and hearer. The use of demonstratives to signal definiteness has been analysed in a number of Bantu languages, including Chaga (E62), Nyamwezi (F22), and Dciriku (K62) (Van de Velde, 2005). Like in these other languages, in Chiyao, demonstratives are important indicators of definiteness, as the examples in (13-15) below illustrate.

(13) a. **M-kologo   u-jitíche**
     3-alcohol   3SM-be spilt
     'Alcohol has been spilt.'

   b. **M-kologo   úla   u-jitíche**
     3-alcohol   3.DEM.DIST.   3SM-be spilt
     'That/the alcohol has been spilt.'

(14) a. **M-ka-jigále   li-jela**
     1SM-FUT-take   5-hoe
     'Go and bring a hoe.'

   b. **M-ka-jigále   li-jela   líla**
     1SM-FUT-take   5-hoe   5.DEM.DIST.
     'Go and bring that/the hoe.'

(15) a. **Anám-lendo   ta-iche   chákachi?**
     Q   1-guest   FUT-arrive   when
     'When will a guest come?'

   b. **Aná m-lendo júla   ta-iche   chákachi?**
     Q   1-guest   1.DEM.DIST. FUT-arrive   when
     'When will that/the guest come?'

In (13-15) above, the (a) versions are indefinite as they appear without demonstratives while the (b) versions are definite due to presence of demonstratives. The demonstratives in the (b) examples indicate that the nouns that they modify are

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familiar and identifiable to the hearer and the speaker. They indicate that both the speaker and the hearer have some prior knowledge about the entities being discussed – they may have either seen, heard or talked about the entity earlier.

As indicators of definiteness, demonstratives occur in various forms in response to deixis. Lyons (1999:18) describes deixis as "the property whereby some expressions relate entities talked about to contextual distinctions such as between the time or place where an utterance is taking place and other moments or places or that between the speaker, the hearer and others." The deictic distinctions made by demonstratives as definiteness markers may be spatial (related to the distance between the speaker, hearer and the referent) or temporal. Therefore, as far as deixis is concerned, definiteness can be expressed by using demonstratives in three deictic distinctions, namely proximal (closer to speaker) (16), non-proximal (closer to hearer) (17) and distal (far from both speaker and hearer) (18).

(16)   **Achi**   **chi-tengu**   **chi**
        7.DEM.PROX   7-chair   PART
        'This chair (near me, speaker)'

(17)   **Acho**   **chi-tengu**   **cho**
        7.DEM.NON_PROX   7-chair   PART
        'That chair (near you, hearer)'

(18)   **Achila**   **chi-tengu**   **chila**
        7.DEM.DIST   7-chair   PART
        'That chair (far from both of us)'

The NPs in the examples above are all definite as they are modified by demonstratives. The spatial deictic nature of the demonstratives used indicates that the referents are within the speakers and hearer's visibility. Since the referents are visible, the utterances in the examples above may be accompanied by gestures such as pointing to specific entities intended by the speaker.

It is important to note that, unlike the sentences in example (13-15), which contain single demonstratives each, the examples in (16-18) contain a pre-nominal and post-nominal demonstrative each. The pre-nominal demonstrative occurs in full while the post-nominal demonstrative occurs in a reduced form as a particle. The single and double occurrence of demonstratives illustrated in these two sets of examples triggers different interpretations. While in (13-15) the referents may be away from interlocutors' visibility, in (16-18) the referents are within interlocutors' visibility. It seems to suggest that demonstrative doubling is related to deictic definite NPs as in (16-18) while single

occurrence of demonstratives is associated with anaphoric reference as in (13-15). In anaphoric reference, demonstratives are used to refer to an entity with which the hearer is familiar not from the physical situation but the linguistic context. The hearer is familiar with the entity because of its earlier mention in the text or discourse. Example (19) further illustrates the anaphoric use of demonstratives in Chiyao.

(19) **Kalakálá ko,   á-á-palí   mu-ndu. Ambáno mu-ndu**
In the past PART PST-1SM-be present 1-person now   1-person
júla á-á-lijí   ni   ambusánga-gwe
DEM 1SM-PST-have   with friend-POSS
'Once upon a time, there was a **man**. Now **that man** had a friend.'

Therefore, in example (19) above the NP *mundu júla* 'that man' in the second sentence occurs with the demonstrative to show that it is definite since it has earlier been introduced in the first sentence in the same discourse. Since it was mentioned earlier, the referent is already familiar to the hearer in the second mention.

4.2.2 Locative particles

Locative particles are shortened forms of locative nouns which correspond with locative noun classes 16 (*pa-*), 17 (*ku-*), and 18 (*mu-*). Like demonstratives, locative particles occur in both pre-nominal and post-nominal positions, and they change their form in response to three deictic distinctions, namely proximal, non-proximal and distal as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Locative particles and their deictic distinctions

Class	Locative particle		
	Proximal	Non-proximal	Distal
16	pa	po	pala
17	ku	ko	kula
18	mu	mo	mula

Locative particles are an important resource for expressing anaphoric reference. As pointed out earlier, this aspect of definiteness involves a hearer identifying a referent based on discourse context clues. Using discourse particles, attention is paid by a speaker to the location which has been introduced earlier in the same discourse. The locative particle then helps the hearer to recollect the location where the event being reported in the conversation or text is taking place.

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The use of locative particles to express definiteness is very common in narrative discourses where the narrator would introduce the story and the location at which the rest of the story will be unfolding. Thus, in all the subsequent events in the story, the listener will be made to refer back to the location introduced earlier in the story through the locative particle. The listener can now effortlessly identify the location since it has already been mentioned in the story. Below is an example from a story.

(20) **Kalakala   cha-apali   chi-jiji.   Pepala   pa-chi-jiji**
In the past   7SM.PST-exist   7-village   16.DEM.DIST   16LOC-7-village
pala   pa-liji   ni   mw-eenye
16.PART   16LOC-exist.PST   Assoc.   1-chief
'Once upon a time, there was a **village**. **In that village** there was a chief.'

In the above extract, the locative expressions and locative particles function anaphorically to maintain the addressee's attention on the subject which has been earlier introduced in the discourse. The location of the events in the story is *chijiji* 'village' which is introduced in the first sentence of the text. In the second sentence, reference to this location is made by affixing a class 16 locative prefix (pa-) to the noun *chijiji* 'village' and then modifying it with a locative particle of the same class *pala* 'there'. This is done because the location is already familiar to the addressee. Apparently, the locative particle cannot occur with the noun if it is mentioned for the first time in the discourse.

4.2.3 Possessive determiners

In Chiyao, a possessive determiner induces a definite interpretation of the noun it modifies. Nouns modified by possessives are definite because they refer to specific entities which both speaker and hearer can identify. The possessive determiners used in Chiyao are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Possessive determiners

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
SG	-angu	-enu	-ao
PL	-etu	-enu	-ao

Examples (21) and (22) below provide sentential illustrations of the possessives in Table 2 above.

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(21)   **Chi-pula changu chi-temeche**
        7-knife   POSS   7SM-break.PFV
        'My knife is broken.'

(22)   **Nyumba jao   ji-pile   moto**
        9.house   POSS   9-SM-burn   fire
        'His/their house has been burnt.'

The possessives *changu* in example (21) and *jao* in example (22) make the nouns that they modify definite since they function to specify whose knife and whose house is being described in the verb respectively. The utterance in (21) may be given in a situation where the hearer has not seen the speaker's knife or does not even know that the speaker has a knife but will be able to realize that the knife in question is the speaker's knife and not any other knife. Similarly, the utterance in (22) informs the hearer that the house in question is not any house; it is the house belonging to a specific individual who is probably known by both speaker and hearer.

4.2.4 Genitive expressions

In addition to the use of possessive determiners illustrated in 4.2.3 above, possession in Chiyao can be expressed through the use of genitive forms equivalent to the English phrases such as *John's* and *My uncle's*. These are regarded as full NPs. In Chiyao, the genitive expression occurs to the right of the head noun in the form of an associative phrase which is introduced by an associative marker –*a*. Following Lyons' (1999:24) discussion of the position of genitives in relation to their head nouns, Chiyao falls under the category of Adjectival-Genitive (AD) languages[2]. The associative marker must be prefixed with an appropriate noun class agreement marker, as demonstrated in (23):

(23) a. **M-kutáno   wá   í-nyama**
         3-meeting   3.Assoc.   8-animal
         'Animals' meeting.'

     b. **Va-tumishi va   misheni   ja   UMCA**
         2-worker   2.Assoc.   9.mission   9.Assoc. UMCA
         'UMCA mission workers.'

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[2] In AD languages, possessives appear in adjectival position. This contrasts with Determiner-Genitive (DG) languages in which possessives appear in a position reserved for the definite article and other definite determiners (Lyons, 1999:24).

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    c.   **M-gunda**   **wa**   **mw-eénye**
        3.farm   3.Assoc. 1-chief
        'Chief's farm.'

       The addition of possessive expressions in the examples above makes their matrix noun phrases definite. In (23a), the possessive construction *wa inyama* 'of animals' clearly tells the hearer that the meeting in question is not any meeting but it is the one that belongs to animals. Likewise, the possessive *va misheni ja UMCA* 'of UMCA mission' in (23b) shows that the topic is not any workers, but workers of the UMCA mission. The possessive expression *wa mweenye* 'of the chief' (23c) specifies that the farm in question is the one that belongs to the chief, not any other farm.

       Following Lyons (1999), even though the English translations of the above examples do not begin with any definite articles, they are still definite because when paraphrased, the definite article must be used before the head noun (possessor) which then results into a definite reading of the matrix noun phrase. Thus, (23a-c) can be paraphrased as 'the meeting belonging to animals', 'the missionary workers belonging to UMCA', and 'the farm belonging to a chief', respectively. Their paraphrases cannot result into indefinite NPs such as 'a meeting belonging to animals', 'any missionary workers belonging to UMCA', and 'a farm belonging to a chief', respectively. This analysis is consistent with Lyons' (1999:23) conclusion that in some languages, such as English, a possessive noun phrase, whether itself definite or indefinite, renders its matrix noun phrase definite.

4.2.5 Nominal modification by a relative clause

In Chiyao, definiteness of the NP can be signalled by modification of the head noun by a relative clause. The relative clause with a definite reading provides information that specifically applies to the head noun and distinguishes it from other members of its class. The target of relativisation can be either the subject (24b) or the object NP (24c). Both (24b) and (24c) are derived from the basic sentence in (24a).

  (24) a.   **Mw-anache** **a-jiv-ile**   **ma-kaka**
             1-child   SM1-steal-PST   6-dried cassava
             'A/the child stole dried cassava.'

        b.   **Mw-anache** **jw-a-jilivile**   **ma-kaka**   **a-utwiche**
             1-child   REL-SM1-steal-PST 6-dried cassava SM1-escape.PFV
             'The child who stole dried cassava has escaped.'

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    c. **Ma-kaka**   **ga-a-jivile**   **mw-anache**   **ga-woneche**
       6-dried cassava   REL-SM6-steal-PST   1-child   SM6-be found
       'The dried cassava that the child stole has been seized.'

In (24b) above, the relative clause informs the hearer that the child being reported is not any child, but a child with some specific characteristics (i.e. stealing dried cassava) which distinguish him/her from other children in a given pragmatic context. Similarly, in (24c), the relative clause modifying the object noun denotes that the referent of the NP is not any cassava but a specific cassava with the features articulated in the relative clause (i.e. being stolen by the child). Therefore, relative clauses make the nouns they modify definite by providing extra descriptions of their referents to show that they have something specific that makes them distinct from other entities of their class. By so doing, the relative clauses also help to make the nouns familiar to the hearer.

The relativised NP in subject or object position may further be modified by a demonstrative particle to further emphasize the definite reading as in (25) below:

(25) a. **Mw-anache** **jw-a-jilivile**   **ma-kaka**   **jula**
           1-child   REL-SM1-steal.PST   6-dried cassava 1.DEM
           a-utwiche
           SM1-escape.PFV.
           'That/the child who stole dried cassava has escaped.'

      b. **Ma-kaka**   **ga-a-jivile**   **mw-anache**   **gala**
           6-dried cassava REL-SM6-steal-PST   1-child   6.DEM
           ga-woneche
           SM6-be found
           'That/the dried cassava that the child stole has been seized.'

The use of the demonstrative in the relative clause demonstrated in (25) above indicates shared knowledge or awareness of the referent among interlocutors. The demonstrative helps to show that even though the referent is not within the interlocutors' visibility, they share some knowledge about it; maybe it was mentioned earlier in the discourse or conversation. As Bokamba (1971) argues, in constructions containing NPs modified by relative clauses, a speaker presupposes the truth value of an embedded relative clause, and therefore the referentiality of the matrix sentence subject. This analysis is consistent with Lyons' (1999) observation that a definite NP indicates that both the speaker and hearer are aware of the entity being referred to by

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the NP.

Signalling of definiteness through relative clauses has also been attested in other Bantu languages such as Dzamba (Bokamba, 1971) and Runyankore-Rukiga (Asiimwe 2014). However, unlike in Chiyao, in these languages, in order for a relative clause to induce a definite reading of the head noun, the relative clause must further be modified by affixing an initial vowel in the head noun or verb. Moreover, unlike Dzamba where NPs modified by relative clauses are obligatorily definite (Bokamba, 1971:227), in Chiyao, not all relativised NPs are definite. Some relativised NPs do not have a definite reading, as in (26) below:

(26) **Jwa-ngali   ma-vengwa a-ka-ika   ku-li-kwata   ko**
      SM-not having 6-horn   SM-FUT.NEG-come 17LOC-6-dance LOC
      'Anyone who does not have horns should not come to the party.'

The subject of the matrix clause in (26) above does not refer to an entity that is familiar to both interlocutors, nor does it refer to an entity that both can identify. Rather it refers to 'anyone' who does not have horns. It is therefore indefinite. Thus, the subject of a matrix clause in relativised constructions in Chiyao does not have to be always definite.

