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SOCIO-PRAGMATICS OF CONVERSATIONAL CODESWITCHING IN GHANA

Evershed Kwasi Amuzu

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to deepen insight into the socio-pragmatics of conversational codeswitching in Ghana. It presents detailed textual analyses of the codeswitching that Ewe-English and Akan-English bilinguals employ in various social contexts, including informal interactions at home, semi-formal discussions in study group meetings at school, and interactions on talk-radio. We find that codeswitching appears to be predominantly unmarked (i.e. that it appears to fulfil little or no pragmatic and discursive functions in interactions beyond indexing speakers' solidarity). But upon closer look we realize that many codeswitching instances that could pass as unmarked are in fact illustrations of marked codeswitching, which bilinguals employ stylistically to convey specifiable social and discourse intentions.

The paper situates the discussion within an ongoing debate about the future of indigenous Ghanaian languages in intensive codeswitching contact with English. It specifically takes on the speculation that most of the local languages in this kind of contact will sooner rather than later transform into mixed codes. On the basis of the data analysed, the paper predicts instead that Ghanaians will manage to slow down any ongoing development of their languages into mixed codes if they continue to use marked codeswitching the way they do now. The prediction stems from the fact that bilinguals like them who use marked codeswitching alongside unmarked codeswitching normally have the mental capacity to keep their languages apart as codes with separate identities.

1. Introduction

1.1 Literature on the socio-pragmatics of codeswitching in Ghana

Educated Ghanaians' use of codeswitching (CS) involving a Ghanaian language and English, the official language and medium of instruction from primary four onward, has received extensive scholarly attention since the 1970s. The first major work was Forson (1979).¹ In that work, and in a 1988 paper based on it, he tells us

¹ The only earlier work on CS that I am aware of was also done by Forson in 1968.

that CS was decidedly a marked code in any formal setting involving even educated bilinguals because in any such setting the unmarked or expected code was an unmixed local language or English:

[A]ny speaker on a platform, in a pulpit or addressing the inhabitants of a community naturally speaks monolingually. If he can speak the first language of the people, he uses it without switching; if he cannot handle the local language truthfully, his most honest recourse is to speak in another language with an interpreter to deliver the message. Code-switching in such a situation is only an invitation to ridicule (Forson 1988: 183-4).

Even in their informal discourse bilinguals are said to use CS consciously to either construct their social identities or convey desired discourse intentions, e.g. to signal that a topic is of foreign origin (cf. Forson 1988: 185). The impression therefore is that CS (in the pre-1990s) was a marked code with clear social and discourse functions.² This is why Forson (1988) called CS the “third tongue” of bilinguals, i.e. beside their local language and English.

By the 1990s, however, CS was no longer characterized in terms of a third code even in bilinguals’ informal in-group interactions. Starting from Asilevi (1990),³ CS came to be consistently described as being used so pervasively in especially in-group interactions that Amuzu (2005b) suggests it be renamed the bilinguals’ “first tongue”. Its domains have expanded to several formal settings where the bilinguals freely utilize it to convey a variety of socio-pragmatic and discourse messages during interactions. For example, CS has come to be used pervasively in sermons and other church activities (Andoh 1997, Albakry and Ofori 2011, Asare-Nyarko 2012), in the classroom (Asilevi 1990, Amekor 2009, Ezuh 2009, Brew Daniels 2011), in students’ academic discussions (Obiri-Yeboah 2008, Quarcoo forthcoming), in radio discussions (Yevudey 2009, Flamenbaum forthcoming), and in radio and television advertisements (Anderson and Wiredu 2007, Amuzu 2010a, Vanderpuije 2011, Chachu forthcoming). For example, Albakry and Ofori (2011) have this to say about

² The *social function* of a language relates to its use as a strategy to express ones social identity (e.g. level of education) and/or ethnic identity vis-a-vis those of other interlocutor(s). The *discourse function* of a language relates to its use to achieve various interactional goals, including changing topic or addressee, accommodating to a (preferred) language of an interlocutor, drawing special attention to a concept by expressing it in another language, and switching to another language to express a concept that is tabooed in the default language of interaction. The *referential function* of a language is, in fact, the language’s primary function because it relates to its use to talk about the world, i.e. to communicate everyday information.

³ See also Dzameshie (1994, 1996); Amuzu (2005a, 2005b, 2010b).

CS involving local languages and English in Catholic churches in urban centers in Ghana:

Findings revealed that, although it is mainly a second language in Ghana, English dominates Catholic Masses in urban centers like Accra, and is used extensively and in different combinations with indigenous languages, (p.515).

It is this pervasive use of CS that has led some scholars to conclude that what they are witnessing is the rapid evolution of mixed codes that may replace local Ghanaian languages eventually. Asilevi (1990) could not have voiced this sentiment better:

This linguistic symbiosis has increasingly become a communicative praxis, socially accepted as a feature of daily conversational discourse in all aspects of informal interactions of the Ewe-English bilinguals. In essence this speech habit has become an integral part of their communicative performance and has so permeated the informal speech of the bilingual youth that one can rightly speculate that it will be no distant time when an Ewe native speaker ought to have some knowledge of English before he can function in his own speech community. (Asilevi 1990: 2).⁴

But his sentiment is in fact a candid representation of public opinion in Ghana. Forson in 1988 described Ghanaians as having a “love-hate affair” with codeswitching; i.e. they hate it because they are convinced that it has the potential to undermine their competence in local languages but love it because of its socio-pragmatic and discursive functions. This tension shows no sign of waning, for in a forthcoming article based on “sociolinguistic interviews and ethnographic observations carried out in Accra in 2005”, Flamenbaum reports that “the same speakers offered contradictory assessments of codeswitching in actual practice”.

1.2 Focus of the paper and the data studied

The purpose of this paper is to provide detailed textual analyses of conversational CS with an aim to deepen insight into the socio-pragmatics of the phenomenon. This

⁴ See Guerini (forthcoming) for similar predictions about the Akan spoken by Ghanaian immigrants living in Italy. Guerini is clear about the fact that the immigrants, who are first generation adult Ghanaians, exhibit bilingual speech habits they had acquired in Ghana. Her claims may therefore be said to apply to the Akan spoken in multilingual urban settings, e.g. Accra, where it has become the major lingua franca beside English.

will be done bearing in mind the sentiments that have also been expressed about the phenomenon.

The paper will concentrate on data from just two groups, Ewe-English and Akan-English bilinguals. As will become clear, the uses to which the speakers put CS betray them as loving, i.e. more than hating, the phenomenon. And it is precisely this situation which prompts our research question, *Will this 'love affair' automatically lead to the development of the local languages into mixed codes?* An answer is given in the concluding section of the paper.

Many of the data are bilingual conversational exchanges I recorded since 1996 in various social contexts, including informal conversations among family members and friends. Data analyzed also come from the literature on CS in Ghana as well as from radio and television advertisements targeted at Ghanaians. These latter are duly acknowledged.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

The theoretical framework employed in this study is Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. This model emphasizes the social and pragmatic context as well as speaker-orientation in the kind of explanation it offers for bilingual CS. The key theoretical concept that underpins the model is 'markedness' understood here as synonymous with the concept of 'indexicality'. Linguistic varieties are assumed to be always socially indexical, i.e., through accumulated use in particular social relations, linguistic varieties come to index or invoke those relations (also called rights-and-obligation sets / RO sets), taking on an air of natural association (Myers-Scotton 1993: 85). According to Myers-Scotton, "as speakers come to recognize the different RO sets possible in their community, they develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 88). Because of this, a speaker who is a socialized member of his multilingual speech community is aware of an underlying set of rules that determine why he should choose one code rather than another to the extent that whether he follows the rules or breaks them, he is in effect making a statement about the RO set that he wishes to be in force between him and the addressee(s). In other words, according to this model, the linguistic choices speakers make in CS situations are motivated by the social consequences that (they know) may result from making those choices. The said rules, called "maxims" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 114ff.), are:

1. The unmarked-choice maxim: "Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set".

2. The marked-choice maxim: “Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange”.
3. Exploratory-choice maxim: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour”.

The unmarked choice occurs under certain conditions (Myers-Scotton 1993: 119). First, the speakers must be ‘bilingual peers’, i.e. speakers who see their mutual bilingualism as a marker of their solidarity. Second, the interaction must be of an informal type (in that the speakers are only in-group members). Thirdly, the speakers must be relatively proficient in the languages involved in the CS. Finally, if proficiency in the languages used in CS is not sufficient, the participants must possibly evaluate the social values attached to those languages.

In discussing the unmarked-choice maxim, Myers-Scotton makes a distinction between sequences of unmarked choices and CS itself as an unmarked choice. Sequences of unmarked choices concern the inter-changeable use of two or more codes which are, in their respective right, unmarked or expected for the given interaction type. If CS itself is an unmarked choice, it means that the bilingual language variety in itself is the default medium of the given type of interaction. If speakers make unmarked choices there are chances that they will succeed in invoking only the expected social relations (RO sets) between them and their addressees.

In contrast to the unmarked variety, the choice of a marked variety makes a statement with respect to the expected RO set, consciously pushing addressees into recognizing newly negotiated RO sets which the marked choice represents. That is to say that marked varieties are employed to “negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 132). Specifically, “the use of marked choices can clarify social distance, provide a means for ethnically based exclusion strategies, account for aesthetic effects in a conversation (i.e. highlighting a certain creativity in language choice) or emphasize a point in question through repetition” (Losch 2007: 28).

Exploratory CS is the least common form of CS. It occurs when neither a marked nor an unmarked choice is appropriate for an interaction. Speakers are compelled to resort to the alternation of codes as a means of searching for the right one to use. It is thus the product of search in situations of social uncertainty. It may occur in exchanges between strangers as well as in exchanges between acquaintances who meet in unconventional or unfamiliar settings.

It should be mentioned that the model’s emphasis on speaker-orientation distinguishes it from e.g. Giles’ accommodation theory or Levinson/Brown’s

politeness strategies, which instead focus on audience orientation (Myers-Scotton 1993: 141; see also Myers-Scotton 1998).

The unmarked choice maxim and the marked choice maxim are illustrated in the sections below with data from various social contexts. I have not seen any case of exploratory CS because the participants in each conversation were already familiar with one another.

2. Unmarked code choices

As noted, there are two kinds of unmarked choices, i.e. CS itself as an unmarked choice and sequences of unmarked choices. We begin with the former, which is illustrated in example 1 below.

Example 1:

A and B are brothers in their early twenties. The discussion took place in Accra in October, 1996, less than two months before the general elections in Ghana that year. Both were university students but would like to earn some income by serving as polling assistants for the Electoral Commission. The discussion revolved around the fact that the upcoming elections were going to clash with the examinations at school.

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| A | Nukae dzo hafi? | | What happened? |
| B | Oo, nyemegblae na wòa? Wova dam de keke nu yi sixth December de. | | Oh, didn't I tell you? They've put me as far away as this thing, sixth December . |
| A | Sixth December (laughter). | | Sixth December (laughter). |
| B | Eẽ, seventh ko wo vote ge. | | Yes, seventh December and we will vote . |
| A | That's seventh , uũ. | | That's seventh , yes. |
| B | Eya matso dome. | | And I will be coming from work. |
| A | Ke megate ɲu ewo ge o. | | Then you can't do it. |
| B | E- disturb -nam lo. Ne mawoe de ke enya ale yi mawoa, ele be magbo immediately after the paper alo magbo dawn , uhũ. | | It disturb -s me. If I want to do it, do you know what I will do? I will come back immediately after the paper or I will come back at dawn , yes. |
| A | Ne egbo dawn -a, mewo tukada? | | If you come back at dawn , won't it be hectic? |
| B | Ewo tukada vɔa gake ega nyae. | | It will be hectic but this has to do with money. |
| A | Eganyae, ne ga nya gbe le asiwò koa | | It is money issue, if only you have money. |

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| B | Ehẽ. It's only one day job. | Yes, it's only one day job. |
| A | One day job! Nyitsɔ meyi nu yi, Mister Karikari gbɔ. | One day job! The other day I went to this thing, Mister Karikari. |
| B | Ee. | Yes. |
| A | Ebe ee wobe yenedze orientation -a gɔme kaba ta middle of October ne mava. | He said yes they said he should start the orientation early so by middle of October I should come. |
| B | Eẽ? | Yes? |
| A | Ta middle of October mava ne yewoadze nu ya gɔme, orientation -a gɔme. | So middle of October I should come so they can start this thing, start the orientation |
| B | Uũ, uu. October middle? ⁵ | Yes [in reflective mood]. Middle of October? |
| A | Middle of October. Abe sixteen mawo. | Middle of October. About sixteenth or so. |
| B | Oo, ke mate ɲuti ayi orientation -a. Eẽ, me... me orientation -a yige. | Oh, so I can go to the orientation . Yes, I... I will go to the orientation . |

It is evident in this interaction that the two brothers assumed their shared bilingualism (in Ewe and English) and focused on the subject matter at hand. There is no attempt by either of them to pay special attention to any of the individual switches. But from the point of view of the Markedness Model, it can be argued that as they used the Ewe-English CS in this manner to talk about their world, the brothers were, without much ado, communicating to each other their awareness of having a shared social identity, of being Ewe speakers who are educated.⁶

The same kind of social message is echoed in the following use of unmarked CS.

Example 2:

This conversation also took place in Accra in late 1996 between a different set of brothers who are also bilingual in Ewe and English. Speaker A had just returned from abroad and was being briefed by B about his (A's) building project, which B was overseeing. The interaction was at the point where A wanted information about progress made so far in the construction of a septic tank.

⁵ Ewe, rather than English, constrains the word order in this post-positional phrase in which **middle** occurs where some Ewe post-positions occur. The Ewe equivalent of **middle**, i.e. *dome*, is a post-position that may occur in this slot, as we see in *afe-a (fe) dome* 'middle of the house'.

⁶ We regard a speaker as being educated (following Forson 1979) if he/she has completed senior high school. The assumption is that he/she would normally have had enough exposure to the English language by this stage since it is the medium of formal education and of government business.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>A Tank-a dɛɛ, fikaɛ woɔɔ?</p> <p>B Nuka?</p> <p>A Tank-a</p> <p>B Oh woɔɔ ground level</p> <p>A Ground.</p> <p>B Woɔɔ kpea dɛ eme va do dɛ just outside, just on level with the ground. The last time I, not the last kura, haɸi wòyi dɔme etsɔ yi vayi. Ta by now a, ne kpe galia, ke eyi above ground level.</p> <p>A Ekpe lia, alo?</p> <p>B Eyi wo dzodzom a, kpe ma ayi above ground level wohĩ. Ta ne wogblo n'wo be eyi above ground level a...</p> <p>A Enuyi wo gee... it's okay.</p> | <p>The tank, where have they reached?</p> <p>What?</p> <p>The tank.</p> <p>Oh, they've reached ground level.</p> <p>Ground.</p> <p>They've laid blocks in it up to just outside, just on level with the ground. The last time I, not even the last, before they went to work yesterday. So by now, if there are still blocks, then they've reached above ground level.</p> <p>There are blocks, or?</p> <p>When they were leaving, the blocks remaining would take them to above ground level or so. So if they told you that they've reached above ground level...</p> <p>You are going to do er... It's okay.</p> |
|---|---|

Once again, the rapid alternation of Ewe and English with no obvious attempt to attach special significance to any individual switches implies that the speakers were treating their CS as their default medium of communication. In other words, their CS marks their solidarity in being educated Ewe speakers. (They would not have used CS were they not aware they are like-bilinguals.)

It is not uncommon to hear this kind of unmarked CS on talk-radio. The following exchanges, cited in Yevudey (2009: 63), were made on Radio Jubilee, an FM station whose hearers are predominantly Ewe speakers in the Volta Region of Ghana. Yevudey supplies the following details about the context:

The programme under discussion was done on the 9th of March 2009... [T]he topic discussed was about a man who was part of an armed robber group. On one of their operations, they stopped a driver whom one of them recognized was his pastor. The armed robber then removed the mask from his face and asked for forgiveness from the pastor. The question [discussed by the host and the guest] was whether the pastor should report the robber to the police and keep the issue secret and pray over it or not, because he was not attacked or harmed in any way.

The exchanges came toward the end of the discussion when the host was evidently in a hurry to conclude the program:

Example 3:

Host	Miafe kafoma koe le fu dem but trust Jubilee Radio , ne 'A' gble miaza 'B'.	It is only our telephone that is causing some problem but trust Jubilee Radio , when 'A' is not working we will use 'B'.
Guest	OK , nye me nya fikae compassionate ground vale duhese me o. Social psychology gblɔ be... Ke esia nye probability .	OK , I do not know where compassionate ground has come to reside in the laws of the land. Social psychology says... But this is a probability .
Host	Wonderful... (laughter) time, time, time—fifty seven after five.	Wonderful... (laughter) time, time, time—fifty seven after five.
Guest	Gake me dzi be magblɔ be topic ya le very interesting.	But I want to say that this topic is very interesting.
Host	OK, trust Radio Jubilee, we will try and organize that. Miele agbagba dzege adzi amemawo woa va. And miefe kafomoa wo koe le fu dem nami.	OK, trust Radio Jubilee, we will try and organize that. We will try and look for those people to come. And it is only our telephone lines that are creating problem for us.

Yevudey (2009: 63) explains, quite correctly, that “the pervasive use of CS on radio” is “due to the fact that hosts and callers project their interpersonal, informal, relationships onto their interactions on air”.

The next interaction exhibits a sequence of unmarked choices, the second category of unmarked CS. Incidentally the people engaged in this conversation were the same two brothers who were involved in example (2) above. This time, the two were trying to work out financial details of contributions that A and another brother, Seyram, had made toward a joint building project meant for their mother. They had before them a statement of account that B had prepared. The first three turns in the extract were in unilingual Ewe followed by a switch to Ewe-English CS from turn 4. In the CS in turns 4 to 6, Ewe is the more dominant language. However, English's input increases from turn 7 and by the time they reached turn 10 they made almost unilingual use of English. The situation again changes in turn 15 with a switch back to Ewe-English CS. But note that in turn 18 speaker B returns to unilingual Ewe.

