PROGRESS IN LANGUAGE STUDIES

PAPERS IN NIGERIAN LINGUISTICS

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EDITOR

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Chapter 1

The Semiotics of HIV/AIDS pictorial campaign in Nigeria

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In Benin metropolis, outdoor HIV/AIDS campaign messages have been coined and passed to the populace through the use of pictures and texts. Previous studies on HIV/AIDS campaign messages in Nigeria were mostly on indoor campaigns, such as media messages, newspapers, etc. The present study is the first semiotic analysis of outdoor HIV/AIDS campaign messages. It aims to explore the effectiveness of the messages to the populace. The data for this semiotic analysis were collected from HIV/AIDS posters and billboards, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and In-depth interviews (IDI) in the five local government areas (LGAs) in Benin Metropolis. The respondents aged between 15 and 65 years and were purposively selected for this research. Barthes' (1997) Semiotics Theory of images was adopted for the analysis of pictorial data. Results indicated that the literate audiences of Benin metropolis could decode indirect or figurative HIV/AIDS pictorial messages in English; however, the illiterate respondents could only give surface interpretation to the pictorial signs, and the pictorial messages were not effective on the illiterate respondents. It was concluded that outdoor campaign messages using indigenous languages and pictorial depictions should be encouraged with reservation.

1. Introduction

HIV/AIDS is one of the greatest threats facing the entire world today, of which sub Saharan Africa has the highest prevalence rate, and Edo State in Nigeria is not left out. HIV/AIDS is also one from among the various sexually transmitted infections in the world, and it ranks 10th among the world's killer disease (Wagbatsoma & Okojie, 2006; citied in Henrietta, 2013). Nigeria is the most populated country in sub Saharan Africa and has the highest prevalence rate of 4.1% (NACA, 2012). In NACA (2012) report, Edo State has the prevalence rate of 5.3% compared to 5.2% rate in 2008 Sentinel Survey Report. Benin metropolis, the core area of this study, consists of five local government areas (LGAs) with the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS as follows: Oredọ = 7.3%, Egor = 3.4%, Ovia North-East = 6.6%, Ikpoba-Okha = 1.6%, and Ovia South-West = 1.6% (Edo State HIV/AIDS Survey Report, 2007). Ojeabu, Erah and Okafor (2008) state that 93.1% of the secondary school students

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had misconception of HIV/AIDS, and that over 40% lacked knowledge of its prevention in Benin Metropolis.

UNAIDS (2008) avers that HIV/AIDS is among the greatest challenges to sustainable economic, social, and civil society development today; thus, it is a global crisis that undermines all aspects and all sectors of the entire society. There is no region of the world that has been spared of the epidemic; hence, it remains an extremely dynamic, growing and changing character as the virus takes advantage of new opportunities for transmission. Consequently, there is an effective demand for committed, urgent and sustained action by alliances of individuals and non-governmental and governmental organizations. Despite the intensive efforts by the media, government, non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders to disseminate information on HIV/AIDS, there is still an increase in HIV infection and AIDS cases in the metropolis. The fact that a permanent cure or vaccine for HIV infection has not been detected yet, communication campaign is at its peak aimed at the prevention of infection through behavioral changes in the society—which is the only hope. Thus, UNAIDS (1999) asserts that the major breakthroughs, both in types and costs of treatment, are transforming the response to HIV/AIDS and giving new hope to HIV positive people through communicative information.

Since the inception of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, a few studies have investigated the effect of media and language perspective in HIV/AIDS campaigns in Nigeria as well as Edo State. They include Ojeifo and Gbakeji (2009), Salisu (2008), Osakue, Kayode, Marcel, and Adekunle (2009), Olatunji and Robbin (2011), and Makinde (2013, 2014). The literature reports no study to date that has paid attention to the semiotic investigation of HIV/AIDS awareness. This is in agreement with Djite's (2008) opinion that there is a relative dearth of sociolinguistic studies in the area of health despite the millions of people in sub Saharan continent who are infected. As such, the present study aims at a semiotic analyses of HIV/AIDS propaganda messages in Nigeria.

2. Background

Ojeifo and Gbakeji's (2009) study on HIV/AIDS awareness in Nigerian campuses with a focus on four tertiary institutions in Edo State of Nigeria revealed that HIV/AIDS awareness in Nigerian Universities is quite high, but the problem is compliance. A similar study by Olatunji and Robbin (2011) on Nigerian undergraduates' preferred expressions for HIV/AIDS campaigns showed that both scary and mild expressions in campaigns are effective in arresting the spread of HIV/AIDS among Nigerian graduates. Salisu's (2008) examination of the communicative effectiveness of selected HIV/AIDS public campaign messages on some civil servants at Keffi Local Government of

Nasarawa State revealed a poor understanding of the campaign messages owing to illiteracy. Makinde's (2013, 2014) studies are from a pragmatic perspective. Makinde's (2013) study on selected advertisement on HIV/AIDS in Ogun State, Nigeria revealed that language used in the ads is designed to have clever and forceful authority on the populace. Hence, it has created better awareness about the virus. Makinde (2014) further investigates the selected advertisement on HIV/AIDS in Ogun state, using the pragmatic acts theory (cf., Capone & Salmani Nodoushan, 2014; Mey, 2001; Salmani Nodoushan, 2012b, 2013b, 2014c, 2016d, 2017a,b), and observes that indoor HIV/AIDS campaign messages exhibit the practs of co-opting, projecting, encouraging, emboldening, instigating as well as advising; thus, the direct pract of advising is low with only 1.9% in the analysed indoor campaign messages. Osakue et al.'s (2009) study on HIV/AIDS and mass media evaluation in Edo State revealed that the mass media has helped 83.3% of the populace to avoid risky behavior.

All of the above studies on HIV/AIDS campaign are based on indoor investigation, and without the application of any theoretical framework, except for Makinde (2013; 2014) who analysed indoor texts messages applying the pragmatic theory. This paper therefore examines the pictorials of outdoor HIV/AIDS campaign messages in the Benin Metropolis, Edo State, with a vivid semiotic interpretation of the pictures, and examines the respondents' understanding of the pictures in relation to the texts of the campaign messages. The study answers the following questions:

1. What were the cues that assist the respondents to interpret the outdoor HIV/AIDS campaign messages? Texts, pictures, or both?
2. Does the populace in Benin metropolis have behavioral responses to outdoor HIV/AIDS pictorial campaign messages?

3. Method

3.1. Procedure

This ethnographic survey research design with a multistage sampling technique, which inherently allowed the identification of a sample of the research population involved the application of the qualitative technique both in data collection and in analysis. The study participants were male and female youths and adults between 15 and 65 years of age. The participant were long standing residents of the area of study; they included both literates and illiterates.

The study site was Benin metropolis, the Edo State capital of South—Southern Nigeria. Benin is a gateway to all parts of the country as it links South-West, North, South-East, and South-South parts of Nigeria. This makes the

metropolis more vulnerable to reproductive health problems, including HIV/AIDS and other STDs. It accommodates three universities, one college of education, and several secondary schools which are potential sources of sexuality and reproductive health problems because these institutions consist of ninety-five per cent of young and adolescent ones with high sexual behaviors (Edo State HIV/AIDS Survey Report, 2007).

The triangulation methods of data collection were utilized in this study, and they were in four phases. The first was obtained from posters and billboards on HIV/AIDS campaign messages in Benin Metropolis. A total of ten posters were used in this study. The second was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): 10 (FGDs)—two per (LGA)—were conducted with an average of eight participants in each. These FGDs were organized according to the age group sampled for this research. The third phase had a sample size of 50 respondents aged between 15 and 65 years purposively selected for in-depth interviews (IDI). The qualitative data analysed in this paper were from the FGDs and IDIs, which were collected through field notes. The responses were used to support the pictorial messages, which were subjected to semiotic analyses. The data for the research were collected between 2013 and 2014.

3.2. Analytic framework

Semiotics is the science of the symbolic order. Leech and Thomas (1990, pp. 173-174) describe semiotics as "the study of signs and sign systems." The significance of semiotics in communication has attracted scholarly attention over the years from different perspective (see Barthes, 1997; Eco, 1979; Leeds-Hurwtz, 1993; Levinson, 1983; Morris, 1938; Sebeok, 1977; Wales, 1990). However, this paper adopts Barthes' pictorial semiotic theory as the theoretical framework for data analysis.

Pictorial semiotics originated from the works of Roland Barthes. Sonesson (2004) claims that Barthes' work *La rhétorique de l'image* is the pioneering attempt in this field. Pictorial semiotics is concerned with the study of pictures as a particular vehicle of signification. Photography is regarded as a branch of pictorial semiotics. Hence, Barthes (1997) avers that virtually everything in the society is meaningful and can be a significant sign to a speech community (e.g., fashion, music, dress, art works, etc.). In this case, semiotic interests are in the messages of photographs, advertising, and television as well as in written works (e.g., literatures) and their meaning production. Two views of the photograph were first propounded (cf., Pierce, 1931; Sonesson, 1989, 2004). One view is that of photograph as icon—that is, representation of a particular element in the real world. Another view of the photograph is that of indexicality. An index is a sign which represents its object by an inherent relationship. According to Sonesson (2004), the

photograph is more realistically an icon. This is because one does not need its indexicality to grasp its meaning. A third view is the symbol: An image is a symbol when it has no visual or concept connection to an object or person. We know the meaning of the image only because of convention; that is, it is something learned from a word. As such, it does not resemble what it stands for, nor does it have any indexical relationship to what it signifies (Hammerich & Harrison, 2002). Photographs appear to have a bit of the icon and index in that they actually represent a particular entity or scene and make reference to these in the real world (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). In this work, the claim is that HIV/AIDS pictorial ads exhibit the three views about semiotic signs explained above.

In semiotics, various communicative channels such as kinesis, haptics, proxemics, and so on are used. Kinesis refers to body motion. It includes gestures, movement of the body, eye behavior, and posture. Proxemics focuses on how people use the space between speakers and listeners in the process of communication and has to do with the space around us. Haptics has to do with touching behavior (Makinde & Odeneye, 2007; Okolo & Ezikeojiaku, 1999). All of these channels were utilized in the process of data analysis in this study. It must be emphasized here that, just like in pragmatics, 'context' has a major role in the analysis of linguistic signs in semiotics.[1]

4. Analysis

The analysis of the data presented in this section is based on the pictorial semiotic devices observable from the message content. Each sub-section is exemplified with pictorial representations. The interpretations of the images are followed by the responses of the respondents' (both literate and illiterate) which are presented to achieve answers to the questions of this research.

Image 1 (below) with the title "Avoid stigma and discrimination" was designed and produced by Clique Nigeria and is illustrated by Adio Rhilwan Olarewaju. The picture captures four persons—two women and two boys. The first three persons—two women plus a little boy look at a boy who is far apart from them with disgust. This picture, in relation to the texts on the poster, proves that this pictorial message is an index. The boy at a distance suggests an HIV child who is being isolated by a family because of his HIV situation. The isolated child is not happy; hence, he stares aggressively at his mockers without concentrating on his play (the ball in his hand suggests that he has been playing before he notices his mockers). In term of kinesis, which has to do with movement, we see the little boy pointing at the isolated child; even the younger woman also stretches her left hand towards the isolated child.

All of these are communicative because their hands are expressive and move toward the isolated child. The woman looking at the other woman with her hand close to her mouth suggests pain and pity for the isolated child's condition. The facial look of the persons in the picture is also communicative. The faces of the three mockers stare at the child with dejection while the face of the isolated child looks actually like a child who has never had love from his fellow children who are not HIV positive as well as from the adults who never want their children to come closer to him or play with him. Proxemics is also exhibited in this pictorial message. Here, the space between the isolated child and his mockers is very visible. This space signifies stigmatisation toward the child and even the stigma people living with HIV/AIDS experience in the society today. Here are comments from the respondents:
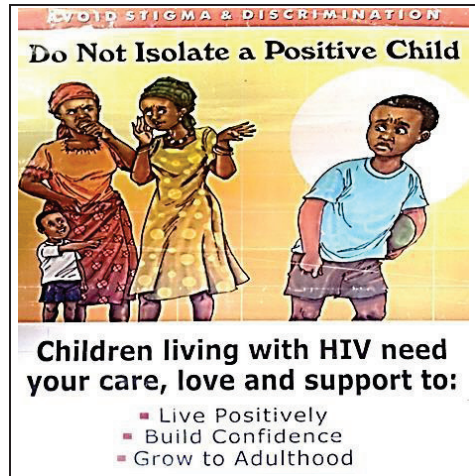
> *This message educates me on the need to show love and attention to children with* HIV. (A 29-year old female student, FGD, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 7-8-13)

> *This message is talking about care and love for a child or children who are HIV positive and support for people living with HIV/AIDS.* (A 50-year old female civil servant, FGD, Oredo LGA, 7-8-13)

The respondents above were able to interpret the message, co-indexing the picture aspect and the texts. They were able to point out that the message educates them on the need to show love to people with HIV. Here are the interpretations of other respondents:

> *The picture shows that the first woman in the picture is thinking, hence she is biting her thumb while the second woman who is perhaps sick is bending her hand and touching her face. The big boy is the woman's son he likes to play football and the small brother is pointing at him.* (A 52-year old male trader, IDI, Ovia N.E. LGA, 14-5-14)

> *I can see a mother and her children. The mother is trying to talk to the children, but the daughter is adamant. The boy left with football feeling unconcern with what the mother is saying. But the small boy is very close to the mother, points at his stubborn brother. Their mother is not happy with them at all.* (A 30-year-old female trader, IDI, Egor LGA, 14-5-14)

The illiterate respondents above see the picture from a different angle, not with respect to HIV/AIDS messages. This is because they could not read the texts that accompany the picture. They only interpreted the message based on what they saw in the picture, which has a different representation altogether.

Image 2 with the title "Protect yourself and your partner from HIV" was designed and produced by Clique Nigeria and illustrated by Adio Rhilwan Olarewaju; it contains two pictorial displays. The first captures a man in front of a health personnel with his hands on his abdomen, perhaps he had contracted sexually transmitted infections (STIs) owing to several women he had had unprotected sex with. The picture shows those women he had slept with behind his head. Several communicative means are used to help understand this pictorial display. These are kinesis and haptics. Imploring kinesis, the health personnel pointing to the map-like pictorial representation showing the man in pains, the cause of his problem and at the same time holding out a poster which he also showed to the man with an inscription "STIs"– (syphilis or Gonorrhoea) the disease the man had probably contracted. In terms of haptics we see the man's hand on his abdomen, which suggests the painful part. The man's facial look is also communicative; it shows an aggressive look that suggests serious pain in his body. Also, within the map-like image is a representation showing the many women the sick man had probably had sexual intercourse with.
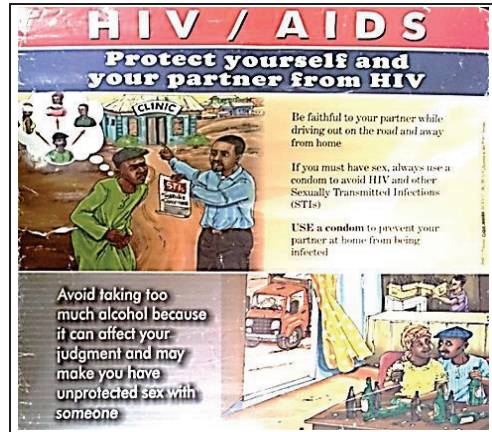
Also represented in image 2 are three symbolic arrows pointing from the man to the women. The arrows are also communicative because they are symbols used to indicate that the man had had sexual intercourse with the three women which have led to his contracting STIs. Relating the texts to the picture, the messages emphasizes the ABC messages (Abstinences, faithfulness to one's partner, and the use of condom) for protection from STIs. Presented below are the respondents' comments:

> *The man has waist and abdominal pain; thus he complains to the doctor while the other three persons above are very sick.* (A 52-year-old woman, trader, IDI, Ovia N.E. LGA, 14-5-14)
> *The man held his abdomen, complaining to the doctor. And the doctor in return point to the clinic for him to go.* (A 44-year-old male, driver, FGD, Oredo LGA, 15-5-14)

The responses above do not pinpoint any of the intentions of the messages which on HIV/AIDS; this was because they could not read the texts accompanying the picture. This suggests that the HIV/AIDS messages could not yield the intended messages. Here are the responses from other respondents:

> *This message explains more on the ABC prevention programme. It advises us to be faithful to our partner, if it is necessary to have sex outside your partner, use a condom to prevent HIV. Also we should not drink too much alcohol which may influence our sexual behavior.* (A 48-year-old male mobile policeman, FGD, Ovia S.W. LGA, 11-8-13)

> *This message talks about our attitude to stop or reduce the intake of alcohol which is very helpful and how we must avoid unprotected sex. It is just like this ABC prevention message; it encourages faithfulness to partners and use of condom in the message. But I'm against this use of condom in the message because it encourages indiscriminate sex especially among the youth. Why is abstinence not stressed instead of condom?* (A 57-year-old worker, FGD, Ovia N.E. LGA, 8-8-13)

> *The message cautions me on the need to abstain from alcoholic drinks, which can lead to sex before marriage.* (A 16-year-student, FGD, Egor LGA, 8-8-13)

The responses above show a connection between the message on the poster and the ABC prevention messages. Both respondents were able to point out certain behavioral response which is abstinence, faithfulness to partner, and condom use in the message as well as the need to reduce the intake of alcohol, which may aid the spread of HIV through indiscriminate sex.

The second aspect shows a man and a woman in a restaurant with several empty bottles of alcoholic drinks, which implies that the man and the woman were the people who drank the alcohol in the empty bottles. In the same column there is also a boy at the corner arranging bottles to actually prove that the place is a restaurant. Also presented is a lorry in front of the restaurant, which probably may belong to the man drinking with the woman in the restaurant. The communicative means in this pictorial image are haptics, facial expression, and kinesis. In terms of haptics, the man touches the woman with his hand round her neck and the other hand holding a bottle of drink. Also, the woman, with a glass of alcoholic drink, holds her other hand close to the man's chest. All these touches express sexual or lustful touch after much intake of intoxicating alcohol. The facial lustful looks with a smile can lead to sex. In regard to kinesis, the man has moved very close to the woman, and this communicates lustful acquaintances. The lorry is also

communicative; it suggests that the man in the restaurant is a driver, who probably had picked up an unknown commercial sex worker to have casual sex with. This argument is in line with Ajuwon and Shokunbi (1996) who observed that, long distance truck drivers and commercial sex workers are responsible for the transmission of other STDs that facilitate HIV in Nigeria.

The empty bottles on the table are also expressive; they imply that the man and the woman had taken too much alcohol which would make them have unprotected sex with each other, as the message intends if interpreted in line with the texts accompanying it. Here are the responses of the respondents.

> *The picture shows a man with a woman in a beer parlour drinking beer.* (A 22-year-old male artisan, IDI, Egor LGA, 15-5-14)

> *Husband and wife came to beer parlour to drink beer. The boy on top is arranging bottles.* (A 52-year-old female, trader IDI, Ovia N.E. LGA, 14-5-14)

> *In a beer parlour a boy is busy working (arranging the empty bottles) while a man with a woman, probably his sex partner are in the restaurant drinking alcohol.* (A 35-year-old male driver, FGD, Oredo LGA, 21-5-2014)

The interpretation of the pictures by the respondents above did not point out any message intended by the message providers, the reason being that the respondents could not read. Thus, they interpreted the picture the way they saw it—that is, raw on the poster, without making any reference to HIV/AIDS. This implies that the pictorial images do not communicate without texts; hence, no resulting behavioral change in their viewers' responses.
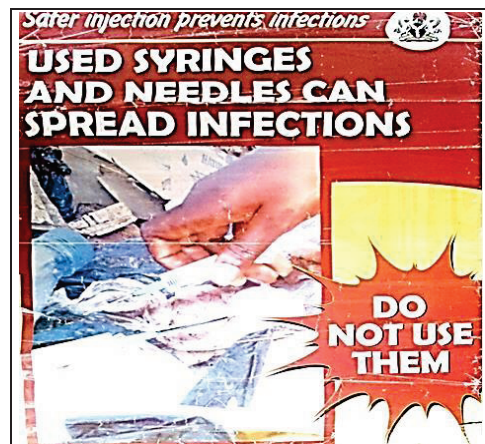
Image 3 (above) with the title "safer injection prevents infection" is a USAID poster. The image symbolises a human hand holding a syringe fixed to flesh, and a second syringe also fixed to flesh; the picture implies that the syringes are in use, but no face is visible in the picture. The communicative means is haptics. A hand is touching or holding a syringe which equally touches the flesh, together with the other syringe fixed to bloody flesh. All of these expressions suggest that the syringes are in use. The first text shows that the syringes are in use as a co-index, while the second text is a referential, which

refers to the used syringes and needles. Below are the interpretations of some respondents:

> *A person's hand, like a doctor's, but not visible is holding a syringe. It seems he is injecting a patient who is also not visible.* (A 37-year-old female, trader, IDI, Ovia N.E., 14-5-14)

> *A doctor is injecting a patient who has a chronic disease. Hence, the persons face is hidden from the public.* (A 30-year-old, female trader, FGD, Ovia S.W. LGA, 14-5-14)

> *A person whose face is not visible is injecting human parts, which I don't know.* (A 44-year-old female trader, IDI, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 15-5-14)

The respondents above interpreted what is seen in the picture without any reference to the intended message of the picture which also co-indexes with the texts. The opinions of the other respondents appear below:

> *This message cautions me that use of syringes and needles should not be shared as they are means of spreading HIV/AIDS.* (A 24-year-old male student, FGD, Ovia-N.E LGA, 8-8-13)

> *This message says that used syringes and needles can spread infections. It is advised to visit good hospitals where needles are not used twice.* (A 21-year-old female student, IDI, Oṛedọ LGA, 13-8-13)

> *It means, do not share syringes and needles or sharp objects we must insist on using the right needles.* (A 25-year-old male worker, FGD, Egor LGA, 7-8-13)

The responses of the literate respondents above show that the message is effective because most of them could interpret the meaning of the message which does co-index with the text.

Image 4 (on the right) titled "Prevention of Mother-To-Child Transmission" (PMTCT) has been designed and produced by Clique Nigeria and illustrated by Print Works. The pictorial representation captures a couple in front of a nurse.
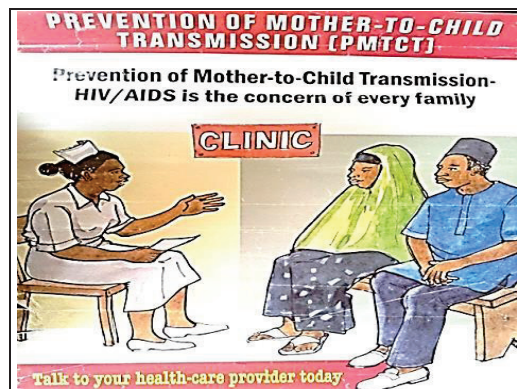
The communicative means are those of gesture and proximity. In terms of gesture, we see the nurse has raised her hand in demonstration which suggests that she is counselling the couples who are in front of her. Proximity

plays a unique role here, in the sense, that the man and woman sit very close to each other which implies that they are a couple–a family who have come for counselling with an implication that the wife is pregnant at the same time HIV-positive. Hence, they have come for counselling to prevent the unborn child from contracting HIV. All these pictorial communicative illustrations co-index with the texts accompanying the picture. The nurse is the healthcare provider whom the couple has come to talk to in order to prevent their unborn child from contracting HIV which is their concern as a family. The respondents' comments on the picture appear below.

> *Husband and wife who newly got married came to see a nurse. The nurse in turn is waving at them, a sign of welcome; in fact, they are wearing to match white shoes.* (A 52-year-old female trader, IDI, Ovia-N.E. LGA, 14-5-14)

> *Alhaji and his wife came to visit the nurse, who in turn is advising them on an issue.* (A 37-year-old female trader, FGD, Egor LGA, 15-5-14)

> *I understood that a nurse is explaining something to her patient.* (A 44-year-old trader, FGD, Oredo LGA, 15-5-14)

The respondents interpreted the pictures based on what they have understood from the image without reference to HIV/AIDS as written in the corresponding texts. Their observations were right but the intention of this HIV/AIDS message on the poster did not reflect in their interpretation. Below are the responses of the other respondents:

> *This message contains the message of prevention of HIV/AIDS from a positive mother to her unborn child, and the necessity to see a doctor to ensure this*. (A 29-year-old female student, FGD, Ikpoba-Okha, LGA, 7-8-13)

> *This message is how a pregnant woman that is AIDS positive can prevent the child by constant visit to a healthcare centre. Thus, mother-child transmission is possibly if properly managed*. (A 22-year-old male driver, IDI, Egor LGA, 15-8-13)

The above responses show that the message was understood. The respondents were able to point out that it is all about the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS and the need for mothers or parents who are HIV-positive to visit the healthcare personnel upon pregnancy. The second respondent added that preventing an unborn child from HIV/AIDS is possible if the mother is properly managed.

The pictorial message in image 5 (on the right) is titled HIV/AIDS: "Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)." This image has been designed and produced by clique Nigeria, and illustrated by Adio Rhilwan Olarewaju. The pictorial representation has two parts: the first part captures a man and a woman. The man is urinating blood while the woman bends with her hands on her abdomen. The symptoms suggest that they have contracted sexually transmitted inflections (STIs). The use of haptics is involved; the man and the woman touch parts of their bodies. Thus, the man holds his genitals with his two hands, urinating blood with a bent waist, which suggests pain. The woman, on the other hand, holds her abdomen with a bent waist which also suggests pain. Both of them exhibit a facial look that is expressive; as their facial appearance communicates it, the pain is really severe. The body posture involved is that of kinesis; this is visible in the bending of their waists which shows that the infection has also affected their waists. It implies that they cannot stand upright. Generally, this pictorial display signifies the medical symptoms of STIs in the real world.
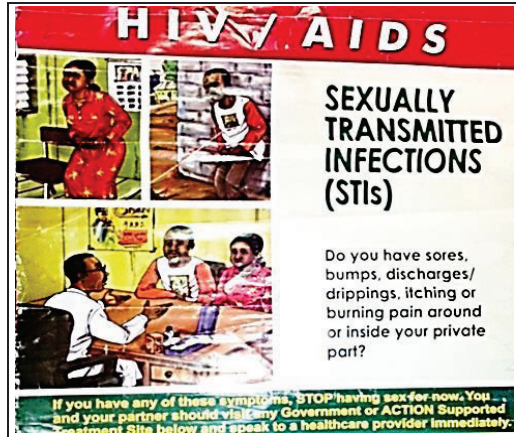
The second part of the pictorial representation captures the man and the woman in front of a doctor or a health care provider for treatment. The proximity (closeness) between the man and the woman implies that they are a couple who suffer from infections and have decided to visit a doctor together. Relating the texts accompanying the picture to it as an index could suggest that, as soon as the couple notice symptoms of infections, they quickly run to see the doctor. Below are the interpretations of the respondents of this pictorial representation:

> *The man and the woman are sick. I think they have infection. Hence they went to see a doctor for treatment.* (A 44-year-old female, businesswoman, IDI, Ikpoba-Okha LGA 15-5-14)

> *The woman is holding her abdomen a sign of aches. The man is also holding his genital organ urinating blood. Both of them went to see the doctor to complain about their ailment* (A 37-year- old female trader, IDI, Egor LGA, 14-5-14)

> *I can understand from this picture that the man is sick, urinating blood from his genital organ. The woman has stomach problem, I think she is in*

> *pain. They both went to see a doctor for treatment. I also learnt that if I notice sore or rash on my body I should go for test immediately before it develop to AIDS.* (A 17-year-old male student, FGD, Ovia-N.E 14-5-14)

These responses of the respondents capture the pictorial representation in the sense that they all have a fair interpretation of the picture. At least, all of them (the respondents) were able to detect that both the man and the woman were sick. One of them noted the fact that it is infection. They were also able to interpret the part that expresses that they go to the doctor for treatment. They were able to respond to the most important part of the intended messages which demands that the doctor should be visited for treatment if symptoms of infections are noticed. One respondent was able to respond to the positive behavior of knowing one's HIV status early. This suggests that the picture as an index has a very good illustration that co-indexes with the text.

Another pictorial HIV message appears in the poster titled HIV and disclosure (on the right). The image comes with a graphic illustration to help catch the attention of the audience. In the caption, an HIV patient embraces two of his family members. The message points out the feeling of an HIV patient who expresses joy because he can live a positive life with the support of his family members. On the other hand, the message also advises the HIV patient on the need to disclose his or her HIV status to the trusted members of his or her family, support group, as well as friends who can help him or her live a positive life.
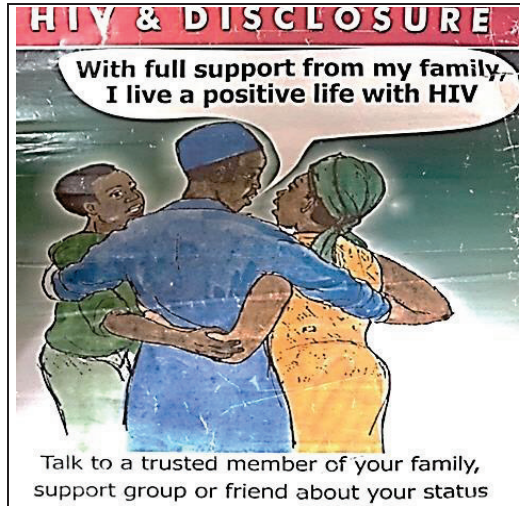
From the perspective of semiotic representation of the message, the man in the middle, who seems to be the father in the family, could be seen as the person who is living with HIV and has disclosed it to his family, an NGO, or friends, who have embraced or hugged him warmly to show that they care for him and can support him irrespective of his HIV status. The man, in turn, is happy with his communicative facial smile. The proximity of the family members to the man communicates that HIV cannot be contracted through hugging or touching, as some people presume. Examples below are the comment from the respondents.

> *This message gives hope to people living with HIV/AIDS, if they get support from family members. Hence, we are persuaded to support them not to stigmatise them so that they can live a positive life.* (A 48-year-old male mobile police officer, FGD, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 11-8-13)

> *This shows that AIDS patients can live normal life with the help of the family members and friends. That is why we are advised to support them.* (A 23-year-old male student, FGD, Ovia N.E. LGA, 8-8-13)

The respondents above could interpret the picture, co-indexing it with the text as an indexical. Thus, their understanding of the pictorial message is shown in their interpretation. Below are the views of two other respondents:

> *The man in the middle is happy to welcome his sister and brother as they come to visit him.* (A 45-year-old male farmer, IDI, Ovia S.W. LGA)

> *A man embraces his wife and son with happiness as he came back home from journey.* (A 44-year-old female trader, IDI, Ovia N. E. LGA, 15-5-14)

The respondents above could interpret the pictures based on what they saw in the picture; being illiterate, they could not co-index it with the texts because of their inability to read. Their interpretation of the pictorial messages did not show any relationship to the message on HIV/AIDS but rather explained the individuals in the picture.

Image 7 (on the right) often accompanies the message which is usually seen at every HIV counselling unit. In fact, it is an iconic logo of the national HIV counselling and testing (HCT). The image features the iconic image of two persons seated facing each other. One of them, a counsellor, has a client for counselling in front of him or her. The communicative means observed here is first

Heart to Heart
... we listen, we care

the sitting position (posture and proximity). The client sits very close to the counsellor, face-to-face, which shows that what he or she (the client) wants to say is only for the ears of the counsellor, suggesting confidentiality. Another expressive image observed is a curved line in the form of a symbol, which signifies a unit (that is, a covering for only the counsellor and the client). Also seen in-between the seated images is the HIV/AIDS campaign logo, in the

form of a ribbon, which signifies that the unit is actually an HIV/AIDS unit. People in the real world who are informed should be able to understand immediately that the counselling unit is for HIV. Most times, this ribbon is placed on the map and by the side of virtually every HIV message. Thus, for those who cannot read the texts accompanying images, the ribbon expresses that it is all about HIV/AIDS. However, being an icon, the image does not co-index with the accompanying texts although the texts are also an indirect message. It does appear that the logo (image) has not been an effective iconic image in the Benin metropolis. To create effective awareness of this image for the illiterate, interpreters are needed for guidance. The direct part of the message "we listen, we care" still does not reveal any message on HIV/AIDS; it cannot be said if this unit is either running a test or counselling on HIV. Some respondents commented on this image:

> *When I went to UBTH to run a test, I was asked to go to Heart to Heart. Although I saw and passed that place initially, I never knew I was to run the test there until I was redirected to go back there. I was counselled and later my blood was collected for the test. In fact, the message is not straightforward; it should be re-written as:*
>
> *Heart to Heart*
>
> *Know your HIV status*
>
> *At least, once you see it, you will quickly know this is where the test is run.* (A 37-year-old female civil servant, IDI, Orẹdo LGA, 17-7-13)
>
> *As a military man, I used to see the message written in our hospital. I didn't understand it until we were taken to that unit en masse to run our HIV test. The government should make the word simple for everybody to know what is done there.* (A 40-year-old male military man, IDI, Ovia N.E., LGA, 17-7-13)
>
> *The issue of Heart to Heart should be made explicit in order for the message to be relevant. In fact it should be re-coined to show that it is where HIV test is done. It should be written in all languages: Igbo, Ẹdo, NP, etc.* (A 56-year-old male businessman, FGD, Egor LGA, 8-8-13)

Here are more comments from the respondents below that reveal more about this image:

> *The structure looks like two persons sitting together face-to-face.* (A 37-year-old female housewife, IDI, Egor LGA, 15-5-14)
>
> *This looks like two persons, who are in conversation.* (A 45-year-old male driver, IDI, Orẹdo LGA, 15-5-14)

The respondents above interpreted the image as two persons seated together face-to-face. The second respondent noted that they are in a conversation. Neither of them pointed out that it is placed at a particular unit or it is used to show where HIV counselling and testing is carried out. This implies that the logo (image) has not been an effective iconic image in the Benin metropolis. To create effective awareness with this image for the illiterate, interpreters are needed for guidance. This message is not difficult for only the illiterate populace, but also to the entire populace.

The pictorial representation (on the right) captures a family (that is father, mother, and children). The man carries the female child, while the woman carries the male in their arms. Their appearance suggests that they are Nigerians. This image insinuates the closeness of a couple who would have known their HIV status before marriage. As a result of that, they were able to give birth to healthy children. Together with their children, they make a healthy family. The implication is that, as partners who have loved carefully by trying to know their HIV status before marriage, they have produced HIV-free children. In this regard, they have helped to fight against AIDS in Nigeria. The image showing the picture of a family in this message reveals that the fight against AIDS is not an individual affair but a family affair. The communicative means used in this pictorial display is proximity. Here, the man, woman and children are close to one another, which suggests a happy family that is probably free from HIV because they love carefully. This picture does not co-index with the messages as displayed on the handbill. In terms of interpretation, the pictorial representation in line with the texts may be difficult to decipher. The reason for the seeming difficulty is the indirectness of the texts, which could not co-index with the pictorial representation. The literate may be able to understand and interpret the love aspect of the message without any reference to the picture. On the other hand, the illiterate may interpret the picture the way it is without reference to HIV or "love." Nonetheless, this message has helped to create
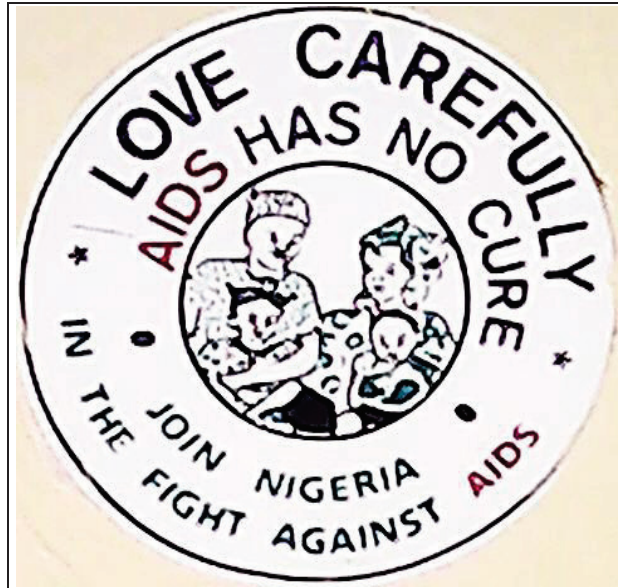
awareness in the educated public on the need to be careful in their various love affairs. The following comments were made on this message by the respondents:

> *This message explains that the fight against AIDS is not for the government alone, but for every Nigerian.* (A 21-year-old female student, FGD, Egor LGA, 15-8-13)

> *I understand that the fight against AIDS starts from the home through to the school and anywhere you find yourself. You should try to fight AIDS in your own way.* (A 35-year-old male worker, FGD, Orẹdo LGA, 8-8-13)

The views of the respondents proved that the fight against AIDS is not for the government alone. Presented below are the comments of the other respondents.

> *I understand from this picture that mother, father and children are sitting together as one family.* (A 37-year-old female trader, IDI, Ovia N. E. LGA, 27- 5-14)

> *The picture shows husband and wife together with their children. It looks like they are celebrating because they are well dressed.* (A 30-year-old male carpenter, IDI, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 27-5-14)

> *Husband and wife stay together with their children. It is like a family picture displayed at home.* (A 44-year-old female housewife, IDI, Egor LGA, 14-5-14)

These interpretations show that the respondents' could not interpret the pictorial representation in line with the texts. None of them could pinpoint any issue on HIV/AIDS. Rather, they were only able to explain or interpret the picture the ways they saw it appear on the handbill; that is, a family picture, and nothing more.

Both groups of respondents had different interpretations of the message. The literate respondents could only understand and interpret the love aspect of the message without any reference to the picture. On the other hand, the illiterate group only interpreted the picture the way it is without reference to HIV or "love." The reason for the foregoing is the indirectness of the texts, which could not co-index with the pictorial representation. Those who could not read, only interpreted the picture the way they understood it. This message has helped to create awareness in the educated public on the need to be careful in their various love affairs, either emotional or agape love, since AIDS has no cure.

