A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAMMAR OF
DAGAARE

ISAAC NUOKYAA-IRE MWINLAARU

Ph.D

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2017

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Department of English

A Systemic Functional Description of the Grammar of Dagaare

Isaac Nuokyaa-Ire Mwinlaaru

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2016

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it reproduces no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

_____(Signed)

_____ (Name of student)

DEDICATION

In memory of the Late Rev. Fr. Linus Zan Mwinlaaro

And to my ancestors: Mwinlaaru and Kognepuor

sons of Saabyang

son of

Vob

ABSTRACT

Since the 1960's, the systematic description of languages has gained unprecedented attention among linguists. While scholars have documented robust evidence for universal tendencies in the organisation, functions, and evolutionary pathways of language, there is still need to account for many languages that have not yet been described and develop comprehensive accounts for languages that are partially described. Such comprehensive descriptions are not only important for advancing linguistic science, but are also crucial for various applications in the communities where the languages are spoken. Against this background, the present study provides a system-based account of the lexicogrammar of Dagaare (specifically, the Lobr dialect), a Gur language spoken in West Africa. The general objective is to examine lexicogrammatical systems that realise interpersonal, textual and ideational meanings at clause rank. The account is based on discourse data, largely consisting of spoken texts produced by Lobr speakers in Ghana and Burkina Faso. The analysis and descriptive interpretation of the language are guided by the general theory of language formulated in systemic functional linguistics, typological generalisations and transfer comparison.

The findings of the study are organised into four chapters. The first chapter outlines the basic phonological and grammatical organisation of Dagaare. It identifies the units of phonology (viz. tone group, phonological word, syllable and phoneme) and grammar (viz. clause, group, word, and morpheme) and describes their forms and functions. It also discusses the various classes of grammatical units.

The second chapter discusses the interpersonal grammar of Dagaare, focusing on MOOD, the grammar of speech acts, and its interaction with POLARITY and systems of modal assessment, namely MODALITY (i.e. desirability & probability) and NEGOTIATION, realised by particles placed prosodically at clause initial or final position to enact speakers' attitude towards propositions and proposals. The chapter first examines the interpersonal structure of the clause, identifying two immediate constituents, the Mood base and the Residue. Three structural functions, comprising

Subject, Predicator and Negotiator (realised by clause initial and clause final particles), have been identified as forming the Mood base and as the most salient elements in enacting the clause as a unit of exchange. The chapter then moves on to discuss different mood types, comprising declarative, interrogative and imperative, and their sub-types. Next, the chapter examines the interaction between Subject person and the imperative clause, mood in elliptical and minor clauses and then the phenomenon of mood metaphor or indirectness between the mood types and the speech functions they realise. These are then followed by a discussion of POLARITY, MODALITY and NEGOTIATION.

The third analysis chapter describes the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION. Theme is defined as the element that is given initial prominence in the clause and is developed by the remainder of the clause, the Rheme. Different realisations have been identified for three types of Theme: textual, interpersonal and topical Themes. Notably, topical Themes are often (but not always) signalled by marking them off the rest of the clause as the Absolute Theme of the clause ('left-dislocated constructions'). On the other hand, the focus structure of Dagaare is minimally realised by the New element. New is identified semantically as that element that is singled out in the information unit as newsworthy. Three focus types are identified, namely end focus, contrastive focus and broad focus. End focus is the default choice for positive declarative and is realised by the focus particle *nı*. Contrastive focus is realised by thematic equatives, emphatic pronouns and exclusive markers. Broad focus is identified as zero-realisation and it is the default choice for imperative and negative clauses. The chapter finally discusses the relationship between the clause and information unit in Dagaare.

The final chapter examines the system of TRANSITIVITY, comprising the sub-systems of PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY. Six process types have been identified, comprising three principal types – material, mental and relational clauses; and three minor types – behavioural, verbal and existential clauses. Detailed grammatical evidence is given for the identification of each process type and their subtypes. Grammatical characteristics are also provided for the different participant roles across the process types.

The chapter continues to identify principles that generalise across the different process types. A notable generalisation is based on one phenomenon in Dagaare, the tendency for speakers to leave the Complement (or 'Object') unrealised in the clause. The general factor motivating this omission is a textual kind, namely, when the potential Complement is regarded as given information it can be left unrealised. However, other factors such as humanness in relation to the noun group realising the Complement and abstractness in relation to the clause as a whole override this principle. Further, based on this single variable, the various process types cluster into two broad semantic types: concrete and abstract clauses. Regarding the system of AGENCY, clauses divide into middle or effective, depending on whether or not they embody the feature of agency. Middle clauses represent the process as being self-engendered while effective clauses represent it as being caused by an external participant, the Agent.

The study contributes to systemic functional theory and the general meta-theory of language, functional language typology and African linguistics. The description is also appliable for the purposes of language education, translation, orthography, discourse studies and other practical settings where the Dagaare language is in focus.

RELATED OUTPUT

Book Chapter (refereed)

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. in press. Grammaticalising attitude: Clause juncture particles and NEGOTIATION in Dagaare. In Lise Fontaine & Akila S. Baklouti (eds.) *Perspectives from systemic functional linguistics*. London: Routledge.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N., Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen & Ernest Akerejola. forthc. A system based typology of MOOD in Niger-Congo languages. In Augustine Agwuele & Adams Bodomo (eds.). *The handbook of African linguistics*. London: Routledge.

Journal Articles (refereed)

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. & Foong Ha Yap. 2017. A tale of two demonstratives in Dagaare: Reflections on directionality principles in grammaticalisation. *Language Sciences*, 64. 130-151.
  DOI: 10.1016/j.langsci.2017.07.005. [SSCI & A&HCI]
- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. & Winfred Wenhui Xuan. 2016. A survey of studies in systemic functional language description and typology. *Functional Linguistics*, 3(8). 1-41.

Conference presentations (refereed)

- Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M & Isaac N. Mwinlaaru. 2017. Sayerhood across languages. *27th European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference* [*ESFLC*], Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, June 29 – July 1.

- Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M., Abhishek Kumar Kashyap, Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. & Espindola, Elaine. 2015. Systemic and metafunctional variation in the construal of motion across languages. *Functional Language Typology Conference*, Shanghai Jia Tong University, China, December 12 – 16.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2014. Profiling interpersonal particles in Dagaare: The case of the Dagara-Lobr dialect. *25th European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference*, Universite Paris Diderot – Paris 7, UFR EILA, Paris, July 10 – 12.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2014. Towards an interpersonal grammar of Dagaare: Notes on mood and polarity. A paper presented at the *Faculty of Arts Lecture Series,* University of Cape Coast, Ghana. August 21.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2015. Projection as a fractal motif in Dagaare. In Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Kazuhiro Teruya (Orgs.), "Projection as a fractal motif". A colloquium in *1st Tunisian Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference & Workshop*, University of Sfax, Hammamet, Tunisia, March 26 – 28.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2015. The system of NEGOTIATION in the lexicogrammar of Dagaare. *1st Tunisian Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference & Workshop*, University of Sfax, Hammamet, Tunisia, March 26 – 28.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2015. A systemic functional description of information structure in Dagaare. *14th National Chinese Conference on Functional Linguistics and International Symposium on Systemic Functional Linguistics for Launching 'The Halliday-Hasan Linguistics Fund' & Celebrating Professor Halliday's 90th Birthday*, Beijing Normal University, April 23 – 26.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2015. Grammaticalisation in Dagaare: From demonstratives, copula verbs, relational pronouns to the focus particle. *42nd International Systemic Functional Congress*, RWTH Aachen University, Germany, July 27 – 31.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2015. Polarity and modality in the lexicogrammar of Dagaare. *Functional Language Typology Conference*, Shanghai Jia Tong University, China, December 12 – 16.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2016. The structure and functions of the Dagaare verbal group. In Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen & Mira Kim (Orgs.), A

typology of verbal units in the overall system of languages. A colloquium presented at the *43rd International Systemic Functional Linguistics Congress* [*ISFLC*], Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), Indonesia, July 19 – 23.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2017. A prosodic-systemic account of ASPECT in Dagaare. *27th European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference* [*ESFLC*], Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, June 29 – July 1.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2017. POLARITY and MODALITY in the grammar and discourse of Dagaare. *West African Linguistics Conference* [*WALC*], University of Education, Winneba, Ghana, July 31 – August 5.

- Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2017. Demonstratives and the division of semiotic labour: A study of the Lobr dialect of Dagaare. *West African Linguistics Conference* [*WALC*], [Workshop on Mabia Languages], University of Education, Winneba, Ghana, July 31 – August 5.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

me the study leave even at a time when there was a lot of pressure on human resource in the university. Many thanks also to Dr. Moussa Traore and Mr. Samuel Kwesi Nkansah for supporting my study leave application.

I am highly indebted too to my many friends and colleagues who engaged me both academically and socially and made my PhD research experience less painful: Ridvan Aydin, Wang Bo, Ma Yuanyi (Helen), He Quiping (Ares), Lin Ling (Kathy), Yu Yating (Tiffany), Sonya Chik, Esterina Nervino, Winfred Wenhui Xuan, Zhang Peijia (Kaela), Nancy Guo, Elva Lin, Mark Nartey, Raymond Adongo, Elizabeth Agyeiwaa, Ibrahim Mohammed, Aaron Kofi B. Yankholmes, Wong Ming Chiu (Steven), Locky Law, Carmen Ng, Kathleen MacDonald, Andy Fung, Eric Lok Ming Cheung, Daniel Recktenwald, Zheng Yaofei (Jennifer). Many thanks to these most valuable fellow travellers and those I could not mention for want of space. Their doors were always open to me and they denied me the loneliness and misery of PhD life!

I will also acknowledge a few contemporary linguists whose work informed my thinking about language. These include Michael Halliday, Christian Matthiessen, Bernd Heine, Paul Hopper, Robert M. W. Dixon, Joan Bybee, Martin Haspelmath and Tom Güldemann. Many thanks also to the many writers I have consulted, especially authors of previous systemic grammars and the many collections on African languages. Thanks again to Professor Adams Bodomo and also Professor Mary E. K. Dakubu†, Joachim Somé and other scholars working on the different varieties of Dagaare/Dagara. Their studies served as a foundation for my own description and made my work less tedious.

Thanks also to my family for their endurance, patience and prayers throughout my study. May God richly repay them for their sacrifice.

Glory be to the Almighty God, the Alpha and the Omega, the Great Ingenious Spider, Dweller of the Crossroads, Most Dependable and Most Merciful, from whom all good things come!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

// - tone unit boundary

|| - internal clause boundary

||| - initial or final clause position

= clitic

[[…]] – downranked clause marker

ACC – accusative

ADH – adhortative

ADM – admonitive

ADP – adposition

ADV – adverbial particle

ADVLZ – adverbializer

AFFR – affirmative

CAUS – causative

CE – counter-expectation

CEN – central

COM – comitative

COND – conditional

CONJ – conjunction

CONT – continuative

COP – copula

DEF – definite

DEM – demonstrative

DIST – distal

DUP – duplication

EX – exclusive particle

EXCL – exclamation particle

EXH – exhortative

EXIST – existential

EM – empathy

EMP – emphatic

EVT – eventive particle

IDEO – ideophone

IND – indicative

INS – insistent

INST – instrument

INT – interrogative marker

IM – immediate

IMP – imperative

INTJ – interjection

IPFV – imperfective

JUNC – juncture

M – mild

MOD – modal

N – non

NEGO – Negotiator

NEG – negative

NMLZ – nominaliser

OP – opinative

PFV – perfective

PL – plural

POS – positive

PUR – purposive

PROJ – projection marker

PROX – proximal

PRT – particle (undefined)

PST – past

REL – relativiser

REM – remote

REQ – requestive

RNG - range

S – strong

SG – singular

FOC – focus

FUT – future

HAB – habitual

HM – human

HST – hesitative

IDENT – identifying

VOC – vocative

1 – first person

2 – second person

3 – third person

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

The aim of this study is to describe the grammar of Dagaare, specifically the Lobr dialect, as a meaning-making resource. It addresses the question: how does the Dagaare language work? The approach adopted is functional and discourse-based. This chapter introduces and contextualises the study. It first gives a geolinguistic overview of the Dagaare language, comprising its areal scope, typological environment, dialects and its contact with other languages. The nature and socio-political set-up of the Dagara society will then be described. This is followed by a discussion on developments in Dagaare studies to situate the objective of the present study in the extant literature. Subsequent sections then specify the research problem, the aim of the study and its value. The chapter ends with an outline of the thesis.

1.2   Geolinguistic Landscape of Dagaare

Dagaare (aka Dagara) is the language of the Dagara (or Dagaaba) people and, genetically, it is a member of the Gur language family of the Niger-Congo phylum. It is spoken in three West African countries, namely Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire, with an estimated population between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 native speakers (cf. Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016; Bodomo 2000). It is the dominant language of north-western Ghana and south-western Burkina Faso. It is, however, a minority language in the north-eastern corner of Cote d'Ivoire. The geographical coverage of the native land of the Dagara stretches from Bole in north-western Ghana through principal towns like Wa, Jirapa, Nadowli, Daffiama, Nandom, Lawra and Hamale into Burkina Faso, as far as Oronkua in the north, Diebougou in the north-west and Malba, west of the Black Volta (Dakubu 2005). In Ghana, there are also Dagaare-speaking communities in almost all regions, especially in the Brong Ahafo Region, the Ashanti Region and the capital city of Accra. In Burkina Faso, the principal speech communities are Batie in the Nounbiel Province, Gaoua in the Poni

Province, Diebougou in the Bougouriba Province, and Dano in the Ioba Province. Outside these provinces, Dagaare is popular in Bobo Dioulasso, the economic capital and Ouagadougou, the political capital (Modeste Somey, p.c.). Figure 1.1 locates the speech community of Dagaare on the map of West Africa.

The language has written registers since the 1950s. However, literacy is largely restricted to liturgical and evangelical materials as well as materials developed for mother tongue education. In Ghana, the Central Dagaare dialect is preferred for literacy and education; while in Burkina Faso, the preferred dialect is Lobr, each of which is the dominant dialect in their respective countries.
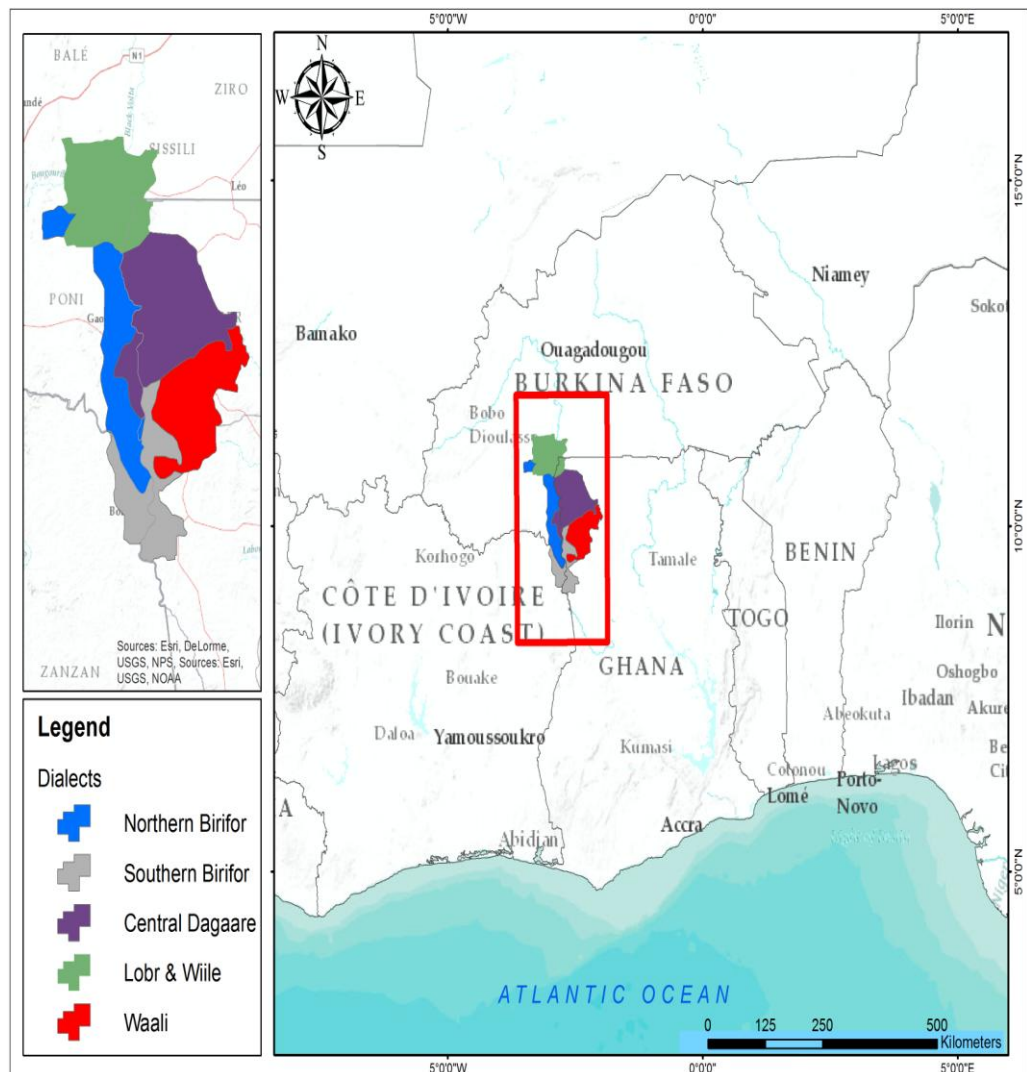
Figure 1.1: Locating the Dagara speech community on the map of West Africa

Dagaare is one of the nine languages approved by the government of Ghana to be taught as subjects in schools and to be used as the medium of instruction in the lower primary school. (English is the medium of instruction from Grade four onwards). It is also the predominant language of local radio stations and the Church in the Upper West Region (Ghana) and in south-western Burkina Faso, especially in the Ioba, Nounbiel, and Bougouriba Provinces and, to a limited extent, in the Poni province. Dagaare is taught in Wa College of Education (Ghana) and is offered for degree courses in two public universities in Ghana, namely the University of Ghana and the University of Education, Winneba. Surprisingly, however, only 5%–10% native speakers are estimated to be literate in the language (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016).

1.2.1 Typological Context of Dagaare

Figure 1.2 locates Dagaare in the Niger-Congo phylum.[1] Genetically, it belongs to the Oti-Volta group of Gur languages (Swadesh et. al. 1966; Bendor-Samuel 1971; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). The typological grouping presented in Figure 1.2 is based on phonological similarity and the technique of lexicostatistics (cf. Swadesh et al. 1966; Williamson & Blench 2000; Dakubu 2005). Lexicostatistics is the main criterion and it examines the extent to which identified sets of languages and dialects are similar or different in their basic vocabulary. This approach was developed by Morris Swadesh in the 1950's and applied to the Gur languages in his *Glottochronology of the Gur Languages* (Swadesh et al. 1966). The most common lexical root identified among these languages is *gur*, from which the languages derive their genetic name.

Among the Gur languages, Dagaare is classified more specifically as a northern Mabia language (cf. Bodomo (1993, 1997) on the term 'Mabia'). The similarity between the Mabia languages in terms of vocabulary is comparable to that among Romance languages such as French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian. Although Dakubu (2005) questions their status as individual languages as opposed to dialects, there is a higher mutual intelligibility among the

---

[1] The name Niger-Congo was introduced by Joseph Greenberg and he classified Dagaare among the Gur (aka Voltaic among French scholars) family of Niger-Congo (cf. Greenberg 1966).

attested dialects of Dagaare (see Figure 1.1) than between them and the other Mabia languages. For instance, while speakers of the different dialects identified in Figure 1.1 can sustain communication among themselves, with each speaker using their own dialect, this is not possible between speakers of any of the dialect and those of the other Mabia languages.

The relative degree of similarity between Dagaare and other Mabia languages forms a language continuum or a cline of mutual intelligibility, as the grouping in Figure 1.2 suggests. The closest to Dagaare is Safaliba, a language with a small population of about 5, 000 speakers in the Northern Region of Ghana (Dakubu 2005; Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). It is specifically spoken in Mandare, Tankpe and Buanfo (all near Bole). The next are Farefare, spoken in north-eastern Ghana, and Moore, the major indigenous language of Burkina Faso and the largest Mabia language.
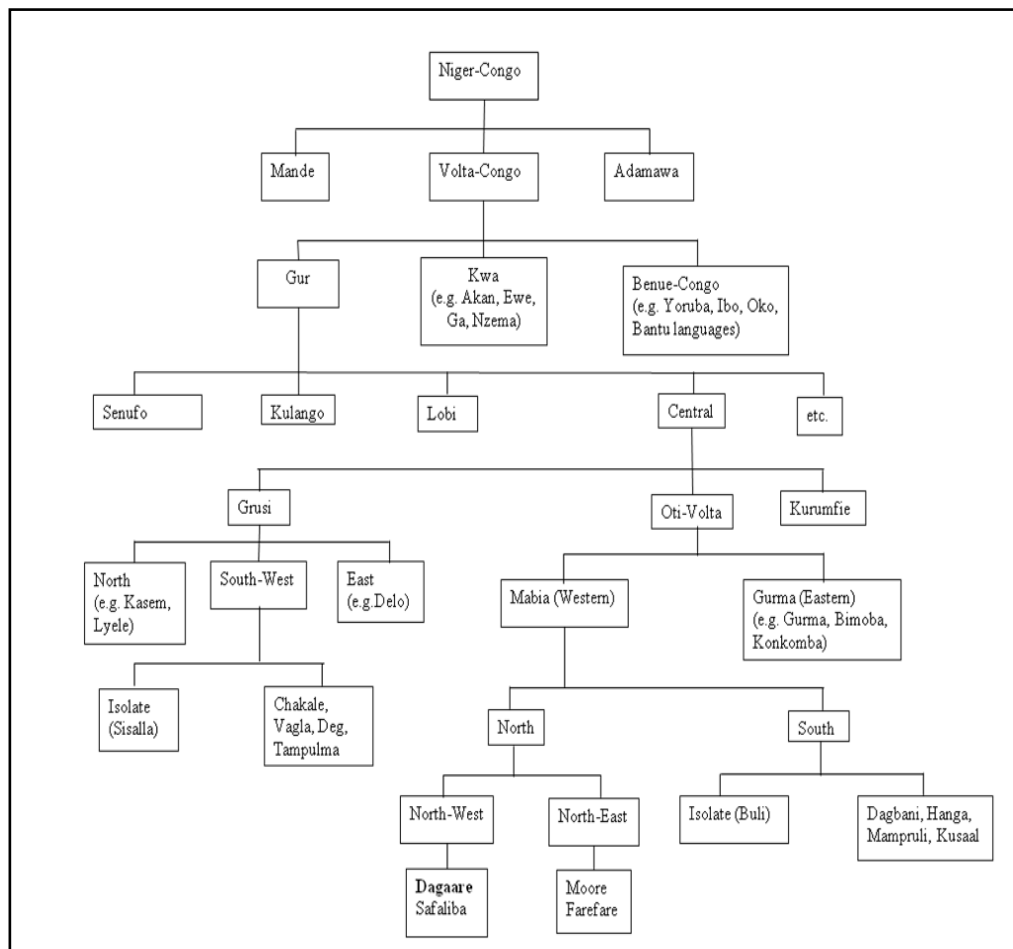
Figure 1.2: Locating Dagaare in the Niger-Congo Phylum (Adapted from Dakubu 2005:4)

Dagaare also shares many lexicogrammatical similarities with Dagbani, Mampruli, Hanga and Kusaal (cf. Swadesh et al. 1966). Buli shares few vocabulary features with Dagaare and the other Mabia languages. In terms of areal proximity, Dagaare is bordered by Sisalla (Grusi) to the north and east, Lobi languages (i.e. Dyan, Gan, Doro, Doghosie, Lobire) to the west, Chakale (Grusi) to the south-east, and Safaliba (Mabia) and Gonja (Guan) to the south. Most of the languages around its border are those other than its immediate sisters (Bodomo 1997; Dakubu 2005). It is separated from Moore to the north by Sisalla (Grusi) and from Farefare to the east by Sisalla, Kasem (Grusi) and Buli (Mabia). However, these are all Gur languages and share both lexicogrammatical and phonological similarities with Dagaare.

1.2.2 Varieties of Dagaare: A Dialect Continuum

The name Dagaare designates a variety of dialects with relative mutual intelligibility among them. As noted earlier, these dialects share more common vocabulary items among them than they do with other Gur languages (see also Swadesh et al. 1966). The Dagaare dialect continuum is normally divided into four dialect areas, namely, northern, central, southern and western dialect areas. While these labels have often been confused as designations of dialects, each rather comprises a set of closely related dialects. The term 'northern Dagaare' has also often been used interchangeably with 'Dagara' in the extant literature (in Ethnologue, it is rendered 'Dagara, Northern'). It should, however, be noted that 'Dagara' is a pronunciation variant of 'Dagaare' by speakers in the northern dialect area and thus designates all dialects of the language and the speakers as well. The confusion in dialect classification generally owes to the fact that many Dagaare dialect communities in Ghana do not use and may not accept designations for their dialects beyond derivatives from names of towns (e.g. *Jirbaale* from Jirapa, *Losaale* from Lawra and *Nandome* from Nandom) and often claim to be the speakers of 'Dagaare/Dagara proper' (see also Dakubu 2005). Speakers in Burkina Faso, however, use and accept specific designations such as Birifor, Lobr and Wiile. In this study, I will use local lables that have been used by native speaker scholars of the specific dialects.

Although dialect variation and classification still needs further investigation, six principal dialects are currently identified, namely Lobr, Wiile (aka Wule or Ule), Central Dagaare (entered in Ethnologue as 'Dagaare, Southern' and known among speakers of other dialects as 'Ngmere'), Waali (a.k.a. Waala or Waale) and Birifor. Lobr and Wiile constitute the northern dialect area. Wiile speakers are found around Lawra in Ghana and in Dano, Guéguéré, Oronkua and Legmoin (or Lagman) in Burkina Faso; while Lobr speakers extend from towns and villages around Lawra through Nandom and Hamale (all in Ghana) into Burkina Faso, covering towns such as Dissin, Mariatang, and Nyebo (Dakubu 2005). Central Dagaare is spoken in Jirapa, Daffiama, Nadowli and their surrounding towns and villages. Waali is the principal southern dialect and is spoken in Wa and towns and villages surrounding it. Birifor consists of two sub-dialects (i.e. Northern and Southern Birifor) with considerable variation and together they cover the western dialect area of Dagaare. Birifor is spoken in Ghana, south of Wa, around Sawla and Tuna, and in west of the Black Volta river in Burkina Faso, particularly around Malba, Diebougou, Gaoua and Batié. It is also spoken in the north-eastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire.

Some classifications consider Waali as a separate language from Dagaare and five Waali Dialects have been identified, namely Yeri Waali, Fufula, Dolimi, Bulengee and Cherii (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). Swadesh et al. (1966) also list the following as separate languages: Dagara, Dagaare (including Waali), Nura (the Wiile dialect as it is spoken in Lawra, Ghana) and Birifor; while Ethnologue identifies Dagara, Dagaare, and Waali, as separate languages. As mentioned earlier, however, the labels 'Dagaare' and 'Dagara' are pronunciation variants of the same language. In this study, I will continue to use 'Dagaare' for the language and 'Dagara' or 'Dagaaba' when referring to the people, for the sake of clarity.

1.2.3 Dagaare in Language Contact

The evolution of the various Dagaare dialects is partly explained by contact between Dagaare and other languages. Several Dagaare-speaking communities are found to have spoken other languages and there were periods during which

these communities were bilingual (Dakubu 2005). Dakubu (2005) observes that the Birifor once spoke Lobi languages while speakers at Kaleo and the Yeri sub-dialect of Waale once spoke Jula (Niger-Congo; Mande) and Moore (Oti-Volta: Mabia) respectively. Goody (1954) also notes in the 1950's that many hitherto Chakale (Oti-Volta: Grusi) speaking communities around Wa had shifted to the Waale dialect.Today, the minority Sisalla speaking communities around the Dagara speak Dagaare as a second language, which shows that the language is still spreading.

Besides these shifts, Dagaare speakers are generally multilingual and do not only code switch but also borrow from languages such as Hausa (Afro-Asiatic: Chadic), Akan (Niger-Congo: Kwa), Jula or Dioula (Niger-Congo: Mande), Moore (Niger-Congo: Gur), English and French. The Waale dialect, whose speakers are predominantly Muslims, has borrowed words from Hausa (Afro-Asiatic: Chadic) and Arabic (Afro-Asiatic: Semitic), especially those expressing religious concepts (Dakubu 2005). On the other hand, dialects such as Central Dagaare, Lobr and Wiile, whose speakers are predominantly Catholic, have borrowed a few religious terms from Latin (e.g. *mɪsa*, 'church service'; *virgo*, 'virgin; *sitaana*, 'the devil'; *sakramatɪ*, 'sacrament'; *paapa*, 'pope'). Akan is a majority language in Ghana, with about 35% ofthe Ghanaian population as native speakers (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016), while Jula (or Dioula) is the commercial lingua franca of Burkina Faso. English and French, on the other hand, are the official languages of Ghana and Burkina Faso respectively. Thus, while in Ghana many Dagaare speakers speak Akan and English as a second language; in Burkina Faso, many speakers speak Jula and French as a second language.

1.3   The Dagara Society

The Dagara (or Dagaaba) are part of a larger socio-cultural group of people in West Africa called Mole-Dagbani (cf. Goody 1954). The largest ethnic group among the Mole-Dagbani is Mossi (speakers of Moore), who are found in Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali and Togo. Just like their languages, the cultures of individual ethnic groups of the Mole-Dagbani have evolved unique characteristics, owing to migration in quest for land, escape from slave raids

and wars, divisions by colonialism, and contact with other cultures and with different foreign religions, notably Islam and Christianity.

Like other Mole-Dagbani, the fairly homogenous ethnic group called Dagaaba (or Dagara), traditionally, have a decentralised socio-political system, organised around the *Tengan-sob* ('custodian of the spirit of the land'; literally, 'owner of the skin of the land') or *Tindana* ('custodian or owner of the land').[2] The basic unit of this socio-political system is the *yir* (Lobr) or *yiri* (Central Dagaare) (i.e. family), headed by the eldest male member. The use of the word *yir*, which literally means 'house', to refer to the Dagaaba family is significant since all members of the patrilineal family often live together in one large compound house. Critical decisions in the family are taken by the family head in consultation with other adult male members (i.e. brothers, cousins and nephews). Social hierarchy in the family and also the whole community is determined by age and gender, with younger members deferring to elder members and female members deferring to male members. Deference among males and females is, however, relative to age; which shows that age tends to be the key determiner of social power. Every family is also a religious cult in itself, the object of worship being their family ancestors and may also include family gods.

Beyond the family is *yiilu* (Lobr) or *yiilong* (Central Dagaare) (i.e. the patriclan). Some patriclans cut across dialects. Each patriclan is bond by a set of taboos and a totemic animal (e.g. the porcupine, deer or monkey), which is believed to have brought fortune to their ancestors during an expedition or escape from slave raids or wars. Members of a patriclan are *yir-dem* (meaning people belonging to one house) and descend from a single male ancestor.

Village settlements cluster according to patriclans, with boundaries demarcating them from other clans. These clusters are normally generations of extended family members. A patriclan has no single head. Laws, customs and critical decisions are decided by a council of heads of the various families. Although members of each patriclan are spread all over the Dagaaba land, they tend to maintain close ties with one another, especially by attending funerals of clan members, even across national borders. In addition to the

---

[2]*Tengan-sob* and *Tindana* are dialectal variants. *Tengan-sob* belongs to the Lobr dialect.

patriclan is a lineage system called *bélv*. In contradistinction with clan, lineage is matrilineal, deriving from a common female ancestor, and it comprises *Da, Dabire, Hien, Kambire, Kambou, Kambouole, Kpoda, Meda, Somda, Some* (cf. J. D. Somé 2004: 43). Although the lineage system is lost in some communities such as those of Central Dagaare speakers, it is particularly prominent among Lobr and Wiile speakers. Among speakers in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, one's lineage serves as one's surname.Customarily, members of the same patriclan are forbidden to inter-marry, but people descending from the same lineage can inter-marry.

Each lineage and patriclan normally has a corresponding lineage or clan with whom they have a banter (i.e. teasing) relationship. Members of clans and lineages in a banter relationship have mutual privileges over one another to intrude into a clan's group fellowship, participate in their joy, satirise their frivolities and limitations and trivialise matters of grave concern with verbal wit. The Dagara as an ethnic group maintains a similar banter relationship with the Farefare (another Mole-Dagbani ethnic group). With regards to patriclans, the mutual roles between banter clans, are very crucial in maintaining social cohesion as well as the psychological and spiritual health of a clan. For instance, if members of a patriclan want to make peace with or negotiate marriage with another clan, they often invite a banterer of the receiving clan to be the mediator. In case of peace making, members of the offended clan normally feel very much obliged to accept the intercession of their banterer and make peace with the offender. A banter clan can also play the same role in conflicts involving people from the same patriclan or even family.

It is also believed that the intervention of members of a banter clan in critical situations has a positive effect on one's emotions and psychological state. Thus, in times of trouble such as the loss of a dear one, members of the bereaved clan are often consoled by their banterer. It is, indeed, ideal that grave news is conveyed by a member of a banter clan, which has the psychological effect of mitigating the shock of the bereaved or the affected person.

Spiritually, the intercession of a member of a banter clan can cool down the anger of the spirit of a dead member of their ally clan and wade off

evil. Banter clans are also allowed anything a corresponding clan is tabooed against, such as touching the corpse of someone who has commited suicide (either a clan member or otherwise) or a dead totem found in one's trap in the farm. The banter relationship between patriclans, in particular, is therefore partly a way of circumventing an otherwise strict normative order of the Dagara society, where, in any critical moment, one group is absolved of deviations from the code in order to maintain a balance in community life.

The cluster of patriclans in a community (i.e. village or town) is headed by the *Tengan-sob* (or *Tindana*), who is both a spiritual and a political leader. He settles disputes between clans, pacifies the earth, *Tengan* (which is deemed sacred), on behalf of offenders, and fine violators of laws and customs. He takes decisions in consultation with a council of elders, made up of respectable members of the community, particularly the eldest. The *Tindana* is always a descendant of the first settler in a community. By extension, in villages and towns where the Dagaaba are found outside their traditional homeland, they normally consider themselves to be a community, with the first Dagaaba settler as their leader. As Bodomo (1997) has noted, the policy of indirect rule by the British colonial government in the late 19th century has, however, introduced chieftaincy among the Dagaaba and the society is now organised around paramountcies and chiefdoms, leaving the *Tindana* with only his spiritual role as custodian of the sacred land (see Goody (1972) for a rich discussion of aspects of Dagara culture).

1.4   Developments in Dagaare Studies

As with many languages in West Africa, the earliest explorers of Dagaare were Christian missionaries and European anthropologists. The first known record on the language, according to Dakubu (2005), appears in the work of the German missionary Christaller in 1889. It consists of the numbers one to ten, noted to have been collected by a German trader called Krause. Christaller (1889) used this list to classify Dagaare as genetically belonging to the Moore (now renamed Mabia) branch of the Gur languages. Similar lists were collected by colonial administrators and possibly other traders. J. D. Somé (2004), for instance, notes that, in Burkina Faso, colonial officers recorded

names of people, settlements, rivers and hills in Dagaare. Rattary (1932), a British colonial administrator and anthropologist, is, however, accredited with being the first explorer of the language itself. He compared the dialects spoken in Wa and Lawra (both in Ghana), based on "a fairly extensive word list" (Dakubu 2005: 1). Rattray's (1932) study together with Christaller's classification laid the foundation for later studies on dialect variation and in comparative linguistics.

Relatively detailed engagement with the language actually began around the 1950s with the missionary linguists , whose interest was to identify its basic structure and vocabulary for the development of material for liturgy and catechesis . B. A. Somé (2003) identifies some of the earliest materials written in Dagaare as comprising hymns, prayer books and a catechism. These were produced in 1953 and in the early 1960s by missionary administrators in Bobo-dioulasso, Burkina Faso. Goody, an anthropologist, also contributed to literacy development by publishing his transcription of a version of the *Bagre* myth, a sacred religious text, in Dagaare (cf. Goody 1972: 316-377).

The linguistic analysis of missionaries mainly consisted of notes on aspects of lexicogrammar (e.g. Durand, 1953; Wilson 1962a; Girault 1964) and phonology (Wilson 1962b; Kennedy 1966; Girault 1967). While most of these notes focused on individual dialects such as Central Dagaare (e.g. Wilson 1962a; Kennedy 1966), Lobr (e.g. Girault 1964, 1967) and Wiile (P. A. Somé 1962), others were across dialects (e.g. Wilson 1962b). P. A Somé's (1962) study is significant for being one of the early works by a native speaker. Studies that directly explored dialect variation around this period include Callow (1969), which Bodomo (1997) identifies as the first study focusing solely on dialect variation. Although Swadesh et al.'s (1966) *Glottochronology of the Gur Languages* includes a statistical comparison of lexical items across Dagaare dialects, its focus is on language classification rather than variation.

Native priests and church leaders have continued to be very influential in the literacy development of Dagaare since the 1970s, particularly in the area of orthography and the production of literature in the language (cf. J. D. Somé 2004). However, since the 1980s, the language has steadily garnered interest among linguists around the world, culminating in the founding of the *Journal*

of Dagaare Studies by Adams Bodomo in 2001. The language has been described by both native and non-native scholars from the point of view of several linguistic approaches. Dagaare research has also been funded by several universities and international funding institutions such as the Norway University of Science and Technology, Norwegian Research Council, Stanford-Berkeley Centre for African Studies, Hong Kong University, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, and The Hong Kong Research Grants Council.

Work on the orthography has been consolidated and extended (e.g. Bemile 1990; B. A. Somé 2003; J. D. Somé 2004). J. D. Somé (2004), for instance, gives an interesting discussion of results on the orthography project in Burkina Faso. In the area of phonology, scholars have explored tone (e.g. Dakubu 1982; P. K Some 1995; Antilla & Bodomo 2000), phoneme contrasts (e.g. Bemile 1983) and the vowel system (e.g. Angkaraaba 1997). Nakuma (1999) examines phonemes and tones together and Bodomo (1997) also includes a short discussion on tones and phonemes.

Many studies on Dagaare have, however, focused on lexicogrammar. These studies can be classified into those that employ a structural-descriptive approach and those that use the generative grammar approach. On the former, work has been done on the noun (Bodomo 1994), the noun group (e.g. Angkaraaba 1980; Bodomo 1994), the verbal group (Dong 1981; Dakubu 1989a), clause structure (Dakubu 1989b; Dakubu 2005) and coordination (Ali 2006). C. C. Somé (1984/85) and Bodomo (1997; 2000) also provide short overviews of aspects of Lobr and Central Dagaare dialects respectively. Other studies have focused on more specific lexicogrammatical resources such as information focus (Dakubu & Saanchi 1997; Delplanque 1998), temporal and modal markers (Delplanque 2000), aspectual forms of the verb (Saanchi 2003a) and spatial and locative constructions (Saanchi 2003b).

Research using the generative approach began in the early 1990s and is led by Adams Bodomo and his team of researchers. Several aspects of the grammar have been described and theorised, including verbal group complexes (or 'serial verbs constructions') (e.g. Bodomo 1993a; Hiraiwa & Bodomo 2008), nominalisation (Bresnan & Bodomo 1997) and relativisation (Bodomo & Hiraiwa 2004). Bodomo (1993b) also gives an X-bar account of

the language while Sakurai (2014) has recently examined focus marking in the Central dialect, using the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar.

A few studies have also adopted a multilingual approach in exploring Dagaare. It has been contrasted with Cantonese in the area of verbal group complexes (Luke & Bodomo 2000/01) and ideophones (Bodomo 2006). Bodomo also explores verbal group complexes in Dagaare as part of a generative typology project on Gur languages (Bodomo 1993) and compares the temporal system with another Gur language, Dagbani (Bodomo 1996). Further, Nakuma (1990) compares Dagaare phonological systems with French, while Dansieh (2008) situates his study on discourse markers within the context of translation.

In summary, academic engagement with Dagaare can roughly be classified into three stages: contrastive analysis based on a number of word lists collected by traders and colonial administrators (1889-1932), literacy developments and notes collected by missionaries (1950-1980), structuralist descriptions since the 1980s and, finally, generative descriptions, beginning in the early 1990s. These classifications only show landmarks in explorations on the language and each group shade into the other. In contradistinction with the functional approach adopted in the present study, both the structuralist and generative studies present the grammar from the viewpoint of formal elements in the clause, and unlike the present study, they are not based on the systematic empirical investigation of naturally occurring texts.

1.5   The Present Study

1.5.1   Problem Statement

As mentioned earlier, studies on Dagaare by missionaries were applied in producing literature on the language and subsequent research has also provided material for teaching Dagaare to both native and non-native speakers and for extending work on orthography. The present study generally derives from and contributes to these previous studies. On the other hand, it provides an alternative path to structural and formal oriented explorations of the lexicogrammar of the language. One limitation of the focus on forms is that it does not provide us with information about the meaning potential behind the

grammatical forms described and it is not based on empirical evidence from naturally occurring texts in context.

Many of the studies reviewed above, for instance, focus on isolated units within the clause, such as the verb group and noun group, rather than giving a comprehensive account of the grammar as a meaning potential. In addition, they are mainly based on elicited and introspectively constructed data rather than copious naturally occurring texts. The consequence of these limitations is that the explanation of some of the formal elements is not complete and explicit since they are not related to their discourse context and their systemic environment, namely other linguistic features they interact or contrast with in the language. Both Bodomo (1993) and Dakubu (2005) acknowledge the need for a pragmatic (or discourse based) approach for clarifying the functions of aspects of Dagaare lexicogrammar. The present study is the first step in this direction though it does not claim to provide a perfect account without limitations. In fact, many of the issues raised here are not limited to Dagaare but to the description of many other African languages. As Heine and Nurse (2000: 5) note:

> The quality and quantity of the documentation for African languages ranges from fairly high to nil. We say 'fairly high' because no African language has been documented or analysed to the extent of the better researched European or Asian languages. If we define 'fairly high' as having a reasonably accurate and comprehensive reference grammar available, then less than a hundred African languages are in this category. For most, the documentation consists of an inadequate grammar, an analysis of part of the language, an article or two. For yet others, all we have is a reliable word list, or less than that.

Although a few more grammars on African languages have certainly been produced since the beginning of the 21st century (see e.g. Akerejola (2005) and Atoyebi (2010) on Oko), the current situation essentially reflects this observation. In this light, the present study should be considered a preliminary comprehensive account of Dagaare and a contribution to the study of African

languages. The broader objective is to contribute to the long-term research agenda of functional language typology, which explores the similarities and differences across languages by grounding the description in discourse and focusing on meaning. Thus, the study adds to the long tradition of research exemplified by Hopper and Thompson (1980), Comrie (1989), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991), Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen (2004), Güldemann (2008), to mention just a few, although the focus here is on the particular rather than general typology. The next section gives a more specific statement of the aim of the study.

1.5.2 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to explore the lexicogrammar of Dagaare, particularly the Lobr dialect, froma systemic functional point of view. This means that the description is oriented towards context, based on discourse and focuses on meaning (Caffarel et al. 2004). It is 'systemic' because it views the grammar as a set of choices in wording for realising meaning. On the other hand, it is 'functional' because it is the grammar of usage and examines the lexicogrammatical systems that realise each of three metafunctions of language: ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (cf. Halliday 1970; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; see also Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3 for details). Priority is given to the clause since it is the basic unit for realising meaning in discourse although other units have also been examined as much as it is possible within the time limitation of the study. In general, the description goes beyond formal categories of the language to consider the general meaning potential underlying their use.

1.5.3 Significance of the Study

The study is useful to scholars and students interested in language and society, language typology and grammaticalisation, systemic functional typology, West African languages, and Dagaare studies. It is also valuable to professionals working with Dagaare in various practical contexts, including curriculum and language education, translation, and orthography.

As indicated earlier, the systemic functional approach adopted by the

study examines language in social context. The analysis and discussion of Dagaare here is thus oriented towards the function of language in its totality as a resource for enacting roles and relationships, construing experience and organising text-in-interaction. In other words, it presents the culture of the Dagara society by focusing on the key resource for organising meaning. The results will therefore be interesting to scholars in anthropology, sociology, ethnography and all others with various interests in language and society.

Studies on language typology, within their practical limitations, have often focused on isolated forms such as focus markers, relative clauses and clause final or stance particles, or individual systems such as ASPECT and TENSE, across languages (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Heine 1983; Comrie 1989). These studies have been valuable in showing discourse meanings expressed in a wide range of languages and universal paths through which the different lexicogrammatical forms expressing these meanings evolve (cf. Heine 2002a). Their results have served as a guide for the description of Dagaare in the present study. More importantly, however, the present study provides a complementary approach to these studies by holistically investigating how the different lexicogrammatical resources work togetheras a meaning potential in a single language. The study puts grammar into perspective as meaning evolving in context. The insights revealed by this holistic approach are that we can observe how the various systemic features relate to other features in their environment. The results of the study will therefore be relevant to typologists and researchers working on other multilingual studies and are interested in West African languages.

In connection with the above, the study contributes to the growing body of studies in systemic functional typology. Systemic typology has increasingly garnered more interest since the beginning of the twenty-first century and languages such as Tagalog, Thai, Japanese, and Vietnamese have been described (cf. Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen 2004& references therein). As noted by Caffarel et al. (2004), research in this area still needs to be extended and developed through the exploration of many more languages. Since the present study is the first attempt to examine a Gur language from a systemic point of view, the findings will contribute to existing knowledge about the similarities and differences among languages in their realisations of

meaning.

One motivation for the study is also to provide a workable description that will aid current and future professional activities involving Dagaare. Current ongoing activities include work on orthography, translation, lexicography, curriculum development, and language education. In addition to these, the study aims to motivate discourse analysis in critical areas such as forensics, media, healthcare, service encounters, politics, education, religion and popular or folk culture. The description is therefore supported with a lot of text analysis and the analysis of the grammar is made explicit as much as possible. Many grammatical forms and features that have not been included in previous descriptions have been examined for the first time and the meanings of previously identified forms have been clarified and grounded in discourse. It is hoped that different professionals will test this description through their applications and point to its limitations for further research.

1.6   Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. This chapter has contextualised the study within the language situation surrounding Dagaare. It has also provided the aim and motivations for the study. Chapter Two will discuss the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in the study. Chapter Three gives a compendious profile of the linguistic architecture of Dagaare, its characterology, as it were. The analysis here includes both the clause and units below the clause as well as phonological resources. The chapter thus provides a general context for readers by anticipating discussion in subsequent chapters. Chapter Four examines the interpersonal grammar of Dagaare, focusing on the system of MOOD, POLARITY and the modal assessment systems of MODALITY and NEGOTIATION (i.e. attitudinal stance). Chapter Five discusses the textual systems of the clause, comprising THEME and INFORMATION. It shows how speakers organise the flow of discourse into processable chuncks of meaning. Chapter Six focuses on the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY. It discusses the process types mapping out different domains of experienceas well as generalisations across these process types. Chapter seven summarises the study and discusses implications of the description of Dagaare in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND APPROACH

2.1   Introduction

It was mentioned in the preceding chapter that this study adopts a functional approach to language and that the specific functional approach adopted is systemic functional linguistics (SFL). The present chapter discusses this approach to provide a theoretical background for the discussion in subsequent chapters. The chapter first examines how systemic linguistics conceptualise the relationship between linguistic theory and language description (Section 2.2). It then proceeds to locate language within a typology of general systems that define our temporal existence (Section 2.3). Following this, the chapter will map various regions of language that are relevant to this study, based on systemic functional theoretical dimensions (Section 2.4). The final sections of the chapter describe specific methods and procedures employed in implementing these theoretical issues in the present study (Section 2.5.1 & 2.5.2). Limitations of the study are also highlighted (Section 2.5.3).

2.2   Linguistic Theory and Language Description

Systemic functional linguistics is a general linguistic theory (cf. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Halliday 2009). It is 'general' in the sense that it is a general theory of language for the description of particular languages (Halliday 2009). Description of particular languages here is defined broadly to cover work on individual languages as well as accounts that are contrastive and cross-linguistic in nature. The theory is characterized as 'linguistic' because its primary object of study is language. This means that the questions it investigates are those that have to do with language. In investigating language, however, the investigator may have to explore other phenomena since language is embedded in context and necessarily interacts with other systems (Halliday 2009).

SFL clearly distinguishes between **theory** and **description** as two complementary resources in linguistic science (Matthiessen 2013a, see Figure

2.1; also see Teruya & Matthiessen (2015) and Mwinlaaru & Xuan (2016) for reviews of studies on systemic language description and typology).
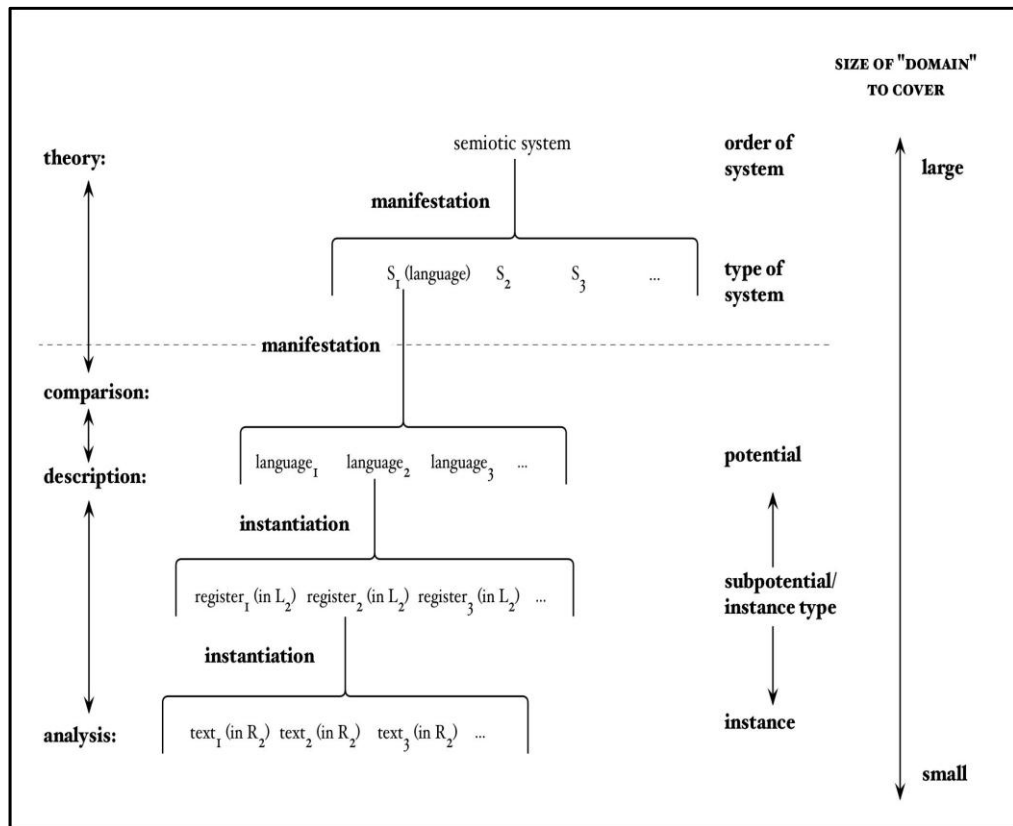
Figure 2.1 Analysis, description, comparison and theory in relation to one another (Matthiessen2013a: 141)

Theory is a **designed** system as opposed to an evolved system such as language. It consists of interrelated concepts that are systematically organised towards achieving potentially explicit goals (Halliday 2009). Generally, the components or dimensions in a theory are interdependent and mutually defining. SFL theory is designed as an enabling resource to guide particular descriptions. This means that the theory does not posit universal linguistic categories or structures for language, as a way of guarding against the imposition of the description of one language upon another — in view of the past tendency to treat features of dominant languages such as Latin or English as 'universal'. For instance, although the theory posits that every language organises its lexicogrammatical resources into a fixed, identifiable number of ranks, it does not claim the universality of specific ranks such as clause, phrase/group, word and morpheme. Every language is considered as a unique

manifestation of the semiotic system called language and categorial and structural labels must emerge from the context of describing the language. Likewise, the extent to which languages are different and/or similar in terms of the packaging of lexicogrammatical resources, for instance, must emerge from the context of typology oriented descriptions.

The relationship between theory and description is a matter of abstraction (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). Theory is an abstraction based on language as we have come to understand it from the description of one language to another. SFL theory emerged and has evolved as an enabling resource within the context of discourse-based descriptions of language and, recently, other semiotic systems. It initially came out of Halliday's explorations of various dialects of Cantonese in the 1940s and description of Mandarin in the 1950s and has been further developed by his descriptions of English since the 1960s.

These efforts were contributions to an already existing research agenda led by J. R. Firth within his system-structure theory. This framework forms the core of SFL theory, and, over the years, it has expanded and evolved in response to new challenges posed by new contexts of descriptions and applications (Halliday 2009; Matthiessen 2007). Apart from the core structure provided by J. R. Firth's system-structure theory, it has built on several other linguistics schools such as the Prague School, Lamb's relational network theory (formerly, stratificational grammar) and the Copenhagen School, in particular, work by Hjelmslev (e.g. Hjelmslev 1969[1943]). Concepts have been drawn from these frameworks and redefined in order to deepen our understanding of language and enable descriptions.

Description itself is an abstraction of, or rather, a generalisation from the **analysis** of particular text instances. Language is observable as text, defined as spoken or written discourse (and by extension other potential semiotic resources such as gestures and images). Text, the domain of analysis, therefore, serves as the entry point for investigators into the linguistic system they want to describe. Description may aim at the linguistic system of the community as a whole or it may be aimed at some register (i.e. a sub-system) in the community. In either case, the description needs to be informed by the analysis of particular discourses and the analyst will have to shuffle between

developing general categories and features (i.e. description) and testing them on text instances (i.e. analysis).

As mentioned earlier, both theory and descriptions are 'resources' in the science of language; they provide resources for applications in different contexts. While linguistic theory primarily serves as a resource for the description of particular languages and other semiotic systems, the descriptions that accrue become resources that are 'appliable' for solving problems in practical contexts. Many descriptions of language have been used for typological generalisations (e.g. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Heine & Kuteva 2002a, b; Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008; Güldemann, Zerbian & Zimmermann 2015) and as models for the description of other languages through the technique of "transfer comparison" (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004: 15). This kind of application is, however, cyclical since typological generalisations, in turn, are useful resources for describing individual languages. Apart from this cyclical use, however, SFL descriptions have been used in the contexts of education (e.g. Christie & Unsworth 2005; Rose & Martin 2012), translation (e.g. Steiner 2002, 2005; Kunz et al. 2014 and references therein), stylistics (e.g. Lukin & Webster 2005; Simpson 2014; Mwinlaaru 2014; Webster 2015), and computational linguistics (e.g. Henrici 1981; Matthiessen & Bateman 1991; O'Donnell & Bateman 2005; Bateman & O'Donnell 2015). They have also been used for discourse analysis, towards solving practical problems in contexts such as forensics (e.g. Martin et al. 2013) and healthcare (e.g. Slade et al. 2008, 2011, 2015; Matthiessen 2013b).

Thus, just as for theory and description, SFL clearly distinguishes between descriptions and their applications in different contexts. This distinction is important since descriptions that are localised or oriented towards particular problems tend to be narrow and constrained in such a way that they limit our understanding of the language described and the range of applications of the description. This observation does not condemn context-specific descriptions; rather, it calls attention to a distinction between what is described, language, and the phenomenon for which the description is done. An investigator who does not make this distinction may end up describing the former as though it were the latter. One area in which this distinction has

proved useful in SFL context is computational application and artificial intelligence. In these areas, descriptive categories have had to be converted into mathematical formalisations and abstractions in order to make them machine friendly (cf. Henrici 1981). These abstract formalisations can, however, not be taken to be the best descriptive representations of language. As an appliable theory, SFL is grounded in language while being sensitive to other systems language interacts with. The next section discusses the general systems language interacts with.

2.3   Language within a Typology of Systems

SFL theory, and to a large extend functional linguistics, in general, locates language within a typology of systems that together define our cosmic environment and our human condition. These systems are ordered in terms of their increasing complexity and their temporal appearance in the time-scale of cosmic evolution. They comprise physical systems, biological (including cognitive) systems, social systems and semiotic systems (Hockett 1942; Pustet 2003; Halliday 2005; Matthiessen 2007). Systems of a higher order are also systems of orders below it. (The discussion on these systems here is mainly based on Halliday (2005) and Matthiessen (2007: 545-547) and reference may be made to them for further details). Physical systems are first-order systems, and they emerged about 15 billion years ago with the so-called big-bang in the genesis of cosmos. They are widely and orderly distributed throughout the universe. The mode of organisation of physical systems is composition; each component is connected to others by some kind of design to create a unified whole. Physical systems are governed by the laws of physics and their mode of cosmogenesis (or change) is causation, the principle of cause-and-effect.

Biological systems are second-order systems. This implies that they are more complex than physical systems and emerged after physical systems in the course of cosmogenesis. They are essentially physical systems with an additional property of 'life'. Biological systems are estimated to have appeared on earth roughly about 4.5 billion years ago. Specific characteristics of biological systems are that they self-replicate through reproduction and individuate into unique organisms, clustering into different groups of species.

They can only exist under life sustaining conditions and this explains why they must have appeared many years after the emergence of physical systems. Their mode of change is through adaptation or innovation rather than causation. However, like physical systems, their mode of organisation is composition, comprising cells, tissues and organs. One key aspect of the evolution of biological systems is the increasing complexity of their cognitive capacity of which humans have evolved as the most cognitively developed beings.

Social systems are third-order systems and are thus biological systems plus the property of value or social order. Social systems range from simple communities like insect colonies to the sophisticated cosmopolitans of the modern world. As Matthiessen (2007) notes, the first establishment of social systems cannot be estimated. It could be as far back as the emergence of biological systems. For the hominid line of evolution, from which the *homo sapiens* emerged, however, social organisation may be dated with the emergence of primates about sixty million years ago (Matthiessen 2007). Social organisations are structured into social groups of varying sizes and functions. In these social groups, biological individuals (organisms) acquire the value of persons and are connected with others through a network of roles and relationships. The most basic social group in human society is the family and as the individual person grows, s/he gradually accumulates different identities through his/her roles in an array of social affiliations. Thus, like other systems, social systems are compositional and they evolve in time through adaptation.

Fourth-order systems are semiotic systems; that is, social systems plus meaning. In addition to constituency (or composition), semiotic systems are **stratified** as 'content' and 'expression', the latter realising the former. Among semiotic systems, language is defined as a **higher-order** semiotic, a complex adaptive system of meaning which is constantly evolving. It is distinguished from other semiotic systems in the sense that it is semogenic; that is, it creates meaning, both synchronically and diachronically (Halliday 2009; Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991). In addition, language has evolved beyond the simple bistratal layers of content and expression (as in animal communication) into a four stratal system, comprising semantics, lexicogrammar,

phonology/graphology and phonetics/graphetics (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). A final unique feature of language is that it has evolved into a metafunctional system, embodying several meanings that are complementary and simultaneous in its structural organisation. That is, it can mean many things at a time. This metafunctional orientation of language contrasts it with semiotic systems that are microfunctional, such as animal communication and some forms of non-verbal communication such as the traffic light, only meaning one thing at a time (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004).

As the highest order of systems, language is inclusive of all the lower systems. In other words, linguistic "meaning is socially constructed, biologically activated and exchanged through physical channels" (Halliday 2003: 2; Matthiessen 2007: 547). In George Lakoff's terms, language is a system of "embodied meaning" (Lakoff 2007). Socially, language functions in discourse to enact roles and identities and establish relationship. It also serves as the repository and transmitter of cultural and shared knowledge. These discourse meanings are first and foremost realised by the semantics stratum of language, which thus become an interface resource that transforms what is not linguistic meaning into linguistic meaning (Matthiessen 2007).

Biologically, language is said to have co-evolved with the brain, which is its immediate environment (Halliday 2008: 147, 168-169). This is true for both the development of language in the human species (i.e. phylogenesis) and its development in the child learning the mother tongue (i.e. ontogenesis). Language is the product of the brain's capacity to 'mean' and linguistic creativity and innovation reflects the infinite capacity of the brain to mean. This productive power of the brain, by extension, includes its capacity to comprehend. Another biological dimension of language is the articulatory and auditory functions of the relevant organs of speech and perception respectively. The transmission of language from one speaker to the other is a physical mechanism involving air and sound waves. All these inter-systemic aspects of language are included within the domain of linguistic science. Hockett (1942) highlights this inter-systemic dimension by charactering language behaviour as biophysical and biosocial. Together, the inter-relationships characterise language as a complex system and challenges

linguistic theory to accommodate this complexity. In the following section, we will discuss the core dimensions of language that are relevant to the present study.

2.4 Systemic Organisation of Language

Systemic functional theory has been developed with the aim to mirror the nature of language as it has been revealed by already existing descriptions. The theory is composed of a set of interrelated concepts that are called the 'dimensions' or 'vectors' of language. Together, these dimensions construe language as a semiotic architecture that can be viewed from different angles. This architecture is, however, fluid and susceptible to change because it theorises an evolved system rather than a designed system. A viewpoint from the different angles reveals different aspects of language. The dimensions of language serve as a road map for investigators interested in language for different purposes. For the purpose of this study, concepts in these dimensions that are relevant for the description of lexicogrammar will be brought into focus. The dimensions discussed are the cline of instantiation, the hierarchy of stratification, the spectrum of metafunction, the rank scale, axis and semogenesis (or, simply, genesis). One important concept which permeates the discussion on these dimensions is that of complementarity. It explains that many components of language are paired as two aspects of one and the same phenomenon and need to be viewed as complementary to each other. An example is the relationship between speaking and writing, each representing the same phenomenon called 'language' but in different states of existence (see Halliday 2008 for a detail discussion on complementarities in language).

2.4.1 Instantiation

In Section 2.2, it was mentioned that, in the course of language description, the investigator has to move between analysing text and establishing linguistic categories that are general in the linguistic system. Instantiation is the theoretical dimension that explains this relationship between text and language as a system. These two perspectives of language, as text and as system, are not new in linguistic theory. Antecedents are de Saussure's (1916 [2011])

25

distinction between *langue* and *parole* and Chomsky's (1965) notions of competence and performance. However, these scholars focus the goals of linguistics on *langue* or competence. As Halliday (2009) observes, post-structural linguists reacted to this skewed characterisation of linguistics by focusing their attention on text rather than system. The dimension of instantiation is a synthesis of these two perspectives on language. Rather than defining linguistic science as a focus on one of these two extreme poles of language, it characterises it as both (see Halliday 2008: Ch. 3).

System is defined as a meaning potential; a large semiotic resource that offers choices to speakers in a speech fellowship to make meaning. It is therefore the totality of the potential range of meanings that members of the speech fellowship can produce. Text, on the other hand, is the tangible or observable aspect of language; its mode of existence. Language is produced and consumed as text and this aspect is what is readily available to the investigator. The relationship between system and text is that of 'instantiation', defined as a semogenic (i.e. meaning creation) process by which linguistic resources are selected from the system to produce text. Thus, as system has been defined as a generalised meaning potential, text is an **instance** of this potential – in technical terms, text instantiates the system.

One characteristic of language that is revealed by this semogenic process is that the system is probabilistic. Given a pair of contrasting features in the system, we can examine quantitatively the probable number of times one is chosen over the other in actual text instances. In a corpus of about 18 million words, Halliday and James (1993) found that, for the system of POLARITY in English, the choice between positive and negative clauses is in a ratio of 09: 01 respectively. In other words, in any particular English text, there is a probability that the instances of positive clauses it contains will be 90% and instances of negative clauses will be 10%. Any deviation from this systemic probability could therefore be interpreted as stylistically motivated. Generally, it has been hypothesised that for any two terms in a system, the probable ratio of their probability of occurrence will be either 05: 05 or 09: 01 (e.g. Halliday 2008: 41-42).

Further, since meaning is socially constructed, both the system and instance manifestations of language realise context. This idea follows Firth's

notion of context of situation, which he borrows from Malinowski (1923). Halliday has, however, added Malinowski's (1923) notion of context of culture as well. As text realises and, at the same time, construes the context of situation in which it is produced, the system realises and as well construes the culture of the speech fellowship. The relationship between language and culture posited in SFL is a reactivation of Whorf's conceptualisation of the close interaction between language and world-view (see Carroll, 1956).

In SFL, the relationship between language and culture has been broadened to include other variables. The link between system and text is construed as a **cline,** with a series of intervening regions which have roughly been identified as register and genre/text-type. Register is characterised as a sub-potential that readjust the probabilities of the system for the functioning of a particular institution in the speech fellowship. Genre, on the other hand, is a variety of language that corresponds to particular situation types; it is a regular text-type that realises specific social activities in a cultural institution (cf. Mwinlaaru 2017). Correspondingly, context is a phased phenomenon comprising culture > institution > situation type > situation (Matthiessen 2013a). Given the registerial variability of language, it is always necessary to include texts from different descriptions in the description of language.

The implication of the cline of instantiation for language description is that the analyst needs to have a **trinocular vision** of language (Halliday, 1996). Although the primary focus of description is on the system, the point of entry into this system is text, and, once the investigation is initiated, the analysis will have to move between (i) text (i.e. a view from below) and (ii) system (i.e. a view from above) and (iii) across several registers (i.e. a view from roundabout) in order to ensure a complete description. The complementarity between system and text is therefore said to be that of **focus**. In our discussion on stratification in the next section, we will again highlight another complementarity in language, not of focus but of **angle**, and indicate another perspective of trinocularity in language description.

2.4.2   Stratification

It has been mentioned in Section 2.3 that language is distinguished from other

semiotic systems as a four stratal system. This dimension of language is represented in SFL theory as a hierarchy of stratification, a concept which builds on Hjelmslev's glossematics (e.g. Hjelmslev 1954) and Lamb's (1966) stratificational grammar (see Halliday 2008: 13-14; 2009; Bache 2010). This dimension shows that the resources of language are organised into a hierarchy of strata which are related by realisation (see Figure 2.2). The model in Figure 2.2 presents stratification as comprising language and context. The strata of language consist of semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology (including graphology) and phonetics (including graphetics). These strata together are embedded in context, since language ultimately realises context. For the purpose of this study, context here is defined as *context of culture* (see discussion in Section 2.4.1 above for other phases of context). The components of context are field, tenor, and mode.
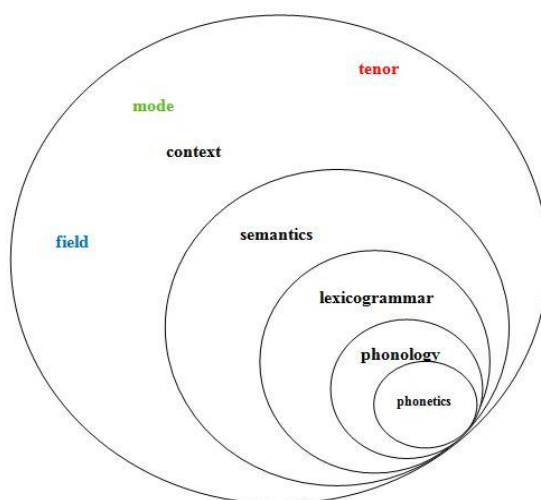
Figure 2.2: The hierarchy of stratification

Field has two complementary dimensions, namely, field as subject matter and field of activity. At the level of culture, field as subject matter is the repository of the world-view, ideologies and inter-subjective (or shared) knowledge of the speech fellowship. Field of activity, on the other hand, comprises socio-semiotic processes such as reporting, sharing, recreating, doing, etc. by which field of subject matter is given substance (see Matthiessen 2015 for detail discussion of socio-semiotic processes). Tenor, the parameter of power,

solidarity and formality, encapsulates the social structure of the speech fellowship – social roles and relationships and the networks between them. Mode is concerned with the role played by language (and, by extension, other semiotic or even social systems) in context. It is a three-tier component comprising medium (e.g. written, spoken or multimodal), channel (e.g. face-to-face or virtual) and rhetorical manner or styles of expression (e.g. didactic, persuasive, exhortatory, polemic and performative styles).

Semantics and lexicogrammar form the content plane of language. Semantics is one of the two outer strata of language (the other being phonetics) and interacts with context to construe meaning that is otherwise non-linguistic into linguistic meaning (see also Section 2.3). Specifically, semantics is the construction of the world-view of the speech fellowship and the enactment of the various tenor dimensions of interactions into content that can be communicated. In other words, language is first and foremost meaning. Semantics or meaning is defined here as a spectrum of metafunctions, consisting of ideational, interpersonal and textual functions, each realising the field, tenor and mode parameters of context respectively (metafunctions are explained in Section 2.4.3).

Lexicogrammar is the realisation of meaning as **wording**. It is unique to language and, as Halliday (e.g. Halliday 2008: 44) has noted, it is the power house of this higher-order semiotic. It is this stratum which gives substance to meaning by offering an array of choices to speakers for realising linguistic structure. Since language is a meaning potential, grammar stands in a natural relationship to semantics. Cross-linguistic studies have shown that all languages dedicate lexicogrammatical resources for realising ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. For many languages, some of these resources have been identified as respectively the systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME at the level of clause rank (cf. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004).

Lexicogrammar is conceived of as a complementarity which is organised as a **scale of delicacy,** with grammar as the least delicate angle and lexis as the most delicate. Grammar here comprises what has traditionally been divided into syntax and morphology. In the complementarity between grammar and lexis, grammar consists of close systems and most general and

predictable meanings in language while lexis comprises specific, open systems. Both meanings are wording, defined as the individual words and how they are syntactically organised. As we move from the grammar pole to the lexis pole, *features* (defined as lexicogrammatical meanings) increase in specificity (or, technically, delicacy) until the most specific or most delicate features are specified. This movement in delicacy is typically represented in SFL descriptions as system networks. It must, however, be added quickly that this statement of movement in delicacy is only a theoretical postulate to guide language description and neither represent cognition nor real time selections in actual language use. It may be reasonable to assume that speakers will naturally do these selections simultaneously. This theoretical representation has turned out to be useful in modelling computational text generation (see Henrici 1981; Matthiessen & Bateman 1991).

The idea that grammar and lexis form a continuum has been corroborated by several typological studies where some linguistic resources such as modality, tense and aspect tend to lie on the boundary between grammar and lexis (cf. Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer 1991; Traugott & Heine 1991; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). Halliday (2008: 66-67, 70) also identifies English prepositions as lying in the mid region between grammar and lexis, sharing the syntactic behaviour of verbs as minor processes and possessing a grammatical character as close system, with a predictable syntactic position and generalised meanings.

Although lexicogrammar is the power house of language, its physical existence is in the form of expression. This expression plane of language is phonology (or graphology) and phonetics (or graphetics). In English, for instance, various lexicogrammatical features such as mood and information focus are expressed by prosodic features such as intonation, tone and stress (see Halliday & Greaves 2008). Phonology thus expresses linguistic meaning as sounding. Phonetics is the lower outer stratum of language. As semantics interacts with the ecosocial environment to construe and enact meaning, phonetics interacts with the bio-physiological environment of language to express meaning as sounding. Thus, it should also be noted that the realisation relationship among strata is a kind of **metaredundacy** (Halliday 1992; Matthiessen 2007; Martin 2010), a term originally used by Lemke (1984).

That is, lexicogrammar realises context via the realisation of semantics; phonology realises semantics via the realisation of lexicogrammar and phonetics realises lexicogrammar via the realisation of phonology.

The hierarchy of stratification is relevant for language description. As with instantiation, it gives the analyst a trinocular perspective on the resources of language. In describing the grammar of a language, the investigator may examine grammatical features (i) from above in the semantics stratum to identify their discourse functions, (ii) from roundabout in the lexicogrammar to explore how each feature relate to other grammatical features in its systemic environment and (iii) from below in the phonological stratum to identify the sounding realisations of grammatical features and forms.

2.4.3   Metafunction

The spectrum of metafunction represents different **modes of meaning** in language (Matthiessen, 2007). It is presented in the theory as a spectrum because it permeates all strata of language. Meaning is the underlying function of language and is therefore activated at every stratum of its organisation. This diffusion of meaning across strata relates to the idea of metaredundancy mentioned in Section 2.4.2 above. Ideational meaning is the referential or representation function of language. Every language is a resource for construing the speakers' experience of phenomena in the world in several alternative ways. The ideational metafunction has (evolved) two modes of construing experience, the experiential and the logical. They are complementary because they are often employed together in a single language in construing ideational meaning in different domains. On the other hand, they are alternative in the sense that different languages may employ either the experiential mode or the logical mode in construing the same phenomenon. An example of the former is the experiential system of TRANSIVITY and the logical system of TAXIS (i.e. parataxis and hypotaxis) in English (see Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). A common example in SFL context for typological distribution of experiential and logical meaning is the construal of time across languages. While English has been shown to have a serial tense system (e.g. 'present', 'present in present', 'past', 'past in past'), thereby, favouring a

logical mode, (Halliday 2008: 134-139; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014), many African languages, such as Dagbani (Niger-Congo, Gur), have been noted for construing a time-depth tense system (e.g. 'recent past', 'day-before', 'remote past'), which is oriented towards the experiential mode of ideation.

Interpersonal meaning, on the other hand, encodes such variables as social and interactional roles, identities, relationships, attitude and stance in discourse. Languages have different resources for enacting meanings engendered by these variables. These include mood, honorification (as in Japanese and Korean), gender, status, and negotiation. One interpersonal semantic system that tends to be universal is SPEECH FUCNTION, the resource for making propositions and proposals and it is cross-linguistically realised by the system of MOOD in the lexicogrammar (see Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008).

Textual metafunction is a function of a special kind. It is the semantic resource that organises the other two modes, ideational and interpersonal, into something that can be consumed by the listener/reader, that is, text. This kind of meaning includes cohesion, coherence, and information focus in discourse. Grammatical systems that have been identified cross-linguistically as textual include INFORMATION and THEME (Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). What is being demonstrated here is that while the theory presents these three modes of meaning to be universal properties of language, the grammatical categories that realise them emerge from the context of description of particular languages.

The term modes of meaning that has been used to characterise the metafunctions show that these meanings are realised differently. Ideational resources are **particulate**, interpersonal meanings are **prosodic** while textual meanings are **periodic** in their respective realisations. Ideational resources are particulate because they are generally realised by segments that are cumulative and compositional in nature. For example, in the transitivity system of the English clause, the functions Actor + Process + Goal + (Circumstance) contribute different meanings to realising the clause as a material clause. Interpersonal meaning, on the other hand, is prosodic in the sense that no matter where the locus of realisation is placed in the clause, the meaning is diffused to characterise the whole. In the realisation of negation in the English

clause, for instance, irrespective of where the negative particle is located, the negative meaning scopes over a whole stretch such as the clause. As Halliday (2008: 63) and Caffarel, Martin and Matthiessen (2004) demonstrate, this prosody is easily observable when the negative particle is resonated by non-assertive forms in the clause (e.g. I do**n't** have **any** money for **any** project).

Textual meanings are realised periodically as a movement of waves of prominence and troughs of non-prominence in syntagmatic structure. Again, in English, for instance (as in many other languages, including Dagaare), the initial position of the clause has been identified to be a topically prominent position while the end is prominent as newsworthy (cf. Chapter 5 on Dagaare). Thus, as we move from the beginning of the clause towards the end, thematic prominence decreases while information prominence increases and the reverse is the case as we move from final to initial position. According to Halliday (2009), this distribution of modes of meaning is a semiotic strategy by which language manages the simultaneous realisation of these three meanings in the clause. As he notes, speakers can put any spin (i.e. prosody) on any particle as meaning flows in varying degrees of prominence. In SFL metalanguage, these different modes of realisation of metafunctional meaning have corresponding verbal terminologies – ideational meaning is **construed** (i.e. constructed into meaning), interpersonal meaning is **enacted** (i.e. reproduced as meaning) and textual meaning is **engendered** (i.e. created).

2.4.4   Rank

The resources of language in each stratum (see Section 2.4.2), particularly lexicogrammar and phonology, are organised into a hierarchy of units called the **rank scale**. In the lexicogrammar of English, these units consist of the clause, group/phrase, word, and morpheme (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, see also Chapter 3 on Dagaare). Generally, typological studies have shown that languages with a distinct rank of morpheme would have four units on the rank scale and those without this unit would typically have three ranks (cf. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). These ranks are hierarchical in the sense that they are compositional; each higher rank is composed of ranks below it, and, by reversion, lower ranks constitute a higher rank.

This *constituency* relationship among ranks is different from the inter-stratal relationship that holds between strata in the hierarchy of stratification (see Section 2.4.2), which we referred to as *metaredundancy*. In the English rank scale, for instance, a clause consists of groups and phrases, a group consists of words and a word consists of morphemes. English distinguishes between groups and phrases. While a group is composed from below by words, a phrase is a 'fragment' from above, considered as a reduced clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Analogous to the clause, it has a minor-process (or minor verb), which is the preposition, and this process has its own participant, Range, or Complement, typically realised by a nominal group. Group and phrase are, however, of the same rank in their function in the clause as illustrated by the **box diagram** for transitivity and mood below:

The girl	sowed	the seeds	in the garden
Actor	Process	Goal	Place
Subject	Finite/ Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
noun group	verbal group	noun group	prepositional phrase

Figure 2.3: Function structure for transitivity and mood

The clustering of grammatical units in language into ranks reflects divisions of semiotic labour in the lexicogrammar. Each rank is the domain for the realisation of different set of grammatical meanings (technically, lexicogrammatical features or, simply, features). General features that are realised at the domain of the clause in English include polarity (negative and positive), mood, transitivity, information focus and theme. Features such as voice and tense are realised by the English verbal group while nominal groups realise features such as countability, number, specificity, definiteness and animacy. Thus the semiotic labour of every language is divided among different ranks. The rank scale thus guides the investigator in locating the domains of the different grammatical meanings in a language.

The lexicogrammatical ranks of a language are identified from above by first establishing the basic unit of the language for realising discourse meaning. Cross-linguistically, this unit has been identified to be the clause.

Lower units are then established based on their functions in this discourse unit, that is, the division of semiotic labour among units in the clause. However, units would often perform functions that are not typical of their rank. This is explained by the notion of **rank shift**, where a unit is embedded in another unit either of a lower status in the scale or of the same rank as itself. Typical examples in English are post-modification in the nominal group (examples (1) and (2)) and complementation in the prepositional phrase (example (3)):

1. The man [in the red shirt]
2. The man [[who came here this morning]]
3. in [the red shirt]

This phenomenon of downgrading is called **embedding**. Embedded clauses are conventionally indicated by double square brackets as in example (2) while embedded phrases (as in example (1)) or groups (as in example (3) are indicated by single square brackets. Clauses that are embedded as in example (2) are non-ranking clauses – they have been downgraded in the scale – while non-embedded clauses are **ranking** clauses. Embedding is, however, distinguished from hypotactic relations, where ranking clauses are dependent on an independent clause. An example of a hypotactic clause is *when I went home* in *I saw him when I went home*. Both embedded and hypotactic clauses are, however, **bound** clauses.

2.4.5 Axis

While the dimension of rank divides the semiotic labour of the realisation of grammatical features among units related by composition, the dimension of axis represents the relationship between grammatical features and the units that realise them as **chain** and **choice**. In other words, axis maps the selections of features to the realisation of these selections as structure. Feature selection and its structural realisation represent **paradigmatic** and **syntagmatic** axes of language respectively. It originates from Saussure's structuralism and became the dimension that defined Firth's system-structure theory. Halliday developed Firth's notion of the relationship between system and structure further into his scale and category theory (e.g. Halliday 1961). At this stage, however, it was

not indicated which of the two axes depended upon the other. In the present state of the theory, priority is given to paradigmatic organisation over the syntagmatic axis. This simply means that in the organisation of language, paradigmatic features come first and structure is then derived from these features by realisation. In other words, grammatical structure is the product of lexicogrammatical meaning.

This relationship between meaning and structure is normally represented by system networks as illustrated in Figure 2.4 for the system of MOOD in English (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014 for detail discussion). A system network is read from left to right, which means that one views it in order of increasing delicacy. The English system of MOOD has the major clause as its *point of origin* and technically, this rank is said to be the **entry condition** for the system network. Every unit of the rank scale, as has been indicated in Section 2.4.4, is a point of origin for particular systems. A system label is conventionally written in small upper case letters (e.g. MOOD) to distinguish it from a feature label (e.g. [mood]) and a structural function label (e.g. Mood). While 'system' is the name of a set of related features with a common point of origin, a feature is simply a name for a particular grammatical meaning that has been identified in language. In our system network, the labels such as [indicative] and [imperative] are all grammatical features. Outside the system network, features are typically placed in square brackets as has been done here (cf. Henrici 1981) or single quotation marks (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).
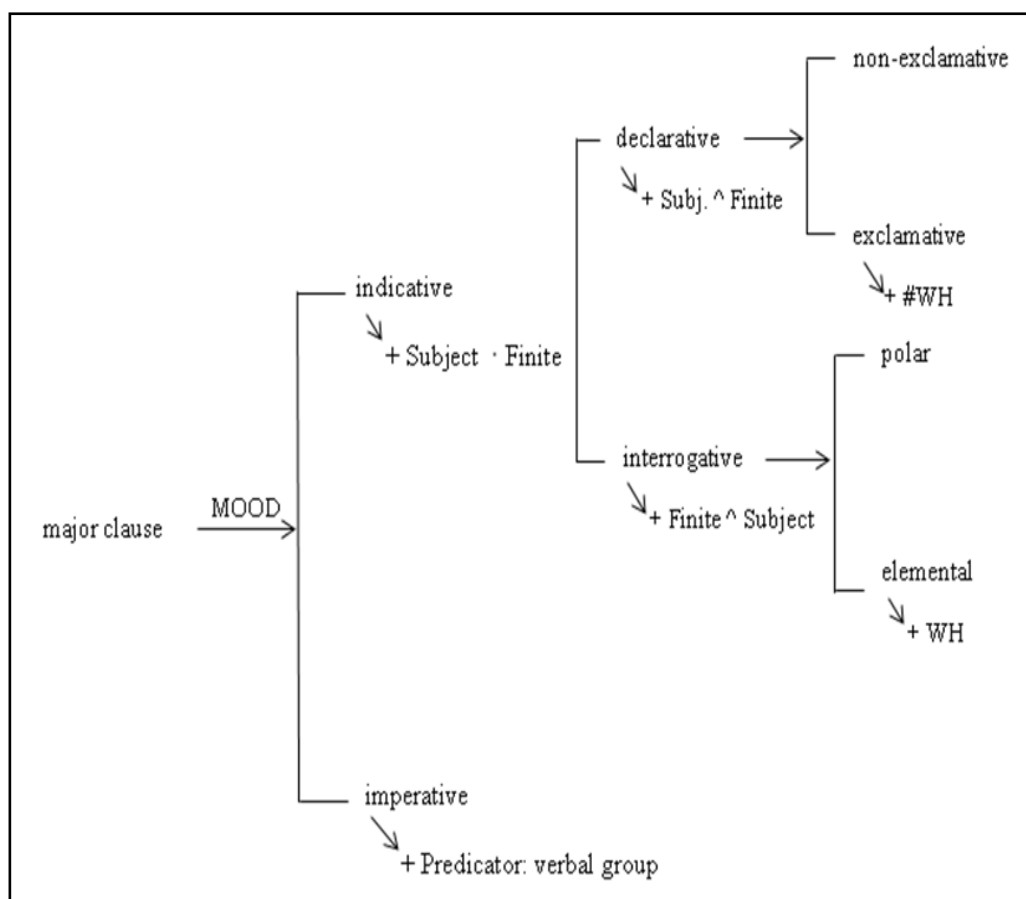
Figure 2.4: The system of MOOD of the English clause

As the network extends in delicacy, new features are identified and each feature may serve as an entry condition for other features, and, for that matter, other systems. This is indicated in the network with a straight arrow. There are four systems in the network in Figure 2.4. Rather than using the system network, we can express this chain relationship among features with a **selection expression** such as [indicative: declarative: exclamative], where the colon (:) sign means that the feature that precedes it is **pre-selected** as a condition for the following feature. It is this horizontal relationship of features in a system network that is referred as delicacy.

However, grammatical features are also related vertically. Features that are vertically related are **terms** of a system and together they form a feature **paradigm** that offers a choice to speakers to construe, enact or create discourse meanings. Each paradigm represents a point of choice in the system network (cf. Matthiessen & Halliday 2009; Martin 1987; 2013). Grammatical features are first and foremost defined from above in the semantic stratum,

based on the discourse functions of the lexicogrammatical resources that realise them. They form the *deep grammar* of language (see Halliday 1966; Huddleston 1981; Henrici 1981; Fawcett 1981). In contradistinction with transformational-generative theories, SFL does not recognise universal deep structures in the grammar of languages from which surface structures are derived through transformational rules. It rather shows that there is only one structure (i.e. surface structure) that is derived from discourse oriented lexicogrammatical features.

In Figure 2.4, the structural realisations of features are indicated by slanted arrows between the feature and the structure that realises it (i.e. **realisation statement**). Structure in SFL is a structure of functions (also called elements of structure) rather than of form. Figure 2.4 shows that the feature [indicative] is realised by a structure comprising the functions of Subject and Finite as its minimal number of constituents while [imperative] has the function Predicator as its minimal realisation. Grammatical functions are written with an initial upper case letter. The realisation statement 'Subject · Finite' does not include a statement of how these two elements are sequenced. As the network extends in delicacy, however, it is clarified that, for declarative clauses (see example (4)), the Subject element typically precedes Finite (conventionally, 'Subject ^ Finite'), and, for interrogative clauses (example (5)), the Finite element typically precedes Subject (Finite ^ Subject):

4. *I was* given a prize at graduation.
5. *What were* you given at graduation?

The English Finite element is realised by an auxiliary verb indicating tense or modality. These are normally modal verbs (*We should be going*) and the primary auxiliaries *be* and *have* (e.g. *John is leaving tomorrow*) although tense may conflate with the Predicator element in a verbal group simplex (e.g. *He cooks late*).

As a system network extends in delicacy, realisation statements also become more delicate and specific. In Figure 2.4, the expression '#WH' extends the realisation statement for interrogative clauses by indicating that, for elemental interrogatives, a WH-element occurs in clause initial position

(indicated by the clause boundary symbol #), In the most delicate situations, realisation statements normally include class labels or specific words and morphemes. Such terminal statements are therefore **lexified,** and, in the system network, this may be indicated with an equal (=) sign, interpreted as lexification. Henrici (1981) refers to them as final realisation statements to distinguish them from the structural realisation statements, which comprises functional elements.

We may also distinguish between a structure and a **syntagm** (cf. Halliday 1966, 2009). As has been mentioned, a structure is a configuration of functional elements to realise a systemic feature. A syntagm, on the other hand, is a configuration of class categories and is important for examining constituency (e.g. nominal group + verbal group + nominal group). SFL descriptions focus on structure and syntagm is analysed as delicate resources that realise structural functions. This approach is illustrated with a box diagram in Figure 2.5.

The	*student*	*had*	*made*	*no*	*comments*
Subject		Finite	Predicator	Complement	
Sayer		Process: verbal		Verbiage	
Theme		Rheme			
nominal group		verbal group		nominal group	
Deictic	Thing	Finite	Event	Deictic	Thing
determiner	noun	verb	verb	determiner	noun

Figure 2.5: A box diagram of syntagm and structural configurations

The first three layers show structural configuration of the clause in terms of mood, transitivity and theme in that respective order. This exemplifies the simultaneity or complementarity of interpersonal, ideational and textual meanings discussed in Section 2.4.4. The fourth layer shows the grammatical classes that realise the structural functions at group rank. Thus, Subject/Sayer/Theme are realised by a nominal group. Finite + Predicator and the corresponding transitivity function Process are realised by a verbal group while Complement and the corresponding transitivity function Verbiage are also realised by a nominal group. The fifth and six layers analyse the functional structure of groups and the realisation at word rank respectively.

For example, the nominal group *The student* realising the Subject/Sayer/Theme consists of the elements Deitic + Thing with the Deitic realised by a determiner and the Thing realised by a noun. As the analysis shows, English, as well as other Germanic languages, has a fairly exotic interpersonal structure of the clause by being able to split the verbal group into two elements, Finite and Predicator. The Finite combines with the Subject as the most interactive element in the clause, the Mood. For instance, speakers pick them up in arguing about the polarity values (e.g. *He had; He hadn't*) and they are copied in tagged interrogative clauses: *The student had made no comments, had he*?

2.4.6   Semogenesis

In Section 2.3, it was stated that language creates meaning, and, in Section 2.4.1, we examined this property as an instantiation process where meanings are selected from the overall system of language to create text. Another dimension that illustrates this semogenic property of language is genesis. Genesis simply means history. It explains three histories in language, namely, phylogenesis, ontogenesis and logogenesis (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 1999). Phylogenesis is the evolution of language in the human species and is thus primarily the subject matter of historical linguistics, grammaticalisation and evolutionary linguistics. Ontogenesis is the development of language in the individual meaner (or person) either as a first language or a second language. It is the object of study in language learning disciplines. Logogenesis is the moment by moment unfolding of meaning in text or discourse and has been the focus of conversation and discourse (including genre) studies.

These three histories are valuable in explaining grammaticalisation, a key area in typology studies. Grammaticalisation can be viewed as the evolution of grammar (i.e. phylogenetically), the sense in which the term was originally used by Meillet (see Hopper 1991; Hopper & Traugott 2003). It can also be viewed as a gradual emergence of grammar in a child learning his/her mother tongue (see e.g. Halliday 1973, Painter 2009). We may also examine it as a logogenetic process observable synchronically in the unfolding of

discourse (cf. Traugott & Heine 1991; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Matthiessen & Kashyap 2014). As an example, we may consider the following clauses adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) in which negative meaning has been lexicalised (example (1)), semi-grammaticalised (example (2)) and grammaticalised (example (3)):

1. He <u>failed</u>.
2. He <u>never</u> succeeded.
3. He did<u>n't</u> succeed.

These different dimensions of grammaticalisation make it better to describe it rather than define it. The common definition is, however, given as the changes in language by which lexical items develop into grammatical forms or by which less grammatical forms become more grammatical (Hopper &Traugott 2003). In other words, grammaticalisation is primarily defined from above in the semantics stratum – it is meaning that gets grammaticalised by structure or form (cf. Halliday 2008: Ch. 5; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). It is therefore a realisation process by which discourse meaning is assigned a grammatical feature in the lexicogrammar, and selects a grammatical rank as its domain.

Grammaticalisation, in its diachronic sense, represents an interstratal tension between semantics and lexicogrammar. As the meaning potential of the speech fellowship expands, lexicogrammatical resources are stretched to meet various semiotic demands. Grammaticalisation is a diachronic-synchronic complementarity. From a synchronic perspective, it is a property of language that some meanings are grammaticalised and others lexicalised (Halliday 2008: Ch. 5). The present study focuses on those meanings that are grammaticalised. There, however, is a fuzzy boundary between the two as suggested in our discussion of the complementarity between grammar and lexis (Section 2.4.2). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) identify three properties of grammaticalised meaning: (i) it is organised in the language as a closed system of mutually exclusive terms, (ii) it is associated with a general category in the language and (iii) it displays proportionality throughout the language.

As a diachronic process, grammaticalisation can as well be characterised from a trinocular perspective. From above, in the semantics

(including pragmatic meaning), it is viewed as a process by which regular meanings in discourse come to be generalised and specialised by a category in the lexicogrammar. From a roundabout perspective, on the cline of lexicogrammar, this means that certain lexical items gradually lose their specificity and content to become general grammatical forms or less grammatical forms become more grammatical (Hopper & Traugott 2003). On the other hand, it may just be a change in word order (cf. Li & Thompson, 1976). From below, in terms of rank (taking the clause as the point of view), there may be a corresponding reduction of word forms, fusion of items and other morphological processes (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Hopper & Traugott 2003). Below lexicogrammar, there may be shifts in tones and intonation and phonetic reduction of lexicogrammatical forms (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991; Hopper & Traugott 2003). Diachronic and synchronic aspects of grammaticalisation represent two viewpoints by the analyst on one and the same phenomenon. It is the meanings and the corresponding forms (and, by extension, sounds) that get grammaticalised through time that come to be the focus of synchronic descriptions of grammar.

2.5   Methodological Procedures in the Present Study

The preceding sections discussed the theoretical landscape of the study. This section will proceed to describe the methods and procedures used in executing the objectives of the study. The study adopts an ethnographic tradition to the study of language as its general research design. This approach involves the study of language in its social context of use. The enthnographic approach to linguistics has a long history. In modern linguistics, it develops from two related research traditions. One is American anthropological linguistics, starting with the work of Franz Boas through Edward Sapir, Benjamin Whorf and later scholars such as Mary Haas, Ken Pike and Dell Hymes to post-Greenbergian functionalism. The other is the European functionalism that developed from the work of Bronislaw Malinowski and extended by J. R. Firth, M. A. K. Halliday, J. R. Palmer, just to mention a few. The main tenets of this approach are the emphasis on the study of language in social context,

the emphasis on meaning, and the emphasis on observation of language behaviour and field work. The sections below outline how this ethnographic approach has been used in collecting and analysing data for the study.

2.5.1   Data Source

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the study focuses on the Lobr dialect of Dagaare. The data for the study comprises naturally occurring written and spoken texts produced by speakers of this dialect in Ghana and Burkina Faso. The written data consist of religious registers, specifically, Bible translations and liturgical materials. This registerial limitation of the data is due to the fact they were the only written material I could access during the field work. Textsbooks, short stories and also religious materials on the Central Dagaare ('Ngmere') dialect were available and photocopied as a comparative guide in the data analysis. On the other hand, the spoken data range across a number of registers and text-types. These include an unscripted play, folk tales, live conservations in varying contexts, radio interviews, announcements and panel discussions, workshop reports and meetings, monologic speeches, and a religious film. This variable sources and nature of data is very important for the general and relatively comprehensive description of the language in this study. The focus of the study is not on the meanings of linguistic resources instantiated in the individual texts. The aim is rather to move beyond these instances to identity systems and categories that are general and proportional in the language. Table 2.1 locates the texts used for the study across registerial variables of field (i.e. secio-semiotic process) and mode (see Matthiessen (2015) and Matthiessen & Teruya (2015) on socio-semiotic processes).

2.5.2   Analystical Procedure

The specific analytical procedures adopted in conducting the study can be summarised into the following six criteria, the first five of which are identified by Matthiesen (2015) (also see Haspelmath (2009a) on theory and typological guidance):

Table 2.1. Text archive for the study

Socio-semiotic processes	Written		Spoken	
	dialogue	monologue	dialogue	monologue
doing		A tribute for a University VC		installation of queen mother
enabling		school textbook		
recommending				concert advertisement
Exploring			arguments in conversations	
Expounding				
reporting		biblical narratives;	narratives in conversations and meetings;	farmers' reports at agric workshop; radio announcements
recreating		short stories	unscripted play; religious film	folktales
sharing			conversations; radio panel discussions; radio interviews; meetings; Facebook posts & comments	speeches

1. Analysis of discourse data

2. theoretical guidance

3. typological guidance

4. transfer comparison

5. language consultants

6. dialect comparison

These criteria are time tested criteria employed by many lingusits in the description of languages even where this is not explicitly stated. Their combination in the present study leads to an in-depth study of Dagaare.

