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PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN ANYI AND RELATED LANGUAGES

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The pronouns of nine Kwa languages of the Volta-Bandama group are described and compared. The greatest number of forms is found in two closely related languages which are geographically central in the group.

Les pronoms de neuf langues kwa du groupe Volta-Bandama sont décrits et comparés. Le plupart des formes est trouvé dans deux langues parentées qui sont géographiquement central du groupe.

0. INTRODUCTION

In the Atlas des langues Kwa de Côte d'Ivoire, Hérault (1983) presented a brief comparative study of personal pronouns in fourteen Kwa languages of Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). This paper attempts to give a more detailed comparison for some of the Kwa languages of the Volta-Bandama group (Stewart's Volta-Comoe including Abron (an Akan dialect), Anyi, Baule, and Eotilé (Beti). It also brings together data from several languages which were not in Hérault's study: Abure, Ahanta, Akan, Chakosi (Anufɔ), Gonja and Nzema. This study begins with a description of the forms and functions of personal pronouns in the Anyi language with which the author is most familiar.¹

1. ANYI

Anyi is spoken by more than 500,000 speakers located in both southeastern Côte d'Ivoire, where there are eight dialects, and the neighboring southwestern border of Ghana, where there are two dialects. Several of these dialects have further subgroups. The northern dialects are influenced by Baule while the more conservative southern dialects, such as Sanvi, are about equally intermediate between Baule and Nzema. The data given below is from the Sanvi dialect, unless otherwise stated.

Anyi personal pronoun forms can be divided into two groups according to their function as either subject or non-subject pronouns. They can be further analyzed in terms of the traditional categories of person (first, second, or third) and number (singular or plural). Table 1 shows the various forms.

The second person plural form is exceptional. It appears to be composed of the second person singular subject pronoun plus the plural suffix *-mɔ* with the result that this form has the same syntactic properties as a definite noun (see 1.2.2). It has a high tone on the first syllable and a downstepped high tone on

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	mĩ mĩĩ N	jε
	non-subject	mĩ	jε
2nd	subject	ε	é!mó/á! mɔ
	non-subject	wó	
	subject	ɔ	2ε
3rd	non-subject	jí	bé

Table 1: Anyi Pronouns

the second. This tone pattern is invariable in all contexts. In several northern Anyi dialects, this pronoun has an alternate **amɔ** which may be due to Baule influence. The most interesting feature of this pronoun is that it is often replaced by the third person plural form. As a subject pronoun, it is very frequently replaced in commands and serial constructions as shown in the following examples:

- 1) é!mó hó àwúló 'Go home!'
2pl go-INJ home
- 2) bé hó àwúló 'Go home!'
3pl go-INJ home
- 3) é!mó fá n̄ngé'n bè hó àwúló
2pl take-INJ things-DEF 3pl go-INJ home
'Take the things and go home.!'

An interesting example of this replacement involving a non-subject form can be seen in the much used expression of thanks or encouragement which follows:

- 4) mó ò 'Thanks!' (addressed to one person)
thanks EUPH
- 5) kòfí mó ò 'Koffi, thanks!'
Koffi thanks EUPH
- 6) é!mó mó ò 'Thanks!' (addressed to a group)
2pl thanks EUPH
- 7) bé mó ò 'Thanks!' (addressed to a group)
3pl. thanks EUPH

1.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Subject pronouns are, in effect, prefixes to the verb. Their tone is determined by the aspect of the verb. If there is a noun subject, the pronoun subject is normally deleted in rapid speech. If there is any pause following a noun subject, however, the pronoun subject is repeated. The vowel of the subject pronoun is also subject to vowel harmony rules (see 1.1.2).

In Anyi orthography, subject pronouns are written as separate words which are invariable in form except for the first person singular pronoun which has several variants depending on the conjugation. Vowel harmony variations are not written since they are predictable from context.

The first person singular pronoun occurs in its full form in the habitual and intentional conjugations. In the progressive aspect this pronoun is lengthened by combination with the aspect marker (see 1.1.1). In the resultative or perfect aspect it is contracted with the aspect marker (see 1.1.3). In all other conjugations, the first person singular form is a homorganic nasal determined by the initial consonant of the verb or aspect marker which immediately follows.

