Comparing Demonstratives in Kwa

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Abstract

This paper is a comparative study of demonstrative forms in three Kwa languages, Akan, Ga and Ewe. It examines the syntax, morphology, semantics and pragmatics of the demonstrative systems in these languages. The existence of various categories such as demonstrative determiner, demonstrative pronoun, demonstrative adverb, demonstrative identifier and the under-described 'particular' demonstratives in these three languages is examined. Semantically, we observe a basic two-way deictic contrast for most of the demonstrative systems, even though there are a few variations. The most significant qualitative feature distinction observed is one of humanness. The dearth of the morphology of these forms is noted. Finally, the role of the demonstratives in the organisation of speech flow is considered. The description of the demonstrative systems of these languages could lead to an eventual re-construction of the demonstrative system in the proto-language.

1. Introduction[1]

Demonstratives have received various characterisations from different authors, however what is common to all these characterisations is the deictic feature associated with demonstratives. Lyons (1977) describes demonstratives as referring expressions which provide information about the location of an object in relation to a deictic centre. Dixon (2003: 61-62) suggests that a demonstrative is "any item, other than 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which can have pointing or (deictic) reference". Diessel (1999), on the other hand, provides a more extensive characterisation of a demonstrative based on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features. We will look at these features, as suggested by Diessel, in turn.

Syntactically, demonstratives are deictic expressions that serve specific syntactic functions. These include pronouns, adnominals and locational adverbs.

Semantically, demonstratives may be identified with some specific semantic features. The most prominent of such semantic features is the distance distinction that characterises many demonstrative systems, even though some

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languages distinguish demonstratives on the basis of other qualitative features such as animacy, humanness, and number. A few languages, such as French (ce/cette/ces), have distance-neutral demonstratives. Typically however, most languages indicate a two-way distinction; they have proximal demonstratives which denote closeness to the deictic centre and distal demonstratives which denote some relative distance from the deictic centre, such as English *this* and *that*, *here* and *there*. Some languages tend to be more elaborate in their distance distinction. Spanish, Portuguese and Tamil are among languages which make a three-way distinction. For instance, Spanish distinguishes between the locational adverbs *aqui* 'here', *ahi* 'just there' and *alli* 'over there'. Northern Sami, Samal and Hausa are characterised with four-way distinctions. Jagar (2001) reports that Hausa has four Locational adverbs: *nân* 'here, near the speaker', *nan* 'there, near the addressee', *cân* 'there, away from speaker and addressee' and *can* 'there, further away from speaker and addressee'. Even more elaborate systems can be found in Malagasy (Austronesian), six-way distinction; Daga (Trans-New Guinea), fourteen-way distinction; Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut) thirty-way distinction (Anderson and Keenan 1985). However, more elaborate distinctions tend to include other features such as (non)visibility, uphill/downhill, lower/higher elevation, upriver/downriver.

Pragmatically, demonstratives are used to organise information flow in an ongoing discourse by keeping track of prior discourse participants and activating shared information. Mostly, the referents of demonstratives are 'activated' or at least 'familiar' (cf. Gundel et al 1993). Their main purpose is to focus the addressee's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation (Diessel 1999).

Following Amfo (2007), this paper aims at making a contribution to our understanding of demonstratives in three Kwa languages spoken in Ghana, Akan, Ewe and Ga. Even though these three languages are among the most prominent local languages in Ghana, little is known about their demonstrative systems[2]. The paper seeks to describe the types and forms of demonstratives in these languages in a comparative perspective. Attention will be paid to the morphological make-up of these demonstratives. The syntactic positions of the various categories of demonstratives will be analysed. Finally, the semantics and pragmatics of the demonstratives will be examined. We will focus on the deictic and qualitative features embedded in the demonstrative forms. Of particular interest will be what we suggest to be a grammaticalization process involving the Ewe proximal demonstrative

determiner *sia*. This paper is a step in the direction of providing a typological description of the demonstrative systems in Kwa, beginning with the select Ghanaian languages.

The rest of this paper is organised as follows. The next brief section 2 provides some language information about the languages in question. Section 3 focuses on the types of demonstratives present in the languages. Diessel's categories of demonstratives are introduced and these form the basis of the specific language analyses of Akan, Ewe and Ga in subsections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 respectively. Attention is paid to the various syntactic positions of the different demonstrative forms. Section 4 is devoted to the rather generally invariable morphology of the demonstratives, while section 5 discusses the deictic and qualitative semantic features embedded in these demonstratives. Section 6 is devoted to some pragmatic features of the demonstratives, and it includes an examination of the grammaticalisation process involving the Ewe proximal demonstrative determiner *sia*. Section 7 is the conclusion.

## 2.	Language Information

Akan, Ewe, Ga are all Kwa languages belonging to the Niger-Congo language family. Ga belongs to the Ga-Dangme sub-group, a branch of the Nyo group, whereas Ewe belongs to the Gbe sub-group, which descends from the Left Bank group. Akan is a direct descendant of the Central Tano sub-goup (cf. Stewart 1989).

Akan is the most prominent Ghanaian language,[3] with about 40% of the total population considered as native speakers, and about two-thirds of the population use it as a medium of communication for social, economic and religious purposes (Obeng 2005). The analyses made in this paper are based on the three literary dialects: Akuapem, Asante and Fante. As a result, we draw examples from these three dialects, and they are indicated accordingly AK, AS and FA for Akuapem, Asante and Fante respectively.

Ewe is the second largest indigenous language in Ghana.[4] It is used as a cover term for a number of dialects including Anlo, Peki, Kpando, and Gbi (Duthie 1988)[5]. Native speakers of Ewe occupy most parts of the Volta region. Ewe serves as a lingua franca for native speakers of some Potou Tano languages such as Lelemi, Avatime, Logba, as well as Guan languages like Nkonya. Unless otherwise indicated, our examples are drawn from the standard variety, which incorporates features of a number of dialects including Peki, Amedzofe and Keta.

Ga is the native language of people from in and around the capital of Ghana, Accra. It is spoken by a number of non-Gas who have lived and possibly grown up in Accra.[6] Dakubu (1988) reports that there is little regional variation in the language, and there are no clearly distinguishable dialects.

