

ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

UDC 81'44

Pronouns in Ginyanga*V. A. Pozdniakova^{1,2}, Ye. S. Aplonova³¹ Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences,
1, Bolshoy Kislovskiy per., Moscow, 125009, Russian Federation² HSE University,
20, Myasnitskaya ul., Moscow, 101000, Russian Federation³ INALCO, Langage, langues et cultures d'Afrique,
7, rue Guy Môquet, Paris, 8135, France**For citation:** Pozdniakova V. A., Aplonova Ye. S. Pronouns in Ginyanga. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Asian and African Studies*, 2022, vol. 14, issue 2, pp. 243–260.<https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu13.2022.206> (In Russian)

The paper presents a tentative overview of pronouns in Ginyanga, an understudied Kwa language spoken in Togo and Ghana; in particular, personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstratives, and quantifiers. There are no subject pronouns in Ginyanga. We define two personal pronoun series with a designated pronoun for each noun class: basic (emphatic and possessive) and object. The basic set of pronouns is used in independent and possessive contexts, as well as in reflexive constructions. The overview of Guang pronoun systems shows that Ginyanga falls into the typical Guang pattern. Possessive pronouns of the 1st (human) class exhibit some irregularities when used with kinship terms. In some cases, the morphological agreement pattern between a noun and its coreferential object pronoun can be violated on a semantic basis, e. g. human referents of non-human noun classes. Additionally, there is some variation in usage of object pronoun series by different consultants of different age groups, which may be an indication of language change. There are two demonstratives, *-balɪ* “this” and *-bono* “that”, also subject to class agreement. In contrast to *-balɪ*, the demonstrative *-bono* is also used in relative clauses and can be anaphoric. The majority of quantifiers demonstrate no class agreement. The only exceptions in our data are *-ko* “one” and *kpekpe* “each”.

Keywords: Niger-Congo, Kwa, Guang, noun class, noun morphology, pronouns.

Introduction**Study background**

The paper introduces an overview of Ginyanga pronouns. It focuses on personal pronouns, but also presents an account of reflexive pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers.

* This work was supported by the Russian Science Foundation under grant No. 17-78-20071.

Ginyanga is a Kwa language spoken by 16500 people in Togo and Ghana [1]. It belongs to the Guang group of Kwa; more detailed information on its genealogical classification is presented in (1).

(1) Ginyanga classification [2]

Niger-Congo > Kwa > Tano > Guang > North Guang > Ginyanga

Research on language is scarce. Literature on Ginyanga includes a brief grammar sketch [3], an encyclopedia entry [1], a description of segmental phonetics [4], and a sociolinguistic study by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) [5]. Although several papers on Guang languages [6, 7, 8, 9] employed data on Ginyanga and Gichode (a closely related language or dialect), no profound research has been done on either of them. Apart from a description of the Ginyanga noun class system and agreement [10], there are currently no comprehensive studies of Ginyanga morphosyntax, and this article is a step towards filling this gap.

Examples used in the paper are drawn from elicited data and a small oral corpus of Ginyanga traditional narratives. All of the data were collected by Victoria Pozdniakova, Katya Aplonova, Andrey Shluinsky and Tatiana Mamonova during two field trips to Agbandi, Togo in 2019–2020.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1.2 provides a brief introduction to Ginyanga phonetics and morphology. Section 1.3 aligns Guang systems of personal pronouns in order to put Ginyanga data in a microtypological perspective. Section 2 overviews possessive and emphatic personal pronouns, while Section 3 deals with object personal pronoun series. Section 4 is dedicated to non-personal pronouns. Lastly, Section 5 sums up our findings and outlines the directions of future research.

Language background

The Ginyanga phonemic inventory is provided below. Ginyanga displays a system of 22 consonants (Table 1) and 9 vowels (Table 2), typical for a Guang language (see [11] for a more detailed account of Ginyanga vowels and vowel harmony).

Ginyanga is a tonal language that has presumably high and low phonemic level tones. The authors are aware of the crucial importance of tonal oppositions for grammatic systems of African languages. Still, because the Ginyanga tonal system is understudied, and because we have not noticed distinguishing oppositions in Ginyanga pronouns, in this preliminary report the examples are presented without tonal marking (except for the CL1 subject prefixes of the verbs, which are discussed further. In this case, the high and low tones of the prefixes distinguish between the factative and imperfective forms).

Based on 8 agreement patterns we define 8 noun classes. The first class (CL1) is further divided into 3 morphological subclasses, depending on the form of nominal class prefixes: CL1 (ɔ-/o-), CL1 (ɪ-) and CL1 (Ø-).

Classes are marked by noun prefixes, although a considerable amount of CL1 nouns have no overt marking on the noun itself (Ø- subclass). Both noun class markers of nouns and noun class agreement markers are subject to [+ATR] based vowel harmony.

Table 3 shows Ginyanga noun classes with their agreement paradigms.