1.1.1 Tone

In the simple future and intentional conjugations, all of the pronouns have high tone. In all other conjugations the pronouns have low tone, with the exception of the second person plural pronoun noted above. One other exception is to be noted for the progressive conjugation. In the orthography, only the first person singular pronoun is written in its lengthened form which has a low rising tone pattern. This pattern results from the fusion of the low tone pronoun and the high tone aspect marker. When the aspect marker is preceded by a high tone, it becomes apparent that the aspect marker includes a low tone prefix which results in a downstepped high tone for the aspect marker. In spoken form, the other pronouns can also be lengthened as shown in the following paradigm:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 8a) mǐín kǒ | 'I am going' |
| 8b) è lɛ́ kǒ/èé kǒ | 'you are going' |
| 8c) ò lɛ́ kǒ/òó jǒ | 'he is going' |
| 8d) kòfí !lɛ́ kǒ | 'Koffi is going' |
| 8e) jè lɛ́ kǒ/jèé kǒ | 'we are going' |
| 8f) é!mǒ !lɛ́ kǒ | 'you (pl) are going' |
| 8g) bè lɛ́ kǒ/bèé kǒ | 'they are going' |

Note that a proper noun subject (8d) does not combine with the aspect marker. The second person plural form (8f) behaves in exactly the same way as a proper noun or any noun which is determined by a definite or plural marker (see also 1.2.2).

1.1.2 Vowel Harmony

Anyi vowels can be divided into two sets based on the advancement or retraction of the tongue root:

+ [ATR]: (oral) [i, e, ə, o, u] (nasal) [ĩ, ã, ũ]

- [ATR]: (oral) [ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ] (nasal) [ĩ̃, ã̃, ũ̃]

In Anyi orthography, all of the personal pronouns are written with the retracted vowels. However, in normal speech, the vowel of the pronoun harmonizes with the first vowel of the verb which follows with respect to tongue root retraction or advancement as can be seen in the following examples:

- 9) ɛ salɪ nzue. [ɛ̃ sàlì ñzùé] 'You fetched water.'
2s fetch-PST water
- 10) ɛ sālɪ wó nzin. [ɛ̃ sòlì wó ñzĩ] 'You went back.'
2s return-PST 2s back
- 11) ɔ sɪ mín sɪ. [ò sɪ mĩ́ sɪ́] 'He knows my father.'
3ps knows-HAB 1ps father
- 12) ɔ si mín sɔ. [ò sɪ mĩ́ sɔ́] 'He follows me.'
3ps follow-HAB me on

1.1.3 Elision

In the resultative or perfect aspect there is elision of certain pronoun vowels before the aspect marker. In the orthography this elision is noted by an apostrophe as can be seen in the following paradigm:

- 13a) m'an hɔ [mâ hɔ́] 'I have gone'
- 13b) a hɔ [â hɔ́] 'you have gone'
- 13c) ɔ a hɔ [wâ hɔ́] 'he has gone'
- 13d) y'a hɔ [jà hɔ́] 'we have gone'
- 13e) ɛmɔ a hɔ [ɛ̃!mɔ̃ à hɔ́] 'you (pl) have gone'
- 13f) b'a hɔ [bâ hɔ́] 'they have gone'

In the first person singular the contracted nasal vowel of the pronoun influences the aspect marker to become nasal. The second person singular pronoun is completely deleted. The third person singular pronoun is retained, but it blends with the aspect marker. In the Sanvi dialect there is a variant of this form: y'a hɔ which may be due to Nzema influence (see 4.). There is a contraction of the first and third person plural pronouns but not of the invariable second person plural.

1.2 NON-SUBJECT FORMS

Non-subject personal pronouns can occur independently, as direct or indirect objects, in associative (genitive) constructions and various kinds of emphatic constructions. These pronouns are basically invariable in form and are characterized by their high tone. They are influenced by vowel harmony in the associative construction but only in a limited way in the objec-

tive case. Only the second and third person singular forms differ markedly from their subject pronoun counterparts.

1.2.1 Emphatic Constructions

The following examples bring together several different constructions which call for the non-subject pronouns with more or less emphatic force. These include identificational and topicalized constructions. The pronouns can be followed by various modifiers and repeated for further emphasis and precision.

- 13) mǐ ò 'It's me'
1s IDENT
- 14) wó ò 'Is it you?'
2s(question prosody: extra high tone) IDENT
- 15) wó é kó biè 'You, you will surely go also.'
2s 2s INT-go also
- 16) wó bóbó mùnú é kó biè
2s EMPH in-person 2ps-sub INT-go also
'You yourself in person, you will surely go.'
- 17) yí yé ò fàlí ò
3ps TOP 3ps-sub take-PAST IDENT
'He is the one who took (it).'
- 18) wó lílí wó yé òdì ké è kó ò
2p really 2p TOP 3p must-HAB that 2p go-HAB IDENT
'It's really you who should go.'
- 19) wó mò è tì kǎ: !n yé é kó ò
2p REL 2p be-HAB small TOP 2s go-INT IDENT
'You who are small, it's you who will go.'

1.2.2 Associative Construction

In associative constructions, which signal possession and other relations, the pronoun precedes the noun it determines. The pronoun vowel is conditioned by the initial vowel of the following noun. There are two kinds of conditioning: vowel harmony and elision. These variations are not represented in the orthography.

The vowels of non-subject forms in associative constructions agree with the initial vowel of the following noun with respect to tongue root advancement or retraction. Compare the following paradigms which at the same time show the morphological changes of variable or inalienable nouns. These nouns include most body parts, kin terms, and certain other relational terms (see Burmeister 1976).