Example 4:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 A [Looking at the statement of account.]
Ke mega nyi fe dɛ.</p> <p>2 B [Non-verbal communication showing agreement.]</p> <p>3 A Ehe mako nu yia dɛ, eko dɛka tso afia loo.</p> <p>4 B Nu ka ee, mɪa kple Seyram fe nu yi agreement-ia dɛ? Nenie wohia be mia contribute hafi?</p> <p>5 A Finally-a? Ao dɛ! we are justnyemenya be megagbona five hundred....</p> <p>6 B Ao la, me eya gblɔm mele o.</p> <p>7 A Ao, we are just doing it.</p> <p>8 B Menye thousand thousand dollars ye mie contribute this last time oa?</p> <p>9 A Ee.</p> <p>10 B But ur... I noticed you didn't pay all your money.</p> <p>11 A How much did I pay? I don't know, I... I paid. The only thing that you owe me now, I owe you, you owe me now ye nye twenty dollars</p> <p>12 B Twenty?</p> <p>13 A Yah twenty dollars</p> <p>14 B Twenty alo seventy?</p> <p>15 A Ega dɛɛ, meva nɛ dɛ me afi aɖea? Seven hundred ya meɖo dɛ, earlier on aɖɛ... nyemeɖo ga aɖɛ dɛ?</p> <p>16 B You sent one hundred and fifty first time.</p> <p>17 A One eighty aɖɛ dɛɛ? One eighty ya meko nɛ Gavivi dɛɛ?</p> | <p>Then I am in debt again.</p> <p>Okay. Let me take some of this; you have taken one from here.</p> <p>What is it? What about the agreement between you and Seyram? How much does each of you have to contribute?</p> <p>You mean finally? No! We are just... I didn't know that I will come to [contribute] five hundred again...</p> <p>No, I am not talking about that.</p> <p>No, We are just doing it.</p> <p>Is it not thousand dollars apiece that you contributed this last time?</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>But ur.. I noticed you didn't pay all your money.</p> <p>How much did I pay? I don't know, I... I paid. The only thing that you owe me now, I owe you, you owe me now is twenty dollars.</p> <p>Twenty?</p> <p>Yes twenty dollars</p> <p>Twenty or seventy?</p> <p>The money, isn't there a short fall somewhere? The seven hundred I sent earlier on... didn't I send some money?</p> <p>You sent one hundred and fifty [the] first time.</p> <p>What about some one eighty? Where is the one eighty I gave to Gavivi?</p> |
|---|---|

18 B Ee; mele afima oa?

Yes; isn't it there? [*pointing at a figure in the statement of account.*]

There is, however, more to the switch to unilingual English in turns 10 to 14. Upon careful scrutiny, one finds that this exclusive use of English coincides with the most emotionally charged turns of the interaction—the content of the exchange in those turns and the presence of several false starts and reformulations display the speakers' heightened emotional involvement. At that stage in the interaction, then, English seems to function as a marked choice which indexes the tension and hence the increased emotional distance between the speakers.⁷ This aspect of the example therefore illustrates the embedding of a marked choice within a sequence of unmarked choices. In other words, the example demonstrates that more than one of the categories of language choices identified by the Markedness Model may be attested in such a quick succession of utterances. We take up marked code choices in detail in the next section.

3. Marked code choices

A marked code choice, as noted, makes a statement with respect to the expected RO set, consciously pushing addressees into recognizing newly negotiated RO sets which the marked choice represents. The following represents several uses of marked choices.

3.1 Using a marked code to signal the desire to add a new identity to the prevailing identity symbolized by an unmarked code

The illustration below is an extract from an academic group discussion by third year Nutrition students at the University of Ghana. The recording was made during the end-of-semester revision week in April 2008. As such, the students were in 'serious' academic mood; they had before them a past examination paper from which some read aloud questions to which others tried to supply answers. The unmarked code for the discussion was, of course, English and the students duly stuck to it until speaker A interjected in Akan with *Yen toa so* 'Let us continue'. Akan was a marked choice for this interaction in spite of the fact that all the participants are ethnically Akan. Note that most of the Akan switches, including the one cited above, are not directly addressing the topic under discussion; they are basically side comments which the students made in order to encourage one another to remain serious with the business at hand. (English versions of CS or unilingual Akan sentences are in square brackets.)

⁷ English may indeed be said to be marking this kind of tension because it is the default language of formality among the educated in Ghana.

Example 5:

- A Another thing I want us to look at is the different definitions of acid.
- B The different definitions are protein... Oh leave me alone ah. You are laughing at me.
- C I am not laughing at what you are saying. You left one dash and you...
- B Oh, no, no, no; it can't be that. It can't be that.
- C Oh, ok. Ok.
- B As at now the most important thing is understand.
(Laughter)
- C The way you were saying protein, protein; that is why I was laughing, not at you, I was like 'However did you place it like that?'
- B Oh, ok, ok.
- C The cover does not mean anything.
- B Yes, yes.
- C Oh, ok, ok.
- B After laughing at me.
- A **Yen toa so.** [Let us continue.]
- C An acid can act as a buffer and receive changes dash. (*pauses for a response*) No one knows? Ok. Let's go on. The capacity of a buffer to receive such a change is greatest at dash equal to the dash.
(An answer is given which is inaudible.)
- C Of the what?
- B Am not following.
(A long pause)
- C Ok, let us check the answer in the book.
(*Sounds of pages being flipped*)
- C Have you seen it?
- B Yes. C is the answer, isn't it?
- C Yes, I think so. The three most important buffer systems are the dash, dash and dash buffer systems.
- B Something hemoglobin.
- A Ammonic acid and this thing.... Well the hemoglobin **no, ye fræ no sæn?** Is it PH or NH?

[Well, the hemoglobin, **what is it called?** Is it PH or NH?]
- B NH
- A Let's go to the next set of questions. And be serious this time.
- B I am serious.
- C Which of these carbohydrates will give a positive test for reducing sugar?
- D Glucose.

- A It's true. **Eye ampa.** [It's true. **It's true.**]
 C Why?
 B Because it hasn't gone under any change. Let's go ahead. Compared to animal fat, molecules of vegetable oil contain more double bond.
 All (except B) True
 B Compared to animal fat, vegetable fat has higher melting point. True or false,
 A The long chain, **fa ma no ma me.** [The long chain, **give it to her for me.**]
 (getting back to the discussion at hand)
 A **Yɛ bɛ wie seisei-ara.** [**We will finish right now.**]
 B The long receiving end. They mark the visible end.
 A **ɛɛ ɛno ara.** [**That is the one.**]
 (Source: Obiri-Yeboah 2008)

By using English for the actual academic discussion, the students wore their default academic identity for the occasion. But the momentary switches into Akan have the effect of complementing that identity (which has an air of formality about it) with a feeling of solidarity (as noted, all the students are ethnically Akan).

The benefit of signaling a social identity through marked CS must have caught the attention of advertisers in Ghana, for they have utilized it skillfully in pointing out their target clients in several advertisements in recent times (see in particular Anderson and Wiredu 2007, Vanderpuije 2011, and Chachu forthcoming). The television advertisement cited below was one of Vodafone's⁸ first advertisements when they entered the Ghanaian market in 2008. When the advertisement starts, one sees a group of young people having a noisy house-party. A mobile phone rings and the owner, a boy who turns out to be the host of the party, answers it. At the other end of the line is the boy's mother, in a moving vehicle:

Example 6:

- (a phone rings)
 Boy (to friends, pointing to his phone)
 Hey!! Mum!!
 (into phone) Hello mum.
 Mother Hi Kwame, how's your study
 going?
 Boy (inaudible reply, then the sound of
 the popping of champagne)
 Mother Are you having a party?
 (silence)
Hai Kwame, wo yɛ party? [**Hey Kwame, are you**

⁸Vodafone is an international telecommunications company that entered the Ghanaian market in 2008.

partying?]

In this advertisement, Vodafone utilized symbolic language to describe their product and to identify their target clients. The popping of champagne heard by the mother is intended to draw viewers' attention to how clear reception can be on Vodafone's network. The code choice in the last turn identifies the clients as modern-minded Ghanaians. Note that until the last sentence the exchanges between mother and son are in English. With party background one may be tempted to situate the speakers in any English-speaking country. However, the use of Akan-English CS in the last turn reveals the speakers' ethnic background and there is thus the suggestion that they are typical of Vodafone's Ghanaian clients. The two languages are genuinely the only nationwide lingua francas, so the advertisement demonstrates that its creators are conscious of the following social meanings of code choices in the country:

- English represents prestige, modernity, affluence, and a membership of a worldwide community.
- Akan represents being a Ghanaian.

3.2 Marked code as a strategy for including a third party

The following dialogue includes an example of a switch to a marked code in order to deliberately include a third party who would otherwise be excluded from the ongoing interaction.

Example 7:

Nana Akua, who is a neighbour, has stopped by to say hello to Mansah. She arrived just when Mansah was giving instructions to her daughter during the preparation of a meal. Mansah and her daughter are from the Ewe ethnic group but Nana Akua is not and does not speak Ewe. Note that Mansah had been using Ewe when Nana Akua arrived. So she switched to English as all three speak English.

Mansah	(to daughter) Gbo dzoa de ete se hafi na ga blui.	Fan the fire a little longer before you stir it (the food in a pot) again.
Daughter	(She nods and complies)	
Mansah	(Sees Nana Akua approaching from the main gate) These days, even at eighteen, you girls want to be supervised to prepare simple meals.	
Akua	Is that a complaint? (laughs) You are	

**lucky yours is even helping you. Come to
my house and see modern drama.**

Evidently, Mansah's comment is meant for her daughter. But the switch to English is meant to include Nana Akua, who thus joins in the interaction.

3.3 Marked CS as a strategy for excluding a third party

With this type of CS a speaker seeks to exclude a third party from participating in the conversation. In the following illustration, John and Victoria, who are fellow workers, had been talking about a mutual friend when Victoria's phone rings (it is her brother calling). Three languages are involved: Ewe shown below in normal font, English in bold, and Krobo underlined.

Example 8:

John	Nye hã me se nya ma but I couldn't ask him about it... (Victoria's phone rings) Me nɔ bubu-m be...	I also heard about that issue but I couldn't ask him about it... (Victoria's phone rings) I was thinking that...
Victoria	(to John) Me gbɔna sia. Nye kid brother -e ma. (to caller) Egba katã me pick nye call -wo o. (inaudible reply)	(to John) I am coming, please. That is my kid brother . (to caller) The entire day you did not pick my call -s. (inaudible reply)
Victoria	<u>Eke mini be? De lɛ kɛ imi lɛɛ, pɔtɔ</u> <u>mi...</u>	<u>He said what time? Tell him that as</u> <u>for me, I am tired...</u>

Note that the first two turns were in Ewe-English CS, which John and Victoria share as their unmarked code and language of solidarity. Victoria initially addressed the caller in this code. But after the caller's response, Victoria switched to Krobo, a language John did not understand. When consulted about this exchange, Victoria explained that she and her siblings frequently used Krobo in addition to Ewe and English because they learned it (Krobo) when they were growing up at Kpong, a Krobo dominant town. Two things therefore happened when Victoria switched to Krobo: (i) it marked her unique solidarity with her sibling and (ii) it marked exclusion of John from her world with her brother (note that she used unilingual Krobo).

3.4 Using specific instances of a marked code to communicate given social or discourse messages

There are instances where speakers signify with specific switches that they intend to convey an important social or discourse message. Example (9) illustrates a singly-occurring English verb in Ewe grammatical context to convey a desired social

identity. According to Asilevi (1990: 77), the utterance was made by “a fairly elderly man (middle school drop-out)...in the ritual settings of libation to the ancestors”. Asilevi observes that the old man decided to use codeswitching “in his bid to identify himself with us (six of us – university students and other folks of high social status resident in Accra, on a visit to the village)”.

Example 9:

Old man Enye mia vi.... Wo **choose**-m I your child... I have been **chose**-n to pour
 be ma fo tsi di na mi libation to you.

Unmixed Ewe is the unmarked code for this setting because it is the language ancestors and gods of Ewes understand. Thus, the old man, who certainly knew this fact, could not have intended his bilingual utterance directly for the ancestors' ears. He obviously used the English verb, as Asilevi observes, to identify himself with the young educated people who were his out-group.

Asilevi's interpretation of (9) was corroborated in interviews with twelve consultants who were contacted in early 2012. The consultants were separately interviewed about what they thought about this old man's use of the verb **choose** in this specific context: i.e. they were to say whether they thought the old man's use of this verb was an instance of CS or that of lexical borrowing. The consultants, four of whom are above fifty, were unanimous in the view that the old man would have used the Ewe equivalent verb, *tia*, if he did not have other ideas. The significance of this corroboration lies in the fact that it arrives almost two decades after Asilevi wrote. It means that not much has changed in the conventions that guide Ewe speakers in their interpretation of the kind of marked CS that this old man resorted to.

Let us consider another example of the use of a single word from a marked code with an aim to express a discourse message.

Example 10:

Barbara's mother returned home (in Accra) to find that all the outside doors were left open while Barbara slept soundly in her bedroom. The family used English and Ewe, but Mother must have settled for English in order to show the level of seriousness she attached to what she was saying and to, thus, assert authority over her daughter.

Mother: Barbara, get up! So you are sleeping! I see. So because **ewo** [you] Barbara, you are at home, armed robbers can't come into this house. Hasn't it occurred to you that if **ewo** Barbara, you were not at home, the doors would have been locked? Why do you think that because **ewo** Barbara, you are in the house sleeping with the doors unlocked, no armed robbers can come in here? Aã? Tell me.

By repeating the second person singular pronoun *ewo* ‘you’ and juxtaposing it each time to Barbara’s name, Mother seems to be directing Barbara’s attention to herself so that she can assess the appropriateness of her behavior.

A similar use of single-word switches to underscore discourse points is illustrated in the next example, which is a television advertisement that was aired in 2008 and 2009. The product is a mosquito coil called ‘Rose Flower’. In the opening scene, a woman came knocking at the door of her neighbour, a man by name Favour. She saluted Favour politely by using the Ewe address term *Efo*, which roughly translates as ‘mister’ or ‘master’. As it turned out, she was not an Ewe speaker and Favour duly switched to Akan, the local lingua franca that is probably in use in the compound house they shared as co-tenants. There is an inescapable phonological distinctiveness about Favour’s Akan—it is marked by heavy Ewe accent. It appears the advertisers mean to show by it that everyone, Akan, Ewe, etc, are included in their target market. But what make this advertisement a good example of the use of specific instances of a marked code to communicate given social or discourse messages are the momentary switches from Akan to English and Ewe toward the end of the exchange.

Example 11:

Woman	<i>Efo</i> Favour	<u>Mister</u> Favour
Man	(with Ewe accent) Ohoo, hwan koraa?	Ohoo, who is that at all?
Woman	<i>Efo</i> me serɛ wo, mentumi nda. ntontom ee ha me.	<u>Mister</u> I am begging you, I am not able to sleep. Mosquitoes are worrying me.
Man	Me, me use-u Rose . Enye wo Rose . Eyɛ Rose flower .	As for me, I use rose . I am not talking about your Rose . It is Rose Flower .
Woman	Me pa wo kyɛw, ma me baako na me use-u .	I am begging you, give me one to use .
Man	Me ma wo <u>nuka</u> ?	I should give you <u>what</u> ?
Slogan	Angel Mosquito Coil : epamo ntontom ma wo da hatee. Sɛ wo pɛ dodo atua frɛ zero-two-one , six-six-six, seven-three-six .	Angel Mosquito Coil : it expels mosquitoes so that you can sleep deep. If you want to buy plenty, call zero-two-one , six-six-six, seven-three-six .

The first English word in the advertisement is the action verb **use**. It comes up in Favour’s response to the woman’s complaint that mosquitoes are plaguing her. Favour says she should ‘use’ **Rose**, the brand name of the product on sale. It is significant that the woman repeats this verb. Viewers are likely to take note of what they must do if they find themselves in the woman’s shoes: **USE ROSE!** The second use of a single-word marked choice to make a business point in the advertisement is in Favour’s

retort: “Me ma wo *nuka*?” This CS is atypical, for few would use Ewe and Akan intrasententially. But by occurring at the end of the sentence (i.e. at sentence-final), the Ewe question word *nuka* points viewers toward what comes next: the slogan.

This kind of marked CS is discussed extensively by Flamenbaum (forthcoming) in her study of Akan-English CS in talk-radio. Flamenbaum observes in her data several instances in which a speaker would employ the strategy by which he “metalinguistically frames” his utterance with an English pragmatic marker at the outset so that he orients his addressees to his stance on the argument he pursues in the rest of that utterance. Below are some of the examples she cites; they come from different speakers in different stages in the same show:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(12a) Obviously aban biao nni ho a obetumi
a maintain nine million cedis a ton.</p> <p>(12b) Definitely no, ye be te so.</p> <p>(12c) No no no no no me, me nka ho. For
the sake of argument, ma
withdraw, nti na for so many
years...</p> | <p>Obviously there is no
government that can maintain
[a subsidy of] nine million
cedis a ton.’ [that is, per ton of
cocoa].</p> <p>Definitely, we will reduce it.</p> <p>No no no no no, for me, I am
not included as part of it. For
the sake of argument, I have
withdrawn [my statement], that
is why for so many years...</p> |
|--|--|

Highlighting the socio-pragmatics of CS in these utterances, Flamenbaum writes that, “by framing their statements as *obvious* and *definite*, and as merely *for the sake of argument* rather than an argument itself, they strongly suggest that their comments are immune to counterargument.”

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

In the previous section, we analyzed CS data I gathered from 1996 onward as well as data from the literature on CS in Ghana. While most exchanges analyzed exhibit CS involving either Ewe or Akan and English, some of them exhibit the use of more than one local language alongside English. The selection of data was guided by the intention to show that the socio-pragmatic characteristics of CS that were discussed do not pertain only to the use of English and a local language but also to the use of more than one local language alongside English. The analyses, which were done within Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model, showed that two kinds of CS, marked CS and unmarked CS, are used routinely by the bilinguals. In example (4), for instance, we saw that what began as a sequence of unmarked CS gave way briefly to

instances of marked CS prompted by speakers' heightened emotion during the interaction before a return was made to unmarked CS.

An important point that has emerged in the analyses, and which confirms what one finds in the recent literature, is that CS involving a local language and English may no longer be characterized as a "third tongue" (i.e. a marked code used sparingly by bilinguals in only their informal interactions when they wish to convey some socio-pragmatic and discourse intentions). Such CS has come to be used more freely in bilinguals' in-group interactions in ways akin to unmarked CS, as we saw in examples (1) to (5). But we also saw that the same bilinguals use CS as a marked code presumably more frequently than in Forson's days, judging from the plethora of examples from my recordings and from the literature. One may even say that bilinguals in Ghana 'love' CS—specifically marked CS—because of the stylistic possibilities it offers them. For example, Victoria (example 8) must have felt relieved that she could keep her talk with her brother private despite the presence of John who was listening; the old man (example 9) most likely felt thrilled by his expedition into the world of his young educated audience with his one-word switch; the creators of the advertisements in (6) and (11) are most probably hopeful that their target clients appreciate the essence of the advertisements and that they will choose to patronize the advertised products; and the talk-radio panelists who uttered the examples cited in (12) most probably felt self-assured that by placing certain English pragmatic markers at the outset of their otherwise Akan utterances they can succeed in orienting their addressees to their stance on their arguments.

As noted, there are fears that local languages in intensive CS contact with English can soon become mixed codes. A key characteristic of a language that has developed into a mixed code via CS is that its speakers are no longer able to tell that they are using CS. Swigart's observation about Dakarais' use of what she calls 'Urban Wolof' fits this description. She notes that Dakarais

[...] had little notion of codeswitching at all. That is, when more than one language was used in the course of the same conversation in a mixed way, they tended to view this speech as a variety of one of the constituents, Wolof or French depending on which language was dominant (Swigart 1992:7).

In other words Dakarais use only unmarked CS. The bilinguals whose interactions we discussed in this paper do not fit this description because at least in the examples of marked CS, we see that they not only exhibit awareness of the fact that they are using CS, they are also conscious of the socio-pragmatic and discourse relevance of the specific code choices they make.

It is being predicted in this paper that Ghanaians will manage to slow down any ongoing development of their languages into mixed codes if they continue to use

marked CS as routinely as they seem to do now. This is because bilinguals like them who make conscious use of marked CS, i.e. alongside their unmarked codeswitching, normally have the mental capacity to keep their languages apart as codes with separate identities (see e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993 on Swahili-English bilinguals in Kenya). In other words, the use of marked CS is a language maintenance phenomenon.

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MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE USE AND CREOLE FORMATION: THE CASE OF PROPERTY ITEMS IN EARLY SRANAN

Margot van den Berg

Abstract

This paper sets up a comparison between the use of property concept items in a creole language and in the languages that contributed to the creole's emergence. The comparison is extended with equivalent constructions in a different outcome of language mixture, namely codeswitching mode, in order to advance our understanding of the role of language transfer in creole formation. While the type of language transfer that is observed in codewitching mode differs from the type of transfer typically found in creole formation, that is recipient language agentivity and source language agentivity respectively, it is shown in this paper that the Surinamese creole Sranan Tongo displayed both types of transfer in the early stages of its development, which underlines the slow nativization of this particular creole.