This message (the image on the right) captures two counsellors with phones, which shows that they are ever ready to advise or help the audience who seeks help on how to abstain from sex. It is an indirect speech act with a direct counterpart. The indirect speech act shows no correlation between

the structure and function of the message; it means that the intended message is implicit (that is not given a clear explanation).
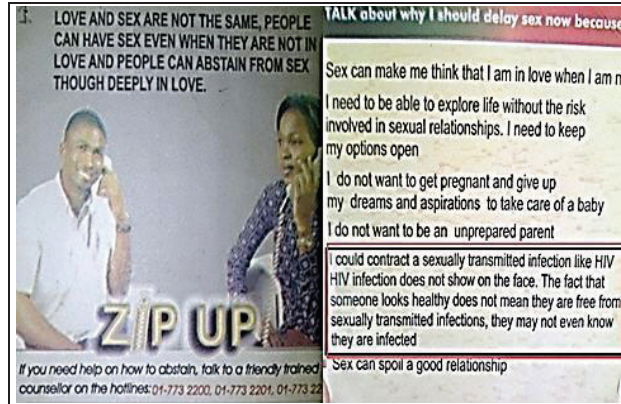
With focus on this pictorial aspect, it captures a young man and a young lady both of whom have a phone fixed to their ears, a sign of making or answering a call. Their outlook expresses the fact that they are counsellors who are always online to help or counsel clients on abstinence from sex. The communicative means used in this pictorial display are haptics, facial appearance, and posture. The young man and lady are both holding a phone close to their ears, which reveals that they are trained counsellors who are always accessible through phone to help their clients. Their facial appearance expresses friendliness; the man wears a smile which suggests a welcome to all of his clients. One of the hands of both counsellors is placed on their laps, and this is also expressive; it communicates boldness and dignity, as trained counsellors. Their sitting position implies an ever-ready posture awaiting the arrival of their clients. They are not in a hurry to leave. As an iconic image, the pictorial display does not co-index with the text: "Zip up" also with a little text accompanying the illustration below the pictures, which reads: "if you need help on how to abstain, talk to a friendly trained counsellor on the hotlines." The hotlines referred to are always displayed on the pamphlets for clients. Finally, a communicative image a zip-like form is used in place of the letter 'i' in the split zip to demonstrate the zip-up message. Below are the views of some of the respondents on the pictorial representation.

> *I understand from the picture that a boy and a girl are calling each other.* (A 52-year-old female trader, IDI, Ovia N.E. LGA, 14-5-14)

> *I can see a boy and girl holding phones; they are making calls to each other.* (A 37-year-old female trader, IDI, Egor LGA, 14-5-14)

> *The boy and the girl are receiving call*. (A 44-year-old female housewife, IDI Ovia S.W. LGA, 15-5-14)

The respondents looking at the image could only understand that the two persons are with phones either making calls out or making calls to each other. They did not give reason for the calls because they could not read. Although the picture, as an icon, does not co-index with the texts as an indirect message, some explanations on the pamphlet are helpful to a person who can read. This suggests that such iconic images should be more elaborate to achieve the expected impact. The opinions of other respondents on the message are presented below.

> *This message zip up, as I understand it, means the avoidance of sex before marriage.* (A 29-years-old female student, FGD, Orẹdo LGA, 7-8-13)

> *Zip up means to abstain from sex, especially for the singles.* (A 50-year-old woman civil servant, FGD, Egor LGA, 7-8-13)

> *This message means abstinence from sex, even though you are in love unless married, because sex is not love.* (An 18-year-old female student, FGD, Ovia N. E. LGA, 8-8-13)

> *Zip up is not only abstaining from sex, but it also means faithfulness to your partner.* (A 26-year-old male student, FGD, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 11-8-13)

In the views of the above respondents, the audience actually captures pictorial message which calls for total abstinence. Thus, the picture seems effective owing to the message that co-indexes it—which is explanatory as it has been circled on the left of the pamphlet. What makes the message self-explanatory is the physical process of zipping up and down. Also, the respondents could infer that the message counsels the youth on abstinence and on faithfulness to partners.

This pictorial message (on the right) is one of the HIV/AIDS messages used nationwide. It was used here by the Edo State Action Committee on AIDS. It contains a graphic illustration of a footballer with the ball to help catch attention. In this message, sex is presented as a game and 'safe' as protection, implying that the audience needs to have a protected sex.

In other words, game signifies sex while safe signifies protection. However,

the message could have several interpretations:

a) Play safe by protecting yourself with the use of condom when you want to have sex with an unknown sex partner.

b) Play safe by being faithful to your spouse or abstain if possible.

This pictorial representation, which captures a footballer, uses several communicative means to give meaning and understanding to the message. The first is kinesis; it involves the movement of the footballer's entire body, especially his legs, in action. This suggests that the player is in the real act of playing football. This act of playing football signifies sexual act. The second means is the dressing code of the footballer who is well kitted in his sports wears to protect himself from injury. This communicative dressing portrays the fact that the player has equipped himself for safety; hence, the messages "play safe." This pictorial display relays to the audience the need to equip themselves fully by avoiding unprotected sex either through the use of condom or abstaining completely—as well as faithfulness to one's partner to avoid contracting HIV and also stop the spread of the disease. Below are the comments of some respondents on this message.

I understand from the message that I should be careful to prevent HIV. Thus, I should not be involved in an unprotected sex, but try to use preventive measures to avoid contracting the disease. (A 45-year-old female civil servant, FGD, Orẹdo LGA, 15-8-13)

Play safe is a message that advises me to avoid unprotected sex, stick to one partner or abstain totally as a student. (An 18-year-old male student, IDI, Egor LGA, 8-8-13)

The message makes me understand that there is need to equip myself with the use of condom before indiscriminate sex, just like the footballer who equips himself before going to the field to play. (A 35-year-old male worker, IDI, Ovia S.W. 15-5-14)

These interpretations show that the respondents were able to note the communicative effect which demands the avoidance of unprotected sex, faithfulness to one's partner, or abstinence so that one does not contract HIV. In other words, this message repeats the HIV prevention message of abstinence, faithfulness, and use of condom. One of the respondents noted that he equipped himself with condom before casual sex just the way the footballer equips himself before going to the field. The comments of other respondents on this pictorial representation are presented below:

I understand that a footballer is playing a ball. (A 44-year-old female trader IDI, Ovia S.W. LGA, 14-5-14)

>*A boy is playing a ball and he broke his leg*. (A 50-year-old female trader IDI, Egor LGA, 14-5-14)
>
>*The picture is shows a footballer with a ball*. (A 24-year-old female artisan, IDI, Ikpoba-Okha LGA, 14-5-14)

The above views on the pictorial message captures the views of the illiterate respondents on the message. None of them viewed it is an HIV message or even ordinary message if not HIV. They only explained the picture based on the fact that they could see a footballer playing a ball; the reason for the footballer playing in the picture did not matter to their understanding. This was because they could not read. Hence, they could not relate the picture to the text. Although the pictorial message does not co-index with the text because of its indirectness, one of the respondents was able to relate the text to the pictorial representation, but not to HIV message**.**

5. Conclusion

By and large, this paper has vividly carried out the semiotic representation of outdoor HIV/AIDS pictorial campaign messages in Benin metropolis. It is observed that these campaign messages are manifested in iconic, indexical and symbolic signs which are exhibited in object and human pictures as follows:

(1) mocked AIDS patients signified stigmatisation;
(2) two people sitting opposite each other signified a counsellor and a client;
(3) a syringe on bloody flesh signified used syringe;
(4) an HIV-positive man in the middle of his two family members signified support from his family members;
(5) a man and a pregnant woman seated in front of a nurse signified a couple who have come to get counselled on how to prevent the unborn child from contracting HIV from the HIV‑positive mother; and so on.

As shown from the respondents' responses above, one major barrier to the effective impact of the campaign massages is illiteracy. The representation has shown that only the literate respondents who could read the co-index texts and pictures were able to understand the campaign messages, since the understanding of the pictorial messages is based on both text and pictures.

The paper advocates the engagement of language interpreters who could aid the illiterate populace to understand the outdoor HIV/AIDS pictorial campaign messages. To achieve greater impact, message providers should improve their use of language in writing up the massages.

Note:

1. For a discussion of context, in addition to Solomom-Etefia (2015), please also see one of the following sources: Adegbite (2000), Adeniji and Osunbade (2014), Allen and Salmani Nodoushan (2015), Bhatia and Salmani Nodoushan (2015), Birjandi, Alavi and Salmani Nodoushan (2004), Capone (2016), Capone and Salmani Nodoushan (2014), Johns and Salmani Nodoushan (2015), Levinson (1983), Mey (2001, 2009), Odebunmi (2006), Palmer (1996), Salmani Nodoushan (1995, 2006a,b; 2007a,b,c; 2008a,b; 2011a,b; 2012a,b; 2013a,b; 2014a,b,c; 2015; 2016a,b,c,d; 2017a,b; 2018), Salmani Nodoushan and Alavi (2004), Salmani Nodoushan and Allami (2011), Salmani Nodoushan and Khakbaz (2011; 2012), Salmani Nodoushan and Mohiyedin Ghomshei (2014), Salmani Nodoushan and Montazeran (2012), Solomon-Etefia and Nweya (2017), Thomas (1995), and Yule (1996).

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Chapter 2

Ebola epidemic: A pragma-semiotic analysis

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This paper examines the extracts of the communiqué made by the Ibadan Catholic Bishops to the congregation on the Ebola epidemic. The paper identifies the practs, gives a semiotic interpretation of the signs visible, and discusses the impact of the communiqué on the Catholic faithful in the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. The data were collected from the Catholic Sunday Bulletin and the interviews conducted with, and the field notes collected from, the Catholic faithful informants (*N*=30) in the University of Ibadan. It utilised Mey's pragmatic acts theory (PAT) and Saussure's model of semiotic signs as the theoretical framework. The study shows that the communiqué is information-motivated discourse on Ebola which comprises of direct acts that make use of the contextual features of shared situational knowledge, inferences, relevance, shared cultural knowledge, and references thereby exhibiting the pragmemes of cautioning, commanding, counselling and threatening; the semiotic sign 'Holy Communion' signifies the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ present in Bread and Wine, the semiotic sign 'self-signing of oneself with holy water' signifies spiritual cleansing, and the 'sign of peace' signifies love and unity among the people of God in the Church. Both the pragmemes and the semiotic signs have an impact on the Catholic Faithful in University of Ibadan.

1. Introduction

There have been a lot of researches and discourses on the Ebola disease in the medical terrain, but no research has actually examined the Ebola disease in relation to language, especially as it concerns its threat to the Catholic community due to her mode of worship. The paper provides a pragma-semiotic analysis of the Catholic Bishops' communiqué addressed to the congregation on the Ebola crisis in Nigeria.

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2. Background

Ebola is a rare and deadly disease. It was formerly a disease of the interior region but today it has spread to the cities of various African countries including Nigeria. The *Science-Express Report* (2014, p. 1) asserts:

> Previous EVD outbreaks were confined to remote regions of Middle Africa; the largest, in 1976, had 318 cases. The current outbreak started in February 2014 in Guinea, West Africa, and spread into Liberia in March, Sierra Leone in May, and Nigeria in late July. It is the largest known EVD outbreak and is expanding exponentially with a doubling period of 34.8 days. As of August 19th, 2,240 cases and 1,229 deaths have been documented. Its emergence in the major cities of Conakry (Guinea), Freetown (Sierra Leone), Monrovia (Liberia), and Lagos (Nigeria) raises the spectre of increasing local and international dissemination.

The disease is caused by infection with one of the Ebola viruses (Ebola, Sudan, Bundibugyo, or Taï Forest virus). It is contracted through ***direct contact*** (broken skin or mucous membranes) with a sick person's blood or body fluids (urine, saliva, faeces, vomit, and semen). It can as well be contracted through direct contact with objects (such as needles) that have been contaminated with the infected body fluids or infected animals. In the entire Africa countries today, the disease of the moment is the deadly Ebola. In medical circles, social gatherings, and the media and even in the Nigerian and African content corner of the World Wide Web, the most talked-about incident is the Ebola disease. What began 38 years ago in the remote villages of Central Africa has stealthily crept into other parts of Africa, specifically some West African countries, leaving fear, dread and death in its trail (The Nigeria Tribune, 22nd September, 2014).

The first case of Ebola was reported in Zaire and Sudan in 1976. It is named after river Ebola in Zaire and called Ebola-Zaire (EBOZ). The first case of Ebola in Nigeria is as a result of the ongoing Ebola outbreak in West Africa since May 2014 and was reported in July. This outbreak started in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone which is the highest outbreak of Ebola in history. In 2014, precisely July 25, the Ministry of Health in Nigeria announced that a man died of Ebola disease in Lagos, Nigeria. The man whose name is Patrick Sawyer was said to have arrived in Nigeria from Liberia with the Ebola disease, which infected the health officers that took care of him.

As a result of the Pandora's Box of Ebola having been opened by Patrick Sawyer in Nigeria, the Nigerian government decided to take all necessary actions to curb the spread of the Ebola disease. Thus, Nigerians were alerted

on the need to protect themselves by personal hygiene, avoidance of contact with blood and body fluids of sick people and several other recommended remedies to curb the spread of the disease. The campaign against the spread of the disease was not left in the hands of the government alone, because all Nigerians including the Catholic Church were involved. Hence, the Catholic Bishops in Ibadan province came out with a communiqué to address the congregation on the Ebola crisis. The communiqué and its impact on the Catholic faithful in the University of Ibadan (UI hereafter) is the thrust of this paper.

3. Method

3.1. Procedure

The university of Ibadan was chosen as a suitable place for this research because, as a university environment, it accommodates people, both students and staff, from different states. More so, the Seat of Wisdom Catholic Chapel, UI, has the highest number of Catholics in Ibadan province with about five hundred (N=500) faithful (including the clergy and laity). Priests from various parts of the province often converge there for different programmes.

The qualitative method of data collection was adopted for this study in order to obtain a considerable and holistic data that would ensure an effective and adequate accomplishment of the objectives of the study. The data were collected in narrative form through an in-depth interview (IDI hereafter) between August and September, 2014, while the communiqué was collected from the *Catholic Bulletin*. In the gathering of the interview data, 30 adult respondents (N=30) from the Catholic faithful in UI were purposively selected for individual interviews. The interview data were collected through the aid of field notes. The responses were then input to content analysis while the communiqué was subjected to pragma-semiotic interpretation. All of the above methods involved the identification of recurring themes relevant to the aims of this study.

3.2. Theoretical Framework

Mey's Pragmatic Act Theory (PAT; described in Mey, 2001, and Salmani Nodoushan, 2013; 2016a,b; 2017a,b) and Saussure's model of semiotic signs were used to analyse the data. The theory of pragmatic act is adopted because it is a function-based theory of meaning while the semiotic theory is adopted because it is a sign-based theory of signs and meaning suitable for the interpretation of signs in a speech situation. We shall first start with the description of the pragmatic act theory. According to Aremu (2015), the phrase "pragmatic act" was first introduced by GU (1993) before it was developed by Mey (2001) to be the pragmatic act theory. From the

perspective of the pragmatic act theory, a speaker may co-opt others, set them up, influence them through conversations, and deny certain claims without betraying such acts through lexical choices (Mey, 2001). The issue here is that, in this theory, there is no word or lexical item to point out a particular act other than in a context. Mey (2001) argues that a pragmatic act is instantiated through an "ipra" or "a pract" which realises "a pragmeme" as "every pract is at the same time an allopract that is a concrete instantiation of a particular pragmeme." (Mey, 2001, p. 224).

In other words, in the pragmatic acts theory, a pract is determined by participants' knowledge of the interactional situation and the effect of the pract in a particular context (Allan & Salmani Nodoushan, 2015; Capone & Salmani Nodoushan, 2014; Salmani Nodoushan, 2017a). Thus, Odebunmi (2006, p. 24) opines that "practing resolves the problem of telling illocutionary force from perlocutionary force" (See also Gu, 1993; Kurzon, 1998; 2015). The interactional situation in which the speaker and hearer realise their aim is the focus of this theory. Hence in Mey's (2001, p. 751) word:

> The explanatory movement is from the outside in, rather than from the inside out: Instead of starting with what is said, and looking for what the words could mean, the situation in which the words fit is invoked to explain what can be (and is actually being) said.

Also important in PAT is the word "implied identification." This is because the focus is not on the "said" but on the "unsaid." Thus the hearers' are either set-up, co-opted or denied to achieve the speakers' act when the act is not explicit, and there is no speech act to show the pragmatic act, or what Salmani Nodoushan (2017a,b) called '*pragmeme*' (i.e., the actualization of intended practs through utterances in actual language use). The only way to the identification of the act is to look out for it.

The two categories that interact in the pragmatic act theory to realise a pragmeme are: (a) the textual part, and (b) the activity part. The activity part comprises various options such as speech acts, indirect speech acts, conversational acts ('dialogue'), psychological acts (emotions), prosody (intonation, stress), physical acts, etc. These are available to speakers to carry out any function of their choice (Mey, 2001). Therefore, the realisations of pragmatic functions in a given communicative event are based on the activity part; the contextual part includes the inference (INF), reference (REF), relevance (REL), voice (VCE), shared situational knowledge (SSK), Metaphor (MPH), and metapragmatic joker (M). Odebunmi (2006) introduced shared cultural knowledge (SCK) to account for culturally related issues.

Conversely, semiotics is the study of signs. The most important feature in semiotic study is the sign (Salmani Nodoushan, 2013; 2016a,b; 2017a,b). Although this paper adopts Saussure's model of semiotic signs, some scholars have also contributed to semiotic studies. Ferdinand de Saussure, the father of modern linguistics is the founder of the theory of semiotics. In his writing collection known as *Course in General Linguistics,* he was able to put down the guiding principles of semiotics. Saussure's model of semiotic is a dualistic presentation of signs as consisting of signifier: (1) the form which the sign takes, and (2) the signified which is the concept the sign represents. According to Saussure (1983, p. 67), "The sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier and the signified." He argues that a sign must have both a signifier and the signified with a particular context. For him, "a sign is more than the sum of its parts," and "its value is determined by the relationship between the sign and other signs within the system as a whole" (Saussure 1983, pp. 112-113). Other scholars who have contributed to the development of semiotics are Leeds-Hurwtz (1993), Morris (1938), Barthes (1997), Wales (1990), and so forth.

According to Leeds-Hurwtz, "the study of communication is the way any sign functions in the mind of an interpreter to convey specific meaning in a given situation" (1993, p. 1). This approach to semiotics of texts focuses on the phenomenon of communication in its totality, which includes verbal communication (i.e., language in speech and writing) as well as non-verbal communication (i.e., anything that stands for something else). Barthes (1997) argues that virtually everything in the society is meaningful and can be a significant sign to a speech community (e.g., fashion, music, dress, art works, etc.). As such, the interests of semiotics are in the message hidden in photographs, advertisements, television, and so on. Other examples are written works (i.e., literatures) and their various meaning production. Wales (1990) defines semiotics as the analysis of signs and sign systems and their meaning specifically those involved with communication between humans in different societies and culture; she further defines the scope of semiotics as "verbal language in its entire different media of speech and writing and also non-verbal communication systems" (Wales, 1990, p. 416)—such as gesture, movements, dress, and the mass media.

At the heart of semiotics is *semiosis,* "The study of ordinary objects . . . as far as they participate in semiosis" (Morris, 1938, p. 20). Morris opines that semiosis is the "process by which something functions as signs in a social context and situation and sign action in relation to the creation and interpretation of meaning." Morris' view of semiotics encompasses traditional branches of Linguistics which entail include semantics (i.e., the relationship between the signifier and what it stands for), syntax (i.e., the formal structural relationship between signs), and pragmatics (i.e., the relationship

of sign to the interpreter) (Morris, 1938; see also Salmani Nodoushan, 1995, 2006a,b, 2007a,b,a, 2008a,b; 2011; 2013a,b; 2016c,d; Salmani Nodoushan & Allami, 2011). Peirce describes semiosis as the process of sign interpretation (cf., Salmani Nodoushan, 2014a,b; Sari & Yusuf, 2013). Expanding Saussure's model of semiotic signs, Sebeok (1977) opines that the sign is "One of six factors in communication which separately and together makes [*sic*] up the rich domain of semiotic research" (Sebeok, 1977, p. 16). These factors established by Sebeok include: (1) message, (2) source, (3) destination, (4) channel, (5) code, and (6) context. Thus, the message is the sign, the sign producer is the source, the sign receiver is the destination, the channel is the (written, spoken or other) medium through which the sign is given, the code is a set of rules by which the message is produced and interpreted, and the context is the environment in which the sign is used and interpreted. Hence, sign is defined here by Eco (1997) as "Everything that, on the grounds of previously established social conventions, can be taken as standing for something else" (Eco, 1997, p. 16).

3.2.1. Context of Bishops' communiqué

The issue of context is very important in both pragmatic and semiotic discourses. Malinowski (1923) was the first scholars to introduce the context of situation in contextual discourse because they were anxious with stating meanings in terms of the context in which language is used (cf. Adegbite, 2000; Adeniji & Osunbade, 2014; Bhatia & Salmani Nodoushan, 2015; Capone, 2016; Johns & Salmani Nodoushan, 2015; Levinson 1983; Mey, 2001; 2009; Odebunmi, 2006; Palmer, 1996; Salmani Nodoushan, 1995, 2006b, 2011a,b; 2012a,b; Salmani Nodoushan & Khakbaz, 2011; Salmani Nodoushan & Khakbaz, 2012; Salmani Nodoushan & Montazeran, 2012; Thomas, 1995; Yule, 1996). Context is a very powerful variable in the study of pragmatics. It is inseparably linked with linguistic meaning and its clarification.

Brown and Yule (1983) define pragmatics as a systematic approach which involves contextual consideration. Yule (1996, p. 3) views pragmatics as a study of speaker meaning:

> . . . this necessarily involves the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said. It requires a consideration of how speakers organize what they want to say in accordance with who they' re talking to, where, when and under what circumstances. Pragmatics is the study of contextual meaning.

In the same vein, Odebunmi (2006, p. 25) observes that "context provides the background from which the meaning of a word springs," and aptly sums up the importance of contexts in discourse by stating that "the idea of contexts

generally presupposes a mutual contextual background in which participants relate and make appropriate inferences" (Odebunmi, 2005, p. 39). The key elements in the contextual consideration of utterance identified by Adegbija (1988, p. 1) are the immediate background and the non-immediate background knowledge.

The immediate background knowledge includes linguistic and situational environment for interpretation of utterances, while the non-immediate background knowledge involves aspect of social or socio-cultural knowledge (world knowledge) and cognitive knowledge. Odebunmi (2006, p. 24) explains the idea of contextual belief as assumptions or beliefs held by interactants prior to or during occasions of interactions, which facilitate the communication process. Contextual beliefs are variously termed (e.g., mutual contextual beliefs, shared contextual beliefs, shared assumptions, shared knowledge, and so on). The term operates at two levels: (1) the level of language, and (2) the level of situation. At the level of language, meaning is potentially understandable based on the shared linguistic knowledge between interactants; at the level of situation, however, contextual beliefs go beyond linguistics to include non-linguistic codes and experiences that are held in common by interactants (cf., Salmani Nodoushan, 2015a; 2017a). Odebunmi opines that "it is at this level that both the variety or dialect of the language that is selected and other situational variables are used to process meaning" (2006, p. 24). At the situational level, there are three types of shared knowledge, namely: (1) shared knowledge of subject/topic; (2) shared knowledge of word choice, referent and references; and (3) shared socio-cultural experience, both previous and immediate.

Context is central to several other pragmatic or discourse concepts, such as implicatures and making inference in interpersonal communication. In this connection, it should be noted that Ebola discourse requires much from the knowledge of the role of contexts (for any objective analysis and evaluation of interactional strategies that are explored by Bishop**s** communiqué to tackle the Ebola crisis in the Catholic Church).

Along the same lines, Osisanwo (2003, p. 76) identifies general features of contexts. These are physical contexts, socio-cultural contexts, psychological contexts, and linguistic contexts. The physical context of pragmatics includes the participants, the activities, the place and the time of interaction. The socio-cultural context deals with the socio-cultural background. Osisanwo relates psychological contexts to the state of the mind of each of the interlocutors in terms of sadness, joy, anger, anxiety, and so on. The linguistic context has to do with the examination of language usage of the participants for any peculiarity in lexical or syntactic choice. The views discussed above

could be summarised with Mey's (2001, p. 39) socio-pragmatic approach which describes contexts

> . . . as a dynamic not a static concept: it is to be understood as the continually changing surroundings, in the widest sense, that enable the participants in the communication process to interact, and in which the linguistic expression of their interaction becomes intelligible.

Here the emphasis on the relations between the linguistic and the social contexts is an important one because, without immediate and direct relations to the social contexts, the forms and practs of language cannot be fully explained. Along the same lines, Salmani Nodoushan (2015a) distinguishes between 'static context' that exists out there prior to interlocutors' engagement in communication, and 'emergent context' which pops up during the ongoing process of communication between interlocutors. Nevertheless, context , according to Mey (2001), has been considered as the totality of the environment in which a word(s) is used.

With regard to the current study, context has assisted the Catholic faithful in UI to understand the various Ebola messages through the use of the Bishops' communiqué on the Ebola crisis. Context has helped the researcher to give meaningful interpretation to the communiqué through the application of the pragmatic and semiotic theories.

3.2.2. Pragma-semiotics of the Bishops' communiqué

The pragma-semiotics of the Bishops' communiqué on the Ebola crisis is such that the pragmatic aspect which is information-motivated exhibits a direct act. According to Osisanwo (2003, p. 65), the direct act is the correlation between the structure and the function of the structure; where the relationship is grammatically established, the utterance amounts to a direct act. The direct act interacts with the contextual features via reference (REF), inference (INF), shared situational knowledge (SSK), relevance (REL) and shared cultural knowledge (SCK) to establish the practs/pragmemes of (a) counselling, (b) cautioning, (c) commanding, and (d) threatening in the Catholic Bishops communiqué on the Ebola disease. Thus, the Priest and the Catholic faithful share the background knowledge which include the SSK, SCK, REF, INF, and REL to enable them to understand the communiqué. Saussure's semiotic 'sign' as discussed in this paper is identified as the signifier and the signified as the components of the sign, where the sign itself is formed by the connective bond between the signifier and the signified. That is, the signs in the communiqué are created by their worthy associations with other signs. Thus, the three visible signs: (1) the Holy Communion, (2) self-signing with

Holy Water, and (3) sign of Peace. They are in relationship together with the practs that they manifest in the communiqué, and are analysed in this paper.

4. Analysis

4.1. Pragmatic functions in the Catholic Bishops' communiqué

The Catholic Bishops' communiqué is an information-motivated discourse in the health management context to curb the spread of the Ebola disease. The findings in the analysis reveal the practs of counselling, cautioning, commanding and threatening through the interaction of the activity part and the contextual features of SCK, SSK, REF, INF, and REL. These practs are discussed in the extracts below:

Extract 1:   *That Priests, Religious and other Pastoral workers collaborate with Doctors and other medical personal to sensitise and educate our people on the dangers, symptoms and management of the Ebola disease. This should take into consideration the native language of the people for maximum effect and for minimizing superstition and rumours which can do more damage than the disease itself.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

Extract #1 of this communiqué is a direct speech act. This act is directed to the priests, the religious and other workers in the church, on the need to work hand in hand with the doctors and all medical personnel to educate the audience on the dangerous effect of Ebola, its symptoms and how the disease could possibly be managed. The Bishops stressed the need for the audience to be enlightened in their native language for easy understanding, and for the reduction of superstition and rumours concerning the Ebola disease. This is because people could easily understand messages when communicated to them in their various languages since language will always utilize what is in their culture. The pragmatic function of this extract is counselling; hence, the pragmeme of counselling. With the application of the SSK and SCK, the priest, the religious and the other workers in the church could infer counselling as the pract of the communiqué and its importance for the safety of the congregation.

Extract 2:   *That the common self-signing with water at the entrance of the Church and other occasions be suspended. This does not preclude the use of Holy Water for other purposes.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

Extract #2 is a direct speech act. It is directed to both the priests and the congregation. It seeks the suspension of the common self-signing with water

by members at the entrance of the church before entering for prayers. In the Holy Roman Catholic Church, the tradition is that a bowl of Holy Water is usually positioned at the entrance of the church for members to deep in their hands to make sign of the Cross in a prayerful mode before entering the church for any activity. The Ebola crisis made the Bishops in Ibadan Diocese to suspend this act with the assumption that a carrier who deeps his or her hand in the bowl of water is most likely to spread the Ebola disease through the water. However, this directive does not stop the use of Holy Water for other purposes in the church. The pragmatic function of this extract is commanding. Relying on the SSK and SCK, the priest and the congregation infer the commanding pract to stop the use of Holy Water for self-signing at the entrance of the church immediately to help contain the disease.

Extract 3:   *That the shaking of hands for Sign of Peace at Masses be suspended, given the risk such contact entails at public celebrations.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

Extract #3, as a directive speech act, is directed to both the priest and the congregation. It seeks the suspension of hand shake as a sign of peace in the church. In the Holy Catholic Church, the tradition is that members often shake hands during masses as a sign of peace to one another. The Ebola crisis made the Bishops in Ibadan Archdiocese to suspend this act with the assumption that a carrier who shakes hand with a fellow member is most likely to spread the Ebola disease through this act. However, this directive does not stop the member from shaking hands if they so desire. The pragmatic function of this extract is commanding. The SSK and SCK of the Ebola discourse enabled the practing commands to have effect on the priest and the congregation who inferred the stoppage of the shaking of hands as a sign of peace during mass immediately as a yardstick for curbing the spread of the disease.

Extract 4:   *That Priest exercise great caution at sick calls and hospitals visitation and on other occasions that necessitate physical contact in the administration of the Sacraments. They should ensure regular washing of hands after such occasions.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

Extract #4 of this communiqué is directed to the priest. As a direct speech act, it pin-points the need for the priests during their visitation to the hospitals in care for the sick to be careful with body contacts, so that they don't contract the Ebola disease. Apart from the priests being careful in order not to contract the disease, it is pertinent that they (priests) be very careful so that they will not transfer the Ebola disease from one person to another. In the church's tradition, the priest is expected to visit the sick at the hospital or at home on

request to administer prayers, communion or anoint the sick. All these involve body contact; hence, applying the context SSK and SCK, the pract cautions the Priests to be careful. The pragmatic function of this extract is cautioning. Here the reference to washing of hands is stressed after any body contact as part of pre-emptive measures against the disease.

Extract 5   *That hygienic precautions to be taken by priest and other altar servers and other pastoral assistants, by all who count the offerings in the Church through the washing of hands, the use of gloves, hand sanitizers and other means necessary.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

This fifth extract is directed to the priests, altar servers and other pastoral assistants in the church. The altar servers and some groups of persons are always engaged in the counting of money after masses at the end of the day. Thus this message cautions the priests to enlighten these groups of persons (altar servers and pastoral assistants) on the need to always wash their hands, use gloves or hand sanitizers as a preventive measure against the Ebola disease. It is assumed that, if a carrier drops money as offering, every preventive measure should be taken so that the pastoral assistants do not contract the disease and spread it. The pragmatic function of this extract is counselling. First, based on the SSK and SCK of the Ebola crisis, the priests could infer that he, in return, is expected to counsel the congregation.

Extract 6   *That, given the expediency of the situation, communion in the hand should now be the practice with due and adequate catechesis of the people by competent authorities. The Bishop of each diocese will judge the right timing for this and give other directives and approve other measures considered useful on the local level. All churches should please put this in their bulletin and communications channels until further notice.*
(Source: *Catholic Chapel Sunday Bulletin*, UI, 17th August, 2014.)

Extract #6 is implicitly directed to the priests and the congregation. The priests are expected to enlighten the congregation on the reception of Holy Communion in the hand (that is the communion is placed in the hand of the recipient who eventually puts it in his/her mouth) instead of the usual reception in the mouth (that is the putting of the communion into the recipients' mouth by the priests). In the USA Bishops Conference held in 1977, this controversy was debated upon and was later made optional. In Nigeria, Bishops of dioceses are allowed to use their discretion on what to do (i.e., reception of communion in the mouth or hand), but virtually all the bishops in Nigeria had resolved to giving communion in the mouth to avoid abuse of the Holy Communion. However, the message stressed the need for

priests to properly and adequately give catechesis (enlightenment) to the congregation on the issue since the emergence of the Ebola. Thus, this communiqué as directed by the bishops should be published in all channels of communication in the church until further notice. The pragmatic function of this extract is counselling; with the application of the context SSK and SCK, the congregation could infer the reception of communion on their palms as a preventive measure against the Ebola disease.

4.2. Semiotic analysis of the communiqué

In the analysis of this communiqué following Saussure's model of semiotic signs, we shall discuss the signification of certain elements used in the communiqué.

4.2.1. Communion

In the Holy Catholic Church, communion signifies the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ present in bread and wine. It is called the Holy Eucharist or sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that is, Jesus Himself present in the Host as He promised the disciples that He will be with them till the end of time. Unlike the Catholic Communion, other churches see their communion as a symbol, not as Jesus. This sacrament is the centre of worship in the Holy Catholic Church, and the average practicing Catholic with all conviction has special reverence for the communion. This belief made the bishops seek for special enlightenment on communion during the Ebola crisis.

4.2.2. Self-signing with Holy Water

In the Holy Catholic Church, the self-signing of oneself with holy water signifies spiritual cleansing. Members, before entering into the church for prayers or any other activity, often perform this act of cleansing. It is believed that this spiritual cleanings places the performer of the act in a state of purity before coming into the presence of God for prayers. Thus, most members of the congregation perform this act of a constant deeping of hands in the bowl of holy water, and the bishops sensed it as a way to spread or contract the Ebola disease.

4.2.3. The Sign of Peace

In the Holy Catholic Church, offering of the sign of peace signifies love and unity among the people of God. It is believed that sharing the sign of peace removes hatred among the congregation thus makes them feel that oneness as children of God under the banner of the love of God. This act of offering of sign of peace, as mentioned earlier, involves body contact which is the act of handshake among members with one another in the congregation. This also

made the bishops see it as a trait that can possibly ease the spread of the Ebola disease.

Therefore, the signifier is the Holy Communion while the signified is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; the self-signing with Holy Water is the signifier while the spiritual cleansing is the signified, and the Sign of Peace is the signifier while the signified is Christian unity. All of these are in relationship to make up the semiotic sign of the bishops communiqué on the Ebola crisis in Ibadan province. The semiotic communicative factor of signs—i.e., Sebeok's (1977) extension of Saussure's sign—can be applied to this communiqué and interpreted thus; these factors are message, source, destination, channel, code, and context. The message, as a sign, is the Ebola crisis; the source is the *Catholic Bulletin* and the interviewee; the destination is the priest and the congregation; the channel is the church; the code is the communiqué itself while the context is the Ebola disease and the church (congregation and priest).

4.3. The impact of the bishops' communiqué on the congregation

The impact of this communiqué is on both the priest and the congregation (the congregation is made up of the youth, young men and women as well as elderly men and women). The impact of this communiqué depends on the age of the person involved. The first controversy on this communiqué is the reception of communion on the hand or in the mouth. As the communiqué directed, the priests were told to give adequate catechesis (teaching) to the congregation on the need to give communion on the hand instead of the usual mouth. The priests instructed the congregation that they should place their left hand (palm) on their right hand (palm), after the priest might have placed the communion on the recipient's left palm; the recipient then picks the communion with his or her right hand and put in the mouth. Most people among the congregation frowned at this teaching complaining that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ should not be received on the left palm.

This is based on the cultural belief people have on left and right handedness; for instance, Ajikobi (1995; cited in Igboanusi, 2003) states that, among the Yoruba, if a rodent or any animal runs from the left to the right side in front of one who walks along the road, it stands for bad luck the outcome of which might be disastrous unless averted with sacrifices. He also stressed that, among the Yoruba, it is believed that left-handed people are addicted to violence because they are temperamental in nature. Another instance is in the Edo culture where it is a taboo for anyone to drink in the public with his left hand unless the people belong to a cult. Among the Igbo, left hand symbolizes evil, unwanted, and unnatural (Igboanusi, 2003). He also states that the Igbo believe that left hand is frequently used to do evil, to commit abomination.

Thus the use of left and right portrays the left as negative and bad, and the right as positive and good.

All these cultural beliefs on the uses of the left hand has raised a lot of exclamation. Apart from the Holy Communion issues, the suspension of the self-signing with holy water and hand shake as a sign of peace still has impact on the people. However, the interviews from the respondents could attest to the impact of this communiqué:

> *It is not the Ebola crisis that first brought the issue of reception of Holy Communion in the hand. The issue was first discussed at the 1977 Bishops conference in USA, but it was not implemented here in Nigeria because of our peoples' culture and way of life.*
> (Catholic Priest-IDI- Ibadan Province 17-10-14)

The interview above from the priest explains that the Ebola crisis is not what brought the issue of receiving Holy Communion in the palm. He made it clear that the issue was discussed at the 1977 bishops conference, but was not implemented because of our peoples' culture and way of life. Below is also an interview from another priest in Ibadan province of the Holy Catholic Church.

