

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE GICHODE NOUN PHRASE**

**BY**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the structure of the Noun Phrase (NP) in Gichode, a North Volta Guan language spoken in and around Nkwanta district in the Volta Region of Ghana. The study is aimed at describing systematically, the internal components or constituents of the NP, especially, the sequential order of elements or constituents within it, the pronominal system and the distribution of pronouns in Gichode. The methods used to collect data are interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaire. The Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) by Dixon (2012) is adopted for this work. The elements or constituents that modify the noun phrase in Gichode are adjectives, numerals, determiners, quantifiers, relative clauses and the possessed noun. While some of the pronouns change their form, others maintain their form. The significance of the study, among other things is that it will serve as the first major work on aspects of the grammar of the language, it will stimulate interest in researching further into the language, will bring some prestige to the language and its users and will add to existing literature on Guan languages.



## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own research, apart from the references that have been duly cited, which has not been presented either in whole or in part for another degree elsewhere.

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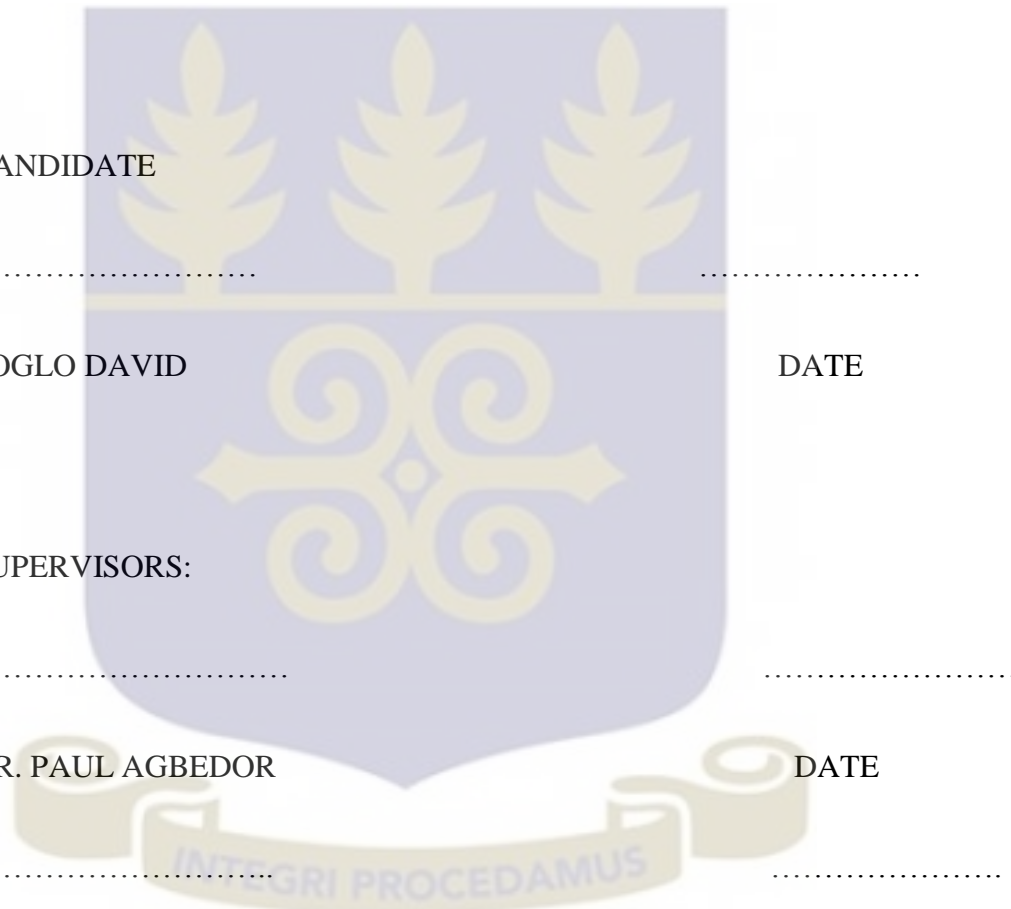
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## DEDICATION

To God, my Grandmother, my parents and Thelma.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes to the Almighty God for granting me all I needed to carry out this work.

I also thank my family, especially, my father for the support and encouragement they have given me throughout my educational career. I must place on record my sincere gratitude to my wife to be, Janet Blefono, for all the love and support she has shown me during this work.

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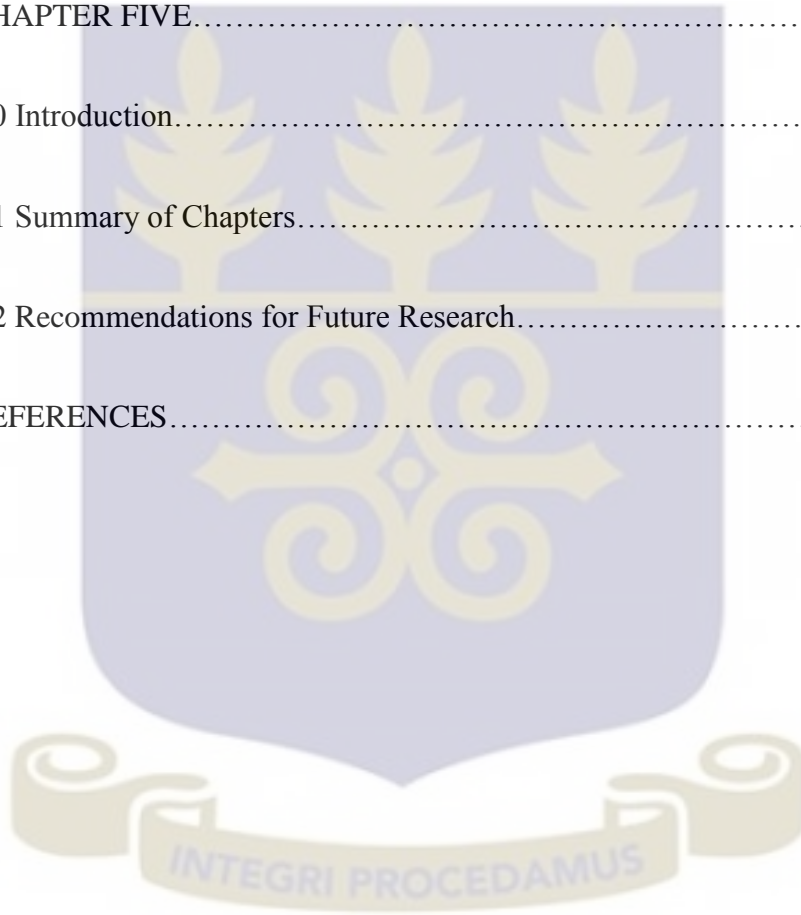
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATION

1 First person

2 Second person

3 Third person

DEF Definiteness marker

DET Determiner

FOC Focus

FUT Future

INDEF Indefiniteness

NEG Negative

NUM Number

PRT Particle

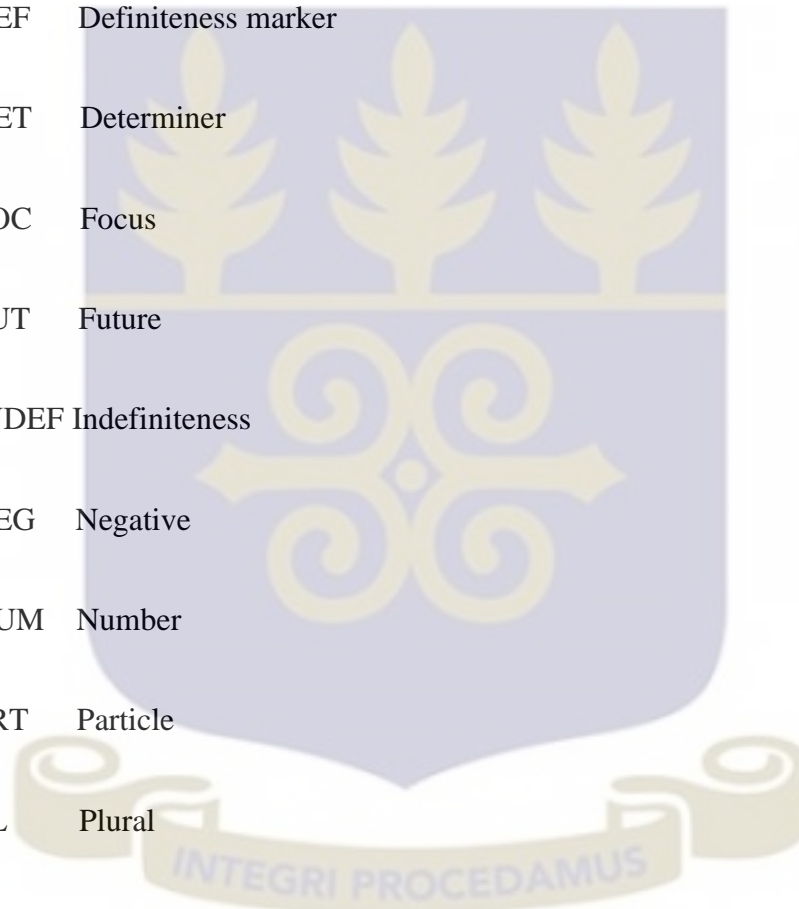
PL Plural

POSS Possessive

PRST Present

PRO Pronoun

PROG Progressive



PST Past

REL Relative clause

SG Singular



## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

This thesis focuses on the structure of the nominal phrase in Gichode. Different authors have described the structure of the noun phrase. Some of these include (Abney 1987 and Payne 1997). These authors assumed that in determining the internal components or constituents of the noun phrase (NP), it is either the determiner (D) or the noun (N) which universally becomes the syntactic head of the NP. They think all modifiers of the noun phrase can either refer to the determiner or the noun in a construction.

According to Aboh (2010), most Kwa languages have determiner-like elements that appear to mark discourse specificity. These markers occur postnominally, and are similar to other modifiers such as adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives. He posits that the modifiers in most Kwa languages have the order Noun- Adjective- Numeral-(relative clause) - Determiner –discourse specificity marker-plural marker.

With the limited work done in Gichode, it is important to study the syntax of the language, which will be followed by the other aspects of the language. Every language combines words and strings of words into larger constructions to form different types of sentences. It is also important to know the various constituents

that make the sentence and how they are distributed, used and interpreted. It is therefore, necessary to begin with the structure of the NP since it plays a major role in a sentence.

In respect of the position of the head noun in English, the determiner precedes the noun, but in many African languages, the noun precedes the determiner. The various elements or constituents that are found in a noun phrase or modify a noun phrase may differ from language to language. The key interest to this study is to identify the elements that can modify the noun in Gichode NP and how they are structured and describe the pronominal system and the distribution of pronouns.

Since pronouns can function as NPs, how they are used as either subject (nominative case) or object (accusative case) with their interpretation in Gichode is essential. As to whether particular pronouns change with respect to their positions in a sentence will be examined.

### **1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Gichode is a North Volta Guan Language spoken in the Nkwanta district of the Volta Region. Gichode is spoken in the nine towns of the Achodes and other tribes such as the Konkombas, Chala, Adele, Krachi, Basarri and Ewes. The other North Volta Guan languages are Chumburung, Krachi, Nawuri and Nkonya.

Another Guan language spoken in some parts of Togo which seems to be a dialect of Gichode is Ginyanga. In the lead up to the Bible translation into Gichode, Diller, et al (2010), in a sociolinguistic survey, examined the attitudes of the Anyanga people, speakers of Ginyanga, towards Gichode and its speakers and reported that the Anyangas' see Gichode as their mother tongue with little changes in Ginyanga. According to Diller, the percentage of Anyanga people who speak Gichode in Chillinga, the border town of the Achodes as well as the last town of Volta Region is about forty-six (46%).

Some of the nine towns of the Achodes where Gichode is spoken include Shiare (capital or paramountcy), Kromase, Chillinga, Keri, Nyambong, Gekorong and Abrewankor. Gichode has no dialect(s) but has some structural differences between what is locally called North and Mountain Gichode. Kromase, Shiare and Chillinga constitute the mountain group. They are referred to as mountain Gichode because of their closeness to the Kyabobo Mountain. Shiare in particular is a town located on a mountain and surrounded by mountains as well.

The mountain group is believed to be speaking the original form of the language, especially Shiare, which is considered the custodian of the language. The other Northern group is noted for some structural changes in the language. This change is syntactic and semantic. This is largely due to the influence of other tribes and languages such as Konkomba, Chala, Ewe, Akan and Bassari. Most of these



people are either bilinguals or multilinguals compared to those on the mountain, who are mostly monolinguals.

Apart from Gichode, all the other North Volta Guan languages have received considerable work done in their syntax. The only major linguistic work done in Gichode is the translation of the Bible by Ghana Institute of Literacy, Linguistics and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and a comparative study of the wordlist of this Guan language group by Snider (1989). There is the need to start some major work on the language which will form part of the documentation process.

## **1.2 Research Problem**

The importance of language description and documentation has, in recent times, been stressed by both linguists and other stakeholders interested in language and its related functions. According to Himmelmann (2006), linguists and other stakeholders are making efforts to document languages that are not documented or written to avoid extinction. Apart from extinction, efforts are also being made to document such languages to help in the literacy projects aimed at increasing the ability of people to be able to read and write. Such groups or bodies are also of the view that various under-described or unwritten languages should be documented so that many Ghanaian languages can be introduced into the educational set up as subjects, especially at the basic level. Such language experts think the concept of learning from the known to unknown will be better achieved if concepts are taught and understood in the indigenous languages before changing to English language.