5.0 Bare definiteness

Bare definiteness is achieved without any morphological marking of the definite NP, nor is it syntactically modified. In Chiyao, this is evident in nouns of inalienable possession.

5.1 Nouns of inalienable possession

Inalienable possession is a type of possession that involves a 'possessum' which is more intimately or intrinsically tied to the possessor (Lyons, 1999:128). Nouns of inalienable possession include body parts and family relations. These nouns are interpreted as definite even without modification with a possessive affix or pronoun. This is because they denote an entity which is easily identifiable by the hearer, as shown in (27).

(27) a. **Mbula   ji-ku-m-beteka**
         9.nose   9SM-PRS-OM-pain
         '(My) nose pains me.'

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    b. **Mw-anache a-temeche   lu-kongolo**
        1-child   1SM-break.PFV   11-leg
        'The child has his leg broken.'

    c. **Ambuje   a-ku-lwala**
        grandfather   1SM-PRS-be sick
        '(My) grandfather is sick.'

In all the examples above the NPs appear without any modifications but they are definite. When (27a) is uttered, the hearer will obviously understand that it is the speaker's nose which is in pain and not any other person's nose. Similarly, in (27b), the broken leg is clearly identified as the child's leg. In (27c) the sick grandfather is doubtlessly the grandfather of the speaker. Mojapelo (2007:126) is of the view that nouns of inalienable possession such as those presented in (27) above are definite because of the feature of locatability, which makes them identifiable. This is in line with Hawkins' (1978) location theory, which assumes that the referent of a definite noun phrase should be locatable in a shared set.

Lyons (1999) observed that in some languages, inalienable possessions undergo a possessive reduction which results into a closer integration of the possessive with the head noun. In Swahili, for example, the possessive *mwenzi wako* (companion your) 'your companion' is reduced to *mwenzio* (Lyons, 1999:128). Similar forms of inalienable possessives are attested in Chiyao with a definite sense as shown in (28-29).

(28) a. **Jwamkwa   jwangu**   (Full inalienable possession)
         wife   my
         'My wife'

      b. **Jwankwangu**   (Reduced inalienable possession)
         ' My wife'

(29) a. **Mw-ana jwangu**   (Full inalienable possession)
         1-child   my
         'My child'

      b. **Mwanangu**   (Reduced inalienable possession)
         'My child'

Examples (28a) and (29a) illustrate full inalienable possession while (28b) and (29b) demonstrate reduced inalienable possession. All the examples take the

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interpretation that the head nouns (the possessa) are the speakers, and not any other person.

6.0 Conclusion

This paper has explored different strategies for expressing definiteness in Chiyao, a Bantu language. Three main methods of expressing definiteness in this language have been established, namely the morphological method, the morphosyntactic method, and the use of bare nouns. It has been indicated that morphological indicators of definiteness include subject and object markers while the morphosyntactic indicators include demonstratives, locative particles, possessive determiners, genitive expressions, and relative clauses. The findings have further shown that definiteness can be expressed with bare nouns, as in nouns of inalienable possession such as body parts and some kinship terms. Generally, this study suggests that although some strategies of expressing definiteness are widespread across Bantu languages, the morphosyntactic structure of a given language highly determines which method to employ. For example, it is not possible for Chiyao to use nominal pre-prefixes to express definiteness since the structure of this language does not permit the use of such elements.

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MƆFƆ-SENTATEK NE SOHYIƆ-PRAGMATEK MPƐNSƐMPƐNSƐNMU FA RADIO NE TV SO MMƐ BI HO: *"AKƆMFO BƆNE SƐ MOSE KURO NO MMƆ A, …"*

Nana Anima Wiafe-Akenten
Kwasi Adomako

Anim Mmuabɔnsɛm
Nhwehwɛmu da no adi sɛ, ɛnnɛ yi nso, wɔde mmɛ di dwuma pa ara wɔ Akan radio ne TV so dwumadie ahodoɔ no mu, titire ne anɔpa dawubɔ nkrataa mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu ne kaseɛbɔ. Ɛso akasafoɔ dodoɔ no taa yɛ amanyɔfoɔ ne amanyɔkuo akyitaafoɔ. Dwumadie yi mu nsɛm nso taa fa asetena-amanyɔ ho. Nsɛm no bi ka yɛ den; ɛtumi dane abufuo anaa ɛde ɔtan ba. Ɛno na ama yɛahwɛ sɛdeɛ wɔde mmɛ di dwuma wɔ dwumadie no mu. Yɛhwɛɛ mmɛ pɔtee a wɔtaa fa no mu nsɛm ne botaeɛ nti a wɔfa saa mmɛ no. Yɛahwɛ mmɛ no nhyehyɛeɛ ne ne sohyiɔ-pragmatek dwumadie. Yɛgyee mmɛ no ne ɛho nsɛm kakra firii Peace F.M.; *Kookrokoo* ne Adom F.M.; *Edwaso Nsɛm*, UTV ne Adom TV. Yɛhwɛɛ berɛ ne nnipa pɔtee a nsɛm no fa wɔn ho. Anɔpa dawubɔ nkrataa mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu taa wɔ anɔpa firi nnɔnsia kɔpem nnɔndu. Wei nso boa maa yɛhunuu botaeɛ pɔtee a ɛma akasafoɔ no de saa mmɛ pɔtee no di dwuma. Yɛgyinaa Fairclough (1995 ne 2012) ne Fairclough ne Wodak (1997) adwenemusɛm CDA so na ɛyɛɛ mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu no. Ɛdaa adi sɛ, mmɛ a amanyɔfoɔ taa de di dwuma no gu mmusuakuo mmeɛnsa; mmɛ dada, nsesamu anaa mframu ne abɛɛfo mmɛ. Nsesamu no nso nhyehyɛeɛ gu; nsɛmfua nsiananmu ne nyifirimu. Yɛhunuu sɛ, sɛdeɛ kaseɛbɔfoɔ nwene wɔn ankasa mmɛ no, amanyɔfoɔ ntaa nnwene mmɛ foforɔ. Sohyiɔ-pragmateks dwumadiemu nso, ɛbɛdaa adi sɛ, wɔmfa mmɛ no nni dwuma sɛ kwatikwan turodoo nko, wɔde bi yɛ sabuakwan (anidaho).

Nsɛmfua Titire: Mmɛ, amanyɔfoɔ, kwatikwan, sabuakwan, mɔfɔ-sentateks ne sohyiɔ-pragmateks.

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The morpho-syntactic and socio-pragmatic analysis of proverbs use on radio and T.V.: "Traditional priests of doom, if you wish for the destruction of a town, …"

Abstract

Agyekum (2000) and Wiafe-Akenten (2015) have observed an extensive use of proverbs in the media since the establishment of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) in 1954. This paper therefore examines how these proverbs are used in radio and television programmes, especially in the Morning Shows and News broadcast in Akan. These programmes are socio-political, in which some of the issues discussed are very sensitive, delicate and inflammatory. The paper focuses on investigating how participants of these programmes employ proverbs in handling such difficult issues in their interactions, especially within this highly formal setting. Data for this study was sourced from Peace F.M., Adom F.M, GTV, UTV, (all in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana) Kessben F.M. (in the Ashanti Region of Ghana) and Ɔbooɔba F.M. (in the Eastern Region of Ghana). Recordings of 6:00a.m, 12 noon and 6:00p.m. News from the radio stations and Television stations, and those of the Morning Shows from 6am-10am constituted the data for the study. Also, follow-up interviews were conducted after the recordings were transcribed for further analysis. The text and their context were discussed using Fairclough's (1995 and 2012) and Fairclough & Wodak's (1997) approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The study specifically looked at the structural and lexical content of the proverbs, the motivation behind choice of certain proverbs and socio-pragmatic functions of the selected proverbs. Findings from the study showed that, some presenters and hosts of the programmes utilized proverbs as face-saving, mitigating and softening strategies. It was also concluded that majority of the politicians also employed the proverbs as indirectional strategies, escape routes, and evasive tools. They either removed or added their own words to strategically manipulate the proverbs to carry out and/or suit their intended message.

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Keywords: Proverbs, politicians, indirection, circumlocution, morpho-syntax, socio-pragmatics.

1.0 Nnianimu

Afe 1994 mu na Ghana ɔmanpanin a na ɔte adwa so, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings aban de akwanya baa sɛ ankorɛankorɛ nso tumi bue radio adwuma. Akwannya yi aboa ama seisei mfidieso dawubɔ adwuma mu atrɛ (Hwɛ Amoakohene (2005) ne Yankah (2004)). Radio ne TV nnwuma dodoɔ de Akan kasa na ɛdi dwuma. Akan radio ne TV so dwumadie no taa fa amammerɛ ne amanneɛ, amanyɔsɛm, asetena ne abrabɔ mu nsɛm te sɛ, awareɛ, nyinsɛn, awoɔ ne apomuden ho. Yɛgyinaa dwumadie a yɛabobɔ so wɔ soro ha yi su so na yɛde guu akuo mmienu mu; asetena-amammerɛ ne asetena-amanyɔsɛm dwumadie.

Ɛwom, akwanya yi aba ama ɔman ba biara tumi frɛ radio so ka ne bo so asɛm. Ɛno akyi, ɔman yi amammuo mmara (1992 Constitution of Ghana (Article 21 (1) a)) nso ma ho kwan sɛ ɔman ba biara tumi kyerɛ n'adwene, ka deɛ ɔpɛ, nanso Akan amammerɛ mu deɛ, kasa no ho mmara mma ho kwan saa. Ɛmfa ho sɛ ɔkasafoɔ no yɛ ɔmampanin, ɔhene, amanyɔni, ɔtitire bi, ɛsɛ sɛ ɔtumi hunu sɛ asɛm a ɔreka no ano yɛ den, ani yɛ nyan, ɛyɛ kasafi, ɛsɛ sɛ ɔtumi fura ho ntoma.

Nhwehwɛmu kyerɛ sɛ, kasasuo titire baako a wɔtaa de dura saa amanenyasɛm yi ho ne abɛbuo (Wiafe-Akenten 2008; Agyekum 2012). Ɛno na dwumadie yi ahwɛ ɔkwan a akasafoɔ no fa so de mmɛ di dwuma no. Ne titire, yɛhwɛɛ mmɛ no mɔfɔ-sentateks ne ne sohyiɔ-pragmatek dwumadie.

2.0 Akanfoɔ ne wɔn Kasa ho Asɛm

Akan kasa nkorabata ahodoɔ no ne Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, Agona, Asene, Denkyira, Kwahu, Wassa, Akwamu, Buem ne Bono kasa (Agyekum 2006). Nhwehwɛmu kyerɛ sɛ Akanfoɔ dodoɔ no te ɔman yi Apueɛ, Atɔeɛ (a seisei yɛanya Atɔeɛ ne Atɔeɛ Atifi Mantam afiri mu), Mfimfini, Asante, Bono (a seisei yɛanya Bono Apueɛ ne Ahafo Amantam afiri mu), Firaw, (a seisei yɛanya Oti Mantam afiri mu) Amantam, ne Cote D'Ivoire man no fa bi mu (Dolphyne ne Dakubu 1988). Akan kasa na nnipa dodoɔ te aseɛ na wɔtumi ka wɔ ɔman yi mu. (Agyekum 2008; Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) 2012; Diabah ne Amfo 2015). Wɔkyerɛ kasa yi wɔ mfitiaseɛ sukuu de kɔpem asuapɔn mu.

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Ɛnnɛ yi, wɔsua Akan kasa wɔ amannɔne asuapɔn bi te sɛ Ohio University, Athens, U.S.A., University of Florida, Florida, USA, University of Indiana, Bloomington, USA, University of Penslyvannia, Philadelphia, Zurich University, Switzerland, ne deɛ ɛkeka ho pii. Nnipa a wɔnyɛ Akanfoɔ ne amannɔnefoɔ mpo, ani agye kasa no ho resua de redi dwuma ahodoɔ pii. Ɛnnɛ yi, wɔde Akan kasa di dwuma ahodoɔ wɔ radio ne TV so pa ara. Akasafoɔ no bi tumi de kasasuo ahodoɔ di dwuma ma ɛyɛ anika. Ɛhyɛ afoforɔ nkuran sɛ wɔbɛka kasa no (Yankah 2004).

3.0 Dwumadie yi Nsɛsoɔ bi Mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu

Obeng (2003:9) nhwehwɛmu kyerɛ sɛ, Akanfoɔ bi hu no sɛ, asɛm di ka a, na woaka no sɛdeɛ ɛteɛ. Ɛnsɛ sɛ wɔde wadawada: "penpen wɔse no pen, asɛm da ne kwan mu a, wɔnyi nto nkyɛn na wɔnkyea no nso". Wiafe-Akenten (2015:66) nhwehwɛmu no, saa nnipa yi kasa saa de yi yaw firi wɔn bo, wɔn adwenemu pɛ abodwoɔ ne ahotɔ: "ɔfeɛ akyi nni abofono". Saa na amannɔne kasa ho animdefoɔ Rista-Dema (2002) ne Hartford (2002) de to dwa sɛ amannɔne nnipakuo bi te sɛ Albaniafoɔ, Nepalfoɔ, titire ne wɔn amanyɔfoɔ nso hu no sɛ, wode asɛm fa kasasuo te sɛ nnyinahɔma, abɛbuo, awan kasa so a, ɛyɛ mmerɛsɛeɛ ne mmaradatoɔ bi. Nanso, Akanfoɔ dodoɔ no ara gye tom sɛ, nsɛm a yɛwae anim ka no ntaa mmoa. Ɛtumi de abufuo, ntɔkwa ne animguaseɛ ba (Hwɛ Jay ne Janschewitz (2008) ne Ickes nom (2011) nso). Sɛ beaeɛ hɔ yɛ badwam te sɛ, radio anaa TV so koraa deɛ a, Akanfoɔ hwɛ sɛ ɔkasafoɔ no bɛdi kasa mmara ne amammerɛ no so ketee.