> *The conclusion at the Bishops conference in 1977 made reception of Communion on the palm or in the mouth in the Catholic Church optional long before the Ebola crisis in Nigeria. But the Ebola crisis brought the implementation of reception on the palm in Ibadan province.*
> (Catholic Priest-IDI-Ibadan Province 10-11-14)

This respondent made it clear that the reception of Holy Communion in the palm or mouth was actually optional because of the decision at the Bishops conference in 1977 in the USA, and that the Ebola crisis brought about the implementation of reception in the palm in the Ibadan province. The comment of another priest states that the abuse of Holy Communion made in the optional reception of communion was not effective in Africa. He gave an instance where communicants in Ghana, after receiving communion in the palm, dusted off the particles of the communion from their palm, which is not supposed to be because that small particle is also the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Comment below:

> *The reception of Holy Communion decision at 1977 Bishops conference was not actually implemented in Ibadan because of instances of abuse of the Communion from other African countries who tried to implement reception on palm. A typical example is in Ghana where communicants' dust off the particles of the Communion from their palm forgetting that that the particle is as important as the full bread. Well, since this*

incident of Ebola has made the Bishops of Ibadan to take the decision of reception on palm, proper enlightenment will be done to avoid abuses.
(Catholic Priest-IDI-Ibadan Province 10-9-14)

The priest's comments above did not only emphasize the abuse of the communion, but also talked about the importance of proper enlightenment to the congregation to avoid similar abuses. A priest also stressed the importance of holiness as a recipient of Holy Communion, and not the procedure of the reception. He also said that the communiqué on the Ebola crisis has counselled and cautioned him as a priest to perform a more hygienic way of administering Holy Communion to the congregation to prevent the spread of Ebola and to receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ with a better disposition. His comment below:

Whether reception of the Holy Communion on palm or mouth, what is important is the disposition of the recipient's heart, that is, the recipient must be in state of grace. However, the Bishops' communiqué on Ebola is actually a caution and counsel to me as a priest on the administering of communion to the congregation to curb spread of Ebola and a better disposition to reception as well.
(Catholic Priest-IDI-University of Ibadan, 10-11-14)

Another priest speaks on the left versus right hand dichotomy; he is of the opinion that placing the Holy Communion on the left palm of the recipient does not mean that he/she is receiving with the left palm, but the teaching is that one places the left palm on the right palm, when the communion is placed, then use the right palm to pick and put in your mouth. Comment below:

You don't stretch out your left palm to receive Communion rather you place your left palm on your right palm together, when the Communion is placed on your left palm, pick the Communion with your right palm and put in your mouth. I don't see any wrong with that.
(Catholic-Priest-IDI-Ibadan Province 10-8-14)

The respondent below laments that the Ebola crisis calls for serious prayer for it to disappear from Nigeria. According to her, the Ebola crisis has brought disunity in the Holy Catholic church of God and the entire society. She stressed that people are now afraid to shake hands with fellow brethren, an act that is supposed to be a sign of peace, unity and love. Her response is presented below:

My daughter, this Ebola problem calls for serious prayer, so that it can disappear from Nigeria. This is because it has brought a kind of disunity

*in the mind of people in the church. Brethrens are now afraid to have a
hand shake with one another which is supposed to be a sign of peace,
love and unity. Before the Ebola crisis brethren apart from hand shake,
also hug each other but now, nothing of such, all because of Ebola. As for
Communion, it has never been a practice in Ibadan Catholic Church to
receive our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the palm. But the Ebola
crisis has made it so. I really don't like it. Well, the Bishops communiqué
has counselled me to be careful in order not to contract Ebola.*

(Catholic-Female-member-IDI University of Ibadan, 12-9-14)

The female respondent above also frowns at the new practice of receiving
communion on the palm. She equally claimed that the bishops' communiqué
had helped to counsel her on the need to be careful so that she may not
contract the Ebola disease.

Here is the view of a Catholic youth. He is of the opinion that there is nothing
wrong with all the new practises in the church because of the Ebola crisis. He
points out that if the methods are what will prevent the people from
contracting Ebola, it is a welcome idea; because God cannot do it for us thus
we have to pray as well as help ourselves. The respondent claims that the
communiqué cautions him that Ebola can be contracted anywhere, anytime
and from anybody if one is not careful. Response below:

*If we know that we can prevent ourselves from the Ebola disease through
this methods and practises, I think is better. God cannot come down from
heaven to prevent Ebola. We have to pray at the same time do our best.
The Bishops Communiqué has created a special awareness to me by
cautioning me that Ebola can be contracted anywhere, time and from
anybody.*

(Catholic-youth-member-IDI-University of Ibadan, 12-9-14)

Another youth is also of the opinion that the bishops' communiqué has helped
the priest to be more careful in order not to contract the disease and transmit
to another person. The youth also comments on the stoppage of signing with
holy water and sharing of peace in the church. The comment below:

*In my opinion the communiqué has helped to save the priest and the
congregation. This is because the priest will not contract the disease
from one person to another. For me with or without the water, I am
okay because I still make the sign of the cross and with faith I receive
my blessing without water. Well the stoppage of the sign of peace
through handshake is actually not pleasing to me because it looks as if
that bond of peace and unity among the people is no longer there.
Thanks be to God for this communiqué, it has really counselled and*

cautioned me on the prevention of this Ebola disease.
(Catholic-youth-member-IDI-University of Ibadan, 12-9-14)

The youth opines that the stoppage of the signing with holy water does not change him from making the sign of the cross, of which with faith he still receives blessing from God without the use of holy water. But he is not pleased with the stoppage of the sharing of peace through handshake, which he feels would have disrupted the peace and unity among members of the congregation. He also claims that the bishops' communiqué has counselled and cautioned him more on the prevention of the Ebola disease.

A church worker among the congregation also airs his opinion on the bishops' communiqué on the Ebola disease. She claims that the bishops' communiqué has cautioned her as a church worker who counts money to stop the habit of dipping her finger in the mouth to aid counting. She opines that the communiqué has helped to counsel the priest and the congregation, since there is need to protect the priest and the congregation. She also claims that the stoppage of the use of holy water for sign of the cross does not make any difference to her. Response presented below.

> *The Bishops Communiqué has made me to be cautious as a person who counts money in the church. Before the Ebola crisis I always dip my finger in my mouth to collect spit for wetness when counting money, but now I try as much as possible not to do that again. Also there is a need to protect the priests and the congregation. The holy water for signing of the cross is already abused by the congregation before this crisis, thus the stoppage does not make any difference to me.*
(Catholic-church-worker-member-IDI-University of Ibadan, 12-9-14)

Also below is the comment of a nurse who resides in Ibadan, she claims that she had travelled round Nigeria as a professional nurse and a practising catholic she had never seen where Holy Communion is administered in the palm. She also claims that the communiqué cautions her to be more careful both in the church and outside the church to prevent contracting the Ebola disease. Response below:

> *As a professional nurse over the years, I have travelled to different parts of Nigeria before residing in Ibadan. I have never seen where Holy Communion is received in the palm except overseas. I feel it is not so in Nigeria because it could be abused. However, this enlightenment cautions me on Ebola prevention.*
(Catholic- member-IDI-University of Ibadan, 12-9-14)

From the foregoing analysis, the responses of the respondents suggest that the bishops' communiqué has a positive impact on the priest and the

congregation. Thus it has helped to curb the spread of the Ebola disease from the church angle.

5. Conclusion

This paper analyzed the Catholic bishops' communiqué on the Ebola crisis in the Ibadan province from a pragma-semiotic perspective. The pragmatic description of the bishops' communiqué is an information-motivated discourse characterized by the direct acts. Thus, the direct acts interact with the contextual features via the implementation of reference (REF), inference (INF), shared situational knowledge (SSK), shared cultural knowledge (SCK) and relevance (REL) to establish the practs of counselling, cautioning, commanding and threatening in the bishops' communiqué on the Ebola disease. However, the pragmatic function of the communiqué is more of counselling and cautioning to the congregation.

Based on the semiotic analysis of the three visible signs, the study posits that the communion signifies the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, self-signing with Holy Water signifies cleansing while the sign of peace signifies unity; all of these are in relationship with the practs, considering the way they are manifested in the communiqué. Hence, the Catholic bishops' communiqué on the prevention of Ebola in University of Ibadan is effective with positive impact on the priest and the congregation. Thus, this pragma-semiotic analysis is used to address the thematic issue of social communication on the prevention of the Ebola disease in a Catholic setting.

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Chapter 3

Yoruba versus French: A politeness comparison

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The concept of politeness is a universal concept which operation or manifestation varies according to the varying cultures and beliefs of people all over the world. Interestingly, many languages that do not belong to the same language family nor situated in the same continent are found to have something in common in the way they express politeness in their culture. Such is the case with the Yoruba and French languages, which, in spite of their differences, manifest similarity in their culture of politeness. This work gives an insight into the similarities and differences that exist in the politeness cultures of the Yoruba and French languages, with particular focus on the use of honorific pronouns. Both languages make use of honorific pronouns to express politeness. However, while the French language has just one honorific pronoun, vous, the Yoruba language has four honorific pronouns, Ẹ[h], Yín[h], Wọ́n[h], and Wọn[h].

Key words: Politeness; Culture; Greetings; Yoruba; French

1. Introduction

Language is used in different ways among different peoples and cultures. For instance, language is used to reflect the belief, perception and view of people about certain ideas in the society. Therefore, it is not just the knowledge of the grammatical rules that guide sentence formation in a particular language that is solely pertinent in the acquisition or learning of a language, but also the social rules that guide the social use of the language. This realization by language scholars led to the field of study known as Ethnography of Communication. This field is not only concerned with the means by which man communicates but also with the way in which a speaker associates particular modes of speaking with particular settings and activities. Equally, the field is particularly interested in who speaks at a time, where to speak, to whom to speak, how one speaks to or addresses one's interlocutor(s), and all the social norms needed to be learnt in order to avoid "frictions" that could ensue as a result of failure to comply with such social rules.

Among other concepts, the concepts of politeness and greetings are central to the study of ethnography of communication. As a matter of fact, every human being wants to be accorded some level of respect in one way or the other,

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especially as it relates to the use of language; this explains the universality of these concepts. However, while there are areas of similarity in the expression of these concepts in different languages, there are equally areas of divergence in the realization of the concepts across languages. This explains our focus on and selection of the Yoruba and French languages in this work. These languages, in spite of their differences, share some areas of similarity in the realization of the concept of politeness in particular.

2. Background

Just as it is with many concepts in linguistics or language studies, scholars diverge in their opinions on the concept of politeness. Among these numerous scholars is Yuang (2008) who "opines in our daily life, we have the awareness of what is a polite action or not". In other words, as rationale human beings, we are conscious of such activities or expressions that make us appear considerate as far as our relationship with others in the society is concerned. For instance, a Yoruba boy who has to vacate his seat for an elderly man who could not find a seat in a gathering could be said to be considerate, and as such polite, in his dealing with the old man. However, a child who fails to do that in a similar situation would be seen as being impolite. In a similar vein, a child who addresses someone who is much other than he is, using the appropriate honorific pronoun(s) is considered polite and one that does contrary, impolite. Adegbija (1989) submits that politeness is associated with situations in which one "speaks or behaves in a way that is socially and culturally acceptable and pleasant to the hearer" (p. 58). Similarly, Ide (1993) views politeness as a cover term for behaviour "without friction" (p. 7), while Brown (1980) sees it as "saying and doing things in such a way as to take into account the other person's feeling" (p. 114).

To Watts (2003: 39), politeness can be defined as follows: "the natural attributes of a 'good' character, the ability to please others through one's external actions and the ideal union between the character of an individual and his external actions". In the definition given by Watts (2003), it can be seen that politeness is one of the most important aspects of human communication which has to be observed so as to enable social order in a society. Politeness can be seen as a social lubricant that can be used to grease the wheel of interaction. This enhances cooperation and social order in a society. This is in line with the position of Yuang (2008: 98) that:

> "politeness can also be regarded as a restraint . . . some kind of social norm imposed by the conventions of the community of which we are members. Sometimes we feel that we have to be polite in order to show that we are civilized and cultivated to such an extent that we know what to do to live up to the conventionally recognized social standards so that

we will not be accused of being rude or ill-manned. In order to be polite, we have to be tolerant. Under certain circumstances, to meet certain standards, we have to refrain from doing certain things which we would readily do in private".

Politeness is considered to be a universal concept by Brown and Levinson; to support this claim, Brown and Levinson (1987) developed the politeness theory. Politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), is categorized into two groups: positive politeness, and negative politeness. Positive politeness involves the use of direct speech acts, that is, establishing a positive relationship between parties and respecting people's needs to be liked and understood while negative politeness entails the use of indirect speech acts, that is making a request less infringing. Negative politeness respects people's rights to act freely. To sum up, politeness can at once be understood as a social phenomenon, a means to achieve good interpersonal relationships, and a norm imposed by social conventions.

Politeness and greetings are two universal concepts that are closely related. Politeness manifests in greetings depending on the status of the people involved. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) see greetings as a speech event composed of two parts side by side, serial and sequential such as greeting-greeting. This is a very common form of greetings in Yoruba. This is shown in the conversation below:

Example 1.

	Excerpt	Translation
A	"**Ẹ** káàá san ooo"	*Good afternoon*
B	"Oo, **ẹ** káàá san"	*Oo, good afternoon*

We can also have an adjacency pair which functions as greeting-request. These are represented below.

Example 2.

	Excerpt	Translation
A	Ẹ káà sán	*Good afternoon*
B	Ẹ káà sán, níbo ló dà?	*Good afternoon, where are you going?*

Richard and Schmidt (1983, p. 131) also define greeting–greeting adjacency pairs as "closed sets formulae" which are "easily learned." From this definition, we can observe that the concept of greeting is a very important aspect of social behaviour. If one gets into a new society, to fit into such a society, one needs to learn how to greet; anyone who ignores greetings is regarded as an impolite person among the Yoruba and the French peoples.

Realizing that politeness is part and parcel of correct socio-linguistic behaviour, we must be cautious about how we define language. There have been various attempts by scholars to define the concept of language. For instance, Block and Trager (1942, p. 5) define language "as a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates." This definition focuses attention on the social function of language. The role language plays in life of man cannot be overemphasized. Information is exchanged between individuals through the use of language. No society can exist without the presence of a particular language or more. Language ties members of a speech community together in continuing interrelationship. In the words of Hall (1968, p. 158), language is "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory symbols." In this definition, Hall places emphasis on the communicative function of language. Language is seen as an instrument of communication through which man exchanges ideas and imparts knowledge.

The use of institution in his definition can also be likened to a speech community or society. The functions performed by language in a speech community are numerous. Language is described by Malinowski (1923) as a "social lubricant" through which every human relationship in a community is initiated, consolidated and sustained. Language can also be seen as a tool for entertainment. People read novels for relaxation while some prefer to watch films or staged drama. All these are carried out through the use of language. Crystal (1987, p. 2) points out the functional use of language in the following words:

> There are many situations where the only apparent reason for the use of language is the effect the sound has on the users or listeners. We can group together here such different cases as the rhythmical litanies of religious groups, the persuasive cadences of political speech making, the dialogue chants used by prisoners or slaves as they work; the various kinds of language games played by children and adults.

Smith (1969, p. 9) asserts that language can be defined as "a learned, shared and arbitrary system of vocal symbols through which human beings in the same speech community or sub-culture interact and hence communicate in terms of common cultural experiences and expectations." This definition given by Smith points out that there is a relationship between language and culture. However, there are controversies as to the nature of the relationship between language and culture; in the opinion of Goodenough (1957), a society's language is an aspect of its culture . . . the relation of language to culture is that of part to whole. Many definitions of culture have been given by different scholars depending on their perspectives. Many see it as "a property" possessed by a society which distinguishes it from other societies.

In the words of Goodenough, culture is a socially acquired knowledge which enables members of a community to relate in a manner that will be acceptable by other members of the community. This is captured in the excerpt below:

> As I see it, a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members . . . culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end-product of learning: knowledge, in a most general . . . sense of the term (Goodenough, 1957, p. 167).

In the words of Goodenough, we can see that the knowledge of a society's culture is very germane to language acquisition or learning; culture is a powerful tool for human survival. Hudson (1980) goes further to categorize the knowledge proposed by Goodenough into three kinds. They are as follows.

a) cultural knowledge—which is learned from other people;
b) shared non-cultural knowledge—which is shared by people within the same community or the world over, but is not learned from each other; and
c) non-shared non-cultural knowledge—which is unique to the individual.

In Hudson's categorization, the interrelation between language and culture becomes apparent. Some parts of language are cultural knowledge, since it has to be learned from others. Man shares ideas and information through the use of language. The power of language to influence culture was first proposed by Edward Sapir (1884-1939), and his student, Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states that the way we think and view the world is determined by our language (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2002; Crystal, 1987; Hayes, Ornstein & gage, 1987). There are ways in which culture determines language. The Yoruba do not have words for polyandry simply because it is not part of their culture. Our culture does sometimes restrict what we can think about efficiently in our language. For example, there is no provision for the colours pink, purple, and indigo in the Yoruba language. The expression of these colours in Yoruba will definitely be difficult for a native speaker. Saville-Troike (1982) suggests that while many functions of language are indeed universal, the way language operates in any society to serve these functions is culture-specific.

From the foregoing, it is established that language and culture are inseparable, so it would not be wrong to say that "a society's language is an aspect of its culture . . . . The relation of language to culture is that of part to whole" (Goodenough, 1957).

Every society has its own way of showing politeness and extending greetings. This must be in conformity with the social norms of that society. Politeness

and greetings vary from one society to another. This is determined by the culture of a society. The Yoruba culture is very rich in moral values. This can manifest in the premium the people place on politeness and greetings. The Yoruba regard politeness and greetings with high esteem. An individual is expected to be polite in his utterances when conversing with an elderly person, and he is also expected to know the different forms of greetings for different situations. Thus, an individual who lacks this manner is seen as a reprobate who lacks good home training.

Politeness is divided into two forms in the Yoruba culture. The linguistic politeness which comprises of the use of honorific pronouns like **ẹ**, **èyin**, **wọ́n**, **àwọn** and the non-linguistic which comprises the use of non-verbal expressions such as gestures etc. Non-linguistic form of politeness is inherent in the speech interaction between two interlocutors of different age or social status. The younger one is expected to lower his/her gaze. He/she must not look directly into the eyes of elders during a conversation; maintaining an equal eye contact with elders during a conversation is regarded as an impolite behaviour. Another form of non-linguistic politeness is demonstrated in the area of contribution during a conversation.

In a typical Yoruba gathering where the participation of the young and old is involved, the young are not expected to talk or make a contribution without taking the permission of the elders. They must also follow the rites of turn-taking; that is, they must wait till an elder finishes whatever he has to say before taking their turn. In addition, the tradition of Yoruba does not permit wives to address relations of their husbands by their names; also wives that are recently married are not expected to call by names children born in the family before their arrival. Normally, appellations or pet names are used depending on the peculiarity of the person e.g. ***bàbá dúdú***, "dark man" for a dark person, ***ìyá òròbò***, "fat woman" for a fat person, ***bàba ọkọ mi*** "my husband's father", etc.

One of the main ways of showing politeness among the Yoruba is through greetings. A young man prostrates while a young woman kneels while greeting. In a typical Yoruba home, a female child or a wife is expected to give things to her father while kneeling. This is done with a view to showing respect for a man because the Yoruba believe the man is the head of the family, that is, he is the one in control of the family. This is inherent in the statement below "*ibi a pè lórí ẹnìkan ògbọdò fibè tẹlẹ, ọkọ ladé orí aya*" which implies the husband is the head of the family and as such, should be respected accordingly.

As such, politeness and greetings in Yoruba can be seen as social norms which have to be observed in order to fit into the society. It is seen as an obligatory duty on parents to teach their children how to greet and how to use

appropriate language. Politeness and greetings go hand in hand in the French language too. In French, politeness permeates greetings depending on the status of the interlocutors. A student is not expected to greet his teacher the same way he greets his colleagues. He is expected to greet his teacher in the following manner, "***Bonjour monsieur, comment allez vous***?" meaning "Good morning sir, how are you? Rather than saying "Bonjour ca va?" meaning "Good morning how are you." Also in the language, punctuality is seen as an act of politeness. A French man is expected to get to an event venue before the stipulated time. By doing this, such a person will be regarded as a civilized person, who is well-groomed with the knowledge of the French culture.

Another form of linguistic politeness in French is the showing of appreciation. A man who is invited by a friend to a dinner is expected to call his friend when he gets home to show appreciation. Moreover, a French man is expected to say "Merci beaucoup" meaning thank you very much, whenever he is offered something. All these forms of politeness comprise what is called "La politess en Francais" . In the rest of this paper, we will show how languages that do not belong to the same language family nor situated in the same continent are found to have something in common in the way they express politeness in their greetings. Such is the case with the Yoruba and French languages, which, in spite of their differences, manifest similarity in some aspect of their culture, especially as it relates to greetings and politeness. We believe this is worthy of exploration in view of the noble role and place of the French language in Nigeria.

3. Method

This work is qualitative in nature. The data used for this study were collected from native and non native speakers of both languages, using the ethnographic method of data collection to obtain natural data. In particular, visits were made to places like Bodija in Ibadan, the residence of a French lecturer in the European Studies department of the University of Ibadan, where French is the language of communication. Recordings of conversations in these places were done using a tape recorder and an observatory notes. In all, ten subjects were observed. We observed the participants' interactions with particular reference to their use of politeness in their greetings.

4. Data analysis

The conversations of our subjects are transcribed here as recorded by us. However, we also provide the appropriate translations. In the conversation below, the use of politeness is determined by the level of familiarity that exists between the interlocutors.

Example 3.

		Excerpt	Translation
1.	Madame Ahoussou:	Bonsoir, comment allez **vous?**	Good evening, how are you?
	Monsieur Jean:	Je vais bien merci.	I am fine thank you.
2.	Nathalie:	Comment allez **vous** monsieur	How are you sir?
	Monsieur Jean:	Je vais bien merci et **vous**?	I am fine thank you, and you?

In the conversation between Nathalie and Mr John Ahoussou, we can see that politeness is observed. This is so because Nathalie who is Jack's wife is not familiar with Mr John Ahoussou. There is no cordial relationship between the two speakers, so in order to save each other's faces, they resorted to the use of honorific pronoun. Mr John Ahoussou replied Nathalie using *"vous";* even though he uses "*tu*" for his friend.

Example 4.

	Excerpt	Translation
Monsieur Jean:	Mettez **vous**[1] à laisse	Feel at home

The speaker in the above statement referred to his friend and his wife (Jacques and Nathalie). He used "*vous"* because he was referring to more than one person. In the French language, the second person plural pronoun "***vous***" is used to refer to more than one person. This is also applicable in the Yoruba language where the second person plural pronoun "ẹ" is used as both honorific pronoun and a third-person plural pronoun.

Example 5.

	Excerpt	Translation
Monsieur Jean:	Je vous présente mon étudiante. Elle s'appelle Kudrat. Elle vient d'Ondo. Elle est étudiante à l'université d'Ibadan . . . Elle est en quatrième année.	I present to you my student. She is Kudrat. She is from Ondo State. She is a student at The University of Ibadan . . . She is in 400 level.
Nathalie:	Oh la la ça c'est intéressant donc **vous** parlez deux	Oh la la! That is interesting so you speak two languages English

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[1] See details in the appendix

| | langues Anglais et Français. Pourquoi vous étudiez la langue française? | and French. Why do you study French language? |

Looking at the conversation above, it can be seen that Madame Ahoussou uses the **honorific pronoun "*vous*"** for the addressee (one of the researchers) instead of "*tu*" even though she knows that she is quite older than she. She used the honorific pronoun *"vous"* because she was not familiar with the researcher. The addressee is her husband's student and she was meeting her for the first time. Mr John used the third-person plural pronoun "*vous*" because he was addressing more than one person. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that the use of politeness in the French language is determined by the level of familiarity between the interlocutors. The most interesting aspect of this concept—politeness in the French language—is how it operates in the family setting (the parent–children interaction). In a typical French family, the non-honorific pronoun "*Tu*" is used among the family members due to their level of familiarity. A very good example of this is presented in the conversation below—an extract from the data collected in Monsieur Jean Ahoussou's Family.

Example 6.

	Excerpt	Translation
François:	Papa, **tu** as promis de m'acheter un cadeau, tu te souviens?	Francis: Daddy, you promised to buy me a gift. Do you remember?
Monsieur Jean:	Oui, je me souviens je l'achèterai demain. Où est ta soeur.	Yes I remember. I will buy it for you tomorrow. Where is your sister?

In the conversation between Mr Johnson and his son above, the father had promised his son a gift if he could come first in the debate organized by the school Literary and Debating Society. On coming first, he reminded his daddy of the promise he made. He said this with the use of "*Tu*". This is allowed in French culture because of the cordial relationship that exists between family members. This is where the Yoruba culture differs from the French culture. The use of non-honorific pronoun "*o"* will not be expected from a child addressing his parent in the Yoruba culture.

Example 7.

Background information: The following conversation took place in the researcher's room. A francophone friend paid her a visit in her room, and fortunately another colleague from the department of European Studies (French

Unit) came to visit her, so an interaction ensued among them. The three participants in this conversation were: Kudrat (a researcher—a 400 level Linguistics/French student), Mariam (a 300 level Civil Engineering student of Université de Cocody, Abidjan), and Grace (a 400 level French student of the University of Ibadan). The conversations went thus:

	Excerpt	Translation
Kudrat	Mariam, je te presente Grâce. Elle est ma collègue.	Mariam, I present to you Grace. She is my colleague.
Mariam	Enchantée **madmoisselle** Grâce	Nice to meet you Miss Grace
Grace	Enchantée moi aussi. Qu'est ce que **vous** faites.	Nice to meet you too. What do you do for a living?
Mariam	Je suis étudiante de l'Université de Cocody. Je fais Le Génie civil et **vous**?	I am a student of the University of Cocody Abijan. I study Civil Engineering. And you?
Grace	Je fais le français ici à l'université d'Ibadan.	I study French here in the University of Ibadan.
Mariam	**Vous** avez commencé votre examen?	Have you started your exams?
Grace	Oui, j'ai commencé hier.	Yes, I started yesterday.
Mariam	Je **vous** souhaite bon chance	I wish you good luck.
Grace	Kudrat, **tu** sais qu'aujourd'hui est mon anniversaire?	Kudrat, do you know that today is my birthday?
Kudrat	Oh la la je ne savais Pas. Ne fache pas, Je suis vraiment désolé.	Oh! I didn't know. Don't be annoyed. I am really sorry
Kudrat & Mariam	Bon Anniverssaire !	Happy Birthday/celebration

The use of honorific pronouns in this conversation is determined by the level of familiarity that exists between the interlocutors, regardless of the fact that they belong to the same age group. Consider the following:

		Excerpt	Translation
a.	Kudrat	Mariam, je te présente Grâce. Elle est ma Collègue	*Mariam, I present to you Grâce. She is my colleague.*
b.	Mariam	Enchantée **madmoisselle** Grâce	*Nice to meet you. Miss Grâce*

In construction (b) above, the speaker referred to Grâce as **madmoisselle** because she was meeting her for the first time and as such wanted to appear courteous and polite to her. Using titles like **monsieur, madame** or **mademoisselle** before a name is a way of showing politeness in the French language, apart from using honorific pronouns.

	Excerpt	Translation
c.	Grâce: Enchantée moi aussi. Qu'est ce que **vous** faites.	Nice to meet you too. What do you do for living?
d.	Mariam: Je suis étudiante de l'université de Cocody Abidjan. Je fais le Génie Civil et **vous**?	I am a student of the University of Cocody Abijan. I study Civil Engineering and you.

In construction (c) above, the speaker used **vous** for the speaker in (d) because she was meeting her for the first time even though she knew they might be of the same age or belong to the same age group.

	Excerpt	Translation
e.	Grâce: Kudrat **Tu** sais qu'aujourd'hui est mon anniversaire.	Kudrat Do you know that today is my birthday.

In the construction above, the speaker in (e) used "**tu**" for "Kudrat" because they are friends and there is a cordial relationship between them. From all that has been discussed above, it has been observed that politeness in address system is highly determined in the French language by the level of familiarity between interlocutors. Brown and Levinson (1987) and Salmani Nodoushan refer to this as 'solidarity' (Salmani Nodoushan, 1995, 2006a,b, 2007a,b,c, 2008a,b, 2012, 2014a).

Example 8.

This conversation took place in the Yoruba language between a seller (S) who was obviously far older than the buyer (B).

	Excerpt	Translation
B	Ẹ káà sán oo	Good afternoon
S	Ẹ káà sán	Good afternoon
B	Èló ni èlùbọ́?	How much is yam flour?
S	Àpò méjì ni tinú abọ́ yìí, ìyẹn àpò mẹ́rin.	The one in that pan is N1,600 that one is N800
B	Kí ni ẹ wí, èyí ò wa wọ́n jù?	What did you say, is this not too expensive?
S	Kò wón oo, èlùbọ́ ti wọ́n **ìyá**	It is not ooo, elubo is expensive,

	àbúrò; ẹ bá mi ràá.	nursing mother, please buy from me.
B	**Ẹ** jẹ́ kí n mélé yìí ní àpò méfà	Let me take this for N1,200
S	Tẹ bá lè dàá ní àpò méje n ó tàá .	If you can pay N1,400. I will sell it
	Àlùbáríkà lójù.	God's blessing is the best.

Note the use of **ìyá àbúrò** and **ẹ** in the excerpt above. These two are used to show politeness. It is part of the marketing strategies among the Yoruba people to show politeness during business transactions, especially when it involves a typical market setting. This is usually done to woo and win the heart of the would-be buyers in the culture of Yoruba. Also, consider the conversation below; a typical example of such that transpires in the ideal Yoruba family setting.

Example 9.

A conversation between a father (F) and his son (S) in the Yoruba language in a Yoruba Family is presented here (*A demonstration of the childhood experience of one of the authors*).

	Excerpt	Translation
S	Daddy mi, **ẹ** káábọ̀ sir	My daddy/father, you are welcome sir
F	Adé, báwo ni? Báwo ni ilè ìwé **ẹ** lénìí?	How are you Adé? How was your school today?
S	O fine sir	It was fine sir
F	Ṣé **o** ti ṣe àwọn iṣé tí mo ní k'oṣe to bá dé láti school?	Have you done what I asked you to do when you come back from school
S	Mo ti ṣé sir	I have done it sir
F	**O** ṣé	Thanks/ thank you
S	Daddy Ṣégun bérè **yín** ní ọsán	Ṣégun's father checked on you in the afternoon
F	Okay	

Table 1
Pronouns in Yoruba and French

		Subject		Object	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Yoruba:	1st person	Mo	A	Mi	Wa
	2nd person	O	Ẹ[h]	Ẹ	Yín[h]
	3rd person	Ó	Wọ́n[h]	--	Wọn[h]
French:	1st person	Je	Nous	Me	Nous
	2nd person	Tu	Vous[h]	Te	Vous
	3rd person	Il, Elle	Ils	le, la	les

Note how the son uses honorific pronouns in addressing his father in the conversation above. While he does this, the father uses the non-honorific pronouns in addressing his son. This is what is acceptable in the Yoruba culture (compare this to what is projected in example 6 above which is a short conversation between a father and his son in the French language). Table 1 below summarizes the pronouns of Yoruba and French.

6. Conclusion

From what has been presented so far, it can be concluded that the two languages (of Yoruba and French) have certain politeness markers which are similar in one way or another. In sum, the two languages make use of honorific pronouns to show politeness. Nevertheless, while the Yoruba language has four politeness pronouns, the French language has just one. The observed honorific pronouns are those with superscript **h** in the table above. Also, the languages have polite address terms or titles. Equally worthy of note is the fact that, while the use of non-honorific pronoun "***tu***" is allowed in the French culture among individuals who share some level of familiarity or solidarity, it is not permitted in the Yoruba context. This explains why a Yoruba man or woman would not use the non-honorific pronouns in addressing someone of a higher status in an ideal situation.

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Appendix

DANS LA FAMILLE AHOUSSOU IN AHOUSSOU'S FAMILY

Monsieur Jean Ahoussou entre la maison avec la chercheuse a seize heures et demie.
Mr John Ahoussou enters the house with Kudrat (the researcher) at 4.30pm
Monsieur Jean: Bonsoir, ma Chérie. Comment vas tu?
Mr John Ahoussou: Good evening my dear how are you
Madam Ahoussou : Bonsoir mon miel .Comment était la journée.
Mrs Ahoussou: Good evening honey, how was your day.
Monsieur Jean : C,'était bien, Dieu merci
Mr John Ahoussou: It was fine, thank God.
Madam Ahoussou: Et le travail?
Mrs Ahoussou: And work?
Monsieur Jean Ahoussou : Ouf, bon. Où sont mes enfants
Mr John Ahoussou: Fine, where are my children ?
Madame Ahoussou: Ils sont dans le jardin.
Mrs Ahoussou: They are in the garden.
Monsieur Jean Ahoussou: Je te présente une amie. Elle est mon étudiante à l'Alliance   Francaise. Elle s'appelle Kudrat. Elle est venue passer le weekend chez nous.
Mr John Ahoussou: Meet a friend, she is my student at Alliance Francaise.Her name is kudrat. she came to spend the weekend with us.
Madame Ahoussou: Bon soir. Comment allez-vous?
Mrs Ahoussou: Good evening. How are you?
La chercheuse : Je vais bien merci
Researcher: fine thank you
François: Bonsoir papa,bienvenue.
François: Good evening daddy, you are welcome
Monsieur Jean Ahoussou: Bon soir comment était l'école.
Mr John Ahoussou: Good evening. How was school?
François: C'était bien, on a fait un débat aujourd'hui et j'ai pris la première position
François: It was fine.We had a debate today and I came first.
Monsieur Jean Ahoussou: A bon, bravo ! ça c'est mon fils.
Mr John Ahoussou: Really? Bravo That is my son.
François: Papa tu as promis de m'acheter un cadeau, tu te souviens?

François: Daddy, you promised to buy me a gift. Do you remember?
Monsieur Jean Ahoussou: Oui je me souviens. Je l'achèterai demain. Où est ta sœur?
Mr John Ahoussou: Yes, I remember. I will buy it tomorrow. Where is your sister?
François: Elle est dans la cuisine. Elle prépare le dîner.
François: She is in the kitchen. She is preparing the dinner.
Monsieur Jean: Bon.
Mr John Ahoussou: Good.
Frappe: Frappe
Knock knock.
Tout le monde: Qui est-ce?
Everybody: Who is that?
Nathalie: Bonsoir, c'est moi Nathalie
Nathalie: Good evening, it me Nathalie
Monsieur Jean: Entrez. Mademoiselle bonsoir, oh mon bon ami.
Mr John Ahoussou: Enter. Good evening miss, oh my good friend.
Jacques: Bonsoir comment ça va?
Jack: Good evening how are you?
Nathalie: Comment allez vous monsieur?
Nathalie: How are you sir?
Monsieur Jean: Je vais bien et vous?
Mr John Ahoussou: I am fine and you?
Jacques & Nathalie: Nous allons bien.
Jack & Nathalie: We are fine.
Monsieur Jean: Mettez vous à laisse.
Mr John Ahousssou: Feel at home.
Monsieur Jean: Je vous présente mon étudiante. Elle s'appelle Kudrat. Elle est étudiante de l'université d'Ibadan. Elle étudie la linguistique et le française. Elle est en quatrième année.
Monsieur Jean: Meet my student. Her name is Kudrat.. She is a student of University of Ibadan. She studies Linguistic and French. She is in four hundred levels.
Nathalie: Oh la la ca. C'est intéressant. Donc vous parlez deux langues, anglais et Français? Pourquoi vous étudiez le Français
Nathalie: Oh that is interesting. So you speak two languages, English and French. Why do you study French?
Researcher: Oui, je parle Anglais, Français et Yorouba-ma langue maternelle. J'étudie le Français parce que j'ai la passion pour la langue.
Researcher: Yes, I speak English, French and Yoruba. I study French language because I have passion for the language.
Jacques: Qu'est-ce que la linguistique?
Jack: What is linguistics?

Researcher: La linguistique est une étude scientifique des langue.

Researcher: Linguistics is a scientific study of languages.

Nathalie: J'ai appris qu'un linguiste comprend beaucoup de langue.

Nathalie: I heard a linguist understands many languages.

Researcher: Ce n'est pas toujours comme ça. Nous étudions la nature de la langue et sa fonction.

Researcher: That is not. We only study the nature of a language and its function.

Jacques: Nous devons aller au cinéma ce soir, donc nous partons. Je m'excuse.

Jacque: We have to go to a cinema this evening. Sorry we have to leave.

Researcher: pas de problèm.

Researcher: on problem.

Jacques & Nathalie: Au revoir.

Jacques& Nathalie: Good bye.

Monsieur Jean: Je vous souhaite une bonne soirée.

Mr John: Ahoussou I wish you a wonderful evening.

Les autres: Au revoir.

Others: Good bye.

Chapter 4

Cameroonian pidgin: A study of nominal serialization

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This paper claims that Cameroonian Pidgin employs the mechanism of serial noun constructions to derive nominal complementation, resumptive nominals, thematic restructuring, paratactic constructs and nominal reduplication. The paper investigates the binding and referential properties of precedence relations in serial noun constructions to determine the fields of anaphora within the system of pronouns and their thematic relationships. The paper demonstrates that though pronouns in the language may not overtly exhibit morphological variation relative to Case marking, there are nonetheless complex agreement relations between these pronouns. We examine the various nominal reduplication techniques and argue that reduplication constitutes one of the strategies employed by Cameroonian Pidgin to derive serial noun constructions just as it exploits it for lexical creation. We present contrary evidence to the claims by Schneider (1960, 1963 and 1967) that Cameroonian Pidgin is a mere deviant of Standard English and demonstrate that the language exhibits complex structures that are completely alien to Standard English. The paper claims that nominal serialization is Cameroonian Pidgin's computational mechanism of achieving economic derivations in the like of Chomsky, (1995, 2000, and 2005)[1].

1. Introduction

Cameroon is a very complex linguistic entity. Within a surface area of 475,442 km[2], Cameroon is home to a population of about 19,711,291 (CIA Factbook, July 2011 estimates), and counts 286 indigenous languages (Grimes, 2002;

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[1] The Minimalist Program is a mode of inquiry characterized by the flexibility of the multiple direction that minimalism enables. It provides a conceptual framework employed to guide the development of generative grammar.

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Simo-Bobda, 1995)[2] while English and French are her two official languages (Breton & Fohtung, 1991). As if to further complicate an already complex linguistic situation within a limited landmass, there exists a vibrant pidgin that is spoken across the nation with its expectant varieties that mark out regional linguistic boundaries. Other languages of wider communication in Cameroon include Arabic, Wandala, Kanuri and Fulfulde spoken in the Extreme North Region, Douala and Bassa spoken in the Littoral Region, Medumba and Mungaka in the West and Ewondo spoken in the Centre and East Regions of the Republic of Cameroon. Cameroon is therefore a multi-lingual country, which presents its citizens with the opportunity of learning one or more language(s) in addition to their first language (mother tongue).

Pidgin is the most widely spoken language in Cameroon (Mbassi-Manga, 1973). It is informally acquired in the streets, in the neighbourhood and at home, in contrast to either English or French which is in each case formally learnt in schools. Pidgin is spoken across the linguistic boundaries of the indigenous languages. Understandably, there exist many varieties of it, with intelligibility being the uniting factor of all these varieties. It is therefore employed as the language of trade between Francophones and Anglophones or between people from different ethnic groups with different languages.

Yuka (2002) notes that Pidgin easily becomes the language of the home[3] for families where parents do not share a common mother tongue or between English and French-speaking couples. Pidgin creeps into official domain when the two official languages fail interlocutors from different sides of the official language divide. Pidgin has served as a handy tool during political rallies, in the markets, in churches, in primary schools wherever or whenever an audience exhibits a diversified linguistic background. Pidgin is dominant in some francophone towns like Mbanga, Mbouda, Nkongsamba, Bafang etc. A close observation will reveal that most of these towns share boundaries with English-speaking towns and such proximity makes the existence of a lingua franca, the more necessary.