First, the analysis of the discourse data took several cyclical steps, starting with the transcription of the spoken texts. Initially, some of the spoken texts were selected and transcribed in whole for a complete discourse analysis in order to identify lexicogrammatical features inherent in the language and the forms that realise them. Others were transcribed in parts for testing emerging lexicogrammatical features and forms in their analysis. Initial analysis of the data was exploratory in nature. Both written and transcribed texts were read through repeatedly to identify grammaticalised meanings and forms that realise these meanings. At this stage, the analysis was more haphazard rather than systematic. Almost everything on the semiotic map of language outlined above was kept in focus: moving across strata, ranks, and classes, between observing text instances and making systemic generalisations as well as maintaining a view on all metafunctions (experiential, logical, textual and interpersonal). In every phase of this process, new grammatical meanings and/or forms were identified, some forms identified previously reinterpreted and some other interpretations discarded. As the analysis progressed and meanings and forms became clearer, particular systems were identified and analysed systematically. System networks and structural paradigms were used as key analytical tools. System networks, in particular, helped in identifying ranks that serve as the domain of particular grammatical features and the relationship between features, either as contrastive terms of the same system, as simultaneous systems, or related in delicacy. System

networks were further tested on new data and by constructing paradigms to assess the acceptability of clauses that the network generates. In the process, the system networks were revised many times, and others were completely discarded and their features redistributed among other systems. Selected spoken discourse was also listened to repeatedly to identify phonological and phonetic realisations of some grammatical features and forms. The final stage of the analysis was more systematic. First, texts were selected and chunked into clauses. Second, the chunked clauses were input in an Excel spreadsheet and analysed closely using the categories of the languages that have been attested in the previous analysis (see Section 3 in Appendix). This led to a more rigorous testing of the categories and revisions were made where necessary. This analysis procedure has been displayed in the Appendix.

This analytical process was guided by theory, typological generalisations and transfer comparison. As indicated in discussions in the preceding sections, theoretical guidance was provided by the general dimensions of language, particularly as they are articulated within systemic functional linguistics. Typological guidance was provided by three sources. One is the typoloical generalisations that have been developed based on the systemic functional theory (e.g. Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008; Wang & Xu 2013; Teruya & Matthiessen 2015). The second source is the wider typological generalisations that have been developed by other functional typologists (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Lambrecht 1994; Heine & Kuteva 2002a, b, 2007;Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003, 2006; Sphopen 2007a, b, c; Dixon 2010a, b, 2012; Dryer & Haspelmath 2013; Haspelmath 2015). The third consists of typological studies particularly on African languages (e.g. Welmers 1973; Heine & Reh 1983; Heine & Nurse 2000; Heine 2011; Williamson & Blench 2000; Güldemann et al . 2015). The typological generalisations in these studies served as a guide in identifying and interpreting linguistic forms and structures in Dagaare in terms of both synchronic categories and diachronic pathways of various forms. Work on grammaticalisation was particularly useful in resolving odd and ambiguous categories. However, only passing and footnote references are made to diachronic processes for the sake of coherence in presenting the synchronic

information. In addition to typological guidance, the linguistic categories identified in previous descriptions of other languages were used as a descriptive framework for Dagaare (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Teruya et al. 2007; Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Abdel-Hafiz 2015). It must also be added that previous descriptions of Dagaare were consulted and incorporated in the description, where necessary (especially, Bodomo (1997) and J. D. Somé (2004) on the account on phonology in Chapter 3). Bodomo's (1997) account of Central Dagaare was particular used for transfer comparison with categories in the Lobr dialect decribed in the present study.

Finally, dialect comparison was done through analysis of texts from other dialects and through the assistance of language consultants, consisting of native speakers of various dialects of Dagaare. Dialect comparison helped in identifying the general principles in the language that underlie the forms and structures identified in the analysis. This knowledge clarified some conflicting interpretations of categories. A discussion on dialectal variation in Dagaare is, however, beyond the purpose of the present study. Again, where necessary, only footnote and passing references will be made to other dialects during the discussion in subsequent chapters.

The final consideration was the presentation of illustrative examples. Examples are given in three layers, comprising (1) original example clauses or texts in Dagaare, (2) morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing and (3) an English translation. Leipzig Glossing Rules are employed in the morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing albeit with a few additions and modifications to reflect some language specific categories of Dagaare (available at: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). Chapter 3 gives a comprehensive overview of the language and is partly intended to introduce the basic categories of the language to readers before the more extensive discussion in subsequent chapters. Also, a key to abbreviations in the glosses has been given in the beginning of this thesis and readers can refer to it where necessary. The English tranlations are presented in idiomatic English. However, effort is made to make the translations reflect the grammatical structure of the Dagaare examples as much as possible. In some instances, this may lead to translations that are not typical of everyday English. Where it is not possible to give an acceptable English translation that is close

to the Dagaare example, a more plausible English translation is provided in parenthesis.

2.5.3   Limitations of the Study

Language is a complex system and can neither be fully described in a single study nor by one individual in his life time (Akerejola 2005). In this light, the present study is limited in several aspects. In terms of stratification, the study focuses on lexicogrammar. Particularly, it is skewed towards the grammar pole of the lexis-grammar continuum and explores lexis only in so far as lexical items illuminate grammatical meaning. The relationship between lexis and grammar will be particularly salient in the discussion on process types. However, as has been mentioned, the study highlights the interaction between grammar and semantics and between grammar and phonology in terms of realisation.

Regarding rank, the primary focus of the study is mainly limited to clause systems and lower ranks will be discussed in the context of their realisation of particular functions at clause rank level. The study however covers all three metafunctions. It will examine clause rank systems that realize interpersonal, textual and ideational meanings. In Chapter 4, however, two verbal group systems, namely POLARITY and MODALITY are discussed in some detail due to their close interaction with the system of MOOD, a clause rank system.[3] Resources of ranks lower than the clause are also briefly discussed in Chapter 3. It should also be noted that quantitative statements of systemic probabilities and register variation are beyond the scope of the study, although quantitative counts are occasionally given to support interpreations of systemic contrasts.

As mentioned earlier, however, the study will include a general sketch of the lexicogrammatical and phonological resources of the language before proceeding to present a detail exploration of the clause. The analysis will include ranks below the clause, such as morphemes and word classes. This linguistic profile of the language is necessary to place the discussion within

---

[3] Note that the characterisation of POLARITY and MODALITY as group rank systems and MOOD as a clause rank system is relative to dagaare although this pattern is common in the world's languages. In English, POLARITY and MODALITY are clause rank systems, realised through the Finite element or the mood Adjunct (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 4).

the general semiotic environment of the language. It is hoped that the study will provide impetus for investigation of other semiotic regions of the languageas has been identified at the end of Chapter 7.

2.6   Conclusion

In summary, this chapter discussed the theoretical framework and methods used in the study. It first examined the nature of linguistic theory and description and the relationship between them. It also considered the systemic environment of language and showed how language interacts with physical, biological and social systems. Further, it described the architecture of language as it is theorised in systemic functional linguistics, highlighting the dimensions of instantiation, stratification, metafunction, rank, axis and genesis. The chapter ended with methodological issues in the study, including the nature and source of data, the data analysis process and limitations of the study. The next chapter will proceed togive a profile of the linguistic organisation of Dagaare, focusing on phonology, orthography and lexicogrammar.

CHAPTER THREE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DAGAARE LINGUISTIC SYSTEM

3.1   Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the purpose of this study is to examine the grammatical systems of the Lobr Dagaare clause. In order to maximise our understanding of the clause systems, however, it is useful to describe the linguistic resources that realise them. This first chapter of the account will therefore give a general overview of the organisation of the language albeit in a sketchy manner. The chapter will take a cross-sectional view of the dimension of stratification, focusing on phonology and orthography in the expression plane and on lexicogrammar in the content plane. It begins with an account of the various units of Dagaare phonology, highlighting their form and functions (Section 3.2). It then discusses pertinent issues in the orthography of the language (Section 3.3) and examines different grammatical units in terms of their classes, forms and meanings (Section 3.4).

3.2   Phonology

Dagaare phonology is organised around four units, namely tone group, phonological word, syllable and phoneme. These are presented in the rank scale in Figure 3.1. Graphically, phonological word will be distinguished from grammatical word by putting it in square brackets (cf. Matthiessen 1987). Each of the units in the rank scale is the domain for the realisation of at least one phonological phenomenon. They are discussed below, beginning with the lowest and smallest unit, the phoneme.

```
                    tone group

                        ↕

                     [word]

                        ↕

                    syllable

                        ↕

                    phoneme
```
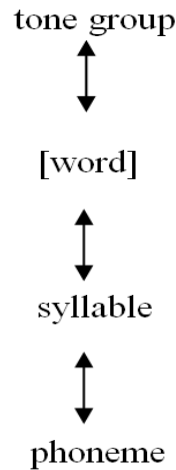
Figure 3.1. The phonological rank scale of Dagaare

3.2.1   Phoneme

The phoneme is the domain for the realisation of phonemic (or distinctive) features. The phonemic system of Lobr Dagaare is made up of twenty-nine (29) consonants and thirty-three (33) vowels (cf. J. D. Somé 2004; also cf. Bodomo (1997) on the Ngmere dialect).[4] The consonants consist of eight stops (/b, d, g, gb, k, kp, p, t/), two affricates (/tʃ, dʒ/), six fricatives (/f, h, ɦ,ʔ, s, v, z/), and 12 sonorants (/ɓ, l, 'l, m, n, ny, ŋ, ŋm, r, w, 'w, j/). These are presented in (1) together with a specification of their features in terms of voicing, place and manner of articulation.

(1)   Dagaare consonants

consonant	description	example
/b/	voiced bilabial stop	*báa*, 'dog'
/ɓ/	voiced bilabial sonorant (implosive)	*ɓaa*, 'be cool'
/tʃ/	voiceless aveolar-palatal affricate	*cɪr*, 'to mark'
/d/	voiced aveolar stop	*dáa*, 'push'
/f/	voiceless labio-dental fricative	*faa*, 'seize'
/g/	voiced velar stop	*gàa*, 'dates'
/gb/	voiced velar-bilabial stop	*gbaa*, 'mamba snake'
/h/	voiced glottal fricative	*háa*, 'open widely'
/ɦ/	voiced glottal fricative (implosive)	*hɛr*, 'be annoyed'

---

[4] My account on phonology, especially the phoneme, and also orthography is based on J. D. Somé (2004) and Bodomo (1997).

/ʔ/	voiced glottal stop	*yə̃r*, 'grind'
/dʒ/	voiced aveolar-palatal affricate	*jɪr*, 'look'
/k/	voiceless velar stop	*kã̃a*, 'cream, oil'
/kp/	voiceless velar-bilabial stop	*kpã̃a*, 'remind'
/lɛ/	voiced aveolar sonorant (lateral)	*lɛ*, 'again, that'
/'lɛ/	voiced aveolar sonorant (implosive)	*'lɛ*, 'enjoy'
/m/	voiced bilabial sonorant (nasal)	*mã̃a*, 'I, me'
/n/	voiced aveolar sonorant (nasal)	*náw*, 'to mash'
/ny/	voiced aveolar-palatal sonorant (nasal)	*nyaw*, 'dig out'
/ŋ/	voiced velar sonorant (nasal)	*ŋa,* 'this'(also *na*)
/ŋm/	voiced velar-bilabial sonorant (nasal)	*ŋma*, 'cut into pieces'
/p/	voiceless bilabial stop	*paw*, 'close'
/r/	voiced palato-aveolar sonorant (roll)	*par*, 'to jump'
/s/	voiceless palatal fricative	*saw*, 'agree'
/t/	voiceless aveolar stop	*taw*, 'pull'
/v/	voiced labio-dental fricative	*vɔb*, 'uprooting (n)'
/w/	voiced labio-velar sonorant (glide)	*wɔb*, 'elephant'
/'w/	voiced bilabial sonorant (glide)	*'wɔblɪ*, 'be deformed'
/j/	voiced palatal sonorant (glide)	*yə́r* 'to spread'
/z/	voiced palatal fricative	*zèli*, 'to mill'

As the feature specification shows, a few of the consonants (i.e. /gb/, /kp/, /ny/, and /ŋm/) have double articulatory features in terms of their place of articulation. That is, they combine the characteristics of two simple consonants in their place of articulation.

The thirty-three (33) vowels of Dagaare comprises nine (9) short vowels and nine (9) long vowels, corresponding to the short vowels, as well as fifteen (15) diphthongs (or glides). Figure 3.2 present the short vowels in a traditional vowel chart.
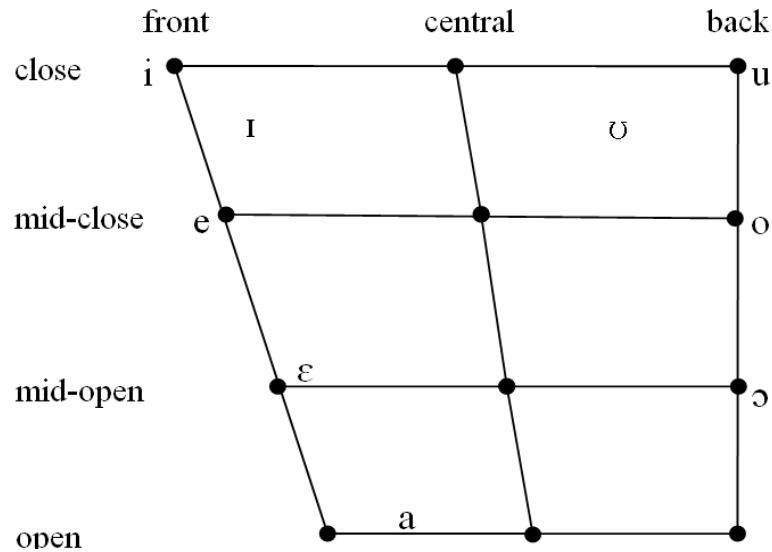
Figure 3.2. Vowel chart for Dagaare short vowels (J. D. Somé 2004: 31-33)

As the vowel chart shows, the vowels differ in quality based on the vertical and horizontal position of the tongue in their production. On the vertical axis, a vowel could be close or open, or mid-close or mid-open. On the horizontal axis, it could be front or back, relative to the part of the tongue raised in its production. Since the long vowels only contrast with the short ones in length, they will not be discussed separately except to indicate that they form minimal pairs with the short vowels, thereby supporting their phonemic status. Examples are *dà* ('buy') versus *dáa* ('push') and *kùr* ('tortoise') versus *kùur* ('hoe'). Dagaare vowels also contrast on lip posture and tongue root position.The values for lip posture are rounded versus unrounded and the values for tongue root position are advanced tongue root, [+ATR], and retracted tongue root, [-ATR]. The characteristics of the vowels are summarised in a feature specification in (2) below. Each feature is independent of the other in the sense that the [ATR] value of the vowel, for instance, does not depend on whether it is [±close], [±front] or [±round].

(2)   Feature specification for Dagaare monophthongs

	i	e	o	u	ɪ	ɛ	ɔ	ʊ	a
close	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
front	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
round	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
ATR	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
example	*cir*	*de*	*do*	*vu*	*cɪr*	*cɛr*	*cɔr*	*vʊ*	*va*
meaning	pour	take	climb	crawl	to mark	untie	to pin	pierce	hit

As shown in (3), the diphthongs contrast based on tongue root position (advanced versus retracted), the direction of the glide in terms of tongue height (e.g. opening versus closing) and the horizontal position of the tongue (e.g. fronting versus backward).

(3)   **Dagaare Diphthongs**

vowel	**description**	**example**
/ie/	opening front advanced tongue root	*pie,* 'ten'
/io/	opening backward advanced tongue root	*bio,* tomorrow
/ou/	closing back advanced tongue root	*ców,* 'nest'
/ue/	opening fronting advanced tongue root	*kùe,* 'hoes'
/uo/	opening back advanced tongue root	*púo,* '(a) farm'
/ɪɛ/	opening front retracted tongue root	*síɛ,* 'waist'
/ɪa/	opening front retracted tongue root	*dĭa,* 'today'
/ɪɔ/	opening backward retracted tongue root	*cíɔ,* 'squirrel'
/aɪ/	closing front retracted tongue	*zʊ́kpáɪ,* 'proverbs, riddles'
/aʊ/	closing backward retracted tongue root	*pàw,* 'close'
/ɔɪ/	closing fronting retracted tongue root	*pɔ́ɪ,* 'oath, vow'
/ɔɛ /	mid-open fronting retracted tongue root	*kɔ́ɛ,* 'bags'
/ɔʊ/	closing back retracted tongue root	*bɔ̀w,* 'hole'
/oe/	mid-close fronting retracted tongue root	*loe,* 'sides, areas'
/ʊɔ/	opening back retracted tongue root	*bʊɔ,* 'goat'

It can be observed that only the first five diphthongs in (3) above are [+ATR] while the rest are [-ATR] or retracted tongue root vowels. With regards to the vertical position of the tongue, eight of the diphthongs, /ie, io, ɪɛ, ɪa, ɪɔ, ue, uo, ʊɔ/, are opening glides and three are closing glides, /ɔɪ, aʊ, aɪ/. Two of them do not glide vertically and are simply mid-open /ɔɛ/ or mid-close /oe/. On the

54

horizontal axis, on the other hand, there are four fronting glides (/ue, ɔɪ, ɔɛ, oe/) and three backward glides (/io, ɪɔ, aʊ/) while six do not glide horizontally and are either front vowels (/ie, ɪɛ, ɪa, /aɪ/) or back vowels (/uo, ʊɔ/).

3.2.2 Syllable

The syllable is the domain of both articulatory combinations (i.e. phonotactics) and prosody, specifically, syllabic tone and nasality (see further below). It is the rank immediately above the phoneme and it is composed of at least one phoneme. The structure of the Dagaare syllable comprises an obligatory Peak element and optional Onset and Coda elements. The maximal structure is illustrated for the word *bʋ̀r* ('sow') in Figure 3.3.

bʋ̀r, 'sow'

b	ʋ̀	r
Onset	Peak	Coda
Nucleus		Margin

Figure 3.3. Illustration of syllable structure

While the Onset and Coda are realised by consonants, the Peak is typically realised by vowels. However, it can be realised by syllabic consonants in specific grammatical environments. These consonants include the nasals /n/ and /m/ and the liquids /l/ and /r/. Examples of syllabic /n̩/ and /m̩/ are respectively the enclitic focus particle *=n* (4) and the enclitic pronoun *=m* (5) in the clauses below:

(4)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Abɛl*	*wa*	*ɪ*	*=n*	*pi-cĩɪnɛ.*
DEF	Abel	EVT	COP.PFV	FOC	shepherd

(5)   Casual conversation

Pʋr	*kʋ̀*		*=m!*
pour.PFV	give.PFV		1SG.ACC

    'Pour (some) for me!'

Syllabic /l̩/ occurs in the context of the elision of the vowel *ɪ* or *i* in verbs

ending in –*li* or-*lı* such as *maalı* ('make') in (6) below:

(6)   *Maal*   *kʋ̀*   =*m!*

        make   give.PFV   1SG.ACC

        'Make (it) for me!'

Here, the final vowel of *maalı* ('make') is elided due to rapidity in speech, resulting in a syllable realised by only the lateral consonant. An example of syllabic/ɽ/ is where -*r* is used as imperfective aspect suffix (e.g. *siw*, 'get down'; *siwr*, 'getting down') (see Section 3.4.2.2 on aspect). In addition to these syllabic consonants, the bilabial stop /b/ also manifests as a syllabic consonant when it occurs as an enclitic form of the second person singular:

(7)   *A*   *bie*   *na*   *yèl*   *a*   *kʋ̀*   =*b*.

        DEF   child   POS.IND.NFUT   say.PFV AFFR   give.PFV   2SG.ACC

        'The child will tell you.'

As mentioned earlier, regarding the function of the syllable, it is the domain of the realisation of syllabic tone and nasality (also see Section 3.2.4 on tone group). Two tones have been postulated for Dagaare, high and low, as well as a downstep high tone (cf. Kennedy 1966; Bodomo 1997; J. D. Somé 2004). Downstep is identified as a phonological situation where, in a given [word], the second of two high tones is not as high as the first high tone. The system of tone at the syllable rank is presented below:
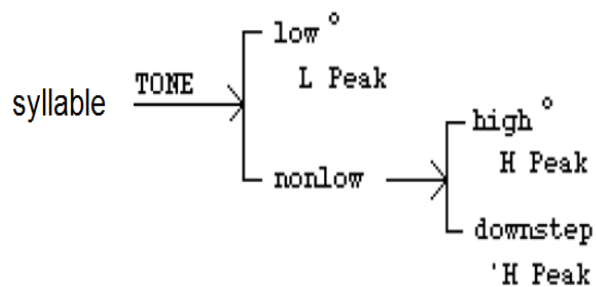
Figure 3.4 The system of TONE in the syllable (cf. Matthiessen 1987: 30)

Tone selection is marked on the syllable Peak and it can be meaning distinguishing (or emic) as in the minimal pairs below (see J. D. Somé (2004)

for details on syllabic tone):

(8)   Minimal pairs illustrating syllabic tone contrasts

Low tone	**High tone**
dà, 'push'	*dá*, 'buy'
sò, 'to own'	*só* 'to wash'
wèr, 'diverge, wonder off'	*wɛ́r*, 'operate upon, cut open'
gùr, 'to fold'	*gúr*, 'sleep'
zèlɪ, 'beg'	*zélɪ*, 'to sieve'
pàw, 'to cover, to close'	*páw*, 'to get'
sèw, to calm down in a dance'	*sɛ́w*, 'be equal'
zʋ̀mɛ, 'intuition'	*zʋ́mɛ*, 'insults'
dʋ̀rʋ, 'right hand'	*dʋ́rʋ*, 'urine'

Like tone, nasality is indicated on the vowel realising the syllable Peak. It can also be meaning distinguishing as in the minimal pairs below:

(9)   Minimal pairs illustrating constrasts in nasality

+nasal	**-nasal**
nyɛ̃, 'see'	*nyɛ*, 'defecate'
ŋmɛ̃, 'resemble'	*ŋmɛ*, 'hit, beat'
mɛ̃, 'like/as'	*mɛ*, 'build'
sãa, 'father'	*saa*, 'rain'

3.2.3   Phonological Word

The [word] is composed of at least one syllable. It is the domain for the realisation of harmony systems. The most common and consist harmony system in Dagaare, as in many other Niger-Congo languages, is [ATR] vowel harmony. The general principle is that vowels that make up a [word] must all either be [+ATR] or [-ATR]. Vowel harmony is therefore a [word] rank prosody. We illustrate this phenomenon in (10) below:

(10) Tongue root vowel harmony

[-ATR]	[+ATR]
cɛrɛ, 'untying'	*cere*, 'going'
pʋrɛ, 'pouring'	*pore*, 'naming'
sɔwlı, 'to hide'	*suoli*, 'to tell a story'

There is, however, one opaque vowel, /a/, which is [-ATR] by default but also co-occurs with [+ATR] vowels. In (11), for instance, it occurs in *ayi* together with [i], which is [+ATR], and in *kpantole* together with the [+ATR] vowels [o] and [e]:

(11) Co-occurrence of /a/ with [+ATR] vowels

[-ATR]	[neutral]
ayʋɔb, 'six'	*ayi*, 'two'
kpakpamɛ, 'shoulders'	*kpantole*, 'mounds'

In instances such as *ayi* and *kpantole* the vowel /a/ neutralises the the vowel harmony principle. Root morphemes with /a/ as the only vowel, however, trigger [-ATR] vowel harmony with suffixes. An example is the root verb *ta* ('reach') and its imperfective form *tarɛ* ('reaching'), where the vowel in the root conditions the choice of the [-ATR] vowel /ɛ/ in the suffix (see Section 3.4.2.2 for details).

Vowel harmony is a guiding criterion in distinguishing phonological word boundaries from grammatical word boundaries in two ways. First, it shows that one grammatical word can correspond to two phonological words. Typical instances of this are found in noun compounds, as in (12) below:

(12) One grammatical word versus two phonological words

> *Pi-cĩınɛ,* 'shepherd' ('lit., 'sheep-care taker')
> *Sɛb-Sow,* 'scripture' (lit., 'Writing-Holy')
> *Yɛr-bie,* 'words' (lit., 'speech-seeds')

In words such as these, the first morpheme in the compound is normally a clipped form. For example, *pi-, sɛb-* and *yɛ̂r-* are clipped versions of the nouns *piir* (sheep), *sɛbʋ* ('writing')and *yɛ̂rʋ* ('speech'). Although each compound is

treated grammatically as one word, the two components are phonologically distinct [words]. This is signalled by the fact that each component in the compound has a different [ATR] value, with the clipped forms maintaining the vowel quality of the original nouns. In contrast, when the diminutive suffix, –le, is added to a root noun it changes the [ATR] quality of the stem to [+ATR], resulting in one phonological word. An example is *kvɔr* ('gourd') versus *kole* ('small gourd / bottle, cup') (see Section 3.4.1 on morpheme).

On the other hand, two grammatical words can correspond to one phonological word. An instance of this is where assimilation spans across grammatical word boundaries. The assimilated words are often single vowel pronouns, enclitic forms and single word particles. For instance, the third person pronoun *v*, which is originally [-ATR], is normally realized as [+ATR] vowel [u] when it follows a [+ATR] verb in a clause. This means that phonologically, it is treated as part of the verb that precedes it. A more interesting example is that an originally [-ATR] verb, *nyɛ̃* ('see'), is often realised as [+ATR] when it takes the pronoun *v* as Complement and prosodically conditions the pronoun into [+ATR] [u]. I illustrate this phenonomenon with a phonetic transcription of the clause *Nɪbɛ bɛ nyɛ̃ v ɛ* ('People have not see him/her'), taken from a spoken advertisement text, in (13) below and compares this with a reconstruction of an alternative realisation in (14):

(13) Concert advertisement

[Nɪbɛ bɛ   nyɛ̃   u   e]

people NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV 3SG   NAFFR

(14) Reconstructed example

[Nɪbɛ bɛ   nyɛ̃   ʊ   ɛ]

If we compare the original spoken form in (13) to it's alternative realisation in (14), it becomes clear that the last three grammatical words in the clause (*nyɛ̃ v ɛ* / *nyɛ̃ u e*), including the non-affirmative particle *ɛ* or *e*, constitute one phonological word. Although both *nyɛ̃* and the pronoun *v*, by default, have [-ATR] values in isolation and in other environments, they bond together as one [word] in instances such as (13) and (14). When the pronoun is the Subject of

the clause as in *Ʊ bɛ nyɛ̃ nɪbɛ ɛ* ('He has not seen people'), this kind of mutual phonological conditioning among these words in terms of vowel harmony is not possible. Other harmony systems in Dagaare will be discussed in Section 3.4.2.2 in relation to aspect.

3.2.4   Tone Group

The tone group is the highest unit in the phonological rank scale and is realised by at least one [word]. In the unmarked case, it corresponds to the clause, and it is the domain of the realisation of intonation (see Section 3.4.3 on clause). A systematic analysis of discourse reveals five distinct pitch movements in the tone group although it is likely this number is not exhaustive. The various attested tones are presented in Figure 3.2 as a system network. The pitch movements are graphically represented using notational conventions developed in systemic phonology (cf. Tench 1992; Halliday & Greaves 2008).
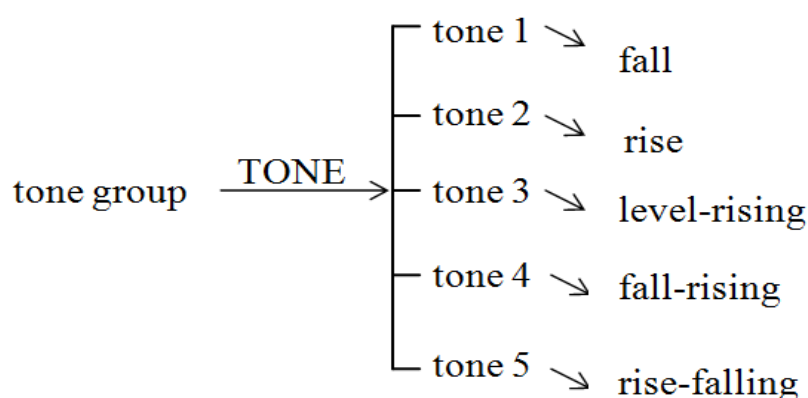
Figure 3.5 The system of TONE in the tone group (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008)

It must be noted that the term 'tone' in this context refers to pitch movements extending over a whole tone group (roughly the grammatical domain of a ranking clause) as opposed to single syllables (cf. Section 3.2.2). The first two tones, fall and rise, can be illustrated by the prosodic contrast between declarative and imperative clauses, as shown in (15) and (16):

(15)   Declarative clause, fall (tone 1)
         // 1   *Nyı*   *wa*   */**na** //

                 2PL   come.PFV   AFFR

                 'You have come.'

(16)   Imperative, rise (tone 2)
         // 2   *Nyı*   */**wa** //

                 2PL   come.PFV

                 'You come!'

 Examples (15) and (16) contrast between declarative and imperative
respectively (mood types are discussed in Chapter 4). The tone group in (15) is
realised by a fall on the affirmative particle */***na***, which is the tonic syllable,
indicated by the star symbol. In (16), on the other hand, the tone group is
realised by a rise on */***wa*** ('come'). Tone 3 (level-rising) can be exemplified
by bound (or subordinate) clauses such as relative, nominal and adverbial
clauses (cf. Section 3.4.3). An illustration is given in example (17) with an
adverbial clause.

(17)   Bound clause, level-rising (tone 3).
         // 3   *v*   *na*   */**wa**   *a* //

                 3SG   ADVLZ come.PFV   JUNC
                 'When he came …'

In clauses such as (17), the tonic prominence is indicated on the last lexical
item in the tone group and continue to rise on the juncture prosody marker *a*.

         Tone 4 (fall-rising) and tone 5 (rise-falling) can be illustrated by
different phonological realisation of the word *ʋ̃v* ('yes'), as in (18) and (19)
below:

(18)   fall-rising

         *// 4   *Ʋ̃v*//

                 yes?

(19)   rise-falling
         *// 5   *Ʋ̃v* //

                 yes.

Example (18)is a typical response to a call or a query for the listener to repeat
a proposition while (19) is a confirmation of a proposition addressed to the

speaker. It can be noted that these distinct meanings are carried out by only the pitch movement.

3.3 Orthography

This section proceeds to examine Dagaare orthography, an alternative mode to phonology in the expression of meaning in the language. Dagaare orthography has been described as a developing one although it is already advanced in its development (cf. J. D. Somé 2004). In its earliest form, it was developed by European missionaries around the 1950's and 1960's and has been revised in several stages since the early 1970's by native scholars and church fathers. Today, there are two orthographies for the language due to the arbitrary division of Africa by colonialists, which has split the Dagara among three countries (Tables 3.4 and 3.5) One of the current writing systems was developed in Burkina Faso by the *Sous-Commission Nationale du Dagara* mainly within the context of biblical and liturgical translation (see J. D. Somé 2004 for an overview). The other was developed by the Ghana Alphabet Committee as a general writing system for all indigenous languages of Ghana (cf. Bodomo 1997). However, since both systems are based on the Latin script, there are only few differences between them. Literacy materials in the Lobr dialect are developed in the Burkina Faso orthography and it is this system that has been used in the present study. Other dialects written in this orthography are Birifor (both Northern and Southern) and Wiile. The Ngmere and Waali dialects are written in the orthography of the Ghana Alphabet Committee.

As shown in Table 3.4, Dagaare orthography, particularly the Burkina Faso alphabet system is highly phonemic and there is almost a one to one correspondence between phonemes and their orthographic representation. As indicated in Section 3.2, there are some consonants in Dagaare with double articulatory features. These are represented in the orthography with a combination of letters as shown in Table 3.5. Similarly, long vowels are indicated in the orthography by doubling the vowel (e.g. *pìir*, 'sheep'; *saa*, 'rain') while diphthongs are always represented by the two vowels reflecting their quality (e.g. *kʋɔ*, 'water').

Table 3.1. The Dagaare alphabet systems

letter no.	Burkina Faso [Lobr]		Ghana		corresponding phoneme(s)	example [Lobr]
	upper case	lower case	upper Case	lower Case		
1	A	a	A	a	/a/	
2	B	b	B	b	/b/	
3	Ɓ	ɓ	MH	mh	/ɓ/	
4	C	c	KY	ky	/tʃ/	
5	D	d	D	d	/d/	
6	E	e	E	e	/e/	
7	Ɛ	ɛ	Ɛ	ɛ	/ɛ/	
8	F	f	F	f	/f/	
9	G	g	G	g	/g/	
10	H	h	H	h	/h/,	
11	'H	'h	-	-	/ɦ/	
12	I	i	I	i	/i/	
13	ɩ	ɩ	E	e	/ɪ/	
14	J	j	GY	gy	/dʒ/	
15	K	K	K	k	/k/	
16	L	l	L	l	/l/	
17	'L	'l	-	-	/'l/	
18	M	m	M	m	/m/	
19	N	n	N	n	/n/	
20	Ŋ	ŋ	NG	ng	/ŋ/	
21	O	o	O	o	/o/	
22	Ɔ	ɔ	Ɔ	ɔ	/ɔ/	
23	P	p	P	p	/p/	
24	R	r	R	r	/r/	
25	S	s	S	s	/s/	
26	T	t	T	t	/t/	
27	U	u	U	u	/u/	
28	Ʊ	ʋ	O	o	/ʊ/	
29	V	v	V	v	/v/	
30	W	w	W	w	/w/	
31	'W	'w	-	-	/'w/	
32	Y	y	Y	y	/y/	
33	Ɣ	ɣ	-	-	/ʔ/	
34	Z	z	Z	z	/z/	

Table 3.2. Orthographic representation of double articulatory sounds

letter no.	Letter combination		corresponding phoneme	example [Lobr]	meaning
	upper case	lower case			
1	*GB*	*gb*	/gb/		
2	*KP*	*kp*	/kp/		
3	*NY*	*ny*	/ny/		
4	*ƝM*	*ŋm*	/ŋm/		

Another consideration in the orthography is the representation of lexical tones and nasality (see Section 3.2). Only those tones and nasality that are meaning distinguishing are marked (e.g. *pìir,* 'sheep' versus *píir,* 'hill' and *nyɛ̃,* 'see' versus *nyɛ,* 'defecate') (see J. D. Somé (2004) for details on the orthography used in this study).

3.4   Lexicogrammar

Dagaare lexicogrammar, as with the phonology, is organised around four grammatical units, namely clause, group, word and morpheme. This four-unit organisation of lexicogrammar is the most common across languages (cf. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004). The clause is the highest unit for realising grammatical meaning. The other grammatical units function within the clause and each unit functions within the rank above it. The relationship between the units is represented in the rank scale in Figure 3.2. Each unit internally comprises a number of classes based on their forms and functions.

clause

↕

group

↕

word

↕

morpheme

Figure 3.6. The Dagaare rank scale

This section discusses each of the grammatical units, beginning with the morpheme.

3.4.1 Morphemes

Many words in Dagaare consist of only one morpheme. The morphemes can be classified into free and bound, with the latter consisting of a limited class of affixes and mainly of function words such as particles, determiners, conjunctions and pronominal clitics. These function words are grammatical items, that is, items specified within the grammatical zone of lexicogrammar. The discussion here will be limited to affixes (see Section 3.4.2.4 on particles). Both derivational affixes and inflectional affixes are found in Dagaare (see also Section 3.4.2.1 on nouns and Section 3.4.2.2 on aspectual markers). The derivational affixes consist of the locative suffix and the diminutive suffix (cf. J. D. Somé 2004). The locative morpheme is a class changing suffix that is added to nouns to derive a locative adverb. It is realised variously as *-ı, -mı, i*, and *mi*, depending on its [ATR] environment. It is illustrated in (20) below:

(20)   The locative suffix

noun	**locative adverb**
gbɛr, 'leg'	*gbɛrı*, 'on/by the leg'
kvɔ, 'water'	*kvɔmı*, 'in water'
pvɔ, 'stomach'	*pvɔmı*, 'inside'
salom, 'sky'	*salomi*, 'in the sky'
vuu, 'fire'	*vuumi*, 'in fire'
zukur, 'back'	*zukuri*, 'at the back'

The locative suffix is realised as *-ı* or *-mı* in words with [-ATR] vowels and as *-i* or *-mi* in words with [+ATR] vowels. The choice of *-mı* or *–mi*, on the one hand, and *-ı or –i*, on the other hand, respectively depends on whether the root morpheme ends with an open syllable or a closed syllable. As an alternative to the use of the locative morpheme, adpositions can be used to represent location as *pvɔ* in *kvɔ pvɔ* ('inside water') and *vuu pvɔ*, and *ɣaw* in a *gbɛr ɣaw* ('by the leg').

The diminutive suffix is a class maintaining suffix and it simply indicates that the derived noun represents a smaller counterpart of the entity represented by the root morpheme (21). It is grammaticalised from the noun *bile* ('offspring') and can be realized as –*bile* or the phonologically reduced form –*le* in its singular form and –*bili* or -*li* in the plural form (cf. Somé 2004). Examples are given below:

(21)   Diminutive morpheme

Noun	**diminutive form**	
	singular	**plural**
pɔl, 'gentleman'	*pobile,* 'young man'	*pobili*
dàa, 'wood'	*dale*, 'stick'	*dali*
dɛb, 'man'	*deble*, 'boy'	*debli*
naab, 'cow'	*nale*, 'calf'	*nali*
nɛn, 'meat'	*nenle*, 'small meat'	*nenli*
pɔw, 'woman'	*powle*, 'girl'	*powli*
svɔ, 'matchet'	*sole*, 'knife'	*soli*
waab, 'snake'	*wale*, 'little snake'	*wali*

As mentioned earlier, it is the root word which changes its form to be in harmony with the [+ATR] quality of the suffix –*le*. Also, compared to the locative morpheme, the diminutive suffix is more productive and can occur with a wide range of nouns. It is used with proper nouns for instance to distinguish between a younger person and an older one with the same name, as in *Kwasile* (small Kwasi) or even *Mamale* ('small mum').

The inflectional affixes identified in this study comprises plural suffixes in nouns, namely -*bɛ* ~ -*be*, -*rɪ* ~ -*ri* and-*we,* with -*bɛ* and -*rɪ* variable due to vowel harmony (cf. Section 3.4.2.1 on nouns) and verbal suffixes for marking imperfective aspect. The imperfective morpheme varies considerably due to vowel and consonant harmony (see Section 3.4.2.2 on verbs). The realisation forms identified are -*rɛ* ~ -*re* ~ -*nɛ* ~ -*ne* ~ -*r* ~ -*n.*

Plural marking in Dagaare nouns, as in many other Niger-Congo languages, partially display a noun classs system, where the choice of suffix depends on the semantic class of the root noun (cf. Welmers 1973: Ch. 6 & 7;

Creissels 2000: 241-243, 247-247; Dimmendaal 2000: 189-191; Williamson & Blench 2000). The suffix *-bɛ* (or *-be*, for [+ATR] roots) is derived from the third person pronoun *bɛ* (plural, human) and is generally used for human nouns as in *nɪr* ('person') versus *nɪbɛ* ('people'), *dɛb* ('man') versus *dɛɛbɛ* ('men') and *potuure* ('disciple') versus *potuube* ('disciples'). The suffix forms *-rɪ ~ -ri ~ -li*, on the other hand, are used to mark the plural of loaned nouns such as *soja* ('soldier') versus *sojarɪ* ('soldiers'); *manɪja* ('manager') verus *manɪjarɪ* ('managers') and *tebul* ('table') versus *tebuli* ('tables') Finally, relational body parts nouns take *–we* as a plural marker (e.g. *niwn*, 'face' versus *niwe*, 'faces'). It should be noted that these suffixes are not the only ways in which plurality is marked in Dagaare nouns. Many plural nouns are irregular and will be illustrated in Section 3.4.2.1.

Table 3.3. Illustration of different realisations of the imperfective suffix

realisation of suffix	example	
	perfective	imperfective
-rɛ	*kʊ́*, kill	*kʊ́rɛ*
	bʊ̀r, 'sow'	*bʊ̀rɛ*
-re	*wo*, 'to confess crime'	*wore*
	per, 'struggle'	*pere*
-nɛ	*bã̀w*, 'know'	*bã̀wnɛ*
	ɣã̀w, 'put, to respect'	*ɣã̀wnɛ*
-ne	*wõ*, 'hear'	*wõne*
	bĩn, 'put'	*bĩne*
-r	*dɔw*, 'procreate'	*dɔwr*
	lɛb, 'return'	*lɛbr*
-n	*sɛ̃*, 'roast'	*sĩɛn*

On the other hand, the form of the imperfective suffix, as mentioned earlier, is conditioned by harmony systems and is discussed in detail in Section 3.4.2.1 on verbs. This section will simply illustrate the various forms (see Table 3.3). As with plural marking in the nouns, not all verbs in Dagaare indicate their imperfective forms with the imperfective suffix but rather by vowel

substitution. An example is *bʋɔlɪ* ('to call') versus *bʋɔlɛ* ('calling'), where the difference in the perfective and imperfective is indicated by the contrast in the final vowel (see Section 3.4.2.2 for details).

3.4.2   Word Classes

The word class system can be divided into three major classes, namely nouns, verbs and adverbs, and six minor classes: pronouns, adpositions, determiners, conjunctions, particles and interjections. The major word classes are open systems that continue to expand their membership in a more flexible manner to meet the ever expanding vocabulary needs of the Dagara society. Minor word classes are closed systems that typically realise grammatical meanings and are more gradual in their evolution. The discussion in this section will focus on only five word classes, namely nouns, verbs, adverbs, pronouns and particles.

3.4.2.1 Nouns

Morphologically, Dagaare nouns divide into count and non-count nouns based on their realisation of the system of NUMBER (22). Count nouns show morphological distinctions between singular and plural nouns. As (22) shows, singular is realised by zero marking while plural is realised by variant morphological forms. These examples are illustrative and not exhaustive of the various forms the plural can take.

 (22)   Illustrating Dagaare NUMBERsystem

non-count	count	
	singular	**plural**
dãa, 'beer/pito'	*bie*, 'child'	*bibiir*
damnʋ, 'trouble, commotion'	*gbɛ́r*,'leg'	*gbɛɛ*
ɓaarʋ, 'cold, moisture'	*laa*, 'bowl'	*labɛ*
ci, 'guinea corn'	*libir*, 'money'	*libie*
kamaan, 'maize	*nyawr*, 'intestine'	*nyawɛ*
nɔmʋ, 'love'	*nyvɔr*, 'nose'	*nyɛɛ*
pɔlʋ, 'beauty'	*ɔw*, 'mouse'	*ɔn*

saalʋ, 'okra'	*pɛrʋ,* 'sheep'	*píir*
suolu, 'story/stories'	*san,* 'debt'	*samɛ*
vɩɛlʋ, 'goodness, glory'	*sɔw,* 'rabbit'	*sɔn*
ya, 'wisdom'	*yir,* 'house'	*yíe*
ɣawr, 'cold'	*yùor,* 'pot'	*yìe*
zíɛ, 'millet'	*yúor,* 'name'	*yee*

As has been discussed in the preceding section, Dagaare count nouns show evidence of internal semantic classification based on their plural forms, a phenomenon that is quite common among Niger-Congo languages, especially those of the Bantu family (cf. Welmers 1973: Ch. 6 & 7; Williamson & Blench 2000).[5] The general principles for the noun class system in Dagaare are, however, not very apparent and further research is needed to systemically identify them. Only a few principles have been identified in the present study, comprising humanness, loaned words, kinship and social status, relational body parts, discreteness and collectiveness. These are illustrated below:

(23)   General human nouns

singular	**plural**
nɩr, 'person'	*nɩ**bɛ***
dɛb, 'man'	*dɛɛ**bɛ***
pɔw, 'woman'	*pɔw**bɛ***
sãan, 'visitor'	*sãa**mɛ** ~sãa**bɛ***

(24)   Loaned nouns

singular	**plural**
polisi, 'police'	*polisi**ri***
nɛɛsɩ, 'nurse'	*nɛɛsɩ**rɩ***
dɔkta, 'doctor'	*dɔkta**rɩ***
cɛnsɩ, 'roofing sheet'	*cɛnsɩ**rɩ***

---

[5] This thesis was completed and already being examined when I became aware of Miehe et al.'s (2012) edited volume on noun class systems in Gur languages so I could not benefit from their much detailed account in my analysis here, especially Miehe's (2012) chapter on the Dagara cluster. I will take it into account in my intended book project.

(25)   Nouns of kinship/social status

singular   **plural**

sãakʋm, 'grandfather'   *sãakʋm **mɪnɛ***

makʋm, 'grandmother'   *makʋm **mɪnɛ***

sãa, 'father'   *sãa**mɪnɛ***

nàa, 'chief'   *na-**mɪnɛ***

(26)   Nouns indicating relational body parts

singular   **plural**

niwn, 'face'   *niwe*

zukur, 'back'   *zukuwe*

lombowr, 'side'   *lombowe*

(27)   Nouns representing discrete entities

Singular   **plural**

libir, 'money'   *libie*

yir, 'house'   *yíe*

yùor, 'pot'   *yìe*

nyuur, 'yam'   *nyie*

(28)   Nouns indicating collectiveness

Singular   **plural**

bie, 'child'   *bibiir*

pɛrʋ, 'sheep'   *píir*

náab, 'cow'   *nii*

waab, 'snake'   *wiir*

As mentioned in our discussion on morphemes, general human nouns normally form their plural by the suffix *-bɛ* (23) while loaned words, including modern occupational terms, have developed a new suffix, *-rɪ*, *-ri* or *-li*, depending on the nature of the stem and [ATR] quality of the word (24). Thus, while the plural form of traditional occupations such as *kʋɔra* ('farmer') and *yɛyɛrɛ* ('trader') are respectively *kʋɔbɛ* and *yɛyɛrbɛ*, the plural forms of *polisi*

('police'), *nɛɛsɪ* ('nurse'), *dɔkta* ('doctor') and *faara* ('priest') are *polisiri*, *nɛɛsɪrɪ* and *dɔktarɪ* respectively. Also, in addition to the relation of *-bɛ* as –be as mentioned in Section 3.4.1, its realisation can also be conditioned by a neighbouring nasal vowel as in *sãamɛ* ('visitors'). Social relationship terms such as *sãakʋm* ('grandfather'), *makʋm* ('grandmother'), *sãa* ('father') and *nàa* ('chief') takes the morpheme *mɪnɛ*. As the variation in the example (25) show, this morpheme is mostly realised as a postposition. In addition, relational body parts (i.e. face, back and sides) take the suffix *–we* in their plural (26). On the other hand, nouns representing discrete entities normally undergo vowel mutation, taking the glide *–íe* in their plural. Examples are *libir* ('money'; traditionally meaning 'cowries'), *yir* (house), and *yùor* ('pot') in example (27). Others include *simir* ('peanut') versus *simie* ('peanuts') and *mimir* ('eye') versus *mimie* ('eyes'). Finally, nouns whose plural indicates collectiveness, such as *bie* and *pɛrʋ,* also undergo vowel mutation, typically taking the long vowel /i:/ in their plural (28).

These semantic correlates of nominal suffixes are, however, tendencies rather than absolute, and therefore do not systematically account for the all noun class suffixes in Dagaare. As Bendor-Samuel (1971), notes for Gur languages in general, it is often the case that while the majority of nouns in a particular noun class correspond to a particular semantic category, there are always a few members of the class which do not belong to this category. For instance, while itis expected that *wur* ('horse') would belong to the collectiveness class, its plural is *wuie*, characteristic of discrete nouns, and the plural form of the kinship term *yɛb* ('sibling') is *yɛbr*. Non-human nouns such as *saab* ('dish') and *laa* ('bowl') also take the suffix *-bɛ*, predominantly associated with human nouns, in their plural (i.e. *sabɛ* and *labɛ* respectively).

Further, Dagaare is very rich in deverbal nouns and every verb with content meaning can be nominalised (29). The realisation of lexical nominalisation is irregular and follows the principle of vowel and consonant harmony. Further research is, however, needed to identify the underlying principles of these realisations. Some illustrations are given in (29) below:

(29)   Deverbal nouns

Verb	**deverbal noun**
ı, 'do'	*ıb* (sing.), 'action'; *ı-ırı* (pl.) 'acts, behaviour'
be, 'be', existential verb	*beba,* 'being, existence'
cen, 'go'	*cenu*
dı, 'eat'	*dıb*
ga, 'lie down'	*gaa,*
ir, 'get up'	*iru*
lıɛbı, 'turn, become'	*lıɛbʋ,* 'becoming'
wa, 'come'	*waa*

Finally, in Dagaare qualities are realised as nouns (but also as verbs) rather than by a separate class of adjective (see adjectival verbs in 3.4.2.2 below). The variation in the construal of qualities, or what Pustet (2003: 13) calls 'property concepts', across languages has been discussed extensively by linguists, at least since Sapir (1921: 117ff). It has been noted that, while in languages such as those of the Indo-European family they are typically realised by a class of adjective, in many other languages, they are realised as either verbs (as in Wolof), nouns or both (as in Chinook) (cf. Dixon 1977; Croft, 1991: 130-133; Stassen 1997: 200-205; Creissels 2000: 249-250; Pustet 2003: 7-16). In Dagaare qualities are construed both nouns and verbs and they will be referredto as adjectival nouns and adjectival verbs respectively, not to show that they display any special morphological characteristics distinct from nouns and verbs (they do not) but to highlight their semantic uniqueness. I will first illustrate adjectival nouns here and show their syntactic behaviour. Adjectival verbs are discussed in Section 3.4.2.2 on verbs. As (30) shows, adjectival nouns are normally count nouns and thus show singular-plural distinctions:

(30)   Adjectival nouns

Singular	**plural**
pʋ̀la, 'white'	*pʋ̀lı*
sɛla 'black, dark'	*sɛlɛ*
ʋlʋ, 'silver colour'	*ʋ́lɛ*

zìɛ, 'red'	*zɪɪr*
dambol, 'fool'	*dambole*
faa, 'bad, not nice'	*faar*
vla ~ vʋ̀la, 'good'	*vɪɛlɪ*

Although all adjectival nouns are relatively abstract and non-specific, they display different degrees of abstractness and specificity among themselves. Nouns that inherently imply a property of an entity such as *dambol* ('fool') and also *baal* ('sick person') are relatively less abstract than those that construe general qualities such as '*faa* ('bad, not nice')' *vla* ('good') and those representing colour such as *sɛla* ('black').

Syntactically, the nominal status of adjectival nouns implies that, like other nouns, they can occur as Heads of nominal groups and function as Subjects and Complements in a clause. Examples (31) to (33) illustrate the use of adjectival nouns in Subject and Complement positions.

(31) *ĩ̀*   *ɪ*   *=n*   **baal.**
      1SG   COP.PFV   FOC   sick:person.SG
      'I am a sick person.'

(32) *ĩ̀*   *bɔbr*   *=ɪ*   **sɛlɛ.**
      1SG   want.IPFV   FOC   black.PL
      'I want black ones.'

(33) *A*   **zɪɪr**   *aŋa*   *vɪɛl*   *=a*
      DEF   red.PL   DEM   be:beautiful.PFV   AFFR
      'These red ones are beautiful.'

In example (31) and (32), the adjectival nouns *baal* ('sick person') and *sɛlɛ* ('black ones') occur alone as Complements in their respective clauses. In (33), *zɪɪr* ('red ones') is the Head of the nominal group *A zɪɪr aŋa* ('These red ones'), which is the Subject of the clause. As the example shows, adjectival nouns can be modified by determiners such as the definite article *a* and the demonstrative determiner *aŋa* ('these'). It should also be noted since adjectival nouns are relatively abstract and non-specific, their referent is normally assumed as given information, either as recoverable from the co-text or identifiable from the material situational setting.

Another characteristic of adjectival nouns is that when they occur

together with a specific noun in the nominal group, as in *kpar-sɛlɛ* ('black shirts') in (34) and *pɛn-vɪɛlɪ* ('beautiful cloths') in (35), the two nouns form a nominal compound in which the adjectival noun indicate the number (i.e. singular or plural) and the specific noun (e.g. *kparɪ,* 'clothes'; *pɛnɛ,* 'cloths') is normally clipped.

(34)   *ĩ*   *bɔbr*   *=ɪ*   *kpar-**sɛlɛ**.*

        1SG   want.IPFV   FOC   shirt-black.PL

        'I want black (ones).'

(35)   *Bɛ*   *su*   *=n*   *pɛn-**vɪɛlɪ***   ***zɪɪr***

        3PL.HM   wear.PFV   FOC   cloth-beautiful.PL   red.PL

Also, when more than one adjectival noun occurs in the nominal compound such as in *pɛn-vɪɛlɪ zɪɪr* ('red beautiful cloths') in (35) they always agree in number.

3.4.2.2 Verbs

The word class to be discussed next is the verb. It is the domain of the realisation of aspect, defined as the opposition between perfective and imperfective meaning. Perfective aspect represents the process denoted by the verb as bounded while imperfective aspect represents the process as unbounded. While perfective aspect is realised by zero marking, imperfective aspect is realised morphophonologically, by a complex system of prosodies. Dagaare verbs can be classified into six groups in terms of the different prosodies involved in the realisation of aspect. These prosodies are summarised below:

(1) Tongue root prosody – a vowel harmony prosody where: (a) for verbs with advanced tongue root, i.e. [+ATR] values, the final /i/ in the perfective verb mutates to /e/ in the imperfective (e.g. *píili,* 'start' / *píile*) while (b) for verbs with retracted tongue root, i.e. [-ATR] values, the final vowel /ɪ/ mutates to /ɛ/ (e.g. *pɛlɪ* 'be white' /*pɛlɛ*).

(2) Tongue root plus nasal prosody: (a) a vowel harmony prosody where the vowel in the imperfective suffix must agree with the vowel in the root verb in terms of tongue root (±ATR), and (b) a simultaneous

vowel-consonant harmony where the consonant of the suffix must agree with the vowel of the root verb in terms of nasality (e.g. *kʋ̀*, 'kill' /*kʋ̀-rɛ; kõ*, 'cry' / *kõ-ne*).

(3) Neutralisation of nasal prosody: a retrogressive consonant-vowel harmony where a nasal vowel in the root verb loses its nasality when it combines with the [-nasal] imperfective suffix *-rɛ*. (e.g. *nyɛ̃*, 'see' / *nyɛ-rɛ*)

(4) Palatal prosody where a short vowel in the root verb changes to a long vowel in the imperfective form in anticipation of the [+aveolar] imperfective suffix *−r* (*su*, 'feed', 'wear' /*suu-r*).

(5) Nasal prosody plus palatal prosody: (a) a vowel-consonant harmony where the imperfective suffix, *-r* or *−n*, is chosen to agree with the vowel of the root verb in nasality, and (b) a simultaneous consonant-vowel harmony where the vowel changes from a simple vowel to a closing glide in anticipation of the [+aveolar] suffix *-r* or *-n* (e.g. *sɛ*, 'sew', 'wear' /*sɪɛ-r; sɛ̃*, 'roast' / *sɪ̃ɛ̃-n*).

(6) Palatal prosody plus labial prosody: two consonant prosodies where: (a) a bilabial consonant (/b/ or/w/) ending the root verb is palatalised in anticipation of the [+aveolar] imperfective suffix *−r* and, (b) simultaneously, the suffix *-r* is labialised in anticipation of the [+bilabial] ending of the root verb. (*e.g. lɛb*, 'return' / *lɛbʳ-rᵇ*).

The main groupings of verbs and their sub-divisions are further illustrated in (36) to (40) in the order of the prosodies identified above.

The first group of verbs are those that differ in their realisation of aspect based on the principle of vowel harmony, specifically that of tongue root prosody (36). This category has to do with verbs whose perfective forms end with /-l/ /-lɪ/, or /bɪ/ for [-ATR] vowels and /-l/, /-li/ or /bi/ for [+ATR] vowels. Correspondingly, the imperfective for these verbs is realized by the endings *-lɛ,*or *-bɛ*for [-ATR] verbs, and *-le* for [+ATR] verbs:

(36) Vowel harmony: [tongue root prosody]

[-ATR]		**[+ATR]**	
perf.	**imperf.**	**perf.**	**imperf.**
lɪɛbɪ, 'turn, become'	*lɪɛbɛ*	*píili*, 'start'	*píile*

maalı, 'make, do well'	*maalɛ*	*wul,* 'teach, show'	*wule*
pɛlı, 'be white'	*pɛlɛ*	*yèl,* 'say'	*yèle*
sɔwlı, 'hide'	*sɔwlɛ*	*yieli,* 'sing'	*yiele*

The general principle underlining the realisation of aspect in this first group of verbs is vowel mutation, where, for verbs with [-ATR] values, the final vowel /ı/ in the perfective verb mutates to /ɛ/ in the imperfective and, for verbs with [+ATR] values, the final /i/ mutates to /e/.

In the second group of verbs, tongue root prosody combines with nasal prosody (or simply n-prosody) in the realisation of imperfective aspect. Here, the prosody affects both vowels and consonants. This group can be divided into four sub-categories as in (37) below:

(37)   Vowel-&-vowel-consonant harmony: [tongue root plus nasal prosody]

[-ATR]; [-nasal]		**[+ATR]; [nasal]**		**[-ATR]; [+nasal]**		**[+ATR]; [+nasal]**	
perf.	**impf.**	**perf.**	**impf.**	**perf.**	**impf.**	**perf.**	**impf.**
bɛr,	*bɛrɛ*	*cen,*	*cere*	*dã̀w,*	*dã̀wnɛ*	*bĩ̀n,*	*bĩne*
'release'		'go'		'be early'		'put'	
kʋ̀,	*kʋ̀rɛ*	*ír,*	*íre*	*nɔ̃̀,*	*nɔ̃̀nɛ*	*kõ,*	*kõne*
'give'		'get up'		'love'		'cry'	
'lɔr,	*'lɔrɛ*	*so,*	*sore*	*tʋ̃́ɔ,*	*tʋ̃́ɔnɛ*	*sõw,*	*sõwne*
'immerse'		'own'		'be able'		'help'	
tɛr,	*tɛrɛ*	*yi,*	*yire*	*vɛ̃,*	*vɛ̃nɛ*	*tõ,*	*tõne*
'possess'		'go out'		'stop'		'send'	

The realisation patterns illustrated above are identified as follows:

i.   Verbs whose root forms have the features [-ATR] and [-nasal] select the suffix *-rɛ* for their imperfective.

ii.   Verbs whose root forms have the feature [+ATR] but [-nasal] selective *−re* for the imperfective form.

iii.   Verbs whose root forms have the feature [-ATR] but [+nasal], select *-nɛ* for the imperfective form.

iv.   Verbs whose root forms have both [+ATR] and [+nasal] select *−ne* for

the imperfective.

Thus, in each instance, there is tongue root harmony between the vowel in the root morpheme and the vowel in the suffix and, simultaneously, a nasal harmony between the vowel in the root morpheme and the consonant in the suffix. As (37) shows, these harmony patterns construe a spectrum of a combination of features, ranging from [-ATR] plus [-nasal] prosody to [+ATR] plus [+nasal] prosody.

The third category is, in fact, the opposite of the progressive vowel-consonant harmony illustrated by (37). The principle here is retrogressive consonant-vowel harmony in which a nasal vowel in the root verb loses its nasality when it combines with the [-nasal] imperfective suffix *-rɛ* (38). In other words, the imperfective suffix *-rɛ* neutralises the nasality of the vowel in the root verb.

(38)   Consonant-vowel harmony: [neutralisation of n-prosody]

perfective   **imperfective**

mɔ̃r, 'swell'   *mɔrɛ*
nyɛ̃, 'see'   *nyɛrɛ*
ŋmã̀a, 'cut'   *ŋmààrɛ*
ŋmʊ̃r, 'rush'   *ŋmʊrɛ*

Further, the fourth group also involves a consonant-vowel harmony, but the prosodies involved here is palatal prosody (or simply, r-prosody). A short vowel in the root verb changes to a long vowel in the imperfective form in anticipation of the [+aveolar] imperfective suffix *–r,* as example (39) shows.

(39) Consonant-vowel harmony [r-prosody]

perfective   **impfective**
kpi, 'die'   *kpiir*
tu, 'follow'   *tuur*
wa, 'come'   *waar*
su, 'feed', 'wear'   *suur*

The fifth group of verbs is very much like the fourth. However, the prosodies involved here are both r-prosody and n-prosody. We can divide this

category into two sub-groups (40):

(40)   Vowel-consonant harmony: [r-prosody plus n-prosody]

	[-nasal]		**[+nasal]**	
	perfective	**impfective**	**perfective**	**impfective**
	de, 'take'	*dier*	*sɛ̃*, 'roast'	*sĩɛn*
	kɔ, 'weed, farm'	*kvɔr*		
	nyɛ, 'defecate'	*nyɪɛr*		
	sɛ, 'sew'	*sɪɛr*		
	zɛ, 'apply'	*zɪɛr*		
	do, 'climb'	*duor*		

In the first sub-group (e.g. *de*, 'take' ~ *dier*), the perfective (or root) verbs have the feature [-nasal] while those of the second sub-group (e.g. *sɛ̃*, 'roast' ~*sĩɛn*), have the feature [+nasal]. In both cases, imperfective aspect is realised by r-prosody. The implication of the r-prosody in the realisation of the imperfective aspect is that the vowel in the root verb undergoes a change from a simple vowel such as /e/ or /ɛ/ to a glide such as /ie/ or /ɪɛ/, where the initiating sound is a close vowel in anticipation of the [+alveolar] ending of the imperfective verb. The only difference between the two groups then has to do with the n-prosody, where:

i.   a [-nasal] vowel in the root verb (e.g. *de*) requires the [-nasal] ending /-r/ in the imperfective counterpart (e.g. *dier*) and

ii.   a [+nasal] vowel in the root verb(e.g. *sɛ̃*) requires the [+nasal] ending /-n/ in the imperfective counterpart (e.g. *sĩɛn*).

As the example (40) suggests, I could only identify one verb in the second sub-category. Although I do not calim this is exhaustive (it could be), it is the category with the least number of verbs in the language.

Finally, imperfective aspect in the six group of verbs is realised simultaneously by both r-prosody and labial prosody. The verbs in this group can also be divided into two sub-groups, namely those in which the labial prosody is **w-prosody** and those where it is **b-prosody** (41):

(41)   consonant prosody: [r-prosody plus labial prosody]

[+w-prosody]		[+b-prosody]	
perf.	**impf.**	**perf.**	**impf.**
pàw, 'close'	*paw^{r}r^w*	*bɔ,* 'want'	*bɔb^{r}r^b*
saw, 'agree'	*saw^{r}r^w*	*lɛb,* 'return'	*lɛb^{r}r^b*
siw, 'get down'	*siw^{r}r^w*	*ɔb,* 'chew, be painful'	*ɔb^{r}r^b*
sɔw, 'respond'	*sɔw^{r}r^w*	*sɔb,* 'be black'	*sɔb^{r}r^b*

As the examples show, the imperfective suffix here is also realised as *–r*. However, in the w-prosody category, there is a 'mutual expectancy' effect between the /-w/ ending of the root verb and the /-r/ ending of the imperfective verb (cf. Firth 1957). This means that while the [-w^r] is palatalised, the [-r^w] is labialised. Similarly, in the b-prosody, there is mutual expectancy between the /-b/ and /-r/ sounds that end the imperfective verb, as in *bɔb^{r}r^b* ('wanting'). In Chapter 6, aspect will be useful in our discussion of transitivity (cf. Sections 6.4.3 on mental clauses & Section 6.7 on relational clauses).

Apart from the different distribution of verbs based on their realisation of aspect, Dagaare verbs can also be classified based on their semantic properties and the different ways in which they contribute to meaning in the clause. Based on this dimension, the verbs can broadly be classified into two types, main verbs and catenative verbs. Main verbs can occur as Heads of the verbal group in the clause and, ideationally, they represent the event, in a very broad sense, realised by the clause. All the verbs that have been used for illustrations in the discussion on aspect above are main verbs. Here, I will only highlight one group of main verbs that need special attention, adjectival verbs. Other main verbs will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 on transitivity.

(1) Adjectival verbs: Adjectival verbs do not display any morphological characteristics distinct from other Dagaare verbs (cf. Section 3.4.2.1 on adjectival nouns). They however need a special statement due to the typological variation in the realisation of qualities across languages. They are illustrated in (42) below:

(42)   adjectival verbs

perfective	**imperfective**
cı, 'be smart, be wise'	*cırɛ*
gem, 'be foolish'	*geme*
pɛlı, 'be white'	*pɛlɛ*
pɔ̀l, 'be beautiful'	*pɔ̀lɛ*
mʋ̀ɔ, 'be red, be ripe'	*mʋɔnɛ*
sɔb, 'be black, be dark'	*sɔbr*
ʋ́lı, 'be silver colour'	*ʋ̀lɛ*
vıɛl, 'be good, be nice'	-
yawmɛ, 'be plenty'	-
bıɛrı, 'be sick'	*bıɛrɛ*

Except for the verb *vıɛl* ('be good, be nice') and *yawmɛ* ('be plenty'), adjectival verbs show distinction in aspect, patterned along the prosodic realisation of aspect discussed above. These two verbs are inherently perfective. Also, when the examples displayed in (42), especially verbs representing colour, are compared with the examples provided for adjectival nouns in (30), it can be realised that the same quality or property can be represented either nominally or verbally. Adjectival verbs will also be useful in the discussion of relational clauses of the attributive type in Chapter 6 (cf. Section 6.5.2.2).

(2) Catenative verbs: Catenative verbs are verbs with an auxiliary status in the verbal group. Thus, compared to main verbs, catenative verbs shade into grammatical items in on the lexis-grammar continuum. Seven catenative verbs are identified in this study and they are presented in Table 3.4 (see Creissels, 2000: 239 on auxiliaries in African languages). Catenative verbs seem to have grammaticalised from main verbs apparently in their use in verbal group complexes ('serial verb constructions') (see Bendor-Samuel 1971: 160 on this tendency in Gur languages). They generally have the following characteristics:

i.   They are restricted in terms of the number of items in the class – i.e. only seven verbs identified in this study.

Table 3.4 A List of Dagaare catenative verbs

catenative verb	gloss	source (main) verb	gloss
faa	'be too late'	*Faa*	'to go waste/be sploit', 'to escape'
tʊ́ɔ	'be able'	*tʊ́ɔ*	'overcome'
dãw	'be/do earlier'	*Dãw*	'be first, to come first'
cãa	'still be'	*Cãa*	'remain/still exist'
maa ~ maalɪ	be exact	*maalɪ*	'make, do'
lɛb ~ lɛ ~ laa	'do/happen again'	*lɛb*	'return'
saw	'agree'	*Saw*	'agree', 'respond'

ii.   They are semantically eroded – i.e. losing some of their content meaning (cf. Table 3.4).

iii.   They have an auxiliary function in the verbal group – i.e. contributing additional meaning to the main verb in the verbal group rather specifying the event.

iv.   They have lost their aspect distinction – i.e. they occur only in the perfective form, which is the unmarked choice of aspect, even when the main verb is imperfective.

Examples of the use of catenative verbs are given below, using the verb *tʊ́ɔ* ('be able'):

(43)   Workshop interview

> *A   kɔb   pɛr   buor   v   na   **tʊ́ɔ***
> DEF   farming   type   which   IDENT.SG   POS.IND.FUT   be:able.PFV
>
> *sow   tɪ.*
> help.PFV   1PL
>
> 'Which type of farming is the one that would **be able** to help us

81

(='Which type of farming would be able to help us).

(44) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

||| *Ŋmɪnŋmɪn*	*na*	*nyɪ*	*ɪ*	||	***tʊ́ɔ***
how	IDENT.PL	2PL	do.PFV		be:able.PFV

gure? \|\|\|

sleep.IPFV

'How is it that you **are able** to sleep?'

(45) Political opinion interview

A	*nɪbɛ*	*kʊ̃*	***tʊ́ɔ***	*cɛlɛ*	*a*
DEF	people	NEG.IND.FUT	be:able.PFV	listen.IPFV	DEF

ʊ	*yɛ̂rʊ*	*ɛ.*
3SG	words	NAFFR

'The people **cannot** listen to his/her words.'

As the examples show, the catenative verb *tʊ́ɔ* remains unchanged irrespective of the aspectual value of the main verb in the clause. In (43), it co-occurs with a main verb in the perfective aspect while in (44) and (45) it occurs with main verbs in the imperfective aspect. Also, its function in the verbal group is to add modal meaning to the clause, specifically ability.

3.4.2.3 Adverbs

As the discussion in the preceding two sections shows, Dagaare has a rich class of nouns and verbs. Dagaare adverbs, on the other hand, are not a large class although they do not constitute a close system (see Welmers 1973: Ch. 15 for an overview of adverbs across African languages). As a general characteristic, they have no inflectional affixes. The sub-classes of adverbs are adverbs of time, place, manner and adverbial particles. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

(1) Adverds of time: Adverbs of time modify the verb in the clause in which they occur by indicating the temporal location of the event construed by the verb. As has been reported for many African languages, Dagaare time adverbs mostly indicate depth of time, spaning days and years (cf. Welmers 1973: 447-448). Together, there are nine depth-of-time adverbs in current use and they

are listed in (46) below:[6]

(46)   Adverbs of indicating depth of time
        dɪtaarɪ   'two years ago'
        dɪya   'last year'
        daar   'two days ago'
        zǎa   'yesterday'
        zɪna ~dĩa   'today'
        bio   'tomorrow'
        deyere   'two days from today'
        dɛtɛrɛ (not   'three days from today'
        in frequent use)
        vɪɛr   'next year'

As the list shows, regarding the day of speaking, speakers can make past reference up to 'two days ago'and future reference up to 'three days ahead' although *dɛtɛrɛ* is not in frequent use. With regards to years, past reference can be made up two years ago while future reference is only limited to one year. Thus, while future time has a deeper depth of time reference than past time in terms of number of days, past time conversely has a deeper depth of time reference than future time in terms of years. As in English, 'this year' is not expressed by a single word but by an adverbial group *yuon na* ('this year').

The extreme points of reference also tend to have the potential for extending their meanings. Thus, *daar* ('two days'), *dɪtaarɪ* ('two years ago') and *vɪɛr* ('next year') can be used to mean a few days ago, a few years ago and some unspecified year in the future respectively. But in this sense, they are often modified by a demonstrative determiner (Compare (47) with (48) and (49)):

---

[6] Older speakers recall that some 'depth-of-time adverbs' such as *jamgboro* (lit. a kind a vegetable) and *dɛnyamɛ* (lit. 'old men') were in use in the past. But it is most likely that these were names of market days, that were also used as names of days of the week, rather than time adverbs since market/week days were named after objects, towns, circumstances, etc. All traditional names for week/market days have been lost and replaced by English/French and Akan week days.

(47)   *Ʊ*   **dɩtaarɩ**   *wa*   *=n*   *ka.*

    3SG   two years ago   come.PFV   FOC   here.

    'S/he came here **two years ago**.'

(48)   *Ʊ*   **dɩtaarɩ**   **kãw**   *wa*   *=n*   *ka.*

    3SG   two years ago   some   come.PFV   FOC   here.

    'S/he came here **some years ago**.'

(49)   *Ʊ*   *na*   *wa*   *=n*   **vɩɛr**   **kãw**.

    3SG   POS.IND.FUT   come.PFV   FOC   next year   some

    'S/he will come some time in the years ahead.'

For future time, neither *deyɛrɛ* ('two days from today') nor *dɛtɛrɛ* ('three days from today') can be used for unspecified time reference. It should also be mentioned that, when *daar* is used for general time reference, it becomes almost synonymous whith another adverb *sãw*, which tends to refer to a more distant temporal location than *daar* (50) & 51).

(50)   *Ʊ*   *wa*   *=n*   *ka*   **daar**   **kãw.**

    3SG   come.PFV   FOC   here   a few days ago   some.

    'S/he came here **some days ago**.'

(51)   *Ʊ*   *wa*   *=n*   *ka*   **sãw**   **kãw**

    3SG   come   FOC   here   time   some.

    'S/he came here **some time ago**.'

Both *daar* and *kãw* are also used as generic nouns for time (52-53):

(52)   *Nyɩ*   *bãw*   *nɩ*   *a*   **daar**   *nɛ*   *[[ɩ̃*   *na*

    2PL   know.PFV   FOC   DEF   time   DEM   1SG   REL

    =a   *wa*   *a]].*

    POS.IND.FUT   come.PFV   JUNC

    'You know the **time** [[that I will come]].

(53)   *Nyɩ*   *bãw*   *nɩ*   *a*   **sãw**   *nɛ*   *[[ɩ̃*   *na*

    2PL   know.PFV   FOC   DEF   time   DEM   1SG   REL

    =a   *wa*   *a]].*

    POS.IND.FUT   come.PFV   JUNC

    'You know the **time** [[that I will come]].'

In addition to depth-of-time adverbs, other time adverbs include among others *koroza* ('long time ago'), and the compound adverbs *dĩa-bio* ('nowadays/today'; lit. 'today tomorrow'), *tew-kor-daar* ('in the olden days'; lit. earth-old-time), *koroza sãw* ('in the past'; lit. 'old time'), *dãw-bio* ('next day'; lit. 'early tomorrow'), *daar yɪɛw na* ('not long ago', 'not long from now'; lit. 'this near time'), *yɛ̂rɛ na* ('now').

The position the time adverbs discussed above in the clause is variant and mixed. There are two main positions involved: (i) before the verb and after the Subject noun group (i.e. pre-verbal position) and (ii) clause final position. First, with regards to depth-of-time adverbs, those with past time reference, namely *dɪtaarɪ* ('two years ago'), *daar* ('two days ago'), *dɪya* ('last year') and *zãa* ('yesterday'), are versatile and can occur in both positions (see (54) and (55)). On the other hand, *zɪna~ dĩa* ('today') and adverbs with future reference occur in clause final position only (compare (56) and (57)).

(54) *ĩ*   **zãa**   *cen*   *na*.
      1SG   yesterday   go.PFV   AFFR
      'I went yesterday.'

(55) *ĩ*   *cen*   *nɪ*   **zãa**.
      1SG   go.PFV   FOC   yesterday
      'I went yesterday.'

(56) *ĩ*   *na*   *cen*   *nɪ*   **bio**.
      1SG   POS.IND.FUT   go.PFV   FOC   tomorrow
      'I will go tomorrow.'

(57) *ĩ*   **bio**   *na*   *cen*   *na*.
      1SG   tomorrow   POS.IND.FUT   go.PFV   AFFR
      'I will go tomorrow.'

For adverbs other than those of depth of time, only *dãw-bio* ('next day') can occur both preverbally and clause finally while the others occur only at clause final position. However, all the time adverbs can be placed at clause intial position, before the Subject of the clause, as Themes (see Chapter 5 on Theme):

(58)   *Vɩɛr,*   *tɩ*   *na*   *kɔ*   *na.*

next year   1PL   POS.IND.FUT   farm.PFV   AFFR

'Next year, we will farm.'

Finally, the time adverbs can be used nominally as the Subject in the clause, as in (59) below:

(59)   ***Bio***   *na*   *ta*   *=n*   *fɔw*   *lɛ.*

Tomorrow   POS.IND.FUT   reach.PFV   FOC   quicklyADV

'Tomorrow will come very quickly.'

(2) Adverbs of place: Adverbs of place construe the spatial location of the event represented by the verb in the clause. Dagaare place adverbs can be grouped into three, namely (i) non-derived adverbs such as the demonstrative adverbs *ka* ('here') and *be* ('there') as well as positional adverbs such as *tew* ('on the ground'), *sazu* ('up'), *pile* ('down') *sɔwɔ* ('middle') and *sɔsɔwlɩ sɔwɔ* ('exactly in the middle') and (ii) the class of adverds derived from nouns with thelocative suffix variously realised as *-mɩ, -mi, -ɩ, -i* (cf. Section 3.4.1). The specific category of nouns that serve as the source of adverbs are body part nouns such as *pvɔ* ('stomach'), *gbɛr* ('leg') and *zukur* ('back') and locative nouns such as *kvɔ* ('water') and *salom* ('sky') (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 128-130; Heine 2011). In addition to the examples provided in example (20), other examples are *lombowri* ('beside'; from *lombowr*, 'side'), *pɛrɩ* ('bottom', from *pɛr,* 'anus'), *nyaamɩ* ('in the chest', 'towards the top'; from *nyaa*, 'chest'), *sɩɛmɩ* ('under'; from *sɩɛ,* 'waste'),and *nyvɔrɩ* ('at the tail end'; from *nyvɔr,* nose). Other body parts related adverbs such as *gbèé* ('on the forehead'; from *gbè,* 'forehead'), *zùú* ('on the head'; from *zù,* 'head') are derived by vowel mutation and a shift from level to contour tones rather than adding the derivative suffix.

      Adverbs of place occur at clause final position (60). Also, like time adverbs, they can be used nominally as a Subject in a clause (61):

(60) Concert advertisement

*Bɛ   tuori   tɪ   a   **be***.

3PL.HM meet.PFV   1PL   DEF   there

'They should meet **us** there'

(61) *A   **be***   *vɪɛl*   *=a*.

DEF   there   be:good.PFV   AFFR

'There is good (= That place is good).'

(3) Adverds of manner and ideophones: Adverbs of manner typically indicate how the event represented by the verb in the clause is actualised. Dagaare manner adverbs consist of a small class of descriptive adverbs such as *vla~vʋ̀la* ('well'), *yaga* ('plenty'), *fɔ̃w* ('quickly') and *paa* ('very much') and ideophones. *Vla* has the same form as the adjectival noun *vla* ('good') and *paa* is borrowed from Akan.

Ideophones are common in African languages and they have been discussed extensively in both the descriptive (e.g. Kunene 1965; Bodomo 2006; Dingemanse 2011a, b, c) and typological (e.g. Welmers, 1973; Watters, 2000; Blench 2010) literature. According to Welmers, the term 'ideophone' was perhaps first introduced by Clement Doke (cf. Doke 1935), who characterised it as: "a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect of manner, colour, smell, action, state or intensity" (Doke 1935: 118; Welmers 1973: 461). Ideophones need not be onomatopoeic though and they are often language specific. Also, across languages, they vary on the word class they belong to. They can be nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs and their classification is thus based on language specific analysis. (cf. Welmers 1973). Another characteristic of ideophones that has been attested across languages is that they typically involve reduplication and even triplication. In Dagaare, they can be repeated up to four times to create strong intensification (e.g. *zɪɛ ɓõɓõ ɓõɓõ,* 'very very red'). Examples of ideophones in Dagaare discourse are highlighted in (62) and (63) below (cf. also Bodomo 2006):

(62)   Bible.is (Rev. 18: 8b)

Vũu	*na*	*dı*	*v*	*nı*	***kʋmɔkʋmɔ.***
Fire	POS.IND.FUT	burn.PFV	3SG	FOC	IDEO

'Fire will burn it completely.'

(63)   Bible.is (Rev 17: 3b)

l̃	*tı*	*nyɛ̃*	*nı*	*pɔw*	*a*	*be,*	*v*
1SG	PST.REM	see.PFV	FOC	woman	DEF	there	3SG

zĩ	*wɛ-dṽw-zıɛ*	***ɓõɓõ***	*zu.*
sit.PFV	wild-animal-red.SG	IDEO	ADP

'I saw a woman there, she was sitting on a very red wild animal.'

These examples show that ideophones can be the Head of an adverbial group, functioning as circumstance of Manner, such as *kʋmɔkʋmɔ* in (62). They can also be used in the nominal group as modifiers of adjectival nouns such as *ɓõɓõ* in (63). Due to their iconic nature, specific ideophones normally collocate with particular words. For example, the following ideophones collocate with particular adjectival verbs or nouns of colour: *kpirkpir* ('black') *furututu* ('white') *ɓõɓõ* ('red') and *yololo* ('yellow'). However, different ideophones can be used with the same colour term to express different shades of the colour such as the contrastive use of ***ɓõɓõ*** and ***wʋlʋlʋ*** in (64) below:

(64)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 2-3a)

Ʋ	*tı*	*sɔw*	*bɛ*	*na:*	*"Zaanvɔra*	*wa*
3SG	PST.REM	respond.PFV	3PL.HM	AFFR	evening	EVT

ta	*a,*	*nyı*	*mí*	*yèl*	*=a:*	*'A*	*salom*
reach.PFV	JUNC	2PL	HAB	say.PFV	AFFR	DEF	sky

ı	*=n*	*zıɛ*	***ɓõɓõ,***	*a*	*zie*	*na*	*vıɛl*
COP.PFV	FOC	red	IDEO	DEF	place	POS.IND.FUT	be:good

=a';	*ɛ*	*a*	*biɓaara*	*nyı*	*yèl:*	*'Dĩa*	*a,*
AFFR	CONJ	DEF	morning	2PL	say.PFV	today	JUNC

a	*zie*	*kṽ*	*vıɛl*	*ɛ,*	*a*	*salom*
DEF	place	NEG.IND.FUT	be:good.PFV	NAFFR	DEF	sky

na	*ı*	*zıɛ*	***wʋlʋlʋ***	*a*	*yãw.'"*
ADVLZ	COP.PFV	red	IDEO	JUNC	sake

"S/he answered them: 'When evening comes, you say: 'The sky is deeply red, the weather will be good'; and in the morning, you say: 'Today, the weather won't be good, since the sky is shady red.'

As a general characteristic, Dagaare adverbs of manner occur in clause final position.

(4) Adverbial particles: Adverbial particles are a closed system of adverbs and they lie in the mid-region of the lexis-grammar continuum. Some of these particles derive their specific meaning in the context in which they are used. Table 3.5 presents fifteen adverbial particles identified in this study with examples, and they perhaps constitute an exhaustive list. As Table 3.7 shows, adverbial particles can be grouped according to their position in the clause. Four groups can be identified: (i) those that are preverbal, occurring between the Subject noun group and the verb; (ii) those that are post verbal, occurring in clause final position; (iii) those that are versatile, having the ability to occur either at preverb or clause final position; and (iv) one adverb intensifier *lɛ*, which occurs after the adverb it modifies.

Adverbial particles are mostly grammaticalised items although their specific lexical sources are not clear. However, all those that can occur preverbally, which automatically include all the versatile ones, most likely originate from verbs in the environment of verbal group complexes ('serial verb constructions') and they may have first been used as catenative verbs. The following grammaticalisation pathways can be hypothesised: VERB > CATENATIVE > ADV. PARTICLE. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in affirmative clauses, some of the particles, specifically *dɛ, nɪɛ,* and *sɪrɪ*, display a syntactic characteristic similar to the first verb in a Dagaare serial verb construction (67), namely they can immediately be followed by the affirmative particle (66). Thus, both (65) and (66) below are both acceptable:

(65)   *U*   ***sɪrɪ***   *wa*   ***na***.
      3SG   truly   come.PFV   AFFR
      'Sh/e truly came, as he promised.'

Table 3.5. Dagaare adverbial particles

adverbial particle				gloss	example
pre-verb	**post-verb**	**versatile**	**adverb intensifier**		
dɛ				just, definitely	*Fʊ dɛ cen na.* 'You *definitely* went.'
	dɪɛ			anyway	*Ʊ wa na dɪɛ.* 'S/he has come *anyway*.'
		ende		anyway	*Ʊ wa na ende.* 'S/he has come *anyway*.'
		ɛ̃		anyway	*Ʊ ɛ̃ wa na.* 'S/he has come *anyway*.'
		gba		even	*Ʊ gba wa na.* 'he has come *even*.'
nɪɛ				even	*Ʊ nɪɛ wa na bɪ?* 'Has s/he *even* come?'
	mɛ̀			like, seems	*Ʊ ɪ na mɛ̀ ana a.* 'It is *like* this one.'
		mì		also, too	*Ʊ mì dɪ!* 'S/he should eat *too*.'
mɔ̀				like, even	*A fʊʊ mɔ, wa ka!* 'You *even*, come here!'
nɔw				probably, maybe	*A dɔɔ nɔw yarɛ na.* '*Maybe*, the man is mad.'
pãa				now, then	*A bɛ pãa ŋmɛ dawuro.* 'And *then* they beat a gongon.'
yaa				even, maybe	*A ma yaa wa na.* '*Maybe*, the mother has come.'
	pɛɛ			definitely/ surely	*Ʊ wa na pɛɛ.* 'S/he has *surely* come'
sɪrɪ				truly	*Ʊ sɪrɪ na wa.* 'S/he came, *true to his/her words*'
			lɛ	very	*Yi yow fɔ̃w lɛ!* 'Go out *very* quickly!'

(66)　Ʊ　**sɩrɩ**　**na**　*wa.*

　　　3SG　truly　AFFR　come.PFV

　　　'S/he truly came, as promised.'

(67)　Ʊ　*zɔ*　*na*　*wa.*

　　　3SG　run.PFV　AFFR　come.PFV

　　　'S/he ran and came (=He ran here).'

While the affirmative particle can be placed either after the adverbial particle or clause finally as the difference between (65) and (66) shows, with the serial verb construction, it can only come after the first verb in the complex (67). A plausible interpretation of the flexibility with the adverbial particle construction is that *sɩrɩ* has lost its verbal status. On the other hand, an alternative analysis can classify it as a catenative verb or both an adverbial particle (as in (65)) and a catenative verb (as in (66)). It is, however, evident that particles such as *sɩrɩ* and also *dɛ* and *nɪɛ* are at an advanced stage of their grammaticalisation pathway into adverbial particles, their only verbal trace being the alternation exemplified in (65) and (66). For those particles that are restricted to post-verbal position, *dɪɛ* ('anyway') and *pɛɛ* ('definitely') are borrowed from Akan, where they occur in the same position.[7] The particle *mὲ* ('like'), like its English equivalent, is a comparative adverb as in *A zebra is like a horse*.

　　　Functionally, adverbial particles are generally attitude markers and play an interpersonal role in enacting the clause as an exchange (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4.4.2). However, *dɛ* has both a temporal sense (i.e. 'just') and a modal sense (i.e. 'definitely') while *pãa* ('now, then') has modal (68), temporal (69) and conjuntive (70) senses in different grammatical environemnts:

(68)　**Pãa**　*ir!*

　　　ADV　get up.

　　　'**Now** get up ('You can get up now')!'

---

[7] It is most likely that the adverbial particle ende evolved from a fusion of the original Dagaare *ɛ̃* and its synomous counterpart *dɪɛ*, borrowed from Akan, in the sequence *ɛ̃ dɪɛ*. As a result, *ende* is synomyous and interchangeable with any of the two particles (cf. Table 3.7).

(69) | *Tɩ* | ***pãa*** | *wa* | | | *na.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL | ADV | come.PFV | | | AFFR |

'We have **now** come.'

(70) | *Tɩ* | *cen* | *na* | *ɛ* | *ʋ* | ***pãa*** | *wa.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL | go.PFV | AFFR | CONJ | 3SG | ADV | come.PFV |

'We went before s/he **then** came.'

In (68), *pãa* indicates permission, in (69), it shows the time of the event represented by the verbal group, and in (70) it has a conjunctive sense, making a textual contribution to the relationship between the two clauses.

It should also be noted that the adverbial particles are distributed differently across mood types. The different selections are summarised below:

(i) *Dɛ* ('just'; i.e. only the temporal sense), *gba, mὲ, pãa, mì* and *sɩrɩ* occur in all mood types.

(ii) *Yaa* occurs in only indicative clauses (spefically declarative & interrogative: polar).

(iii) *Dɛ* ('definitely') *pɛɛ* and *mɔ̀* occur in only declarative clauses.

(iv) *Nɩɛ* and *nɔw* occur in only interrogative clauses.

(v) *Dɩɛ, ende,* and *ɛ̃* occur in both declarative and imperative clauses.

The differences in their distribution reflects their different values in the system of modal assessment (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5).

3.4.2.4 Pronouns

The next word class to be discussed in this section is pronoun and the discussion will be limited to personal pronouns. Dagaare personal pronouns can be classified based on several variables, including person, number, emphasis and their function in the clause. Table 3.6 gives a list of the personal pronouns (see Section 3.4.3 on identifying pronouns). As the table indicates, all three persons show further distinction between singular and plural and, in addition, third person pronouns distinguish between human and non-human for plural. Thus, in Dagaare, unlike in English, it is the third plural rather than the third singular which contrast between human and non-human. The third

plural pronoun *a* is also used for impersonal reference and it is also the pro-form for mass nouns. The implication is that some instances of the use of 'it' in English such as in reference to mass nouns and as an expletive pronoun translate into Dagaare as the third plural *a* (e.g. in *It has boiled*, where *it* refers to water).

In terms of function, Dagaare pronouns almost do not show case distinctions in their role as subject, complement and possessive determiners. It is only the first person singular which shows a formal contrast between nominative (*ɪ̃*) and accusative (*mɛ*) case. In addition, the first and second person singulars can occur as enclitics in complement position. There is, however, a systematic distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns across functions. This distinction is textually motivated in the sense that emphatic pronouns serve as resources for contrastive focus and will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.4.2). First and second plural emphatic pronouns as well as third person emphatic pronouns take different forms when they occur as Subjects in identifying clauses (identifying clauses are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.5.2.1).

Table 3.6. Pronominal system of Dagaare

PERSON	NUMBER	HUMANES	subject non-emph.	subject emph. non-ident.	subject emph. identifying	complement non-emph.	complement emph.	clitic [after vowel]	possessive non-emph.	possessive emph.
1st	sing.		*ɪ̃*	*mãa*		*mɛ*	*mãa*	=m	*ɪ̃*	*mãa*
	pl.		*tɪ*	*tʊm*	*tɪmɛ*	*tɪ*	*tʊm*		*tɪ*	*tʊm*
2nd	sing.		*fʊ*	*fʊʊ*		*fʊ*	*fʊʊ*	=b	*fʊ*	*fʊʊ*
	pl.		*nyɪ ~ nɪ*	*nyʊm ~ nʊm*	*nyɪmɛ ~ nɪmɛ*	*nyɪ ~ nɪ*	*nyʊm ~ nʊm*		*nyɪ ~ nɪ*	*nyʊm ~ nʊm*
3rd	sing.	±human	*ʊ*	*ʊl*	*ʊlɛ*	*ʊ*	*ʊl*		*ʊ*	*ʊl*
	pl.	+human	*bɛ*	*bɛl*	*bɛlɛ*	*bɛ*	*bɛl*		*bɛ*	*bɛl*
		-human	*a*	*al*	*alɛ*	*a*	*al*		*a*	*al*

Further, reflexivisation in Dagaare is not realised by single word pronouns. It is realised by a nomimal group in which the pronoun modifies a reflexive noun, *tvɔra* or *mɪŋa* ('self'):

(71)　The story of Jesus

Dɔkta	*a,*	*sanɪ*	*fʋ*	*tvɔra!*
doctor	JUNC	heal.PFV	2SG	self

　　'Doctor, heal yourself!'

(72)

ĩ	*sanɪ*	*nɪ*	*ĩ*	*mɪŋa!*
1SG	heal.PFV	FOC	1SG	self

　　'I have healed myself!'

Only non-emphatic pronouns of the form of subject or possessive pronouns are used for reflexivisation.

Finally, it is important to make a statement on the status of Dagaare pronounsas separate words as opposed to pronominal affixes or subject markers attached to verbs as it is the case in many West African languages, especially Kwa languages (cf. Creissels 2000: 235-236, 238-239). Generally, they do not bond together closely with the verb phonologically and native speakers easily recognise them as separate words. The following characteristics further support the interpretation of Dagaare pronouns as separate words:

1. They retain their vowel harmony irrespective of the phonetic characteristics of the adjacent verb (with the exception of *v*, third singular, only when it occurs in complement position; cf. Section 3.2.3).
2. Other words such as adverbs and particles can be placed between subject pronouns and the verb (cf. Section 3.4.2.3 and examples thereof).
3. Some pronouns in complement position (i.e. *fʋ mɛ*) can themselves be reduced as enclitics (cf. Table 3.4).

3.4.2.4 Particles

The last word class to be considered is the class of particles. On the cline of

Table 3.7. List of Dagaare particles across metafunctions

interpersonal			ideational			textual		
particle		gloss	particle		gloss	particle		gloss
full	clitic		full	clitic		full	clitic	
na	*n=*, *=a*	affirmative	*tɪ*		temporal range ('until')	*nɪ*	*=n*, *=ɪ*	focus
ɪ, e, ɛ[1]		non-affirmative	*wa*	*=a*	eventuality	*na*		binder (adverb-ializer, nomina-lizer, relativer)
bɪ, wɛ, kpo, ʋ,		polar interrogative	*tɪ*		remote past	*a#*[3]		clause juncture
na[2]	*=a*	positive indicative			future	*#a*[3]		contin-uative
kṽ[2]		negative indicative			future			
bɛ[2]		negative indicative			non-future			
ta, taa		negative imperative	*nɪ*	*=n*, *=ɪ*	agentive			
naa, kṽʋ, taa		modal	*tɪ*		distal ('andative')			
wɛ, kɛ		admonitive	*wa*		proximal ('ventive')			
mɛ́		expectation	*mɪ́*		habitual			
mɔ		counter-expectation						
dɛ		emphasis						
ka, kaka		insistent						
na		exhortative						
yaa		endearment						
wɛ		exclamative						

Note: [1][ATR] variants; [2]*na*, *kṽ* and *bɛ* simultaneously realise polarity (interpersonal) and tense (primarily ideational); [3]placed at clause boundary position.

lexicogrammar, particles lie at the grammatical end of the continuum. Dagaare has a rich class of particles for realising grammatical meaning in the clause

(e.g. mood, attitude and focus) and verbal group (e.g. tense, modality and polarity). Table 3.7 lists 35 unique particles, that is, not counting clitic forms and [ATR] variants of the same particle.

As the table shows, the different particles realise meanings across the metafunctions, namely interpersonal, ideational and textual functions. Many of the interpersonal particles are placed prosodically at clause initial or final position as mood and attitude markers:

(73) St. Maria play

   Pɛw   *mɛ*   **ka***!*

   lend.PFV   1SG.ACC M.INS

   'Lend me (some money), I insist!

(74) **Mɛ́**   *nyı*   *dı*   **na.**

   HST   2PL   eat.PFV   AFFR

   'I believe you have eaten.'

In (73), the particle *ka* is placed at the end of the imperative clause to modulate the proposal in an imploring tone and in (74) *Mɛ́* is placed clause initially to signal the speaker's uncertainty towards the proposition. On the other hand, the particle *na* in (74) marks the clause as an affirmative clause. What all these particles have in common is that they negotiate the proposal (as in 73) or proposition (as in 74) realised by the clause. These interpersonal resources will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Ideational particles function in the verbal group and realise such meanings as tense (75) and directionality (see 75 & 76), among others (verbal group underlined):

(75) *Dɛbɛlɛrɛ*   *nʋ*   **tı**   **be**   *be*   *o!*

   spider   IDENT.SG   PST.REM EXIST.PFV   there   PRT

   'Spider was the one who lived (=There lived spider)!'

(76) *Cen*   **tı**   *dı!*

   go.PFV   DIST   eat.PFV

   'Go to eat!'

(77) *Wa*   **wa**   *dɪ!*

come.PFV   PROX   eat.PFV

'Come to eat!'

In (75), for instance, the particle *tɪ* in the verbal group marks the temporal frame of the clause as that of remote past, the typical tense of traditional narratives. In (76), the distal marker *tɪ* indicates movement away from the speaker and, in contrast, *wa* in (77) shows movement towards the speaker. Ideational particles therefore contribute to the meaning of the clause as a representation of experience. Ideational systems below the clause will not be discussed in detail in this study.