Ɛno akyi, Akanfoɔ bu no sɛ, ɔkanniba, titire ne onimuonyamfoɔ anaa ɔpanin ka kasafi a, na ɔmmu ne ho. Ɔma kwan ma afoforɔ nso kasa tia no. Saa nti abere biara, ɛsɛ sɛ ɔhwɛ sɛ ne kasa ho te na ayɛ nhwɛsopa ama afoforɔ. Agyekum (2010; 2012) kyerɛ mu sɛ, Akanfoɔ hyɛ da tete wɔn mma, kyerɛ wɔn sɛdeɛ wɔde abɛbuo, kasammrani, fura kasafi ho ntoma. Saa nti ɔkanni ba amfa nimdeɛ yi anni dwuma a, ɔtumi gye asotweɛ (Wiafe-Akenten 2015: 191-194).

Wei (2002) kyerɛ sɛ, Taiwan amanyɔfoɔ bi, titire ne wɔn frankaatufuɔ taa fa nnyinahɔma na wɔde emu nsɛm no atwa mfonin pa afa ne ho, na wɔatwa bɔne afa afoforɔ ho. Wafula (2003) kyerɛ sɛ, amanyɔfoɔ bi nso hyɛ da fa ɔfoforɔ asɛm bi, na wɔde ɔno ankasa nsɛmfua bi ahyehyɛ mu na wɔde asɛe onii no. Yɛahwɛ sɛdeɛ ɔman yi amanyɔfoɔ kasa wɔ saa ɔkwan yi so? Osam (2008) kyerɛ mu sɛ, ɛnyɛ abere biara na amanyɔfoɔ de kasasuo te sɛ, mmɛ, nnyinahɔma, ntotohosɛm di dwuma sɛ kwatikwan nkutoo. Wɔfa bi so di atɛm pefee. Wei ka ho na ama yɛahwɛ mmɛ no mu nsɛm nkorɛnkorɛ no.

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4.0 Dwumadie yi Adwenemusɛm Nnyinasoɔ

Fairclough (1995, 2012) "*Critical Discourse Analysis*" (CDA) - *kasa mfeefeemu nnyinasoɔ* na yɛde yɛɛ mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu, ɛnna yɛde Agha (2007) ne Irvine (2001) nhyehyɛeɛsɛm ne amammerɛ mmara a ɛbata badwam kasa ho taa akyire yɛɛ nhwɛsoɔ gyegyee nsɛmmoano no. Kasa ho animdefoɔ, Fowler (1991), van Dijk (1995), Kress (1993), Wodak & Meyer (2009), Leeuwen, Fairclough na wɔtoatoaa adwene hyehyɛɛ CDA nnyinasoɔ afe 1990 mu. Wɔde CDA yɛ nhwehwɛmu wɔ adesua nkorabata nkaeɛ te sɛ, filɔsɔfi, sohyiɔlogyi, saekɔlɔgyi, ne mmara adesua mu. Wɔka wɔ Borɔfo kasa mu sɛ CDA yɛ "multidisciplinary approach" (van Dijk 1995:18).

Wɔtaa de CDA yɛ nhwehwɛmu fa kasa a ɛfa tumidie ne adwenemusɛm, mmarima ne mmaa kasa, amanyɔ kasa ne dawubɔ kasa ho. Wɔde feefee kasa ne ne nhyehyɛɛ mu ma ɛyi suban, adwenemu nsɛm ne nkyerɛaseɛ a anka ɛbɛtumi ahinta pue. van Dijk (1995:18) ka wɔ Borɔfo kasa mu sɛ: "CDA uncovers, reveals or discloses what is hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious…". Asekyerɛ ne sɛ: "deɛ ahinta anaasɛ deɛ anka yɛntumi nhunu nyinaa ara, CDA tumi da no adi" (Hwɛ Gordon (2011:78) nso). Ɔman yi mu kasa ho animdefoɔ te sɛ, Agyekum (2004) ne Osam (2008) de CDA ayɛ nhwehwɛmu afa dawubɔ ne amanyɔfoɔ kasa ho. Agyekum (2004) kyerɛ sɛ, Bell (1995) frɛ CDA "ideological detective work", asekyerɛ; "<u>adwenemusɛm nhwehwɛmu dwumadifoɔ</u>".

Fairclough (1995:57) kyerɛ sɛ, CDA a yɛde adi dwuma yi kura nkorabata mmeɛnsa;

(1) atwerɛdeɛ/kasa ne baabi a yɛfa no   - "text and situational context"
(2) dwumadie korɔ ho mmara ne nhyehyɛeɛ   - "discourse practice"
(3) asetena-amammerɛ mmara   - "sociocultural practice"
                                              (Hwɛ van Dijk (2006:359) nso)

Yɛnam nkorabata mmeɛnsa yi so hwɛɛ mmɛ no mu nsɛm nkorɛnkorɛ ne ne nhyehyɛeɛ. Yɛahwɛ kasa nkorabata nkumaa ne titire no ntam twaka. Yɛhwɛɛ dwumadie no su, berɛ ne beaeɛ, nhyehyɛeɛ ne amammerɛ mmara a ɛbata berɛ ne dwumadie korɔ no ho (Hwɛ Irvine (2001) nso). Yɛhwɛɛ Akasafoɔ nipasuo ne ɛnnesuo a wɔde ka asɛm korɔ. (Fairclough 2012; Agha 2007:180).

5.0 Dwumadie yi ho Akwankyerɛ ne Radio ne TV so Nsɛm no Mmoano

Yɛgyina nyiyimu a ɛgyina botaeɛ bi so, Creswell (2007) 'purposive sampling' kwan so na yɛgyee nsɛmmoano no. Yɛfaa dwumadie a emu nsɛm taa fa asetena-amanyɔsɛm ne asetena-amammerɛ ho, na abɛbuo di akotene wɔ mu pa ara: Anɔpa Dawubɔ Nkrataa Mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu Dwumadie (ADNM) ne Akan Kaseɛbɔ (AK). Yɛfaa mmɛ no ne ɛho nsɛm kakra. Hinnenkamp (2009) kyerɛ sɛ, kasasuo ne ɛho nsɛm no na ɛtaa boa ma yɛte ɔkasafoɔ no ɛbɛ no ase ne botaeɛ nti a ɔfaa saa ɛbɛ no (Malinowski 1935; Hymes 1974; Gumperz 1992). Yɛsan ne akasafoɔ no bi twetwee nkɔmmɔ gyee wɔn nkyerɛkyerɛmu fa nsɛm no bi ho (Seliger ne Shohamy 2001:12).

Yɛhwɛɛ sɛ, yɛfa radio ne TV bebree ne nsɛmmoano pii a, ɛbɛtumi agye yɛn nsamu. Saa nti, yɛfaa nsɛmmoano no firii *Peace F.M.*, *Adom F.M*, *GTV, UTV*, (wɔwɔ Nkran Mantam mu) *Kessben F.M.* (Asante Mantam) ne *Ɔbooba F.M.* (Apueɛ Mantam). Nhwehwɛmu kyerɛ sɛ, Peace F.M. ne Adom F.M. na seesei wɔkura atiefoɔ dodoɔ wɔ Nkran ne ɔman yi afanan nyinaa (Media Watch, Pragma ne Synovate Ghana, Dawubɔ Nnwuma Nhwehwɛmu Adwumakuo, Ɔpɛpɔn, 2014). Wɔsan wɔ nsɛntwerɛfoɔ ananmusifoɔ wɔ ɔman yi afanan ne amannɔne a wɔmane wɔn nsɛm. Ɛno akyi, Peace F.M. ne Adom F.M. kaseɛbɔ na radio nnwuma no bi a wɔwɔ ɔman yi amantam nkaeɛ ne amannɔnefoɔ bi fa de di dwuma. Yɛgye di sɛ kasafidie a yɛfaeɛ yi bɛtumi agyina ama nkaeɛ no. Kasafidie no ne dwumadie no na yɛde ato pono so wɔ aseɛ ha yi.

Ɛpono 1: Kasafie ahodoɔ, beaeɛ a wɔwɔ, ne dwumadie ahodoɔ a yɛnyaa nsɛm firiiɛ

Dawubɔ Adwumakuo	Kuro/Mantamu	Dwumadie
Peace F.M.	Nkran/Nkran	*Kokrokoo, Akan Kaseɛbɔ*
Adom F.M.	Nkran/Nkran	*Edwaso Nsɛm, Akan Kaseɛbɔ.*
Kessben F.M.	Kumase/Asante	*Maakye, Akan Kaseɛbɔ*
Ɔbooba F.M.	Nkɔkɔɔ/Apueɛ	*Ɔbooba Kasa, Akan Kaseɛbɔ*
UTV	Nkan/Nkran	*Anɔpabɔsuo, Akan Kaseɛbɔ.*
GTV	Nkran/Nkran	*Akan Morning Show,*
		Akan Kaseɛbɔ

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Akan kaseɛbɔ wɔ anɔpatutuutu, awia ne anwummerɛ. Nsɛm no taa fa atitire, ɔmampanin, asoafoɔ, asɔfoɔ, adwuma nnaanofoɔ ne mpanimfoɔ animuonyamfoɔ ho. Kaseɛbɔfoɔ dodoɔ no yɛ mmabunu. ADNM dwumadie no gyina anɔpa. Nsɛm a ɛbɛtɔ dwa wɔ dawubɔ nkrataa mu na wɔpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛn mu, na ɛduru baabi a abadwafoɔ akyerɛ wɔn adwene. Nsɛm no taa fa amanyɔ, mmara, apomuden ne nsɛm bi a ɛsisi wɔ ɔman no mu te sɛ ntɔkwa, awudie, korɔno, nnubɔne ho adwadie ho. Sɛ yɛyi dwumadie akyeame ne nsɛm nkyerɛaseɛfoɔ no a, abadwafoɔ no bi yɛ amanyɔfoɔ, dawubɔ nkrataa asamufoɔ, asuapɔn mu akyerɛkyerɛfoɔ.

Yɛfaa mmɛ ne ho nsɛm no bi firi afe 2012 mu de bɛsi 2020 mu. Yɛtwetwee nsɛmmoano mmienu mmienu firii radio no biara anɔpa dawubɔ dwumadie ne kaseɛbɔ so; weinom kɔyɛɛ nnwɔtwe. Na yɛtwe mmienu mmienu firii TV no so; weinom kɔyɛɛ nan. Yɛmaa ebiara nɔmma. Na yɛayɛ ho sukyerɛ mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu. Baabi nso, yɛne akasafoɔ bi twetwee nkɔmmɔ gyee wɔn adwene ne nkyerɛkyerɛmu fa nsɛm no bi ho (Seliger ne Shohamy 2001:12).

6.0 Mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛmu no: Emu Nsɛm, Nhyehyɛeɛ ne Sohyiɔpragmateks Dwumadie

Saa ɔfa yi na yɛapɛnsɛmpɛnsɛn radio ne TV so mmɛ no mu ahwɛ sɛdeɛ akasafoɔ no de adi dwuma, ɛne botaeɛ pɔtee nti a wɔfa saa mmɛ pɔtee no.

6.1. Sentaks Nhyehyɛeɛ Su bi ne ne Dwumadie: Nnyinasoɔ Kasamufa Nhyehyɛeɛ ne Nkyerɛkyerɛmu kasamufa.

(a) Asɛnnahɔ Ntotoho ne Nsisodua

Deɛ ɛteɛ ne sɛ, Akanfoɔ mmɛ taa kura kasasuo ne nhyehyɛeɛ ahodoɔ bi te sɛ, sɛnnahɔ, ntotoho, atwasin, ɔfrɛ ne nnyesoɔ, aane, daabi ne nkyerɛkyerɛmu kasamufa. Sɛ ɛba mmɛ nhyehyɛeɛ ankasa nso a, esu a ɛda adi wɔ ho bi ne kasamu tiawa, kasasini, ampɛmmuaeɛ asɛmmisa ne nkyerɛkyerɛmu kasamufa. Wiafe-Akenten (2008:43-48) ne Agyekum (2011:67) ahwɛ weinom akɔ akyiri.

Mmɛ suo ne nhyehyɛeɛ a ɛdi akotene wɔ ADNM ne AK nsɛmmoano no mu ne; *sɛnnahɔ mmɛ* (Ɛho nhwɛsoɔ bi wɔ aseɛ hɔ, Ɛbɛ 1). Saa mmɛ yi nhyehyɛeɛ nso taa kura *nnyinasoɔ kasamufa nhyehyɛeɛ*. Akasafoɔ dodoɔ no de *sɛnnahɔ* mmɛ a wɔtaa kura

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nnyinasoɔ kasamufa nhyehyɛeɛ no atoto nsɛm a wɔreka no ho de rekyerɛ sɛ, ɛnyɛ wɔn ankasa nsɛm bi na mmom ɛyɛ nokwasɛm, asɛnnahɔ a obiara nim dada.

Nnyinasoɔ kasamufa nhyehyɛeɛ mmɛ no kura afa mmienu ne mmeɛnsa. Ɛwɔ adwene baako a ɛgyina ne ho so; ɔkasamufa titire. Na kasamufa nkaeɛ; ɔkasamufa n/kumaa no femfam ho boa ma adwene mu no si pi, sɛ nsusuiɛ, suban anaa osuahunu ho afutuo anaa kɔkɔbɔ (Hwɛ aseɛ ha). Nkabomdeɛ a ɛka adwene no bom ne;

> **sɛ… a,…** ne **…. a…** no *(nnyinasoɔ ne nkyerɛkyerɛmu kasamufa nkabomdeɛ).*

Sɛ…a,…[1] taa hyɛ ɔkasamufa kumaa mu. Kasamufa titire no nso tumi ba ansa na kumaa yi aba. Saa ɛbɛ nhyehyɛeɛ wei ho nhwɛsoɔ bi na ɛwɔ aseɛ ha yi (Ɛbɛ 1).

Ɛbɛ 1.   ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Peace F.M.; Kookrokoo, K. P., Kitawonsa 15, 2020.