3.   Types of Demonstratives

The categorisation of demonstratives in Akan, Ewe and Ga done in this paper, is based, to a large extent, on Diessel's (1999) classification of demonstratives. Diessel identifies four categories of demonstratives: demonstrative pronoun, demonstrative determiner, demonstrative adverb and demonstrative identifier.

A demonstrative pronoun is a demonstrative which occurs independently in argument positions of verbs and it represents a noun, as illustrated in (1). On the other hand, a demonstrative determiner co-occurs with a noun in a noun phrase, as shown in (2).

1) Janet prefers **this**.
2) **That** boy is my son.

A demonstrative adverb functions as a verb modifier. As expected, they are found in argument positions of verbs, as illustrated by English *here* in (3).

3) Freda died **here**.

Diessel identifies two kinds of demonstrative adverbs: Locational deictics and manner demonstratives. Following Amfo (2007), we will label them Locational demonstrative adverb (LDA) and Manner demonstrative adverb (MDA). LDAs are "primarily used to indicate the location of the event or situation that is expressed by a co-occurring verb". MDAs "involve some comparison and they are often used as discourse deictics" (Diessel 1999: 74). They are often glossed as 'in this/ that way' or 'like this/that'.

A demonstrative identifier is a demonstrative which occurs in a specific grammatical construction, a copula or non-verbal clause. Their communicative function is to focus the addressee's attention on entities in the extra-linguistic context. Example (4) involves a demonstrative identifier *nie* from Akan.

4) Mpaboa no **nie**.[7]
   Shoes DEF DI
   'Here are the shoes.'

There is a fifth category of demonstratives identified in the Kwa languages examined here, which is not captured under Diessel's categorisation. In Akan and Ga, the demonstratives in this category are identical with the MDAs in the respective languages. In Ewe, there is a phonological similarity between the two forms. Following Schuh (1977), we call these 'particular' demonstratives. These demonstratives are adnominal, but unlike other nominal modifiers in the languages, they occur pre-nominally, and they obligatorily require the presence of a post-nominal determiner as well. The utterance in (5) involving the Akan 'particular' demonstrative *saa* is ungrammatical without the post-nominal determiner *yi*.

5) **Saa** abofra **yi** nim adeɛ paa.
   PD child PDD know thing INT
   'This child is very intelligent.'

The following sub-sections discuss the categories of demonstratives in the various languages in more detail.

3.1 Akan

All four categories of demonstratives cited in Diessel have been identified in Akan. In addition, as indicated in the previous section, there is a fifth category. What follows is a summary of the types of Akan demonstratives (cf. Amfo 2007) and their various syntactic positions.

There are two identifiable demonstrative determiners in Akan: *yi* and *no*. *Yi* is the proximal demonstrative, denoting closeness to the speaker, and *no* can be considered as its distal counterpart denoting relative distance away from the speaker. In Akan not only do demonstrative determiners occur as nominal modifiers, they are used as clausal modifiers as well. They may occur in post-nominal position when they modify a noun, otherwise they occur clause finally, taking scope over the whole clause, as illustrated in (6) and (7) respectively.[8]

6) Asem **yi** yɛ-ɛ ɔbarima no ne ne yere no
   Matter PDD do-COMPL man DEF CONJ POSS wife DEF

dε mmoroso.
sweet overflow
'The man and his wife were exhilarated by this message.'   AK

7) Me-te-ase   **yi,**   me-m-pene   m-ma   Agyeman
n-ware
I-stay-under   PDD,   I-NEG-agree   NEG-allow   Agyeman
NEG-marry
Kyeiwaa.
Kyeiwaa
'As long as I aı. alive, I wouldn't agree to Agyeman and Kyeiwaa's
marriage.'   AS

The demonsɪrative pronouns in Akan are the proximals *eyi/oyi/iyi/wei* and
the distals *εno/ɔno*. Akuapem uses *eyi* for non-human̦ references and *oyi* for human
ones. Asante uses *wei* for both human and non-human references, and Fante *iyi*
is also underspecified in terms of humanness. In Asante and Akuapem, *εno* refers
to non-human entities, whereas *ɔno* is used in reference to human entities. Like
its proximal counterpart, Fante *ɔno* is used in reference to both human and non-
human entities.[9]

Demonstrative pronouns in Akan occur in argument positions of verbs.
Specifically, they occur in subject, object and focus positions, as exemplified in
(8), (9) and (10) respectively.

8) **Iyi**   pε   mpuwa,   na   **iyi**   pε   ekutu.

PDP   like   bananas,   CONJ   PDP   like   oranges
'This one like bananas and this one like oranges.'
FA

9) Me-tɔ-ɔ **iyi**   wɔ   Kumase.
I-buy-COMPL PDP   be.at   Kumase
'I bought this one at Kumase.'   FA

10) **Iyi** na me-hu-u no wɔ fie hɔ no.

PDP FM I-see-COMPL him be.at house t h e r e
DEF

'This person is the one I saw there at the house.'
FA

Notice that when the pronoun occurs in focus position, the main clause contains a resumptive pronoun which is co-referent with the demonstrative pronoun, the exception being when the referent of the demonstrative is an inanimate object.

There are two kinds of demonstrative adverbs in Akan, as identified in Amfo (2007). They are Locational demonstrative adverbs (LDA) and Manner demonstrative adverb (MDA). The LDAs are (ɛ)*ha* 'here' and (ɛ)*hɔ* 'there'. There are four syntactic positions associated with the Akan LDAs. First, they may occur as adverbial complements in object position. In this position, they can occur independently, or they may co-occur with other adverbials, as seen in (11).

11) Ye-sie-e no **ha** (nnɛra).

We-bury-COMPL him/her here (yesterday)
'We buried him/her here (yesterday).'
AS

Second, they may occur as head nominals in noun phrases contained in constructions which make reference to parts of the body, as illustrated in (12). Such utterances have to be accompanied with pointing gestures.

