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From the Editors

On behalf of the membership of the Linguistics Association of Ghana, the editors are proud to present this maiden issue of the *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*. We are particularly proud of the line-up of nine internationally distinguished linguists who have agreed to join our Editorial Board. The journal is to appear twice yearly, in January and July. Although it is almost inevitable that many of the papers will be concerned with language in Ghana and West Africa, we would like to emphasize that this is intended to be a peer-reviewed journal of linguistics, not a journal of Ghanaian linguistics or of linguistics in Ghana. There is no restriction as to languages or topics to be dealt with, or theoretical orientation.

The Linguistics Association of Ghana was originally constituted in 1992 as successor to the Linguistic Circle of Accra, which had been founded in Legon in 1967. However it became dormant after January 1999, until it was revived with a new constitution in 2010, following meetings held late in 2009. Publication of this journal was and remains a principal goal of the new version of the Association.

Perhaps not all readers will be aware that this is not the first publication by LAG in its various incarnations. The first, in Linguistic Circle of Accra days, was a special issue of the *Journal of African Languages*, now unfortunately defunct – Volume 10 Part 3, in 1971. This was followed by a special issue in 1976 of *Communications from the Basel Africa Bibliography*, Vol. 14 entitled *Languages of the Akan Area*. Before this however the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana had begun publication for the Circle of a series called *Papers in Ghanaian Linguistics*. The first issue was published as Supplement No. 4 to the Institute's periodical *Research Review* in March 1973, but from number 2 in 1977 onwards it was published as an autonomous series. The last issue, *Papers in Ghanaian Linguistics* 9, was published in 1998. A *Working Papers in Linguistics* was published in 1994.

These various publications presented new research, and some of the papers contained in them have continued to be cited, but they were very modestly produced. With the *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* we hope to start a new era, in disciplinary range and quality and also in physical quality. As part of the digital future we also expect to start publishing online as soon as practically possible. Meanwhile, in this particular issue, earlier versions of most of the papers were presented at the first conference of the newly constituted Association, which was held at the University Ghana in Legon in August 2010. The next issue will also probably include a number

of papers from this source and from the second conference, held in Kumasi in 2011, but we wish to reiterate that the Journal is not simply the transactions of the Association; all language scholars are free to submit, and papers will be published on their merits. You are invited to consult the inside covers of this issue for information on submission and how to contact us.

The Editors

ACTION NOMINALIZATION IN LƐTƐ[1]

Mercy Akrofi Ansah

Abstract

The primary aim of this paper is to describe the process of action nominalization as it operates in Lɛtɛ. It will further explore morphosyntactic properties that the action noun shares with a prototypical Lɛtɛ noun phrase. 'An action nominalization refers to an action, usually in the abstract, expressed by the verb root ' (Payne, 1997: 224). Generally, the phenomenon can be formulated as:

$$V \rightarrow N_{\text{ACTION designed by V}} \text{ (Payne 1997: 224).}$$

Languages of the world employ one or more mechanisms for deriving action nouns from action verbs 'meaning the act of that verb' (Comrie and Thompson, 2007: 335). Lɛtɛ uses two strategies in deriving action nouns from action verbs. One mechanism involves a tonal change; usually underlying high tones become low, and underlying low tones become high. It has been established that the underlying tonal pattern of the verb root is that of the imperative form (Akrofi Ansah 2009). Secondly, an action noun may be formed from a verb phrase consisting of an action verb and its object by reversing the order of the verb and the object. Transitive and intransitive verbs may undergo action nominalization. The derived noun possesses some morphosyntactic properties of a prototypical noun phrase. For example, it can be focused and also function as object NP in a transitive clause. The paper makes a contribution to our knowledge of some nominalization strategies that related languages like Akan (Appah 2005) and Lɛtɛ share.

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[1] The language under discussion is referred to by its speakers as Lɛtɛ; in the literature, it is often known as Larteh.

1. Preliminaries

The primary objective of this paper is to provide a description of the phenomenon of action nominalization as it occurs in Lɛtɛ, a South Guan language which is genetically affiliated to the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo languages (Lewis, 2009). The derivational devices that create action nouns from lexical verbs will be discussed; furthermore the morphosyntactic properties of the derived nominals will be demonstrated in line with those of prototypical nouns in Lɛtɛ.

Action nominalization is a productive derivational process in Lɛtɛ. Nominals that are derived through the process perform notable syntactic functions in the grammar. In Lɛtɛ focus marking for instance, a verb cannot be focused unless it has been nominalized.

Languages make use of certain devices to modify the grammatical category of a root. For example, a noun may undergo verbalization to become a verb. In the same sense, a verb may become a noun through nominalization after which the derived noun performs syntactic functions similar to those performed by prototypical nouns in the language. The phenomenon of nominalization is defined by Matthews (2005: 244) as "... any process by which either a noun or a syntactic unit functioning as a noun phrase is derived from any other kind of unit". Broadly speaking, nominalization is a process whereby an adjective, a verb or a verb phrase is converted to a noun. The phenomenon may be simply represented as follows:

V→N   (Payne 1997: 223).

Nominalization takes different forms where, in each operation, the resulting noun reflects its relationship with the original root. The resulting noun may be the name of the activity or state stipulated by the root: the verb or adjective. The derived noun may also represent one of its arguments. In action nominalization which is the focus of this paper, the nominalization refers to the activity, usually in the abstract, stipulated by the verb. Action nominalization may be formulated as follows:

V→N$_{Action\ designated\ by\ V}$ (Payne 1997: 224).

Various action nominalization strategies are available to languages. English for instance makes use of a "zero" operator to derive an action noun from an action verb (1). This type of derivation can be considered to be a lexical process (Payne 1997).

1   a.   **I dance at church**.
1   b.   **Let's go for a dance**.

In (1a) the root "dance" is the main verb of the clause, whereas in (1b), "dance" functions as a noun, denoting an activity. The form of the verb therefore does not undergo any change during the derivation.

Appah (2005: 133)) reports that in Akan, the difference between the non-stative verb and the action nominal derived from it is signaled by the tonal pattern of the word (2).

2. **(i) nàǹtsèẁ**   'walk'   (V)
   nántséẃ   'walk(ing)   (N)

This is similar to what pertains in Lɛtɛ as the ensuing discussion will demonstrate.

Furthermore, the action nominalization process may be analytic, as in Mandarin (Li and Thompson (1981) cited in Payne, 1997: 225) or syntactic as in Gwari (Hyman and Magaji (1970) cited in Comrie and Thompson 2007).

The constraints related to action nominalization differ with languages. In English for instance, suffixes that derive action nouns cannot be applied to every verb or adjective. In some ways, action nominalization in Lɛtɛ is similar to what is recorded about related languages like Akan (Obeng Gyasi 1981; Appah 2005) and Ewe (Ofori 2002). However, whereas in Lɛtɛ both transitive and intransitive verbs may undergo action nominalization, Appah (2005: 135) reports that Akan nominalized verbs are usually derived from intransitive verbs.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: in section 2, typological features of Lɛtɛ which are relevant to the discussion are discussed. This is followed in the third section by a description of the two strategies that derive action nominals in Lɛtɛ. In section four, morphosyntactic properties that action nouns share with prototypical nouns in Lɛtɛ are described. The discussion is summarized and concluded in the fifth part.

2.   Some Typological Features of Lɛtɛ

Lɛtɛ is a South Guan (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language (Lewis, 2009) spoken in Larteh, a town located in southeast Ghana, West Africa by about 8, 310 people (2000 Ghana Housing and Population Census). The language has not received much attention from language experts. Similar to most African languages, it is tonal with two level tones: high and low. The lexical tone is contrastive; it distinguishes meaning between two or more words which are the same morphologically. The

grammatical tone distinguishes tense and aspectual forms, and also functions in category-changing derivational processes. Six verbal structures are identified in Lɛtɛ. Each of these verbal structures possesses a distinct underlying tonal pattern as exemplified in (7). Lɛtɛ has a basic Agent, Verb, Object (AVO) and Subject, Verb (SV) order and syntax (3).

3. **Kofi**   **bétè**   **sika**
    Kofi   PST.take   money
    S/A   V   O
    'Kofi took money.'

However, for pragmatic purposes, the basic order as demonstrated in (3) may change where the object argument is preposed to be marked for focus as exemplified in (4). The morpheme *ne* also functions as a relative clause marker as shown in (15).

4. **Sika**   **ne**   **Kofi**   **bétè**   **a**
    money   FOC   Kofi   PST.take   CFP
    O   S/A   V
    'It was money Kofi took.'

Two types of ditransitive constructions operate in Lɛtɛ: the double object construction (5) and the indirect construction (6). In the double object construction, the recipient-like argument precedes the theme, whereas in the indirect construction, the order is reversed with an adposition intervening the two objects.

5. **Kofi**   **nɛ̀**   **Ama**   **sika**
    Kofi   PRES.give   Ama   money
    A   R   T
     'Kofi gives Ama money.'

6. **Kofi**   **bétè**   **sika**   **nɛ̀**   **Ama**
    Kofi   PST.take   money   ADP   Ama
    A   T   R
    'Kofi took money for Ama.'

In Lɛtɛ, morphological case is not marked; grammatical relations are determined by constituent order. The morphology of Lɛtɛ is largely agglutinating. The principle of tongue root harmony is operational in Lɛtɛ.

3. The Action Nominalization Phenomenon in Lɛtɛ

Action nominalization in Lɛtɛ involves two strategies: a morphological means which involves a tone pattern change, and a syntactic one which has to do with a re-ordering of verbal phrase constituents and compounding. With both processes, an action verb is changed to become an action noun.

3.1 Morphological strategy

An action noun may be derived from an action verb through a change in tonal pattern. With this process, whereas low tones of the action verb are raised in the derived nominal, high tones of the action verb are lowered when nominalized. Action nouns may be derived from both transitive and intransitive action verbs by the morphological strategy. The process involves all the six verbal structures with their corresponding underlying tonal patterns (7a-7e) identified in Lɛtɛ (Akrofi Ansah 2009).

7.   a. CV

        nà → ná   **gyì → gyí**
        walk   walking   eat   eating

     b. CVCV

        màsé → másè   **fòkyé → fókyè**
        laugh   laughter   sweep   sweeping

     c. CVV (1)   CVV (2)

        bìɛ́ → bíɛ̀   **wùò → wúó**
        bathe bathing   descend   descending

     d. CVCVCV   CVNCV

        kpòràkyé → kpórákyè   **bùǹkyí → búńkyì**
        vomit   vomiting   return   return

     e. CVCVNCV

        fèràǹkyé → féráńkyè
        peel   peeling

In examples 7a-7e, the six different verb structures with their underlying tonal patterns have been used to demonstrate the tone pattern change that occurs when action verbs derive action nouns. In all the instances, the form of the tonemes change as previously described. The action nouns depict the actions that are associated with the verb roots.

3.2 **Syntactic strategy**

With the syntactic strategy, there is a re-ordering of the constituents of a verb phrase and compounding. Verb phrases that undergo the process are made up of a transitive action verb and its internal argument. In the resulting compound, the argument precedes the action verb. With the syntactic strategy also, a tone pattern change in the action verb, similar to what takes place under the morphological strategy has been observed. However, the tone pattern change in the nominal part of the compound is unpredictable at this stage (compare 8a with 8b-e).

8. a. **dàǹkɛ́ tégyí → tégyídáńkɛ**
        cook   food   cooking

    b. **sùá été → ètèsúà**
        learn thing   learning

    c. **nù ńtɛ → ǹtɛnú**
        drink alcohol drinking (of alcohol)

    d. **kèrá été → ètèkérà**
         read thing   reading

    e. **bùè èsúmì → èsúmíbúé**
        do   work   working

4. **Morphosyntactic Properties of Action Nouns**

Derived nouns possess some morphosyntactic characteristics which are common to prototypical nouns. These properties are distributional and structural and they help to determine how 'noun-like' the derived noun is. In the next two sections, distributional and syntactic properties shared by Lɛtɛ prototypical nouns and derived action nouns are discussed.

4.1 **Distributional Properties**

Distributional properties have to do with how words are distributed in phrases, clauses and texts; prototypical nouns for instance, can function as subjects and objects of clauses. In addition, a prototypical non-relational noun may function as the possessed item in an alienable possessive construction in Lɛtɛ. Furthermore, for pragmatic reasons, a noun which occurs as the object argument of a clause may be preposed to be marked for focus. From examples (9) to (12) it will be demonstrated that derived action nouns also possess these distributional properties.

The derived action noun may function as subject of a clause as found in (9), and object as demonstrated in (10).

9. **Ètèkérà   bɛ̀-bóà   a-yirebi   a**
   reading   FUT-help   SG-child   DEF
   'Reading will help the child'.

10. **Ama   bé-kyìrɛ fókyè**
    Ama   NEG-like   sweeping
    'Ama does not like sweeping.'

In an alienable possessive construction, a derived nominal which is non-relational may function as a possessed noun as illustrated in (11).

11. **Ama   mo   ètèkérà   gyí   basaa.**
    Ama   3SG.poss   reading   COP.be   bad
    'Ama's reading is bad.'

The object argument of the verb in (12a) is a derived nominal which may be preposed for focusing. When the object (derived nominal) is put clause-initially, it is followed by the focus marker **ne** as illustrated by (12b).

12. a. **Ama   kyìrɛ̀   ètèsúà**
       Ama   PRES.like   learning
       'Ama likes learning.'

    b. **Ètèsúà   ne   Ama   kyìrɛ̀   a**
       learning   FOC   Ama   PRES.like   CFP
       'It is learning that Ama likes.'

The underlying forms of verbs that occur in double object constructions and indirect constructions may also be nominalized. In such an instance, the nominalized verb and the verb root co-occur in the construction. Similar to (12b), the nominalized verb is placed clause-initially and focus-marked. However, the inflected form of the verb root remains as the main verb of the construction. Examples 13 (a-d), ((b) and (d) same as (5) and (6)) illustrate the phenomenon.

13 a. **Kofi   nɛ̀   Ama   sika**
      Kofi   PRES.give   Ama   money
      'Kofi gives Ama money.'

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b. **Nɛ́   ne   Kofi   nɛ̀   Ama   sika   a**
giving   FOC   Kofi   PRES.give   Ama   money   CFP
'It is giving that Kofi gives Ama money.'

c. **Kofi   bétè   sika   nɛ̀   Ama**
Kofi   PST.take   money   ADP   Ama
'Kofi took money for Ama.'

d. **Bétè   ne   Kofi   bétè   sika   nɛ̀   Ama   a**
taking   FOC   Kofi   PST.take   money   ADP   Ama   CFP
'It is taking that Kofi took money for Ama.'

4.2 Structural Properties

Typical morphological categories for which nouns may be specified include case, number, class or gender and definiteness. Generally, it is also expected that a prototypical noun will take descriptive modifiers (Payne 1997: 35). As already explained, morphological case is not marked in Lɛtɛ, but prototypical nouns in Lɛtɛ are marked for number. They also take descriptive modifiers and are marked for definiteness.

The derived nouns are not marked for number because they are abstract nouns. However, similar to prototypical nouns, the derived action nominals use descriptive modifiers, and may also be modified by relative clauses. They are also specified for definiteness.

Structural properties that derived nominals share with prototypical Lɛtɛ nouns are described in the ensuing section.

A prototypical Lɛtɛ noun may be modified by an adjective from the eight-member adjective class of Lɛtɛ (Akrofi Ansah 2009). Adjectives which belong to this class may be used attributively and predicatively. Examples (14a) and (14b) demonstrate that an adjective from this class may be used to modify a derived nominal both attributively and predicatively.

14 a. **Mo   oni   nɛ́   mo   fókyè   kpotii**
3SG.POSS   mother   PST.give   3SG   sweeping   big
'His/her mother gave him/her a large area to sweep'.

b. **Mo   fókyè   gyi   kpotii**
3SG.poss   sweeping   COP.be   big
'His sweeping (plot) is big.'

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A derived nominal in Lɛtɛ may be syntactically modified by a relative clause. In such a construction, the relative clause functions as a modifier of the nominalized verb which acts as the common argument for the main clause and the relative clause (15a) and (15b).

15　a.　**Másè　a　[ne　Kofi　másè　o-nyinɛ　a]　yɛ́-hàw　　mo**
　　　　laughter DEF REL Kofi　PST.laugh SG-man　DEF　PERF-worry 3SG
　　　　'The laughter which Kofi laughed the man has worried him (the man).'

　　b.　**Ètèsúà　a　[ne　bo　sukuu　a　te　]　bé-gyí　okosɛ**
　　　　learning　DEF REL LOC　school　DEF POST　　NEG-be　good
　　　　'The learning which is in the school is not good.'

Definiteness distinctions in Lɛtɛ nouns are marked by using the definite article **a** as against the indefinite article **ɔko**. Examples (16a) and (16b) demonstrate that derived nominals may be distinguished by the definite and the indefinite articles respectively.

16　a.　**Òfúrébúè　a　　ne　　Kofi　bé-kyìrè　　　a**
　　　　farming　DEF　FOC　Kofi　NEG-PRES.like　CFP
　　　　'It is the farming that Kofi does not like.'

　　b.　**Kofi　dé-màsì　　másì　　ɔ-ko　　　bo　　fura　　　a**
　　　　Kofi　PROG-laugh　laughter SG- a/some　ADP　compound　DEF
　　　　'Kofi is laughing some laughter on the compound.'

5.0 Conclusion

Action nominalization is a productive derivational process in Lɛtɛ. Derived nominals play significant roles in morphosyntactic processes in the language. During the process, action verbs both transitive and intransitive undergo nominalization. The derived noun represents the action denoted by the verb root. In Lɛtɛ, the strategies that are employed are morphological and syntactic in nature. These are common nominalization strategies in Akan, a related language.

What may be described as morphological involves a tone pattern change where low tones in the root verb are raised in the derived noun, whereas high tones are lowered. In what represents a syntactic process, there is a word order change in a verb phrase, followed by compound formation of the action verb and its internal argument. The head of the verb phrase is a transitive action verb with object complement. It has been observed that the word order change and compounding also involves a tone pattern change, similar to what happens in the morphological process. Action nouns

and prototypical Lɛtɛ nouns have some common morphosyntactic properties. The derived action nouns may occur in subject and object positions of a simple clause. In addition, they can take some descriptive modifiers and also determiners. Syntactic modifiers in the form of relative clauses may also be employed. In a possessive construction, an action noun may represent the possessed element. Finally, the action noun may be marked for focus.

Abbreviations

ADP	adposition	POSS	possessive
CFP	clause-final particle	PRES	present
COP	copula	PROG	progressive
DEF	definite	REL	relative clause marker
FOC	focus	SG	singular
FUT	future	3SG 3	singular
LOC	locative	V	verb
N	noun		
NEG	negative		

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THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE ON THE GOLD COAST, 1471-1807[1]

Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu

Abstract

It is well known that a vehicular variety of Portuguese served as the principal language of communication between Africans and Europeans from soon after the first appearance of the Portuguese on the Gold Coast towards the end of the fifteenth century until the demise of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the nineteenth. This paper seeks to reconstruct the circumstances of its establishment and spread and the range of its use. It is argued that it was not "merely" a trade language but was used in a wide variety of situations, and that the label "pidgin" as usually defined is not particularly applicable. In the absence of written documents it is difficult to establish its grammatical features, but a range of historical sources and the evidence of the languages spoken on the coast today make it possible to construct a glossary of well over 100 words in common use.

In an earlier study I discussed the appearance of the Portuguese language as a language of trade on the Gold Coast, as well as the circumstances of its spread, in some detail (Dakubu 1997: 142ff.) In this paper I take a closer look at what can be said about the language itself, and compile what can be retrieved of its vocabulary.

The language has been the mentioned occasionally in the literature, but not often. A few linguists mentioned it in print in the 1970s, referring to it as 'Pidgin Portuguese' (Berry 1971, Naro 1973, Spencer 1971). However, although the language as used on the Gold Coast no doubt had very local features, this seems to be a misnomer, for reasons I will return to. It was very frequently mentioned in pre-colonial European writings about the coast, usually in terms that associated it with the local people, but acknowledging that Europeans of various nationalities used it too, and not solely to communicate with Africans. Thus in the middle of the 18th century, at the height of the slave trade, the Danish trader L. Rømer based in Osu at Christiansborg wrote:

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[1] This paper is a slightly revised version of a paper first presented at the International Conference on Afro-Hispanic, Luso-Brazilian and Latin American Studies held at the University of Ghana, August 5, 2009.

> The staff on the Coast often use such forms of expression [ie. Portuguese words] … and other Negro-Portuguese terms in their reports to their superiors here, as well as to those in England and Holland…. but I know that we here ought to compile a dictionary of Negro-Portuguese and Danish in order to make the reports which come from the Guinea Coast comprehensible. (Winsnes 2000: 164-5.)