Wose ɛyɛ 'propaganda', mo ara mo nkorɔfoɔ no bi suban ne wɔn ano kasa na ɛbɛma mo aluusu pawa, ɛnyɛ obi. Mpanimfoɔ na wɔkaeɛ, montie no yie, wɔse:

> **"Sɛ aboa bi bɛka wo a,   +   ɛfiri wo ntoma mu."**
> Sɛ ɔkasamufa kumaa   +   Ɔkasamufa Titire

Amanyɔkuo A mu nipa bi bɔɔ Amanyɔkuo B kwaadu sɛ wɔahyɛ wɔn mmranteɛ kutupa na wɔsore a na wɔredidi Afoɔ no mpanimfoɔ atɛm, sɛdeɛ wɔde edin bɔne bɛbata wɔn ho na ama wɔahwere tumi. Ɛno na Owura K. P. buu saa ɛbɛ yi de tuu wɔn fo sɛ wɔn nso wɔntu wɔn nkorɔfoɔ no bi fo na wɔn suban ne kasa basabasa nso bɛtumi ama wɔahwere tumi. Ɛda adi sɛ ɔkasafoɔ yi de saa ɛbɛ yi reyɛ kɔkɔbɔ, osuahunu anaa asɛnnahɔ bi. Ɔde ɛbɛ no rekyerɛ o/atiefoɔ no sɛ: "ɛnyɛ me na mereka m`asɛm bi oo, na mmom sɛdeɛ ɛda hɔ anaasɛ ebia woate pɛn no, sɛ moankasa ankyerɛ mo ara mo nkorɔfoɔ no a, wɔn mmom suban na wɔbɛka nea yɛnka ayi mo ama na ama moahwere tumi." Ɔde ɛbɛ yi redi dwuma sɛ *asɛnnahɔ ntotoho* ne *nsisodua* bi. Baabi nso, wohwɛ a, asɛ deɛ ɔde ɛbɛ no retu fo fann anaa ɔde rebɔ kɔkɔ bi, nanso wohu sɛ, asɛ deɛ wafa ho reka n'asɛm bi akyerɛ o/atiefoɔ no. Ɛno nso nhwɛsoɔ bi nie:

Ɛbɛ 2.   AK (Prɛmotoberɛ 12): UTV Kaseɛ, A. Y. A., Ɔbɛnem 21, 2014.

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[1] **Sɛ** di dwuma ahodoɔ wɔ Akan kasa nhyehyɛeɛ mu.   **Sɛ** .... no bi nso di dwuma sɛ adwenemusɛm agyinaehyɛdeɛ "interpretive marker" (Hwɛ Agyekum (2002)).

Yoo, abusuafoɔ, Ɔsɔfo O.B. asɛm no no. Ɔse Ɔmampanin nhwɛ na ɔntu ne mmerantɛɛ no fo, ɛsiane sɛ, **mpanimfoɔ se: "Ɔpanin a ɔtena fie ma mmɔfra we nanka no, sɛ yɛreka nankawefoɔ a, wɔka ho bi"** o? Ɔkasafoɔ yi buu saa ɛbɛ yi berɛ a na amanyɔkuo mu mmerantɛɛ bi taa kasa di ɔman yi mpanimfoɔ bi atɛm. Ɛno na ɔnam afidie no mframa so de too dwa srɛɛ Ɔmampanin a na ɔte adwa so saa berɛ no sɛ ɔnkasa nkyerɛ mmerantɛɛ no. Sɛ wohwɛ ɛbɛ yi turodoo mu a, wobɛka sɛ ɔkasafoɔ no de retu fo, nanso asɛm a ɔbuu ɛbɛ no faa ho ne sɛdeɛ ɔde atwa mfonin no tumi kyerɛ sɛ ɔde reka n`asɛm bi. Mpanimfoɔ wɔ kasabɛbuo bi sɛ: "sɛ obi pɛ asɛm bi aka akyerɛ Onyame a, ɔka kyerɛ mframa". Wohwɛ a, wotumi hunu sɛ ɔpɛ sɛ ɔkyerɛ sɛ, sɛ Ɔmampanin ankasa ankyerɛ saa mmerantɛɛ yi na wɔkɔ so da saa suban bɔne no adi deɛ a, na ɛkyerɛ sɛ ɔno Ɔmampanin ankasa foa suban bɔne so anaasɛ ɔkura saa suban yi bi nti ɔntumi nka obi deɛ. Ɛda adi sɛ ɔkasafoɔ yi de ɛbɛ no adane **kwatikwan** bi.

Yɛaka (wɔ ɛfa 5) sɛ, ADNM ne AK dwumadie taa fa *asetena-amanyɔsɛm* ho. Amanyɔfoɔ ne amanyɔ nsɛm no bi ka yɛ den: "sensitive/delicate/controversial issues" (Obeng 2002:84; Wafula 2003:20). Ɛnkyɛ na adane abufuo, soboɔbɔ, amanenya ne ntɔkwa. Ɛno nti na ɔmanfoɔ ne amanyɔfoɔ no bi de nsɛm no afa asɛnnahɔ ntotoho sei so aka no. Wɔfa mmɛ a ɛwɔ soro hɔ no bi na wɔde akyerɛ suban anaa nsusuiɛ bɔne ne nsunsuansoɔ a ɛde ba. Mmɛ nso kura 'kasatumi'; ɛtumi tɔ akoma so de nsesaeɛ pa bi ba. Wɔtaa fa de twa mfonin de bɔ kɔkɔ sɛdeɛ ɛbɛma obi atwe ne ho afiri suban bi ho.

(b) Adanseɛ/Nsisodua ne Sabuakwan/ohintaduakyire

Ɛsan nso da adi sɛ, amanyɔfoɔ ne afrɛfoɔ bi mfa mmɛ no nsi nsɛm no so dua sɛ asɛnnahɔ nkutoo. Wɔde yɛ *adansedisɛm bi* ma wɔn ankasa nsɛm. Asɛm a yɛdane yɛ adansedisɛm bi na Borɔfo kasa mu Obeng (2002:84) frɛ no "evidentiality" (Hwɛ van Dijk (1998) nso). Wɔde yɛ *adansedie mmɛ* anaa *nsisodua mmɛ* de kyerɛ sɛ, wɔn nsɛm no yɛ nokwasɛm prɛkopɛ; ɛho nhwɛsoɔ (ɛbɛ 3) bi wɔ aseɛ ha. Owura S. A. buu ɛbɛ yi berɛ a 'Ghana Black Stars' bɔɔlobɔ kuo kɔɔ akansie bi na wɔsusu sɛ aban no sɛee sika bebree dodo. Saa nti, wɔtee ho nhwehwɛmu abadwakuo too nsa frɛɛ agokansie soafoɔ no, Hon. E. A. sɛ ɔmmɛbu ho akonta. Ɛno na Owura S. A. hunu no sɛ akontabuo no ankɔ yie, a ɛsɛ asotweɛ nanso amma no saa. Aban no asan apagya Hon. E. A. afiri n'asoeɛ hɔ de no akɔto ɔno abankɛseɛmu deɛ a, na aban no ankasa hyɛ aseɛ bi. Ɛnte saa deɛ, ɔntwe Ɔsoafoɔ E. A. aso na wɔnhunu sɛ kanana biara nni wɔn ntamu. Owura S. A. de ɛbɛ yi reyɛ adansedie bi akyerɛ sɛ, sɛ anyɛ saa deɛ a, na aban no anamɔntuo yi kyerɛ sɛ, ɔtaa Ɔsoafoɔ no akyi ne

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wɔn akɔyɛ baako. Wɔde 'totobi mɔmɔne taa bɔ abɛnkwan, nti wɔtaa nante pa ara. Mɔmɔne no taa boa ma abɛnkwan yɛ hwan, ɛyɛ dɛ. Owura S. A. Abɛbuo no na ɛdi soɔ yi:

Ɛbɛ 3.   ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Ɔbooba F.M.; Ɔbooba Kasa, S. A., Oforisuo18, 2012.

    Sɛ aban yi apagya no de no akɔto ne koko mu deɛ a, deɛ yɛreka
    akyerɛ aban ne sɛ: "**Sɛ totobi kɔ ayie a, ɔda abɛnkwan fie**". Sɛdeɛ
    ɛbɛyɛ a, aban no din ho bɛsan nti, ɔnyɛ ɔbarima nkyerɛ yɛn.

Ɛbɛ 4.   AK (Prɛmotoberɛ 12): Adom F.M.; Kaseɛ, A. P., Ɛbɔ 18, 2019.

    Woahu? Kofi yɛn mpanimfoɔ yi ɛduru baabi a anka ɛsɛ sɛ yɛtumi ka bi kyerɛ wɔn
    paa. Asɛ deɛ wɔn mu bi nnwene ɔman yi ho koraa. 'Free SHS' nti N.P.P.foɔ mma
    nko ara na wɔkɔ, N.D.C.foɔ bi amfa wɔn mma ankɔ bi. Honorable M., hmm, Hon.
    mua, wokasa saa ɛyɛ? Ka 'improvement'; nsesaeɛ pa a moba a mode bɛka ho. Ɛtɔ
    da bi a na yɛabrɛ mo. Sɛ ɔnyɛ Hon. a, anka mɛka sɛ akohwisɛm kwa… Nti na
    mpanimfoɔ se: Ɛduru baabi a, **"mpenpen wɔse no pen"** no o**. Yɛse: "Twene anim**
    da hɔ nso a, yɛmmɔ nkyɛn."Woka a, na anka ama wahu ne mfomsoɔ.

    Sɛ wohwɛ ɛbɛ 4 yi nso a, ɛnni dwuma sɛ asɛnnahɔ nkutoo. Ɔkasafoɔ no awae asɛm no anim aka awie, na wahyɛ da de ɛbɛ no adi ho adanseɛ. Ɔkwan bi so, ɔde adansedibɛ no reyɛ adwobrɛoonsɛm. Brown ne Yule (1985) kyerɛ akwan ahodoɔ mmienu bi a ɔkasafoɔ bi fa so de nsɛnnahɔ bi to dwa. Deɛ ɛdi kan no yɛ sɛ wode asɛm no reto dwa sɛ ɛyɛ nsɛnnahɔ turodoo. Deɛ ɛtɔ so mmienu nso, asɛnnahɔ no akyi, wohunu sɛ ɔkasafoɔ no wɔ botaeɛ pɔtee bi a wasi so dua sɛ ɔde bɛto dwa.

    Wotumi hunu wɔ mmɛ yi ne ɛho nsɛm no ho sɛ, akasafoɔ no amfa anni dwuma sɛ asɛnnahɔ kɛkɛ. Wɔahyɛ da afa ho de ayi wɔn bo so nsɛm. Borɔfo kasa mu, Yankah (1986:205; 1989:162) nso frɛ wei 'conscious or strategic manipulation'. Ɛda adi sɛ, ɛha deɛ wɔde mmɛ no ayɛ **sabuakwan**[2] anaasɛ **ohintaduakyire** bi (intentional). Wɔn kasa no kyerɛ sɛ, wɔnim sɛ wɔato amammerɛ mmara, na wɔaboa pa de mmɛ no akata so; *anidahɔ*. Wɔamfa mmɛ no anni dwuma sɛ kwatikwan turodoo, wɔde adane subuakwan.

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[2] Sabuakwan ne kwatikwan nyinaa da asekyerɛ baako adi, na mmom sɛdeɛ wɔde mmɛ te sɛ **1**, **2** no adi dwuma, ɛnne sɛdeɛ wɔde **3** ne **4** no nso adi dwuma no na ɛma yɛka sɛ 3.4 yɛ sabuakwan. Ɛno na yɛakyerɛkyerɛ yɛn nnyinasoɔ no nyinaa mu wɔ soro hɔ no.

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6.3 Mmɛ no Mmusuakuo; Dada, Nsesamu ne Abɛɛfo Mmɛ

Mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛnmu no, ɛdaa adi sɛ, mmɛ a akasafoɔ no de adi dwuma wɔ ADNM ne AK dwumadie mu gu akuo ahodoɔ mmeɛnsa: *Mmɛ Dada, Nsesamu ne Abɛɛfosɛm*. Akasafoɔ no bi de Akanfoɔ mmɛ *dada* no bi ara na ɛdi dwuma. Ebinom nso *sesa* dada no nhyehyɛɛ anaa nsɛmfua bi na wɔde wɔn nsɛm ahyehyɛ mu. Ɛtɔ da bi nso a, wɔnwene wɔn ankasa deɛ.

6.3.1 Mmɛ Dada

Sɛdeɛ yɛadi kan aka no, ɛha deɛ akasafoɔ no mfa wɔn nsɛm nhyehyɛ mmɛ no mu. Wɔde nsɛmfua ne nhyehyɛɛ dada no ara na ɛdi dwuma. Ɛho nhwɛsoɔ bi nie:

Ɛbɛ 5.   ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Peace F.M.; Kookrokoo, Ɔ. K. A., Ayɛwohomumɔ 22, 2012.

> Mate sɛ wɔreba abɛsi dan 'twelve thousand four hundred' ama atikyafoɔ ne nɛɛsefoɔ. Ɛyɛ adwene pa o! 'Affordable houses' no a **aban a wabɛsene kɔ** no hyɛɛ asɛ no **yɛayɛ** no **dɛn.** Kwame "**Sɛ wode wo nsa keka afuo nketenkete a, ɛdane adwoguo**" *Efiri sɛ wodɔ ha wie na woadua nnoɔma mmeɛnsa bi na asɛ woagyae. Ɔkyena na woate sɛ yɛretɔn asaase wɔ Gɔɔso na woakɔtɔ hɔ kookoofuo o! wode bɛyɛ afuo na woakeka agyae. Adekyeɛ na yɛse yɛretontɔn asaase wɔ* Sɛhwi…. Enti ansa na wobɛkɔ owuo mu no na wowɔ asaase a anka yɛde bɛyɛ afuo no; ebi wɔ Asante, ebi wɔ Sahwi; ebi wɔ Wasa nanso na wontee kookoo aba baako koraa. Ɛmm!... ebi na yɛpɛ sɛ yɛyɛ yi anaa? Kwame, ɛyɛ ɔman adwuma na yɛreyɛ, ɛfisɛ baako no kaa sɛ anka apolisifoɔ bɛnya bi **meboa**? Wei deɛ ɛwɔ ha no apolisifoɔ din nnim…….