1 Introduction

Multilingual language use can lead to different linguistic outcomes, including codeswitching and creole formation among others, depending on different historical and contemporary social processes. They are the object of study in various subdisciplines of linguistics. Scholars interested in the kinds of language mixture by bilinguals such as codeswitching study in the field of language acquisition, in particular bilingual speech production (L2A studies), while those interested in the creation of contact languages such as creoles, pidgins and other outcomes of language contact operate within sociolinguistics in the field of Pidgin and Creole studies (P/C studies). With the rise of contact linguistics as a new subdiscipline of linguistics, and in particular since Winford's adaption of Van Coetsem's (1998, 2000) powerful framework of contact-induced change (Winford 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009), linguistic outcomes and their underlying mechanisms can be studied in a principled and unified manner. Two types of cross-linguistic influence are acknowledged in Van Coetsem's framework, borrowing and imposition, that can refer to both the result of the change and the processes underlying them. Borrowing refers to the transfer of lexical or structural material from the source language to the recipient language that is the speaker's dominant language. Borrowing is a form of recipient language agentivity; it is the recipient language speaker who is the agent of the transfer process. In contrast,

the source language speaker, who is dominant in the source language, is the agent of the type of transfer that is named imposition. While transfer of lexical items from an external source language (or L2) into a speaker's native language (L1) is a prototypical example of borrowing, the transfer of structural patterns and categories from a speaker's L1 into an L2 is a prototypical example of imposition. In general, "borrowing takes place from a less dominant to a more dominant language, while imposition takes place from a more to a less dominant language" (Winford 2009: 283). In short, van Coetsem's framework is recommended by Winford (2009) as it allows for:

- new connections link between (psycho-)linguistic processes and structural as well as historical and sociolinguistic approaches to language contact.
- a precise determination of the nature and the direction of transfer.
- a distinction between the agents of change from the kinds of agentivity they employ; multilingual agents can employ both recipient and language agentivity.
- language dominance to play an important part in the outcomes in language contact, which is line with current views in bilingual speech production.
- language dominance to change over time at speaker as well as community level.

In this paper we set out to deepen our understanding of the roles of source and recipient language agentivity in the formation of Sranan, a Surinamese creole that emerged from the 1650s onwards. Throughout the 17th and 18th century, Surinam was not only a multi-ethnic society but also a multilingual society, as several African, European and Amerindian languages were being spoken by its inhabitants in addition to newly emerging languages such as Sranan, the Western Maroon Creoles Saramaccan and Matawai, and the Eastern Maroon Creoles Ndyuka, Aluku, Pamaka and Kwinti. The development of the early Surinamese population of European and West African descent has been studied in great detail by Arends (1995a, 2001, 2003), who shows that foreign-born Europeans and Africans outnumbered those born in Surinam throughout the 18th century. Even in late 18th century Surinam, over a century after colonization, a large proportion of the plantation slaves had recently arrived from West Africa, owing to the very high replacement rate of slaves in Surinam. Only 30% of the slave population was locally-born at that time (Arends 1995: 269). In other words, new arrivals from Africa outnumbered the existing population of enslaved Africans every three to five years during the first fifty years since the onset of the colony, and almost every ten years during the next fifty years, resulting in "an ongoing stream of cultural and linguistic input from Africa which lasted until the last quarter of the 18th century" (Arends 1995a: 269). In short, multilinguals formed the majority of the Surinamese population of African descent

(but also among the European population) for a prolonged period of time, which must have affected the emerging creole in earlier stages of its development, and also later on. Compelling evidence for this position is found in recent research by Lupyan and Dale (2010), who argue on the basis of a statistical analysis of more than 2,000 languages in combination with large-scale demographic databases that language structure is partly determined by social structure, finding that “language structures appear to adapt to the environment (niche) in which they are being learned and used” (Lupyan & Dale 2010: 1).

Therefore, models such as the three generational model of creole formation as proposed by Roberts (2000) and Siegel (2008), that so neatly explain the emergence of Hawaiian Creole, may not, in my view, be applicable to the emergence of Sranan. In this model, the first generation, which is dominant in the ancestral language, introduces new morphosyntactic features to the emerging pidgin through substrate calquing. The second generation, which speaks the ancestral as well as the newly emerging language, assigns new functions to these features mostly based on models found in their ancestral language. The third generation, which is mostly monolingual in the new language, systematizes and establishes the use of these features. The socio-historical setting in which Sranan emerged is, in my view, simply too messy in terms of demographics for this type of generational model to work, given the slow nativization of the Surinamese slave population and the high rate of slave replacement. Can a minority of mostly monolingual Surinamese-born creoles have a bigger impact on the developing creole than the speech of the majority of bilingual African-born slaves or freemen? What linguistic features are displayed by Early Sranan, a cover term for several varieties of 18th century Sranan, that can give us some insight in this matter? A first comparison of Early Sranan and contemporary native L1 and non-native L2 varieties of Sranan reveals that some Early Sranan features pattern with contemporary L1 Sranan, while others are shared with contemporary L2 Sranan (Migge and van den Berg 2009). An example of the latter is the use of the imperfective aspect marker that is categorical in contemporary L1 Sranan but optional in L2 varieties similar to Early Sranan.

The focus of this paper is on the expression of Property Concepts. Property concepts have received considerable attention in both P/C studies as well as L2A studies, referring to properties, qualities or characteristics of referents. They are often expressed through adjectives, if a language has this category, or they can be expressed through words that share many properties with the class of nouns or with the class of verbs. Core property concepts are DIMENSION, COLOR, AGE and VALUE (Dixon 1977). In P/C studies these items have often been labeled predicate adjectives, as they share properties with the class of verbs, but in line with Migge (2000) I prefer to use the label ‘property items’ as suggested by Thompson (1988, 2004), because it is

meant to be neutral in terms of category. Early Sranan property items express concepts such as AGE (*nju* ‘new’; *ouwroe/ollo* ‘old’), PHYSICAL PROPERTY (*dotti* ‘dirty’; *krien* ‘clean’), SHAPE (*luntu* ‘round’), VALUE (*bun* ‘good’, *takru* ‘bad’), COLOR (*blakka* ‘black’; *redi* ‘red’), DIMENSION (*bigi* ‘big’; *bradi* ‘broad’) and HUMAN PROPENSITY (*lesi* ‘lazy’; *lau* ‘mad’). Property items in Early Sranan display flexible categoriality: They can function as modifiers in attributive contexts, as in (1a), and as predicates in predicative contexts, as in (1b) and (1c). In the former function they can be regarded as adjectives, in the latter they are verbs.

Attributive contexts:

- (1a) **Gimi krien klossi** (Van Dyk c1765: 45)
give-1SG clean clothes
‘Give me clean clothes.’

Predicative contexts:

- (1b) **A no krin na mi** (Schuman 1783: 91)
3SG NEG clean LOC 1SG
‘I don’t like it.’ (literally: ‘It is not nice to me.’)
- (1c) **Joe mo krien drie pissi fossi** (Van Dyk c1765: 87)
2SG must clean three piece first
‘First, you must clean three pieces (of land).’

In the remainder of this paper Early Sranan property items in predicative contexts are discussed as they appear in the historical sources that are stored in the Surinam Creole Archive, a joint project of the Radboud University Nijmegen, the University of Amsterdam and the Max Planck Institute Nijmegen to collect, catalogue and preserve digitalized historical texts in Sranan and Saramaccan. The Early Sranan findings are compared with their equivalents in Eastern Maroon Creole, English, Dutch and the Gbe languages, as well as mixed speech. Thus we set out to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which recipient and source language agentivity influence language formation in the case of Sranan.

2 The Suriname Creole Archive

The texts that were consulted for the present study were retrieved from the Sranan section of the Surinam Creole Archive. They include a) religious texts such as bible translations and hymns (Schumann 1781); b) judicial documents such as transcripts of interrogations and witness reports (Court Records); c) official documents such as a peace treaty; d) travel reports and e) documents that were created for the purpose of language instruction such as dictionaries and language manuals by a Moravian missionary (C. L. Schumann) as well as secular persons (J.D. Herlein, P. van Dyk, J. Nepveu and G. C. Weygandt). Because of this variety of text types,

variation within and among the texts may correspond to different dimensions, ranging from diachronic to social, stylistic as well as geographical. Furthermore, variation within and among the texts may be linked to the different speech events represented in these texts, ranging from recorded, recalled to imagined and invented. While recorded texts are the most reliable (van den Berg & Arends 2004), texts belonging to other text types need to be assessed carefully in terms of representativeness and validity. Detailed assessments can be found in the works of Smith (1987), Arends (1989, 1995b), Bruyn (1995) and van den Berg (2007) among others. A basic overview of the sources is presented in table 1.

Table 1 *The texts in the Sranan section of SUCA that were used in this study*

<i>text</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>document type</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>SR tokens</i>	<i>token total</i>
Court Records	1707-1767	dl; we	-	500	-
Herlein	1718	w; dl	3	200	400
Nepveu	1762	pt	12	1.900	1.900
Van Dyk	c1765	w; dl; pl	108	14.000	28.000
Nepveu	1770	w; dl	8	700	1.800
Schumann	1783	dl; dc	205	20.000	40.000
Stedman	1790	we	-	300	-
Weygandt	1798	w; dl; pl	144	15.000	30.000
<i>total</i>			480	52.600	102.100

(w = word list; dl = dialogue; pl = play; dc = dictionary; we = Sranan words and expressions in text in another language; pt = peace treaty)

3 Early Sranan property items in predicative contexts

Predicative property items in Early Sranan can occur as verbal heads, as in (2),¹ or in constructions such as (3), where the property item can be analyzed as a adjectival complement to a copula or as a verbal head, as the copula and the imperfective aspect marker have the same form in Early Sranan (van den Berg 2007). The example in (4) illustrates that both strategies can be used interchangeably without an apparent change in meaning.

- (2) **Mastra joe habi retti dirkture pranasie no zal dotti** (Van Dyk c1765: 86)
 master 2S have right director plantation NEG MOD dirty
 ‘Master, if you have the right director, the plantation will not get dirty’

¹ Markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect precede the verb in Sranan. Thus, the modal marker *zal* (later time reference, irrealis) underlines the status of verbal head of *dotti* ‘be dirty’. Other indicators of verbhood on which Early Sranan property items test positive are the following: They can be preceded by other markers of Tense, Mood and Aspect in addition to *za(l)*, as well as negation; they may be followed by degree adverbs and some may take object arguments (see also Migge 2000).

- (3) (...) **foe sie ofoe alla sanie dé boenboen**
 to see if all thing COP good-REDUP
 ‘(...) to see if everything is well, (...)’
 (Weygandt 1798: 134)
- (4) **alla Ningre de blakka / alla Ningre Ø blakka**
 all blackman ASP/COP black / all blackman black
 ‘All blackmen are black.’ (meaning: ‘the pot is calling the kettle black.’)
 (Schumann 1783: 18,122)

In the contemporary Surinamese creoles Sranan, Ndyuka and Saramaccan, both strategies are encountered: there are property items that function as verbal heads and there are property items that occur as adjectival complements to a copula (Winford 1997; Migge 2000; Sebba 1986). The type of predication is linked to the status of the property item: If the item derives from a small set of ‘true’ adjectives such as *bun* ‘well’ (Sranan, Ndyuka) and *bunu/bumbuu* ‘good/well’² (Saramaccan), or it is an ideophone, such as *pii* ‘quiet’ and *gufuu* ‘very angry and quiet’ in Ndyuka and *ploo* ‘black’ in Saramaccan, then it appears as an adjectival complement to a copula.³ Furthermore, temporary states are typically expressed by copular constructions with an adjectival complement in the Surinamese Creoles:

- (5) **Efu den sikin de bunbun da a bun!**
 if their body COP good thenit good
 ‘If their bodies are in a good/healthy state, then it is OK.’
 (Ndyuka, Migge 2000: 220)

By contrast, reduplicated property items can be verbal heads, but then they express approximation or distribution, not a temporary state. The following example illustrates approximation:

- (6) **Wan meti kon nyannyan ala a kasaba a mi goon**
 an animal come eat all the.SG cassave LOC 1SG field
 ‘An animal came and nibbled all of the cassave plants in my planting ground.’
 (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1997: 403)

Since the Early Sranan example in (4) above refers to a state similar to the Ndyuka example in (5), it is more likely that the Early Sranan construction in (4) involves a

² The form **bunu** is used to describe inanimate subjects only, whereas **bumbuu** is used only with persons in Saramaccan (Winford 1997: 293).

³ Migge views Ndyuka adjectives such as **bun** ‘good; well’, **moi** ‘nice; well’, **nyun** ‘new’, **fanya** ‘disorganized’ as abbreviated reduplications rather than unreduplicated property items (Migge 2000: 219).

copula and a complement rather than an imperfective marker preceding a verbal head.

The Early Sranan construction in (4) is more complicated. Unreduplicated predicative adjectives that function as verbal heads are typically non-stative, process-denoting verbs in the Surinamese Creoles (Huttar & Huttar 1994; Winford 1997; Migge 2000). They can receive a stative reading, but that interpretation always follows from the completed process reading (Winford 1997). However, the construction in (4) is clearly a stative one. One's complexion is not likely to change under natural circumstances. Furthermore, it cannot be regarded as the end result of the completed process of becoming black.⁴ Thus Early Sranan *blakka* 'dark skin complexion' seems to belong to that small set of human propensity and value property items in the Surinamese Creoles that can have a stative interpretation without implying a past process (Winford 1997: 263). In contemporary Ndyuka, human propensity and value property items cannot be marked for progressive aspect (Migge 2000: 218), but *de* in (4) above would be a marker of habitual aspect rather than progressive aspect.⁵ Combinations of (unreduplicated) property items with *de* are abundant in the historical sources, but not all can be assigned the status of imperfective marker. For example, we find:

- (7) **Mie dee piekienso swakkie jetee** (Weygandt 1798: 97)
 1SG COP little weak yet
 ['Ik ben nog wat zwakjes.']
 'I am still a bit weak.'

Here, the degree adverb **piekienso** 'little' precedes rather than follows the property item **swakkie** 'weak' (< Dutch *zwak* 'weak'), which can be regarded as evidence of the adjectival copular complement status of **swakkie**. If **swakkie** had been verbal, similar to for example **siekie** (< English *sick*) in (7) below, the degree adverb would have followed it:

- (8) **A ben dee siekie piekienso. Ma a dee boen noja kwetiekwetie.**
 3S PAST ASP sick little but 3S COP good now really-REDUP
 'He has been a little sick. But now he is fine for sure.'
 (Weygandt 1798: 103)

⁴ According to Arends (1986; 1989), Early Sranan **de** is used to indicate a state with non-stativity. Thus, he regards **de** as a means to distinguish stative from non-stative meaning in verbs and property items. While several examples of verbs and property items with **de** in the historical sources can be explained in these terms, the **blakka** example and several other examples present counterevidence to this claim.

⁵ The item **de** can be used to mark progressive, continuous, habitual as well as inchoative or ingressive aspect in Early Sranan (van den Berg 2007).

It is observed in the literature that particularly Dutch-derived items such as **moi** ‘pretty; beautiful’ (< Dutch *mooi* ‘pretty; beautiful’) and **swanger** ‘pregnant’ (< Dutch *zwanger* ‘pregnant’) occur more frequently as adjectival complements than as verbal heads in contemporary Sranan (Seuren 1981; Arends 1989; Winford 1997). Since the property item in (7) is of English language origin (Eng. *sick*), and the property item in (6) of Dutch language origin (Dutch *zwak* ‘weak’), this could account for the different constructions in which the property items occur. As Sranan items of Dutch language origin generally are more recent additions to the language as opposed to Sranan items of English language origin that are generally assumed to date back to the earliest stages of the emerging creole, the type of construction in which the property item participates may be regarded as an indicator of nativization. The English origin property items appear more integrated in the Sranan linguistic system, more ‘nativized’ than the Dutch origin property items because the former function as verbal heads while the latter participate in a copula construction.

In the Early Sranan sources, however, we find not only Dutch language origin property items as adjectival complements, but also English and other language origin property items:

- (9a) **hufa ju tann? mi de so haffo, OD. mi de so haffohaffo**
 Q-manner 2SG stay 1SG COP so half or 1SG COP so half.REDUP
 ‘How are you? I am fairly well.’
 (Schumann 1783: 55)
- (9b) **da pikin boom heh tumussi; a passa alla tarrawan, mi go brokko**
 DET.SG little tree high enough 3SG overtake all other-one 1SG go break
hem heddi, bikasi dem ourewan de morro tschattu
 3SG head because DET.PL old-one COP more small
 ‘The young tree is too high, it overtakes all the others, I will top it, because the older ones are smaller.’
 (Schumann 1783: 135)

Furthermore, we find examples of Dutch-derived items that function as verbal heads, such as **klarie** ‘ready’ (< Dutch *klaar* ‘ready; done’):

- (9c) **Mie no ben kan klarie moro hesie Masra** (Weygandt 1798: 114)
 1S NEG PAST can ready more hastily master
 ‘I could not have been ready any faster, master.’

In short, language origin of the form of the property item by itself cannot be regarded the sole indicator of nativization. Furthermore, irrespective of their etymological origin, Winford (1997) observes a preference for property items as

complements to copular *de* in L2 varieties of Sranan, but he explains these types of predication as “innovations due perhaps to transfer in the acquisition of Sranan as a second language” (Winford 1997: 292). In section 5 I will discuss several codeswitching studies in which the property items as complements to copular pattern plays a prominent role, suggesting that adjectival complements in copula constructions appear to be a preferred strategy in multilingual language use rather than resulting from transfer.

4 A Gbe model for Early Sranan property items?

The Early Sranan findings presented above show that the use of property items in predicative contexts in the Surinamese Creoles cannot solely be accounted for in terms of substrate retention, as proposed by Migge (2000). On the basis of a comparison of property items in Eastern Maroon Creole and several Gbe languages, Migge concludes that the predicative uses of property items in the Surinamese Creoles are derived from a Gbe model, while the attributive uses of property items can be traced back ultimately to the European languages that contributed to the emergence of the Surinamese creoles. Thus, the Surinamese Creoles display “retention from the primary substrate of the syntactic and semantic behavior of property items on one hand, and on the other the adoption of the phonological shapes of property items, the constituent order with the NP, and possibly one of the strategies for deriving attributive adjectives from verbal property items from second-language and pidgin varieties of English” (Migge 2000: 230).