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[2] Wolf (2001) treats these population numbers with suspicion. He argues that most often dialects of the same language are counted as separate languages thus bloating the numbers. Even though the exact number of languages spoken in Cameroon can be disputed as in Wolf (2001), there is absolutely no dispute about the plethora of languages spoken by a relatively small population within a limited landmass, and this is the point we are making here.

[3] The linguistic situation in Cameroon has rendered the two official languages the primary focus of language development by government. This has led to the total neglect of indigenous languages whose promotion government interprets as an encouragement of ethnic and regional differences that are an antithesis to its policy of national unity.

The Pidgin spoken in Cameroon is a West African variety that has been in existence in the country for over 500 years. The origin of Pidgin in Cameroon is well documented by Gilman and Montana (1980). Its emergence in the country is linked to the slave trade years between 1400 and 1800. Cameroon Pidgin[4] (hereafter simply referred to as CP) preceded the German annexation of Cameroon (1884-1914), the Baptist Missionaries of 1885 and the introduction of English and French in Cameroon in 1945 after the defeat of the Germans in the Second World War and the partition of Cameroon between the English and the French colonialists. CP is not homogenous[5]. Five prominent varieties of CP exist: the Liturgical Pidgin (employed in churches for evangelization. This variety has benefited immensely from its early reduction to writing by the Missionaries), the Grafi Pidgin and the Francophone Pidgin are distinguished by the heavy English or French lexical content. To this corpus, is an addition of an accent split that equally follows the major linguistic split of the country into the French and the English speaking sections. While the Limbe variety has a coastal flare, the Bororo variety is unique for its tinge of Fulfulde and Hausa.

2. The data

The data for this study is drawn principally from the Grafi and the Liturgical varieties of CP. The Grafi variety is preferable because it is widely spoken across the North West Region, some parts of the Western Region and in parts of the Littoral and South West Regions of the country. The Liturgical variety has the advantage of being the first variety with written texts. The Société Biblique du Cameroon (1973) has adopted a transcription that closely reflects the oral rendition of this variety. This variety therefore presents a standard

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[4] Echu (2003) notes that the Pidgin spoken in Cameroon has variously been referred to as Cameroon Creole (Schneider, 1960), Wes-Kos (Schneider, 1963), West African Pidgin English (Schneider, 1967), Cameroon Pidgin (Todd, 1982) and Komtok, (Ngome, 1986). 'Bad English' and 'Broken English' have equally been employed to describe it. This paper prefers the reference Cameroonian Pidgin because this label domesticates this variety that is unique to Cameroon. We are reluctant to follow Schneider (1960, 1963 & 1967) because his nomenclatures tend to suggest that this variety is a mere deviant of Standard English.

[5] A lot of sociolinguistics related research has been carried out in this area of study. Cameroon Pidgin is yet to benefit from a robust morpho-syntactic analysis. Such an analysis is needed to determine the structural relatedness between Cameroon Pidgin and other indigenous languages. The existing studies which have rarely gone beyond lexical analysis may not be adequate enough to justify some of the existing claims about the percentages of influence both foreign and indigenous languages have had on Cameroon Pidgin.

orthography widely accepted and used by most Pidginophones[6] in Cameroon. The sentences employed for analysis are drawn from recorded extracts of day-to-day conversations. Some of the sentences are drawn from the portion of the New Testament Bible written by ST Mark and translated into Pidgin by the Bible Society of Cameroon (Société Biblique du Cameroon). The choice of this particular portion of the Bible is not motivated by any particular linguistic uniqueness.

3. Serial nouns in Cameroon pidgin

Chomsky (1986b) in his specification of categorical features recognizes substantives as arguments with the feature specification [+N, +V]. This paper interprets arguments in CP in the light of Chomsky (1986b). Hereafter, any reference to Noun (N), Argument (Arg) denotes substantives in CP. The relationship between two adjacent nouns in CP can vary from a liaison of possession, modification and apposition to conjunction. CP is peculiar for its feature of sentences with consecutive nouns (NNs). Studies of the Kwa languages of West Africa (Bamgboṣe, 1974; Kari, 1997b & 2000; Omoregbe & Yuka, 2010; Williamson, 1965 & 1989; Yuka, 2008—among others) have identified the prominent peculiarity of conflated sentences as a trait of languages that exhibit verb serialization. A serial verb construction has been generally understood to be ". . . a type of construction in which two or more verbs are strung together without an overt connective morpheme" (Ndimele, 1996, p. 127). The verbs are not linked by a conjunction and thereby sharing ". . . a common surface subject and one or more common aspectual/tense/ polarity markers" (Williamson, 1989, p. 30). In CP, nouns sometimes occur in a series of two or more depending on its association with different syntactic combinations. We borrow the concept of verb serialization in the Kwa family of languages and follow Yeh and Lee (1991) to refer to adjacent nouns or pronouns in CP as serial noun constructions (SNC). Given the frequency of SNC in CP, it is generally difficult to distinguish the types of NN combinations and their syntactic and semantic interpretations since the structure is basically: a noun that is immediately followed by another noun. Our data reveals 2 broad classes of NN combinations in CP: the apposition structures and nominal reduplication constructs.

3.1. Apposition structures

A noun followed by a proper noun or a personal pronoun is in an NN appositive structure (Yeh & Lee, 1991). Nouns and pronouns in CP do not exhibit a varied morphological structure relative to syntactic operations. They

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[6] Speakers of CP. The term is derived from the reference to English and French speaking Cameroonians as Anglophone and Francophone respectively.

share the traditional syntactic values but with interesting thematic relationships. NN appositive structures can be subjected to various semantic interpretations: notional complementation, resumptive structures, progressive thematic restructuring and paratactic structures.

3.1.1. Notional complementation

Noun-noun constructions in languages that exhibit the Head-First parameter reveal a standard semantic relationship. N_1 is usually the possessor while N_2 is the possessed. 1a-c below reveals a complementation relationship between the underlined nominals. Existing literature on nominal relations, like those in 1, refer to them as possessive marked associative constructions (Owolabi, 1976; Radford, 1988; Yuka, 1997—among others). The NN construct does not introduce any extralinguistic interpretation of the relationship between the two arguments. The possessive unmarked associative constructions exhibit an Associative Marker (AM) in between the two nouns. The AM introduces a deictic potential whose absence in the examples in 1 entails less rhematic value. Example 1 below presents CP sentences with the common noun-noun constructions where N_1 complements N_2.

1.   a.   *Pita bin take yi fo <u>matango</u> <u>haus</u>*
          'Peter took him/her to a palm wine store'.

     b.   *Tru tru, this man na <u>Banso'</u> <u>man</u>*.
          'In reality, this man is from Banso''

     c.   *Na fo <u>God</u> <u>pipol</u> dem de tok <u>God</u> <u>palava</u>.*
          'It is to God's people that the word of God is preached'.

     d.   [*Dem papa*] *dong bai <u>yi</u> pikin <u>dem</u> buk*
          'Their father has bought his children's books'

     e.   [*De tu woman*] *de tok fo sika say tirinja de fo **dem** massa <u>dem</u> haus.*
          'The two women are talking because they have visitors in their husband's houses.

1a-b presents NN constructions (<u>*matango*</u> <u>*haus, Banso'*</u> <u>*man*</u>). In each case N_1 qualifies N_2. Syntactically, the possessive marked association constructions in 1a-b constitute a basic example of NN constructions which we refer to in this paper as nominal serialization.

The noun-noun structure in 1c can be realized as *God <u>yi</u> pipol* 'God's people' and *God <u>yi</u> palava* 'God's word'. <u>*yi*</u> can be equated with the Standard English

genitive -'s as it marks maximum determination of tenure of the leftward nominal, with an axial location.

yi is therefore a *linker*. Its plural counterpart is *dem*, as shown in 1d and e). <u>*dem*</u> in 1d links *pikin* and *buk*, just as it does same for *masa* and *haus* in 1e. The morphological difference between the two linkers is a reflection of the plural number agreement of the nouns from which they draw their referential features from.

Notice from 1d that the bold face **dem** is in no way a repetition of the following <u>*dem*</u> (the linker). The bold face **dem** resumes *dem papa* in 1d and *dem masa* in 1e respectively. We can conclude that <u>*yi*</u> and <u>*dem*</u> represent third person anaphora with the singular/plural agreement. The attributes of the bold face **dem** and its variants are examined in detail within nominal reduplication. The immediate interpretation here of 1d (***dem** massa dem haus*) is that (overtly) this is a string of nouns (NNNN). Our explanation for this nominal string is that it is as an example of nominal serialization.

3.1.2. Resumptive structures

In CP, the features of the subject NP are constantly replicated in an adjacent pronoun yielding an NN construction. The NN linear structure is interpreted here as nominal serialization because of the adjacency of the two nominal entities. The second N conveys the semic resumption of the first N. The following examples reveal that resumptive structures in CP may be the language's strategy of subject focussing.

2. a. *Tumoro no bi poblik holide. Wok de. Mek <u>mi</u> <u>a</u> go res smol.*
        'Tomorrow is not a public holiday. There will be work. Let me go for a short rest'.

    b. <u>*Mi*</u> <u>*a*</u> *di tok fo yu say, tanap, tek op ya bed and go fo yoa haus.*
        'I tell you, stand up, take your bed and go home'.

    c. *Bele dong ful op. <u>Mi</u> <u>a</u> dong chop fufu[7] weti klen-keln[8] fo mami moyo haus.*
        'My tommy is full. I have eaten fufu and corchorus olitorus in Moyo's mother's house'.

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[7] A dough made from cassava. fufu was introduced into CP about 1970. It originates from Twi and in Cameroon it is synonymous to the French couscous (Echu, 2003). Fufu is a staple in Cameroon.

[8] A sticky slimy spinach used for preparing soup.

    d.   *Ul <u>pipul</u> <u>dem</u> bin de bon haus[9].*
           'There were old people in the child birth ceremony'.

    e.   *Mista Jon bon plenti pikin. Ol the <u>pikin</u> <u>dem</u> dong gru finis.*
           'Mr John has many children. All the children are grown ups'.

In 2a-c, <u>mi</u> and <u>a</u> are in an NN linear structure. The two consecutive nominals are first person pronouns with an identical referential value. The same syntactic and semantic interpretation is applicable to <u>dem</u> in 2e where it resumes <u>pikin</u>. Leoue, (1996) has argued that in such utterances, N_1 di-agentivises N_2 and that N_2 is an operational deletion of N_1 which he considers as an expletive. We argue that in such contexts, N_1 is not an expletive; and that N_2 does not even weaken (dis-agentivise) the agentive capabilities of N_1 as Leoue will have us think; rather it reinforces it, thereby introducing emphasis into the agentive argument in subject position. While it could be argued that the NN structures in 2 are restricted to performative utterances, a closer look at 2a-e reveals that they fail Austin's (1962) parameters for the definition of performative[10] utterances. The NN constructions in 2 do not only reveal a predictive nominal relationship, they introduce emphasis on the agentive role of the subject that gets enhancement from the resumptive pronoun.

Other utterances very similar to those in 2 have a verb intervening between the nouns. The pronoun that immediately follows the verb can easily be interpreted as the verbal predicate but a closer look reveals an uncommon syntactic arrangement.

3.   a.   *Ren dong di hambok fo hier, mek <u>wi</u> go <u>wi</u> fo insai njangui[11] haus.*
           'The rain is becoming troublesome here; let us go inside the cooperative house'

    b.   *Eni fud we yu si fo dis haus, mek <u>you</u> chop <u>you</u> daso.*
           'Just eat food you come across in this house.'

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[9] Celebration of birth. (Yuka, 2006)

[10] A performative utterance refers to a sentence that does something rather than describes it. It is uttered in the performance of an illocutionary act. Such an utterance is either felicitous (successful) or infelicitous (unsuccessful). A performative utterance is felicitous only if it fulfils felicity conditions. Austin, (1962) lists felicity conditions for declaratives, requests, warnings etc.

[11] A contributory financial system within which members benefit in turns (Echu, 2003). The Lamnso′ synonym for it is **ŋkwá′**, **tòntine** (French), **òsúsú** (Nigerian Pidgin; cf Yoruba èsusú/èésú))

    c.   *Pita no sabi chop mandjanga[12]*
        'Peter does not know how to eat smoked prawns'

    d.   *My pikin <u>dem</u> com <u>dem</u> fo Duala naw naw*
        'My children have just arrived from Douala'

    e.   *Mek <u>wuna</u> go chop <u>wuna</u> fud*
        'You(pl) should go and eat your food'

    f.   *Mek <u>wuna</u> go chop <u>wuna</u> **Pita pikin fud** fo bon haus.*
        'You(pl) should go and eat your own portion of the food at Peter's
        child's birth celebration'

The utterances in 3 show that the pronouns occurring after the verb resume the head noun of the matrix clause. The two arguments (the agent and the resumptive pronoun) share an identity of reference. The *yi* and *dem* earlier identified in 2 as linking segments surface in 3 as resumptive pronouns. Each of the resumptive pronouns in 3 is an expletive and its deletion won't fundamentally distort the semantic interpretation of the utterance. However it introduces a certain participatory involvement of the speaker even when she/he is not directly participating in the action specified by the verb. It could be argued that since the resumptive pronoun follows the verb, and can participate in transitivity alternation of the verb, the pronoun can technically be interpreted as its object argument (given the standard syntactic ordering of constituents in basic clauses of SVO languages). This line of reasoning is defeated by example 3e-f, where in 3e, *wuna* is the resumptive pronoun and yet *fud* 'food' surfaces as the substantive object argument of the verb *chop*. Example 3e is a good example of constructions in the language with an NN structure. In addition, notional complementation of *fud* in example 3f further extends the string of nouns in that utterance to NNN. The first N is the resumptive pronoun, followed by the N-N construction (as in example 2), now employed as the qualifier of yet another noun *fud* 'food', yielding an NNNN nominal string (***<u>wuna</u>**, (N1),* ***Pita** (N$_2$),* ***pikin** (N$_3$), and **fud** (N$_4$).* 3f is therefore evidence to our claim of the existence of serial noun constructions in CP.

3.1.3. Thematic restructuring

The NN structures examined in 2.1.1 reflect utterances of notional complementation within which the theme of the utterance is enhanced. CP exhibits utterances which indicate a progressive thematic switch. Our

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[12] Smoked prawns.

example 4 presents sentences in which additional information is progressively being provided about the head noun.

4. a. *Asanga, some Baminda man, de pikin for Awasum and Kibi <u>bi di kom for maket, polis cash yi</u>*
       'Asanga, a native of Bamenda, the son on Awasum and Kimbi was on his way to   the market when the police arrested him'

    b. *Dis no bi Constantine Yuka, mista Yuka yi pikin, and broda fo Fabian, Carine and   Relindis <u>we na tisha fo univesti</u>.*
       'Is this not Constantine Yuka, Mr. Yuka's child, a brother to Fabian, Carine and Relindis who is a University Lecturer?

    c. *Tantan, nchinda fo palace, <u>I beg mek yu take this mimbo.</u>*
       'Tantan, the palace page, please accept this wine'.

    d. *Jon, driava fo fada Lio, <u>dong buy pisikul</u>*
       'John, Father Leo's driver has bought a bicycle'.

4a-d presents a very interesting string of nouns. Each additional noun broadens the notional scope of the head noun through the addition of information capable of locating the noun being qualified with exactitude (*Constantine Yuka, mista Yuka yi pikin...)*. These additives bring with it, intermediate switches that connect the head noun to other nominal domains. Notice however, that the underlined segments of the utterance are discursive and they add information about the head noun that do not directly advance the original theme of nominal qualification. This segment of the utterance represents pragmatic devices that introduce the assertive involvement of the speaker ('...*<u>bi di kom fo maket, polis cash yi</u>*).

The linear stacking of nouns underlyingly determine the relationship between the head noun in reference and the speaker. Once the speaker adequately qualifies the head noun, his/her assertive information appears more accurate. We reiterate that CP employs SNC to derive thematic restructuring of the head noun whose relationship with the predicate segment of the utterance can be adequately specified and speaker involvement ascertained. We add that SNC constitute a strategy for economic derivations (as in Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2005). A couple of basic sentences, each seeking to appropriately qualify the head noun as in example 3f, (for instance), are subsumed under a single sentence. This sentence appropriately qualifies the head noun while employing fewer lexical resources to derive the final output judged for acceptability by the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) system at the interface level of derivation.

3.1.4. Paratactic structures

The nominal strings examined in section 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 reflect notional complementation and thematic restructuring respectively. Examples 5 and 6 present serial nouns in separate successive clauses linked by co-ordinators. The clauses are equal in status and share a common syntactic value.

5. *Ma combi, if yu si yu smol fayn ngondele, mek yu run yu daso. Yestade, a kari wan fayn smol mini-minor[13] fo hausa kwata enta Baminda big maket, wen taym kes fo bay bay, a si somtin weti dis ma tu ai. Ol nyu nyu dya tins, i liak yi dem ol. A bay shet <u>an</u> trosa <u>an</u> shu <u>weti</u> kwa fo am. I say mek a bay whatman hair <u>an</u> whatman nil fo finger <u>weti</u> oya fo bodi. Apta, i tok say i wan chop. A bay achu <u>weti</u> fawl <u>an</u> planti, i chop am ol. Ma combi, as a tanap mi weti yu jos na, wan frank no de yi fo ma kwa ya. A beg kom bay yu mi jos wan bia.*

    'My friend, if you see a small fine young girl, just run (away). Yesterday I took a small fine young girl from Hausa Quarters into the Bamenda Main Market, when procurement started I was surprised. She wanted all the new expensive things. I bought her shirts and shoes with a bag. She asked me to buy her a wig and artificial talons with body lotion. She requested for food. I bought her achu[14] with chicken and plantains (and) she ate them all. My friend, as I stand with you here, there is no single franc in my pocket. Please, kindly buy a beer for me.'

6. *Mista Fru na klak fo pos ofis fo Mbalmayo. I mari tu wuman <u>an</u> i get sevin pikin. Di no mba wan wuman i nem na Matina. Matina bon fo pikin: tri man pikin <u>an</u> wan wuman pikin. Di no mba tu wuman i nem na Menjana. Menjana bon tri pikin. OI pikin na wuman pikin. Mista Fru i papa <u>an</u> i mama dem de fo Bamenda. I papa i nem na Papa Fru <u>an</u> i mama i nem na Mami Fru. Dis na Mista Fru i famili.*(Bellama et al, 2006, p. 23).*

    Mr. Fru is a clerk at the Mbalmayo post office. He has two wives and seven children. The first wife's name is Matina. Matina has four children: three boys and one girl. The second wife's name is Menjana. Menjana has three children. All her children are girls. Mr. Fru's father

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[13] very young girl.

[14] Achu is a thick smooth paste made out of cocoyam and eaten with soup made from potash. The soup is usually well spiced and adorned with chunks of meat, chicken and dried fish. It is a delicacy to the people of Mankon and most Anglophone Cameroonians living around the Bemenda environs and beyond.

and mother (parents) are in Bamenda. His father's name is Papa Fru and his Mother's name is Mami Fru. This is Mr. Fru's family.

an and *weti* in 5 and 6 are the equivalents of the Standard English co-ordinator **and**. They are employed recursively and link notional domains within a single clause (*A bay shet an trosa an shu weti kwa fo am).* This clause has a single subject and a lone verb which subcategorizes for the plethora of arguments. These argument all share common aspectual/tense and polarity markers and none of these nouns modifies nor subordinates the other.

In CP, *an* and *weti* (the co-ordinator) are not conceptually identical but *weti* (the preposition) involves a fusion of nominal domains[15] interpreted as a whole. For instance, *achu weti fawl* 'achu and chicken' are very closely related as a dish to be considered as one than associating it with planti 'plantian'. *weti* therefore entails a tighter paratactic connection than *an* which involves a rather loose association (Leoue, 1996). Though morphologically identical, *weti* can also be realised as a preposition as well as an adverbial as in example 7.

7. *weti₁ you get fo do weti₂ the fayn ngondle fo hausa kwata*

   'What have you got to do with the young beautiful girl in Hausa Quarters?'

Notice that while *weti₁* is adverbial, *weti₂* is prepositional but the **weti** in *mi weti yu* 'you and I' is a paratactic operator.

CP also has the property of endlessly repeating object arguments even without the conjunctions in examples 6 and 7. Example 8 shows that the paratactic sequence of nouns within that same clause also share a common syntactic value.

8. *Mista Pita bi bay shet, trosa, shu, kwa, bodi oya fo wan fyan ngondele for hausa kwata*

   'Mr. Peter bought shoes, trousers, bag and body lotion for a beautiful girl in Hausa quarters'

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[15] Relative clauses in CP represent an intriguing area of research; first because of data complexity and secondly because of the theoretical relevance of the constructions. It will be very interesting to examine the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive appositive clauses in CP. Such a study will spell out nominal domains from a clausal perspective. Such a study is beyond examining serialized nouns which is our focus in this study.

The unbroken sequence of nouns (NNNNN) can easily be separated into a series of clauses, with each object argument being subcategorised for by the transitive verb *bay* 'buy' with *Mista Pita* 'Mr. Peter' as the agent of each. Serial noun constructions, therefore is CP's economy strategy of deriving syntactic structures (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2005) by filtering out unnecessary repetition of sentential segments.

3.2. Nominal reduplication

Reduplication is generally understood to be a morphological process through which all (full reduplication) or part (partial reduplication) of a constituent is repeated. This section of our paper briefly examines utterances with serial noun constructions traceable to the morphological process of reduplication. Our data reveals that reduplication in CP is motivated by the quest to derive expressions that reflect prolonged activity, adjectives, intensification, emphasis, duplicity, nominalization and onomatopoeic expressions. Most of the reduplicated forms in CP are a direct transfer of the forms in the indigenous Cameroonian languages. Since CP derives some of its vocabulary from these languages it is not strange that many grammatical features of these languages have become part of CP[16].

The scope of this paper constrains us to limit our discussion of reduplication to nominal forms. Some of these nouns when reduplicated derive lexical structures that are not wholly nominal therefore signaling that reduplication in CP alters lexical categorisation.

In 9a (i)-(iv) below, reduplicated nouns indicate plurality. 9b-d shows these reduplicated forms in contextual use within context in CP.

9. a.
    i.   sand (*sand-sand*)
    ii.   thorns (*chuku-chuku*)
    iii. plenty wine (*mimbo-mimbo*)
    iv.   plenty children (*pikin-pikin*)
    v.   body hair (*bia-bia*)

    b.   *Na daso sand-sand ful dis gari*
              'There is a lot of sand in this gari flakes'

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[16] Though Echu, (2003) has argued that the rapid expansion of CP as a lingua franca in Cameroon is gradually influencing the two official languages, Kouega, (2005) discusses the effects of French on CP at the lexical level. It may be necessary to determine exactly which of the languages is influencing the other.

c.   *Chuku-chuku dong spoil mama Katrina yi njama-njama*
        'Thorns have destroyed Cathrine's mother's huckleberries'

d.   *Mista Pita haus na soso pikin pikin ful am*
        'Mr. Peter's house is filled with children'

10 a - b are employed to derive a protracted action; i.e. an iterative action that is constantly repeated within a measured period of time. Unlike Standard English that employs affixes and changes lexical morphology to derive plural forms, CP simply reduplicates the noun to derive its plural. Sometimes plural formation is achieved by simply morphologically altering the resumptive pronoun to reflect its plural form. What is interesting here is that sometimes the nominal being resumed does not morphologically reflect its plural form overtly. For example:

10. a.   *Pikin <u>dem</u> de hause* 'The children are in the house'
     b.   *Yu dong sel de dog-fawl <u>dem</u> finis*? Have you sold all your ducks?'

Notice from 10a-b that <u>*dem*</u> resumes *pikin* and *dog-fawl* which in themselves can easily pass for singular nouns. Their interpretation as plural forms is dependent on the plural form of their resumptive pronoun (*dem*) which shares plural agreement features with the overt singular nouns that are underlyingly are plural. These binding referential features are not overtly reflected in the morphology of the two nouns which are revealed to share identical features.

The forms in 11a (i)-(iv) represent duplicity of action.

11. a.   i.   thousand (*tosen-tosen*)
          ii.   early morning (*moni-moni*)
     b.   *Mista Piter bi de sell yi dog-fawl fo tosen-tosen*
                'Mister Peter sold his ducks a thousand each'
     c.   *Na moni-moni pami man de go bush*
                'The palm wine tapper goes to the palm-bush very early every morning)'

The reduplicated forms acquire additional verbal features in the process. They end up with nominal and verbal features ([+V, +N]) deriving adjectival interpretations in consonance with Chomsky's (1996b) feature bundle specification of adjectives. Consider 12a-f also.

12. a.
          i.   periphery (*cona-cona*)
          ii.   thief (*tif-tif*)

      iii.   boy (*boi-boi*)
      iv.   trickery (*coni-coni*)
      v.   water (*wata-wata*)

  b.   *Ha dis combi de luk mi weti cona-cona ay?*
           'Why is this friend looking at me from the sides of his eyes?'

  c.   *Maket fo Bamenda fayn, na de tif-tif de wori am.*
           'Bamenda market is very good, but for the thievery (there)'

  d.   *I lyak mista Meng, I lyak go wok boi-boi fo yi haus*
           'I like Mr. Meng, (and) wish to be his caregiver'

  e.   *Mista Meng go take you for boi-boi, na yu coni-coni go draiv yu fo wok.*
           'Mr. Meng will employ you, but your trickery will dismiss you (from the job).'

  f.   *Dis yam na wata-wata*
           'This yam is watery.'

There are many nouns in CP that have reduplicated forms that are not subject to the above grammatical interpretations. There is no evidence that their unduplicated forms (as shown in example 13) exist as lexical items in the language. Our suggestion is that such forms may have been borrowed from the other languages but have not been subjected to the mechanism of nominal reduplication in CP. Since such lexical items in CP are morphologically similar to reduplicated forms in the language, they can be erroneously interpreted as reduplicated forms.

13. a.
      i.   huckleberries (n*jama-njama*)
      ii.   mud (*poto-poto*)
      iii. knock (*kwa-kwa*)
      iv. *tin/can* (*ngong-ngong*)

  b.   *Banso pipol di chop fufu an <u>njama-njama</u>   * Banso pipol di chop fufu an <u>njama</u>.*
           'Fufu and huckleberries is the staple food of the Nso' people'

  c.   *Mista Meng moto dong trong for <u>poto-poto</u>   * Mista Meng moto dong trong for <u>poto.</u>*
           'Mr. Meng's car is hooked in mud'

     d.   *Dem bi do <u>kwa-kwa fo</u> wi haus for moni taym   * Dem bi do kwa fo wi haus for moni taym.*
          'They knocked at our house very early in the morning'

13a (iii) and its corresponding 13d can also be classified under the onomatopoeic category of forms that are duplicated in an attempt to represent their phonic characteristics. The utterances with the non-reduplicated nouns are barred as unacceptable because these non-reduplicated noun forms do not exist as lexical items in CP. This confirms our suggestion that they may be alien and have definitely not undergone the lexical process of reduplication in CP as the forms in example 9-11.

Reduplication is a productive process in CP that merits a detailed investigation across all lexical categories, (this could be the focus of another paper).We do not claim here to have exhaustively explored reduplicated forms in CP[17]. Our data does not show instances of partial nominal reduplication in CP. Lexical creation of nouns through the morphological process of reduplication appears to prefer full reduplication. We cannot say with certainty if this preference is same for other lexical categories of the language. Our focus is simply to illustrate that reduplication represents one of the strategies employed by CP to derive serial noun constructions and we are positive that our examples and analysis of same sufficiently illustrates the point.

4. Conclusion

This paper set out to justify its claim that CP strings nominals consecutively within basic sentences. In doing so, we have identified CP's characteristic of enhancing the performative attributes of the subject NP through the introduction of the resumptive pronoun. We have employed nominal complementation, resumtptive constructions, thematic restructuring, paratactic structures and nominal reduplication to explain the derivation of nominal serialization in CP. We reiterate that CP employs nominal serialization to derive the thematic restructuring of the head noun whose relationship with the predicate segment of the utterance can then be adequately specified and speaker involvement ascertained. We have argued against Leoue's (1996) dis-agentive proposal by insisting that the resumptive pronoun is not an expletive (as Leous claims). Rather, we presented evidence to justify our claim that N_2 does not only reinforces N_1, it equally introduces emphasis onto N_1 which executes the action specified by the verb. We have drawn our interpretation of nominal serialization from the evidence in our

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[17] Ugot and Ogundipe, (2011) have explored reduplication in Nigerian Pidgin.

data that CP exhibits structures with two or more nouns strung together. We have demonstrated that CP presents a sequence of unbroken nouns that share binding referential properties of precedence relations. Further, we have shown that nominal serialization in CP is the language's mechanism for deriving economical constructions in the light of Chomsky (1995, 2000 & 2005).[18]

Acknowledgments

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[18] In close connection to the Minimalist Program, it should be noted that a seminal theoretical paper by Salmani Nodoushan (2008) entitled "The quantum human computer (QHC) hypothesis" has spurred interest in a new line of research on syntax and has resulted in the introduction of the notion of 'Radical Minimalism'; linguists at Potsdam University in Germany are advancing this new discipline.

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Chapter 5

Lamnso': The case of sentence names

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Though current literature (Chomsky 1986b, p. 2) distinguishes syntactic categories based on feature composition, the idea that the name of a person, place or thing is a noun has persisted. Personal names are structurally NPs, which function as agents or patients in sentences. Such names are understood to be single morphemes with unique meanings. However, our findings indicate that majority of Nso' personal names are sentences rather than basic NPs which have been reduced to lexemes that act as identity tags. Length restriction has constrained some Nso' sentence names to be abridged into phrasal forms. Personal names captured by a lone lexical item are rather rare in Lamnso'. Where a preponderance of lone word names is prevalent they are most likely to have been clipped. This paper identifies linguistic structures in Nso' personal names and relates them to their primary structures and meanings within Lamnso' syntax. The meaning changes that these constituents undergo, as units of personal names are remarkable. These semantic shifts are better understood within the purview of the meaning extensions that make them appropriate as names. The paper employs the basic socio-cultural principles and interpretations guiding the bestowal of Nso' personal names and categorizes the various restrictions that limit the adoption of all well-formed sentences in Lamnso' as personal names. Nso personal names offer clues to the systematic correlation existing between culture and linguistic behavior.

Keywords: Lamnso'; Nso'; Personal names; Sentence names; categorical restrictions; socio-cultural restrictions

1. Introduction

Before western civilization and Christianity infiltrated the traditional Nso'[1] society, the selection and bestowal of a name to an infant marked his/her formal acceptance as a member of the community. The Nso' week consists of eight days. The general belief is that any child who has lived up to a week after birth intends to live within the community of his birth up to an appreciable age. The bestowal ritual rites performed on the morning of the morning of the 8th day after the birth of child is referred to as Vghəə́ví.

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[1] In this paper, Nso' refers to the people, while Lamnso' refers to the language of the Nso' people.

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Vghəə́ví initiates the child to the human world and recognises the inheritance due to him as part of the immediate and extended family lineage. The right to select a name for the child among the Nso' people is generally the responsibility of the eldest family member. His knowledge of family history and foresight of what the future holds for the infant is assumed. The family priest, who equally takes care of the family shrine and communes with family ancestors, conducts the name bestowal rites. This ceremony attracts family members and other well-wishers from the community who participate in singing, dancing, eating and drinking organised to mark the event. Child naming is a joyous occasion since the Nso' people consider children as wealth and linage continuity.

With the coming of Christianity, the name bestowal ceremony among the Nso' people has gradually been overtaken by church baptism, which is a religious ceremony where an individual is sprinkled with or immersed in water to signify purification. As part of this purification, the person being baptised usually takes a new Christian name in addition to whatever name they may have had before their initiation into Christianity. The Christian name is regarded by the church as liberation from traditional beliefs and practices of non-believers (paganism).

These baptismal names are culturally alien to the Nso' people—and their native language Lamnso'[2]. More importantly, the meanings of most of these

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[2] Lamnso' is spoken in the greater part of Bui Division, which is 150 km. from Bamenda, the capital of the North West Province of the Republic of Cameroon. It is also spoken in Nigeria, specifically in Taraba State, Sarduana Local Government Area. Lamnso' belongs to the Ring subgroup which is subsumed under the Grassfield branch of the Southern Bantoid languages. Kom, Oku, Aghem, Babanki and Noni are other languages of the subgroup (Welmers 1973: 159). Lamnso' and Oku are closely related. Lamnso' does not have prominent dialectal variations (Grebe 1984). The languages commonly referred to as Bantu are also classified as Southern Bantoid languages. They are considered to be Narrow Bantu, whereas Lamnso' and other Grassfield languages are non-Bantu (or Wide Bantu). Like Fula (Annot 1970), Swahili (Mkude 1995, Welmers 1973) and many other languages of the Wide Bantu family, Lamnso' nouns and nominals fall under different classes on the basis of agreement operated by concord markers which vary from one class to another (Grebe and Grebe 1975, Eastman 1980, Yuka 1998,1999).
Orthographically, the name of the language has been represented in the literature as Lamnsoq, Lam Nso, Lamnso, Nso, Lamnsok and Lamnsoꝰ. Gradually, most researchers have preferred the last option because the variety of existing spelling stem from the struggle to appropriately represent the glottal stop which appears in every lexical position except as a C_1. For typographical reasons, this sound [ꝰ] has come to be represented in the literature by ['], In this paper, therefore, Lamnsoꝰ is written simply as Lamnso'.

names are unknown to their bearers. This runs contrary to the Nso' naming system that has been conserved and orally passed on from one generation to another for centuries. The Nso' naming system can easily pass for a verbal history book of the people. Family and tribal achievements, culture, religion, history, ethics, language, and the general worldview of the people are reflected in the names they bear. Personal names are a special category of linguistic units since the names a people bear enable them to be distinguished as individuals (Kishani, 2005). Nso' personal names provide a symbolic system of value identification that is historically constructed and socially maintained by the community. In Nso', a personal name is interpreted as part of the personality of the bearer. The choice of a personal name is a delicate exercise, because individuals are believed to behave in tandem with the name they bear. In Nso', anybody who is known to be undependable, dishonest, lack conscience, or ascertained to have involved himself in crime or other antisocial activities is generally said to have lost his name. Family names are therefore jealously guarded and cherished. Another reference to 'reputation' among the Nso' people is their reference to 'a name'.

2. Forms of Personal Names in Lamnso'

The epitome of the Nso' man's personality, his achievements, aspirations and interpretation of the world around him are discernable from the personal names borne by the people. In an attempt to derive an appropriate meaning, personal names manifest themselves in different grammatical forms. For the present discussion, we have identified the following forms.

1. a) Sentence Dominated Names   [S = Name]
    b) Verb Dominated Names   [VP = Name]
    c) Noun Dominated Names   [NP = Names]
    d) Lone Word Names

1a-d indicates that a Nso' personal name (henceforth NPSN) is either a sentence, a verb phrase, a noun phrase or a loan word. Nso' names can easily be subjected to a systemic analysis within which the sentence name is ranked highest and the lone word name is lowest in the hierarchy. Such ranking is akin to the Scale-and-Category Grammar otherwise known as Systemic Grammar (Halliday 1961: 247-8, Tomori 1977:26-64). We examine these forms in an attempt to isolate and analyse the peculiarities of each.

2.1 Sentence Dominated names

Like basic sentences, sentence names in Nso' employ the bare essentials of language. Primarily, there exist a set of basic units (the lexicon). A system of rules governs the combination of these lexical items into larger units (phrases

and sentences). The specification of combinatory rules constitutes the grammar of the language. These rules specify not only the permissible complex forms within a given language, but also how meaning is derived (Cruse, 2001).

A sentence is conceived of as either a word or a group of words that express a complete thought. Basically, it is made up of a predicate containing a finite verb and an overt or covert subject. Sentence names in Nso' seek to distinguish an individual through a complete statement that exhibits all the constituents of a basic clause. The grammatical rules that govern the derivation of sentence names are largely not at variance with the rules that guide Lamnso' grammar. The selection and pairing of subjects with permissible objects generally generate semantically well-formed sentence names that may not be necessarily syntactically well-formed. The categorical rules employed in the expansion of sentence names, makes personal names in Nso' a subset of the expansion rules for the sentence in Lamnso' grammar.

In the examples that follow, we present sentence names as they are orthographically represented by bearers who may not be acquainted with the Lamnso' writing system and its grammar. The same sentence name is then presented following the standard sentence representation in Lamnso' syntax after which the literary interpretation is shown.

2. a)   Mbiydzenyuy   [S mbìy dzə   nyùy]
                         first pres-be god
                         'God is primary'
    b)   Dohsekafover   [S dò' sə́   ka   fo   vèr]
                         do' prog-take what from us
                         'What does the Do' (family) want from us?'
    c)   Mberinyuyle   [S m bèrì   nyùy le]
                         I non-prog-thank god   how
                         'How do I thank God?'
    d)   Nsaidzedzee   [S nsay dzə   dzee]
                         earth non-prog-be road
                         'The world is a route'
    e)   Verdzekov   [S vèr dzə   kov]
                         we   non-prog-be forest
                         'We are in the forest'

In 2 (a-e), each name can be derived from the rule Name = S, where
$$S \rightarrow NP + VP$$

The VPs can further be expanded to:
$$VP \rightarrow V + N$$

as shown in the tree diagram in 3.