He then goes on to define some words, including *palaber* and *callisiare*, but as far as I know, such a dictionary was never compiled.

Almost a century before Rømer, F. Müller, chaplain at the Danish fort at Amanfro near Cape Coast, quotes things local people said to him that indicate that Africans there commonly communicated on every-day topics with Europeans in a variety of Portuguese (see Appendix, Phrases). A decade or so later, the Danish captain Tilleman commented that a number of the locals in Sierra Leone spoke quite good Portuguese (Tilleman 1697/1994: 11), while on the Gold Coast some of the Blacks spoke "a little Dutch, English, and Portuguese as well" (ibid: 19), but also, that on the Gold Coast trade with Europeans was carried on by those who "can speak the country's Portuguese..". Apparently those who spoke it were people living in close association with the forts, and they or their close relatives had perhaps worked there (Tilleman 1697/1994: 30). Working through a local intermediary who could speak Portuguese seems to have been a business necessity for all European traders (with the possible exception of the English) until early in the nineteenth century.

The 'country Portuguese' was not a written language; to my knowledge there are no extant documents in it. Contracts and agreements between the forts and the local authorities were commonly written in the language of whoever owned the fort, and then interpreted orally in Portuguese before signature, and there is at least one quite detailed description of this procedure (Groben 1694: 82), but apparently the Portuguese version was never written down, or at least no such document has survived. The exclusively oral use of the language, added to the fact that European writers attest that it had a very strong local flavour, is presumably why some linguists have referred to it as a pidgin. However it does not fit the usual definition of a pidgin, as a simplified language created under pressure by people of diverse linguistic origins who did not have sufficient access to native speakers of the common language to learn it properly. It is true that the Portuguese had no official base on the Gold Coast after 1642, when they lost their forts (including Elmina) to the Dutch. However throughout the sixteenth century, Elmina and to a lesser extent Axim had significant numbers of Portuguese-speaking European residents, and schools were held for local boys, where

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they presumably learned Portuguese as well as Latin (Texeira da Mota and Hair: 1988: 77). Vogt (1979: 55) reports that the king of Fetu's sons visited the vicar of the chapel where Fort St. Jago now stands for instruction in the faith, customs and language of the Portuguese. For several years in the 1570s, Augustinian missionaries at Elmina taught mulatto children in the castle and also worked at Komenda and Abakrampa (Bartels 1965: 2). Such instruction was not unique to the Gold Coast, but took place all along the Guinea Coast wherever the Portuguese established themselves. In 1553 it was reported that the King of Benin (City) spoke Portuguese well, having learned it as a child (Hakluyt 1907: 42). I detail all this to stress that in the first century or so of its use, the Portuguese language was learned formally as well as informally, on the Gold Coast and elsewhere on the coast of West Africa.

After 1642 the Portuguese continued to trade on the Gold Coast, but the continued use of their language seems to have been due mainly to an unspoken agreement between non-Portuguese Europeans and the local merchants, by which the local African merchants with connections at the forts controlled the trade and kept it in their own hands. That is, ordinary African residents of the coast could not easily start trading with Europeans, but would have to work with a local Portuguese-speaker. It should also be noted that Portuguese was the lingua franca of the Dutch trading empire around the world, not just in West Africa, and most of the sailors and traders in the Dutch service spoke it (Boxer 1965: 224; Valkhoff 1972: 94).[2] However these people did not write Portuguese, probably learned it very informally themselves, and we can assume that their standard of formal education was on average not high, so that after the Portuguese and their priests left their forts there was no support for an educated metropolitan version of the language on the Gold Coast. No doubt a broad range of second-language varieties developed, but we have no way of determining what they might have been like.

Sources and Problems

Our sources of data for this language are basically of three kinds:
a) European writings about the coast since the 15th century,
b) words attested in Ghanaian languages today, and
c) words attested in English as spoken on the erstwhile Gold Coast.
The last two are essentially similar, as they consist of loan words found in extant languages.

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[2] Boxer (1965) discusses the reasons for this situation. Partly it came about because the Dutch succeeded the Portuguese in many places, including in the Far East, not only in Africa.

All sources involve problems, albeit different ones. European writers of books about the Gold Coast were usually writing either to impart information to prospective merchants and sea captains who were not yet familiar with the coast but might consider going there, for example, Tilleman (1697) and Rømer (1756); or to entertain people in their home countries who were unfamiliar with the coast and had no intention of going there, ie. popular travel writing, for example Rask (1754) and Rømer (1760), or a mixture of these. Europeans on the Coast wrote voluminous letters, often with purposes not dissimilar from the books, but also as business reports to their home offices, for example the Dutch documents edited by van Dantzig (1978). In the case of reports, the only reflection of the presence of Portuguese is the use of certain terms, such as *caboceer* and *grandee*, that were so entrenched in local usage that they seem to have become part of the local version of the metropolitan language – see Rømer's comment above.

The published books are more interesting for our purpose. No writer gave a wordlist of local Portuguese, and we can imagine that most of them did not think such a thing was necessary, because a European would either learn Portuguese before arrival or, when on the coast, work through an interpreter, until such time as he picked up a local language. However they frequently used Portuguese words with a local reference, and introduced both local Portuguese and Fante or Ga words when describing local customs, food crops, etc. As a result, most of the Portuguese words in such sources are related in one way or another to relations between Europeans and local people, whether in business dealings or in social interactions such as marriage to local women. Most important, though, the sheer number of words and expressions extant is very limited.

Europeans recorded local words for the benefit of other Europeans, and these in fact constitute most of our earliest records of Fante and Ga. These wordlists are sometimes unwitting attestations to the pervasive use of Portuguese, because occasionally the words are Portuguese, not Fante or Ga. More experienced and knowledgeable writers such as Müller and Rømer were quite clear as to which words were Portuguese and which Fante or Ga, but there are cases where a writer probably simply confused them. Thus Capt. Towerson's sixteenth century list of eight "Mina" words include four that are clearly Akan, two Portuguese, one Ga and one whose origin is unclear (Dalby and Hair 1964). It may of course have happened that certain Portuguese words were used in a local language, as in fact happens with English words now.

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Local languages also borrowed Portuguese words that are still used. They tend not to be the same words that the Europeans record, because they mainly refer to introduced culture items that were new to local people, not coastal items that were new to the Europeans. If the words became integrated into local languages, it seems a fair inference that they were commonly heard in the locally-spoken Portuguese. When Portuguese finally gave way to English on the Gold Coast, English, the replacing language, took over some Portuguese words in local use, including *palaver*, *sabi* from **saber**, *calabash,* and *pikin*.

Some Features of the Vocabulary

It appears that Gold Coast Portuguese did not consist only of Portuguese words. Part of its local flavour came from the local words used, for example 'Dey' from Akan *ɔ-dehe*, now pronounced *ɔdehye*,[3] and 'Braffoe' from Akan *brafo* as a title. I include the Akan word **Nyan-kɔme* 'God', because Müller says that that is what the local people used when speaking to Europeans. Presumably this category of words varied from place to place.

There were also borrowings from other European languages, including the (obsolete?) English expression *kill-devil* for 'gin', and Dutch *baas* for 'overseer'. The Dutch word occurs in Danish sources, and the English one in both Danish and Dutch. Indeed, Schmidt in 1761, in describing an engraving of a Ga warrior in full gear remarked that "Certain terms…[used by Schmidt in the description] are not the Negroes' own but are a mixture of Portuguese with their language and some come from other European languages and are called [collectively] Negro-Portuguese" (Winsnes 2000: 264).

From the European writings we get the impression that the names of gold weights used were Akan, and that the forts otherwise dealt in their own national currencies; that is, we do not find Portuguese names for these things, although the social aspects of doing business were discussed in Portuguese.

The language, and the words from it that show up in Ghanaian languages today, also include a number of words that are not of European origin but were moved around the world by the Portuguese-speaking traders and crews. Most of them came either from the Far East or from the Americas, particularly new food plants. Many of them were borrowed by European languages as well: words such as 'hammock', 'veranda', 'cacao'. At least two come from other parts of the west coast of Africa,

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[3] It is sometimes claimed that this word is of North African origin, but in that case the similarity to the Akan word may well have promoted its use.

namely 'banana', like Ga *amadaa* 'plantain', and the English word 'yam'. An interesting word in this general category is 'kenkey', which is standard in Ghanaian English but does not come from a Ghanaian language. It seems to have started off in the Far East, meaning something like cooked rice. The word in Portuguese today (*canja*) apparently means 'chicken soup with rice' but also anything 'easy to do'.[4] Probably the word was spread not in connection with specific ingredients but as food that was bought ready-cooked, the local 'fast food'.[5]

I have been unable to determine the source of a word spelled *Acrossa* by Tilleman and *Crosse* by Müller. It clearly means 'tiger nut', *Cyperus esculentus* – Müller even gives the Akan equivalent, *atadwe*. One rather slim possibility is the Akan word *akoropaa*, referring to another small plant that also has a small tuber, *Tacca leontopetaloides (L.)* (Dokosi 1998: 545-8). Apparently in those days it was a more important crop than it is now.

In some cases it is uncertain whether a word should be attributed to Coast Portuguese, or only to usage of a particular European language. Thus *costgeld* meaning something like 'fees' and *troncken* for something like 'warehouse' are not Portuguese and seem to be found only in the Dutch documents, although they are apparently not standard Dutch words either. The word *Tapoeyer* for 'mulattos' was also used by the Dutch. They were convinced all the mulatto traders were cheating them, so perhaps it is from Portuguese **tapear** 'to cheat', although Baesjou (1979: 18) proposes a Brazilian origin.

The Life and Death of Gold Coast Portuguese

Although Portuguese was the trade language throughout the seventeenth and for most of the eighteenth centuries, by the end of the eighteenth it seems to have been on the wane. It had never been the only language of trade, for European traders who stayed long on the coast frequently learned Fante or Ga,[6] and English seems to have gradually spread. Isert (1788/1992: 103) commented that English was much used in Whydah, one of the places on the Benin coast where Portuguese lasted the longest. Monrad writing on the basis of his Christiansborg residence in the first decade of the 19th century (1822/2008: 349/253) remarked that,

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[4] Perhaps rather like *koko* 'easy, simple' in current Ghanaian English, also the name of a plain food.
[5] This does not mean that the food that 'kenkey' refers to came from the east, rather that this is the name it came to be called by in Portuguese and now in English.
[6] See for example the story in a Dutch document of 1731 (Van Dantzig 1978) about an Englishman "known to speak the Negroes' language well". Rømer evidently had some command of Ga.

> Thus, many Negroes, especially on the Upper Coast, still speak the Portuguese language, as all the languages of the Coast Negroes are more or less mixed with it. Also, the Negroes on the Upper Coast continue to have practiced using it, because the Portuguese ships that trade in Africa hire Negroes and canoes from there, to be used in trade along the coasts and on the rivers far down the coast.

"Upper Coast" referred to the coast west of the Volta. The implication seems to be that although Portuguese was still used, the Danes at least did not need to use it, but used interpreters directly from Ga or Fante into Danish.

We might ask whether the arrival of returnees from Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century helped to maintain the Portuguese language a while longer. It apparently did make a difference east of the Volta, for Portuguese was the language of instruction in Whydah schools until the end of the nineteenth century (Bay 1986), despite the early popularity of English there, but on the Gold Coast I do not think it did, or not for long, despite the fact that in Accra they were integrated as a section of the Ga known as 'Tabon', from the Portuguese greeting *esta bom?* The freed slaves who arrived from Brazil were mainly not Brazilian born, and perhaps had no particular attachment to the language, or perhaps in some cases did not even speak it. In any case, by the time they arrived, English colonialism was getting under way, and English was the language that traders needed to know.

A final word on what seems to be a relatively new Portuguese word in Ghanaian languages, *galamsey* for 'illegal gold winning'. The Brazilian word for an independent gold winner is *galimpeiro*, from a word of the Algarve region of southern Portugal, *galampear*, meaning 'rob, plunder'. It is possible that this is a survival from the nineteenth century, but I know of no record of it before the middle of the twentieth. Probably it has arrived more recently, possibly with Ghanaians returning from Portuguese-speaking southern Africa.

To conclude, it will be observed from the contents of the Appendix that while the number of Portuguese words still in use on what was the Gold Coast is not vast, neither is it negligible. The fact that more than 150 words and several sentences can be retrieved in a language which was rarely if ever written, and for which we thus have essentially no written documents, and moreover has not been spoken on the Gold Coast for about two hundred years, is surely a witness to its former importance. These words record a period that for better or for worse was crucial in the formation of the Ghana we know today, and reflect both what was new to the coast, in the words of non-African origin, and what was unfamiliar to the Europeans, as witnessed by the

African words they adopted. They also remind us that 'globalization' has been in progress for quite a while, for they originate from Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas.

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Appendix

Gold Coast Portuguese Words and Phrases

The Portuguese or in some cases other headword is given first, in **bold**. This is followed by the source in brackets, if the word is not Portuguese in origin. This is in turn followed by the source meaning, in quotation marks '…'. Citations from written sources are then given, in approximate chronological order, with the cited word in *italics* followed by the abbreviation of the source, and either the page number, in parentheses (..), or the year of citation in the case of the Dutch Documents (DD). If two page numbers are given separated by a slash (eg. for Tilleman) the first is the page number in the published translation, the second the original. (If a work has been translated but only one page number appears, it is because the word itself was translated and so does not appear in the translation. The page number given is for the original.) A roman numeral in a citation from Müller refers to the 'chapter' of his 'Fetu' (Fante) vocabulary – and so indicates a word considered by Müller to be a word in that language. Following this and separated by a double semi-colon ;; are citations from currently spoken languages of the erstwhile Gold Coast – GC and Gh English, Ga, Akan.[7] The abbreviation 'obsol.' means the word is not currently used in the language in question.

Sources

Contemporary and historical sources are listed in alphabetical order according to the abbreviation used. Where bibliographic details are missing, see the References.

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[7] Although most if not all of the Portuguese words were borrowed into Ewe as well, they have been excluded from this essay because the coast east of the Volta was not considered part of the Gold Coast, and because the Portuguese were established on the coast east of present-day Ghana, once known as the 'Slave Coast', for much longer. The history of the language in that area merits a study of its own.

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DD: Van Dantzig, 1978. *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast 1674-1742*.

DeM: De Marees, Pieter, 1987. *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)*. Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones, trans. and ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DH/T: Dalby and Hair, 1964. (Towerson)

E/D: Escudier, Denis de (ed.) 1992. *Voyage d'Eustache Delafosse sur la côte de Guinée, au Portugal et en Espagne (1479-1481)*. Paris: Editions Chataigne.

HJL/B: Hair, P.E.H., Adam Jones and Robin Law, eds. 1992. *Barbot on Guinea; the Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678-1712*. London: Hakluyt Society.

Me: Meredith, Henry. 1812. *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

Mo: Monrad (1822).

Mül: Müller (1968/1676).

Rø: Winsnes (2000).

T: Tilleman (1994/1697).

W/W: Winsnes, Selena Axelrod, 2004. *A Danish Jew in West Africa, Wulff Joseph Wulff, Biography and Letters 1836-1842*. Trondheim: Dept of History NTNU.

W/I: Winsnes, Selena Axelrod trans. and ed. 1992. *Letters on West African and the Slave Trade. Paul Erdmann Isert's Journey to Guinea and the Caribeean Islands in Columba (1788)*. OUP

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V: Vogt, John, 1979. *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast 1469-1682*. Athens: University of Georgia Press

abrir 'to open'. *abrid* Mül (193).

açucar 'sugar'. *Assugri* Mül VI; Akan *sikyiri* Ga *sikli.*

albocóre 'a large fish' (albacore). Mül (216).

almade 'a rowing boat'. Vogt.

amarrador (Braz.) 'master'. Ak. *amradofo,* Ga *amrado, amralo.*

ananas   'pineapple'. deM;   *anassas* Mül (216); Twi *anansi* B/H;; Ga *ananse* 'wild pineapple'.

arca 'chest'. *Addácca* Mül XIV; Twi *addack-hà* B/H; Vogt ;; Ak. *adaka*; Ga *adéka.*

armazém 'warehouse'. *armasoen* 'consignment, full load, of slaves' DD p.126 and passim.

armezim   a cloth. Vogt; *armozyn* DD 1733 and passim.

atrás 'behind'. *atra* Mül (95).

baas (Dutch) 'overseer', of European artisans and company slaves. W/I (152); *bas* Mo. (360).

bacia   'basin'. *bassina* DH/T.

bambu (E. Asian, via Dutch?) 'bamboo'. Ak. *mprampuro* Ga *pamplo*; Eng. *bamboo.*

banana (Guinea origin, Mande or West Atlantic) *amenenne* (DeM); *bannanas* (Mül); Akra *amadah* W/I;; Ga *amádàá* Dangme *mánàà*'plantain'.

banco 'bank'   T (120/32) 'legal weight'.

bandelier 'belt'. Bo; Mül.

bandera 'flag'. Mül XII.

batel, **bateira** 'small boat'. Ga *batɔɔ*; Akan *batadewa.*

beatilha 'nun's veil'. a fine grade of cloth: *platthiljos* DD 1686, 1729; *plattilies* = Ga *klala* Schmidt 1761.[8]

bolo 'cake'. 'a steamed bread': *bolle* Rø (196); *Abullo* W/I (123, in Accra and Asante wordlists); *abulla* W/W (77) ;; Akan *àbódòó* Ga *abólòó.*

bonito   'a large fish'. Mül (216) ;; Eng. *bonito* refers to any of several kinds of mackerel.

bom 'good'. *bono* Rø (98).

brafo (Akan) a title. *Braffo* DD 1690, 1702.

branco 'white'. *baa, blaa* E/D; *Blanquen* 'white people' Mül (36 &passim); *Blanks* Bo; *Blanke* Schmidt/Rø (263); *Blanke* Mo (21);; Akan *brɔ-fo* Ga *blɔ-fo.*

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[8] This etymology was suggested by Adam Jones (1985). **Platillo** in Spanish is 'a kind of pan', and it is possible that in some cases this is what a spelling like *platthiljos* refers to, since crockery and metal pans were among the trade goods imported to the Coast.

brandir 'flourish, brandish, wield'. *brandee* 'stake property against settlement of a dispute' Me.

brincar 'play'. *pringaren* DD 1738; *brengaren* 'celebrations' Schmidt in Rø (262); *bringar* W/I (138); Mo (18).

brisa 'breeze'. *brissa* 'wind' Mül (94, I).

buzio 'conch, whelk'. Used for 'cowry': *bossies, bos* Rø (92, 196); Schmidt in Rø; *Boss* W/I (85); *bossies, cabes bos* W/W (82).

cabeça 'head'. 1) 'cowries': *cabes* DD 1730; *cabes* W/I (84) '*ihi* [*yihi*]*to the Black*' [Ga *yii* 'heads']; *cabes* 'account, because of' Mo (24, 74); *cabes bos* W/W (82).

2) 'chief': *Cabusees* T (8/10); *Cabessiros* Mül (114); *Caboceros, Caboceers* DD 1682, 1690, 1700, passim; *Cabocero* Bo.; *caboceer* Rø (68, 79, 237); *kabossies, Kabossie* W/I (47, 48, 59, 89, 99 passim); *caboceers, cabuseer* (Mo xxii, 16, and quotes Bowdich); *caboceer* W/W (89).

cabo 'cape'. In place names: *Cabo Apollonia, Cabo Corsso* T: (53/19; 69/22 passim); DD 1675.

cabra dimin. **cabrito** 'goats & sheep'. *cabrite* Mül (121); *cabriets* DD; *cabrit* Rø (91); *cabritter* W/W (59).

cal 'lime' Akan *akádo*, Ga *káàloó*.

calabaza, carabassa (Span.) 'calabash'. *Calabassa* Mül (147); Bo. ;; Eng.

caminho 'road'. *camienje* DD 1732.

camisa 'shirt'. *camezà, camisai* P/H ;; Akan, Ga *kamínsàá*.

candeia 'lamp'. Akan *kanéa* Ga *kané*.

canoa (from Arawak) 'canoe'. *canò* Mül; *Canoas* Bo.