There are two series of verb prefixes, factative and imperfective (columns “fct” and “ipfv”), that cross-reference the subject of the clause, as illustrated in (1): the prefix of the

Table 1. Ginyanga consonants

manner		place					
		labial	dentoavelar	palatal	velar	labiovelar	glottal
plosive	voiceless	p	t		k	kp	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		g	gb	
affricate	voiceless			c			
	voiced			j			
nasal		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm	
fricative		f	s				
lateral			l				
glide		w		y			
vibrant			r				

Table 2. Ginyanga vowels

[+ATR]

height	advancement		
	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low			

[-ATR]

height	advancement		
	front	central	back
high	ɪ		ʊ
mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

Table 3. Ginyanga noun class agreement

Noun class	Plurality	Prefix						Pronoun		Examples
		noun	verb subj		num	-bɔnɔ	-balɪ	basic	obj	
			fct	ipfv						
CL1	Sg	ɔ-/o-	ɔ̌-/ò-	ɔ́-/ó- (Ø- with an overt subject)	ɔ-	ɔ-	Ø-	ma	(w) a/ (w)e	ɔ-kprɛ “dog”
		ɪ-							ɪ-sa “person”	
		Ø-							kitiki “manioc”	
CL2	Pl	a-	ma-	me-	a-	a-	a-	mɔ	mɔ	a-sa “people”
CL3	Pl	ɪ-/i-	ma-	me-	ɪ-/i-	ɪ-	ɪ-	mɔ	mɔ	ɪ-kprɛ “dogs”
CL4	Sg	ga-	ga-	gɛ-	ga-	ga-	ga-	gɔ	gɔ	ga-tɪn “house”
CL5	Sg	gɪ-/gi-/gu-/gu-	ga-	gi-	gɪ-/gi-/gu-/gu-	ga-	ga-	gɔ	gɔ	gɪ-yɛ “mouse”
CL6	Pl	n-	ga-	ge-	n-	n-	n-	nma	nma	n-tɪn “houses”
CL7	Pl	a-	a-	ɛ-	a-	a-	a-	awa	awa	a-yɛ “mice”
CL8	Pl	ɪ-/i-	ya-	ɪ-/i-	ɪ-/i-	ɪ-	ɪ-	ɪya	ɪya	ɪ-kitiki “manioc”

dynamic verb *tɔl* “to fall” changes depending on the noun class of the subject. Example (1a) deals with a completed event while the sentence in (1b) refers to the ongoing one. When used with stative verbs, the factative paradigm refers to the ongoing states, as is the case with the stative qualitative verb *kɪlɪ* “to be big” in (1c). There are no subject pronouns in Ginyanga.

(1)

- a. gɔ-cɔ ga-tɔl
CL4-ax CL4.FCT-fall
“The ax has fallen.”
- b. gɔ-cɔ gɛ-tɔl
CL4-axq CL4.IPFV-fall
“The ax is falling.”
- c. ga-bwɪ ga-kɪlɪ
CL4-bird CL4.FCT-be.big
“The bird is big.”

With CL1 subjects, imperfective forms take no class indexation if the subject is present. In the first clause of each sentence the subject *wul* “chief” is present, therefore *ji* “eat” is only marked in (2a). In the second clause the verb prefixes have anaphorical meaning, referring to the subject outside of the clause, and cannot be omitted.

(2)

- a. Ø-wul e ò-ji Ø-kitiki, ò-ji
CL1-chief DEF CL1.FCT-eat CL1-manioc, CL1.FCT-eat
“The chief has eaten the manioc, he has eaten.”
- b. Ø-wul e Ø-ji Ø-kitiki, ó-ji
CL1-chief DEF CL1.IPFV-eat CL1-manioc, CL1.IPFV-eat
“The chief eats the manioc, he eats.”

Apart from cross-referencing the subject in the verb, the typical noun class agreement targets in Kwa are numerals, adjectives, demonstratives and indefinite markers [12]. In Ginyanga there is noun class agreement of cardinal numerals from 1 to 6 and demonstratives *-bono* “that” and *-bali* “this” (in the latter two contexts, there is only one agreement target, and therefore no harmonic variation). The qualitative meaning is usually expressed by stative verbs or a closed class of qualitative lexemes that are used with a copula and are not subject to class agreement. Finally, there are two personal pronoun series with a designated pronoun for each noun class: basic (emphatic and possessive) and object, discussed in detail in Sections 3 and 4 respectively.

Microtypological background

Table 4 aligns the 1st and 2nd person pronouns of Ginyanga, Gonja (North Guang), Cheperon (South Guang), Nchumbulu (North Guang) and Nawuri (North Guang). The 3rd person pronouns of Ginyanga are not presented, because the difference in noun class systems makes a direct comparison problematic (please refer to Table 3 for the full paradigm). The overview of Guang pronoun systems shows that Ginyanga falls into the typical for Guang pattern, in which in the 1st and 2nd person the same form of pronoun performs objective, possessive and emphatic functions while the 3rd person pronouns have different forms depending on their type. This comparison also shows that the personal pronouns in all four languages, Ginyanga included, are cognates.