Retention from the Gbe languages can explain the emergence of those property items that function as verbal heads, as property items can function as verbal heads in the Gbe languages (Ameka 1991; Adjei 2005), but that is not the only predicative construction with property items that is encountered in Early Sranan. In the previous sections it is demonstrated that Sranan property items can also occur as adjectival complements in copular constructions. Similar constructions are also found in the Gbe languages. In Ewe, for example, the complement slot of the verb **nye** ‘be’, used in contexts of identification and equation, is filled by nominals that derive from adjectives via category conversion. Furthermore, the verb **le** ‘be (at)’, that has a locative and/or existential meaning, combines with derived adjectivals (Ameka 1991; Essegbey 1999; Amuzu 2005a, b). Category inversion includes affixation (suffixation of a high-toned high front vowel -i; suffixation of a high tone with a small class of reduplicated verbs), reduplication (of an intransitive verbal stem, in some dialects with high-tone suffixation) and compounding (of a verb root and its inherent nominal complement), see further Ameka (1991). While the Gbe property items must undergo category inversion before they can appear as complements to a copular verb, no change is observed in the Early Sranan property items. For example, reduplication of

an intransitive verbal stem is an obligatory requirement for many property items; unreduplicated property items as complements of **le** are ungrammatical. This is, however, not the case in Early Sranan, where reduplicated and unreduplicated property items may alternate, see for example (8a) above. Furthermore, while it is true that both the Gbe languages and Ndyuka are characterized by a small set of property items that appear exclusively as copular complements, the sets differ across the languages. Migge (2000: 219) lists **bun** ‘good; well’, **moi** ‘nice, well’, **nyun** ‘new’, **fanya** ‘disorganized’ and **p̩i** ‘quiet’ for Ndyuka, and **yōyó** ‘new’ (Maxi), **klòbòtó** ‘round’ (Waci) and **mumu** ‘raw’ (Aja) for the Gbe languages. Only the Property Concept NEW allows a match: both **nyun** ‘new’ in Ndyuka and **yōyó** ‘new’ in Maxi (Gbe) occur exclusively as copular complements. If Ndyuka property items were modeled on Gbe, rather than Kikongo or the Akan languages that must also have contributed to the formation of Ndyuka, as they were spoken by the enslaved Africans in the earliest developmental stages of the Surinamese Creoles, one would expect more sets to match between Ndyuka and the Gbe languages, or other Gbe-specific features related to property items to reappear in Ndyuka. For example there are basic color terms (black, red, white) that have different forms when they are used as adjectives or as verbs in Ewe: **yibo** ‘black’ is the adjectival form, **nyrɔ/nyrɔ̃** is the verbal form (Adjei 2005: 165). In the Surinamese creoles the adjectival and verbal form of the property item are not distinguished (**blaka** ‘black’).

Migge’s overview of the expression of Property concepts in the Gbe languages further reveals some variation between the Gbe languages that makes it more difficult to postulate a single Gbe model, in particular for the property items in copular constructions. For example, Aja, Maxi and Waci reduplicate property items that are marked for progressive aspect and turn them into copular constructions for an inchoative reading. Gen and Xwela, on the other hand, combine the progressive aspect marker with the unreduplicated property predicator to generate an inchoative reading (Migge 2000). The latter languages display the same pattern as Ndyuka, but there is a set of Ndyuka items that cannot take a inchoative reading, while all Gbe property items marked by progressive aspect take on an inchoative interpretation (Migge 2000: 217).

In conclusion, it is undisputed that there are multiple similarities with regard to the use of property items as verbal heads in the Gbe languages and the Surinamese creole languages that suggest that this structural pattern was indeed transferred from the Gbe languages to the emerging Surinamese creole varieties, as suggested by Migge (2000). This instance of source language agentivity, however, cannot account for the occurrence of property items in copular constructions that are also attested in Early Sranan, and that appear to have been used interchangeably, as the following example illustrates:

- (10) **a de morro langa leki mi, ODER a langa morro na mi**
 3SG COP more long like 1SG or 3SG long more/exceed LOC 1S
 ‘He is taller than me.’
 (Schumann 1783: 100)

In the subsequent sections, I will argue that these copular constructions with property items result from recipient language agentivity. Thus, the emergence of the multiple uses of property items in Early Sranan shows that both source and recipient language agentivity contributed to the formation of Sranan.

5 Property items and codeswitching

Each language expresses property concept forms differently, through adjectives, if a language has this category, or they can be expressed through words that share many properties with the class of nouns or with the class of verbs. From a contact linguistics perspective, it raises the following question: What happens in multilingual speech to property items, when the property item is categorically non-equivalent in the languages of the multilingual speaker? If we want to provide an explanation for the emergence of the multiple uses of property items in Early Sranan, this is the question that we need to address. While property items in the European languages belong to the class of adjectives, property items in the West African languages that contributed to the emergence of the Surinamese Creoles can occur in predicative contexts in various constructions and forms. How do West African bilinguals deal with categorical non-equivalence of property items in predicative contexts in their bilingual discourse? If property items in predicative contexts appear in copular constructions in one language, and as verbal heads in the other, what happens when these languages are in contact? In the following sections findings from case studies of present day language mixture in West Africa are discussed, featuring the same languages that contributed to the emergence of the Surinamese creoles.

5.1 Ghana: Ewe/Akan-English code-switching

In present day Ghana, several languages are in contact that also contributed to the emergence of the Surinamese Creoles three centuries earlier, that is, the indigenous languages Akan and Ewe and English, the former colonial language that is now the official language as well as the dominant language of instruction in school from primary four. Language contact between these languages has resulted in the pervasive use of intra-sentential code-switching since the early 1950s. Despite this prolonged period of language contact, Ewe-English bilinguals display dual communicative competence and tacit grammatical knowledge of both Ewe and English, even though their vocabulary knowledge appears weak (Amuzu 2005; 2009 among others). Amuzu (2009) further presents compelling evidence that code-switching Ghanaian bilinguals

employ “certain mother tongue maintenance mechanisms that preserve the grammar and parts of the lexicon of their mother tongue against interference from English” (Amuzu 2009: 222).

Property items can occur as verbal heads as well as complements to *le* in monolingual Ewe (Ameka 1991; Essegbey 1991; Amuzu 2009 etc.). When property items appear as complements to *le*, their categorial status is not clear. On the one hand, they can be marked for progressive aspect by means of *-m*, as is shown in (11). They share this feature with prototypical verbs.

- (11) **Emɔ-á le gɔ-glɔ-m** (Essegbey 1999: 65)
road-DEF AUX:PRES RED-become_crooked-PROG
‘The road is becoming crooked.’

On the other hand, there are property items that can be marked by the *e*-adverbializer, a derivational morpheme that converts adjectives into adverbials (Ameka 1991; Amuzu 2004, 2005):

- (12) **Eyata as for asige lae, e-le vevi-e**
So as for ring TP 3SG-be.at:PRES important-AdvS
‘So, as for the ring, it is important.’
(Amuzu 2004: 136)

In bilingual Ewe-English discourse, English property items occur as complements of *le* despite the fact that their Ewe equivalents function as verbs (without *le*).⁶ Amuzu (2004, 2005) presents multiple examples of this. The construction *le free* in (13a) with the verb *vo* ‘be free’ in (13b):

- (13) a. **Esi wó-ɖe asi ɖevi-a ɲu wo-le free nenema a ...**
since 3PL-remove hand child-the side 3SG-be.at:PRES as_such TP
‘Since they allowed the child so that he is so free ...’
b. ... **wo-yo nenema a ...**
3SG b be_free as_such TP
‘... he is so free ...’
(Amuzu 2004: 138)

English property items that have Ewe equivalents of similar categorial status (true adjectives such as *vevi* ‘important’ above) also appear as complements to *le*. But

⁶ However, Amuzu (2004) notes that if the English adjectival element is a verb rather than a non-verbal element, it can occur as a verb in a mixed construction: “For instance, *rot* is a one-place verbal predicate, so it has to occur as a verb in CS contexts (as in *e-rot* ‘it is rotten’). But its non-verbal one-place adjective predicate counterpart *rotten* has to occur as a complement of *le* as in *e-le rotten* ‘it is rotten’.” (Amuzu 2004: 142).

they differ from their Ewe counterparts in that they may not be combined with the *e*-adverbializer that is required in Ewe (Amuzu 2004: 140). Examples such as (14) are judged unacceptable by bilingual Ewe-English speakers:

- (14) **Eyata as for asige lae, e-le *important-e**
 so ring TP 2SG-be.at:PRES
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important.’
 (Amuzu 2004: 140)

In conclusion, Ewe-English bilinguals generalize an existing Ewe structure in which English property items are inserted without any alternations to the English or the Ewe items.

English property items occur in bilingual Akan-English discourse in the same manner as in Ewe-English discourse (Amuzu 2004). While Akan has four different types of copula constructions, English property items (adjectival complements to a copula) are found with *yɛ*, an ascriptive copula that can take a generic co-referential nominal as well as a property-denoting adjectival predicate as its complement as in (15).

- (15) **Ne condition a- yɛ very critical**
 his PF- be
 ‘His condition is very critical.’
 (Forson 1979: 149, in Amuzu 2007: 147)

5.2 Togo: Kabiye-Ewe codeswitching

The case of bilingual Kabiye-Ewe discourse is particularly interesting, as it presents us with a rare case of language mixture of two African languages: Kabiye, a Gur language spoken in the northern part of Togo, and Mina or Gen, related to Ewe (Essizewa 2006; 2007a, b). Both Kabiye and Ewe have the official status of national languages since 1975. Kabiye has an intricate noun class system and noun class agreement, as opposed to Ewe, that has no noun class system and therefore no noun class agreement. Kabiye nouns are morphologically marked according to the class to which they belong and adjectives agree, in turn, with the class of the noun they modify (Essizewa 2006; 2007a, b). Whereas Ewe nouns and verbs may be marked by the appropriate Kabiye affixes when they are inserted into Kabiye discourse, Ewe property items occur in predicative position in the form of adjectival complements to the Kabiye copula *we* ‘be’ (Essizewa 2007a). In his extensive study of Kabiye-Ewe bilingual discourse, Essizewa concludes that “the use of the Kabiye copula *we* ‘be’ with Ewe adjectives appears to be the most common form of code-switched utterances among Kabiye-Ewe bilinguals” (Essizewa 2007a: 36). Since agreement with the copula is not required in Kabiye, and thus, no morphological adaptations of the Ewe

property items are necessary, the Ewe property items can easily be inserted into the Kabiye construction without having to undergo any changes, as in (16).⁷

- (16) **Peló eníyɔ e-tóko wɛ yibɔɔ esí aká yó**
 girl that s/he-dress be black like charcoal EP
 ‘That girl’s dress is black like charcoal.’
 (Essizewa 2007a: 36)

Essizewa (2007a) reports that similar constructions are found in Kabiye-French discourse with property items that are French in origin:

- (17) **Assigame wóndu wɛ joli páa yo** (Essizewa 2007a: 36)
 Asigame things be pretty INT EMP
 ‘Things are very beautiful in Asigame.’

5.3 Benin: French-Fon codeswitching

Meechan and Poplack (1995) compare adjectivization strategies in Wolof-French (Senegal) and Fon-French discourse (Benin). Their research differs from the studies mentioned above in the focus of the research, that is lone French-origin items in Wolof and Fon discourse of bilingual speakers who are highly proficient in both Wolof or Fon and French. The codeswitching patterns appear superficially similar in Wolof and Fon, but Meechan and Poplack find evidence for different underlying patterns: French-origin property items are loanwords in Wolof as they are fully integrated in the Wolof linguistic system, but they should be regarded as code-switches in Fon. In general, Fon property items in predicative contexts exhibit the same pattern as the other Gbe languages discussed in this paper, that is they can function as verbal heads, or they appear as adjectival complements with the existential or copular verb, that is *qò*. Only true adjectives, such as *dáxó* ‘big’ and *dàgbè* ‘good’, and reduplicated adjectives may participate in the latter construction. However, Meechan and Poplack (1995) find that true adjectives hardly occur in predicative or attributive contexts in their corpus of 4 hours of tape-recorded Fon-French discourse among a sample of twenty bilingual Béninois residing in Cotonou. The majority of

⁷ Note while the Ewe items following the Kabiye copula are not adapted in line with Kabiye, they may undergo changes that are appropriate from an Ewe perspective. For example, the true Ewe adjective *yibɔ* ‘black’ appears as an adjectival complement, but Ewe *hámeháme* ‘different’ is reduplicated as it is not a true adjective, requiring reduplication when co-occurring with a copula:

1. **Sónɔ wóndu wɛ hámeháme Asigame-da** (Essizewa 2007a: 36)
 today things be different Asigame-in
 ‘Today, there are varieties of things in Asigame.’

Fon property items occur in predicative position, where they function as verbs. In none of the cases of Fon property items in the monolingual Fongbe utterances is the *dò* + adjectival complement encountered, which brings Meechan and Poplack (1995: 191) to the conclusion that the *dò* + adjectival complement construction is “virtually nonexistent in monolingual discourse”. In the case of the lone French-origin property items, on the other hand, all but one appear in the context of the preceding Fon copula in their corpus. On the basis of these findings, Meechan and Poplack conclude that “the French adjectives in Fongbe predicative contexts are virtually all code-switches, with the copula *dò* serving as a bridge to categorical equivalence. A codeswitching analysis of the lone French-origin adjectives in Fongbe discourse is supported by the behavior of the four unambiguous code-switches in the data, three of which appear after *dò*” (Meechan and Poplack 1995: 189). Summarizing, Fon-French bilinguals utilize a structure that is grammatically acceptable, though quantitatively rare, which prevents them from compromising their bilingual grammars and allows them to maintain not only categorical but also structural equivalence at the same time.

5.4 Conclusion: Property items and codeswitching in West Africa

The findings presented in the preceding sections show that copular constructions are the preferred strategy among West African bilinguals to solve the problem of the categorical non-equivalence of the property items in their multiple languages: Property items of English or French origin participate in Gbe, Akan and Kabiye predicative structures not as verbal heads in line with their Gbe, Akan and Kabiye equivalents, but as complements to copulas. In contrast, some Gbe, Akan and Kabiye property items can occur as complements to copulas in monolingual mode, albeit in a different manner. For example, only a limited set of Gbe property items can occur as complements to *le*, and these property items have to be subjected to processes of category inversion and morphological adaptations. Category inversion is not found with the property items of European origin.

6 Concluding remarks

In this paper we set out to provide an explanation for the use of property items as verbal heads as well as complements to copulas in Early Sranan by comparing past processes of language mixture that lead to the emergence and subsequent development of the Surinamese Creoles with contemporary processes of language contact in present-day West Africa. While in monolingual uses of the Gbe, Kabiye and Akan languages under investigation property items may act as verbal heads, property items of European origin appear as complements to copular verbs in the multilingual uses of these languages. As both patterns are attested in Early Sranan, property items as verbal heads and property items as complements in copular

constructions, we conclude therefore that Early Sranan property items do not only illustrate the impact of source language agentivity on the developing creole, but also recipient language agentivity. This is not surprising given the socio-historical and demographic background of Early Sranan. Throughout the 18th century multilinguals were numerically dominant among the Surinamese population, speaking ancestral languages as well as the developing creole, and thus providing for ample opportunity for imposition as well as borrowing to have an effect on the developing creole.

The findings presented in the previous sections show that the copular verb with property item complement is widely attested in multilingual language use in Ghana, Togo and Benin. Similar patterns are reported to have been found in Punjabi-English, Tamil-English as well as Swahili-English codeswitching. A comparison of all of these codeswitching instances remains for future investigation, but it may be the case that the copular verb with property item complement construction results from a universal tendency. Support for a universal preference for the copular verb with property item complement construction also comes from the field of language acquisition: Adjei (2005) reports on the use of verbal and adjectival uses of color terms among Ewe speaking children that they experience difficulty in differentiating between the adjectival and verbal uses of color terms. The form of the basic color term depends on the categorical status of the item, verbal and adjectival property items have different word forms (*yibɔ* ‘black’ vs. *nyrɔ* / *nyrɔ̃* ‘be black’, *dzié* ‘red’ vs. *bã* ‘be red’, *yie* ‘white’ vs. *fuu* ‘be white’, Adjei 2005: 165). In particular the verbal uses of the color terms are reported to generate incorrect responses from the twenty interviewed children with mean age of 9.2, which may be due to the fine-grained differences in meaning between the basic color verbs and the basic color adjectives that can also appear in predicative constructions as complements to a copular verb (Adjei 2005: 169), as illustrated in (17).

(17a) **Gbɔ̃ la fe agbelɛ le yibɔ** (Adjei 2005: 169)
 goat DEF POSS fur be black
 ‘The goat’s hair is black.’

(17b) **Gbɔ̃ la fe agbelɛ nyrɔ/nyɔ** (Adjei 2005: 169)
 goat DEF POSS fur dark/black
 ‘The goat’s hair is black/dark.’

The findings presented in this paper show that source language agentivity as well as recipient language agentivity contributed to the formation of Sranan by setting up a comparison between historical creole language data on the one side (they provide a window on the language as it was developing), and contemporary data on multilingual language use on the other. Even though the socio-historical and demographic

backgrounds of the contact settings of 18th century Surinam and 21st century West Africa are very different, the languages that are in contact are the same in the past and the present. If one wants to understand language change, in particular the type of change that contributes to the emergence of new languages such as pidgins and creoles, a principled comparison of the socio-historical and demographic settings of 18th century Surinam and 21st century West Africa in relation to the linguistic outcomes of language contact in these settings is urgently needed. Scholars from the University of Ghana (Legon), the University of Lomé and the Radboud University of Nijmegen recently started to lay down the groundwork on the basis of which this comparison can be set up, by collecting data on multilingual language use in Ghana, Togo, The Netherlands and Surinam via various semi-experimental research techniques, including referential-communication tasks with video stimuli and elicitation via Director-Matcher tasks.⁸ The results of this study will enable us to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of and interaction between social and linguistic factors on language change.

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⁸ Data collection and analysis in Ghana, Togo and the Netherlands are a joint effort of Margot van den Berg (Radboud University Nijmegen), Dr. Evershed Kwasi Amuzu (University of Ghana, Legon), Dr. Komlan Essizewa (University of Lomé) supported by student assistants Elvis Yevudey and Abena Kyere (University of Ghana, Legon), Kamiloudini Tagba and Tarno Akponi (University of Lomé) and Sophie Kirkels (Radboud University Nijmegen). Data collection in Surinam is carried out by Kofi Yakpo, Bob Borges and Stanley Hanenberg as part of Pieter Muysken's ERC project 'Traces of Contact' (Radboud University Nijmegen).

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VERBAL NOMINALIZATION AS A DERIVATIONAL PROCESS: THE CASE OF AKAN

Kwasi Adomako

Abstract

This paper discusses the derivational morphology of the Akan language with particular focus on verbal nominalization through affixation (particularly prefixation). There are two ways through which this nominalization process can be realized in the Asante-Twi dialect of Akan. These are direct verb stem/base nominalization and nominalization after reduplication. The main difference between the two nominalization processes is shown to be that while in the former process, the nominal prefixes adjoin the verb stem directly to derive nominals, in the latter process, the same prefixation process also applies but after the reduplication process. I first discuss direct verb nominalization through prefixation and follow it up with the discussion of the nominalization process that takes place after reduplication has applied. We observe that in the case of the latter process, sometimes the nominal prefix adjoins another prefix; the reduplicative prefix, as studied by Dolphyne (1988), McCarthy and Prince (1995), Abakah (2004), etc. therefore, giving us the morphological structure: $\text{Affix}_1 + \text{Affix}_2 + \text{Stem/Base}$. The paper argues that in the direct verbal nominalization, whereas nominal prefixation has to apply first before nominal suffixation in the Asante-Twi dialect so that the former forms a constituent with the stem/base, in the reduplicated stem, the Affix_2 (i.e. the reduplicative prefix) has to adjoin first the stem/base before the Affix_1 , which is the nominal prefix. A swap in the order/level of prefixation between Affix_1 and Affix_2 renders the output form ill-formed, a case for Siegel's ([1974] 1979) Level Ordering Hypothesis. Following Siegel (idem), the reduplicative prefix, which does not cause a change in lexical category in Akan, is treated as a Class/Level 2 Prefix while the nominal prefix, which changes the lexical category of the stem and/or the reduplicated form, is a Class/Level 1 affix. In the end, this paper proposes a common template structure to account for affixation in nominalization of verbs in Akan by conflating what looks like two similar morphological structures for both nominalization of stem/base verbs and reduplicated forms, as follows: $\text{Affix}_1 \pm (\text{Affix}_2) + \text{Stem/Base} \pm (\text{Affix}_3)$ in that order.