As a result, many languages have benefited from this advocacy by registering a substantive form of documentation and description. Other languages are waiting to be discovered while some can only boast of scant literature. Gichode is one of the under-described languages in the northern part of Volta Region.

The low level of the documentation of Gichode has directly or indirectly affected the language and its users in the sense that some native speakers do not want to be identified with the language simply because it is not widely known. A practical example is when trying to tell someone you speak Gichode, you mostly have to align it to or with Krachi for easy identification, since Krachi was once the administrative capital of Nkwanta where Gichode is spoken.

With the negative attitude towards the language and its speakers by some natives and mostly non-natives, there is the need to study Gichode as a language on its own right which performs communicative functions just like the other known languages. It is therefore, important to start with the NP since it constitutes an important sub-part of the syntax of the language.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The questions that will guide this dissertation are the following:

1. What is the structure of the noun phrase in Gichode?
2. How are pronouns used and distributed in Gichode?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The purpose of this research is to study the structure of the NP in Gichode. I hope to achieve the following objectives by the end of the study:

1. Systematically describe the internal components of the Noun Phrase in Gichode, particularly the sequential order of elements within it.
2. Describe the pronominal system and the distribution of the pronouns in Gichode.

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Gichode is one of the less studied languages both among the Guan languages and Ghanaian languages as a whole. Little or no linguistic research, especially on the syntax, has been carried out in the language; as a result the benefits of this work cannot be underestimated.

1. This study serves as the first major work on aspects of the grammar of the language.
2. It will stimulate interest in researching further into the language.
3. The study will complement the efforts of other bodies like GILLBT, aimed at documenting Gichode.
4. It will add to existing literature on Guan languages.
5. This study will bring some prestige to the language and its speakers in general.

## **1.6 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one contains the general introduction to the study, highlighting on thematic aspects such as the language and the people or background information, research questions, aims, research problem and the significance of the research. Chapter two reviews the literature relevant to this work, discusses the theoretical approach or framework and discusses the methodology which includes data collection and the scope of the research. The structure of the noun phrase is discussed in chapter three. It focuses on the order of modifiers in the NP in the language. Chapter four deals with the pronominal system of Gichode. The final chapter gives a summary of all the chapters, makes recommendations for future work or research on the language and concludes the research.

## **1.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has been concerned with the general introduction of the dissertation. It focuses on the language and its speakers. The various communities where the language is spoken have been looked at with the structural differences between the two groups of the Gichode spoken communities. The research questions that guide the conduct of this study and what the study hopes to achieve have been mentioned.

The research problem or what necessitates this study has been seen to be the seemingly limited linguistic work done on the language. The only work found on

the language is the Bible translation by Ghana Institute of Literacy, Linguistics and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and the comparative wordlist study on the North Volta Guan Languages by Snider (1989). Gichode is the least documented language among the North Volta Guan languages, hence the need to start with this study.

The relevance of this work, when completed, has also been highlighted. Among other things, the study will bring some level of prestige to the language and its speakers. Instances where some native speakers disassociate themselves from the language because it is not widely known will be minimized if not eliminated. The chapter concludes with the organizational structure of the thesis or how the study will be conducted on chapter by chapter.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on the structure of the NP. It presents a review of what some researchers have done in describing the structure of the NP indifferent languages which includes the pronominal system. The relevance of the literature to this work is also discussed. It also looks at the theoretical framework within which this work is situated. It discusses the Basic Linguistic Theory by Dixon (2012) and finally discusses the methodology that was used to collect data.

#### 2.1 Literature Review

In this section, I review some of the works on the various sub-topics in this study. The review is organized under each of the sub-topics: Language documentation and Noun phrase

##### 2.1.1 Language Documentation

Though the focus of this work is on the structure of the noun phrase in Gichode, I consider it appropriate to discuss some aspects of language documentation since this will form part of the documentation process.

Himmelman (2006) defines language documentation as a lasting, multipurpose record of a language. He reckons that defining a 'language' is problematic because the word language refers to a number of different but related phenomena. The definition has to do with the aspect of the phenomenon focused upon. The challenge or problem is with distinguishing between language and dialect, or defining language as a field of scientific enquiry, or language pertaining to the cognitive faculty of humans among others.

Language documentation could broadly serve a variety of purposes such as language planning decisions, preparation of educational materials or analyzing a set of problems in syntactic theory. This multipurpose document can be used by the speech community itself, national and international agencies, as well as researchers in various disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and oral history.

One of the three reasons for embarking on language documentation as claimed by Himmelman (2006) is to prevent some spoken languages that are threatened by extinction from dying. This is consistent with Grenoble and Whaley (1988), Hagege (2000) and Bradely & Bradely (2002). When a language is extinct, it will be difficult, if not impossible to cross check data or to collect additional data set with native speakers. Documentation is a major linguistic response to the increasing levels of language endangerment. Language documentations are not

only serving as data repositories for scientific inquiries but also as important resources for supporting language maintenance.

Language documentation serves as a proper archive that is made accessible to interested researchers for research economy. It is useful for a new research to build on the complete set of primary data collected but not just on a few sketches of grammar.

Finally Himmelmann claims that language documentation helps to establish open archives of primary data for making analysis accountable. Claims and analysis about some languages and speech communities without documentation remain unverifiable. Accountability will include all practical checks and methodological tests used in collecting the primary data with regard to the framework or theory which includes replicability and falsifiability.

### **2.1.2 Noun phrase structure**

There are different ways or means of dealing with the structure of the NP, which include syntactic and semantic. According to Beavers (2003), some theories on the structure of the noun phrase by some writers such as Harris (1994), Abney (1987), Payne (1993) and others are too strict in determining the head of the noun phrase. He refers to this phenomenon as strict headness. These authors believe that the determiner or noun can be the head of the noun phrase.



Beavers proposed a semantic alternative in determining the head of a noun phrase instead of the strict headedness. (i) The determiner, D and the noun, N are both nominal categories projecting nominal phrases (NomPs) and the only difference between them is in terms of the meanings they encode (semantics) and selectional restrictions. (ii) A well-formed noun phrase is one that has both D and N semantics. Both the determiner phrase (DP) and NP qualify to be well-formed noun phrases, if they are semantically complete. He maintains that there is a unique head for noun phrases in canonical positions, with both a determiner and a noun.

Beavers thinks that using the single headedness criteria to determine the head of any construction or sentence including noun phrases, as suggested by Zwicky's (1985, 1993), Hudson (1987) and Croft (1993) is not appropriate. According to him, such approaches should rather bring a different conclusion that there is no universal, single head for all noun phrases.

The first criterion Beavers used to examine headness is a cluster of properties which he says are obligatory. The head, to him, is the only obligatory element in a phrase. The variations of this criterion include distributional equivalence: where the head by itself has the same distribution as the full phrase. The other criterion is category determination: it is the head that determines the category of the phrase.

With some data on noun phrases, neither the determiner nor noun is obligatory or solely distributionally equivalent to the noun phrase:

From the examples below, the full noun phrase *some dogs*, the N *dogs*, and the D *some* are all well-formed noun phrases with the same interpretation in appropriate context.

1 a) *some dogs*

b) *dogs*

c) *some*

The second criterion used to determine headedness is sub-categorization. This means, ‘which requires the presence of’. Which of the elements in the phrase is needed by the head? The head is the element that is subcategorized for the non-head. This is shown below:

2. (a) N subcategorizing for D:

*\*(The/this/that/a) picture of Mary is in black and white.*

(b) D subcategorizing for N:

*A/the/every \*(dog) slept soundly.* (Beavers 2003:50)

In (2a), certain nouns (bare singular Ns) in some contexts require the presence of a determiner for well-formedness. In (2b) too, some determiners (the articles *a/an*, *the* and the determiner *every*) category need an overt N.

In looking at the NP from the perspective of Generative Grammar, the head of the noun phrase is identified with the determiner, rather than with the noun. As a result, Van (2006) provides a uniform account of all syntactic categories, both the substantive and functional ones, and also helps in a natural way to capture the co-occurrence restrictions between nouns and determiners. This analysis has a number of empirical challenges and for these challenges to be resolved; he proposes an analysis in which the head of the noun phrase is the noun.

He posits that it is common to have the noun as the head of the noun phrase in descriptive grammar, which is similar to Chomsky (1970). According to Chomsky (1970), nouns head a nominal projection and take dependents which are classified in terms of a threefold distinction between complements, modifiers and specifiers.

Van identifies different words which are treated as determiners. These are quantifiers, articles and numerals. He claims that the analysis of these words does not justify their separation as functional parts of speech as Det, Quant, Art and Num. Rather, their morphological and syntactic properties should be treated independently. One of his two approaches used to determine the relationship between the determiner and the noun is of radical nature in the sense that all the words taken or serving as determiners or numerals belong to the substantive part of speech, including the articles. The substantive parts of speech are words that function syntactically as a noun. Secondly, it brings more flexibility since the

determiners of some given languages are not claimed to all belong to some given parts of speech.

Some of the elements Van identifies as being part of the noun phrase include pronominal adjectives which show inflectional variation, pronominal pronouns which show the same type of inflectional variations as the pronouns, the articles which are the least to accept or agree to treatment in terms of lexical categories of all the determiners and pronominal common nouns.

According to Bendor Samuel (1971:171), the nominal phrase in Gur languages are usually simple and straightforward. They have structures or constructions where a noun is followed by a numeral or a demonstrative. But where a noun is followed by an adjective is not common or frequent and also a noun with a string of adjectives does not occur. However, studies of some Gur languages such as Saanchi (1980), Bodomo (1993) and Olwasky (1999), proved otherwise. They found instances where adjectives modify nouns in constructions.

Saanchi (1980) shows that a string of adjectives modifying a noun is permissible in Dagaare, but the maximum number of adjectives is four. The construction below illustrates this point:

(3) *doo kpong sogli wog faa nga*

Man big black tall bad this

‘This big black tall bad man’. (Saanchi 1980:26)

In the above example, the adjectives used to describe the head noun ***doo*** are four.

Bodomo (1993) believes the sequencing of adjectives could be more than four.

Using data from Mampruli, he identifies strings of adjectives in the noun phrase structure. The example below shows:

(4) *gbaŋ bilig yia*

book small red

‘Small red book’.

This shows that the nominal structure can take more than one adjective. With data from Mampruli, Dagaare, Dagbani and Buli, the nominal structure in the Gur languages is shown to be more complex than Bendor Samuel (1971) indicates.

According to Duthie (1996), the simple noun phrase in Ewe consists of only the nucleus which can be a noun and occasionally quantifiers. This is shown below with simple noun phrase:

NP → [N], [Pro], [Quant]

With a noun only, it could be *agbà* ‘load’ a pronoun could be *é* ‘3SG (He/She/It)’ and with a quantifier only, it could be *dɛka* ‘one’.

With complex noun phrases, the nucleus is followed by one or more other elements of the structure. These elements that are added to the nucleus are called nominal modifiers. They include adjectives, quantifiers, plural marker ‘wo’ and intensifiers. It can be represented by:

NP → N [Pron] Quant (ADJ) \*(QUANT) (DEM/DET) (PL) (INT)\*.

This is demonstrated as follows:

5)  $\text{d\textsubscript{e}vi}$      $\text{lolo}$          $\text{dz\textsubscript{o}tsu}$      $\text{eve}$      $\text{ma}$      $\text{wo}$      $\text{ko}$   
       child        big            stout    two    that    PL    INTER

‘Those two big and stout children alone’.

(Duthie 1996:12)

Complex noun phrases can also have a nucleus which is preceded and followed by a nominal modifier. In other words, noun phrases in Ewe are left-headed and may have intensifiers on their left and right edges. It can be represented as:

NP → (INT) N [Pron] Quant (ADJ) \*(QUANT) (DEM/DET) (PL) (INT)\*

This is shown as below:

6)  $\text{nen\textsubscript{e}m}$      $\text{\texteta}tsu$      $\text{\texteta}tasela$      $\text{ene}$      $\text{sia}$      $\text{wo}$      $\text{ko\textsubscript{n}}$   
       INTER    man        wicked    four    this    PL    INTER

‘These four wicked men’ (Duthie 1996:23)

Nouns in Ewe are inflected for number. The plural suffix ‘wo’ is normally attached to nouns as a suffix. Example (7) exemplifies:

7) Devi – a – wo

child DEF- PL

‘The children’.

Duthie further shows that possessive nominals have the structure:

NP fé NP [PRO] fé NP

N → N POSS N

N → Pron POSS N

The above structure is illustrated in (8):

8) Aku fé awu

Aku POSS dress

‘Aku’s dress’ (Duthie 1996:27)

Aboh (2004) comprehensively discusses the structure of Determiner phrase in Gungbe, a Gbe language. Of particular interest is his description and derivation of the surface order of elements in the DP. He proposes and argues that the Gungbe DP is best accounted for by assuming a split-D hypothesis. Under this hypothesis, the D-system is composed of two functional heads  $D^0$  and  $Num^0$  corresponding to [ $\pm$ specific] and [plural] markers respectively. The co-occurrence of the

components of D viz. determiner and plural marker led to the natural conclusion that they occupy different structural positions in the DP. D° the head of the highest projection serves as a link between the noun phrase and discourse and Num° the locus of number features heads the lowest projection situated between the D-system and the nominal inflectional system.

The constructions in (a) below are used as evidence for the existence of split-D hypothesis in Gungbe. The marking of specificity and number on the Gungbe noun phrase is exemplified in (10).