3.

```
                             S
                    ╱                ╲
                 NP                    VP
                  │              ╱            ╲
                  │            V               NP
                  │            │         ╱            ╲
                  │            │        N               PP
                  │            │        │          ╱         ╲
                  │            │        │         P            N
                  │            │        │         │            │
                 dò'           sə       ka        fo          vèr
```
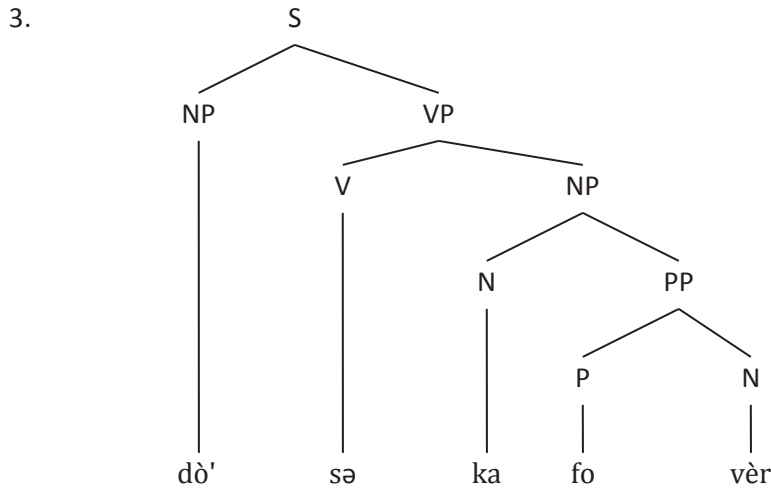
The semantic appropriateness for the arguments occupying the object and subject positions of each sentence name is guided by selectional restrictions governed by socio-cultural considerations. For instance, there are some lexical items that are excluded from the membership of personal names such as taboo words, names that negate eternal truths, derogatory terms etc. Nso' sentence names like Lamnso' sentences are productive. By simply replacing one appropriate agent or patient within a known name with an appropriate noun phrase, one can generate a new NPSN that has never been in use before. This characteristic permits the native speaker to be creative in the interpretation of his social environment through name bestowal given the numerous choices of names available to choose from. Categories from sentence names in Lamnso' can be isolated for emphasis or questioning. Nso' personal names, like basic sentences in Lamnso' can be marked for mood differentiation: declarative mood and interrogative mood.

2.1.1 Declarative personal Names

Meaningful statements that are reflective of conceptual, historical and socio-cultural reality can be said to be declarative. Such statements could be affirmative, assertive, denials etc. Information signalled by declarative names corresponds to that signalled by declarative sentences. Declarative sentences that have positive pragmatic effects easily qualify for adoption as personal names because of the Positive Sanction Principle[3]. The examples in 4 are

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[3] See the Home Context Condition in section 3.1

personal names that make a pronouncement about a position, a state, an observation, a wish etc.

4.   a)   Lendzemo   [S lèn dzə   mo]
                         now non-prog-be   me
                         'It is now my turn'
      b)   Verdzebah   [S vềr dzə   ba']
                         we non-prog- be ba'
                         'We are in Bah[4]'
      c)   Ndzewiyi   [S dzə́ wíyì]
                         world prog-come
                         The world is advancing'
      d)   Bongdzehem [S bòŋ dzə'èm]
                         good non-prog-sit
                         'It is better to be settled'

4 (a-d) are sentence names that are assertive of the circumstances surrounding the birth of the name bearer. Each family bestows a name that reflects their own interpretation of the event(s) connected to the moment of birth. The declarative sentence names convey the belief of the family in their reading of the conditions of birth.

2.1.2 Interrogative Sentence Names

People generally ask questions when life presents events and circumstances for which they cannot immediately proffer answers or solutions. The birth of a child offers families an opportunity to reflect on the lives they are leading. The interrogative personal names are bestowed on children delivered into uncertain political, socio-cultural and economic circumstances.

Question sentences in Lamnso' are structurally unique. Unlike English-type languages in which question derivation involves the movement of the wh-element from clause final position at the deep-structure to clause initial position at the surface-structure, Lamnso' is a wh-in-situ language in which the wh-phrase remains at clause final position at surface structure. In addition, this wh-element must appear in the domain of some appropriate binder at LF (-representation) [5] if the interrogative derivation is to converge at the interface level of the sentence (Yuka, 2006). Nso' interrogative personal names equally exhibit their question elements clause finally. The examples in 5 show that interrogative sentence names have the features of interrogative sentences.

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[4] The name of a settlement within Nso' land.
[5] Logical Form. A level of representation where component interpretation includes only semantic features.

5.   a)   Nsaidzeka   [S nsay dzə   ka]
                          soil non-prog-be what
                          'What is the worth of this world?'

      b)   Ashujika   [S á   shu`   ji ka]
                          they non-prog-suggest that what
                          'What have they suggested?'

      c)   Mberinyuyle [S m bèrì   nyuy le]
                          I   non-prog-thank God how
                          'How do I thank God?'

      d)   Muyeele   [S mù yèé   le]
                          me non-prog-do how
                          'How do I do (this)?'

      e)   Liybarfee   [S líy   bár   feé]
                          insult prog-hang where
                          'Where is the insult hanging?'

      f)   Nsohdzefee   [S nso' dzə   feé]
                          nso' non-prog-be where
                          'Where are the people of Nso'?'

      g)   Ngehdzeyela [Sŋge'   dzə   ye la]
                          penury non-prog-be sm who
                          'Whose penury is it?'

      h)   Nyuybanla   [S nyuy ban   la]
                          God non-prog-hate who
                          'Who does God hate?'

      i)   Wiryenkfea   [S wìr   yén   kfə́ á]
                          person   prog-see his   part
                          'Is one seeing his own (faults)?'

      j)   Kehmua   [S kè'   mu á]
                          non-prog-start me part
                          'Am i the first to start?'

In 5, the personal names, like the sentences from which the names are derived, are in the interrogative mood. The wh-words[6] highlighted in bold face occur clause finally.

The wh- words in 5 are generally suggestive of the answer to the question given that the question word and the appropriate answer always have identical features. Wh-in-situ languages vary question formation strategies when they base-generate a question particle at clause final position (see example 5 i-j). In 5 i-j, there is no overt wh-words; rather, a question particle

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[6] Though question words in Lamnso' do not necessarily begin with the letters wh-, as is the case with English, we choose to refer to them as wh-words (question words) as is the case in existing literature.

appears at clause final position. The question particle is an idiosyncrasy of languages in which the wh-words are not moved at surface-structure (Cheng, 1991). The wh-words in Lamnso' personal names comprise of two cardinal components: the proposition and the object of focus of the question. The object of focus and the proposition are identical in features. Thus a question name in Lamnso' must occur within the domain of some appropriate binder at LF if such a name is to an intelligible interrogative name in the language.

2.2 Verb Dominated Names

The verb dominated personal names in Lamnso' are inherently verb phrases (VP). Like every other maximal projection, the verb phrase name is a symmetrical projection of a single headword category (V) (Radford, 1990). The VP standardly referred to as the 'predicate' contains the verb, which is the sentence predicator (Yusuf 1992a). Lamnso' verbs can easily be divided into two major groups: The simple verbs and the complex verbs. Morphologically, the simple verbs consist only of the verbal base, while the complex verbs consist of the verbal base and an extension. The base and its affix are grammatically and phonologically interdependent. The verb has generally been treated as a unitary component ignoring the smaller morphological units existing within complex verbs. Yuka (forthcoming) has shown that these smaller morphological units participate in transitivity alternation. Transitivity begins with the understanding that the verb takes a direct object.

The head verb of the VP name in Lamnso' is always transitive. Such names describe situations, home conditions, circumstances of birth etc. Verb dominated personal names are also derived from declarative statements that convey interpretations of circumstances and events within the family. The VP names in example 6, and the sentence names in example 2, are structurally similar except that the phrasal names lack an overt agent, making verb phrasal names principally descriptive.

6. a) Sevidzem   [VP sə́   vidzə̀m]
                    non-prog-take   everything
                    'receive every offer'/ 'I will receive everything'
    b) kongnyuy   [VP kòŋ   nyuy]
                    non-prog-love God
                    'the love of God/ God's love'/ 'It is God who loves me'
    c) Shemlon   [VP shèm   lòn]
                    non-prog-deny misfortune
                    'denier   of misfortune'/ 'This one who ends the
                    misfortune'
    d) Dindzee   [VP dìn   dzee]
                    non-prog-direct road

'lead/show the way'/ 'You show us the way'

e)   Sahnyuy   [VP sá'   nyuy
                prog-judge God
                'God is judging'/ 'God is judging us/you/ God is the
                abiter'

7, represents the basic structure of the names in 5a-e. Personal names have the principal

7.
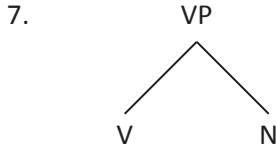
function of identifying people. A name distinguishes and individuates its bearer. To effectively perform this role, a name cannot be indefinitely long. The full meaning of a name can be implied by a recognisable part of the full version (Ekundayo$_0$, 1977) that is distinct and unambiguous. It is evident from our interpretation of the names in 6a-e that the VP forms represent only part of the full expression corresponding to the full semantic interpretation of a each of the names. Our claim here is that length restriction is what informs verb dominated Nso' personal names, otherwise the names in 6 will reflect the structure in 3. Once the names in 6a-e are considered as declarative statements, it is easy to discern that emphasis is on the theme. The agent or the patient can be implied. Length restriction ignores constituents whose exclusion does not hinder the semantic import of the name or its functional relevance. It is the length restriction interpretive principle that enables native speakers to discern the meaning of VP personal names in Lamnso'

2.3 Noun Dominated Names

Before the gradual encroachment of western civilization into Nso' cultural values and worldview, the bestowal of personal names was gender sensitive. Today, the categorization of personal names following sex distinction is steadily being eroded by the popularity of European names and the readiness of Nso' married women to discard their maiden names for the surnames of their husbands. Kishani, (2005), notes that part of the coronation rites of a traditional   family lord (Fáy or Shuu Fay)[7] in Nso' is the requirement that a child be enthroned alongside the Fáy or Shuu Fay. If such a child is male, he will either be called: Lúkòng, ŋgóng or Túkòv; if the child is female, she either

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[7] the head of a lineage from which several other lineages have stemmed off, and so may be regarded as head of a sub-clan.

takes the name Bìy, Sheè, Ntàng or Kfə̀kfə'. These names are symbolic to the role of their bearers within the family.

Within the Nso' traditional setting it is assumed that children suffering from sickle-cell anaemia are being hounded by evil spirits and need spiritual cleansing. Part of this spiritual rejuvenation is the requirement that a child be given a new name. The belief is that a new name changes the identity of the child and renders him/her unrecognisable to the evil spirits. The first male child in the family is either called Taàlúkòng or Taàbìy. The first female child is given the name Yeèlukòng or Yeèbìy. These names stand as evidence that from Nso' personal names, a competent interpreter can tell not only the sex of the bearer, but the import of a name and the traditional role of the bearer as well as his/her status within family hierarchy.

2.3.1 Lone Word Names

Bìy, Sheè, Kfə̀kfə̀, Lúkòng, Ngóng, Túkòv etc are regarded as traditional names often linked to traditional idol worship. These lone word names are noun dominated and seek to describe and individuate their bearers within their community. Majority of lone word names are nouns. Unlike the sentence and verb dominated names, these lone word names are sometimes abstract and semantically vague. While considering the names in example 8, notice the plethora of possible acceptable interpretations that such names can be subsumed.

8. a) Nge'   'an unpleasant or undesirable experience, a troublesome person'
   b) Sháŋ   'prison, chain, restriction, curtailment of ones rights'
   c) Vibàn   'hatred, bad faith, angst'
   d) Nsà'   'counter claims that need judgement, responsibility'
   e) Kifə̀m   'an abandoned homestead'
   f) Kibvə̀r   'dust, powder, an item lacking in substance'

A child bearing 8a above, could be meant to reflect the circumstances of birth (the mother may have been in labour for long in the delivery room before the baby was born), home condition (they may have been poverty and lack during the time of birth or family business may have taken a down turn at the time of birth, the birth of the child may also be seen as an end to an illness or an unpleasant psychological condition of a family member). For 8b, a member of the family may have been serving a jail term at the time of birth or an enemy of the family may have been successfully prosecuted and jailed, the basic rights of family members may have been trampled upon etc. 8e and 8f are common nouns. The semantic interpretation of such names is fluid and non-specific.

2.3.2 Noun-Noun Name Forms

Another set of noun dominated personal names whose interpretations are less abstract are personal names derived from two nouns (noun-noun constructs). With such names, as shown in example 9, one noun qualifies another noun.

9.   a)   Kwahtinyuy   [NP kwa'tì   nuyun]
                          thought   God
                          'God's thoughts'
     b)   Tarngwah   [NP tàr   ŋgwá']
                          leader   union
                          'Union leader'
     c)   Wirdzem   [NP wír   ndzə́m]
                          person   disability
                          'a lame person'
     d)   Wirnkor   [NP wír   ŋkòr]
                          person   ŋkòr
                          'somebody from Nkor'[8]
     e)   Fonlon   [NP fòn   lòn]
                          king   misfortune
                          'master of misfortune'

Each of the personal names in 9 show that the two different nouns that are dominated by an NP, as represented in 10.

10.   NP
            /   \
          N   N

In Lamnso', the predominant noun-noun constructions are those with an Associative Marker (AM), that occurs in-between the two nouns as shown in 10.

11.   a)   kikun ké   Lòn   b)   shilív shé bvə́rə̀'
           bed   AM Lòn   heart   AM[9] lion
           'Lòn's bed'   'A lion's heart'

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[8] Nkòr is a neighboring ethnic group with similar traditions and culture to those of the Nso' people.

[9] The Associative Marker is a noun modifier which specifies the (adjectival) attributes of a given noun (Grebe 1984). In Lamnso' the AM relates nouns within the structure [N_1 AM N_2]. Such constructions commonly express possession, such that N_2 is the possessor, while N_1 is the possessed.

Noun-noun constructions like those in 10 are said to be unmarked associative constructions.[10] Personal names like those shown in 9 are marked associative constructions, so distinguished because of their lack of an intervening AM marker between the two nouns (Yuka, 1997). Given that Lamnso' is a Head initial language, the head noun (N_1) is simply being qualified by following noun (N_2) within marked associative constructions. The semantic relationship between N_1 and N_2 makes the dominating NP, more specific than the lone noun names in example 8. Again, the N_1 - N_2 name forms represent complete thoughts that have been abridges into a noun phrase. N_1 and N_2 are drawn from the general lexicon of Lamnso'. Their choices are governed by sociological considerations while their syntactic order is guided by Head Parameter Principle[11]. N_1 syntactically functions as the head noun, while N_2 becomes the qualifier of N_1. Once $[N_1 + N_2]$ within a personal name noun-noun construct switch positions, ungrammatical structures are derived. For instance sLonfon, sNkorwir, sNwahtar

Evidence from section 2 of this paper indicates that the NPSN is principally a sentence merged into a single word item, which then functions as noun. The following section of the paper examines the various restrictions that guide the selection of appropriate lexical units which constitutes sentence names in Lamnso'.

3. Categorial Selectional Restrictions for Nso' Sentence Names

Once one assumes that Nso' names belong to an open lexical category, and that like sentences, name derivation is productive, then the underlying claim is that all sentences in Lamnso' can be adapted to personal names. Such an assumption is capable of generating semantically and socio-culturally unacceptable names that either violate socio-cultural tenets or are simply semantically unintelligible. This section of the paper examines the semantic and socio-cultural restrictions that guide the selection of appropriate lexical units for the formation of Nso' sentence names

3.1. Home Context Condition

Home Context Condition (henceforth HCC) is the most prevalent restriction that guides the selection of a personal name in Nso'. A name chosen to reflect the situation within the family at the time of the birth of a child is thoroughly thought out. Such a name may reflect: the special circumstances of the birth of

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[10] Radford (1988:39) employs the theory of Markedness to distinguish between marked and unmarked phenomenon. An unmarked phenomenon is that which conforms with universal principles in the language, a marked phenomenon does not.

[11] The principle which determines the relative positioning of heads with respect to their complements.

a child, the social economic, political conditions into which the child was born, the religious affiliation of the family (which God the family worships), the profession of the family line etc.

For an event to satisfy the HCC, it has to be psychologically, sociologically and culturally salient. Such events must be honorable, replete with love and dignity. It must have socio-economic value and revere age and experience to be of high social value. Each name in 12 is primarily determined by a matching HCC.

12. a) Senyuy 'It's through God's help' = for a child born after a difficult delivery'

   b) Keewai 'that which belongs to the market' = for a child delivered in the market place).

   c) Ngehdzeyela 'whose penury is it?' = (for a child delivered into economic hardship)

   d) Kongbunri 'he/she with a preference for prayers' = for a child delivered into a deeply religious family.

It is necessary to note that identical contexts may motivate distinct but semantically related names and the same name may be motivated by different circumstances of birth.

The names 12 reveal that acceptable sentences exist that can pass for actual home contexts; also, that acceptable names can be constructed from potential home conditions. However, there are events that the Nso' person will not interpret as actual or potential home conditions. The single sentences in 13 have the structure of personal names. The events they relate constitute occurrences within the home, but none of them is acceptable as a home condition to motivate the bestowal of a personal name.

13. a) Jwifonimu   [S jiwi fò   ne   mu]
                       dog non-prog-give compl me
                       'The dog has given me'
     b) Mbiydzenah   [S mbìy dzə   nà']
                       first non-prog-be cow
                       'The cow is primary'
     c) Mberishong   [S m bèrì   shóŋ]
                       I prog-thank thief
                       'I am thankful to the thief'

Their restriction is informed by the lexical items selected as arguments (dog, cow, and thief). These arguments are looked down on by the Nso' people. 13a is not a potential HCC because the name declares that a dog offered a child to the family; a ludicrous thing to say within a community of Nso' people. 13b states that the family considers a cow important enough to place it above

everything else in the family. 13c eulogises theft, which is seen as a social evil within Nso' society. Sentences not judged as home conditions strictly limit the repertoire and the productive capacity of Nso' personal names.

3.2 Denials of Eternal Truths

Eternal truths are maxims, rooted in the folklore as well as in the oral tradition of a people. They are concise statements, which express the obvious truths and the insightful perception of life within a speech community. The predicative elements of such sentences express eternal truths in the habitual form, which indicates the persistence of an event irrespective of time (Frawley and Erlbaum, 1992). The events expressed are often removed from any specific time reference though the same event is conceptually futuristically extended, nonetheless.

Such eternal truths have largely been accepted as proverbs which are quoted often to remind society of its tenets and goals. The denial of an eternal truth is not simply the negation of a generalized statement; it is a refutation of the socio-cultural beliefs of a people. It is possible to have grammatical sentences that negate eternal truths, but sentence names that deny eternal truths are unacceptable as personal names within the Nso' people as shown by the examples below.

14. a) (i)   Nuyyshaaven   [S nyuy shaà   ven]
                                God non-prog-pass you(pl.)
                                'God surpasses you'
        (ii) sVershaanyuy   [S vèr shaà   nyuy]
                                we   non-prog-pass God
                                'We surpass God'
    b) (i)   Fondzewir   [S fòn dzə   wír]
                                king non-prog-be person
                                'The king is a human being'
        (ii) sFonyo'dzewir   [S fòn yò' dzə   wír]
                                king neg non-prog-be person
                                'The King is not human'

It is offensive to have a name that declares that any human contemplates a status measurement with either a personal god or the God of Moses. 14a, which proclaims that an individual or a group consider themselves superior to God is conceptually unacceptable. The Fòn (king) is generally looked upon as the royal father of the Nso' people and first among the Nso' men. It will be traditionally injurious to conceive of a statement that insinuates that he is not human except such a reference is metaphorically honourific. Such a sentence is not a candidate for a personal name among the people of Nso'.

3.3 Social Beliefs

The choice of lexical items for the construction of Nso' sentence names is guided by the social factors and beliefs of the people. Sentences that eulogize antisocial behaviour and activities are rejected as personal names. Words like Shóŋ (thief) [smdzeshóŋ] 'I am a theif'; kibaá (madness) [sbòŋkibaá] 'madness is better'; rím (witch) [srìmdzewo] 'you are a witch' etc are not considered worthy candidates for personal names. Conversely, lexical items like kòŋ (love) [Kòŋbunrì] 'lover of prayers'; Kishə'rì (happiness) [bòŋkishé'rì] 'happiness is good' etc are socially highly valued qualities that feature in personal names across the land.

Derogatory terms, abusive words, taboo words, unpleasant connotations etc, are restricted from the repertoire of lexical items that are candidates for Nso' personal names. Such words are low in value on the social hierarchy. Animal names, objects or degrading items are excluded from the membership of lexical items that can constitute a sentence name. Since a name is a reflection of the bearer, no person wants to bear a name that place's him or her lowly in society.

4. Summary and Conclusion

Evidence from our investigation suggest that the general assumption that a personal name is a noun which can be defined with Chomsky's (1986b) feature specification ([±N, ±V]) is not tenable for Nso' personal names. Semantically, each of these names expresses a complete thought process. Structurally Nso' personal names manifest as nouns, phrases and sentences. Where phrasal names occur, there is proof that some constituent(s) whose inclusion will logically yield a basic clause, but whose semantic value can be implied, has been clipped. Apart from the standard categorical selectional restrictions, lexical units that are candidates for personal name composition in Lamnso' are guided by semantic and socio-cultural restrictions. Given the productive nature of the Nso' naming system, these restrictions have largely limited the repertoire of Nso' sentence names. This entails that not all well-formed sentences in Lamnso' are candidates for personal names. Our study of Nso' personal names reveals an interesting correlation between the socio-cultural world-view of the Nso' people and the linguistic choices of the people.

this paper. I thank them for their criticisms and valuable suggestions. All shortfalls in the paper are solely mind.

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Abbreviations

pl	Plural
prog	Progressive
non-prog	non-progressive
part	Particle
compl	Completive

Appendix: Phonetic symbols used in this paper

[ʔ] Glottal Stop

['] Simplified representation of the glottal stop

[ə] Schwa

[ŋ] Nasal velar

[₀] Sub dot, signifying a syllabic segment e.g. [o₀]

Chapter 6

Yorùbá: Nominal compounds

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This work examines the internal structure of morphologically complex nouns in the Yorùbá language. These nouns are categorized into endocentric and exocentric compounds. Endocentric compounds are derived through the combination of a noun or a nominal prefix and other categories such as nouns, adjective, verbs and the verb phrase. Exocentric nominal compounds are formed through desententialization of various sentences in the language. The Pulleyblank-and-Akinlabi version of the weak lexicalist hypothesis (WLH), which allows recursion from syntax to morphology, is adopted for our analysis because the derivations of these nominal compounds involve the interaction of both syntactic and morphological components.

1. Introduction

A Compound word is a word which consists of two words with a non-compositional meaning. According to Selkirk (1982, p. 13) 'compounds in English are a type of word structure made up of two constituents, each belonging to one of the categories noun, adjective, verb or preposition. The compound itself may belong to the category noun, verb or adjective'. Fabb (2001, p. 66) defines a compound as 'a word which consists of two or more words'. The words in (1) are derived from the combination of two or more words in the Yorùbá language.

1 a. $[_N$ Adéọlá]   ← $[_N$Adé]   + $[_N$ ọlá]
       'personal name'   crown   wealth

   b. $[_N$Ìsọrí-ọ̀rọ̀-orúkọ]   ← $[_N$Ìsọ̀ri]   + $[_N$ ọ̀rọ̀]   + $[_N$ orúkọ]
       'the nominal group'   group   word   name

   c. $[_P$ níhìn ín]   ← $[_P$ nì]   + $[_N$ ìhín]
       'here'   at   here

The nominal compounds in (1a&b) consist of two and three words respectively. The prepositional compound in (1c) is made up of two words. However, many Yorùbá compounds are derived from the clause as is evident from the examples in (2).

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2 a. sòrò   ←   sọ   +   òrò
       'to speak'   throw   word

   b. kíyèsára   ←   kó   iyè   sí   ara
       'to be observant'   put   mind   to   body

   c. Babaláwo   ←   Baba   ní   awo
       'herbalist'   old   man/father has cult
       'The old man has a cult'.

   d. Adéwálé   Adé   wá   sí   ilé
       personal name   Ade   come   prep.   house
       'Ade came to the house'/ 'Ade came home'.

The compound words, *sòrò* 'to speak', *kíyèsára* 'to be observant' *babaláwo* 'herbalist' and *Adéwálé* (personal name), are derived from full clauses. In their derivations, some phonological processes such as vowel elision, deletion, contraction, tonal displacement and/or replacement, etc., are employed. For example, in the derivation of *sòrò* 'to speak', the vowel of *sọ* 'to throw' is elided with its mid tone and in *kíyèsára*, 'to be observant', the vowels of *kó* 'to put' and that of *sí* (prep) are elided, but their high tone remains, and this high tone displaces the adjacent mid tone of *iyè* 'mind' and *ara* 'body'. Apart from the elision of the nasal vowel of *ní* in (2c), the alveolar nasal [n] that remains is replaced by the lateral approximant [l]. The high tone of the elided nasal vowel displaces the mid tone of the first syllable of *awo* 'cult', the adjacent word in the derivation of *babaláwo* 'herbalist'. While the first two are verbal compounds, the remaining two are nominal compounds. We shall examine the structures of theses nominal compounds; determine the levels of their derivations as well as the types of the derived nouns. The paper is organized in this way: Section 1 discusses the theoretical background of the work. Here we adopt the (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi, 1988) version of the weak lexicalist hypothesis (WLH) for the derivation of these compound nouns and (Chomsky, 1995) bare phrase structure for their diagrammatic sketch. In Section 2, we give a detailed analysis of the various compound nouns in the language. This includes the PS rules that could account for them, their typology; the levels of their derivation and the interaction between syntax and morphology in the formation of the nominal compounds. Section 3 is the conclusion.

2. Theoretical background

The weak lexicalist hypothesis (WLH) accepts that some words are syntactically derived while others are not (Adeniyi 2007, p. 36). Morphology and syntax constitute semi-independent components, where principles of the

morphology govern categories of level X°. No ordering is imposed between the components hence, apart from the standard situation whereby morphology provides inputs for syntax; it is also possible for syntax to derive a word-level category. We adopt the model in (3) following (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi, 1988):

```
                        Morphology 1& 2
    3.
                              ↕
                           Syntax

              (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi, 1988, p. 158)
```
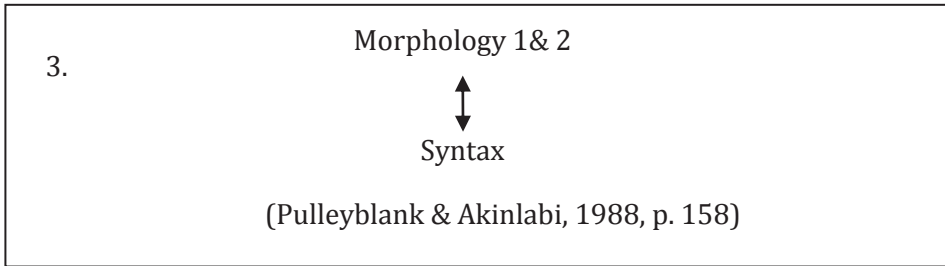
In considering the possible interactions between morphology and syntax, (3) posits two morphological components – Morphology 1 and Morphology 2. This is illustrated thus. The word *adé* personal name/'crown' is derived by the combination of an agentive nominal prefix and *dé* 'cover'.

4. a-   + dé   →   adé
    agentive prefix   cover   personal name/ 'crown'
    Morphology 1

This word, *adé,* is the subject of the basic clause (the sentence) in (5).

5. Adé   wá   sí   ilé
    Ade   come   prep   house
    'Ade came to the house'/ 'Ade came home'.

In (5), *Morphology1* is the input to syntax

6. Morphology 1   →   Syntax

where words are strung together to form a basic clause. It is possible to derive a word from the clause in (5).

7. Adé   wá   sí   ilé   →   Adéwálé
    Ade   come prep house   (personal name)
    'Ade came to the house'/ 'Ade came home'.

In the derivation of *Adéwálé*, (personal name) in (7) above, a clause is the input to the word, the preposition *sí* is deleted while the V_1 of *ilé* 'house' is elided before contraction takes place.

8. Syntax   →   Morphology 2

The examples in (5) and (7) establish the fact that a non-lexical category can derive a lexical one. The model in (3) is one where all morphological processes-derivation (including phrasal derivation) and inflection-are located within a single grammatical component (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi 1988:158-160). With a single morphological component in which the syntactic input is needed in the formation of some words, the model is possibly modified to allow recursion from syntax into the morphology. They conclude that 'the syntactic component determines the wellformedness of syntactic representations, while the morphology does the same for morphological representations. Where the morphology and syntax interact, . . . each component governs the appropriate aspects of the relevant construction' (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi 1988:160).

In the analysis of these compounds, we employ the bare phrase structure of generative syntax. In this model, 'a category that does not project any further is a maximal projection XP, and one that is not a projection at all is a minimal projection Xmin ; any other is an X^1 . . . ' (Chomsky1995, p. 242). This model is employed in the diagrammatic sketch of the structures of the compounds. This is because many of the compound words in Yorùbá can be termed 'postsyntactic compounds' (Fabb 2001, P. 68). They are derived from phrases. For example, the verbs in (2a & b), repeated below, are derived from phrases.

2   a.   sòrò   ←   sọ   +   òrò
         'to speak'   throw   word

    b.   kíyèsára   ←   kó   iyè   sí   ara
         'to be observant'   put   mind   to   body

The syntactic component of the model in (3) will determine the well–formedness of syntactic representations before such postsyntactic compound is derived.

3. Types of compounds

In the literature, three types of compounds have been identified. These are:

- endocentric compounds: those with a head
- exocentric compounds: those without a head
- co-ordinate compounds: those where both words equally share head–like characteristics

                        (Selkirk, 1982, p. 13; Fabb, 2001, pp. 66-67)

The nominal compound Adéọlá (personal name), in (1a), is an example of co-ordinate compounds in which both words in the compound equally share head-like characteristics; the compound verb sòrò 'to speak'. in (2a), has the verb *sọ* 'throw' as its head, hence it is an endocentric compound, finally,

Adéwálé (personal name), in (2d) is an exocentric compound without a head. The structures of these three compounds are shown in (9) below.

9a

N
├── N
│   ├── nom.pre
│   │   └── a-
│   └── VP
│   └── dé
└── N
    └── ọlá

Adéọlá (personal name)

9b

V
├── V
│   └── sọ
└── VP
    └── ọ̀rọ̀

'to speak'

9c

N
└── IP
    ├── NP
    │   └── Nᴵ
    │   ├── N
    │   │   └── nom.pre.
    │   │   └── a-
    │   └── VP
    │   └── dé
    └── Iᴵ
        ├── I
        │   └── TASP
        │   └── Ø
        └── VP
            └── Vᴵ
                ├── V
                │   └── wá
                └── NP
                    └── ilé

Adéwálé (personal name)
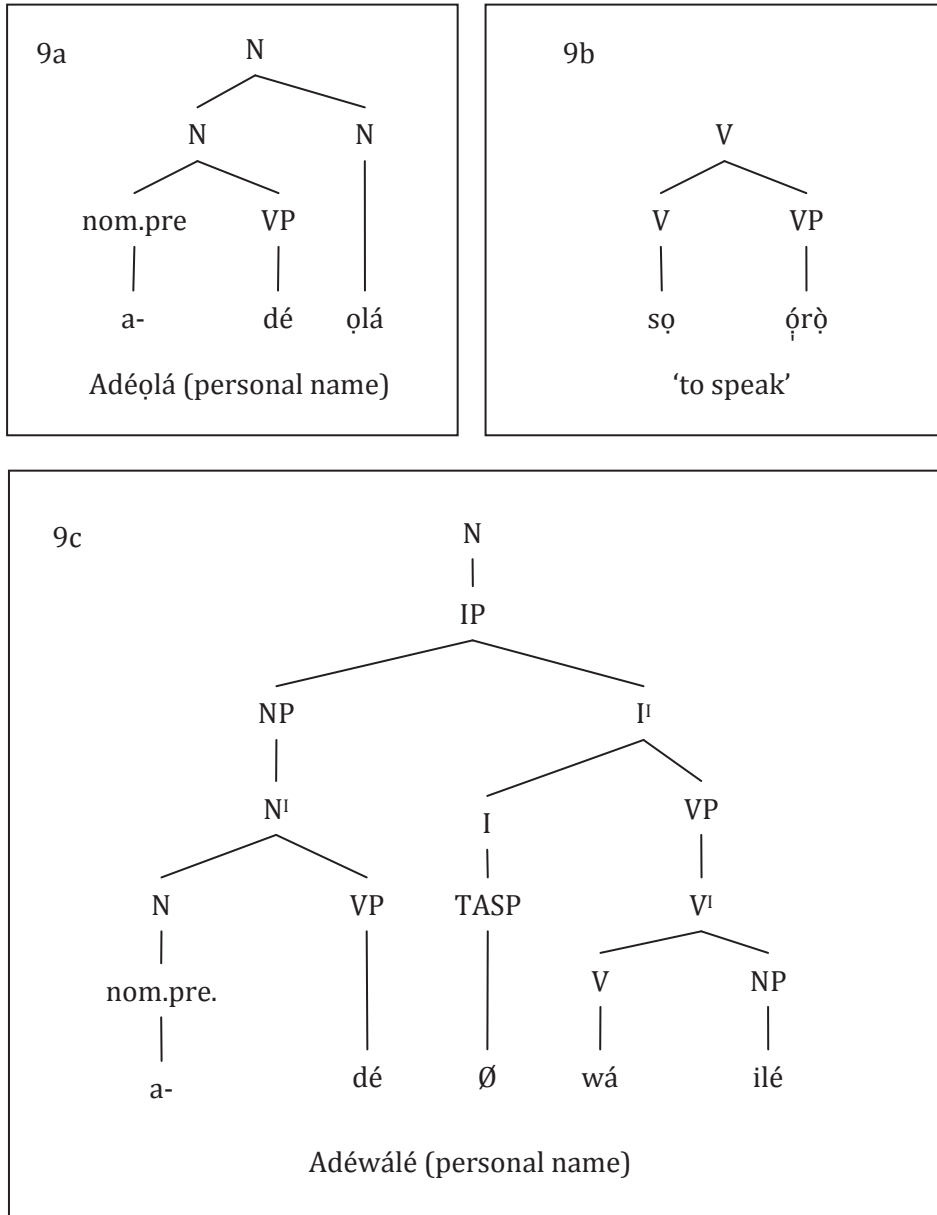
Yorùbá nominal compounds exhibit two of these types. They are endocentric and exocentric compounds. We shall discuss them in this paper.

4. Nominal compounds in the Yorùbá language

Various nominal compounds can be derived through the combination of various words or phrases in the Yorùbá language (Taiwo 2006:77-96). The following combinations are noticed in the derivation of compound nouns in the language.

- noun + adjective
- noun + noun (+ noun)
- noun + verb
- nominal prefix + verb phrase
- desententialization of clauses and sentences

Compound nouns formed from the combinations above, except the last one (desententialization), are endocentric compounds and are derived from phrases. Desententialization is a word-formation process in the Yorùbá language by which a whole clause or sentence is reduced to a noun. Various sentence-types could take part in this nominalization. Examples are focus constructions, dislocated sentences, relative clauses, multiple verb sentences and underived sentences. Compound nouns derived through this process are exocentric compounds.

We propose the following PS (Phrase Structure) rules for the derivation of compound nouns formed from phrases in Yorùbá.

10   a.   N   →   N + AP
     b.   N   →   N + NP
     c.   N   →   N + VP (+VP)

The rules in (10) could be collapsed in (11) in which a nominal compound can be formed through the combination of a noun and any phrase.

11.   N   →   + XP (+XP)

However, nominal compounds derived through desententialization will have the PS rule in (12).

12.   N   →   CP

In the discussions that follow, we shall examine the levels of the derivations of these compound nouns in line with our model in (3) and categorize them typologically as either endocentric or exocentric compounds. We shall discuss nominal compounds formed from phrases in the Sections 4.1 and 4.2, while those derived through desententialization will be discussed in Section 4.3.

4.1. The structures of nominal compounds derived from phrases

All the compounds derived with the rule (11) (or its expanded form in (10)) are endocentric in that they have heads which are their left-hand members.

N + AP compound nouns

In (10a), a noun and an adjective are combined to derive a compound noun. Some examples of this type of nominal compound are given below.

13. N   →   N   +   AP
     Olówógbogboro   olówó   +   gbogboro
     'the one with very long hands' handowner   very long

     omońlá   →   omo   +   ńlá
     'a big child'   child   big
     (an exceptional child)

The compound words in (13) have similar structures. One of them is given in (14).

Olówógbogboro 'the one with long hands'
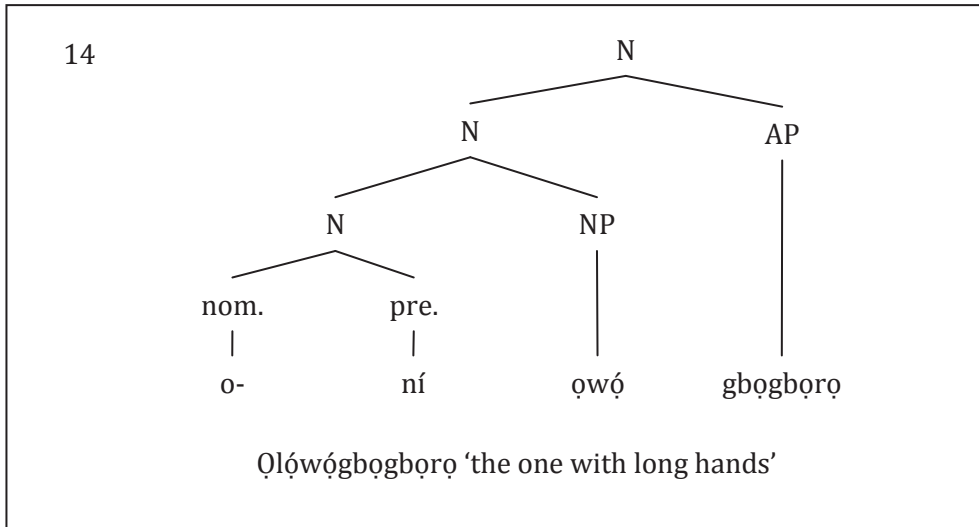
The structure in (14) above reveals that the head of the compound word is the nominal prefix {o-} which combines with the VP *ní* 'to owe/possess' to derive *oní*[1], 'the one who owes or possesses', this in turn combines with the

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[1] See (Taiwo, 2009) where the nominal item *{oní}* is analyzed as consisting of a nominal prefix *{o-}* and the verb *ní* 'to owe/possess' following (Awobuluyi, 1967, 008)

NP *ọwọ́* 'hand' to form *ọlọ́wọ́*[2] 'hand owner'. The derived noun *ọlọ́wọ́* has the AP *gbọgbọrọ* 'very long' as its sister.