Cape Coast ostensibly English, this name is clearly an Anglicization of *Cabo Corso*, which indicates that this headland was a landmark for sailors from the earliest arrivals of Europeans in the area (see **cabo** and **corso** below).

carga 'burden, bag'. 'bandelier' Mül XV; *cargant* DD 1705 – apparently a chain or money bag of some kind.

cargazón (Span.) 'cargo'. *cargasoen* DD passim.

carta 'paper'. *brɔhoumacratà* [brɔ-nhoma-krataa] B/H ;; Ak. *krâtaá*

casa 'house'. *cassa* Mo (47), also used for a Ga coming of age custom for boys, Mo (66/55).

casar 'marry, set up housekeeping'. Refers to indigenous marriage customs and also to Euro-African temporary marriage arrangements. *callisiare, callischarer* Rø (165, 185); *cassarerede* S/Rø (264); *cassaren* W/I (140, 156); Mo (61/47).

castelo 'castle'. *Casteel* Mül (9).

cauri (Hindustani) 'cowry'. *coris* Mo (39/12) ;; Eng.

cebola 'onion'. Ga *sàbólàí* Dangme *sabólā āsāmúnàá.*

chave 'key'. *Saffi* Mül XIV; *sassi* B/H;; Akan *sáfẽ, safõwá* Ga *sám̀feé.*

chumbo 'lead' (metal). *súmbo* Mül IV; *sombouy* B/H;; Akan *sùmpíĩ* Ga *súmùí.*

cobra 'snake'. Recorded only in a place name: *Rio Cobre* Bo.; *Ancober* DD passim ;; Eng. *Ankobra* river.

cobre 'copper'. *Coper* Mül X; *copri* B/H ;; Akan *kɔ̂bere* Ga *káplɛ̀.*

cocos 'coconut'. *coquos* 1498; Mül (203) ;; Ga *àkókòóshi.*

cola 'cola (nut)' Mül (215).

consagrar 'recognize as official'. Used in connection with temporary marriages of Europeans to local women, see **casar**. *consaw* DD.

conta 'accounts'. Akan *akɔ́ntàá* Ga *akɔ́ntàá.*

conta '(rosary) bead'. *conte de terra* DD 1718: *contreterre* Rø (23).

corcobados 'a fish'. T (14/11).

corso an adjective describing something having to do with sailing.[9] In the place name *Cabo Corsso*, see **Cape Coast** above. *Corsso* T; *Cors* Rø.

costa 'coast'. *Custe* Mül; *Costy* DD passim; *Custe, costa* Rø.

costumes 'customs'. 1) 'ceremonial homage', also 'rent' for land: T (9/10); DD 1729; *Coustyme* Rø.(149/179);

2) 'funeral celebrations'. Mo (21) ;; Ga, Dangme *kùsúmī*

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[9] Information from H. Bediako, personal communication.

crevellan   (or **scrivellos**) (source unknown) small elephant tusk.   DD 1719 and
   passim; W/I (85).

crossa   (source unknown) 'tiger nut'. *Acrossa* T (133/37); *Crosse* Mül (211).

cruz 'cross' *crus* HJL/B.

Day (Akan) 'chief'.   Mül (109); DD 1689 ;; Twi *ɔ-déhye.*

dentro 'inside'. *adentro* Mül (193).

Diabo 'devil'. *Diabol* Mül (193).

Dios 'God'. Mül (89); *A dio* 'good day!' W/I (28).

dobrar   'fold'. *Doubra* DeM.

dorado   'a fish, bream'. Barbot; Mül (227); Rø (214).

dɔnkɔ (Akan) 'native from the interior; slave'. *Duncos* 'northerners' Mo (114) ;;
   Twi *ɔdɔŋkɔ́.*

esta 'this'.   Barbot, Müller.

este, estar 'be, stand' *sta* Mül (193).

fava 'bean'. *faba* Rø (82).

feitiço   (1) 'artificial', from **feitiar** 'to form, shape'.   Meant a) 'alloyed gold', b)
   'manufactured object': *feitiso* DeM; *Feitizo* Barbot; *Fetiche* Bo; DD 1716, 1737.

feitiço   (2) 'witchcraft' *Fetissie* T (133/36) 'taboos'; *Fitiso, Fetisiken* Mül I 'local
   deity'; *Fetiche* Bo.; *fetisse* DD 1732; Rø. passim; Mo. passim ;; Eng. *fetish.*

feitiçeiro 'sorcerer, traditional priest': *Fetisseiro* T (131/36): *Fetissero* Mül (78, I);
   Feticheer Bo.

fiador   'guarantor'. *fiadoor* DD 1703, 1737.

fidalgo   'person of rank'. DD 1705 (used for local dignitaries on other parts of the
   coast).

filho 'son'.   Mül.

feitor   'manager'.   Used to indicate the official called in Akan *ɔkyeame. Fitiro* Mül
   (108); *Fetaire, Fetere* DD (1689, 1690).

forte 'strong'.   Mül.

forno   'oven'. Akan *ɔfrônoó* Ga *frɔ́nɔ̀ɔ.*

goiaba 'guava'. Ga *gówà*: Eng. *guava.*

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?gosto 'taste'. *Gusares æbler* [G. apples] W/W (67).

granada 'shot'. *Granadoes* Bo.

grande 'wealthy, influential person'. *Grande* Mül (6, 133); *grandees* DD 1703, 1737; Rø (179); W/I (67); *Grandees* W/I (47, passim); Mo. (68); *Grandee* W/W (89). as adjective: 'big, important': Rø (98).

hamaca 'hammock'. *hamanké* B/H;; Akan *ahãmáŋkaá*, Ga *àhímankã.*

homem 'man'. *Homes* 'men' DD 1738.

inhame (SW Africa) 'yam'. *Enjamos* Mül (164) ;; Eng. yam.

Nyankɔme (Ak.: note the element –pɔŋ 'great' is absent). *Jan Commè* 'God' Mül (98) ;; Akan *o-nyankopɔŋ.*

juju (Brazilian) 'magic'. Eng.

kakraba, krakra (Ak.) 'small'. Used esp. re diluted gold. *cacraba* T (137/37): *kakeraas* 'gold' DD 1738.

kenkey (E. Asia) originally 'cooked rice'. *kangues, kankis* DeM; *cantje* Mül (162, XIII); *kankis* W/I (101, 125);; Eng. *kenkey*; Port. *canja.*

kill-devil (Eng.) 'gin'. *kerduyvel* DD 1701; *kieldyvel* Rø (58).

krom (Akan) 'village'. *Crom* DD 1705, 1711, 1737, *voorcrom* 'suburb' DD 1711.

lamben (source?) 'cloth strip'. Vogt; DeM; *lememniassen* DD 1731, 1739; Akan *dan-ta.*

macron (source?) 'old, unfit for sale (of a slave)' DD 1684, 1733.

malaguette (Italian 'millet'? OED – in sense of 'grain'?) 'pepper'. *mangeta* Thevet transl. Hacket 1568; *managete* Towerson 1599; Ogilby 1670; *malaget* Rø (199); W/I (127).

male 'bad'. Rø (98).

mancebo 'youth'. *mancevos* Mül (144); *manseroes* Barbot (esp. members of asafo companies).

marinha 'marine', **marinhiero** 'seafarer'. *Marinie* 'toll master', ie. king's representative on the beach to collect import duties DD 1690.

mercador 'merchant'. *Merckador* T (120/32); *mercadoor, mercador* DD 1702, 1704 passim.

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milho 'corn'. *Millie* T (123); *milys, milhio* DD 1675, 1678, 1732; *Milie* Mül (160); *Milhio* Bo; *millie, millio* Rø (196, 236).

moço 'boy, young man'. *Moss* W/I (157).

molto, molta much, very   DH/T.

morador 'garrison soldier; resident on the coast'. Vogt.

mosquete 'musket'. *musquettons* (? evidently foreign word) DD 1704 (108).

mulato 'mulatto'. Bo; DD passim: Rø passim; W/I (120); *mulatinde* (fem.) W/W (157, 160).

mulher 'woman'. *muliere* Mül; Bo. (199).

natural 'native, home born'. *Natureller* T (112/30); Mül (25).

negociar 'conduct business'. *negotierende* (Mül 65, 147); *Negotien* Rø.

negro 'black'. *Negros* 'Black people' T (109/29): Mül (126); Rø passim; Mo (39/13), passim; *Negeri* 'local village' T (89/25); Mo. (13).

ɔkyeame (Akan) 'spokesman'. *Tyami* DD 1690.

pacova (from Tupi, a language of Brazil) 'banana'. *Baccofes* Mül XVI.

palanquim (from India). Eng. *palanquin*; Akan *apakáŋ*, Ga *akpakã́i*.

palavra 'word, speech'. DD 1704, 1732; *palabres, palaber* Rø (164); Mo (17); *palaber* W/I (60); *palaver* W/W (76);; Eng. *palaver*.

pano, Span. **paño** 'cloth'. Bo; Ra: *pantjes* Rø (183); S/Rø (263); W/I (38, 94, 160); Mo (28), and for a Ga girls' puberty custom (56); *pantier* W/W (71); *panties* W/W (90). The form seems to include a Dutch diminutive suffix.

paõ 'bread'. Ak. *pã̂ã̂nõ̂õ̂* 'bread', Ga *akpɔ́ɔ̀nɔ̀ɔ́* 'biscuit'.

patata (from Taino, a Caribbean language) 'potatoes'. *Patattas* Mül (203); *patattes* DD 1726; *patatos* Rø (198); Eng. *potato*. Used for sweet potatoes and sometimes other root crops.

pegar 'seize'. *pingaret* W/I (134).

penhor 'pawn', **penhorar** 'seize'. *panyar* DD 1732, 1739; *penjarte* 'possessed', *penjarer* Rø (91, 164); *panyar* Mo (41, 127) 'be possessed by a deity; capture' (74): *panyar* W/W (77).

pequeno 'small; child'. *Pikanne* 'minor' Rø (98); GC Eng. *pikin*.

pieza (Span.) 'piece'. *Piezas d'Indias* DD 1706.

pimenta 'pepper'. *piment* Rø (199).

pito (Nigerian, prob. Hausa). *Bittau, bitauw* DD 1732-3; *pitto* Rø (235); W/I (127, 140); *pytho* Mo (23, 57) ;; G.C. Eng. *pito.*

porco 'pig'. *proccò* B/H;; Ak. *prokoo* Ga *kpĺòtoó.*

potential 'powerful person'. *potentater* Rø (53).

pregar 'to beg'. *pringar* DD 'barter'.

prego 'nail'. *prego* Mül XIII; *preghou* B/H;; Akan *prêgo, prêko* Ga *plɛ̀kòó.*

preto 'black'. *pretto* Mül.

queijo, Span. **queso** 'cheese'. Akan *kêsuú* Ga *kéêsuú* (obsol.).

rei 'king'. *re* Rø (157).

remador 'oarsman'. *remidorer* 'boatmen' Rø (192).

remorado 'delayed'. *remora* 'delay, difficulty' Bo.

revier (Eng. river? French rivière?) 'lagoon' Mo (137).

rio 'river', eg. *Rio Volta* DD 1670; Rø passim; Mo (115); W/I (31).

roçar 'to plant'. *rossar* 'farming' W/I (56, 161); *rosarre* Mo (83, 121).

saber 'know'. G.C. Eng. *sabi.*

? **sacar** 'pull out, extract, draw a gun'. *siccadinger* 'Akwamu raiders' Rø (121) ;; Eng. *sack.*

? **salador** viz. **saldar** 'balance, settle, an account', 'a grade of official'. DD 1737 (re Benin City).

sancte 'holy'. Bo (153).

sapata, sapato, sapateta 'slipper'. Akan *asepâteré* Ga *asepáàteré.*

sardinha 'sardine'. *sardin* 'herring' Rø (196).

seda 'silk'. Akan, Ga *seda.*

senhor 'sir, mister'. Mül (193); *Seignore* Rø (108).

sica 'knife'. *osseikarn* P/H; *zikkan* W/I (123);; Akan *sekan.*

signo 'symbol' (astrol.). *signa* 'symbol' Rø (96).

tabaco 'tobacco'. *tabba* P/H; W/I (139) ;; Ga *tawá.*

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tábua 'board', **tabu** 'rudder-oar, paddle'. Mül; *attabhoum* 'paddle' P/H ;; Akan
ɔtabő̃ŋ Ga *tablő̃ŋ*.

taça (ult. Ar.) 'cup', and slang for 'pewter'. Mül XIV; *tássa* 'dish, tin' W/R; Ga
tasaá (obsolescent).

taxa 'tax'. Mül.

terra 'land'. Mül (124); DD 1700.

torquado 'a large fish'. Mül (234).

trocar 'exchange, trade'. *troquere* 'exchange' Rø (53).

trovão 'thunder clap', **trovoado** 'thunderstorm'. *travat* 'rain' T (133/37); *trovado*
DD 1730, 1739; *travados* Rø (18); *travats* W/I (25, 26); *travadoes* 'line squall,
storm' W/W (107).

tubaròn 'a large fish'. Mül (229).

urso 'bear'. Used for 'hyena': Mül; Rø.

varanda (from an Indian language) Akan *àbránnàá* Ga *abránàá.*

vela 'sail'. *Abedda* Mül ;; Akan *àbránnàá* Ga: *àbálàá.*

vinho de palmâ 'palm wine'. Mül (200).

voladoros 'flying fish'. Mül (226).

volta 'change, alteration, twisting' (as in Rio Volta). Rø. (207) claims it means
'leaping'. Early maps indicate a change in the currents at its mouth.

Phrases:

Adio a hura! 'Good day sir (*owura*)!' W/I (28).

aldea da duas partes 'town in two parts', see Feinberg (1989: 105); numerous
maps.

arca con tres chaves 'box with three keys', the chest where gold was kept in Elmina.
Vogt (1979: 58).

bonos Gentes 'good people' Rø.

Filhos da Deos 'white men' ('sons of God') Mül (89).

Grande bonos Dies 'major auspicious days' Rø (98).

Homes Grandes 'big men'. DD 1738.

Jan Commè sta atra forte translated as '[The white] God is a defender (?*anderSchlag*) of men'. Mül (94).

Males Gentes (coast of) 'bad people' ie. western coast of Côte d'Ivoire. Rø (203).

Male dies 'inauspicious days'. Rø (98).

Muliere Grande 'senior wife'. Bo (199).

O Senor, no abrid, pretto Diabol sta adentro 'O sir, don't open it, there is a black devil [ie. a medicine shrine] inside' Mül (193).

Per esta crus de Dios 'by this cross of God' (an oath). Barbot.

Pikanne bonos Dies 'minor good days'. Rø (98).

Seignore el Re (Senhor el rei) 'my lord the king' W/I 157.

Seignore Moss (Senhor moço) 'Mr. young-man' W/I 157

ENGLISH LOANS IN SWAHILI NEWSPAPER FOOTBALL LANGUAGE

Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie

Abstract

It has been inferred that to some extent some football terminologies tend to be cross-linguistic, stemming from the fact that many languages borrow football vocabulary from English. Thus within the field of football, the influence of English is significant. Football in Tanzania dates back to the 1920s and is becoming more and more prominent among other sports in Tanzania. Swahili football language is influenced by English in diverse ways. This paper seeks to investigate the strategies for expansion of Swahili vocabulary for the expression of football language in Tanzania by use of a corpus extracted from Swahili newspapers dated between 2006 and 2008. The data is representative of terms for player positions, football functionaries, and miscellaneous standard football related expressions and terminologies. The discussion focuses on the borrowing processes, the grammatical categories of loans items and loan types and how they fit into various linguistic phenomena of borrowing as spelt out in Winford (2003). The paper also addresses the question of standardization of borrowed football registers. Keywords: football_language, loans, borrowing, Swahili

1. Introduction

In the literature, studies have been undertaken on the influence of the English language on football terminologies in several languages (Lavric et al 2008). The areas that are addressed are several: while some works focus on data from radio reporting, others focus on data from newspaper reporting or live football commentaries. This phenomenon seems to be a global one, affecting many languages including African languages. Kachru (1986: 9) cited in Sepek (2008: 53) for instance states that the influence of English on world languages within the world of football is significant. It has also been posited that the borrowing of English vocabulary in the language of football is to some extent cross-linguistic (Sepek 2008: 53). He cites words such a 'football', 'goal' and 'shoot' as examples of words that are used by many languages in football broadcasts.

This influence of English seems to stem from several factors; the fact that the British lay claim to the emergence of the Football game; (although this fact is disputed by some schools of thought), the fact that Britain spearheads the promotion of international football; as well as the fact that English is a global language which has influenced many languages in the area of their socio-cultural and economic lives.

The most common word that is used for football in Swahili is **soka** 'soccer'. Also the word goal **goli** is borrowed, but it refers to the goalpost rather than a score and shoot is used on its own as a noun **shuti** 'shot' or with a verb as part of a phrasal verb **piga shuti** 'kick a shot'. Some of the player positions and functionaries and other terms that relate to football are also borrowed from English. A significant observation is that most borrowed words in the field of football are nouns. Another observation is the frequent use of expressions with inputs from both Swahili and English. Some are derived from direct translations, some by extension of meaning of existing words and others by loan translations. Where verbs such as scoring, defeating, drawing etc are concerned, pure Swahili equivalents are used.

It is observed that significant expansion of the Swahili language has been achieved through borrowing of football vocabulary and terminologies. Notable among these is the phenomenon that extends the meaning of existing words to cover new borrowed concepts and terms. Innovative ways have been employed to meet the need for language expansion to keep Swahili at breast with global trends and in this case, world football. Polomé (1980: 89) states that "as a society grows in complexity, the lexicon which expresses the various aspects of its activities expands using various devices provided by the language to create new lexical items." He goes on to discuss phenomena such as the expansion of the semantic field of existing words, through derivational processes and loan translation.

By the use of a data drawn from a corpus extracted from the sports pages of thirteen issues of Swahili Newspapers based in Tanzania, this paper seeks to contribute to the discourse on borrowing into Swahili by illustrating the various vocabulary expansion strategies that are adopted in Swahili newspaper football reporting as a result of the contact between Swahili and English.

2. Background to Football in Tanzania

Although football has been around for a long time, the first football club in Tanzania, *Taifa* Stars (the National Team) was established in 1930, and the interest of Tanzania in football has grown steadily over the years just as is the case around the globe. According to Trusuta (2007: 199), the game was first introduced to Tanganyika by English missionaries, Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and

popularized in the 1920s by the alumni of the UMCA School at Zanzibar. During the same period the game was adopted and institutionalized as an extracurricular activity at local schools. *Taifa* Stars joined FIFA in 1964, an indication of Tanzania's growing interest in world football. The name of the national team itself (*Taifa* being the Swahili word for nation and Stars, a direct adoption from English) is an indication of the significance of English in anything football in Tanzania. Indeed in the case of the influence of English in Swahili football reporting, interesting observations are made. The Influence of English as mentioned above spans from the names of football clubs to player positions, and football functionaries.

Our data indicates that football clubs in Tanzania often adopt hybrid names made up of English and Swahili items, pure Swahili names or indeed pure English names as indicated in (Table 1) below.

Table 1: Names of Some Football Teams in Tanzania

Swahili	English	Hybrid: English and Swahili
	Coastal union	*Taifa* Stars (nation Stars)
Yanga		
Miembeni	Pan African	*Moro* United (Morogoro United)
Simba (lion)	Tanzania Prisons	*Ashanti* United
	KMKM (acronym)	*Zanzibar* Herns
*Toto Afrika (*Child Africa*)*		
Manyema	JKU (acronym)	*Mtimbwa* Sugar
Chipukizi (youngster)	AFC (acronym)	*Kagera* Sugar
Mundu		*Twiga* Stars (Giraffe Stars))
JKT Ruvu		Small *Simba* (small Lion)
Polisi *Morogoro* (Police Morogoro)		*Kilimanjaro* Stars
		Mapinduzi Stars (Revolutionary Stars)
Polisi *Dodoma (*Police *Dodoma)*		

Table 1 contains names of all football clubs found in our data. The names of these football teams and clubs are of three main types: some are pure Swahili, some are pure English and some are hybrid; made up of Swahili and English. The pure Swahili names are of various kinds including place names such as *Yanga*, *Manyemi*, *JKT Ruvu*, names of animals such as **Simba** 'lion' and several other nouns as listed in Table 1 above. The pure English names are often compound names or acronyms as

listed in Table 1 above. The hybrid names are mostly made up of Swahili place names and other nouns as modifiers and English nouns such as stars, sugar, and united as head nouns. These are terms that are adopted from international football team names. Interestingly, the word order in such compound names is usually English word order rather than Swahili. In Swahili the modifier comes after the head noun. Moreover, the Swahili rendition for such compounds would have made use of the genitival connector **-a**. *For* instance **Taifa** Stars would have been Stars **za Taifa**. Again even in instances where football club names are pure Swahili compounds, the genitival connector is not used as in **Toto Afrika** which normally would be rendered **Toto wa Afrika**. It is arguable that the English pattern is adopted for brevity and a catchy effect in imitation of English and European football club names such as Manchester United, Real Madrid.