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 20a) sí è | 'father' |
| 20b) mǐ sí | 'my father' |
| 20c) wó sí | 'your father' |
| 20d) jí sí | 'his/her father' |
| 20e) jé sí | 'our father' |
| 20f) é !mó ásí | 'your (pl) father' |
| 20g) bǐ sí | 'their father' |

- 21a) níǎ 'mother'
 21b) mí ní 'my mother'
 21c) wó ní 'your mother'
 21d) jí ní 'his/her mother'
 21e) jé ní 'our mother'
 21f) é!mó ání 'your (pl) mother'
 21g) bé ní 'their mother'

With the second person plural pronoun, inalienable nouns have a prefix which also occurs following proper nouns and other nouns followed by various determiners as can be seen in the following examples:

- 22) kòfí ásí 'Koffi's father'
 koffi father
 23) àdómán !nĩ ásí 'the baby's father'
 baby DEF father
 24) màtómá !n !mó ásí 'the father of the children'

In the Aowin or Brissa dialect of Ghana (called Ebolosa by Sanvi speakers) and in the Affema subgroup of the Sanvi dialect, there are alternate forms for the second and third person singular pronouns used with inalienable nouns. These forms correspond to the subject pronoun forms. These dialects of Anyi border on the Nzema language area which has this same exceptional usage (see 4.) Examples:

- 25) é ní 'your mother'
 26) ó sí 'his/her father'

When the pronoun is followed by a noun beginning with the vowel e or é, there is automatic elision of this initial vowel of the noun in normal speech. In the orthography, however, the full form of the noun is retained. Examples:

- 27a) éléé [èlèé] 'dug-out canoe'
 27b) yí éléé [jí lèé] 'his dug-out canoe'
 28a) esika [èsiká] 'money'
 28b) wó esika [wó síkà] 'your money'

When the pronoun is followed by an invariable noun beginning with the vowel a, there is an automatic elision of the vowel of the pronoun, with the exception of the invariable second person plural pronoun. Variable nouns which have an a- prefix in their independent form lose this prefix following a pronoun. Examples:

- 29a) alaka [àláká] 'box, chest'
 29b) yí alaka [jáláká] 'his/her box, chest'
 30a) alíé [àlìé] 'food'
 30b) bé alíé [bálìé] 'their food'
 31a) anzúé [ànzùé] 'ear'
 31b) wó nzo [wó nzò] 'your ear'

1.2.3 Objective Case

When a pronoun serves as the direct or indirect object of a verb, the vowel of the pronoun is influenced by vowel harmony in a limited way. If the pronoun immediately follows a verb ending with a high +ATR vowel [i, ī, u, ũ], the vowel of the pronoun will be +ATR. In all other cases the vowel remains retracted.

One other particular phonological feature of direct object pronouns is that when they occur at the end of a proposition, they are often pronounced with low tone. If they are pronounced with high tone in this context, this indicates insistence or emphasis.

Some verbs specify object pronouns as human. The verb **di** with a pronoun object means 'to have sexual relations'. When there is no explicit object, but the context indicates food, the verb means 'to eat'. Other verbs also use the presence of absence of object pronouns to distinguish various meanings. For example, the verb **kan** with the meaning 'to touch' takes an object pronoun, but in the meaning 'to speak' it does not.

1.3 SPECIAL PRONOUN USAGE

1.3.1 Accompaniment

One interesting use of subject and object pronouns concerns the construction for expressing accompaniment. Anyi uses a form which appears to be a verb, but which has become, in effect, equivalent to an invariable conjunction. The subject position indicates the principal subject of the discourse at that point while the object position indicates the one who is to accompany the subject. Examples:

- 32) jí ɣwǎ m̄ n̄ wó !hó
 3s speech is and 2s INJ-go
 'He says that you should go with me.'

- 33) jí ɣwǎ ɛ̄ n̄ m̄ !hó
 3s speech 2s and 1s INJ-go
 'He says that I should go with you.'

1.3.2 Impersonal Reference

The third person singular form is frequently used to refer to inanimate objects in addition to personal reference. It is also used as an impersonal grammatical subject in a number of expressions such as the following:

- 34) ɛ̄ d̄ k̄ 'it is necessary that'

Another feature of this pronoun is its use in a collective sense where we might expect to have a plural reference. Examples:

- 35) m̄ n̄ wó ȳ ɛ̄ s̄ ɛ̄
 1s and 2s TOP 3s walk beside IDENT
 'I will go with you.'

- 36) bɛ̀dɛ̀ nɔ̀ ɛ̀lúè nɔ̀ bàánâ ɔ̀à yè guó !nú éné
 manioc and yam and plantain 3s-RES finish market in today
 'The manioc, yams and plantain bananas have all run out at the market today.'
- 37) bɛ̀dɛ̀ nɔ̀ ɛ̀lúè nɔ̀ bàánâ bà yè jí tó
 manioc and yam and plantain 3p-RES finish 3s buy
 'The manioc and yams and plantain bananas have all been bought out.'