12) Me **ha/hɔ** a-hono.
My here/there PERF-swell
'Lit.: My here/there is swollen'
(This/that part (of my body) is swollen.)

Third, they may function as the modifier of a head noun. In (13) *ɛha* 'here' modifies *sukuufoɔ*'pupils', and it indicates that the pupils of an area close to the deictic centre do not like learning. Of course, whether the demonstrative *ɛha*

'here' is used in reference to an institution, a town or even country is subject to pragmatic inference.

13) Ɛha   sukuufoɔ   m-pɛ   adesua.
    Here   school.people   NEG-like   learning
    'Pupils here do not like learning.'
    (e.g. Pupils of this institution/town do not like learning.)

Finally, the LDAs may be found in complex noun phrases which involve a head noun, a demonstrative determiner and a postposition. In such constructions, the proximal demonstratives (i.e. determiner and LDA) co-occur, as shown in (14), while the distals *no* and *ha* collocate.

14) Kuro yi mu   **ha**   deɛ,   wo-n-nya   yere.
    Town PDD   inside   here   TM, you-NEG-get wife
    'As far as this town is concerned, you will not get a wife (from here).'
    AS

Akan has deictically contrastive MDAs. They are *dɛm* and *dei* for Fante and *saa* and *sei* for Akuapem and Asante.[10] *Sei/dei* is the appropriate MDA when the speaker coincides with the demonstrator of the action being performed, and the action and the utterance are performed simultaneously, or the action immediately follows the utterance. *Saa/dɛm* is the felicitous MDA when the action is performed before the *saa*-sentence is uttered, or when it is someone else other than the speaker who is performing the action being referred to, or else it is used discourse anaphorically in reference to some already mentioned state of affairs. We can thus consider *sei/dei* as the proximal form and *saa/dɛm* its distal counterpart. The MDA has two syntactic positions; it either occurs in the object position, or else it is found in the focus position, but never in subject position. In (15), *sei* is apt when the utterance is accompanied by the appropriate gestures performed by the speaker. *Saa* may be used either discourse anaphorically or when someone else than the speaker is doing the gesturing. In (16), Fante *dɛm* may be used discourse

anaphorically, or else it may be used together with the suitable gestures by some other interactant who is not the speaker.

15) **Saa/Sei**   na   o-didi.
    MDA   FM   s/he-eat.RED
    'That is the way s/he eats.'
        AS

16) Me-m-pɛ **dɛm**.
    I-NEG-like MDA
    'I don't like that':
        AS

Akan has another demonstrative which does not seem to fit any of the categories suggested by Diessel, and which has not received an adequate description so far. This may be due to its phonologically identity with the distal MDA, and its lack of independent occurrence, in that it always occurs with a demonstrative determiner. Indeed, it is ungrammatical to have the pre-head modifier *saa/dɛm* without a post-head demonstrative determiner. Its syntactic position is also distinct; unlike most noun modifiers in the language, it is a pre-head modifier. Example (17) illustrates the use of this demonstrative.

17) **Saa** papa **no/yi**   ba-a   ha.
    PD   man DDD/PDD come-COMPL here.
    'That man came here.'

This category of demonstratives has not received wide attention cross-linguistically. However, Schuh (1977) reports of such a category of demonstratives in the Ngizim/Bade (Afroasiatic, Chadic) languages that he studies. He labels it as a 'particular' category, and admits the relative difficulty in precisely categorising this group. Following Schuh, we call the pre-nominal *saa/dɛm* a 'particular' demonstrative. It could be translated as 'that same ...' or 'that particular ...'. It refers to a specific entity which is 'familiar' to both speaker and addressee (in which case it combines with *no*), or 'activated' (in which case it combines with *yi*). The use of this demonstrative signals the specificity of a familiar or an activated referent.

Demonstrative identifiers, as have already been indicated, occur in specialized constructions. In Akan, demonstrative identifiers occur in non-verbal clauses. They occur together with noun phrases. The noun phrase may be a very simple one, which contains only a proper noun, or a head noun and a determiner, to more complex ones, such as noun phrases containing modifiers like adjectives or numerals, to even more complex noun phrases such as those with clause size modifiers like relative clauses. The Akan demonstrative identifier is *ni(e)* (Akuapem/Asante) and *nyi* (Fante), and the different syntactic collocations outlined above are illustrated in (18) to (21) below.

18) Agyeiwaa   **nie.**
      Agyeiwaa   DI
      'Here is Agyeiwaa'
      AS

19) N-kyɛnsee   no   **nie.**
      PL-pan   DEF   DI
      'Here are the pans.'
          AS

20) M-maa mmienu   no   **nie.**
      PL-woman   two   DDD   DI
      'Here are those two women.'
          AS

21) Abofra no   a   o-di-i   aduane no   **nie.**

      Child   DEF   REL   s/he eat-COMPL food   DCM   DI
      'Here is the child who ate the food.'

3.2   Ewe

Demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, demonstrative identifier and 'particular' demonstrative are the categories present in Ewe. The demonstrative determiners are the distal *ma* and the proximal *sia*.

These demonstratives are adnominal, they may co-occur with a head noun with or without modifiers, as illustrated in (22) and (23) below, or they may occur in more complex noun phrases where there are other modifiers. The utterance in (24) contains an adjective in addition to the object head noun.

22) Agbale **sia** nyo.
    Book   PDD   be.good
    'This book is good.'

23) Me-xle agbale **ma**   kpɔ
    I-read   book   DET   PERF
    'I've read that book.'

24) Me-xle agbale xɔŋkɔ **ma**   kpɔ.
    1-read   book   collect-name   DET   PERF
    'I've read that famous book.'

    Demonstrative pronouns in Ewe are formed by prefixing the determiners with the third person singular pronoun *e*. The result is *esia* 'this one' and *ema* 'that one'. The pronouns occur independently in argument positions of verbs as in example (25) and (26). Their referents may be concrete entities which are visible in the extra linguistic context, as may well be the case in (25), where the speaker points to two objects to show the distinction between *esia* (this one) and *ema* (that one), or else the pronouns are used anaphorically in reference to an earlier discussed situation as illustrated by example (26). In this particular example, *esia* is used to refer to a situation where citizens of a certain village were always falling sick due to the fact that they had refused to keep their environment clean, a situation which had already been mentioned in an earlier utterance in the course of the ensuing discourse.