Table 4. Personal pronouns in Guang languages (from [13] and [14])

Person		Ginyanga			Gorja			Cheperon			Nchumbulu			Nawuri		
		obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph
1SG		mi	mi		má	má	mu	mu	mu	mu	m̩ mo	–	mo	mè	mè	mè
2SG		fu	fu		fó	fó	wó	wó	wó	wó	fo	–	fo	fò	fò	fò
3SG anim		see Table 3			mò	m̩bá	mò	mò	mò	mò		–	mò	mò	mò	mò
3SG inanim					kúmú	kúmú bá	kúmú					kànó			–	
1PL		apɪ	apɪ	apɪ	àpé	àpé bá	àpé	ènu	ènu	ènu	ànɪ	–	ànɪ	àné	àné	àné
2PL		fapɪ	fapɪ	fapɪ	bèpé	bèpé bá	bèpé	ènu↓	ènu↓	ènu↓	muni	–	muni	fané	fané	fané
3PL anim		see Table 3			bòmò		bòmò	èmo	èmo	èmo	bam bam	–		gbàmó	gbàmó	gbàmó
3PL inanim					ámú	ámú ba	ámú	èmo	èmo				émò			émò

Basic personal pronouns

Table 5 shows the full paradigm of basic pronoun series that is used in independent (emphatic, e. g. topical) (3a) and possessive (3b) contexts.

Table 5. Ginyanga possessive pronouns

Person/Noun class		basic pronoun
person	1SG	mi
	2SG	fu
	1PL	aɲɪ
	2PL	fajɪ
noun class	CL1	ma
	CL2	mɔ
	CL3	mɔ
	CL4	gɔ
	CL5	gɔ
	CL6	nma
	CL7	awa
	CL8	ɪya

(3)

- a. aɲɪ kitiki
 1PL Ø-manioc
 “our manioc”
- b. a-wul ni, mɔ ni
 CL2-chief COP, CL2.EMPH COP
 “These are the chiefs, that is them.”

Example (5) illustrates the use of basic pronoun series in possessive constructions. In sentences (5a-h), the possessors belong to different noun classes, which is why they are referred to by different pronouns in the second clause. The possessive construction in Ginyanga has a Poss-N structure with no additional markers (4), therefore the pronoun precedes the head noun.

(4)

- ɔ-ɲɪm a ga-tɪn
 CL1-man DEF CL4-house
 “the man’s house”

(5)

- a. ɔ-sɔbu ga-tɪm-a, ma ga-tɪm-a
 CL-relative CL4-house, CL1.BSC CL4-house
 “relative’s house, his house”

b.	a-gwini	ɔ-kɪla,	mɔ	ɔ-kɪla
	CL2-lion	CL1-bigness,	CL2.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“lions’ bigness, their bigness”			
c.	ɪ-kabwɪ	ɔ-kɪla,	mɔ	ɔ-kɪla
	CL3-chicken	CL1-bigness,	CL3.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“chickens’ bigness, their bigness”			
d.	ga-bwui	ɔ-kɪla,	ɡɔ	ɔ-kɪla
	CL4-bird	CL1-bigness,	CL4.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“bird’s bigness, its bigness”			
e.	ɡɪ-ba	ɔ-kɪla,	ɡɔ	ɔ-kɪla
	CL5-arm	CL1-bigness,	CL4.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“arm’s bigness, its bigness”			
f.	m-bwui	ɔ-kɪla,	ɲma	ɔ-kɪla
	CL6-bird	CL1-bigness,	CL6.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“birds’ bigness, their bigness”			
g.	a-mu	ɔ-kɪla,	awa	ɔ-kɪla
	CL7-head	CL1-bigness,	CL7.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“heads’ bigness, their bigness”			
h.	ɪ-kitiki	ɔ-kɪla,	ɪya	ɔ-kɪla
	CL8-manioc	CL1-bigness,	CL8.BSC	CL1-bigness
	“manioc’s bigness, their bigness”			

With CL1 possessors, kinship terms have no noun class marker and go with the possessive pronoun even if the possessor is present. Examples (6a) and (6b) both feature the CL1 possessor *ɪ-safɔ* “foreigner”. A discrepancy in the coding of the possessive relationship is triggered by the different semantics of the possessee items: *ga-tɪn* “house” in (6a) and *gi-bi* “child” in (6b). The same goes for another kinship term, *ɔ-ka* “wife”, in (6c). Note that *gi-bi* “child” and *ɔ-ka* “wife” belong to CL4 and CL1 (*ɔ-/o-*) correspondingly, therefore the loss of the class prefix in (6b) and (6c) is unexpected.