9) a. kókú xɔ távò xóxó lɔ lé  
 Koku buy.PERF table old SPF<sub>[DEF]</sub> NUM  
 ‘Koku bought the specific old tables’.

b. kókú xɔ távò xóxó dǔ̀ mí mɔn lɔ lé  
 koku buy.PERF table old that 1PL see.PERF SPF<sub>[DEF]</sub> NUM  
 ‘koku bought the specific old tables that we saw’.

c. \*kókú xɔ távò lɔ xóxó dǔ̀ mí mɔn lé  
 koku buy.PERF table SPF<sub>[+DEF]</sub> old that 1PL see.PERF NUM

(Aboh 2004:80)



In example (9a), the specificity marker *lɔ* and the number marker *lé* follow the head noun and its adjectival modifier. The relative clause *dǔ̀ mí mɔn* ‘that we saw’



in (9b) intervenes between the noun phrase and the specificity and number markers. The ungrammaticality of (9c) is as a result of the elements occurring between the specificity marker and number marker. Aboh concludes that the fact that nothing is allowed to intervene between these two elements suggests that they belong to the same D-system. Aboh further observes that Num<sup>o</sup> serves as a boundary between the D-system and the nominal inflectional domain.

The nominal inflectional domain involves the extended projection of the NP including its modifiers like adjectives, numerals and demonstratives. Structurally, he argues that the modifiers are licensed in the specifiers of functional projections that dominate the NP. Accordingly, the Gungbe DP appears bracketed as follows:

10) [DP [D<sup>o</sup> [ $\pm$ specific] [NumP [Num<sup>o</sup> [ $\pm$ plural] [XP [NP]]]]]] (Aboh 2004: 83)

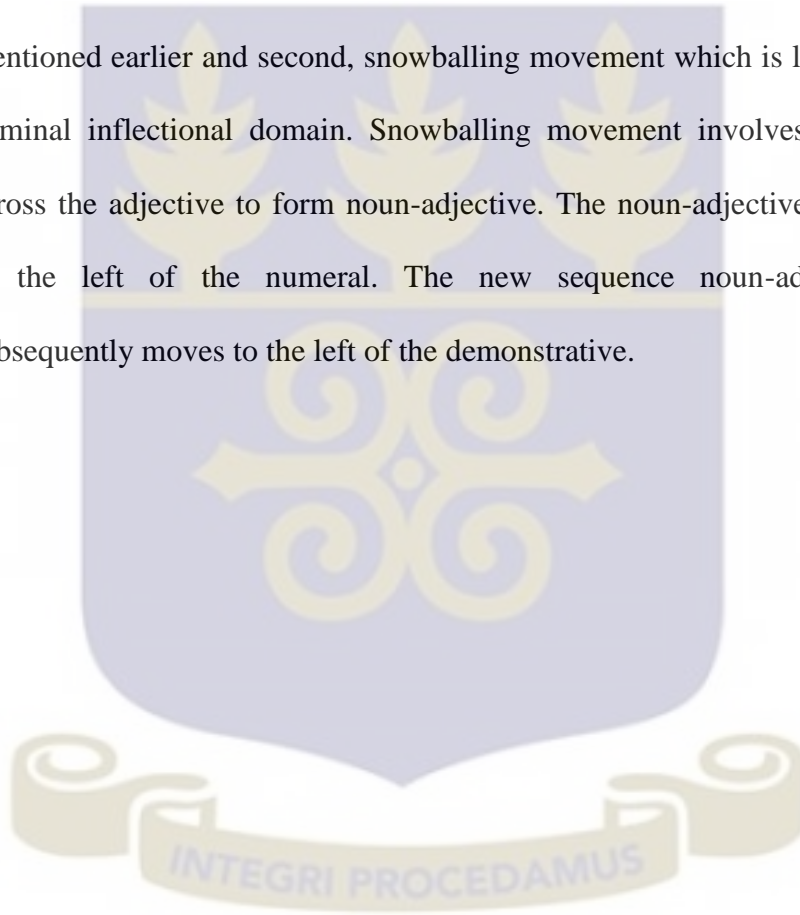
In (10), the D-system comprises the DP and NumP. XP and NP constitute the nominal inflectional domain. XP stands for the functional categories hosting the modifiers.



Adopting the specifier-head-complement hypothesis (Kayne 1994), Aboh proposes that the surface order of [Noun+Modifiers +Specificity marker + Number Marker] is arrived at by moving the whole of the inflectional nominal domain cyclically through the specifier of NumP and DP respectively. This movement is necessitated by the need for the noun to check its [ $\pm_{\text{plural}}$ ] [ $\pm_{\text{specific}}$ ] features at Num<sup>o</sup> and D<sup>o</sup> respectively.



Among other things, he argues, following the universal sequence of Determiner>Number>Demonstrative>Numeral>Adjective>Noun (1983) that the surface order of Noun>Adjective>Numeral>Demonstrative>Number>Determiner order exhibited by Gungbe is arrived at through two separate movements. First, cyclical movement of the nominal inflectional domain to spec DP through spec NumP mentioned earlier and second, snowballing movement which is limited to only the nominal inflectional domain. Snowballing movement involves moving the NP across the adjective to form noun-adjective. The noun-adjective sequence moves to the left of the numeral. The new sequence noun-adjective- numeral subsequently moves to the left of the demonstrative.



Collins (1994) posits that in an Icelandic sentence, if the plural DP is a coordinate phrase, then the pronoun is optional. He argues that the following examples are acceptable when *Pabi* 'Daddy' is the speaker:

11) a. Frettamennir.nir tala stundum vitlaust

reporters. the speak.3PL sometimes incorrectly

'The reporters sometimes speak incorrectly'.

b. Við frettamennir.nir tolum stundum vitlaust

we reporters the speak.1PL sometimes incorrectly

'We reporters sometimes speak incorrectly'. (Collins 1994:1)

The sentence, however, he says, cannot refer to the speaker if a third- person pronoun is used with the DPs (11a-b). This he exemplifies below:

12) a. Mamma og pabbi ætla fara saman i vinnu i dag

mommy and daddy intend.3PL to go together to work today

'Mommy and Daddy intend to go and work together today'.

b. Við Mamma og Pabbi ætlum að fara saman i vinnu i dag

we mommy and daddy intend.1PL to go together to work today

'Mommy and Daddy are going to work together today' (Collins 1994:1)

He further discusses a pronoun known as Propial Article (PA) and the ability of a noun phrase to refer to the speaker or addressee. He proposes a derivation where the XP containing the pronouns *we* and *reporters* move as a whole to Spec NP.

Collins and Postal (2008) studied into detail, notional versus grammatical person. They refer to some sentences as imposters. An imposter for them is a notionally *n* person DP which is grammatically *m* person,  $n \neq m$ . This happens because the DP *mamma og pabbi* ‘Mommy and Daddy’ is grammatically third-person plural and notionally first-person plural.

With pronominal imposters, they observed that pronouns themselves sometimes have a mismatch in grammatical and notional person. The third-person pronouns *he/she* can refer to the speaker if anteceded by an imposter. In the following sentences, *he* and *Ruth* can bind the reflexive *ourselves* when *he* is anteceded by an imposter such as *this reporter/the present author*. In addition, *he* and *Ruth* can bind an ordinary third-person plural reflexive.

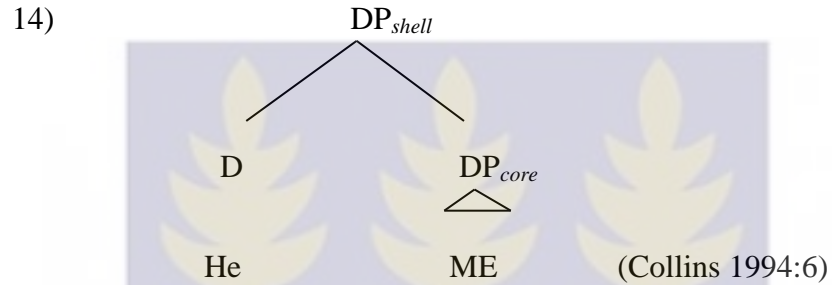
13) a. This reporter<sub>1</sub> believes that he<sub>1</sub> and Ruth can successfully defend ourselves against these charges.

b. The present author<sub>1</sub> believes that he<sub>1</sub> and Ruth can successfully defend ourselves against these charges.

c. This reporter<sub>1</sub> believes that he<sub>1</sub> and Ruth can successfully defend themselves against these charges.

d. The present author<sub>1</sub> believes that he<sub>1</sub> and Ruth can successfully defend themselves against these charges.

They argue that there is a null pronoun in *he* in these examples as well, offering the structure in (14):



With the Proprial Article, they claim it is a determiner like a personal pronoun which is often used with names and kinship terms. Sigurdsson (2006:30) provides the following definition:

“The Icelandic Proprial Article is a personal pronoun that stands next to the left of a name or a relational noun, without there being any intonation break between the two.”

Fassi Fehri (1999) investigates the structure of the DP in Arabic in relation to adjectival modifiers. Among other things, he distinguishes between attributive and predicative adjectives structurally though both appear postnominally. In this regard, he noted that attributive adjectives are placed before the complement of the noun they modify while predicative ones occur after the complement. He added

that attributive adjectives must precede while predicative adjectives follow the possessor and complement in an analytic possessor construction.

Fassi Fehri argues that though adjectives increasingly occur after nouns in Arabic, they are generated prenominally. Postnominal order of adjectives, however, is derived by assuming Kayne's (1994) antisymmetrical left movement. AP (or A) raising as well as N and possessor raising are the movement types identified by him in the Arabic DP. Contrary to the views about the lack of movement of APs in the DP, Fassi Fehri (1999) reveals that the mirror image of prenominal adjectives exhibited postnominally is attributed to AP or A raising in Arabic. He illustrates AP (or A) raising with the following examples:

15) l-xabar-u      l-mudaa'u      mu?axxar-an

DEF-news      DEF-broadcast      late-ACC

'The lately broadcast news

(Fassi Fehri 1999:121)

Considering example (15), assuming the adverbial modifier of the adjective mu?axxar-an 'late' is generated at the Spec of the adjective l-mudaa'u 'the' broadcast is then the surface order shown above where the adjective precedes its modifier and can only be accounted for if AP raises above its Spec position, corroborating the idea of AP-movement.

Another evidence showing AP raising is presented in (16) below:

16) l-hujuum-      s-sadiid-u      l-muhtamal-u

DEF-attack-NOM DEF-violent-NOM DEF-probable-NOM

li-ʔamiriikaa ‘ alaa l-muqaawamat-i

of-America on DEF-resistance

‘The probable violent attack of the resistance’

(Fassi Fehri 1999:122)

In the base structure of example (16), the modal AP l-muhtamal-u ‘the probable’ and possessor ʔamiriikaa ‘America’ are placed high on the tree than the manner AP s-sadiid-u ‘the violent’. However, at surface structure the manner AP appears above both modal AP and possessor indicating once again that the AP has moved. These movements, he argues are motivated by the presence of strong features at D viz. case, definiteness, gender and number which need to be checked. Though motivated by similar reasons, structurally the moved elements occupy different positions. Thus the features of A or N are checked at D while that of AP or Possessor are checked at Spec D.

In conclusion, Fassi Fehri argues for an underlying prenominal adjective order for Arabic and concludes that surface order is accounted for by independent AP (or A) as well as N or Possessor movement.

Longobardi (1994) argues for the existence of DP in Italian and Western Romance. According to him, a nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D. Nominal expressions are licensed as arguments in Italian only when introduced by a D which semantically contains the feature number. Pronouns, he argues, are generated in D while nouns are base generated at N. Common nouns are introduced by overt determiners in the syntax to qualify as



arguments. Proper names are proposed to occupy two structural positions in the language. They remain in-situ when accompanied by determiners as the case in last names of female human beings and are raised to D in the absence of an overt determiner in order to be interpreted as arguments.

The latter structural position occupied by proper names viz. D is accounted for by N raising to D. This naturally supports the idea of the existence of DP and movement within it. Contrasting N-movement in Western Romance with English and German, he concludes that N raises to D in the syntax of the former but takes place only at LF in the latter languages.

According to Koopman (2000), a simple common noun in Maasai regarding the form it takes in citation form, is a complex structure with several overt morphemes and multiple asymmetry agreements. Simple nouns, he says, are used as the citation form, as predicate nominals, and as DPs with a generic, definite or indefinite interpretation, depending on the environment.

The nominal root, lexically specified for gender, is followed by number morphology. The spell-out of the number suffix is a complex matter, with particular suffixes and roots co-occurring. She contends that the spell-out reflects a fusion of a (historical) noun class and a gender system.

subjects of tensed sentences, and for the object of (the unique) P. All other nouns, She further claims that pronominal possessors in Maasai involve a possessive morpheme, and shows the same agreement pattern as adjectives (agreement with

the possessed head noun in number, Case and gender. Gender shows up, tonal Case and Number agreement on the left and right edge of the pronoun and a number agreement suffix shows up on the right edge of the pronoun.

In her conclusion, she admits that the structure of a DP containing a N is not determiner NP, but rather the structure Kayne (1994) has proposed, D CP, with a nominal small clause.