3. The Concept of Borrowing

Indeed over the years various studies in the area of language contact, specifically borrowing have pointed to the fact that borrowing in general involves more than simply lifting lexical items from one language into another (Haugen 1950; Polomé 1980; Winford 2003). Various theories concerning the definition of borrowing or loans as well as the classification of borrowings and loans have been put forward in the literature. Sakel (2007:15) discusses the terms MAT and PAT borrowing to represent two broad types of borrowing. MAT (matter)-borrowing refers to the adopting of morphological material and its phonological shape from one language into another and PAT (pattern)-borrowing describes the case where only the patterns of the other language are replicated.

Petzell (2005) quite successfully discusses the expansion of Swahili vocabulary on ICT by the use of the categorization of loan types by Winford (2003). Similarly in this paper, an attempt is made to classify loanwords in the frame work of Winford (2003), which represents a more refined version of (Polomé's 1980) attempt at classifying the various types of loans adopted by the Swahili language for vocabulary expansion. A summary of Winford's classification will be outlined later, however only loan types that relate to our data will be the focus of the paper. In essence Winford (2003) attempts to throw some light on the more subtle contact induced vocabulary expansion.

4. The Corpus

The data for this paper is extracted from a corpus made up of about 2,877 tokens extracted from thirteen editions of three major Swahili dailies, *Mwananchi* (5 issues), *Mtanzania* (4 issues), *Nipashe* (1 issue) and single editions of three miscellaneous weekly sports newspapers, (*Dimba, Burudani* and *Raha*). The issues were randomly

chosen as obtaining consecutive issues was not possible. Editions dated between 2006 and 2008 were used in order to get a relatively current data that reflect the current situation.

The data extracted for the purpose of this study are of two categories; all pure lexical items borrowed from English, hybrid items and expressions and all Swahili words or expressions that were deemed to involve semantic extension of existing Swahili items and loan translations from English expressions related to football as well as Swahili verbs that are used singly or as part of phrases to describe actions in football matches such as scoring goals, losing, wining etc. were extracted. Only items and expressions which occurred at least twice were isolated for the purpose of our analysis. The rational is that for an expression to be considered fixed it must occur at least twice in the data. Two hundred and twenty-three (223) items and expressions which met this criterion were isolated for the study.

4.1 Semantic Scope of Loan Items

The borrowed items in our data are classified into four major semantic categories of football terminologies and vocabulary. The categories include player positions, football functionaries, standard technical expressions of the game as well as action verbs and verb phrases as indicated in the Tables 2 - 4 below.

Table 2: Player Positions

Swahili labels	Literal Translation	English Equivalents
kipa,	keeper	goal keeper
beki/(ma)	back	defender
winga	winger	winger
mshambuliaji/wa	attacker	striker
mlinzi /wa,	guardian/protector	defender
kiungo/vy	joint, junction	winger

Table 3: Functionaries of the Football Game

Swahili Labels	Literal Translation	English Equivalent
kocha/ma	coach	coach
kocha msaidizi	assistant coach	assistant coach
timu ya kifundi	team of skill/ skilful team	technical team
wachezaji wa akiba	players of reserve/reserved	reserve team
benchi	bench	bench

refa	arbitrator/ referee	referee
mwamuzi	decision maker	referee
benchi la ufundi	bench of technical	technical bench
nahodha	captain	captain

Table 4: Standard Technical Expressions

Swahili labels	Literal Translations	English Equivalent
msaada wa kifundi	assistance of technical	technical
mechi ya marudiano	match of repetition	return match
kipindi cha kwanza	first period	first-half
kipindi cha pili	second period	second-half
mapumziko	break	half-time
bao	score	goal
penati, penalti	penalty	penalty
hatua ya mtoano	step of knock out	knock-out stage
hatua ya makundi	step of groups	group stage

4.2   Grammatical Categories of Loan Vocabulary

Most of the items borrowed constitute nouns or nominal expressions. Relatively fewer verbs are borrowed and even fewer adjectives and adverbs are borrowed form English.

4.2.1   Nominal

As is to be expected, out of the 223 borrowed items isolated, 173 forming 77.6% are nominal. These are made up of single lexical items, some are compound nouns of a hybrid nature, made up of both Swahili items and borrowed items from English and some are phrasal.

a. Single Items

kocha	coach
ukocha	coaching
timu	team
ligi	league
kikosi	line up of players for a match
michuano	competition
shabiki	supporter

b. Noun phrases

ligi kuu	premier league
kadi nyekundu	red card
kadi njano	yellow card
raundi tatu	third round
wanasoka	footballers
mwanasoka bora	best player
nusu fainali	semi final
mlinda mlango	goalkeeper

c. Genitive phrases

raundi ya tatu	third round
kipindi cha kwanza	first half
ligi ya mabingwa	professional league
mchezo wa/mechi ya ufunguzi	opening match
kikosi cha kwanza	first line up of players
mechi ya marudiano	return match
benchi la ufundi	technical bench
kombe la dunia	world cup

4.2.3 Other Grammatical Categories

In our data, relatively few borrowed lexical verbs are found compared to nouns. There are 49 making up 22 % of all borrowed items. Matras (2007: 32) raises questions about conclusions arrived at on nouns being more borrowable than other grammatical categories simply based on the fact that nominal tokens occur in a corpus more frequently than other categories. Nevertheless, the possibility that such assumptions may indeed be the situation on the ground cannot be ruled out.

The outcome of this study is comparable to the case of borrowed football terminology in Croatia. The data of Pintarić (2008: 44) on borrowed football terms shows that of the 111 borrowed items from English, 80 were nouns while only 18 were verbs and 11 adjectives and also 2 adverbs. In the same data, of the borrowed football registers from German, the number of verbs (34) was about half that of nouns (64).

The only verb directly related to football that is borrowed directly from English in our data is **kupromoti** 'to promote', as in the promotion of football. The verb **kudili** 'to deal' as in to handle (the ball) well or pass (the ball) well, which is not usually related to English football, is the other direct lexical loan.

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There are also phrasal verbs derived from an English noun plus a Swahili verb. In fact we came across a single occurrence of **kupas-ia mpira** 'to pass ball to', derived from the verb to pass. This rendition of the verb **pas-ia** is made up of a verb stem **pasi** and the applicative extension *-ia*. Some phrasal verbs are also formed with native verbs and pure loan nouns. In this case the noun forms of the English verbs are used with Swahili verbs. *-pasi* 'pass' (noun) is usually used with **-pa** 'give' or **-toa** 'give out' and **shuti** is used with **-piga** 'beat/hit' as phrasal verbs, that is **kupa pasi** 'give a pass' and **piga shuti** 'kick a shot'.

There are a few other hybrid phrasal verbs in the corpus, they are: **-pata kona** 'win a corner kick', **piga mechi** 'play a match'.

The apparent reason why verbs are rarely borrowed in Swahili football language is that Swahili has a very rich stock of verbs (many of course were borrowed from Arabic) so that the need to borrow does not arise often. Secondly, we also observe that a phenomenon of vocabulary expansion operates here. The meanings of already existing verbs are extended to cater for particular verbal expressions in football language. Of the 46 semantic extended items an unusual high percentage, 54%, constitute verbs. They are the only category of loan type that has more verbal items than nominal items. Of much significance is the 'goal scoring' expression. This is rendered in vivid and expressive ways depending on the manner in which the goal is scored and the kind of impression the writer wants to create in the reader's mind. This use of very expressive verbs in football language is not unique to Swahili at all, but is a general characteristic of football reporting or commentary in many languages. Anchimbe (2008: 134) cites examples of such expressive verbal expressions which may be interpreted differently outside the football context. Also Sepek (2008: 68) states that in Polish football reporting, "a win in football is most often expressed… with expressions like team A beat, battered, crushed, humiliated, submerged, sent down, shattered, sapped team B."

The data indicate that Swahili is no different when it comes to the act of describing such actions as scoring of goals. In our data the most neutral expression for the scoring act is **-funga bao** 'score a goal' (246 tokens), however, 'exotic' expressions such as **-saka bao** 'hunt down goal' (21 tokens), **-twaa** ' pick up/capture' (16 tokens), **-chapa** 'beat' (54), **piga hodi katika lango** (metaphoric) 'knock at the goalpost' are also used to describe the act of scoring.

The neutral expression for 'to lose' or 'to be defeated' is **kushindwa**, but here again the verbs **-sakwa** 'be hunted down' (18) and **-lambwa** 'be licked' (2 tokens) are also used to express defeat.

The only borrowed English adverbs isolated in our data are **rafu** 'rough', **kitimu** 'teamly' ie. 'using teamwork', and **kisoka** 'soccerly', or 'playing in a good soccer manner'. On the other hand it can be argued that these adverbs collocate with the Swahili verb **-cheza** 'play' to form phrasal verbs. Examples are: **cheza rafu** 'play roughly', **-cheza kitimu** 'play in a 'teamly' manner' and **-cheza kisoka** 'play in a 'soccerly' manner' (i.e. play good football). There are no borrowed adjectives in the data.

5. Phonological and Morphological Integration

Phonologically, all the pure English loans undergo some level of assimilation if the original English word does not already conform to the syllabic structure of Swahili, which is typically V or CV or C (syllabic consonant). Also all words in Swahili end with a vowel, so all borrowed items that originally end in consonants are made to conform by the addition of a vowel after the last consonant. The choice of vowel usually depends on the last vowel of the stem as well as the final consonant.

Again as Swahili nouns are subcategorised into what is described in the literature as various noun classes, which are distinguished by prefixes as well as to some extent the semantic properties of the noun since each noun class is roughly associated with some semantic features, each borrowed noun is assigned to a class. Irrespective of their semantic features, most borrowed nouns find their way into the noun class 5/6 or class 9/10. The reason is that a large number of nouns in class 5 have a null prefix and the same applies to class 9/10. Most borrowed words therefore are put in these classes purely for convenience sake rather than for their semantic properties. We observe that, almost invariably, the borrowed nouns which refer to animates are put in class five, and they take their plural from class 6 which has the prefix **ma-** as in:

kocha/makocha	coach(es)	**beki/mabeki**	defender(s)
kipa/makipa	goalkeeper(s)	**winga/mawinga**	winger(s)

Inanimate nouns also are put in classes 9/10, which have zero prefixes. As a result of the zero prefixes the nouns of both class 9 and 10 are identical, however they take different concords. Examples are:

benchi	bench(es)	**fainali**	finals
timu	team(s)	**mechi**	match(es)
ligi	league(s)	**pasi**	pass(es)

The verbs have also undergone some level of assimilation; 'promote' becomes **promoti**, 'pass' becomes **pasi** and also the adverb 'rough' becomes **rafu**.

It is worth mentioning that almost invariably Swahili transcription is used for all football expressions. However in some instances Swahili transcription is mixed up with English transcription, especially in the case of the names of football institutions and agencies. In the data, there are examples of such hybrid references like **Kombe la UEFA** 'UEFA Championship' **Kombe la Euro 2000** '2000 European championship', **Chama cha soka cha England** 'Football Association of England', **kalenda ya FIFA** 'FIFA calendar'. These are clear examples of codeswitching. While it is easy to understand the use of acronyms like UEFA, and FIFA as labels, it is difficult to understand why 'England' is used. The use of these English transcriptions could be as a result of the culling of football news from English sources, as well as familiarity with English terminology.

6. Strategies for Vocabulary Expansion within Winford's (2003) Classification of Lexical Contact Phenomena

In this section we turn our attention to strategies that have been adopted for expanding the Swahili language to include vocabulary for expressing football terminology and language. From our account so far, it is obvious that although the adoption of English words is one of the strategies for expansion, other strategies have been adopted. The various items and terminologies that do not constitute direct borrowings from English fall under Winford's classification of lexical contact phenomena (2003: 45).

Below is a chart, (Fig. 1) that shows the distribution of the 223 items used for the study representing the various loan types.

Figure 1:   Distribution of Loan Types
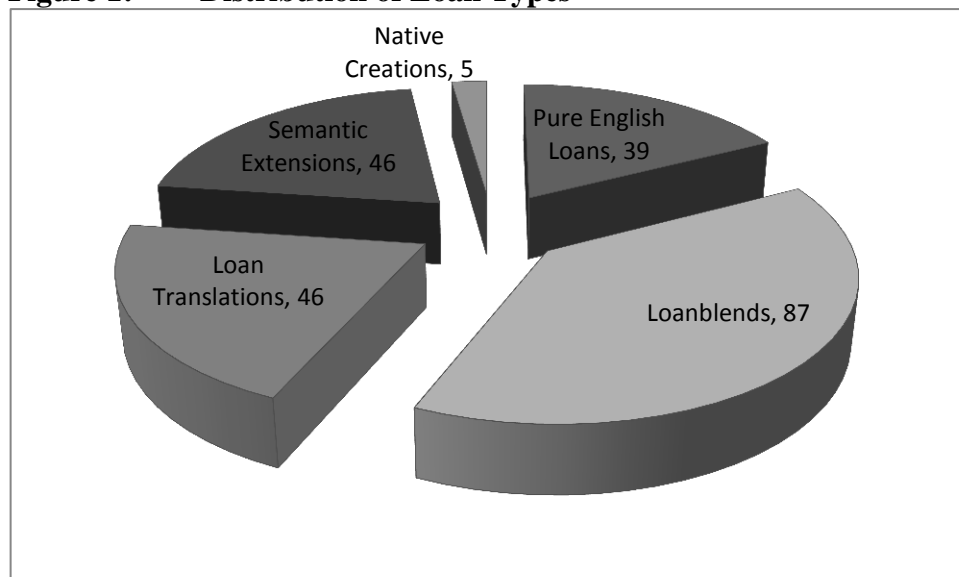
The statistics of the data indicate that in Swahili football language, Loanblends constitute the highest percent of English loans. They account for 39%, followed by Semantic Extensions and Loan translations constituting 21% each. The loan types with the lowest percentages are Pure English loans (17%) and Native Creations (2%). Native creations seem to be very rare not only in football loans but other areas such as ICT, as observed in Petzell (2005) and King'ei (1999). Contrary to what may be expected, pure loans constitute only 17% of all the items. Therefore it is arguable that loanblends, semantic extensions and loan translations are the most used strategies for vocabulary extension in Swahili football reporting. Also it is clear that adaption of pure English items is not the first option when it comes to borrowing.

Below is a summary of the classification along with a few examples of each loan type according to Winford's (2000) classification. Loan items in the corpus which are not cited in the paper are grouped according to loan type and added as appendices.

(1a) Lexical borrowings (two types)
a.   Loanwords
        Two types of Loanwords:
    i. *Pure loans* (total morpheme importation of single or compound words with varying degrees of phonemic substitution with possible semantic change)

        beki/ma   back
        benchi   bench

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bodi	board
chalenji	challenge
chati	chart

Most of the pure loans are nouns. Only 2 out of the 39 pure loans are verbs and only one is an adverb. This is a strong indication that in Swahili Football language most direct English loans are nouns and that verbs are rarely borrowed as indicated in 4.2.1.

ii. *Loanblends* (combination of native and imported morphemes; noun stem + imported affix or imported stem + native stem)

benchi la ufundi	[English verb + connector + Native Noun]	technical bench
kuwa fiti	[Native Verb +English Noun]	be fit
nyota wa soka	[Native Noun +connector + English Noun]	soccer star
piga shuti	[native verb + English noun]	kick a shot
shirikisho la soka la Afrika	[Native Noun +connector + English Noun + connector plus Native noun]	Confederation of African Football
soka la kulipwa	[English Noun +connector + Native verb]	professional soccer
mwanasoka/wa	[Native noun stem +English Noun]	footballer

The structures of the loanblends in the data tend to be more complex than Winford's (2003) description. There is only one instant of a loanblend where the item is made up of a single word, **mwanasoka** 'footballer' which is made up of a native noun stem **mwana** 'child'and an English loan **soka** 'soccer'.

The rest are of the various structures illustrated above. Many of the loanblends are actually loan translations that involve both native and English items. An example is **soka la kulipwa** 'paid soccer', that is the Swahili rendition for 'professional soccer'.

(1b)   Loanshifts /Coinages (loan meanings)

Two types of loanshifts:

i. *Extensions* (shifts in the semantics of a native word under influence from a foreign word). This phenomenon is typical with verbs that express actions in the game

of football. As illustrated in Section 4.2.3, the meanings of native Swahili verbs are extended to cover certain actions and states in the football game. Other examples are

Swahili Noun	Literal Meaning	English Equivalent
chipukizi	shoot/sprout/youngster	emerging player
kulaza	cause to lie down	be defeated by goals
mlinzi	guardian, keeper, protector	defender
mzunguko	cycle/rotation/circuit	round
nahodha	captain	football team captain
nyota	star/fortune	Star (football)
mwamuzi	arbitrator/mediator	referee

ii. *Loan translations /calques* (combination of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern)

Swahili Expression	Literal Meaning	English Expression
hatua ya mtoano	step of take out	knockout stage
kiwango cha juu	level of high	upper division
kombe la dunia	cup of world	World Cup
kupanga matokeo	arrange result	to fix a match
kushuka daraja	descend a bridge	to descend to a lower division
kutetea ubingwa	defend championship	to defend championship
mabingwa ya ulaya	experts of Europe	European champions

The pure loan translations are similar in structure to the loanblends except that with loan translations, all words in the construction are native.

(2) Native Creations (Use of native words to express foreign concepts)
Three types:
    i. *Purely Native Creations* (the innovative use of native words to express foreign concepts).

    These are mostly new items that have been derived from existing Swahili items to cover English terminologies in football.

Purely Native Creation	Tracking	English Equivalent
jifunga	Not in dictionary, score own goal	score own goal
shabiki/ma	Someone who likes something	a (soccer) fan
mshambuliaji/ wa	Not in dictionary, noun derived from **shambulia** 'attack'	striker
mfungaji/ wa	Not in dictionary scorer	goal scorer
shambulizi	Not in dictionary, noun derived from **shambulia** 'attack'	attack

Jifunga is made up of the Swahili reflexive marker **-ji-** and the verb stem **-funga** 'score', and therefore represents the expression 'score own goal'. **Shabiki** is listed as a colloquial word that has been recognised as a standard word in more recent dictionaries. **Mshambuliaji** and *shambulizi* are clearly derived from the Swahili verb **-shambulia** 'attack' by using appropriate prefix and suffixes with the verb root as per the rules of nominal derivation in Swahili.

There are no examples in the data of native creations involving hybrid creations and creations using only foreign morphemes.

7. Creation of Choice through Borrowing

We note also that for a few English expressions, two Swahili renditions are used side by side. In such cases, often there exists a Swahili adaptation of the English word or expression and the other is usually the use of Swahili items with extended meanings. Table 5 below illustrates this.

Table 5: Pure English Loans and their Derived Native Counterparts

English origin	Swahili	English word/expression
droo	**sare**	draw
soka/mechi	**mchezo wa mpira**	soccer/football match
goli	**lango**	goal post
kipa, golikipa	**mlinda mlango**	goal keeper
raundi ya mbili	**duru la pili**	second round
staa/mastaa	**nyota**	star (i.e. football star)
mwanasoka	**mchezaji**	football player
winga	**kiungo**	winger
kocha	**mwamuzi**	coach

raundi	**mzunguko**	round
mfumu	**staili**	style

Sometimes where there is more than one label for a single item, they do not involve pure loans. For instance the word **shabiki** 'fan' is a native creation, but there is another label for the same word, **wapenzi wa soka** 'lovers of soccer'.

It must be noted also that sometimes there seem to be no one particular label for some football expressions or terms and the result is that several renditions exist side by side. For instance, **mechi ya kirafiki** 'friendly match' occurs ten times in the data, however **mechi zisizo za mashindano** 'non-competitive match' which has a similar meaning occurs twice. Similarly two renditions of 'African Cup of Nations' occur, **Kombe la Mataifa ya Afrika** 'cup of African nations' and **Mashindano ya Mataifa ya Afrika** 'competition of African nations'; **sare ya bila kufungana** 'goalless draw' and **sare ya kutofungano** 'goalless draw'.

This could pose a problem for lexicographers as to which label to accredit. King'ei (1999) discusses the problem of development and usage of technical terminology with emphasis on the Kenyan situation. He views the existence of two or more synonymous terms for a single item as a situation that creates confusion, especially if they are not harmonized and standardized (154-155). The reason for this situation could be the fact that these synonyms have not yet evolved fully. This certainly may account for the existence of more than one label for an item. Nevertheless there is the indication also that some of these synonyms have been standardized by the Institute of Kiswahili Research to exist side by side.