1. Introduction

Derivational morphology, specifically verbal nominalization, as a word formation process has attracted much attention from linguists, particularly morphologists, phonologists and syntacticians. Akan is no exception. However, what is yet to receive any serious scholarly attention in Akan morphology is for the analysis to establish the levels at which affixes, including nominal affixes and reduplicative prefixes are ordered, especially when reduplicated forms, which in themselves are composed of prefixes, are being nominalized. Unlike the process of nominalizing a bare¹ verb stem, in which only one affix (i.e. the nominal prefix) adjoins the verb stem,² two affixes (i.e. reduplicative prefix and nominal prefix) attach to the root/stem when nominalizing reduplicated verb forms. This calls for an investigation to establish the order which affixation that results in deriving well-formed nominals from verb stems in Akan follows in the process. This paper, therefore, is an attempt to contribute towards the investigation of this phenomenon in Akan derivational morphology. Though the current paper analyses the Akan language in general, most of the examples/data will come from the Asante-Twi dialect of the language.

In the Asante Twi dialect of Akan, nominalization of verbal forms is done usually by affixation (both prefixation and suffixation) of the nominalizer. This paper limits its focus of discussion to the former type, where we have nominal prefixes and reduplicative prefixes and leaves out any detailed discussion of the latter for future research, although suffixation will also be captured in the proposed templatic morphological structure for Akan affixation in the latter part of this paper, to show the peripheral nature of affixation of Akan (Asante Twi). As has been indicated, though Akan nominalizes both reduplicated verbs and bare (i.e. unreduplicated) verb stems, our discussion in this paper will centre more on the former, which when nominalized now accommodates two prefixes: the reduplicative prefix and the nominal prefix. Again, with the reduplicated forms, two types will be observed: (1) the complete reduplicated forms and (2) 'partial' reduplicated forms. The discussion will further focus on the latter since aside from the morphological rules that apply in the process of their reduplication, there are also some phonological processes observed in their reduplicants, such as vowel raising, assimilation of place of articulation, final nasal deletion, etc. For the purpose of distinguishing the reduplicated verb forms from the bare verb stems, we adopt a feature [reduplicative]. Whereas we mark verb forms which can be nominalized only after they have been reduplicated with the feature

¹ The term 'bare' is used in this paper to refer to uninflected verb stems. Although the use of the noun 'stem' in itself should suffice to indicate the inflectional status of those verbs, it is used as emphasis to contrast with the term 'reduplicated'.

² It is usually only the Asante dialect that adds the second affix – the nominal suffixes. The other two dialects of Akan apply only the prefix in the nominalization process.

value [+reduplicative], conversely, those verbs which cannot be nominalized when they have been reduplicated contrast with the former only in the feature value [-reduplicative]. It is worth noting that, as Dolphyne (1988) clearly points out, it is possible to reduplicate almost all verbs in Akan. However, as has been pointed out already, it is not all reduplicated verb forms that can be nominalized, therefore the need to distinguish between those two input forms for nominalization, which is the focus of discussions in this paper.

Since much of the discussion of this subject in Akan has been exclusively either phonological or morphological, I adopt a combination of the two i.e. a morpho-phonological approach.

The current paper is organized into the following sections: Section 1 presents the general introduction to the whole work and also gives a brief background of the language of study, Akan. Section 2 briefly discusses some of the definitions of some key concepts employed in this paper such as nominalization, reduplication, etc. In Section 3, I present and analyze the Akan data used in this paper. Here I discuss the different kinds of verbs and how those verbs are nominalized in Akan. In the same section, I show some phonological processes such as vowel raising. In section 4, I briefly discuss the theoretical framework within which the data presented in this paper are analyzed. I thereby present the proposed template for the morphological structure of Akan nominals and its implications in this same section. Section 5 presents the summary of issues discussed in this paper.

1.1 The Akan Language

Akan has as many as ten (10) dialects, spoken in six of the ten regions in Ghana according to Dolphyne (1988/2006: xi), mostly as a mother tongue (L1). But out of these ten dialects, three are classified as the major dialects including Akuapem Twi, Asante Twi and Fante. These three dialects are classified ‘major’ primarily because of the fact that they have received appreciable amount of research attention over the years, have well-developed literatures, and are taught in some schools in many parts the country.

2. Some Definitions of Nominalization

Nominalization as a derivational process has attracted the attention of linguists from diverse backgrounds such as phonologists, morphologists, etc. Following are some of the various definitions these linguists have given for nominalization. Bodomo (1997a) was specific on the categories from which nominals can be formed in Dagaare by defining nominalization as “a process which involves the formation of nouns from verbs and adjectives”. Bodomo (idem.) also fails to tell us how the formation takes places and also limits the word classes from which nominals are

derived to only verbs and adjectives. Appah (2003) expands the categories mentioned by Bodomo by defining nominal derivation as “the process or result of forming a noun from words (verbs, adjectives, and other nouns), phrases or clauses” factoring in how the phenomenon is observed in Akan. One truism that runs through the above definitions of nominalization is that it results in category change. However, a critical look at these various definitions indicates a clear restriction of the triggers of the nominalization process only to segments or morphemes such as affixes, while they remain silent on the role that supra-segmentals such as tone can play in changing the category of a lexical item, as is observed in tone languages such as Akan. For example, in Akan a verb like *fírí* ‘to buy on credit’ is nominalized by changing the tonal pattern, as in *fírí(é)* ‘credit buying’. Therefore, we need to widen the domain within which nominals can be formed in our definition of the process. I hereby propose a more holistic definition of the subject to capture both segmental (affixation) and suprasegmental (tone) nominalization of lexical items, especially in tone languages and build on the last definition by suggesting that nominalization in Akan can be defined as the process by which nominals are derived from lexical items such as verbs, adjectives and other nouns usually by way of affixation or by tonal marking.

2. 1 Reduplication

Cross-linguistically, reduplication is one of the main means through which many languages form new words/lexical items, and Akan is no exception. In derivational morphology, one of the processes which has received much attention in the literature is reduplication. The subject has received much attention mainly in two components of grammar, phonology and morphology, over the past decades and the common consensus among researchers in these two fields of study is that a complete and balanced study of the subject calls for an interaction between these two modules of grammar. Raimy (2000) describes reduplication as the repetition of a sequence of segments and continues to suggest that the analysis of this subject demands a morphology-phonology interface approach and that a neglect of either of the two will undermine the credibility of the outcome of any such study, as he opines that, “the most fruitful analysis of reduplication as a phenomenon unto itself will utilize aspects of both phonology and morphology and any analysis that neglects either of these areas will not fully illuminate what reduplication is” (Raimy 2000:1). This idea leads him to discount the one-sided view of earlier linguists, especially some phonologists such as McCarthy and Prince (1995, 1997), that reduplication is the “microcosm of phonology...”, but rather suggests that it “results from general properties of phonology and morphology and more specifically to be the result of the interaction between these two modules of grammar” (Raimy 2000:2). He therefore proposes a

modular approach to analysis reduplication. As has been indicated already, the current paper subscribes to this morphology-phonology modular approach.

2.2 Reduplication in Akan

The reduplication process in Akan has attracted contributions from many scholars including pioneering work by Christaller (1875), later followed by Schachter & Fromkin (1968), Wilbur (1973a, b, c), Marantz (1982), Lieber (1987), Dolphyne (1988/2006), Abakah (2004), among others. However, unlike those previous works which extensively discuss reduplication as a process, the current study takes the discussion to another level; it discusses the how forms which have already undergone the reduplication process are nominalized. In the reduplication process itself, the resultant reduplicated forms go through affixation (specifically prefixation) and later on undergo another affixation (both prefixation and suffixation) when they have been nominalized. The need therefore arises to establish which of these two stages or levels of affixation, i.e. affixation during reduplication and affixation during nominalization, applies first, and the implication of the lack of ordering of these levels of affixation in Akan. Therefore, the approach is a kind of an interface between morphology and phonology and is cast in the mode of Siegel's (1974/1979) Level Ordering Hypothesis.

3. Akan Verb Stem Types

We discuss two main categories of Akan verb stems that can be nominalized: (a) bare/simple verb stems, which we will term in this paper as 'unreduplicative' because they cannot be reduplicated before they are nominalized, and (b) reduplicated verb stems, which will, on the other hand, be termed as 'reduplicative' because always they are nominalized only after they have been reduplicated. This paper pays more attention to the latter stem type because of the unique interest it presents. We further observe two kinds of reduplicated forms; (a) complete reduplicated forms and, (b) 'partial'³ reduplicated forms.

3.1 Nominalization of Bare/Simple Verb Stems

Akan selects from among sonorant sounds for singular nominal prefixing. These sonorant sounds are vowels and homorganic nasals. Some of those stems arbitrarily select for vowels as their nominal prefixes, others select for homorganic nasals as their nominal prefixes as will be seen in the examples below. Dolphyne (1988/2006)

³ The term 'partial' is used here not to refer to a mismatch of segments in correspondence, but rather to loosely indicate a change in either vowel height through vowel raising or consonantal place of articulation due to some phonological processes such as assimilation observed in some reduplicants which do not copy perfectly the segments of their stems.

postulates on the selection for vowels that there seems to be “no correlation to explain the selection of certain vowels as singular prefixes other than ATR agreement that usually exists between vowel(s) in the verb root/stem and the singular nominal prefix”. But the low and mid vowels /a/ and /ɛ/ respectively are noted for violating this ATR rule in Akan. Here, it is worth noting that with the exception of the high back vowels, all the ten vowels in Akan⁴ can occur word-initially as nominal prefixes. The high front vowels /ɪ, i/ are known to be allowed word/morpheme initially only in some sub-dialects of the Fante dialect of Akan. For the purpose of distinction in prefixation, the verb stems in (1), (2), & (3) have been categorized into transitive and intransitive forms. (The prefixes are underlined). Let us note that the transitive verbs no longer require objects after they have been nominalized: they now assume the object position and are introduced by usually auxiliary verbs.

3.1.1 Verb Forms

The verb stems below in this subsection can be nominalized straightaway, i.e. without being reduplicated first, through nominal prefixation. This is to say that the stems to be nominalized in this instance are unreduplicated.⁵ When these stems are reduplicated before they are nominalized, the output forms are ill-formed as shown in the examples in the column to the right below in (1). They have been classified into transitive and intransitive as discussed below. In the examples of transitive verb stems/bases, I provide two sets of data for them: one set for those that select for vowels as nominal prefixes and the others that select for homorganic nasals stops as their nominal prefixes, as in (1) and (2) respectively. In (3), I provide examples of intransitive verb stems/bases that select for vowels as their nominal prefixes. All the nominal prefix verbs are underlined.

⁴ Among the three dialects of Akan, it is only the Fante dialect that has nine instead of ten vowels (Dolphyne 1988). The advanced low vowel /æ/ is not present in the Fante vowel inventory except in some few Fante subdialects such as Boka (cf Abakah, 2004). The rest have ten-vowel system.

⁵ Even though as Dolphyne (1988:136) correctly argues that it is possible to reduplicate all verbs including this type of verb stems, yet when they are reduplicated and subsequently nominalized, they carry different meanings from those of their stems. In most of the cases, the meanings of the nominalized reduplicated forms are unattested. Therefore, since the current paper is on nominalization of verbs, we use the term ‘unreduplicative’ to refer to those verb stems that cannot be nominalized after they have been reduplicated. Conversely and redundantly, the term ‘reduplicative’, which will later in the paper be marked by the ‘feature’ [+reduplicative], would then refer to verb stems which can be nominalized only after they have been reduplicated.

1). Transitive verbs with vowels as nominal prefix

	Stem	Gloss	Nominalised	Reduplicated	Gloss
a.	kó	‘fight’	à̀/à̀kó	*à̀koko /akoko ⁶	‘battle/war’
b.	hìá	‘need/want’	òhìá	*ohiehia/?ahiehia	‘poverty’
c.	tán	‘hate’	òtán	*òtintan	‘hatred’
d.	dó	‘love’	òdó	*òdodo/òdodo	‘love’
e.	sùró ⁷	‘fear’	èsùró	*esuroso	‘fear’

In (2) below, I provide more examples of transitive verb stems, but this time those that select for homorganic nasals as their nominal prefix.

2). Transitive verb stems with nasal nominal prefixes.

	Stem/base	Gloss	Nominalised	Reduplicated	Gloss
a.	pàtá	‘compensate’	ṁpàtá	*m.pata-pata	‘compensation’
b.	bòá	‘help’	ṁmòá ⁸	*m.boa-boa	‘help’
c.	hyirà	‘bless’	ṁhyirà	*n.hyira-hyira	‘blessing’

The following verbs do not require direct objects but only the subject. The only thing that their nominal vowel prefixes have in common is the feature value [-High].⁹

3). Intransitive verb stems with vowel nominal prefixes.

	Stem/base	Gloss	Nominalised	Reduplicated	Gloss
a.	sá	‘dance’	àsá	*a.sa-sa	‘dancing’
b.	nyìní	‘grow’	ènyìní	*e.nyini-nyini	‘growth’
c.	mùná	‘frown’	èmùná	*e.muna-muna	‘a frown’

It is not only the regular verb stems which can be nominalized in Akan. There are irregular verbs in Akan as well which are nominalized in the same way as their

⁶ The ill-formed data 1(a) which can be well-formed only after the whole nominalized reduplicated form has been reduplicated again. For instance, *akoko.akoko* ‘(frequent) battle/war’ is an acceptable form. Further examples can be inferred from Abakah (2004:204), Dolphyne (2006:137), etc.

⁷ The verb *suro* ‘to fear’ can function as either transitive or intransitive verb.

⁸ The stem/base initial stop consonant /b/ changes into the nasal [m] in the prefixed form through assimilation rule i.e. *mboa- mmoa*.

⁹ This is a reminder that the data being discussed in this paper are from the Asante Twi dialect of Akan. In the Fante, the feature [-High] is not adequate enough because high front vowels are allowed as nominal prefixes (Dolphyne 2006: 82); it is only the high back vowels which do not occur morpheme-initially.

regular counterparts. The following data in (4) are some examples of such verbs and how they are nominalized. They are irregular in the sense that unlike the regular verb stems, they require both the nominal prefixes and suffixes for their meanings to be complete. These verb stems are not very productive in Akan.

4). Irregular verb stems with nominal prefix and suffix

Root/Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a. bó/bòró	‘beat (intrans)’	ɛ̀bòróɔ́	‘beating’
b. bó/bòró	‘get drunk’	ɛ̀bòróɔ́	‘drunkenness’
c. sòró	‘to be naughty’	ɛ̀sòróɔ́	‘naughtiness’

Even though the focus of this paper is on nominal prefixation, I now would like to briefly discuss nominal suffixation, for a more complete view of nominalization in Akan.

3.1.2 Asante Nominal Suffixes

The Asante Twi dialect uses the following mid vowels as its nominal suffixes: /e, ε, o, ɔ/ (cf. Dolphyne, 2006:83), in addition to the prefixes. The choice of which of these vowels to select as the nominal suffix is observed to be informed by two common harmonies: Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) and rounding harmonies with the vowels of stem/base. The front vowels /e, ε/ agree with the preceding vowel in terms of value [±back] and [±high], as well as [±ATR]. Similarly, their [+back] counterpart vowels /o, ɔ/ harmonize with the preceding vowels in the three features mentioned above. However, verbs that end in low vowel /a / and mid-vowel, /ε/ respectively usually do not obey the ATR harmony thereby leading to vowel disharmony.

The height of the stem/base vowel does not participate in the selection. I provide below verb stems that select for front mid-vowels as their nominal suffixes in (5a-d) and those that select for back mid vowels as their nominal suffixes in (5e-g).

5) Mid vowels as nominal suffixes

	Stem/base	Gloss	Affixed form (both prefix and suffix)	
a.	sìsì	‘cheat’	àsìsìé	‘cheating’
b.	dwàrí	‘bathe’	àdwàríé	‘bath’
c.	tùtí	‘train’	ɛ̀tùtíé	‘training’
d.	fí	‘vomit’	ɛ̀fíé	‘vomiting’
e.	wú	‘die’	òwùó	‘death’
f.	wó	‘give birth to’	àwòó	‘birth’

g. **tú** ‘eject sb.’ **ètúó** ‘ejection’

3.1.3 Asante Prefix-less Nominalization

The Asante dialect does not always nominalize through prefixing and suffixing. There are some verb stems that select for only nominal suffixes. A few examples of such stems are provided below in (6). In the column to the extreme right, we see that the output forms become ill-formed when we attempt to attach a nominal prefix. It is worth noting that in the other dialects of Akan that do not make use of nominal suffixes the stems are nominalized only by the change in their tonal patterns, as indicated on the words in (6).

6). Prefix-less nominals

	Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss	Ill-formed
a.	fírí	‘buy on credit’	fírí(é) ¹⁰	‘credit buying’	*afirie
b.	nàntí	‘walk’	nántí(é)	‘walking’	*anantɛ
c.	yàrí	‘get sick’	yárí(é)	‘sickness’	*ayariɛ

3.2 Reduplicated Verb Stems

Two main reduplicated forms are observed, the first being a reduplicated form where there is vowel raising in the reduplicant. As has been observed in the literature on Akan reduplication (Schachter & Fromkin (1968); Marantz (1982); Lieber (1987); Dolphyne (1988/2006); McCarthy & Prince (1995)), a non-high vowel particularly the low vowel raises to a high front vowel in the reduplicant, while a mid back vowel usually raises to the high back vowel. These kinds of reduplicated forms will be treated in this paper as partial or incomplete reduplication, the other reduplicated form being the one in which exactly the same segments in the base are copied into the reduplicant slot.¹¹ This is a total or complete reduplication. The morpho-phonological analysis of the data on reduplication will be done in two parallel ways: while in the former there is a change of vowel height in the reduplicant and also homorganic nasal assimilation, the latter process maintains all the segments copied from the base in the reduplicant. I will begin this section by briefly discussing the vowel raising process.

¹⁰ This derived form does not usually stand on its own semantically. It forms a compound with another morpheme such as *àdɛ́(é)*. So a native speaker will usually use an expression like *àdɛ́ fírí(é)* ‘credit buying’ instead of saying only the head of the compound in an expression. For further detailed discussion, refer to Appah (2003).

¹¹ Even though in instances such as complete copying of the base it is usually not empirically straightforward to determine which of the morphemes is the base, I am using the term reduplicant *slot* advisedly on the premise that copying of the stem/base is usually observed in Akan to be from a morpheme to the right of the reduplicant. Moreover, the reduplicant in Akan is usually termed as a *reduplicative prefix* in the literature (Dolphyne 1988/2006; McCarthy & Prince, 1995a; Abakah 2004).

3.3.1 Vowel Raising in the Reduplicant

The vowel raising can occur either in a simple CV syllable as in (7a-c) or in closed or heavy CVN syllable reduplicants as in (7d-g). A low vowel in the verb stem/base will usually raise to a high vowel in the reduplicant. The raising process satisfies two harmony rules in Akan, Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) harmony and rounding harmony, with the features [ATR] and [back] respectively. The data in (7) show raising from the low vowel /a/ in the base to a high vowel /ɪ/ in the reduplicant, (8) show raising of a mid-vowel /ɔ/ to a high back vowel /ʊ/ in the reduplicant.

7). Low vowel raises to high front vowel

	<u>Stem/base</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Reduplicated form</u>
a.	daʔ	‘sleep’	dɪ.daʔ
b.	kaʔ	‘bite’	kɪ.kaʔ
c.	saʔ	‘scoop’	sɪ.saʔ
d.	kan	‘read’	kɪŋ.kan
e.	tam	‘lift’	tɪn.tam
f.	bam	‘embrace’	bɪm.bam
g.	pam	‘sew’	pɪm.pam

The data below exemplify instances of raising to the high back vowel in the reduplicant in both simple CV and CVN syllable shapes.