Deɛ ɛkɔtwee ɛbɛ yi ne sɛ, N.P.P. aban (2002-2008) firii aseɛ sii adan bi "affordable houses", sɛ wɔbɛtɔn ama aban adwumayɛfoɔ. Wɔanwie na wɔfirii adwa so. Na ɔmanfoɔ rehwɛ sɛ aban foforɔ, N.D.C aban (2009-2016) bɛtoa so awie, nanso wɔyɛɛ sɛ wɔbɛsi foforɔ. Asɛm yi bɛtɔɔ dwa wɔ dawubɔ nkrataa mu. Ɛno na abadwafoɔ ne afrɛfoɔ rekyerɛɛ

wɔn adwene a ɔkasafoɔ yi de abɛbuo yi yɛɛ afutuo maa N.D.C. aban. Sɛ wohwɛ a, ne kasa no mfitiaseɛ a na ɛwɔ sɛ ɔkyerɛ aban no mu deɛ ɔreka n`asɛm no, wammɔ din. Ɔde nnipa mmienu dodoɔ kabea edinnsiananmu (wɔn) na ɛdii dwuma. Baabi nso, ɔse "***baako no***". Wotumi hunu sɛ ɔbɛbufoɔ yi reyɛ ahwɛyie pa ara.

Wahwɛ ahunu sɛ, asɛm a ɔreka no yɛ *amanyɔsɛm*, anhwɛ a na obi akasa atia no sɛ ɔrekasa ama aban bi anaasɛ ɔwɔ aban bi afa. Bio, beaeɛ hɔ yɛ *badwam (radio so)*, atiefoɔ no gu ahodoɔ. Ɛsono sɛdeɛ obiara te asɛm ase fa. Ɛbɛ no na ɔkyerɛɛ kakra sɛdeɛ obiara bɛte aseɛ, na wɔatumi anya adwene mu mfonin anaa nsunsuansoɔ a aban no nsusuiɛ no bɛtumi de aba yie. Ɔde ɛbɛ dada no rekyerɛ sɛ, ɛnyɛ ɔno n'asɛm bi, na ɛyɛ asɛnnahɔ. Ne titire no, wamfa asɛm biara anhyɛ ɛbɛ dada no mu, na wansesa nhyehyɛeɛ no nso. Baabi koraa a ɔde nnipa mmienu dodoɔ kabea edinnsiananmu (wɔn) dii dwuma no, wansesa ɛbɛ no mu onipa baako edinnsiananmu (wo) no anyɛ no dodoɔ saa bi (Hwɛ 6.3.2.1).

Yankah (1986:196) kyerɛ sɛ, ɛnyɛ kasadwumfoɔ anaa ɔkasafoɔ biara na sɛ ɔde kasadwini/ɛbɛ bi redi dwuma a, ɔpɛ sɛ ɔbɛsesa mu anaa ɔbɛnwene foforɔ. Ɔka no sɛ: "[the speaker] equates tradition with truth and deny creativity in their performance in order not to appear as falsifying truth". Asekyerɛ ne sɛ: "ɔkasafoɔ no gye to mu sɛ atetesɛm no yɛ nokorɛ/asɛnnahɔ, ɛno nti ɔmpɛ sɛ ɔbɛsesa mu na obi aka sɛ ɔde ntorɔ bi rebata nokorɛ no ho".[3] Ebia na ɔkasafoɔ no mpɛ ne kasa no akyi nsɛm bebree, nti ɔde dada no ara bɛdi dwuma na ayɛ banbɔ ama no (Hwɛ Obeng (1997) ne Irvine (2001:190) nso). Ɛha no, yɛhunu sɛ *mmɛ dada* no san di dwuma sɛ **banbɔ mprenu** ma ɔkasafoɔ no.

6.3.2 *Mmɛ Nsesamu: Mmɛ no Nhyehyɛeɛ, Nsɛmfua Nsesamu ne Mɔfɔ-Pragmateks Su bi ne ne Dwumadie.*

Ɛha na akasafoɔ bi de wɔn ankasa nsɛm ahyehyɛ mmɛ dada no mu. Ama saa mmɛ no bi mu asane, ebi asekyerɛ nso asesa kakra. Nsesamu yi, yɛhunu adwenentoamu, nsiananmu ne nyifirimu. Yɛbɛhwɛ weinom semantek ne pragmatek dwumadie. Ɛho nhwɛsoɔ bi na ɛwɔ aseɛ ha yi. Yɛde mmɛ dada no ankasa ahyehyɛ nsesamu deɛ no aseɛ, na ama nsononsonoeɛ no ada adi. Ɛbɛ 7 ne Ɛbɛ 8 abɔseɛ nyinaa yɛ baako, nsesamu no na nsononsonoeɛ kakra wɔ emu biara mu nsɛm mu. Adeɛ titire nso a ɛwɔ mu ne sɛ, wɔbuu 7 no wɔ TV so, na wɔbuu 8 no wɔ radio so. Yɛaka weinom ho asɛm pɔtee wɔ 6.3.2.2.

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[3] Ahemfie mpanimfoɔ bi nso kyerɛɛ sɛ, asɛnnie anaa mpanimfoɔ no nkɔmmɔ mu no, wɔntaa nte sɛ obi de ɔno ankasa nsɛmfua bi ahyehyɛ ɛbɛ dada bi mu de reka n'asɛm (Nana A.Y., Ɔkyeame A., baanu nkɔmmɔ, Kɔtɔnimma 15, 2015).

Wohwɛ ɛbɛ 6 a, amanyɔni no asɛm ne sɛ, wɔbɛdi nkonim wɔ abatoɔ no mu. Kaseɛbɔfoɔ no mpɛ sɛ ɔbɛti saa asɛm no mu, na wafa saa abɛbuo yi fa bi de n'asɛm no atoa so aka.

Ɛbɛ 6.   AK (Anɔpa 6): Kessben F.M.; Kaseɛ, A. K., Ɔbɛnim 3, 2012.

Nti sɛ wose: "ɛyɛ yɛnkɔ nko ara ma mo a," ɔmanfoɔ "**Sɛ m̱oasoa nsuo,   m̱oasoa nsa, m̱o na m̱oahunu deɛ ɛ̱yɛ ma mo,**" enti monhwɛ so nto mo aba wae!?
(**M̱asoa nsuo, m̱asoa nsa, mahunu deɛ emu y̱ɛ duru**)

Ɛbɛ 7.   AK (Prɛmotoberɛ 12): UTV Kaseɛ, A. Y. A., Ɔbɛnim 21, 2014.

Yoo, abusuafoɔ Ɔsɔfo O.B. asɛm no no. Ɔse, Ɔmampanin nhwɛ na ɔntu ne mmeranteɛ no fo, ɛsiane sɛ, mpanimfoɔ se: "**Ɔpanin a ɔ̱tena fie ma mmɔfra w̱e nanka no, sɛ yɛreka nankawefoɔ a, …… "**

Ɛbɛ 8.   ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Kessben F.M.; Maakye, S. J., Ayɛwohomumɔ 8, 2013.
Me nua, sɛbe, Papa no deɛ, ɔno ne Moses a, anka Onyankopɔn asoma no sɛ ɔmmɛyi yɛn mfiri Faraoh ne ne nkurɔfoɔ atirimuɔdenfoɔ, sikadie aban yi nsam. Woka a, *w̱ɔsɛ kɔntɔmpt, na Papa Atoga ba* no akye wo. Memmɔɔ obiara din o. Ɛnyɛ me o. *Yɛse*: "**M̱panimfoɔ a w̱ɔtena fie ma mmɔfra w̱ia nanka nam no, sɛ y̱ɛreka …… a, w̱ɔka ho bi**. *Chief, ɛnyɛ saa?*

(**Ɔpanin a ɔ̱tena fie ma mmɔfra w̱e nanka no, s̱ɛ w̱ɔreka nankawefoɔ a, ɔ̱ka ho bi**).

Afe 2012 abatoɔ, abodwoso amma na ɛkɔpuee ɔman yi kɔɔto kɛseɛ mu, na atɛmmuafoɔ a wɔredi asɛm no bɔɔ kɔkɔ sɛ ɔmanfoɔ nhwɛ wɔn ano kasa yie. Sɛ wokasa na ebu kɔɔto no animtia a mmara ne wo bɛdi. Ɛno na Owura S.J. reka abatoɔ no ho asɛm na ɔde faa ne ɛbɛ 8 so. Sɛ wode ɛbɛ 8 a ɔbuu wɔ ne kasa mu toto ɛbɛ dada a ɛwɔ n'ase pɛɛ no ho a, wohu sɛ nsesaeɛ bi wɔ ɔyɛfoɔ (e̱din - **Ɔpanim**/dinnsiananmu-ɔtena) kabea no ho. Edin ne edinnsiananmu no asesa afiri baako kabea mu kɔ dodoɔ kabea mu (edin - **Mpanimfoɔ**/dinnsiananmu-w̱ɔ). Sɛ wohwɛ ɔkasafoɔ yi asɛm no nyinaa a, wotumi hunu sɛ ɔde rebɔ atɛmmuafoɔ no anaa mpanimfoɔ bi akutia. Ɛno nti na woasesa ne ɛbɛ no mu edin

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ne edinnsiananmu baako kabea no kɔ dodoɔ kabea no. **Wɔse** a ɛwɔ ne kasa mu nso boa da wei adi; "***woka a, wɔse kɔntɛmpt, na Papa Atoga ba no akye wo. Memmɔɔ obiara din o***".

     Fairclough (1995:57) kyerɛ sɛ, ɛnyɛ kasa bi nhyehyɛeɛ ne emu nsɛmfua no nkutoo na yɛsesa mu. Ɔkasafoɔ bi tumi sesa n'asɛm no kasammara nso mu, sɛdeɛ ɛbɛma adwene pɔtee a ɔde reto dwa no atoatoa yie. Ɔfrɛ wei wɔ Borɔfo kasa mu sɛ "grammatical cohesion" – *kasammara ntoamu.* Na *nsɛmfua ntoamu* no nso yɛ "lexical cohesion". Brown ne Yule (1985:223) kyerɛ sɛ, adwene no ntoatoamu "coherence" no ma wote ɔkasafoɔ no asɛm no ase yie. Ɛno nso na ɛsan ma wohunu deɛ ɔrepɛ akyerɛ no ntɛm.

6.3.2.1 Kasammara ne Nsɛmfua Ntoamu: Kasa no ne Ɛbɛ no mu Adwene no Ntoamu Kyerɛfoɔ (The Endophoric References)

Nsesamu weinom ho nhwɛsoɔ bi ne ɛbɛ 9 yi. Ɔkasafoɔ A. S. buu saa ɛbɛ yi berɛ a na ɔhu sɛ amanyɔkuo N.D.C.foɔ atu anamɔn bi a ɔsusu sɛ ɛmmoa ɔman yi mpuntuo. Wotumi hu firi ne kasa mu sɛ, ɔreyɛ ahwɛyie sɛdeɛ n'ano mpa na ɔnni atɛm deɛ, nanso nsɛm bi a ɔde ahyehyɛ ne ɛbɛ no mu ama ne kasa mu asane kakra.

Ɛbɛ 9.   ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Adom F.M.; Dwa so Nsɛm, A. S., Ɛbɔ 5, 2012**.**

   …Na *anka* <u>saa mpanimfoɔ</u> a wɔakɔ sukuu aduru akyiri, *'Professors' di wɔn kan,* moreteki disihyen a, na wei na moreteki ama Ghanafoɔ? Ah! *Me werɛ aho.* Mommu ɔman no yie o. "**Akɔmfo bɔne, sɛ mose kuro no mmɔ a, mote mu bi**".
(Sɛ ɔkɔmfo bɔne se kuro mmɔ a, ɔte mu bi).
Wotumi hunu sɛ **ɔkɔmfoɔ** (ɔbaakofoɔ kabea) asesa abɛyɛ **akɔmfoɔ** (dodoɔ kabea).

     Nsesamu yi asan ama onipa 3 baako kabea edinnsiananmu (**ɔ/se) ɔte**), asesa ayɛ nnipa 2 dodoɔ kabea edinnsiananmu (**mo/se) mote**). Nnipa a ɔkasafoɔ no reka wɔn ho asɛm '*saa mpanimfoɔ no*' (*oyikyerɛ nnipa* "deitic persons") na ɛmaa ɔsesaa ɛbɛ no mu onipa no kabea. Ɔkasafoɔ no pɛ sɛ edin (**ɔkɔmfoɔ > akɔmfoɔ**) ne edinnsiananmu (**ɔ > mo**) kabea no ne ne kasa mu *oyikyerɛ nnipa* no dodoɔ kabea bɛyɛ pɛ. Cutting (2005:9) ma yɛhunu sɛ, ɛbɛ no mu edin ne dinnsiananmu yi redi dwuma sɛ "endophoric references"- *kasa anaa adwene no ntoamu kyerɛfoɔ*. Nsesamu ne adwene ntoamu no na ama ɛbɛ no mu ada hɔ kakra no.

     Wotumi hunu sɛ, **akɔmfo bɔne** yi hwɛ **saa mpanimfoɔ no** ara. Ɔde ɛbɛ no mu a sɛnnahɔ kɔkɔbɔ no atoa n'asɛm no so de akɔsi deɛ ɔpɛ sɛ ɔka so. Nsesamu a ɛte sei,

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Brown ne Yule (1985:215) nso frɛ no wɔ Borɔfo kasa mu "pragmatically controlled anaphora". Ɛkyerɛ sɛ, ɔkasafoɔ no nsesa edin ne edinnsiananmu no mu kɛkɛ, ɔde di dwuma pɔtee bi. Ɔhwɛ faa ɛbɛ a emu adwene ne n'asɛm no kɔ, na ɔsesaa nnipa no dodoɔ kabea no sɛdeɛ ɛbɛtɔ n'asɛm no so pɛpɛɛpɛ. Na ɔde kyerɛɛ nnipa/mpanimfoɔ no anamɔntuo no ne ɛso nsunsuansoɔ no. Wotumi hunu sɛ, ɔde ɛbɛ no ayɛ ohintaduakyire bi aka n'asɛm pɛpɛɛpɛ. Wafa ɛbɛ no ho aka n'asɛm abɔ mpanimfoɔ no akutia a wanya amane bi; ɔde ayɛ anim banbɔ.