Unlike interpersonal and ideational metafunctions, only few particles realise textual meaning, mainly in relation to information focus and clause combining. Information focus will be discussed in Chapter 5 while clause combining is considered briefly in Section 3.4.3 below. As Table 3.7 also shows, however, some particles have multiple functions. For instance, the polarity markers *bɛ* (negative indicative, non-future) *kṽ* (negative indicative, future) and *na* (positive indicative, future) also function as tense and mood markers in the verbal group:

(78) *ĩ*   **bɛ**   *dɪ*   *ɛ.*

1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   eat.PFV   NAFFR

'I have not eaten.'

(79) *ĩ*   **kṽ**   *dɪ*   *ɛ.*

1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   eat.PFV   NAFFR

'I will not eat.'

(80) *ĩ*   **na**   *dɪ*   *na.*

1SG   POS.IND.FUT   eat.PFV   NAFFR

'I will eat.'

Thus, while (78) and (79) both mark the clauses in which they occur as negative and indicative, they contrast in tense, with *bɛ* marking (78) as non-future and *kṽ* marking (79) as future. In this sense, (78) is similar to (79) in terms of tense but contrast with it in terms of polarity. Example (80) contrasts with both (Polarity will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.5.1).

3.4.3 The Dagaare Clause

The clause is the highest-ranking unit serving as the point of origin of grammatical systems and, as mentioned earlier, it is co-extensive with the tone group in the unmarked case (cf. Section 3.2.4). Just as with the lower grammatical units, the clause can be divided into classes based on its form and function (see Figure 3.3). Two variables that tend to be universally relevant in the classification of clauses are **status** and **freedom** (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). On the variable of status, clauses can be divided into major and minor.

(1) Major and minor clauses: Major clauses in Dagaare, as in many other languages, are those clauses that are predicated and embody metafunctional diversity in the meanings they realise (i.e. simultaneously realising ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings). They can be analysed into clausal elements and normally have a Predicator element in their structure (see Chapter 4 on interpersonal structure of the clause). As an illustration, example (62) is analysed in the box diagram below in Figure 3.7.

	Vũu	*na*	*dı*	*ʋ*	*nı*	*kʋmɔkʋmɔ*
	fire	POS.IND.FUT	burn.PFV	3SG	FOC	IDEO
Clause	Subject	Predicator		Complement		Adjunct
	Actor	Process		Goal		Manner
	Theme	Rheme				
	Given	←———————————————— New				
Group	nom. group	verbal group		nom. group		adverbial group
Word	noun	particle	verb	pronoun	particle	adverb

Figure 3.7. Illustrating the structural analysis of a major clause

Minor clauses, on the other hand, are typically not analysable in terms of clausal constituents. They are oriented towards the interpersonal function of language and are realised by interjections, expletives and formulaic expressions such exclamations and greetings as well as protolinguistic remnants (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Minor clauses will be discussed and illustrated in Chapter 4 in relation to the system of MOOD (see Section 4.4.5).

(2) Free and bound clauses: The variable of freedom is a system of major clauses. Major clauses can be either free or bound (cf. Matthiessen 2004: 612-613 for a crosslinguistic account). Free clauses are those major clauses that are syntactically independent while bound clauses consist of **hypotactic** clauses and **embedded** clauses. An example of a free clause is analysed in Figure 3.4 above. A hypotactic clause is a ranking clause that is dependent on another clause, a main clause, for its interpretation and an embedded clause is a downraknicd clause that is a constituent within another clause (cf. Hopper & Traugott, 2003: Ch. 7). In order to make the distinction clear, I will first highlight the characteristics of bound clauses below and illustrate them as the discussion proceeds:

i.   A bound clause cannot include end focus where one is required for a corresponding free clause.

ii.   A bound clause cannot occur with negotiation particles, such as the affirmative (*na*) or non-affirmative (*ı, e ɛ*) particles, where they are required for a corresponding free clause.

clause

STATUS

major
+Pred.

FREEDOM

free

bound

minor

VOCATIVE

+vocative
+vocative = nom. gp.

-vocative
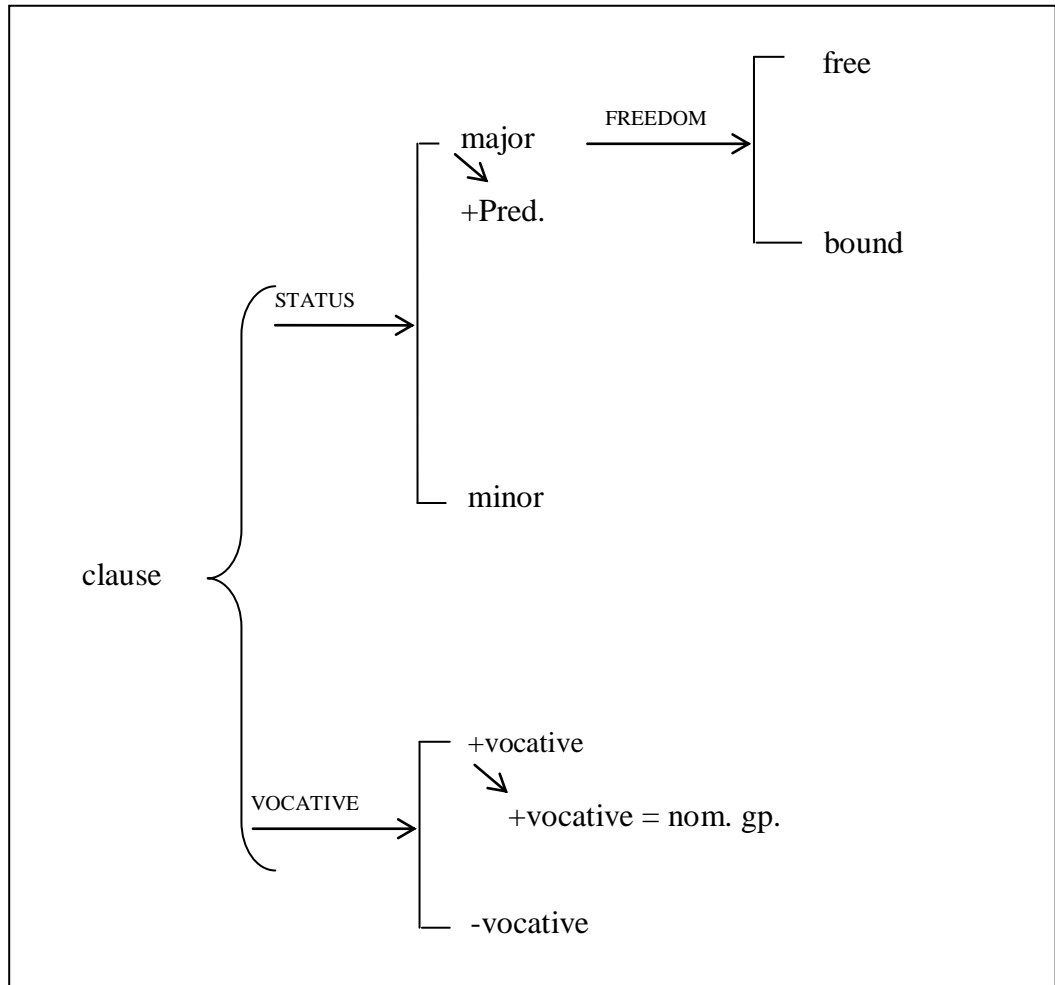
Figure 3.8. Dagaare clause types presented as a system network

It should be noted that while all bound clauses have these characteristics, not all clause without end focus or negotiation markers are bound clauses. Chapter 5 will discuss the conditions that motivate the absence or presence of negotiation and end focus markers in free clauses (cf. esp. Section 5.4.3). The following examples illustrate the difference between a free clause and a bound clause (bound clause is underlined):

(81)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 13)

||| *A   Yeezu na   wa   ta   a   Filib   tẽw*

DEF   Jesus   ADVLZ PROX   reach.PFV   DEF   Phillip town

Sezaare   a, || v   sowr   =ɩ   a   v

Caesarea   JUNC   3SG   ask.PFV FOC   DEF   3SG

po-tuurbɛ   […] |||

followers   […]

"When Jesus got to Phillip's town Caesarea, he asked his followers …'

100

(82)

A	*Yeezu*	*wa*	*ta*	*=n*	*a*	*Filib*	*tẽw*
DEF	Jesus	EVT	reach.PFV	FOC	DEF	Phillip	town

Sezaare.

Caesarea

'Jesus got to Phillip's town Caesarea'

Example (81) is a clause complex comprising a hypotactic clause (the bound clause) and an independent clause (the free clause). In the bound clause, the binding particle *na* precedes the verbal group *wa ta* ('reached'). The nominal group in Complement position, *a Filib tẽw Sezaare*, is not focused as would be required for the corresponding free clause illustrated by (82). Another observation in (81) characteristic of bound clauses is that they normally end with a juncture prosody particle *a* simultaneously carrying a level-rising tone (cf. Section 3.2.4).

Typical bound clauses are relative clauses, nominal clauses and adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are bound clauses that modify the Head of a nominal group (cf. Watters (2000: 225-228) for a brief account on African languages). Comrie (1989) identifies three useful parameters on which languages vary in their realisation of relative clauses, namely word order (i.e. position of the relative clause in realtion to the Head of the nominal group); status of the Head in the relative clause; and role of the Head in the main clause. In terms of word order, the relative clause could be prenominal (as in Korean), postnominal (as in English), or circum-nominal, where the head is rather placed within the relative clause (as in Bambara). Dagaare relative clauses are postnominal, which means they always follow the noun they modify. The relative clauses in the following examples are underlined:

(83)   The story of Jesus

||| *Erɔdı*	[[***na***	*ı*	*a*	*tew*	*na-kpɛɛ*
Herod	REL	be.PFV	DEF	town	chief-big

lıɛrɛ	*a*	*Galıle*	*a*]]
representative	DEF	Galilee	JUNC

tı	*ɣ́aw*	*na*	*bɛ*	*nyɔw*
PST.REM	make	AFFR	3PL.HM	catch.PFV

a	*Za*	||	*tı*	*paw.*|||
DEF	John		DIST	jail.PFV

'Herod [[who was the governor of Galilee]] had them arrest John and jailed him.'

(84)   Political opinion interview

Bɛ	*ı*		*=n*	*yéle*	*yaga*	[[*na vıɛl*
3PL.HM	do.PFV		FOC	yéle	plenty	REL be:good

a]].
JUNC

'They've done many things that are good.'

The nominal group consists of the Head noun *Erɔdı* followed by the relative clause. Regarding the status of the Head in the relative clause, Comrie (1989) notes that it can appear in the relative clause as a full noun (as in Hindi); it can be substituted with a (personal) pronoun (as in Persian) or it can be retained in the form of a relative pronoun (as in many English, Russian and many other European languages). Dagaare relative clauses, however, belong to what Comrie (1989: 151) labels the 'gap–type', where the relative clause "simply does not provide any overt indication of the head". As example (83) and (84) show, the bound status of the relative clause is simply indicated by preceding the verb in the relative clause with the binding particle *na*. Comrie (1989) relates the function of the noun relativised in the clause to the phenomenon of attraction, where, in some case prominent languages, the case of the nominal item in one clause conditions that in another clause. This parameter is not relevant for Dagaare since it has no case system and has the gap-type of relative clause.

However, one other parameter relevant for the Dagaare relative clause is the identification of clause elements that can be relativized on, Comrie's (1989: 155 - 160) notion of 'accessibilty of noun phrase positions to relative clause formation'. The Head of the nominal group in the Dagaare relative clause can either function as Subject or Complement in the relative clause.[8] In (83) and (84) above, for instance, the Head, *Erɔdı* and *yéle*, are Subjects of the

---

[8] Complement here correspond to all participant roles associated with complement position such as Goal, Scope, Recipient, Instrument, Phenomenon, etc. The exception is existential and circumstantial relational clauses, where the Complement correspond to Place, typically realised by adverbial groups (cf. Chapter 6 for details on participant roles)

respective relative clauses in which they occur. In the examples below, the Head of the nominal group is Complement in the relative clause:

(85) Casual conversation

A	dãa	[[ĩ	na	da	kʋ̀	fʋ
DEF	beer	1SG	REL	buy.PFV	give.PFV	2SG

a]],	a	wa?
JUNC	3PL.NHM	be:where

'The beer which I bought for you, where is it?

(86) St. Maria play

Fʋ	wo	=n	a	lɛ	[[ʋ	na	yèl
2SG	hear.PFV	FOC	DEF	DEM	3SG	REL	say.PFV

a]]?
JUNC

'You heard that which she said?'

There is a characteristic difference between relative clauses in which the Head is a Subject and those in which it is a Complement. When it is Subject, it is followed by the relativiser (see (83) and (84)), but when it is Complement such as *A dãa* ('the beer') and *alɛ* ('that') in (85) and (86) respectively, it is followed by the Subject of the relative clause. On the other hand, a possessor noun cannot be relativized in Dagaare and thus the English clause *The man whose yam you stole came here* will be translated into Dagaare as (87) below:

(87)
A	dɔɔ	nɛ	nyuur	[[nyɪ	na	zu	a]],
DEF	man	DEM	yam	2PL	REL	steal.PFV	JUNC

wa	=n	ka.
come.PFV	FOC	here

'That man's yam which you stole came here' (=The man whose yam you stole came here).'

Here, the noun representing the possessed entity, *nyuur* ('yam'), is what is relativized. In such circumstances, a demonstrative determiner is normally required to select the possessor as the Head of the nominal group. Thus, the omission of the determiner *nɛ* in (87) will result in an absurd proposition like

The man's yam came here. Generally, circumstantial elements such as Place and Time are normally not relativized.

In addition to the typology of relative clauses base of the three parameters discussed above, another important distinction is that been restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. While this distinction is clearly marked in some languages, studies have shown that such a distinction is absent in many languages (cf. Comrie 1989: 138-139), in general, and among African languages (cf. Watters 2000: 225-228), in particular. Dagaare does not make a formal distinction between the two types and the use of a proper noun or common noun as Head of the nominal group is not enough criteria for characterising a relative clause as restrictive or non-restrictive. The relative clause in example (83) above, for instance, is restrictive and serves to single out the Head, *Erɔdɩ,* among the family of Herods who ruled in several parts of Judea. Thus, it is best translated in English as *The Herod who was governor of Galilee*. The only signal of a non-restrictive relative clause are pauses before and after the relative clause realised orthographically by commas, as in English. An example is given in (88) below:

(88)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 4)

‖‖ *A*	*dĩa*	*nɩbε,*	*<<na*	*ɩ*	*nɩ-faar* ‖	*ε*
DEF	today	people	REL	COP.PFV	people-bad	CONJ

bε		*tuur*	*a*	*Naaŋmɩn*	*a>>,*	*zεlε*
NEG.IND.NFUT		follow.PFV	DEF	God	JUNC	beg.IPFV

nɩ	*bãwfʋ.*‖‖
FOC	knowledge

'Todays people, who are evil and don't follow God, are pleading for knowledge.'

Restrictive relative clauses are embedded clauses while non-restrictive clauses are hypotactic clauses serve as a logical extension of the main clause.

Like restrictive relative clauses, the nominal clause is an embedded or downranked clause and it typically functions as Subject or Complement in the clause in which it occurs. In other words, it is a clause that has been

rankshifted to play a function typical of nominal groups. The form of the nominal clause is like the relative clause. An example is given in (89) below:

(89) St. Maria play

Fʋ   bɛ   nyɛ̃   [[ɪ̃   na   tɛr   taya
2SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV   1SG   NMLZ   possess.PFV   catapult

a]]?
JUNC

'Have you not seen that I have a catapult?'

The category of clauses that attract nominal groups as Subjects and Complements are limited. They typically occur as Complement/Phenomenon inmental clauses as in (89) and as Subject in relational clauses as in (90) below (cf. Chapter 6):

(90) *ɪ̃   na   tɛr   a   taya   a*
1SG   NMLZ   possess.PFV   DEF   catapult   JUNC

bɛ   vɪɛl   ɛ.
NEG.IND.NFUT   be:good.PFV   NAFFR

'My having the catapult is not good (=It's not good that I have the catapult)'

Adverbial clauses, on the other hand, are hypotactic clauses that depend on a main clause for their interpretation. Adverbial clauses are quite variant and only a few are highlighted here for illustration. One common type has a similar form with relative and nominal clauses. An example is the clause *A Yeezu na wa ta a Filib tẽw Sezaare a* ('When Jesus got to Phillip's town Ceaserea') in the illustration given at the beginning of this section (see example (81)). Here, the Subject of the bound clause is followed by the binding particle *na* (in this case interpretated as adverbialiser). Adverbial clauses can however take other forms as (91) and (93) show:

(91) ||| *ʊ   tõ   mɛ   na*|| *ɪ̃   tɪ   da*
3SG   send.PFV   1SG   AFFR   1SG   DIST   buy.PFV

kparʋ. |||
shirt

'S/he sent me to buy a shirt.'

105

(92) Bible.is (Zã 10: 10b)

||| *Mãa wa*   *na*|| *kɛ́*   *a*   *nɪsaalbɛ*   *wa*

1SG.EMP come.PFV   AFFR   CONJ   DEF   humans   PROX

tṽɔ   *páw*   *a*   *nyɔ-vʋvʋrʋ*.|||

be:able.PFV   get.PFV   DEF   nose-breath

'I have come so that humankind can get life.'

(93) Workshop interview

||| *Fʋʋ bɛ*   *wa*   *lɪɛbɪ*   *pawr*   *a*

2SG.EMP NEG.IND.NFUT   COND   change catch up with   DEF

tew   *a,*|| *a*   *tew*   *na*   *zɔ*   *na*

world   JUNC   DEF   world   POS.IND.FUT   run.PFV   AFFR

kɛ́   *bɛr*   *fʋ.* |||

CONJ   leave.PFV   2SG

'if you don't change to catch up with the world, the world will run and leave you.'

In each clause complex in (91) and (92), the bound clause construes the purpose for the actualisation of the main clause. In (91), there is no morphological marker that explicitly marks it as a bound clause and it is simply justaposed with the main clause. Its bound status is however indicated by the fact that it does not and cannot receive unmarked or end focus, which, in an agnate free clause, will be marked on *kparʋ* (shirt). In (92), in addition to the absence of unmarked focus, the bound clause is introduced by the conjunction *kɛ́*. On the other hand, in (93), the bound clause is a conditional clause, and its conditional relationship with the main clause is morphologically signalled by the particle *wa*. As a bound clause, it cannot take the non-affirmative particle at clause final position, associated with free negative clauses (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.1 on non-affirmative clauses). It is also prosodically marked by the juncture prosody marker *a*, and its spoken version is realised by a level-rising tone.

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has given an overview of the architecture of the

Dagaare language. It focused on both phonology and orthography (or graphology) in the expression plane, and on lexicogrammar in the content plane. On phonology, the chapter identified four phonological units, namely tone group, [word], syllable and phoneme, and accounted for the major phonological phenomena realised at each rank. In all, 62 phonemes have been identified in the phonemic system, comprising twenty-nine (29) consonants, eighteen (18) simple vowels and fifteen (15) diphthongs. It has been indicated that a key feature relevant to all vocalic sounds is the opposition between advanced tongue root [+ATR] and retracted tongue root [-ATR] quality. The syllable is made up of at least one phoneme and it is the domain for the realisation of syllabic tone and nasality. Further the [word] is composed of the syllable and it is the point of originof harmony systems. The tone group is the highest phonological unit and it realises intonation. Regarding orthography, it has been indicated that Dagaare has two alphabet systems and both of which are based on the Latin script.

On grammar, the chapter also identified four grammatical units, namely clause, group, word and morpheme, and among these discussed the morpheme, word and clause. Two derivational morphemes, the locative and diminutive suffixes, were examined and a few inflectional suffixes were identified as marking aspect in verbs and plurality in nouns. The word classes discussed are noun, verb, adverb, pronoun and particle. Notably, the sub-classification of nouns into count and non-count was highlighted and it has been noted that plural marking in count nouns tends to group the nouns based on the semantic features of humanness, kinship and social status, relational body part nouns, collectiveness and discreteness. It has also been noted that Dagaare has a rich sub-class of deverbal nouns. For verbs, a complex system of aspect has been discussed, based on a range of harmony prosodies. Clauses have been classified based on status, that is, whether they are major or minor; and on the variable of freedom, that is whether they are free or bound. The rest of the thesis will discuss in detail how these resources realise various meanings in the language, especially at the rank of the clause.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOOD AND MODAL ASSESSMENT

4.1   Introduction

The preceding Chapter outlinedthe resources of Dagaare in terms of its phonological, graphological and lexicogrammatical organisation. The present chapter examines the interpersonal systems of the Dagaare clause. It focuses on grammar as a resource for enacting roles and relationships in the speech fellowship, in general, and for managing interaction and negotiating meaning in verbal communication, in particular. The chapter first discusses the nature of dialogue and then situates the semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION within this discussion (Section 4.2).It then proceeds to examine the interpersonal structure of the Dagaare clause (Section 4.3). This is followed by an analysis of the system of MOOD (Section 4.4)and finally the phenomenon of grammatical metaphor in the MOOD system (Section 4.5).

4.2   Choices in Dialogue and the System of SPEECH FUNCTION

Since the 1970s, many discourse analysts have carried out extensive investigations on the nature and functions of dialogue in different communicative contexts (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Eggins & Slade 1997; Matthiessen & Slade 2010). Among systemic linguists,investigations on dialogue have been an integral part of language description, in general, and accounts of interpersonal systems, in particular (e.g. see Halliday 1984; Matthiessen 1995; Akerejola 2005; Teruya 2007; Teruya et al. 2007; Bardi 2008; Kumar 2009; Quiroz 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). The discussion in this section is based on the wealth of knowledge scholars have produced on the nature and functions of talk-and-interaction.

Dialogue is a universal socio-semiotic performance, and studies have confirmed that the function of language as a resource for enacting roles and relationships is most noticeable in dialogic interactions. When people engage in talk, they position themselves relative to one another and to the talk itself.

One positioning strategy speakers adopt in dialogue is to assign different speech roles to themselves and to other participants in the dialogue. The primary roles conversation analysts have identified in dialogue are initiating and responding to talk. When speakers initiate talk, they invite others to respond, and these bidirectional roles are what carry the conversation forward. Initiation or response has been identified in the extant literature on conversation analysis as a ***move*** in dialogue, defined as one part of an adjacency pair (cf. Matthiessen & Slade 2010; Slade et al. 2011).

Halliday (e.g. Halliday 1984; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) has identified two specific acts speakers engage in when they initiate dialogue: giving and demanding. These two acts combine with one of two general commodities that are traded in any speech situation, namely, information and goods-&-services. Different combinations of the acts of giving and demanding, on the one hand, and the commodity exchanged, on the other hand, give four further delicate roles speakers perform in every dialogue. That is, a speaker may give information, demand information, give goods-&-services or demand goods-&-services.

Each of these speech roles is realised in language by the clause. The clause is therefore the basic unit of language for enacting interpersonal meaning in discourse; it is 'the *locus* of interaction' (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005: 811, original emphasis). Clauses realising demanding and giving information are ***propositions***, while those realising giving and demanding goods-&-services are ***proposals*** (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 4). The following dialogue, from an unscripted play, illustrates how the different speech roles are realised by the clause in Dagaare. The interactants comprise two customers (A & C) and a bar owner (B):

(1)   St. Maria play

A(1):	*Fʋ*	*nyɔw*	*fʋ*	*mɪŋa, a*		*zãa*	*dãa*
	2SG	hold.PFV	2SG	self	DEF	yesterday	pito

zãa	*bɛ*	*ɪ*	*ɛ. Daɪ*
yesterday	NEG.IND.NFUT	be:good.PFV	NAFFR die

be	*=n*	*be*	*bɪ?*
be.PFV	FOC	there	INT

B (2): *Ũv-hṽ.*

no

A (3): *Mí   bin   daɪ*!   *A   aŋa   bɛ   mí*

HAB   put.PFV die   DEF   DEM.PL NEG.IND.NFUT   HAB

tɛr   pɛr   ɛ.

possess.PFV   bottom   NAFFR

C(4): *Daɪ   ya?   Ʊ   mí   bin   tɪrɪpʊl!* *Alɛ*

die   INT   3SG   HAB   put.PFV triple   3PL.NHM.EMP

na   mí   ɪ.

IDENT.PL   HAB   be:good.PFV

A (1): 'Excuse me; yesterday's pito/beer was not good.' Is there two days old pito/beer?'

B (2) No!

A (3): 'Always put two days old pito/beer. This is always useless.'

C (3): 'Two days old? S/he should put three days old pito/beer. That is always good.'[9]

Turn (1) has three clauses. The first is a proposal by which Speaker A invites the bar owner to engage in talk. In the second clause, he makes a statement (giving information) on the previous day's pito (a local corn beer specific to the Dagaaba and other Mole-Dagbana communities). He follows this with a question in the third clause (demanding information). The bar owner, Speaker B, responds by giving information *Ũv-hṽ* ('No'). Speaker A demands a service in turn (3) and follows it with a statement (giving information) to clarify his request. Speaker C reacts to A's request and statement with three clauses, the first (i.e. *Daɪ ya?*, 'Two days old?') demanding information, the next (i.e. *Ʊ mí bin tɪrɪpʊl!*, 'S/he should always put three days old!') demanding goods-&-services and the third (i.e. *Alɛ na mí ɪ,* 'That's always good') giving information. The initiating roles and commodity dimension of dialogue that have been demonstrated here illustrate a general situational context for every dialogue. The semantic system that realises this context in language is called SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday, 1984;

---

[9]*Daɪ* and *tɪrɪpʊl* are borrowed from the English words 'die' and 'triple' respectively. They are used to refer to a two days old and three days old locally brewed corn beer called pito. They represent the fact that the beer gets stronger in alcohol with time.

Halliday &Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 4). The speech functions corresponding to the combinations of initiating roles and commodities in the extract are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Analysis of speech roles and functions in Text 1

Speaker	Turn	Clause	Initiation role	Commodity	Speech function
A	1	1	demanding	goods-&-services	proposal: offer
		2	giving	information	proposition: statement
		3	demanding	information	proposition: question
B	2	1	giving	information	proposition: statement
A	3	1	demanding	goods-&-services	proposal: command
		2	giving	information	proposition: statement
C	4	1	demanding	information	proposition: question
		2	demanding	goods-&-services	proposal: command
		3	giving	information	proposition: statement

Cross-linguistically, four functions have been identified as the main speech functions in communication (cf. Matthiessen 2004: 610-625; Teruya et al. 2008; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008, and references therein). These are statement, question, command and offer. As has been demonstrated in the analysis above, giving information is realised by statements while demanding for information is realised by questions. Command and offer correspond respectively to demanding and giving goods-&-services. The term 'command' is used broadly in this study to cover a number of related speech acts including requests, demands, entreaties and suggestions, among others. Other umbrella terms that have been used to cover these senses are **_directives_** and the improvised morpheme **_mands_** (cf. Lyons 1977: 736-751; Bybee, Perkins &

Pagliuca 1994: 179ff). Generally, these speech acts, in the words of Lyons (1977: 746), "impose, or propose, some course of action or pattern of behaviour and indicate that it should be carried out". Figure 4.1 presents a network for the system of SPEECH FUNCTION.
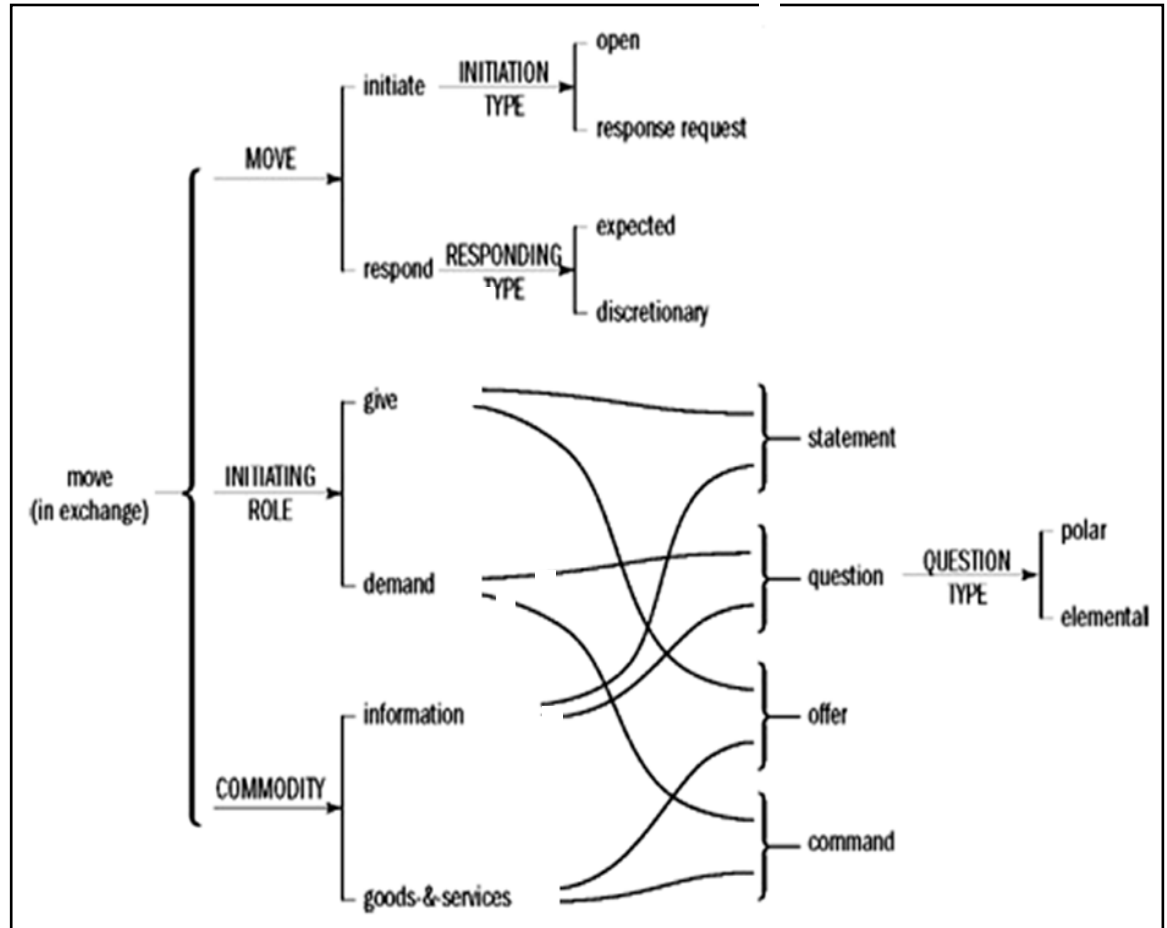
Figure 4.1: The semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 136)

As indicated earlier, this chapter will examine the lexicogrammatical resources of the clause that Dagaare speakers use to realise the various speech functions. The analysis here is, therefore, based mainly on dialogic texts. The main lexicogrammatical system that corresponds to SPEECH FUNCTION is MOOD. Thus, in this study, mood is not defined as a special verb or word form but a grammatical system that is realisedin different ways across languages, including but not limited to verbal morphology (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: Ch. 6; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 4; Matthiessen 2004: 611-

635). Before MOOD is discussed, however, the following section will first examine the interpersonal structure of the Dagaare clause.

4.3 Interpersonal Structure of the Clause

Work on different languages has revealed similarities across the interpersonal grammar of languages (e.g. Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008). For instance, similar functional elements, such as Subject, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct have been identified across languages. It has also been shown that, in every language, there are some clausal elements that are more salient than others in realising interpersonal meaning. On the other hand, these studies show that the particular functional elements present in languages and their salience in the interpersonal meaning of the clause vary cross-linguistically. For instance, while Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) have identified the Subject and Finite elements as most prominent in the interpersonal clause structure of English, the Finite is absent in many languages as an element of the clause.[10] There are also differences in the particular order of the various elements in the clause (see Matthiessen (2004) for a typological account).

In Dagaare, the general interpersonal structure of the clause is (Negotiator) + (Subject) +(Adjunct) + Predicator + (Complement) + (Adjunct) + (Negotiator), where the brackets indicate optional elements. Examples (2) and (3) are constructed to illustrate the full potential of the clause structure while (4) to (7) illustrate other possibilities:

(2) | *Mɛ́* | *nyɩ* | *zầa* | *kɔ* | *=n* | *a* | *wɪɛ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HST | 2PL | yesterday | weed.PFV | FOC | DEF | farm |
| Nego. | Subj. | Adjunct | Predicator | | Complement | |

vla	*wɛ?*
well	INT
Adjunct	Nego.

'I belive you weeded the farm well yesterday, right?

---

[10] The system of finiteness is absent in the clause structure of many languages, as in Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai, and also Dagaare. But if it is present, it is often reflected structurally in the organisation of the "verbal domain" (i.e. verbal group or the verb) rather than at clause rank (Matthiessen p.c).

(3) | *Mɛ́* | *fʋ* | *zǎa* | *su* | *=n* | *a* | *bie* |
| HST | 2SG | yesterday | feed.PFV | FOC | DEF | child |
| Nego. | Subj. | Adjunct | Predicator | | | Complement |

a	*saab*	*vla*	*wɛ?*
DEF	book	well	INT
Complement	Adjunct		Nego.

'I belive you fed the child the food well yesterday, right?

(4) | *Beyuo* | *na* | *kɔ* | *na.* |
| Beyou | POS.IND.FUT | weed.PFV | AFFR |
| Subject | Predicator | | Negotiator |

'Beyuo will weed.'

(5) | *Nyɪ* | *lɔb* | *bɛr*! |
| 2PL | throw.PFV | leave.PFV |
| Subject | Predicator | |

'You throw (it) away!'

(6) | *Na* | *ìr* | *ka*! |
| EXH | get up | M.INS |
| Negotiator | Predicator | Negotiator |

'Please get up, I implore you!'

(7) | *Ìr*! |
| get up.PFV |
| Predicator |

'Get up!'

While example (2) has one Complement, (3) has two Complements, a characteristic of benefactive clauses (cf. Chapter 6, Sections 6.3 & 6.7.2). Example (4) illustrates a situation where the Predicator is realised by a verbal group complex ('serial verb construction'), where a single event is analysed into phases realised by two or more verbs. Example (7) exemplifies the minimum realisation of the interpersonal structure of the clause, where the Predicator is the only element (cf. Section 4.4.2). The different functional elements in the clause divide into two components, based on how prominent they are in enacting interpersonal meaning. The most interpersonally salient component is called the **Mood base** (or, simply, Mood) and it comprises the

Subject, Predicator and Negotiator. The other elements generally form the *Residue* component of the clause. These components and the various elements that compose them are discussed in the following sections.

4.3.1 The Mood Base

When we examine exchanges in dialogue among Dagaare speakers and consider the questions, commands and statements in these exchanges, we come to realize that the Subject, Predicator and Negotiator are salient in distinguishing the grammatical realisation of speech functions. In order to illustrate this, I will examine the flow of information in the following dialogue between father (A) and daughter (B). In this extract, the father is seeking the daughter's consent to a marriage proposal:

(8)   St. Maria play

A (1): *Ayɔɔ   ɔ!*
        Ayour   VOC

B (2): *Baba   a!*
        Dad   VOC

A (3): *Wa   sɔr   a   bome   aŋa*
        come.PFV   count.PFV   DEF   things DEM

        kaa!
        check.PFV

        |||Fʋ   nyɛ̃   a || a   ŋmɩn   na? |||
        2SG   see.PFV3PL.NHM   DEF   how_much   IDENT.PL

        A   lɛ   [[ɩ̃   na   yèl   a]],   lɛ
        DEF   that   1SG   REL   say.PFV   JUNC   that

        bɛ   na   ɩ? |||
        NEG.IND.NFUT   IDENT.PL   NAFFR

B (4): *Lɛ   na.*
        That   IDENT.PL

A (5): *|||Fʋ   zie   na   a   pãa   be. |||*
        2SG   place   IDENT.PL   3PL.NHM   ADV   be.PFV

        Fʋ   saw   na || kɛ   ɩ̃   de
        2SG   agree.PFV   AFFR   PROJ   1SG.   take.PFV

	a	*bome*	*aŋa,*	*Ayɔɔ?* |||
	DEF	things	DEM	Ayour	

B (6):	*ĩ*	*saw*	*na.*
1SG	agree.PFV	AFFR

A (7): | ‖‖*Fʋ* | *saw* | *na* | ‖ | *ĩ* | *wob* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | agree.PFV | AFFR | | 1SG | pick.PFV | DEF |

bome	*ana?*‖‖‖
thing.PL	DEM

B (8): | *ĩ* | *saw* | *na.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | agree.PFV | AFFR |

A(9): | ‖‖ *Ayɔɔ ɔ,* | *fʋ* | *saw* | *na* | ‖ | *ũ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ayour | VOC | 2SG | agree.PFV | AFFR | 1SG.PROJ |

wob	*ι?* ‖‖
pick.PFV	INT

B (10): | *ĩ* | *saw* | *na.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | agree.PFV | AFFR |

A (11): | ‖‖ *Fʋ* | *saw* | *na* | ‖ | *ĩ* | *de* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | agree.PFV | AFFR | | 1SG | take.PFV | DEF |

bome	*aŋa*	*ýaw*	*a*	*zʋbɛ*	*pʋɔ*	‖	*ɛcɛ*	*a*
things	DEM	put.PFV	DEF	pocket	inside		CONJ	DEF

pobile	*ŋa*	*kʋl*	*fʋ?* ‖‖
gentleman	DEM.PROX	marry.PFV	2SG

B (12): | *Ũʋ,* | *ĩ* | *saw* | *na.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| yes, | 1SG | agree.PFV | AFFR |

A: 'Ayour!'

B: 'Dad!'

A: 'Come and count these things. How much is it? That [[which I demanded]], is that not it?'

B: 'That is it.'

A: 'It is now your decision. Do you agree that I take these things, `` Ayour?'

B: 'I agree.'

A: 'Do you agree I pick these things?'

B: 'I agree.'

A: 'Ayour, do you agree I pick these things?'

B: 'I agree.'

A: 'Do you agree I take these things and put them inside my pocket and this gentleman marries you?'

B: 'Yes, I agree.'

The text above is co-authored by father and daughter. The negotiation in which they are engaged is incremental, building up turn by turn. The father negotiates every action he undertakes in the marriage contract with the daughter. More important to our discussion is the fact that there are particular elements in the clauses that are carrying the negotiation forward. These essential elements are the Subject (e.g. *Fʋ,* 'you'; and *Ĩ,* 'I'), the Predicator, which is realized by the various verbs in the clauses (e.g. *saw,* 'agree'; *wob,* 'pick'; and *kul,* 'marry') and finally the Negotiator element, realized by clause final particles, notably the affirmative particle *na,* which punctuates many of the clauses, particularly those in the daughter's turns. These three elements are important in realizing the mood of a Dagaare clause.

One other element in a few of the clauses in the extract, specifically those by speaker A, is the Complement. Instances are *a bome aŋa* ('these things') in turns (3), (5), (7) and (11). Unlike the Subject and the Negotiator, the Complement can be assumed as taken for granted background and, therefore, is not realised. For example, in turn (9), it is not realised in the clause *Ĩ wob ɩ*? ('I take?'). This phenomenon is not an idiosyncratic instance but rather a pervasive tendency in Dagaare, even with verbs such as *de* ('take') and *wob* ('pick') that are associated with transitive clauses (see Chapter 6 on transitivity). The implication is that the Complement is not relevant in realising interpersonal meanings such as MOOD. Its importance lies in the role it plays in information focus and this will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The point being made here is that in dialogic exchanges, the Subject, Predicator and Negotiator function together to enact the clause as a move. They are therefore normally maintained together as exchanges unfold while other elements such as the Complement can be ellipted in the clause. Another example of this phenomenon is given below:

(9)   Casual conversation

    A: *Fɪlɪp*   *ɓaw*   *nɪ*   *a*   *sʋɔ*   *a*

         Phillip pick.PFV   FOC   DEF   matchet   DEF

         ka.

         here

    B: <u>*Ũʋ̃,*   *ĩ̃*   *bɛ*   *ɓaw*   *ɛ.*</u>

         no   1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   pick.PFV   NAFFR

    A: <u>*Fʋ*   *ɓaw*   *na.*</u>   *Nyɛ!* *Ʋlɛ*   *nʋ*   *fʋ*

         2SG   pick.PFV   AFFR   see.PFV 3SG.EMP IDENT.SG   2SG

         bin   *bɛr*   *a*   *fʋ*   *puori.*

         put.PFV leave.PFV   DEF   2SG   behind.

    A: 'Phillip picked the matchet from here.'

    B: 'No, I haven't picked (it).'

    A: 'You picked (it). Look! It's the one you've left behind you.'

In the underlined clauses, the Subject, Predicator and Negogiator are deployed together as the crucial elements in arguing about the polarity values of the proposition presented in the first turn by Speaker A. They are the three most important elements in Dagaare interpersonal grammar and, together, they form the Mood base in the clause. The remaining elements in the clause such as Complement and Adjunct will just be called Residue (but see Section 4.3.4.2

(a)

ĩ̃	*nyɛrɛ*	*na*
1SG	see.IPFV	AFFR
Subject	Predicator	Negotiator
Mood		

'I (can) see.' (*The stroy of Jesus*)

(b)

ĩ̃	*wob*	*a*	*bome*	*aŋa*	*bɪ*
1SG	pick	DEF	thing.PL	these	INT
Subject	Predicator	Complement			Negotiator
Mood		Residue			

'Should I pick these things?'

Figure 4.2: The Modal structure of the Dagaare clause

on mood Adjuncts). The basic mood structure of the Dagaare clause is illustrated in Figure 4.2.In example (a), the clause is made up of only the Mood base while the clause in example (b) consists of both the Mood base and a Residue element, realised by the Complement. It must be emphasised that the prominence of the elements in the Mood base relative to other elements in the clause is due to (i) the special interpersonal meaning they carry in the clause (Section 4.4.2) and (ii) their salience in determining mood contrast (Section 4.4). It should also be noted that, as with other systemic functional accounts of grammar (e.g. Caffarel 2004; Teruya 2007; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014), the notions Subject, Predicator and Negotiator are used here as functional elements with semantic origins rather than as purely formal categories. Before their semantic aspects are discussed in detail, however, we will first consider the criteria for identifying them in the clause.

(i) Subject. The Subject is formally realised by a noun group or nominal clause. In addition, its typical position is the beginning of the clause, where it precedes the Predicator. The Subjects in the clauses in Figure 4.2 above are both realised by the first person pronoun $\tilde{I}$ ('I'). Figure 4.3 illustrates noun groups in Subject position.

(a) The story of Jesus

A	*fʋ*	*pɔw-yaa*	*kpi*	*na*
DEF	2SG	daughter	die.PFV	AFFR
Subject			Predicator	Negotiator
nominal group			verbal group	
determiner	pronoun	noun	verb	particle

'Your daughter is dead.'

(b) The story of Jesus

Nɪbɛ	*yaga*	*zie*	*de*	*ʋ*	*na*
people	many	place	take.PFV	3SG	AFFR
Subject			Predicator	Complement	Negotiator
nominal group			verbal group	nominal group	
noun	determiner	adposition	verb	pronoun	particle

'Many people have accepted him/her'

(c) The story of Jesus

A	fʋ	Naaŋmɪn	sawfʋ	sanɪ	fʋ	na
DEF	2SG	God	respond.NMLZ	heal.PFV	2SG	AFFR
Subject				Pred.	Compl.	Negotiator
nominal group				verbal group	nominal group	
determiner	pronoun	noun	noun	verb	pronoun	particle

'Your faith in God has healed you.'

Figure 4.3: Noun group and nominal clause in Subject Position

In example (a) and (b), the nominal groups *A fʋ pɔw-yaa* ('your daughter') and *Nɪbɛ yaga zie* ('Many people') function as Subjects. In example (c), the Head of the nominal group (*sawfʋ,* 'response') is a deverbal noun.

(ii)Predicator. The Predicator follows the Subject in the clause and is typically realized by the verbal group (and also verbal group complexes). It is normally marked for grammatical aspect. In many of the examples that have been given in this section so far, the Predicator is realised by verbal groups that consist of a single verb. Other realisations are illustrated in Figure 4.4 below:

(a) Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie 1996

A	Kayɛ	poru	tɪ	maalɪ	vla
DEF	Cain	farms	PST.REM	make.PFV	well
Subject			Predicator		Adjunct
nominal group			verbal group		adverbial group
determiner	noun	noun	particle	verb	adverb

'Cain's farms did well.'

(b) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie 1996*

Nɪr	*za*	*na*	*tvɔ*	*na*	*kʋ́*	*=m*
Person	all	POS.IND.FUT	be:able.PFV	AFFR	kill.PFV	1SG
Subject		Predicator		Negotiator		Complement
nominal group	verbal group				verbal group	nominal group
	particle	verb	particle		verb	pronoun

'Any person can kill me.'

(c)Constructed example

Nɪr	*za*	*kṽ*	*tvɔ*	*kʋ́*	*=m*	*ɛ*
Person	all	NEG.IND.FUT	be:able.PFV	kill.PFV	1SG	NAFFR
Subject		Predicator			Complement	Negotiator
nominal group		verbal group		verbal group	nominal group	
Noun	determiner	particle	verb	verb	pronoun	particle

'Nobody can kill me.'

Figure 4.4: Compound erbal group as Predicator

In example (a), the Predicator is realised by a verbal group, comprising the verb *maalɪ* ('do') and the tense particle *tɪ*, marking remote time. Examples (b) and (c) are an agnate pair of positive and negative clauses respectively. In both clauses, the Predicator is realised by a verbal group, comprising a tense-polarity particle, a catenative verb, *tvɔ* ('be able'), andthe main verb, *kṽ* ('kill'). As example (b) shows, in affirmative clauses, the Negotiator element splits the catenative verb and the main verb. In non-affirmative clauses such as example (c), however, the Negotiator occurs in its typical position, at the end of the clause. This phenomenon also also applies to verbal group complexes (or 'serial verb constructions'). Particles associated with the Predicator are listed in Table 4.2.

In verbless identifying clauses, the Predicator is realised by (i) either an identifying pronoun (viz. *nv* and *na*) or (ii) the particle *nɪ*, a hybrid particle

combining copula and focus meanings. The predication status of both the identifying pronouns and the hybrid particle *nı* in verbless clauses is indicated

Table 4.2. Grammatical categories that occur within the scope of the Predicator

relevant system	features		realisation particle		
			pre-verb	post-verb	
				full	clitic
Mood/Polarity/Tense	indicative	positive future	*na*		
		negative future	*kṽ*		
		negative non-future	*bɛ*		
	imperative: prohibitive	immediate	*ta*		
		non-immediate	*taa*		
Tense		habitual	*mí*		
		remote past	*tı*		
Orientation	duration	range ('until')	*tı*		
	eventuality	eventuality	*wa*		
	directionality	distant	*tı*		
		proximal	*wa*		
Modal assessment	conditional	real	*wa*		
		irrealis	*tı*		
	modality	positive	*naa*		
		neutral modality	*taa*		
		negative	*kṽv*		
Transitivity	agentive	causative			
		instrumentality		*nı*	*=n,=ı*
		comitative			

by their ability to carry particles associated with the Predicator, such as tense (9) and polarity (10) markers:

(10)   *Kvɔra*   ***tı***   ***nv***.

       Farmer   PST.REM   IDENT.SG

       Subject   Predicator

       '**He was** a farmer.'

(11)   *Ɖa*   ***bɛ***   ***nı***   *kpɛ̃ɛ̃*   *ı*.

       DEM   NEG.IND.NFUT   COP.FOC   big   NAFFR

       Subj.   Predicator   Complement   Negotiator

       'This **is not** the big one.'

In (10), the remote tense particle scopes over the identifying pronoun *nʋ* while, in (11), the particle *nɩ* is the locus of the negation. They therefore display verbal characteristics. From a diachronic point of view, the identifying pronouns *nʋ* (singular, neutral) *na* (plural, non-human) developed from a fusion of the identifying copula verb *nɛ* and third person pronouns *ʋ* (singular, neutral) *a* (plural, non-human) respectively, while *nɩ* developed from a further fusion of the identifying pronouns and the attributive copula verb *ɩ*. This diachronic development explains why they display verbal characteristics (see Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017. for details; also see Section 6.5.2.1 on intensive idenfification).

(iii) **Negotiator**: The Negotiator is realized by negotiation markers. As mentioned earlier, itis realised as a juncture prosody, occurring at the beginning or the end of the clause, that is, key points of the clause as a move. Negotiation markers are a closed system of grammatical words and they are listed in Table 4.10 in Section 4.5.3.

4.3.2   Meaning of Elements in the Mood Base

As mentioned above, the elements in the interpersonal structure of the clause have semantic origins. The previous section focused on describing the formal characteristics of the elements in the Mood base. This section will discuss the different, although related, discourse meanings each of them contribute in making the clause an interactive unit of grammar. The Negotiator will be discussed first.

4.3.2.1 Negotiator

As its name suggests, it is that element which enacts the proposition or proposal as a move. One strategy by which speakers make a proposition or proposal negotiable is to take a subjective stance and invite the listener to agree or disagree, confirm or contradict, challenge or respond to the stance or invitation. The Negotiator grounds the proposition within the semantic space open to speaker and listener as something that can be negotiated. It is also the most salient element in showing delicate mood contrasts in the clause.

There are two types of negotiation particles: (a) those that are obligatory for showing mood contrasts, specifically in indicative clauses (example 12) and (b) those that are optional indicators of the attitude of the speaker (example 13). Negotiator elements realised by the former category will indicate whether the clause is a declarative or an interrogative and, in declarative clauses, whether it is affirmative or non-affirmative (cf. Section 4.4.1). Negotiation particles that are soley attitudinal, on the other hand, indicate the intersubjective stance of the speaker towards the proposition and/or the listener. Illustrations are given below:

(12)   St. Maria play

        Host: *Nɩ*   *dɩ*   *na*   **wɛ**?

                      2PL   eat.PFV AFFR   INT

        Visitors: *vʋ.*

        Host: 'You have eaten, **right**?'

        Visitors: 'Yes'

(13)   St. Maria play

        ĩ   *pɔw-yaa,*   **na**   *yɛ́rɛ*   *ĩ*   *zie.*

        1SG   daughter   EXH   talk.IPFV   1SG   place

        'My daughter, **please** talk to me.'

In (12), the clause final particle *wɛ* mark the clause as an interrogative clause and without it the clause will read as a declarative clause. At the same time, it also shows that the speaker is biased towards a positive answer to the question, thereby also encoding the speaker's attitude in the clause, as it were. The clause initial particle *na* in (13), on the other hand, only modulates the proposal realized by the imperative clause by exhorting the addressee. Unlike the interrogative particle, it is not needed to mark the clause as an imperative.

In summary, the definition of the Negotiator element can be summarised from what Halliday (e.g. Halliday, 1996; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) calls a trinocular perspective: (i) from below the clause, it is realised by negotiation particles; (ii) around the clause, it occurs at the end or towards the end of the clause and combines with the Subject and Predicator to show mood contrast; (iii) semantically, it enacts a proposition as a negotiable unit either by

grounding the clause within the semantic space of speech function and/or by marking the intersubjective stance of the speaker in relation to the proposition or the listener. Negotiation will be discussed in detail in Section 4.5.3.

4.3.2.2 Predicator

This section proceeds to consider the Predicator. The Predicator is the locus of the predicated clause, that which is stated, offered, demanded or questioned about the Subject. As mentioned earlier, it is realised by a verbal group, and, in verbless clauses, by an identifying pronoun (i.e. *nv* or *na*) or the hybrid particle *nɩ* and contributes to establishing the validity and arguability of the proposition. The specific function of the Predicator is that it is the domain for the realisation of six experiential (i-vi) and three interpersonal (vi-viii) meanings in the clause (Table 4.2):

i.   It specifies the process that is predicated of the Subject; whether it is, for example, an activity, a happening, a saying, thought or being (cf. Chapter 6).

ii. It specifies the aspect of the Process, realised by a verb, whether it is bounded as a unified event (i.e. perfective) or unbounded as a fluid, incomplete event (i.e. imperfective) (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.2).

iii. It specifies the temporal orientation of the speaker towards the speech event, whether the event is regarded as an eventuality or ranged over time (i.e. durative).

iv. It indicates directionality, whether the process is viewed as distant or proximal to the speaker.

v.   It indicates the agentivity (i.e. causation, instrumentality & comitation) of the process; specifying, for instance, whether a participant is an Initiator/Agent, Instrument or an Accompaniment in carrying out the process (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2).

vi. It specifies the time of the event relative to the time of speech (i.e. tense), including a primary tense distinction between future and non-future and a secondary tense distinction between habitual and remote past.

vii.   It indicates the primary mood of the clause, whether it is indicative or imperative (cf. Section 4.4).

viii. It specifies the polarity of the clause, whether it is positive or negative (cf. Section 4.5.1).

ix.   It indicates the speaker's assessment of the speech event through: (a) modal probability and desirability (cf. Section 4.5.2); and (b) by stating the contingencies for enforcing the event, whether it is real or unreal (i.e. conditionality).

Whereas points (i) and (ii), on process type and aspect respectively, are realised by the verb(s) in the verbal group realising the Predicator, the other meanings are realised by particles in pre-verb and post-verb positions. These particles are presented in Table 4.2 in Section 4.4.1 above. Also note that, as indicated in Table 4.2, the realisation of polarity, primary mood (i.e indicative versus imperative) and tense intersect in Dagaare, with the exception of remote past and habitual tenses. Thus, points (v), (vii) and (viii) are simultaneously realised by the same particles. MOOD is discussed in Section 4.4 while POLARITY and MODALITY are discussed in Section 4.5.

The picture presented by the various grammatical meanings realised by the Predicator is that it carries much of the burden of making the proposition valid and arguable. It brings the proposition down to earth by relating it to accessible state of affairs or circumstances in the speech context. Listeners, therefore, can evaluate these circumstances and confirm, deny, interrogate or challenge the proposition. For instance, through tense, the speaker anchors the proposition in a specific temporal circumstance which can be verified by listeners to be valid or not.

It should be noted that interpreting the Predicator in terms of validity, as has been done here, is not the same as interpreting it in terms of truth conditions. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) note, interpreting the meaning of the Predicator in terms of truth conditions will limit its interpersonal power by restricting it to propositions (i.e statements and questions). In proposals, the validity function of the Predicator is reinterpreted as indicating the efficacy of the command or offer. Thus, if its meaning is restricted to truth value, as has

often been done in formal semantics, the speech functions of commands and offers will be excluded.

In summary, the Predicator element is defined from a trinocular perspective as follows: (i) From below, it is typically realised by the verbal group and it is marked for aspect; (ii) within the clause, it combines with the Subject and/orthe Negotiator in showing mood contrast; (iii) from above, in the semantics, it contributes to the validity of a proposition by making it an arguable unit of discourse. In commands and offers, it carries the efficacy of the proposal.

4.3.2.3 Subject

The Subject is also an important interpersonal element of the clause. Together with the Predicator and Negotiator it enacts the interpersonal meaning of the clause as a move. It is the entity "by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:145). For example, in the clause $\tilde{l}$ *saw na* ('I agree'), while the Negotiator *na* affirms the proposition, the Subject, realised by the pronoun $\tilde{l}$ ('I'), shows the entity in respect to which the affirmation is claimed to be valid. In other words, it is the speaker ($\tilde{l}$, 'I') who is modally responsible for the success of the proposition being affirmed. She rests the speech event (*saw*, 'agree') on herself ($\tilde{l}$, 'I') and affirms this (*na*).

There are several ways by which the role of the Subject as the modally responsible entity in the clause can be recognised. One way is to examine the use of personal pronouns in dialogue. In the dialogue between father and daughter in extract (2), the Subject pronouns *fv* ('you') and $\tilde{l}$ ('I'), for instance, serve as *interpersonal deixis* by which the interlocutors shift and negotiate the *modal responsibility* assigned by the predication, from distant viewpoint (*fv*, 'you') to proximal viewpoint $\tilde{l}$ ('I') (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 144, 146). While the father assigns the modal responsibility of the proposition (in this case, the agreement) to the daughter by use of the second person (*fv*, 'you'), the daughter claims this responsibility for herself ($\tilde{l}$, 'I').

The second and perhaps the most noticeable way is to examine offers and commands in discourse. The Subject is the entity that is recognised as the

one responsible for the execution of the proposal. The following commandments from a Bible translation to illustrate this point:

(14) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Fʋ	*kṽ*	*por*	*a*	*ĩ*	*yo-sow*
2SG	NEG.IND.FUT	mention.PFV	DEF	1SG	name-holy

zawla	*ɩ.*				
vain	NAFFR				

'You shall not mention my holy name in vain.'

(15) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Nyɪ	*ta*	*dɔwrɛ*	*a*	*nɪ-saabɛ*		[[*na*
2PL	NEG.IMP	bully-IPFV	DEF	person-stranger.PL		REL

be	*a*	*nyɪ*	*tew*	*pʋɔ*	*a*	*ɩ!*]]
be.PFV	DEF	2PL	town	inside	JUNC	NAFFR

'You should not maltreat the strangers that are in your town.'

In the above clauses, the one responsible for the success of the command realised in example (14) and in example (15) is the respective Subjects in the clauses: *fʋ* ('you', singular) and *nyɪ* ('you', plural). These two elements specify the one who is responsible for executing the command.

Apart from these semantic oriented properties of the Subject, some grammatical mechanisms have been developed in the linguistic literature for identifying more cryptic properties of the Subject within and across languages. These include, among others, its accessibility to relativisation, the ability to trigger reflexives and whether it can be presumed in continuing clauses in paratactic sequences. These mechanisms imply a hierarchy of noun groups in the clause and the Subject in a particular language is the nominal group that occupies the highest rank in this hierarchy based on the grammatical properties of the language in question (cf. Comrie 1989: Ch. 5; Creissels 2000: 232-236). Keenan and Comrie (1977; 1979), for instance, indentified a hierarchy among elements in the clause based on their accessibility to relativisation and noted a universal tendency where other elements in the clause such as the Complement can only be relativized if the Subject can also be relativised. In some languages such as Malagasy (Austronesian: Malayo-

Polynesian) only the Subject is accessible to relativisation (Comrie 1989: 156). As noted in Chapter 3 (cf. Section 3.4.3), in Dagaare, both the Subject and Complement can be relativised. Thus, on this parameter, both occupy the highest hierarchy among the elements in the clause. On the second parameter however, only the Subject in Dagaare triggers reflexives. Thus, in the following imperative clause, where there is no overt Subject, speakers of the language will understand that the reflexive nominal group *fʋ tvɔra* refers to the implicit Subject, the addressee, rather than a second party.

(16)   The story of Jesus

Dɔkta	*a,*	*sanɪ*	***fʋ***	***tvɔra!***
doctor	JUNC	heal.PFV	2SG	self

'Doctor, heal yourself!'

Also, only the Subject can be presumed in paractactic sequences. In other words, as in English and many other languages, when two clauses, namely a transitive clause (17) and an intransitive clause (18), are coordinated, it is only the Subject that can be ellipted as an implicit element in the second clause (19) (cf. Comrie 1989: 112).

(17)

A	*pobile*	*ŋmɛ*	*=n*	*a*	*bie.*
DEF	young man	beat.PFV	FOC	DEF	child

'The young man beat the child.'

(18)

A	*pobile*	*zɔ*	*na.*
DEF	young man	run.PFV	AFFR

'The young man ran.'

(19)

||| *A*	*pobile*	*ŋmɛ*	*=n*	*a*	*bie*	*//*
DEF	young man	beat.PFV	FOC	DEF	child	

ɛ	*zɔ.*|||
CONJ	run.PFV

'The young man beat the child and ran.'

Thus, in (19), the addressee understands that it is the Subject of the first clause, *a pobile* ('young man') and not the Complement, *a bie* ('the child'), who did the running construed by the second clause. As Comrie (1989: 112)

notes, in some languages such as Yidiny (Pama-Nyungan: Yidiny), the second clause would be understood as 'and the child ran'. The implication of the Dagaare example is that the Subjectis the nominal group with the highest degree of bond with the Predicator and the element with the highest ability to control cryptic mechanisms in the clause.

The privileged status of the Subject in the Dagaare clause is further shown by the fact that, except in unmarked imperative clauses where the addressee is a single interactant (see example (16)), the Subject must always be present in every clause. In other words, typically, the Complement cannot occur in a clause without the Subject. Thus, elliptical constructions in English such as *Cutting it* for *I'm cutting it* and *Cutting it?* for *Are you cutting it?* are not possible in Dagaare. On the other hand, *I'm cutting* and *Are you cutting*, where the Complement is ellipted, are perfectly acceptable. As in (20), the Subject can be a "dummy" one, realised by the third person non-human pronoun *a* (equivalent to empty-*it* in English), particularly with verbs of necessity such as *fɛr* and *sɛw*:

(20)   The story of Jesus

      A   *fɛr*   =a   [...].

      3PL.NHM   be:necessary   AFFR   [...]

      'It is necessary ….'

Here, the dummy Subject together with the Predicator enacts the proposition as a need, a form of (impersonal) modulation. Modal responsibility is assigned to a kind of 'grammatical effigy', as it were; something not out there in world of experience. This dummy Subject fulfils the grammatical requirement that every Dagaare clause must take a Subject, except for an imperative clause whose implied Subject is a single interactant (cf. Section 4.4.2). In short, the point made here is that, while Dagaare lacks agreement systems between between Subject and Finite, as in English and other Germanic languages, or between Subject and pronominal prefixes in the verbal group, as in some African languages such as those of the Bantu family (cf. Watters 2000: 201-202; Matthiessen 2004), there are still cryptic properties of the Subject that distinguishes it as a salient interpersonal element that is set apart from other

nominal groups. It can be defined from a trinocular perspective as follows: (i) from below the clause, it is realised by a nominal group; (ii) from a roundabout perspective, it occurs at the beginning of the clause and combines with the Predicator and Negotiator to form the Mood base of the clause; (iii) from above, that is, semantically, it is the nub of the argument in the proposition or the modally responsible entity in both propositions and proposals.

4.3.3   Function of the Mood Base

We now summarise the function of the Mood base as a unified block in the interpersonal structure of the clause. From the discussion so far, it is clear that the Dagaare clause has got a distinct interpersonal identity. In this interpersonal structure, the Mood base is an essential semantic component. It carries the burden of the clause as an interactive unit of exchange in three ways: (i) by indicating the modal responsibility of proposals or of the verbal event in a proposition through the Subject; (ii) by characterising the clause as an arguable unit through the combination of Subject and Predicator; and (iii) by specifying the negotiation value of the clause through the Negotiator element (if any).

When we consider these meanings from above in the semantic stratum, we observe that they are *prosodic*. That is, whether any of them is marked at the beginning, medial or final position of the clause, it is diffused throughout the clause to give it an interpersonal character. However, they can also be considered from a roundabout perspective to see how the various elements in the prosody of the clause relate to one another in order to realise these meanings. From this point of view, it can be observed that, in Dagaare, both the initial and the final positions of the clause are interpersonally prominent, with the Subject and Predicator occurring at the beginning of the clause, and the Negotiator at or towards the end of the clause, where the speaker is potentially about to hand over the turn to the other interlocutor. Another function of the Mood base is that it indicates mood contrast in the clause. MOOD will be discussed in detail and illustrated in Section 4.4.

4.3.4 Other Elements in the Interpersonal Structure of the Clause

As mentioned earlier, the interpersonal structure of the clause is made up of the Mood base and a Residue element. This section will discuss the realisation and meaning of the elements in the Residue, namely, Complement and Adjunct. The section will also discuss the form and function of Vocatives.

4.3.4.1 Complement

Similar to the Subject, the Complement is realised by nominal groups. These different realisations are illustrated below in Figure 4.5:

(a) Noun as Complement

Bɛ	*wa*	*=n*	*nı*	*pɔlı-kılınık*
3PL.HM	come.PFV	CAUS	FOC	poly-clinic
Subject	Predicator			Complement
nominal group	verbal group			nominal group
pronoun	verb	particle	particle	noun

'They brought a poly-clinic.' (Political opinion interview)

(b) Adjectival noun as Complement

A	*tew*	*tı*	*ı*	*=n*	*vuo*
DEF	earth	PST.REM	COP	FOC	hollow
Subject		Predicator			Complement
nominal group		verbal group			nominal group
determiner	noun	particle	verb	particle	noun

'The earth was hollow.'(*Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* 1996)

(c) Noun group as Complement

Bɛ	*wa*	*=n*	*nı*	*sukuul*	*yaga*
3PL.HM	come	CAUS	FOC	school	many
Subject	Predicator			Complement	
nominal group	verbal group			nominal group	
pronoun	verb	particle	particle	noun	determiner

'They brought many schools.' (Political opinion interview)

(d) Pronoun as Complement

ĩ	*nyɛ̃*	*v*	*na*
1SG	see.PF	3SG	AFFR
Subject	Predicator	Complement	Negotiator
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	
pronoun	verb	pronoun	particle

'I've seen him.' (The story of Jesus)

Figure 4.5: Realisations of Complement

132

As in many other languages, clauses such as benefactive clauses can have up to two Complements:

Bɛ	*kʋ̀*	*tɪ*	*nɪ*	*dɪsɪrɪt*
3PL.HM	give.PFV	1PL	FOC	district
Subject	Predicator	Complement		Complement
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group		nominal group
pronoun	verb	pronoun	particle	noun

'They gave us a district.' (Political opinion interview)

Figure 4.6: Example of two Complements in one clause

In addition, as mentioned earlier (see Section 4.4.1), the Complement is not an interpersonally prominent element in the Dagaare clause and is part of the Residue component of the clause structure. Unlike in English, it has no potential of being elevated to the status of Subject in the clause in which it occurs since Dagaare does not have the grammatical system of VOICE (but see Chapter 6; Section 6.7.2.1 on middle clauses). However, when the Complement is selected as marked Focus in the clause, it is placed clause initially as the Subject of a thematic equative clause (see Figure 4.7). This phenomenon is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 (cf. Section 5.4.2.1 on thematic equatives).

Dɪsɪrɪt	*nʋ*	*bɛ*	*kʋ̀*	*tɪ.*
district	IDENT.SG	3PL.HM	give.PFV	1PL
Subject	Predicator	Subject	Predicator	Complement
nominal group	nominal group	nominal group	verbal group	nominal group
noun	ident. pronoun	pronoun	verb	pronoun

'It is a district they gave us.'

Figure 4.7: Complement as marked Theme

Thus, the Complement in the Dagaare clause is a textually prominent element. In the unmarked case, it is normally placed at the end of the clause as potentially new information. It is considered key in setting the background of the discourse in any exchange. However, once the Complement becomes given and established as a taken for granted background, speakers have the

choice of ellipting it in subsequent clauses to give prominence to negotiation at the end of the clause (but see Chapter 6, Section 6.7.1 for exceptions). We will discuss this phenomenon in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3.4.2 Adjunct

The Adjunct is realised by adverbial groups (including ideophones) and mood particles (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.3). Three types of Adjuncts can be identified in the clause, based on their metafunctional meaning. These are interpersonal Adjuncts, experiential Adjuncts, and textual Adjuncts. These are illustrated in Figure 4.8 below:

(a) Experiential Adjunct of manner

A	*cere*	*nɪ*	***galmɛ***
3PL.NHM	go.IPFV	FOC	zigzag
Subject	Predicator		Adjunct
nominal group	verbal group		adverbal group
pronoun	verb	particle	adverb

'It is going zigzag.' (Political opinion interview 2)

(b) Experiential Adjunct (of degree)

A	*nʋmɛ*	*nɪ*	***paa***
3PL.NHM	be.sweet.IPFV	FOC	very
Subject	Predicator		Adjunct
nominal group	verbal group		adverbial group
pronoun	verb	particle	adverb

'It is very sweet.' (St. Maria play)

(c) Textual Adjunct (continuative)

Alɛ	*tɪ*	*na*	*ír*	a
then	1PL	POS.FUT	get up	AFFR
Adjunct	Subject	Predicator		Negotiator
adverbial group	nominal group	verbal group		
adverb	pronoun	particle	verb	particle

'Then, we will get up (= Well, we ask permission to leave).' (St. Maria play)

(d) Interpersonal Adjunct (of attitude)

Yél -mɪŋa	*na*	*ɛ̃*
truth	IDENT.SG	ADV
Subject	Predicator	(mood) Adjunct
nominal group	nominal group	adverbial group
pronoun	ident. pronoun	adverbial particle

'It is true anyway.' (St. Maria play)

Figure 4.8: Types of Adjuncts by metafunction

While circumstantial and textual Adjuncts function as circumstances in the ideational structure of the clause, mood Adjuncts supplement elements in the Mood base in realising negotiation and arguability in the clause. Circumstantial Adjuncts are realised by adverbials of time, place, manner, degree, etc. Textual Adjuncts are realised adverbial conjunctions such as *alɛ, a lɛ na* ('then'), *a puori,* ('afterwards'), *al puori* ('after that'), *tɔɔ* ('well'), *pãa* ('then' 'now') and *mì* ('also')(cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.3 on adverbs)

Interpersonal or mood Adjuncts are realised by two sub-classes of adverbs. The first is the two synonymous modal adverbs *kaapaw* and *a mɪnɛ kàw* ('maybe', 'probably'):

(21)   Workshop interview

Kaapaw,	*bɛ*	*mí*	*cen*	*na*	*tɪ*	*zanɪ*
maybe	3PL.HM	HAB	go.PFV	AFFR	DIST	learn.PFV

bãwfʋ	*kàw*	*zie*	*kàw.*
knowledge	some	place	some

'Maybe, they go to learn some knowledge somewhere.'

The second group is modal adverbial particles such as *ɛ̃* in Figure 4.9 (example d) and also *nɔŋ* ('maybe', probably)*, yaa* ('even') and *tɔɔ* ('well'). Most of the adverbial particles listed in Chapter 3 belong to this category (cf. Section 3.4.2.3).The difference between adverbial particles and attitude-oriented negotiators is that the adverbial particles are versatile and are relatively mobile, as example (22) shows:

(22a)	*ĩ̀*	***ende***	*cere*	*na.*
	1SG.EMP	MOD	go.IPFV	AFFR

'I am going, anyway.'

(22b)	*ĩ̀*	*cere*	*na*	***ende.***
	1SG.EMP	go.IPFV	AFFR	MOD

'I am going, anyway.'

The boundary between the two is, however, fuzzy rather than discrete and particles such as *yaa* and *mɔ̀* are identified among negotiation markers and adverbial particles. Like attitude-oriented negotiators, mood Adjuncts indicate

the attitude of the speaker in the clause. Let's examine the use of *mɔ̀* as a mood Adjunct in the following extract, taken from a report by a female farmer at a workshop:

(23)   Workshop report 7

‖‖ *Soo*	*a*	*sɔn*	*'wɔb*	*a*	*a*	*tı*	*bɛw-kalsırı*
SO	DEF	rabbits	chew	AFFR	DEF	1PL	beans
baar	*a*	*za*	*kpɛlɛ.* ‖	*Soo,*	*a*	*lɛ*	*na*
finish	DEF	all	complete	SO	DEF	DEM	IDENT.PL
tı	*bɔbr*		‖	*ɛ*	*sɛ*	***mɔ̀***	*tı*	*yèl* ‖
1PL	want.PFV			PROJ	PROJ	ADV	1PL	say.PFV
mɔ̀	*tĩı*	*wa*	*tı*	*kvɔr*		*a*	*al*	*a,* ‖
ADV	1PL.EMP	EVT	1PL	farm.IPFV		DEF	DEM	JUNC
tĩı	*ı*	***mɔ̀***	‖	*tı*	*ı*	*a*	*nı*	*dabaala*
1PL	do.PFV	ADV		1PL	do.PFV	3PL.NHM	FOC	something
kàw. ‖‖ *Tĩı*		*kàw*	*ŷaw*	[…]. ‖‖				
some medicine		some	put.PFV					

'So the rabbits completely chewed all our beans. So that is why we want like to say like when we are cultivating those ones, we should like do something about them. Some medicine should be put (in the plants).'

The preponderance of the modal adverb *mɔ̀* in the extract enacts the report as a highly modulated text. This reflects the tenor relationship between a rural female farmer and the group of male agricultural experts she is addressing in a male dominanted society.

4.3.4.3 Vocative
The last element of the interpersonal structure of the clause we will consider is the Vocative. Unlike Complements and Adjuncts, the Vocative is peripheral to the internal unity of the clause of which the Predicator is the nucleus (see also Section 4.4.5.2 on minor clauses). Nonetheless, it is an important interpersonal element.) It "reinforce[s] the 'you-and-me' dimension" of the exchange (Halliday & Matthiessen: 2014: 160). In the Dagaare clause, the Vocative is

realised by nominal groups, including proper names (e.g. *Ayɔɔ*), nicknames, kinship terms (e.g. *baba,* 'dad'; *mama,* 'mum', *saakʋm,* 'grandpa'; *makʋm,* 'grandma'; *saabile,* 'younger father'/'uncle'; *mabile,* 'younger mother'/'aunt'; *pʋre,* 'aunt'; *ɩ dɪɛm,* 'my in-law'; *yentaa,* 'rival' etc.), honorific titles (e.g. Chief); descriptive terms (e.g. *pɔwle,* 'young lady'; *pɔwsɪra,* 'young woman'; *pobile,* 'gentleman'; *dɔɔ,* 'man'; *pɔw,* 'woman'; *Seli ma,* 'Celestina's mother', etc.), and emphatic pronouns (i.e. *fʋʋ,* singular; *nyɪɩm,* plural).

Some kinship or intimate familial terms used as Vocatives (or address terms) may not necessarily reflect the kind of relationship between the speaker and the addressee. They may just be used to show culturally conditioned respect and endearment. For instance, a woman can address the bothers-in-law, cousins-in-law and nephews-in-law as *ɩ sɪr* ('my husband') and, in turn, receive the address *ɩ̃ pɔw* ('my wife'). Also, a married woman and a male friend or her husband's close friend will normally address each other as *ɩ̃ sɛn* ('my boyfriend/girlfriend'), while children address their paternal uncles as *Baba* ('Dad'). This situation shows the high intimacy among members in traditional Dagara communities. As Figure 4.9 shows, Vocatives can be reinforced with negotiation through final vowel lengthening (see example 24) or vowel insertion (see example 25).
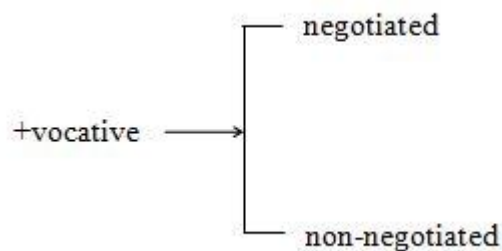
Figure 4.9: A system network for negotiation in Vocatives

Examples of Vocatives are illustrated in the following extracts (Vocatives are in bold):

(24) St. Maria play

Ayɔɔ	***ɔ,***	*fʋ*	*saw*	*na*	*ɩ̃*	*wob*	*ɩ?*
Ayour	VOC	2SG	agree.PFV	AFFR	1SG	pick.PFV	INT

'Ayour, do you agree (that) I pick these things?'

(25)   The stroy of Jesus

Bibiir	*i,*	*nyı*	*wa*		*yi*	*yow*
children	VOC	2PL.EMP	come.PFV		go:out	outside

fɔŋ	*lɛ*!
quickly	ADV

'Children, you should go out very quickly!'

Negotiation in Vocatives is an amplification strategy. However, to the extent that Vocatives may be negotiated shows the pervasiveness of negotiation in the interpersonal grammar of Dagaare. The importance of Vocatives lies in building social roles and relationships in dialogue. As mentioned earlier, they are outside the internal structure of the clause, composed of the Mood base and Residue.

4.4   MOOD as a System

In Section 4.2, we discussed the semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION and identified that the main speech functions realised by the clause are statement, question, offer and command. We also noted that statements and questions are respectively oriented towards giving and demanding information (i.e. propositions) while offer and command are respectively oriented towards giving and demanding goods-&-services (i.e. proposals). In the preceding section (Section 4.3), we noted that the core elements of the Mood base, namely Subject, Predicator and Negotiator, are essential in determining the particular speech function the clause is, by default, oriented towards. In other words, these three elements generally determine mood contrast in the clause.

In this Section, we will discuss the mood contrasts in Dagaare in detail. Although studies have revealed similar mood contrasts cross-linguistically, there is often language specific variation as the contrasts extent in delicacy as well as in the specific lexicogrammatical realisations of various mood types (Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008). The system network in Figure 4.11 shows the different mood types in the Dagaare clause. As in other languages, the primary distinction is between indicative and imperative.

These primary mood types are distinguished by the mood elements that are obligatory in their basic realisation (see Figure 4.11). While the Subject and Predicator are obligatory in every indicative clause, it is only the Predicator that is obligatory in every imperative clause. In other words, every indicative clause must have at least a Subject and a Predicator and every imperative clause must have at least the Predicator element. The presence or absence of the Negotiator in the indicative type and the specific particle that realises it will show delicate mood contrasts. On the other hand, the presence or absence of Subject and Negotiator in the imperative mood type and their lexicogrammatical realisations will also show finer imperative mood distinctions. It is important to reiterate that each mood type is defined from a trinocular perspective: (i) from above by the speech function it typically realises; (ii) from below the clause by its lexico-grammatical realisation and (iii) from roundabout by how the elements in the clause relate with one another. We will start our discussion with the indicative mood type. Delicate distinctions in the imperative mood type are given in Section 4.4.

4.4.1   Indicative

As mentioned above, the indicative mood by default realises the speech functions of statements and questions; that is, propositions. All indicative clauses take a Subject and a Predicator, while the presence or absence of the Negotiator element depends on the particular type of the indicative clause (cf. Figure 4.10). The secondary distinction in the indicative mood is between declarative (Section 4.4.1.1) and interrogative (Section 4.4.1.2) clauses. More delicate contrasts in these two types are shown in Figure 4.10.

4.4.1.1 Declarative Clauses

As its name suggests, the declarative mood typically realises the general speech function of giving information (i.e. statements). This mood type has two further contrasts, namely the affirmative and non-affirmative clauses. The distinction among these delicate mood types is indicated by the different particles that realise the Negotiator element.

139

(i) Affirmative clauses

The affirmative clause is a declarative mood type that asserts the proposition given by the speaker. It can be identified structurally as typically consisting of Subject ^ Predicator ^ (Negotiator). The Negotiator element in the affirmative clause is realised by the particle *na*, which occurs towards the end of the clause. An example of the affirmative clause is given in the exchange below (relevant Negotiator in bold):

(26) St. Maria play

A: *Fʋ*   *wɔ̃*   *=n*   *a*   *lɛ*   [[*ʋ*   *na*

    2SG   hear.PFV   FOC   DEF   DEM   she   REL

    yèl   *a*]]?

    say.PFV   JUNC

B: *ĩ́*   *wɔ̃*   *a*   ***na***.

    1SG   hear   3PL.NHM   AFFR

A: 'You heard THAT WHICH SHE SAID (= 'You heard WHAT SHE SAID?)'

B: 'I heard it.'
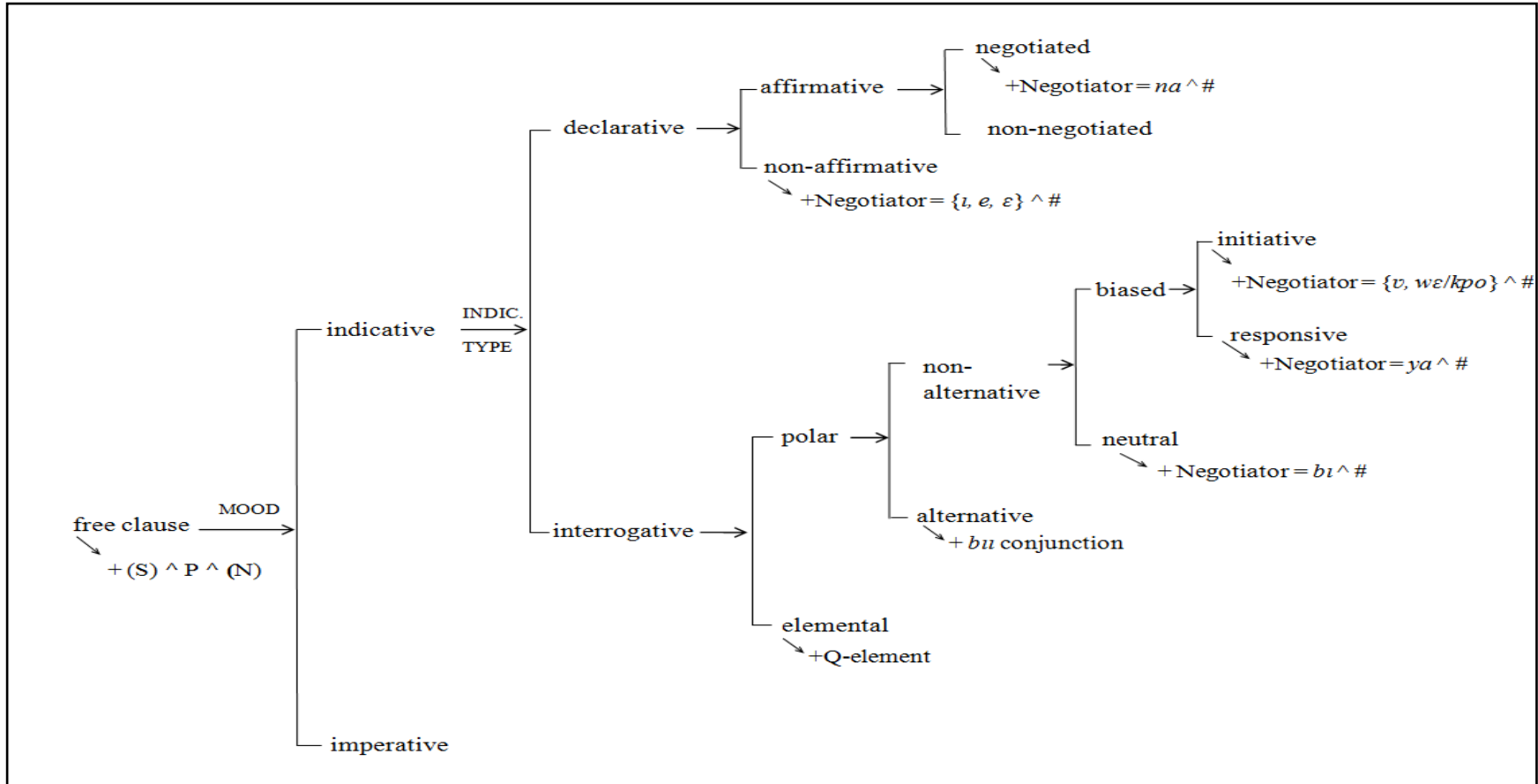
Figure 4.10: A system network of MOOD

Here, Speaker B asserts the proposition realised by the clause by ending the utterance with the affirmative particle *na*. It must be noted that the Subject and Predicator elements combine with the Negotiator *na* to characterize the clause as affirmative. It should be noted also that Speaker A's utterance is an indirect question realised by an affirmative clause (cf. Section 4.4.4 on mood metaphor). The absence of the affirmative particle, is however, conditioned by the presence of end focus. In other words, when there is a focused Complement or Adjunct in the clause, the affirmative particle does not occur. The underlined clauses in (27) below further illustrate this phenomenon:

(27)   St. Maria play

Father: *Pãa*   *mí*   *bɛr*   *ɛ*   *cɛlɛ*   *a*
        now   also   stop.PFV   CONJ   listen.IPFV   DEF

        fʋ   *yéle* !
        2SG   matter.

Son: *Ũʋ*?
       'yes'

Father: *Fʋ*   *mí*   *ta*   **na.**
        2SG   also   reach.PFV   AFFR

Mother: *Fʋ*   *mí*   *ta*   =***n***   *pɔw*   *kulu*.
               2SG   also   reach.PFV   FOC   wife   marry.NMLZ

Father: 'Now, you stop (talking) too and listen to you matter.'

Son: 'Yes?'

Father: 'You too have reached.'

Mother: 'You too have reached MARRIAGE.'

In the first underlined clause, the Complement is not realised and thus the Negotiator is realised by the affirmative particle, *na.* In the last clause, however, the Complement is realised, *pɔw kulu* ('marrying a wife') and it is focused by the enclitic from of the focus particle *nı* and, correspondingly, the Negotiator is not realised. Mood contrast between the affirmative and non-affirmative clause is, however, still maintained. The absence of the Negotiator element is compensated for by the fact that the focus particle, *nı*, does not

occur in non-affirmative clauses and thus serves as a distinctive feature of the affirmative clause. This phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (cf. Sections 5.4.1 & 5.4.4).

(ii) Non-affirmative clauses

The non-affirmative clause contrasts with the affirmative clause. It shows that the proposition it realises is non-assertive. Syntactically, it is realised by the structure Subject ^ Predicator ^ Negotiator. Thus, unlike in the affirmative clause, the Negotiator element is always present in the non-affirmative clause. Characterised from below on the rank scale, the Negotiator is realised by one of the following particles: *e*, *ε*, *ı*, depending on the advanced tongue root [ATR] value of the preceding word. One dialectal difference between the Lobr and Ngmere ('Central Dagaare') dialects is that the Negotiator is not realised in non-affirmative clauses in the Ngmere dialect. This difference is illustrated by the following dialectal pair of clauses (Negotiator in bold):

(28a)   Junior High School Book 3   (Central Dagaare)

O	*da*	*ba*	*nɔŋ*	*a*	*nembɛrɛ*
3SG	PST.REM	NEG.IND.NFUT	like.PFV	DEF	elders

yéle .
matter
'S/he didn't like the elders.'

(28b)   author's translation   (Lobr)

U	*bɛ*	*tı*	*nɔw*	*a*	*nı-bɛrɛ*	.
3SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	PST.REM	like.PFV	DEF	elders	

yéle   *ı*
matter   NAFFR
'S/he didn't like the elders.'

As indicated above, the selection of any of the non-affirmative particles depends on the principle of [ATR] vowel harmony, based on the word that immediately precedes the Negotiator (see Table 4.3). This implies that the particle always forms phonological word with the adjacent word (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3). Grammatically, however, it is neither attached to the

preceding word as an enclitic nor to any word class such as the verb as an affix. It always occurs as the final item of the clause irrespective of the class of the preceding word. In (29) below, for instance, it occurs after a proper noun:

(29) Ʊ   bɛ   tɪ   nɔw   Peter **ɪ.**

      3SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   PST.REM like.PFV   Peter   NAFFR

      'S/he didn't like Peter.'

Table 4.3. Realisations of the Negotiator in non-affirmative clauses

word preceding Negotiator		particle realising Negotiator			
final syllable	**Ending with**	**[-ATR]**		**[+ATR]**	
		phonetic form	orthographic form	phonetic form	orthographic form
plus coda (closed)		/ɛ/	ɛ	/e/	e
minus coda (open)	/ʊ/, /aʊ/, /ɪ/	/ɛɪ/	ɛ		
	/e/, /o/			/i/	ɪ
	other vowels	/ɪ/	ɪ	/ei/	e

The discussion proceeds to account for the specific phonological environments that condition the different realisations of the non-affirmative particle, as presented in Table 4.3. First, when the vowel of the immediately preceding word is [-ATR] vowel, the Negotiator is realised by *ɛ* or *ɪ*. Generally, *ɪ* occurs in instances where the preceding word ends with an open syllable. Illustrations are given below (Negotiator is in bold):

(30) The story of Jesus

      ĩ̃   bɛ   tɛr   tɔ   **ɪ.**

      1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   possess.PFV   equal   NAFFR

      'I don't have an equal.'

(31) The story of Jesus

      Ʊ   bɛ   tɪ   dɪ   bom   za   **ɪ.**

      3SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   PST.REM eat.PFV   thing   all   NAFFR

      'S/he had not eaten anything.'

(32) St. Maria play

ʊ	bɛ	ɣ́awnɛ	nɪbɛ	ɪ.
3SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	respect.IPFV	people	NAFFR

'S/he doesn't respect people.'

Phonologically, ɛ has two realisations: [ɛ] and [ɛɪ]. When the word preceding the Negotiator ends with a closed syllable, it generally attracts [ɛ]:

(33) The story of Jesus

Nyɪ	kṽ	bãw	a	pɛr	ɛ.
2PL	NEG.IND.FUT	know.PFV	DEF	bottom	NAFFR

'You won't know the meaning.'

(34) St. Maria Play

Fʋ	bɛ	tɛr	pɛr	ɛ.
2SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	possess	bottom	NAFFR

'You are useless.'

(35) The story of Jesus

A	ʋ	naalʋ	kṽ	tɛr	baarʋ
DEF	3SG	kingship	NEG.IND.FUT	possess	finishing

daar	ɛ.
time	NAFFR

'His kingship will have no end.'

On the other hand, for words with open syllables in which the final vowel is /ʊ/, /aʊ/ or /ɪ/, the Negotiator is realised as [ɛɪ] but represented orthographically as ɛ, as the following examples show:

(36) The story of Jesus

A	Farazɪɛ	bɛ	nʋ	ɛ.
DEF	Pharisee	NEG.IND.NFUT	IDENT.SG	NAFFR

'It is not the Pharisee.'

(37) St. Maria play

ĩ	bɛ	bãw	ɛ.
1SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	know	NAFFR

'I don't know.'

145

(38)   St. Maria play

Bɛ   kṽ   dı   ɛ.

3PL.HM   NEG.IND.FUT   eat.PFV   NAFFR

'They won't eat.'

Similarly, three choices are open to non-affirmative clauses with lexical items ending with [+ATR] vowels. Here, when the preceding word ends with a closed syllable, the Negotiator is realised by the particle *e*:

(39)   The story of Jesus

Ĩ   bɛ   kpɛ   mimir   e.
1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   enter   eye   NAFFR

'I am not mean.'

(40)   The story of Jesus

Bɛ   mì   kṽ   bãw   a   nyı   dem

3PL.HM   also   NEG.IND.FUT   know.PFV   DEF   2PL   own

e.

NAFFR

'They will also not remember yours (your sins).'

(41)   The story of Jesus

Nyı   kṽ   nyɛ̃   bom   e.
2PL   NEG.IND.FUT   see.PFV   thing   NAFFR

You will not see anything.

In non-affirmative clauses with final words generally ending with an open syllable, the Negotiator is realised as [ei], but also represented orthographically as *e*:

(42)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Bɛ   bɛ   tı   zɔrɛ   taar

3PL.HM   NEG.IND.NFUT   PST.REM   fear.IPFV   each other

vi   e.

shy   NAFFR

'They were not shy of each other.'

(43) The story of Jesus

Fʋ	bɛ	cir	kaa	nyuu	nyaw	a	ĩ
2SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	pour.PFV	oil	scent	put	DEF	1SG

zu	e.
head	NAFFR

'You didn't pour perfume on my head.'

Further, in non-affirmative clauses with final words ending with the vowels /e/ or /o/ in open syllables, the Negotiator is realised as [i]; represented orthographically as ɩ:

(44) St. Maria play

Ulɛ	bɛ	so	a	tome	ɩ.
3SG.EMP	NEG.IND.NFUT	own.PFV	DEF	work.NMLZ	NAFFR

'S/he doesn't own the work.'

(45) Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie (1996)

A	nɩsaalɛ	bɛ	tɩ	ɩ	ʋ	yo
DEF	human being	NEG.IND.NFUT	PST.REMCOP.PFV	3SG	alone	

ɩ.
NAFFR

'The human being was not alone.'

(46) St. Maria play

A	zu	bɛ	tone	ɩ.
DEF	head	NEG.IND.NFUT	work.IPFV	NAFFR

'He is not intelligent.'

As the examples in this section show, the non-affirmative clause intersects with the negative declarative clause, just as the affirmative clause intersects with the positive declarative clause (see Section 4.5.1 on polarity). Thus, in each case, the polarity particle, which precedes the verb, and the mood particle, which occurs at the end of the clause, form a prosody. The clause is predicated by the polarity particle as either negative or positive and it ends with an interpersonal punch, as the speaker potentially hands over the turn. This phenomenon shows how elements of the Mood base are closely connected in enacting the clause as an interactive unit. Such prosodies are also

a distinctive characteristic of interpersonal systems of language and they are recurrent in the analysis in this chapter.

4.4.1.2 Interrogative Clauses

We turn our attention now to the interrogative mood type. This mood type typically realises the speech function of questions, demanding information. There are two main types of interrogative clauses, namely, the polar interrogative and the elemental (or non-polar) interrogative clause. The main distinction between them is that while the polar interrogative mood takes a Negotiator element at the end of the clause, the elemental interrogative mood does not require a Negotiator. Rather, it is marked by the presence of a question word (Q-element). The polar interrogative type will be discussed first.

4.4.1.2.1 Polar interrogative clauses

The polar interrogative clause, as the name suggests, realises a question about polarity, offering an option to the interlocutor to affirm or deny a proposition. A typical answer to questions realised by polar interrogative clauses is either *ṽʋ* ('yes') or *ṽʋ-hṽ* ('no'). It has the clause structure Subject ^ Predicator ^ Negotiator, which means that, like the non-affirmative clause, it always takes a Negotiator. The particular particle realising the Negotiatior is important in distinguishing among delicate types of polar interrogative clauses (cf. Figure 4.10). Dagaare has three kinds of polar interrogative clauses: (i) neutral polar interrogative clause, (ii) biased polar interrogative clause and (iii) alternative interrogative clause. Biased interrogative clauses clearly indicate the answer the speaker expects from the listener while neutral interrogative clauses do not explicitly encode the speaker's expectation.

The lexicogrammatical contrasts among sub-types of the polar interrogative clause are indicated by the specific realisation of the Negotiator element (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Realisations of different polar interrogative types

Polar interrogative type	Sub-type		Realisation
'Yes/no'	neutral		*bɪ*
	biased	initiative	*wɛ, kpo, v*[1]
		responsive	*ya*
Alternative			*bɪɪ*-('or') conjunction

Note: [1]*Wɛ* and *kpo* are sub-dialectal variants

Before we proceed to describe the subtypes in more detail, one general observation about negotiation in polar interrogative clauses is that the presence or absence of the affirmative particle distinguishes between questions that are oriented towards propositions (47) and those that are oriented towards proposals (48):

(47) *Bɛ   wa   na   bɪ?*

    3PL.HM come.PFV   AFFR   INT

    'Have they come?'

(48) *Ĩ   wa   bɪ?*

    1SG   come.PFV   INT

    'Should I come?'

As (47) shows, those clauses oriented towards propositions normally embody the structure of declarative clauses. Thus, without the interrogative particle, (47) has the form of a declarative clause, specifically an affirmative clause. On the other hand, polar interrogative clauses oriented towards proposals, as (48) embody the structure of an imperative clause. The reason is that, in Dagaare, obligation is typically realised by the imperative clause rather than the modal verbs we find in languages such as English (see the glossing in example 48).

(**1**) **Neutral polar interrogative:** This interrogative type is unbiased and the typical realisation of the Negotiator is by the interrogator *bɪ*, as in the underlined clauses in (49) and (50):

(49) St. Maria play

    A: <u>*A   dɔɔ   nɔŋ   ya-rɛ   na   bɪ*?</u>

      DEF   man   possibly   be:mad-IPFV   AFFR   INT

B:	*ĩ*	*bɛ*	*bãw*	*ɛ*	*wɛ*!
	1SG	NEG	know.PFV	NAFFR	EXCL

A: 'Is the man mad?'