According to Dorvlo (2009), the head noun occurs in initial position of the NP. This position he says, can be filled by a noun or an independent pronoun. The adjective slot occurs after the head noun and can be occupied by the adjective, nominal qualifiers and ideophones. He posits that the structure of a simple NP in Logba is:

**17) [Noun]-ADJECTIVE-QUANTIFIER-DETERMINER-INTENSIFIER.**

**[PRO]**

According to Cabredo et al (2010), the three central issues in the semantics of adjectives should be looked at again. These three elements are gradability, intersectivity and lexical aspects. They argue that gradability is often taken to be prototypical property of adjectives. Degree expressions such as *too* and *very* combine with adjectives but not with other categories. To them, the syntactic behaviour of degree expressions varies cross-linguistically. This is shown in the following examples in English and French respectively:

- |     |                       |                            |                 |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 23) | French                | English                    |                 |
| a.  | <b>trop</b> grand     | <b>too</b> big             | (adjective)     |
| b.  | <b>trop</b> apprécier | appreciate <b>too</b> much | (gradable verb) |
| c.  | <b>trop</b> danser    | dance <b>too</b> much      | (eventive verb) |
| d.  | <b>trop</b> de soupe  | <b>too</b> much soup       | (mass nouns)    |
| e.  | <b>trop</b> de livres | <b>too</b> many books      | (count nouns)   |

(Doetjes 2008:123)

Apart from degree expressions, they claim gradable adjectives also admit comparative and superlative formation (eg smaller/smallest). In some languages for instance, adjectives have dedicated comparative and superlative morphological forms that do not apply to other categories. This is illustrated below:

- |        |           |                       |                       |                        |
|--------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 24) a. | schön     | schöner               | schönster             | (Ge)                   |
|        | beautiful | beautiful-comparative | beautiful-superlative |                        |
| b.     | green     | greener               | greenest              | (Cabredo et al 2010:3) |

Just like degree expressions, comparative and superlative morphology is not limited to adjectives either. This is evident in the examples below and in the references cited in (Dixon 2004):

- 25) a. **Muy filósofo** estás, Sancho, ... (Sp)  
 very philosopher be-loc.2sg Sancho ...  
 ‘You are in a very philosophical mood, Sancho ...’

(Miguel de Cervantes, translation by J. Rutherford, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Penguin Classics, 2001.)

26) En este lugar del sur me encuentro con **el más escritor**

in this place of-DET south 1SG.DAT find with the most writer

**de nuestros cineastas** o con **el más cineaste** **de nuestros,**

of our filmmakers or with DET most filmmaker of our

**escritores,** Gonzálo Suárez.

writers Gonzálo Suárez (Sp)

‘In this place in the south I meet with one of our filmmakers who is the most like a writer or the one of our writers who is the most like a filmmaker,

G.S.’ (attested).

They further state that adjectives can be classified based on the inferences that an adjective +noun combination can license. The simplest case of this is *intersective* adjectives. These adjectives, they note, license inferences between the attributive and the predictive use based both on the adjective. Example (27) shows this claim:

27) Intersective adjectives: Licensed inferences

a. X is Adj N --> X is a N X is a red house --> X is a house

b. X is Adj N --> X is Adj X is a red house --> X is red (Cabredo 2010:4).

In their analysis, they further claim that non-subjective adjectives can also be divided into *simple subjective* adjectives, where adjectives +noun combination

implies neither adjective nor the noun, and *privative* adjectives that license a negative inference for the noun. This is shown below in (28):

28) Non-subjective adjectives

i. Simple subjective

a. X is Adj N  $\rightarrow$  X is a N      X is an alleged murderer  $\rightarrow$  X is a murderer

b. X is Adj N  $\rightarrow$  X is Adj      X is an alleged murderer  $\rightarrow$  \*X is alleged

ii. Privative

a. X is Adj N  $\rightarrow$  X is not a N      X is a fake diamond  $\rightarrow$  X is not a diamond

b. X is Adj N  $\rightarrow$  X is Adj      X is a fake diamond  $\rightarrow$  X is fake

(Cabredo 2010:5)

With the aspectual classes of adjectives, they agree with (Dowty 1979) that the stative-non-stative distinction can also be applied to adjectives and nouns. While stative adjectives and nouns are incompatible with the progressive, non-stative adjectives allow it. Example (29) demonstrates this point:

29) a. John is being careful.      a'. John is being a hero.

b. \*John is being tall.      b'. \*John is being a grandfather.

(Dowty 1979: 130)

According to them, adjectives can appear in two main types of syntactic contexts: as *attributive* adjectives directly modifying a noun and as *predicative* adjectives in the complement of a copula as well as secondary predicates. The following examples exemplify this claim:

30) Attributive adjectives

a. The **blue** car came down the avenue.

b. Das **blaue** Auto kam die Strasse entlang. (German)

DET blue.NOM.MSG.WK car came DET road along

‘The blue car came along the road.’

31) a. Predicative adjectives (copula)

i. The car is **blue**.

ii. Das Auto ist **blau**. (German)

DET car is blue

‘The car is blue.’

b. Predicative adjectives (secondary predication)

i. John painted the house **blue**.

ii. Sie streicht das Haus **blau**. (German)

she paint.PRES3SG DET house blue

‘She is painting the house blue.’ (Cabredo 2010:7)

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The Basic Linguistic Theory by Dixon (2012) is adopted for this work. With this approach, every language is described in its own terms with explanations on why it is the way it is in neutral free terms. It allows for detailed description of the aspect or area under study. He claims this approach is appropriate for describing and explaining languages that have received little documentation or not at all because it incorporates both descriptive and explanatory theories. This is similar to

generative grammar by Chomsky (1973), where a single theory can serve simultaneously as a descriptive theory and as an explanatory theory. This idea stems from Chomsky's viewpoint on innateness: where there is the belief that languages are the way they are because of our innate linguistic knowledge, therefore, a theory about that innate linguistic knowledge will simultaneously serve as a theory about what languages are like and as a theory about why they are that way.

In drawing the distinction between description and explanation, Dixon asserts that descriptions are themselves explanatory at a different level. For example, if the grammar is a representation of what the speaker knows in mind and that which underlies linguistic behaviour, then the grammar itself can be viewed as part of the explanation for linguistic behaviour and serves as an explanation for particular facts of the language. He attributes the reason why an English speaker will not say *\*My house is a house blue* rather *My house is a blue house* to the fact that the grammar of English states that attributive adjectives precede the noun.

Dixon argues that though some functionalists think that the question of what constitutes a good description of a language is theoretically unimportant, the emergence of basic linguistic theory has become a dominant theoretical framework for describing languages. Givon (2001), for instance, denouncing his earlier position in some of his earlier work, saw the need to recognize linguistic structure independent of function; if there are functional explanations for why languages are

the way they are, we need to have some way of describing the things that are being explained. While structuralism is a descriptive theory, functionalism is an explanatory theory and the two are fully compatible.

According to Dryer (2006), who also supports (BLT), failure to distinguish descriptive theory from explanatory theory and to recognize basic linguistic theory as a theory has negative consequences. Due to the fact that many linguists see false contrast between description and theory, and the higher prestige with what is called theory, work in basic linguistic theory is often dismissed as “merely” descriptive. He argues that even if much work in basic linguistic theory is primarily descriptive in its purpose, these descriptions provide the major source of data for theoretical work in typology. In this regard, descriptive work in basic linguistic theory is always of theoretical significance.

### **2.2.1 Relevance of the Framework**

The Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) as a perspective has satisfied the three main criteria of evaluation that can be used for any study. The theory uses observation, description and explanation adequately to study why a particular language behaves the way it is. I adopt this approach because I think with it I will be able to describe into details and offer adequate explanations on the structure of the noun phrase in Gichode as it is used. Lastly, this approach is appropriate for studies on a language that has not seen major documentations which Gichode is no exemption.



### 2.3 Methodology

Three towns were selected for data collection. These are Shiare, Nkwanta and Gekorong. The choice of these towns is because Shiare is the capital town of the Achodes and is believed to be the custodian of the language. Nkwanta is the district capital where other tribes also speak the language while Gekorong is another town of the Achodes. Data from such a broader scope is expected to enhance the credibility of the analysis and findings.

The methods used to collect the data are interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaire. With the interview and focus group discussion, I got primary data which include sentences and phrases for analysis. Three different groups from each of the towns or research area consisting of ten each were given three different topics to discuss. One group discussed the confusion or misunderstanding between the Achodes and government on the confiscation of some farm lands of the people for the game and wild life project at Kyabobo Mountain. The second group discussed how unity can be fostered in Nkwanta for a paramount chief to be installed. The last group also discussed the poor performance of students in both senior and junior high schools in the community. All these were recorded and transcribed for analysis. Selected individuals were interviewed randomly and recorded for analysis.

Fifteen (15) noun phrases and sentences in English language were administered and participants were asked to translate them into Gichode. The educational

backgrounds of the respondents include JHS, SHS, University and O'Level. These constitute the primary data. The secondary data is the Holy Bible which has been translated into Gichode, biblical story books and the comparative wordlist of the North Volta Guan Languages by Snider (1989). The comparative wordlist which includes Gichode will help me in the orthography, for correct spellings in the write-ups. I also used the Ibadan Word List to examine the Noun Class system of Gichode

#### **2.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter has been concerned with some literature on the structure of the NP across languages. The various constituents that can be found in the noun phrase such as quantifiers, articles, adjuncts and numerals among others have been identified. The pronominal systems of some languages have been considered as well. It also highlights the importance of basic linguistic theory by Dixon (2012) as a theoretical approach within which this work is situated. Finally, the research area and methods used for data collection have been discussed.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE IN GICHODE

#### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss some of the elements that are found as modifiers in the noun phrase in Gichode. The modifiers in consideration include determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, possessed nouns and relative clauses. Gichode has a noun class system. Therefore, I present the noun class system before discussing the modifiers under the various sub-headings:

#### 3.1 The Head Noun

From the data collected using the Ibadan wordlist of one hundred and sixty (160) nouns, I realized that nouns of the same or similar kind have different singular and plural markers. For instance, the singular form of head is *gimu* ‘head’ and the plural form of head is *amu* ‘heads’ while the singular form of stomach is *ɔtɔɔ* ‘stomach’, the plural form of stomach is *itɔɔ* ‘stomachs’. This phenomenon has drawn my attention to the possible existence of a noun class system in Gichode. As a result, five singular classes and five plural classes of nouns have been identified in Gichode. The order of the numbering of the class systems is adapted from Kroger (1992). Table 1 below illustrates both system:

There appears to be a correspondence between the singular and the plural classes.

A class (1) noun in the singular form enters the same class (1) in the plural form.

Table 1: Gichode Noun Class System

Class	Class markers		SINGULAR/PLURAL	GLOSS
	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
I	ɔ	a	ɔnyin      a-nyin	man
II	ge/gi	m/a	gebii      m-bii	child
III	o	i	obu      i-bu	building
IV	ge	ɲ	geɲɔ      ɲ-nɔ	mouth
V	ge	m	gebue      m-bue	animal

As shown in table 1 above, *ɔnyin* ‘man’ is a member of the class (I) in the singular and also belongs to class (I) in the plural form. The other nouns in the table also exhibit the same pattern.

Count nouns also depend on the noun class system for their plural forms. The type of plural marker depends on the particular class the singular form belongs. Below are some examples:

- 1) a. *oyi      ɔ-kɔ      ne*  
          tree      CL-one      FOC

‘This is one tree’.

b. i-yi      i-nun      ne

PL-tree    CL-five    FOC

‘These are five trees’.

2) a. mɛ      gimu      ne

1SG    head    FOC

‘This is my head’.

b. mɔmɔ    a-mu      ne

3PL    PL-head    FOC

‘These are their heads’.

While the plural form of *oyi* ‘tree’ is *iyi* ‘trees’, the plural form of *gimu* ‘head’ is *amu* ‘heads’. The plural markers depend on the noun classes which the nouns belong. Non-count nouns on the other hand, do not depend on the noun class system.

### 3.1 Determiners

Determiners are one of the elements that modify a noun phrase. Some of the determiners in Gichode include *mɔ* ‘the’, the possessive determiners *mɛ* ‘my’, *fɔi* ‘your’, *lɛ* ‘his’ and the demonstrative determiner *ɔdɛ* ‘this’. In relation to the

position of the determiner to the noun, *mɔ* ‘the’ follows the noun. This is common in many Ghanaian languages. The possessive and demonstrative determiners can precede the noun and or follow the noun. It is also possible to have zero determiner in Gichode. Unlike English language, where there is a distinction between definite and indefinite determiners, only the definite determiner is present in Gichode. The following examples below in (2) show this point:

2) a. wura -mɔ

chief DEF

‘The chief’.

b. wura gi ba

chief PRT-come-PST

‘A chief has come’.

The difference between (2a &b) is that while the definite determiner comes after the noun in (a), there is no determiner in (b). In referring to a noun that is indefinite in the language, only the noun is mentioned as in (b).

Possessive and demonstrative determiners usually precede the noun. Below are examples:

3) a. mɔ aterembi

3SG money

‘His money’.

b. *mɛ ndɔ*

1SG farm

‘My farm’.

c. *mɛ aterɛmbi*

1SG money

‘My money’.

d. *fɔi aterɛmbi*

2PL money

‘Your money’.

The possessive determiners *mɔ* ‘his’, *mɛ* ‘my’ and *fɔi* ‘yours’ precede the nouns *aterɛmbi* ‘money’ and *ndɔ* ‘farm’ in example (3). The following are examples of demonstrative determiners:

4) a. *ɔ-dɛ gi-nyida*

SG this PRT-spoil-PST

‘This is spoilt’.

b. *i-dɛ i-nyida*

PL-this PL-spoil-PST

‘These ones are spoilt’.

c. gi-jo      **gi-dε**      gi-nyida

SG-yam    SG-this    PRT-spoil-PST

‘This yam is spoilt’.

d. i-jo      **i-dε**      i-nyida

PL-yam    PL-this    PL-spoil-PST

‘These yams are spoilt’.