(6)

a.	ɪ-safɔ	wa	ga-tɪn	a,	ma	ga-tɪn	a
	CL1-foreigner	DEF	CL4-house	DEF,	CL1.BSC	CL4-house	DEF
	“foreigner’s house, his house”						
b.	ɪ-safɔ	wa	ma	bi,	ma	bi	
	CL1-foreigner	DEF	CL1.BSC	child,	CL1.BSC	child	
	“foreigner’s child, his child”						
c.	ɪ-safɔ	wa	ma	ka,	ma	ka	
	CL1-foreigner	DEF	CL1.BSC	wife,	CL1.BSC	wife	
	“foreigner’s wife, his wife”						

Example (7) below replicates the clauses from (6) with CL2 possessors (*a-safɔ* “foreigners”). Note that here the semantic property of the possessee (*ga-tɪn* “house” and *gi-bi* “child”) does not affect the clause structure and the possessive marking is identical in (7a) and (7b).

(7)

a.	a-safɔ	wa	ga-tɪn	a,	mɔ	ga-tɪn	a
	CL2-foreigner	DEF	CL4-house	DEF,	CL2.BSC	CL4-house	DEF
	“foreigners’ house, their house”						

- b. a-safo wa gi-bi e, mɔ gi-bi e
 CL2-foreigner DEF CL5-child DEF, CL2.BSC CL5-child DEF
 “foreigners’ child, their child”

Other typically inalienable semantic categories (e. g., body parts) do not show this effect. In example (8), the CL4 possessed (*gi-sɔ* “ear”) retains its noun class prefix even though the possessor (*ma* “he”) refers to CL1.

- (8)
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------|---------|---------|-----|
| ma | wa | la-kebi | mi | gi-sɔ | wa |
| 3SG | DEF | FUT-cut | CL1.BSC | CL4-ear | DEF |
- “He will cut off his ear.”

Emphatic (independent) pronouns are used in topicalization (9) and coordination (10–11). They take the place of the subject. Since the same pronoun series is used in both emphatic and possessive construction, we do not provide the whole paradigm here.

- (9)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|------|----------|-----|
| ɔ-ci | a | ni, | ma | ni |
| 1CL-woman | DEF | COP, | CL1.EMPH | COP |
- “this is the woman, this is her”

In Ginyanga, the conjunction *de* is used to coordinate words and clauses. The basic series of personal pronouns is used for the first conjunct, i.e. *ma*, “he”, in (10).

- (10)
- | | | |
|---------|------|------|
| ma | de | kojo |
| CL1.BSC | with | Kojo |
- “Kojo and him”

Presumably the second conjunct is expressed by the object pronoun series, although we only have data on the cases with the CL1 second conjunct: in (11–12) the object pronoun *wa* “him” is used instead of the emphatic *ma*.

- (11)
- | | | |
|---------|------|---------|
| mi | de | wa |
| 1SG.BSC | with | CL1.OBJ |
- “he and me”

- (12)
- | | | |
|---------|------|---------|
| *mi | de | ma |
| 1SG.BSC | with | CL1.BSC |
- Exp. “he and me”

Object personal pronouns

Overview of object pronouns

Object pronouns demonstrate class agreement as well. Table 6 gives a full paradigm, which is illustrated by the examples below. All sentences in example (13) are structured similarly, varying in the choice of object only. In each sentence, the object pronoun in the second clause is defined by the noun class of its antecedent.

Table 6. Ginyanga object pronouns

Person/Noun class		object pronoun
person	1SG	mi
	2SG	fu
	1PL	aɲi
	2PL	fɔɲi
noun class	CL1	wa~we
	CL2	mɔ
	CL3	mɔ
	CL4	gɔ
	CL5	gɔ
	CL6	nma
	CL7	awa
	CL8	iya

(13)

- a. n-wu ɔ-ci, n-wu e
1SG. IPFV-see CL1-woman, 1SG. IPFV-see CL1.OBJ
“I see a woman, I see her.”
- b. n-wu ɔ-ɲiɲ, n-wu mɔ
1SG. IPFV-see CL2-man, 1SG. IPFV-see CL2.OBJ
“I see men, I see them.”
- c. n-wu i-kabwi, n-wu mɔ
1SG. IPFV-see CL3-chicken, 1SG. IPFV-see CL3.OBJ
“I see chickens, I see them.”
- d. n-wu gɔ-cɔ, n-wu gɔ
1SG. IPFV-see CL4-ax, 1SG. IPFV-see CL4.OBJ
“I see an ax, I see it.”
- e. n-wu gi-yɛ, nwu gɔ
1SG. IPFV-see CL5-mouse, 1SG. IPFV-see CL5.OBJ
“I see a mouse, I see it.”
- f. n-wu n-cɔ, n-wu nma
1SG. IPFV-see CL6-ax, 1SG. IPFV-see CL6.OBJ
“I see axes, I see them.”
- g. n-wu a-kwodu, n-wu awa
1SG. IPFV-see CL7-banana, 1SG. IPFV-see CL7.OBJ
“I see bananas, I see them.”
- h. n-wu i-jaɲ, n-wu iya
1SG. IPFV-see CL8-foot, 1SG. IPFV-see CL8.OBJ
“I see feet, I see them.”

The CL1 pronoun is subject to [ATR] based harmony, surfacing as /wa/ or /we/ depending on the [ATR] value of the word-final (or prefinal) vowel of the previous word (14a-b). The glide /w/ is omitted if the word ends in a consonant (13c).