B: 'I don't know!'

(50) St. Maria play

A:	*Ãa*	*bɛlı*	*fʋ*	*ɛ*	*ĩ*	*kuol*
	who	deceive.PFV	2SG	that	1SG	be:drunk.PFV

	a?
	AFFR

B:	*Fʋ*	*kṽ*	*tʋɔ*	*ar*	*vla*	*ı*
	2SG	NEG	be:able.PFV	stand.PFV	well	NAFFR

	wɛ!
	EXCL

A:	<u>*Gaa*</u>	*na*	*ĩ*	*ga*	**bı**?
	lying:down	IDENT.PL 1SG	lie:down.PFV	INT	

A: 'who deceived you that I'm drunk?'

B: 'But you can't stand well!'

A: 'Am I lying down?'

(2) Biased polar interrogative: This polar interrogative type seeks confirmation from the addressee. That is, it suggests that the speaker expects the listener to confirm the proposition realised by the clause. There are two kinds of biased polar interrogative clauses: (a) initiative and (b) responsive. These are defined based on the relative role of the speaker in the exchange.

(i) Initiative: For the initiative type, the speaker invites the listener to confirm a proposition. The Negotiator in the biased initiative interrogative is realised by one of two particles: *wɛ* or *v*. Illustrations are given in the dialogues below:

(51) St. Maria play

A:	*Nı*	*dı*	*na*	**wɛ**?
	2PL	eat.PFV	AFFR	INT

B:	*Ṽʋ.*
	'yes'

A: 'You have eaten, right?'

B: 'Yes.'

(52) St. Maria play

A: *Nı*   *wõ*   *=n*   *a*   *tɛwr*   **wɛ**?

    2PL   hear.PFV   FOC   DEF   meaning   INT

B: *Ũʋ.*

    'yes'

A: 'You understand, right?'

B: 'Yes.'

(53) St. Maria play

A: *Nı*   *na*   *wa*   *nı*   *nı*   *libir*   *ʋ*?

    2PL   POS.IND.FUT   come.PFV   CAUS   FOC   money   INT

B: *Ũʋ.*

A: 'Will you bring money?'

B: 'Yes.'

As the illustrations suggest, this type of interrogative clause shows that the speaker expects an affirmation to the question. This type of interrogative clause is semantically a near equivalent of tag questions in languages such as English, especifically, when the Negotiator is realised by *wɛ*. The particle *ʋ* is realised phonologically as [ʊ] or [u] in [-ATR] and [+ATR] environments respectively.

(ii) Responsive: In this biased interrogative type, the speaker responds to a proposition with a confirmation seeking question (normally called an echo question). Thus, the difference between the initiative and the responsive type is that in the initiative the speaker is initiating an exchange while in the responsive type, he is responding to a proposition. The Negotiator in the responsive interrogative is realised by the particle *ya* as in the dialogue below:

(54) St. Maria play

A: *Ĩ*   *zà̃a*   *wa*   *na*   *wa*   *nyɛ̃*

    1SG   yesterday   come   AFFR   PROX   see.PFV

    a   *ı*   *pɔw-yaa*   *ʋ*   *bıɛrɛ.*

    DEF   1SG   daughter   3SG   be:sick.IPFV

B: *U*   *bıɛrɛ*   *ya*?

    3SG   be:sick.IPFV   INT

151

A: 'Yesterday I came home to see that my daughter was sick.'

B: 'She was sick, you say?'

Here, Speaker B shows surprise and seeks to confirm speaker A's observation about her daughter's sickness. Thus, this interrogative type can also carry mirative meaning (cf. Section 4.5.3).

(3) Alternative (or *bʋ*) interrogative: The alternative or *bʋ* interrogative is a special kind of the polar interrogative type. As its name suggests, it realises a question that presents alternative statements, and invites the addressee to make a choice. It is structurally realised by a paratactic clause complex (55) or group complexes (56) with a **bʋ conjunction** (i.e. alternation). Examples are the underlined clauses in the dialogues below:

(55)   Political opinion interview

A:	*Ŋmɩŋmɩn*	*na*	*a*	*pɔlɪtɪks*		*yéle*	*cere*	*a*
	how	IDENT.PL	DEF	politics		matter	go.IPFV	DEF
	Nandɔm	*pʋɔ*	*ka?*	*A*		*cere*	*nɩ*	
	Nandom	inside	here	3PL.NHM		go.IPFV	FOC	
	galmɛ	*bʋ*	*a*	*tuur*		*=ɩ*	*a*	
	zigzag	CONJ	3PL.NHM	follow.IPFV		FOC	DEF	
	sɔr	*bie?*						
	way	seeds						
B:	*Mmm. Tɔɔ,*	*pɔlɪtɪks*		*a*	*Nandɔm*		*ka*	
	INTJ well	politics		DEF	Nandom		here	
	ende	*a,*	*ɩ*	*kṽ*		*ŋmaa*	*ziri*	
	actually	JUNC	1SG	NEG.IND.FUT		cut	lie	
	mãa	*zie*	*a*	*cere*	*nɩ*	*galmɛ.*		
	1SG.EMP	place	DEF	go.IPFV	FOC	zigzag		

A: 'How is the politics going on at Nandom here?' Is it following the right path or it's going zigzag?'

B: 'Mmm. Well, actually, politics at Nandom here, I won't tell lies … for me, it is going zigzag.'

(56)   St. Maria play

A: *Fʋ   bʋɔ,   nʋ́ɔ   bʋ   baa   nʋ*?

        2SG   goat   fowl   or   dog   IDENT.SG

B: *Ou!*   *ĩ*   *pɔw*   *nʋ*.

        INTJ   1SG   wife   IDENT.SG

A: 'Is s/he your goat, fowl, or dog?

B: Oh! 'S/he is my wife.'

The alternative interrogative in (55) is realised by the conjunction of two positive declarative clauses: *A cere nɪ galmɛ* ('It is going zigzag') and *A tuur ɪ a sɔr bie* '(It is following the path'). The sense of the interrogation is added by the *bʋ* (alternative) conjunction. Since each of the clauses in the conjunction semantically opposes the other in this interrogative type, one common way of realising it is to conjoin a positive and negative clause. In (55), this semantic opposition is realised by the antonymous relationship between the Complements, *a sɔr bie* and *galmɛ*. Let's further illustrate this by adapted versions of example (57):

(57)   *A*   *tuur*   *=ɪ*   *a*   *sɔr*   *bie*   *bʋ*   *a*

        DEF   follow.IPFV   FOC   DEF   way   seeds   CONJ   DEF

        bɛ   *tuur*   *a*   *sɔr*   *bie?*

        NEG.IND.NFUT   follow.IPFV   DEF   way   seeds

        'Is it following the right path or it is not following the right path?'

4.4.1.2.2   Elemental interrogative

The elemental interrogative clause realises content questions. A participant or circumstance in the clause is queried by the speaker, and s/he expects the addressee to supply information about that element. Its distinctive feature is the presence of a Q-element. Table 4.5 lists the question words used in the elemental interrogative clause and their associated grammatical features. As the table shows, the selection of a Q-element in interrogative clauses is closely linked with the potential function of the element in the clause. It may be conflated with one of four interpersonal functions, namely, Subject, Complement, Adjunct and Predicator. When it is conflated with the Subject

Table 4.5. Question words used in elemental interrogative clauses

lexicogrammatical categories					Q-word	gloss
potential clause element	**humanness**	**textual**	**transitivity**	**number**		
Subject/ Comple- ment	human	thematic		singular	*ãa*	who/whom/ whose
		focal		singular	*anʋ*	who/whom /whose
		thematic/ focal		plural	*a mɪnɛ*	who/whom/ whose
			identifying	singular	*buor*	which
	non-human	thematic		neutral	*bʋʋ*	what
		focal			*bʋnʋ, ŋmɪn*	what
	neutral		identifying	singular	*buor*	which
			identifying	plural	*a bobe*	what
			idea & locution	neutral	*bo ~ bʋnʋ*	what
Adjunct			reason		*bʋʋ so*	why
			time		*debor*	when
			place		*nyɪn ~ nyɪnɛ*	where
			quantity/ value, attribute	singular	*a ŋmɪn*	how much/ many
			quantity/ value	plural (several entities)	*a ŋmɪnɛ*	how much/ many
			manner, attribute	neutral	*ŋmɪŋmɪn*	how
Predicator			interrogative verb		*wa*	be where

or Predicator, it is part of the Mood base, and when it is conflated with Complement or Adjunct, it falls within the Residue. Illustrations are given in Figure 4.11 below:

(a)**Q-element conflated with Subject**

Bʋʋ	wa	=n	nɪ	a	ka
what	come.PFV	CAUS	2PL	DEF	here
Subject	Predicator		Complement	Adjunct	
Mood			Residue		
nominal group	verbal group		nominal group	adverbial group	
Q-element	verb	particle	pronoun	determiner	adverb

 'What brought you here?' (St. Maria play)

(b)**Q-element conflated with Predicator**

A	ŋman	**wa**	a	ka
DEF	calabash	be:where	DEF	here
Subject		Predicator	Adjunct	
Mood			Residue	
nominal group		verbal group	adverbial group	
determiner	noun	interrogative verb	determiner	adverb

'Where is the calabash here?'

(c)**Q-element conflated with Complement**

Bʋʋ	fʋ	bɔbr
what	2SG	want.IPFV
Complement	Subject	Predicator
Residue	Mood	
nominal group	nominal group	verbal group
Q-element	pronoun	verb

'What do you want?' (St. Maria play)

Figure 4.11: Q-element conflating with clausal functions

(1) Subject and Complement related Q-elements: The Subject and Complement related Q-elements show a distinction between human and non-human referents. The exception is the singular form for identification (i.e. *buor*, 'which'). In addition, the [+human] Q-elements distinguish between singular (i.e. *ãa* and *anʋ*, 'who') and plural (i.e. *a mɪnɛ*, 'who'), while their non-human counterparts (i.e. *bʋʋ* and *bʋnʋ*, 'what') do not show number distinctions. For non-human referents, however, the identification elements *buor* and *abobe* ('which') contrast as singular and plural respectively.

Again, *bo* ('what') is restricted to the environment of projection (i.e reportative and quotative constructions), where it interrogates the projection, either locution (what was said; example 58) or idea (what was thought;

example 59). *Bʋnʋ* ('what') is however, more general and can occur in both projection and non-projection environments (example 60 and 61):

(58) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Sɛb-sow*	*yèl*	*a*	*kɛ*	**bo**?
DEF	scripture-holy	say.PFV	AFFR	PROJ	what

'What does the holy scripture say?'

(59) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*ŋa*	*pɛr*	*=ɩ*	**bo**?
DEF	this	bottom	FOC	what

'What does this mean?'

(60) St. Maria play

ĩ	*yèl*	*kɛ*	**bʋnʋ**?
1SG	say.PFV	PROJ	what

'What do I say?'

(61) Political opinion interview

Fʋ	*tɩɛr*	*kɛ*	**bʋnʋ**.
2SG	think.PFV	PROJ	what

'What do you think?'

(2) Adjunct-related Q-elements: Q-elements that typically function as Adjunct comprise *bʋʋ so* ('why'), *debor* ('when'), *nyɩn* or *nyɩnɛ* ('where'), *a ŋmɩn* ('how much/many', singular), a *ŋmɩnɛ* ('how much/many', plural), and *ŋmɩŋmɩn* (how). Reason is, arguably, the least specialised meaning in the elemental interrogative clause. Thus, there are a range of strategies for realizing it. As Table 4.4 shows, the most common Q-element for reason is *bʋʋ so* ('why'; literally, 'what owns') although *bʋʋ* can also be used alone (Compare examples (62) and (63):

(62) St. Maria play

Bʋʋ	**so**	*fʋ*	*yèle*	*a*	*lɛ*?
what	own	2SG	say.IPFV	DEF	DEM

'Why are you saying that?'

(63)   St. Maria play

   Bʋʋ *fʋ*   *mì*   *lɛ*   *ɣɛ̂rɛ*   *lɛ*?

   what   2SG   too   also   say.IPFV   DEM

   'Why are you too speaking like that?'

In addition, reason is also interrogated by a combination of *bʋʋ* or *bʋnʋ* ('what') or *ŋmɩnŋmɩn* ('how'), on the one hand, and the postposition *ɣâw* ('for the sake of'). Examples are below:

(64)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

   Bʋnʋ *ɣâw*   *na*   *nyɩ*   *bɔbr*   *mɛ*?

   what   sake   IDENT.PL   2PL   look.PFV   1SG.ACC

   'For the sake of what are you looking for me?'

(65)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

   Ŋmɩnŋmɩn *ɣâw*   *na*   *fʋ*   *bɔbr*   *kɛ*   *fʋ*

   how   sake   IDENT.PL   2SG   speak.PFV   PROJ   2SG

   zɛbr   *=ɩ*   *a*   *Naaŋmin*?

   quarrel   FOC   DEF   God

   'It is for what sake that you want to quarrel with God?'

Regarding *a ŋmɩn* and a *ŋmɩnɛ* ('how much/many'), both are used to interrogate quantity and value. However, in addition, *a ŋmɩnɛ* specifies that the entities enquired about are several (66a, b), and this discreteness is often emphasised by duplicating the Q-element (66b):

(66a)   *A*   *simie*   *ɩ*   *=n*   *a*   ***ŋmɩn***?

   DEF   peanuts   be.PFV   FOC   DEF   how:much

   'How much is the peanuts?'

(66b)   *A*   *simie*   *ɩ*   *=n*   *a*   ***ŋmɩnɛ***   ***ŋmɩnɛ***?

   DEF   peanuts   be.PFV   FOC   DEF   how:much   how:much

   'How much, how much are the peanuts?'

In example (66a), the peanuts are conceived of by the speaker as a bulk of entity while, in example (66b), they are conceived of as discrete packages or piles.

157

The Q-element *ŋmɪn*, without the definite marker *a*, is also used with the sense of English 'what' (example 67) and also 'where' in copula clauses (example 68):

(67)   St. Maria play

ĩ   *pã̃a*   *ι*   **ŋmɪn**?

1SG   ADV   do.PFV   what

'What can I do now?'

(68)   St. Maria play

ʊ   *ι*   *=n*   **ŋmɪn**?

3SG   COP.PFV   FOC   what

'Where is s/he?'

Finally, the Q-element *ŋmɪnŋmɪn* ('how') indicates manner, as in example (69) below:

(69)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Ŋmɪnŋmɪn   *na*   *nyι*   *ι*   *tʋɔ*

how   IDENT.PL   2PL   do.PFV   be:able

gure?

sleep.IPFV

'How is that you are able to sleep?'

(3) Interrogative verb *wa*: As has been illustrated earlier, Dagaare has one interrogative verb, *wa* ('be where') and it is used in interrogating existence and locations. Illustrations are given below:

(70)   *A*   *fʋ*   *ma*   **wa?**

DEF   1SG   mother   be:where

'Where is your mother?'

(71)   St. Maria play

A   *fʋ*   *pɔw*   *mì*   **wa**?

DEF   2SG   wife   also   be:where

'Where is your wife too?'

The interrogative verb *wa* is not marked for aspect.

(4) Echo questions: Elemental interrogative clauses also realise echo questions. This type of clause is similar to the biased responsive interrogative. The difference is that elemental echo questions require the addressee to supply a statement or repeat a proposition, rather than give a polar, *ṽʊ* ('yes') or *ṽʊ-hṽ* ('no'), answer. In such echo questions, the interrogative particle *ya* is used together with the Q-element, and it is placed clause finally as a Negotiator element:

(72) St. Maria play

A:	*ĩ*	*cen*	*na*	*ε*	*ĩ*	*tɩ*	*ɔw*	*a*
	1SG	go.PFV	AFFR	CONJ	1SG	DIST	fetch.PFV	DEF

kʋɔ	*o*;
water	PRT.

pobile	*kàw*	*tɩ*	*yèl*	*kε*	*v*	*bɔbr*
gentleman	some	DIST	say.PFV	PROJ	3SG	want.IPFV

mε	*na.*
1SG.ACC	AFFR

B:	*Ʊ*	*ɩ*	*=n*	**ŋmɩn**	**ya**?
	3SG	do.PFV	FOC	what	INT
	Subj.	Pred.		Complement	Negotiator

A: 'I went to fetch the water O; a gentleman said that he loves me.'
B: 'He what?'

With this example, we can conclude that all five principal functions in the interpersonal clause structure, comprising Subject, Predicator, Complement, Adjunct and Negotiator, are engaged in realising different meanings in elemental interrogative clauses. In addition, however, the Q-element can be a modifier in a nominal group, as (73) shows:

(73) St. Maria play

Bʋʊ	*tome*	*na*	*fv*	*to*?
what	work.NMLZ	IDENT.PL	2SG	work.PFV

'What work have you done?'

The distinctive character of the elemental interrogative is the presence of the Q-element in the clause.

4.4.1.2.3 Placement of the Q-element in the clause

One important typological consideration in describing elemental interrogative clauses is to examine the unmarked position of the Q-element in the clause. Teruya et al. (2007) identify three motifs in this regard across several languages. First, some languages assign the Q-element unmarked thematic status in the clause, mostly in clause initial position (e.g. in English, German, Danish, French and Arabic). In other languages, the default case is to place the Q-element in unmarked focus position (e.g. Yoruba). Finally, some other languages do not associate the Q-element with any special textual status of the clause. Rather, it simply occurs *in situ* as it would in the corresponding declarative clause (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, Tibetan, Telugu and Japanese).

Dagaare belongs to this last category. This principle is reflected in the examples that have already been given on elemental interrogatives. The following dialogue further illustrates this textual character of Q-elements in the clause (Q-element is in bold and the corresponding referent in the agnate declarative clause is underlined):

(74) St. Maria play

	A:	*Dɔɔ,*	*a*	*fʋ*	*your*	*=ı*	***bʋnʋ*?**
		man	DEF	2SG	name	COP.FOC	what
	B:	*ĩ̃*	*yuor*	*=ı*	*Gbıbgbãw.*		
		1SG	name	COP.FOC	Gbibgbaw.		
	A:	*Ʋ*	*saa*	*na.*			
		3SG	show.PFV	AFFR			
	B:	*Alɛ!*	***Bʋʋ***	*na*	*saa?*		
		INTJ	what	IDENT.PL	show.PFV		

A: 'Man, what is your name?'

B: 'My name is Gbibgbaw.'

A: 'It shows on him (= 'The name matches his appearance).'

B: 'What! What is it (that) shows (on me)?'

However, as Table 4.5 indicates, *ãa* ('who') and *bʋʋ* ('what'), on the one hand, and *anʋ* ('who') and *bʋnʋ* ('what'), on the other hand, contrast as

thematic and focal Q-elements respectively. For an illustration, compare (75) and (76), on the one hand, and (77) and (78), on the other hand:

(75)   St. Maria play

    Ãa   *nιɛ*   *yèl*   *kɛ*   *a*   *fʋ*   *pɔw-yaa*   *nʋ*

    who   even   say.PFV PROJ   DEF   2SG   daughter   IDENT.SG

    mɔ?

    CE

    'Who even said that it is your daughter?'

(76)   St. Maria play

    A   *fʋ*   *pɔw*   *nι*   ***anʋ***   *a*   *ka?*

    DEF   2SG   wife   COP.FOC who   DEF   here

    'who is your wife here?'

(77)   St. Maria play

    Bʋʋ *fʋ*   *bɔbr*   *a*   *ka?*

    what   2SG   want.IPFV   DEF   here

    'What do you want here?'

(78)   St. Maria play

    Bʋrʋ   *yéle*   *nι*   ***bʋnʋ***

    sowing   matter COP.FOC what?

    'How does the issue of sowing come here?'

Unlike languages such as English, where a focused Q-element is typically used to realise echo questions (Teruya et al. 2007), the thematic and focused Q-elements in the above clauses occur *in situ*, and thus are unmarked.

4.4.2   Imperative

The imperative clause is oriented towards the speech functions of offer and command (i.e. proposals). It thus positions interlocutors within the semantic space of the exchange of goods-&-services, offering them a resource for expressing permission and obligations towards one another. As mentioned earlier, its minimal realisation is the Predicator (see Figure 4.12). Generally, an imperative clause may or may not take a Subject, depending on grammatical person and number of the one responsible for executing the

command, whether it is an interactant or non-interactant, and whether it is singular or plural. The only situation in which the Subject is absent is when modal responsibility is assigned to a single addressee. The modal structure of the imperative clause can be summarised as: (Subject) ^ Predicator ^ (Negotiator).
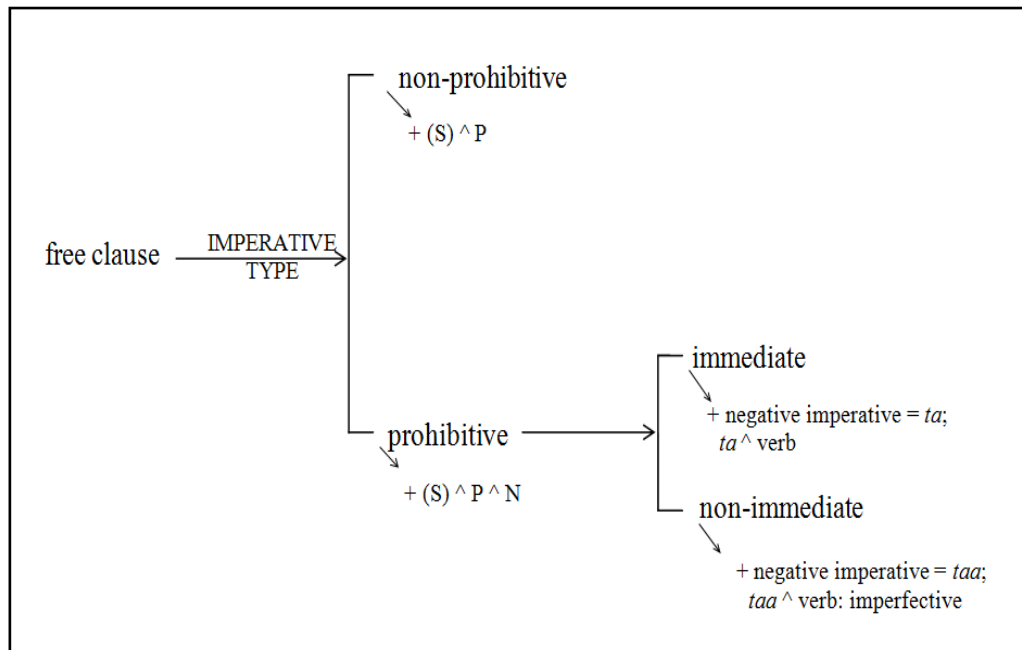
Figure 4.12: A system network of the IMPERATIVE TYPE

The primary contrast in the imperative clause is between prohibitive and non-prohibitive clauses. The non-prohibitive imperative has the Predicator as the only obligatory element and will require a Subject if the addressee is other than the second person singular. Thus, in (79) and (80) below, the addressee is a single interactant while in (81) and (82), the addressee is plural interactant:

(79)   Casual conversation

    Hɛɛ,   *pʋr*   *bʋla*   *ɣ́aw*   *a*   *Zan*!

    hey   pour.PFV   little   put.PFV DEF   Zan

    'Hey, pour a little for Zan!'

(80)   Casual conversation

    Yãw   *ʋ*   *ɪ*   *ɣ́ãw*   *fʋ*!

    make.PFV   3SG   do.PFV   put.PFV 2SG

    'Let him/her give you some!'

(81) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Nyı	*dɔwr*	*paalɛ*	*ɛ*	*yɛrɛ*!
2PL	procreate.IPFV	fill.IPFV	CONJ	spread.IPFV

'You give birth to many, and multiply!'

(82)

Nı	*ír*!	*Nı*	*kpɛ*	*mɔb*!
2PL	get up	2PL	enter.PFV	wrestling

'You get up! You engage in wrestling!'

On the other hand, the prohibitive clause takes one of two negative imperative particles (*ta* and *taa*) and requires a Negotiator (realised by a non-affirmative particle: *ı e* or *ɛ*), in addition to the Predicator element. Two types of the prohibitive clause are distinguished, based on the temporal orientation of the proposal: one with an immediate enforcement (example 83 to 85) and one that prohibits a perceived future event (example 86). The former selects the particle *ta* and can combine with a verb in either the perfective or imperfective aspect (example 83 to 85). The latter, however, selects the particle *taa* and occurs with only the imperfective aspect (86):

(83) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Ta	*tɛr*	*=ı*	*nır*	*suur*	*e*!
NEG.IMP.IM	possess.PFV	COM	person	anger	NAFFR.

'**Don't** harbor anger against a person!'

(84) St. Maria play

Ta	*yɛrɛ*	*nı*	*mãa*	*ı*!
NEG.IMP.IM	speak.IPFV	COM	me	NAFFR

'**Don't** talk to me!'

(85) St. Maria play

Ta	*mí*	*yèl*	*a*	*lɛ*	*ı*!
NEG.IMP.IM	HAB	say.PFV	DEF	that	NAFFR

'**Don't** be saying that!'

(86) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Taa	*yarɛ*	*yél-faa*	*san*	*ɛ*!
NEG.IMP.NIM	pay.IPFV	matter-evil	debt	NAFFR

'**Don't** pay back evil! (= Never pay back evil!)'

4.4.3 The Imperative Clause and MOOD PERSON

Another issue that need to be examined in relation to the imperative clause is that of mood person. The Subject in the Dagaare imperative clause generally conflates with all persons and numbers: first singular and plural, second singular and plural and third singular and plural. The second person imperative (e.g. *Wa*! 'Come!'; *Nyı wa*! 'You come!') is the realisation of a command proper, the demand for goods-&-services from the addressee. The first person imperative is typically oriented towards offer (e.g. *Ĩ tuo fʋ*! 'Let me help you carry!') and suggestion (e.g. *Tı ír ka*! 'Let's get up!').

The third person imperative mood covers the semantic space of obligation, permission and suggestion, meanings that are often realised in other languages such as English, as the by deontic modality (cf. Section 4.4.1.2.1). Let's consider example (87) below:

(87) Political opinion interview

Bɛ	*voti*	*kʋ̀*	*a*	NDC	*gɔvʋmɛnt*!
3PL.HM	vote.PFV	give.PFV	DEF	NDC	government

'They should vote for the NDC government.'

As the translation suggests, in English, the proposition in example (87) will be realised by a modulated declarative clause.In Dagaare, the use of a non-interactant Subject in the imperative enacts the clause as a modulated proposal. The dialogue below highlights the distinction between second person imperative and the third person imperative (imperatives underlined):

(88) St. Maria play

A: <u>*Mí bin daı*</u>! *A ana bɛ mí*

    HAB put.PFV die DEF DEM NEG.IND.NFUT HAB

    tɛr pɛr ɛ.

    possess bottom NAFFR

B: *Daı ya?* <u>*ʋ mí bin tırıpʋl*</u>!

    die INT 3SG HAB put.PFV triple

A: 'Always put two days old pito/beer! This is always useless.'

B: 'Two days old? S/he should put three days old pito/beer!'

Speaker A's utterance is addressed to a bar owner while Speaker B's is a reaction to A's command. The imperative clause in Speaker A's utterance is addressed to a single interactantand is thus a command proper. In Speaker B's reaction, on the other hand, the Subject of the imperative is a non-interactant, thereby shifting the proposal away from the 'you-&-me' dimension and enacting it as a suggestion. Whether an imperative with a non-interactant Subject realises an obligation, permission or suggestion depends on context.

4.4.4   A Note on MOODand Grammatical Metaphor

The discussion so far has focused on the congruent relationship between the semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION and the mood types that realise these functions. It has been demonstrated that the lexicogrammatical resources of mood evolved to realise speech functions. The system of MOOD is thus a grammaticalisation of various discourse meanings which we have referred to as speech functions. However, since language, including the system of MOOD, is an evolved system rather than a designed one, there is sometimes incongruity between the mood types identified above and the speech functions they realise. This incongruity between semantics and lexicogrammar is what Halliday (e.g. Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014) has identified as *grammatical metaphor.* It theorises the fact that there is an interstratal tension between semantics and lexicogrammar, as users of language constantly recruit existing lexicogrammatical resources to construe or enact novel, innovative meaning.

One type of grammatical metaphor is *mood metaphor*. It is a decoupling of the congruent relation between the semantics of SPEECH FUNCTION and the lexicogrammar of MOOD, and then rematching the two systems in incongruent ways (Halliday 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Mood metaphor has been attested by the long tradition of research on indirection, motivated by Austin and Searle's Speech Act Theory, (e.g. Austin 1962; Searle 1969) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework. In principle, while each of the mood types identified above for Dagaare remains the default realisation of the speech function by which it is defined, it can be recruited by a speaker to realise a speech function that is not typical of

it. This indirect realisation of speech functions expands the interpersonal resources for negotiation of the relationship between speaker and addressee. The following clausesrealise biblical commandments in the declarative clause rather than the prohibitive imperative:

(89) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Fʋ	*kṽ*	*kʋ́*	*nır*	*ɛ.*
2SG	NEG.IND.FUT	kill.PFV	person	NAFFR

'You will not kill a person.'

(90) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Fʋ	*kṽ*	*zʋ*	*bom*	*e.*
2SG	NEG.IND.FUT	steal	thing	NAFFR

'You will not steal things.'

(91) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Fʋ	*kṽ*	*ŋmaa*	*ziri*	*ɣ́aw*	*fʋ*	*tɔ*	*ı.*
2SG	NEG.IND.FUT	cut	lie	put	2SG	fellow	NAFFR

'You will not lie against your fellow.'

The sense of command in the above clauses is enacted partly by the combination of the second person and future tense. The use of the future tense for realising commands in the imperative has been noted in the typology literature (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). In our examples, above, the metaphorical rendering of the commandments enacts them as definite and strongly binding.

4.4.5 Mood and Elliptical and Minor Clauses

The discussion so far has focused on major and full clauses. However, language in use is often characterised by minor and elliptical clauses and a functional grammar must account for these constructions. It was noted in Section 4.2 that the minimal structure of the indicative clause consists of Subject + Predicator while an imperative can be realised by Predicator only, depending on the mood person. In elliptical clauses, core elements of the clauses are omitted and canbe recovered from co-text or situational context. Such ellipsis, therefore, enact the here-&-now and you-&-me dimensions of

spoken discourse. One common type of ellipsis is exemplified by the underlined clause in (92):

(92)　St. Maria play

A:　*Dɔɔ　kãw　zà̃a　　yèl　kɛ　tɪ　ýɛr*
　　　man　some　yesterday　say.PFV PROJ　1PL　grind.PFV
　　　sɪɓaan　　ýaw　a　pɛrɪ.
　　　pepper　　put　DEF　anus
　　　'Yesterday, a certain man said we should grind pepper and put it in the anus.'

B:　St. Maria play
　　　<u>*Sɪɓaan　　ya*</u>?
　　　pepper　　INT
　　　'Pepper?'

Here, the clause consists of only the Negotiator *ya* and the Complement *Sɪɓaan*, and it enacts Speaker B's surprise at A's statement.

Minor clauses, on the other hand, are recurrent conventionalised forms that are inherently reduced, or even unanalysable, in terms of constituent structure (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3). They are typically characterised by the absence of a Predicator element.Minor clauses often realise exclamations, calls and responses, greetings and alarms (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Of these, exclamations and greetings need a special comment since they embody many resources.

(1) Exclamations and calls: Exlamations, in Dagaare, are not realised as a special clause type within 'declarative' in the MOOD system, as it is in languages such as English (e.g. *How beautiful she is*!). Rather, it can be realised by a major clause of any mood type (except for polar interrogative) and by minor clausessuch as interjections and expletives: *wi*! *oyi*! and *ṽaw*! (see Mwinlaaru in press). Only minor clauses will be illustrated here. Major exclamative clauses are discussed in Section 4.5.3. The extract below illustrates exclamations and calls realised by minor clauses:

167

(93)   The story of Jesus

Oyi!   *Yeezu   u*!   *Oyi*!   *Yeezu   u*!

INTJ   Jesus   VOC   INTJ   Jesus   VOC

Daviir   bi-dɛb   ɩ,   zɔ   a   ɩ   nɩ-baalʋ   wɛ!

David   child-male   VOC   run.PFV DEF   1SG   pity   REQ

'Oh, Jesus! Oh, Jesus! Son of David, have pity on me, please!'

In (93), the exclamations relaised by *Oyi!* are juxtaposed with calls, and both establish an interpersonal background for the proposition that follows. As the example shows, calls are like Vocatives. However, Vocatives are meant to alert and create a tenorrelation with the addressee, and they are normally attached to the clause as functional element as in *Daviir bi-dɛb ɩ* ('Son of David'). Calls, on the other hand, are expressed as isolated clauses and seek to invite the addressee for interaction.

(2)Greetings: Like exclamations, greetings are realised by both major clause and minor clauses. Temporally oriented daily greetings in Dagaare are set out in Table 4.6, mostly in the form of time adverbs, although speakers often embed them in major clauses.

Table 4.6. Daily greetings and responses in Dagaare

Turn	Time of the day			
	morning	**afternoon**	**evening**	**night**
Greeting	*zaamɩ,* 'After yesterday'; *a gaa be =n sow*? 'Is the sleep well?'	*ŋmɩna* 'afternoon'	*zãa-nvɔr* 'evening'	*zɩ-ɓaan,* 'place-cool'
Response	*zaamɩ nʋ,* 'After yesterday it is'; *A be =n sow,* 'It is well.'	*ŋmɩna tɛɛ,* 'afternoon *tɛɛ*'; *ŋmɩna nʋ,* 'Afternoon it is.'	*zãa-nɔ tɛɛ,* 'evening *tɛɛ*'; *zãa-nuɔra nʋ,* Evening it is.'	*zɩ-ɓaan tɛɛ,* 'place-cool *tɛɛ*' *zɩ-ɓaan nʋ* 'place-cool it is.'

168

Greetings can also be in the form of nominal groups: *Fʋ tome!* ('Your work! / How is work?') *Nɩ yaanɩ!* ('your hail!' / 'you are hailed!'), *Tɩ bɛrʋ a yɩ!* ('our two days!' / It's been a while), *Tɩ kɔwrʋ!* ('our long time! / It's been a long time'), *A zie!* ('The place!' / Is the place treating you well?). Except for *Nɩ yaanɩ!* (Your hail! / You are hailed!'), instances such as these can be interpreted as reduced clauses and their corresponding major clause are illustrated by (94) and (95):

(94) *A   fʋ   tome   be   =n   sow?*
      DEF 2SG work.NMLZ   be.PFV FOC   well

      'Is your work well? (How is your work?)'

(95) *A   tɩ   bɛrʋ   ayi   be   =n   sow?*
      DEF 1PL days   two   be.PFV FOC   well

      'Is our two days well? (=How have you been since we last met?)'

Greetings are also realised by minor exclamative clauses (cf. Section 4.5.3), consisting of a time adverb (96) or a nominal group (97) and Negotiator (*wɛ*):

(96) St. Maria play

      A: *Zaamɩ   wɛ!*
         yesterday   EXCL

      B: *Zaamɩ   nʋ!*
         yesterday   IDENT.SG

      A: 'Yesterday! (=Good moring!)'
      B: 'Yesterday it is! (=Good morning!)'

(97) St. Maria play

      A: *A   nɩ   waa   yaanɩ wɛ!*
         DEF   2PL   coming   hail   EXCL

      B: *Ʋ   be   =n   sow!*
         3SG   EXIST.PFV   FOC   well.

      A: 'Hail your coming! (=You are welcome!)'
      B: 'It is well!'

In summary, although many of the clauses realising greetings have the structure of major clauses, they are mostly semantically opaque; they are

formulaic expressions for the routine performance of sociality in the speech fellowship.

4.5   Polarity and Modal Assessment

much of the discussion in the preceding sections has shown that the system of MOOD is the grammar of speech functions, the main resource for enacting the clause as a move. the system of mood is expanded by POLARITY (section 4.5.1) and the modal assessment systems of MODALITY (section 4.5.2) and NEGOTIATION (section 4.5.3), together with other resources such as mood adjuncts, discussed in section 4.3.4.2 (also see chapter 3, section 3.4.2.3 on adverbial particles). the lexicogrammatical items that realise the systems of POLARITY and MODALITY form part of the predicator in the clause structure (see table 4.2), while NEGOTIATION is realised by clause intial and clause final particles.

4.5.1   POLARITY

Polarity is the semantic opposition between 'positive' and 'negative' in the clause. In Dagaare, this opposition is grammaticalised differently across indicative and imperative clauses, the grammar of propositions and proposals respectively. In the imperative clause, polarity is realised by the opposition between the prohibitive clause, realised by the negative particle *ta* (immediate) or *taa* (non-immediate), and non-prohibitive imperative clause, which is realised by zero-marking (see Section 4.4.2.1). The different realisations of polarity across indicative and imperative clauses imply that polarity contributes to primary mood distinction in the clause. This section will extend the discussion on polarity introduced earlier in the account of imperative clauses to the indicative clause.

Polarity in indicative clauses contributes to the validity and arguability of the proposition by assessing it as either positive or negative. It intersects with the ideational system of TENSE, specifically, FUTURITY, the opposition between non-future and future. As Table 4.7 shows, for non-future tense, positive polarity is realised by zero-marking while negative polarity is marked by the particle *bɛ*. For future tense, on the other hand, both positive and

negative are overtly marked. Positive future is indicated by the particle *na* while negative future is signalled by the particle *kṽ*.

Table 4.7 Realisation of polarity in the indicative clause

Polarity	Tense	
	non-future	**future**
positive	*Dɛr cen nɪ sukuul.* Der go.PFV FOC school 'Der's gone to school.'	*Dɛr **na** cen nɪ sukuul.* Der POS.FUT go.PFV FOC school 'Der **will** go to school.'
negative	*Dɛr **bɛ** cen sukuul e.* Der NEG.IND go.PFV school NAFFR 'Der **hasn't** gone to school.'	*Dɛr **kṽ** cen sukuul e.* Der NEG.IND.FUT go.PFV school NAFFR 'Der **won't** go to school.'

It should be noted that Dagaare does not make a distinction between clausal negation and non-clausal negation. Thus, any negative meaning is always realised in the Predicator. A constituent of the clause can however be negated by focusing it in a cleft construction (cf.Watters 2000: 205-208 on negation in African languages):

(98) <u>*Sukuul*</u>   ***bɛ***   *na*   *a*   *Dɛr*   *cen*   *e.*

     School   NEG.IND.NFUT   IDENT.PL DEF   Der   go.PFV   NAFFR

     'It is not school that Der went to.'

Thus, as example (98) shows, the negation of a constituent is still realised clausally as a marked choice (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.2.1 on cleft construction and marked focus). Also, a non-assertive determiner, *za* (also means 'all'), can be used in the nominal group to show that it is a central focus of the negation in the clause (see examples 99& 100). The assertive determiners that contrast with *za* are *kãw* ('some', singular), *bɛmɪnɛ* ('some', plural human), *amɪnɛ* ('some', plural non-human) (see example 101):

(99) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

    ||| *A*   *tẽw*   *tɪ*   *ɪ*   *=n*   *vuo* || *ɛ*

    DEF   earth   PST.REM   COP.PFV FOC   hollow   CONJ

    bom ***za***   *bɛ*   *ka*   *be*   *ɪ.*|||

    thing   all   NEG.IND.NFUT   EXIST.PFV   there   NAFFR

    'The earth was hollow and nothing was there.'

Lit. 'The earth was hollow and **all things** were not there.'

(100) St. Maria play

Mãa	*bɛ*	*tɛr*	***yɛ̂rʋ***	***za***	*ı.*
1SG.EMP	NEG.IND.NFUT	possess.PFV	speech	all	NAFFR

'I don't have **anything** to say.'

(101) Workshop interview

||| *Fʋ*	*pãa*	*taa*	*wa*	*tɛr*	***yɛ̂rʋ***	***kàw***	||
2SG	ADV	MOD	COND	possess.PFV	speech	some	

mì	*na*	*pãa*	*kʋ̀*	*a*	*cɛlcɛlbɛ*? |||
also	POS.IND.FUT	ADV	give.PFV	DEF	listeners

You maynow have **something** you want to also tell the listeners?

4.5.2 MODALITY

MODALITY is one of the common ***modal assessement*** systems across languages (Matthiessen 2004: 631ff). Matthiessen (2004) uses the term modal assessment as a general notion that encapsulates the different resources that have been identified across languages for assessing the information or goods-&-services being exchanged in discourse. In addition to modality, these resources include evidentiality, honorification and negotiation. In Dagaare, there are several grammatical resources dedicated to modal assessment. In the discussion on the interpersonal structure of the clause, it was noted that mood Adjuncts, realised by modal adverbs and adverbial particles, are used to show the speakers attitude (cf. Section 4.3.4.2). Modality is also a key resource for modal assessment and, in dagaare, it is defined as comprising the sub-systems of PROBABILITY (Section 4.5.2.1) and DESIRABILITY (Section 4.5.2.2). Figure 4.13 presents these two modality resources in a system network.

Probability and desirability are a set of intermediate values between the positive and negative poles of polarity; values that enact different interpersonal meanings in propositions and proposals. The intermediate values in propositions are degrees of probability and the intermediate values in proposals are degrees of desirability. This systemic distinction shows that there is more than one way of getting from positive to negative on the cline of polarity: one through the exchange of information and the other through the

exchange of goods-&-services (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). As in the modality systems of many languages across the world (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), both probability and desirability in Dagaare are marked by essentially the same lexicogrammatical forms, which consist of three modal particles (i.e. *naa*, *taa* and *kṽv*). These two sub-systems of modality are discussed below.

4.5.2.1. Probability

Probability is an assessment of the positive or negative expectation of situations and events. In other words, it tones down the degree of certainty encoded by positive and negative clauses (See Figure 4.14). Three modal categories can be distinguished in relation to probability: (i) positive probability, (ii) negative probability and (iii) median probability. A positive probability clause, realised by the particle *naa,* lowers the positive value of a proposition, assessing it as less probable to occur, thus, shifting it closer to the
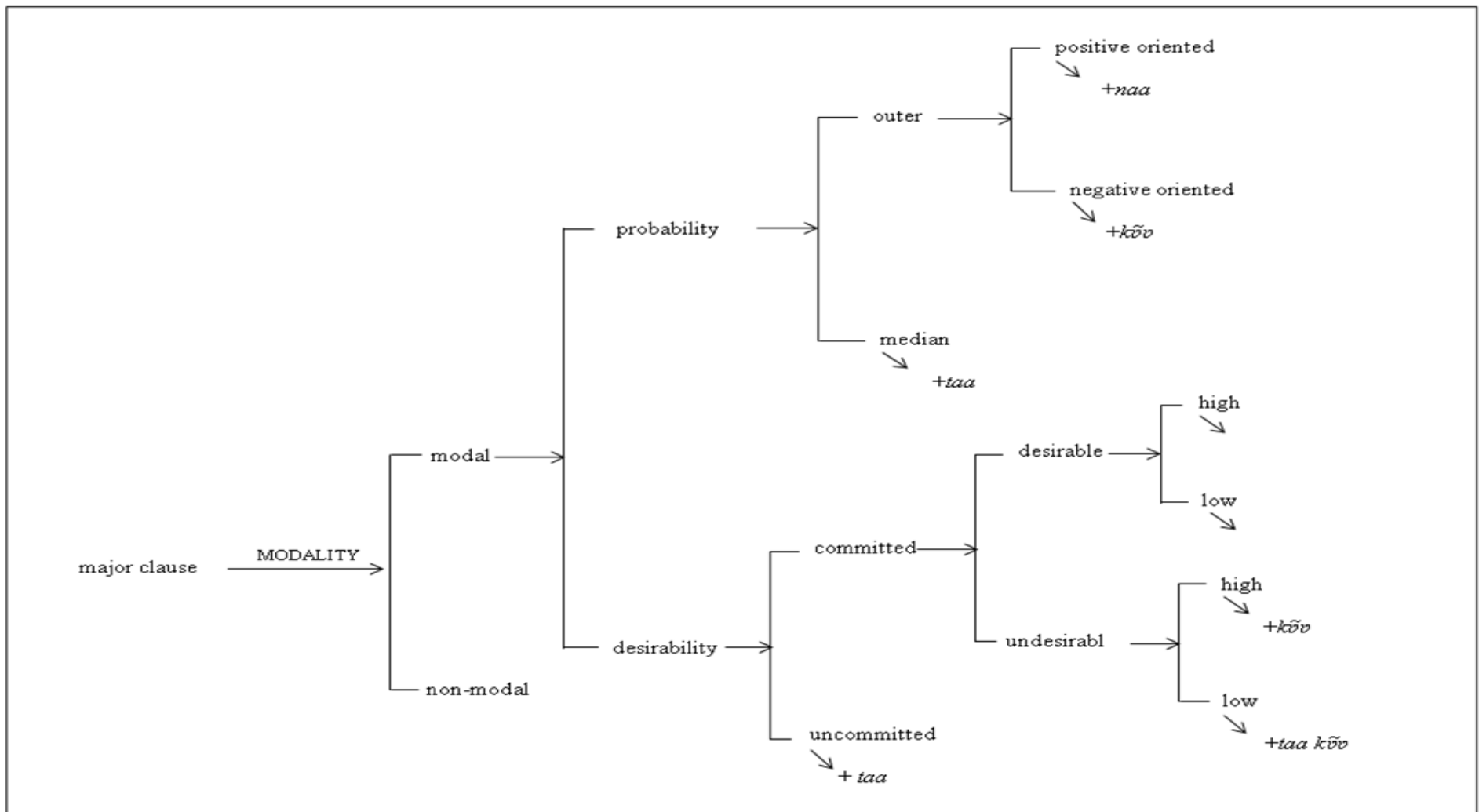
Figure 4.13: A system network of MODALITY in Dagaare

negative pole. A negative probability clause, on the other hand, reduces the negative value of a proposition; thereby shifting it closer to the positive pole, accepting the possibility of the actualisation of the otherwise negated proposition. It is realised by the particle *kṽv*. Between these two poles of modal probability lies the median probability, by which the speaker enacts an uncommitted middle ground, neither indicating the positive nor the negative value of the proposition. This modality type is realised by the particle *taa*.
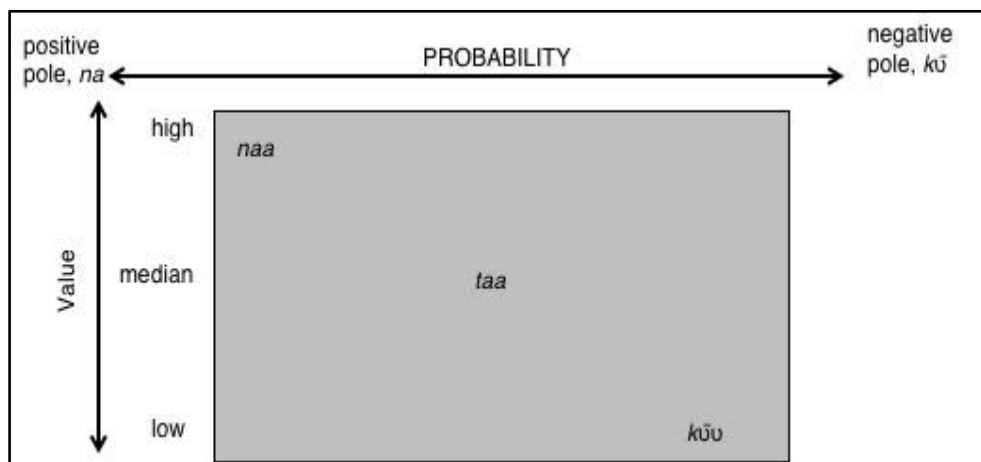
Figure 4.14: Polarity and probability represented as a cline

Table 4.8 illustrates the systemic contrast among the three types of probability. Further illustrations are given in examples (102) to (106).

Table 4.8. The realisation of probability by modal particles

Modality: probability	Particle	Gloss	Example
positive-oriented	*naa*	positive modal particle (MOD.POS)	*Saa* **naa** *wa* rain MOD.POS EVT *wa na.* come.PFV AFFR 'It may rain.'
median probability	*taa*	modal particle (MOD)	*Saa* **taa** *wa wa.* rain MOD EVT come.PFV 'It might rain'/'It might have rained.'
negative-oriented	*kṽv*	negative modal particle (MOD.NEG)	*Saa* **kṽv** *wa* rain MOD.NEG EVT *wa ɩ.* come.PFV NAFFR 'It may not rain.'

(102) *Yʋora*   *na*   *cen*   *nɪ*   *wɪɛ.* (positive polarity)

Yuora   POS.FUT   go.PFV   FOC   farm

'Yuora will go to farm.'

(103) *Yʋora*   **naa**   *wa*   *cen*   *nɪ*   *wɪɛ.* (modalised positive)

Yuora   MOD.POS EVT   go.PFV   FOC   farm

'Yuora may go to farm.'

(104) *Yʋora*   **taa**   *wa*   *cen*   *wɪɛ.* (median modality)

Yuora   MOD   EVT   go.PFV   farm.

'Yuora might be going to farm/Yuora might have gone to farm.'

(105) *Yʋora*   **kṽʋ**   *wa*   *cen*   *wɪɛ.* (modalised negative)

Yuora   MOD.NEG   EVT   go.PFV   farm

'Yuora may not go to farm.'

(106) *Yʋora*   *kṽ*   *cen*   *wɪɛ.* (negative polarity)

Yuora   NEG.IND.FUT   go.PFV   farm.

'Yuora won't go to farm.'

Unlike the positive (*naa*) and negative (*kṽʋ*) modal particles, the median modal particle (*taa*) can co-occur with both positive and negative polarity markers:

(107) *Ʋ*   **taa**   **na**   *zɪ*   *a*   *be.*

3SG   MOD   POS.FUT   sit.PFV   DEF   there

'He might sit there.'

(108) *Ʋ*   **taa**   **bɛ**   *zɪnɛ*   *a*   *be.*

3SG   MOD   NEG.IND.NFUT   sit.IPFV   DEF   there

'He might not sit there.'[11] / 'He might not have been sitting there.'

(109) *Ʋ*   **taa**   **kṽ**   *zɪ*   *a*   *be.*

3SG   MOD   NEG.FUT   sit.PFV   DEF   there

'He might not sit there.'

This ability to co-occur with positive and negative particles owes to its neutral sense on the positive-negative scale. In instances such as examples (107) to (109), the median modal particle *taa* decreases the commitment of the speaker

---

[11] The plausible future reading of example (108) is contributed by the imperfective verb *zɪnɛ* and not the tense-mood-polarity bearing particle *bɛ*.

in relation to, as it were, the positive (as in 107) or negative (as in 108 & 109) value of the proposition.

Also notable are instances of **transferred** or **preposed modality**; defined as a situation where the modal particle is displaced from its logical position in the secondary clause of a clause complex and placed in the primary or initial clause:

(110) *Tɪ*   ***taa***   *cen*   *bɛ*   *wa*   *nyɛ̃*   *v.*
     1PL   MOD   do.IPFV NEG.IND.NFUT   EVT   see.PFV 3SG

'We **might** go and not see him.'

(111) *Ʊ*   ***naa***   *zɔrɛ*   *na*   *wa*   *lo.*
     3SG   MOD.POS run.IPFV   AFFR   EVT   fall.PFV

'He **may** run and fall' (= 'He may fall while running.')

In (110) and (111), the target of the modal meaning is on the process 'perceiving' (i.e. it is possible that we will not see him) and 'falling' (i.e. it is possible that he will fall) respectively. However, the modal particles (*taa* and *naa*) are transposed to the initial clauses. This phenomenon is in consonance with the prosodic realisation of interpersonal meanings, they are diffusive in their meaning.

4.5.2.2 Desirability

The system of DESIRABILITY offers resources for assessing the positive or negative desirability of proposals, that is, whether the actualisation of the proposal is desirable or undiserable (Matthiessen 2004). By using this kind of modality, speakers enact their inability to bring about some desirable situation or prevent an undesirable situation. On the other hand, they may simply be laying down their ability to enforce a proposal in order to enact politeness. Table 4.9 illustrates the various systemic options in this system. As in the case of probability, desirability forms a cline of intermediate categories between the positive and negative poles of polarity, ranging from highly desirable to highly undesirable. High desirability is marked by the positive modal particle *naa*, while high undesirability is marked by the negative modal particle *kʋ̃ʋ*.

Low desirability and low undesirability are marked by a compound of two modal particles. Low desirability is marked by the compound particle *taa naa*,

Table 4.9. The realisation of desirablity by modal particles [change examples]

modality: desirability		particle	example
desirable	high desirability	*naa*	*Fʊ* **naa** *ýêr ýêrʊ* 2SG MOD.POS talk.PFV talking *kàw kʋ̀ bɛ.* some give.PFV 3PL.HM '**I very much wish** you tell them something."'
	low desirability	*taa naa*	*Fʊ* **taa naa** *ýêr ýêrʊ* 2SG MOD MOD.POS talk talking *kàw kʋ̀ bɛ ʋ*? some give.PFV 3PL.HM INT '**I wish** you tell them something, what do you think?'
undesirable	low undesirability	*taa kṽʊ*	*Fʊ* **taa kṽʊ** *ýêr ýêrʊ* 2SG MODMOD.NEG talk.PFV talking *za kʋ̀ bɛ ʋ*? all give.PFV 3PL.HM INT '**I wish** you don't tell them anything, what do you think?'
	high undesirability	*kṽʊ*	*Fʊ* **kṽʊ** *ýêr ýêrʊ* 2SG MOD.NEG talk.PFV talking *za kʋ̀ bɛ ɩ.* all give.PFV 3PL.HM NAFFR '**I very much wish** you don't tell them anything"
uncommitted		*taa*	*Fʊ* **taa** *na ýêr* 2SG MOD FUT.POS.IND talk.PFV *ýêrʊ kàw kʋ̀ bɛ ʋ*? talking some give.PFV 3PL.HM INT 'You **may** tell them something, what do you think?'

and low undesirability is marked by the compound *taa kṽʊ* (see example 113, for instance). The use of the median particle *taa*, respectively, lowers the positive (i.e. desirable) and negative (i.e. undesirable) values of *naa* and *kṽʊ* in this context. The median modal particle *taa* itself, when used alone, enacts uncommitted desirability (see (110) above & (114) below). In addition to the illustrations in Table 4.9, other examples are given below from discourse:

(112) Bible.is (Fɪlɪmɔ 1: 13a)

l̃	***naa***	*tɪ*	*tɛr*	*ʋ*	*nɪ*	*a*	*ĩ*
1SG	MOD.POS	PST.REM	possess.PFV	3SG	FOC	DEF	1SG

zie	*ka.*
place	here

'I should have liked to keep him here with me.'

(113) St. Maria play

Nyɛ̃!	*zɪna*	*mì*	*gba,*	*ĩ*	***taa***	***naa***	*yi*
see.PFV	today	also	even	1SG	MOD	MOD.POS	go:out.PFV

cen	*tɪ*	*nyu*	*daa*	*ʋ?*
go.PFV	DIST	drink.PFV	beer	INT

'Look! Today even, I feel like I should go out to drink beer, should I?'

(114) St. Maria play

A	*nɪbɛ*	*bɛŋa*	*bɛ*	***taa***	*na*	*wa*
DEF	people	these	3PL.HM	MOD	FUT.POS	come.PFV

tɪ	*ir*	*ʋ?*
1PL	get up.PFV	INT

'These people, they may come so that we can get up, should they?'

4.5.3 NEGOTIATION

The Negotiator is the grammatical element which realises the system of NEGOTIATION in the clause, and, as its name suggests, it enacts the clause as a negotiable unit of discourse.[12] in other words, it grounds the proposition or proposal realised by the clause within the semantic space open to speaker and listener as something that can be negotiated. cross-linguistically, the system of NEGOTIATION is found in a wide range of languages. It has been investigated as part of various interpersonal linguistic resources under the notion of stance (see Iwasaki & Yap (2015) and references therein). The semantic region of negotiation is construed and realised differently across languages. In intonation prominent languages such as English, it tends to be realised by intonation (cf. Halliday & Greaves 123-128). In other languages such as Chinese, Dagaare and other Mabia languages, negotiation is realised

---

[12] The account on NEGOTIATION in this section has been published in Mwinlaaru (in press).

segmentally by clause final and/or clause intial particles, and many studies have approached these grammatical resources for NEGOTIATION from below the clause as a typology of clause final particles (see the contributions in Hancil et al. (2015)). The account in this studyis a system-oriented approach to Dagaare clause final particles and, indeed, clause initial particles, examining them as constituting a clause rank system for modal assessment (see Halliday & McDonald (2004: 341-342) on Chinese).

Until now only one kind of negotiation markers have been discussed in this chapter, namely those that contribute to making mood distictions, particularly in indicative clauses. In addition to these, however, there are negotiation particles that are optional in the clause and only indicate the speaker's attitude towards the proposition or proposal realised by the clause. In this section, all negotiation particles, including those that contribute to mood distinction, will be considered together as realising a system of NEGOTIATION, a resource for indicating the speaker's stance or attitude in the clause (see Table 4.10; see also Halliday & Mcdonald (2004: 341-342) on chinese). as with the particles realising MODALITY, the meanings of negotiation particles mostly vary across moods, but also based on the 'affective loading' provided by different interactional contexts (Halliday & McDonald 2004: 342). Their categorisation and interpretation are therefore fuzzier, compared with the account of modality above. Table 4.10 glosses their general meanings. As the table shows, a few of the particles are restricted to indicative clauses. Also, except forthe hesitative particle *mɛ́* and the exhortative particle *na*, which are clause initial particles respectively associated with indicative and imperative clauses, the rest of the particles are clause final.

In spite of the fuzziness in the meanings of negotiation particles, it can be generalised that negotiation in the indicative clause is mostly concerned with espistemic stance, the degree to which the speaker is committed to the knowledge claims of propositions and, in the imperative, negotiation mainly modulates the proposal realised by the clause. The section will proceed to discuss the different uses of negotiation particles in the indicative (Section 4.5.3.1) and imperative clauses (Section 4.5.3.2).

Table 4.10 Negotiation markers and their general meanings across moods

value	particles	meaning	
		indicative	**imperative**
high	*dɛ*	definitive	
	ka	assertive	mild insistence
	kaka	strongly assertive	strong insistence
	kɛ̃, wɛ[1]	admonitive	admonitive
median	*ka*		mildly imploring
	kaka		strongly imploring
	wɛ	exclamative	exclamative; requestive
	na (clitic forms: *n, a*)	affirmative	
	ɪ, e, ɛ	non-affirmative	prohibitive
	bʊ	opinative	suggestive
	na[2]		exhortative
	bɪ	neutral interrogative	
low	*wɛ, kpo*[1]	biased interrogative	
	ʋ	biased interrogative	
	ya	biased interrogative; mirative	
	mɛ́[2]	hesitative	
	mɔ̀	counter-expectation	
	yaa	empathic	adhortative

[1]Particles that are sub-dialectal variants for realising the same meaning
[2]Clause initial negotiation particle

4.5.3.1 Negotiation in the indicative mood: epistemic and affective stance

Attitudinal negotiation in the indicative mood can be divided into two main types, based on the orientation of the negotiation, whether it is (1) proposition-oriented or (2) interactant-oriented.

(1) Proposition-oriented negotiation: Proposition-oriented negotiation indicates the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content of a clause. Generally speaking, this type of negotiation represents different degrees of assertiveness. For convenience and clarity of presentation they will be grouped based on their semantic relatedness. The categories here comprise: (i) the

affirmative and non-affirmative, (ii) the various types of interrogative negotiation, (iii) the definitive, assertive and strongly assertive, (v) the exclamative, (vi) the opinative and (vii) the hesitative and counter-expectation (see Table 4.10).

(i) Affirmative and non-affirmative: With affirmative and non-affirmative negotiation, the speaker ends the clause by clearly assessing the polarity value of the clause, which is signalled earlier in the verbal group by polarity particles, as s/he is potentially about to hand over the turn to the addressee. The Negotiator element for the affirmative is realised by the particle *na* (example 115). For the non-affirmative, on the other hand, the Negotiator is realised by one of phonologically variant particles, *e*, *ɛ*, or *ɩ*, depending on its phonetic environment in terms of tongue root vowel harmony (example 116):[13]

(115) A: *Fʋ*   *wõ*   *=n*   *a*   *lɛ*   [[*ʋ*   *na*

       2SG   hear.PFV   FOC   DEF   DEM   she   REL

       yèl   *a*]]?

       say.PFV JUNC

       'You heard what s/he said?'

   B: *ĩ̃*   *wõ*   *a*   **na**.

       1SG   hear   3PL.NHM AFFR

       'I heard it.'

(116) A: *Fʋ*   *bãw*   *nɩ*   *bom*   *kãw*?

       2SG   eat.PFV FOC   thing   some

       'You know something?'

   B: *ĩ̃*   *bɛ*   *bãw*   **ɛ**.

       1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   know   NAFFR

       'I don't know.'

As (115) and (116) show (both from *St Maria play*), the affirmative particle asserts and negotiates the positive value of the clause while the non-affirmative particle asserts and negotiates the negative value of the clause. In

---

[13] Tongue root harmony is characteristic of West African languages. Morphemes constituting one phonological word normally consists of only advanced tongue root ([+ATR]) vowels or retracted tongue root ([-ATR]) vowels.

(116), for instance, polarity is realised by the particle *bɛ* in the verbal group realising the Predicator. At the end of the clause, the speaker however resonates the polarity value of the clause as an interpersonal punch, that is, to establish the negotiatory value of the proposition, as s/he is potentially about to hand over the turn to the listener. In (115), the polarity of the clause is zero-marked and the affirmative particle *na* serves as a juncture prosody resonating the positive value of the proposition.

(ii) Interrogatives: The various interrogative particles reduce the epistemic force of the proposition and at the same time indicate the speaker's bias towards the propositions for which they are seeking confirmation from the addressee. The categories here comprise neutral interrogative (117), initiative biased interrogative (118) and responsive biased interrogative (119). The relevant particles are highlighted in bold in the dialogues below (all from *St Maria play*). Other particles realising biased interrogatives are identified in Table 4.10.

(117) A: *A   dɔɔ   nɔŋ   ya-rɛ   na   bɪ?*

DEF   man   ADV   be:mad-IPFV   AFFR   INT

'Is the man possibly mad?'

   B: *Ĩ   bɛ   bãw   ɛ   wɛ!*

1SG   NEG   know.PFV   NAFFR   EXCL

'I don't know!'

(118) A: *Nɪ   dɪ   na   wɛ?*

2PL   eat.PFV   AFFR   INT

'You have eaten, right?'

   B: *Ũʋ.*

'Yes.'

(119) A: *Ĩ   zȁa   wa   na   wa   nyɛ̃*

1SG   yesterday   come   AFFR   PROX   see.PFV

a   ɪ   pɔw-yaa   ʋ   bɪɛrɛ.

DEF   1SG   daughter   3SG   be:sick.IPFV

'Yesterday I came home to see that my daughter was sick.'

B: *ʊ*   *bɪɛɾɛ*   ***ya***?

3SG   be:sick.IPFV   INT

'She was sick, you say?'

As the examples show, the interrogative clause is realised by simply adding an interrogative particle to a declarative clause. The implication is that the interrogative clause is a non-assertive proposition, a proposition where the speaker relatively defers the epistemic claim to the listener. The biased interrogative (example 118 & 119) signals some degree of commitment to the epistemic claim of the proposition while the neutral interrogative (example 117) completely defers commitment to the listener. The two biased interrogatives, initiative and responsive, show different orientations in the exchange. The initiative flows from the speaker and thus indicates a higher degree of commitment to the claim of the proposition while the responsive realises an echo-question, often assessing the proposition affectively as a surprise. Thus, in addition to its default interrogative uses, the particle *ya* has a mirative meaning and both meanings are often enacted simultaneously (cf. DeLancey (1997); Aikhenvald (2012) on mirativity).

Further, the interrogative particle *ya* is also used in 'self-talk', where the speaker signals to the listener that s/he is finding it difficult in cognitively retrieving information from his/her consciousness. The following dialogue from a casual conversation illustrates this phenomenon:

(120) A*:* *Zan*   *nʊ*   *waar.* […] *Tɪ*   *dɛ*   *a*   *dɛ*

Zan   IDENT.SG   come.IPFV   1PL   ADV   AFFR   ADV

fɪɪɾɪ [laughter] […].

be:in trouble

'Zan is the one coming … We are just in trouble …'

B: *ʊ*   *dɛ*   *bɛ*   *pawr* *a*   *mì*   *ɛ.*   *Ɛcɛ*

3SG   ADV   NEG.IND.NFUT   get.IPFV 3PL.NHM also   NAFFR but

a   *a*   *a …*   *ãa*   *lɛ*   *nɪ*   *a*   *na*   ***ya?***

DEF   DEF   DEF   who   COP   FOC   DEF   DEM   INT

'S/he is just not getting some of it. And the the the … who is this even?'

184

C: *A   Gɔbr.*

　　DEF   Gobr

　　'Gobr.'

B: *Ʋv.*

　　'Yes.'

The material situation surrounding this exchange is a family get-together, where a group of relatives are sharing a bottle of wine under a tree in front of their house. A neighbour sees them and walks towards the scene to join the celebration. Speaker A alerts the group of the additional party, indicating the inadequacy of the wine for an extra mouth. Speaker B, on the other hand, inquires of the whereabouts of his younger brother who is presently absent at the scene, and for a moment, cannot remember his name. The particle *ya* added to the clause, which is already a 'wh'-interrogative, simply indicates that the proposition is not a genuine question but rather a self-reflection. Such clauses are also commonly used as rhetorical questions showing surprise or unexpectedness at seeing, for instance, a long 'lost' friend. Thus, *ya* clearly lies between the boundary of an interrogative marker, obligatory as it were, and an optional attitudinal marker. Further research is needed to investigate the full range of its uses.

(iii) Definitve, assertive and strongly assertive: First, definitive negotiation gives a high degree of force to a proposition. It adds an emphatic punch to the proposition realized by the clause, thereby showing a high epistemic commitment on the part of the speaker. It is realised by the particle *dɛ*. An example is the elliptical clause *Ziri dɛ*! (Lie!) in Speaker C's turn below. The extract is an episode in a biblical drama (*The Story of Jesus*) where the Jewish chief priest cautions his elders about Jesus's popularity:

(121) A: *Nıbɛ   yaga   zie   de   ʋ   na   ʋ*

　　　　person.PL   many   place take   3SG   AFFR   3SG

　　　　ı   bɛ   nàa   baarı   kɛ̃.

　　　　COP.PFV 3PL.HM king   finish.PFV   ADM

　　　　Many people have accepted him to be their king already, how careless you are!'

B: ||| *Nàa ya?* *Nı-baalbɛ,* *pɔw-ŷɛmɛ,* *nyanyuuru*

    king INT person-sick.PL woman-barren.PL thieves

    nàa? ||| *Bɛ* *mí* *saa* *nı*

    king 3PL.HM HAB show.PFV FOC

    dĩa, // *dãw-bio* *bɔr* // *bɛ*

    today tomorrow disappear.PFV 3PL.HM

    yiiri *bɛ* *bɛr.* |||

    forget.PFV 3PL.HM leave.PFV

    'King?' King of sick people, barren women and thieves? They appear today and disappear tomorrow (and) people forget about them.'

C: ||| <u>*Ziri dɛ!*</u> /// *A* *v* *yuor* *yire*

    lie EMP DEF 3SG name come:out.IPFV

    na *dɔwlɛ* *bibie* *za* // *ɛ* *a*

    AFFR increase.IPFV days all CONJ DEF

    nıbɛ *mʊʊrɛ* *v* *mì.* ///

    people praise.IPFV 3SG ADV

    'Lie! He is getting popular every day, and the people are praising him too'.

A: ||| *Siza na.* /// *Nàa nv.* /// *Ɛcɛ damnʊ*

    Truth IDENT.PL King IDENT.SG CONJ trouble

    dɛ *wa* *lɛ* *bere* *a* *tew* *pʊɔ*

    ADV COND be:again be.IPFV DEF town inside

    a, || *nyımɛ* *so* *a* *sãwna.* ///

    JUNC 2PL.EMP possess DEF blame

    'It is true. He is king. But if any trouble just occurs in the town again, you will have the blame.'

This dialogue is rich in negotiation. The chief priest (A) admonishes his elders for their inability to control the activities of Jesus, leading to his popularity among the people. In the first clause, he uses the admonitive particle *kɛ̃* to signal his disappointment and sound caution to the elders. In essence, the particle *kɛ̃* prosodically enacts the whole statement as an admonition rather than a bare statement of fact. In defence, one of the elders (B) tries to mitigate

the seriousness of the situation. Note his use of the biased interrogative particle *ya* not only to query the proposition made by the chief priest's but also to show surprise at his statement. Of particular interest here is the underlined clause, where another elder (C) challenges the position of his colleague with a definitive negotiation particle, signalled by the particle *dɛ*. This particle colours the proposition it attaches to as conclusive. In other words, the speaker lay a strong epistemic claim to the proposition. In general, the extract clearly exemplifies negotiation in action in the flow of discourse.

The next proposition-oriented negotiation to be discussed consists of those that have been labelled assertive and strongly assertive in Table 4.10. On a scale of degree of force, they are less strong than the definitive negotiation although they are also of high epistemic value. A mildly assertive negotiation is realised by the particle *ka* while a strongly assertive negotiation is realised by the particle *kaka*. Examples are given in the following constructed examples:

(122) *U*   *wa*   *na*   **ka**.

      3SG   come.PFV   AFFR   M.INS

      He has come, I insist.

(123) *U*   *bɛ*   *wa*   *ı*   **kaka**.

      3SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   come.PFV   NAFFR   S.INS

      'He has come, I strongly insist.'

The interactional contexts where a speaker typically uses these two assertive forms is to react to or challenge a proposition made by the addressee by insisting on the truth value of the proposition the particle attaches to.

(iv) Exclamative: Another negotiation type in the proposition-oriented category is the exclamative. Exclamation is realised in Dagaare only as a form of attitudinal stance, unlike in many Indo-European languages, where it can be realised by a sub-type of the declarative mood (e.g. *How gracefully she walks*!) (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: Ch. 4) on English). With the exception of the interrogative clause, any Dagaare clause can be turned into an exclamative by adding the particle *wɛ* to it. An example is the utterance by

Speaker B in example (117). The dialogue below gives other illustrations (from *The Story of Jesus*):

(124) Jesus: *Pɔw*   *ı,*   *a*   *fʋ*   *baalʋ*   *sanı*

woman VOC   DEF   2SG   sickness   heal.PFV

na.

AFFR

'Woman, your sickness is healed.'

Voice 1:   *Wi!*   *Alɛ!*   U̱   *sanı*   *na*   *wɛ!*

INTJ   INTJ   3SG   heal.PFV   AFFR   EXCL

'What! She is healed!'

Voice 2:   *U̱ʋ*   *wɛ!*   *Nɔ-ɓaa*   *yél*   *=ʋ.*   *Nı*

yes   EXCL   shocking   matter IDENT   2PL

wa   *nyɛ̃*   *a!*

come.PFV   see.PFV   PRT

'Yes! It is a miraculous incident. You come and see!'

Example (124) is an extract from a movie episode on a healing miracle performed by Jesus. Here, the exclamative particle occurs in two clauses, the first being an affirmative clause (Voice 1) and the second being a minor clause (Voice 2). The exclamative particle in these clauses shows the surprise and awe felt by the speakers at the miraculous healing of the sick woman. As Moutaouakil (1999: 7) observes of exclamation, it "signals the speaker's evaluation of [their] attitude towards the content of the linguistic expression with the peculiarity that the source of the evaluation is the impression made on the speaker by this content." The realisation of exclamation as a modal assessment in Dagaare rather than a mood type resonates with Moutaouakil (1999) cross-linguistic characterisation of exclamation as a kind of modal assessment. He notes that while declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses have structural properties that distinguish them across languages, exclamations can take variant forms even within the same language. As (124) show, exclamation in Dagaare has no unique structural realisation, only being indicated optionally as the speaker's attitude encoded in the clause (also see Section 3.2 for instances of exclamation in the imperative clause).

(v) Opinative: The opinative is realised by the particle *bɪ* and enacts the proposition realised by the clause as the speaker's opinion on an issue or as his/her personal conviction. An example is given in the following dialogue form (from St Maria play):

(125) Son: *Mãa   lɪɛbɛ   nɪ   faara   o!* [...]

1SG.EMP   turn.PFV   FOC   priest PRT[…]

'I am becoming a priest! …'

Father: *Bʋnʋ ya?   A   sukuul   ĩ   na   yaw   fʋ,*

What   INT   DEF   school   1SG   REL   put.PFV 2SG

fʋ   bɛ   zawrɪ   ɛ? [...]

2SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   refuse.PFV   NAFFR

'What? The school I put you in, didn't you stop?'

Fʋ   manɛ   a   faara mɪnɛ na   mɪ

2SG   assume.PFV   DEF   priests PL   REL   HAB

zɪ   a   lɛ   a,   zu   gbɪlɪ   lɛ

sit.PFV   DEF   DEM   PRT   head.PFV   knots   COP

bɛ? […]

3PL.HM

'You assume the priests who sit like that, they are uneducated?'

Son: *l   na   lɪɛb   =a.   Bɛ   na*

1SG   POS.IND.FUT   turn.PFV   AFFR   3PL.HM POS.IND.FUT

de   =m   =a   bɪ.

take.PFV   1SG.ACC   AFFR   OP

'I will become (one). They will admit me, in my opinion.'

In this extract, the father's discouraging response to his son's declaration of becoming a priest implies that the son will not be admitted to the priesthood since he is a school dropout and, for that matter, uneducated. Note again the use of the biased interrogative particle *ya* by the father to show surprise or unexpectedness at his son's statement. In reaction to the father's comments, the son explicitly enacts his conviction in the final clause with the opinative particle *bɪ*. It is also worth pointing out that the particle *o* in the first clause in (125) has negotiatory value although, unlike the other particles, this particle is paralinguistic juncture prosody and has no specific meaning. Its function is to

amplify the volume of the utterance. In fact, its use is not limited to Dagaare and would be familiar to speakers of West African languages in general.[14]

(vi) Hesitative and counter-expectation: Next, hesitative and counter-expectation particles are associated with interrogative clauses. The hesitative is indicated by the clause initial particle *mɛ́*. An illustration is given in (126) and (127) below:

(126)   Political opinion interview

Mɛ́	*tɪ*	*be*	*=n*	*a*	*ka*	*a*	*mʋtɔw*
HST	1PL	EXIST.PFV	FOC	DEF	here	DEF	afternoon

za	wɛ?
all	INT

'**I believe** (all of us) have been here since this afternoon, right?'

(127)   St Maria play

A: | *A* | *libie* | *nɪ* | *ana*. |
|------|------|------|------|
| DEF | money | FOC | these |

'This is the money.'

B: | *Na* | *dɔm!* | *Na* | *dɔm* | *=ɪ* | *tɪ* | *nyɛ̃* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| EXH | squat | EXH | squat | COM | 1PL | see.PFV |

a! […]
PRT

'Please squat! Please squat with it and let's see!'

A: | ***Mɛ́*** | *a* | *ta* | *na* | *wɛ*? |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| HST | 3PL.NHM reach | AFFR | INT |

'I believe it has reached (the agreed amount), right?

B: | *ĩ́* | *bʋɔlɪ* | *ĩ́* | *pɔw-yaa* | *ʋ* | *wa* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1SG | call.PFV 1SG | daughter | 3SG | come.PFV |

sɔr	*kaa*	*nyɛ̃́*.
count.PFV	check.PFV	see.PFV

'Let me call my daughter to come and count and see.'

As the examples show, the hesitative particle is an epistemic downtoner. The speaker hedges the proposition by hesitating in claiming full knowledge of it,

---

[14] I have also observed the use of this juncture prosody among Cantonese speakers.

inviting the addressee to confirm the proposition. Thus, it often co-occurs with the biased interrogative particle *wɛ* (and also *v* or *kpo*) (see Table 1) as the examples indicate. Semantically, the hesitative particle simultaneously indicates both the speaker's bias and uncertainty towards the proposition. Because of this, even if it occurs in a clause without an interrogative particle, the clause mostly still carries the sense of a biased question (e.g. *Mɛ́ tɪ be =n a ka a mʋtɔw za*, 'I believe all of us have been here since this afternoon'). The extracts below, especially the dialogue in (129), illustrate this phenomenon further:

(128)   The story of Jesus

/// ***Mɛ́***	*nyɪ*	*taa*	*na*	*lɔb*	*zʋkpar*	*na*
HST	2PL	MOD	POS.IND.FUT	throw	proverb	DEM

kṽ	*=m:* //	*"dɔkta*	*a,*	*sanɪ*	*fʋ*	*tvɔra!"* ///
give.PFV	1SG.ACC	doctor	PRT	heal.PFV	2SG	self

"**I believe** you will tell me this proverb: 'doctor, heal yourself.'"

(129)   Workshop interview

Agric Officer: […]

A	*tɪ*	*kɔb*	[[*tɪ*	*na*	*mí*
[…] DEF	1PL	farming	1PL	REL	HAB

kvɔr	*a]],*	***mɛ́***	*tɪntɛr*	*=v*	*tɪ*
farm.IPFV	JUNC	HST	plains	IDENT.SG	1PL

mí	*kɔ*	*yaga.*
HAB	farm.PFV	plenty

'… Our farming we do, **I believe** it is plains we cultivate more.'

Host: mmm
           INTJ
           'Yeah.'

Agric Officer:

Soo,	*bɛ*	*kɔ*	*=n*	*tɪntɛr.*
SO	3PL.HM	farm.PFV	FOC	plains

'So they cultivated plains.'

Generally, as Yang and Yap (2015: 54) characterised a Mandarin Chinese stance marker, the hesitative particle is used when the speaker is quite certain

about the epistemic claims of the proposition, yet, at the same time, is reluctant to come across as being assertive.[15]

Counter-expectation, on the other hand, is the grammatical encoding of irony, as it were. What is negotiated in the clause could be either a situation the speaker is reacting to or the propositional content of the clause itself. In other words, it either indicates (i) whether the situation engendering a question is opposite to the expectation of the speaker or (ii) that the speaker believes the opposite of the propositional content of a question. It is realised by the particle *mɔ̀*, illustrated in (130) below (from *The Story of Jesus*):

(130) Blind man*:* *Alɛ* *ka*! *Bʋʋ* *nʋ?* *Bʋʋ* *nɩɛ*

              wait M.INS what IDENT.SG what even

              nʋ ***mɔ̀?***

              IDENT.SG CE

              'Wait, I implore you! What is even happening?'

      Man*:* *Nazaratɩ* *tew* *Yeezu* *nʋ* *tɔlɛ* *a*

              Nazareth town Jesus IDENT.SG pass.IPFV DEF

              ka.

              here

              'It is Jesus of Nazareth who is passing here.'

The use of *mɔ̀* in (130) is an instance of an assessment of the situation engendering the question as counter to the speaker's expectation. The extract is from the episode on the healing of the blind Bartolomeo by Jesus. The blind man hears an unusual commotion and movement of a large crowd along the road where he sits in quest of arms. He approaches a fellow closer to him and queries about the unusual drama unfolding before him. The particle *mɔ̀*, which punctuates the interrogative clause signals the oddity of the situation. Another example is given in (131) from the same text, but this time showing counter-expectation to the propositional content of a clause (complex):

(131) ||| *Yèl* *tɩ* *nyɛ̃!* ||| *A* *zuru* *yab* [[*tɩ* *na*

      say 1PL see.PFV   DEF head-PL pay-NMLZ we REL

---

ya-rɛ	*kʋ-rɛ*	*a*	*nàa Sɪzaar*	*a*]],	*a*
pay-IPFV	give-IPFV	DEF	King Caesar	JUNC	3PL.NHM

sɛw		*na*	‖	*bʋ*	*a*
be.acceptable.PFV		AFFR		CONJ	3PL.NHM

bɛ	*sɛw*	*mɔ̀*? ‖‖
NEG.IND.NFUT	be:acceptable.PFV	CE

'Tell us!' The taxes we pay to Caesar, is it even acceptable or it's not acceptable?'

In this extract, the Jewish elders approach Jesus to inquire about the appropriateness of the payment of taxes to Caesar. The use of the counter-expectation particle in the alternative interrogative clause marks the proposition as counter to the expectations of the speaker. However, given that the question is realized by an alternative interrogative, the use of the counter-expectation particle makes it confusing as to which of the two alternatives the speaker is dissatisfied with. Thus, while the particle prompts the addressee that the speaker disprefers one of the alternatives, it does not make the preference explicit. It simply encodes the speaker's negative attitude in the complex.

(2) Interactant-oriented negotiation: Interactant-oriented negotiation, on the other hand, indicates the speaker's inter-subjective attitude towards the addressee. It comprises admonitive and empathic negotiation. The admonitive is realised by the particle *kɛ̃* or *wɛ*, depending on the sub-dialect. An example is the first clause in example (121), which has already been discussed: *Nɪbɛ yaga zie de ʋ na ʋ ɪ bɛ nàa baarɪ kɛ̃* ('Many people have accepted him to be their king already, how careless you are!'). Here, the admonitive particle *kɛ̃* prosodically enacts the whole statement as an admonition rather than a bare statement of fact.

Empathic negotiation, as the name suggests, signals that the speaker empathises with the addressee or is emotionally involved in the proposition realised by the clause in some way. It is realised by the particle *yaa*, illustrated below by constructed examples:

(132)	*A*	*mama*	*na*	*wa*	*na*	*yaa*?
	DEF	mum	POS.IND.FUT	come.PFV	AFFR	EM

'Mum will come, alright?'

(133) *A:*   *Ɛ*   *Zan*   *wa*?

        CONT   Zan   be:where

        'And where is Zan?'

     B: *Wi*!   *Ʊ*   *kpi*   *na*   ***yaa***.

        INTJ   3SG   die.PFV   AFFR   EM

        'Oh! S/he is dead, sorry for the shock.'

Example (132) is a typical consoling statement to a child crying for his/her absent mother while example (133) gives a scenario where a bereaved relative responds to a question on the whereabouts of the deceased. In both clauses, the empathic marker indicates that the speaker is emotionally involved in the proposition by empathising with the addressee. While in (132), the speaker signals endearment towards the worried child, in (133), the speaker anticipates the shocking effect of the proposition to the listener and indicates his/her empathy. Generally, the emphatic particle features prominently in care-taker-talk, where is it used as an endearment marker (as in (133)).

4.5.3.2 Negotiation in the imperative mood: modulating proposals

This section proceeds to discuss negotiation in the imperative mood. As mentioned earlier, negotiation here modulates the force of the proposal by either toning it down, enforcing it or indicating disinterest on the part of the speaker. This modulation strategy maps out a semiotic space consisting of more delicate sub-types of the imperative. They can broadly be classified into (1) hortative and (2) non-hortative types.

(1) Hortative negotiation: Hortative negotiation generally encourages or exhorts the addressee to bring the proposal by the clause into effect. In a sense, it modulates the force of the proposal by negotiating obligations. Two hortative types are identified: (i) adhortative and (ii) exhortative. These are semantically distinguished based on the degree to which the speaker can enforce the proposal. With the adhortative, the speaker positions her/himself as relatively less able to enforce the proposal. The addressee is empathised

with and encouraged or urged to bring about the goal of the proposal. The Negotiator is realised by the particle *yaa*:

(134) *Ta*   *kone*   *ɩ*   **yaa!**

NEG.IMP   cry.IPFV   NAFFR   ADH

'Don't cry, okay!'

The exhortative, on the other hand, strongly encourages or exhorts the addressee to bring about the goal of the proposal. It is marked by the clause initial particle *na*, immediately preceding the Predicator. Examples are given below (from *St Maria play*):

(135) Husband: **Na**   *bɔ*   *bʋndɩrɩ*   *kʋ̀*

                 EXH   search.PFV   food   give.PFV

                 mãa!

                 1SG.EMP

                 'Please, get me food! (and let's stop talking about this issue)'

       Wife*:*   *Anʋ*   *bɔ*   *bʋndɩrɩ*   *kʋ̀*   *fʋ*? [...]

                 who   search.PFV   food   give.PFV   2SG

                 'Who get you food?'

       Husband*:*   *Bʋʋ*   *so*   *fʋ*   *yèle*   *a*   *lɛ?*

                 what   owns   2SG   say.IPFV   DEF   DEM

                 'Why are you saying so?'

       Wife*:*   *Fʋ*   *kʋ̀*   *=m*   *=ɩ*   *lilir*   *ɩ?*

                 2SG   give.PFV   1SG.ACC   FOC   money   PRT

                 'Have you given me money?'

(136) *ɩ̃*   *pɔw-yaa*   **na**   *yɛ̂rɛ*   *ɩ̃*   *zie!*

1SG   daughter   EXH   speak.IPFV   1SG   place

'My daughter, please speak to me! (and ignore your father)'

As the English translations in (135) and (136) show, the exhortative particle is used in contexts where the proposal the speaker is making is competing with other topics for the attention of the listener (example 135) or where the speaker is competing with other voices for the attention of the listener (example 136). The particle *na* is thus used to exhort the listener to align with

the speaker's interest. An observation of interactions in casual conversation reveal that the use of this particle can be offensive to the non-addressee participant whose interest the listener is exhorted to ignore. A case in point is (136), where a mother exhorts the daughter to continue their conversation and ignore an interruption from the father.

(2) Non-hortative negotiation type: The non-hortative types comprise (i) prohibitive, (ii) requestive / exclamative, (iii) admonitive, (iii) insistent / imploring and (iv) suggestive negotiation. (i) The prohibitive negotiation corresponds to the non-affirmative in the indicative mood and is realised by the same set of phonologically variant particles (see Table 1). For want of space, it will not be discussed further here.

(ii) Requestive / exclamative: The requestive entreats or requests the addressee to ensure the success of the proposal realised by the clause. The Negotiator is realised by the particle *wɛ*, as exemplified by the underlined clauses in the extract below (from *The Story of Jesus*):

(137) *A:* Fʊ   bɔbr   kɛ   tɪ   ɪ   ŋmɪn?

           2SG   want.IPFV   PROJ   1PL   do.PFV   what

           'What do you want us to do?'

      B: <u>*Faa*   *tɪ*   *wɛ!*</u>

           save.PFV   1PL   EXCL

           'Save us, please!'

      C: <u>*Yèl*   *wɛ!*</u>   *Tɪ*   *ɪ*   *ŋmɪn?*

           say.PFV EXCL   1PL   do.PFV   what

           'Tell (us), please! what do we do?'

These utterances are made by a restless crowd following John the Baptist in a biblical drama. The requestive clauses that realise Speaker B and C's proposals entreat him to answer their questions. In the Bartolomeo extract introduced earlier (example 130), the blind man (A below) employs the requestive to entreat Jesus for healing. The extract is repeated below in an extended form (The relevant clause is underlined):

(138) A: *Alɛ   ka!   Bʋʋ   nʋ?   Bʋʋ   nɩɛ*
       wait   M.INS what   IDENT.SG   what   ADV

       nʋ   mɔ̀?
       IDENT.SG   CE

       'Wait! What is it? What is even going on?'

    B: *Nazaratɩ   tew   Yeezu   nʋ   tɔlɛ   a*
       Nazareth   town   Jesus   IDENT.SG   pass.IPFV   DEF

       ka
       here

       'It is Jesus of Nazareth who is passing here.'

    A: *Oyi!   Yeezu u!   Oyi!   Yeezu u!*
       INTJ.   Jesus VOC INTJ.   Jesus VOC

       <u>*Daviir bi-dɛb   ɩ,   zɔ   a   ɩ   nɩ-baalʋ*</u>

       <u>***wɛ***</u>*!*
       EXCL

       David child-male   VOC   run.PFV DEF   1SG   pity

       'Oh, Jesus! Oh, Jesus! Son of David, have pity on me, **please**!'

Supplicatory contexts such as these are typical environments of the requestive Negotiator.

    In addition to its requestive use, the particle *wɛ* is also used in the imperative mood to realise exclamation (cf. Section 3.1). However, the use of *wɛ* as an exclamation marker in the imperative is limited. It is only used with the perceptive verb *nyɛ̃* ('see') as in the following extract from a casual conversation:

(139) *Nyɩnɛ na   fʋ   dɛ   ŋmʋrɛ   a   lɛ*
     where   IDENT.PL   2SG   ADV   rush.IPFV   DEF   DEM.DIST

     cere   nɩ?   <u>Nyɛ̃   wɛ</u>!
     go.IPFV   COM   see.PFV   EXCL

     'Where is it that you are just dashing like that to? Look at that!

Here, *Nyɛ̃ wɛ*! ('See!') is not an invitation for the listener to engage in a perceptive process, but rather an indication of the speaker's disapproval of the listener's careless behaviour, signalled in the preceding clause. The perceptive

verb *nyɛ̃* ('see') has been recruited for the realisation of exclamations and it has almost lost its sense of perception in this environment. Below are other exclamation clauses where it is used other than those with the exclamative particle (from The Story of Jesus):

(140) *Nɪ*   *nyɛ̃*   *a*   *nɪɪ!*

     2PL   see.PFV   3PL.NHM   PRT

    'You look at that (= Look at what you have caused)!'

(141) *Fʊ*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *yɛrʊ!*

     2SG   NEG   see.PFV speech

    'What a speech!'

Examples (140) and (141) are instances of recurrent formulaic expressions. Example (140) is a depreciative exclamation while (141) is an appreciative exclamation (cf. Moutaouakil, 1999: 8-10). With the exception of *yɛrʊ* ('speech') in (141), all the individual words in these two clauses are semantically empty, they are non-referential. The pronouns are impersonal and have no specific reference and the verb *nyɛ̃* ('see') does not necessarily indicate perception by sight in clauses such as (141). A more congruent realisation of the process here would be *wõ* ('hear') rather than *nyɛ̃* ('see') since what is perceived is sound rather than a physical object. Thus, while (140) is used to indicate the speaker's frustration towards the listener, (141) shows the speaker's admiration of the speech alluded to.

(iii) Admonitive: The admonitive negotiation in the imperative mood has a similar meaning as in the indicative mood. But here it either cautions or urges the addressee against the event or action represented by the Predicator/Process (example 142) or indicates that the speaker is indifferent whether the proposal is enforced or not. That is, it is the addressee's own business (see example 143). As mentioned earlier, there is a sub-dialectal variation in the realisation of the Negotiator. Mostly, speakers in Burkina Faso use a distinctive particle *kɛ̃*, while speakers in Ghana use the particle *wɛ*, which has the same form as the exclamative particle. Thus, among Ghanaian speakers, the admonitive imperative clause has the same form as the requestive and the two can only be

distinguished in context. Illustrations are given in the constructed examples below:

(142) *Zɩ* **wɛ/kɛ***!* *Bɛ* *dɩrɛ* *na.*
     sit.PFV ADM   3PL.HM eat.IPFV AFFR

     'You sit! They are eating.' (You won't have any food to eat).'

(143) A: *ĩ̃* *wa* *bɩ*?
         1SG   come.PFV   INT

         'Should I come?'

     B: *Wa* **wɛ/kɛ**!
         come.PFV   ADM

         'Come! (It's your business; I don't care).'

(iv) Insistent / imploring: The particle *ka* (mild) or *kaka* (strong) in the imperative clause can be interpreted as realising insistence or imploring, depending on tenor and/or the nature of the demand imposed on the listener. In the following clauses, *ka* is interpreted as imploring the listener to carry out the command since, in each case, the listener is in a more privileged or powerful position than the speaker.

(144)   The Story of Jesus

     Alɛ **ka***!*

     wait   M.INS

     'Wait, I implore you!'

(145)   St Maria play

Pɛw	*mɛ*	**ka***!*	*ĩ̃*	*dɩ*	*=n*	*san.*
lend.PFV	1SG.ACC	M.INS	1SG.NOM	owe.PFV	FOC	debt.
Mãa	*cen,*	*v*	*kṽ*		*kʋ̀*	*mɛ*
1SG.EMP	go.PFV	3SG	FUT.IND.NEG		give.PFV	1SG.ACC
ɩ.						
NAFFR						

     'Lend me, I implore you! I have a debt.

Example (144) is from the blind Bartolomeo to a passer-by and (145) is from an insolvent husband to his apparently well-to-do wife. A similar utterance from father to son such as *Wa kaka*! ('Come, I insist!') will be interpreted as

insistence. Thus, while in the declarative mood, *ka* and *kaka* boost the speaker's commitment to the knowledge claims of the proposition, in the imperative, they modulate the speaker's demand for goods-&-services.

(v) Suggestive: The final negotiation type to consider in the imperative mood is the suggestive, realised by the clause final particle *bʋ*. It is illustrated by the following constructed dialogue:

(146) A: *ĩ̀* *sɛ̃* *a* *nɛn?*

        1SG roast.PFV DEF meat

        'I (should) roast the meat?'

    B: *Dʋw* ***bʋ***.

        boil OP

        'Boil it, I suggest / I think!'

As the exchange indicates, this particle is always used in reaction to a preceding utterance and it signals the imperative clause as an alternative course of action.

4.5.3.3 Negotiation concord

To recapitulate, the particles realising negotiation relatively have different meanings in the indicative and imperative moods. In the indicative mood, they mostly enact the speaker's assessment of the epistemic claim of propositions. In the imperative, they indicate the speaker's assessment of tenor and the force of proposals. These are, however, relative characterisations. For instance, interactant-oriented negotiation in indicative clauses are also motivated by tenor. Generally, the particles realising negotiation are juncture prosodies that extends the indicative and imperative mood distinctions in delicacy. However, more than one attitudinal marker can be found in a single clause, at most up to three. In the indicative mood, this often happens in polar interrogative clauses, which normally combine the affirmative or non-affirmative particle with the selected interrogative particle (see Table 4.10). Also, a clause which already has an obligatory Negotiator for mood contrast can take an optional Negotiator element (see examples 132&133, for instance).

This section is particularly concerned with a situation where more than one optional Negotiator are used in a clause to amplify negotiation. This normally involve a clause initial particle and a clause final particle. I refer to this phenomenon as **negotiation concord** to highlight the semantic resonance between the co-occurring particles. In the indicative mood, such co-occurrence consists of the clause hesitative particle *mέ* and a variant of the initiative biased interrogative particle (see Table 4.10). An example of this has already been introduced in examples (126) and (127) in the preceding section. Both particles indicate the speaker's uncertainty towards the epistemic claim of the proposition (cf. Section 3.1). The following combinatory possibilities are identified in the imperative mood:

(i)   *Na* .... *ka.* (only the imploring sense)

(ii)   *Na* .... *kaka.* (only the imploring sense)!

(ii)   *Na* .... *wε.* (the requestive sense)!

(iii)   *Na* .... *yaa*!

(iv)   *Na* .... *bιι*!

An illustration is given below by a dialogic musical interlude in a traditional folktale about a wild duck and her paralytic duckling (*Gbεr-be-yeni Wʋba*, 'One-leg Paralytic'; repeated lines are omitted):

(147) **Duckling:**

ĩ	*ma*	*a,*	*ĩ*	*ma*	*a,*	*bε*
1SG	mother	VOC	1SG	mother	VOC	3PL.HM

'wɔbr	*fʋ*	*na*	*wε!*
chew.IPFV	2SG	AFFR	EXCL

'My mother, my mother, they are eating you!'