25) Esia nyo wu   **ema**.
    PDP good surpass DDP
    'This one is better than that one.'

26) Ameka   ƒe   vodada e-nye   **esia**.
    Who   POSS   fault   PRO-be PDD
    'Whose fault is this?'   .

Unlike Akan, Ewe demonstrative pronouns are hardly used to refer to human beings. They are used in reference to inanimate and animate non-human entities. When used in reference to a human entity, it has derogatory pragmatic implications and it is clearly uncomplimentary. We have already mentioned that the demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the 3ʳᵈ person pronoun *e* to the demonstrative determiners. This pronoun is, strictly speaking, underspecified in terms of animacy and humanness. However, as we have indicated, the demonstrative pronouns themselves would normally not have a human referent. To express a thought such as the following: 'I'm going home with this (person)', one has to use the human generic term *ame*, which will be the head noun in that noun phrase, and it will have to be modified by a determiner *sia*, and not *esia* which is a pronoun and does not occur with the support of a noun, as shown in (27).

27) Mayi   kple   ame   **sia/*esia**
    I.FUT.go   with   person   PDD
    'I will go with this person.'

Ewe has three LDAs, *afisia* 'here', *afima* 'there', and *afimɛ* 'way over there'. *Afisia* 'here' is used to refer to an area close to the speaker, and *afima* 'there' refers to a location relatively distant from the speaker or even to an area which cannot be located in the immediate environment. The third LDA *afimɛ* 'way over there' indicates a location further away from the speaker and the addressee than *afima* 'there'. These LDAs are made up of two morphemes; a generic noun *afi* 'place' and the proximal and distal demonstratives determiners *sia* and *ma* for the proximal and the distal LDAs respectively.[11] These demonstratives may occur as adverbial complements to a verb. In that position, it may occur on its own, as in (28), or it may collocate with other object complements. In (29), *afima* 'there' co-occurs with the time adverbial *etsɔ* 'tomorrow' as complements to the verb *yi* 'to go'. As example (30) illustrates, the LDAs may also function as the object complement of the locative copula le 'to be at'.

28) Mi-va   tɔ   ɖe   **afi-sia**.

You-come   stop   at   place-this
'(You) come and stand here.'

29) Mi-a-yi **afi-ma**   etsɔ.
    We-FUT-go   place-that   tomorrow
    'We will go there tomorrow.'

30) Nye-e de   sukuu   le **afi-ma**.
    I-FM   go.PST   school   be place-that
    'It is I who went to school there.'

Like Akan, the LDAs may occur in a possessive nominal phrase as the head noun, and this normally refers to a part of the body. These types of sentences occur only in colloquial spoken language where the various dialectal variants of the LDAs are used. This must be accompanied by the speaker or the addressee touching that part of the body. The choice between the proximal or the distal LDA depends on who is doing the touching. When the speaker is doing the touching whether on her own body or the addressee's body, she will use the proximal LDA, on the other hand, the addressee in referring to that part of the body which is being touched will use the distal counterpart. The utterance in (31) is an example from the Peki dialect.

31) Amu-**fii** / **fimi**   le venye.
    My-POSS here / there   be pain-me
    'My here / there is hurting.'

One other characteristic of spoken colloquial Ewe is that it is possible to find the LDAs functioning as noun modifiers, in which case they syntactically precede the head noun. In (32), the speaker by modifying *nyɔnuwo* 'women' with the distal LDA *afima* indicates that women of some contextually determined place away from the deictic centre do not make good wives.

32) **Afi-ma** nyɔnu-wo   me-ɖe-a   srɔ o.
    Place-that   woman-PL NEG-marry-HAB   spouseNEG
    'Women from that place don't make good wives.'

(Anlo)

Ewe, has the manner demonstrative adverbs *nenema/sigbe*[12] and *ale*. *Nenema/sigbe* is the proximal form, functioning similarly to Akan *sei*, and *ale* is the distal form comparable to Akan *saa*. In (33) *nenema* or its dialectal variant *sigbe* is possible if the speaker is pointing to a demonstration by a third person, who is neither the speaker nor the addressee. On the other hand, if the speaker is the same person doing the demonstration at the same time as the sentence is uttered, then *ale* is the felicitous demonstrative to use.

33) Trɔ   **ale/sigbe/nenema**.
    Turn   like.this/that
    'Turn like this/that.'

Nenema/sigbe may be used discourse anaphorically to refer to a situation that has been described earlier in a discourse. Example (34) will be appropriate in a context where the addressee might have narrated to the speaker some experience she has had with the referent of the third person singular subject pronoun *wo-*.

34) **Nenema/sigbe**   wole.
    Like.that   s/he.be
    'That is how s/he is.'

Ewe, like Akan, has a single 'particular' demonstrative *nenem*. It is almost identical to the MDA, except that it has no final vowel 'a', which characterises the MDA. It occurs in pre-nominal position, co-occurring with the post-nominal demonstrative determiner *ma*. Unlike in Akan where the 'particular' demonstrative co-occurs with both demonstrative determiners, the Ewe MDA can only collocate with the distal demonstrative determiner. The referent of the *nenem*-NP is always activated (cf. Gundel et al), that is, it is in the current short-term memory of the addressee, possibly because it has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, or it is present in the immediate extra-linguistic context. In (35), by using the pre-nominal determiner *nenem* and the distal demonstrative *ma* in the noun phrase, *nenem nyɔnu ... ma* 'that same ... woman', the story teller indicates to the reader that the woman he is referring to is the same woman which has already been introduced, and indeed she has been mentioned consistently throughout the story. This helps to narrow down the search area for the referent of the NP.

35) **Nenem** nyɔnu kɔkɔ ma si kplɔ ɖevi-a tso
    PD   woman tall   DDD REL lead child-DEF .
    from

    ave-a   . me la bu zideka.
    forest-DEF   inside DCM disappear   suddenly

    'That tall woman who lead the child from the forest disappeared suddenly.'