8. Borrowing and Standardization

Over the years in Tanzania there has been commitment to the standardization of vocabularies that get adopted by Swahili language. BAKITA (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa*) (National Swahili Council) was the first agency that was charged with the responsibility of ensuring the vocabulary expansion in all areas in order to keep the Swahili language abreast with globalisation, science and technology (Petzell 2005: 86; Legére 2006: 176). In fact the process of standardization of Swahili vocabulary can be traced back to 1929 when the then British colonial government set up the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee to undertake the initial task of standardizing the Swahili language (Whitely 1969). Since then the committee went through several evolutions which were marked by change of name and location until it was renamed Institute of Swahili Research (IKR) in 1970 and established as an institute of the then

newly established University of Dar es Salaam (Massamba 2005; Sewangi, 2007: 334). The IKR has over the years assumed the responsibility of expanding the Swahili language through borrowing and standardization of these and other borrowed words in the language. It has recently been renamed as the Institute of Kiswahili Studies.

Thus a large number of borrowed items are found in the current Swahili dictionaries, most of which are also published by IKR. In addition to Standard dictionaries, IKR also publishes lists of vocabularies of special areas such as linguistics, anatomy etc., from time to time as a way of publicising and promoting the use of these vocabularies by all and sundry. *Kiswahili* (68: 27-28) gives a list of about 17 different specialized Swahili dictionaries that the IKR has published between 1994 and 2006.

We observe that unlike in the case of many borrowed items in ICT such as **monita** 'monitor', **modemu** 'modem', **kasa** 'cursor' etc. reported in Petzell (2005), quite a number of the single item football terms are listed in the current Swahili dictionaries published by the IKR with the exception of the native creations listed in Section 6. It can be argued that over the years, new words that are used in Swahili newspaper reporting eventually find their way into the dictionary as standardized.

However, many items such as loan translations and loanblends involving several words are hardly found in the dictionary, although there is enough evidence that they have become fixed expressions. Perhaps the difficulty here is that they are made up of several words. Also for several words that constitute semantic extensions, their special usages in relation to football are not often listed in the dictionaries. Again, for some terms or expressions, there seem to be no fixed renditions.

9. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to illustrate that Swahili football language is significantly influenced by the English language through various strategies. It has demonstrated that all of the vocabulary expansion strategies outlined in Winford (2003) but two (hybrid creations and creation using foreign morphemes) have been employed in Swahili to expand the language for the expression of concepts and terms that relate to football. Native creations are rare in Swahili newspaper football language, because the process involves the actual creation of terminology, unlike pure loans which often do not involve any creation. Similarly, loan translations also involve mere translations of the English label. That notwithstanding, it is clear that these native creations are not entirely creations. In all the instances, it is possible to

trace a Swahili root in each term. What actually happens is that the existing nominal derivational processes of adding a prefix and a suffix to a root are used.

Most of the loanwords in football are nouns, because their adoption is motivated by the need to fill the gap for nominal items such as football terms, professions or player positions. In terms of standardization of borrowed items and terminology, although there is ample commitment to standardization, there is the need to step up standardization processes in order to include loanwords in current standard Swahili dictionaries.

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Mtanzania, Nov 3, 2006; Jan 21, 2008; Jan 23, 2008; Jan 26, 2008
Nipashe, Jan 26, 2008
Dimba, Oct 15-21, 2006
Raha, Nov 28, 2006
Burudani, Nov 2-8, 2006

APPENDIX 1

Pure English Loans	Frequency	English Gloss
festi 11	4	first eleven
jezi	4	jersey
kambi	7	camp
klabu	121	club
kona	3	corner
medali	5	medal
ofa	4	offer* (not listed in TUKI dictionary)
Olimpiki	6	Olympic
pointi	38	points
rekodi	7	record
seti	3	set
staili	5	style
Total Tokens	1145	

APPENDIX 2

Loanblends (blend of English/ Swahili items)	Frequency	English Expression
beba timu	2	carry the team
beki wa kati	2	central back
benchi la wachezaji wa akiba	2	reserve bench
chama cha soka	5	Football Association
eneo la goli	2	eighteen yard
kiki safi	2	a clean kick
kipa namba moja	3	number one goalkeeper
kocha mkuu	4	head coach
kocha msaidizi	4	assistant coach

kombe la chalenji	2	challenge cup
kombe la ligi	2	league trophy
kombe la mataifa la Afrika	21	African Cup of Nations
kombe la shirikisha la soka Afrika	2	Confederation of African Football Cup
kufuzu fainali	2	qualify for finals
kujenga timu	6	build a team
kupoteza mechi	2	lose a match
kuwa fiti	4	be fit
kuwa hazina ya timu	2	be a treasure of the team
kuwania kufuzu fainali	4	fight to qualify for finals
ligi ndogo	2	local league
ligi ya Hispania	3	Spanish league
ligi ya mabingwa ulaya	5	European champions' league
ligi ya mabingwa wa Afrika	2	African champions' league
ligi ya nyumbani	2	local league
ligi ya taifa	2	national league
michezo ya olimpiki	4	Olympic games
mechi ya kimataifa ya kirafiki	3	national friendly match
mechi ya nusu fainali	2	semi finals match
mechi ya raundi ya pili	2	second round match
mechi ya ufunguzi	2	opening match
mechi za kuwania kufuzu fainali za dunia	2	world cup finals qualifying match
mfumo wa soka	3	soccer style
mwanasoka	14	footballer
namba moja	3	number one
nusu fainali	8	semi finals
nyota wa soka	2	soccer star
ofa kabambe	4	great offer
pangua timu	3	dissolve team
pasi ndefu	5	long pass
pasi safi	6	clean pass
pasi za uhakika	2	confident pass
piga mechi	3	play a match
piga shuti	2	kick a shot
poteza mechi	2	lose a match

raundi ya kwanza	2	first round
raundi ya mtoano	2	knockout round
rekodi za bora	5	best record
robo fainali	10	quarter finals
seti ya pili	4	second set
Shirikisho la soka	22	football association
Shirikisho la soka barani Afrika	5	Configuration of African Football
Shirikisho la soka la Afrika	9	Configuration of African Football
Shirikisho la soka la kimataifa	2	Federation of international Football Association
tiketi za msimu	2	season's ticket
Timu ya taifa	30	national team
Timu ya mchangani	2	mixed team
Timu ya nje	4	foreign team
Timu ya vijana	2	junior team
Tinga fainali	4	swing the finals
Toa pasi	2	give a pass
Uendeshaji wa timu	4	team management
Wapenzi wa soka	2	soccer lovers
Winga ya kulia	2	right winger
Total Tokens	430	

APPENDIX 3

Loan Translations	**frequency**	**English Terminologies**
bao la dakika za mwisho	2	last minute goal
bao la kuongoza	2	leading goal
bingwa mtetezi/wa	9	defending champion
dakika za mwisho	7	dying minutes
dakika za nyongeza	4	extra time
daraja la pili	2	second division
funga bao la ushindi	2	score a winning goal
fungia mabao	3	score goals for
hatua ya 10 bora	2	best ten stage
kinyan'ganyiro cha ubingwa	10	stiff competition for championship

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kombe la taifa	5	national cup
kubamizwa mabao	2	be defeated by goals
kusaka wachezaji	3	buy / transfer players
kushuka daraja	3	to descend to a lower division
mabingwa ya ulaya	2	European champions
mashabiki ya raha	4	happy fans
mchezaji bora	3	best player
mchezaji bora namba moja	2	number one best player
mchezaji wa kimataifa	2	international player
mpira wa kichwa	3	head ball
pachika mabao	4	fix goals
wakati wa mapumziko	2	half-time
Total tokens	413	

APPENDIX 4

Semantic Extensions	**frequency**	**Original Swahili Meaning**	**Extended Meaning**
bingwa/ma	12	expert/specialist/	champion
chapa	50	beat, hit, strike	defeat by goals
kinda	4	a shoot/ young	youth
kipigo	19	blow/stroke/beating	defeat by goals
kiwango	2	level	division championship
kombe	9	cup (augmentative)	trophy
kuchapa	4	spoil, destroy	score
kucharaza	2	to do anything with vigour or skill or without a break	score
kuchomekwa	2	be stuck into/be inserted into/be stabbed/	be defeated by goals
kufunga	8	to score	score
kufungwa	7	to be score+ passive	be defeated by goals
kulala	3	lie down	score/ defeat
kulinda	4	protect/ defend/ guard	protect
kuokoa	6	save	save (ball)
kupanga	2	to arrange brotherhood	to arrange (a match)

kupangwa	2	be arranged	arranged match
kupasha	3	cause to have/get something	warm up
kusaka	3	hunt down	defeat by goals
kutinga	30	swing	swing (ball into net)
kutwaa	2	to take/pick up/take over/capture/occupy	put ball in the net
kuvaa	3	put on	to score
kuwania	4	contest/compete/fight for	compete
lambwa	2	be licked	be defeated by goals
mapumziko	2	break/recess	half-time
mchezaji/wa	208	player	football player
msimu	2	season	football season
ongoza	6	lead guide	lead by goals
sakwa	18	to be hunt down	be defeated by goals
taji	41	crown	championship
tinga	5	swing	put ball in the net
tuzo	5	prize	trophy
twaa	16	to take/pick up/take over/capture/occupy	defeat by goals
ushambuliaji	5	attack	attack
vaana	4	embrace in a fight	compete
Total tokens	413		

GRAMMATICAL CONSTRAINTS ON VERB PHRASES
IN TWI/ENGLISH CODE SWITCHING

Millicent Quarcoo

Abstract

Studies have shown that items from the languages that participate in code switching (henceforth CS) do not occur at random. Rather they are guided by the grammatical rules of the languages involved. Verbs that participate in Twi/English CS also do not occur at random. They are constrained by the grammatical rules of both Twi and English. Twi is a dialect of Akan, the most widely spoken language in Ghana. Using the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model of Myers-Scotton (1993a), this work shows that Twi is the matrix language (ML) and English, the embedded language (EL) in Twi/English CS. Based on this, the work discusses the morphological and phonological constraints on English verbs in Twi/English CS. It also shows how English verbs are only allowed in syntactic structures that already exist in Twi. The discussion covers the constraints of Twi tense and aspect on English verbs, and serial verb construction (SVC).Finally, the work looks at English verbs that may not participate in Twi/English CS. All these are discussed to show how the MLF model is applicable to Twi/English CS.

1.0. **Introduction**

Code switching is defined variously as the use of two or more languages in the same speech context. This study defines code switching as the use of two different grammars in a single clause. The work aims at describing and explaining the grammatical constraints on Verb Phrases (VPs) in Twi/English intra-sentential CS. This means that discussions of CS constituents will focus on describing both the surface CS instances on VPs and also the principles and constraints that governthe co-occurrences of morphemes from the two languages involved. Twi is a dialect of Akan, the biggest language in Ghana. It is the first language of close to 50% of the

population (2000 population census). It is also estimated that about 70%-80% of the population speak Twi as a second language.

Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model is used to analyze the data.[1] The work will be in five parts. The first part will discuss the constraints on the morphology and phonology on English verbs and the constraints of Twi tense and aspect on English verbs. The second part will discuss the constraints on English verbs in Twi structures. The third part will be on English multi-word verbs, verbs with an obligatory **sɛ** 'that' clause and serial verb construction (SVC). Part four will discuss some verbs that may not participate in CS and the final part will be the conclusion.

Many linguists have advanced theories on the structural aspect of inter-sentential code switching that tries to explain the reasons why some morpheme combinations are allowed and others are not. For instance, Timm (1975), one of the pioneers to start a syntactic investigation into Spanish-English CS, explains that there are syntactic rules governing the switching process and that some segments of speech cannot be switched. She suggests that within the Spanish-English CS corpus switching may not be possible between a pronoun and a finite verb and between auxiliary and verb "unless the principal verbal element is a phonologically adapted English loan word" (Timm1975, from Forson (1979:17)). Example (1a) from Timm (1975) illustrates how a switch between a pronoun and a verb is not possible. Example (1b), also from Timm (1975), shows how it is impossible to switch between an auxiliary and a verb.

(1a) *yo **_went_**
    'I went'   (Spanish/ English; Timm 1975 from Forson 1979)

(1b) ***I _must esperar_**
    'I must wait'   (Spanish/English; Timm (1975) from Forson (1979)

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[1] The MLF model was chosen for this work because unlike most models, it adequately explains some of the switch patterns that occur in Twi/English CS. This however does not mean it is comprehensive. Two models are discussed here to justify why the MLF model was selected. Other possible models are the *Functional Head Constraint Model* (Belazi, Rubin and Toribo 1991, 1994) and *Government Constraint* (Halmari 1997).

However, Bentahila and Davies (1983) find examples in their Arabic-French CS data to contradict the assertion in (1b). In example (1c) Arabic[2] auxiliaries precede French main verbs.

(1c)   tajbqa j-*confronter ces idées*
   'He keeps <u>imperfect-oppose</u> these ideas (he keeps opposing these ideas)'
       (Bentahila and Davies (1983: 315)

   The Twi-English CS data show similar counter-examples, where Twi auxiliaries are followed by English main verbs. In example (1d) **bear** takes the Twi future marker **bɛ:**

(1d) **Cost**o[3] no   hwaen na ɔ-*bɛ -**bear** *sa **cost**o no?
   cost   DET[4]who FOC 3G-FUT-bear that cost DET
   'The cost, who will bear it?'   (Ada: no 15)[5]

   Poplack (1980, 1981) argues that two constraints govern CS: *the Free Morpheme Constraint* and the *EquivalenceConstraint*. The Free Morpheme Constraint (FMC) stipulates that switching is not possible between a lexeme and a bound morpheme. In the light of this FMC, (2a) is unacceptable because the Spanish bound morpheme *iendo* cannot be bound to the English free morpheme **eat**.

   (2a) * **eat-***iendo*
      (eating)   (Poplack (1980) from Myers-Scotton (1993))

   Bentahila and Davies (1983) support this claim by saying that "the only boundaries which seem to block switching are those morpheme boundaries internal to words." In example (2b) the French bound morpheme '**ment**' cannot be bound to the Arabic free morpheme **yza:l**.

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[2] Arabic is in normal font and French is in italics. In all examples the unit of analysis is underlined.

[3] An extra vowel is attached to a closed syllable to open it. It must agree in harmony with the vowel in the stem. See explanation in 5.1.1.

[4]Abbreviations- 1:First Person, 2:Second Person, 3:Third Person, CON: Consecutive, DET: Determiner, EMP: Emphasis, FOC: Focus marker, FUT: Future, INDIC: Indicative, MO: Motional, NEG: Negative, PAT: Particle, PAST, PERF: Perfective Aspect, PL: Plural, PROG: Progressive Aspect, SG: Singular.

[5] Data IDs- Ada: no1-33 (Adakabrɛ- Hot fm), Eme: 34-86 (conversation), Darl: 87-99 (conversation), Tess: 100-128 (conversation), Delay (Tv 3): 129-174, DC: 175-193 (Double Critical- Asɛmpafm), Aku:194-225 (Akumaa-metro tv), Kokro: 226-300 (Kokrokoo-Peace fm),

(2b)   * ɣ**za:l***ment*
　　　　'pretty-ly (prettily)'　　　(Bentahila and Davies (1983:317))

The FMC was met with counter-examples from different languages. For example, Halmari (1997: 77) finds in her Finnish/English CS data numerous counter- examples such as **lunch**in (2c) where the Finnish bound morpheme **in** is attached to the English free morpheme **lunch** in (2c).

(2c) Meiän opettaja meinaan aina ***lunch****in*　　 alla kysyy　　 että…
　　　　our teacher mean+1SG always　　 +GEN under ask+3SG that…
　　　　'Our teacher, you know, always asks before lunch that…'　 (Halmari 1997:77)

In Swahili-English, Myers-Scotton (1993a) also shows how the English verb stem **spoil** is inflected with Swahili system morphemes in example (2d).

(2d) Mmathe wa hiyo hao alikuwa akilia joo vile vitu *zi- -me- -spoil- i-　 w- a.*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　they PERF spoil-θ-PASS-INDIC.
　　　'The mother of that house was crying oh how things were spoiled [for her]'
　　　(Myers-Scotton Swahili/English 1993: 103)

Twi-English CS also shows counter-examples to these claims. In Twi/English CS Twi tense and aspect markers are bound to the English verbs they accompany. In example (2e) two distinct ɪ forms are bound to the verbs **suggest** and **reject**. The first ɪ is the extra vowel that creates an extra syllable and thus changes the word from a disyllabic to a three syllable word and the second is the past tense morpheme.

(2e)　Sɛ wo ***suggest****ɪ-ɪ*　　 wɔ **cabinet** na ɔmo ***reject****ɪ-ɪ* a
　　　　　If 2SG suggest-PAST in cabinet and 3PL reject-PAST PAT
　　　　　san ***suggest****ɪ*　　 bio　 ɛ
　　　　　return suggest again PAT
'If you suggested (it) in cabinet and they reject (it) go ahead and suggest (it) again'.
　　　　　(Ada: no 8)

2.0. **Methodology**

The methodology employed was to tape-record Twi discussions on various radio and television stations and conversations of friends and relatives. Some of the radio and TV discussions recorded were Hot FM (Adakabrɛ'sprogramme), Peace FM (*Kokrokoo*), Asempa FM (Double Critical), TV3 (*Onie*), TV Africa (*Me dadwen*) and

Metro TV (*Mama zimbi* show and *Abrabo mu nsɛm*), all in Accra, Ghana. The conversations were made up of recordings in a friend's home with her family and friends who had come to visit, my next door neighbour with her friends in the office and my daughter with her friends.

2.1. **Transcription and Translation of Data**

The utterances transcribed for this work have been given identification numbers (see note 4). For instance, *Ada: no1* means Adakabrɛ number one. Similarly *Eme: no50* means Emelia number fifty. The numbering is continuous so that as Adakabrɛ's data ends at thirty-three, Emelia's data starts from thirty-four, Darl's from eighty-seven, Double Critical's from hundred and seventy-five, etc.

Even though phonological integrations are discussed, orthographic transcriptions are used. Tone markings are used where they are needed for clarification. The following transcription and translation convention were followed:

- English items are in **bold**
- An inter-linear gloss (i.e. morpheme by morpheme translation) appears on the line below each of the transcribed sentences
- The full English paraphrase is given in single quotation marks.
- The portion of utterance relevant to current discussion is italicized and underlined for easy identification. Example (3) illustrates the format.

(3)   *Saa mo farms no* mo **correspondents** a   ɛ- wɔ   hɔ   no   n- kãã
        those your farms DET your correspondents who 3PL-be there FOC NEG- say
        hõ asem   n- kyerɛɛ mo?
        it message NEG-tell   you
 'Those farms of yours, haven't your correspondents there told you anything about them?'
        (Ada: no 24)

3.0. **The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF)**

A major premise of the model is that in bilingual speech production, a frame is built just like that for monolingual speech. This frame is built by one of the languages and items from the other language(s) may be inserted into it. The language that builds the frame is called the Matrix Language (ML). It is the ML that sets the grammatical frame of the mixed constituents e.g. phrases and clauses. It also directs the morpheme

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order of the mixed constituent. The other language(s) called the Embedded Language (EL) may provide some content morphemes and system morphemes. In example (4), Twi as the ML, builds the frame of the mixed constituents and creates a slot in which the English content morphemes **bacteria** and **cause** are inserted indicating that English is the EL.

(4)   ɛno ɛ- yɛ ***bacteria*** na ɛ-***causo*** saa
         that it-be bacteria that it-cause that
         'It is a bacteria that causes it'   (Aku: no. 212)

The morphemes that participate are grouped into two, namely system morphemes and content morphemes. 'Content morphemes are the main elements conveying semantic and pragmatic aspects of message and system morphemes largely indicate relations between the content morphemes' (Myers-Scotton 2002:15).

System morphemes are the grammatical morphemes that build the structure of the constituents. Jake and Myers-Scotton (1992) distinguish between system and content morphemes with the features [+/- Quantification], [+/-Thematic Role-Assigner], and [+/- Thematic Role-Receiver]. They argue that [+Quantification] features are syntactic categories which specify items and that any item that has this feature is a system morpheme, for example quantifiers, determiners and possessive adjectives or any other item which can occupy the specifier position in an NP. [+Q] are also inflectional items that indicate person, case or gender as well as tense and aspect. The model specifies that it is the ML which supplies all the system morphemes in an ML+EL (or mixed) constituent. In example (5) below Twi supplies all the system morphemes needed to indicate the relationship between the content morphemes. It has contributed the determiner **no** 'the', the future marker **bɛ-** 'will' as well as the progressive marker **ɛ-**. In addition, Twi has added an extra vowel **–o** to change the morphology and phonology of the verb. Twi has again provided the conjunction **na** 'and' and the emphatic **deɛ** which is a special feature in Twi.