(14)

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| a. | n-ji
1SG.IPFV-know
“I know a woman, I know her.” | ɔ-cl,
CL1-woman, | n-ji
1SG.IPFV-know | we
CL1.OBJ |
| b. | n-tasi
1SG.IPFV-ask
“I ask a woman, I ask her.” | ɔ-cl,
CL1-woman, | n-tasi
1SG.IPFV-ask | wa
CL1.OBJ |
| c. | n-gal
1SG.IPFV-hide
“I hide the woman, I hide her.” | ɔ-cl,
CL1-woman, | n-gal
1SG.IPFV-hide | a
CL1.OBJ |

Evidence of variation in noun class

The canonical agreement pattern between a noun and its coreferential pronoun can be violated in some cases. Firstly, there are implications that the CL1 pronoun may be used for human referents regardless of the “morphological” marking of noun class, as in example (15). In this narrative the village chief promises to give his daughter to a man who will accomplish a challenge. Although the gender of the child is not specified, the object pronoun *we* agrees with a CL1 noun (presumably *ɔ-cl* “woman”) instead of its closest antecedent *ma bi* “his child”, which belongs to CL5 (*gi-bi* “child”).

(15)

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|---------|------|-------------------|---------|
| ma | bi | balɪ | mɛɛ | ma-la-cu | we |
| 3SG.POSS | child | DEM1 | QUOT | 3SG.IPFV-FUT-take | CL1.OBJ |
| cu | sa | ɔ-juŋ | | | |
| take | give | CL1-man | | | |
- “He says about his [female (CL1)] child (CL5) that he will give her (CL1) to a man.”

This pattern is commonly observed in Niger-Congo languages, because they tend to have a designated “human” noun class [15]. That said, the violation of the morphological rule may be caused by the properties of the word *gi-bi* “child” itself: it is not unusual for this noun to behave like a kinship term regardless of its morphological marking, both in a typological perspective and in Ginyanga (e. g. attested irregularities in possessive constructions, shown in (6)). Unfortunately, this is the only non-CL1 human term in our data, therefore the rationale behind the choice of the object pronoun in (15) remains ambiguous.

Another case in our data, in which semantics seems to override morphology, is the usage of the object pronoun *ɪya* (CL8). Some speakers used it when referring to CL6 and CL7 nouns *n-co* “axes” and *a-mu* “heads” ((16a) and (17a)). Moreover, the morphologically adequate pronouns (*nma* for CL6 and *awa* for CL7) were marked as incorrect in this session ((16b) and (17b)).

(16)

- | | | | | |
|----|---|------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| a. | n-wu
1SG.IPFV-see
“I see axes, I see them.” | n-co,
CL6-ax, | n-wu
1SG.IPFV-see | ɪya
CL8.OBJ |
| b. | *n-wu
1SG.IPFV-see
Exp. “I see axes, I see them.” | n-co,
CL6-ax, | n-wu
1SG.IPFV-see | nma
CL6.OBJ |

(17)

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| a. | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see
“I see heads, I see them.” | a-mu,
CL7-head, | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see | iya
CL8.OBJ |
| b. | *nwu
1SG. IPFV-see
Exp. “I see heads, I see them.” | a-mu,
CL7-head, | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see | awa
CL7.OBJ |

Furthermore, example (18) demonstrates that these consultants relied on semantic, rather than formal criteria when choosing the object pronoun. Different meanings of the CL8 word *i-yeɭ* “bodies” (living bodies vs. corpses) required different pronouns: CL2/CL3 pronoun *mə* for the “living bodies” in (18a) and CL8 pronoun *iya* for the “corpses” in (18b).

(18)

- | | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| a. | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see
“I see bodies (alive), I see them.” | i-yeɭ,
CL8-body, | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see | mə
CL2/CL3.OBJ |
| b. | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see
“I see corpses, I see them.” | i-yeɭ,
CL8-body, | n-wu
1SG. IPFV-see | iya
CL8.OBJ |

There are several possible interpretations for this discrepancy. First, CL8 is the default class for impersonal constructions. In 19, the verb *bu* “have” gets the CL8 imperfective prefix, because there is no subject to agree with.

(19)

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| a. | i-bu
CL8.IPFV-have
“There is a tree in front of the house.” | o-wi
CL1-tree | sini
PREP | ga-tim
CL4-house | a
DEF |
| b. | i-bu
CL8.IPFV-have
“There is a healer in the village.” | ɔ-cabɔ
CL1-healer | ɔ-suwɔɭ
CL1-village | a
DEF | rɔ
LOC |

In negative impersonal constructions, the factative prefix of CL8 is used:

(20)

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| a. | ya-mi-bu
CL8.FCT-NEG-have
“There is a healer in the village.” | ɔ-cabɔ
CL1-healer | ɔ-suwɔɭ
CL1-village | a
DEF | rɔ
LOC |
| b. | ya-mi-ji
CL8.FCT-NEG-be
“It is not me who has stolen that money.” | mi
1SG.BSC | na-yuli
1SG.FCT-steal | a-temi
CL7-money | a-bali
CL7-DEM1 |

Taking into account the usage of CL8 markers in impersonal constructions, we can add that the subject pronoun *iya*, normally referring to the inanimate objects of the “lowest-ranking” class, seems to be somewhat “semantically empty” itself and is also frequently used in impersonal contexts (21a) and idiomatic expressions, e. g. “after some time” in (21c) or even as a discourse marker “well/so” (21b), which may be an indication of the early stage of grammaticalization.