Duck:

ĩ	*bie*	*e,*	*ĩ*	*bie*	*e,*	***na***
1SG	child	VOC	1SG	child	VOC	EXH

Ta	*kone*	*ι*	***wε!***
NEG.IMP	cry.IPFV	NAFFR	EXCL

'My child, my child, please don't cry!'

Mãa	*nιε*	*pιrε*	*yεryεryεr*	*ɣawnε*
1SG.EMP	ADV	struggle.IPFV	IDEO	give.IPFV

bɛlɛ	*nɛ.*
3PL.HM.EMP	DEM.DIST

'For I have earnestly been feeding those others.'

Bɛlɛ	*nιɛ*	*bɛ*	*kone.*
3PL.HM.EMP	ADV	NEG.IND.NFUT	cry.IPFV

ι	*Ɛ*	*fʋʋ*	*pãa*	*nιɛ*	*kone.*
NAFFR	CONJ	2SG.EMP	ADV	ADV	cry.IPFV

'They are not even crying and now you are crying.'

Gbɛr-be-yeni	*wʋba*	*a,*	***na***	*ta*
leg-one	paralytic	VOC	EXH	NEG.IMP

kone	*ι*	***wɛ!***
cry.IPFV	NAFFR	EXCL

'One legged paralytic, please don't cry!'

The story relates that Mother Duck refused to feed her paralytic duckling due to its deformity but took very good care of her healthy ducklings. When Mother Duck was attacked and killed by a group of hunting boys, all the ducklings scattered, except the paralytic one, who followed the boys wherever the mother was taken. In this exchange, the duckling employs the exclamative marker to indicate her desperation at her mother being eaten. Of particular interest here is the combination of the exhortative particle *na* and the requestive marker *wɛ* in Mother Duck's response. With this negotiation concord, she negotiates the proposal at both ends of the clause to strongly show her remorse and empathise with and entreat the duckling to stop crying.

This semiotic prosody established by negotiation is in harmony with the use of other interpersonal resources in the interlude, namely the choice of Vocatives, the use of emphatic pronouns for Subject person in Mother Duck's turn (i.e. *mãa*, 'I', *bɛlɛ,* 'they', *fʋʋ,* 'you') the foregrounding of mood Adjuncts (i.e. *nιɛ, pãa* 'even'), and the exclamative marker in the duckling's turn. This conspiracy of interpersonal resources creates an emotionally charged semiotic context, the social function of which is to evoke the right emotions in the young audience and inject in them the moral import of the story (cf. Martin (1988) on grammatical conspiracy).

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter has explored the clause as a unit for enacting interpersonal meaning among Dagaare speakers, especially in dialogic interaction. It first discussed the nature of dialogue and the general speech functions that are enacted in verbal exchanges. It then examined the interpersonal structure of the Dagaare clause, identifying the Mood base and Residue as two main components of the clause. the chapter also examined the different mood types that realise the system of SPEECH FUNCTION. the phenomenon of mood metaphor has also been examined. Finally, the chapter discussed polarity and the modal assessment systems of MODALITY and NEGOTIATION.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEME AND INFORMATION

5.1   Introduction

In Chapter 4, we discussed resources available to the Dagaare speaker for enacting the clause as an arguable and negotiable move in discourse. In this chapter, we will examine the textual systems of the Dagaare clause, that is, grammatical resources that are dedicated to the organisation of the clause as a message. The chapter first discusses the conception of the clause as a message structure, drawing on insights from the extant literature (Section 5.2). This is followed by a discussion of two key textual systems of Dagaare, the systems of THEME (Section 5.3) and INFORMATION (Section5.4).

5.2   The Concept of the Clause as Message

The concern with the clause as a message structure is perhaps the earliest recognition of constituent structure in language. In his study of the grammar of ancient Greek, Plato divided the sentence (*lógos*) into parts of speech (*mérē lógou*), comprising what he called *ónoma* and *rhêma* (cf. Robins 1966; Halliday 1977). This division is the antecedent of the terms Theme-Rheme or Topic-Comment in contemporary analysis of the textual composition of the clause. It was Aristotle, and later the Stoics, who began to expand Plato's conception of parts of speech into what have come down to us as word classes. The development of the notions of Theme and Rheme in contemporary linguistic science is subsequently owed to the Prague School of linguists, especially Vilém Mathesius and also Frantisek Daneš and Jan Firbas, who developed them in the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) in the 1950's (cf. Garvin 1964; Daneš 1974; Firbas 1992). Following his initial research of Chinese in the 1950's, Michael Halliday, adopted a system-based approach to thematic analysis as part of his systemic functional account of English (Halliday 1967a, b, 1968), expanding this further to include an account of information focus as a separate but complementary system to the thematic orientation of the clause (see e.g. Halliday 1970; 1979; Halliday &

Greaves 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). This complementary perspective has been usefully applied to the description of many languages, and Matthiessen (2004; cf. Section 10.5) gives a typological overview of the THEME and INFORMATION systems of the world's languages. in other contemporary linguistic traditions, THEME and INFORMATION have not beenclearly separated as complementary systems and have been investigated under the general heading of information structure (e.g. Lambrecht 1994, 1996; Schwabe & Winkler 2007; Zimmermann 2010), and topic and focus (e.g. Gundel 1974; Givón 1975a, 1983; Good 2010).

In African languages, studies on information structure have been skewed to information focus systems (but see a recent study by Abdel-Hafiz (2015) on Kunuz-Nubian); developing descriptive, experimental, typological and grammaticalisation accounts of focus resources across languages (e.g. Heine & Reh 1983; Rialland & Robert 2001; Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007; Schwarz 2009; Zimmerman 2011; Güldemann et al . 2015). Investigations have also been conducted on the role of prosody in information focus in some languages (see Güldemann et al . (2015) for a recent review). The prominence of information focus in studies on African languages is arguably because it is a grammatical phenomenon that is often marked morphologically in many of these languages. Thematic structure, on the other hand, is a covert grammatical category across many languages. As the history of the science of language has however taught us, a systematic analysis of discourse often reveals striking grammatical reality of cryptic categories (cf. Whorf 1956; Halliday 1967a, 197b, 1968; Fillmore 1968).

In this chapter, the discussion of the Dagaare clause as a message structure will draw on insights from the conceptual and descriptive insights noted above. Specifically, it takes a system-based (or a holistic) approach to theme (Section 5.3) and focus (Section 5.4) in Dagaare, and shows how they complement each other in the textual development of the clause.

5.3   Theme and Rheme

The first textual resource of dagaare grammar to be discussed is the system of THEME. this is a system of textual prominence given to the initial element(s) in

the clause. in dagaare, as in many other languages, the system of THEME is related to a distinct status of prominence that is assigned to the initial position of the clause by postulating it as the orientation of the clause, a point of departure in the flow of meaning (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). This

Table 5.1. Thematic analysis of a text [reporting: recounting – monologic – written]

clause no.	clause	
	Theme	**Rheme**
[1]	*A Adama nɪ* DEF Adam and *a Awa* DEF Eve	*tɪ dɔw nɪ bibiir ayi*: PST.REM born FOC children two: *Kayɛ̃ nɪ Abɛl.* Cain and Abel
[2.1]	*A Abɛl* DEF Abel	*wa ɪ =n pi-cĩnɛ,* EVT COP.PFV FOC shepherd
[2.2]	*ɛ a Kayɛ̃* and DEF Cain	*ɪ kvɔra.* COP.PFV farmer
[3.1]	*A Kayɛ̃ poru* DEF Cain farms	*tɪ maal =ɪ vla* PST.REM do.PFV FOC well
[3.2]	*a ci* DEF guinea corn	*yawmɛ̃.* be:plenty
[4.1]	*Ʋ* 3SG	*tɪ ir =ɪ a* PST.REM remove.PFV FOC DEF *ci* guinea corn
[4.2]	*k'vʋ* CONJ.3SG	*pour =ɪ Naaŋmɪn barka.* greet.PFVFOC God gratitude
[5.1]	*A Abɛl* DEF Abel	*tɪ nyɔw nɪ a* PST.REM catch.PFV FOC DEF *ʋ pelé kãw* his lamb some
[5.2]		*maal =ɪ bawr kʋ̀* make.PFV FOC sacrifice give *a Naaŋmɪn.* DEF God

'Adam and Eve gave birth to two children: Cain and Abel. Abel became a shepherd and Cain was a farmer. Cain's farms did well (such that) the guinea corn was plenty. He took some of the

206

guinea corn in order to offer thanks to God. Abel caught one of

his lambs and made sacrifice to God.' (Source: *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie*

1996)

textual grounding of the clause is its Theme element. The Theme combines with the remainder of the clause, the Rheme, to constitute a message, a miniature text, as it were, and every clause, thus construed, creates a setting for other clauses that potentially follow it. We will illustrate this textual development of the Dagaare clause with an extract from the story of Cain and Abel (*Kayɛ̃ anɪ Abɛl*), which has been analysed in Table 5.1.

The analysis in Table 5.1 gives a picture of a text "evolving in its context" (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 9). It clearly shows how the selection of Theme contributes to the development of the clause in Dagaare. Each clause begins with a Theme, which is then developed in the Rheme. The Theme locates each clause in the environment of the unfolding text. In clause (1), the Theme is *A Adama nɪ Awa*. The Rheme develops the Theme by telling us about their offspring, Cain and Abel. In the remaining clauses, we observe that the Theme of each clause relates the clause to the context of the preceding text. In this text, as is characteristic of narratives, the Theme is typically picked out from the Rheme of the preceding text. Two different kinds of Themes can be observed in clauses (2.2) and (4.2). Each of these clauses begins with a conjunction followed by a nominal group. Both the conjunction, which in the case of (4.2) is aclitic form of the conjunctive particle *ké*, and the nominal group serve to orient the clause in two different ways. The conjunction serves to connect the clause to the preceding one. In other words, it clearly posits the preceding clause as the environment for the interpretation of the following clause. This type of Theme is called a textual Theme while those Themes in the text that are realised by nominal groups such as *A Adama nɪ Awa* ('Adam and Eve')*, A Kayɛ̃,* ('Cain') *AKayɛ̃ poru* ('Cain's farms') *a ci* ('the guinea corn') and *U* ('s/he') are topical Themes, what the clause is about. A topical Theme typically has an experiential function in the clause, that is, a participant role, a process or a circumstantial element (but see below on absolute Theme). All the topical Themes in the Cain and Abel text are participants in the clause (see Chapter 6 for details on experiential structure of the clause).

As can be observed from the interlinear glossing, the Rheme also embodies another kind of textual prominence, that of information focus. These two together, Theme and focus of New information, construe the textual essence of the Dagaare clause. Information focus will be discussed in Section 5.4. In this section, we proceed to discuss the different types of Theme, beginning with topical Theme in Section 5.3.1 and then textual and interpersonal Themes in Section 5.3.2. Figure 5.1 presents a fragment of a system network for THEME in Dagaare, specifically, a network on the selection of topical Theme.
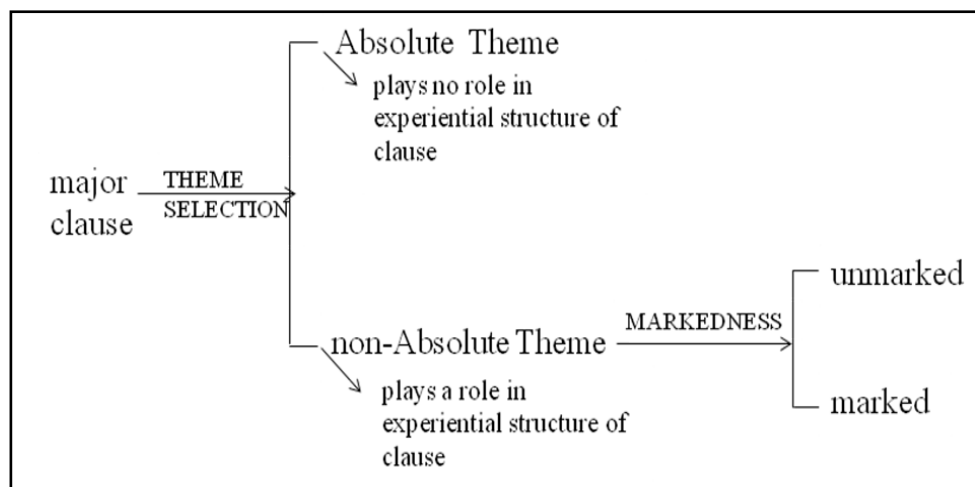
Figure 5.1: A system network of THEME SELECTION for Topical Theme

5.3.1   Topical Theme

Every language dedicates some of its lexicogrammatical resources for signalling thematic prominence in the clause. Studies have revealed three motifs of realisation across languages (see Matthiessen (2004) and references therein). First, many languages, including Dagaare and, also, English, simply place elements of thematic prominence at the initial position of the clause (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Second, some languages show thematic prominence morphologically, typically by singling the Theme element out with a special particle or even an affix. An example of such a language is Tagalog, where the particle *ang* tags the topical Theme irrespective of its placement in the clause (Martin 2004). Some other languages, such as Japanese, combine these two strategies and exemplify the third motif across

languages. Japanese privileges initial position of the clause as thematic and at the same time deploys the particle *wa* or *ga* to segmentally indicate thematic prominence (Teruya 2007).

Although Dagaare does not indicate topical Theme morphologically, a systematic study of discourse data clearly shows the initial position of the clause as thematically loaded. We will elaborate this textual phenomenon by identifying two main types of topical Theme in the Dagaare clause: absolute Theme (Section 5.3.1.1) and non-absolute Theme (Section 5.3.1.2).

5.3.1.1 Absolute Theme

As indicated earlier, topical Themes normally have a function in the experiential or transitivity structure of the clause as those we saw in the *Cain and Abel* text. But it is also a very common characteristic of Dagaare for speakers to clearly mark off the topical Theme as a separate element from the rest of the clause. A Theme signalled this way is called absolute Theme (cf. Matthiessen 1995: 552-554; Downing 2015: 214-142). Thus, we can define an absolute Theme as a topical Theme that does not have a transitivity function in the clause (cf. Chapter 6). Absolute Themes have often been discussed under the topic of 'left-dislocated constructions' in the study of African languages (Abdel-Hafiz 2015; Güldemann et al . 2015). We illustrate their use in the following report by a farmer at a workshop. Absolute Themes are marked in bold and the clauses in which they occur are underlined:

(1)   Workshop report 1

[1]   ***A   dɪya,   a   tome   nɛ***

DEF   last year   DEF   work.NMLZ   DEM.DIST

tɪ   na   to   a,   a   tome

1PL   REL   work.PFV   JUNC   DEF   work.NMLZ

dɪya   na   vɪɛl,   a   kʋ̀

last year   AFFR   be good   CONT   give.PFV

=m.[16]

1SG.ACC

---

[16]*A kʋ̀ m* ('give me') is a fragmentadded as an afterthought. A more appropriate construction will be as follows:

A	*tome*	*dɪya*	*vɪɛl*	*a*	*kʋ̀*	*=m.*
DEF	work.NMLZ	last year	be:good	AFFR	give.PFV	1SG.ACC

[2.1] *Bʋʋ nʋ*   [2.2] *so?*

what IDENT.SG   own

[3.1] *A dãw niwn sob, a vɛ̃ na **a***

DEF earlier face owner 3PL.NHM allow.PFV AFFR DEF

tɪ nɪbɛ ani nɛ, tɪ tɛr =ɪ

1PL people eight DEM.DIST 1PL possess FOC

nɔ-law

unity

[3.2] *a tome cere.*

DEF work.NMLZ go.IPFV

[4] ‖‖ *Ɛ **wa a kɔb** mɪŋa lombowri, ĩ*

CONJ come DEF farm.NMLZ itself area 1SG

nyɛ̃ n= a zie nɛ na siw

see.PFV FOC DEF place DEM.DIST REL lower.PFV

tɪ bʋla nɪ a be tɪ na

1PL small COP.FOC DEF there 1PL REL

bɛ yãw a nasa-kuolu a, ‖

NEG.IND.NFUT put.PFV DEF European-fertilizer JUNC

ɛ bɛ yãw a Dagara kuolo

CONJ NEG.IND.NFUT put.PFV DEF Dagara fertilizer

mɪ yaga a. ‖‖

also much JUNC

[5] *ĩ tɪɛ a be nʋ [[na*

1SG think.PFV DEF there IDENT.SG REL

wa nɪ gbɛ-ŋmɛ a tɪ kʋɔbɛ

come CAUS shortcoming DEF 1PL farmers

zie a]].

place JUNC

[6.1] *ĩ tɪɛ a be bome na*

1PL think DEF there things IDENT.PL

[6.2] *bɛ maal vla kʋ̀ tɪ*

NEG.IND.NFUT do:well.PFV good give.PFV 1PL

ɛ.

NAFFR

210

[7.1] ||| *Ɛ*   *wa,*   ***a***   ***zie***   ***nɛ***   [[***tɪ***   ***na***

and   come   DEF   place   DEM.DIST   1PL   REL

maalɪ   ***k=***   ***a***   ***ɪ***   ***mɛ***

make.PFV   so that   3PL.NHM   COP.PFV   like

a   ***bowli***   ***na***   ***tɪ***   ***ɣâw***   ***a***]],

DEF   small:holes   IDENT   1PL   put.PFV   JUNC

a   *be*   *de*   *nɪ*   *ɓaar,* || [7.2] *a*   *be*

DEF   there   take.PFV   FOC   moisture   DEF   there

bome   *maal*   *=a*   *zuo*   *a*   *wɛrʊ*   *a*

things   do:well.PFV   AFFR   more than.PFV   DEF   farms   DEF

za   [[*tɪ*   *na*   *kɔ*   *a*]].|||

all   1PL   REL   farm.PFV   JUNC

[8] ||| *Waar*   *mì,*   ***a***   ***zie***   ***nɛ***   ***mì***   [[***tɪ***

come   also   DEF   place   DEM.DIST   also   1PL

mì   ***na***   ***ɣâw***   ***a***   ***bɪwra***   ***a***]],   *ĩ*   *nyɛ̃*

also   REL   put.PFV   DEF   ridges   JUNC   1SG   see.PFV

n=   *a*   *be*   *mì;*||

FOC   DEF   there   also

[9] ***a***   ***bɪwra***   ***nɛ***   [[***tɪ***   ***na***   ***mí***   ***ɣâw***   ***a***]],

DEF   ridges   DEM.DIST   1PL   REL   HAB   put.PFV   JUNC

ĩ   *tɪɛ*   *a*   *bɪwra*   *bome*   *mì*   *maal*

1SG   think.PFV   DEF   ridges   things   also   do:well.PFV

=a   *zuo*   *a*   *tɪ-sɔw*   *mɪŋa*   *dem*

AFFR   be:more:than.PFV   DEF   land   self   own

[[*tɪ*   *na*   *bʊr*   *a*]].|||

1PL   REL   SOW.PFV   JUNC

[10] *ĩ*   *tɪɛ*   *bom*   *nɛ*   [[*ĩ*   *na*

IPL   think.PFV   thing   DEM.DIST   1SG   REL

nyɛ̃   *yi*   *nɪ*   *a*   *dɪya*   *tome*

see.PFV   be:from.PFV   FOC   DEF   last year   work.NMLZ

pʊɔ   *a*]]   *nɪ*   *a*   *lɛ.*

inside   JUNC   COP.FOC   DEF   DEM.DIST

'**Last year, the work that we did**, the work was good last year, for me. Why? First, it let **we those eight people**, we had unity so that the

211

work progressed well. And **come to the farming itself**, I have seen (that) the area [[that let us down a little]] is the place [[that we didn't put the European fertilizer and also didn't put much of the Dagara [=local] fertilizer]]. I think that place is the one [[that brought a shortcoming on the part of we the farmers]]. I think the things [=crops] there are the ones (that) didn't do well for us. And then, **the place [[that we made such that it seemed we had created small ponds]],** that place retained moisture, the things [=crops] there did better than the rest of the farms that we made. Then also, **the place too [[where we made the ridges also]],** I have seen that place too; **those ridges [[that we make]]**, I think the things [=crops] in the ridges also did better than the ones [[that we sowed on the plain land]]. I think that is the thing [=what] [[I found from last year's work]].'

Each of the underlined clauses begins with an element, the absolute Theme, set apart as the topic of the clause. This element has the potential of playing a role in the transitivity structure of the clause, but it is not. Thus, the absolute Themeis normally resumed later in the clause as a part of the experiential composition of the clause. This is done in several ways, comprising the use of repetition, rephrasing, a resumptive pronoun or some other pro-form. Clause (1) has two absolute Themes: A temporal adverbial group *A dɪya* ('last year') and a nominal group *a tome nɛ tɪ na to a* ('the work that we did') both of which are rephrased later in the clause as circumstantial Adjunct and Subject/Carrier respectively. In (5.1), the absolute Theme is resumed by the pronoun *tɪ* again as Subject/Carrier; In (7), the absolute Theme is a locative nominal group and it is resumed by the proform *a be* ('there') in both (7.1) and (7.2) as also Subject/Carrier; and in (8), it is resumed as a Complement/Phenomenon, *a be mì*. In (9), it is paraphrased as a Modifier/Classifier in the nominal group *a bɪwra bome* which functions as Subject/Carrier in the clause.

These Themes contribute to the overall development of meaning in the text. The first thematic element places the text within a particular temporal context, *A dɪya* ('last year') and within this temporal space, the farmer singles out a particular activity, 'the work that we did'. Together, they set out the

aboutness of the text. Each of the following absolute Themes builds up the topic of the text by specifying an aspect of it: first about us, the eight farmers (*tı nıbɛ ani nɛ*), then about the farming itself (*a kɔb mıŋa lombowri*) and then different aspects of it (see examples 7 to 9). Thus, within the text, there is a division of labour between absolute Themes and the other types of Theme. They are more oriented towards the global organisation of the text than the non-Absolute ones such as *a tome* ('the work) in (3.2). This is just one specific instance of their use. But it is a function that is recurrent. The following extract exemplifies a similar function of absolute Themes in the biblical creation story, where they topicalise the different created things that populate the empty world, one after the other (absolute Themes are in bold; relevant clauses are underlined):

(2)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie (1996)*

A	*pɛr*	*tib*	*daar*	*Naaŋmın*	*tı*	*ir*	*=ı*
DEF	bottom	start	time	God		PST.REM	bring:forth.PFV FOC

a	*salom*	*nı*	*a*	*tẽw.*	*A*	*tẽw*	*tı*
DEF	sky	and	DEF	earth	DEF	earth	PST.REM

ı	*=n*	*vuo*	*ɛ*	*bom*	*za*	*bɛ*	*ka*
COP.PFV	FOC	hollow	CONJ	thing	all	NEG.IND.NFUT	EXIST.PFV

be	*ı.*	*A*	*lɛ*	*na*	*a*	*Naaŋmın*	
there	NAFFR	DEF	DEM	IDENT.PL DEF		God	

tı	*yèl:*	*"A*	*cãa,*	*v*	*be!"*	*Ɛ*	*a*
PST.REM	say.PFV	DEF	light	3SG	EXIST.PFV	CONJ	DEF

cãa	*dɛ*	*caalı*	[…]
light	ADV	shine.PFV.	[…]

A	*Naaŋmın*	*tı*	*yèl*	*a:*	*"Zʋmɛ̃,*	*a*
DEF	God		PST.REM	say.PFV AFFR	fish	3PL.NHM

be	*duure*	*a*	*kṽɔmı*	[…]	*Dʋn-bʋʋrɛ*
EXIST.PFV	swim.IPFV	DEF	in water	[...]	animal-kinds

bʋʋrɛ	*za,*	*a*	*bɛrɛ*	*nı*	*a*	*pʋrmɛ,*	*a*
DUP	all	DEF	big.PL	and	DEF	little.PL	3PL.NHM

be		*a*	*tew*	*zu."*
EXIST.PFV		DEF	earth	ADP

"In the beginning, God brought forth the sky and the earth. The earth was hollow and nothing was there. Then, God said: "**The light,** it be!" And the light just shone … God said: '**Fish**, let them be swimming in the water … **All kinds of animals, the big ones and the little ones**, let them be in the world!"

It will be a useful exercise to examine the division of labour between absolute Themes and other topical Themes where they occur together in a text. Compared to non-Asolute Themes, they tend to be fairly frequent in Dagaare discourse. In a sample of 375 clauses across different registers, they record about 15% (i.e. 54 counts) instances while non-absolute Themes record about 72% (i.e. 271 counts), excluding minor clauses. We turn to non-absolute Themes in the next section.

5.3.1.2 Non-absolute Theme

Non-absolute Theme is a cover term used for any Theme that has a function in the transitivity structure of the clause. These are the kind of topical Themes that were identified in the Cain and Abel text. As Figure 5.1 shows, they divide into two sub-types, marked and unmarked Themes. Unmarked Theme is what is chosen as Theme when there no good reason to choose another one (Halliday & Greaves 2008) while marked Theme attracts attention to itself, it adds a special effect or meaning to the clause.

(1) Unmarked Theme: In many languages such as English and other Germanic languages, unmarked Theme varies across mood types (cf. Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007). In Dagaare, the typical unmarked Theme in both the indicative and imperative is the Subject. A good example for declarative clauses is provided by the Cain and Abel text we analysed at the beginning of this Chapter, where all the topical Themes are unmarked. An example is given below for the imperative, where the third person pronoun *Nyɪ* is Theme:

(3)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

     Nyɪ   *dɔwr*   *paalɛ* *ɛ*   *yɛrɛ*!

     2PL   procreate.IPFV fill.IPFV CONJ   spread.IPFV

     'You give birth to many, and multiply!'

The second person singular imperative, however, has a different selection of unmarked Theme since it does not take the Subject in its unmarked usage. The unmarked Theme here is the Predicator element, realised by the verbal group (Predicator is in bold):

(4)   The story of Jesus

    Faa   _tı_   _wɛ_!

    save.PFV   1PL   EXCL

    '**Save** us, please!'

(5)   St. Maria Play

    _Ta_   **_mí_**   **_yèl_**   _a_   _lɛ_   _ı_!

    NEG-IMP HAB   say.PFV DEF   that   NAFFR

    '**Don't be saying** that!'

(6)   St. Maria play

    _Na_   **_bɔ_**   _bʋndırı_   _kʋ̀_   _mãa_!

    EXH   find.PFV   food   give.PFV   1SG.EMP

    'Please, **find** me food!'

Studies have also shown that some languages, including English, give thematic prominence to Q-elements in elemental interrogative clauses (cf. Matthiessen 2004; Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu 2008; Teruya et al. 2007). In Dagaare, Q-elements are often placed _in situ_, in the original position of the clause which reflects their function in the clause structure (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.2.3; see also Bodomo 1997). This situation, however, seems to be changing and there are many instances where the Q-element is placed at the initial position of the clause irrespective of its function in the clause structure, and without marked meaning. An example is given below:

(7)   St. Maria play

    Nyınɛ _fʋ_   _bãw_   _a_   _pobili_   _bɛna_?

    where 2SG   know.PFV   DEF   gentlemen   DEM

    'Where do you know these gentlemen.'

(2) Marked Theme: The difference between Marked Themes and absolute Themes is that the former play a role in the transitivity structure of the clause.

However, the default position of elements that are realised as marked Themes is not the initial position of the clause; they are only placed initially to give them thematic prominence. In this sense, marked Themes carry more prominence than unmarked ones. The most frequent elements that occur as marked Theme in the Dagaare clause are circumstantial Adjuncts of time (see also Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) on English). The following dialogue highlights the use of an adverbial group as marked Theme:

(8)   St. Maria play

Mother:	*Nyɪnɛ*	*na*	*a*	*fʋ*	*sãa*	*dambol*
	where	IDENT.PL	DEF	2SG	father	fool
	nɛ	*nɪɛ*	*cen*?			
	DEM	ADV	go.PFV			

Son:	*Dambol*	*ya*?
	fool	INT

Mother:	**Zầa**	**za,**	*ʋ*	*bɛ*	*kabe*
	yesterday	all	3SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	EXIST.PFV
	a	*ka*	*ɪ.*		
	DEF	here	NAFFR		

Mother: 'Where is that that foolish father of yours has gone to?'
Son: 'Foolish?'
Mother: 'Since yesterday, he has not been here.'

The thematised adverbial group, *Zầa za* ('since yesterday'), functions as circumstance of Duration in the transitivity structure of the clause and its typical placement is clause final position, in this instance before the Negotiator *ɪ* (non-affirmative). Its choice as Theme is motivated by the speaker's concern with the duration of the absence of the husband, a situation which frustrates her and motivates her question to the son in the first place. The status of marked Themes is signalled by setting them off from the rest of the clause prosodically with a pause or a comma in a written text. In this sense, they behave like absolute Themes.

5.3.2 Textual and Interpersonal Themes

To recapitulate, we have already seen in our discussion on topical Theme that the system of THEME interacts closely with both the ideational and interpersonal structure of the clause. For instance, we have shown that the identification of topical Theme and, subsequently, the distinction between Absolute and non-absolute Theme is determined by the status of the element in the transitivity or experiential structure of the clause. Also, we observe that what counts as marked Theme and unmarked Theme varies according to delicate mood types (e.g. second person singular imperative versus other imperative types). This reflects the fact that the textual metafunction is an enabling one; it organises the resources of the other two metafunctions, ideational and interpersonal, into a coherent whole, a consumable semiotic entity (see Chapter 2 on metafunctions). This enabling function is further reflected in the fact that the principal types of Theme correspond to the three metafunctional meanings of language. We discussed one of these, topical Theme, in the preceding section. This section is concerned with the other two, namely textual Theme and interpersonal Theme. While topical Theme construes the aboutness of the clause, textual Theme connects the clause to the preceding text, and interpersonal Theme orients the clause in relation to tenor, the me-&-you dimension of discourse.

Textual Theme is realised by cohesive and structural conjunctions as well as continuatives. Cohesive and structural conjunctions can be realised by the same form, but while cohesive conjunctions connect the clause externally to a preceding segment of the text, structural conjunctions link two clauses in a clause complex. Let's illustrate this with an extract from the workshop report discussed in Section 5.3.1.1 above:

(9)   Workshop report 1

‖‖ Ɛ	wa	a	kɔb	mɯŋa	lombowri,	ĩ
CONJ	come	DEF	farm.NMLZ	itself	area	1SG

nyɛ̃	n=	a	ʒie	nɛ		na	siw
see.PFV	FOC	DEF	place	DEM.DIST		REL	lower.PFV

tɪ	bʋla	nɪ	a	be	tɪ	na	bɛ
1PL	small	COP.FOC	DEF	there	1PL	REL	NEG.IND.NFUT

ỹãw	*a*	*nasa kuolu*		*a, //*	*ɛ*	*bɛ*
put.PFV	DEF	European-fertilizer		JUNC	CONJ	NEG.IND.NFUT
ỹãw	*a*	*Dagara*	*kuolo*	*mɪ*	*yaga*	*a. |||*
put.PFV	DEF	Dagara	fertilizer	also	much	JUNC

Here, the conjunction *Ɛ* ('and') is used at the beginning of the extract as a cohesive element to connect the following discourse segment with the preceding one and, also, at internal clause boundary to link the two clauses in the clause complex. On the other hand, the two uses of *ɛ* have the same function, that is, to anchor the clauses they introduce to their textual context. Generally, the report, as we have seen, is rich in textual Themes and in its textual development as a whole, carefully guiding the listeners through different aspects of the report. We can sum up the overall textual development of the text as follows, as a way of mapping the semiotic space in which the textual Themes are located:

(10)   Workshop report 1

Macro-Theme [topical orientation of the text]

[1]
A	*dɪya,*	*a*	*tome*	*nɛ*
DEF	last year	DEF	work.NMLZ	DEM.DIST

tɪ	[[*na*	*tõ*	*a*]],	*a*	*tome*
1PL	REL	work.PFV	JUNC	DEF	work.NMLZ

dɪya	*na*	*vɪɛl,*	*a*	*kʋ̀*
last year	AFFR	be good	CONT	give.PFV

=m.
1SG.ACC

'Last year, the work that we did, the work was good for me last year.'

Hyper-Theme [textual signal of following points]

[2.1]
Bʋʋ	*nʋ*
what	IDENT.SG

[2.2] *so*?
own

'Why'

Micro-textual Themes [functioning within the clause]

[3.1]
A	*dãw*	*niwn*	*sob*	*…*
DEF	earlier	face	owner	

218

'The first one …'

[4] |||Ɛ   wa   a   kɔb   mɯŋa lombowri||

    CONJ come DEF farm.NMLZ self area

    ɛ … |||

    CONJ

'And come to the farming itself … and …'

[7] Ɛ   wa

    and come

[8] Waar   mì

    come.IPFV also

'Also …'

Macro-New[closure]

[10] ĩ̀   tɩɛ   bom nɛ   [[ĩ̌ na

    1SG think.PFV thing DEM.DIST 1SG REL

    nyɛ̃ yi   nɩ a dɩya   tome

    see.PFV be:from.PFV FOC DEF last year work.NMLZ

    pʋɔ a]] nɩ   a   lɛ.

    inside JUNC COP.FOC DEF DEM.DIST

'I think that is what I have observed from last year's work.'

When we analyse a text this way, it is striking to find out how a text is like the clause in its development or, from the other perspective, how the clause is like a text (cf. Halliday (1981, 1982, 2002: 219-260). In recognition of this fact, Martin (1993) used the terms 'hyper-Theme' to refer to the first level of thematic orientation above the clause and 'Macro-Theme' and 'Macro-New' for further layers of thematic and also focal orientation in the hierarchical structure of the text (see also Martin & Rose (2007)). What we have demonstrated here is that the textual Themes of the clause interconnect with the semantic progression of the text as a whole. It is in this sense that they provide a point of departure, or a thematic context, for the clause.

Interpersonal Theme, on the other hand, orients the clause towards its social context. It is a recognition of the interactants interacting in the discourse, their presence, their roles and identities, and their attitudes and sensibilities. In other words, it sets up a kind of social environment that is

local to the clause and within which the clause should be interpreted. Interpersonal Themes have a wide range of realisations, including vocative nominal groups, clause initial negotiation particles, and interjections or even whole clauses, specifically projecting clauses (see Chapter 6, Section 6.7.1). Let's consider some instances in the following extracts (interpersonal Themes are in bold):

(11) St. Maria play

Mother:	*Ĩ*	*pɔw-yaa,*	*na*	*zɪ*	*pɪɛnɪ*!
	1SG	daughter	EXH	sit.PFV	rest.PFV

Daughter:	*Mama,*	*fʋ*	*nyɛ̃*	*nɪ*	*yél*	*kàw*?
	mama	2SG	see.PFV	FOC	matter	some

Mother: '**My daughter, please**, sit for a rest!'

Daughter: '**Mama**, you see something?'

(12) Political opinion interview

Mɛ́	*tɪ*	*be*	*=n*	*a*	*ka*	*a*	*mʋtɔw*
HST	1PL	EXIST.PFV	FOC	DEF	here	DEF	afternoon

za	*wɛ*?
all	INT

'**I believe** we have been here since this morning, right?'

(13) Workshop interview

Tɔɔ,	*ok,*	*a*	*cɛlcɛlbɛ,*	*a*	*biɓaara*	*ŋa,*
well	ok	DEF	listeners	DEF	morning	DEM

tɪmɛ	*nɪ*	*a*	*Animal Research*	*anɪ*
1PL.EMP	and	DEF		and

a	*agric*	*dem*	[[*=a*	*law*
DEF	agriculture	owners	BIND	be:together

taar	*a*	*tɛr*	*bɛ*	*program*	*kàw*
each other	CONT	possess.PFV	3PL.HM		some

a]],	*a*	*bɛ*	*yèl*	*kɛ*	*ɛ*	*tɪ*	*pãa*	*a*
JUNC	CONT	3PL	say.PFV	PROJ	PROJ	1PL	ADV	CONT

de	*a*	*yéle*	*ɣaw*	*a*	*sɛsɛb*	*pʋɔ*	*a*	*nɪ*
take.PFV	DEF	matter	put	DEF	air	inside	CONT	2PL

cɛlɪ.
listen.PFV

'**Well, ok, listeners**, this morning, we and the Animal Research and agric people [[gathering here for a program they have]], and they say that we should now put it on air for you to listen (to it).'

In (11), interpersonal Theme is realised by vocatives and, in addition, the negotiation particle *na*, marking exhortation in imperative clauses (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2.2). In each clause in the exchange, the vocative creates a role identity in which the whole clause needs to be interpreted. The use of negotiation marker in the mother's utterance further adds an attitudinal orientation to the clause. Arguably, the positive social context created by the interpersonal Theme is what motivates the daughter or at least sets the stage for her to take her turn by wanting to share her experiences with the mother. In (12), the interpersonal Theme is the negotiation particle *Mέ* (modally signalling expectation), which invites the listener to confirm the proposition. It is prosodically resonated by another negotiation particle *wε* (biased polar interrogator) at clause final position, thereby orienting the clause interpersonally at both juncture positions. Example (13) is the opening statement of a radio interview with an agricultural extension officer and it is addressed to the listeners. In itself, it is an interpersonal orientation to the interview as a whole. Its interpersonal orientation clearly resonates with the multiple use of interpersonal Themes in the clause, a phenomenon which is typical to this registerial context. The interpersonal Themes here serve to build up a relationship with the virtual audience and invite their attention to the content of the clause and by extension the discussion as a whole. Apart from these lower rank realisations of interpersonal Theme, whole clauses do also serve to interpersonally orient the clause. Such clauses are normally mental, verbal and relational clauses that project the clauses in which they serve as Theme (cf. Chapter 6 on transitivity). One example is given below from the workshop report in (1) above:

(14) |||*Ĩ*   *tɪε*   *a*   *be*   *bome*   *na* || *bε*
      IPL   think   DEF   there   things   IDENT.PL   NEG.IND.NFUT

      maal   *vla*   *kʊ̀*   *tɪ*   *ε.|||*
      do:well.PFV   good   give.PFV   1PL   NAFFR

'I think it is the things there that didn't grow well for us.'

Here, the mental clause *Ĩ tıɛ* ('I think') is a modal assessment of the projecting clauses in the complex, where it invites listeners to interpret the proposition as the speakers own subjective reflection. In this sense, the mental clause has a similar function as the negotiation particle *Mɛ́* in example (12).

In summary, the general principle of the flow of information in the clause is that any element is thematically prominent than the one it precedes. Those elements that are singled out as Theme of the clause are those that are placed at the initial position in the structural organisation of the clause. As we have seen, in principle, there is no limit to the number of Themes that can occur in a single clause. This will be determined by the practical exigencies motivating their choice. The Theme element of the clause can be characterised trinocularly as follows. Semantically, it locates the clause in context in the textual flow of information and serves as its point of departure. Specifically, textual Themes connect the clause to the preceding text; interpersonal Themes orient the clause in relation to tenor; and topical Themes construe the aboutness of the clause. From a roundabout perspective, that is, within the clause itself, the Theme is that element (or those elements) which is (are) given initial prominence in the clause, typically extending from the beginning of the clause up to and including the first element with a function in the transitivity structure of the clause (see Chapter 6). The exception is that when the topical Theme is Absolute, the Subject of the clause is treated as part of the Rheme, that part of the clause which develops the Theme. From below the clause on the grammatical rank scale, textual Themes are realised by conjunctions, both structural and cohesive ones; interpersonal Themes are realised by interjections, negotiation markers, (modal) adverbial groups, and also whole clauses. Finally, topical Themes are often realised by nominal groups and adverbial groups, but also bound or ranked-shifted clauses.

5.4   Focus of information

In Dagaare, as in many other languages, the system of THEME combines with another system, that of INFORMATION to give the clause its textual essence, as mentioned above. In this section, we proceed to examine the contribution of

focus to the textual organisation of the Dagaare clause. Strictly speaking, the unit of analysis here is not the clause but, rather, the **information unit** (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008; also see Section 5.6 for details). Like any other grammatical unit, the information unit is difficult to define in explicit terms without evoking circularity. But, as its name implies, it is a unit of information in the flow of discourse, a quantum of information, as it were (Halliday & Greaves 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).

When people engage in text-&-interaction, they often presuppose some part of their messages to be known to their listeners and other parts to be newsworthy. The information unit is thus typically made up of a structural configuration of **Given** and **New** information. Within the information unit, one element is singled out and given prominence as the **Focus of New** information. It is this prominent element that locates the locus of news value in the utterance. In Dagaare, Focus of New is signalled by a number of lexicogrammatical resources, comprising the focus particle *nɪ* (or its enclitic forms, *n* and *ɪ*), thematic equatives (or 'cleft-constructions'), emphatic pronouns, and exclusive particles. These resources will be explained and illustrated in detail in later sections. But let's first introduce and illustrate different types of focus in the flow of discourse in Dagaare. These are summarised in Figure 5.2 as a system network.
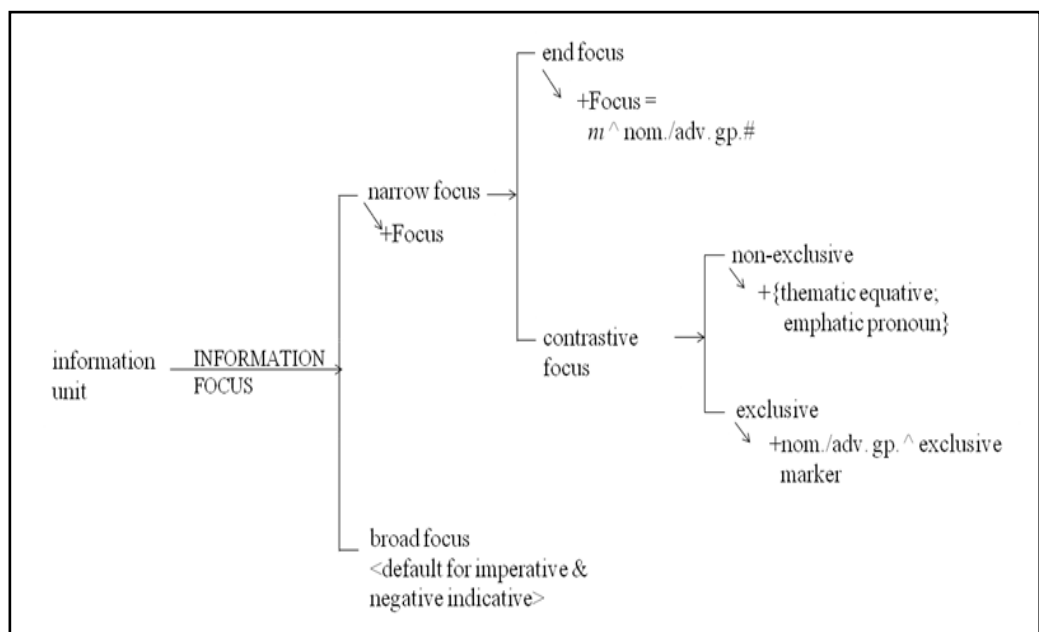
Figure 5.2: System network of INFORMATION in Dagaare

The default (or unmarked) type of focus, the one chosen in the absence of a good reason to choose another, is indicated on a lexical item towards the end of the clause by preceding this item with the focus particle *nɪ*.[17] This focal element is normally the Complement or Adjunct element in the modal structure of the clause. Instead of a lexical item, the focal element could also be a ranked shifted clause functioning as Complement. This unmarked information focus will be called **end focus** since it occurs at or towards the end of the clause (cf. Quirk & Greenbaum 1973).[18] The second type of focus is **contrastive focus**. With this focus type, the speaker emphasises one element in the information unit as being in contrast with some other information in the context of the discourse. It is a marked choice because it adds special meaning to the information by drawing particular attention to itself.

However, a speaker may treat the whole utterance as new information and therefore does not need to mark focus on any segment of the information unit. This focus type will be called **broad focus**, as opposed to end and contrastive focus, the two of which we will classify as sub-types of **narrow focus** (see Figure 5.2).[19] The extract below illustrates the contribution of these various types of focus to the flow of discourse in Dagaare:

(15) St. Maria play

Father: // *Pãa* *mɪ* *bɛr* // *ɛ* *cɛlɛ* *a* *fʋ*
now also stop.PFV CONJ listen.IPFV DEF 2SG

yéle . //
matter.

Son: *Ũʋ?*
yes

Father: *Fʋ* *mì* *ta* *na.*
2SG also reach.PFV AFFR

Mother: //*Fʋ* *mì* *ta* *=n* *pɔw* *kulu.* //
2SG also reach.PFV FOC wife marry.NMLZ

---

[17] In some other dialects of Dagaare such as Ngmere and Waali, the focus particle is *la* and has the same form as the affirmativeparticle in these dialects (cf. Bodomo 1997, 2000).
[18] In this case, Dagaare is like English in the position of unmarked focus.
[19] In the typological literature, the kind of focus we are calling broad focus has also been labelled as "all -new-sentence" (cf. Güldemann et al . 2015), "sentence focus" (Lambrecht 1994, 2000), "thetic statement" (Sasse 1987; Güldemann et al., 2015), and "neutral focus" (Sasse 1981).

	//A	fʋ	yɛ-bile	kʋl	sɪr	//
	DEF	2SG	sibling-small	marry.PFV	husband	
	ɛ	fʋ	caa	zɪ	ɪ? //	
	CONJ	2SG	still	sit	INT	

Son:	**Mãa** // lɪɛbɛ	**nɪ**	faara o! //	ĩ̃	lɪɛbɛ
	1SG.EMP turn.IPFV	FOC	priest PRT	1SG	turn.IPFV
	nɪ	faara. //			
	FOC	priest.			

Father: 'Now, stop (talking) too and listen to you matter.'

Son: 'Yes?'

Father: 'You too have reached.'

Mother: 'You too have reached MARRIAGE. Your younger sibling is married and you still sit (home)?'

Son: '**I**'m becoming a PRIEST O! I'm becoming a PRIEST.'

This exchange is co-constructed by father, mother and son. It follows the end of a marriage negotiation for the daughter of the family and the discussion now shifts to the marriage of the son. In the first turn, the father calls the son to attention by the use of an imperative clause and this is followed by the son's signal for further information. The father comments on the son's supposed readiness for marriage while assuming the topic of marriage as shared knowledge from the preceding marriage negotiation. The mother picks up the turn, now treating the son's readiness as given information and introducing marriage as the focus of information, marked by the enclitic focus particle *n*, and follows this with a justification why her son should get married. The son's response is in three information units. The first clause *Mãa lɪɛbɛ nɪ faara o!* (**I**'m becoming a PRIEST o!) consists of two information units. In the first, focus is marked by the emphatic pronoun *Mãa* ('**I**'), by which the speaker engenders a contrast between himself and his sister. This is an instance of a marked or contrastive focus. In the second information unit, focus is placed on *faara* ('priest'). The speaker repeats the utterance but, this time, treating the initial part of the clause as given information, only marking end focus on the last lexical item in the clause, *faara* ('priest').

Thus, the flow of discourse in the dialogue is structured by different focus types. In all, the exchange consists of ten information units. The first turn by the father consists of two information units, followed by one each in the son's question and the father's response. The mothers turn consists of three information units and the final turn by the son, as mentioned earlier, comprises three units. The information units in the initial turns by the father (i.e. *Pãa mɪ bɛr*; *ɛ cɛlɛ a fʋ yéle*) and the son (i.e. *Ũv?*) are all in broad focus. Although this is not the case in all dialogic contexts, but where a text opens with information units in broad focus, they normally function to set the stage or create a discourse setting for subsequent dialogic interactions.

As in the first turn in the dialogue above, imperative clauses, in the unmarked case, take broad focus and, thus, never admit the focus particle *nɪ*. This can be understood within the context that imperative clauses are initializing devices in dialogic interactions.[20] But one interesting instance of broad focus in the text is the the clause: *A fʋ yɛ-bile kʋl sɪr ...* ('Your younger sibling is married'). Here, the speaker could have introduced the enclitic focus particle (i.e. *=ɪ*) before *sɪr* ('husband') for end focus, but she chooses not to do so in order to bring the whole information unit into focus as newsworthy. This is not to suggest that these choices are made consciously by speakers. Rather, they are unconscious choices that have been internalised by speakers as part of their knowledge of enacting exchanges in the language.

The alternation of New information and Given information in the information unit sets up a movement of non-prominence and prominence in the clause in terms of newsworthiness (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008). This configuration of Given and New information will be referred to as **focus structure**. It should be noted, however, that, there is only one obligatory element in the information unit, and this is the New element, while the Given element is optional. In other words, the minimal realisation of the information unit is the New element, as we find in broad focus, and the addition of the Given element is an expansion of it. An illustration of the focus structure of some of the information units in the dialogue above is given in Figure 5.3.

---

[20] The absence of the unmarked focus is common in Niger-Congo and, perhaps, other African languages (cf. Heine & Reh 1983).

(a) broad focus

Fʊ	*mì*	*ta*	*na*	
2SG	also	reach.PFV	AFFR	
	⟵ New			
nominal group	adverbial group	verbal group		
pronoun	adv. particle	verb	particle	

'You have also reached.'

(b) end focus

Fʊ	*mì*	*ta*	*=n*	*pɔw*	*kulu*
2SG	also	reach.PFV	FOC	woman	marriage
			Focus		
Given ⟶			⟵ New		
nominal group	adv. group	verbal group		nominal group	
pronoun	adverb	verb	particle	noun	noun

'You have also reached MARRIAGE.'

(c) contrastive focus (plus end focus)

Maa	*lɩɛbɛ*	*nɩ*	*faara*	*o*
1SG.EMP	turn.IPFV	FOC	priest	PRT
Focus		Focus		
New	Given	⟵ New		
nominal group	verbal group		nominal group	
emp. pronoun	verb	particle	noun	particle

'I'm becoming a PRIEST o!'

Figure 5.3: Illustration of information structure and focus types in Dagaare

Two comments will be made about these illustrations. As mentioned earlier, within the New element of the focus structure, the element that carries focal prominence is technically called the Focus of New information (or just Focus) (Halliday & Greaves 2008). The second observation is that focus structure and, for that matter, the information unit, is not a kind of constituent structure since the boundary between Given and New information is not always clear cut (also see Halliday & Greaves (2008) on English). This tends to be a characteristic of the focus systems of language in general. As Halliday and Greaves (2008) note, they are organised by the principle of degree of prominence and not by constituent structure. We are always sure of where the

227

locus is because this is normally signalled, but we may not be sure of where it begins (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008). The arrows in the box diagrams signal this fluidity in the boundary between Given and New.

In the case of end focus, the most newsworthy information tends to be at the end of the information unit and extends towards the beginning of the clause. In other words, in the unmarked case, every element in the clause has a higher news value than the element that precedes it. Unmarked focus prominence is therefore a reversion of thematic prominence. In the case of marked focus, however, the most newsworthy information is typically placed at the left most end or the beginning of the information unit and may extend towards the end. This means that, when the Focus element is marked or contrastive, the speaker often alerts the addressee immediately the information unit takes off (cf. Section 5.4.2). The various types of focus and the resources that realise them will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

5.4.1   End Focus and the Focus Particle

End focus is the default focus type for ***positive indicative clauses*** in Dagaare. As mentioned above, it is marked towards the end of the clause, that is, after the verbal group realising the Predicator. The focal element is indicated by preceding it with the focus particle *nɪ* or its weak variants *n* or *ɪ* (cf. Figure 5.3 above). The use of the weak forms of the focus particle is determined by the phonetic environment in which they occur. That is, *n* is used when the focus particle is preceded by an open syllable (16) and *ɪ* is used after a syllable that ends with an alveolar consonant such as /r/, /l/, /n/ or a stop such as /b/ and /p/ (17):

(16)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Abɛl*	*wa*	*ɪ*	*=**n***	*pi-cʊnɛ.*
DEF	Abel	EVT	COP.PFV	FOC	shepherd

       'Abel became A SHEPHERD.'

(17)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

Ʊ	*tɪ*	*ir*	*=**ɪ***	*a*	*ci.*
He	PST	remove.PFV	FOC	DEF	guinea corn

       'He took some of THE GUINEA CORN.'

As is the case in (17) above, the vowel quality of the enclitic particle *ı*, in its phonetic realisation, may change from the [–ATR] vowel /ɪ/ to the [+ATR] vowel [i] for vowel harmony. This difference is, however, not indicated in the orthography.

In addition, when the word preceding the enclitic particle *ı* ends with the front vowels /ɪ/ or /i/ as in *–lı* and *–li*, or *–rı* and *–ri*, this vowel in the preceding word is normally elided. An example is *maalı* ('do, make') in (18) and *sowri* ('ask') in (19) below:[21]

(18)   *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Kayɛ*	*poru*	*tı*	***maal***	*=ı*	*vla*	*a*
DEF	Cain	farms	PST	do.PFV	FOC	good	DEF

ci	*yawmɛ.*
guinea:corn	be:plenty

'Cain's farms did WELL so that the guinea corn was many.'

(19)   Bible.is Matie (16: 13b)

Ʊ	*sowr*	*=ı*	*a*	*ʋ*	*po-tuurbɛ.*
3SG	ask.PFV	FOC	DEF	3SG	followers

'He asked his followers.'

As mentioned earlier, the scope of the New information normally extends from the Focus element to the end of the information unit. Thus, in example (18) above, the scope of New information starts with *vla* ('good') to the end of the construction.

It was also mentioned in Chapter 4 that the Complement element in the Dagaare clause structure has a textual relevance and not an interpersonal one (also see Section 5.4). What this means is that the Complement is normally realised in the clause structure as long as it has news value. Participants other than Subject) are introduced in the discourse as new information and, when they have been established as shared knowledge between speaker and listener, they tend to be discarded in subsequent clauses in the exchange. It also follows

---

[21] Here, we know that it is the vowel in words such as *maalı* (do, make) and *sowri* ('ask') and not the enclitic focus particle*ı* that is elided because, in other environments where such words precede the enclitic form of the affirmative marker *na*, the final vowel is also elided; as with *maalı* in (b) below:
(a)*A cı maalı na.* ('The guinea corn did well').
(b)*A cı maal =a.* ('The guinea corn did well').

that when the Complement can be inferred from the context of situation, it may not be stated at all.[22] An illustration of this phenomenon is given in the following extract:

(20) Casual conversation

Baba: *Ɛcɛ*   *Zıɛm*   *ı,*   *a*   *dãa*   [[*ı̃*   *na*   *da*
but   Ziem   VOC   DEF   beer   1SG   REL   buy.PFV

kʋ̀   *fʋ*   *a*]],   *a*   *wa*?
give.PFV   2SG   JUNC   3PL.NHM   be:where

Ɛ   *bɛ*   *dɛ*   *zı.*
And   3PL.HM   ADV   sit.PFV

[…]   […]   […]

Naab: *Nɔɔ,*   <u>*bɛ*</u>   <u>*waar*</u>   <u>*=ı*</u>   <u>*na.*</u>
no   3PL.HM   come.IPFV   CAUS   AFFR

Baba: *A*   <u>*bɛ*</u>   <u>*waar*</u>   <u>*=ı*</u>   *ɛ*   *bɛ*
CONT   3PL.HM   come.IPFV   CAUS   CONJ   NEG.IND.NFUT

wa   *ı*?
come.PFV   NAFFR

Naab: […]   <u>*Nı*</u>   <u>*cãa*</u>   <u>*bɛ*</u>   <u>*ı*</u>   <u>*a*</u>
[…]   2PL   still   NEG.IND.NFUT   make.PFV   DEF

<u>*dãa*</u>   <u>*sɛr*</u>   <u>*ɛ*</u>? [*To ladies inside the compound yard*]
beer   still   NAFFR

Baba: 'But Ziem, the pito/beer I bought for you where is it? And they (visitors) are just sitting.'

Naab: 'No, they are bringing (it).'

Baba: 'They are bringing (it) and they have not come?'

Naab: … You have not prepared the beer/pito yet?'

In the clauses *Nɔɔ, bɛ waar =ı na* ('They are bringing (it)) and *A bɛ waar =ı* ('They are bringing (it)') the implied Complement is *a dãa* ('beer', 'pito'), and it is not realised because it can be inferred from the initial exchange between Baba and Ziem. The Complement is, however, realised in *Nı cãa bɛ ı **a dãa** sɛr*

---

[22] As will be indicated below, when the Complement is realised by a [+human] participant, it is normally provided.

ɛ? ('You are not done with **the beer** yet?') since the speaker now addresses a different group of listeners away from the immediate context.

This phenomenon of not realising the Complement also resolves a tension between the textual and interpersonal modes of meaning in the Dagaare clause. Since both mood contrast and focus are often marked towards the end of the clause, this situation sets up a metafunctional tension between the interpersonal and textual modes of meaning. The result is that end focus, signalled by the particle *nɪ*, cannot co-occur with the particle *na*, which realises the Negotiator elementin the affirmative clause (see Chapter 4).[23] When there is the need to mark end focus, the textual mode of meaning always takes precedence over the interpersonal one. But after focus has played its role in the flow of discourse, it gives way to the Negotiator element.

It should be noted, however, that it is not always the case that the Complement is unrealised in the flow of discourse after it has been established as shared information. Other factors such as the humanness of the nominal group and the process type realised by the clause play a role (see Chapter 6, Section 6.8.1 for a detail discussion). Human participants, which have higher experiential value, are normally kept track of in the discourse by the use of pronouns after they have been introduced. This exception is, however, not a textual one but an ideational one. It is another kind of metafunctional tension motivated by the ideational meaning of the clause.

The grammar's way of dealing with this tension is that, in the unmarked case, personal pronouns (specifically, non-emphatic pronouns) do not receive focus. They are taken for granted as shared knowledge. In (21) pronoun *ʋ* (third singular) in Complement position does not receive end focus although it occurs in potentially focus prominent position:

---

[23]In echoing Halliday (1984) and Konig and Siemund (2007), Matthiessen et al. (2008) note that:"Of the three basic initiating speech functions that are grammaticalized in languages … statements are the unmarked type in the overall system, and since they are typically realized by 'declarative' clauses, the 'declarative' mood tends to be the unmarked type in the mood system of languages" (p. 168).

(21) The story of Jesus

Ʊ	tõ	ʋ	na.
3SG	send.PFV	3SG	AFFR

'He sent him.'

All other things being equal, in (21), end focus would have been placed on the Complement (realised here as *ʋ,* second singular). In that case, it would have been realised by a noun or, in the marked case, an emphatic pronoun (i.e. *ʋl*; see Section 5.4.2.2 below on emphatic pronouns). The absence of focus allows the affirmative particle *na* to negotiate the clause.

Thus, the grammar of the Dagaare clause has evolved strategies for managing the competing modes of meanings at the end of the clause. The motivation to enact the clause as a unit of exchange through negotiation (interpersonal), the motivation to signal newsworthiness (textual) and the motivation to retain certain phenomena in the clause, in the case of human participants, as valued fellows in the world of experience.

Another issue in relation to end focus and the experiential metafunction is that, in benefactive clauses, there are two complementary ways of realising end focus (see Chapter 6, Section 6.7.2 on beneficiary clauses). In constructions such as (22), focus is placed on the participant which is higher on the empathy hierarchy, first human and then animate, unless this participant is realised by a non-emphatic pronoun, and thus out of focus (23) (see Haspelmath (2015) for a typological account on the order of elements in benefactive clauses).

(22)
ĩ̀	kʋ̀	=n	a	pɔw-sɪra	libir?
1SG	give.PFV	FOC	DEF	woman-young	money

'I gave THE YOUNG WOMAN money.'

(23)
ĩ̀	kʋ̀	ʋ	nɪ	libir?
1SG	give.PFV	3SG	FOC	money

'I gave her/him MONEY.'

The alternative realisation is by a verbal group complex ('serial verb construction') as shown in example (24). Here, the focal element is always the

Goal ('affected') participant (or Verbiage in the case of verbal clauses) and it normally follows the first verb in the complex:

(24) ĩ̀   de   nɪ   libir kʋ̀   a
      1SG   take.PFV FOC   money give.PFV   DEF

      pɔw-sɪra

      woman-young

      'I gave MONEY to the young woman.'

Finally, end focus is not marked in negative clauses (see Figure 5.3). This follows that the focus particle *nɪ* does not occur in negative clauses.[24] This phenomenon has been reported for the focus systems of many African languages (see e.g. Heine & Reh 1983). As will be discussed in Section 5.4.2 below, however, particular segments of the negative clause can be singled out and marked for contrastive focus.

5.4.2   Contrastive Focus

As mentioned earlier, end focus is the focus type that is chosen by Dagaare speakers when there is no good reason to choose another type. But very often, there is a good reason to mark focus on parts of a message other than a lexical item (or rank-shifted clause) that is placed towards or at the end of the clause. When an element other than the default one is chosen for focus, this is an instance of contrastive focus, a marked focus choice.

Contrastive focus is defined here to include such meanings as 'this and not that', 'this in particular', 'this and this alone' and 'this, excluding other (contextual) alternatives' (see Van der Wal (2011) and Güldemann et al. (2015) on 'exclusion').[25] Contrastive focus, therefore, does not always contrast one element with another overt assertion, although this overt contrast is its prototype meaning (for discussion on prototype, see Rosch (1983)). Whether

---

[24]But in one kind of verbless (identifying) clauses, the focus particle *nɪ* can occur with the negative particle. The particle in this context is, however, intermediate between a copula construction and the focus particle, which evolved from this copula construction (cf. Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017; see also Chapter 6, Section 6.5.2.1).

[25]For convenience, 'this' and 'that' are only used in the glosses here as a general reference for focal items in contrastive focus. They encapsulate 'me', 'you', 's/he', they,' etc.

the item in contrast is implicit or explicit, however, this kind of focus always signals some degree of contrast.

Dagaare has evolved a number of strategies for indicating contrastive focus, namely the use of thematic equatives or 'cleft-constructions', emphatic pronouns and exclusive particles. Each of these resources will be discussed in turn below.

5.4.2.1 Thematic Equatives (or 'Cleft-constructions')

The use of thematic equatives as a focus strategy in African languages has been discussed widely in the literature (e.g. Schachter 1973; Heine & Reh 1983; Hartmann & Veenstra 2013, Güldemann et al. 2015). For instance, Güldemann et al. (2015: 161), in their review of studies on information structure in African languages, note that "the most intensively studied strategy involving marked, mostly contrastive, focus involves different types of cleft(-like) constructions."

Specifically, in Dagaare, marked focus is often achieved through a bi-clausal construction (i.e. a clause complex), consisting of a focus cleft construction, which is the main clause, and a hypotactic clause, which contains out-of-focus or Given information (see Heine & Reh 1983 on other African languages).[26] Any clausal element which has a function in the transitivity structure of the Dagaare clause can be focused in a thematic equative construction. This phenomenon is illustrated in examples (25) to (29) below:

(25)   Casual conversation [focus on Actor/Medium]

   Zan   nʋ   *waar.*

   Zan   IDENT.SG   come.IPFV

   'ZAN IS THE ONE coming.'

(26)   St. Maria play [focus on Existent/Actor/Medium]

   Fʋ   taabɛ   *lɛ*   *bɛ*   *be*   *wɩɛ*   *pʋɔ*   *kʋɔr* […].

   2SG   fellows   COP   3PL.HM be.PFV farm   inside   farm.IPFV

   'YOUR FELLOWS ARE THE ONES (who) are in the farm weeding.' (=YOUR FELLOWS are in the farm weeding.)

---

[26] Like all grammatical labels, 'Given' does not always mean already known, although such meaning is the prototype (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008).

(27)   workshop report 5   [focus on scope/range]

a	*bɛw-kãa*	*na*	*ĩ*	*nyɛ̃.*
DEF	beans-oil	IDENT.PL	1SG	get.PFV

'THE OILY BEANS ARE THE ONES I got.'

(28)   Workshop Interview [focus on circumstance, Q-element]

A	*nyɪnɛ*	*na*	*fʋ*	*tone*?
DEF	where	IDENT.PL	2SG	work.IPFV

WHERE IS IT (that) you are working?

(29)   The story of Jesus [focus on Process]

A	*cenu*	*na*	*ʋ*	*cere*	*bɪɪ*?
DEF	go.NMLZ	IDENT.PL	3SG	go.IPFV	INT

IS IT GOING (that) s/he going? (= Is he LEAVING?)

The thematic equative construction is typically a verbless (identifying) clause, which is composed of a Subject and Predicator, realised by an **identifying pronoun** *nʋ* (singular) or *na* (plural). (Identifying clauses are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.5.2.1; also see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3).[27] As (26) shows, however, a copula verb is used in clauses in which the Subject is third person plural and human.

As example (30) shows, when the verb is focused, a nominalised copy of it is thematised in the cleft construction and the original verbal group retained *in situ*.[28] In verbal group complexes ('serial verb constructions'), only one verb, often the initial verb in the complex, is focused. The constructed example below illustrates this:

(30)

Lɔbʋ	*na*	*ʋ*	*lɔb*	*bɛr.*
throw.NMLZ	IDENT.PL	3SG	throw.PFV	leave.PFV

'IT IS THROWING (that) he threw (it) away.'

---

[27] From a grammaticalisation perspective, the identifying pronouns *nʋ* (singular) and *na* (plural, non-human) derive from a fusion of the identifying copula verb *nɛ* and the third person pronouns *ʋ* (singular) and *a* (plural, non-human) respectively. For details on this diachronic process, see Mwinlaaru & Yap (2017). Reduced forms of *nʋ* and *na* are *ʋ* and *a* respectively.

[28] With reference to other African languages, this phenomenon has been referred to as 'verb doubling' and is contrasted with "term focus" (as against verb focus); i.e. focus on participant elements of the clause (cf. Güldemann et al. 2015). Another term used for it is 'predicate focus' (cf. Heine & Reh 1983).

As mentioned in Section 5.4.1, negative clauses can also be marked for contrastive focus. An example is given in the following bi-clausal construction adapted from an interview transcript:

(31) **A**   **kamaan**   **kɔb**   **yéle**   **bɛ**   **na**   tı

    DEF   corn   farm.NMLZ   matter   NEG.IND.NFUT   IDENT.PL 1PL

    tı   *wul*   *ɛ.*

    PST.REM   teach.PFV   NAFFR

    'THE CULTIVATION OF CORN IS NOT THE ONE we taught.'

In this situation, the scope of the negation is the identifying pronoun, which together with the negative particle forms the predication of the clause (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.2).

An illustration of the use of thematic equatives for focus in the flow of discourse is given in the dialogue in (32) below:

(32)   Workshop report 5 (Q & A)

    Agric Officer: *Soo*   **a**   **tıtal**   **pvɔ**   **na**   *fv*   *dɛ*

        SO   DEF   plain   inside   IDENT.PL 2SG   ADV

        bɛ   *nyɛ̃*   *bom*   *za*   *ı?*

        NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV thing   all   NAFFR

    Farmer: *//Al*   *dıɛ, //*   *ĩ*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*

        3PL.NHM.EMP   EX   1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV

        bom   *e.//*   *Soo*   **a**   **bɛw-kãa**   **na**

        thing   NAFFR   SO   DEF   beans-oil   IDENT.PL

        ĩ   *nyɛ̃, //* *ɛcɛ*   *a*   *mì*   *bɛ*

        1SG   get.PFV but   3PL.NHM also   NEG.IND.NFUT

        waar   *ɛ.//*

        come.IPFV   NAFFR

    Agric officer: So **IT IS IN THE PLAIN** (that) you didn't get anything?

    farmer: as for that I didn't get anything. So **THE OILY BEANS ARE THE ONES** I got but they are also not yielding. (workshop report 5)

this text is a question and answer interaction following a farmer's evaluation of a number of faming methods he had used. The agricultural officer singles

out one of the farms, *a tıtal pvɔ* ('in the plain'), as the focus of his question, using a thematic equative. The farmer picks this up as absolute Theme and, at the same time, marking it for focus: *al dıɛ* ('as for that') (see below on emphatic pronouns). Next, he contrasts the utter failure in this farm with a relatively better crop, *a bɛw-kãa* ('the oily beans'), which is focused in a thematic equative. Let's also consider at a dialogue from the opening of a radio interview below:

(33)　Workshop interview

Host: **A　nyınɛ　na　fʋ　tone**?
　　　DEF　where　IDENT.PL 2SG　work.IPFV

Agric Officer: *Ĩ　tone　nı　'Animal　Research'.*
　　　1SG　work.IPFV　FOC

Host: '**WHERE IS IT** (that) you work?'

Agric Officer: 'I work AT ANIMAL RESEARCH.' (Workshop Interview)

In this text, the interviewer places focus on the Q-element, *nyınɛ* ('where'), thereby activating a presupposition of a number of places the interviewee could be working. The interviewee, on the other hand, construes the content of the question as Given information and indicates unmarked focus on his work place, *Animal Research*.

The discussion will proceed to consider emphatic pronouns as another realisation of contrastive focus in Dagaare.

5.4.2.2 Emphatic Pronouns[29]

Emphatic pronouns are inherent focal lexicogrammatical items (see Chapter 3 for Dagaare pronominal system). For a start, let's consider an instance of their use in the dialogue below (emphatic pronouns are in bold):

(34)　St. Maria play

Father: *Ĩ　kɔ　=n　a　wıɛ　za.*
　　　1SG　farm.PFV　FOC　DEF　farm　all

---

[29] Since personal pronouns are interpersonal deixis, emphatic pronouns, as the examples given would suggest, also indicate interpersonal stance and attitude. The discussion here is, however, limited to their function as contrastive focus markers.

Mother:	*A*	*za?*			
	DEF	all			
	[…]		[…]		[…]
Son:	//***Mãa*** *kɔ*		*a.* //	*A*	*kpantole*
	1SG.EMP farm.PFV		3PL.NHM	DEF	mounds
	nɛ	*fʋ*	*na daa*		*nyɛ̃* *a,*
	DEM.DIST	2SG	REL three days ago		see.PFV JUNC
	mãa *baa*		*kɔ.* //		
	1SG.EMP complete		farm		

Father: 'I have weeded the whole farm.'

Mother: 'All?'

Son: '**I** weeded it. Those mounds you saw three days ago, **I** finished weeding (them).'

In this exchange, father and son report to mother details of their activities in the farm. It is interesting to compare the utterances by the father and the son. The father reports his accomplishment to his wife, indicating unmarked focus on the extent of his work. The woman follows this with an interrogation of the New information. Their son then construes the preceding discourse between father and mother as Given information and marks contrastive focus on the Subject, using an emphatic pronoun, *Mãa* ('me not him').

As pro-forms, emphatic pronouns can occur at the various nominal positions in the clause. From the textual point of view, they can be absolute Theme (35 & 36), and, from the interpersonal perspective, they can be Subject (37) or Complement (38). With this versatile characteristic, they expand and enrich the focus potential of Dagaare. The examples below illustrate the first person pronoun in different positions:

(35)   St. Maria play

//***Mãa*** //	*ĩ̃*	*ciir*	*=ι*	*a*	*lɛ*
1SG.EMP	1SG	dislike.PFV	FOC	DEF	DEM.DIST
o! //					
PRT					

For **ME** I hate THAT o!

(36)   St. Maria play

*//**Mãa** na   zɪ   a   na   a, //   dãa*

1SG.EMP REL   sit.PFV   DEF   DEM.PROX   JUNC   beer

bɛ   ɪ   ĩ   yéle   ɪ.//

NEG.IND.NFUT   COP   1SG   matter NAFFR

'For **ME** SITTING LIKE THIS, beer is not my problem.'

(37)   St. Maria play

*// Fʋ   nɪbɛ   lɛ   bɛ   a. //   **Mãa** bãw   na? //*

2SG   people COP   3PL.HM JUNC   1SG.EMP know.PFV   AFFR

'They are your people. Do **I** know?'

(38)   St. Maria play

*Pʋr   kʋ̀   **mãa**!   […]   //ĩ̃   yèl   kɛ   fʋ*

pour.PFV give.PFV1SG.EMP   […]   1SG   say.PFV PROJ   2SG

*pʋr   kʋ̀   =m   [….]!   // **Mãa** so*

pour.PFV give.PFV   1SG.ACC   […]   1SG.EMP own.PFV

a   yir.//

DEF   house

'Pour (some) for **ME**! […] I say that you should pour (some) for me before … **I** own the house.'

In each of the uses of the emphatic pronoun, the speaker asserts himself in contrast with presupposed 'other(s)'. In (35), the emphatic pronoun is absolute Theme and it has been set aside as an independent information unit. In (36), it is again an absolute Theme but is qualified by a relative clause. Again, it is an independent information unit from the rest of the clause. This consistent representation of marked focus also functioning as absolute Theme corroborates Halliday and Greaves (2008: 106) observation on English that "when a clause is mapped into two information units, in a clear majority of cases the boundary coincides with that between Theme and Rheme." In (37), the emphatic pronoun is Subject of the clause (and unmarked Theme) and it is set in contrast with *Fʋ* ('you') in the preceding clause. In (38), it first occurs as a Complement in an imperative clause and, in the final clause, as Subject in a declarative clause. Also compare the pronoun *mãa* in *Pʋr kʋ̀ **mãa***! with the

non-emphatic use in the clause *pʋr kʋ̀ =m*! In the second clause, the whole clause is repeated in broad focus.

The versatility of the pronouns allows them to combine with other focus constructions such as thematic equatives and, even, the focus particle, when they occur as Complement in a positive declarative clause (also see below on exclusive particles). In any environment, however, the emphatic pronoun still maintains its contrastive meaning. In the underlined clauses below, the emphatic pronoun *fʋʋ* (second singular) occurs in a thematic equative:

(39) St. Maria play

A:	*Fʋ*	*nyɛ̃*	*na*	[[*fʋ*	*na*	*diw*	*bɛr*
	2SG	see.PFV	AFFR	2SG	NMLZ	drive.PFV	leave.PFV

a]]?
JUNC

B:	**_Fʋʋ_**	_bɛ_	_nʋ_	_diw_	_bɛr_
	2SG.EMP	NEG.IND.NFUT	IDENT.SG	drive.PFV	leave.PFV

_ɛ?_
NAFFR

A: 'You see that you have drove her away? (=Have you seen what you have done?)'

B: '**YOU** ARE NOT THE ONE (who) drove her away? (=are **YOU** NOT THE ONE …?)'

(40) St. Maria play

//*Fʋ*	*mɔ*	*na*. //	**_Fʋʋ_**	_nʋ_	_tɛr_	_a_
1SG	do:well.PFV	AFFR	2SG.EMP	IDENT.SG	possess	DEF

faw	//	_na_	_tʋɔ_	_kul_	_a_	_ĩ_
strength		POS.IND.FUT	be:able.PFV	marry.PFV	DEF	1SG

pɔw-yaa. //
daughter

'You've done well. **YOU** ARE THE ONE (who) has the strength to marry my daughter.'

In each of the underlined clauses, the emphatic pronoun will still be contrastive without the thematic equative (e.g. *Fʋʋ diw bɛr*, 'YOU drove her

away'; *Fʋʋ tɛr a faw na tʋɔ kul a ĩ pɔw-yaa*, 'YOU are strong enough to marry my daughter').

Table 5.2. Illustration of emphatic pronouns in different clause positions

Participant in focus	Emphatic [contrastive focus]	Non-emphatic [broad focus]
Beneficiary	*Ʋ kʋ̀ =n* 3SG give.PFV FOC *bɛl.* 3PL.EMP 'He has given (it) to THEM.' (those have already been given, but not us as yet).	*Ʋ kʋ̀ bɛ* 3SG give.PFV 3PL *na.* AFFR 'He has given (it) to them.'
	Bɛlɛ lɛ bɛ v 3PL.EMP COP 3PL 3SG *kʋ̀.* give.PFV 'THEY are the ones he gave (it) to.'	
Agent	*Bɛlɛ kʋ̀ =m* 3PL.EMP give.PFV 1SG.ACC 'THEY gave (it) to me.' (they can't say it's someone else)	*Bɛ kʋ̀ mɛ* 3PL give.PFV 1SG.ACC *na.* AFFR 'They have given (it) to me.'
	Bɛlɛ lɛ bɛ kʋ̀ 3PL.EMP COP 3PL.HM give.PFV *=m* 1SG.ACC 'THEY are the ones (who) gave (it) to me.'	

However, the different positions available for deploying the emphatic pronoun do sometimes construe subtle variations in meaning. We set up constructed examples with the pronoun *bɛlɛ* (third plural, emphatic) in Table

5.2 to illustrate this phenomenon (*bɛl* is a phonetically reduced form).[30] As the English glosses in the table show, different interpersonal meanings can be evoked by placing emphatic pronouns at different clause positions or in different construction types.

5.4.2.3 Exclusive Particles

The focusing effects of exclusive particles have been noted in typological studies (Beaver & Clark 2008; Güldemann et al . 2015: 171-2). However, they are often not treated as part of 'canonical' markers of focus *per se*. Güldemann et al. (2015), for instance, characterise them as "focus-sensitive elements that associate with focus" (p. 171). While in some languages such as English, exclusive particles may not be centrally involved in the system of INFORMATION, they are salient in the focus system of Dagaare.

Dagaare exclusive particles can be grouped into two main types, based on their grammaticalisation sources. The first type derives from adverbial particlesand the second type originates from emphatic pronouns, specifically third person (cf. Table 5.3). [31] As Table 5.3 shows, each type displays characteristics of its source. Those particles with adverbial origin can be classified into two sub-groups according to their meaning. The particles *ende, ɛ̃, dee,* and *dıɛ* have the English sense *as for*, and *gba* and *yaa*, on the other hand, can be glossed in English as *even* (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.3 on adverbial particles). Exclusive particles with pronominal origin contrast between singular (*vl*) and plural (*bɛl* and *al*) and, among plural, human (*bɛl*) and non-human (*al*). With the exception non-human *al*, these exclusive particles have lost their person distinction (for details on this grammaticalisation phenomenon, see Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017.; also see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.4 on pronouns).

---

[30] The reduced form *bɛl* is the typical realisation of the pronoun as Complement (or 'Object'). Generally, in Dagaare, pronominal items are often reduced or even become clitics when they are used in Complement position.

[31] See Mwinlaaru & Yap (2017) on the grammaticalisation of the pronominal-exclusive particles from reduced forms of third person emphatic pronouns. The grammaticalisation pathway can be summarised as: pronouns > demonstrative determiners > exclusive particles. It should also be noted that the exclusive particles share the same forms with their adverbial and pronominal sources.

Table 5.3. Dagaare exclusive particles[32]

adverbial origin		pronominal origin		
as for type	*even* type	singular	plural	
			human	non-human
ende	*gba*	*vl*	*bɛl*	*al*
ɛ̃	*yaa*			
dee				
dıɛ				

Exclusive particles mark focus on nominal and adverbial groups, and, in terms of placement, they are postpositive:

(41) Ũ sãa-mɪnɛ **bɛl** wa na.

3SG father-PL EX come.PFV AFFR

'As for her/his fathers, they have come.'

Generally, exclusive particles can focus an element either clause initially, before the verbal group realising the Predicator, or clause finally, after the Predicator. However, it is mostly placed in clause initial position on the Theme element of the clause, either Absolute (see (42) - (44) below) or non-absolute Theme (as in 41 above). This gives us a situation where the Theme element conflates with New information. Instances of exclusive focus are given in the dialogic exchanges below (Focus element in bold):

(42) Political opinion interview

I: *A nı kvɔnı nı a nı vvvnı nı a*

DEF 2PL waters and DEF 2PL lights and DEF

nı sukuul yéle a Nandom ka, fv

2PL school matter DEF Nandom here 2SG

tıɛrɛ kɛ bɛ tvɔ na ŋmɛlı

think.IPFV PROJ 3PL.HM be:able.PFV AFFR turn.PFV

kaa bı?

check.PFV INT

---

[32]As mentined in Chapter 3 on adverbial particles, the particle *dıɛ* is borrowed from Akan and it is synonymous with *ɛ̃* and *ende*. It is most likely that *ende* evolved from a fusion of *ɛ̃* and its borrowed counterpart *dıɛ* (cf. n. 6).

R: //Ũv. //**Kʋɔ yéle ende** a, // kʋɔ yéle cãa

yes   water matter ADV JUNC water matter be:still.PFV

na   fɛrɛ   tɩ   a   bɛ   cãa   \

AFFR worry.IPFV 1PL CONJ 3PL.HM be:still.IPFV

mʋɔr   =ɩ …//

struggle.IPFV COM

I: 'Your water and your electricity and your school problems at Nandom here, do you think that they have been able to resolve it?'

R: 'Yes.' AS FOR WATER, water is still worrying us and they are still struggling with it …'[33]

(43)   Workshop interview

Host: *Ok, mɛ́ bɛ pãa na tɩ kɔ*

ok ADV 3PLHM ADV ADVLZ PST.REM farm.PFV

a, a wa de a bome

JUNC CONT EVT take.PFV DEF things

a, a tɩ maal =a bʋ a

JUNC 3PL.NHM PST.REM do:well.PFV AFFR or 3PL.NHM

cãa na ŋmɛ̃ a lɛ a

be:still.PFV AFFR be:like.PFV DEF DEM 3PL.NHM

na mí tɩ ŋmɛ̃ a?

REL HAB PST.REM be:like.PFV JUNC

Agric Officer: //Aaah **a maalʋ ɛ̃**, // a

INTJ DEF do:well.NMLZ EX DEF

maalʋ   gaw   ... a

do.well.NMLZ be:more:than.PFV 3PL.NHM

gaw   nɩ taar. //

be:more:than.PFV FOC each other

Host: 'Ok, like when they then made the farm, and then harvested the crops, they [the crops] did well or they are like how they used to be?'

Agric Officer: 'Aaah, **AS FOR THE DOING WELL**, the doing well some did better ... some did better THAN OTHERS.'

---

[33]I use 'for …' in the English translation to show absolute Theme and "AS FOR …" to mean exclusive marker". This is just an improvised way of distinguishing the two functions rather than translation equivalents. In contrast, *as for* is a marker of absolute Theme in English grammar (cf. Matthiessen 1995: 552-554).

(44) St. Maria play

// A	saalʋ	gba	//	fʋʋ	wa	dı //	y̌a-gan
DEF	okra	EX		2SG.EMP	EVT	eat.PFV	body

mí	salɛ	fʋ	na. //
HAB	bore.IPFV	2SG	AFFR

'Okra even, when you eat (it), you feel bored.'[34]

In extracts (42) to (44), exclusive focus is marked on the Theme of the clause, setting these thematic elements apart as separate information units from the rest of the clause. In (42), the particle *ende* places focus on *kʋɔ yéle* ('water matter') while *ɛ̃* marks *a maalʋ* ('the doing well') in (43) as focused and *gba* in (44) focuses *A saalʋ* ('The okra'). The use of exclusive particles with absolute Themes, in particular, those realised by items other than emphatic pronouns, is an interesting phenomenon. With this situation, the focus potential of the Dagaare clause is complete. As we observed earlier, thematic equatives focuses elements that have experiential function in the clause. Since absolute Themes, do not have experiential function in the clause structure, exclusive particles become the focus resource in this domain (except when the absolute Theme is an emphatic pronoun). As in the examples above, exclusive particles are not indicators of the absolute Themes since these thematised constructions such as in (42) to (44) can still occur as Themes without the exclusive particles.

Exclusive particles, especially those of pronominal origin (i.e. *ʋl, bɛl* and *al*) tend to give rise to ambiguities when some of the clauses in which they occur are considered in isolation. Such ambiguity is normally between interpreting the particle as a focus marker or a demonstrative determiner when it occurs with the third person (cf. Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017). Let's compare (45) and (46) below for an illustration.

(45)	Ʋ	sãa	ʋl	wa	na.
	3SG	father	EX	come.PFV	AFFR

'As for her/his father, he has come.'

---

[34] In the example, the speaker plays on the similarity between the word for okra, *saalʋ,* and boredom *salɛ*. Note that the noun for *salɛ* is *salʋ*.

(46) *A   bie   **vl**   wa   na.*
     DEF   child ?   come.PFV   AFFR

     'As for her/his fathers, they have come / That child has come.'

In (45), since, the nominal item *U sãa* ('his/her fathers') in *U sãa vl* has a more specific reference, *vl* can clearly be identified as an exclusive marker. On the other hand, in (46), *A bie* ('the child') is less specific and *vl* is ambiguous between a demonstrative determiner that is adding to the specificity of the nominal group and a focus marker. This ambiguity is, however, a trace of the the diachronic development of the exclusive marker and is often clarified by context in actual usage. For the adverbially derived exclusive particles, on the other hand, substituting an emphatic pronoun in Subject position with a non-emphatic pronoun changes their meaning from focus markers to adverbial particles:

(47) ***Fvv*** *ende   cen   na.*
     2SG.EMP EX   go.PFV AFFR

     'AS FOR YOU, you went.'

(48) ***Fv*** *ende   cen   na.*
     2SG   ADV   go.PFV AFFR

     'You went anyway.'

First, the phenomenon gives evidence that the exclusive particles evolved from adverbial particles in post-Subject position through the mechanism of functional split. Second, the shift in meaning from adverbial reading in (48) to focus reading (47) due to the difference in information prominence of the Subject pronoun supports the interpretation of the exclusive particles as focus markers. That is, they are attractive to other focus resources. Further to this second point is the observation that, like emphatic pronouns, exclusive particles combine with other focus constructions such as emphatic pronouns and the focus particle to bring interesting interaction between textual meaning and interpersonal meaning. This is illustrated further below (example (49) is a repetition of (32) above):

(49)   Workshop report 5

Agric Officer: *Soo*   *a*   *tıtal*   *pvɔ*   *na*   *fʋ*
        so   DEF   plains   inside   IDENT.SG   2SG

        dɛ   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *bom*   *za*   *ı.*
        ADV   NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV   thing   all   NAFFR

Farmer: *//Al*   *dıɛ //*   *ı̃*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*
        3PL.NHM.EMP   EX   1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV

        bom   *e.//*   *Soo*   *a*   *bɛw-kã̃a*   *na*
        thing   NAFFR   SO   DEF   beans-oil   IDENT.PL

        ı̃   *nyɛ̃,* //   *ɛcɛ*   *a*   *mì*   *bɛ*
        1SG   get.PFV   CONJ   3PL.NHM   also   NEG.IDENT

        waar   *ɛ.* //
        come.IPFV   NAFFR

Agric Officer: 'So IT IS IN THE PLAINS you just didn't get anything.
Farmer: 'AS FOR THAT I didn't get anything. So IT IS THE OILY BEANS I got, but it is also not producing.'

(50)   St Maria play

// ***Fʋʋ* *gba*//   *ı̃*   *bɛ*   *bã̃w*   *lɛ*   *za*
2SG.EMP   EX   1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   know.PFV   DEM.DIST   all

ı̃   *na*   *ı*   *tı*   *kul*   *fʋ*   *a.* //
1SG   REL   do.PFV   PST.REM   marry.PFV   2SG   JUNC

'YOU EVEN, I don't know how I came to marry you.'

In these contexts, the exclusive particles *dıɛ* and *gba* add attitudinal meaning to the clause, while maintaining their textual meaning of contrastive focus. With the addition of *dıɛ* to the already focus prominent *al* (third plural, non-human) in (49), the farmer sounds more emphatic, claiming epistemic certainty to the proposition. In (50), which is an utterance from a wife to the husband in an unscripted play, the addition of the exclusive *gba* to *fʋʋ* enacts a negative attitude towards the husband.

5.4.3   Further on Broad Focus

In Sections 5.4 and 5.4.1, we noted that imperative and negative clauses, in the unmarked case, receive broad focus (see also Figure 5.2). In this section, we

throw more light on these constructions and other issues in relation to broad focus. The absence of focus particles in both imperative and negative clauses has been reported for many African languages, including Nupe (Niger-Congo: Kwa), Rendille, Boni and Somali (all Afroasiatic: Cushitic) (cf. George 1971; Sasse 1981; Heine & Reh 1983).

The choice of broad focus as the default focus type in imperative and negative clauses can be explained by their discourse functions, that is, from above lexicogrammar – in the semantic stratum (see Chapter 2 on stratification). As mentioned earlier, imperative clauses are typically discourse initialising devices. This relates to their function as proposals – i.e. offers and commands (including requests, suggestions and other directives; cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2). Thus, in making proposals in the imperative clause, the speaker presents the whole proposal as New in the unmarked case.

As resources for negating propositions, negative clauses, on the other hand, already presuppose the positive value of a proposition, either based on a preceding assertion, a contextual cue or some other kind of assumed knowledge. The focus of the negative clause is therefore on the arguability of the proposition, its negative value, which, in the Dagaare, is marked by the negative particle (viz.: *bɛ, kʊ́*) within the Predicator and resonates in the non-affirmative particle at the end of the clause (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.1).[35] Thus, the negative meaning, like other interpersonal meanings, is a prosody which diffuses over the whole clause. In other words, we encounter an information unit where focus is on the arguability of the proposition, diffused as it were. It should also be noted that the negative clause is a marked choice in the system of POLARITY (see Chapter 4 on polarity). In a corpus of around 18 million words, Halliday and James (1993) found that the ratio of positive clauses to negative clauses in English is 9: 1. The figure we encounter in Dagaare is not much different. Across several texts from different registers, the ratio of positive to negative is, on the average, 9.7: 0.3 per text.[36] The point being made here is that negative polarity is a marked polarity choice and, thus,

---

[35] As noted in Ch. 4, other dialects of Dagaare such as Ngmere ('Central Dagaare') and Waali do not have the non-affirmative particle. In these dialects, the negative clause is negotiated by phonological prosody – a high tone on the last word.
[36] Out of 375 clauses across different registers, positive is 362 (96.5%) and negative is 13 (3.5%).

when it occurs, the whole clause is brought into focus in the default case. As we discussed in the preceding section, negative clauses as well as imperative clauses do receive marked focus.[37]

Apart from negative and imperative clauses, end focus is sometimes not indicated where it is expected. That is, end focus can be suspended to place focus on the whole information unit (which is co-extensive with the clause in this case). This phenomenon is common in narrative discourse, where the speaker adds each information unit cumulatively as New as the narrative builds up.[38] As an example, we illustrate this phenomenon with the Placement (i.e opening) of a traditional narrative text, a folktale (relevant clauses underlined):

(51)   Folklore

[1]   *Nı*   *gure,*   *gure*   *o!*

2PL   be:alert.IPFV   be:alert.IPFV   PRT

[2]   *||| A*   *wɛ-dʋn*   *za*   *bɛ*   *lɛ*   *bɛ||*

DEF   farm-animals   all   NEG.IND.NFUT   COP   3PL.HM

tı   *be*   *be!|||*

PST.   REM EXIST.PFV   there

[3]   *Kɔ̃*   *kpɛ̃ɛ*   *kpɛ̃ɛ*   *kàw*   *wa*   *lo,*

famine   big   big   some   EVT   fall

[4]   ***a***   ***bɛ***   ***ɣ̂aw***   ***mıra***

CONT   3PL.HM   put   law

[4.2]   *ɛ*   *fʋʋ*   *nɛ*   *za*   *wa*   *gã*

PROJ   2SG.EMP.COND   DEM.DIST   all   COND   sleep.PFV

zanı   *nyɛ̃*   *fʋ*   *'wɔb*   *wɛ-dʋw*

dream.PFV   see.PFV 2SG   chew.PFV   farm-animal

za   *a,*

all   JUNC

[4.3]   *ɛ*   *bɛ̃̆ɛ*   *nyɔw*   *a*   *wɛ-dʋw*   *nɛ̃*

PROJ   3PL.HM   catch   DEF   farm-animal   DEM.DIST

---

[37] In the imperative clause, only emphatic pronouns and exclusives particles are used for contrastive focus.

[38] A similar phenomenon has been reported for Japanese narrative discourse (Teruya 2007).

	kʋ̀	*fʋ*	*fʋ*	*'wɔb.*
	give.PFV	2SG	2SG	chew
[5]	*Tɔɔ,*	*a*	*zie*	*wa*	*sɔb,*
	well	CONT	place	EVT	dark
[6]	***a***	***bɛ***	***kpɛ***	***a***	***gaa,***
	CONT	3PL.HM	enter	DEF	sleep

[7.1]

bɛ	*zuru*	*gba*	*bɛ*	*tɔ*	*tʋ-sɔw*	*sɛr*
3PL.HM	heads	ADV	NEG.IND.NFUT	touch	ground	yet

ɛ,
NAFFR

[7.2]

ɛ	*Gbowgbor*	*ír*	*ŋmɛ*	*cɛl-nyɛ̃* [...]
and	wolf	get up.PFV	beat.PFV	wail

'Once upon a time, was it not all the animals in the forest that lived? (= there lived all the animals in the forest!).[39] Then, a very big famine broke out. Then, they made a law that if anyone dreamt of eating any animal, that they should give that animal to you to eat. Well, then night fell. Then they went to sleep. Their heads had not even touched the ground yet, and Wolf got up and alarmed …'

In (4) and (5) in the extract above, the Complement elements *mɪra* ('law') and *a gaa* ('sleeping') are potential candidates for end focus. However, these clauses are presented as all-New-information in the continual flow of narrative events. This textual status is indicated explicitly by the continuative marker *a*, which always blocks focus whenever it occurs in a clause. The other clauses in the extract receive broad focus in the unmarked instance. But, even here, there is an interesting observation with regards to negotiation. All other things being equal, clause (3) and (5) would take the affirmative particle *na* in clause final position. Its absence clearly shows that the speaker is not ready to handover the turn. As with focus, this phenomenon is a general principle; when the continuative marker *a* introduces a clause, the affirmative marker is

---

[39] The complex *A wɛ-dʋn za bɛ lɛ bɛ tɪ be be!* ('Was it not all the animals that existed!') is an instance of the use of a grammatically negative sentence to express a positive meaning, a kind of 'polarity metaphor' as it were. It should be noted that it does not end with the non-affirmative Negotiator as is characteristic of true negative clauses and that it is said with a question tone (i.e. rising tone).

automatically blocked (see clause (5)). As another illustration of this phenomenon, compare the underlined clauses in the dialogue below (see example (20) for a longer version):

(52)　Casual conversation

Naab: *Nɔɔ,* *bɛ* *waar* *=ɩ* *na.*

　　　 no　　3PL.HM　come.IPFV　　CAUS　　AFFR

Baba: *A* *bɛ* *waar* *=ɩ* *ɛ* *bɛ*

　　　 CONT　3PL.HM　come.IPFV　　CAUS　　CONJ　　NEG.IND.NFUT

　　　 wa *ɩ?*

　　　 come.PFV　　NAFFR

Naab: 'No, they are bringing (it).'

Baba: They are bringing (it) and (they) have not come?'

It can be observed that the use of the continuative marker in the second clause correspond with the absence of the Negotiator element (potentially, the affirmative *na*). The speaker seems to be saying: 'Look! I'm still building up. I'm not done yet.' In this sense, negotiation is like focus; both are oriented towards the listener as the speaker potentially hands over the turn, the former enacting interpersonal stance and the latter indicating newsworthy information ('textual stance'). In summary, constructions that typically take broad focus and thus do not occur with the focus particle are negative clauses, imperative clauses and clauses with the continuative marker *a*.