(5) ***Problems*** *no deɛ* ɛ- bɛ   -ba *na* yɛ *bɛ-**solv**o, *na* yɛ-
         problems DET EMP it-FUT -come and 1PL FUT-solve and 1PL-
         ɛ-*solvo*
         PROG-solve
         'As for the problems they will come and we will solve (them) and we are solving (them)'.   (Ada: no 31)

A morpheme is considered a content morpheme if it can be a thematic role assigner or receiver (Jake and Myers-Scotton1992). Verbs assign thematic roles and

so have the feature [+ thematic role assigner]. This refers to the semantic relation that a verb has with its argument. For example the verb **bought** has three arguments to which it assigns thematic roles. It assigns the thematic role of *agent* to the subject, *beneficiary* to the indirect object and *patient* to the direct object. Nouns are thematic role receivers and so have the features [+ thematic role receiver]. For example in a sentence like **Kofi bought Ama a ring**, **Kofi** as the subject receives the thematic role of *agent* assigned to it by the verb **bought**, **Ama** is the *beneficiary* and **ring** receives the thematic role of *patient*.

Content morphemes, according to the model, can be supplied by both the ML and the EL so that in example (6) both Twi and English contribute them. Twi contributes **ɛnɛ** 'today' and **adwuma** 'work'. English has supplied **economy, stabilize** and **NPP.**

(6) *ɛnɛ **economy** *yi   a   a- ***stabilizɪ***   yi nyinaa yɛ ***NPP** adwuma*
     today economy DET which PERF- stabilize EMP all   be NPP work
     'This economy that has stabilized today is all the work of NPP'
        (Kokro: no 234)

The hypothesis is that during CS, the ML plays a more dominant role in a mixed constituent. That is, the grammatical procedures that build the surface structure of an ML+EL constituent will be those consistent with the ML (Myers-Scotton 2002: 239). There are two principles governing this hypothesis: (1) The Morpheme Order Principle and (2) The System Morpheme Principle.

The Morpheme-Order Principle states that 'In ML+EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order…will be that of the ML' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 83). This means that when a frame is being built for an ML+EL constituent made up of single EL lexemes and a number of ML morphemes, the surface syntactic relations shall come from the ML. In example (7a), all the surface syntactic relations that build the frame of the constituent come from Twi and the head first word order of Twi is observed.

(7a) *Asɛm **serious** *sei na wo   o-   kã   no wɔ **air**
     issue serious such and 2SG PROG- say it on air
    'How can you say such serious issue on air?'
        (Kokro: no 262)

The System Morpheme Principle states that 'In ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent…will come from the ML' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 83). This means that when ML +EL

constituents are built, all system morphemes that will have grammatical relations with the content morphemes shall come from the ML and assumes that the EL does not have equal rights with the ML. This prerogative is for the ML. The utterance in (7b) shows how Twi system morphemes inflect the English verb **call**.

(7b) Obi   a   o-   o-   tie   me wɔ Asakragua bia n-   *c**all**e*
     anyone who 3SG-PROG listen me atAsankragua all should- call
     'Anyone listening to me from Asankragua should call'
       (Kokro: no 243)

3.2. **EL Island Trigger Hypothesis**

An EL island within the MLF model is a constituent that is made up of only EL morphemes and is well-formed in the EL. In example (8) from Twi/English **the idea** and **all the delegates** as well as **one place** are noun phrases which are well formed according to the English word order where the determiner precedes the head.

(8) ***The idea*** ne sɛ yɛ -   bɛ-**moveo** *all the delegates* no   a- kɔ -gu
    the idea be that 3SG- FUT move all the delegates DET CON-MO-put
    one place
     'The idea is to move all the delegates to one place'
     (DC: no 187)

The hypothesis is of the form 'if **x** is accessed, then **y** must be accessed' (Myers-Scotton 1993:139). That is,when an EL morpheme is accessed as the initial element in a constituent that shows a morpheme order which does not conform to that of the ML order (e.g. **the, all**), a process is triggered that enables the whole constituent to be completed as an EL island. Secondly, if an EL system morpheme or content morpheme is accessed which does not correspond to an ML content morpheme, the ML procedures are blocked and the constituent of which the EL morpheme is a part is produced as an EL island.

4.0. **The Mixed Verb Phrase**

Forson (1979) notes that in CS only one of the two languages involved builds the structure and the other language provides the lexical and less frequently grammatical items. In Akan/English CS, Akan builds the structure because 'speakers are speaking Akan' (Forson 1979). He further explains that 'the English items used… are those more accessible than their Akan equivalents' (Forson 1979: 160). That is, speakers

will choose the less difficult lexical or grammatical items over difficult ones in CS. He goes on to say that because Akan tense/aspect markers are simpler than their English counterparts, they are more likely to be used in CS than English ones. He argues that:

> … in a situation where two systems are available to him, as in code-switching, the speaker is likely to prefer the structurally simpler of the two. For example, the Akan tense/aspect markers are preferred… because the Akan tense/aspect marking is generally simpler than the English system. (Forson1979:160).

He illustrates this assertion with some examples like (9a), where **invite** is marked for the past with the Twi past marker **-I** which is in harmony with both the syllabic vowel and the vowel in the stem. He explains further that an English tense/aspect marker cannot be used with a Twi verb and so (9b) is unacceptable.

(9a)　**KN <u>invite-</u>** I-　I won
　　　KN invite-V-PA them
　　　'KN invited them'　　　　　　(Forson 1979:158)
*(9b)　**KN** hyia-**<u>ed</u>**
　　　KN invited　　　　　　　　(Forson 1979:158)

The MLF model, through its detailed analysis, has however made it possible for us to realize that the choice is not based on simplicity but on the fact that Twi, as the ML, must provide the system morphemes that build the grammatical structure of the constituents. Tense and aspect markers, under the MLF model, are system morphemes

In the mixed VP, English verbs have more than Twi tense and aspect constraints. They are constrained phonologically and morphologically by Twi. They are also constrained by tone marking, vowel length and Twi structures. These constraints are explained in the following section.

4.1. Constraints on the morphology and phonology of English verbs
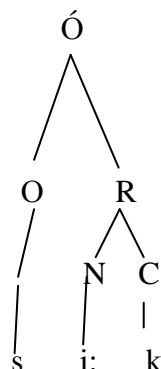
4.1.1. *Syllable structure*

The constraint on the morphology and phonology occurs in the syllable structure of the English verbs. In general, Twi has open syllables. That is, Twi does not have closed syllables other than those that end in nasals. Twi words, whether monosyllabic, disyllabic or multi-syllabic are always open, and the selected vowel at the final
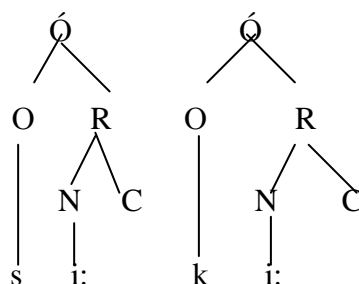
position comes from the same ATR group as the vowel in the stem. For example **ténà** **'**sit', **sɔré** 'stand', **àduànè** 'food'.

This opening is automatically transferred unto almost all the English closed syllable verbs involved in CS, so that English closed syllable verbs take extra vowels at final position to make them open. This transfer turns all English closed monosyllabic verbs into disyllabic verbs, disyllabic ones into multisyllabic verbs, etc. because each word now acquires an additional nucleus. For example, an English closed monosyllabic verb like **seek** /si:k/ in diagram (i) below will become /si:ki:/ as in diagram (ii)

(i)

```
                    Ó
                  /   \
                 O     R
                 |    / \
                 |   N   C
                 |   |   |
                 s   i:  k
```

(ii)

```
            Ó                Ó
          /   \            /   \
         O     R          O     R
         |    / \         |    / \
         |   N   C        |   N   C
         |   |            |   |
         s   i:           k   i:
```

The final vowel is in harmony with the one in the stem in accordance with the Twi vowel harmony system. This additional vowel changes the morphology of the word because it adds a syllable to the existing one. Forson (1979) calls this additional vowel the 'epenthetic vowel' (ibid: 142). This work, however, calls it a syllabic vowel (SYV) because its presence forms the nucleus of the next syllable that is created. Surprisingly, this transfer does not often occur with English nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. that participate in Twi/English CS.

4.1.2. *Constraints on tone*

Tone plays both lexical and grammatical functions in Twi. Twi has two tones i.e. high and low. Thus in Twi, tone is a phoneme that can mark the difference in meaning in minimal pairs. For example **pám** 'sew', **pàm** 'chase/sack'. The only difference is in the high tone of the first word and the low tone of the second. When pronouns, tense, aspect and negation elements attached to verbs are marked with tone they affect the tone pattern of the stems of the verbs and these perform grammatical functions. For example, when **pam** is marked for the past, both the stem and past marker will be marked for tone as in **ɔ-pám-è** 'he sewed'. This same statement can be a question if the tone on the past marker is a high one, as in **ɔ-pám-ɛ́** 'did he sew?' In CS tone can be used to mark grammatical functions. In example (10a) the sentence is a declarative where all the vowels in **depend** are pronounced on low tones, and in (10b) the final vowel in **procrastinate** is pronounced on a high tone to indicate a question.

(10a)   e-*/dèpèndì/*
          3SG- depend
          'It depends'   (Eme: no 58).

(10b)   **Phoebe** wɔ hɔ yi */pròcràstìnátí/*
          Phoebe is there FOCprocrastinate
          'Does Phoebe procrastinate?'   (Eme: no 38)

4.1.3. *Vowel lengthening*

Vowels are lengthened when they are marked for tense and aspect, for example **tena** 'sit', **tenaa-e** 'sat'. In CS however, English verbs that are given syllabic vowels are lengthened automatically. In example (11) **move** is pronounced /mu:vu/

(11)   w- *a-moveɔ forward*
       2SG- PERF-
       'S/he has moved forward'   (Kokro: no 239).

4.2. **Tense and aspect constraints on English verbs**

Dolphyne (1988) explains that Twi verbs come with affixes and these affixes, except in a few cases, agree in vowel harmony with the vowel(s) of the stem. She gives three types of affixes:

   A. Subject-concord prefixes
   B. Tense/Aspect affixes

C. The Negative prefix   (Dolphyne 1988: 87)

4.2.1. *Subject-concord prefixes*

Dolphyne says that the subject-concord prefixes are Twi personal pronouns which accompany the verbs. They agree in number with the verbs they accompany e.g. **ɔ-da** 'he sleeps', **yɛ-da'** we sleep'. Since the MLF model shows that it is the ML that will provide the system morphemes in the building of a CS frame and prefixes are system morphemes, during CS English verbs may be accompanied by Twi subject concord pronouns. In example (12a) 'cause' is prefixed with the pronoun **ɛ** 'it'. Most often, these prefixes are empty 'it' and are antecedents of their subjects.

(12a)   ɛno ɛ- yɛ **bacteria** na *ɛ-causo* saa
           that it-be   that it-that
           'It is a bacteria that causes it'   (Aku: no 212)

4.2.2. *Tense and aspect affixes*

With regard to tense, the past is marked by the suffix *-e /-ɪ* in accordance with Twi vowel harmony and the future by the prefix **bɛ**-. In the case of aspect, the perfective is marked by the prefix **a**-, the consecutive by **a-,** and the motional prefixes by **bɛ-/kɔ**. The progressive is marked by an elongation of the final vowel in the preceding item. These markers are illustrated in examples (13a), (13b), (13c) (13d) and (13f). In example (13a) **win** is inflected by the perfective marker **a-** and in (13b) **pilot** is inflected by the progressive prefix **ɛ**-.

(13a)   w**-** *a- wini* **soul** baako abɛka ho
           3SG-PERF- soul one   add   it
           'He has won one soul in addition'.   (Data id Eme: no 80)

(13b)   enti na yɛ-   *ɛ- pilot*o **school feeding programme** ….
           why FOC 1PL- PROG- pilot school feeding programme
           'That is why we are piloting the school feeding programme…'
            (Ada: no 30)

In (13c) **solve** is inflected in the first instance by the future prefix **bɛ-** and in the second instance by the progressive **ɛ**-.

(13c) ***Problems* no   de**ɛ ɛ- **b**ɛ - **ba na y**ɛ ***b**ɛ –**solv**o**, na y**ɛ-ɛ - *solv*o
    problems DET EMP it-FUT-come and 1PL FUT- solve and 1PL- PROG-solve
    'As for the problems they will come and we will solve (them) and we are
    solving (them)'.
    (Ada: no 31)

In (13d) the first **suggest** and **reject** are inflected by the past suffix –ɪ. All the
verbs, have added extra vowels to make them multi-syllabic because they end on
closed syllables.

(13d)   sɛ wo ***suggest*ɪ-ɪ** wɔ **cabinet** na ɔmo ***reject*ɪ-ɪ** a
    if 2SG suggest -PAST in cabinet and 3PL reject-PAST PAT
    san ***suggest*ɪ** bio   ɛ
    return suggest again PAT
    'If you suggested (it) in cabinet and they rejected (it) then suggest (it) again'.
    (Ada: no8).

Osam (2004) also identifies the motional prefixes **bɛ** 'come' and **kɔ** 'go' which
are attached to verbs to indicate motion. In example (13f) the motional prefix **kɔ** is
prefixed to **check**.

(13f)   Na afie yɛ   bɛ- kɔ   a-*kɔ-check*ɪ sɛ   ɛ-yɛ **clean** anaa
    and then 1PL FUT-go MO-check   that it-be clean or
    'And then we will go and check to see if it is clean or not.'
    (Ada: no 4)

4.2.3. *Negative prefixes*

The negative prefixes are **n-/m-**. In some situations there is a homorganic nasal
assimilation during negation. In example (14) **vote** is inflected by the negative marker
n-. The verb has the syllabic vowels attached. Note also that the vowel in the stem is
lengthened. For example vote will be pronounced /vo:ti/.

(14) Mee me **independent investigation** kyɛrɛ sɛ ye   be – nya **a new crop of**
     1SG DET independent investigation show that 1PL PROG get a new crop of
    people a   ɔmo ***n-voti*** da
    people who 3PL NEG-vote before
     'My independent investigation shows that we will get a new crop of people
    who have never voted before.'
    (Ada: no 11)

The mixed VP therefore can be made up of a Twi subject pronoun+ an English verb stem or a tense/aspect/negative marker + an English verb stem.The selection of only Twi pronoun/tense/aspect/negative morphemes to co-occur with English verbs goes to prove what Forson (1979) said:

> …when we say a person is using language x, what we are actually saying is that he is using the grammatical system and grammatical items of the language, and not necessarily the lexical item. (Forson 1979: 160).

Based on this assertion it can be argued that it is Twi (the ML) that provides the grammatical systems and items for building the structure of the mixed constituents as the MLF model has predicted. It is also Twi that provides the morpheme order (MOP) of the mixed constituents.

4.3. **Clause Structure**

4.3.1 *Verb phrases and their complements*

All types of English verbs (transitive, di-transitive, intransitive and copula) and their complements occur in the mixed VP. This section looks at the distribution of these English verbs in mixed VPs.

4.3.2. *English transitive verbs*

Twi has an SVO clause structure that can project a slot for an English transitive verb. In the mixed transitive verb construction, the subject can precede the English verb and the object follows it in accordance with Twi word order as predicted by the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP). The English verb can assign thematic roles to Twi subjects and objects. These English verbs must, however, be inflected by Twi tense/aspect markers in accordance with the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) of the MLF. In example (15a) **question** is inflected by the Twi progressive marker **i**-. **Question** alsoassigns the thematic role of patient to the Twi object **ɔmo 'them'** and agent to the Twi subject **obi 'someone'**.

(15a) **The EC is an institution of its own**, ɔmo a   wɔ ɔmo **PR section** enti sɛ
      the EC is an institution of its own, 3PL PAT have DET PR section and so if

biibi ba na sɛ *obi   i-   question* ɔmo   a
something come and someone PROG- question them PAT
ɔmo a   nyi ano
3PL PAT remove mouth
'The EC is an institution of its own; they have their own PR section and so if
something occurs and they are being questioned they themselves should answer'.
    (Ada: no 10)

English verbs can also take English nouns as objects in the mixed VP. These verbs are
still marked by Twi tense/aspect in accordance with the SMP. In such cases they look
like EL islands but because the verbs still have to be marked by Twi tense/aspect, they
do not have the well-formedness of an EL island. An EL island according to the MLF
must be well-formed in the EL. In (15b) **read** is inflected by Twi progressive marker
o- and also lengthened though it takes the English object **tribute.**

(15b)   ɛbra ɔmo o- *readi tribute* no na wo hu **signs** sɛ ne   werɛ aho
          when 3PL PROG-read tribute DET then 2SG see signs that DET soul sad
          '(It was) when they were reading the tribute that you could notice signs of
          sadness'
          (Eme: no 54)

4.3.3. *Intransitive verbs*

In the mixed intransitive verb construction, English intransitive verbs can be
inserted into Twi intransitive verb slots. Twi intransitive verbs can occur with or
without adjuncts and this applies to the English intransitive verbs. The English verbs
that are allowed must all be inflected by Twi tense/aspect markers even if they take
English adjuncts. In (17a) **rise** is inflected by the consecutive marker **a-** and is
followed by the Twi adverbial **akɔ soro yie** 'gone very high', and in (17b) **move** is
inflected by the perfective **a-** even though it takes the English adverb **forward**.

(17a)   **Because** ɔyɛ ɔbaa   a   w- a-   tumi *a - riseɪ akɔ soro yie*
       Because 3SG be   woman who 3SG PERF-be able CON-rise MO high very
       'Because she is a woman who has been able to rise very high'
       (Kokro: no 247)

(17b)   w-a- *move₀ forward*
          2SG- PERF-move forward
          'S/he has moved forward'
          (Kokro: no 239)

4.3.4. *Di-transitive verbs*

Twi has a di-transitive construction of the SVOO constituent order. In Twi, however, the recipient NP must always follow the verb so that the argument structure is [A+V+REC+TH]. A theme NP cannot follow the verb when there is a recipient NP. Twi therefore, does not have the [A+V+TH+REC] structure where the recipient NP is linked to the theme NP by a dative preposition. So, while example (18a), where the recipient NP **maame no** follows the verb **ma**'give' is acceptable, example (18b) where **sika** 'money' the theme NP follows the verb is not. A theme NP that follows the verb can only occur with a **de** 'take' construction as in (18c).

(18a)   Papa no *ma   -a   maame*   no sika
          man DET give-PAST woman DET money
          'The man gave the woman some money'

*(18b)   Papa no   *ma- a   sika* maame no
          man DET give-PAST money woman DET
          'The man gave some money to the woman'

(18c)   Papa no   *de sika   no ma-a* maame no
          man DET take money DET give- PAST woman DET
          'The man gave the money to the woman'

What is observed is that because Twi does not have the structural type of (18b), English ditransitive verbs which can occur in both structures are blocked from participating in CS. This is because one of the structures cannot be projected in Twi. There is therefore no record of ditransitive verbs in the data. Verbs like **write, buy, bring, cook, give,** etc were rejected when an attempt was made to use them in sentences. The only ditransitive verb that is found to occur is **send**, as in example (18d). This did not occur in the data. An example like (18e) where **write** is used will not be accepted.

(18d)   Me *sende-e*   no   **text**
          1SG send-PAST him/her text
          'I sent him/her a text message.'

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(18d)   *Me ***writɪ-ɪ***   no **letter**
   1SG write-PAST him/her
     'I wrote him/her a letter'

This shows that English verbs are only allowed in structures that are consistent with Twi. If Twi does not have the structure that can project a slot for the English verb, it will be rejected. The MOP says that the surface word order in CS is that of the ML, it does not say that English verbs can only occur in slots that do not violate the syntactic rules of the ML and so it fails to account for this situation.

4.3.5. *Linking verbs*

The data show that English linking verbs in the mixed VP take only English complements. In (19a) **live** takes **good** as its complement.

(19a)   **Afrika** na sɛ wo yɛ kɛse   a   yɛ -se it's a sign sɛ <u>wo ***livo good***</u>.
   Africa FOC that 2SG become obese PAT 3PL-say   that 2SG
    'It's only in Africa that when one becomes obese we sat it's a sign that you are living well'.
   (Aku: no 207)

When a Twi complement is accessed in this context it will not be accepted. At the same time, if a Twi linking verb is used, the English complement cannot be accessed as the examples below show in (19b) and (19c).

(19b)   ***Afrika** na sɛ wo yɛ kɛse a yɛ-se **it's a sign** sɛ <u>wo ***livo yie***</u>

(19c)   ***Africa** na sɛ wo yɛ kɛse a yɛ-se *it's a sign* sɛ <u>wo *te **good***</u>

Though there are no records of English linking verbs taking Twi complements in the data, it does not mean that the morpheme order and system morphemes are those of English. On the contrary, the linking – complement order is consistent with the Twi morphosyntax. The slot for (19a) for example can be reproduced in (19d) where **te** links the adjective **yie** to the subject **wo**.