Cutting (2005:9-10) san ma yɛhunu sɛ edin ne dinnsiananmu (**akɔmfoɔ/mo**) yi abɛyɛ *akyirihwɛ din ne dinnsiananmu* "anaphoric noun and pronoun''. Ɛkyerɛ sɛ, ɔkasafoɔ no de weinom ayɛ nsamsoɔ a ama watumi akɔ n'akyi akɔfa n'asɛm no de abɛtoa ɛbɛ no mu adwene no so. Ɛsan da adi sɛ, ayɛfoɔ *nsasoɔ/ntoatoa* 'coherence' no na ɛma wohunu ɔkasafoɔ no botaeɛ anaa dwuma pɔtee a ɔpɛ sɛ saa ɛbɛ no di ma no akyire ntɛm. Yɛbɔ edinnsiananmu a wɔde di dwuma ɛwɔ ɛbɛ mu no tɔfa wɔ ɛpono 2 a ɛwɔ ase ha yi mu.

Ɛpono 2: Edinnsiananmu dwumadie wɔ ɛbɛ mu

Baako kabea	Ne dwumadie
1. **m**-asoa	**mo**-asoa (ɛbɛ 6)
2. **Ɔ**-panin, **ɔ**-tena	**m**-panimfoɔ, **wɔ**-tena (ɛbɛ 7,8)
3. **ɔ**-kɔmfo, se**,** **ɔ**-te	**a**-kɔmfo, **mo**-se, **mo**-te (ɛbɛ 9)

6.3.2.2 Nsiananmu ne Nyifimu Nsɛm bi (Substitution and Ellipsis)

Deɛ ɛteɛ wɔ ha nso ne sɛ, akasafoɔ no ayi nsɛm no bi afiri mmɛ no mu, na ebi nso wɔ hɔ a, wɔde wɔn ankasa wɔn nsɛm bi aka ho. Wei nso ho nhwɛsoɔ bi nie:
Sɛ wohwɛ ɛbɛ 10 yi a, adeyɛ nsɛm **to** ne **tɔ** asesa abɛdane **tua** ne **hwe**.

Ɛbɛ 10. ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Ɔboɔba F.M.; Ɔboɔba Kasa, K. S., Ahinime 10, 2012.

Ghanafoɔ … momma yɛmma yɛn ani nna hɔ. Mpanimfoɔ se:
Baabi a ɛsɛ sɛ yɛde fam no, yɛamfa antua hɔ fee a, ɛyɛ deɛ
bɛn… ɛfiri hwe fam, meboa…? Monhwɛ na afeɛ yi monto aba
pa
(Baabi a ɛsɛ sɛ wɔde to no, sɛ wɔamfa anto hɔ a, ɛfiri tɔ.)

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Saa ara nso na wasan asesa adeyɛ nsɛm no anoɔden kyerɛfoɔ no mu. Ɔde nsɛmfua (**fee** ne **fam**) bi abatabata ho de ayɛ yɛbea kyerɛfoɔ ne nsisodua (Hwɛ Agyekum (2010:164-165) ne Akan Dictionary mu). Ɔsan de ampɛmmuaeɛ asɛmmisa nso ataa n'asɛm no akyiri de resi so sɛ ɛyɛ nsɛnnahɔ. Weinom nyinaa yɛ kwatikwan bi a akasafoɔ no bi fa mmɛ so de wɔn adwene to dwa. Nsiananmu ne nyifimu pɔtee yi bi nso na ɛda adi wɔ mmɛ 7 ne 8 a yɛadi kan aka ho asɛm foforɔ bi wɔ 6.3.2 no. Sei na ne nsiananmu ne nyifimu nso mpɛnsɛmpɛnsɛmu teɛ:

* Ɛbɛ 7. AK (Prɛmotoberɛ 12): UTV Kaseɛ, A. Y. A., Ɔbɛnim 21, 2014.
　　Ɔse, Ɔmampanin nhwɛ na ɔntu ne mmeranteɛ no fo, ɛsiane sɛ, mpanimfoɔ se: "**Ɔpanin a ɔtena fie ma mmɔfra <u>we</u> nanka no, sɛ yɛreka <u>nankawefoɔ</u> a, …. ".**

* Ɛbɛ 8. ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Kessben F.M.; Maakye, S. J., Ayɛwohomumɔ 8, 2013.
　　Woka a, ***<u>wɔse</u> kɔntɔmpt, na Papa Atoga ba*** no akye wo. Memmɔɔ obiara din o. Ɛnyɛ me o. *Yɛse*: "**Mpanimfoɔ a <u>wɔ</u>tena fie ma mmɔfra <u>wia</u> nanka nam no, sɛ yɛreka ……… a, <u>wɔ</u>ka ho bi**. *Chief, ɛnyɛ saa?*

　　(Ɔpanin a ɔtena fie ma mmɔfra <u>we</u> nanka no, <u>sɛ wɔreka nankawefoɔ a,</u> ɔka ho bi)

Wohwɛ a, ɛbɛ 7 no, A. Y. A. amfa ne nsɛm biara anka ho, na mmom ne fa a ɛma adwene no toa yie (... ɔka ho bi) na wayi afiri mu. Ɔmpɛ sɛ ɔde bɛtoa so na ama ɛbɛ no mu adwene asi, esiane sɛ obi bɛtumi abɔ no kwaadu sɛ wakasa atia Ɔmampanin. Wayi no afiri nankawefoɔ no mu prɛko. Afei nso, wohu sɛ abɛbufoɔ yi nyinaa reyɛ ahwɛyie deɛ, nanso asɛ deɛ ɛbɛ 7 yɛ TV so nti, anim banbɔ no mu yɛ den kakra sene ɛbɛ 8 no. Ɔbɛbufoɔ 8 ayi edin **<u>nankawefoɔ</u>** afiri mu. Anka ɔbɛtumi de ɛho edin **nankawiafoɔ** asi anan mu nanso wamfa anhyɛ hɔ. Ɔde adeyɛ **<u>wia</u>** (*sɛ worefa adeɛ bi a ɛnyɛ wo dea*) na asi **<u>we</u>** (*sɛ wode wo se rebobɔ aduane anaa biribi mu*) anan mu. Ɔpɛ sɛ deɛ ɔreka no mu adwene no toa yie. Ɛda adi wɔ ne kasa mu, ɛne sɛdeɛ ɔde ɛbɛ no adi dwuma mu sɛ, ɔnim ɛbɛ dada no. Wahyɛ da na wasesa mu saa de reka n'asɛm. Beaeɛ a watwa atwene hɔ yɛ toro, ɔnka nka ho, anyɛ a na 'Papa Ato ba no akye no kɔntɛmpt'. Obi hunu akyiri mpo a, ɔbɛtete ne ho sɛ '*maka biribi anaasɛ maka sɛ saa nipa no ka ho bi anaa*?' (Ɔ. A, baanu nkɔmmɔ, Kitawonsa, 24, 2018).

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Ne korakora no, wohunu sɛ nsiananmu anaa nyifimu nyinaa akasafoɔ taa yɛ saa sɛdeɛ mmɛ no ne wɔn nsɛm mu adwene bɛyɛ baako, na atɔ atiefoɔ aso mu yie. Afei nso, wɔpɛ sɛ atiefoɔ hu sɛ, deɛ wɔreka no yɛ nokorɛ. Bio, wɔrehwɛ sɛ ɛbɛboa atwa adwene mu mfonin a wɔpɛ sɛ atiefoɔ no nya no yie ma wɔn. Yankah (1986:206) ka sɛ:

> … in the strategic manipulation of proverbs… speakers may transform proverb statement to question or change its basic impersonal format to personal. Speakers may also subject the proverb to elision, or elaboration, and intersperse the proverb with emphatic markers, or question tags.

Asɛm yi asekyerɛ ne sɛ:

> … abɛbuo mu no, sɛ akasafoɔ no pɛ sɛ ɛbɛ no di dwuma pɔtee bi ma wɔn a, wɔtumi sesa asɛnka no yɛ no asɛmmisa, anaa wɔde ankyerɛ-obi-pɔtee asɛm no hwɛ obi. Wɔtumi yi nsɛm no bi firi mu, anaa wɔde bi ka ho. Wɔtumi nso de nsisodua nsɛm bi, anaa asɛmmisa nsɛm bi ka ɛbɛ no ho.

Deɛ ɛkɔ so wɔ ha bi nso ne sɛ, akasafoɔ no mpɛ sɛ wɔbɛwae nsɛm no anim aka. Nso, sɛdeɛ wɔka no no, sɛ nnipa a wɔreka wɔn ho asɛm no te a, wɔbɛte wɔn nkra no ase. '*Asɛm no wura no nim ne ho, na akutia nso nim ne wura*'. Ne nyinaa no, ɛda adi sɛ, nsesamu no tumi ma ɛbɛ no nkyerɛaseɛ mu da hɔ kakra 'explicit' (Wafula 2003:21).

6.4 Abɛɛfo Mmɛ: Mɔfɔ-Sentatek Su ne Pragmateks Dwumadie

Ɛduru baabi nso a, ɔkasafoɔ bi tumi nwene ɔno ankasa ne ɛbɛ. Anka ɔbɛtumi afa dada no ara bi, anaasɛ ɔbɛsesa bi mu, nanso ɔnyɛ saa. Yankah (1989) kyerɛ sɛ, adeɛ titire a ɛtaa ma ɔkasafoɔ bi bu ɔno ankasa ne bɛ ne sɛ, onii no pɛ sɛ ɔkyerɛ ne nimdeɛ a ɔwɔ wɔ abɛbuo ne ne kasa no mu. Obi nso wɔ hɔ a, na ɔpɛ sɛ ɔnwene ɛbɛ a emu nsɛm no ne n'asɛm no bɛkɔ pɛpɛɛpɛ (Hwɛ Yankah (1986) nso). Ɔmampanin dada J. E. Atta-Mills. na ɔkɔbuee dwumadie bi ano na ɔnam so de too ɔmanfoɔ anim sɛ wɔnhwɛ wɔn adwumapa na berɛ so a wɔasan ato aba amma wɔn. Ɛno ho kaseɛ na O. A. rebɔ na ɔnam so nwenee ne ɛbɛ faa so de Ɔmampanin asɛm no too dwa. Abɛɛfo mmɛ no nhwɛsoɔ bi nie;

Ɛbɛ 11. AK (6:40pm): GTV Akan Kaseɛ, O. A., Ɔgyefuo 2, 2013.

> Deɛ ɔkae ne sɛ, Yɛse: **"Ɛnyɛ sɛ wotee tatatata ara na wode mmirika ntɛntɛ rekɔtɔ Tata bus. Sɛ tatatata a yɛatetare no ketee no tete a, ahokyerɛ bɛba."**

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Ɛno nti Ghanafoɔ nhwɛ wɔn adwuma a wɔayɛ no so nto aba…

Sɛ wohwɛ sɛdeɛ kaseɛbɔfoɔ no de ne bɛ no adi dwuma a, wotumi hunu sɛ ɛnyɛ ne nimdeɛ nkutoo na ɔrekyerɛ. Ɔde ɛbɛ no ayi akwa (avoidance strategy); ɔmpɛ sɛ ɔbɛka asɛm pɔtee a ɔkasafoɔ no kaeɛ no. Ɛno nti na ɔnwenee saa ɛbɛ no de twaa adwene mu mfonin, de too asɛm no maa atiefoɔ. Yankah (1989) kyerɛ sɛ, Akan kasa amammerɛ nso ma kwan sɛ obi tumi nwene ne bɛ, na mmom ɛsɛ sɛ ɛkura ɛbɛ su ne ne nhyehyɛeɛ no bi, na ɛtɔ asom (Hwɛ Wiafe-Akenten (2008:41-48) ne Agyekum (2011: 51-68) nso). Saa na ɛbɛma ɔmanfoɔ agye ɛbɛ foforɔ no atom.

Wohwɛ abɛɛfo ɛbɛ yi mu nsɛm no a, wohunu sɛ ɛkura **nsɛngorɔ** su. Ɔbɛbufoɔ no ahwɛ afa '**tatatatatata**' (**nnyegyeeɛ-sɛ-adwenesɛm**) de agyina hɔ ama afidie su bi. Na ɔde adeyɛ asɛm '… **tetare** (**afaafa nkakuho**) ne **ketee** (**yɛbea kyerɛfoɔ**) **no tete a…**' nso atwa afidie no su ne ne ntetareɛ tebea no ho mfonin no. Agyekum (2008:108) kyerɛ mu sɛ: "ideophones draw much attention to the state of affairs and give distinct description of the event". Asekyerɛ ne sɛ: "Nnyegyeeɛ-sɛ-asɛnka taa twe adwene kɔ adeɛ no tebea no so, na akyerɛkyerɛ dwumadie no su pɔtee no". Ɔbɛbufoɔ no anka ɔkasafoɔ no asɛm pɔtee no, nanso watumi de lengwesteks nsɛmfua ne kasasuo yi atwa mfonin no pɛpɛɛpɛ. Wakyerɛ sɛ ɔwɔ nimdeɛ wɔ Akan kasa ne amammerɛ ho.

Saa ara na sɛ wohwɛ ɛbɛ 11 a, wotumi hunu sɛ ɔkasafoɔ no nam ne nimdeɛ wɔ ɛbɛ dada '*madi madi, ɛne mane mane na ɛnam*' so anwene ɔno ankasa ne ɛbɛ.