The third person plural form is often used in an impersonal sense when the speaker prefers not to name the agent explicitly. This construction is often used to translate the passive as can be seen in the previous example and the following one:

- 38) bɛ̀ fɛ̀lɛ̀ jí kòfí
 3p call 3s Koffi
 'He is called Koffi. (lit. they call him Koffi).'

1.3.3 Reflexive, Reciprocal and Possessive Reference

There is no separate set of reflexive, reciprocal or possessive pronouns. The first two kinds of reference make use of the non-subject forms in the associative construction with the noun **nwon** [ɲwó] 'self, body, concerning, near'. In the latter case, the non-subject forms are used in the associative construction with the noun **díɛ** [díɛ] 'possession of, thing relating to'. Following are some examples:

- 39) kúlò wó mǎngú kɛ́ wó mùónú é kúlò wó ɲwó !n
 IMP-love 2s neighbor as 2s yourself 2s HAB-love 2s self
 'Love your neighbor as you love yourself.'
- 40) bɛ̀ bùkà bɛ́ ɲwó 'They help each other.'
 3p HAB-help 3p self
- 41) jí díɛ ɔ̀ 'It's his.'
 3s possession IDENT

2. BAULE

Baule is spoken by more than a million and a half people located primarily in the center of Côte d'Ivoire and scattered all through the southern half of the country. The various dialect groups are fairly homogenous with the exception of a few marginal groups such as the Kode dialect in the region of Beomi (northwestern corner of the Baule area) which has significant tone variations. The dialects in the southeastern half of the Baule area are closer to Anyi than those in the northwestern half.

The forms and functions of Baule personal pronouns are very similar to those in Anyi. The major difference in form is with respect to the vowels. Baule has only seven oral and five nasal vowels and does not have vowel harmony. The forms are shown in Table 2 as follows:

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	N	e
	non-subject	mí	é/jé
2nd	subject	a	á!múâN
	non-subject	wó/ó	
3rd	subject	ɔ/ɛ	be
	non-subject	jí/í	bé

Table 2: Baule Pronouns

With respect to the forms, it should be noted that the Kode dialect has an alternate form for the third person singular where it is realized as [ɛ]. The second person singular non-subject form is often pronounced as simply a vowel. The first person plural form is similarly realized most often as a vowel. It seems that semi-consonants are often weakly or not at all pronounced in certain contexts. As was noted for Anyi, the second person plural pronoun has the same tendency to be replaced by the third person plural pronoun. Its form is similarly derived from the second person singular subject pronoun plus the plural suffix. This suffix is often realized as a homorganic nasal in rapid speech.

There are several distinctive phonological features of object pronouns in Baule. Normally, the object pronoun has high tone unless it is influenced by certain tonal contexts. In clause final position, the object pronoun normally has low tone. If it does have high tone in this position, this seems to indicate insistence.

The second and third person singular object pronouns often blend together with the verb or negative marker **mã** which follows the verb. Baule verbs, like those of the other related Volta-Bandama group, have either one or two open syllables. When the verb is followed by a second person singular object pronoun, the final vowel of the verb is elided. With the third person singular object pronoun, there is either elision, if the vowel is identical, or fronting if the vowel is different. Verbs with the vowel **a** in the final or both syllables are influenced by fronting in the case of the third person singular or backing in the case of the second person singular. The pronouns become nasal when they blend with nasal vowels of the verb or negative marker. Following are a few examples of these assimilations:

- 42) ò trà wó kplì --> ò trǒ kplì
 3s pass 2s big
 'He is bigger than you.'
- 43) ó sí mà wò --> ó sí mǝ
 3s know NEG 2s
 'He is fooling you.'
- 44) ò làkà wò --> ò lǝkǝ
 3s fool 2s
 'He is fooling you.'
- 45) bà làkà ò --> bà lǝkǝ
 3p-RES fool 3s
 'He has been fooled./They have fooled him.'
- 46) òà kà ì --> òà kǝ
 3s-RES bite 3s
 'He bit it.'

Timyan (1976:85-86) notes that in the Kode dialect the fronting influence of the third person singular object form extends to the verb root even when the verb is followed by the negative marker or the past aspect suffix.

3. CHAKOSI (ANUF.)

Chakosi is spoken in northern Togo and the adjacent border area of Ghana by about 40,000 speakers who call themselves Anufɔ. The people originally came from the Ano area in Côte d'Ivoire in the mid 1700's. The Ano people in Côte d'Ivoire claim to be neither Anyi nor Baule, although their language appears to be slightly closer to Anyi, especially in pronunciation (vowel harmony). The Chakosi language, however, appears to be slightly closer to Baule, although it has now evolved into a distinct language from contact with a completely new non-Volta-Bandam linguistic context.