(19d)   **Afrika** na sɛ wo yɛ kɛse   a   yɛ -se it's a sign sɛ <u>wo te yie</u>.
   Africa FOC that 2SG become obese PAT 3PL-say that 2SG live well
   'It's only in Africa that when one becomes obese we say it's a sign that you are living well'.

The Morpheme-Order Principle says that 'In ML+EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order…will be that of the ML' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 83).This means that singly-occurring EL lexemes can occur with any number of ML morphemes but it fails to account for why singly-occurring English linking verbs cannot occur with Twi (ML) complements whether the complement is an adjective (above) or noun in (19e).

(19e)   Ŋkɔdaa a   ɔmo a-*turn*e *eighteen* no   na yɛ- ɛ-**disenfranchise** ɔmo
         children who 3PL PERF-   DETthat 1PL- PROG- them
         'Children who have turned eighteen are those being disenfranchised '
         (Ada: no 2)

4.3.6. *Serial Verb Construction (SVC)*

The serial verb construction (SVC) is a common verb pattern in Twi (Akrofi 1965, Dolphyne 1988, Boadi 2005, Osam 2004). Foley and Olson (1985: 18) define SVCs as 'constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions …' they are regularly used in Twi-English CS. In CS English verbs are juxtaposed with no intervening conjunctions in accordance with Twi word order. Both English and Twi verbs can be juxtaposed in a sentence as in example (20a). For the purpose of identification the verbs in the SVC have been numbered.

(20a)   **Some of us** na yɛ *crusadi-i$_1$ ma$_2$ -   a* aban
         some of us FOC 1PL crusade-PAST   give -PAST government
         'Some of us crusaded for the government.'
          (DC: no 177)

In Twi SVCs all the verbs are marked similarly for TAM (Osam 2004: 39), so **crusade** and **ma** 'give' in (20a) have been marked similarly for the past **-i/-a**. Dolphyne (1988) however says that in certain situations different aspectual forms can co-occur in verb serialization.The verbs in (20b) are marked differently for TAM i.e. **kɔ** 'go' has been marked for the perfective **a-**, while **check** has not been marked at all and **validate** has been marked by the consecutive **a-**.

(20b)   Yɛn nso y-   a-kɔ$_1$ *check$_2$* **a-***validat$_3$* sɛ   ye   din
         1PL also 1PL- PERF- go check   CON-validate that our name
         no yɛ **correct** anaa?
         DET be correct or

'Have we also gone to check and validate that our names are correct?'
(Ada: no 12)

5.0. **Verbs that Do Not Occur in CS**.

The data shows that many English verbs participate successfully in Twi-English CS where these verbs are integrated into Twi morphosyntactic structures. However, not all English verbs may occur in CS. The affected English verbs include the following: **stand, walk**, **laugh, sit,** and **sleep**. Others are **dance, bath, watch, play, beat, wait, have, take** and **do**. Their occurrences in (21a-f) below are considered unacceptable.

(21a) me ***stand*e** ha daa
   1SG stand here always
   'I always stand here'

(21b) Kofi ***walk*ɪ-ɪ** ba-a ha
   Kofi walk-PAST MO-PAST here
   'Kofi walked here/ Kofi walked to this place'

(21c) Ama ***laugh*e-e**
   Ama laugh-PAST
  'Ama laughed'

(21d) me ***have*o** **red car**
   1SG have red car
   'I have a red car'

(21e) me e **-** ***do* work** no
   1SG PROG-do work DET
   'I am doing the work'

(22f) yɛ bɛ**-** ***sit*ɪ** ha
   3PL FUT-sit here
   'We will sit here'

Forson (1979) noted earlier that the English equivalents of some Twi verbs cannot participate in CS. He says that verbs such as **come**, **go**, **like, want**, **know** and

see do not occur in CS and argues that such verbs may only be quoted in English as parts of some idiomatic expressions, as **go** is used in example (22).

(22)   ɛ -yɛ *1965* na   o   *-go into business*
         3SG-be 1965 that 3SG- go into business
        'It was in 1965 that he went into business
        (Forson 1979:183)

He argues that in CS more commonly-used Akan verbs such as the equivalents of those above are 'preferred' because they are more frequently used. On the other hand, the English equivalents of complex Akan words may be used instead of the Akan ones for e.g. 'believe'. This is not always so because **gyedi**, its equivalent, is also frequently used. Like **believe** the English equivalents of some frequently-used Twi verbs also occur in CS, for example **call** (phone call) for **frɛ,** as in (23). **Call** in the ordinary sense is however not allowed. Others are **sra/ visit, hyia / meet, we / chew, she / burn** and **sɛe / destroy**.

(23)   Obia - a   o-   o- tie   me wɔ Asakragua bia n-   *call*è
          anyone-who 3SG-PROG listen me at Asankragua all should-call
         'Anyone listening to me from Asankragua should call'
         (Kokro: no. 243)

Forson did not use any criteria to explain why these verbs cannot be switched, except for the fact that they are frequently used. This frequency hypothesis of Forson's was tested by Amuzu (1998, 2005 and forthcoming). Like Forson, Amuzu notices that the English equivalents of some Ewe verbs cannot occur in CS. Amuzu uses native- speaker intuition to access the frequency hypothesis in Ewe-English CS and concludes that they partially corroborate Forson's frequency hypothesis. He notes however that the frequency hypothesis fails to explain why other English verbs whose Ewe counterparts are also frequently used also appear in CS. Some such verbs are **take, give, use, mean, love, like** and **meet**.

He does not, however, totally discard Forson's frequency hypothesis but realizes that most of the English equivalents of the Ewe verbs 'that <u>may not</u> occur singly as CS verbs encode the generic sense of the Ewe verb in question whereas those that <u>may </u>(underlined in original) do so encode more specific or specialized shades of the meanings of that Ewe verb' (Amuzu forthcoming). He therefore modifies the frequency hypothesis as follows:

In general, many Ewe verbs cover a wide range of meaning which are specifiable in one of two or more related English equivalents. For example **ɖu** (**n**u) 'eat thing' may be translated as any of the following, depending on the intended meaning: eat, chew, consume (Amuzu 1998: 63).

He explains that while **eat** (the generic equivalent of **ɖu***)* may not occur singly as a CS verb, the other shades of meanings of **ɖu** like **chew***,* **consume***,* **deplete***,* **spend***,* **squander**, etc. may occur singly as CS verbs because they encode specific/specialized shades of meanings.

A careful study of Twi high frequency verbs also shows a similar pattern like those found in Ewe. That is, these verbs do not represent a single action or state of being in Twi. **Di** 'eat' for example seems to convey different meanings depending on the context. They include **di aduane** 'eat food', **di nkɔmɔ** 'converse / chat', **di awerɛhoɔ** 'be sad', **di nna** 'stay for some time', **di nkra** 'bid farewell', **di nse** 'take an oath' etc. Other examples are **bu** 'break' as in **bu nsuo** 'fetch water' **bu dua** 'cut tree', **bu adeɛ** 'respect' and *tu* 'dig', as in **tu fɔm** 'dig hole', **tu ano** 'uncork' and **tu fie** 'move house'. As Amuzu states, the equivalents of the generic meanings of these verbs i.e. **di** 'eat', **tu** 'dig' and **bu** 'break' are blocked from CS.

5.0. Conclusion

The data have shown that the two key predictions of the MLF model apply in Twi-English CS, especially with the verb phrase. That is, in the mixed VP, the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) is consistently employed because all the relevant system morphemes that are used to build grammatical relations like tense and aspect come from Twi which is the ML.

The data also show that all the English verbs that participate in Twi-English CS are fully integrated into the Twi morphosyntax both morphologically and phonologically. That is, in form; the verbs must accept extra vowels to make them disyllabic or multisyllabic and must be pronounced with Twi tone. The MLF fails to account for why there should be phonological and morphological integration of some ML lexical items in CS. For example in the Swahili/English CS corpus, the English verb **decide** in (24) does not undergo any morphological or phonological integration.

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(24)   **Hata siku hizi ni-   me-_decide_ kwanza kutumia sabuni ya miti**
          even days these 1SG-PERF-   first   to use   soap of stick
       '[But] even these days I have decided first to use bar soap'
       (Swahili-English; Myers-Scotton 1993:5)

This will not happen in the Twi/English CS corpus. **Decide** will be realized _decidɪ_ because it ends on a closed syllable.

Secondly, all the English verbs must be finite verbs in their bare form. This might probably be because in Twi only finite verbs are used with TAM providing all the functional relations.

The data also show that the English verbs occur in slots that do not violate the syntactic rules of Twi. For example, an English transitive verb will occur in a Twi transitive verb slot, likewise an intransitive verb in an intransitive verb slot. An English verb that does not conform to these rules would be blocked, as is seen with ditransitive verb constructions. English linking verbs only allow an English complement.The MLF model fails to account for why English verbs can only occur in slots that do not violate the syntactic rules of Twi and why English linking verbs cannot take ML complements. These situations show that no one theory can fully explain the CS phenomenon, because different languages pattern differently with the EL.

With the Serial Verb Construction (SVC), English verbs are allowed slots even though English does not have this type of construction. This is because as the Morpheme Order Principle predicts, it is Twi word order that must be followed in a mixed constituent and the Twi word order has this kind of template in which the English verbs are inserted.

Another observation is that the English equivalents of certain Twi verbs do not participate in the Twi-English CS corpus. A study of these verbs does not bring out a clear pattern that can help formulate a theory for their non-switchability. A thorough investigation is required. The general observation is that because the English verbs that participate in Twi-English CS have to be marked with only Twi TAM, none of them could form a well formed EL island with their arguments.

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Book Review

Lawrence Addai Boadi, 2010. *The Akan Noun Phrase: Its Structure and Meaning*. Cantonments-Accra: Black Mask Ltd. 286 pages. ISBN 978-9988-8489-5-8

The book, which is primarily on the noun phrase of Akan and perhaps the first that is devoted to that topic, is made up of ten chapters. It gives a detailed look at the noun in Akan and indicates the author's enormous insight into the Akan language and grammar. Although the book is not purposely on Akan phonetics and phonology, the author recognizes and provides correct forms of the language (in terms of orthography) and takes pains to present them. One such case is his presentation of the third person singular pronoun in Akan as /ɔ-/ as in **ɔ-aba** 'he has come' and not /w-/ as in **w-aba**, which has commonly been given in the orthography and found in many books and, therefore, has become the norm. Indeed, this is a must-read book for every Akan scholar and student. Each chapter of the ten is devoted to a particular aspect of the Akan noun phrase (NP), which is then comprehensively and clearly presented.

Generally, the book is well structured and coherently presents various aspects of the NP. Chapter One, which is titled 'General Properties of the Noun Phrase', looks at the universality of the noun and notes the major constituents that could be part of the noun phrase (NP). 'The Akan Noun Phrase' is the title of Chapter Two of the book, which briefly looks at the phrase structure of the NP. The rest of the book takes a close look at the major constituents within the NP in separate chapters. In this direction, Chapter Three continues on the topic 'The Associative Phrase', and here the semantics of the genitival phrase is the subject matter. Chapter Four, entitled 'The Participle', is also on the participle and, to some extent, how it is different from 'The Adjective', which is the topic of Chapter Five. Chapter Six is on the topic 'The Determiner', where various types of the determiner are explored in terms of the relationship between them and the noun. 'The Quantifier' takes the centre stage of Chapter Seven, where two types of the quantifier are observed. 'The Lexical Noun' is concentrated on in connection with its semantics and syntax in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten under the respective sub-topics of 'Space and Individual', 'Animacy and Definiteness', and 'Inalienability, Direction and Kinship'.

Observing the chapters in some detail, Chapter One underscores the distinctiveness of the noun as a word class and also gives insight into the lexical nature of the noun in Akan, following the observation that the universality of the noun

may not be acceptable cross-linguistically. The prototypical nature of the noun, while some exceptions are noted, is also established on the bases of a number of properties including its stability – e.g. Givon's (2001) *Temporal Stability* – as compared to the verb. The Chapter also notes the noun and the verb as the two most important universal categories. Further, on the basis of semantic evidence corresponding to specific syntactic environments, Akan is described with respect to four types of noun phrases as Type I, with the specifications Numeral, Noun, Plural affix (no Classifier).

Turning to the noun and its modifiers briefly, the Chapter identifies six modifiers that occur with the noun in a particular linear order. The modifiers are noted as playing three functions; localizing, quantifying and qualitative. The chapter ends with some explorations of the adjective-noun connection.

Chapter Two begins the main part of the book with a general discussion of the NP in Akan in connection with the specific modifiers of the noun that are individually observed from Chapter Three through Chapter Seven. It looks at the structure of the NP in terms of modification of the noun where aspects of pre-modification and post-modification of the noun are explained. Concerning post-modifiers, the book notes one of interest as the participle, which is described as a non-finite form of the verb and which has to be distinguished from the adjective. However, considering its internal structure, it could also be noted that this so-called participle is rather a noun, which has been derived from a verb as the author seems to suggest later and indeed notes in Section 3.4 of Chapter Three. So, it is only a nominalized verb in isolation (with the suffix /-eɛ/ being the nominalizing morpheme). However, when it comes after a 'true' noun, just as in the examples given in the book, it functions as a modifier. In no attempt to undermine the option of structural presentation in the book, it is worthy of note that the constituent (c-) structures (or the tree diagrams) given in this Chapter and, perhaps, through the book could benefit from the use of some current options in c-structure presentation.

Chapter Three is also devoted to pre-modifier(s), which the author calls the Associative or Genitival Phrase (as complements to NP). Here, the book gives extensive coverage of the phrases and how they are structurally derived in some of the varieties that constitute Akan, e.g. Twi and Fante. Various Associative Phrases, including the recursive associative phrase and constructions that involve left-dislocation (e.g. focus marking), all of which are captured with the scheme [$_{ASP}$ [N1 $_{AS}$ N2]] are noted and explored. Particularly, this chapter provides a lot of information on various forms of genitival expressions that researchers on the Akan language might like to observe and, perhaps, look into for further insights and understanding.

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Chapter Four discusses the participle, which the author notes as unmentioned in the literature on syntax and semantics of Akan. This participle is described as a verb in the chapter for the reason that it assigns semantic roles. The author makes some remarks here that are rather doubtful and would need some further clarifications. In introducing the idea of semantic role assignment, one would have expected that feature specifications of argument function could be spelled out, such that an inanimate noun could not possibly be described as patient-of-cause, a case which runs through the Chapter. Also, the point that a noun complement retains the semantic role of patient if it moves to another syntactic position is questionable. This is because, particularly on example (11) of the author, which is given below as (1a), if the noun is placed before the verb, it only becomes a modifier to a nominalized verb and retains no semantic role, as he rightly indicate in the examples in (12) and (14), given below as (1b) and (1c); in fact, the two are then contained in a NP that has no embedded VP.

1. a.   [$_{NP}$e [$_{VP}$ sunsuan [$_{N}$ ntama]]]   => [$_{NP}$ ntama [$_{VP}$ sunsuan [$_{N}$ t]]]

    b.   Kwasi kyiri   [$_{NP}$ **ntama sunsuan(-eɛ)**]
         Kwasi hate.Stat.   cloth tear up-Part.
         'Kwasi hates the act of tearing up a cloth into pieces'

    c.   [$_{NP}$ **aduan (ɛ-) noa**]
            food   (Nom) cook
         'the act of cooking food'.

Thus, the c-structure given is one way or another deceptive. What follows is a long explication, but round-about, of the noted participle and its connection with the verb and the noun, which is not really the focus in the Chapter. These said, there is no doubt that the book continues to enlighten the reader on issues relating to the Akan NP.

The adjective phrase, as a modifier to the noun, is discussed in Chapter Five in great detail. Here, the adjective and how it combines with other expressions are observed. One point though which the author could have noted is that, besides the adjective's use with the intensifier, the other expressions with the adjective he identifies are possible only in the predicate case. The author, however, notes several semantic relations in connection with the adjective in predication – where the copula verb, **yɛ**, is in use – such as causation, point-of-view, and bodily sensation and mental disposition, some of which border on the distinction between an adjective, an adverb (of place or manner), and a pseudo-verb. The connection between morphology and

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syntax of the adjective is also observed with a comment that it has not received much attention in previous works.

The determiner in Akan – made up of articles, demonstratives, and the pronominals – is the subject of Chapter Six, particularly its place and functions, and the relation of one determiner class with the other. On the pronouns, and particularly on the Third Person, which the author notes as having a bearing on the development of the determiners and demonstratives, he notes in particular how different pronouns are from nouns (and, sometimes, determiners, articles and demonstratives) with respect to person, number, gender, reference and case. Detailed as this Chapter is, in the discussions of the various determiners in Akan, the author's understanding of the realization of the free variant [weji/wei] leaves room for argument. While the author acknowledges that it is in free variation with [oji, eji], he also claims by appealing to paradigmatic syncretism (Hopper and Traugott 1993) that [weji/wei] was realized from a merger between [o-] and [ɛ-] in [oji] and [eji] respectively. This is farfetched, considering the fact that they all remain as variants of the same morpheme. Also, a question could be asked as to why different forms that convey a common meaning and indeed do not come one after the other could merge (from different words – i.e. [oji] and [eji]) to evolve what the author is claiming? Indeed, this syncretism seems to rather explain the realization of [ɔ] as [w] and [ɛ] as [ø] in respective subject situations like **ɔ-akɔ**, which is now commonly written as **w-akɔ** and **ɛ-akɔ**, which is (phonetically) realized as /-akɔ/, as the author seems to be saying with examples (14a) through (14c) in this chapter. I would suggest a second look at the present case. Perhaps, an analysis based on a consideration of dialectal differences in the use of the morpheme between Asante, Akuapem, Fante and the other varieties of Akan would be most suitable.

In the same chapter – Chapter Six – the author neatly draws a distinction between some of the determiners, particularly the use of **no** as a distal deictic and as determiner article and the use of **bi** as a determiner and quantifier, which makes the use of them in the language very clear. What is even more interesting is the author's analysis of grammaticalization of some of the 'determiner' forms, particularly **bi**, which he identifies as both a determiner and quantifier following his appeal to the process of poly-grammaticalization (Craig 1991), with **bi** having been reduced from **obi/ɛbi**.

Still in Chapter Six, among other determiners, the author identifies what he terms a Zero determiner, and claims its existence by the realization of generic reference on a head noun, making the noun a universal representation of objects. He explains this

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zero determiner by the use of the past affix in Akan, which he suggests refers to situations viewed as episodic unitary events. However, he also suggests further research into the role of the predicate in the generic status on a noun. His suggestion of further research is indeed timely considering that, although I cannot point to any literature here, zero determination has also been considered as indefinite article in Akan. In this wise, we have contrasted the zero determiner with **no**, as the definite article, in particular. The author contrasts the zero determiner with the overt determiners and a case of 'zero-but-not-generic' determination. Using the author's example in (37), given as (2a) below for illustration, the use of **no** in (2b) takes away the universal content of **ɔpɔnkɔ** and defines its reference as specific.

2. a. **Ɔpɔnkɔ tumi   huri   ɛban**
        horse Ø Hab.be.able   Hab.jump   fence
        'A horse can jump over a fence'.

    b. **Ɔpɔnkɔ no   tumi   huri   ɛban**
        horse   DET.def. Hab.be.able Hab.jump fence
        'The horse can jump over a fence'.

The use of zero determiner and **no** will then roughly correspond to "a/an" and "the" articles in English respectively. But, as noted by the author, perhaps, detailed research here is necessary to explore these further and conclusively.
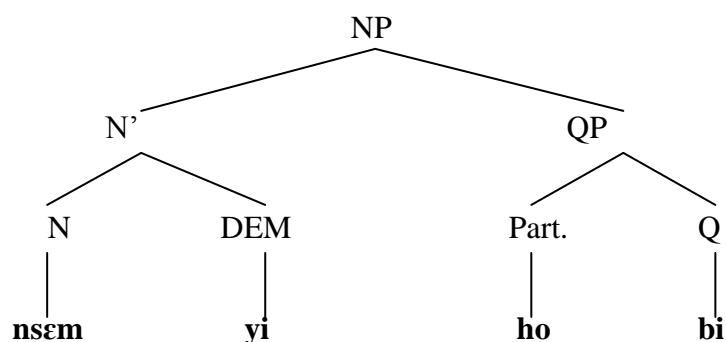
   Quite understandably, the use of **ko** as a determiner is emphasized by the author in the sense that it is not considered as one of the common or 'traditional' determiners in the language and, as the author notes, many students would probably not consider it as a determiner. However, the author convincingly shows it to be such. Personally and on the basis of a little survey I did in the course of reviewing this book, however, the author's position that **ko** does not co-occur with proper names (like **Yaw**, **Mensah**) and heavenly bodies (like **owia**) is not conclusive. He notes that its use with these nouns would be otiose in an unmarked discourse situation. While this may be true, it is important to note that marked discourse situations contribute to the general understanding of languages. So, we could not write them off. In the present case of the use of **ko** as determiner, when it is used with the proper names and heavenly bodies, it imputes the idea of particular/kind/manner (of an attribute that may be in discussion). Furthermore, some speakers do not consider this usage as marked at all, but as normal (unmarked) as its use in the so-called acceptable cases. Accordingly, the author's example in (57) and (58), noted below as (3a) and (3b), could be deemed acceptable.