N + NP compound nouns

In (10b), a nominal compound is derived from two or more nouns. For two nouns that are combined to form a compound, such nouns occur in genitive constructions in the noun phrase[3]. Consider the following examples.

15. N_1 + N_2 N
      òkè   +   àgbè   Òkèàgbè   name of a town
      Ilé   +   ejọ́   ilé-ejọ́   'Court'
      oùnjẹ +   alẹ   Oùnjẹ alẹ́[4]   'Supper'

In the derived words in (15), the N_1 is the head in each construction while N_2 is the modifier. The tree diagram in (16) below shows the structure of one of these compounds.
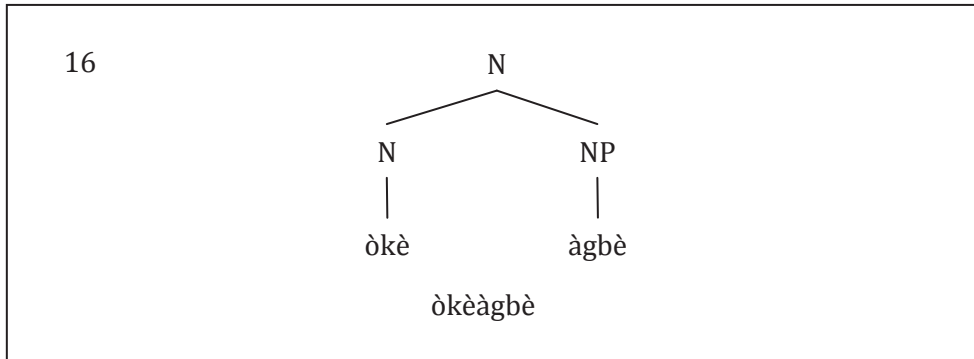
Compounds derived from three nouns have the first noun as its head, while the two remaining noun are modifiers. The examples below are instances of these compounds.

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[2] In the derivation of *ọlọ́wọ́* 'hand owner' from *oní +ọwọ́,* the nasal vowel /ĩ/ of *oní* is elided while the high tone borne by it displaces the adjacent mid tone of *ọwọ́* to become **onọ́wọ̀*. The nasal sound [n] becomes [l] because it does not occur before oral vowels. In the derived word **olọ́wọ̀*, v_2 regressively assimilates v_1 to derive the acceptable word *ọlọ́wọ̀* 'hand owner'.

[3] See (Owolabi, 1976) for a detailed discussion of noun-noun constructions in Yorùbá. The work divides these constructions into genitive and appositive constructions.

[4] Compounds derived from two or more words like these ones can be orthographically represented in three ways. They can be written together with no space between them, they can be hyphenated, and they can be written with a space between them (Katamba, 1993, pp. 304-320).

17. N_1 + N_2 + N_3 $\longrightarrow$ N
    a.   òrò   +   arópò   +   orùkọ $\longrightarrow$ òrò-arópò-orùkọ[5]
                               'pronoun'

    b.   Ìsòrí   +   òrò   +   orúkọ $\longrightarrow$ ìsòrí-òrò-orúkọ
                                 'the nominal group'

Though N_2 and N_3 are modifiers in the examples in (17), they modify separate nouns. The different levels of these modifiers are shown in the tree diagram below.
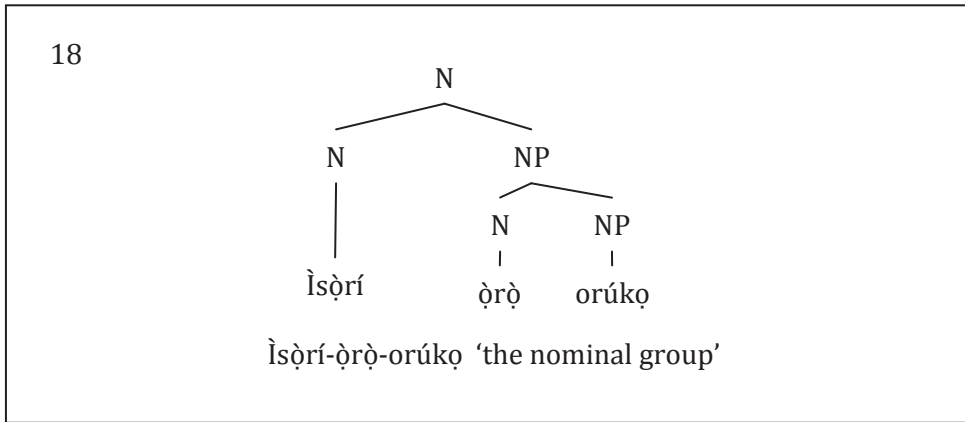
Both the morphological and syntactic components in (3) interact in the derivation of the nouns in (13), (15) and (17). Morphology 1 derives the noun *ọlọ́wọ̀* 'handowner' from *oní* {o- + ní} and *ọwọ́* 'hand'. The noun selects and merges with the adjective *gbọgbọ̀rọ̀* 'very long' to form a noun phrase at the syntactic level of (3). The noun phrase is lexicalized in Morphology 2 in the process of deriving the compound noun *ọlọ́wọ́gbọgbọrọ* 'the one with long hands'. The analysis also applies to the derived nouns in (15) and (17). The only difference is that two nouns are merged in (15) while three are merged in (17).

4.2. N + VP (+VP) compound nouns

The rule in (10c) derives nominal compounds from the verb phrase. Such compound words can be divided into the following categories:

• Nouns formed from the combination of a noun and a verb

---

[5] Words such as *arópò* and *ìsòrí* are themselves derived from other words. We shall discuss their derivations shortly

- Nouns formed from a verb and its object
- Nouns formed from two verb phrases
- Nouns formed from serial verbs
- Nouns formed from splitting verbs

Nouns formed from a noun and a verb, have the rule in (19).

19. N   →   N   +   V
        ọjọ́rọ̀   ọjọ́   rọ̀
        evening (time)   day   soft
        okùnfà   okùn   fà
        cause   rope   pull

The structures of the compound words in (19) reveal that the verb loses it verbal category when it is incorporated into the noun to derive these words. One example is given below.

20   N
                          _____/_____
                         N   V
                         | |
                        ọjọ́   rọ̀

                        ọjọ́rọ̀ evening (time)
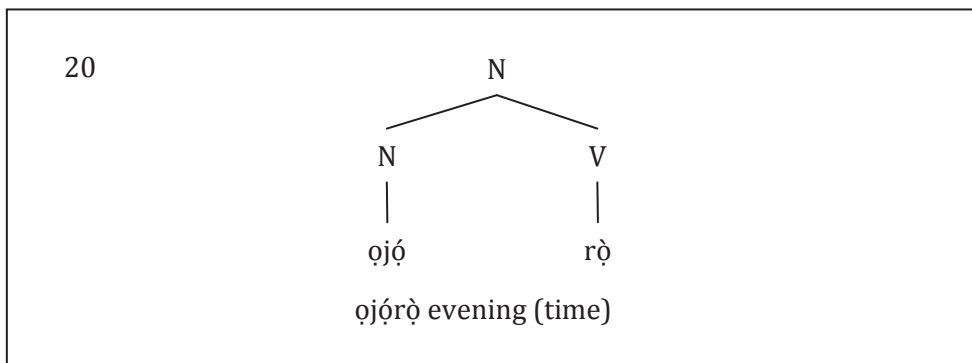
Compound nouns derived from a verb and its object

The rule in (10c) can also derive a nominal compound from a verb phrase. In this situation, the verb and its object are nominalized when a nominal affix is prefixed to it. This is the case with the following nominal compounds.

21	verb phrase	nominal prefix		derived nominal compounds
a.	pa ẹja	a- ì-	àì-[6]	apẹja 'a fisherman'
	'catch fish'			ìpẹja 'act of fishing'
				àìpẹja 'act of not fishing'

---

[6] There are two schools of thought as regard the structure of the item {àì-} in standard Yorùbá. The first is the school that takes {àì-} as a morpheme, the second school of thought takes it as two separate morphemes. (Táíwò, 2007) argues for the indivisibility of {àì-}. We take {àì-} as a morpheme in this work following (Táíwò, 2007).

b. mu ọtí   ọ̀-   ọ̀mùtí[7] 'a drunkard'
    'drink wine'
c. ṣe eré   ò-, ì-   òṣèré 'an actor'
    'act a play'   ìṣerè/ìṣèré[8] 'acting a play'

Note that the nominal prefixes are the heads in these structures. This is the case because they change the class of the base from VP to N, hence these compounds are endocentric. The structure of one of the derived compounds in (21a) is shown in the tree diagram in (22).

```
22                          N
                        ╱       ╲
                    N               VP
                    │               │
                nom pre            Vᴵ
                    │             ╱    ╲
                    │           V       NP
                    │           │        │
                    a-          pa       ẹja

                    apaẹja 'a fisherman'
```
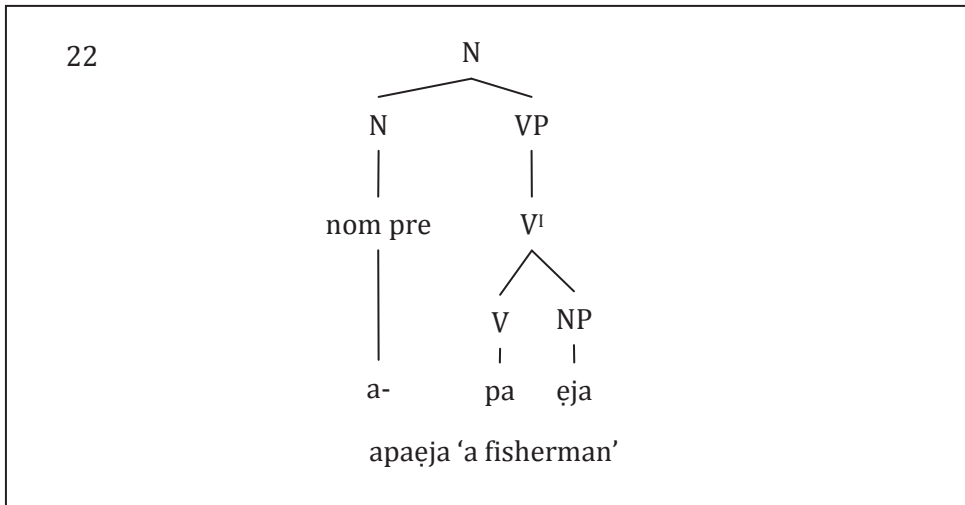
Compound nouns derived from two verb phrases

Nominal compounds are also derived from the combination of two verb phrases, and a nominal prefix. Such compounds are of two types. The first type is where an overt nominal prefix is attached to the two verb phrases as in the examples in (23) below.

23	Verb Phrases	nominal prefix	Derived Nominal Compounds.
a.	dá ẹrù, pa ọkọ̀ make load kill vehicle "overloading the vehicle"	a-, ì-	adẹ́rùpọkọ̀ "someone who overloads the vehicle" ìdẹ́rùpọkọ̀ "the act of overloading

---

[7] There is a tonal change in the derivation of ọ̀mùtí 'drunkard' where the mid tone of the verb mu 'drink' is lowered to a low tone after the low tone of the nominal prefix ọ̀-.

[8] The tone lowering noticed in note 6 above also occurs in òṣèré 'an actor' and ìsèré 'acting a play'. However, the lowering is optional in ìṣèré as it has a variant in ìṣeré.

b. kó   ọlá,   wọ ilé   a-, ì-   the vehicle"
    gather wealth, enter   akọ́láwọlé "someone who brings
    house "bringing wealth   wealth into the house"
    into the house"   ìkọ́láwọlé "the act of bringing
                                  wealth into the house"

In the examples above, the nominal prefix is attached to the two VPs to derive a compound noun. The structure of one of them is given below.

24

adẹ́rùpọkò 'someone who overloads the vehicle'
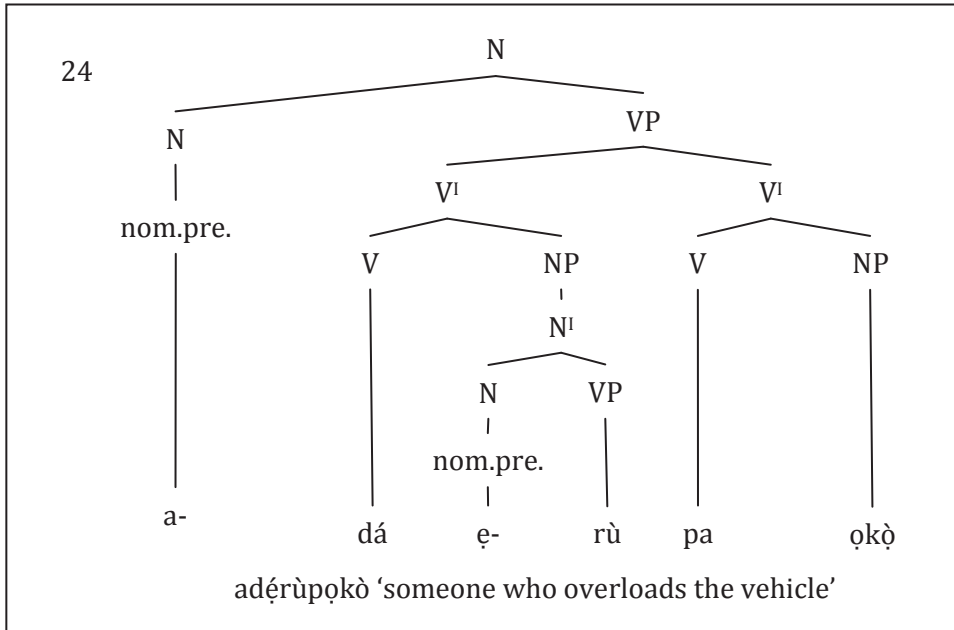
The other type of compound noun derived from two verb phrases is derived by the combination of two verb phrases with no overt nominal prefix attached to the derived nominal. In other words, the class-changing nominal affix attached to the merged verb phrase is not morphologically realized. Some of the nominal compounds derived in this way are given below.

25   Verb Phrases   Derived nominal compounds
a.   bá   mi, dé   ilé   Bámidélé (name)
        accompany me, reach house
        "accompany me home"
b.   bá   mi, gbe   ọlá   Bámigbọ́lá/Bámgbọ́lá (name)
        help me carry wealth,
        "help me to carry wealth"

In the examples in (25), the derived nouns have the same structure as the two verb phrases from where they are derived. No overt nominal prefix occurs in any of the derived nouns. This is known as conversion; a morphological process where a constituent changes from one category to another with no overt morpheme responsible for the change.

However, we observe that these nouns have similar structures like those in (23). A nominal prefix is what is responsible for the change of the two VPs to nouns in (23). That is why this prefix is the head of these structures as we have in (24). It is quite clear that the same nominal prefix is at work in the examples in (25). The fact that it is not morphologically realized does not deny its existence. We therefore, treat the nominal compounds in (25) exactly like those in (23), the only different being that those in (23) have overt nominal heads while those in (25) have non-overt nominal heads. The structure of a nominal compound derived from two verb phrases with a non-overt nominal head is given in (26).
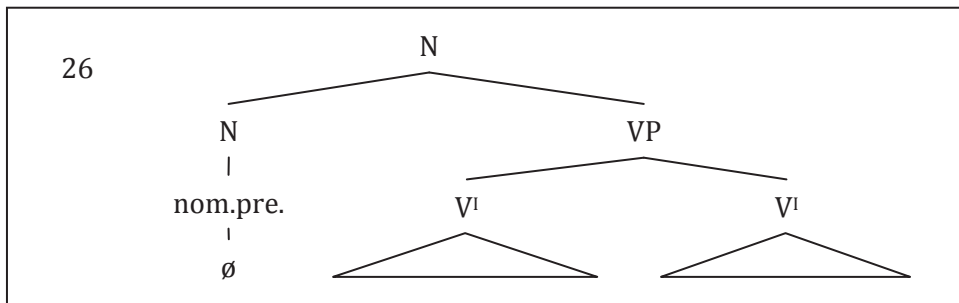
In (26), the nominal prefix is null (Ø) because it is not morphologically realized. Following the structure in (26), the tree diagram in (27) is the structure of one of the compound nouns in (25).
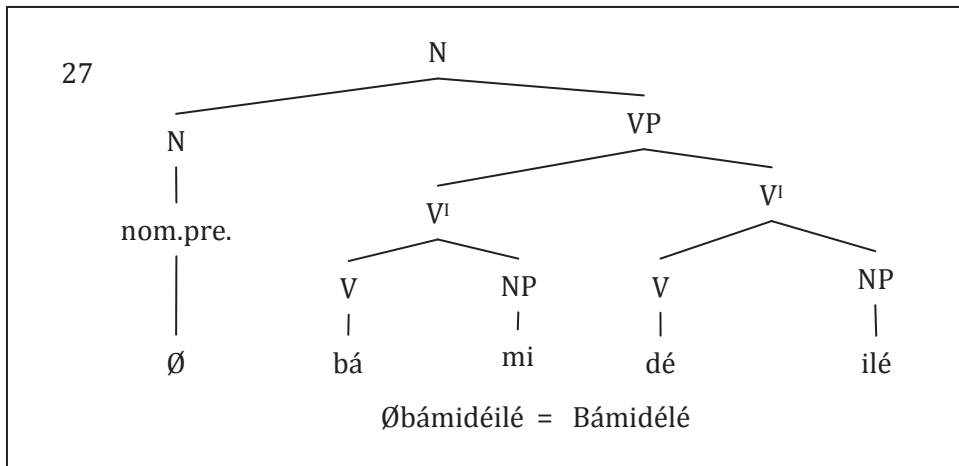
The tree diagram in (27) clearly shows that nouns derived from two verb phrases have class-changing nominal prefixes as heads.

Compound nouns can be derived from a verb that selects an object and a prepositional phrase that function as an adverbial in the language. Some examples are given in (28).

28   Verb Phrase   Derived nominal compounds
a.   Ta   mí   ní   ọrẹ   Tamílọ́rẹ   (personal name)
        Give me   prep. gift 'give me a gift'
b.   bá   ọlá   ní ilé   Bọ́láńlé[9] (personal name)
        meet   wealth prep house
        'meet wealth at home'

The structure of the word in (28a) is given in (29).
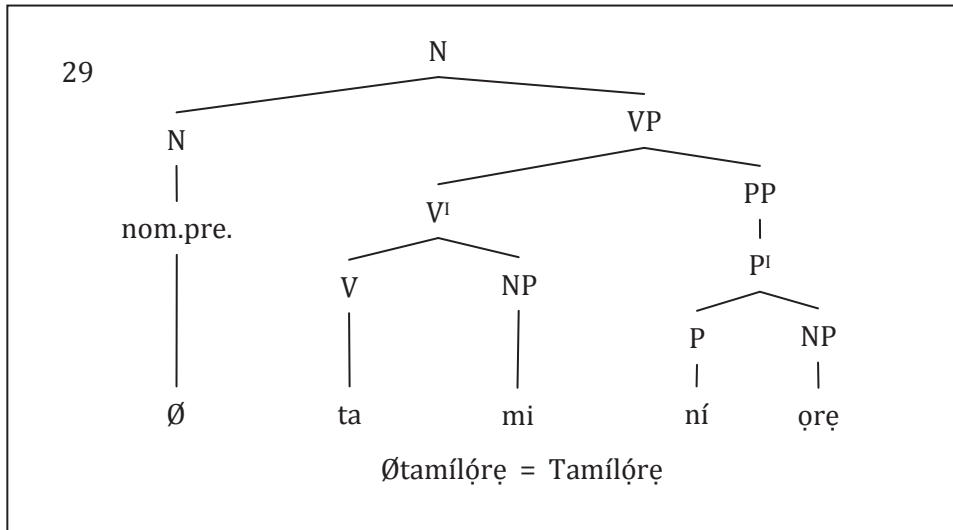
In the tree diagram in (29), the verb *ta* 'give' selects NP and PP complements. Note that the head nominal prefix is also non-overt as in the case with the derived nouns in (27)

Compound nouns derived from serial verbs

We can also derive a nominal compound by combining a nominal prefix with a string of verbs known as serial verbs. Nouns derived in this way are many in Yorùbá. Some examples are given in (30).

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[9] It could be argued that *Bọ́láńlé* is derived through the attachment of the nominal prefix {a-} as in the examples in (23) above which is later deleted.

30	Serial Verbs	Nominal Prefix	Derived Compound Nouns
a.	bù, mu	à-, ì-	àbùmu 'object use for drinking'
	fetch drink		ìbùmu 'act of fetching to drink'
b.	rí wí sí	à-, ì-, àì-	àríwísí 'comment'
	see speak against		ìríwísí 'comment'
			àìríwísí 'nothing to comment'

From the examples in (30), we observe that to derive a compound noun from serial verbs, these verbs are merged together, thereafter; a nominal prefix is attached to them. The derived compounds in (30) have similar structures. We give the structures of some of them in (31).

31a

```
              N
          ┌───┴────┐
          N        VP
          │         │
        nom.pre.    V'
          │      ┌───┴───┐
          à-     V       VP
                 │        │
                 bù       mu
           àbùmu 'act of drinking'
```

31b

```
              N
          ┌───┴────┐
          N        VP
          │         │
        nom.pre.    V'
          │      ┌───┴───┐
          │      V'      VP
          │      │        │
          │      V        V'
          │      │     ┌───┴──┐
          à-     rí    V      VP
                       │       │
                       wí      sí
           àríwísí   'comment'
```
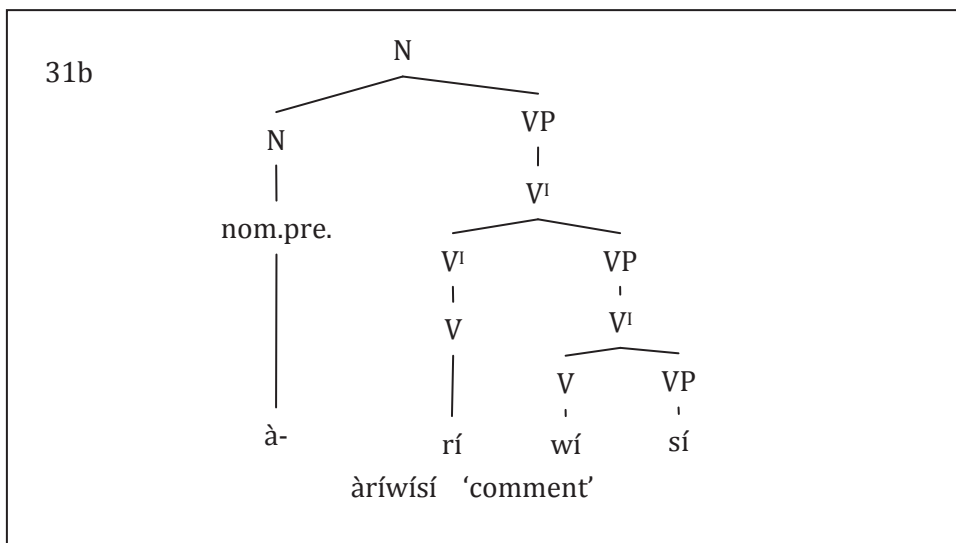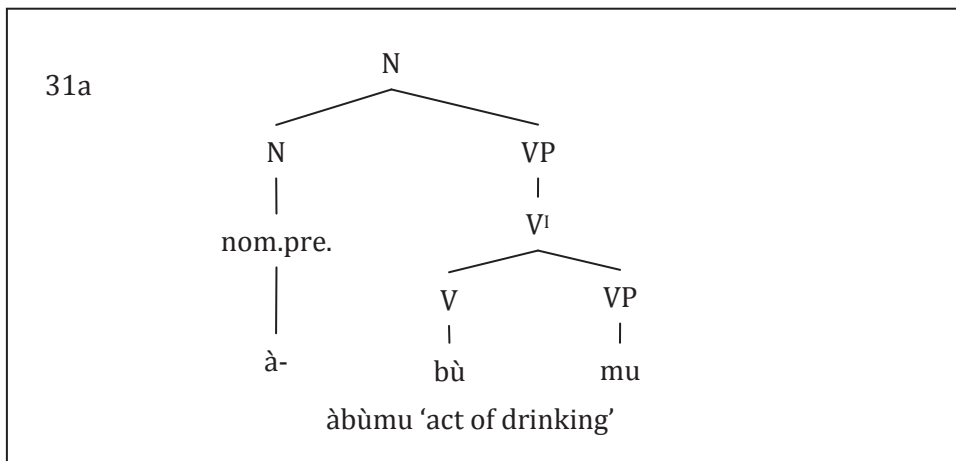
Compound nouns derived from splitting verbs

In each of the examples below, a nominal prefix is attached to a splitting verb to derive a nominal compound. There is no object inserted in-between the splitting verb; therefore, the two parts are merged together as a polysyllabic verb, followed by the attachment of a nominal prefix. The derived nouns in (32) have the similar structures like the ones derived from serial verbs.

	32.	Splitting verb	Nominal prefix	Derived compounds
	a.	bá ...wí 'to rebuke'	í-	ìbáwí 'rebuke'
	b.	ṛ́....jẹ 'to cheat'	í-	ìréjẹ 'cheating'
	c.	yí....po 'to surround'	í-, à-	ìyípo/ àyípo 'act of surrounding'

Levels of derivation of N + VP (+VP) compound nouns.

The derived nouns discussed in the preceding section are derived through the interaction of the morphological and syntactic components of the model in (3) repeated below for convenience.

3.   Morphology 1& 2

                              $\updownarrow$

                            Syntax

            (Pulleyblank & Akinlabi, 1988, p. 158)
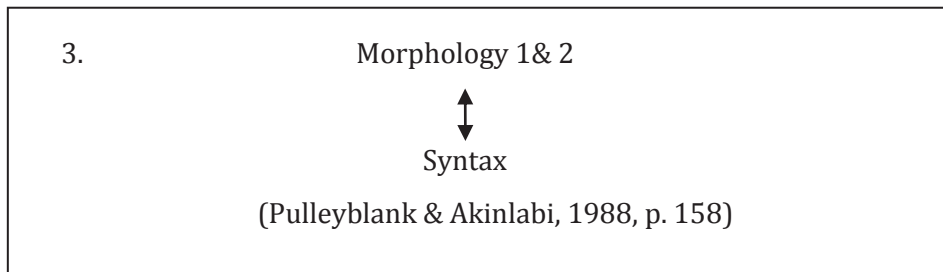
In deriving N+V compound nouns, Morphology 1 selects the noun and merges it with the verb. This verb is incorporated into the noun at the Syntax level of (3), this incorporation makes the verb to lose its categorical status as a compound noun is formed in Morphology 2. For example, Morphology 1 selects the noun *ọjọ́* 'day', merges it with the verb *rọ̀* 'to be soft'; *rọ̀* is thereafter incorporated into *ọjọ́* at the Syntax level to derive *ọjọ́rọ̀* 'evening (time)' in Morphology 2.

The levels of derivation of nouns formed from a verb and its object, two verb phrases, serial verbs and splitting verbs can be explained thus: Morphology 1 selects a transitive verb in (21) and merges it with an NP object to form a verb phrase at the Syntax level of (3), Morphology 2 merges this VP with a nominal prefix to derive a compound noun. For instance, in (21a), the verb *pa* 'to catch' selects the NP object *ẹja* 'fish' in Morphology 1, the merging of the two words forms the VP, *pa ẹja* 'to catch fish'. Morphology 2 merges this VP with a nominal prefix {a-} to derive the word *apẹja* 'a fisherman'. In the

formation of a compound noun from two verb phrases, the process is as explained above except that two transitive verbs participate in the derivation as illustrated with the derived nouns in (23) above. The derivation of nominal compounds in (25) also involves two verb phrases. However, unlike the situation in (23), here, Morphology 2 selects a null (i.e. non-overt) nominal prefix and merges it with the two VPs. In the derived nouns in (28), the said null nominal prefix is merged with a verb that selects two complements- an NP and a PP.

Both morphology and syntax in our model (3) take part in the derivation of compound nouns from serial verbs and splitting verbs. For instance, to derive the noun *àríwísí* 'comment' in (30b), the verbs *rí* 'to see', *wí* 'to speak' and *sí* 'to be against' are selected by Morphology 1; they are merged at the syntactic level to derive the VP *ríwísí* 'to speak against'. Morphology 2 merges this VP with the nominal prefix *{à-}* to form *àríwísí* 'comment'. The process as explained above also applies in the derivation of compound nouns from splitting verbs in (32).

In this section, we analyzed and discussed the various ways of deriving nominal compounds from the combinations of words from three major syntactic categories in the Yorùbá language. These are the adjective, the noun and the verb. The most productive of them is the verb. The possible combinations in the derivation of nominal compounds discussed in this section are the following:

- noun + adjective
- noun + noun (+ noun)
- nominal prefix + a verb phrase
- nominal prefix (overt and non-overt) + two verb phrases
- nominal prefix + serial verbs
- nominal prefix + splitting verbs

All the compounds derived from the above combinations are endocentric compounds because they have nouns or nominal prefixes as heads. In the next section, we shall focus on nominal compounds derived from various sentences in the language.

4.3. Nominal compounds derived from clauses

Yorùbá sentence-types

Our rule (12) (N → CP) is the rule for the derivation of compound nouns from various sentences in the Yorùbá language. The CP in the rule is the basic clause (the sentence), while the N is the derived word. It is pertinent to note that only nominal compounds are derived from sentences in Yorùbá, hence the restrictive nature of the rule.

Scholars in Yorùbá linguistics have identified various sentence-types in the language. They include derived and underived sentences, single and multiple-verb sentences. Others are interrogative, imperative and declarative sentences (see Awobuluyi (1978a &b) Bamgboṣe (1990), Yusuf (1999), Taiwo (2005) among others). Many of these sentence-types are said to be derived from other sentences. For example, in the sentences in (33) below, (33b) is derived from (33a).

33.	a.	Olú		jẹ	iṣu	
		Olu		eat	yam	
		'Olu ate yam'				
	b.	Iṣu$_i$		ni	ó Olú jẹ	t$_i$
		yam		foc.	Olu eat	
		'It was yam that Olu ate'.				

In (33b), *iṣu* 'yam', the object of the verb *jẹ* 'eat', was moved to the spec-CP position, leaving behind a trace t$_i$ at its extraction site. The sentence in (33a) is the D- structure of that of (33b). In the Yorùbá language, (33a) is not derived from any sentence. The sentence in (33a) and similar ones are known as underived or basic sentences while that in (33b) and others like it are called derived sentences (Bamgboṣe 1990, Taiwo 2005:141-143).

In the language, it is possible for a sentence to have more than one main or lexical verb without any evidence of coordination. This is why another distinction is made between a single-verb clause and a multiple-verb clause. A single-verb sentence is so called because it has only one main verb. Such a sentence may be a derived sentence or an underived one. The sentences in (33) above are examples of this type of sentence. A multiple-verb sentence, on the other hand, has a minimum of two main verbs in its structure. An example of this type of sentence is the popular serial verbal construction that is common to West African languages.

Compound nouns could be derived from these various sentence-types. Other sentence-types from which nominal compounds could be derived in Yorùbá include the focus sentence and the dislocated sentence. It is also possible to derive nominal compounds from relative clauses. The nouns so derived are exocentric compounds because the nominal constituents of the sentence cannot claim the headship of the derived compounds.

Nominals derived from underived sentences

Many of the nouns derived from underived or basic sentences are personal names, but some other nouns are so derived. Consider the examples in (34).

34.	Basic/underived sentence	Derived nominal
a.	Ọlọ́run fún mi	Ọlórunfúnmi (personal

God   give   me 'God gave it to me'.   name)
   b.   Ayé   dùn   Ayédùn (personal name)
      world sweet 'The world is sweet'.
   c.   Ìwà   bí Ọlọ́run.   ÌwàbíỌlọ́run 'Godliness'
      character like God 'Godlike character'
   d.   ọ̀kan   là   wọ́n   ọ̀kánlàwọ́n   (personal
      one surpass/exceed them   name)/ 'exceptional'
      'One (person) surpasses others'

To derive the nominals in (34), the basic sentences from which they are derived are desententialized (Oyebade, 2007, p. 253). Apart from desententialization, some segments are also deleted. These compounds are exocentric compounds because none of its parts can claim to be the head. In the tree diagram below, we give the structure of one of the compound nouns in (34).

Ọlọ́runfúnmi (personal name)
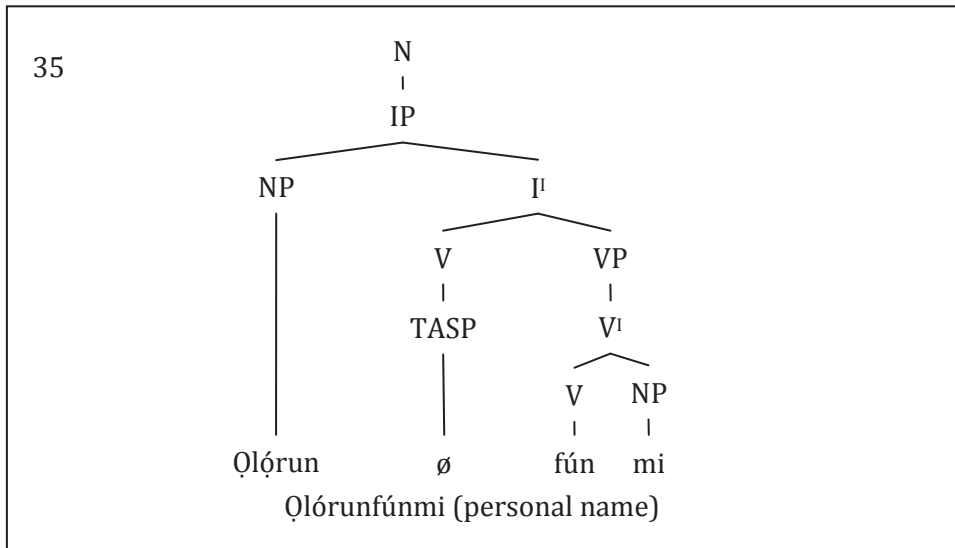
Compound nouns derived from multiple-verb sentences

36.   Multiple-verb sentence   Derived Compound Nouns
   a.   Adé wẹ̀ mí mọ́   Adéwẹ̀mímọ́ (personal name)
      Ade bath   me clean 'Ade bathed me
      thoroughly'.
   b.   Olú bá   ọ̀rọ̀   dé   Olúbọ́rọ̀dé (personal name)
      Olu   follow riches come 'Olu came
      with riches'.

c. Ògún kó   ẹ̀yẹ   Ògúnkéyẹ   (personal name)
    Ogún gather honour 'Ogún brought
    wealth'.

Compound nouns can be derived from multiple verb sentences in two ways. Apart from desententialization, the phonological processes of deletion and tonal transfer are applied to the sentence as in the examples in 36. The sentence in (36a) is desententialized to derive the compound noun. In (36b-c), apart from desententialization, vowel segments are elided in some parts of the sentences.

Adéwẹ̀mímọ́ (personal name)
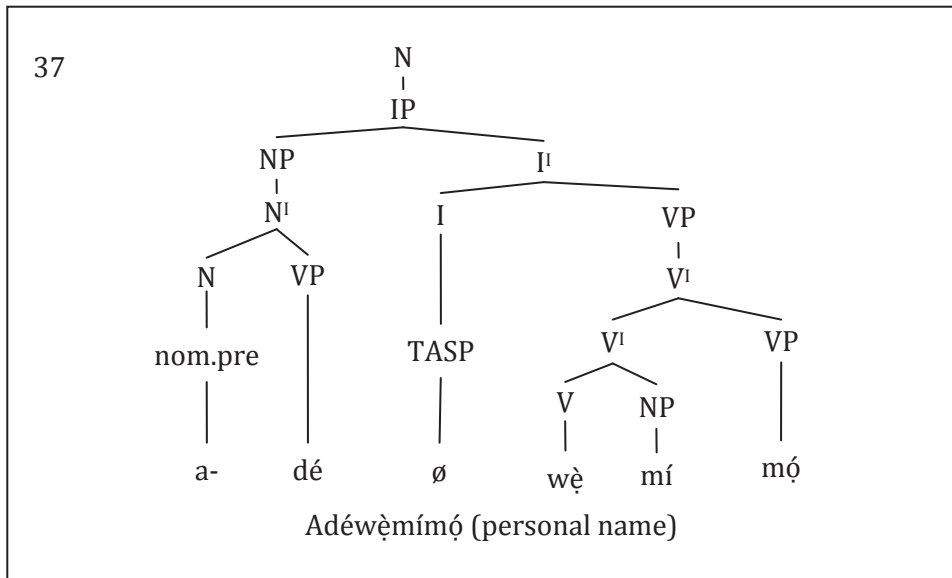
In some cases, the tone of the elided segment is transferred to the adjacent syllable. We gave the structure[10] of one of the examples in (37) above.

A compound noun can be derived from a multiple-verb sentence that lacks a subject. Here, a nominal prefix serves as the subject and the entire sentence is desententialized. Some of the nominal compounds so derived are in (38).

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[10] In the tree diagrams in (35, 37 & 39) and similar ones, we have the projection of the whole clause which is the IP. The IP has I as its head. In the Yorùbá language, tense and aspect head the IP. Yorùbá scholars have noted that the two are interwoven and that it may be difficult to draw a line between them (see Ajọngọlọ, 2005; Awobuluyi, 1978b; Bamgboṣe, 1966, 1967 & 1990--among others). We use the symbol TASP (Tense, Aspect) for these two functors following Ajọngọlọ (2005). T is Tense while ASP is aspect.

Example (38a) is an imperative sentence; the one in (38b) is an instance of serial verbal construction (SVC), while the example in (38c) is that of splitting verb construction. Nominal prefixes are attached to the sentences to derive the nouns.