In (4a) and (b), the demonstrative determiners *ɔde* ‘this’ and *idε* ‘these’ are preceded by the nouns *gijo* and *ijo* ‘yam’ respectively. Their distribution is based on the noun class system.

### 3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are also used to modify nouns. Some researchers like Akanlig-Pare (2005) and Matashanky (2003) argue that there are no separate morphological categories like adjectives in Buli and some languages. While nouns are used to show or express attributive meaning or modification, stative verbs are used to express predicative meaning. According to Crisma (1993), some adjectives are unexceptionally prenominal in Greek determiner phrase, though in definite NPs, adjectives occur postnominally only with their own definite article, but in



indefinite NPs, postnominal adjectives occur unarticulated. This phenomenon will be explored in Gichode.

Pokua et al (2005) argue that some epistemic expressions including adverbs do not have adjectival counterparts in Akan. They concluded that Akan has more modal adverbs than modal adjectives. The implication is that Akan does not have all the semantic classes of adjectives posited by Dixon (2004). According to Dixon (2004), some of the semantic types of basic *adjectives include age, dimension, value, colour, physical properties, human propensity, difficulty, similarity, position and qualification*. Gichode does not have all these types mentioned by Dixon. From the data gathered, the following are the adjective class in Gichode:

5) Property	Adjective	Gloss
Age	ɔbelense	‘elder’
Dimension	gisuro	‘long’
Value	dense	‘good’
Colour	bibiri	‘black’
Physical properties	wole	‘dry’
Human propensity	bɔkɔɔ	‘calm’

Consider the following examples:

6) a. *gebii kempɛ mɔ*  
child pretty/nice DEF

‘The pretty or nice child’.

b. *ɔnyin belɛnsɛ mɔ*

man old DEF

‘The old man’.

c. *ɔnyin bɔkɔɔ mɔ*

man calm DEF

‘The calm man’.

In (6a), the adjective *kempɛ* ‘nice/pretty’ denotes value, the one in (6b) *belɛnsɛ* ‘elder’ denotes age, while *bɔkɔɔ* ‘calm’ in (6c) shows human propensity respectively. All these adjectives precede the noun. The sentence will become ungrammatical if the noun precedes any of these adjectives. Below is an example:

7) \**kempɛ gebii mɔ*  
nice/pretty child DEF

‘The pretty child’.

Adjectives occur postnominally in Gichode, the adjective follows the noun. Whether there are determiners present in the construction or not, the adjective

follows the noun but precedes the determiner if there is any. This is illustrated in (8) below:

8) a. oyi      bibiri      mɔ      gi-dee  
          tree      black      DEF      PRT-burn-PST

‘The black tree is burnt’.

b. mɔ      sɔgɛ      ndɔ      bele - mɔ  
          3PL      seize-PST      farm      big - DEF

‘They seized the big farm’.

c. \*pebɔɔ      otu      mɔ      gi-dee  
          new      gun      DEF      PRT-burn-PST

‘The new gun was burnt’.

The sentence, however, becomes ungrammatical if the adjective precedes the noun. This is similar to the cases of Akan and Ewe, as shown in (8c) above.

Two or more adjectives can modify the same noun in a sentence. Example (9) illustrates this point:

9) a. oyi      bele      kpatakpere      mɔ  
          tree      big      huge      DEF

‘The big huge tree’.

b. gɛgbɛ fufuli pii dense mə

dress white small good DEF

‘The small white good dress’.

While (9a) has two adjectives: *bele* ‘big’ and *kpatakpere* ‘huge’, (9b) has three adjectives: *fufuli* ‘white’, *pii* ‘small’ and *dense* ‘good’. The acceptable order of occurrence of these adjectives in (9b) is colour-size-value.

Regarding the distribution of attributive adjectives in Gichode, when the head noun is in the plural, the plural morpheme or marker is attached to the noun but not the adjective. This situation differs from language to language. According to Sulemana (2012), when an attributive adjective is introduced into the NP in Buli, the plural morpheme shifts from the noun unto the adjective. In Gichode, the plural marker remains attached to the noun. Example (10) shows:

10) a. gɛjɛpa bibiri

chair black

‘Black chair’.

b. ŋ -jɛpa bibiri

PL- chair black

‘Black chairs’.

c. *ɔwulɛ fufuli*

book white

‘White book’.

d. *i-wulɛ fufuli*

PL-book white

‘White books’.

In (10), the plural marker /*ɲ*/ and /*i*/ remain attached to the nouns *jɛpa* ‘chair’ and *ɔwulɛ* ‘book’ but did not shift to the adjectives *bibiri* ‘black’ and *fufuli* ‘white’ respectively.

However, the plural marker can be attached to the adjective if only the adjective is nominalised and answers an already asked question. (11) illustrates this point:

11) *m-pebara mɔ gi-ta*

PL-red DEF-DET PRT-finish-PST

‘The red ones are finished’.

The sentence becomes ungrammatical if the pluralized adjective and the noun occur in the structure. (12) below shows:

12) \**m-pebara ɲ-gbɛ mɔ gi-ta*

PL-red      PL-dress/shirt      DEF-DET      PRT-finish-PST

‘The red dresses have finished’.

From the above, the plural marker cannot be marked on both the adjective and the noun. Where the plural marker is attached to the nominalized adjective as in (11) above, the noun is not mentioned in the sentence because the nominalized adjective takes the head position. The implication therefore, is that there can only be a single plural marker in a noun phrase in the language. This makes the plural morpheme a feature of the whole noun phrase but not a feature that affects a single lexical element in the NP structure.

In cases of nominalization, that is where the adjective is nominalized, it becomes the head noun. This point is illustrated below:

13) a. ɔ-woleɛ      mɔ

3SG-dry      DEF-DET

‘The dry one’.

b. \*ɔ-woleɛ      oyi      mɔ

3SG-dry      tree      DEF

‘The dry tree’.

From the above, the nominalized adjective *ɔwolesɛ* ‘dry one’ cannot occur with any overt noun in the sentence because it is the head. Introducing another noun will render the sentence ungrammatical as shown in (13b).

Nouns also have been found performing the function of modifiers. Such nouns describe other nouns in a sentence. In relation to their position, the modifier or adjective noun precedes the head noun. The following below are examples:

14) a. **ifɛ**        obu        mɔ  
          grass    building   DEF  
          ‘The thatch building’.

b. **a-gɛmbii**    lɛpɛ  
          PL-nail    bowl  
          ‘The metal bowl’.

c. **a-sa**                    ɔsuwulɛ  
          PL- person    town  
          ‘The people’s town’.

As can be seen in all the examples in (14) above, the nouns performing the function of modifiers are *ifɛ* ‘grass’, *agɛmbii* ‘metal’ and *asa* ‘people’ respectively.

Two or more adjectives of different categories can modify the same noun in a sentence. The noun must precede the adjectives. Example (15) illustrates this point:

15) oyi busuruse mɛsɛ fufuli mɔ

tree long bent white DEF

‘The long bent white tree’.

With the order of the adjectives, this is the general order it follows based on (15):

***Value-Size-Age-Shape-Colour-Origin***

Constructions can take different combinations of the order above in Gichode.

Below are some examples:

16) a. gebii dense pii fufuli mɔ

child good small white DEF

‘The small white good child’

b. bɔlɔ kulikuli chase-ɪnɔ mɔ

ball round fowl-oil DEF

‘The round yellow ball’.

(16a) has the order: ***value-Size-Colour-Determiner*** while (16b) has the order:

***Shape-Colour-Determiner***.



### 3.3 Numerals

Numerals are another category that modify nouns in Gichode. They occur postnominally and before adjectives. In relation to determiners, numerals can occur freely. Numerals may either follow or precede a determiner. Of the two main kinds of numerals: cardinal and ordinal, only the cardinal seems prevalent in the data.

Unlike Buli, where Abdul Sulemana (2012), points out that the cardinal numbers used in counting are different from those used as modifiers, there is no such distinction in Gichode as seen in the data. Whether for counting or modifying, the cardinals remain the same. Consider the following examples:

17) a. i-tu      isa  
           PL-gun    CL-three

‘Three guns’.

b. m-bii      nnyɔ  
           PL-child    CL- two

‘Two children’

The cardinals *isa* ‘three’ and *nnyɔ* ‘two’ above respectively remain the same form when used in counting. In relation to determiners as stated earlier, numerals can occur anywhere. Example (18) demonstrates this point:

18) a. a-wura      a-nyɔ      mɔ

PL-chief      PL-two      DEF

‘The two chiefs’.

b. a-wura      mɔ      a-nyɔ

PL-chief      DEF      PL-two

‘Two of the chiefs’.

The difference between (18a) and (18b) is the order in which the determiner occurs in relation to the numeral. When the determiner is preceded by the numeral as in (18a), the phrase has a definite interpretation, where the two particular chiefs in question are known. On the other hand, where the determiner precedes the numeral as in (18b), its interpretation is not definite. In this case, the two chiefs in question are not known. It becomes a partitive construction, where only a part of the larger group is represented.

### 3.4 Adjectives and Numerals

Adjectives occur with numerals in the data. Some of these adjectives include *bele* ‘big’, *kulikuli* ‘round/curved’, *kpatakpere* ‘huge’ and *bibiri* ‘black’. Both adjectives and numerals occur or appear postnominally. In relation to the order of occurrence, adjectives precede numerals and in some cases numerals also precede

adjectives. Notable though is the observation that where the numeral precedes the adjective, the prefix ‘*a*’ is attached to the adjective. This prefix is a plural marker. The prefix will be different depending on the class of the noun that the adjective modifies. Both the numeral and adjective indicate plurality. The adjective is reduplicated to show plurality. The following examples below illustrate:

19) a- kɔ̃dɛ      belebele      asa  
 PL-elephant    big            CL- three  
 ‘Three big elephants/three of the big elephants’.

20) a-kɔ̃dɛ      asa      a-belebele  
 PL-elephant    CL-three    PL-big  
 ‘Three big elephants’.

In (19), the adjective *belebele* ‘big’ precedes the numeral *asa* ‘three’. This order appears frequent. In (20) on the other hand, the numeral *asa* ‘three’ precedes the adjective *abelebele* ‘big’ with the plural marker ‘*a*’. This order appears only two times in the data compared to the more frequent order as in (19).

### 3.5 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify the head noun in a NP in Gichode. A relative clause is a clause that starts with relative pronouns such as *who*, *which*, *whose*, *that*, *when*

and where. Relative clauses are most often used to define or identify the noun. The position of the relative clause in relation to other modifiers will be discussed. I will first discuss the general features or characteristics of relative clauses to establish whether they are applicable in Gichode.

### 3.5.1 Features of Relative Clauses

The two main features of relative clauses I will examine are the defining (restrictive) and non-defining (non-restrictive) relative clauses. With the defining relative clauses, the object or entity in reference is definite. Its interpretation is straightforward. The following examples in (21) show:

- 21) a. m-bii          mbono          me-kyuŋ          sukuu          mɔ  
          PL-child      REL. PRO      3SG-go-PST      school      DEF

‘The children who have gone to school’.

- b. gɛsiŋkpaŋ      gɛbono          abɛn          giso          mɔ          so  
          land          REL.PRO          government      take-PST      DEF      on

‘The land which the government has taken’.

In both (21a&b), the referents *mbii* ‘children’ and *gesihkpaŋ* ‘land’ are known to the interactants in the discourse respectively. The prefixes on the relative pronouns depend on the noun class.

Non-defining (non-restrictive) relative clauses are usually placed after nouns which are definite already. They do not define the nouns but merely add information to them. They can be omitted from the sentence. Example (22) illustrates this point:

22) a. Shiare headmaster    *ɔbono*    *ɔ-ba*       *lɔɔ*    *sukuu*    *mɔ*  
          shiare headmaster    REL.PRO    3SG-come-PST    repair school DEF

‘Shiare headmaster who came to repair the school’.

b. District commander    *ɔbono*    *ɔ-ba*       *taa*       *a-dɔbo*    *mɔ*  
          district commander REL.PRO    3SG-come-PST    cane-PST    PL-farmer DEF

‘The district commander who came to beat the farmers’.

In both (22a&b), the relative pronoun *ɔbono* ‘who’ which begins the relative clause can be omitted because the head nouns Shiare and district commander are definite already. Collins (1994) posits that there are factive constructions in relative clauses in some Kwa languages like Gungbe and Yoruba. However, further work needs to be done in Gichode to establish if this is true.

### 3.5.2 Relative Clauses and Numerals

Numerals occur with relative clauses. The numerals do not have a strict order of appearance. They can precede relative clauses or be preceded by relative clauses. Though numerals can occur anywhere in relation to relative clauses, their interpretation differs. Numerals that precede relative clauses do not have the same interpretation as those preceded by relative clauses. Example (23) below supports this claim:

23) a. m-bii      mbono      mɛɲ-pasɛ      mɔ      nnaɲ

PL-child REL.PRO NEG-pass DEF CL-four

‘Four of the children who did not pass’.

b. m-bii      nnaɲ      mbono      mɛɲ-pasɛ      sinde      mɔ

PL-child CL-four REL.PRO NEG-pass year-PST DEF

‘The four children who did not pass last year’.

In (23a), the number of children who failed the exams or did not pass are more than four, but only four have been mentioned while in (23b), the exact number of children who did not pass is four. It is therefore, clear from the above that when numerals are preceded by relative clauses as in (23a), the exact number being referred to is not certain. The numeral in (23a) modifies the whole noun phrase and the relative clause structure while the numeral in (23b) modifies the noun

children. On the other hand, when numerals precede relative clauses as in (23b), the meaning or interpretation is known.