Dropping *nenem* out of the subject NP in (35) will suggest that the referent of that NP is 'familiar', rather than 'activated'. The addressee already has a representation of the woman being talked about in his long- or short-term memory; depending on how long ago she has been mentioned or perceived.

    Ewe has one demonstrative identifier, *esi*. It occurs in copula clauses, and it is used to focus the addressee's attention on some physically present entity. The noun phrase in such constructions could be as simple as containing a noun head and a determiner, as in (36), or it could be a more complex noun phrase with modifiers such as a relative clause as in (37).

36) Devi-a e-nye **esi**.
    Child-DEF   FM-be DI
    'Here is the child.'

37) Agbale si dim mie-le la e-nye **esi**.
    Book   REL   search.PROG we-PROG   D C M
    FM-be DI
    'Here is the book that we are looking for.'

    It is worth mentioning that some dialectal variants of the demonstrative identifier can be used in non-verbal clauses, as is the case in Akan. Such constructions are restricted to colloquial settings. However, what distinguishes these Ewe constructions from the Akan ones is that in Ewe the NP bears a focus marker. The following examples (38) and (39) from the Peki and Anlo dialects respectively illustrates this point.

38) Kofi-e **ke**. (Peki)

   Kofi-FM DI

   'Here is Kofi.'

39) Srô-nye-e   **yia** (Anlo)
    Spouse-POSS-FM   DI
    'Here is my wife/ husband.'

3.3   Ga

The categories of demonstratives found in Ewe and Akan are the same ones found in Ga. Ga has a proximal demonstrative determiner *nɛɛ*, the definite determiner *lɛ*functions as a distal demonstrative determiner especially when it co-occurs with the pre-nominal 'particular' demonstrative *nakai*. These are illustrated in (40) and (41) below.

40) Kɛ   fɔ   okplɔ   **nɛɛ** nɔ.
    Take   put   table   PDD on
    'Put it on this table.'

41) Kɛ   fɔ   **nakai** okplɔ   lɛ   nɔ.
    Take   put   PD   table   DET   on
    'Put it on that table.'

   The demonstrative pronouns are the proximals *enɛ* and *mɛnɛ* and the distals *no* and *lɛ*. The pronouns *enɛ* and *no* are used for non-human entities, while *mɛnɛ* and *lɛ* are reserved for human entities, as we see in (42) and (43).

42) Mi-sumɔ   **mɛnɛ**.
    I-like   this.person
    'I like this person.'

43) Mi-sumɔ   **no**.
    I-like   that.one
    'I like that one.'

Ga has two LDAs and two MDAs. The LDAs are *biɛ* 'here' and *jɛmɛ* 'there', and they may occur as adverbial complements in object position, sometimes in conjunction with other adverbs, as seen in (44) and (45).

44) Mi-ba   **biɛ** nyɛ
    I-come.PST   here yesterday
    'I came here yesterday.'

45) Maya **jɛmɛ** wɔ.
    I.FUT   there   tomorrow
    'I will go there tomorrow.'

Like their Akan and Ewe counterparts, they are sometimes used as head nominals in reference to parts of the body, as illustrated in (46).

46) M-**biɛ**   e-fuu
    My-here   PERF-swell
    'Lit: My here is swollen.'

Ga, like Ewe and the Asante and Akuapem dialects of Akan, has two MDAs: proximal *nɛkɛ* and distal *nakai*. When used with accompanying gestures, *nɛkɛ* is the one used when the speaker is the one demonstrating how an action is (to be) performed, while *nakai* is used when the speaker is not the one demonstrating, but she is pointing at another person who is performing the action. Thus, in (47), the choice between *nɛkɛ* and *nakai* depends on whether the demonstrator coincides with the speaker or not.

47) Fee-mɔ lɛ   **nɛkɛ/nakai**.
    Do-NOM   PRO like.this/like.that
    'Do it like this/that.'

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Not surprisingly, *nakai* is the MDA that can be used anaphorically in reference to some previously described action or behaviour.

'Particular' demonstratives, identical with the MDAs, are present in Ga. Like their Akan and Ewe counterparts they collocate with post-nominal determiners. The proximal 'particular' demonstrative *nɛkɛ* combines with the proximal demonstrative determiner *nɛɛ* as in (48), and *nakai*, the distal 'particular' demonstrative is used together with *lɛ*, as example (49) shows.

48) **Nɛkɛ** gbekɛ   **nɛɛ**   e   tue   wa.
     PD   child   PDD   he   ear   hard
     'This child is stubborn.'

49) **Nakai** gbekɛ   **lɛ,**   e   gbo.
     PD   child   DEF,   he   die.PST
     'That child is dead.'

What is significant with the Ga 'particular' demonstrative constructions, which is absent in Akan and Ewe, is the presence of resumptive pronouns. Both examples (48) and (49) contain the resumptive pronoun *e*, which is co-referent with the noun phrase meaning 'this/that child'.

The demonstrative identifier in Ga is *nɛ*. Like in Akan and in some dialects of Ewe, the demonstrative identifier occurs in non-verbal clauses, as example (50) shows.[13]

50) Mi-hefatalɔ   **nɛ.**
     My-spouse   DI
     'This is my spouse.'/ 'Here is my spouse.'

Again, comparable to the other languages we have talked about, the noun phrases in such non-verbal clauses have no limitations on their complexities. Example (51) includes a noun phrase which contains a noun modifier, a numeral and a determiner in addition to the head noun, and (52) has a head noun which is modified by a relative clause.

51) Gbekɛ-bii   hii   etɛ   lɛ   nɛ.
    Child-PL   boys   three   DEF   DI
    'Here are the three boys.'

52) Nuu   lɛ   ni   fa   shika lɛ yɛ   mi-dɛŋ lɛ   nɛ.

    Man   DEF   REL   borrow   money DEF at my-hand DCM DI
    'Here is the man who borrowed money from me.'