38.	Subjectless multiple-verb sentence	Nominal Prefix	Derived Compound Noun
a.	ro inú pa ìwà dà stir stomach change character 'To think and change behaviour'	ì-	ìronúpàwàdà 'repentance'
b.	dákẹ́, dá ẹjọ́ quiet judge case	a-, ì-	adákẹ́dájọ́ 'someone who judges silently' idákẹ́dájọ́ 'act of judging silently'
c.	ba ayé jẹ́ destroy world 'to destroy the world'	ọ̀	ọ̀bàyéjẹ́ 'world destroyer/spoiler'

39

N
|
IP

NP — I¹

I — VP
|
V¹

V¹ — VP
|
V¹

V¹ — VP
V — NP
|
V¹

V — NP

nom.pre   TASP   V   NP   pa   ìwà   dà

ì   ø   ro   inú   pa   ìwà   dà

ìrònúpìwàdà 'repentance'
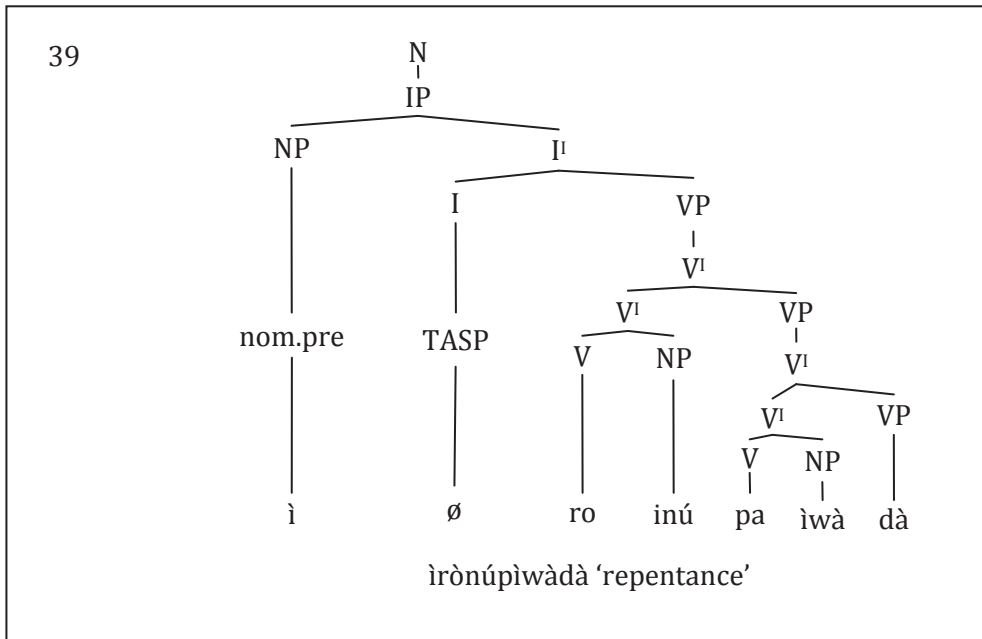
Compound nouns derived from focus constructions

Compound nouns could be derived from a focus sentence where the subject of the sentence, the object of the verb or the object of the preposition is focused. Some examples are given below.

40.   Underlying Sentence   Focus Sentence   Derived Nouns
    a. Ọpẹ́ yẹ ẹrú   Ọpẹ́ ni ó yẹ ẹrú   Ọpẹ́lóyẹrú
       thank suit slave   thank foc. it suit slave (Name)
       'The slave should be   'It is thanksgiving that the
       thankful'.   slave should make'.
    b. A   rí òní   Òní ni a rí   Ònílarí (personal
       we see today   today foc. we see   name)
       'We know today'.   'It is today that we know'.
    c. Ayé   mọ olówó   Olówó   ni ayé mọ̀   Olówólayémọ̀
       world know money   money-owner foc world   (name)
       owner   know
       'The world knows the   'It is the rich that the world
       rich'.   knows'.

The nouns in (40) are derived through the following syntactic and phonological processes: movement, insertion, deletion and contraction. We explicate these processes with the derived noun in (40a) given below.

41.   Underlying Sentence: Ọpẹ́ yẹ ẹrú
       Movement and Insertion Rules: Ọpẹ$_i$ ni ó$_i$ yẹ ẹrú
       Deletion Rule: Ọpẹ́ ni ó yẹ ẹrú
                                                      Ọpẹ́ n ó yẹ ẹrú
       Contraction Rule: Ọpẹ́ ló yẹ ẹrú
       Desententialization/Compound Noun: Ọpẹlóyẹrú

As we have in the derivations in (41), the deletion rule applies to the vowel of the focus marker *ni,* as the contraction rule is applied, the remaining segment of the focus marker [n] becomes [l] before the oral vowel *ó*.[11]

Nominal compounds derived from dislocated sentences.

A dislocated sentence is a sentence where an NP is moved from its ordinary position in the sentence, set off by a comma, and replaced with a pronoun (Ajọngọlọ, 1997, p. 78). Compound nouns are derived from dislocated sentences in Yorùbá. Some of these nouns are in (42) below.

42   Underlying Sentence   Dislocated Sentence   Derived Nouns
    a. *Oyè kàn mí   Oyè, ó kàn mí   Oyèékànmí (personal
       Title reach me   Title it reach me   name)
       'The title is my turn'. 'The title, it is my turn'.

---

[11] In standard Yorùbá, [n] and [l] are allophones of the same phoneme /l/. [n] occurs before nasal vowels while occurs elsewhere. When the nasal vowel after [n] is deleted, [n] becomes [l]. See also note 3 above.

b. *Ọmọ pé   Ọmọ, ó pé   Ọmópé   (personal
   Child late   Child it late   name)
                                  'The child, it is late'.

In addition to the syntactic and phonological processes employed in the derived words from the focus sentences in (40) above, assimilation also takes place as illustrated below.

43. Underlying sentence: * Oyè kàn mí
     Movement & Insertion Rules: Oyè, ó kàn mí
     Assimilation Rule: Oyè é kàn mí
     Contraction Rule: Oyèékànmí
     Desententialization/ Derived Noun Oyèékànmí

Compound nominal derived from relative clauses

Nouns derived from dislocated sentences in (42) above can also be derived from relative clauses; examine the examples in (44) below.

44.   Underlying Sentence Relative Clause   Derived nouns
   a.   *Oyè kàn mí   Oyè, tí ó kàn mí   Oyèékànmí
        Title reach me   Title rel it reach me   (personal name)
        'The title is my turn'. 'The title that is my turn…'
   b.   *Ọmọ pé   Ọmọ, tí ó pé   Ọmópé
          Child late   Child rel it late   (personal name)
                               'The child that is late…'

We give below, the derivation of the noun in (44a); we show both the syntactic and the phonological processes involved in their derivations.

45. Underlying sentence: * Oyè kàn mí
     Movement & Insertion Rules: Oyè$_i$, tí ó$_i$ kàn mí
     Deletion Rule: Oyè$_i$, ó$_i$ kàn mí
     Assimilation Rule: Oyè é kàn mí
     Contraction Rule: Oyèékànmí
     Desententialization/Derived Noun Oyèékànmí

As illustrated in (45), a sentence is relativized with the insertion of the relative marker *'tí'* after the head of the noun phrase in the relative clause. The deletion rule deletes the relative marker while the resumptive pronoun is regressively assimilated, thereafter, and the whole clause is desententialized to become a word (a nominal compound).

Levels of derivation of desententialized compound nouns

The derivations of compound nouns from sentences and clauses evidently involve both the morphological and syntactic components in (3). For instance, for the nominals derived from basic/underived sentences in (34), multiple-

verb sentences in (36) and subjectless multiple-verb sentences in (38), Morphology 1 selects the lexical items; these items are merged into phrases and into clauses (sentences) at the syntactic level. Morphology 2 desententialized these sentences. Some other phonological processes such as elision, deletion, tonal displacement, etc. are also involved. In addition to these, in (38), Morphology 2 merges the subjectless sentences with nominal prefixes to derive compound nouns.

Nominal compounds derived from focus constructions, dislocated sentences and relative clauses also involve the interaction of morphology and syntax as explained in the preceding paragraph. However, some additional syntactic processes are employed in their derivation. For instance, to form the focus constructions in (40), the subject NP of the sentence is moved to the Specifier of the CP in (40a), the objects are the moved constituents in (40b &c); the focus marker is base generated and inserted after the moved constituents before the focus constructions are desententialized. These movement and insertion processes are the additional syntactic processes employed in the derivation of compound nouns from dislocated sentences and relative clauses.

5. Conclusion

The Yorùbá language has various ways of deriving compound nouns. In this paper, we divided these ways into two broad categories. These are nominal compounds derived from phrases and those formed from clauses (and sentences). We identified the noun phrase and the verb phrase from where compound nouns could be derived in the language. The noun phrases which could derive compound nouns are N+AP and N+NP (+NP) noun phrases. However, various verb phrases take part in the formation of compound nouns. Those identified in this work are:

- noun + verb
- a verb and its object
- two verbs and their object
- serial verbs
- splitting verbs

The compound nouns derived from these phrases are endocentric compounds. The second category of compound nouns in the Yorùbá language are those derived from clauses (sentences). The sentence-types from where these nouns could be derived from, as discussed in this work, are the basic/underived sentences, multiple-verb sentences (including those without subjects), focus constructions, dislocated sentences and relative clauses. These compounds are derived through desententialization, hence they are exocentric compounds. Finally, we pointed out that compound nouns in the

Yorùbá language, as discussed in this paper, are post syntactic compounds, their derivations involve the interaction of both morphological and syntactic components of Grammar, therefore, we examined how these two components interact in the derivation of these compounds.

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Chapter 7

Igbo language: Typology of syllables

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Following Maddieson (2005), two broad syllable typologies can be accounted for globally: *simple syllable structures* and *complex syllable structures*. The latter may be further subdivided into *moderately complex* and *complex syllable structures*. Notably, Igbo is said to belong to the category of simple syllable structures. The current study reviews evidence for this typological characterisation by examining patterns from corpora of synchronic varieties. The investigation indicates that there are certain discrepancies. The differences appear not to arise from the structures of natural languages but are explicable as the outcome of the influence of standard language ideologies. Given that current tradition for typological characterisation targets the priority of definitive structural features, the study suggests that a typological modelling built on such ideologies might be suspect. The work thus provides a review of Maddieson's syllable typological classification, drawing attention to conclusions reached for Igbo, among others. It also presents and analyses parallel evidence, from synchronic dialect corpora. Consequently, 'standard language ideology' is introduced as an explanation for the traditional approach and for the observed discrepancies; and the concluding note suggests a priority of language structural properties over standard dialect ideologies in typological characterisations for the linguistics of the future.

Keywords: Syllable Structure; Typology; Igbo Language; Regional Dialect; Ideology; Standard Language

1. Introduction

The Igbo constitute (one of) the most populous ethnolinguistic groups in Nigeria. The language belongs to the New Benue-Congo phylum (Williamson & Blench, 2000). The land, the people and the language are corporately and severally referred to as Igbo, pronounced [ĩgbò]. See further details in Ugorji 2009. It is characterised by very numerous regional dialects and a standard variety, with varied degrees of (mutual) intelligibility from one dialect community to another. The standard variety is a near-artificial construct, a product of standardisation in language planning initiatives. It is the 'educated' variety.

The selection of language varieties for typological characterisation often favours the standard or standardised ones. This choice is apparently driven

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by standard practice and/or convention. The standard language ideology facilitates this preference. It is also the fact that choosing a standard variety amidst others may be convenient, since such varieties are largely better known, better studied and might arouse less of political sentiments, as in the Igbo case. Attention and focus for material evidence is on the structural elements of the varieties of choice. However, the preference for standard varieties in typological characterisation implies a choice for norms legitimised by society through language planning initiatives, and not the norms of the natural varieties, which may be largely virgin, preserving the more typical resources of the language as a property of the culture(s). The Igbo case is not different. It seems therefore apparent that earlier typological conclusions reached for Igbo syllable structure based on the standard variety might not be ideal and might at best be tentative, since they are based on the standard variety.

The clearest evidence for the conclusions reached on the Igbo syllable question is provided in Maddieson (2005) and Emenanjo (1978). They largely suggest that Igbo syllable formations would belong to the simple type, which is shown, as in Emenanjo (1978), to comprise non-branching onset and rhyme constituents, not the complex type, as a tendency. This study represents the conviction that the reverse is rather the case when the standard language influence is dropped. Thus, synthesising corpora of synchronic regional dialects, there is evidence for the tendency towards complex syllable typology. Such evidence appear readily revealed, especially as these synchronic facts are contrasted with prevalent conclusions. The present study thus examines the Igbo experience side-by-side the standard language ideologies, and the results indicate that there are discrepancies, largely attributable to the domineering influence of standard language ideologies in linguistic typological research. It is on the part of realism, therefore, to stress a logical priority of the structural elements of the more natural varieties, as against the current practice which is largely dependent on standard language ideologies. These point towards the conclusion that, for future linguistics, focus on the natural varieties and their structural elements should be the concern and focus of typological research, and not the standard varieties.

2. Maddieson's syllable typological characterisation

Language typological studies explore the distribution of linguistic structures and seek to classify languages on the basis of shared structural features. Such investigations may draw materials from universal principles and language families as well as from language contact and ecology, among others, and typologies are established based on the presence or absence of given features.

Part of the concern is to investigate structural similarities across languages, and define languages based on them (Hermas, in press).

Maddieson (2005) discusses syllable typologies across the world, and notes that languages that permit more predominance of (C)V structures will be said to have *simple syllable structures*, CVC and CCV (where they occur) are "modest expansions of the simple CV syllable type" (p. 54). Others which may permit consonant clusters (in defined) patterns of sequencing (*e.g.*, the Persian language—See Salmani Nodoushan[1] and Birjandi, 2007) may be said to have *moderately complex syllable structures.* Languages which permit freer combinations of two consonants or more at onset and/or coda may be classified as having *complex syllable structure*.

Following this three-way classification, Maddieson provides language geo-statistics of the distribution of these patterns across the globe; namely, that moderately complex syllable structure is more predominant, followed by complex syllable structure; and simple syllable structure is curiously the least, as shown below:

1. Simple syllable structure 12.5%
2. Moderately complex syllable structure 56.5%
3. Complex syllable structure 30.9%

The highest concentration of the complex type (3) occurs more widely in Europe, Asia and the Far East; the type (2) occurs in Africa south of the Sahara and Australia, and the simple type (1) in West and Central Africa (equatorial Africa), the Middle East, and South America.

Putatively, two broad distinctions are apparently made, viz: simple syllable typology and complex syllable typology; but the complex typology may be subdivided into two, namely, moderately complex typology and complex typology. It might also be noted that the complex typologies (taken together with the moderately complex typology) constitute 56.5 % and 30.9% respectively, which amounts to 87.4%. Thus, languages that attest the so-called simple typology are rather infinitesimal and almost non-existent.

To synthesise the model for the purpose of this study, we would rely on the insight provided in multilinear phonology for the analyses of syllables across languages (Clements, 2000; Goldsmith, 1990; Hogg & McCully, 1987; Kahn, 1980; Katamba, 1989; Lass, 1984; Roca, 1994). It is shown to be more elegant in providing insight into syllable constituent patterning, especially as it proves very useful in uncovering constituent and sub-constituent formations, a property that makes it plausible to examine intra-syllable patterning and

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[1] Salmani Nodoushan (2009) uses the term "syllable" in a very specific way to present four tangible rules for the prediction of word accent in English on the basis of the morphological make-up of English words.

facilitates our evaluation of earlier theoretical formalisations with respect to Igbo syllables. In this conception, syllable formations present a constituent structure organised in hierarchy, including Onset, Nucleus and Coda. Elements are represented in tiers or independent planes with association lines, which indicate how elements on different planes are co-articulated. Accordingly, complex typologies indicate branching onset and coda constituents while simple typologies may not, except that onset may branch minimally, if ever, and coda may not branch, as a tendency. This makes apparent that the typological categorisation is estimated from the structure of the onset and coda constituent nodes.

Remarkably, Maddieson's study concludes that Igbo language belongs to the simple syllable typological category. The current study demonstrates that this conclusion is an outcome of the dependence of the modelling on standard language ideology. Thus, this position reached for Igbo appears directly influenced by the prevalent claims auspiciously based on the standard Igbo experiment; and the present paper establishes that this conclusion is in discrepancy with synchronic evidence suggested by the dialects—an indication that the conclusions may not be adequately informed. In general, most conclusions reached for Igbo phonology appear informed by paucity of data—Igbo being little studied—and therefore appear too early; that is, occurring earlier than the natural (regional) dialects that make up the language are reasonably studied.

In general, there are indications that the typological modelling of Igbo as an example of the simple syllable structure typology appears to be informed by the conclusions drawn on standard Igbo; and standard Igbo is a product of linguistic engineering. We may now review materials in this purview and synthesise them for the purpose of the present study. They are typified by Emenanjo (1978) and Green and Igwe (1963), to which we now turn (see also Ugorji, 2002 and 2003).

It is stated that the "Syllabary of Igbo consists . . . in monosyllables, which are composed either of a vowel, V, or a nasal, N, or a consonant and a vowel, CV" (Green & Igwe, 1963, p. 4). They add that "each of the eight vowels occurs as a syllable as do the three simple nasal consonants." In Emenanjo (1978), a formula is provided which comparatively represents an improvement on the earlier analysis. The formula is shown below (see Emenanjo, 1978, p. 1):

Fig. 1

$$(C)\ ^{T}_{S}$$

Where: C= consonant;
( ) indicates optionality
T= tone
S= syllabic

There are further constraints, however; namely:

- That in a (C) ^{T}s, S is always a vowel and never a syllabic nasal;
- That there can be only one consonant in C position; and,
- There do not seem to be clear-cut cases of consonant clusters.

(See Emenanjo, 1978, p. 2)

The exclusion of syllabic nasals might be notable since a C element may not be followed by a nasal; but the reverse is true, in that NC sequences are predominant, and the N is a homorganic nasal and syllabic (See also the submissions of Green and Igwe, 1963, shown above). Syllabic nasals may however not be homorganic in other contexts.

Synchronising these conclusions with the multilinear framework as sketched, this traditional position may be synthesised as follows:

Fig. 2
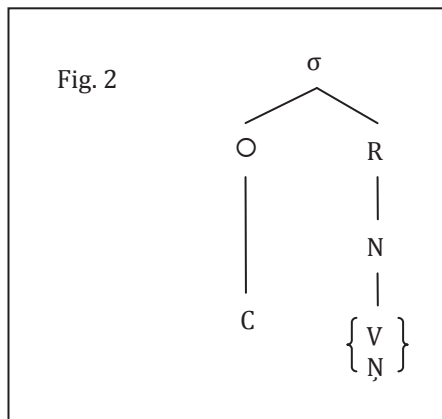
Where:

σ is syllable;
O is onset
R is rhyme
N is nucleus
Ṇ is any syllabic nasal
C is consonant
V is vowel
C₀ represents coda

Accordingly, this traditional perspective, associated with the standard ideology, presents one universal constraint, namely, that the Nucleus (N) of the syllable (σ) is the only obligatory element of the syllable formation, and, of course, therefore hosts syllable count. Other constraints suggested for Igbo syllable formations are:

- That there is absence of coda constituents, suggesting that the rhyme constituents may not branch; and
- That the onset node may dominate only a single C element, suggesting that the onset node may not branch.

(See also Clark, 1990, p. 12)

This outcome is apparently in consonance with Maddieson's typological characterisation which categorises Igbo as a member of the simple syllable group. In other words, his position for Igbo reflects the traditional position

reached for standard Igbo, in spite of the realism of the norms of synchronic natural varieties. In the next section, we examine the syllable patterns of the synchronic varieties, guided by Ikwo, a regional variety of northern Igbo spoken in Ebonyi state.

3. Synchronic forms

Cross-dialectal data readily reveal certain discrepancies with the above typological modelling. These include that both onset and coda constituents may branch, such that it appears more insightful to conclude that for cross synchronic forms only dialect-specific variations might appear realistic; and denying this realism is to be unfaithful to the language. The following data are drawn from the Ikwo regional variety. More examples from other varieties are shown later.

3.1. Onset constituents

Take the following examples:

1. a) [ŋ́-kf(ə̣)]   'palm tree'   i) [ò-trì-káŋ]   '(achaic] lamp'
    b) [έ-kf(ə̣)]   'palm fruit'   j) [ɔ̀-tlí-gá]   '(achaic) trap'
    c) [ô-kfṳ̀]   'farm'   k) [ò-krɨ̀]   'castrated (he) goat'
    d) [ù-gvṳ̀]   'respect'   l) [à-kprὺ-mà]   'dirty dental hygiene'
    e) [í-kpríkp]   'an insect'   m) [û-gvṳ̀]   'circumcision'
    f) [îθr̩ɑ̀]   'theft'   n) [ɔ̀-grὲ-ɲɑ̀]   'old person'
    g) [ŋ́-ká-krí]   'yoke'   o) [kà-kfrə kà-kfrə]   'clumsy'
    h) [á-krέ-βɔ́]   'intestine'

Accordingly, fig. 3 sums schematically that branching onset is attested; and that there's the possibility of more than two branches.

Fig. 3
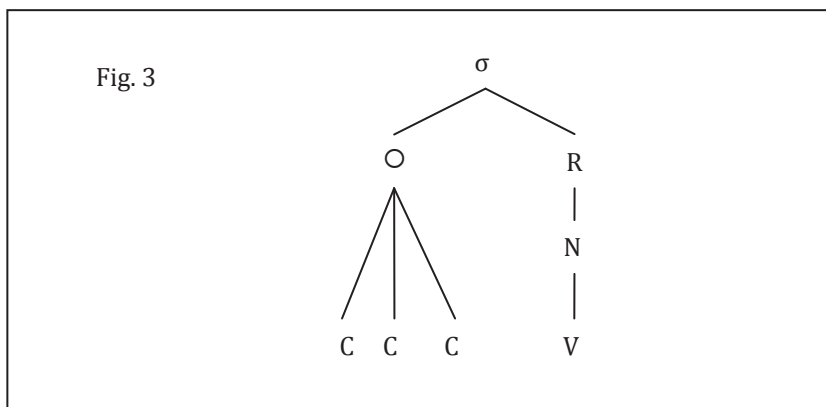
Notice also that syllable rhyme may branch, as the following data indicate:

2. a) [w̃úx]   'die'   h) [âʃ]   'a game'
    b) [ŏx]   'slave'   i) [ńtʃ]   'ear'
    c) [réx]   'rotten'   j) [ń-ʤákp]   'cassava'
    d) [í-βɔ́k]   'lamp'   k) [ôtʃ]   'clay plate'
    e) [éɣ]   'goat'   l) [ú-pjɔ́k]   'a trumpet'
    f) [ɔ̀-bàʃ]   'God'   m) [m̀-gbéb]   'court yard'
    g) [ú-bɔ̀k]   'day'   n) [òkp]   'cap (also [okpə])'

The above data indicate the occurrence of branching rhyme structures, and may be represented schematically as follows:

Fig. 4
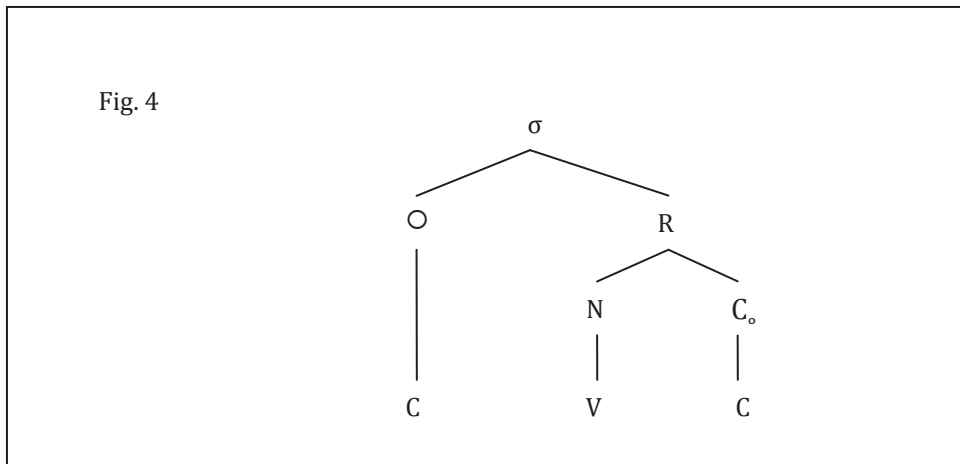
A more robust branching rhyme may include branching coda constituents as well, as shown in 3.2, below:

3.2. Coda constituents

Take the following examples:

1. a)   [ékf]   'tripot stand'
    b)   [ókpr]   'pond'
    c)   [ń-kákf]   'type of rat (with odour)'
    d)   [ńgv]   'parcel'
    e)   [ńdz]   'life' (also [ńdzə̣])
    f)   [ó-krékf]   'rat'

The data in 3.2 suggest the occurrence of branching coda structures. The relevant structure may be shown, as in fig.3, except to note that the coda might further branch into three going by forms like [kàkfrə kàkfrə] 'clumsy', where the final vowels elide, as is often the case:

Fig. 5

$$\sigma$$

R

N   C₀

V   C   C
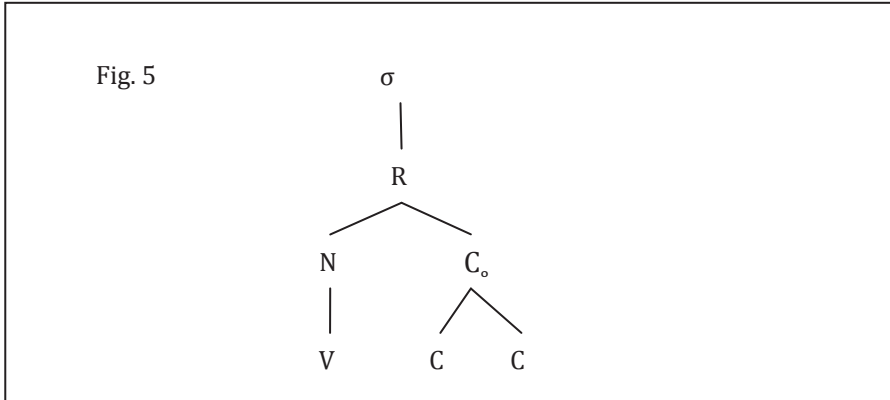
Comparing the structures in 3.1 and 3.2, the following possibility becomes apparent (more regional dialect data appear later):

Fig. 6

$$\sigma$$

O   R

N   C₀

C   C   C   V   C   C
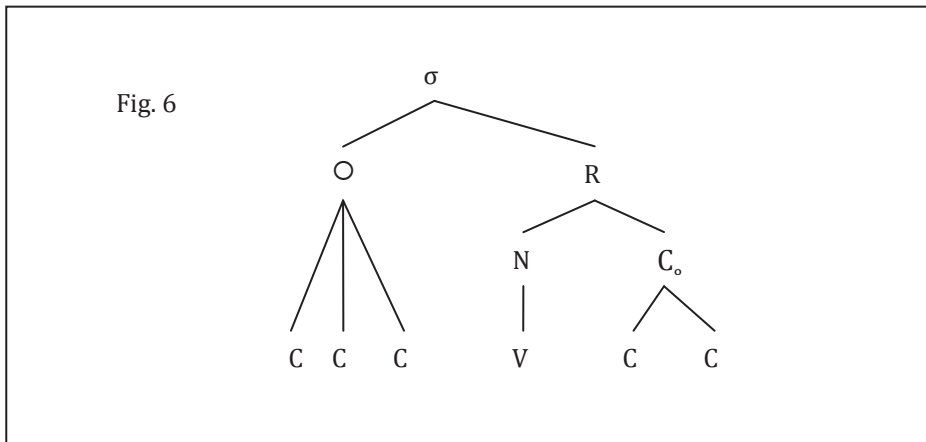
In fact, the Ikwo variety might only be taken as representative of the natural synchronic forms, showing more complex syllable properties: other varieties as so far studied, which may yet be categorised as simple but close to the Ikwo complex typology include Mbieri, a Central Igbo variety, among others, such as Nkalagu, Ezeagu, Nsuka, etc. (See Ugorji, 2002 and 2003; cf. Iloene, 1988; Ngwuta, 1988; Ugwu 1987). Some illustrations follow below:

Mbieri dialect:

2. a)   [á-khrú]   'kidney'
    b)   [à-kpà-krù]   'intestines'
    c)   [ò-gbjò]   'afternoon'
    d)   [ó-kthù]   'morning'

Nkalagu dialect:

   3.   a)   [ó-kfú]   'talk/speech'
        b)   [ó-gvú]   'thorns'
        c)   [ɔ́-gvʋ̀]   'medicine'

Nsuka dialect:

   4.   a)   [à-klí-kpà]   '(pejorative) old'
        b)   [ḿ-kpró̵]   'seed'
        c)   [ɔ̀-tró̵]   'key'
        d)   [ú-tfú]   'bat'
        e)   [ɔ́-dvʋ̀]   'tail'

Ezeagu dialect:

   5.   a)   [à-kfʋ̀]   'strong palm wine'
        b)   [é-bnə]   'ram'
        c)   [á-bdə̀]   'chimpanzee'
        d)   [á-ptə̀]   'earth'

Examining the above conclusions, it is evident that the typological characterisation of Igbo so far leans on the standard language ideology and not the synchronic evidence which the natural (regional) varieties and their communities present. This discrepancy becomes obvious when the structures are compared. Consider the structures side by side, comparing figs. 1 and 5 (presented again as figures 7 and 8) which represent both summaries:

Fig. 7: From the standard variety   Fig. 8: From the regional synchronic varieties
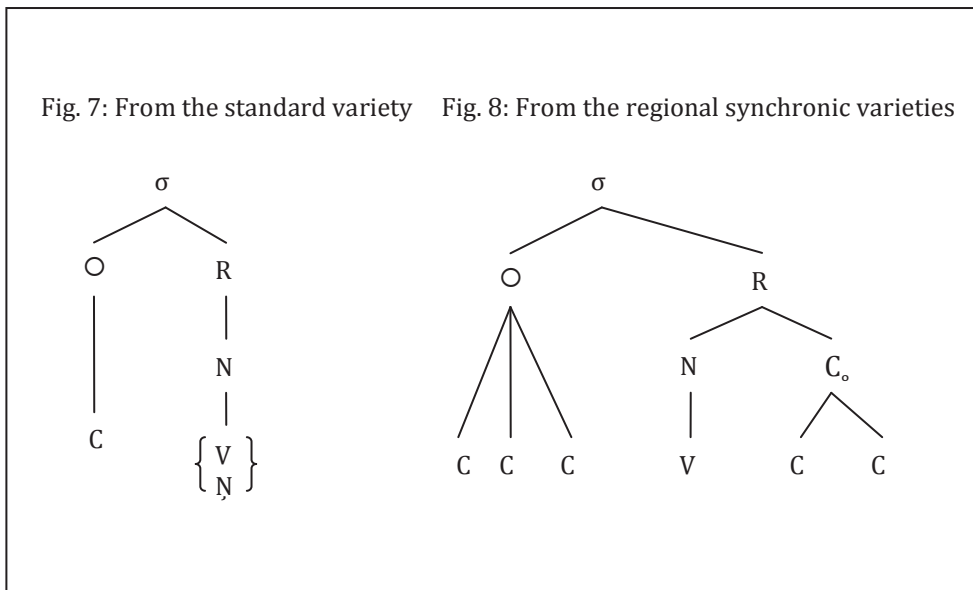
In general, the discrepancies are obvious going by the comparative schema[2], and appear clearly to have been influenced by a focus on the standard Igbo, instead of the synchronic regional varieties. This focus on standard Igbo represents the world's dependence on the standard language varieties driven by the standard language ideology. We turn next to examine this ideology in its tenets alongside the Igbo experience.

4. Standard language ideology explains discrepancies

It may be insightful to begin our discussion on standard language ideologies by considering Milroy's (2001, p. 531) broad definition of standardisation: this effort to define standardisation indicates that "standardisation consists of the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects." It is also noted that the objects in question include abstract objects, like language, which are variable; and that uniformity has to be imposed on such classes of objects to bring about invariance. This emphasises uniformity. For example, standardisation of goods or other commodities required by nations and international communities may be about mathematical precision with respect to content, quantity, quality, etc.—analogous with language standardisation ideologically but not equivalent in fact.

In traditional parlance and in more general usage, some languages or their varieties are believed to be standardised through planned language development efforts, and therefore referred to as standard languages or varieties. This is roughly the sense in which English, French, German, Swahili, etc. may be called standard languages. For English, the Received Pronunciation is said to be its standard variety, as Parisian French is to French language. Following standard language ideological leanings, a standard language variety therefore is considered the model variety for all of the varieties of a language, a reference point for the establishment of norms, for resolving controversies and the basis of the rules for propriety in usage and for determining what is appropriate or 'grammatical', among others. Such standard varieties are the targets for language pedagogies. Thus, they often constitute major indices for 'educatedness' as well as elitism, being also associated with high social prestige. They are also in general the linguistic resources of nations packaged for export to foreigners and to foreign nations.

Standardisation therefore involves the following properties, in two entwined parts, namely, the internal linguistic or corpus aspect, and the external linguistic or status aspect. These two parts are entwined in the properties which are here outlined: standardisation is about:

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[2] Note that syllabic nasals do occur in both schemers but it is not shown in the sketch of the synchronic varieties, to minimise its complexity.

- legitimising a variety amidst others;
- legitimising certain norms and requiring their uniform implementation and use;
- legislating and assigning status statutorily to the use of certain varieties in certain domains, etc.;
- turning a variety into a national one,
- projecting a variety and/or its norms as a model over other varieties; and
- certain variety of a language becoming widely accepted in a nation or speech community, and viewed as the model variety, and so on.

Thus, standardisation may be about a process, and about processing the product thereof, for the benefit of people groups and nations; and deals with language corpus and language status or roles. It is conceivable as a range: from recognising an existing standard (status planning, e.g., legitimising)—a convergence of norms (already has implicit acceptance)—to processing a variety to act as a model for other varieties (in corpus planning, e.g., codification), and to imposing a variety by fiat (status planning).

It is shown that there has been a standard variety of Igbo since 1961. This variety however lacks a discretely delineable geographical core (For further details, see Ugorji, 2005). It leans heavily on the Central Igbo varieties and the varieties in the old Onitsha province both for lexicalisation and phonology. From a historical perspective[3], the standardisation efforts commenced from the Isuama Igbo, created by Igbo ex-slaves from Sierra Leone, to the Union Igbo which is an amalgam of five non-contiguous dialects created by the Anglican mission, to the Onwu orthography which was backed by the then government of Eastern Nigeria. The latter gained acceptance and has remained the standard Igbo orthography to date, with little modifications. In general, however, it is only a little less than an abstraction from the natural varieties, but serves literacy and educational purposes, as the Igbo language of the classroom and books for teaching and learning of Igbo. It is also the preferred variety for the news media and most pan-Igbo gatherings. Like most standard varieties, it became formalised and legitimised by the government of the then Eastern Nigeria in 1961.

5. Conclusion

The standard dialect is a product of linguistic engineering; it lacks specifiable regional base, and may readily be associated with little comparative psycholinguistic realism. Notwithstanding, it is the most developed variety, the language of education, formal discourse and pan-Igbo discourse. It enjoys

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[3] Ugorji (2005) provides an exploratory survey of the main developments in the graphisation of Igbo from a historical developmental perspective.

more social prestige, having an educated social community – educated in Igbo language.

The standard Igbo variety has therefore been promoted above the more natural language, such that though it lacks a regional speech community, its being legitimised as a social/ educational dialect makes it the first port of call, as it were, to the language, especially when researchers, educators and, of course, typologists simply want something that could readily (be made to) stand for the language.

The point then is that the structural description might be assigned priority in typological classifications over ideology; and such definitive structural properties would derive from the natural linguistic realism which the regional dialects represent, and not the idealisations represented by the standard(ised) variety. Doing otherwise would seem like putting the cart before the horse. It would amount to poorly representing the fact or being unfaithful to the language or the language data. In a multi-dialectal language, in fact, the standard variety should not be the (only) candidate variety the basis of which typological characterisation should be estimated in ideal circumstances, but an aggregation of patterns of the more natural (regional) varieties. Where this is taken, it follows that the 12.5% suggested for *simple syllable typologies* in Maddieson 2005 might be further reduced when typological characterisations are developed from the structural analyses of the more natural varieties but not to the exclusion of the standard ones, especially where a standard variety is a regional one as well.

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Chapter 8

A review of verbal extensions in Lamnso'

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Apart from work on verb tone patterns (Grebe and Grebe's, 1975) and transitivity alternations (Yuka, forthcoming), the verbal structure in Lamnso' is virtually unstudied. The Lamnso' verbal system, unlike its noun class system does not readily lend itself to a straightforward analysis. Verbs exhibit an intricate morphology with verbal extensions that can occur with a wide range of radicals. Each combination derives a distinct semantic interpretation. A cursory look at these extensions seems to require a good understanding of verb argument structure and event distribution for adequate interpretation. As a preliminary study, this paper investigates the morpho-semantic denotation of Lamnso' verbal extensions. It illustrates basic changes that apply to the meaning of verbal stems when a given extension is attached. In doing this, verbal extensions that increase the argument structure of verbs are distinguished from those that alter aspect. This paper thus focuses on the contribution of verb meaning and extension meaning to event meaning.

Keywords: Verbal Extensions; Lamnso; Enclitics; Southern Bantoid; Niger-Congo

1. Preliminaries

Lamnso' is spoken in the greater part of Bui Division, which is 150 km from Bamenda, the capital of the North West Province of the Republic of Cameroon. It is also spoken in Nigeria, specifically in Taraba State, Sarduana Local Government Area. Lamnso' belongs to the Ring subgroup which is subsumed under the Grassfield branch of the Southern Bantoid languages. Kom, Oku, Aghem, Babanki and Noni are other languages of the subgroup (Welmers, 1973, p. 159). Lamnso' and Oku are closely related. Lamnso' does not have prominent dialectal variations (Grebe, 1984). The languages commonly referred to as Bantu are also classified as Southern Bantoid languages. They are considered to be Narrow Bantu, whereas Lamnso' and other Grassfield languages are non-Bantu (or Wide Bantu). Like Fula (Annot, 1970), Swahili (Mkude 1995; Welmers, 1973) and many other languages of the Wide Bantu family, Lamnso' nouns and nominals fall under different classes on the basis of agreement operated by concord markers which vary from one class to another (Grebe and Grebe 1975; Eastman 1980; Yuka 1998, 1999). Orthographically, the name of the language has been represented in the

literature as Lamnsoq, Lam Nso, Lamnso, Nso, Lamnsok and Lamnso?. Gradually, the last option has been preferred by most researchers because the variety of existing spelling stem from the struggle to appropriately represent the glottal stop [?] which appears in every lexical position except as a C_1. For typographical reasons, this sound [?] has come to be represented in the literature by [']. In this paper, therefore, Lamnso? is written simply as Lamnso'.