The forms of the personal pronouns are definitely closer to Baule than Anyi. However, in contrast to both Anyi and Baule, Chakosi has an extra set of emphatic pronouns. The various forms are shown in Table 3 on the following page.

The first syllable of the emphatic set of pronouns appears to be almost identical with the non-subject forms in Anyi and Baule. The second person plural form appears to be a curious combination of the second and third plural forms plus the emphatic suffix. These emphatic pronouns can apparently serve in subject and object positions as well as in other constructions where the pronoun is in focus.

The third person singular subject form appears to have several variants. Bartels (unpublished manuscript) reports that in Togo most speakers use [i] but some use [u]. Krass (1970) and the Stanfords (1970) report the variant [o] for speakers in Ghana. In the past aspect the pronoun combines with the aspect marker [a]

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	m/N	ja
	non-subject		
	emphatic	míní	jéré
2nd	subject	a	ám/áN
	non-subject	u/o	
	emphatic	wóró	ám!béré
3rd	subject	i/o	be
	non-subject	jí/i	bé
	emphatic	jírí	béré

Table 3: Chakosi Pronouns

to give the form [wà]. This may indicate that the original form of this subject pronoun was a rounded vowel as is attested in the related Anyi and Baule languages. If the pronoun [i] would have been combined with the aspect marker, the resulting form *[jà] would be the same as the first person plural. Perhaps this circumstance accounts for the choice of the alternate form.

One other feature which closely links Chakosi with Baule is the assimilation of the second and third person singular object pronouns with the vowels of the verb root. Following are a few examples:

- 47) tara i --> tɛrɛ 'Catch it.'
 IMP-catch 3s
- 48) tɔ i --> tɔɛ 'Sell it.'
 IMP-sell 3s

4. NZEMA

Nzema is spoken by about 300,000 people living primarily in the southwestern corner of Ghana and the southeastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire. Nzema has five major dialects and two other peripheral dialects (Jwira and Pepisa). The western dialect known as Ejɔmɔlɔ is the standard dialect used in government schools.

Nzema and Ahanta (see 5.) have more pronoun forms than the other Volta-Bandama languages. There are two sets of emphatic forms and two sets of non-emphatic forms. Mock (1969:310) has classified one set of emphatic forms as intensive and the other

as contrastive, although these labels may need further clarification. One set of non-emphatic forms are normally used as subjects, but they are also used for marking inalienable possession. The other set of non-emphatic forms is normally used for non-subject functions, but they are also used as subjects in the resultative and consecutive aspects. In order to avoid confusion, these various sets will be simply labelled emphatic sets I and II and non-emphatic sets I and II. The various forms are given in Table 4 below:

person		singular	plural
1st	non-emphatic I	mĩ(N)	jɛ
	non-emphatic II		
	emphatic I	mámĩ	jéme
	emphatic II	mĩdámĩ	jèdájé
2nd	non-emphatic I	ɛ	bɛ
	non-emphatic II	wɔ	
	emphatic I	wómɔ	béme
	emphatic II	èdávɔ	bèdábé
3rd	non-emphatic I	ɔ	bɛ
	non-emphatic II	jɪ	
	emphatic I	jímɔ	béme
	emphatic II	òdájí	bèdábé

Table 4: Nzema Pronouns

One of the most interesting features of the Nzema personal pronoun system is the fact that it does not distinguish second and third person plural forms. This is in contrast to all the other related languages, although several others, especially Anyi and Baule, give evidence of using the same [bɛ] form for both persons. The non-emphatic forms, as in Anyi, are all influenced by vowel harmony. The first set of non-emphatic forms is most often used in subject position. As was noted above, however, this set is also used in associative constructions with certain kin terms and body parts, called variable nouns, to mark inalienable possession. One additional difference between Nzema and Anyi in this regard is that in Nzema the initial consonant of

certain variable nouns undergo consonant mutation when preceded by these pronouns. Take for example the kin term 'father' (compare with examples 20 and 22 above):

- 49a) sɪlɛ 'father'
 49b) kofi azɪ 'Koffi's father'
 49c) ɔ zɪ 'his father'

There are two variant forms which are used as subject pronouns. One variant concerns the first person singular form. In the past aspect this form has the additional element of a homorganic nasal which causes mutation of the initial consonant of the verb. In Anyi the same form is only a homorganic nasal. The same exceptional form also occurs with what Essuah (1965) calls the future II conjugation. In Nzema orthography, the subject pronouns are written as prefixes to the verb. The subject pronoun is normally written *me*, but these exceptional forms are written *men*.

The other variant subject form concerns the third person singular in what Essuah calls the perfect, progressive and imperative II aspects in the affirmative and the present, perfect and future I and II aspects in the negative. When there is a noun subject, there is an additional pronominal element prefixed to the verb which he calls the 'emphatic ε'. Compare the following examples:

- 50a) ɔ-lɛ-ba 'he is coming'
 3s-PROG-come
 50b) kofi ε-lɛ-ba 'Koffi is coming'
 Koffi 3s-PROG-come

When the noun is in the plural, it appears that either this variant form or the third person plural subject form can be used in the subject pronoun position.