8). Mid-back vowel raises to high back vowel

	<u>Stem/base</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Reduplicated form</u>
a.	sɔʔ	‘mend’	sʊ.sɔʔ
b.	dɔʔ	‘weed’	dʊ.dɔʔ
c.	pɔn	‘close’	pʊm.pɔn
d.	dɔ	‘love’	dʊdɔ

As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this subsection, and also from examples (7) & (8), we observed place assimilation processes in addition to the vowel raising and rounding harmony. In closed syllable stems, the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the stem assimilates place to the final consonant of the reduplicant, as observed in (7d), (7e) and (8c). On the rounding harmony, from the examples in (7), the [-Back, -High] vowels in the stem will raise to a [-Back, +High] in the reduplicant. Conversely, from the data in (8), the [+Back, -High, -Low] (i.e. mid) vowel in the base will raise to another [+Back] [+High] vowel in the reduplicant.

3.3.2 No Raising in the Reduplicant

Total or complete reduplication is the more easily predictable form of reduplication across languages. That is, all things being equal, one would expect a base to copy itself exactly into the reduplicant slot.

In the following CVCV, CVV, CVrV, CrV syllable stems, the stem-final non-high vowels do not raise, as was observed above in the CV and CVN syllables in (7) and (8), in the reduplicants, resulting in exact copying of segments from the stems. In 9(a) - (c) are examples of stem-final low vowels that do not raise in the reduplicant. 9(e) - 9(h) are examples of final-mid vowels that also do not raise in the reduplicant. Examples in (9ii) show that stem high vowels do not lower their height in the reduplicants.

9). i. Exact copying of stems with final non-high vowels

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Reduplicated form</u>	
a.	kasa	‘talk’	kasa.kasa	*kasi.kasa
b.	tea	‘reprimand’	tʰia.tʰia	*ʔtʰiɛ.tʰia
c.	pra	‘sweep’	pra.pra	*pri.pra
d.	tie	‘listen’	tʰie.tʰie	*tʰii.tʰia
e.	pue	‘move out’	p^wue.p^wue	*p^wui.p^wue
f.	kyerɛ	‘guide’	tɕʰrɛ.tɕʰrɛ	*tɕʰiri.tɕʰrɛ
g.	frɛ	‘call’	frɛ.frɛ	*fri.frɛ
h.	srɛ	‘beg’	srɛ.srɛ	*sri.srɛ

Below are some examples showing exact copying of high vowels in the reduplicant slots. There is no lowering of vowel height in the reduplicant.

ii. Exact copying of stems with final high vowels

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Reduplicated form</u>
a.	di	‘eat’	di.di
b.	sere	‘laugh’	siri.siri
c.	huri	‘jump’	h^wuri.h^wuri
d.	foro	‘climb’	f^wuru.f^wuru
e.	horo	‘wash’	h^wuru.h^wuru

3.4 Nominalization of Reduplicated Forms

The nominalization process has already been observed to apply to [+reduplicative] verb stems. What this implies is that the nominal affix attaches to the reduplicants, but not directly to the stems. In this subsection, we begin the discussion on nominalization of reduplicated verb forms with partially reduplicated forms. The nominalization process we shall see here differs from what we observed in §3.1.1-§3.1.3 in that while in the previous process the nominal prefixes attached directly to the verb stems and not the reduplicated forms, the opposite is the situation to be discussed here.

3.4.1 Nominalization after Complete Reduplication

Here, nominalization applies only after the complete reduplication of the verb stems. We realize an ill-formed output (to the extreme right) when we apply nominalization before reduplication.

10). Nominalization of completely reduplicated verbs

	<u>Reduplication</u>	<u>Nominalization</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Ill-formed</u>
a.	di.di	<u>æ</u> .di-di(e) ¹²	‘eating’	*ædi.ædi(e)
b.	ɸia.ɸia	<u>a</u> .ɸia-ɸia	‘a reprimand’	*aɸia.aɸia
c.	p ^w ue.p ^w ue	<u>æ</u> .p ^w ue-p ^w ue	‘outing’	*æp ^w ue.æp ^w ue
d.	h ^w uri.h ^w uri	<u>æ</u> .h ^w uri.h ^w uri	‘jumping’	*æh ^w uri.æh ^w uri
e.	f ^w uru.f ^w uru	<u>a</u> .f ^w uru.f ^w uru	‘climbing’	*af ^w uru.af ^w uru
f.	h ^w uru.h ^w uru	<u>a</u> .h ^w uru.h ^w uru	‘washing’	*ah ^w uru.ah ^w uru
g.	ɸie.ɸie	<u>æ</u> .ɸie.ɸie	‘listening’	*æɸie.æɸie
h.	tɸɪɪɛ.tɸɪɪɛ	<u>a</u> .tɸɪɪɛ.tɸɪɪɛ	‘guiding’	*atɸɪɪɛ.atɸɪɪɛ

3.4.2 Nominalization after Partial Reduplication

Nominalization again applies only after the verb stems have been reduplicated. When nominalization precedes reduplication, ungrammaticality results (as seen in the column to the extreme right below).

11). Nominalization of partially reduplicated forms

	<u>Reduplication</u>	<u>Nominalization</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Ill-formed</u>
a.	tntam	<u>a</u> .tn.tam	‘lifting’	*atn.atam
b.	kɪŋkan	<u>a</u> .kɪŋ.kan	‘reading’	*akɪn.akan

¹² The nominal suffix /-e/ is present only in the Asante Twi dialect.

c.	pɪmpam	a.pɪm.pam	‘sewing’	*apɪm.apam
d.	bɪmbam	a.bɪm.bam	‘embracing’	*abɪm.abam

The data above in (11) differ from those in (10) in two phonologically motivated ways; (a) the reduplicant, which undergoes vowel raising is not considered a free morpheme, but instead a bound morpheme, and (b) apart from the phonological process of vowel raising observed in the reduplicative prefix, some of the reduplicant-final homorganic nasals as in CVN root/stem undergo assimilatory processes.

4. An Overview of the Level Ordering Hypothesis

There have been arguments and counter arguments regarding the level or order of affixation in languages, especially after Siegel’s (1974) groundbreaking work on issues on English morphology. The question as to whether affixation in English follows a certain order or goes through certain levels has not attracted as much reaction as the question of how such affixation is ordered. Now extending the same idea to Akan, a question that one may ask is whether the two kinds of affix (both prefixes) presented in §3.4 can swap places, or their order of affixation. In other words, can a reduplicative prefix swap place with a nominal prefix in the course of nominalization of Akan verb stems? In an attempt to answer this question, I would like to briefly touch on what has been proposed in the literature on morphology concerning level ordering of affixes in derivation. I refer to one of the earlier works and particularly Siegel (1974[1979]). One of the central arguments or hypotheses of Siegel (idem)¹³ is that English, like many other languages, orders its affixation in deriving lexical items. She divides English affixes into two classes; Class 1 affixes and Class 2 affixes, and claims that a Class 1 affix cannot attach to a word or morpheme which a Class 2 affix has already adjoined.

Though the focus of Siegel’s analysis was on suffixation, because English usually derives new lexical items through suffixation, as against Akan’s usual prefixation mode of deriving nominals, we believe the difference in directionality of affixation will not in any significant way set back comparative analysis between the two languages in this section. Like the functions of the English derivational morphemes provided by Siegel, the nominal prefixes in Akan perform the same derivational role during nominalization.

Another central idea of Siegel’s hypothesis about affixation in English was that while all class 2 formatives/morphemes are stress-neutral, class 1 affixes, on the other hand, may cause stress changes. It seems that in Akan, both the nominal prefix and the reduplicative prefix cause a tonal change on a word. Even though the current

¹³ Siegel proposed this hypothesis in her 1974 PhD dissertation and the work was published later in 1979.

paper does not discuss tone, which is a very prominent feature and well-researched area of the phonology of the language, I will attempt to expatiate further by giving some examples of data in their three stages or levels of deriving nominalized forms: stem form (bare or affix-less), reduplicated form (affixed), and finally nominalized form (affixed).

Siegel's hypothesis has had its proponents as well as its opponents. Some of its early proponents such as Allen (1978) have done some modification to some of the central ideas of the hypothesis and come up with a hypothesis termed 'Extended Level Ordering Hypothesis'. Later on Kiparsky (1982) further developed this hypothesis into a theory, which became the principle of Lexical Phonology/Morphology. Since then, there have been further extensions to the hypothesis by different authors in both phonology and morphology. Notwithstanding, there have been opponents as well to this hypothesis. Prominent among the early works opposing this hypothesis include Fabb (1988). In the opinion of the author of this current paper, I suppose that to some extent, the hypothesis on level or order of affixation by Siegel (1974) is still relevant today and it can help shed light on the order of affixation, particularly prefixation in the process of nominalization of Akan verb stems.

In all this, I suppose there is a learnability problem for the learner, in this case, both acquiring it as a first language and as a second language. The obvious question is, how does the learner know which verb stem can be reduplicated and which ones cannot when s/he wants to nominalized an Akan verb? I think this problem is not idiosyncratic to Akan, as such knowledge forms part of the native speakers' competence of the language. The learner will, perhaps, have to just memorize and master that aspect of the grammar of the language.

Now having observed the two main ways through which Akan (Asante Twi) nominalizes verb stems: direct nominalization of bare or simple stems, which is further subdivided into direct prefixation and direct suffixation on one hand, and nominalization of reduplicated forms on the other hand, we believe it will be more handy and elegant to come up with a common template for the morphological structure to account for all forms of nominal affixation in Akan. We attempt this in the next section.

4.1 The Proposed Morphological Structure Template

Since the focus of the current paper is on nominalization, which is done mostly through prefixation in Akan, except the Asante Twi dialect which often uses additional nominal suffixes, the proposal will basically revolve around prefixation. This section focuses on nominalization of the reduplicated form which is broader and also has some interesting morphological structure for the proposal of this paper. In

this case two prefixes have been observed and discussed already in Akan nominals; the nominal prefix and the reduplicative prefix. While the former functions as a class-changing morpheme, the latter functions as a class-maintaining prefix. The reduplicative prefix usually adds semantics of degree or intensity to the function of the verb stem. For instance, the stem, **kan** ‘read’ becomes **kenkan** ‘read repeatedly’ when reduplicated.

In the case of the nominalized partially reduplicated forms, the reduplicative prefix could be analyzed as the Class 2 prefix (after Siegel 1974) that must attach to the verb stem first. The nominal prefix then becomes the Class 1 prefix. The Class 1 prefix applies only after the Class 2 prefix has adjoined the stem/base. To further illustrate this, let us look at the examples in (12) below on English affixation. It is argued in this paper that the nominal prefixes, like the English noun-forming suffixes such as **-ity**, which can attach either directly to a stem as in the following example by Siegel (1974:13)¹⁴ in (12) or to already derived words in (13), can adjoin both bare (unaffixed) and reduplicated (affixed) forms in Akan, as already exemplified in §3.2 and 3.4 above.

In the case of the reduplicated verbs or forms, like example (13) from English, the Class 1 prefixes apply only after Class 2 prefix has applied. Any attempt to surpass Class 2 affix to attach to the stem will render the output ill-formed as in Akan example (14) below.

12)	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Class 2 affix</u>	<u>Class 1 affix</u>	<u>Derived word</u>
a.	prob	+ \emptyset	+ ity	probit
b.	sincere	+ \emptyset	+ ity	sincerity
13)	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Class 2 affix</u>	<u>Class 1 affix</u>	<u>Derived word</u>
a.	move	+ able	+ ity	movability
b.	measure	+ able	+ ity	measurability

As has been explained earlier, verb stems such as **tam** ‘lift’, **kan** ‘read’, **pam** ‘sew’, **bam** ‘embrace’, etc. cannot be nominalized through direct nominal affixation (prefixing). They can be nominalized only after they have been reduplicated. In (14a.ii) and (14b.ii) we see the implications of nominalising these stems directly.

¹⁴ Siegel (1974) discusses something more than just the segments as in the suffixes themselves. She also emphasizes changes in stress placement, particularly primary stress that these suffixes can condition on the stem they attach to. This current paper leaves detailed discussion on these suprasegmental properties for future research.

14)		Affix 1	Affix 2	Stem	Derived word	Gloss
a.	i.	a	+ kn	+ kan	akm-kan	‘reading’
	ii.	a	+ -	+ kan	*akan/*akin	
b.	i.	a	+ bim	+ bam	abim-bam	‘embracing’
	ii.	a	+ -	+ bam	*abam/*abim	

When we compare (13) with (14), we realize that Affix 2 (reduplicative prefix) in Akan acts like the Class 2 affix in English which when surpassed in affixation, results in ungrammaticality. English forms like ***movity** will certainly be judged ill-formed by native speakers since the Class 1 suffix **-ity** will have to attach to a form that Class 2 has already affixed (suffixed) and not the stem itself, in this context.

Another question that will be of interest for discussion is whether from examples such as in (14) above the Affix 1 can attach to the stem before the reduplication applies. I consider this question in (15) below in a series of derivations. The answer to this question can be inferred from the examples in (14ii) (‘derived word’ column). Therefore, reduplicating an already ill-formed nominal, in essence, does not improve its grammaticality status. Notwithstanding, there are forms that can be grammatical after reduplicating their nominalized forms, as we will see some examples of this process later on in subsequent subsections.

15) a. Step 1					
	Affix 1	Affix 2	Stem	Derived word	Gloss
	a	+ Ø	+ tam	*atam	-
b. Step 2					
	Affix 1	Affix 2	Input	Derived word	Gloss
	Ø	+ *atm	+ *atam	*atin-atam	-

The level ordering hypothesis will help eliminate the forms like ***a.tm-a.tam** in (14), in which the effect of the nominal prefix is felt in both the reduplicant and the stem because it applied before reduplication applied.

The preliminary conclusion one can draw about affixation in nominalization in Akan at this stage is that a Class 1 affix (nominal prefix) cannot attach to [+reduplicative] stems, but only after a Class 2 affix has attached to those stems. Similarly, a Class 1 (reduplicative) prefix cannot attach to an already affixed (Class 2 affixed) i.e. [-reduplicative] form. In the latter case, the process will result in some kind of *infixation*,¹⁵ which is not productive in the Akan language (Dolphyne, 1988/2006:80).

¹⁵ This term may be simply defined as a process of inserting a morpheme (in this case a reduplicative prefix) into an already affixed/derived word.

With this background in mind, we now move on to propose a template to account for the affixation of verb stems during nominalization in Akan. All the obligatory elements/units are notated with the ‘+’ sign, while the optional ones are indicated by the ‘±’ sign. This practice is adopted for the rest of this paper.

16) Level of affixation (prefixation) in nominalization for [-reduplicative] stem verbs.

	<u>Affix₁</u>	<u>Affix₂</u>	<u>Stem/Base</u>	<u>Derived word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
a.	n	+ Ø	+ kar	<u>n</u>kar(ε)	‘remembrance’
b.	ε	+ Ø	+ fi	<u>ε</u>fi(ε)	‘vomiting’

In (16) above, the Affix₂ (Class 2) slot is empty for both (a) and (b), the stems of which are unreduplicative. The empty slot for the Affix₂ in the structure above seemingly presupposes that in the process of nominalizing unreduplicative stems, the nominal prefix (i.e. Affix₁) can bypass the Affix₂ slot and directly attach to the stem. Therefore, Affix₁ is the only constant morpheme apart from the stem verb. In (17) below, we present a similar structure to account for the [+reduplicative] stem verbs during nominalization.

17) Level of affixation (prefixation) in nominalization for [+reduplicative] stem verbs.

	<u>Affix₁</u>	<u>Affix₂</u>	<u>Stem/Base</u>	<u>Derived word</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
a.	a	+ tm	+ tam	<u>a</u>tmtam	‘wrestling’
b.	a	+ km	+ kan	<u>a</u>kɪkan	‘reading’

In (17) above, unlike the structure in (16), all the slots for affixes are filled. What this means is that both Affix₁ and Affix₂ are obligatory elements in nominalizing reduplicative verb stems. So far two morphological structures have been briefly presented; one with an empty Affix₂ slot in (16) and the other with the Affix₂ slot filled as in (17). Now conflating the two structures in (16) and (17) above, we get the proposed initial structure template for affixation below in (18), where the marked difference between the two is observed in the slot for the Affix₂. While it is null or absent in the former structure, it is obligatorily present in the latter structure. This option of it being present or absent in the structure is indicated by the symbol ‘±’. The symbol indicates the optionality of the item to its left, in the case of prefixation, and vice versa in the case of suffixation. The stem is the only obligatory element.

18) Proposed morphological structure template for level of affixation (prefixation) in nominalizing Akan verb stems for the data in (16) and (17).

Affix₁ + Affix₂ ± Stem

As regards suffixation in nominalizing, as has already been pointed out, it is more prominent in the Asante Twi dialect than the other two dialects of Akan. Therefore, it is assumed in this case that nominal suffixes, in particular, are optional elements in nominalizing Akan verb stems, hence, they being introduced by the optional sign, ‘±’ in the revised¹⁶ proposed template presented in (19) below.

A proposed morphological structure template for level of affixation (prefixation) in nominalizing Akan stem verbs in general is presented below in (19). The structure is revised to capture nominal suffixation as well. I follow the bracketing convention adopted in Siegel (1974:103) and boundary markings for classes of affixes where ‘+’ means the attaching affix is a class-changing affix, ‘#’ means the affix can be optional and class-maintaining. We restate the above structure in (18) below in (19).

19) [Affix₁ +] + [Affix₂#] ± [Stem] ± [+Affix₃]¹⁷

4.2 Open Issues.

There seem to be some exceptions to the claim in this paper that the Affix₁ is the only obligatory element or morpheme apart from the stem/base. From the examples in (6), the presence of the nominal suffix alone (which is applicable only in the Asante Twi dialect) is enough to nominalize the verb stem. Put differently, the absence of the usual nominal prefix does not affect the grammaticality of the derived nominal of such categories.

Two main explanations could be assigned for this seeming exception to the proposal. The first explanation is that nominalization of such verbs is not only done at the morphological level of the grammar/lexicon, but also at the suprasegmental/prosodic level of the language. Differences in tonal markings on the two lexical items i.e. the verb base and the derived nominal, distinguish the two, as in the example in (20) below. The second possible explanation is that some of those verb stems can function as either reduplicative or unreduplicative with some variation in the meaning of each nominal derived. When they are reduplicative, their nominalized forms make sense only after the whole derived form i.e. the nominalized reduplicated form, has been reduplicated again. An example of this derivation has been provided in (21) for illustration. In hypothesizing this explanation, it is assumed in this paper that since all verbs in the language can be reduplicated (cf. Dolphyne 2006: 136), all the

¹⁶ The structure is revised in the sense that it now accounts for nominal suffixes, making the structure now look more peripheral in shape.

¹⁷ In order not to confuse the different uses of the same ‘+’ sign, the one outside the bracket has already been explained in (15), that it determines the obligatory presence or otherwise of the affix it follows in the case of prefixation. The same sign when used in the bracket, on the other hand, indicates the class-changing effect of the associated affix₁ on the stem.

verbs, including those of this category are underlyingly reduplicative, thus the inherent presence of the nominal prefix in the underlying representation of the grammar. However, these kinds of verbs can surface as either reduplicative or unreduplicative, resulting in the variation in their nominalization at the phonetic or surface level of representation. It is therefore postulated here that the structure template in (17) can hold for such forms as (6) and restated in (20) in the underlying representation of the grammar of Akan. The decision to drop both prefixes (i.e. Affix₁ and Affix₂) is made at the surface level of the grammar, but not in the underlying representation.