4.   Morphology

The languages under study in this paper are not morphologically very rich, and this is reflected in their demonstrative systems. The morphology of the demonstratives is basically invariable. In Ga and Akan, except for the demonstrative determiner and pronoun categories, there are completely different demonstrative forms functioning in different syntactic contexts. Of course, the MDAs and the 'particular' demonstratives are identical in Akan and Ga, and nearly identical in Ewe. Thus, the various categories do not present as inflections of a basic form. In Akan, the demonstrative pronouns have the same stem as the determiners, and in addition, they have prefixes consistent with the nominal prefix system in the language. A derivation of the Ga demonstrative determiners from the pronouns or vice versa is not so transparent, even though there is some phonological similarity between the forms.

The situation is however different in Ewe. The demonstrative determiners appear to form the stem of the pronouns as well as the LDAs. All the proximal forms include the morpheme *sia*, and the distals have *ma*. The demonstrative identifier is also quite similar to the proximal demonstrative pronoun, except that it stem has a single vowel instead of two found in the other proximal demonstratives. It is the MDA which is significantly different in form from the other categories of demonstratives. Table 1 provides a summary of the categories of demonstratives in Akan, Ga and Ewe.

	Deter-miners	Pron-ouns	LDAs	MDAs	Parti-cular	Iden-tifier
Akan	yi, no	oyi/eyi/ wei/iyi, ɔno/ɛno	ɛha, ɛhɔ	dei,dɛm (FA) sei,saa (AS,AK)	dɛm/saa	ni(e) /nyi
Ga	nɛɛ, lɛ	ɛnɛ/ mɛnɛ, no/lɛ	biɛ, jɛmɛ	nɛkɛ, nakai	nɛkɛ, nakai	nɛ
Ewe	sia, ma	esia, ema	afisia, afima, afimɛ	ale, sigbe/ nenema	nenem	esi

Table 1: Categories of Demonstratives

5.   Semantics
According to Diessel (1999), the semantic features embedded in demonstratives are basically of two kinds: deictic and qualitative features. The deictic feature inherent in demonstratives is what enables a speaker who uses a demonstrative form to indicate the relative distance of an object or location in relation to a deictic centre (origo). The deictic centre often tends to be closely related to the location of the speaker, even though more elaborate demonstrative systems may locate objects and locations in relation to the addressee as well.

The demonstrative systems in Akan, Ga and Ewe basically indicate a two-way deictic contrast, even though Ewe has a three-way contrast for its LDAs. The demonstrative pronouns and determiners all show a two-way contrast; there is a proximal member and what may be considered as its distal counterpart in each set. With regard to the LDAs, Akan and Ga indicate a two-way contrast, whereas Ewe makes a three-way distinction: close to the speaker, away from the speaker, and further away from both speaker and addressee.

Akan, Ga and Ewe have deictically distinct MDAs. The distinction is based on whether it is the speaker or someone other than her who is doing the demonstration of the action that accompanies the MDAs in their exophoric

(gestural) usage. Ewe and Akan, unlike Ga, does not carry on the deictic contrast associated with the MDAs on to the 'particular' demonstrative. As a result, the Akan and Ewe 'particular' demonstratives are not deictically contrastive, but Ga has proximal and distal 'particular' demonstratives which collocate with their respective demonstrative determiner counterparts.

The demonstrative identifiers in all three languages are deictically neutral. This may be due to the fact that they are used to draw the addressee's attention to objects which are present in the extra-linguistic context, and these are often physically relatively close to the interactants. The deictic information included in the demonstratives is summarised in the table 2 below.

	Determiners	Pronouns	LDA	MDA	'Particular'	Identifier
Akan	2-way	2-way	2-way	2-way	NO	NO
Ga	2-way	2-way	2-way	2-way	2-way	NO
Ewe	2-way	2-way	3-way	2-way	NO	NO

Table 2: Deictic Contrast of Demonstratives

According to Diessel, the qualitative features inherent in demonstratives help in providing classificatory information about the referent of that demonstrative (phrase). The qualitative features he lists include the following: ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number and boundedness. Demonstratives in the Kwa languages under study here do not abound with such qualitative features. The features which are most prominent in these demonstratives are those of humanness, and to a lesser extent number.

The demonstrative pronouns in Akan and Ga are distinguished on the basis of humanness, even though there are some dialectal peculiarities when it comes to Akan. Akuapem uses *oyi* 'this person' for human entities, and it reserves *eyi* 'this one' for non-human entities. However the Asante and Fante equivalents, *wei* and *iyi* respectively, are used in reference to all entities irrespective of their humanness status. With regards to the distal demonstrative pronouns, Asante and Akuapem employ *ɔno* 'that person' for human entities and *ɛno* 'that one' is used

when the referents are non-human. Here again, Fante makes no such distinction, and *ɔno* is the appropriate pronoun for both human and non-human entities.

The Ga demonstrative pronouns *mɛnɛ* 'this person' and *lɛ* 'that person' are used in exclusive reference to human entities, while *ɛnɛ* 'this one' and *ɔno* 'that one' is employed for non-human entities. As indicated in section 3.2, the Ewe pronouns *esia* and *ema* are used in specific reference to non-human entities, thus the Ewe speaker resorts to the use of a demonstrative determiner and the generic noun *ame* when she intends a human referent.

With regard to number, there is hardly any number distinction reflected by the demonstratives. It is only the Fante PDD and PDP that inflects for number, by the addition of the suffix *–nom[14]* to the demonstrative *(i)yi*, for plural referents. Ewe has a distinct noun phrase structure, from that of Akan and Ga, where it is the final element in the noun phrase that carries that plural marker *–wo*. Thus, if it so happens that the demonstrative determiner is the last element in the noun phrase, the plural marker will be attached to it.

6.   Pragmatics

Demonstratives are crucial pragmatic indicators in communicative situations. As Diessel (1999: 93) puts it, their primary purpose is to "orient the hearer in the speech situation, focusing his or her attention on objects, locations, or persons". Demonstratives, Diessel suggests, may be used exophorically or endophorically. In their exophoric use, demonstratives are used to refer to entities in the speech situation, i.e. the extra-linguistic context, and they are significantly accompanied by pointing gestures. Subsumed under the endophoric use are the anaphoric, discourse deictic and recognitional uses.