I have also observed that there are constructions where the numeral is followed by the relative clause, but in this case, the noun which is the head is not mentioned. The noun remains silent. Such a construction must be a follow-up question where the noun has already been mentioned. Example (24) illustrates:

24) nnaŋ      abono      meŋ-pasɛ      sinde      mo

CL-four REL.PRO NEG-pass year-PST DEF

‘Four of those who did not pass last year’.

The noun is covert but it is understood by the participants because it has been mentioned earlier. On the other hand, if the relative pronoun precedes the numeral without the noun being mentioned, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Consider (25) below:

25) \*abono      nnaŋ      meŋ-pasɛ      sinde      mo

REL.PRO CL-four NEG-pass year-PST DEF

‘Four of those who did not pass last year’.

In conclusion, numerals precede relative clauses when the subject(s) in the sentence remains covert as in (24), but a relative pronoun cannot precede a numeral when the subject is covert as in (25).

### 3.5.3 Relative Clauses and Adjectives

Adjectives also occur with relative clauses in Gichode. In terms of order of appearance, the adjective comes before the relative clause. It appears the adjective only has scope over the noun that it modifies but not the entire construction. This claim however, needs to be investigated further. Below are some examples:

26) a. *ɔbon bele ɔbono mɛ sɔgɛ mɔ*  
 river big REL 3PL seize-PST DEF

‘The big river which they seized’.

b. *i-tɔ buruburu ibono iŋ-bɔ a-se*  
 PL-stomach small REL NEG-have PL-father

‘Small pregnancies which have no fathers’.

In both (26a and b) above, the adjectives *bele* ‘big’ and *buruburu* ‘small small’ precede the relative clauses introduced by *ɔbono* and *ibono* ‘which’ respectively. In referring to singular nouns, the relative clause is *ɔbono* while it becomes either *ibono* or *abono* depending on the type of noun, in plural constructions. A sentence



becomes ungrammatical when the relative clause precedes the adjective. Example (27) demonstrates:

27) \*ɔbon    ɔbono    me    sɔgɛ    belebele    mɔ  
          river    REL    3PL    seize-PST    big    DEF

‘The big river which they seized’.

The adjective *belebele* ‘big’ renders the sentence ungrammatical because it comes after the relative clause. As a native speaker, I was not convinced of the structure in (27) as ungrammatical simply because I sometimes use the same or similar constructions. Seeking further clarification, I have been told it is not very acceptable for elders or those considered as owners of the language to use such expressions. It can however, be used by those who lack grammatical competence in the language or non-native speakers.

### 3.5.4 Relative Clauses, Adjectives and Numerals

Relative clauses, adjectives and numerals modify the head of a noun phrase in Gichode. In order of occurrence in a sentence, the adjective can precede the numeral or vice-versa. The numeral also comes before the relative clause. The following examples in (28) illustrate this point:

28) a. a-wura a-naŋ dense abono mɛ wu mo

PL-chief CL-four good REL 3PL die-PST DEF

‘The four good chiefs who died’.

b. a-wura dense a-naŋ abono mɛ wu mo

PL-chief good CL-four REL 3PL die-PST DEF

‘The four good chiefs who died’.

There is no difference in meaning or interpretation between (28a&b) despite the interchanging positions of the adjective *dense* ‘good’ and numeral *anaŋ* ‘four’ respectively.

### 3.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words or phrases used before a noun to indicate the amount or quantity. Quantifiers also form one of the constituents that modify a noun in a noun phrase in Gichode. Quantifiers show the number of or quantity or measure of the amount of something. They express or indicate the quantity of the nouns they modify. The position of the quantifiers in relation to other modifiers will be examined. Examples of some quantifiers in Gichode include:

29) a. gikyɔ 'many/plenty'

ɲara 'few/little'

pɛwu 'all'

ikɔ 'some'

biriiɱ 'much'

gibafon 'half/semi'

b. nɔ́ **gibafon** mɔ́ gi-ta

oil half(QUANT) DEF PRT-finish-PST

'Half of the oil is finished'.

c. ɔ-wɔ́ra nɔ́le **gikyɔ́**

3SG-do-PST salt plenty (QUANT)

'He/she put in too much salt'.

d. wura gi-sa m-bii mɔ́ **ɲara**

chief PRT-give-PST PL-child DEF little(QUANT)

'The chief gave the children little'.

### 3.6.1 Quantifiers, Determiners and Adjectives

Quantifiers appear postnominally. They are preceded by both adjectives and determiners. Closest to the noun is the adjective, followed by the determiner before the quantifier. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate:

30) a. *sukuu m-bii dense mə akɔ mə pase*  
 school PL-child good DEF some 3PL pass-PST  
 ‘Some of the good students passed’.

b. *i-yii dense mə ikɔ ideɛ*  
 PL-tree good DEF some burn-PST  
 ‘Some of the good trees got burnt’.

31) a-*wura dense mə pɛwu mə-wu ta*  
 PL- chief good DEF all 3PL-die-PST finish-PST  
 ‘All the good chiefs have died’.

From (30a&b), the quantifiers *akɔ* and *ikɔ* ‘some’ take different forms. This is because the plural form of these quantifiers is determined by the plural marker of the nouns involved, which are *a* and *i* respectively. From (30 and 31), the

quantifiers *akɔ*, *ikɔ* ‘some’ and *pɛwu* ‘all’ come after the adjective *dɛnsɛ* ‘good’ and determiner *mɔ* ‘the’ respectively.

### 3.6.2 Quantifiers and Numerals

In relation to numerals, quantifiers are preceded by numerals. Where quantifiers come before numerals, the construction becomes ungrammatical. (32) below exemplifies this:

- 32) a. *i-yii*      *sɛŋgɔ*      ***ikɔ***      *i-deɛ*  
 PL-tree      CL-nine      some      PL-burn-PST  
 ‘Some nine trees have burnt’.
- b. \**i-yii*      ***ikɔ***      *sɛŋgɔ*      *i-deɛ*  
 PL-tree      some      CL-nine      PL-burn-PST  
 ‘Some nine trees have burnt’.

(32b) is unacceptable because the quantifier *ikɔ* ‘some’ precedes the numeral *sɛŋgɔ* ‘nine’.

All quantifiers do not co-occur with numerals. The following example is ungrammatical because of the combination:

32) c. \*i-yii      biriim    sono

PL-tree    much    CL-seven

‘Seven trees’.

In (32c), the quantifier *biriim* ‘much’ cannot co-occur with the numeral *sono* ‘seven’ because the noun *iyii* ‘trees’ is countable. *Biriim* is used to answer the question how much for uncountable nouns but not countable nouns. In an NP, the numeral precedes the quantifier as shown in (32a).

### 3.6.3 Quantifiers and Relative Clauses

Quantifiers can precede relative clauses and also be preceded by relative clauses. Where it comes after the relative clause, it is mostly at the end of the sentence. The following examples support this claim:

33) a. gesiŋkpaŋ    gibafon    gɛbono    gɛ-deɛ      mɔ

land            half            REL.PRO    3SG-burn-PST    DEF

‘Half of the land which got burnt’.

b. gesiŋkpaŋ    gɛbono    gibafon    gɛ-deɛ      mɔ

land            REL.PRO    half/fraction    3SG-burn-PST    DEF

‘The land, half of which got burnt’.

The only difference between (33a) and (33b) is that where the quantifier precedes the relative clause as in (33a), the exact land in question is not known. The quantifier is part of the head NP. In this case, it refers to any land which has its half burnt. On the other hand, when the relative pronoun precedes the quantifier as in (33b), the reference or meaning is definite. In this case, it is referring to a particular or specific land with half of it burnt and the quantifier is inside the relative clause.

### 3.7 Possessive or Associative Construction

In this section, the relation between two entities which are the possessor and the possessed is discussed. Such constructions are called possessive or associative constructions. It expresses the possessive relationship between the possessor and possessed. In Gichode, the noun which is the head (possessed) of the phrase comes after the possessor or associative noun. No specific affixes or markers are used to indicate this relationship. The following examples in (34) illustrate this point:

34) a. mɔmɔ i-tu

3PL PL-gun

‘Their guns’.

b. sukuu m-bii mɔ obu

school PL-child DEF house

‘The student’s block’.

c. wura mɔ lɛ

chief DEF his

‘It is the chief’s or it belongs to the chief’.

From the above, both nouns and pronouns can function as possessors. It must however, be noted that the entities in question in the discourse or conversation must be known to all speakers for easy and accurate interpretation. All the examples provided in (34) show definiteness. The interactants have some common knowledge of the possessed entities in all the examples.

### 3.8 Coordinate Noun Phrases

This is where a noun can be conjoined to another noun or a pronoun. When a noun is conjoined to another noun, the meaning of the sentence is not affected. Below are some examples:

35) a. Kwame mara Ama lɛ

kwame CONJ Ama own

‘It is for Kwame and Ama’.



b. Ama mara Kwame le

Ama CONJ kwame own

‘It is for Ama and Kwame’.

When a noun is conjoined to a pronoun, either of them can precede the other without change in meaning. It becomes emphatic. Sometimes, if the pronoun precedes the noun, the focus marker is introduced. This is shown below:

36) a. Kwajo mara **mɔ** le

Kwajo and 3SG own

‘It is for Kwajo and him/her’.

b. **mɔ** mara Kwajo le

3SG and kwajo own

‘It is for him/her and Kwajo’.

c. **fo** ne n-tere Kwajo

2SG FOC 2SG-call-PST kwajo

‘Kwajo was called by you’.

In (36a), the noun *Kwajo* precedes the pronoun *mɔ* ‘him/her’ while the pronoun precedes the noun in (36b). In (36c), the pronoun *fo* ‘you’ precedes the noun, but the focus marker is introduced. The pronoun is focused.

### 3.9 Linear Order of Modifiers

All the modifiers under consideration appear postnominally in Gichode. They occupy different positions. It has been observed and established that more than one modifier can modify a single noun in the same sentence in Gichode. These modifiers are adjectives, numerals, determiners, relative clauses, the possessor noun and quantifiers. All these modifiers can be found modifying the same noun or a combination of them. Below are examples:

37) a. a-soldier abono asa mɛ - birii mə akɔ  
 PL-soldier REL-PRO CL-three 3PL-black DEF some

‘Some three of the soldiers who are black’.

b. a-soldier asa abono mɛ -birii mə akɔ  
 PL-soldier CL-three REL 3PL-black DEF some

‘Three soldiers, some of who are black’.

From (37a), the order of appearance of the modifiers is:

*(i) Noun-Relative clause-Numeral-Adjective-Determiner-Quantifier.*

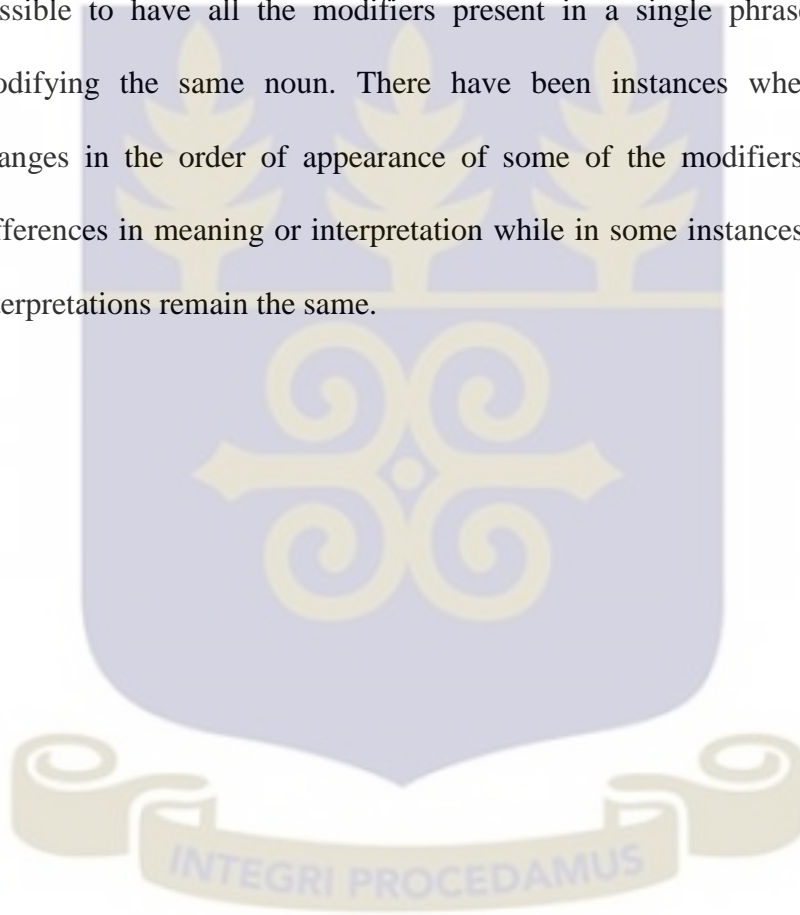
From (37b), the order of appearance becomes:

*(ii) Noun-Numeral-Relative clause-Adjective-Determiner-Quantifier.*

In relation to the relative clause and the numeral, either of them can precede the other, as discussed before, but the meaning or interpretation is affected.

### 3.10 Chapter Summary

I have looked at the various categories or elements or constituents that modify the noun head in a noun phrase in Gichode. Their distribution in relation to one another has also been discussed. The modifiers discussed include: adjectives, relative clauses, numerals, determiners, quantifiers and possessed nouns. It is also possible to have all the modifiers present in a single phrase or construction modifying the same noun. There have been instances where interpositional changes in the order of appearance of some of the modifiers can bring about differences in meaning or interpretation while in some instances, the meanings or interpretations remain the same.