20) The morphological structure for prefix-less nominals in the underlying representation.

	Affix ₁	Affix ₂	Stem	Affix ₃	Derived word	Gloss
a.	Ø	+ Ø	fírí	+ e	fírí (é)	'credit buying'
b.	Ø	+ Ø	nàntí	+ ε	nántí(é)	'walking'

In example (21) below, we present instance where one verb stem can be derived in two different ways i.e. with a unaffixed (stem/base) input and with an affixed (nominalized) input through derivation.

21). Reduplication of some nominalized forms. (a) is not semantically well-formed, but (b) is. (b) employs the output (the unattested 'derived' form) of (a) as its input and reduplicates it.

	Affix ₁	Affix ₂	Stem	Affix ₃	Derived form	Gloss
a.	a	+ -	nàntí	+ ε	*anàntí(ε)	'walking'
b.	-	+ anàntí	anàntí	+ -	anàntíanàntí(ε)	'the habit of walking'

From (21) above, it is evident that Affix₁ is still obligatorily present in the reduplicated form of some verb stems which we earlier on labeled as [-reduplicative] though they make sense after the entire reduplicated unit has been duplicated again after it has been nominalized.

The stem in (21b) is what is assumed to be present in the underlying representation of the grammar, but can be realized at the surface level in two main ways:

- by dropping the prefix and instead, using the suffix (specifically in the Asante Twi dialect)
- by maintaining the prefix and in addition, reduplicating the underlying stem in deriving a nominal.

The conclusion is that in all nominalized verbs in Akan, the nominal prefix is hypothesized in this paper to be obligatorily present in the underlying representation

of those verbs, while the reduplicative prefix may be an optional element. But these nominalized verbs surface in three major ways:

- (i) with the nominal prefix and or nominal suffix;
- (ii) with only the nominal suffix and finally;
- (iii) in reduplicative form with nominal prefix and/or nominal suffix.

The third option is what is similar to the underlying form we have hypothesized in this section.

Within the current linguistic theories such as the Optimality Theory (OT) framework, a difficulty would be encountered when an attempt is made to account for the nominalization of such verb stems in Akan. Perhaps morpheme-specific indexation constraints, after Pater (2010), might be a workable approach towards attempting to account for this variation in affixation in Akan.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, it has been observed that Akan nominalizes two main kinds of verb forms, which we identified as *bare* (unreduplicated) verb stems and reduplicated verb forms. We noted that in nominalizing the former, the nominal affix straightforwardly attaches to the stem to yield a grammatical nominal. With the latter verb form, however, the nominal affix (specifically the prefix) can adjoin the verb form only after the verb form has undergone a reduplication process. Put differently, in the latter form, attaching the nominal affix before the stem is reduplicated would result in ungrammaticality, as was observed in the data in section 3. This observation necessitated the analysis of this affixation process within Siegel's (1974) Level Ordering Hypothesis, where it was postulated that affixation in the nominalization of Akan verbs follows particular order. With particular reference to the process of nominalizing reduplicated verbs, we realized that always the reduplicative prefix has to precede the nominal prefix. This ordered-affixation requirement does not apply to all verb forms in Akan. In nominalizing bare verb stems, in which affixation is a direct interaction between the nominalizer and the stem, this requirement becomes irrelevant. We thereby proposed a conflated morphological structure template to account for what seemed to be two somewhat different morphological structures presented us by the nominalization of these two verb forms. Based on this proposed morphological structure, the following conclusions were drawn: that since all verbs in Akan can be reduplicated (cf. Dolphyne 2006: 136), for all nominalized verbs in Akan (Asante Twi), all the items that fall under Affix₁ are obligatorily present either at the underlying level or possibly at the intermediate level of representation of the grammar, but those that fall under Affix₂ such as reduplicative prefixes are optional elements which may or may not be present in the surface representation.

Finally, for future research, I suggest that this topic be further subjected to more phonological analysis with respect to the tonal patterning of the data presented, to determine its implications for the proposed morphological structure in this study. Also, an optimality theoretical analysis might be interesting, to determine whether the two verb forms use a common input form.

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The Portuguese Language on the Gold Coast, 1471-1807: Addenda¹

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Since the paper referred to in the title went to press, a few omissions have come to light. Quite possibly there are more, but in the meantime it seems useful to bring the record up to date, especially since two of the four items are rather unexpected.

comer² Port. ‘eat’; Ga *kómi* ‘kenkey’. This may seem surprising, since this food is quintessentially Ga, but note that the Ga word occurs in no other language. The older Ga-Dangme term for this food seems to be *otimi*. The word was presumably adapted from the Portuguese verb in the context ‘something to eat’.

escamotear Port. ‘filch, steal, get by tricks’; Gold Coast (and other) English *kómɔt* ‘get, remove, extract, by force or by stealth’, eg. *the wind kómɔt my zingli* ‘the wind tore off my roofing sheets’. English ‘come out’ is commonly assumed to be the source, but the Portuguese verb seems a better semantic and discursive fit. At one time a version of the word seems to have been current in at least some varieties of British English, for in the mid 19th century Thackeray has an English lady, supposedly of a cosmopolitan 18th century background, write, “...my niece Maria Esmond hath escamote a promise [of marriage] from Harry.” (Thackeray 1859, Chapter XLI; underline mine.)

mercador Port. ‘merchant’. This word was cited in the article, but only European documentary sources were mentioned. It is the most likely source of Twi *mánkrádò*, Ga *mánkrálò*, the title of a town official.

saber Port. ‘know’. It was noted in the earlier paper that this word is still used in coast English as *sabi*, ‘know’. It also occurs as the base of two Ga nouns, *sàbé* ‘inquisitiveness’ and *sàbéɔ* ‘inquisitive person’ (Dakubu 2009).

¹ See Dakubu (2012).

² I am grateful to Karen Akiwumi Tanoh for drawing this item to my attention.

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PROJECT REPORT

Siti/Kyitu; an Endangered Language of Côte d'Ivoire

Jonathan Allen Brindle and Enoc Kra

Résumé

Ce rapport présente le résumé du travail effectué, et de celui en cours, dans le cadre de la recherche linguistique mené en vue de décrire et de documenter la langue kyitu (ou siti). A l'origine intitulé «The Siti Pilot Project – Description and Documentation of an Endangered Language of Ivory Coast », ce projet financé par le Programme de Documentation des Langues en Danger (ELDP) a pour buts la prise de contact, le témoignage de la situation sociolinguistique, et le recueil de données sur cette langue parlée seulement à Vonkoro (Côte d'Ivoire), village situé près de la rive de la Volta Noire à la frontière du Ghana. Compte tenu du fait que le nombre des locuteurs kyitu était présumé faible et que la grande partie de l'information disponible sur cette langue était d'environ 90 ans, il nous a semblé nécessaire de découvrir son état actuel. Au début du projet, nous présumions qu'elle pouvait être déjà éteinte. Le rapport précise les différents aspects du projet : la rencontre d'information sur la nature et le but du projet aux Kyiras de Vonkoro, les recensements, la transcription et la prise des données, la compilation du lexique et du corpus, et l'impact du projet sur la communauté locale. En guise de conclusion, le rapport s'ouvre sur un sujet qui pose indubitablement problème ; notamment « dire que le kyitu est en voie de disparition serait difficile à justifier, mais dire que le kyitu n'est pas une langue qui risque de disparaître serait irresponsable ».

Introduction:

A language documentation project is summed up briefly in this work-in-progress report. Details on the background of the project, the fieldwork, the work completed, the projected end results, and actions intended in the future are the topics presented.

Background and Motivation:

The project was originally intended as a contribution to the documentation of the two remaining Southwestern Grusi languages spoken in Ivory Coast: Kyitu (also known in the literature as Siti, Sitigo, Sitige, Kira or Cira) and Deg. The objective was to start with the most urgent case, the Kyitu language, the number of whose native speakers Bécuwe (1981: 11) estimated at 31. In carrying out research in Vonkoro,¹ reportedly

¹ Vonkoro is a village situated about 2 km. from the Black Volta river on the Ivoirian side, equidistant from Bole (Ghana) and Bouna (Ivory Coast).

the only Kyitu speaking village left, the project's intention was to provide an account of the language's vitality and endangerment. Considering the alleged speaker population, it was assumed at the time that the language may be nearly extinct, and, as the bulk of the information available on the language was approximately 90 years old, a fresh look at Kyitu was deemed necessary.

The original linguistic material available consists of 90 words and a few short phrases in Delafosse (1904), and an 800-entry word list in Tauxier (1921). No new material has been presented since, with one exception: at the end of the nineteen nineties, a German researcher collected material on Kyitu in order to re-confirm that the language was “indeed a distinct member of the Western subgroup of Gurunsi” (Kleinewillinghöfer, 1999). Based on the expressions referring to approximately 40 concepts, he provided evidence that Kyitu was indeed distinct from Vagla and Phwie, two Southwestern Grusi languages, and Khi, a language of the Gan/Dogose subgroup. Even though Kleinewillinghöfer's work was an important and necessary update of the situation, he did the work off-site in Ghana, on the other side of the Black Volta river, with one consultant, and thus failed to notice important sociolinguistic features in the context of language endangerment.²

The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), through their small grant scheme, funded a project entitled ‘The Siti Pilot Project: Description and Documentation of an Endangered Language of Ivory Coast’, which was designed to provide a constellation of essential materials: annotated texts coming from a range of recordings of language usage, a concise sociolinguistic report, a grammatical outline of the language, and a digital lexicon consisting of ‘recycled’ and new data. The cooperation of two linguists, one involved in research on the Southwestern Grusi group and the other a native speaker of Kulango—and one of few specialists of the language—was believed to be well-suited to work on the linguistic description and documentation of Kyitu. The project was administered by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, with a starting date of 01/01/12 and an expected completion of 31/09/12, including 4 months to deliver the report and submit the material to the archive.

Preparation and Fieldwork

Sociolinguistic survey:

Overt participant observation and three questionnaire surveys dealt with the sociolinguistic aspect. A first short visit to Vonkoro was necessary in order to meet with the people and inform them of the nature of the research. This was crucial as there was a possibility that the language was no longer spoken, or that the people of Vonkoro would refuse our mission. At this community entry meeting we administered one questionnaire, which examined their identity, language, and history, to a focus

² He confessed the following in a footnote: “Unfortunately, I was not aware that the number of speakers reported in Bécuwe (1981) was so dramatically low, only 31. I therefore did not inquire about the number of people still speaking that language.” (Kleinewillinghöfer, 1999:42)

group of 11 individuals composed of the chief, the landlord, elderly men and women, and young men. We learned that they call themselves Kyira [kĩrà], and their language Kyitu [kĩtò], although the ethnonym may also be used to refer to the language. The Kulangos call the Kyira [sítigé] and their language [sítigó] or [sítigé], the Julas call them [vōkorokā] ‘people of Vonkoro’, and the Safalibas, who live in Ghana across the Black Volta, call them [tʃírí bá]. They informed us that the languages Kyitu, Kulango, Safaliba, Jula, Kamara, Lobiri, Waali, Akan and Gonja, in approximately that order, are understood in Vonkoro, but that Kyitu, Kulango, Safaliba and Jula are those which they can mainly speak. It was emphasized that no Kyira is monolingual. They also confirmed that there are no villages outside of Vonkoro where Kyitu is spoken, apart from the people born in Vonkoro who today are members of the ‘Kyira diaspora’. An open question inquired after the origin of this multilingual situation. The responses indicated that, first, their economy brings them to meet several ethnic groups. When they work as labourers, manually (un)loading the vehicles crossing the Black Volta, Kyira young men exchange with people from culturally and linguistically diverse groups. Further, the major weekly markets attended are those of Bouna, Māāso, and Niandégué in Ivory Coast, where they communicate in Kulango, Jula or Lobiri. There is also the one in Bole, Ghana, where they communicate mostly in Safaliba, though a few Kyira can also speak Gonja. Each Monday, the market of Vonkoro brings together people who speak different languages, but Kulango, Jula and Lobiri are the ones mainly spoken. Secondly, outsiders settling in Vonkoro do not bother learning Kyitu, and when they do, they never master the language to a considerable level. That applies to wives of Kyira men as well. Kyira men marry mostly Kulango, Lorhon³ and Safaliba women, and vice-versa for the Kyira women.⁴

The children are said to learn their mother's language first, and then gradually learn to speak the language of the father, and finally the languages spoken at the community where they live. It was stressed that only rarely does a Kyira child *not* learn Kyitu, even when s/he lives outside the village. However, some in the focus group complained that Kyira children raised away, mostly those from town, come infrequently to Vonkoro and speak with difficulty. In public meetings, they use Kulango only if Kulangos are present. Otherwise, Kyitu is used exclusively in weddings, funerals, divinations and sacrifices in which individuals of all generations are involved.

The second questionnaire was intended as a follow-up. Individual interviews were to help us understand and appreciate the reflections gathered at the focus group session. The following observations are prototypical, and roughly summarize our

³ The Lorhon (or Loma according to the speakers) live in villages clustered around Doropo. Kulangos are found in Lorhon area. The Lorhon are believed to be the ancestors of today's Kulango. Although Kulango and Lorhon have a common origin, they were clearly distinguished by our consultants.

⁴ The Kyira use a bilateral descent (or double-descent) system with cross-cousin marriage allowed (i.e. a man can marry his mother's brother's daughter but *not* his mother's sister's daughter, and he can marry his father's sister's daughter but *not* his father's brother's daughter).

findings. A Kyira speaks Kyitu, Safaliba and Kulango frequently. French and Julia come after, but they are used in different contexts, the former with governmental bodies and the latter with market actors, and for a few, with their Muslim brothers. In language comprehension, a Kyira understands Kyitu, Safaliba and Kulango ‘perfectly’, and Julia, Lohon, French and Lobiri ‘moderately’. One fact that strikes us is that, like Kyitu, all other languages are mainly learned in Vonkoro, so it is not necessary to travel to be exposed to languages other than Kyitu. Safaliba, Kulango and Lohon are learned with the wives of Kyira men and their children in Vonkoro. At home, half of them admit to speaking Safaliba with their children, and if a husband's wife is Safaliba, he will speak to her in her language. Children in Vonkoro are believed to speak Kyitu and Safaliba amongst each other. When asked which language they would like to see the children of Vonkoro learn to read and write, Kyitu, French and English were the most popular. In general, interviewees believed that Kyitu will be spoken by their grand-children, for reasons such as “since I speak it, they will”, “normally you do not lose your language by attending school”, “as long as I am alive people will speak it”, and “if my children learn it, their children will too”. Some of them do not think that Kyitu is being replaced by another language. Those who do fear this blame the outsiders.

The third survey was intended to gather information mainly on the population size, the origin of married women (i.e. where they were born and raised), and the ethnic group of the married women's parents. For obvious reasons, more often than not, children speak the same native language as their parents and grandparents, therefore we found it worthwhile to identify the origins of the language transmitters and quantify their presence in Vonkoro. The census shows that Vonkoro has a population of around 157 individuals, with 27 family houses, each averaging 1.4 households. The women and men over 18 YO account for 26% and 19% respectively of the total population, while the individuals with 18 YO and under account for the remaining 55%. Married women born and raised in Vonkoro represent 35%, those from Safaliba villages 26%, and 21% from Kulango villages. The remaining 18% is shared among women of Gonja, Waala and Dega origins.

Language Data:

The collection of raw language data was done in Vonkoro, whereas the transcription, translation and analyses were conducted in Vonkoro and Bouna. A final short field trip, this time off-site in Bole (Ghana), was necessary in order to look at general inconsistencies and questions raised in the post-fieldwork period, and to meet with and record an elderly Kyira woman who had lived the major part of her life in Mandari (Ghana).

The compilation of the lexical database was achieved in several phases; first we each separately elicited the first 400 words of the SIL Comparative African Word list (CAWL-1700 words/concepts)⁵ in order to tune our ears to the language and compare

⁵ <http://www.pnglanguages.org/silepubs/abstract.asp?id=47602> (Accessed 24/08/12)

our transcriptions. We then decided on some transcription conventions (but kept the discrepancies) and carried on with the elicitation of the remaining concepts on pen-and-paper forms. This phase occurred in Vonkoro with several speakers. The keyboarding of the CAWL-1700 was facilitated by WeSay⁶, a lexical tool which already implements the structure and order of the CAWL-1700 by providing a reference number and semantic domain of each concept. In addition, it allowed us to work on a different set of words and to merge the lexicon files at the end of each day. The result was then imported in FLEEx,⁷ a language data organizational tool. The glossing and definitions are in French and English. Since the Kyira were known to speak and understand the regional lingua franca, i.e. Kulango (the variety of Bouna), and loan words could be easily assessed by having the two languages side by side in a database, we augmented the lexical database with Kulango lexical data by eliciting the same word list with one speaker of Buna Kulango. Finally, all Kyitu noun and verb entries of the CAWL list were linked to audio clips.

The ‘textual’ data (as opposed to lexical data) of the audio corpus consists of recordings of observed and staged communicative events (in the sense of Lüpke 2009). The former category is composed of folk tales, riddles, songs, monologues and dialogues, whereas the latter category includes descriptions of various scenes depicted on illustrations (i.e. static stimuli). The characteristic context of the performance was artificial, as it was requested by us the researchers, but nevertheless appeared sincere and authentic. As far as we can judge, the audience of folk tale telling participated and collaborated with the performer(s). In contrast to the opinion heard on language transmission and domain of usage at the community entry meeting, three elderly women narrated on one occasion that the telling of folk tales is an uncommon practice nowadays, and that children are no more ‘listening’. Can such events not be part of their traditional obligation anymore? Also they told us that “before, when a group of women started to sing, other women would usually join them; now, you see, we are singing and no one comes.” Was this due to the presence of microphones and we, the strangers? We believe they wanted to share with us an aspect of the linguistic reality in Vonkoro.

The consultants had been designated by the chief and elders as ‘the best speakers’, although the majority of the folk tales in the corpus come from a man who was not among those recommended to us. Beyond that we were able to identify the potential of other collaborators while working on the elicitation of the lexical data, as each of us separately would spend some time in different compounds/residences communicating with various individuals. Overall about sixteen individuals gave us language data in some way or another, about ten have been recorded, while three worked more intensively than others on the transcripts of recordings. Moreover, we systematically chose different individuals in the process; no one ever assisted in the

⁶ <http://wesay.palaso.org/> (Accessed 24/08/12)

⁷ <http://fieldworks.sil.org/flex/> (Accessed 28/08/12)

transcription or translation of his/her own audio record. This procedure allowed people to comment on someone else's speech style, choice of vocabulary, etc., but also avoided the possibility of the consultants modifying the interpretation of the recorded speech (i.e. they may try to correct themselves or otherwise alter what they actually said).

All the event recordings were provided with a resumé and linguistically-relevant meta-data (e.g. who, where, what, etc.), while a selection of them received deeper descriptions in the form of speech transcription, translation and comments. This work was carried out in four phases. The first phase consisted of sentence/paragraph transcription and translation in notebooks by playback technique. In this phase the original recording was played in (sentence/paragraph) blocks, which had been put into sections and time-aligned in Praat,⁸ for the consultant to carefully repeat, translate and comment on. The second phase concentrated on words/morphemes translations and contributed to the making of grammar hypotheses. The digitalisation of text data and word-level interlinearization was processed in FLEEx, which allows for an interaction between the lexicon and the text, thus facilitating correction and improvement. The third phase merged the time-offsets data and the text information data into a single file.⁹ Since we, the project's researchers, and the country of research are francophone, the primary language of annotation was French.