5.4.4　Information Unit and Clause

In concluding this section, we will briefly revisit the issue of the relationship between the clause and the information unit. Both of them are grammatical units, with the information unit uniquely dedicated to the realisation of focus. In the unmarked case, the information unit is co-extensive with the ranking clause (cf. Halliday & Greaves 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).[40] What this means is that when the focus type in the declarative clause is end focus (indicated by the particle *nɩ*) as opposed to contrastive focus, the clause is

---

[40]In this case, Dagaare is like English. We can assume that in languages where the clause and the information unit are separate units, they will always be co-extensive in the unmarked case.

always equal to an information unit. This is the dominant textual organisation in the Cain and Abel text introduced at the beginning of the chapter. The following two clauses are repeated for illustration:

(53) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Adama*	*nɩ*	*a*	*Awa*	*tɩ*	*dɔw*	*nɩ*
DEF	Adam	and	DEF	Eve	PST	born	FOC

bibiir	*ayi*:	*Kayɛ̃*	*nɩ*	*Abɛl.*	*A*	*Abɛl*	*wa*
children	two:	Cain	and	Abel	DEF	Abel	EVT

ɩ	*=n*	*pi-cĩnɛ*[…]
COP.PFV	FOC	shepherd […]

'Adam and Eve gave birth to TWO CHILDREN: CAIN AND ABEL. Abel became A SHEPHERD…

Here, each of the two clauses constitutes one information unit. As with end focus, broad focus also presents the information unit as being co-extensive with clause. An example is the following clause, which is a continuation of the extract in (53) above:

(54) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

[…]	*ɛ*	*a*	*Kayɛ̃*	*ɩ*	*kvɔra.*
[…]	CONJ	DEF	Cain	COP.PFV	farmer

'… and Cain was a farmer.'

Since broad focus is the default focus type for the imperative and negative clauses, this means that these clauses types are normally co-extensive with one information unit if they are not marked for contrastive focus.

On the other hand, contrastive focus sometimes means that the information unit does not correspond to the clause in either of two ways, namely (i) one clause may map onto two information units and (ii) two clauses may combine into one information unit. The first is associated with contrastive focus realised by emphatic pronouns (55-56) and exclusive particles (57), specifically when the focal element is also thematic:

(55)   St. Maria play [contrastive focus + broad focus]

// Mãa//   *ĩ*   *yire*   *na*   *o! //*

1SG.EMP   1SG   go:out.PFV   AFFR   PRT

'For ME I'm going out o!'

(56)   St. Maria [contrastive focus + end focus]

//Mãa //   *lɪɛbɛ*   *nɪ*   *faara*   *o! //*

1SG.EMP   turn.IPFV   FOC   priest   PRT

'**I**'m becoming a PRIEST o!

(57)   Workshop Report 5 [contrastive focus + broad focus]

//Al   *dɪɛ //*   *ĩ*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *bom*   *e. //*

3PL.NHM.EMP   EX   1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV thing   NAFFR

'AS FOR THAT I didn't get anything.'

Each of these clauses embody two information units. While (55) and (57) are composed of contrastive focus and broad focus, (56) consists of contrastive focus and end focus. The nominal groups *Mãa* in (55) and (56) and *Al dɪɛ* in (57) are the Themes of the clauses in which they occur. At the same time, they are marked for contrastive focus and are presented as separate information units from the rest of the clause. In other words, in both (55) and (56), for instance, the speaker starts the clause with one quantum of information, saying 'Look! This is about me', and then follows this with another quantum, 'I am going out' and 'I am becoming a priest', respectively.

Instances where two clauses combine into one information unit are typically where contrastive focus is marked by thematic equatives, as in (58) below:

(58)   Workshop report 5

So   <u>*a*   *tɪtal*   *pʋɔ*   *na*</u>   *fʋ*   *dɛ*

SO   DEF   plain   inside   IDENT.PL   2SG   ADV

bɛ   *nyɛ̃*   *bom*   *za*   *ɪ?*

NEG.IND.NFUT   get.PFV thing   all   NAFFR

'So IT IS IN THE PLAIN you didn't get anything?'

Here what would be a monoclausal construction in the unmarked case has been configured as a bi-clausal construction, specifically, a hypotactic clause

complex, to place contrastive focus on the circumstantial element (*a tɩtal pʋɔ*, 'in the plain'). In this kind of bi-clausal construction, the equative clause, which is the focal element, becomes the matrix clause while the out-of-focus clause is dependent on it (cf. Heine & Reh 1983; Harris & Campbell 1995).[41] We can summarise the relationship between the information unit and the clause diagrammatically as in Figure 5.4, with the broken line indicating that the relationship is not always one to one.

```
clause  - - - - - - - - - - - -·  information unit
   ↕
group
   ↕
word
   ↕
morpheme
```
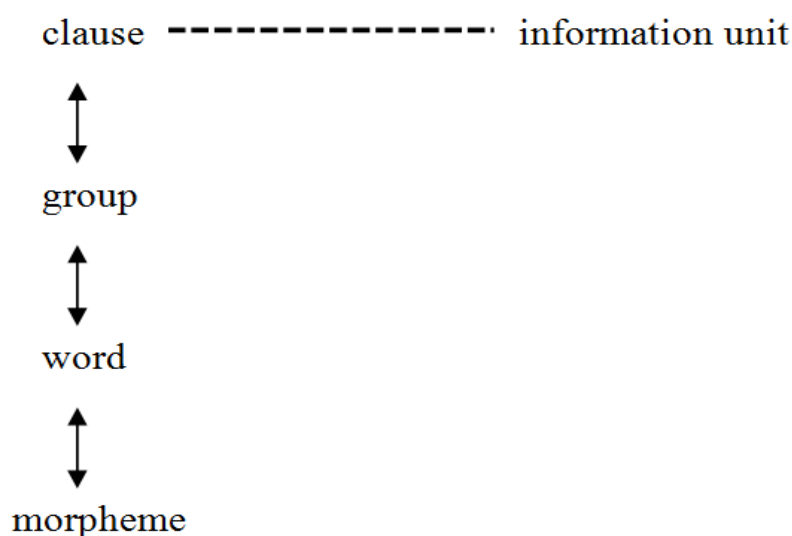
Figure 5.4: Information unit in relation to clause on the rank scale
(adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 115)

5.5   Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has presented a system-based account of THEME and INFORMATION in Dagaare, drawing on theory and insights from the descriptive and typological literature on information structure. The thematic structure of the Dagaare clause, as in other languages, is identified as consisting of Theme and Rheme. Theme has been defined and identified trinocularly. Semantically, it is identified as the local context that serves as the point of departure of the clause, orienting it to a particular interpretation. Within lexicogrammar, and at clause rank, it is identified as that element that is given initial prominence in the clause and that is developed by the Rheme.

---

[41]See Mwinlaaru and Yap (2017) on how this focus strategy led to the development of the focus particle *nɩ* (also see Chapter 6, Section 6.5.2.1 for a brief account).

Below the clause, different forms of realisation have been identified for three types of Theme: textual, interpersonal and topical Themes. It has also been discussed that topical Themes in Dagaare can be either Absolute or non-Absolute and, if non-Absolute, they can be unmarked or marked. These different types of topical Theme are identified based on their status or function in relation to the transitivity structure of the clause. In addition, although unmarked Theme is normally the Subject in the modal structure of the clause, in first singular imperative clauses it is normally the Predicator.

On the other hand, the focus structure of the Dagaare clause is minimally realised by the New element and it often combines with the Given element, which is an optional element in the structure. New is identified semantically as that element that is singled out in the information unit as newsworthy. Three focus types have been identified, end focus, contrastive focus and broad focus. End focus is the default choice for positive declarative clauses and it is realised by the focus particle *nɪ*. Contrastive focus is realised by thematic equatives, emphatic pronouns and exclusive markers. Broad focus is identified as zero-realisation and it is the default choice for imperative and negative clauses. It has also been shown that the domain of the realisation of focus is the information unit rather than the clause although clause and information unit are co-extensive in the unmarked instance. Theme and focus together create the textual essence of the Dagaare clause. They reorganise the resources of the other metafunctions, ideational and interpersonal (specifically, mood), into 'a processable syntax'.

CHAPTER SIX

TRANSITIVITY: REPRESENTATION OF EXPERIENCE

6.1 Introduction

The two preceding chapters discussed the interpersonal and textual systems of the Dagaare clause. Chapter 4 discussed the modal structure of the clause and the system of MOOD, and has shown how it interacts with other interpersonal systems, both verbal group, (i.e. POLARITY and MODALITY) and the clause (i.e. NEGOTIATION). Chapter Five considered the textual metafunction, investigating how the systems of THEME and INFORMATION combine to organise the clause as a processable semiotic entity in the flow of discourse. This chapter proceeds to examine a third major function of the Dagaare clause, namely, its function as a representation of experience. In other words, the chapter answers the question: How is the Dagaare clause organised to represent different domains of human experience, in general, and the experience in the folk life of the Dagara speech fellowship, in particular? The major grammatical system relevant to this function is that of TRANSITIVITY. The chapter will begin with an overview of the general function of language as a reflection of experience, noting the various ways this function of language has been theorised in linguistic science (Section 6.2). It then proceeds to discuss one major sub-system of transitivity, the system of PROCESS TYPE (Section 6.3 – 6.6). This will be followed by a discussion of some generalisations that can be made across the various process types in Dagaare (Section 6.7.1) and finally an account of the system of AGENCY, the second major sub-system of transitivity (Section 6.7.2). The chapter concludes with a summary of the grammar of experience in Dagaare (Section 6.8).

6.2 The Clause as a Representation of Experience

The recognition that language is a semiotic representation of human experience is an old one in the history of linguistic science. It is a major motif in the writings of Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Lee Worf, Ferdinand de Saussure, Bronislaw Malinowski and J. R. Firth as well as Vilém Mathesius andother linguists of the Prague school. Sapir (1921: 180), for instance, wrote

that: "The latent content of all languages is the same – the intuitive *science* of experience. It is the manifest form that is never twice the same" (original emphasis). In contemporary linguistics, this representational function of language has been a motif of functional linguists of different persuasions, notably cognitive linguistics (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 2007; Langacker 2008).

In the study of grammar, the experiential function of language has always been implied in the analysis of transitivity. Since the 1960s, however, Michael Halliday and lingusits working with systemic functional linguistics have taken a system based approach to tranisitiviy and have developed a more explicit account of it as the major system for representing experience in language, both in the description of English (e.g. Halliday 1967a, b, 1968, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, 2014; Matthiessen 1995) and other languages (e.g. Cafferel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Teruya 1998, 2007) and also from a typological perspective (e.g. Matthiessen 2004; Wang & Xu 2013; Teruya & Matthiessen, 2015). Valuable contributions to developing the notion of transitivity have also been made by other functional typologists, noting it as a pervasive grammatical system in human languages (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Haspelmath 2015). In their famous account on transitivity in grammar and discourse, Hopper and Thompson (1980) divided the notion of transitivity into different opposing features and shows how semantically similar features conspire, as it were, to classify clauses into degrees of low and high transitiviy. The experiential orientation of the clause has also been theorised and investigated under topics such as case theory (cf. Fillmore 1968, 1977; Haspelmath 2009b, and references therein), valency (Tesnière 1959), thematic or theta roles (Chomsky 1981), Aktionsart (Vendler 1957) and aspectual classes (Comrie 1976). Differences in these accounts *inter alia* stems from the perspective from which the linguistic data is viewed, whether from a semantic, grammatical or lexical perspective. Together, however, they robustly show that language is a theory of human experience; it is essentially structured to construe our experience of reality and of our consciousness (Halliday 1973, 2005, 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999).

The account of Dagaare in this chapter follows the systemic functional tradition, by taking a system based, holistic approach to transitivity. The term

TRANSITIVITY is used as the overarching lexicogrammatical system for construing experience in the Dagaare clause (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 5). This grammatical system is manisfested in the language under two models, the transitive model, where the underlining sub-system is that of PROCESS TYPE (cf. Section 6.3 – 6.6), and the ergative model, where the underlining sub-system is that of AGENCY (cf. Section 6.7.2). Both the transitive and ergative models of transitivity are concerned with the grammar of the clause nucleus of 'process + participants', that is, elements that are brought into 'perspective', in the sense of Fillmore (1977: 72-80), in construing a quantum of change in the flow of experience. They constitute the grammar of NUCLEAR TRANSITIVITY. In Dagaare, and across languages in general, process is typically realised by verbal groups while participants are typically realised by nominal groups. The clause nucleus established by 'process + participants' is, however, expanded and augmented by adverbial groups construing circumstances such as manner place and time as well as adpositional groups. This experiential configuration of the clause is illustrated in the box diagram below.

A	sãa	kɔ	=n	ci	dɪya
DEF	father	farm.PFV	FOC	guinea corn	last year
participant		process		participant	circumstance
nom. group		verbal group		nom. group	adv. group
determiner	noun	verb	particle	noun	adverb

'The father cultivated guinea corn last year.'

In this example, the process, *kɔ,* and the participants, *a sãa* and *ci*, form the nucleus of the clause. They construe a semiotic **figure** which is located within a particular temporal circumstance realised by the adverb *dɪya* ('last year).

The discussion will proceed to examine the different experiential domians represented in Dagaare and the different configurations of participant roles each domain engender in the clause. Due to time limitation, CIRCUMSTIATION will not discussed. Readers are, however, referred to the discussion on adverbs, specifically those of place, time and manner in Chapter

3 (cf. Section 3.4.2.3), one of the main resources for realising circumstances in the Dagaare clause. The account here begins with a discussion of the various process types identified in Dagaare. These comprise three principal types, namely material clauses, mental clauses and relational clauses, as well as three minor types – behavioural, verbal and existential clauses (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: Ch. 5). Together these process types construe the semantic space for the representation of experience in Dagaare. As in previous chapters, the accounts presented here are the results of a lengthy analysis of Dagaare texts and supported by theoretical and typological guidance and transfer comparison (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.7.2).

6.3   Material Clauses: Processes of Doing-&-happening

The first process type to be discussed is material clauses. These are clauses of doing-&-happening. They construe a quantum of change in the sequence of events as being brought about through some input of energy (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). They are resources for construing experience of dynamic change in the flow of events in the world around us, comprising the happenings and activities of the physical world and our own participation in its unfolding drama. To begin with, we will first examine an extract that contains predominantly material clauses. In this extract, agricultural officer describes farming practices that were adopted by a group of farmers in a rural farming project and material clauses serve to construct the flow of actions, activities and events he recalls from the project:

(1)   Workshop interview

Soo	*bɛ*	***kɔ***	*=n*	*tɪntɛr.*	*A*	*ayɪ*	*sob,*
SO	3PL.HM	farm.PFV	FOC	plain	DEF	two	own

bɛ	***ŋmàa***	*nɪ*	*gàrɪ*	[…]	*A*	*gàrɪ*	*aŋa,*	*tɪ*
3PL.HM	cut.PFV	FOC	ridges	[…]	DEF	ridges	DEM	1PL

nyɔw	*na*	***po***	*ziir*	*ayi.*	*A*	*mɪnɛ*	*tɪ*	***ỹw***
hold	AFFR	divide	places	two	3PL.NHM	some	1PL	put.PFV

nɪ	*kuolu*	[…]	*a*	*bʋn-buli*	*pʋɔ*	*ɛ*
FOC	fertilizer	[…]	DEF	plant	inside	CONJ

a	*mɪnɛ,*	*tɪ*	**yãw**	*nasa-kuolu,*		[…].	*A*
3PL.NHM some		1PL	put.PFV	European-fertilizer		[…]	DEF
ata	*sob*	*nɪ:*	*tɪ*	**kɔ**	*na,*	[…]	*ɛ*
three	own	COP.FOC	1PL	farm.PFV	AFFR	[…]	CONJ
fʋ	*mí*	**kpɛ**	**bɪwrɪbɪwrɪ**	*a*	*sɔwɔ*	*ʋʋ*	
2SG	HAB	enter.PFV	cut.DUPL	DEF	middle	CONJ.3SG	
tɛr	*bowli*	*bowli,*	*a*	*kʋɔ*	*mí*		
possess.PFV	small:holes	small:holes	DEF	water	HAB		
wa	*a*	*tʋɔ*	**tewli**	*a*	*be.*		
come.PFV	3PL.NHM	be:able	stand	DEF	there		

'So they cultivated plains. The second one, they made ridges […] These ridges, we divided (them) into two. Some of them, we put fertilizer (=manure) in the plants and some of them, we put European fertilizer […] The third one is: we cultivated, and you enter the middle (of the farm) and cut it such that it has small holes so that when the water (=rain) comes it will stand there.'

The material clauses in the extract construe the text as a sequence of concrete changes in the land brought about by the farmers. The cohesion devices such as *a ayi sob* ('the second one'), *a mɪnɛ* ('some of them') and *a ata sob* ('the third one'), organise these changes into a topology of farming practices. We can divide the material processes in the text broadly into two kinds. The first is doings such as *kɔ* ('cultivate'), *ŋmàa* ('cut'), *po* ('divide'), and *yãw* ('put'). These dominate the extract and construe the activities of the farmers. The second type are happenings, comprising *a kʋɔ mí wa* ('the water comes') *a tʋɔ tewli* ('it's able to stand / remain stagnant'). These are presented as not directly brought about by the farmers although the flow of events construes them as resulting from planned activities of the farmers. What is common among both 'activities' and the 'happenings' is that they are physical changes taking place in the world of outer experience. It is in this sense that the clauses that construe them are 'material' clauses. As we will see below, the grammar of Dagaare, and perhaps all languages, sets them apart from processes in other realms of experience.

One way in which we can identify material clauses is by considering

the nature of the participants taking part in the process construed by the clause. These participants will be introduced into the discussion as different types of material clauses are examined. One key participant that, however, runs through the different kinds of material clauses is the Actor, defined as the one who brings about the unfolding of the process, the one who acts. In (1), this participant is predominantly the farmers, and is realised by the pronouns *bɛ* ('they'), *tɪ* ('we') and *fʋ* ('you'). The use of these different pronouns to construe the Actor is interpersonally motivated. It reflects the shifting intersubjective orientation of the speaker. From an ideational interpretation, it shows the fact that language construes our experience of the world – constructs it into meaning – rather than directly reflecting it. As the text shows, the Actor is not realised by only human participants. The last two clauses contain non-human participants as Actor, namely *a kvɔ* ('the water') and *a* ('they'). The Actor is realized by a nominal group, which may simply be a noun or a pronoun such as *a* ('they').

In addition to the Actor, another core participant associated with material clauses is the Goal, which is defined as the participant that is impacted upon by the activity of the Actor. In the extract above, the Goal participant include *tɪntɛr* ('plains'), *gàrɪ* ('ridges'), *kuolu* ('fertilizer') and *a sɔwɔ* ('the middle'). In the next section, we will extend our discussion of these participant roles and show how they configuration leads to delicate distinctions among material clauses.

6.3.1 Transitive and Intransitive Material Clauses

The first distinction to make among material clauses is between transitive and intransitive clauses. An intransitive clause is a material clause where the outcome of the process engaged in by the Actor is confined to the Actor itself. Such a material clause represents a happening. In a transitive clause on the other hand, the unfolding of the process extends to another participant, which is the Goal, and impacts it in some way. Such a material clause represents a doing (or an action). Examples (2) and (3) below illustrate intransitive and transitive clauses respectively:

(2) *Saa   wa   na.*
    rain   come.PFV   AFFR
    'It rained /It has rained.'

(3) *Tɪ   ỹãw   nɪ   kuolu   a   bʋn-buli   pʋɔ.*
    1PL   put.PFV FOC   fertilizer   DEF   plant   inside
    'We put fertilizer in the plants.'

In these examples, the Actor primarily has the same function in both the transitive and intransitive clause. In (2) and (3), both *saa* ('rain') and *tɪ* ('we') are construed as bringing about the unfolding of the process. However, the presence of the Goal participant in (3) brings out a difference in the transitivity value of the clauses, a transitive one, in which the initial phase of Actor + Process configuration goes through to impact on a Goal and an intransitive one, in which the configuration, as it were, does not go through. We consider the meaning of Actor and Goal in the Dagaare material clause in more detail below.

(i) Actor: The prototypical meaning of Actor derives from transitive clauses, where it inputs the energy needed for the realisation of the process and impacting on the Goal participant. In intransitive clauses, the definition of Actor is more complicated than this. The Actor in an intransitive clause behaves differently when the clause is also a medio-passive, as in (4) to (6) below (see Section 6.7.2.1 on middle clauses). Here, the process impacts on the Actor. In other words, the process in medio-passive clauses is represented as a happening and the Actor serves as the medium through which the happening is actualised. The Actor normally represents an entity which naturally, or in all logical possibility, does not have the capacity to bring about the unfolding of the process by itself.

(4) A   *tɪntɛr*   *kɔ*   *na.*
    DEF   plains   cultivated   AFFR
    'The plain has cultivated (=The plain is cultivated).'

(5) A   *dãa*   *wa*   *na.*
    DEF   beer   come.PFV   AFFR
    The beer/pito has come (=The beer has arrived).

262

(6) | *Kuolu* | *y̰ãw* | *n=* | *a* | *bʋn-buli* | *pvɔ.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fertilizer | put | FOC | DEF | plants | inside |

'Fertilizer has put inside the plants (=Fertilizer has been put in the plants).'

As the glossing in (4) to (6) shows, translating Dagaare medio-passive clauses into English presents a challenge. Although the best way to translate them is to use the receptive (or passive) clause, this does not actually capture the meaning of what is happening, it misses the mark! For instance, while we can add an Agent to the passive in English with the by-phrase, there is no way we can add an Agent to the Dagaare original (cf. Bodomo, 1997). In principle, every transitive clause (an action) in Dagaare can be converted into a medio-passive construction (a happening). It is a phenomenon that is however largely limited to only material clauses and is a feature that distinguishes material clauses from other process types (the exception is those behavioural clauses that are oriented towards material processes; cf. Section 6.6.2). They evolve in the language to serve a particular function, which is to construe activities as though they were happenings.

Ideationally, they allow speakers to obscure the real originators of the process. The use of the medio-passive in the clause underlined below allows the speaker to off-set the agency of the process realised in the clause:

(7) Report 7

Soo,	*a*	*lɛ*	*na*	*tɪ*	*bɔbr*		*ɛ*
SO	DEF	DEM	IDENT.PL	1PL	want.PFV		PROJ

sɛ	*mɔ*	*tɪ*	*yèl*	*mɔ*	*tĩ*	*wa*
PROJ	ADV	1PL	say.PFV	ADV	1PL.EMP	EVT

tɪ	*kvɔr*		*a*	*al*	*a,*	*tĩ*	*ɪ*
1PL	farm.IPFV		DEF	DEM	JUNC	1PL	do.PFV

mɔ	*tɪ*	*ɪ*	*a*	*nɪ*	*dabaala*	*kàw,*
ADV	1PL	do.PFV	3PL.NHM	FOC	something	some

<u>*tĩ*</u>	<u>*kàw*</u>	<u>*y̰ãw.*</u>
medicine	some	put.PFV

263

'So that is why we want like to say like when we are cultivating those ones, we should like do something about them. Some medicine should be in / Some medicine should be put (in the plants).'

This extract is highly modulated as is evident in the use of the adverbial particle *mɔ* (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.3). It is a proposal made by a female farmer to a group of agricultural extension officers at a workshop. The use of the medio-passive allows her to make her appeal a general one without necessarily assigning agency to the officers. In other words, she construes the clause as a happening as opposed to an action.

However, the likelihood of representing a material clause in the medio-passive mode over the **effective** clause depends on the agency value of the entity construed as Actor (see Section 6.7.2.2 on effective clauses). Let's compare the pair of clauses in (8) and those in (9) in order to explain this phenomenon:

(8a) *ĩ̃*   *ɓaw*   *nı*   *a*   *gan.*

  1SG   pick.PFV   FOC   DEF   book

  'I picked the book.'

(8b) *A*   *gan*   *ɓaw*   *na.*

  DEF   book   pick.PFV   AFFR

  'The book is picked.'

(9a) *ĩ̃*   *ɓaw*   *fʋ*   *na.*

  1SG   pick.PFV   2SG   AFFR

  'I picked you.'

(9b) *Fʋ*   *ɓaw*   *na.*

  2SG   pick.PFV   AFFR

  'You picked (it)'

In terms of agency, the (a) clauses are effective clauses while the (b) clauses are middle clauses. (8a) and (8b) only differ in agency but similar in content meaning. While (8a) construe the clause as action with Actor and Goal, (8b) construes it as a happening impacting on the Actor. With (9a) and (9b), the

situation is different. They cannot be said to be agnate.They actually construe different experiences since both Actors have the capacity to bring about the process of picking.

(ii) Goal: The Goal participant is also realised by a nominal group and it is an inherent participant in transitive clauses. It corresponds to the Complement element in the interpersonal structure of the clause. However, the Goal is not always realised in Dagaare transitive clauses although the clause still maintains the sense of the process impacting on an entity (10). This phenomenon is textually motivated in the sense that the Goal participant is normally stated in the clauses as the culmination of new information and is left unstated if it is known to the interactants from preceding the discourse or can be inferred from the context of situation. This allows the rest of the clause to be presented as New information, something the addressee does not know yet about the Goal (cf. Section 6.7.1; Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1). The the following clause from the text in (1) illustrates this point (relevant clause is underlined):

(10)　　Workshop interview

　　　　Bɛ　　　ŋmàa　　nı　　gàrı　　[…].　　A　　　gàrı　　aŋa,
　　　　3PL.HM　cut.PFV　FOC　ridges　[…]　　DEF　　ridges　DEM
　　　　<u>*tı　　　nyɔw　　na　　po　　ziir　　ayi.*</u>
　　　　1PL　　hold　　AFFR　divide　places　two
　　　　'They made ridges. These ridges, we divided (them) into two.

In the first clause, *bɛ ŋmàa nı gàrı* ('they made ridges'), the Goal participant is *gàrı* ('ridges') and it is the focus of New information. The Goal is picked up in the next clause as absolute Theme and the rest of the clause gives information about this Theme, that is, the Rheme. In this second clause, the Goal participant is left unrealised since it can be inferred from the surrounding text as given information. The nursery rhyme in (11) illustrates this phenomenon more clearly (relevant clauses are in bold):

(11)　　Nursery rhyme

　　　　Teacher:　　　*Bibiir　　　e!*
　　　　　　　　　　　children　　VOC

265

Children:	*Yeeye*!					
	INTJ					
Teacher:	*A*	*tea*	*wa*?			
	DEF		be:where			
Children:	<u>*Tɩ*</u>	<u>*nyu*</u>	<u>*na.*</u>			
	1PL	drink.PFV	AFFR			
Teacher:	*A*	*bread*	*wa*?			
	DEF		be:where			
Children:	<u>*Tɩ*</u>	<u>*ɔb*</u>	<u>*=a.*</u>			
	1PL	chew.PFV	AFFR			
Teacher:	*A*	*cup*	*wa*?			
	DEF		be:where			
Children:	*Ʋ*	*ŋmɛr*	*=a.*			
	3SG	break.PFV	AFFR			
Teacher:	*Ĩ*	*na*	*fɔb*	*nɩ*	*na*	*o*!
	1SG	POS.IND.FUT	cane.PFV	2PL	AFFR	PRT
Children:	*Yaa*	*yaa*	*yaa.*			
	pardon					

Teacher: 'Children!'

Children: 'Yeeye!'

Teacher: 'Where is the tea?'

Children: 'We have drunk (it).'

Teacher: 'Where is the bread?'

Children: 'We have eaten (it).

Teacher: 'Where is the cup?'

Children: 'It has broken.'

Teacher: 'I will beat you o!'

Children: 'We beg for pardon.'

In the underlined clauses above, the implied Goal is 'tea' and 'bread', which are left unrealised because they can be inferred from the teacher's question.

However, it is not always the case that the Goal can be left unstated as has been illustrated in the examples above. There is another factor affecting transitivity in Dagaare apart from the textual motivation. This relates to the

experiential value of the entity realising the Goal, its value on the empathy hierarchy; specificity whether it is animate or not and if animate whether it is human or non-human. If we take this factor into consideration, we would have to modify our general principle in this way: that non-human Goal participants can be unrealised if they can be assumed from the context of discourse while human Goal participants are normally realised (see Section 6.7.1 for further details). Thus, if we were to replace *A gàrɪ aŋa* ('these ridges') in example (12) with *a bie ŋa* ('this child'), the Goal participant must be realized by a pronoun:

(12)   *A   bie   ŋa,   tɪ   nyɔw   v   na   po   ziir   ayi.*
       DEF   child DEM   1PL   hold   3SG   AFFR   divide places two
       'This child, we divided him/her into two.'

This principle of empathy hierarchy, however, opens up for a range of linguistic manipulation and play for pragmatic effects. On the one hand, a non-human Goal participant can be repeated in discourse for foregrounding, and, on the other hand, a human participant may be left unrealised to construe some special meaning in context. Let's illustrate the first point with with the following extract (also cf. Chapter 4 for a longer version; on focus here is the turns by the father):

(13)   St. Maria

       Father: ||| *Fʊ   saw   na || kɛ   ɪ̃   de*
                    2SG   agree.PFV   AFFR   PROJ   1SG   take.PFV

                  a   bome   ana   a,   Ayɔɔ? |||
                   DEF   things DEM   JUNC   Ayɔɔ

       Daughter: *ɪ̃   saw   na.*
                   1SG   agree.PFV   AFFR

       […]   […]   […]

       Father: |||*Ayɔɔ   ɔ,   fʊ   saw   na   ɪ̃||*
                   Ayour, VOC   2SG   agree.PFV   AFFR   1SG

                  wob   ɪ?|||
                   pick.PFV   PRT

Daughter:	ĩ	saw		na.			
	1SG	agree.PFV		AFFR			
Father: ||| Fʋ	saw		na	//	ĩ	de	a
	2SG	agree.PFV		AFFR		1SG	take.PFV	DEF
	bome	*ana*	*ỹãw*	*a*	*zʋbɛ*	*pʋɔ*	//	*ɛcɛ*	*a*
	things	DEM	put.PFV	DEF	pocket	inside		CONJ	DEF
	pobile		*na*	*kʋl*		*fʋ*	*ʋ*? |||
	gentleman		DEM	marry.PFV		2SG	JUNC

Father: 'Do you agree that I take these things, Ayour?'

Daughter: 'I agree.'

Father: 'Ayour, do you agree I should pick (these things)?'

Daughter: 'I agree.'

Father: 'Do you agree I take these things and put them inside my pocket and this gentleman marries you?'

This extract recreates traditional marriage negotiation in the Dagara society. Within the overall exchange, only part of which is given here, the Goal participant is left unstated in only one clause, ĩ wob ı? ('should I pick?'). The repetition of the Goal serves to bring the pride price to the fore as the seal to the marriage contract. The father intends here to absolve himself of any blame by consistently drawing her daughter's attention to the marriage deed.

A human Goal participant may also be left unrealised. Let's examine an instance in the dialogue in (14) below (relevant clauses are underlined):

(14)   St. Maria

Gentleman 1:	*Fʋ*	*bʋɔ,*	*nʋ́ɔ*	*bu*	*baa*	*nʋ*?
	2SG	goat	fowl	or	dog	IDENT.SG
	'Is s/he your goat, fowl or dog?'					

Gentleman 2:	*Ou!*	*ĩ*	*pɔw*	*nʋ*.
	excl.	1SG	wife	IDENT.SG
	'Oh! S/he's my wife.'			

| […] | […] | […] |

Gentleman 1: *ʋ̀ʋ́,*   *fʋ*   *pɛrʋ*   *nʋ.*

no   2SG   sheep   IDENT.SG

'No, she's your sheep.' (*St. Maria Play*)

Gentleman 2: *Mãa,*   *mãa*   *ĩ*   *ciir*   *=ι*   *a*   *lɛ*

1SG.EMP   1SG.EMP   1SG   hate.PFV   FOC   DEF   DEM

o!   *Fʋ*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *[[ĩ*   *na*

PRT   2SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV   1SG   NMLZ

tɛr   *taya*   *a]]?*

possess.PFV   catapult   JUNC

Gentleman 1: *Hɛh,*   *fʋ*   *nyɛ̃*   *nι*   *kuur*   *ι?*

INTJ   2SG   see.PFV   FOC   hoe   JUNC

Lady: *Nι*   *bɛr*   *a*   *zɛɛb!*   *Nιm*

2PL   stop.PFV   DEF   fighting   2PL.EMP

wa   *bɔbr*   *mɛ,*   *nι*   *wa*   *ĩ*

COND   want.PFV   1SG.ACC   2PL   come.PFV   1SG

saamιnɛ   *zie!*

Fathers'   place

Gentleman 2: [lady already leaving]   *Cere!*   *Fʋ*   *nyɛ̃*

go   2SG   see.PFV

na   *[[fʋ*   *na*   *duw*   *bɛr*

AFFR   2SG   NMLZ   chase.PFV   leave.PFV

a]]?

JUNC

Gentleman 1: *Fʋʋ*   *bɛ*   *nʋ*   *duw*

2SG.EMP   NEG.IND.NFUT   IDENT.SG   chase.PFV

bɛr   *ɛ?*

leave.PFV   NAFFR

1: 'Is she your goat, fowl or dog?'

2: 'Oh! She's my wife.'

1: 'No, she's your sheep.'

2: 'As for me, as for me, I hate that o! Haven't you seen (that) I have a hand catapult?'

1: 'Herh, have you seen a hoe? (=Have you seen that I'm holding a hoe?)'

Lady: 'Stop fighting! If you want (to marry) me, go to my fathers!'

2: 'Go! Have you seen (that) <u>you drove (her) away</u>?'

1: 'Are you not the one <u>who drove (her) away</u>?'

In this scenario, two gentlemen quarrel over a lady they are in love with and they blame each other for making her go away. In the clauses construing the departure of the lady, the Goal is not realised even though the participant is human (see underlined clauses). The interpretation is that the lady is objectified as a lost opportunity, and this corroborates the animal references at the beginning of the extract. Within the local context of the play, it contributes to the comic effect of the play although it may have more general sociocultural implications that are worth further investigating. The phenomenon of leaving participants in complement position unrealised is, however, not limited to material clauses but also applies to mental and behavioural clauses. We will discuss this phenomenon in more detail in Section 6.7.1.

What we have demonstrated with the two extracts above is the elasticity and evolving nature of language. Language evolves resources to construe particular meanings and once certain norms and principles are established, they are exploited to further create new meanings. Our Dagaare scenario demonstrates the potential of the transitivity system to be exploited for value-loaded meanings.

6.3.2   Extending Material Clauses in Delicacy: Additional Participants

We have introduced the principal types of material clauses as transitive and intransitive and have noted the centrality of the Actor and Goal participants in material clauses in general. Besides these participants, however, there are other participants associated with material clauses. These additional participants expand the core structure of the material clause and identify more delicate sub-types. In this section, we will discuss these other participants, comprising Scope, Recipient, Client, Instrument, Accompaniment and Initiator.

(i) Scope: The Scope participant typically occurs in intransitive clauses. As the examples below show, it occurs in a similar position as the Goal. From a

semantic point of view, the difference between Scope and Goal, however, is that the Scope is not impacted by the process. Syntactically, while the Goal participant can always be made the Subject of an agnate middle construction as we discussed in Section 6.3.2, the Scope cannot. In other words, Scope constructions do not have medio-passive counterparts. But, like Goal, Scope may not be realised in the clause provided it can be inferred from context (But see Section 6.3.3 below on abstract material clauses). In terms of its realisation, the Scope is also realised by a nominal group. The following clauses illustrate different manifestations of the Scope participant (Scope is in bold):

(15)   Report 5

Enti	*bom*	*za*	[[*ɩ̃*	*na*	*bʋr*	*ỹãw*	*a*	*ɩ̃*
so	thing	all	1SG	REL	sow.PFV	put	DEF	1SG

wıɛ	*pvɔ*	*a*	*dıya*	*a*]],	*ɩ̃*	*nyɛ̃*	*nı*
farm	inside	DEF	last year		JUNC	1SG	get.PFV	FOC

bom	***za***	*yi*	*a*	*pvɔ.*
thing	all	be:from.PFV	DEF	inside

'So everything that I sowed in my farm, I got **everything** from it.'

(16)   Casual conversation

Ʋ	*dɛ*	*bɛ*	*pawr*	*a*	*mì*	*ɛ.*
3SG	ADV	NEG.IND.NFUT	get.IPFV	DEF	ADV	NAFFR

'He is just not getting **some of it**.'

(17)   Workshop interview

[…]	*ɛ*	*cãa*	*sow*	*a*	*tı*	*dʋn*	*mì.*
[…]	CONJ	still	help.PFV	DEF	1PL	animals	too.

'and still help **our animals** too'

(18)   Workshop interview

A	*kvɔbɛ*	*bɛŋa*	*za*	*law*	*nı*
DEF	farmers	DEM	all	be:together	FOC

taar	*a*	*ka.*
one another	DEF	here

'All these farmers have met **among themselves** here.'

(19)   Workshop interview

|||*Fʋʋ*   *bɛ*   *wa*   *lιɛbι*   *pawr*

2SG.EMP   NEG.IND.NFUT   COND   change.PFV   catch up with.PFV

a   ***tew***   *a* || *a*   *tew*   *na*   *zɔ*

DEF   world   JUNC   DEF   world   POS.IND.FUT   run.PFV

na   //   *kɛ́*   *bɛr*   *fʋ*. |||

AFFR   CONJ   leave.PFV   2SG

'If you don't change to catch up with **the world**, the world will run and leave **you**.'

(20)   Concert advertisement

Bɛ   *tuori*   ***tι***   *a*   *be*.

3PL.HM   meet.PFV   1PL   DEF   there

'They should meet **us** there.'

(21)   Concert advertisement

Bɛ   *tu*   =*n*   *sɔr*.

3PL.HM   go on.PFV   FOC   journey

'They've gone on **a journey**.'

(22)   Workshop interview

Mɛ́   *nι*   *laa*   *tu*   ***a***   ***puor***.

HST   2PL   ADV   follow.PFV   DEF   back

'I believe you followed **up on it** again.'

As these examples show, the Scope participant indicates the range of the process rather than being impacted by it. The Actor is rather the participant directly affected by the process. These clauses are, thus, intransitive because the process does not go through.

(ii) Recipient and Client: Recipient and Client are two related participant roles associated with the clause as a realisation of the transfer of goods-&-services. As the names suggest, Recipient is the one who benefits from the transfer of goods while Client is the one who benefits from a service carried out by the Actor. From a view below the clause, both participants are realised by a nominal group. One distinctive feature of these kinds of material clauses is the predictive pattern of verbal groups associated with them. In Recipient

clauses, the process is normally realised by the verb *kʋ̀* ('give') or its negative equivalent *sib* ('deny', 'refuse') as is illustrated in (23) to (25) (Recipient is in bold):

(23) NANSU citation

A	*Naaŋmɪn*	*kpɛw-za–sob*	[[*na*	*kʋ̀*	**fʋ**	*a*
DEF	God	power-all-owner	REL	give	2SG	DEF

to-nvɔr	*ŋa*	*a*]]	*na*	*kʋ̀*	**fʋ**	*nɪ*
duty	DEM	JUNC	POS.IND.NFUT	give.PFV	2SG	FOC

ya,	*faw*	*anɪ*	*kanyir.*
wisdom	strength	and	patience

'God almighty who has given you this task will give you wisdom, strength and patience.'

(24) Political opinion interview

Bɛlɛ	*lɛ*	*bɛ*	*kʋ̀*	**tɪ**	*a*	*dɪstɪrɪkt.*
3PL.HM.EMP	COP	3PL.HM	give.PFV	1PL	DEF	district

'They are the ones (who) gave **us** the district.'

(25)

A	*nàa*	*sib*	*=ɪ*	**Dɛr**	*a*	*libir.*
DEF	chief	deny.PFV	FOC	Der	DEF	money.

'The chief denied Der the money.'

In these constructions, the Recipient participant follows the Process and can be followed by a Goal participant, which construes the entity that is transferred. Here either the Recipient or the Goal can be the culmination of New information. In (23), the locus of New information falls on the Goal participant *ya, faw anɪ kanyir* ('wisdom, strength and patience') while the Recipient, realised by the pronoun *fʋ,* is construed as given information. When the Recipient is realised by a noun or an emphatic pronoun, it carries the locus of information focus (25).

Alternatively, the recipiency may be construed analytically with a verbal group complex ('serial verb construction') typically with the pattern: *de*-verbal group, 'take', (+Goal) + *kʋ̀*-verbal group, 'give', + Recipient:

(26) | *Bɛ* | *de* | *nɪ* | *dãa* | *kʋ̀* | ***a*** |
|------|------|------|-------|-------|---------|
| 3PL.HM | take.PFV | FOC | pito/beer | give.PFV | DEF |

dɔɔ.

man

'They gave pito/beer to the man.'

The motivation for this alternative analytical construction is to give relative thematic prominence to the Goal participant over the Recipient.

Client-oriented clauses, on the other hand, are open to a wide range of verbs. Two structural patterns can be identified for client-oriented constructions as follows:

(i)   verbal group denoting service (+Goal) + verbal group denoting benefit + Client

(ii)   *de*-verbal group (+Goal) + verbal group denoting service (+*kʋ̀*-verbal group) + Client

We illustrate the first structure in (i) and the second structure in (ii) and (iii) in Figure 6.1.

(i)   Casual conversation

Hɛɛ,	*pʋr*	*bʋla*	*ɣãw*	*a*	*Zan*!
hey	pour.PFV	small.SG	putin.PFV	DEF	Zan
		Goal		Client	
	Process				
	verbal group	nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	

'Hey, pour a little for Zan.'

(ii)   Casual conversation

Tɪ	*de*	*bìn*	*Gɔbr*	*ɪ*?
1PL	take.PFV	put.PFV	Gobr	JUNC
Actor	Process		Client	
nominal group	verbal group	verbal group	nominal group	

'We should keep (it) for Gobr?'

(ii)   Constructed example

Ʊ	de	nı	a	Bie	gaalı	kʋ̀	mɛ.
3SG	take.PFV	FOC	DEF	child	lay.PFV	give.PFV	1SG.ACC
Actor			Goal				Client
	Process						
nominal gp.	verbal gp.		nominal gp.	verbal gp.	verbal gp.	nominal gp	

'He has put the child to bed for me.'

Figure 6.1. Illustration of the structure of clauses of cliency

In (i), the Process is realised by a verbal group complex consisting of one verb, specifying the nature of the service, *pʋr* ('pour'), and another verb, introducing the Client and denoting benefit, *ỹãw* ('put'). In (ii), the Goal participant is implied and therefore not realised. As in (i), the Process is realised by a verbal group complex, consisting of *de* ('take') and *bìn* ('put'). Example (iii), on the other hand, illustrates a complete structure, in which the Goal is realised and is introduced by the verb *de* ('take') while the verb *kʋ̀* introduces the Client. The locus of the Process rest on the verbal group realised by *gaalı* ('lay'). Generally, the verbal group that denotes the service and which normally precedes the Goal immediately can be realised by any verb of the material process while those that introduce the Client and denote benefit are limited, the most frequent being: *kʋ̀* ('give'), *bìn* ('put'), and *ỹãw* ('put in'). Others include *dɔwlı* ('place on'), and *tur* ('pass to').

As example (ii) shows, in many client-oriented clauses, the verb *kʋ̀* ('give'), which is the most common benefit verb has lost its original meaning of transfer of goods and has come to be used generally to mean benefit. Unlike in other types of material clauses, the Goal and Recipient or Client cannot be made Subjects in an agnate middle clause. In other words, benefactive clauses do not have medio-passive counterparts.

In clauses of cliency, unmarked information focus is always placed on the Goal participant, which normally precedes the Client, as in (i) in Figure 6.1. Also, as we saw in examples (23) and (24) for recipiency, cliency can be construed in various degrees of abstractness (Client is in bold):

(27)   Concert advertisement

Tɩ	*na*	*maalɩ*	*nɔ-ɓaan*	*yéle*	*kʋ̀*
1PL	POS.IND.FUT	do.PFV	wonderful	things	give.PFV

taar	*nɩ*	*pʋ-pɩɛlʋ.*
one another	COM	stomach-whiteness

'We will do wonderful things for one another with joy.'

(28)   Political opinion interview

Bʋʋ	*nʋ*	*fʋ*	*paa*	*ah*	*tʋɔ*	*voti*
what	IDENT	2SG	ADV	INTJ	be:able.PFV	vote.PFV

kʋ̀	***Mahama***[…]	*ɛ*	*bɛ*	*voti*
give.PFV	Mahama […]	CONJ	NEG.IND.NFUT	vote.PFV

kʋ̀	*a*	***Kuubuor***?
give.PFV	DEF	Kuubuor

'What is it (that) you can vote for Mahama … and not vote for Kuubuor?'

(29)   Political opinion interview

Tɩ	*ar*	*kʋ̀*	*a*	*ʋl.*
1PL	stand.PFV	give.PFV	DEF	DEM

'We should stand for that one (=We should support him).'

As the examples show, the verb *kʋ̀* does not indicate a transfer of possession but rather construes benefit.

(iii) Instrument, Accompaniment and Initiator: These are another related set of participant roles. Defined from the point of view of semantics, Instrument is the participant which serves as a means by which the Actor brings the Process into actualisation and Accompaniment is a participant that is construed as accompanying the Actor in bringing about the unfolding of the process. Thus, both participants are construed as been brought into the participation of the Process by the action of the Actor. The implication is that, the Actor in such clauses is often an entity of a higher agency than the Instrument and the Accompaniment. For instance, in clauses involving an Instrument, the Instrument participant is always inanimate, while the Actor is normally an animate entity (30). Similarly, in a material clause with an

Accompaniment, the Actor is normally realised by an entity of a higher agency such as animate as opposed inanimate, human as opposed to non-human, and adult as opposed to young (31). The Instrument participant and Accompaniment participant in (30) and (31) respectively are in bold:

(30) Ʊ   kvɔr   =ɪ   nɪ   **a**   **kuur**.
      3SG   weed.IPFV   INST   FOC   DEF   hoe
      'S/he is weeding with the hoe.'

(31) Ʊ   kvɔr   =ɪ   nɪ   **a**   **bibiir**.
      3SG   weed.IPFV   COM   FOC   DEF   children
      'S/he is weeding with the children.'

The Initiator participant is the direct opposite of Instrument and Accompaniment in terms of their relationship with the Actor. It is a participant which is external to the Actor + Process configuration and which causes the Actor to bring about the Process. Thus, it is experientially of a higher agency than the Actor and the entity that it represents has a capacity to control the Actor. For instance, in (32) below, the Complement of the clause, *a bàa* ('the dog'), is construed as the Actor engaged in the Process while the Subject, Ʊ ('S/he') is the Initiator, the one that causes the dog to come:

(32) **Ʊ**   *wa*   *nɪ*   *nɪ*   *a*   *bàa.*
      3SG   come.PFV   CAUS   FOC   DEF   dog
      'S/he has come with the dog (=has caused the dog to come).'

As examples (30) to (32) show, the Initiator, Instrument and Accompaniment participants occur in clauses with a very similar syntactic organisation. However, while Initiator is normally the Subject in the interpersonal structure of the clause and in which case the Actor assumes the Complement position (32), Instrument and Accompaniment are normally Complement, as in (30) and (31). With regards to their realisation from below the clause, the three participant roles are morphologically signalled by the particle *nɪ* (or its enclitic forms *n=* and *=ɪ*) indicated in the verbal group and following the verb. This particle has been glossed variously as instrument (30), comitative (31) and causative (32) respectively for clauses with Instrument, Accompaniment and

Initiator. The term 'agentive marker' will be used as a general term for this particle when we are referring to its various uses collectively.[42] When the flow of discourse can enable addressees to recover the participant in Complement position of the clause, this participant is left unrealised in which case only the agentive marker encodes the sense of causation, instrumentality or accompaniment in the clause. This is illustrated in the dialogue below (relevant clause is in bold):

(33)　Casual conversation

Baba: *Ɛcɛ*　*Zɩɛm*　*ɩ,*　*a*　*dãa*　[[*ĩ*　*na*　*da*

but　Ziem　VOC　DEF　beer　1SG　REL　buy.PFV

fʋ　*a,*　*a*　*wa*]]?　*Ɛ*　*bɛ*　*dɛ*　*zɩ.*

2SG　JUNC　3PL.NHM be:where　And　3PL.HM　ADV　sit.PFV

kʋ̀

give.PFV

Zɩɛm: *Aa*

INTJ

Naab: *Nɔɔ,*　<u>*bɛ*　*waar*　*=ɩ*　*na.*</u>

no　3PL　come.IPFV　CAUS　AFFR

Baba: 'But Ziem, the pito/beer I bought for you where is it? And they (visitors) are just sitting.'

Ziem: 'I don't know.'

Naab: 'No, they are bringing (it).'

The use of the enclitic causative (or agentive) particle *=ɩ* within the verbal group in the *bɛ waar =ɩ na* ('they are bringing (it)') makes the Subject *bɛ* ('they') an Initiator rather than the Actor of the clause. The Actor is therefore left implicit to be recovered from the preceding discourse.

The similarity in the syntactic organisation of clauses involving Initiator, Instrument and Accompaniment participants also means that there is a tendency for ambiguity in analysing these clauses. Such an ambiguity can however, be partially resolved by assessing the context in which the clause

---

[42] The common label is motivated by the close functional relationship between the three different senses of *nɩ*. From a grammaticalisation perspective, we can posit a functional split along the following development: FOCUS > COMITATIVE > INSTRUTMENT/CAUSATIVE. See Heine & Kuteva (2002a: 79-88) for a similar pathway across languages.

occurs in the following way. Initiator oriented material clauses are effective clauses while Instrument and Accompaniment oriented ones are middle clauses. This means that it is only in Initiator oriented clauses that the Complement can genuinely be reversed to become the Subject in an agnate middle clause. Therefore, in the clauses in Figure 6.2, only the (a) clauses are effective and the (b) clauses are their corresponding middle counterparts.

(1a) effective: causative

ʊ	kʊɔr	=ɩ	nɩ	a	bibiir
3SG	weed.IPFV	CAUS	FOC	DEF	children
Initiator	Process			Actor	
noun group	verbal group			noun group	

'He is making the children weed.'

(1b) middle

A	bibiir	kʊɔr	a
DEF	children	weed.IPFV	AFFR
Actor		Process	
noun group		verbal group	

'The children are weeding.'

(1c) middle; comitative

ʊ	kʊɔr	=ɩ	nɩ	a	bibiir
3SG	weed.IPFV	COM	FOC	DEF	children
Actor	Process			Accompaniment	
noun group	verbal group			noun group	

'He is weeding with the children.'

(2a) effective: causative

ʊ	kʊɔr	=ɩ	nɩ	a	kuur
3SG	weed.IPFV	CAUS	FOC	DEF	hoe
Initiator	Process			Actor	
noun group	verbal group			noun group	

'He is making the hoe weed.'

(2b) middle

A	kuur	kʊɔr	a
DEF	hoe	weed.IPFV	AFFR
Actor		Process	
noun group		verbal group	

'The hoe is weeding.'

(2c) middle; instrumental

ʊ	kʊɔr	=ɩ	nɩ	a	kuur
3SG	weed.IPFV	INST	FOC	DEF	hoe
Actor	Process			Instrument	
noun group	verbal group			noun group	

'He is weeding with the hoe.'

Figure 6.2. Illustration of the different meanings of the agentive particle

It should be noted that, both the Complement in the effective clause and the Subject in the agnate middle clause has the same participant role, which is Actor.

Another distinctive characteristic of the Initiator-oriented clause among agentive clauses is that the Process can be construed analytically with a verbal group complex where a general verb such as *ỹãw* ('let'), *vɛ* ('let') and *ɩ* ('do', 'make') construes the causation instead of the agentive particle. Examples are given below (Initiator participant is in bold):

(34) **Ʋ**   *ỹãw*   *na*   *a*   *bibiir*   *kɔ*   *a*
      3SG   let.PFV   AFFR   DEF   children   weed.IPFV   DEF   *wɩɛ*.
      farm.
      'He let the children weed the farm.'

(35) **Naaŋmɩn**   *ɩ*   *saa*   *wa*!
      God   do.PFV   rain   come.PFV
      'God should make it rain.'

In each of these causative clauses, the verbal group complex realises one Process and not two with *ỹãw* and *ɩ* simply encoding causation, while the more specific verbs, *kvɔr* (34) and *wa* (35) encodes the nature of the unfolding Process.

Finally, with regards to accompaniment clauses, the Accompaniment can represent a process as opposed to a participant. Let's compare (36) and the reconstructed version in (37) below:

(36) Casual conversation
      Nyɩnɛ   *na*   *fʋ*   *dɛ*   *ŋmʋrɛ*   *a*   *lɛ*
      where   IDENT.PL 2SG   ADV   rush.IPFV   DEF   DEM.DIST
      cere   **nɩ?**
      go.IPFV   COM
      'Where are you just rushing like that going with?

(37) *Nyɩnɛ*   *na*   *fʋ*   *cere*   **nɩ**   *a*   *ŋmʋrʋ*   *nɛ*
      where   IDENT.PL 2SG   go.IPFV   COM   DEF   rushing   DEM
      bʋʋrɛ.
      type
      'Where are you going with that kind of rushing?'

In (36), the comitative particle *nɪ* signal that the first process, *ŋmʋrɛ* ('rushing'), in the verbal group complex *ŋmʋrɛ ... cere nɪ* ('rushing … going with'), accompanies the movement construed by *cere* ('going'). Example (37) is an alternative construction. Here, the process is nominalised as *ŋmʋrʋ* ('rushing') and represented as a participant in the clause.

6.3.3   Concrete and Abstract Material Clauses

To recapitulate, the preceding sections discussed the different types of material clauses, based on the nature of the unfolding of the process and the participants associated with it. For each type, some grammatical critieria has been identified as a signal of the kind of material clause construed and the participant roles engendered. For instance, while a Goal participant can be made a Subject in middle clause a Scope cannot. Also, Initiator is distinguished from Instrument and Accompaniment based on the agency characteristics of the entities these participant roles represent and by the fact that while the Complement in an Intiator-oriented clause (i.e. the Actor) can be made a Subject in a corresponding middle clause, Instrument and Accompaniment do not allow this alternation. We also identified material clauses as prototypically representing actions and happenings. However, material clauses are not always about concrete activities. Rather, they are sometimes a metaphorical representation of abstract notions. This section will briefly identify the characteristics of these abstract clauses.

The distinction between concrete and abstract material clauses in Dagaare is relevant because abstract clauses provide special exceptions to some of the characteristics of material clauses we have already discussed. First, the more abstract a clause is the less likely it is that participants in Complement position of the clause (typically, Goal and Scope, but also, Instrument, Accompaniment and the Actor of a causative clause) would be unrealised even if the textual context construct them as given information (cf. Section 6.3.1 & 6.3.2). Second, the more abstract or metaphorical a material clause is, the less likely it is that it can be converted into a corresponding middle clause. In other words, the Goal participant in abstract clauses mostly

cannot become the Subject in a middle clause. Let's consider the following examples:

(38)   Workshop interview

[…]	*a*	*bɛ*	*wa*	*=n*	*a*	*bɛ*	*tɩɛrʋ*,
[…]	CONT	3PL.HM	come.PFV	CAUS	DEF	3PL.HM	thoughts
a	*tɩ*	*mì*	*wa*	*=n*	*a*	*tɩ*	*tɩɛrʋ* […]
CONT	1PL	too	come.PFV	CAUS	DEF	1PL	thoughts

'…then they will bring their ideas, then we too will bring out ideas …'

(39)   Concert advertisement

Tɩ	*tɩɛ*	*taar*!
1PL	push.PFV	each other

'We should push one another (=We should support one another).'

In (38), the two clauses are causative clauses in which the Initiator is *bɛ* in the first clause and *tɩ* in the second clause. The Actor is realised by abstract nominal groups, *bɛ tɩɛrʋ* ('their thoughts') and *tɩ tɩɛrʋ* ('our thoughts'), which is a nominalisation of a mental process *tɩɛrɛ* ('thinking'). The clauses are therefore metaphorical representations of a mental process. Example (39) represents an abstract behaviour, providing social support. In this metaphorical sense, the nominal group *taar* ('each other', 'one another') functions as a Scope participant rather than a Goal participant since the Process does not actually impact on the secondary participant. In this sense the clause is less concrete than one in which the Goal is realised by a concrete noun such as *Tɩ tɩɛ a bie!* ('We should the child'). Thus while we can convert this concrete clause into a middle clause as in *A bie tɩɛ na* ('The child has been pushed'); *taar* ('each other', 'one another') cannot become the Subject in a middle clause.

The fact that abstract clauses provide exceptions to the characteristics of material clauses indicates that they are on the border line between material and immaterial processes such as sensing and being. These other processes are the focus of the sections below, starting with mental clauses.

6.4 Mental Clauses: Processes of Sensing

Mental clauses construe processes of sensing such as thinking, wanting, feeling, and perceiving. These are processes that construe our consciousness and inner experiences. Mental clauses are therefore complementary to material clauses, which construe our outer experience. Let's start by considering an extract which contains a fair number of mental clauses (mental processes are in bold):

(40) St. Maria

Father: *Kvɔ*   *ɔwfʋ*   *na*   *v*   *cen*   ***tı***   ***nyɛ̃***

     water   fetching   IDENT.PL 3SG   go.PFV   DIST   see.PFV

     dɛb   *o!*   *Ɛ*   *wiɛ*   *pvɔ*   *v*   ***tı***   ***nyɛ̃***

     man   PRT   CONJ   farm   inside   3SG   DIST   see.PFV

     pobile,   *a*   *bɔbr.*

     young man   CONT   court.IPFV

Daughter: *l̃*   *bɛ*   *bɔbr*   *ɛ.*

     1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   court.IPFV   NAFFR

[…]   […]   […]

Mother: […]   *bɛ*   *buor*   *sob*   *=v*   *fv*

     […]   3PL.HM   which   one   IDENT.SG   2SG

     pãa   ***bɔbr*?**

     ADV   want.IPFV

Daughter: *l̃*   ***bɔbr***   *a*   *sob*   *nɛ*   [[*na*

     1SG   want.IPFV   DEF   one   DEM   REL

     tɛr   *faw*   *gaw*   *v*

     possess.PFV   strength   be:more:than.PFV   3SG

     tɔ   *a*]].

     fellow   JUNC

Father: […]   *Fvv*   [[*na*   ***bãw***   *bɛ*   *a*]],

     […]   2SG.EMP   REL   know.PFV   3PL.HM   JUNC

     ãa   *nv*   *kpɛ̃mɛ̃ …?*

     who   IDENT.SG   strong

Daughter:	*l̃*	*bɛ*	*bãw*	*ɛ.*	*Sɛ*
	1SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	know.PFV	NAFFR	unless
	3PL.HM	*mɔ́.*			
	bɛ	wrestle.PFV			

Father:	*Fʋ*	*wõ*	*=n*	*a*	*lɛ*	[[*ʋ*	*na*
	2SG	hear.PFV	FOC	DEF	DEM	3SG	REL
	yèl	*a*]]?					
	say.PFV	JUNC					

Mother:	*l̃*	*wõ*	*a*	*na.*
	1SG	hear.PFV	3PL.NHM	AFFR

Father: 'It was water that she was going to fetch, then she **saw** a man; and, in farm, she **saw** a gentleman and is courting (him).'

Daughter: 'I'm not courting (him).'

Father: 'Which of then do you **want** now?'

Daughter: 'I **want** the one [[who is stronger than his fellow]].'

Father: 'You who **know** them, who is strong?'

Daughter: 'I **don't know**. Unless they wrestle.'

Father: '**Have** you **heard** that [[which she said]]?'

Mother: 'I **heard** it.'

Let's examine how the text is construed in terms of the flow of events. The extract starts with the father recounting processes his daughter has been engaged in, beginning with a material process of motion (*cen*, 'go'), followed by a mental state, specifically, perception (*nyɛ̃*, 'see') and then wanting (*bɔbr*, 'wanting'). The text is a good example of how different configurations of events conspire to construe the flow of experience through time. Regarding mental clauses, the extract flows from the perception of a phenomenon, through desiring it to cognising it. The mental clauses serve to construct these inert experiences into meanings which can be negotiated and challenged in fellowship with others.

One characteristic of mental clauses is the presence of a conscious participant who does the sensing. This participant is called Senser, typically realised by a nominal group. The range of entities that can be Senser are limited to those that are conscious (i.e. human and other animate beings), or

that are endowed with consciousness by speakers. In the extract above, the Senser is realised by the pronouns *ĩ* ('I'), *fʊ/fʋʋ* ('you') and *v* ('s/he'). The participant that is sensed is called the Phenomenon, and unlike Senser, it has no limitation on the range of entities that realise it. It can be realised by a nominal group or a rankshifted clause. In the grammar of Dagaare, therefore, the Phenomenon participant has a wider scope of realisation compared to other participant roles that correspond to the Complement since the realisation of these other participants is restricted to group rank. In (40), nominal groups realising Phenomenon are: *dɛb* ('man'), *pobile* ('gentleman'), *bɛ buor sob* ('which one of them'), *bɛ* ('third plural, human') and *a* ('third plural, non-human'), and complex ones such as *a sob nɛ na tɛr faw gaw v tɔ a* ('the one who is stronger than his/her fellow') and *a lɛ v na yèl a* ('that which s/he said'). A rankshifted clause realising Phenomenon is given below in (41) and (42):

(41)　Political interview

ĩ	*dãw*	*na*	*cere*	*tɔlɛ*	*wone*	*nɪbɛ*
1SG	ADV	AFFR	go.IPFV	pass.IPFV	hear.IPFV	people

yèle […].
say.IPFV

'I was passing by earlier on and heard <u>people saying</u> …'

(42)　St. Maria play

Gentleman 1:

Fʋ	*bɛ*	*nyẽ*	[[*ĩ*	*na*	*tɛr*
2SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	see.PFV	1SG	NMLZ	possess.PFV

taya	*a*]]?
hand catapult	JUNC

Gentleman 2:

Hɛh!	*Fʋ*	*nyẽ*	*nɪ*	*kuur*	*ɪ*?
INTJ	2SG	see.PFV	FOC	hoe	JUNC

| […] | | […] | | […] |

Gentleman 1:

[…]	*Fʋ*	*nyẽ*	*na*	[[*fʋ*	*na*	*duw*
[…]	2SG	see.PFV	AFFR	2SG	NMLZ	chase.PFV

bɛr	*a*]]?
leave.PFV	JUNC

1: Haven't you seen <u>that I have a hand catapult</u>?'

2: 'Hey! have you seen a hoe?

1: '… Have you seen <u>that you drove (her) away</u>?'

The size of the unit of realisation of the Phenomenon corresponds to different kinds of phenomena that are sensed. Nominal groups realise phenomena that can be described as 'micro-thing' (including abstract things) such as those realising the Phenomenon participants in (40). Phenomena that are realised by a rankshifted clause, on the other hand, are higher-order phenomena, consisting of 'acts' and 'facts'. An act-clause objectifies an event as a 'macro-thing' or, more technically, a macrophenomenon (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). An example of an act-clause is *nɪbɛ yèle* ('people saying') in (41). A fact-clause is a 'meta-thing' or a metaphenomenon since it is construed as belonging to the more abstract semiotic realm of experience as opposed to the material realm. It is a proposition presented as existing by itself as a semiotic phenomenon, "without being brought into being by somebody uttering it" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 253). Examples of metaphenomenal clauses are underlined in (42). Macrophenomenal and metaphomenonal clauses are commonly known in the typological literature as 'complement clauses', a term which highlights their function in the interpersonal structure of the clause (see Chapter 5).[43] Following Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), I will use the complementary term hyperphenomenal clauses to signify their ideational meaning as higher-order phenomena.

In Dagaare, as in many other languages including English (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Teruya 2007; Lavid et al. 2010), hyperphenomenal clauses are restricted to one sub-type of mental clauses, those of perception (types of mental clauses are discussed in Section 6.4.2.2). We do encounter fact clauses in emotive clauses but, unlike in perceptive clauses, they function as a circumstance of Cause rather than as a participant in the clause. I illustrate this in (43) and (44) below (circumstance of Cause is in underlined):

---

[43] The term 'complement clause' has been used broadly in the typology and descriptive literature to include projected clauses (which include but is not limited to reported and quoted clauses). I depart from this tradition by restricting 'complement clauses' to embedded clauses that truly function as Complements in the structure of the clause (see Section 6.4.2.2) on projection in mental clauses for the difference between complement (or hyperphenomenal) clauses and projected clauses in Dagaare).

(43)   *Kpιɛrʋ kpɛ*   *mɛ*   *na*   [[*fʋ*   *na*   *zɔ*   *a*]].

        pain   enter.PFV   1SG   AFFR   2SG   NMLZ   run.PFV JUNC

        'It pained me that you ran away.'

(44)   *A*   *kpɛ*   *=m*   *=a*   [[*fʋ*   *na*   *zɔ*   *a*]].

        3PL.NHM enter.PFV   1SG.ACC AFFR   2SG   NMLZ   run.PFV JUNC

        'It pained me that you ran away.'

In (43), the Phenomenon, *Kpιɛrʋ* ('pain'), conflates with the Subject of the clause and the Senser conflates with the Complement *mɛ* ('me') while a fact-clause realises circumstance of Matter, that is what the pain is about. Example (44) has a similar syntactic organisation with (43), but there is no Phenomenon in the clause. Rather, the Subject position is filled by a dummy pronoun, *a* (third plural, non-human), which has no function in the experiential grammar. Its function lies in the interpersonal metafunction, where it combines with the Predicator *kpɛ* ('enter') to ground the clause as an arguable unit of discourse (see Chapter 5). The fact-clause *fʋ na zɔ a* ('that you ran away') also realises circumstance of Cause in this clause. Mental clauses like (43) and (44) will be discussed in Section 6.4.3 on types of mental clauses.

Before we proceed, let's consider one general characteristic of mental clauses. They do not often occur in the imperative. Thus, when Jesus commanded Bartolomeo in the following exchange to see, the imperative mental clause comes out as highly marked and functions to highlight the divinity of Jesus:

(45)   The story of Jesus

        Yezu: *Bʋʋ*   *nʋ*   *fʋ*   *bɔbr*   *kɛ*   *ĩ*

               what   IDENT.SG   2SG   want.IPFV   PROJ   1SG

               ι   *kṽ*   *=b*?

               do.PFV   give.PFV   2SG.ACC

        Batolemi: *ĩ*   *bɔbr*   *k'ĩ*   *lɛ*   *nyɛrɛ.*

                      1SG   want.IPFV   PROJ.1SG ADV   see.IPFV

        Yezu: **Nyɛrɛ**!   *A*   *fʋ*   *Naaŋmιn*   *sawfʋ*   *sanι*

               see.IPFV   DEF   2SG   God   faith   heal.PFV

               fʋ   *na.*

               2SG   AFFR

Batolemi:	*ĩ*	*nyɛrɛ*	*na*!	*ĩ*	*nyɛrɛ*
	1SG	see.IPFV	AFFR	1SG	see.IPFV

na!	*ĩ*	*nyɛrɛ*	*na*!
AFFR	1SG	see.IPFV	AFFR

Jesus: 'What is it that you want me to do for you?'

Bartolomeo: 'I want to see again.'

Jesus: 'See! Your faith in God has healed you.'

Bartolomeo: 'I see! I see! I see!'

6.4.1 Direction of Sensing: Emanating and Impinging

Mental clauses construe sensing in two ways. One way is to construe it as something **emanating** from the Senser and the other way is to construe it as an outward phenomenon **impinging** on the Senser (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Much of our discussion in the preceding section has focused on the emanating type (but see 43 & 44). The impinging type clearly shows that the Senser is like the Goal participant of a material clause in the sense that it is on the Senser that the Process impacts upon. In Dagaare grammar, the impinging type is a typical characteristic of emotive clauses such as those construing pain and joy. The following extract is an instance from a concert advertisement:

(46)   concert advertisement

[…]	*ɛ*	*nʋɔ*	*kpɛ*	*nɩbɛ*	*nɛ*	*za*	[[*na*
[…]	CONJ	joy	enter.PFV	people	DEM	all	REL

na	*wa*	*a*	*be*	//	*wa*	*nyɛ̃*	*a*
POS.IND.FUT	come.PFV	DEF	there		PROX	see.PFV	DEF

bom	*nɛ*	*tɩ*	[[*na*	*ɪrɛ*	*a*]]]].
thing	DEM	1PL	REL	do.IPFV	JUNC

'… and all those people who will come there to see what we are doing will feel joy.'

Here, the Phenomenon, *nʋɔ* ('joy'), is construed as an entity that impinges the Senser, which is realised by a nominalised clause complex following the Process, *kpɛ* ('enter'). Verbs that typically realise the Process in this type of mental clauses are given in Table 6.1 (note that the table does not give an

288

exhaustive list of these verbs). The Phenomenon is normally the Subject in these clauses while the Senser is the Complement. The exception is that, when the Process is realised by *'wɔb/'wɔbr* ('pain/paining'), the Subject is realised by a body-part noun which could either be represented as Senser or Phenomenon (see example 4 in Table 6.1)

Table 6.1 Verbs that typically realise the Process in impinging mental clauses

No.	perfective	imperfective	example
1	*kpɛ*, 'enter'	*kpɪɛr*, 'entering'	*Nʋ̀ɔ kpɛ mɛ na.* 'I feel joy (=I feel happy).'
2	*kʋ́*, 'kill'	*kʋ́rɛ*, 'killing'	*Vɪ kʋ́rɛ mɛ na.* 'I feel shy.'
3	*ɪ*, 'do'	*ɪrɛ*, 'doing'	*Nʋ̀ɔ ɪrɛ mɛ na.* 'I feel happy.'
4	*'wɔb*; 'pain', 'hurt'	*'wɔbr*; 'paining', 'hurting'	[Subject/Senser]: *ĩ zu 'wɔbr =a.* 'My head is paining (=My head hurts).' [Subject/Phenomenon]: *ĩ zu 'wɔbr mɛ na.* 'My head pains me.'
5	*fɛr*, 'worry'	*fɛrɛ*, 'worrying'	*Kʋɔ yéle caa na fɛrɛ tɪ.* '(The) water issue is still worrying us.'
6	*tɔ*	*tʋ́ɔr*	*A yɛ̂rʋ tɔ mɛ na.* 'The speech touched me.'

Another characteristic of this type of mental clauses is that an additional participant is sometimes introduced as an external causer of the Process, the one who brings about the sensing. This participant is technically called the Inducer and it is similar to the Initiator role in material clauses (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Clauses in which the Inducer occur are causative mental clauses and we give examples in Figure 6.3.

a) subjective orientation

A	*fʋ*	*laarʋ*	*kʋ́rɛ*	*mɛ*	*nɪ*	*suur.*
DEF	1SG	laughter	kill.IPFV	1SG.ACC	FOC	anger
Inducer			Process	Senser		Phenomenon
noun group			verbal group	noun group		noun group

'Your laughter makes me angry.'

A	bʋndɪrɪ	ɪrɛ	mɛ	nɪ	vʋla.
DEF	food	do.IPFV	1SG.ACC	FOC	longing
Inducer		Process	Senser		Phenomenon
noun group		verbal group	noun group		noun group

'The food makes me long for it (=I long for the food).'

A	dãa	'wɔbr	mɛ	nɪ	zu.
DEF	beer/pito	pain.IPFV	1SG.ACC	FOC	head
Inducer		Process	Senser		Phenomenon
noun group		verbal group	noun group		noun group

'The beer/pito gives me pain in the head.'

   b) objective orientation

A	dãa	'wɔbr	=ɪ	zu.
DEF	beer/pito	pain.IPFV	FOC	head
Inducer		Process		Senser
noun group		verbal group		noun group

'The beer/pito makes my head painful.'

Figure 6.3: Illustration of causative mental clauses

As Figure 6.3 shows, causative mental clauses are either construed from a subjective orientation, where the speaker presents the information as his/her subjective feeling or interpretation, or an objective orientation, where the speaker presents the information as a fact, which may or may not encode collective sensing. The pressure to represent sensing objectively sometimes leads to a situation where it is totally phenomenalised in the sense that there is no Senser participant in the clause. Table 6.2 compares clauses in which sensing is phenominalised with those in which it is encoded subjectively.

Clauses that phenomenonalised sensing appear to be similar to meteorological material clauses such as:

(47)   *Sa-bie   ɪrɛ   na.*
       rain-driblets   do.IPFV AFFR
       'It is drizzling.'

While these meteorological clauses construe observable phenomena in the outer world, the mental processes are metaphorical and construe inert sensation. They corroborate a common motif in language where concrete objects and activities are pressed to construe abstract meanings.

Table 6.2. Phenomenonalisation of sensing versus subjective sensing

subjective/intersubjective				objective		
Nʋɔ	*ırɛ/kpıɛr*	*ʋ*	*na.*	*Nʋɔ*	*ırɛ*	*na.*
joy	do/enter.IPFV	3SG	AFFR	joy	do.IPFV	AFFR
'S/he feels happy.'				'There is joy.'		
Yawr	*ırɛ/kpıɛr*	*mɛ*	*na.*	*Yawr*	*ırɛ*	*na.*
cold	do/enter.IPFV	1SG.ACC	AFFR	cold	do.IPFV	AFFR
'I feel cold.'				'It is cold (=The weather is cold).'		
Kɔ̃	*kpıɛr*	*tı*	*na.*	*Kɔ̃*	*ırɛ*	*na.*
hunger	enter.IPFV	1PL	AFFR	hunger	do.IPFV	AFFR
'We feel hungry.'				'There is hunger.'		
Phenomenon	Process	Senser		Phenomenon	Process	
noun group	verbal gp.	noun gp.		noun group	verbal gp.	

6.4.2 Projection in Mental Clauses

Another major characteristic of mental clauses is their ability to project another clause. That is, a mental clause may set up another clause (or a combination of clauses) as a projection of the content of consciousness. We have seen instances of this in the preceding sections, as in example (45). Other instances of projection are provided below:

(48) The story of Jesus

    Fʋ   *bɔbr*   *a*   <u>*kɛ*   *tı*   *ı*   *ŋmın*</u>?

    2SG   want.PFV   AFFR   PROJ   1PL   do.PFV   what

    'You want that we do what? (=What do you want us to do?)'

(49) Concert advertisement

    Tı   *bãw*   <u>*kɛ*   *a*   *yél*   *ŋa*   *a,*   *ʋ*</u>

    1PL   know.PFV   PROJ   DEF   matter   DEM   JUNC   3SG

    <u>*na*   *tɔl*   *=ı*   *ni-daa*</u>.

    POS.IND.FUT   pass.PFV   FOC   forward

'We know that, this matter, it will go far (= … that this programme will be successful).'

(50)   Workshop Report 1

ĩ	*tɪɛ*	*a*	*be*	*bome*	*na*		*bɛ*
IPL	think	DEF	there	things	IDENT.PL		NEG.IND.NFUT

maal	*vla*	*kʋ̀*		*tɪ*	*ɛ.*
do:well.PFV	good	give.PFV		1PL	NAFFR

'I think the things (=crops) there are the ones that did not do well for us.'

(51)   *Sɛb-Sõw ŷɛr-bie* (1996)

ʋ	*tɪ*	*la*		*na*	*kɛ́*	*tɪɛrɛ:*		"*A*
3SG	PST.REM	laugh.PFV		AFFR	CONJ	think.IPFV		DEF

sãan	*bɛ*		*maal*	*bãw*		*a*	*ĩ*	*yome*
visitor	NEG.IND.NFUT	ADV	know.PFV			DEF	1SG	years

nvɔr		*ɛ.*"
number		NAFFR

"S/he laughed and was thinking: 'The visitor doesn't know my age well.'"

In each of these examples, a mental clause projects another clause. The projected clause is the content of consciousness, namely wanting as in (48) and thinking as in (49) to (51). A projected clause is distinguished from hyperphenomenal clauses based on the following characteristics. Semantically, while hyperphenomenal clauses represent acts and facts, the projected mental clauses are thoughts and desires. Mental projection is therefore associated with clauses that represent cognition and desideration (cf. Section 6.4.2.2). Second, a projected clause forms a clause nexus with the mental clause and is normally introduced by the conjunctive particle *kɛ*. Thus, one way of testing whether a clause is a projected or hyperphenomenal clause is to insert the particle *kɛ* between the Process of the mental and the following clause. For instance, the absence of the particle *kɛ* in (50) is an instance of ellipsis and it can be inserted after the Process *tɪɛ*.

In addition, projection comes in two modes, reporting and quoting. Projected reporting is exemplified by examples (48) to (50) while (51) is an instance of a projected quote. Also, a projected clause also maintains its full status as a negotiable and arguable unit of discourse by retaining all the characteristics of its mood type. It is thus a free clause (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3). In (48), for example, the projected clause *tɪ ɪ ŋmɪn*? ('what should we do?') maintains its characteristic as an interrogative clause although the projecting clause is a declarative. Similarly, the projected clauses in (49) to (51) maintain their characteristics as declarative clauses that can be negotiated and argued about. A hyperphenomenal clause ('complement clause'), on the other hand, is an embedded clause, and its non-finite status is indicated by the absence of mood markers or end focus, as has been shown in (41) and (42) (cf. Section 6.4).

6.4.3 Principal Types of Mental Clauses

In the discussion in the preceding sections, the principal types of mental clauses were alluded to. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) note for English, four sub-types have been identified for Dagaare, comprising cognitive, desiderative, emotive and perceptive clauses, although the realisation patterns are not exactly the same as in English. In this section, we identify their distinctive characteristics more systematically as a way of summarising our account of mental clauses in general (see Table 6.4). Cognitive clauses construe thinking; desiderative clauses construe wanting; emotive clauses construe feeling and perceptive clauses encompass seeing, hearing and other perceptual processes.[44]

The grammar of Dagaare sets them apart as distinctive types of mental clauses. Cognitive and desiderative clauses are set apart from the emotive and perceptive clauses by their ability to project other clauses. Thus, even when the verb *nyẽ* ('see'), which is originally associated with perception, projects, it gives the clause a cognitive interpretation. In (52), for example, *nyẽ* ('see') represents inference as opposed to its perceptive sense in the reconstruction in (53):

---

[44] 'Thinking', 'wanting', and 'feeling' are used here as general labels (or prototypes) for other processes within these domain of sensing.

(52) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Naaŋmɪn*	*tɪ*	*nyɛ̃*	*na*	*k'aa*	*al*
DEF	God	PST.REM	see.PFV	AFFR	PROJ.DEF	3PL.EMP.NHM

za	[[*v*	*na*	*maalɪ*	*a*]]	*vɪɛl*	*=ɪ*
all	3SG	REL	make.PFV	JUNC	be:good	FOC

yaga.
plenty

'God saw (=realised) that all that he made was very good.'

(53)
A	*Naaŋmɪn*	*tɪ*	*nyɛ̃*	*nɪ*	*a*	*al*
DEF	God	PST.REM	see.PFV	FOC	DEF	3PL.EMP.NHM

za	[[*v*	*na*	*maalɪ*	*a*]],	*a*	*vɪɛl*
all	3SG	REL	make.PFV	JUNC	3PL.NHM	be:good

yaga.
plenty

'God saw all that he made to be very good.'

Examples (52) and (53) are cognitive and perceptive clauses respectively. In (52), the clause *k'aa al za v na maalɪ avɪɛlɪ yaga* ('that all that he has made was very God') is projected as the content of the consciousness of God. The projection is indicated morphologically by the clitic form of the particle *kɛ*. While the projected clause in (52) is free, as indicated by the presence of end focus onthe adverbial group *yaga* ('plenty'), the metaphenomenal clause in (53) is embedded and, therefore, has no obligatory (or end) focus.

Table 6.3. Contrast between cognitive and desiderative clauses on aspect selection

mental clause type	perfective	imperfective
cognitive	*ĺ bãw a na.* 1SG know.PFV 3PL.NHM AFFR 'I know it.'	*ĺ bãwnɛ a na.* 1SG know.IPFV 3PL.NHM AFFR 'I am knowing it.'
desiderative	-	*ĺ bɔbr a na.* 1SG want.IPFV 3PL.NHM AFFR 'I want it.'

Between cognitive and desiderative clauses, on the other hand, they show a difference in their selection of aspect. The unmarked choice of aspect for cognitive is perfective while the only choice of aspect available for desiderative clauses is the imperfective. This contrast is presented in Table 6.3.

Regarding perceptive clauses, their unique characteristic is that they are the only sub-type in which the Phenomenon participant can be realised by a hyperphenomenal clause, as in (53). However, although perceptive clauses typically do not project, as has been mentioned earlier, there is a metaphorical context in which the verb *wõ* ('hear') projects to enact evidentially, specifically hearsay. Compare, for instance, (54) and (55):

(54) *ĩ̃* *wõ*   =*n* *gɔmɛ.*
   1SG hear.PFV FOC noise
   'I heard noise.'

(55) *ĩ̃* *wõ*   *na* *kɛ* *fʊ* *kul*   =*ι*
   1SG hear.PFV AFFR PROJ 2SG marry.PFV FOC

   sιr.
   husband
   'I hear that you got married.'

This use of *wõ* ('hear') in (55) is an incongruent realisation of a verbal process. A more congruent realisation would be the verbal clause below, where the Subject *Bɛ* ('They') lacks specific reference and the projection serves to enact the proposition as hearsay:

(56) *Bɛ* *yèl* *kɛ* *fʊ* *kul*   =*ι* *sιr.*
   1SG say.PFV PROJ 2SG marry.PFV FOC husband
   'They (=people/someone) say you got married.'

Strictly speaking, therefore the use of *wõ* ('hear'), as in (55), is not as much to represent perception as to enact evidentiality.

Finally, on emotive clauses, they are pervasively construed in the impinging mode of sensing compared to the other sub-types, which are typically construed in the emanating mode. In perceptive clauses, in particular,

295

Table 6.4 Characteristics of the sub-types of mental clauses

Criteria		Cognitive	Desiderative	Emotive	Perceptive
phenome-nality	**phenome-nal**	*Ʋ bãw ʋ na.* S/he knows him/her.	*Ʋ bɔbr a na* S/he wants it.	*Ʋ nɔnɛ ʋ na.* S/he likes him/her.	*Ʋ nyɛ̃ ʋ na* S/he saw him/her.
	macro-phenomenal				*Ʋ nyɛ̃ na bɛ waar.* S/he saw them coming
	metaphe-nomenal				*Ʋ nyɛ̃ na a vɩɛl.* S/he has seen it is good.
projection		*Ʋ bãw kɛ a vɩɛl a.* S/he knows that it is good.	*Ʋ bɔbr kɛ fʋ wa.* S/he wants you to come.		– [see below on evidentiality]
directionality	**emanating**	√	√	√	√
	impinging	*Zʋ́mɛ kpɛ̃ mɛ na.* Intuition entered me.	*Vʋla kpɛ̃ mɛ na.* Longing entered me.	[pervasive] *Nʋ̀ɔ kpĩɛr mɛ na.* Joy is entering me.	[restricted] *Yawr ɩrɛ mɛ na.* Cold entered me.
metaphorical modal assessment	**evidentia-lity**	*Ĩ tɩɛ ʋ wa na* I think s/he has come.			[hearsay] *Ĩ wo na kɛ ʋ kpi na.* I hear that he died.
	desirability (cf. Chapter 4 on modality)		*Ĩ na bɔbr kɛ ĩ sowri fʋ.* I will want to ask you.		
unmarked aspect		perfective	imperfective	imperfective	perfective

the impinging type is restricted to bodily perception such as feeling cold or hot, which, in fact, lies on the borderline between perception and emotion ('feeling'). The unmarked aspect for emotive clauses is the imperfective aspect as opposed to cognitive and perceptive clauses. We summarise the

differences among the four sub-types of mental clauses in Table 6.4 (compare with Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: 256) on English).

6.5   Relational Clauses: Processes of Being & Possessing

Relational clauses are clauses of 'being'. They characterise and identify phenomena in the world. In this sense, they are like material clauses since they both primarily represent the outer world of experience. While material clauses, however, represent dynamic experience, relational clauses represent inert experience, that is, relations among phenomena. Two types of relational clauses can be identified, based on the mode of participation in the Process. These sub-types are identifying and attributive clauses. The following clauses from the opening of a radio interview with a Dagara chief show a good contrast between identifying (57a) and attributive clauses (57b, c):

(57)   Interview with Nandom *nàa*

(a)   *Mãa   nı   a   Nandɔm   nàa, Nàa Dr.*
    1SG.EMP COP.FOC DEF   Nandom   chief Chief Dr.

    Charles   Pvɔ-ure Pvɔbɛ-ciir   ayɔpoi sob.
    Charles   Puo-urePuobe-chiir   seven owner

    'I am the chief of Nandom, Nàa Dr. Charles Puo-ure Puobe-chiir VII.'

(b)   *ĩ   ɩ   =n   a   paramount   chief   of*
    1SG   COP.PFV FOC   DEF

    Nandom Traditional   Area   [...]

(c)   *ĩ   lɛ   ɩ   =n   a   president   of   the*
    1SG   ADV   COP.PFV FOC   DEF

    Upper West Regional House of Chiefs.

    'I am the (paramount) chief of Nandom traditional Area … I am also the president of the Upper West Regional House of Chiefs'

The chief's introduction of himself opens with the identifying clause in (57a) and proceeds with a series of attributive clauses, two of which are given in (57b) and (57c). In an identifying clause, one participant, the Identifier, serves to identify another, the Identifier. In example (57a), the Identified participant

is the pronoun *Mãa* ('I'), which represents the speaker, while the Identifier is the specification of the speaker, and it is construed at two levels: first, his role identity (i.e. *a Nandɔm nàa,* 'the chief of Nandom'), which is then further specified appositively by his name and titles (*Nàa Dr. Charles Pvɔ-ure Pvɔbɛ-ciir ayɔpoi sob*). The relationship between the Identified and the Identifier in a relational clause is therefore that of specification.

In the attributive clause, on the other hand, the relationship between the participants is that of ascription of a class membership, where an Attribute is ascribed to a Carrier. In (57b) and (57c) the first person pronoun *ĩ* is the Carrier, and the roles of the speaker are represented as Attributes. Thus, while the speaker represents his identity as the traditional seat upon which his stool name is based (57a), he construes his other roles as class membership, as one of the paramounts chiefs in Ghana (57b) and one of the ten presidents of the various Regional Houses of Chiefs in the country (57c). In other words, while there can be only one chief of Nandom, there are many other paramount chiefs and presidents of Regional Houses of Chiefs in Ghana. It must be noted, however, that the two modes, identifying and attribution, are generally not given by the state of the world, as it were. Rather, they are selections made by speakers as a reflection of their perspective on experience. The two participants in both attributive and identifying clauses are realized by nominal groups. Attributive clauses are also associated with two more participants, the Attributor, the external participant that ascribes the Attribute to the Carrier, and Beneficiary, the one who benefits from the Attribute. In the following extract, the Attributor and Beneficiary are *tɪ* ('we') and *a bʋn-bul* ('the plant') respectively:

(58)   Workshop interview

	|*Ba*	*a*	*lɛ*	[[[***tɪ***	*na*	*=a*	*tvɔ*
but	DEF	DEM	1PL	REL	POS.IND.FUT	be:able

ɪ,	‖	*a*	*tɪɪ-sɔw,v*	*tvɔ*	*tɛr*
do.PFV		DEF	land	3SG	be:able.PFV	possess.PFV

buulu,	‖*v*	*tvɔ*	*tɛr*	*ɓaaru*	*kʋ̀*
silt	3SG	be:able.PFV	possess.PFV	moisture	give.PFV

a   bʋn-bul]]].|||

DEF   plant

'But what we can do (so that), the land, it can have silt, it can have moisture for the plant.'

As in other benefactive clauses, the Beneficairy participant in the attributive clause is introduced by the verb *kʋ̀* ('give') in a verbal group complex.

6.5.1   Extending the types of relational clauses in delicacy

The preceding section identified two types of relational clauses based on the mode of participation in the process, identifying and attributive clauses. Relational clauses in Dagaare and in many other languages, if not all, also divide up according to the nature of the process (see Caffarel et al. (2004) and contributions therein; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). This dimension gives us three types of relational clauses, namely intensive, possessive and circumstantial clauses. When these sub-types are combined with identification and attribution, we get a complex sub-types of relational clauses, as Table 6.5 shows.

Table 6.5. Illustration of the principal types of relational clauses

nature of unfolding	mode of participation							
	attributive				identifying			
intensive	*Fʋ*	*ı*	=*n*	*sãa.*	*Fʋʋ*	*nı*	*a*	*sãa.*
	2SG	COP.PFV	FOC	father	2SG.EMP	COP.FOC	DEF	father
	'You are a father.'				'You are the father.'			
possessive	*Fʋ*	*tɛr*	=*ı*	*sãa.*	*Fʋ*	*tɛr*	=*ı*	*a*	*kuur.*
	2SG	possess.PFV	FOC	father	2SG	possess	FOC	DEF	hoe
	'You have a father.'				'You have the hoe.'			
circumstantial	*Fʋ*	*pʋɔ*	*nı*	*ka.*	*Fʋ*	*yi*	=*n*	*Kogle.*
	2SG	be:among	FOC	here	2SG	be:from	FOC	Kogle
	'You are among here.'				'You are from Kogle.'			

These six sub-types are discussed in the following sections.

6.5.2 Intensive Clauses

Our discussion on relational clauses in the preceding section has been focused on the intensive type. The reason is that intensive clauses are the prototype of relational clauses and offer the clearest examples for the distinction between the identifying and attributive type in Dagaare. They are also the most frequent in discourse compared to the possessive and circumstantial types. In this section, intensive clauses will be discussed in more detail, beginning with the identifying mode (Section 6.5.2.1) and then the attributive mode (6.5.2.2).

6.5.2.1 Intensive Identification

Intensive identification is realised in three ways. The first is where the Process is realised by a unique identifying copula, *nɛ* or *lɛ* ('be'), depending on idiolectal and sub-dialectal variation. This realisation is illustrated in the underlined clause in (59) and the constructed dialogue in (60):

(59)   Bible.is (Ebire 5: 5b)

l̃	*bie*	***nɛ***	*=b.*	*l̃*	*dɔw*	*fʋ*	*nɪ*
1SG	child	COP	2SG.ACC	1SG	give birth	2SG	FOC

a	*dɪa.*
DEF	today

'You are my child. I give birth to you today.'

(60)   A:

Ãa	*lɛ*	*=b.*
who	COP	2SG.ACC

B:

Dɛr	*lɛ*	*=m.*
Der	COP	1SG.ACC

A: 'Who are you?'

B: 'I am Der.'

In (59), the Indenfier is *l̃ bie* ('my child') and the Identified is the enclitic pronoun *=b*. In (60), The Identifier participant in Speakers A and B propositions are *Ãa* ('who') and *Dɛr* respectively while the enclitic pronouns *=b* and *=m* are the Identified participants. The second type of intensive identifying clauses is verbless clauses, exemplified in (61) and (62) below:

(61)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 14a)

 Zã-Bati   ***nʋ.***

 John-Baptist IDENT.SG

 'John the Baptist **is the one** (=**It is** John the Baptist).'

(62)   *Kamaan*   ***na***.

 maize   IDENT.PL

 '**It is** maize.'

Example (61) will be a response to a question like *Who is s/he*? while (62) will be a response to the question *What is this*? Thus, the function of clauses such as these in the linguistic system is to identify an entity as opposed to assigning a class membership. As these examples show, this type of identifying clauses has no Process. The Identified participant is realised by one of two identifying pronouns, *nʋ* (singular) or *na* (plural, non-human), and the Identifier is realised by a noun group or a nominal clause (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3). Diachronically, these kinds of clauses evolved from constructions with the identifying verb *nɛ* such as those in (59), but where the Complement was originally realised by the personal pronouns *ʋ* (third singular) or *a* (third plural, non-human). In such an environment, the identifying verb *nɛ* fused with the personal pronouns to derive the identifying pronouns *nʋ* (third singular) and *na* (third plural, non-human), and the resulting in a verbless clause (see Mwinlaaru & Yap (2017) for details). The third realisation of intensive identification is also a verbless clause. An example is given in (63) below:

(63) Political opinion interview

  I: *A* *fʋ* *yuor* ***nɩ*** *bʋnʋ*?

     DEF 2SG name COP.FOC what

  R: *ĩ̃* *yuor* *=ɩ* *George*.

     1SG name COP.FOC George

  I: What is your name?

  R: My name is George.

The structural pattern of this type is the reverse of the clauses in (61) and (62). That is, the Identified element precedes the Identifier. In (63), the Identified

elements are *A fʋ yuor* ('your name') and *l̃ your* ('my name') in the interviewer's question and the respondent's answer respectively. The corresponding Identifier elements are the Q-element *bʋnʋ* ('what') and 'George'. Of note is the fact that the Identifier in these clauses is always introduced by the focus particle *nɩ* (or the clitic form *=n* or *=ɩ*), which also displays some verbal characteristics such as the ability take polarity paprticles and other verbal group particles (e.g. *l̃ yuor **bɛ nɩ** George ɛ*, 'My name is not George'). This situation can also be explained by grammaticalisation. That is, such clauses evolved from a further fusion of the identifying pronoun *nʋ* (and also *na*) with the attributive copula *ɩ* to derive the focus marker *nɩ* (cf. Heine & Reh 1983; Harris & Campbell 1995; Diessel 1999; Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017). The focus particle in the resulting verbless clause is unique in the overall system of the language since it is only in these kinds of clauses that it can co-occur with the negative particle.

Together, the three types of clauses introduced above, namely the copula construction and the two types of verbless clauses, realise intensive identification in Dagaare. The extract below illustrates how they can combine to construe identity in text (relevant clauses underlined):

(64)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 13-16)[45]

A	*Yeezu*	*na*	*wa*	*ta*		*a*	*Filib*
DEF	Jesus	ADVLZ	EVT	reach.PFV		DEF	Phillip

tẽw	*Sezaare*	*a,*	*ʋ*	*sowr*	*=ɩ*	*a*
town	Caesarea	JUNC	3SG	ask.PFV	FOC	DEF

ʋ	*po-tuurbɛ:*	*"A*	*nɩbɛ*	*zie*	*a,*	*ãa*
3SG	followers	DEF	people	place	JUNC	who

nɩ	*a*	*Nɩsaal*	*Bie?"*	*Bɛ*	*tɩ*	*sɔw*		*na:*
COP.FOC	DEF	human	child	3PL.HM	PST.REM	respond.PFV		AFFR

"Bɛ	*mɩnɛ*	*zie,*	*Zã-Bati*	***nʋ,***		*bɛ*	*mɩnɛ*
3PL.HM	some	place	John-Baptist	IDENT.SG		3PL.HM	some

zie	*ʋ*	*ɩ*	*Eli,*	*bɛ*	*mɩnɛ*	*zie*	*ʋ*
place	3SG	COP.PFV	Elijah	3PL.HM	some	place	3SG

---

[45] Punctuation has been modified. e.g. *n'ɩ* and *n'ʋ* in the original are changed to *nɩ* and *nʋ* respectively (see n. 4). Source: http://www.bible.is/DGIABB/Matt/16.

ı	Zeremi	bıı	Naaŋmın-ŷɛr-manɛ	kãw."	Ʋ
COP.PFV	Jeremiah	or	God-prophet	some	3SG

lɛb	sowri	bɛ:	"Ɛ	a	nyıım,	nyı	yèl
again	ask.PFV	3PL.HM	and	DEF	2PL.EMP	2PL	say

kɛ	ãa	nɛ	=m?"	Sımṽ	Pıɛr	tı	sɔw
PROJ	who	COP	1SG.ACC	Simon	Peter	PST.REM	respond.PFV

na:	"Fṽʋ	nı	a	Naaŋmın	Nı-kabra,
AFFR	2SG.EMP	COP.FOC	DEF	God	person-most powerful

a	Naaŋmın	[[na	vʋʋrɛ	a]]	Bie."
DEF	God	REL	live.PFVJUNC		child

"When Jesus got to Phillip's town Caesarea, he asked his followers: 'For the people, who is the Son of Man? They answered: For some, John the Baptist is he; for some, he is Elijah; for some, he is Jeremiah, or one of the prophets of God. He asked them again: 'And you, you say that I am who?' Simon Peter answered: 'You are the Most Powerful Man of God, the Child of the God who lives.'"