Ɛbɛ 12. ADNM (Anɔpa 6-10): Peace F.M.; Kookrokoo, O. A. K., Ɔpɛnimaa 22, 2019**.**

Dawubɔ krataa yi kyerɛ sɛ, Honorable mpasuasofoɔ kyerɛ sɛ, anomdwa nti 2020 wɔnto aba no mma no bio. Wɔse, Papa Onimuonyamfoɔ yi nyɛɛ hwee, mfaa mpuntuo biara mmaa hɔ, nanso wɔbɛte na ɔgyina radio so redwa n'anom sɛ, wasi sukuudan ama wɔn. Wasan aboa ahwɛ mmabunu bɛboro ahaanu sukuu ne ade. Kyerɛ sɛ wɔn na wɔyɛ boniayɛ, yoo wɔse wɔate. Ɛnneɛ wɔn nso tintontan ɔmfa ne ho, wɔnto aba no mma no. Wei deɛ Honorable, woara o woara. *Mpanimfoɔ na wɔkaeɛ o, ɛnyɛ me. Wei koraa deɛ wo ara na w'ano akɔyi wo ka*. **Yɛse: "Maka maka ɛne amaneɛ na ɛnam''.**

Bio, ɛbɛ dada ne foforɔ no mu nsɛm ne anom nnyegyeeɛ no san sesɛ. Wohunu sɛ wagyina ɛbɛ dada a ɔnim no mu nsɛm ne emu anom nnyegyeeɛ no so na wanwene ne deɛ no.

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7.0 Dwumadie no nyinaa Mmoano ne Emu Nimdeɛ no

Ada adi wɔ nhwehwɛmu yi mu sɛ, wɔtaa de mmɛ a nhyehyɛeɛ no taa kura **nnyinasoɔ kasamufa** di dwuma sɛ **asɛnnahɔ ntotoho** ne **kɔkɔbɔ** bi. Saa mmɛ yi taa kura afaanu. Wɔde ɔfa a ɛdi kan kyerɛ nsusuiɛ, suban ne nneyɛeɛ no, na ntoasoɔ no akyerɛ nsunsuansoɔ bɔne anaa papa a ɛde ba. Akasafoɔ no taa hwɛ fa mmɛ a emu nsɛm no te sɛ asɛm a ɔpɛ sɛ ɔka no, na ɔde atwa mfonin akɔsi n'asɛm no so pɛpɛɛpɛ. Asɛ ɔde ɛbɛ anaa asɛnnahɔ no na ɛretu otiefoɔ no fo, nso na ɔde reka n'asɛm no ara.

Ɛsan nso daa adi sɛ akasafoɔ no bi nso fa mmɛ bi a ɛne wɔn nsɛm no kɔ na wɔasan asesa mmɛ no mu aka de wɔn ankasa nsɛmfua bi ahyehyɛ mu. Wɔyɛ saa sɛdeɛ ɛbɛma ɛbɛ no mu adwene no ne wɔn deɛ no atoatoa yie. Weinom ma wohunu sɛ saa akasafoɔ yi de mmɛ no yɛ sabuakwan bi. Nsesamu no nso ma wɔn mmɛ no asekyerɛ no mu sane kakra ma wotumi hunu ɔkasafoɔ no adwene ne ne botaeɛ. Akasafoɔ bi kyerɛɛ sɛ, ɛtɔ da bi a, ɛbɛ no mu nsɛm no nhyɛ da nkasa mma wɔn saa, nti na wɔde wɔn ankasa nsɛm hyehyɛ mu anaasɛ wɔgya baabi no. Anhwɛ a, na ɛhɔ no de abufuo aba ntɛm anaa ayi wɔn ama. Baabi nso wɔ hɔ a, akasafoɔ no abu wɔn ankasa mmɛ de rekyerɛ wɔn abɛbuo ho nimdeɛ.

Baabi nso wɔ hɔ a, wɔafa mmɛ dada no ara bi na wɔde adi dwuma. Wɔmpɛ sɛ atiefoɔ bɛka sɛ wɔboa pa pɛ wɔn ankasa nsɛm bi aka. Saa nti wɔde mmɛ no ayɛ banbɔ mprenu. Saa na ɛda adi sɛ TV so nso, wɔntaa nsesa mmɛ no mu. Wɔyɛ ahwɛyie pa ara, esiane sɛ wɔhunu ɔkasafoɔ no anim.

8. Awieeɛ Nsɛm

Ɛwom sɛ, ɛtɔ da bi a, wode asɛm bi fa kasasuo bi so a, ɛnka no sɛdeɛ ɛteɛ deɛ, nanso nhwehwɛmu yi da no adi sɛ, nsɛm a wɔde fa abɛbuo turodoo anaasɛ mpo ɛbɛ kwatikwan no boa te kasa no akyiri ɔhaw so. Paemuka ahotɔ taa yɛ tiawa. Wotumi nya animguaseɛ anaa amane kɛseɛ bi wɔ ahotɔ no akyiri pɛɛ: "Wobɛkum ɔtorɔmo na woadware sasaduro deɛ, ɛnneɛ gyae no ma no nkɔ". Woduraa asɛm no ho anaa woamfikyi onii no a, anka ɛmfa amaneɛ biara mma. Ɛno titire na ɛma akasafoɔ no bi fa sabuakwan so to nsɛm no mane fa nsesamu ne nyifirimu abɛbuo mu no.

Ne nyinaa ne sɛ: "Osetie yɛ sene afɔrebɔ'', ɛnkyɛ na nipa anim agu ase pɔtɔɔ ma atene akɔka n'abusua mpo. Sɛ nsɛm bi yɛ ahi anaa abufuo sɛ deɛn, wotumi hunu sɛ amanyɔfoɔ no bi mpɛ sɛ wɔbɛkasa penpen na wɔn ano akɔpa anaasɛ animguaseɛ bi aba. Sɛ ɛkɔba saa a, ɛbɛtumi ama wɔahwere akyitaafoɔ. Wei ka ho na ɛma wɔyɛ ahwɛyie pa ara

no. Na mmom nea ɔpɛ sɛ ɔka asɛm no firi ne bo pɛɛ no deɛ na wawae anim kakra de adane akutia. Akutia nim me wura, nanso ne nyinaa ara nam banbɔ kasa kwan no so ara.

Nwoma ahodoɔ a yɛnyaa mu mmoa

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EDITORIAL BOOK CRITIQUE: *A GRAMMAR OF KUSAAL: A MABIA LANGUAGE OF NORTHERN GHANA*

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Abstract

In this paper, we review Musah's (2018) *Grammar of Kusaal* – a modern, carefully researched study of Kusaal, a Central-East Mabia language spoken in the Bawku Municipality and surrounding towns, and in parts of Burkina Faso and Togo. The review covers major topics in the book such as phonology, morphological affixes, syntax of nouns, verbs and modifiers, temporal and aspectual marking, argument structure and grammatical relations, serialization, and focus constructions. The author makes an effort to situate the Kusaal language in the larger Mabia cluster in the analysis of the data. More importantly, he provides fresh data and analysis of Kusaal that incorporates ethnolinguistic knowledge. The book is written in a clear language and effort is made to limit theoretical labeling and jargon to a minimum thus, making it accessible to those with limited background in linguistics.

Keywords: Kusaal, grammar, syntax, phonology, morphology

1. Introduction

The book under review, *A Grammar of Kusaal* by Anthony Agoswin Musah (Musah, 2018), is a well-researched and well-written book that provides a comprehensive linguistic account of the Kusaal language, which is spoken in north-eastern Ghana and parts of Togo and Burkina Faso. The book has ten (10) chapters that cover a broad range of linguistic topics in Kusaal such as the sound system and patterns, inflectional and derivational affixes, structure and properties of noun and verb phrases and their modifiers, clause structure, aspect, modality, and negation, focus constructions and question formation. Musah (2018) employs Dixon's (2012) Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) approach as a methodology and a theoretical framework for analyzing the data. The analysis provided in the book is consistent and devoid of complicated linguistic

terminology which makes the book accessible for those with interest in the Kusaal language but without extensive linguistic training. The review proceeds with topics in the order of appearance in the book and provides comments on some of the salient points.

2. Overview of chapters

2.1 Background on Kusaal

Chapter one of the book provides important background on Kusaal including relevant geographic, demographic, economic and occupational information about the language and the people. Kusaal is spoken predominantly in the Bawku Municipality and immediate towns like Zebilla, Garu-, Tempane, Pusiga-Polimakom and Binduri. Kusaal is spoken by the Kusaas/Kusaa who number over four hundred and twenty thousand (420,000) across north-eastern Ghana. The author also provides information on socio-cultural aspects of the people such as the governance system, practice of faith and religion, kinship systems, celebratory rites such as funerals, festivals, and marriage. Kusaal is used alongside other languages from the area such as Hausa, Mampruli, Moore, and English. Kusaas use Kusaal for interpersonal communication and in in-group settings such as home. Kusaal has two geographical dialects, Agole and Toende with Agole being the predominant one in terms of speakers. Musah (2018) identifies as a Mabia Central-East language, following Bodomo (1993).

2.2 Phonology

Chapter two presents the phonology of Kusaal. Musah (2018) identifies twenty-three (23) consonants, nine (9) phonetic vowels, and three register tones (high, mid, low). The study points to only one syllabic consonant, the bilabial nasal /*m*/, e.g., *m* '1SG/OBJ/POSS'. Vowels are distinguished based on part of tongue, height, lip posture and tongue root position. Four vowels each display the feature Advanced Tongue Root [+ATR] {*i, u, e, o*} and Unadvanced Tongue Root [-ATR] {ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ}. However, the central low vowel /*a*/ appears to be neutral for the feature [ATR]. Thus, Kusaal differs from some of the languages in the Mabia sub-family where the central low vowel /*a*/ has the feature [-ATR], e.g., Gurenɛ (Atipoka and Nsoh, 2018), and from Kwa languages where /*a*/ has [+ATR] variant /*æ*/ or /*e*/ (Dolphyne, 1988). In addition to cross-height ATR harmony, vowels in Kusaal also harmonize in *roundness* within stems and with affixes. Musah (2018: 61) argues that in Kusaal the tone bearing unit is "the mora rather than the syllable" and a long vowel may bear up to two tones. However, there is no further articulation of this argument in the book, although references are provided for further reading on the issue.

As is common in tonal languages, tone has both lexical and grammatical functions in Kusaal.

2.3   Noun and noun class

Chapter three of the book focuses on nouns and the noun class system in Kusaal. The author provides many examples of proper and common nouns, concrete and abstract nouns, and countable and uncountable nouns. Musah (2018) shows that the pronominal system in Kusaal is inflects for features such as *person*, *number*, *human*, and *case* but not *gender*. Also, there are weak and strong pronominal forms; the former may attach to verbs as suffixes, e.g., *-m* '1SG.OBJ', *-if* '2SG.OBJ', while the latter are free. The strong forms (or emphatic forms) are used in focus constructions and questions. The language also has plural and singular proximal and distal demonstratives, a reflexive pronoun *mmɛŋ* 'self' and a reciprocal pronoun *taaba* 'each other/one another', relative and interrogative pronouns with human/non-human and singular and plural forms. Musah (2018) provides an analysis of the (remnant) noun class system in Kusaal. He identifies twenty-three (23) singular-plural declension sets reconstructed from *Proto-Mabia but the actual count of active classes in Kusaal appears to be between eleven (11) and fifteen (15), as shown in Figure (1). Thus, Musah (2018) provides a general picture within which noun classes in Kusaal should be interpreted.

2.4   Noun phrase and modifiers

Chapter four covers nominal modifiers in Kusaal. The book argues for a class of "adjectives" in Kusaal as has been proposed in other sister Mabia languages such as Gurenɛ and Dagbani. Adjectives inflect for number and typically occur with *bʋn-* 'thing' although they may occur with other nouns in the language. Also, there are predicative adjectives which incorporates the copula, e.g., *tʋl* 'be hot', and those that occur post-copula, e.g., *sʋ'ʋm* 'good'. Post-copula adjectives are shown to be different from noun complements because while noun complements can be fronted, post-copula adjectives cannot be fronted without a noun head, e.g., *bʋn-* 'thing'. The space, location and landmark of one entity in relation to another is indicated with *relator nouns* (sub-class of nouns derived from body/object-parts), e.g., *zug* 'head' and/or a locative marker -*Vn*. Musah (2018: 138) identifies a particle *nɛ* as a "fully-fledged preposition" that "is preposed to NPs and conveys the semantic function of "instrument."" Musah (2018), however, notes in footnote 27 that the particle *nɛ* has several other functions including "comitative conjunction and a marker of general emphasis or broad focus" (p. 138). We will comment a bit more on this particle in section 2.9.
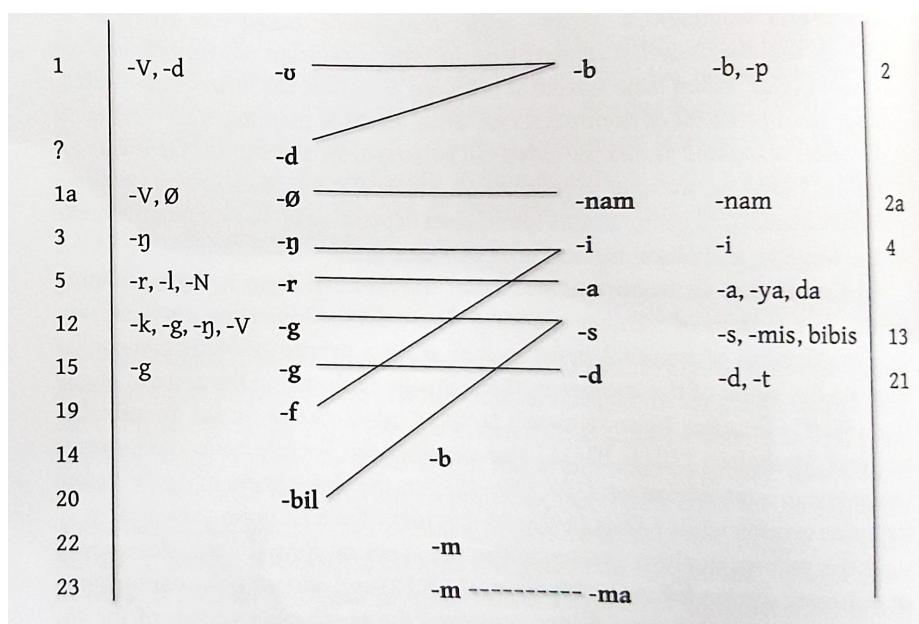
Figure 1: Kusaal nominal suffixes (Musah, 2018: 98)

Chapter five discusses the noun phrase and the distribution various elements within the phrase. Like many Mabia languages, in Kusaal determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and adjectives all occur post-nominal. Kusaal distinguishes between definite and indefinite determiners: the definite determiner is *la* and indefinite is marked by *sɔ'* (human, sg.), *sie'ba* (human, pl.), *si'a* (non-human, sg.). Bare nouns may also encode (in)definiteness depending on context. However, the author does not indicate what kind of meaning is encoded by definiteness markers in Kusaal. For example, Schwarz (2013) shows that across languages there are different kinds of definite markers, which he refers to as *strong* and *weak* definites, and these correspond to different meanings such as *uniqueness* and *familiarity*. Also, there is no account of the distribution of *la* outside the noun phrase, such as in relative clauses (see Abubakari 2019).