The second set of non-emphatic pronouns are most often used in non-subject positions such as direct or indirect objects and in the associative case. However, they are also used in the perfect (resultative) and consecutive conjugations as subjects.

The two emphatic sets of pronouns are never used directly as subjects, but they can be used as either direct or indirect objects, in various constructions marking the theme, and in vocative and appositional positions. The two forms can be used together with the forms of the first set preceding those of the second set. Mock (1969:313) offers an interesting example of this:

- 51) wɔ́mò è dǎwɔ́ è sè è bǎ-bò mǎmĩ mĩdámí
 2s 2s 2s say 2s FUT-hit 1s 1s
 'You say you will beat me (but you won't be able to!)

The choice of which emphatic pronoun is used in a given context is apparently determined by semantic criteria. Mock (1969: 310) observes that:

Semantically, the intensive pronouns (set II) stress the anaphoric referent, while the contrastive ones (set I) set it apart contrastively from everything else which is not referred to.

The contrastive set thus has an element of exclusiveness. These forms are used for change of reference while the intensive set are used for reinforcing the reference already established. Very little research has been done on participant reference in discourse in any of the Volta-Bandama languages. It would appear that these emphatic pronouns would make an excellent topic for further study.

5. AHANTA

Ahanta is spoken primarily in the region between Axim and Takoradi in southeastern Ghana. It is closely related to Nzema. Most of the 75,000 speakers of this language are also fluent in Fanti and tend to speak that language in public.

The only source of information available for this study was the booklet by Mensah (1973) which was a first attempt to document the language by someone with no formal linguistic training. He arranges the various forms according to their grammatical functions as nominative (subject), objective and possessive case and distinguishes two kinds of reflexive pronouns. These latter forms include what appear to be the same intensive emphatic forms (emphatic II set) which occur in Nzema. The other kind of reflexive is composed of the pronoun in the associative case followed by the noun *nwú* [ɲwũ] 'self, body' which seems to be the common usage in most of the Volta-Bandama languages. There are alternate forms listed under the objective case. One set appears to be similar to the contrastive emphatic (emphatic I set) pronouns in Nzema. However, these forms are listed only for the singular and first person plural. Table 5 on the next page shows the various forms rearranged in a way similar to that used for Nzema.

The object pronouns appear to be invariable whereas the subject and associative case forms harmonize with the first vowel of the verb or noun which follows with respect to rounding or spreading. There may be harmonization of tongue root position as well, but this was not indicated. Tonal differences also need to be verified.

The second person plural has a distinctive form in the objective case. In other contexts, however, it appears to be combined with or replaced by the form for the third person plural.

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	mĩ/mũ	jε
	object	mĩ	jε
	associative	mĩ/mũ/m	jé
	emphatic I	mamĩ	am i ε
	emphatic II	mĩzamĩ	jεzajε am i εzajε
2nd	subject	ε/mɔ	mũlũmɔ-bε
	object	wũ	mũlũmɔ
	associative	wũ/w	mũlũmɔ-bé mũlũmɔ-bó b/bɔ/b
	emphatic I	mɔw	
	emphatic II	wɔzawɔ	mũlũmɔzabε
3rd	subject	ɪ	bε/bɔ
	object	jɪ	bε
	associative	ɪ/j	bε/bɔ/b
	emphatic I	mεɪ	
	emphatic II	ɪzai	bεzabε bεzabɔ

Table 5: Ahanta Pronouns

The forms of the first emphatic set are all treated as direct objects in Mensah's book. Compare the following examples:

52a) **Aka zɪ mĩ** 'Aka knows me.'
Aka HAB-know 1s

52b) **Aka zɪ mamĩ sũ** 'Aka knows me too.'
Aka HAB-know 1s

These forms appear to be composed of a prefix followed by the pronoun. This may explain the origin of the first person singular form for the same set in Nzema. The other forms in Nzema have a suffix following the pronoun.

Examples of the other set of emphatic pronouns show them to be used directly as subjects as well as in frontshifted, topicalized constructions. So, while they appear to be almost identical in form with those of Nzema, they may have different usage.

Akan is the major language of Ghana where it is spoken by several million people located primarily in the south as their first language and by several million more throughout the country as a second language. The three major dialects are Brong, Twi and Fante. Brong includes six subgroups including Abron in Côte d'Ivoire. Twi includes about a dozen subgroups of which the largest one is Asante.