Jesus's question to his disciple borders on his identity, *a Nısaal Bie* ('the Son of Man'). In their response, the disciples first used a verbless clause to construe his perceived identify, in which the Identified element is the pronoun *nʋ* and the Identifier is *Zã-Bati* ('John the Baptist'). Subsequent clauses are attributive, where Jesus is characterised based on the qualities of the Old Testament prophets. The second question still construes his identify with an identifying clause and this time, it is not a verbless clause, but rather, it has a Process, realised by *nɛ*, and his perspective simultaneously shifts from third person to first person. The reponse which follows is again an identifying clause realised by the *nı*-type of verbless clause.

When we compare the choices in the realisation of the identifying clauses, we see that they are also influenced by the organisation of the clause as a message. Jesus's first question places thematic prominence on the Q-element, *ãa*. The disciples pick this up by thematising the requested information. In the second question, Jesus again thematises the Q-element.

Peter's response, however, is now more influenced by the nature of the information provided, the end-weight principle, the tendency to place longer stretches of constructions in final position of the clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Thus, the use of a complex noun group constrains the choice of a more flexible verbless clause, which allows a switch between the elements in the clause. This choice also allows the writer to give focus prominence to the specification of Jesus identity, thereby given a textual force, as it were, to this historic declaration.

It seems that identifying clauses across languages tend to be closely related to systems of information packaging in the clause (i.e. THEME and INFORMATION). For, instance, there is robust cross-linguistic evidence that support the diachronic development of focus and theme markers from identificational clauses (cf. Heine & Reh 1983; Heine & Kuteva 2002; Harris & Campbell 1995; Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 276-289; 298-300) show the impact of information structure on patterns of identifying clauses in English. Thus, we see a tension between, on the one hand, identifying clauses as specificational resources in the ideational metafunction, and resources for signalling textual prominence, on the other hand. This tension reflects that, at a more abstract level, referential identification and focus of information belong to the same semiotic space, that of pointing (see Mwinlaaru & Yap 2017). In this sense, identifying clauses are unique in the overall system of TRANSITIVITY. They provide resources for language to organise itself into a consumable entity.

6.5.2.2 Intensive Attribution

In text (64), intensive attributive clauses combine with identifying clauses in construing Jesus' identity. The attributive clauses in the text are isolated below:[46]

(65)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 14b)

     […]   *bɛ*   *mɪnɛ*   *zie*   *v*   *ɩ*   *Eli.*

     […]   3PL.HM   some   place   IDENT.SG   COP.PFV   Eli

---

[46] These clauses are in broad focus. Thus, the end-focus particle *nɪ,* whose usual place is after the Process, is absent (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1 & 5.4.4).

'… for some (people), he is Elijah.'

(66) Bible.is (Matie 16: 14c)

[…]	*bɛ*	*mɪnɛ*	*zie*	*ʋ*	*ɪ*	*Zeremi*	*bʊ*
[…]	3PL.HM	some	place	3SG	COP.PFV	Jeremiah	or

Naaŋmɪn-ŷɛr-manɛ	*kãw.*
God-prophet	some

'… for some (people), he is Jeremiah or one of the prophets of God.'

As with identifying clauses, intensive attribution also has a unique copula verb that realises the Process, which is *ɪ* (perfective) or *ɪrɛ* (imperfective). Other verbs of attribution will be identified in the course of the discussion in this section. Generally, clauses of intensive attribution can be characterised along the following lines: (a) the class the Carrier is ascribed to can either be an entity or a quality (b) the process of attribution can either be neutral or phased (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).

(i) Class membership specification: The Attribute ascribed to the Carrier can be construed as either an entity or quality. In the extracts below, the Attribute particpants represent entities (Attribute is highlighted).

(67) *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie* (1996)

A	*Abɛl*	*wa*	*ɪ*	*=n*	***pi-cʊnɛ,***	*ɛ*	*a*
DEF	Abel	EVT	COP.PFV	FOC	shepherd	CONJ	DEF

Kayɛ	*ɪ*	***kʋɔra.***
Cain	COP.PFV	farmer.

'Abel became **a shepherd** and Cain was **a farmer**.'

(68) NANSU citation

Fʋ	*ɪ*	*=n*	*nɪr*	*[[na*	*mí*	*ɓaa*	*a*	*tɪ*
2SG	COP.PFV	FOC	person	REL	HAB	cool.PFV	DEF	1PL

suur	*a,* ‖	*ɛ*	*kʋ̀*	*tɪ*	*pʋpɪɛlʋ*	*a]].*
anger	JUNC	CONJ	give.PFV	1PL	joy	JUNC

Fʋ	*ɪ*	*=n*	***sãa***	*ɛ*	*lɛ*	*ɪ*	***pi-cʊnɛ***	*a*
2SG	COP.PFV	FOC	father	CONJ	also	COP.PFV	shepherd	DEF

tɪ	*zie.*
1PL	place

'You are <u>someone [[who cools down our temper ‖ and gives us joy]]</u>.
You are **a father** and also **a shepherd** to us.'

Example (67) represents the occupation of Cain and Abel as Attributes. Thus, while Abel is characterised among the class of shepherds, Cain is characterised among farmers. Example (68) is from a doing text, a tribute by a student association expressing gratitude to their mentor and teacher. The orientation of the text is to praise the qualities of the mentor. These qualities, are however, represented in the text as entities by use of metaphor, that both grammatical (underlined) and lexical (in bold) metaphor.

When the attribute is realised as quality, there are two alternatives involved. The first represents the quality as an Attribute participant, realised by a nominal group whose Head is an adjectival noun. The second encodes the attribute in the Process, which is realised by an adjectival verb (See Chapter 3.4.2.1 & 3.4.2.2 on adjectival nouns and verbs respectively). Table 6.6 illustrates the two alternatives with colour terms. Nominal groups and varied in number and modification are verbal groups are varied in aspect in order to show different dimensions of the examples.

Table 6.6. Options in representing quality in intensive clauses

	quality	attribute as participant				attribute as Process		
1	red	A DEF	pɛn cloth	ɩ COP.PFV	=n FOC	zɩɛ red.SG	A DEF	pɛn cloth	mʊɔ be:red.PFV	na AFFR
		'The cloth is red.'					'The cloth is red.'		
2	white	A DEF	pɛnɛ cloths	ɩ COP.PFV	=n FOC	pɛlɛ black.PL	A DEF	pɛnɛ cloths	pɛlɩ be:white.PFV	na AFFR
		'The cloths are white.'					'The cloths are white.'		
3	black	A DEF	bie child	ɩ COP.PFV	=n FOC	bi-sɛla child-dark.SG	A DEF	bie child	sɔbr be:dark.IPFV	a AFFR
		'The child is a dark/black child.'					'The child is becoming dark/black.'		
	clause	Carrier	Process			Attribute	Carrier	Process/ Attribute	
	group	nom. gp.	verbal gp.			nom. gp.	nom. gp.	verbal gp.	

Further examples of encoding the Attribute in the Process are given in (68) below:

(69) Workshop report 5

A	kɔb,	dıya	v	**vıɛl**	a
DEF	farming	last year	3SG	be:good	AFFR

kʋ̀	mãa.	ĩ̃	pʋɔ	**pɛlı**	na […].
give.PFV 1SG.EMP		1SG	stomach	be:white.PFV	AFFR […]

Al		bome	**sãw**	na.	Al
3PL.EMP.NHM		things	be:spoiled.PFV	AFFR	3PL.EMP.NHM

bɛ	**maal**	ɛ.
NEG.IND.NFUT	do:well	NAFFR

'The farming last year, it was good for me. I'm happy … The crops there are spoiled. The crops there did not do well.

In (69), there are four attributive clauses and in all the Process is realised by an adjectival verb. The first begins with an Asolute Theme *a kɔb* ('the farming'), and a marked Theme, *dıya*, ('last year'). The Carrier participant is *v* (third singular) and the Process is *vıɛl* ('be good') and it encodes the Attribute ascribed to the Carrier. There is also a Beneficiary participant, *mãa* (first singular, emphatic) and it is introduced by the verb *kʋ̀* ('give'). The second clause (*ĩ̃ pʋɔ pɛlı na*, 'I am happy') represents emotion. The Carrier is a body part, *ĩ̃ pʋɔ* ('my stomach'), and the Process, *pɛlı* (be white) encodes the Attribute. As the analysis shows, this is a metaphorical representation of emotion. The verb realising the Process in the third clause (i.e. *sãw,* 'be spoiled') represents a negative attribute while the verb in the fourth clause (i.e *maal,* 'do well') represents a positive attribute although the verbal group in which it is Head is negative, as the negative particle *bɛ* indicates. Thus, in all these clauses, the burden of attribution lies with the Process.

(ii) Neutral versus phased attribution: This relates to one characteristic distinction between attributive and identifying clauses in relation to aspectual contrast. As was mentioned above, the Process in identifying clauses only occurs in perfective form, which reflects that it represents static experience. Attributive clauses, however, can occur in either perfective or imperfective aspect. Many of the examples that have been considered so far, such as in (69), are in the perfective aspect. In these instances, the Attribute ascribed to

the Carrier is bounded as a static quality. The imperfective aspect, on the other hand, construes attribution as a dynamic process. Examples are given below:

(70) St. Maria play

ĩ́ **lɪɛbɛ** nɪ *faara.*

1SG turn.IPFV FOC priest.

I'm becoming a priest.'

(71) ĩ́ **ɪrɛ** nɪ *faara.*

1SG COP.IPFV FOC priest

'I am becoming a priest.'

In both (70) and (71) the Attribute *faara* ('priest') ascribed to the Carrier is represented as being progressive as opposed to a completely attained quality. The imperfective can also represent semblativity, the sense of semblance in quality as opposed to exactness:

(72) A *kparʋ* **ɪrɛ** nɪ *pʋla.*

DEF shirt/dress COP.IPFV FOC white

'The atire seems white'.

6.5.2.3 Projection in intensive clauses

Projection is unique to intensive clauses among relational clauses and within intensive clauses, it is restricted to processes realised by a small set of verbs. In the attributive mode, these verbs are *sɛw* ('become necessary', 'be appropriate') and *fɛr* ('be necessary', 'be crucial'). Clauses in which they occur can only project imperative clauses:

(73) Political opinion interview

||| A *sãa* nɪ *bie,* <u>a sɛw na</u> // ɛ

DEF father and child 3PL.NHM be:appropriate AFFR PROJ

bɛ *yɛ̂rɛ* *wõne* *taar.* |||

3PL.HM speak.IPFV hear.IPFV each other

'The father and son, it is necessary that they are agreeable.'

308

(74) The story of Jesus

||| *A*   *fɛr*   *=a*   //   *kɛ*   *nɪr*   *za*

3PL.NHM be:necessary.PFV   AFFR   PROJ   person all

mì   *lɛb*   *kul*   *a*   *ʋ*   *saamɪnɛ*

also   return.PFV   go.home.PFV DEF   3SG   fathers

tew-dɔwra-pʋɔ. |||

town-birth-inside

'That it is necessary that everybody also goes back to the birth town of his fathers.'

As the examples show, these relational clauses have no participants. The Subject, which is always realised by the pronoun *a* (third plural, non-human), is a dummy Subject and has no role in the transitivity structure of the clause. The function of the projecting clause as a whole is to modulate the proposal realised by the projected clause. It characterises the projected clause as a necessity, a metaphorical strategy speakers use to distance themselves (and others) from the projected proposal.

    With regards to the identifying mode, the Process in the projecting clause is always *wul* ('show', 'means') and it can project either a declarative clause (see examples (75) & (76)) or an imperative clause (77):

(75) Workshop interview

||| *A*   *wul* || *ɛ*   *a*   *kʋɔra* *za,*   […]   *bɛ*

3PL.NHM show.PFV   PROJ   DEF   farmer all   […]   3PL.HM

ɪ   *=n*   *a*   *za*   *nyɛ̃*   *wɛ?* |||

do.PFV FOC   DEF   all   see.PFV INT

'It means that all the farmers, they tried all?

(76) Workshop interview

||| *A*   *wul* || *kɛ*   *a*   *tɪntɛr* *tɛr*   *=ɪ*

3PL.NHM show.PFV   PROJ   DEF   plain   possess.PFV FOC

ziir   *ata.* |||

places three

'It means that the plain has three areas.'

(77)   <u>A</u>   <u>fʋ</u>   <u>ɩb</u>   <u>wuʋl</u>   <u>kɛ</u>   <u>tɩ</u>   <u>cere.</u>

      DEF   2SG   behaviour   show.PFV   PROJ   1PL   go.IPFV

'Your behaviour means that we (should) go.'

As with the identifying mode, the projecting clause enacts an impersonal stance towards the proposition or proposal that is realised by the projected clause. In other words, they construe a locution as exisitng out there in the semiotic realm without being uttered by anybody, that is, as a fact (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).

6.5.3   Possessive Clauses

In possessive clauses, the Process is typically realised by a verbal group with the verb *tɛr* ('possess') or *law* ('possess together') as Head:

(78)   St Maria

    (a)   *Ãana*   *bɛ*   *mí*   **tɛr**   *pɛr*

          these   NEG.IND.NFUT   HAB   possess.PFV   bottocks

          ɛ.

          NAFFR

          'These ones have no use.'

    (b)   *Fʋ*   **tɛr**   *=ɩ*   *libir*   *bɩ?*

          2SG   possess.PFV   FOC   money   INT

          'Do you have money?'

(79)   *Tɩ*   *law*   *nɩ*   *a*   *libir.*

      1PL   possess:together.PFV   FOC   DEF   money

      'The money belongs to both of us.'

The distinction between the attributive and identifying modes in possessive clauses is based on the definiteness of the nominal group functioning as Complement (i.e. Identifier or Attribute). In the identifying mode, the nominal group realising the Identifier is always definite while the one realising the Attribute is always indefinite. Thus, while the clauses in both (78a, b) are attributive(79) is an identifying clause, it borders on identifying the status or belonginess of the money.

There are two other characteristics that are unique to attributive possession and that set it apart form the identifying mode. The first is the general ability of attributive clauses to occur in the imperfective or represent dynamic relation (80):

(80)   *U*   ***tɛrɛ***   *nɪ*   *ya.*

    3SG   possess.IPFV   FOC   wisdom

    'S/he is getting wise.'

Second, as in intensive attribution, the Attribute possessed by the Carrier can be represented as either an entity or quality. Examples (78a) and (80) are instances where the Attribute is an abstract noun *pɛr* ('bottocks/usefulness') and *ya* ('wisdom') respectively. Another example is given in (81):

(81)   Wrokshop report 1

    A   *tɪ*   *nɪbɛ*   *ani*   *nɛ*   *tɪ*   *tɛr*   *=ɪ*

    DEF   1PL   people   eight   DEM   1PL   possess.PFV   FOC

    nɔ-law.

    mouth-together

    'We those eight people, we have unity.'

In (78b) and (79), on the other hand, the Attribute is an entity, *libir* ('money').

In addition to qulaities, however, possessive clauses also represent other abstract phenomena such as verbalisation ((82) & (83)) and emotion (84) as Attributes:

(82)   Workshop interview

    Fʋ   *pãa*   *taa*   *wa*   *tɛr*   ***yêrʋ***   ***kàw***.

    2SG   ADV   MOD   COND   possess.PFV   speech   some.

    'You may have something to say.'

(83)   St. Maria

    Mãa   *bɛ*   *tɛr*   ***yêrʋ***   ***za***   *ɪ.*

    1SG.EMP   NEG.IND.NFUT   possess.PFV   speech   all   NAFFR

    'I don't have anything to say.'

(84) NANSU citation

Tɪ	*tɛr*	*=ɪ*	***pʊ-pɪɛlʊ.***
1PL	possess.PFV	FOC	stomach-whiteness

'We have joy.'

This characteristic expands the potential of possessive clauses in the sense that they can represent processes typical of other domains of experience such as those construed by verbal and emotive clauses.

6.5.4 Circumstantial Clauses

Circumstantial relational clauses are by far the least common in discourse among the three sub-types of relational clauses. They are typically realised by a clause in which the Head of the verbal group is a locative verb, such as *be* ('be at, 'be in'), *yi* ('be from', 'be out'),[47]*pvɔ* ('be among'), and *law* ('be together'). The following extract illustrates the use of *be* ('be at', 'be in') in circumstantial clauses:

(85) Political opinion interview

R:	*A*	*yéle*	*a,*	*bɛ*	*wa*	*=n*	*nɪ*	*sukuul*
	DEF	things	JUNC	3PL.HM	come	CAUS	FOC	school
	yaga.	*A*	*sow.*		*Bɛ*	*wa*	*=n*	*polɪkɪlɪnɪk*
	many	3PL.NHM	help.PFV		3PL.HM	come	CAUS	polyclinic
	anɪ	*eerh …*						
	and	INTJ						

I:	*Nyɪnɛ*	*na*	*a*	*polɪkɪlɪnɪk*	*nɛ*	***be***
	where	IDENT.PL	DEF	polyclinic	DEM	be:at
	a?					
	JUNC					

R:	*Kàw*	***be***	*=n*	*Ko,*	*kàw*	***be***	*eerh …*
	one	be:at	FOC	Ko	one	be:at	INTJ
	Lawbusie,	*kàw*	***be***	*bom*	*ŋa*	*eerh …*	
	Lambusie	one	be:at	thing	DEM	INTJ	

---

[47] It is worthwile to make a distinction between the locative verb *yi* ('be from') and its homonymous counterparts, comprising the motion verb *yi* ('come/go out') and the adjectival verb *yi* ('washed clean', 'to fade'). The latter two do occur in the imperfective, *yire* ('coming/going out'; 'washing clean', 'fading').

Baabili.

Baabili

R: 'The things, they brought many schools. (And) they helped. (And) they brought (a) polyclinic and eerh …'

I: 'Where is it that polyclinic **is**? (=Where is that polyclinic?)'

R: 'One **is** in Ko, (and) one **is** in Lawbusie, (and) one **is** in this thing eerh … Baabili.'

Dagaare circumstantial clauses are also the least distinct between the two modes, attributive and identifying. The only distinguishing characteristic is the ability of attributive clauses to construe dynamic process, that is, their ability to occur in the imperfective aspect, while identifying clauses cannot. This also implies that the unique ablility of attributive clauses to construe dynamic relation is the most consistent distinguishing characteristic between the identifying and attributive modes in all three sub-types of relational clauses. Instances of attributive circumstantial clauses are illustrated by examples (86) and (87) while (88) and (89) illustrate identifying circumstantial clauses:

(86)   Workshop interview

Tı	*gari*	*mí*	*pemperi*	*=n*	*a*	*lɛ*	*[[a*
1PL	ridges	HAB	cross.PFV	FOC	DEF	DEM	DEF

kvɔ	*na*	*cere*	*a]]*.
water	REL	go.IPFV	JUNC

'Our ridges **normally cross** where the water passes.'

(87)   *Ʋ* *pvɔrɛ* *nı* *tıım* *pvɔ*.

3SG	be:among.IPFV	FOC	1PL.EMP	inside

'He **is going to be among** us' (=He **will be** in our group).'

(88)   Political opinion interview

Ĩ	*yi*	*=n*	*ah*	*a*	*Nandɔm*	*West.*
1SG	be:from.PFV	FOC	INTJ	DEF	Nandom	

'I come from uhm Nandom West.'

313

(89) Concert advertisement

Ʋ	*yi*		*na*	*ỹãw*	***pʋɔ***		*a*	*tı*
3SG	come:out.PFV		AFFR	put.PFV	be:among		DEF	1PL

ỹãw	*ɛ*	*nıbɛ*	*bɛ*		*nyɛ̃*	*ʋ*	*ɛ.*
self	CONJ	people	NEG.IND.NFUT		see.PFV	3SG	NAFFR

'He has come out **among** us, but people have not seen him.'

As the examples show, the Process in circumstantial clauses is locative in meaning and, likewise, the Attribute participant denotes place. In circumstantial clauses, therefore, the boundary between circumstances and participants is neutralised since the locative adverbial group that realises the Attribute is obligabtory in the structure of the clause (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; see also Section 6.6.3 on existential clauses).

Two points need to be made of the interaction between circumstantial clauses and interpersonal grammar. The first relate to polarity and specifically has to do with the semantically related verbs *be, ka*, *kabe* and *bebe* ('be at'). Among these, the verb *be* is neutral in terms of polarity, occurring in both positive and negative clauses. The others *ka*, *kabe* and *bebe*, on the other hand, are restricted to negative clauses. However, they do not carry the negative meaning of the clause by themselves since the presence of a negative particle is still required for negation.[48] Thus they illustrate a linguisitc phenomenon where the negative feature has been experientialised (as in English *lack* for 'not have') and a negative polarity marker is still needed as an interpersonal expression of polarity. The second point regards mood choice. There are two ways of realising the non-polar interrogative in circumstantial clauses. The first is to encode the question in the Process by using an interrogative verb (*wa*, 'be where'). The second option is to enact the question by using a Q-word, *nyınɛ* or *nyın* ('where'). As an illustration, let's compare the clause highlighted in (90) with a reconstructed version in (91) below (interrogative item is in bold):

---

[48] This is the case in the Lobr dialect, which is our focus here. In some dialects (e.g. Central Dagaare) the near equivalent of the copula *ka*, is a true negative copula realised as *kyɛ* (also true of other Mabia languages such as Dagbani). It carries negative meaning by itself. Just like the Lobr *ka* Central Dagaare *kyɛ* grammaticalises from the locative adverb *kyɛ*('here') in this dialect.

Table 6.7 Examples of verbs realising the Process in relational clauses[49]

process type	verb		gloss
	perfective	imperfective	gloss
identifying	nɛ, lɛ	-	'be'
	dı	-	'be called' (i.e. naming)
Attributive	ı	ırɛ	'be'
	ya, sãw, sɔb, nʋmɛ,ŋmɛ̃, etc.	yarɛ, sãwnɛ, sɔbr ŋmɛrɛ,etc.	'be mad', be sploit, be black, 'be sweet', 'be like' ('resemble'),etc.
Possessive	tɛr, so, law	tɛrɛ, sore, lawnɛ	'possess', 'own', 'possess/own together'
circumstantial	be	bere	'be at'
	bebe	-	
	ka	karɛ	
	kabe	-	
	law	lawnɛ	'be together'
	pʋ́ɔ	pʋ́ɔrɛ	'be among'
	yi	-	'be from'
	pemperi	-	'lie/be across'
	wa	-	'be where'

(90) Casual conversation

A	dãa	[[ĩ	na	da	kʋ̀	fʋ
DEF	beer	1SG	REL	buy.PFV	give.PFV	2SG

a]],	a	**wa**?	
JUNC	3PL.NHM	be:where	

(91)

A	dãa	[[ĩ	na	da	kʋ̀	fʋ
DEF	beer	1SG	REL	buy.PFV	give.PFV	2SG

a]],	a	be	=n	**nyınɛ?**
JUNC	3PL.NHM	EXIST.PFV	FOC	where

The pito/beer I bought for you, where is it?

---

[49] The 'be at'locative verbs evolved from the locative adverbs *ka* ('here') and *be* ('there') in two layers, first the verbs *ka* and *be* (through renalysis) and then *kabe* and *bebe* (through fusion of the already evolved copulas and the locative adverbs). See Heine & Kuteva (2002b: 203-204) for examples of this grammaticalisation pathway (see also fn. 4). Also, the adjectival verb *nʋmɛ* has no imperfective form.

It should be noted that the use of an interrogative verb in Dagaare is unique to circumstantial clauses (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.2.2on elemental interrogative clauses).

The verbs realising the Process in the different types of relational clauses are summarised in Table 6.7. Except for attributive processes realised by adjectival verbs (see also Chapter 3 on adjectival verbs), the rest are only realised by a limited number of verbs. Also, as the table shows, some verbs do not have imperfective forms.

6.6   Other Process Types

In the preceding sections, three principal process types in Dagaare have been identified and discussed, comprising material, mental and relational clauses. It has been shown that each of these process types occupy a point in a semantic region that construes different domains of experience. Material clauses are more towards outer experience, typically construing our experience of the physical word, that is, actions or doings and happenings. Mental clauses, on the other hand, are more towards inner experience, typically construing sensing, defined as cognition, desideration, emotion and perception. Relational clauses represent being and having across two modes: identification and attribution. Although they are more towards outer experience such as material clauses, they also embody characteristics of abstract clauses since they embody forms of symbolic representation, specifically intensive clauses that project. It has also been shown that each process type comes along with a unique configuration of participants.

Between these principal types of process types, however, lie other forms of experience, each of which combines the characteristics of at least two of the principal types. These are also three types, namely verbal, behavioural and existential clauses. Verbal clauses lie between relational and mental clauses. Behavioural clauses lie between mental and material clauses and embody some characteristics of verbal clauses as well. Existential clauses lie between material and relational clauses. Each of these intermediate process types are discussed below.

6.6.1 Verbal Clauses

These are clauses of saying. One discourse function of verbal clauses in conversations and other dialogic contexts is to frame and position different voices in the text. This function is illustrated in (92) with the opening of an interview (verbs realising verbal processes are in bold):

(92)   Political opinion interview

Tɪ	*yêr*	*a*	*sɔw*		*nɪbɛ*	*yaga*	*a*
1PL	speak.PFV	AFFR	respond		people	plenty	CONT

bɛ	*za*	*yèl*	*kɛ*	[…]	*bɛ*	*lɛ*	*lɛb*
3PL.HM	all	say.PFV	PROJ	[…]	3PL.HM	ADV	return.PFV

voti		*kʋ̀*		*a*	NDC	*ɛ*	*bɛ*
vote.PFV		give.PFV		DEF	NDC	CONJ	3PL.HM

cãa	*tɛr*		*a*	*tew* [...]			
be:still	possess.PFV		DEF	country […]			

ɛ	*tɪ*	*mɪnɛ*	*mì*	*yèl*	*kɛ*	"*ai,*	*ɛ*	*bɛ*
CONJ	1PL	some	also	say.PFV	PROJ	no	PROJ	3PL.HM

voti		*sɪkɛt*	*an*	*blaʋs."* […]	*Ɛcɛ*	*sɛw*	
vote.PFV		skirt	and	blouse […]	CONJ	be:appropriate	

fʋ	*na*		*yêr*	*a,*	*ĩ*	*bɔbr*	*ɛ*	*ĩ*
2SG	POS.IND.FUT		speak	JUNC	1SG	want.PFV	PROJ	1SG

de	*niwn*	*sowri*	*fʋ:*	*A*	*fʋ*	*yuor*	*nɪ*	*bʋnʋ?*
take	face	ask.PFV	2SG	DEF	2SG	name	COP.FOC	what

"We **have spoken to** many people and they **say** that it is appropriate that they vote for NDC again so that they continue to govern the state … And some of us **say** that 'no, that they should vote skirt and blouse.' ... But in order for you to **speak**, I want to first **ask** you: What is your name?"

As the extract shows, there is a range of verbs that realise verbal processes. These include verbs of speaking or talking, asking, naming and calling. The most common and general verb is, however, *yèl* ('say').

Two general characteristics can be identified for verbal clauses, namely the key participants associated with them and their ability to project other clauses. The participants are first described below:

(i) Sayer: The Sayer is the one to whom the saying is attributed, the one who says. It is the most salient participant and may be the only one in a verbal clause. In the extract above, the Sayer participants are realised by the pronouns *Tɩ* ('We') *bɛ* ('they') *fʋ* ('you') in that order, reflecting shifts in the interpersonal orientation of the flow of discourse and how the interviewer positions herself relative to different voices. The Sayer is realised by a nominal group and, as our examples suggest, it is typically a conscious participant. Only a restricted class of non-conscious entities such as *gan* ('letter', 'book'), *Sɛb-sow* ('Scripture'), *taam* ('time'), *waalɛsɩ* ('wireless') and TV can occur as Sayer:

(93) *A   Sɛb-sow   yèl   a   kɛ   bo*?
      DEF   writing-holy say.PFV AFFR   PROJ   what
      'What does the Scripture say?'

These are nouns that are semiotic in nature by serving as modes of signification in society. Given that these modes of meaning are modern to the Dagara society, it can be inferred that the use of verbal clauses with these non-concious entities as Sayer is a new development in the language largely through contacts with western civilisation.

(iii) Receiver: Another participant associated with verbal clauses is the Receiver, the one who receives the saying. The Receiver is always a conscious participant and is realised by a nominal group. In the extract above, the Receiver participants are *nɩbɛ yaga* ('many people') in *Tɩ yêr a sɔw nɩbɛ yaga* ('We spoke to many people') and *fʋ* ('you') in *ĩ de niwn sowri fʋ* ('I first ask you'). This participant is like the Recipient and Client participants in material clauses in the sense that it is the beneficiary of the saying and it is also often introduced by the verb *kṽ* ('give'), particularly in clauses of saying as opposed to asking (see Section 6.7.2 on benefactive clauses). In the following extract,

the Receiver is realised by the enclitic pronoun *m* ('me') while the Sayer is realised by the second plural *nyı* ('you'):

(94) The story of Jesus

Mέ	*nyı*	*taa*	*na*	*lɔb*	*zʋkpar*	*na*
EXP	2PL	MOD	POS.IND.FUT	throw	proverb	DEM

kṽ	*=m:*	*"dɔkta a,*	*sanı*	*fʋ*	*tʋɔra!"*
give.PFV	1SG.ACC	doctor JUNC	heal.PFV	2SG	self

"I believe you will tell me this proverb: 'doctor, heal yourself.'"

(iv) Verbiage: This participant indicates what is said. Specifically, the Verbiage may either be (a) the name of what is said (e.g. *zʋkpar* 'proverb' in example 94) or (b) the content of the saying. We will call the former manifestation of Verbiage the elaborating type since it elaborates the verbalisation by specifying it. The latter manisfestation is an extending type. That is, it adds further information to the verbalisation realised by the Process. The elaborating type is underlined in (95) and the extending type is underlined in (96):

(95) Political opinion interview

Fʋ	*na*	*de*	*nı*	*niwn*	*bvɔlı*	*a*
2SG	POS.IND.FUT	take	FOC	face	mention.PFV	DEF

fʋ	*your*	*anı*	*a*	*lowbowr*	*nɛ*	*fʋ*	*na*
2SG	name	and	DEF	area	DEM	2SG	REL

yi		*a*	*Nandom*	*ka*	*a.*
be:from		DEF	Nandom	here	JUNC

'You will first mention your name and the area where you come from in Nandom here.'

(96) The story of Jesus

Ĩ	*mì*	*kṽ*	*yèl*	*kʋ̀*		*nyı*	*sob*	*nɛ*
1SG	too	NEG.IND.FUT	say.PFV	give.PFV		2PL	person	DEM

[[na	*kʋ̀*		*=m*	*a*	*sɔr*	*a* *]]*	*ı.*
REL	give.PFV		1SG.ACC	DEF	way	JUNC	NAFFR

'I too will not tell you the one who give me the permission.'

Regarding, the elaborating type, there is a general pattern of collocation between the verbs realising the Process and the noun group realising the Verbiage participant: *yèlı yél* ('say something'); *manı yél* ('explain something'); *lɔb zʊkpar* ('tell a proverb'); *bʋɔlı yuor* ('mention name'); *suoli suolu* ('narrate a story'); *yêr yêrʋ* ('speak speech'); *manı manʋ* ('narrate events/happenings'), *manıa tɛwr* ('explain the meaning'). As these examples suggest, the nominal group realising the Verbiage in such instances is very often a nominalisation of the verb realising the Process in the clause. Also, just as the verb *yèl* ('say') is semantically general, its nominal counterpart, which has been transalted here as 'something', is the least in experiential specificity among the deverbal nouns. Compared to material clauses, therefore, the Verbiage participant is like the Scope participant, which also display similar nominalisation tendency as the examples given here (cf. Section 6.4.1 & 6.7.2).

(v) Target: Target is the participant at whom a verbal activity is directed. The Target participant can be distinguished from the Receiver participant in the following terms: while Target is like Goal in a material clause, Receiver, as mentioned earlier, is like Recipient and Client. In other words, the verbal process impacts on the Target, as it were, while the Receiver is a beneficiary of the Process. The Target in the following extract is highlighted (lengthy ones underlined):

(97)   Concert advertisement

ĩ	*bʋɔlɛ*	*n=*	*a*	*nıbɛ*	*nɛ*	*za*	*[[na*
1SG	call.IPFV	FOC	DEF	people	DEM	all	REL

ı	*a*	*tı*	*ba-taabɛ]]*	*anı*	*a*	*tı*	*yɛbr*
COP.PFV	DEF	1PL	friends-mates	and	DEF	1PL	brothers

tı	*sãakʋm*	*mınɛ,*	*tı*	*makʋm*	*mınɛ,*	*a*	*tı*
1PL	grandfather	PL	1PL	grandmother	PL	DEF	1PL

sãa	*mınɛ* […].	*ĩ*	*puore*	***bɛ***	*nı*	*barka* […].
father	PL[…]	1SG	greet.IPFV	3PL.HM	FOC	gratitude […]

320

'I am inviting/calling <u>all those people [[who are our colleagues]]; and our brothers, our grandfathers; our grandmothers; our fathers</u> … I thank **them** …'[50]

The Target participant is restricted to a particular sub-type of verbal clauses, namely 'targeted verbal' clauses, as opposed to non-targeted clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 307). In the terms of Hopper & Thompson (1980), targeted verbal clauses have a higher transitivity value than those that are no-targeted and are therefore more towards the material end of the spectrum of process types (cf. Hopper & Thompson (1980) on 'high' and 'low' transitivity).

Another major characteristic of verbal clauses besides the unique configuration of participant roles is their ability to project a proposition or a proposal. They share this characteristic with mental clauses, specifically, cognitive and desiderative ones (Section 6.4.2.2) and a sub-type of intensive relational clauses (cf. Section 6.5.2.3). As in mental clauses, projection in verbal clauses can be in the form of quoting (98) or reporting (99). Projected clauses are underlined:

(98)   The story of Jesus

Mɛ́	*nyı*	*taa*	*na*		*lɔb*	*zʊkpar*		*na*
EXP	2PL	MOD	POS.IND.FUT		throw	proverb		DEM

kṽ		*=m:*	<u>*"dɔkta a,*</u>	<u>*sanı*</u>		<u>*fʊ*</u>	<u>*tʊɔra!"*</u>
give.PFV		1SG.ACC	doctor	JUNC	heal.PFV		2SG	self

ɛ	*lɛ*	*yèl*	*mɛ*	*ỹ̰aw*	*pʊɔ:*		<u>*"maalı a*</u>	<u>*fʊ*</u>
CONJ	ADV	say.PFV	1SG.ACC	add.PFV	be:among		do.PFV DEF	2SG

<u>*tew-kpıɛra-pʊɔ ka*</u>	<u>*a*</u>	<u>*lɛ*</u>	<u>*[[fʊ*</u>	<u>*na*</u>	<u>*maalı*</u>	<u>*a*</u>
hometown	here	DEF	DEM	2SG	REL	do.PFV DEF

<u>*Kafanawɔm*</u>	<u>*a*</u>]]*!"*
Capernium	JUNC

"I believe you will tell me this proverb: '<u>doctor, heal yourself!</u>' and tell me again: '<u>do here in your hometown what you did in Capernium</u>.'"

---

[50] Here, *tı yɛbr* ('our brothers') and *tı sãakʊm-mınɛ* ('our grandfathers') are appositively related. In the Dagara kinship system, one's grandfather is also one's brother, in principle.

(99) St. Maria

Ãa	*nɪɛ*	*yèl*	*kɛ*	*a*	*fʋ*	*pɔw-yaa*	*nʋ*
who	ADV	say.PFV	PROJ	DEF	2SG	daughter	IDENT.SG

mɔ?	*ʋ*	*yèl*	*kɛ*	*ʋ*	*wa*	*=n*	*ʋ*
CE	3SG	say.PFV	PROJ	3SG	come.PFV	FOC	3SG

pɔw	*ɣãw.*	*Fʋ*	*pãa*	*kṽ*	*nɪɛ*	*sowr*	*ʋ*
woman	sake	2SG	ADV	NEG.IND.FUT	ADV	ask.PFV	3SG

ʋ	*pɔw*	*buor*	[[*na*	*nʋ*	||	*be*	*a*
3SG	woman	which	REL	IDENT.SG		EXIST.PFV	DEF

ka	*a*]]?
here	JUNC

'Who even said <u>that your daughter is the one</u>? He said <u>that he came for his wife</u>. Won't you now ask him which wife of his is here?'

There is a difference between a projected clause and the Verbiage participant. This difference is exemplified clearly in (98), where *zʋkpar* ('proverb') in the first clause is a Verbiage participant and the quoted clause is a projected clause. While Verbiage is a participant within the verbal clause, a projected clause is a separate proposition or proposal represented as the content of the verbalisation.

Projecting clauses serve several discourse functions (see also Section 6.4.2.2on mental clauses) of an interpersonal kind such as evidentiality and negotiation.

(i) Evidentiality: The evidential use of projecting clauses is already evident in the interrogative clause in (99) above. Here, the verbal clause realises a rhetorical question whose function is to focus the listener's attention on the evidence of the proposition realised by the projected clause. The projecting clause, therefore, often serves to attribute a proposition to a source. As we discussed in Section 6.4.3, hearsay is often construed by speakers with a projecting clause in which the Subject is realised by the the third person plural which, in this context, lacks specific reference. We repeat the example from Section 6.4.3 for the sake of convenience:

(100)　*Bɛ*　　*yèl*　　*kɛ*　*fʋ*　*kul*　　　=*ı*　*sır.*

　　　　3PL.HM　say.PFV　PROJ　2SG　marry.PFV　FOC　husband

　　　'They (=people/someone) say you got married.'

The following example also shows the use of self-quoting strategy to enact a proposition as first-hand information:

(101)　The story of Jesus

　　　Ũʋ,　　*mãa*　*yèl*　*nyı:*　*Ɗmın*　*yêr-manɛ*　　*bɛ*

　　　yes,　　1SG.EMP　say.PFV　2PL　　God　prophet　　　　NEG.IND.NFUT

　　　dãw　*nyɛ̃*　　*yawfʋ*　　　*a*　　*ʋ*　　*tew*　　*e.*

　　　ADV　　see.PFV　　respect　　　DEF　3SG　town　　NAFFR

　　　'Yes, I say to you: A prophet of God has never got respect in his
　　　hometown.'

Self-quoting enacts a proposition as having more evidential weight than hearsay, for instance.

(ii) Negotiation: This is the use of self-reporting as a strategy to manage interaction in dialogue. This point can be illustrated with the following dialogues (projecting clauses underlined):

(102)　Workshop interview

　　　Host:　*ĩ̃*　　　*na*　　　　　　　*yèl*　*kɛ*　　*fʋ*　　*barka*　*yaga,*

　　　　　　1SG　　POS.IND.FUT　　　say.PFV　PROJ　2SG　　thanks　plenty

　　　　　　cɛ　　*fʋ*　　*paa*　　*taa*　*wa*　　*tɛr*　　　　*yêrʋ*

　　　　　　CONJ　2SG　ADV　　MOD　COND　possess.PFV　speech

　　　　　　kàw　*mì*　　*na*　　　　　　*paa*　*kʋ̀*　　　　*a*

　　　　　　some　too　　POS.IND.FUT　　ADV　give.PFV　　　DEF

　　　　　　cɛlcɛlbɛ.

　　　　　　listeners.

　　　Agric Officer:　*Mmmm,*　　　*tı*　　*na*　　　　　　　*yèl*　*kɛ,*　　*a*

　　　　　　　　　　　INTJ　　　　1PL　POS.IND.FUT　　　say.PFV　PROJ　　DEF

　　　　　　　　　　　kʋɔbɛ,　　　*yelmıŋa*　　　*na,*　*a*　　*tew*　*ɛ̃*

　　　　　　　　　　　farmers　　　truth　　　　　IDENT.PL DEF　world　ADV

323

lɪɛbɛ	*na.*
change.IPFV	AFFR

Host: 'I will say that thank you very much, but you might have something to say to our listeners.'

Agric Officer: 'Mmmm, we will say that, the farmers, it is true, the world is actually changing.'

(103)   Workshop interview

Host:

Nyɪnɛ	*dem*	*a*	*nɪ*	*tɪ*	*wul*	*a*	*tome*	*a*
where	people	IDENT.PL	2PL	PST.REM	teach	DEF	work	DEF

ŋa	*taabɛ?*
DEM	kind

Agric Officer:

Tɪ	*yèl*	*kɛ*	*Ɔrbili*	*deme,*	*kvɔbɛ*
1PL	say.PFV	PROJ	Orbili	people	farmers

anɪ	[[*na*	*yi*	*Ɔrbili*	*a*]],	*tɪ*
eight	REL	be:from	Orbili	JUNC	PST.REM

pvɔ	*na.*
be:among	AFFR

Host: 'Which people did you teach this kind of work?'

Agric Officer: 'Let's say that Orbili people, eight farmers who are from Orbili, were among.'

The underlined verbal clauses are used by the speakers to negotiate the propositions in the projected clauses. One characteristic of projecting clauses in the indicative, as in (102), is that they often include a future tense particle, *na* ('positve indicative') or *kṽ* (negative indicative), as a modulating strategy.

6.6.2   Behavioural Clauses

Behavioural clauses construe physiological and psychological processes. Generally, they cover outward or visible manifestations of consciousness. In other words, the processes they represent are observable phenomena that emanate from consciousness. In this sense, behavioural clauses interface between material clauses and immaterial ones such as mental clauses and they share the characteristics of these two domains of experience. All the three

clauses in the following extract are behavioural clauses (Processes are in bold):

(104)   Agric workshop

||| A	kvɔbɛ,		tɪ	**mí**	**zɛlɛ**		nɪ
DEF	farmers		1PL	HAB	beg.IPFV		2PL

na || […]		nɪ	**mí**	**ɪ**	kokere ||	ɛ	mì
AFFR […]		2PL	HAB	do.PFV	effort	CONJ	also

mí	**tvɔ**	**cɔwlɪ**	**kaa**		a	lɛ
HAB	be:able	copy.PFV	check.PFV	DEF	DEM

[[tɪ	na	wa	nɪ	a]]. |||
1PL	REL	come	CAUS	JUNC

'The farmers, we **always beg** you … you should **always do** well and **try out** [[what we bring]].'

As with material clauses, behavioural clauses normally denote an input of effort in the actualisation of the process. Compared to material clauses, however, they are of a lower transitivity value since this effort is relatively abstract and the Process does not impact upon a participant as it is in an action clause (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980). The participants associated with behavioural clause are Behaver and Behaviour.

Behaver: The Behaver participants the conscious entity engaged in the Process. In the extract in (104), the pronoun *tɪ* ('we') in *tɪ mí zɛlɛ nɪ na* ('we always beg you') is the Behaver and the behaviour it is enaged in is construed by the Process *mí zɛlɛ* ('always begging'). The Behaver is typically a concious being such as humans and animals as in (104). However, this includes plants with verbs denoting growth and life (105):

(105)   Workshop interview

||| A	bʋn-bul,	v	ta	kpi	e,	||	ɛcɛ
DEF	plant	3SG	NEG.IMP	die.PFV	NAFFR		CONJ

cãa		tvɔ		a	baa. |||
be:still.PFV	be:able.PFV	PRT	grow.PFV

'The plant, **it** should not die, but should still be able to grow.'

Here, the plant is conceived of as animate, a living thing. The Behaver is *v* ('third singular') and the behaviour is represented by the Processes, which are underlined.

Behaviour: The behaviour is sometimes not encoded in the Process but in a participant in the clause. An example is *kokere* ('effort') in *nɪ mí ɪ kokere* ('you should always put in an effort') in the extract in (104). This participant is called the Behaviour. In clauses such as *nɪ mí ɪ kokere* ('you should always put in an effort'), the verb realizing the Process is normally a general one, typically *ɪ* ('do'), which lacks specificity. In other contexts, the the verb realising the Process may be that of a material kind (and tends to be vague) while the behaviour is encoded in the participant: *Bɛ ŋmaa nɪ ziri* ('They told a lie', literally, 'They cut a lie'); *ʋ sãw nɪ niwn* ('S/he frowned', literally, 'S/he distorted the face').

Like the Verbiage participant, in verbal clauses (cf. Section 6.6.1), the Behaviour may, semantically, be an elaboration of the Process such as *bèlʋ* ('looking') in *Tɪ bél =ɪ bèlʋ* ('We did looking', literally, 'We looked looking'), and *vʋʋrʋ* in *ĩ vʋʋr =ɪ vʋʋrʋ* ('I took a breath', literally, I breathed breath). In these constructions, the Behaviour functions to amplify the Process, and it is a common intensification strategy in folktales and conversational narratives. It is always possible in this kind of behavioural clauses to omit the Behaviour. Almost all Dagaare behavioural clauses can be construed with this amplification strategy, the exceptions being the metaphorical type in which the Process is realised by a verb denoting action (e.g. *Bɛ ŋmaa nɪ ziri*, 'They told a lie' or literally, 'They cut a lie'). This phenonmenon is, however, also present in material clauses (*Tɪ cen nɪ cenu*; 'We walked a lot', literally, 'We walked walking') and verbal clauses (*ʋ man =ɪ manʋ*; 'S/he narrated a lot of stories', literally, 'S/he narrated narrations').

As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) note for English, behavioural clauses are also the most indeterminate process type in Dagaare. As is suggestive from our discussion so far, they share some of the characteristics of material, mental and verbal clauses. Table 6.8 list examples of verbs realising the Process across various sub-types of behavioural clauses (compare with Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: 302) on English).

Table 6.8. Examples of verbs used in different types of behavioural clauses

	characteristics		examples of verbs
(i)	[near mental]	processes of consciousness represented as forms of behaviour	*cɛlɪ* ('listen'), *kaa* (check), *nyɛ̃* ('check'/ 'look'), *bɛ́l* ('look') *zanɪ* ('dream'; 'learn'), *tɪɛrɪ* ('think'), *bɔ* (look for/date), *cɛlɪ* ('listen'), *saw* ('agree'), *fɛr* ('worry somebody')
(ii)	[near verbal]	verbal processes as forms of behaviour	*yɛr* ('talk/speak'), *ŋmaa* ('cut' as in 'cut/tell a lie'), *sɔw* (respond to), *saw* ('respond to a call')
(iii)		physiological processes: volitional	*cɪr* ('spit') *ko* ('cry'), *la* ('laugh'), *sãw* ('distort', as in 'distort one's face'), *gɔrɪ* ('nod'), *siwni* ('sob')
(iv)		physiological processes: non-volitional	*kpi* ('die'), *baa* ('grow'), *vʋvrɪ* ('breathe'), *kɔr* ('cough'), *cɪr* ('sneeze') *gbew* ('hiccup') *ti* ('vomit'), *gúr* ('sleep'), *maw* ('shiver')
(v)	[near material]		*cɔwlɪ* ('mimic' / 'try'), *zɛlɪ* ('beg'), *mŋɛ yãw ã* ('curse'), *ɪ* ('do'), *mɔ* ('do well'), *kaa* ('take care of'), *ga* ('lie down'), *sɛb* ('dance'), *zɛb* ('quarrel'), *zɪ* ('sit'), *ar* ('stand'), *yieli* ('sing'), *ŋmarɛ* ('writing'), *cɛlɪ* ('wait')

We will briefly outline the characteristics of behavioural clauses that interface with material, mental and verbal clauses below.

(i) Near material: These types of behavioural clausesrepresent activities or actions as behaviour. In other words, they construe processes that are otherwise material as processes of consciousness. They tend to be descriptive or evaluative. Examples are given below (Process in bold):

(106)   Political opinion interview

   Bɛ   *za*   *ayi*   *ende*   **mvɔr**   *a.*

   3PL.HM all   two   ADV   do:well   AFFR

   'The two of them are doing their best anyway.'

(107) Political opinion interview

||| *Kʋɔ yéle caa na fɛrɛ tɩ* […] || *A*

water matter be:still AFFR worry.IPFV 1PL […] CONT

bɛ cãa mʋɔr =ɩ. |||

3PL.HM be:still.PFV struggle.IPFV COM

'The issue of water is still worrying us … And they **are still struggling** with it.'

When there is a Behaviour participant in these type of clauses, it shares the characteristics of the Scope participant in material clauses as in *koreke* in the following clause from example (104): *nɩ mí ɩ kokere* ('you should always do well').

(ii) Near mental: These are behavioural clauses that construe mental processes as psychological activity. In other words, they represent processes of consciousness are behaviour. Examples are given below (Where there are two clauses, the behavioural clause is underlined):

(108) Workshop interview

Bɛ mí cen na <u>*tɩ ʑanɪ bãwfʋ*</u>

3PL.HM HAB go.PFV AFFR DIST learn.PFV knowledge

<u>*kàw ʑie kàw*</u>.

some place some

'They go **to learn** some knowledge somewhere.'

(109) Political opinion interview

A nɩbɛ kʋ̃ tʋɔ cɛlɛ a ʋ

DEF people NEG.IND.FUT be:able listen.IPFV DEF 3SG

ɣɛrʋ ɛ.

words NAFFR

'The people **cannot listen** to his/her words.'

(110) Political interview

Bɛ ɣɛ̃rɛ wõne taar.

3PL.HM talk.IPFV hear.IPFV each other

'They **should be agreeable with** each other.'

(111) Workshop interview

Tı	*bɔbr*	*kɛ*	<u>*tı*</u>	<u>*paa*</u>	<u>**gɛl**</u>	<u>**nyɛ̃**</u>.
1PL	want.IPFV	PROJ	1PL	ADV	search.IPFV	see.PFV

'We now want to **find out**.'

Examples (108) represent cognitive behaviour while (109) and (110) represent perceptive behaviour. Example (111) combines the senses of both cognitive and perceptive activity. Due to their hybrid nature, these types of behavioural clausescan take a Phenomenon participant,as do mental clauses. In (108), the Phenomenon is *bãwfʋ* ('knowledge'); in (109), it is *a ʋ yêrʋ* ('his/her words') and, in (110), it is *taar*. Example (111) has one participant, the Behaver,which is realised by *tı* ('we').

Some verbs can be used in either mental or behavioural clauses although they display different characteristics across the two process types. For example, although 'thinking' can be represented as either a behavioural process or a mental process, in behavioural processes, the unmarked aspect is the imperfective while in the mental clause, the unmarked aspect is the perfective:

(a) thinking as a mental process

l̃	*tıɛ*	*kɛ*	*fʋ*	*wa*	*na.*
1SG	think.PFV	PROJ	2SG	come.PFV	AFFR
Senser	Process: mental		Actor	Process: material	
nominal gp.	verbal gp.	conj. group	nominal gp.	verbal gp.	

'I thought/think that you have come.'

(b) thinking as a behavioural process

l̃	*tıɛrɛ*	*na.*
1SG	think.PFV	AFFR
Senser	Process: mental	
nominal gp.	verbal gp.	

'I am thinking.'

Figure 6.4. 'Thinking' as a mental and as a behavioural process

Also, when 'wanting' is represented as a behavioural process it can occur in either perfective or imperfective aspect (*bɔ*; 'look for', 'date'; *bɔbr*; 'looking for', 'dating'), but, in mental clauses, only the imperfective form (*bɔbr*; 'want') can be used.

(a) perfective (behavioural)

ĩ	*bɔ*		=*n*	*a*	*gan.*
1SG	look.PFV		FOC	DEF	book
Behaver	Process: behavioural			Behaviour	
nominal gp.	verbal group			nominal gp.	

'I looked for the book.'

(b) imperfective (mental/behavioural)

ĩ	*bɔbr*		=*ɪ*	*a*	*gan.*
1SG	want.PFV		FOC	DEF	money
Senser	Process: mental			Phenomenon	
Behaver	Process: behavioural			Behaviour	
nominal gp.	verbal group			nominal gp.	

'I want the book.' / 'I am looking for the book.'

Figure 6.5. 'Wanting' as a mental and as behavioural process

As (b) in Figure 6.5 shows, out of context, the imperfective may lead to an ambiguous reading between mental and behavioural clauses. There is also lexical ambiguity with the verb *bɔ* since it can mean either 'look for' or 'date' although both senses are behavioural. Let's illustrate below how these ambiguities is intentionally exploited in a comic play:

(112)   St. Maria play

Daughter: *ĩ*   *na*   *cen*   *ĩ*   *tɪ*   *ɔw*   *a*

      1SG   ADVLZ   go.PFV   1SG.PUR DIST   fetch.PFV   DEF

      kvɔ   *a*   *o,*   *pobile*   *kàw*   *o,*   *tɪ*

      water   JUNC   PRT   gentlemen   some   PRT   DIST

      yee   *v*   *bɔbr*   *mɛ*   *na.*

      say.PFV.PROJ   3SG   want.IPFV   1SG.ACC AFFR

      […]   […]   […]

330

Father:	*Ʊ*	*bɔbr*		*fʋ*	*na*	*ya?*	*Fʋ*	*bɔ*	
	3SG	want.IPFV		2SG	AFFR	INT	2SG	look.PFV	

na	*bı*?
AFFR	INT

Daughter: 'I went to fetch the water O, and a certain gentleman O, said he wants (=loves) me.'

Father: 'He wants you?' / 'He is looking for you?'

'Have you dated (him)?' / 'Did you look for (him)?'

The underlined clauses evoke ambiguity. On the one hand, we can say that the father intentionally misinterprets the statement of the gentleman's desire (wanting or loving you) to mean behaviour (looking for you) in order to create a comic effect. A superficial and a more plausible interpretation of the first clause (i.e. *Ʊ bɔbr fʋ na ya*?) is, however, that of wanting and the second clause (i.e. *Fʋ bɔ na bı*?) is that of courtship.

(iii) Near verbal: These are behavioural clauses that construe saying as behaviour. Examples are below (Process is in bold):

(113) Political interview

Ĩ	***kʋ̃***	***ŋmaa***	*ziri*	*e.*
1SG	NEG.IND.NFUT	cut.PFV	lie	NAFFR

'I **will not tell** a lie.'

(114) Concert advertisement

Ah	*ĩ*	*puore*	*bɛ*	*nı*	*barka*	*bɛ*
INTJ	1SG	greet.IPFV	3PL.HM	FOC	gratitude	3PL.HM

na	*na*	***saw***	***sɔw***	*a*	*lɛ*	*tı*
ADVLZ	POS.IND.FUT	agree	respond	DEF	DEM	1PL

[[*na*	*yèl*	*a*]].
REL	say.PFV	JUNC

'Ah I thank them for (the fact that) they will **respond positively to** [[what we said]].'

The Behaviour participant in these type of behavioural clauses shares characteristics of the Verbiage in verbal clauses. Also, the verb *yɛr* can be

used in both behavioural and verbal clauses with different meanings. Compare the following, for instance:

(115)
A	*bie*	*yɛ̂rɛ*	*nı*	*paa.*
DEF	child	talk.IPFV	FOC	a lot

'The child talks a lot.'

(116) St. Maria

ĩ	*pɔw-yaa*	*na*	*yɛ̂rɛ*	*ĩ*	*zie.*
1SG	daughter	EHX	talk.IPFV	1SG	place

'My daughter, please talk to me!'

While (115) represent the behaviour or character of the child, and is thus a behavioural clause, (116) represents saying, and is a verbal clause.

6.6.3 Existential Clauses

Existential clauses represent that something exists (or do not exist). They are not very common in Dagaare discourse and are, perhaps, the least frequent process type across languages where they can be rcognised as a distinct process type (see Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) on English). The following extract from the biblical creation story (from *Sɛb-Sõw yɛ̂r-bie*, 1996) illustrates existential clauses in discourse (existential clauses are underlined; Process is in bold):

(117)
A	*pɛr*	*tib*	*daar*	*Naaŋmın*	*tı*	*ir*	*=ı*
DEF	bottom	start	time	God	PST.REM	bring:forth.PFV	FOC

a	*salom*	*nı*	*a*	*tẽw.*	*A*	*tẽw*	*tı*
DEF	sky	and	DEF	earth	DEF	earth	PST.REM

ı	*=n*	*vuo*	*ɛ*	*bom*	*za*	*bɛ*	***ka***
COP.PFV	FOC	hollow	CONJ	thing	all	NEG.IND.NFUT	EXIST.PFV

be	*ı.*	*A*	*lɛ*	*na*	*a*	*Naaŋmın*	*tı*
there	NAFFR	CONT	DEM	IDENT.PL	DEF	God	PST.REM

yèl:	*"A*	*cãa,*	*v*	***be!"***	*Ɛ*	*a*	*cãa*
say.PFV	DEF	light	3SG	EXIST.PFV	CONJ	DEF	light

dɛ	*caalı.*
ADV	shine.PFV.

332

'In the beginning, God brought forth the sky and the earth. The earth was hollow and <u>there **was** nothing</u>.Then, God said: "<u>The light, it **be**</u>!" And the light just shone.'

The key participant in the existential clause is the Existent, the one whose existence is represented by the clause, and it is normally realised by a nominal group. In the existential clauses underlined in (117), the Existent is the only participant, realised by *bom za* ('everything') and *v* ('third singular'). It should be noted that, in the first clause, *ɛ bom za bɛ ka be ı* ('and nothing was there'), the locative adverb *be* is a dummy Complement and lacks reference or experiential specificity. It fulfils a requirement that the Complement position in an abstract clause in Dagaare must be filled (see Section 6.7.1 for details). Thus, it has no role in the transitivity structure of the clause. Existential clauses such as *A cãav be!* (the second underlined clause in (117)) lie on the borderline between existential and creative material processes (i.e. bringing into existence), realised by verbs such as *maalı* ('make')and *ir* ('bring forth'). This use of existential clauses is, however, rare in Dagaare discourse.

The lack of reference in the complement of existential processes realised by *be* and *ka* is important in distinguishing an existential clause with these verbs from a circumstantial relational clause with the same verb (i.e. 'be at') (cf. Section 6.4.5). Thus, while example (118) is an existential clause, (119) is a circumstantial clause, with *be* as locative Attribute:

(118) *Bom*   *za*   *bɛ*   *ka*   ***be***   *ı.*
       thing   all   NEG.IND.NFUT   be:at.PFV   there   NAFFR
       '**There** is nothing.'

(119) *Bom*   *za*   *bɛ*   *ka*   ***a***   ***be***   *ı.*
       thing   all   NEG.IND.NFUT   be:at.PFV   DEF   there   NAFFR
       'Nothing is **there** (=where you are standing).'

As mentioned earlier, in (118), the Complement *be* is dummy. In (119), the definite article *a* ('the'), however, gives specific reference to the locative adverb *be*. It is this referential meaning that renders the clause a circumstantial clause rather than an existential clause.

Registrially, existential clauses are characteristic of traditional narratives and they are always used in the opening of folktales in introducing characters as the following example shows (also see example (51) in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.3):

(120) Folklore

Nı	*gure*	*gure*	*o!*	*Badɛr*	*nʋ*	
2PL	be:alert.IPFV	be:alert.IPFV	PRT	Spider	IDENT.SG	

tı	*be*	*be*.	*Nàa*	*pɔw*	*wa*	*kpi.*
PST.REM	EXIST.PFV		there	king	woman	EVT	die.PFV

'Once upon a time, there lived Spider. Then the King's wife died.

This registerial use of existential clauses is a strong typological tendency that has been reported across languages (cf. Teruya 2007; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014).

Further, in addition to representing material existence as has been illustrated so far, existential clause can be used metaphorically to represent the existence of abstract phenomena (121) and emotions (122):

(121) Workshop interview

A	*kɔb*	*aŋa,*	*a*	*tome*	*aŋa*	*[[tı*	*na*
DEF	farming	DEM	DEF	work.PL	DEM	1PL	REL

to	*a]],*	*tonɛ*	*tʋɔ*	*na*	***be***
work.PFV	JUNC	profit	be:able.PFV	AFFR	EXIST.PFV

be	*bı?*
there	INT

'This farming, this project [[that we have done]], **is there** profit in it?'

(122) Concert advertisement

Pʋ-pʋla	*wa*	***be***	***be***	*a,*	*tı*	*bãw*
good will	COND	EXIST.PFV	there	JUNC	1PL	know.PFV

kɛ	*a*	*yél*	*ŋa*	*a,*	*ʋ*	*na*	*tɔl*
PROJ	DEF	matter	DEM	JUNC	3SG	POS.IND.FUT	move.PFV

=ı	*ni-daa.*
FOC	forward

'If there is good-will, we know that, this matter, it will move forward (=this programme will be successful).'

Examples (121) and (122) are instances of grammatical metaphor. A more congruent realisation of the meaning they represent would be relational clauses. Specifically, (121) is a realisation of attribution, where a more congruent realisation would be a possessive relational clause as in (123) below (see Section 6.5 on relational clauses). Example (122), on the other hand, is an indirect realisation of emotion of the kind typically encoded in the Process of an attributive clause as has been reconstructed in (124) below (cf. Section 6.5):

(123) | *A* | *tome* | *aŋa* | *tɛr* | *=ɩ* | *tɔnɛ* | *bɩ?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | work.PL | DEM | possess.PFV | FOC | benefits | INT |

'Does this project **have** benefits?'

(124) | *Tɩ* | *pʋɔ* | ***wa*** | ***pɛlɩ*** | *a …* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL | stomach | COND | be:white.PFV | JUNC |

'If we are willing / happy …'

Again, all the examples that have been given so far illustrate typical existential clauses, those with the verbs *be* and *ka*. These verbs neutrally encode that something exists (including the negation of existence). However, the Process in existential clauses may also encode the manner of existence (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). Here, the Process is realised by a wider range of verbs that denote posture or manner (see Table 6.9). One characteristic of this second sub-type of existential clauses is that they normallyrequire two participants, the Existent and Place of existence. Exceptions are processes realised by the verbs *cãa* ('still be') and *cɛ* ('remain'), where the Existent is always the only participant in the clause. Let's illustrated this with a constructed example in Figure 6.6:

(a)

Kaa	***laarɩ***	*nɩ*	*a*	*kṽɔ*	*zu.*
oil	be:on surface.PFV	FOC	DEF	water	ADP
Existent	Process		Place		
nominal group	verbal group		adverbial group		

'There is oil on the surface of the water.'

(b)

Kaa	cãa	na
oil	be:still.PFV	AFFR
Existent	Process	
nominal group	verbal group	

'There is still oil.'

Figure 6.6. The structure of existential clauses

Again, except for *cãa* ('still be')*, cɛ* ('remain')*,* the verb functioning as Head in the verbal group that realises the Process in manner-encoding existential clauses is always in the perfective (Compare with Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 310). Imperfective forms of these verbs (cf. Table 6.9) are restricted to their use in material clauses, as illustrated in Figure 6.7 in contrast example (a) in Figure 6.6.

A	*Naaŋmın*	*Vʋʋrʋ*	*tı*	*laarɛ*	*nı*	*a*	*kṽɔnı*	*zu*
DEF	God	spirit	PST.REM	hover.IPFV	FOC	DEF	waters	ADP
Actor			Process: material			circumstance: Place		
nominal group			verbal group			adverbial group		

'The Spirit of God **was hovering** over the water.'

Figure 6.7. The structure of a material clause

Thus, aspectual contrast does contribute to the classification of process types in Dagaare (see also Hopper & Thompson 1980 on the role of aspect in transitivity).

Table 6.9. examples of verbs associated with existential clauses

Type	examples of verbs	
	perfective	**imperfective**
neutral	*be*	*bere*
	ka	*karɛ*
+manner	*cãa* ('still be'), *cɛ* ('remain')	*cãanɛ, cɛrɛ*
	laarı ('be on surface'), *pemperi* ('lie across'), *yawlı* ('be hung'), *ga* ('lie'), *tewli* ('be against'), *sawlı* ('be in'), *ba* ('be pinned')	-

336

6.7 Generalising across Process Types: The Transitive Model versus the Ergative Model

As mentioned earlier, the system of TRANSITIVITY in Dagaare, as in many other languages such as English, comprises two simultaneous sub-systems, PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY (cf. Section 6.7.2). This means that every clause in the language can be analysed from two perspectives in terms of transitivity. The first perspective is to examine the nature of the process realised by the clause and the participants participating in it. The different configurations that accrue from this analysis constitute the system of PROCESS TYPE, and this differentiation of clauses into grammatically distinct process types is based on the transitive model of transitivity. The second perspective is to examine how the process is brought about, whether there is an external agent causing the process or it is represented as a self-engendered process. This is the ergative model of transitivity, and the underlining system here is AGENCY. In the preceding sections, process types have been discussed in detail. Six process types, material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential clauses, are identified as construing different domains of experience. The system of AGENCY, on the other hand, is a generalisation across the six process types. Before we discuss this system, however, we will first make some generalisations about the transitive model. Thus, this section is concerned with two kinds of generalisations about the system of TRANSITIVITY, one from the transitive point of view (Section 6.7.1) and the other from the ergative point of view (Section 6.7.2).

6.7.1 The Transitive Model

The discussion proceeds with the transitive model. Here, the generalisation across the process types will be made based on two variables. The first is the ability of the clause to allow an omission of the Complement (which includes the notion of 'Object'), and the second is the ability of the clause to project another clause. In the discussion on material clauses in Section 6.3, it was mentioned that the Complement element in the clause may sometimes be unrealised (see also Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1). This phenomenon was important in making a distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses

and, in particular, in characterising the Goal element. However, it is a motif that permeates the overall system of process types. The general principle underlining the omission of the Complement in the Dagaare clause can be stated as follows:

Principle (1): The Complement is realised if it is new information in the flow of discourse or undentifiable to the listener, but can be left unrealised if it is given information or identifiable to the listener (cf. Matthiessen (2004: 640-642) for a typological discussion on textual statues and implicit elements in the clause). This principle is illustrated in the following dialogue, a short version of which was presented in Chapter 5 (cf. Section 5.4.1):

(125)   Casual conversation

Baba: | *Ɛcɛ* | *Zıɛm* | *ı,* | *a* | *dãa* | [[*ĩ* | *na* | *dà* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | Ziem | VOC | DEF | beer | 1SG | REL | buy.PFV |

kʋ̀		*fʋ*	*a*]],	*a*	*wa?*		*Ɛ*
give.PFV		2SG	JUNC	3PL.NHM	be:where		And

bɛ	*dɛ*	*zı.*
3PL.HM	ADV	sit.PFV

Zıɛm: | *Aa* |
|---|
| INTJ |

Naab: | *Nɔɔ,* | *bɛ* | *waar* | *=ı* | *na.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| no | 3PL.HM | come.IPFV | CAUS | AFFR |

Baba: | *A* | *bɛ* | *waar* | *=ı* | *ɛ* | *bɛ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONT | 3PL.HM | come.IPFV | CAUS | CONJ | NEG.IND.NFUT |

wa	*ı?*
come.PFV	NAFFR

Naab: | *A* | *ĩ* | *pɔwbɛ* | *lɛ* | *bɛ* | *mí* | *ɓaa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | 1SG | woman.PL | COP | 3PL.HM | HAB | cold |

zuo.
be:too much

[*Shouting to ladies inside the compound yard*]: | *Nı* | *cãa* |
|---|---|
| | 2PL | be:still.PFV |

bɛ	*ı*	*a*	*dãa*	*sɛr*	*ɛ?*
NEG.IND.NFUT	make.PFV	DEF	beer	still	NAFFR

Baba: 'But Ziem, the pito/beer I bought for you where is it? And they (visitors) are just sitting.'

Ziem: 'I don't know.'

Naab: 'No, they are bringing (it).'

Baba: 'They are bringing (it) and they have not come?'

Naab: 'My wives are the ones who are too slow. [shouting to ladies inside the compound]: You have not prepared the beer/pito yet?'

In the first two of the clauses underlined in the extract, the implied Complement is *a dãa* ('beer', 'pito'), and it is left unstated because it can be inferred from the initial exchange between Baba and Ziem. The Complement is, however, introduced in *Nı cãa bɛ ı **a dãa** sɛr ɛ*? ('You are not done with **the beer** yet?') although the clause would be equally grammatical without it. The

Table 6.10. Transitivity components in relation to realisation of the Complement

transitivity feature			information status of Complement	
			Given/ identifiable	New/ unidentifiable
Human			√	√
non-human	**concreteness**	in concrete clause	x	√
		in abstract clause	√	√
	[seeing]:	phenomenal	√	√
	phenomenality	macrophenomenal	x	√

motivation here is a shift in addressee from Baba to the women, who are distant away in the compound. Its function here is therefore to set a textual context for a new exchange. The main principle regulating the realisation of the Complement in the Dagaare clause is, therefore, a textual one, as

mentioned earlier. However, there are other factors of an experiential kind that motivate the retention of the Complement even when it is given information. These experiential factors are summarised in Table 6.10 in relation to the textual one (tick = realised; cross = unrealised). As the table shows, the primary experiential features that motivate the realisation of the Complement are those of (i) humanness and (ii) concreteness. Specifically, the first opposition is between whether the nominal group realsing the Complement is human or non-human, and, if non-human, whether it occurs in a concrete clause or an abstract clause. The first of these principles is stated below:

Principle (2): The Complement is normally realised if the nominal group realising it is human.

Thus, the referent of the pronoun *ʋ* in the following clause will automatically be assumed by a Dagaare speaker to be human because, as a non-emphatic pronoun, it is represented as given information and is only retained in the clause due to its referential value (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1):

(126) *Bɛ*   *waar*   *=ɪ*   *ʋ*   *na.*
      3PL.HM   come.IPFV   CAUS   3SG   AFFR
      'They are bringing him/her.'

As was mentioned earlier, despite this pervasive principle in Dagaare, a human Complement is still sometimes left unrealised. This phenomenon, however, enacts attitudinal meanings. It is only limited to certain contexts such as those of linguistic play and emotionally loaded settings (cf. Section 6.3.1). The third principle derives from the second one and it is stated below.

Principle (3): In case the Complement is non-human, it must be realised if the clause in which it occurs is an abstract clause, otherwise it can be omitted.

This third principle, divides the six process types into two groups, comprising concrete and abstract clauses as follows:

concrete clauses	**abstract clauses**
concrete material clauses	abstract material clauses
behavioural clauses	mental clauses

verbal clauses   existential clauses

                                                  relational clauses
                                                  (intensive identification)

The notions of 'concrete' and 'abstract' in this context are relative
approximations in the sense that a concrete material clause will be more
concrete than a behavioural one. They should also be understood as global
properties of an entire clause rather than properties of the the (potential)
Complement. The abstractness of a clause can either be determined by an
abstract entity functioning as Complement (as in abstract material clauses; as
in example 127) or by the abstract nature of the process itself (as in existential
clauses such as example 128). The Complement in the following clauses are
underlined:

(127) *A*   *be*   *wa*   *nı*   *nı*   ***gbɛ-mŋɛ.***
       DEF   there   come.PFV   CAUS   FOC   leg-hit

       'That place brought **a fault** (=We made **a mistake** with regards to this
       issue).'

(128) *Pʋ-pʋla*   *be*   *nı*   ***be***.
       good will   EXIST.PFV   FOC   there

       '**There** is joy.'

The requirement that the Complement must be realised in abstract clauses
(provided the clause takes a Complement in the first place) explains why
existential clauses such as example (128) still needs *be* ('there') as a dummy
Complement.

        The location of behavioural and verbal clauses under the concrete
category also needs some comments due to their relative abstract nature
compared to concrete material clauses. Two alternative reasons may account
for the omission of the Complement in these clauses. First, they represent a
semantic region between abstract experience and concrete experience in the
sense that they represent conciousness as a form of activity. In this regard, the
grammar of Dagaare seems to push them more towards the concrete pole than
the abstract pole on the variable of the realisation of the Complement.
Alternatively, we can interpret the tendency to omit the Complement in

behavioural and verbal clauses as due to the nature of the nominal group that functions as Complement in these clauses, that is, the Behaviour and Verbiage participants respectively. As we mentioned earlier, the nominal group realising these participants is often an elaboration of the process and is "not so much of a participant as a self-refinement of the process itself" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 347) (also see Section 6.7.2 below on Range). In this case, the Complement in these clauses is often an optional element in the clause (see Sections, 6.6.1 and 6.6.2). Nevertheless, compared to the more inert process types listed under abstract clauses, behavioural and verbal clauses are construed by the grammar as relatively concrete.

Further, relational clauses are the most indeterminate category in terms of classifying processes into concrete and abstract clauses. The only consistent sub-type in this regard is intensive identifying clauses. These construe static relations between entities and do not allow an omission of the Complement. Other sub-types of relational clauses are not consistent in the realisation or omission of the Complement. Nonetheless, the same principle of concrete versus abstract clauses is at play in these other sub-types. For example, possessive clauses that represent concrete possession allows an omission of the Complement as in (129) while those that represent abstract relation as in (130) or metaphorically construe emotions as possessions as in (131) generally do not (Complement is in bold):

(129) A: *Fʋ   tɛr   =ɪ   **libir**   bɪ*?
          2SG   possess.PFV   FOC   money   INT
          'Do you have money?'

      B: *Ṹʋ,   ĩ̃   tɛr   =a*.
          yes   1SG   possess.PFV   AFFR
      A: 'Do you have money?'
      B: 'Yes, I have.'

(130) *Ʋ   tɛr   **a**   na*.
      3SG possess.PFV 3PL.NHM AFFR
      'S/he is rich.'

(131) *Tɪ   tɛr   =ɪ   **pʋ-pɪɛlʋ***.
      1PL possess.PFV FOC   stomach-whiteness
      'We have joy.'

In the underlined clause in (129), it is possible to omit the Complement because it represents concrete possession. In (130) and (131) such an omission is not possible if the original sense of the clause is to be maintained.

Again, circumstantial clauses that represent concrete locations of entities allow an omission of the Complement (132) while those that represent abstract relations such as identity in terms of place of origin do not (133):

(132) *Ĩ*   *pvɔ*   *na.*
1SG   be:among   AFFR
'I am among.'

(133) Political interview
Ĩ   *yi*   *=n*   *ah*   *a*   *Nandɔm*   *West.*
1SG   be:from.PFV   FOC   INTJ   DEF   Nandom   West
'I come from uhm Nandom West.'

In mental clauses, there is another principle at play in relation to the phenomenality of the Phenomenon participant, which can be stated as follows:

Principle (4): If the potential Complement in a perceptive clause representing 'seeing' is a macrophenomenal clause (i.e. an act clause), it can be omitted; otherwise it must be realised (see Section 6.4 on mental clauses).

This principle is illustrated in the constructed dialogues below (relevant clause is underlined; Complement is in bold):

(134) a.   A: *Fv*   *nyɛ̃*   *na*   ***a***   ***lile***   ***na***   ***yâw***
                2SG   see.PFV   AFFR   DEF   bird   NMLZ   fly
                ***a*?**
                JUNC
      B: <u>*Ĩ*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *ι.*</u>
                1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV   NAFFR
      A: 'Have you seen the bird fly(away)?' / 'Did you see the bird fly (away)'
      B: 'I haven't' / 'I didn't see.'

b.   A: *Fʋ*   *nyɛ̃*   *nɩ*   ***a***   ***lile***?

        2SG   see.PFV FOC   DEF   bird

        'Have you seen the bird?' 'Did you see the bird?'

    B: *ĩ̀*   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *ʋ*   *ɩ.*

        1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV   3SG   NAFFR

        'I haven't seen it.' / 'I didn't see it.'

        *ĩ̀   *bɛ*   *nyɛ̃*   *ɩ.*

        1SG   NEG.IND.NFUT   see.PFV   NAFFR

        *'I haven't seen / 'I didn't see it.'

In clause (134a), where the complement is a nominal clause, the most acceptable answer is for Speaker B to omit the complement in his response. In (134b), on the other hand, an omission of the complement in Speaker B's response will render the clause unacceptable since the complement, *a lile* ('the bird') is a micro-Thing and the grammar of the language requires it to be stated.

The principles stated above can be interpreted in relation to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity hypothesis, which, in itself, can be conceived of as a generalisation across process types from a typological perspective. They divide the notion of transitivity into nine parameters with each component having a high and a low transitivity variable and hypothesise that categories of high transitivity will co-select each other. Our findings here generally support this hypothesis in terms of the clustering of process types under concrete and abstract clauses. As mentioned earlier, material clauses represent doings-&-happenings and behaviourial and verbal clauses share these characteristics by representing concious processes as physiological (or psychological) and verbal activities. These three process types, in relative terms, are therefore activity-oriented compared to mental, existential and identifying clauses, which construe inert processes. This characteristic of material (i.e. concrete), behavioural and verbal clauses classify them as high in transitivity as opposed to mental, existential and relational clauses, which are of low transitivity. This relative dichotomy between high and low transitivity corresponds with how they cluster into concrete and abstract clauses based on the realisation of the Complement. Based on this single transitivity variable,

clauses that are more towards the activity pole cluster together as concrete clauses, and those that construe inert processes cluster together as abstract clauses.

However, on face value, it would seem that the Dagaare data do not support Hopper and Thompson's (1980) assumption that clauses with two or more participants ('Agent' and 'Object') are high in transivity while those with one participant are low in transitivity since Dagaare allows the omission of the Complement in concrete clauses but not in abstract clauses. As has been mentioned, however, this tendency in Dagaare is textually motivated and the Complement is always implied and recoverable. Nonetheless, this study reveals that a clause with one participant can be very high in transitivity while a clause with two participants can be very low in transitivity.

The second variable on which the process types in Dagaare can be generalised is that of projection. Different process types cluster together based on their ability or inability to project another clause. For lack of better terms (particularly for those that do not project), we identify these groupings as direct representation of experience and symbolic representation:

direct representation	**symbolic representation**
(– *projection*)	(+ *projection*)
mental clauses (emotive & perceptive)	mental clauses (cognitive & desiderative)
behavioural clauses	verbal clauses
relational clauses (others)	relational clauses (intensive: necessity/fact-type)
existential clauses	
material clauses	

The difference in orientation of the two types of clauses can be illustrated by the following passage (Projecting clauses are underlined):

(135) The story of Jesus

|||*Galile*   *tew*   *dem*   *za*   *a,*   *nyı*   *bãw*   *nı*

Galilee   town   owners all   VOC   2PL   know.PFV   FOC

a:|| *a*   *na-kpẽɛ*   *Sezaare*   *Ogusiri*   *yèl*

3.NHM   DEF   chief-big   Ceasar   Augustus   say.PFV

a //	*kɛ*	*bɛ*	*sɔr*	*a*	*nɪsalbɛ*	*za*	*[[na*
AFFR	PROJ	3PL.HM	count.PFV	DEF	people	all	REL
kpɪɛr	*a*	*Galile*	*nɪ*	*a*	*Zude*	*tew*	
live.IPFV	DEF	Galilee	and	DEF	Judah	town	
pvɔ	*a]];* |||	*ɛ*	*a*	*fɛr*	*=a*	*// kɛ*	
inside	JUNC	PROJ	3PL.NHM	be:necessary.PFV	AFFR	PROJ	
nɪr	*za*	*mì*	*lɛb*	*kul*	*a*	*v*	
person	all	also	return.PFV	go:home.PFV	DEF	3SG	
sãa	*mɪnɛ*	*tew*	*dɔwra*	*pvɔ*	*bɛ*	*tɪ*	*sɔr* *v*
fathers	PL	town	birth	inside	3PL.HM	DIST	count 3SG
a	*be.|||*						
DEF	there						

'All the people of Galilee, you should know this: The big chief Ceasar Augustus says that they should count all the people living in Galilee and the state of Judah. That it is also necessary that everybody goes back home to the birth city of his fathers for them to count him/her there.'

In this extract, the non-projecting clauses represent activities (e.g. *bɛ sɔra nɪsalbɛ za,* 'they should count all the people'; *nɪr za mì lɛb kul* 'everybody goes back home') and states (e.g. *a nɪsalbɛ za na kpɪɛr a Galile ...* 'all the people living in Galilee …'). These are observable processes that are more towards our world of experience. The projecting clauses, on the other hand, are symbolic. They generally represent the interpretation of the other processes, their organisation as knowledge (as in *nyɪ bãw nɪ a,* 'you should know this') and their evidential status (e.g. *Sizar Ogusiri yèl a* 'Ceasar Augustus says'; *a fɛr a,* 'it has become necessary'). In other words, as has been demonstrated throughout the discussion of projection across process types, projecting clauses assess propositions and proposals and intrepret them through the resources of evidentiality and modality. There is therefore, a clear division of labour between projecting and non-projecting clauses in discourse and in the system of language.

6.7.2 The Ergative Model

This section proceeds to discuss the ergative model, the second generalisation across process types, as mentioned above. While the tranisitve model is concerned with whether or not the process extends and impacts on an entity, the ergative model is concerned with whether the process is construed as being self-engendered or brought about by an external causer. Just as the transitive view of the clause has an underlining system, the system of PROCESS TYPE, the ergative perspective also has an underlining system, the system of AGENCY (see Figure 6.8). Before, the categories associated with this system are examined, however, we will first discuss the participant roles associated with the ergative perspective of the clause. Four participant roles have been identified as follows (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014): Medium, Agent, Beneficiary, and Range.

(i) Medium: This participant is "the medium through which the process is actualised" and, together with the Process, they form the nucleus of the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 336). In material clauses, the Medium is the Goal in transitive clauses (136) and the Actor in intransitive (137) and causative (138) clauses. Thus, *a bie* ('the child') is the Medium in each of the following clauses:

(136) | *ĩ* | *ŋmɛ* | *=n* | *a* | *bie*. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1SG | beat.PFV | FOC | DEF | child |

'I beat **the child**.'

(137) | *A* | *bie* | *wa* | | *na*. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| DEF | child | come.PFV | | AFFR |

'**The child** has come.'

(138) | *ĩ* | *wa* | *nɪ* | *nɪ* | *a* | *bie*. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1SG | come.PFV | CAUS | FOC | DEF | child |

'I have caused **the child** to come (= I have brought the child).'

In (136), the nominal group *a bie* ('the child') is the Goal participant in a transitive clause; in (137) it is Subject and the Actor participant in an intransitive clause; and, in (138), it is the Actor and Complement in a causative clause. What is common among the use of *a bie* ('the child') in all

these instances is that, it is the participant that is impacted by the process, the one through which the process is actulised or brought into being. The Medium thus subsumes the senses of 'affected' and 'patient' participants that are commonly used in the linguistic literature. Medium is, however, a more inclusive participant role and includes processes that are not of the material type. In mental clauses, the Medium is the Senser; in relational clauses, it is the Identified, in the identifying mode, and the Carrier, in the attributive mode; in verbal clauses, it is the Sayer; in behavioural clauses, it is the Behaver; and in existential clauses, it is the Existent participant (see Table 6.11). The Medium is thus "the nodal participant throughout the system … the one that is critically involved, in some way or other according to the particular nature of the process" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 343).

Unlike in English, however, the Medium can be unrealised in clauses where it is non-human and is presupposed as given information (cf. Section 6.7.1). Also, in verbless clauses, the Process is lost due to diachronic changes (cf. Section 6.5), as in the examples below (Medium is in bold):

(139)   Bible.is (Matie 16: 14)

      Zã-Bati   ***nv***.

      John-Baptist   IDENT.SG

      'John this Baptist is **the one** (=**He** is John the Baptist).'

(140)   Political opinion interview

      ĩ   ***yuor***   *=ɩ*   *George*.

      1SG   name   COP.FOC George

      My name is George.

These clauses form an exception in the language so far as the ergative interpretation of the clause is concerned. As with the copula clauses from which they originated, the Identified participant is the Medium.

Table 6.11. Generalising across participant roles in process types

	Ergative function	Transitive function						
		material	behavioural	mental	verbal	relational: attributive	relational: identifying	existential
process	1 Process	Process						
participants	2 Medium	Actor [mid.]; Goal [eff.]	Behaver	Senser	Sayer [mid.] Target [eff.]	Carrier	Identified	Existent
	3 Agent	Initiator or Actor [eff.]		Inducer or Phenom.[impinging]	Sayer [eff.]	Attributor	Assigner	-
	4 Beneficiary	Recipient; Client	-	-	Receiver	*Beneficiary*	-	-
	5 Range	Scope; Instrument; Accompaniment	Behaviour	Phenomenon [emanating]	Verbiage	Attribute	Identifier	*Place*

(ii) Agent: The Agent is the external participant that brings about the process. In other words, it is the external agency participanting in the nucleus established by the Process + Medium. In material clauses, the Agent is the Initiator participant (138) or the Actor in transitive clauses (136). In examples (136) and (138), for instance, the Subject pronoun *Ĩ* is the Agent. In (138), *Ĩ wa nɪ nɪ a bie* ('I have brought the child', lit. 'I have caused the child to come'), the Agent is represented as the Initiator, the one who brought about the movement or change in position of the child. This external causation is morphologically indicated by the causative particle *nɪ*. In (136), *Ĩ ŋmɛ =n a bie* ('I beat the child'), the Agent is the one who brought about the process of beating, the external participant causing the process of which the Medium/Goal is the undergoer. In mental clauses, the Agent is generally the Inducer, but, in clauses of the impinging type (see Section 6.4), it is the Phenomenon, the one who brings about the sensing. In attributive clauses, on the other hand, it is the Attributor participant (cf. Section 6.5) and in identifying clauses, it is the Assigner.

(iii) Beneficiary: This participant is associated with benefactive clauses, comprising material clauses of cliency and recipiency (cf. Section 6.3.2), verbal clauses (cf. Section 6.6.1), and a sub-type of attributive clauses (cf.

Section 6.5). The Beneficiary is the one to whom or for whom the process is construed as taking place, although the benefit may be represented as a denial or a negation of it. This participant is typically introduced by the verb *kṽ* ('give'). In attributive clauses, it occurs in contexts where the process is realised by adjectival verb of a positive evaluation (cf. Section 6.5.2.2):

(141)   Workshop report 5

Al	*bome*	*maal*	*=a*	*kṽ*	*=m*.
3PL.EMP.NHM	things	do:well	AFFR	give.PFV	1SG.ACC

'The things (=crops) there did well for me.'

The Beneficiary does not occur in mental, behavioural and existential clauses (see Halliday & Matthiessen 2014 on English). Thus, the clause below is, strictly speaking, a (benefactive) material clause although the Process is realised by a verb typical of behavioural clauses, *bɛl* ('look'):

(142)   *Bɛlɛ*   *a*   *bie*   *kṽ*   *=m*!
        look.IPFV   DEF   child   give.PFV   1SG.ACC
        'Keep an eye on the child for me!'

The process here is represented as a service done for the speaker rather than simply an inert physiological behaviour.

(iv) Range: As its name suggests, the Range participant is the element that specifies the range or scope of the process. Compared with the other participant roles, Range is less of an entity participating in the process (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). It occurs in all six process types (see Table 6.11). In mental clauses of the emanating type, the Range is the Phenomenon as opposed to the impinging type, where the Phenomenon is Agent. In material clauses, it is the Scope, Instrument and Accompaniment; in identifying clauses, it is the Indentifier and in attributive clauses, it is the Attribute; in behavioural clauses, it is the Behaviour; in verbal clauses, it is the Verbiage an in existential clauses, it is the Place.

In many instances, the Range participant is represented as a restatement of the Process itself (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). That is, it may be specifying a particular variety of the process, as in (143) below:

(143) The story of Jesus

Mɛ́	*nyɪ*	*taa*	*na*	*lɔb*	***zʋkpar***
HST	2PL	MOD	POS.IND.FUT	throw.PFV	proverb

na	*kṽ*	*=m*	[…]
DEM	give.PFV	1SG.ACC	[…]

'I believe you will tell me **this proverb** …'

Or, second, this element may be an entity, but it marks the domain of the Process rather than being an active participant or one that is impacted by the Process. Examples of this are highlighted in (144) to (146) below:

(144) Workshop interview (abstract material clause, +Scope)

A	*kɔb*	*pɛr*	*buor*	*=ʋ*	*na*	*tʋɔ*
DEF	farming	type	which	IDENT.SG	POS.IND.FUT	be:able.PFV

sow	***tɪ.***
help.PFV	1PL

'Which type of farming would be able to help **us.**'

(145) Political opinion interview

l̃	*yi*	*=n*	*ah*	***a***	***Nandɔm***	***West.***
1SG	be:from.PFV	FOC	INTJ	DEF	Nandom	West

'I come from uhm Nandom West.'

(146) Workshop interview

Bɛ	*za*	*be*	*=n*	***a***	***ka.***
3PL.HM	all	EXIST.PFV	FOC	DEF	here

'All of them are here.'

As mentioned earlier participant roles discussed above are a generalisation across process types and they are engendered by the system of AGENCY, that is, the opposition between middle and effective clauses. A system network for AGENCY is presented in Figure 6.8 and we proceed to discuss middle and effective clauses in the sections below.
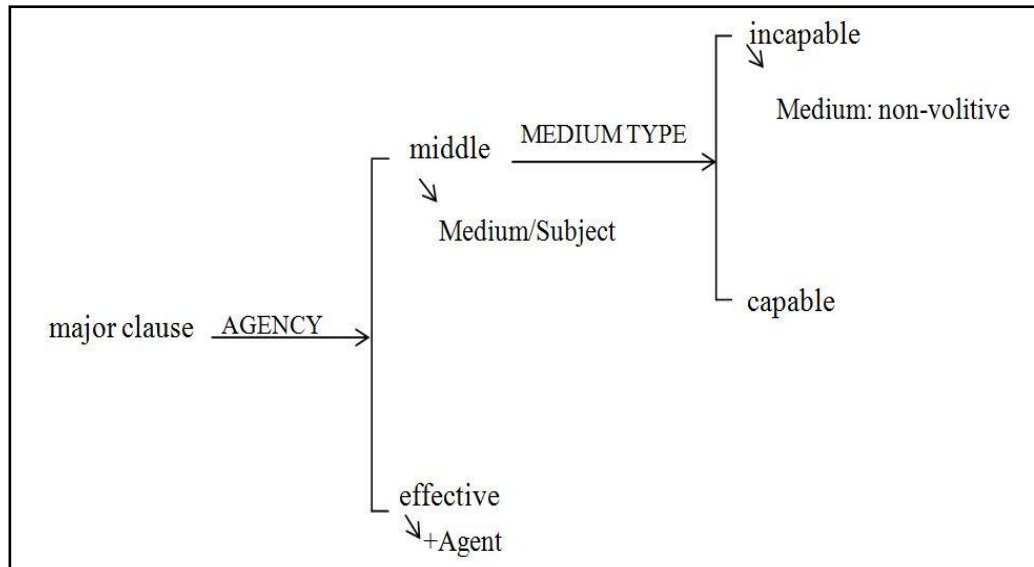
351

Figure 6.8. The system of AGENCY in Dagaare

6.7.2.1 Middle Clauses

Middles clauses are those clauses without the feature of agency and thus the Process + Medium configuration is represented as internally engendered. It construes a process as a happening as opposed to an action, and the Medium is always the Subject of the clause. As has been mentioned in Section 6.3.1, two sub-types of middle clauses can be identified based on the variable of whether or not the Medium is capable of engendering the process by itself.

(i) Medium as capable of the process: This is the unmarked case of middle clauses, where, the Medium is construed as acting on itself:

(147) *A*　　*bie*　　*lo*　　*na.*

　　　 DEF　 child　 fall.PFV AFFR

　　　 'The child fell.'

(148) *ĩ*　　　*kvɔr*　　*=a.*

　　　 DEF　 weed.IPFV AFFR

　　　 'I am weeding / I am farming.'

Here, the grammar represents the effect of the process as limited to the Medium, it does not go through.

352

(ii) Medium as incapable of the process (non-volitive): This type of middle clauses are medio-passive, and they are associated with only material clauses (see Section 6.3.1). [51] Examples are given below:

(149) *A*   *wɪɛ*   *bɛ*   *kɔ*   *ɪ.*
       DEF   farm   NEG.IND.NFUT   weed.PFV   NAFFR
       'The farm is not weeded / The farm is not cultivated.'

(150) *A*   *dãa*   *dà*   *na.*
       DEF   beer   buy.PFV   AFFR
       'The beer has been bought / The beer sold well.'

(151) *A*   *dãa*   *dàar*   *=a.*
       DEF   beer   buy.IPFV   AFFR
       'The beer is selling (well).'

Here, the Medium represents an entity that is incapable of engendering the process by itself. Although, in reality, the process is engendered by an external participant, the grammar of the language represents it as taking place without the causer. They have agnate effective counterparts such as *Nɪbɛ daar =ɪ a dãa* ('People are buying the beer'). Let's consider another example in the dialogue below on a healing miracle of Jesus:

(152)   The story of Jesus

        Jesus: *Pɔw*   *ɪ,*   *a*   *fʋ*   *baalʋ*   *sanɪ*
               woman   VOC   DEF   2SG   sickness   be:heal.PFV
               na.
               AFFR

        Voice: *Wi!*   *Alɛ!*   *Ʋ*   *sanɪ*   *na*   *wɛ*!
               INTJ   INTJ   3SG   be:heal.PFV   AFFR   EXCL

        Jesus: 'Woman, your sickness is healed.'
        Voice: 'What! S/he is healed!'

The major clauses in this extract construe the healing of the woman as a happening rather than an action brought by Jesus. The nominal groups *a fʋ baalʋ* ('your sickness'), in the fist clause, and *Ʋ* ('s/he'), in the second clause,

---

[51] Since Dagaare has no system of voice, this type of middle clauses does not cover the same semantic region as the "medio-passive" (oe medio-receptive) in English.

are construed as the Medium through which the Process is actualised, and the process of healing itself is represented as unfolding in spite of a causer.

6.7.2.2 Effective Clauses

Effective clauses, on the other hand, are those clauses with the feature of agency and the Agent is the inherent participant here. Generally, they tend to be less common in Dagaare discourse, compared to middle clauses, and they are mostly material clauses. In a sample of about 500 clauses across different registers (including minor clauses), effective clauses account for only 84 (16.8%) instances, 78 (92.9%) of which are material clauses, while middle clauses record 360 (72%) instances.[52] In effective clauses, the process is represented as being caused by an external participant, the Agent. The basic structural configuration is Agent + Process + (Medium); where the Medium may be ellipted as given information (cf. Section 6.8.1). In principle, all transitive material clauses (cf. Section 6.3.1), mental clauses of the impinging type (cf. Section 6.4) and targeted verbal clauses (see Section 6.6.1) are also effective clauses. As mentioned earlier, in material clauses, agency may also be explicitly marked by the particle *nı*. This strategy is, however, restricted to processes of motion such as *wa* ('come'), *cen* ('go') *zɔ* ('run') *do* ('climb / go up'), *siw* ('descend / 'come down') etc. Agency can also be construed analytically as in the underlined clause in the extract below (also see Section 6.7.2):

(153) NANSU citation

A	*tıım*	*Nandɔm*	*bibiir*	[…]	*puore*	
DEF	1PL.EMP	Nandom	children	[…]	greet.IPFV	
nı	*Naaŋmın*	*barka*		*nı*	*a*	*ʋ*
FOC	God	gratitude		CONJ	DEF	3SG
sownu	*na*		*ı*	*ka*	*fʋ*	*tı*	*lıɛbı*
help	ADV		do.PFV	JUNC	2SG	RNG	turn.PFV

---

[52] The predominance of 'material' clauses in the 'effective' category again corroborates Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity hypothesis that features of high transitivity co-select each other.

a	*Cape*	*Coast* *University*	*wulwulbɛ* *nı-kpɛɛ*
DEF	Cape	Coast University	teachers leader

a.