2.5   Verb phrase and affixes

Chapter six focuses on verbs and their syllable structure, verbal affixes, and syntactic distribution. Verb stems in Kusaal tend to have a CV or CVC syllable structure, although V/VV stems are also possible. There are several derivational affixes which are marked on verbs stems in Kusaal including the causative *-(V)s*, applicative *(-l)*, inversive *(-g)*, iterative *(-Vs)*, and ventive *(-na)*. As shown in (1) below, the causative and iterative

utilizes the same morpheme *-Vs*. Musah (2018: 156) argues that "the iterative differs from the causative construction in that while the causative explicates the introduction of an underlying agent in the verb form, the iterative reinforces the number of times an action is undertaken in succession..." Musah's (2018) explanation of the causative as 'introducing an underlying agent' while intuitive is not unproblematic because causative morphology does not always add an external argument to the verb. For instance, in Japanese (2), in the so-called adversity causative, there is no external agent or causer introduced into the sentence by the causative morpheme *-(s)ase*. Similarly, in Finnish (3) the causative suffix *-tta* can be used to " causativize an unergative verb without introducing a new argument in the syntax" (Pylkkanen, 2000: 140). Thus, it appears that in Kusaal the causative suffix when it attaches to a bi-eventive verb stem doubles or iterates the event, rather than introducing an external argument. In other words, the iterative and the causative do not appear to be separate markers.

(1) Causative vs. iterative in Kusaal (Musah, 2018: 155-156)
     <u>causative</u>
     di   'to eat'   ∼   *di-is*   'to feed'
     mu'a   'to suck'   ∼   *mu'a-s*   'to suckle'

     <u>iterative</u>
     tua   'to pound'   ∼   *tua-s*   'to pound severally'
     kia   'to chop'   ∼   *kie-s*   'to chop severally'

(2)   Japanese (Pylkkanen, 2000: 137)

        Taroo-ga   musuko-o sin-ase-ta.
        Taro-NOM son-ACC   die-CAUSE-PAST
        (a) 'Taro caused his son to die.'
        (b) 'Taro's son died on him.' (the adversity causative)

(3)   Finnish (Pylkkanen, 2000: 141)

        Maija-a   laula-tta-a.
        Maija-PAR sing-CAUSE-3SG
        'Maija feels like singing.'

2.6 Tense and aspect

Chapter seven of the book is titled 'aspect and modality in Kusaal'. In this chapter, Musah (2018) proposes that "time relations in Kusaal are best described in terms of the opposition between perfective and imperfective... tense... is secondary". The data reveals, however, that Kusaal marks past and future time with free standing particles

but aspect through inflectional suffixes on the verb. There are several particles (derived from temporal adverbs) that encode various temporal delineations of past time including *da* 'two or more days ago', *sa* 'yesterday', and *pa* 'earlier today'. Although Musah (2018) does not refer to these particles as tense, he notes that "the functions these forms play are comparable to the well-known multiple past and future tense systems of Bantu languages" (p. 162). The future is marked by *ná* (affirmative) or *kʊ* (negative) which "points to a generic time in the future" and may combine with temporal adverbs like *saa* 'tomorrow' or *daa* 'two or more days to come'. Musah (2018) "prefers not to refer to the future form as a tense category" because it has modality interpretation as well (p. 181). Unfortunately, he does not discuss modality in Kusaal although the title of the chapter portends such presentation.

Musah (2018) identifies two (2) main aspects in Kusaal namely, imperfective and perfective. He proposes that the imperfective has two sub-categories, the habitual *-Vd/-t* and the progressive *-Vd/t-nɛ*. On the other hand, the perfect(ive) is marked by *-Vya* on the verb. As (5) shows, the progressive appears to be a "focused version of the habitual" (p. 175). It can be noted, however, that while particles used in focus sentences may also function as a temporal marker (see Schwarz and Fiedler 2007 on Lelemi; Duah 2019 on Akan), it is not clear that this is the case in Kusaal, at least not based on the available data. In fact, as Musah (2018) shows, verbs inflected with the 'habitual' suffix alone may also have progressive interpretation, as shown in (6a-b) . Also, *-Vd/t-nɛ* marking on the verb is not always interpreted as progressive but sometimes a habitual meaning is obtained, as (6c) shows. Thus, in Kusaal there appears to be a clear contrast in terms of marking between imperfective events (habitual and progressive) (4) and perfect(ive) events (7).

(4)   **Awam di'e-d   yɔɔd.**
    Awam collect-HAB salary
    'Awam collects salary.' (Musah, 2018: 174, ex.393)

(5)   **Dasaŋ   la ku-ʊ-nɛ   nɔɔs.**
    young man DET kill-HAB-Foc chickens
    'The young man is killing chickens.' (Musah, 2018: 177, ex.400b)

(6)   a. **Ba sɛ̃'-ɛd   zimi nɛ.**
       3PL roast-HAB fishes Foc
       'They are roasting fishes (not meat).' (Musah, 2018: 177, ex.403b)

  b. **O   di-t   sa'ab nɛ.**
       3SG eat-HAB TZ   Foc
       'He is eating TZ.' (Musah, 2018: 177, ex.404b)

    c. **Sɔ'mɛkama zig-id-nɛ   o   mɛŋ yɛla.**
       everyone   strives-HAB-Foc 3SG REFL matter
       'Everyone strives for their own cause.' (Musah, 2018: 225,ex.618)

(7)   **Ba tɛ̃'ɛ̃s-iya.**
        3PL remember-PRF
        'They have remembered.'

2.7   Argument structure and grammatical relations

Chapter eight looks at clause structure in Kusaal. In this language, there are many verbs that alternate between transitive and intransitive uses, the so-called 'ambivalent/ambitransitive'. However, some of the cited examples appear to involve NPs adjuncts with an adverbial function (8). For instance, in (8b) the NP *kum bɛ'ɛd* 'bad death' is not a direct object of the verb but an adjunct. The language distinguishes between subject and object arguments based on their relative positions in the clause rather than any inflectional morphology to show their grammatical relation (perhaps, an exception can be found pronominalization). Musah (2018) identifies an indirect object based on semantic roles such as 'beneficiary', and is "usually introduced by a second verb *tis* 'to give'" (p. 190). Thus, in (9), *ti* '1PL' and *o* '3SG' are identified as indirect objects while *zimi* 'fishes' and *toroko la* 'the truck' are labeled as direct objects. It is, however, not immediately clear what syntactic properties differentiate direct objects from indirect objects in Kusaal, especially since all the objects appear to be arguments of a different verb. Thus, the objects in the sentences in (9) may be 'symmetric objects' with no differential syntactic relation between them (Bresnan and Moshi, 1990). In ditransitive constructions though the indirect object (or asymmetric object, a là Bresnan and Moshi 1990) "always precedes the theme, the direct object" (p. 201).

(8)   a. **Pu'a   la   sid   kpi-nɛ.**
        woman DET husband die-Foc
        'The woman's husband died.' (Musah, 2018: 188, ex.446)

    b. **Dau   la   kpi-nɛ kum bɛ'ɛd.**
       man.SG DET die-Foc death bad
       'The man died a bad death.' (Musah, 2018: 188, ex.447)

(9)   a. **Atiig da'a-nɛ   zimi tis-i   ti.**
        Atiig bought-Foc fishes gave-Foc 1PL
        'Atiiga bought fish and gave us.' (Musah, 2018: 191, ex.462)

    b. **Bʋŋ   la   yɛ'ɛg-nɛ toroko la   tis   o.**
       donkey DET pull-Foc   truck   DET INSTR 3SG

'The donkey pulled the truck for him.' (Musah, 2018: 191, ex.465)

2.8   Serial verb constructions

Chapter nine of the book discusses serial verb constructions (SVCs) by "adopting a pro-totypical approach" (Musah, 2018: 213). The chapter discusses some features of SVC in Kusaal such as the notion of single eventhood, argument sharing and the connector constraint. Musah (2018) argues that while 'protypical' SVCs encode meaning which may be conceptualized as a single event, other SVCs may involve separate events. In Kusaal SVCs, verbs may share the subject and object arguments, although "there are instances where some arguments are not shared by all the serialised verbs..." (p. 216). The author, however, does not provide any tests that proves argument sharing or other-wise in any of the cited examples (see for example, Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008; Duah and Kambon 2020). Musah (2018) provides examples of purported SVCs in which a remnant of a coordinator *-n* occurs and argues that although such constructions may be ruled out by the connector constraint they exhibit important features of the category of SVC such as single tense/aspect marking. The details on this construction, however, is terse and not further pursued in the rest of the work. As a general observation, the chap-ter on serial verb constructions is uncharacteristically short (8 pages) and the content raises more questions about the nature of serialization in Kusaal.

2.9   Focus constructions

The last chapter of the book looks at 'pragmatically marked structures' such as focus, negation, and question formation in Kusaal. Throughout the book we encounter sen-tences which routinely have the particle *nɛ* (or its allomorphic variants *n* and *-i*) that attaches to verbs, as in (10a) or placed after nominal objects, shown in (10b). Musah (2018) analyses *nɛ* as 'broad focus' (glossed as Foc) which "focuses only elements in the predicate." The reduced allomorph *n* and *-i* can be used to mark subject *in situ* fo-cus (11a-b), but not the full form (10c). Kusaal has another particle, *ka* that is used to mark *ex situ* focus. Musah (2018) identifies *ka* as encoding 'narrow focus' (glossed as FOC) in which "the element being focussed (sic.) is raised to subject position at the left periphery of the clause" (p. 225). As shown in (12a-b), *ka* can be used in both subject and non-subject *ex situ* focus. There is, however, little effort in the book to tease apart the interpretation of the different particles in their contexts of use.

(10)   a.   **Pu'a   la   tʊm-nɛ biig.**
         woman DET sent-Foc child
         'The woman sent (not called) the child.' (Musah, 2018: 222, ex.606b)

   b. **Ya li teŋ-in   nɛ.**
   2PL fall ground-LOC Foc
   'You fell to the ground.' (Musah, 2018: 222, ex.607a)

   c. ***Pu'a la   nɛ tʋm biig.**
   woman DET Foc sent child
   (Musah, 2018: 222, ex.606b)

(11) a. **Azankuar n   wʋm ala la.**
   Azankuar Foc hear   thus DET
   'When Azankuar (not another fellow) heard that...' (Musah, 2018: 224, ex.614)

   b. **Suoŋ-i   kʋ pu'a.**
   rabbit-Foc kill woman
   'It is a rabbit that killed a woman.' (Musah, 2018: 225, ex.619)

(12) a. **Ni'im ka biis   la   ɔb.**
   meat   FOC children DET chew
   '(It is) Meat that the children ate.' (Musah, 2018: 225, ex.620)

   b. **Fʋ   baa la ka o   kis.**
   2SG.POSS dog DET FOC 3SG hate
   (It is) Your dog that he hates.' (Musah, 2018: 225, ex.622)

   Musah (2018) provides important data that helps the reader to identify the source of the so-called focus particles in Kusaal. It is often takes for granted that particles used to express various foci exist for such purposes only in the grammar of languages that have them. However, it is the case that what eventually manifests as a focus particle is often a grammaticalization from another category. In Kusaal, Musah (2018) shows that both *nɛ* and *ka* have other functions apart from marking focus. *nnɛ* appears to have developed from a comitative copula into a clausal coordinator into its use as a focus particle. Such a grammaticalization path of focus particles has been found in other languages (Schwarz and Fiedler, 2007; Duah, 2019). On the other, the focus particle *ka* appears to have developed from a complementizer and it is, therefore, a prime candidate for *ex situ* focus, which involves a kind of clausal embedding. Thus, Musah (2018) contributes very relevant to on ongoing discussion about the categorial status of focus in the grammar of languages (see Hartmann and Zimmermann 2007).

(13)   (comitative) copula > coordinator > focus particle (see Musah 2018: 202-203)

3. Conclusion

Musah's (2018) *Grammar of Kusaal* is an excellent contribution to linguistic research on Kusaal and provides novel data and analysis on various aspects of the language. The book displays evidence of careful research and a deep understanding of the language and how it works. There are copious footnotes that provide relevant ethnographic and cultural explanations to ideas, notions and expressions which may otherwise sound arcane or untenable to the uninitiated reader. More importantly, the book serves as an important backdrop within which the rest of the Mabia languages can be studied. Musah (2018) is highly recommended for Mabia scholars and students in particular, African language enthusiasts and scholars, and the general linguistic community.

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EDITORIAL BOOK CRITIQUE: A GRAMMAR OF KUSAAL: A MABIA LANGUAGE OF NORTHERN GHANA

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