(21)

- a. o-wi wa ta Ø-nɛnim a bu ɪya su ga-de ga-kɛ
 CL1-sun DEF leave CL1-rain DEF have CL8.BSC on CL4-day CL4.PF-more
 “The night came, the rain continued, the day came.”
- b. ɪya wa ma ɔ-jɪbal nɪ ji Ø-kɪnsal
 CL8.BSC DEF 3SG CL1-lover COP be CL1-catfish
 “so, her lover, the catfish”
- c. ɪya wa ɪya gbe ɪya ba wa Ø-kolɔbu ɔ-ko
 wa o-wu
 CL8.BSC DEF CL8.BSC go CL8.BSC come TM CL1-wife CL1-one
 DEF CL1.FCT-die
 “After some time, one of the wives has died.”

It is worth noting that examples (16–18) were elicited from the two younger (35–40 y. o.) speakers of Ginyanga and were deemed incorrect by the elder (50–60 y. o.) consultants. Tentative as they are, these data may be an indication of language change: a typologically universal process of gradual simplification of the noun class system, leading to its complete attrition (Good 2012). If this is the case, a corpus study may reveal more instances of the generalized, semantically grounded usage of pronouns in the speech of the younger generation.

Non-personal pronouns

Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive uses the basic series of pronouns + the intensifier *yɛl* (comp. *ɪ-yɛl* “body”):

(22)

- a. mi ɲi o-wu ma yɛl ga-dɪl
 1SG.BSC mother 3SG.FCT-see CL1.BSC INT CL4-mirror
 a rɔ
 DEF LOC
 “My mother has seen herself in the mirror.”
- b. a-safɔ wa me-wu mɔ yɛl ga-dɪl
 CL2-foreigner DEF CL2.IPFV-see CL2.BSC INT CL4-mirror
 a rɔ
 DEF LOC
 “the foreigners are looking at themselves in the mirror”
- c. ga-nam a ge-wu gɔ yɛl ga-dɪl
 CL4-scorpion DEF CL4.IPFV-see CL4.BSC INT CL4-mirror
 a rɔ
 DEF LOC
 “The scorpions are looking at themselves in the mirror.”

Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives that agree in class with the head noun, *-balɪ* “this” and *-bono* “that”. Each has a dedicated paradigm of prefixes shown in Table 7. The only difference between the two is that CL1 nouns do not have overt marking on the demonstrative *-balɪ*. In (23a-h) the prefix of the demonstrative *-balɪ* agrees with the subjects of different noun classes.

Table 7. Noun class agreement of Ginyanga demonstratives

Noun class	<i>-bon</i> prefix	<i>-balı</i> prefix
CL1	ɔ-	Ø-
CL2	a-	a-
CL3	ɪ-	ɪ-
CL4	ga-	ga-
CL5	gɪ-	gɪ-
CL6	n-	n-
CL7	a-	a-
CL8	ɪ-	ɪ-

(23)

- a. n-wu ɔ-ci Ø-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL1-woman CL1-DEM1
 "I see this woman."
- b. n-wu a-safɔ a-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL2-foreigner CL2-DEM1
 "I see these foreigners."
- c. n-wu ɪ-kprɛ ɪ-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL3-dog CL3-DEM1
 "I see these dogs."
- d. n-wu ga-bwɪ ga-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL4-bird CL4-DEM1
 "I see this bird."
- e. n-wu gɪ-ye gɪ-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL5-mouse CL5-DEM1
 "I see this mouse."
- f. n-wu m-bwɪ m-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL6-bird CL6-DEM1
 "I see these birds."
- g. n-wu a-wɔ a-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL7-snake CL7-DEM1
 "I see these snakes."
- h. n-wu ɪ-kitiki ɪ-balı
 1SG.IPFV-see CL8-manioc CL8-DEM1
 "I see these maniocs."

Demonstrative *-balı* can be followed by the definiteness marker $(w)a\sim(w)e$, as in example (24a-b). However, this order cannot be reversed, therefore the sentence (24c) is ungrammatical:

(24)

- a. n-wu Ø-wul e ma-ka sa-se
 1SG.IPFV-see CL1-chief DEF CL1.POSS-wife three-ADJ
 danan-se Ø-balı
 good-ADJ CL1-DEM1

- b. n-wu Ø-wul e ma-ka sa-sɛ
 1SG.IPFV-see CL1-chief DEF CL1.POSS-wife three-ADJ
 daŋan-sɛ Ø-balı wa
 good-ADJ CL1-DEM1 DEF
- c. *n-wu Ø-wul e ma-ka sa-sɛ daŋan-sɛ
 1SG.IPFV-see CL1-chief DEF CL1.POSS-wife three-ADJ good-ADJ
 wa Ø-balı
 DEF CL1-DEM1
- (a, b, *c) "I see this third beautiful wife of the chief."