There appears to be very little variation of the pronoun forms except for tone with respect to their different functions as subject, object or in the associative case. The independent forms have high tone. The subject forms are written as prefixes. Vowel harmony influences the vowels of subject and associative case forms. The subject forms also contract with the resultative aspect marker *a*. Object pronouns have low tone unless emphatic. The singular forms of object pronouns are often contracted at normal conversational speed to just their consonant which become low-toned verb suffixes. In the associative case, the tone of the pronoun is high unless the following noun starts with a high tone. Since there are a number of dialect variants, Table 6 on the next page gives a sample of the subject and associative case forms of the personal pronouns in Abron, Asante and Fante.

In addition to the personal pronoun forms, Twi dialects have impersonal third person forms for both singular and plural inanimate objects. These forms are not found in the Fante or Abron dialects. The third person plural in Abron is the same as in the neighboring Anyi language. However, this may not be due simply to borrowing. Christaller (1875:41) notes that the original form of the third person plural pronoun is [bɛN] which at the time was still found in the dialect of Aburi, a town of Akuapem. He shows that this form was changed to [wɛN] and the vowel was labialized in the case of some dialects or else the consonant was palatalized in some dialects.

Timyan (1983) reports that in Abron, the second person singular and plural subject pronouns always have high tone. The third person singular subject pronoun is used in the associative case with kin terms. In this usage it has low tone. It is also used as the first term with the conjunction of accompaniment [nĩ]. In this case it has high tone. Examples:

- 53) ɔ́ bá nĩ 'It's his child.'
 3s child IDENT
- 54) ɔ́ nĩ àdú bèé grùò 'He plays with Adu.'
 3s and Adu 3p

person	Abron	Asante	Fante
1s	sub. m/mĩ	m/mĩ	m/mĩ
	a.c. ɛ́/mĩ	ɛ́/mĩ	ɛ(wɔ)
2s	sub. ɔ	wɔ	ɛ(wɔ)
	a.c. ɔ́	wɔ́	wɔ
3s	sub. ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	a.c. nĩ	nĩ	nĩ
1p	sub. jɛ	jɛ	pĩ
	a.c. jɛ́	jɛ́/jɛ́N	pĩlɛ
2p	sub. hɔ̃	mɔ̃	hɔ̃m
	a.c. hɔ̃	mɔ̃	hɔ̃m
3p	sub. bɛ	wɔ	wɔ
	a.c. bɛ́	wɔ́N	wɔ́N

Table 6: Abron, Asante and Fante Pronouns

7. ABURE

Abure is spoken in five towns in the region of Grand Bassam and Bonoua in southeastern Côte d'Ivoire. It has about 35,000 speakers, many of whom are bilingual in Anyi. The language appears to have many structural features, both phonological (e.g. vowel harmony and consonant mutation) and grammatical (pronoun and verb systems) in common with Anyi. However, a comparison of a corpus of over 500 words showed only about a 40 % correspondence. Abure has had much contact with Nzema as well as Eotilé (Beti) to the east and Lagoon languages to the north and east.

Abure has vowel harmony which influences the vowels of the pronoun forms. In addition, there is also a harmony of rounding or spreading of the vowels. The personal pronoun forms can be divided into subject and non-subject functions. The tone of subject forms varies with the aspect. Non-subject pronouns have high tone, with the exception of the third person plural which has an invariable tone pattern as either subject or non-subject. This latter form appears to correspond with the second person plural form in Anyi. The various forms are shown in Table 7:

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	N/mĩ	jɛ
	non-subject	mĩ	jɛ
2nd	subject	ɛ/ɔ	vɛ/vɔ
	non-subject	wɔ	vɛ/vɔ
3rd	subject	jɪ/jɔ	ãmĩ
	non-subject	jĩ/jɔ	

Table 7: Abure Pronouns

There is an additional pronoun form, as in Nzema, which appears following a noun subject or the third person plural form (which functions like a noun) in the habitual and injunctive aspects. It appears as either [ɛ] or [e].

8. EOTILÉ (BETI)

The group of people known in French as Eotilé live in several towns, about eight villages and a number of camps around the Lagoon Abi in the southeastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire. These people have now completely assimilated to the Anyi Sanvi language. When the Sanvi group invaded and subjugated the area, one group of Eotilé people moved to the Lagoon Ebrié near Grand Bassam. There are now two villages, Vitré I and II, where the language is still spoken by about 2000 people. These people call their language Beti. At the same time, these people appear to be perfectly fluent in several neighboring languages such as Abure, Anyi, Attie, Ebrié, Mbatto and Nzema. Hérault (1983a) made a brief sketch of the dialect spoken by the late Mr. Etchoua Emile who claimed to be the last authentic speaker of the language in the region of the Lagoon Abi. It appears that the dialect spoken in Vitré I and II has a number of differences.

The personal pronoun forms can be divided into subject and non-subject groups. The vowels of the pronouns are influenced by vowel harmony. The forms are shown in Table 8.