Lamnso' is a Southern Bantoid language which like many Niger-Congo languages has enclitics on virtually all verbs. These enclitics perform different functions in a sentence. Apart from signifying the morpho-syntactic relations existing between the verbs and the arguments, they indicate subject-verb agreement, case marking as well other grammatical relations that exist among clausal elements (McGarrity and Botne, 2002). An understanding of Lamnso' grammar largely depends on our understanding of its verbal system. Lamnso' verbs can easily be divided into two major groups: The simple verbs and the complex verbs. Morphologically, the simple verbs consist only of the verbal base. The complex verbs consist of the verbal base and an extension. The base and its affix are grammatically and phonologically interdependent. The verb has generally been treated as a unitary component ignoring the smaller morphological units existing within complex verbs. We demonstrate in 1 below that the verbal complex can be subjected to further morphological analysis (i.e., the base form + an extension). In each example, the relevant verbal extension appears in bold text.

1.	lem	lem**kír**	mày	mày**sì**
	gbù	gbù**kìr**	lum	lum**sì**
	Kav	kav**nin**	tav	tav**ír**
	toy	toy**nin**	nyom	nyom**èr**
	lum	lum**rí**	ga'	ga'**ám**
	kòy	kò**rì**	la'	la'**ám**
	kuv	kuv**sín**	ghem	gheé**me**
	way	way**sín**	rom	roò**mè**
	nyá'	nyá'**tí**	sho'	sho'**óy**
	la'	là'**tì**	mvə'	mvə'**ə́ ̀y**

The semantic interpretation of the highlighted affixes and the selectional restrictions they impose on argument distribution within the Lamnso' clause vary. We will be referring to theses affixes in this paper as verbal extension (VEs). Such extensions encode the applicative, causative, iterative, reciprocal, etc. Doke (1943) provides one of the longest lists of verbal extensions that have been identified for Bantu languages. This paper draws freely from Doke's terminology to identify VEs in Lamnso'.

The structure of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I give a very brief overview of the Lamnso' tonal system. Section 3 describes the structure of verbal extensions in general terms. The remainder of the paper detailly examines the usage of individual extensions with emphasis on their form, syntactic restrictions and meaning. Section 4 is contains the summary and concluding statements of the paper.

2. Tone in Lamnso'[1]

Lamnso' has a fairly complex tone system. The language exhibits eight lexically significant tones. Such contrastive tones vary pitch which is semantically significant. Grebe and Grebe (1975) and Grebe (1984) have done an extensive study of tone in Lamnso'. The language has three level tones:

2. a   High tone   [´] as in   **kán** 'monkey'   **kún** 'tail'
    b   Mid tone   [¯] as in   **way**[2] 'market'   **loŋ**[2] 'horn'
    c   Low tone   [`] as in   **mbàm** 'money'   **làv** 'thread'

As a result of some tonological processes a sequence of (HL, LH etc) register contour tones are derived. The language has five glide tones:

d) Mid-High   [¯´] as in **wum**[2.1] 'egg',   **tinin**[2.1] 'cut'
e) High-Mid   [¯`] as in **nyoo**[1.2] 'vegetable'   **wuy**[1.2] 'hair'
f) High-Low   [´`] as in **rim**[1.3] 'witch'   **saŋ**[1.3] 'dry'
g) Mid-Low   [¯``] as in **wu**[2.3] 'he/she'   **gon**[2.3] 'perennial illness'
h) Mid-Low-High [¯`] as in **yaa**[2.3.1] 'grand mother'   **ven**[2.3.1] 'you'

The mid tone is not marked in the in the language. The orthographic convention requires that only the low and the high tones be marked over the vowels within the syllables that bear them. In this paper we have indicated mid and contour tones on the vowels of the verbs to overtly represent a sequence of tones that we discern are relevant to our discussion.

Lamnso' nouns fall into ten major classes as shown in 4 below. We follow the Bantu system of noun class numbering in 3.

3. | class | Affix | | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ø- | shwà' | 'a knife' |
| 2 | à- | àshwà' | 'knives' |
| 3 | -ø | wum | 'egg' |
| 5 | ø | luŋ | 'a song' |

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[1] Some parts of the analysis presented in this section have appeared in Yuka (forthcoming) where I attempt an analysis of the role of tone in the derivation of basic tense and aspect marking in Lamnso'.

6	me-	mejíy	'stars'
7	ki-	kikun	'a bed'
8	vi-	vikun	'beds'
9	-ø	yo	'a snake'
10	-si	yosi	'sneaks'
19	shi-	shijíy	'a star'

Classes 6, 7, 8 and 19 take CV prefixes while classes 1, 3, 5 and 9 have no affix on the noun. Class 2 is marked by a V suffix and 10 by a CV suffix. The contrastive tone is always on the nuclear syllable while the tone on the peripheral syllable is always mid-low. The high tone fluctuates freely with the mid-high while the low tone fluctuates with the mid-low. Structurally, the CV prefixes are akin to Lamnso' verbal extensions. We however do not employ verbal extensions to classify Lamnso' verbs in this paper.

Lamnso' verbs are basically monosyllabic but when peripheral syllables that mark various grammatical phenomena are suffixed to the nuclei syllable, 'complex' verbs are derived. These verbs can be grouped into two lexical tone classes (the high and the high-low). Grebe and Grebe (1975: 6-7) have observed that the verbs with a high tone (which we consider as Class I verbs) have minimal pairs, each bearing a high-low tone (which we consider as verbs of Class II). All class I and class II verbs in 4 below are represented in their infinitive forms.

4.	sáʃ	'write'	saŋ^{1,3}	'dry'
	mé'	'come closer'	me^{1,3}'	'shake'
	kív	'break'	kiv^{1,3}	'crack nuts'
	tó'	'break open'	to'^{1,3}	'bore'
	fór	'add seasoning'	for^{1,3}	'crush'
	ká'	'clear farm'	ka'^{1,3}	'tell'/'promise'
	fér	'blow'	fer^{1,3}	'make'
	bée	'slant'	bee^{13}	'shelter'
	káŋ	'fry'	kaŋ^{1,3}	'choose'
	yáv	'take'	yav^{1,3}	'eat hastily'
	káy	'belittle'	kay^{1,3}	'tie strongly'
	bú'	'beat'	bu'^{1,3}	'offer a person a gift'

The data in 4 shows that tone is not only contrastive in Lamnso', but is unpredictable in CV(C) roots as well.

There is another class of verbs that bears a high tone but unlike the verbs in 4, this class lacks minimal pairs and has a peculiar feature of long vowels. Again unlike Class I and Class II verbs that are in the majority, the Class III verbs below make up a very small portion of Lamnso' verbs.

5.	téem²	'crooked'	kúuy²	'gather'
	náa²	'cook'	ghvée²	'loiter'
	tíim²	'stand'	dzéer²	'roll'
	léey²	'watch'	kóom²	'bear'

The verbs in 5 have long vowels. The two segments of this vowel can bear two contrastive tones; for instance *nàá* 'non-prog-cook', kòóy 'non-prog-happen'/ 'non-prog-chance upon'. Lamnso' is a language in which words acquire tones in specific contexts. This alone renders the description of the tonal system of the language very complex.

3. Verbal Extensions in Lamnso'

This section of the paper looks at the functions of VEs in Lamnso' and their semantic as well as syntactic restrictions within sentential derivation. Given that the traditional labels in the literature may not adequately describe the semantic implications of VEs for Lamnso', it may be useful to describe their application within sensible contexts capable of distinguishing one VE category from the other. Our choice of nomenclature for each VE is motivated by the generalized meaning that can be abstracted from them by the native speaker. Apart from presenting our VEs in isolation, we equally represent them within basic sentences. This method of data presentation, (it is expected) should enable the non-native speaker to adequately interpret both the argument structure and the event structure of each VE category.

An adequate semantic interpretation of the verbs in 1 will reveal that, Lamnso' can alternate VEs to derive activity verbs that will otherwise be represented in English-type languages by distinct, morphologically unrelated lexical items. A stable verbal base relies on the VE to reflect the appropriate derivational argument structure and its aspectual specification. For instance:

6.	nan	'lift'
	na**nìn**	'stand'(by oneself)
	nan**rì**	'progressive-lift, plus frequentative, minus ability of the theme to perform the action'
	nank**ìr**	'progressive-rise, plus frequentative, plus ability of the theme to perform the action'

In the following sections of this paper, we identify each VE and examine the restrictions it imposes on argument distribution within the clause as well as the basic meaning changes that the Ves occasion.

3.1. The Reciprocal (RECIP)

Reciprocal action requires two participants who engage in an activity either on each other, with one another or for the benefit of both participants. The

agents are at the same time mutual patients of their action (Schadeberg 2003:76). A plural noun can occupy the agent role. In such an instance, agreement is with the corresponding plural form. Where a single subject NP is the agent, its relevant parts in relation to one another can act reciprocally. It is otherwise referred in the literature as *Associative action*. In the data below, we present the verbal base without the VE and then the verbal base with the VE for ease of a comparative analysis.

7.   lem/lemnin   wound/wound one another
      tóy/tóynin   accuse/accuse one another
      kuù/kuùnin   insult/insult one another
      sòv/sòvnin   stab/stab one another
      yòŋ/yòŋnin   call/call one another
      bàn/bànin   dislike/dislike one another
      tar/tarnin   meet/meet one another
      kum/kumnin   touch/touch one another
      koŋ/koŋnin   love/love one another

Example 8a-d illustrate argument distribution within Lamnso' clauses.

8.   a   (i)   wàn jaŋ   fə́r   fo   sum
                  child prog-call brother from farm
                  'The child is calling the brother from the farm'
           (ii)   wàn wun fə̀r   jaŋnin   i sum
                  child and brother prog-RECIP-call in farm
                  'The child and the brother are calling each other in the farm'
      b   (i)   tàron   tóy   mu vishòŋ kisaŋ
                  your father prog-accuse me theft   empty
                  'Your father is falsely accusing me of theft'
           (ii)   wón jèmer yém me bvə̀'   kitem   à tóynin   sho
                  child sister mine sm non-prog calabash sm prog-RECIP-accuse with
                  'My sisters children broke the calabash and are accusing each other (of the act)'
      c   (i)   wàn kuù   yèwòv   ki bír   kitàr
                  child non-prog insult   mother his it non-prog-anger   the father
                  'The child insulted the mother and angered the father'
           (ii)   vikiy kuùnin   fo kitu ké lumen
                  women   prog-RECIP-insult from head of man
                  'The women are insulting each other over a man'
      d   (i)   tàron   ban   mu bi'   mbàm sém
                  your father prog-hate me because money mine
                  'Your father hates me because of my money'
           (ii)   vikiy banin   fo   kitu ké lumen
                  women prog-RECIP-hate from head of man
                  'The women hate each other over a man'

What is evident form 8 a-d, is that the subject arguments of the clauses with only the verbal base are in their singular forms while the addition of the VE (–*nin*) subcategorizes for multiple subject arguments. –*nin* denotes reciprocity among or between these multiple arguments associated in an action. It expresses other aspects of association such as interaction, concerted action, interdependence or disassociation. It can rightly be said to be an argument structure VE. Notice that example 8d reflects the VE as *–in* rather than *–nin* which is the common morphological form in 7 above. We interpret *–in* in 8d as the surface form of –*nin* implying that underlyingly, the full form of the verb is *bannin*, but the voiceless nasal cluster conflates for phonological economy at the Phonetic Form level. What surfaces at the interval levels is *banin*. The tone of this VE is mid which is orthographically not marked in the language. The selectional argument restrictions of the VE-*nin* can summarily be represented as follows;

> Sg. Arg-S + V-ø +Arg-O
> pl. Arg-S + V-RECIP +Arg-O

3.2. The Frequentative (FREQ)

Verbal affixes that express regularly repeated action are described as frequentative, also said to be iterative. Like –*nin*, -*kir* determines argument structure within the clause. It requires that the plural subject arguments possess the attributes to undergo or undertake the activity specified by the verb in addition to the action being iterative.

9.
túm/túmkír	drop/drop repeatedly
kív/kívkír	break/break repeatedly
gbù/gbùkìr	fall/fall repeatedly
run/runkír	fill/fill repeatedly
lém/lémkír	wound/wound repeatedly
nàn/nànkìr	lift/lift repeatedly
kò/kòkìr	snore/snore repeatedly
jòy/jòykìr	sick/ repeatedly sick

The examples in 10 (i) below are control examples to 10 (ii). The 10 (ii) examples relate frequentative activities derived by the application of the appropriate VE (-kir).

10. a (i)   wánle   shikur lem   e dzəə shikur
               young child school non-prog-wound on road   school
               'A pupil got himself wounded on his/her way to school
     (ii)   wónle   shikur i   lémkír   e dzəə shikur
               young children school   sm FREQ-wound on road school
               'The students repeatedly got themselves wounded on their way

to school'
b (i)   Kiven i gbù dzəə sùm kàŋ mò'ón
         Kiven sm non-prog-fall road farm sig-time one
         'Kiven fell once on the way to the farm'
   (ii)   Jesus i   gbùkìr sar kintam àkàŋ àtár
         Jesus sm FREQ-fall under cross pl-time three
         'Jesus fell under the cross three times'
c (i)   shwér woo yoóne   e   sho' vitu vé lav Taàtá
         nán kijàvndzə
         wind belong yesterday pst remove heads of house old man
         non-prog-lift morning
         'Yesterday's wind removed the roof of the house and the old
         man raised them in the morning'
   (ii)   shùy bàn   àŋgwàsáŋ i nànkìr fó nsay
         sun non-prog-shine maize stems sm FREQ-rise from ground
         'The the sun shone, (and) the maize stems rose (in turns) from
         the ground'

10a-c shows the VE (-*kir*) describing an activity that is either regularly repeated or a progressive activity involving a multiplicity of subjects with each subject participating in the activity in its turn. The subject arguments must possess the ability to cause the action specified by the verb to happen. The major difference between the VEs, -*nin* and –*kír* is that unlike –*nin*, -kir does not require reciprocation either between the two subject NPs or between parts of a single subject NP. With the –*kir* extension, the tone of the base form is copied onto the extension. A summary of the selectional argument restriction for –*kir* is as follows:

sig Arg-S - ability +V-ø +(PP) (Arg-O)
pl. Arg-S +ability +V-kir +(PP) (Arg-O)

–*kir* can thus be categorized as an argument determining VE that restricts the argument structure of the clause as well as denote the event structure that spells out the frequency of the activity.

3.3. The Iterative (ITR)

The VE (-*ri*) designates an action that recurs. The activity verb in question unfolds unceasingly. Examine the following contrastive examples showing the iterative verbal extension in Lamnso'.

11. tum/tumrí   send/send unceasingly
     fó/fórí   give/give unceasingly
     sə∫/sə∫rì   draw/draw unceasingly
     kum/kumrì   touch/touch unceasingly
     nye∫/nye∫rí   run/make short runs unceasingly

wa∫/wa∫rí   sprinkle/sprinkle unceasingly
sə/sər í   collect/collect unceasingly

Example 12 shows activity verbs with the –ri extension designating an unfolding action. The same example reveals the restriction of clausal arguments distribution by the same VE.

12. a (i) lùm   la kikú' ké wan?
      non-prog-bite who cocoyam of baby
      'Who has beaten (of) the baby's coco yam?'

   (ii) lúmrí   la kikú' ké wan?
      ITR-prog-bite who cocoyam of baby
      'Who has (repeatedly) been biting (of) the baby's coco yam?'

  b (i) Taàtá kòy   bíy kù'   i ŋkém
      old man non-prog-harvest kola nut non-prog incubate in basket
      'The old man harvested kola nut and incubated it in a basket'

   (ii) Taàtá kòyrì   bíy kú'   e ŋkém
      old man ITR-prog-harvest cola nut prog-incubate in basket
      'The old man is (repeatedly) harvesting cola nuts and incubating them in a basket'

  c (i) Kila a kùm   shuu lav Ntàsín kàŋ mò'' ón wu mvə´'
      Kila pst non-prog-knock mouth house Ntasin number one he open
      'Kila knocked once on Ntasin's door and he opened'

   (ii) Kila a kùmrì shuu lav Ntàsín wu tén fo mvə`'
      Kila pst ITR-prog-knock mouth house Ntàsín he prog-refuse to open
      'Kila (repeatedly) knocked on Ntasin's door and he refused to open'

There is obviously a semantic overlap between the –*kir* and –*rì* extensions. While we have interpreted –*kir* as frequentative, –*rì* is repetitive. The thin distinction between the two rests on the feature composition of the Arg-S. While the –*kir* extension requires that the element in subject position possesses the ability to undergo the activity specified by the verb, the –*rì* is causative since it contributes to the meaning of 'cause to' in addition to its basic repetitive connotation. This means that the intervals within which the activity is repeated is determined by the capacity of the subject to complete the act already engaged in. The frequentative affix gives the verb a cycle of an activity that needs to be completed before another cycle can commence. The –*rì* affix does not observe such a cycle. The activity is simply repeated. It is this progressive repetition of the activity that is represented by the high tone on the verb with the –*rì* extension. This tone is the progressive aspectual marker in Lamnso'. The low tone on each of the verbs without extensions in example 12 (i) a-c equally marks the non-progressive aspect. –*rì* inherently bears a

low tone regardless of the tone of the base form. Once the verb takes the VE –*ri*. It encodes a frequentative interpretation of the event which is ongoing and therefore progressive. The selectional restrictions of the *–rì* extension is represented below.

$$\text{Agr-S} + \text{V-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prog} + \text{rì (ITR)} \\ \text{non-prog} + \emptyset \end{array} \right\} + \text{Agr-O}$$

In this language, the repetitive prefix is *ki/kfən*, glossed as 'do again'. For example;

cuùrì/kin cuùrì	pour/pour again
tom/kin tom	support/support again
sho'/kfən sho'	remove/remove again
dzəv/kfən dzəv	beat/beat again
ko'/kin ko'	climb/climb again

The alternation of *kin* and *kfən* has no semantic distinction. It is simply a variation in pronunciation. However, the native speaker can reduplicate the basic form of an activity verb to derive the urgency of an event.

cér/cércér	quick/quickly
le'/le'le'én	run/run faster or quickly
sho'/sho'sho'ón	remove/remove (it) faster

Reduplication frequently occurs with monosyllabic stems. This may be an indication of a preference for polysyllabic words in the language. Additional evidence to this preference can be drawn from the morphology of nouns that take CV nominal affixes described in example 3. It is a productive process in the language that merits a detailed investigation which can be the focus of another paper.

3.4. The Applicative (APPL)

The *–ti* verbal extension in Lamnso' indicates an action that is applied on behalf of, towards or with regards to some object. This form has been referred to in the literature as applicative, applied or prepositional (Lodhi, 2002). *–ti* in addition indicates an unfolding activity. For each of the following examples, we show the bare verbs and their corresponding extended verbs to illustrate the basic meaning change that applies to the stem when each suffix is attached.

13. là'/làtì   pay/pay continuously
     ŋè'/ŋè'tì   take a portion/take a portion continuously
     shó'/sho'´tí   remove/remove continuously

gwàr/gwàtì	cut/cut continuously
sə'/sə'tí	connect/connect continuously
fòr/fòtì	crush/crush continuously
táv/távtí	persistent/ continuously persistent
wá'/wá'tí	break/break continuously

14a-c shows that the addition of the –ti VE requires that the Arg-O be in its plural form.

14. a (i) Tomla a gwàr   kicí fo kov
           Tomla pst non-prog-cut tree from forest
           'Tomla cut a tree from the forest'

      (ii) Tomla gwàtì   vicí fo   kov
            Tomla prog-APPL-cut trees from   forest
            'Tomla is (continuously) cutting trees from the forest'

   b (i) Kila fòr   tu'   e kiwuu kfə́ ki
           Kila non-prog-smah potato with foot   his sm
           'Kila smashed a potato with his foot'

      (ii) Kila fòtì   ŋkaà   tu'   e   kiwuu kfə́ ki
            Kila prog-APPL-mash basket potatoes with foot   his sm
            'Kila is (continuously) smashing a basket of potatoes with his foot'

   c (ii) wàn bvə̀'   kitem   kém e dzee ndzev
            child non-prog-break calabash mine on road stream
            'The child broke my calabash on his way to the stream.'

      (ii) wàn bvə̀'tì   vitem   vém e dzee ndzev
            child prog-APPL-break calabashes mine on road stream
            'The child is (continuously) breaking my calabashes on his way to the stream'

In 14a-c the –*ti* extension participates both in event structure and in argument structure since it does not simply relate only an unfolding activity but requires that the object argument be in its plural form as well. The unfolding connotation which has been captured as progressive in our lexical translations is in fact repetitive. In 14a (ii), for instance, the act if cutting is continuous, as he cuts one tree and then proceeds to cut another. The activity is performed either at a given location or by employing a specific instrument. The VE copies the tone of the verbal base each time the verb takes it. We represent the selectional restrictions of the applicative VE –*ti* as follows;

$$\text{Arg-S} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{non-prog-V} + \emptyset \\ \text{prog} + \text{V} + \text{tì (APPL)} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} + \text{Sig-Arg-O} + \text{PP} \\ + \text{Pl Arg-O} + \text{PP} \end{array}$$

3.5. The Causative (CAUS)

The causative VE adds an object to the verb; it indicates that somebody or something is responsible for a certain result. It adds the meaning *cause to*, or *arrange for*, or *make* (Arnott 1970: 346-347). It equally indicates 'totality or completeness' (Paster, 2005) of an activity in which either the subject or the object of the clause motivates. It indicates the natural termination of a process that has been in progress for some time. This extension can be suffixed to either a transitive or an intransitive verb. It requires that there be an additional argument to the syntactic frame of the basic verb (Shadeberg 2003). Such an additional argument syntactically functions as the subject. Its semantic role is 'causee' becomes evident in 16 when we compare intransitive verbs that take the VE and those that do not take the VE. The data in 15 is organised to reveal the semantic import of the causative in Lamnso'.

15.   mày/màysì   finish/cause to finish
      rán/ránsí   clean/cause to be clean
      lùm/lùmsì   warm/cause to be warm
      rún/rúnsí   fill/cause to be full

16 shows the argument structure of the causative VE in Lamnso'.

16.   a   (i)   Mbàm sém   si   mày   ne   sidzəm
                money mine   sm non-prog-finish compl-part all
                'All my money is finished'
          (ii) Wánle wíy və̀ n màysì   ne   mbàm
                sém   si dzəm
                child   girl this non-prog-CAUS-finish compl-part money
                mine sm all
                'This girl has finished all my money'
      b   (i)   medzév mem me wùn me   lùm   ne
                water   mine sm body sm non-prog-warm comple-part
                'My bath water is warm'
          (ii) Kila lùmsì   ne   medzév mem me wun
                Kila non-prog-CAUS-warm compl-part water   mine sm
                body
                'Kila has warmed my bath water is warm'

Observe that once the verbal base does not carry the causative extension, the clause remains in its passive form. The *–si* extension subcategorises for an active subject argument that performs the activity specified by the verb. *–si* and the completive particle (compl-part), *ne*, combine to give the verb a connotation of totality. *–si* in Lamnso' thus participates to determine both event structure and argument structure. The following schema represents the selectional restrictions of the *–si* VE in Lamnso'.

- Arg-S + V-ø +ne (compl-part) +Arg- O
+ Arg-S + V-si +ne (compl-par)t +Agr-O

3.6. The Contactive (CONT)

This VE indicates an action that has been carried out to completion. It is in part, a reflection of the causative VE discussed above, with the difference that *–sin* requires at least two arguments in subject position which must make either a fitting or disengaging contact. This fitting or disengaging contact is always understandably the culmination of a process. The term *tentive* is used to describe active elements in contact. Tentive is derived from a protypical class of Latin verbs: *tenere/tentus* 'to hold' (Schadeberg 2003). Examine the following examples in 17.

17. kúv/kúvsin   change/exchange
     sho'/sho'sín   remove/remove from one another
     kùm/kùmsin   touch/touch one another
     fí'/fí'sìn   measure/measure with one another
     jav/javsìn   separate (share)/separate from one another
     tov/tovsìn   mix/mix with one another
     way/waysín   put/put into one another

18a-c below, are derivations that show the argument requirements of the contactive VE in the language.

18. a (i)   lum   kùm   kibam ke wíy və e way
               husband non-prog-touch bag   of wife his in market
               'The husband touched the bag of his wife in the market'
        (ii) lum   wun wíy kùmsin   vibam vév i   way
               husband and wife non-prog-CONT-touch bags   theirs in
               market
               'The husband and the wife touched their bags in the market'
     b (i)   Taàtá   a   shò'   lábá' boo   wáy   sə`là
               Old man pst non-prog-remove shoe before prog-wear trouser
               'The old man removed the shoe before wearing the trousers'
        (ii) Taàtá   a   shòsín   kiwoo kfə´ fo lábá' boo   a²
               way sə`là
               the old man pst non-prog- CONT foot   his from shoe before
               prog wear trouser
               'The old man removed his foot from the shoe before wearing the
               trousers'
     c (i)   Kila fí'   kòfi i lav kìnyò
               Kila prog-measure coffee in house union
               'Kila is measuring coffee in the society house'

_____

² Progressive aspect

(ii)   Kila   wun Tómla fí'sìn   vìtaáví
          Kila and   Tomla prog- CONT-measure strength
          'Kila and Tomla are comparing strength'

The –*sin* VE seems to have a comparative connotation. The size, quality, strength etc of the subject arguments are placed under evaluation with each other, unlike the base form of the verb that simply designates the activity of the lone subject. A summary of this argument structure VE is as shown below.

Sing. ArgS + V-ø + NP (PP)

Pl Arg-S + V-sin + NP (PP)

3.7. The Augmentative

This VE shares some features of the causative VE. It requires an agent with the capability of augmenting the features of its theme. It is realised as either –*er* or –ir as shown in the following examples.

19.   táv/távír   hard/harden
       nyòm/nyòmèr   sweet/sweeten
       bàŋ/bàŋèr   red/redden
       lùm/lùmèr   warm/make warm
       mày/màyìr   finish/make finish
       rán/ránír   clean/make claen

We employ the verbs in 19 to derive the clauses in 20

20.   a   (i)   Taàron   tàv   lán féyì
                Your father non-prog-strong today adequate
                'Your father is very healthy this time around'
          (ii) shívsi   tàvír taàron   lán féyì
                medicines non-prog-AUG-strong today adequate
                'Medication has adequately strengthened your father'
      b   (i)   wórèn woo bàm lav   nyóm   muu vilu   bèy
                orange of behind house prog-sweet like honey like
                'The oranges behind the house are as sweet as honey'
          (ii) Kila nyòmèr   viyíkìr i   vilu   vi
                 Kila non-prog-AUG-sweet food with honey sm
                'Kila sweetened food with honey'
      c   (i)   wàn tùm   kilaà ke mbím wun mò'ón
                child non-prog-cross bridge of mbín with alone
                'The child crossed the Mbím bridge alone (without aid or company)'
          (ii) yèewàn tùmèr   wán kilaà ke mbím
                mother non-prog-AUG-cross child bridge of   mbím
                The child's mother aided the child across the Mbím bridge'
      d   (i)   Yaáyá   tàn   mbàm sàm   shiŋgwaŋ fó

ŋgaà wày

old woman non-prog-lack money non-prog- borrow   salt
from owner trade

'The old woman lacked money and borrowed salt from the trader'

(ii)   ŋgaà wày sàmèr   Yaàyá   shiŋgwaŋ

trader non-prog-AUG-lend old woman   salt

'The trader lent the old woman salt'

In 19 a-d, tone of the VE copies the tone of the verbal base. While the low tone marks non-progressive events, the high tone marks ongoing activities. The VE augments the qualities of its object complement. Where the subject complement is not material, this augmentation is realized in the form of aid to the insufficient abilities of the Arg-O. As with the causative VE, the Arg-S possesses an upper hand, with the capability of altering the deficient features of the Arg-O.

3.8. The Extensive (EXT)

The –*é* VE participates in elongating the activity specified by the verbal base. It indicates that the action is either extended in time and space or extensively repeated. This stretching is achieved through lengthening of the nuclei vowel of the verbal base and the addition of the –*e* VE. The vowel of the VE copies the preceding tone of the verbal base. Such extension has sometimes been referred to as *durativ*e which is semantically very similar to the *intensive* VE which we will consider below.

21.   ghem/gheémé   open/open widely
       rom/roòmè   point/point extensively
       tom/toómé   support/lean on for support
       wam/waámé   shout/scream
       ran/raáné   clean/brighter
       sən/sə́ əné   black/dark

The following examples illustrate the semantic changes the extensive VE conveys to the uninflected verb form.

22.   a   (i)   Kila kàm   dzə́ y mendzə́ v me túmkír   fó   fo
                  Kila non-prog-quiz cloth water   sm   prog-REQ-fall
                        from it
                  'Kila quizzed cloth and water was dropping from it'

          (ii)   Kila   kaámé   ndzə́ y á   mendzə́ v me túmkìr
                  fo   fo
                  Kila prog-EXT-squiz cloth prog water   sm prog-FREQ-
                  fall from it
                  'Kila twisted cloths and water was dropping out of it'

b   (i)   wíy   ròm   taàlav   və i kiŋgàn ki
         woman non-prog-point husband hers to visitor sm
         'The woman pointed her husband to the visitor'

   (ii)   vikiy   vee la'   a   bà'tí   á   roòmè
         rím
          women of   compound sm non-prog-APPL-gather prog
         EXT-point witch
         'The women of the compound gathered and were pointing
         (accusingly) at the witch'

c   (i)   ŋgwàsáŋ wom nyòm   shaà wò
         maize mine non-prog-sweet pass yours
         'my maize is sweeter than yours'

   (ii)   ŋgwàsáŋ vən nyoómè   mu yèwon   yò' vilu
         sho bèy
         corn   this prog-EXT-sweet as   your mother rub
         honey in it as
         'This maize is sweet as if your mother rubbed honey on it'

d   (i)   wàn tòn   lábá' i və`y
         child non-prog-burn shoe in fire
         'The child burnt the shoe in the fire'

   (ii)   Á   yii toónè kifu, á   wày   vifaveyi sho
         they do prog-sterilize they non-prog-put food   in it
         'When a leaf is sterilized, food is put in it'

This VE designates a gradual change of the direction of activity. *tòn,* for
instance means 'to burn', while *toòne,* means to hold over the fire and rotate
gradually with the intension of sterilizing using the flame. Durative activities
are usually methodically progressive. This VE selectionally restricts the event
structure of the clause within which it occurs and conceptually stretches the
semantic import of the verb in question (the English past participle of sweet;
sweeten is a good semantic reference)

3.9. The Intensive (INT)

This VE signifies intensity, completeness, severity, quickness etc of the action.
This intensifying extension portrays the characteristics of the causative
extension examined above with the difference that it designates the degree of
the activity.

23.   sho'/sho'óy   remove/dislodge
      mv`ə'/mv`ə'əy   open/open widely
      wa'/wa'ám   crack/split
      ga'/gá'ám   unfitting/sit unfittingly
      ghe'/ghé'éy   burn/burn glowingly

lá'/lá'ám	float/perch
tó'/tó'óm	pierce/bust
bé'/bé'éy	carry/carry completely

The following examples attest to our interpretation.

24. a (i) shòŋ shò'   kikum fo wun boo jèr kilè'
             thief non-prog-remove shirt from body before dart run
             'The thief removed his shirt before darting away'

     (ii) shòŋ tsəˋy   shuu lav i   kitu ki shò'óy
            thief non-prog-hit mouth house with head sm non-prog-
            INT- remove
            'The thief hit the door and yanked it off (its hinges)'

     b (i) Kila mvəˋ'   shuu lav i   kiwuu ki
             Kila non-prog-open door house with foot   sm
             'Kila opened the door with the foot'

     (ii) kitóm kee shuu lav   ki mvə'èy   ne
            piller of mouth house sm non-prog-INT-open compl
            'The door pillar has dislodged'

     c (i) wàn bò'   yèwov i   ŋgòy   kun ye bi
             child non-prog- cheat her mother with seedlings beans
             of bad
             'The child cheated her mother with bad bean seedlings'

     (ii) wàn bò'òy   yèwov i   ŋgòy   kun
            ye bi
            child non-prog-INT-cheat   her mother   with seedlings
            beans of bad
            'The child (heavily) cheated her mother with bad bean
            seedlings'

What the above examples do not immediately reveal to the non-native speaker is the underlying comparative attributes of the intensive extension. Underlyingly, the intensity of the activity of the verb with the VE and that without the VE are under comparison. The examples in 25 below show alternative adjectives that specify different degrees of the same action that the intensive VE seeks to portray.

25. a tiím   stand   ta'ám   stand with legs astride
     b bé'   carry   bé'èy   carry completely
     c tó'   bust   tó'óm   bust completely
     d ghé'   glow   ghé'èy   burn glowingly
     e dzə'èm   sit   gú'úm   sit provocatively on an undeserved position
     f sè'   fissure sé'ém   crack

g   wa'   crack   wá'ám   break open

The intensive VE in Lamnso' is idiophonic. The sounds of ideophonic verbs tend to reflect a vivid representation of the idea they convey (Doke 1934:118). The manner or state of intensity can be detected form the VE that follows the glottal stop. These verbs are often referred to in the literature as *Deideophonic Verbs*.

There is another set of two syllable verbs in Lamnso' whose last syllable is morphologically similar to the intensive VE above. However, their semantic interpretation does not permit them to be classified with the verbs in 25.

26.   bà'àr   make way for make way for
           ŕə'ˊər   tilt
           lú'úr   place at a dislodging point
           bú'úr   pretend not to notice

The verbs in 26 portray activities in transient positions. The Arg-S is understood to be on the move from one position to another. Unlike the verbs in 25 which reflect either the condition of Arg-S or that of Arg-O, the verbs in 26 reflect temporary positions. The examples in 27 each shows that a prepositional phrase usually follows the verb phrase. The prepositional phrase indicates the direction of movement either from or to the temporary position.

27.   a   Kila   shá'àr   ndzəy   fó   kikun
            Kila   prog-remove clothes from bed
            Kila   prog-remove clothes from bed
            'Kila is removing clothes from the bed'
       b   M bà'àr   ŋgaywìr i   dzəə sum
            I make way elder   on   road farm
            'I bypassed the elder on the farm path'

Notice that unlike the verbs in 23 which take an Intensive VE with comparative attributes, the verbs in 26 are whole lexical units that cannot be analyzed as morphologically exhibiting a base and a VE. The deletion of the second syllable from any of the verbs in 26 derives a distinct lexical unit, semantically unrelated to the original verb. For instance;

bà'àr   make way for   bà'   'pack'
ŕə'ˊər   tilt   rè'   'loiter'
lú'úr   place at a dislodging point   bú'   'beat'

4. Conclusion

In this short paper, I set out to provide a preliminary description of Lamnso' verbal extensions. A morpho-semantic analysis of the denotations of these

extensions has led us to identify and distinguish the role of each verbal extension in the language. The paper recognises two broad categories: extensions that restrict argument structure within sentential derivations and those that determine and restrict event meaning. Unlike Lamnso' nominal affixes which fall into neat semantic classes, it is evident that Lamnso' verbal extensions fail to form neither a neat semantic nor a neat syntactic class. For instance, a semantic interpretation of the causative extension in Lamnso', presents interesting analytical challenges since it appears to manifest itself differently with slight changes in event meaning and argument structure. The Causative VE, manifests itself productively. This productive manifestation derives the Augmentative VE, the Intensive VE etc.   I have however capitalized on native speaker distinctive interpretations to isolate the basic differences between these VEs.

Apart from investigating the productive manifestations of Lamnso' VEs, it should be interesting to examine how Lamnso' VEs contribute to tonal changes and influence the functioning constituents within the Lamnso' inflection node (such as tense and aspect). Such work, I assume, may lead us closer to a comprehensive classification of Lamnso' verbs which will be a vital step in the study of Lamnso' syntax and a major contribution to the morpho-semantic analysis of Bantu verbs.

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Appendix A: Summary

Appendix B attempts a brief summary of the various VEs identifies and examined in this paper. We distinguish between the VEs that contribute to event extension and those that contribute to the restriction of argument structure within basic sentences in Lamnso'.

Extension	Category of VE	Contribution to verb meaning and or Extension of event meaning	Contribution Argument Structure
-kir	Frequentative	the verb must specify a regularly repeated activity. The subjects must possess the ability to action to happen in a cycle. One completes before another begins.	requires a plural Arg-S with the ability to perform the action specified by the verb
-nin	Reciprocal	The two or more subjects engage in an activity either on each other, with one Another, or for the benefit of both participants. Their actions are either interdependent or disassociative activity specified by the verb is progressive and repetitive	requires a plural Arg-S the agents are mutual participants in the action. In case the Ar-S is singular, its relevant parts P perform the action reciprocally on themselves.
-ri	Iterative	activity specified by the verb is progressive and repetitive	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S or Arg-O
-ti	Applicative	relates an unfolding activity	Arg-O must be in its plural form
-si	Causative	indicates the natural termination of a process. It connotes a sense of completeness or termination	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S
-sin	Contactive	describes active elements in contact. The activity involves a fitting or a disengaging contact	requires a plural Arg-S
-iv	Augmentative	must possess the ability to augment the deficient capabilities, qualities or features of the theme within the sentence	can accommodate a plural or singular Arg-S
-mèr	Extensive	This VE encodes the elongation of activity specified within time and space	can accommodate a plural or singular Theme
-óy, -´əy, -ám	Intensive	Signifies intensity, severity completeness, swiftness, etc	can accommodate a plural or singular theme, as well as plural or singular Arg-S and Arg-O

Appendix B: Abbreviations

prog	progressive
non-prog	non-progressive
prog-a	progressive particle
part	particle
compl	completive
x́	high
x̀	low
x^2	mid
$x^{2.1}$	mid-high
$x^{21.2}$	high-mid
$x^{1.3}$	high-low
$x^{2.3}$	mid-low
$x^{2.3.1}$	mid-low-high
sm	subject marker
sig	singular
pl	plural
rad	radical
Arg-S	subject argument
Arg-O	object argument
pst	past
RECIP	reciprocal
FREQ	frequentative
ITR	iterative
APPL	applicative
EXT	extensive
INT	intensive
CAU	causative
VE	verbal extension

Appendix C: Key to phonetic symbols used in the paper

[ʔ] Glottal Stop

['] Simplified representation of the glottal stop

[ə] Schwa

[ŋ] Nasal velar