Demonstrative *-bono* is also used in relative clauses (25a). In contrast to *-balı*, it can be anaphoric, as in (25b, d). In this case it agrees with its antecedent in noun class: note that it has different prefixes in (20b) and (20d) due to the different noun classes of the omitted antecedents *ı-sa* "person" and *ga-bwı* "bird".

(25)

- a. ı-sa ɔ-bono ma-sa a-temi we
 CL1-person CL1-DEM2 CL1.FCT-give CL7-money DEF
 ɔ-ŋa
 CL1.FCT-disappear
- b. ɔ-bono ma-sa a-temi we ɔ-ŋa
 CL1-DEM2 CL1.FCT-give CL7-money DEF CL1.FCT-disappear
- c. *ɔ-balı ma-sa a-temi we ɔ-ŋa
 CL1-DEM1 CL1.FCT-give CL7-money DEF CL1.FCT-disappear
- (a, b, *c) "The person who has given the money disappeared."
- d. ga-bono ga-ji Ø-kitiki we ga-ŋa
 CL4-DEM2 CL4.FCT-eat CL1-manioc DEF CL4.FCT-disappear
- "(The bird) that has eaten the manioc has disappeared."

Quantifiers

A list of several Ginyanga quantifiers found so far in our data is provided in Table 8. The majority of them behave the same way in terms of morphology, i.e. the postpositional quantifier gets no class agreement with the head noun, as in (26).

Table 8. Ginyanga quantifiers

quantifier	translation
ɔku	"some/any"
kırı	"no"
kpekpɛ	"every"
bırı	"all"
kinkin	"all"
gıde	"many"
gipi	"many"
guco	"many"
dodan	"many", "enough"
mara, marapi	"few"
pi	"few"

(26)

- a. na-so i-jo dodan
1SG.FCT-buy CL8-igname enough
“I bought enough igname.”
- b. na-so Ø-kitiki guco
1SG.FCT-buy CL1-manioc much
“I bought a lot of manioc.”
- c. ɔ-ji gi-pal a kinkin
CL1.FCT-eat CL5-porridge DEF all
“He has eaten all of the fougou.”
- d. a-ci a bini me-ba gi-ja
CL2-woman DEF all 3PL.IPFV-go CL5-market
“All of the women go to the market.”

Further we will discuss two quantifiers that demonstrate class agreement, namely *-ku* “one” and *kpekpe* “each”.

The quantifier *-ku* “some/any” (evidently, related to the numeral *ɔ-ku* “one”) becomes a target of class indexation in the attributive position. In (27a) and (27b), it agrees with the CL3 and CL1 nouns correspondingly, hence the different prefixes.

(27)

- a. ma-kra i-yu i-ku
3PL.FCT-catch CL1-thief CL1-one
“Some thief was caught.”
- b. na-me-ji Ø-muti ɔ-ku
1SG.FCT-NEG-eat CL1-orange CL1-one
“I haven’t eaten any oranges.”

Quantifier *kpekpe* “each” is marked when used anaphorically: in (28), the pronoun in the second part of each sentence takes the class prefix of its referent, although it gets no class marking in the attributive position in the first clause (e. g. *ga-bwi kpekpe* “each bird”).

(28)

- a. ga-bwi kpekpe ga-bu gale, ga-kpekpe
CL4-bird each CL4.FCT-have here, CL4-each
ga-bu gale
CL4.FCT-have here
“All the birds are here, all are here.”
- b. i-safɔ kpekpe Ø-bu gale, ɔ-kpekpe
CL1-foreigner each CL1.IPFV-have here, CL1-each
Ø-bu gale
CL1.IPFV-have here
“All the foreigners are here, all are here.”

Although *kpekpe* “each” can modify plural class nouns, it only agrees with singular classes, except for the CL8 nouns: example (29a) referring to the CL2 noun *a-safɔ* “foreigners” is ungrammatical, while the similarly structured example (29b) with the CL8 referent is acceptable.

(29)

- a. *a-safɔ kpekpe ma-bu gale, a-kpekpe
CL2-foreigner each CL2.FCT-have here, CL2-each
a-bu gale
CL2.FCT-have here
Exp. "All the foreigners are here, all are here."
- b. i-la dajan-se kpekpe i-bu gale, i-kpekpe
CL8-thing be.good-ADJ each CL8.IPFV-have here, CL8-each
i-bu gale
CL8.IPFV-have here
"All the necessary things are here."