The main difference between the two dialects noted above is that the Beti dialect does not appear to distinguish between the second and third person plural forms. This is similar to Nzema. However, the form retained in Beti is not the one expected. It appears that contact between Beti, Abure, Nzema and Anyi has resulted in a curious exploitation of all the possibilities of choice for these two forms.

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	N	je jɛ (Beti)
	non-subject	mɛ / mɛ	
2nd	subject	e	mo amɔ (Beti)
	non-subject	fo	
3rd	subject	o	wa amɔ (Beti)
	non-subject	wo	

Table 8: Eotilé Pronouns

9. GONJA

Gonja is included in this study as a representative of the Guang languages which are spoken by about 300,000 people scattered around the periphery of the Akan language area in Ghana. According to Painter (1970), Gonja is largest of the thirteen dialects which comprise North Guang. There are several other Guang groups: Nkonya Guang, Hill Guang, and Coastal Guang. Two Guang dialects are also located in Bénin.

Gonja has a distinction between animate and inanimate third person pronouns. This seems to be one of the features marking the eastern members of the Volta-Bandama group. It is seen in Twi dialects as well, but not in other Akan dialects and the more western Volta-Bandama languages. The forms can be divided into subject and non-subject sets:

person		singular	plural
1st	subject	ń	ǎN
	non-subject	má	àné
2nd	subject	fó	bě/mě
	non-subject		ene
3rd	subject	è	bò
	non-subject	è-mò	bò-mò

Table 9: Gonja Pronouns

It is interesting to compare these forms with several Lagoon languages in Côte d'Ivoire (see Hérault 1983 b). The Krobou language, in particular, has several forms which resemble those of Guang as well as Eotile. The independent pronouns in Krobou are as follows:

55) 1s mẽ, 2s bõ, 3s ó, 1p nẽ, 2p bẽ, 3p á

Although the pronoun forms of Abure are closely related to those of Anyi, Baule and Nzema, a lexicostatistical comparison done by Bole-Richard and Lafage (1983) based on a corpus of over 500 words showed that there is only about a 40 per cent correspondence of vocabulary with those other languages. The same study showed that Krobou was about the same distance from those central Volta-Bandama languages as Beti, and that Krobou and Beti were about the same distance from Abure.

10. CONCLUSION

From this survey of nine languages of the Volta-Bandama group, it would appear that the closely related Nzema and Ahanta languages, which are also geographically central in the group, clearly have the greatest number of forms. This coincides with the fact that Nzema has the most complex phonology, with cross-height vowel harmony (ten oral and six nasal vowels) and consonant mutation, as well as a number of grammatical features such as variable nouns which are present, but to a lesser degree, in most of the other languages. It is interesting to note, therefore, that only Nzema and the Beti language do not make a distinction between the second and third person plural. It would appear that this usage is more original than in the other languages which have developed exceptional forms for one or the other of these persons and sometimes, in practice, revert back to using one form for both persons.

The Beti and Guang languages show the most divergence from the otherwise close correspondence of pronoun forms in the other languages. Still, these two widely separated languages share almost the identical form for the second person singular. Several languages of what is known as the Lagoon group in Côte d'Ivoire, especially Krobou, also have several forms that resemble Gonja. Perhaps further research may provide a case for including Krobou in the western group of Volta-Bandama which may be distantly related to the languages of the Guang group of eastern Volta-Bandama languages.

Most of the linguistic research so far carried out for these languages has dealt with the basic structures of the phonology and grammar up to the sentence level. It is to be hoped that new research will investigate pronominalization from a discourse perspective.

APPENDIX 1

language	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Anyi	mɪ	wɔ	jɪ	jɛ	ɛmɔ/ámɔ	bɛ
Baule	mi	wɔ	í	é	ámu	be
Chakosi	N	u/o	i	ja	aN	bu
Nzema	mɪ	wɔ	jɪ	jɛ	bɛ	bɛ
Ahanta	mɪ	wɔ	jɪ	jɛ	mɔlomɔ	bɛ
Akan	m/mɪ	ɔ	no/nɪ	jɛ	mo/hɔ	wɔn/bɛ
Abure	mɪ	wó	jɪ	jɛ	vɛ	amɪ
Eotilé	mɛ	fo	wo/o	je/jɛ	mo/mɔ	va
Gonja	má	fó	mo	àné	bèné	bò-mò

Table 10: Object Pronouns in nine Volta-Bandama Languages

NOTES

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Tones are indicated as follows: high ɔ̌, low ɔ̎, falling ɔ̋, rising ɔ̍, downstep !o. The following abbreviations have also been used: 1s (first person singular), 2s (second person singular), 3s (third person singular), 1p (first person plural), 2p (second person plural), 3p (third person plural), INJ (injunctive), DEF (definite), EUPH (euphonic), PST (past aspect), HAB (habitual aspect), IDENT (identification marker), INT (intentional mode), EMPH (emphatic), TOP (topicalization marker), NEG (negative marker), RES (resultative aspect) FUT (future aspect), PL (plural marker).

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