When demonstratives are used anaphorically, the purpose is to "track participants of the preceding discourse" (Diessel 1999: 96). Demonstratives used discourse deictically refer to whole propositions which are part of the larger discourse. They may be anaphoric or cataphoric, in that, the proposition they refer to has been mentioned earlier (in the case of the former), or the speaker is just about to introduce it (in the case of the latter). Significantly, in its cataphoric use, the proposition which the speaker refers to by the demonstrative should be produced by the same speaker, but this need not be the case in its anaphoric use. The recognitional use of demonstratives is relatively less known and studied.[15] Demonstratives used recognitionally do not have their referents in the immediate

linguistic or extra-linguistic context. Their purpose is to activate specific shared information between speaker and addressee. This specific shared information is not information which is part of the general shared knowledge of the whole speech community. Since the referents of recognitional demonstratives are not 'activated', they may occur with relative clauses or other noun modifiers which aid in the easy identification of the intended referent by the addressee. Indeed these demonstratives, Diessel suggests, are adnominal.

In Akan, Ewe and Ga demonstrative identifiers are used exophorically. Indeed, this is a primary feature of demonstrative identifiers. Diessel (1999: 84) says that they are "genuine deictic expressions". Their basic exophoric function is reflected in the various labels assigned to them by researchers: Schuh (1977: 7) calls them "deictic predicators", Carlson (1994: 160) refers to them as "deictic identifier pronouns" and Rehg (1981: 15) uses the label "pointing demonstratives".

Demonstrative pronouns in these three languages may be used exophorically. Often their use is licensed by the physical presence of the entity being referred to, in the immediate extra-linguistic context. This group of demonstratives may be used discourse deictically, in reference to a proposition which has been expressed earlier in the discourse. The proximal demonstrative determiners when used as discourse deictics may be anaphoric or cataphoric. In its cataphoric use, the demonstrative and its co-referent proposition have to be produced by the same speaker.

Diessel intimates that manner demonstratives are regularly used as discourse deictics, and this is the case in Akan, Ewe and Ga. They may be used in reference to a previously uttered proposition. In addition, they are often used exophorically, in that they are accompanied by appropriate gestures. Utterance final and focus positions particularly favour the exophoric use in all three languages. The proximal manner demonstratives, *sei/dei* (Akan), *ale* (Ewe), *nɛkɛ* (Ga), are used when the speaker is the one doing the demonstration and the demonstration is performed simultaneously as the utterance or immediately after. If the speaker performs the action after which she produces the utterance involving the MDA, then the appropriate forms are the distal ones *saa/dɛm* (Akan), *nenema/sigbe* (Ewe) and *nakai* (Ga). The demonstrative determiners in the languages could serve both anaphoric and cataphoric purposes.

We have not as yet identified clear recognitional uses of demonstratives in these Kwa languages. However, the strategy where speakers modify a proper name with the distal demonstrative/definite article in Akan and Ga appears to serve a recognitional function. In the following Akan example (53), and its Ga equivalent, in (54), Akua need not have been mentioned in the preceding discourse, neither is her physical presence required to render the utterances felicitous. All that is required is that the referent of Akua is 'familiar' to both speaker and addressee.

53) Akua   **no,**   ɔ-ba   a,   o-be-hu.
    Akua   DEF,   she-come   CM,   she-FUT-see
    'That Akua, she will see when she comes.'

54) Akua   lɛ,   kɛji   e-baa,   e-baa-na
    Akua DDD,   CM   she-come,   she-FUT-see

In the following sub-section, we turn our attention to what we believe is the grammaticalization of the Ewe relative clause marker from the distal demonstrative determiner.

7.   Grammaticalisation

Grammaticalisation is defined by Meillet (1912: 131) as "the attribution of grammatical character to a previously autonomous word". It is the process whereby lexical categories become grammatical categories. As Hopper and Traugott's (2003: 1) recent definition demonstrates, grammaticalisation also involves "how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions". The effects of grammaticalisation are manifest at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels of analysis of a linguistic form (see Heine and Reh 1984, Lehmann 1995, Hopper and Traugott 2003, Sweetser 1988, Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer 1991, among others).

Diessel attests to various categories of demonstratives grammaticalising into other grammatical categories such as third person pronouns, relative pronouns, complementisers and sentence connectives. We have already hinted at the phonological identity of the Akan and Ga distal demonstrative determiners and the definite articles. Indeed third person object pronouns in these two languages have similar segments as the demonstrative determiners/definite articles, except

that the former has low tones, whereas the latter has high tones. We will not delve into the relationship between these forms in this paper, for lack of sufficient data at this point (but see Amfo 2006 for the discussion on the Akan forms). Our focus in this section of the paper is on the grammaticalisation of the Ewe relative clause marker.

The relative clause marker in Ewe is *si*, which we suggest has been derived from the proximal demonstrative determiner *sia*. Our reasons for arguing this way are three-fold. First, the phonological similarity between these two forms is striking. Second, this view is supported by a co-occurrence restriction on the two forms in the same extended noun phrase. Third, our argument is strengthened by the cross-linguistic tendency for relative pronouns (or markers) to derive from adnominal demonstratives. We will take these in turn.

As illustrated in example (22), repeated here for convenience as (55), the referent of a noun modified by *sia* is activated, either because it has just been mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance or it is in the immediate extra linguistic context and it is relatively close to the speaker.

> 55) Agbale **sia** nyo.
> Book PDD be.good
> 'This book is good.'

The relative clause marker, as we have mentioned, is *si*. Example (56) involves a head noun modified by a determiner ɖevi ma 'that child', which is in turn modified by a relative clause introduced by *si*.

> 56) Ɖevi ma si xɔ noʃe gbãtɔ la va zu
> e-xɔlɔ̃.
> Child DDD REL collect position first DCM come become his-friend
> 'That child, who was first, has become his friend.'