Work completed and to be done:

At the time of writing this report, the material to be sent to the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR)¹⁰ is being put together. Approximately fifty observed communicative event audio recordings, 450 staged communicative event audio recordings, one thousand recordings of single words spoken in isolation, ten short videos, one hundred digital images, one multi-layered map, a 2000-entry lexical database, twenty annotated and interlinearized texts, and various documents are brought together in the collection, which for the majority conform to the archive's encoding formats requirement (i.e. UTF-8 character encoding, XML data encoding, 16 bits/44.1 kHz linear PCM audio, JPEG digital images). In the declaration of consent contract signed at the beginning of the project, a statement specifies that any Kyira person can access the archive and contact ELAR or the project's principal investigator (J. A. Brindle) at any time. Many of the recordings, especially the folk tales and songs, were very popular amongst our consultants. They were converted into MP3 files so people could store them in their phones or memory cards.¹¹ Since we were told that Kyitu had never been heard on the radio, we arranged to have the local radio station in Bouna, 'La voix de la Savane', give airplay to songs we recorded in Vonkoro. A photo-book and a

⁸ <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/> (Accessed 28/08/12)

⁹ We acknowledge Tom Myers and Alexander Nakhimovsky for making this last phase possible.

¹⁰ <http://elar-archive.org/> (Accessed 28/08/12)

¹¹ These days one can purchase relatively cheap battery-operated portable AM/FM/Shortwave receiver with built-in MP3 player, memory card slot and USB port.

booklet, the latter being a compilation of our lexical database exported in the form of a dictionary Kyitu-Kulango-French, are under construction and copies will be given to the chief and the project's main consultants.

In assessing the overall impact of the project on the local community, we believe that our approach triggered interest in their own language, but also raised important questions and some self-awareness. It gave the Kyira an opportunity to assert their own perspective on language endangerment. In fact, the sociolinguistic aspect in particular was an opportunity to discuss issues, such as patterns of language usage, which otherwise normally remain implicit. Residents of Vonkoro and speakers of Kyitu are now familiar with what constitutes some aspects of language description and documentation. Since many Kyira showed interest in continuing the work, it is perhaps an occasion to mobilize the community and investigate the reasons for their enthusiasm. Are they interested in establishing a standard orthography and designing literacy material? What are their expectations and views on the future benefit of documenting Kyitu? Outside the community, our presence as researchers and our motivation to visit the region of Bouna contributed to the reflection that Kyitu is unique and fragile. Moreover our visits to the regional governmental authorities tell us that field linguistic projects are valued. However, these claims are hard to evaluate.

Finally, another of our efforts was an attempt to promote Kyitu as a self-standing language in the *Ethnologue*.¹² In this widely-used catalogue of the world languages, Kyitu does not appear as a language spoken in Ivory Coast, but 'Sitigo' and 'Cira' are identified as alternative names for Vagla (ISO 639-3: vag) spoken in Ghana.¹³ The Southwestern Grusi languages show high percentages of lexical similarity with one another, as shown in Bendor-Samuel (1965); Manessy (1969a,b); Kleinewillinghöfer (1997); Brindle (2011), yet no studies have demonstrated the relationship between Vagla and Kyitu, and no evidence has shown that Kyitu is a dialect or a variant of Vagla. The present classification is unfortunate, since Manessy had already distinguished the two languages. A change request form was sent to the ISO 639-3 Registration Authority in August 2012 in order to create a code element and an entry for Kyitu in *Ethnologue*.

Conclusion:

The project's contribution consists first and foremost of an update of our current knowledge of Kyitu. Overall we consider that the project created the records necessary to investigate Kyitu in the future, and preserved the material for the future. The material provides the scientific and local communities with the beginning of modern documentation of a highly vulnerable language. However, the project did encounter several problems (e.g. administrative, logistical, technical and human resource related), which we will not consider here, but self-criticism would be useful down the line.

¹²<http://www.ethnologue.com/> (Accessed 24/08/12)

¹³See Kleinewillinghöfer (1999) for a genesis of Kyitu in language taxonomies.

By and large, the work to be completed as stated in the original plan was too ambitious, given the time allocated to it. Although notes on the grammar were taken all along as comments, and the lexical database gave us a good picture of some aspects of Kyitu phonology and morphology, so far we do not have a self-standing document which captures the system of the language. Even now there are many uncertainties in the glossing of grammatical words, and some constructions are still opaque. The interpretation of the data published by Delafosse and Tauxier in comparison with what we gathered could help identify some important changes that the language underwent. Having digitalised the original data available in the preparation period, the work of linking these entries to the entries of the lexical database is yet to be done. The project offers data with few analytical statements drawn from them, thus the description aspects of the project suffer from that weakness.

Furthermore, Kyitu was believed at the outset to be among the most endangered languages in West Africa, considering the speaker population. It turned out that at such a small scale it is delicate to advance a number of ‘native speakers’. Hence, how do we deal with the number of native speakers (i.e. 31) Bécuwe (1981) estimated? For example, if only men over 18 YO are calculated, since they are those who systematically stay in the only Kyitu speaking village after getting married and are primarily responsible for traditional institutions, there are in fact 29 native speakers. When women living in Vonkoro of two Kyira parents were included, we add 9; then we add 3 when women living in Vonkoro with one Kyira parent were included; resulting in a total of 41. This number represents about a quarter of the total population. Then how do we treat the population under 18 YO? One of our main consultants admitted to speaking mainly Safaliba to his children. On a stimuli description task, the daughter of another consultant rarely built a sentence without using a Kulango or Safaliba word. People we talked to conceded that many young children speak more and more Safaliba when they play. As to the number of native speakers, are we to add up a Kyira diaspora, composed mostly of women who married outside the village? But then, how do we take into account the quality and quantity of the Kyitu spoken? In the field we were under the impression that the Kyitu production of many young adults is comprehensible, yet bumbling. After verification, we realised that some consultants gave a good number of Safaliba and Kulango words for non-specialized vocabulary where Kyitu expressions exist. On occasion, a consultant would go and ask someone from the elderly generation for words which we believed were customary. Based on that, and on the multilingualism observed in Vonkoro, we are simply unable to tell how many native speakers of Kyitu there are out there, although it must be higher than 50. The endangerment status of Kyitu needs arrays of intertwined evidence to be assessed. Questions such as: what are the threats to the language and where are they coming from, who/what is responsible for the language falling out of use, and, why is the language still in use, are those we will continue trying to answer.

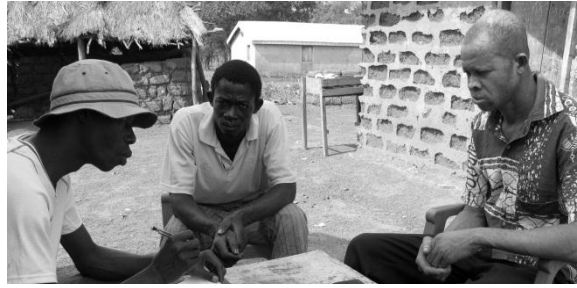


Figure 1 Enoc Kra, Zina Jabafi, Zina Bialaboĩ (from left to right) working on a word list



Figure 2 Zina Daare telling us a story



Figure 3 Zina Jibohini (top right) telling us a story



Figure 4 Jonathan Brindle and Zina Daare (Bébé) working on the translation of a text

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

43rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

The Annual Conference on African Linguistics for the year 2012 (ACAL 43) took place from the 15th to the 17th of March, 2012 at Tulane University, New Orleans, U.S.A., under the theme **Linguistic Interfaces in African Languages**. Based on the theme, eight invited talks were delivered at plenary sessions by renowned African linguists and scholars of African linguistics, namely Professors Salikoko Mufwene, Oladele Awobuluyi, Laura Downing, Rose-Marie Dechaine, Juvenal Ndayiragije, Olasope Oyelaran & Oladiipo Ajiboye, Mark Dingemanse, Victoria Nyst, Larry Hyman and Douglas Pulleyblank. In general, the Conference was well attended with participants coming from all parts of the world. From universities in Ghana, four people attended the conference: Dr. Charles Oforu Marfo, from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi, Ms. Regina Oforiwaa Caesar from the University of Education, Winneba, Dr. George Akanlig-Pare from the University of Ghana, Legon, and Mrs. Millicent Quarcoo from Wisconsin University College, Accra. Other Ghanaians in universities abroad, namely Prof. James Essegbey, Dr. Seth Ofori, Ms. Joana Antwi-Danso and Ms. Charlotte Fofu Lomotey, also attended the Conference and presented papers.

The Conference started at 8:00am on Thursday, March 15, 2012, with registration of participants and an opening and welcome speech by the Head of the Linguistics Programme in the Department of Language and Anthropology, Tulane University, Prof. (Mrs.) Olanike Ola-Orie. In her speech, among other issues, Prof. Ola-Orie emphasized the need to subject the many languages in Africa to current theories and trends in linguistics and the need to relate studies in African languages to various scientific disciplines that seem to currently drive the world.

Actual presentation of the accepted papers started at 9:45am with three parallel sessions on the first day of the Conference. On this day, papers on the various aspects of languages and linguistics such as syntax, phonology, lexicography, morphology, acquisition, sociolinguistics and semantics, and their interfaces were presented. The second and the third days of the conference, March 16-17, 2012, were equally packed with presentations of papers on the same various aspects of languages and linguistics of Africa. At the end of presentations on the second day, there was a conference dinner and, at this dinner, socialization was at its best, with some music and dancing and presentation of gifts from the host university. Some members of the Ghanaian contingent, specifically Dr. G. Akanlig-Pare and Dr. Charles Marfo, joined a group on stage and performed real African drumming to the admiration of participants. The other Ghanaians sat not, but danced to the great beats.

The conference ended at 3:30 pm on the third day, March 17, 2012, after the papers that were scheduled for that day had been presented. At a business meeting

held before the closing day, it was agreed that the 44th Annual Conference of African Linguistics will be held at Georgetown University in Washington D.C., U.S.A.

As noted earlier, all the Ghanaians who participated in the conference presented papers. These papers were well received and this was evident from the great number of insightful questions and discerning suggestions made from the audience. On many of the several breaks, one person or more from the Ghanaian contingent was engaged in discussion by people from other nationalities on some aspects of the various papers on a Ghanaian language they had presented. Following some of these discussions collaborations for research were entered into. For instance, two linguists from Potsdam University in Germany, who work in Akan linguistics and are particularly interested in extra-sentential clauses in Akan, began collaboration with some of us. Also, having been informed of the existence of the Linguistics Association of Ghana (LAG) and its annual conference, one of them attended the most recent one, at the University of Education, Winneba, July 29 - August 1, 2012.

Charles Marfo

5th International Conference on Gur Languages

The 5th international conference on Gur languages was held in Bayreuth, Germany, from the 5th through the 7th July, 2012. Sessions were held at Iwalewa Haus, the Africa Center of the University of Bayreuth. Previous conferences were held at the University of Ouagadougou in 1997, National University of Benin in Cotonou in 1999, at the SIL headquarters in Kara, Togo (2001), and at the University of Bayreuth (2005). These meetings were sponsored under a project “Basic Research in the Gur Languages” conducted jointly by the Department of African Linguistics 1 at Bayreuth under Prof. Gudrun Mieke and the Department of African Linguistics at Humboldt University, Berlin led by Prof. Brigitte Reineke. The 2012 conference was not strictly part of that project, which has ended, but constituted a coda and wrapping up. The proceedings of the previous conferences have been published in a series of seven volumes entitled *Gur Papers / Cahiers Voltaïques*, appearing between 1996 and 2006. Several books on Gur languages have also been published by the project, through Rüdiger Köppe, Cologne. These publications have advanced our knowledge of the Gur languages and their circumstances very considerably.

The theme of the 2012 conference was **Gur internal and external relationships**. Accordingly, most papers dealt with various kinds of relations between Gur languages and other languages, especially their neighbours. Thus, for example, Klaus Beyer of Frankfurt University discussed “Contact between northern Gurunsi [in particular Pana] and Mande”, while Manfred von Roncador of Bayreuth discussed apparent convergences in the noun classes of the Gur languages Gurma and Moyobe, on the one hand, and the GTM (Kwa) languages Anii and Gidere on the other. Pierre Malgoubri of the University of Ouagadougou discussed the Grusi language Nuni and

its very divergent dialects, while Balaïbaou Kassan of the University of Kara talked on systems of nominal classification in eastern Grusi, ie. Kabiye, Tem, Lamba and Dilo. A total of fifteen papers were presented, by scholars from Germany (7), Ivory Coast (2), Burkina Faso (1), Togo (4), the Republic of Benin (1), and Ghana (1, namely M. E. Kropp Dakubu).

M. E. Kropp Dakubu

5th Conference of the Linguistics Association of Ghana

The 5th Conference of the Linguistics Association of Ghana was held at the University of Education, Winneba from July 30 through August 1, 2012. The theme for this year was **Communicating in the 21st Century: The Role of Language and Literature**, and the Keynote speaker was Professor Domwini Dabire Kuupole, then Pro-Vice Chancellor of University of Cape Coast. The Welcome address was presented on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor of University of Education, Winneba by the Pro-Vice Chancellor (UEW), Professor E. N. Abakah, who coincidentally was the Chair of the Opening Ceremony.

Apart from the Keynote address, 50 presentations were made in seven parallel sessions. The presentations covered a wide range of issues of interest in language and literary studies. Some of the papers were on the areas of Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, Discourse, Language and Literature, Socio-Pragmatics, Phonetics and Phonology, Pidgin and Language Evolution, Language Acquisition, Code-Switching, and Language Use. The sessions were all well attended and the papers and the discussions that followed them were intellectually stimulating.

At the General Meeting, which was held on the first day of the conference, it was agreed that the 2013 Workshop of the Association would be held at Central University College, Miotso on 18th January, 2013, while next year's Annual Conference would take place from 29th – 31st July 2013 at the University of Cape Coast. The General elections of the Association were also conducted during the General Meeting and the following officers were re-elected for another two-year term: Professor Nana Aba A. Amfo, University of Ghana, (President), Dr. Charles Marfo, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, (Vice President) Mr. Sefa Owusu UEW, Winneba (Secretary), Ms. Regina Caesar UEW, Winneba, (Treasurer) and Dr. Jemima Asabea Anderson University of Ghana, (Organising Secretary).

In all, the conference was attended by 91 participants from 6 countries (Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) across two continents making the conference a truly international one. Specifically, participants came from University of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University of Education at Winneba, the University of Cape Coast, Central University College, Valley View University, Wisconsin University College, Christian Sciences University College, Kumasi Polytechnic, and Winneba Secondary

School. There were also participants from University of Lome, University of Lagos, Anambra State University and Obafemi Awololo University, Nigeria. We also had participants from Aston University (Birmingham, UK), Potsdam University (Germany) and University of Radboud (Netherlands).

On the afternoon of the second day, there was an excursion to the Kakum National Park, at Kakum near Cape Coast. The Conference Dinner, hosted by the Faculty of Languages Education of the University of Education in the evening of the first day, provided another avenue for socialization and networking.

Jemima Asabea Anderson

7TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS (WOCAL7)

The seventh World Congress of African Linguistics was held at the University of Buea, Cameroun, from the 20th through the 24th of August, 2012. The theme of the Congress was **Language Description and Documentation for Development, Education and the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Africa**. There were approximately 305 participants.

There were six Plenary Sessions, and five parallel sessions for days 1 and 2, increasing to six on day 3. Plenary talks were given by Jean Marie Hombert with Rebecca Grollemund, Beban Sammy Chumbow, Felix K. Ameka, H. Ekkehard Wolff, and Karsten Legère with Gratien Gualbert Atindogbé.

The program for the 23rd and 24th of August included a workshop on African Sign Language, with presentations from or about Sign Language in eight African countries, including Ghana.

The conference concluded with a dinner and an excursion to the Limbe Botanical Garden and Wildlife Park the following day.

Cecilia Kotey

Towards Proto-Niger-Congo: Comparison and Reconstruction

An international congress devoted to comparison of the major families classified by Greenberg as Niger-Congo and aimed at eventual reconstruction of Proto-Niger-Congo was held in Paris, France from the 18th through the 21st of September 2012. This congress was undoubtedly the first of its kind, and participants agreed that it was a very ambitious undertaking but well worth the effort. It was held under the auspices of *Langage, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique Noire* (LLACAN), which is one of the institutes of the French *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS), the *Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales* (INALCO), also located in Paris, and the Russian Academy of Sciences. All of the sessions were plenary, and

most of the presentations were papers invited from scholars active in the field. Participants presenting papers came from France (8), the USA (7), Russia (4), Nigeria (4), Germany (3), Canada (2) and one each from Ghana, Republic of Benin, Ivory Coast, Cameroun, Kenya, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. Ghana was eventually represented only by the present writer, although Prof. Abakah was expected. At the time of writing this report, the abstracts can be viewed along with other information on the Congress at the LLACAN web site:

<http://llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr/fichiers/nigercongo/abstracts.html>.

Sessions were generally organized according to Greenbergian language families and sub-groups. The first session, following short welcoming addresses on behalf of INALCO, LLACAN and the Russian Academy of Sciences, was devoted to very general topics: 'S/TAM/P morphs in Niger-Congo languages' by Gregory Anderson of the U.S.A., 'Niger-Congo person markers' by Kirill Babaev of Russia, 'Lexicostatistics in Africa and its role in the reconstruction of proto-Niger-Congo' by George Starostin, also of Russia, and 'On the nature of final and initial vowels in Niger-Congo languages' by Irina Monich of the University of Connecticut, U.S.A. This was followed by sessions on Kwa (with presentations by M. E. Kropp Dakubu and S. Capo Chichi) and Ubangi. Sessions on the second day discussed Bantu and Bantoid, Jukunoid, and Adamawa. These sessions were all held at the Centre FIAP Jean Monnet, a student hostel with conference facilities where most of the participants also stayed. The third and fourth days' sessions were held at the INALCO Auditorium, and concentrated on Western Benue-Congo; Ijoid, Kru and Dogon; Gur and Senufo; Atlantic; Mande and Kordofanian. All of this was concluded with a general discussion on problems and future work. A very nice dinner in a restaurant at the conclusion of the third day more than made up for the rather Spartan accommodation.

Not unexpectedly, much of the discussion was centered on whether some of the Niger-Congo families as defined by Greenberg are families at all. No firm conclusions were reached in most cases, but a great deal of material was presented for further study. Although some participants strongly advocated more and better lexicostatistics, most equally strongly advocated dedicated efforts to apply the comparative method with the aim of determining systematic phonological and morphological interrelationships, based on the large amounts of new and better data that have become available since Greenberg's time. It is expected that the Congress will result in at least one book, probably two, and that another congress will be held in 2014.

One cause of concern was the small number of linguists working in African comparative historical linguistics. The problem is particularly prominent on the African continent itself, where historical linguistics is rarely taught. The small proportion of participants from Africa is no doubt a reflection of this, especially since several of the participants from African countries are not actually native to the countries they arrived from. It is to be hoped that this situation will have begun to change by the time of the second congress.

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Preferred Formats for References

References made in the notes or in the text should be in brackets and include the 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 all and only items referred to in the text and the notes are listed in alphabetical order according to the surname of the first author. 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 all names and titles are correctly spelled. 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.

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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(s), as the one for the book edited by Heine and Nurse:

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

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:

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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.

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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. DoulosSIL and Charis SIL can be downloaded from www.sil.org. All such examples should be indented and numbered. As far as possible, glossing should follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. These may be found at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

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