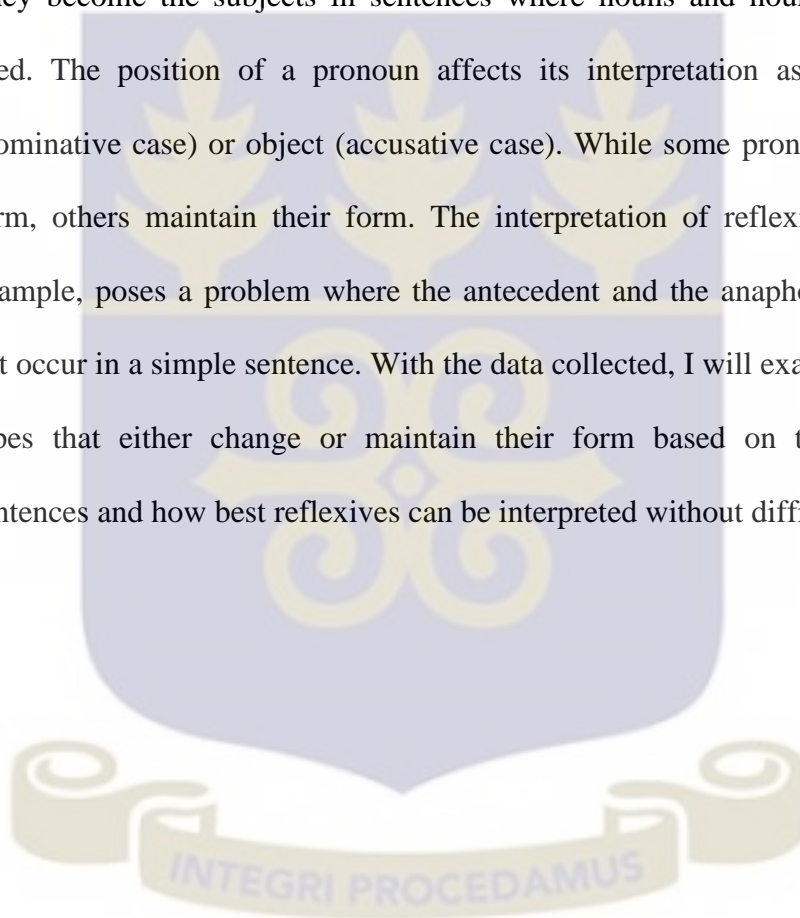


## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF GICHODE

#### 4.0 Introduction

Pronouns play a very important role in the grammatical structure of sentences. They become the subjects in sentences where nouns and noun phrases are not used. The position of a pronoun affects its interpretation as either a subject (nominative case) or object (accusative case). While some pronouns change their form, others maintain their form. The interpretation of reflexive pronouns, for example, poses a problem where the antecedent and the anaphor or reflexive do not occur in a simple sentence. With the data collected, I will examine the pronoun types that either change or maintain their form based on their positions in sentences and how best reflexives can be interpreted without difficulties.



#### 4.1 The pronominal system of Gichode

Table 2 below shows the pronouns in Gichode:

38) Table 2: Personal pronouns in Gichode.

<u>Person/Number</u>	<u>Citation Form</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Object</u>
1SG	mε, nε	mε, nε	mε
1PL	ayε	ayε	ayε
2SG	Fo	fo	Fo
2PL	Foi	foi	Foi
3SG(animate)	mɔ, ɔ	mɔ, ɔ,	mɔ
3SG(inanimate)	gi, gε	gi, gε	gi, gε
3PL(animate)	mɔmɔ/ɔmɔ, imɔ	mɔmɔ, imɔ	mɔmɔ,
3PL(inanimate)	ide, imɔ	i	I

From the table above, it can be seen that the forms of the pronouns in general do not change whether in subject or object positions apart from the first person singular, which has both *mε* and *nε* ‘me’ at subject position and only *mε* at object position.

#### 4.1.1 Syntax of Personal Pronouns

The pronouns listed above in Table 1 have different distributional and semantic properties. The environment or context in which they occur as either subjects or objects determines the meanings they encode. This is discussed below:

##### 4.1.1.1 First Person Singular Subject [mɛ, nɛ]

These forms are not used the same way in sentences. Certain environments determine the particular form of pronoun to be used. The examples below show the environments in which a particular pronoun form is chosen ahead of the other. Both forms though, have the same case and number. Example (39) illustrates this point:

35) a. **mɛ**      ne      mɔɔ      mɔ

1SG    FOC    kill-PST    3SG

‘I killed him’.

b. **nɛ**      mɔɔ      mɔ

1SG    kill-PST    3SG

‘I killed him /it was I that killed him’.

Both pronouns occur as subjects in the above sentences. *mɛ* in (39a) and *nɛ* in (39b). The difference, however, is that *mɛ* shows emphasis or focus on the one who did the action. The emphasis is on the performer of the action but not the action itself. *nɛ* on the other hand does not show any emphasis or focus. Though the killing is done by the subject, it could be direct or indirect. He either did the killing himself or asked somebody to do it for him.

#### 4.1.1.2 First Person Singular Object [*mɛ*]

At an object position, *mɛ* does not show any difference in meaning. Consider (40) below:

40) a. fo      kyu      sa      **mɛ**  
          2SG    take-PST   give-PST   1SG

‘You gave it to me’.

b. **mɛ**      adzudo    a-ta  
          1SG    food      PL-finish-PST

‘My food is finished’.

#### 4.1.1.3 First Person Plural Subject and Object [ayɛ]

The first person plural for both subject and object is the same. It does not have differences in meaning or interpretation in any of the cases. (41) exemplifies:

41) a. **ayɛ** ne jan

1PL FOC cook-PST

‘We cooked’.

b. ɔ-jan sa **ayɛ**

3SG-cook-PST give-PST 1PL

‘He/she cooked for us’.

The form is the same in both subject and object positions in (41).

#### 4.1.1.4 Second Person Singular Subject and Object [fo]

The second person singular, *fo*, is the same at both subject and object positions.

The second person singular can be modified by a quantifier. The quantifier must be preceded by the pronoun. Example (42) illustrates this point:

42) a. **fo** wule ne m-ba



2SG alone/only FOC 2SG come-PST

‘Only you came’.

b. ɔ-terɛ                    **fo**            wule

3SG-call-PST 2SG only

‘He/she called only you’.

The form *fo* is the same in both (42a) and (42b). It also precedes the quantifier *wule* ‘only’ in both sentences and only modifies the pronoun *fo* ‘you’.

#### 4.1.1.5 Second Person Plural Subject and Object [*foi*]

The second person plural is the same for subjective and objective cases. Consider the following examples:

43) a. **foi** ne            terɛ            Ama

2PL FOC call-PST Ama

‘It is you who called Ama’.

b. wura    mɔ    gi-sa                    **foi**    ɔkpa

chief DEF PRT-give-PST 2PL road

‘The chief has allowed you’.

The form in both (43a and b) is the same (*foi*) ‘you’, where it serves as the subject and object respectively.

Numerals and quantifiers can modify the second person plural pronoun. In relation to the positions or order of occurrence, the numeral precedes the quantifier. Example (44) illustrates this point:

44) a. **foi** asa wule le

2PL CL-three only own

‘It is for only three of you’.

b. **foi** anun akɔ ne dzi

2PL CL-five some FOC eat-PST

‘Some five of you ate’.

In both (44a and b), the numerals *asa* ‘three’ and *anun* ‘five’ precede the quantifiers *wule* ‘only’ and *akɔ* ‘some’ respectively. The first and third person plurals too can be modified this way without changes. The construction becomes ungrammatical if the quantifier precedes the numeral. This is demonstrated below:

45)\* **foi** wule asa le

2PL only CL-three own

‘It is for only three of you’.



In (46a), *mɔ* ‘he/she’ refers to human, in (46b), *ɔ* ‘he/she or it’ refers to either human or non-human and in (46c), *ɔ* ‘it’ refers to non-human. *Mɔ* is the emphatic form of the pronoun used in contexts like focus while the other form *ɔ* is used in non-emphatic contexts. The *ɔ* is probably an affix whilst *mɔ* is a free morpheme.

A quantifier can modify the pronoun *mɔ*, while a quantifier and a numeral also modify *ɔ*. The quantifier comes after the pronoun *mɔ*. With the pronoun *ɔ*, the numeral precedes the quantifier with the determiner in between. This is shown below:

47) a. *mɔ wule ne m-ba*  
 3SG only FOC 3SGcome-PST  
 ‘Only he came’.

b. *ɔ dare m-bii gudu mɔ ηmara*  
 3SG beat-PST PL-child CL-ten DEF little  
 ‘The ten children were beaten by him/her’.

‘The ten children were beaten by it’.

In (47a), the quantifier *wule* ‘only’ is preceded by the pronoun. In (47b), the numeral *gudu* ‘ten’ comes after the pronoun and it also precedes the quantifier *ηmara* ‘a little’.

The structure becomes ungrammatical if the numeral precedes the quantifier.

Consider (48):

48)\* $\text{ɔ}$  dare m-bii  $\eta$ mara gudu m $\text{ɔ}$

3SG beat-PST PL-child small CL-ten DEF

‘The children were beaten by him/her’.

#### 4.1.1.7 Third Person Singular Object (animate) [m $\text{ɔ}$ ]

The third person singular pronoun for objective case is m $\text{ɔ}$  ‘him / her/ it’. It is used for both human and non-human. This is similar to Ritter (1995). Ritter posits that a pronoun in a particular case can be used for both human and non-human in the animate category. (49) exemplifies:

49) a.  $\text{ɔ}$  tere m $\text{ɔ}$

3SG call-PST 3SG

‘He/she called him or it’.

b. kwame gi-sa m $\text{ɔ}$  nkyu

Kwame PRT-give PST 3SG water

‘Kwame gave him/it water’.

In both sentences in (49), the pronoun *mɔ* ‘him/it’ can be interpreted to refer to human or animal.

#### 4.1.1.8 Third Person Singular Subject and Object (inanimate) [gi, gɛ]

The subject and object pronouns for the third person inanimate are *gi* and *gɛ* ‘it’. The choice of either of them depends on the class of the noun it represents. Those in the *gi* class will choose *gi*, while those in *gɛ* class will choose *gɛ*. Example (50) illustrates this claim:

50) a. **gi** nyida  
 3SG (INANIMATE) spoil-PST

‘It is spoilt’.

b. **ɔ** kyu gi mɔ sa mɛ  
 3SG take-PST 3SG (INANIMATE) DEF give.PST 1SG

‘He/she gave it to me’.

c. **gɛ** nyida  
 3SG (INANIMATE) spoil-PST

‘It is spoilt’.

d.  $\text{ɔ}$  kyu  $\text{gɛ}$   $\text{mɔ}$  sa  $\text{mɛ}$

3SG take-PST 3SG (INANIMATE) DEF give.PST 1SG

‘He/she gave it to me’.

In all the examples in (50), *gi* and *gɛ* are used at both subject and object positions taking into account the class of the noun it represents.

#### 4.1.1.9 Third Person Plural Subject (animate) [ $\text{mɔmɔ}$ , $\text{imɔ}$ ]

While the third person plural subject for human is *mɔmɔ* or *ɔmɔ*, that of the non-human is *imɔ*. The following examples demonstrate:

51) a.  $\text{mɔmɔ}$  ne n-sile

3PL FOC 3PLrun-PST

‘They ran away’.

b.  $\text{imɔ}$  ne n-sile

3PL FOC 3PL-run.zPST

‘They ran away’.

While *mɔmɔ* represents human in (51a), *imɔ* represents non-human in (51b). These pronouns are modified by adjectives, numerals and quantifiers. In respect of their positions, the adjective precedes the numeral, followed by the quantifier. Consider example (52):

52) a. **mɔmɔ** a-belebele anun pɛwu lɛ

3PL PL-big CL-five all own

‘It is for all the big five’.

b. **imɔ** a-belebele anun pɛwu lɛ

3PL PL-big CL-five all own

‘It is for all the big five’.

In (52a and b), the adjective *abelebele* ‘big’ precedes the numeral *anun* ‘five’. The numeral also precedes the quantifier *pɛwu* ‘all’. The sentence will be rendered ungrammatical if there is a change in the order of appearance. Example (53) demonstrates:

53) \***mɔmɔ** anun pɛwu a-belebele lɛ

3PL CL-five all PL-big own

‘It is for all the big five’.



When the numeral precedes the quantifier and then followed by the adjective as shown in (53), the structure becomes ungrammatical. These modifiers cannot occur freely in such a structure.

#### 4.1.1.10 Third Person Plural Object (animate) [mɔmɔ]

The third person plural object pronoun for both human and non-human is *mɔmɔ* ‘them’. It can occur with some modifiers. It can occur with an adjective and a numeral. The adjective must precede the numeral for the sentence to be acceptable.

This is shown below:

- 54) a. ɔbelense gi-sa **mɔmɔ** i-fufuli sono  
 elder PRT-give-PST 3PL PL-white CL-seven  
 ‘The elder gave them seven white ones’.
- b. wura gi-tere **mɔmɔ** a-dense a-nyɔ  
 chief PRT-call-PST 3PL PL-good PL-CL-two  
 ‘The chief called two good ones’.

Both sentences in (54) can refer to human or non-human. The adjective *fufuli* ‘white’ precedes the numeral *sono* ‘seven’ in (54a). In (54b) also, the adjective *dense* ‘good’ precedes the numeral *anyɔ* ‘two’.