Conclusion

In this paper a report of Ginyanga pronouns was presented. In particular, personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers were discussed. Ginyanga follows the typical Guang pattern, in which the same form of pronoun performs objective, possessive and emphatic functions. Since number, person and tense are marked cumulatively by verbal prefixes, there are no subject pronouns. We define two personal pronoun series with a designated pronoun for each noun class: basic and object. A Basic set of pronouns is used in independent and possessive contexts, and also in reflexive constructions. Possessive pronouns present irregularities with kinship terms: when used with possessors belonging to the first (human) noun class, kinship terms have no noun class marker and go with the possessive pronoun even if the possessor is present. The canonical agreement pattern between a noun and its coreferential object pronoun can be violated in some cases because of semantics. There are implications that the CL1 pronoun may be used for human referents regardless of the "morphological" marking of noun class. Additionally, some variation exists in usage of object pronoun series by different consultants of different age groups, which may be an indication of language change. There are two demonstratives, *-balɪ* "this" and *-bunu* "that", also subject to class agreement. In contrast to *-balɪ*, the demonstrative *-bunu* is also used in relative clauses and can be anaphoric. The majority of quantifiers demonstrate no class agreement. The only exceptions are *-ko* "one" and *kpekpe* "each". Future field and corpus research might give more insight in pronominal series and class agreement.

Acknowledgements

We are deeply grateful to Andrey Shluinsky, whose invaluable expertise and guidance contributed enormously to carrying out this research and preparing the manuscript. We would like to express our gratitude to Tatiana Mamonova for her contribution to our work. We are sincerely thankful to our consultants, Yao Amedomé, Evignénou Tchala, Atchou Edo and Emmanuel Kontre. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers, whose detailed comments helped to improve this paper.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1, 2, 3 person; ADJ — adjectivizer, BSC — basic pronoun series; CL1, CL2, CL3, CL4, CL5, CL6, CL7, CL8 — noun class markers; COP — copula; DEF — definiteness marker; DEM1 — demonstrative *balɪ*; DEM2 — demonstrative *bunu*; EMPH — emphatic pronoun; FCT — factative; FUT — future; IPFV — imperfective; LOC — locative; OBJ — object pronoun; PL — plural; POSS — possessive pronoun; SG — singular, TM — terminal marker.

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Received: December 5, 2021

Accepted: February 28, 2022

Authors' information:

Viktoria A. Pozdniakova — pozdneyakova@iling-ran.ru

Yekaterina S. Aplonova — aplooon@gmail.com

Местоимения в языке гиньянга*

В. А. Позднякова^{1,2}, Е. С. Аплонова³

¹ Институт языкознания РАН,

Российская Федерация, 125009, Москва, Большой Кисловский пер., 1

² Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»,

Российская Федерация, 101000, Москва, Мясницкая ул., 20

³ Институт университетов Франции, ИНАЛКО/ЛЛАКАН,

Франция, 8135, Париж, ул. Ги Моке, 7

Для цитирования: Pozdniakova V. A., Aplonova Ye. S. Pronouns in Ginyanga // Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Востоковедение и африканистика. 2022. Т. 14. Вып. 2. С. 243–260. <https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu13.2022.206>

Представлено описание местоимений языка гиньянга семьи ква, распространенного в Того и Гане. Основная часть статьи посвящена личным местоимениям, также рассма-

* Работа выполнена в рамках проекта «Языки Западной Африки: описание и сопоставительный анализ» по гранту РНФ № 17-78-20071.

триваются рефлексивы, демонстративы и кванторы. В гиньянга нет субъектных местоимений. Мы выделяем две серии личных местоимений: базовую и объектную, каждая из которых имеет парадигму согласования по именным классам. Базовая серия используется в независимых и посессивных контекстах, а также в рефлексивных конструкциях. Обзор языков гуанг показывает, что система местоимений гиньянга характерна для языков этой группы. Мы наблюдаем ряд особенностей в посессивных конструкциях с терминами родства и посессорами, принадлежащими к 1-му классу («классу людей»). Морфологический принцип согласования объектных местоимений по классу может нарушаться в ряде случаев. В частности, к референтам, обозначающим людей, отсылают с помощью местоимения 1-го класса, вне зависимости от морфологического маркирования референта. Также выявлена семантически обусловленная вариативность в использовании объектных местоимений информантами, принадлежащими к разным поколениям, что может свидетельствовать о языковом сдвиге и упрощении системы классного согласования в гиньянга. В языке имеется два демонстратива: *-bali* 'этот' и *-bɔɔ* 'тот', согласующихся по классу с референтом. В отличие от *-bali*, демонстратив *-bɔɔ* используется в релятивизации и может выступать в анафорическом значении. Большинство кванторов не согласуется по классу с вершиной. В наших данных обнаружилось только два исключения, а именно *-ko* 'один' и *krɛkrɛ* 'каждый'.

Ключевые слова: нигер-конго, языки ква, языки гуанг, именной класс, именная морфология, местоимения.

Статья поступила в редакцию 5 декабря 2021 г.;
рекомендована к печати 28 февраля 2022 г.

Контактная информация:

Позднякова Виктория Андреевна — pozdneyakova@iling-ran.ru

Аплонова Екатерина Сергеевна — aplooon@gmail.com