JUNC

'We the children of Nandom thank God <u>for his assistance that</u> **made** you became the president of the University of Cape Coast.'

Here, the Agent is *a v sownu* ('his assistance') while the Medium is *fv* ('you') and *a Cape Coast University wulwulbɛ nı-kpɛɛ* is Range. Causation is indicated analytically by the general verb *ı* ('do') as a process engaged in by the Agent.

If we push the account further in delicacy to the lexical end of the lexicogrammar continuum, we can identify a few verbs that oppose each other in their unmarked selection of agency type (see Table 6.12). Those verbs that are typically associated with effective clauses such as *sanı* (be healed) can also be used ergatively (i.e. in middle clauses), as is illustrated in (152), in which case they become marked.

Table 6.12. Examples of verbs that typically realise processes in middle and effective clauses[53]

No.	+ middle		± effective	
	verb	process type	Verb	unmarked process type
[1]	*ga*, 'lie down'	behavioural	*gaalı*; 'put down in a lying position'	material: transitive
[2]	*ir*, 'wake up'	behavioural	*sĩw*, 'cause to wake up'	material: transitive
[3]	*lo*, 'fall'	material: intransitive	*lɔb*, 'make fall', 'drop'	material: transitive
[4]	*kpi*, 'die'	behavioural	*kʋ́*, 'kill'	material: transitive
[5]	*sa*, 'get well'	behavioural	*sanı*, 'cause to heal'	material: transitive
[6]	*zı*, 'sit'	behavioural	*zıılı*, 'make to sit'	material: transitive

---

[53]This table is based on a similar one by Bodomo (1997: 91)

In addition, we can identify pairs of effective clauses that contrast between benefactive and non-benefactive type based on specific verbs realising the

(1a) *nyu,* 'drink' [effective: non-benefactive]

A	*bie*	*nyu*	*=n*	*buulu*
DEF	child	drink.PFV	FOC	porridge
Actor		material: transitive		Goal
Agent		Process		Medium
nominal group		verbal group		nominal group

'The child drank porridge.'

(1b) *tuuli,* 'feed liquid (put to mouth)' [effective: benefactive]

ĩ	*tuuli*	*nı*	*a*	*bie*	*buulu*
1SG	feed:liquid.PFV	FOC	DEF	child	porridge
Actor	material: transitive		Client		Goal
Agent	Process		Beneficiary		Medium
nominal group	verbal group		nominal group		nominal group

'I feed the child porridge.'

(2a) *dı,* 'eat' [effective: non-benefactive]

A	*bie*	*dı*	*=n*	*saab*
DEF	child	eat.PFV	FOC	food type
Actor		material: transitive		Goal
Agent		Process		Medium
nominal group		verbal group		nominal group

'The child ate tuo-zaafi (TZ).'

(2b) *su,* 'feed solid (put to mouth)' [effective: benefactive]

ĩ	*su*	*=n*	*a*	*bie*	*bʋndırı*
1SG	feed:solid.PFV	FOC	DEF	child	food.PL
Actor	material: transitive		Client		Goal
Agent	Process		Beneficiary		Medium
nominal group	verbal group		nominal group		nominal group

'I feed the child food.'

Figure 6.9. Benefactive versus non-benefactive effective clauses

process, such as *nyu* ('drink') verus *tuuli* ('feed someone something liquid') and *dı* ('eat') versus *su* ('feed someone something solid') (see Figure 6.9).

6.8   Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has examined the major grammatical system for construing experience in the Dagaare clause, the system of TRANSITIVITY. The chapter first gave an overview of the clause as a representation of experience and summarised how this function of language has been theorised in the extant literature on linguistic science to provide a conceptual background for the analysis of Dagaare.

The chapter proceeded to discuss one sub-system of transitivity, that of PROCESS TYPE. As in English and many other languages (cf. Caffarel et al. 2004; Matthiessen 2004), six process types have been identified, comprising material, mental and relational clauses as the principal types, and behavioural, verbal and existential clauses as minor types. Material clauses typically represent outer experience and their principal sub-types are transitive clauses, which construe doing or action, and intransitive clauses, which construe happening or events. Mental clauses represent consciousness, comprising cognition, desideration, emotion and perception. Relational clauses construe being and having by characterising and identifying entities in the outer world of experience but also by representing emotion as attributes. The principal sub-types identified are intensive, possessive and circumstantial clauses, each of which manifest in two modes, attribution and identification. Behavioural clauses construe consciousness as outer experience, thereby embodying the characteristics of material and mental clauses. They are the most indeterminate process type and shades also into verbal clauses. Verbal clauses in themselves are clauses of saying and represent consciousness as a kind of relation between Sayer and what is said. Existential clauses represent that something exists. Semantically, they are like material clauses by typically representing outer experience, but grammatically, they are like relational clauses by representing existence as a relation between the Existent and the Place of existence. Throughout the discussion, it has been shown that there is clear evidence in the grammar of Dagaare that differentiates clauses into different process types.

The chapter, however, continued to identify principles that are general across the different process types. First, it has been shown that the various process types cluster into smaller groupings based on features such as concreteness and abstractness and their ability to project another clause. Second, it has been discussed that clauses can be classified as middle or effective, depending on whether or not they embody the feature of agency. This latter generalisation is based on the second major sub-system of transitivity, that of AGENCY. Middle clauses represent the process as being self-engendered while effective clauses represent it as being caused by an external participant, the Agent.

The two systems, PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY are underlying systems of two models of transitivity, namely the transitive model and the ergative model respectively. The transitive perspective is concerned with the internal nature of the process, whether it extends beyond the participant engendering it and impacts on a second participant or not. The ergative model is concerned with how the process is brought about, whether it is self-engendered or it is caused by an external agent. The two views give a fuller picture of the experiential organisation of the language.

CHAPTER SEVEN
SYNOPSIS: DAGAARE AND BEYOND

7.1 Introduction

The last four preceding chapters have given a detailed discussion of the interpersonal, textual and experiential systems of the Dagaare clause. This chapter will summarise and conclude the study. It will first recap the aims of the study and the theoretical and methodological procedures adopted (Section 7.2). It will then proceed to summarise the descriptive categories presented in the preceding chapters (Section 7.3) and finally draw implications for the description, in terms of theory, research and practical applications (Section 7.4).

7.2 Summary of Aims and Procedures

The general objective of the study has been to contribute to studies in functional language typology, in general, and systemic functional typology, in particular. Specifically, the aim is to give a comprehensive description of clause rank systems of Dagaare, comprising experiential, interpersonal and textual systems. It has been indicated that research on Dagaare dates back to the 1930s. Studies on the language can roughly been categorized into three stages. Early research, dating from the late 1880's, was within the context of language classification and dialect studies, typically based on word lists collected by European traders and colonial administrators. The second stage of research begins in the 1950's and was led by missionary linguists, whose interest was to develop written materials for religious teaching. Since the 1980's, however, Dagaare has been explored by many professional linguists, including native speakers, in areas such as dialect variation, phonology and, more especially, lexicogrammar. These descriptions have provided material for language education, the development of orthography and bilingual lexicons. One limitation of these descriptions, however, is that they are not discourse-based and they reveal little information on the rich meaning potential of Dagaare. The present study has been designed to fill this lacuna.

In order to achieve these objectives, the study used the semiotic map provided by systemic functional theory as a guide. The cline of instantiation provides a complementary view of system and text, grounding the description in discourse. The hierarchy of stratification provides a trinocular vision on lexicogrammar and the cline of lexicogrammar itself allows for a delicate description of grammatical features. The spectrum of metafunction broadens the scope of the study to cover three different modes of meaning and provides a theoretical blue print for a more systematic analysis. The dimension of rank guides towards the recognition of clause systems and helps the analysis to account for the functions of groups and word classes in clause structure. The dimension of axis provides a powerful analytical tool in the form of the system network and aids in mapping grammatical meanings (i.e. deep grammar) to their realisations by grammatical form and/or structure (i.e. surface grammar). The dimension of semogenesis brings in perspectives from grammaticalisation and helped clarifying the many fuzzy forms and meanings in the language.

Regarding methodology, the study adopted an ethnographic approach, following the traditions established by American anthropological linguists, such as Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Benjamin Whorf, Dell Hymes and Joseph Greenberg, and European functionalists, exemplified by Bronislaw Malinowski, J. R. Firth, and M. A. K. Halliday. The corpus for the study comprises naturally occurring texts, collected from Dagaare speakers in Ghana and Burkina Faso. Techniques employed in analyzing the texts include discourse analysis, the construction of system networks and the development of paradigms. These were supported by theoretical and typological guidance, transfer comparison, dialect comparison and interviews with language consultants.

7.3   Summary of Description

The description spans across four chapters, Chapters 3 to 6. Chapter 3 gave an overview of the architecture of the Dagaare language. It focused on both phonology and orthography (or graphology) in the expression plane, and on lexicogrammar in the content plane. On phonology, the chapter identified four phonological units, namely tone group, [word], syllable and phoneme and

accounted for the major phonological phenomena realised at each rank. In all, 62 phonemes have been identified in the phonemic system, comprising twenty-nine (29) consonants, eighteen (18) simple vowels and fifteen (15) diphthongs. It has been indicated that a key feature relevant to all vocalic sounds is the opposition between [+ATR] and [-ATR] quality. The syllable is made up of at least one phoneme and it is the domain for the realisation of lexical tone and nasality. The [word] is composed of at least one syllable and it is the unit where different kinds of harmony systems are realised. The tone group is the highest phonological unit and it realises intonation. Regarding orthography, it has been indicated that Dagaare has two alphabet systems, one developed in Burkina Faso by the *Sous-Commission Nationale du Dagara* and the other developed by the Ghana Alphabet Committee as a general orthography for indigenous Ghanaian languages.

On grammar, the chapter identified four grammatical units: the clause, group, word and morpheme, and among these discussed the morpheme, word and clause. Morphemes have been divided into free and bound, and, with regards to bound morphemes, two derivational morphemes and a range of inflectional morphemes were identified. The derivational morphemes are the locative suffix *–mi* (or *–mɩ*) and diminutive suffix *–le* while the inflectional morphemes consist of plural suffixes in nouns and aspectual suffixes in verbs. Also, 35 particles were identified as realizing crucial grammatical meanings across the three metafunctions of language, interpersonal, ideational and textual. In addition to particles, eight other word classes were identified, comprising nouns, verbs adverbs, pronouns, adpositions, determiners, conjunctions and interjections. Out of these, noun, verb, adverb and pronoun were examined systematically. Nouns have been sub-classified into count and non-count and it has been highlighted that plural marking in count nouns establish a noun class system based on semantic classification, including but not limited to the features humanness, loaned nouns, kinship and social status, relational body parts, collectiveness and discreteness. It has also been noted that Dagaare has a rich sub-class of deverbal nouns. Further, a complex system of verbal ASPECT has been discussed, based on a range of harmony prosodies. At clause rank, clauses have been classified, based on their status, whether they are major or minor, and their freedom, that is whether they are free or

bound.

Next, Chapter 4 examined the clause as a unit for enacting interpersonal meaning, especially in dialogic interaction. It first discussed the nature of dialogue and the general speech functions that are enacted in verbal exchanges, namely statement, question, command and offer. It then examined the interpersonal structure of the Dagaare clause, identifying the Mood base and Residue as two main components of the clause. Three interpersonal functions, comprising Subject, Predicator and Negotiator, have been identified as forming the Mood base and as the most salient elements in enacting the clause as a unit of exchange. These three elements show mood contrast, establish the validity of the clause and characterise it as an arguable and negotiable unit. Other elements such as Vocative and mood Adjuncts augment these three elements in enacting interpersonal meaning. While mood Adjuncts are part of the Mood base of the clause, Vocatives are peripheral to the internal integrity of the clause and thus fall out of both the Mood base and Residue. The chapter also examined the different mood types that realise the system of SPEECH FUNCTION. It has been shown that the Negotiator combines with the Predicator and the Subject to indicate delicate mood types in the clause. The phenomenon of mood metaphor has also been considered, exemplifying some of the incongruent realisations of speech functions.

Finally, polarity and modal assessment have been examined. Polarity in the indicative mood interacts with the ideational system of TENSE, showing, specifically a contrast between positive future (realised by *na*), and negative future (realised by *kṽ*). Positive non-future has zero-realisation while negative non-future is realised by the particle *bɛ*). There are distinctive negative particles (*ta*, immediate; and *taa*, non-immediate) for the imperative, resulting in a systemic contrast between prohibitive and non-prohibitive sub-types of imperative clauses. Two modal assessment systems have been discussed. First, the system of MODALITY comprises 'probability' and 'desirability'. Probability consists of intermediate categories between the positive and negative pole in propositions while desirability modulates the positive and negative value of proposals. Both sub-systems of modality are realised by the particles *naa* (modal positive), *kʊʊ* (modal negative) and *taa* (median modality). The system of NEGOTIATION, on the other hand, enacts the speaker's attitude in the clause

362

by assessing the knowledge claims of propositions and modulating the force of proposals.

Chapter 5 proceeded to present a system-based account of THEME and INFORMATION. The thematic structure of the Dagaare clause, as in other languages, was identified as consisting of Theme and Rheme. Theme has been defined and identified from a trinocular perspective. Semantically, it is identified as the local context that serves as the point of departure of the clause, orienting it to a particular interpretation, in the unfolding text. Within lexicogrammar, and at clause rank, it is identified as that element which is given initial prominence in the clause and that is developed by the Rheme. Below the clause, different forms of realisation have been identified for three types of Theme: textual, interpersonal and topical Themes. It has also been noted that topical Themes in Dagaare can be either Absolute or non-Absolute and, if non-Absolute, they can be unmarked or marked. These different types of topical Theme are identified based on their status or function in relation to the transitivity structure of the clause. In addition, although unmarked Theme is normally the Subject in the modal structure of the clause, in first singular imperative clauses the Theme is normally the Predicator.

On the other hand, the focus structure of the Dagaare clause is realised minimally by the New element and it often combines with the Given element, which is an optional element in the structure. New is identified semantically as that element which is singled out in the information unit as newsworthy. Three main focus types have been identified, end focus, contrastive focus and broad focus. End focus is the default choice for positive declarative and it is realised by the focus particle *nɪ*. Contrastive focus is realised by thematic equatives, emphatic pronouns and exclusive markers. Broad focus has zero-realisation and it is the default choice for imperative and negative clauses. It has also been shown that the domain of the realisation of focus of information is the information unit rather than the clause although clause and information unit are co-extensive in the unmarked case.

Finally, Chapter 6 examined the major grammatical system for construing experience in the clause, the system of TRANSITIVITY, comprising the sub-systems of PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY. As in English and many other languages (cf. Caffarel et al. 2004; Matthiessen 2004), six process types have

been identified, comprising material, mental and relational clauses as the principal types, and behavioural, verbal and existential clauses as minor types. Material clauses typically represent outer experience and their principal sub-types are transitive clauses, which construe doing or action, and intransitive clauses, which construe happening or events. Mental clauses represent consciousness, comprising cognition, desideration, emotion and perception. Relational clauses construe being-&-having by characterising and identifying entities in the outer world of experience but also by representing emotion as attributes. The principal sub-types identified are intensive, possessive and circumstantial clauses, each of which manifest in two modes, attribution and identification. Behavioural clauses construe consciousness as outer experience, thereby embodying the characteristics of material and mental clauses. They are the most indeterminate process type and shades also into verbal clauses. Verbal clauses in themselves are clauses of saying and represent consciousness as a kind of relation between Sayer and what is said. Existential clauses construe something as exising. Semantically, they are like material clauses by typically representing outer experience, but grammatically, they are like relational clauses by representing existence as a relation between the Existent and the Place of existence. Throughout the discussion, it has been shown that there is clear evidence in the grammar of Dagaare that divides clauses into these different process types.

The chapter went on to identify principles that are general across the different process types. First, it shows that the various process types cluster into smaller groupings based on features such as concreteness and abstractness and their ability to project another clause. Second, clauses can be classified as middle or effective, depending on whether or not they embody the feature of 'agency'. Middle clauses represent the process as being self-engendered while effective clauses represent it as being caused by an external participant, the Agent.

The two systems, PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY are underlying systems of two models of transitivity, namely the transitive model and the ergative model respectively. The transitive perspective is concerned with the internal nature of the process, whether it extends beyond the participant engendering it and impacts on a second participant or not. The ergative model is concerned

with how the process is brought about, whether it is self-engendered or it is caused by an external agent.

7.4. Implications of the Study

The study makes contributions to research into linguistic theory and description, and has potential for application in various professional contexts.

7.4.1 Theoretical Contributions

First, the study contributes to the interface between theory and language description. It is one of the few comprehensive descriptions of language that are systematically based on a metatheory of language. The advantage is that it contributes directly to theoretical issues on language while, at the same time, describing Dagaare in its own terms. Thus, the study narrows the dichotomy between theoretical and descriptive linguistics that has unfortunately characterised modern linguistics. Following the introduction of generative linguistics, there has been a proliferation of linguistic theories since the 1960s. Many of these theories are, however, not suited for comprehensive description of languages in their own right, that is, if they are suited for description at all (cf. Haspelmath 2009a). While generative theories are essentially theories for theory's sake, functional theories such as Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2000, 2007), respond to theoretical questions in generative theory and provides descriptive frameworks that are constraining to account for the rich complexity, fuzziness, and variability of language (for details, see Matthiessen & Nesbitt 1996; Haspelmath 2009a). The result is that descriptive grammars are often couched as theory-free accounts of language. This situation often creates a dichotomy between theories in want of data and descriptions in want of theoretical explanation. The present study, on the other hand, places the description of language within a general metatheory of language and shows how theory and description can enrich each other. While it adopts the general theory of language systemic linguistics offers, it makes direct connections with other functional perspectives on language such as speech act theory (cf. Chapter 4), Fillmore's (1968, 1977) case theory, and Hopper and Thompson's

(1980) transitivity hypothesis (cf. Chapter 6). The study shares this characteristic with previous descriptions of language based on systemic functional theory (e.g. Matthiessen 1995; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014; Caffarel 2006; Teruya 2007).

7.4.2 Contributions to Research

The study also makes some contributions to research. First, it contributes to studies in functional language typology, in general, and systemic functional typology, in particular. Language typology and language description have always moved hand in hand (cf. Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen 2004; Haspelmath 2010). As noted in Chapter 2, language description provides reference materials for typological generalisations and typology, which, in turn, provide guidance to the description of new languages. By implication, whenever a new language is described, it contributes to the ongoing investigation of the regularities and generalities in languages. The present study particularly used theoretical and typological guidance as well as transfer comparison in investigating Dagaare data. Thus, although the categories described are defined relative to Dagaare, the description is sensitive to typological accounts of language and can easily be used as a reference material for typological and comparative research. Again, it shares this characteristic with and adds to previous systemic description on languages such as English (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014), Japanese (e.g. Teruya 1998; 2007), Ọ̀kọ (Akerejola 2005), French (e.g. Caffarel 2006), Chinese (e.g. Tam 2004; Li 2007), Bajjika (Kumar 2009) and Spanish (e.g. Lavid et al. 2010; Quiroz 2013), just to mention a few. One advantage of developing a description based on the dimensions of systemic functional theory is that the description can be easily compared systematically with these similar previous studies for typological generalisations.

In addition, the study contributes to studies on African linguistics. Since the 1960s, African languages have featured prominently in linguistic theories and studies in language typology. Joseph Greenberg worked extensively with African languages in his language classification project (e.g. Greenberg 1955, 1963), subsequently leading to many related historical and

comparative linguistic studies (e.g. Swadesh et al. 1966; Givón 1971, 1975b; 1979). In recent decades, African languages have also featured prominently in grammaticalisation research (e.g. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991; Heine 2011) and studies on linguistic notions such as information structure (cf. Güldemann 2015 for a review) and serial verb constructions (cf. Haspelmath 2016). However, many African languages remain either undescribed or partially described, and there is still need for comprehensive grammars (Heine & Nurse 2000, Ch. 1). Among Niger-Congo languages, including Dagaare, only the Bantu is well described. Given that the present study is the most comprehensive description of Dagaare, it fills a modest gap in the ongoing study of African languages. In addition, by deploying systemic functional theory, it adds a new dimension to the many studies on African languages. For instance, it brings a new perspective to issues such as information structure (cf. Chapter 5) and accounts for many topics that have previously not been analysed systematically in African languages, particularly, those of the niger-congo phylum (but see, for instance, Akerejola (2005)). These include mainly interpersonal systems of the clause such as MOOD and NEGOTIATION and the ideational systems of PROCESS TYPE and AGENCY. The description of these and other systems takes the account from above, in the semantics, showing how they fit into the overall system of the language, how they interact with one another, and showing the fuzzy boundaries between the meanings they realise. This way, the study avoids the fragmentation of categories and greatly reduces the danger of inaccuracies that are characteristic of the description of many African languages (cf. Heine & Nurse 2000). The study is therefore a model for subsequent description of other African languages.

Another area where the study contributes to African linguistics and Dagaare studies, in particular, is its systematic analysis of discourse data. For studies on Dagaare, this approach is unique and new. By taking an ethnographic and a text-based approach, the study provides an account of the language that resonates with the spirit of the Dagara society, an account that shows how the language works in the folk life of its speech fellowship. It maps out how the language is organised to perform various functions, as a resource for negotiation and interaction, for construing reality and consciousness and for organising text for semiotic processing. The findings of

the study will also be useful to scholars and students of language typology, anthropology, sociology and ethnolinguistics who are interested in the nature of African societies. Besides, it provides a metalanguage for talking about Dagaare. Categories such as negotiation particles, identifying pronouns, adjectival nouns, adjectival verbs, adverbial particles, just to mention a few, have been identified together with the different functions they perform in the clause. These are helpful metalanguage for analysing aspects of Dagaare that have been elusive in previous scholarly engagements with the language. They will also give non-native scholars a clearer picture of the organisation of the language.

7.4.3 Practical Applications

The study is also relevant for language education, discourse analysis for specific purposes and to scholars interested in modelling natural language computationally. First, the description is oriented towards supporting language education. In both Ghana and Burkina Faso, Dagaare is one of the indigenous languages selected for mother tongue education in basic schools. It is also studied as an elective subject in senior high schools, colleges and universities. However, one challenge of Dagaare education, especially at higher education level, is the absence of a comprehensive grammar. In addition, since almost all students of Dagaare are native speakers, there is the quest for a practical and advanced grammar that would motivate and stimulate interest in the subject. The absence of such a material has resulted in a continual disinterest in the subject and a reduction in enrolment for Dagaare studies in universities. The description in this study directly provides material for teachers and students for studying Dagaare and engaging with it in advanced scholarship. It can also be adapted by curriculum developers for teaching the language at pre-university levels. For example, it will be interesting for students to analyse how resources such as attitudinal negotiation, focus of information and transitivity contribute to meaning and the aesthetics of different Dagaare folklore such as folktales, dirges and praise songs.

It will also give impetus to discourse analysis in various critical contexts in the Dagaare society, including healthcare, media, folk culture,

forensics, and religion. For instance, one challenge of educated Ghanaians and professionals is the ability to translate their academic knowledge on topics such as health, agriculture, family planning, micro-business, just to mention a few, to the large uneducated population they serve during interactions at workshops, on radio and other communicative contexts. The solution to this problem must involve linguistics and the role of linguists here is to analyse texts in these contexts to identify patterns of both effective communication and failed communication for language training. The present study has provided a grammar for a systematic analysis of this kind. It is itself based on a systematic analysis of texts in their social contexts and it identifies grammatical and semantic regularities across these texts that are appliable to discourse analysis.

The study is useful to scholars and professionals interested in modeling natural language in computational contexts. Since the 1980s systemic descriptions have been implemented in computational text generation and natural language processing. Examples of these are the the PENMAN project, including its NIGEL grammar, developed by Bill Mann and Christian Matthiessen, the KPML system by John Bateman and the COMMUNAL project by Robin Fawcett, Gordon Tucker and their team of researchers (cf. Henrici 1981; Matthiessen & Bateman 1991; O'Donnell & Bateman 2005). Currently, a multilingual natural language generation project, KPML, is being developed in the University of Bremen in Germany.[54] It involves a variety of languages that have been described in systemic functional terms, including English, German, Dutch, Chinese, Spanish, Russian, Bulgarian, and Czech. The present study can be applied in this and similar computational contexts.

7.5   Final Remarks

Despite the the contributions outlined above for the study, there are many gaps in the description that need to be explored in further research. The first is the detailed account of the phonological and grammatical units outlined in Chapter 3. Due to time limitations, word rank resources such as conjunctions,

---

[54] For details on the KPML project, see http://www.fb10.uni-bremen.de/anglistik/langpro/kpml/README.html

determiners, adpositions and interjections have not been discussed in any detail and neither have classes of group rank. Also, the account of transitivity does not include CIRCUMSTANTIATION. Other aspects that need further research include experiential deixis such as tense and directionality, compounding in the nominal group, complex constructions such as verbal group complexes ('serial verb constructions') and clause complexes. Table 7.1 summarises the resources of Dagaare in a function-rank matrix, showing gaps and as well as areas that have been discussed in this study. It serves as a blue print for a long-term project on the meaning potential of Dagaare. This description would serve its purpose if it sparks further scholarly discussions on the language.

Table 7.1 Function-rank matrix for Dagaare Lexicogrammar

metafunction		**Ideational**				**interpersonal**	**textual**	
rank	*class*	**Logical**		**experiential**				
clause/		TAXIS; LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE		TRANSITIVITY: [PROCESS TYPE/ AGENCY] (***Chapter 6***)		MOOD; MOOD ADJUNCT NEGOTIATION; VOCATIVE (***Chapter 4***)	THEME (***Chapter 5***)	CONJUNCTION; ELLIPSIS/ SUBSTITUTION
		1 2 3 …; αβγ		(Agent) + Process (+Medium) (+Range) (+Beneficiary) (+circumstances)		Mood (Subject • Predicator • Negotiator • Adjunct [modal]) + Residue (Complement, Adjunct [circumstantial]) + Vocative	Theme ^ Rheme	Adjunct [conjunctive] (***Chapter 4***)
information unit							INFORMATION FOCUS (***Chapter 5***)	
							Given + New	
group	**nominal**	LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE	MODIFICATION; COMPOUNDING	THING TYPE		PERSON (***Chapter 3***)	DETERMINATION	ELLIPSIS/ SUBSTITUTION; REFERENCE
						emphatic & non-emphatic personal pronouns		
	verbal	TAXIS; LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE		EVENT TYPE; TENSE; EVENTUALITY; AGENTIVITY; DIRECTIONALITY		POLARITY, MODALITY (***Chapter 4***)		
		1 2 3 …; αβγ		(Finite) + (Orientation) + Event + (Agentive)		(Finite) + (Orientation) + Event + (Agentive)		
	adverbial	LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE	MODIFICATION	CIRCUMSTANCE TYPE (***Chapter 3***)		MODAL ASSESSMENT (i.e. MODAL ADJUCT TYPE)		
word	**noun**		DERIVATION (***Chapter 3***)	NUMBER, NOMINAL-ISATION, CLASS (***Chapter 3***)	DENO-TATION	CONNOTATION		LEXICAL COHESION
	verb			ASPECT (***Chapter 3***)				
	adverbs		DERIVATION (***Chapter 3***)					
	conjunction						CONJUNCTION TYPE	
		complexes	simplexes					

This appendix illustrates the close systemic analysis of selected texts. It is organised into three main sections, reflecting the steps involved in the analysis, namely transcription (step 1), clause chunking (step 2), and tabulated systemic analysis in Excel spread sheet (step 3). Morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing and English translation has been provided in Section 2 to guide readers. The numbering in the clause chunking are the same as those used in the tables in Section 3. Each number stands for a ranking clause as opposed to a downranked (or embedded) clause (i.e. clauses functioning as constituents within other clauses). Downranked clauses are indicated by double square brackets [[…]]. For clause complexes, levels of numbering (e.g. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc.) have been used to indicate that they belong to the same complex.

1. Text – Recommending: promoting, a concert advertisement [spoken]

Intervention de BEYOUONE SOMDA par rapport au concert du samedi 05 mars 2016 à 20h au théâtre de l' amitié à bobo. ESCOM DISTRIBUTIONS.

"BEYOUONE SOMDA'S talk about the concert held Saturday 5 March 2016 at 8: 00 pm at the Théâtre de l' Amitié [Theatre of Friendship] in Bobo [a city in Burkina Faso]. ESCOM DISTRIBUTIONS." [Recorded February 6, 2016]

In this text, the speaker advertises a concert that aims to showcase Dagara music and culture. The singer and his team have been committed to the promotion of the Dagara culture. Much of the advertisement below focuses on promoting the singer and motivating the Dagara youth who have migrated from their traditional homeland to attend the concert and learn their tradition. The advertisement had been video recorded and uploaded on Facebook (French words are in single quotation marks).

ĩ na puori a tɪ yɛ-bɛrɛ bɛl na ar a sãakʋmʋ yéle puor-tub bɛ bɔbr kɛ a sãakʋmʋ bɔr a. Bɛ kpẽɛ za mɪ be n= a Guo. Ɛ yɛ́rɛ ŋa a, tɪ ɪ =n nɪ-yawa na

bɔbr kɛ tɪ tɪɛ taar tʋɔ maalɪ yél kaw a. A za kɪ yɛ-kpɛ̃ɛ lɛ yi na a na ɪ a tɪ kpɛ̃ɛ a. Tɪɪm za kpɛ̃ɛ nʋ. Ʋ yi na ẙaw pʋɔ a tɪ ẙaw ɛ nɪbɛ bɛ nye u e [nyɛ̃ ʋ ɛ], bɛ bɛ bãw ʋ ɛ. Bɛ tu =n sɔr ɛ a nɪbɛ bemɪnɛ bɛ mɪ nye u [nyɛ̃ ʋ]. Ŋmɪŋmɪn n= ʋ ɪrɛ bɪɪ bʋʋ nʋ ʋ mɪ ɪ ɛ yiele. Tɪ za na tu sɔr a, ɛ tɪ tuori taar a be, 'à Bobo, a cinq mars'. 'Sàmédí' bibir ɪ a lɛ; 'au théâtre de l'amitié ', Vɛntɛɛr vuo pʋɔ. Ĩ bʋɔlɛ n= a nɪbɛ nɛ za na ɪ a tɪ ba-taabɛ a nɪ a tɪ yɛbr tɪ sãa kʋm-mɪnɛ, tɪ makʋm-mɪnɛ, a tɪ sãa mɪnɛ. Bɛ tuori tɪ a be a yél taa wa ɪ zawla ɪ. Tɪmɛ b'a [bɛ wa] ɪ tɪɪ na na sow taar a, nɪr kʋ̃ tʋɔ wa sow tɪ ɛ. Bɛ tuori tɪ a be tɪ maal a yél nɛ ʋ tɔl nɪ ẙa-ɓaarʋ ɛ nʋ̀ɔ kpɛ nɪbɛ nɛ za na na wa a be wa nyɛ̃ a bon nɛ tɪ na ɪrɛ a. Tɪ na maalɪ nɔ-ɓaan yéle kʋ̀ taar nɪ pʋ-pɪɛlʋ. Tɪ na ɪ sãa-been bibiir ɛ wa faa ta nɪbɛ a ŋmɪn yèl kɛ tɪ tɪɛ taar a, pʋ-pʋla wa be be a, tɪ bãw kɛ a yél ŋa a, ʋ na tɔl ɪ ni-daa ɛ a tɪ bibiir bɛl na be a mʋɔ pʋɔ a, bɛ ya mɪ na lɛ lɪɛbɪ na. Ah, ĩ puore bɛ nɪ barka bɛ na na saw sɔw a lɛ tɪ na yèl a.

2. Clause chunking

[1]

ĩ	*na*	*puori*	*a*	*tɪ*	*yɛ-bɛrɛ*	*bɛl*
1SG	POS.IND.FUT	greet.PFV	DEF	1PL	sibling-big	DEM

[[na	*ar*	*a*	*sãakʋmʋ*	*yéle*	*puor-tub ||*
REL	stand.PFV	DEF	tradition	matters back-follow	

bɛ		*bɔbr*	*kɛ*	*a*	*sãakʋmʋ*	*bɔr*
NEG.IND.NFUT		want.IPFV	PROJ	DEF	tradition	lose.PFV

a]].
JUNC

'I will greet those our elder siblings [[who have stood for the continuity of tradition]].'

[2]

Bɛ	*kpɛ̃ɛ*	*za*	*mì*	*be*	*n=*	*a*	*Guo.*
3PL	elder	all	ADV	be:at.PFV	FOC	DEF	Guo

'The eldest of them all too is in Guo.'

[3]

Ɛ	*ẙɛrɛ*	*ŋa*	*a,*	*tɪ*	*ɪ*	*=n*	*nɪ-yawa*
and	now	JUNC		1PL	COP.PFV	FOC	people-many

[[na	*bɔbr*	*||*	*kɛ*	*tɪ*	*tɪɛ*	*taar ||*
REL	want.PFV		PROJ	1PL	push.PFV	one another

tʋɔ	*maalɪ*	*yél*	*kaw*	*a]].*
be:able	make.PFV	matter	some	JUNC

'And now, we are many people [[who want to push one another to be able to do something]].'

[4] *A* *za* *kı* *yɛ-kpẽ̃ɛ* *lɛ* *yi* *na*
DEF all PRT sibling-big ADV be:from PRT

[[*a* *na* *ı* *a* *tı* *kpẽ̃ɛ* *a*]].
3PL.NHM ADVLZ COP.PFV DEF 1PL elder JUNC

'The most important thing too comes from [[the fact that it (he) is our elder (sibling)]].'

[5] *Tum* *za* *kpẽ̃ɛ* *nʋ.*
1PL.EMP all elder IDENT.SG

'He is an elder sibling of us all.'

[6.1] *Ʋ* *yi* *na* *ɣaw* *pʋɔ* *a* *tı*
3SG come out AFFR put.PFV be:among DEF 1PL

ɣaw
body

'He has come out among us'

[6.2] *ɛ* *nıbɛ* *bɛ* *nyẽ* *ʋ* *ɛ,*
and people NEG.IND.NFUT see.PFV 3SG NAFFR

'and people haven't seen him'

[6.3] *bɛ* *bɛ* *bãw* *ʋ* *ɛ.*
3PL NEG.IND.NFUT know.PFV 3SG NAFFR

'they don't know him.'

[7.1] *Bɛ* *tu* *=n* *sɔr*
3PL travel.PFV FOC road

'They have travelled'

[7.2] *ɛ* *a* *nıbɛ* *bɛ-mınɛ* *bɛ* *mì* *nyẽ* *ʋ,*
so that DEF people 3PL-some 3PL ADV see.PFV 3SG

'so that some of the people, they too (will) see him'

[8.1] *ŋmıŋmın* *n=* [8.2] *ʋ* *ırɛ*
how IDENT.PL 3SG do.IPFV

'how is he doing'

[8.3] *bıı* *bʋʋ* *nʋ* [8.4] *ʋ* *mí* *ı*
or what IDENT.SG 3SG HAB do.PFV

'or what is it that he does'

374

[8.5] *ɛ*   *yiele*.

and   sing.IPFV

'and sings.'

[9]   *Tɪ*   *za*   [[*na*   *tu*   *sɔr*   *a*]],   *ɛ*   *tɪ*

1PL   all   REL   travel.PFV   road   JUNC   PROJ   1PL

tuori   *taar*   *a*   *be,*   '*à*   *Bobo,*   *à*

meet.PFV   one another   DEF   there   *à*   Bobo   *à*

cinq mars'.

cinq mars

'All of us [[who have sojourned]], that we should meet one another

there, at Bobo, 5 March.'

[10]   '*Sàmédɪ*'   *bibir*   =*ɪ*   *a*   *lɛ*;

Sàmédɪ   day   FOC.COP DEF   DEM

'That is Saturday'

[11]   '*au théâtre de l'amitié*',   *Vɛntɛɛr*   *vuo*   *pʋɔ*.

au théâtre de l'amitié   *Venteer*   area   inside

'at the Theatre of Friendship. Around Venteer area.'

[12]   *ĩ*   *bʋɔlɛ*   *n*=   *a*   *nɪbɛ*   *nɛ*   *za*   [[*na*

1SG   call.IPFV   FOC   DEF   people   DEM   all   REL

ɪ   *a*   *tɪ*   *ba-taabɛ*]]   *a*   *nɪ*   *a*   *tɪ*

COP.PFV DEF   1PL   friend-mates   DEF   and   DEF   1PL

yɛbr   *tɪ*   *sãakʋm-mɪnɛ,*   *tɪ*   *makʋm-mɪnɛ,*

brothers   1PL   grandfather-PL   1PL   grandmother-PL

a   *tɪ*   *sãa-mɪnɛ.*

DEF   1PL   father-PL

'I am inviting all those people [[who are our mates]]; and our brothers,

our grandfathers; our grandmothers; our fathers.[55]

[13.1] *Bɛ*   *tuori*   *tɪ*   *a*   *be*

3PL   meet.PFV   1PL   DEF   there

'They should meet us there.'

---

[55] 'Grandfathers' and 'brothers' in this example have the same referent. In Dagara social
structure, one's grandfather is also one's 'brother'. The implication is that grandsons can
inherent grandfathers.

[13.2] *a*　　*yél*　　*taa*　　*wa*　　*ı*　　　*zawla*　*ı.*

DEF　　matter　NEG　　EVT　　COP.PFV　empty　NAFFR

'so that the matter (= goal) will not be useless.'

[14.1] *Tımɛ*　*bɛ*　　　　*wa*　　　*ı*　　[14.2] *tıı*　　*na*

1PL.EMP　NEG.IND.NFUT　COND　do.PFV　　　　1PL.EMP　IDENT.PL

na　　　　　*sow*　　　*taar*　　　　*a,*

POS.IND.FUT　help.PFV　one another　JUNC

'If we do not try to help one another.'

Lit. 'If we do not make (it possible such that) we help one another'

[14.3] *nır*　　*kʋ̃*　　　　　*tʋɔ*　　　　*wa*　　　　*sow*　　　*tı*

person　NEG.IND.FUT　be:able　come.PFV　help.PFV　1PL

ɛ.

NAFFR

'somebody cannot come and help us.'

[15.1] *Bɛ*　　*tuori*　　　*tı*　　*a*　　*be*

1PL　　meet.PFV　1PL　DEF　there

'They should meet us there'

[15.2] *tı*　　*maal*　　　*a*　　*yél*　　*nɛ*

1PL　　make.PFV　DEF　matter　DEM

(so that) we make that matter'

[15.3] *ʋ*　　*tɔl*　　　*nı*　　*ɣa-ɓaarʋ*

3SG　　pass.PFV　COM　body-cool

'for it to pass with peace.'

[15.4] *ɛ*　　　*nʋ̀ɔ*　*kpɛ*　　*nıbɛ*　　*nɛ*　　*za*　　[[*na*　*na*

and　joy　enter　people　DEM　all　REL　POS.IND.FUT

wa　　　　　　*a*　　*be*　　||　*wa*　　　*nyɛ̃*　　*a*　　*bom*

come.PFV　　　DEF　there　　　PROX　see.PFV　DEF　thing

nɛ　　*tı*　　[[*na*　*ırɛ*　　*a*]]]].

DEM　1PL　REL　do.IPFV　JUNC

'and for all those people [[who will come there to see that thing which we are doing]] to be happy.'

[16] *Tı*　　*na*　　　　　*maal*　　　*=ı*　　*nɔ-ɓaan*　　*yéle*

1PL　POS.IND.FUT　make.PFV　FOC　mouth-cold　matters

kʋ̀	*taar*	*nɪ*	*pʋ-pɪɛlʋ.*
give.PFV	one another	COM	stomach-whiteness

'We will do wonderful things for one another with joy.'

[17.1]
Tɪ	*na*	*ɪ*	*sãa-been*	*bibiir*
1PL	ADVL	COP.PFV father-one		children

'Since we are descendants of one father'

[17.2]
ɛ	*wa*	*faa*	*ta*	*nɪbɛ*	*a*	*ŋmɪn*
and	EVT	ADV	reach.PFV	people	DEF	how much

'and have now reached a considerable number of people'

[17.3]
yèl	*kɛ*	[17.4]	*tɪ*	*tɪɛ*	*taar*	*a,*
say.PFV	PROJ		1PL	push.PFV	one another	JUNC

(and) say we should push one another'

[17.5]
pʋ-pʋla	*wa*	*be*	*be*	*a,*
stomach-white	COND	EXIST.PFV	there	JUNC

'if there is good-will'

[17.6]
tɪ	*bãw*	*kɛ*	[17.7]	*a*	*yél*	*ŋa*	*a,*
1PL	know.PFV	PROJ		DEF	matter	DEM	JUNC

ʋ	*na*	*tɔl*	*=ɪ*	*ni-daa*
3SG	POS.IND.FUT	pass.PFV	FOC	face-ahead

'we know that this matter, it will move forward' (= '… it will achieve greater heights').

[17.8]
ɛ	*a*	*tɪ*	*bibiir*	*bɛl*	[[*na*	*be*	*a*
and	DEF	1PL	children	DEM	REL	EXIST	DEF

mʋɔ	*pʋɔ*	*a,*	*bɛ*	*ya*	*mì*	*na*	*lɛ*
bush	inside	JUNC	3PL	mind	ADV	POS.IND.FUT	ADV

lɪɛbɪ	*na.*
change	AFFR

'and those our children [[who have sojourned]], their minds too will change again'

[18.1]
Ah,	*ɪ̃*	*puore*	*bɛ*	*nɪ*	*barka*
INTJ	1SG	greet.PFV	1PL	FOC	thanks

Ah, I thank them'

[18.2] *bɛ*   *na*   *na*   *saw*   *sɔw*   *a*   *lɛ*   *tɪ*

1PL   ADVLZ   POS.IND.FUT   agree   respond.PFV   DEF   DEM   1PL

[[*na*   *yèl*   *a*]].

REL   say.PFV JUNC

for the fact that they will respond to that [[which we have said]].'

[18.2] *bɛ*   *na*   *na*   *saw*   *sɔw*   *a*   *lɛ*   *tɪ*

3. Analysis

3.1   Tabulated Polysystemic Analysis

#	THEME SELECTION (TOPICAL)	Theme			MOOD	DEITICITY	ASPECT (TELICITY)	POLARITY	Mood			PROCESS TYPE	Clause (ranking)
		Textual	interpersonal	topical					Subj.	Pred.	Nego.		
[1]	unmarked			*l*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*l*	*puori*		verbal	*ĺ na puori a tı yɛ-bɛrɛ bɛl [[na ar a sãakʋmʋ yéle puor-tub || bɛ bɔbr kɛ a sãakʋmʋ bɔr a]].*
[2]	unmarked			*Bɛ kpɛ̃ɛ za*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*Bɛ kpɛ̃ɛ za*	*be*		relational: identifying	*Bɛ kpɛ̃ɛ za mı be n= a Gŭo.*
[3]	unmarked	*Ɛ yɛ̂rɛ ŋa a*		*tı*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*tı*	*ı*		relational: attributive	*Ɛ yɛ̂rɛ ŋa a, tı ı =n nı-yawa [[na bɔbr || kɛ tı tıɛ taar || tvɔ maalı yél kaw a]].*
[4]	unmarked			*A za kı yɛ-kpɛ̃ɛ*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*A za kı yɛ-kpɛ̃ɛ*	*yi*		relational: identifying	*A za kı yɛ-kpɛ̃ɛ lɛ yi na [[a na ı a tı kpɛ̃ɛ*

													a]].
[5]	unmarked			*Tʋm za*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*Tʋm za*	*nʋ*		relational: identifying	*Tʋm za kpẽɛ nʋ.*
[6.1]	unmarked			*U*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*U*	*yi ... ŷaw*	*na*	relational: identifying	*U yi na ŷaw pvɔ a tɪ ŷaw*
[6.2]	unmarked	*ε*		*nɪbɛ*	declarative: non-affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	negative	*nɪbɛ*	*bɛ nyɛ̃*	*ε*	mental: perceptive	*ε nɪbɛ bɛ nyɛ̃ v ε,*
[6.3]	unmarked			*bɛ*	declarative: non-affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	negative	*bɛ*	*bɛ bãw*	*ε*	mental: cognitive	*bɛ bɛ bãw v ε.*
[7.1]	unmarked			*bɛ*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*bɛ*	*tu*		material: ranged	*Bɛ tu =n sɔr*
[7.2]	unmarked	*ε*		*nɪbɛ*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*bɛ*	*nyɛ̃*		mental: perceptive	*ε a nɪbɛ bɛmɪnɛ bɛ mɪ nyɛ̃ v.*
[8.1]	marked		*Ɔmɪŋmɪn n=*	*Ɔmɪŋmɪn n=*	interrogative: elemental	temporal: non-future	imperfective	positive	*v*	*ɪrɛ*		material: intransitive	*Ɔmɪŋmɪn n= [8.2] v ɪrɛ*
[8.3]	marked	*bʋɪ*	*bʋʋ nʋ*	*bʋʋ nʋ*	interrogative: elemental	temporal: habitual	perfective	positive	*v*	*ɪ*		material: transitive	*bʋɪ bʋʋ nʋ [8.4] v mɪ ɪ*
[8.5]		*ε*			bound	temporal: non-future	imperfective	positive		*yiele*		behavioural	*ε yiele.*

380

[9]	Absolute			*Tı za [[na tu sɔr a]],*	imperative		perfective	positive	*tı*	*tuori*		material: ranged	*Tı za [[na tu sɔr a]], ɛ tı tuori taar a be, à bobo, a san maas <<cinq mars>>.*
[10]	unmarked			*Sàmédí bibir*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future		positive	*Sàmédí bibir*	*=ı*		relational: identifying	*Sàmédí bibir =ı a lɛ;*
[11]					minor								*<<au théâtre de l'amitié>>, Vɛntɛɛr vuo pvɔ.*
[12]	unmarked			*l̃*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	imperfective	positive	*l̃*	*bvɔlɛ*		material: ranged	*l̃ bvɔlɛ n= a nıbɛ nɛ za [[na ı a tı ba-taabɛ]] a nı a tı yɛbr tı sãakʊm-mınɛ, tı makʊm-mınɛ, a tı sãamınɛ.*
[13.1]	unmarked			*Bɛ*	imperative		perfective	positive	*Bɛ*	*tuori*		material: ranged	*Bɛ tuori tı a be*
[13.2]	unmarked			*a yél*	declarative: non-	modality: desirability	perfective	negative	*a yél*	*taa wa ı*		relational: attributive	*a yél taa wa ı zawla*

381

				affirmative									ι.
[14.1]	unmarked			*Tımε*	declarative: non-affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	negative	*Tımε*	*bε wa ı*		material: intransitive	*Tımε bε wa ı*
[14.2]	unmarked			*tıı na*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*tıı*	*na sow*		material: ranged	*tıı na na sow taar a,*
[14.3]	unmarked			*nır*	declarative: non-affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	negative	*nır*	*kṽ tvɔ wa sow*	*ε*	material: ranged	*nır kṽ tvɔ wa sow tı ε.*
[15.1]	unmarked			*Bε*	imperative: affirmative		perfective	positive	*Bε*	*tuori*		material: ranged	*Bε tuori tı a be*
[15.2]	unmarked			*tı*	imperative		perfective	positive	*tı*	*maal*		material: transitive	*tı maal a yél nε*
[15.3]	unmarked			*ʋ*	bound		perfective	positive	*ʋ*	*tɔl*		material: intransitive	*ʋ tɔl nı ɣâ-ɓaarʋ*
[15.4]		*ε*		*nʋ̀ɔ*	bound		perfective	positive	*nʋ̀ɔ*	*kpε*		mental: emotive	*ε nʋ̀ɔ kpε nıbε nε za [[na na wa a be || wa nyε̃ a bon nε tı [[na ırε a]]]].*
[16]	unmarked			*Tı*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*Tı*	*na maal … kv*		material: transitive	*Tı na maal =ı nɔ-ɓaan yéle kv taar nı pv-pıεlv.*
[17.1]	unmarked			*Tı*	bound	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*Tı*	*ı*		relational: attributive	*Tı na ı sãa-been bibiir*
[17.2]	unmarked	*ε*		*[Tı]*	bound	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*[Tı]*	*wa faa ta*		relational: attributive	*ε wa faa ta nıbε a ŋmın*

[17.3]	unmarked			*[Tı]*	bound	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*[Tı]*	*yèl*		verbal	*yèl kɛ*
[17.4]	unmarked			*[tı]*	bound				*[tı]*	*tıɛ*		material: ranged	*tı tıɛ taar a,*
[17.5]	unmarked			*pʋ-pʋla*	bound	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*pʋ-pʋla*	*be*		existential	*pʋ-pʋla wa be be a,*
[17.6]	unmarked			*tı*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	perfective	positive	*tı*	*bãw*		mental: cognitive	*tı bãw kɛ*
[17.7]	Absolute			*a yél ŋa a,*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*ʋ*	*na tɔl*		material: ranged	*a yél ŋa a, ʋ na tɔl =ı ni-daa*
[17.8]	Absolute	*ε*		*a tı bibiir bɛl na be a mʋɔ pʋɔ a,*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*bɛ ya*	*na lıɛbı*	*na*	material: intransitive	*ε a tı bibiir bɛl [[na be a mʋɔ pʋɔ a]], bɛ ya mı na lɛ lıɛbı na.*
[18.1]	unmarked			*ı̃*	declarative: affirmative	temporal: non-future	imperfective	positive	*ı̃*	*puore*		verbal	*Ah, ı puore bɛ nı barka*
[18.2]	unmarked			*bɛ*	bound	temporal: future	perfective	positive	*bɛ*	*na saw sɔw*		behavioural	*bɛ na na saw sɔw a lɛ tı [[na yèl a]].*

3.2 Tabulated Transitivity Analysis

#	AGENCY				PROCESS TYPE			realised by		realised by		realised by	clause (ranking)
	Agency type	Agent	Process	Medium	Process type		Participant 1		Participant 2		Participant 3		
[1]	middle		*na puori*	*ĩ*	verbal		Sayer	*ĩ*	Target	*a tɪ yɛ-bɛrɛ bɛl [[na ar a sãakʋmʋ yéle puor-tub // bɛ bɔbr kɛ a sãakʋmʋ bɔr a]].*			*ĩ na puori a tɪ yɛ-bɛrɛ bɛl [[na ar a sãakʋmʋ yéle puor-tub // bɛ bɔbr kɛ a sãakʋmʋ bɔr a]].*
[2]	middle		*be*	*Bɛ kpẽɛ za*	relational: circumstantial	identifying	Existent	*Bɛ kpẽɛ za mɪ*	Place	*a Gŭo*			*Bɛ kpẽɛ za mɪ be n= a Gŭo.*
[3]	middle		*ɪ*	*tɪ*	relational: intensive	attributive	Carrier	*ɪ*	Attribute	*nɪ-yawa [[na bɔbr // kɛ tɪ tɪɛ taar // tʋɔ maalɪ yél kaw a]]*			*Ɛỳɛrɛŋa a, tɪ =n nɪ-yawa [[na bɔbr // kɛ tɪ tɪɛ taar // tʋɔ maalɪ yél kaw a]].*
[4]	middle		*yi*	*A za kɪ yɛ-kpẽɛ*	relational: intensive	identifying	Identified/Token	*A za kɪ yɛ-kpẽɛ*	Identifier/Value	*[[a na ɪ a tɪ kpẽɛ a]]*			*A za kɪ yɛ-kpẽɛ lɛ yi na [[a na ɪa tɪ kpẽɛ*

384

													a]].
[5]		middle		*nʋ*	relational: intensive	identifying	Identifier/Value	*Tʋm za kpɛ̃ɛ*	Identified/Token	*nʋ*			*Tʋm za kpɛ̃ɛ nʋ.*
[6.1]		middle	*yi ... ŷaw*	*ʋ*	relational: circumstantial	Identifying	Identified/Token	*ʋ*	Identifier/Value	*pʋɔ a tɪŷaw*			*ʋ yi na ŷaw pʋɔ a tɪŷaw*
[6.2]		middle	*bɛ nye [nyɛ̃]*	*nɪbɛ*	mental	cognitive	Senser	*nɪbɛ*	Phenomenon	*ʋ*			*ɛ nɪbɛ bɛ nye u e [nyɛ̃ʋɛ],*
[6.3]		middle	*bɛ bãw*	*bɛ*	mental	cognitive	Senser	*bɛ*	Phenomenon	*ʋ*			*bɛ bɛ bãw ʋɛ.*
[7.1]		middle	*tu*	*bɛ*	material	intransitive	Actor	*bɛ*	Scope	*sɔr*			*Bɛ tu =n sɔr*
[7.2]		middle	*nye [nyɛ̃]*	*bɛ*	mental	cognitive	Senser	*bɛ*	Phenomenon	*ʋ*			*ɛ a nɪbɛ bɛmɪnɛ bɛ mɪ nye u [nyɛ̃ʋ].*
[8.1]		middle		*n=*	relational: intensive		Identifier/Value	*Ɔmʋŋmʋn*	Identified/Token	*n=*			*Ɔmʋŋmʋn n=*
[8.2]	middle		*ɪrɛ*	*ʋ*	material	intransitive	Actor	*ʋ*					*ʋɪrɛ*
[8.3]		middle		*nʋ*	relational: intensive	identifying	Identifier/Value	*bʋʋ*	Identified/Token	*nʋ*			*bɪ bʋʋ nʋ*
[8.4]	middle		*ɩ*	*ʋ*	material	transitive	Actor	*ʋ*	Goal	*[bʋʋ]*			*ʋ mɪ*
[8.5]	middle		*yiele*	*[ʋ]*	behavioural	[near verbal]	Behaver	*[ʋ]*					*ɛ yiele.*
[9]		middle	*tuori*	*tɪ*	material	intransitive	Actor	*tɪ*	Scope	*taar*			*Tɪ za [[na tu sɔr a]], ɛ tɪ tuori taar*

													a be, à Bobo, a cinq mars.
[10]	middle			*a lε*	relational: intensive	identifying	Identifier/Value	*Sàmédí* [Saturday] *bibir*	Identified/Token	*a lε*			*Sàmédí* [Saturday] *bibir =ı a lε;*
[11]	minor				minor								*<<au théâtre de l'amitié>>, Vεntεεr vuo pvɔ.*
[12]	middle		*bvɔlε*	*l̃*	material		Actor	*l̃*	Scope	*a nıbε nε za [[na ı a tı ba-taabε]] a nı a tı yεbr tı sãa kvm-mınε, tı makvm-mınε, a tı sãa mınε*			*l̃ bvɔlε n= a nıbε nε za [[na ı a tı ba-taabε]] a nı a tı yεbr tı sãa kvm-mınε, tı makvm-mınε, a tı sãa mınε.*
[13.1]	middle		*tuori*	*Bε*	material	intransitive	Actor	*Bε*	Scope	*tı*			*Bε tuori tı a be*
[13.2]	middle		*taa wa ı*	*a yél*	relational: intensive	attributive	Carrier	*a yél*	Attribute	*zawla*			*a yél taa wa ı zawla ı.*
[14.1]	effective	*Tımε*	*b'a ı ... na sow*	*tıı*	material	transitive	Initiator	*Tımε*	Actor	*tıı*	Scope	*taar*	*Tımε b'a [bε wa] ı tına na sow taar a,*

386

Ref	Voice		Verb		Process	Type	Role1	Part1	Role2	Element2	Role3	Element3	Clause
[14.2]	middle		*kṽ tvɔ wa sow*	*nır*	material	transitive	Actor	*nır*	Scope	*tı*			*nır kṽ tvɔ wa sow tıɛ.*
[15.1]	middle		*tuori*	*Bɛ*	material	intransitive	Actor	*bɛ*	Scope	*tı*			*Bɛ tuori tı a be*
[15.2]	effective	*tı*	*maal*	*a yél nɛ*	material	transitive	Actor	*tı*	Goal	*a yél nɛ*			*tı maal a yél nɛ*
[15.3]	middle		*tɔl*	*ʋ*	material	intransitive	Actor	*ʋ*	Accompaniment	*nıɣâ-ɓaarʋ*			*ʋ tɔl nıɣâ-ɓaarʋ*
[15.4]	middle		*kpɛ*	*nʋ̀ɔ*	mental	emotive	Phenomenon	*nʋ̀ɔ*	Senser	*nıbɛ nɛ za [[na na wa a be || wa nyɛ̃ a bon nɛ tı [[na ırɛ a]]]]*			*ɛ nʋ̀ɔ kpɛ̃ nıbɛ nɛ za [[na na wa a be || wa nyɛ̃ a bon nɛ tı [[na ırɛ a]]]].*
[16]	effective	*Tı*	*na maalı ... kʋ*	*nɔ-ɓaan yéle*	material	transitive	Actor	*Tı*	Scope	*nɔ-ɓaan yéle*	Client; Accompaniment	*taar; nı pʋ-pıɛlʋ*	*Tı na maalı nɔ-ɓaan yéle kʋ taar nı pʋ-pıɛlʋ.*
[17.1]	middle		*ı*	*Tı*	relational: intensive	attributive	Carrier	*Tı*	Attribute	*sãa-been bibiir*			*Tı na ı sãa-been bibiir*
[17.2]	middle		*wa faa ta*	*[Tı]*	relational: intensive	attributive	Carrier	*[Tı]*	Attribute	*nıbɛ a ŋmın*			*ɛ wa faa ta nıbɛ a ŋmın*
[17.3]	middle		*Yèl*	*[Tı]*	verbal		Sayer	*[Tı]*					*yèl kɛ*
[17.4]	middle		*tıɛ*	*tı*	material	transitive	Actor	*tı*	Scope	*taar*			*tı tıɛ taar a,*
[17.5]	middle		*wa be*	*pʋ-pʋla*	existential		Existent	*pʋ-pʋla*					*pʋ-pʋla wa be be a,*
[17.6]	middle		*bãw*	*tı*	mental	cognitive	Senser						*tı bãw kɛ*

[17.7]	middle		*na tɔl*	*v*	material	intransitive	Actor	*v*	Scope	*ni-daa*			*a yél ŋa a, v na tɔl ɩ ni-daa*
[17.8]	middle		*na lɪɛbɪ*	*bɛ ya*	relational: intensive	attributive	Carrier	*bɛ ya*					*ɛ a tɪ bibiir bɛl na be a mʋɔ pʋɔ a, bɛ ya mɪ na lɛ lɪɛbɪ na.*
[18.1]	middle		*puore*	*ĩ*	verbal		Sayer	*ĩ*	Target	*bɛ*	Verbiage	*barka*	*Ah, ɩ puore bɛ nɪ barka*
[18.2]	middle		*na saw sɔw*	*bɛ*	behavioural		Behaver	*bɛ*	Phenomenon	*a lɛ tɪ [[na yèl a]]*			*bɛ na na saw sɔw a lɛ tɪ [[na yèl a]].*

REFERENCES

Abdel-Hafiz, Ahmed-Sokarno. 2015. Focus constructions in Kunuz Nubian. *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 2(5). 109-132.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & R. M. W. Dixon (eds). 2003. *Studies in evidentiality*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology,* 16. 435-485.

Akerejola, Ernest. 2005. *A text-based lexicogrammatical description of Ọ̀kọ: A systemic functional approach*. Sydney: PhD Thesis, Macquarie University.

Ali, Mark. 2006. Coordination in Dagaare. *Journal of Dagaare Studies* 6. 1-19.

Andersen, Thomas, Uwe Helm Petersen, &Flemming Smedegaard. 2001. *Sproget som ressource: Dansk systemisk funktionel lingvistik i teori og praksis.* Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.

Andersen, Thomas, Uwe Helm Petersen, & Flemming Smedegaard. 2002. Metafunctional profile: Danish. A paper presented at the *14th Euro-International Systemic Functional Linguistics Workshop*, University of Lisbon, Portugal, July 4-27, 2002.

Antilla, Arto &Adams Bodomo. 2000. Tonal polarity in Dagaare. In Carstens, Vicki & Frederick Parkinson (eds.), *Trends in African linguistics 4: Advances in African linguistics,* 119-134.Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Atoyebi, Joseph Dele. 2010. *A reference grammar of Ọ̀kọ: A West-Benue Congo language of North-Central Nigeria*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Austin, John L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: OUP.

Bache, Carl. 2010. Hjelmslev's glossematics: A source of inspiration to systemic functional linguistics? *Journal of Pragmatics* 42. 2562–2578.

Bardi, Mohammed A. 2008. *A systemic functional description of the grammar of Arabic*. Sydney: PhD Thesis, Macquarie University.

Bateman, John & Mick O'Donnell. 2015. Halliday and computational

linguistics. In Webster, Jonathan J. (ed.), *The Bloomsbury companion to MAK Halliday*, 453-466. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.

Beaver, David I. & Brady Z. Clark. 2009. *Sense and sensitivity: How focus determines meaning*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Bemile, Sebastian K. 1983. *Dagara phoneme contrasts*, Vol. 1 & 2. Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes.

Bemile, Sebastian K. 1990. Dagara orthography. *Papers in Dagara Studies* 1(2). 1-31.

Bendor-Samuel, John T. 1971. Niger-Congo, Gur. In Thomas A. Sebeok (eds.), *Current trends in linguistics: Linguistics in Sub-saharan Africa,* vol. 7, 141-178. The Hague: Mouton.

Blench, Roger. 2010. The sensory world: Ideophones in Africa and elsewhere. In A. Storch (ed.), *Perception of the invisible: Religion, historical semantics and the role of perceptive verbs*, *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* (275–296). Cologne: Köppe.

Bodomo, Adams. 1993a. *Complex predicates and event structure: An integrated analysis of serial verb constructions in Mabia languages of West Africa*. Trondheim: University of Trondheim.

Bodomo, Adams. 1993b. Dagaare syntax: A two-level X-bar account. *University of Trondheim Working Papers on African Linguistics* 19. 20-51.

Bodomo, Adams. 1994. The noun class system of Dagaare: A phonology-morphology interface. *University of Trondheim Working Papers on African Linguistics* 22. 106-131.

Bodomo, Adams.1996. Linguistic relativity and the Mabia temporal system: Evidence from Dagaare and Dagbane. *Gur/Cahiers Voltaiques* 1. 95-103.

Bodomo, Adams. 1997a. *The structure of Dagaare*. Stanford: Stanford University, CSLI Publications.

Bodomo, Adams. 1997b. *Paths and pathfinders: Exploring the syntax and semantics of complex verbal predicates in Dagaare and other languages*. PhD Thesis, The Norwegian University of science and Technology, Trondheim.

Bodomo, Adams. 1998. Serial verbs as complex predicates in Dagaare and

Akan. In I. Maddieson & T. Hinnebusch (eds.). *Language history and linguistic decription in Africa*.195-204. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Bodomo, Adams. 2000. *Dagaare*. Munchen, Germany: Lincom Europa.

Bodomo, Adams. 2006. The structure of ideophones in African and Asian languages: The case of Dagaare and Cantonese. In J. Mugane et al. (eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 203-213. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Bodomo, Adams & Hiraiwa, Ken. 2004. Relativisation in Dagaare. *Journal of Dagaare Studies* 4. 53-75.

Bresnan, Joan & Bodomo, Adams.1997. *A note on Dagaare action nominalisations as fixed categories*. Stanford: Standford University

Brown, Penelope & Levinson Stephen C. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: CUP.

Bureau of Ghana Languages. 1995. *Concepts: English-Dagaare*. Tamale, Ghana: BGL.

Butler, Christopher. 2003. *Structure and function: An introduction to three major structural-functional theories, Part 1: Approaches to the simplex clause*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins &William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Caffarel, Alice. 2004. Metafunctional profile of the grammar of French. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (eds.), *Language typology: A functional perspective,*77-138. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Caffarel, Alice. 2006. *A systemic functional grammar of French*. London & New York: Continuum.

Caffarel, Alice, J. R. Martin. & Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen (eds.). 2004. *Language typology: A functional perspective*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Callow, John C. 1969. *Pre-survey report on Dagaare dialects*. Accra: Institute of African Studies.

Chomsky, Noam. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding: The Pisa lectures.* Dordrecht & Cinnaminson, N.J: Foris Publications.

Christaller, Johannes G. 1889. Sprachproben aus dem Sudan von 40-60 Sprachen und Mundarten hinter der Gold-und Sklavenkuste. *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen* 3. 133-154.

Christie, Frances & Len Unsworth. 2005. Developing dimensions of an educational linguistics. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.), *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective,* Vol. 1, 217-250. London: Equinox Publishing.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect.* CUP.

Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language universal and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Blakwell Publishing Ltd.

Creissels, Denis. 2000. Typology. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *African languages: An introduction,* 231-258. Cambridge: CUP.

Croft, William. 1990. *Typology and universals.* Cambridge: CUP.

Crof, Willaim. 1991. *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dakubu, Mary E. Kropp. 1982. *The tones of Dagaare*. MS,Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Accra.

Dakubu, Mary E. Kropp. 1989a. *The Dagaare verbal phrase*. MS, Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Accra.

Dakubu, Mary E. Kropp. 1989b. *Dagaare clause structures*. MS, Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Accra.

Dakubu, Mary E. Kropp. 2005. *Collected language notes on Dagaare grammar*. Accra: Institute of African Studies.

Dakubu, Mary E. Kropp & James A Saanchi. 1997. Constituent focus in Dagaare. A paper presented at the 9th *Niger-Congo Syntax and Semantics Workshop*, University of Ghana, Accra, June 30-July 2.

Daneš, Frantisek, (ed). 1974. *Papers on functional sentence perspective*. Prague: Academia.

Dansieh, Solomon Ali. 2008. Relevance of linguistic markers: Implications for translating from English into a Gur language. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 17(4). 228-246.

de Saussure, Ferdinand. 1916. *Cours de linguistique generate,* Paris: Payot.

DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology*1. 33–52.

DeLancey, Scott. 2012. Still mirative after all these years. *Linguistic Typology* 16. 529-564.

Delplanque, Alain. 1998. Focalisation et identification en Dagara. *Gur Papers/Cahiers Voltaiques* 3. 19-26.

Delplanque, Alain. 2000. Perspective temporelle et valeurs modales des marques de conjugaison: Le cas de *wa* et *ti* en Dagara-Lobr, *Gur Papers/Cahiers Voltaiques* 5. 67-74.

Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalisation*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dimmendaal, Gerrt J. 2000. Morphology. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *African languages: An introduction,* 161-193. Cambridge: CUP.

Dingemanse, Mark. 2011a. Ideophones and the aesthetics of everyday language in a West-African society. *The Senses and Society* 6(1). 77–85.

Dingemanse, Mark. 2011b. *The meaning and use of ideophones in Siwu*. Nijmegen: PhD thesis, Radboud University, Retrieved from http://thesis.ideophone.org/

Dingemanse, Mark. 2011c. Ezra pound among the Mawu: Ideophones and iconicity in Siwu.In P. Michelucci, O. Fischer, & C. Ljungberg (eds.), *Semblance and signification, iconicity in language and literature,* 39–54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1977. Where have all the adjectives gone. *Studies in Language* 1.19-80.

Dixon. R. M. W. 1984. The semantic basis of syntactic properties. *Berkeley Linguistics Society Proceedings* 10. 583-595.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010a. *Basic linguistic theory, Vol. 1: Methodology*. Oxford: OUP.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010b. *Basic linguistic theory, Vol. 2: Grammatical topics*. Oxford: OUP.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2012. *Basic linguistic theory, Vol. 3: Further grammatical topics*. Oxford: OUP.

Dixon, R. M. W. & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). 2006. *Complementation:*

A cross-linguistic typology. Oxford: OUP.

Dong, David. A.1981. *The verb phrase in Dagaare.* Accra: Language Centre, University of Ghana.

Downing, Angela. 2015. *English grammar: A university course*, 3rd edn. London & New York: Routledge.

Dryer, Matthew S.& Martin Haspelmath (eds). 2013. *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available online at http://wals.info, Accessed on 2016-03-04.

Durand, J. B. 1953. *Dagaare-English dictionary*. Navorongo: St. John Bosco's Press.

Eggins, Suzanne. 2004. *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*, 2nd edn. NewYork & London: Continuum.

Eggins, Suzanne & Diana Slade. 1997. *Analysing casual conversation*. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Fawcett, Robin. 1981. Generating a sentence in systemic functional grammar. In Michael A. K. Halliday & James R. Martin (eds.). 1981. *Readings in systemic linguistics*. 146-183. London: Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for case. In E. Bach & R. T. Harms (eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory*, 1-88. London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Firbas, Jan. 1992. *Functional sentence perspective in written and spoken communication*. Cambridge: CUP.

Firth, J. R. 1957. *Papers in linguistics 1934-1957*. London: OUP.

Garvin, Paul L. (ed.). 1964. A Prague School reader on esthetics, literary structure, and style. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

George, Isaac. 1971. The *á*-construction in Nupe: Perfective, stative, causative, or instrumental. In Kim Chin-Wu & Herbert Stahlke (eds.). *Papers in African linguistics,* 81-100. Berlin: Edmonton.

Givón, Talmy. 1971. On the verbal origin of the Bantu verb suffixes. *Studies in African Linguistics* 2.145-164.

Givón, Talmy. 1975a. Focus and the scope of assertion: Some Bantu evidence. *Stud. Afr. Linguist* 6.185–205.

Givón, Talmy. 1975b. Serial verbs and syntactic change: Niger-Congo. In Charles Li (ed.), *Word order and word order change*, 47-112). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Givón, Talmy. 1979. Language typology in Africa: A critical review. *JALL* 1. 199-224.

Givón, Talmy, ed. 1983. *Topic continuity in language.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Girault, Louis. 1964. Note sur *la* particule post-verbale *na* en Dagara. *BIFAN* 26. 499-504.

Girault, Louis. 1967. Description phonologique de langue Dagara. Dakar: Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Universite de Dakar.

Good, Jeff. 2010. Topic and focus fields in Naki. In I. Fiedler & A. Schwarz(eds.), *The expression of information structure: A documentation of its diversity across Africa*, 35–67.Amsterdam: Benjamins

Goody, Jack. 1954. *The ethnography of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*. London: Colonial Office.

Goody, Jack. 1972. *The myth of the Bagre*. Oxford: OUP.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1955. *Studies in African linguistic classification.* New Haven: Compass Publishing Co.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1966. *The languages of Africa*, 2nd edn. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1966. Some universal of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In J. H. Greenberg (ed.) *Universals of language,* 2nd edn., 73–113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative indexes in African languages: A synchronic and diachronic survey*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Güldemann, Tom, Sabine Zerbian &Malte Zimmermann. 2015. Variation in informationstructure with special reference to Africa. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 1:155–178.

Gundel, Jeanette Marie. 1974. *The role of topic and comment in linguistic theory*. Austin: PhD thesis, University of Texas.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1961. Categories of the theory of grammar. *Word* 17(3). 242-92.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1966. Some notes on 'deep' grammar. *Journal of Linguistics* 2 (1). 57- 67.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1967a. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 1. *Journal of Linguistics* 3(1). 37-81.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1967b. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 2. *Journal of Linguistics* 3(2). 199-244.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1968. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 3. *Journal of Linguistics* 4(2). 179-215.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. Language structure and language function. In John Lyons (ed.), *New horizons in linguistics*, 140-165. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1973. *Explorations in the functions of language.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1977. Ideas about language. *Occasional Papers* I, 32-55.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1979. Modes of meaning and modes of expression: Types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions. In D. J. Allerton, Edward Carney & David Holdcroft (eds.), *Function and context in linguistic Analysis: A festschrift for William Haas*, 57-79. Cambridge: CUP.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1981. Text semantics and clause grammar: Some patterns of realisation. In James E. Copeland & Phillip W. Davies (eds.),*The Seventh LACUS Forum*, 31-59. Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1982. How is the text like a clause? In Sture Allen (ed.), *Text Processing: Text analysis and generation, text typology and attrition*, 209 – 247. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1984. Language as code and language as behaviour: A systemic-functional interpretation of the nature and ontogenesis of dialogue. In Robin Fawcett, M.A.K. Halliday, Sydney M. Lamb & Adam Makkai (eds.), T*he semiotics of culture and language,* 1-35. London: Frances Pinter.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1985. *Introduction to functional grammar.* London: Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1992. How do you mean? In Martin Davies & Louise

Ravelli (eds.), *Advances in systemic linguistics: Recent theory and practice,* 20-35. London: Pinter.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1996. On grammar and grammatics. In Hasan, R. & C. Butt (eds.). *Functional descriptions: Theory into practice,*1-38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Halliday, M. A. K. 2002. *Volume 1 in the collected works of M. A. K. Halliday: On grammar*. London & New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. 2005. On matter and meaning: The two realms of human experience. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* 1(1). 59-82.

Halliday, M. A. K. 2008. *Complementarities in language*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. 2009. Methods – techniques – problems. In Michael A. K. Halliday & Jonathan J. Webster (eds.). *Continuum companion to systemic functional linguistics*. 59-86. London & New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Greaves, William. 2008. *Intonation in the grammar of English*. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Halliday, M.A.K. & Jonathan Webster (eds.). 2009. *Continuum companion to systemic functional linguistics*. London & New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. & J. R. Martin (eds.). 1981. *Readings in systemic linguistics*. London: Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 1999. *Construing experience through meaning: A language-based approach to cognition*. London: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2014. *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar*, 4th edn. London & New York: Routledge.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Edward McDonald. 2004. Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Chinese. In A. Caffarel, J. R. Martin & C. M. I. M. Matthiessen (eds.), *Language typology: A functional perspective,* 305-393. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Ruqaiya Hassan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Zoe L. James. 1993. A quantitative study of polarity and

primary tense in the English finite clause. In John M. Sinclair, Michael Hoey & Gwyneth Fox (eds). *Techniques of description: Spoken and written discourse*. 32–66. London & New York: Routledge.

Harris, Alice C. & Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hartmann, Katharina & Malte Zimmermann. 2007. In place—out of place? Focus in Hausa.In Kerstin Schwabe, & Susanne Winkler (eds). *On information structure, meaning and form: Generalisations across languages*, 365-403. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hartmann Katharina, Tonjes Veenstra (eds.). 2013. *Cleft structures*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Hasan, Ruqaiya, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.). 2005. *Continuingdiscourse on language: A functional perspective,* Vol. 1. London: Equinox Publishing.

Hasan, Ruqaiya, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.). 2007. *Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective*, Vol. 2. London: Equinox Publishing.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2009a. Framework-free grammatical theory. In Heine, Bernd & Narrog, Heiko (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of grammatical analysis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 341-365.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2009b. Terminology of case. In Andrej Malchukov & Andrew Spencer, eds. *The Oxford handbook of case.* 505-517. Oxford: OUP.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2015. Ditransitive constructions. *Annual Review of Linguitics* 1. 19-41.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2016. The serial verb construction: Comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalisations. *Language and Linguistics,*17(3). 291-319.

Hancil, Sylvie, Alexander Haselow & Margie Post (eds.). 2015. *Final particles*. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hengeveld, Kees, and J Lachlan Mackenzie. 2008. *Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure*. Oxford: OUP.

Heine, Bernd. 2011. Grammaticalisation in African Languages. In Bernd
    Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of*
    grammaticalisation, 696-707. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi & Friederike Hünnemeyer. 1991.
    Grammaticalisation: A conceptual framework. London: The
    University of Chicago Press.

Wray (ed.). 2002. The transition to language. 376-397. Oxford: Oxford
    University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002a. *World Lexicon of grammaticalisation*.
    Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002b. On the evolution of grammatical forms.
    In Alison Wray (ed.). *The transition to language.* 376-397. Oxford:
    Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2007. *The genesis of grammar.* Oxford: Oxford
    University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Heiko Narrog, eds. 2009. *The Oxford handbook of linguistic*
    analysis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Derek Nurse. (eds.) 2000. *African languages: An*
    introduction. Cambridge:CUP.

Heine, Bernd & Derek Nurse. 2000. Introduction. In Bernd Heine & Derek
    Nurse (eds.). In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *African languages:*
    An introduction, 1-10. Cambridge: CUP.

Heine, Bernd & Mechthild Reh. 1983. Diachronic observations on completive
    focus marking in some African languages. *Sugia: Sprache und*
    Geschichte in Afrika 5. 7-44.

Henrici, Alick. 1981. Some notes on the systemic generation of a paradigm of
    the English clause. In Michael A. K. Halliday &J. R. Martin (eds.).
    Readings in systemic linguistics. 74-98. London: Batsford Academic &
    Educational Ltd.

Hiraiwa, Ken &Adams Bodomo. 2008. Object-sharing as symmetric sharing:
    Evidence from Dagaare. In C. B. Chang & H. J. Haynie (eds.).
    Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics.
    243-251. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Hjelmslev, Louis. 1954. La stratification du langage. *Word* 10. 163-188.

Hjelmslev, Louis. 1969. *Prolegomena to a theory of language*. Translated by Francis J. Whitfield. Madison, Milwaukee & London: The University of Wisconsin Press (Original: Omkring Sprogteoriens Grundlaeggelse, 1943).

Hockett, Charles F. 1942. A system of descriptive phonology. *Language* 18(1). 3-21.

Hopper, Paul. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalisation. In Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalisation* (vol. 1): *Focus on theoretical and methodological issue*, 17-35. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in the grammar of discourse, *Language* 56(2). 251-299.

Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalisation*. Cambridge: CUP.

Huddleston, Rodney D. 1981. Systemic features and their realisation. In M.A.K. Halliday & J.R. Martin (eds.), *Readings in systemic linguistics*, 58-73. London: Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd.

Hymes, Dell. 1974. Ways of speaking. In R. Bauman & J. Sherzer (eds.). *Explorations in theethnography of speaking,* 433-451. London: Cambridge University Press.

Iwasaki, Shoichi & Foong Ha Yap. 2015. Stance-marking and stance taking in Asian languages. *Journal of Pragmatics* 83.1-9.

Keenan, Edward & Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8. 63-99.

Keenan, Edward & Bernard Comrie. 1979. Data on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. *Language* 55. 333.51.

Kennedy, John. 1966. *Collected field reports on the phonology of Dagaari*. Accra: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.

Kumar, Abhishek. 2009. *Mood, transitivity and theme in Bajjika in a typological perspective: A text-based description*. Sydney: PhD Thesis, Macquarie University.

Kunene, Daniel P. 1965. The ideophone in southern Sotho. *Journal of African Languages* 4. 19-39.

Kunz, Kerstin, Elke Teich, Silvia Hansen-Schirra, Stella Neumann, Peggy

Daut (eds.). 2014. *Caught in the middle – Language use and translation: A festschrift for Erich Steiner on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Saarbrücken: Saarland University Press.

Ladefoged, Peter & Keith Johnson. 2011. *A course in phonetics*, 6th edn. Boston: Wadsworth.

Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Lakoff, George. 2007. *Ten lectures on cognitive linguistics*. Beijing: Foreign LanguageTeaching and Research Press.

Lamb, Sydney M. 1966. *Outline of stratificational grammar*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: CUP.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1996. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and themental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: CUP.

Lambrecht Knud. 2000. When subjects behave like objects: an analysis of the merging of *S* and *O* in sentence-focus constructions across languages. *Studies in Language* 24.611–82.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2008. *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: OUP.

Lavid, Julia, Jorge Arús & Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla. 2010. *Systemic functional grammar of Spanish: A contrastive study with English.* London & New York: Continuum.

Lemke, Jay L. 1984. *Semiotics and education.* Toronto: Toronto Semiotic Circle.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2016. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world,* 19th edn. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.

Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and topic: A new typology of languages. In Charles N. Li, (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 457-490. New York: Academic Press.

Li, E. Sum-hung. 2007. *A systemic functional grammar of Chinese*. London &

New York:Continuum.

Luke, Kang. K. & Adams Bodomo. 2000. A comparative study of the
    semantics of serial verbs constructions in Dagaare and Cantonese.
    Languages in Contrast 3(2). 165-180.

Lukin, Annabelle & Jonathan J. Webster. 2005. SFL and the study of literature.
    In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.),
    Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective, Vol. 1,
    413-456. London: Equinox Publishing.

Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*, vol. 2. Cambridge: CUP.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive
    languages. In C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards (eds.), *The meaning of
    meaning*, 146-152. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1935. *Coral gardens and their magic: A study of the
    methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the trobriand
    islands,* vol. 1. Hamburg: Severus.

Martin, J.R. 1987. The meaning of features in systemic linguistics. In M. A. K
    Halliday & Robin P. Fawcett (eds.), *New developments in systemic
    linguistics,* 14-40. London: Frances Pinter.

Martin, J.R. 1988.Grammatical conspiracies in Tagalog: Family, face and
    fate — with regard to Benjamin Lee Whorf. In J. D. Benson, M. J.

Cummings & W.S. Greaves (eds), *Linguistics in a systemic perspective.* 243-
    300. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Martin, J. R. 1993. Life as a noun: Arresting the universe in science and
    humanities. In M. A. K. Halliday & J. R. Martin (eds.), *Writing
    science: Literacy and discursive power*, 221-267. Pittsburgh:
    University of Pittsburgh Press.

Martin, J.R. 2004. Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Tagalog. In Alice
    Caffarel, J. R. Martin & Christian Matthiessen (eds.), *Language
    typology: A functional perspective,* 255-304. Amsterdam &
    Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Martin, J.R. 2010. Semantic variation – Modelling realisation, instantiation
    and individuation in social semiosis. In Monika Bednarek & J. R.

Martin (eds.), *New discourse on language: Functional perspectives on*

multimodality, identity and affiliation, 1-34. London & New York: Continuum.

Martin, J. R. 2013. *Systemic functional grammar: A next step into the theory – Axial relations.* Beijing: Higher Education Press.

Martin, J. R, Michele Zappavigna, Paul Dwyer & Chris Cleirigh. 2013. Users in uses of language: Embodied identity in Youth Justice Conferencing. *Text & Talk* 33(4–5). 467-496.

Martin, J. R.& David Rose. 2007. *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the clause*, 2nd edn. London: Continuum.

Matthiessen, Christian M.I.M. 1987. Notes on Akan phonology: A systemic interpretation. Mimeo.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 1995. *Lexicogrammatical cartography: English systems*. Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2004. Descriptive motifs and generalisations. In Alice Caffarel, J. R. Martin & Christian Matthiessen (eds.), *Language typology: A functional perspective,*537-674. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2007a. The "architecture" of language according to systemic functional theory: Developments since the 1970s. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.), *Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective*, vol. 2, 505-562. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2007b. Lexicogrammar in systemic functional linguistics: descriptive and theoretical developments in the 'IFG' tradition since the 1970s. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Jonathan Webster (eds.), *Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective*, vol. 2,765-858. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2013a. Appliable discourse analysis. In Fang Yan & Jonathan J. Webster (eds.). *Developing systemic functional linguistics: Theory and application*, 135-205. London: Equinox.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2013b. Applying systemic functional linguistics in healthcare contexts. *Text & Talk* 33(4–5). 437-467.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. 2015. Register in the round: Registerial

cartography. *Functional Linguistics* 2(9). 1-48.

Matthiessen, Christian. M. I. M. &John A. Bateman. 1991. *Text generation and systemic-functional linguistics: Experiences from English and Japanese*. London &New York: Frances Pinter Publishers & St. Martin's Press.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. & Diana Slade. 2010. Analysing conversation. In Ruth Wodak, Barbara Johnstone, Paul E. Kerswill (eds.),*The Sage handbook of sociolinguistics*, 375-395. London: Sage.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. & M. A. K. Halliday. 2009. *Systemic functional grammar: A first step into the theory*. Beijing: Higher Education Press.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. & Abhishek K. Kashyap. 2014. The construal of space in different registers: An exploratory study. *Language Sciences* 45. 1-27.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M., Kazuhiro Teruya & Canzhong Wu. 2008. Multilingual Studies as a multidimensional space of interconnected language studies. In Jonathan Webster (ed.), *Meaning in context: Strategies for implementing intelligent applications of language studies*, 146-220. London: Continuum.

Matthiessen, Christian M. I. M. & Kazuhiro Teruya. 2015. Grammatical realisations of rhetorical relations in different registers. *Word* 61(3). 232-281.

Matthiessen, Christian C. M. I. M. & Christopher Nesbitt. 1996. On the idea of theory-neutral descriptions. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Carmel Cloran and David G. Butt (eds.), *Functional descriptions: Theory in practice,* 39-84. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Miehe, Gudrun. 2012. Dagara cluster. In Miehe, et al. pp. 250-268.

Miehe, Gudrun, Brigitte Reineke & Kerstin Winkelmann (eds.). 2012. *Noun class systems in Gur languages* (*Vol. 2*): *North Central Gur languages*, (Gur Monographs 11). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Moutaouakil, Ahmed. 1999. *Exclamation in Functional Grammar: Sentence type, illocution or modality*? (Working Papers in Functional Grammar 69). Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.

Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2014a. Style, character and the theme of struggle and

change: Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*. *Research in African Literatures* 42(2). 103-121.

Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. 2017. Bridging across genre traditions: A systemic functional account of biodata. *Functions of Language* 24(3). in press.

Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. in press. Grammaticalising attitude: Clause juncture particles and NEGOTIATION in Dagaare. In Lise Fontaine & Akila S. Baklouti (eds.), *Perspectives from systemic functional linguistics*. London & New York: Routledge.

Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. & Foong Ha Yap. 2017. *A tale of two distal demonstratives in Dagaare: Reflections on directionality principles in grammaticalisation. Language Sciences*, 64. 130-151.

Mwinlaaru, Isaac N. & Winfred Wenhui Xuan. 2016. A survey of studies in systemic functional language description and typology. *Functional Linguistics*, 3(8): 1-41.

Mensah, Emmanuel N. A. & Zakari Tchagbale (eds.). 1983. *Atlas des langues gur de Cote d'Ivoire*. Abidjan: ACCE/ILA

Nakuma, Constancio. 1990. *Etudes contratives des systems phonologies Dagaare-Francais,avec proposition d'une orthographie Dagaare tenant du compte des Faits Tonals*. Paris: PhD Thesis, University of Sorbonne.

Nakuma, Constancio. 1999. *Phone et graphie tonale du Dagaare: Langue Voltaique.* Paris: Editions de l'Harmattan.

Narrog, Heiko & Bernd Heine. 2011. *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalizaion*. Oxford: OUP.

O'Donnell, Mick & John Bateman. 2005. SFL in computational contexts: A comtemporary history. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen & Jonathan J. Webster (eds.),*Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective,* vol. 1, 343-382. London: Equinox Publishing.

Painter, Clare. 2009. Language development. In Halliday, Michael A. K. & Jonathan J. Webster (eds.), *Continuum companion to systemic functional linguistics*, 87-103. London & New York: Continuum.

Pustet, Regina. 2003. *Copulas: Universals in the categorisation of the lexicon.* Oxford: OUP.

Quirk, Randolph & Sydney Greenbaum. 1973. *A university grammar of English*. New Delhi: Pearson Education India.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & JanSvartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Grammar.* London: Longman.

Quiroz,Beatriz. 2008. Towards a systemic profile of the Spanish MOOD. *Linguistics & the Human Sciences* 4(1). 31-65.

Quiroz, Beatriz. 2013. *The interpersonal and experiential grammar of Chilean Spanish:Towards a principled systemic-functional description based on axial argumentation*. Sydney: PhD thesis, Universidad de Sídney.

Rialland, Annie & Stéphane Robert. 2001. The intonational system of Wolof. *Linguistics* 39(5). 893-940.

Rattary, Robert S. 1932. *The tribes of the Ashanti hinterland*. Oxford: OUP.

Robins, Robert H. 1966. The development of the word class system of the European grammatical tradition. *Foundations of language* 3-19.

Rosch, Eleanor. 1983. Prototype classification and logical classification: The two systems. In Ellin Kofsky Scholnick (ed). *New Trends in cognitive representation: Challenges to Piaget's theory*, 73-86. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rose, David & J.R. Martin. 2012. *Learning to write, reading to learn: Genre, knowledge and pedagogy in the Sydney School*. Sheffield & Bristol: Equinox.

Saanchi, James A. 1980. *The nominal phrase in Dagaari*. Accra: B.A. Thesis, University of Ghana.

Saanchi, James A.1997. The vowel system of Dagaare. *Gur Papers/Cahiers Voltaiques* 2. 129-135.

Saanchi, James A. 2003a. Aspect and the Dagaare verb. *Gur Papers/Cahiers Voltaiques* 6. 101-106.

Saanchi, James A. 2003b. Spatial and locative constructions in Dagaare. *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 14. 29-36.

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff & Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematic for the organisation of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50(4). 696-735.

Sakurai, Kazuhiro 2014. *The syntax and semantics of focus: Evidence from Dagaare*. Hong Kong: PhD Thesis, The University of Hong Kong.

Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language: An introduction to the study of speech.*New York: Harcout, Brace & Company.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1981. Basic word order and functional sentence perspective in Boni. *Folia linguistica* 15(3-4). 253-290.

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thetic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25(3). 511-580.

Schachter Paul. 1973. Focus and relativisation. *Language* 49.19-46

Schwabe, Kerstin & Susanne Winkler (eds.). 2007. *On information structure, meaning and form: Generalisations across languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schwarz, Anne. 2009. Tonal focus reflections in Buli and some Gur relatives. *Lingua* 119.950-72.

Searle, John. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: CUP.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007a. *Language typology and syntactic description (vol. 1): Clause structure*. Cambridge: CUP.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007b. *Language typology and syntactic description (vol. 2): Complex constructions*. Cambridge: CUP.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007c. *Language typology and syntactic description (vol. 3): Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Cambridge: CUP.

Simpson, Paul. 2014. *Stylistics: A resource book for students*. London & New York: Routledge.

Sinclair, John. 1991. *Corpus concordance, collocation*. Oxford: OUP.

Slade, Diana, Hermine Scheeres, Marie Manidis, Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen, Rick Iedema, Maria Herke, Jeannette McGregor, Roger Dunston & Jane Stein-Parbury. 2008. Emergency communication: The discursive challenges facing emergency clinicians and patients in hospital emergency departments. *Discourse & Communication* 2(3). 289-316.

Slade, Diana, Marie Manidis, Jeannette McGregor, Hermine Scheeres, Jane Stein-Parbury, Roger Dunston, Nicole Stanton, Eloise Chandler, Christian Matthiessen & Maria Herke. 2011. *Communicating in*

hospital emergency departments: Final report. Sydney: University of Technology.

Slade, Diana, Marie Manidis, Jeannette McGregor, Hermine Scheeres, Eloise Chandler, Jane Stein-Parbury, Roger Dunston, Maria Herke, & Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2015. *Communicating in hospital emergency departments*. Berlin: Springer.

Somé, B. A. 2003. Brève rétrospective sur l'orthographe dagara. In Joachim D. Somé (ed), *Actes de la Table Ronde organisée sur l'orthographe moderne Dagara.* Diébougou,Burkina Faso: ABBF.

Somé, Coubabaon. 1985. *Elements de grammaire Dagara*. Mémoiré de Maîtrise, University of Ouagadougou.

Somé, Joachim D. 2004. Dagara orthography. *Journal of Dagaare Studies* 4. 15-51.

Somé, Pé nou-Achille. 1962. *Systématique du signifiant en Dagara*: *Variété Wúlé*. Paris: Harmattan.

Stassen, Leon. 1997. *Intransitive predication*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Steiner, Erich. 2002. Grammatical metaphor in translation - some methods for corpus-based investigations. In Hasselgard, Hilde, Johansson, Stig,

Behrens Bergljot, & Fabricius-Hansen, Cathrine (eds), *Information structure in a cross-linguistic perspective*, 213-228. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Steiner, Erich. 2005. Halliday and translation theory: Enhancing the options, broadening therange and keeping the ground. In Ruqaiya Hasan, Christian Matthiessen & JonathanWebster (eds.), *Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective,* vol. 1, 481-500. London: Equinox Publishing.

Swadesh, Morris, Evangelina Arana, John T. Bendor-Samuel & W. A. A Wilson,1966. Apreliminary glottochronology of Gur languages. *Journal of West African Languages* 3(2). 27-66.

Tam, Hoi-sang Roy. 2004. *A systemic functional interpretation of Cantonese clause grammar*. Sydney: PhD thesis, University of Sydney.

Tench, Paul. (ed.) 1992. *Studies in systemic phonology.* London: Pinter.

Teruya, Kazuhiro. 1998. *An exploration into the world of experience: A*

systemic-functionalinterpretation of the grammar of Japanese. Sydney: PhD thesis, Macquarie University.

Teruya, Kazuhiro. 2007. *A systemic functional grammar of Japanese,* vol. 1 & 2. London & New York: Continuum.

Teruya, Kazuhiro, Ernest Akerejola, Thomas H. Andersen, Alice Caffarel, Julia Lavid, Christian Matthiessen, Uwe Helm Petersen, Pattama Patpong & Flemming Smedegaard. 2007. Typology of MOOD: A text-based and system-based functional view. In Hasan, Ruqaiya, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen & Jonathan J. Webster (eds.), *Continuing discourse on language: A functional perspective*, Vol. 2. 859-920. London: Equinox.

Teruya, Kazuhiro & Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen. 2015. Halliday in relation to language comparison and typology. In Jonathan J. Webster (ed.), *The Bloomsbury companion to M.A.K. Halliday*, 427-452. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Tesnière, Lucien. 1959. *Éleménts de syntaxe structurale.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Thompson, Sandra A. & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2005. The clause as a locus of grammar and interaction. *Language and Linguistics*, 6(4). 807-837.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. & Bernd Heine (eds.). 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalisation* (vol. 1): *Focus on theoretical and methodological issues*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

van der Wal, Jenneke. 2011. Focus excluding alternatives: Conjoint/disjoint marking in Makhuwa. *Lingua* 121. 1734-1750.

van Valin, Robert D Jr. 2000. A concise introduction to Role and Reference Grammar. *Fluminesia* 12(1-2). 47-78.

van Valin, Robert D. Jr. 2007. The Role and Reference Grammar analysis of three-place predicates. *Prihvaćeno za tisak* 14(2). 31-63.

Vendler, Zeno. 1957. Verbs and times. *The Philosophical Review* 66(2). 143-160.

Wang, Yong, & Jie Xu. 2013. A systemic typology of existential and possessive constructions. *Functions of Language* 20(1). 1-30.

Watters, John R. 2000. Syntax. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *African*

languages: An introduction, 194-230. Cambridge: CUP.

Webster, Jonathan. 2015. *Understanding verbal art: A functional linguistics approach.* Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht & London: Springer.

Welmers, Wm. E. 1973. *African language structures*. Berkley, Los Angeles & London:University of California Press.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1956. *Language, thought and reality, Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf.* Ed. John Bissell Carroll. Cambridge & Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Williamson, Kay & Roger Blench. 2000. Niger-Congo. In Heine, Bernd & Derek Nurse(eds.), *African Languages: An introduction,* 11-42. Cambridge: CUP.

Wilson, W. A. A. 1962a. *Notes on Dagaari: Kaleo-Jirapa dialects*. MS., Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Accra.

Wilson, W. A. A. 1962b. *The vowel system of Dagaare and Lobiri*. MS., Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Accra.

Yang, Ying & Foong Ha Yap. 2015. ''I am sure but I hedge'': Fear expression *kǒngpà* as aninteractive rhetorical strategy in Mandarin broadcast talk. *Journal of Pragmatics* 83. 41-56.

Zimmermann, Malte & Caroline Féry (eds.). 2010. *Information structure: Theoretical, typological and experimental perspectives*. Oxford: OUP.

Zimmermann, Malte. 2011. The grammatical expression of focus in West Chadic: Variationand uniformity in and across languages. *Linguistics* 49. 1163-213.