3   a.   **Me-nim**   **Yaw ko áà ɔ-wɔ**   **ha**
             1SG-know.ST.   Yaw particular who   3SG.ST.-be here
             'I know the particular Yaw who is here' (I know the kind/sort of Yaw …).

      b.   **Ɔ-kyerɛ́-ɛ̀**   **awia**   **ko**   **áà**   **ɛ̀-bɔ́-è-ɛ**
             3SG-show-PAST sun particular   which   it shines-PAST-SCP
             'She indicated the particular sun that appeared' (she indicated the kind/sort of sun…).

What I have noted here as what **ko** inputs to the construction is apparently enforced by the author in Section 6.5.1 with examples (61) and (62), although the noun here is not from any of the semantic classes the author notes. Also, **ko** seems to have been grammaticalized from **koro**, which also means 'one', and considering that the author had traced the source of the other determiners, perhaps, he could have noted this fact; i.e. if he accepts this as a fact. One might also suspect that the use of **ko** and **koro** could be due to dialectal differences.

Considering the extensive discussions on function of **ko** in the book, there is no doubt that it is a determiner. But, perhaps, it is also important to note, per the enormous or varied semantic relations between it and a variety of lexemic and phrasal classes and the implications that come to bear that **ko** could be looked at as a grammatical unit that is more than a determiner. Indeed, it is in order to recommend that its information structure in relation to a variety of lexemic and phrasal classes should be looked into in detail.

Chapter Seven addresses quantifiers and quantification in Akan and distinguishes between definite quantifiers as numerals on one side and non-definite quantifiers on the other side. Some restrictions on the quantifiers are also noted and clarified. Considering current trends in syntax and that the quantifiers, including the partitives the author identifies, ultimately define the head noun, however, I think the c-structure of the NP could be simplified in terms of minimalism (Chomsky 1995 & 1998) rather than what the author presents from Section 7.5, which seems unnecessarily complex and not appealing to economy of expression (Bresnan 2001). For instance, the author's c-structure for the phrase **nsɛm yi ho bi** in (25) could have been simplified as follows.

```
                            NP
                   _____/  _____
                  /                    \
               N'                        QP
             /    \                     /    \
           N       DEM             Part.       Q
           |        |                |         |
         nsɛm      yi                ho        bi
```

Also, with the author's c-structure, noted as (37), it is important to note that it is the whole left dislocated NP that is co-indexed with the resumptive pronoun, since it is the whole NP that was 'moved' from the (now embedded) canonical clause; i.e.

[$_{IP}$ NP [$_{VP}$ V]].

Thus, except where this representation is an oversight, considering that the right thing is done in example (45), the author's indexing of only the head noun with the resumptive pronoun violates some aspects of the binding theory and, indeed, it cannot explain the dislocation resulting in the 'derived' extra-sentential clause.

Chapter Eight deals with the lexical noun, particularly the relevance of nominal aspect in statements of subject-predicate selection, and affixation and semantic classes. The author begins the Chapter by considering the grouping of nouns into classes. In this respect, various semantic-based features for class specification are considered for Akan nouns. For instance, he conveniently relates count and mass nouns in parallel with inherently perfective and imperfective verbs respectively in the course of positing his universal category of aspect. Further, among other descriptions of the noun, but still in terms of semantics, with his identification of existential-locative verbs of two classes and aspectual properties of the noun subject, which govern them in the clause, the author discusses in great detail two nouns in terms of the contact assumed by an object with a surface. These are i) objects with contours or outlines that cannot be described as well-defined or spatially bonded (e.g. **nsuo**, **mmogya**) and ii) objects that cover limited and well-defined spaces (e.g. **dadɛ**, **dua**).

Still in Chapter Eight, the author strays from the main subject matter of lexical nouns into the discussion of the morpho-semantics of reduplication of existential-locative verbs. Although there is an attempt to bring in the subject matter of lexical nouns as singular count noun, plural count noun, and mass noun in connection with the verb, this section and several others only adds to the number of pages of the book. Indeed, this particular section (8.2.1) is briefly and conveniently captured under section 8.2 and one wonders why its inclusion for further details is necessary. This, however, does not overshadow the fact that the author continues to initiate and revive

specific issues/topics as areas worthy of further research. This section probably contains issues for such further research; for instance, the subject agent of cause and its connection with various actual forms and tenses of the verb besides the stative aspect. In this Chapter, the author also presents a noun class system for Akan, different from Osam (1993: 85) and Bodomo and Marfo (2006: 214-217), which he suggests illustrates the vestigial nature of the present-day Akan noun-class system. One wonders though as to why separate classes are delineated for birds besides the six classes and why the nominal suffixes /-ni/ and /-foɔ/ are not immediately considered in his six classes.

Chapter Nine of the book continues with the exploration of the lexical noun in Akan but, here, the concentration is on two features of grammar; animacy and definiteness. In this direction, he explores the use of the resumptive pronoun and its connection to animacy and definiteness. In the exploration, the author's clarity of exposition makes the issues raised easy to fathom. As the author notes, many works, including Marfo (2009), have noted that the third person singular and plural personal pronouns have overt and phonetically-null forms in accusative-case position, depending on the animacy of an antecedent NP – i.e. an animate NP is resumed by overt pronoun and an inanimate NP is not resumed by overt pronoun. However, the author further notes with illustrations in Section 9.1.3 that there are some cases where the resumptive pronoun is overt, irrespective of the animacy-gender specification of the antecedent NP. This and other keen observations in this chapter ignite research into antecedent-anaphor relations in Akan.

Further, under Section 9.2, where the author talks about human nouns, among other things, he brings to the fore the connection between definiteness, argument function, hierarchical positioning and semantic role. Related to this is the remark by the author that a compensatory rearrangement, involving a subject becoming definite and verbal form change with respect to tone, reflects the process of passivization in English. But, I believe this suggested reflection is not to imply that English passivization is the model for this case in Akan. Some of the author's examples on the compensatory rearrangement, which are part of his examples in (35) and (38), are given as (4a) and (4b) below.

4   a.   **Me wɔ̀ kraman** → **Ɔkraman   no wɔ́   me**
          1SG. have   dog   dog   DEF have   1SG.
          'I have a dog.   'The dog belongs to me.'

b. **Kwadwo wɔ̀**   **nnɛɛma** → **Nneɛma no wɔ́**   **Kwadwo**
   Kwadwo have   goods   goods DEF have   Kwadwo
   'Kwadwo has goods.'   'The goods belong to Kwadwo.'

The author's position that the processes do not affect the semantic content in both languages, quoting Levinson (1983: 41) for example, however, cannot be true in Akan. For the fact that at the subject position 'object-turned-subject' nouns – i.e. **sika** and **nneɛma** – co-occur with the definite determiner, **no**, adds definiteness to the semantic structure (and/or information structure (e.g. Lambretch 1994)) of the construction. Thus, it could be explained that, with the nouns' co-occurrence with the definite determiner, specific **sika** and **nneɛma** becomes the subject matter.

Ending the book, Chapter Ten also concentrates on and continues to explore the lexical noun in Akan with respect to inalienability, direction and kinship. Here, two semantic sub-classes are distinguished with respect to inalienability in particular: relation nouns and free nouns, and the author discusses these in great detail with an observation among others that kinship nouns are more similar to nouns of inalienable possession than they are to nouns of alienable possession. There is also detailed discussion on postpositions in this Chapter. The author notes the location expressive nature of the postposition in Akan, and clearly underscores this with semantic feature distinctions through a system of coordinates. Furthermore, among other points and sub-topics of interest, kinship nouns are noted and explained as relational nouns of a distinct semantic paradigm with sub-paradigms on the basis of semantic feature distinctions.

In a nutshell, the book discusses the Akan NP by considering, perhaps, everything that has to do with the noun as a phrasal head. Thus, almost nothing relating to the structure of the noun phrase is left out. As I indicated earlier, for every aspect of linguistics and even paralinguistics, this book is a great source and a must-read for students of Akan and scholars of the languages as well.

Charles O. Marfo

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Conference Reports

2011 was a very active year for linguistics in West Africa. We report below on some of the highlights. Our apologies if an event you know of is not represented.

The Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

The annual Summer Conference of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics was held at the Wetlands Centre of the University of Ghana from the 2nd through the 6th of August, 2011. It was sponsored by New York University Accra, the University of Ghana, Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands), and the University of Giessen (Germany). It was the first conference of the Society to be held in Africa, and therefore was particularly significant because many creole languages are spoken by descendants of people exported from these shores, and African languages contributed very largely to their creation. There were more than 100 registered participants, from (at least) 18 countries.

The theme for the conference, very suitable under the circumstances, was "Traces of Contact". Each of the four conference days began with a plenary talk, followed by papers given in three parallel sessions. The plenaries were delivered by Enoch Aboh (University of Amsterdam) on the topic 'Creoles are not distinct languages!', Felix Ameka (University of Leiden) on 'Multilingualism, contact and convergence on the West African littoral: implications for trans-Atlantic *Sprachbund*', M.E. Kropp Dakubu (University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies) with the title 'The birth of languages in Ghana: contact the onlie begetter?', and Francis Egbokhare (University of Ibadan) on 'Second chance, sentiments and prejudice: engaging the challenges of Nigerian Pidgin development'. Kofi Baku (UG, History) gave an additional plenary at a reception at the New York University Accra campus, on 'African agency, forts and castles and the African slave trade on the Gold Coast'. Session papers included theoretical and descriptive topics on contact and its effects among African languages in various parts of the continent; the nature of the effect of African languages on the creoles of the Caribbean; aspects of Nigerian and Cameroonian Pidgin English; topics concerning pidgin and creole languages spoken in such places as the Bahamas, Surinam, Papua New Guinea, Guam and Mauritius; Ghanaian Student Pidgin; the language of modern London youth; and many more. The conference was deemed a great success, and a credit to the organizers, both the executive of the Society and the local committee.

Linguistics Association of Ghana

The annual conference of the Linguistics Association of Ghana, its second since the Association was revived in 2010, was held from the 8th to the 10th of August, 2011 at the Conference Hall, Noda Hotel, Kumasi. The theme was "Languages in Context and Contact", and the Keynote speaker was Professor Albert Owusu-Sarpong, former Head of the Department of Modern Languages, KNUST, and former Ghanaian Ambassador to France. He spoke on the theme "Diplomatic Language: Language Par Excellence in Context and Contact".   The Welcome address was given by the Vice-Chancellor of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Prof. Otoo Ellis.

In addition to the Keynote address, forty-seven presentations were made in ten working sessions, some of them held in parallel. Topics of papers were in the areas of pragmatics, semantics, phonology, syntax, morphology and various aspects of language contact including such phenomena as code-switching and other consequences of the contact of African languages with English and French. Another area of discussion was language in literary expression.

A total of sixty-one people registered. Participants from Ghana came from the Universities of Ghana, Education Winneba, Cape Coast, Methodist, KNUST, and Central University College, as well as the Institute of Professional Studies and the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation. There were also participants from five Nigerian universities: Ibadan, Catholic University, Jos, Obafemi Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikiwe; two universities in the Netherlands, Leiden and Amsterdam; and one from the Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy.

The participants enjoyed excursions to Bonwire and to the KNUST campus. At the closing ceremony it was announced that the Association would hold a workshop on Utilizing ICT Resources in Academic Research on 13th January at the University of Ghana.

Working Group on Ghana-Togo-Mountain Languages

The working group on GTM languages held its fifth meeting at the Bishop Koning's Guest House in Ho from the 8th through the 10th of August, 2011. The group was formed in 2006 in connection with the Southern Ghana-Togo-Mountains Groups project, led by Prof. Felix Ameka of Leiden University and funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. The working group (like the project as a whole)

furthers the academic study and development of about a dozen languages spoken by relatively small groups of people in Ghana and Togo. These languages were originally labeled *Togorestsprachen* (in German) by D. Westermann. The term was later translated as 'Togo Remnant Languages', on the assumption that they were spoken by remnants of refugees. In *The Languages of Ghana* (1989) the term 'Central Togo languages' was substituted, but at the 2006 meeting the working group adopted the term 'Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages'.

The group of about twenty people that met in 2011 included linguists, bible translators, and local advocates of the use of the languages for literacy and early education. Papers were presented on the following languages: Ikpana (Logba), Sɛlɛɛ (Santrokofi), Tutrugbu (Nyagbo), Siyase (Avatime), Tafi, Lelemi (Buem), Sɛkpɛle (Likpe), and Akebu. There were several more general papers, on cultural features, on the relationship of the GTM languages to Kwa, and on techniques and problems of dictionary creation. In addition three small Guang languages of south eastern Ghana were discussed, namely Nkonya and Gikyode, which have historically been in close contact with GTM languages, and Efutu. Some of the papers will be published, in various outlets. Others are part of ongoing research and PhD projects.

West African Languages Congress

Against considerable odds, the 27th Congress of the West African Linguistics Society was successfully held in Abidjan, Côte d´Ivoire, from the 14th to the 20th of August 2011. The theme for the Congress was *Language Typology and Language documentation*. In his keynote address Prof. Ekkehard Wolff expressed criticisms of current trends in African linguistics and proposed important policy and planning guidelines. Other special invited guests were Prof. Florence Dolphyne, Prof. Norbert Nikiema, and Prof. Thomas Bearth.

Eighty active participants registered, from Ivory Coast, Germany, USA, Netherlands, Norway, Burkina, Togo, Senegal and many from Nigeria. Only one person from Ghana attended.

At the General Meeting it was agreed that 50th Jubilee Congress would be held in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 2013, and that the 2013 African Linguistics School would also be held in Ibadan. The French publisher l'Harmattan has agreed to publish the reviewed proceedings of the Congress, and more than thirty papers have been submitted.

Last but not least, the Ivorian Ministry of Higher Education and Research decorated the former and present presidents of the West African Linguistics Society

as well as a few members of the Counsel with the Order of the National Merit, for their achievements in the field of West African languages.

African Linguistics School

The second African Linguistics School was held from the 17th to the 30th of July, 2011, at the Centre Songhaï in Porto Novo, Republic of Benin. Like the first African Linguistics School held in Accra in 2009, it aimed at offering African students the possibility of becoming familiar with new advances in linguistic description and theory, and centered around the linguistic domains of Syntax, Phonology, Semantics, Languages in Contact, Field Methods, and Sign Language.

The organizers of the School were Enoch Aboh (University of Amsterdam), Akin Akinlabi (Rutgers), Chris Collins (NYU), and John Victor Singler (NYU). Certificates of completion were issued to 68 students from 13 countries, including 16 from Ghana.

Contributors to this Issue

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Abstracts are invited for the 2012 Linguistics Association of Ghana (LAG) Annual Conference scheduled for **July 29-August 1, 2012** at the **University of Education**, **Winneba (UEW),** Winneba Campus.

THEME:

COMMUNICATING IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND THE LITERARY ARTS

 SUBMISSION GUIDELINES: Anonymous single-spaced abstracts addressing the THEME of the Conference and other areas of Linguistics listed below, as well as interfaces between them and related areas of Language and Literature should be sent electronically to the following e-mail address: linguisticsgh@gmail.com.

Topics:	Phonetics	Language Teaching
	Phonology	Language Development
	Morphology	English in Ghana
	Syntax	Pragmatics
	Semantics	Language Acquisition
	Sociolinguistics	Language and Literature
	Pidgins and Creoles	Stylistics, etc.

 Abstracts should be in word format and an additional pdf version should be provided for abstracts containing special characters or figures. Papers will have an allocated presentation time of twenty minutes plus ten minutes discussion.

Word Limit of Abstract: 250 words

Deadline for Abstract Submission: **March 30, 2012**

Notification of Acceptance: **April 20, 2012**

Conference Website: https://sites.google.com/site/lag2012uew/

References made in the notes or in the text should include author's last name, the date of publication and the relevant page number(s), e.g. (Chomsky 1972: 63-4).

There should be a separate list of references at the end of the paper, but before any appendices, in which <u>all and only</u> items referred to in the text and the notes are listed in alphabetical order according to the <u>surname of the first author</u>. When the item is a book by a single author or a collection of articles with a single editor, give full bibliographical details in this order: name of author or editor, date of publication, title of the work, place of publication and publisher. Be absolutely sure that <u>all names and titles are correctly spelled</u>. Examples:

Bauman, Richard, 1986. *Story, Performance and Event*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fiona Mc Laughlin, ed., 2009. *The Languages of Urban Africa*. London & New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

If the book has more than one author or editor, they should all be given, the first appearing as above, the others with their first name or initial placed before the surname:

Heine, Bernd and Derek Nurse, eds., 2000. *African Languages, an Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

An article appearing in an edited book should be referenced under the author's name, with the editor(s) and full details of the book and page numbers of the particular article. For example:

Bender, Lionel M., 2000. Nilo-Saharan. In Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse, eds., *African Languages, an Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 43-73.

However, if you cite several articles from the same book you can give the full details just once, in a reference under the editor's name, as the one for the book edited by Heine and Nurse above, and abbreviate the reference details for the specific article, as below:

Bender, Lionel M., 2000. Nilo-Saharan. In Heine and Nurse, eds., *African Languages* pp. 43-73.

Or, you can mention just the editors and the publication date:

Bender, Lionel M., 2000. Nilo-Saharan. In Heine and Nurse eds., 2000: 43-73.

A journal article should be cited similarly to an article in an edited book. Note that the words 'volume', 'number' and 'pages' can be omitted, provided the correct punctuation is observed, as in the following:

Zaborski, Andrzej, 1976. The Semitic external plural in Afroasiatic perspective. *Afroasiatic Languages* 3.6: 1-9.

If the page numbering is continuous through all issues of the volume the 'number' itself can also be omitted:

Bresnan, Joan and Sam A. Mchombo, 1987. Topic, pronoun and agreement in Chichewa. *Language* 13: 741-82.

Items in newspapers can be cited in the same way as journal articles. Unpublished papers will not have a place of publication or a publisher: simply add 'ms' (for 'manuscript'), or the name and place of the meeting at which it was presented.

The editors will be grateful if you do NOT format your paragraphs including hanging and indented paragraphs by using the Return or Enter key – please use the paragraph formatting menu!

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

PLEASE follow these guidelines closely when preparing your paper for submission. The editors reserve the right to reject inadequately prepared papers. All areas of linguistics are invited – the journal is not limited to articles on languages of or in Ghana or Africa.

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS must be submitted in English, in electronic format to the current Editor-in-Chief, at medakubu@ug.edu.gh or medakubu@gmail.com. Authors should be sure to keep hard and soft copies for their own future reference. Articles should not exceed 10,000 words in length.

TITLE PAGE: The article should have a separate title page including the title and the author's name in the form it should appear in print, with full contact information including mailing address, phone numbers and email address. This page should also include a brief biographical note giving current academic or professional position and field of research interest.

THE FIRST PAGE should contain the title but not the author's name. It should begin with an ABSTRACT of the paper. Abstracts in both English and French are particularly welcome.

LANGUAGE EXAMPLES:

All examples **must** be in a Unicode font and Bold. Times New Roman that comes with Word 10 (but not earlier versions) is Unicode and may be used for occasional words cited in the text, if diacritics are few. More extensive examples with glossing and translation should be in Doulos SIL, although Unicode Times New Roman may again be used if diacritics are not needed, and Charis SIL is acceptable. Doulos and Charis SIL can be downloaded from www.sil.org. All such examples should be indented and numbered. Glossing should follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. These may be found at

http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php

Translations of examples should be in single quotation marks.

QUOTATIONS from other authors should be used sparingly. Any quotation less than two lines long should be within double quotation marks ("…") and not separated from the text. Longer quotations may be set out and indented on both sides. The source reference should come immediately after the quotation or in the sentence immediately before it.

FIGURES, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS should be created in such a way that they will fit legibly into a print space of 19cm by 15cm, and the same for PHOTOGRAPHS.

FOOTNOTES AND ENDNOTES (footnotes are preferred) should be numbered consecutively throughout the paper. They should <u>not</u> contain full references.

REFERENCES made in the notes or in the text (references within the text are preferred) should include author's last name, the date of publication and the relevant page numbers, eg. (Chomsky 1972: 63). There should be a separate list of references, in which all items referred to in text and notes are listed in alphabetical order according to the <u>surname of the first author</u>. For further information on format please see the preceding pages.