Certainly, the phonological identity between the proximal demonstrative determiner and the relative clause marker is obvious. What makes our suspicion of a historical relation between these two markers stronger is the fact that the PDD cannot modify a noun which is in turn modified by a relative clause introduced by *si*. The DDD *ma* is the only demonstrative that can be used in such relative

constructions. As a result, an utterance like the one in (57) where both *sia* and *si* co-occur is ungrammatical. So whether the head noun is relatively close or distant to the speaker is something which the addressee is left to infer.

57)* Ɖevi sia si ʃe   ŋku-wo gba   la-e   xɔ
     Child PDD REL   POSS   eye-PL break DCM-FM collect
     nɔʃe   gbãtɔ.
     position   first
     'This child who is blind was first.'

In the other languages under investigation here, and in other languages that we are familiar with, nouns modified by relative clauses can be modified by both proximal and distal demonstrative determiners. The relative clause marker in Akan is *a*, which is clearly phonologically different from the demonstrative determiners *yi* and *no*. In Ga, the DDD is *lɛ*, the PDD is *nɛɛ* and the relative clause marker is *ni*. The similarity displayed in Ewe between the PDD and the relative clause marker is unparalleled in the other languages. Considering that there is no general restriction on the co-occurrence of PDDs and relative clause markers in these closely related languages, the restriction that pertains in Ewe is in all likelihood due to the close historical relation between the two forms.

The derivation of relative clause markers[16] from demonstratives is nothing new. Diessel reports (following Lehmann 1984) that the German relative pronoun *der* derives from a demonstrative pronoun. The suggested pathway from the demonstrative pronoun to a relative clause marker is via an adnominal demonstrative. Diessel concludes then that if Lehmann's analysis is to be taken seriously then adnominal demonstratives ought to be considered as one source of relative clause markers. This is what we suggest has happened in Ewe, that the PDD is the source of the relative clause marker.[17]

8. Conclusion
This paper has taken a comparative look at the demonstrative systems in three Kwa languages – Akan, Ewe and Ga. The approach has been mostly descriptive, covering the categories of demonstratives that the languages have and the various syntactic positions associated with them. The morphology of the demonstrative systems was considered, as well as certain semantic and pragmatic features of the demonstratives.

We conclude that the demonstratives in these languages are generally very similar, even though we observe some interesting differences. Except for the demonstrative identifier category, the demonstrative categories, in most cases, manifest a basic two-way deictic contrast. The exceptions are as follows: the Akan and Ewe 'particular' demonstratives are deictically neutral, and the Ewe LDAs display a three-way deictic contrast.

It is only Ewe which has basic demonstrative morphemes (distal and proximal) in the determiner, pronoun and locational adverb categories. Akan has closely related demonstrative morphemes in the determiner and pronoun categories only, while Ga does not appear to have a consistent system in this regard. This relative morphological invariability is in consonance with the morphological paucity associated with these languages.

The least common of the demonstrative categories – the demonstrative identifier – is found to occur in all the languages. It is an indication that Diessel's (1999) categorisation (as compared to others, such as Dixon's (2003)) may be more suitable in describing the demonstrative systems in languages within the Kwa family and other related language families. However, it still falls short of capturing the 'particular' demonstrative category, which is present in all three languages, and indications are that it is a common category in languages within the sub-region. The description of the demonstrative systems of these languages could form a basis for further work and an eventual re-construction of the demonstrative system in the proto-language.

NOTES

1. We duly acknowledge the assistance of our language consultants Seth Allotey and Nii Ayi Ayiteh.

2. Amfo (2007) is an exception.

3. Even though there is some variety of Akan spoken in the Ivory Coast, this paper is concerned with Akan as a Ghanaian language.

4. Ewe is widely spoken in Southern Togo and Benin as well. Once again, we concentrate on Ewe spoken in Ghana.

5. The dialects which are collectively called Ewe may be put into three main groups: the Southern, Central and Northern dialects. Alternatively, the Central and Northern dialects are considered as the Inland dialects, and the Southern dialects are the Coastal dialects.

6. However, its role as a lingua franca for residents in the capital is gradually ceding to Akan.

7. The abbreviations used in this paper is as follows: CM Conditional marker; COMPL Completive aspect; CONJ Coordinating connective; DCM Dependent clause marker; DDD Distal demonstrative determiner; DDP Distal demonstrative pronoun; DEF Definite article; DI Demonstrative identifier; FM Focus marker; FUT Future tense; HAB Habitual marker; MDA Manner demonstrative adverb; NEG Negation morpheme; PD Particular demonstrative; PDD Proximal demonstrative determiner; POSS Possessive marker; PL Plural; PRO Pronoun; PST Past tense; PROG Progressive marker; RED Reduplication; REL Relative clause marker; TM Topic marker; PERF Perfect aspect; PDP Proximal demonstrative pronoun.

8. For a fuller range of the kind of clauses that the demonstrative determiners occur in, see Amfo (2006).

9. In Amfo (2007), the demonstrative pronouns were distinguished based on animacy features, we believe that the humanness distinction is more specific and accurate. Again, the dialectal variation we mention here was not recognized in the earlier study.

10. This is a deviation from and an improvement of what was originally reported in Amfo (2007).

11. Afii is sometimes used instead of afisia.

12. Nenema and sigbe are dialectal variants. The former is from the Anlo dialect and the latter is from the most of the inland dialects such as Peki, Kpando and Ho.

13. Ga has another marker, naa, which occurs in non-verbal clauses. This marker appears to function in an identical manner as nE, except that it occurs pre-nominally in contrast to nE which occurs post-nominally.

14. -nom is the plural suffix for kinship nouns in Akan.

15. Some studies which make explicit or implicit reference to this use include Gundel et al (1993), Auer (1984) and Lakoff (1974).

16. As Keenan (1985) observes, relative markers may come in the form of pronouns (as is the case in most European languages) or particles. The relative marker in Ewe is an invariable particle. Even though most of the reported studies of grammaticalization relates to pronouns, we believe those principles are still applicable here, even if we are dealing with a particle rather than a pronoun.

17. Unfortunately, the language lacks adequate historical data, and as a result we have to resort to extrapolation.

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