‘there’ are added to the demonstratives *idε* and *ɔdε*. The following examples illustrate this point:

56) a. sa                    mε     **ɔdε**     gere

give-PST    1SG    this    here

‘Give me this one’. (proximal)

b. sa                    mε     **ɔdε**     faa

give-PST    1SG    this    there

‘Give me that one’. (distal)

c. sa                    mε     **idε**     gere

give-PST    1SG    these    here

‘Give me these ones’. (proximal)

d. sa                    mε     **idε**     faa

give-PST    1SG    these    there

‘Give me those ones’. (distal)

In all the examples in (56), the morphemes *gere* ‘here’ and *faa* ‘there’ are added to the demonstratives *ɔdε* and *idε* to indicate the distance in relation to the referents. Mention must also be made that these demonstrative pronouns can be used without

adding the distance markers. In that case, it is interpreted or understood to mean the referent is close or proximal. This is illustrated below:

57) a. sa                    mɛ        ɔdɛ  
          give-PST        1SG        this

‘Give me this’.

b. sa                    mɛ        idɛ  
          give-PST        1SG        these

‘Give me these’.

Both sentences in (57) show proximal orientation.

Adjectives and quantifiers can modify these demonstrative pronouns. In relation to the order of occurrence, the adjective comes after the demonstrative and it precedes the quantifier as well. The examples below illustrate this claim:

58) a. sa                    mɛ        idɛ        ɔ-belebele        ɔko  
          give-PST        1SG        these        3SG-big        CL-one

‘Give me one of these big ones’.

b. sa                    mɛ        idɛ        i-belebele        i-nyɔ  
          give-PST        1SG        these        PL-big        PL-CL-two



c. gijo    **gibono**    gi-nyida    mɔ

yam    REL-PRO    PRT-spoil-PST    DEF

‘The yam which spoilt’.

d. i-jo    **ibono**    i-nyida    mɔ

PL-yam    REL-PRO    3SG-spoil-PST    DEF

‘The yams which spoilt’.

The above examples can occur with modifiers such as adjectives and quantifiers which I have discussed in chapter three.

#### 4.4 Interrogative Pronouns

According to Saah (1988), interrogative pronouns are words or pronouns used to ask questions. Interrogative pronouns are used in interrogative sentences. The two interrogative pronouns found in Gichode are *imɔ* ‘which’ and *ane* ‘who or whose’. They are the same as the wh-words in English. They do not change in case; they are the same form either in subject or object positions. Below are examples:

60) a. **ane**    m-ba    gere

who    3SG-come-PST    here

‘Who came here?’

b. fo kyu sa **anɛ**

2SG take-PST give-PST who

‘Whom did you give to?’

c. **imɔ** ne fo kyu sa mɔ

which FOC 2SG take-PST give-PST DEF

‘Which one did you give to him?’

d. fo kyu **imɔ** sa mɔ

2SG take-PST which give-PST DEF

‘Which one did you give to him?’

In all the examples in (60), the interrogative *anɛ* and *imɔ* are the same form in both subject and object positions. The other interrogative pronouns include *fonɛ* ‘where’, *gɛmɛnkɛ* ‘when’ and *mɛnɛ* ‘what’. Adjectives and quantifiers can modify interrogative pronouns. In a sentence, the adjective can precede the interrogative pronoun and be preceded by it as well. It occurs freely in relation to the pronoun involved. With the quantifier, it is preceded by the interrogative pronoun. Consider example (61) below:

61) a. **anɛ** ndɔ belebele ne

whose farm big FOC

‘Whose big farm is this?’

b. idense **imɔmɔ** ne fo kyu sa mɔ

good which FOC 2SG take-PST give-PST DEF

‘Which of the good ones did you give him?’

c. fo kyu **imɔmɔ** isa sa mɛ

2SG take-PST which CL-three give-PST 1SG

‘Which of the three did you give me?’

From (61), the adjective *belebele* ‘big’ in (a) is preceded by the pronoun *ane* ‘whose’ and it modifies the noun *ndɔ* ‘farm’. In (b) on the other hand, the adjective *idense* ‘good’ precedes the interrogative pronoun *imɔmɔ* ‘which’. In (c), the quantifier *isa* ‘three’ is preceded by the interrogative pronoun *imɔmɔ*. One observation as can be seen is that when these modifiers are introduced, the interrogative pronoun *imɔ* is reduplicated into *imɔmɔ*.

#### 4.5 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Gichode are listed below:

62) Reflexive Pronoun	Gloss
mɛgbagba	‘myself’
fɔgbagba	‘yourself’



foigbagba	‘yourselves’
mɔɔgbagba	‘him/herself’
mɔmɔɔgbagba	‘themselves’
imɔɔgbagba	‘itself’
ayɛgbagba	‘ourselves’

According to Harcourt et al (1963), the reflexive pronouns are used in two ways. They are used reflexively with antecedents and may also be used intensively for emphasis. The pronouns do not change in form; they remain the same whether in subject or object positions. Below are some examples:

63) a. Mary gi-nyingi mɔ-gbabga

mary PRT-remind.PST 3SG-self

‘Mary reminded herself’.

b. Mary gbagba ne m-ba

mary self FOC 3SG-come.PST

‘Mary came herself’.

While (63a) is a reflexive sentence where the reflexive *mɔgbagba* ‘herself’ is referring to the antecedent Mary, in (63b) on the other hand, the reflexive *gbagba* ‘self’ shows emphasis. It means no other person but Mary who did the coming in

person. Also, in sentences of emphasis like (63b), the personal pronoun is not attached to the reflexive ‘self’. According to Clement (1975), the pronoun in such constructions as in (63a) in Akan is obligatory. Gichode is also similar to the Akan situation, where the pronoun is obligatory and if it is deleted, it makes interpretation difficult. Below are some more examples:

64) a. fo      terɛ      **fo-gbagba**      abɛ

2SG   Call-PST   2SG-self   or

‘Did you call yourself or?’

b. fo      **gbagba**      ne      dzi

2SG   self   FOC   eat-PST

‘You yourself ate?’

While (64a) has reflexive interpretation, (64b) shows emphasis.

#### 4.6 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are pronouns that are not specific in the noun they replace. They may be singular or plural. Some of the indefinite pronouns in Gichode include the following:

65) Indefinite Pronoun	Gloss
ɔkamase	‘everyone/everybody’
ɔkorɔko	‘nobody’
ɔkɔ	‘somebody/someone’
ikamase	‘everything’

These indefinite pronouns do not change in form. They are the same whether in subject or object positions. Some of them occur with numerals as modifiers. In relation to their positions, the indefinite pronoun precedes the numeral. Below are some examples:

66) a. **ɔkɔ**            mɛŋ-nyɛ            inan  
           Indef.Pro    NEG-get-PST    CL-four

‘Someone did not get four’.

b. **ɔkamase**        gi-nyɛ            inyɔ  
           Indef.Pro    PRT-get-PST    CL-two

‘Everybody got two’.

In (66), the numerals *inun* ‘five’ and *inyɔ* ‘two’ are preceded by the indefinite pronouns *ɔkɔ* ‘someone’ and *ɔkamase* ‘everybody’ respectively. *ɔkɔ* can be used as both quantifier and an indefinite pronoun.

#### 4.7 Reciprocal Pronoun

Gichode has only one reciprocal pronoun. This pronoun is *abara* ‘each other or one another’. It is used for both human and non-human. Below are examples:

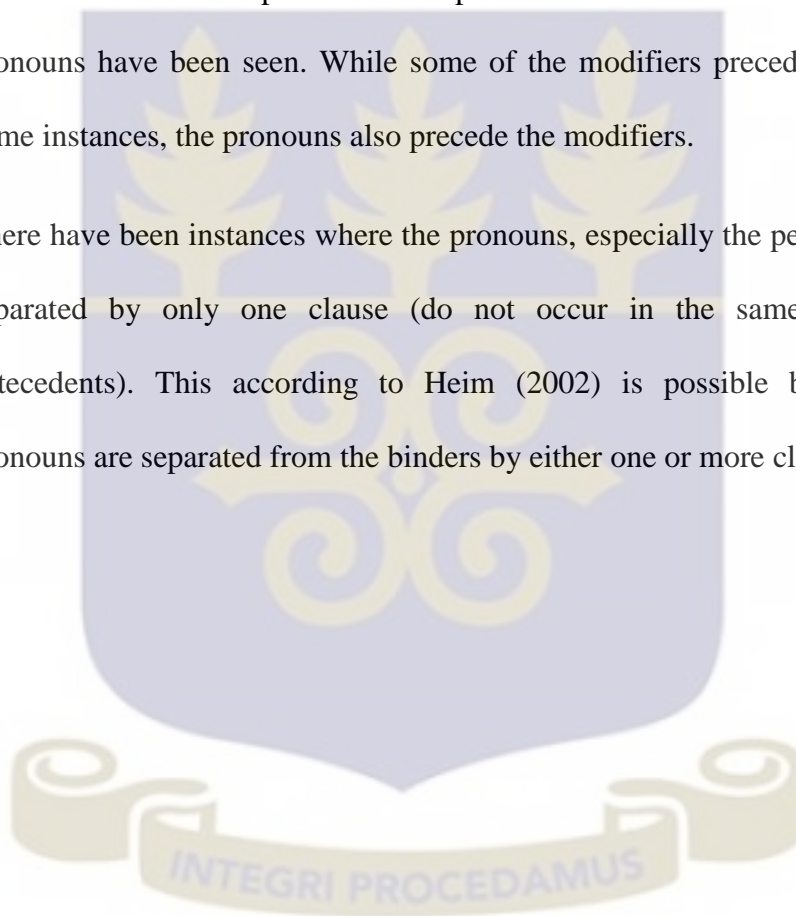
- 67) a. m-bii    η-nyɔ    mɔ    mɛ    dare    **abara**  
 PL-child PL-two DEF 3PL beat-PST each other  
 ‘The two children beat each other or one another’.
- b. i-Chase    i-nyɔ    mɔ    mɛ    dare    **abara**  
 PL-fowl PL-two DEF 3PL beat-PST each other  
 ‘The two fowls beat each other’.
- c. me    kya-sale    **abara**  
 3PL PROG-insult each other  
 ‘They are insulting one another or each other’.

#### 4.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have looked at the pronominal system in Gichode. This includes the personal pronouns and their distribution, and the other pronoun types such as

relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and reflexive pronouns. The positions of these pronouns either nominative case or accusative case have been examined. While some of them change form depending on the case, others also retained their form. It has also been observed that some modifiers like adjectives, quantifiers and numerals can occur with the various pronouns. The positions of these modifiers in relation to the pronouns have been seen. While some of the modifiers precede the pronouns in some instances, the pronouns also precede the modifiers.

There have been instances where the pronouns, especially the person pronouns are separated by only one clause (do not occur in the same clause as their antecedents). This according to Heim (2002) is possible because the local pronouns are separated from the binders by either one or more clauses.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.0 Introduction

This study has been concerned with giving a description of the structure of the NP in Gichode, highlighting the sequential order of the various modifiers found in the noun phrase. A summary of the individual chapters is given in the following sections and recommendations for future research.

#### 5.1 Summary of Chapters

Chapter one of this work dealt with the general introduction to the thesis. The background of the study which looked at the language and its speakers, the problem statement which necessitates this study, the research questions which guided the study, the objectives this work hoped to achieve and the significance of the study have been discussed in this chapter. The chapter concluded on how the thesis is organized.

Chapter two reviews relevant and related literature. The reviewed work includes: Himmelman (2006) essentials of language documentation, Koopman (2000) the internal and external distribution of pronominal DPs, Van (2006) NP-internal agreement and the structure of the noun phrase, Duthie (1996) on introducing Ewe linguistic patterns, Collins and Postal (2008) on Icelandic Imposters and the Proprial Article, Beavers (2003) which talks of more heads and less categories, Fassi Fehri (1999) which looks at the Arabic modifying adjectives and DP

structure. Dorvlo (2004) on does Lobga have adjective class and Cabredo et al (2010) on the syntax and semantics of adjectives have also been reviewed.

Chapter three looks at the noun class system of Gichode, the types of modifiers and their distribution in Gichode. The modifiers discussed include: determiners, adjectives, numerals, relative clauses, quantifiers and possessed noun. It has been established that all the modifiers are postnominal. The position of each of these modifiers to the noun influences or determines the meaning or interpretation it encodes. With the constituent order of modifiers, it has been established that when all the modifiers are present in a single sentence or construction, the linear order of modifiers in a noun phrase is:

***(i) Noun-Relative clause-Numeral-Adjective-Determiner-Quantifier.***

***(ii) Noun-Numeral-Relative clause-Adjective-Determiner-Quantifier***

Chapter four deals with the pronominal system of Gichode. It looks at the use and distribution of the various pronouns in the language. While some of the pronouns change form, others maintain their form. The pronoun types considered include: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Modifiers like adjectives, numerals and quantifiers can modify some of these pronouns.

## 5.2 Recommendation for Future Research

Though the study has provided some insight into the structure of the noun phrase and the pronominal system of Gichode, more work still needs to be done on some of the aspects that i could not look at into details. These include, whether there are factive constructions in relative clauses in Gichode and detail discussion on the types of pronouns including emphatic forms.





## APPENDIX

Questionnaire used for translation.

1. the wooden stool
2. the students who failed last year
3. do you know who killed the elephant?
4. the elders know better
5. when was the chance given to Kwame and Ama?
6. the district police commander who came
7. those who seized the farm lands
8. who knows them?
9. it is for only three of you
10. give me three yams
11. the small white good dress
12. the round yellow ball
13. which one did you give him?
14. half of the oil is finished
15. the four big goats

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